

# War Clouds Still Hover Over Southeastern Europe

## Rulings of the Peace Council Have Laid the Basis for Renewed Strife

By Frank H. Simonds

WITHIN the last few weeks the world has had many reminders of the multiplicity of powder magazines, which the various settlements or un settlements of the last year have created or perpetuated in the east and southeast of Europe. For the American audience these incidents have had little significance and have attracted less attention.

Yet the fact remains the murder of an Austrian Archduke in a remote Balkan town just six years ago set in motion a train of events which had as one consequence the dispatch of 2,000,000 Americans to Europe. Nor is it less certain the next Balkan "mess," like the last, may have enormous consequences for the United States.

The present American mood is rather suggestive of the ostrich, yet at the precise moment the country is deliberately turning its back upon European affairs it continues to maintain an army in Europe, quite as large as that which accompanied Shafter to Cuba, in the First Expedition, and, despite every wish on the part of the American public, we remain caught in the European tangle, and the steady march of European anarchy has as eventual menace for America as for the rest of the world.

## The Hawaiian Race Threatened With Extinction

By Theodore M. Knappen

IT WAS said of the Pilgrim Fathers that on arriving in New England they first fell on their knees and then on the Indians. The Gospel propagating descendants of those same Puritan ancestors figuratively if not actually fell on their knees when they landed in the Hawaiian Islands one hundred years ago this year, and they never in any violent sense fell on the Kanakas, who within a few years they conquered with the weapons of prayer and the gospel of brotherly love and education.

Nevertheless, for some weeks before adjournment a delegation of Hawaiians, headed by Governor Charles J. McCarthy, had been in Washington pleading with Congress to enact legislation that shall provide the voluntary victims of the missionary conquest of a hundred years ago with some remnants of their ancient domain that they may call their own and thereon make a stand to save their comely and stalwart race from extinction.

Rushed to Christianity

It was on March 30, 1820, that a band of Congregational missionaries, headed by the Rev. Hiram Bingham and the Rev. Asa Thurston, both ordained for this particular mission, after a voyage of more than four months from Boston first set eyes on the islands that were so quickly to fall under their sway as proselytizers for Christianity. From the king down to the humblest serf the whole population soon thereafter literally broke into Christianity and education.

Ten years later there were 53,000 students in the mission schools. The white men were welcomed as the bringers of a better religion and a higher civilization. Generally speaking, there was no armed conflict at any time between whites and natives and the latter remained sovereign and their island kingdom independent until the revolution of 1890, followed by annexation to the United States in 1900.

Yet after a hundred years of the higher life and the better civilization the descendants of the handful of New England missionaries and of those who came in their train, or their assigns, own practically everything in the islands, real and personal, and the 40,000 Hawaiians and part Hawaiians who remain in the land of their fathers, 250,000 strong when the New England missionaries came, are suing before the seats of the mighty at Washington for the restitution of a part of their ancient patrimony, that they may find some place to lay their heads and refresh themselves from their losing struggle with the fittest.

When Kamehameha I, conqueror and consolidator of the Hawaiian Islands into one kingdom, departed this life May 8, 1819, he little dreamed that the missionaries for whose coming he had hospitably prepared before he was summoned to his fathers would inaugurate such a change that a hundred years later that prince of the royal line, J. Kūhiō Kalanianaʻōle, who would have reigned as king had the monarchy continued, would, as Delegate from the Territory of Hawaii of the United States of America to the Congress thereof, be introducing a bill to provide the posterity of the great king's loyal subjects with some small parcels of the land that once was all his or his people's. That is what has come to pass. And to help him in his plea came C. J. McCarthy, the American Governor of the islands, of all white ancestry, and Territorial Senator John H. Wise and Territorial Representative Henry J. Lyman, of native blood, and also Harry Irwin, Attorney General of

over Macedonia, thus having nothing to show for their victory and insisting upon a new division.

