HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 17

D
6
.G7

ALBANIA

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
1800

Class D6
Book .G7

153

HANDBOOKS PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SECTION OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE.—No. 17

507
1407

ALBANIA

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

1920

D6
.G7

n. of D.
MAY 27 1920

EDITORIAL NOTE

In the spring of 1917 the Foreign Office, in connexion with the preparation which they were making for the work of the Peace Conference, established a special section whose duty it should be to provide the British Delegates to the Peace Conference with information in the most convenient form—geographical, economic, historical, social, religious, and political—respecting the different countries, districts, islands, &c., with which they might have to deal. In addition, volumes were prepared on certain general subjects, mostly of an historical nature, concerning which it appeared that a special study would be useful.

The historical information was compiled by trained writers on historical subjects, who (in most cases) gave their services without any remuneration. For the geographical sections valuable assistance was given by the Intelligence Division (Naval Staff) of the Admiralty; and for the economic sections, by the War Trade Intelligence Department, which had been established by the Foreign Office. Of the maps accompanying the series, some were prepared by the above-mentioned department of the Admiralty, but the bulk of them were the work of the Geographical Section of the General Staff (Military Intelligence Division) of the War Office.

Now that the Conference has nearly completed its task, the Foreign Office, in response to numerous inquiries and requests, has decided to issue the books for public use, believing that they will be useful to students of history, politics, economics, and foreign affairs, to publicists generally and to business men and travellers. It is hardly necessary to say that some of the subjects dealt with in the series have not in fact come under discussion at the Peace Conference; but, as the books treating of them contain valuable information, it has been thought advisable to include them.

It must be understood that, although the series of volumes was prepared under the authority, and is now issued with the sanction, of the Foreign Office, that Office is not to be regarded as guaranteeing the accuracy of every statement which they contain or as identifying itself with all the opinions expressed in the several volumes ; the books were not prepared in the Foreign Office itself, but are in the nature of information provided for the Foreign Office and the British Delegation.

The books are now published, with a few exceptions, substantially as they were issued for the use of the Delegates. No attempt has been made to bring them up to date, for, in the first place, such a process would have entailed a great loss of time and a prohibitive expense ; and, in the second, the political and other conditions of a great part of Europe and of the Nearer and Middle East are still unsettled and in such a state of flux that any attempt to describe them would have been incorrect or misleading. The books are therefore to be taken as describing, in general, *ante-bellum* conditions, though in a few cases, where it seemed specially desirable, the account has been brought down to a later date.

G. W. PROTHERO,

General Editor and formerly
Director of the Historical Section.

January 1920.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers 1
(2) Surface, Coast, and River Systems . . 2
(3) Climate 5
(4) Sanitary Conditions 6
(5) Race, Language, Religion, and Society . 7
Ghegs 9
Tosks 17
Vlachs 21
(6) Distribution of Population . . . 22
Note. Distribution of the Albanian Race in 1912 24

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

Chronological Summary 27
i. Introductory 30
ii. Under Turkish Suzerainty . . . 31
iii. Ali Pasha 34
iv. Turkish Policy 35
v. The Russo-Turkish War, 1877–8 . . 38
vi. Albania and Montenegro . . . 39
vii. The Albanian League 40
viii. The Young Turk Revolution . . . 41
ix. Albanian Revolts 43
x. Turkish Concessions 45
xi. Albania and the Balkan Allies . . 46
xii. The First Balkan War 48
xiii. Albanian Independence proclaimed . . 49
xiv. The Treaty of London, 1913 . . . 50
xv. The Prince of Wied 51

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

(1) Religion 53
(2) Government 53
(3) Education 54

Wt. 39836/348. 1,000. 2/20. O.U.P.

PAGE

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

(1) Popular Opinion and National Sentiment
i. Local Independence 56
ii. Religious Feeling 57
iii. Consciousness of Nationality . . 58

(2) Questions interesting other Countries
Montenegro 59
Serbia 61
Greece 62
Rumania 65
Italy 65
Bulgaria 66
Austria 67

(3) Proposals for Expansion and Development
Treaty of Berlin 68
Conference of London 69
Proposals for Partition 70
Independence and Federation . . . 70

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) Internal
(*a*) Roads and Tracks 73
(*b*) Rivers 74
(*c*) Railways 75
(*d*) Posts and Telegraphs . . . 77

(2) External
(*a*) Ports 77
(*b*) Winds and Tides 79
(*c*) Shipping Lines 79

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Agriculture
(*a*) Products of Commercial Value
Vegetable 80
Animal 83
(*b*) Methods of Cultivation . . . 84

PAGE

(c) Forests 85
(d) Land Tenure 85
(2) Fisheries 87
(3) Minerals 88
(4) Manufactures 89

(C) Commerce
(1) Domestic 90
(2) Foreign 91

(D) Finance
(1) Currency 92
(2) Banking 92

APPENDIX
I. Manifestoes of Central Albanian Committee, 1911 93
II. Proposed Concessions, 1911 . . . 95
III. Formation of an Independent Albania . 97

AUTHORITIES 101

Maps 103

I. GEOGRAPHY PHYSICAL AND POLITICAL

(1) Position and Frontiers

Albania lies along the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, from the frontier of Montenegro in the north to that of Greece in the south, and has an estimated area of between 10,500 and 11,500 square miles. Before the Balkan wars of 1912–13 the district constituted the Turkish vilayets of Scutari and Yanina, together with the sanjaks of Ipek, Prizren, and Prishtina in the vilayet of Kosovo, and the sanjaks of Dibra and Elbasan in that of Monastir. The frontier, as delimited by international commissions in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty of London in 1913, Art. III,[1] follows in the main well-marked natural features, such as rivers or mountain ranges, but, as a racial and linguistic boundary, it is to a great extent a compromise between incompatible national claims. On the north, some Albanian tribes have been assigned to the Montenegrin kingdom. On the south, while the district of Yanina is assigned to Greece, those of Koritsa, Argyrokastro, and Khimara, which the Greeks call North Epeiros, have been included in Albania, with the result that a section of their population has revolted, set up a provisional Government, and elected deputies to the Greek Parlia-

[1] See *General History of the Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series, pp. 132, 133. Art. III entrusts the delimitation to Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia.

ment. On the eastern or Serbian frontier also the partisans of Albania assert that many districts, of which the population is mainly Albanian, have been excluded from the Albanian principality.

(2) Surface, Coast, and River Systems

The surface of Albania is for the most part extremely mountainous, many ranges varying in height from 5,000 to nearly 8,000 ft. The whole is very wild and inaccessible, especially in the north and south; in the central region, between the Skumbi and Voyusa rivers, it is more undulating and less rugged. There is also a considerable amount of level plain, both along the sea-coast between Scutari and Valona, and at a higher level in the river valleys. Some of this is very fertile, and more might be made so by a suitable system of drainage and irrigation.

In northern and central Albania, from the frontier on the Boyana river to Valona, the mountain ranges run for the most part obliquely to the coast, which consists of a succession of river mouths and curving bays with alluvial deposits. The shore current, which usually runs north-west, does not operate north of Valona; hence the formation of shallows and lagoons which make the approach to the shore difficult and dangerous. The rivers form deltas projecting into the sea, and between them are rocky projections, forming such landing-places as do exist. The sea is constantly receding, owing to the formation of banks and tracts of seaweed; thus many ports of Roman date are now three miles or so inland. Dunes make the rivers form lagoons, and there are stretches of marshy and malarious country, inhabited only by nomad shepherds in spring and autumn.

From Cape Glossa, opposite Valona, to the south,

the mountain ranges run parallel to the coast, which is inhospitable and dangerous—the ancient Acroceraunia. It is not indeed entirely without harbours—the best being at Santi Quaranta and Butrinto, where the island of Corfu gives additional shelter—but the difficulty of access cuts off the coast in this region from communication with the interior, so that such commerce as there is from the inland districts finds outlets rather towards Valona and Prevesa.

The rivers of Albania are useless for purposes of navigation, except the Boyana and the Drin, which can be ascended by vessels of light draft for a few miles from their mouths. But the river valleys offer the easiest lines of communication both from the coast to the interior and transversely from north to south. The most important is that of the Skumbi, which gives access from Durazzo to Elbasan and on to Monastir—the route followed by the Via Egnatia, the main artery between east and west in Roman times.

The Drin is the greatest of the Albanian rivers. It is formed by the union at Kukush of the White Drin, which runs to the south through the depressions of Jakova and Prizren, and the Black Drin, which runs to the north from Lake Okhrida. About six miles from Scutari the river divides, part of it keeping to its old channel past Alessio, below which it is navigable for small craft, and part of it flowing through the Drinassa to join the Boyana, close to where it leaves the Lake of Scutari. This influx has greatly accelerated the silting up of the Boyana, which has consequently provided insufficient drainage, with the result of flooding the low districts at the upper end of the lake. A proper control of these rivers would greatly increase the cultivable area. The Drin is distinguished by the force of its current and the steepness of its

banks, and, like other Albanian rivers, brings down an enormous quantity of alluvium.

South of the Skumbi, the valleys of the Semeni and its tributary the Devoli offer lines of communication between Elbasan and Berat, in central Albania, with Koritsa and the district south of the lakes. These valleys, as well as that of the Voyusa, follow the direction of the southern mountains, and consequently run from south-east to north-west. The Voyusa and Semeni are followed by the road from Yanina to Berat and the port of Valona.

In addition to the lagoons along the coast, several of which are used for the extraction of salt, the two chief lakes of Albania are Lake Okhrida, on the frontier of Serbia, and Lake Scutari, on that of Montenegro. The latter is of some importance for communication by means of lake steamers.

The only Albanian island, Saseno, lies off Cape Glossa, and helps to shelter the harbour of Valona. It was one of the Ionian Islands, and consequently was transferred to Greece with Corfu in 1864, being at the same time neutralized.[1] It was ceded by Greece to the Albanian principality in 1914, at the desire of Italy. The island is high and rocky, and occasionally visited by a few shepherds or fishermen.

[1] The Greek ownership was disputed by Italy in 1913. For the facts, see Vellay, *La Question de l'Adriatique*, p. 88. The island of Saseno is marked 'Griechisch' in Stieler's Atlas, ed. 1909 and 1916, coloured as Greek in Poole's Historical Atlas, Oxford, 1902, and assigned to Greece in Longman's Gazetteer, 1912,

(3) Climate

In Albania the influence of the Mediterranean upon the climate diminishes eastward and north-eastward from the Adriatic coast and gives place to conditions of a more continental type. The rate and manner in which the transition takes place depend upon: (*a*) the existence of a permanent trough of relatively low barometric pressure along the line of the Adriatic, and (*b*) the relief of the land. The effect of the former is to strengthen the westerly component of the winds along the southern part of the coast, making air currents of moderate temperature and high humidity advance inland with greater persistence than farther north. The extent of the penetration of the moist temperate current from the sea depends upon the height and continuity of the mountain barrier. The warm moist south and south-west wind along the coast is often known as the Scirocco, but is merely the characteristic wind of the east side of the Adriatic depression. The off-shore wind, most frequent in the north, is a movement of air from the interior highlands, and is dry and very cold in winter. This wind is called the Bora.

On the coast the summer tends to be oppressively warm and the winter cold, while the great difference between the heat of the day and the cold of the night is often trying. The contrasts are most pronounced in southern Albania. At Valona the mean monthly temperature in January is 48° F. (9° C.), rising to 77° F. (25° C.) in July. The Bora greatly increases the difficulty of navigation along the Albanian coast. Along the coast the period during which rains can be counted on is from the beginning of October to March. The number of rainy days diminishes progressively

from north to south. In the dry period there only occur short but sudden and violent rainstorms.

At Durazzo 5·70 inches of rain have been recorded in December, decreasing to 0·51 inch in July; a slightly heavier rainfall is recorded in Valona. In the interior the rainfall is much heavier. Much of the precipitation in the mountains occurs in the form of snow.

In the Albanian highlands the winter is said to last five or six months. Snow covers all the higher mountain ranges till March or April, and knee-deep drifts in the passes have been reported in May. The distinctive characteristics of the Albanian climate are the extreme coldness prevailing in the mountains, the extraordinary variations of temperature, the violence of the winds, the intensity of the period of drought. Conditions are somewhat mitigated along the valleys between the limestone ranges, and are more favourable to vegetation and human settlement.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

Owing to the existence of extensive marshy areas, deficiency of running water, lack of tidal movement in the sea, and the presence of stagnant water and large quantities of decaying organic matter, there is, during the summer, a good deal of fever and malaria in the plains. Durazzo and its neighbourhood are noted in this respect, and few people escape contracting malaria there during summer and autumn. Very much the same applies to the lagoon zone of Valona. The conditions are naturally much healthier in the mountains. Any pollution of streams or springs used for drinking purposes is carefully avoided. Hence enteric is rare and has never become endemic.

(5) Race, Language, Religion, and Society

The Albanians, as their neighbours call them (the Turkish form of the word is Arnaut), or Skipetars, as they call themselves, are a widely-scattered people living mostly in the Balkan peninsula, whose chief bond of union is the common language, which all of them speak in various dialects, and also, but to a very minor extent, common customs. Their numbers are variously estimated at from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000. Of these only some 800,000 to 1,000,000 live within the boundaries of the principality of Albania, whose frontiers were mapped out by the international commissions of 1913. Even within these limits the Albanians are divided among themselves by distinct geographical features, to some extent by race and dialect, and to a large extent by religion. Conquests, too, however sweeping, have never subjected them all alike or forced them into the same mould; and, except possibly within the last few decades, they have never shared in a common history. Nevertheless their remarkable language, which has preserved its continuity despite much corruption, has always kept alive in their mountain fastnesses, from which no invader ever succeeded in ousting them, a strong spirit of distinct nationality. This has made them like the Scottish Highlanders before the eighteenth century, who, though they were always fighting with one another, were ready to unite—partially at any rate—against a foreign foe.

It is now generally believed that the modern Albanians are descendants of the Illyrians and Thracians of classical times, and that to this source may be traced those singular elements in their language which distinguish it so markedly from Greek and other neighbouring languages, of which it is the elder sister. Its basis is Indo-European in the same sense as the basis

of the English language is Teutonic; but the modern vocabulary, as distinct from the grammatical structure, is mainly composed of words borrowed from Romance (neo-Latin), Slav, Turkish, and Greek. It is very limited and contains only some 5,000 words, out of which not more than 500 are of native origin. Some scholars hold that its structure is Thracian rather than Illyrian, but the remains of ancient Illyrian are too scanty to serve as foundation even for conjecture.

The Albanians have little in common except their name and language, and a certain remarkable racial individuality, which, though it does not unite them into a homogeneous people, marks them off very distinctly from the other races and nations of the Balkan peninsula. They all call themselves Skipetars, or, more correctly, Shküpetars—which has been variously derived from words signifying an 'eagle', a 'rock', or 'one who knows' the native language—and they all speak dialects of one and the same Indo-European language, probably derived from the ancient Illyrian tongue. But for centuries they have been divided into two sections, the Ghegs to the north and the Tosks to the south of the River Skumbi. These names, though they are in common use, are not thought quite complimentary, and have been compared to our use of 'Yankee' as applied to New Englanders. The Ghegs and Tosks speak dialects so different as to be—in their extreme forms—barely intelligible to each other; the inhabitants of central Albania speak dialects midway between the two.

In religion and political and social institutions the Ghegs of the north and the Tosks of the south differ so greatly that the most convenient method is to deal with these two sections separately.

Ghegs

Religion

On the Ghegs, as on all Albanians, religion has always sat very lightly. Two-thirds are Moslems; the remaining third—with a very small minority of Orthodox Christians, mostly of Serb origin, on the eastern frontier—are Roman Catholics. Though the Moslems mostly belong to the usually strict Sunnite sect, they are, with few exceptions, not at all fanatical, and seldom perform their daily prayers and ablutions except at a mosque. Many in the southern part of the district belong to the almost pantheistic Bektashite confraternity, which is notorious for its loose observance of the Moslem ordinances and traditions—even of the five canonical hours of prayer. Except in Scutari and the coast towns, the Roman Catholics are confined to the mountains, where the inhabitants, enjoying practical independence, have never been tempted to forsake their old religion in exchange for the Moslem privileges of carrying arms and owning their own lands. Still, even in the highlands Mirdita is the only district where no Moslems are to be found. Among all the other tribes, Catholics and Moslems live side by side in varying proportions; and, though quarrels between tribes and individuals are only too common, religion is rarely the matter in dispute. Ordinarily, in fact, toleration goes so far that members of the same family profess different religions; and it is said to be not uncommon for parents to have the same child baptized one day as a Christian and circumcised another day as a Mussulman—with the result that a man uses two names, one Christian, the other Moslem, according to the circle in which he happens to be moving. Of late years there has been a considerable Catholic revival.

The uneducated, whether Moslem or Christian, are highly superstitious, believing in vampires, witches, and evil spirits.

Social Conditions

When the Turkish domination came to an end in 1912, with its elaborate but inefficient system of vali, mutasarrifs, kaimakams, and mudirs, the whole country outside the mountains lapsed into greater anarchy than ever. In the lowlands the local beys, or landowners, some of whom own large estates, always possessed more real authority than the Turkish officials; while in the highlands the Turkish Government, until the unlucky attempts of the Young Turks (1908–12) to enforce a uniform system, never made any real effort to interfere with that highly developed tribal organization—in many respects resembling that of the old clans of the Scottish Highlands—which has from time immemorial prevailed among the Albanian Maltsors (mountaineers) of the northern mountains. Here each *fis* (tribe or clan) is self-governing; and, though customs and names vary, the constitution is in its broad outlines much the same everywhere. The governing authorities are the chief, the council of elders, and the assembly of the clan.

Bairaktar.—Each *fis* has its own hereditary chief or *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), unless it is large enough to have several. The office passes from father to son, or in default of a son, to the next male heir. The larger clans are often divided into groups, each with its own *bairaktar*. A group thus marching under one standard or *bairak* is itself called a *bairak*, and the term is also applied to the district in which it lives. Originally, it would appear, each clan constituted one *bairak* under its *bairaktar*; but, when men from a different stock were grafted into it, or when it grew

so large that geographical obstacles made it difficult for all the clansmen to rally under one flag for military purposes, it was divided into two or more *bairaks*. Mirdita, for instance, has five *bairaks*, two of them of much more recent origin than the rest. Under Turkish rule all the standards were Turkish, with the exception of Mirdita, which had a distinctive symbol of its own—a flag with a rayed sun upon it.

The *bairaktar* has for his duties to lead his *bairak* in war, to summon and preside over the council of elders and the assembly, and in general to administer affairs which concern the interests of the whole clan.

