

University of Birmingham



The local Press in the Ionian Islands during the period of British rule
(1849-1864)

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by
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Abstract

This research examines the local press of the Ionian Islands during the period of British rule (1849-1864) through a thorough examination of the primary sources. It utilizes newspapers in order to assess the relations between the colonizers and the colonized and re-define aspects of the British Colonial and Modern Greek History. It contributes to their critical examination, in an effort to advance current knowledge about the Ionian local press's significance.

Although other researchers have previously attempted to study the Ionian press, there has been no similar study which has been able to reflect on the multidimensional role of the newspapers. One of the most significant contributions of this study is that the local press was one of the major advocates of the Ionian Islands' unification with the Greek Kingdom; since its emergence (1849) this local press criticized all forms of recession and political instability in the Ionian state. Thus, aspiring to demonstrate its political nature, the thesis focuses on the role of the newspapers as political motivators of the public opinion by promoting the lines of the political parties they belonged to; at the same time, the thesis investigates the attitudes of the Heptanesian men of letters, who acted as journalists at the time. In this respect, the goal of the dissertation is to present the close relation of the Ionian press to the politics of the region, proving that the papers were one of the principal means of political discourse in the Ionian state.

The thesis complements and advances current knowledge about the Ionian press's contribution in shaping public opinion (i.e. formulating ideologies, views, beliefs and moralities of the locals' character), illustrates the identity of the journalists of the period and presents the viewpoints of the Ionians regarding the several challenges they were faced with – for instance, poverty, language, class, misuse of power and lack of individual freedoms. By examining in depth a different –non ruling– point of view, this study claims that Heptanesian newspapers were a powerful instrument and a guide of the public sentiment; they were a game changer, because they were voicing the views of an important group of intellectuals, thus constituting a diachronically priceless archive for researchers.

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Dedicated to my mother, Eleni

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PREFACE

The beginning of this research project dates back in the year 2006, when I was still an undergraduate student at the Ionian University. My supervisor at that time, Professor Theodosios Pylarinos, in the context of a dissertation at the History Department, suggested that I should examine a Heptanesian local newspaper of the mid-nineteenth century.¹ However, this research journey was short-lived, since there were not many newspaper volumes to go through; the issues salvaged by the Corfu Reading Society were scattered, and, definitely, not in a continuous chronological order. Nevertheless, within a year, and after the completion of my undergraduate course, I realized that, for many years, censorship was a damaging condition in the Ionian Islands, since the British were not allowing any Ionian voices to be heard, if they did not have the approval of the British Commissioner. Consequently, any private publishing activity was banned; the state remained inert in this respect for 32 consecutive years (1815-1847) and thus, any editorial effort was due to fail.

Upon the conclusion of my undergraduate studies and even though my dissertation did not paint any broad canvases, it sparked my interest to further explore this field through the local press which proved to be a valuable primary source. Therefore, I decided to follow a post-graduate course, again at the Ionian University, hoping that these studies would provide me with additional opportunities to conduct thorough research, mostly chiefly regarding the history of my homeland: the Ionian Islands. At the same time, I began to consider my birthplace, Corfu, and the other Ionian Islands in a colonial context, trying to find out more about their history, mostly focusing on the 50 years of the British rule (1815-1864).² During the master thesis, I had the opportunity to come across a wide variety of historical areas, to enrich my academic background, and broaden my horizons by exploring a primary source, a 600-page Corfiot diary – a representative example of the Heptanesian commercial bourgeoisie. This diary was the major trigger for focusing on the existing Greek and British scholarly studies, aiming at investigating the Heptanesian intelligentsia of the 19th

¹ Anastasios N. Mikalef, *Ο Πήγας Φεραίος και η Λογοτεχνία* (BA dissertation, Ionian University, Department of History), Corfu, 2007.

² I was principally intrigued by the book of Thomas W. Gallant, in which he specifically stated that “the Ionian Islands occupied a marginal position and were a sideshow in European imperial expansion, noting the absence of exoticism, romanticism and adventure of other British colonies in Africa, India, and the Far East”. Since his principal research question concerned the construction of the Ionian identity, he wondered whether the British considered the Ionians as Europeans with a Western culture; refer to: Thomas W. Gallant, *Experiencing Dominion, Culture, Identity, and Power in the British Mediterranean*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2002, pp. 10-11 (preface).

century, who aspired at fearlessly circulating the principles of the French Revolution, promoting the *liberté, égalité, fraternité* values and advocating individual rights under unusual political circumstances.

Having spent so much time exploring the British protectorate under the spectrum of a newspaper and a personal diary of the mid-nineteenth century, I had mistakenly taken into consideration one-sided information, since history is often recorded by the winning and not the losing side. Considering that winners had the power to construct historic momentum by paraphrasing textbooks, oral and written testimonies, documentation and, in general, every source of historical information, I also contemplated that I should thoroughly examine the Ionian Islands' local newspapers, a neglected area of research, which could provide a fuller picture of a certain era. Besides, it was a British historian, the Whig politician Thomas B. Macaulay (1800-1859), who once wrote: "The only true history of a country is to be found in its newspapers".³

³ Chandrika Kaul (ed.), *Media and the British Empire*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 1.

INTRODUCTION

This research explores the Ionian Islands' press during the period of British rule (1849-1864), through an extensive and detailed study of specific local newspapers. It presents the articulation of particular forms of colonial subjectivities, and aims to demonstrate the potential of the newspapers being published right after freedom of the press was granted in the Ionian state (1848),¹ by providing a number of in-depth textual analyses of articles published in that period. This thesis studies the role of the Ionian Islands' press in developing the political and socio-cultural motion in the Ionian state, viewed from the perspective of the colonized, and examines both the attitudes of the newspaper editors/journalists and its impact on the unification of the Ionian Islands with the newly-born Greek state. It thus illustrates that journalists shaped public perceptions through the way in which they reported the news, and also touched upon some of the most significant issues of their time, both political and socio-cultural.

Considering the accuracy of the information provided by the papers, and given that scholars have paid limited attention to the Ionian newspapers and its journalists (the public opinion makers in the Islands), this thesis aims to demonstrate that the Ionian Islands' local press and the views of the newspapermen are a valuable source of information for researchers, Heptanesian students, and British Empire scholars alike. It contains significant historical, political and literary articles, which show that the press promoted, in general, pro-union sentiments, and played an important role in the process of unification with the Greek state. Besides, the Zakynthian scholar Ntinios Konomos was one of the first major researchers of the Ionian local press to claim the following: “Ο Επτανησιακός Τύπος της εποχής εκείνης (...) υπήρξε η ψυχή (ως ακαταμάχητο όπλο του λαού για την εθνική του ανεξαρτησία) κι ο ακρογωνιαίος λίθος της ενώσεως της Επτανήσου με την Ελλάδα”.²

By revealing that the newspapers and the political parties were two communicating vessels, this thesis shall demonstrate that one of the important roles of the Ionian press

¹ Even though the *Dictionary of the British Empire and Commonwealth* by Alan Palmer, Albemarle Street London: John Murray, 1997, refers to the Ionian Islands as “*the United States of the Ionian Islands*”, I prefer Moschonas's term, and repeatedly refer to the Islands as “*the Ionian state*”; see characteristically: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Vol. 13, Athens, 1977, p. 202.

