

The Historian George Finlay and Correspondence with Cornelius C. Felton (1854 — 1859)

By CHARLES A. FRAZEE (Indianapolis)

The Finlay Letters

The divergent policies of the three great powers, Great Britain, France and Russia toward the Ottoman Empire in the decade of the 1850's caused a number of significant developments within the Kingdom of Greece.

Since the Revolution and the London Protocol of 1830 Greece had to look upon these three states as her protectors. Each of them, in turn, saw an independent Greece only as part of the still unfinished business of what should be done about the Ottoman Empire. Each of the powers had a party that favored it within Greece and served to complicate what was already a difficult situation within the country.

A large number of Greeks, especially the Orthodox churchmen, favored Russia's aggressive policy against the Turks, not only because of the bond of a common faith, but also because they believed that the only hope for enlarging Greek borders lay in a conflict that would result in a Russian victory in which Greece might participate in the division of the spoils. Such a possibility was not welcome to the British, who were squarely opposed to any further divisions of Ottoman territory. France and Austria also had their interests to protect in the eastern Mediterranean. Both were intent that Russia should not advance any nearer Constantinople and both were concerned that Britain should not dictate the Russian containment policy alone. Thus the territorial goals of the country were dependent upon an international situation over which Greece itself exercised little control.

At the head of the Greek government during the decade of the 1850's was King Otho, a Bavarian by birth, who had received the crown from the hands of the powers. Otho's autocratic rule stifled the traditional democracy of the Greek people. It was during this period, however, that Otho reached the peak of his popularity among his subjects by identifying himself with the cause of Greek

expansion. This same policy, of course, served to alienate him from the British and French.

Upon the scene in Greece during these eventful years was the historian George Finlay. One of the first of the Philhellenes to participate in the Revolution, he settled in Greece after the war where he became an observer of the contemporary scene. Originally his interests were in farming, but the results here were so small, he turned to historical writing.

During the years extending from 1854 to 1859 he wrote twelve letters to Professor, and later President, Cornelius C. Felton of Harvard University. Felton was a classicist who had visited Constantinople and Greece during the autumn and winter of 1853—54. During a three month stay in Athens, he and Finlay had become close friends and the correspondence between them was a natural result of their common interests in the future and past of that country. These letters are now preserved in the Houghton Library at Harvard; nine of them are very valuable for the light they cast upon the situation in Greece during these critical years. It is through the courtesy of the Houghton Library, and its director, William A. Jackson, that these letters are now published.

George Finlay was born on December 21, 1799 near Faversham, Scotland where his father, John Finlay, an officer of the Royal Engineers, was stationed. For his education, young Finlay spent three years at boarding school; then received the advantages of private tutoring at the Glasgow home of an uncle, Kirkham Finlay. Upon his uncle's advice, Finlay decided upon a legal career. To pursue his training Finlay in 1821 left Scotland for Göttingen, then the most celebrated center of Roman law in Germany. While here his interest in Greece was stirred by news of the Revolution and eventually resulted in a decision to interrupt his studies for a personal visit to Greece. In November, 1823, Finlay arrived at Cephalonia and in his own words from that moment onwards, he became „alternatively English traveller or volunteer as the situation demanded“¹⁾. At Metaxa he met Lord Byron for the first time.

Finlay continued on his journey, arriving in Athens on December 13, 1823. There he made his first contacts with his countryman Frank Abney Hastings, a man who won Finlay's respect from the

¹⁾ G. Finlay, June 21, 1827, Colonial Office Records, quoted by Douglas Dakin, *British and American Philhellenes During the War of Greek Independence, 1821—1823* (Thessalonica, 1955), p. 54.

very beginning. Hastings was a former lieutenant in the British Navy; he had studied gunnery in France and then decided to join the Greek cause. He had come to Athens two months previous to Finlay's arrival. Hastings' personality was not one that attracted many friends; his blunt speech was irritating to most, but between himself and Finlay there was always a close bond. Hastings wrote in his journal on the first day of their meeting concerning Finlay, „He pleases me much“²⁾.

Quitting Athens after a few weeks he rejoined Byron who was now at Mesolonghi. It was the poet's idea that Finlay could be very valuable by serving as an emissary between Mavrokordatos, with whom Byron was attached, and the troops in eastern Greece under Odysseus. Finlay was therefore sent to Odysseus' camp to help unite the scattered efforts of the Greek forces which at this moment were a great hindrance toward prosecuting the war.

Finlay stayed with Odysseus during the winter and spring of 1824. In the early summer he went with Odysseus to the Morea where civil war was now in progress between the Nauplion government forces and those of the Moeniot chieftans led by Kolokotronis. Odysseus thought he might arbitrate the matter, but did not succeed. The government rejected his proposals; his men had received no pay and were restless to be off. Finlay was also disillusioned, and therefore, when Odysseus decided to return to Levadhia, Finlay did not go with him, but made his way to Mavrokordatos at Mesolonghi. During the autumn Finlay contracted a severe fever and for a time his life was despaired of. However, he did pass through the ordeal and in December left Greece on board a ship for Ancona.

The winter of 1824—25 was spent in Rome, the spring in Sicily convalescing, then he returned to his uncle's castle in Scotland. He recommenced his law studies and successfully passed his examinations in 1826.

Finlay had continued his correspondence with Hastings during this period. It had been Hastings' dream that he might construct a boat which would be built and armed according to his own plans. After long and tedious negotiations, Hastings was able to convince the government to commission the vessel's construction in March, 1825. Over a year was spent in its building and during his stay in Britain supervising the construction, Hastings wrote to Finlay asking

²⁾ A. J. B. Wace, „Hastings and Finlay“, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XXII (1916—1918), p. 113.

him to sail with him. The young lawyer could not resist the opportunity and agreed to go. On May 26, 1826, the famous *Karteria* was launched and set sail for Greece with Finlay aboard.

The boat was equipped so as to be able to navigate by sail and steam. The first part of the voyage went well enough using sail; when the *Karteria* resorted to steam in the Mediterranean, however, it was a different story. The engines were not powerful enough to pull the weight of the vessel and the boilers gave trouble. The boat put in at Cagliari; and in order to make the necessary repairs, Hastings asked Finlay to return to Britain to enlist some new engineers and mechanics. Finlay succeeded in his mission and the *Karteria* was finally at sea again in late August, arriving in Greece a month later.

Finlay did not serve continuously on the boat, but acted for Hastings in the important capacity of obtaining supplies and money for the ship. He was present at the battle of Athens, May 4—6, 1827 when an effort was made to relieve the siege of that city. Also on board the *Karteria* since November was the American doctor, Samuel G. Howe, whose interest in the Greek cause had stemmed from a romantic nature fired by Byron's poems. Finlay and Howe were to become staunch friends; both would later write histories of the Revolution. During the months of July, August and September the two Philhellenes travelled together distributing supplies to the islands and on the mainland.

When Count John Capodistrias became president of Greece, he appointed Hastings the head of the Greek navy. Hastings, in turn, made Finlay one of the commissioners of the Navy Board. (It was at this time that his brother, Kirkham Finlay was killed on the island of Chios fighting with the French General, Charles Fabvier. The newspapers in England carried a report that it was George Finlay that had been killed and presented its readers with an obituary.) Finlay hoped that Capodistrias might give him some job in the government, for Hastings had recommended him for a legal position. He wrote Finlay, „Do let me recommend you not to go soldiering or sailing; take a civil employment. I do not mean that you want military talents, on the contrary, you would have made either a good sailor or soldier had you served an apprenticeship-but without this it is a loss of time“³). Finlay did not receive an appointment,

³) Hastings to Finlay, 20 April 1828, in Wace, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

and in June his friend Hastings was dead from a wound received in an attack upon Anatoliko. Finlay preserved the heart of his friend and later buried it in the English church in Athens⁴).

Finlay at last decided to take up more permanent quarters, building a house and planting a garden on the island of Aegina. His house was known as the „Red Castle“, and its aspect was such that the peasants of the neighborhood believed it contained ghosts⁵). Finlay was disappointed with the Capodistrias regime for establishing a strong centralized government. When the National Assembly met in July, 1828 packed with the appointees of Capodistrias Finlay joined the British generals Richard Church and Thomas Gordon at Argos in attempting to rally opposition against the President, but their efforts were in vain.

When Doctor Howe returned to Greece in November, 1828, (he had been back in the United States for a number of months because of his health) he joined Finlay at Aegina. He gives us a candid portrait of Finlay in his journal as „... a young man of independent spirit, penetrating mind, genteelly educated, well informed, eager to acquire information, disputatious, doubting, talkative, generous in important matters, close and calculating in trifling ones“⁶).

Howe and Finlay made trips to Poros where Howe had set up a hospital. The American doctor also began a project on Aegina to give the refugees there some employment. He devised a project of building a mole by using the stones of the old classical site. The venture was a success, and he plunged into a new project with Finlay in the spring of 1829. This was the organization of an agricultural colony and hospital for refugees at a place called Hexamilion near Acrocorinth. In his journal, he quotes a statement of Finlay at this point, „I wish to God that the fate of Greece were decided, that I might know whether to sell my horse or not“⁷). Later that year, Finlay married an Armenian girl from Constantinople.

His political opinions continued to clash with the government. The proposal that Leopold of Saxe-Coburg be made king elicited the comment in his journal, „He never took any share in the

⁴) Dakin, op. cit., p. 179.

⁵) William Miller, „τά 50 ἔτη τοῦ Φινλεῦ ἐν Ἑλλάδι“, Δέλτιον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος. N. S., X (1928) p. 32.

⁶) Laura E. Richards, (ed.), Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe, I (Boston, 1909), p. 287.

⁷) Ibid., p. 333.

struggle, nor to our knowledge here has any interest in it . . . How this poor country has suffered! I have seen only two men who were likely to do her much good from the west — Byron and Hastings"⁸). Later he commented, „Greece bled, starved, fought, conquered and despaired; for what, Ye Gods? — to be trampled on by John Capodistrias and ruled by a German prince!"⁹). The assassination of the President in October, 1831 did not change his feelings on the matter.

