

XVII. Population Shifts in Contemporary Greek Macedonia

by Iakovos D. Michailidis

Assistant Professor in Contemporary and Modern History, Department of History and Archaeology, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

The liberation of Macedonia in the period of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) constituted the culmination and the recompense of Greek irredentist activity in the region. For decades both its own Greek-speaking inhabitants and their brothers in the free Kingdom of the Hellenes had increasingly longed for the union of the two territories. Their triumphal welcoming of the lands acquired under the terms of the Treaty of Bucharest was therefore perfectly natural. But once the victory celebrations were over, the Greek administration found itself facing the accumulation of serious problems that had built up in the region as a result of the chronic Ottoman negligence and incompetence in conjunction with the multilevel internal ethnic diversity.

According to the available statistics, on the eve of the Liberation Macedonia had a population of approximately 1,205,000, of whom just 370,000 (31%) were Greek-speakers, 260,000 (21.5%) were Slav-speakers (Patriarchists and Exarchists) and 475,000 (39.5%) were Muslims, with Jews and other groups making up the remaining 98,000 (8%).

The ethnic fragmentation of Macedonia and the universally admitted numerical inferiority of its Greek-speaking inhabitants, especially in the continuing climate of uncertainty caused by the war, were indisputably major headaches for the Greek administration.

1. The war decade (1912–1920)

The conversion of Macedonia into a theatre of war for an entire decade (1910-1920) naturally resulted in extensive demographic changes. Alexandros Pallis, who was responsible for refugee relief in Macedonia, counted a total of 12 mass movements of Greek-speaking, Turkish-speaking and Slavic-speaking populations into and out of the Macedonian hinterland during that period.¹

Those leaving Macedonia were in the main Slavic-speakers or members of the Muslim minority. There was a mass exodus of Slavic-speakers from Macedonia to Bulgaria as the Greek army advanced during the Second Balkan War. This wave of emigration came mainly from Eastern and Central Macedonia, with only a relatively limited number of Slavic-speakers leaving Western Macedonia. The next few years saw only sporadic shifts of Slavic-speaking populations. In the summer of 1916, the Bulgarian forces that invaded Eastern Macedonia were followed by a significant number of Slavic-speakers.² In the end, however, these latter did not remain long on Greek soil, since in the autumn of 1918, they once again headed into exile in front of the advancing allied forces. According to the statistics, some 40,000 Slavic-speakers left Greece during the period of the Balkan Wars. It is worth stressing that the bulk of the Slavophone emigration during this period came from Central and Eastern Macedonia, while after 1914 it came mainly from Western Macedonia.³ This is not difficult to explain, given

that during the Balkan Wars both Central and Eastern Macedonia were arenas of fierce fighting between the Greek and Bulgarian armies. It was, therefore, natural that a substantial proportion of the local Slavic-speaking population should abandon the region with the retreat of the defeated Bulgarian troops. Western Macedonia, by contrast, was not a battleground at this time, having the previous year (1912) passed relatively easily from Ottoman hands to Greek. The establishment of a Greek administration after the end of the Balkan Wars, however, decided many of the Slavic-speakers who refused to accept it to leave Greek Macedonia. It is fair to assume that the majority of them came from Western Macedonia, on the one hand because the rest of Macedonia had already been emptied of most of its pro-Bulgarian inhabitants and on the other because the bulk of the Slavic-speakers lived in the administrative districts of Florina, Kozani and Kastoria. The Russian Consul in Thessaloniki, in fact, arranged for the majority of the emigrants from Western Macedonia to be directed to Western Thrace, which the Treaty of Bucharest had ceded to Bulgaria.⁴

A detailed breakdown of the figure of 40,000 Slavic-speakers who left Macedonia in the period 1912-1919 is given below.

1.1. Western Macedonia

Figures forwarded in May 1922 from the Governor-General of Kozani-Florina to the Ministry of the Interior show that a total of 1604 people had emigrated from the region since the beginning of the 20th century, as set out below.⁵

Village	Number of individuals
<i>Sub-district of Kailaria</i>	
<i>Emporio</i>	77
<i>Palaiohori</i>	19
<i>Drossoero</i>	6
<i>Olympiada</i>	15
<i>Anarrahi</i>	4
<i>Perdikkas</i>	1
<i>Asvestopetra</i>	
Sub-Total	125
<i>Sub-district of Florina</i>	
<i>Aetos</i>	5
<i>Meliti</i>	4
<i>Papayiannis</i>	2
<i>Mesohori</i>	6
<i>Neohoraki</i>	1
<i>Ahlada</i>	3
<i>Perikopi</i>	20
<i>Flambouro</i>	1
<i>Pedino</i>	2
<i>Akritas</i>	7
<i>Agios Panteleimonas</i>	27

Village	Number of individuals
<i>Xyno Nero</i>	70
<i>Vrontero</i>	4
<i>Pyxos</i>	5
<i>Florina</i>	67
<i>Alona</i>	6
<i>Skopia</i>	5
<i>Armenohori</i>	1
<i>Perasma</i>	37
<i>Ammohori</i>	65
<i>Sfika</i>	57
<i>Oxya</i>	7
<i>Kranies</i>	1
<i>Mikrolimni</i>	3
<i>Karyes</i>	1
<i>Agios Yermanos</i>	11
<i>Psarades</i>	1
<i>Dasseri</i>	1
<i>Amyntaion</i>	9
<i>Kelli</i>	13
<i>Triantafilia</i>	16
<i>Atrapos</i>	4
<i>Leptokaryes</i>	2
<i>Ydroissa</i>	16
<i>Trivouno</i>	23
<i>Polypotamos</i>	15
<i>Trigono</i>	1
<i>Kotas</i>	2
<i>Koryfi</i>	7
<i>Skolithro</i>	9
<i>Asproyia</i>	16
<i>Sitaria</i>	7
<i>Kleidi</i>	2
<i>Vevi</i>	14
Sub-Total	576
<i>Sub-district of Kastoria</i>	
<i>Prassino</i>	6
<i>Melas</i>	9
<i>Makrohori</i>	32
<i>Vatohori</i>	9
<i>Moschohori</i>	50
<i>Krystallopigi</i>	82
<i>Aposkepos</i>	15
<i>Mavrokampos</i>	2
<i>Kraniona</i>	15

Village	Number of individuals
<i>Halara</i>	14
<i>Gavros</i>	9
<i>Pimeniko</i>	13
<i>Korissos</i>	11
<i>Agios Nikolaos</i>	4
<i>Lithia</i>	11
<i>Vasiliada</i>	92
<i>Melissotopos</i>	1
<i>Stavropotamos</i>	1
<i>Mavrochori</i>	2
<i>Kladorahi</i>	1
<i>Antartiko</i>	21
<i>Variko</i>	9
<i>Oxyes-Oxya</i>	35
<i>Polykerassos</i>	29
<i>Siderohori</i>	14
<i>Vyssinia</i>	14
<i>Ieropigi</i>	58
<i>Agios Dimitrios</i>	28
<i>Argos Orestikon</i>	6
<i>Spilaia</i>	50
<i>Lakkomata</i>	47
<i>Zevgostasi</i>	6
<i>Kastanofito</i>	43
<i>Ano Perivoli</i>	7
<i>Ano Nestorio</i>	28
<i>Kato Nestorio</i>	35
<i>Dendrochori</i>	35
<i>Ano Lefki</i>	41
Sub-Total	885
TOTAL	1586