² Ντ. Κονομος, ‘Επτανησιακός Τύπος 1798-1864, Ημίφυλλα, Φυλλάδια, Εφημερίδες και Περιοδικά’, *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα*, Vol. 5, Athens, 1964, p. 7.

was to construct political mindsets, through the politicization of its readership. The newspapers were used by the parties as instruments, as political organs, and as a means of presenting political ideologies, especially because many of the Heptanesian journalists were prominent political personalities as well.³ On these grounds, the press discussed certain political (and socio-cultural) questions raised by the journalists, and revealed several weaknesses of the British policies, manifesting its strong political nature and revolutionary character. Indeed, according to the newspaper *Πατρίς*, one of the principal aims of a Heptanesian newspaper' issue is the following:

*Δεν αγνοούμε ότι η εφημερίς δεν είναι διδασκαλική
καθέδρα, ότι προ πάντων οφείλει να συζητή και να επικρίνη
τας καθημερινάς πράξεις της Κυβερνήσεως, και να
πληροφορεί το κοινόν περί των εσωτερικών και
εξωτερικών γεγονότων (...) επιθυμούμε να μορφώσωμεν
κατ' αυτόν και το φύλλο μας.⁴*

However, apart from the newspapers' political sphere and the political positions of the Ionian Islands' journalists-men of letters, the thesis discusses that another role of the press was the immediate improvement of the living conditions of the Ionian people, depicting the demand for several constitutional reforms and personal freedoms as a necessity for achieving a successfully structured national entity. Thus, this thesis reveals that the press had a social dimension as well, and contributes to the notion that this new media of newspapers had socially and culturally strengthened the Ionian state, i.e. the newspapers served multiple purposes in the civil society. For instance, I show that, apart from providing information through a weekly chronicle of events, newspapers also played a role in 'educating' both the general population and the middle-upper class on a variety of issues, creating a common link between the uneducated rural workforce and the intellectuals. In retrospect, it seems that the local newspapers acted like a hopeful teacher, willing to educate and to enlighten the youth and all social classes, by connecting the poor with the rich in spirit, by contributing to the society with their writings and by offering guidance on an intellectual level. The newspapermen were intellectuals who acted as leaders and forerunners of new values; they were politically aligned with the bourgeois middle class and contested concepts

³ Indeed, Milonas points out that a great deal of the journalists-editors of the Ionian Islands' press were the same ambitious politicians of the Ionian state; see respectively: Spyros Milonas, 'Οι Εθνικοί και Πολιτικοί αγώνες στα Εφτάνησα και ο ρόλος του Τύπου', *Επτανησιακόν Ημερολόγιον*, Year 1, Athens: Eptanisos, 1961, p. 178.

⁴ (Anonymous), 'Διασάφησις', *Πατρίς*, February 5th, 1849, No. 4.

such as amicable British protection, protectorate, and freedom of speech.⁵ Even though, according to the encyclopedia of the Greek Press, there are limited data available on Greek Ionian newspaper men,⁶ the analysis of the Ionian press contributes additionally in shaping the identity of the journalists and correlates the journalistic boom with the rapidly emerging new upper-middle well-educated class, consisting of Heptanesian aspiring politicians, lawyers, poets, philosophers, as well as physicians, who were willing to enter into political discussion and to participate in the governance of their country.⁷

The journalists-editors were not politically united, and the papers were categorized on the basis of the journalists' political beliefs. Consequently, they were immediately affiliated with the respective Heptanesian political parties: the anti-colonial *radical* and the colonial *reformist*⁸ and *pro-British* (this classification excludes the very few *independent* and *satirical* newspapers, which were mostly published in the later days of the British rule, did not serve any particular policy lines and therefore are not sufficiently examined in the thesis). In particular, the colonial *pro-British* newspapers were supporting the British Crown, and believed that the Ionian state could flourish under the British rule. Moreover, the *reformist* papers expressed their political views with moderation; they supported the unification with the Greek Kingdom, but suggested that this should be done at a later time, when the state would be better prepared. Therefore the reformers had faith in the British Empire and aimed to exploit British protectionism in order to reduce the negative impacts of Sir Th. Maitland's

⁵ Thomas W. Gallant prefers the term dominion instead of protection and actually wrote: *I have chosen dominion to express the thing that they experienced. Because dominion emphasizes the unity of power, authority, and sovereignty, it better conveys the complexities and ambiguities of imperial rule than do hegemony, accommodation, and resistance*; see: Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 10 (preface). For further analysis of the stratification of the bourgeoisie and its binary nature in the Ionian state, see the following Greek paper: Gerasimos Chytiris, 'Πολιτική έκφραση της κοινωνικής διαφοροποίησης στα Αγγλοκρατούμενα Επτάνησα', *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 20, Corfu, 1976, pp. 91-109.

⁶ Loukia Droulia - Gioula Koutsopanagou (eds.), 'Οι Άνθρωποι του Τύπου', *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου (1784-1974)*, Vol. 4, Athens, E.I.E, 2008, p. 515.

⁷ Nikokavoura correctly notes that more than 40 combative and courageous broadsheet newspaper' titles and journals started being issued in the Ionian state in the first years after freedom was granted to the press, with their primary aim being to criticize the political agenda. She also highlights that the Heptanesian newspaper men were viewed by the society as something respectable and honorable; see: A. Nikokavoura, 'Η Εφημερίδα 'Πατρίς' στην Κέρκυρα', Proceedings of the 4th International Panionian Conference, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 26, 1982, pp. 57-78.

⁸ It is worth noting that Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos was not recognizing the reformist party, since through his paper, he writes: *ας μας συγχωρήσουν λοιπόν να τους είπωμεν απ' αρχής, ότι και ένεκα της φύσεως των αρχών των και ένεκα της μη υποστάσεως αυτών εις την κοινωνίαν, δεν αποτελούν κανέν κόμμα*; see: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Οι αντιπρόσωποι Μεταρρυθμισταί', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, July 22nd, 1850, No. 8.

authoritarian rule.⁹ Lastly, the anti-colonial *radical* papers were solely and strictly supporting the union of the Ionian state with the Greek Kingdom. Numerous as they were, most of the newspapers published during Ward's Commission (1849-1855) were targeted by the British government and threatened with exiles, prohibitions, and even discontinuation of their operation.¹⁰

However, apart from the political classification, the Ionian newspapers can also be classified in chronological order, and they are divided into two specific periods. The first period (1849-1852) refers to the first years after the freedom of the press was established, and the second period (1857-1864) refers to the last years of the British domination.¹¹ This chronological classification reveals that, even though the papers examine the last 15 years of the British occupation (1849-1864), it is important to note that there is a five-year gap in publishing (1852-1856) with slight exceptions of the issue of a very small number of independent papers.¹² Therefore, the question, which unavoidably arises from this long pause of publishing activity, is which factor truly prevented the publication of the local newspapers? The answer is quite simple; it

⁹ Refer to: A. Kondoni - K. Papathanasopoulos, 'Οι πολιτικές και εθνικές ιδέες των μεταρρυθμιστών (1848-1851)', *Πολιτισμικές επαφές στα Επάνησα και αναμεταδόσεις στον υπόλοιπο Ελλαδικό χώρο, 16^{ος} -20^{ος} αιώνας, Πρακτικά Β' Συνεδρίου Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού*, 1984, Athens, Lefkadian Society Studies, 1991, pp. 311-315. In general, Moschonas makes reference to all the political parties in the Ionian state in the History of the Greek Nation; see: N. Moschonas, *op.cit.*, pp. 202-214.

¹⁰ Indicatively, see the radical press chapter and the radical newspaper *Αναγέννησις*, where Iosif Momferratos refers to the difficulties that the radical press faced. Especially, see the comments of edition No. 56, November 15th, 1858. In addition the newspaper *Ο Ρήγας* also makes detailed reference to exiles, prosecutions, fines, threats etc.; see: Dimitris Kallinikos, (G. Verykios), (No Title), *Ο Ρήγας*, May 22nd, 1858, No. 13.

¹¹ Konomos refers also to the significant lack of newspapers published during that period (1852-1856); see accordingly: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-128.