Mehala.—The *fis* is also divided into the *mehala*, or group of houses—sometimes all in one enclosure, sometimes not—inhabited by kinsmen, and the *shpi* or single house.

The headmen of the more noble or important *mehalas* are known as *kren* (plural of *krue*); of the less important groups of houses, as *jobars*—i. e. one *jobar* to each group of four or five houses; the head of each house is called the *zoti i shpis*. Their position and privileges, like those of the *bairaktar*, are hereditary. Each *krue* in war commands his section of the *bairak* —usually a third or a fourth part of it—and in peace holds assemblies of his own section to settle such business as concerns its particular interests. He has also to fix the number of persons to be chosen by the contending parties in a lawsuit, who are to form the court to try the case, or it may be even to act as judge himself. The *jobars* are rather the instruments of justice to carry out the sentences of their superiors, though each has power over his own family group of houses; but even in the clan itself no covenant can be made by the *bairaktar* and the *kren* without the consent of the *jobars*. The *zoti i shpis* is limited in his powers to his own family house.

Plekniya.—The council of elders is called *plekniya* (*plak* = old). In some *bairaks* membership of it is limited to the *kren*, or *voyvodas*, as they are called in Malzia e Mathe and other clans ; in other clans some of the *jobars* seem to be admitted to it as well. Its functions are deliberative rather than executive.

Kuven.—Supreme power rests with the assembly of the clan, which is called the *kuven.*[1] Every household must be represented by at least one man, and a fine is imposed for non-attendance. The *kuven* meets regularly two or three times a year, and can be summoned by the *bairaktar* on other occasions to transact extraordinary business affecting the interests of the clan. The *bairaktar* presides, surrounded by the elders. The people stand or sit round them. Every man attends fully armed. The *bairaktar* or one of the *kren* sets forth the business before the assembly, and refers it in the first instance to the consideration of the *iobars*. After a separate deliberation the *jobars* bring their proposals before the whole *kuven*, which has power to discuss and to adopt or reject them. The range of business is from questions of peace, or war, or of new laws, to the amount of fines to be imposed for trespass on pasture land.

Dielmiya.—During the last twenty-five years an almost revolutionary movement against the authority of the *bairaktar* and the *plekniya* has taken place in many of the clans. The movement began in Shala, where a certain innovator gathered round himself a *dielmiya* or body of 'youths'—so called, not from their actual ages, but in opposition to the *plekniya* or council of elders—and got himself elected *pari i' dielmîs* (chief of the youth). The movement was completely successful, and spread widely among the

[1] Many authorities use the term *mafliss* (*maflis* = assembly) indifferently for a meeting of the *plekniya* or of the *kuven*.

neighbouring tribes. The only undisputed power left to the *bairaktar* is his leadership in battle; and the *dielmiya* is often strong enough to override the *plekniya*.

The only law recognized in the mountains is either traditional custom (*adét*), or the unwritten *Kanun i Leks Dukajinit*, so called after its reputed author, Alexander Dukajin, who is said to have been the head of a ruling family in the fifteenth century. This canon, which is at once a criminal and civil code, closely resembles the 'old law' that prevailed in Montenegro and Herzegovina till the middle of the nineteenth century, and differs from it chiefly in the matter of punishments. The canon knows only three—fines, burning of property, and expulsion from the clan; and its most obvious intention is the prevention of homicide, though in its application it is more often used to justify it. The code is accepted not only by all the Dukajin clans, but throughout the highlands, with, however, many local differences. It certainly gives its sanction to the practice of the vendetta, which has for ages been the curse of the country; but the natives claim that it tends to mitigate some of its horrors and to give some sort of security for honour, property, and good morals. The officers of each clan—the *bairaktar*, the *kren*, and the *jobars*—are responsible for the enforcement of the law; the *bairaktar* and the *kren* determine the punishment, the *jobars* carry it out.

Except murder, ordinary crimes are rare; and theft, as distinct from raids and brigandage, is universally despised. Raids, however, on the lowlanders or a hostile tribe are considered an honourable profession. The vendetta (*jiak*) is regulated by custom; and the canon of Lek Dukajin is only applicable when any one slays a man, woman, or child without any justifying plea of vengeance, and in this case is in many

tribes honoured in the breach rather than in the observance. For custom demands that the male relatives of the murdered person should exact vengeance either on the murderer himself or upon any of his male relatives—even down to the boy of three years of age; whereas the canon lays down rules for the punishment of the murderer and his family, or at least for a pecuniary composition of the crime. The most heinous offence of all is the murder of a guest friend, and this never admits of any judicial or peaceful settlement. At the present day the blood feud still rages among the Albanian mountains like a pestilence. Not only individuals, but whole tribes are involved. Any stain, however slight, on a man's honour may give rise to a feud lasting for generations; thus in the Pulati district an unfulfilled promise of four cartridges resulted in the death of 132 persons. In recent years the average killed has been estimated at 19 per cent. of adult males, and in Toplana the average has been as high as 42 per cent. Under such circumstances life would obviously become impossible, were it not for the mitigating custom of the *bessa* (truce; literally, *word of honour*). Under the *bessa* safety is in certain circumstances assured to a man who owes blood; thus he may not be slain in his own house, or when he is travelling under the protection of a third party or of a woman, or is under a friend's roof as a guest. Again, men may swear a *bessa* for a fixed time for business purposes. A particular path may be protected by a *bessa*, or attendance at religious festivals, &c. Even among the most savage tribes a *bessa* is inviolable.

Another counterpoise to all this killing and fighting is the custom of fraternal friendships, by which two young men solemnly bind themselves to succour and defend one another throughout their life.

Principal tribes.—The Maltsor tribes may be roughly classified into seven groups:

1. The Mirdites are the largest tribe, numbering 17,000–20,000 people and forming five bairaks They live round Oroshi in the mountainous district south-east of Scutari.

2. The Malzia e Mathe (the Great Highlands) occupy the mountainous district north-east of Scutari, and consist of five tribes, the Hoti, Gruda, Klementi, Shkreli, and Kastrati, of which the first two were in 1913 assigned by the European Powers to Montenegro.

3. The Dukajin (in the wider sense) include the six bairaks of the Pulati, Shala and Shoshi, Dushmani, Toplana, Nikaï, and Merturi. Their territory lies between the Malzia e Mathe and the River Drin.

4. The seven bairaks of the Dukajin (in a stricter sense) dwell on the high mountain range south of the River Drin—the Chereti, Puka, Kabashi, Berisha, Bujoni, Ibalya, and Malizi.

5. The Malzia Jakovs inhabit the Jakova highlands; hence their name. They comprise three tribes, all Moslems—the Bituchi, the Gashi, and Krasnichi.

6. The Malzia Leshs (i. e. of Alessio) occupy the highlands of Alessio and are divided into four small clans—the Buljeri, Manatia, Krüezez, and Velya.

7. The Malzia of Dibra form an isolated group to the west and north of Dibra, and are notorious for their fierce, lawless character.

Matia, a region east of Kroya, in the upper valley of the River Mat, is remarkable for its peculiar organization. It is divided into four *zemts* (regions), each governed by a feudal family.

Dress.—The Ghegs are distinguished from the Tosks by their dress; instead of the *fustanella* they wear close-fitting trousers of home-spun cloth and a short jacket which is often richly embroidered; there are

also slight differences between the dress of Moslems and Catholics and of the various tribes.

Position of women.—Though in the towns the position of women is much the same as in other Moslem countries, in the country districts and especially in the mountains they are free and treated with respect; and in the fields even the Moslem women work unveiled. They are indeed the drudges of the men and do all the hard work of the community; but in the home they often reign supreme and are described as bright and intelligent. In some ways they hold a privileged position, for a woman's life is sacred and her *bessa* protects the traveller or the stranger. They are often used as intermediaries in the settlement of feuds; and, when neighbouring tribes are at feud with one another, they do all the travelling to the towns for marketing purposes. Wives are usually obtained by purchase, and the bride brings no dowry to her husband. Betrothals of infants and even pre-natal betrothals are not uncommon. There is a system of exogamous groups, and a man may not marry within his group, though he need not have to seek a wife from another tribe. One custom is remarkable: to avoid the marriages arranged for them women may take an oath of virginity. In this case they are treated with the greatest reverence; they often wear male clothes, eat with the men, and even carry arms, and they have been known to enter into blood feuds.

Ability.—The Ghegs, like the rest of the Albanians, possess great natural intelligence; and, though they have not, since the time of the great pashas, like the Bushat pashas of Scutari, achieved much in their own country, abroad they have often risen to positions of great eminence. Of late years, when these foreign-trained Albanians have returned and acted as leaders to their own countrymen, they have consistently put forward the demand for schools and instruction in

their own language as the first thing to be conceded by the Turkish Government.

Tosks

Religion

The Tosks, like the Ghegs, are divided into Moslems and Christians, and probably in about the same proportion—two to one. But there are important differences. The Moslems mostly belong to the easy-going Bektashite confraternity; the Christians are practically all Orthodox, acknowledging the authority of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople. But apart from one or two mountainous districts like Khimara on the inaccessible Acroceraunian mountains, where both chiefs and their followers have always maintained their independence and their original Christianity, Turkish rule has ever since the conquest in the rich and comparatively more fertile lands of southern Albania been more of a reality—with two permanent social results. In the first place the Greek Patriarch, holding from the first a privileged position in the Turkish Empire, has been able to keep a closer hold over the Christians of south Albania than the Pope was able to do in the north. In the second place the Turks seized more of the land for themselves and their supporters, their Christian cultivators sinking to a position more nearly resembling that of the ordinary Christian *rayahs* of the rest of the Balkan peninsula. The Tosk chiefs, however, had the same motives for turning Moslem as their Gheg compeers—to keep their arms and their lands. So, while they and their armed retainers, who to carry arms had also to turn Moslem, collected in the towns and larger villages, the Christian farmers were left helpless upon their lords' farms. Nowadays south Albania is still a land of large estates, where the Moslem beys or

squires form a kind of feudal and landed aristocracy living on the labour of their Christian tenants, who cultivate their lands for them on the *métayer* system, paying to the landlord one-half or one-third of the produce of the soil.

Moreover, down to the Greek Wars of Independence the idea of nationality lay dormant; and the Turks in their European dominions recognized both in theory and practice only two divisions in the population, Moslems and Christians, the latter term being in common parlance synonymous with Greeks. The consequence has been that, ever since Greece became an independent kingdom with territorial ambitions, she has always been eager to annex any adjacent lands where any large section of the inhabitants belong to the Orthodox Church. Greek claims to south Albania have been particularly persistent for several reasons. In the various Greek wars against Turkey the Albanian inhabitants of Greece did yeoman's service and, when independence was achieved, were rapidly hellenized. Again, in this district the Albanian language not having been reduced to writing for practical purposes until the last decade or two, Greek has always been the language for official and commercial documents and correspondence as well as for the services of the Church. Ali Pasha of Yanina and the later Turkish valis issued all their edicts in Greek. The Tosks—at any rate the men—are therefore for the most part bilingual; they speak the Albanian patois, which serves for home life and is alone intelligible to their women, and also Greek, which is still the official, commercial, and social language just as it used to be in Turkish times.

Social Conditions

In south Albania some traces of an old tribal organization, or at any rate division, seem still to survive in the western region near the coast, but they are of little practical importance. For more than a century there have been no tribal chiefs and no tribal government. Their powers disappeared in the long tyranny of Ali Pasha (1789–1822); and any that were left were effectually stopped in 1829 by Reshid Pasha's massacre of the heads of the leading families. The names of three tribes still linger—Tosk, Liap, and Cham. (1) While the term Tosk is applied generally to all Albanians south of the River Skumbi, in a stricter sense it is confined to the inhabitants of a little district which extends from Tepelen north-west to the banks of the lower Voyusa. (2) The Liaps dwell in the maritime region to the south and west of the Tosks and as far south as Delvino, including Khimara. The term 'Liap' is a nickname and word of reproach given by their neighbours to the inhabitants of this district, who call themselves Arbi—a name from which the Turks are said to have derived Arnaut, the name that they apply to all Albanians. It is noteworthy that the Khimariotes have, owing to their geographical isolation, retained their patriarchal organization into families and family groups almost untouched. (3) The Chams live in the district between the rivers Pavla and Mavropotamo, and have since 1913 been wholly included in the kingdom of Greece.

Though any tribal organization has disappeared, the patriarchal organization of family groups still persists, at any rate in the more remote or mountainous regions. The unit is the family group, called *fare* or *fratria*, wherein kinship is only reckoned in the male line and between whose members marriage is strictly forbidden.

The group feeling depends not only upon common kinship, but on common customs and traditions, and in the more barbarous districts, e. g. round Berat, on the institution of the blood feud, according to which blood-guiltiness attaches not merely to the individual but to all the members of the family group. Of late years from various causes blood feuds in south Albania have tended to disappear, and even where they are rife, can in most cases be adjusted by the family elders and by money payments instead of murders. Moreover, if quarrels arise between one bey and another bey, it is customary for the injured party to employ à retainer to kill his rival; and in revenge his life may be taken by the rival's retainer. Thus the actual murderers are only agents, and feuds tend to be kept more in hand than among the Ghegs. The greater family group is subdivided into smaller family groups under which the separate families are ranged. Though the family name or names are well known to each of its members, the individual contents himself with his own name and his father's name, and sometimes—added on to them—his grandfather's name or perhaps the name of some distinguished but forgotten ancestor. North of the River Voyusa a place-name is substituted—after the father's name—for the ancestor's name. Some families are more distinguished than others. Each family group has a chief at its head, but he owes his position not so much to hereditary descent as to the influence that he has gained over his kinsmen by the extent of his landed possessions and the strength of his own character. The chiefs or heads of families live, not on their lands, the cultivation of which they leave to tenant farmers on payment of one-half or one-third of the produce as rent, but in small towns and villages. Thus in the village of Labovo, east of Argyrokastro, of about 100 houses 27 belong to the Dodate family, 20 to the Kiliate family,

33 to the Michantsuliate family, and the rest to families of no account. In the village of Tsheper 80 houses out of 150 belong to one family, the rest to three other families. The heads of families constitute a council of elders, who settle disputes, even, as already mentioned, in cases of blood feuds. But the political and military powers of the family chiefs and headmen have practically disappeared. In some parts the family groups celebrate common festivals.

In most districts the villages are grouped round a town, which may or may not give its name to the district; and in the towns the heads of the principal families have their houses, often fortified strongholds, wherein their forefathers used to live surrounded by their armed and paid retainers.

Since the disappearance of the old tribal chiefs in the early decades of last century, a new class of beys has arisen, who gained the lands belonging to the ruined or exterminated families either by confiscation or by purchase. While some of these new beys were Turks, most of them were native Albanians, who, having turned Mussulman, had got rich or become powerful in the Turkish military or civil service, and had then returned to their own country to secure for themselves positions of influence in their own or neighbouring districts. Others had made money as traders in foreign parts and used their newly acquired wealth for the same purpose.

The distinctive dress of the Tosks is the well-known *fustanella*, which the Greek Palikars adopted from the Albanian settlers among them.

Vlachs

The Vlachs (called by the Slavs 'Tsintsari' or 'Zingari'), who live mostly on the slopes of Mount

Pindus, form a very small element within the boundaries of the new principality of Albania. They inhabit a fairly large area on the Koritsa-Ersek road, but the largest number are shepherds in the great plain of Muzakya traversed by the River Semeni, who in summer pasture their flocks on the slopes of Mount Tomor. They are an inoffensive and inconspicuous people, who keep to themselves; when given a chance of educating themselves, they take readily to commerce. Most of the principal merchant families in Durazzo, for instance, are of Vlach origin. The Vlachs call themselves 'Arumani' (i.e. Romani), and speak a Romance dialect, which they must have learnt from their Latin masters in the time of the Roman Empire. Ethnologists consider them to be descendants of the ancient Thracians. They all belong to the Orthodox Church.

(6) Distribution of Population

There is a complete absence of census materials regarding Albania, and the scanty figures obtainable can only be regarded as approximate. The population is sparse in the mountainous districts and along the coast, except on the lacustrine and coastal plains, which include the ports of Scutari, Durazzo, and Valona, where there is a considerable population. The population is also denser along the rivers and on the inland plains. The total population is estimated as probably amounting to between 800,000 and 850,000, but some estimates put it as high as 1,500,000, or even more. The estimated populations of the principal towns are: Durazzo, 5,000; Scutari, 32,000; Elbasan, 13,000; Tirana, 12,000; Argyrokastro, 12,000; Berat, 8,500; Koritsa, 8,000; Kroya, 7,000; Valona, 6,500.

Emigration.—A certain amount of emigration takes

place to the United States, but the Annual Report of Immigration of that country does not give any figures regarding Albania. The return of emigrants from America is likely to have a considerable influence on the development of the country. (For Albanians settled outside Albania, see the Note to this section, 'Distribution of the Albanian Race in 1912'.)

Albanians have always been in great demand as cavasses, guards, and soldiers, and until 1908 the Sultan's bodyguard was exclusively composed of them.

It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures as to the distribution of different races and religions in Albania. M. Vellay [1] estimates the Catholic Christians, who are mostly in the north, at about 200,000. For the southern districts, claimed by the Greeks and by them called 'North Epeiros', the statistics seem mostly to be derived from a Turkish census of 1908; and though they vary somewhat according to their manipulation by different authorities, it appears possible to draw some general inferences from them. In the whole of this district, out of an estimated total of 220,000, some 100,000 appear to be Moslem, 50,000 Greek or Greek-speaking Christians, and 70,000 Albanian or other Orthodox Christians, to a great extent Greek in sympathy. If Koritsa and adjacent districts, in which there are few Greeks, but some 70,000 Moslems to 55,000 Christians, be excluded from the estimate, the region round Argyrokastro and Khimara, with a population of nearly 100,000, is half Greek-speaking Christians, the remaining half being Orthodox Christians or Moslems in the proportion of about 1 : 2.

The number of Vlachs in Albania is by some estimated as high as 20,000. A much-disputed question is as to the number of Serbs; Gopčević places it as

[1] *La Question de l'Adriatique* (Paris, 1913), p. 18.

high as 24,000 in central Albania and 21,000 in the cazá of Koritsa, but his figures are not generally accepted, and clearly show a Serbian bias.

NOTE

Distribution of the Albanian Race in 1912

It may be properly assumed that the great bulk of the population within the frontiers finally agreed on by the Ambassadors' Conference in London in 1913, belong with some exceptions to the Albanian race. These exceptions are a few Serbs in the north, a few Bulgars in the Lake Okhrida district in the east, a considerable number of Greeks in the south, some Vlachs at Ersek and elsewhere in the Koritsa district, and some nomad Vlachs in the district of Mt. Tomor. There are also a few Turks and Gipsies, and in the coast towns a few Italians.