These figures show that:

a) The sub-district of Kailaria lost the fewest people: just 125. All of them, moreover, came from just seven villages and, according to the records, left in 1913. It is worth noting, further, that these were the only Slavophone villages in the district of Kozani, and that only a very small percentage of their total population was affected, since out of a total of 1524 households (7500-8000 people) those emigrating represented approximately 8%.

b) The number of Slavic-speakers who left the sub-district of Florina (the administrative district of the inter-war period, corresponding to the present-day prefecture but with somewhat different geographical boundaries) was significantly larger than the corresponding figure for Kozani; they also came from more villages and left not only

during the Balkan Wars but across the whole decade 1910-20. More specifically, this district lost a total of 576 people, from 42 villages as well as from the cities of Florina and Amyntaion. However, the percentage of emigrants in relation to the total population of the district was minimal: no more than 2% (the total number of households in these villages – excluding the city of Florina – was 7286, or 36-37,000 people). It is worth noting that the few Slavic-speakers who emigrated in the period of the Balkan Wars came primarily from the villages of Mesohori, Sitaria, Kleidi and Vevi, plus a few from the villages of Meliti, Perikopi, Akritas, Alona, Ydroissa, Trivouno and Polypotamos. Those who left in 1914 came mainly from the villages of Ahlada and Flambouro and secondarily from Meliti and Perikopi, villages that had traditionally been centres of IMRO activity during the Macedonian Struggle. In 1915 people were leaving the villages of Oxya, Trigono, Kotas and Koryfi, while in 1916 a sharply increased flow of emigration affected primarily the villages of Aetos, Neohoraki, Pedino, Vrontero, Pyxos, Sfika, Mikrolimni, Karyes, Psarades, Dasserri and Atrapos. After that, however, the flood dwindled to a trickle: in 1917 the only emigration was from Leptokaryes and in 1920 from Asproyia.

c) The sub-district of Kastoria saw a total of 885 people leave the district over the period 1913-1920. They came from a total of 38 villages and represented about 3% of the population of those villages (5749 households, or 28-29,000 people).

1.2. Central Macedonia

The region of Kilkis was the scene of savage fighting during the Second Balkan War. As the Greek army advanced many villages were wholly destroyed, while others suffered extensive damage. Our information about the refugees who fled to Bulgaria is drawn from the database at the Research Centre for Macedonian History and Documentation (KEMIT) in Thessaloniki.

The statistics existing for this region show that 24 villages and the city of Kilkis were destroyed, while their Slavic-speaking inhabitants left the country.

The following table lists the villages that were totally destroyed by the Greek army during the Second Balkan War:

Old Name	New Name	Kantcheff		Hilmi Pasha	
		Bulgarians	Turks	Bulgarians	Turks
Arvet-Hisar	Neo Yinaikokastro	200	45	217	35
Ambar-koy	Mandres	300	66	195	0
Ghiol ombasi	Pikrolimni	100	0	138	0
Kazanovo	Kotyli	200	0	162	0
Mihalovo	Mihalitsi	150	0	98	0
Salamanli	Gallikos	150	0	0	0
Sekerli	Zaharato	65	0	52	0
Haïdarli	Vaptistis	80	0	80	0
Apostolar	Apostoli	240	0	240	0
Vladanga	Akritas	150	0	270	0
Dourbali	Synoro	166	0	124	0

Kirets	Horygi	500	0	0	0
Gherbassel	Kastanies	150	0	0	0
Yiantzilar	Xylokeratea	470	50	340	125
Yeni koy	Eleftherohori	121	0	92	0
Dimoutsa	Agios Haralambos	70	0	58	18
Tsomleketsi	Dipotamos	160	0	200	0
Irakli	Herakleia	290	100	0	0
Beylerli	Xerolakkos	125	0	0	0
Dreveno	Pyli	125	0	0	0
Hersovo	Herso	360	0	0	0
Seremetli	Fanari	40	0	0	110
Kotza Omerli	Hersotopi	260	0	0	240
Daoutli	Ambelohori	90	0	65	0
		4562	261	2331	528
	Kaza of Kilkis	7000	750	4500	1120

The same archives record that the following villages in the region of Kilkis were severely damaged:

Old Name	New Name	Kantcheff		Hilmi Pasha	
		Bulgarians	Turks	Bulgarians	Turks
Altsak	Hamilo	24	0	0	11
Seslovo	Sevasto	200	0	176	0
Strezovo	Argyroupoli	135	0	88	0
Alexia	Alexia	0	0	315	0
Rossilovo	Xanthoyia	250	0	0	0
Planitsa	Fiska	500	250	490	330
Yiannes	Metalliko	320	0	290	0
Gavalandzi	Valtoudi	164	0	0	0
Kalinovo	Soultoyanneika	320	45	425	0
Tsigounda	Megali Sterna	0	0	0	0
Gola	Koryfi	0	0	120	0
Akitzali	Mouries	0	205	460	205
Sourlovo	Amaranda	260	200	256	230
Popovo	Myriofito	360	40	256	80
Bress	Akrolimni	60	40	0	0
Moutoulovo	Metaxohori	850	0	616	0
Dragomiri	Vafiohori	480	0	438	0
Rayian	Vathy	180	380	0	800
Ali Hotzalar	Mikrokampos	320	0	270	0
Karatzakadi	Kampani	200	0	0	0
Potaros	Drossato	0	200	0	195
Moraftsa	Antigoneia	660	0	500	0

Sneftsa	Kentriko	0	0	240	440
		5283	1360	4940	2291

The above tables of ruined villages show that:

a) In Central Macedonia the loss of Slavic-speaking population was limited chiefly to the region of Kilkis.

b) 24 villages and the city of Kilkis were destroyed completely, while another 23 villages suffered extensive damage.

c) The number of Slavic-speaking refugees from the wholly destroyed villages was about 8-9000; while as for the partially destroyed villages, the number of Slavic-speaking refugees is put by Kantcheff at 5283 and by Hilmi Pasha at 4940. In other words, it is fair to conclude that the number of Slavic-speakers who left the region of Kilkis during the Second Balkan War was in the neighbourhood of 13-14,000.

1.3. Eastern Macedonia

For the region of Eastern Macedonia, the figures come from the Greek Army General Staff.⁶

Prefecture of Serres	Number of individuals
<i>Sub-district of Serres</i>	
<i>Ano Vrontou</i>	3700
<i>Provatas</i>	25
<i>Pontismeno</i>	160
<i>Karperi</i>	100
<i>Hionohori</i>	20
<i>Palaiokastro</i>	100
<i>Kala Dendra</i>	74
<i>Lakkos</i>	225
<i>Monoklissia</i>	82
<i>Elaionas</i>	450
<i>Marmaras</i>	395
<i>Herakleia</i>	135
<i>Anagenissi</i>	102
<i>Christos</i>	50
<i>Moukliani</i>	200
<i>Simvoli</i>	500
Sub-Total	6318
<i>Sub-district of Zichna</i>	
<i>Agriani</i>	95
<i>Kryopigi</i>	14
<i>Kallithea</i>	45
<i>Skopia</i>	1465