¹² Indicative are two Corfiot newspapers; *Εφημερίς των Ειδήσεων* and *Τα Καθημερινά*: 1) *Εφημερίς των Ειδήσεων (1855-1856)* (size 0,43x0,29). It was distributed in a weekly basis, every Monday (from the 17th edition, every Saturday, and Monday it was distributed extra an appendix). Its publication commenced on January 1st, 1855, and reported political foreign articles mostly. It was written in Greek and Italian, and it was printed in the *Ερμής* printing house, where editor in chief was Anastasios Politis; refer also to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 127. A very small number of issues (4) are saved in the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens (No. 43, 52, 54, 76), as well as in the Museum of the Press, in Patras, Greece (1-26 issues). 2) *Τα Καθημερινά (1855-1858)* (size 0,42x0,28) commenced its distribution on March 21st, 1855. It was a two-column and four-paged paper. Under the title there was the following motto: *Εθος άλλης φύσης*, however, from the 53rd issue, the editor changed the motto to *Ὅν ἐσπειρας καρπὸν θερίσεις*. Main editors were Georgios Monastiriotis as well as Andreas Kotzandas and Alexandros Vrachliotis, and the paper was printed in the printing house of *Σχερία*. The last newspaper sheet of the newspaper distributed on September 22nd, 1858 (issue 182); refer also to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-128. Again a small number of issues are saved in the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens (No. 15, 55, 110, 112-115, 154, 172, 181) as well as in the Museum of the Press, in Patras, Greece (see the thesis's bibliography).

was the totalitarian commission of Sir Henry George Ward (1797-1860).¹³ In 1849, Lord Seaton was succeeded by Commissioner Ward, a British diplomat and politician. Sir Ward (1849-1855) implemented an authoritarian rule, and just like Maitland, did not respect the freedom of the press.¹⁴ Sir H.G. Ward expressed an unjustified hatred, suspending the liberties granted by Lord Seaton, using cruel and inhumane means. This hatred is clearly reflected in a speech (31/07/1849), in which Ward accused Lord Seaton of having granted excessive liberties to the Ionians.¹⁵ Ward was aware that the repeated litigation expenses, along with the publishers' limited financial resources, would eventually lead a number of newspapers to go out of business. On top of the above, Ward frequently ordered police raids in political clubs and private houses, in pursuit of radical journalists. The radical newspaper *Χωρικός* indicatively points out:

*ιδού αιφνιδίως σμήνος χωροφυλάκων και αστυνομικών υπαλλήλων περικυκλούσι και εισέρχονται εις την οικίαν, ήτις, μετά την βιαίαν και αυθαίρετον παύσιν του Δημοτικού Καταστήματος, χρησιμεύει ως γραφείον της εφημερίδος μας, και κατακλείουσιν αυτήν, αποβάλλουσι δε και ημάς (...).*¹⁶

¹³ The independent paper *Η Παλιγενεσία* (1857-1858) refers to the censorship imposed by Ward, and states: *Παρατηρούμεν μόνον ότι δεν εννοούμεν την συμβουλήν (των Καθημερινών) περί αποχής ύβρεων ή φράσεων δυναμένων να εξάμωσι του λαού και των Κυβερνώντων τα πάθη και να καταστρέψωσι την ελευθεροτυπίαν. Αν ως ελευθεροτυπίαν εννοούν τα Καθημερινά την εν Επτανήσω έκδοσιν του φύλλου των, διότι άλλο φύλλο εν Επτανήσω εκδιδόμενον δεν γνωρίζομε (...);* see: (Anonymous), (no title), *Η Παλιγενεσία*, February 8th, 1857, No. 2. In general, *Η Παλιγενεσία*, was an independent Corfiot newspaper, which commenced its distribution on February 1st, 1857, until January 17th, 1858, counting in total, 45 consecutive issues. Under the main title there was the following motto from the Holy Bible: *Ει δε εκ Θεού εστί ου δύνασθε καταλύσαι αυτό (Πραξ. Αποστ. Κεφαλ. Ε' Εδ. 38)*. The newspaper was three-column, distributed weekly, and it was printed at the printing house of *Σχερία*. Publisher was Nikolaos Mavrogiannis. Few editions (as a microfilm) can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens, Greece (see bibliography).

¹⁴ According to the *dictionary of the National Biography*, London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1885-1901, Vol. 1, Ward had bought the loss-making *Weekly Chronicle*, using it to campaign for his views. His actions were criticized in the House of Commons, as he used his prerogative powers to banish certain newspaperpersons and members of the assembly.

¹⁵ Antonios I. Agiouis, *Η Ένωση της Επτανήσου με την Ελλάδα*, Corfu, 2006, pp. 55-58.

¹⁶ Dimitrios Daves, 'Απόπειρα κατά της εθνικής εορτής και κατά του οικιακού ασύλου', *Ο Χωρικός*, March 24th, 1851, No. 34 (appendix). For a detailed presentation of this prosecution, see also issue No. 35 of the paper issued on March 30th, 1851, where reference is made to a similar incident in Zakynthos, where the political clubhouse *Η Ένωσις* was forcibly shut down. In the same way, the newspaper *Αναγέννησις* refers to the press restrictions in September 1851, when the newspaper accused the public prosecutor and the government for going after its publisher, noting: *Γνωρίζομεν ήδη ότι πολύ ηπατημένος είναι ο περιμένων ήδη δικαιοσύνην εκ μέρους δικαστηρίων δουλικώς δικαζόντων, κατ' αρέσκειαν και κατ' έμπνευσιν της εξουσίας;* see respectively: Iosif Momferratos, 'Νέον κατά του Τύπου επινόημα', *Αναγέννησις*, September 8th, 1851, No. 32.

As a consequence, even though Lord Seaton's reforms were focused on a more liberal governing based on the more lenient policies of the British Colonial office, Ward's behavior regarding the distribution and the circulation of the press, caused temporary closures of the newspapers, exiles, and several prosecutions of the newspaper persons, essentially reinstating censorship in the Ionian state.¹⁷

In conclusion, despite the five year publishing gap in the Ionian state, the wealth of printed material has not been examined in either the British or the Greek/Ionian literature; in my personal view this new media of newspapers represents a valuable primary historical source, which should be reviewed and studied in detail, as an entirely new field of research. The following section introduces this source, and presents the typical format of a Heptanesian newspaper of the period.

The format of the local newspapers

While modern journalism attaches great deal of importance to certain factors concerning the formation of a newspaper, i.e. on which page the article is placed, the size, the type and the prominence of the titles associated with the articles, the format of the Ionian press seems to be quite clear, and the editorial rules follow a simple line.

Most of the times, newspapers had four pages and articles were published in two or three columns. The first page hosted the newspaper title, usually in large and bold font, and the date; a large number of newspapers listed the date in both the Julian and the Gregorian calendar,¹⁸ the number of the newspaper issue, almost always a motto (i.e. a short text, a proverb or a dictum which characterized the newspaper), and the subscription cost which was usually prepaid, as a monthly, biannual or annual subscription which was slightly more expensive for subscribers from abroad. The first page usually included a symbol –not an illustration; this was most probably transferred to the newspaper not as a hand drawing, but as a photographic image.

The editorial usually, but not always, had a title which was simple, short and accurate, definitely not pompous, and was always in line with the content of the

¹⁷ Refer also to the section 4.3 of the thesis, where the Greek press and its newspaper persons had faced similar prosecutions after the establishment of Greece's first Constitution, in 1844.

¹⁸ For ease of reference, this thesis refers only to the Julian calendar, despite the fact that, according to the Greek researcher Dembonos, the Gregorian calendar was the official Heptanesian calendar during the British rule. The two calendars were another important issue of conflict between the British rulers, the Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church. The Gregorian calendar was the most widely used calendar across the world, and adopted by Greece in 1923; see: Aggelos-Dionysis Dembonos, 'Από την Αγγλική προστασία στο Ελληνικό βασίλειο', *Proceedings of the 5th International Panionian Conference*, Vol. 2, 1989, pp. 223-224.

article. It was usually positioned in the left column of the front page, with a slight distinction in the size of the font; thus, it is evident that the most important topic of the newspapers was the editorial of the front page. The editorial usually covered the entire first page and often exceeded the second page as well. Most of the times, the editorial was strictly political and its author was usually the editor, i.e. the “soul” of the newspaper.