Once it became possible to secure property in Athens, Finlay appeared in that city, July, 1830. He purchased two houses on Hadrian Street from Turks preparing to leave and also a country house and estate at Liosia on the eastern slope of Mt. Parnes. He remained here through the winter and then in March, 1831, sailed for Scotland. While there Mrs. Finlay gave birth to their only child, Helen, who was born on May 1. The following January he returned to Athens, stayed some four months and then returned to Scotland to bring out his wife and daughter. They arrived in September, Finlay having decided to become a farmer¹⁰).

Finlay's return to Greece came only a few months before the arrival of Prince Otho, a younger son of the King of Bavaria, who was the new choice of the powers for the Greek throne. Otho landed at Nauplion in February, 1833, with his three regents, Von Arman-
sparg, Von Maurer and General Hiedech. At the time only five other British and one American Philhellene remained in the country¹¹). The old Greek factions lined up behind their favorites at court and vied for position. Finlay sought an appointment to Otho's court as an officer „a la suite", and his request was honored by being made a captain „a la suite de l'armée". From there he was advanced to major, but the appointment did not please him since it carried no real authority¹²). His efforts to resign were, however, rejected by the young King.

When Otho paid a visit to Athens in April, 1833, two of the

⁸) William Miller, „The Journals of Finlay and Jarvis", English Historical Review, XLI (1926), p. 514.

⁹) Wace, op. cit., p. 129.

¹⁰) Dakin, op. cit., p. 201. His daughter, Helen, died in 1841 at ten years of age.

¹¹) Renting Finlay's house next door was his fellow Philhellene, General Richard Church. After 1860 relations between them were polite but cool. Church's role in the Revolution was discounted by Finlay in his history. Dakin, op. cit., p. 219.

¹²) William Miller, „The Finlay Papers", English Historical Review, XXXIX, (1924), p. 389.

regents, von Maurer and von Armansperg, stayed with Finlay at his home¹³). Finlay later wrote of the year 1833, „The last year of my life spent entirely at Athens has proved not a very happy nor a very fortunate one. My occupation has almost exclusively been money making, and I have made very little“¹⁴).

The Bavarian regency understood very little about Greece. At first Finlay had high hopes; he liked von Maurer very much. In 1834, he wrote, „In spite of all the awkwardness of the Bavarians, how much progress Greece has made. I found Athens with 3 or 400 dwellings; there are now 2500“¹⁵). It was not long, however until the regents proceeded to deal with the country as if it were a western sophisticated society, while at the same time they destroyed many of the local governing institutions which had existed even in Turkish times. The years 1834 to 1836 saw von Armansperg practically absolute in the kingdom. He received a great deal of support from the British minister, Sir Edmund Lyons, much to the chagrin of Finlay who wrote concerning the Count, „He is a weak man (who) does nothing but scribble, scribble, scribble . . . He appears to be incapable, to be confounded, to be asleep or to be occupied with the marriage of his two daughters“¹⁶). After Otho came of age, the regency was ended and von Armansperg was ousted in 1836 in favor of von Rudhart, who stayed in power only for a year.

During 1836, Finlay published his first major work, *The Hellenic Kingdom and the Greek Nation*; this had been preceded by a pamphlet published the same year on the creation of a national bank, entitled *An Essay on the Beginnings of a Bank, applied to the Actual Condition of Greece*. Finlay's turn to literature was the result of his failure at farming. The problems of raising crops in Greece, of course, were many, but they were heightened by the land tax system then in force. This required that a collector of the 10% tax come at harvest time, estimate the yield of the crop, and then assign the time for the grain to be threshed. The grain then had to be transported to the threshing floor where the government collector took his share. The whole procedure was extremely costly and

¹³) Miller, „Journals“, p. 516.

¹⁴) Wace, op. cit., p. 129.

¹⁵) Miller, „Journals“, p. 517.

¹⁶) Miller, „Finlay Papers“, p. 390. In 1835, Finlay was challenged to a duel by Lt. Gen. A. Johnson, a German on the staff of General Church. Nothing happened to either. Finlay says, „I fired over his head.“ Miller, „Journals“, p. 518.

wasteful. In 1839, for example, Finlay complained that his crops were stolen by the peasants before the collector arrived¹⁷). Finlay later commented, „I lost my money and my labour, but I learned how the system of tenths has produced a state of society, and habits of cultivation, against which one man can do nothing. When I had wasted as much money as I possessed, I turned my attention to study“¹⁸).

About this same time, Finlay began his long history of difficulties with the government over his properties. There seems to have been sufficient grounds for his complaints. In 1837, the Royal Printing Office was constructed on his land; in 1842, a road was constructed through his property; also in 1842 and again in 1844, the officials connected with building the Royal Gardens appropriated his property and Finlay's house was left without water since it was being used to irrigate the King's gardens.

Finlay, moreover, was distressed by Otho's failure to reform the administration of the country and encourage its economic condition. He speaks of a meeting with Otho in June, 1837, in his journal where he records, „I spoke some words to awaken thought in his (Otho's) mind and he replied by asking how many houses I had built in Athens. I felt he was a fool“¹⁹). Finlay's dislike for Otho and his policies was reciprocated by Otho who knew that the Scot cared little for his administration. When it was proposed that a group of Philhellenes receive the Cross of the Savior in 1837, the King crossed Finlay's name off the list with the charge „He is a violent liberal and an active constitutionalist, and therefore dangerous“²⁰).

The government of Otho in the early forties was buffeted by many diverse forces. Neither Britain nor Russia cared for Otho; the former wanted him to grant a constitution, the latter pushed him to give greater support towards Orthodoxy and the Russian plans to reach the Straits. Both looked for an opportunity to unseat him. This appeared to be imminent when on September 14, 1843, Colonel Dimitri Kalerges, exasperated by the Bavarian administration raised

¹⁷) Finlay to Leake, Sept. 30, 1839, Miller, „Finlay Papers“, p. 390.

¹⁸) Quoted by Richard Garnett, „George Finlay“, Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. VII, p. 30.

¹⁹) George Arnakis, „The Historical Work of Samuel G. Howe and the Historian George Finlay“ *Είς Μνήμην Κ. Ἀμάντου* (Athens, 1960), p. 203. Note.

²⁰) Wace, op. cit., p. 129. Finlay did receive a number of decorations eventually.

the cry, „Long live the Constitution“. Troops went before the palace and refused to leave until the King should give them their way. Within the palace the representatives of the powers met with Otho and at noon on September 15, Otho proclaimed that all of his foreign advisors would be dismissed and a National Assembly should meet in thirty days to draw up a Constitution. By bending with the wind, Otho preserved his throne and his adroit maneuvers kept the actual power of the state still in his hands, despite the Constitution. The first Prime Minister was the leader of the British party, Alexander Mavrokordatos; the second was John Kolettes, the head of the French faction. Thence followed a long line of retired chieftains and admirals who did little besides arrange elections for their friends and make sporadic attempts to do something about brigandage.

During this period, Finlay's interest in the classical and Byzantine eras began to bear fruit. He travelled extensively to Egypt, Palestine, and Trebezond. In 1844, his first major work on Greek history appeared, *Greece Under the Romans* (Edinburgh, 1844). Concerning the Greek scene in 1846, he wrote, „I have given up Greek politics; and so completely have I done it that I read no newspapers and rarely see those who occupy themselves exclusively with political business. Now so few people at Athens occupy themselves with anything but politics, the consequence is that I live almost alone. My only resource is study“²¹).

He did not completely take himself out of the political scene, for he remained a severe critic of Otho. A change in the British Minister (Lyons was recalled in 1849) brought Sir Thomas Wyse to Greece, who was more acceptable to Finlay.

The year 1850 brought Finlay into international notoriety with the Don Pacifico affair. It all began when a certain Don Pacifico, a Jew from Gibraltar, and a British citizen serving as consul-general for Portugal in Athens had his house pillaged as the result of a riot in 1847. He sent the government a bill for the damages which amounted to 30 000 pounds. Finlay and three others also believed the time opportune to press their claims, but the government, directed by Otho, refused to consider them. Finlay's claim was for 45 000 dr. for the land he lost to the Royal Gardens.

Sir Thomas Wyse tried to get things settled peacefully; but when this failed, with Palmerston's backing, he delivered an ultimatum on

²¹) W a c e , op. cit., p. 130.

January 17, 1850 that either the claims be settled or the British would blockade the Piraeus. No answer was forthcoming, so the fleet moved in, seized some Greek ships and an international crisis was born. Otho was supported by the Russians but especially by the French minister, Edouard Thouvenel. Tension was somewhat eased when the French offered to arbitrate and Baron Jean-Baptiste Gros was dispatched to Athens. Gros' decision was that the claims should be settled for 150 000 fr.; Wyse said the figure was too low and the blockade, temporarily lifted, was recommenced. Meanwhile negotiations in London arrived at a solution of 230 000 fr.; about two weeks later Otho yielded, not knowing of the settlement made in London. The whole thing ended up with Don Pacifico receiving £ 150 and Finlay 30 000 dr. It is interesting to note that Finlay did not approve of the way the British government had acted. He wrote in his history, „No government in a civilized state of society ought to have a right to seize private property belonging to the subjects of another state beyond its jurisdiction, or to blockade a foreign port, without taking upon itself the responsibility of declaring war“²²).

During the year 1851, the second of his volumes appeared, *Greece to its Conquest by the Turks* (Edinburgh, 1851). He was also a contributor to Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, although he wrote, „In all my political views I differ from Blackwood's writers, but it is the only public journal of any circulation into which I can get my writings inserted“²³).

Popular opinion in Greece from the very beginning of the country's independence looked beyond its borders to those of its countrymen still not liberated from the Turks. More adventuresome spirits envisioned a restoration of the Byzantine Empire with its capital back in the city of Constantinople. These thoughts reached into high places and dominated the history of the 1850's in Greece — this was „the Great Idea“. Fostered by Russia, it was frowned upon by Great Britain whose economic and strategic position in the Eastern Mediterranean demanded that Ottoman territory be kept intact. Edmond About noted during his visit to Greece that Otho „loves his royal crown, he would love even more the crown of an

²²) George Finlay, *A History of Greece*, ed. by H. F. Tozer, VI, (London, 1877), p. 211.