Prefecture of Serres	Number of individuals
<i>Mikropoli</i>	240
<i>Panorama</i>	1167
Sub-Total	3026
<i>Sub-district of Nigrita</i>	
<i>Ravna</i>	456
<i>Sub-district of Siderokastro</i>	
<i>Siderokastro</i>	80
<i>Vamvakofito</i>	80
<i>Yefiroudi</i>	30
<i>Ammoudia</i>	30
<i>Valtero</i>	20
<i>Kimissi</i>	100
<i>Strymonohori</i>	10
<i>Haropo</i>	3
<i>Thermopigi</i>	60
<i>Schistolithos</i>	350
<i>Faia Petra</i>	30
<i>Tsirovista</i>	10
<i>Karydohori</i>	300
<i>Topolnitsa</i>	160
<i>Neos Skopos</i>	140
<i>Vyroneia</i>	450
<i>Akritohori</i>	60
<i>Tzaferli</i>	40
<i>Theodoritsi</i>	45
<i>Filia</i>	150
<i>Ano Poroya</i>	1.500
<i>Kato Poroya</i>	450
<i>Makrynitsa</i>	120
<i>Platanakia</i>	100
<i>Agia Paraskevi</i>	50
<i>Siderohori</i>	100
<i>Monastiraki</i>	30
<i>Stavrodromi</i>	30
<i>Kerkini</i>	15
<i>Livadia</i>	105
<i>Kalamies</i>	30
<i>Megalohori</i>	50
<i>Agriolefki</i>	100
<i>Gonimo</i>	15
<i>Manitari</i>	10
<i>Limnohori</i>	120

Prefecture of Serres	Number of individuals
<i>Krassohori</i>	350
<i>Singeli</i>	35
<i>Ano Karydia</i>	30
<i>Kato Karydia</i>	25
<i>Damaskino</i>	30
<i>Kapnotopos</i>	309
<i>Promahonas</i>	150
<i>Kleidi</i>	50
Sub-Total	5952
<i>Sub-district of Drama</i>	
<i>Drama</i>	220
<i>Exohi</i>	85
<i>Xiropotamos</i>	10
<i>Volakas</i>	100
<i>Pirgi</i>	50
<i>Gavrovo</i>	1.450
<i>Yeni koy</i>	1.431
<i>Granitis</i>	25
<i>Kato Nevrokopi</i>	200
<i>Katafito</i>	100
<i>Dassoto</i>	75
<i>Kokkinoyia</i>	30
<i>Livadaki</i>	50
<i>Ohyro</i>	200
<i>Lefkoyia</i>	40
<i>Kritharas</i>	50
<i>Petroussa</i>	25
<i>Prosotsani</i>	95
<i>Perithori</i>	50
<i>Vathytopos</i>	150
<i>Pagoneri</i>	150
Sub-Total	4586
<i>Sub-district of Kavala</i>	
<i>Chryssoupoli</i>	120
TOTAL	20,458

These figures show that:

a) The districts chiefly affected by the emigration of Slavic-speakers were Drama and Serres; that of Kavala, on the other hand, with its very small Slavic-speaking population, lost proportionally few people – just 120 from Chryssoupoli.

b) The Slavic-speaking refugees (a total of 20,458 persons) represented just 6.8% of the population of the sub-districts (according to the census records of the Greek Army General Staff, the total population of the sub-districts of Serres, Zichna, Nigrita, Siderokastro, Drama and Chryssoupoli on the eve of the Balkan Wars was 295,060).

c) The largest shifts occurred in six villages in the sub-district of Zichna, which lost a total of 6605 Slavic-speakers (45.8% of their population), while in the sub-district of Serres the emigrants represented 36.2% of the total population of their villages, in that of Siderokastro 18.5% and in that of Drama 11.5%.

These Slavic-speakers, however, were not the only population group to leave Macedonia in this period: in the two years following the end of the Balkan Wars (1913-1914) a large number of its Muslim inhabitants also departed. The contemporary Turkish press accused the Greek authorities of being responsible for the mass exodus of ethnic Turks, and cited specific incidents, such as the burning – by Greeks – of a mosque in Zichna and the desecration of Muslim shrines and cemeteries in the region of Serres. Such incidents, reported the Turkish newspapers, in conjunction with atrocities perpetrated by Greek-speakers against Muslims, mainly in relation to property disputes, forced many of the members of Macedonia's Muslim community to flee helter-skelter, seeking refuge in Turkish-occupied areas. The Turkish accusations appear, in general, to have been true. Similar incidents were stigmatised in a long report from the Governor General of Macedonia in August of 1914. The main culprits in these episodes seem to have been Greek refugees who had settled in Muslim villages, seizing houses, property and even Muslim schools.⁷ The clashes with the Greek refugees seem to have been just one of the causes of the mass emigration of these Muslim populations. It should be noted that during the Balkan Wars more than 10,000 Muslims had fled from Northern and Western Macedonia into the city of Thessaloniki, and that their number was further swelled immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest, which caused the mass influx into the city of Muslims from the Bulgarian- and Serbian-occupied regions. It has been calculated that some 4000 Muslims fled to Thessaloniki in the summer of 1913 from just eight villages in the region of Stromnitsa, while in the same period about 20,000 Muslims from Bulgarian Thrace moved into the area around Drama. In the end these refugees, although they received help from the Greek authorities, preferred to move on to Turkey. This perturbed the Greek administration, which blamed the mass emigration of Muslim populations from Macedonia on the propaganda of the Young Turks, who were eager to exploit the situation and expel the Greek populations from Turkey. "What is going on?" asked the author of a report from the Governor General of Macedonia; "Why are these people leaving when there is no reason for them to do so? The Authorities have acted so paternally as to arouse on many occasions the resentment of the Greek refugees, who see more and better succour offered to the Muslims than to the Greeks. Where have the lower officials, or even the Gendarmerie, distressed or oppressed the Muslims, that they are reported to have suffered pressures? What specific incident has been reported and there has not been the appropriate caution or punishment? ... We believe that serious steps must be taken against this covert instigation and emigration of Muslims, for the prejudice is twofold: the land of Macedonia will remain uncultivated, and our fellow-Greeks in Turkey will be ruined by the resettlement of these Muslims, who leave here with all their property and their purses full of money, while our brothers there are sent away naked and destitute".⁸

According to statistics kept by the Governor General of Macedonia, around 76,000 Muslims embarked from the port of Thessaloniki in the period 1913-1914. This number breaks down as follows:

Period	Number of persons
<i>August-December 1913</i>	14,478
<i>January-February 1914</i>	26,648
<i>March 1914</i>	32,405
Total	73,531

The specific figure of 73,531 Muslims includes only those who left the country officially, that is, presenting passports. To these must be added several thousand more, who left privately. Thus, the total number of Muslim refugees from Macedonia in the period 1913-1914 must have been nearly 100,000.⁹

This departure from Macedonia of about 140,000 Slavic-speakers and Muslims in the period 1912-1919 was paralleled by a similar mass influx of Greek refugees from various regions. Pallis estimated the number of Greek incomers into Macedonia in 1913-1914 at 155,000, of whom 80,000 came from Eastern Thrace, 40,000 from Western Thrace and 20,000 from Asia Minor, with a further 5000 Greek refugees coming from Serbia and as many again from the Caucasus. A summary report states that by 12 July 1914 a total of 28,529 households numbering 108,601 people had arrived as refugees in Greece, as shown on the table below:

Region of origin	Households	Persons	Villages (number)
<i>Thrace (Eastern and Western)</i>	14,552	54,292	232
<i>Asia Minor</i>	6,817	24,771	276
<i>Bulgaria-Serbia</i>	6,127	24,954	76
<i>Northern Epirus</i>	180	827	12
<i>Caucasus</i>	853	3,757	-
Total	28,529	108,601	596

