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The Perennial Periphery: Insularity, Identity, and Politics in the Ionian Islands during the Long Nineteenth Century

A dissertation in satisfaction of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Christos Theofilogiannakos

Committee in charge:

Professor Thomas W. Gallant, Chair
Professor Gary Fields
Professor Hasan Kayali
Professor Patrick Patterson
Professor Pamela Radcliff

2021

The dissertation of Christos Theofilogiannakos is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

2021

DEDICATION

To Demetra

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

G.A.K.   General State Archives of Greece in Athens and Kerkyra

E.L.I.A.   Hellenic Library and Historical Archive

A.E.K.   Reading Society of Kerkyra

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATIONS

This dissertation recognizes the absence of a standard system for transliterating Greek and Ionian Italo-Greek words into English. I transliterate Greek versions of names, even when they exist in the Italian/Latin versions. This was made consistent throughout the dissertation as British sources tended to Anglicize and Latinize Italian versions while Greek sources used Greek. For instance, Vrailas-Armeni is used instead of Braila-Armeni, Lomvartos for Lombartos, and Moustoxydis for Mustoxidi.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

The Perennial Periphery: Insularity, Identity, and Politics in the Ionian Islands

during the Long Nineteenth Century.

by

Christos Theofilogiannakos

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California San Diego, 2020

Professor Thomas W. Gallant, Chair

This dissertation takes a multidisciplinary approach that encompasses the field of

geography to re-examine broader socio-political events in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean.

Borderland studies, islands studies, and more recently, ecotones have inspired interest in the

mediating role of islands in the transmission of goods, people, and ideas. By re-examining the

history of the Ionian Islands through an island studies lens, this project introduces a new

analytical model for studying the Ionian Islands, which I refer to as "island borderlands." This

model reappraises the islands' role in the history of the Mediterranean and identifies them as

nodes for cultural hybridity and diverse geo-cultural landscapes. Island borderlands also

emphasize the contradictory attributes of islandness (connectivity and disconnect, durity and

hybridity) and highlight island dynamism, adaptability, and resilience. It hopes to create a framework for studying a shared history for islands across the Mediterranean and provides insight into the historical incentives that fostered relationships between liminal communities with their imperial rulers and nation-states centers.

This project focuses on the relationships between islandness and national identity, culture, and politics on the Ionian Islands during the long nineteenth century and argues that the unique circumstances from which Ionian mentalities and political awareness developed resulted from their islandness. Island experience was central to the Ionian islanders' interactions with the broader world, manifested in socio-political attitudes and language during the unionist movement. The Ionian Islands mastered their peripherality and took advantage of their connections to various mainlands and multiple environments.

This dissertation provides a local history of how the Ionian Islands responded to hostile socio-political environments to advance local needs and survival strategies. Island transnationalism and liminality traditionally allowed islands to navigate the borders and wars brought to the Eastern Mediterranean by foreign powers. However, the rise of nationalism and the hardening of borders heightened the islands' peripherality, and new strategies were adapted to ensure survival. By expressing a collective Greek identity with the peasant societies of Greece, Ionian intellectuals and politicians formed a Greek identity, historical narrative, and political voice that placed the islands at the center of the Greek state.

Chapter I: Introduction

Exhausted after months of being pursued by Ottoman forces, having seen his family and friends arrested, attacked, and executed, Theodoros Kolokotrones managed to escape the Morea, reaching the shores of Zakynthos in August 1805. He arrived as Russian forces invited Greek mercenaries to help them fight off both British and French advances into the Ionian Islands. Kolokotrones was open to helping the Russians, but more importantly, he sought protection after a *firman* against banditry started a hard-handed crackdown in the Morea. The Kolokotrones clan was one of the most infamous in the Morea, and as such, the Ottoman authorities came down hard on them. Zakynthos and the other Ionian Islands were never historically part of the Ottoman Empire and served as a haven for Greek fugitives fleeing Ottoman authorities.

Nevertheless, unbeknownst to him at the time, Kolokotrones' landing on Zakynthos marked a watershed moment in Europe's history and the beginning of his journey to becoming Greece's most decorated national hero.   He was introduced to Great Power politics, enlightenment ideas, modern military tactics, and the importance of intellectual clubs and societies on the islands. By the start of the Greek Revolution of 1821, Kolokotrones became a major in the British army, a member of the Greek national secret society *Filiki Etairia,* and was exposed to the British philhellenic movement and new ideas about education. In fact, Kolokotrones stated in his diary that,

> It was not until I went to Zante that I met with the history of Greece. The books, which I often read, afterwards were the history of Greece, the tale of Aristomenes

and Gorgo, and the story of Skenter Bey. According to my judgment, the French Revolution and the doings of Napoleon opened the eyes of the world. The nations knew nothing before, and the people thought that kings were gods upon the earth, and that they were bound to say that whatever they did was well done. Through this present change, it is more difficult now to rule the people.[1]

For those living on the mainland, the Ionian Islands marked the border between two worlds: the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe.[2]

This short preamble is not meant to spark interest in Theodoros Kolokotrones and glorify his role in the Greek Revolution, nor is it to highlight Great Power politics in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean. Instead, the purpose is to highlight the migration and modulation of ideas through the Ionian Islands and emphasize subjective connections across the Mediterranean world.

While traditional historiographies of the nation have the propensity to focus on continental and maritime history or connecting imperial and state centers to global networks, this dissertation hopes to center the focus of analysis on the spaces in-between the continent and sea, as it is through an examination of this space that one can understand global events in new ways. Therefore, this project focuses on the impact liminal spaces had on the center and identifies the moments Ionian Islanders expressed agency. As such, its primary purpose is to locate the formative moments that Ionians developed a social, cultural, and political voice.

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[1] Theodoros Kolokotrones, *Klepht and Warrior. Sixty Years of Peril and Daring. An Autobiography,* trans. Mrs. Edmonds (London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1892), 127.

[2] During this period, the Ionian Islands were often referred to as France by Greeks. Kolokotrones, *Klepht and Warrior*, 128.

The Ionian Islands played a central role in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century geopolitics of the Mediterranean as the islands managed to find themselves in the middle of broader socio-political events. The islands involvement in Great Power regional posturing, the Greek Revolution, accommodating mass migrations,[3] and spreading ideas of the enlightenment, influenced how the islands' inhabitants developed a unique local culture and identity that borrowed and modulated elements from both social and political developments in Western and Eastern Europe, essentially forming a hybrid society.

In order to investigate the Ionian phenomenon, this dissertation emphasizes *space*, *identity*, and *epistemology* as it seeks to address how the Islands' geographic position, specifically its insularity, cultivated an Ionian intellectual elite that mediated ideas from Western Europe into the Eastern Mediterranean. This paper introduces a methodology for studying the relationship between island spaces and imperial and national centers in a broader sense. Exploring the Ionian Islands' relationship with Greece and Western Powers, the paper also seeks to bring forth a new strategy for studying the transmission of knowledge, ideas, and culture in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Though located geographically at the center of the Mediterranean, for most of their history, the Ionian Islands were politically situated at the periphery of larger, imperial states. The Ionian Islands, or the *Heptanesia*, are seven islands that run along Greece's western coastline. The islands were located in a strategic geographic location, maintaining a crucial position at the

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[3] The Ionian Islands became a haven for Greek migrants following the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Crete in 1669, pre-and-post Greek Revolution, 1803 Souliots migration, and the cession Parga in 1818. George N. Leontsinis highlights the link between the "national consciousness and feelings of solidarity between refugees and locals, and the political application of liberal ideology." See George N. Leontsinis, "The Ionian Islands and the Greek Revolution," in *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (Newcastle upon Tyre: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 142-145.

heart of the Adriatic, Ionian, and Mediterranean Seas, and between two cultural regions—to the West was Europe and the East the Ottoman Empire.[4] In addition, their long history under foreign occupation demonstrated the strategic position they maintained for international economic and political relationships in the landscape of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Mediterranean.[5]

The Ionian Islands are encompassed by seven islands: Kerkyra, Paxi, Lefkada, Kefalonia, Ithaki, Zakynthos, and Kythera. The colonial history of the Ionian Islands is best interpreted over three periods: The Late Venetian (1760s-1797), the Republican (1797-1815), and the Protectorate (1815-1864).[6] Each period of foreign occupation exerted a powerful influence on the Ionian Islands' social, political, and economic development. The Venetians introduced feudalism, established Western European trade, and provided Greek participation in politics. The French introduced Enlightenment ideas, nationalism, and revolution, while the Russians fostered constitutionalism and religious revival during the Republican period. Finally, the British promoted liberal reforms. Foreign occupation on the islands did not only affect the way Ionians constructed their identity but also in the way they structured their civil and socio-economic systems. Over the centuries, the islands developed economic and political systems that were shaped by their experience as a borderland. While the islands share a culture, ethnicity, religion,

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[4] Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), Chapter 1.

[5] The Ionian Islands were geostrategically important, located in the Adriatic Sea at the intersection of the major European and Eastern trade routes. For centuries, the ports of the islands were used as trading and military posts. The islands' position in the Mediterranean was so important that Napoleon referred to them as the key to the eastern trade routes and even hoped to conquer India through them. See, Walter Frewen Lord, *The Lost Possesions of England: essays in imperial history* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1896), 270, 280. In time the islands' importance was diminished due to the creation of the Greek and Italian Kingdoms and the development of British ports in Malta and Gibraltar. For instance, E. Crowe commenting on the new role of Malta stated that "Malta is on our road to Egypt and India: Corfu (Kerkyra) is out of our road and altogether out of line of our military, commercial and political operations." Cited in Miranda Paximadopulos-Stavrinos, *Some Notes on Britain's Attitude towards the Ionian Protectorate* (Athens: Panteios Graduate School of Political Science, 1980): 517.

[6] The Protectorate historiography is best understood within three historical periods: Maitland's Constitution (1815-1832), Liberal Reform (1832-1848), and The Struggle for Union (1848-1864).

and border with Greece, their social and political development was starkly different. For instance, the islands had an archaic, feudal-like agricultural system and a rigid pre-modern class system, remnants of Byzantine and Venetian rule. Conversely, British rule between 1815-1864 had a political system, civic institutions, and judicial system that were far more "modern" than what existed in the Greek Kingdom.

The British occupation of the islands formally ended on June 14, 1864. *The Times* reported on the last days of the British Protectorate in the Ionian Islands and outlined, in detail, the events leading up to the departure of the Lord High Commissioner and the arrival of the newly appointed Greek King, George I. The article focused on the achievements and prosperity of the British Protectorate and simultaneously questioned the islands' future under Greek rule.

A few weeks earlier, on May 28, 1864, the Protocol for the cession of the Ionian Islands was officially signed. This marked the first step toward the inevitable end of the British Protectorate over the Ionian Islands. The islands were to be "voluntarily surrendered," an event that was "unprecedented" in British Imperial history.[7] It was unique because it was the first time Great Britain had relinquished imperial territory absent a sustained armed conflict.

The day after the signing of the Protocol, the Ionian people woke up to the realization that *enosis* (the unification with Greece) was imminent. The Royal Arms entered the Lord High Commissioner's Palace and began to remove the main gate of the citadel and their massive stone carvings. On June 2, a garrison of 830 Greek soldiers were seen in the Kerkyra harbor preparing to enter the island and replace the British guards in the Palace. At ten o'clock, the British soldiers left their posts from the Palace and began boarding the Royal Navy ships, and by eleven

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[7] 174 *Parl. Deb.* (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) col. 357.

o'clock, the Greek garrison replaced them. The Lord High Commissioner, Sir Henry Storks, soon followed the British soldiers. Making his way out of the Palace, he stopped and bade farewell to a large crowd that had assembled in the reception hall to show him their appreciation. At noon the Union Jack was lowered from Cape Sidero, Fort Neuf, and Virdo and replaced with the Greek flag. The afternoon continued with both Greek and British soldiers participating in the departure ceremony until the British ships disembarked from the harbor. On the morning of June 6, 1864, King George arrived at Kerkyra. He entered the island to boisterous cheers from the crowd near the port. He then proceeded towards the Church of Agios Spyridon, where he received the blessing of the Greek Archbishop and made his way to the Palace. The long, and at times violent, struggle for union with Greece had finally been fulfilled.[8]

Why the Ionian Islands Matter?

A large part of this work examines the Ionian Islands' role in forming a national Greek political voice and identity outside the influence of the Greek state's national center in Athens. To better understand the Islands' significance beyond a historical perspective, this dissertation emphasizes the geographic dimensions for explaining the Ionian Islands' unique cultural, social, and political formation. As such, a multidisciplinary approach that includes geography, environmental sciences, and postcolonial studies serves to answer why the Ionian Islands matter?

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[8] "The Cession of the Ionian Islands," *The Times,* (London), June 14, 1864.

In broader terms, this work hopes to inspire interest in Mediterranean islands as a transhistorical framework of cultural contact in the "global Mediterranean."[9] A focus on the eighteenth and nineteenth-century islands of the Mediterranean opens paths to uncover new phenomena and a means to emphasize marginal events and figures. Islands and islanders possessed the environmental and historical prerequisites needed to mediate regional geopolitical power structures, spread liberal and radical politics, and connected goods, people, and ideas across continental centers and coasts. Mediterranean islands also share a series of common particularities that attested to the porousness of their boundaries and their capabilities of islands to accommodate different cultures at the same time. For instance, Corsica,[10] Sicily,[11] Sardinia,[12] Malta, Cyprus, Kerkyra, and Crete, to name a few, all share a colonial legacy, faced challenges related to insularity, carried multiple identities,[13] and possessed unitary and separatist traditions.[14]

My research sets out to examine how the Ionian Islands, between 1815-1913, shaped Modern Greek culture, identity, and politics and presents two ways to consider national identity formation and the state-building process in the nineteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean. The first relates to cultural history. The nature of Ionians comes into focus only when we investigate

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[9] David Abulafia, "Mediterranean History as Global History," *History and Theory* 50, (2011): 220-228.

[10] Matei Candea, *Corsican Fragments: Difference, Knowledge, and Fieldwork* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010); Robert J. Blackwood. *The State, the Activists and the Islanders: Language Policy on Corsica* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008).

[11] Lucy Riall. *Sicily and the Unification of Italy: Liberal Policy and Local Power, 1859-1866* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[12] Carlo Pala, "Sardinia," in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Race, Ethnicity, and Nationalism*, eds. John Stone et al. (UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 1-3; For Rise and Fall of Sardinian Nationalist Party see Eve Hepburn, E, "Explaining Failure: the Highs and Lows of Sardinian Nationalism", *Regional & Federal Studies*, 19, no. 4/5, (2009): 595-618.

[13] Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy: State, Class and Colonialism in the Ionian Islands 1815-1864* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 8. Gekas thesis argues that there existed multiple Greek states in the nineteenth century, each offering an example of alternative state formation processes in the Mediterranean.

[14] This excludes Malta.

"islandness" as a mode of preserving identity and culture. Islandness[15] resulted in Ionian communities existing geographically across multiple points of the "global" Mediterranean and in a constant state of flux across multiple spaces. Therefore, Ionian identity was not an exclusive choice between Greek, French, British or Italian perse, or a choice between assimilation or cultural separation. In order to navigate the growing political, commercial, and intellectuals flows in the Mediterranean, Ionians accommodated belonging to different cultures and, in turn, helped create connections within and across social and cultural boundaries. This particular approach helps us see the existence of multiple and competing Greek identities that directly impacted the construction and imagination of Greek national identity.

The second way to conceive the issue of identity formation and state-building in the Mediterranean concerns social history. In observing a "global" Mediterranean, Fernand Braudel emphasized human agency, "What boundaries can be marked when we are dealing not with plants and animals, relief and climate, but men, whom no barriers or frontiers can stop?[16] A focus on Ionian individuals as brokers and intercessors between distinct ensembles (cultural regions, political systems, civilizations, and geographic boundaries) suggests that ideas were not installed or emulated but instead experienced through a process of modulation. A unique feature of Ionians, and islanders in general, was their ability to accommodate multiple identities and ideas simultaneously. As this paper demonstrates, despite endemic and sometimes broader regional conflicts, Ionians remained mobile and connected, carrying multiple identities and

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[15] Islandness concerns "the paradoxical nature of island spaces…as simultaneously open and closed, exclusive and inclusive, insular and at the same time embedded within complex multi-relational systems." Jonathan Pugh, "The relational turn in island geographies: bringing together island, sea and ship relations and the case of the Landship", *Social & Cultural Geography*, 17, no. 8, (2016): 1042.

[16] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (London, 1975), 168.

crossing borders. This is not to say that island identities did not experience contestations from

within and without, but the constant negotiations offer us insight into how ideas were

experienced and transmitted.

In today's socio-political context, this study is relevant in relation to the increased

tensions between globalists and nationalists, and more importantly, the impact of seemingly

peripheral regions on destabilizing global markets and influencing political policies and popular

social movements.

A study of Modern Greek history cannot escape a reference to the recent 'economic

crisis.'[17] The crisis serves as a reminder that history is still relevant in offering social

commentary on contemporary issues. What I have found most intriguing about the fallout of the

crisis has been the re-emergence of the belated modernity paradigm in southern Europe.[18] This

discourse has inspired fresh debates on southern Europeans' cultural inferiority to their more

industrious northern counterparts. The P.I.G.S. acronym has suggested that the Portuguese,

Irish, Greeks, and Spanish are lazy and backward, as reflected in their poor economic

performances. Loans from the ECB and IMF have forced strict austerities on these countries,

which are justified in modernizing their economies and bringing these countries in line with

Northern European states. This project considers new modernization paradigms by emphasizing

that ideas and, more importantly, systems cannot simply be imitated from the West but, as the

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[17] Yanis Varoufakis, *And the Weak Suffer What They Must? Europe's Crisis and America's Economic Future* (New York: Nation Books, 2016). Also see, Daniel Martyn Knight "Turn of the screw: narratives of history and economy in the Greek crisis," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 21, no. 1 (2012): 53-76.
[18] Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays* (Cambridge MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1962).

research in this project suggests, are borrowed, modulated, and relevant to local beliefs, cultures, and politics.[19]

Another important implication of the economic crisis in Europe has been the resurgence of old rivalries between Europe and Russia, a rivalry that was historically played out in Greece and, especially, the Ionian Islands.[20] This project's historical analysis confirms that the Great Powers' economic and political tensions were felt most in peripheral areas. As such, studying conflicts and societies in peripheral regions can provide fruitful information about broader Great Power politics and their implications on the formation of localized ideas and popular movements.

This work also reconsiders the origins of irredentism in the Balkans. While traditional historiography points to the West's role in creating hegemonic national identity in the Balkans that were primarily based on antiquity,[21] the research here contends that not all local actors were receptive to Western romantic and neo-classical narratives imposed on the region. A study on the Ionian Islands demonstrates that ideas from the West were negotiated and debated to meet the needs of the local populations. For instance, instead of mimicking the West's neo-Hellenic narrative (which was accelerated in Greece during King Otto's reign), Ionian intellectuals accepted ideas relevant to local interests and filtered out those they opposed. In this way, this

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[19] Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991). This works offers a re-examination of Judanis' thesis that there was hostility towards ideas of the Enlightenment and secularism in Greece during the 18th century by arguing that there were multiple sites for the transmission and development of ideas in the Greek Mediterranean world.

[20] Konstantina Zanou, "Imperial Nationalism and Orthodox Enlightenment: A Diasporic Story Between the Ionian Islands, Russia and Greece, ca. 1800-1830," in *Mediterranean Diaspora: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century*, eds. M. Isabella and K. Zanou (London: Bloombury, 2016), 117-134.

[21] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994). Wolff traces the West's hegemonic narrative of Eastern Europe in the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment. Diana Mishkova, "Symbolic Geographies and Visions of Identity: A Balkan Perspective." *European Journal of Social Theory* 11, no. 2 (2008): 252-253. Mishkova claims that nationalism in the Balkans has been a competition in claiming between which nation-state can claim the oldest historical past to the 'idea of Europe' thus legitimizing their claims to territory and modern national identity.

dissertation owes credit to Diana Mishkova's research as its attempt to demonstrate how the West was perceived in the Balkans and how Western ideas were transmitted through intellectual responses to hegemonic discourses in the region.[22]

This project also provides historical context to the contemporary global migratory issue. In the twenty-first century, the Mediterranean Sea and, by extension, Mediterranean islands are the frontline of the mass migration of people escaping war and poverty worldwide.[23] The emergence of migration studies across academic institutions in more recent times also demonstrates an interest in understanding the determinants and processes of human migration. From a historical perspective, migration studies on the nineteenth-century Mediterranean focus on the migratory patterns of three groups. First, the diaspora and cosmopolitan citizen, a group of migrants primarily understood as part of the merchant elite and their extended family networks.[24] Second, the exiles, represented as a group of political outcasts in the nineteenth century, voluntarily fleeing persecution or forcibly fleeing prosecution.[25] Lastly, refugees are

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[22] Diana Mishkova, "Symbolic Geographies," 237-256. Using Bulgaria as a case study, Mishkova argues that identity and notions of Europe were mediated and filtered into the Balkans through Greek, Russian, and Protestant agencies which allowed local agents to re-shape and re-model ideas and self-narration based on local socio-cultural dynamics.; Also see, Roumena Daskalov and Diana Mishkova, eds., *Entangled Histories of the Balkans Volume Two: Transfer of Political Ideologies and Institutions* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014).

[23] Michel Agier, *Borderlands: Towards an Anthropology of the Cosmopolitan Condition* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2016).

[24] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* , trans. Sian Reynolds (London: Collins, 1972 and 1973), 2: 728; cf. Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009). According to Trivellato familial networks that relied on ethnic and religious affiliation to form successful global trade networks based on trust were also successful with cross-cultural trade because they developed trust relationships based on marriage and kinship ties and *communitarian cosmopolitanism*. Trivellato argues that in communitarian cosmopolitanism offered an alternative to ethnic and religious bonds and represented cross-communal cooperation based on common business interest.

[25] Maurizio Isabella and Konstantina Zanou, eds, *Mediterranean Diaspora: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19ᵗʰ Century* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016). The editors here examine the role of Italian and Greek diaspora and exiles in the transmission of liberal ideas around the Mediterranean and Europe; Maurizo Issabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Emigres and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

ethnic, political, and religious migrants forced to leave under political and social pressures in their native lands.[26] Thus, while the migration of people had economic consequences, it was also instrumental in forming national identities and politics.

The Mediterranean Sea continues to provide an ideal site for studies of borders and migration. In his study of the migrant experience, Michel Agier identifies the importance of the "borderman," which represents people that are mobile and flexible but also excluded.[27] The borderman reminds scholars of the implications social positions, space, and place of the migrant experience can have on both the host and guest. For Agier, the border is not a physical entity that defines the insider and outsider but a socially constructed concept that is the source of interactions between host and guest.[28] As globalization erodes traditional borders and subsequently alterity, new sites of identity politics are created. For Agier, borderlands are relational— "interstitial spaces where worlds collide, identities are trafficked, and particular forms of knowledge are produced."[29] Thus, on the one hand, problematic border interactions reinforce autochthonous belonging for the host, and on the other hand, they reinforce the alterity of migrants.

The contemporary migratory issue is marked by a resurgence of scholarship on the nation-state, borders, and cosmopolitics, and at the center of this crisis are islands. Islands offer

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[26] Bernard Porter, *The Refugee Question in mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
[27] Michel Agier, "'Borerlands' and 'Borderman': Towards a new cosmopolis." Filmed March 2015. YouTube video, 1:51:56. Posted (May 8, 2015). https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=whxNS5WBkoU. Agier's lecture at the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility described the "borderman" as men and women who do not find a place in the countries they flee or reach. These people developed a shared identity as "wanderers," and "métèques" based on their social positions, and the spaces they occupy (camps, migration centers, detention centers, borders).
[28] Michael Agier, *Borderlands:Towards an Anthropology of the Cosmopolitan Consdition* (Cambridge: Polity, 2016), 18-19).
[29] Agier, "'Borerlands' and 'Borderman.'"

an ideal site to study the phenomenon of migrant trajectories into Europe and the transformative effect of introducing culture from one shore to another. Mediterranean islands have a long history as transit nodes between Europe, Africa, and the Middle East and therefore are an ideal site for analyzing the social implications and issues surrounding migration patterns. The contemporary and historic migrant experience in the Mediterranean demonstrates that islands are not insular and, more importantly, highlights that borders are more fluid than states would have us believe. Finally, it is essential to analyze sites of transition because it is here that new social structures and political policies are played out.

Overview

The broader historiographical relevance for studying the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece in 1864 is to understand better the role peripheral societies had on the national state-building process, specifically regarding boundary changes and identity formation. Ionians rejected colonial attempts to fracture the Hellenic culture of Ionian identity and opposed colonial hegemony. As such, this project calls for the re-examination of modernization theories and adds to the broader models of dependency theory.

A study of the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece offers a new paradigm for studying nationalism in the nineteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean. Traditionally, national identity was believed to have been created from the center and imposed on the periphery, and that nationalism was an urban-based phenomenon that was resisted by rural societies. Eugene Weber, for instance, argued that rural French societies remained unaware of French national

consciousness until central state mechanisms such as education, military, and transportation[30] successfully integrated them into the French nation-state. The absorption of rural France had economic implications, but more importantly, it fostered a new political and national consciousness in the periphery. In comparison, the Ionian Islands case study challenges urban-rural and center-peripheral relationships and offers an alternative paradigm for nationalization. While the islands were physically united with the Greek State in 1864, they resisted Greek state mentalities and developed an alternative national and political awareness.

The Ionian Islands' story has long been suppressed in Greek historiography. Hidden within broader imperial and colonial histories and national metanarratives, the Ionians and their islands have been misrepresented as mere spectators to broader geopolitical events. The traditional understanding of islands and "isolated" has played a significant role in silencing the Ionian experience of the nineteenth century. As part of larger empires and states, islands were perceived as isolated, impoverished, and primitive, all of which diminished their place in historical discourses. Following more recent trends in Greek historiography, this study explores the peripheral stories of Modern Greece. An examination of Ionian agency demonstrates that Ionians were not passive participants in nineteenth-century imperial or nation-state building processes. In fact, they developed an economic, social, and political awareness that had long-term implications on the region's geopolitics.[31]

What was unique about the Ionian experience? What were the mechanisms and features that explain the unique trajectory of national and political awareness? In what ways were Ionian

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[30] Eugene Weber. *Peasants into Frenchman: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976).
[31] This dissertation argues that this is most evident in the interconnection between the Ionian movement for union and the irredentism ideologies of the Greek state.

experiences and other Greek experiences similar? How did they differ? What constitutes a collective Modern Greek identity, and what takes privilege? What are the impacts of boundary change, integration, and assimilation on borderland societies? This study aims to answers these questions by applying a geographic lens to historical analysis. It argues that the unique circumstances from which Ionian mentalities and political awareness developed resulted from their "islandness." Mediterranean islands were part of a complex system of networks that fostered regional and global interactions. The relationships between islands and the mainland offer a unique paradigm for examining colonization, globalization, and the process of modernity. While islands in the Mediterranean were seen as small peripheral zones to greater power interests, the flow of people, ideas and goods, had significant implications on the nation and state-building process on the continent.

To better understand the significance of islands, this work introduces a new analytical model for studying the Ionian Islands, which I refer to as "island borderlands." This model reappraises islands' role in the history of the Mediterranean and identifies them as nodes for cultural hybridity and geo-cultural ensembles. It also lays out the framework for studying a shared history for islands across the Mediterranean and provides insight into the historical incentives that fostered relationships between liminal communities with their imperial rulers and nation-states centers. The island borderlands model centers on geography to explain the ramifications of boundary changes on the impact of social, cultural, and political production. The island borderlands model reintroduces geography as an important feature in explaining the ramifications of boundary changes over time, focusing on the impact of change on the process of social, cultural, and political production. It argues that islands themselves constitute a borderland that fostered and mediated transnational and transregional interaction across land and sea. Most

importantly, an island borderlands paradigm can suggest the causal mechanisms which provide insight into the historical incentives that fostered relationships between insular communities with their continental neighbors.

Island borderlands are constitutive elements of islandness and can be characterized by two sets of interplaying features: peripherally and connectivity, and insularity and diversity. A closer study of these dualities illustrates both the flows and modalities of interaction across the Mediterranean world and explains the mechanisms that caused island peripherality and connectivity.[32] This dichotomy is key to understanding the innate vulnerabilities of islands to external forces such as globalization, natural disasters, economic downturns, war, and global conflicts and, at the same time, demonstrates islands' ability to adjust to change and even prosper. Island borderlands challenge us to think of the Ionian Islands as part of a larger Mediterranean system with multiple centers.

This research presented here highlights the cultural agency and political struggle of the Ionian Islanders. Despite the constraints of colonialization and foreign occupations, the Ionians created fluid networks for the exchange and interchange, and the circulation and dissemination of political, economic, and social ideas to serve local needs. The emphasis on islandness and

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[32] Islands' capacity to change can be understood by peripherality, a measure of the degree to which a particular islands community engages with the mainland/continent. By assessing the nature of the relationship between islands and the mainland with respect to historical events and changing geo-economic, the Ionian Islands unitary position was a refection to shifting economic centers and a need to new networks of exchange. Traditionally, the Ionian Islands were connected to multiple centers across Northwest Europe, the Aegean, and the Black Sea, however by the nineteenth century these networks were increasingly closed off. The increased popularity of the Union movement in the nineteenth century, reflects a shift of connectivity to isolation.

insularity[33] allows us to re-examine the relationship between the center and periphery. Through

an island borderland approach, the research addresses the following areas:

1) A re-examination of current scholarship and familiar primary sources in new ways. Adding an island studies lens, it is evident that islands played a unique role in transformations of the nineteenth century Mediterranean, from colonialism and great power politics to nationalist border making.

2) A literary analysis of identity formation concentrating on how Ionian discourse shaped Greek national identity. By analyzing the opinions, correspondences, and literature of prominent Ionian intellectuals, it becomes clear that there were alternative and competing Greek identities between 1800-1864.

3) A political analysis of the Ionian Islands during the years leading to Union and as part of the Greek state. The focus here is on the Ionian Press, emphasizing identity and politics between 1848-1864. The overall analysis is on the transmission, circulation, and transformation of ideas, politics, and economic systems in the Eastern Mediterranean and creating an Ionian political voice.

The centering of the Ionian Islands in Greek historiography shows that the nation-

building developments of Greece were a political and environmental process, not just an ethnic

and cultural one. Due to the geographical position of the Ionian Islands, they were at the

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[33] Islandness refers to the specific traits that constitute islands. It is the "dynamics of the natural boundary and the resulting island qualities, including elements geographical (for example, degree of separation from a mainland), political (often expressed through tensions between autonomy and dependence on a mainland jurisdiction) and social (such as islander identity and sense of place.) Rebecca Erinn Jackson, "Islands on the Edge: Exploring Islandness and Development in Four Australian Case Studies," PhD diss., (University of Tasmania, 2008), 47. Conversely, Godfrey Baldacchino defines islandness as "an intervening variable that does not determine, but contours and conditions physical and social event in distinct, distinctly relevant ways." Godfrey Baldacchino, 278. Insularity is a "set of tensions and ambiguities, opportunities and constraints arising from the interplay of geography and history." E. Warrington and D. Milne, "Island governance," in *A World of Islands: An Island Studies Reader*, ed. Godfrey Baldacchino (Malta & Canada: Agenda Academic and Institute of Island Studies, 2007), 338. Conversely, Jean Didier Hache identifies insularity as a social phenomenon used by the people who live and who belong to island to foster a sense of distinct identity, and to explain and justify their economic, social, cultural and political demands that are constituted by their peripheralization. (Jean Didier Hache, "Towards a political approach to the island question,' in *Competing strategies of socio-economic development for small islands*, eds. G. Baldacchino & R. Greenwood (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1998), 59-60.

crossroads of the maritime networks of exchange between east and west. From a geographical

perspective, the islands were a perennial periphery to various global communication and

economic centers. However, the geo-political and geo-economic changes of the nineteenth

century transformed them from borderland to bordered land.

Methodology

This study is framed around a strong thematic organization based on the geography of

islands and postcolonial studies. The research methodology progressed from the argument that

the Ionian Islands, as a space and its' inhabitants, played a pivotal role in forming a modern

Greek nation-state. The inspiration for this line of inquiry was motivated by contemporary

modernization debates, which have demonstrated that there is no absolute path or universal

prerequisites for modernity.[34]   Greece has always served as the poster child of European

backwardness. From its formation to the current European economic recession,[35] the media,

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[34] Inspiration has followed the lead of Middle Eastern Studies approach to the modernization debates which have been a preoccupation of many scholars since the 1940s. William R. Polk and Richard L. Chambers, eds. *Beginnings of modernization in the Middle East: the nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). See discussion on page 27-28 which emphasizes the fact that there is no single formula for modernity. As Dean Tipps argues, "…the notion of modernization should be sought not in its clarity and precision as a vehicle of scholarly communication, but rather in its ability to evoke vague and generalized images which serve to summarize all the various transformations of social life attendant upon the rise of industrialization and the nation-state in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries." Dean C. Tipps, "Comparative Study of Societies: A Critical perspective," C*omparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 2 (1973), 199.

[35] In 19th century European powers imposed a monarchy on Greece with the pretext of Greece's inability to administer modern democratic values. In 2015, the Troika imposed itself on Greece and forced devastating bailout loans on the pretext that Greece's inability to meet modern economic reforms.

academics, and political leaders have pointed to Greece's inherent failure to follow the West's

prescribed route to modernity. The inherent characterization of Greece as backward and

underdeveloped has influenced contemporary social, economic, and cultural studies of Greece.

On the one hand, modernization studies have been used to prove Greece's European, and thus

modern, identity by concentrating on comparative studies on Greece's class, urban, and liberal

history.[36] On the other hand, these same studies were used to highlight Greece's

underdevelopment and expulsion from the European Union.[37] While scholars continue to debate

the usefulness and accuracy of modernization, the idea's utility has proven to be a valuable tool

for both critics and advocates in examining social, political, and economic changes in Southern

and Eastern Europe.

The notions of modernization are generally defined by a set of social, economic, and

political determinants that categorized countries, regions, economies, and people's evolution

from underdeveloped (traditional, preindustrial) to developed (modern, postindustrial). The

modernization-development paradigm argues that underdeveloped countries could become

modern by following or mimicking a prescribed set of Western technological, social, and

political processes. This line of analysis dominated the social sciences and humanities, and

subsequently, the field of history, since the 1950s and early 1970.[38] Between these years,

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[36] For historiographical account of modernity in modern Greek context see Antonis Liakos, "Modern Greek Historiography (1974-2000). Era of Tradition from Dictatorship to Democracy" in (Re)Writing History. Historiography in Southeast Europe after Socialism, ed. Ulf Brunbauer (Munster: LIT Verlag, 2004): 351-378.

[37] Hans Bickes, Tina Otten and Laura Chelsea Weymann, "The financial crisis in the German and English press: Metaphorical structures in the media coverage on Greece, Spain and Italy." *Discourse & Society* 25, no. 4 (2014): 424-445.

[38] See Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective: A Book of Essays*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962); For example of France see Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1976); For Italian example see Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1958).

modernization theory discourse centered on social, cultural and political mobilization,[39] technological and scientific advancement,[40] and economic growth.[41] By the 1980s and 1990s, modernization theory was questioned for its focus on a prescribed Western route to modernity, and postcolonial theorists criticized it as another example of Western imperialism and cultural dominance.[42]

Middle Eastern Studies scholarship has raised important distinctions between modernity, modernization, and Westernization. Keith David Watenpaugh, for instance, stated that,

> Any account, however, that privileges a linear narrative of modernization or "Westernization"—and resistance thereto—can shed light on only larger institutional and political modifications; at the same time such accounts tend to reinforce Eurocentric prejudices about Arab and Muslim societies by putting the onus for change solely on the shoulders of Westerners and characterizing reform as a mimetic reaction to the West.[43]

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[39] Functionalist approach to nationalism see Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1953).

[40] See Ernest Gellner, E. *Nations and Nationalism*. 2nd edition. (New York: Cornell University Press, 2008); and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006). Gellner and Anderson both emphasize that nationalism is a necessary product of modernization. On the one hand, Gellner emphasized that industrialization transformed the socio-organizational structures of traditional agricultural societies. On the other hand, Anderson focused on industrializations impact of print capitalism, mobility, education systems that not only brought the rise of popular vernaculars in the formation but also physically connected people into a sense of "imagined" communities.

[41] Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness.*

[42] For postcolonial view see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The Muddle of Modernity," American Historical Review 116 (2011): 663-675; and Tony Ballantyne, "Empires, Modernization and Modernity." *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, 2, no. 1 (2014): 25–42.

[43] Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 7.

In this context, modernization is defined as institutional, while modernity is defined as ideological, and westernization suggests that a prescribed routine from the West must be followed in order to be considered modern. For instance, Bernard Lewis's Ottoman decline thesis argues that institutional, technological, and political modernization without the adoption of modernity by the Ottoman elite led to significant failures to keep up with the West.[44] In another example, Albert Hourani argues that modernity was central to change and that the middle-class elites were central in mediating new liberal ideology in the region. In expanding the understanding of modernization theory as non-linear Middle Eastern historians have been able to examine the impact of the West on gender roles,[45] politics,[46] institutions, military,[47] and social[48] history in the region. Building on the criticism of the "cultural turn," contemporary scholarship in Middle Eastern Studies shows a more complex story and offers new ways for understanding the social evolution and present conditions of the Middle East.[49]

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[44] Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London, Oxford, 1961). Lewis' work is often criticized for his focus on the West which arguably fails to identify local actors and agency in change. His work prescribes to the notions that modernity can only be achieved through a prescribed Western model only. For a history of ideas, see, Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964). Berkes traces the development of secularization in Turkey from the dissolution of traditional structures (Religious/Political) in correlation with the need for political, economic, social, and cultural change. In this sense modernity was played out between the opposing forces of tradition and change.

[45] See Lila Abu-Lughod, ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); and Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia University Press. 2000).

[46] Albert H. Hourani *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962).* Tracing the Arab Enlightenment, Hourani work is a historical account the transmission of enlightened European ideas including nationalism through Arab men of letters who lived, traveled, and studied in Europe. This is an exceptional source for also understanding various viewpoints of modernity in an Islamic context, especially around the ideas of imitating European separation of church and state and secularism (separating religion and politics).

[47] Lewis, *Emergence of Modern Turkey*.

[48] Watenpaugh, *Being Modern;* and Christoph Schumann. Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean: Late 19th Century Until the 1960s. (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008)

[49] Stephen Lawson highlights the criticisms of postcolonialism, as a form of culturalism, on Middle Eastern Studies, specifically the inflated significance of culture over the issues of class, capitalism, the economy. For

This work builds on the non-linear narratives set out by Middle Eastern modernization studies and supports another dimension to the modernization debate by arguing that geography defined the modernizing process in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean world. Building on Immanuel Wallerstein and Fernand Braudel's spatial reasoning, it identifies the geographic determinants of islands that explicitly defined the political, economic, and cultural development of the modern Greek nation.[50] In addition, my analysis of the cession of the Ionian Islands in 1864 explores the social and political ramifications of boundary changes on people living in peripheral regions with the incorporation of island borderlands. Again, this analytical model is central for reappraising islands' role in the history of the Mediterranean and identifying them as nodes for transnational interaction and sites of coexistence for diverse cultures. It also lays out the framework for studying a shared history for islands across the Mediterranean and provides insight into the historical incentives that fostered relationships between liminal communities with their imperial rulers and nation-states centers.

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instance, it is debated that the failure of modernity in the Arab world "is better understood in terms of their integration into the world economy rather than through the lens of political culture studies." Stephen Lawson, "World Politics and the Cultural Turn" in Culture and Context in World Politics (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006): 20. For world systems approaches in relation to debates on delayed modernity see Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, 3 vols. (New York: Academic Press, 1974, 1980, 1989); Immanuel Wallerstein, Hale Decdeli and Resat Kasaba, "The incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world-economy" in The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy, ed. Huri Islamoglu-Inan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 88-97; Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1988) and Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy 1800-1914* (New York: Methuen, 1981).

[50] Recent trends in ecology show how environmental issue can define political and economic developments. See Josephe Boland, "Ecological modernization," *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 5, no. 3 (1994): 135-141.

Objective

       The primary inquiry of this work is on the mediating role the Ionian Islands played between the 'West' (Anglo-French-German society) and the Adriatic (Russian, Italian, and to a lesser degree, Ottoman society). The Ionian Islands were central in the exchange of goods and the circulation, translation, and dissemination of ideas between the West and East. A project on the Ionian Islands offers new answers to Greek historiographical questions about identity, politics, and the nation-state-building process. The Ionian Islands' unique geographic position, history, and economy gave them a sense of agency and a greater role in the outcome of broader Mediterranean geopolitical events.

       The research presented in this paper captures the moments of inter-cultural and inter-regional exchange. It proposes that the Ionian Islands intellectual elite developed a unique hybrid identity that explains why some traits were adopted and others ignored. Taking inspiration from Marc Aymes[51] and Giorgios Leontsinis,[52] this research follows that the Ionians developed a distinct Ionian or *Heptanesean* (Septinsular) identity that avoided mimicking western tropes.[53] A key argument is that Ionian identity emerged as not only an alternative Modern Greek identity but constituted it. The Ionian intellectual elite first became aware of a Greek national

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[51] Marc Aymes, "Chapter 12: Something of an Area: Sketches from Among Heptanesian Step-Ottomans," in *Society, Politics and State Formation in Southeastern Europe During the 19th Century*, ed. Tassos Anastassiadis and Nathalie Clayer, (Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2012), 1–18.

[52] Geogrios N. Leontsinis, "Greek Identity-Ionian and Septinsular Identity [Ελληνική Ταυτότητα-«Ιονική» και «Επτανησιακή» Ταυτότητα]" in Identities in the Greek World from 1204 to the present day [Ταυτότητες στον ελληνικό κόσμο από το 1204 έως σήμερα], ed. Konstantinos A. Dimadis (Athens: European Society of Modern Greek Studies, 2011), 799-812.

[53] Both Aymes and Leonisinis refer to the Neohellenic Enlightenment in the Ionian Islands during the eighteenth and nineteenth century as developing a Heptanesean identity.

consciousness in the early 18th century,[54] it gained momentum during the Greek Revolution and was well established by the formation of the Greek state in 1830-32.[55]

Chapter Breakdown

The introduction of my dissertation highlights the central theme and argument of my research that islands are special borderland spaces that are actors in their own rights. The specific case of the Ionian Islands shows that the islands and their inhabitants did not remain idle but were central participants in significant transformations of the nineteenth-century Mediterranean and the history of the Greek state. The second chapter frames the project within Greek and Ionian historiography and outlines the theoretical aspects of island studies. It emphasizes the environmental and geographical impacts on the nation-building process and explores island borderlands as a conceptual model for understanding the role of islands as intercessors of ideas.

The chapters are structured to highlight the transition of the Ionians Islands from a borderland to bordered land, which culmulated with the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece in 1864. Chapter three examines the historical context surrounding the cessation of the Ionian Islands in 1864 from an island borderland perspective. This approach demonstrated that island

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[54] Isabella, *Risorgimento*, 70-75; Also see, Konstantina Zanou, "Nostalgia, self-exile and the national idea: The case of Andrea Moustoxydis and the early-19th-century Heptanesians of Italy," in *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey*, eds. Aktar A., Kızılyürek N., Özkırımlı U. (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[55] D. Arvanitakis, "Introduction" in *The Correspondences of Andreas Moustoxidis-Emilios Typaldos* [*Αλληλογραφία 1822-1860 Ανδρέας Μουστοξύδης, Αιμίλιος Τυπάλδος*], ed. D. Arvanitakis, (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2005), 100.

features of connectivity and insularity impacted the inevitable path to union.   The focus is on

how the Ionians manipulated broader political and nationalist movements to their advantage. At

a time when the rise of liberalism and nationalism was weakening Imperial hegemony in the

Mediterranean, the islands found themselves increasingly being cut off from their traditional

connections to the mainland. With the increased isolation of the islands, the Ionians responded

by solidifying relationships with mainland Greece.

Chapters four and five are concerned with the social history of the Ionian Islands,

specifically demonstrating how islandness played a key role, not only in the practice of Ionian

society but as a source of cultural and national identity. Islandness was a central feature of the

cosmopolitan nature of Ionian identity that emerged, in part, out of a system before the political

establishment of the nation-state.   Ionians encompassed multiple identities during this period in

order to navigate the porous boundaries of the time and connectivity of island spaces. Equally, it

also addresses how the insular nature of islandness became prominent with the rise of

nationalism in the Greek State, which spurred multiple Greek identities to compete with each

other.   From this chapter, the reader discerns that Greece was not the archetypal nation-state

from which a core identity was added and assimilated. Instead, identity was contested and

transformed in the periphery along with multiple external connections and across overlapping

ensembles.

Chapters six and seven apply a cultural perspective to examine the evolution of political

ideas on the Ionian Islands during the years leading to Union. The focus here is on the Ionian

Press, emphasizing unitary and nationalist movements between the years 1848-1864. The overall

analysis is on the transmission, circulation of ideas, politics, and economic systems in the

Eastern Mediterranean and the creation of an Ionian political voice. The dissertation ends with a brief look at the lasting impacts of Ionian Unification on irredentism in the region.

Chapter II: The Ionian Island- Bridges to Borders

For centuries the ports of the Ionian Islands were used as trading and military posts. The islands' position in the Mediterranean was so crucial that Napoleon referred to them as the key to the eastern trade routes and even hoped to conquer India through them.[56] In time, the islands' importance to the Great Powers diminished due to the creation of the Greek and Italian Kingdoms, the advancement of technology in transportation, and the development of Malta and Gibraltar as major British ports. E. Crowe commenting on the new role of Malta, stated that "Malta is on our road to Egypt and India: Corfu [Kerkyra] is out of our road and altogether out of line of our military, commercial and political operations."[57]

The struggle of the Ionian Islands to join the Kingdom of Greece has a long history that can be traced back to the Greek War of Independence (1821-1828). The movement began with several individuals leading small protests against the British administration, which consequently evolved into large, organized violent uprisings in the 1840s. It was only in the 1850s that Britain began to contemplate the cession of the islands. However, cession was viewed through a

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[56] Walter Frewen Lord, *The Lost Possessions of England; Essays in Imperial History* (London,: R. Bentley, 1896), 270 & 280.
[57] Cited in Miranda Paximadopulos-Stavrinos, *Some Notes on Britain's Attitude towards the Ionian Protectorate* (Athens: Panteios Graduate School of Political Science, 1980), 517.

cautious lens as Britain did not want the islands to end up in Russian hands, as maintaining the status quo in the region was critical for Britain's Eastern ambitions.[58] Britain's naval capacity in the region was unsurpassed. As such, only Britain could ensure peace in the region. Hence, if Britain were to cede the islands, it would do so only if regional stability was assured.

While the British Protectorate (1815-1864) experienced relative peace from external threats, internally, the Ionian population was growing increasingly agitated. Liberal and radical political elements of the population were in many ways successful in challenging the British government over political and economic rights. Ionian political forces organized demonstrations, sabotaged the parliament, and even started violent rebellions. The ultimate goal for the most radical elements of these movements was union with Greece—the movement was referred to as *enosis* in Greek.[59]

During the Greek War of Independence, the Ionian Islands provided fighters, weapons, money, and refuge to migrants, yet they were never able to benefit from any of the successes. For most of the war, Britain was neutral, and as a consequence, so were the islands. This policy created tension among the islands' population as many of the Ionians strongly empathized with mainland Greeks due to their shared Hellenic roots and often turned against the British administration for preventing them from aiding their co-nationals. While Ionian protests galvanized the local population against the British, even receiving reactions from the British Parliament, the British administration never conceded and met protests with violent suppression.

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[58] William. D. Wrigley, *The Diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality, 1821-31* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 112-121.
[59] Enosis was part of the *Megali Idea* irredentist movement that gained traction in various Greek communities living in the unredeemed territories in the nineteenth century that attempted to join the Greek state.

For the British, the possession of the Ionian Islands represented more than physical territories and resources. Britain's occupation of the islands reflected regional power structures centered on British dominance of the Mediterranean. For example, at the Congress of Vienna (1815), the Great Powers negotiated the terms that establish the Ionian Islands as an independent state under British Protection, solidifying British dominance in the Mediterranean to offset competing powers in other regions. Interestingly, the islands continued to impact global political forces even after they were ceded to the Greek Kingdom in 1864. Cession solidified the Greek Kingdom as a regional player and established the *Megali Idea* as a legitimate political and social movement. Ionian notables, intellectuals, artists, and politicians, especially in the early years of union, impacted internal and foreign policies in the Greek Kingdom. Their influence on Greek nationalism, identity, culture, and governance changed the regional power dynamic, undoubtedly influenced the rise of competing irredentist movements, which ultimately gave way to the Balkan Wars. In short, the Ionian Islands represented a gateway to geopolitical forces that shaped regional power relationships and connected the Mediterranean with the across global networks.

Ionian Insularity

The establishment of the Constitution of the United States of the Ionian Islands on August 26, 1817, marked a watershed moment for the islands' increasing sense of isolation. The Consitution effectively made the islands a colony of the British Empire, placed many restrictions

on their political liberties, and attacked their identity.[60] Many on the islands initially supported

the British Protectorate as it was seen as an opportunity to gain liberal reforms and independence

from years of foreign rule. Ionians believed that Protestant Britain would offer protection from

the surrounding Ottoman and Catholic Empires while ushering in political and social reforms.

However, the optimism of British protection quickly turned to dismay, as the 1817 Constitution

agreed upon by the British Government under Lord High Commissioner Thomas Maitland

restricted the most essential liberal tenants of liberty, equality, and fraternity.[61] Under the

Constitution, veto power was given to the Lord High Commissioner, effectively making the

Legislative Assembly irrelevant; Italian was imposed as the official language, and noble

privileges were re-established.   While the Constitution was a political disappointment,

Maitland's tenure as Commissioner had further consequences on the social fabric of the Ionians.

Two of the most significant actions of Maitland which impacted the islands' sense of isolation

were the cession of Parga and the imposed neutrality of the Island during the Greek War of

Independence. These events had a lasting impression on the Ionians' views of the West, its

traditional support of Hellenism and raised questions on whether traditional Western allies could

be relied on for support.

   While the Constitution of 1817 failed to establish the liberal republic the Ionians dreamed

of, it ushered in a period of liberal laws and commercial confidence.[62] Nevertheless, apart from

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[60] Maria Pachalidi, "Constructing Ionian identities: the Ionian Islands in British Offical Discourses; 1815-1864," PhD diss., (Department of History University College London, 2009).

[61] Stefano Xenos, *East and West, a Diplomatic History of the Annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece* (London: Trübner & Company, 1865), 27 & 54.

[62] For commercial enterprises under the British Protectorate see Panayiotis Kapetanakis, "Shipping and Trade in a British semi-colony: the Case of the United States of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864)," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 85 (2012): 269-284*;* Sakis Gekas, "The Merchants of the Ionian Islands between East and West: Forming international and local networks," in *Spinning the Commercial Webs,* eds. Margrit Schulte Beerbühl and jörg Vögele (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 43-64.

commercial benefits, society as a whole did not benefit from British rule. Peasants remained poor, living under a primitive feudal land tenure system, and the middle-class was constantly attacked and pushed out of the political discourse.

Cession of Parga

The cession of Parga on April 24, 1819, in many ways, foreshadowed the growing sense of alienation of the islands following the Treaty of Paris in 1817. Parga, while part of the mainland, was from 1800 a dependency of the Ionian Islands. As part of the Treaty of Paris and to secure Ottoman support for the British Protectorate, Britain sold Parga to Ali Pasha of Epirus in 1819.[63] Ugo Foscolo, an Ionian-born writer, residing in London, became an advocate for Ionian Islands interests, strongly voicing his opposition to the cession of Parga. He wrote extensively about the grievous actions of the British and described the plight of the 3,000 Pargoits who fled their homes in 1819,[64]

> Every family marched solely out of its dwelling, without tears or lamentation; and the men, preceded by their priests, and followed by their sons, proceeded to the sepulchers of their fathers, and silently unearthed and collected their remains,

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[63] Peter Cochran, "The Sale of Parga and the Isles of Greece," *Keats-Shelley Review* (2000) 42-51.
[64] W. David Wrigley, "Dissension in the Ionian Islands: Colonel Charles James Napier and the Commissioners (1819-1833)," *Balkan Studies* (1975): 12.

which they placed upon huge pile of wood which they had previously erected before one of their churches. They then took their arms in their hands, and, setting fire to the pile, stood motionless and silent around it, till the whole was consumed…The pile burnt out, the people embarked in silence; and free and Christian Parga is now a stronghold of ruffians, renegades and slaves.[65]

Foscolo's condemnation of Britain's actions[66] fueled a series of attacks on him by the British Press.[67] Foscolo was accused of being a Russian agent and portrayed the Pargroits as brigands rather than the innocent civilians Foscolo portrayed them to be. The events in Parga highlighted not only a political problem but also an identity problem. It marked one of the first times Ionians were confronted with the idea that Greeks could be excluded from the narrative of the West and Europe. There were apparent differences in the views of the Greeks and the territory that constituted the Greek nation between the English and Ionians.[68]

Parga was made out to be an ambiguous space between West and East, a borderland region where "barbarians" mixed with "Christian Europe."[69] As the traditional idea that Greece and, therefore, Greeks were part of the West and Europe was threatened, Foscolo confronted the attacks on the identity of the Pargiots by producing a historical narrative that placed the mainland Greeks within the metanarrative of Europe. In doing so, Foscolo was claiming Greece's role in a

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[65] Cited in E. R. Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo: An Italian Regency in London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 115. For more on an unpublished monograph by Foscolo see Spyros Minotto, *La cession de Parga: Les péripéties d'un ouvrage d'Ugo Foscolo* (Athens, 1934), and Fabiana Viglione, "The Sale of Parga in the Nationalist Imaginary of 19th Century Italy: 1819-1858," PhD diss., (University of Connecticut, 2017).

[66] Foscolo, "On Parga," *Edinburgh Review*, 282ff. Foscolo also wrote a document, *Stato politico delle sole Jonie*, in 1817 describing the British rule of the Ionian Islands, and in 1820 he wrote *Narrative of Events Illustrating the Vicissitudes and the Cession of Parga*.

[67] Vincent. *Ugo Foscolo*, 116-117; Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 70-75

[68] Isabella, 72ff.

[69] Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile*, 74

European identity by espousing the heroic elements of Pargoits society in defending Christian and European values from the savagery of Ali Pasha and the Ottoman Empire.[70] The political undertones of this were straightforward—as European, Greeks could claim universal rights enjoyed by other European nations.

Foscolo's defense of Parga highlighted the philhellenic spirit of Ionian writers of the time,[71] a reaction to Europe's hardened boundaries, and the exclusion of Greece. While the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw Ionian intellectuals embedded into the intellectual fabric of the West, the nineteenth century saw a drastic shift eastward. The British increasingly hardened the borders of Europe, using political events to create national alterity on the lines of West and East; Western Christianity and Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam; modernity and backwardness. British perceptions of liberty and civilization increasingly excluded the Greeks. This alienation was highlighted by Foscolo's refusal to accept an invitation to join the London Greek Committee.[72]

Ionian Neutrality

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[70] Foscolo, "On Parga," *Edinburgh Review*, 78ff.

[71] For Andreas Kalvos *Odes to Parga* see Elizabeth Constantinides, "Language and Meaning in Kalvos' Ode to Parga," *The Journal of Modern Hellenism* 1 (1984): 1-14 and Andrea Moustoxydis's *Exposé des faits qui ont précédé et suivi la cession de Parga* (Parigi, 1820).

[72] Isabella*, Risorgimento in Exile*, 47n74.

The imposed Ionian neutrality during the Greek War of Independence was another example of the West's gradual isolation of the islands. The Ionian Islands played a central role in supporting the Greek War of Independence. Using its traditional links with Italy, the islands could educate, train, arm, and finance revolutionaries. However, when the war broke out, the West was reluctant to support Greece because of their uneasiness with Russia—this anxiety was heightened with the fall of Napoleon and the power vacuum left in Eastern Europe. As the Russian Empire expanded, it began to threaten Ottoman territories through proxy wars in the Balkans. Supporting local Orthodox Christian rebellions, the Russians were able to see their influence grow in the region. Russian anxiety was again highlighted in the British press and government, often citing Foscolo and Ioannis Kapodistrias as agents of Russia and conspirators against British interests.[73]

It was up to Thomas Maitland to bring the Ionian Islands in line with the British policy of maintaining the *status quo* in the region. Maitland earned his nickname, King Tom, by coming down hard on Ionian support for the Greek War of Independence. The Ionian Islands had established strong links with the mainland and fostered deep political networks of support.[74] The *Filiki Eteria,* for instance, had a strong presence on the islands and was successful in recruiting volunteers, collecting funds, and amassing weapons. The islands' proximity to the mainland also made them ideal for insurgents to escape Ottoman advances. That being said, Maitland had a difficult job, as maintaining neutrality on the islands meant suppressing a growing Greek national movement.

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[73] Vincent, *Ugo Foscolo,* 109; John Howard Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1950).
[74] Kolokotronis arrived in 1805.

Mainland and his predecessor Fredrick Adam implemented the British neutrality policy in three phases, but not without incident. The first proclamation of Ionian neutrality was imposed between 1821-1824, the second between 1824-1827, and the last between 1828-1831.[75] The neutrality policy was meant to isolate Ionian participation from the mainland revolution. Measures included the restriction in the movement of people, arms, and vessels. Neutrality, at least in the early stages, was difficult to enforce. Greek and Turkish ships engaged in Ionian water, but more specifically, violent peasant riots erupted throughout Zakynthos and Kythira. Locals were upset about their isolation from the Greek war of independence, and in turn, they reacted violently towards British soldiers stationed on the islands and Turkish refugees fleeing the war. These riots resulted in the deaths of two British soldiers on Zakynthos and the massacre of many Turkish refugees in Kythira.[76] In response, martial law was implemented, and a policy of disarmament of the population began.

While the first neutrality policy was imposed to curb Ionian involvement in the Greek Revolution, the second was to pacify the Ottoman authorities. As presented by Adams in 1824, the re-proclamation of neutrality focused on maintaining a commercial embargo of all commodity exportation from the Ionian Islands and managing Greek refugees, which the Ottomans considered rebellious subjects. As tension on the mainland increased, especially during the siege of Messolonghi, Britain increased its attempts to isolate the islands.

The last phase of neutrality was imposed on the basis of keeping the newly elected Russophile and Ionian, President of the Greek Republic, Ioannis Kapodistrias, in check. The

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[75] William. D. Wrigley. *The Diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality, 1821-1831.* (New York: Peter Lang, 1988).
[76] Wrigley, 110-114.

battle of Navarino and the subsequent Treaty of London established the Hellenic Republic. However, there were fears that Kapodistrias would annex the Ionian Islands and continue to annex northern territories. The last phase focused on reinforcing the defenses on the islands in a pre-emptive defensive strategy against the future irredentist motives of the young republic. This meant that the Ionian government had to increase its funds to pay for extra troops and fortification improvements. Already cash-strapped, the Ionian defense budget took a significant toll on the population.

Ionian neutrality also relied on maintaining good relations with the Porte, and although the British government supported the establishment of the Hellenic Republic, it was still concerned about Kapodistrias. To show good faith to the Porte, Adam offered to assist with the evacuation of Egyptian forces from Greece. Furthermore, British and Ottoman relations were supported by a mutual distrust of Russia, and the neutrality of the Ionian Islands served both of their regional political interests.

The policy of neutrality was meant to isolate the islands, deter Ionians from participating in the Greek Revolution, and protect British interests. The enforcement of neutrality was only successful in short periods as all parties involved almost always circumvented long-term enforcement.[77] The lasting effect of Ionian neutrality was twofold. First, it further radicalized the unionist and reformers elements on the islands, and second, it made the islands' inhabitants more aware of their isolation.

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[77] Wrigley, *The Diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality.*

Economic Isolation

Another British policy that further isolated the islands were the export and transit duties imposed between the islands and abroad. This policy created economic isolation and further supported the suspicions that Britain would not provide the freedoms the Ionians had envisioned.[78] Under the Treaty of Paris of 1815, which made the Ionian Islands a British Protectorate, the Ionian government was responsible for funding the British military and defense of the islands. The cost of protection included maintaining forts, munitions, military, and civil service.[79] To pay for these, the British administration on the islands forced heavy taxation on the local populations and, because the islands acted as a commercial and transportation hub for the Mediterranean, the focus of the government taxation policy was on exports. Since 1815 the Ionian Islands offered Britain more access to commodities such as olive oil and currants and made trading centers in the Levant, North Africa, and Asia more accessible. In order to take advantage of the favorable position of the islands, British merchants imported British industrial commodities at a tax of 2%-7%. This was in contrast to local merchants who were paying a

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[78] The economic hardships under the British rule resulted in uprisings in Lefkada in 1819 and in Kefalonia in 1848-49. Sakis Gekas explains that rural populations did not passively accept international economic conditions especially in 1850s economic crisis on the islands. In addition to the threat of violence, farmers were able to petition a law that gave the state rights to confiscate property of debtors, and the corrupt practices of creditors. The expression of discontent along with the threat of violence eventually saw the government cancel debt in 1852. See Sakis Gekas, "Credit, Bankruptcy and Power in the Ionian Islands under British Rule 1815-1864." (paper presented at XVI International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 2006), 27f.

[79] Article 12. "All expenses of quartering the regular forces of His Majesty the protecting sovereign, and, generally speaking, all military expenses of any kind to be incurred by these states, (as far as relates to the 3,000 men above named), shall be paid out of the general treasury of the same." *Constitutional Chart of the United States of the Ionian Islands as passed on 2nd May 1817* (Corfu, 1818).

19.5% export duty even for trade between other islands.[80] Georgios Drakatos Papanikolas

commenting on the British Protectorate taxation policies wrote,

> The staple produce of the people, oil and currants, pays an export duty of 19.5%
> with about 3% additional for roads and other municipal expenses; while the
> intervening seas which form, as it were, the highway of the Islands are stopped,
> after the method of a turnpike gate, at each harbour, by transit duties, which tax
> the commodities of every name and description interchanged between island and
> island.[81]

The export tariffs imposed on the islands made merchants and political activists aware of

their isolation. The disadvantage of moving goods from each island and the heavy taxation on

staple goods placed the Ionian merchants at a disadvantage.

The Adriatic-Ionian Littoral in Transition

The gradual transformation of the Adriatic Littoral from an imperial to national space

also impacted the growing sense of isolation of the Ionian Islands. As an imperial space, the

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[80] Gerassimos Chytiris, *Kerkyra in the mid-19th century* [*Η Κέρκυρα στα μέσα του
19ου αιώνα*] (Kerkyra: The Society of Kerkyrian Studies, 1988), 18-19. Cited in Gerassimos Pagratis. "The Ionian
Islands under British Protection" in Carmel Vassalo and Michela D'Angelo eds. *Anglo-Saxons in the Mediterranean
Politics and Ideas (XVII-XX Centuries)* (Malta: Malta University Press, 2007), 131.
[81] Georgios Drakatos Papanikolas, *The Ionian Islands; what they have lost and suffered under the thirty-
five years' administration of the Lord High Commissioner sent to govern them.* (London: James Ridgway, 1851), 49.

nineteenth-century Adriatic was dominated by transnational interactions. These interactions

fostered intercultural exchanges and economic mobility, from which the Ionians Islands

benefitted.[82] The emergence of Romantic Nationalism in the wake of the Napoleonic wars

challenged Adriatic-Ionian intellectuals' perceptions of their multinational homeland. It is

possible to trace the effects of isolation on the Ionian intellectual elite and the process leading to

the nationalization of the Adriatic by examining this transitionary period in three separate phases.

The first is the "imperial" phase which, as mentioned above, reflected an interconnected Adriatic.

In this phase, imperial centers linked colonial peripheries to a vast network of intellectual and

economic exchange. The Ionian elite during this period enjoyed the freedom to travel abroad,

finding new commercial opportunities in Italy, and gaining an education in Italian Universities.

The imperial phase saw Venice, Padua, and Trieste become the political and cultural centers for

the Ionian Islands. The early life of Mario Pieri (1776-1852), Andreas Moustoxydis (1785-

1860), Andreas Kalvos (1792-1869), Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857), and Ugo Foscolo (1778-

1827) are examples of the dual and transcultural society during the "imperial subject" phase.

Pieri was born a Venetian subject on the island of Kerkyra, and he attended the University of

Padua, eventually becoming a translator of classical text and teacher in the lyceum of Treviso.

     Andreas Moustoxydis was born to a noble family in Kerkyra, also during the Venetian

rule. As a privileged subject, he attended University in Padua, studying with Italian intellectuals

such as Vincenzo Monti, Felice Bellotti, Alessandro Manzoni, and Ugo Foscolo. He became a

prominent publisher, official historian of the Ionian Islands, first Minister of Education in

Greece, and a prominent political career in Greece and the Ionian Islands. As part of his travels

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[82] Dominique Kirchner Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation: Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice*. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012).

to France, he met with Claude Fauriel and was instrumental in assisting him with his work on Greek folk songs.

Andreas Kalvos was born in Zakynthos as a Venetian subject of noble descent. He moved to Livorno at a young age to live with his father and uncle, who was a government representative of the Ionian Islands. He studied in Florence, where he met Ugo Foscolo and was exposed to liberal ideals. He became a teacher and publisher, becoming one of Greece's most prominent romantic poets. Visiting Greece after the War of Independence, Kalvos was disappointed and quickly left for England.

Dionysius Solomos is one of Greece's most famous poets. He was also born in Zakynthos of a noble family at the end of the Venetian Republic. He studied law and literature at the University of Padua. While in Italy, he also became familiar with the literary circles there, joining Vincenzo Monti's likes, Alessandro Manzoni and Ugo Foscolo. While he never visited Greece, his allegiance remained with Greece.

Ugo Foscolo was born in Zakynthos as a Venetian subject. He moved to Venice following his father's death and studied at the University of Padua. With the fall of the Venetian Republic, Foscolo moved back to Zakynthos, where he practiced writing. Finding it difficult to adjust to Ionian Greek life, he found his way back to Italy and eventually made it to London. In studying these Ionian intellectuals, Zanou has highlighted a shared experience in the Adriatic but, more importantly, demonstrated an interconnected space where multiple national loyalties could be expressed.

The "revolutionary" phase saw various uprisings starting in 1820 and resurfacing in 1830 and 1848. This was marked by re-imagining identity and space along ethnic, linguistic, and

national lines rather than region and culture.[83] For instance, during this period, the Habsburgs attempted to eliminate the dominance of the Italian language by strengthening the use of German and Slavic. This phase experienced a deterioration of traditional political and cultural communication networks forcing multinational intellectuals such as Niccolo Tommaseo and Andrea Moustoxydis towards nationalism. The destruction of traditional intellectual networks allowed Kerkyra to replaced Venice as the center of learning for Greeks in the region. The final phase represented "the national" phase, which drew clear boundaries around national identity, creating tensions with competing identities. This phase covered the years 1850-1913—a period when Ionian intellectuals conceptualize and spread a new spatial and temporal understanding of a collective Greek identity that connected contemporary Greeks to ancient and medieval pasts. Until the union of the island with Greece in 1864, two cultural centers emerged in Kerkyra and Athens.[84]

Continental Rebellions

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[83] Konstantina Zanou, "Between Two Patriae: Transnational Patriotism in the Ionian Islands and the Adriatic, 1800-1830." (presentation, York University, Toronto, ON, December, 2009). Dominique Kirchner Reill would argue that Adriatic intellectuals, primarily Niccolo Tomasseo, challenged nationalist ideas by advocating for "Adriatic multinationalism"—the idea that separate nations could coexists without separate states. Reill, *Nationalists Who Feared the Nation*, 2012: 46.

[84] Tension between the enlightened revivalist ideology of Athenian intellectuals' circles and the Romantic continuity ideology of the Ionian intellectuals emerged during this period. This is also when the competing Greek identities came into the forefront of intellectual debates. This included the debate between the Classists and Romantics, and the Language Question.

The *Risorgimento* and the subsequent rebellions of 1820, 1830, and 1848 in Italy were instrumental in breaking down the Adriatic-Ionian exchange networks. The Risorgimento, like many nationalist movements in Europe, can be traced during Napoleon's reign and conquests in Europe and can be generally summarized as the struggle for unification by the liberal nationalist against the traditional monarchs in Italy. The Risorgimento gained traction after the Congress of Vienna in 1815 when Italy was divided into states under the Great Power influence. Between 1815 and 1866 (the historical date of unification) saw multiple rebellions and wars between nationalist and Austrian-backed Kingdoms.

The Sicilian insurrections of 1820 signified a drastic change in Italian politics and society. The *Carbonari* emerged as a political force under Guglielmo Pepe and threatened to destabilize the whole region by demanding a Constitution in the Two Sicilies and by 1821 in Piedmont. Although the rebellions proved unsuccessful, the suppression of the revolution and defeat of Santarosa in Piedmont in 1821 saw liberals flee Italy for France, England, and Greece. Disillusioned by what had occurred in Italy, many turned to the Greek Revolution, hoping that a free and liberal Greece could be used as a launching pad for future endeavors in Italy.[85]

After the 1820s failures, two new waves of liberal insurrections occurred in Italy during 1830 and 1848. The movements, however, were not contained in Italy but part of an international movement, which also included Greece. Rallying behind philhellenism and the *Megali Idea*, Western Europeans called for the liberation of Greek-speaking populations

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[85] Italian philhellenic volunteers flooded Greece during in 1821. Stathis Birtachas, "Italo-Greek solidarity and ideological and cultural exchanges during the Risorgimento: Italian political migration to the Ionian Islands and Greece," [«Solidarietà e scambi ideologico-culturali italo-ellenici in epoca risorgimentale: L'emigrazione politica italiana nelle Isole Ionie e in Grecia,»] *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche* 26 (2012): 8n464. Birtachas argues that Greek and Italian intellectual exchanges were "manifestations of solidarity" during the migrations between Italy, the Ionian Islands, and Greece during the Risorgimento.

throughout the Balkans. The Ionian Islands were central in the spread of philhellenism in Italy, as they had well-established communities in Italy which were able to aid in the exchange of information, goods, and people to Greece.[86] This was especially important during times of Austrian violence and severe suppression of national protests throughout Italy. Fleeing persecution, many liberals found refuge in the Ionian Islands. Geographically close to Italy, the islands offered a natural defense against the Austrian army, and the fleeing political exile found many sympathizers with the local population.[87]

Political ideas, commerce, and people migrated through a historical and natural link between the Ionian Islands and Italy. Initially a Venetian colony in the early modern period, the Ionians established close economic, political, and social relationships with Italy that continued into the modern era. For instance, the Septinsular Republic of 1800-1815 saw the Ionian Islands gain self-rule for the first time. Subsequently, the Septinsular government established a consular network spanning Spain, France, Italy, North Africa, Russian, and the Ottoman Empire. The importance of establishing the consular networks was that Greeks were now "able to refer to an administrative center that was not Venetian or Ottoman but Greek."[88] The consular networks were also vital because they created a new Greek political class by providing Ionians with political training. For instance, Gerassimos Pagratis highlighted that consuls in Napoleonic Italy eventually found themselves as politicians, lobbyists, and military officials in the new Greek State.[89]

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[86] Gilles Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy: political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century," J*ournal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, no. 4 (2004): 408.

[87] Antonis Liakos, *Italian Unification and the Megali Idea* [*Η Ιταλική Ενοποίηση και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα*] (Athens: Themelio, 1985), 54.

[88] Gerassimos Pagratis, "Greeks and Italians in the Italian Peninsula during the Napoleonic period, from the standpoint of the Septinsular Republic," *The Annals of the Lower Danube Univerity Galati, History* 10 (2012): 49.

[89] Pagratis, 50.

The 1830's onward brought about a political and social change in the Mediterranean. Nationalist movements and the fierce crackdown by Austria saw the disruption of the traditional networks of communication between the Ionian Islands and the continent. For instance, Italian nationalism isolated the Ionian Islands and fostered new exchange networks with the Greek state, changing the culture center from Venice to Athens. Konstantina Zanou's study of Ionian intellectuals during this period of transformation examines the socio-political factors that led to the Ionian Islands' isolation.[90]

The collapse of traditional imperial rule in the Adriatic can be traced to the fall of the *Serenissima Republica* in 1797. This event ushered in an era of political and social revolution as people tried to find new ways of replacing the traditional order. Nationalism was the most disruptive force of the period. By replacing the cosmopolitanism and transcultural nature of empires, nationalism espoused ethnic and cultural homogeneity. From the transnational to the national, the process is what Zanou focused on when she examines Italophone Ionian intellectuals from the Ionian Islands between 1800-1830. Examining individuals like Mario Pieri (1776-1852), Andreas Mustioxidi (1785-1860), Andreas Kalvos (1792-1869), Dionysios Solomos (1798-1857), and Ugo Foscolo (1778-1827), she traces the moments that imperial subjects transformed into nationals.

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[90] See Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1830: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

Peripherally and insularity: the rise of nationalism and historicism.

What made the Ionian Islands different from other peripheral areas of Greece and the region? We can gain insight into this question by considering the deterioration of networks and the increased sense of Ionian isolation on the development of culture and identity.[91] Ionian intellectuals articulated a Greek identity that challenged the foreign-influenced "revivalist identity" with a locally relevant identity based on historic "continuity."[92]

Geography is a key feature for the study of identity formation as it provides insight into how Ionians constructed and altered their social and cultural systems time and time again. Geography impacted the development of Ionian identities by facilitating the type and extent of interaction the islands had with the mainland and across the Mediterranean. When connectivity with overseas regions was escalated, Ionian merchants, students, intellectuals, and shipping benefitted, and Ionians were more open to other cultures and societies.[93] Nevertheless, how did Ionian respond during periods when mobility was restrained? As the Ionian Islands became

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[91] Island identity is a product of movement, contact and exchange, what Horden and Purcell termed "connectivity". Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of the Mediterranean History*. (Oxford: Wiley, 2000), 123-172.
[92] Konstantina Zanou, "A Trans-Adriatic Programme for the Regeneration of Greek Letters" in *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1830: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2019), 200-207. Thomas Gallant states that Greek Romantic Nationaism was based on three essentialized unities: Greek Unity (representing the cultural dimension of the nation foun in popular society), Orthodox Unity (a shared spiritual bond), and Roman Unity (the political inheritance of the Byzantine Empire). Thomas W. Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2015), 106-107.
[93] Athanasios (Sakis) Gekas, "Class and Cosmopolitanism: the historiographical fortunes of merchants in Eastern Mediterranean ports," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24, no. 2 (2009): 95-114.

marginalized from Western Europe in the 1830s, they became increasingly connected to Greece by emphasizing a collective Greek national identity.[94]

The formation of new migration, communication, and exchange networks was in response to the Ionians' changing perceptions of their geographic space. Because of this, the following analysis emphasizes the social and political reasons that hampered mobility and how the islanders responded.

Peripherality is a feature of islandness that involves all aspects of culture, history, and economics. Peripherality draws on notions of disconnect and isolation, and in a historical context, considers how spatial and temporal dimensions influenced cultural and political production. Therefore, when we discuss peripherality, we need to consider political status. For instance, in a span of sixty years, the Ionian Islands changed political status four times.[95] As a consequence of political change, the islands experienced disruptions to trade routes and communication networks, leaving the islands vulnerable to foreign occupations and benevolent colonization.

The Ionian Islands offer us an ideal site for examining the effects of disconnect on the minds of the island populations. The more aware of their peripherality, the more radical the population on the islands became. This is best exemplified from 1830 to 1864 were there was an increase in radical rhetoric in Ionian publications. Themes during this period highlight the

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[94] Zanou argues that it was the creation of the Greek state that impacted Ionians intellectuals to abandon a cosmopolitan identity for a national one. Konstantina Zanou, "Intellectual 'Bridges' at the transition from pre-national to the national era," *Ta Istroika* 58 (2013) 3-22.

[95] In this span they experienced being a colony, a territory, a republic, and part of a nation state. each period of foreign occupation exerted a powerful influence on the social, political, and economic development of the Ionian Islands. The Venetians introduced feudalism, established Western European trade, and provided Greek participation in politics. The French introduced ideas of the Enlightenment, nationalism and revolution, while the Russians fostered constitutionalism and religious revival. Finally, the British introduced liberal reforms.

increased self-realization of the islands' peripherality and the growing need to connect to the mainland.

Peripherality also diminished the islands' sociopolitical agency through internal restrictions applied by the repressive British imposed constitution and exposure to major European social movements during the nineteenth century. As the islands' networks of exchange and communication with the outside world became hampered, the islanders looked to alternatives networks of connection for their survival. As the world around the islands became smaller, the islanders looked at union with Greece as a means of escaping the growing sense of peripherality.

Insularity has many definitions, but for this study, it is the dual nature of connectivity and disconnect that helps us understand the ability of islands to take advantage of transregional relationships. It is essential to understand connectivity and disconnect as interdependent features of insularity, as it helps us see the conditions that new networks of communication between islands and the continent emerged.

As anchors for commercial and political global relations, islands naturally mediated between local and external interests. While islands set the conditions for bringing together external cultures, economies, and ideas, individuals were responsible for mediating, creating, and spreading them internally. Again spatial and temporal factors need to be considered here. As the world around islands changed, so did their networks of communications. The period of 1800-1830, specifically, experienced an escalation of mobility between Italy and Russia. This changed between 1830-1848 towards France and Britain and from 1848-1864 towards the Greek Kingdom. While initially connections were based on trade routes and mediated by the commercial elite, 1848 saw the emergence of a national movement that espoused union with

Greece. Nationalist movements in Europe and new constitutional reforms on the islands saw the restraint of traditional commercial links; as a result, new connections were sought, and by 1848 these links were based on ethnic and national affiliation. In order to transform Greece into the cultural center of the Greek world, Ionians looked to language, religion, and history to represent the continuity and unity of the Greek nation.

Authors from the Ionian School, such as Andrea Kalvos, and Dionysios Solomos were significant parts of the cultural movement to create a Greek identity based on the demotic language. Language has a long and tumultuous history in Modern Greece, represented in the *katharevousa* and *demotic* debate. In fact, the "Language Question"[96] was not resolved until 1974 and is considered one of Modern Greece's oldest national debates. The debate stemmed from the establishment of the Greek Kingdom in 1832 and the decision to use katharevousa[97] as the official language, even though demotic Greek was the spoken language used by most people.[98] Katharevousa centered in Athens and was the language of the Greek State and the romantic authors from the First Athenian School, mainly composed of Phanariots[99] and the

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[96] See Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece* (New York, 2009), 80. Mackridge argues that the language question began in 1766 when Evgenios Voulgaris advocated the importance of knowing Ancient Greek as opposed to the 'vulgar language'. Also for more on the history of the language question see Liakos, "Historical Time and National Space"; Gregory Nagy & Anna Stavrakopoulou, eds. *Modern Greek Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

[97] The purist language, literally meaning the "cleaning up" or "purification" of the language. Because demotic Greek was considered contaminated by Ottoman, Slavic and Roman elements, Korais set out to reintroduce ancient Greek forms and words.

[98] The Ionian school was the largest proponent of the vernacular and much of the criticism it faced was due to this. Korais' also opposed the hybrid identity on the Ionian Islands when he attacked Andreas Moustoxydis for his use of Italian in his literary works, often referring to him as Italian and not Greek. Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectuals," 145-146.

[99] Although the War of Liberation brought about the Greek State, the social-political atmosphere was very divisive. The State's citizenship policy was based around the idea that only the Autochthonous Greeks should have a say in the State. This parochial stance created a socio-political schism in Greek society between those who were born within the borders of the Greek State, and those outside. The Ionian Islands became one of the strongest advocates for the Heterochthonous Greeks.

Diaspora.[100] This group wrote poetry in purist language and focused on romantic and neoclassical themes to restore the glory of ancient history, monuments, and language.

The conflicting views between the Ionian School and the First Athenian School created a cultural dichotomy in the Greek world's literary circles that resulted from a multilingual Diasporic group's attempts to become monolingual.[101] Demotic Greek became the distinguishing factor for the Ionians because it proved their national uniqueness but also maintained their ancient Greek roots. For the Ionian intellectuals, demotic Greek represented the purest essence of Greekness. More importantly, it demonstrated that the claim of ancient Greek civilization did not come from the knowledge of the classics, such as it was believed by the British, but by an unbroken link with them, a link that was ultimately preserved in Greek rural society and folklore.

The Ionian (Heptanesean) School

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[100] Adamantios Korais was a classical scholar who spent much of his life in Paris. He is best known for his role in developing and promoting the idea that the true inheritors of Greek culture were the ancients and that all foreign elements, such as Ottoman or Byzantine legacies, needed to be purged.

[101] Karen Van Dyck, "The Language Question and the Diaspora," in *The Making of Modern Greece,* eds. Roderick Beaton & David Ricks (UK: Ashgate, 2009), 189-196. Van Dyck contends that *diaglossia* debate was centered on a larger national question; what it meant to be Diaspora Greek. She demonstrates that the debate between the Dionysios Solomos and Adamantios Korais highlights problems at which a multilingual group attempts to become monolingual. The Diaspora Greeks reflected on differences and similarities of languages and projected a multilingual world onto a mainland.

The Ionian School, [102] or *Heptanesean School,* was a literature, art, and music tradition—recognized by its mixing of Byzantine, local and Western styles—that emerged on the islands during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.   Specifically, the Ionian School of literature had lasting impacts on Greece's cultural development and is marked by its use of the demotic over katharevousa, supporting the continuity of ancient and modern Greek identity,[103] a propensity to focus on folk culture and themes of the War of Independence.[104]

The Ionian School of literature evolved over two particular periods of Greek history: the pre-and post-revolutionary period and the enosis. The pre-and-post revolutionary period[105] of Greek literary production was between 1780-1830. This period was marked by liberal idealism and British constitutionalism. The second period was between 1848-1864[106] and emphasized Greek national symbols and an obsession with the Revolution. There was a distancing from the eighteenth-century Western neoclassical narratives and a focus on Eastern peasant folklore that nurtured a Greek national identity. Ionian romantic nationalists began to compose heroic revolutionary histories and collected folksongs to demonstrate that the national "Greek" spirit was resilient, having survived years of foreign rule.

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[102] "Ionian school represented an era of cultural revolution, it was marked by production of publications that became available to larger audience, material was less political and catered to popular audience using poetry and fiction. Ionian romantics appealed to democratised audience using themes that were against ruling elite, and favoured demotic traditions." Roderick Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8

[103] Beaton.

[104] On changing role of Byzantium on Modern Greek identity see Effi Gazi, "Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative," *Historein* 6 (2006):143-149.

[105] Referring to the Greek Revolution of 1821, in which the Ionian Islands played a central role. This period is also referred to as the pre and post Solomian period, because of the tremendous influence of the poet Dionysius Solomos.

[106] Refers to the period between the introduction of Lord Seaton's reforms and Union.

Greek National Identity in Ionian Literary Tradition.

The Ionian Romantics demonstrated that there were competing ideas about the national characteristics of Greek culture and identity. For instance, the First Athenian School supported an identity based on the revival of Ancient Greek culture, language, customs and espoused an elitist hierarchical social structure. On the other hand, the Ionian School advocated for an identity that encompassed a sense of historical continuity, romantic nationalism, *demoticism*, and a bourgeoisie-led egalitarian social structure. While both ideas existed within the Greek nation, they were constructed and nurtured outside the state's boundaries. As the state tried to negotiate between both, it created tensions, as evident by the *autochthon*, *heterochthon,* and *diaglossia* debates.[107]

The study of Greek national identity has not only oversaturated Greek scholarship but has dominated Greek historical writing. Nevertheless, national identity can still produce interesting inquires about contested identities in the Greek Mediterranean world.[108] In the context of this project, I concede that the nation is a powerful marker of identity because it can unite and conflate other identities, but I argue that it is not the only marker.

The formation of national identities is a complex process, far from the natural and homogenous construction nationalist historiographies suggest. Incorporating narratives and

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[107] See page 213-214 of this dissertation. In 1844, the National Assembly debated whether Greeks that were born within the state (autochtons) and those from abroad (heterochthons) xould both qualify for citizenship.
[108] Gregory Jusdanis, *The Necessary Nation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

narrative identity theory reveals that the nation is neither a stable nor static entity. As the nation became political in the nineteenth century, the cultural meanings, social relations and values, geography, and political aspirations changed the meaning of the nation. This explains why multiple and competing Greek identities emerged in the nineteenth century. This dynamism denotes what Prasenjit Duara argues is the fluidity of national identity. Challenging the modernization paradigm of nationalism,[109] Duara argues that,

> National identification is never fully subsumed by it (the modern state) and is best considered in its complex relationships to other historical identities. The second assumption is the privileging of the grand narrative of the nation as a collective historical subject. Nationalism is rarely the nationalism of the nation, but rather represents the site where very different views of the nation contest and negotiate with each other.[110]

Duara's research on China maintains that national identity is highly politicized and interchangeable. Duara's thesis is based on the idea that national identity is continually evolving because it is susceptible to internal and external socio-political relationships around it. In short, national identity is dynamic and fluid because nationalism represents "the site where very different views of the nation contest and negotiate with each other." [111]

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[109] The modernization paradigm, as set out by Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, argues that national identify emerged in response to industrialization and capitalism.

[110] Prasenjit Duara, "Historicizing National Identity or Who Imagines What and When" in *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1995),152.

[111] Prasenjit Duara, "De-Constructing the Chinese Nation," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs,* no. 30 (July 1993): 2.

The existence of two or more contested national ideologies within the Greek nation attests to the idea that national identity is not fixed and continually evolving. Instead, history reveals that individuals and groups changed their national affiliation based on surrounding social and political circumstances. Fluidity is what allows political movements and states to control and manipulate individuals. For instance, in the years leading to the Balkan Wars, individuals, ethnic groups, and communities switched national identity because of religious affiliation, class, violence, occupation, political allegiance, coercion, and privilege.[112] Therefore, the central question here is not about competing for national identities or whether individuals can change their national identity. It is about examining how national identities are negotiated and constructed and the socio-political factors that influence this process.

Ionian narratives of national identity had to contend with the Greek state, and the newly established Athenian School, in the nineteenth century. As such, literature and historic scholarship became a contested arena of national identity between Ionians and "Athenians." The geographic circumstances of islandness were central in the Ionian conceptions of identity and their understanding of space and time. For instance, island features such as isolation and connectivity, stasis and mobility, and peripherality influenced Ionian intellectuals' perceptions of the nation and identity.

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[112] Victor Roudometof, "From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization, and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 16, no.1 (1998): 11-48; Dimitris Livanios, "Conquering the Souls: Nationalism, Religion and Violence in the Balkans During the Long Nineteenth Century," (Presentation to the colloquium on "Globalisation in World History", King's College, Cambridge, June 3, 2000); Dimitris Livanios, "Making Borders, Unmaking Identities: Frontiers and Nationalism in the Balkans, 1774-1913," (Seminar paper, delivered at *the Watson Institute for International Studies*, Brown University, on December 12, 2003).

It should be mentioned that this project does not attempt to identify the use of islands as a trope in writing, but instead, it focuses on tracing the moment that Ionian intellectuals became conscious of insular space, the social and political reasons for this, and the ramifications on the formation of identity. As the understanding of space changed for Ionians, so did their identification within it. This was exemplified during the transitional period of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century when Empires transformed into states [113] and exemplified during Union (1848-1864).

By drawing on Henri Lefebvre's theorization of space, one can better conceptualize the role of insularity on the Ionian development of national identity.[114] For instance, in *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre concentrates on the social construction of space. Here he posits that space is a social and political product as evident in the nationalization of territory. Lefebvre argues that geographic space is historically and temporally subjective, and therefore the meaning of social space is open to change. Understanding geographic space is, therefore, social, its meaning derived from interactions of territory with cultural and socio-political meanings. Lefebvre states that while "space and time in themselves may not change, our perception of them do."[115] Essentially space is a social product, and as such, its production needs to be understood in the context of a particular era and society, social struggle, and political events. Accordingly,

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[113] For the transitional period between Empires and Nation States had on intellectual thought in the Adriatic see Konstantina Zanou, "Expatriate intellectuals,".
[114] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991).
[115] In studying artist Édouard Pignon, Lefebvre argues that the artist challenged conceptions and representations of space. Cited in Stuart Elden, "Space and History" in *Understanding Henri Lefebvre* (London: Continuum, 2004), 182f.

Lefebvre's works highlight the temporality of space, asserting that space is a medium from which we can better understand societies' historical and political development.[116]

While Lefebvre reveals that space is a social construct and as such a social product, Michel Foucault reminds us that power and knowledge need to be considered when examining space, challenging us to understand space over time.[117] His ideas on our understanding of space are based on two types of spaces: utopias and heterotopias.[118] Foucault's heterotopias take on a structural analysis of time and help us see the multiple layers of meaning in geographic areas. Understanding space as a reflection of historical and individual circumstances also allows us to understand spaces as discursive and therefore reflected in narratives about them. In the context of this paper, geographic sites (cities, territories, islands, and regions) are spaces where power is constituted and where narratives are formed.[119] More specifically, Ionian intellectuals' relationship with insularity is what influenced their production of identity and agency. Ionian intellectuals' historical narratives and understanding of national time were affected by the power-relations of space during the nineteenth century. For instance, social arrangements (rural or urban setting, a specific island, colonial encounters, and their relationship with the mainland and sea) are determined by assertions of power and knowledge. Subsequently, social groups form

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[116] Henri Lefebvre, *Le Droit à la ville II. Espace et politique* (Paris: Anthropos, 1973), 59; Henri Lefevbre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

[117] It is important to remember that historical circumstances affect how time is understood.