²³) Miller, „Finlay Papers“, p. 553.

emperor, but he does not love his people"²⁴). The forces that produced the Crimean War gave Otho and the Greek expansionists hope that their hour had come.

The Crimean War is often looked upon as one of the most unnecessary wars that has ever been fought. It was triggered by the quarrel among Catholic and Orthodox monks in the Holy Land, but the hostility engendered here provided the Czar, Nicholas II, and the French president, Louis Napoleon a ready excuse to enhance their national prestige. Nicholas was interested in making gains against the Turks, but, at the same time, he did not want to become involved in a war with Great Britain. Feelers were put forward to the British, which the Czar interpreted as being favorable to his scheme since his plans were not flatly rejected by London. He then sent a high-ranking official to the Porte with a list of demands that Russia wanted satisfied.

The arrival of the Russian Prince, Alexander Menshikov, at Constantinople in February, 1853, gave the impression to the British and French that Russia was about to make her move. Britain had no concern in the Holy Land dispute, but she was definitely interested in resisting any Russian advance against the Turks. Menshikov demanded that the Czar be allowed to protect all Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman domain. Bolstered by the British, the Sultan refused to allow such wide powers of intervention. The Russians occupied the Principalities; negotiations were begun in earnest in Vienna, but at last a Turkish declaration of war against Russia was forthcoming and the war which the powers had hoped to avoid now commenced.

The Greeks were completely sympathetic to the Russian moves against the Turks. Even before hostilities began, during the autumn of 1853, irregulars began forming and two military commanders of known aggressiveness were appointed to the frontiers. Colonel Skarlatos Soutzos, Marshall of the Court, left for the frontier and later was made Minister of War. Otho was willingly, though not too openly, urging the nation to prepare. It was felt that Munich would approve. A few irregulars might cross into Epirus and Thessaly and, it was believed, these provinces would rise in revolt against the Turks²⁵).

²⁴) Edmond About, *La Grèce Contemporaine* (Paris, 1890), p. 298.

²⁵) Edouard Driault and Michael L'Hertier, *Histoire diplomatique de la Grèce de 1821 á nos jours*, II, (Paris, 1925), p. 376 ff.; Finlay, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 219 ff.

On January 27, 1854, Epirus was invaded and the Turks were beaten by the irregulars in a small skirmish at Peta. A month later, Hadji Petros crossed the border into Thessaly, while General Theodore Grivas began operations near Metsovo. Students at the University left for the frontier as did some of the military who resigned their commissions in order to join the invasion. Even more interesting was the opening of the jails to allow prisoners to escape on a promise that they would be off to fight the Turk. A tent went up in the palace gardens to show that the king was thinking of the future, but all official word from the government spoke of Greek neutrality. When Wyse and Forth-Rouen, the French minister, went to the palace in late February, they warned the king that their governments would not tolerate Greek interference. Otho replied, „I am a Christian! I am King of Greece! I cannot but sympathize with my people, with Christians who groan under the yoke of natural enemies and of Christianity, and I trust that every government and all Christian people share in these same sentiments“²⁶). Obviously Otho did not try to understand what the balance of power was all about.

In all, about 6500 troops were in action against the Turks but the liberators won no significant victories. Some cattle and sheep were freed and driven into Greece, but the expected uprising by the natives did not occur. The Turkish government sent Greece an ultimatum on March 19, with the support of Britain and France, that the Greek government should stop any actions on the frontier. Diplomatic relations were broken two days later and the Turks began to expel Greeks from Smyrna and Constantinople. During the month of March, the Earl of Carlisle, George Howard, was in Athens. He tells of an opera which he attended where „. . . in the course of the piece, some Turks or Saracens appeared, and they were so much hissed that they walked off the stage; but subsequently, one actor threw down his turban and trampled upon it, which was, of course, vociferously cheered. What made all this more significant was that the King and Queen sat through it, and remained to the end . . .“²⁷).

The ministers of Britain and France, Wyse and Forth-Rouen, on April 15 told Otho that their governments were sending troops to Greece to insure Greek neutrality. A few days later they told Otho

²⁶) Driault and L'Hertier, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

²⁷) Earl of Carlisle, *Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters* (London, 1859), p. 282.

of economic sanctions that they intended to take; then on May 25, the French troops under General Forey arrived at the Piraeus followed by the British on June 7. Forth-Rouen noted in his report that the English troops debarked singing „Gold Save the Queen“²⁸).

The insurrection was dying a slow death, the Turks had chased Hadji Petros from Thessaly and Epirus was cleared. By summer the abortive attempt was clearly at an end. No support came from any quarter; even the Russians, once they found the Greeks were losing ground did little to encourage them. Finlay's comment on the expeditions: „Never indeed was a more open violation of national treaties accompanied with such wanton robbery of private property“²⁹).

On the day after the French troops came to the Piraeus, Wyse and Forth-Rouen appeared at the palace. Otho had regretfully yielded to what was his only course of action. He read a prepared statement „I declare I will faithfully observe a strict and complete neutrality vis-a-vis Turkey . . . and to this end I will assemble to my council new ministers, who by their character and intelligence are the most proper to execute this pledge on my part“³⁰). The list of those to whom the British and French would assent contained the names of men who were very unenthusiastic about Otho. The one most resented was Dimitri Kalerges, of Constitutional fame, who was made Minister of War. Alexander Mavrokordatos, head of the pro-British party and now serving in Paris as ambassador was to be President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. Rhigas Palamedes held the Interior post; Perikles Argyropoulos, Finance; Admiral Constantine Kanares, Marine; George Psyllas, Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction and Anastasios Londos, Justice³¹). Until Mavrokordatos arrived from Paris, Kalerges dominated the scene.

Almost a month after the occupation began, Finlay left Greece for London and Edinburgh. At the university in the Scottish city he was honored with the degree of L.L.D. September found him in Lancashire from where his first letter to Professor Felton was written; in October he was back in Greece; in that same month his ar-

²⁸) Driault and L'Hertier, op. cit., p. 394.

²⁹) Finlay, op. cit., p. 222.

³⁰) Driault and L'Hertier, op. cit., p. 395.

³¹) See letter Nr. 2 for Finlay's judgment on the appointees.

ticle on Otho, mentioned in the letter to Felton, appeared in Blackwood's.

The cabinet of Mavrokordatos had both the King and public opinion ranged against it. Only the occupation forces of the powers kept it alive. It was able to effect a renewal of relations with Turkey and sign a commercial treaty with the Porte. Some efforts at repressing brigandage were also made.

The lack of support for the government and the distressed state of the country is seen in the failure of the National Assembly to meet as scheduled on November 1. It was not until February of 1855 that a quorum was present at which time the salaries of the members was the most urgent order of business. Mavrokordatos tried to administer Greece by himself interfering everywhere in details that could have been handled more efficiently by local officials³²).

One of the most vexing problems in Greece since its liberation was that of brigandage. It appeared especially strong during these years of the Crimean conflict. The Klephtic tradition was a long one that extended through decades of Turkish occupation. Many of the heroes of the Revolution came from this group. After the war some bands continued to operate, with more or less success, terrorizing the villages into supporting them. The brigands have been characterized as follows: „They were fierce and brutal, yet not without a certain savage nobility which appealed very strongly to the sentiment of the Romantic Age. To the Greeks of the plains, the Klepht seemed to unite in his person all that was most spirited and courageous in the national character“³³). The bands were made up of the unemployed, the adventuresome, oppressed debtors, and criminals. They were looked upon as useful by certain of the politicians in Athens who used them to stir up trouble when necessary and „oversee“ elections.

Upon entering a village the first step for the brigands was to set a pot of oil heating to induce the population to cooperate. Mutilation of the ears and nose was another means of coercion. Kidnapping for ransom was a favorite device. When the army sent out to chase them down appeared, the villagers often had a hard time telling which group was the better. If they were caught, their political influence often meant they received little or no punishment. The account of the looting of Achmentaga in 1855 was one of the most

³²) Finlay, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

³³) Rommilly Jenkins, *The Dilessi Murders* (London, 1961), p. 3.

famous of the incidents that occurred in a year notorious for the rise of the movement due to the return of the raiders from across the border.

During the occupation, the British and French forces busied themselves with road work and sanitation measures, but nothing availed to make their stay acceptable. There were a number of small incidents between the army and population, but worst of all, the French troops carried cholera with them. The disease began to spread and the plague was simply one more aspect to make the occupation hated.

In September, 1855, Otho openly quarrelled with Kalerges and this incident caused Mavrokordatos and his cabinet to resign. A new ministry was formed under Demetrius Bulgares. Once again, Otho was master of his house and the fires of nationalism burned brightly. The fall of Sebastopol on November 28 was, however, a serious blow to Otho's hopes for a Russian victory. The conclusion of hostilities left Greece without a single gain. Russia had lost and Britain and France would have their way in keeping the Ottomans intact. Moreover, at the Peace Conference in Paris, the French and British announced their intentions of remaining in Greece to prevent „disorders“. It was also agreed that the powers should make a financial investigation of the Greek government; thus the humiliation of the occupation continued for the Greeks. It was not until February 27, 1857 that the French and British forces evacuated the country.

The financial commission appointed by the Paris Conference spent over two years in gathering information and made a final report only in May, 1859. The statement of the commission showed that the economic state of the country was very poor but its recommendations were woefully inadequate to correct the situation. Finlay was very disappointed in its work³⁴).

Finlay continued his writing during these years and in 1856 the volume *Greece under Ottoman and Venetian Domination*, (Edinburgh, 1856), appeared. He then began to gather material to bring the history up to the Revolution.

As for the government during the years following the end of the War, Otho was still very much in charge and the treatment he received from the British and French gave him new popularity. The year 1858, his twenty-fifth year of rule, was his most successful one. The

³⁴) Finlay, *op. cit.*, p. 238 ff.

Miaoulis cabinet, installed since November, 1857, was devoted to him; the National Assembly was filled with men that he had hand-picked, and throughout the country his prestige was on the rise.