But, apart from the editorial, the newspapers also included a number of secondary columns with articles covering political and social questions, foreign news, news and history essays regarding the Greek Kingdom, excerpts from dissertations, educational issues, topics related to the language, poverty, the Ionian youth, news from the stock market, the suburbs, rural news, financial news, news regarding commerce, obituaries, etc. Some of the most commonly used secondary titles in the Ionian press include *Διάφορα/Ποικίλα*, *Εξωτερικαί ειδήσεις* and *Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος*. Even though secondary articles were shorter, they could be found in any issue of the local press, and were considered to be equally interesting to the main article. They often contained extensive literary sections and were filled with short stories, novels, poems and other works, and scholars may find “undiscovered gems” when researching the letters, speeches, and lectures published in these newspapers.¹⁹

These essays/articles were mostly published in Greek as Heptanesian-men of letters wrote their articles using a more sophisticated, but simpler, version of Modern Greek, the *Katharevousa*, which was essentially an accommodation between Ancient Greek and the demotic Greek of that period; according to Pylarinos, their purpose was to write in a coherent and easy to understand language.²⁰ Yet, it is important to state that a significant number of newspaper editorials were bilingual; they were written in Greek and translated into Italian (placed in a separate column next to the Greek article). Some newspaper’ editorials were also written in Greek and French, for example in the reformist newspaper *Πατρίς*. I assume that the inclusion of Italian and/or French texts in the newspapers facilitated some of the journalists to express their views, preventing misunderstandings on the parts of the British authorities, due

¹⁹ According to Psychogios, it becomes apparent that the Ionian newspapers’ format has many similarities with the format of the respective Greek newspapers of the period; see: Dimitris Psychogios, *Τα έντυπα μέσα επικοινωνίας. Από τον πηλό στο δίκτυο*, Athens: Kastanioti publications, 2004, pp. 363-365. Refer also to: Kostas Mayer, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Τύπου*, Vol. 1, Athens, 1957, p. 59.

²⁰ Theodosios Pylarinos, *Γλωσσικός Πατριωτισμός. Οι αγώνες για την καθιέρωση της γλώσσας του Ελληνικού λαού. Από τον Βράϊλα Αρμένη στην Κερκυραϊκή Εφημερίδα ‘Πατρίς’ έως τον Λορέντζο Μαβίλη στη Βουλή των Ελλήνων*, Corfu Reading Society, 2013, pp. 37-51, 54-101.

to translation mistakes, as the columnist of the reformist newspaper *To Μέλλον* specifically explains:

η πολιτική ημών θέση απαιτεί τοιαύτην θυσίαν, όπως
μανθάνωσι οι διοικούντες κατ' ευθείαν του λαού τας
ανάγκας, χωρίς να προσφεύγωσι εις εσφαλμένας και
κιβδήλους μεταφράσεις.²¹

Acknowledging the multiple powers of the press in making the political status of the Ionian Islands known to philhellenes across European countries, the use of additional languages may have been an effort of the editors to address a broader public, ensure higher readership, and gain broader support for the national sovereignty demand. Actually, a significant number of local newspapers could undertake the role of local correspondents for weekly papers abroad, in order to establish global communication networks. Given thus the wide readership of these newspapers,²² even the smallest incident could become known beyond the Ionian state narrow boundaries.

Considering that the major financial resource of the newspapers was the readers' subscriptions –who would either buy monthly, six-month, or a full year's subscription– often, the papers were not able to cover their operating expenses, such as expensive raw materials and the cost related with the use of the printing presses. On top of that, the editors –radicals mostly– had to repeatedly cover costs for court action and other legal expenses related to the prosecutions enforced by the British government. Since newspapers were not profitable, journalism was not a profitable profession either. Still any printing house had to financially survive and cover all related expenses through specific prices set for subscriptions. At this point, it is worth quoting a characteristic passage from the newspaper *H Ένωσις*, in which the columnist explains the necessity of readers' subscriptions:

²¹ (Anonymous), 'Όταν διά μακράν σειρά γενεών', *To Μέλλον*, January 1st, 1849, No. 1.

²² There is no evidence regarding the number of people regularly reading the newspapers at that period and thus, references to the newspapers' readership are based on hypothetical estimations. Still, one important question remains unanswered, even though it is directly related with the subscribing parties: was the readership mainly reflected in middle class Ionians, or, in other words, were newspapers a means of *mass* communication or were they only addressed to a specific target group? If the latter is true, then the local press acted as a socio-political tool addressed solely to the Heptanesian men of letters. It must be noted that the population living in the city were socio-economically different from the peasants and farmers living in the suburbs as the instinct of survival was stronger in the suburbs and poverty was the most important issue in the state. Many peasants had a lot of debts and no meaningful income. Moreover, it has been established that the illiteracy level among the Ionian population was high, with few of them being able to read and write and thus had very limited opportunities for growth and prosperity (refer also to chapter 5: The poverty question through *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*). Regarding poverty in the Ionian state, refer indicatively to: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για Δοκίμιο Πολιτικής Ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 42-44.

Παρακαλούνται όσοι εκ των Κυρίων της πόλεως Αργοστολίου λαμβάνουσι το φύλλον της εφημερίδος μας χωρίς να ήναι υπογεγραμμένοι εις τας αγγελίας, να δηλώσωσιν ανίσως εννοούν να ήναι τακτικοί συνδρομηταί, καθότι δύο Κύριοι αφού έλαβον τακτικώς τα φύλλα μέχρι 7 αριθμού, ηρνήθησαν την περαιτέρω αποδοχήν αυτών άμα τοις επαρουσιάσθη η προς πληρωμήν της συνδρομής παραλαβή, επί προφάσει ότι ενόμισαν την προς αυτούς αποστολήν των φύλλων ως απλούν δώρον.²³

Lastly, regarding the suggested price, the reformist newspaper *Πατρίς* states that newspapers were expensive, and the majority could not afford such an expense. The purchasing power of the lower classes was limited, and this is clearly reflected in the text quoted below, which describes how 20 villagers were trying to come up with the cost of the newspaper *Πατρίς*:

(...) καθείς αμέσως κατέβαλε το κατά δύναμιν, συνεπληρώθη το ποσόν των 5 ταλλήρων και ο καφεπόλης αντιπρόσωπος είκοσι περίπου πτωχών συμπολιτών του δραμών πλήρης χαράς εις την οικίαν μου έγινε συνδρομητής της Πατρίδος!²⁴

Literature review

While the historical background provided by the available Greek scholarly studies on journalism provides a partial view of the Heptanesian newspapers, this research found a lack of relevant studies critically analyzing the aims of the Ionian press, despite the recent strong interest in exploring local and regional press in Greece, as an additional point of reference. The number of studies regarding the Ionian Islands's local press is indeed limited; these studies, all of which were conducted by Greek researchers, have only taken into consideration parts of individual newspapers and not the entire archive of Heptanesian newspapers.²⁵ But, most importantly, the majority of these studies do not take a critical view, and generally do not extend any further than keeping records of the newspapers' head titles, while other historical studies, analyzing the political events in the Islands, focus only on specific newspaper sheets. Therefore, most of these studies have used references to newspapers as a supplementary source, which would confirm the data collected through other primary sources of information and

²³ (Anonymous), 'Ειδοποίησης', *Ένωσις*, June 3rd, 1849, No. 8.

²⁴ (Anonymous), 'Κύριε Συντάκτα της Πατρίδος', *Πατρίς*, December 17th, 1849, No. 49.