Outside the frontiers of Albania there are many Albanians living in various parts of the Balkan peninsula ; for, like many races of mountaineers, they have multiplied and overrun into neighbouring countries, beyond the districts recently annexed, and even sent out colonies across the seas.

(1) In Montenegro Albanians are still found in considerable numbers (*a*) in the towns and districts of Duleigno and Antivari (annexed 1878–80) on the coast, (*b*) in the interior—in the towns and districts of Podgoritsa (annexed 1878), Spuzh and Zhablyak in the valley of the Moracha and its tributary the Zeta, while the tribes of the Kochaï (Kuchi) (annexed 1880) and of the Gruda and Hoti (annexed in 1913), and the towns and districts of Gusinye, Plava, Ipek, and Jakova (annexed in 1913) are wholly Albanian. Moreover the Triepshi tribe, annexed in 1880, though in origin half Montenegrin and half Albanian, is wholly Albanian in sentiment.

(2) In Serbia there are very considerable settlements of Albanians round the towns of Novibazar, Mitrovitsa, and Prishtina, and also in the plain of Kosovo and in the upper basin of the Morava as far north as Kursumlye and Prokuplye, towns lying on its tributary, the Toplitsa. In this region the part known as Old Serbia was occupied by Albanians as long ago as 1679, when 37,000 Serbian families emigrated to Karlowitz and the Austrian dominions. The Sultan Abdul

Hamid encouraged the settlement of Albanians in this district, as did the Austrian Government during its occupation of the Sanjak of Novibazar. The general result has been that Moslem Albanians now form the bulk of the population.

Scattered settlements of Albanians are found on the upper waters of the Vardar at Kalkandelen (or Tetovo), round Üsküb, and at Koprülü (or Veles), and again north and east of Üsküb in the neighbourhood of Kumanovo, and, farther east, of Kratovo.

The districts of Lyuma and Dibra are mainly Albanian, and of Okhrida three parts are Albanian and one part Bulgarian.

A few Albanian villages occur south of Monastir—there are many Albanians in the town itself—among Serbian, Bulgarian, Vlach, and Turkish communities, and also north of Monastir as far as Prilep.

(3) In Greece the Albanians have for some centuries formed numerous settlements. In the middle of the nineteenth century it was estimated by Von Hahn that Albanians formed the majority of the population in Boeotia, Attica, Megara, and Argolis, and the entire population of the islands of Spezzia, Hydra, Salamis, and Paros, and also of the northern half of Andros and the southern part of Euboea. Numerous Albanian settlements existed in the valley of the Spercheus, in Phocis, in Achaea, Corinth, and Southern Arcadia. In fact there were Albanians almost everywhere except in Aetolia, Acarnania, Laconia, and Messenia. Albanians then formed, it is stated, one-fifth of the population of the kingdom. At the present time they are estimated at one-seventh or one-eighth. Other estimates in Murray's and Baedeker's *Guide to Greece* estimate the proportion at between one-ninth and one-tenth. All these estimates refer to the time before the accessions of 1913, which nearly doubled the population of Greece, and must have diminished the proportion of Albanians. They have been rapidly hellenized; most of them speak Greek only, some Greek and Albanian; very few speak Albanian only.

In the newly (1913) annexed districts there are not a few Albanians in the Macedonian region; and in Epeiros, west of the Kalamas, the majority of the population is of Albanian descent as far south as Parga, though most of the inhabitants speak Greek only or are bilingual. Very few—and these chiefly women—speak Albanian only.

(4) In the rest of the Balkan peninsula isolated Albanian

communities are to be found in Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Turkey. These settlements in Turkey are formed of old soldiers of the Turkish army (or their descendants), who after the expiration of their term of service were given grants of land ; their villages are called Arnaut Kōi (Arnaut = Albanian) and are frequently to be met with on both sides of the Bosphorus.

Many Albanians have settled in Bucarest in Rumania.

(5) Many Albanians are to be met with in Vienna and Fiume ; considerable groups are to be found near Mitrovitsa above Belgrade on the Syrmian frontier, and again at Borgo Erizzo near Zara on the Dalmatian coast.

(6) Most remarkable are the Albanian colonies in southern Italy and Sicily, which date back to the fifteenth century, further settlements being made in the two following centuries, The colonists were in the first place mercenary soldiers, then soldiers from Skanderbeg's army, and later isolated groups from Albania and the Greek peninsula. At the present day the number of Albanians living in South Italy and Sicily is, according to the Italian census of 1901, no less than 209,929. Other authorities believe that there are only half that number. These Albanians live in some 70 villages in Italy, scattered over the 'regions' of Calabria, Basilicata, Apulia, Abruzzi, and Otranto, and in 6 or 7 villages in Sicily in the provinces of Palermo, Catania, and Girgenti. Of the villages 27 are Orthodox, and the rest Roman Catholic. The colonists are mostly of Tosk origin, and have preserved many of their old customs, their dress, and even their language. Many, however, speak a corrupt Greek dialect—a fact which points to their being of Greek rather than Albanian descent—and in any case it is rare nowadays to meet an Albanian colonist who knows no language but his own.

(7) There is a considerable colony of Albanians in Egypt, formed by the descendants of Albanians who served as soldiers under Mehemet Ali (1769–1849) and his grandson and successor Ismail (Khedive, 1863–9).

(8) Of late years many Albanians have settled in the United States of America, where they have proved themselves to be highly successful colonists. These American Albanians have done much to promote the Albanian movement towards independence.

II. POLITICAL HISTORY

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

I. *Period of Foreign Rule*

27 B. C. Under the Roman Empire modern Albania divided between the three provinces of Dalmatia, Macedonia, and Epirus.

A. D. 395. After the division of the Roman Empire Albania included in the Eastern or Byzantine Empire, and divided between the Province of Dyrrachium (Durazzo) in the north and the Province of Nicopolis in the south.

Overrun by the Goths in the fourth and fifth centuries.

535. Reconquered by the Emperor Justinian.

North Albania	*South Albania*
636–1360. Invaded and ruled—with sundry interruptions—by the Serbo-Croats (Slavs).	861. Conquered—as far north as Khimara—by Bulgars (Tatars).
	893–927. The Bulgar Tsar Simeon extends his rule northwards as far as Dalmatia.
1081. The Normans seize Durazzo.	1014. Reconquered by the Byzantine Emperor, Basil II.
1271–1378. The Sicilian kings of the house of Anjou rule in Central Albania.	1204. Michael Comnenus founds the independent 'Despotate of Epeiros'.

1331–55. Stephen Dushan, the Serb, includes all Albania in his extensive Serbian Empire under the title of 'Imperator Romaniae (i. e. the Greeks), Slavoniae, et Albaniae'.

II. *Period of Native Rule*

North Albania

1359–92. The Thopia family rule the district round Durazzo and Kroya.

1366–1421. The Balsha family rule a portion of Upper Albania; but the Venetians establish themselves in Scutari, Antivari, &c. The Dukajin rule Alessio and the district between it and Ipek.

South Albania

1358. Gheg emigrants from the northern mountains capture Yanina and Arta. Tosk emigrants plant colonies in Boeotia, Attica, and Sparta.

1368–1476. The Musaki family rule the district round Berat.

III. *Period of Turkish Rule*

c. 1435. Invaded by the Turks.

1443. George Castriotis (Skanderbeg) returns from Constantinople, seizes Kroya, and defeats the Turks in eight campaigns.

1458–60. Truce with Turkey.

1461–6. Skanderbeg again defeats the Turks.

1467. Skanderbeg dies, leaving Kroya and his principality to the Venetians.

1478. The Turks capture Kroya and (1479) Scutari from the Venetians.

c. 1420. The Turks seize Argyrokastro.

1431. Sultan Murad captures Yanina and (1449) Arta. Many Tosk refugees settle in Sicily.

The whole of Albania now in possession of the Turks, except the most mountainous districts and except the Venetian possessions, Durazzo, Antivari, and Dulcigno, of which the Turks captured the first in 1502 and the two latter in 1571.

c. 1760. Mahomet of Bushat obtains the title of hereditary pasha of Scutari.

c. 1769. Ali of Tepelen (born 1740) makes himself bey of Tepelen.

North Albania

1770. His son, Kara Mahmud, fights against the Turks.

South Albania

1788. Ali appointed by the Porte pasha of Yanina.
1797. Ali occupies Butrinto, Prevesa, and Vonitsa.
1798. Ali deserts the French and joins the Allies.
1798. Ali made Governor of South Albania and Epeiros, (1799) Vali of Rumelia.
1803. Ali captures Suli.
1807. Ali allies himself with Napoleon.
1814. Ali deserts Napoleon, and (1819) gets possession of Parga.
1820. Sultan Mahmud II deprives Ali of his pashalik.
1822. Ali assassinated at Yanina.

1829. Mustafa Bushati, hereditary pasha of Scutari, Veli Bey of Yanina, Silehdar Poda, and Arslan Bey rise against the Turks. Reshid Pasha re-subjugates Southern Albania.
1831. Mustafa surrenders to Reshid.
1835, 1836, 1844. Risings in Ghegaria.
1847. Insurrection in Toskeria.
1853. The Mirdites at war with the Montenegrins.
1856. Mustafa Pasha establishes the Majlis i Jebel to administer justice among the Maltsors.
1862. The Mirdites at war with the Montenegrins.
1865. Albania divided between the four new vilayets of Scutari, Yanina, Kosovo, and Monastir.
1876. The Maltsors (except the Mirdites) fight with the Turks against the Montenegrins.

1878. Formation of the Albanian League.
Treaty of Berlin.

1879. The Albanians resist the cession of Plava and Gusinye to the Montenegrins.

1880. Naval demonstration of the Great Powers; Dulcigno ceded to Montenegro. The Turks banish Prenk Bib Doda of Mirdita and attempt to dissolve the Albanian League.

1881. Cession of the district of Arta to Greece.

1899. Formation of a new Albanian League to defend the Sultan's territory against further encroachments.

1903. Albanians of Kosovo and Monastir protest against the Austro-Russian scheme of reforms in Macedonia, and murder the Russian Consul at Mitrovitsa.

1908. Albanians join the Young Turkish movement and swear loyalty to the Turkish Constitution.

1909. Albanians oppose the Ottomanizing policy of the Young Turks. Mutiny of the Sultan's Albanian body-guard at Constantinople. Rebellion of the Maltsors.

1910, 1911. Further Albanian revolts in the vilayets of Scutari and Kosovo.

1912. The Albanians of Kosovo seize Prishtina and Üsküb and threaten Salonika. Outbreak of the First Balkan War.
Principle of Albanian Independence recognized by the Great Powers.

1913. Capture of Yanina by the Greeks and of Scutari by the Montenegrins.
Treaty of London (May 30): appointment of an International Commission of Control, and delimitation of the frontiers of the Albanian Principality.

1914. Prince William of Wied lands at Durazzo on March 7 and leaves the country on September 4.

i. *Introductory*

THE different history of the Albanians north and south of the River Skumbi, which, running from east to west, cuts the country into roughly equal halves, sufficiently accounts for their modern differences in physique, in language, and in manners and customs. For some centuries at any rate Albania has been divided into two well-marked districts, separated by

the Skumbi; the northern is known as Ghegaria, the southern as Toskeria, inhabited respectively by Ghegs and Tosks, who now speak dialects so different as to be barely intelligible to one another.

Though a continuous history of the Albanian people can hardly be constructed, one fact clearly stands out through all the centuries. Sheltered by their impassable mountains and defended by their own indomitable courage and fierce spirit of local independence, the Albanians alone of all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula have safely weathered the storms of invasion. The Celts, the Romans, the Goths, the Serbs, the Bulgars, and the Turks successively overwhelmed them; but, though in each case all or part of them were nominally conquered, they emerged with their peculiar national characteristics as strong as ever. They have always succeeded in preserving their own singular individuality and language, and, if any foreign elements forced their way among them, have assimilated them to their own type and culture, or rather, perhaps, lack of culture.

ii. *Under Turkish Suzerainty*

In the course of the century between 1383 and 1479, notwithstanding the brave defence (1443–67) of the northerners under the famous George Castriotis or Skanderbeg, both Ghegs and Tosks were incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. The succeeding centuries of Turkish rule, which legally came to an end only in 1913, have had for their result the present extraordinary divisions and diversities of the Albanian people. At the time of the Turkish invasion the Ghegs were Latin Catholics, while the Tosks belonged to the Orthodox Church. But in north and south alike, in districts where the Turkish conquest was a reality, the warlike Albanians, especially their chieftains, finding that their choice lay between giving up their arms or their

Christianity, clung to their arms rather than to their faith, and, in order to follow their favourite profession and at the same time to retain their landed property, for the most part promptly turned Mussulman. Their attitude to religion is well expressed by their own proverb: 'The creed follows the sword.' Only in districts where the Turks have been unable, or on account of the poverty of the inhabitants unwilling, to penetrate, have the Albanians adhered to their ancient faith. Thus most of the Maltsors (mountaineers), including the Mirdites, of the north, have always remained Catholic; and in the south the Khimariotes of the wild Acroceraunian promontory have always remained Orthodox.

The result has been that, for some centuries, in Albania, unlike other parts of the Balkan peninsula where the bulk of the population persisted under continual oppression in their Christian faith, the Moslems have not only constituted the privileged caste, but have outnumbered the Christians in the proportion of nearly two to one. In the Moslem world, nationality has never counted for much; the great distinction is between Moslems and infidels. This fact the wily Albanian was quick to grasp and soon turned to his own advantage. If he elected to stay in his own country, he used his new creed not only to retain his lands and to exercise the privilege of carrying arms, but to secure for himself positions of power and influence, nominally in the Turkish service, but practically in almost complete independence of the central government. If, on the other hand, he went abroad, he entered the Turkish service as a soldier or as an administrator, and often gained promotion to offices of great power and importance. In fact, his soldier-like qualities and independent spirit won for him special privileges even as compared with other

Moslems in the Empire; he was never subjected to the Turkish law of compulsory military service, but always served as a volunteer at a high rate of pay. Among the Janissaries the Albanians were always the best soldiers; and in the nineteenth century the Sultan's body-guard was, until the Revolution of 1908, composed solely of Albanians. However, though the Albanian chiefs in their own worldly interests were apt to turn Mussulman, they always remained Albanians first and were Mussulmans only in the second place.

Even in the early years of Turkish supremacy they found but little difficulty in keeping the Turks out of their country, whose wild tribes and rugged mountain sides offered but little attraction to ambitious or avaricious Turkish pashas. Moreover the Turkish policy seems to have aimed not so much at governing the new territory as at keeping it weak by encouraging rivalry among the clans. These they allowed to be split up into petty military principalities, governed by native chiefs or beys jealous of and hostile to each other; and in course of time some of these were able to get the better of their neighbours, to add to their own territories at their expense, and to become, all but in name, independent princes. The two most famous instances were the Bushat Pashas of Scutari (Skodra) in the north, and Ali, Pasha of Tepelen, in the south.

The first Bushat Pasha of Scutari was Mahomet, who was appointed to his office about 1760 and gained for his family an hereditary pashalik. The last of the dynasty was Mustafa, who having rebelled against the Sultan, Mahmud II, was forced to surrender to the Grand Vizier, Reshid Pasha, in 1829.

iii. *Ali Pasha*

Ali, born at Tepelen in 1740, began by making himself bey of his native town and then obtaining recognition from the Porte. In 1787 he fought for the Turks against the Russians and was appointed Dervend-Pasha (Governor of the Marches) of Rumelia. A year later he was promoted to be Pasha of Yanina, in which office he still further gained the confidence of the central government by the cruel discipline that he maintained in his own district and by the regular payment of tribute and bribes to Constantinople. He extended his own territories at the expense of his neighbours. First the French and then the British acquiesced in his seizing the coast towns of Butrinto, Prevesa, and Vonitsa, which had previously belonged to Venice. He massacred many of the Christian inhabitants of Khimara. For eighteen years he fought the neighbouring Suliote League ; but not till 1803, and then only by treachery, did he succeed in capturing and destroying Suli, its mountain stronghold. In central Albania he defeated a league of Moslem tribes headed by Ibrahim of Berat and Mustafa of Delvino. In 1797 the Sultan created him a pasha of ' three tails ' and made him governor of southern Albania and Epeiros, and in 1799 he was in addition appointed Vali of Rumelia.

The year 1803 marks the height of his power ; he was master of Epeiros, South Albania, and Thessaly ; his son Veli was Pasha of the Greek Peloponnesus and his son Mukhtar Pasha of Lepanto (Naupactus). By practising all the arts that Machiavelli preaches, Ali had made himself into a practically independent prince. At last, however, he over-reached himself. In 1820 he attempted to procure the murder of his personal

enemy, Pacho Bey, within the precincts of the palace at Stamboul. The Sultan Mahmud II at once issued a decree for his deposition and, as Ali refused to obey and tried to make common cause with the Greek rebels in the south, entrusted its execution to Khursid Pasha. For many months in 1821 the old man withstood a siege in his island fortress at Yanina, but at last, early in 1822, he was forced to ask for terms and was treacherously assassinated.

Ali Pasha's importance in Albanian history is twofold: first, by his local wars and massacres he destroyed the old feudal system of tribal chiefs in southern and central Albania; secondly, he united a large number of Albanians to fight under his own banner, and in his last years to fight against the Turk, thereby awakening in them some sense of Albanian nationality. His exploits are still sung in many an Albanian ballad, and his portrait still hangs among the sacred *ikons* in the cottages of south Albania.

iv. *Turkish Policy*

In his campaigns of 1829–31 Reshid Pasha, the Grand Vizier of Mahmud II, deposed Mustafa, the last hereditary Pasha of Scutari of the Bushat family, and by massacres and deportations put an end to the feudal chieftains in Ghegaria, save in the more inaccessible mountain fastnesses, at the same time destroying any remnants of the tribal system that had survived the reign of Ali Pasha in Toskeria. Warned by past experience, the Porte took care henceforward to appoint no clever or ambitious pashas in any part of Albania. Small revolts that occurred in Ghegaria in 1835–6 and in 1844 and in Toskeria in 1847 were easily quelled. In 1856 a threatened rising at Scutari was nipped in the bud by the appearance of Mustafa Pasha at the

head of an army of 10,000 men, who took the opportunity to set up a Council of Ten, with its seat at Scutari, to exercise jurisdiction over the Malzia e Mathe (i. e. the 'Great Highlands') round the city. This Council was popularly known as the *Jibal* (jebel = mountain); and its jurisdiction was at a later date extended to include all the Maltsors (i. e. mountaineers) north of the River Drin. Finally, in 1865, in order to render any combination of the Albanians impossible for the future, the country was for administrative purposes split up among the four vilayets of Scutari, Monastir, Yanina, and Kosovo, each with its own *vali* or governor and garrison.