[118] Utopias are a mythical space (imagined), and heterotopias are a mixed real and mythical spaces (imagined and physical), see Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, 16, no. 1 (1986): 22-27. Heterotopias are defined as "sites which are embedded in aspects and stages of our lives which somehow mirror and at the same time distort, unsettle or invert other spaces, see Peter Jackson, "The Geographies of Heterotopia," *Geography Compass* 7, no. 11 (2013): 790-791. For the use of Foucault's ideas on space in a historical context see Chris Philo, "Foucault's geography," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 10, no. 2 (1992): 137 – 161.

[119] For an exceptional review of the use of Foucault by geographers see Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden eds. *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).

relationships with each other, solve problems, debate, and express themselves in spaces of power and knowledge.

Lefebvre and Foucault highlight the cultural and discursive aspect of space and that space is also constitutive of national identity. Concerning this project, it is significant as it posits that the experiences and perceptions of Ionian intellectuals during turbulent historical periods of the nineteenth century influenced how they conceived ideas about the West and East. It also affected their perception of space and time within the Ionian Islands themselves, as in different historical periods, the islands experience either an escalation or restraint of mobility and, therefore, felt heightened connectivity or isolation. [120]

Romantic Nationalism introduced new space-time configurations, which determined how space was negotiated and understood by the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands. National identity did not only define a group based on a common language, ethnicity, culture, and customs but also through a shared geographic attachment. Historically, the Ionian Islands' survival was based on the inhabitants' flexibility in constructing and negotiating their relations of space with their political circumstances. Insularity became that from which the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands negotiated their geographic reconfiguration between land and sea during the various periods of foreign occupations of the islands. The islanders found ways to respond to isolation by creating an island space physically connected to continents, regions, territories, and, more importantly, ideas.

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[120] During the "Age of Empires" the islands were a strategically geo-political importance for defense and trade. During this period the islanders exerted a greater sense of agency, playing empire off or each other in order to negotiate a better position for themselves. However, with the rise of the nation state, the islands became increasingly isolated. This idea is further developed below.

The examination of history, literature, and national identity requires connecting micro-historical case studies to macro-historical explanations of the nation-building process. As such, the study of Ionian literature must consider theoretical approaches that engage with identity formation, nationalism, and narration. This is necessary because identity is expressed through the stories we tell,[121] which in turn places us among a larger community (the nation). A study of narratives provides information on the events, interactions, and social relations that influenced individuals' storytelling. Narratology, or the study of narrative, helps us examine how individuals made sense of their surroundings and their place within it. Narrative studies highlight various aspects of the identity formation process, such as the inclusion of temporal and spatial relationships to events in order to address the complexity and dynamism of identity.[122]

Narratology challenges the traditional homogenous and teleological understanding of Modern Greek nationalism. Ionian intellectuals provide a unique perspective of individual participation in constructing the narratives of nationalism that were subsequently canonized by the state.[123] The context in which Ionian literature was written needs to be considered, as individuals were part of a broader socio-political phenomenon that challenged the traditional networks of communication in the Mediterranean and prompted new articulations of identity and the nation.[124]

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[121] Homi Bhabha, *Nation and Narration* (New York: Rutledge, 1990) argues that the expression of nationhood is intertwined with narration.

[122] Margaret Somers, "The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach," *Theory and Society* 23, no.5 (1994): 616.

[123] The beginning of standardization process began in 1850s and reached its peak by the 1880s.

[124] Gregory Jusdanis, *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Cultural Inventing National Literature* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1991) Jusdanis argues that the development of literature was central to state hegemony and irredentism.

Studying a selection of literary works by the intellectuals of the Ionian Islands reveals two critical aspects during the formative years of Greek national awareness. First is the role of geography, specifically the knowledge of distance played in shaping narratives of the nation. Second is the awareness of competing for Greek identities, which often-forcing intellectuals from the Ionian Islands, the Diaspora, and Athens to engage in debates and problem-solving dialogue around the meaning of the nation. The contention between the Athenian constructed Greek identity and that of the Ionians often resulted in debates to justify their existence and dominion over the other.

The aim of is project is not to show that Ionians created an alternative Greek national identity, nor is it to provide a general overview of their literature. Instead, the aim is to understand the process of how and why Ionian Greek identity was conceived around ideas about historical continuity, demoticism, and romantic nationalism. Again, central to answering these questions is geography, specifically insularity. Ideally located between the Western and Eastern worlds, Ionian intellectuals lived, studied, and played in a transnational world. As this world gave way to nineteenth-century nationalism, Ionian intellectuals built new cultural networks that shifted towards mainland Greece. The process of transition entailed a temporal and spatial re-conceptualization of the Greek nation. By the 1850s, the Ionian intellectual circles were introducing new western notions of identity into the Greek State by replacing the liberal enlightenment (revivalism) ideology for romantic nationalism (continuity).

In time European national rebellions and the Eastern Question, specifically the Crimean War, hardened boundaries of identity and the territorialization of state boundaries in the

Mediterranean.[125] Consequently, cosmopolitanism became irrelevant as a feature of commerce, travel, and communication. As the world turned towards nation-states, the cosmopolitan communication networks became cut off, and the Ionians faced a growing need to find new linkages.

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[125] The impact of the hardening of intellectual boundaries between Ionian intellectual Moustoxydis and Adriatic-Italian intellectual Tommaseo is discussed in Konsatantina Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectual," 2007.

Chapter III. The Three I's: Islands, Islandness, And Insularity.

The historiography of the Ionian Islands covers more than one substantive area of

scholarship. This is due to the efforts of contemporary scholars to make the Ionian Islands

relevant to broader historical events, current issues, and academic trends. The development of

Ionian Islands historiography is best understood within three disciplinary trends: the

traditionalists, the postmodernist, and the postcolonialists.[126] A literature review provides a

contextual understanding of how Modern Greek historical research has increased its English

bibliography,[127] followed historiographical trends, and has incorporated new disciplinary

approaches.

Few studies have focused on the Ionian Islands on their own terms. In fact, traditional

studies have viewed Ionian history as secondary to the metanarratives of more extensive colonial

histories in the Mediterranean and Greek national history.[128] The earliest canons for Ionian

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[126] For historiographical trends between the 17th-19th centuries see D. Arvanitakis D., "Trends in the historiography of the Ionian Islands (17th- early 19th century) [Τάσεις στην ιστοριογραφία του Ιόνιου χώρου (17ος – αρχές 19ου αι.)", *Proceedings of the 6th International Pan-Ionian Conference* [*Πρακτικά του Ζ' Πανιόνιο Συνέδριο*] Leukada, 26-30 May 2002, (Athens, 2004), **1:** 91-115. Arvaniatakis traces early 19th century historiographical trends, highlighting the use of the Ionian Islands by Andrea Moustoxydis in his historical work *Notizie per servire alla storia corcirese dai tempi eroici al secolo XII (1804)* in establishing a "Greek" national time and space.

[127] Stratos E. Constantinidis, "The Status of Modern Greek Studies in Higher Education in Canada, the United States and the United Kingdom, Preface," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24, no. 1 (May 2006): 137-140; Thomas Gallant, "The Status of Modern Greek Studies in Higher Education in Canada and York University Experience". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 24, no. 1 (May 2006): 141-151. With the creation of Hellenic chairs and an increase in funding for Hellenic studies departments throughout North America Universities emergence of English research, publication, conferences, and seminars. The study of the Ionian Islands has benefited, offering an ideal site to introduce Greek history to an English audience.

[128] Traditional Greek historiography centered on a Hellenocentric approach focusing the national struggles of liberation, a collective identity, and national integration, thus excluding the histories that did not fit these nationalist and patriotic parameters. See Alexander Kitroeff, "Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography", *European History Quarterly*, 19**,** (1989): 168-298; Evangelia Balta, "Turkish Archival Material in

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history fall within the nationalist traditionalist paradigm are the triumvirate works of Panaiotis Hiotis,[129] and Andreas Idromenos,[130] Spyros Verykios.[131] With a focus on political and economic sources, these scholars set the groundwork for future Greek studies on the islands, which followed the national metanarrative that the history of the Ionian Islands was a long struggle towards union and that the islanders were culturally and ethnically homogenous with the mainland.

The focus of poststructuralists and postmodernists of the twentieth century on what constitutes societies and cultures led to the sociological, cultural, and material 'turns' and the consequent focus on local and peripheral histories. These historiographical trends gave the Ionian Islands a new role in the framework of global political, social, and cultural histories. Inspired by revisionist and geopolitical perspectives, Antonios Liakos examined the correlations between the Greek irredentist movement (*Megali Idea*) and the Italian Risorgimento. Liakos work focus on the transcultural and transregional world, demonstrating how political ideas of the Risorgimento were first mediated in Ionian Reformist and Radical politics and echoed in

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Greek Historiography", *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 8, no. 15 (2010): 755-792; Eleni Belia, "The Ideology of Ionian historiography in the Nineteenth Century [Η ιδεολογία της επτανησιακής ιστοριογραφίας του 19ου αιώνα]", *Proceedings of the 5th Pan-Ionian Conference [Πρακτικά του Ε' Διεθνους Παωιονιού Συνεδριου]*, (Athens 1986): 265-285; S. Marketos, "Nation with No Jews: Views of Historiographic Construction of Greekness" [«Έθνος χωρίς εβραίους: απόψεις της ιστοριογραφικής κατασκευής του ελληνισμού»], *Sygchrona Themata [Σύγχρονα θέματα]* (Athens: Nikos Alivizatos, 1994): 52-69. Adamantios Dionysios Minas argues that the distinct music of the Ionian Islands (examples include the elite classical music forms and the local peasant traditions of the *kantathes*) reflected elements of Western music traditions. After union, Ionian music traditions did not serve the nationalist purposes of the state and therefore was suppressed. Adamantios Dionysios Minas , "The Suppression of the Music of Ionian Islands by the Modern Greek State: Culture that did not Fit the Political Agenda," *Public Voices* 9, no. 1 (2017):125-137.

[129] Panagiotis Hiotis' *History of the Ionian State* is an important source for Ionian History highlighting the national and political struggle for union with Greece: Panagiotis Hiotis, *History of the Ionian State* [*Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους*] (Athens: D. Karabia, 1980).

[130] Andreas Idromenos, *The Political History of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864)* [Πολιτική ιστορία της Επτανήσου 1815-1864] (Kerkyra: n.p., 1935).

[131] Spyros, Verykios, *The History of the United States of the Ionian Islands* [Ιστορία των "Ηνωμένων Κρατών" των Ιόνιων Νήσων] (Athens: n.p.,1964).

Athenian political culture after union.[132]   The role of the Ionian political culture in Athens

emphasizes the ideological interconnection through various networks of trade and

communication in the Mediterranean. This opened new opportunities for scholars to challenge

the dominant nationalist views on Greek history and to understand the Ionian Islands on their

own terms.

By the early 2000s, Greek seminars and conferences emerged with innovative research

exploring the microhistories of the Ionian Islands and its people and exposing a new generation

of scholars to vast new sources.[133]   More recently, Konstantina Zanou's studies on eighteenth-

and nineteenth-century Mediterranean intellectual history trace the trajectories of ideas and

people across the pre-national, trans-cultural Mediterranean, and Adriatic Seas. In her

dissertation, she questions the absence of Andrea Moustoxydis from Greek historiography and

argues that as a bilingual Italo-phone Ionian,[134] he did not fit the Greek national metanarrative.

Interestingly his biography was also missing from Italian intellectual historiographies because of

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[132] One of the most important contributions of the Ionian political culture to the Greek state was partisan politics. Antonis, Liakos. *Italian Unification and the Great Idea [Η Ιταλική ενοποίηση και η μεγάλη ιδέα]* (Athens: Themelio, 1985), 103, 114-118; Antonis. Liakos, The movement of Garibaldi and the Ionian Islands, 1860-1862 [Το κίνημα του Γαριβάλδη και τα Επτάνησα, 1860-1862], Proceedings of the 4th Pan-Ionian Conference, Kerkyraika Chronika [Πρακτικά Δ΄ Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου, Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά,] XXIII, no. 1 (1980): 207-215.

[133] The first Pan-Ionian Conference was held in 1914 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Union of the Ionian Islands. Subsequent conferences were held in 1938, 1965, 1978, 1986, 1997 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014 with the mission to advance the study of the history, culture, and archeology of the islands. The proceedings are published in multiple volumes. For details of the early proceedings see 10th Panionian Conference [«Ι΄ Πανιόνιο Συνέδριο»], Society of Corfiot Studies Museum of Poet Dionysios Solomos, accessed June 28, 2020. https://panioniosynedrio.gr/. Also see publications Proceedings of the 4th Pan-Ionian Conference, Kerkyraika Chronika [Πρακτικά Δ΄ Πανιονίου Συνεδρίου, Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά,]; Gerasimos Pentogalos, Petros Kalligas, and Dionysis Minotos, eds. *6th International Pan-Ionian Conference: Proceedings: Zakynthos, 23-17 September 1997* [*Πρακτικά ΣΤ' διεθνές Πανιόνιο συνέδριο: Πρακτικά: Ζάκυνθος, 23-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1997*] (Thessaloniki: University Studi Press, 2000); Ζ' Πανιόνιο συνέδριο : Ζητήματα πολιτισμικής ιστορίας: Πρακτικά, Λευκάδα, 26-30 Μαΐου 2002 Αθήνα tomos Α-Β: Εταιρεία Λευκαδικών Μελετών, 2004; ΚΕΡΚΥΡΑΪΚΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ Ι΄ ΔΙΕΘΝΕΣ ΠΑΝΙΟΝΙΟ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ.

[134] Konstantina Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectuals and National Identity: Andrea Moustoxydis in Italy, France and Switzerland (1802-1829)," PhD diss., (University of Pisa, 2007), 10. Interestingly, almost all Moustoxydis's philological and historical works were written in Italian.

his self-identification as Greek. Overcoming traditional nationalist narratives and an Athenian-centered perspective, Zanou explores how Greek expatriate intellectual elites discovered and perceived their national identity before establishing distinct national borders. Using the Ionian Islands as a site of inquiry, she finds that Ionian intellectuals developed a Greek identity that paralleled that which was in the Ottoman Empire and later the Greek Kingdom.[135]

In her latest publications, Zanou expands her inquiry and examines the history and biographies of intellectuals from the shores of the Adriatic, tracing the gradual emergence of their multilayered national identities through their diasporic experience and literary works as they oscillated the intellectual trajectories of empires and nations, *patrias* (Ionian, Venetian, Greek, Italian, Russian), languages and cultures.[136] Zanou's overarching thesis argues that the "Hellenic identity" that was developed by Ionian intellectuals did not fit the nationalist narratives of the Greek state because they developed a sense of nationalism based on their diasporic

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[135] Konstantina Zanou, *Imperial Nationalism and Orthodox Enlightenment*, 117-134; Konstantina Zanou, "One Island, three (Trans)National Poets," in *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1830: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Zanou's works are instrumental in demonstrating the role of Mediterranean diaspora in embraced and negotiated with the broader patriotism in the Adriatic, Russia, Ottoman Empire, Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands to foster new and local patriotism.

[136] Konstantina Zanou, "Imperial Nationalism and Orthodox Enlightenment: A diasporic story between the Ionian Islands, Russia and Greece, ca. 1800-1830", in *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the long nineteenth century*, eds. M. Isabella and K. Zanou (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 117-34; Konstantina Zanou, "One Island, three (Trans)National Poets," in *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1830: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). Zanou challenges notions of how European liberalism was understood in the periphery and argues that Greek national consciousness was not born out of binary oppositions between Western secular ideals and Eastern Orthodox nationalism. Instead, she argues that there were multiple Greek national consciousness emerging in the 18th and 19th centuries, each influenced by differing diasporic experiences. For instance, Zanou argues that Ionian intellectuals in Russia (such as Ioannis Kapodistrias, Bishop Ignatius, and Alexandre Stourdza) mediated the Septinsular Enlightenment (Italian and revolutionary) with that of the Phanariot Enlightenment (Orthodox and reformist), endorsing a Pan-Christian European confraternity with Greek Orthodox cultural regeneration. As part of an intellectual network that included the Ionian Islands, Ottoman Greece, and the Russian Empire these intellectuals produced a new Greek patriotism that was less liberal than their European counterparts and deeply religiously. For more on the relationship and networks of communication between Ionian citizens and Russia see Nicholas Charles Pappas, *Greeks in Russian military service in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries* (Greece: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991) and Lucien J. Frey, *Russia and the Making of Modern Greek Identity, 1821-1844* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 181.

experiences and were a product of a polycentric Mediterranean world that was "multileveled" and an extension of "multiple *partias*."

Adding to the growing English bibliography of Ionian history, Sakis Gekas[137] embraces the idea of an eighteenth- and nineteenth-century multilayered Mediterranean world and offers a new approach to understanding the development of competing and parallel Greek identities. While Zanou approached the question about Ionian "Greekness" by examining trajectories and experiences of diasporic intellectuals across the Adriatic, Gekas points to the emergence of the Ionian bourgeois class and state institutions that were established during the British Protectorate as a watershed moment in the formation of a liberal national identity on the islands. Gekas argues that the nineteenth-century Mediterranean was a site of multiple Greek States, each cultivating unique socio-economic systems that embraced various aspects of extensive colonial experiences. An outcome of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands was the rise of a new urban bourgeoisie class. Gekas argues that this class outlived imperial rule, failed liberalization policies, and unsustainable state institutions to seek union with Greece and form a modern Greek national identity.[138] Overall, Gekas placed the Ionian Islands within a broader understanding of the state formation process.

A large part of Gekas' study also concentrates on the colonial legacy of the Ionian Islands; this approach follows the footsteps of Thomas Gallant's scholarship on the Ionian

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[137] Sakis, Gekas, *Xenocracy: State, Class and Colonialism in the Ionian Island 1915-1864* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017).

[138] Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 287-324. In chapter 10, Gekas argues that the Ionian 'bourgeoisie' established social-political hegemony through a shared liberal political voice. The establishment of liberal education system under the guidance of the Ionian liberal class challenged traditional colonial power relations and promoted sovereignty through enosis.

Islands.[139] Gallant's research is essential to our understanding of the islands beyond the

traditional imperial and national paradigms.[140] Gallant's *Experiencing Dominion: Culture,*

Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean is a comprehensive study of the Ionian Islands

that has contributed to the field by examining how the imperial experience influenced the

construction of identity for both colonized (Ionians) and colonizers (Britain). In this study,

Gallant highlights the complexities of forming a national identity in a European colonial context

and provides insight into how colonial systems influenced Ionian society.

A careful reassessment of the period leading to the union of the islands with the Greek

State in 1864 can demonstrate that contemporary views of Ionian identity are unsatisfactory. An

inadequate understanding of how political and intellectual leaders constructed identity has led

contemporary scholarship to focus on Ionian identity around two assumptions. First, it was part

of the Greek national narrative, or second, something separate and constructed by its occupiers.

In her dissertation, Maria Paschalidi examines how the British constructed a complex Ionian

identity and influenced how they ruled over the islands.[141] Focusing on British colonial sources

and British-Ionian interactions, Paschalidi argues that British officials constructed a complex

understanding of Ionian identity that reflected centuries of foreign rule.[142]

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[139] Thomas Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002). Also on the movement of people with transnational identities in the Mediterranean see Thomas Gallant, "Tales from the dark Side: Transnational Migration, the Underworld and the "other" Greeks of the Diaspora," in *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture,* ed. Dimitris Tziovas (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 17-30.

[140] Michael Pratt*, Britain's Greek Empire: Reflections on the history of the Ionian islands from the fall of Byzantium* (London: Rex Collins, 1978). Pratt's work offers the quintessential British imperial perspective of the islands.

[141] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994), 18-25. Chatterjee argues that the difference between colonizer and colonized was based on the colonizer's legitimization of autocratic rule over subjugated peoples.

[142] Maria Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities: The Ionian Islands in British Official Discourse 1815-

My project expands on the research of Zanou, Gekas, and Gallant by insisting on the existence of multiple competing Greek national identities. This view explains why Cretans,[143] Arvanites,[144] and Ionians all claimed to be Greek while at the same time having different opinions of what it meant to be Greek. That being said, current scholarship fails to address why Ionians oscillated between unitary and separatist movements and cosmopolitan and nationalist identities, why they eventually chose to identify as Italian, Greek, British, or even Russian. While Zanou would argue that it was the rise of nation-states, and Gekas due to the urban elite, I propose that an island studies perspective can provide new insights. The application of an island lens gives agency to the Ionians in constructing ideas about modernity and identity. My research shows that Ionians oscillated between unitary and separatist political movements and cosmopolitan and nationalist identities because of environmental implications predicated on the degree of islandness experiences over time and space. Applying an island lens to Ionan history allows us to understand the complexities behind the formation of Ionian culture, identity, and politics during the nineteenth century. [145]

1864," PhD diss., (Universality College London, 2009). The important part here is that British colonial discourse provided Ionians with an opportunity to voice political and national concerns. It is the Ionian voices found in the press, poetry, art, newspapers, political debates that my work is concerned with. Also on Ionian participation in constructing a Greek national identity based on ideas of national self-determination and popular sovereignty through collective actions and popular mobilization see Eleni Calligas, "The Rizospastai (Radical-Unionists): Politics and Nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands 1815-1864," PhD diss., (University of London, 1994).

[143] Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1982); Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1985).

[144] Dimitra Gefou-Mandianou, "Cultural Polyphony and Identity Formation: Negotiating Tradition in Attica." *American Ethnologist* 26, no. 2 (1999): 412-428; Simeon Magliveras, "The Ontology of Difference: Nationalism, Localism and Ethnicity in a Greek Arvanite village," PhD diss., (Durham University, 2009). http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/248/

[145] This builds on Thomas W. Gallant's thesis in *Experiencing Dominion* by exploring the idea of the reciprocal and imbricated relationship between the colonizer and colonized.

Apart from studying how communication networks in the Mediterranean influenced the

movement of ideas and peoples, the Ionian Islands offer a critical case study for understanding

global maritime history and a new way to understand the reach of Mediterranean networks.

Recent works on Ionian maritime trade have demonstrated the vital role Ionians played in the

global trade networks.[146] Ionian merchants took advantage of their dual citizenship (Ionian and

British) to bolster their shipping activities and expand their trading opportunities. [147] They

dominated the transport of grain cargoes from the Black Sea to the main ports of the western

Mediterranean, and more importantly, "Ionian shipping offered the Greek owned commercial

shipping an impulse to further development…which produced a shift from the profession of

tradesman-shipowners to specialized shipowners."[148] Understanding the extent of the trade

network provides insight into travel, identity, class,[149] and Great Power politics in the region.

Recent studies on the Ionian Islands also highlight that peripheral history is often in the

vanguard of new trends and development. My approach to this work resonates with current

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[146] Panayiotis Kapetanakis, *Shipping and trade under British protection: Sea State 1815-1864* [*Εμπόριο και ναυτιλία υπό Βρετανική προστασία: Το Ιόνιο κράτος, 1815-1864*] (Athens: National Hellenic Foundation, 2015).

[147] Gallant shows that it was not only merchants and shipowners who exploited the dual citizenship of Ionian citizens under the British protectorate. Artisans labourers, prostitutes, musicians, and sailors were tried in British courts within the Ottoman Empire when they were accused of crimes. Gallant, "Tales from the dark Side," 17-29. For more on how Ionians used their status as British subject to participate in illicit activities in Levant and circumvent Ottoman authorities by seeking British consular protection see A. A. D. Syemour, "How to Work the System and Thrive: Ionians and Pseudo-Ionians in the Lavant, 1815-1864," in The Ionain Islands Aspects of Their History and Culture, ed Anthony Hirts and Patrick Sammon (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

[148] Panayiotis Kapetanakis, "Shipping and Trade in a British semi-colony: The Case of the United States of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864)", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, 85 (2012): 270. Also, for a comprehensive study of Greek maritime history, including the Ionian Islands see, Gelina Harlaftis and Katerina Papakonstantinou, eds. *Greek Shipping, 1700-1821: The heyday before the Greek Revolution* [*ΝΑΥΤΙΛΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ, 1700-1821. Ο ΑΙΩΝΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΚΜΗΣ ΠΡΙΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ*], (Athens: Kedros and Ionian University, 2013).

[149] Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 144-153. Commercial activities, especially in the export of currants, olive oil and grain were important to the formation of the Ionian liberal bourgeoisie. The distinguishing feature of Ionian bourgeoisie was their reverence of trade as a socio-political ideology. Merchants emerged as important collective political voice for free-trade and protecting their interest and privileges.

historiographical trends on the Ionian Islands and Greek studies and seeks to move the study of histories, cultures, and politics to the local and periphery.[150] More importantly, this work adds to the scholarship of Zanou's "diaspora intellectuals," Gekas' Ionian "liberal bourgeoisie," and Gallant's "colonial Ionian," in describing the pre-national and transcultural Adriatic world by arguing that geography, and specifically insularity, was central in the historical development of Ionian culture, society, and politics.

Mediterranean Studies

A spatial analysis of the Mediterranean shows a sea made up of a constellation of islands, cities, ports, and shores spread over many seas and continents. The works of Fernand Braudel, Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, David Abulafia, Cyprian Broodbank, and Gelina Harlaftis[151], for instance, have shown that the spatial heterogeneity of the Mediterranean impacted the history, cultural, and economic makeup of the bordering nations, empires, and people. World or global history, in particular, has emphasized the analytical benefit of studying the diverse, fragmented parts—the ports, shores, coasts, peninsulas, and islands—that make up

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[150] Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon, eds. *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014).

[151] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II,* 3 vols. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949); David Abulafia, "What is the Mediterranean?," *The Mediterranean in History* (London: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003); David Abulafia, *The Great Sea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea* (2013); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000); Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping* (London: Routledge, 1996).

the whole and focusing studies on the relationships and links between sea and land.[152] Whether

viewed from a unitarian or a fragmented perspective,[153] contemporary studies show that the

spaces between land and sea historically served as "laboratories" for modernization[154] and

colonization.[155] While traditional histories of the Mediterranean focus on the movement of

people and goods focusing on trade, colonialism, and the economy, scholars like Zanou and

Gekas remind us to approach the Mediterranean from a more inclusive analytical approach.

Again, by addressing the lack of scholarship on the individuals living in the Mediterranean

world, Zanou focuses her scholarship on the intellectual relationships that fostered a unique

cultural and political experience for the people living in the lands made up and connected the

Mediterranean.[156]

An island-centered approach addresses the questions raised by the historical analysis of

the Mediterranean, primarily, what are the boundaries of the Mediterranean?[157] What are the

local histories that reveal the historical narratives that go beyond national and regional analysis?

Lastly, what were the individual experiences of islanders?

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[152] See Maurizio Isabella and Konstantina Zanou, eds. *Mediterranean diaspora: politics and ideas in the long 19th century.* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2016): 13-18. Isabella and Zanou offer an exceptional introduction to Mediterranean studies here.

[153] Braudel, *The Mediterranean*; cf. Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea.*

[154] Gekas, *Xenocracy*

[155] Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*; Robert Holland, *Blue-Water Empire: The British in the Mediterranean since 1800* (UK: Penguin, 2012).

[156] Konsatantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). cf. Keith David Watenpaugh. *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism.* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015). Watenpaugh is instrumental in including the Eastern Mediterranean in the history of humanitarianism by sharing the stories, voices, and experience of the people living on its shore.

[157] Zanou argues that the flux of intellectual relationships between the Mediterranean and its surrounding territories reveals that its borders went beyond its geographic limits by looking at the space in between such as Northern Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and Russian Empire. Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism*.

Islands have always occupied an important place in Mediterranean Studies, reflecting the Mediterranean's isolation and connectivity throughout time. For instance, in his attempt to capture a *histoire totale* of the Mediterranean, Braudel looked at how historical processes were influenced, although not determined, by the environment, climate, landscape, and geology. For Braudel, islands exemplified the human relationship with geography. He characterized islands as micro-continents, on the one hand, because they were isolated on the periphery and reliant on unity with the continent for their survival, and on the other hand, islands were entrepôts, navigation markers, and stepping stones for broader trade networks.[158] Braudel saw islands as essential parts of the historical processes in the Mediterranean, as they controlled the movement of goods, people, and ideas and showed that insularity historically led to a scarcity of resources and vulnerability to wars.[159] Accordingly, islands were exposed to global social and political forces before they reached the mainland.[160] In this sense, islands played an important role in transmitting ideas and keeping the mainland connected during periods of economic and environmental disruption.

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[158] Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1: 149-160

[159] Fotini Kondyli's studies on the Byzantine Mediterranean argues against the common view of islands and rural agrarian economies as gloomy and full of poor peasantry subjected to external raiders and invaders and taxes. Her research shows that the islands of Lemnos and Thasos were in fact prosperous diverse and complex agrarian societies. https://mybyzantine.wordpress.com/2010/07/12/exploring-the-late-byzantine-rural-landscape-setting-the-record-straight/

[160] Braudel, *The Mediterranean*, 1: 166-167. In describing the possibility that the Western civilization originated from the Spain and North Africa instead of the East, Braudel imagines the forces of civilization in a "relay race along the coasts and roads of the sea, the torch passing from island to island, peninsula to peninsula, returning after hundreds of thousands of years to places where it burnt once before, but never with the same flames…It is easy to imagine and even probable that the life of the sea, a vital force, would first of all have taken control of the smallest and least weighty fragments of land, the islands and the coastal margins, tossing and turning them at its will…"

In the *Corrupting Sea*, Horden and Purcell revisited the idea of Braudel's Mediterranean unity, arguing that what made the Mediterranean Sea unique was that it was fragmented.[161] Unlike Braudel, who understood the unity and wholeness of the Mediterranean as the cause of the Mediterranean's uniqueness and vast communication networks, Horden and Purcell examine the Sea's fragmented units to explain the creation of a larger unit. They describe the Mediterranean's unity as a direct result of the ease of connectivity between smaller units consisting of islands, coasts, peninsulas, and ports. Avoiding the essentialization of the Mediterranean,[162] the authors consider the cultural and environmental diversity and differences in the Mediterranean as interrelated. By focusing on the fragmented units of the Mediterranean, Horden and Purcell also illustrate the interconnectivity between humans and the diverse landscapes (*microregions*) they occupied. The authors focus on human responses to the unpredictable landscapes and environment of the region and demonstrate how regional economies and cultures developed under the unifying role of the Mediterranean Sea.

In this context, Horden and Purcell viewed islands as extraordinary landscapes for analyzing the variations of culture, economies, and communications networks in the pre-history to early modern Mediterranean. The authors identify three key features of Mediterranean islandsness: vulnerability to fluctuations of power,[163] networks of communications (trade, mobility, and navigation),[164] and diverse landscapes and environments (diverse resources, ports,

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[161] Horden and Purcell state that fragmentation produced both the distinctiveness of *microregions* and the interconnectivity between these regions, "the distinctiveness of the Mediterranean History results from the paradoxical coexistence of a milieu of relatively easy seaborne communications with a quite unusually fragmented topography of microregions in the sea's coastlands and islands." Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 5.

[162] Michael Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography on the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge, 1987); J. de Pina-Cabral, "The Mediterranean as a Category of Regional Comparison: A Critical View," *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989): 399–406.

[163] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 229

[164] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 126, 393

economies).[165] Islandness was central to Horden and Purcell's thesis, as it represented the

fragmented landscapes, diverse cultures, and maritime interconnectivity of the Mediterranean.[166]

Navigating between Braudel's holistic and Horden and Purcell's fragmented analytical

paradigms of studying human evolution in the Mediterranean, David Abulafia's[167] scholarship

offers another model for understanding the unique historical trajectory of the region. Abulafia

adds to the corpus of Mediterranean Studies by focusing less on geography and more on the

cultural, religious, and political transformation of the regions bordering the Mediterranean Sea.

In his more recent publication, Abulafia argues that the sea drove the historical trajectory of the

Mediterranean as societies learned to dominate the routes that connected cities, ports, and

islands. Islands played an essential role in this movement as they helped narrow distances

between seemingly distant cultures and territories and served as the main departure and arrival

nodes across the sea. In this context, Abulafia argues that the specific human experiences with

the sea led to the emergence of distinct societies in the region.[168]

Mediterranean Studies highlight the role of islands in forming diverse societies and the

cross-cultural interconnectivity in the historical Mediterranean. However, it lacks analytical

models for examining islands "on their own terms"[169] during the long nineteenth century.   For

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[165] Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 224-230.

[166] Islands were "gateways" for the multiple *microregions* and served as sites *par excellence* of cultural and economic diversity. Horden and Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea*, 393.

[167] David Abulafia, ed. *The Mediterranean in History* (J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003).

[168] In *The Great Sea,* Abulafia emphasizes a "narrower" definition of the Mediterranean that focuses on the "sea itself, its shores and its islands" to examine how people's interactions across the Sea impacted the construction of new identities and cultures over time. Abulafia, *The Great Sea*, xvii-xviii.

[169] G. McCall, "Nissology: A Proposal for Consideration," *Journal of the Pacific Society*, 17, no. 2-3, (1994): 1-8; Also see Godfrey Baldacchino, "Studying Islands: On Whose Terms? Some Epistemological and Methodological Challenges to the Pursuit of Island Studies," *Island Studies Journal*, 3, no. 1 (2008): 37. It is important to note that there is a large range of works that look at the role of Mediterranean islands in the the Ancient and early modern Mediterranean.

my research, I follow the "new Mediterranean studies"[170] framework that envisions the

Mediterranean as a meeting place of diverse cultures codependent through constant exchange

and interactions with each other. My work also reclaims the Eastern Mediterranean as the center

of the Mediterranean, as it was here that the furthest reaches of the Mediterranean (the Black

Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Nile, and the Atlantic Ocean, to name a few) interjected. The Ionian

Islands sit at the center of the Ionian Sea and are at the crossroads between the Eastern

Mediterranean, the Adriatic Sea, and the Tyrrhenian Sea. As such, the Ionian Islands' history,

culture, and economies were impacted by the cities, islands, and people bounded by this area.

Postcolonial Studies

Postcolonial methodologies directly respond to the problems of identity formation and

cultural construction on the Ionian Islands, especially concerning notions of islandness and

geography. Islands historically played a particular and often necessary geostrategic role for

imperial powers across the globe, serving as fortresses, supply centers for ships, frontiers, and

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[170] "The new Mediterranean studies differs from earlier investigations of the Mediterranean in its emphasis on the region as a whole rather than on the histories of the individual states within the region. This new focus on transmaritime connections has meant that even scholars who work primarily on single countries within the region are more likely to talk about those countries in relationship with other Mediterranean places." John Watkins, "The New Mediterranean Studies: An Institutional and Intellectual Challenge," *Mediterranean Studies*, 22, no. 1 (2014): 88; As an example of the new Mediterranean approach, Watkin cites Molly Greene's *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* and Cemal Kafadar's *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* to challenge the traditional perceptions that the rise of Islam in the Mediterranean hermetically sealed off the Christian Northwest from the Muslim Southeast. These work in fact show that both regions interacted and developed a shared experience.

sites of bountiful resources. The eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Mediterranean world was especially susceptible to these imperial island peculiarities because of the imperial expansion and competition for European interests in the region.

While colonial powers exploited the territories, seas, cities, and ports that made up the Mediterranean, they also found the areas ideal for constructing imperial identities, narratives, and politics.[171] Mediterranean islands, in particular, served the ideological needs of European colonialists. First, islands were understood as a primitive and uncorrupted site, as spaces for the colonialists to gaze upon a local example of the primitive other. Second, the Mediterranean islands were ideal for colonial intellectuals to exert their authority over knowledge. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Colonial classicists searched the Mediterranean for the remnants of ancient Greek and Roman societies. Islands often provided ideal sites for archeological and ethnographical case studies. In the case of the Ionian Islands, imperial intellectuals search for the remnants of ancient Greek culture[172] using Homer's Odyssey and the Iliad as guides. Colonialists juxtaposed the greatness of classical Greece with the current degenerate state of the islands and its people as justification for their political and cultural dominance. By denying Ionians' ancient roots, colonialists were also impeding Ionians' modernity. For instance, in the introduction of his history of the Ionian Islands, Tertitus Kendirck wrote,

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[171] Valentina Serra. "Island geopolitics and the postcolonial discourse of Sardinia in German-language literature," *Island Studies Journal* 12, No. 2 (2017): 281-290

[172] It has been shown that the ideas of Hellenism influenced the British elite culture and education. See G. W. Clarke, *Rediscovering Hellenism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Martin Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 17-34, 43-79; John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (United Kingdom: Clarendon Press, 1988) 116; and Tristram Hunt *Building Jerusalem* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005), 194-204..

The character of the Septinsulars is faithfully described. I have given no vent to personal dislike or prejudice: a residence of some years amongst them, had given me an opportunity of judging accurately of their disposition, which is now altogether as bad as their worth in ancient time was great. The almost Hottentot customs of the peasantry, are a striking proof of their masters' character; and furnish an unequivocal demonstration of their neglect in exercising all humane and generous principles to forward an emancipation from ignorance and wretchedness.[173]

Imperial narratives highlighted the unequal power relations between the colonizer and colonized, with the colonizers imposing their identity politics on local populations. Colonialists used ruins and traditional peasant customs to enforce their narrative of a dead Ancient Greek cultural heritage. This narrative denied Ionians a connection to the ancients and instead reserving it for the colonialists. In describing the Ionian people, David Thomas Ansted insists that they were not the inheritors of classical Roman and Greek culture:

If we may believe the account of Homer, describing to us the beautiful country of the Phaeacians and the garden of Alcinous, the charms of ancient Corcyra the softness of its climate, and its wealth of oil, wine, corn, pears, figs, pomegranates, apples, and other fruits, we shall feel, in visiting Corfu of to-day, that modern civilization has not even approached the perfection of former times. And if, too, we read the accounts of its inhabitants—their women industriously spinning and weaving fine cloth—their men working in metals, building ships, trading and

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[173] Tertius Kendrick, *The Ionian Islands* (London: James Haldane, 1822), viii.

manufacturing—we shall be still more disappointed at the contrast now presented to us… [174]

In a later chapter, Ansted compares Italians and Greeks, suggesting that while both have lost their connections to the ancients, small traces can be recognized. Unfortunately, his comparison reinforced the binary models of the civilized west and uncivilized east followed by British thinkers of the time.

> The Greek is the navigator; and, when convenient, the smuggler, or even the pirate. The Roman both cultivates the soil, and when he associates and lives in towns, he organizes and improves. The Greek assumes the eastern, the Roman the western form of civilization. Each of them loves liberty; but the Greek has not yet advanced so far as the Italian in comprehending its true nature in modern times, and perhaps is not likely to do so. The cultivation everywhere, as well as the style of the villages and smaller towns in the two countries, and the appearance of the population, clearly show how very far the Italian is in all respects the more practical and accomplished citizen. As the Italian becomes happier, he not only cultivates better and earns more, but he evidently spends more, and enjoys himself more openly. No longer now cowed and melancholy, hoarding his little gains, and hardly thinking it worth while to make a profit in any other way than begging and cheating, even the lowest and the poorest are more independent and more hopeful. They also enjoy more luxuries. It will always be a question how far the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands and, indeed, of the Morea and Epirus can properly be regarded as descendants of the ancient Greeks. That Zante, Cephalonia, and Ithaca were absolutely left without a single inhabitant by the Turks, that most parts of Corfu and Santa Maura were in like manner rendered desolate, and that the old Greek element, if it exists at all, is in Leucadia, there is perhaps little doubt. [175]

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[174] David Thomas Ansted, *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863* (London: Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1863), 36-37.
[175] Ansted, *The Ionian Islands*, 446-447

In another article in the *Saturday Review,* the author compares Ionian politicians to

Britain's experience with Irish nationalism:

> For want of better amusement, the stereotyped Irishman of Donnybrook Fair is accustomed to divest himself go his upper garment, and trail it on the ground behind him through the most crowded booths, in order to pick a quarrel with the first person who may wittingly or unwittingly tread upon his coat-tails. He does so in the most serious earnest, with an unflinching determination to use a formidable shillelagh, and with a perfect indifference whether Pat or Larry wear the head upon which it is to be employed. With the difference that they are not earnest, that they have no very formidable shillelagh to use, and that their trap is baited for one individual in particular, the Ionian Islanders, as represented by their Legislative Assembly, pursue a similar course of action. They are always dragging after them some garment or other, in the hope that the Protecting Power may doubly gratify them by committing the insult of being tripped up thereby. Perhaps the most rational excuse for their conduct is the wish to identify themselves with the Ἰάονες ἑλκεχιτωνες-the coat-trailing Ionians-of the Homeric hymn.[176]

While the obsession with knowledge and discovery of classical Greece was tied to

intellectual power dynamics, it also highlighted the exchange of knowledge across cultural

boundaries. In fact, the West's cultural hegemony influenced Edward Said's seminal work on

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[176] "The Ionian Islands and the British Protectorate," *The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, 4, no. 92 (London, UK), August 1, 1857.

Orientalism.[177] While the Western colonial gaze imposed power structures that impacted how

Ionians constructed their identity, it had a reciprocal effect on how imperial identities were

constructed. One way of understanding the unique position of the colonial and colonizer

relationship on the Ionian Islands is through Thomas Gallant's idea of "dominion."[178] The

relationship between the British (colonizers) and Ionians (colonized) through postcolonial

theories is lacking in this context because Ionians were geographically European and—spatially

and culturally—the inheritors of Ancient Greek civilization. "Experiencing dominion," as

Gallant argues, emphasizes the shared experience between colonizer and colonized rather than

concentrating on the polarity of hegemony and resistance.[179] Therefore, building on Gallant's

assertion, this project understands that identity formation on the islands was reciprocal. The

British used the islands to link their identity to ancient Greek civilization, while Ionians built a

Western identity through the political discourse of the British administration.

      Apart from stressing the dynamics of colonial cultural hegemony and identity politics, the

Ionian Islands case study draws on postcolonial studies to examine institutional power dynamics.

Successive colonial governments established arbitrary borders, centralized governments, and

imposed laws that failed to consider the local polities. For instance, while Britain established

"modern" civic systems on the Ionian Islands, they had a detrimental effect on the social and

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[177] Edward Said defines Orientalism as a discourse exterior to the Orient, refusing self-representations to peoples contracted as Oriental. Said, *Orientalism*. Also see Efterpi Mitsi and Amy Muse, "Some Thoughts on the Trails and Travails of Hellenism and Orientalism: An Interview with Gonda Van Steen." *Synthesis: an Anglophone Journal of Comparative Literary Studies* (2013): 159-178 Accessed March 7, 2018. https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/synthesis/article/view/17436/15515, (2013): 12; Anna Carastathis argues that Hellenism has a Orientalist structure in the sense that it functions to perpetrate western hegemony. Anna Carastathis, "Is Hellenism an Orientalism? Reflections on the boundaries of Europe in an age of austerity," *Australian Critical Race and Whiteness Studies Journal* 11, no. 10, (2014).

[178] Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*

[179] Gallant, x.

economic fabric of the islands, most notably this visible in the agricultural system. Although the

islands had modern civic institutions, they lagged tremendously behind the other European

states, as they employed a pre-modern feudal land system called the *colono* system[180].

Studying the Ionian Islands through a postcolonial lens allows us to reconceptualize

colonialism's cultural and political legacies on the peoples living in the regions bordering the

Adriatic and Ionian Seas and better understand the human consequences of exploiting people and

their lands. A postcolonial view follows current historiographical trends in the sense that the

periphery takes precedence over the metropole. Postcolonial studies have traditionally played a

minor role in the context of the "European" colonial experience. [181]   This is mainly due to the

dominance of nationalist and Eurocentric narratives in contemporary national European

historiographies[182] but also because the idea of a postcolonial Europe seems to be an

oxymoron.[183]   For instance, in order to participate in the dominant paradigm of Western

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[180] Matthew E Franks, "Cadastral Kerkyra: the World System in Eighteenth Century Venetian Commodity Production," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 24, no. 2 (1998):41-68.

[181] The focus here is Europe's internal colonization and not on diaspora models nor Europe's colonial citizens, a focus of Paul Gilroy and Stuart Hall. See Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London: Verso, 1993); and Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990).

[182] Peter Gran, *Beyond Eurocentrism: A New View of Modern World History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press,1996), 1-14.

[183] Ireland for instance is a paradoxical position of being a colony within Europe. Ireland is also for the most part White, Anglophone, and "Western," and therefore often overlooked with postcolonial studies. See Ellen-Marie Pedersen, "Why Irelands Should be Categorized as Postcolonial," *Postcolonial Theory* 4, No. 6 (2016). https://scalar.usc.edu/works/star-of-the-sea-a-postcolonialpostmodern-voyage-into-the-irish-famine/why-ireland.

historiography, national histories of Greece, Italy,[184] and "the Balkans"[185] focus narratives on

linkages with Western Europe rather than on elements that might suggest their otherness. Recent

studies on Ireland[186] and Cyprus[187] have shed new light on the experience of European States in a

postcolonial context. This research provides insight into the broad and lasting effects of the

social-economic relationships between the colonizer and the colonized in a European context.

Another problem is the lack of methodologies available to address the specific

peculiarities of islands within a postcolonial lens.[188] Godfrey Baldacchino and Stephen A. Royle

state,

> Few may realize it, but no island has always enjoyed political independence.
> Many are, even today, just possessions of neighboring continental countries.
> Moreover, while they might have some administrative authority even unto being
> an autonomous region (as with the Balearic Islands of Spain), they remain
> offshore parts and peripheries of a mainland state. There are island nations, of

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[184] The renowned historian of Italy, Denis Mack Smith in his work on Sicily raised awareness of the island's position in Italian historiography but failed to address the development of Sicilian political and economic thought, and cultural values and identity. Instead, Mack Smith and Edward Banfield, focus on the failed modernization of the peasantry and liberal elite, specifically their failed role in establishing a bourgeoisie democracy. Italian historiography examined differences between North and South with an emphasis on the Souths backwardness. See Denis Mack Smith, *A history of Sicily: medieval Sicily 800 - 1713; modern Sicily after 1713* (London: Chatto and Windus Ltd., 1968) and Edward Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press and Research Center in Economic Development and Culture Change, University of Chicago, 1958).*

[185] Maria Todorova has highlighted the inchoate historiography of Europe in relation to "the Balkans" in her seminal work *Imagining the Balkans*. Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997)

[186] Eólin Flannery. *Ireland and Postcolonial Studies*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009)

[187] Angela Stella Michael "Making histories: nationalism, colonialism and the uses of the past in Cyprus," PhD diss., (University of Glasgow, 2005); and Christopher Connery and Vanita Seth. "Forward Thinking with Cyprus," *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 3 (2006): 227-229.

[188] Henry Frendo. "The Legacy of Colonialism, The experience of Malta and Cyprus," in *The Development Process in Small Island States*, ed. Douglas G. Lackhart et al. (London: Routledge, 1993), 151-160. As guest editors for the thematic section examining islands and decolonization, Yaso Nadarajah and Adam Grydehøj call for an island studies perspective on decolonization, arguing that island colonization has left distinctive colonial legacies that need to be examined. Yaso Nadarajah and Adam Grydehøj, "Thematic Section: Island Decolonization Island studies as a decolonial project (Guest Editorial Introduction)," *Island Studies Journal*, 11, no. 2 (2016): 437-446.

course: almost a quarter (44 of the current 192 members) of the United Nations is totally enisled. Yet, although the level, nature, timing, and duration of external control has varied—just think of Barbados, Great Britain, Indonesia, Japan, and Tonga—each and every one of these sovereign polities has passed through some period of foreign administration during their history.[189]

Postcolonialism is, by nature, a study of geography, an examination of the powers who controlled space and places, and the result of this control.[190] In dealing with temporal and spatial contacts and cultural production in an island setting, this project has adopted various geography methodologies, including borderland studies, island studies, and ecotones. However, in dealing with the liminality of islands, this project also consults the postcolonial theory of Homi Bhabha's "third-space" and hybridity to emphasize the cultural agency and process of transculturation of island societies in the formation of diverse identities. Homi Bhabha has demonstrated how cultural analysis in a postcolonial context can move away from a binary 'us' – 'them,' or West-East dichotomy or, in his words, "the politics of polarity."[191] In deconstructing the Western master-narrative, his main focus is that we cannot understand the colonizer and colonized relationship in traditional binary terms. His notions of ambivalence and hybridity underline the imbricated relationship between the metropole and periphery.

In a published interview with Jonathan Rutherford, Homi Bhabha stated that "the importance of hybridity is not to be able to trace two original moments from which the third

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[189] Godfrey Baldacchino and Stephen A. Royle. "Postcolonialism and Islands Introduction," *Space and Culture*, 13 no.2 (2010): 140.

[190] Beth Wightman "Lost in Space: Geography, Architecture and Culture in Eilis Dhuibhne's The Bray House," *Space and Culture,* 13, no. 2 (2010): 164.

[191] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 21-39.

emerges, rather hybridity … is the third space which enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and set up new structures of authority, and new political initiatives." [192]

Can we find this third space, where Bhabha argues that cultural systems and statements are constructed in the Mediterranean? I suggest this is possible through an island borderland approach. This model helps to explain the significance of island features on historical events focusing on islands as zones of transnational analysis. It argues that islands demonstrate various nodes of interaction across the Mediterranean Sea and can provide insight into the historical incentives that fostered relationships between liminal communities with their imperial rulers and nation-states.

Islands were not isolated, as reflected in the shared colonial experience of many islands. Tracing these experiences helps us understand how peripheral regions were not passive intermediaries for imperial rulers. The Ionian case study highlights the mobility of Ionian intellectuals and merchants within the imperial sphere and provides insight into the interconnectedness of the imperial administration and bureaucratic network. For instance, Lord Seaton, as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, played a significant role in reforming the Islands' political system and defending it from rebellions.   Before being knighted as the first baron of Seaton, John Colborne was a colonial governor of British Canadian colonies. He is best known for defending British interests during various rebellions in 1837. His success and experience in Canada and his eventual success in the Ionian Islands demonstrated the interconnectedness of the Imperial possession. It raises questions about whether there were

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[192] Jonathan Rutherford, "The Third Space. Interview with Homi Bhabha," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Johnathan Rutherford, (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), 207-221.

common characteristics to Canada's rebellions and Ionian rebellions against Imperial rule. Was Lord Seaton's success in quelling rebellions attributed to his ability to command troops, or was it related to some collective colonial experience? These are questions that this project hopes to address.

Geography

> The mountains look on Marathon---
> And Marathon looks on the sea;
> And Musing there an hour alone,
> I dreamed that Greece might still be free;
> For standing on Persian' grave,
> I could not deem myself a slave.

--George Gordon Byron, Lord Byron[193]

The romantic philhellene poet, Lord Byron, reminds us of the vital relationship between geography and the human experience in this verse. Immanuel Kant also recognized the impact of geography on other areas of knowledge and, in 1757, identified three areas for approaching geographical studies: mathematical geography, political geography, and physical geography. In particular, Kant argued that his political geography approach "teaches us about the peoples, the

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[193] Eva March Tappan, ed., *The World's Story: A History of the World in Story, Song and Art*, 14 Vols., (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), Vol. IV: Greece and Rome, pp. 228-231

community that people have with one another through their [various] form[s] of government, activity and mutual interest, religion, customs, etc." For Kant, geography and history were intertwined. He argued that "history and geography extend our knowledge with time and space. History concerns the events that have taken place one after another in time. Geography concerns phenomena that occur simultaneously in space."[194] This amalgamation of geography and history and the new spatial and temporal understanding of world history also influenced Johann Gottfried von Herder work, *This Too a Philosophy of History for the Formation of Mankind.*[195] Herder understood the role of geography, nature, and climate on the development of civilizations and culture. More importantly, for Herder, the emergence of geohistory coincided with the idea of the nation and emphasized the bond between the nation and the land it occupied and what today is referred to as *völkisch* nationalism.

Islands, as a geographic feature, have played a traditional role in the imagination of writers.[196] For instance, Homer's *Odyssey*, Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, Plato's writings on Atlantis, Islamic cartographers,[197] and New World explorers all understood islands as complex and dynamic worlds. Historically, islands were used as a metaphor to reflect human experience

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[194] Immanuel Kant. "Physical geography (1802)," trans. Olaf Reinhardt, in I*mmanuel Kant: Natural Science*, ed. Eric Watkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 448-449.

[195] J.G. Herder, "This Too a Philosophy of History for the Formation of Mankind," in *Herder: Philosophical Writings*, ed. Michael N. Forster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 276.

[196] John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World.* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).

[197] Sarah Davis-Secord, *Where Three Worlds Met: Sicily in the Early Medieval Mediterranean* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2017), 9, 128-131; Jeremy Francis Ledger, *Mapping Mediterranean Geographies: Geographic and Cartographic Encounters between the Islamic World and Europe, c. 110-1600.* (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2016); Karen C. Pinto's studies of Islamic maps demonstrate that "the icons Middle Eastern cartographers used to symbolize the Mediterranean reveals the incongruence between our textual based, historiographical perception of conflict between the Christian and Muslims halves of the Mediterranean, and the counterintuitive picture of harmony that the Islamic maps seem to proclaim." Karen C. Pinto, "Passion and Conflict: Medieval Islamic Views of the West." Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in *the Latin West and Beyond, 300-1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 202.

and thought by addressing themes such as isolation, the unknown, paradise, exile, mobility, and commerce. While the humanities have a long tradition of looking to geography for literary inspiration, geographers have only recently begun to look at human relationships and geography. Yi-Fu Tuan first introduced the term "humanistic geography"[198] to explore the relationship between humans with their environment. In emphasizing the direct correlation between place, space, and the human experience, Tuan states that the purpose of humanistic geography is to achieve "an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with nature, their geographical behavior as well as their feelings and ideas in regard to space and place."[199]

A more recent attempt to understand the role of geography on historical processes and human cultures was addressed through Jared Diamond's "environmental determinism."[200] Diamond has shown how comparative studies assist in understanding historical events and interactions between people over space and time. By analyzing the impact of the environment and landscapes, Diamond argued why some states and cultures progressed while others remained stagnant.

The popularity of Diamond's Guns*, Germs and Steel* demonstrated the impact of geography on the study of world history. Diamond's environmental determinism has forced historians to think about and understand historical events in alternative ways. My research speaks to the need for more complete and multidisciplinary analyses of history, events, and

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[198] For general review of humanistic geography see David Seamon and Adam Lundberg, "Humanistic Geography", in *International Encyclopedia of Geography: People, the Earth, Environment, and Technology* ed. Douglas Richardson (New York: Wiley, 2015).

[199] Yi-Fu Tuan, "Humanistic Geography," Annals *of the Association of American Geographers*. 66, no. 2 (June 1976): 266. Also see, Yi-Fu Tuan, "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective", in *Philosophy in Geography,* eds. S. Gale and G. Olsson (Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1979) *,* 387-427.

[200] Jarod Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997).

people accounting for the cultural and ethnic impacts alongside geography to explain history, events, and identity.

While my project may focus on the Mediterranean, it is not exclusive to it. Islands played a significant part in the colonization of North Africa, Asia, as well as North and South America. Nevertheless, there are abundant examples of islands' ability to create unique identities and political systems instead of those imposed by imperial rule and national laws. For instance, Jamaica, Hispaniola, Cuba, Hawaii, Sicily, Cyprus, and Crete offer examples of the agency islands have in the formation of their own identity and histories.

Island Studies Part One: An Overview and Introduction

In regards to national identity formation, governance, and state-building, this project considers Island Studies scholarship and turns to the history of the Mediterranean to re-examine the impact of colonialism, globalization, transnationalism on the local populations. Island Studies are especially relevant for understanding the dynamics of regional and local spaces in the Mediterranean Sea, all of which were rooted in significant global and regional historiographical trends. Island Studies emphasizes the local in the local-global relationship[201] and demonstrates that the periphery mattered and matters to broader global processes. Historically, islanders were

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[201] Godfrey Baldacchino "Islands: objects of representation, editorial introduction" *Geografiska Annaler* 87Bm no.4 (2005): 247-251.

not passive to geopolitical forces but active participants.   The field of Island Studies as an academic discipline can be traced to the founding of the Institute of Island Studies (IIS) at the University of Prince Edward Island in 1985, followed by the establishment of the Islands and Small State Institute (ISSI) at the University of Malta in 1989, and the Small Islands Cultural Research Initiative (SICRI) at the Macquarie University in 2004. These institutional developments of the IIS, ISSI, and SICRI provided a forum for scholars to shift the focus of various academic disciplines from the mainland. In time, the increased interest in islands fostered the International Small Islands Study Association, which conducted a bi-annual conference inviting scholars across different disciplines to engage in comparative studies on island issues. In addition, the establishment of the peer-reviewed Island Studies Journal in 2006 finally gave island studies recognition as a field of academic scholarship.

Today's interdisciplinary studies of islands owe a great deal to Grant McCall and Christian Depraetere's work on nissology. Both are important for setting out the mechanisms for the study of islands and islandness.[202] McCall refers to nissology as the study of islands "on their own term," while Depraetere states that it is a "science of island thinking." Both scholars' impact was primarily felt in contemporary scholarship on the notion of "islandness." Islandness emphasizes island agency and allows scholars to express an islander voice "on their own terms." More importantly, the notion of islandness confronts the pejorative connotations[203] of

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[202] McCall refers to "the study of islands of their own term" and Depraetere as "a science of island thinking" influential in articulating island identities. See Grant McCall, "Nissology: A Proposal for Consideration." *Journal of the Pacific Society*, 17, no. 63-64, (1994): 99-106; and Christian Depraetere, "The Challenge of Nissology: A Global Outlook on the World Archipelago, Part III: The Global and Scientific Vocation of Nissology", *Island Studies Journal,* 3 (2008): 24.

[203] Godfrey Baldacchino "The Coming of Age of Island Studies." *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 95, no. 3 (2004): 272-283.

disconnect, isolation, vulnerability, and dependency that are often associated with insularity.[204]

Peter Hay, commenting on the biases confronting island scholarship, states that "the most contested faultline within island studies is whether islands are characterized by vulnerability or resilience; whether they are victims of change, economically dependent, and at the mercy of unscrupulous neo-colonial manipulation, or whether they are uniquely resourceful in the face of such threats."[205] Again, the dual nature of islands has shaped some of the most active debates and reflective analysis in island studies, which has attracted many scholars, including myself, from various disciplines to the field.

By incorporating the notion of islandness into the historical analysis of the Ionian Islands, it becomes clear that the Ionian archipelagos exhibited many of the key characteristics of islandness as outlined by Eve Hepburn.[206] The Ionian Islands paradigm reveals that the islanders' lived experience constantly grappled with notions of islands as prisons and paradise, vulnerability and resilience, isolation and connectedness, and dependency and self-reliance. It is this struggle that this project hopes to uncover, re-evaluating the Ionian islander experience from an islandness perspective.[207]

Contemporary Island Studies scholarship has addressed the issues concerning the

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[204] "Eve Hepburn identifies six dimensions to the concept of islandness: geographical (separation from mainland); political (expressed through a desired to be selfgoverning); social (a sense of islander identity); demographic (high rates of emigration); historical (as sites of conquest, assimilation and colonialism); and economic (limited resources, absence of economies of scale and high transportation costs). Accordingly, islandness seems to play a decisive role in the development and construction of a distinct national identity. The geographical condition of islandness helps to define the basis of distinctiveness in island settings." Cited in Valérie Vézina "The role of the political system in shaping island nationalism: a case-study examination of Puerto Rico and Newfoundland*" Island Studies Journal*, 9, No. 1, (2014): 104-105.

[205] Pete Hay, "A Phenomenology of Islands," *Journal of Island Studies* 1, no. 1 (2006): 21.

[206] Valérie Vézina "The role of the political system in shaping island nationalism."

[207] "Islandness is an intervening variable that does not determine, but contours and conditions physical and social events in distinct, and distinctly relevant, ways." Godfrey Baldacchino, "The Coming of Age of Island Studies," 278.

relationships between islands and the mainland in conjunction with the development of modern

nationalism, governance, and economies. For instance, Baldacchino researches the social,

cultural, political, and economic effects of links between islands and the continents using the

notion of "bridge effect of islands."[208]   Godfrey Baldacchino argues that the physical or

perceived connections of islands with the mainland are essential for understanding the

development of global systems and social movements: "Insularity and connectedness are but two

sides of the same coin, their meanings forever entangled. But how does a bridge, tunnel or

causeway change that? While it seems obvious that a physical connection can threaten islandness

by removing its physical prerequisite, could connectedness save, enhance or even invent an

island identity?" [209]

Baldacchino encourages scholars to identify the outcomes of fixed or metaphoric links

between islands and the mainland. Building on this idea, my research contends that imperial

structures such as ports, and transportation networks, and fortifications, Ionian diaspora, and

merchants served as semi-permanent links and with metropole centers and questions the impact

of these links on the social/cultural, economic, and political outcomes on Ionian Island society.

While contemporary imperial histories focus on the positive social and economic effects of these

semi-permanent links (ports, fortifications, transportation networks), connecting them to the

modernization process of island states,[210] an island studies perspective argue that island

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[208] Godfrey Baldacchino, "Bridges and islands: A strained relationship," in *Bridging Islands: The Impact of Fixed Links* ed. Godfrey Baldacchino (Charlottetown, PEI: Acorn Press, 2007), 1-13.
[209] Baldacchino, "Bridges and islands," 1.
[210] See Gallant *Experiencing Dominion* for Imperial rule over the Ionian Islands and understanding of how British viewed social order, governance, and economy on the Ionian Islands.

populations were "suspicious, cynical or outright hostile to the effects" of the permanent links metropolitan centers had on their traditional island societies.[211]

A focus on island connectivity provides further insight into the relationship between islandness and the Mediterranean's nineteenth-century geopolitical processes. Accordingly, this project further explains how island societies experienced connectivity and argues that features of islandness mediated island identities, politics, and economies.[212]

To capture the various processes entailed in island identity formation and nation-state building— primarily the governance, polity, and the economy— this dissertation focuses on the relationship between islandness and the rise of nationalism. In terms of understanding the development of island nationalism, Hepburn and Baldacchino have been instrumental. Their edited book establishes a framework for independence movements in the twenty-first century, focusing on subnational island jurisdictions and stateless nationalist and regional parties. One of the main distinctions between those who support independence movements and those who resist is the relationship between peripheral regions and the metropole.[213] When the relationship is perceived as one-sided or paternalistic, and the population feels disempowered and repressed, secessionist parties flourish. However, where the metropole takes on a balanced relationship, investing in benefits for the people on the peripheral, secessionist movements are subdued. Enhanced autonomy is preferred in the latter relationship because it establishes political,

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[211] Baldacchino, "Bridges and islands," 1-13.
[212] Contending for the study of bridges, Baldacchino states that Social Scientist Georg Simmel observed that a human being is 'a connecting creature who must always separate and cannot connect without separating.' In connecting two objects, we simultaneously acknowledge and underscore what separates them; in separating two objects, we underline their connectedness. As Simmel has argues, in the act of bridging two items, we may actually be underlining their distinctiveness." Baldacchino, 1.
[213] Eve Hepburn & Godfrey Baldacchino. *Independence Movements in Subnational Island Jurisdictions* (New York: Routledge 2013): 163-167

economic, and cultural empowerment. Subnational jurisdictions faced with the disadvantages of

small states— exposure to broader political and economic forces— often opt for an

accommodation strategy, preferring shared sovereignty over independence.

Currently, there is a lack of historical analysis on the impact of islands on nationalism,

governance, and politics in the Mediterranean, especially concerning the nineteenth century.

The incorporation of historical analysis to island studies is significant to this study as it aims to

address the dualities of islandness (again, the concept that encompasses opposing notions of

isolation by emphasizing connectivity)[214] to understand the development of vast systems of

physical and invisible networks and to contribute to a comparative perspective of islands in

modern Mediterranean history.

Insularity in British History

The field of British history has produced substantial works on island identity and

insularity, spurring debates and discussions about the dynamic relationship between islandness

and insularity[215] and the development of identity and political thought in the nineteenth

century.[216] Scholars of British history have long debated how Britain transformed from a

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[214] Refer to Chapter 1 of this dissertation for the definition of insularity this project is adapting.
[215] Jan Rüger "Insularity and Empire in the Late Nineteenth Century" in *The Victorian Empire and Britain's Maritime World*, ed. M. Taylor (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 149.
[216] The importance of islandness (specifically the features of isolation and connectivity) to British identity is best highlighted in Winston Churchill's history of Britain, his preface states, "Our story centres in an island, not

traditional agrarian society into a global commercial and imperial power between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Traditional historiographies claimed that insularity shaped Britain's history, identity, and relationships with the broader world.[217] From this viewpoint, Britain had a very intimate relationship with the sea, which permeated every aspect of British society. Britain's connection to the sea, rather than the continent, was primarily driven by commercial and imperial aspirations and a result of its island identity. Britain was exceptional because of its insularity, as E. A. Freeman points out: "Britain has been from the very beginning another world—*alter orbis* – a world which has been felt from the beginning to lie outside the general world of Europe."[218]

Similarly, Keith Robbins emphatically argues that "insularity has been and to an extent remains a fundamental aspect of its [British] culture and politics."[219] These scholars contend that insularity impacted almost every aspect of British society and politics throughout history, and their legacy has undoubtedly influenced contemporary British history.[220] Therefore, the

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widely sundered from the Continent, and so tilted that its mountains lie all to the west and north, while south and east is a gently undulating landscape of wooded valleys, open downs, and slow rivers. It is very accessible to the invader, whether he comes in peace or war, as pirate or merchant, conqueror or missionary. Those who dwell there are not insensitive to any shift of power, any change of faith, or even fashion, on the mainland, but they give to every practice, every doctrine that comes to it from abroad, its own peculiar turn and imprint." Winston Churchill, *A History of the English Speaking Peoples* (New York: RosettaBooks, 2013), 1:1. https://archive.org/stream/TheBirthOfBritain_Churchill/A+History+of+the+English-Speaking+People%27s+-+The+Birth+of+Britain+-+Winston+S.+Churchill_djvu.txt

[217] For more on the impact of island identity and Britons' feeling of insularity on Britain's historical trajectory see Edward Augustus Freeman, "Alter orbis" in *The Historical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1892); Keith Robbins, "Insular Outsider? 'British History' and European Integration" in History, Religion and Identity in Modern Britain (London: Hambledon Press, 1993), 45

[218] Freeman, "Alter orbis," 4:224

[219] Robbins, "Insular Outsider?" 57.

[220] Scholars that view insularity through an isolationist lens, link it with weakness and therefore emphasize Britain's sea power. See Rüger "Insularity and Empire," 150-153 for connection of "cult of the navy" with British island identity. For British exceptionalism and the impact insularity on the development of Britain's navy and empire see John Keegan, "The Sea and the English" in The Sea and History, ed. E. E. Rice (Sutton: Stroud, 1996), 143; Johnathan Scott, "Anti-continentalism" in *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 153-172

relationship between insularity (the perception of separation or connectivity) and island history is unavoidable and necessary to investigate.

While Freeman and Robbins addressed the relationship between British history and its geography, contemporary analytical trends move away from the idea of insularity as isolation, instead emphasizing insularity with connectivity. For instance, Kathleen Wilson states that while "the myth" of the island as isolation dominated the imagination of Europeans and fostered "colonization, capitalist production, and ecological thinking," we are reminded by Caribbeanists that islands "exist only in relation to other things, such as the sea, continents and other islands and so they are not insular but vibrant entrepôts in oceanic networks linking people, goods, and cultures."[221] In British history, the "insular turn" was an attempt by scholars to re-examine the traditional tropes of British insularity. By challenging the perception of isolation and instead focusing on connectivity, scholars have fostered new debates around the impacts of insularity on culture and politics and, more importantly, created a model to re-examine Britain's relationships with its colonies, territories, and the continent was articulated in identity.

Jodie Matthews, Daniel Travers,[222] and Johnathan Scott's[223] works are beneficial to scholars interested in islands beyond a British context to analyze the relationships between identity, space, and place. By re-examining the notions of islandness, insularity, and isolation, these works trace the development of British identity and, more importantly, highlight how

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[221] Kathleen Wilson. *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender*, 5. For Caribbeanist perspective on connectivity see Wilson, *The Island Race*, 21n5.

[222] Jodie Matthews and Daniel Travers, eds. *Islands and Britishness* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).

[223] Importance of this work is that it forced scholars to question insularity, and the impact of islandness on cultural development. Scott states that "insularity had always been a geopolitical rather than a geographic claim," challenging the simplicity of geographic determinism by arguing that while an "island nation" England was influenced by interoceanic connections. Jonathan Scott, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 172

Britishness impacted the island's identities in the colonies.   By emphasizing the imbricated relationship between the metropole and colony, their studies also explore the shifting ways notions of insularity were perceived and incorporated into identity. For instance, in their collection of essays, Matthews and Travers set out to define "island identities" and argue that islands, while politically and economically connected to the metropole, developed unique identities analogous to national identities.[224] They explore how islands— those within the British archipelagos, British territories, and colonies— constructed their identity and assert distinctiveness based on their definition of the British "other."[225]   Matthews and Travers' edited volume is especially significant for this project as their examination of island identities offers a comparative framework for Mediterranean islands, especially those with a British colonial legacy.[226]

Johnathan Scott pursues a geographic analysis of Britain's identity and political culture development between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in his work, *When the Waves Ruled Britannia: Geography and Political Identities, 1500–1800.* By focusing on elite perceptions of Britain as an "island nation" and its relationship with the continent, the conception of insularity and islandsness, and reflections of isolation and connectivity, Scott explores how the formation of British political culture and identity was impacted by the changing relationships

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[224] "Island identities, like national identities, are not created overnight; they are the result of gradual political and cultural processes. For islands, these processes often entail centuries of socio-political negotiation between themselves and their larger neighbours or colonising powers far away. The dynamic of interference and engagement with the larger nation often continues to define the modern identity of the island itself. This is the case in either a direct way (through colonialism or political rule), or by the smaller island using the other to distinguish its own cultural sovereignty. Each island's identity is not, then, merely the sum of its cultural and political influences, but is also a separate entity." Matthews & Travers, *Islands and Britishness, 6.*

[225] Gallant argues that "Britishness" was defined by emphasizing British culture in comparison to the Ionian Islands. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion.*

[226] Robert Shannan Peckham, "The Uncertainty of Islands: National Identity and the Discourse of Islands in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Greece," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 29 (2003): 499–515.

between merchants, the navy, and the political classes with the colonies, territories, and the continent. He argues that the elite globalized world-view, which permeated the eighteenth-century political culture, was founded on maritime and commercial knowledge that was learned and culturally acquired in the early modern period due to the 1688 Dutch invasions and subsequent intellectual exchange of knowledge. Scott demonstrates that Britain's connectivity to the continent through intellectual exchange, great power competition, and military conflicts, rather than its isolation, fostered Britain's maritime and colonial empire. The Dutch invasion in the seventeenth century and maritime competition with Spain in the eighteenth century shifted the political culture in Britain toward a greater appreciation of geography and maritime knowledge, thus changing the view on insularity. As he stated, "insularity had always been a geopolitical rather than a geographic claim,"[227] in other words, British conceptions of insularity were influenced by the island's connectivity to broader geopolitical events. Scott offers an ideal exploration of the relationship between geography and geopolitics by tracing the impact conceptions of insularity had on the development of politics, culture, and identity.

Another important aspect of Scott's work is that he demonstrates that English writers adopted an island identity as a means to emphasize the importance of Britain's relationship with the sea. Mastering the sea meant that Britons understood their position as an island nation in geopolitical and cultural terms, thus emphasizing their connectivity rather than isolation. Scott is influential for this project because he forces scholars to rethink conceptions of insularity, and he demonstrates the impact the geographic conception of islands have on the creation of politics and culture. Instead of thinking of connectivity through physical or fixed sites, Scott emphasizes

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[227] Scott, *When Britain Ruled*, 172.

culture by showing that the English Channel and sea were bridged through trade, conquest, and migration.

Britain's geopolitical advantage in the nineteenth and twentieth century in terms of military and commercial dominance was influenced by its insularity.[228] British identity was connected to the empire's dominance over water and was reflected through the mercantile class that had privileged access to the world—specifically unhindered connections to the world oceans because of her dominant naval power.[229] Britain's island identity emphasized connections to the colonies, mastery of maritime travel, a dominant navy, and global English culture during this period. In this context, British identity was deeply rooted in insular tropes. Insularity—and the juxtaposition of conceptions of connectivity and isolation—were instrumental in the construction of the "other" in continental Europe while at the same time creating a universal national community with Britain's territories and colonies through the unhindered maritime networks of communication[230] and the subsequent spread of English culture and values.[231] Contemporary British scholarship continues to explore the tropes of island race identity, especially concerning globalization, Brexit, and the rise of nationalist rhetoric. More specifically, political scientists have benefitted from an island approach by examining the role and impact conceptions of Britain's island race identity on foreign and domestic policy.[232]

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[228] Joshua S. Goldstein and David P. Rapkin, "After insularity: Hegemony and the future world order" *Futures* 23, no. 9, (November 1991): 935-959.

[229] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the nation 1707-1837* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1992)

[230] Alex Law, "Of Navies and Navels: Britain as a Mental Island," *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 87, no. 4 (2005): 267-77.

[231] Billie Melman, "Claiming the Nation's Past: The Invention of an Anglo-Saxon Tradition," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no. 3/4 (1991): 575-95.

[232] Nick Whittaker, "The Island Race: Ontological Security and Critical Geopolitics in British Parliamentary Discourse," *Geopolitics* 23, no. 4 (2017): 954-985.

Highlighting the interdisciplinary approaches to island studies in British scholarship is valuable for this project as it demonstrates that islands are a useful tool for critically analyzing geopolitics and the nation-building process. The scholarship also provides essential insight into the post-colonial history of the Mediterranean, precisely the fact that the British colonial experience was not just about building political, economic, and institutional connections with the metropole but more about spreading specific values and ideals.[233]

Island Studies Part Two-Island Studies and History

In the early 1990s, island studies emerged as an interdisciplinary approach for studying islands with the purpose of re-centering the discourse of islands away from continental biases.[234] In the field of history, an island studies perspective focuses on local and regional social, cultural, political, and economic changes over time. More importantly, an island studies approach demonstrates how microregions set out the foundations of macrohistories. It is in the geographic dimensions of island studies that historical knowledge benefits. By focusing on islands not as spaces in-between continents but as autonomous entities, we are not only exposed to a diverse and fluid world, but we appreciate how connected islands are to world processes.[235]

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[233] See Gallant Experiencing Dominion, for examples of British laws in the Ionian Islands that were meant to spread and consolidate British values.

[234] Godfrey Baldacchino, "Islands, Island Studies, Island Studies Journal," *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2006): 7-8; John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 4.

[235] Godfrey Baldacchino, "Studying Islands: On Whose Terms? Some Epistemological and Methodological Challenges to the Pursuit of Island Studies." *Island Studies Journal* 3, no. 1 (2008): 37-56.

Contemporary world processes and phenomena such as globalization, free-market neo-liberalism, and the mass migrations of people have highlighted the importance for scholars to reacknowledged place[236] and local cultures as the object of study.[237] A focus on islands offers scholars an ideal locus for studying socio-political events such as the threats to economic autonomy, national sovereignty, and migration patterns.[238] Socio-political tensions in Europe have recently brought islands into the spotlight. In the academic world, the conference hosted at the University of Edinburgh, titled *Island Independence Movements and Parties in an Age of European Integration and Globalization* on September 8-10, 2011, demonstrates that scholars have noticed the significance of islands as a site for political protest. As a result of globalization and neo-liberal policies, the threat to economic stability and political autonomy has popularized independent movements in Corsica, Sardinia, Crete, and Scotland.[239] While this is not unique to islands, as seen in the electoral success of the Catalonian separatist party in September 2015, islands are singled out in this project because they have a long tradition of responding to continental political and economic events by creating new forms of belonging. The best example of this is expressed in the various unionist and independence movements found throughout the history of many islands.[240]

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[236] This includes area studies such as urban studies regional studies rural studies and gender studies.

[237] Godfrey Baldacchino, "Island Landscapes and European culture: An island studies perspective," *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 2, no. 1 (June 2013): 13-19.

[238] Baldacchino, 16

[239] As seen in Corsica's left-wing separatist party, Corsica Libera, or the Sardinia's 10 separatist parties, Crete experience a short lived experience with separation nostalgia, economic crisis saw increased debate if Crete would be better off on its own, flags of Crete 1898 – 1908 began to appear with conspiracy theory of separation in 2012. Scotland referendum and the formation in 2010 of the Hellenic Union of Heptanesians shows that regionalism is still a powerful force.

[240] Case in point, the Ionian Islands from 1797-1865 where part of three Empires and one nation-state. A more recent example is also Cyprus which has a history of annexations.

More recently, islands again have been thrust into the spotlight with the European "refugee issue." It is difficult to ignore the images of overcrowded and overturned boats in the Mediterranean, dead bodies washing onshore, and the large groups of migrants waiting to be processed on the islands of Italy, Greece, and Malta. While these images show the devastating consequences of war, it also highlights the importance of islands in social analysis. As contact zones, islands mediate the movement of people between the sea and continent, and migration and migration serve as an essential characteristic of islands.[241]

In recent years, the increase in scholarship on the Mediterranean and its islands signifies a "geographic turn" in the humanities. This is evident in the works of Pamela Ballinger,[242] who focuses on the often-ignored Adriatic, Godfrey Baldacchino, the director of the island studies program in University and editor of Island Studies Journal, and David Abulafia, to name a few. As a field of study, island studies acknowledge the relation between spatial analysis and power relations. Islands have many definitions, on the one hand, there is the "real" and physical definition as a landmass surrounded by water, and on the other hand, there is the metaphoric definition and imagined perception of island traits.[243] For instance, islands' perceived isolation can be imagined both as a utopian paradise or a space of a fearful unknown. However imagined, the main trait that unites these ideas is that islands are peripheral and different from the mainland. In an attempt to define islands, Baldacchino states, "Far from being represented as

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[241] Grant McCall, "Nissology," 4-5.

[242] Challenging the "continental bias" and "ambivalence towards and Adriatic/Mediterranean identity," Pamela Ballinger research focuses on the fluidity of maritime borders. See Pamela Ballinger, "Liquid Borderlands, Inelastic Sea? Mapping the Eastern Adriatic" in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderland,*. Eds. Omer Bartov and Eric Weitz (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2013), 423-437.

[243] In order to oppose the continental bias of nationalist historiographies, John Gillis argues that islands are inherently connected to the history of the continents and explores the "real" and "imagined" significance of islands on western culture. John Gillis, *Islands of the Mind.*

economically dependent peripheries that must struggle with transportation logistics and diseconomies of scale, or exotic offshore paradises for stressed urbanities, European islands are crucibles of identity and culture."[244]

It is the nature of islands — *peripherality* and *liminality*— that also makes them somehow more authentic sites of analysis. Island studies stress the notion that islands are both peripheral and liminal, isolated and connected. There is an emphasis on examining the impact of physical places, distance, and space on societies. The nature of islands explains their capacity to borrow and absorb ideas, systems, and processes from the continent to create unique cultural, economic, and political systems.

Historically, the Ionian Islands developed modern civic, judicial, economic, and political institutions and a stronger Greek national identity in comparison to their national continental counterparts. Why was this the case? Island studies scholars would argue that islands possess shared features that have allowed them to develop local and regional identities, polities, and economies despite their geographic proximity and dependencies to continental states.[245] One of the main features that islands share is insularity, isolation, and remoteness. Island are by nature isolated but far from disconnected. Isolation can both limit the relationship with the mainland and increase the interaction and exchange between the mainland. While advancements in technology, transportation, and communication can reduce islands' distance, island populations ultimately mediate the degree of isolation. For instance, many islands in the Caribbean were

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[244] Baldacchino, "Island Landscapes and European culture," 17.
[245] For instance, Sverker C. Jagers, Marina Povitkina, Martin Sjöstedt, and Aksel Sundström list five features of islands which explain the divergent development from continental neighbors. The authors argue that islands are ethnically and linguistic homogeneous, they share a colonial history, their borders are natural barriers, they are relatively small, and lastly, they suffer from peripherality, and isolated. See Sverker C. Jagers, Marina Povitkina, Martin Sjöstedt, and Aksel Sundström. "Paradise Islands? Island States and Environmental Performance." *Sustainability 8, no. 285 (2016): 1-24*.

invaded, colonized, and forced to communicate with the metropole center, while Japan developed an inward-looking society and isolated itself from the continent. The degree of isolation that islands experience, whether self-imposed or externally imposed, also influences the cultural development of island communities.[246] Migration patterns, foreign occupations, and political interference forced islanders to either preserve cultural traditions or appropriate foreign cultural influences.[247]

Island studies encourage scholars to examine the geographic and physical dimensions that impacted the development of islands' social, political, and economic conditions and how this affected the relationships between islands and the mainland. From a historical perspective, island studies offer a new approach to studying eighteenth- and nineteenth-century geopolitics by infusing islands into the discussions of Great Power politics. Nevertheless, what is it about islands that can enhance our understanding of broader historical, social, political, and economic events?

Suzanne Thomas demonstrates the use of islands as a comparative site of study and argues that islands are fluid and complex spaces offering "a microcosm of the universe— they thrive in a co-existence of autonomy and relational zones, in mingling of universality and particularity. Islands simultaneously represent geographical entities and complex dimensions of space and place."[248] The recognition of the dual nature of islands is central in an island studies approach as Baldacchino confirms that "an island is a nervous duality: it confronts us as a

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[246] I.N. Vogiatzakis, G. Pungetti, A.M.Mannion, eds. *Mediterranean Island Landscapes: Natural and Cultural Approaches*, (Dordrecht" Springer, 2008).

[247] A. Lopašić, "Mediterranean Islands: A Concept." *Collegium antropologicum, 25, no. 1 (2001):* 363-370

[248] Suzanne Thomas, "Littoral Space(s): Liquid Edges of Poetic Possibility," *Journal of the Canadian Association for Curriculum Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 22.

juxtaposition and confluence of the understanding of local *and* global realities, of interior *and* exterior references of meaning, of having *roots* at home while also deploying *routes* away from home. An island *is* a world, yet an island *engages* the world."[249] Islands present a liminal space that is both fixed and fluid, vulnerable and resilient, isolated yet connected. The dual nature of islands offers scholars a canvas to understand "authenticity"—a world uninterrupted but, at the same time, provides us with a physical location to re-examine the impact local on broader geopolitical events.

Island studies cover a wide range of disciplines, but what unites scholars is the determination to move debates away from a "continental bias" and towards an island-centered standpoint.[250] This approach heightens the awareness of distinct island narratives and their symbolic and material significance to anthropology, archeology, history, geopolitics, and the environment.[251] Baldacchino reminds us that island studies should not merely focus on islands themselves but also on the dynamic relationships between islands and the mainland.[252] Although islands can serve as "spatial laboratories"[253] from which to understand dynamic global systems and socio-economic processes, they are not to be understood as replicas of the mainland.

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[249] G. Baldacchino "Islands: objects of representation, editorial introduction," *Geografiska Annaler*, 87B, no.4 (2005): 248.

[250] Christian Depraetere, "The Challenge of Nissology: A Global Outlook on the World Archipelago, Part III: The Global and Scientific Vocation of Nissology", *Island Studies Journal, 3* (2008): 17.

[251] Godfrey Baldacchino, "Studying Islands: On Whose Terms? Some Epistemological and Methodological Challenges to the Pursuit of Island Studies," 49.

[252] Godfrey Baldacchino, "Islands, Island Studies, Island Studies Journal," *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1, (2006): 10; Gillis, *Islands of the Minds*.

[253] Russell King, "Geography, Islands and Migration in an Era of Global Mobility," *Island Studies Journal* 4, no. 1 (2009): 53-84. For a cultural perspective of islands as a laboratory see J.D. Evans "Islands as laboratories of culture change" in *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory,* ed. C. Renfrew (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973): 517-520.

Instead, they need to be viewed as ideal sites to examine the broader effects of interactions between center and periphery, islands and mainland, continents, and the sea.

Valérie Vézina,[254] Samuel Edquist & Janne Holmén,[255] and Marcel A. Farinelli[256] have demonstrated the broad disciplinary scope of island studies research. Focusing on nationalism, identity, and political culture, these scholars have contributed to the historical analysis of island identities by outlining the key role islands have played in the nation-state building process and the formation of various island nationalisms. Their works explore geography, geopolitics, and identity and state-building, demonstrating the interdisciplinary and transnational perspectives of island studies approach to history.

Vézina sets out to establish a framework for island nationalism and territoriality, arguing that the geographical conditions of islandness defined the basis of distinctiveness. Using Puerto Rico and Newfoundland as examples, she examines how island nationalism is a political tool to enhance autonomy or unity with larger states. Newfoundland and Puerto Rico offer an ideal site of analysis for Vézina because these islands never fully developed into, nor are they, a nation-state. Instead, they are both subnational jurisdictions within larger federal states, and most notably, they display strong cultural nationalism. Vézina concludes that nationalism is an essential tool for island political parties, and the expression of nationalism often corresponds with the demands of greater political autonomy.

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[254] Valérie Vézina "The role of the political system in shaping island nationalism."
[255] Samuel Edquist & Janne Holmén, *Islands of Identity: History-writing and identity formation in five island regions in the Baltic Sea* (Stockholm: Elanders, 2015).
[256] Marcel A. Farinelli, "Island societies and mainland nation-building in the Mediterranean: Sardinia and Corsica in Italian, French, and Catalan nationalism," *Island Studies Journal* 12, no. 1 (2017): 21-34.

Samuel Edquist & Janne Holmén focus their attention on the Baltic Sea, analyzing the island nation-state building process and the formation of insular regional identities from both an island studies and historical perspective. The authors examine how history constructs subnational, regional, and national identities and how these identities often shift the balance between connecting and separating islands from the mainland. On the one hand, the regional history writing from Gotland, Saaremaa, Hiiumaa, and Bornholm has, for the most part, aimed at integrating the islands into their respective nation-states. On the other hand, the historical writings from the twentieth-century Åland expressed separate national identities from the mainland. The authors argue that the main differences in island expressions are reflected in the geographic situation of the islands, geopolitical shifts, political changes, and the historical experience of the islanders.

Farinelli also examines island identities from a historical point of view, arguing that "islands offered rhetorical and symbolic elements useful for the construction of mainland national identities."[257] Drawing evidence from the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, Farinelli focuses on how Italy, France, and Catalan codified national identities by using the islands as examples of national authenticity. Farinelli's argument also underlines the shared experience of Mediterranean islands and helps to establish a framework for studying the role Mediterranean islands played in regional political forces, specifically in the development of new forms of political organization and the formation of nation-states. In short, Farinelli looks at the influence of islands on the formation of mainland national identity.

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[257] Farinelli, "Island Societies," 22.

My work takes inspiration from the research mentioned above, specifically in the relationship between islands and national identity development. Some interesting comparisons between the authors are that in the Baltic islands, Puerto Rico, and Newfoundland, the islands shared a common cultural, historical, and/or political tradition with the mainland states to which they belong. This made it easier for them to negotiate with the mainland. However, in the cases of Corsica and Sardinia, what emerged was competing nationalisms, which resulted in a more complex negotiation of the islands into the national histories and identities of their respective mainland relationships. The theoretical and comparative frameworks outlined by Farinelli, Edquist & Holmén, and Vézina highlight the advantages of applying a historical lens to an island studies research.

Borderland Studies

The growing interest in borderland studies is attributed to the social, economic, and political consequences of an increasingly borderless world. The changes in borders and the formation of new nation-states following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the increased movement of people and goods due to globalization have impacted the way people understand and interact with borders, boundaries, and borderlands.[258]

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[258] For a review of the evolution of borderland studies from the study of frontiers and formal borders

J. R. V. Prescott's book *Political Frontiers and Boundaries* exemplifies the traditional geopolitical approach to the examination of borders.[259] His chapter on Europe, for instance, stresses how boundaries were claimed and negotiated through wars and treaties. Although this project does not follow Prescott's geopolitical understanding of borders, his definitions of frontiers and boundaries, his comparison of different geographic boundaries (sea and land), and his discussion of the evolution of natural boundaries into national boundaries are important contributions to the study of borders. Prescott's work echoes the traditional approaches of borders and frontiers, which focused on a politicized, state-centered, and top-down analysis of borders, thus denying agency to the local communities that live in the borderland areas.

Contemporary scholarship attempts to move away from the geopolitical and frontier study of borders that is primarily concerned with the geographies and tangible borders of formal states and empires.[260] New studies have emerged from a wide range of disciplines like anthropology,[261] history, political science, social science, the humanities, and the arts with a

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between nation-states to the contemporary understanding of borders as a fluid social construction of space see Vladimir Kolossov and James Scott, "Selected conceptual issues in border studies", *Belgeo* no. 1 (2013). http://belgeo.revues.org/10532. In the essay's closing remarks Kolossov and Scott state that "the present state of border studies indicates that recent developments have deeply changed the 'power' of borders; they have modified the dialectical relation between their fixed nature and constantly changing, fluid regime and framed the impact of borders on human activities in a new way. Borders not only have a different meaning for different actors but are a manifestation of power relations in society at different scales. In particular, they reflect the normative power of international organizations, including the EU and the power asymmetry between states in different fields." Kolossov and Scott, "Selected conceptual issues in border studies," 13.