**Bulgaria Terribly Beaten**

Serbia chose the latter course, and the second Balkan War followed. But this war resulted in a Serbian victory. Bulgaria, the soldier of Germany and Austria, was terribly beaten. Moreover, Rumania intervened against Bulgaria, and took as a reward the southern Dobruja, Serbia retained all of Macedonia and Greece made further gains. The result was that Serbia emerged with her area and population doubled and her appetite stimulated. Henceforth the Serbs openly plotted to wrest from Austria the southern Slav lands, while Rumania looked with increasing earnestness upon Hungarian lands inhabited by Rumanians.

Out of this impossible situation the World War came less than a year after the Treaty of Bucharest had officially terminated the second Balkan War. Now it will be seen from this hasty review that the old Western question was the result of the clash of policies of great powers. Russia moved toward Constantinople and encountered first Britain backed by France in the Crimean War, and then Austria, backed by Germany. The small Balkan states

were little more than the pawns of the larger powers until the moment of 1912, when they joined hands and attacked Turkey.

To-day, by contrast, the new Eastern question is a question affecting only the smaller powers. It is true that Constantinople is in British hands and that British domination at the Golden Horn has aroused a measure of protest in Paris, and even in Rome, but it is unlikely that this circumstance will lead to an open break between the present Allies. Moreover, in the end some sort of international control, or more probably surrender to Greece, will eliminate the Constantinople dispute. In reality the new Eastern question begins at Prague and Vienna, instead of Belgrade and Bucharest, and is a dispute between the several tribes actually dwelling in the region between the German frontier and the Aegean.

**The Differences**

To discuss the various disputes within the limits of this article is quite impossible, but what I mean to try to do is to catalogue the differences between these various tribes, always at odds with one another, but several alliances like the Balkan compact of 1912 are already taking form. As a consequence, for example, of any open hostilities between

Jugo-Slavia and Italy. Rumania would be certain to attack the Slavs, Bulgaria would certainly join in, while any quarrel between the Serbs and the Bulgarians which did not involve Italy or Rumania would certainly enlist the Greeks on the Serb side.

Starting at the north, Czecho-Slovakia is involved in a quarrel with Poland over Teschen, recent dispatches have reported rioting and actual clashes between Czech and Polish troops. In the same way there have been many conflicts between Czech and Hungarian troops, since the Magyars refuse to recognize the cession of the Slovak highlands to the Czechs. Bad blood also exists between the Austrians and the Czechs because some 3,000,000 German-speaking Austrians have been included within the limits of the Czecho-Slovak state. Finally, to cap the climax, bitterness has developed between the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Rutenians; that is, between the three Slav elements which inhabit the new state. Such is the situation of Czecho-Slovakia.

**The Odenburg Question**

As to Austria, in addition to the quarrel with the Czechs, the mutilated fragment of Austria finds itself at odds with the Hungarians

over a strip of territory, once Magyar, which was assigned to Austria in the recent settlement. This is the "Odenburg question." It has a very just grievance against Italy, since more than a third of a million German-speaking inhabitants of the Tyrol have been included within Italian frontiers. It is in open dispute with the Jugo-Slavs over the Klagenfurt district. Finally, most German-Austrians look forward to the reconquest of the Slovenian districts which fell to Jugo-Slavia in the peace of St. Germain.

As for Hungary, in addition to her quarrels with Czecho-Slovakia over the Slovak highlands and with the Austrians over Odenburg, she threatens to take up arms at the first opportunity to recover the Croatian lands, which separate her from the Adriatic, and this territory includes Fiume, also in dispute between the Slavs of the south and Italy. But the chief Hungarian quarrel, after all, is with the Rumanians, who have taken Transylvania and most of the Banat, thus depriving the Magyars of at least a third of their territory and some of their richest districts. In a word, Hungary has a "question" with each of her neighbors.

Nor is Jugo-Slavia much poorer in quarrels. The Fiume dispute has already filled the world with its echoes.