By August 19 of that year (1914) this Greek refugee population had risen to 117,090: in other words, out of the total of 155,000 Greek refugees reported by Pallis as having entered Macedonia in 1914, 117,000 had arrived by mid-August. The general details of their resettlement are tabulated below:¹⁰

District	Number of Refugees		Resettlement by occupation		
	House holds	Persons	Farmers	Other occupations	No Occupation
<i>Anaselitsa</i>	230	942		13	929
<i>Veroia</i>	212	862	269	9	584
<i>Edessa</i>	413	1,648	681	82	885
<i>Yannitsa</i>	682	2,841	794	142	1,905
<i>Grevena</i>	64	300			300
<i>Siderokastro</i>	1,331	5,482	1,204	80	4,198

District	Number of Refugees		Resettlement by occupation		
	House holds	Persons	Farmers	Other occupations	No Occupation
<i>Drama</i>	3,197	12,907	1,602	152	11,153
<i>Elassona</i>	43	178			178
<i>Zichna</i>	1,281	5,180	1,009	25	4,146
<i>Thasos</i>	216	848			848
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	9,197	36,578	3,980	1,330	31,268
<i>Kavala</i>	1,379	5,857	427	140	5,290
<i>Kailaria</i>	321	1,275	419	5	851
<i>Astoria</i>	25	88			88
<i>Katerini</i>	908	3,626	1,623	65	1,938
<i>Kilkis</i>	3,301	13,788	6,080	16	7,692
<i>Langada</i>	1,994	8,104	2,851	291	4,962
<i>Nigrita</i>	905	3,639			
<i>Eleftheroupoli</i>	610	2,766	868	26	1,872
<i>Sari Saban</i>	597	2,663	874	120	1,669
<i>Servia</i>	165	684	382		302
<i>Serres</i>	611	2,265	4,202	23	6,419
<i>Jumaya</i>	1,190	4,710			
<i>Florina</i>	31	126			126
<i>Chalkidike</i>	17	97			97
	28,920	117,454	27,265	2,519	87,700

The Greek refugees of this period arrived in the Greek provinces in a wretched state. According to a report from the Sanitary Service of Thessaloniki, dated 24 July 1914, most of the new arrivals were injured and ill. The refugees from Bulgaria had been forcibly deported from the region of Agathoupoli and the villages of Providon, Kosti and Vasilikon, and were sent by sea via Istanbul to the Macedonian capital. A special relief service was set up in Thessaloniki to provide medical and other assistance and help resettle them.

The sum of the demographic changes that occurred during the period 1912-1920 transformed the ethnological face of Greek Macedonia. According to the census of that year, Macedonia in 1920 had a population of 1,078,748. The fact that the official census did not record details of the ethnic composition of this population, however, casts some doubt upon its reliability. A more accurate picture of Greek Macedonia may perhaps be found in the unofficial and confidential statistics gathered by the Governor General of Macedonia early in 1923.¹¹ Governor General Achilleas Lambros noted that the figures for his census, which was confined to Western and Central Macedonia, came from three sources: a) the ethnological statistics compiled in 1920 by the Foreign Ministry for a report on the possibility of implementing a system of self-government in Greek Macedonia,¹² b) the official 1920 census and c) information from the various administrative sub-districts. These sources, according to the Governor General, enabled the 1923 statistics to depict “*the real ethnological composition and situation of the population... also approximating the numerical reality*”.

His views are fully confirmed by a comparison of two sets of statistics, the official census of 1920 and the ethnological report on Central Macedonia of 1923, although these do not take into account the refugees from Asia Minor and the Caucasus. In most instances the total population of the various sub-districts is about the same in both sets of statistics, and in several cases identical. More specifically, the total number of inhabitants given for the sub-districts of Katerini, Langada, Chalkidike and Edessa is the same in both sets of statistics (31,696, 42,544, 49,444 and 24,218 respectively), while the differences for the sub-districts of Ptolemaïda and Notia are minimal (32,299 in the 1920 census compared to 32,560 in the 1923 statistics for the sub-district of Notia, and 40,343 and 42,438 respectively for the sub-district of Ptolemaïda).¹³

The Governor General's use of statistics compiled by the various sub-districts is borne out by various documents from the local sub-districts, whose census details were used in the compilation of the general statistics.¹⁴

The 1923 census figures are tabulated below:

Sub-district	Slavic-speakers		
	Former Patriarchists	Former Schismatics	Total
<i>Kastoria</i>	7,519	22,079	68,340
<i>Florina</i>	9,027	48,443	82,408
<i>Notia</i>	0	9,710	40,617
<i>Pella</i>	3,000	15,886	29,218
<i>Yannitsa</i>	0	13,366	22,915
<i>Goumenissa</i>	0	16,155	23,361
<i>Kilkis</i>	0	2,255	32,245
<i>Langada</i>	5,000	0	55,896
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	4,000	0	289,985
<i>Chalkidike</i>	0	0	51,114
<i>Katerini</i>	150	0	35,169
<i>Veroia</i>	1,927	0	54,255
<i>Anaselitsa</i>	1,794	0	40,092
<i>Ptolemaïda</i>	4,578	3,008	53,329
<i>Kozani</i>	0	0	61,882
<i>Grevena</i>	0	0	46,898
Total	36,995	130,902	987,724

This set of statistics, however, was limited to Western and Central Macedonia, which made it necessary to search for statistics for the region of Eastern Macedonia. Unfortunately, the matching survey that was presumably carried out for Eastern Macedonia was not found in the Historical Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so that the information had to be drawn from other reliable sources, but which are not from the same year (1920).

With regard to the district of Serres, the figures come from the statistics compiled by the Army General Staff in August 1915.¹⁵ The date of the census is particularly interesting and more or less ensures the accuracy of the published figures because: a) it follows the great exodus of Slavic-speakers from Eastern Macedonia at the time of the Balkan Wars and b) between 1915 and 1924 there were very few significant changes in

the composition of the population of the region, with the exception of the departure of a fair number of Slavic-speakers, the overwhelming majority of whom, however, returned once the Bulgarian army had withdrawn after the end of World War I. The findings of this census, which distinguishes between “Slavic-speaking Greeks” and “Bulgarians”, are tabulated below:

Sub-district	Slavic-speaking Greeks	Bulgarians	Total population
<i>Serres</i>	4,283	6,445	51,190
<i>Zichna</i>	3,466	1,623	31,406
<i>Nigrita</i>	964	258	27,515
<i>Siderokastro</i>	4,010	11,648	35,629
Total	12,723	19,974	145,740

With regard to the remaining districts of Eastern Macedonia, namely Drama and Kavala, the figures were drawn from the statistics compiled in 1924 by the Governor General of Thrace, to which the two districts then belonged.¹⁶ This census may be considered reasonably reliable, although carried out in 1924, because the mass shifts of Slavic-speaking populations based on the provisions of the Treaty of Neuilly had not yet begun. The 1924 census yields the following figures:

Sub-district	Slavic-speaking Greeks	Bulgarians	Total population
<i>Drama</i>	4,905	929	93,748
<i>Nevrokopi</i>	2,736	6,403	15,352
<i>Kavala</i>	0	0	49,553
<i>Nestos</i>	0	0	15,628
<i>Eleftheroupoli</i>	0	0	19,607
<i>Thasos</i>	0	0	16,294
Total	7,641	7,332	210,182

	Slavic-speaking former Patriarchists	Slavic-speaking former Exarchists	Total population
Total Greek Macedonia	57,359	158,208	1,343,646