[259] J.R.V. Prescott, *Political Frontiers and Boundaries* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987).

[260] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920). Turner reintroduces geography into contemporary borderland study trends.

[261] The anthropological focus on international borders deals with the failure of previous scholarship to adequately examine the cultural aspect of local societies along borders. Consequently, anthropologists are concerned with the study of power in and between nation and states. See Hastings Donnan & Thomas Wilson, *Borders: Frontiers of Identity, Nation and State* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1999); Dieter Haller & Hastings Donnan, "Liminal no More. The Relevance of Borderl and Studies," *Ethnologia Europaea* 30, 2 (2000): 7-22.

focus on borders that divide and define culture, class, status, and ethnicity are created, and how these borders impact relationship between borderland communities and the states they border.

Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel set out a historical model for studying borders.[262] Their model places borderlands within a spatial and temporal context which assists historians in their analysis of the social interactions between states, territories, and people. Their concepts of "borderlands and states," "borderlands and space," and "borderlands and time" are instrumental in moving scholarship from a geopolitical perspective to a more socioeconomic analysis of borders. Baud and Van Schendel's borderland models are also instrumental in addressing the social, political, and economic impact of cross-border exchanges and interactions on groups living on either side of the border. This work resonates with Baud and Van Schendel's idea that groups living in borderland regions will ignore borders and create new networks of interactions across borders based on local political and economic interests.[263]

From a historical perspective, Peter Sahlins[264] and A. I. Asiwaju[265] have contributed to the influence of borderland regions on nationalism and state formation. Their studies portray the cultural elements and relationship of border regions and the state, and they re-evaluate the

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[262] Michiel Baud and Willem van Schendel, "Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands." *Journal of World History* 8, no. 2 (1997): 211-42; Charles Tilly, "Social Boundary Mechanisms," *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 34, no. 2 (2004): 211-236. Tilley helps us understand the moments of boundary formation, transformation, activation and suppression by outlining mechanisms that precipitate boundary change and that constitute boundary change.

[263] Baud and Van Schendel, 211, 216, 220, 227, 228-230. Baud and Van Schendel argue that local elite play an important role in shaping borderland relationships. Resistance to authority in borderland regions ultimately depends on the ability of states to maintain and support the political interests of regional elite and local populations. In addition, economic interests impacted cross-border and transregional relationships, specifically, world market conditions, technological change, new crops, and geopolitical conditions shaped the way groups of people perceived borders.

[264] Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1989); Peter Sahlins,

[265] A. I. Asiwaju, "Borderlands in Africa: A Comparative Research Perspective with Particular Reference to Western Europe," *Journal of Borderland Studies* 8, no. 2 (1993): 1-12.

traditional approach of understanding national borders as formal arrangements between central

state powers (war and treaties). Sahlins and Asiwaju demonstrate that people living in the

periphery played a broader role in the creation, maintenance, and implementation of national

borders. Sahlin's work on the Cerydanya borderland contributes to both the history and

anthropology of borderland studies. He argues that instead of passive recipients of state policy,

borderland communities were proactive in influencing state policy and boundaries. For instance,

the communities of the Cerydanya negotiated their border by either creating conflict or

establishing cooperation within the states they occupied.[266] Asiwaju's scholarship on West

African border communities has contributed to the field of borderland studies in two ways. First,

his scholarship has incorporated historical and geographic analysis of the culture and space of

border communities. Second, he has incorporated a post-colonial perspective of borderland

identity formation. These works set out a typology of border interaction, demonstrating that the

border is not homogenous in geography and culture, nor is it a hermetic political line.

Subsequently, the study of borderlands from a historical perspective allows us to discover the

role culture, ethnicity, and politics play in the process of nationalization.

Physical borders are "static socio-spatial dynamics"[267] that allow states to control cross-

border interactions. Borderlines are often demarcated by physical barriers such as border

guards,[268] border crossings, topography, walls, and gates. However, Gloria Anzaldua reminds us

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[266] Sahlins argues that borders are not empty transitional zones that are reliant on the political center, but unique sites of cultural and social production. In this sense, they are essential in linking territory with culture and identity. Sahlins, *Borderlands*.

[267] Kolossov and Scott, *Selected conceptual issues in border studies, 7.*

[268] Gavrilis, George "The Greek--Ottoman Boundary as Institution, Locality, and Process, 1832-1882." *American Behavioral Scientist* 51, no. 10 (2008): 1516-37; Gavrilis, George. "Conflict and Control on the Ottoman-Greek Border" in *Understanding Life in the Borderlands: Boundaries in Depth and in Motion*, ed. I. William

that invisible borders define culture, ethnicity, ideology, and identity in regions that do not always have set boundaries.[269] Recent scholarship's understanding of borders as social constructions of space highlights the re-evaluation of borders and boundaries as fluid processes of human interactions and relationships with states and societies.[270]

In the article, *Social Boundary Mechanism*, Charles Tilly has shows that perceptions of space are linked to social relationships. Tilly's work helps us better understand the social construction of invisible borders as he reminds us that boundaries are dynamic and are, in fact, constructed daily. He sets up mechanisms for identifying the moments that cause and constitute social boundaries and the consequences of these changes. The notion of social boundaries can be found in daily political discourses, civic institutions, media.[271] Tilly adds a critical voice to the discourse of borders as he reminds us that boundaries are not merely formed, governed, and protected between territories and states but are also socially constructed by actors and can appear and disappear in multiple social settings. More importantly, Tilly provides insight into identifying when and how boundaries are formed and explains the social phenomenon that directly affects these changes.

Zartman (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 40-57. Gavrilis examines the ability of states to monitor and enforce borders. Using the Greek and Ottoman borderland region of the 19th century, he traces the symbiotic relationship between the states and border guards in securing the border and the change in this relationship as the border became more institutionalized by the center.

[269] Gloria Anzaldua *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987). Anzaldua studies the hybrid culture that is unique to the borderland region between the United States and Mexico, a region she argues is invisible to the people living within it. She demonstrates that the border is not homogenous in geography and culture, that it is fluid and impacts the daily life of the people that live in borderland regions.

[270] "As the much-emulated Henri Lefebvre (1972) has shown, the social role, perception and use of space are ineluctably linked to social relationships which are inherently political and constantly in flux. Bordering, as a socio-spatial practice plays an important role in shaping human territoriality and political maps – every social and regional group has an image of its own territory and boundaries." Vladimir Kolossov and James Scott, "Selected conceptual issues in border studies."

[271] Charles Tilly, "Social Boundary Mechanism," 211-236.

The ways in which borderland studies have inspired this work are twofold. First, they demonstrate how people circumvent, manipulate, identify, and interact with borders, whether they are territorial, imaginary, social, or political. Second, borderland studies provide relevant analytical models to define and locate borders, boundaries, and borderlands, both in space and time. This work contributes to borderland studies by focusing on the Mediterranean islands as borderland regions. An island approach differs from the traditional focus on land borders between two states, such as Alsace, Istria, Cerdanya, and the US/Mexican and US/Canadian border. It highlights the complexities of studying the Mediterranean Sea beyond littoral zones of contact. Islands have long been overlooked, and a review of islands as a borderland region helps to redefine how maritime borders are understood and analyzed. Nineteenth-century Mediterranean islands represent zones of multiple boundaries (territorial, political, economic, and social) that offer unique case studies for scholars of the region. Islands' borders are flexible as they are not bounded along with well-defined states, but rather, like the case of the Ionian Islands, occupy multiple borders and links with various parts of the world both in a commercial and a cultural sense. Islands are a unique case study as they can occupy multiple border spaces (commercial, state, frontier, natural) and can act as both a frontier zone and a liminal region. On the one hand, as a frontier zone, Mediterranean islands were exposed to multiple foreign occupations and annexation; on the other hand, their liminality allowed them to foster unique transnational relationships that benefit their social, political, and economic interests.

Ecotones

This project is inspired by John R. Gillis' foundational works on ecotones. Ecotones have emerged as a salient analytical tool for the social sciences and humanities, offering scholars a new approach to understanding border regions' cultural and social developments. Some of the most pertinent questions that arise within borderland studies research are centered on the idea of cross-cultural exchange. The movement of material objects, ideas, and people raises questions about whether they acquire new meanings in the process of exchange or simply move unchanged from one culture to another. An ecotone approach solves many of these questions by locating the instances of cross-cultural exchange, tracing the movement of ideas and objects from one culture to another, and finally identifying the different and new meanings that form as a result of interactions.

An *ecotone* is a term used in the environmental sciences to identify the conjuncture of two distinct ecosystems, out of which a new ecosystem is formed. This region is marked as the site where water meets land such as marshes, coasts, and swamps but also where a savanna meets the deserts—or even a desert oasis. In a humanities context, an ecotone is a site of cultural and social mediation out of which conflict and change emerge.[272] This project views the Ionian Islands as an ecotone space, where various social and cultural exchanges occurred, over time and space, to create dynamic identities, histories, and 'littoral' cultures.[273] Littoral spaces are far from isolated; they are where cultures meet, clash, and where power relations are negotiated and adjusted. Islands represent the quintessential littoral space and are an ideal model for a

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[272] Florence R. Krall, *Ecotones: wayfaring on the margins* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 4.

[273] Michael Pearson, "Littoral Societies: The Concepts and the Problems," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 4 (Dec., 2006): 353-373.

geocultural study of ecotones. Islands facilitate mobility and exchange between areas that might otherwise have remained separate. Islands are also "contact zones," a term used by Mary Louise Pratt to describe "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today."[274] Islands are also liminal, in-between spaces where broader geopolitical and social tensions are at work, and thus, it is within these spaces that scholars can better understand the issues surrounding global change throughout history. Islands are social spaces where cultures and identities are constructed; political spaces where great power competitions are played out; they represent sites where conflicts are resolved; and, finally, economic spaces where mobility encourages the trade of goods and migration of people and ideas.   It is for these reasons that Gillis calls for a historical re-examination of islands as ecotones,[275]

> Many of the characteristic features of islands and islanders are the product of islands' ecotonal nature. Things that are often ascribed to islands as territories are in fact the product of their interaction with that which surrounds them…Just as membranes do on a molecular or cellular level, island shores facilitate exchanges that are beneficial to all the parties concerned. The place where land meets water has always been a place of trade, not just of commodities but of ideas and languages.[276]

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[274] Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone" in *Academic Discourse: Readings for Argument and Analysis*, ed. Gail Stygall (Fort Worth: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000), 575.

[275] "An ecotone is not a thing, a fact of nature, but a process involving many agents, including humans." John Gillis, "Not continents in miniature: islands as ecotones," Island Studies Journal 9, no. 1 (2014): 159

[276] John Gillis, "Not continents in miniature," 159-160.

Gillis' focus on shores and coasts should not be surprising; after all, his inspiration for ecotonal studies comes from his research on littoral societies. Coastal and island societies live where land and water meet and therefore are ecotonal in nature. Throughout history, coastal societies have been in the vanguard of global geopolitical change. Change, Gillis contends, "is generated on the edges rather than the interior," and therefore, coasts and islands are sites that challenge the nineteenth-century *terracentric* orientation of continentalist and maritime historiography.[277] An ecotonal approach allows us to re-examine nineteenth-century historiographies, reading boundaries as fluid and porous zones rather than rigid and impenetrable borders. Additionally, a study of islands as ecotones can present a "ecotonic dialectic" between isolation and connectivity, demonstrating islands as a paradoxical space where new identities and cultures emerge.

The *Ecotones: Encounters, Crossings, and Communities*[278] program began in 2015 as a cycle of conferences that challenges social science and humanities scholars to apply the idea of ecotones to their studies and research. The program is coordinated by Thomas Lacroix from Maison Française, Oxford-CNRS, Judith Misrahi-Barak from EMMA, Université Paul-Valért Montpellier and Maggi Morehouse from Coastal Carolina University. The program has investigated avenues of research that have focused on migration experiences, the Caribbean, colonial ports, partition and borders, and the Indian Ocean. The Ecotones 2 conference stated that "Ecotones can be analyzed through their effects on who and what occupies them, through

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[277] John Gillis. *The Human Shore: Seacoasts in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 4.
[278] "Ecotones: Encounters, Crossings, and Communities," EMMA Études Montpelliéraines du Monde Anglophone, last modified August 7, 2020, https://emma.www.univ-montp3.fr/fr/valorisation-partenariats/programmes-europ%C3%A9ens-et-internationaux/ecotones

their relations with the spaces beyond them, through the transformative processes they induce."[279]

For the same reasons ecologists and geographers have been drawn to ecotones to study nature's diversity, I, too, have been drawn to the idea that islands serve as distinct "ecotonic" zones of cultural transition.   But what characteristics and features of islands foster diversity? While environmentalists can look to soil variations, weather, water, and plant and animal life as conditions that can create environmental ecotones, what can historians point to as features of islands that facilitate cross-cultural interactions and produce unique cultural ecotones? These questions elucidate more significant theoretical issues in the studies of the Ionian Islands. Through the convergence of geography with social science and humanities, we can find new paradigms for understanding human agency in the exchange, production, and reception of objects and ideas. An ecotone paradigm helps solve some of the questions about the transmission of ideas through translations, the circulation of goods and ideas, and the migration of people. Subsequently, islands represent an in-between space where geographic, political, and socio-cultural ideals merge, but more importantly, they represent a "third-space" where identities and culture are negotiated.

By focusing the methodology around borderland studies, island studies, and ecotones, I hope to identify specific characteristics that made, and continue to make, islands in the Mediterranean zones for transnational or transcultural interaction.   While borderland studies, island studies, and the concept of ecotones relate to each other, they lead to different outcomes.

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[279] «Les écotones peuvent être analysés par le filtre des effets qu'ils peuvent avoir sur les personnes et les objets qui les occupent ; des liens qu'ils entretiennent avec les espaces qu'ils mettent en relation ; des processus de transformation qu'ils induisent.» "Ecotones 2: Experiences of migrations and transformations in ecotones," June 22-24, 2017, https://ecotones2.sciencesconf.org/

For instance, borderland studies question how borders are enforced and formed and, more significantly, how people interact with two or more zones of contact. Island studies challenge the notions that liminal spaces are subordinate to the center or mainland, and therefore island studies scholars appreciate islands on their own terms. Finally, ecotones borrow from the environmental concept that there is a hybrid zone between two distinct environmental zones, which is a creolized product of both environments. Ecotones force scholars to identify the instances of syncretism and unique cultural features within these zones.

This dissertation addresses insularity in relation to identity formation and state-building processes in the 19th century Mediterranean demonstrating that the Ionian Islands shaped a unique Greek identity that was eventually adopted by the Greek state. In this project, insularity is not synonymous with isolation but is defined as an island characteristic that perpetuated change. The Ionian Islands were a transitional zone between east and west; they were a transcultural zone that allowed for the syncretism of Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim traditions reflected in the languages, art, culture—including folklore and customs—public institutions and architecture; lastly, they were transcolonial spaces where Venetian, French, Russian, Ottoman, and British interests intersected.

Chapter IV: The Ionian Islands In Historical Context: From Colonial State To Union

This chapter draws attention to the process and historical context surrounding the cessation of the Ionian Islands by Great Britain to the Kingdom of Greece in 1864. It analyzes how the Ionians expressed their disillusionment with the Protectorate and how they managed to impose their will in broader geopolitical events. While the ultimate decision to cede the islands was the result of British attempts at preserving the status quo in Europe and for ensuring British regional interests—rather than an attempt to stifle reactionary forces on the islands—the fact that union was achieved marked a significant shift in the regional power structures.

From an island study perspective, it is clear that the Ionians were more aware of their position in the broader geopolitical landscape than their occupiers may have perceived. The islanders used colonial institutions, politics, British laws, and the media—in Britain, France, Greece, the United States, and the Islands themselves—to create the inevitable path to union. Therefore, while Britain had the authority to cede the islands on their own terms, the Islanders were able to manipulate broader political and nationalist movements to their advantage. At a time when the rise of liberalism and nationalism was weakening Imperial hegemony in the Mediterranean, the islands found themselves increasingly being cut off from their traditional connections to the mainland. However, the islanders did not remain idle. Instead, they used various means to form new bonds and relationships with the mainland, making new linkages along the way.

The first part of this chapter traces the transcolonial developments on the Ionian Islands from the eighteenth century to the advent of the British Protectorate. This section highlights how

foreign occupations contributed to the revolutionary fervor and class conflict on the islands before the British arrived. The second part investigates the islands' social, political, and economic climate during the British Protectorate, emphasizing the origins of political protests and rebellions on the islands. The third part examines British foreign diplomacy in the nineteenth century. The fourth part explores how Britain responded to the social discontent on the islands and how the Ionians, in turn, responded to the British government. The chapter concludes with an examination of the debates and discussion on the issue of cession. It outlines the various positions held on the issue by completing a comprehensive examination of the parliamentary debates of the 1850s and 1860s. In summary, it demonstrates how the Ionians manipulated both their imperial rulers and the Greek nation-state to negotiate a new position for themselves at a time when the Mediterranean world was transforming, leaving the islands increasingly isolated.

Island Transcolonialism

Each period of foreign occupation exerted a powerful influence on the islands' social, political, and economic development. Under the Venetian political and economic system, the nobility of the islands monopolized public offices and gained personal prestige. The bourgeoisie

grew in wealth, and the peasantry was heavily taxed and over-worked.[280] The geographical

position of the islands gave the merchant advantageous access to European markets through

Venice and the Levant. Subsequently, expanded market opportunities introduced new demands

for agricultural goods that led to specialized crops and the mass production of olives and currants

for export.[281] In short, Venetian rule intensified class divisions among landowners and farmers

and made future agricultural expansion difficult.

The French occupation introduced revolutionary ideas, abolished the aristocracy, and

installed a constitutional government. The dominance of the nobility, the Venetian polity, and the

tax burden on the peasantry created a tense social environment on the islands. Lawlessness

became endemic in the eighteenth century amid a deepening rift between a despondent peasantry

and landlords. This changed with Napoleon's annexation of the islands, and public feelings

became optimistic. The peasants became enthused at their chance at democracy and at the

opportunity to witness the deposition of the aristocracy and the nobles.[282] During the French

Septinsular Republic, new social ideas and cultural values were spread. Publications such as the

Moniteur Ionien, the *Gazetta Urbana*, the *Anno,* and periodicals like *L'Ape* and the *Mercurio*

Letterario emerged after printing presses were imported from Paris. More specifically, the

foundation of the Ionian Academy in 1808 encouraged arts, science, and Western European

ideologies, which played a significant role in the construction of a Hellenic consciousness. The

French Septinsular Republic also ameliorated the agricultural and financial situation.

Agricultural productivity was improved by extending land under cultivation and improving new

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[280] Michael Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire: Reflections on the History of the Ionian Islands from the Fall of Byzantium* (London: Collings, 1978), 33.
[281] Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 17-32.
[282] Pratt, 33-34, 63; Lord 1896: 271.

olive presses and fertilizer. French subsidies reached sixty million francs by 1814. These subsidies did not only stabilize the economy but also helped in the construction of roads and defenses.[283]

During the brief Russo-Ottoman protectorate in 1799, the Russians attempted to draft a constitution for the islands. As a result, after lengthy debates and negotiations in 1880, the 'Byzantine Constitution' was implemented. Under this constitution, a pseudo-independence state was formed, and the political privileges of the Ionian aristocracy were restored. This created class tension between the administrative powers and the general population. For instance, the inhabitants of Zakynthos raised the Union Jack and insisted that they be placed under British protection. In Kefalonia, fights broke out against the feudal chiefs. In Lefkada, the peasants revolted, and in Kythera, members of the aristocracy were murdered. Consequently, the people in Kerkyra proceeded to frame another constitution.[284]

Eventually, the Russo-Ottoman Septinsular Republic would be ceded to the French after the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807. The violent events that occurred during the short life of the Septinsular Republic are paramount as they showed that the Ionian population was not hesitant to rise against social and economic oppression. This type of radicalism would appear again during the British Protectorate as the Islanders attempted to solidify connections with the Greek Kingdom.

The effects of the social and economic structures on the Ionian Islands pre-1815 are better appreciated through the experiences of John Kapodistrias, a noble-born in Kerkyra.

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[283] Pratt, 97.

[284] George, Yannoulopoulos, "State and Society in the Ionian Islands, 1800-1830" in *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble Books 1981), 41-42.

Kapodistrias studied medicine in both Padua and Venice and was appointed Secretary to the

Septinsular Republic in 1803. In 1807, he was offered a post by the French government that he

declined because of his support for Russia, which recognized the cause of Greek independence.

In 1809, he left for Russia and entered their diplomatic service. Kapodistrias was instrumental in

the 1814-1815 negotiation of Ionian independence and eventually became Greece's first

President. In short, Kapodistrias's political career represents the cosmopolitan Ionian citizen that

emerged as a result of colonial socio-political systems established by the Venetians, the Russians,

and the French. More importantly, his strong Greek nationalism was encouraged by his exposure

to ideas of the Enlightenment and his Western European education.

In order to appreciate the endgame of the European Powers in their long struggle for the

Ionian Islands, one must consider their geostrategic importance. The Ionian Islands' geographical

position, especially Kerkyra, situated them as ideal for trading and military posts in the Adriatic.

The Ionian Islands were at the intersection of European and Near Eastern trade routes. They

were a gateway to the Balkans, Italy, and Austria. Some great powers—acknowledging the

islands' importance in accessing eastern trade routes—viewed them as strong defensive outposts

against their enemies. The Tsar, for instance, pinned his hopes on the islands in his quest to break

up the Ottoman Empire, while Austria hoped to use them to become a naval power.[285] A dispatch

from Napoleon to his brother Joseph outlines the strategic importance of the Ionian Islands,

> Corfu [Kerkyra] is so important to me that its loss would deal a fatal blow to my
> plans. The Adriatic would be closed, and your kingdom would have on its left

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[285] Lord, *The Lost Possessions*, 270 & 280.

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flank a port where the enemy could assemble to attack you. You must regard it as more valuable than Sicily. Mark my words: in the current situation in Europe the worst misfortune that can happen to me is to lose Corfu [Kerkyra].[286]

Evidently, the British felt the same way, and so obtaining them became one of their primary goals at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Treaty of Paris in the same year formalized the independent state called the United States of the Ionian Islands under the protection of Great Britain.[287] The strategic position of the islands created a great deal of debate among the Great Powers. Since all the parties had claims to the islands, the negotiation process proved difficult. The Russians, for instance, initially planned to create a principality on the Ionian Islands with the Tsarina's fifteen-year-old cousin, Prince Gustavus Vasa, as its ruler. Both British representatives to the Congress, first Viscount Castlereagh and then his successor, the Duke of Wellington, proposed that the protectorate be transferred to Austria to obstruct Russian influence in the region.[288] According to Peter Dietz, Britain also claimed to be entitled to be the sole protector because their military had liberated the islands.

Furthermore, Kapodistrias, who was involved in the negotiations as Secretary of the State to the Tsar, supported Britain's bid. He believed Britain was the only state capable of maintaining peace and stability due to naval strength and liberal political institutions. Thus, on November 5, 1815, the Ionian Islands became a "single, free, and independent state under the exclusive

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[286] Cited in Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 90.
[287] U.K., House of Commons, *Constitutional Chart of the United States of the Ionian Islands, as agreed on and passed unanimously by the Legislative Assembly on the 2d of May 1817* (London: *Colonial Department*, 17th March 1818).
[288] Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 100-103.

protection of His Britannic Majesty."[289] A vital stipulation of the Treaty gave the British

government the authority to appoint a Lord High Commissioner, who would put together a

legislative assembly to draft a constitution.

The government of the United States of the Ionian Islands consisted of the Lord High

Commissioner, the Senate, and the Legislative Assembly. The Senate consisted of six members.

The Legislative Assembly, which consisted of forty members, elected five senators and the Lord

High Commissioner appointed the other. The latter also had the authority to veto the assembly's

selection. Moreover, the Senate could veto any bills from the Assembly. The first Lord High

Commissioner was Sir Thomas Maitland. His appointment was significant because he had the

mandate to draft the constitution. However, Maitland was not eager to give the Ionians a true

representative government. As a result, the constitution eventually ratified in August 1817,

created a system of government that provided the Greeks limited authority, while the real power

remained with the British administration. The Treaty was ambiguous and therefore made it

susceptible to be manipulated by the British. For instance, Article I of the Treaty clearly stated

the islands' independence, while Article III concerning the Crown's authority over them

remained vague. Moreover, Article IV did not clarify the relationship of the commissioner to the

constitutional assembly.[290] Therefore, under these ambiguous stipulations, Maitland manipulated

the constitution to favor Britain and its interests over the local population.

In addition to the bias nature of the constitution, the right to vote was not universal and

was based on wealth. Furthermore, each island had a local administration headed by a regent

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[289] Richard Clogg, *A Short History of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 47.
[290] "Treaty Between Great Britain, France, Russia, and Greece, Respecting the Union of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece," *The American Journal of International Law* 12, no. 2 (April 1918): 79-85.

and a municipal council. The islands were also responsible for paying an annual sum to London

for military expenditures. As for the Lord High Commissioner, he held veto power over all laws,

decrees and most appointments. He also controlled a special executive police force that enabled

him to detain, imprison and exile anyone without trial.[291] Consequently, British citizens held the

posts of the Treasurer-General, the Principal Secretaries, the Residents in the islands, and the

members of the Supreme Judicial Bench.

Maitland's autocratic character also did not sit well with the aristocrats and nobles on the

islands, as many of his policies were seen as being too liberal. For example, he ended the entail

of fiefs, and he forbade usury advances from landlords to tenants and weakening their influence

in the State body.[292] He abolished the farm church lands and reformed the administration of

justice.[293]   Maitland and the Legislative Assembly attempted to consolidate the islands'

moderate elements under the façade of liberal democracy. Moreover, British policy aimed to

foster political allegiance through government patronage by dismantling the nobility's influence

on society. Consequently, this meant that the British administration could not secure the support

of an entire social class. This contributed to the unstable social climate of the islands for years to

come.

At the time, Maitland and the British authorities' most considerable opposition came

from Kapodistrias. Although he initially supported the British Protectorate, he opposed the

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[291] Thomas Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 7-9.
[292] James Knowles, *The Nineteenth Century-A Monthly Review* (London: Keagan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1889), 25: 566-567.
[293] Lord, *The Lost Possessions,* 293-294.

constitution because it did not provide the independence he had imagined. In an 1819 visit to Kerkyra, Kapodistrias was shocked at the despotism the constitution created on the islands.[294]

Overall, the foreign occupations were instrumental in creating the revolutionary fervor and class conflict on the Ionian Islands. Although still incipient during the Venetian, French and Russian occupations, discontent was on the rise.

British Foreign Policy

The Battle of Salamis, the destruction of Carthage, the Battle of Actium, the Crusades, and the Battle of Crete all have the Mediterranean Sea in common. For centuries great empires and armies used the Mediterranean as a battlefield, struggling to increase territory and political control in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa.[295]

The Ionian Islands were central in the geopolitical strategies of the Great Powers, and in particular, the British Empire's ambitions in the Mediterranean. The following discussion provides a broader historical context for understanding the development of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands and the eventual cession of the islands to Greece. In addition, it explores how geography, Great Power rivalries, and the need to secure trade routes affected British political and strategic interests in the Mediterranean.

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[294] Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire,* 105-106.
[295] Joseph Roucek, "The Geopolitics of the Mediterranean, I." *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 12, no. 4 (1953): 347-354.

Britain's geographic position significantly influenced the dependency on the sea and its commitment to international interests.[296] The sea provided both a defense against invaders and access to international trade routes. The Industrial Revolution and population growth during the eighteenth century increased the demand in Britain for manufactured and agricultural goods. Industrialization further forced people from the countryside to look for work in industrial towns. Consequently, subsistence living was replaced with a dependency on the market for manufactured goods and food. International trade at this time became fundamental for providing food for the population, expanding the markets for manufactured goods, and for importing raw materials, which were essential for industrial growth. As a result, British foreign policy was committed to controlling the sea-lanes, specifically those essential British trade routes. Accordingly, the navy became the backbone for Britain's defense and security for its international trade networks. In 1860, Lord Palmerston—Henry John Temple—wrote that "trade ought not to be enforced by cannonballs, but…trade cannot flourish without security."[297] Essentially, the success of trade and the strength of the navy went hand-in-hand. The financing of a powerful and reliable navy, for instance, increased the national debt in Britain from £14 million in 1700 to £700 million in 1815. However, it was Britain's flourishing overseas trade that reduced the financial strain of the navy.[298] As the navy became the guardian of the British economy, foreign policy centered on protecting the overseas trade network.[299]

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[296] John Lowe, *Britain and Foreign Affairs 1815-1885* (London: Routledge 1998), 1-2; M. E. Chamberlain, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of Palmerston* (London: Longman Group, 1980), 1.

[297] Cited in Lowe, *Britain and Foreign Affairs*, 8.

[298] Lowe, 2.

[299] Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share a Short History of British Imperialism 1850-2004*. 4th ed. (United Kingdom: Pearson Longman, 2004), 32-39.

In addition to the military defense of the trade routes, Britain also had a strategic political policy aimed at maintaining the balance of power in Europe. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a time of destruction, fear, and struggle for mastery of Europe. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars ravaged the continent and threatened the British economy. Political and economic stability on the continent was crucial for the success of Britain's international trade routes. Without stability, Britain's economy remained vulnerable, which was the case during the implementation of Napoleon's Continental System (1806) and the Treaty of Tilsit between Russia and France (1807).[300] In 1815, Britain's foreign policy focused on the containment of France, which at the time was the most significant threat to European stability and consequently British trade routes. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars demonstrated to Europe that France was both a physical and ideological threat to the status quo. On the one hand, the French Revolution inspired revolutionary ideas and movements—For instance, the Greek War of Independence (1821), the Revolutions of 1848, and the Italian Risorgimento (1860s) all had their roots in ideas promoted during the French Revolution. On the other hand, Napoleon's military ambitions and initial military victories proved France's legitimate power in Europe.

In 1815 Britain was among five Great Powers that attempted to bring stability to Europe at the end of the Napoleonic wars. Politicians from Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia met in Vienna to contain France. They mapped out the territory of Europe, resolved any outstanding political issues, and ensured the 1814 Treaty of Paris and the 1815 Treaty of Vienna were adhered to. In essence, the Congress of Vienna set out to establish a balance of power in

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[300] See Chamberlain, *British Foreign Policy*, 14-15.

Europe by restoring old regimes and removing French influence from the territories conquered by Napoleon. In 1805 William Pitt, British Chancellor of Exchequer and Prime Minister, wrote his views on how the great powers could restore peace in Europe, should Napoleon be defeated, to the Russian Ambassador in London. He stated that the great powers needed to "rescue from the Dominion of France those countries which it had subjugated from the beginning of the Revolution, and to reduce France within its former limits, as they stood before that time" and "to make such arrangement with respect for their Security and Happiness, and may at the same time constitute a more effectual barrier in future against Encroachments on the part of France."[301] Following Pitt's suggestion, Castlereagh and Wellington, acting as British representatives to the Congress, supported the restoration of old dynasties in order to prevent the return of Napoleon's dynasty.[302] The Congress, for instance, restored the Bourbon's in France and Naples and the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, Savoy, Nice, and Genoa. Furthermore, the former Austrian Netherlands were united with Holland to create a northern buffer to France, and Austrian rule was extended over Lombardy and Venetia to form a barrier against any future threats from the French armies into Italy. Thus, the Congress of Vienna was successful in establishing a balance of power in Europe. However, this was accomplished at the expense of nationalism and political liberty.[303]

An important outcome of the Congress of Vienna was the Concert of Europe. The Concert of Europe was a collaborative system created to secure the affairs of the Great Powers.

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[301] Cited in Chamberlain *British Foreign Policy*, 95.
[302] Chamberlain, 26.
[303] Paul Knaplund, "Gladstone-Gordon Correspondence, 1851-1896: Selections from the Private Correspondence of a British Prime Minister and a Colonial Governor," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 51, no. 4 (1970): 2.

The Concert was to meet periodically to ensure the containment of France, preserve the arrangements of the Congress of Vienna, and maintain the balance of power between the great powers and preserve the status quo. The Concert was very conservative and maintained a strong position against revolutionary movements that threatened the stability of Europe. In any case, the Concert became threatened by four events during the 1820s and 1830s: the revolts in Wallachia and Moldova against the Ottoman Empire, the Greek War of Independence, the rebellions in the Spanish colonies in America, and the political uprisings in Portugal.[304] These events created various problems for the Concert as some states, such as Russia, supported intervention to solve the problems, while others, such as Britain and Austria, proposed a more hands-off approach.

The settlements reached at the Congress of Vienna temporarily created stability in Europe (Concert of Europe was maintained until the 1848 European revolutions and the Crimean War). Austria and Prussia successfully gained territory and acted as a buffer to Russian expansionism and French armies, while Britain retained considerable control over the Mediterranean. The British objectives during the Congress of Vienna were two-fold. First, they wanted to secure their commercial interests, and second, they hoped to deter Russian and French expansionism. The Treaty of Vienna in 1815 guaranteed Britain the possession of the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, Heligoland, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. Control over the Mediterranean was crucial as it assured the security of Britain's trade networks in the east and ensured the efficient import and export of goods.

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[304] Chamberlain *British Foreign Policy,* 27-30.

The Mediterranean has been the most important highway in history as it was the route where Eastern and Western commerce flourished.[305] The Mediterranean provided two specific advantages for Britain. From a commercial standpoint, the Mediterranean offered a shortcut for heavy freight between Britain, Africa, the Middle East, and India. From a political standpoint, the Mediterranean offered protection for Britain's eastern colonies by providing direct passage of the military to them. Sir Charles Napier, for example, was quoted as urging England to possess a stronghold of the Mediterranean, through which trade of Constantinople, Smyrna, Alexandria, Tunis, Malta, and Sicily with Europe would pass.[306]

In the 1830s, Britain began to view Russia with suspicion and consequently tried to contain Russia's southeastern European aspirations by supporting the Ottoman Empire. The most influential British politician was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, whose harsh and aggressive political style gave him the nickname 'Lord Pumice-stone.'[307] In 1832, Lord Palmerston and the British government walked into a political quagmire. British policy in the Mediterranean became complicated in this year because of Greek irredentist ambitions. Although Britain supported the independence of Greece, it also had to consider the dangers of a weakened Ottoman Empire. In 1832, a temporary solution was found with the signing of the Treaty of London. This document set up a monarchy under King Otto within a specified boundary. However, to the dismay of Palmerston, Otto refused to grant a constitution and did not accept the boundaries assigned by the 1832 treaty. More significantly, Britain failed to establish its authority in Greece during Otto's rule. Eventually, three leading political

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[305] Roucek, "The Geopolitics of the Mediterranean," 347.
[306] 173 Parl. Deb. (3d ser) (25 February 1864) col. 1084.
[307] Lowe *Britain and Foreign Affairs,* 41.

organizations flourished within Greece, each representing the Great Powers (Britain, France, and Russia parties). Andreas Metaxas and Gennadios Kolokotronis led the pro-Russian party, which espoused Orthodoxy. Alexandros Mavrogordatos led the pro-British party, and Ioannis Kolettis the French. The British viewed the political cooperation of Kolettis and Metaxas during the 1844 collapse of the Mavrogordatos government as very suspect. They firmly believed that France and Russia intended to strengthen their influence in Greece. British suspicions of foreign influences in Greece were intensified with King Otto's continued, what they viewed as, unconstitutional and irredentist policies.

Great Power Politics on the Mediterranean

The so-called "Don Pacifico Affair" and the case involving George Finlay best illustrate the continuous decay of Greek and British relations during this period. The impact of the Don Pacifico Affair was heightened as it took place in the midst of two conflicts that affected both nations. The first conflict revolved around the rebellions of 1848 and 1849 that occurred in the Ionian Islands of Kefalonia. These events raised British awareness of the danger of Greek irredentism and sparked debate among British officials.[308] Lord Seaton and Sir Henry Ward accused the Greek government of involvement in the rebellions. For instance, the infiltration of

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[308] David Hannell, "The Rebellion of 1848 in Cephalonia: Nationalist or Local in Origin?" *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 15, no. 1-2 (1988): 91-105.; Paximadopolou-Stavrinou, "Some Notes on Britain's Attitude."

the *Filiki Etairia* in the islands and the meeting between Kefalonia political activists and the

Greek Royal Court after the first rebellion were used as proof to implicate Greek participation.

However, all the charges were based on speculation and no firm evidence had been found to

implicate Greece's involvement.[309] The second conflict was Britain's territorial dispute with

Greece involving Cervi (Elafonissi) and Sapienza. Britain maintained that the islands were

Ionian territory, while Greece claimed that the islands' proximity to the Peloponnese gave them

rights to the territory.[310] Evidently, the political relations between the two countries were already

strained in the wake of the Affair.

The Don Pacifico Affair is best described as an argument between Palmerston and King

Otto.[311] Palmerston was frustrated with Otto's tendency to favor France and Russia over Britain.

The Don Pacifico Affair was primarily a result of the Greek government's refusal to respect

claims of damages against British subjects. In 1850, these frustrations ultimately led to the naval

blockade of Athens.[312] The first claim was from David Pacifico, whose property was damaged

during an anti-Semitic riot in Athens.

Additionally, George Finlay, an English historian, was involved in a property dispute

when, in 1836, the King's palace enclosed his own in Athens, and he was never adequately

compensated. Adding insult to injury, British officials were further angered by Greek authorities'

claims that a young British officer was suspected of spying. David Hannell suggests that the

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[309] Hannell The Rebellion of 1848," 96-99.
[310] David Hannell, "Lord Palmerston and The 'Don Pacifico Affair'of 1850: The Ionian Connection." *European History Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (1989): 496-504.
[311] Hannell.
[312] This is one of the first examples of Lord Palmerston's *civic Romanus sum* foreign policy. The 1848 revolutions and the rising tensions between constitutionalism and absolutism threatened the balance of power in Europe. In 1850, Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, delivered an almost four hour long speech defending Britain's gunboat foreign policy. In the speech he called for the protection of every British citizen, regardless of geographic location. Cf. Hannell "Lord Palmerston and the 'Don Pacifico Affair' of 1850," 495-508.

Affair became personal for Palmerston. Palmerston's resentment stemmed from Otto's failure to form a stable constitutional government. Palmerston supported Otto's appointment to the Greek throne, and he was disappointed that Otto had not lived up to his expectations.[313]

The Crimean War in 1854 and the Indian Mutiny in 1857 also impacted the status quo in the Mediterranean. During the Crimean War, Britain and its allies relied on access to the Black Sea to attack Russia. Therefore, British troops and supplies were sent to the Mediterranean before embarking on the Black Sea.[314] The war signified the central role that the Mediterranean could play in future conflicts with Russia. Although Russia was defeated, the Crimean War awakened Slavic nationalism in southeastern Europe. This posed a threat to the general peace in Europe because Slavic nationalism claimed territory within the Ottoman Empire. More significantly, Slavic irredentism claimed much of the same land Greece declared in their irredentist doctrine known as the *Megali Idea*.

The Crimean War exposed the delicate nature of Greek and British relations at the time. The tensions were further heightened because the Royal House of Otto had close relations with Austria, and during the Crimean War, the Greek population as Orthodox Christian supported the Russians. Further complicating the situation was a revolt in Epirus in 1854, which was led by Greek insurgents attempting to liberate the area with Greece's support. Greece, therefore, became the epicenter for British, French, Russian, Austrian, and Ottoman relations. In order to keep Greece out of the conflict, Britain and France kept a force at Piraeus. Greek neutrality and the stability of the Mediterranean were fundamental to both French and British interests in the region. This is because trade linkages to France and Britain were threatened as long as Russia

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[313] Hannell, "Lord Palmerston and the 'Don Pacifico Affair' of 1850," 501.
[314] Dietz, *The British in the Mediterranean*, 78-79.

upheld good relations with Greece. Therefore, it is not surprising that Britain was very suspicious of Otto's irredentist ambitions and his close relationship with Russia.

The second event, which affected Britain and its Mediterranean possessions, was the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny.[315] The mutiny, just like the Crimean War, revealed the military advantage of controlling the Mediterranean. France's Mediterranean campaign in 1798 highlighted the importance of maintaining control of the Mediterranean to protect British India. British troops via Britain's Mediterranean possessions could reduce the travel distance to the east by half. In times of conflict, such as the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, this advantage was crucial to the British army.[316]

The Mediterranean was a vital part of Britain's economy and defense strategy. Britain's Mediterranean possession, such as the Ionian Islands, Malta, and Gibraltar, provided military posts that were crucial in deterring French and Russian ambitions in southeastern Europe and, more importantly, securing British India. However, while Britain successfully used its military might to impose its regional strategy on foreign governments, the local population became more of a complex problem.

Ionian Economy

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[315] Dietz, *The British in the Mediterranean,* 79.
[316] Dietz, 80.

Although the Ionian Islands had access to global markets via the British commercial networks, the economy remained stagnant throughout the nineteenth century. The Ionian economy was mainly based on agriculture and specifically the growing and exporting of olives and currants. The agricultural sector on the islands was operated on the *colono* system. This system meant that the landlord (*signori*) was paid rent, and in return, the tenants (*coloni*) became joint-proprietors. This system was ineffective in generating economic growth because firstly, the signori divided the land into small units, and secondly, the coloni subdivided this land to their heirs. Thus, the plots became progressively smaller with each passing generation, making them more challenging to cultivate. Within this land division system, the peasants turned to the signori for new avenues of monetary assistance. The signori were involved in usury, and they would often subsidize a cultivator's future crop. However, during a bad harvest, interest rates would rise, and peasants would find themselves in a precarious position for making restitution.

Consequently, the burden of risk was placed on the tenants.[317] Another factor contributing to the Ionian economy's slow growth was that the signori had conservative attitudes towards agrarian reforms. This meant that they had risk-averting attitudes towards liberal economic policies, and they were content with maintaining the status quo. In short, they were happy with making money off of their specialized crops rather than investing in new agricultural opportunities.[318]

Another observation of economic stagnation is made by Yannoulopoulos, who states that the Ionian Islands lacked raw materials needed for manufacturing. This forced the Ionian

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[317] Thomas Gallant, Turning the Horns: Cultural Metaphors, Material Conditions, and the Peasant Language of Resistance in Ionian Islands (Greece) During the Nineteenth Century." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 4 (1994): 713-714; Pratt *Britain's Greek Empire,* 115-116.
[318] Hannell, "The Rebellion of 1848 in Cephalonia," 91.

population to concentrate their production towards satisfying international markets. In essence, agriculture became more dependent on exports and thus more vulnerable to the economic fluctuation of foreign markets. Considering land scarcity and the lack of potential for new economic opportunities outside agriculture, reforms were virtually impossible to impose, "radical legislation could either expropriate the landlords and turn the peasants into small landholders or drive the peasants from the land when they had nowhere to go."[319]

The lack of liberal land reforms coupled with the colono system's inability to compete with international demands, its vulnerability to foreign economic fluctuations, and the high interest rates attached to usury make it easy to understand why class conflicts were ubiquitous on the islands. Interestingly, during the Protectorate, the landowners did not make any serious efforts to influence British policy. In fact, they did not feel threatened by the Protectorate. The British protected the rights of the nobility as it was the British who re-installed the *Libro d'oro* after the French banned it—ensuring that the landowning aristocracy would retain influence in the British-led Ionian government. The realization soon became clear that the economic woes of the Ionian Islands could only be solved by the collective actions of the marginalized classes, which attempted to improve their social position.[320]

Under the British occupation, the Ionian Islands became a center of maritime commerce and participated in the international trade systems. Ionians during this period established networks around the Black Sea exploiting wheat and grain trade in Western Europe and the increased demand for coal for steamships.[321] They acted as intermediaries across the

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[319] Yiannoulopoulos, "State and Society in the Ionian Islands, 1800-1830" , 56-57.
[320] Yannoulopoulos, 58.
[321] Panayiotis Kapetanakis, "The Ionian Sea in the 19th Century: Ports, The Port System and the Formation of the Ionian Commercial and Maritime Networks," PhD diss., (Ionian University, 2018).

Mediterranean connecting trade networks in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, Russia, and Western Europe.

Imposed Neutrality and the Greek War of Independence

The proximity of the Ionian Islands to Western Europe allowed them to become a bridge between mainland Greece and the Diaspora Greeks. The islands' exposure to the ideas of the Enlightenment, specifically the idea of self-determination, allowed them to become a breeding ground for recruits wishing to support Greek nationalism and revolution; this became most evident in 1821.

The *Filiki Etairia,* for example, flourished on the islands gaining many recruits.[322] The British were aware of the rise of Greek nationalism and the risk this had on maintaining the status quo in the region. It was for this reason that the British administration attempted to eradicate nationalist sentiment from the islands. The British maintained a strictly neutral foreign policy in the Mediterranean, especially with the Ottoman Empire. Again, stability in the Mediterranean was essential for British foreign policy because of their interests in the eastern trade routes. During the Greek War of Independence, this policy had a long-lasting impact on the Ionian population, who felt allegiance to their co-national on the mainland.[323]

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[322] W. D. Wrigley, "The Ionian Islands and the advent of the Greek State (1827-1833)," *Balkan Studies*, XIX (1978), 418.
[323] Wrigley, The Diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality, 112-121.

The cession of Parga is an example of how Britain's foreign policy "exposed the British to great odium, and is still remembered in Greek lands as an error of British policy,"[324] which also intensified Greek nationalism on the islands. Maitland, in 1819, agreed to appease the Sultan and ceded Parga to Ali Pasha, as the Sultan had maintained claims to all mainland dependencies formally held by Venice. But, again, Britain ceded Parga to preserve the status quo and allowed the Pargiots who wished to leave to move to the Ionian Islands with monetary compensation.[325] The scenes of Pargiots refugees fleeing their homes and their plight angered many of the islanders.

The government's policy of neutrality, once again, came at odds with the Ionians during the Greek War of Independence. Maitland threatened rebels with exile and confiscated their property to dissuade the islanders from participating in the revolution.[326] His attempts, however, did not succeed. For example, the *Filiki Etairia* on the Ionian Islands consisted of high-profile members such as the Public Prosecutor and the Secretary of the Primary Council, and in Lefkada was comprised of members of the police force and the harbormaster.[327] Moreover, Greek nationalism was a problem that British policy could not suppress because it was central to the Ionian Islanders' sense of identity.

It is estimated that 2,000 or 3,000 armed islanders crossed onto the Morea to join the revolutionary struggle. In Kythera, forty Turks were massacred after fleeing Mani; In Zakynthos, peasants clashed with British troops sent to escort a Turkish ship to safety. After

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[324] William Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and Its Successors 1801-1927*. (London: Cambridge University Press 1923), 61-62.

[325] Eleni Calligas, "The 'Rizopastai' (Radical-Unionists): Politics and Nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1815-1864," PhD diss., (University of London, 1994), 33; Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 120.

[326] Calligas, 34.

[327] Calligas, 35.

these incidents, Maitland declared martial law in Zakynthos and Kefalonia and executed five people. Furthermore, Maitland declared an emergency by the end of the year and began to disarm the population.[328]

The formation of the Greek State inevitably altered the social climate on the island. From 1833, Greek nationalism in the Ionian Islands became identified with enosis or unification, and the population's position towards the protectorate became more complex. These events also highlight that the Islands were not isolated from the mainland. Even attempts by the British administration to cut off the islands did not work. The collective actions of rebellion and revolt against the British and Ottomans show that new connections between the islands and mainland Greece were beginning to take form in the place of traditional links to the metropole.

Island Rebellions and the organization of nationalist movements (1848-49)

Before the events of 1848 are examined, it is necessary to note that the British authorities tried to ease public discontent by introducing social and economic reforms. These reforms sought to improve the government's image and improve the standard of living for the peasants. Most liberals supported these reforms, as they believed that stability could be reached through social uplifting. When Lord Nugent became the Lord High Commissioner, he resumed the

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[328] Pratt, 121-122; Calligas, 38-40.

reforms started by his predecessor, Fredrick Adams. Nugent's political reforms followed Adams'

public works, economic and educational reforms.

Ahead of the election for the Fourth Parliament, Nugent replaced the double lists of

candidates with triple ones, which included the names of some of the *liberali*.[329] However, the

reforms were not unanimously supported. For instance, Gerasimo Livada,[330] in defiance of the

restricted number of electors, led a successful protest which voided the election. This protest

demonstrated that to some citizens, the reforms were too little too late.[331] Some positive

contributions from the new Assembly under Nugent included making Greek the official language

of the judicial system, promoting education, and returning all property that was confiscated from

those who participated in the Greek War of Independence. Nugent's reforms were intended to

offer a new positive outlook on Ionian politics and not introduce constitutional change that

liberals urged. Nevertheless, by encouraging more public participation in government, the

administration motivated the progressives in government to demand constitutional change.

Lord Seaton, who became Lord High Commissioner in 1843, understood the need for

economic and social amelioration. As a former Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, he had

extensive experience in dealing with social unrest. Seaton believed that economic improvement

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[329] Maria Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities: The Ionian Islands in British Official Discourses 1815-1864," PhD diss., (University College London, 2009), 150. Many of the middle-class progressive intellectuals who later formed an influential political unit that opposed the Protectorate and advocated for Union with the Greek state.

[330] Gerasimos Livada is considered one of the founders of Ionian radicalism. He reflects the impact of liberal intellectuals in Kefalonia, many of who studied in Italy and France, returned to the island preaching democtratic and national reforms. His resistance to the British occupation made him a constant target of the Protectorate and he was arrested and imprisoned multiple times. One of his first acts resistence was in 1830 when he published articles in foreign newspapers and posted handwritten satires on walls in Argostoli against the protectorate and the Commissoner. See George G. Alisandratos, "The Political Satires of 1839 in Kefalonia and Panagioties Vergotis, [«Οι πολιτικές σάτιρες του 1830 στην Κεφαλονιά και ο Παναγιώτης Βεργωτής,»] *The Gleaner*, [*Ο ΕΠΑΝΙΣΤΗΣ*] 8, (1979): 243-259.

[331] Calligas, "The 'Rizopastai' (Radical-Unionists)," 50-51; Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 128.

was the answer to solving the islands' political problems. He saw the poor economic conditions faced by the peasants as the leading cause of their discontent. In order to improve the agricultural sector, Seaton proposed the continuation of construction projects that focused on building and maintaining roads and ports.[332] Once in office, Seaton quickly made an impact by suggesting remedial economic measures to London. He proposed that the cost of military protection be set as a percentage of local revenue and not the recent sum set by Nugent at 35,000 pounds. He requested "preferential treatment of Ionian products in British markets and a reduction of duty for Ionian olive oil and currants."[333] Lastly, Seaton advocated improvement in the "administration of the islands and the involvement of local authorities in the running of certain departments."[334] His proposals included updating the judicial administration by creating lower courts in order to improve access to peasants; reorganized the police force by limiting the powers of the High Police; reforming the prison system by sanctioning the building of new prisons; transferring the appropriation of road fund to local authorities; making local governments more independent of the central government; promoting higher education; and sanctioning presses for printing non-political books.[335] The only problems faced by Seaton regarding his reforms were that of reducing military contribution and granting lower customs to Ionian products, as these proposals needed the approval of the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office, which espoused free-trade policies, was not ready to grant the islands custom reforms but did compromise with a reduction in military contribution.[336]

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[332] Eleni, Calligas "Lord Seaton's Reforms in the Ionian Islands, 1843-1848: A Race with Time," *European History Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (1994): 19.
[333] Calligas.
[334] Calligas.

[335] Calligas "Lord Seaton's Reforms in the Ionian Islands, 1843-1848: A Race with Time," 12.
[336] Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 133.

Seaton's difficult task was in bringing about constitutional change. His constitutional proposals included granting freedom of the press and giving the power of composing, altering, or amending expenses for public works to the Assembly. In other words, Seaton aimed to liberalize the islands. In order to appease London on the issue of granting freedom of the press, Seaton framed his argument on commerce. In his attempts to improve the economy, Seaton wanted individuals to publish books and articles on commerce to introduce and spread modern agricultural techniques.[337] However, the Colonial Office was not content to grant freedom of the press or give control over expenses to the Assembly. In 1848, three years after Seaton officially sent a message to the President of the Senate regarding the press, his proposals were finally sanctioned by the Colonial Office.[338]

Eleni Calligas argues that the 1848 and 1849 rebellions were partly due to the time-consuming process of implementing these reforms. The radicals, and not the *liberali* who were now supporting Seaton, saw the reforms as a means of prolonging British control over the islands and the sluggish pace of their implementation as proof that British intentions were insincere.[339] Subsequently, the British administration had achieved too little too late. Overall, the 1848 and 1849 rebellions in Kefalonia were inevitable, considering the sluggish pace of the reforms and the growing popularity of the radicals.[340]

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[337] Calligas, 15-16.
[338] Calligas "Lord Seaton's Reforms in the Ionian Islands, 1843-1848: A Race with Time," 18.
[339] Calligas, 23.
[340] According to Miranda Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou the revolts in Kefalonia between 1848-1849 were a result popular responses to the British Administrations failure to ameliorate the social and economic conditions for the lower classes. The uprisings represented a awakening of the lower classes and the ability of the Kefalonian radicals to organize, unite, and mobilize them under a national cause. Miranda Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, *The Rebellions of Cephalonia in the year 1848-1849* [*Οι Εξεγέρσεις της Κεφαλληνίας κατά τα έτη 1848- 1849]* (Athens: Society of Cephalonia Historical Studies, 1980).

Celebration of the Cross and the Holy Cross Rebellion, 1848

The poor performance of the Ionian economy, the lack of political reforms, and the increased autocratic rule of the Lord High Commissioner led to the deterioration and loss of confidence in the Protectorate. The Ionian population's increased dissatisfaction with the islands' socio-economic situation and Britain's wavering commitment to the protectorate intensified the Greek nationalist movement on the islands. As the islands realized the traditional linkages with Western European and imperial benefits were breaking down, they created new ones, increasingly using religion and nationalism to negotiate and strengthen links to mainland Greece. The initial rebellions that occurred on the islands were not necessarily political in nature—although they had support from the radical and reformers—they were triggered by the socio-economic complaints and local particularism.[341]

Seaton's reforms were a watershed moment for the islands as they validated the Ionians' claims of mistreatment and recognized the economic difficulties. Unfortunately, Seaton's reforms were not sufficient, and by September 14, 1848, resentment and frustrations turned violent in Kefalonia. While there were early reports of possible peasant insurrection at the end of the month, these types of rumors were not new for Resident D'Everton, and so he was not aggressive in calling in the troops. Only twenty to thirty troops were positioned at the Trapani

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[341] Thomas Gallant, "Murder on Black Mountain: Love and Death on a nineteenth century Greek Island," (Lecture, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens, February 25, 2016). https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/News/newsDetails/videocast-murder-on-black-mountain-love-and-death-on-a-nineteenth-century-g.

Bridge, which led into Argostoli, and the Lieutenant Colonel was sent away. At about seven o'clock on the morning of the 'Celebration of the Cross,' around one hundred and fifty armed peasants began to converge on Trapani Bridge. The peasants were not organized well, and after a brief engagement with the British authorities and three deaths, they retreated.

Nevertheless, this did not mark the end of the insurrections. A few hours later, around forty-five peasants armed and carrying a Greek flag marched on Lixouri. The insurgents stormed the prison, liberated the prisoners, and searched for legal records. British reinforcements eventually did arrive and forced the rebels into the countryside.[342]

In the aftermath of the events of the Celebration of the Cross, both Lord Seaton and Resident D'Everton debated over what caused the insurgencies. Both arguments revolved around the social, political, and economic conditions the peasants faced in 1848. On the one hand, D'Everton had no doubt that the insurgencies were political in nature and fueled by nationalism and "agents of foreign power." On the other hand, Lord Seaton believed that middle-class radicals exploited the social and economic grievances of the rural population that were to blame. More specifically, Lord Seaton saw a correlation between the fall in the prices of currants, the usury system, and the insurrections.[343]

The overall agrarian disorder was not the final cause of the rebellions because they were not a unique event to Kefalonia in 1848. Hannell stated that although agrarian unrest was present in 1848, the excitement of the European revolutions and the political atmosphere instigated by political clubs ultimately led to rebellion.[344]

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[342] Hannell, "The Rebellion of 1848 in Cephalonia," 97.
[343] Hannell, "The Rebellion of 1848 in Cephalonia," 98.
[344] Hannell, 100; Also see Chapter 3 in Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, *The Rebellions of Cephalonia in the year 1848-1849*.

1849: Uprising in the Countryside

In May 1849, a band of peasants murdered an unpopular British forest ranger, Captain John Parker, in the same area of the Holy Cross Rebellion.[345] Captain Parker's unpopularity stemmed from his constant fining of peasants for breaking forestry laws and because he actively took part in hunting fugitives following the 1848 rebellion.   Part of Britain's modernization policies on the islands prohibited public use of woodlands. Consequently, peasants who were once able to gather firewood or let their livestock graze on public lands found themselves breaking the law under the British administration.[346] Another agrarian rebellion occurred between August 23-30, 1849, also referred to as the August Outrages. In this incident, several major landlords were murdered by peasant mobs in the area around Skala, Valsamáta, and the Black Mountain in Kefalonia.[347]   In total, nine constables, fourteen rural guardsmen, and six British soldiers were killed.[348] On the one hand, British correspondence on the event argues that the Kefalonia uprising of 1849 was, in fact, a civil conflict between tenants and landlords and debtors and creditors rather than an uprising against the government.[349] On the other hand,

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[345] This event also rose tensions between Greece and the British and was one of the reasons for the blockade
of Athens in 1850.

[346] Hannell, 100-101; Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 34-135.

[347] Thomas Gallant, "Turning the Horns: Cultural Metaphors, Material Conditions, and the Peasant Language of Resistance in Ionian Islands (Greece) During the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 36, no. 4 (1994): 710-711.

[348] Gallant, "Murder on Black Mountain."

[349] Pratt *Britiain's Greek Empire*, 116.

Gallant argues that event was a spontaneous peasant response to British privatization laws that disrupted traditional agrarian order. Citing statements from the Shepherds of Valsamáta (Gallant argues this group was one of the suspects in Parker's murder) from police reports of the murder of Captain Parker, Gallant states, "The ranger ruins us. He keeps us from the *agria* [public land] …He [Parker] burdens us with these ungodly laws."[350]

The outcome of the 1849 events led to the suppressive and brutal measures of Sir Henry George Ward. Under his command, martial law was proclaimed, and twenty-one suspects were executed, some twenty-five were imprisoned or exiled, eighty flogged, and many houses and properties belonging to rebels were demolished. Ward instantly came under attack from prominent members of Ionian society, and eventually, news of his brutal handling of the events reached the British public. British human rights relations were directly affected by Wards' actions. The British newspapers expressed outrage, and soon after that, other European newspapers got involved in condemning the violent acts of Ward.[351] Ultimately, the events undermined Britain's image as a liberal and anti-authoritarian nation.

In conclusion, the events of 1848 and 1849 and those preceding them proved that the liberal reforms following the 1817 Constitution were insufficient to satisfy the islanders. Decades of foreign domination had taken their toll on Ionian society. The legacies of these foreign powers all contributed to the social character of the Islands during the British Protectorate. For instance, Venetian feudalism, French Enlightenment, Russian Constitutionalism and Orthodox revitalization, and British liberal reforms were the foundations

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[350] Gallant, "Murder on Black Mountain."

[351] David Hannell, "A Case of Bad Publicity: Britain and the Ionian Islands, 1848-51," *European History Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1987): 131-143.

of Ionian class conflict, religious identity, and nationalism. Furthermore, discontent on the

islands was facilitated by nationalist and religious activities and by economic hardships.

Political clubs were instrumental in shaping the nationalistic and revolutionary atmosphere on

the islands during the 1840s. Middle-class liberals and radicals were successful in recruiting

frustrated peasants for their political aspirations. The 1848 and 1849 rebellions in Kefallenia

proved that economic discontent and national aspiration were interlinked. Consequently, some

postulated that abandonment of the islands was an option for Britain to obtain international

redemption for Ward's tyrannical response to the events of 1849.

Growing Discontent and Radicalization

The Holy Cross Rebellion and the August Outrage evolved from socio-economic

grievances by a marginalized population to an outright nationalist/unionist movement led by

political organizations and intellectuals. The Radical Unionists or *Rizospastes*, for instance,

began to use civil disobedience and violence to achieve a union of the Ionian Islands with Greece

at all costs. Discontentment rose with the British repressive measure to the rebellions, which

convinced many to join and support the nationalist cause and demand union.

Political discontent continued on the islands well into the 1850s and was as problematic

for the British authority as the 1840 uprisings. Earlier reforms such as those proposed by Lord

Seaton were proving to be ineffective. Lord Seaton had hoped to increase the political confidence

of the Ionian population and, in turn, restore tranquility to them. The British administration

believed that the reforms would strengthen the government's position by offering a counterpoint to the radical program of the radicals.[352] However, the reforms ended up having the opposite effect. With a more active role in politics, the call for union became louder, whether through the press or parliament.

Seaton's reforms extended the franchise of political participation on the islands. He abolished the Primary Council and Double Lists, lowered income qualifications, and introduced a secret ballot. More significantly, he introduced freedom of the press. This resulted in a new larger electorate that was able to participate in Government and the inclusion of the liberali as candidates, who previously had been actively involved in political activities but excluded from government.[353] Thus, for the first time, party politics existed on the Ionian Islands.

By the 1850s, the electorate was triple that of previous years, and the liberali split up into two parties: the radicals and the reformists. The reformists were willing to work within the political system to reach their political goals, while the radicals denied the legitimacy of British authority, and any partnership was seen as treasonous.[354] The Greek national identity and feeling were widely shared on the islands, but the split of the liberali signaled that ˆthe intellectuals were articulating the political demands of the movement differently.[355]

When reforms granted free press to the islands, the radicals and reformers became further politicized. Newspapers such as *Fileleftheros* and *Anagennisis* published political doctrine and

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[352] Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggle for Mastery in the Easter Mediterranean 1850-1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 16.
[353] Lord, *The Lost Possessions of England*, 298; Calligas, "The 'Rizopastai' (Radical-Unionists)," 162.
[354] Paximadopoulos-Stavrinou, "Some Notes on Britain's Attitudes," 520-521; Calligas, "The "Rizopastai," 258-260.
[355] Chapter IV examines in detail how intellectuals articulated the discourse of nationalism in poetry, history, and language effectively creating a national culture that both challenged the British Protectorate and supported the Greek state.

also tried to expose government corruption and oppression.[356] Publishers addressed topics such as unionism, republicanism, and British oppression. British foreign policy was also a popular topic, especially during the Crimean War. Britain faced internal and external political pressure in the 1850s and 1860s because their foreign policy advocated national rights, especially Italy's unification, while ignoring Ionian national ambitions. This was embarrassing for Britain, and it forced them to contemplate ceding the islands.[357]

By the Ninth Parliament, the radicals were able to win the majority of the seats in Kefalonia and thus finally could actively participate in parliamentary debate. The radicals were successfully able to sabotage the Parliament on December 8, 1850, by putting forth a resolution of the union. They aimed to alert European public opinion to the discontent on the islands. Unfortunately, the call for union did not affect what the radicals hoped for because the moderates did not support the motion.

In the Tenth Parliament, the radicals were split into a faction led by the anti-British, unionist Konstantinos Lomvardo, which was known as the *neofotistoi*.[358] In fact, during the Eleventh Parliament, he passed a motion protesting an alleged plan to offer the Ionians a seat in the British Parliament, effectively making them a Crown Colony.[359] Lomvardo was upset that the radicals were becoming too moderate. He believed that any cooperation with the Lord High Commissioner constituted treason. For Lomvardo, unionism was a nationalistic ideology and not

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[356] Calligas, The 'Rizopastai' (Radical-Unionists)," 100-111
[357] Paximadopulos-Stavrinos, "Some Notes on Britain's Attitudes," 521; Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 150; Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors*, 285.
[358] Calligas, 258-283, Miller, 286.
[359] Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire,* 143.

a means for political aims. Lomvardo was not content with constitutional concession. He wanted Britain to grant the Islands union with Greece.

The growing participation of the radicals in the Ionian Parliament helped spread the call for union, not only within the Islands themselves but also throughout Europe. Evidently, radical support increased, and Britain was forced to review its position in the Ionian Islands. Ultimately two views arose in the British administration that focused on solving the problems facing the Protectorate. On the one hand, Sir John Young supported a partial cession of the islands, and on the other, William E. Gladstone supported constitutional reforms and sensitivity toward Greek nationalism.

Gladstone's Extraordinary Mission: "Beware of Philhellenes bearing gifts."

British imperialism addressed dissent with either repression or concessions. British politicians, for years, traveled to far-off places to improve British political authority over colonies with large radical factions.

In the nineteenth century, reformers led by William Lyon Mackenzie from Upper and Louise-Joseph Papineau from Lower Canada became increasingly frustrated with the British aristocratic oligarchy. The reformers for years had attempted to establish responsible government and independence in the two Canadas. In 1837, the frustration of the reformers had reached its peak, and rebellions erupted throughout Upper and Lower Canada. The rebellions were short-lived as the better-equipped and trained British forces quickly put them down. John

Colborne, the future Lord Seaton and Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, was Governor-General of British North America and in charge of the armies that defeated the rebels. The British government's retaliation was relentless as rebels, and rebel sympathizers were captured, jailed, exiled, and even executed.

After Queen Victoria's coronation, Lord Durham was sent to the Canadas by the Crown to report on the causes and investigate the grievances of the rebellions. In 1839, Lord Durham completed and presented his *Report on the Affairs of British North America* to the Colonial Office. Lord Durham proposed many reforms, some of which included creating provincial governments and a supreme court, the union of the British North American colonies, and the establishment of responsible government.

Interestingly, the rebellions of 1837 and the Durham report of 1839 reflected future events in the Ionian Islands. Lord Seaton, for instance, having experienced the Canadian rebellions of 1837, introduced significant reforms in 1854 as Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands in an attempt to counteract the unionist program of the radicals. Furthermore, in 1858 William E. Gladstone, 20 years after Lord Durham's mission to British North America, accepted the appointment of High Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands "for the purpose of inquiry into the political embarrassments attending the working of their constitution."[360]

In contrast to Lord Durham's British North American mission, Gladstone's mission to the Ionian Islands was complicated because they were not a colony but an independent state with

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[360] Paul Knaplund, "Gladstone-Gordon Correspondence, 1851-1896: Selections from the Private Correspondence of a British Prime Minister and a Colonial Governor," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 51, no. 4 (1961): 30.

their constitution. Moreover, the political atmosphere on the islands during his visit was filled with Greek nationalism that stemmed from the events of 1849 and the strong public desire for union with Greece. In short, Gladstone's commission was to make recommendations and alterations to the Ionian Constitution of 1817.[361]

In 1858, William E. Gladstone accepted the appointment of High Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands "to follow the example of Lord Durham in his celebrated mission to Canada, and to make a Report in the same manner."[362] Unfortunately, Gladstone's mission would not be celebrated as his predecessor's. On Friday 19, 1858, while traveling through Austria to the Ionian Islands, Gladstone was notified that a stolen dispatch from Sir John Young was published in London.   The dispatch was dated June 10, 1857, and told ministers in London that "England is in a false position here, and the islands are too widely separated geographically, and their interest is too distinct, ever to form a homogenous whole, under foreign auspices. The sooner, therefore, she extricates herself from the position the better for her own reputation and for the cause of representative institutions generally."[363]

The dispatch continued and stated, "that in Corfu (Kerkyra) alone, of all the islands, there exists no desire to be separate from England,"[364] accordingly, Sir John Young proposed that Kerkyra and Paxo become a British colony. Sir John Young's feelings towards the Protectorate were well known in Parliament. John Maguire, for instance, during a debate in the House of Commons on the Ionian question, quoted Sir John Young as saying, "In Heaven's name, let us get rid of the Ionian Islands; they are of no advantage to us, either in a commercial or strategical

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[361] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes,* 20.
[362] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (May 7, 1861) col. 1666
[363] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (May 7, 1861) col. 1664
[364] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (May 7, 1861) col. 1664

point of view."[365] Thus, annexation became a desirable option for some members of the British Government in the 1850s.

Palmerston, for instance, had little concern for the islands, which he felt were of no strategic advantage. Palmerstonian diploma was less concerned with overseas possessions and was more occupied with threats to British imperial interests. Nonetheless, any official position of the Cabinet was regarded as unjust, impractical, and an overall threat to British power and political influence.[366]

The British and the allied victory in the Crimean war secured Britain's military and political influence in Europe and, specifically, regarding the Eastern Question. Consequently, Britain was very cautious about undermining her authority in the East and about maintaining peace in Europe. On the one hand, any show of weakness in the dealings with colonial possession could hinder British authority in the region. On the other hand, any actions taken by the Britain administration concerning the Ionian Question directly impacted the Eastern Question. In order to prevent political fallout, Bulwer Lytton, as Colonial Secretary, announced that a Special Commissioner would be sent to the Ionian Islands "to report on the best mode of healing those internal state maladies of which these disputes are but the outward symptoms."[367] Unfortunately for Gladstone, his mission became more complicated because of Young's leaked letter.

Gladstone's mission had three main objectives. First, he had the task of making recommendations for the alterations to the Ionian constitution. Second, due to the leaked

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[365] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (May 7, 1861) col. 1663
[366] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes,* 17.
[367] Cited in Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 19.

dispatch, he had to reiterate and assure the Great Powers, especially Austria, of Britain's

intentions on the islands' future. Lastly, he had to address the issue of Greek nationalism and the

promise of unification, which was intensified by the arrival of Gladstone on account of his well-

known philhellenic sentiments. Many Ionians were infuriated at the proposal of Kerkyra being

annexed to Britain. These sentiments were best described in a petition from the District

Municipal Councilors of Kerkyra on December 13, 1858. The petition protested against the

proposal of colonization and expressed their desire to be united to Greece.[368] Hence, Gladstone

was forced to begin his diplomatic mission before he even arrived in the islands.

During a stopover in Vienna, Gladstone had to assure the Austro-Hungarian Foreign

Minister Karl Ferdinand von Buol that, "the contract for the Ionian responsibility accepted by

Britain in 1815-1816 was immutable, and part of the Public Law of Europe."[369] The Ionian

question was crucial to Austria because she was a signatory to the Treaty of Paris and because

she wanted to make sure that the islands would not be handed over to any other power which

could threaten Austria's position in the Adriatic.

Gladstone arrived in Kerkyra on November 24, 1858, under the salute of seventeen guns

from the batteries and the HMS *Terrible*.[370]   He then addressed the Senate and denounced

Young's dispatch, stating that it did not reflect official British policy.[371] On December 10, 1858,

the mission encountered another obstacle. Upon his arrival at Argostoli, The center of the most

radical and violent movements on the islands, Gladstone was "received with a demonstration for

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368 House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, 1858, (13 December 1858), 10: 27.

369 Gladstone to Lytton, 20 Nov. 1858, CO 136/162 cited in Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 23.

370 House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (25 November 1858), 1: 47.

371 M. R. D. Foot, *The Gladstone Diaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 5: 342.

Union in the streets."[372]   Gladstone stated that the publication of the Young dispatches stirred these "unusual" activities. [373] Dismissing any political or national elements in the protests, Gladstone claimed that the demonstration was staged by a few demagogues and not supported by the majority. In a letter to Lytton, Gladstone wrote that the protest had about 800 to 1000 participants, and "of these at least half were boys, and the remainder appeared to be more or less under drill, and excited by some better-dressed persons who moved among them. The inhabitants generally appeared at their doors and windows, but took no part in the demonstration, while they made the usual salutation."[374]

Following his mission, Gladstone had to suppress the national excitement on the islands. Having already assured the Austrians that Britain intended to abide by the Treaty of Paris, Gladstone publicly distanced his arrival with union. In a Speech delivered at the levee on Zakynthos, Gladstone stated,

> Notwithstanding the solemn and firm declaration made before the Senate, it seems that many persons still believe that in such times as these, in the present state of Europe and the Eastern Question, the idea of the union of these seven islands, not with the whole Greek race, but with the actual Kingdom of Greece, is practicable, and that such an idea may be speedily realized by coupling it with my name as a supposed Philhellene. They are deceived in this idea.[375]

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[372] Foot, *The Gladstone Diaries*, 5:346.
[373] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (11 December 1858), 3: 49-50.
[374] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (13 December 1858), 4: 50.
[375] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (27 December 1858), 6: 53.

Gladstone concluded that the desire for union and social unrest was due to how the islands were governed. He believed that with reforms to the government, the desire for union would fade. Gladstone reported that the 1817 Constitution gave the Lord High Commissioner almost absolute power and created a class of Ionians with privileged electoral and representative rights.[376] Hence, in a letter to Lytton in 1858, Gladstone stated that political limitation would exist as long as "England retained a veto upon the passing of all laws in the Ionian State."[377]

On February 5, 1859, Gladstone, now holding the position of Lord High Commissioner, proposed a series of reforms to the Legislative Assembly that would introduce responsible government and improve the existing Ionian institutions. However, before these reforms could be presented to the Assembly, Gladstone had to be assured that his proposals would not be rejected.[378] Gladstone wanted to respect the moral appeal of nationalism for the Ionian people, but at the same time show that it was not in their best interests and, more importantly, impossible for Britain to allow for union to occur. Although Gladstone supported national principles, he always "put more store on order and stability than on national liberty."[379] Accordingly, the threat of instability in the region drove him to take a strong position against the union.

Gladstone insisted that it was an error in policy to ignore the moral appeal of Hellenism and the desire for union with Greece. But at the same time, he strongly disagreed with union and did not see it as a real option.[380] He saw Greece as a "small and poor kingdom" with a "destitute

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[376] S. E. Tsitsonis, "An Unpublished Report (1858) by W. E. Gladstone on the Political Situation and Administrative System in the Seven Islands (1815-1858)," *Balkan Studies* 21, no. 2 (1980): 293-295.

[377] Foot, *The Gladstone Diaries,* 5:354; Tsitsonis, 305-327.

[378] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 38.

[379] Cited in Keith Sandiford, "W. E. Gladstone and Liberal-National Movements," *Albion* 13, no. 1 (1991): 22.

[380] Tsitsonis, "An Unpublished Report," 300-301.

navy," and he noted that "in Greece direct taxes prevail," whereas, in the islands, they are "absolutely unknown."[381] Gladstone did not foresee union as a viable option because the two states were so drastically different. Moreover, he did not like the idea of undermining the Ottoman Empire by strengthening Greece's position in the Mediterranean. He feared that rebellions against the Ottoman Empire, within Greece, and throughout southern Europe would follow if union were to occur.[382] Essentially, Gladstone wanted to demonstrate that although the desire for union was acceptable on moral grounds, politically, it would be disastrous for the Ionian Islands, Greece, and Europe.

In order to clarify Britain's position on the Ionian Question, Gladstone wanted to express support for Greek nationalism but, at the same time, deny union with Greece. He suggested that the Assembly compose and present a petition for union to the British sovereign. A petition was the only legal method of expressing the Ionian peoples' desire for union and avoiding oppressing the Ionians' national expression. Gladstone hoped that if the petition received a rejection from the Crown, the unionist movement would lose momentum, and a new set of reforms could be implemented.[383]

On January 30, 1859, the Assembly completed a petition in which they proclaimed that "the single and unanimous disposition (θέλησις) of the Ionian people has been, and is, for the union of the whole of the Seven Islands with the Kingdom of Greece."[384] By February 5, the Crown had a reply to the petition. Gladstone, on this day, conveniently presented both the

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[381] Foot, *The Gladstone Diaries*, 5: 357
[382] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 35.
[383] Holland and Markides.
[384] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (1 February 1858), 6: 63-65.

Queen's reply and his own reforms. In a published response, the Crown stated that "in reference to the interests of the islands themselves, of the states in their neighbourhood, and of the general peace…(she) can neither consent to abandon the obligations she has undertaken, nor can convey, nor permit, any application to any other Power in furtherance of any similar design."[385]

With the position of the British government now firmly established and explained, Gladstone went through with his reforms. His diplomatic plans were now falling into place, and with the rejection of union on the grounds of "European law and order," he hoped that more progressive members of the Assembly would be willing to support his liberal reforms. Gladstone's reforms had three main objectives: to establish a responsible government, reduce the power of the Lord High Commissioner vis-à-vis the High Police, and improve taxation.[386] In his February 5 speech to the Assembly, Gladstone made it clear that the principles of full constitutional freedom included:

> That personal liberty be subject to restraint only by law; that exceptional powers of legislation, from which the representatives of the people are excluded, be abolished; that neither tax be raised, nor public money be spent, on any pretext whatever, except in their authority; that they be provided with ready means of bringing to trail all persons holding public employment whom they may conceive it their duty to accuse of grave malversation; and that besides, this penal responsibility, the ministers shall hold office, not for a fixed term but during pleasure, in order that they may be in harmony with the legislative body as well as with the nominating authority.

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[385] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (8 February 1859), 7: 65-66.

[386] For more on the taxation system that favored British merchants see Gerassimos Chytiris, *Kerkyra in the mid-19th century* [*Η Κέρκυρα στα μέσα του 19ου αιώνα*] (Kerkyra: The Society of Kerkyrian Studies, 1988), 17-22.

He went on to state that the chief guarantees of the government would include:

> That the Senate, divested wholly of its executive and initiative offices, shall have all the weight and independence so necessary for its legislative functions; that the popular chamber shall neither raise nor spend public money except upon the demand of the responsible executive; that the disposal of salaried offices by popular election be renounced; and that, if necessity require a partial exception as to the members of both chambers, they shall at least when the civil list is re-arranged, receive no more than a carefully estimated compensation for the expenses which their post entails upon them, so that the offices may be sought for its duties only, and in no degree for its profits.[387]

The first set of reforms presented by Gladstone aimed directly at reducing corruption and elitism within the Ionian government by appropriating the power of the purse to the Assembly and by limiting compensation to members of chambers.

Next, Gladstone focused on reducing the power of the Lord High Commissioner. This was to be achieved by "declaring that the power of relegation, under the article of high police, shall be abolished." He also proposed that the Lord High Commissioner be accountable to the chambers. Hence, he stated that the chamber should be able to present any complaint against the

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[387] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (8 February 1859), 7: 67-70.

Lord High Commissioner to the highest authority in England.[388] With these sets of reforms, Gladstone hoped to increase the Assembly's confidence and lessen the influence of the radicals.

Lastly, Gladstone turned his attention to make an economic appeal by focusing on the mismanaged tax system. He was concerned with the "artificial price" the peasants were paying for bread, the heavy duties on exports, and the inequality between town and country and between producers and consumers. Additionally, he was troubled with the Ionian government's expenditure. He felt that the number of public functionaries was disproportionate to the population.[389]

Gladstone's reforms were, however, dismissed by both the Assembly and the radical unionists, the two groups Gladstone had hoped to persuade. The Rizospastes, for instance, published a response in *Rhigas* [*Ρήγας*], a radical unionist paper in Zakynthos. The article claimed the reforms to be "deadly gifts of the protection," which were designed to "force the Septinsular people into an acknowledgment of treaties imposed on it, and so to become the victim and prey of the will of the stronger."[390] Moreover, the Assembly voted and rejected the reforms, 27 of the 36 members voted against their adoption, while the remaining members abstained from the vote. Count Flamburini, the President of the Assembly, stated that "the Assembly could not but pronounce the reforms inadmissible." He continued and reiterated the Assembly's wish for union and asked the British government to accelerate the realization of the desire of the Ionian people, which "has been so spontaneously expressed" and has been

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[388] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (5 February 1859), 7: 68.

[389] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (5 February 1859), 7: 69.

[390] House of Commons, "Papers relative to the Mission of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (5 February 1859), 8: 71.

"proclaimed in full constitutional, Parliamentary and official form."[391] This was the worst-case

scenario for Gladstone. The Assembly had called his bluff, and instead of accepting his reforms

became agitated by the rejection of their petition.

Gladstone's proposals failed both to solve the union question and to enact constitutional

reforms. However, according to some members of the House of Lords, his mission did have

some positive outcomes. Earl Grey, for instance, was pleased with the mission and proclaimed

that "it has shown to the Ionian Islands, to Europe, and to the world at large, that she [Britain] is

not the oppressor, but the protectress of those islands, and that she is perfectly prepared to give

them an ample measure of free institutions."[392] Gladstone's mission demonstrated that the

British administration was willing to make political concessions to pacify the islands' radical

elements. Lord Seaton's reforms, Sir Henry Ward's repressive measures, and Gladstone's

sympathy towards Greek nationalism and his liberal recommendations illustrated that the British

administration had many options available to it in its endeavors to resist the islanders' will for

unification with the Greek kingdom.

Maguire address to the House of Commons on May 7, 1861, best summarized

Gladstone's extraordinary mission,

> The right hon. Gentleman, one of the most eloquent and persuasive of living men,
> could not satisfy the Ionians. If he could not do it, who could? But he failed,
> although he approached them with his hands loaded with gifts. The Ionians

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[391] "The Ionian Islands," *The Times* (London), March 8 1859.
[392] 153 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (11 March 1859), col. 3.

received him as the Trojans did the insidious offer of the wooden horse by the Greeks— *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes*[393]

Prorogation and the Empire's Last Stand

Britain underestimated the extent of the nationalist movement on the islands. Seaton and Gladstone, for instance, firmly believed that unionism could be defeated through constitutional and economic reforms. The general belief was that the unionist movement was limited to a few small groups. More importantly, the majority of British politicians felt that unionism was very unpopular within the middle and upper classes. They believed that the unionist movement was a means to political goals and not a nationalist ideology.

Consequently, by opening the legislature and press to the moderates, the radical unionists could take advantage of the same benefits. The radical schism during the Tenth Parliament was evidence that unionism and the nationalist movement were widespread. Since the 1850s, the radicals were successful in disrupting the social structure on the islands in order to sabotage the political system.[394] Gladstone had demonstrated to the radicals how to use two political tools to combat the British administration: a petition and the recognition of their right to Greek national identity.

[393] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (7 May 1861) col. 1673.
[394] Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*, 13.

When Sir Henry Storks was appointed as Lord High Commissioner in February 1859, he was faced with a rejuvenated radical political movement. Like many of his predecessors, Storks was not received well by the Ionian Assembly. To his disappointment, the Assembly quickly adopted an aggressive, adversarial stance towards him. Storks opened the Parliament on March 1, 1859, with an address to the Assembly, and soon afterward, he prorogated it for six months. When a new session was convened in March of 1861, the Assembly drew up an answer to the Lord High Commissioner's address in the form of a Bill. The Bill offered some very harsh criticisms. It stated that the "evils that exist on the islands" were traced to the British Protectorate, that freedom of speech and press was not respected, and lastly, that the social and material interests of the Islanders were neglected. In addition, two of the Protectorate's main rivals and critics, Signor Paconis (Baccomis) and Signor Lomvardos, gave notice of their intentions to introduce two documents to the Assembly.   The first called on the House to invite all of the "inhabitants of the Ionian Islands to vote by universal suffrage for the annexation of the islands to Greece."[395] The second appealed to the "Governments and Christian philanthropists of Europe to unite in one great empire, and to drive the Turks out of Europe."[396] Storks, on the advice of the Duke of Newcastle, and after a request to remove the motions, prorogated the Assembly again for six months from March 12 to September 12.[397] The prorogation instantly sparked a debate in the British Parliament.

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[395] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (21 March 1861) col. 135.
[396] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (21 March 1861) col. 135.
[397] House of Commons, "Copy of Papers and Correspondence, in Reference to, or in Connection with, the Prorogation of the Legislative Assembly of the Ionian Islands, on the 12th day of March 1861", *House of Commons Parliament Papers*, (23 April 1861), 2-4: 4-11.

There were two positions held in Westminster. First, the Duke of Newcastle supported the prorogation and felt that Storks was justified under the Constitution in stopping the "mischievous proceedings" of a few demagogues.[398] Second, other members of the British House of Commons, such as Maguire, questioned the motives of the prorogation. Maguire felt that the Ionian people had every right to demand union and argued that the desire was not confined to a few "demagogues" and "agitators" but "common in all ranks." In closing, Maguire asked the Commons not to "stifle the free voice of a people with whom you profess to have sympathy, and whom you are bound by treaty to cherish and protect."[399]

Storks' political strategy aimed at economic improvements in order to win over the Ionian elite and moderates. Stork felt that support for nationalism was influenced by economic corruption within the middle classes and that unionism was used as a "blackmailing tactic to obtain official bribes."[400] Storks went after unreliable politicians by cutting their perks and by exposing corruption through investigations. Unfortunately, by 1862 the situation on the islands did not become any better for the British administration, and by the Twelfth Parliament, it began to look like Storks was losing control of the Assembly.

In the February elections, the majority of the Ionians voted for the *Rizospastes*, and this led Stork to confess that the radicals "were in possession of the field."[401] In the March Parliamentary session, Ilia Zervo was elected president and Iosif Monferrato vice-president of the Assembly, and both were "advanced annexationists."[402] The main goal of this Assembly was

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[398] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (21 March 1861) cols. 134-138.
[399] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (7 May 1861) cols. 1673-1676.
[400] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes,* 51-52.
[401] Cited Holland and Markides, 53.
[402] "The Ionian Islands," *The Times* (London), March 24, 1862.

the same as the previous ones, achieving the union of the Ionian Islands with the Kingdom of Greece. By the end of the session, the Assembly drew up another petition calling for union. However, in October of that year, the Assembly became preoccupied with events that were occurring in the Kingdom of Greece

The Planting of the 'cede'

From 1858 to 1862, the debate over cession became more prominent in the Ionian and British newspapers and Parliament. Two specific events shaped the debate over cession in Britain and on the islands. The first was that the islands diminished strategic importance on account of Italian unification and the growing importance of Malta and Gibraltar. The second was the October revolution in Greece and the abdication of King Otto.

The Italian Kingdom, which Britain supported, was established in 1861. The formation of the new kingdom was beneficial to British interests as it formed a political barrier against Austrian and French territorial aspirations in the Mediterranean. In a memorandum to Lord J. Russell, dated March 26, 1861, Gladstone stated that a united Italy would be a "stable element in the European system," that "Italian power will both help keep France in order and will be more conservative of the general peace," and commenting on the aspirations of King Emmanuel I, wrote that the new King of Italy did not show any "hostility against England."[403] One of the

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[403] Cited in Foot, *The Gladstone Diaries,* 19.

main reasons Britain accepted the Protectorate in 1815 was to deter French aspirations in the Adriatic. With the addition of a new power in the region, there was a diminished threat, so the Protectorate became less relevant. In addition, Malta, Gibraltar, and Cyprus became far more relevant for securing Britain's trade linkages with India and the East than did the Ionian Islands.[404] Malta, specifically, was in a far better commercial, financial, and geographic position to serve Britain's interests.

The Times in 1863 printed an article, which focused on the argument of cession and the detrimental effect it might have on the communications with India and the maintenance of the British military and commerce fleets in the Mediterranean.[405] As previously stated, Britain's role in the Mediterranean was to secure her trade linkages to the East. Consequently, Britain's Mediterranean possessions acted as both military and commercial outposts for her navy. In 1857, for example, the Mediterranean possessions, specifically Malta, played a crucial role in organizing the military to combat the Indian Mutiny. The Mutiny and the Crimean War (1854) marked a watershed for the British Administration concerning their position in the Mediterranean. The military and financial resources used for both events were immense, and as a result, Britain began to question the efficiency of her Mediterranean possessions.

By the 1860s, Malta's commercial and financial superiority had become apparent. For example, on December 31, 1860, the Ionian Islands had amassed a debt of £227,000 and an exports market valued at £776,000. In contrast, Malta had amassed a debt of £78,000 and an

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[404] Paximadopulos-Stavrinos, "Some Notes on Britain's Attitude," 516-517; Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, 151.

[405] "Editorial." *The* Times (London), February 7, 1863.

export market valued at £2,301,000.[406] Additionally, Malta's geographic position became crucial

for Britain's military. This became clear during the Indian Mutiny and the Crimean War, where

Malta played a significant role in stationing Britain's fleet and soldiers. In fact, by 1860, the

British military and civil forces in Malta totaled 6,785, whereas, in the Ionian Islands, they

numbered 4,353.[407]

The advent of the steam engine and the construction of the Suez Canal solidified Malta's

dominance in the Mediterranean.[408] Malta was a more convenient location for British ships as it

was closer to Gibraltar and almost as close to Alexandria and Port Said as the Ionian Islands.

Furthermore, Malta was the site of the largest coaling station in the region, and it had

"impregnable batteries."[409] By comparison, the Ionian Islands were much further away from

Gibraltar, and from a defensive perspective, the fact that there were seven islands to protect made

them more vulnerable. A correspondent for *The Times* wrote that "Corfu [Kerkyra] itself is, we

believe, quite indefensible, without immense sums spent on fortifications, and, when these are

constructed, an army of 12,000 or 15,000 men would be required to man them."[410]

The strategic importance of the Ionian Islands was discussed during a debate in the House

of Commons in 1863. Fredrich Smith, Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe, and the Earl of Derby

strongly opposed the argument that the Ionian Islands' strategic worth had diminished. Frederick

Smith advocated the significance of a military post in the Adriatic and had hoped that cession

would be well considered "as the Ionian Islands were of great importance upon naval and

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[406] Fredrick Purdy, "The Expenditure of the United Kingdom for Colonial Purposes," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 26, no. 4 (1863): 376.
[407] Purdy, 382.
[408] Dietz, *The British in the Mediterranean*, 82.
[409] "Editorial," *The Times* (London). February 7, 1863.
[410] "Editorial," *The Times* (London). February 7, 1863

military grounds."[411] The Earl of Derby supported Smith and reinforced the belief in the importance of having a port in the Adriatic. He claimed that steam made Kerkyra an asset for Britain's military. The use of steam meant that the navy needed a constant supply of coal, and consequently, Kerkyra could fulfill this need in the Adriatic.[412] On the other side, Earl Russell, Taunton, and Smollett argued for cession because the islands offered only a slight military advantage for Britain. Earl Russell, for example, stated that the islands would be a liability and a strain on Britain's resources during a time of war. He postulated that it would be more advantageous if Britain possessed only one great station in the Mediterranean and that it should be Malta.[413] Smollett also supported the idea of withdrawal from the Ionian Islands because the Protectorate "had always been a source of expense" to Britain. He argued that large sums of British money were wasted there on fortifications and politicians.[414] Nevertheless, cession remained unrealistic as long as King Otto occupied the Greek throne.