## America May Again Be Involved if There Is Another Flare-up in the Balkans

but it is only a detail in the far larger question of the Adriatic, for the southern Slavs claim Trieste as well as Fiume, and hope to dominate the east coast of the Adriatic from the Isonzo to the Drina. With the Rumanians the Jugo-Slavs have a bitter feud over the southwest corner of the Banat, assigned to the Slavs at Paris. This dispute is almost certain to lead to hostilities sooner or later. With Albania the Slavs are at odds over Scutari and the region about the Drina, the natural outlet of southern Serbia, but a region in which the population is entirely Albanian.

**Bulgaria Hasn't Given Up**

Of all the disputes which affect the southern Slavs, however, that with the Bulgarians is the most acute. It has already led to two bloody wars within the last eight years. To-day the Serbs hold all of Macedonia; they even increased their boundaries at Bulgarian expense in the recent Paris treaty. But Bulgaria has not given up. For a thousand years this rivalry has survived all the changes incident to the Turkish incursion.

Rumania is for the moment the victor in all of her quarrels. She has taken Transylvania and most of the Banat from Hungary, the Bukovina from Austria, Bessarabia from Russia, the southern Dobruja from Bulgaria. Only in the Banat has she been obliged to concede a little to the Serb. But each of her gains carries with it an inheritance of hatred. With Hungary there can be no real peace for a generation at least—that is, until Hungary accepts the new settlement. With Russia there is always the possibility of trouble, if a strong government eventually appears and Russian policy seeks the restoration of Russian rule in all the marches torn away from it during the last five years. Bulgaria is as ready now as four years ago to attack Rumania if there is any promise of regaining the Dobruja. Even if the Ukraine finally obtains independence from Russia, there is the possibility of dispute between the Ukraine and Rumania over the portions of the Bukovina in which the Ruthenian element predominates.

**A Surplus of Hate**

Bulgaria, too, is surrounded by hatreds, all of which are returned with interest. Bulgaria, however, is in a position which is just the reverse of that of Rumania. Her foes have been successful on all sides. She has lost not only all of Macedonia to Serbia, but also frontier strips which were hers before the first Balkan War. She has lost the southern Dobruja to Rumania. She is losing all her hopes in Thrace as the Greeks advance to take over Adrianople, which was Bulgarian for a few months after the first Balkan War. All the dreams of the great Bulgaria, cherished for so many decades, a greater Bulgaria extending from the Adriatic to the Black Sea and from the Danube to the Aegean, including Albania, Thrace, Macedonia, with Monastir, Salonica and Adrianople, have turned to dust and ashes. But Bulgaria has not accepted the recent decision as final.

Lastly, there is Greece, fortunate in the fact that three of her European frontiers are maritime. Only on the north does Greece touch her European neighbors directly. Over nearly half of this northern boundary, too, the Greeks and Serbians join, and these two Balkan peoples are in the novel situation of having no "question" at issue; indeed, they are, to a certain extent at least, actual allies. But for the rest Greece is in active dispute with Bulgaria over Thrace, a dispute which goes back to the era of the Byzantine Empire, and has been settled both to suit the Bulgar and the Greek many times in this long stretch of centuries. In addition, Greece has a full-sized dispute with Albania over northern Epirus, which gains its importance from the fact that Italy has in the past championed the Albanian cause, having in the back of her mind the purpose some day to occupy all of Albania.

**Italian Dispute Settled**

In recent months, thanks to Nitti, there has been an improvement in Greco-Italian relations, and Greek claims both in Epirus and to the islands in the Aegean will probably be recognized by Italy. This will leave Greece with only the Bulgarian problem in Europe, but she has an even more serious difficulty in Asia Minor, where she is in contact with her old Turkish foe in the hinterland of Smyrna.