In 1868 Bib Doda, the hereditary chief of the Roman Catholic Mirdites, died. At one time he had shown signs of carving out for himself an independent principality, but had, as a matter of fact, wasted all his power and resources in fruitless wars (1853 and 1862) against Prince Danilo II of Montenegro. After his death the Turks took the precaution of carrying off his son, Prenk Bib Doda, then only twelve years old, to Constantinople, and at the same time declared the seigneurial autonomy of Mirdita at an end.

The principle of nationality, awakened to some extent even in Albania by the attempt of Ali Pasha of Yanina to shake himself free of the overlordship of the Ottoman Sultan, realized to a limited extent in Serbia by the erection of a semi-autonomous principality in 1817, and in Greece successfully carried through in the War of Liberation in 1830, received in 1870 new life in that part of the Balkan peninsula which was still directly governed by Turkey, through the firman issued by the Sultan Abd-ul-Aziz creating the Bulgarian Exarchate. Hitherto all his Christian subjects—save a few Roman Catholics in Albania—had been under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Oecumenical Patriarch at

Constantinople, and had therefore been regarded, to whatever race they might really belong, as Greeks. The appointment of a Bulgarian Exarch meant the recognition by the Porte of different Christian nationalities; and from this time onwards it has been its deliberate policy to foment the conflicting ambitions of Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Rumanians, and Albanians, in order to keep its hold over Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, and Epeiros—the provinces that still remained under Turkish rule.

For four hundred years the Albanians of Albania had been subject to the Turk; they had lived in a kind of European backwater and, so far as civilization was concerned, had gone backward rather than forward. At no period of their history had they ever constituted a single state. Contrasted with their neighbours, Albanians they certainly were and felt themselves to be; but their only political passion, if political it can be called, was to maintain the local independence of their beys and clans. Now, with the break-up of the Turkish Empire, they found themselves faced with a new and to them incalculable danger. The new independent principalities, carved out of the Ottoman dominions—Montenegro,[1] Serbia, and Greece—showed a tendency to aggrandize themselves, nominally at the expense of the Turks, but really at the expense of the Albanians. Finally, as time went on, first Austria and then Italy showed signs of wanting to have a finger in the Albanian pie.

[1] Montenegro was never really conquered; and a Turkish firman of 1799 recognized that it had never been a vassal of Turkey, a recognition formally repeated in 1878.

v. *The Russo-Turkish War*, 1877–8

It was not, however, till the year 1878 that the Albanians found themselves affected by the arrangements of the Great European Powers. In 1876 Prince Nicholas of Montenegro had, before he declared war against Turkey, asked in vain for aid from the Albanians. Most of the Maltsors threw in their lot with the Turks and were heavily involved in their defeat. The Mirdites temporized, promising help to the Turks, if their native prince, Prenk Bib Doda, now a youth of 17, was restored to them from exile. But, when Bib Doda was duly restored, they still refused to fight. The rest of the Albanians made no move. In 1877, when Russia entered into the war against Turkey, a wave of enthusiasm passed over the Albanians; and they all, the Mirdites included, fought loyally and bravely in support of the Sultan. At the end of the war the abortive Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) between the Russians and Turks gave the Albanians a foretaste of the degree of gratitude with which Turkey would repay their loyalty; for under its provisions they were to surrender Gusinye and Plava on their NE. borders to Montenegro, and the district west of Lakes Okhrida and Prespa to Bulgaria.

At this point, however, the Great Powers of Europe—Great Britain, France, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Germany—interposed and superseded the Treaty of San Stefano by the Treaty of Berlin, signed July 1878. Under its provisions the Albanians found that, though the district west of Lake Okhrida was left to Turkey—really to themselves—they were still required to surrender Gusinye and Plava to Montenegro. Moreover the additions made to Serbian territory included Kurshumlye and Vranya, districts with many Albanian inhabitants. Once again the Turks tried to work on

the feelings of nationality to promote their own interests. In the summer of 1878 the Albanians of his district were instigated by Husein Pasha, the Vali of Scutari, to form a national league of their own. Accordingly their chiefs met together at Prizren and formed a League of 'Skipetars', having—so they proclaimed—a threefold object: (1) to maintain the sovereignty of the Sultan and to 'resist until death' any attempt made on the inviolability of his dominions in their own land; (2) to combine the three vilayets of Scutari, Kosovo, and Yanina into a single province to be governed by a Turkish Governor-General and Council of Ten, who were to be advised by an Albanian Committee elected by universal suffrage; and (3) to raise a national militia under Turkish officers. Scutari was made the head-quarters of the league, and branches were established at Prizren and Elbasan.

vi. *Albania and Montenegro*

The immediate result was that desired by the Turks; the Albanians, who cared little for the Sultan and nothing for the European Congress, forcibly resisted all attempts made by the Montenegrins to annex Gusinye and Plava. When the Sultan, in obedience to the European mandate, called upon them to withdraw, they murdered his first envoy and refused to obey his second. All through 1879 the Albanians continued to fight. In 1880 Count Corti, the Italian ambassador at Constantinople—the first appearance of official Italy on the Albanian scene—proposed a compromise, which also proved unacceptable to the Albanians. Prenk Bib Doda joined the malcontents at the head of 10,000 of his Mirdites. At this point Great Britain intervened and, by organizing a naval demonstration of the Great Powers (September 1880), compelled the

Turks to cede in compensation to Montenegro, instead of Gusinye and Plava, the roadstead of Dulcigno and a strip of sea-board extending southwards as far as the River Boyana—a district which was just as much Albanian as the other. In the following November the Turks drove the Albanians out of Dulcigno and handed the town over to the Montenegrins. At the same time Prenk Bib Doda was kidnapped on board a Turkish man-of-war and carried off into exile; his chief village, Oroshi, was burnt; the forces of the Albanian League were defeated; and the League itself was suppressed. Next year, however, the Porte found it to its interest to revive the Albanian League in order to oppose the cession of a strip of south Albania (including Yanina and Metsovo) to Greece in fulfilment of promises made to the Greeks at the Berlin Congress. French opposition to the proposal narrowed down the Turkish loss to the district of Arta.

vii. *The Albanian League*

For the next twenty-seven years Albania and the Albanians played no part in European politics, and, forgotten by European politicians, lapsed back into the time-honoured state of local feuds and anarchy. The Albanian League in some form or other lingered on, fostered by Albanian patriots living abroad in Egypt, Sofia, Bucarest, America, and elsewhere. During the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 it gave some feeble signs of life, when the Albanians of Kosovo and Monastir resisted European attempts to check disorder in their districts, as being an invasion of their ancient privilege of raiding upon their neighbours. Again in 1899 the same spirit of resentment against foreign interference was displayed at a great meeting of Albanian notables at Ipek, who had gathered to consider measures for the

defence of Islam against the disaffected Christian tribes of Old Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia. The notables resolved to form a new Albanian League, which was to have the twofold object of defending the Sultan's territory against all encroachment and of opposing any changes in the administration of Macedonia. Four years later (1903) a similar protest was made against the Austro-Russian projects of reform in Macedonia; indeed on this occasion 3,000 Albanians of Kosovo rose in rebellion and shot the Russian consul at Mitrovitsa.

viii. *The Young-Turk Revolution*

In 1908 the Albanians shared with all the peoples of Turkey in Europe and many of the peoples of Turkey in Asia the intoxication of the Young Turk movement and revolution. Ghegs and Tosks showed equal zeal in taking the oath to the 'Constitution'. What exactly they expected to get by it is by no means clear; at any rate it was something very different from what has turned out to be their portion.

To understand the events that followed, it is necessary to remember the peculiar position which the Albanians occupied in the Balkan peninsula. The Moslem Albanians had good reasons for remaining loyal to the Ottoman Empire—always provided that they were allowed to retain their local independence. Even the Christian Albanians of the mountains, protected by their inaccessibility, had always remained really independent and lived on equal terms with neighbouring Moslem Albanians.

The Porte on its side, however, had never forgotten the lesson of Ali Pasha of Yanina, and had ever since made repeated attempts to interfere with Albanian local independence. In this policy the Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876–1909) had been most pertinacious.

He had, however, been powerless to protect what the Albanians had regarded as their territory, and had ceded whole districts to Greeks and Montenegrins. Then suddenly the Young Turks came forward with a full programme of liberal reforms, and, backed by the army, were able to carry through an almost bloodless revolution. Moslems, Jews, and Christians were declared equal in the eyes of the law. The various races of the Empire were promised full control over their own local affairs.

The first effects were magical; and the Albanians were not behindhand in the general enthusiasm. The southerners, already initiated into the great conspiracy, eagerly joined the first open movement near Lake Okhrida. The northerners, who had in July 1908 gathered in great force at Ferizovich for an entirely different purpose, were also persuaded to join, and thereupon bound themselves under a solemn *bessa* (pledge of honour) to support the demand for the Constitution of 1876. This bessa, moreover, imposed, as if by magic, a truce on all tribal and private feuds and vendettas for nearly a year. The Albanians threatened at the same time to march on Üsküb (Skoplye) unless the Sultan promptly yielded to the demands of the Young Turks. Abdul Hamid, thus deserted by the hitherto loyal Albanians, promptly granted the Constitution. Clouds, however, soon appeared. Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina; Bulgaria renounced Turkish sovereignty; Crete proclaimed her union with Greece. The Greeks, though for the moment they did nothing, put forward claims to southern Albania as a Greek province.

Things nearer the capital went no better. In April 1909 the Albanian troops in Constantinople mutinied. A counter-revolution took place, which was speedily crushed by the Young Turkish army marching from

Salonika on Constantinople. Abdul Hamid was deposed, and his younger brother was put on the throne in his place under the name of Mahommed V. Meanwhile the Young Turks had had time to show their true colours. Their object was, not to secure the local liberties of the various Ottoman dependencies, but to enforce the uniform turkification of the Empire. At the dictation of their secret committee, known as the Committee of Union and Progress, sitting at Salonika, an obedient Parliament rushed through a series of measures, which soon showed that the Young Turk was but the Old Turk writ large. The newly emancipated press was put at the mercy of the executive government; the police were once more given the right of prohibiting public meetings; the formation of clubs on a racial basis, even for educational or philanthropic purposes, was forbidden; the internal autonomy of the Christian communities was curtailed; the Turkish language was to be the vehicle of instruction in the higher schools of all the nationalities; and finally, a rigid system of taxation, conscription, and general administration, utterly alien to the customs and traditions of the inhabitants, was devised for Albania and Arabia. Moreover all civilians were forbidden to carry arms.

ix. *Albanian Revolts*

Utterly disillusioned, the Albanians, both in north and south, became as hostile to the Young Turks as they had previously been favourable to them; but they soon found themselves at a much greater disadvantage than they had ever been under the old regime. For the one reform which the Young Turks had seriously taken in hand was the reform of the army and navy. They were therefore soon able to send much more numerous and efficient forces to suppress revolts than

the old Sultans had ever sent. From May 1909 to the outbreak of the First Balkan War in October 1912 Albanian history is merely a chronicle of revolts and their suppression.

In May 1909 the northern Moslem tribes, objecting to pay the new taxes, rose in rebellion; and it was not till the end of October that the rising was quelled, in spite of the large Turkish forces sent against them. Most of the fighting was in the district of Lyuma, where Isa Boletin led the insurgents. In 1910 the north-eastern Moslem tribes of Kosovo revolted for the same reason; and during the whole summer a force of 50,000 men was occupied in subduing the rebels and disarming the Albanian population throughout the country. Whole villages were destroyed, and—what the proud clansmen could less easily forgive—their chiefs were publicly flogged. Discontent was equally rife in central and south Albania, though in these districts there was no armed rebellion. Here the cause of complaint was not so much the payment of taxes or the surrendering of weapons as the suppression of the newly established national schools. The Young Turks insisted that the children should be taught to write Albanian in Arabic letters—a sheer impossibility; the natives demanded that they should learn the use of the Latin characters, as agreed upon at several national congresses.

In 1911 the insurrection assumed larger dimensions. While the Moslem tribes kept quiet, the Roman Catholic Malzia e Mathe tribes, instigated by the Montenegrins, formed armed bands, and in the spring attacked with success the Turkish outposts on the Montenegrin frontier. In April Torgut Shevket Pasha tried to suppress the movement with a large army, but notwithstanding the superiority of his forces met with several reverses. In May Russia warned the Ottoman

Government not to extend hostilities against Montenegro. In June Mirdita joined the rebels, proclaiming her own autonomy and setting up a provisional government. In the same month there was a great meeting of rebel chiefs, who drew up a statement of their grievances and a list of their demands under twelve headings,[1] of which the most important were the recognition of Albanian nationality and the use of the Albanian language in the schools and in all local administration. At the same time means were found to publish in the European press an account of the barbarities with which the Turks had suppressed the revolts of the two previous years, and which, so far as they were able, they were repeating this spring; in fact Montenegro was already overcrowded with refugees.

x. *Turkish Concessions*

Suddenly—probably from fear of Austrian intervention—the Young Turks changed their plans and ordered Torgut Shevket Pasha to offer terms to the rebels. King Nicholas of Montenegro withdrew his support, both open and secret, and counselled submission. With an ill grace the Maltsors in August accepted the offered terms,[2] which—on paper—granted all the demands that their chiefs had so recently made. Henceforward the Maltsors were, amongst other things, not to be liable to military service outside Albania except in Rumelia and Constantinople; to be exempt from taxation for two years and to have certain taxes lowered; to be allowed to carry arms except in towns and bazaars; to be governed by native officials according to their own tribal laws and customs; to have local revenues applied to local needs—roads, bridges, and schools; to have their children taught in the

[1] See Appendix I. [2] See Appendix II.

Albanian language written in Latin letters; and finally to have funds given them to rebuild their burnt houses and villages. A certain sum of money was indeed distributed, but the rest of the concessions, it is almost needless to say, remained a dead letter. An ominous sign of the change of feeling towards the Sultan was the failure of the Government to get more than 160 Albanians in the whole country to come forward as volunteers in the war which in September 1911 broke out between Turkey and Italy.

xi. *Albania and the Balkan Allies*

The winter of 1911–12 was passed by the Balkan States in various political intrigues with each other and with certain Great Powers; the Albanians remained, as before, a mere pawn in the game. The first sign of trouble occurred in February 1912, when there took place, in Scutari cathedral, a great gathering of the Maltsor chiefs, who declared for local autonomy. The Young Turks, who wished above all things to avoid war with their Balkan neighbours, were alarmed, and in March sent their Minister of the Interior, Hadji Adil Bey, to Scutari, to draw up a new scheme of reforms; but the Maltsor chiefs refused to meet him. Instigated anew by the Montenegrins, who were seeking for a *casus belli* with Turkey, the Catholic tribes of the north once more rose in revolt. The Mirdites soon followed, as a protest against their young men being enlisted for the Turkish *gendarmerie*. More important still, the Moslem Albanians of Kosovo also revolted, and in the course of July organized a force of 20,000 men, seized Prishtina, and published a manifesto, demanding the dissolution of the Turkish Parliament and fresh and fairly-conducted elections. For a short time a part of the Turkish army quartered in the district acted with the insurgents. The Albanians proceeded to occupy

Üsküb and threatened to march on Salonika. In August the Turkish Government surrendered to the demands of the men of Kosovo, dissolved Parliament, and promised them some sort of autonomy. At the same time, through the mediation of the Archbishop of Scutari, all the Catholic tribes except Gruda and Shala made their peace with the Government on condition that the Turks should evacuate their military posts in the mountains—a settlement not at all in accord with the wishes of Montenegro. Meanwhile Tosk bands, which had assembled at Berat, but taken no part in actual hostilities, melted away.

By this time the Balkan League of the four independent States, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, had been completed and was only awaiting the favourable moment to declare war on Turkey. The Central Albanian Committee, with its principal seats at Elbasan and Koritsa (Korche), seems to have carried on some negotiations with the Balkan allies. Finally, however, they came to the conclusion that strict neutrality and an appeal to the Great Powers for the recognition of Albanian independence would be their best policy.

Accordingly, when the war broke out in October, only the Roman Catholic Maltsors joined the Montenegrins; the Kosovo Albanians fought on the side of the Turks; the rest of the Albanians remained neutral. The Maltsors, moreover, withdrew from the struggle before the end of the hostilities, being enraged at the cruel treatment by the Montenegrins of their Moslem neighbours.

xii. *The First Balkan War*

On October 8, the day on which hostilities began, the Great Powers, through Austria and Russia, presented a joint note at Sofia, addressed to all the Balkan States, practically forbidding the allies to fight, and warning them that, if they did so, they would get no accessions of territory by it. But this did not prevent the war.

The Montenegrins were first in the field (October 8). They divided their forces into three armies, two of which were to attack Scutari while the third was to invade the vilayet of Kosovo. The first two armies were hung up at Scutari, which was stoutly defended, first by Husein Riza Pasha and then, after his murder, by the Albanian, Essad Pasha, of Tirana. The third army occupied Biyelopolye, Berane, Plevlye, Plava, Gusinye, and Ipek, and joined the Serbs at Jakova. After their victory at Kumanovo (October 24), two Serbian armies operated against the Turks in Albania. The first, after the capture of Monastir, turned northwards and occupied Prizren and Jakova, and then by a rapid march over Mirdita, which was entirely unprepared for their appearance and was moreover very ill supplied with weapons, reached Alessio on November 19, where they were joined by a Montenegrin column, which had a day or two earlier seized San Giovanni di Medua. The two armies turned southwards and jointly occupied Durazzo (November 30). Meanwhile the Serbians occupied Dibra, Okhrida, and Elbasan.

In the south the Greek army of Thessaly invaded Albania from the east and occupied Koritsa ; while the Greek army of Epeiros, crossing the frontier near Arta, seized Prevesa and Pentepigadia and then invested Yanina. A Greek fleet bombarded Valona on December 3, the very day on which an armistice was con-

cluded at the dictation of the Great Powers, though the sieges of Scutari in the north and Yanina in the south still continued. On December 16 peace negotiations were opened in London; and on December 20 Austria, rather than allow Albania to be partitioned between the Slav States on the north and Greece on the south, with the result that Serbia would obtain an outlet on the Adriatic, induced the Great Powers to recognize the principle of an autonomous Albania.

xiii. *Albanian Independence Proclaimed*

Meanwhile at the summons of Ismail Kemal Bey, who had travelled from Constantinople *via* Bucarest, Budapest, and Vienna to Durazzo, a Congress of 83 Albanian notables, mostly from central and south Albania, met at Valona, and on November 28 proclaimed the independence of Albania and hoisted the old flag of Skanderbeg. They also constituted a Provisional Government, with Ismail Kemal as President, and notified to the Great Powers and the Porte the formation of the new State and their determination to defend the rights of the Albanian people, now menaced with extermination by the Serbian army, to free the land from all foreign invaders, and to prevent any cessions of Albanian territory. As a matter of fact, the powers of this Provisional Government did not extend more than a dozen miles round Valona.