The origins of the cession debate can be traced back to May 1848 when Lord Russell proposed transferring the protectorate to Austria in response to the social unrest on the islands. His proposal was based on strengthening Austria's position in the Adriatic as a means of "keeping the Russian and French out of a strong position."[415] In the 1850s, it was Sir John Young who called for the partial cession of the islands. The early 1860s represented the height of the cession debate. Nonetheless, Palmerston was not about to abandon the Protectorate to the Kingdom of Greece since it was inclined to support Austrian and Russian interests rather than

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[411] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (23 February 1863) col. 664.
[412] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (23 February 1863) col. 1721.
[413] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (23 February 1863) col. 1740.
[414] 174 Par. Deb. (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) cols. 352-353.
[415] Harold Temperley, "Documents Illustrating the Cession of the Ionian Islands to Greece, 1848-70," *The Journal of Modern History* 9, no. 1 (1937): 49.

British ones in the Mediterranean. Palmerston had also developed a deep hatred for King Otto, and he would oppose any action that would benefit him. However, in October 1862, this situation changed.

The revolts in Greece during the 1860s created a crisis that threatened to disrupt the general peace in Europe and strengthen the radical movement in the Ionian Islands. More importantly, there was a chance that Britain would lose its influence in the region to Russia or France. Frustrated with King Otto's failure to fulfill the *Megali Idea*, Greeks students and prominent members of the military revolted against the Bavarian monarchy. At that time, there was a real possibility that Otto would abdicate the throne. Although Britain disliked Otto, his abdication threatened to destabilize the region. There was a possibility of a successional crisis in which Great Power rivalries would face off with an abdication. In a letter to Russell, Sir Henry Elliot analyzed the tense situation by stating that, "[France] might not be more loved or respected than Great Britain, but she is looked with more hope by ambitious Greeks who, though knowing she is bound by the same obligations to Turkey, feel doubt as to whether she is equally desirous (as Britain) of maintaining the integrity of that Empire."[416]

Furthermore, Greeks were very religious, and the potential of a Russian Orthodox successor was likely. Although Greece looked at France as the protector of national liberties and Russia of Orthodoxy, it was Britain who had what Greeks desired, the Ionian Islands, and thus the realization of the *Megali Idea*.

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[416] Elliot to Russell cited in Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 57.

Parliament in cession

Britain was skeptical of King Otto and his relationship with France and Russia. Therefore, it was not surprising that Britain took the initiative to lure popular Greek support to its side once opposition to Otto increased. Britain tried to entice Greece by offering economic concessions, sending a special envoy to Greece, and, most importantly, appealing to Greek irredentism. First, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone gave concessions to Greek agricultural products in his 1860 budget. Second, Sir Henry Elliot was sent on a special mission to push Otto to enact constitutional reforms and explore territorial expansion. These were all measures aimed at generating popular discontent with Otto. Lastly, Britain floated the idea of giving Greece the Ionian Islands: but only if Otto were to be removed.[417] In 1862 a *coup d'etat* forced King Otto to abdicate, a provisional government was installed, and a constitution was drafted. Next, Greece needed to appoint a new monarch. Britain's earlier attempts at gaining popular Greek support by dangling the Ionian Islands were successful. In a referendum, the majority of the Greek electorate voted overwhelmingly for a member of the British Royal Family, Prince Alfred, to replace Otto as king of Greece. The Greeks (including the Ionians) quickly associated Prince Alfred with territorial expansion. Despite widespread Anglophile sentiments, Britain proposed to the Great Powers that the candidates for the Greek throne should not be from any of the ruling families of their countries.[418] Accordingly, the Great Powers accepted.

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[417] Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes,* 53-55.
[418] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (5 February 1863) col. 113.

By denying the Greeks Prince Alfred, Britain had put itself into a political dilemma.

They had successfully deceived the Greeks into believing that Greek aspirations could only be

met through Britain, specifically by supporting Prince Alfred. Britain was anxious about how the

Greeks would respond to the realization that the candidacy of Prince Alfred was rejected. They

feared that the Greeks might feel alienated and turn against them by electing a King that was not

amenable to British interests.[419] Subsequently, Britain gave Elliot the mission to offer the Ionian

Islands on the condition that Britain had certain security guarantees. *The London Gazette*

published a memorandum from Elliot which stated that,

> If Greece chose a sovereign 'against whom no well-founded objection could be
> raised', the British Government would announce to the Ionian Parliament its wish
> to see those states united with Greece…if the new Greek authorities adopted a
> sovereign 'who shall be precursor of revolutionary disaffection, or of the adoption
> of an aggressive policy towards Turkey' then the Ionian Islands would remain
> indefinitely under British occupation.[420]

Britain was cautious this time around and made her position clear. Palmerston, in an

address to Parliament, stated, "If they [Greeks] chose a Sovereign in whom the British

Government could place confidence that he would govern the country internally upon liberal

principles and that externally he would abstain from aggression on his neighbors, then we would

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[419] Holland and Markides, 60-62.
[420] Cited in Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 62; part of Elliot's speech is also
referenced in 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1724.

take the steps which were necessary for the purpose of ceding the islands to Greece."[421]

Whatever steps Britain may have taken to deter the nomination of Prince Alfred did not work. The pro-Alfred fervor was beyond the public scope, and Greek politicians began to enter the debate. The best example is expressed through the diplomatic mission of Harilaos Trikoupis. Trikoupis as Greece's representative in London proclaimed his support for the nomination of Alfred and stated in a meeting with Palmerston that Greece's intentions were "to be well with England and to increase the territory, and that they thought both objects might be attained by electing Prince Alfred who…would bring with him the Ionian Islands."[422]

By ceding the islands under the aforementioned conditions, Britain argued that Greek irredentism would cease, and peace in the region could be attained. On February 3, 1863, a plebiscite was held in which Alfred was overwhelmingly elected to be the next sovereign of Greece. However, the outcome of the plebiscite was not surprisingly rejected by Britain and the Great Powers. Britain needed to increase its diplomatic efforts in Greece and the Ionian Islands to protect its interest in the Mediterranean. The Ionian Islands, hence, became a crucial bargaining tool for Britain.

Once Parliament was notified of Elliot's proposal, many were opposed to it. The opposition made its case based on three factors. Firstly, they considered cession dishonorable and detrimental to Britain's character since the Protectorate was a British obligation under Europe. Secondly, they refuted the claims that the Ionian population had legitimate claims to Greek nationality. Thirdly, they contended cession would disrupt stability in Europe.

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[421] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (10 February 1863) col. 230.
[422] Palmerston to Russell, citied in Holland and Markides, *The British and the Hellenes*, 60.

Interestingly, Layard, a strong opponent to the cession, postulated that the islands could be ceded in the future, but in the meantime, he gave two suggestions to solve the Ionian problem. First, he stated that "the pay of those gentlemen who put themselves forward so prominently in the cause of agitation should be stopped so long as they were not legislating in the House of Assembly" and second that "Santa Maura [Leukada] should be handed over to Greece for five years, and at the end of that time, she wished to continue in the same position, why, in God's name, let her remain annexed."[423] Layard's motives for these suggestions were based on the "poor" conditions of Greece. In addition, Layard and his supporters questioned Greece's security and, more importantly, Greece's territorial ambitions in the Ottoman Empire. Most members in the Parliamentary debate on May 7, 1861, concurred that the islanders' Hellenic aspirations were legitimate,[424] however, they also agreed that ceding the Ionian Islands to Greece, under King Otto, would be detrimental to the security and economy of Britain, the Ionian Islands, and Europe.

The nomination of Prince William of Denmark for the throne of Greece changed everything for Britain and was seen to appease all the parties. Although he only received six votes in the February plebiscite, his neutral position became attractive to Britain. As such, Britain took the initiative to promote and help his candidacy by offering the Ionian Islands as political currency. In doing so, Britain hoped to recreate and substitute the public support of Prince Alfred for Prince William. King Christian (King of Denmark and father of Prince William) insisted that the Greek throne would only be accepted on the condition that the union of

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[423] 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (7 May 1861) col. 1700.
[424] Mr. Layard adamantly opposed the Ionian claim to Greece in Parliamentary debate. 162 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (7 May 1861) col. 1700.

the Ionian Islands to Greece was granted. In 1863, Britain's conditions for cession were met

with the acceptance of Prince William of Glücksberg to the throne of Greece as George I, King

of the Hellenes. Britain quickly moved to strengthen the new Greek monarchy by offering the

Ionian Islands and getting the Ionian Parliament's approval.

On June 10, 1863, Earl Russell sent a dispatch to the Foreign Office asking the British

Government stating,

> [T]hat a King of Greece has been recognized by the protecting powers, to consult
> in the most formal and authentic manner the wishes of the inhabitants of the
> Ionian Islands as to their future destiny. If those wishes, deliberately expressed,
> should be in favour of a union with Greece" that the government should assemble
> a conference consisting of representatives of the signatory Powers of the 1815
> Treaty and those who signed the 1827 and 1832 treaties of the Kingdom of
> Greece.[425]

The Ionians, not surprisingly, unilaterally voted for union during the Thirteenth

Parliament session. Everything was slowly falling into place for Britain. Next, the Foreign

Office had to convince the Great Powers that cession was in the best interest of European peace

and stability.

Before the Great Powers could be brought into the debate, Palmerston's Ionian policy had

to pass in the British Parliament. Everyone in Parliament, after all, did not support the cession.

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[425] House of Commons, "Despatches Respecting the Union with the Ionian Islands with Greece" (*House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (10 June 1863), 3: 1-3.

Opposition to it was not new. Once it became official that King George I would take the throne and that the Ionian Islands would be handed over to Greece, the Tories ensured their voices would be heard. Their arguments were based on three factors. First, they questioned the legality of alienating a British territory without a Parliamentary vote. Second, they questioned whether or not it was the "true" will of the Ionians to become part of Greece. Finally, they contended that cession would destabilize the region by upsetting Austria and the Ottoman Empire. On February 10, 1863, Darby Griffith questioned whether it was capable and constitutional for the Crown to alienate a possession without the consent of Parliament.[426] In addition, Mr. Peacocke insisted that cession would disrupt the tranquility in Europe. He also questioned the Greek nationality of the Ionians. He postulated that the nationality of the Ionian Islands was, in fact, Italian and asked the government what precautions they had taken to ensure that the island would not be ceded to another kingdom in the future. Mr. Peacocke was concerned that "within a very few years after their annexation to Greece, the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands might discover that they had made a remarkable bad investment, and a cry might then arise for annexation to some other country."[427] He feared that such an agitation would "create the worst feeling between Austria and Italy and would threaten to disrupt the peace of Europe."[428] The opposition also contended that cession would weaken British maritime dominance. The Earl of Derby, on June 30, 1863, maintained that the islands were of naval and military importance and that their abandonment would hurt Britain's position in the Mediterranean.

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[426] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (10 February 1863) col. 228.
[427] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (10 February 1863) cols. 228-229.
[428] 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (10 February 1863) cols. 228-229.

Moreover, Derby was concerned with the restless island population and that their aggression would threaten their neighbors once united with Greece.[429] Derby also denounced the exclusion of Austria and the Ottoman Empire from the proceedings. He proclaimed that such a move would indefinitely harm the peace in Europe.[430] Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe repeated these arguments and asserted that relinquishing the islands was no advantage to both the Ionian Islands and Britain. He insisted that the Ionians had no real national connection to Greece. Lastly, he argued that cession would diminish British influence in the Levant. He stated that abandonment would open "the flanks of the Turkish Empire and should likewise incur the risk of increasing the national inclination of the Greeks."[431] The opposition's main concern was European stability and the threat of Greek irredentism. The strong denouncements focused on the security of Austria and the Ottoman Empire. They feared that Kerkyra's strategic position and military fortifications could be used against British interests. For instance, they speculated that Italy could take the islands and use Kerkyra's fortifications against Austria. Furthermore, the opposition was anxious that Greeks would use the fortifications against the Ottoman Empire. This view was summarized by Derby on July 25, 1863, as he stated, "I think that it is one of the most gratuitous cessions, not of territory, but of the protectorate, possibly weakening the power of this country and strengthening that of other, which I ever recollect."[432] He continued and asserted, "I believe that cession to be most impolitic—it is a course which, under the circumstances in which Greece is at present placed, involves a crime of the greatest character."[433]

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[429] 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) cols. 1720-1722.
[430] 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1725.
[431] 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) cols. 1737-1739.
[432] 172 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (27 July 1863) col. 1448.
[433] 172 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (27 July 1863) col. 1451.

Interestingly, Derby suggested that cession was not the correct course at the "present time" in the latter comment. This suggests that it was not the actual proposal for cession that was denounced, but it was cession at the "present time" to an unstable and unpredictable Greek state.[434]

In order to facilitate better relations with Austria and the Ottoman Empire, the opposition insisted on the dismantling of Kerkyra's fortifications. Derby had proposed the demolition of these fortifications, on June 30, 1863, on the basis that Greece could not provide the resources to man the garrisons.[435] He also raised the issue about British pensions and, moreover, the stockpile of British ammunition and arms on the islands. These arguments would become more frequent during the drafting of the Treaty of London, which ceded the Islands to Greece.

The advocates for cession quickly responded to the opposition. They first clarified that alienation was perfectly legal without the consent of Parliament because, under the terms of the 1815 treaty, the islands were an independent state and not a colony.[436] The Solicitor General addressing Darby Griffith, for instance, stated, "there is neither law nor constitutional usage to make the assent of Parliament necessary to the cession of territories of the Crown unless the laws of this country have been introduced into those territories or unless Parliament has legislated concerning them."[437] They also clarified to the opposition the conditions which the government laid out for Greece in order for the cession to take place. As previously noted, the conditions for Greece included the establishment of a constitutional monarchy and abstinence of foreign aggression. In addition, to the conditions put forth to Greece, Britain also stipulated that it was

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[434] de Redcliffe also supported this view; see 172 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (27 July 1863) col. 1441.
[435] 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1726.
[436] Palmerston in 169 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (10 February 1863) cols. 229, 232; Earl Russell in 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1730.
[437] 170 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (24 March 1863) col. 1807.

mandatory for the Ionian Islands had to dismantle their fortifications. While Liberals and Tories argued over cession, they both agreed on the issue of the demolition of the forts. Russell, in particular, concurred that in order for the cession to be successful, the islands would have to agree to be neutral, that pension to British citizens had to be honored, that the ammunition left on the islands would have to be removed, and that the fortification would have to be destroyed.[438]

There were, however, those who also disagreed with the destruction of the forts. The Earl of Hardwicke, for example, opposed the demolition because he felt that without its fortifications, Kerkyra would be left vulnerable to foreign powers.[439] On the national question, Palmerston and his supporters maintained that union was the will of the Ionian people and not, as the opposition argues, of a few demagogues. Lastly, they insisted that both Austria and the Ottoman Empire did not have any objection to cession. However, they preferred to see the islands remain under the protection of Britain, and they were invited to the conference to discuss cession.[440] Nevertheless, Austria's opinion did change with time.

Before the debates in Parliament, a conference was held on October 29 and November 3, 1863, in which the ambassadors from Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia met to discuss the agreement to cede the Ionian Islands. During these meetings, it became clear that both Austria and the Ottoman Empire had grown weary of the current Ionian policy. They expressed "an apprehension that a revolutionary party assisted by bands may invade the provinces and raise trouble which the Greek Government could not prevent."[441] Hence, the Austrian delegation

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[438] 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1733.
[439] 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1741.
[440] Earl Russell in 171 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (30 June 1863) col. 1731; 172 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (27 July 1863) col. 1446.
[441] House of Commons, "Correspondence Respecting the Annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece". *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (1863), 17: 12.

proposed two provisions to the Treaty. First, that the islands remain neutral and, second, that the fortifications on Kerkyra be demolished. In addition to these conditions, Austria insisted on rendering the special commercial privileges it enjoyed on the islands permanently. Therefore Austria, with the support of Russia and Prussia, influenced the outcome of the November 14 Treaty by making the former *sine qua non* conditions.

The Ionian Assembly, on the other hand, rejected these proposals. They argued that the "Ionian State has always retained the property in the forts and fortifications" and moreover…" has readily paid every sum demanded for their preservation and completion."[442] Although a treaty was signed on November 14, 1863, it was not until March 29th, 1864 that the Treaty was approved, and only on June 15, 1865, was it finally ratified. Extensive negotiations continued from November 1863 until the final Treaty of March 1864. The various conditions were rigorously debated in the British Parliament, the Ionian Assembly, and the other Great Powers.

The British Parliament in 1864 debated the agreement that had been signed in November of the previous year. Three issues concerned the parliament. One was the pensions of the Ionian and British subjects, the second was the neutrality of the islands, and the final one was the destruction of the fortifications. Many members of the British Parliament were concerned that the pensions from the Ionian government would not be respected. Chichester Fortescue clarified the pension issue by providing a list of both Ionian and English subjects entitled to pensions. This list was handed over to the Greek government with the treaty.[443] The treaty had included an article that pledged the continuation of pension payment by the Greek government. Trikoupis

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[442] House of Commons, "Correspondence Respecting the Annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece" *House of Commons Parliamentary Papers*, (8-20 October 1863), 18: 15-16.
[443] 173 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (25 February 1864) col. 1086.

argued that the Greek government should not be liable for the pensions of British officials. However, British officials maintained that Britain had already written off large amounts of Ionian debts.[444] In the end, Article VIII specified that the King of the Hellenes would be responsible for the pensions of British subjects from islands.

The most pressing issue after the November treaty was the neutralization of the islands and the dismantling of the fortifications of Kerkyra. Mr. Gregory, on March 18, 1864, argues that Britain had "no right" to demolish the fortifications and accused the government of being "guilty of violence and illegality" towards the islands.[445] He also questioned the benefits and conditions of neutralization. For instance, he asked, "what would be the effect of the condition if Greece were involved in a war? Are not Greek vessels to take refuge in Corfu [Kerkyra]? Are they forbidden to enter Cofiote ports?"[446] Gregory blamed these stipulations on the illogical proposals made by Russia and Austria (Russia and Austria also requested that the Ionians keep a separate flag to secure commerce in the region). Thus, according to Gregory, the treaty was flawed and suggested that if this Treaty were finalized, it would lower the dignity of King George I among the Greeks and Ionians.[447]

Haralios Trikoupis was also displeased with the provisions to neutralize the islands and for the demolition of the fortifications. Trikoupis claimed that the conditions were "the immolation of Greece to Austria."[448] Despite the opposition to neutralization and towards the destruction of the forts, a compromise was reached. Under Article II of the Treaty, a partial

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[444] Robert Cecil, "The Cession of the Ionian Islands," *History Today* 14, no. 9 (1964): 626.
[445] 174 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) cols. 348-350.
[446] 174 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) cols. 348-350
[447] 174 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) cols. 348-350.
[448] Cited in Miller, *The Ottoman Empire*, 288.

neutralization was agreed upon, and Kerkyra and Paxo would only become neutral. Trikoupis negotiated for the citadel in Kerkyra, Fort Abrami, and Fort Neuf not to be demolished.[449] In addition to the partial neutralization and de-fortification, Britain was successful "in inducing Austria to give up her demands that only a limited number of troops be maintained on the islands."[450]

In February 1864, the demolition of the forts began. The demolition was bittersweet for the Ionians. The population was witnessing the destruction of their old identity and the adoption of a new one.[451] The final chapter was now written in the short history of the British Protectorate. The Ionians succeeded with union, Greece took the first step to fulfilling the *Megali Idea*, and Britain maintained the *status quo* in the Mediterranean.

The 1862 revolution in Greece, which disposed the Bavarian monarchy and led to the enthronement of the Danish Glücksbergs as the Greek Royal Family, completely changed the way Britain viewed the Ionian Islands. For the first time in fifty years, the British government divesting itself of the islands and ceding them to Greece.

After offering a brief history of the United States of the Ionian Islands and the development of the nationalist movement, this chapter identified how the Islanders re-contextualized their position within the changing geostrategic dynamics of the regions. The rebellions began in response to local social-economic demands but quickly moved to accommodate broader political ideals of union. The cession was a response to specific transformations in the Mediterranean during the nineteenth century, which made the Ionian

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[449] Cecil, "The Cession of the Ionian Islands," 623-625; Miller, *The Ottoman Empire*, 288.
[450] 174 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) cols. 348-350.
[451] Cecil, "The Cession of the Ionian Islands," 624-626.

Islands dispensable for the British Empire. Yet, the Islanders were not passive during this tumultuous period. They challenged the center-periphery relationships and fostered new relationships with mainland Greece.

Islands are often regarded as insular sites frozen in time and at the periphery of larger empires and states. They are represented as detached and isolated; however, this chapter has highlighted the opposite. During the nineteenth century, the Mediterranean experienced tremendous change, which saw the rise of the nation-state. The Ionian Islands played a central role during this transitional period. The Island developed a complex system of governance as a semi-colonial state under the Treaty of Paris, the subsequent Ionian Constitution. They also developed political and economic relationships with the mainland that fostered new connections along national lines. The union movement ensured that the islands would maintain economic ties with the mainland in the post-imperial Mediterranean. Union also demonstrated that the high culture and political structures that were developed on the islands would be central in the development of the Greek nation-state model.

Chapter V: Peripheral Networks and the Evolution of Greek Identity

The Ionian Islands provide an especially important perspective of how peripheral

societies reacted to Europe's tumultuous history during the nineteenth century. But, more

importantly, it raises questions about the "continental bias" of traditional history.

The aim of this chapter is twofold. First, it adds to a complete history of the nineteenth-

century Ionian Islands on their own terms. In doing so, it focuses on the influence insularity had

on the history of ideas and the construction of Greek thought. It adds to the historiography of

Greece by offering an alternative means of understanding the formation of the Greek State and,

significantly, Greek identity by emphasizing the periphery rather than the center.[1] Second, it

examines how island inhabitants constructed identities and examines how these identities can be

traced in literature during different historical periods.[2] Most importantly, it highlights how the

nation emerged as the dominant identity marker for the islander in the nineteenth century. It

argues that the shift from a cosmopolitan to a national identity had more to do with geography

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[1] Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

[2] The periods of focus are between 1830-1848, national awakening in Greece and Italy, 1848-1864 establishments of liberal political reforms, and 1864-1880, *Megali Idea* and the Eastern Question.

and less with romantic notions of ethnicity and the *volksgeist*,[3] or on creating alterity and exclusion brought about by the capitalist mechanism of a new social order.[4]

Ionian historiography, poetry, and education are analyzed in this chapter to demonstrate that Ionian conceptions of Greekness did not fit the same mold as those constructed by the state. By re-examining the history of the Ionian Islands through an island studies lens, we can identify why the Ionian conceptions of Greekness changed over time and, more importantly, understand why it came to dominant Greek society and politics in the nineteenth- and twentieth centuries.

The contribution of the Ionian Islanders to the building of the Modern Greek state and the creation of a Greek identity cannot be fully understood without examining the unique relationships they had with the academic and literary circles of France, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Russia. The islands' relationship with Western Europe and Orthodox Russia[5] was fostered over a long period and can be traced from the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Commercial and intellectual networks created an Ionian intellectual that acted as bridges for modern ideas between Western and Eastern Europe. As producers of a Greek literary tradition and liberal discourse, the Ionian islanders played an essential role in consolidating various national Greek identities that existed in the nineteenth century and also in creating a liberal political culture during the constitutional dilemma of 1862-1864.

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[3] For more on Herder and his theories on Language and *Volksgeist* (the spirit of the people/national group) see John H. Moran and Alexander Gode trans. *On the Origins of Language: Two Essays*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Victor Neumann, "The Role of the Volksgeist on Concept in Eastern Europe," in *Cultural Identity, Pluralism and Globalization*, ed. John P. Hogan (Washington DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2005), 1:187.

[4] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (New York: Verso, 1991; Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).

[5] Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850 - Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

What was the nature of Ionian ideas of Greek identity, and what were the circumstances in which it emerged? In order to understand this, we must look at both the internal and external factors and events that influenced the Ionian intellectuals. It is, therefore, necessary that we consider the temporal and spatial context in which the Ionian intellectual developed their ideas. I shall start the analysis of Ionian Greekness, focusing on the period leading to the Greek Revolution of 1821 up until the creation of the Greek Kingdom in 1831. This investigation will look at the effects of external events on the writings and production of national ideas and texts from the perspective of the Greek Diaspora and the Greek mainland. The investigation will then turn to the Ionian Islands and look at how their socio-political context led them on a different path towards what they saw a Greek nation-state should be. Here, I look at the period between 1830-1864 and 1864-1890 and focus on the development of Ionian intellectual ideas and the geopolitical contexts in which they developed.

In conclusion, it shall be clear that as the traditional communications networks became disrupted by external constraints, Ionians began to create new links focusing on mainland Greece. Establishing links, they felt, would ensure their survival as the world around them crumbled. I argue that by making the Greek State heartland of the nation, the Ionian intelligentsia created a romantic narrative of Greekness that bridged the competing national identities of the time.[6] Eventually, the Greek State adopted the Ionian romantic identity in its efforts to bring other Greek-speaking regions and populations into its sphere of influence.

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[6] On romantic nationalism see Thomas Gallant, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1768 to 1913: The Long Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 2015), 106-112.

Networks of exchange and the spread of Foreign Ideas

The pre-conditions of the Greek Revolution, and the first steps towards a Greek national identity, required a way to mediate foreign ideas with local populations. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century Romantics thinkers created an idea of Greece that was rooted in the myth of a lost and dead Ancient culture. Many pointed to the ruins scattered across the lands that encompassed Ancient Greece as evidence of this. For outsiders, Greece was backward and uncivilized, and detached from the Ancients. Under this linear system, the heterogeneous nature of Greek society was ignored, as Western thinkers argued that Greece could only exist if it resurrected the past glory. Greek merchant marines,[7] the Phanariots,[8] the Diaspora, and Ionian intelligentsia were vital in challenging these Western models and creating a local Greek identity. All three groups were significantly different from one another—a result of the heterogeneous essence of Greek society at the time. Geography, social status, and education impacted how each group interpreted, modulated, and disseminated ideas from the West. For instance, the Greek merchant and diaspora intellectual centers were established in France, England, Italy, and Russia, the Phanariots established themselves in Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Ionian Islands (after the establishment of the Ionian Academy and the Free Press) looked to Kerkyra as their

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[7] Merchant marines were also responsible for setting up diaspora communities around the world. For a review of Greek merchant marines under Ottoman Empire see Traian Stoianovich, "The Conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant," *Journal of Economic History* 20, no. 2 (1960): 234-313; For overview of Greek merchant marines from 1830 see Gelina Harlaftis. *A History of Greek Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day*. (London: Routledge, 1996).
[8] The Phanariots represented the Greek establishment of the Ottoman Empire. Their name comes from the Phanar district in Constantinople where the seat of the Millet Rum was established.

intellectual center. It is, therefore, necessary to take temporal and spatial factors into account when examining the different networks of interaction between Greece and the West. Great power politics, geography, and wars affected how each mediating group absorbed and developed their unique understanding of Greekness.

It is crucial to consider the broader socio-political context leading up to the Greek Revolution of 1821 in order to understand how national ideas in the Greek-speaking world evolved fully.[9] Greece provides us with a unique opportunity to study national history, as the idea of a Greek nation was a foreign construct and developed in the periphery. Unlike Western Europe, where states were created before the nation,[10] the idea of a Greek nation existed before the state. The Greek speaking populations of the Ottoman, French, British, and Venitian Empires served as an economic and cultural bridge between the East and West. It was, therefore, on the periphery of Empires that both trade and intellectual exchange occurred.

The development of a Greek national consciousness follows four temporal phases: the first was the pre-Revolutionary period (1750-1820).   This period marked the introduction of enlightenment ideas and values into the Greek-speaking world. The second phase was the Revolutionary Republican period between (1820-1832) and the third was the Absolutist and Constitutional Monarchy (1832-1862). These second and third phases were responsible for the transmission and assimilation of Western revivalist ideology. The fourth phase was the Liberal

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[9] The use of Greek-speaking world here versus Greece is intentional as it signifies that Greeks were not politically or nationally cohesive by any means before 1832. In fact, the only Greek state prior to 1821 was the United States of the Ionian Islands.

[10] Eugen Weber, *Peasants to Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976). There is also an exception when we look at the German case in the 1860s. German confederacy was based on the idea that German nation was divided into multiple states.

Constitutional period (1862-1893). This phase signaled the rise of Greek Romantic Nationalism and the adoption of a continuity narrative.

What follows is an outline of how multiple Greek identities developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and a revelation that there were multiple claims to an authentic Greek national identity. By examining the intellectuals of the Neo-Hellenic enlightenment[11] and comparing them with Romantic intellectual discourse coming out of the Ionian Islands, it becomes clear that the Ionian islanders did not fit the canonical narrative of the Greek State. However, as the conclusion will highlight, the Ionians placed their ideas about the nation at the forefront instead of opposing or challenging Greek identity.

The long and tumultuous history associated with developing a Greek identity has been studied many times over.[12] It has been challenged, revised, fought over, and remains a divisive subject.[13] The controversy arises when scholarship questions the period when a collective Greek consciousness and identity emerged and therefore questions nationalism as the main drive for revolution. Contemporary scholarship argues that a collective identity never indeed existed, and,

[11] For neo-Hellenism in western European context see Han Lamers, "Constructing Hellenism: Studies on the History of Greek Learning in Early Modern Europe," *International Journal of Classical Tradition* 25, (2018): 201-215; For neo-Hellenism in early modern Greek context see Anna Tabaki, "Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment An Introduction." https://www.academia.edu/2025102/Neo_hellenic_Enlightenment_An_introduction.. https://www.academia.edu/2025102/Neo_hellenic_Enlightenment_An_introduction; and Paschalis Kitromilides, *The Enlightenment as social criticism. Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1992).

[12] Antonis Liakos. "Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece", in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and* Present, eds. Hayashi Tadayuki and Hiroshi Fukuda (Sapporo: Slavic Euroasian Studies, 2007), 15:205-227.

[13] Erik Sjöberg, "The Past in Peril - Greek History Textbook Controversy and the Macedonian Crisis," *Education Inquiry* 2, no. 1 (March 2011): 93-107; Petros N. Kimitris, "The 6th Grade Primary History Book and the Reactions of the Greek and Cypriot Educational Communities and Societies" (Online Submission, ERIC, 2017) https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED577091

in fact, it was the Greeks living abroad that "imagined" a sense of community.[14]   Paschalis

Kitromilides argues that the Greek Revolution, at least in the early stages, was more about

external liberal ideology rather than national, ethnic, political, or economic motivations.[15] This

is the case because many Greek speakers under the Ottomans had a lot to lose from the Greek

revolution. For instance, merchant marines, Phanariot *hospodars*, *dragomans*, and primates all

played a significant role in late Ottoman economic progress and political system.

The Greek establishment enjoyed a degree of prosperity under the Ottomans in the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As Ottoman Greeks gained influence within the empire, it

gave them more opportunities outside the empire.[16] As Greek merchants became wealthy and

the Phanariots gained political influence within the empire, they slowly found liberalism and the

Enlightenment attractive for their economic and political aspirations. With wealth, there was

also an escalation of Greek print culture and education.

Greek historiography identifies the Phanariots and Greek merchant marines as the two

groups that first expressed an idea about Greekness. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

the merchant marines began to formulate a cultural foundation for which a Greek identity could

be expressed. Greek commercial life in the Mediterranean did not end after the fall of

Constantinople in 1453. Greek merchants were a valuable resource for both the Ottoman and

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[14] "It is *imagined* because the fellow members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of the communion." Anderson, *Imagined Communities,* 6.

[15] Kitromilides, Paschalis M. "*Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans". European History Quarterly* 19, no. 2 (1989): 149-192.

[16] After the Russo-Turkish Wars of 1768-1774 and 1792, Greeks of the Ottoman Empire played a greater role in government. Phanariots held administrative roles and Greek merchants gained commercial rights from the opening of the Black Sea trade after the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji.

Venetians as they acted as both translators and commercial agents between eastern and western trade networks.[17]

As Greek merchants came to dominate Balkan, Black Sea, and Eastern Mediterranean commerce and their influence grew, they established trade networks that extended from the Mediterranean to Western Europe, Africa, and Asia. The success of these networks relied on strong family networks,[18] and as families began to settle in various cities around the world, Greek communities began to develop.[19] With their new role as mediators between the Ottoman Empire and the West's commercial and political interests, the Greek commercial diaspora established important cultural institutions abroad. These included schools, churches, secret societies, and publishing houses. These commercial diasporas became characterized by their ability to assimilate their adopted regions' language and customs, establishing strong Greek communities abroad.

The pre-revolutionary period was the first time a modern collective Greek national identity emerged.[20] This period saw both the rise of Greek merchant marines in the Ottoman Empire and Greek islands.[21] It was also a period that saw the emergence of the Phanariots as a political force within the Ottoman Empire.

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[17] On the nature of Greek commercial Diaspora see Evridiki Sifneos. "Cosmopolitanism as a Feature of Greek Commercial Diaspora". *History and Anthropology* 16, no. (2005): 97-111.

[18] Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou.and Stavros Ioannides, "Market-Embedded Clans in Theory and History: Greek Diaspora Trading Companies in the Nineteenth Century" *Business and Economic History* 2 (2004): 1-26.

[19] Gelina Harlaftis, "Mapping the Greek Maritime Diaspora from the Early Eighteenth to the Late Twentieth Centuries," in *Diaspora Entrepreneurial Networks: Four Centuries of History*, eds. Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, Gelina Harlaftis and Ioanna Pepelasis Minoglou (New York: Berg, 2005), 147.

[20] Victor Roudometof. "From Rum Millet to Greek Nation: Enlightenment, Secularization and National Identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* no. 16 (1998): 11-48.

[21] Some of the islands that benefited the most were Hydra, Syros, Chios, and the Ionian Islands.

During the eighteenth century, the Ottoman Empire experienced a period of reform. During this period, the changes to Ottoman governance gave Greeks even more prominence, especially in the Church.[22] Molly Greene argues that the Church hierarchy became even more "Hellenized" during this period[23] as the Ottoman Empire began a drastic decline. European wars disrupted the empire's commercial networks in the Mediterranean, and the devastating wars with Russia and Austria forced it to search for answers about its decline. Ottoman intellectuals and politicians identified the lack of modernization as the cause of the Empire's inability to keep up with Western Europe.[24] As a result, the Ottoman administration was forced to introduce reforms and negotiate with Western powers. This turn in Ottoman policy created new opportunities for the Greek commercial elite and the Phanariots who had traditional ties with the West. Acting as ambassadors, translators, and ministers, educated Ottoman Greek subjects took on privileged positions within the Empire's bureaucracy.[25]

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[22] See Baki Tezcan. *Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[23] Molly Green, *The Edinburgh History of the Greeks, 1453-1768: The Ottoman Empire* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

[24] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, "Initial Ottoman Responses to the Challenge of Modernity" in *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2008), 42-54; Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of The Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). Göçek main argument is that the bifurcation of the bourgeoisie into Ottoman bureaucrats and a new commercial class comprised of non-Muslims. This Ottoman bourgeois class failed to bring about reform, instead promoting each group's own interests over the others further segmenting into ethnic lines. The commercial elite furthered their interest outside the empire using their cultural resources to take advantage of foreign commercial privileges.

[25] Part of the broader Ottoman policy was to "create a permanent diplomatic presence in Europe, which was filled almost exclusively by Greek merchants from the Ottoman Empire, as registered in a separate notebook series in the Ottoman archives called 'Notebooks on Consuls' (Şehbender Defterleri). Initially, a Greek from the island of Kefalonia was appointed as the first Ottoman consul in Naples, and other examples followed suit. Hence, the first Ottoman consuls in European cities were mostly Greek merchants trading there: Thodoraki in Malta, Dimitrios of Thessaloniki in Marseille, Kyriakos Thodori in Trieste, Thodori of Crete in London, and some others in Genoa and Venice, Messina, Livorno, Lisbon, and Alicante," in Hasan Çolak, "Amsterdam's Greek merchants: protégés of the Dutch, beneficiaries of the Russians, subjects of the Ottomans and supporters of Greece." Hasan Çolak, "Amsterdam's Greek merchants: protégés of the Dutch, beneficiaries of the Russians, subjects of the Ottomans and supporters of Greece," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 42, no. 1 (April 2008): 129.

By the eighteenth century, the Ottomans faced pressure from peasants and the Phanariot

classes as they attempted to stabilize their Empire after successive defeats to the Russians and

Austrians. Decentralization policies spurred economic decline and drastic deterioration of rural

and urban life of non-Muslims. Under such duress, peasants were more likely to oppose local

authority openly. Moreover, with the commercial success of the diaspora communities, peasants

turned away from the traditional socio-political structures, the Phanariots, and local civic

authority and looked at the West for economic stability. Under this climate, peasants were more

likely to turn to the wealthy and prosperous Western diaspora for protection.

Ottoman Greeks increased their knowledge of Western thought by constructing new

Greek schools within the Ottoman Empire.[26] Many of these schools were funded by the Greek

commercial elite and concentrated on promoting and spreading liberal ideas. In turn, many

Greek communities, including the Phanariots, increasingly became influenced by eighteenth-

century Enlightenment ideals that were based on binary models of East and West, civilized and

uncivilized, Christian and Muslim—ushering in the period of the Greek Enlightenment. What

emerged from this historical context were two alternative visions of Greekness. One envisioned

a new Byzantine Empire that would be multi-ethnic, theocratic, and monarchical, and the other

imagined a secular nation based on a Greek ethnicity, language, and religion.

The Enlightenment in Europe was marked by a pre-Enlightenment period where

intellectuals created the foundation from which the enlightenment of the eighteenth and

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[26] Part of the Ottoman modernization process (or Reform Period - *Tanzimat*) was to reform education. On Greek community schools. See Oya Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education System and Greek Girls' Schools in Istanbul (19th and 20th Centuries)," *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri / Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice* 10, no. 2, (Spring 2010): 806-808; A.S. Müftügil, "Compulsory religion education and religious minorities in Turkey," PhD diss., (University of Amersterdam, 2011), 18-59.

nineteenth centuries could grow. The pre-Enlightenment period was significant because it provided the space and time for which the Renaissance humanism and Scientific Revolution could be expressed in terms of traditional religious knowledge. This cooling down period was essential for the emergence of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. In the thirteenth century, individuals like Thomas Aquinas laid the groundwork from which future Enlightenment thinkers could build on.[27] Aquinas consolidated Aristotelian rationality and Christianity and proved that empirical studies were not opposed to Christian values and dogma.

Similar to the pre-Enlightenment period in Europe, the Greek Enlightenment had a period of consolidation between religious dogma and the revival of ancient text. The leaders of the consolidation period were Evgenios Voulgaris and Iosipos Moisiodax.[28] Like Thomas Aquinas in the West, these men tried to make new ideas more acceptable to a Christian audience.[29] Similarly, Voulgaris and Moisiodax challenged the traditional order and brought to the forefront questions about secular scholarship and the use of the vernacular.

As the Greek Enlightenment gained momentum, intellectuals began to view the Ottoman Empire as an obstacle. This became evident in the works of Rhigas Pheraios and Adamanios Korais. Rhigas' vision of Greece was deeply rooted in the social structures of the Ottoman Empire and his position in the Phanariot circles.[30] The Ottoman Empire ruled over its

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[27] Anthony Pagden, *The Enlightenment, and why it still matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 213-220.

[28] For a detailed overview of early Greek Enlightenment figures see Paschalis M. Kitromilides. *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism: Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the 18th Century*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Paschalis M. Kitromilides. *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*. (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2013); Constantinos Th. Dimaras. *Neoellinikos Diaphotismos* (Athens:1985); Stathis Gougouris. *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996).

[29] Effi Gazi. *Scientific National History: The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective* (1850-1920). (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 125ff.

[30] First name is used as *Velestinlis* designated his hometown.

multiethnic and religious population by effectively segregating religious denominations into

autonomous entities known as the *millet*. Under this system, faith became the principal identity

marker, and as such, all Orthodox communities, including Greeks, Serbians, Bulgarian,

Romanians, Albanian, and Vlachs, were identified as part of the Greek-Orthodox (*Romeoi*)

Millet.[31] For Rhigas, identity within Ottoman society was not based on language, customs, or

ethnicity but purely on religious affiliation. With this mindset, being Greek was equivalent to

being Orthodox Christian.

Rhigas is best known for his works, *The Rights of Man*, *Thourios*, the *Constitution* for a

future Greek state, and a map outlining this state. Rhigas was born in Velestino, Thessaly, a

Greek-speaking Vlach village, but spent most of his adult life abroad in Constantinople,

Wallachia, and Vienna.   Influenced by the French Revolution, he called for the uprising of the

Romeoi against the Ottoman Empire. The ethnic heterogeneity of the region influenced Rhigas's

vision of a Greek State. He believed all ethnicities, religions, and cultures could be unified under

a secular and democratic Greek Identity.[32] For Rhigas, Greek or "Hellene" signified citizenship

rather than ethnicity, and he believed that non-Greek cultural elements could eventually be

assimilated into Greek culture through education.[33] Mostly, he believed that being Greek was a

matter of culture, not blood or genes. He, therefore, set up rules for becoming Greek in his

works by outlining the characteristics of Greek culture. Like other Greek Enlightenment figures,

Rhigas vision was influenced by the need to incorporate Modern Greek identity into the

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[31] *Romeoi* is the name used by the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire and it refers to their Roman ancestry.

[32] Rhigas states these provisions in articles 2 & 7 of his Constitution, cited in Thomas Gallant. *Modern Greece* (USA: Bloomsbury, 2001); Vagelis Calotychos. *Modern Greece: A Cultural Poetics.* (USA: Bloomsbury, 2003), 44.

[33] This was influenced by his experience with *millet system* and his anxieties with being a Greek-Vlach. Calotychos *, Modern Greece*, 44.

metanarrative of Europe[34] by blending antiquity into his Greek narrative.[35]   This is why many of

his works[36] were filled with Classical symbolism.

Challenging Rhigas's vision was Adamantios Korais. Born in Smyrna to a merchant

father, Korais lived most of his life abroad. He eventually called Paris his home, and it was from

there, he wrote his works on Greek national identity. Unlike Rhigas, Korais directly experienced

the violence of the French Revolution. This fact influenced his belief that Greek liberation

should only be achieved through education and diplomacy.

In order to align Greek identity with Europe, Korais looked to the Classical heritage of

Greece. He emphasized the need to resurrect Greece's ancient culture and opposed any

connection to Ottoman or Byzantine past. Therefore, anything related to these was seen in a

negative light. In essence, Korais' vision opposed Rhigas's pan-Balkan citizenship, religious

hegemony of the Orthodox Church, and using the demotic language.[37] In 1828, Korais published

Atakta, a book that he used as an educational tool to cleanse non-Greek words from the

vernacular and incorporate Classical Greek words and grammar into a new Greek literary

language, or *katharevousa.*

Korais and Rhigas highlighted the tensions that existed in the process of constructing a

Greek national identity. Both argued on issues surrounding what language, religion, and

government were best suited for the new Greek state. The problem that emerged was that both

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[34] Diana, Mishkova, "In Quest of Balkan Occidentalism'. *Centre For Advanced Study Sofia CAS Working Paper Series,* 1 (2007): 1-34. Mishkova argues that the idea of Europe was more about becoming than about being. Therefore, Europeaness could only be achieved through the adoption of the enlightenment vis-à-vis an intellectual revival.

[35] Calotychos, *Modern Greece*, 39.

[36] Calotychos, 23-47. In chapter one Calotychos examines Rhigas' "Map of Greece" and locates evidence of "the tensions in the transition" from a polyethnic society in the Ottoman Empire to a nation State.

[37] Peter Mackridge, "Byzantium and the Greek Language Question in the 19th Century," in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity,* eds. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (London: Routledge, 1998), 50-53.

failed to address the incompatibility of Byzantine Orthodoxy with the values of the

Enlightenment. This mostly isolated the majority of the Greek population, which had no

significant knowledge of classical traditions.

Victor Roudometof examines the impact of the Enlightenment on Ottoman Balkan

society and the dilemma of ascribing ethnicity as a criterion for national identification. He states

that in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century social status and religion distinguished a person's

identity.[38]   Therefore, the secularization of the *Rum Millet* that followed western enlightenment

trends raised questions around Greek identity in the Balkans. Roudometof also raises questions

about the antagonisms between millenarian ideology and national ideology within the Rum

Millet, suggesting that conflicts against Ottoman rule within the empire were more complex and

included tension between religious and secular ideas. He proposes that the nationalist elements of

the enlightenment failed to take roots within Grecophone society within the Ottoman Empire

because of the millet system. For this reason, Roudometof suggests that the struggle of

Orthodox against Muslims during the nineteenth century was not necessarily motivated by

nationalism and liberal democracy but rather on millenarianism and a "religious dream of

liberation."[39]

Paschalis Kitromilides also explored the relationship between ethnicity and identity

formations in Greek Ottoman society. In his article, he examines how Rhigas directly addressed

this issue by espousing cultural pluralism within the Greek state. Staying true to the

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[38] "For example, in Macedonia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, class and ethnicity overlapped, resulting in the utilization of the terms "Serb" and "Bulgar" to denote the peasantry per se. Since most peasants were Slavs and most Slavs were peasants, class distinctions often became ethnic distinctions. When Slavs moved into the urban world or became members of the middle classes, they generally shifted their identity to Greek. In Belgrade, for example, Serbian townsmen dressed in the Greeks. Victor Roudometof. *From Rum Millet to Greek Nation*, 13.
[39] Victor Roudometof, 34.

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Enlightenment's vision of recognized all ethnic groups equally, Rhigas attempted to include ethnic pluralism as the base for Greek national identity.[40]

Overall, the Greek Enlightenment was the first step towards the formation of Greek national identity. This process sought to replace the theocratic and authoritarian regime of the Ottoman Empire with a new culture that proclaimed itself secular, rational, and scientific[41]. National identity was idealized and greatly influenced by interactions between the West and the Greeks. The works of Rhigas and Korais were steeped in classical and romantic traditions of the West. During the same period that Rhigas and Korais attacked the tyranny of the Ottoman Empire, European states began to question their own identity, and in doing so, created a shared sense of belonging. European identity during the early eighteenth century was predicated on creating alterity. In this light, Europeans set out to study the Islamic East but also to rediscover the antiquity of Greece.[42] Because of their close geographic location with the east and their diplomatic relationships with Britain and France, Epirus and the Ionian Islands became centers of studies for European orientalists and philhellenes.

The French Revolution marked a drastic change in the way people understood the world around them. As people began to tackle the new world's problems, they looked at the ancients as noble teachers to teach them about the post-monarchical and clerical world. The myth of classical Greek culture and its continuity in Western Europe thus began. British, French,

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[40] Paschalis Kitromilides. "An Enlightenment Perspective on Balkan Cultural Pluralism - The Republican Vision of Rhigas Velestinlis," *History of Political Thought* 24, no. 3 (2003): 445-479.

[41] Roudometof. *From Rum Millet to Greek Nation*, 12.

[42] As the Napoleonic Wars made travelling to Italy more difficult, Greece became more appealing for the study of antiquity. Eighteenth century travel marked the beginning of western European Orientalism and philhellenism. On Orientalism see Edward Said. *Orientalism*. (London: Penguin,1977); on Orientalism in a Balkan context see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*. (USA: Oxford University Press, 1997).

German, and Russian intellectuals, unlike their humanist predecessors,[43] set out to travel to Greece and search out the physical remnants of ancient Greece. Claiming Greece as their own, western Europe set out to collect and free physical remnants but also to see if antiquity still existed in local Greek society. It was in this climate that western travelers flocked to Greek lands to conduct archaeological and ethnographical studies. Therefore, when we read Rhigas' and Korais' works, we need to consider that they were not only producing material for a Greek audience but also responding and adding to the discourse and meta-narrative of Greece coming out of western Europe.

Western Travel Guides and Greek Narratives

Travel was not only an important leisure activity,[44] but it influenced literary and artistic enlightenment; "duty rather than enjoyment became the keynote of these journeys in pursuit of culture."[45] The British came to understand the lands of the Mediterranean as artists and, in turn came to understand the landscape of Greece through aesthetics analysis, comparing statues with locals, essentially convoluting their notion of orientalist and philhellenic notions. As such

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[43] Renaissance humanism involved a scholarly revival of ancients thought and texts through translation and study of ancient history, philosophy and philology.

[44] For an introductory source for travel writing see Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing*. (London: Routledge, 2001).

[45] John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1988), 1.

British and French upper-class education was not only dependent on knowledge of ancient Greek

text and art but also through the exploration and discovery of the country and its people.

Travel writings were mostly used to glorify ancient Greece and, at the same time, deny

the local populations' claim to it. With Homer and Thucydides in hand, British and French

travelers were disillusioned with the Greeks they encountered. The Greek population of the

Ottoman Empire and the rural population of the Ionian Islands did not fit the idealized classical

Greek image that travelers were accustomed to in their classical scholarship.[46] Western

encounters with the "real" Greeks of the Mediterranean highlighted the West-East dichotomy. In

the Greeks, western observers found examples of the need to revive and liberate Greek

(Hellenic) culture and highlight the backward characteristic of living under Ottoman domination.

For instance, George Bowen used Thucydides to demonstrate that Ionians were far from

descendants of the Hellenes of antiquity by outlining their shortcomings.[47] Others, such as

Howard Douglas[48] and David Anstead,[49] completely denied the islanders a classical Greek

identity, using language, ethnicity, the predilection for religious superstitions,[50] and physical

features to highlight the dichotomy between the enlightened West and backward East.

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[46] Resat Kasaba, "The Enlightenement, Greek Civilization and the Ottoman Empire: Reflections on Thomas Hope's Anastasius," *Journal of Historical Sociology* 6, no. 1 (2003): 1-21.

[47] Cited in Thomas Gallant. *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 20-22.

[48] Cited in Georgios Drakatos Papanikolas and George Ferguson Bowen, *The Ionian islands; what they have lost and suffered under the thirty-five years' administration of the lord high commissioners sent to govern them. In reply to 'The Ionian islands under British protection' [by sir G.F. Bowen]. By an Ionian [G.D. Papanikolas]*. (London: James Ridgway, 1851), 40ff.

[49] David Tomas Anstead, *The Ionian Islands in the Year 1863*. (London: Wm. H Allen & Co. 1863), 15ff.

[50] John Davy, *Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta*, vol. 1. (London: Smith, Elder & C. 1842), 98f; K. E. Fleming. *The Muslim Bonaparte*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 151; Andreas Laskaratos, *Mysteries of Cephalonia* [*Τὰ μυστήρια τῆς Κεφαλονιᾶς*] (Kefallinia: Kefallinia Press, 1856).

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John Pemble investigates how the ideals of Hellenism filtered down from Britain's elite classes. With a focus on the British traveler in the Mediterranean, Pemble argues that travel was a characteristic of "the leisured, the literary, and the artistic" in nineteenth-century Britain.[51] He suggestes that the British traveler believed that their time spent abroad was associated with education and culture. Traveling, therefore, became an essential part of self-determination, and as Pemble puts it, "duty rather than enjoyment became the keynote of these journeys in pursuit of culture." Aided with their education in the classics, many set out to explore Greece. These people valued recognition over discovery, and their education gave them a sense of familiarity with the people and landscapes they encountered. Accordingly, "travellers who recognized the landscapes of Greece and Italy were seeing them with the eyes of Homer, Thucydides, Virgil, and Ovid."[52] Victorians also looked at Southern people as artists that searched for color, shapes, and beauty. Essentially, upper-class culture was not only associated with knowledge of the Ancient Greeks but also through the exploration and discovery of the country and its people.

Romanticism and the City

The influence of Hellenism on British elite culture is examined by James Bowen in his article *Education, Ideology and the Ruling Class: Hellenism and the English Public Schools in*

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[51] Pemble, *Mediterranean Passion*, 1.
[52] Pemble, 116.

the Nineteenth Century[53], Martin Wiener[54], John Pemble[55], and Tristram Hunt[56]. These works

demonstrate how Hellenism in the Victorian period found a place with the traditional elites, and

subsequently, with the newly formed middle class. Industrialization presented economic, social,

and political challenges for Britain's elite class. Wiener, for instance, postulates that traditional

elite culture was characterized by class structure, rural society, arts, public service, and

spirituality. In contrast, the new industrial class structured themselves around a culture of buying,

selling, profits, technical innovation, science, economic growth, urbanism, and materialism.

Consequently, the new industrial classes created a challenge to the elite's way of life.

Traditionally, the elite established their superior position based on their wealth and birthright.

However, the increase in wealth among the industrial classes gave them a growing sense of self-

entitlement as well.[57] In response to this challenge, the elites used knowledge of Hellenism and

the imitation of Hellenic culture as a means to establish a new image of prestige and legitimacy.

However, knowledge of Hellenism was not the only measure of classical education. By

the nineteenth century, it increasingly became a symbol of class and an architectural symbol in

the Victorian city[58]. Tristram Hunt argues that the neo-Hellenic revival was a reaction to the

dreadful physical conditions of the Victorian city. Many writers and thinkers of the time, such as

Thomas Carlyle, Henry Mayhew, Augustus Pugin, and John Ruskin, blamed the Victorian city's

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[53] In G. W. Clarke, ed. *Rediscovering Hellenism: The Hellenic Inheritance and the English Imagination.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[54] Martin J. Wiener. *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

[55] Pemble.

[56] Tristram Hunt. *Building Jerusalem: The Rise and Fall of the Victorian City.* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 2005), 194-198.

[57] Anxieties of Industrialization are expressed in romantic British literature such as Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or Modern Prometheus* see Chris Baldick, In *Frankenstein's Shadow: Myth, Monstrosity, and 19th century.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

[58] Hunt, *Building Jerusalem.*

aesthetic decline on industrialization and the moral decadence that accompanied it. In reaction to industrialization, many turned to Greek revival in architecture.[59] Although the success of the city was attributed to the middle class, the traditional elite still characterized them as "philistines."[60] In order to resist these attacks, the British set out to beautify their cities by emulating ancient Athens.[61]

Education in classical scholarship was one route by which the traditional elite asserted their authority. James Bowen and Wiener, for instance, suggest that Hellenism was used in public schools to reinforce the prestige of the traditional upper class. They claim that public schools and universities used Greek-focused curricula for social aspirations. On the one hand, the traditional elite used a common education to resist the social changes of industrialization. On the other hand, the new industrial class's desire to join the traditional upper class led them to pursue the same education as the elite. Inspired by the elite class's uneasiness towards industrialization, education focused on Hellenism and art in a bid to emphasize the social evils and decadence brought by the industrial revolution.[62] The gentrification of the middle and professional classes was achieved by embracing the traditional elite's attitudes through education, travel, and art, based on claiming antiquity as their own and thus an unbroken link with western civilization. Ancient Greece, in these terms, represented the prototype of the nation

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[59] Hunt, 195-204.
[60] "The assault on urban materialism culminated with Matthew Arnold's biting essay, *Culture and Anarchy*. With its criticism of 'bad civilization of the English middle class,' this historically mesmerizing work brutally encompassed over forty years of distaste for what Arnold termed the 'Hebraism' of the Victorian middle-class 'Philistines'…Their lives, oriented around Mammon and the parochial, Dissenting fear of damnation, were devoid of any proper appreciation of man's cultural calling. The money-grubbing, narrow Hebraism of the urban middle classes stood in stark contrast to the eternal values of Arnold's upper middle-class 'Hellenism.' Hunt, 2005.
[61] Ibid, 200 suggests that Athens became an important symbol because it taught the Victorians that art and culture could flourish in a commercial environment.

[62] Wiener, *English Culture,* 17-24; Bowen in Clarke, *Rediscovering Hellenism*.

and the greatness of modern civilization. The further appropriation of ancient Greece in architecture, art, and literature also legitimized ownership of modern civilization. Denying Greeks this identity made the west the inheritors of civilization and protectors of antiquity. Out of this, Western Philhellenism gained momentum as a political movement serving two functions. First, it demonstrated the continuity of classical Greece with the West, and second the revival of Classical Greek culture in the Greek population.[63]

Revivalism and Archaeology

Post-colonial studies have highlighted the use of archaeology[64] and ethnography[65] in the power relationships between colonizers and the colonized. The study and ownership of material culture played a significant role in constructing essentialized narratives and helped establish colonial hegemony over the colonized.[66] In essence, by helping to create a binary West-East discourse, archaeology and ethnography denied agency and diversity for local populations and justified colonial hegemony over "uncivilized" and "underdeveloped" peoples.

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[63] Gonda Van Steen, *Liberating Hellenism from the Ottoman Empire: Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Katherine E. Fleming, *Muslim Bonaparte*, argue that western philhellenism essentialized Greek identity, erasing all diversity that Modern Greek culture represented.

[64] Michael Shanks, *Classical Archaeology of Greece*. (New York: Routledge, 1996), 52ff (chapter 3 and 4); Margarita Diaz-Andre, *A World History of Nineteenth Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 79-130.

[65] For the use of anthropology as a tool for creating European identity see Michael Herzfeld, Anthropology *through the looking glass: Critical ethnography in the margins of Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[66] Said, *Orientalism*.

Archaeology in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Greece is linked to western Romanticism and Hellenism and is marked by a turn from neo-classicism. The Enlightenment looked to neo-classicism in order to fill the intellectual void left by the departure from traditional institutions. Classical texts[67] during the enlightenment offered intellectuals a base from which to study reason,[68] empiricism,[69] and idealism.[70] However, between 1780-1890 there was a move away from the banal order of the enlightenment. This period is known as the Romantic era. The failure of the French Revolution and the Restoration governments in France, along with the Industrial Revolution and the social consequences in Britain, signaled the need for a new way of understanding society and politics. The turn from neo-classicism did not end Western Europe's obsession with antiquity but instead accelerated it. Neo-Hellenism became an obsession, and while Rome played a dominant role in the Neo-Classical movement, the romantic era experienced a drastic shift towards the idealization of Greece. French and British archaeological schools were set up in Athens during this period to prove Ancient Greece's cultural superiority.

Archaeology played a central role in the creation of a historical narrative of Europe's origins in Ancient Greece. Archaeology outlined the West's definition of Hellenism by bringing together classical texts, education, history, and material culture.[71] As discussed by Gonda Van Steen in her book, *Liberating Hellenism from the Ottoman Empire: Comte de Marcellus and the Last of the Classics*, Comte de Marcellus treatment of Greek relics signaled a shift in Europe's

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[67] Classical text included both Latin and Greek literature. Neo-Classicism made no significant distinction between Rome and Greece, Latin and Ancient Greek.

[68] On Rene Descartes see Margaret Wilson. *Descartes*. (London: Routledge, 1978).

[69] John Locke. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Ed. Kenneth P. Walker. (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1996); David Hume. *A Treatise on Human Nature* (1739).

[70] Immanuel Kant. *Critique of Pure Reason*, trans. J. M. D. Meiklejohn (Project Gutenburg, 2003). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/4280/4280-h/4280-h.htm.

[71] On a discussion on the contemporary uses of classical archaeology and the formation of metanarratives see Shanks, *Classic Archaeology*, 170ff.

metanarrative. Ancient Greece and Hellenism[72] did not represent a pagan, decadent, and ravaged

society anymore, but a place of beauty and the birthplace of western civilization.[73] As Van Steen

argues, Hellenism emerged in the context of European national awakening and the Eastern

Question.[74] In this context French, British and German intellectuals used Hellenism to create

otherness. In the Ottoman Greek population, the Europeans saw an "oriental" savage and a

backward people and viewed as being enslaved and ravaged. The West saw it as their duty to

liberate the Greeks and to revive Hellenic ideals in them.

The Problems with *Revivalism*

The period between 1821-1832 saw the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire.[75]

Influenced by the revolutionary, philhellenic movements, and Secret Societies, the new Greek

State was formed on the political principles of liberal republicanism and the cultural ideology of

reviving Hellenism. However, it was not until 1827 and the Third Assembly that Ioannis

Kapodistrias[76] was chosen to led the nation out of a political stalemate between rival factions of

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[72] "Hellenism" refers to the culture traditions relating to ancient Greece.

[73] Ian Morris, "Archaeologies of Greece", in *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies,* ed. Ian Morris. (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1994).

[74] "Modern Greece was liberated from the Turk. European nation states competed for relics and filled their national museums with Greek statues and vases to show their commitment to Hellenism, their civilized status and also their imperialist might." Shanks, *Classical Archaeology*, 81.

[75] For the political and electoral history of Greece see Richard Clogg, *Parties and Election in Greece*. (USA: Duke University Press, 1987).

[76] For Kapodistrias' relationship with the *Philiki Etairia* during the pre-Revolutionary period see C. M.

the notables and pre-revolutionary rebels and chiefs. Under a policy of modernization, Kapodistrias began the process of overhauling the judicial, ecclesiastical, military, and education system.   Under Kapodistrias, revivalism was adopted as the national mythos, and the resurrected Phoenix[77] was chosen to represent the nation's rebirth.[78] Unfortunately, Kapodistrias did not see out his term as Governor, as he was assassinated in 1831.

Following Kapodistrias's assassination, the Great Powers intervened to stop a new Ottoman offensive against the Greek State.[79] Soon afterward, a new Kingdom was established under King Otto of the House of Wittelsbach. King Otto inherited a State that was poor, under-developed, and which the majority of the Greek-speaking population lived in the Ottoman Empire (Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, Aegean, Crete, Cyrus, and the Ionian Islands, remained outside the Greek Kingdom). When the young Bavarian prince took the throne, he was proclaimed "King of Greece."[80] This title was important, as it made him King of the territory of Greece rather than the people, and his policies focused on creating a modern Hellenized state rather than pursuing the romantic and irredentist policy of the pre-revolutionaries. Some of

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Woodhouse, "Kapodistrias and the Philiki Etairia, 1814-1821" in *The Struggle for Greek Independence*, ed. Richard Clogg (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1973), 105-133; C. M. Woodhouse. *Capodistrias* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

[77] The Phoenix was introduced as the currency of the new Greek State in 1828.

[78] Peter Mackridge, "Cultural difference as national identity in Modern Greece", in Hellenisms: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity, ed. Katerina Zacharia (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008), 312.

[79] 1827 Great Powers intervene after Muhammad Ali of Egypt led a successful campaign against Greece. The intervention occurred after Ottoman Empire failed to recognize Treaty of London 1827, and ended in the Ottoman's defeated at the Battle of Navarino. Muhammad's defeat began a long negotiation process with the Ottoman Empire that concluded with the London Protocol of 1830 and the Treaty of Constantinople of 1832, which formally recognized Greece as a monarchy.

[80] When Prince William of Schleswig-Holstein-Glucksburg was elected in 1863, he took the title King George I of the Hellenes. The king's new title as "King of the Hellenes, now meant that he claimed sovereignty over Greeks inside and outside the state's border. This reflected the growing irredentist attitudes of Greek citizens and the shift in Greek foreign policy. The Eastern Question and the Crimean War heightened the nationalist discourse see Robert Shannan Peckham, Natural *Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 38f.

Otto's significant reforms included the establishment of the Church of Greece in 1833, moved the Greek capital to Athens from Nafplio, began extensive archaeological surveys, established the University of Athens (Otto University), replaced place names with Ancient Greek names, and introduced the Drachma as currency. These policies were deeply symbolic and reflected western European classical fanaticism. These reforms essentially defined Otto's modernization of Greece as a copy of western state institutions and Hellenism.[81] Otto focused on building a new nation, and Hellenism was used as the foundation of culture, literature, and identity.

Otto's policies formally cut the Greek State from its Ottoman past and, therefore, alienated a great majority of Greeks. Greek peasants and Greek-speaking Ottoman subjects[82] made up the majority of the Greek-speaking population in the Greek peninsula in the nineteenth century. Unfortunately for the state, these populations could not relate to Korais's and Otto's views that Greek society should be based on classical scholarship and political values of the Enlightenment.[83] The majority of Greeks at this time resembled Ottoman subjects rather than classical citizens. They could not speak or understand ancient Greek, and they were loyal to the Orthodox Church of Constantinople.[84]

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[81] "Hellenism" according to the Greeks intelligentsia of the Greek Kingdom and the Diaspora was about making western classical scholarship a reality.

[82] Gerasimos Augustinos, The *Greeks of Asia Minor: confession, community and ethnicity in the 19th century* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1992), 33-54.

[83] One of the major symbols of Greek backwardness was the endemic problem of brigandage. For the debate of brigandage between Greece and Britain and the impact of brigandage on the ideas about Greek identity see Rodanthi Tzanelli, "Haunted by the Enemy Within: Brigandage, Vlachian/Albanian Greekness, Turkish Contamination, and Narratives of Greek Nationhood in the Dilessi/Marathon Affair". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 20, no. 1 (2002): 47-74.

[84] Greek Orthodoxy did not go through a reformation like Western Europe, and as such it was more reluctant to Enlightenment calls for separation of individual and state. Also, there was a deep ethnic character linked to Greek Orthodoxy which created tension in the shaping of modern Greek identity. Nikos Kokosalakis, "Religion and modernization in 19th century Greece," *Social Compass* 34, no.2/3 (1987): 227ff.

Otto's reign did not only alienate the peasant populations, but he also stalled the political ambitions of the local notables, militant chiefs,[85] and diaspora educated elite. Local notables and militant chiefs played a prominent role in the pre-revolutionary period, and now their sacrifices were enjoyed by a foreign King. Additionally, the diaspora saw Otto as a contradiction to their liberal visions of the Greek state and called for a constitution. Therefore, two major outstanding issues that mired King Otto's reign were the unredeemed Greeks and Constitutional rule. Both of these issues were addressed with the introduction of a constitution in 1844, however not without controversy.

The Constitution of 1844 was one of the most democratic in Europe. It was established a bicameral legislature and provided universal male suffrage. However, while it appeased those who called for political reform, it raised questions about who was protected under it. The constitution of 1844 heightened the debate of autochthonous[86] and heterochthonous Greeks.[87] The debate revealed the deep-rooted tension between the Greeks born outside the Greek state and those born within.[88] Heterochthons such as Kapodistrias, Georgios Mavrokordatos, Ioannis Kolettis had played leading roles in the formative years of the Greek state. However, their liberal

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[85] 1844 constitution addressed the problem of militant chiefs and brigand bands by pushing them to the borders and allowing them to pursue their interest there. By doing so the state, "satisfied a potentially dangerous social element without burdening state finances, while creating the impression that Greek national aspirations were not being abandoned". See John Koliopoulos, "Brigandage and Irredentism in 19th century Greece", in *Modern Greece: Nationalism and Nationality*, eds. M. Blinkhorn and T. Veremis (Athens: Eliamep, 1990):79.

[86] Greeks born in the Kingdom and who had full rights.

[87] Greeks living in the Kingdom but born abroad.

[88] For more on the debate see Frederick F. Anscombe, *State, Faith, and Nation in Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Lands* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 155f; Socrates Petmezas, "From privileged outcasts to power player: The Romantics redefinition of the Hellenic nation in the mid-nineteenth century" in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past,* eds. Roderick Beaton & David Ricks (UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 123-135; Yanna Delivoria, "The notion of nation: the emergence of the national ideal in the narratives of inside and outside Greeks in the 19th century", in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past*, eds. Roderick Beaton & David Ricks (UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 109-122.

view failed to relate to garner support from the locals. Their western education and Hellenistic[89]

cultural values distanced them from the autochthons' majority. The debate also brought to light

the cleavages between the intellectual elite who supported the establishment of modern state

institutions and the traditional society.

Ioannis Kolettis was one of the first Greek statesmen to address the alienation of the

majority of Greek speakers from the state. Opposing Otto's parochial policies, Kolettis had a

grand view of the Greek state. He is credited with introducing the *Megali Idea* ideology,[90] which

attempted to solve the problem of unreclaimed Greeks.   Kolettis's speech in 1844[91] formally

began a shift in the Greek State's cultural ideology from revivalism toward continuity.   Kolettis

called for the unity of the Greek nation regardless of birthplace by merging the Byzantium

tradition of autochthons with the "Western" Hellenism of the heterochthons to create a Romantic

idealization of Hellenism.

The Romantic Hellenism described by Kolletis was a part of a larger pan-European

movement that adopted folklore to understand the unique position of the Greek people. As

Western travelers and archaeologists came to the new Greek State, they realized that the Greek

population did not fit their classical and linear models. The reality of Greece, according to

foreigners, was a destitute peasant population that was loyal to the "superstitious" Orthodox

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[89] Paschalis Kitromilides, "Imagined Communities and the Origins of the National Question in the Balkans", *European History Quarterly* 19 (1989): 159-161.

[90] The *Megali Idea* was an irredentist ideology adopted by the Greek state until 1922. It set out to expand borders based on the policy of liberating areas inhabited by Greeks outside the boundaries of the state. For opposing argument that *Megali Idea* began right after the fall of Constantinople see Pinar Senisik, *The Transformation of Ottoman Crete: Revolt, Politics and Identity in the Late 19ᵗʰ Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 51.

[91] For speech see Epameinondas Kyriakidis, *The History of Modern Greece from the foundation of the Kingdom to the present day 1832-1892* [*Ιστορία του Συγχρόνου Ελληνισμού από της ιδρύσεως του Βασιλείου της Ελλάδος μέχρι των ημερών μας 1832-1892*] (Athens: Royal Typography, 1892) [Αθήνα: Βασιλικής Τυπογραφίας, 1892], 494.

church.   Ethnographical studies thus began as an attempt to try to understand what happened to the Greeks of antiquity.

Rejecting Revivalist Narratives and the Emergence of Continuity

The autochthons-heterochthons debate highlighted the tension caused by the duality of Greek identity. It is this tension that contemporary anthropologists have focused on when studying the representations of Greek identity.[92]   Most scholars have confronted the problems of Greek identity by addressing the relationship between the state and people; rural and urban; elite and lower classes; gender relationships; and locals and foreigners.[93] At the heart of contemporary anthropological studies is the populist *Romeic* Greek identity that uses the vernacular and is familiar with the Ottoman past and the state-sponsored Hellenic Greek identity, which is seen as elitist and has a direct relationship with the west and antiquity. Michael Herzfeld argues that the latter was used as a means by the Greek state to construct a Greek identity that could make claims to being part of Europe.[94] Herzfeld's anthropological work on Greece focuses on the

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[92] Maria Couroucli, "Identity, Nationalism and Anthropologists," in *Between Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. Paul Sant Cassia (Palgrave Macmillan 2007), 78f.

[93] Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the looking glass*; Loring Danforth, "Ideological Context of the Search for Continuities in Greek Culture,*" Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 2, no. 1 (1984): 53-85; Dimitra Gefou-Madianou, "Cultural Polyphony and Identity Formation: Negotiating Tradition in Attica." *American Ethnologist 26, no. 2 (1999): 412-439;* Peter Loizos and Evthymios Papataxiarchis, *Contested Identities: Gender and Kinship in Modern Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

[94] The Ionian Islands used antiquity as a link to the west, but never abandoned the *Romeic* identity. Western culture was not based on historic revivalism but cultural continuity. By proving contemporary Greeks had liberal values, proved to them that they had a link to the west irrespective of how prevalent antiquity was in modern Greek rural society.

relationship of the state with marginal groups and its conformity to western European expectations. The Greek state, according to Herzfeld, was flawed in the sense that it was unable to deal with the ideological contradictions of Greek identity.[95] Herzfeld's other studies focus on the duality of Greek identity and the relationship between the local and the national representations.[96]

Anthropology, ethnography, and folklore studies all compliment each other and have their roots in the nineteenth-century attempts by both Greeks and foreigners to resolve the Greek identity conundrum. Western European folklore studies in Greece had two goals. On the one hand, it had orientalist motivation by examining marginal societies to identify the "otherness" of the west; on the other hand, it was to find the missing link between local Greeks and antiquity. Essentially what emerged was a pan-European movement that produced common ideas about Greek history and identity. This collective movement included an extensive network of intellectual exchange that included Greeks, French, British, Italians, and Germans.[97]

The social experiments began when Western archaeologists came to Greece in search of an ancient Greek spirit. What they found was a Greek population that was as degraded as the ruins and monuments archaeologists unearthed. The realities of Greece were used as an example by romantic poets to remind people of the dangers of moving away from civilization and the ideals of the ancients.[98] Nevertheless, some saw the Greeks as live remnants from the time of

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[95] Herzfeld refers to the contradiction as *disemia,* a contradiction between the introverted collective identity and state conformity of idealized western identity. See Herzfeld, *Anthropology Through the Looking glass*, 95-122.

[96] For the shaping of rural culture in opposition to the state see Michael Herzfeld, *The Poetic of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

[97] M. Espagne and G. Pecout, eds. "Philhellenismes et transferts culturels dans L'Europe du XIXe sie`cle," *Revue Germanique Internationale*, (Paris: CNRS, 2005), 1–2 cited in Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 65.

[98] British Romantic poets such as William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Keats all had an intimate interest in Ancient Greek culture which was reflected in much of their works.

Homer[99] and studied Greek society to find a glimpse of this past. In this light, the increasing

popularity of ethnography and folklore studies in Greece marked a departure from revivalism to

continuity. While traditional Greek historiography attributes the *Megali Idea* (1843-1922) with

Kolettis, French and German Romantic thinkers and their ethnographical studies provided the

impetus for such a radical idea.[100] Archaeology, ethnography, and folklore studies laid the

foundation for cultivating nationalist historiography and identity based on popular culture and

the vernacular. Ethnographical studies focused on discovering and collecting folk stories and

music to discover the resilience of ancient Greek culture in contemporary Greek peasant society.

Consequently, a Greek identity centered on continuity and an unbroken link to the Ancients had

an enormous impact on the irredentist claims in the region. In this sense, the older the culture,

the stronger its claim was to the territory.[101]

The rise of the vernacular had extreme consequences in the twentieth century, and

ethnography and folklore studies took the forefront in borderland disputes. Thus, there is a close

relationship between ethnography and political power. Just like archaeology served the political

interest of imperial civilizing missions, ethnography served nationalists' motives.[102] Ethnography

and folklore were central in defining people's identity and politics.

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[99] Upon visiting Epirus William Leake stated, "The domestic manners of the Greeks of Ioannina have in general been very little affected by the long residence of many of the merchants in foreign countries, and, as in other parts of Turkey, seem not to have undergone any great alteration sine the time of Homes" in *Travels in Northern Greece* (London: J. Rodwell, 1835), 4:145.

[100] Espagne & Pécout, "Philhellenismes et transferts culturels."

[101] Diana Mishkova, "In Quest of Balkan Occidentalism," *CAS Working Paper Series* no 1. (2007): 7-10.

[102] Roger Abrahams, "Phantoms of Romanic Nationalism in Folklorists." *The Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 419 (1993): 3-37.

Ethnographical studies[103] attempted to find the authentic people and voice of the nation by creating a common language, myth, history, culture, customs, songs, and traditions. The nation was created around an imagined community, in which individuals felt a communion with others that shared in similar customs, symbols, and traditions.[104] In addition, folklore studies provide the forum for creating a collective memory of the nation. National legitimacy was predicated on authenticity,[105] and authenticity was established through national myths and histories.

By 1821 philhellenism began to focus on contemporary Greeks rather than antiquity, and in order to legitimize the Greeks as a nation to the rest of Europe, philhellenes needed to find the existence of antiquity in people and not ruins.[106] German philhellenes[107] were some of the first to identify the need to recognize an authentic national Greek population. German philhellenes concentrated on continuity and nature, or the "naturalization of the nation."[108] Wilhelm Muller's collection of poems, *Griechenlieder[109]* (1821-1827), highlighted a significant departure from the

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[103] For general history of Greek folklore studies see Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros. *The Theory of Greek Folklore-Critical Analysis.* (Athens: Society for Neohellenic Cultural and Educational Studies, 1978); Michael Herzfeld. *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece.* (New York: Pella Publishing Company, 1986);Roderick Beaton, "The Oral Traditions of Modern Greece: A Survey." Oral Tradidtions 1, no. 1(1986): 110-133.

[104] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

[105] Anthony Smith. *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), 65f.

[106] Johann Gottfried Herder in 1784 wrote, "Now consider Greece; you no longer find the ancient Greeks, nor even their land. If they did not still speak a remnant of their language, if you could not still see the remains of their way of thinking, of their art, of their cities, or at least their rivers and mountains, you would be bound to think that ancient Greece was a product of the poetic imagination like the island of Calypso or Alcinous" translated and cited in Constance Guthenke. "Nature in Arms: Greek Locality, Freedom and German Philhellenism," in *German Literature, History and the Nation*, eds. Christian Emden & David Midgley (New York: Peter Lang, 2002), 99.

[107] For general work on German Philhellenism see Damian Valdez, *German Philhellenism: The Pathos of the Historical Imagination from Wincklemann to Goethe* (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[108] Guthenke, "Nature in Arms," 104ff.

[109] Guthenke, *Nature in Arms* 105-115.

classical Athenian model[110] of Greece's past. Focusing on Mani,[111] Muller linked their warrior

reputation to Sparta and, more importantly, referenced a pre-classical tradition. The Maniot as a

mountain dweller encompassed freedom, as he lived outside the realm of political authorities.

Here the German romantic reflected memories in nature and, in turn, the inhabitants of the

topography. In the case of the Maniote, it was a strong image that legitimized the Greek struggle

for liberation from the Ottomans. The blending of continuity and nature is seen in Mueller's use

of Thermopylae[112] and Leonidas[113] as references. German romanticism incorporated a nature-

culture dualism that found memories of the past in both topography and the population of the

territory. The lasting significance of Muller's work was also in making Greek struggle real.

Greece could no longer be seen as an imaginary and essentialized place; by politicizing the

nature of the Greek spirit, German philhellenes legitimized the physical space for the Greek

nation.

W. G. Hegel demonstrated the imbricated relationship between folklore, continuity, and

nature. Nature took a central role in understanding the national spirit or "*Volk*" and in Muller's

case, the Greek mountains and sea represent the spirit of freedom.[114] However, it was not only in

nature that a Greek spirit was found. Muller's contemporary, Claude Fauriel, used folk songs to

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[110] Classical Athens was a model that was strong among French and British intellectuals.
[111] Wilhelm Muller, "Der Maniotte" & "Der Minarett Unterricht" in *Griechenlieder* (Germany: Halle a.d.S., O. Hendel, 1844), 55-57.,
[112] Wilhelm Muller. "Thermopyla," in *Griechenlieder* (Germany: Halle a.d.S., O. Hendel, 1844), 73-76.
[113] Wilhelm Muller, "Alexander Ypsilanti auf Munkacs," in *Griechenlieder* (Germany: Halle a.d.S., O. Hendel, 1844), 34-36.
[114] The German romantic philosopher W.G.Hegel and his views on history, freedom and the state influenced Muller, especially his theological understanding of history and the use of world history (Weltgeist) as the realization of the idea of freedom. This included the "oriental" realm, which was theocratic and despotic. The Greek realm which was partial realization of freedom by elite, and the Roman realm which conflicted between freedom and dominance of republican system. The German realm was the mature stage of progression of idea of freedom. Here individual overcomes the dominance of state institution.

discover and legitimize the Greek nation. In the same period that the French philhellene Gustav

d'Eichthal advocated Greek as the universal language for Europe, Fauriel turned to Greece to

find the origins of the European liberal spirit.   Claude Fauriel[115] was the first to collect and

publish the folk songs of Greece to prove that antiquity never died out of Europe and, at the same

time, discover the spirit of the Greek nation. His *Chants populaire la Grece moderne* (1824;

1825) were central in international[116] and Greek folklore studies.

The songs that Fauriel collected came from Epirus and the West coast of Greece.[117] This

is partly because of his friendships with Ionian Island intellectuals who had already established

familiarity and connections with these regions. The song concentrated on *klephtic* ballads and

focused on themes of heroism and freedom. However, his work was first and foremost about

locating the origins of western ideals and poetic aesthetics, and second to legitimize the struggle

of Greece from the Ottomans by locating liberal principles, namely freedom, liberty, and

brotherhood. For Fauriel, Greek folk songs represented a proto-type of the epic ballad. Because

the Greeks were in the first stages of creating a nation during this time, they provided an ideal

site for studying folk balladry and creating a collective consciousness.[118] In essence, folk songs

represented the cultural activity and traditions of an early nation.

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[115] Claude Fauriel in 1824 expressed three reasons for his study on Greek folk songs, "to pay accurate and deserved respect to the manners, character and spirit of contemporary Greeks; secondly, to counterbalance the exclusively antiquarian studies of Greece that had been published over the previous four hundred years; and finally because of his belief that the living heirs of the ancients Greeks might be a source of hitherto unsought information about their illustrious ancestors" 1824,cited in Roderick Beaton. *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 6-7.

[116] For influence in British Romantics see Anna Koustinoudi & Charalampos Passalis, "Gaskell the Ethnographer: The Case of "Modern Greek Songs." In *Place and Progress in the Works of Elizabeth Gaskell*, eds., Lesa Scholl et al (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2015), 137-146.

[117] Von Haxthausen (1820) collected Greek folk songs and influenced Fauriel.

[118] Timothy Baycroft & David Hopkin, eds. *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century*. *(Koniniklije: Brill, 2012)*,18-23.

While philhellenes used Greek folklore studies to address the continuity in Greece, it was far from being widely accepted in Europe. Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer spearheaded the movement against philhellenism.[119] In the introduction of his history of the Morea Peninsula, he argued against the prevailing narrative of continuity, stating that, "The race of the Hellenes has been exterminated in Europe…since not one drop of noble and untainted Hellenic blood flows in the veins of the Christian population of today's Greece."[120]

These statements profoundly impacted Greek intellectual circles, creating the impetus to move away from foreign reliance on the collection and compilation of Greek studies, and highlighted the dangers of revivalist ideology on Greek historiography. It also raised questions about the role Greeks had in the intellectual exchange between Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. We know that Muller, Fauriel, and Fallmerayer did not visit Greece, so how did they get their information? Intellectual exchange in the nineteenth century relied on intellectual mediators,[121] and it was in Italy and the Ionian Islands that the mediation between western European and Greeks occurred.

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[119] The *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters (*1830) publication argues that Modern Greeks were a product of centuries of ethnic and cultural mixing that there was not valid claim of a relationship between moderns and ancients. See Gregory Jusdanis. *The Necessary Nation*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 36ff. Fallmerayers pro-Turkish and Russian anxieties influenced his views of newly formed Greek State, as a result he did not see the Greek state as legitimacy nor authentic. See J. Hussey, "Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer and George Finley." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4, (1978): 78-87.

[120] "Das Geschlecht der Hellenen ist in Europa ausgerottet..denn auch nicht ein Tropfen edlen und ungemischten Hellenen blutes fließt in den Adern der christlichen Bevölkerung des heutigen Griechenlands." J. P. Fallmerayer, '*Vorrede' to the Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart 1830), III-IV.

[121] Espagne & Pécout, "Philhellenismes et transferts culturels."

Italian Romantics as Mediators of Ideas

The impact of Italian philhellenes is best understood by examining them from two separate movements/groups: the exiles[122] and the revolutionary volunteers.[123] Both groups had a profound influence on elevating the sense of patriotism in Greece. Greek and Italian patriotism emerged from shared experiences of the Napoleonic War, which introduced the language of republicanism, an exile political and literary culture, and a shared hybrid Italian-Greek cultural identity.[124] Italian philhellenes proved to be most influential in the Ionian Islands, where Greek and Italian historical and cultural ties were the strongest. It was the Italian-Ionian links that cultivated an international and cosmopolitan philhellenic movement. This international philhellenism tied Greek culture to a European narrative and promoted European unity among Italians and Greeks. Because Italian philhellenism emerged out of contact with the Ionian Islands, it was disconnected from the English, French, and German "orientalist" concept of Greece.[125]

In order to bring Greece into the European community, Italian philhellenes had to establish historical continuity between modern Greeks and the ancients and demonstrate how

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[122] On the influence of intellectuals as exiles see Isabella, *Risorgimento*; Konstantina Zanou. "Expatriate Intellectials and National Identity: Andrea Moustoxydis in Italy, France and Switzerland," PhD diss., (Universita' Degli Studi Di Pisa, 2003).

[123] On volunteers and the connection between Greek and Italian nationlaist movments see Gilles Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy: political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century." *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, no. 4, (2004): 405-427.

[124] Isabella, *Risorgimento*, 67-68.

[125] Isabella, *Risorgimento,* 78; cf. William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free – The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, 2008), 256ff.

modern Greeks were part of Europe's modern paradigm, mainly that Greeks were capable of adopting liberal ideas.

Instrumental in establishing historic continuity were Guiseppe Pecchio, Alerino Palma, and Santorre Santarose, who claimed that Greece and Rome had a similar history and that both nations shared a common antipathy towards despots, specifically those of Austria and Ottoman Empires. This commonality between Greece and Italy drove volunteers to assist Greece during their war of independence. It also created a mythology of war that promoted philhellenism, not in the traditional terms of saving antiquity but based on spreading freedom in Europe.[126] In this sense, Italian philhellenism was politically motivated and focused on Modern Greek heroism and the struggle against the tyrannical Ottoman Empire.

Santarosa represents the prototype Italian philhellenic volunteer who promoted the myth of war in Greece. As a leader of the failed Piedmont revolution, he became an exile in Greece, continuing his struggle against despotism by fighting the Ottoman Empire. While politics mobilized Italian volunteers to Greece, it was a shared history that motivated them to fight. This shared history was traced to antiquity and expressed in the writings of Pecchio, Palma, and Santarosa as a natural and familial bond[127] between Greece and Rome.

Santarosa's *Lettere dall'esilio*, Palma, and Pecchio's *A Visit to Greece* recount the shared history and experience of Greece and Rome and highlight the family bonds between both nations,[128]often referring to Greece as "mother" or "sister." While historical continuity was

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[126] Gilles Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy Philhellenism in Italy: political friendship and the Italian volunteers in the Mediterranean in the nineteenth century," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9, no. 4 (2004) 405-427.

[127] Isabella, *Risorgimento*, 83.

[128] See William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2008)*,* 255-257; Isabella, *Risorgimento*, 83-91.

established by linking ancient Greece to Italian historiography, the discourse of patriotism was propagated through the mythology of heroism and war.[129] Italians saw the Greek revolution in relation to their own struggles against Austrian imperialism. Volunteering in Greece was based both on paying tribute to Ancient Greece for its gifts to civilization and on liberating the spirit of modern Greece from oppression. In this light, the Greek warrior and his heroism became a focus for the philhellenes. It was in the characteristic of the warrior that antiquity and modern Greece could reconcile. The fight in Greece was seen not as a national struggle but a struggle for liberty, and therefore politically motivated.

Santarosa became the model for the romantic hero.[130] His death by Ottoman bullets on the islands of Sphakteria in 1825 was seen as the ultimate sacrifice. Santarosa died for his beliefs and for what he believed was for the betterment of humanity. The legacy of Santarosa's martyrdom highlighted the features of heroism both in Europe and Greece.   Santarosa's death was also arguable more relevant to Greeks as it was seen as a "sacrifice offered by one victim of despotism for the sake of another."[131] It was through this mythology that Greece was able to mobilize its population to fight a common enemy.

The importance of the relationship between Italy and Greece was two-fold. First, it brought to light a shared experience that made each other cause more convincing to Great Powers. Secondly, it demonstrated the hostility and martyrdom of patriotism towards despotic regimes. The mythology of war and heroism became a mobilizing force for supporting the

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[129] Pécout, "Philhellenism in Italy," 408.
[130] Lord Byron was also viewed as the ideal romantic hero, sacrificing his life for the greater good.
[131] Isabella, *Risorgimento*, 89.

Greek war for independence. Italian exiles and volunteers offered an intellectual bridge that influenced future Greek literary production, specifically on the Ionian Islands.

Konstantina Zanou and Maurizio Isabella[132] assert that Greece needed a bridge to introduce western liberal ideas. Tracing the transnational space of Italian and Greek intellectuals, they argue that diaspora intellectuals played this mediating role in transmitting cultural, political, and national ideas throughout the Adriatic Sea, Ionian Sea, France, and Britain. In the early 1800s, philhellenes imagined Greece and Hellenism as an idea, a utopian society and, not necessarily a real geographic space, that represented the ideals and struggles of Western civilization. The Greeks Diaspora intellectuals used these romantic philhellenic narratives to construct a geographic space encompassing the real and imagined continuity between the ancients and modern.[133]

Having discussed the complex history of the emergence of a Greek identity and the influence of the West, the next chapter focuses on examining the role of the Ionian Islands as a bridge for mediating ideas. The Ionian intelligentsia was cosmopolitan and part of a larger European intellectual exchange. Whether it was romanticism from the west or irredentist patriotism from Italy, Greek mediators had a challenging role in bringing together different and often foreign ideas into the context of Greece. The Ionian mediators were not only important in spreading western ideas, but they were instrumental in forming a national narrative of Greece that filled in the voids between antiquity and contemporary Greeks.