Such, briefly, is the geography of anarchy which extends from the German frontier to the Aegean Sea. It is on this crazy foundation that the edifice of European peace rests. Of all the disputes which have been catalogued few are less than a thousand years old, many have been the cause of long and bloody wars in the past. None has been compromised or eliminated by the latest settlement; most have been actually accentuated. While it is wholly unlikely that any general war sweeping the southeast of Europe is likely to-day or to-morrow, given the degree of exhaustion existing in most of the countries, it is no less clear that the possibility exists, while even if the conflagration be postponed, eventually it is likely to burst forth with the same deadly consequences which marked the explosion of 1914. Not until some one finds a remedy for the disease of acute nationalism, if, indeed, it is a disease, can there be any hope of real settlement in the Near East and the disappearance of that threat of "trouble in the Balkans" which plagued Europe for so many decades.

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## Italy Is Prosperous and Discontented

Continued from preceding page

ti. When Lloyd George elected to make overtures—feeble gestures though they were—to Russia, Nitti was doing the same thing at the same time. A member of the German diplomatic service told me recently that an understanding had been reached which brought Italy and Germany closer together than ever before the war.

Italy's ambitions bring her in opposition with France, Jugo-Slavia, Greece and in some cases with England. Her ambitions in the Near East arouse the most resentment. To speak plainly, England does not want France to become the dominating power in the Near East; France has the same feeling toward England. Consequently Italy has an opportunity to exploit to her own advantage this national rivalry. And she is doing it with a certain degree of skill. It looks as if the future would find England and Italy cooperating in the Near East.

But Italy has several strings to her bow. Many Italians believe Germany will come back quickly; perhaps their great respect for the ability of the Germans leads them to overestimate their recuperative powers. In any case, they are working for the resumption of complete economic relations with Germany. The possibility of German and Italian cooperation in the Near East has not escaped them.

**"Italy Won the War"**

Replying to a question as to how far Italy would go in reestablishing relations with Germany, an important business man, who has no small influence in political affairs, said "the limit." In his opinion the war was a thing of the past. He emphasized the point that Italy never had any real hatred of Germany; her chief enemy was Austria-Hungary, and the latter no longer counts.

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their own food, and in the fisheries certain fish were theirs, the rest going to their lords, though the aforesaid common people supplied the labor for all. One day in every five the plebeians worked on the lands of the patricians, and the other four on their own—if they were not fishing, fighting or celebrating. As it required only about 1,600 square feet—a small city lot—to support a family of three, the total amount of land the common folk could claim by right of usage was not very large.

**Distribution of Land**

Before the missionaries left the United States they took an oath that they would not acquire a foot of land nor go into native politics. They found that the division of the land among the natives would be promotive of the advancement of Christianity and civilization among the people, so under their counsels the King in 1848 distributed the lands among three groups, viz., the King, the chiefs and the landlords in one; the government, and the common people.

Under this group system the proletariat got in fact what the Reds claim it always gets when it is not attending to the getting itself. There were about 110,000 of them then and they drew 28,000 acres. The nobility and royal families, who might have numbered 5,000 persons all told, took only 1,619,000 acres for themselves; for crown or royal support 984,000 acres were set aside, and for the government, 1,505,000 acres.

Before the great division was

made the missionaries had obtained a release from their oath of non-possession of land and the King had granted them 9,567 acres without charge. Then they bought 21,336 acres at about 25 cents an acre. After that the missionaries be thought themselves of their children and asked permission to purchase some land for them and this permission was granted, and it took 10,402 acres of land to go round the missionary children. Thus it came about that at the time the common people—110,000 of them—were assigned 28,000 acres, thirty-three missionaries and their families had come into possession of 41,000 acres of prime land.

"We do not begrudge the missionaries these lands," says Senator Wise. "I believe they were entitled to them for the services they rendered the Hawaiian people. Some got very small portions. I just want to show how liberal the Hawaiians were to the foreigners. When the Hawaiians had everything they gave everything, and now that the United States government has control of all the government lands we come to you to-day and expect you to have the same liberal spirit and return some of these lands to the Hawaiians. We contend that 28,000 acres for the common people was not a fair division."