In the winter months Austria-Hungary massed troops along the Montenegrin and Serbian frontiers; and, Turkey pursuing an obstructive policy, the peace negotiations were broken off on February 3, 1913. The Balkan allies being again successful, and the Greeks having captured Yanina on March 6, the London negotiations were resumed; and on March 28 the Great Powers handed in a collective note, ordering

hostilities to cease and commanding the Montenegrins to raise the siege of Scutari and the Serbs to evacuate Albania. A few days later they sent a combined fleet under Admiral Burney to Antivari to enforce the will of the European Concert. The Serbs obediently retired, though they contrived to leave considerable forces in Mirdita and the vilayet of Kosovo. The Montenegrins obstinately persisted in the siege of Scutari, till on April 22 Essad Pasha surrendered the town on good terms. The Montenegrins were, however, on May 14 compelled to hand the place over to an international landing force under Colonel Phillips.

xiv. *The Treaty of London*, 1913

Under the Treaty of London,[1] May 30, 1913, the settlement of the new Albania was reserved for the future decision of the Great Powers, who found themselves faced with the impossible task of reconciling the competing claims of the victorious Greeks, Serbs, and Montenegrins with the national rights of the Albanian population. In the course of the summer an international commission of control was sent out to Valona with the task of drawing up a general scheme of government; two commissions were appointed to delineate the new frontiers—of which the southern sent in its report on December 17, 1913, but the northern did not finish its work until June 1914[2]; and Holland was requested to organize a *gendarmerie* for the policing of the country. But for nearly twelve months no scheme for the general government of the country was provided. In September Essad Pasha set up a government of his own at Durazzo, which he called the Senate of Central Albania.

[1] Cf. Appendix III. For full text of the Treaty, see Appendix XV to *Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

[2] Cf Sir Edward Grey's speech: Hansard, lvi, p. 2283.

xv. *The Prince of Wied*

At last, in November, the Great Powers selected as their candidate for the throne of the new principality Prince William of Wied, nephew of the late Queen Elizabeth of Rumania, and cousin of the Queen of Holland. On February 21, 1914, Essad Pasha headed a deputation of Albanian notables to Neuwied to offer him the crown, with the title Mpret, in the name of the new Albania. The offer was accepted, and on March 7 Prince William landed at Durazzo. During his unfortunate reign he practically never went outside the town. His first act was to make Essad a general. The next week the Albanians attacked the Greeks at Koritsa; and an inter-tribal feud broke out between the partisans of Essad and Ismail Kemal. On March 18 a Cabinet was formed, in which Essad was Minister of War. This was immediately followed by a rising of the Greeks in southern Albania, who had been offered by the Dutch High Commissioner a form of autonomy which limited their union with the rest of Albania to one of personal allegiance to the new prince. The offer was repudiated by the new Government; and some 10,000 Albanians assembled to fight the Greek 'bands', who had now replaced the Greek army of occupation. The struggle went on for months, until the Greek bands, supported by volunteers from Greece, succeeded in July in capturing Koritsa, Klisura, and Tepelen. Meanwhile, in May, Essad Pasha was arrested at Durazzo by Austrian partisans, on suspicion of being concerned in a plot to dethrone Prince William, but was allowed to escape to Italy. In June his partisans, instigated by the Young Turks, laid siege to Durazzo. A month later Prince William appealed to the Ministers of the Powers for help. In August, after the European War had begun, affairs

became still more threatening. Insurgents, carrying the Turkish flag, seized Valona and marched on Durazzo, with the result that on September 4 Prince William of Wied fled the country.

Once more Albania lapsed back into its usual anarchy, from which indeed it had never really emerged, and at the end of the year 1914 was split up into six divisions, each under its own regime (cf. p. 72).

Note.—For a collection of treaties bearing on the Balkan States generally, see Appendix to *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 in this series.

III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS

THE Albanians remain in such a primitive stage of culture, that it has been found more convenient to treat of their existing conditions in detail in the Geographical Section above. Here their religious, political, and social conditions are briefly summarized.

(1) RELIGION

Two-thirds of the Albanians are Moslems and one-third Christians. The Christians in the north are Roman Catholics, excepting a very small Orthodox minority, mostly of Serb origin. The parishes are mostly served by Jesuit or Franciscan priests, the former trained in Austria, the latter in Italy; many of the Franciscans are of Italo-Albanian origin. The Christians in the south, whether Tosks or Vlachs, are Orthodox and acknowledge the Greek Patriarchate. Superstition is universal.

(2) GOVERNMENT

The Albanian people never have had and have not now any political institutions in the strict sense of the term. Their territory has always in name or in fact formed part of some larger political whole, excepting the brief twenty years when the hero Skanderbeg led his Ghegs to victory over the Turks. Even his rule never extended south of the River Skumbi. Moreover, the independent principality of Albania, created by the Powers in 1913–14, disappeared within a few weeks of the outbreak of the European War.

From 1479 to 1913 the Albanians were included within the European dominions of the Turkish Empire; and their mode of government—so far as they acknowledged any government—has merely varied with the different changes in that Empire. In these circumstances the Albanians have remained in many ways the most primitive people of Europe. The Gheg mountaineers of the north still possess an elaborate system of tribal organization. The Ghegs of the centre are in a stage analogous to the feudal system of the Middle Ages—with the lord of the soil, his armed retainers and his dependent cultivators. The Tosks of the south, though they still retain slight traces of an earlier tribal system, have at present little organization beyond a curious system of family groups.

All these institutions are social rather than political, and have therefore been treated in the Geographical Section (p. 7), to which reference is here made.

(3) Education

During his long reign (1876–1908) the Sultan Abdul Hamid, relying on the Albanians as his chief instrument for upholding the Ottoman Empire in the west of the Balkan peninsula, made it his settled policy to keep them in total ignorance. No printing presses, no newspapers, no books were allowed. Such schools as there were he contrived to close one by one until only a single girls' school at Koritsa, under the protection of the Austrian and American Governments, was left open. Albanian patriots, whether at home or abroad, seeing the successful use of schools made by the Bulgars, the Serbs, and the Greeks for the purposes of their national propaganda, clamoured in vain for Albanian schools, where the children should be taught the Albanian language in Latin letters. Not till the

revolution of 1908 were any schools allowed; and then, to their great disgust, the Albanians discovered that the Young Turks meant to use them only as a means of their own 'turkifying' policy. The Turkish language was to be the vehicle of all higher education; in the primary schools Turkish was also to be taught; and the greatest concession that the Turks would make was to allow the children to be taught to write Albanian in Turkish letters, which, as a matter of fact, cannot represent many of the Albanian sounds.[1] Since the disappearance of Turkish rule in 1913, many schools have been opened throughout the country. Up to that time wealthy Albanians had been able to get an education for their children only by sending them abroad; the rest of the children, except that the Moslem children were taught to repeat a few verses of the Koran, received no education at all.

Under the protection of the Austrian Government a college and seminary were maintained by the Jesuits at Scutari; and a few primary schools, e. g. in Mirdita, were carried on by the Franciscans. In all these institutions, however, instruction had to be given in a foreign language, generally Italian, even in the Austrian schools, as being commonly understood. Ever since Ali Pasha opened his famous Greek schools in Yanina, such schools as were permitted in southern Albania have all been Greek.

[1] The language was not reduced to writing till late in the nineteenth century. The question of a suitable alphabet then became a burning question; and in 1879 the Turkish Government made an attempt to frame one, which, however, did not meet with general acceptance.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

(1) Popular Opinion and National Sentiment

The Albanians, like all primitive peoples, are impulsive, and their history shows that in their actions as a people they have been animated first and foremost by a fierce passion for local independence; secondly, and to a much less extent, by religious feeling; and thirdly, but only during the last few decades, by a growing consciousness of nationality.

i. *Local Independence*

Writing some twenty years ago, Sir Charles Eliot said [1]:

> However irksome the regulations of the Porte may be, it is the only Government which gives its Christian [to this might well be added, 'and Moslem'] subjects full liberty to fight their quarrels out—and that is the only form of independence which they appreciate.

Down to the Young Turk revolution of 1908 all the highlanders, whether Ghegs or Tosks, whether Moslems or Christians, had enjoyed this local independence in full measure. All Albanians alike, except a small body of Orthodox Tosks in the south, who cultivated the lands for their Moslem lords, had exercised the privilege of carrying arms. They served not as conscripts in the Turkish armies, but only as highly-paid volunteers. Taxes were only paid where the Turkish Government had the power to enforce them, though only a few districts (such as Khimara and some Gheg districts) have been able permanently to defy the

[1] *Turkey in Europe*, p. 346.

Turkish sovereignty in this matter. Tribal and family custom were everywhere stronger than Turkish law. Free-booting raids, whether practised on Albanian, Greek, or Slav neighbours, were no concern of the central government.

ii. *Religious Feeling*

Religion, all travellers agree, has always sat lightly upon the Albanians, who have never had a national church of their own. The majority of them turned Mussulman rather than surrender the highly-prized privilege of carrying arms. In the north the Christian Ghegs, who have remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church, protected by their mountains, have in practice always been as free as their Mussulman brethren. Only in the south did a large number of the Tosks, rather than desert the Orthodox Church of their fathers, submit to become the despised *rayahs* of Moslem landlords, whether Turks or Albanians. Both the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox Church used foreign languages in their rituals.

None the less the mere fact that the large majority of the Albanians did, from whatever motives, embrace the Mohammedan religion, has had a profound influence upon their history since the Turkish conquest. Both before and long after the Serbs and the Greeks achieved their national independence, the Albanians remained loyal subjects of the Ottoman Sultan; they formed his body-guard, they served in his army, they rose to high positions in his Government; they settled [1] in large numbers beyond their own local boundaries in other parts of his dominions, where they could be relied on to help the Government in keeping down the

[1] Cf. Note to Geographical Section, p. 24.

subject Christian populations. They have frequently rebelled against the oppression of a pasha or against an attempt at taxation, but, the grievance once removed, they were as loyal as ever.

iii. *Consciousness of Nationality*

The long-continued prevalence of the two feelings just described, coupled with the backward stage of their civilization, explains the fact why the Albanians, though possessed of a national individuality quite as marked as that of any of the other Balkan nations, have never fought, like the rest, for their national independence, and have been the last to emerge as a separate State, and then only through the creation of this State by the Great Powers of Europe, acting not so much in the interest of the Albanians as in their own. How slow has been the growth of this feeling from its first awakening in the time of Ali Pasha down to the time of the Young Turk Revolution has already been described.[1] The series of fierce revolts of the northern mountaineers which followed (1909–12) was no 'war of independence', but a stubborn resistance against the 'turkifying' and centralizing policy of the Committee of Union and Progress. Even so late as 1911 the insurgents demanded,[2] not independence, but fulfilment of the promises of good government with which the Young Turks had started their movement. Finally, when, at the instigation of Austria and in nominal response to the demand of Ismail Kemal's Provisional Government at Valona, independence, a definite territory, and a foreign prince were given to them, the Albanians knew not how to avail themselves of the privileges of the gift. The old passion for

[1] Above, pp. 34–41. [2] See Appendix I, p. 93.

local independence proved stronger than the half-awakened impulse towards national freedom, the old elements of division stronger than the new elements of union. Gheg was still opposed to Tosk, highlanders to lowlanders, Moslem to Christian, tribe to tribe, district to district. Among Moslems, Sunnites had no love for Bektashites; among Christians, Roman Catholics had no love for Orthodox. National leader there was none. Prenk Bib Doda had no influence outside Mirdita, Essad Pasha none outside Tirana and Durazzo, Ismail Kemal none outside Valona, Isa Boletin none outside the Kosovo district, which had been assigned to Serbia. When for a brief period after the outbreak of the European War and the disappearance of Prince William of Wied the Albanians were amid the general turmoil left to themselves, the country was split up into six divisions, each under a regime (cf. p. 72) of its own.

(2) Questions interesting other Countries

Montenegro

Montenegro has, as the results of her victories in two wars (1876–8, 1912–3), gained considerable accessions of territory at the expense of the Albanians.

1. By the Treaty of Berlin,[1] 1878, the Albanian towns of Podgoritsa, Antivari, Gusinye, and Plava, and the Albanian tribes of the Kochaï and the semi-Albanian tribe of the Triepshi were assigned to Montenegro; but, owing to the resistance of the Albanians, Dulcigno was in 1880 substituted for Gusinye and Plava. The Kochaï and Triepshi were not actually annexed till 1880.

2. By the Treaty of London, May 30, 1913—subject to any changes that might afterwards be made by an

[1] Cf. above, p. 38.

International Commission—a small addition of territory between the Lake of Scutari and the sea, the territories of the Gruda and Hoti tribes, and the districts of (*a*) Gusinye and Plava, and (*b*) Ipek and Jakova were given to Montenegro.

In 1913 the Montenegrins, backed by Russia, their traditional friend ever since 1715, demanded a much broader strip of Albanian territory, extending southwards as far as the River Mat and including Scutari. They based their claims (1) on the historical fact that all the territory in question had formed part of the empire of the Great Serbian King, Stephen Dushan (1331–55), and that after his death the Balsha family, itself of Norman extraction, defended this district with success against the Turks with Scutari for their capital until 1394, when they sold the town to the Venetians; (2) on the much more important geographical and economical fact that Scutari is the real centre of the whole lowland district round the Lake of Scutari, of which the greater part already belongs to Montenegro. The claim was made jointly with Serbia; and it was probably intended that the most southern strip of territory, including Alessio and San Giovanni di Medua, should go to Serbia to provide her with the ardently-desired seaport on the Adriatic.

Ever since 1797, when by the Treaty of Campo Formio she acquired the Dalmatian possessions of the old Venetian Republic, Austria has been the main obstacle to Montenegrin development. Since 1815 she has been in almost undisputed possession of the Montenegrin coast land, more particularly of the splendid harbour of Cattaro. In 1878 she pushed still farther south by the incorporation of Spizza (Spica). In 1880 the Great Powers assigned to Montenegro the Albanian seaport of Dulcigno.

These recent acquisitions have doubled or trebled

the size and population of Montenegro, but, so far as they have been made at the expense of the Albanians, they have not increased her strength proportionately. The Montenegrins are Orthodox; the Albanians are in these regions Roman Catholic and Moslem. Consequently, though there has been a certain shifting of population through migration, massacre, and expulsion, the Montenegrins have done little, except in the case of Podgoritsa, to assimilate the Albanian population of their newly-acquired territory.

Serbia

In the recent days of her expansion, Serbia put forward a sentimental claim to Albanian territory on the ground that her greatest king, Stephen Dushan (1331–55), had made it part of his extensive but ephemeral empire, which included, besides Albania, all the modern kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, southern Dalmatia, and most of Greece. Far more profound in its effects was the earlier Serbian invasion, which began in the seventh century, and has left evidence of its thoroughness in the numerous Serbian place-names in all parts of Ghegaria, except Mirdita, and in the semi-Slav physique of the Ghegs in contrast with that of the Tosks.

Apart, however, from any questions of sentiment, the Serbians had in 1912, at the time of the formation of the Balkan League, a very definite economical reason for wishing to annex a part of northern Albania and including such annexation in the terms of the agreement with her allies. The new kingdom of Serbia possessed no access to the coast either of the Aegean or of the Adriatic. Austria-Hungary, with whom she was on the worst of terms, was the only profitable market for her goods—for geographical reasons; and with this country she was connected only by a single

line of railway, liable to be closed at any moment. When the Balkan War broke out in October 1912, Serbia hastened to turn her successes to full account. A few weeks later one of her armies was in Alessio, whence, joined by a Montenegrin column, it marched southwards and occupied Durazzo; but she was obliged by an ultimatum from Austria in October finally to withdraw all the troops that she had left on the western side of what was to be the new Albanian frontier. Numerous Albanian settlements, some—more especially [1] in Old Serbia—dating back to the seventeenth century, others quite recent, were included in the new territories of Serbia. But the claim made by the Serbs on ethnical grounds to some portions of this district is disputable; and seven years of warfare, 1912–18, must have resulted in some diminution and shifting of the Serbian and Albanian population on both sides of the eastern frontier of Albania.

Greece

Before Greece was an independent kingdom with a frontier to defend, there seems to have been the freest intercourse between the Tosks and the Greeks. Though the majority of the Tosks turned Mussulman, the large Christian minority were Orthodox, and their bishops were appointed by, and were under the control of, the Patriarch at Constantinople. Their Turkish governors, even Ali Pasha himself, used the Greek language for purposes of government; and, as the Albanian language was seldom written, Greek was the language used also for purposes of commerce and for such education as there was. Furthermore, after the overthrow of Ali Pasha in 1822, when south Albania fell more completely under Turkish domination than

[1] Cf. Note to Geographical Section, p. 24.

ever it had been before, the Turks not only permitted but even encouraged Greek propaganda in order to check the development of any national feeling, and at the same time prohibited the use of the Albanian language in schools and the appearance of Albanian newspapers. The result was the almost complete disuse of the native language south of the River Kalamas, even by Albanians of pure extraction; while north of that river as far as Argyrokastro most of the Tosks were (and are) bilingual, speaking Greek for public purposes and Albanian only in their home life when it was needed, since in many cases their women had no acquaintance with Greek.

After the Greeks had achieved their independence, in the struggle for which the Albanians of the Greek peninsula had played no inconsiderable part, the more educated among the Tosks, and more especially the Christians, who suffered most under Turkish misrule and were more numerous on the new Greek frontiers than farther north, seem to have been by no means adverse to incorporation with a people so nearly akin to them in sentiment, if not in race; and in 1878 it was the opinion of the diplomatists at the Congress of Berlin that all the Greek-speaking district south of the Kalamas—north of the river the Tosks mostly speak Albanian—ought to be included in the Greek kingdom. As a matter of fact, in 1881 [1] only the district of Arta, where the Greeks far outnumbered the Albanians, was so annexed; and, though it was not annexed without a protest from the then existing Albanian League, it was annexed without a struggle.