2. Exchanges of populations (1920-1930)

The 1910s, however, was not the only decade in which divers ethnological changes occurred. The 1920s, too, were marked by major population shifts, the result of wars and resettlements. Moving crowds of refugees and emigrants packed the ports, border crossings and quarantine stations, victims of political and diplomatic backstage negotiations. Serving primarily political expediencies, namely the celebrated need to assure “ethnic homogeneity”, two exchanges of populations took place in this period. The first, de-

cided by the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919, was voluntary and concerned the reciprocal migration of “racial, religious or linguistic” minorities between Greece and Bulgaria. The second was decided at Lausanne in January 1923, was compulsory, and called for the removal of the Orthodox Christians from Turkey and the Muslims from Greece, with the exception of the Christians of Istanbul and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos and the Muslims of Western Thrace. Both exchanges of populations were carried out during the 1920s under the eye of the League of Nations, which set up two mixed commissions – of Greek-Bulgarian and Greek-Turkish Emigration respectively – to oversee the process. About 56,000 Bulgarians from Greece and 30,000 Greeks from Bulgaria, and 190,000 Christians from Turkey and 350,000 Muslims from Greece, took advantage of these provisions, liquidated their property and emigrated. Hundreds of League of Nations staff, assisted by local officials, directed for an entire decade the labyrinthine machinery for their relocation. Their task, colossal and exceptionally difficult, was crowned with success and must be accounted to the credit side of that organisation’s ledger.

2.1. Treaty of Neuilly

Although the Treaty of Neuilly on the voluntary emigration of minorities in Greece and Bulgaria was signed in November 1919, it was not fully implemented until three years later, towards the end of 1922.¹⁷ The intervening period was used in the setting up of the Mixed Commissions and local sub-commissions and in arranging matters of procedure.

The process of collecting applications for emigration began in November 1922. The response among the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Macedonia, however, was initially small. Thus, between November 1922 and 1 July 1923 only 166 applications for emigration were submitted.¹⁸

The situation changed radically, however, in the middle of 1923. The Asia Minor disaster and the subsequent influx of thousands of refugees into continental Greece, particularly Macedonia and Thrace, spectacularly changed the position of the Slavic-speaking population. Thus, the initial disinclination to accept the expediency and necessity of the Treaty of Neuilly changed rapidly into forced acceptance, with the result that in July and August alone of that year 288 and 349 applications for emigration, respectively, were submitted.¹⁹

In the second half of 1923 and the first months of 1924 the desire to leave increased. Thus, by the end of June 1924 3997 applications for emigration had been submitted, representing a total of 10,756 people, of whom 7983 had already left Greece.²⁰ By the end of October of that same year the number of applications had more than doubled. Specifically, 9013 applications concerning a total of 22,816 people had been submitted, distributed geographically as follows:²¹

Region	Applications	People
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	926	2,206
<i>Veroia</i>	25	99
<i>Yannitsa</i>	1,865	5,275
<i>Goumenissa</i>	1,203	3,526
<i>Kilkis</i>	929	2,432
<i>Edessa</i>	214	466
<i>Florina – Astoria</i>	388	826

<i>Siderokastro</i>	1,723	5,025
<i>Drama – Kavala</i>	821	2,200
<i>Serres</i>	286	761
Total	8,380	22,816

The above table suggests that the Slavic-speaking inhabitants of Central and Eastern Macedonia, and particularly those living in the districts of Yannitsa, Goumenissa and Siderokastro, were from the beginning more eager to emigrate than those living in Western Macedonia, who were perhaps under less pressure from the Greek authorities since that region bordered on the still allied Yugoslavia and not on the revisionist Bulgaria.

The signing of the Politis-Kalfov Protocol in September 1924 stemmed the flood of emigration from Greek Macedonia to Bulgaria to a remarkable degree. Between September 1924 and February 1925, when the Greek Parliament refused to ratify the related agreement, the number of applications submitted was very modest. Thus, in January 1925 embarkation papers were issued for just 160 people, for 570 in February and for 627 in March. The rejection of the protocol and the frustration of the Slavophone population's expectations of remaining in Greece under a minority regime gave new impetus to the flow of emigration to Bulgaria. In April 1925 alone papers were issued for 2639 people, another 5637 in May and 936 in June.²² In total, by the end of 1925 some 30,000 "Bulgarians" from Macedonia had applied to emigrate, and the overwhelming majority of them had already left Greece.

After that, however, the numbers of applications decreased and the flow eventually dried up. Thus, while by the end of February 1926 a total of 33,674 people from Macedonia had applied to emigrate and 32,620 of them had already been given their papers on their departure for Bulgaria,²³ they were followed by very few more over the next months. By the end of 1926 the number of those having applied to emigrate stood at 33,677, with 32,778 of them having already left,²⁴ while at the end of March 1927 these figures had crept up respectively to 33,685 and 32,827.²⁵

In total, about 34,000 new Slavophone emigrants left Macedonia after the signing of the Treaty of Neuilly. Apart from those who applied after the signing of that Treaty, declarations of emigration could, as has already been noted, also be submitted by those who had left at any time after 18 December 1900. In its final report, published in 1932, the Mixed Commission stated that a total of 66,260 people – new and old emigrants from Macedonia – had filed such applications. The table below shows the geographical distribution of these emigrants:²⁶

Region	Number of people
<i>Florina</i>	1,290
<i>Astoria</i>	4,090
<i>Ptolemaïda</i>	600
<i>Edessa</i>	1,800
<i>Notia</i>	106
<i>Yannitsa</i>	6,670
<i>Veroia</i>	30
<i>Goumenissa</i>	7,500

Region	Number of people
<i>Kilkis</i>	5,000
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	2,590
<i>Siderokastro</i>	9,640
<i>Serres</i>	10,400
<i>Zichna</i>	175
<i>Eleftheroupoli</i>	20
<i>Drama</i>	16,050
<i>Kavala – Nestos</i>	165
Total	66,126

These numbers permit the following conclusions:

a) The majority of the emigrants came from Eastern and Central Macedonia. More precisely, 36,450 applications, representing 55% of the total, came from Eastern Macedonia, 23,696 (35.8%) from Central Macedonia and 5980 (9%) from Western Macedonia.

b) Most of the emigrants were from the districts of Drama, Serres, Siderokastro, Goumenissa and Kilkis (48,590 people, or 73.5%).

c) No emigration is recorded from the districts of Grevena, Katerini or Chalkidike, and very little from Kavala, Eleftheroupoli, Zichna, Veroia, Notia and Ptolemaïda.