²⁵ It is characteristic that, in the Encyclopedia of the Greek Press, the author solely refers to the Lefkadian press and the research of Kontomihis Pantazis, *Ο Τύπος της Λευκάδας (1806-1987)*, Athens: Grigori, 2003; see respectively: Loukia Droulia-Gioula Koutsopanagou (ed.), *op.cit.* Vol. 4, pp. 509-511.

have thus neglected to look into the impact of newspapers within the Heptanesian and the colonial context. Indeed, one of the most important researchers of the Media in the British Empire, Chandrika Kaul, eloquently describes this, noting that “the press was usually seen as easy copy and used – and often abused material”.²⁶

In order to demonstrate consistency between this thesis and scholarly content, and with the purpose of developing a theoretical framework, reference must be made to the systematic efforts of the Zakynthian scholar, Ntinos Konomos (1918-1990), who has presented the profile of all the newspapers issued in the Ionian Islands from the beginning of the French occupation (1797) until the end of the British rule (1864), in his historical-literary and folklore journal entitled: *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα*.²⁷ In particular Konomos dedicated the fifth issue of the *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα*, entitled ‘*Επτανησιακός Τύπος (1798-1864) (Ημίφυλλα, Φυλλάδια, Εφημερίδες και Περιοδικά)*’, to highlight and discuss, for the first time, the role of the Heptanesian press as a whole, in 1964. In this, he provides a detailed profiling of the local Heptanesian political newspapers, the government’s newspapers, certain pamphlets, several periodicals and journals; however, for unknown reasons, he has excluded books.²⁸ Given the lack of a critical review of the material collected, it is obvious that the main purpose of Konomos’s research was to collect and record all the printed material from the nineteenth century, which he fortunately salvaged before the catastrophic earthquake occurred in Zakynthos and Kefalonia in 1953. Commencing his short historical narrative from the prohibition of any printing attempt during the Venetian rule, Konomos essentially

²⁶ Chandrika Kaul (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 1.

²⁷ Prior to Nt. Konomos’ efforts in 1964, reference must be made to Marietta E. Yannopoulou (1950) as well as to Spyros Milonas (1961). They were the first who briefly introduced the Ionian Islands’ press; on the one hand, Yannopoulou made particular reference to the historical conditions under which the press was manifested in the Ionian state, simultaneously presenting a particular number of the most important papers’ titles and, on the other hand, Milonas pointed out the resistant (anti-Imperial) role of the Ionian press, in a two-page summary. Refer to: Marietta Yannopoulou, ‘Οι εφημερίδες που εκδίδονταν στα Εφτάνησα επί Αγγλοκρατίας’, *Φιλολογική Πρωτοχρονιά*, Year 7, Athens, 1950, pp. 241-246. Also: Spyros Milonas, ‘Οι Εθνικοί και Πολιτικοί αγώνες στα Εφτάνησα, και ο ρόλος του Τύπου’, *Επτανησιακόν Ημερολόγιον*, Year 1, Athens: Eptanisos, 1961, pp. 168-178. For the role of the press see the last two pages: pp. 176-178.

²⁸ According to the Encyclopedia of the Greek Press, there is confusion in the use of the terms newspapers, journals and periodicals which were used interchangeably, especially during the 19th century. In a similar manner, in the Ionian Islands, journals and periodicals could be called newspapers and vice versa; see: Loukia Droulia-Gioula Koutsopanagou (ed.), *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 13-14. However, in our case, Konomos’s references are clear and always indicate the type of publication, and we, thus, assume that the author identified the source mostly based on its content; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 107-141. On the pamphlets produced in the Ionian Islands, refer to: Leonidas X. Zois, ‘Η παμφλετογραφία εν Επτανήσω’, *Αι Μούσαι*, Vol. 38, No. 860, Zakynthos, 1930. Also see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-106.

creates an obligation for future researchers to explore this material in more detail, and critically analyze the roles of Heptanesian newspapers and the purposes they have served.

In *History of the Greek Nation* (1977), Nikolaos Moschonas examines the period of British rule in the Ionian Islands, and focuses on the last, yet important, period of the British occupation (1848-1864);²⁹ – that is to say, just a few years before press freedom was established in the Ionian state. Concentrating thus on certain historic facts, and based on Konomos's fundamental work in this field, Moschonas illustrates a number of important newspaper titles, and discusses the conditions leading to the establishment of the Ionian local press. Moschonas was one of the first authors who identified the link between the press and the political parties, drawing attention to the Kefalonian dreadful riots and to the exiles imposed on radical journalists.³⁰ Although his contribution to the *History of the Greek Nation* covers only part of the British rule in the Ionian Islands, both his writing and historical account are still considered important, because he shed light on the Heptanesian press and its links with the Heptanesian politicians.

Konomos paved the way for a more thorough analysis of the local political press in the Ionian Islands, and, apart from Moschonas's notable effort in 1977, Nikokavoura presented a paper in the International Panionian conference (1982), discussing the Corfiot reformist newspaper *Πατρίς* (1849-1851). Her work was the first analytical research based on a specific Heptanesian newspaper; she examined the newspaper's content and discussed the main topics covered by its articles. But, most importantly, Nikokavoura paved the way for a systematic approach of the Heptanesian political press, highlighting its multiple roles, mostly focusing on the newspapers' contribution to the struggle for personal freedoms and individual rights, arguing that this newspaper was a major agent of politics and an invaluable source of information.³¹

Indeed in 1989, Anna Kondoni conducted detailed research in the context of her doctoral thesis, entitled *Φιλελεύθεροι Στοχασμοί και Δεξίωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο. Ιδεολογία και πολιτική των Μεταρρυθμιστών (1848-1864)*,³² where among other

²⁹ It is well-known that Nikolaos Moschonas, among other things, assisted in the reconstruction of the historical records office in Kefalonia, and, thus, had direct access to the newspaper archives.

³⁰ N. Moschonas, *op.cit.*, pp. 202-214.

³¹ A. Nikokavoura, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-78.

³² Anna Kondoni, *Φιλελεύθεροι Στοχασμοί και Δεξίωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο. Ιδεολογία και Πολιτική των Μεταρρυθμιστών*, Athens, 1989 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Athens).

sources, she investigated a number of reformist newspapers, studying the contents of particular issues, in an attempt to analyze the Heptanesian reformist ideology and define their ‘westernized’ policy, according to which modernization had to be the main objective of the Ionian society. Therefore, by considering individual local papers as a supplementary source, Anna Kondoni’s study constitutes one of the most significant efforts to present the reformist group in the Ionian Islands, as well as the philosophical basis of the reformers’ political formation.

Over time, it became apparent that the Heptanesian local newspapers were truly a valuable and fruitful primary source and, ten years later on (1999), following the significant impact of Moschonas’s contribution to the voluminous *History of the Greek Nation*, the Greek popular newspaper *Η Καθημερινή*, in its 7 ημέρες insert –edited by K. Giourgos– published an article featuring the political Ionian press, providing a full presentation of the most important newspapers published during the British rule, and briefly outlining the historical background for the establishment of the printing offices in the region. In a way similar to the *History of the Greek Nation*, this article described the ties between newspapers and the respective political parties, and provided information regarding some of the most prominent Heptanesian personalities of that period.³³

The year 2008 was crucial for the history of the press in Greece; the Stavros Niarchos Foundation announced the completion of a major academic milestone: a four-volume *Encyclopedia of the Greek Press (1784-1974)* presenting a plethora of newspapers issued within the Greek territory and in the Greek communities of the Diaspora.³⁴ The equivalent *Encyclopedia of the British Press (1422-1922)* [ed. Dennis Griffiths, Macmillan Press, London, 1992] served as a blueprint for the Greek editors. More specifically, a total of 340 authors participated in this effort, including faculty members and researchers from the Centre for Research in Modern Greek Studies which belongs to the National Research Foundation in Greece. The editors dedicated

³³ K. Giourgos (ed.), ‘Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας’, *Καθημερινή*, (insert) *Επτά Ημέρες*, May 30th, Athens, 1999, pp. 1-32.