At the very height of this popularity, external forces appeared to darken the horizon. This was the Austro-Italian war which commenced in 1859. Otho supported the Austrians, as might have been suspected, while the sympathies of the nation were all with the Italian revolutionaries. Students battled with police in the streets. Otho's interference in elections brought loud protests; the opposition grew in depth and intensity. Throughout 1860 and 1861 Otho held on, but in October, 1862 a revolt of the garrison at Nauplion triggered a response which forced Otho to abdicate and return to Bavaria where he died four years later.

Finlay's monumental two volumes on the Greek Revolution, *History of the Greek Revolution*, (Edinburgh, 1861), appeared the year before Otho's fall. During the same year he wrote an autobiographical sketch for Professor Felton which now appears in the beginning of the *History*. Deleted from the published version was the significant statement „I long thought of publishing memoirs on the Greek Revolution but felt that, as Tricoupes had written what he calls a history, it was better to write my counter-history. Judge it severely. It deserves no kindness for it is cold and stern, like the work of a disappointed man“³⁵).

From 1864 until 1870 Finlay served as a correspondent for the *Times*, writing some 142 letters and articles during this period. Much that he had to say was in the line of his previous thought: that the government was neglecting its duties and that it was filled with corruption³⁶). His interest in pre-history continued to grow in these later years and in 1868 he journeyed to Switzerland to study the lake dwellings there. Most of his time was spent in these last years on a revision of his history which was only to be issued after his death in 1877 in seven volumes edited by the Rev. H. F. Tozer under the title, *A History of Greece*. Finlay died in Athens, January 26, 1875.

Finlay's seven volumes on Greece remain to this day the most

³⁵) Miller, „Finlay Papers“, p. 396.

³⁶) W. Miller („Finlay Papers“, p. 565.) comments: „Today such a correspondence as he sent from Athens would be impossible from anywhere; no country would tolerate so persistent a critic, no editor would print such long disquisitions.“

complete history of that country which has been written. The discovery of new material on the classical and Byzantine period has made a section of his early volumes on Greece outdated, but his work on the Turkish and Venetian domination and on the Greek Revolution retains its full value. He had all of the advantages of knowing the geography of the country in an intimate manner, its past literary sources, and when dealing with the Revolution, a personal acquaintance with the men who shaped the events. Few historians have been so fortunate.

Finlay's style is crisp, his judgement penetrating. He was a man within whom both a Romantic spirit and practical sense vied for mastery. His command of the English language demands respect. He was highly critical of his fellows, and did not spare those whom he felt did not measure up to his ideals. Within this group could be placed the overwhelming majority of mankind.

His opinions upon the Greek people among whom he lived were extremely harsh, yet the very fact that he chose to live in Greece shows that he had a sincere affection for them. Having given them so much of his life, he reserved the right to criticize them himself but resented it when others spoke ill of them. While his barbs were many, Finlay softened them frequently with humor. His critical spirit bordered on cynicism but never quite reached that point. That most of the troubles in the Greece of his day were due to foreigners, Finlay frequently pointed out.

Philip Spencer makes an interesting comparison between Finlay and Gibbon, „The imaginative result of their narratives is artistically superb but historically misleading. Finlay's History is a work of literature and can never be really superseded. But Greece needs interpreters other than Finlay, as (one might say) Christianity needs interpreters other than Gibbon“³⁷).

Finlay's ideal was to serve the Greek people. He began to do this when he joined in their Revolution; he has continued to serve them still in becoming their historian.

After his death, the copyrights on Finlay's books were offered to the Clarendon Press. It was from the revisions the author himself had made during his lifetime, that H. F. Tozer assembled the seven volume edition published in 1877. The papers of Finlay along with his library are now to be found in the British School at Athens.

³⁷) Philip Spencer, *Fair Greece, Sad Relic* (London, 1954), p. 295.

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1.

Southport, Lancashire, Sept. 7, 1854

My dear Professor Felton

I have delayed writing you since I came to England partly because I was so occupied running about paying visits in different parts of the country from Kent to Argyleshire that I had little time to think of anything, and partly, because, after returning here, where I have been living quietly enough with my mother, I waited to be able to inform you when two papers I sat down to write would make their appearance¹). Unfortunately I do not yet know — as I propose commencing my progress towards Athens next week. I cannot delay any longer. I hope to be able to reach Marseilles in time to take the direct boat which would land me at the Piraeus on the 2nd of October. In all probability the October no. of Blackwood will contain an article by me on King Otho and his kingdom, by no means favourable to either; but this time I wish to let the Greeks see what their friends can justly reproach them with. Their vanity can only learn by hearing sharp truths. They are now in some danger, (from their own absurdity), of being saddled with King Otho as their own beloved King, and their future prospects completely ruined. Neither France nor England have anything against him since he is powerless and his incapacity makes the Greek nation less likely to embarrass the western powers when it clings to him than it could be under any other circumstances. The folly with which the Greeks have thrown away the advantages of an independent position and the possession of a very considerable neutral trade from ecclesiastical bigotry and preposterous presumption has at last convinced me that their eyes are blinded to the present and the future from perpetually gazing on the past. They expect admiration because they imitate their forefathers instead of seeking for friendship because they act honestly for themselves.

I find from Mr. Sculudi of Manchester that I have to thank you for a box of books which I ordered to be sent from Liverpool direct to Athens where I hope to open it and write you my thanks more in detail. At Edinburgh I had the good fortune to find Blackie²) and see him everyday I was there — indeed I was so fortunate as to dine with him alone for a quiet chat and to meet him twice at other houses — for feeding time is now the great hour of meeting those who are not thrown into intercourse by business in the forenoon. When I was in London, I received Col. Leake's³) thanks for having been the means of his becoming acquainted with you and he desired me when I wrote to send his regards. I left Athens on the 22 June so that you see I have been playing the idler for some time. When at Edinburgh I received my diploma as Honorary L.L.D. which proves that I am not a prophet, but which I received as a great compliment.

¹) The two papers were Finlay's articles on Greece and the Ottoman empire which appeared in the October and November issues of Blackwood's Magazine.

²) John S. Blackie (1809—1895), professor of Greek at Edinburgh University and authority on Greek folk songs and literature.

³) William M. Leake (1775—1860), the well-known British officer and traveller, who, during the Napoleonic Wars served with the Turkish forces and as emissary to Ali Pasha.

I beg you when you see Dr. Howe⁴) to say to him that if I write seldom to him it is not because I think but seldom of him — I am often reminded of the days we passed together on board the *Karteria* by the progress now made in the use of hot shot and shells from ship artillery of which we saw the earliest experiments in actual warfare; and my mind recurs often to the memory of our former expectations of the Greek nation serving as a wedge to introduce modern and Christian civilization and the true principles of social and political organization among the eastern nations — We expected the Greeks would lead the Russians and convert the Turks. The Russians now lead the Turks and the Turks have taken a different road. Can the Turks be made an improving people in their social relations to the soil? Can cultivation and population increase? Yes, if profitable. Can it be made so by governmental arrangements? I think it may. Then woe betide the Greek traders who inhabit the cities — they may vegetate for the next 2000 years as they have done for the last. Such is the danger of throwing away twenty years. But I fear I may tire you and work myself into a passion if I go on, so believe me

My dear Professor Felton
Your sincere friend
George Finlay

⁴) Samuel Gridley Howe (1801—1876), the American Philhellene whom Finlay accompanied on board the *Karteria* during the Revolution and on subsequent relief expeditions. A graduate of Harvard's Medical School, Howe was eventually made surgeon-in-chief of the Greek navy. Leaving Greece in 1830 for the United States, he engaged in numerous philanthropic and educational programs, among them being the establishment of a school for the blind. (See Larabee, *Hellas Observed*, p. 101 ff.)

2.

Athens 17 October 1854

My Dear Felton

I returned here on the 2nd inst and found the books you were so kind as (to) send me. They will be very useful to revive recollections of past events. Col Leake while I was in England was so kind as to give me back all the letters I had written during the course of the last twenty years as many of them contained accounts of events of interest at the time and a reperusal of my opinions might recall many circumstances of later history. I have also during my short visit to England collected other papers likely to be of use to me. But I become alarmed at the task I have undertaken, of compressing the history of the Turkish and Venetian rule and the revolution to 1843 into a single volume of 5 or 600 pages; nevertheless I am satisfied that the space is all that the world will allow me and I must spend time in digesting my materials from memoirs into history if I can! Mr. King is deep in the copy of Mr. Marsh's report on his case which you were kind enough to send me his own not having yet arrived¹).

¹) Rev. Jonas King (1792—1869), an American Protestant missionary in Greece. His establishment of a school in Greece was resented by the extreme Orthodox party, and eventually he was brought to trial on charges of reviling the Greek church and all religion. Found guilty by the Criminal Court of Athens, he was

I must now try to give you some information on the political state of Greece in which I know you to take a deep and steady interest. I am compelled to suppose you have read my article in the October No. of *Blackwood King Otho* and his classic kingdom, for it would exceed the bounds of a letter to recapitulate the reasons which induce me to believe that a reform of the municipal system in Greece must be a concomitant measure with administrative reforms and the reduction of the dead weight on the annual expenditure in the shape of useless officials. On my return here I found that only one of the many measures of reform which ought to have been commenced the morning after the present ministers took office, had been carried into effect. Kalerges²⁾ has disbanded the irregular troops whose cowardly behaviour in the late attack on Turkey had fortunately turned public opinion against them; but he had to contend with much opposition on the part of the King and some intrigues even on the part of his colleagues. The other ministers, like the mass of the people, have done nothing but talk. Mavrocordatos³⁾ is trying to preserve the good opinion of patriotic men by declaring that he is occupied in preparing laws on the municipalities on electoral law and various legislative reforms for the chamber. But every body knows that he has been obliged to bribe one half of the deputies and intimidate the other half; for the last chamber was elected by a union of the Court and Russian influences and the members are at heart more Russian than anything else. The ministry has also strengthened corruption by creating some useless employees and allowed the court, the parties and the clubs to combine to resist and neutralize administrative improvement; while the people are alienated by the foreign occupation and an increased weight of taxation caused by the dearness of grain and the failure of the currant and wine crops. The ministry lost the opportunity afforded them by the occupation of making great changes, pretending in their incapacity, that it was necessary to wait for Mavrocordatos, and Mavrocordatos, since his arrival has been either too timid to oppose the universal Russian feeling which calls itself orthodoxy, or he is at sea when it is necessary

given a small jail sentence and ordered to leave Greece. His trial became widely known in the United States and Western Europe to the extent that the U. S. government ordered its minister in Constantinople, George P. Marsh, to go to Athens for a full report. Marsh was partially successful in his efforts; the conviction was upheld but the sentence of banishment was rescinded. (See Larabee, *op. cit.*, p. 202 ff.)