Unfortunately, no detailed information about the number of emigrants per village has survived. There are only fragmentary data for certain regions, such as the following villages in the district of Drama:²⁷

	1923		1924		1925		Total Pers.
	Appli Cations	Pers.	Appli cations	Pers.	Appli cations	Pers.	
<i>Katafito</i>	5	7	334	962	81	222	1,191
<i>Exohi</i>			138	435	29	80	515
<i>Granitis</i>			68	119	64	180	299
<i>Kato Nevrokopi</i>			45	119	92	324	443
<i>Kato Vrontou</i>			65	168	210	578	746
<i>Vathytopos</i>	9	17	64	187	225	601	805
<i>Panorama</i>			4	9	27	47	56
<i>Volakas</i>			4	8			8
<i>Kavala</i>			2	2	1	1	3
<i>Drama</i>			3	3			3
<i>Ohyro</i>			1	4	32	66	70
<i>Pagoneri</i>			11	31	118	282	313
<i>Alistrati</i>			3	7	22	57	64
<i>Dassoto</i>			45	124	115	355	479
<i>Prosotsani</i>			5	14	1	5	19
<i>Lefkoyia</i>			2	3	401	1,159	1,162

	1923		1924		1925		Total Pers.
	Appli Cations	Pers.	Appli cations	Pers.	Appli cations	Pers.	
<i>Akrino</i>			340	1,060			1,060
<i>Livadaki</i>			113	279			279
<i>Kritharas</i>			51	160	20	55	215
<i>Perithori</i>			47	119	158	446	565
<i>Psathohori</i>	2	2	12	30	2	9	41
<i>Kali Vryssi</i>			8	20			20
<i>Therma</i>			3	3			3
<i>Petroissa</i>			3	3	1	1	4
<i>Krassohori</i>	1	2					2
Total		28		3,869		4,468	8,365

Fragmentary information also exists for some of the villages in the districts of Florina, Kastoria, Pella and Kilkis. According to these figures, by 1925 a total of nine households had emigrated to Bulgaria under the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly from Pefkoto (Pella), while from the districts of Florina and Kastoria 22 households had emigrated from Xyno Nero, 52 from Krystallopigi, 40 from Ieropigi, 20 from Dendrochori, 26 from Vatohori, 37 from Moschohori, seven from Pimeniko, six from the village of Melas and 48 from Makrochori.²⁸ As for the district of Kilkis, 125 households emigrated to Bulgaria from Goumenissa, 17 from Griva, 11 from Kastaneri and one from Gorgopi.²⁹

There were two sides to the Treaty of Neuilly, however: the right of those who considered themselves to be Bulgarians to emigrate from Greece was paralleled by the matching right enjoyed by the Greeks living in Bulgarian territories. The majority of these Greeks lived in Eastern Rumelia. According to official Bulgarian statistics, which had every reason to underestimate the size of the Greek minority, in 1900 the total number of Greeks was 70,887, or 1.89% of the population, while twenty years later it had dropped to 48,507. The Greek statistics record a larger minority population. According to the Greek Consul in Philippopolis, the Greek community Bulgaria in 1903 numbered 81,923. League of Nations statistics record a total of 33,977 Greeks leaving Bulgaria for Greece in the 1920s, and a total of 62,109 emigrants and refugees since the turn of the century. One final point worth noting is that, in contrast to the Slavic-speakers in Greece, the overwhelming majority of the Greeks had emigrated by 1926: while this is certainly a sign of their desire to move to Greece it is also an indication of the unbearable pressure they were under from the machinery of the Bulgarian state – official and unofficial.³⁰

2.2. Lausanne Convention

The Lausanne Convention, which was signed on 30 January 1923, instituted the compulsory exchange of the Christian populations of Turkey and the Muslim populations of Greece, save for the Greeks of the region of Constantinople and the Muslims of Western Thrace. Article 8 of the Convention provided that the emigrants could take all their movable property with them, while whatever was left behind would be administered by the state. There is no doubt that the Christian populations were in a manifestly more difficult position with regard to the manner and conditions of the exchange. Of the 1,221,849 refugees, only 139,000 emigrated after the signature of the Convention, thus benefiting from its provisions and departing with some degree of dignity. Most of the

Greek refugees, by contrast, fled directly after the Asia Minor disaster and arrived in Greece in a state of total destitution and despair. Summarising the situation of the Greek refugees, Henry Morgenthau, president of the Commission for the Establishment of Refugees, noted that: “Their wounds were not merely physical and victims not just a few individuals. This was the dissolution of a civilized people, the destruction of family life, the desolation of towns and villages and the expulsion of the survivors in utter confusion to new places of residence. These people lost all their property, their civic leaders, their traditions, their families and all the things that make up the life of civic society”.³¹

Roughly speaking, the number of refugees who fled Asia Minor for Greece was:

Period	Number of Refugees	Manner of Departure
<i>1912-1920</i>	435,000	Uprooted
<i>To the end of 1922</i>	900,000	Uprooted
<i>To March 1923</i>	1,150,000	Uprooted
<i>To September 1924</i>	214,000	75,000 uprooted 139,000 by the exchange

The available statistics indicate that in the 1920s alone a total of 428,353 refugees (115,728 households) settled in Macedonia, in 1385 locations (towns and villages: 942 unmixed and 443 mixed). The refugees who came to Macedonia in 1922 were resettled as shown below:³²

Sub-district	Number of locations	Households	Persons
<i>Anaselitsa</i>	34	1,465	5,291
<i>Veroia</i>	58	3,917	14,680
<i>Goumenissa</i>	27	2,793	10,000
<i>Grevena</i>	34	1,961	6,589
<i>Yannitsa</i>	39	6,713	26,549
<i>Drama</i>	160	12,592	46,736
<i>Edessa</i>	35	1,940	7,129
<i>Notia</i>	43	5,026	18,548
<i>Zyrnovo</i>	34	2,361	7,952
<i>Zichna</i>	38	3,309	12,901
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	80	9,412	35,886
<i>Thasos</i>	2	275	1,155
<i>Kavala</i>	24	2,787	10,148
<i>Kailaria</i>	38	6,697	26,257
<i>Kastoria</i>	32	1,944	7,120
<i>Katerini</i>	24	3,066	12,014
<i>Kilkis</i>	159	11,325	38,496
<i>Kozani</i>	63	4,595	17,088
<i>Liaringovi</i>	19	1,857	6,641

Sub-district	Number of locations	Households	Persons
<i>Langada</i>	80	5,685	21,059
<i>Nigrita</i>	39	1,727	6,429
<i>Nestos</i>	56	4,282	15,390
<i>Pravi</i>	40	3,620	13,703
<i>Serres</i>	53	5,070	19,295
<i>Siderokastro</i>	74	5,254	17,956
<i>Florina</i>	33	1,864	7,016
<i>Chalkidike</i>	43	4,540	16,692
Total	1,361	116,077	428,720

According to the 1928 census, the aggregate of all the refugees who had settled in Macedonia since the time of the Balkan Wars was 638,253.³³

REGIONS	Number of Refugees	% of refugee population
<i>Central Greece – Euboia</i>	306,193	25.60
<i>Thessaly</i>	34,659	2.84
<i>Ionian Islands</i>	3,309	0.27
<i>Cyclades</i>	4,782	0.39
<i>Peloponnese</i>	28,362	2.32
<i>Macedonia</i>	638,253	52.24
<i>Epirus</i>	8,179	0.67
<i>Aegean Islands</i>	56,613	4.63
<i>Crete</i>	33,000	2.77
<i>Western Thrace</i>	107,607	8.81
Total	1,220,957	100

On the other side of the coin, a total of 329,098 Muslims left Macedonia under the terms of the compulsory exchange; this number must be added to the 130,000 who had emigrated earlier but came under the provisions of the Convention. However, despite the fact that the date fixed for the beginning of the exchange was 1 May 1924, about 85,278 Muslims left Greek territory before then. Most of these emigrants came from Eastern Macedonia.³⁴ The table below charts the departures of Muslims from Macedonia at this time, according to Emigration Sub-commission statistics:³⁵

Sub-commission	1923	1924	1925	Total
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	18,044	91,533		109,577
<i>Drama</i>	69	75,978		76,047
<i>Kavala</i>	2,184	43,343		45,527
<i>Kozani</i>	13	26,610		26,623
<i>Kailaria</i>	10	30,770		30,780
<i>Kozani & Kailaria</i>		34,653		34,653