³⁴ Prior to the *Encyclopedia of the Greek Press*, the three-volume work of the journalist Kostas Mayer, *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Τύπου*, Vol. A, (1790-1900), (1957), Vol. B, Αθηναϊκά Εφημερίδες (1901-1959), (1959), and Vol. C, Εφημερίδες και περιοδικά (1901-1959), (1960), Athens, 1957-1960, constituted the first systematic effort of presenting the Greek Press, enriching the existing bibliography, but also focusing on the press of the *Diaspora*. A detailed presentation of the bibliography regarding the Greek Press is included in the *Encyclopedia of the Greek Press*; see: Loukia Droulia - Gioula Koutsopanagou (eds.), *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 508-509. For a systematic review of the Greek press (by a few Greek scholars), see: *ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 15-17.

12 years in researching and compiling the history of the Greek Press, beginning with the earliest published material from Vienna in the late 18th century up until 1974, and presented their work on a critical time for the history of the press because, as Droulia pointed out, “the internet had gradually begun replacing the printed press”.³⁵ The Encyclopedia of the Greek Press also includes Greek newspaper’ profiles and the biographies of prominent Heptanesian personalities, coauthored by Theodosios Pylarinos and Eri Stavropoulou. However, it is worth noting that this Encyclopedia refers to a limited sample of the Ionian press (chiefly the radical one), not taking into account numerous local newspapers. As a result, the Heptanesian press remained an unexplored data source, and the lack of a systematic effort to explore the editorial movement of that period, becomes even more evident. In particular, among other entries in this Encyclopedia, the following refer to the press of the Ionian Islands: the newspapers *Αλήθεια* and *Ο Κεραυνός* issued by the radical Panayiotis Panas; *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* along with a short biography of its editor Iosif Momferratos; the satirical *Αποθήκη του Διαβόλου* issued by Ferdinando F. Oddi; the reformist newspaper *Πατρίς* along with the biography of its editor Petros Vrailas-Armenis; *Αύχνος/Αυχινιές* by Andreas Laskaratos along with his biography and *Ο Χωρικός* by radical Kefalonian Dimitrios Daves. Moreover, it includes short biographies of some exceptional journalists and/or politicians such as Antonios Gaitas, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, Konstantinos Lombardos, Andreas Moustoksides, and Iakovos Polyilas.

Maria A. Kotina’s published doctoral dissertation (2014), which examined in detail the radical movement in the Ionian Islands (1849-1864), was indeed interesting and significant, because it described analytically the appearance, development and function of radicalism in the Ionian state, making particular reference to certain political newspapers of the period, mostly radical. But, most importantly, Kotina’s research illustrates that the growing attempts of the radical journalists to defend their views co-existed with the struggle of numerous political representatives of this party to disseminate their ideals. Utilizing a number of newspaper editions from that period, Kotina highlights excerpts of the most widely circulated radical newspapers which essentially reflect the views of Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos and Iosif Momferratos. She lastly presents details regarding the radical schism, viewed from a journalistic

³⁵ *Ibid.*

perspective by a particular Zakynthian radical newspaper, whose major representative was the distinguished politician/journalist, Konstantinos Lombardos.³⁶

Methods and Sources

Taking into account the review of the literature given in the previous pages of this introduction, one realizes that the Ionian newspapers remained a largely neglected primary source for a long time; research related with the Ionian Islands' press was limited to a narrow timeframe of reference, mostly focusing on current events or events of the recent past. Consequently, very little attention was paid to the historical content and value of the press,³⁷ as Koutsopanagou points out: “this fostered a one-dimensional approach that highlighted the obvious and failed to investigate the contexts of the social, cultural, economic and political history in which media phenomena are generated”.³⁸

However, due to the increasing digitization projects in Greece, –especially the digitization of the newspaper' archives in the Library of the Greek Parliament in Athens during the last years– new opportunities were opened to research in this field, by offering access to the digitized issues of the Heptanesian local press.³⁹ Having thus easier access, I had the opportunity to go through a large number of newspapers, and to extend my primary sources' research even further. At the same time, I concentrated on available studies focusing on the history of the Ionian Islands, either in English⁴⁰

³⁶ Maria A. Kotina, *Το Ριζοσπαστικό κίνημα στα αγγλοκρατούμενα Επτάνησα (1848-1864)*, Athens, 2014.

³⁷ Gioula Koutsopanagou, *The British Press and the Greek crisis, 1943-1949*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, p. 8 (inserting the media into History).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ The earliest systematic efforts for cataloguing the Greek press are found in the Library of the Parliament and the National Library, in Athens; see respectively: Loukia Droulia - Gioula Koutsopanagou (eds.), *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 505. In addition, the 490-pages descriptive catalogue of Christopoulos, presenting the newspapers in the Greek Chamber of Deputies Library (1789-1970) was a very useful tool in my research; see: P. Christopoulos, *Εφημερίδες αποκείμενες στη Βιβλιοθήκη της Βουλής (1789-1970). Περιγραφικός κατάλογος*, Athens, 1993.

⁴⁰ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.* Also: Robert Holland and Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes, struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960*, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 13-80 (chapters 2,3); Robert Holand, *Blue-Water Empire, The British in the Mediterranean since 1800*, U.K., Penguin, 2013; Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy, State, Class and Colonialism in the Ionian Islands 1815-1864*, Berghahn, New York-Oxford, 2017. A limited number of unpublished PhD theses can also be found in U. K., such as: J.J. Tumelty, *The Ionian Islands under British Administration, 1815-1864*, University of Cambridge, 1953; E. Calligas, *The Rizospastai (Radical Unionists), Politics and Nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, (1815-1864)*, University of London, 1994; M. Miliori, *The Greek Nation in British Eyes, (1821-1864): Aspects of a British Discourse on Nationality, Politics and History and Europe*, Oxford, 1998; P. L. Hionidis, *The Greek Kingdom in*

or in Greek,⁴¹ in an effort to further strengthen the thesis with secondary bibliographical references, while I paid repeated visits to libraries and archives of Corfu, Kefalonia, Zakynthos and Athens, attempting to collect further material regarding my subject and be able to commence my study. Indeed, I managed to find many newspaper issues in the library of the Greek Parliament; some were digitized, others were available in microfilms, and a few were accessible only in their original format; these were photographed by me, straight from the archives, in order to be further analyzed without the risk of harming the originals.⁴²

Also, in the early stages of my research, I came across an oral testimony of elderly inhabitants of Corfu and Kefalonia, according to which in the past, newspapers were used as wrapping paper in the fish markets because the paper was bacteria-free, absorbed grease, and trapped steam; as a result, the fish could be kept warm and fresh. Precious and expensive as they were, I found out that newspapers were also used as mounting paper for pressed flowers. Consequently, since paper sheets were a valuable and expensive material which could be reused several times, they were not viewed as material of historical or archival value. Given that newspapers are not considered a permanent historical data source,⁴³ their value was overlooked by historians.⁴⁴ The aforementioned reports of the elderly Ionians indicate also the challenges that every researcher of the press is faced with; scattered newspaper issues and major gaps in gathering all of them are chief obstacles in such projects. Indeed, in this case, some archives were destroyed during World War II. But, most importantly, another major

British Public Debate, 1862-1881, University of London, 2002; M. Paschalidi, *Constructing Ionian Identities: The Ionian Islands in British Official Discourses: 1815-1864*, University College London, 2009.

⁴¹ Concerning Greek historiography, Panayiotis Hiotis, Spyros Verykios, and Andreas M. Idromenos were among the first historians to present the history of the Ionian Islands, in detail. Even today (despite the fact that these studies have been influenced by the spirit of nationalism developed in Greece at the time), they constitute a significant point of reference for the research and student community alike. Also, a great deal of socio-cultural, economic and political articles derived from the *Panionian conferences* which are conducted every few years, constitute a first-rate corpus, because these series of academic writings demonstrate different aspects of the Heptanesian history; see: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους. Από συστάσεως αυτού μέχρις ενώσεως, έτη 1815-1864*, Vol. 1-2, Zakynthos, 1874 & 1887; S. Verykios, *Η Ιστορία των Ηνωμένων Κρατών των Ιονίων Νήσων. Η αποπληθείσα «Βρετανική Προστασία» και οι αγώνες των Επτανησίων δια την εθνικήν αποκατάστασιν 1815-1864*, Athens, 1964 (reprinted); Andreas M. Idromenos, *Πολιτική Ιστορία της Επτανήσου 1815-1864*, Corfu, 1935 (reprinted).