²⁾ Colonel Dimitri Kalerges (1803—1867), a nephew of the Russian foreign minister Nesselrode, had been raised in Petrograd. He came to Greece during the Revolution and later served as secretary to Capodistrias. In 1843, he led his troops to the palace to demand a Constitution from Otho. A few years later he was in England; then France. His pro-Western feelings made him an obvious candidate for a cabinet position in the Mavrokordatos ministry.

³⁾ Alexander Mavrokordatos (1791—1865), played a significant role during and after the Revolution. He was the leader of the British party in Greece and thereby became associated with the constitutional movement. When the British and French ambassadors forced Otho to form a new ministry, Mavrokordatos, at that time Greek ambassador to France, was appointed Prime Minister.

to act instead of writing or talking. People are gradually setting him down for an old woman and he is surrounded by a vile set of phanariot relations and dependents who have no means of life but places and pensions and thus he is drawn in to be a species of court agent. His colleagues are bad or stupid — Anastasios Londos⁴⁾ has courage when drunk and would run amuck at Russia or Turkey tomorrow, but his insult to England in deliberately accusing Wyse⁵⁾ and the English government of falsehood to the Greek chambers when he held in his hand proof that he was himself uttering a falsehood cannot be overlooked even by the Greeks. When reproached with it as damaging the case, he said „It is a leaf from Palmerston's book to show him I can write as good a hand. They have hitherto talked of Palmerston now they will talk of Londos“. To which a friend added but only when he is drunk. The corruption and rapacity of Rhigas Palamedes is described by this nickname Φατασούλας, the devourer of everything⁶⁾. Perikles Argyropoulos⁷⁾ is a well educated gentlemanly man whom phanariot blood and a legal education have made an unmitigated ass. Psyllas⁸⁾ is justus et tenax propositi which Walter Scott translates, as obstinate as a baited bull and about as good a man of business. Kanaris⁹⁾ is a name of note. One consequence of the state of things and the errors of the ministry in not seizing the opportunity to destroy corruption is that our good ally who has a very vulgar minded unprincipled minister in Forth-Rouen¹⁰⁾ conceives the hope of transferring the patronage and corruptive influence from the court to the imperial legation. Fortunately he is not the man to succeed but he perpetrates and strengthens the system and makes the difficulty of reform greater. Wyse you know is judicious but likes his ease so he won't save Greece when boldness and activity is required. Our other diplomats are each poor creatures (in) that they don't even give good dinners to their colleagues and backbite one another accordingly.

The tendency of affairs therefore is to keep up the provisional state of things, prolong the quarrel with Turkey and ruin Greek commerce by letting the Austrians and Sardinians secure a permanent hold of the coasting trade in

⁴⁾ Anastasios Londos (1796—1856), also took an active part in the Revolution and was later a member of the National Assembly. He held a number of cabinet posts during his political career.

⁵⁾ Sir Thomas Wyse (1791—1862), served as British minister to Athens from 1849 to 1862.

⁶⁾ Rhigas Palamedes (1794—1872) was an author as well as a politician. At one time, he was president of the Assembly.

⁷⁾ Perikles Argyropoulos (1809—1859) had been professor of law at the University of Athens and had served in the National Assembly prior to his selection as cabinet minister.

⁸⁾ George Psyllas (1794—1879) was also a veteran of the Revolutionary movement and later a politician of note. He was the publisher of The Athens News for some time.

⁹⁾ Constantine Kanaris (1790—1877), became a popular hero during the Revolution for his naval exploits. He had supported Capodistrias, but did not approve of Otho.

¹⁰⁾ Baron Forth-Rouen succeeded Thouvenal as French minister at Athens in 1850 remaining until January, 1855.

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Turkey. Unless therefore the Allies directly assume the regulation of public affairs by force there is no hope. They have then to fix the budgets of each department, stop all promotions and nominations by Greek ministers — assemble the chambers for a fortnight to vote the supplies and appropriate money for roads and steamers to lessen the expenses of transport and open markets — and to gain the people by reducing the tax which bears heaviest on the agricultural population, compel the government to diminish taxation and spend money in improvements and leave the discontents to howl or else put them in prison. I have filled my paper and am working myself into a passion, so adieu and believe me your sincere friend

George Finlay

3.

Athens 20 Jan. 1855

My dear Professor Felton

I ought to blush and plead as I remember I think in some translation of Pindar, that

Full many an hour has rolled away
Since shame has made my cheeks with crimson glow
So long the promised debt to owe.

But I was waiting in the hope of being able to write you some account of deeds performed which might prove both that my croakings concerning the state of Greece were too dismal and that my candour was greater than my foresight. Alas for Greece. However, Mavrocodatos has indeed turned over a new leaf, but he has written the same accounts — literally even to the blunders and the budget — on the left side of the page. Even my fulminations in the October No. of Blackwood which was translated in the Revue Britannique and circulated, here, proved useless. If you wish to see my speculations on Turkey, they are embodied in an article in the Nov. No. of Blackwood. It seems to me now that Greece is only a christian Turkey and Turkey a mohammedan Greece. Neither of them will I fear do any good to the cause of humanity or christian civilization except by being the cause of action in others which may induce or compel movement on their part. Here we have utter stagnation — the French, less patient than we are of the tongue service yielded to Russia by our newspapers here, have put a stop to two journals and a bridle on the liberty as well as the license of our press. Even in literature we have nothing except a pamphlet by Asopios¹⁾ against the hyperhellenic phantasies of Panyotaki Soutzos²⁾ τὰ Σούτσεια.

I find no consolation in the state of private life and social ideas in Greece any more than in public and political except by comparing this epoch with the state of England in the time of Charles II and James II when an English patriot might well have despaired. I fear however that I have no prospect of living to see even the dawn of a better hour for this country. Little consolation for a man who has thrown away his life in it — for I was destined for an active political

¹⁾ Constantine Asopios (1789—1872) was a professor of classics at the University of Athens.

²⁾ Panagiotis Soutzos (1806—1868) was a Greek literary figure.

and administrative career by my tastes and studies not to write history which I only turned to in despair and feel that I cannot do it properly. It is no matter however. In the great cause

I am (only) one the more

To baffled millions who have gone before

Now to news of your friend-Psyllas has completely broken down as a minister, he neither serves the cause of municipal institutions in the cabinet nor lays down principles to secure a better administration in his own department. His honesty is acknowledged and admitted even at Athens, but you know the Greeks have an a priori opinion that an honest man must be a fool and they now appeal to this example. Mr. Hill's³⁾ indisposition you have learned of. He is now able to go out in a carriage. Mr. Arnold⁴⁾, his lady and boys I see frequently in excellent health. Mr. King lost his youngest child during the cholera but it can hardly be said from its preceding illness that cholera was the cause. I had a long conversation with Wyse two days ago on the state of the country — he has some hope that the laws Mavrocordatos has engaged and laid before the chambers on finance and municipal institutions will prove beneficial. I fear, about as much so as the water of the Nile in sweetening the Mediterranean.

About the allies in the east we know nothing until we learn something near the truth from the English papers so that you are as well informed about what is going on and almost as soon. We have now a post every week from Paris and I have received letters from London in 8 days, indeed that is the regular post and others have been received in 7. I have been lately occupied with Greek and Roman and Byzantine numismatic researches—rather a waste of time and certainly of money for a poor philosopher like me. Among other things I (in searching for coins I had to grope among stones naturally enough) met with the intaglio of Marcus Aurelius with which I seal this letter. It is set in a ring but you will see that it is broken in three pieces which are held in their place by the setting. The portrait is a good one and the engraving not bad, though far inferior indeed to the magnificent cornelian of Tiberius which I possess. If I succeed in finishing my present volume and reprinting the Roman period I propose adding some observations on the monetary affairs of the later Roman and of the Byzantine empire with some engraving of the remarkable medals preserved connected with the general currency of the periods in which they were struck — not as rarities. I have made also a collection of Athenian coins. It is strange that the τετράβολον which was the daily pay of the soldier and must have been the commonest of Athenian coins abroad as Leake observes, is now the rarest and most worn. I have not owned one but have seen it.

There has been some quarreling about public instruction here lately and the Greeks have admitted the fact that after 20 years peace and instruction, they have not been able to form a single teacher capable of replacing those of the old

³⁾ John H. Hill had come to Greece in 1830 representing the American Episcopal Church. He and his wife opened a school for girls in Athens that proved to be quite successful.

⁴⁾ Albert N. Arnold was a Baptist minister who resided in Athens from 1844 to 1854.

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school who are departing. Gennadios⁵⁾ and Benthyllos⁶⁾ both died of cholera. It was really for a few days a solemn sight to see shops and even coffee houses shut up and hardly a soul on the streets. Tell Howe I have not forgotten him; and believe me anxious my dear Professor Felton to be ranked among the numbers of your friends.

George Finlay

(Also found in this letter are some notes on coins in his possession and reports on an excavation written around the page).

⁵⁾ George Gennadios (1786—1854) professor at the University of Athens, was outstanding for his work in education. He published a number of significant books and is revered as „the schoolmaster of Greece“.

⁶⁾ John Benthyllos (1804—1854) was also a scholar. He first opened a school at Nauplion after the Revolution and later became a member of the faculty at the University of Athens.

4.