The fixing of the new southern frontier of independent Albania by the international commission in 1913 (cf. p. 1) was not accepted without opposition by

[1] Cf. p. 40.

a considerable proportion of the inhabitants of the districts of Santi Quaranta, Khimara, Argyrokastro, and Koritsa—a region called by the Albanians 'Southern Albania', and by the Greeks 'Northern Epeiros'. The Orthodox Christians, who are mostly either Greek-speaking or bilingual, have the same sympathy for Greece and the same desire for union with it as had previously inspired their kinsmen around Yanina. The Greek regular army, which had occupied a great part of the district, withdrew in April 1914, at the demand of the Great Powers; but it was replaced by irregular bands, which were supplemented by volunteers from Greece; the Greek regular forces resumed their occupation in October. An autonomous Government was set up, headed by local magnates who had held high positions in Greece, one as Minister for Foreign Affairs; and deputies were elected to the Greek Parliament in Athens, but were not allowed to take their seats. The bands carried on a guerrilla warfare against the local Moslems, in which each side charged the other with the worst excesses. An address which was sent from Koritsa, a town of mixed population, in favour of Greek rule represented the views of a portion only of the citizens. At the request of the Prince of Albania, a conference was held at Corfu between the autonomous Government of 'Northern Epeiros', the Albanians, and the representatives of the Powers; and a convention was drawn up, and subsequently approved by the Powers in July 1914, entrusting the administration of the two provinces of Argyrokastro and Koritsa to the International Commission of control for Albania, and confirming the ancient privileges of Khimara.

The European War led to the absence of any central authority under international sanction; and 'Northern Epeiros' naturally resumed its autonomous character.[1]

[1] Cf. p. 52.

Rumania

Though Rumania is too remote to make any territorial claims, the interests of the Arumani, or Vlachs, cannot be ignored.[1] As a result of the Balkan Wars, Rumania secured from all the Balkan States educational and religious freedom for the Vlachs.

Italy

Historically Italy has a double connexion with Albania. (1) Towards the end of the fourteenth century the Venetians extended their settlements southwards from Dalmatia to the coast towns of northern Albania — Budua, Antivari, Dulcigno, San Giovanni di Medua, Alessio, and Durazzo—and maintained their hold over them for nearly a century, after which they were one by one captured by the Turks. They also held Parga and a few of the coast towns opposite the Ionian Islands, which they kept till they were forced to surrender them to Napoleon in 1797. At the present day the commercial language of the Adriatic coast, even from Trieste to Valona, is still Italian. (2) Ever since the middle of the fifteenth century there have been numerous settlements of Albanians in southern Italy and Sicily. At the present time most of them still speak their native language, and a third of them have remained faithful to the Orthodox Church. Their numbers are now variously estimated to be between 100,000 and 200,000.

In order to counteract the increase of Austrian influence in Albania, Italy granted shipping subsidies and made efforts to foster Italo-Albanian trade. Again, when Austria proposed to run a railway from Cattaro along the Albanian coast, Italy countered the scheme

[1] For their distribution see pp. 21–24.

by promising a large subsidy to the rival Serbian plan of a Danube–Adriatic line. In 1900 and 1901 Italy and Austria negotiated[1] about their respective interests in Albania, but the result of these negotiations has never been published.

As time went on, Italian ambitions centred more and more on the occupation of Valona as a naval base. Finally, after the outbreak of war in 1914, Italy occupied in October the island of Saseno, which dominates Valona, and then on December 25 Valona itself. She has remained in occupation of the seaport ever since. On June 3, 1917, she proclaimed the unity and independence of all Albania under her own protection, promising at the same time free institutions, a *gendarmerie*, tribunals, and Albanian schools.

Bulgaria

1. *Historical interests.*—Bulgaria's historical interests in Albania are very remote. Under the First Bulgarian Empire first southern Albania and then the whole country was subject to Tsar Samuel. Under the Second Bulgarian Empire the southern half of Albania as far as Durazzo was subject to John Asên II.

2. *Ethnological interests.*—Okhrida, the seat of the old Bulgarian Patriarchate from 1393 till its suppression in 1767, is the centre of Bulgarian influence in Western Macedonia. Since 1890 it has again become the seat of a Bulgarian bishop, who has been indefatigable in spreading his national propaganda, and has met with considerable success. How far the 'Bulgars' of Okhrida and the neighbouring districts are really of Bulgarian extraction may be open to question; but it is certain that people who call themselves Bulgars form a considerable element in the populations of

[1] Cf. *Italian Green Book*, 1915, Document 72.

Okhrida and Struga, in the district round Lake Prespa, on the eastern bank of the River Drin between Struga and Dibra, and in Dibra itself. They are also present in considerable numbers in Monastir.

Had the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878 been carried out, the western frontier of the 'Big Bulgaria', which Russia then attempted to form, would have included in her new territory the town of Dibra and the whole district surrounding the Lakes of Okhrida and Prespa, as far south as and including Koritsa. A few months later the scheme was defeated by the Treaty of Berlin.

Again in the spring of 1912 in the treaty between Bulgaria and Serbia which was the first step in the formation of the Balkan Alliance, Bulgaria laid claim to the same district. This time her hopes were foiled by the results of the Second Balkan War, ended by the Treaty of Bucarest on August 10, 1913.

Austria

Austrian interests in Albania go back to the year 1689, when she took under her protection all Albanian Roman Catholics—nearly a century earlier than Russia's protectorate over all the Sultan's Orthodox subjects secured by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1768. This position has recently for several decades been used as a means of a vigorous Austrian propaganda.

The attitude of Austria towards the Albanian question in 1912–13 was determined mainly by the events of 1908. The three cardinal points of her policy in the Balkan peninsula have been:

1. Prevention of any union between the Serbo-Croats of her own empire and the Balkan Serbs in Montenegro, Novibazar, and Serbia.

2. Control of the eastern coast of the Adriatic as far as the Straits of Otranto.

3. Control or possession of the routes to Salonika in order to secure the *Drang nach Osten.*

Austria, alarmed by the success of the Balkan allies in 1912, and backed by official Italy, promoted at the ensuing Ambassadors' Conference in London the cause of an independent Albania with its consequent denial to Serbia of a seaport on the Adriatic and to Italy, though her own ally, of the seaport of Valona. On December 20, 1912, she persuaded the Powers to accept her proposal in principle; and on May 30, 1913, by the Treaty of London an independent Albania was formally recognized. For the moment the Austrian policy was successful, as it threw an apple of discord among the Balkan allies, whose preliminary treaties in the spring of 1912 had contemplated the possibility neither of their conquest of Albania nor of the creation of a new Albanian State; and thus it was the chief cause of the Second Balkan War, the results of which were even more disappointing to Austria. She was not content to wait for the doubtful and perhaps long-deferred advantages which further intrigues in the new Albania against Montenegro and Serbia might have brought, but on July 23, 1914, launched her ultimatum to Serbia which led to the outbreak of the European War on August 1.

(3) Proposals for Expansion and Development

The results of the Berlin Treaty were that in 1878 the Albanian towns of Podgoritsa and Antivari, the Albanian tribe of the Kochaï, and the semi-Albanian tribe of the Triepshi were ceded to Montenegro, that in 1880 the Albanian seaport of Dulcigno was also handed over to Montenegro, and that in 1881 the already hellenized district of Arta was assigned to Greece.

Of these cessions the Montenegrins seem to have been successful in assimilating only Podgoritsa, and to a minor extent Antivari and Dulcigno. The Kochaï and Triepshi are reported to be as thoroughly Albanian as they were before the cession.

Sir Edward Grey, in describing the results of the London Conference to the House of Commons on August 12, 1913, said: [1]

> The difficulty of coming to an agreement about particular frontiers [of Albania] has been very great. Every one will remember how difficult and how critical at some points were the questions raised in connexion with the settlement of the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Albania. They were settled some time ago. We have now come to an agreement for the delimitation under certain agreed conditions of the southern and south-eastern frontiers of Albania, which will complete the whole frontiers of this state. I am quite aware that, when the whole comes to be stated, it will be open on many points to a great deal of criticism from any one with local knowledge, who looks at it purely on the merits of the locality itself. It is to be borne in mind that in making that agreement the primary essential was to preserve agreement between the Great Powers themselves; and if the agreement about Albania has secured that, it has done the work which is most essential in the interests of the peace of Europe.

The actual results were the assignment of the following Albanian or semi-Albanian towns and districts:

i. To Montenegro—

The Gruda and Hoti tribes, and the towns and districts of Gusinye, Plava, Ipek, and Jakova.

ii. To Serbia—

Prishtina, Prizren, Kalkandelen (Tetovo), Lyuma, Dibra.

iii. To Greece—

(*a*) The district between the frontier finally agreed on and the river Kalamas. (*b*) The whole

[1] Hansard, lvi, p. 2283.

district of Yanina and Prevesa. South of the river there were scattered Albanian communities on and near the coast as far as Parga, but Yanina and its surroundings had since the time of Ali Pasha become completely hellenized.

The case for the partition of the whole of Albania among her neighbours was best stated by the Serbian Minister, Dr. V. Georgevitch, in a pamphlet entitled, *Die Albanesen und die Grossmächte* (Leipzig, 1913). He argues that history has proved that the Albanians, though they may possibly be a distinct race, are incapable of forming a united people under a single government of their own. He relies largely on the historical claims of the Serbs—the Montenegrins, it must be remembered, are also Serbs—dating from Stephen Dushan and his predecessors, to rule over northern Albania, and lays great stress on what he calls the anachronism of setting up a tiny Moslem State among the Christian States of Europe, arguing that the large Moslem majority of the people must necessarily give to an independent Albania a Moslem character. A similar conclusion is reached by M. Rizoff, the Bulgarian ambassador in Berlin, in his preface to a publication issued there in 1917, and entitled *The Bulgarians in their historical, ethnographical, and political frontiers.* He frankly advocates assigning all Albania south of the Skumbi, including Valona, to Greece, and north-eastern and northern Albania, with access to Durazzo, to Serbia.

An independent Albania might take the form (*a*) of a principality, (*b*) of a confederation of tribes or cantons.

(*a*) The experiment of 1913–14 might be repeated in more favourable circumstances. In announcing the creation of an autonomous Albania by the Great Powers, Sir Edward Grey, on August 12, 1913, fore-

shadowed an International Commission of Control, whose primary duty would be to draw up the constitution and fundamental laws after an investigation of the local circumstances, a *gendarmerie* under officers selected from one of the smaller neutral Powers (Holland), and a foreign prince to be chosen by the Great Powers. Six months later the Powers guaranteed a loan of £3,000,000 to give the new state a start, of which £500,000 was advanced by Austria and Italy to Prince William of Wied, the candidate for the throne finally selected; and a small international force under an English officer was stationed at Skutari. There matters ended; no constitution ever saw the light, and Prince William himself, though he began by forming a cabinet, never governed outside Durazzo.

(*b*) Some publicists, more impressed by the divisions than by the unity of the Albanian race, though they admit its striking individuality, have advocated, on the analogy of Switzerland, which is a similarly mountainous country, some form of federal or cantonal government. They point to the well-marked geographical divisions of the country, the elaborate tribal organization of the northern clans, the passion for local independence, which the Albanians have manifested throughout their history, the democratic freedom of the individual, the religious differences, which do not prevent the Albanians from being Albanians first and Moslems or Christians only in the second place; the marked respect for custom and tradition. Hence they infer that some form of loose confederation, wherein local peculiarities and customs might easily be maintained, would be more in harmony with the history and genius of the Albanian people than any form of centralized government.

An additional argument in favour of their theory might be found in the fact that at the beginning of the

European War, before northern Albania was occupied by Austria and southern Albania by Italy, the country, left to itself, had fallen into six divisions corresponding with its geographical configuration, each under a regime of its own :

(1) Scutari and its neighbourhood under a local Commission of Moslems and Christians.
(2) The Maltsors under their local chieftains.
(3) Mirdita under its native prince, Prenk Bib Doda.
(4) Durazzo and its neighbourhood under its local bey, the well-known Essad Pasha.
(5) Valona and its neighbourhood under the International Commission of Control.
(6) The southernmost district, occupied by the Greeks.

IV. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(A) MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

(1) Internal

(*a*) *Roads and Tracks*

Albania has a coast-line of about 200 miles in length. The maximum breadth of the country is about 80 miles. Seven rivers of some importance flow through Albania into the Adriatic ; of these only one, the Skumbi, has a course approximately at right angles to the coast for the whole of its length. Except for the basins of the larger rivers and for plains of some extent along the coast, the whole country is mountainous.

This description will help to explain the lack of communications in Albania ; and, if the independent and quarrelsome character of the people, as well as their long submission to the Turk, is also taken into account, it is not surprising that there is not a single yard of normal gauge railway in the country, that before the European War there was no road which was of the first class throughout its length, and that there were not even second-class branch communications. Paths there were in plenty, worn by shepherds and their flocks, or by villagers going to their markets, but except on occasional stretches these were unsuitable for wheeled traffic.

There are satisfactory roads connecting Valona and Santi Quaranta with Koritsa, and Durazzo through Elbasan with Struga, and there is a cross-road from Koritsa to Struga. The two main roads are continued

into Macedonia, where they join near Monastir, through which there is a good road to Salonika. Motor lorries can now traverse the whole distance from the Adriatic to the Aegean.

The Durazzo–Struga–Monastir–Salonika road follows the course of the old Via Egnatia, passing through Kavaya and along the Skumbi Valley.

The valleys of the other rivers help towards providing communication with the interior for part of their distances, and, owing to their devious courses, supply such lateral communications as there are. The Black Drin, for instance, takes a general northerly direction from Lake Okhrida, subsequently turning west and then south, and the Voyusa runs, while in Albania, almost parallel to the coast. The road that serves Valona makes use of the Semeni valley to reach Berat, and then curves southward to the Voyusa valley, which it follows up to the Epirote frontier, where it turns sharply to the north again, thus providing extremely circuitous communication with the country east of Valona, but serving as a means of lateral communication in its southward and northward course.

(*b*) *Rivers*

The rivers, with the exception of the Drin and the Boyana, can only be used for floating logs and rafts, or for developing power.

The Drin, whose main stream flows into the Boyana below Lake Scutari, could be diked and used for transport for some considerable distance, beyond which the stream is too tumultuous to be controlled except by an expensive system of locks. The Boyana is a wide river, and in places deep ; small ships can make use of it to enter Lake Scutari ; but its depth is so variable on account of the rains and the shifting banks of mud and sand that navigation is never easy. The first

task in any attempt to control the Albanian rivers would be to initiate a scheme of canalization. This would, of course, increase their value as waterways, but, owing to the heavy cost, could only be carried out on a limited scale. A more pressing need is the construction of roads and railways.

(c) *Railways*

There are in Albania no railways of normal gauge. The Austrians have recently laid a light railway from Scutari to their lines on the Voyusa, with a branch to Berat, as well as a similar line from Durazzo to Elbasan. These should be useful on the restoration of normal conditions.

Of the schemes hitherto suggested, the most promising is one for the construction of a railway system connecting Albania with Monastir. The main line would run to Monastir from Durazzo, passing, like the road, through Kavaya, up the Skumbi valley, and through Elbasán and Struga. From Durazzo a line to Scutari would provide a section of a lateral route through Albania. In the south a line would connect Valona with Yanina in Epeiros, affording easy communication between Albania and Athens. This line would be linked with the Durazzo–Monastir railway by a branch, running probably *via* Berat to Elbasan, while another branch might run from Messiafor Khan, on the Albanian frontier, to Koritsa and Monastir. It will be seen that the route from Valona to Monastir *via* Messiafor Khan would closely follow the line of the existing road. The proposed system would provide continuous railway communication from Scutari to the Epirote frontier.

The Deutsche Bank was apparently willing to finance and work some such system, but the Turkish Government would not guarantee the 29,000 francs per kilo-

metre which was asked. The kilometric guarantee on the Monastir–Salonika railway is only 14,300 francs.

A projected line from Scutari to Prizren in Serbia would be connected with the system described, though not an integral part of it. This line would follow the valley of the Drin as far as Kukush, and would be continued eastward of Prizren to join the Üsküb–Mitrovitsa railway.

The accomplishment of the schemes mentioned would give Albania a railway system fully adequate to its needs for some time to come. The expense, however, is a serious obstacle, especially as the lines would probably be run at a loss for many years. The attitude of the Albanians towards the Serbs is also likely to create difficulties. Though the Albanians would welcome the building of railways for purely commercial purposes, any plan that would facilitate the penetration of Albania by the Serbs would meet with strong opposition; and for this reason the construction of a line between Prizren and Scutari, which is strongly desired by Serbia, is not likely to be feasible in the near future. Durazzo should, in any case, be the starting-point of railway construction in Albania, as, apart from its natural advantages as a terminus, a line from thence to Monastir would probably be regarded by the Albanians as less dangerous than one farther north. It must be remembered also that the construction of this line would establish railway communication between the Adriatic and the Aegean. This achievement would be of immediate international importance. Not only would it be of vast economic value to Serbia and Italy, but it would provide western Europe with a new route to the east entirely free from German or Austrian control.

(*d*) *Posts and Telegraphs*

Before the war the chief towns were connected by telegraph. There were no telephones in the country. The posts depended on the arrival of Austrian and Italian steamers.

(2) External

(*a*) *Ports*

There are few good harbours on the Albanian coast, and none of great importance. The trade passing through them is small, consisting for the most part of exports of surplus produce and inconsiderable imports of manufactured goods. The districts served seldom extend beyond the valley of the nearest river. There is, however, more coastal trade than might be expected, as inland lateral communications are very bad.

The principal harbours and anchorages are the following:

Boyana River.—The lower reaches of this river serve as a port for Scutari, which cannot be reached by sea-going craft. Vessels of 200 tons can proceed for some miles up the river. The anchorage off the mouth is fairly good in summer, but, except for steamers, dangerous in winter. The river might be made more useful by dredging, but the expense would be great.

San Giovanni di Medua.—The port is a small bay, 3½ to 4 fathoms in depth, offering very little accommodation. In 1914 the Italians laid a cable to the port. Outside the bay, in the San Giovanni road, there is good anchorage in 11 to 12 fathoms. The roadstead is exposed to the south-west, but a gale seldom blows from that quarter.

Durazzo.—The town of Durazzo is the chief centre of trade on the coast of Albania. The anchorage is exposed to the west and south-west winds, and, as

the water is comparatively shallow, there is a heavy sea when these winds blow strongly. The approach from the west is difficult in thick weather owing to sand-banks. The harbour, however, is capable of improvement by artificial means, and its depth is pretty constant, as it is free from river-borne silt.

Valona.—The town is connected by cable with Otranto in Italy. The bay of Valona affords good shelter from all winds and is the best natural harbour on the Albanian coast. In fine weather the *scala* or landing-place of Valona can be used, but it is exposed to the north-west, from which direction a heavy sea often comes in. At Dukati there is anchorage in stiff mud with a depth of 16 fathoms, but it is some distance (about 7 miles) from Valona.