Total	20,320	302,887		323,207
--------------	---------------	----------------	--	----------------

By the time the exchanges of populations in the period 1912-1930 were complete and the waves of refugee movements had subsided, the ethnological face of Macedonia had been transformed. According to the 1928 census, a total of 1,221,849 refugees had come into Greece during the course of those two decades. The table below gives a breakdown of this number by region of origin:

Region of Origin	Number of Refugees	% of refugee population
<i>Asia Minor</i>	626,954	51.31
<i>Eastern Thrace</i>	256,635	21.00
<i>Pontus</i>	182,169	14.91
<i>Bulgaria</i>	49,027	4.01
<i>Caucasus</i>	47,091	3.85
<i>Istanbul</i>	38,458	3.15
<i>Russia</i>	11,435	0.94
<i>Serbia</i>	6,057	0.50
<i>Albania</i>	2,498	0.20
<i>Dodecanese</i>	738	0.06
<i>Romania</i>	722	0.06
<i>Cyprus</i>	57	0.01
<i>Egypt</i>	8	-
Total	1,221,849	100

The last of the population shifts that took place in Macedonia in the 1920s involved the emigration, for economic reasons, of some 7000 people from, chiefly, the Florina-Kastoria district. The relevant figures are given in the table below:³⁶

<i>Destination</i>	1926	1927	1928	1929
<i>Bulgaria</i>	67	68	158	179
<i>Canada</i>	62	186	368	347
<i>Australia</i>	401	554	183	21
<i>North America</i>	73	110	74	102
<i>Other countries</i>	1,701	1,028	813	927
Total	2,304	1,946	1,596	1,676

Detailed figures for this inter-war emigration from Western Macedonia exist only for the region of Kastoria. The total of 967 emigrants from the Kastoria region in that period breaks down as follows:³⁷

	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Total
	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	1
	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	

<i>Kastoria</i>	32	47	43	30	7	106	44	55	25	389
<i>Dendrochori</i>	14	12	4	11	10	26	17	6	2	102
<i>Gavros</i>	8	12	13	6	13	16	10	8	1	87
<i>Kraniona</i>	2	11	6	5	5	21	13	6	4	73
<i>Halara</i>	2	0	4	10	4	27	9	2	5	63
<i>Vyssinia</i>	4	5	12	12	6	12	5	5	0	61
<i>Argos Orestikon</i>	9	4	4	6	6	6	6	8	3	52
<i>Vasiliada</i>	6	2	7	4	1	11	6	5	1	43
<i>Ieropigi</i>	7	3	5	5	1	7	2	2	1	33
<i>Vogatsiko</i>	5	9	1	5	4	2	4	0	2	32
<i>Nestorio</i>	0	7	0	6	7	6	3	3	0	32
Total	89	112	99	100	64	240	119	100	44	967

The majority of the emigrants from Kastoria chose to go to the USA or Canada, probably because communities of Western Macedonians had already been established in those countries since the end of the 19th century.³⁸

	USA	Canada	Mexico	Cuba	South America
<i>Kastoria</i>	383	5	1	0	0
<i>Dendrochori</i>	50	39	13	0	0
<i>Gavros</i>	19	59	7	2	0
<i>Kraniona</i>	24	39	0	10	0
<i>Halara</i>	20	43	0	0	0
<i>Vyssinia</i>	48	9	0	0	4
<i>Argos Orestikon</i>	51	1	0	0	0
<i>Vasiliada</i>	6	35	0	2	0
<i>Ieropigi</i>	26	6	0	0	0
<i>Vogatsiko</i>	20	12	0	0	0
<i>Nestorio</i>	24	0	0	3	3
Total	671	248	21	17	7

The ethnological outcome of these exchanges of populations was a largely homogenous Greek Macedonia. The 1928 census counted 1,237,000 “Greeks” in Macedonia (88.1%), 80,789 “Slavophones” (5.8%) and 93,000 “Others” (6.1%). A comparative picture of the ethnological composition of Greek Macedonia, by district, at the beginning and end of this period is given below.³⁹

District	1912		1928	
	Greeks %	Others %	Greeks %	Others %
<i>Pieria</i>	80	20	100	-
<i>Kozani</i>	71	29	98	2
<i>Kastoria</i>	56	44	78	22
<i>Florina</i>	32	68	61	39
<i>Eordaia</i>	20	80	93	7
<i>Imathia</i>	55	45	89	11

<i>Pella</i>	56	44	96	4
<i>Almopia</i>	18	82	74	26
<i>Kilkis</i>	2	98	97	3
<i>Thessaloniki</i>	33	67	90	10
<i>Chalkidike</i>	86	14	97	3
<i>Sintiki</i>	19	81	84	16
<i>Serres</i>	47	53	94	6
<i>Drama</i>	15	85	97	3
<i>Kavala</i>	49	51	99	1

This ethnological picture, with the Greek element strengthened and the others reduced, is fully reflected in contemporary diplomatic reports, as is the beneficial impact of the refugee component on region's social, cultural and economic life. In May 1929 the then vice-president of the Commission for the Rehabilitation of Refugees, John Campbell, described in a report the work that had been accomplished: "It is no exaggeration to say that when one visits the refugee settlements in the cities of Macedonia and Thrace one has the impression that Greece has with one bound leapt from the 17th to the 20th century ... The face of the country is profoundly changed. Everywhere one sees the joy in the faces of the refugees ... the evidence of progress is obvious everywhere. New buildings erected by the refugees themselves, increased flocks and herds, better quality wheat in the fields, use of modern farming methods. Fine schools and churches are being built everywhere ... I am certain that the refugees will become a force for progress in Greece". In the same vein, a League of Nations report noted that "the ethnic character of the region has been radically changed with its permanent and definitive Hellenisation".⁴⁰ Finally, the American diplomat Henry Morgenthau observed that "the refugees have proven to be a blessing for Greece... the Greeks live in a unified region in the body of the Balkan Peninsula and in the islands of the Aegean, which they inhabited in the earliest historical periods. Not only have the Greeks gathered themselves into the region that naturally belongs to them, but essentially all the foreign incomers have left it".⁴¹

The first quarter of the 20th century was indisputably a period of cosmogonic upheaval for the Greek – and in general for the Southern Balkan – Peninsula, a time of immense demographic, social, political, economic and cultural change. The 1930s, the first interval of peace after a succession of wars, provided a breathing space in which the new actuality could be assessed. Although many felt that the world had finally returned to the *Belle Époque* of the turn of the century, the dramatic events of the 1940s would prove that few had come to their senses or learned anything at all from those heaps of dead and streams of refugees.

Notes

1. A. A. Pallis, *Statistiki meleti peri ton phyletikon metanastefseon Makedonias kai Thrakias kata tin periodo 1912-1924* [Statistical study of the racial migrations in Macedonia and Thrace in the period 1912-1924], Athens 1925, pp. 5-7.
2. J. Ivanoff, *La Region de Cavalla*, Bern 1918, p. 56.
3. Public Record Office/Foreign Office (hereafter PRO/FO)/286/580, Morgan to Malet, Thessalonica, 1 April 1914.
4. The British Consul reported that by the end of March 1914 1800 Slavic-speakers had left for Alexandroupoli, but this number must be well short of the reality. Cf. PRO/FO/286/580, Morgan to Malet, Thessaloniki, 1 April 1914.