Athens 23 April 1855

My dear Professor Felton

I had determined to write you by this post to thank you for your kind letters of the 23 February and 4 March as well as to give you some information concerning the present state of Greece when just before commencing Mr. Hill has sent me the valuable present you have bestowed on me. Fortunately I have not yet read Bancroft¹⁾ and I know he will open some new views to my mind. An excellent work on a great subject from a highly esteemed friend, it combines everything to command a prominent place on my bookshelves. I have always made American political history an object of attentive study as I believe the U. S. are destined to give the decisive direction to the new political and social organization of civilized nations which is forming on the ruins of Medieval Europe. It has long appeared to me that the reformation and the French revolution were merely steps in an ascent which even now leads we know not where but wherever it may be, the direction will be given by the U. S.

Your letter of the 4 March²⁾ was the best dose of mental medicine ever administered. It put me in good spirits and made me smile at my folly in being dissatisfied with my present lot. You consoled me by pointing out that it was preferable in all probability to the gratification of my ambition and you pictured my success as so far surpassing what I could possibly have attained in our aristocratic country without connections, wealth and talents far surpassing those I possess that I felt quite convinced it was better for me to have the fever in Greece and scribble history, than pine in England climbing onward to what I could never reach and living the life of a mere mental drudge. Disraeli has worked himself to eminence but after all not respect and usefulness. Lord Aberdeen was respected though somewhat of an old lady. In England a man can

¹⁾ George Bancroft History of the United States (London, 1854—1858), 7 vols.

²⁾ This letter is to be found published in the Introduction to the Tozer edition of Finlay's History, p. XVII.

hardly be a great minister unless he be born to pretend to a seat in the cabinet; otherwise even with the greatest talents he must dirty his mind by groping to office. Your lecture as you call it has done me so much good — with the change of weather which is at least an Athenian spring — that I am in very good spirits and wish I could hear some of your other lectures on Greece and Greeks.

I disagree with Blackie and agree entirely with you on one essential point — I think the Greeks can only be governed and what is more disciplined into an useful nation by constitutional government. I see in it alone the means of giving them morality and self respect and enforcing virtue by responsibility. But it must be a real constitutional government based on communal independence and parish organization and not the quackery by which a central government makes mayors, fiscal agents and court spies. Administrative centralization destroys moral responsibility and under constitutional government is an impossibility. I never could fancy that the French administrative system was compatible with constitutional liberty. It makes the executive power stronger than the legislative, and the administration a tyrant over the law.

I admire your industry and the wise appropriation of your time and will look for the publication of your notes with great interest. I will think over your idea of giving the History of the Byzantine empire in original extracts and send you a note of passages that have struck me as characteristic. Tricoupis³⁾ style and sentiments are very good but I think he knows nothing of the Turkish empire and not much of the military causes of the success of the Albanian soldiery which gave independence to the Greek nation. The plan of huddling Christians together on one side and Mussulmans on the other without distinguishing what Albanian courage, Greek intelligence, Othoman corruption and Seljouk feudalism brought to the use of Greece with the fall of Turkey is to make history on the model of Rollin⁴⁾ of whom Tricoupis is a respectable follower.

I am inclined to think that I do really judge the Greeks of the presently (sic) generation too severely — but if things go on as they are going my judgment will be considered fair and mild when applied to the coming generation. All that is spoken of reforms by the present ministry is mere verbiage — some improvements are proposed to the chambers, but slowly and with singular ignorance and none are carried into execution. The present administration has no merit but that of doing less harm than the preceding. My friend Psyllas has spent eleven months in telling everybody he speaks to that he has an immense deal to do and yet he has not done some things that he ought to have done before noon the day after he accepted office. He was the leader of the opposition in the Senate, he knew therefore what ought to be done — he had told the public his opinions a hundred times — Surely if he could not do it — he ought not to have remained in office. We never speak on politics now — I pity his weakness and utter

³⁾ Spiridon Trikoupis History of the Greek Revolution (London, 1853—57), 4 vols.

⁴⁾ Charles Rollin (1661—1741) was a French historian and author of *Histoire ancienne des Egyptiens, des Carthaginois, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Médes et des Perses, des Macedoniens, des Grecs*. Paris, 1731—38. 12 vols. Numerous English editions were also printed of this work.

incapacity for the position he occupies — but I respect his private character and he is to be here this evening.

The state of the country is worse than it ever was in my recollection and yet I was General Gordon's aid de camp in 1835 when the brigandry besieged Lepanto and we had to take the field with two battalions to drive them out of Etolia and over the frontier where they drew up in the Turkish territory 500 strong. I could send you hundreds of cases of brigandage but I prefer giving you one as I can follow out the evidence connecting it with the general corruption in the administrative system which I have attacked so often in print before things became as bad as they are now. The case is that of Mr. Noel⁵⁾ the most amiable foreigner and the most generally esteemed of all settled in Greece. He has employed a large sum of money on the purchase of an estate in Euboea (in 1832) and as much more in improvements in all about 10 000 pounds sterling. On Monday the 26 March four men dressed as soldiers with crowns on their phesia as you recollect the phoustenellades go about, came into his house with the pretext of having a message for him. It was in the forenoon and not the slightest suspicion of any danger was entertained. In the meantime 12 others had introduced themselves into the village of Achmentaga and cut off communications with Mr. Noel's house, got the command of the road by which the peasantry would return in case of alarm and entrenched themselves under cover from which they could fire securely. A signal being then given, the four in Mr. Noel's house who had secured Noel and his children in the parlour before suspicion was excited, declared they were robbers, that they had secured all the communications, that they were aware that Noel had about 10 000 drachmas in cash in the house as he had intended remitting it through the treasury at Chalcis — that all resistance was useless and that they would murder every body if they met with the slightest resistance. All resistance was vain, they plundered Noel's house breaking open every drawer and even breaking all the windows. But I will give extracts from Noel's letters to me as affording you a better authority than my second hand narrative. 26th March. Evening after robbery. „It was perhaps fortunate I had a good deal of money in the house. Every moment I was threatened with being parboiled, or slashed with their cutlasses — one of the peasants was wounded severely before our eyes. Another at the village had his head cut open and a third was tortured with boiling oil. The scene lasted four hours, while they were breaking open every drawer and box in the house and these dancing yelling monsters destroying everything. Every house in the village has been plundered and all the hard earned savings of years are gone. Why do we work and toil in this unhappy country on which the curse of God seems to rest? I was prospering and hundreds were finding a peaceable and comfortable livelihood through my undertakings and this is the upshot for all. Thank God we have escaped with our lives but it is doubtful if poor Irene will recover the shock.“

⁵⁾ Edward Noel was a cousin of Lady Byron. On her request he journeyed to Greece for information on the last days of the poet. While there he purchased an estate on the island of Euboea and settled down. His farming efforts met with great success prior to the raid described here. A few years later his daughter died, having never recovered from the shock. Noel stayed on until his return to England in 1867.

Mr. Noel's daughter has been in bad health for some time. „What is the Government about? Honest men are not allowed to bear arms. I had 20 wood cutters in the forest besides the peasants in the fields, but what could they do without fire-arms. The wood cutters came down but were driven back by the bullets of the robbers — some narrowly escaped — One ball passed through a peasant's capote and another broke the handle of an axe in a wood cutters hand. The measures of the government deliver us defenceless to plunderers. No one in the country pays so much in taxes as I do — only the other day I paid 1100 drachmas taxes on the timber I cut on my property. I suppose I must now abandon all just as I had completed my saw mill and concluded contracts with Syra for my timber. Guns — watches — rings, seals even to my shirts and the diamond I used for putting in window panes are all gone — and our windows are all smashed. „God help us.“ Extract Mr. Noel to me on April 5.

„There is a fine fuss made by the officials to shut the stable door after the steed is stolen but in the first instance it looks as if we had been sold or betrayed. The wives of some of the robbers are said to have exhibited the spoils of Achmentaga already. Our peasant girls will have no legs for dancing this Easter shorn of their tails.“ (You recollect the *χορζίδια* of ancient and modern coins).

I have also a letter from Noel's daughter Irene who is about 13 years old but I cannot copy it, as a mere robbery might happen anywhere.

The evidence which has come out before the judicial instruction — however, connects this particular case with criminal neglect and I fear absolute treachery. There is no longer any doubt of the robberies of the public money at Corinth and of the post at Megara and Argos — repeated seven times like the seven devils — having been planned by officials. Indeed when the court protects amnestied robbers and employs criminals — can anything else happen?

I enclose copies of two more letters of Mr. Noel carrying on the account of this affair. You must always remember that Euboea has been the securest province of Greece until King Otho turned loose the criminals to invade Turkey. And that in Turkish times it used to be that no robber could escape for 24 hours unless with the connivance of the pasha unless he had a boat waiting him.

I am getting on slowly. The importance of Turkish times rises and that of the revolutionary war diminishes as I arraign events before the bar of history. When you see Howe I beg you to say that I hope „the unforgotten do not all forget

Though thus divided equal must it be
If the deep barriers be of earth or sea.

Do not think that my anxiety to convince you that the state of Greece is worse than you suppose it arises from any other cause but a wish to make the Greeks set about the work of improvement. I expect it from them alone and not from foreigners and judge of the chance there is of their doing anything as long as their inordinate vanity is bepraised as it has been. I have written myself melancholy again — so for the present adieu and believe with feelings of sincere respect.

Yours truly
George Finlay

Athens 19 August 1856

My dear Professor Felton

Do not think me ungrateful because I have delayed so long answering your much valued letter of the 12th May. You know how stationary everything is here and how apt people who I do not write letters every day are to neglect writing them as often as they ought. Would that I cross the Atlantic and see you in America, but a man who has passed 56 must not think of opening new views.

I am glad to see you boldly reject Professor Welcker's¹⁾ heresy as you justly term it. I have also to thank you for the paper in the Proceedings of the American Academy on the coinage of Athens. I am glad to find the coins I sent were of some use to you. I have written a short review of the state of the Roman and Byzantine coinage as a part of the Appendix to the new edition of Greece under the Romans. The work is re-written and I have added observations on the Roman municipal system which gradually destroyed the Greek city government under the influence of Roman law; a section on the state of Athens during the decline of paganism until the extinction of the schools by Justinian and several minor additions — The chronology of the Persian campaigns of Heraclius and of the Saracen campaigns for the conquest of Syria. When the volume is printed you will receive a copy.