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[132] Maurizio Isabella and Konstantina Zanou, eds. *Mediterranean Diaspora: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century* (New York, Bloomsbury, 2016).

[133] In this light the Greek Revolutionary War was dissaociated with European revolutionary movements, instead taking on the form of a war that was fought to preserve Christian civilization against Eastern threats. Konstantina Zanou, Andrea Moustoxydis: Nostalgia, popular poetry and philhellenism" [«Andrea Moustoxydis : nostalgie, poésie populaire et philhellénisme »], *Revue germanique internationale* [Online] (2005): 1-2, 17-19, accessed 09 July 2019. http://journals.openedition.org/rgi/81 17-19

It has been established that revivalism dominated both political policies and cultural values during the pre-revolutionary period and during the absolute and constitutional monarch periods of Greece. However, this was not true in the Ionian Islands. The historical development of a Greek identity on the islands was drastically different from that of the Greek state and its inhabitants. It was an identity that rivaled and competed with the Hellenic identity of Korais.

The following section will address the cultural development of Ionian Greekness and examine why the Ionian concept of Greek identity did not follow the same trajectory as the mainland. Scholars have studied the development of the Ionian identity by focusing on the islands' imperial legacy and the absence of the Ottoman Empire. While this helps us understand the cosmopolitan nature of Ionian identity, it fails to address why Ionian intellectuals developed a Greek identity that was different from the western meta-narrative of Greece and espoused by many of the Diaspora communities.   Many Ionians went to the same foreign schools as their Diaspora contemporaries but failed to adapt western classical values. I address this problem through a new paradigm and argue that Ionian uniqueness came from geographic factors rather than political or cultural ones. A geographic analysis moves away from a traditional historical narrative that argues that Greeks simply mimicked or attempted to mimic foreign perception of their identity and instead demonstrated that Greeks had agency in constructing their identity.

Chapter VI: The Mediterranean in Transition-Ionian Insularity and Culture

The previous chapter focused on the external vision of Greece and argued that the Greek Revolution was influenced by external political rather than national or cultural motivations. British, French, German, and Greek Diaspora constructed a national identity that excluded many Greeks. When foreigners arrived in the Greek state, they were often shocked at what they referred to as the "oriental" traits of the Greeks. Because of this disillusionment between the learned images of Greece versus the realities, many western philhellenes used Greece as a site for political ambitions. For instance, Britain, France, and Germany used Greece and its current position to further their imperial narrative and justify their civilizing mission in the East, while Italy saw Greece as a reflection of their own struggles again despotic regimes.[1]

While there was an attempt by Greek intellectuals such as Korais, Rhigas, and Kolettis to create a national literary culture, they failed to address the difference between the "imagined" Greece and the reality. The ancients and modern debates were experienced throughout Europe, sparking skepticism on the legitimacy of the Greek nation. The emphasis on revivalism and antiquity marginalized the majority of the Greek population, who could not relate to the ancients. This gave anti-philhellenic such as Fallmerayer a powerful source to make claims against Greek political aspirations. However, during the period after the Greek revolution, the Ionian School challenged both the West's concept of Greece and the Greek State-sponsored revivalist narrative.

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[1] Romantic Italians understood the Greek cause in terms of a broader political goal. It was believed that by liberating Greece, Italian exiles could launch their own liberation movements from Greece.

The Ionian School created new historiography, poetry, and literary narratives for the new Greek nation. It was far more inclusive and, more importantly, challenged the anti-philhellenic evidence about the continuity of Greek identity.[2] The two themes that the Ionian School focused on to express continuity was: Byzantium[3] and the klephtic/armatoli culture of Greece. The focus of this chapter is to highlight Ionian philological and historical production and to attempt to contextualize these works within the broader historical realities and literary trends of the period.

What made the Ionian Islands different from other peripheral areas of Greece? Why were they able to challenge the status quo, and how successful were they in doing so? I argue that insularity and peripherality were the main reasons the Ionian intelligentsia developed ideas about Greekness that differed from the revivalist meta-narrative of the West.

While insularity fostered a dependency on the West, peripherality allowed for the islands to express agency in fostering new communication networks. By examining the body of works that came out of the islands, it becomes clear that the Ionian intellectual elite were part of a literary circle that had cross-cultural links between Greece, Italy, Russia, France, and Britain. The difference between Ionian and other Greek literary circles is that Ionian intellectuals did not mimic the western meta-narrative of Greek identity but created national Greek literature by adapting and modulating western ideas that were relevant to their own socio-political realities.

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[2] Roderick Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 8.
[3] On changing role of Byzantium on Modern Greek identity see Effi Gazi, "Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative," *Historein* 6 (2006):143-149.

Ionian Romantics and the Greek Revolution

The revolutionary period for Ionian literary production was impacted by the Venetian, French, and early British occupation of the Ionian Islands and influenced by the ideals of the Neo-Hellenic enlightenment and the French Revolution. The Ionian intellectuals who led this movement were cosmopolitan by nature and part of an inter-literary, trans-regional network that connected Kerkyra to Istria, Italy, and Russia.[4] Konstantina Zanou, Effi Gazi, and Maurizio Isabella have contributed to understanding the mediating role these Ionians played in forming a Greek national identity.

Modern Greek historiography owes its origins to Ionian Romantic thinkers like Andrea Moustoxydis, Ugo Foscolo, Andreas Kalvos, and Dionysos Solomos, who constructed a body of poetry and history that influenced future nationalist poets. These men of letters were trailblazers for both Greek and Italian irredentist movements and part of a broader Mediterranean cosmopolitan heritage.[5]

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[4] The theory of cultural transfer is especially useful in this study. Michel Espagne, *Les tranferts culturels franco-allemands.* (Paris: Puf, 1999), 21ff is attributed with the origins of transfer history. Espagne argues that national cultures are constructed through various networks of cultural exchange. These exchanges occur through transfers from one entity (religion, culture, nation) to another through intermediaries. Also see Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, eds. *Comparison and History. Europe in Cross-national Perspective* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 30f; Konstantina Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectials and National Identity: Andrea Moustoxydis in Italy, France and Switzerland,"PhD diss., (Universita' Degli Studi Di Pisa, 2003), 17f.

[5] Marc Aymes. "Something of an Area: Sketches from Among Heptanesian Step-Ottomans," in *Society, Politics and State Formation in Souteastern Europe during the 19th century*., eds. Tasso Anastassiadis and Nathalie Clayer. (Athens: Alpha Bank Historic Archives, 2011) argues that the Southeastern Mediterranean world was representative by a Heptanesian culture. What makes Ionian culture unique was its translatability between west and east. Its cosmopolitan character, and not fitting into any labels (national or protege) allowed them to communicate and navigate the often confusing bureaucracy of southeastern Mediterranean. Similarly, Konstantina Zanou argues that it was Andreas Moustoxydis's biculturalism and bilingualism that excluded him from monolithic Italian and

Andreas Moustoxydis acted as an "intellectual bridge," his writings on Greek history had a lasting effect on the development of a national narrative based on continuity and peasant traditions. [6] Zanou has completed extensive research on Ionian intellectual culture between 1800-1830, focusing on individuals such as Andreas Moustoxydis, Andreas Kalvos, and Ugo Foscolo. She argues that these men represent the expatriate elites who were instrumental in the intellectual exchange between the East and West. More specifically, she argues that exiles were central in shaping a narrative of distance and nostalgia in the Greek identity, a feature that was instrumental in reconciling classical revivalist and romantic intellectual circles.[7] In fact, Zanou claims that the transition from the western revivalist model to the romantic continuity model can be traced in the early works of Moustoxydis,[8] Ugo Foscolo, and Andreas Kalvos and can be traced to the period between 1810-1820.

Moustoxydis' *Hellinomnimon*[9] was the first historic attempt to introduce Byzantium as Greece's medieval history and the missing link from ancient to modern Greece.[10] Moustoxydis' work highlighted the cultural production of Byzantium not as something that deteriorated Greek

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Greek national historiography. Zanou, *Expatriate Intellectuals*, 10. Also see Konstantina Zanou, "Beyond 'Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment' Greek Intellectuals Between the Ionian Islands, Italy and Russia*," CAS Working Paper Series* no. 6 (2014): 25. Here, Zanou shows there were significant linkages between the Ionian Islands and Russia, which centered around the network of intellectuals know as Greco-Russians.

[6] Konstantina Zanou. *Expatriate Intellectials,* 129.

[7] Zanou *Expatriate Intellectuals*, 130-136.

[8] Zanou, 246-248.

[9] This journal was one of the few published in Greek and contained 12 volumes. It was launched in 1843 the same year he became the official historiographer of the Ionian Islands under Lord Seaton. The journal focused on historic and cultural themes, including biographies of artists, church leaders, and illustrious men from the Byzantine to modern period of Greek history. Agathi, Nikokavoura, "Andreas Moustoxydis and the Hellinomnimon" [«Ο Ανδρέας Μουστοξύδης και ο Ελληνομνήμων»], *Kerkyraika Chronika* [*Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*] 8, (1960): 151-162.

[10] The search for medieval history was a literary trend in western Europe in the early 19th century and Moustoxydis's contemporary, Italo-Swiss scholar Jean Chares Leonard de Sismondi had published *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* in 1807 and 1817. Romantic interest in Middle Ages was about the discovery of a new age of humanity. It was in contrast to the industrialization and science and searched for a more pure and humble time. In this sense the country and peasants became idealized as organic, primitive and pure and their popular songs and poetry became a symbol of their values.

culture but as something that enhanced it. In doing so, Moustoxydis legitimized Byzantium, which allowed future scholars to adapt it to the national narrative. His interest in the medieval history of Greece caught the eye of many of his European colleagues, one of which was Claude Charles Fauriel. In actuality, it was Moustoxydis who helped Fauriel with his collection of popular Greek songs. Moustoxydis's legitimization of Byzantium was arguably one of the most significant intellectual projects in the Greek nation-building process.

Ugo Foscolo, Andreas Kalvos, and Dionysios Solomos were also significant in conceiving a national narrative of continuity. Just like Moustoxydis, these men were raised with a Venetian cultural and literary tradition, spent a significant time of their life abroad, and became involved in romantic movements. While the majority of their works were written in Italian, once Kalvos and Solomos moved b ack to the Ionian Islands, they began to write in Greek. In fact, Kalvos and Solomos were concerned with the lack of Modern Greek literature and called for more works to be published in demotic Greek.[11]

The topics of Kalvos and Solomos poetry concentrated on the war of independence, folk songs, legends, and proverbs of Greece, with themes that expressed the pain, hopes, and desires of the Greek peasants and revolutionary warriors. These themes were popular up until the Greek state was formalized in the 1830s, and the Athenian Romantic's and their neo-classical focus interrupted the Ionian dominance of Modern Greek literature production.

Kalvos, Solomos, and Foscolo represent the archetypal Ionian intellectual elite. A review of their biographies reflects the extent the islands were connected to regional literary and cultural developments. From about 1800-1830, these networks extended from the Ionian Islands to Italy,

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[11] Both Kalvos and Solomos published works in demotic as early as 1823.

France, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire. The extensive web of transcultural networks were established and strengthened under the foreign occupation of the islands.   For instance, the cultural links between the Ionian Islands and Italy had the most extended history and can be traced from the fourteenth-century Venetian rule of the islands. The French also had a long history on the islands, which originated with Napoleon's invasion and the establishment of the French Septinsular Republic in 1797. Lastly, the Russian established links after the expulsion of the French in the islands with the creation of the Russian-Ottoman Septinsular Republic between 1800-1807. New cross-cultural intellectual exchange occurred with each occupation, be it with Italian-Russian, French-Greek, or Greek-Italian. Men such as Foscolo, Kalvos, and Solomos's political and social outlook were indebted to the transnational and expatriate experiences.

Foscolo, Kalvos, and Solomos were all from the island of Zakynthos, and all became national poets for their respective nations (Italy/Greece). Zanou's study of these men shows that by the 1830s, they completed their transformation from cosmopolitan intellectuals to national poets, a transition that reflected the regional change from a world of empires to that of nation-states.[12] All three men studied in Italy as most Ionian children of privilege did, but they all remained tied to their place of birth. Their ability to oscillate between Italy and the islands was an advantage Ionian intellectuals enjoyed uninterrupted until the formation of the Greek Kingdom in 1832.

While living and writing abroad, Ionian writers felt a deep connection to Greece. It is not surprising then that when Parga was ceded in 1819, many took to the pen to express their

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[12] Konstantina Zanou, "Bewtween Two Patriae: Transnational Patriotism in the Ionian Islands and the Adriatic, 1800-1830. (University Seminar, York University, Toronto, 2012)

disappointment. The cession of Parga was significant as it demonstrated that the West was not

willing to protect the political and cultural interests of the Greek people. Foscolo, in 1817,

already expressed concerns about the British in the Ionian Islands when he wrote *Stato politico

delle sole Jonie.* After the cession of Parga, Foscolo, Kalvos and Solomos were reinvigorated to

support the Greek cause, manipulating the events of Parga into a "political agenda which

transcended the fate of one small village and was instrumental in advancing the causes of Greek

and Italian nationality alike." [13]

    Foscolo's campaign against the cession of Parga was highlighted in his article, *On

Parga,*[14] which was published in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1819. It is here that we see the

significance of popular culture in establishing the legitimacy of Greece. Fighting "orientalist"

images of travel writing from French and British authors, Foscolo wrote a contrasting image of

Greece. Instead of superstitious religious peasants, they were reimagined as noble protectors of

Christianity under Muslim occupation.[15] In an article, he retells a speech by an elder Pargiot[16]

who recounted the evacuation of villages and how the locals set fire to the village and cemeteries

in order to avoid the atrocities of Ali Pasha:

> As soon as the notice was given [of how much Ali was to be charged for their
> homeland] every family marched solemnly out of its dwelling, without tears or
> lamentation; and the men, preceded by their priests, and followed by their sons,
> proceeded to the sepulchres of their fathers, and silently unearthed and collected

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[13] Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile*, 71.

[14] Ugo Foscolo, "On Parga," in *Edinburgh Review 32*, (1819).

[15] On debate between Foscolo and British philhellenes see E. R. Vincent, *Byron, Hobhouse and Foscolo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949).

[16] Here Foscolo imitates Thucydides writing style is as a means to make his writing familiar to British neo-classical audiences, but also to show connections of the Pargiots with their ancient heritage.

their remains, – which they placed upon a huge pile of wood which they had previously erected before one of their churches. They even took their arms in their hands, and, setting fire to the pile, stood motionless and silent around it, till the whole was consumed. During this melancholy ceremony, some of Ali's troops, impatient for possession, approached the gates of the town; upon which a deputation of citizens was sent to inform our Governor, that if a single Infidel was admitted before the remains or their ancestors were secured from profanation, and they themselves, with their families, fairly embarked, they would all instantly put to death their wives and children, – and die with their arms in their hands, – and not without a bloody revenge on those who had *bought and sold* their country. Such a remonstrance, at such a moment, was felt and respected, as it ought by those to whom it was addressed. General Adam succeeded in stopping the march of the Mussulmans. The pile burnt out – and the people embarked in silence; – and Free and Christian Parga is now a stronghold of ruffians, renegades, and slaves![17]

What is significant here is the characterization and emphasis of Greece as a nation with European values, such as liberty, Christianity, and an ancient Greek legacy. Kavlos and Solomos, who formed part of the Ionian school, also further developed these themes. Inspired by the Italian Romantics' patriotism and European Christian humanism, they wrote on the sacrifice and struggle of Christians versus Muslims. Like Foscolo, they were careful not to overly rely on classical Greece to dismiss Greek legitimacy and relevance to modern realities.[18] The Ionian school was successful in two ways: first, it produced a body of work that could be read by general Greek audiences, and second, it offered translations to international audiences. This was

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[17] Foscolo "On Parga," 294. Cited in Peter Cochran, "The Sale of Parga and the Islas of Greece." *Keats-Shelly Review* (2000): 42-51.

[18] Gregory Jusdanis argues that the use of classicalism in the Ionian school was a "manifestation of radical republican politics rather than an expression of the conservatism of the Phanariots." Gregory Jusdanis. "Greek Romanticism: A Cosmopolitan Discourse," in *Romantic Poetry*, ed. Angela Esterhammer (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2002), 272.

a significant trend in the "demoticization" of literature but also the legitimatization of the Greek nation.

No one author did more for spreading the popularity of Greek poetry to a wider audience than Solomos. His *Hymn to Liberty* highlights the Ionian romantic goals of demoticizing and legitimizing the Greek nation. Expressing the romantic desire for liberty *Hymn to Liberty* became an instant favorite with European Romantics, and Fauriel's translation helped it spread to non-Greek and Italian audiences, and it rouses philhellenic feelings across the globe. What we see in the Ionian School was a romantic movement that freely crossed borders.

From 1800-1830 the free movement of intellectuals across the islands and Italy was disrupted by wars and revolutions. During this period, Kalvos and Solomos moved back to the Ionian Islands and emerged in the Greek intellectual circles of Kerkyra; Kalvos became a professor at the Ionian Academy, and Solomos retreated to better his writing. The resurgence of continental nationalist movements in 1830 significantly accelerated the deterioration of the traditional networks of exchange between the islands and Europe. In this new reality, the heterogeneous essence of Ionian identity was increasingly becoming a hindrance. By 1830 speaking and writing in Italian became less fashionable among Ionian intellectuals as they focused on developing a Modern Greek literary tradition outside the influence of the European classical tradition and Athenian romantics. This shift was best reflected in Solomos' gradual transformation into a Greek national poet. Between 1820-1830, the perpetual crises on the continent pushed Solomos out of Italian humanitarian circles and towards Greek romantics. In discussing Solomos' decision to reinvent himself as a Greek poet, Konstantina Zanou argues that it was due, in part, to his encounters with Spyridon Tikoupis in Zakynthos (writer and future Prime Minister of Greece) and the influence of his friend Giuseppe Montani. In 1822, Trikouopis

mentored Solomos in the Greek language and exposed him to medieval literature written in the vernacular.[19] However, the rejection he received from his Italian colleagues ultimately sealed his fate as a Greek poet. In 1824, Montani published a critical review of Solomos Italian-language collection *Rime improvvista* in the romantic journal *Antologia*. In the article, he attacked Solomos for improvising Italian lyrics and betraying his patriotic plans when he left Italy in 1818—to return to the Ionian Islands to create Greek patriotic poetry—to inspire the liberation of his homeland.[20]

The nationalization process that intensified by 1830 reflected the response of Ionian intellectuals to change. In the early nineteenth century Ionian intellectuals started the process of demoticised (or popularizing) the literary tradition for the people.[21] While the Ionians sought to create a body of patriotic and nationalist writings, they were aware of the educative function of their work, merging political ideas and intellectual realities.[22]

The period between 1830-1864 marks the nationalization of Modern Greek identity. It is highlighted not by an attempt of Ionian intellectuals to legitimize the Greek nation within Europe but to legitimize Greeks within the Greek Kingdom.

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[19] Zanou, *Stammering the Nation*, 57.

[20] Zanou, 56-58

[21] Effi Gazi. *Scientific National History: The Greek Case in Comparative Perspective, 1850-1920* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); Dimitris Tziovas, *The Nationalism of the Demoticists and Its Impact on Their Literary Theory* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1986), 6, 248; Antonis Liakos, "Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece", in *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and* Present, eds. Hayashi Tadayuki and Hiroshi Fukuda (Sapporo: Slavic Euroasian Studies, 2007), 15:205-227.

[22] Gazi *Scientific National History*, 65.

The Path to a Modern Greek Literary Form

Historically the Ionian Islands served as a place of refuge for Greek speakers in the Ottoman Mediterranean. During times of war, the islands offered a haven for Greeks fleeing Ottoman troops since they were protected by Venice and physically out of reach from the strongest military centers of the Ottoman military.[23] The waves of refugees that came undoubtedly changed the cultural makeup of the islands. Memories of war with the Ottomans, the longing to return home, and the protection of traditions would have been part of the immigrant experience in their adopted land, but, more importantly, it would have influenced the feelings about being Greek in the Ionian Islands. A large portion of the Ionian population comprised refugees, including many noble families who had familial connections to Crete and Epirus. Considering the migration of Greeks to the Ionian Islands,[24] insularity (as both a force of connectivity, isolation, and exile) needs to be considered in any examination of identity formation. For instance, the islands' isolation provided a defensive advantage during periods of war, while its connectivity to Italy allowed Ionians to pursue economic and social advantages over their continental co-nationals.

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[23] The most important cultural impacts on the islands occurred during the migration of Cretan, Pargariotes, Souliote refugees.

[24] Cretan refugees in 1699 influenced icon painting and literature in the Ionian Islands, see Nondas Stamatopoulos, *Old Corfu: History and Culture*. 3rd ed. (Corfu: N. Stamatopoulos, K Mihalas, 1993), 61-70. In the nineteenth century Souli 1803 and Parga 1819 refugees influenced the lasting memory of the Greek War of Independence on the islands, see Jim Potts, "The Souliots in Souli and Corfu and the Strange Case of Photos Tzavellas" in *Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Partrick Sammon (Newcastleupon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 112f.

Apart from providing migrants a refuge, a product of Ionian insularity that influenced Ionian intellectuals was exile. This was not the same exile experienced by Risorgimento patriots,[25] who fled despotism in Italy, but a self-imposed exile. Zanou argues that self-exile, and the perception of distance and displacement, was a necessary part of the Ionian process of forming a Greek national identity that sought nostalgia, continuity, and belonging through the philhellenic narratives of the west.[26] Exile created a paradox in the sense that it was only from outside the boundaries of the Greek state that intellectuals like Moustoxydis, Kalvos, and Solomos constructed a Greek national consciousness. While Kalvos did not adopt exile as a literary trope, his personal experience as an exile influenced him. For instance, during the period of the Greek Revolution (1821-1826), Kalvos was living abroad in London, Geneva,[27] and Paris was actively involved in Western philhellenic circles,[28] cultivating ideas about Greekness. For Kalvos, and other Ionian intellectuals, writing national poetry was a means of fulfilling their patriotic duty to support the liberation of Greece but also a means of creating a sense of belonging while abroad.

The philhellenic circles that Kalvos held company within Europe inspired him to adopt a revivalist *topos* in his writing as he attempted to negotiate both Classicist and Romantic themes

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[25], Maurizio Isabella, "Exile and Nationalism: the Case of the Risorgimento," *European History Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2006): 493-520.

[26] Konstantina Zanou, "Nostalgia, Self-Exile and the National Idea: The Case of Andrea Moustoxydis and the Early-19th-Century Heptanesians of Italy", in A. Aktar, N. Kızılyürek, and U. Özkırımlı eds, *Nationalism in the Troubled Triangle: Cyprus, Greece and Turkey* (London and New York, 2009).

[27] In the 1820s Kalvos was exiled for his participation in the *carbonari*. Zanou, posits that it was as an Italian-exile that Kalvos began to write Greek poetry. Before this he was writing in Italian, as this was his first language. This is one of the examples Zanou uses to highlight the transcultural patriotism of Ionian intellectuals. Konstantina Zanou, "The Staggering of Andreas Kalvos," in *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 47-53.

[28] On philhellenic influence see Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectuals*,"* 130ff; cf. Isabella *Risorgimento in Exile,* 75-82.

in his works.[29]   For instance, David Rick examines Kalvos' use of Homeric and ancient Greek themes in his collection of odes, which he wrote in 1827 while in Geneva.[30] Specifically, Ricks is interested in how Kalvos incorporated ancient Greek themes, specifically Kalvos' use of Homeric tropes, with the Greek Revolutionary War and modern Greece. Kalvos, in an attempt to create new Greek literary model, was one of the first intellectuals to merge demotic Greek with classical traditions. In the absence of a modern Greek poetic form of expression and in an attempt to move away from Italian poetic forms, Kalvos merged Homeric language and forms with the *klephtic* traditions and themes of the Revolution, which he felt would validate Greece's claim to the ancients.

Dionysus Solomon also found himself conjuring up Homer in his early Greek works. As 1820 revolutions raged on in Italy and Greece, many Ionian intellectuals used their pens to participate. Ricks highlights that while Kalvos concentrated on using Homeric letters, Solomos was interested in using Homeric spirit.[31] The fragmentation caused by war, the distance for one's homeland, and the longing for liberty inspired Solomos to write about a sense of continuity between his world with the ancient Greeks.[32]

Inspired by the revolution of 1821, Solomos and Kalvos made a conscious choice to write in Greek even though this would have created many technical challenges as trained Italian writers. Nevertheless, why did both men chose to write in an unfamiliar language? I would argue that the conscious choice to write in modern Greek was a consequence of continental

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[29] Kalvos most popular collection of Greek poems and songs were published in 1824 (*The Lyra*) and 1826 (*Lyrica*), the same period he was heavily involved in European Philhellenic circles while in Geneva and Paris.

[30] David Ricks, *In the Shadow of Homer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 22-28.

[31] Ricks. *In the Shade of Homer*, 34-36. Ricks suggests that Solomos lack of knowledge of Homeric Greek forced him to concentrate on the meaning of the Iliad and Odyssey instead of the literary structures.

[32] Nikolaos .B. Tomadakis, "*Solomos and the Ancients"* [«*Ο Σολωμός και οι αρχαίοι*»] (Athens: Mina Myrtidi Printing House, 1953) 7-32.

revolutions and the fragmentation of traditional networks of communication. Revolution caused a growing sense of peripherality which made both men exiles on both sides of the islands (essentially, they were foreigners in Italy, Paris, Geneva, but also to the Greek State).[33] Under these circumstances, they were pushed by forces of nationalism to chose between Italy and Greece. Solomos and Kalvos turned to Greece, as it was there that they felt they could establish a literary career, but also, in Greece, they found poetic inspiration.

Both men took it upon themselves to attempt to bridge the essentialized Greece of the European philhellenes with the realities of the contemporary Greeks. In doing so, they began the process of inventing a modern Greek literary tradition, one which bridged the ancients with moderns. In doing so, Kalvos and Solomos created a demotic Greek expression and spirit which could rival the established literary tradition of the Greek State in Athens.[34]

In summary, the second period of nationalization was about coming to terms with change. It was characterized by Ionian intellectuals' attempts to separate a single national allegiance from their dual cultural traditions. The external global influences from the revolutions of the time and the growing need for Greek national literature influenced Ionian intellectuals like Kalvos and Solomos to look towards Greece. Exile was also instrumental in the national choices made by intellectuals. Writers negotiated their connections to the nation based on their experiences abroad; as such, identity was formed from the perspective of isolation and peripherality. Kalvos,

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[33] Kalvos only lasted a few months in Greece after arriving to, "exposer un coeur de plus au feu de Musulmans" in 1826. While he left to find the spirit of antiquity and liberty, he was not well received. Disillusioned with the realities of Greece, and the fact that he was viewed as a foreigner, he quickly left for Kerkyra. See Sherrard, "Andreas Kalvos," 177-178.

[34] Athenian School was established by Phanariotes around 1830 in the Greek Kingdom. It served as the intellectual centre of the Greek state and rivalled the Ionian School. Influenced by French romanticism, the movement focused on reviving the classical spirit of Greece. Used classical themes and *topoi*, to resurrect and recreate classical Greece.

Solomos, Moustoxydis, Pieri, and Foscolo all experienced exile, whether self-imposed or political. As exiles, these men had to renegotiate their sense of space and time, which influenced their connections to the nation. The final phase of the nationalization of the Adriatic impacted the Ionian Islands by solidifying national loyalties and boundaries. During this period, the islands evolved from a borderland to bordered land.

Forming Boundaries in a Transnational World

It is important to expand on the broader socio-political atmosphere of the mid-and late-nineteenth centuries. The previous sections highlighted the impact the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the subsequent revolutions and rebellions between 1820 and 1848 had on the socio-political transformation of the Adriatic. The revolutionary fervor deeply impacted Ionian intellectuals, and it was clearly expressed in their poetry.[35] As nation-states began to form, the problem of what to do with nationals living outside the border of the state and the non-nationals that lived within it arose. The rise of the nation-state, therefore, required new conceptualizations of the nation and its history. The crisis that exacerbated national tension in the Greek world was the Eastern Question and the subsequent Crimean War (1854-1856) and the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878). Unredeemed Greeks in this period were not only identified as

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[35] For instance, Solomon best highlight this some of his most popular poem include, "The Free Besieged", and "The Hymn to Liberty" (1824).

being part of an ancient past, but now there was an increasing turn towards Orthodox Christianity as a marker of the Greek nation.[36]

The Eastern Question and Crimean War exacerbated the problems of nationalism in the Mediterranean and further fragmented the traditional networks of communication of the Ionian Islands. During this period, the Ionian intellectuals attempted to re-negotiate their identity based not on the traditional philhellenic circles but on the new realities of the Greek state. The Eastern Question revolved around the socio-political problems the weakening and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire had on Europe and the Middle East. While the Great Powers supported creating new states in Eastern Europe, it was only on their term. In the case of Greece, Britain encouraged a policy of rapprochement between the newly formed Greek State and the Ottoman Empire. A sign that the goal to curb Greek irredentism in the region failed was Ioannis Kolettis' speech on the "*Megali Idea*" in 1844. His speech championed the heterochthons and formalized Greeces' irredentist intentions to expand its borders into Ottoman territories. Kolettis speech was significant in the sense that when Ionians were constructing a Greek national identity abroad, the nation encompassed an abstract or imagined space. With the hardening of borders, the nation now took on a more concrete and physical form that included the diaspora.

The Crimean War (1853-56) was an event that further isolated the Ionian Islands from western Europe. The sense of isolation had broad implications on how Ionians constructed a Greek identity. The 1850s represented a radical change in the way romantic writers, especially those from the Ionian School, conceptualized Greek national space and historical time. Prior to

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[36] The revivalist ideology was not compatible with an Orthodox Christian national narrative. It was associated with the Ottoman Empire and Roman conquest of Greece. While Greeks were proud of their religion, its history was found upon as it signified the fall of classical Greece.

the Crimean War, the cultural attachment of Greece was with the West. Greek Romantics looked towards the enlightenments, philhellenism, and the ideals of the French Revolution as important historical moments that inspired the construction revivalist Greek identity that legitimize itself as Western. In this historical context, Greece's Eastern history, namely the Roman Conquest and the subsequent Byzantine Empire, were seen as primitive and anti-Western and therefore were ignored. Instead, priority was given to re-establishing links between modern Greeks with their classical roots. The Crimean War marked a drastic change from the philhellenic revivalist conceptions of modern Greece. The period leading to and after the Crimean War saw the incorporation of Byzantium and Orthodoxy in Greek national discourse.

The Crimean War began over the perceived threat of Greater Russian influence in Europe by France and Britain. [37] This was mainly because, in the 1850s, Tsar Nicholas I began to reinforced his diplomatic protection over Greek Orthodox Christians, holy places, and Slavs in the Ottoman Empire. At the same time that Nicholas I was establishing himself as the protector of Orthodoxy, France's Napoleon III was reinforcing Catholic claims over Christian sacred sites and followers in the Ottoman Empire. A century-old political rivalry over sacred sites inside the Ottoman Empire between Russian and the Western Powers was amplified in 1850. The Holy Places controversy can be traced to a 1690 firman by Sultan, which gave the Roman Catholic Church authority over holy sites in Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and Nazareth that the Orthodox Church traditionally controlled. [38] The increased role of Catholics over Ottoman Christian holy

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[37] For Greece's political role during the Crimean War see Jon V. Kofas, *International and Domestic Politics in Greece during the Crimean War* (New York: East European Monographs, 1980).
[38] For more on international legal history of the Holy Places (International Protection of Sacred Places) controversy see J. H. W. Verzijl, *International Law in Historical Perspective* (Leiden: A. W. Sitjthoff, 1970), 3:490-494.

sites was strengthened in 1740 with the Franco-Turkish Treaty, essentially giving France protectorate rights over Catholic interests. The Treaty of Kutchuk/Kainardji in 1774 saw the Ottomans concede protectorate rights for Russia over the Greek Orthodox populations of the Ottoman Empire.[39] The rivalry intensified in the nineteenth century when it became clear to the Great Powers that the Ottoman Empire was the "Sick man of Europe," and its collapse was unavoidable. This led to a series of continental committee meetings, which set out to balance Great Power's influence in the region. In 1852 the Porte eventually gave in to French diplomatic pressure by granting Catholic rights in sacred sites.

The Crimean War began as Russia tried to regain its sphere of influence over France in the Levant and Balkans. The Western Powers, especially Britain,[40] opposed Russian attempts as they felt this threaten their balance of power in the region, but more importantly, it would lead to a rapid and uncontrollable collapse of the Ottoman Empire.[41] Essentially, the Great Power adopted a policy from which legitimacy over Ottoman territories was established by claiming protectorate rights over religious communities. In this climate of heightened religious fervor and the eventual outbreak of war in 1853, Ionian intellectuals began to question their allegiance to the West and became increasingly skeptical of French and British intentions in the region.

Ioannis Kolettis was one of the first to express the new ideological message of Byzantine revivalism during this period. However, it was Ionian intellectuals[42] who took the lead in

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[39] Susan Peterson. *Crisis Bargaining and the State: Domestic Politics of International Conflict.* (USA: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 48-49.

[40] It is important to consider that Britain's economic interests in the region relied on maintaining the status-quo in the Levant.

[41] For Great Power diplomacy during the Crimean War see Peterson, *Crisis Bargaining and the State, 47-94.*

[42] Section 3 of this paper discusses the Ionian political debates around e*nosis* (union), and territorial expansion into Epirus.

legitimizing Greek irredentist claims. Part of the metamorphosis of Greek identity was the conceptualization of new Helleno-Christian space and time.[43] Within this context, Greek intellectuals set out to establish a new Orthodox-centered identity that would legitimize territorial claim. The years between 1850-1880 represented a period of gradual reconciliation between the two schools of thought. [44] One of the aspects that the Ionian School focused on and a main difference from the Athens School was its promotion of the duality of Greek identity.   While the Athenian school was inspired by Western classical revivalism, the Ionian School attempted to connect with mainland Greece by taking an interest in the Middle Ages, specifically Byzantium and Orthodoxy. Byzantium, and the medieval period of Greece history, was central to the new message of continuity and liberty. It was central to the ideology of the Ionian intellectuals of the mid-nineteenth century because it demonstrated an unbroken classical tradition that survived in the *klephtic* and peasant culture of contemporary Greece. Making the peasant and klefts the direct link to classical Greece legitimized Greek territorial claim in the region while also denying legitimacy to Western claim as protectors of the classical traditions.

Markos Renieris (1815-1897) was one of the first to express frustration with the Western powers' policy of protecting Ottoman territorial integrity. Renieris was born in Trieste, studied in Venice, and graduated with a law degree from the University of Padua. While not born in the Ionian Islands,[45] Renieris was part of the same intellectual circles and many Ionian intellectuals

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[43]Dimitrios A Vasilakis. "Hellenism and Christianity: Petros Vrailas-Armenis on the Constituents of Modern Greek Identity." *Akropolis: Journal of Hellenic Studies* 3 (2019): 88

[44] Attempts at reconciliation between both schools of thought is evident in the journals *Pandora* (1850) and *Le Spectateur d'Orient* (1853). This period is referred to as the demoticist movement, or radical integral nationalists by Socrates Petmezas. On a detailed analysis on the intellectual make up and debates between the 1850-1880 and the importance of the aforementioned journals see Socrates Petmezas, "From privileged outcast to power players: the 'Romantic' redefinition of Hellenic nation in the mid-nineteenth century," in *The Making of Modern Greece*, eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 123-135.

[45] His father's family were Venetian subject originally from Crete.

in Venice.[46] Like many Ionian intellectuals in the 1830s, Renieris initially supported the Western

philhellenic narrative for Greece, however by the 1850s (and the period of the Crimean War), he

gradually shifted towards an anti-Western stance. This shift is most evident in two of his most

popular articles, *Τί είναι ή Ελλάς; Δύσις ή Ανατολή (What is Greece; West of East?[47]* (1842), and

Le dualisme grec (1853).[48] In his early work, Renieris wanted to draw links between Greece's

Orthodox roots and the West. He wrote,

> …It was under the influence of two great elements that this rebirth of the Hellenic
> nation began, continued and was fulfilled. The first element is undoubtedly our
> Orthodox religion; it is this that we should credit with the preservation of our
> language and nationality; it was by virtue of this that the seal of immortality was
> imprinted on the forehead of the Hellenic people. But this was not sufficient;
> religion merely preserved. Meanwhile, the nation also needed progress in order to
> emerge from its pitiable state. This second element consisted of the ideas of the
> West. Internal persecution, commerce, the desire for education—these at times
> obliged the most select part of the Hellenes to visit the kingdoms of the West.
> There, in their daily communication with Westerners, they gradually divested
> themselves of their Byzantine petty arrogance and their aversion to the West.
> Moreover, upon returning to their homeland and comparing the state of the nation
> to that of Western European peoples, they sensed their deep decline, but at the
> same time conceived the hope of rebirth…Greece, according to its nature, its
> civilization and its historical mission, belongs to the *West* and not the *East*; that in
> the times of decline and corruption, under the Byzantines, Greece appeared to be
> forgetting herself and to be transformed into her opposite; but having been reborn,

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[46] While completing his studies Renieris met many prominent Greek and Italian intellectuals such as Emilos Typaldos, Giorgios Tertsetis, and Nicoló Tommaseo.

[47] Markos Renieris, "What is Greece; West or East?" [«Τι είναι η Ελλάς; Ανατολή ή Δύσι;»] *Eranistis* [*Ερανιστής*] 2, no. 3 (1842) 189-215.

[48] Markos Renieris, "Le dualisme grec," in *Le Spectateur de l'Orient,* 1, no. 26 (1853).

she returns as a shining star to her ancient course and promises to become the leader of the West in the moral conquering and reforming of the East. [49]

Renieris attempted to identify the difference between the East and West and to prove that Greece was, in fact, Western in his 1842 article. It is important to remember that Renieris was writing during a time when Europe, especially Britain, was experiencing anxiety about the Balkans.[50] As the borderland region between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, the West did not accept the Balkans as part of its culture and civilization; instead, it was perceived as decadent, inept, and backward. The pejorative image of the Balkans and its backwardness resulted from two historical moments—the conquest by the Ottomans and the dominance of the Orthodox Church. The Ottoman Empire was perceived as primitive and decadent,[51] while the Orthodox clergy and Church were viewed as superstitious, corrupt, and fanatical.[52] Therefore, these characteristics excluded the Balkans' populations from the West's free, modern, and liberal cultural tradition.

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[49] Markos Renieris, "Markos Renieris: What is Greece? West of East?" trans. Mary Kitroeff in *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southern Europe (1770-1945),* ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (New York: CEU Press, 2007), 311-314.

[50] For the essentialization and stereotyping of Eastern Europe by the west see Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[51] Edward Said, *Orientalism (*New York: Vintage, *1974).*

[52] A large part of the philhellenic ideology was the idea that a liberated Greece from the Ottomans would eventually bring them back into the western world, see William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972). Also see Edward Gibbons, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776).

During this time, Fallmerayer introduced his thesis against the romantic philhellenes, denying the existence of the Hellenic race. Scrambling to address the growing concern in European intellectual circles about Greece's "perceived" backwardness, philhellenic intellectuals responded by providing answers for how Greece could be from the East but part of the West. This is why Renieris emphasized Western ideals when speaking about Greece. His thesis was structured around the advantageous geographic position of Greece and the importance of Orthodoxy in preserving and mediating classical heritage with the West.

The onset of the Crimean War shifted the perception of the West for Greek Romantic intellectuals. There was a sense of frustration with the West's reluctance to support Greek irredentism and their opposition to Russia, which was seen at the time as the protector of Orthodoxy. As a result, Romantics started questioning the Great Powers' motives in the region and challenged their hegemony over Western traditions. Renieris and his contemporaries re-conceptualized the role of the Orthodox Church and Ottoman Empire in Greek historical time by synthesizing Orthodox traditions with Western values. As a historical mediator, Renieris argued that Orthodoxy did not only preserved the values of classical Greece, but Greece's geography made them mediators for passing Hellenic values to the West. Values that were perceived to be Western in origin, such as liberty and the rights of individuals, were passed on to the West by the Orthodox Christian population of the East. The shift in the ideological message was highlighted in Renieris's 1853 article, where he stated that "A Greek will feel equally at home in Paris and in Moscow. It's the Greek who is the most universal form of man, the sole true Catholic in

Europe."[53]   Instead of praising the West and accepting their hegemony over Western culture,

Renieris argues that contemporary Greeks were major contributors to Western civilization. While

Greece's local peasant, klephtic, and Orthodoxy culture was seen as decadent and uncivilized,

Renieris now turned to these traditions to formulate a modern Greek narrative. His advocacy for

a dual Greek identity finally answered the question he set out in 1842 by arguing that the Greek

nation was both western and eastern. The philosophical and ideological shift also represents a

broader European debate of the Romantics versus the Classicists. This debate was addressed in

detail in an article written by Ionian poet Petros Vrailas-Armenis (1812-1884) in 1853.[54]

The purpose of introducing Renieris in this section was to highlight his role as mediator

between the Ionian ideological narratives of Greekness with Athens. While he was not an Ionian,

he was part of the same intellectual circle of the Ionian intelligentsia. When he moved to Athens

in 1837, he maintained communication with Ionian intellectuals, but more importantly, he

established himself within the Athenian intellectual circles.   While Renieris was not the first to

introduce continuity and Byzantium in the Greek historical narrative, he played an important role

in making it part of the Greek state policy.[55]

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[53] Markos Renieris, "Le dualisme grec*", Le Spectateur de l'Orient* 1, (26 August 1853): 37 cited in Wendy Bracewell and Alex Drace-Francis, eds. *Under Eastern Eyes: A Comparative Introduction to East European Travel Writing on Europe*. (New York: Central European University Press, 2008), 116.

[54] Petros Vrailas-Armenis was part of the Ionian intellectual elite. He was a publisher, editor, politician, teacher and later Greek statesman. His article, *East and West* [*Ανατολή και Δύσις*]*,* addressed Greece's place in the West. In another article in 1853 titled, *The Classics and Romantics,* Vrailas- Armenis engaged in the European dispute, arguing that the classics were based on imitation, harming the true spirit of aesthetics of poetry. The impact of the philosophical dispute between classics and romantics and the role of Vrailas-Armenis and Markos Renieris is examined in Athanasia Glycofrydi-Leontsini, "The Classics and Romantics in Neo-Hellenic Aesthetics". [*Χρονικα Αισθητικης*] *Annals for Aesthetics* 36, (1996): 191-216.

[55] As a lawyer in Athens Renieris was involved in a national debate on Law Codes. As part of the westernization process of Greece the government was considering adopting the French Civil Code in place of the Julian Code. The Julian Code, or Roman Code, was considered archaic under Western standard, as it was part of the legacy of Byzantium. Renieris support for the Julian Code reflected the general intellectual shift towards Russia and

The regional conflicts resulting from the Eastern Question, and the Crimean War, in particular, increased religious tensions on the Ionian Islands between once coexisting Jewish, Catholic, and Orthodox communities. As broader regional conflicts isolated the islands, the Islanders' world views became narrow. Hostilities between religious confessions began during the Greek revolution[56] and intensified during the Eastern Question when the West was reluctant to support Greek territorial ambitions and also when they appropriated an aggressive foreign policy towards Russia.

The increased tensions between Orthodox and Catholic communities on the islands also coincided with the hardening of borders. This fragmentation was represented in the relationship between Andrea Moustoxydis and his close friend Niccolò Tommaseo. By studying this relationship in the 1850s, Zanou provides a moment of micro-historical analysis on the process of nationalization in the Ionian Islands.[57] Adding to Zanou's examination, I would argue that nationalization on the islands was also a result of the increased isolation of the islands during this period.

The watershed moment, Zanou argues, which incited a rift between the friends was the publication of *Ii Supplizio D'Un Italiano In Corfù* in 1855 by Tommaseo. This book was critical of the judiciary system of the Ionian Islands after two Italian expatriates were convicted of the murder of an Ionian Greek during a bar brawl, leading to the execution of one. Tommaseo

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Orthodoxy during the Crimean War and the anti-Western sentiment of the Romantics. See Sokratis Petzemas, " "Common Greek: A historical attempt of historiographic fictions" [«La commune grecque: une tentative d'histoire des fictions historiographiques»] in *Byzantina et moderna: mélanges en l'honneur d'Hélène Antoniadis-Bibicou*, G. Grivaud and S. Petmezas, eds. (Athens, Alexandreia Publishers), 219ff.

[56] Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion, Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), 179.

[57] For a detailed examination about the rift between Tommaseo and Moustoxydis, and the emergence of anti-Catholic sentiment on the Ionian Islands during the Crimean War see Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectuals," 265-75.

criticized the whole process, arguing that there was a blatant bias against the Italians motivated by nationalism. Tommaseo was also concerned by the lack of support from his Ionian friends, specifically Moustoxydis. He was also critical about Moustoxydis's pro-Russian, anti-Catholic attitudes and "gradual alienation from the Italian part of his identity."[58]

A hardening of religious boundaries was a sign of a rejection of Italian cultural traditions on the Ionian Islands. This homogenization of national identity, I propose, was a reaction to the increasing perception of isolation, a result of a sense of abandonment by the West emphasized by the Crimean War. In the case of Moustoxydis, in order to strengthen his ties and links to mainland Greece, he emphasized his Orthodox identity.

Another religious minority that was impacted by the hardening of religious boundaries on the Ionian Islands was the Jewish community. While the Crimean War heightened tensions between the Orthodox and Catholic communities, the Union of the Ionian Islands in 1864 and the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 brought the Jewish community into conflict with the Orthodox community on the Ionian Islands. The Union of the Ionian Islands in 1864 and the incorporation of parts of Thessaly and Epirus as part of the Treaty of Berlin in 1881 were arguably the two most important events in solidifying Greek national identity. The addition of two large territories to the Greek State partially fulfilled the Megali Idea and signaled a change in the position of the Greek State's policy towards a national narrative.[59] The incorporation of the Ionian Islands changed the dynamics of Greek society, both culturally and politically. Ionian Romantic poets

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[58] Zanou, "Expatriate Intellectuals," 268.

[59] On the use of Byzantium narrative by the Greek State see Theodore Zervas, "Resurrecting the Past, Constructing the Future: A Historical Investigation on the Formation of a Greek National Identity in Schools, 1834-1913," PhD diss., (Loyola University Chicago, 2010), 112ff and Alexis Politis, "From Christian Roman Emperors to the Glorious Greek Ancestors," in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity,* eds. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (Kings College London: Centre for Hellenic Studies, 1998).

and intellectuals now had a direct path for introducing their ideology of continuity as a viable option for uniting the inhabitants of the newly acquired Greek territories. However, while continuity united the Greek nation under Orthodoxy and language, it excluded the minority groups, such as the Jewish community.

The Ionian Islands offer an interesting example of how the fulfillment of the *Meglai Idea* increased intercommunal and intracommunal political and religious tensions.[60] Historically the Jewish community on the Ionian Islands was hybrid; this was reflected in the community's Greek, Italian, Ladino, and Hebrew cultural influences.[61] Katherine Fleming argues that the Jewish community mirrored the Christian communities in the sense of a Catholic/Orthodox divide. Similarly, the Jewish community on the Ionian Islands was divided along Romaniote and Sephardic traditions.[62]

An examination of the June 12, 1863, a special issue of the *Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά*,[63] allows us to re-examines the Orthodox and Jewish relationships on the Ionian Islands. The Ionian Jewish community supported the union because they saw it as a means to gain equal rights. [64]

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[60] Katherine Fleming, *Greece: A Jewish History* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), 34.
[61] Fleming, 40-41.
[62] For a detailed history of intercommunal tensions in the Jewish Community of Greece see Fleming, *Greece: A Jewish History,* 43ff. The Jewish Community on the Ionian Islands were made up of Romaniote Jews (Greek traditions), and by the 15th century Jewish exiles from Spain, Italy, Portugal.
[63] *Cronaca Israelitica* [*Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά*] was the first Jewish newspaper is Greek Speaking world. The bi-lingual paper (Italian and Greek) was published by Giuseppe Nacamulli and edited by A. Coen in August 22, 1861. The paper focused on Jewish Emancipation and became a cultural paper for the Ionian Jewish community. See Dimitrios Varvaritis, "'The Jews have got into trouble again…': Responses to the Publication of 'Cronaca Israelitica' and the Question of Jewish Emancipation in the Ionian Islands (1861-1863)," Journal of Fondazione CDEC no.7 (July 2014). http://www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=355
[64] Grigoris Kasimatis, "The Jews of the Ionian Islands and their Union with Greece," [«Οι Εβραίοι της Επτανήσου και η Ένωσις»] *Nea Estia* 21 (1937): 724-735. http://www.ekebi.gr/magazines/ShowImage.asp?file=62778&code=3570

Cronaca Israelitica [Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά]

Cronaca Israelitica [*Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά*] supported union as a means of Jewish Emancipation.[65] An 1863 issue of the newspaper called on the Jewish community to support union and take on Greek citizenship. The June 1863 issue of the *Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά* is also interesting as it shows strong support from a minority group towards a nationalist movement at a time when nationalist tension was heightened. So, what led the Jewish community in Kerkyra to support union and by extension, Greek nationalism in 1863?

The *Cronaca Israelitica* provides an intimate look at the Jewish community and the complexities of identity politics during the period leading to union. The paper also highlighted the schism of the Reformer Party as the "old" radical party expressed support of the Jewish community while the "new" radicals[66] remained hostile.[67] Articles published in the newspaper suggest that many Jews supported union and the prospect of Greek citizenship under the idea that citizenship would expand civil rights. Subsequently, for many Jews, Greek citizenship was both a means of national liberation and civic liberation. For example, the editor wrote that Union "guarantees the prosperity and power of the people." In addition, he stated, "Having pride for the country that we are born in, we have expressed the desire for Union of the islands with the motherland, which will emancipate the Ionian Jews. Our desire is almost fulfilled, for if we are

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[65] Cronaca Israelitica [*Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικα*], (Kerkyra, Greece), 12 June 1869.
[66] See Chapter VII for Ionian political parties.
[67] Dimitrios Varvaritis, "'The Jews have got into trouble again"

not yet emancipated by law, we can proclaim that we are for progress and love for our fellow citizens".

Clearly, the editor and readers of the *Cronaca Israelitica*, viewed union as a means for the extension of political, social, and economic rights. This was also evident in the newspaper's constant inclusion of events where both Christians and Jews joined each other during the celebrations for union. The newspaper stated that all Jewish stores and schools were closed and that the Metropolitan Synagogue was decorated with national colors. Special hymns were sung, and afterward, the Jewish congregation met up with the Metropolitan Athanasius to join the celebration. Upon seeing the Jewish congregation, the newspaper stated that Athanasius said "favorable and respectful words to the Jewish people."

The above examples demonstrate that union, while short-lived, had the potential to bring religious tolerance by uniting the population under the nation-state. Dimitrios Varvaritis's study argues that confrontations between the Greek Orthodox and Jewish Ionians during the 1850s-60s were primarily politically and economically motivated. He offers the example of banning Jews from Merchant Exchange and the absence of religious reasons in British sources. This absence is significant "because it demonstrates a gradual and by no means complete shift away from Christian medieval contempt concerning Jewry and Judaism towards modern antisemitism, the latter prompted, at least at an ideological level, by secular motives." [68] During this shift, the threat of Ionian Jews was not religious but political and economic as there was a general belief that Jews supported Britain because of their commercial interests.

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[68] Dimitrios Varvaritis, "'The Jews have got into trouble again"

The *Cronaca Israelitica* highlighted that union became an instrument to protect Ionian Jewish interests and that the Ionian Jewish community played a significant role in the economic, political, and cultural development of the Ionian Islands.[69] They established transnational trade networks, formed businesses and trade fraternities, and participated in political movements. While the Jewish community has long been placed on the periphery of Greek national history, recent works by Athanasios Gekas, Katherine Fleming, Grigoris Psallidas, and Eftychia Liata have not only attempted to write about Jewish history but have given it a place the Greece national historical narrative.

In an attempt to write a comprehensive history of class and the port economy of the Ionian Islands, Gekas' identifies the relationship between the rise of antisemitism and the decline of the port of Kerkyra.[70] Gekas offers insight into the impact the transition of British ports to Greek ports had on intracommunal relationships. Gekas also confronts the traditional stereotypes of the Jewish community exclusively made up of moneylenders and owners of capital. Instead, he argues that the port economy allowed for "a multi-faceted role of Jews in the urban commercial economy." Gekas shows that while some participated in moneylending and trade, many were dockworkers, merchants, and retailers (peddlers).[71] This is significant as it contradicts the notion that Jews were exclusively involved in usury or part of the merchant class, which became a central part of the anti-Semitic sentiments and highlights the community's

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[69] The Romaniotes community of Kerkyra, for example, established a *Minhag* Corfu (Greek Rites), and they cultivated a Greek variety of citron, or the Corfu Etrog. Erich Isaac, "The Citron in the Mediterranean: A Study in Religious Influences," *Economic Geography* 35, no. 1 (1959): 75-76.

[70] Sakis Gekas, "The Port Jews of Corfu and the Blood Libel of 1891: A Tale of Many Centuries and of One Event" in *Jewish Culture and History* 7, no. 1-2 (2004): 171-196.

[71] Gekas, "The Port Jews of Corfu," 180

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diversity. Gekas argues that the rise of nationalism in the Kerkyra was due to external economic developments, anti-Semitism, and the decline of the port economy.

After union, many Jews chose to become Greek citizens as a means of Jewish Emancipation. Under the Treaty of London, which ceded the islands to Greece, the Jewish community was guaranteed equal rights.[72] Unfortunately, the new civic identity that was adopted by the Jewish community and endorsed by many of its leaders did not unite the Jewish and Christian communities. As equal rights were granted to Jews, many Christians became discontent with the elimination of their traditional privileges. Coupled with an economic depression, many Ionian Greeks began to take their frustrations out on the Jewish community, blaming the poor social and economic conditions on the extension of rights that were formerly exclusive to Greeks.[73]

In another article published in 2008, Gekas examined anti-Semitism on the Ionian Islands by analyzing the relationship between credit and power. Since credit relations were based on reputation, Gekas questions whether religious affiliation affected power relations between creditors and debtors. He found that religion did not play a significant role in lending money. However, he argues that it did matter in the process of declaring insolvency, bailing debtors out of jail, and mediating settlements between creditors and debtors.[74]

Katherine Fleming's comprehensive history devoted three chapters to the Ionian Islands' Jewish community. Fleming shows that the Jewish community on the Ionian Islands was as

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[72] Gekas, 184.
[73] Gekas, 188; Dimitrios Varvaritis, "'The Jews have got into trouble again,"
[74] Sakis Gekas, "Credit Bankruptcy and Power in the Ionian Islands under British Rule, 1815" in *History of Insolvency and Bankruptcy from an International Perspective*, eds. Karel Gratzer and Dieter Stiefel (Huddinge: Södertörns högskola, 2008), 83-118.

diverse as the Christians. This is important as it relates to the idea that there were multiple Greek

identities in the nineteenth century, and consequently, it shows that minority groups in this

borderland region experience similar processes of identity formation. The Jewish community,

just like the Greeks, had competing identities that were reflective of the diverse social and

economic backgrounds of the people on the islands. The two groups Fleming focuses on are the

Romaniotes and Sephardic Jews. On the one hand, the Romaniotes were seen as the historic

Jewish community—having a direct link to the land and speaking Greek. On the other hand, the

Sephardic Jews were immigrants from Western Europe and spoke Ladino. Having the benefit of

well-established international trade networks and the support of colonial powers, the Sephardic

community ultimately became the dominant of the two.

Grigoris Psallidas,[75] in his study of the Fraternity of Kerkyra, examined the problems the

Greek State had in incorporating the minority communities after union. Psallidas states that

Catholics and Jews established the Fraternity of Kerkyra as a self-help organization in the late

nineteenth century. The Fraternity charter claimed to provide charitable support for working-

class Ionians of any nationality or religion; however, in 1889-1890, this changed by orders of the

Greek State to include only Greek workers. Subsequently, many from the board were expelled.

In response to the expulsion, the board members petitioned the Greek government and

successfully managed to change the charter again to include Kerkyrean workers of any religion.

This led the way for the Jewish board members to return. Psallidas' article portrays the constant

negotiations with identity the Greek state had to negotiate. Union was a watershed moment for

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[75] Grigoris Psallidas, "Social solidarity on the periphery of the Greek kingdom: the case of the Workers'
Fraternity of Corfu", in *Greek society in the making, 1863-1913 : realities, symbols and vision*, ed. Philip Carabott
(London: Centre for Hellenic Studies Aldershot Ashgate, 1997).

Greece, as it was the first time it had to deal with a population that, for hundreds of years, experiences religious tolerance.[76] The date of the state interference is interesting as it coincides with the violent period of the Blood Libel in 1891. It is another example of how state intervention challenged the existing status quo and, consequently, incited violence against the Jews by Orthodox Christians.

Understanding the relationship and origin of the two communities brings to light the questions regarding why some from the Jewish community supported union and became Greek citizens while others reject it. Those who supported the union did so under the pretense of gaining more rights, while those opposed did so to protect their traditional privileges as they related to economic interest.

Two significant events that signified a broad resentment towards the Jewish community in the late nineteenth century were the Don Pacifico Affair and the Blood Libel of Corfu. These events exacerbated the social and economic tension that existed in Greece at the time. Both events can be understood as an accumulation of frustration with the deterioration of the traditional social order and economy. As a result of union, many believed that Jewish Emancipation was an attempt to undermine Greek interests. Fleming states that the attack on Don Pacifico's property resulted from intolerance and Greek state law, which banned traditional Easter festivities of burning effigies of Judas and attacking Jewish homes.[77] Furthermore, Gekas suggests that moral and economic decay was blamed on new privileges extended to the Jewish community. For instance, Ionian political figures such as Iakovos Polylas publicly argued that

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[76] It is important to note, that moments of religious tolerance does not negate the fact that anti-Semitism existed nor the fact that Jews did not share the same rights.

[77] Fleming, *Greece: A Jewish History,* 23.

Jews were not worthy of new privileges granted to them.[78]   In addition, the Blood Libel riots[79]

reflect a change of attitudes towards the Jewish community and can be attributed to a population

trying to deal with the destruction of the traditional social order. In the end, it is evident that the

Greek state had difficulties incorporating minority communities.

In summary, the *Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικα* shows that at least in the beginning of union, Greek

citizenship and patriotism was adopted as a viable civic identity by Ionians. It is an example that

national identity was not initially determined by ethnic affiliation but by political and economic

rights. This is most evident in the minority position. Ethnic affiliation only became an important

marker after the state institutions were adopted into the fabric of the islands. State interference

created tension in the Ionian identity as reflected in the Psallidas' examination of the Fraternity

of Kerkyra, the adoption of Orthodoxy as the official religion, and the extension of privileges to

all Greek citizens.

Interestingly minority communities on the islands experienced the same transboundary

influences and problems as their Greek counterparts. Union and Greek nationalism for many

was not only a means for an ethnic resurrection but an extension of political, economic, and

social rights. Like Ionian reformers, the Jewish community understood that adopting a Greek

national identity meant the re-conceptualization of the political and social order.

The hardening of national boundaries and the rise of competing for national identities

have characterized the final phase of nationalization. Unfortunately, the establishment of clear

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[78] Gekas, "The Port Jews of Corfu," 188.
[79] Detailed work of the Blood Libel in Kerkya and Zakinthos see Eftychia Liata, "The Anti-Semitic Disturbances on Corfu and Zakynthos in 1891 and their Socio-political Consequences," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 4 (2007): 157-169; Eftychia Liata, *Corfu and Zakynthos in a tornado of anti-Semitism: the ghezera of 1891* [*Η Κέρκυρα και η Ζάκυνθος στον κυκλώνα του αντισημιτισμού. Η συκοφαντία για το αίμα του 1891*] (Greece: Institute for Neohellenic Research, 2006).

borders of the nation did not translate into clear national identification by the inhabitant of borderland and peripheral regions. For instance, let us return to the examples of Kalvos and Solomos. As national borders became defined, both men felt a need to replace their Italo-Greek identity with a Greek national one. In choosing to do so, they also took a leading role in forming and producing a modern Greek identity. The Greek state at the time was in a gestational stage and lacked a defined national literary tradition. As outsiders, both poets found it challenging to let go of their Ionian identity influenced by the islands' close historical connections with Italy. Apart from feeling disconnected, Kalvos and Solomos were accused of being Russian spies by the west and rejected by Athenian intellectual circles. As intellectual and national pariahs, they could not find comfort in either Greece or Italy. Eventually, Kalvos moved to England in 1852, and Solomos moved to Kerkyra, where he lived a secluded life.[80] Kalvos and Solomos were two individuals who felt dispirited with the process of nationalization. As both attempted to define a Greek national identity in literary forms, they struggled to negotiate between classicist and romantic literary forms.

Interestingly, Kalvos and Solomos' works were not accepted into the national canon until after their deaths. I would argue that the pressure to keep in line with western technical forms and revivalist narrative created a problem for both men. In the absence of a Greek national literary tradition and a concrete national historical narrative, both men remained intellectually lost between their Greek national allegiance and Italian cultural traditions.

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[80] Solomon did not gain recognition as a national poet until after his death. Fellow Ionian, Iakovos Polylas, Ioulios Tylpados and the New Athenian School played important part of publishing and promoting his works after his death.

What emergence in the socio-political climate of the Ionian Islands between 1815-1880 was a growing sense of isolation and a hardening of national boundaries. British colonial policies, Italian nationalism, Austrian imperialism, and Greek heterochthon policies forced Ionians to reconceptualize their world. In this historical context, Ionian intellectuals created new national narratives based on an ideology of historical continuity.

Ionian perceptions of isolation were also heightened by church-state politics and policies of the period. In 1833, Greece declared independence from the Church of Constantinople and formed the Church of Greece. This had significant consequences as the majority of Greeks outside the Greek state were under the civil authority of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. In addition, Constantinople was the economic center of the Greek world, and tensions between Greece and the Patriarchate had economic consequences in the 1850s.

In 1850 the Patriarchate officially normalized its relationship with the Greek state by officially recognizing the church of Greece as independent.[81] As a result, Athens created and strengthened networks of economic and cultural exchange with Greek diaspora communities.[82] In relation to the Ionian Islands' intellectual community, which felt increasingly alienated by the West, the new relationship between Athens and Constantinople made Athens a legitimate space to form new intellectual networks of communication.[83]

The successful realization of the *Megali Idea* in 1864 and 1881 signified a need by the Greek state to incorporate a new narrative that went beyond the philhellenic conceptualization of

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[81] Nikos Kokosalakis, "Religion and Modernization in 19th Century Greece," *Social Compass* 34, no. 2/3 (1987): 239f.

[82] The Greek Orthodox community of the Ionian Islands were aligned with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. Normalization between Athens and the Patriarchate would have also had a positive effect on commercial and cultural communications as well.

[83] The establishment of the University of Athens in 1837 gave Athens intellectual prestige and made it a viable successor to Venice and Constantinople.

Greece as a resurrection of Classical Athens. The inhabitants of Thessaly and Epirus did not fit the philhellenic model of Classical Greece, and therefore the State needed to legitimize their claim to these territories by promoting Greece's connections to Orthodoxy. The following sections focus on the pivotal role Ionian intellectuals played in the shift of Greek policy during the nineteenth century.[84] Having discussed the geographic and broader political impacts on the heightened sense of peripherality felt by Ionian intellectuals, I will now focus on Ionian intellectual responses.

Righting History: Ionian Re-imagination of Greek History.

One of the main problems Ionian intellectuals faced in the middle of the nineteenth century was reconciling the "Eastern" characteristics of Greek identity and culture while keeping Greece within the "West." Part of this problem was the absence of historical continuity between the western narrative of ancient civilization and contemporary Greece. The function of Ionian intellectuals in this process was two-fold: first, they acted as intellectual bridges between Greek literary circles, on the Ionian Islands and in Athens, and second, they facilitated an ideological shift in the temporal and spatial understanding of Greek history. The particular contribution of Ionian intellectuals was extensive as it popularized the use of peasant and klephtic traditions,

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[84] The shift was reflected in the formation of the "new Athenian school" in the 1880s, which looked to Ionian romantics for inspiration of new national narrative.

folklore, and Byzantium history in the historical narrative of Greece. In doing so, they rejected

the essentialized narrative of Classical Greece that was perpetrated by the West and reclaimed

Byzantium and Orthodoxy from the pejorative image it held in Western intellectual circles.

Despite the opposition, the Ionian narrative of Greekness encountered within Greece, it

motivated future Ionian intellectuals, like Spyridon Zambelios, to explore different paths for

creating a Greek national identity.

Before examining the historical works of Spyridon Zambelios, I would like again to focus

on the idea of island borderlands. As an ecotone environment, the Ionian Islands were in a

transitional area between two culturally district communities.   On the one hand, the islands

acted as a "point of contact" between two cultural zones, and as a consequence, traditional Ionian

culture was based on an Italo-Greek tradition. On the other hand, as an archipelago between

larger States and Empires, they were also a "site of friction," creating cultural competition. The

ebb and flow between points of contact and sites of friction were directly related to external

circumstances. A feature of islandness is the ability of islands to form relationships with specific

places and ideas. Island relationships with their surroundings are influences by two sets of

features; these include "vulnerability" and "resilience," and "connectivity" and "isolation."

Through a humanities and social science lens, islands provide an ideal site to examine how

societies react to their surroundings and how they form relationships based on external

vulnerabilities and internal resilience.[85] In the case of the Ionian Islands, vulnerability was

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[85] Godfrey Baldacchino, "The Coming of age of island studies," *Tijdschrift poor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 95, no. 3 (2004): 272-283; Baldacchino, "Editorial: Islands, island studies, island studies journal." *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2006); McCall, G. "Nissology: The Study of Islands", *Journal of the Pacific Society*, 17, no. 2-3 (1994): 1-14; Ilan Kelman et al, "Participatory Action Research for Dealing with Disaster on Islands." *Island Studies Journal,* 6. No. 1 (2011): 71-72.

encountered during times of war and conflict and expressed through isolation, while resilience was expressed in the construction of new networks of communication. The socio-political changes that occurred in the nineteenth century were reflected in Ionian literature as individuals attempted to make sense of the changing world around them.

The Ionian Islands in the mid-nineteenth century shifted from being an ecotone environment between two imperial powers to being a newly constructed ecotone between nations states. This transformation had significant implications on the language, culture, and ideology of the Ionian inhabitants. As an ecotone between nation-states, the islands synthesized German romantic ideas, popularized in Athenian intellectual circles, with that of Italian patriotic themes[86] and applied them into their own national narratives. By re-inventing the idea of Greekness, Ionian intellectuals such as Zambelios created new literary and political narratives.

Spyridon Zambelios and Ionian Romanticism

Spyridon Zambelios was born in 1815 on the island of Lefkada to a noble family.[87] His historiographical views and passion for historical writing were inspired as a student at the Ionian Academy, where he studied under Andreas Moustoxydis, and in Italy, where he was exposed to western romantic and patriotic works. Zambelios arguably had the most significant and lasting

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[86] The influence of German Romanticism and Italian Patriotism is discussed below.
[87] The Zambelios family were inscribed in the *Libro d'oro* of the Ionian Islands. Solomos and Kalvos were names inscribed in the *Libro d'oro* as well.

impact on modern Greek historiography because he was the first to systematically and successfully incorporate the idea of continuity into a modern Greek historical narrative. His conceptions of modern Greek historic time became the base on which the Greek State eventually expressed a Greek national identity. Zambelios's works also influenced his contemporaries, such as Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos[88] and Markos Renieris, to construct notions about national identity. Unlike Solomos or Kalvos, Zambelios' conceptualization of Greece successfully merged geography, people, and cultures under a common historic space and time.

Michael Herzfeld, in his study on modern Greek folklore and ideology, summarized the innovative formulation of Greek nationalism in Zambelios' works:

> …[his works] departed significantly from the embryonic tradition of historical writing which then existed in Greece. Its novelty lay in the frank admission, indeed the insistence, that a medieval phase of some importance in its own right connected the Greeks with their ancient forebears. Zambelios eagerly confronted the absurdity of virtually ignoring a millennium of history and pointed out that it was not necessary to do so in order to posit continuity between Classical and modern periods. Instead, he maintained, it would be more useful to treat medieval phases as the connecting link between the ancients and modern cultures.[89]

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[88] Spyridon Zambelios notions of cultural continuity influenced the Greek national historian Konstantine Paparrigopoulos, whose history books, *History of the Greek Nation (1860 & 1874)* became canon in Greek formal education. See Roderick Beaton, "Romanticism in Greece", in *Romanticism in National Context*, eds. R. Porter and M. Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 92-108; Ioannis Koubourlis, *La formation de l'histoire nationale grecque. L'apport de Spyridon Zambélios (1815-1881)* (Athènes, Institut de recherches néohelléniques/Fondation nationale de la recherche scientifique, 2005). For Greek and foreign influences on the formation of the Zambelios's historical consciousness see Giannis Koumbourilis, *The Historiographical debts of Sp. Zabelios and K. Paparrigopoulos* [*Οι ιστοριογραφικές οφειλές των Σπ. Ζαμπέλιου και Κ. Παπαρρηγοπούλου*] (Athens: The National Research Foundation Institute of Modern Greek Studies, 2012).

[89] Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1982): 39-40.

Zambelios represented a radical shift in the ideology of the Ionian School and signaled an end to the Solomos generation, which heavily relied on western enlightenment to guide the production and expression of a modern Greek national identity.

As a child of privilege, Zambelios spent a fair amount of time abroad. Zambelios studied in Italy, graduating with a law degree, and spent significant time in Germany. As an adult, he was a lawyer, politician,[90] journalist, scholar, and historian. Zambelios came into his own as a writer at an exciting time in Greek literary history. His re-conceptualization of time and space was undoubtedly both influenced internally by his personal experiences and externally by nineteenth-century political events.

Zambelios' father, Ioannis Zambelios, was a lawyer, playwright, poet, and scholar; he was also part of the Ionian School. Ioannis Zambelios kept company with Solomos and many Italian playwrights such as Alfieri, Monti, and Mestastasio. Following the traditional Ionian School of thought, he attempted to revive Greek culture by incorporating themes of contemporary Greece (Byzantium and War of Independence) into Greek theatre[91] and obsessing with connecting Greeks to the ancients.[92] Ioannis Zambelios, and his Ionian School peers, followed the literary trends of the enlightenment, rationality, and revival of antiquity in their own works. Their innovation to the Greek scholarly circles was to locate ancient cultural traits (liberty, democracy, individualism, heroism) in the populations of contemporary Greece. They

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[90] He served in the Ionian parliament in 1850-51 under the Reform Party with Petros Vrailas-Armenis.

[91] For general overview of Modern Greek Theatre see Chrysothemis Stamatopoulou-Vasilakou, "Greek Theater in Southeastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean from 1810 to 1960," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies,* 25, no. 2 (2007): 267-284; Anna Tabaki, "The Long Century of Enlightenment and the Revival of Greek Theatre," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 25 (2007): 281-294.

[92] Paschalis Kitromilides, "Dialectic of Tolerance: Ideological Dimensions of Ethnic Conflict," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 6, no. 4 (1979): 13.

believed that the spirit of the ancients was suppressed in the Greek peasants and klephts, and once this spirit was revived, Greece would be welcomed back into the western fold. Additionally, in the early nineteenth century, the Ionian School understood that it had an important role to play in the Greek Revolution. Using their pens, Ionian intellectuals serviced the revolutionary cause. They wrote about contemporary Greece, using poetry and theatre to express the spirit of Greek peasant culture and to align the Greek cause with the West.[93]

The Ionian Islands were instrumental in bringing together classical and peasant/klephtic cultures, expressing a new understanding of Greek space and time and showing that Greek literary expression could stand independently.[94] However, this shift happened over time and after many scholarly debates. It was primarily Spyridon Zambelios who marked the transition from the enlightenment revivalist historical narrative to the romantic continuity historical narrative.[95]

The absence of the Greek Middle Ages made it difficult for romantic writers such as Solomon, Kalvos, and even Ioannis Zambelios to construct continuity and reconcile ancient and modern Greek history. These scholars were raised on the ideas of the enlightenment and Italian cultural traditions, and with the absence of a Modern Greek literary tradition, they found it challenging to escape the influence of revivalism on their works. Nevertheless, their efforts were not in vain as the Ionian School, under Solomos and his contemporaries established the foundations for a collective modern Greek national identity. While the first generation of the

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[93] Tabaki, "The Long Century," 285-286.

[94] Zambelios's plays *Timoleon* of 1817, *Konstantinos Palaologos, Georgics Gastritis* expressed classic democratic virtues, while his later plays like *Markos Botsaris and Georgics Kastriotis* dramatized war heroes.

[95] Antonis Liakos, "Hellenism and the Making of Modern Greece: Time, Language, Space," in *Hellenisms: Culture, Identity and ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katerina Zacharia (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 208.

Ionian School founded the demoticization of Greek identity, it was not until the next generation

of scholars, such as Spyridon Zambelios, that the means of expression for modern Greeks was

solidified. Spyridon Zambelios is an ideal example of the "new" Ionian School, which built off

of their processors to construct new forms for Greek self-narration that espoused and followed a

doctrine of national continuity.

Zambelios's intellectual development occurred between 1830-1850, a period that saw the

rise of religious fervor in Greece.[96] As mentioned in the previous section, the outbreak of the

Crimean War shifted Greek loyalties towards Russia. During this period, Greek intellectuals

were obsessed with connecting Greece's Orthodox identity with the West. Instead of taking an

apologetic tone about Greece's Medieval past, Zambelios and the new Ionian School embraced

the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods as important stages of cultural development for

Greece. As a result, Zambelios led the way for the romantic movements that expressed a new

agency in intellectual thought, emphasizing Roman Byzantium over Classical Athens.

The Spirit of Byzantium: The Helleno-Christian Identity

Spyridon Zambelios' works centered on continuity and focused on the unbroken link of

Greek culture by examining prehistory, the middle ages, and Christianity. Unlike other Greek

scholarly circles, which catered to the elite, Zambelios focused on a popular Greek audience,

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[96] It is also important to consider that 1853 was the 400th anniversary of the fall of Constantinople, this would have played a significant role in increased religious fervor in Greece.

preferring to write about popular themes and in the demotic language. To address the chronological challenges of Greek historiography, the link from antiquity to contemporary Greece, Zambelios explored ways to incorporate the Byzantine era into the Greek historical narrative—a period rejected by Athenian intellectual circles[97] because of the negative representations it held with the Western Enlightenment thinkers.[98]   For intellectuals like Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Edward Gibbon, the term Byzantine represented the decay of the Roman Empire and was used to essentialize Orthodox Christians as decadent, superstitious, and weak.[99] This perception had lasting impacts on the writing of history in the West as it created the East as an "Oriental Other" and therefore delegitimizing claims to the Roman Empire.

Zambelios' construction of a collective Greek national identity and national history can be traced to and examined through his historical works; *Folk Songs of Greece*[100]*, published with a Historical Study on Medieval Hellenism* (1852), *Byzantine Studies: On the Sources of Modern Greek Ethnicity* (1857)*,* and his linguistic work *Where the Word "Sing" is Derived* (1859)*,* and *Parlers grecs et romains* (1879). A common theme in these works was the Byzantine era and

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[97] The anti-Byzantine tradition within Athenian intellectual circles was exemplified in Adamantios Korais and Markos Renierēs. See Despina Christodoulou, "Byzantium in Greek Historiography" in The Byzantine World, ed. Paul Stephenson (New York: Routledge, 2010), 446-449, and Markos Renieris, "Markos Renieris: What is Greece? West of East?" trans. Mary Kitroeff in Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southern Europe (1770-1945), ed. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (New York: CEU Press, 2007).

[98] Zambelios did not view the Byzantine Empire in a positive light, he understood it as a foreign occupation and a hindrance to the Greek nation. In essence, he opposed the authoritarian nature of the Byzantine Empire while exalting the spiritual elements of the Byzantine period, namely the Church and Christianity, see Spyridon Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece, , Published with a Historical Study Concerning Medieval Hellenism* [Ἄσματα δημοτικά της Ελλάδος , εκδοθέντα μετά μελέτης ιστορικής περί μεσαιωνικού Ελληνισμού] (Kerkyra, 1860), 10. Byzantine was coined in the sixteenth century by German historian Hieronymus Wolf. It was used to delegitimize the Eastern Empire and any claims to the Roman Empire. Western writters continued to use the term with pejorative overtones to portray the East in a negative light.

[99] Alex Magnolia, "Exemplifying Byzantine Otherness: Historiographical Trends in Fourth Crusade Scholarship," Hortulus, Online Graduate Journal of Medieval Studies, 13, no. 2 (2017). https://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-13-2-2017/johnson/

[100] Theodore G. Zervas, *Formal and Informal Education during the Rise of Greek Nationalism: Learning to be Greek* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 116-117

Orthodoxy, and his thesis throughout was that while the idea that classical Greek traditions were preserved in western culture, the classical spirit was preserved in Greek popular culture.[101] Zambelios referred to the spirit as '*Ελληνοχριστιανικός*, or Helleno-Christian which he argued emerged during the Byzantine period as an amalgam of ancient Hellenism and Christianity.[102] This concept of identity was the most critical factor in bringing together Greece's classical, medieval, and modern periods and shaping notions of a collective identity. Within the Helleno-Christian identity, Zambelios reconciled Hellenism and Orthodoxy and claimed that Helleno-Christianity reflected the three elements of the Modern Greek nation: *religion*, *patria*, and *language*.

In order to address the West's pejorative perceptions of Greece's Eastern elements, Zambelios set out to discover the essence of the Greek spirit and to prove continuity with ancient Greece. In a direct response to Fallmerayer's thesis that contemporary Greeks had lost touch with its ancient past and were instead of Albanian and Slavic descent, Zambelios collected and published a series of popular songs from mainland Greece in 1852 that he felt exemplified the continuity of the modern Greek spirit. Instead of reviving ancient Greek traditions or identifying ancient Greek traits in klephtic culture like his father, Zambelios wrote about modern Greeks on their own terms.[103] He contended that ancient Greek culture (Hellenism) did not die out because

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[101] Constantinos Paparigopoulos, "History of the Hellenic nation" trans. Mary Kitroeff, in *National Romanticism: The Formation of National Movements: Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770–1945*, eds. Balázs Trencsényi and Michal Kopeček (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007) 2: 74.

[102] Victor Roudometof, "Invented Traditions in Greece and Serbia," in *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy: The Social Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), 109.

[103] On a general survey on the dichotomy between Western Classical traditions and Eastern Orthodox-Christian ideas in the process of Greek national development see Dimitris Livanios, "The Quest for Hellenism: Religion, Nationalism and Collective Identities in Greece (1453-1913)," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique 3*, (206):33-70; Constantine Tsoukalas, "European Modernity and Greek National Identity," *Journal of Southern*

it was living in the popular culture of Greece. He argued that the ancient Greek spirit was

preserved in the Helleno-Chrtistian identity of the Greek nation. By coining the term "Helleno-

Christian,"[104] Zambelios set the course for Byzantine history and Orthodox Christianity to take a

central part in a collective Greek identity. In examining the incorporation of Hellenism with

Christianity, Effi Gazi states that it enabled "the re-appropriation of the term Hellenism by

dislocating it from its contextualized meaning as a diverse cultural and intellectual trend in late

antiquity and early Byzantium and by giving it an ethnic content directly related to the fortunes

of the Greek nation."[105] As Gazi suggests, the historical significance was not only about freeing

Hellenism from classical essentialization, but it liberated it from Byzantine pagan

misconceptions.

Similar to his father, Spyridon Zambelios exhaled the western traits of the klephtic

culture and their sacrifice during the revolution. The publication of histories, poems, and

illustrations in *Folk Songs of Greece, Published with a Historical Study Concerning Medieval*

Hellenism, exemplified the fact that the contemporary struggle of Greece was analogous to the

western struggle for liberty and freedom and the enlightenment's ideological ties to antiquity.

This was especially evident in the images chosen to accompany some of the poems. They

included classical imagery such as the phoenix, phalanx spears, and helmets accompanied by

crucifix banners, columns, Dionysus' thyrsus and vines, and muses. Departing from his father's

revivalist imagination, he combined pagan, Christian, European, and "Oriental " elements into a

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European and Balkan Online 1, no. 1, (1999): 7-14. For a useful parallel list of characteristics of the Helleno-Romeic Dilemma see P. L. Fermor. *Roumeli, Travels in northern Greece* (London: John Murray, *1966), 106-113;* Peter Mackridge, "Cultural Difference as National Identity in Modern Greece" in *Hellenism: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity from Antiquity to Modernity*, ed. Katerina Zacharia (England: Ashgate, 2008), 297-319.

[104] Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece*, 464.

[105] Effi Gazi, "Reading the Ancients: Remnants of Byzantine Controversies in the Greek National Narrative". *Historein,* 6 (2004): 147.

single Greek national narrative.[106] His advocacy of a Helleno-Christian identity also filled the temporal void of the traditional revivalist narrative by accounting for the period between the classical and contemporary Greek nation. Again, the Helleno-Christian identity provided agency to the Greek nation, allowing future writers to express their own past on their own terms. This was significant as it also freed writers from the constraints of western narratives.   Having addressed the problem of identity with a philosophical conceptualization of the Helleno-Christian spirit, Zambelios next addressed the historical conceptualization of Greece. He achieved this through his tripartite articulation of history and espousal for a continuity narrative.

It should be noted that Stratos Myrogiannis[107] argues that the Greek national movement began during the Enlightenment period of Greek history and suggests that Zambelios and his romantic national contemporaries were the first to canonize Byzantium into the historical narrative of Greece is misleading. Myrogiannis traces the ideological transformation of the Greek people from a *genos* into a nation in the eighteenth-century Greek enlightenment. [108]   He provides examples from the works of national enlightenment scholars such as Meletios, Daniel Philippidis, and Gregorios Konstantas, Dimitrios Katartzis, Moisiodax, Katartzis, Meletios, and Korais, demonstrating how they integrated Byzantium into Greek thought and historiography in the eighteenth century. By focusing on Byzantium's social and political history, these intellectuals examined dates, events, battles, wars, and kings and, in doing so, they were able to answer western criticism about the void between Ancient Greece and Modern Greeks.[109] While

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[106] Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece*, 15
[107] Stratos Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity, 1700-1821* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012).
[108] Myrogiannis, 3.
[109] Myrogiannis, *The Emergence of a Greek Identity*, 152ff.

these men should be credited with creating the terminology and foundations for studying

Medieval Greek history, Zambelios expanded the philosophical articulation of the Middle Ages.

Zambelios understood that there was an inherent difference between Byzantine history and

medieval history. The latter represented Greeks' cultural and spiritual history, and the former

glorified foreign autocratic rulers who suppressed the Greek people.[110] Therefore, Zambelios'

introduction of the Helleno-Christian identity was the first time a Greek intellectual turned to the

people and Church of the Middle Ages to study a collective Greek national identity.

The first work by Zambelios espousing the historical continuity of Greece was published

in an article in the newspaper *To Mellon* [*Το Μελλον*]*,* in 1849. It was here that Zambelios

framed the historiographical debate about Greek history and identity by exploring the continuity

of Greek history from the Macedonia period up to the Revolutionary War of 1821.

> The Greeks of today are possessed by a great idea, that of National Unity … It is
> commonly said that Greece had achieved its finest years, having succumbed to the
> Macedonian yoke, and even today, they still perceived things in a stubborn way
> just Demosthenes foresaw. The truth, however, is that Greece under Philip and
> Alexander united. The former united all the national elements while the latter
> provided the energy to bring it to light.[111]

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[110] Despina Christodoulou, "Byzantium in Greek Historiography" in *The Byzantine* World, ed. Paul Stephenson (New York: Routledge, 2010), 454.

[111] «Οι Σημερινοί ʽΕλληνες κυριεύονται από μίαν υψηλήν καί μεγάλην ιδέαν, αύτη δε είναι η τής Εθνικής ενότητος...Λέγεται κοινώς, ότι η Έλλας αφού επλήρωσε τα ωραιότερα αυτής έτη, υπέκυψεν είς τον Μακεδονικόν ζυγόν και σήμερον ακόμη διορών τις τα πράγματα δια τού αυτού πίσματος με το οποίον και ο Δημοσθένης τα έβλεπε, ήθελεν εκφράσει την αυτήν απόφασιν. Η αλήθεια ʽομως είναι ότι η Έλλας υπο του Φιλίππου και του Αλεξάνδρου συνήλθεν εις εν. Ο πρώτος συνεπύκνωσε όλα τα εθνικά στοιχεία, ο δεύτερος έδωκεν εις αυτα την ενέργειαν.» "The historical view of Greek Unity" [«ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΕΠΟΨΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΝΟΤΗΤΟΣ»], *To Mellon* [*Το Μέλλον*] (Zakynthos, Greece), 11 June 1849.

This was a significant proclamation, considering that European scholars identified the Macedonian monarchy and the reign of Alexander with the decline of classical Greek civilization.[112] Building on this article, Zambelios constructed his tripartite classification of historic Greek time in his preamble to *Folk Songs from Greece,* writing, "therefore it is suggested that the (Greek) historical period be divided into the following categories: The Modern, the Middle, the Ancient. The first period beginning with the fall of Constantinople and continues until our day."[113]

Zambelios established a clear historical timeline for modern Greece, outlining the progression from antiquity, medieval to the modern periods of Greek history.[114] However, to construct a convincing argument, he had to account for the periods between antiquity and Middle Ages and from the Middle Ages to contemporary Greece. Focusing on two previously ignored historical periods, Ancient Macedonia and Byzantium, Zambelios was able to accomplish this. Zambelios' teleological view of Greek history was founded on the idea that all past events played

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[112] The western narrative of Greece during the reign of King Otto in 1830s was formed around ideal of classical Greece; therefore territorial limits were set south of Macedonia. Ancient Macedonia, and by extension Byzantium, was seen as the beginning of line of foreign occupations of Greece. Demosthenes was commonly used as evidence against the Macedonian monarchs and proof of Macedonia's cultural antagonism with classical Athens.

[113] «Τάς τεῖς λοιπόν ανωτέρω κυρίας εποχάς, κατά τήν προτεινομένην μέθοδον, διαιροῦμεν καὶ κατατάττομεν ώς εφεξής.

        Α. Η νεωτέρα

        Β. Η μέση

        Γ. Η αρχαία

Καὶ εις μεν τήν πρώτην περίοδον, ήτις άρχεται από αλώσεως Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, και προχωρεί μέχρι των ήμερων μας.» Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece*.

[114] For an examination of the representations of Byzantium in Modern Greek historical thought from the Eighteenth Century, see Dean Konstantaras, "Byzantine Turns in Modern Greek Thought and Historiography, 1767-1874," *The Historical Review/LaRevue Historique*, 12 (2015): 163-198.

a role in the eventual revolution of 1821 and the formation of the Greek State.[115] Specifically, it was the fall of Constantinople that marked the beginning of the struggle for liberation that led to the formation of the Greek state. By insisting on writing about the neglected periods of Greek history, Zambelios was essentially creating a new standard for the conceptualization of Greek time and space.   Moving away from the reliance on western models, Greek history from this point became relevant to the modern age and was relatable to contemporary political issues facing the Greek nation, especially the fact that the majority of Greeks were Orthodox, spoke demotic Greek, and lived within the Ottoman Empire.

Zambelios was motivated to write history because of the lack of national historical research and writing. He expressed this frustration and especially the current scholarship's reliance on the West,

Αλλά, καθ'ον καιρόν πλείστοι των εν Ελλάδι φιλομαθών, την πάτριον ιστορίαν παραμελούντες, και ξένην τινά διώκοντες στολήν, δαπανώσει τον πολύτιμον χρόνον εις μεταφράσεις ευτελών συγγραμμάτων, και τον μεν ίδιον βίον ούτως άσωτεύονται, το δε γένος αποσπώσιν εξ επωφελών ασχολήσεων, ημείς καλώς προγινώσκομεν την τύχην της εφεξής διατριβής…Τὸ παρελθόν;—Φεῦ! ἀφίνομεν τούς ξένους να μᾶς τὸ παριστάνωσιν ὑπὸ τὸ πρίσμα τῶν προλήψεών των καὶ κατά τήν φοράν των συστημάτων καί συμφερόντων αυτων [116]

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[115] Ioannis Koubourlis, "European Historiographical Influences upon the young Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos" in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)* David Ricks and Roderick Beaton (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 60.

[116] "At this time most of the Greek scholars neglect patriotic history and dress in foreign costumes, wasting precious time translating cheap writing, wasting their life, generations were deprived of beneficial activites, a position which we well anticipated…The past? Alas! We allow the foreigners to represent us in the prism of their superstitions and within their systems and interests." Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece*, 6-7.

He continued by claiming that,

Ευχής έργον ήτον εάν τις ομογενής επελαμβάνετο τήδε τής ιστοριογραφίας διοτι οί δυτικοί, ιδόντες τά πράγματα και τους ανθρώπους υπό σταυροφορικήν μόνον όψιν, ουχί δε και υπό ελληνικήν συγχρόνος, παρεμόρφορωσαν ελεεινώς τα γεγονότα, η δε ιστορία υπό τόν καλαμόν των έχασε τήν φυσικήν της αλήθειαν.