Santi Quaranta.—The bay of Santi Quaranta, which lies NE. of Corfu, is nearly two miles wide, and is sheltered from all but westerly winds. The anchorage is in the middle in sand and mud, with a depth of 15 to 16 fathoms.

Butrinto Bay.—The bay measures about a mile by 1,300 yards. There is very good anchorage in 14 to 16 fathoms.

As the Albanians cannot hope to develop their ports simultaneously, they will have to decide which of them shall first receive attention. The best anchorages are at Butrinto and Valona; but Butrinto is very far south, and Valona, though the harbour might be greatly improved, is not favourably placed in relation to the interior and can be connected with Monastir in particular only by a very circuitous route. San Giovanni di Medua is inadequate, and in any case too near the northern frontier. On the whole it seems that the Albanians should at first concentrate their energies on Durazzo. Its defects as a port are great, but some of

these can be obviated, its position is central, and its communications with the interior are better than those of any other Albanian harbour.

(*b*) *Winds and Tides*

In summer the winds on the Albanian coast are generally light, and there are frequent calms. Sudden squalls from the north, however, sometimes occur, and at times the Scirocco, blowing from the south, raises a heavy sea and brings rain and thick weather. In winter the northerly wind called Bora is the strongest, and, being squally, is dangerous to sailing vessels. South-east winds, which bring fog, are also common at this season.

The rise and fall of the tide off the Albanian coast is scarcely perceptible. The winds have great influence on the currents and blow the waters up and down the Adriatic; but the variation in depth seldom amounts to more than two feet. The general trend of the currents is northerly, but a strong northerly wind reverses their direction.

(*c*) *Shipping Lines*

There were regular steamship services between the Albanian coast and Trieste, Venice, Bari, Corfu and Constantinople. The Austrian Lloyd steamers carried most of the trade between Albania and the ports mentioned; but a Hungarian-Croatian line, the Fiume-Obotti Co., and an Italian company, the Società Anonima 'Puglia', also served the ports of north Albania, while a Greek firm, the John MacDowall Steamship Co., served those of the south. The coastwise traffic was carried on by Greeks and Turks. The Servizi Marittimi carried the mails from Italy, the Austrian Lloyd those from Austria.

(B) INDUSTRY

(1) Agriculture

(a) *Products of Commercial Value*

Vegetable.—Up to the present time agriculture in Albania has been at a very low level, and this is due not so much to the infertility of the soil as to the inherent repugnance of the Albanian to labour. One of his proverbs runs: 'The Albanian is born to fight, not to cultivate the soil.' The Turks also have a saying: 'To the Armenians the pen, to the Albanians the sword.' Thus the Albanian prefers to seek his livelihood in war and in raiding the cattle of the neighbouring countries rather than in tilling the soil. Moreover, the system of land tenure offers him no inducement to exert his energies in this direction.

The agricultural districts are the coastal plains, the elevated plains south of Scutari, the regions of Tirana, Elbasan, Berat, and Delvino, and the borders of the great lakes. The districts of Prizren and Jakova, which were among the most fertile, were allotted respectively to Serbia and Montenegro in 1914.

Cereals are grown in all the agricultural areas. The principal crop is maize, which, as it yields a fairly steady return and exacts little care and labour in cultivation, is particularly suited to small properties. The beasts of burden in the country districts are exclusively fed on maize, and it also forms the foundation of the food of the peasants. A considerable portion of the crop is exported.

Wheat, which requires more care, is better suited to the larger properties, and is usually cultivated on land belonging to the beys, especially in the south,

where the dry soil and intermittent rains are favourable to its growth. The crop, although less consistent in its yield than maize, is more remunerative. The annual harvest varies from 10 to 40 bushels to the acre.

Oats and barley are cultivated in small quantities, and a little rice is grown in the region of Valona.

Peas, beans, and other leguminous products are largely grown in what used to be the Sanjak of Durazzo; of these 150–300 tons are exported annually.

A small amount of hemp is raised. Flax and cotton are also cultivated, but the crops are hardly sufficient to supply local industries.

Next to cereals, olive oil is the most important product. The trees are grouped in little woods, or less frequently planted in rows. The yield of a tree is usually 2½ to 5 gallons of oil, while large trees have been known to yield as much as 15 gallons. The chief centres of olive culture are in the regions of Valona and Durazzo, each of which in good years produces some 3,000 tons. About half the total output of these districts is exported. Kroya possesses 70,000 olive trees, and they are also cultivated around Alessio, Kavaya, Elbasan, and Delvino. Many of the trees between Scutari and Valona were cut down by the Serbians during their withdrawal in 1913.

The present methods employed in the production of the oil are too primitive to admit of export on a large scale; the oil, carried in goat-skin bottles on the backs of animals, acquires a peculiar taste, and the inadequate means of transport are a further hindrance; but under better conditions this industry would be capable of considerable development.

Tobacco is cultivated in the districts of Durazzo, Kavaya, Berat, and Tepelen. The first crop is cut at the beginning of September, the second some days later, and the third, the *vieshtouk* or autumnal crop,

at the end of October. The average annual production is about 1,000 tons. The tobacco is not of the first quality, but could be improved if more care were given to the cultivation. It is almost entirely consumed in the country, and, as the Albanians did not acknowledge the authority of the Régie Ottomane, the little that was formerly exported was smuggled over the frontiers.

Fruit trees abound on the littoral, and besides the olive, include the pistachio, pomegranate, orange, lemon, almond, apple, fig, hazel-nut, wild pear, and, in the valley of Delvino, the mulberry.

The vine is cultivated, though not scientifically, at Scutari, Alessio, Tirana, Tomor, and Nimersa, and in the valley of the Skumbi as far as Elbasan. The wild vine grows on the calcareous mountains to the north-east of Scutari, and on all the mountains of southern Albania. A wine, which in colour and fire resembles that of the south of Spain, is produced on the slopes of Podrina, north of the Drin.

The wine production of the country does not suffice for local consumption; the fiscal authorities are largely responsible for this, as they forbade the importation of good grafts and imposed a tithe, not only on the average production, but also on the number of vines. The Albanian vine-dressers have neither the means nor the necessary aptitude to combat the diseases to which the plants are subject. The industry is, however, capable of considerable development, as natural conditions are particularly favourable to it.

The sumac, used by dyers and curriers, is principally cultivated by the Mirdites, and in the regions of Scutari and Durazzo; one variety, the *rhus continuus*, is grown in southern Albania. There is a certain amount of export trade in the wood and leaves.

The scodano, a plant used in dyeing, comes from the Zadrina.[1]

Animal.—The economic and social conditions of the country incline the Albanians to turn their attention to cattle-raising rather than to tillage. The rich meadows of the alluvial plains afford good grazing grounds, and in the north there is abundance of excellent alpine pasturage, to which the flocks and herds are taken in summer, when, owing to the prolonged drought, pasturage elsewhere is scarce. Many tribes, but especially the Klementi and Kastrati, who dwell in the mountainous district north of Scutari, accompany their animals to these grazing grounds. This annual migration, though under existing conditions inevitable, exposes the beasts to the strain of long journeys and ailments occasioned by an unaccustomed climate. No attempt is made to counteract these disadvantages, as, even when at home, the Albanians ignore the most elementary rules of veterinary hygiene; the mountaineers have no stables, and the animals remain in the open, exposed to every kind of weather, and no provision is made for winter forage. Under these conditions it is not surprising that epizoötic diseases are frequent and serious: in 1901, for instance, famine and disease caused half the lambs of the Sanjak of Durazzo to perish. The least backward region from the agricultural point of view is the extreme south; it is specially rich in cattle, and the valleys are favourable to the raising of goats and sheep.[2]

[1] Austrian experts, according to the *Balkan Revue* (German), were lately considering the question of promoting the cultivation of grapes, olives, cotton, tobacco, and roses (for attar). The plains, says the same authority, are fertile, but require a better system of irrigation.

[2] The *Balkan Revue* thinks that cattle-raising will in the future become very important in Albania. The export of wool for 1917 is stated to have been 500,000 kg., and that of silk-cocoons 50,000 kg.

The Vlachs of the Pindus region devote themselves, in particular, to the raising of buffaloes and horned cattle, in which they do a fairly large trade. Before the Balkan Wars a trade in skins and wool used to be carried on, chiefly with Italy and Austria. Scutari, Premeti, and the ports of the south were the centres of this trade.

Draught horses are bred in Scutari, and a certain number were sent to Italy, where they are employed for work in the fields.

Pig-keeping, for which the climate is favourable, is carried on with success and profit in places where the population is mostly Christian.

Poultry are seen almost everywhere, and geese especially do exceedingly well, owing to the methods used in fattening.

(*b*) *Methods of Cultivation*

If Albania is to-day a poor country, it is not because the soil is unfertile, but because it is insufficiently cultivated. Not only is much good land altogether neglected, but, even where agriculture is practised, the methods followed are most primitive. There is no rotation of crops, the soil is not manured, and agricultural machinery is seldom used. Most of the work is done by the women, and the farm implements are of the rudest description. Iron ploughs are unknown to the majority of the peasants, who generally use wooden ones similar to the *kolitschka* of the Serbs; a harrow mounted on wheels is also used, drawn, like the plough, by oxen or buffaloes.

Irrigation.—The rainfall is very uncertain, and it frequently happens that a whole summer will pass entirely without rain. In the north a fairly good system of irrigation is under the complete control of the local tribes; wells are sunk, and ditches dug to

carry the water down to the cultivated districts; but, as there is a great scarcity of water, the properties have to be irrigated in turn. In the south, however, the absence of any system of drainage or irrigation adds to the difficulties which must be removed before the natural wealth of Albania can be fully developed. The institution of properly organized credit societies would do much to improve the present conditions, as money is very scarce in the country.

(c) *Forests*

The important forest domain of Albania, when it can be efficiently exploited, will become one of the principal sources of wealth to the country, which, except on the swampy plains and the limestone hills, is covered with magnificent trees for a quarter of its area.

At present the forests are State owned, and the right of use is reserved to the local tribes, who only permit their own people to exploit them—if felling the most beautiful trees of the finest species without any method can be called exploitation. The forests in the districts of the Mirdites and Dukajin are fortunately inaccessible, and consequently preserved from destruction.

The principal forest trees are conifers, chestnut, and beech. The latter, however, is not found in the southern mountains, where it is replaced by the evergreen-oak. Juniper, maple, and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. There are now steam saw-mills at Smoktina near Valona.

(d) *Land Tenure*

In considering the question of land tenure in Albania, the country can be roughly divided into two parts, the

northern or Gheg country, and the southern or Tosk region.

The land in the south is held on the mediaeval system which generally prevails in the Balkan provinces. The bey, who in the first place received his land from the Sultan, seldom cultivates it himself, but farms it out (as chiftliks) to tenants, from whom he exacts one-half or one-third of the harvest, and an additional one-tenth which he collects in taxes on behalf of the Government. In consequence of the unsettled condition of the country and the constant disputes which arise between tenant and bey, the land is only intermittently cultivated, with little zeal or enthusiasm on the part of the tenant. When the bey cultivates the land himself, he sometimes employs hired labour, which is commonly paid at the rate of £1 a month with food, though at harvest time a special piece rate of rather less than £2 per acre is often substituted. The bey generally retains the management of woods and olive groves in his own hands.

In addition to the large estates of the beys, there are a certain number of small freehold properties, usually between 20 and 50 acres in extent, although in some cases they may be as small as one acre. Some of them owe their origin to the purchase by tenant cultivators of the land which they formerly held of a bey; others have been bought from proprietors who, having purchased land from beys, afterwards wished to dispose of portions of it. The freeholder is under no further obligation to the bey, and only has to pay the taxes to the State.

In the north, the Turkish domination was only nominal, and this fact, together with the geographical character of the country, accounts to a great extent for the different system which prevails. As Turkish authority was not recognized by the northern tribes,

attempts on the part of the Sultans to enforce Turkish tenurial arrangements were never effectual. Practically the whole of the land in the north, therefore, is held according to tribal rules, and all questions relating to the division of land are decided by the tribal authority. The divisions are, however, very small, as the bulk of the property was divided a very long time ago, and has now become the undisputed property of the different families. A large proportion of this territory is grazing ground, which is divided among the tribes.

The regulation of the irrigation is under the absolute control of the tribe, and persons working on the construction of wells and ditches are protected from the vendetta.

(2) Fisheries

The waters of Albania are exceptionally abundant in fish, which might become an important source of revenue to the country. Fish are plentiful in the Lake of Scutari, and up to 1900 there were regular villages of fishermen's cabins, built on piles, at the south-eastern extremity of the lake, but, as these cabins interfered with the outflow of the water, the Government of Montenegro obtained their suppression. In consequence, the fishing industry greatly diminished. A kind of sardine, called scoranza, however, is still caught in great quantities along the borders of the lake. The fish, when smoked, is exported to the south of Italy and Provence to an annual value of from £625 to £750. This trade might become important and lucrative, if the fishing were properly organized and the fish preserved in oil. Fishing in general has been handicapped by heavy taxes.

(3) Minerals

Very little is known concerning the mineral wealth of Albania, the hostility of the natives towards the engineers rendering extensive prospecting impossible.

The only mine that is worked at present is the bitumen mine at Selenitsa, near Valona. A French company has successfully exploited this deposit for some years, employing Vlachs and Greeks as workmen. The bitumen is found in solid form, both dull and shining, in liquid form and also as asphalt. The shining bitumen, called *romsi*, after the name of the village where it is principally found, is a remarkable product which does not exist in any other country.

The export of solid bitumen reaches 3,500 tons a year, but the cost of transport, either by land or sea, is excessive.

Asphalt is used in the country as an inferior fuel to replace charcoal, which is too costly. There is no export of asphalt.

French and German experts have discovered deposits of gold, silver, lead, iron, antimony, cinnabar, chromium, copper, coal, lignite, and petrol, but their value is not yet known. There are also indications of oil and natural gas in the Voyusa valley.[1]

An English company has obtained the concession of a bed of copper to the west of Scutari, but no details of the working are available. French engineers estimate that if the course of the lower Drin were regulated, coal extracted from the district could be transported by this route alone to the value of over £200,000 a year.

Salt is obtained by evaporation, either from the sea-water as at Durazzo and the mouth of the Semeni, or

[1] In addition to the minerals mentioned above, the *Balkan Revue* states that quicksilver has been discovered.

from the salt springs. The production, which is sufficient for local needs, is approximately 6,500 tons.

(4) Manufactures

The manufactures of Albania are of small account, and are almost entirely consumed in the country.

In the more remote mountain regions the corn is ground by hand-mills; elsewhere water-mills predominate, but there are steam flour-mills at Nevesda and Koritsa. The total amount of flour produced does not suffice for the needs of the country.

There is a small tanning industry, carried on in the towns on primitive methods. Skins are prepared for fancy saddles, dagger sheaths, shoes, and *opankas*, or sandals worn by the peasants.

At Scutari there is a small saltpetre factory, which produces 900 tons annually; some of the output is exported to Austria.

On the borders of the Mati there are a number of illicit gunpowder factories, which used to defraud the Government of a considerable amount of revenue.

There are five brick-kilns in the country—at Durazzo, Kroya, Siak, Kavaya, and Tirana: the average annual output is about 300,000 bricks; tiles and terra-cotta vases are also made.

The Albanians are clever metal-workers. They produce silver filigree work, gold and silver ornaments, pistols inlaid with silver, and copper and tin pots. The Vlachs make a speciality of goldsmith's work and silver filigree. Scutari is the centre of the manufacture of inlaid weapons.

Spinning and weaving are domestic industries, carried on mainly by women. Considerable quantities of cotton and woollen fabrics and some silk stuffs are produced. Peasant costumes are manufactured almost exclusively in the districts of Durazzo and Kavaya.

The Mussulmans, particularly in the region of Scutari, make embroideries in cotton, silk, gold thread, and also passementerie. Dyeing is done according to old and excellent traditions.

There was a separate Albanian manufacture of cigarettes before 1914. They were inferior to the Turkish Régie products, but were sold at about the same price.

(C) COMMERCE

(1) Domestic

The trade of Albania is of small account and conducted on simple lines. This is due to the physical character and political conditions of the country rather than to the nature of the inhabitants. The Albanian, though of an independent and quarrelsome disposition, is quick to learn and open to modern ideas.

The internal trade of Albania consists in the distribution of the few goods that are imported and the exchange of products of the soil and of local industries. The latter process is more complicated than might be expected, owing to the great variety of climate and soil and the inadequate means of communication. All the bigger towns are meeting-places of the inhabitants of the surrounding districts for the sale and purchase of necessaries. Except at the ports, the Albanians are dependent on such markets for goods that are not produced locally.

In towns such as Dibra and Elbasan there was in the bazaars a good deal of tinware and crockery, towels, &c., linen and cloth of a somewhat shoddy kind. Some of this was English in origin, but all came directly from Austria. The improvement of communi-

cations in the war should greatly improve and develop such commerce. There is also a constant local process of exchange of products, corn, salt, &c., between the hills and the plains. This again will increase with improved routes; e. g. Elbasan, which is relatively civilized, has now much improved communication with Struga and Dibra.

(2) Foreign

The chief articles of export are wool, skins, cheese, butter, oil, bitumen, olives, wood, fish, live stock, fruits, valonia, sumac, gall nuts, and rushes. The principal customer of Albania was Austria. Next came Italy, which took 25 per cent. of the exports of Scutari and 30 per cent. of those of southern Albania. The other chief purchasers of Albanian goods, in order of importance, were Turkey, Egypt, Malta, France (especially Tunis), and Montenegro.

In recent years the average value of the imports was upwards of £400,000. Their character and origin are shown below:

Austria.—Coffee (£28,000), petrol (£40,000), flour, liqueurs, beer, cotton, soap, chemicals, hardware.

Italy.—Flour, wines, liqueurs, cotton and silk stuffs, soap, dressed skins.

France.—Flour, wines, liqueurs, silks, velvets, soap, chemicals, hardware.

Germany.—Sugar (£60,000), soap, chemicals.

Turkey.—Rice and flour.

The foreign trade of Albania had been declining for many years before the European War. In 1898 the exports were valued at £480,000 and the imports at £1,400,000.

No changes were made by the Albanian Government in the tariffs and commercial treaties existing under

Turkish rule. It was agreed to allow these questions to stand over until a definite form of government had been established.

(D) FINANCE

(1) *Currency*

The old Turkish currency existed in Albania up to August 1914, and, as in Turkey, the value of the piastre varied according to the locality. Gold coins were at a high premium.

Serbian paper and Montenegrin silver found their way into the country after the beginning of the war and were naturally at a heavy discount.

Italian paper is now circulating in the Valona district, and it may be taken for granted that Austrian paper has been used in north Albania.