I hope you have received Greece under Ottoman Domination. I am amused with its reception. Some of my friends in their libraries doubt whether my philhellenism still survives: My consolation is that Herodatus was treated in the same way so that the accusation of malignity is not likely to do my work any harm unless aided by its own leaden weight it sink into oblivion. I am eminently a partizan of political progress and I consider that the Greeks after gaining their independence have not either as a nation or as individuals done their duty to their country. My duty as a historian is to represent them always as truthfully as I can and surely there is not much to praise during the time they were under the Turks and Venetians. Let them name a man of virtue or talent whose merits I have overlooked but whose name deserves a place in history, that would be a philhellenic act. Miaoulis, Kanaris, Botzaris and Niketas²⁾ were heroes because they followed the generations I have described. Their actions in themselves would not elevate them so high. My vocation is to speak the truth and if I have any merit, it is that walking in narrow ways with little men I have the eyes to see it.

I have resolved to make my memoirs of the Greek revolution a history precisely by the doubts of my philhellenism. I will endeavor to show whether I can point out how a wretched people could have moulded itself into a Greek nation. I hope it may yet be done but it cannot be by the weak and worthless scum which now floats on the surface of Greek Society, but in the people there is hope. Just now the ministry is singing paeans over the defeat and destruction of an united band of 26 brigands by a corps of 500 men detached in pursuit of them

¹⁾ Friedrich G. Welker, a German classicist was author of *Griechische Götterlehre* (Göttingen, 1857—1863), 3 vols.

²⁾ These men were all outstanding during the Greek revolution.

for six weeks. The modern Theseus who fell bravely bore the appropriate name of Μέγας. To add an additional laurel to his wreath the people of Athens insist he had been a lestes³⁾ himself. They are mistaken technically, he had only been a soldier and a rebel — but the peasantry who have been equally plundered by troops, rebels and brigands cannot be expected to discriminate very exactly the shades which distinguish the professions in the Greek Kingdom. The glory however seems to go chiefly to the brigand — I war against the social condition which produces these erroneous judgements as I see that it is in vain to reason against them. As a mere barbarian on the classic soil of Greece my influence can be but small, but some day or other Greece may produce a man of genius, a kind of political Mahomet or an orthodox Sir Robert Peel who may sweep away sycophancy, and establish systematic progress. At present Philhellenes have so praised the Greeks who are plundering their country that they believe they are praised because they are plundering it. I am content to leave any views to be judged by time or to be forgotten.

And if Cassandra like amidst the din
Of conflict none will hear, or hearing heed
My voice from out the wilderness, the sin
Be theirs and my own feelings be my meed
The only guerdon I have ever sought.

Mr. King has come in to see me and desires to be remembered. Mr. and Mrs. Hill are at Kara as there (is) no longer any fear of brigands. Miss Baldwin⁴⁾ spent the evening of yesterday with us. All are well. I need not say give Athens and all its incongruities kind recollections. I delivered your messages to Mr. Wyse and General Church⁵⁾ and both charged me to send their warmest good wishes.

Believe me
My dear Professor Felton
Yours sincerely
George Finlay

³⁾ A brigand.

⁴⁾ Mary B. Baldwin, an American, taught at the Hill school from 1835 to 1869.

⁵⁾ General Richard Church (1784—1873), British Philhellene who received the command of the Greek army in 1827 and continued to reside in Greece after the war. He lived next door to Finlay in Athens.

6.

Athens 24 February 1857

My dear Professor Felton

Mr. Dickson delivered to me your selections from modern Greek writers a few days ago¹⁾. I received it with great pleasure as a proof that you give me a place in your kind remembrances among better and loftier men. I think you have made a most excellent selection and put into small space excellent speci-

¹⁾ Felton's book was entitled *Selections from Modern Greek Writers*, (Cambridge, 1856).

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mens of modern Greek literature. You give it perhaps more merit than I do, but you view the Greeks as a young nation commencing the race of improvement and I regard them more in their position of an old nation throwing off some of their defects. They require and deserve both to be incited to exertions in virtue by praise and to be warned in their lethargy and self conceit by censure. You see them under the most favourable aspect, their language is better than their intellect and yet their intellect is that in which their great superiority consists. I am compelled to look at their actions and am continually irritated to see their old statesman acting like ill bred children and hear their presumptuous children talking like old statesmen as the Turks say of the Persians.

I have not much to say either on Greek literature or Greek politics. Asopius read us lately at the anniversary of the foundation of the University an essay on Alexander the Great. It was the festival of his second election to the rank of Prytanis. The essay has been printed but very incorrectly and he tells me he is going to reprint it himself. However if I find an opportunity I will send you a copy of the first edition for the present as Asopius is rather slow in his movements though steady and sure.

The army of occupation leaves us next week. It is time it should go but reasonable people are not without alarm. On the 24th of December 1856 a band of brigands seized 3 peasants at Tchoukalades near Livadea. They cut off the ears and nose of one, the arm of another and the feet of the third and have hitherto escaped. Three weeks ago another band murdered 5 persons at Skroponeri on the channel of Euboea and the band of Kalabaliki has again appeared and plundered several villages in Boeotia. The greek army is now 10 000 strong. Now there is certainly more in this than politics can explain. Russia is now perfectly agreed with France and England on Greek affairs and their financial commission will make a common report and probably produce no effect as England has no sympathies with Greece at present and cannot talk to France and Russia of representation and free institutions. If she can save the forms of a free press a representative chamber and trial by jury it is all she can do. For my part I see no remedy but patience. The best motto for Greece at present would be „I bide my time“ but Greeks cannot wait for anything and they are sure if they move to make matters worse. They have excited a general opposition in all the other christian races in Turkey and they are now increasing it by their eagerness to display their superiority.

The reprint of Greece under the Romans has been delayed a good deal but I have requested Blackwoods to send you a copy as soon as it is terminated. I hope you will find a chapter on Athens and an appendix on Roman and Byzantine money worth reading. I have been a good deal occupied with numismatics lately and weigh all my coins as I believe the weight important even in copper.

I am working steadily at the history of the Greek revolution determined to compress it into a single volume as it has so far failed that it has not opened the east to Christian civilization. The Russian war probably will do what it ought to have done, but how?

This is a very short letter, but I am growing stupid though not the less

Sincerely yours,
George Finlay

Athens 9 July 1857

My dear Professor Felton

Mr Dixon has just informed me that he has a parcel for you and asks me very kindly if I have anything to send. In want of something better, I will endeavor to write a long letter.

I ordered Blackwoods to send you a copy of the second edition of Greece under the Romans which I hope you have received as Blackwood informs me he has dispatched the copies I ordered to be sent though I have not yet seen it myself.

I hope you will find that it is converted into an useful work. The chronology has been improved and considerable additions have been made relating to the Roman municipalities in Greece and the colonies of Corinth and Patras. A section XI to the third chapter, has also been added on the state of Athens during the decline of paganism, and until the extinction of the schools by Justinian. Also an appendix on Roman and Byzantine money, all of which I submit to your attention as attempts to throw light on neglected subjects.

I have now given the volume an index which was much wanted.

Professor Asopius tells me he has sent you his dissertation or rather discourse with notes delivered when he entered in office at the University as Prytanis. On Alexander the Great. As it was very incorrectly printed he is engaged in preparing a new and handsome edition.

Tricoupis' history has been severely attacked as being composed of extracts copied from Gordon¹⁾ and others leaving out the names and characteristics by which the plagiarisms might be identified. I could have added many passages in which he has copied erroneous dates and misstatements from Germanos the Archbishop of Patras which are merely oversights in the originals but become false statements when repeated by a professed historian on his own responsibility. Tricoupis' work though carelessly and inaccurately compiled as far as facts are concerned is from its spirit and style an important addition to modern Greek literature. He seems however to have no more idea of how his countrymen carried on war against the Turks under Botzaris and Miaoulis than under the Persians under Miltiades and Themistocles or rather he seems to think that things in war are always done in pretty much the same way. Men slay one another and win battles and there's the end. However I am not entitled to blame him as I am his rival and may possibly perform the work much worse myself.

I have just been interrupted by a visit from Mr. Kleanthes²⁾ who has been employed at Paros for many years searching for marble of the finest quality in large blocks and who now declares that he has succeeded in discovering a quarry of the very best quality. He has also formed a company who intend exporting a certain quantity and I enclose you the prospectus as likely to interest you.

Sir Thomas Wyse and his niece are on a visit to Constantinople and propose spending the summer at Carlsbad before returning to Athens.

A Greek sculptor here, Kossos is making my bust. The model is said to have succeeded and it is to be hoped the Parian marble will be of the best quality.

¹⁾ Thomas Gordon, History of the Greek Revolution (London, 1832), 2 vols.

²⁾ Stanatios Kleanthes (1802—1862) was a famous Greek architect.

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Mentioning the bust has put me in mind of a portrait which was made of me at Paris sometime since of which I now send you a copy and one to remind Dr. Howe of my having once existed. I do not write him as he seems to hold the opinion that

The absent are the dead —
And n'er can be what once we did behold.

All your friends here are going on somewhat as when you were here time doing his work and death thinning their ranks. (sic)

It is possible that the August number of Blackwood may contain an article entitled the Saracens in which I have ventured to throw out some new views on that strange people and their wonderful political career.

On politics I have nothing to say. You know that I believe both the Greek Government and the Greek nation to be at present moving in the wrong direction on a bad road. May you and yours be happy and may we once more shake hands on this side of the grave is the wish of your sincere friend

George Finlay

8.

Athens 10 February 1859

My dear Professor Felton

I am not sure whether you left us before the second basement of the Parthenon which is cut out of the rock in front was uncovered by the destruction of an arched building. I therefore subjoin a sketch of the measurements which I hope will be intelligible. (Here a sketch of the discovery is given.)