Αντί τού να μεταγλωττίζωμεν γαλλικά μυθιστορήματα, ή νά γράφωμεν ποιητικούς βραχυβίους στίχους, δεν είναι καλήυερον ν'αποκαλύπτωμεν έν πρός έν ταύτα τα αθάνατα ιστορήματα και ποιήματα τής εθνικής λαμπρότητός μας;[117]

Essentially Zambelios set out to establish a clear distinction between the internally constructed Greek historiography and identity from the traditional Western-influenced Greek historiographical and identity. He challenges Greek intellectuals in Greece to reimagine the importance of Greece's Medieval legacy.

Zambelios' continuity thesis incorporated Ancient Macedonia into Greek historiography to draw an unbroken link from antiquity and the Middle Ages by centering Macedonia into the Greek historical narrative. Zambelios viewed Macedonia as a crucial period in history as it united the west and east under the umbrella of Hellenism. He stated,

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[117] "It would be a blessed work, if our generation addressed our historiography because the westerners, saw things and people only through a crusader view and not as a modern Greek, they deformed and distorted events, and the history lost the natural truth with their pen. Instead of translating French novels, or writing poetic short verses, is it not better to rediscover our immortal histories and poems of our national brilliance?" Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece,* 443.

Αληθώς μέν ή καλλιτεχνία μέλλει να παρακμάση, να γηράσωσιν οι προγονικοί θεσμοί ναι μεν παύονται οι αγώνες και τα θέατρα, και κατ' ολίγον εκλείπει πάσα υλική και σωματική καλλονή. Αλλ' αντί των μύθων, αντί των ποιητικών κοσμημάτων , αντί της εξωτερικής σολής εγείρεται νύν η βασιλεία της αληθείας, το κράτος της συ νειδήσεως.

Ο προορισμός, ώστερ ποταμός αποχετευόμενος, μεταβαίνει εἰς άλλο στάδιον εν τή θέσει τού επαρχιακού εγωϊσμού, του δεσμεύσαντος τού πωεύματος τα πτερυγίσματα, αντικαθίσταται η αγάπη του έθνους. Λήγει μέν η σωματικί τής Ελλάδος ακμή, πλήν προοιμιάζεται βαθμηδόν η πνευματική παλιγγενεσία.

Η Αχαϊκή λοιπόν συμμαχία, κατα το Μακεδονικόν σχέδιον, συμβάλλουσα μεγάλως εις την τών εθνικών στοιχείων συγχώνευσιν, επιταχύνει τήν ώραν τής προσδοκωμένης Καθολικής Αναπλάσεως.[118]

In this section, Zambelios discusses the importance of the Achean Alliance. He described the Macedonians as "εθνοσωτήριος" (savior of the nation) because they united the Greek cities while under the Achean league and laid the Panhellenic foundations for the emergence of Christianity during the Roman conquests.

In order to legitimize Macedonia as part of the Greek national narrative under the dogma of continuity, Zambelios had to demonstrate the Hellenic roots of Macedonia both in terms of language, *patria* (ethnicity), and religion (Christianity). He argued that Alexander made it possible for Hellenism[119] to outlast centuries of foreign occupations (Roman, Byzantine, and

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[118] It is ture that the arts have declined, the ancestral insitutions have aged, the games and theatres will cease, and all materal and physical beauty will disappear. But insead of myths, poetic jewels, and outer appearance the realm of truth and consciousness is being established. Destiny, like a river that drains and goes into another stage, in the place of provincial egoism the spirit is caught and flutters, all is replaced with the love of the nation. Greece's physical greatness is ending, the spirit of the race is revitalized. The Achean alliance, like the Macedonia plan, greatly contributed to uniting national elements, accelerated the expected Universal Regeneration" Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece*, 49-52.
[119] It is important to recall that Zambelios understands that Hellenism embodies the language, patria, and religion of the Greek nation.

Ottoman).   The conflict and oppression introduced by foreign occupations were especially

instrumental in fostering hatred and raising patriotic feelings in the Greek nation. He wrote that

this fact was necessary and led to the eventual awakening and liberation of the nation. The

national spirit, Zambelios argued, was saved in the souls of the people.

> Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι λαμβάνουσι τα πλούτη και τον καλλωπισμόν τής Ελλάδος, οι
> Σταυροφόποι τών ναών τα σκεύη, οι Ωθωμανοί τα σαθρά και σεσηπότα ύστερα
> λείψανα τής Ρωμαϊκής κυριαρχίας ο δ' Έλλην διατηρεί μετά θρησευτικού ζήλου
> είς εαυτόν το παραδόσιμον πνεύμα τής εθνοσωτηρίας του.[120]

The main point here is that while foreign empires conquered territories of ancient Greece

it was only in a material and political sense. Despotic Empires from the past, Roman, Crusaders

and Ottomans, failed to conquer the Greek spirit, which survived within the Church (Orthodoxy)

and language (Hellenism). What is more significant here is that Zameblios was placing

Orthodoxy and Hellenism at the heart of the fight against despotic Empires and symbols of

liberty— a central feature of Enlightenment thought.

While Zambelios embraced the memory of the Byzantine period, he did not accept the

Byzantine past as history until five years after his *Folk Songs of Greece* was published. Whereas

he treated it as a despotic extension of the Roman occupation in the preamble of *Byzantine*

Studies: On the Sources of Modern Greek Ethnicity (1857), now he argued that it was an

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[120] "The Romans took the wealth and the beauties of Greece, the Crusaders the treasures of temples, the
Ottomans the ruins and relics of the Roman Empire. Instead, the Greeks kept in them their religious zeal and
traditional spirit for their ethnic salvation." Zambelios, *Folk Songs of Greece*, 57.

enlightening period of Greek history. Byzantium's function in his new publication was to bridge

the medieval period and the modern age, but also it incorporated the three elements of Greek

identity: religion, *patria*, and language. Byzantium also offered an ideal site to explain the

synthesis of Hellenism with Christianity.

Today Byzantium is understood as one of many periods of Greek history, representing

one of many versions of Greekness, and more interestingly, a version that rejected Western and

European interpretations of Greece. However, modern scholars of identity remind us that,

> this brand of anti-Occidentalism has drawn extensively on sources of anti-Westernsim that are themselves deeply Western; traditions which involve a questioning of 'civilization' which was, especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, associated with industrialization and conceptualized as a process of enculturation, in opposition to salutary, organic national cultures. At the same time, the rejection of the dominant Western identity, in Greece as elsewhere, has frequently educated a counter-identity that replicates the very form it was intended to supplant.[121]

Zambelios' focus on bridging antiquity, the Middle Ages, and Christianity spearheaded

the study of Byzantium and offered viable solutions to the problems of Greek identity. By

making the Byzantine period central to the Greek national narrative, Zambelios showed that the

Hellenic spirit did not need to be revived because it was never lost. Zambelios created a national

ideology that brought about a new spatial and temporal understanding of Greek identity. He

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[121] Robert Shannan Peckham, "Papadiamantis and the Theft of Byzantium" in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, eds. David Ricks and Paul Magdalino (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 93.

rejected Western narratives that called for the revival of ancient Greece because they ignored the in-between years of Greek history and denied a space for the Greek-speaking populations living in the periphery. Instead, Zambelios established the foundations for a new inclusive narrative and demonstrated an uninterrupted continuity of 4000 years of history preserved in the folk culture of Greek peasants. Zambelios' influence can not be underestimated as he impacted Greek intellectuals for years to come. While Zambelios established the collective historical narrative, the voice and soul of the people were reflected through Aristotelis Vaolaoritis' poetry.

The Voice of the People: Aristotelis Valaoritis

> The marble remains quiet and still,
> Who knows how long your mouth will remain silent.
> Sleeping and dreaming you will soon be awake,
> When our thunderous cries cross over the forests, at the mountains and at the sea.
> "Rise up, Fighters! Do not forget the rope, children, of our Patriarch!" [122]

Aristotelis Valaoritis, The *rope of the Patriarch*

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[122] Το μάρμαρο μένει βουβό και θε να μείνει ακόμα,
ποιος ξέρει ως πότ' αμίλητο το νεκρικό σου στόμα.
Κοιμάται κι ονειρεύεται και τότε θα ξυπνήσει,
όταν στα δάση, στα βουνά, στα πέλαγα, βροντήσει το φοβερό μας κήρυγμα.
"Χτυπάτε, πολέμαρχοι! Μη λησμονείτε το σχοινί, παιδιά, του πατριάρχη!"
Το σχοινί του Πατριάρχη (1871).

On March 25, 1871, Aristotelis Valaoritis stood outside the University of Athens and

recited a poem for the inauguration of a statue of Patriarch Gregory V.[123] In front of a large

crowd, he recalled the hanging of the Patriarch at the hands of an angry Turkish mob at the

beginning of the Greek War of Independence and asked the crowd to think about the reason for

his death.[124]

This day had national significance as it marked the transportation and internment of the

Patriarch's bones from Constantinople, essentially merging the center of the Orthodox Greek

world with the modern nation-state in Athens.[125] Valaoritis embraced the crowds and

commanded them to "rise up" and avenge the murder of the patriarch by continuing their fight

for the liberation of the nation against the Ottomans. In light of this event, the broader question

to consider is why was an Ionian, again, central to the foundations of a collective Greek national

identity based on continuity?

Aristotelis Valaoritis (1824-1879) was an Ionian politician and writer born in Lefkada.

He is known for his national poetry and his pivotal role in the Union movement. He was also

elected to the Greek Parliament after the union of the Ionian Islands. He represents

quintessentially the Ionian intellectual elite, born to an upper-class family and educated in

Western Europe. Valaoritis offers us an ideal example to examine the transmission and

modulation of ideas[126] associated with imperialism and colonialism in the Mediterranean. While

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[123] Dionysios Solomos also mentions the execution of the Patriarch in his Hymn to Liberty.
[124] For more on different historical opinions of the Patriarch's role in the Greek War of Independence see Emmanouil G. Chalkiadakis, "Reconsidering the Past: Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory V and the Greek Revolution of 1821" in *Synthesis, scientific ejournal of the Faculty of Theology of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki* 6, no. 1 (2017): 177-204.
[125] Thomas Gallant, *Modern Greece 2nd Edition*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 90-91.
[126] Giannis Papatheodoros characterizes Valaoritis as a "bridge builder" poet who mediated between cultures and political ideas. Giannis Papatheodoros *Romantic destinies. Aristotle Valaoritis as a "national poet"* [Ρομαντικά πεπρωμένα. Ο Αριστοτέλης Βαλαωρίτης ως «εθνικός ποιητής] , (Athens: Bibliorama, 2009), 41.

British politicians and writers tried to learn more about the people of their possession to justify their occupation as civilizing missions and solidify their position as the heir to ancient civilizations in the regions they conquered, Ionians set out to internally colonize the unredeemed Greeks in the mainland. Valaoritis' poetry articulated a Greek identity in which he re-enacted habits of British imperialism, especially the idea of a dominant/superior culture, education, and language.[127]

The two outcomes of Valaoritis' poetry were first, to create a sense of continuity through cultural homogenization and second, to established Hellenic superiority by using the Revolutionary period and its heroes.[128] By participating in similar imperial methods, such as ethnography, Valaoritis offered resistance to British attempts at colonizing Greek education and identity under the British classicist narrative. Valaoritis began researching mainland Greece, collecting folksongs, and studying local dialects and culture from the Morea, Epirus, and Sterea Hellada.[129]

Ethnography became important for Valaoritis because, unlike the Greek intellectuals from the mainland who emphasized the Ancients, Ionians were concerned with the peasants, klephts, and *armatole* (mountain insurgents) or, in other words, an "organic" Greek.[130] Valaoritis believed the rural populations were the bridge between the two despairingly different discourses of Greek identity but, more importantly, would justify national claims in the Balkans.

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[127] Thomas Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean*, (Notre Dame, 2002).
[128] Papatheodoros traces Valaoritis' progression to becoming a national poet as a conscious journey that offered a different national perspective than Solomos. By embracing the Megali Idea, Valaoritis' poetry was central in the production of ethnonationalism, the nationalization of history, and the assimilation of the Megali Idea into the collective memory. Papatheodoros, *Romantic destinies.*
[129] He in fact shared some of these poems with William Gladstone in 1859.
[130] Michael Hertzfeld, *Ours once More*, 24-52; Spyridon Zambelios, *Folksongs of Greece.*

Therefore, in the same manner as colonial scholars, Ionians searched for and studied the artifacts and remnants of rural culture to locate an unbroken link between Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Greeks. One example is in his poem *Athanasios Diakos* (1867). The poem was written after the unification of the Ionian Islands and was about the heroic deeds of a Greek klepht during the War of Independence. The work was a response to Valaoritis's disillusionment with Athenian politics and the state's abandonment of national expansion (*Megali Idea*). He claimed that the descendants of the warriors of Greek Independence had "turned into petty lawyers, eternally wrangling and pecking at one another."[131]   He became increasingly frustrated with the politicians' personal ambitions and corruption. As a result, Valaoritis wrote *Athanasis Diakos* to remind Greeks of their historical past and how this was essential for their future.[132]

Ionian discourse portrayed continuity through the use of the demotic or spoken language. However, language has a long and tumultuous history in Modern Greece. In fact, it was not until the late 1970s that the language question, a national dispute on the official language of the Greek state, was finally resolved (Katharevousa, purist form, versus Demotic, spoken form).

Demotic Greek became the distinguishing factor for the Ionians because it proved their national uniqueness and maintained their ancient Greek roots. Influenced by the European romantic currents of the period, especially Herder, Valaoritis used demotic Greek to represent the purest essence of Greekness. Demotic demonstrated that the claim of ancient Greek civilization did not come from the knowledge of the classics, such as it was believed by the

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[131] Aristotelis Valaoritis, *Athanasios Diakos* cited in Constantine Santas, *Aristotelis Valaoritis* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975), 97.
[132] The use of the historic memory as a means of political and social commentary was common in Valaoritis' work. If we recall his "Ode to the Patriarch" Valaoritis was using the martyrdom of the Patriarch as a rallying cry to continue the fight of liberation.

British, Germans, and French, but by an unbroken link with them—a link that was ultimately preserved in Greek rural society and found in folklore.

Valaoritis often defended the use of the demotic language from his Athenian critics, who claimed it was impure and insufficient for cultural and literary expression. For example, in 1859, Valaoritis wrote a letter to his friend, Andreas Laskaratos,[133] discussing the publication of one of his new poems. He explained to Laskaratos that his poem was written in the demotic language to prove that it was capable of expressing the spirit of the Hellenic people. He also proclaimed that he wanted to challenge the status quo of writing prose in the 'scholarly language" (referring to katharevousa, the language the diaspora and the Athenian elite wrote in). Similarly, in an 1864 address to the Lefkadian Assembly,[134] Valaoritis again discussed the importance of the demotic language. In this speech, he stated that he would ignore katharevousa and use the "language of the people" instead. He defended his decision by stating that the demotic language was used by "the small and large, the rich and poor, the educated and uneducated and is the language which comes from the heart." Additionally, he argued that this language had survived and continued to live in the blood of the Greek people.

In a letter to William Gladstone, who was on a special mission to the Ionian Islands to report on the local discontent and unionist movement, Valaoritis again expressed his strong feelings about the demotic language to emphasize the links between the islands and the mainland. The letter is concerned with a collection of national songs that were sent to Gladstone

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[133] Aristotelis Valaoritis to Andreas Laskaratos, 3 October 1859, Aristotelis Valaoritis Letters File 3.1 1859, *Valaoritis Family Folder*, ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece; Aristotelis Valaoritis to Andreas Laskaratos, 16/28 November 1859, Aristotelis Valaoritis Letters file 3.1 1859, *Valaoritis Family Folder*. ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.
[134] Aristotelis Valaoritis Speech to Leukada Assembly, 1864, Aristotelis Valaoritis Speeches file 1.4, *Valaoritis Family Folder*. ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.

by Valaoritis. In the letter, Valaoritis points out two significant reasons for reading the collection of songs. First, he argued that it commemorated the glory of the Greeks and their struggles under foreign occupations. Second, it was written in Epiroite dialect, "a great remnant of the ancient Dorics, untouched and full of original beauties just like that of the surviving Pelasgian Acropolis." [135]   Thus, Valaoritis concluded that the dialect was a relic that proved the origins of the Greek to the land and guaranteed their right to it.

Valaoritis' defense of the demotic language is significant as it had broad implications on the Balkan. His insistence on the use of demotic as the national language essentialized the people of the Balkans into a single imaginary space, with Greek culture and the demotic language as cornerstones for a superior culture in the region.   Therefore, in the same vain that colonial powers sought to learn and use the language of their colonial subjects, the Ionians created a hegemonic culture based around the 'untainted' and 'pure' rural population. Greece eventually adopted the narrative of cultural hegemony in the region, which had enormous repercussions in the remapping of the Balkans in the twentieth century.

A large part of Valaoritis' writings focused on convincing his audience that it was in the nation's best interest to expand its national borders. For example, in a letter to his friend Andrea Laskaratos in Novmenr 1859, [136] Valaoritis sent a story that he wanted to have published Laskaratos' newspaper *Lychnos* [*ΛΥΧΝΟΣ*]. The story was about Odysseus Androutsos, a Greek revolutionary hero. It began with Odysseus locked in battle with the Turks, who had fortified

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[135] Aristotelis Valaoritis to Gladstone. 1859, Aristotelis Valaoritis Letters file 3.1 1859, *Valaoritis Family* Folder, ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.
[136] Aristotelis Valaoritis to Andreas Laskaratos, 16/28 November 1859, Aristotelis Valaoritis Letters file 3.1 1859, *Valaoritis Family Folder*. ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.

themselves on the Acropolis. Valaoritis writes that one morning some of Odysseus' men woke up and, in shock, they saw that the Turks were destroying the marble monuments on the Acropolis. After Odysseus was notified of the event, he ordered some of his men to investigate the Turks' motives. When these men returned, they told him that the Turks discovered that there was lead inside the marble structure, and since they ran out of lead to make bullets, they decided to scrap it out. Odysseus and his men, in response, decided to save the marbles by offering their bullets. In the end, Valaoritis writes that Odysseus' men sacrificed their lives in order to defend the ancient relics of the nation. Valaoritis ends his story by stating, "the marbles lived on to once again see the resurrection of the nation after so many years of lethargy."

This story was published in the *Lychnos* on December 5, 1859. It exemplifies the main characteristics of the nation—sacrifice, struggle, and an unbroken link to the ancient past. For Valaoritis, the revolution was not only a fight for liberation against the Turks, but more importantly, it was about the revival of the nation that had been dormant. This narrative clarifies that another important signifier for a collective Greek identity was a continual connection to the physical space and artifacts.

In an undated article titled the *Greek Middle Ages of Leukada,*[137] Valaoritis writes a short history of the Greek nation and its experience during the Roman, Crusader, and Slavic invasions. Like Zambelios, the article accounts for the Medieval periods of Greek history but also addresses Lefkada's participation in the national narrative. The article begins by recalling the tumultuous history of the nation,

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[137] Valaoritis, Aristotelis. "The Greek Middle Ages in Leukada," Aristotelis Valaoritis Articles File 1.3, *Valaoritis Family Folder*, ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.

> If we look back at the exploits of our nation from the beginning until now, it is impossible to accept that not even one day has gone by without peace and our soul has never rested. We were struck with disaster after disaster, earthquakes, barbarian invasions, cataclysms, and civil wars, creating rivers of blood. Despite all this, not only has the nation emerged victoriously, but it has also managed to give examples of how its genius has lived on in today's youth.

It is evident here that Valaoritis wanted to highlight the resilience and continuity of the nation. He described the Roman and barbarian invasions as "hungry men sucking the vitality of the nation" and making it a place of destruction. Next, he established Lefkada as the center of Roman wars, specifically during the battle of Actium. Furthermore, Valaoritis argued that the Roman wars destroyed former great cities, which forced residents to move into Roman-founded cities. He continued by discussing the barbarian invasion stating that, "the dictated history from this point was unknown. No one could bear witness where the Greek soul was hiding and how it managed to survive." Thus, the first part of the article focused on ancient history and attempts to account for the degeneration of the people. It argued that the nation was never lost but instead "hiding" and suppressed.

The following section of the article concentrated on the Orthodox Church, and just like the previous section, Valaoritis attempted to account for its decline. He wrote that the fourth Crusades brought a new wave of invaders into Greek regions, which acted with the same disregard of their culture as the previous aggressors. He stated that they used violence towards the Eastern Church and "like vultures tore the flesh from their prey, making a desert of all the regions they encountered from Ionia to Bosporus and concluding with the invasion of Constantinople in 1204." He concluded by outlining the lands that Frankish invaders took,

including Chios, Lesbos, Samos, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Crete. Additionally, the Venetians moved down into Greece and took the Ionian Islands.

This article is significant as it highlights the impact of the continuity narrative on Ionian intellectual thought. The narrative presented by Valaoritis assimilated perceptions of time and space into a story of transition. Additionally, it outlined the historical territorial claims of the modern state.

After Union, Ionian ideas about Greekness and support for the *Megali Idea* became a point of contention in the Greek Parliament between the Ionian politicians and their counterparts in the mainland. This is best exemplified in a letter written by Valaoritis to his Ionian compatriot, friend, and political ally, Konstantine Lomvardos.[138] In a letter dated 1871,[139] Valaoritis condemned the lack of ambition of the Greek government to fulfill the Panhellenic idea. He explicitly addresses Lomvardos' action in the government. First, Valaoritis stated that he was offended by Lomvardos' silence at the National Assembly after Representative Deligorgis called the Ionian delegation "truly annoying" for their support of the *Megali Idea*. Second, Valaoritis accused Lomvardos of moving away from his political ideals, specifically those concerning national restoration. He affirmed that his reason for retiring from politics was that he had lost confidence in the government's ability and ambition to expand Greece's borders. He points out that he is disappointed with Lomvardos' silence on the Megali Idea, which has

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[138] Lomvardos (1822-1880) was another important Ionian writer and politician. His newspaper and book were instrumental in the movement towards Union. He went on to become an important political figure in the Greek Government for many years. His participation in the 1863 negotiations with the British administration fostered a close friendship with Charilaos Trikoupis (Prime Minister), who in turn, appointed him as Minister of Interior Affairs and Education under his government.

[139] Correspondence Aristotelis Valaoritis to Konstantinos Lomvardos, 1 April 1871, Aristotelis Valaoritis Articles File 3.2, Valaoritis Family Folder, ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.

delighted many of their opponents. The actions of Lomvardos are interesting as they allude to

the fact that by 1871 Ionians had assimilated into the social consciousness of the State.

The restoration of Patriarch Gregory V as a national hero and martyr in Valaoritis' poem

to the statute in 1872 was a milestone in the establishment of a new national collective memory

that bridged the pejorative narratives of the Byzantine legacy of the Orthodox church with a new

narrative of Gregory's role in favor of the revolution and his martyrdom. In Gregory, Valaoritis

found symbols of faith and the nation.

The Satirist: Andreas Laskaratos

Arguably the most controversial Ionian intellectual was Andreas Laskaratos. Born in

Kefalonia in 1811, he studied in Paris and Pisa. His most famous publications were his

newspaper *Lychnos* and his book *The Mysteries of Kefalonia* (1856),[140] which led to his

excommunication in the same year. Laskaratos studied law in Paris but spent the majority of this

career as a publisher. His works tended to be sociological examinations of Ionian society, and

they offered commentary and insight of the political, religious, domestic, and class tension in

Kefalonia. In *The Mysteries of Kefalonia,* Laskaratos offers the most in-depth analysis of

Kefalonian society. This satirical work is broken into three sections criticizing the island's social,

religious, and political life. Like Vrailas-Armenis and Valaoritis, Laskaratos wrote in the

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[140] Andreas Laskaratos, *The Mysteries of Kefalonia*, [*ΤΑ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΟΝΙΑΣ*], (Athens, 1925).

vernacular, adopting a Kefalonian patois, criticizing the passivity of traditional society (the Church) and a calling for modernization through education.

It is easy to suggest that Laskaratos' time in London (1851) influenced his views on the church after examining his comparison between Protestant and Orthodox Priests. For instance, he stated, "if Protestants allow their priests a certain authority, that does not seem to me at all strange. The priests of the Protestants are men of education, learning and morality; so that their society is profitable, and the slight authority they possess beneficial."[141] Commenting on the Orthodox Priest, he argued, "How can we, if we have any sense admit them into our homes and allow them any authority over our families? Their ignorance is proverbial, their morals, before and after their ordination, are notorious to us all; their education is that which they picked up in their various unordained capacities as porters, boatmen, shopmen or servants."[142] Now, Laskaratos's criticism is not targeted towards religion but the institution of the Orthodox Church and its role in preventing Ionian society from modernizing.

The passivity of Ionian society was the focus of his satirical work. Whether ignorantly following marriage customs, following religious rites without question, or being easily manipulated by radical politics, Laskaratos was making a social statement: that the social, religious, and political were connected and that Greek society needed to be enlightened in order to move forward and function as a modern state.

Laskaratos' work challenged the traditional teleological perspective of Greek history as a unified and homogenous region destined to unify its unredeemed territories under a central state.

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[141] English translation from, "The Mysteries of Cefalonia, Art. VIII" in *The Westminster Review* 11 (London, 1857)" 216-245.
[142] "The Mysteries of Cefalonia, Art. VIII"

Interestingly, Laskaratos opposed the Union of the Ionian Islands with the Greek State in 1864, arguing the incompatibility of the "European Ionians" with the "Asiatic Greeks."

Ionian literature's presence in the public sphere played a crucial mediating function in cultivating a national identity. It contributed to the continuity narrative in both the formation of historical and collective memories, and it addressed the missing links in Greek national history by creating myths and memories linked to a specific geography and space. Thus, through the processes of myth-making, history writing, and shared remembering, the former territories and space of the Byzantine Empire became associated with a collective Greek national identity.

It is important to consider that a common thread in the works of Zambelios, Valaoritis, and Laskaratos was their island experience. Ionian writers have shown that islandness and national identity were inextricably tied to each writer's social and political experiences. By nature, islands usually exist in relation to a mainland, mainlands, or archipelagos. These connections are what give islands their ability to mobilize people and ideas as well as restrict. The nineteenth-century transformation experienced in the Mediterranean reflects the fluid nature of island relationships with the mainland. The Ionian Islands traditionally had various mainland connections, but with the Crimean War and the rise of the nation-state, Ionians were increasingly pushed out and forced to strengthen ties with the Greek Kingdom. Part of this process required Ionians to carefully cultivate new cultural ties to rebuild connections to the wider world. As small islands, the Ionian Islands lacked the technological and resource capacity to compete in the economic realities of the period. Aligning the islands with the Greek Kingdom and strengthening the Kingdom's political ideology of the Megali Idea was a way to overcome the disadvantages of small islands and fulfill the desire for sovereignty.

The discussions in this chapter focused on the responses of Ionians to the geographic isolation and economic predicaments of being isolated from their traditional mainland networks and market access vis-à-vis connections to Britain and Italy. One of the primary shifts in Ionian schools of thought was the construction of a national narrative of proving and strengthing connection to the West to one that focused on an indigenous narrative that strengthened the collective Greek memory and history in the region.

Chapter VII: The Urban Gatekeepers: Culture, Nation Building and the Emergence the Ionian Liberal Class

The social transformations of continental Europe in the nineteenth century—a result of revolution, imperialism, and industrialization—shaped the history of the Ionian Islands. The emergence of new political and social movements across the Mediterranean demonstrates that islands were not isolated but encompassed the universal conditions of eighteenth and nineteenth-century globalization. As urbanization forced Western Europe to seek new markets for foodstuff, primarily grains, in the Black Sea and the Danube regions, the Ionian Islands became increasingly crucial for French and British commercial interests.[143] In Britain, the Great Famine of 1845 and the expansion of shipping increased the demand for Russian grains and timber. These economic and social pressures fueled the eventual liberalization of the markets with the repeals of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the Navigation Act 1849. These events drastically increased Britain's presence in the Black Sea and the Danube as London sought to increase the import of goods through private enterprises.[144] The Ionian Islands, in this context, took on a central role in the Anglo-Black Sea trade network,[145] taking advantage of their traditional trade

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[143] See Vassilis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea; The Greeks in Southern Russia, 1775-1861* (Lanham MD: Lexington Books, 2001); Gelina Harlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping. The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London: Routledge, 1996).

[144] Panayiotis Kapetanakis, *New approaches of British and Ionian presence in ports and grain-markets of the Russian Black Sea and the Danube (mid-18th– mid-19th century* (Athens: General Secretariat for Research and Technology, 2015), 128 & 139

[145] Panayiotis Kapetanakis argues that "Great Britain sought to use the key geographical position of the Ionian Islands and the trade networks they belonged to since the time of the Venetian rule, in an endeavor to bolster British trade in the wider region of the central Mediterranean, to obtain and keep hold on new markets for its industrial products, and to find new sources of food supplies for its increasing urban and industrial population. The decision by Britain to give the Ionian Islands' merchant navy the option to engage in a safe and independent

networks and exploiting their ambiguous position as a semi-colonial state to manipulate tariffs and mobility to their advantage.[146]

The Ionian Islands, in turn, fostered a dynamic trade and mercantile society, economy, and culture, which created a space for cross-border interactions with continental Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. The increased movement of goods and people facilitated the growth of a new middle-class that began to circulate new social and political ideas, challenging both the Protectorate's political legitimacy and economic policies and the Islands' traditional social order and existing class boundaries. Assisted by agents of change and transfer, liberal, socialist, and radical ideas quickly reached new audiences throughout the Ionian Islands. By the mid-nineteenth century, with the introduction of the free press and the emergence of urban institutions, Ionian intellectuals no longer had to exclusively rely on the libraries, universities, and other learning institutions of Western Europe to foster a political voice. By selectively adapting political thoughts from continental Europe—primarily England, France, and Italy—middle-class intellectuals challenged British imperialist policies at home and abroad.

A study of the cultural production, intellectual movements, and political dissent on the Ionian Islands demonstrates that union and political dissent did not appear in a vacuum. Ionian intellectuals had a heightened awareness of international affairs, diplomacy, and a broader understanding of the islands' role in Great Power's geopolitical posturing. As a result,

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business activity, without the restrictions it normally imposed on its colonies, should be understood with that consideration in mind." Panayiotis Kapetanakis. "Shipping and Trade in a British Semi-Colony: The case of the United States of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864)," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 85 (2012): 283. https://journals.openedition.org/cdlm/6770 .

[146] See Athanasios (Sakis) Gekas, "The Commercial Bourgeoisie of the Ionian Islands under British Rule, 1815-1864: Class Formation in a Semi-Colonial Society," PhD diss., (University of Essex, 2004); Kapetanakis, "Shipping and Trade," 23n25.

intellectuals increasingly found opportunities to articulate new forms of dissent from the status

quo of the Protectorate and regional socio-political realities hedging broader Great Power

rivalries to support their political aspirations.   Creative views were transmitted, discussed and

debated in various publications, including manuscripts, books, newspapers, and pamphlets, and

displayed in public gatherings, protests, and urban institutions. In time, the middle class split

with a large faction becoming radicalized by merging liberal ideas with regional nationalist

movements. The rise of both Ionian radicalism[147] and later socialism in the nineteenth century

shows that political ideas were not mimicked from the West but synthesized around Ionian

perceptions of the world order.[148] Significantly, they were adapted to local concerns and ideas.

The transmission of information, knowledge, and ideas that accompanied the networks of

exchange as a result of industrialization, globalization, and modernization did not follow defined

boundaries. In broader terms, the islands in the Mediterranean are ideal sites to examine the

intersectionality of world events with local issues and to discover the emergence of alternative

paradigms for nineteenth-century globalization and modernization. A case study of the advent of

a Greek political voice on the Ionian Islands reveals that islands developed societies that

produced distinct versions of the international social and political order and directly challenged

foreign interference and dominance in local affairs. This is not to say the exchange of

information is exclusive to islands and that the mainland was unaffected. For example, many

borderland regions like the Cerdanya or Alsace-Lorraine in Europe or the Black Sea region of

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[147] *Rizospastes*. Ethno-nationalism demonstrated that Ionians did not accept Western civic nationalism as they opposed British constructed Ionian identity.

[148] The Crimean War changed the geo-politics in the region. In Greece to there was apathy towards foreign domination and a general movement away from foreign influence. In the Ionian Island there were increased calls for liberal and democratic rights.

Anatolia are significant sites of cross-cultural exchange. We should recall that islands represent a borderland and, as such, share many features with other borderland regions; however, islands are also unique from other borderlands. Insularity allows islands to simultaneously adapt foreign ideas to local particularisms to create something unique—a third space. Islandsness, as a unique attribute of island geography, also differentiates islands from other borderlands. Islandness simultaneously allows islands to be both insular, liminal, and interconnected to the world around them. The significant difference here is that islands act as agents of change, not products of change, as they were at the center of broader historical transformations of the nineteenth century.

This chapter aims to examine the increased involvement of intellectuals in political and nationalist activities through the exploration of newly established cultural institutions responsible for the politicization of intellectuals with collective agendas. In order to establish the fields wherein Ionian middle class cultural and political views and cultural activities eventually prevailed in the Greek-speaking world, it is essential to identify and examine the mechanisms which made the transmission and formation of an Ionian 'high culture' possible. By what means was culture constructed and transmitted to those who were willing to carry them into effect on the islands? Why did aspects of liberalism eventually fail, and what events inspired the radical unionist movement, which led to the first instance of British voluntary decolonization?

Three mechanisms underline the process of cultural transmission:[149] The first involved urban institution and the specialization and amelioration of ideas. Here, reading rooms, clubs, academies, and professional associations acted as transitional spaces that attracted and defined ideas between Western Europe, the Ionian Islands, and the Greek Kingdom. The second was the

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[149] S. E. Finer, "The transmission of Benthamite Ideas 1820-50," in *Studies in the Growth of nineteenth century government,* ed. Gillian Sutherland (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 13.

promulgation of these ideas into actions and public opinions through the use of print media, rural sources, public protests, and public debates. The third was the legitimization and permeation of the ideas through obtaining social prestige and securing official appointments and civic participation such as voting.

While the previous chapter explored the Ionian writers who published novels and poems to create feelings of a collective national identity in the Ionian Islands, the following chapters apply the aforementioned mechanisms and focus on the civic institutions, newspapers, and intellectuals that created a unique political voice and collective identity that challenged the traditional social and political order.

Liberals, socialists, and radicals shared a common social background, cultural milieu (aristocracy, bourgeoisie, professionals, merchants, traders, intellectuals), and political concerns. Though socialists and radicals associated more with marginalized groups of Ionian society such as the farmers and workers, liberals were primarily made up of upper-and middle-class intellectuals (bourgeoisie). Middle-class professionals on the islands gained exposure to the political currents of the time through their studies and employment abroad. However, upon returning home, many became frustrated by the lack of political and economic reforms and challenged the government and traditional social structures. By successfully appropriating key institutions such as literary societies, secret lodges, professional clubs and associations, and the private press, intellectuals legitimized and disseminated their political ideas to the broader public. They hoped that these public and private institutions would enlighten and improve the lives of all Ionian citizens. By founding cultural institutions, intellectuals also synthesized liberal, socialist, and radical ideas with popular nationalist rhetoric that sought to protect local concerns with the economy, sovereignty, and political rights.

In the attempt to garner popular support, Ionian liberalism increasingly took a nationalist turn. Ionian liberals were central in the rise of Greek nationalism, and historiography views them as having paved the way for the rise of the irredentism that overwhelmed the Balkans up until the First World War. While Greek irredentism was a key feature of Ionian liberalism,[150] it is essential to highlight the social and economic reforms that underlined the nationalist demands. The nationalist influence on Ionian liberalism fulfilled the liberal desire for broader popular support to bring about social and political change. Political ideas developed in constant flux, intellectuals reworked and molded ideas to adapt to the changing economic, political and social landscape rendering liberal and socialist ideas meaningful to local realities.[151] Therefore, the popular decision to support union with Greece should be first examined within a local context to understand the impact local realities had on broader socio-political movements.

Urban institutions

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[150] *Enosis*, or the popular movement for Union of the Ionian Islands with the Greek Kingdom. It was the main political ideology for the radicals or The *Rizospastes* who blamed imperial domination as the root of the poor economic and social conditions on the islands. At the core of the movement was not only regional question concerning nationalism but also local question about social improvement (for instance land reforms). See Eleni Calligas, "Radical nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands (1815-1864)," in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, ed. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 151-161.

[151] Athanasios (Sakis) Gekas, "Class and national identities in the Ionian Islands under British Rule," in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896),* ed. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 162-165.

A consequence of the nineteenth-century economic and political transformation in the Mediterranean was the end of the transnational social order of empires. Konstantina Zanou's research captures the transition process of multiethnic empires to modern nation-states within intellectual biographies. She states that nineteenth-century revolutionary events "marked the point which nationalism and transnationalism would start to become incompatible."[152] Her study traces the oscillation of Adriatic and Ionian intellectuals between multiple cultural, intellectual, and political affiliations, highlighting the interconnectedness of the formation of Greek and Italian national languages and consciousness. This moment was instrumental as it shifted the political and cultural geographies in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas.[153]

This dissertation contributes and builds on Zanou's work by contributing another layer to her proposed process of transition. While Zanou argues that the Ionian Islands shifted their loyalties from "the centre that Venice used to be to the centre that Athens was now becoming," I propose the shift was from Venice to Kerkyra, and finally to Athens. This slight amendment is crucial as it emphasizes the impact of transculturation, hybridization, and urbanization on local and regional changes. Thus, the Ionian Islands represented a space-in-between,[154] a third space through which local cultural practices came together with metropolitan cultures to define a new cultural form.[155]

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[152] Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1880-1850*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 189.

[153] Zanou, 2.

[154] Maria Paschalidi in her thesis examines how the British articulated Ionian identity as distinct from Greek and Italian. She examines the language used by British officials, travellers, journalists to show how the British constructed an Ionian identity. "The British governors claimed to 'know' the Ionians and felt they represented the Ionians 'accurately' to colonial officials. That 'knowledge' enabled comparisons with 'others' under British rule, particularly Europeans such as the Irish and Maltese." Maria Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities: The Ionian Islands in British Official Discourses; 1815-1864," PhD diss., (University College London, 2009), 14

[155] Homi Bhabha "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha, (London: Routledge, 1991), 291– 322

Postcolonial discourses around hybridity created ambivalence for both the colonized and the colonizer and forced the construction of difference as a strategy against the shifting political and social conditions.[156] The uncertainty that followed pushed the Ionian Islands to create new local and regional relationships, and nationalism became an ideal force to fill the void.

The island of Kerkyra and the town of Kerkyra, in particular, became the political and intellectual center of the Ionian Islands under the British occupation. It was here that the first Lord High Commissioner Thomas Maitland, in 1819, commissioned the construction of the Palace of St. Michael and St. George to serve as his residence and to house the Ionian Senate. It was also in Kerkyra where the Ionian Assembly was located, and the Ionian Academy was eventually built.[157] Subsequently, as the political and social center of the islands, Kerkyra attracted middle-class professionals and intellectuals from all of the other six islands.[158] Urban institutions were central in the specialization, amelioration, and expansion of new political and cultural forms. Ionian civic and public institutions, in particular, connected local actors with the metropole. As institutions expanded across the Ionian Islands, they formed new public and

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[156] In comparing Paschalidi and Bhabha it becomes clear that the colonizers in an attempt to create a binary (us-them) and essentialist identity that is familiar, but fail, instead creating an identity that is a hybrid interweaving elements of the colonizer and colonized. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London/New York: Routledge, 1994).

[157] The British carried out various construction projects from public infrastructure, to building and structures. British dominance was not only represented through military means but also by the Briitish Neoclassical architecture sprawled throughout the urban centers of the islands. British civic architecture reinforced Britain's dominant culture over the islands by imposing ideas of neoclassicism on the moral and values of local populations. British neoclassical design also served as the precursor to the German and French inspired Athenian neoclassical designs which arrived after Union. See Nicholas Patricios, "The Application of British Neoclassical Design Principle: The Greek Islands of Kefalonia," *Design Principles & Practices An International Journal* 2, no. 1 (2008): 129-137; Patricios, "British Civic Architecture in the United States of the Ionian Islands," (Presentation, 1st Annual International Conference on Fine & Performing Arts, Athens Institute for Education and Research, Athens Greece, 7-19 June, 2010).

[158] It should be noted that other islands also became centers of middle-class and British authority. For instance, other islands also incorporate the same colonial civic buildings and urban spaces.

cultural spaces[159] in key urban centers for the middle class to debate ideas and exchange information.

Nonetheless, these institutions did not completely replace traditional spaces of sociability; instead, they acted as intermediaries between the traditional elite, the middle class, and marginalized groups. As a result, urban institutions enhanced the relationships between the various social and economic groups and their interests. By merging the concerns and narratives of the marginalized classes—that were traditionally found at the coffeehouses, public festivals, and religious celebrations—urban institutions blended local and popular beliefs with the new social order of the middle class. For instance, popular concerns around political suppression, heavy taxation, and agricultural stagnation found support among the middle-class liberals who fused their broader ideas about land reforms and democratic governance into an Ionian context. In this way, they also created social prestige and authority.

Urban institutions challenged the political and social order on the islands, especially in the towns of Kerkyra, Argostoli, Lixouri, and Lefkada. These urban centers fostered middle-class political attitudes, commerce, and cultural activities and were instrumental in forming liberal, socialist and radical ideas and creating a "high culture." The origins and function of civic institutions can be traced to the successive colonial occupations from the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries. Various civic and public institutions were initially set up to serve the soft-power civilizing mandates of the colonizers. Cities connected the metropole with the colony, and as such imperial powers and local elites endowed cities with institutions and services that drove the economy and asserted the colonizers' social, cultural, and political superiority. In addition, cities

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[159] Jürgen Habermas, Thomas Burger, and Frederick Lawrence, The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: *An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989).

provided a space for colonial projects on health and education, serving as sites for colonial

experiments on education, architectural and cultural aesthetics, and new approaches to health.[160]

Under successive colonial governments, urban institutions created the discourse for

asserting imperial hegemony over island society's perceived economic, political, and cultural

backwardness. The early expansion of commerce and trade brought about a new local middle

class that, for the most part, served the imperial interests of the colonizers. Thus, imperial

institutional forms articulated colonial hegemony and legitimacy while also offering the middle

class a space to participate in colonial discourse and performance of superiority.[161]   However, as

much as the institutions served the colonizer, the colonized eventually used these same

institutions to serve local needs and challenge the colonizer's superiority in local affairs.

Urban institutions mediated the interactions between the local perspectives and global

imperial practices, which shaped Ionian culture, class, and political identities over time. More

specifically, these institutions encouraged specific forms of social and political relations and

shaped collective identities. At these sites, fundamental dichotomies were constructed, and new

ways of discourse and practices of belonging and exclusion, center and periphery, local and

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[160] Colonial cities were at times used as 'laboratories of modernity,' where missionaries, educators, and doctors could carry out experiments in social engineering without confronting the popular resistance and bourgeois rigidities of European society at home…These 'laboratories of modernity'… could never produce 'controlled conditions' on the ground. What Europeans encountered in the colonies was not open terrain for economic domination, but people capable of circumventing and undermining the principles and practices on which extraction or capitalist development was based." Frederick Cooper, Ann Laura Stoler, eds. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Los Angeles/Berkley/London: University of California Press, 2009), 4-5. For colonial projects around health on the Ionian Islands see Costas Tsiamis,, Eleni Thalassinou, Effie Poulakou-Rebelakou and Angelos Hatzakis, "Quarantine and British 'protection' of the Ionian Islands, 1815–64," in Mediterranean Quarantines, 1750–1914, eds. John Chircop and Francisco Javier Martinez (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018), 256-276.

[161] Antonio Gamsci used hegemony as a concept to demonstrate how civic and political state institutions use both coercion and consent to enforce class hierarchies that support capitalist societies. Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks: Volume I*, trans. J. A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992); Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks: Volume II*, trans. J. A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia University Pres, 1996).

global, developed and underdeveloped, modern and backward, and urban and rural were contested.

Therefore, an examination of Ionian urban institutions and those who ran them during the British occupation calls attention to the imbricated relationship between the metropole and colony and the contested relationship between the two.[162] It also reveals that the upper and middle classes, alongside British officials, used these institutions to assert their own cultural and political dominance over other marginalized groups. The overall consequence of these competing forces was enosis, a nationalist movement that often aligned with class struggle in opposition to colonialism.

The Ionian Middle Class

Colonialism brought with it a series of modernizing projects that were meant to dominate the local population. These projects were meant to create order in a society deemed uncivilized, destitute, and backward by setting up new practices and discourses. Imperial governments imposed their hegemony and surveillance on the population of the Ionian Islands through laws and civic and public institutions. However, while colonial governments founded and supported these institutions, the local professional elite contributed to and operated these sites. Merchants

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[162] See Thomas Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion: Culture, Identity and Power in the British Mediterranean* (Notre Dame, 2002) for a post-colonial perspective of the imbricated relationship between Colony and Colonizer, Metropole and Colony.

were among the leaders of the many institutions and associations, advocating alongside lawyers, doctors, the nobility, and intellectuals for liberal reforms and an open market economy for the islands.[163]   Among the most important forces that shaped the Ionian Islands' course of political and cultural development was the growth of the middle class during the nineteenth century.

The Ionian middle class is a necessary classification for writing the history of the economic and social changes on the island.[164] In this project, the middle class is defined as a social entity that held economic, intellectual, and social privileges, encompassing aspects of colonialism and nationalism in an attempt to influence upward mobility and establish social prestige. It is important to note that the middle class was not a monolithic and uniform entity, and therefore, its definition is susceptible to change over time, space, and context.[165] For instance, the British middle class was shaped by industrialization, the French middle class by the Revolution and political equality, the German *mittlestand* by patterns of consumption, and lastly, the Italian by geography, primarily in the north and made up of professionals and entrepreneurs.[166]

The Ionian middle class was closest to the Italian model and made up of various interest groups, each shaped by colonial economies, traditional hierarchies, and local histories. For the most part, it was a dynamic group comprised of professionals, landowners, bureaucrats,

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[163] Sakis, Gekas, *Xenocracy: State, Class and Colonialism in the Ionian Island 1815-1864* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 312; Gekas, Liberalism in the Med.; Gekas, "Class and national identities in the Ionian Islands under British Rule," in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past (1797-1896)*, eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 165-170. Gekas argues that merchants were not part of the local bourgeoisie and therefore advocated for their own interests, see Gekas, "Class and national identities," 162-165.

[164] Gekas, *Xenocracy.*

[165] Jürgen Kocka, "The Middle Classes in Europe," *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 4 (1995): 783-806.

[166] Pamela M. Pilbeam. *The Middle Classes in Europe 1789-1914. France Germany, Italy and Russia* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), 12-13.

merchants, and diaspora intellectuals, all of whom held a significant amount of cultural and political capital. Different middle-class groups found common ground and created relationships through benevolent societies, clubs and lodges, sporting activities, media and public interactions and debates, and diaspora networks. Together their influence was decisive in shaping regional politics, so it is not surprising that the Ionian middle class was at the center of the islands' most important historical moments.

By the nineteenth century, the middle class quickly emerged as one of the most relevant social, cultural, and political forces on the islands, serving as intermediaries between marginalized social groups and the traditional elite. Their social responsibilities included mediating middle-class relationships with the poor through charity and leading political activities, including protests and public debates.[167] The capacity of the middle class to mobilize support from marginalized groups politically empowered them so that the British government and traditional elite were forced to take notice of their political agendas. They promoted reform, which included social inclusion by advocating for the general interest of the poor, laborers, and farmers. The more marginalized group (seniors, laborers, farmers, poor) became reliant on the state and charitable services, the more the middle class used their position within these institutions to increase their social standing. The extent and success of political mobilization of the lower classes varied, but the Ionian middle class embraced their intermediary roles and sought to remove traditional class and social structures in return for political legitimacy.[168]

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[167] Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 261,303.
[168] This differed than French society were "the French middle class throughout this period is that it remained attached to powerful social distinctions and significant class distances. In this sense, French society has long remained a hierarchical or post-hierarchical society, a graduated society in which the middle is haunted by the desire to become the top and to distinguish itself from the bottom. Thierry Pech, "Two hundred years of the middle class in France," *L'Économie politique*, trans. JPD Systems 49, no. 1 (2011): 69-97. https://www.cairn-int.info/article-E_LECO_049_0069--two-hundred-years-of-the-middle-class.htm#

Education was an essential feature in the ascent of the Ionian middle classes and arguably allowed them to enter political modernity earlier than their compatriots in the Greek Kingdom. A market economy, active civil society, and a democratic—albeit not perfect—political system reflected a robust middle class determined to lead change.

Sakis Gekas' watershed research on the Ionian middle class has demonstrated that their influence extended far beyond the realm of economics. With a focus on the socio-political ramifications of the birth and growth of the Ionian middle class during the long nineteenth century, Gekas traces the events that led to the "embourgeoisement" of Ionian merchants, and therefore, he uses the terms middle class and bourgeoisie interchangeably. One crucial area of focus in Gekas' research is the relationship between commercial institutions and associations and the emergence of a liberal merchant class. Interestingly, Gekas moves the point of analysis away from economics and instead reads these sites as social constructs acting as both governance and merchant agency mechanisms.[169]

As the leading scholar on the Ionian middle class and the urban institutions, Gekas' research is central to identify the debates that fostered a unique Ionian political voice. The calls for enosis[170] were connected to the liberalization of the islands, but more importantly, it was a result of urbanization and, consequently, the social transformation of the classes. By the 1830s, the Ionian middle class emerged as a dominant political force using patriotism and liberalism to navigate the changing landscape of the Mediterranean.[171]

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[169] Sakis Gekas, "Business Culture and Entrepreneurship in the Ionian Islands Under British Rule, 1815 – 1864," *LSE Working Papers in Economic History*, no. 89 (2005): 4-5. Gekas 2004

[170] It is important to note that a large portion of the middle-class liberals did not support *enosis* (union), as they saw this as union as detrimental to their pollical gains and new statue under British rule.

[171] See Gekas, "The Literati and the Liberali: The Making of the Ionian Bourgeoisie", in *Xenocracy* 287.

Commercial Institutions

The middle class that emerged under the British occupation witnessed the gradual

dismantling of the traditional class system enjoyed by the aristocracy and British administrators.

The increased urbanization with new market opportunities during the occupation saw the rise of

an urban middle class that articulated a progressive economic vision. These members sought to

shape state policies through their position in commercial, government, and specialized

institutions. Postcolonial scholarship frequently focuses on the middle class as mere instruments

of the ruling powers; however, by the nineteenth century, the middle class on the Ionian Islands

were defining new roles for themselves. Historians often point to institutional stagnation as a

feature of economic underdevelopment. Therefore, the development of modern commercial and

economic institutions under the occupation marked a shift in economic growth and progress on

the islands.

Commercial institutions such as the Grain Administration, the Ionian Bank and

Exchange, insurance companies, the chamber of commerce, and other commercial associations

mediated economic relationships while fostering an opposition voice to colonial policies. The

members who used these sites increased financial opportunities, disseminated information, and

lastly built relationships by bringing together political and business leaders.

Under the British occupation, the Ionian Islands were neither an industrial state nor an

open market economy. However, many benefitted from the privileges of British commercial

networks. British privileges allowed merchants, on the one hand, to gain access to global

markets, which brought wealth to the olive oil, currants, grains, and shipping industries, and on

the other hand, migrant workers and travelers enjoyed British consular and legal protection when

abroad.[172] Along with a cosmopolitan identity, these privileges gave Ionians unique access to

both Ottoman and Russian markets in the East[173] and the British, Italian, and French markets in

the West. As trade and communication networks expanded abroad, merchants began to apply a

global language of commerce at home, advocating for liberal economic, social, and legal

reforms.

Modernity, in an Ionian context, took on the form of urban commercialization, increased

bureaucracy, and the adoption of western cultural practices.[174] Liberal economic ideas were not

unique to the Ionian Islands, in fact, studies show that the diffusion of liberal ideas in the Greek-

speaking world began during the Neohellenic Enlightenment of the eighteenth century in the

circles of the Phanariotes and diaspora of the Principalities in the Danube and continued into the

nineteenth century under the influence of Korais and his intellectual circles.[175] It is argued that

while liberal economic ideas were debated, discussed, and advanced in intellectual circles

outside Greece, the failure to establish institutional reforms inside Greece led to the belated

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[172] Thomas Gallant, "Tales Dark Side: Transnational Migration, the Underworld and the 'Other' Greeks of the Diaspora," in *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700*, ed. Dimitris Tziovas (London: Routledge, 2009): 17-29.

[173] "Merchants from the Ionian Islands and the island of Chios were also among the first who settled in London and Liverpool. Ionians also travelled to and settled in the Black Sea ports, benefitting from the Ionian and Russian flags that they could raise, as Orthodox Ionian subjects under British." Gekas, "Colonial migrants and the making of a British Mediterranean," European Review of History 19, no. 1 (February 2012): 79.

[174] Sakis Gekas, "'Spread of Bourgeois Ideology' Liberalism in the Mediterranean, Ionian merchants, free trade ideas and British commercial expansion," (Paper, Third European Congress on World and Global History, LSE, 14-17 April 2011), 9. In this paper Gekas examines the ideological characteristics of Greek merchants. Focusing on whether the spread of liberal ideas by bourgeois merchants had any economic impact.

[175] Christos Baloglou "The Diffusion and Reception of the Ideas of Economic Liberalism in Greece," *Spoudai* 51, no. 3-4 (2001): 16-35; Gekas "Spread of Bourgeois Ideology," 13.

creation of a liberal political voice and a continued reliance on foreign powers.[176] The trajectory

was much different on the Ionian Islands. Here liberal ideas were not only ameliorated, but they

became specialized within the local rhetoric of patriotism and liberalism that differed from the

Ottoman Greeks and the Diaspora. Patriotism supported the local social objectives of

marginalized groups, while liberalism supported the economic reform objectives of the middle

class.

       The traditional Ionian mercantile classes and their families had access to western markets

and learning institutions, which immersed them in Western European discourses, practices,

culture, and ideas. Ionian merchants, alongside the Ionian intellectual elite and the Ionian local

aristocracy, first established civic and public institutions and associations on the islands in the

seventeenth century to influence colonial policies and promote legal and fiscal reforms but more

importantly, to foster a collective class identity.[177] A focus on the period of the British

occupation highlights the continued use of urban institutions and the formation of a new

collective political voice that was liberal and that responded to the rising nationalist sentiments

across the Mediterranean in the mid-nineteenth century.

Learning to Protest and Grain trade

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[176] See Gekas,17-18.
[177] Refer to Gekas "Spread of Bourgeois Ideology," 26-29 for a review of Venetian and Republican period liberalism.

Two significant events shaped the political identities of the Ionian middle class.[178] The first was the grain regulations between the 1830s and 1840s, and the second was the outbreak of the Crimean war. These two events highlight the duality of island geography—the vulnerability of island isolation but also the advantages of island connectivity—and the ability of islands to take advantage of "externally induced change and subordinate it to local direction."[179] These examples also bring to light that island isolation and connectivity are not only a product of geography but a consequence of political and historical circumstances.

The following examples show how islands shifted their liminality to benefit their own local fiscal needs.   Since the Ionian Islands depended on trade for vital goods, such as grain, they used sea routes to integrate into the global trade networks that best served their needs.[180] As the center of these routes shifted from the Adriatic to London, Ionian merchants became increasingly connected to the Black Sea and the Danube. These areas connected merchants with new global market opportunities to trade for grain. In addition to the shifting centers, the degree of interconnectedness to the surrounding mainland was also affected by British custom regulations, which impacted trade and subsistence living for the average islander. Nevertheless, it is arguably the Crimean War that had the most significant impact on the patterns of trade and communication networks.

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[178] The lessons gained from grain disputes were crucial in the development of future debates on enosis and land reform debates.

[179] Samuel Edquist & Janne Holmén, *Islands of Identity: History-writing and identity formation in five island regions in the Baltic Sea* (Stockholm: Elanders, 2015), 21. Here the authors describe Edward Warrington and David Milnes's typology of islands as entrepots. In this example islands entrepôts were able to exploit their in-betweeness for their own economic and social benefits.

[180] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 1:150

War and unrest historically isolated the Ionian Islands from the mainland; the vast fortifications on the islands are a testament to this fact. As already discussed, in 1819, unrest saw Parga sold off to the Ottoman Empire's Ali Pasha, creating a refugee crisis, and during the Revolutionary War, the British Administration imposed a position of neutrality throughout the islands. These experiences played an essential role in the formation of Ionian identity. On the one hand, island connectivity served the islanders' trade needs, and on the other hand, isolation influenced a robust local identity, which in turn fueled sentiments of patriotism. Patriotism created a collective identity by confronting other competing identities in the region. Patriotism was also a means for expressing autonomy and loyalty to the Greek state, which solidified new relationships with the mainland and brought about a sense of security in times of turmoil. What is interesting to note is that shifting loyalties was a common strategy on the islands during times of unrest and was often exploited to improve the islands' geographic position for their benefit. For a long time, Ionians enjoyed the economic benefits of the British Flag in trade and security but were also known to raise the flags of Britain, France, Russia, and Greece when it served their political needs. Islanders also expressed different ideological loyalties in order to accommodate improve their economic and social development. For instance, emphasis on Orthodoxy sought closer connections to Russia. An emphasis on constitutionalism integrated islanders with France, while liberal reforms and independence were sought through British loyalties. Lastly, connections to mainland Greece undermined British authorities, encouraged reforms and self-determination. The shifting loyalties of Ionian merchants and traders in the Black Sea were noticed by the British officials, agitated by this tactic, the British consul of Constantinople wrote,

The opinion of the British and Ionian governments, has been so decidedly expressed against permission being given to Ionian vessels which have abandoned their nationality, to resume the Ionian flag, that I do not conceive you should be warranted in attending to the applications, for that purpose, which have lately been made to you. The subjects of the Ionian States must be taught that their flag is too respectable to be converted into a mere matter of occasional convenience.[181]

Trade Institutions: Grain regulations and the rise of Ionian political voice

Under the British occupation, the Ionian grain trade became a contentious issue that pitted colonial, local, and mercantile interests against each other.   What emerged from these disputes was a local collective voice of resistance.[182] In order to preserve their interests, Ionian merchants, traders, and civic officials were provided with an opportunity to merge their political and economic experience to local concerns using colonial institutions and tools to their advantage.

Britain maintained an unpredictable policy that oscillated between free trade, tariffs and monopoly, appropriating these policies based on attempts to bolster British commercial opportunities, state revenue, and access to grain markets in the Black Sea and the Danube. As a result, by the nineteenth century, the Ionian Islands featured a fleet of 300 vessels, with a large proportion moving from the Ionian and Adriatic to the Black Sea and the Danube. These ships

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[181] Cited in Gelina Harlaftis. *A History of Greek Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day*. (London: Routledge, 1996), 27.

[182] It should be noted that this is not the only instance of class resistance. In fact, Thomas Gallant in his chapter "Turning the Horn" argues that as early as 1819, peasants and farmers resisted British tax collectors by using collective violence and shaming against them.

became one of the leading suppliers of Russian grain into European markets through central and western Mediterranean ports. In terms of numbers, there were about eighty Ionian merchants and ship-owning families that controlled the grain trade in the Black Sea and the Danube. Most of them were from Kefalonia and Ithaki, establishing important networks in the ports of Braila, Galatz, and Sulina in the Danube and in the cities of Taganrog, Rostov on the Don, Beridiansk, Mariupol, Yeysk, and Kerch along the Sea of Azov, Nikolayev and Odessa in the Black Sea, and in Batumi and Novorossiysk in the Caucus.[183] The *Ionian network*, as it is referred to, lasted well into the 1900s, leaving a legacy of Ionian family owned merchant and ship networks across Europe.[184]

The Ionians had a long historical presence in the Black Sea, which only increased with the 1774 Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca[185] and Russia's formal annexation of Crimea in 1783. Both these events opened up the Black Sea to international trade and encourage Greek immigration. In the eighteenth century, Ionian ships connected the Black Sea to Constantinople and Crete and the western Mediterranean through various trade routes.[186]

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[183] Panayiotis Kapetanakis, "Shipping and Trade in British semi-Colony," 278; Kapetanakis, *New approaches of British and Ionian presence in ports and grain-markets of the Russian Black Sea and the Danube (mid-18th– mid-19th century)*: 177

[184] Gelina Harlaftis. *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 71-106; Also see, Evrydiki Sifneos "Diaspora Entrepreneurship Revisited Greek Merchants in Southern Russian Ports," *Entreprises et histoire* 2, no. 63 (2011): 44; On the maritime potential of the Ionians under British rule see Panagiotis Kapetanakis, 'The Ionian State in the 'British' Nineteenth Century, 1814-1864: From Adriatic Isolation to Atlantic Integration*," International Journal of Maritime History* 22, no. 1 (June 2010): 163-184.

[185] While the Treaty opened up the Black Sea to free navigation for the Russian Flag and granted privileges and immunities to England and France, Britain remained cautious about Russia new geostrategic and commercial influence as a result of the Treaty. On the terms Treaty of Kainardji see also TNA SP 91/96, Dispatch No.59, 04.08.1774, Gunning to Earl of Suffolk, 163-165 cited in Kapetanakis, *New Approaches,* 44n31.

[186] Gerassimos Pagratis, "From the Septinsular Republic to the 'White Sea.' Ionian Shipping in the Port of Smyrna (1800-1807)," *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 19, no. 2 (2010)*:* 337; Pagratis, "Shipping enterprise in the eighteenth century: case of the Greek subject of Venice," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25, no. 1 (2010): 67-81; Pagratis, "The 'Discovery' of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea by Ionian Maritime Entrepreneurs (late 18th-early 19th century)," in *Port Cities of the Northern Shore of the Black Sea: Institutional, Economic and Social Development, 18th – early 20th Centuries*, eds/ Evrydiki Sifneos, Oksana Iurkova, Valentyna Shandra (Kerkyra: Ionian University, 2015): 305-315.

As mentioned before, one of the main reasons Britain occupied the Ionian Islands was to protect and preserve its economic dominance in the Mediterranean. Emphasizing this, British author and colonial statistician Robert Montgomery Martin stated that the islands were "admirably adapted" for protecting British trade networks in Eastern Europe.[187] Conversely, as Gallant argues, the relationship of the occupation was imbricated,[188] and while the island served the commercial interests of Britain, the occupation equally impacted the commercial interests of the islanders. This shared colonial experience was expressed through the debates, petitions, and opposition of the British administration's grain regulations. Within the commercial and regulatory institutions set up by Britain, the Ionians constructed a political and liberal voice that resisted occupation while also reinforcing ties with Greek State.[189]

One of the major projects embarked on by the British authority was the regulation of the islands' grain markets, especially on the islands of Kerkyra, Kefalonia, and Ithaca. Controversial at the time, because of the liberal and free-trade trends in global markets, the administration established tariffs to regulate the supply and price of grain. The interventionist grain policies were two-fold; on the one hand, they served the grain markets in London, and on the other hand, they served to control grain scarcity in the Ionian Islands. The first law to regulate grain prices and supply was passed on April 27, 1819, under High Commissioner Thomas Maitland. This law re-established the controversial grain monopoly that was formerly in place during the

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[187] Robert Montgomery Martin, H*istory of the British Possessions in the Mediterranean: Comprising Gibraltar, Malta, Gozo, and the Ionian Islands* (London: Whittaker & Company, 1837), 402.

[188] In his preface Gallant states that he wants to "focus on the shared interactions between colonizer and colonized, rulers and ruled, foreign and local. I want to emphasis contingency and historical agency, to examine intentionality, to explore the process of accommodation and , when warranted, resistance, and to reconstruct the world Britons and Greeks made together on the Ionian Islands during the nineteenth century through their shared experience of dominion." Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*, 3

[189] In "Credit and Power in the Ionian Islands" Gekas argues that these same institutional changes articulated collective action by peasants and debtors.

Venetian occupation. The government argued that the law was necessary to increase the supply, quality, and grain price entering the islands.[190] However, some were more skeptical. Joseph Hume, for instance, argued in parliament that "the effect of the measure was, to raise the price of grain, and to threaten the islands with scarcity."[191] Nevertheless, the law remained unchanged until High Commissioner Nugent's economic and agricultural reforms of March 1833 and the formation of a Grain Administration in Kerkyra in 1834.

The Grain Administration in Kerkyra provided a new center for social interaction, which was important in shifting the dominance of traditional centers such as London, Trieste, Constantinople, and Odessa. Ionian merchants were able to expand their market reach through larger regional grain houses of Chios, which incorporated Kerkyra into their global nexus of trade networks. The establishment of the Grain Administration in Kerkyra signified the island's economic and political importance. While still connected to international centers, the Ionians, through Kerkyra, had a local center to foster a voice of resistance and express greater economic autonomy.[192] The act that introduced the Grain Administration required the municipal council to appoint five committee members; two were reserved for public officials and three for the heads of the grain merchant families; therefore, the Grain Administration also marked the politicization of the middle class.[193] The administration was assigned to regulate the price based on market fluctuations and create a stock grain supply for emergencies.

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[190] Free trade left the Ionian markets vulnerable to speculators and market manipulation, which had devastating impact on tenant farmers and consumers. See Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*, 106-110; Gekas *Xenocracy* 147.

[191] 5 Parl. Deb. H.C. (07 June 1821) cols. 1128-49.

[192] It should be noted that Kefalonia was the maritime center for trade. Kerkyra however still served as the political, cultural and social center. For more on Kefalonian maritime role see Panayiotis S. Kapetanakis, "Shipping and Trade in a British semi-colony," 281-282.

[193] Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 146-147.

As the Grain Administration failed to control the unstable grain market, grain prices increased, and the supply became scarce. In response, the government passed two new Acts. The Act in 1836 regulated the price of bread, and the Act in 1837 controlled the ability of Ionian merchants to trade grain in transit in order to create a grain depot in Kerkyra. Thus, the Grain Administration and the two Acts of 1836 and 1837 created a monopoly as the administration-controlled pricing and supply. The preamble of the *Act of Parliament to guard against a scarcity of Wheat* outlines:

> Experience having shown that the restriction on trade in the article of wheat in Corfu, as it was fixed by act No. 30 of the present Parliament, is the greatest benefit to the population of this islands, whilst it ensures also the supply of wheat throughout the state; considering that the measures adopted on this important subject should be directed to any possible reduction on the price of this article of necessity, even more than to the forming of a branch of public revenue.[194]

The Act did not bode well for the Ionian merchants, especially in Kerkyra, where they were well connected to the free-trade economy of the global trade networks of the time. The grain policies had two underlined impacts on the islands. First, they disrupted merchants' ability to participate in global trade networks, therefore, emphasizing the islands' economic isolation, and second the policies underlined the colonial hegemony and class structures. Nevertheless, rather than staying silent, the merchants found themselves in the position to put up a resistance.

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[194] The Parliamentary Act is cited in John Davy, *Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta* (London: Smith Elder & Company, 1842), 24 .

Years of economic prosperity, a spirited liberal education, greater participation in local political institutions, and the fact that free-trade ideology dominated global markets [195] gave merchants the confidence to form a collective opposition voice.

Sakis Gekas demonstrates that the newfound collective opposition was expressed through citizen petitions, public debates, and the establishment of commercial associations and financial institutions.[196] These actions created a space that brought together various interest groups to form a collective voice of resistance. Additionally, resistance emphasized the ability of islands to form new and alternative connections to the mainland when outside factors impose a sense of isolation on them. In 1836 and 1837, two petitions were submitted to the High Commissioner by sixty-two citizens of Kerkyra. The first called for the repeal of the monopoly on grain, and the second outlined the negative economic impacts of such a policy. Citing the petitions, Gekas highlights the liberal attitudes of the petitioners who called for the,

> '[R]ight of everyone to trade wheat freely,' and requested a return to the previous regime, which gave more jobs to port workers; similarly, they suggested that the commissioner should dismiss the Grain Administration, claiming that it had not brought the price of bread down or improved the quality of bread, and nor had the 'monopoly,' as they explicitly call it, extended commerce or encouraged mobility of capital…To legitimize their request the petitioners claimed they expressed the

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[195] It is important to note that in 1837 liberal reforms were also introduced in Malta that abolished old tariffs system. While tariffs remained on wheat, overall reforms added to the liberal spirit of the time. See John Macgregor, *Commercial Statistics. A digest of the productive resources, commercial legislation, customs tariffs, navigation, port, and quarantine laws, and charges, shipping, imports and exports, and the monies, weights, and measures of all nations. Including all British commercial treaties with foreign states. Vol. I.* (London: Charles Knight and Company, 1844): 1267.

[196] Gekas, *Xenocracy*; and Gekas, "Class and National identities," 165.

destitute and poorest of Corfu, who would also benefit from the 'freedom to trade.'[197]

The language used in the petitions showed that the authors were well versed in liberal ideology and had an awareness of class structures and struggles.[198] What is interesting about this language is that it mirrors the ideological currents in Europe at the time. Again, this fact highlights that the islands were far from isolated from broader social and economic ideas, but were a part of the larger social trends, adapting these ideas to local concerns and debates.

The 1830 July Revolution in France had a destabilizing impact across Europe. This was also true for the Ionian Islands, which felt the ramification of the failed Young Italy movement.[199] Stathis Birtachas describes the Italian refugees that came into the Ionian Islands following the events of 1831 as "bourgeois (lawyers, doctors, writers, artisans, etc.) belonging to the moderate and reformist currents."   The islands offered Italian refugees a sense of familiarity and tolerance; after all, the islands favored state posts for employment, and Italian was an official language.[200] The Ionian middle class supported many of these refugees and, in this sense, were well aware of the broader liberal struggles of the time.

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[197] Gekas *Xenocracy*, 147-148

[198] In a newspaper article against the monopoly on grain, author cited both Jean Baptiste Say and Adam Smith.

[199] Eugenio Biagini*,* "Liberty, Class and Nation-Building: Ugo Foscolo's English Constitutional Thought, 1816-1827," European Journal of Political Theory 5 (2006): 34-49; and Stathis Birtachas*,* "Greek-Italian ideological and cultural exchanges and manifestations of solidarity during the Risorgimento: the Italian political migration to the Ionian Islands," *Mediterranea: Ricerche Storiche* 9, no. 26: 461

[200] " Diversa, per molti aspetti, fu invece l'ondata di profughi politici italia- ni giunta in Grecia a seguito delle azioni insurrezionali del 1831 nell'Italia centrale (Modena, Bologna, Reggio, Ancona ecc.). Al contrario degli esuli del 1820/21, in gran parte di estrazione aristocratica, i fuoriusci- ti testè citati – bollati dalle fonti austriache e papali come «vagabondi», «insensati», «bravi», «ciarlatani», «cospiratori macchiati di ogni delitto» – erano borghesi

Britain also did not escape the wave of liberalism and the currents of reforms brought about by the Revolution. Catholic emancipation, the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the abolition of slavery, the New Poor Law, the repeal of Corn Laws, and Chartism have their roots in the 1830 liberalism instigated by economic hardship, democracy, and the principles of a new commercial economy.[201] Britain's ability to negotiate, as seen in the Chartism debates and repeal of Corn Laws, showed a willingness to listen, and thus, for the most part, Britain was spared the large-scale revolutions other parts of Europe experiences. It should be noted that Britain's liberal reforms at home were also extended to the colonies.[202]

It was in this broader socio-political climate that the petitioners in Kerkyra spoke out against the grain monopoly. In the same spirit of the continent, the sentiment expressed in the petitions advocated for liberal reforms. The inclusion of marginalized classes also suggests that ideas of equality were spreading and that class unity was a means of legitimizing their claims. As part of the British political and social circles, the petition's authors would have been well aware of the British administrations' concerns around civil unrest. Incorporating marginalized classes into the petition showed more comprehensive support for their claims and hinted at the potential disruption to *Pax Britannia* in the Mediterranean. Borrowing the language of ruling classes, commerce, and liberty, the petitioners were able to integrate colonial power structures,

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(avvocati, medici, letterati, artigiani ecc.) appartenenti alla corrente moderata e riformista o a quella democratica, secondo le differenti ideologie politiche che ispiravano i moti. La maggior parte di loro, benché in numero esiguo, trovò ospitalità nelle Isole Ionie, mentre il resto si stabilì nel neonato Stato greco. Nell'Eptaneso, oltre all'atteggia-mento tollerante da parte dell'amministrazione inglese, essi trovarono un ambiente piuttosto accogliente – creatosi durante la lunga dominazione veneta (1386-1797)– che favorì un loro agevole impiego in posti statali, anche in considerazione del fatto che l'italiano era una sorta di lingua ufficiale." Birtachas, "Greek-Italian ideological and cultural exchanges," 464.

[201] Charles Tilly, "Capital, State, and Class in Britain 1750-1840," in *Popular Contention in Great Britain 1758-1834* (London: Paradigm Publishers, 2005): 144-149.

[202] See Maria Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities," 180.

signifying that the Ionian middle class was literate in the language of the colonial state and global commerce.   In this way, petitions were instrumental in creating a collective political voice that expressed local concerns. The use of petitions also demonstrates that they were an essential mechanism of political participation for illiterate segments of the population and the marginalized classes.   As public pressure continued, new petitions across all the islands were presented to the government from the years of 1840 and intensified with the trade disruptions of the Crimean War in the 1850s.[203] The free-trade principles and public welfare sentiments reflected in the petitions expressed local concerns and mirrored the liberal and popular social movements across Europe.

An essential function of petitions is the ability for groups to assemble to draw up the petition, discuss and debate the issues, and, most importantly, sign the petition. Establishing various commercial associations and institutions achieved the ability to assemble, debate, and discuss trade issues. It was here that different interest groups met and formed collective views and actions. A closer examination of institutions provides insight into the shift in class ideology that arose between 1840 and 1850, which brought together the economic interests of the traditional aristocracy and the middle class. The expansion of trade increased commercial activity and created new business opportunities; this attracted the traditional nobility who began to invest in the shipping industry and maritime trade rather than land.

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[203] Gekas, *Xenocarcy,* 151-153.

Financial institutions: Wealth from the Sea

The emergence of financial institutions and associations during the period of the British occupation signaled a watershed moment in class formation and the diversification of the islands' commercial economy. From an island studies perspective, it also highlighted the ability of islanders to create new opportunities and connections during times of economic and social decline and transformation. Business and commerce were traditionally at the heart of Ionian life and economy because the islands were not self-sufficient in grain and thus depended on trade for their subsistence.[204] Consequently, maintaining connectivity to the mainland was of utmost importance to the islands' survival.

One of the most significant characteristics of Ionian merchants was their ability to adapt their connections to various mainlands to address their local socio-political circumstances.[205] In the nineteenth century, this was seen in the entrepreneurial spirit of smaller grain traders, who without connections to larger trading houses found ways to secure credit and limit risks[206] but also were skilled at organizing trade and shipping such as the more extensive trading family

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[204] While the islands did have arable land for wheat, consecutive colonial rulers promoted an economy that was centred on currant and oil production. By the 19th century aaccess to multiple sea routes expanded and the use of the Ionian flag gave Ionian merchants an advantage by fostering a trade network that extended from London to Odessa.

[205] Islands in this instance can be understood as having a "shifting liminality" and the condition of connectivity is a result of dependence on trade. See Peter Hay, "A Phenomenology of Islands," *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2006): 22; G. Beer, "Island bounds," in *Islands in history and representation*, eds. R. Edmond & V. Smith (London, UK: Routledge, 2003): 32-42.

[206] Gekas *Xenocracy*, 156; Gelina Harlaftis, "From Diaspora Traders to Shipping Tycoons: The Vagliano Bros.," *Business History Review* 81, no. 2 (2007): 255

networks of the Valliano (Vagliano) Brothers (Marinos, Andreas, and Panagiotis) and Pavlos Focas Alexandatos.

The Valliano Brothers from Kefalonia represented the Ionian diaspora entrepreneurial networks that benefited from the transnational nature of trade under the Venetians and British occupations by combining shipping and trade.[207] The family began their shipping and commercial activities in the grain trade of the Danube and the Sea of Azov. Marinos established the first trading house in Taganrog in 1840, and after the Crimean War, Panagiotis expanded the network to London in 1858, Andreas to Constantinople in 1849, and Marseilles in 1869.[208] The Valliano Brothers successfully facilitated trade between Russia, the Ottoman Empire, and Western Europe because of their access to Ionian ports and the privileges associated with using the British flag. The brothers also benefited from using the family network as a business model[209] and Ionian cosmopolitanism—which allowed them to use compatriots as agents across the Mediterranean and trade with Orthodox coreligionists in the Eastern European grain markets. These features allowed the brothers to navigate the complexities of transnational trade, serving a diverse clientele and circumventing legal proscriptions when it suited their needs, thus minimizing risks. These advantages brought about economic success for the Vallianos during the Crimean War. By avoiding Britain and Russian restrictions on the grain trade, the brothers found ways to navigate economic obstacles by relying on compatriot agents in Constantinople, Syros, and the Ionian Islands. Using this network, the Brothers "bought large quantities of grain during the Crimean War at a very low price and sold them at a large profit after the end of the war."[210]

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[207] Vassillis Kardasis, *Diaspora Merchants in the Black Sea,* 170
[208] Gelina Harlaftis, "From Diaspora Traders,"251-266
[209] Harlaftis, 254
[210] Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 155.

These agents and family networks minimized risk and "internalized chartering, insurance, sale and purchase, finance, and all other agency business."[211] Apart from manipulating their fluid identity to manage risks during war times, the Brothers also expanded their business by offering financial services.[212] The ability to accumulate financial resources was vital to survive the international competition.

The Valliano Brothers exemplify the close relationship Ionian merchant and shipping networks shared with global capitalism. This is important for two reasons: First, it demonstrates that the Ionian merchants were well versed in global markets, commerce, and finances. Second, it highlights their exposure to the broader political conflicts and their ability to manipulate their position to bypass such conflicts. Understanding the financial connection of Ionian merchants and the extent of their business interests provides insight into why the majority of Ionians chose to identify as Greeks and eventually support union with the Kingdom of Greece. While connected to the trading houses across Western Europe and Russia, the Ionian houses—of which the Valliano Brothers formed—also contributed to Greek transnational maritime trade (which included the Aegean and Mainland) across the Mediterranean. These connections were meaningful, especially when considering the impacts of union and the economic ties of the Islands to the Greek Mediterranean commercial economy.

While the Valliano Brothers showed the extent of Ionian trade and commerce and the response to global geopolitics, Pavlos Focas Alexandratos personified the impact nineteenth-century globalization had on the traditional Ionian elite. The traditional noble families of

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[211] Harlaftis 254

[212] Gelina Harlaftis. *Creating Global Shipping: Aristotle Onassis, the Vagliano Brothers, and the Business of Shipping, c. 1829-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 138.

Venetian Kerkyra, Kefalonia, and Zakynthos—just as they were in Venice—were listed in the *Libro d'Oro*. Noble families enjoyed land and feudal privileges and were eligible to participle in governing the islands. While this was temporarily suspended under French rule, the British restored political privileges to these families. The Alexandratos family was listed in the *Libro d'Oro* of Kefalonia, and as such, Pavlos Focas enjoyed the land and feudal privileges afforded to him.

Born in Kefalonia in 1793, he became one of the "most important politicians, landowners, ship-owners and merchants of the Ionian State during 1840-1850."[213] The British occupation opened new economic opportunities for the traditional elite, which was reflected in the shift of their wealth from land to sea. Alexandratos personal shift of wealth was directly related to the increased commercial activities of the Kefalonian merchant marines in the Black Sea and Danube River. With the expansion of the shipping industry in Kefalonia, Alexandratos established the *Kefallinia Insurance Company*, one of the first Greek shipping insurance companies.[214] By the 1860s, Alexandratos expanded the business to include bulk cargo shipping grain and currants to the Ionian Islands and London. Alexandratos is an example of an important shift in the economic interests of the island's elite. The British occupation provided new economic opportunities, and as commercial and merchant activities rapidly increased under imperial conditions, the traditional farming and sharecropping economy declined. This economic shift was evident as the landowning elite moved their investments from land to the sea.

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[213] Kapetanakis, "Shipping and Trade in a British Semi-Colony," 281. As a politician and financier, her supported Greek revolutionary war. Alexandratos also readied a ship with men and ammunition from Kefalonia for the cause. Ambrosios Phrantzes, *Summary of the History of the Hellenic Renaissance… [Επίτομη της Ιστορίας της Αναγεννηθείσης Ελλάδος…]* (Athens:K. Ralli Press, 1841),235- 237.
[214] Pagratis, "Shipping and Trade in a British Semi Colony", 281.

Apart from the economic impact of this shift, the investment of wealth in the sea sheds light on perceptions of the spatiality of the islands. Under the British occupation, the configuration of space that was articulated by both merchants and the traditional elite expanded. Alexandratos provides insight into the role of the Empire in the establishment of transnational and trans-imperial interconnectedness of islands and the ability of islanders to adjust to broader global events and new opportunities.

The Valliano and Alexandratos houses defined the liberal-leaning social and political economy of the Ionian Islands under British occupation, which helped define the period's political language. Both examples highlight how the increase of trade during the British occupation expanded the commercial and maritime interests of the islands' elite. The economic activity of the middle classes, the popular classes, and the elite during the mid-nineteenth century demonstrates that liberal fiscal policies were taking hold. The rise of institutions like the Grain Administration, transnational trade houses, and insurance companies influenced the specialization and amelioration of liberal economic ideas and created a shared political voice. These institutions also impacted the conceptions of space by emphasizing the islands' interconnectedness with Greece, the Black Sea, and London.

One of the primary institutions that helped stabilize and expand trade was the Ionian Bank and the new banking and commercial mechanisms that followed its establishment. Sakis Gekas argues that the emergence of new banking mechanisms, such as the Ionian Bank[215] (1839) and insurance companies, and the establishment of commercial mechanisms such as the Kerkyra

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[215] For the history of the Ionian Bank see Maria Mpaliousi, "The Ionian Bank: Its History and its impact on the Greek Economy" [«ΙΟΝΙΚΗ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ. Η ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΣΥΜΒΟΛΉ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑ»], PhD diss., (TEI Messolonghi, Greece, 1999).

and Zakynthos Exchange and the Chamber of Commerce expanded new business activities and, more importantly, institutionalized commerce. For instance, the Commercial Code ameliorated merchant practices and activities and fostered credit relationships while the bank offered credit and insurance to merchants. In addition, new banking mechanisms allowed working classes and farmers to participate in the discourse of western liberal economics.

The traditional Ionian economy was based on currants and olive oil production, meaning farmers relied on merchants for selling their products and credit opportunities.[216] This fostered a corrupt and speculative loaning system that raised concerns in the government.[217] Commissioner Nugent addressed the issue of the credit monopoly of the Ionian merchants in the 1830s as he tried to introduce more liberal market practices and free trade policies on the islands—this was in order to improve the farmers' position in the currant market. In 1833, Nugent hoped that financial modernization through a government-backed public loan scheme and a reduction in export duties would help ease the financial hardships faced by the islands' farmers, which was caused by the unstable currant market. Nugent's idea was to use public funds to provide loans to farmers at a six percent interest rate and to create a local bank. Nugent's proposals are of interest here because they demonstrate how England's economic discourse and debates played out in Ionian local affairs. However, Nugent's proposals were scrutinized within the broader debate of

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[216] See Gekas, *Xenocacy*, 136-140

[217] Georgios Drakatos Papanicolas, a prominent Ionian merchant and political advocate, wrote that he was in fact the first to propose the establishment of an Ionian Bank. "My connection with Ionian politics had no reference whatsoever to Sir Henry Ward's period, but was far anterior, dating from my visit to the Islands in 1834, under Lord Nugent, when I suggested the formation of the Ionian Bank, as a means for remedying the many grievances and extractions which the necessitous small landholders were enduring from the exaction of money-lenders, who bought up their harvests year by year, even before the currant-trees were in bloom…" Georgios Drakatos Papanicolas, *The Ionian Island; what they have lost and suffered…* (London: James Ridgeway, 1851), 117-118.

the period between proponents of the "Banking School" and the "Currency School."[218] He was

even accused of opposing merchant interest and, therefore, unfit as Commissioner.[219]

In the end, Nugent's local bank idea was rejected on the grounds of being anti-merchant

and of inflationary pressures. Nugent's failure to secure funds and his frustration with the

continued opposition, both from the Ionian Islands and Britain merchant lobbyists, led him to

resign eventually. However, as the new Commissioner in 1835, Howard Douglas continued

Nugent's modernization policies, and by 1837 the Ionian Parliament passed a law (83/26.7 1837)

outlining the establishment of a bank.[220] The law was made up of twenty articles and gave the

authority to establish a Banking Company for the benefit of the State's industries and businesses

by means of circulating capital and increasing commercial activity while also conducting real

estate lending. The law also ensured the national character of the bank by providing a set

number of shares for the Ionian Parliament and Ionian citizens and therefore guaranteeing them a

significant role in the governing and operation of the bank.

By 1838, Douglas successfully recruited British investors to fund a bank in the islands,

and by February 1, 1839, an agreement was signed under the terms set out by the 1837 law and

operated under British Law. The bank sold four thousand shares with eight hundred reserved for

Ionians. Eventually, the Senate and Douglas passed the necessary legislation, and by March 1,

1840, the bank was officially in operation in Kerkyra,[221] being granted banknote printing

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[218] Panayotis Korliras. "The Financial History of the Ionian Islands in the 19th Century: Lessons From the Past," in *Economic Interdependence and Cooperation in Europe,* eds. Nicholas C. Baltas et al. (New York: Springer, 1998): 11.

[219] Gekas, *Xenocracy* 141.

[220] This law was later used for the establishment of the Ionian Bank in 1839.

[221] The Bank was given legal status in Britain on January 1844 by Royal Decree signed by Queen Victoria. As such it became one of three English Banks established by Royal Decree. The Ionian Bank was also the only British Bank "obliged by law to engage in local lending." Geoffrey Jones. *British Multinational Banking, 1830-1990* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 36.

privileges for twenty years.   As such, the bank was also the first credit bank and banknote printing institution in Modern Greece. The Ionian Bank became the leading lender for the government both for public projects and for financing deficits. For instance, during the Crimean War, the bank loaned money for grain, and during the cholera outbreak in 1855, it offered loans for medical assistance.

The impact of the foundation of the Ionian Bank on Ionian society was three-fold. First, it strengthened the links between the Ionian ports and global markets. It solidified financial and trade networks between the islands and London, and more importantly, the geographic position of the islands in the Adriatic ensured the islands held a prominent position in regional trade. Second, it established new ties and further incorporated Ionian ports with mainland Greece, specifically through Patras and Athens. Lastly, it maintained a national character as the House and Senate retained the right to control the bank's operations.

The Ionian Bank's branches outlined the spatiality of the islands, which included mainland Greece, the Black Sea, and London. With branches in offices in London and Kerkyra, branches in Zakynthos and Kefalonia, Athens and Patras, and agents in Venice and Trieste, the Ionian Bank strengthened its link to the mainland and therefore limited the islands' risks associated with isolation from the global economy. Financial institutions mutually shaped local practices and global developments. For instance, apart from the local necessities of the bank for merchant and farmer loans and government deficits, the Ionian Bank during the 1848 European Revolutions and the volatile economy on the mainland saw an increase in deposits, further connecting the islands to the continent's economy.[222]

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[222] Mpaliousi, *The Ionian Bank*, 22

In summary, while merchants connected commerce to the Black Sea, financial institutions like the Ionian Bank connected the economy to mainland Greece and British investors to London. This is an important fact to consider when questioning Ionian motives to strengthening connections to mainland Greece versus other traditional mainlands like Britain or Italy. The deterioration of the traditional trade, economic, and class structures threatened to isolate the islands.   These economic and class anxiety were best reflected in the fictional works of Konstantinos Theotokis. Writing in the late nineteenth century, Theotokis lamented the end of the traditional classes and the dominance of the new class of professionals.[223]

The risk of trade disruption and economic isolation was also due to the rise of the nation-states, the economic impact of war, and a general British ambivalence for the costs of maintaining territories. The change in British attitudes towards its colonies was due to the increased cost of protection and political control. This was not only true for the islands but also in Canada, where the British Government supported Canadian Confederation. Ionians had to find new economic networks and partners to stay connected to the global markets. Greece offered an alternative. Having established cultural, social, and economic ties to mainland Greece, the Islands had a natural connection that would ensure interconnection to the mainland but also opportunities to self-govern. Ionian loyalty to Britain was, to a degree, reliant on protection and the economy, and when these were threatened, the Islanders turned to Greece.

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[223] Konstantinos Theotokis. *Slaves in their Chains*, trans. J. M. Q. Davis (London: Angel Books, 2014). While these works were written to describe the aristocrats after union it does give us a glimpse into lasting impact of rise of liberal middle-class professionals in Ionian society.

Literary Institutions

As important urban sites, literary and educational institutions represented yet another trajectory for forming a collective liberal political voice and Greek identity on the islands. These institutions acted as transitional spaces that attracted and defined ideas between Western Europe, the Ionian Islands, and the Greek Kingdom. They reinforced European liberal class ideology, values, virtues, and economics. Academic institutions played a significant role in forming the islands' new political elite comprising middle-class professionals. They also served as sites for disseminating ideas for the elite and popular classes by reinforcing notions of national identity and thus providing the necessary condition for economic and social development. By diffusing western national, social, and economic ideas, these institutions legitimized the new dominant position of the urban middle-class professionals in Ionian society while also developing the discourse of sovereignty. This section provides insight into the impact islandness had on education and state formation.