"Of course, you will ask why the common people, after the 'mahele,' did not exercise their right to buy lands just as the missionaries and other people did, at 25 cents an acre. The landlords did not want them to acquire land, and the people, considering that the king

## Government Lands Sold

In the course of time the government lands proper that were of value were sold, and the common people even disposed of some of their paltry 28,000 acres. The crown lands were leased, but the leases are now expiring. Including them and the remnants of forest and other lands that were not disposed of, the United States Government now controls about 1,680,000 acres of land. Most of the non-government lands had passed into the hands of the corporations by 1919, when it was estimated that out of \$140,000,000 worth of real estate they owned \$80,000,000 or \$90,000,000, and of the \$110,000,000 of personal property in the islands \$108,000,000 was theirs.

The Hawaiians of high and low degree owned only \$13,000,000 worth of land and only \$2,000,000 of personal property, the corporations having 74 per cent of all the wealth of the land and the natives only 6.23 per cent. And the bulk of the property owned by the natives was in the possession of the descendants of the ancient chiefs and landlords, of whom there were 1,913.

There is a homestead system in the islands, but as leased or other lands are opened to the public under it the applicants, being always more numerous than the plots, draw lots for the allocations, so that the natives, though now very desirous

of getting land, take their chances with the far more numerous persons of the other races inhabiting the islands. In the last drawing there were 31 homestead parcels and 905 applicants. Only three or four natives drew winning lots.

**Are a Dying Race**

"The Hawaiian people are a dying people," continued Senator Wise, "and just at this time, when the American people are doing so much for the dying people of Europe, they ought to pause for a moment and look back at the Hawaiians, a noble race, who in 1778, according to Captain Cook's calculation, numbered 400,000 individuals. Allowing that Captain Cook's estimate was much too high, the first official census, taken in 1832, counted 113,319 persons. The estimated population in 1919 was 22,600 pure Hawaiians and 16,660 part Hawaiians out of a total of 263,226."

"The causes of the decline of the race are many. Some attribute it to liquor, some to disease and some to the mode of living. Now the taro, the Hawaiian food, was the only food they had for generations outside of sweet potatoes. When civilization came into the country other kinds of food were brought in. When the lands were leased the cultivation of taro declined and it became high in price; consequently, the poor Hawaiians had to take what taro they had and mix it with flour and other things, which made the quantity but not the quality. That, I contend, is why they are deteriorating and becoming extinct. The idea in trying to get the lands back to some of the Hawaiians is to rehabilitate them. I believe it would be easy to do so. The people of New Zealand, who are of the same race—I mean the Maoris—are increasing to-day because they have lands to live on and are working out their own salvation."

"The Hawaiian people are a farming people and fishermen, out-of-door people, and when they were frozen out of their lands and driven into the cities they had to live in the cheapest places, tenements. That is one of the big reasons why the Hawaiians are dying out. Now, the only way to save them, I contend, is to take them back to the land and give them the mode of living that their ancestors were accustomed to. We are not asking for justice in the matter of the division of the lands, but we are asking that the great people of the United States should pause for one moment and instead of giving all your help to Europe, give some to the Hawaiians and see if you can not rehabilitate this noble people."

**A Lease Plan**

Delegate Kalanianaʻōle has introduced into Congress a bill that is designed to carry out the wishes of the committee of Hawaiians which reflect the attitude of the territorial Legislature, as expressed in formal resolution. It provides that suitable tracts of government land of not less than twenty nor more than eighty acres, of agricultural land and larger acreages of pastoral lands shall be leased to persons of full or part Hawaiian ancestry for a term of 999 years at a nominal rental of \$1 a year, subject to cancellation should the lessee fail to occupy and use his land for a period of two years.

The settlement of the natives on the land is to be financed through the ordinary leasing of the highly cultivated public lands, whose leases are now expiring, for periods of fifteen years. The proceeds from such leases up to a total of \$1,000,000 are to be loaned to the settlers on installment repayment for terms not exceeding thirty years with interest at 5 per cent.