We are all here full of the Ionian question and talking much nonsense. A few things only seem to admit of no dispute. Great Britain can have no right to dismember the Ionian state for her convenience. The Greeks and Ionians demand all. She must therefore cede all or nothing So far public law and reason as well as Greek and Ionian opinion repudiate Sir John Young's proposal¹⁾. The policy of now ceding the Ionian islands is a complicated question on which there will be much difference of opinion among Greeks Ionians and English. One question arises — is there a possibility of the Ionians submitting to the system of taxation levied in kind on the Turkish Codgabashi system which prevails in Greece without a furious rebellion — Men do not easily submit to have indirect taxation both made direct and doubled at the same time. But in this case the Ionian peasant who now pays nothing would have to give a tenth of his revenue and of his labour. Would not King Otho be compelled to ask the aid of three powers and might not England see Corfu garrisoned by Russians and French as an army of occupation before the end of the year? The camarilla think it possible and French and Russians certain. But the occupation of the Ionian islands which Eng-

¹⁾ Sir John Young had been appointed High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands in 1855. The Ionian Assembly was at odds with him most of the time, since agitation for union with Greece was so strong. In June 1858, Young suggested that Corfu and Paxos be made into British colonies with the consent of the population. The despatch where he outlined this plan was stolen and became public. He was recalled in January 1859.

land did not seek in 1814 and offered to Austria are like Ireland an embarrassment from which the mercy of God will perhaps deliver us if we do our duty honestly even though erroneously. I had a very interesting interview with Mr. Gladstone²). I believe that he is an honest statesman a *rara avis* but I do not feel at all sanguine concerning his success and though I agree with him in much, I have Greek views which differ from those he entertains. Greece must improve and become an increasing population before she receives any accession of territory or a new Greece would probably be created out of the Greek population of Turkey at the fall of the Ottoman empire — Neither despotic Russia, Catholic France, timid Austria nor odious England look on the existing State but as a cause of trouble and a means of annoyance. What would the 30 000 Ionians in Turkey do if transferred tomorrow to Hellenic protection? The strong hand of the English Navy and of Lord Stratford³) could with difficulty keep them in order.

I shall now extract some passages from a letter I have just received from Noel to show how the government of Greece is administered.

„I have been much interested in your observations on the communal system in Greece. But I am hopeless of any reform in our day. If the system works elsewhere as it does here in Euboea it only takes money out of the peasants pockets without any equivalent (one word illegible) — it actually corrupts their character.

I see you are not aware of one curious „Dodge“, that has been adopted. You say the members of the Municipal council are elected by universal suffrage — no such thing — a property qualification is required. And our sapient governors have declared that the peasants living on another person's property must be considered as paying no taxes and as servants of the proprietor, though they furnish their cattle, agricultural instruments and seed and are really partners — he furnishing only land and houses. Consequently the most respectable inhabitants are disfranchised. Hear this ye farmers of England! They are declared unfit to choose their municipal councillors but anomalously they are left free to choose their deputies to the legislature. Ballot box doctoring comeeting their ignorance of the merits of government candidates. Of course, the municipal council is the tool of the demarch and the demarch of the Government. Our demarch made himself deputy at the last election (read dictation) and delegated the office of demarch to his brother. I see these abuses but silence seems for the moment best. I should do myself much harm and the people no good for though they grumble at being robbed they are all so mean spirited they flatter and vote for the robbers. What makes the injustice more flagrant is that the peasants on National property are allowed to vote.“

Now this is written by the stranger whose praises are celebrated even by Greeks of the higher class and who is beloved by the agricultural population.

²) William E. Gladstone had been appointed high commissioner extraordinary to investigate the situation in the islands. He travelled there, but got the opinion the majority wanted the British to stay. The results of his visit saw Young recalled and a few reforms initiated. He visited Greece shortly afterwards.

³) Stratford Canning (1786—1880), served as British ambassador to Constantinople for many years.

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Had I anything to say to Howe I should write him but I have only my sincere good wishes to send. Greece has not proved as we once expected the point from which political science and true philanthropy are to penetrate into the East. I have learned some very curious facts lately concerning the increase of the Albanian race. The northern Albanian Gheghs are recolonizing the upper parts of Macedonia and driving back both the Mussulman and Christian Bulgarians and Slavonians by peaceful means, increasing multiplying and tilling the ground. They are Mussulmans but their religion is a kind of deism and sits lightly on them. This colonization is the true way to settle the Turkish question and here is a new feature which however is too trifling to affect political events. It shows what Greece ought to have done. I must now finish. Mrs. Finlay and Miss Groat desire to be remembered to you kindly and hope to see you again at Athens.

Your sincerely
George Finlay

Noel could not send me a letter for 5 weeks on account of snow and bad roads which serves as an excuse for a worse post.

9.

Athens 8 December 1859

My dear Professor Felton

Mr. Hill has been so kind as to undertake to forward a small packet containing three pamphlets which I hope you will receive safely in due time. They are

- 1) Περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ὑπὸ Κυπριανοῦ.
 - 2) Περὶ τῆς παραδόσεως τῆς νεωτέρας ἱστορίας.
- and 3) Ὁ βιβλίου καὶ νοῦ δεόμενοι καθηγγηταί.

Perhaps only the first was deserving of being allowed to cross the Atlantic but as it was making the voyage I thought it might take the other two under its protection. They will enable you to form some idea of the ordinary material of literature and how literary subjects are discussed by the men of modern Athens.

I remember we look at Greece in its present state from a different point of view. You consider it a young country rapidly improving and have great hopes of the future. I consider it an old country in which all the defects of society are the vices of age not the errors of youth and I see it has undergone a great political revolution, and to me it seems that the people have not availed themselves of the opportunity which the change afforded them of improving their moral condition. I look to a nation as an aggregate of individuals and where I see no improvement in the moral tone and character of the individuals who form the nation I expect no permanent political amelioration beyond that which independence gives.

I argue that had the Greeks done their duty they would have been in an improving condition of society. Industry would have increased, families multiplied, new land would have been taken into cultivation, wars would have been made, brigandage would have ceased and coffee houses and billiard tables would have ceased to be village institutions. Instead of this I see a nation increasing in wealth but not in numbers. I see gardens and villas rising up near large towns

and the plains remain uncultivated and the mountains become more bare. And I find orators and brigands still forming a numerous class of society. I see a country too ruled by a class whom Col. Leake long ago called a kind of Christian Turks.

While I write this the *Ἀυγή* has been put into my hand. It is our morning paper of anecdotes, news and advertisements. I find an article confirming what I said. I knew the fact.

„The Nomarch of Euboea, Mr. Scarlatos Rossetos was dismissed from the service as an incompetent and devoid of reason because by his stupidity and authoritarian ways he almost caused a revolution having ordered all the male population of the entire district put in jail on account of a 1000 drachma debt to the state.“

This is a victory of the people over the court but the man has already been twice dismissed from other branches of the service and has been again thrust into employment as an *ἀφοσιωμένος*.¹⁾

Greece however has independence and consequently the career is open for her improvement when her sons can make a small sacrifice of their selfishness. Perhaps she may one day have a patriot like William the Silent or George Washington. Or such a man may arise among some other race and put the Bulgarians, the Slavonians of Bosnia or Macedonia or the Skypetars in the way of doing for Christianity in the Ottoman empire what the Greek race has failed to do, of multiplying by cultivating the soil and thus pressing the idle consumers of the earth fruits Mussulmans or Christian Turks out of existence.

Speaking of William the Silent who has always been one of my heroes, as being the first statesman who attempted to make religious liberty a part of a nation's political constitution, reminds me of a curious error I find in Mr. Motley's *History of the Rise of the Dutch republic*²⁾. As I admire the book much I mention it to you, as perhaps you may have the opportunity of suggesting its correction in a new edition. Vol. III, page 71 of the English edition, speaking of the battle of Lepanto he says, „Athens and Corinth were behind the combatants, the mountains of Alexander's Macedon rose in the distance. The rock of Sappho and the heights of Actium were before their eyes.“ This may be passed as a poetical exaggeration. But at page 149 there is an allusion to Actium in connection with the victory at Lepanto which leads to the belief that the author believed the battle of Lepanto was fought near Actium. It is „A fairer and falser queen than „Egypt“ had bewitched the famous youth (Don John of Austria) who had triumphed, not lost the world, beneath the heights of Actium.“ Now I had always been much struck by a similar blunder in Von Hammer ('s) history of the Ottoman Empire but fancied that as I possessed only the french translation it might arise from some error of the translator and not of the author. It is „30,000 Turcs avaient péri dans cette bataille navale, la plus grande qui se fuit livrée depuis celle qui seize siècles auparavant et au même lieu avait décidé entre Auguste et Antoine de l'empire du monde.“ This is like placing the battle of Trafalgar off Cape St. Vincent. The battle to you and me suggests the memory of a nobler action than that of Actium which Phormio fought within sight of Lepanto, and to me it

¹⁾ One dedicated to the government.

²⁾ John L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (London, 1855).

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recalls a more recent action in which I fired a 68 lb. myself and had 2 men killed by my side. It was in passing between the castles of Morea (Rhion) and Lepanto (Antirhion) on board the Karteria. Geographical accuracy is an indispensable element in historical description and to one familiar with the views from the sites of Actium and Lepanto you may judge how jarring it is to find them confounded. Each has its own centuries of tradition very distinct and generally antagonistic.

I am working at the last chapter of my history which embraces the anarchy after the assassination of Capodistrias, the Regency and the despotic monarchy to the expulsion of the Bavarians. I am selecting the facts to compress the work as I have confined myself to a single volume. To me the Greek revolution will be only a partial success until the Greek race begin to expand like the Anglo Saxon into a great people sending forth annually thousands of ploughs.

If Dr. Howe be within hail, ask him to read Lord Byron's fragment, but I had better write the lines as I recollect them.

The absent are the dead, for they are cold
And n'er can be what once we did behold;
And they are changed and cheerless, or if yet
The unforgotten do not all forget,
Since thus divided, equal must it be
If the deep barrier be of earth or sea

The days we passed in Greece are to me as fresh as ever for I had never had any other occupation but hopes and withered memories. He had been more fortunate in taking up new and more useful spheres of utility when the old path came to an impassable precipice.

You, if life be spared me, I hope to see again in Greece. Adieu for the present.

Sincerely yours,
George Finlay