The Reading Society of Kerkyra was founded in 1836 and is arguably the oldest cultural institution in modern Greece. The Society was modeled on *La Societe de Lecture Geneve,* and it reflected the popularity of reading among young Ionian intellectuals and professionals returning from Europe.[224] The Society's regulations stated that the Reading Society's purpose was to read newspapers and scientific and literary works.[225] The society ensured that its members were

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[224] Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 303-307
[225] «Σκοπός τής Αναγνωστικής Εταιρίας είναι ή ανάγνωσις Εφημερίδων και Επιστημονικών και φιλολογικών πονημάτων». *Regulations of the Reading Society of Kerkyra* [*Καταστατικών της Αναγνωστικής Εταιρίας*], (Kerkyra: Reading Society of Kerkyra, 1848), 14.

current with the scientific, philological, and political trends of Europe and provided a space for

open discussions and debates. Its library relied on the assembly of materials from its members,

including the collection of scientific textbooks and newspapers from Europe.

By the nineteenth century, the advances in print technology made books less expensive

and easier to produce. This culminated with the rise of the middle-classes and an increase in the

demand for books—resulting in books becoming a reflection of class. By this time, reading was

less about content and more about quantity. Simply put, the number of books one read reflected

their status. This contributed to the anxieties of the social and political elites who felt threatened

by the ideas of the new professional classes and their motives to dominate the political landscape

of the Ionian Islands. [226] Therefore, an examination of reading practices is needed to highlight

the nineteenth century's intellectual and cultural trends and social and political changes.

The Reading Society acted as a literary club and, as such, collected books, organized

lectures, prepared and presented essays, and served as a general social forum for its members.

The function of the Society reflected a shift from intensive to extensive reading, which followed

western intellectual trends of consuming different types of books and knowledge.[227] Literary

historians refer to "intensive" reading practices as repeated and lifelong reading of a limited

number of books, primarily the Bible or other religious texts, a common practice in the

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[226] Theotokis, *Slave in Their Chains*, 89-90.

[227] Rolf Engelsing was the first to propose this model for understanding the literary and reading changes that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. His work argues that the way people read reflected cultural change. For the difference between intensive and extensive reading see Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürgerals Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland 1500-1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974). For an American example of shifts in American literary culture see David Hall, "Readers and reading in America: historical and critical perspectives," in *Cultures and Print: Essays in the History of Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1996), ch. 6. For a discussion of alternative models for the development of reading history see Stephen Colclough, "Readers: Books and Biography" in *A Companion to the History of the Book*. Ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (U.K. Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009), 57-59. The alternative models argue that reading practices were instead more diverse and individual.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Extensive reading practices reflected readers who were interested in reading numerous books on various topics and genres (scientific, professional, novels) while consuming as many new ideas as possible—a practice that gained popularity in the late eighteenth century and nineteenth century. Conversely, the emergence of literary societies suggests a shift in reading practices and an increase in the reading material available on the islands.

As a space for socialization, the Society acted as a mechanism for self and mutual modernization. The Society was, in this sense, a cultural organization and took on a leading role in the political and cultural complexities of the period. It was here that ideas about identity, sovereignty, and radicalism were debated and developed. But more importantly, it allowed Ionian politicians, merchants, and professionals to display their status and develop liberal values into Ionian society.[228]

The concept of insularity and space is also an essential factor to consider here. Founded in Kerkyra, the Society reflected an urban character and the demographics of the urban elite, merchants, and middle-class professionals. The Society was an expression of urban middle-class sensibilities, culture, and liberalism and a bastion of the Ionian Islands' liberal-minded elite. Members included prominent figures such as Andreas Kalvos, Dionysios Solomos, Iakovos Polylas, Georgios Theotokis, Nikolaos Mantzaros, Spyros and Petros Vrailas-Armenis, to name a few.

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[228] In addition to Literary Clubs, the Islands had fraternal, benevolent, and agricultural improvements association. These included the Ionian Society, The Ionian Bible Society, and the Society of Improving Agriculture to name a few. Unlike the Reading Society, the aforementioned societies provided an opportunity for the liberal middle-class to influence farmers and the working class and to form a confederation of liberal minded citizens. This was especially important in the political developments around the Union movement.

In addition, the examination of Ionian education policies during the British occupation illuminates the process of state-building[229] and highlights the connectivity of the islands to both Britain and mainland Europe. This is because the Ionian Islands' historical trajectories of education development focus on the relationships with the Enlightenment, liberalism, and colonialism. By the nineteenth century, political culture was centered on new ideas about social order and progress. Liberalism seeped into the consciousness of Ionian society, impacting commerce, philosophy, politics, science, civic virtue, and everyday life. The domination of Ionian society by middle-class merchants and professionals further reiterated support for free-market economics, reforms to the social order, and individual sovereignty. G. N. Leontsinis commenting on the intellectual development and the spread of Northwestern European ideas into the islands states,

> It was thought that greater educational opportunities would help substantially in raising the cultural level and in furthering the professional growth of society in the Ionian Islands. The idea that proper upbringing, a respect for education and for cultural values were fundamental to the development of a well-rounded personality was becoming increasingly accepted by the people of Western Greece. Only through such personal growth, it was believed, can a person exploit fully his natural talents. Ultimately these educational reforms brought progress to all levels of Ionian society.[230]

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[229] See Chapter 1, Article 23 of the *Constitutional Charter of the United States of the Ionian Islands*, CO 136/7.

[230] G. N. Leontsinis. "Northwest European Influences on Education in the Ionian Islands 1780-1863," *History of European Ideas* 19, no. 406 (1994): 575.

Education institutions became vital in the progress of the state and in making virtuous citizens, but more importantly, in preparing citizens for political participation.[231] Part of creating ideal citizens required education that promoted the individual and public good—ideas that were imbued in Protestant and capitalist ideology.[232] Education under the British occupation expanded the two-tier education system implemented under the Septinsular Republic. The expansion for schools was supported by both the administration and middle-class professionals, who had a vested interest in creating a new generation of loyal Ionian citizens. In his examination of reading practices in Australia and the features that make it unique, Martyn Lyons argues for the acknowledgment of "the ambiguities of colonial society, the characteristics it shared with the rest of the western world, together with its local peculiarities."[233] Lyons stipulations are relevant in the examination of the ideas that shaped Ionian education in the nineteenth century. In a colonial context, the education system provided a nexus for British officials and missionaries to develop relationships with the islands.[234] In a local context, the education system offered foreign-educated Ionian youth to find work and develop professionally,

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[231] Nikos Kourkoumelis, "Education in the Island of Zakynthos (1836-1864)" [«Εκπαιδευτικά Της Νήσου Ζάκυνθου (1836-1864)»] *Scientific Journal of the Department of History and Archeology*, *Dodoni History and Archeology* 35, B (2005): 179-234; Kourkoumelis, *"Education in Kerkyra during the British Protectorate (1816-1864),"* [*Η εκπαίδευση στην Κέρκυρα κατά τη διάρκεια της Βρετανικής Προστασίας (1816-1864)]* (Athens: The Society of Dissemination of Greek Letters, 2002), 57-100. For radical position education see Olga Pachi, "The Risospastes and their position on the operation of the Ionian Academy," [Οι θέσεις των ριζοσπαστών για τη λειτουργία της Ιονίου Ακαδημίας] *ΚΥΜΟΤΗΙ* [*ΚΥΜΟΘΗ*] 25 (2015): 129-142.   For British perception on education system see John Davy, *Notes and Observations on the Ionian Islands and Malta,* 2: 101-106.

[232] The foundation of many education institutions on the ideals of the bourgeoisie led to disputes among Reformers and Radicals during the period of 1848-1864. The Radicals argues that these institutions were expensive and served the interests of the few while also serving the Protectorate. See Nikos Kourkoumelis, "The Radicals and Public Education in the Ionian State. Limits and Reactions by the Opposition," [«Οι Ριζοσπάστες και η Δημόσια Εκπαίδευση του Ιονίου Κράτους. Τα όρια της Αντιπολίτευσης και της Αντίδρασης»] Papyri-Scientific Journal 4 (2015): 167-186.

[233] Martyn Lyons, "Reading Practices in Australia," in *A History of the Book in Australia*, eds. Lyons and Arnold (University of Queensland Press, 2001), 335,

[234] Lancastrian Schools, and moral schools for girls. See Kourkoumelis, "Education in the Island of Zakynthos," 132

but also it provided an opportunity to 'enlighten' the countryside and build political subjects.[235]

Establishing a legitimate education system with elementary, secondary, and higher education

would allow the youth to study at home rather than in foreign institutions and, in doing so,

construct a modern state.[236]

Elementary schools followed the Lancastrian model and were established as early as

1819 in Kerkyra and Leukada by 1825, expanded to other islands. By 1845 the number of

children attending these schools was 4240.[237] Lancastrian schools operated according to the

theories of Joseph Lancaster. The primary methods required a small number of teachers to teach

older students, and they, in turn, would teach younger students. Public and private funds

supported these schools, and from the perspective of the foreign missionaries who established the

schools, they were to encourage Protestant virtues of industry and order and to improve the

Ionians through teaching the Gospel.[238] From the perspective of locals, the schools offered an

opportunity to create the foundations of modern citizens and take on a western European

identity.[239]

Secondary schools included instructions on languages, mathematics, history, geography,

navigation, and calligraphy and prepared youth for University. In Kerkyra, Commissioner

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[235] Low numbers in public school in the 1820-1830 was often attributed to rural ignorance or the agricultural season. N Kourkoumelis, 109; and Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 294-295.

[236] In 1818, Ioannis Kapodistrias called for the establishment of αν institution of higher learning in Ithaki. The argument was for Ionian citizens to stop needing to send their children abroad to be educated. He also felt that this institute would unite the Ionian population and deter foreign influences on interests of the islands. See Kostas Lappas, *The University and students in Greece during the 19ᵗʰ century* [*Πανεπιστήμιο και φοιτητές στην Ελλάδα κατά τον 19ο αιώνα*] (Athens: Center of Modern Greek Studies E.I.E., 2004), 30. For more on the Ionian Academy see G. P Henderson, *The Ionian Academy* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1988).

[237] John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in the Ionian Islands, Greece, Turkey, Asia Minor, and Constantinople: Being a Guide to the Principal Routes in Those Countries, Including a Description of Malta, with Maxims and Hints for Travellers in the East* (London: A. Spottiswoode, 1845), 4.

[238] Deborah Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools of Nineteenth-Century Kythera," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, no.1 (2011): 333.

[239] Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools."

Douglas established a College in 1840 to meet this demand.[240] He based it on the principles of the college he founded in New Brunswick, Canada, and brought together youth from several islands to centralize the national feeling towards the capital.[241] As lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick from 1823-1831, Douglas founded King's College and secured a Royal Charter in 1828. In doing the same on the islands, Douglas had hoped to "raise the Ionians to the English level" through the education system.[242]

The Ionian University[243] was founded on May 17, 1824, by Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford. A philhellene, Guilford was appointed Director of Education and in charge of organizing the Ionian education system. He was, in fact, one of the first to propose the use of Lancastrian methods.[244] The University served as another learning institution that solidified intellectual thought with Western educational trends and, more importantly, illuminated Ionian agency in creating local culture and identity. The University symbolized the imbricated relationship between colonizer and colonized and the interconnectedness of the metropole and periphery. In the context of the colonizer, the University served as a central symbol of their

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[240] Davy, *Notes and Observations*, 103-105

[241] As Commissioner, Howard Douglas was preoccupied with managing Ionian resistance against colonial authority. Since 1832 Ionian were more vocal about unification with Greece which often aroused clashes between locals and the British authorities. His education reforms, including the establishment of a College was meant to maintain order against growing resentment. See Jack Fairey, "Ponsonby vs the Patriarch: Orthodoxy and European Diplomacy," in *The Great Powers and Orthodox Christendom. Histories of the Sacred and the Secular 1700–2000* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 58-86. Also see S. W. Fullom, *The Life of General Sir Howard Douglas* (London: John Murray, 1863), 350-357; Maria Paschalidi. "Constructing Ionian Identities," 154. Paschalidi's work in particular has extensive research on the education system on the Ionian Islands during British occupation and its impact on both the lower and upper classes, genders, and rural and urban society.

[242] Fullom, *Life of General Sir Howard Douglas*, 340.

[243] Under the French occupation the *Collegio Medico*, 1805 and Ionian Academy, 1808 were as a means of established a liberal and secular education for the promotion of science and commerce. In 1823 the Legislative Assembly established the Ionian Academy under the British Protectorate with Greek as its official language. See *Gazzetta Ufficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Ionie* no. 284, (Kerkyra), 26 May–7 June 1823.

[244] Deborah Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools of Nineteenth-Century Kythera," The *Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, no. 1 (2011): 329.

civilizing mission. This was evident in the neo-classical architecture of the building, the academic dress, and the symbols at the inauguration ceremony.[245] Steeped in ancient Greek symbolism, everything about the Ionian Academy was connected to classical forms and represented Guilford's romantic sensibilities. However, the project was destined to fail as its success was predicated on Guilford's ability to raise funds and lobby support for the institution. Guilford not only founded the University, but he used his own wealth to fund it—he even paid scholarships for new students and organized the library with his private collection of books.

In a colonial context, the Ionian University "failed because it was too dependent upon English ideas about classical education; it was weak in teaching practical subjects, such as medicine and surgery, and turned out too many unemployable lawyers, well calculated to spawn future trouble as agitators for militant Greek nationalism."[246] Locally, the university provided a space to express a hybrid identity and communicate the islands' connectivity to various mainlands. In the early formation, students and young professionals created an intellectual nexus between the islands, London. Paris, Bologna, and Padua. It should also be noted that the Ionian Academy also accommodated students from the Ottoman Empire, primarily from Epirus. However, this shifted during the tumultuous years of 1830-40, and the islands showed a stronger

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[245] Lappas, *The University and students in Greece*, 31-32. For the classical form in Academical dress see Jonathan C. Cooper, "The Academical Dress of the Ionian Academy, 1824–1864," *Transactions of the Burgon Society* 14, (2014): 35-47. For engraving depicting inauguration with men and women dressed in ancient tunics, leggings, headdress, and sandals see the *Gazzetta Uficiale degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Ionie* no. 335, (Kerkyra),17/29 May 1824.
[246] Eric Glasgow, "Lord Guilford and the Ionian Academy," *Library History* 18, no. 2 (2002): 141.

connection to Athens. Two causes are attributed to its failure: the rise in radical opposition[247]

towards the university and the formation of the University of Athens. [248]

Apart from the students, professors and books also played a significant role in connecting

the islands to western scientific, literature, and philosophical knowledge. Professors such as

Ioannis Karandinos, and Petros Vrailas-Armenis, to name a few, were instrumental in diffusing

western thought into the islands and symbolized the physical connections between the islands to

the mainland. Ioannis Karandinos (1784-1834) was born in Kefalonia and studied in the public

school system in Kerkyra under the Septinsular Republic. During this period, he had the

opportunity to study mathematics with Charles Dupin, who had a lasting impact on education on

the Ionian Islands.[249] He was a recipient of Guilford's scholarships and studied at the *École*

polytechnique in 1821, and from 1824 he became the director of mathematics, teaching French

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[247] Pachi, "The Risospastes." Here the author argues that the University became a symbol of the urban classes and British elite. Pachi argues that during the reform period in the islands, 1848-1864, the Radicals weaponized the conditions of education to attacked both the middle-class Reformers and British administration as elements that went against the general interests of the Ionian people. Unlike the middle-class merchants who benefitted from the Crimean War and a downturn in the agricultural economy, via the commercial grain trade, the vast majority of Ionian suffered. The Radicals called for support of the plight of the farmers and their families by advocating for more public investment in the lower and middle schools rather than higher education which only benefitted the urban merchant elite and professional classes. Also see Kourkoumelis, "The Radicals and Public Education," 167-186.

[248] G. N. Leontsinis. "Northwest European Influences on Education in the Ionian Islands 1780-1863. *History of European Ideas* 19, no. 406 (1994): 579-80.

[249] Robert Fox, "From Corfu to Caledonia: The Early Travels of Charles Dupin, 1808–1820" in *The Light of Nature*, eds. J. D. North and J. J. Roche (Springer, Dordrecht, 1985). Charles Dupin not only influenced Karandinos but he was also was one of the founders of the Ionian Academy under the French occupation of the Ionian Islands. The Academy displayed Frances cultural paternalism, contrasting French and Ancient Greek virtues with the weaknesses of Modern Greek culture. In the inauguration speech in 1808, Dupin stated, "We have just seen the causes of the rise and fall of the Hellenes! We have seen the dreadful lessons of experience traced in blood...Follow the path provided for you, Ionians, and soon you will see your country, which flourished in the past, bloom again. Take a step to progress and you will see the French government smile on your efforts." Charles Dupin 1825 cited in Margaret Bradley, Charles Dupin (1784-1873) and His Influence on France (New York: Cambria Press, 2012), 67.

geometry at the Ionian Academy.[250] His works were significant in translating French works into

Greek.[251]

Vrailas-Armenis was born in 1813 in Kerkyra and studied in Bologna, Geneva and Paris.

In Paris, he studied philosophy under Theodore Jouffroy and frequented the circles of Victor

Cousin's pupils. By 1852 he was appointed as a professor of Philosophy at the Ionian Academy

until its closure in 1864. Vrailas-Armenis' writings often focused on the "European character of

Hellenism and attempted to show to what extent Greek reality was the source of European

mentality."[252] Adopting principles of Scottish philosophy and continental philosophers including

Descartes, Leibniz, Kant, Bacon, and Hume, but more significantly, he concerned himself with

the philosophy of history.[253] This was important to him from a national perspective because as

Athanasia Glycofrydi-Leontsini states,

> [I]t echoes the problems observed within the Greek world during this period. In
> seeking to demonstrate the historicity of modern Hellenism and the national
> ideology, Vrailas attempted to define the meaning of 'nationism', which is not
> nationalism but 'ethnism' or patriotism, as well as the characteristics of the
> national self; he also wants to determine the modern Greek cultural identity and
> the continuity of the Hellenic nation within the context the 19th century

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[250] Christine Phili, "In Pursuit of Monge's Ideal: The Introduction of Descriptive Geometry in the Educational Institutions of Greece During the Nineteenth Century," in *Descriptive Geometry, The Spread of a Polytechnic Art*, eds. E. Barbin, M. Menghini, K. Volkert (Cham: Springer, 2019), 123-151 & 185-210.

[251] George Zoumpos, "Mathematics in the times of the Ionian Academy," [«Τα Μαθηματικά Στην Ιόνιο Ακαδημία (1824-1864)»], PhD diss., (Ionian University, Kerkyra, 2004).

[252] Athanasia Glycofrydi-Leontsini, "Petros Vrailas-Armenis: History and Philosophy in National Context" in *Relations de la philosophie avec son histoire* (LIE 125), eds. Hansmichael Hohenegger & Riccardo Pozzo (Florence: Leo Olschi Editori, 2017), 150.

[253] Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "John Locke and the Greek intellectual tradition: an episode in Locke's reception in South - East Europe" in *Locke's Philosophy: Content and Context*, ed. G. A. J. Rogers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 234.

philosophy of history as part of a philosophical approach to the positions of national historiography.[254]

In his work, *The East and West,* he developed these ideas and places modern Greek identity within a European context.

> He presents the role of Hellenism in the modern world in a particular way, which arose from the position of the Greek state on the geographical map and from contemporary political junctures. Starting from the European political crisis and the rivalry between the Great Powers, as this was manifested during the Crimean War (1853-1856), Vrailas developed, with arguments, in this study, published in 1853 in the journal Phoenix, his views on the role of Hellenism on the global map, using the geographical position of Greece as a border country between East and West. Emphasizing the glorious historical past of Greece, which as a historical nation contributed to the progress of humanity, and the power that it exercised in the West, he connected the values of the Greek spirit with Christian religion arguing that, as a result of these two elements, Greece belongs to the West.[255]

Vrailas-Armenis was instrumental in diffusing Scottish philosophical ideas of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Hugh Blair through teachings, translations, and debates at the Ionian Academy. Scottish ideas were particularly crucial to Vrailas-Armenis because of its common-sense philosophy, moderate liberalism, and ability to educate virtuous citizens in a changing and

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[254] Kitromilides, 154

[255] Kitromilides, "John Locke and the Greek intellectual tradition," 157.

violent world.[256] Scottish education, influenced by Presbyterian ideology, stressed utilitarianism, moral philosophy, and synthesized religion and science in a period of drastic change. Scottish intellectuals' focus on "Common Sense" philosophy was, in general, successful in addressing the challenges of industrialization, urbanization, and globalization because it accounted for society's failures and offered ways for improvements. Common Sense provided the ability to synthesis rationalism and empiricism and to ask questions about abstract concepts, human nature, and even language.

Vrailas-Armenis espoused these thoughts and ideas for the moral benefit of Ionian society. Under British occupation, the Ionian Islands experienced both the positive and negative impacts of globalization. The islands became commercial centers, urbanization exploded, and the professional class made up of doctors, lawyers, and civil servants dominated Ionian society. Vrailas-Armenis was proactive in facing the challenges of this change by supporting the establishment of various learned societies, including the Reading Society, to assist in reinforcing the national and western character of the Ionians. Using the Modern Greek language and promoting Orthodox and moral values,[257] he sought to strengthen the Greek spirit in Ionian society, which he believed was a prerequisite to political freedom.

Ionian doctors and medical students also influenced the development of scientific modern Greek language and terminology and contributed to the establishment of the Ionian Academy as

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[256] Athanasia Glycorfydi-Leontsini. "The Reception of Scottish Philosophy in the Ionian Islands During the British Protectorate" in *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing: 2014), 296, 301.

[257] Athanasia Glycorfydi-Leontsini, "Petros Vrailas-Armenis as translator of Philosophical works," [«Ο Βράιλας ως μεταφραστής φιλοσοφικών κειμένων»] Kerkyraika Chonia [*Κερκυραϊκα Χρονικα*] B, no. B (2005): 214.

an international institution.[258] The medical school, which existed between 1824-1828 and again

from 1844 to 1864, made up one of the university's four schools. From the first period of its

existence, the school had fifteen professors that taught medicine, twelve of them studied at

Universities in Italy, and about ninety-five percent of all Ionian students in Italy to study

medicine.[259] In fact, Ionian students attended Italian Universities in Padua, Florence, Pisa, Pavia,

and Bologna since the seventeenth century. Ionian scholars were, therefore, instrumental in

diffusing Italian medical and intellectual ideas into the islands through the Ionian Academy. As

professors and lecturers, they had important positions in forming the minds of generations of

Ionian youth. Many even became politically active. This was the case of Spiridon

Arvanitakis[260], who first experience the impact of widespread political unrest[261] when he was

studying at the Medical School of Bologna University in 1831. Fleeing the violence, he

continued his studies in Paris until he could return to Kerkyra to teach at the reopening of the

Ionian Academy in 1835 until 1849. During this period, we see the politicization of Arvanitakis

as he became active and participated in opposing British rule on the islands. He advocated for

liberal reforms and became sympathetic with the radical element on the islands that called for

union.[262] By 1850 he was elected into Parliament, where he supported union with Greece. When

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[258] Ioannis A. Vitsos, Medicine in the Ionian Islands and the Contribution of Medical Scientists in the Intellectual and Social Development of Greece," [«Η Ιατρική εις την Επτανήσων και η Συμβολή των Επτανήσιων Ιατρών εις την Πνευματική και Κοινωνικήν Εξέλιξιν της Ελλάδος»], PhD diss., (University of Athens, 1979), 97.

[259] Jean Lascaratos, and Spyros Marketos "The Links Between Medical School of Bologna and Ionian Academy." *Medicina nei Secoli arte e scienza*, 1, no. 2 (1989): 158; and Jean Lascaratos, and Spyros Marketos, "The Links Between Medical School of Bologna and the Hellenic World," *Medicina nei Secoli arte e scienza*, 1, no. 2 (1990): 114. Lascaratos and Marketos have brought together an impressive biography of Ionian scholars that studied in Italy.

[260] Arvanitakis was also a founding member of the Reading Society.

[261] Steven Hughes. "Public Order and Revolution of 1831" in *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento in Bologna* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 107-135

[262] Jean Lascaratos, and Spyros Marketos "The Links Between Medical School of Bologna and Ionian Academy." *Medicina nei Secoli arte e scienza*, 1, no.2 (1989): 161-162.

he became the first to lecture in Greek, he became a national symbol for both reformers and radicals.[263]

Martyn Lyons reminds us that while "texts" and "readers" are important foci for cultural history, the "book" is often overlooked. Books are also important objects of investigation as they can provide context to the historic socioeconomic practices and conditions that influenced the distribution and consumption of knowledge.[264] The main element that connected the Ionian centers of learning to other parts of the world were books. Translations, foreign languages, and locally published books all contributed to the Ionian Islands' unique and hybrid cultural history. Two important trends progressively evolved from learning institutions mentioned in this section. First was the publication, translation, and distribution of bibles by British Bible Societies and Guilford's library at the Ionian Academy. Second, the changing face of Ionian urban society was reflected in the rise of middle-class sensibilities. As previously mentioned, the consumption of books by the middle-class reflected the expansive reading trends of the period, but more importantly, an examination of the type of books being read provides insight into the process involved in the islands' cultural formations.

In the spirit of the Enlightenment and with his Protestant connections,[265] Adamantios Korais contacted the British Foreign Bible Society in 1808 to translate the Bible into Modern Greek. While translations were supported under Patriarch Kyrillos VI in 1814, by 1819, Patriarchate had turned against ideas of the Enlightenment and what it perceived as aggressive

[263] Pachi, "The Risospastes," 6

[264] Martyn Lyons, "Texts, books, and readers: Which kinds of cultural history?" *Australian Cultural History*, 11 (1992): 1–15.

[265] Adamantios Korais studied at an Evangelical School in Smyrna and developed an appreciation of Protestant and liberal values while living in Amsterdam. See Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Itineraries in the world of the Enlightenment. Adamantios Korais from Smyrna via Montpellier to Paris," in *Adamantios Korais and the European Enlightenment* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010), 10-11.

Protestant ideas that were corrupting the Greek language and Orthodox traditions. The Bible

Society also unknowingly got caught up in the language question, which pitted Greeks against

competing factions between purist and demotic factions.[266]

British missionaries successfully established the Ionian Bible Society in Kerkyra and

Kefalonia, and the Zakynthos in 1819, with Societies in Paxos and Ithaki in 1820.[267] The Ionian

Bible Society published translations of the Bible in Modern Greek and Albanian and distributed

them across the islands, thus supporting the mandate of the British Foreign Bible Society to

translate and distribute the Bible in as many languages as possible.[268] In relation to the impact of

the translation in the islands, Isaac Lowndes, the Secretary of the Ionian Bible Society, stated,

> In the first three years and a half of the Society's existence, 841 Bibles and
> Testaments had been issued by it, and within the last two years 2201. Some
> hundreds of copes of the Greek Testament are reported to have been sent to
> different parts of Greece, where they have been received by the people with
> eagerness; and many of them, it is said, while encamped and expecting the enemy,
> employ themselves in reading the word of God. Your own Committee would here
> observe, that they have embraced every prudent opportunity of sending copies in
> the same direction, as well as of supplying the Greek refugees now in the
> country.[269]

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[266] Nomikos Michael Vaporis. "The Influence of the Foreign Bible Societies in the Development of Balkan Literary Languages: The Greek Experience," *Journal of Modern* Hellenism 1 (1984): 79-89.

[267] William Canton, *The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: John Murray, 1904), 3-4.

[268] See Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools," 337-341 for a detailed list of books British missionaries distributed on the Ionian Islands, more specifically Kythera. Apart from religious text the list includes agricultural books, moralizing tales, and popular novels.

[269] *Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society; with extracts of correspondence. Volume 8 for the Years 1825, 1826, and 1827.*(London: John Tilling, 1827), xxxvii

In a report on Christian Missions in Greece, this claim was refuted as a mere anecdote, propagated by the British Bible Society and that "[The] Greek clergy, as a countryman of his own indignantly relates, not only make no use whatever of the Protestant Bibles forced upon them, (1) but often diligently collect, in order to commit them to the flames." In response to the claim that Greeks distributed the vast majority of Bibles, the report explained that this was misleading as "the Bible Society grants a commission of ten percent to the person employed to sell them."[270] In addition to this, in 1836, the Patriarch issued a proclamation warning people against the Protestant missionaries' translation, and by 1837 he forbade them.

When formed, the Ionian Bible Society recruited the Ionian aristocracy and other prominent citizens to join. This included Baron Emmanuel Theotokis (the head of the Ionian Senate) as the President and Macarius (the Greek Bishop) as vice-president.[271]   The inclusion of local notables in the Society reveals the factors that shaped British colonial trajectories in the Mediterranean. In the early period of occupation, Britain's level of colonialism was limited. Under this model, British authorities supported existing institutions, privileges, and social orders to ensure that resources were in the hand of the few. Since the Ionian economy centered on agriculture, the state privileged the traditional elites and supported hierarchical relations of

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[270] T. W. M. Marshal. *Christian Missions: Their Agents, Their Method, and Their Results*. Vol 1. (London: Burns and Lambert, 1862), 62-63.

[271] Homi Bhabha argues that 'mimicry' highlights the ambivalent relationship between colonizer and colonized. By mimicking the colonizer's habits, institutions and values the colonized creates a skewed Other and is never the same. Part of the civilizing mission of the colonizers was for the colonized to imitate their customs, values, morals, language and society. The imitation is also expected to be partial, because the strategy of colonial dominance required their subjects to remain separate. Bhabha stresses that mimicry therefore is not "a harmonization of repression of difference, but a form of resemblance, that differs from or defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically." Homi Bhabha, "Of mimicry and man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse," in: The Location of Culture (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 85-92.

dependence.[272] Thus, the two-way relationship benefitted both the colonizer and colonized. On the one hand, the landowning elite retained their status and power, and on the other hand, the British authority controlled the state institutions while also ensuring that the few held resources.

The presence of the Ionian elite in the Bible Society did not necessarily represent an agreement with the British missionary mandate but a means of the aristocracy holding on to its privileged status.[273] It is also necessary to consider that during the Greek Revolution, Greeks (from the Diaspora, the Ottoman Empire, and the Ionian Islands) had more welcoming attitudes towards foreign assistance as it was seen as a means to support their national cause.[274] The relationship between Greeks and foreign intervention was also reinforced by the Diaspora who were exposed to the liberal cities of Protestant Europe, such as Adamandios Korais and even the Patriarchate under Kyrillos VI (1814-1818) and Gregory V. (1819), who were both open to Protestant assistance for promoting the Greek national awakening.

The British colonial presence in the Mediterranean expanded Protestant activities beyond colonial territories and into mainland Greece and the Ottoman Empire. As previously discussed, part of Protestant missionaries' activities included establishing schools, including developing the curriculum, constructing buildings, and publishing and distributing schoolbooks. While Lancastrian schools on the Ionian Islands provided "modern" and western education for the new

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[272] Matthew Lange, James Mahoney, and Matthias vom Hau, "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies," *American Journal of Sociology* 111, no. 5 (March 2006): 1412-1462. It is important to note that during the Crimean War and after, the Ionian economy focused on grain. During this period the state was organized on a *liberal model* and the landed aristocracy lost status to the rise of a new middle-class elite. The new bourgeois merchants espoused free market reforms and institutions that encouraged commercial production, private property, and the rule of law.

[273] Harlan, 330. Also see Thomas Gallant. *Experiencing Dominion*, 59 for examples of Ionian complying with the British as a means of creating a Western identity.

[274] Nomikos Michael Vaporis. "The Influence of the Foreign Bible Societies in the Development of Balkan Literacy Languages: The Greek Experience," 84. Miltiadis Konstantinou, "Bible Translation and National Identity: The Greek Case," Συνθεσις 1 (2012): 34-53.

middle-class, the British Foreign Bible Society believed that the Lancastrian schools on the

Ionian Islands could spread Protestant influence on the populations of Greece and the Ottoman

Empire.[275] Samuel Sheridan Wilson stated these intentions multiple times in his narrative of the

Bible Society's mission to Greece. Wilson stated that "One feels the more anxious for the

progress of Christian education in the Ionian isles, since it cannot fail to operate most favorably

upon continental Greece, to which the islands lie so contiguous."[276]

Commenting on the distribution of the translation of the Borough-Road Selection of

Readings from the Old and New Testament to be used in Ionian schools, Wilson continued,

> This is the most important, because Greece is the very heart and eye of the east. It
> is probable that Greece is destined in providence to rekindle, in all those regions,
> so early civilized and illuminated by the genius of Christianity, the sacred flame
> of heaven-born piety. Upon the pillars of Greece hang the keys of the east and
> from that land will the word of the Lord go forth into all Asia.[277]

These references highlight the broader agenda of British missionaries on the Ionian Islands.

They sought the reformation of the Greek populations through education, the upper and middle

classes, and by improving the Orthodox church to proselytize the Ottoman Empire. As a result,

missionaries and missionary schools in the Ottoman Empire were viewed as a threat to the

process of Ottomanization and the State, especially during the constitutional periods. In fact,

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[275] Harlan, *"British Lancastrian Schools,"* 359-360; Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*, 178.
[276] Samuel Sheridan Wilson, *A Narrative of the Greek Mission; or, Sixteen Years in Malta and Greece: Including Tours in the Peloponnesus, in the Aegean and Ionian Isles* (London: John Snow, 1839), 223.
[277] Wilson, *A narrative of the Greek mission*, 225.

American and British missionaries were one of the most important independent sources for

reporting Ottoman atrocities against Christians.[278]

In Greece, the missionary schools threatened the authority of the Orthodox Church and

the state's nationalization process. Subsequently, on the Ionian Islands, missionaries were viewed

as challenging the Hellenic identity of Ionian, therefore the unification aspirations of many

Ionians with their co-nationals in the Greek Kingdom.[279] In this context, the Ionian Islands

became a space from where British missionaries could spread their influence into continental

Greece and the Ottoman Empire and therefore highlight the vital relationship between the

cultural influence of the physical connectivity between the islands and the continent. The

"book," in the case of the British Foreign Bible Society in the Ionian Islands, was imbued with

nationalist awakening, competing identities, and, most importantly, middle-class values.[280]

As a bibliophile, Guilford made books more readily available, and just as the translated

Bibles served as a marker of western European identity and middle-class sensibilities, so did

access to Guilford's library at the Ionian Academy.[281] The accumulation of books for the Ionian

Academic resulted from years of work by Guilford, who used his own money and personal

collection of books and manuscripts, a project that reflected his liberal patronage and middle-

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[278] For examples of American missionaries as sources during 1921-1922 see Robert Shenk and Sam Koktzoglou, eds. *The Greek Genocide in American Naval War Diaries—Naval Commanders Report and Protest Death Marches and Massacres in Turkey's Pontus Region,1921-1922* (New Orleans: The University of New Orleans Press, 2020)

[279] Jack Fairey, "'Discord and Confusion … Under the Pretext of Religion': European Diplomacy and the Limits of Orthodox Ecclesiastical Authority in the Eastern Mediterranean," *The International History Review* 34 no. 1(2012): 27-28; Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools," 365; Also see Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion*,189 for religious tension on the Ionian Islands.

[280] Effi Gazi, "Revisiting religion and nationalism in the nineteenth-century Greece", in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism Romanticism, & The Uses of the Past (1797-1896),* eds. R. Beaton, R. and D. Ricks (London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009), 98-101.

[281] Eric Glasgow. "The rudiments of bibliomania," *Library Review* 48 No. 3 (1999): 152-157.

class values of the time. For instance, the libraries at the Mechanical Institutes in Europe and

North America in the nineteenth century were informed by the interest of middle-class social

control. The Mechanical Institutes were an urban phenomenon linked to industrialization and the

rise of middle-class liberalism and values. The institutes were established to teach aspects and

knowledge of science to the lower and working classes, but this failed, and instead, they became

buttresses for middle-class cultural ascendancy and power. [282] Friedrich Engles argued that

bourgeoisie interests usurped Mechanics Institutes' proletariat influence,

> …[M]aking them organs for the dissemination of the sciences useful to the
> bourgeoisie. Here the natural sciences are now taught, which may draw the
> working-men away from the opposition to the bourgeoisie, and perhaps place in
> their hands the means of making inventions which brings in money for the
> bourgeoisie; while the working-man the acquaintance with the natural sciences is
> utterly useless now when it too often happens that he never gets the slightest
> glimpse of Nature in his large town with his long working-hours. Here Political
> Economy is preached, whose idol is free competition, and whom sum and
> substance for the working-man is this, that he cannot do anything more rational
> than resign himself to starvation. Here all education is tame, flabby, subservient
> to the ruling politics and religion, so that for the working-man it is merely a
> constant sermon upon quiet obedience, passivity, and resignation to his fate.[283]

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[282] While mechanical institutes were initially created to uplift the working classes and integrate them into the new industrial economy, this failed as institutes focused more to serve the middle-classes. See the Edward Royle, "Mechanic's Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1960" *The Historical Journal* 14, (1971): 301-21.

[283] Fredrich Engels. *The Conditions of the Working-Class in England in 1844*, trans. Florence Kelley Wischewetzky (New York: CosimoClassics, 2008), 239. Also cited in Royle, "Mechanic's Institutes and the Working Classes," 306.

Similarly, the libraries on the islands reinforced the culture of the elite and middle-class professionals. This function was especially evident in the early history of libraries on the islands. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, for instance, the former director of the Public Library of Kerkyra, Constantin Soldatos, wrote a history of the institution and stated that,

> Soon the armies of Bonaparte arrived in Kerkyra (29 June 1797) having swept away the Serene Republic,and bringing with them ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity. The *Libro d'oro* was abolished, and the tree of liberty planted in the midst of mass celebrations. Free social development began for the masses until, who were for so long oppressed. The property of certain Catholic convents, among them those of Ste. Justine and Tenedos, were seized and declared public property. The library, enriched with books from other monasteries, became the Public Library of Kerkyra housing 4000 volumes. French officers and officials rushed to offer books, Kerkyrian Don Lazare Démordos gave his private collection.[284]

The remarkable legacy of the library continued under British occupation with the re-establishment of the Ionian Academy.   Nevertheless, what can the relationship between the collections of books at the Ionian Academy and the formation of culture on the islands tell us?

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[284] «Mais bientôt, les armées de Bonaparte qui avaient balayé la Sérénissime République, arrivaient à Corfoy (29 Juin 1797), apportant les idées de liberté, d'égalite et de fraternité. Le Libro d'oro fut solennellement brûlé, l'Arbre de la Liberté planté au milieu de fêtes populaires. Une libre développement social commença our les masses opprimées jus-qu'alors. Les biens de certains couvents catholiques et parmi eux ceux de Ste-Justine et de Ténédos, furent saisis et declares biens publics. La bibliothèque, enrichie des livres des autres monastéres supprimés, devint alors la Bibliothèque publique de Corfou; elle renfermait environ 4.000 volumes. Officiers et fontionnaires français s'empressèrent de lui offrir des libres; des Corfiotes, don Lazare Démordos, lui firent don de leurs bibliothèques privées. » Constantin Soldatos, "The Public Library of Kerkyra," [«La Bibliothèque publique de Corfou,»] *L' Hellénisme Contemporain* no 4, (Juillet-Août 1947): 375-376.

Before its official opening in 1825, the library received significant donations from the University of Cambridge and Trinity College, the Ionian Bible Society, various benefactors from Denmark, Italy, Russia, the East Indian Company, and of course, Guilford's private collection of about 15,000 volumes.[285] One of his most significant contributions was his collection of nine hundred books written in Modern Greek.[286] Guilford established a network with European booksellers throughout Vienna, Trieste, Rome, and London to purchase European scientific books and locate Greek manuscripts. The publication of the Ionian Academy catalog during 1824-1830[287] provides insight into socioeconomic practices and conditions that influence the consumption and distribution of books. It also offers context to the available knowledge streams on the Islands and how this influenced youth development. It is important to note that Guilford's catalog shows that his collection included many Modern Greek books and manuscripts, classical to modern history books, and French and Italian books. The inclusion of philological, classics, history, science, and art books demonstrates that the library was also catering to the demands of the middle-class professional elite, especially the needs of the teachers of the four schools: Theology, Law, Medicine, and Philosophy. Books illuminate two critical issues of class conflict on the islands: the susceptibility of islands to global changes and their resilience to change.

In summation, education institutions contributed to the amelioration of Greek education in the islands and transferring Western scientific and philosophical knowledge into the East Mediterranean. It also functioned to accelerate the unification movement. At first, institutions

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[285] Henderson, *Ionian Academy*, 44-45; and Vasiliki Mpompou Stamati, "The Library of Guilford in Kerkyra," [«Η Βιβλιοθήκη Guilford στην Κέρκυρα. »] O Ervistis [*Ο Ερανιστής*] 20, (1995): 110-11.

[286] Mpompou Stamati, "The Library of Guilford,"112.

[287] Vasiliki Mpompou Stamati, *The library of Lord Guilford in Kerkyra (1824-1830)* [*Η Βιβλιοθήκη του Λόρδου Guilford στην Κέρκυρα (1824-1830)* (Athens: Institute of Modern Greece Studies of the National Research Foundation, 2008).

were openly accepted, but their social control and missionary projects were seen as suspicious by radical elements. As the connection between the islands and the west deteriorated because of war and general British apathy towards the islands, new networks with the mainland were established.

Antonio Gramsci connected the culture and morals of a population and the state and civic institutions.[288] The establishment of the Ionian Academy and the subsequent flood of books into the library, mostly by foreign donors, illustrates the framing of bourgeoisie cultural hegemony on the islands. It illustrates the framing of a new worldview, not of the landed aristocracy but the middle-class professionals. While the rhetoric behind the establishment of civic and learned institutions was the enlightenment of Ionian society, the establishment of laws, professionals created the structure to support their civic and political aspirations. In addition to educational institutions, Gramsci stated that "a multitude of other so-called private initiatives and activities tend to the same end—initiatives and activities that form the apparatus of the political and cultural hegemony of the ruling classes."[289] The Bible Society's activities on the islands and Guilford's catalog shows an imperial mission to educate the colonized for the benefit of the Empire. Educating the higher classes to become professionals and civil servants served the need of government workers and created loyalty.

Modern Greek translations of the Bible, scientific textbooks, and philosophical literature were also a means for the British to proselytize without disputing the Orthodox Church or alienating the local elite. The argument was that these books facilitated an evangelical moral and

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[288]Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 258.
[289] Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks.*

cultural awakening and that through exposure to Western text, the local population would be exposed to Protestant values, primarily through the teaching of western rationalism and science. A focus on Modern Greek translation would also appease the middle-classes who were inspired by national awakening during the Greek War of Independence.

It should be noted that the Ionians did not lack agency in the formation of their education. On the contrary, there are many examples of Ionian expressions of disproval to the British missionary and imperial policies. For instance, there was mob violence in Zakynthos in 1850 against suspected Protestant converts that taught at Lancastrian schools.[290] Chevalier Moustoxydis also expressed his displeasure and suspiciousness toward Inspector-General Lowndes' attempts to convert Ionians through the education system.[291] Furthermore, the Orthodox Church made various proclamations against the Lancastrian Schools and the Bible society.

Through their positions as members of the Reading Society, as professors and students at the Ionian Academy, the Ionian bourgeoisie attempted to form cultural hegemony over both their British rulers and local marginalized classes. It is not surprising that the Ionian bourgeoisie supported the formation of cultural institutions since they studied and spent significant time abroad amongst other Western European bourgeoisie circles. The Ionian bourgeoisie were well assimilated into Western cultural activity by the nineteenth century, and the various cultural and urban institutions that emerged on the islands further assisted in their ability to exercise their moral and intellectual leadership. Effi Gazi argues that missionary activities impacted the

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[290] Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools," 365.
[291] Papanicolas, *The Ionian Islands; what they have lost and suffered,* 48.

Greeks not through the direct conversion of Orthodox to Protestant but through the liberalization of the state with the "diffusion of nationalism and middle-class values."[292]

A key aspect of this project is to examine the process leading to the union of the Ionian Islands through an island studies lens. Islandness impacted almost every aspect of the socioeconomic and cultural landscape of the Ionian Islands. Connectivity and isolation, as primary characteristics of islandness, influenced the cultural development on the island because it mediated the mobility of ideas from place to place.

The nature of the islands' economy and the strategic positions in the Mediterranean made them susceptible to broader regional socioeconomic changes, and local actors adjusted their ideas about their surrounding space accordingly. This was demonstrated by the actions of the middle-class attempts to introduce bourgeoisie learning methods and culture to the Ionian society and the notables' ability to configure their worldview towards regional economies and the Greek world as seen through the examples of Focas and Vrailas-Armenis. While the British viewed the Islands as outside the spatial inclusion of Europe, the ability of locals to interact and use urban institutions demonstrated that Ionians believed they were an integral part of Western Europe.

Spatial reconfiguration towards mainland Greece was influenced and reinforced by the new economic ties Ionian financial institutions created and the cultural ties Ionian education institutions formed with mainland Greece. New connections were sought as the islands' links to Western Europe deteriorated—whether a result of war or British apathy in the Mediterranean. The willingness of the islands to focus their connections to mainland Greece reflected a common strategy of the Ionian Islands when faced with isolation. The Demise of Empires (Habsburg,

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[292] Gazi, "Revisiting religion and nationalism", 95-106. Cited in Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools," 366.

Venetian, and Ottoman) saw islands less relevant in global geopolitics and markets. Island attributes, however, allowed Ionians to turn to the Greek Kingdom to establish new links. This was nothing new, as connectivity is a crucial feature of islandness. For instance, previous imperial rulers received support from the islanders and were often welcomed based on cultural, religious, and even ideological connections. Ionian merchants also used Orthodoxy to establish links to the Black Sea, Greek language to navigate Ottoman Empire, and Italian culture to familiarize with Italy and British civic identity to navigate western commercial networks. Left with few options, either remain independent and accept the status quo of economic depression or political suppression or unify with Greece and seek new opportunities, Ionians chose the latter.

Attributes of isolation and vulnerability, on the one hand, and connectivity, on the other, are features of islandness that influenced cultural production on the Ionian Islands. Islandness can be viewed as a defense mechanism embedded within island society. The ability to express isolation or connectivity has benefits that allowed the islands to navigate the changes during the tumultuous years between 1840 and 1864. During this period, the Ionian islands experienced internal and external pressures. Internally, class tensions increased, and externally, European Wars and Great Power politics threatened to isolate the islands.

By 1848, fundamental reforms were introduced on the Islands that would challenge the position of the bourgeoisie. The following chapter will discuss the rise of the radical voice on the Islands and the individuals who challenged the liberal social order that dominated Ionian society. While the eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries can be categorized as the rise of liberal economic movement in the Ionian islands, by 1840, a new bureaucratic middle-class was emerging as a direct result of press freedom.

Chapter VIII: Raising a Tempest In The Mediterranean: Island Epistemologies and the Discovery of a Greek-Ionian Political Voice.

Historians, archaeologists, and scholars of the humanities and social sciences have all observed the connection between trade, technology, and geography with the transmission of culture, ideas, and knowledge. For instance, archeologists and social scientists use the methodology of *diffusion* to study the effects of trade and transcultural interactions on the transmission of ideas over space and time.[1] Diffusion methodologies, or *diffusionism,* have also benefited historical scholarship[2] by emphasizing research on transnational interactions to explain how dominant cultural forms are imposed, invented, molded, and reworked. According to William McNeill, the diffusion of knowledge from one community to another constitutes the central process of human history.[3]

The ubiquitous role of transactional social spaces raises questions about the mechanisms that explain the mediation of ideas in the context of the Ionian Islands in the nineteenth century. What institutional structures regulated and facilitated the exchange of ideas, and who were the

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[1] Thomas C. Patterson and Charles E Orser Jr. eds. *Foundations of Social Archaeology: Selected Writings of V. Gordon Childe* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefiels Publishers, Inc., 2004), 39-44, 106; For archaeologist definition see Robert H. Winthrop, *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991), 82.

[2] William McNeill argues that technological advancements led to political and economic competitions and conflicts over resources. William McNeill, *The Rise of the West: A History of the Human Community [With a Retrospective Essay]*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). For commentary on the Rise of the West see, McNeill, "The Rise of the West and Twenty-Five Years," *Journal of World History* 1, no. 1 (1990): 1-21.

[3] Peter J. Hugill, Bruce Dickson, eds. *The Transfer and Transformation of Ideas and Material Culture*, (Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1988), 75

individuals who transferred and transformed knowledge? By identifying causal mechanisms,[4] we better understand the events that created new social and political structures between the interacting communities and regions.

This chapter anticipates the role of communication media and technology[5] in the exchange of ideas in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean world and seeks to address the questions of how and why specific political ideas circulated in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean? Specifically, it seeks to identify the actors who initiated the exchange of ideas and the moments when ideas ceased to be part of an exclusive group and part of a broader movement or community.   The contribution here is to trace the moments that the Ionian intellectual establishment abandoned intellectual activity in favor of political and nationalist engagement and highlights the vexed relationship between intellectual production and politics.

Harold Innis and Marshal McLuhan offer some insight into the importance of communication media on the interaction between different social systems. For these scholars, the advancement of media technology was instrumental in shaping how societies communicated, interacted, and thought. Innis and McLuhan argue that media facilitates the exchange of ideas and provides the means for larger empires and states to implement power structures and enforce hegemony over marginalized groups.[6] In his important works, *Empire of Communication* and

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[4] "Compared with covering law, propensity, and system approaches, mechanism- and process-based explanations aim at modest ends—selective explanation of salient features by means of partial causal analogies. In the analysis of democratization, for example, such mechanisms as brokerage and cross-class coalition formation compound into crucial recurrent processes, such as enlargement of polities." Charles Tilly, "Mechanisms in Political Process," *Annual Review of Political* Science 4, (2001): 24

[5] For impact of newspapers on the formation of political communities by linking various sectors of the polity see Jeffrey Pasley, *Tyrany of Printers: Newspapers Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002). For the role of print in forming national communities see Benedict R. Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso., 2006)

[6] William McNeill, Harold Innis, Marshal McLuhan works were a corollary of American intellectual and cultural imperialism and a direct response to the ubiquitous American content in Canadian media.

The Bias of Communication, Harold Innis identifies technology and media as sources of social, political, economic, and cultural change throughout history. Innis traces the history of communication and provides theories, such as time-and-space bias, to highlight the impact of new media on society.

This chapter also analyzes how knowledge was circulated, transferred, transformed, and disseminated in the nineteenth-century Mediterranean world and argues that islands functioned as a borderland that created political movements that were a hybrid of transplanted ideas, practices, and sensibilities. For this examination, the chapter focuses on the socio-political changes that occurred on the Ionian Islands during the 1840s and 1850s, and it follows two main arguments. First, enosis constituted a watershed moment in the historical process of the nation-state building by fueling the ambitions of reformers (liberals) to establish a new socio-political order. The press, more specifically, in this example, offered reformers an opportunity to engage in political debates across the various islands through shared political views. A closer examination of the debates in local and foreign parliaments, newspapers, and social movements reveals that enosis was an amalgam of inter-and extra-communal political ideologies. Second is the idea that the spread of liberal ideals and political reforms was deeply rooted in island borderlands. The Ionians Islands shared a physical border with the Italian States and the Greek Kingdom but also a cultural and intellectual border with Western Europe and the Orthodox world. Ionian reformers successfully used their island position to organize the Ionian diaspora for their cause. In support of enosis, newspapers played a vital function in erasing the boundary between the "Protectorate" and the Kingdom of Greece.

At the heart of this chapter's analysis is the nineteenth-century Ionian press, including its institutional structures and editors, and the role of islands' position in the circulation of political

ideas in the eastern Mediterranean during the nineteenth century. The press was the heart of the enosis movement, as it was through the press, debates played out in the public sphere, where intellectuals and the political actors combine ideas from various socio-political settings into local contexts to form a variety of political voices. As enosis gained momentum on the islands, new political power structures were revealed that, for a short time, gave the Ionians a greater voice in broader global events and, more importantly, in their own future.

Island Borderlands and the Transmission of Knowledge

It is important to trace the politicization of intellectuals and the middle-class, in particular, through an examination of the scholarship of the transmission of ideas and knowledge and the causal explanations transmission. In other words, it is interested in the factors that led to the popularization of the enosis and the broader implications of achieving it.

The humanities have traditionally been a place for scholars to study the historic cross-cultural exchange of ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Western Europe. Most notably are Eugene Weber, Michel Espagne, John Merriman, and modern nationalist theorists Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, and Ernest Gellner have been instrumental in studying the creation and implications of "high culture" on nationalism and the nation-state. However, while these scholars set up a model for nationalism through technological advancement (printing technology), economic expansion (industrialization), and ideologies (civic and ethnonationalism) to explain the political and social changes that spread throughout Western Europe in the

nineteenth century, they fail to identify specific mechanisms that initiated change outside a

western context. This pervasive Western Eurocentric view ignores the different paths and local

agency that led to the political and social changes in the eastern Mediterranean.

Subsequently, this section is concerned with the mechanisms and processes[7] that

initiated, transferred, and transformed political knowledge and ideas into the Ionian Islands to

understand better the rise of Greek nationalism on the Ionian Islands and the eventual union of

the islands with the Greek state. Intending to identify the causes and effects of social and

political change and the partisan politics that overtook the Ionian Islands in the nineteenth

century, this chapter explores two mechanistic explanations: first, are the institutional brokers,

and second, the individual brokers of transmission. By adopting a mechanism-and-process

approach, this section highlights new ways for understanding the circulation of ideas in a

nineteenth-century Mediterranean context and allows us to explore the

environmental/geographic, social, and causal explanations of social phenomena.[8]

In their study on social movement theory, Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles

Tilly identify "similarities and differences, pathways and trajectories across a wide range of

contentious politics – not only revolutions, but also strike waves, wars, social movements, ethnic

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[7] Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly define mechanisms as "a delimited class of events that alter relations among specified sets of element in identical or closest similar ways over a variety of situations" and processes as "regular sequences of such mechanisms that produce similar (generally more complex and contingent) transformations of those elements. Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly , eds. *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 24; cf with Tulia G. Falleti, Julia F. Lynch definition, "Mechanisms tell us how things happen: how actors relate, how individuals come to believe what they do or what they draw from past experiences, how policies and institutions endure or change, how outcomes that are inefficient become hard to reverse, and so on" Tulia G. Falleti, Julia F. Lynch, "Context and Causal Mechanism in Political Analysis," *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 9 (2009): 1147.

[8] For mechanism explanation of contentious political and social events see Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, "Methods of Measuring Mechanisms of Contention," *Qualitative Sociology,* 31, no. 307 (2008): 307-331,

mobilizations, democratization, and nationalism."[9] They argue that the causal explanations of

social movements and contentious politics need to be analyzed in terms of mechanism and

processes in order to account for the dynamic nature of both the variables and relationships of

contention. The authors focus on three general mechanisms to explain social change, which

include *environmental mechanisms* –"externally generated influences on conditions affecting

social life, such as resource depletion or enhancement," *cognitive mechanisms*—"operate

through alterations of individual and collective perception," and *relational mechanisms*—"alter

connections among people, groups, and interpersonal networks."[10] The work moves the

discussion away from the static interpretation of social movements by placing less emphasis on

variables and more on the dynamics of mechanisms.

In the case of enosis, what were the mechanisms that linked the preconditions of partisan

politics to the outcome union with the Greek Kingdom? Applying the approaches of *Dynamics

of Contention*, it becomes evident that cognitive, relational, and environmental mechanisms

allow us to understand multi-layered approaches to the micro-and macro-historical processes of

enosis. By recognizing the mechanisms of individual and institutional brokerage[11] (cognitive

and relational) and the environmental mechanisms that influenced "attribution of opportunity and

threat," we can locate the moments of mobilization, identity shift, and polarization during the

enosis movement.

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[9] McAdam, Tarrow, Tilly, *Dynamics*, 9.

[10] McAdam, Tarrow, Tilly, "Methods of Measuring Mechanisms of Contention," 25-26.

[11] Brokerage is defined here as "the linking of two or more previously unconnected social sites by a unit that mediates their relations with one another and/or with yet other sites. McAdam, Tarrow, Tilly, "Methods of Measuring Mechanisms of Contention," 26.

The primary concern here is to examine the relationship between newspapers and the

formation of partisan politics on the Ionian Islands. Newspapers brought together like-minded

people from across the islands, Western Europe and Greece. As the principal source of

information, print media fostered political parties that were made of individuals who shared a

sense of belonging.

Island Borderlands and Bordered Islands (Environmental Mechanisms)

Islandness is an ambiguous and sometimes contested idea defined by the conditions of

connectivity and isolation of island boundaries to the wider world.[12] Again, by applying the

concept of island borderland, we can better examine the perception and attribution of opportunity

and threat for those living within the boundaries of the Ionian Islands. For instance, in their study

on island governance, Edward Warrington and David Milner approach islandness from two

perspectives,

> The e*xternal* perspective is that of a detached analyst seeking objectively
> verifiable patterns; it regards island governance as the product of 'foreign'
> historical and geographical 'facts' penetrating and impinging on 'domestic'
> matters. The *internal* perspective directs us towards islanders; it seeks to

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[12] Godfrey Baldacchino argues that islands should be studied as part of a complex and dynamic system of regional and global interactions, focusing on the interactions between islands and the mainlands. See Godfrey Baldacchino, "Editorial: islands, island studies, island studies journal," *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1 (2006): 3-18. Also see P Hay, "'A phenomenology of islands", *Island Studies Journal* 1, no. 1, (2006): 19- 42.

understand how distinctive 'island' identities develop, how they are experienced and what effects they have on habits of thought and action, on socio-economic structures and political processes, and the way that these engage with the externally determined facts of geography and history.[13]

As an environmental mechanism,[14] islandness in the context of the Ionian Islands, combined with cognitive and relational mechanisms, was a determining factor for protests, reforms, rebellions, and, eventually, enosis. Economic developments and cultural preservation guided the political tension between those who advocated for autonomy and those who fought for parity with the mainland and metropole (London). Islandness was a key intervening variable in relationship building between the Ionian Islands and the mainland, which often resulted in economic and security dependency. This feature of islandness became problematic for the Ionian Islands throughout their history, as islanders struggled to retain their identity and protect their livelihoods against expansionist empires and states. Since ancient times the Ionian Islands negotiated imperial relationships to protect economic development and cultural features. The Delian League, for instance, protected Ionian economic interests and territorial integrity in Ancient Greece, and by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the islanders were negotiating their loyalty between Venice, France, Russia, and Britain to protect these same interests.[15] In

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[13] Edward Warrington & David Milne, "Island governance" in *A world of islands: an island studies reader*, ed. Godfrey Baldacchino (Malta & Canada: Agenda Academic and Institute of Island Studies, 2007), 381-382. Warrington and Milne go on to state that the "tensions and ambiguities disclose the very stuff of 'islandness'", 382.

[14] MacAdam, Tarrow & Tilly, citing McCarty and Zald, define environmental mechanisms as, "externally generated influences on conditions affecting social life. Such mechanisms can operate directly: For example, resource depletion or enhancement affects people's capacity to engage in contentious politics." McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention,* 25.

[15] While Britain is an island, its Empire and influence extended toward the mainland and therefore sometimes it is references as being part of the mainland in this paper.

short, the characteristics of isolation and connectivity are central to island-metropole

relationships. It is these features that island studies scholarship argues shape island culture,

identity, and experience.[16]   Therefore, a common feature of island societies is their need to

balance island culture, values, and identity with economic sustainability. It was this apparent

balancing act that guided the Ionian islanders' relationships with the metropole.

While traditional scholarship argues that the fundamental cause was nationalism, new

scholarship re-examines political contention as a result of class anxieties (Gekas), self-exile and

the transnational intellectual (Zanou), and the colonial experience (Gallant). Geography and the

environment connect all three revisionist views. For instance, class anxieties were heightened

during the 1840s due to economic changes that led to rapid urbanization and, as Gekas argues,

embourgeoisement. As urban populations expanded and economic investments moved from land

to sea, the rural population saw their means of subsistence and traditional power structures

weakened by the emergence of a new middle class.[17] The environment also impacted culture and

identity formation through the idea of self-exile. Zanou contends that "distance and nostalgia"

were at the core of the formation of Greek nationalism, which sprang up from the Greek

expatriate communities in Europe. Lastly, decolonization partly resulted from the decline of the

British imperial ambitions in the Mediterranean, thus affecting people's economic and social

capacity to engage in contentious politics. While environmental mechanisms connect the

revisionist view of Ionian history, the inclusion of cognitive and relational mechanisms provides

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[16] Godrfrey Baldacchino defines "the island effect" as the shared traits of islandness that impact those that live on lslands. See Godfrey Baldacchino, ed. *A world of islands: an island studies reader* (Malta & Canada: Agenda Academic and Institute of Island Studies, 2007) 2.
    [17] For a study on rural marginality and the dependency and exploitative relationship between the core and periphery see D. Cook and M. Phillips, "'People in a marginal periphery," in *Contested worlds: an introduction to human geography* (Hants and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 353-401.

us with a more dynamic view of the issues and events that influenced rebellions, protests, reforms, and eventually enosis. Enosis in this context was inspired against the background of the environmental mechanism (islandness attracted external imperial powers to the islands, while it also provided islanders with the agency to manipulate their loyalties against imperial interests); cognitive mechanisms (the increased class division along with rural and urban interests); and relational mechanisms (brokerage of rural interests with urban radicalism). Therefore, until 1864, the Ionian border was not fixed, but rather its fluidity was centered on contingencies of opportunity and threat.

Lastly, to gain a better perspective on the impact of rebellions and protests on enosis and move the examination beyond nationalist narratives, it is essential to unite the transborder debates of Italian social movements (Risorgimento and Carboneria),[18] Ionian economic development, and British imperial policies. By turning the examination to the press, we gain insight into the details of negotiation and the transition of the Ionian Islands from a borderland to bordered land.[19]

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[18] Giampaolo Salice, "The Greek mirror: philhellenism and southern Italian patriotisms (1750-1861)," *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 20, no. 4 (2015): 491-507; Konstantina Zanou, Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850 - Stammering the Nation (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 37-42; Stathis Birtachias, "Greek-Italian ideological and cultural exchanges and manifestations of solidarity during the Risorgimento: the Italian political migration to the Ionian Islands," *Mediterranea: Ricerche Storiche* 9, no. 26 (2012): 461; Birtachias, "'In defence of the liberty and the rights of Great Mother Greece'. The Italian Garibaldini volunteers in Epirus: the decline of a long tradition in Greece.' Evaluation of an old story and new research perspectives." *Mediterranean Chronicle* 6 (2016): 161-182; Douglas Dakin, "The Greek Unification and the Italian Risorgimento Compared," *Balkan Studies* (1969):1-10; Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, 70-74.

[19] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron outline the conditions that bring about the transition of a borderland to a bordered land. Using North America as a case study, they argue that bordered lands emerged as a result of the decline of European imperial ambitions in the continent. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 837-838. Additionally, Tatiana Zhurzhenko provides an exemplary contemporary example of the political, economic, social and cultural impacts of the transformation of a borderland region into bordered states. Studying the Russian-Ukraininan border, Zhurzhenko examines the political and symbolic

The first instance of the noticeable waning of the borderland was the cession of Parga in (1817-1819) by Britain to Ali Pasha.[20] This event highlighted the autocratic intentions of the British Administration, therefore, undermining the liberal aspirations of many Ionians. On the other hand, it demonstrated the British Administrations' failure to protect the island's security and territorial integrity and alienated the Ionians. The Treaty of Paris (1815), which gave Britain control of the Ionian Islands, failed to include Parga and ultimately carved out the imperial boundary and hardened the border with the Ottoman Empire.[21] As a result, the Ionian Islands were cut off from mainland Greece and the economic and cultural ties it shared with Parga. What followed was a mass migration of Parginoi to Kerkyra and a heightening sentiment of regional nationalism.[22]

The Ionian border was further hardened during the Greek Revolution, specifically when Britain imposed neutrality on the Ionian Islands. British authorities proclaimed the neutrality of the Ionian Islands almost immediately after the outbreak of rebellions in an attempt to isolate

construction of the border between two states and how the border is used in the formation of collective identities. Special attention should be given to the final section, "Living with the Border." Here the author focuses on the nation-building process by examining how geopolitical issues are experienced and negotiated at the local level by ordinary people. Tatiana Zhurzhenko, *Borderlands in Bordered Lands: Geopolitics of Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine. Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society*. (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2010).

[20] The sale of Parga was based on British post-war security and economics. Ceding territory that was expensive to defend was a way to lighten the pressure on the coffer but also to pacify Ottoman claims on the Ionian Islands and to recognize British authority over the islands. W.D.Wrigley, *The Diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality*, 1821-31 (New York: Peter Lang, 1988), 79-81; *Annual Register or view of the History, Politics, and Literature for the Year 1819* (London: London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1820), 194-198. Also see Charles Philip. de Basset, "Proceedings in Parga, and the Ionian Islands, with a series of Correspondence and other justificatory Documents," in *The Quarterly Review* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1820), 111- 136.

[21] "No. 2 Copy of Letter from Sir Thomas Maitland to Earl Bathurst, dated Corfu 24th No., 1819" in *Accounts and Papers: British Museum; Grain; Poor; Manufacturers; Exports; Imports; Miscellaneous. Sessions 21 April to 23 November 1820*, Vol. XII (U. K.: House of Commons, 1820), 495-496.

[22] See Ugo Foscolo's article on the Parga events for a description of the atrocities committed by Ottoman troops and his call for Britain to honour her moral duty to protect Christians in the Mediterranean. Ugo Foscolo, "On Parga", *Edinburgh Review* 32, no. 64 (October 1819); For impact of Foscolo's article see Peter Cochran, "The Sale of Parga and the Isles of Greece," in *Byron's Romantic Politics: The Problem of Metahistory* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 209-220; For examples of heightened religious anxieties also see "Cession of Parga. 'A tale of terror and of baseness'," in Niles' Weekly Register (October 16, 1819): 103-106.

them from the spread of Greek nationalism in the region.[23] Apart from quelling nationalist

sentiments, the British policy of neutrality also upheld the balance of power in the region

established by the Concert of Europe.[24] Neutrality ultimately forced Ionians to define their

citizenship—a dilemma that Ugo Foscolo publicly expressed after the British denied him

citizenship after the Parga incident. Zanou states that in a letter addressed to the Greek

revolutionary government in 1824, Foscolo claimed that,

> [H]e wanted to go and live amongst his Greek 'fellow-citizens' and even give his
> life in the struggle for the liberation of the country. The condition was that, since
> he would lose his British Ionian citizenship (because he would break the declared
> neutrality of the Ionian Islands in the context of the Greek revolution) and since,
> as a result, he was going to forfeit the property he held in Zante, the Greek
> authorities should recognize him as a citizen and offer him a job.[25]

Another consequence of citizenship was an increase in economic privileges for merchant

classes. Ionian citizenship came with privileges of the British protectorate, and many foreigners

requested to receive citizenship came from Epirus and Southern Italy.[26]

The transition from borderland to a bordered land continued with the Crimean War

(1853-1856). While Ionian neutrality defined Ionian citizenship, the Crimean War defined

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[23] For Ionian neutrality see David W. Wrigley, *The diplomatic Significance of Ionian Neutrality, 1821-31*. (London: Peter Lang, 1988). Also see David W. Wrigley, "Dissension in the Ionian Islands: Colonel Charles James Napier and the Commissioners (1819 - 1833)," *Balkan Studies* 16, no. 2 (1975): 14.

[24] Maartje Abbenhuis, *An age of Neutrals: Great Power Politics, 1815-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 56.

[25] Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism,* 70-7.

[26] Sakis, Gekas*, Xenocracy: State, Class and Colonialism in the Ionian Island 1815-1864* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 125-126.

Ionian loyalties. British loyalties were always based on economic reasons. Since the seventeenth century, the olive and currant trade guided Ionian and British relationships giving both Ionian and British merchants a prominent position in the Mediterranean trade. Therefore a threat to economic stability led to an increase in Ionian participation in contentious politics. Zakynthos and Kefalonia experience several years of currant blight and Kerkyra's poor olive crops in the 1850s. Poor crops and the disruption of trade because of the Crimean War prompted many Ionians to join the unionist cause.[27] The economic downturn and failures of the British Protectorate coupled with war also had social implications.[28] As highlighted in the previous chapter, the Crimean War increased grain trade in the Ionian Islands, which led to many successful Ionian merchant families. While this benefitted many in the port cities, it magnified class divisions and increased state debt.[29]

The broader cultural impacts of the Crimean War surrounded religious loyalties. In her examination of the impact of Orthodoxy on the development of Enlightenment, liberal, and national ideas, Zanou claims that Ionian intellectuals tolerated Russia's presence in the Mediterranean and even embracing Russia's Orthodox patriotism—an identity that served their

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[27] P. L. Cottrell, *The Ionian Bamk: An Imperial Institution, 1839-1854*. (Athens: Alpha Bank Historical Archives, 2007), 319. Cited in Sakis Gekas, "The Crisis of the Long 1850s and Regime Change in the Ionian State and the Kingdom of Greece," *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, Vol. X (2013): 58n1.

[28] Gekas, "The Crisis of the Long 1850s," 67-71.

[29] Gekas argues that the "debt that the Ionian State incurred from the loans contracted with the Ionian Bank was one of the major issues in the smoothing of the succession from British protection to Greek sovereignty." Gekas, "The Crisis of the Long 1850s," 65.

interests when negotiating with either the Catholic Venetians or Protestant British interests,

economic opportunities,[30] and even war.[31]

> The Crimean war created additional tension on the islands, widening the gap between Christian Orthodox and Catholics in the region. The conflict between these two intellectuals [the language debate between Tommaseo and Moustoxydis over the replacement of Italian with Greek on the Ionian Islands] is seen as symbolically marking the end of the 'transnational patriotism' moment in the Adriatic, a declaration of the irreversible dissolution of its common Venetian cultural space. The de-Venetization, Hellenization, and Orthodoxization of the Ionian Islands signified the completion of the transition process from empires to nation-states.[32]

By the 1850s, the shifting politics of the Mediterranean made the islands less relevant for

British geopolitical interests. The decline of Imperial rivalries,[33] a result of new nation-state

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[30] As coreligionists, many Ionian served in the Russian public service and the military. The most famous example is Ioannis Kapodistrias, Greece's first head of state, who first served as minister of Tzar Alexander I at the Congress of Vienna and Paris. Others found opportunity in trade, like Demetrios Inglezes who took advantage of Catherine the Great's late eighteenth and early nineteenth century settlement incentives in Crimea. For Inglezes, "commercial prosperity facilitated assimilation as did his Eastern Orthodox failth and his marriage to Ekaterina Zoeva Kutsovkaia, the daughter of a Russian noble." Theophilus C. Prousis, "Demetrios S. Inglezes: Greek Mechant and City Leader of Odessa," *Slavic Review* 50, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 674.

[31] See Nicholas Charles Pappas, *Greeks in Russian Military Service in the Late 18th and Early 19th Centuries*. (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991), 334. "Probably the most important aspects of military training that the veterans of Ionian service received was the experience of serving in military organizations that were larger and more complex than the band of *klephtes* and *armatoloi*. Ionian service also gave the veterans their experience of being part of an organized state with a government run by Greeks. The sentiments of the warrior refugee towards the Sepinsular Republic was reported by Ioannes Kapodistras who wrote that: "A few referred to the Republic and the protection it would give them, and they were convinced that the Republic would always remain their fatherland."

[32] Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism*, 23-24 & 212-214.

[33] For an extensive study on Venetian and British commercial and political expansion in the early modern Mediterranean, see Maria Fusaro, *Political Economies of Empire in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Decline of Venice and the Rise of England, 1450–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 337-341 & 344-

formation in the region, allowed imperial powers to remove their military presence in return for

political and economic loyalty. This new world order of "international coexistence" turned

colonial borderlands into national bordered lands.[34] Unfortunately for the Ionians, the new

power structures resulted in their loss of ability to play political rivalries from various mainlands

to their advantage. Seeking new opportunities for economic development and cultural

preservation, the islands naturally turned to Greece. In this way, colonial borderlands gave way

to national boundaries.

Politics, Parties, and Plots (Cognitive and Relational Mechanisms Politicians formed cognitive and press relational)

By the 1840s, far more Ionians were openly rejecting British "Liberal Colonization"[35]

through active resistance and calls for reform and union. Many of the political and social issues

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349. Fuscaro uses the Ionian Islands extensively in her study to trace the rise of British hegemony and Venetian decline in the early modern period. Special attention should be given to the last section of her book where Fuscaro's focus is on the currant trade in the Ionian Islands. Here she argues that the English demand for currants in the 17th century provided new economic opportunities for local currant producers. It is an important study for understanding the complex imperial relationships in the Mediterranean and local agency during the 17th and 18th centuries..

[34] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (June 1999): 816.

[35] The reference to ¨Liberal Colonization" is taken from Michael Provence's study on the long-term impacts of the liberal language and legal structures of the illiberal rule of the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon. Here Provence argues that "there was an irreducible contradiction between liberal ideals and the imposition of a system of colonial rule by violent or threat of violence." Essentially what is appropriated here, is the idea that liberal rule and constitutional structures under the British protectorate were designed to appease Great Power interests in the Mediterranean, and to mask the illiberal practices of the colonial government. Michael Provence, "'Liberal Colonialist' and Martial Law in French Mandate Syria," in *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean: Late 19th Century Until 1960s*, ed. Christoph Schumann (London: Brill, 2008), 62.

stemmed from the 1817 Ionian Constitution, which gave the British High Commissioner

legislative power under the guise of liberal reforms. However, rapid cultural change, as a result

of colonial policies and economic expansion, dramatically impacted Ionian politics. This change

was most evident in the period between 1848-1864, which also formed the most expansive years

of the Ionian press' development. The dramatic expansion of published materials coincided with

increasingly repressive colonial policies and violent confrontations with local resistance

movements. For instance, colonial economic policies increasingly challenged rural societies'

traditional relationship with the land, which fostered social upheavals.[36] Newspapers, in

particular, opened up new opportunities for social interaction and new public spaces, which

challenged the colonial rule and produced the conditions conducive for the formation of political

parties and the reception of partisan politics. Individual and institutional brokers such as

newspapers, political parties, and politicians reflected the cognitive, relational, and

environmental contexts for the formation of partisan politics.

Additional questions that arise include where ideas come from and whether ideas, in fact,

influence individual and collective political behavior.[37] These are essential questions to consider

when considering how political agents' shared knowledge influenced political actions.   This is

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[36] See Thomas Gallant, "Murder on Black Mountain: Love and Death on a nineteenth century Greek
Island," (Lecture, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens, February 25, 2016).
https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/News/newsDetails/videocast-murder-on-black-mountain-love-and-death-on-a-nineteenth-century-g.

[37] Political Scientists refer to the study of the role of political ideas "political epistemology." Specifically, it
is a study devoted to how political actors, practices and institutions transmit and produce ideas. See Scott
Althaus,Mark Bevir,Jeffrey Friedman,Hélène Landemore,Rogers Smith &Susan Stokes, "Roundtable on Political
Epistemology," *Critical Review* 26, no. 1-2 (2014): 1-32. https://experts.illinois.edu/en/publications/roundtable-on-political-epistemology

most significant during the 1840s when cultural sources, such as political leaders, media, and political parties, supplemented schools and the family as sources of information and opinions.

The 1840s is significant for the Ionian Islands as this was the period that saw technological developments in the printing press, accompanied by policy changes that removed publishing obstacles and directly led to the press's political use.[38] In addition, social and economic changes brought about the emergence of a middle class[39] and skilled labor class and provided the context for a new political class and audience. Lastly, the shift of spatial relations—a result of the nineteenth-century geopolitics and insularity—transformed the interrelationships of urban and rural societies placing importance on urban centers (where information was exchanged and where public opinion was expressed), and changed the islands spatial experience with the mainland thus increasing the mobility of information for exchange between Greece and the islands.[40] This was exacerbated by the end of the Crimean War, which both challenged and solidified Great Power influence in the Mediterranean. The geopolitical impact of the Crimean War moved states like Greece and the Ionian Islands away from Great Power reliance in their irredentist aspirations and political development, which fostered the eventual formation of a uniquely Greek political voice.

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[38] Joseph Klaits, *Absolute Monarchy and Public Opinion: Printed Propaganda under Louis XIV* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976) shows how governments were able to manipulate public opinion through the use of the press. By the 19th century the *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Ionie* was the official organ of the Ionian government and used as propaganda.

[39] In a 1864 Parliamentary Debate on the cession of the Ionian Islands, Stephen Cave argues that the continued "failures" of the Ionian Parliament was a result of class animosity. He stated, "The intention [of introducing responsible government under Commissioner Seaton] was that there should be government by party, but that, in a small community, was obviously impossible. In England each class is divided, and class not arrayed against class (though some have endeavoured to bring this about); but in the West Indies for instance, party conflict would be conflict of races; in the Ionian Islands that of classes." 174 Parl. Deb. H.C. (3d ser.) (1867) col. 388.

[40] Peter Jackson, "Thinking Geographically" Geography 91, no. 3 (2006):199-204

Historical studies on the Ionian Islands political parties focus on the individual actions of political agents in the 1840s and their calls for constitutional reforms, which argue laid out the political foundation for the enosis. In this context, newspapers are viewed as mere tools for politicians rather than a constitutive part in forming political communities. The problem with contemporary scholarship is the propensity to conclude that parties were well-established with political lines drawn. This view is a consequence of the long history of contentious political and economic relationships on the islands, but outside the upper and middle classes, the majority of Ionians lacked an understanding of the law and political processes. By the 1840s, agriculture still dominated the rural landscape and the Ionian economy, even though port cities participated in colonial commercial networks. As already mentioned, the Crimean War (1854) increased people's awareness of the larger world. During this period, Ionian and Greek loyalties were tested under political and economic uncertainty.[41] This atmosphere brought about new animosities against the British authorities and heightened national feelings, which brought new debates about national sovereignty and union to the forefront.

Again, the theoretical framework of mechanisms set out by McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly best serve this project's analysis of the contentious struggle for union. Having discussed the environmental (and spatial) mechanisms, I now turn the focus on the cognitive mechanisms that shaped the shared perceptions and values of the anti-populist image of the British Protectorate and the relational mechanisms that linked two or more unconnected social sites toward collective

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[41] Stephanos Xenos discusses the peculiarities of Greek loyalties that came to light as a result of the Crimean War. Stephanos Xenos, *East and West, A Diplomatic History of The Annexation of the Ionian Islands to the Kingdom of Greece.* (London: Trübner & Co., 1865), 13-16. Also see Paschalidi, *Constructing Ionian Identities*, 266-275. For religious anxieties see Jack Fairey, *The Great Powers and Orthodox Christendom. The Crisis over the Eastern Church in the Era of the Crimean War.* (UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 72-74; Sakis Gekas, "The Crisis of the Long 1850s and Regime Change in the Ionian Islands and the Kingdom of Greece." *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique*, 10 (2013): 57-84.

action for enosis. As is often argued, the path to union was caused by fifty years of oppressive British rule, class conflict, and aspirations for national sovereignty. It is under these unbearable pretexts that violent rebellions manifested in Kefalonia in 1848 and 1849.[42]

However, looking closely at the Ionian protests, it becomes clear that there is a long trajectory of collective action against the perceived transgression of authority. For instance, Thomas Gallant examined the Ionian Islands' peasant culture and identified that the erotic language and sexual metaphors enabled an escalation of violence against landlords by challenging power relations.[43] Others have noted the long rural and peasant contentions throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries against the aristocracy and imperial powers.[44] Nonetheless, a more diverse and dynamic interpretation for responding to threats and opportunities and constructing a shared political opportunity framework for collective action during the run-up to the official proclamation for Union by the Ionian Parliament of 1850 is needed.[45] From this, we can discern the moments the perceptions of an opportunity emerged and

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[42] David Hannell also argues that British and Ionian antagonism spilled over into the 1850s. The Don Pacifico Affair and the British blockade of Greece raised distrust and further painted the Britain and anti-popular and oppressive to Ionian Greek identity. Hannell argues that the British blockade of Greek ports was a result of ulterior motives by Lord Palmerston to warn Greece about interfering in Ionian affairs were not true and in fact Palmerston's action were influences by upholding British subjects' rights in foreign countries. David Hannell, "Lord Palmerston and the 'Don Pacifico Affair' of 1850: The Ionian Connection," *European History Quarterly* 19, no. 4: 498-501.

[43] Gallant, "Turning the Horns: Cultural Metaphors, material Conditions, and the Paseant Language of Resistecne" in *Experiencing Dominion*.

[44] David Hannell, "The Ionian Islands under British Protectorate: Social and Economic Problems"*Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 7, no. 1 (May 1989): 105-132; Maria Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities: The Ionian Islands in British Official Discourse 1815-1864," PhD diss., (Universality College London, 2009), 212-213; Miranda Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, *The Rebellions of Cephalonia in the year 1848-1849* (Athens: Society of Cephalonia Historical Studies, 1980).

[45] "Tilly asserts that the interaction between three components – interests, organization, and opportunity – explains a contender's level of mobilization and collective action. Interests represent the potential gains from participation; organization, the level of unified identity and networks; and opportunity, the amount of political power, the likelihood of repression, and the vulnerability of the target." Neal Caren, "Political Process Theory" in *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, ed. George Rizer (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 3455. For more

were shared between the protesters, the protectorate, and foreign actors to the point where there was a possibility for political change. Here an emphasis is placed on the agency of local actors to create their own political opportunities within existing political structures and processes.[46]

Cognitive Mechanisms

Cognitive mechanisms refer to the shifts in the way individuals and collective groups construct and perceive the world.[47] An important cognitive mechanism here concerns "identity-shift," specifically, the construction of a collective identity and linking global political ideas to local and national contexts. Ionian politicians, intellectuals, and newspaper editors framed their perceptions, understandings, and discourse of political action based on their experience around global liberal ideals of self-determination, nationalism, and sovereignty. Subsequently, these individuals were able to appropriate British political and civic institutions, utilize the press to

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political opportunity theory Douglas McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

[46] In his important study on the civil right movement, Doug McAdam contributes three main causal factors of political process theory (or political opportunity theory), one being 'cognitive liberation' or the optimism towards the potential effectiveness of collective action. He maintains, that "one of the central problematics of insurgency, then, is whether favorable shifts in political opportunities will be defined as such by a large enough group of people to facilitate collective protest." Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*, 48-49. McAdam summarizes cognitive liberation, as the "transformation of consciousness within a significant segment of the aggrieved population." Arguing that, "Before collective protest can get under way, people must collectively define their situations as unjust and subject to change through group action." McAdam, 51. Consequently, the ability to mobilize is predicated on the recognition of political strength and opportunity to challenge perceived oppression. For instance, McAdams offers the example that in the 1930s "black leaders to use the fact of rapidly swelling black populations in key northern industrial states as bargaining leverage in their dealings with presidential candidates." McAdam, 49.

[47] Gemma Edwards, *Social movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 160.

place local grievances within international political discourses, and arrange them as collective

protests to apply pressure on British authority and influence political decision-making. The

dynamic protests exhibited by the Ionians placed pressure on authorities and created a sense of

collective identity,[48] which facilitated collective action and raised national sympathies with

Greece. Therefore, the leaders of Ionian protests created a sense of optimism around union as a

means of solving social grievance around poverty, cultural preservation, and sovereignty.[49]

Part of the process of recognition of grievances and injustices was the establishment of

political factions, clubs, and, more specifically, parties. Important to parties was their appeal to

as many Ionian citizens as possible to demonstrate the influence to increase the political parties'

ability to negotiate with the Protectorate. The political party that dominated the political

landscape from about 1840-1864 was the *Rizospastai*, or Radical-Unionists. This party, in

particular, is of interest because it represented the emergence of popular politics on the islands.

The Rizospastai constructed a political language that was inclusive of various types of social

identities. For example, the political language used by the Rizospastai appealed to class,

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[48] Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes. Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 69-71. In this section Melucci addresses question around the meaning of collective identity. He examines if the meaning of collective action "derives from structural preconditions or from the sum of the individual motives." He defines collective identity as "the process of 'constructing' and action system. Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by a number of individuals concerning the orientations of their action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which such action is to take place. In this sense collective identity is a cognitive process that allows for some kind of "calculation between means and ends, investment and rewards."

[49] Again, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly argue that a key mechanism in the process of mobilization is the attribution of opportunity and threat and state that "[n]o opportunity, however objectively open, will invite mobilization unless it is a) visible to potential challengers and b) perceived as an opportunity. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*, 43.

geography, patriotism, religion, and nationalism, but for the most part, it centered on defining the Constitution, parliamentary rights, and struggle against oppression.[50]

Focusing on the Rizospates and their political movement highlights that moral outrage guided their relationships with the hegemonic power structures on the islands. Using their political positions, public voice, and the press, the Rizospastes created a new public space that both questioned and criticized the elite. While the Rizospastes were primarily made up of middle-class intellectuals, their rhetoric against the oppressive rule of the protectorate, the corrupt aristocracy/landowners, and their call for national unification appealed to all classes of Ionians. The movement provided a voice for many during a period when the government introduced extreme oppressive measures on the people.

The political narratives of British authoritarianism and Ionian reform can be traced to the three Ionian Constitutions. The Constitution of 1800 and 1803 expanded political privileges and power to the local aristocracy, while the British imposed the Constitution of 1817 removed power from the assemblies to the High Commissioner.[51] Much of the political turmoil experienced on the islands between the locals and the authorities during the nineteenth century was due to the failure of the British to recognize the rooted influence of political representation

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[50] Elias Zervos-Iakovatos, one of the founders of the Rizospastai, wrote how Ionian Radicalism "by molding the popular mind, it creates the powerful and invincible public opinion, which can bring down governments and depose kings" Zervos 1972:88 [written in 1857] cited in Eleni Calligas, "The Rizospastai: Politics and Nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands 1815-1864," PhD diss., (University of London, 2009), 132.

[51] "Politically, the British underestimated how deeply the Venetian period had both shaped the expectations of the Ionian elite regarding the extent of their power and authority, and the existence of a strong and long-standing direct line of communication with their overlord. They also overlooked how formative had been the period of political and military turmoil after the fall of the Republic, in placing at the centre of political and intellectual debates in the Islands the issues of political representation and constitutional development derived from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution." Maria Fusaro, "Representation in Practice: The Myth of Venice and the British Protectorate in the Ionian Islands (1804-1864)," in *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke*, eds. Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo, and Joan-Rau Rubies (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010), 319-320.

and constitutionalism on the aristocracy. The Constitution of 1817, therefore, became an early symbol of British authoritarianism, and between 1817 and 1848, the Ionian Islands political landscape centered on reforming it. Maria Fusaro argues that the Ionian opposition resulted from the British Protectorate's misunderstandings of the cultural, political, economic, and social landscape.[52] Culturally, the British failed to reconcile the Italo-Hellenic culture of the islands with the locals' Greek national identity and pro-Greek sentiments. Politically, they failed to reconcile the prominent political position of the aristocracy, especially in the decision-making process. Economically, because of its strategic geopolitical position, the British focus on Kerkyra neglected other islands, which led to resentment. Socially, the British stymied socio-economic growth by preserving the status quo on land tenure. Ultimately, Ionian opposition developed during two distinct periods. First, it was between 1817-1848 when the traditional aristocracy began the reformist movement as an attempted to re-establish its traditional political role, and second, it was 1848-1864 with the emergence of the radicals and the call for enosis.

"The Memorialists" – The Ionian Aristocracy and the Reform Movement 1817-1848

The "Memorialists" led the first phase that instigated the cognitive liberation of Ionians against the British Administration. In particular, Ioannis Kapodistrias and Andreas Moustoxydiss challenged the validity and viability of the 1817 Constitution by presenting memorials directly to

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[52] Fusaro, "Representation in Practice," 318-321.

the Colonial Office—documenting specific concerns and challenges to the authority of Britain.

The memorial protests[53] are significant as they demonstrate that Ionians responded to political,

social, economic, and local threats in dynamic ways. While the British attempted to paint the

memorials as minor disruptions[54] by a disgruntled few, a closer examination shows that

Kapodistrias and Moustoxydiss mounted effective protests without resorting to disruption or

violence. Instead, they appropriated British institutions and political language to present their

own claims for political power.

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[53] "Protest is a form through which groups challenge the polity. Some of these groups challenge tangible social policies, such as allocation of economic benefits, seeking redress for job discrimination, the development of new weapon systems, or the use of mets while tuna fishing. Other groups challenge a whole frame—social justice, inequality, capitalism—which embraces many smaller issues. And still others pursue the absurd, demanding legislation that will designate a happy hour for press agents, an Elvis commemoration, and 'hate rides.' Taken together, protest demonstrations provide a window into the polity—a view of the array of interests, and identities, which induce political culture and drive politics." Peter Bearman and Kevin Everett, "Structure of Social Protest, 1961-1983," *Social Networks* 15 (1993): 172.