## Italy Won the War

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the average Italian talk about his country's part in the war. That French, British and Americans should have claimed to have "won the war" seems natural, but to hear the Italian talk of his record one would think the other Allied armies consisted of a handful of soldiers who depended entirely on Italy to strike the decisive blows.

Nitti has been exceedingly frank in speaking of the resources of Russia—resources which Italy needs. He has been in accord with the policy expressed by the British—first, trade, then the recognition of a de facto government, the de jure recognition. An Italian commission is now in Russia.

A slight diversion is necessary to explain British policy in Russia, a policy which Italy supports, but not always for the same reasons which actually England. Britain has no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia; she desires only that Russia become stabilized and the Bolsheviks desist from their propaganda program outside the Russian borders. She wants to trade with Russia and she wants Russia to become a productive country. British statistics show that at the end of the coming harvest the supply of grain will be inadequate to meet the demand. The only way in which the world can return to what Arthur J. Balfour calls a normal economic state is for the fertile areas of Central Europe and Russia to be cultivated.

**Want Russia Stabilized**

A typhus plague is raging to-day in Poland and parts of Russia, due partly to underfeeding. This plague may spread unless food production is increased. The British believe it is absolutely essential for the good of the world that Russia become stabilized. For that reason the British were opposed to the Polish offensive.

## The Berlin Conference

Peace was preserved by virtue of Russia's consent to lay her case before a European conference; but that conference, held at Berlin, saw the complete disappointment of Russia and marked the rise of Germany to complete mastery on the Continent. Bismarck having framed an alliance with Austria-Hungary, the two powers henceforth stood unitedly in Russia's pathway, while Britain, having taken Egypt and controlling the Suez Canal, lost interest in Constantinople.

From the Congress of Berlin to the assassination of the Archduke, thirty-six years later, the history of the Near East is a report of the rivalries between Austria and Russia, each seeking control of the Balkans. In this struggle Bulgaria was for a moment the servant of Russia, but very shortly changed sides, while Serbia became the soldier of the Czar. Russia undertook to protect Serbia and Montenegro against Austria, thus barring Austrian pathways to Salonica and the Aegean. Austria, with Germany behind her, supported Rumania and Bulgaria, thus barring Russia's land approach to Constantinople. Turkey, too, drifted rapidly into the position of an ally of Berlin and of Vienna, and German influence at the Golden Horn completely supplanted British.

But in 1912 there came a sudden change in the situation. The Balkan States, laying aside secular hatreds, joined in a coalition against Turkey, and briefly and completely extinguished Turkish power in Europe. The Bulgarian troops reached the Chatalja lines near Constantinople, the Greek troops entered Salonica, and Serb forces took Monastir and occupied all of northern Albania. Here was a direct defeat for all of the Austro-German hopes, for both in Vienna and in Berlin there had

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to avoid the mistakes she made in Northern Africa after the war with Turkey. At the time Italy engaged in the Tripoli expedition her economic condition was excellent, but it did not take long to realize that territorial ambitions increase obligations and often become more burdensome than profitable. Next to England, Italy is playing the biggest part in the writing of the Turkish treaty, and she is losing no opportunity to tell the Mussulmans that in her they have a friend. Prior to this war Italy had only one frontier—the Austrian—which worried her.

Nitti has a cabinet composed of second-rate men; he is the Parliamentary head of a nation which was frightfully embarrassed financially before the war and was further crippled during hostilities; he is opposed by some of the most powerful of the country's newspapers. But despite these handicaps he remains optimistic as to Italy's future. He is a clever diplomat, a shrewd judge of human nature, a good minister, courageous, clever, and a first class bargainer. The coming summer will test his qualities to the uttermost. Some of the stories of unrest in Italy must be discounted; allowances must be made for the reports emanating from a country where propaganda has been developed to a high degree. Italy is passing through a critical stage, but that she will emerge stronger financially and economically is the firm conviction of her Prime Minister. That reorganization will be rapid and orderly is the hope of all Italian leaders, but they will not be surprised or discouraged by temporary reverses. After Caporetto Italy feels her recuperative powers are unlimited.

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