⁴² It is worth noting that the majority of the Ionian Islands' newspapers are now digitized; however, this was not the case in 2013, when I began collecting newspaper material for the purpose of my study.

⁴³ Gioula Koutsopanou, *op.cit.*, pp. 7-14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

reason for these gaps was that in August 1953, more than 113 earthquakes occurred in the region, between Kefalonia and Zakynthos. The 1953 Ionian earthquake, also referred to as *the Great Kefalonia earthquake*, was devastating and caused widespread damages throughout the southern Ionian Islands. More specifically, in the island of Zakynthos only two buildings were unharmed, and the entire island had to be rebuilt. Argostoli, the capital of Kefalonia, sustained devastating damage and all buildings collapsed to the ground. As a result, many archives were destroyed and lost forever. Yet, finding a newspaper of the time was not the only consideration on my account; when I started this journey, I was unaware of the many challenges I would have to face during my research. When deciding on my methodological approach, in the evaluation of the newspapers' content, I had to take into consideration the strengths and weaknesses i.e. validity, subjectivity, inaccuracy, sensational journalism and one-sided articles, since all these factors could complicate my work and have an impact on objectivity and accuracy. Still, in my view, newspapers are an excellent data source, since they constitute a very useful tool of historical evidence and provide an everyday picture of the society.

Given the above circumstances, and in order to thoroughly analyze the data, the methodology that seemed to be best suited for the purposes of this thesis was the close reading of the primary source, simultaneously adopting an integrated approach, in order to study the papers' roles. More specifically, by focusing on the newspapers' contents, this thesis places the titles into a historical context; it also examines the journalists' articles, as they were circulated to the Ionian society and uses them "as an interpretative framework through which readers can make sense of the world", as Koutsopanagou states.⁴⁵ But more importantly this thesis correlates secondary sources with material evidence, in order to cross-check the facts. To this end, the newspapers were cross-checked against existing scholarly studies, when possible, in order to be able to evaluate their validity and objectivity. Moreover, by uncovering, as yet unused material and an unexplored research domain in the journalism and communication field, this research used a bottom-up approach, examining archives originating not from official discourse or colonial correspondence and parliamentary minutes, but documents related directly with the middle class. Lastly, I preferred to keep a critical

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* Refer also to: Adrian Bingham, 'Media Products as Historical Artefacts', in *the Routledge Companion to British Media History*, Martin Conboy & John Steel (ed.), Routledge: London 2017, Part I, p. 25.

stance towards these newspapers as historical sources which report facts in a completely accurate way, since this research project involved a subjective assessment of the primary source, trying to identify the intentions, beliefs, and political views of the journalists in that era. On the other hand, given the historical authenticity of the press, as Koutsopanagou points out, this study “constructs a canvas on which political and socio-cultural events are reflected through time”.⁴⁶

As a result, based on the significant effort of Ntinos Konomos to record the newspapers’ profiles in the middle 20th century, the first step in my research was to advance his work, and put together a more organized record of the journalism in that era. However, it is important to note that, due to the word limit of the thesis, even though all local newspapers are presented, this research focuses on the most important newspaper’ titles. This thesis intends to present a critical view of the printed evidence, in an attempt to establish historical facts through a careful and extensive review of the archival sources. Yet, it must be noted that this research focuses exclusively on data from local newspapers and does not include any periodicals, journals or pamphlets, neither the Official Government Gazette published in the Ionian Islands during the period of British rule. Furthermore, in order for a more detailed analysis to be performed, and based on the correlation of the Heptanesian political parties with the newspapers, the thesis implemented the preexisting classification of the Ionian Islands’ press into *radical*, *reformist* and *pro-British* press, as suggested by both Ntinos Konomos and Nikolaos Moschonas,⁴⁷ along with a number of *independent and satirical* newspapers. Consequently, the thesis is organized around these three sections, and highlights important aspects of the Ionian Islands’ press.

Thesis Outline

Chapter 1 presents the Ionian Islands’ geographical/socio-political background. It briefly introduces the reader to the Ionian Islands, and offers a general overview of their historical background, starting with the Venetian rule (1386), continuing with the French occupation (1797), the short period of Russian-Turkish domination (1799), the Ionian semi-independence (1800), the return to nominal French allegiance (1807), up to the period of British rule, in which the British Crown had inherited almost all seven Islands (1809-1810). It continues by briefly presenting the British rule (1815-

⁴⁶ Gioula Koutsopanagou, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-9.

⁴⁷ N. Moschonas, *op.cit.*, pp. 202-214. Refer also to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*

1864) in the Ionian Islands, and highlights Sir Thomas Maitland's authoritarian rule and militaristic constitution, during the first years of the British domination, and the final unification of the Ionian Islands with the Greek Kingdom, in 1864.

Chapter 2 introduces the reader to the 19th century Colonial Press of the British Empire, and aspires at integrating the Ionian protectorate's local press into a British colonial context. It describes the work of several researchers of the press, who refer to examples of various parts of the former Empire; Canada, South Africa, India, New Zealand and Malta, with a view to compare Ionian press with other colonial cases.

Chapter 3 explores the printing culture and reviews the establishment of printing houses in the Ionian Islands. It highlights the absence of printing presses for many decades and the Venetian policy of stubbornly prohibiting typography to be disseminated in the scattered Greek colonies. It shows that, for a certain period, the printing houses were operating exclusively under the government's decrees and any private printing activity was banned; as a result, the disappointed Heptanesian bourgeoisie had to publish their articles in Athens, Malta, and London. This chapter also examines the establishment of the first privately-owned printing houses, arguing that the arrival of Lord J.C. Seaton as Commissioner of the Islands (1843-1849) was crucial for private publishing efforts, and makes particular reference to the issue of the first literary –non political– newspaper *Ο Σπινθήρ*, in 1847.

Chapter 4 presents the historical conditions and the principal factors contributing to the emergence of the Ionian local press in 1849 and its flourishing thereafter. It specifically discusses that the uprising of the Athenians in 1843 –and consequently the first free Greek Constitution in 1844–, the liberal European Revolutions in 1848, the repatriation of several Heptanesian scholars from cities across Europe and, lastly, the appearance of the political clubhouses and their transformation into 'proletariat' revolutionary centers, were all major contributors in the flourishing of newspapers. This chapter also examines how the freedom of press was established and presents the journalists' views on this, arguing that this was not something granted by Commissioner Lord John C. Seaton, but a fact resulted by numerous revolutionary movements across Europe.

In accordance with the introduction of this research, which argues that the Heptanesian journalists, through this new media of newspapers, wished to initiate a political dialogue between the local bourgeoisie and the British regarding the future of the Islands and to criticize the acts of the British, the following four chapters (chapters

5, 6, 7 & 8) discuss the political parties' lines in the Ionian state, and demonstrate the journalists' views and values, according to the newspapers' contents. These chapters describe how the Heptanesian journalists-scholars adopted an attitude of outstanding morality, characterized by fairness, boldness of speech, fair criticism and creativity. They also explain that communication and information activated the political scene through the publication of texts regarding political recession, and also highlight that Heptanesian journalism produced many great writers, who contributed in increasing the flow of political ideas.