[54] Various social movement impact theories have examined the mechanism of disruption protests in relation to the effectiveness of their outcome. William Gamson's comprehensive study of American social protests from 1800-1945 argues that disruption strategies and organization were central to a protest's success. See William Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest, 2d ed.* (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1990), 156; Frances Piven and Richard Cloward, argue that disruption as a strategy as central to a social movements' success. The outcome here suggests that groups that lack the political resources and access to institutional methods are unlikely to succeed. Frances Piven and Richard Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Pantheon, 1977); Still others have question the impact of environmental and organizational factors on the ability of protest to succeed, arguing instead that focus should be placed on social and political contest. See Jack Goldstone, ""The Weakness of Organization: A New Look at Gamson's The Strategy of Social Protest." *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (1980): 1017-42; In a balances approach Edwin Amenta et al argues that disruption strategies in combination with specific political contexts influence the outcome of social movements—that social movement collective action is politically mediated. More specifically, "limited protest will yield benefits in specified favorable political circumstances; more assertive action is required in specified less favorable circumstances." Furthermore, they argue that "In a democratic political system mobilizing large numbers of committed people is probably necessary to win collective benefits for politically under-represented groups. To make an impact, though, challengers usually need to do more than mobilize people. They must also engage in collective action that changes the calculations of relevant institutional political actors, such as elected officials and state bureaucrats." Edwin Amenta et al., "The Strategies and Contexts of Social Protest: Political Mediation and the Impact of the Townsend Movement in California," *Mobilization*, 4, no. 1 (1999): 2; Charles Tilley respectively examined both violent and non-violent strategies in the ability to sustain collective actions against political authority examining why certain protest are more impactful than others. See Charles Tilly, *From mobilization to revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978) and Ruud Wouters and Stefaan Walgrave, "What Makes Protest Powerful? Reintroducing and Elaborating Charles Tilly's WUNC Concept," *SSRN Electronic Journal*, 2017.

The consideration of memorials as an object of investigation highlights that while British narratives may have portrayed the colonizer as having absolute authority, in reality, the relationship between the colonizer and colonized was reciprocal. In the case of Kapodistrias and Moustoxydiss, their class, foreign political connections, and ability to navigate both internal and external political relationships provided the ideal context to initiate protests, while the passing of the new Constitution provided the opportunity. The tactical use of memorials, while being dismissed as "troublemaking," were still published and publicly debated in British Parliament, were a result of both a favorable political opportunity and instigated by the agency of producing outcomes.[55] In this sense, memorialists influenced the public and set the stage for collective challenges against the British authority. A closer look at Kapodistrias and Moustoxydiss' memorials provides insight into the various interests and identities that influenced the political culture and politics leading up to enosis.

Kapodisrias, between 1818-1820, advocated for the return of noble political privileges to the islands under a reformed Ionian Constitution. As part of the island's nobility, he felt that the British Constitution of 1817 placed all power into the hands of the British High Commissioner and his appointed officials and limited the Ionian nobility's ability to govern in the interests of the people.[56] Fueled by Russophobia, the Constitution of 1817 sought to weaken the noble families who had their privileges restored by the Russo-Ottoman protectorate of the Septinsular

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[55] "Contextual studies' key contention is that protest primarily matters when there is a listening ear, a divided government, a political ally, support from public opinion, or favorable media coverage—in short: an advantageous opportunity structure. Without such a context, protest efforts are in vain and rarely led to tangible consequences." Wouters and Walgrave, "What Makes Protest Powerful?" 1.

[56] Maria Paschalidi,"Constructing Ionian Identities," 123-129. Paschalidi here highlights a Memorandum sent by Kapodistias to the Colonial Office outlining his grievances with the powers the constitution gave to the High Commissioner. Alternately, Kapodistrias advocated for responsible government without foreign interference. Apart from the Memorandum, Kapodistrias travelled to Kerkyra and London in 1819 to personally state his grievances.

Republic.[57] Specifically, British authorities were worried about Ionian sympathy for Russian interests in the region. With the end of the Russo-Ottoman Septinsular Republic in 1809, Kapodistrias joined the Russian diplomatic service, where he supported Russian territorial expansion and political influence in the Balkans.[58] As the Foreign Minister of Russia, Kapodistiras advocated for broader support for Ionian political independence, and on July 3, 1818, he sent a Memorial to the Colonial Office, arguing for political independence, as stated in the Treaty of Paris. He contended for the removal of the authority of the High Commissioners and placing it onto a Constituted Body of the Ionian States and the establishment of responsible government.[59]

While on a mission to France and England in 1819, Kapodistrias stopped by the Ionian Islands to the dismay of the British authorities. Lord Bathurst writing to Lord Castlereagh regarding Kapodistrias' visit, stated, "I very much regret Capodistrias' journey to the Ionian Islands and am much obliged to you for preventing the joint expedition. I will endeavour to prevent a simultaneous residence there. The visit must do mischief; but the best way of treating it is by Sir Thomas covering him with all attentions; and I will write to him to that effect."[60] Upon his arrival in London, Kapodistrias met with various officials, including the Duke of Wellington,

[57] The political privileges of the aristocracy were restored under the 'Byzantine' Constitution of 1800 and succeeded by the "'aristocratic' constitution of 1803, so called because its first article stated that "La Repubblica delle Sette Isole Unite è una, ed Aristocratica", which meant in practice that it was a unitary state administered by meritocratically elected representatives." Peter Mackridge, "Introduction," in *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 5; Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities," 132-133. Also see Evangelos (Aggelis) Zarokostas, "From observatory to dominion: geopolitics, colonial knowledge and the origins of the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1797-1822," PhD diss., (University of Bristol, 2018), 206-207.
[58] Barbara Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entaglements, 1806-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 47-49.
[59] Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities," 125.
[60] Robert Stewart Castlereagh, *Memoirs and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, ed. Charles William Vane (London: John Murray, 1853), 12:79; Walter Frewen, *Sir Thomas Maitland: The Mastery of the Mediterranean* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1897): 231-232.

Lord Castlereagh (Foreign Minister), and Lord Bathurst (Colonial Secretary), to express

grievances about the failure of Britain to meet the Treaty of Paris 1815 obligations and the

resentment from the Ionians at their current situation.[61] At a meeting with Bathurst and Russian

Ambassador Lieven at Cirencester, Kapodistrias presented several complaints, both in person

and in a memorandum. His complaints included:

1. The Treaty of Paris, 1815, was breached because the government administered a new constitution rather than applying the current 1803 constitution.
2. Maitland tampered with the election of the Legislative Assembly.
3. Maitland and the position Lord High Commissioner held too much power.
4. The large presence of British troops signaled that Britain had established military rule on the Islands and that the garrison should include Ionians.
5. Maitland was acting increasingly authoritative, and the Ionians were growing discontent.
6. Ionians were passed over for public appointments, especially the Residents of each island.
7. The handling of revenue and expenditures were not transparent and misappropriated.

 Kapodistrias eventually received responses, Bathurst for instance, defended High

Commissioner Thomas Maitland's Constitution and claimed the Ionians were immature and not

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[61] Specifically, Britain failed to form a single, free and independent State (under Article. 1 of the Constitution) under the protection of Britain (under Article 5 of the consitution). Kapodistrias as an important architect of the Treaty of Paris hoped that British protection would provide the peace necessary for the Ionian Island to develop as a stable Greek Independent State. Also see William P. Kaldis. *John Capodistrias and the Modern Greek State* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963); For more on the resentment of the Ionians against Maitland, especially in context of the sale of Parga, see Allan Cunningham, *Anglo-Ottoman Encounters in the Age of Revolution: The Collected Essays, Volume 1*, ed. Edward Ingram (London: Frank Cass, 1993), 256 and for the response to the Santa Maura rebellion 1819 see Zarokostas, "From observatory to dominion," 219-224.

educated enough to govern themselves.[62] Maitland, who was the focus of Kapodistrias' scorn, replied saying that, "The only evil we ever had or shall have, in these islands is the family of Capodistrias."[63] January 1820, Castlereagh responded to Kapodistrias with a lengthy and detailed refutation echoing Maitland and Bathurst's defense of Britain's Constitution and actions in the Ionian Islands.[64]

Maria Paschalidi and Walter Ferwen both highlight the fact that Kapodistiras was defeated in his attempt to bring about change. While the outcome was not what Kapodistrias had hope for, the broader social and political impacts were significant. The most striking outcome of Kapodistiras memorial was not necessarily his grievances nor the British response but his use of British institutions and political language, and most striking was the Colonial Office's attempts to keep the grievances unofficial and out of the House of Commons.

> As any ostensible cut of this nature would be even more mischievous within the islands than private and unofficial explanations, and as the disposition in the House of Commons to look into our conduct on the coasts of Greece, already inconveniently strong, would be augmented by an avowed difference with Russia, you will on this account, I have no doubt, exhaust more than an ordinary share of patience, philosophy, and management, in order to keep the matter on unofficial grounds.[65]

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[62] Paschalidi, "Constucting Ionian Identities," 128-130.
[63] Cited in Frewen, *Sir Thomas Maitland,* 228
[64] Castlereagh, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 190-209
[65] Lord Castlereagh to Lord Bathurst in Castlereagh, *Memoirs and Correspondence*, 141-143

Additionally, commenting on Kapodistiras' motives, Walter Frewen states that "It can only be surmised that he expected to overawe the British Cabinet. He may have calculated that the personal intervention of the Czar Alexander, joined to a very natural unwillingness to take so much trouble as was involved in Lord Castlereagh's dispatch, would dispose the Cabinet to remove Maitland."[66]

Kapodistrias' protest is significant not because of the favorable or unfavorable outcome but because of the context in which it was presented and debated. In this sense, the protest mattered not only because of who was protesting but also how they protested. The features of Kapodistrias' memorial protest impacted the behaviors of his opponents and laid out the blueprint on how to challenge British authority in the future—bringing the fight to London and the House of Commons. From a political point of view, Britain wanted to avoid bringing the complaints to the Commons as it would have validated Kapodistrias' grievances and opened the door for Russian interference in the Ionian and the possibility of threatening the peace in the region. From a collective point of view, the memorial emphasized protest as a viable political tool.

The Greek War of Independence in 1821 sparked a new wave of protests against the British administration. Between 1821-1848, national identity, resentment over the cession of Parga, and the British imposed neutrality stirred up tensions. In 1821, for instance, multiple skirmishes broke out between sympathetic locals against Turkish and British targets. The first incident, according to the letter by Philip James Green, occurred on May 4, 1821, on Zakynthos

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[66] Frewen, *Sir Thomas Maitland*, 240-241

when locals fired upon a Turkish ship that was cruising past.[67] By June, tensions were rising in

Zakynthos and Kefalonia, and British troops arrived to enforce neutrality and pacify the locals.

By June 7, an official proclamation of neutrality was published. However, neutrality only

intensified Ionian anger, which erupted on October 9 into open insurrections on Zakynthos after

an Algerine warship was run onshore.

Again, Green provided insight into the event, stating that hundreds of armed local spotted

the stranded ship shot at the crew as they tried to reach the shore. In order to quell the

insurrection, eighteen British soldiers were sent out in the morning to enforced quarantine

regulations in case the Turkish crew successfully landed. Upon their arrival, an order was given

for the soldiers to fire warning shots to disperse the locals, threatening the Turkish crew. The

locals reacted by firing on the three soldiers, wounding one, and killing an other.[68] In response,

the British authorities sent reinforcements leading to an attack on the locals, leaving two/three

killed and several wounded.[69] This was followed by a declaration of martial law and the

disarming of the locals, arrests, and the execution of five men convicted of taking an active part

in the insurrection. Green argues that the insurrections were a result of "enthusiasm for the

Greek cause, and encouraged by the lenity observed towards them by the Government on former

occasions; the severe and prompt example now made will shew how dangerous and fatal such

acts of rebellion must inevitably prove."[70] Shortly after these events, the violence continued in

Kythera. Here a ship carrying fifty Turkish women, children, and men refugees was attacked by

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[67] Philip James Green, *Sketches of War in Greece in a series of extracts, from private correspondences of Philip James Green, Esq. late British Consul for the Morea.* (London: W. Wilson Printer, 1826), 36-37.
[68] Green, 76-78
[69] Green, 77-78
[70] Green, 79

locals, killing some. In response, the Resident ordered the arrest of several locals and the execution of two.[71] These events highlighted the Ionian resistance to Britain's neutrality policy, enforced their Greek national identity, and undermined the High Commissioner's authoritarian rule.

During this intense period, Andreas Moustoxydiss (1785-1860) emerged as the voice for the Ionians and their national cause but also their opposition to British rule. Like Kapodistrias, Moustoxydis was from the traditional aristocracy, having spent time studying abroad, returning to Kerkyra in 1805 to serve as the Official Historiographer, until 1807 when he returned to Italy. After a prominent and successful academic and literary career in Italy, he was appointed by Kapodistrias as the Minister of Education of Greece in 1829. However, following the assassination of Kapodistrias, he became disillusioned with the state of affairs in Greece, and he returned to Kerkyra. In Kerkyra, he became an ardent oppositional voice to British authoritarian rule, and he established the Reformist Party (*Liberali*), which is also regarded as the first Greek political party.[72]

Moustoxydiss' official opposition campaign began with a memorandum he presented to the Colonial Office on August 12, 1839. This launched the first phase of the formation of collective local opposition against foreign rule on the islands. Like Kapodistrias' grievance and tactics, Moustoxydiss's memorandum espoused the 1800 and 1803 ("Byzantine") constitutions[73]

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[71] Green, *Sketches of War in Greece*, 80.

[72] For a list of famous Ionian liberali members see Eleni Calligas, "Rizospastais," 49.

[73] See Lines 143-44 & 159 in Great Britain, House of Commons, "Accounts and Papers," House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 48, (16 January-11 August 1840): 20, 21. Moustoxydis's aristocratic name, and his propensity to support the French and Russian constitutional period of the Islands led his British opponents to dismiss his reform movement stating that it is "the little knot of semi-Venetian and doctrinaire intriguers and agitators, of which M. Mustixidi is the acknowledged leader at Corfu, and the 'Ionian' of the *Daily News* is the

to emphasize the failures of British rule and to argue for constitutional reforms, here,

Moustoxydis argues for four principled Ionian demands. First was the desire for a representative

electoral system, free from nomination by the Primary Council. The second was the desire to

shorten the intervals of two years interposed between successive sessions of the Legislative

Assembly. The third was the desire to have the Assembly vote on the State expenses. Lastly,

Moustoxydiss argued for the freedom of the press.[74] The freedom of the press was an important

argument that was steeped in national self-determination. The press offered the Ionians an

opportunity to express and foster their political voice in their own language, and as Zanou

argues, an opportunity to challenge the traditional political order and redefine their identity in

relation to the opposite side of the Adriatic.[75] As Moustoxydis stated,

> The citizen sees himself dragged before the courts, accused, defended, judged
> over matters of substance, condemned where life and liberty are at stake in a
> language that he does not know, and through laws that have never ever been
> translated. And why? Because a portion of those who enjoy a monopoly over
> public affairs, a residue or emanation of Venetian education, speak the language
> of Harlequin and Pantaloon. And for theiry who stammer Italian, we sacrifice
> national honour, and the interests of almost two hundred thousand men. [76]

proclaimed agent in London, for it does not represent the opinions of hundred individuals in the islands." Cited in "Ionian Administration—Lord Seaton and Sir Henry Ward" in *The Quarterly Review* (London: John Murray, 1852), 352.

[74] Great Britain, House of Commons, "Accounts and Papers," House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 48, (16 January-11 August 1840), 23

[75] Zanou. *Transnational Patriotism*, 55. Zanou also cites Moustoxydis' language complain which also influenced the title of her book.

[76] Zanou, 55

Moustoxydiss's memorial, while more extensive and more detailed, reflected the same

grievances as Kapodistrias, with the main exception of demanding the freedom of the press, the

use of Greek in the courts, and the removal of "foreign mercenaries" from the police force.

Another significant difference between Kapodistrias' memorial was its reception by British

officials. Since Moustoxydiss's memorial attacked High Commissioner Howard Douglas

directly, Douglas' provided an ardent defense.[77] Similar to Maitland's response to Kapodistrias,

Douglas argued that the Ionians were unfit for liberal reforms[78] and argued to the Colonial

Secretary, Russell that his reforms in "agricultural societies, societies of industry, joint stock

societies, national banks, the draining of marshes" were to the social, health, and economic

benefit of the Ionian people.[79] Douglas went on to warn Russell of the conspiracy of

Moustoxydiss and his followers to ferment public discontent against the British protectorate.[80]

In terms of Ionian "identity-shift," Moustoxydiss's memorial provides a framework for

the shift from an upper-class Italian cosmopolitan identity to a Greek-Orthodox populous

identity. Moustoxydiss was calculated in how he presented the British, creating a new way to

identify who the Ionians as a collective were. He portrayed the administration not only as "the

Other" but as the impediment of Ionian national independence and self-determination. For

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[77] Great Britain, House of Commons, "Copy of Letter from the Cavaliere A. Moustoxydis to Right Hon. H. Labouchere" and "Despatch from Lieutenant General Sir Howard Douglas to Lord John Russell," House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 48, (16 January-11 August 1840), 401: 6-47. Here Douglas also argues that Moustoxydis's grievances were a "reproduction of a memoir presented to the Colonial Office by the late Count John Capo D'Istria in 1819, and fully answered by Sir Thomas Maintland in the following year. The essence and substance of these two documents are the same; the reasoning identical; moved by the same animus—hatred of England." He even went as far as to suggest foreign interference, arguing that "The same agents, the agents of the Philorthodox Society [Russia through the Patriarch and Athens], moved by the same influence, their views directed to the same end, are the framers of this memorial." Douglas to Russell 10 April 1840, Parliamentary Papers, 25 & 44.

[78] Douglas to Russell 10 April 1840, Parliamentary Papers, 42

[79] Douglas to Russell 10 April 1840, Parliamentary Papers, 33-36. He continues and lists the various institutions and infrastructure project completed under his administration in each one of the islands.

[80] Douglas to Russell 10 April 1840, Parliamentary Papers, 40.

instance, Moustoxydiss criticized the appointment of Howard Douglas as a school inspector, stating that,

89. An inspector of these and of the inferior schools has been appointed for the sole purpose of conferring a situation on a Methodist. A man ignorant of our character, our customs, our religious rites, and our language, is appointed to superintend the education of the rising generation, the only hope of their families and of their country. Even supposing that, contrary to his own sense of religious duty, he should abstain from engrafting his doctrine on the tender hearts of children, he causes harm in a negative manner, by not caring for, or not knowing the fulfilment of those duties and of those proceedings which form an essential part of primary education. Why should he be preferred to Ionians, who are well qualified, and more so than he, for such a situation? The national self-love is greatly wounded, and the consciences of the people disturbed. The suspicion of every one is awakened through the tracts distributed by this innovator, to whom was granted the privilege of printing, a privilege without one precedent in the Ionian Islands, ever denied to others, not refused even under despotic governments as a branch of industry or commerce. The clergy, the prelates, and even the patriarch with his pastoral letters, have roused themselves all over the East against the Methodists, because they act insidiously against the Greek religion, that religion which cherished in its bosom the vital fire of Greece, which has resisted the intolerance of the Latins and the fanaticism of the Ottomans. To the dangerous and impolitic appointment of this Methodist they have endeavoured to apply a remedy, not by removing him from the situation, but by substituting for the evil another less than the first, but still always an evil.[81]

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[81] Great Britain, House of Commons, "Accounts and Papers," House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 48, (16 January-11 August 1840), 21

Two important elements are addressed here; the first is Moustoxydis's use of "Methodist."[82] This was an apparent attack on Howard and used to show an ulterior motive to British Protection—proselytization. Using religion, Moustoxydis aligned his grievance with the powerful and influential Orthodox church and its connections to the general population, an important step in framing future collective action.[83] The second important element in this passage again refers to Orthodoxy or, as Moustoxydis refers to it, the Greek religion. In his attack of Douglas' ignorance of Greek culture, Moustoxydis outlines the long history of Greek resistance against Latins and Ottomans, thus creating the basis for a collective national identity of Ionian. Moustoxydis comments on the Ionian connection to Greece throughout the memorial[84] to emphasize the Ionians' national will and to oppose the Italian identity imposed on the Ionians. Moustoxydis here was emphasizing the Ionian Greek identity, one that was based on language and religion.

From an island studies perspective, paragraphs 191 and 203 of the memorial demonstrate that Moustoxydis was not only aware of the peripheral position of the islands but the broader regional social and economic influence they had. Commenting on the neglect of the Protectorate of Ionian political rights, he stated,

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[82] The grievance against protestant proselytization on the islands has a long history from Lancastrian schools in Kythera. See Deborah Harlan, "British Lancastrian Schools of Nineteenth-Century Kythera," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 106, no. 1 (2011). For "crooked" prison wardens in Kerkyra see Calligas "The Rizospastai," 453n.

[83] Moustoxydis's suspicions of protestant proselytization would have been influenced by the growing links between Greek nationalism and Orthodoxy in the 1830s. For the growing Orthodox fervor and the passing of anti-proselytism laws in Greece see Effi Gazi, "Revisiting religion and nationalism", in *The Making of Modern Greece,* eds. R. Beaton, R. and D. Ricks (London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009), 100.

[84] Moustoxydis to Labouchere 12 August 1939, Parliamentary Papers, Par. 83, 132, 145, 203

But justice, which ought to be the same for the powerful as for the weak, is likewise offended by such neglect, while the protecting nation, by neglecting the interests of the and the interests of Ionians, injures not only justice but its own true interests. It injures its own interests, because the great and lasting foundation of power is the confidence, the respect and love, which a nation inspires to other nations. The Ionian Islands are situated between the two classical countries of antiquity, and neighbouring to an empire that must, in the course of riot many years, either by external impulse or from internal commotions, necessarily fall to pieces. But were this not the case even, in its precarious existence it is the bait and the game of powerful and ambitious foreigners. Great Britain ought to prevent and baffle these ambitions. And she will better succeed in this, by giving in the Ionian Islands the example of a just, orderly, and liberal government, than by fleets, and armies, and gold; means that her rivals can equally employ. This example would awaken the envy and the wishes of other nations, who will spontaneously invoke the British protection in preference to any other alliance; nor will such an example fail to exercise a great influence even on the new kingdom of Greece. Showed the ability of memorials to shift perceptions and influence decision makers and collective groups outside the local context.[85]

In another account, Moustoxydis highlighting the economic and social neglect of British rule, stated,

Many noble talent is in the meantime constrained to inertness and to obscurity; all spirit of emulation in science and literature is quenched: and, what is not seen even in the despotic states, an injury is done to the progress of industry and economical welfare of the country; for the Ionian Islands, situated as they are between Italy and Greece, could open the source of a flourishing commerce by the publication of a great number of works. And this consideration, the liberty of the press which Greece is enjoying, and of which the Ionians are profiting, and their civilization, much more extended and more intense than that of the Maltese, are the reasons which they are able to add to all that has been developed, with much wisdom, on this subject, in the Report of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry on the affairs of Malta. There exists also another important circumstance: the free press, in the new kingdom of Greece, and in that part of Greece under Turkish

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[85] Moustoxydis to Labouchere 12 August 1939, Parliamentary Papers, Par. 191

dominion, speaks the language of the Ionians. There exists no free press in the Arabian language, and it will exist only in Malta. What is more, the Gazette of the Ionian Government has been changed into an organ of its own pompous praises on the Ruler, and of outrageous attacks directed against private persons, and even against the bodies of the State : while the government of Malta has honourably respected the law it has imposed upon others; nor has there been remarked a single passage in its Gazette where the slightest phrase is used, either to praise its own acts, or those of any of its functionaries, or to depreciate any of the persons considered as opposed to government.[86]

These two paragraphs reveal an awareness of the spatialities and relationalities of "islandness" and the influence of islandness on the Ionian Islands' development. Interestingly, Moustoxydis emphasized the importance of islandness on the political, social, and economic development of the islands. Moustoxydis also recognized the peripheral position of the islands and the relational impact on broader regional political actors.

Unlike Kapodistrias's reception, Moustoxydis's memorial found a British ally in John Russell. Russell's liberal colonial policies were in line with Moustoxydis's liberalization demands. In principle, Russell supported Moustoxydis's demands for constitutional reform and recommended "greater freedom for books, pamphlets, and periodical publications…as a preparation for the freedom of the political press."[87] He also recommended that the publication of a Government newspaper be "free from all party or acrimonious remarks, but containing the news of Europe in an authentic form, and concise accounts of the wants of the Ionian Islands and of Greece, without passion or partiality in favor of the persons administering in the name of The

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[86] Moustoxydis to Labouchere 12 August 1939, Parliamentary Papers, Par. 203
[87] "Extract of a Despatch from Lord John Russell to Lieutenant-General Sir Howard Douglas," House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, 48, (16 January-11 August 1840), 401: 54.

Queen, or of the Senate. Calumnies and false reports, however, should be calmly and decisively contradicted."[88]

The most significant outcome of Moustoxydis's memorial was the extent of publicity and debate it received in Britain.[89] The attention was far more impactful and lasting than previous local petitions or even Kapodistrias' memorial. The memorialists succeeded in keeping the Ionian question in the British and Ionian public eye and raising its international profile. As a protest, the memorials effectively created a collective Greek identity, gained political allies, and influenced decision-making. The memorialists, in a sense, manifested islandness characteristics as they both allowed for the exchange of ideas with the West and to apply them to local interests and issues. The only drawback was overcoming the Ionian islands' urban and rural divide and changing the political language around the debate to reflect the local population.

Liberal Parties and Radical Plots: The relational mechanism of the press

The key theme of this chapter is the transmission of knowledge in an island setting and how ideas are diffused from a single individual or group. Central to this examination is a mechanism approach, which provides insight into the salient features of protests, collective

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[88] Russell to Douglas 4 June 1840, Parliamentary Papers, 54.
[89] See Paschalidi, "Constructing Ionian Identities," 183. The House of Common debated the Ionian case and Lord Fitzroy, Lord Holland, Hume and Peel asked the House of Lords to inquire about the grievances against the government.

action, and radicalization[90] while also identifying how and when these actions develop from individual and small-scale events into larger-scale effects. For instance, relational mechanisms (e.g., brokerage) refer to the shifts in the way two or more previously unconnected people and groups (social sites) connect.[91] In the context of the Ionian Islands, this was possible through the interconnectedness of the islands, which enabled political actors (mainly aristocracy, bourgeoisie, and upper-class diaspora and merchants)[92] to connect and diffuse ideas beyond the local and the brokerage of urban and rural societies via the free press. Therefore, a focus on relational mechanisms in an Ionian Islands context helps identify how and when urban and rural grievances[93] connected into an effective coordination of action to influenced decision-making around the question of enosis.

This section focuses on the second phase of opposition (1848-1864), which was marked by the emergence of the Radical party or *Rizospastes* and marred by political violence, repression, and reform. The most radical part of this movement was led by three prominent

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[90] In examining contemporary terrorism, Randy Borum has argued that the four steps in the radicalization process include: 1) identifying with some type of undesirable economic or social event or condition (context). 2) framing this condition as unjust (comparison). 3) Holding a person or group responsible for the transgressive behaviour (attribution). 4) Deem the person or group responsible as bad (reaction). See Randy R. Borum, "Understanding the terrorist mindset." *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 72, no.7 (2003): 8-9. https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/201462.pdf. Examining militant Islamists, A. Dalgaard-Nielsen identifies the strengths and weaknesses of how sociologists, social movement theory, and empiricist studies explain the factors and processes of radicalization in Europe. French sociologist emphasis structural factors such as globalization, social movement theorists emphasis social connection and the formation of bonds of kinship, and empiricism highlights the triggers that activate radicalization at the individual level. A. Dalgaard-Nielsen, "Violent radicalization in Europe: what we know and what we do not know." *Studies Confict &. Terrorism* 33, no. 9 (2010): 797–814.

[91] Charles Tilly, "Mechanisms of Political Processes," Annual Review Political Science 4 (2001): 26.

[92] The Ionians Islands, *Aspects of their History and Culture,* 15; Concerning the formation of the Ionian bourgeoisie, Gekas argues that they were formed in between "1830-40 as a result of the education they received, their liberal aspirations to for a state under the rule of law, and the advances in the commercial economy that heightened class antagonisms." He examines how liberalism was the main philosophy of the commercial bourgeoisie and this guided their economic and social organization. Gekas, *Xenocracy*, 10

[93] See Gekas *Xenocraxy* Chapter 3, Chapter 9, and Chapter 10 for class-structure and dynamics; Eleni Calligas contends that British preferences to work with members of old nobility, fostered resentment among lower classes identifying the British and *signori* as common enemy. Calligas, "The Rizospastai," 203

figures Iosif Momferatos, Elias Zervos Iakovatos, and Konstantinos Lomvardos, and the newspapers, which served as their official mouthpiece.[94]

A focus on the press, protests, and parties of this period touches on this dissertation's themes, precisely how, when, and why specific ideas were transmitted between the islands and the mainland. Focusing on liberal and radical newspapers, it argues that liberal ideas were not simply mirrored or copied from the West but appropriated to local contexts. This section further identifies the factors that diffused liberalism and the brokers that made change possible.

The liberal press fostered a collective identity by promoting ideas of freedom of speech, national self-determination, and national enlightenment to the islands. This was achieved by writing articles in the Greek language and focusing on poetry,[95] history, morals, and religion.[96] They also intended to bring liberal economic ideas around property rights and labor.[97]

As the diffusion of liberal ideas (through liberal Commissioners and Ionian Reformers) turned into actual constitutional reforms, liberals sought further freedoms that fueled their nationalist-unionist appeals. While individuals diffused liberalism, the liberal press through the promotion of enosis brokered urban and rural societies to form a strong resistance to British rule.[98] The process of mobilizing the masses against the authority of the British, and the

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[94] The Rizospastai were the ancestors of the socialist movement in Greece, "Political Radicalism developed in the islands in the mid-nineteenth century before it was exported from there to Athens." Mackridge, "Introduction," 15.

[95] Eleni Calligas, " 'A History of the Peasants…Printed in Gaol' and Other Unknown Texts by the 1849 Kephalonian Rebels Imprisoned at Argostoli," in *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 171

[96] Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism*, 182.

[97] For instance, the newspaper *Anayennisis* which was edited by Iosif Momferratos catered to artisans and peasants.

[98] In Eitan Y. Alimi et al explore frameworks for studying radicalization in Cyprus, Ireland and Palestine. Here they reference Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow mechanisms of contention. "Diffusion (spread of a contentious performance, issue, or interpretive frame from one site to another) and brokerage (production of a new

autocratic political order, made the discursive structure of enosis not a choice but a political order.[99] It was this political order which not only empowered the islands to eventually seek union but also to hegemonize the discourse of liberalism and socialism in the region. Enosis brought global and local sociopolitical issues to the forefront of Ionian society and allowed traditionally unconnected communities, like Ionian Catholics, Orthodox and Jews, urban and rural, and aristocracy and peasants to connect.

The Ionian Press

Newspapers were initially operated by the government and commercial institutions,[100] but with the Free Press, they became politicized. Press freedoms were part of an overall liberalization of the islands' conservative and authoritative Constitution; a process started following the end of Commissioner Douglas' reign and with the appointment of James Stewart Mackenzie (1841-1843) as High Commissioner by John Russell.[101] A. A. D. Seymour, in his

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connection between previously unconnected or weakly connected sites)." Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow cited in Eitan Y. Alimi, Lorenzo Bosi, Chares Demetriou, "Relation Dynamics and Process of Radicalization," *Mobilization* 17, no. 1 (2012): 12.

[99] Dimitrios Varvartis' study of the Jewish newspaper *Cronaca Israelitica*, the first Jewish newspaper in the Greek speaking world, shows for the Ionian Jews, enosis was a means of Jewish Emancipation. See Dimitrios Varvartis, " 'The Jews have got into trouble again…': Responses to the Publication of "Cronaca Israelitica" and the Question of Jewish Emancipation in the Ionian Islands (1861-1863)," *Journal of Fondazione CDEC*, n.7 (July 2014). http://www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=355

[100] Gekas *Xenocracy* 35.

[101] See A. A. D. Seymour. "The Least Know Lord High: A Note on James Stewart Mackenzie" in *The Ionian Islands: Aspects of their History and Culture*, eds. Anthony Hirst and Patrick Sammon (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 149-150

biographical study of "the least known" Commissioner, stated, "Although Russell hoped for some eventual reform of the Ionian Constitution, his instructions to the new commissioner clearly stated that he should slowly prepare the way, for such, but process no further without reference to the Colonial Office."[102] In a letter to Russell dated August 7, 1841, Mackenzie suggested the relaxation of the press laws[103], however, his attempts at reform failed when Tory Minister Lord Stanley replaced Russell as the head of the Colonial Office. After two years, Mackenzie was replaced with experienced general Sir John Colborne, Lord Seaton (1843-1849). Lord Seaton's Commissionership was a watershed moment in Ionian history; for Ionians, his reign spurred efforts for union while the British deemed it as disastrous for the Empire.[104]

Seaton, who became Lord High Commissioner in 1843, understood the need for economic and social amelioration. As a former Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, he had extensive experience in dealing with social unrest. Seaton believed that economic improvement was the answer to solving the islands' political problems. He saw the poor economic conditions faced by the peasants as the leading cause of their discontent. To improve the agricultural sector, Seaton proposed the continuation of construction projects that focused on building and maintaining roads and ports and founded an agronomic school.[105] Once in office, Seaton quickly made an impact by introducing remedial economic measures. He suggested to London that the

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[102] Seymour, 150.

[103] Seymour, 151-152

[104] John Dunn Gardner lamented that " in 1849, Lord Seaton granted to the Islanders a most radical constitution, with suffrage nearly universal, vote by ballot, and a perfectly free press; since then Corfu and most of the other islands have been hotbeds of sedition, of insolence to the Mother Country, and to the local governments of the islands; it is inconceivable how so experienced a soldier as Lord Seaton, who had recently witnessed, and quenched, democracy in Canada, and had passed several years in the Government of the Ionian Islands, could have been induced, at the close of his office, to give such licentiousness to the people it was very unfair towards his successor." John Dunn Gardner, *The Ionian islands in relation to Greece* (London: Jame Ridgway, 1859), 14: 4.

[105] Calligas, "The Risospastai," 19.

cost of military protection, which was the responsibility of the islands under the Constitution, be

set as a percentage of local revenue and not the recent sum set by Nugent at 35,000 pounds.

Furthermore, he asked for preferential treatment of Ionian products in British markets and

reduced duty for Ionian olive oil and currants.[106] In addition, Seaton advocated improvement in

the administration of the islands and the involvement of local authorities in the running of certain

departments. His proposals included updating the judicial administration by creating lower

courts in order to improve access to peasants; reorganized the police force by limiting the powers

of the High Police; reforming the prison system by sanctioning the building of new prisons;

transferring the appropriation of road fund to local authorities; making local governments more

independent of the central government; promoting higher education; and sanctioning presses for

printing non-political books.[107] The only problems faced by Seaton, in regards to his reforms,

were that of reducing military contribution and granting lower customs to Ionian products, as

these proposals needed the approval of the Colonial Office. The Colonial Office, which

espoused free-trade policies, was not ready to grant the islands custom reforms but did

compromise with a reduction in military contribution.[108]

Seaton's difficult task was in bringing about constitutional change. His constitutional

proposals included granting freedom of the press and giving the power of composing, altering, or

amending expenses for public works to the Assembly. In order to appease London on the issue

of granting freedom of the press, Seaton framed his argument on the commercial rather than the

political aspect of the issue. In his attempts to improve the economy, Seaton wanted individuals

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[106] Calligas, 9.
[107] Calligas, "The Risospastai," 12.
[108] Michael Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire: Reflections on the history of the Ionian islands from the fall of Byzantium* (London: Rex Collins, 1978), 133

to publish books and articles on commerce to introduce and spread modern agricultural techniques.[109] However, the Colonial Office was not content to grant freedom of the press or give control over expenses to the Assembly. By 1848, three years after Seaton officially sent a message to the President of the Senate regarding the press, the Colonial Office finally sanctioned his proposals.[110] It is important to recognize that although freedom of the press was extended to the islands, the Protectorate recognized the dangers, so censorship laws and treason were used to throttle the newspapers' attempt to defame government officials and policy.

The emancipation of the press played a significant part in shaping the political history of the islands. With the Free Press, the state control of information through the official organ *Gazzetta Ionia* was freed, and the islands experienced a flourishing newspaper industry led by politicians and political factions. Political papers emphasized the news and national politics and were, for the most part, financed by political parties and candidates who would often write editorials. Furthermore, the freedom of the press gave editors the new ability to express grievances through new channels. Newspaper names expressed this new agency, for instance, *O Philos tou Laou* [*Ο Φίλος του Λαού*], *Filalthis* [*Φιλαλήθης*], *Foni tou Ioniou* [*Φωνή του Ιονίου*], *Alitheia Ergatis* [*Αλήθεια, Εργάτης*], *To Mellon* [*Το Μέλλον*], *Filelutheros* [*Φιλελεύθερος*], *Rizospastis* [*Ριζοσπάστης*] and *I Avagennisis* [*Η Αναγέννησις*] mirrored the liberal and enlightenment ideas of Europe in the islands.

Newspapers expressed editors' personalities and convictions and included editorials that were usually strongly opinionated, often drawing conflict with rival editors and escalating tensions with the British administration. Ionian papers quickly became the preferred instrument

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[109] Calligas, 15-16.
[110] Calligas, 18.

to openly criticize and oppose British rule and advocate for union with Greece.[111] Still, the press displayed diverse points of view; some championed the British Protectorate, and others preferred reforms over union. Apart from criticizing the British administration, newspapers formed a reciprocal relationship between political actors and the public. On the one hand, they were used by political parties to win over the public, and on the other hand, the public used newspapers to gain knowledge about public affairs.[112]

The Ionian press spurred public political engagement and brokered a new relationship between politicians and the public to debate issues and directly participate in shaping political discourse. Newspapers quickly diverged in expression for the future of the islands, and competing factions emerged, establishing partisan newspapers. Politicians often operated these newspapers, and content contributed to the establishment of the first political parties on the islands. One of the most critical impacts of the Free Press was the freedom to make political choices. The divergent political opinions in newspapers helped shape the different political parties, including the Protectionists (more of a faction than a party),[113] the Reformists,[114] and the Radicals.[115]

The faction that favored British protection included newspapers such as *O Anexartitos: Aitheia kai Dikaiosyn* [*Ο Ανεξάρτητος: Αλήθεια και Δικαιοσύνη*] (Kerkyra, 1849-1850) edited by Ioannis Antonios Dandolo, *H Eptanisos* [*Η Επτάνησος*] edited by Achillea Delvinioti Varotsi, *O*

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[111] Commenting on the enosis question of the Ionian Islands in 1859, John Dunn Gardner wrote, "their Newspapers rave, and use language full of sedition, and of every sort insolence; they rejoice at our reverses in India, and sorrowed at our successes, like the press of Greece; the House of Representatives is rampant in the same line; in short the Ionian want to get rid of us, and to be united with Greece." Gardner. *The Ionian Islands*, 3-4.

[112] For the informative function of the Ionian Press see Calligas, "Rizospastai," 134-135.

[113] Καταχθόνοι-*Katachthoni* 'infernal or fiendish" or Καμαρίλα-Camarila favored British control.

[114] Favored liberal constitutional reforms.

[115] Republicans that opposed British rule, party split over enosis because Greece had Monarch.

Filos toy Laou [*Φίλος του Λαού*] (Kerkyra, 1850-1853) listed editor by Spiro Youlio but edited by Aristides Ciapini, and *To Timoni* [*Το Τιμόνι*] also edited by Aristides Ciapini, all published in Kerkyra and in Greek and Italian.[116] Other papers such as the Independent paper *O Pelekys* [*Ο Πέλεκυς*] (Kefalonia, 1850-1851) while considered liberal was often accused the radicals of treasonous behavior and in return, the radicals called this paper an instrument of the protectorate—a common attacked used by radicals against their opponents was to characterize them as British sympathizers. The protectorate faction was recognized not being the official organ or voice of the protectorate but because the editors of these papers openly criticized unionists and radicals, and they supported British protection based on political and economic guarantees.[117] The protectionist newspapers also demonstrated that there were a minority group of Ionians who advocated for reforms and independence but without the need for union.

The Reform Party emerged out of the liberal and reform tradition set out by the upper- and middle-class calls for constitutional reforms.[118] Over time, the reformers managed to build a relationship of trust and understanding with the British administration.[119] In exchange for

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[116] K. Giourgos, "The opening of the free press: the political press in the Ionian Islands after 1849," [«Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας: Ο πολιτικός Τύπος στα Επτάνησα μετά το 1849,»] *Η Καθημερινή, Επτά Ημέρες*, (30 March 1999): 1-32; For more on the Ionian Press see Also see Ntinos Konomos, "The Ionian Press, 1789-1864," [«Επτανησιακός Τύπος 1798-1864 (ημίφυλλα, φυλλάδια, εφημερίδες και περιοδικά)»] in Eptanhsiaka Filla [Επτανησιακά Φύλλα] 5 (1964):107-137.

[117] Anastasios Mikalef, "The Pro-Government Press in the Ionian Island during the British Protectorate, 1849-1864," [«Ο φιλοκυβερνητικός τύπος στα επτανησία»] *Kerkyraika Chronika* [*Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*] 13 (2018): 321-330..

[118] For the ideas of the reformers see Miranda Stavrinos, "The Reformist Party in the Ionian Islands: internal conflicts and nationalist aspirations," *Balkan Studies* 26, no. 2 (1985); 351-361; and Anna Kontoni, "Liberal reflections and their reception in the Ionian Islands region. Ideology and Politics of the reformers (1848-1864)," [«Φιλελεύθεροι Στοχασμοί Και Δεξίωση Τους Στον Επτανησιακό Χώρο. Ιδεολογία Και Πολιτική Των Μεταρρυθμιστών (1848-1864)»], PhD diss., (University of Athens, 1990).

[119] This relationship would help the British Authorities remove Radical elements during the Ninth Parliament. As allies with the Protectorate reformers sought gain influence in the Assembly, and by the Tenth Parliament the Reformers held the majority. The failure of the reformers to win reforms created further partisanship which would characterize the political landscape of the Islands until union in 1864. See Stavrinos, "The Reform Party," 354n13 for reformer MP Petros Vrailas-Armenis' political rise.

loyalty, the reformers would receive constitutional reforms. Seaton saw this relationship as beneficial as it would check the nationalist sentiment that was growing on the islands.[120] In 1848, one of the party's leaders, Napoleon Zambelis (1810-1896), following Kapodistrias and Moustoxydis, wrote a memorial to Earl Grey asking for free press and free press elections. The reformists centered their political grievances around the Assembly, as N. Zambelis stated in his memorial,

> Persons not thoroughly acquainted with Ionian affairs would find it difficult to believe that the Power, whose protection that people enjoys, should have designed to give them from the first a representative. system of government, without at the same time allowing them that which constitutes the essence of such a system—a free election of the representatives of the people. What the Ionians have now, is but the shadow of an election, since they are compelled to choose from two candidates thrust upon them by the so-called Primary Council—a council com posed of eleven members, who are in immediate dependence upon the Lord, High Commissioner, and who, in conformity with established custom, merely accept, or rather promulgate, the double list of candidates which has been carefully drawn up under the eye of the Lord High Commissioner, or by the dictations of advisers whose care it is to nominate for the purpose such only as are of assured harmlessness, either from their natural want of spirit, or from their servile obsequiousness to the high powers. And this is the boasted electoral franchise, the exercise of which was to prepare the Ionians in a short space of time for a full participation in all the free institutions of Great Britain! It is hardly credible, my Lord, that such a mockery as it must in honesty be termed—should have been suffered to continue for more than thirty years.[121]

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[120] Henry Jervis-White-Jervis, "History of the Island of Corfu, and the Republic of the Ionian Islands" in *The Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 97 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853), 53-56.

[121] Charles Fitzroy, "To the Editor of the Daily News," in Ionian Islands. Letters by Lord C. Fitzroy, and documents from other sources, on Past and Recent Events in the Ionian Islands Shewing the Anomalous Political and Financial Position of Those States (London: James Ridgeway, 1850), 16.

Apart from free elections[122] and the call for a free press, reformers advocated and promoted the use of the Greek language and patriotism.[123] This was in order to demonstrate their Greekness and therefore justify union with Greece. The fight for reforms was promoted through newspapers with the Free Press in 1849. Reform papers included *To Mellon* [*Το Μέλλον*] (Zakynthos, 1849-1851) published by Antonios Gaetas and edited by Theodoros Zervos, *Patris* [*Πατρις*] (Kerkyra, 1849-1851) edited by Petros Varilas Armenis, Napoleon Zambelis, Spyridon Zambelis, Ioannis Petritsopoulos, and Andreas Calvos and *Spinthyr* [*Σπινθήρ*] (Zakynthos, 1849-1850) edited by Pericles Kalofono, *Ellas* [*Ελλάς*] (Κέρκυρα, 1850-1851) edited by Spiridona Mavro, *Filalhthis* [*Φιλαλήθης*] (Κέρκυρα, 1851-1852) edited by Andreas Moustoxydiss, *Enosis* [*Ένωσις*] (Κεφαλονιά, 1849-1850) published by Spirdona Polikala including editors Nikolaos Valieri, Dimitrios Miliaresi, Konstantinos Fokas and Nicholas Chorafa, *O Ermis* [*Ο Έρμης*] (Kerkyra, 1851-1852) published by Spiridona Mavro and later Theodoros Romaio. The main political ideologies expressed in the reformist paper centered on establishing responsible government and national independence,[124] how these demands were ultimately achieved is what divided the reformers from the protectionists from the radicals. This explains why prominent reformers such as Ioannis Antonio Dandolo or Elias Zervos-Iakovatos eventually found

[122] For the reformer debate on the issue of universal suffrage see Kontoni, "Liberal reflections," 199-208. For instance, the editors of *To Mellon* [*Το Μέλλον*] newspaper advocated for a universal suffrage. "On Free Elections," [«Περί ελευθέρων εκλογών,»] *To Mellon* (Zakynthos), Feb. 11, 1849, 12; and "Take the Occasion," [«Οσάκις ελάβομεν αφορμήν»] *To Mellon*, (Zakynthos), Mar. 19 1849. On the other end, the *Patris* [*Πατρίς*] newspaper contended for limited suffrage see "Object of what is being discussed," *To Mellon*, (Zakynthos) Mar. 12, 1849: 11.

[123] "The Veto of the Commissioner," [«Βέτο του αρμοστού Μέλλον,»] *To Mellon* (Zakynthos) May 28, 1849: 22; See Athanasia Glycofrydi Leontsini, "Petros Vrailas-Armenis as a Political Intellectual," [«Ο Πέτρος Βράιλας-Αρμένης ως πολιτικός διανοούμενος,»] *Anagnostikis Etairias Kerkyras [Αναγνωστάκης Εταιρίας Κέρκυρας] no.* 28 (2012-2015): 29n364. Here she cites the issues of Patris [*Πατρις*] where Petros Vrailas-Armenis argues that the Greek language is the soul and spirit of the people of the Ionian Islands.

[124] The reformers argued that union should only be pursed only after the moral, intellectual and political amelioration of Ionian society. "Union of the Ionian Islands after the Issue: A necessary policy," [«Η ένωσις της Επτανήσου μετά της Θέμα: Η απαιτούμενη πολιτική»] *To Mellon*, (Zakynthos), June 16, 1850: 28.

themselves opposing the reformist platform supporting the protectionists or radicals. At the core

of the split was the legitimacy of the British Protectorate. The divergent political views of the

reformers were further impacted in the wake of the 1848 Revolutions in Europe and the rural

uprisings in Kefalonia in 1848 and 1849. The reformist movement from its earliest stages,

similar to the liberal revolutions in Europe, was led by "bourgeois-liberals," however the events

of 1848-1849 and the British Governments violent suppression brought together rural grievances

with bourgeoise concerns around British legitimacy and brokered the interests of other islands

with that of Kerkyra (the political capital). In general, the Reformists, mirrored the progressive

liberal and national liberation ideas of Europe but with more moderate means.

To Mellon [*Το Μέλλον*], as one of the first "free" newspapers to be published on the

islands, set up the reformer principles and ideologies that would impact the public discourse and

debate in the years leading up to union. Central to the paper was constitutional reform, mental,

moral, and economic uplifting, the amelioration of Ionian laws (specifically, the protection of

property), and national awakening,[125]its motto being, "The paper of politics, philology, and

commerce."[126]

Patris [*Πατρίς*] was the other important reformer newspaper, published in Greek and

French. The paper focused on the social and political enlightenment of the people, which would

ultimately lead to national sovereignty and liberation.[127] While most of the reformers supported

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[125] This was mainly achieved through the promotion of the Greek language. While it began as a bilingual paper (Greek and Italian), as many of the earlier papers did, it eventually converted to Greek exclusively. The Islands official language was Greek from 1852.

[126] *Efimeris Politiki, Filologiki kai Emporiki* [*«Εφμερίς Πολιτική, Φιλολογική και Εμπορική.*]

[127] Also see the newspaper, *O Hermes* [*Ο Ερμής*].

the same principles, where there were disagreements around universal suffrage. *Πατρίς* was

particularly vocal about this issue stating,

> Freedom of choice does not necessarily have to be given to all: women, minors,
> criminals must be excluded, and those who do not provide sufficient guarantees of
> intelligence and independence must be subject to voting conditions…

> Universal suffrage is only lawful when it can be beneficial and not destructive,
> this can only be obtained when all citizens reach a degree of political virtue to
> vote informed and conscientiously, that is to say, not out of fear or contentment
> but only for the common good with which the individual identifies with. Until
> this is reached, they must appreciate limits...[128]

Kefalonia, in the nineteenth century, had the ideal conditions for the rise of radicalism.

First, Kefalonia was the largest and poorest island, and the increasing indebtedness of the

peasants[129] was continuously ignored by the urban political elite, who were more concerned with

arguing for Constitutional reforms in London and Kerkyra. Second Kefalonia had a large

population of disgruntled well-educated youth who not only studied in France and Italy but

experience revolutionary movements there. Third, since 1843, the reading rooms like *Korais*

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[128] «Η ελευθερία του εκλέγειν δεν δόναται εξ ανάγκης να δοθή εις όλους'πρέπει να εξαιρεθώσιν αι
γυναίκες, οι ανήλικοι, οι εγκληματίαι, και εν γένει όσοι δεν παρέχουοιν αρκετός εγγυήσεις νοημοσύνης και
ανεξαρτησίας πρέπει επομένως να τεθώσιν όροι εκλογικής ικανότητος...Η καθολική ψήφος τότε μόνον είναι
νόμιμος, τότε μόνον δύναται ν'αποβή ωφέλιμος και όχι καταστρεπτική, ότε όλοι οι πολίται φθάσωσιν εις τοιούτον
βαθμόν πολιτικής αρετής, ώστε να ψηφίζωσιν εν γνώσει και εν συνειδήσει, δηλαδή, όχι διά φόβον ή διά χάριν αλλά
μόνον διά το κοινόν συμφέρον, με το οποίον και το ατομικόν συνταυτίζεται. Έως ότου φθάσωσιν εκεί, πρέπει εν
τοσούτω να ευχαριστώνται εις την περιωρισμένην.» Cited in Kontoni, "Liberal reflections, 213n21.

[129] Created by 1840 recession, cause by the fall in price of wine, oil, and raisins, the main exports of
Kefalonia.

gathered the island's liberal-minded youth to read Greek and foreign newspapers, periodicals, and books. By 1847 reading rooms gave way to political clubs and such as the *Demotiko Katastima* [*Δημοτικόν Κατάστημα*] (Argostoli, 1847) which included members Elias Zervos Iakovatos and Iosif Momferratos, and Omonia [Ομόνια] (Lixuri, 1849). Most importantly, unlike the reading rooms and clubs in Kerkyra, these clubs extended membership to priests, laypeople, farmers, and artisans.[130] While political clubs brokered bourgeoisie liberal revolutionary, and radical ideas from Europe with local grievances, newspapers spread them across the other islands.

While most secondary sources tend to focus on the connection of the Ionian radicalism and Western socio-political movements, it was, in many ways, different. The Rizospatai movement was unique as it appropriated various elements from Western philosophical and political ideas into a new and local political movement that addressed the socio-political situation in the Ionian Islands.

The radical ideology that emerged in the Islands reflected similar characteristics of other radical movements in the Mediterranean.[131] The Rizospastai incorporating ideas from various European liberal movements, including national liberations and class equality, into a local political ideology. Specifically, Kefalonia's traditional economic and intellectual networks to various mainlands, including Western Europe and Greece, allowed the radicals to meld class

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[130] Maria Kotina, "The Rizospatai movement in the Brish Held Ionian Islands," [«Το Ριζοσπαστικό Κίνημα Στα Αγγλοκρατούμενα Επτάνησα»], PhD diss., (Panteion University Athens, 2011): 63. Also see Eleni Calligas, "Radical Nationalism in the Ionian Islands," in *The Making of Modern Greece,* eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 175n153.

[131] Compare Italian Carbonari, French Radicalism, and Arab *Nahda*. For the role of the Press in the dissemination of radical ideas into the Arab Mediterranean and a deconstruction of intellectual history boundaries between the East and West see Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, "The *Nahda*, The Press and the Construction and Dissemination of a Radical Worldview" in *The Eastern Mediterrnaean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914* (University of California Press, 2010), 35-59.

ideology from the French Revolution 1789 and 1848,[132] the socialist philosophy of utopians

Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825),[133] Francois Marie Charles Fourie

(1772-1837), and Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), and Karl Marx[134] with the Italian

national-revolutionary ideas of Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) and Giuseppe Garibaldi.[135] In

this sense, the Rizospastai political ideology was founded on democratic principles and national

sovereignty, emphasizing the immediate union with Greece rather than reforms.[136]

What is unique about the Ionian Islands is that the revolutionary ideas merged from both

the West and East. For example, the Eastern Question (1839-1841) raised nationalist feelings

towards unredeemed territories, and the Greek revolution 1843-4[137] inspired liberal movements.

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[132] "A general view of the changes of 1848," [«Γενική έποψις των μεταβολών του 1848»] *Anagennisi* [*Αναγέννηση*], (Kefalonia), April 15, 1849: 2; and *Anagennisi* [*Αναγέννηση*], (Kefalonia), April 22, 1849: 3.

[133] One of Petros Vrailas-Armenis' important reform contributions is his works on the economy, which yield many example of early socialist ideas. He was influenced by Henri Saint Simon, and Robert Owen, to name a few, influenced many of Vrailas-Armenis' economic theories. In fact, Vrailas-Armenis various philosophical works represent the first Greek attempts to understand industrial development and its effects on society. Christos Baloglou, "The Economic Philosophy of Petros Vrailas-Armenis," [«Η Οικονομική Φιλοσοφία του Πέτρο Βραΐλα-Αρμενη,»] in *Scientific conference: The union of the Ionian Islands with Greece 1864 – 2004* [Επιστημονικό συνέδριο: Η ένωση της Επτανήσου με την Ελλάδα 1864 – 2004] (Athens, University of Athens, 2004), A: 121-137; Baloglou, " The Philosopher and Politician, Petros Vrailas-Armenis before and after Union," [«Ο Φιλοσοφος και Πολιτικος Πετρος Βραϊλας-Αρμενης Πριν και Υστερα Από Την Ενωση»] in *Scientific conference: The union of the Ionian Islands with Greece 1864 – 2004* [Επιστημονικό συνέδριο: Η ένωση της Επτανήσου με την Ελλάδα 1864 – 2004] (Athens, University of Athens, 2004), A: 116-120.

[134] Karl Marx, "The Question of the Ionian Islands," *New York Tribune*, (New York), January 6, 1858.

[135] K. Giourgos, "The opening of the free press: the political press in the Ionian Islands after 1849," [«Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας: Ο πολιτικός Τύπος στα Επτάνησα μετά το 1849,»] *Η Καθημερινή, Επτά Ημέρες*, (30 March 1999): 9; Giorgos Alisandratos, "Ionian Radicalism)1848-1864) and its aftermath with the French Revolutions of 1789 and 1848 and the Italian Risorgimento," [«Ο Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός (1848-1864) και η σχέση του με τις γαλλικές επαναστάσεις του 1789 και 1848 και το ιταλικό Risorgimento,»] in *Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of "Ionian Culture", Lefkada 3-8 September 1984* (Athens, 1991): 364-373; For more on Momferratos see Giorgos Alisandratos, *Text for Ionian Radicalism* [Κείμενα Για Τον Επτανησιακό Ριζοσπαστισμό] (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), 181-185; For Lomvartos see Alisandratos, *Text for Ionian Radicalism*, 195-206.

[136] *Fileftheros* [*Φιλελφθερος*] (Kefallonia) March 5, 1849. The editor argues that reforms were simply concessions, a distraction against political independence.

[137] David McLean, "The Greek Revolution and the Anglo-French Entente 1843-4," *The English Historical Review* 96, no. 378 (1981): 117-29. Political clubs, such as Korais celebrated September 3rd and Zervos-Iakovatos in *Fileftheros* [*Φιλελφθερος*] (Kefallonia), February 19, 1849: 1 expressed Greek irredentism and national union. Athanasia Glycofrydi-Leontsini states that Reformer Petros Vrailas-Armenis philosophy developed within the "framework of the historical perspective of philosophy issues such as the relationship between East and West, the

These external events combined with the local growing political animosity between the urban elite and the rural populists and the center of an economic conflict between merchants, landowners, and land tenants.[138]

In an attempt to break down the traditional order and take a more prominent role in politics, the radicals turned to the rural class. Unlike the reformers who attracted the upper- and middle-class support, the radical mobilized the rural classes and, therefore, the majority of the population to form a strong political alternative.[139]

The most influential radical newspapers included Konstantinos Lomvardo's Foni *tou Ioniou* [*Φωνή του Ιονίου*] (1858) and *Rigas* [*Ρήγας*] (1858), Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos' *Fileftheros*

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Eastern Question, and the problems of unredeemed Hellenism […] Vrailas' philosophy of history, developed between 1835 and 1884, was one of these efforts and had the advantage of being part of a philosophical synthesis that placed modern Greek philosophy within a European context. In his study East and West, he presents the role of Hellenism in the modern world in a particular way, which arose from the position of the Greek state on the geographical map and from contemporary political junctures. Starting from the European political crisis and the rivalry between the Great Powers, as this was manifested during the Crimean War (1853-1856), Vrailas developed, with arguments, in this study, published in 1853 in the journal Phoenix, his views on the role of Hellenism on the global map, using the geographical position of Greece as a border country between East and West." Athanasia Glycofrydi-Leontsini, "Petros Vrailas-Armenis: History and Philosophy in National Context" in *Relations De La Philosophie Avec Son Histoire*, eds. Hansmichael Hohenegger & Riccardo Pozzo (Rome:Leo Olschki Editore, 2017), 157.

[138] Sakis Gekas "Class and national identities in the Ionian Islands under British Rule," in *The Making of Modern Greece: Nationalism, Romanticism, and the Uses of the Past* (1797-1896), eds. Roderick Beaton and David Ricks (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 172.; Zervos-Iakovatos arguing against the exclusion of workers and farmers from public life stated that the most important social-political class were the farmer who made up eight tenths of Ionian society and worked the land to feed the masses, it was this class that remained excluded from political participation and who the radicals represented. He stated, «Έργον μου δεν είναι, Κύριοι, και ώς εκ των αρχών μου και ώς εκ του αντικειμένου μου, να επι στήσω την προσοχήν Σας επί της διαφημιζομένης αυτής μεταρρυθμίσεως αρκεί μόνον να είπω ότι, ώς και διά του παλαιού, ούτω και διά του νέου συστήματος, η Κυβέρνη σις έμεινεν ανεύθυνος, και ότι ο μικροκτήμων της πόλεως και της εξοχής, ο εργάτης και ο γεωργός, απεκλείσθησαν από πάσαν συμμετοχήν εις τα δημόσια. Και όμως αι τάξεις αυται συνιστούν τα οκτώ δέκατα της Ιονίς κοινωνίας εκτός δε του ότι συνιστούν το πολυπληθέστερον μέρος, αποκαθιστούν και το ώφελιμώτερον, διότι η Επτάνησος ένεκα της πολιτικής της καταστάσεως και της φύσεως του εδάφους της, δεν είναι ούτε βιομιχανική, ούτε εμπορική, αλλά κυρίως γεωργική. Ο γεωργός είναι η μέλισσα της κοινωνίας μας, από το μέλι της οποίας τρέφονται όλαι αι άλλαι τάξεις των κηφήνων.» Zervos-Iakovatos *Kefalleniaka: Report prepared for the House of Representatives of the Ionian State* [«*Τα Κεφαλληνιακά ή Αναφορά συνταχθείσα δια την Βουλήν των Αντιπροσώπων της Ιονίου Επικρατείας*»] (Kefalonia, 1850), 15.

[139] *O Xorikos* [Ο Χωρικός] newspaper (1850) editor Dimitrios Davis and Militiadis Kourvisianos became an important paper during the ninth Parliamentary elections. It mobilized popular support for the radicals during the islands first free elections.

[*Φιλελεύθερος*] (1849), and Iosef Momferratos' *Annagenissi* [*Αναγέννηση*] (1849) and *O Alithis*

Rizospastes [*Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*] (1862-1863). These newspapers gave a broad voice for the

radical movement and allowed it to spread beyond Kefalonia and, in fact, influenced socialist

movements in Greece.

The Rizospatai movement was composed of two important political ideas, one that

addressed social change and the other that sought national liberation.[140] As such, the first goal

was freedom through popular sovereignty and, second social equality and justice. One important

fact that needs to be addressed in any discussion about the radical movement is its similarities to

the reformist movement. Both movements were inspired by French revolution, utopian

philosophers, and the Risorgimento championing the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The radicals, just like the reformers, wanted to eliminate privileges through constitutional

reform, ensure vote by secret ballot, free elections, and give the Assembly control of finances.

Most importantly, both argued that the "Ionian people possessed an obvious and indisputable

Greek national identity" based on language and religion.[141]

The Ionian reform ideology differed from the radicals in two essential ways. First, the

reform movement was interested in political reforms rather than class reforms. Second, enosis

was not an immediate goal for the reformers. The reformers understood the British as an ally and

believed that good relations with them were imperative to obtain political reforms. Union,

according to the reformers, was possible only when political reforms and British support were

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[140] George G. Alisandratos, *Ionian Radicalism* [*Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός*] (Argostoli: Etairea Kefalliniakon Istorikon Erevnon, 2006), 25-27, 34-44. Here Alisandratos argues that the term "Ionian Radicalism" was both a national liberation and bourgeois-democratic movement. Rizospastai was in fact a name the reformers used to characterize the radicals. Also see Eleni Calligas, "The Rizospastai"

[141] Calligas, "Riszospatai," 136-138. For the Radicals, the importance of this argument was that by emphasizing the Ionian Greek national identity it negated the need for foreign protection.

secured. The Rizospastai, however, saw the British as the enemy and obstacle and called for the separation of all ties to Britain and the immediate Union with Greece.[142] It was only through popular sovereignty that true freedom could be achieved.[143] In short, the main differences between the two views were the prioritization for reforms. While the reformers prioritized social and political reforms, the Rizospastes prioritized union.

Apart from introducing press reforms, Seaton also brought free elections to the islands. In 1850 for the first time on the Ionian Islands, the election for the ninth Parliament saw the radicals win a significant number of seats. Following the elections, one of the radicals' first political actions was to propose a vote for the immediate union of the Islands with Greece. Unfortunately, this action was not received well by Lord High Commissioner Henry George Ward, who saw the radicals' actions as treasonous and a threat to Britain's Mediterranean interests. As a result, he prorogued parliament and began a violent persecution of the prominent radical party members, including the exile of Zerbos-Iakobatos to Antikythera and Momferratos to Ereikousa, both exiled from October 2, 1851- February 6, 1857, in an attempt to de-radicalize the islands.

During the period of exile, and violent repercussions, the Ionian reform movement lost momentum. On the one hand, the reformers aligned with the Protectorate in an attempt to save all that was gained up until 1850. On the other hand, the Rizospastai movement took a new direction under the leadership of Konstantinos Lomvardos, a move that Eleni Calligas argues

[142] Calligas argues while the Rizospastai did not have a legislative programme (political platform), "their 'Charter' was contained in their unionist demands. Calligas, 157
[143] Calligas, 258 & 139-140. Radicals rejected reforms on the basis that they were foreign gifts and a sign of oppression.

marked the end of popular radicalism on the islands.[144] The split was based on what emphasis was important for the national sovereignty, social-political change or national liberation. Lomvardo was a doctor and Ionian politician representing Zakynthos. He was responsible for moving the Rizospatai ideology away from social and democratic reforms instead of concentrating on national liberation and union. His ideas as a leader reflected how spatial and temporal context mattered in how ideas are adapted and molded. For instance, Zakynthos did not have the same economic disparities as Cephalonia; therefore, the existing social division remained unchallenged.[145] While Zakynthos was not immune to revolts, local uprisings were driven by nationalism.[146] Also, by 1858, the Crimean War made it clear that Greece could not rely on the Great Powers to act in the national interest. Under these conditions, Lomvardo sought to shift his party's ideology towards national liberation over social-political changes.

Lomvardos' political shift created a schism when both Momferatos and Zervos-Iakovtos were freed in 1857 and claiming leadership of the "real" Rizospastes.[147] What played out from 1858 was a split of the Rizospates into the 'old party' led by Zerbos-Iakobatos and Momferratos and the 'new party led by Lomvardos. The opposition between the two parties was played out in the press between Momferatos' *Anagennisi* [*Αναγέννηση*] and *O Alithis Rizospastes* [*Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*], and Lomvardos' *Foni tou Ioniou* [*Φωνή του Ιονίου*].

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[144] Caligas, "Rizospastai," 260
[145] Gekas argues that the "socio-spatial division and struggle between town and country" continued to be important, and "together with pro-and anti-Protectorate ideas, shaped Ionian regional and class identities." He states, that the policies to strengthen factors of production such as land and merchant capital benefitted islands such as Kerkyra and Zakynthos, but was less successful in Kefalonia. Gekas, "Class and National Identities," 171.
[146] The 1821 Ipsolithos events, when locals attacked a Turkish brig of war when it came on shore at Zakynthos.
[147] On the schism see Alisandratos, *Text for Ionian Radicalism*, 267-274 & 311-359.

One of the most striking moments of the debate, which provides insight into the two

ideological schools of the radicals, was in an open letter written to Momferratos in 1858 by

Lomvardos. In this letter which was also published in *Φωνή του Ιονίου*, Lomvardos called him a

communist (which is also the first reference of the term in Greek).   The letter, as published in

Alisandratos collection of Rizospastai works,[148] stated,

> Never, my friend Iosif, did the Ionian people reconcile the question of national
> restoration with the application of democracy and socialism as a form of
> government or communism in the state…What is shared between the rizospastai
> movement and the revolutions of 1848 in the West? I believe that you and two or
> three others Ionians, I know precisely in Kefalonia, you believe that radicalism is
> a political idea (as you wrote me many times without convincing me) working to
> for the realization of 'national self-determination and democratic restoration,
> political and social regeneration at the same time,' this definition characterizes
> social regeneration as equating to not having social enjoyments.

In this statement, Lomvardos questioned the ideological stance of Momferatos and the

"old" Rizospastes, insisting that the movement from the beginning was strictly a movement

toward national regeneration and union and did contain a socialist program. Momferatos and his

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[148] «Ποτέ, φιλάτε Ιωσήφ ο λαός της Επτανήσου συνεταύτισε το ζήτημα της εθνικής αποκαταστάσεως μέτα του ζητήματος της εφαρμογής της Δημοκρατίας εις το πολίτευμα, και του κοινωνισμού ή κομουνισμού εις την πολιτείαν; […] Τι κοινόν μεταξύ ριζοσπαστισμού και των επαναστατικών κινημάτων εν τη Δύσει κατά 1848, ως ενοστιμεύθη τις εσχάτως να ψιττακίση; Γνωρίζω ότι Συ και δύο ή τρεις άλλοι εν Επτανήσω, ή δίανα είπω κυριολεκτικώς εν Κεφαληνία, εν καλή τη πίστει θεωπείτε τον ριζοσπαστισμόν ως πολιτικήν ιδέαν (καθά με έγραφες πολλάκις χωρίς να με πείσης) εργαζομένην προς πραγματοποίησιν «εθνικής ενταυτώ και δημοκρατικής αποκαταστάσεως, πολιτικής συνάμα και κοινωνικής αναπλάσεως», κοινωνική ανάπλασις χαρακτηρισθείσα δία του ορισμού εξίσωσις της αωίσου διαωομής των κοινωνικών απολαύσεως.» Cited in Alisandratos, *Ionian Radicalism* 187 & 269.

followers, in turn, called Lomvardos and the "new" Rizospastes "unionists" because they insisted on union and any cost and ignored the social reforms.

One of the old party's criticisms of Lomvardo was his close relationship with the British administration.[149] However, like the reformers, Lomvardos approached union with the understanding of establishing secure international political connections. Lomvardos political career coincided with two significant political events, the Crimean War and the Risorgimento. His experience with these movements led him to approach union with a less romantic view instead of taking a more cautious approach by first securing the support of the Great Powers.

Unlike Lomvardos, who was more in touch with the broader socio-political event of the 1850s being immersed in secret societies in Greece and Italy, Zerbos-Iakobatos and Momferatos remained out of touch. Their distrust of the British administration and their support for King Otto prompted them to oppose the 1863 negotiation for union. The old party strongly believed that class equality and national sovereignty were being sacrificed for British influence from the islands to Athens.[150] Momferatos alternately supported a European Christian Confederacy to counter the union efforts and to challenge the imperial power of Europe. In his newspaper, Αναγέννηση. It was here on April 18, 1859, that he published an article titled "A Greeting to the People,"[151] in which he expressed his feelings on the current Ionian and European socio-political situation. In the article, Momferatos highlights the need for a new era in which radical social ideas are realized. He states that while national sovereignty is important, it is still not enough to

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[149] A common attacked used in Ionian political debates was to call your opponent an ally, supporter, or puppet of the British administration, a tactic used by reformers and radicals alike against each other.

[150] Alisandratos, *Text for Ionian Radicalism*, 190-193; "Free Greece," [«Τα εν τη ελευθέρα Ελλάδι,»] *O Alithis Rizospastes* [*Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*], (Kefalonia) May 2/14, 1863: 25.

[151] «Ο προς τους λαούς ασπασμός μας» *Anagennisi. Αναγέννηση* (Kefalonia), April 18, 1859: 55.

break the bonds of foreign occupations and tyranny. He calls for the destruction of the alliances enjoyed by the monarchies of Europe and in its place to form a European Confederacy based on free membership, popular sovereignty, and solidarity, where differences could be settled outside selfish and hostile interests. This confederacy of European nations would support each other with equality, reciprocity, and justice in order to serve the interest of the greater population.

It is important to remember that this was a period of distress and hardship for Ionian society, and, as Momferratos expressed, it was necessary to introduce radical ideas so that change could become a reality. Momferratos' radical ideas emerged at the point in history when the British ruled the Ionian Islands and on the eve of Italian and French advance against the Austrian Empire. It was evident to him that the tide of change was emerging and that the old hegemonic powers would lose their bonds over the people.

Lomvardos went on to become a prominent political figure in the Greek Government for many years. His participation in the 1863 negotiations with the British administration fostered a close friendship with Charilaos Trikoupis, who, in turn, appointed him as Minister of Interior Affairs and Education under his government. It is interesting to note that Lomvardos eventually gave up on his adamant support of national liberation and instead focused on his political career in Athens. This drew sharp criticism from his friend and fellow radical Aristotelis Valaoritis. An examination of Lomvardo's political career can reveal information about the assimilation of the Ionian elite into an Athenian elite.

The schism between the old party and the new party reveals that identity, identity formation, and the ideas about class equality and national sovereignty demonstrate that national identity was not only constructed on ethnic lines. Class struggles with the British and aristocracy filled the void of a national narrative that excluded the national struggle against the Ottomans. In

essence, by creating a narrative based on class conflict with the British, the Rizospastes were able to incorporate their ideas of Greekness with the mainland.

Islandness impacted almost every aspect of Ionian society. This chapter has outlined how social and political developments were not merely imitated from regional events. Ionians absorbed political and social movements from France, Britain, Italy, Russia, and Greece and used this information to ameliorate their position in broader geopolitical developments. Ionian political actors also used memorials and newspapers to highlight local concerns across all the islands.

This section summarized the role of the Ionian Press and its editors and demonstrated the dynamic political ideologies of the islands. While Ionian radicalism and liberalism evolved out of the tradition of the French Revolution, Chartism, and the Risorgimento, this chapter has highlighted that Ionian radicalism and liberalism was unique in the sense that it reflected local concerns. The fluidity of political ideas was reflected in the ease with which political actors changed political parties and affiliations. Conservatives turned reformers, reformers turn radicals, and reformers turned conservatives (N. Zambelis) reflects. This ultimately signaled a unique political culture on the Ionian Islands, one that adapted local concerns to broader geopolitical events.

On June 14, 1864, *The Times*[152] reported on the last days of the British Protectorate in the Ionian Islands. The Islands were to be "voluntarily surrendered," an event that was "unprecedented" in British Imperial history.[153] It was unique because it was the first time Great Britain had relinquished imperial territory absent a sustained armed conflict. The long, and at

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[152] *The Times* (London), June 14, 1864: 7.
[153] 174 Parl. Deb. (3d ser.) (18 March 1864) col. 357.

times violent, struggle for union with Greece had finally been fulfilled, and Greece would now feel the impact of the Ionian social, cultural and political influence.

Epilogue: Why Islands Matter

The influence of Ionian intellectuals, writers, and politicians on Greece's social and political fabric was immediate after union. The years leading to union were a transition period for both Greece and the Ionian Islands. The abdication of King Otto and the coronation of King George I in 1863 provided the opportunity for Greece to reset and reimagine itself in the new global realities of the late nineteenth century.[154] The Greek Constitution of 1844 failed to address citizenship, land ownership rights, economic, national, and political issues, and shortly after Otto's abdication on December 10, 1862, the Second National Assembly was convened to draft a new constitution and elect a new monarch. On July 20, 1864, 84 elected Ionian representatives officially joined the National Assembly, and Ionian discussions on the constitution began by July 31, 1864.

From the onset of their swearing-in, the Ionian delegation made it clear that they would immediately impact three areas: national regeneration, citizen rights (universal male suffrage), and social reforms. This is not surprising, seeing that most of the elected Ionian members

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[154] Sakis Gekas, "The Crisis of the Long 1850s and Regime Change in the Ionian Islands and the Kingdom of Greece," *Historical Review/La Revue historique*, 10 (2013): 57–84.

represented the rural populations of the islands and were made up of primarily reformers and radicals. The Ionian delegation also found themselves holding the balance of power on many issues, as they entered the Greek political scene without any party loyalties, meaning Greek political parties under the leadership of Alexandros Koumoundouros, Demetrios Voulgaris, and Epameinodas Deligiorgis could vie for their support. During the first parliamentary election, the Ionian liberals under Konstantinos Lomvardos and the agrarian party under Polychronis Konstantas supported Koumoundouros, the radicals under Iosif Momferratos and George Typaldos Iakovatos supported Deligirogis and the conservatives Voulgaris.

The Ionians were adamant that the peoples' voice needed to be present in Greek politics as they debated the constitution. The national question became the cornerstone of the Ionian liberal and reformer political platforms. This political passion sought to united unredeemed Greeks and expand Greece's territory. The natural leaders here were Konstantinos Lomvardos, Aristotelis Valaoritis, and George Typaldos Iakovatos, who envisioned the union of the Ionian Islands as the first step of unity with the unredeemed Greek populations and strengthening the Kingdom's position in Europe.[155] While also supporting national regeneration, the radicals, including Iosif Momferratos and Panagiotis Panas, fiercely debated the importance of first establishing social reforms and engraving popular sovereignty into the constitution.[156] The

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[155] Lina Louvi, "The role of Ionian MPs in Greek political life, 1864-1881. From "avant-garde" to complete assimilation," [«Ο ρόλος των Επτανήσιων βουλευτών στην ελληνική πολιτική ζωή, 1864-1881. Από την "πρωτοπορία" στην πλήρη αφομοίωση,» PhD diss., (Panteion University, 2010), 133-135.

[156] Traditionally the Reformers, such as Petros Vrailas-Armenis opposed this idea. In response to radical elements during the debates about union, he advocated that only gradual reforms can promote national aspiration. "The Pessimists" [«Οι Απαισιόδοξοι»]. *Patris* [*Πατρις*]," March 24, 1850,71. 325-326.

radicals argued that this would ensure foreign states did not interfere in governance and that the institutional and political role of the King was limited.[157]

The Ionian delegation was instrumental in the establishment of universal suffrage and secret ballots. Linked to the principle of popular sovereignty, the right to vote was central to Ionian liberalism and radicalism pre and post-union. Accordingly, the Ionian representatives fought vigorously to have universal male suffrage constitutionally recognized as an inalienable right. While Greece was the first country in Europe to introduce universal male suffrage in 1844, it had been established through an electoral law. The Ionian supporters of universal suffrage argued that in order to guarantee these rights against corruption and changes, they needed to be engrained into the constitution.[158] For the radical and agrarian representatives, universal suffrage required eliminating social stratification and democratizing the Greek state and the agrarian economy. Part of this was making voting more accessible, especially since the majority of the population was illiterate. Therefore, the Ionian delegates proposed casting votes with small lead pellets into a tin ballot box divided into two parts (the right representing a 'Yes' vote and colored white, the left representing 'No' and colored black) was significant. The Ionians were familiar with this method of voting, which was a remnant of the Venetian rule in the fourteenth century. [159] In the end, all Ionian representatives voted in favor of universal male suffrage with direct election, secret ballots, and the use of lead pellets.

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[157]   Lina Louvi, "The role of Ionian MPs in Greek political life," 146; 165.
[158] Lina Louvi, "The role of Ionian MPs in Greek political life," 153.
[159] Pantelis Kammas and Vassilis Sarantides. "Democratisation and tax structure in the presence of home production: Evidence from the Kingdom of Greece," *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 177 (2020): 227.

The election for the first parliament of the Democratic Monarchy in May 1865 saw Koumondouros become Prime Minister and the election of 33 Ionian MPs. Koumondouros benefited from Ionian liberal and rural support, strengthening the progressive agenda in Greece.[160] In turn, for their support, Petros Vrailas-Armenis became Minister of Foreign Affairs, Konstantinos Lomvardos the Minister of Interior, and Polychronis Konstantas was hopeful that the agrarian issue would be solved.[161]

As part of the first parliament, Ionian representatives continued to voice their national regeneration and social reformation concerns. The two most pressing issues were the agrarian question and the Cretan question. The agrarian question reflected the rapid liberalization of Greek politics and was championed by the Kerkyrean Agrarian Party.

The agrarian movement was nurtured by the popular liberal and social reform political movements on the islands before union and expanded after union with the leader of the Agrarian Party, P. Konstantas, whose party won six of Kerkyra's nine seats.[162] This strong showing ensured that the demands for the abolition of feudal institutions (seen as the remnants of foreign occupations) and a solution to the agrarian issue would be found. The debates that ensued brought the class tensions of Kerkyra into the Greek Parliament and pitted landowners and bourgeoisie against farmers and peasants. The agrarian question stemmed from the feudal system that existed on the islands since the Venetian rule, which was oppressive and indebted

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[160] Lyntia Tricha, "Parliamentary Elections and Politicians in the Ionian Islands after Union (1865-1895)" [«Βουλευτικές Εκλογές και Πολιτικοί στα Επτανησά μετα την Ενωση (1865-1895),»] in *Scientific conference: The union of the Ionian Islands with Greece 1864 – 2004* [*Επιστημονικό συνέδριο: Η ένωση της Επτανήσου με την Ελλάδα 1864 – 2004*] (Athens, University of Athens, 2004), A:215-225

[161] In 1867, Koumoondouros set up a committee to draft a bill addressing the agrarian issue of Kerkyra.

[162] In the National Assembly election right after union in July 1864, the agrarian faction under Konstantas won 16 of the 20 elected representatives from Kerkyra.

peasants.[163] The Ionian debates around the agrarian question had lasting impacts on future

political issues faced by the Greek state, especially around the annexation of Thessaly, Epirus,

and Macedonia and the question about "national lands."[164] The debates from Kerkyra spilled

over into the Greek Parliament after union and brought the debate between landowners and

peasants onto the national and public space. These arguments were played out in the debates

between Konstantas and Socrates Kouris (representing the landowners). [165] Konstantas and the

other agrarian representatives argued for the immediate abolition of feuds, agricultural debts and

loans. Between 1864 and 1868, various laws were passed that addressed the issues of feudalism

on the islands and set a system for small landownership.

The Cretan revolution in August 1866 brought the question of national regeneration to

the forefront and exposed political divisions in Greek politics. Due to their neutral stance to

appease European Powers, the governments' reluctance to intervene did not sit well with the

Ionian MPs. Again, Ionian representatives were well aware of the detrimental impact of foreign

interference in their governance on achieving national restoration, having experienced foreign

interference and obstacles with the British imposed neutrality and during the Crimean War.

Lamenting the inaction of the Greek government in the long struggle of the Cretan Revolution,

Aristotelis Valaoritis wrote to Lomvardos,

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[163] Gallant, Thomas W. "Turning the horns: Cultural metaphors, material conditions, and the peasant language of resistance in Ionian islands (Greece) during the nineteenth century." C*omparative studies in society and history* 36, no. 4 (1994): 702-719.

[164] Aroni-Tsichli, Kaiti. "The agrarian question: the agrarian movement and issues of land ownership in Greece, 1821-1923." Martor. *Revue d'Anthropologie du Musée du Paysan Roumain* 19 (2014): 43-62.

[165] Olga Pachi, Polychronios Konstantas and the political life in Kerkyra in the 19th century [Ο Πολυχρόνιος Β. Κωνσταντάς και η πολιτική κατάσταση της Κέρκυρας κατά το 19ο αιώνα] (Athens, Oselotos Publishing, 2011).

I did everything that I had to do until the end of the Cretan Revolution and until the rise of Epirus and Thessalia. This is when I decided to stop my duty as a parliamentarian because I realized and saw that no Greek government would genuinely assist in the expansion of the Greek border for a long time. Do you think I am wrong on this point?

In 1867, if you have not forgotten, when Koumondouros came along as the champion of panhellenism, I argued that we and many others also supported this cause. I was the one who stood on the podium at the Parliament with the battle plans, with the government support. Remember when this made you emotional, and I was humbled that I grabbed tears from your eyes and kisses from your lips?

Where do we disagree? From then I do not know what you did as a political person, but I confess that I did not do anything opposed to the National Question. I wrote to you to let you know that I was saddened that you remained silent about our former beliefs [National Question]. It was a belief that we tired over and were confident in its realization even though many in secret dreamed of our destruction and now are joyous at the sight of us not doing anything for our cause. [166]

Valaoritis retired from politics in 1868, frustrated with corrupt elections and the failures of the government to support the Cretan Revolution. Nevertheless, the Ionian representatives provided an important political voice and highlighted the language for addressing the national question. Ionian romantic nationalists, like Aristotelis Valaoritis and Spyridon Zambelios, sought to validate Greece's territorial expansion by demonstrating Greek providence. Future governments would use the Megali Idea to gain legitimacy with the population, which would have a lasting impact on the region's geopolitics and contributing to the Balkan Wars and Greco-Turkish War of 1922.

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[166] Correspondence Aristotelis Valaoritis to Konstantinos Lomvardos, 1 April 1871, Aristotelis Valaoritis Articles File 3.2, Valaoritis Family Folder, ELIA Archive. Athens, Greece.

The Ionian legacy post-union contributed to the establishment of a Greek political voice that enhanced and emphasized previously existing liberal politics in Greece around the national question and social reforms. The parliamentary experience under the British protectorate and the exposure to communication networks across Europe allowed the islanders to navigate and led many of the debates during the Second National Assembly and First Parliament—taking a central role in the national question. With the assimilation of political institutions and connecting economic activities with Greece, the Ionian Islands officially transformed from a borderland into a bordered land. The rise of the nation-states and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire signaled a hardening of borders, making it increasingly difficult for the islands to maintain their traditional social and economic networks. Romantic Nationalism created new boundaries that sought connections with the Greek Kingdom based on national sovereignty. Liberals and reformers believed that with national sovereignty, economic and political liberalism could be achieved. In this environment, Ionian intellectuals created narratives for a collective Greek national identity. Historical works and poetry emphasized the islands and mainland relationships based on a shared culture found in the peasant societies of Greece. However, as the agrarian question showed, political unification involved persistent social divides between the islands' rural populations and the traditional elite—a debate that spilled over to address Greece's class issues.

This dissertation has shown that islands are not isolated and therefore do not need to be presented as peripheral histories in the grand historical narratives of states. On the contrary, the Ionian Islands played a central role in forming national histories but were also central in negotiating Great Power politics in the nineteenth-century Eastern Mediterranean. Ionian

islanders had agency, and they used their unique position to negotiate their allegiance between competing powers to suit their local economic and political needs.

It is easy to lose sight of the broader impacts of islands on global events and movements, but this dissertation hopes to bring islands to the forefront, to demonstrate that islands are a viable source for understanding the movement of ideas from the west to the east, and the impact of boundary changes on borderland societies. It has demonstrated that islandness was central to political developments and identity formations on the Ionian Islands, and by extension Greece, during the nineteenth century. This period was significant as it represented a broad shift of tangible and imaginary boundaries. As islands increasingly became insular—that is to say peripheral to continental economic and political systems—as a result of broader geopolitical and social events, islanders responded by creating new connections between islands and continents. This manifested in new forms of identities, politics, and culture.

Throughout their history, the Ionian Islands were perceived as an insular and backward space that was at the mercy of larger Empires. This was most evident throughout the British Protectorate and demonstrated through the paternalistic way they governed the islands. However, the islands' relationships with various mainlands and other islands allowed them to also participate in modern civic institutions, and in turn, islanders were able to adapt legal, economic, and political means of action to advocate for reforms. While violence was a tactic used by Ionians, it was ultimately the legal and political actions that successfully brought about change.

This study has emphasized the dual nature of insularity, which encompasses features of both connectivity and isolation.[167] Taking this approach, islandness by nature is fluid and not

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[167] Erik Clarke, Erik & Thomas L. Clarke, Thomas, "Isolating connections – connecting Isolations," *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 91, no. 4 (2009): 311–23.

fixed to geographic fact. The Ionian case study has proved that islanders could activate either feature depending on their local needs as a survival mechanism. The relationship between the mainland and islands influenced how Ionian identity and culture developed over time. The isolation experienced by the islands due to the rise of nation-states in the Mediterranean, and the deterioration of Great Power influence in the region, forced Ionians to choose between Italian, Russian, or Greek identities. The regional identity developed by the Ionians was fluid and unique to their circumstances. Their traditional cosmopolitan identity was a feature that represented the globalized trade and connectedness of the Mediterranean Sea in the eighteenth century, while the local nationalist Greek identity of the nineteenth century was a representation of the increasing isolation the islands were feeling as the seaways closed off. Local identity was also a means for the intellectual elite to explain their relationship with the mainland during periods of isolation.[168] The research used in this project featured historical works produced by Ionians to locate the moments that triggered features of isolation versus connectivity and identify the historical moments, cultures, and geographies that influence identity.

The centrifugal tensions between islands and the mainland were not unique to imperial powers of the Mediterranean. Union proved to be a contentious political and social issue for the Ionian elite as they tried to both oppose state integration and preserve a degree of autonomy. The contentious relationship was manifested in the language question, the national question (the fulfillment of the Megali Idea), and the agrarian question leading into the late nineteenth century.

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[168] "The conception and expression of island identity, as well as its size, are part of an ongoing dialectic between the geographic and the political." Godfrey Baldacchino, "The Coming of Age of Island Studies,", *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie* 95, no. 3 (2004): 273-274

For the islanders, they were not peripheral but at the center. Ironically, union diminished the islands' ability to negotiate and therefore transformed the islands to a periphery.

Three important survival strategies gave the islanders agency and allowed them to navigate the changing Mediterranean world during the nineteenth century included transnational identities, economic independence, and liminality (an attribute of islandness reflected in the ability to connect and disconnect). The attribute of transnationalism allowed islanders to be mobile and take advantage of trade and intellectual systems across the Mediterranean world. Economic independence allowed merchants to circumvent trade restrictions and gave them access to global markets during times of war. Lastly, liminality, represented in a fluid border, strengthened mobility and allowed islanders to make social and political networks across various mainlands. Union, unfortunately, drastically reduced these survival strategies, and the assimilation of Ionian identity, culture, and institutions with the Greek State made them less resilient. Nationalization emphasized the islands' peripherality by diminishing their independence and capabilities to command political clout. Unlike Puerto Rico or Newfoundland,[169] the islands did not have a unique identity to garner popular support and threaten independence, and without the British flag, trade advantages diminished. For the Ionian liberals and reformers (the largest Ionian political voice in Greece), national identity overrode economic and political gains. The belief was that national sovereignty would lead to economic and political liberalism. Ionians' frustrations represented the failure of this idea. While Ionians played an essential role in the Greek political scene in the early years, their representation eventually diminished. However, one aspect remained that allowed the islands to command

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[169] Valérie Vézina "The role of the political system in shaping island nationalism: a case-study examination of Puerto Rico and Newfoundland" Island Studies Journal, 9, No. 1, (2014): 103-122.

attention from the central government—class. By the early twentieth century, class became a central feature of identity on the islands. The rise of socialism and communism was a reflection of the economic depression but also a new island survival strategy to respond to the state, global politics and seek influence.

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