(2) *Banking*

The Imperial Ottoman Bank had a branch at Scutari, but this was closed in November 1915.

The Austrians and Italians opened banks at Durazzo and Valona, and the Italian Società Commerciale d'Oriente is the officially recognized bank at Valona. Money was lent by private bankers or money-changers at high rates of interest. The Turkish Banque Agricole, which in former times had branches in some districts, disappeared when Albania became autonomous. In Albania 'wealth' is of course a relative term: a flock of 500 sheep constitutes ease; one of 2,000, riches. The big landowners are wealthy in cattle and acres, but from the standpoint of western Europe even the richest Albanians are no more than well-to-do.

APPENDIX I

The following manifestoes may be taken as typical of many similar publications :

(1) *An Address issued by the 'Central Albanian Committee' to 'Public Opinion and the Young Turk Government' on May* 1, 1911.

Five centuries have elapsed since Albania was first subjected to the Turkish yoke. Throughout this period of war and misery the Albanians have afforded proof of the profoundest loyalty, and by the sacrifice of their own persons have carried the glorious Turkish flag from victory to victory.

We have always shared in the successes and disasters of the Ottoman Empire, even at times when her existence depended on our sword, our courage, and our loyalty. We have never desired to claim any special privileges, and with one accord we have succeeded in living under the auspices of a patriarchal system—perhaps too little conscious of our own distinctive entity and nationality. But a disastrous period of thirty years of tyranny for the Ottoman Empire has compelled us to follow the line of national development, along which our neighbours long ago began to advance. We bravely grappled with despotism ; we lent the Young Turk movement our aid, and to us its success was due. But instead of displaying the gratitude which we had well deserved, instead of granting us the rights which the other elements in the Ottoman Empire already possess, they have attacked our most sacred rights with brutal hand and political savagery.

Prostrated by misfortune, despairing of the present and the future, we declare that our demands are as follows :

We desire :

1. That Albania be once more united in a single vilayet.
2. That our Albanian schools be supported by the State.
3. That in time of peace our soldiers may perform their military service in Albanian territory.

In view of the gravity of the present situation in Albania, and of the numerical inferiority of the Turkish elements in

Europe, and of the unjustifiable propaganda carried on by foreign agency in our country, we insist—in order to preserve our national existence—on the concession of the above privileges. In the name of all Albanians, Moslem and Christian, in the name of the innocent whose blood is being shed, in our struggle to establish the rights of the Albanian people, we address our claim to humanity and public opinion with the prayer that justice may be granted to us.

(2) *Demands of the Central Albanian Committee about the same date.*

(1) To obtain an amnesty from the [Turkish] Government for all Albanians, Moslem and Christian, who have been sentenced for political reasons.

(2) To secure the appointment by the Government of a commission formed from native Albanians to assess the damage caused by the disarmament of 1910 and to pay an indemnity in accordance with its report.

(3) To obtain official recognition of the Albanian nationality and language, together with the national alphabet [Latin letters].

(4) To obtain from the Chamber of Deputies recognition of the Albanian Society of Progress as a moral and legal individual according to the decision of the Congress of Elbasan. [In order to enable it to purchase land, hold property, &c.]

(5) To persuade the Government to bring to justice those who issued orders for the dishonour and flogging of the Albanians during the process of disarmament of 1910, as well as those who carried out these orders, and to sentence them in accordance with their deserts.

(6) To obtain from the Government the concession that education in the Government primary schools be imparted in Albanian and Turkish without discrimination.

(7) To demand from the Government that all employés of the State sent to Albania should possess a knowledge of the Albanian language.

(8) To demand from the Government that all police agents and *gendarmes* in Albania be Albanians.

(9) To secure a promise that all Albanian soldiers perform their service in Rumelia.

(10) To demand from the Government that a portion of the

taxes collected in Albania be devoted to the development of the country in providing roads, railways, bridges, hospitals, schools, &c.

(11) To have recourse to every means within the power of the nation to secure the above objects.

The emphasis laid in these documents on the demand for education to be imparted in the Albanian language is noteworthy. It implies (1) a real desire for education both among the Ghegs and Tosks, for which recent travellers supply much independent evidence; (2) a desire equally keen to compete with Turkish, Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian propaganda, which has principally worked by the institution of numerous schools corresponding with the different nationalities concerned.

APPENDIX II

Proposed Concessions to the Insurgents and Refugees, drawn up by King Nicholas for acceptance by the Turkish Government, in August 1911.

1. Le Gouvt Imp. Ottoman concède généreusement l'amnestie pleine et entière aux rebelles malissores. Il s'en suit que jamais et à aucune occasion ceux-ci ne seraient tenus à rendre compte ou être punis pour le fait de la révolte et des actes qui s'en sont suivis.

2. Les jeunes gens malissores inscrits aux registres de la conscription feront leur service militaire dans le vilayet de Scutari et un an à Constantinople en temps de paix et en temps de guerre extérieure ils sont tenus à se rendre où le drapeau ottoman les conviera.

3. Le caïmacan de Touzi doit être choisi parmi ceux qui posséderaient la langue albanaise et les mudirs ainsi que les conseillers municipaux doivent être choisis exclusivement parmi les Malissores. Il est bien entendu que ces fonctionnaires seront rétribués par l'État.

4. Les droits de redevance fiscale seront réglés d'après la capacité financière de la population et la perception des impôts sera remise à une époque de deux ans, afin de permettre aux Malissores de pouvoir se remettre économiquement des dommages causés par la révolte.

5. Pour tout ce qui est spécialement de la taxe sur les moutons, les Malissores y seront soumis comme les autres habitants de l'Empire, mais la perception ne se fera que d'une piastre par tête et sera perçue à partir de l'année prochaine.

6. Le Gouvt Imp., sachant que les armes, fusils, revolvers et yatagans ont été de tout temps fidèles et inséparables compagnons des Malissores, qui, étant tous des bergers, en ont absolument besoin, en autorisera le port, exception [faite] des villes et bazars, dans l'avenir aussi, convaincu que l'usage n'en sera fait que contre les bêtes fauves ou les ennemis de l'Empire.

7. Dans sept districts (Chala, Chochi, Chkreli, Castrati, Gruda, Hotti et Klimenti) seront érigées une ou deux écoles primaires, et la langue de l'enseignement sera l'albanais, et les maîtres d'écoles seront rétribués par l'État.

8. Les districts susmentionnés, à l'exception de Chala, Chochi, et Chkreli, seront traversés d'une route carossable et dotés d'autres routes pour chevaux et piétons.

9. Ces travaux seront mis en œuvre immédiatement après la rentrée des Malissores, ce qui les aiderait à se relever économiquement.

10. Il sera nommée une commission dans chacun de ces districts, qui, sous la surveillance d'un proposé du vilayet de Scutari et d'un envoyé de l'Archevêque, estimerait les maisons brûlées ou détruites par les opérations militaires.

11. Sa Majesté Imp. le Sultan ayant gracieusement mis à la disposition du Gouvt de Scutari une somme de 10,000 livres, à laquelle le Gouvt a ajouté une autre de 20,000 livres, qui, jointes à d'autres secours pour la reconstruction des maisons brûlées, seront effectivement attribuées à cet effet par la commission instituée d'après l'alinéa précédent, laquelle classerait en quatre catégories la valeur des immeubles pour faciliter la distribution.

12. Tous les Malissores qui ont pris part à la révolte et les familles se trouvant au Monténégro, ayant été complètement ruinés, recevront à leur rentrée 2 honums (? deunnums) du maïs et en numéraire £T1 en vue de subsister jusqu'à la prochaine récolte.

APPENDIX III

Formation of an Independent Albania.

I. *Preliminary stages*

1. On October 8, 1912, the very day that Montenegro declared war against Turkey, the six Great Powers—Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy—presented an ultimatum at Sofia, Belgrade, Athens, and Cetinje, urging the Balkan Allies not to go to war, and warning them that, if they did, they would not be permitted to reap any 'fruits of victory'.

2. In November, when the Serbian army was approaching the Albanian coast, Austria-Hungary warned Serbia that she would not be permitted to make any permanent occupation of an Adriatic seaport.

3. When the Greek fleet bombarded Valona on December 3, both Austria-Hungary and Italy intimated to Greece that she would not be permitted to retain Valona as a naval base.

II. *Negotiations*

On December 12 the Ambassadors' Conference in London, on the proposal of Austria-Hungary, accepted the principle of an independent Albania, and proceeded to examine the claims of the parties interested.

(1) *The Albanian claim.*

An Albanian deputation of three members, Rassik Dino, Mehmed Konitza, and P. Nogga, representing the Provisional Albanian Government at Valona, asked for very much more territory than they could possibly have expected to get. They proposed for the new frontier a line following the then existing Montenegrin frontier to its easternmost point, and thence onwards so as to include the towns of Ipek, Mitrovitsa, Prishtina, Üsküb, and Monastir with their hinterlands, and thence on to a point south of Lake Presba, from which it turned almost due south, leaving Kastoria on the east to Greece, so as to reach the Greek frontier a little east of Metzovo. For the rest the line followed the then existing Greek frontier down to the Gulf of Arta.

In support of their claim the deputies advanced two arguments: (1) that the territory included was peopled by populations almost entirely Albanian, and (2) that the new Albania must not be so reduced in size as to endanger its future development.

(2) *The Serbian and Montenegrin claim.*

The Serbian deputies represented their claims on a map in which the frontier of the new Albania, as they would have liked to have it constituted, started from the mouth of the River Mat and then followed the line of the Drin basin on the one side and the Mat and Skumbi basins on the other as far as Lake Okhrida, assigning the whole of the lake to Serbia. From this point the line continued southwards, striking the River Voyusa at a point midway between Permeti and Klisura, whence it ran almost due west to the SE. shore of the Bay of Valona, leaving the town itself to Albania. The deputies stated that their map represented also the views of Greece and Montenegro. In detail Montenegro laid special emphasis on her claims to Scutari, which she had not yet captured, as the economical centre of the Zeta district; and to Ipek and Jakova, the former of which had been made the seat of the Serbian Patriarch in the reign of the great Stephen Dushan. In the south, with Greece owning the south half of the bay, the fine harbour of Valona would have been rendered useless to Albania. The general result would have been to reduce Albania to little more than half of its present dimensions.

(3) *The Greek claim.*

The Greek representatives, finding the Serbian map wholly unacceptable to Italy and Austria-Hungary, proposed a frontier starting from the sea farther south than in the Serbian map, which, though some 10 miles south of Valona Bay, was sufficiently generous to include within the Greek kingdom Chimara, Argyrokastro, Kolonia, and Koritsa, as well as Yanina and the rest of the old Turkish vilayet down to the Gulf of Arta—a region peopled by nearly 500,000 inhabitants, of whom, as they adduced Turkish statistics to show, 150,000 were Mussulman, and 86,000 Christians spoke Albanian and not Greek. In support of their proposal they urged (1) that the Greek possession of Corfu and of Yanina—the town was not captured till March 6, 1913—would necessitate both for strategical and economic reasons a line drawn well to the north of Argyrokastro, along difficult mountain ranges or almost inaccessible

gorges, which did as a matter of fact so separate the populations living north and south of it, that the former were commercially dependent on Valona, while the latter were wholly connected with Santi Quaranta, Yanina, and Prevesa; (2) that all the civilizing agencies in the shape of churches, schools, and hospitals were within these limits entirely Greek.

Russia supported the Slav claims of Montenegro and Serbia, France supported the Greek claims. Austria, supported by Italy and backed by Germany, brought forward a scheme of her own, having for its object (1) to include within the new frontiers as many Albanians as possible in order to keep the Serbs farther away from the Adriatic; (2) to foment new quarrels among the Balkan Allies, whose successes seemed to threaten not only her hold over the Adriatic, but her future progress towards Salonika. The Austrian scheme would have assigned Gusinye and Plava to Montenegro, but Ipek, Jakova, Prizren, Lyuma, Dibra, Okhrida, Koritsa, Metsovo, and Yanina to Albania; while Greece would have been rewarded only with a small district south of Yanina and Parga. However, after the capture of Yanina by the Greeks on March 6, 1913, both Austria and Italy consented to the new frontier being fixed a considerable distance farther to the north.

At last in April Sir Edward Grey was able to announce to the House of Commons: 'The agreement between the Powers respecting the frontiers of Albania was reached after a long and laborious diplomatic effort. It was decided that the littoral and Scutari should be Albanian, while Ipek, Prizren, Dibra, and (after much negotiation) Jakova should be excluded from Albania. This arrangement leaves a large tract of territory to be divided between Serbia and Montenegro as the fruits of victory.'

This agreement, however, extended only to the northern and north-eastern frontiers; the south and south-eastern frontiers still remained in dispute. It was not till August 12—two days after the Peace of Bucarest—that Sir Edward Grey was able to announce that an agreement had been reached for the delimitation, under certain agreed conditions, of the south and south-eastern frontiers of Albania.

A little later two commissions were sent out to settle details on the spot. The commissioners for the south produced their report in December, and it was approved and signed on December 19, 1913. The commissioners for the north reported

some months later, in June 1914. Greece disputed the justice of the decision of the Powers on the ground that the new frontiers would include in Albania 140,000 Greeks in the neighbourhood of Argyrokastro, and offered, if Argyrokastro were assigned to her, to surrender a strip of the coast line and to pay down £100,000. The Triple Alliance approved of the Greek claim and offer, but only on condition that Greece should evacuate the portion of Epeiros which had been assigned to Albania. This condition was never fulfilled.

AUTHORITIES

ACTA ET DIPLOMATA RES ALBANIAE MEDIAE AETATIS ILLUSTRANTIA. Vienna, 1913.

ARDAGH, J. C.: *Albania*. Intelligence Branch, Quartermaster-General's Department, 1881.

BALDACCI, A.: *Itinerari Albanesi* in Memorie della Società geografica italiana, 1892–4–7.

——— *Nel paese del Cem*, ditto, 1903.

BARBARICH, E.: *Albania*. Rome, 1905.

BARNES, CAPT. J. S.: *The Future of the Albanian State* in Geographical Journal, July 1918.

BURILEANU, C. N.: *I Romeni di Albania*. Bologna, 1912.

DURHAM, E.: *The Burden of the Balkans*. London, 1905.

——— *High Albania*. London, 1909.

——— *The Struggle for Scutari*. London, 1914.

ELIOT, SIR CHARLES ('Odysseus'): *Turkey in Europe*. London, 1908.

GALANTI, A.: *L'Albania*. Rome, 1901.

GEORGEVITCH, DR. V.: *Die Albanesen und die Grossmächte*. Leipzig, 1913.

GIBERT, FRÉDÉRIC: *Les Pays d'Albanie et leur Histoire*. Paris, 1914.

GOPČEVIĆ, S.: *Oberalbanien und seine Liga*. Leipzig, 1881.

——— *Das Fürstentum Albanien*. Berlin, 1914.

HAHN, I. VON: *Albanesische Studien*. Vienna, 1853.

——— *Reise d. Drin u. Wardar*, in K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, Bd. xv, xvi, 1867–9.

HASSERT, K.: *Streifzüge in Ober-Albanien*, in Verhandlungen d. Gesellschaft für Erdkenntniss. Berlin, 1897.

HIRT, H. A.: *Die Indogermanen*. 2 vols. Strassburg, 1905 and 1907.

HOGARTH, D. G.: *The Nearer East*. London, 1902.

IPPEN, TH. A.: *Skutari und die nordalbanische Küstenebene*. Sarajevo, 1907.

——— *Die Gebirge des nordwestlichen Albaniens*, in Abhandl. der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1908.

ISMAIL KEMAL BEY: *Albania and the Albanians*, in Quarterly Review, 1917.

'Un Italiano': *La Politica Estera Italiana*, 1875–1916. Bitonto, 1916.

Lamouche, L.: *La Naissance de l'État albanais*, in La Revue politique et parlementaire, vol. lxxx, 1914.

Leake, W. M.: *Travels in Northern Greece*. 4 vols. London, 1835.

Liebert, Med. Dr. Erich: *Aus dem nordalbanischen Hochgebirge*. 1909.

Louis-Jaray, G.: *L'Albanie inconnue*. Paris, 1913.

——— *Au jeune royaume d'Albanie*. 1914.

Ministère [Français] de la Guerre: *L'Albanie et le Monténégro*. Paris, 1915.

Ministero della Guerra [Italiano]: *Albania*. Rome, 1915.

Ministero della Marina. *Monografia Albanese*. Rome, 1917.

Mjedja, A.: *Über die Befugnisse eines Bajraktars; über die Blutrache*, in Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellschaft f. Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1901.

Murray, Col. A. M.: Articles in *The World*, 1913, 1914.

——— *Lecture to the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1914.

Nopcsa, Baron: *Das katholische Nordalbanien*, in Földrajzi Közlemenyek. Budapest.

——— *Aus Sala und Klementi*. 1910.

Patsch, C.: *Das Sanschak Berat in Albanien* (Schriften der Balkankommission, antiquarische Abteilung). Vienna, 1904.

Peacock, W.: *Albania*. London, 1914.

Report of Dutch Mission in Albania. The Hague, 1914.

Siebertz, Paul: *Albanien und die Albanesen*. Vienna, 1910.

Steinmetz, Karl: *Von der Adria zum Schwarzen Drin*. 1900.

——— *Ein Reise durch die Hochländergaue Oberalbaniens*. 1904.

——— *Ein Vorstoss in die Nordalbanischen Alpen*. 1905.

Tozer, H. F.: *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*. 2 vols. London, 1869.

Wace, A. J. B., and Thompson, M. S.: *The Nomads of the Balkans*. London, 1914.

Maps

Albania is covered by the three sheets, Scutari, Elbassan, Valona, of the War Office map on the scale of 1 : 250,000 (G.S.G.S. 2097). This map is drawn mainly from the Austrian map on the scale of 1 : 200,000, which in Albania is not based on a thorough survey. It is also covered by sheet K. 34 (Sofiya) of the International Map (G.S.G.S. 2758) published by the War Office on the scale of 1 : 1,000,000. A special map (G.S.G.S. 3693) was also issued by the War Office in connexion with this series (November 1918), on the same scale.

For historical boundaries and ethnography, see Table and Note on Maps in *The Eastern Question*, No. 15 of this series.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE.

To be purchased through any Bookseller, or directly from
H. M. STATIONERY OFFICE at the following addresses :—
IMPERIAL HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C. 2, and
28 ABINGDON STREET, LONDON, S.W. 1;
37 PETER STREET, MANCHESTER;
1 ST. ANDREW'S CRESCENT, CARDIFF;
23 FORTH STREET, EDINBURGH;
or from E. PONSONBY, LTD., 116 GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1920.

Price 2/- net.