5. IAYE/1923/B/59,7, Governor General of Kozani-Florina to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kozani 26 May 1922, no. 3482.
6. General Army Staff, *Στατιστικοί πίνακες του πληθυσμού κατ' εθνικότητας των νομών Σερρών και Δράμας* [*Statistical tables of the population of the prefectures of Serres and Drama, by ethnicity*], Athens 1919.
7. Stathis Pelagidis, *Prospygike Ellada (1913-1930). O ponos kai i doxa*, [*The Greece of the Refugees (1913-1930). The pain and the glory*], Thessaloniki 1997, pp. 113-118.
8. Archives of the Government General of Macedonia (hereafter AGDM)/file 76, Report on Muslim Emigration.
9. Pelagidis, *Greece*, p. 129. According to figures from the Turkish Ministry of Refugees, the number of Muslim refugees from Greece, or *muhajirs*, was 143,189. Cf. A. A. Pallis, «*Phyletikes Metanastefsis sta Valkania kai diogmi tou Ellinismou (1912-1924)*», *Bulletin of the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, [“Racial Migrations in the Balkans and persecution of the Greeks”] (1977), 86.
10. Pelagidis, *Greece*, p. 130.
11. IAYE/1923/B,37,1, Minorities in Greece, Governor General of Macedonia Achilleas Lambros to the Foreign Ministry, Thessaloniki, 31 May 1923, no. Emb. 542.
12. IAYE/1923/B/59,9, “Domestic Propaganda”, Report filed by Petros Lekkos, envoy of the Foreign Ministry, to the Governor General of Macedonia Achilleas Lambros, Thessaloniki, 31 March 1923 under cover of a dispatch from the Governor General of Macedonia to the Foreign Ministry, Thessaloniki, 4 April 1923, no. emb. 994.
13. For the population data of the official 1920 census, see the Ministry of National Economy/National Statistics Service, *Genikai plerophoriai epi tou plethismou tis Ellados kata tin apographin tou 1920*, [*General information on the population of Greece from the 1920 census*], Athens 1923, pp. 82-83. For the 1923 statistics, see IAYE/1923/B/37,1, Governor General of Macedonia Achilleas Lambros to the Foreign Ministry, Thessaloniki, 31 May 1923, no. emb. 542.
14. IAYE/1923/B/45, “Foreign Minorities in Macedonia. Education of Slavophones, Romanisers, Jews. Statistics. Attempts to assimilate foreign minorities”, Reports from the Governor General of Kozani-Florina to the Foreign Ministry, Kozani, 27 September 1922, no. emb. 7088, 22 September 1922, no. emb. 6839 and 3 November 1922, no. emb. 7574.
15. General Army Staff, *Statistical tables*.
16. IAYE/1925/B/40,2, “Statistics on Minorities. Ethnological - Other” “Table showing the ethnological composition of the population of Eastern Macedonia by prefecture and sub-district”, Komotini, 10 November 1924.
17. Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities. Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey*, New York 1932, pp. 62-64.
18. Archives de la Société des Nations (hereafter ASN) 1919-1946/ Office Autonome pour l' «Albanian, Bulgarian and Armenian Refugees», A. Korff and Marcel de Rouvères, «Constatations des membres de la Commission Mixtes nommés par le Conseil de la Société des Nations relatives à la situation des émigrants en Grèce et en Bulgarie», Athens, 2 March 1925, 10.
19. ASN, C.129, No 1, Korff and de Rouvères, «Constatations des membres», 10.
20. IAYE/1924/A/5XX,3, «Rapport statistique au 30 Juin 1924», attached to a dispatch from Greek Representative on the Mixed Commission Metaxas to Foreign Minister G. Roussos, 18 September 1924, no. 902.
21. IAYE/1924/A/5XII,3, «List of applications for emigration from Bulgarian emigrants at end October 1924», attached to a dispatch from Section B Political to Section A Political, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 23 December 1924, no. 48292.
22. AGDM/file69, urgent telegram from Diamandopoulos to Minister Plenipotentiary Papas, Thessaloniki, 8 September 1925, no. 345.
23. IAYE/1926/B/45, «Rapport statistique provisoire des travaux des Sous-Commissions au 28 Février 1926», attached to a dispatch from the Greek Representative on the Mixed Commission to the Foreign Ministry, Athens, 10 May 1926, no. 437.

24. IAYE/1927/A/19, file 1, “Application of a Convention on voluntary emigration between Greece and Bulgaria. Mixed Commission and Greek Representation on it”, «Rapport statistique provisoire des travaux des Sous-Commissions au 31 Décembre 1926», attached to a dispatch from the Greek Representative on the Mixed Commission on Greek-Bulgarian Emigration to the Foreign Ministry, Sofia, 29 January 1927, no. 82.
25. IAYE/1927/A/19, file 1, «Rapport statistique provisoire des travaux des Sous-Commissions au 31 Mars 1927», attached to a dispatch from the Greek Representative on the Mixed Commission to the Foreign Ministry, Sofia, 3 May 1927, no. 732.
26. Christopher J. Christides, *The Macedonian Camouflage in the Light of Facts and Figures*, Athens 1949, p. 74.
27. IAYE/1925/AAK/4, “Declaration of emigration from inhabitants of the region of Drama entered on the register” «Liste Nominative des déclarations d’ Emigration enregistrées jusqu’au 20 Decembre 1925 et des feuilles de route délivrées également jusqu’au 20/12/25».
28. AGDM/file108, “Reports of the 3rd Army Corps”, 11th Division Western Macedonia, “Study of the ethnological composition of the region of the Division and the possibility of resettling Refugees in it”, Veroia, 9 April 1925.
29. AGDM/file108, 11th Division, “Reports on the resettlement of Refugees in the region of the Division”, Thessaloniki, 9 April 1925.
30. The information and statistics on the Greeks from Bulgaria come from *I Ellines tis Voulgarias. Ena istoriko tmima tou peripheriakou ellinismou* [*The Greeks of Bulgaria. An historical part of regional Hellenism*], Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1999.
31. Henry Morgenthau, *My Mission to Athens. 1922 the epic of resettlement*, Athens 1994, retranslated from the Greek translation by Sifis Kassessian, p. 94.
32. National Research Institute/A. A. Pallis Archive/fileB-C/General Directorate of Colonisation in Macedonia/Statistics Bureau, “Summary Table showing refugee families and individuals resettled in Macedonia by sub-district at end December 1925”.
33. National Statistics Service, *Statistika apotelesmata tis apographis tou plethismou tis Ellados tis 15-16 Maiou 1928* [*Statistical results of the 15-16 May 1928 census of the population of Greece*], Athens 1933.
34. Ladas, *op. cit.*, p. 430.
35. Ladas, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-439.
36. Research Centre for Macedonian History and Documentation (KEMIT)/Kalligas Archives, Kalligas Report to the Foreign Ministry, Florina, 26 February 1930, no. 3394, 73.
37. Christos Mandatzis, «Mesopolemiki Metanastefsi apo tin Eparchia Kastorias 1922-1930», [“Interwar Emigration from the Kastoria District 1922-1930”], *Orestidos Historia. From Classical Antiquity to the 20th century. Acts*, Thessaloniki 2001, 108.
38. Mandatzis, *op. cit.*, 109.
39. George Zotiades, *The Macedonian Controversy*, Thessaloniki 1961, pp. 42-43.
40. *League of Nations, The Resettlement of Refugees in Greece*, Geneva 1926.
41. Morgenthau, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-416.