Chapter 5 in particular, shows that certain groups, favorable to the British Crown, argued that the British were protectors of the Ionian Islands, and thus, their role was beneficial. The chapter also analyzes the colonial pro-British press and the pro-British perceptions in the Ionian Islands, arguing that its supporters had clear arguments and a well-defined political program. Demonstrating the notable arguments raised by Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, an important Heptanesian politician of the nineteenth century, who was also the editor of the leading pro-British newspaper *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, this thesis illustrates the support to the British Crown as a realistic option. More specifically, it presents that the British supporters were considered pro-government and described by the terms of *Αργυρώνητος και Καταχθονία* since, according to Greek historians, they only cared about preserving their personal interests.⁴⁸ However, this research proves that this thinking was inaccurate, since not all British supporters cared only about preserving their property and pompous titles.

Chapter 6 examines the reformist press, and focuses on its unifying character, highlighting that the “Greekness” of the Islanders was a significant parameter. It presents that the much-desired union was a substantial factor and a beneficial contribution of the newspapers to the society; however, according to the reformist-journalists, the Ionian state was not yet ready to unite with the Greek Kingdom. It shows that some of its main objectives were to suggest reforms in Maitland's authoritarian constitution, to outline any social ‘illness’ as well as to educate and enlighten the population. Even though this chapter examines all reformist newspapers, it focuses on the articles published in the leading newspaper *Πατρις*, and concludes that one of the newspapers' principal purposes was to present the common ground with the Greeks in an effort to increase the philhellenic sentiment. They also aimed to

⁴⁸ Panayiotis Hiotis, *op.cit.*, Vol. A, pp. 3-19, 32-55-56, 67-69. Refer also to: N. Moschonas, *op.cit.*, pp. 202-217.

present the Ionian Islands as an integral part of the Greek Kingdom by promoting the use of the Greek language –acknowledging that, due to the Venetian occupation, the official language of the islands for almost 500 years was Italian– and by reminding the tight religious ties with the Greek orthodox dogma.

Lastly, chapters 7 and 8 examine the anti-colonial radical press. They aim to provide a more detailed review of the press’s influences, purposes and aspirations concerning the unification, and documenting its beneficial role by reflecting the revolutionary fervor in daily life discourse. These two chapters review the journalists’ attitudes and their noble fights for national liberation and human rights, denouncing British arbitrariness and misuse of power. They prove that the radical press’s primary and most significant goal was to promote the highly-desired union of the Ionian Islands with the Greek Kingdom, and was instrumental in the expression of harsh criticism against the British rule, behaving as a watch-dog over the British domination and keeping an eye on the rulers in order to protect the people from its authoritarian rule.

Overall, this research considers the Ionian press as a useful and invaluable primary source. By exhibiting the middle-upper class private press’s efforts, this thesis aims to thoroughly investigate all dimensions of the press, providing the first detailed analysis of how the Ionian local press affected the union of the Ionian Islands with the Greek state. However, it is important to note that, even though this study focuses on 1849-1864, in an effort to present the Ionian Islands’ printing culture, the thesis goes back a few years earlier (see chapter 3), because this extended timeframe allowed me to better trace the Ionian Islands rulers’ policies in relation to the establishment of printing presses. Lastly, I hope that this study will provide to the wider public first-hand evidence regarding the Heptanesian press and facilitate scholars to acknowledge the significant role of the Ionian local press in shaping the society and encouraging significant political/socio-cultural changes.⁴⁹ It may also attract the interest of Greek and British Empire historians, students of colonialism, and researchers of the history of journalism, presenting the emergence of the Ionian press in 1849 and its multiple roles, in order to enrich the existing literature, and cover the gap regarding the history of journalism in the Ionian protectorate and the British Empire territory.

⁴⁹ Gioula Koutsopanagou, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

CHAPTER ONE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS FROM THE VENETIAN TO THE BRITISH RULE

1.1 The Ionian Islands from 1386 until 1797

The Ionian Islands are a group of islands located in the Ionian Sea, Greece. They are also known as the seven Islands, Septinsular, or traditionally called the *Επτάνησος*, and include, from North to South: Corfu, Paxos, Lefkada (Santa Maura), Ithaka, Kefalonia, Zakynthos (Zante) and Kythira (Cerigo). As Paschalidi points out, they all have “served as stepping stones between Western Europe and Greece”,¹ however each island has its own history, which is interrelated with, and, at the same time, independent from the history of the other islands. Corfu is the capital of the Ionian Islands and has a long history of upheavals, since, due to its unique geographical location, many empires have desired to conquer it. Consequently, the geopolitical and strategic importance of the islands, (especially Corfu), made them a bridgehead for the expansion of European powers towards the East.

The seven Islands quickly became a field of strong competition between the European imperialistic forces and, in late 14th century, came under the control of the Republic of Venice, starting with Corfu and Paxos in 1386. As Idromenos explains, “Οι Κερκυραίοι καθορώντες τους κινδύνους ους διέτρεχεν η ίδια νήσος, απεφάσισαν να υποβληθώσιν εκουσίως εις την προστασίαν της θαλασσοκράτορος Ενετίας”.² At the end of the 15th century, with the progressing decline of the Byzantine Empire, all the Ionian Islands were gradually incorporated into the possession of this powerful colonial power of the West, the Republic of Venice (in the 15th century the Ottomans had conquered most of the Greek territory, but their attempts to conquer the Islands had failed). In particular, Cerigo passed into the possession of Venice indirectly in 1238 and officially in 1363, Zakynthos in 1485, Kefalonia in 1500, Ithaka in 1503,

¹ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

² Refer to: Andreas M. Idromenos, *Συνοπτική Ιστορία της Κέρκυρας*, Corfu, 1893, p. 73. Indicatively, for the history of the Ionian Islands under the period of Venetian rule, see also the following: S. Verykios, *Η Ιστορία των Ηνωμένων Κρατών των Ιονίων Νήσων, Η αποκληθείσα «Βρετανική Προστασία» και οι αγώνες των Επτανησίων δια την εθνικήν αποκατάστασιν 1815-1864*, Athens, 1964 (reprinted); G. Mavroyannis, *Ιστορία των Ιονίων Νήσων αρχομένη τω 1797 και λήγουσα τω 1815*, Athens, 1984; D. Kapadochos, *Τα Επτάνησα κάτω από την ξενική κατοχή (1185-1864) και οι δυνάμεις σωτηρίας τους*, Athens, 2004.

and Lefkaka had been in Venetian hands since 1684 and officially in 1718, after a long Turkish occupation of approximately 200 years (1479-1502 & 1503-1684). It is worth pointing out that the Turks had also conquered Cerigo between 1715-1718, Zakynthos from 1479 to 1481, Kefalonia from 1484 up to 1500 and Ithaka from 1484 to 1503. Thus, conversely to Gavalas remarks,³ the Ionian Islands did not become “the only part of the Greek-speaking world to escape the Ottoman rule”.⁴ In addition, Paschalidi comments that after Crete fell to the hands of the Ottomans, *the siege of Candia* (1669), the Ionian Islands “obtained even greater importance, as Venice’s military foothold in the Levant”;⁵ a lucrative location for Venice on the trading route to the Levant.⁶ During this period, the islands had a completely different social, economic, political and cultural environment, compared to the rest of Greece, which was still under Ottoman rule, since the administration of the Islands was a micrograph of the way Venice was ruled.⁷ With the Islands being organized as fiefs, Venice structured them as its exact copy, forming two principal social classes: the citizens, *cittadini*, and the commoners, *popolari*.⁸ However, despite the direct connection between the Islands, the Greek identity and the native elements were not altered by the West. Despite the fact that under the Venetian rule, many of the upper social classes spoke Italian (the Venetian dialect), and converted to Roman Catholicism, the majority of the Ionian population, the native peasantry, the *villani*, maintained their Greek identity, linguistically and religiously; over the centuries, the Heptanesians resisted the pressure of the Venetian colonialists mostly through their religion, the Orthodox dogma, and the Greek spoken language, both of which contributed in keeping the Greek ‘spirit’ alive. They thus retained their native language, customs and religion.⁹

³ Refer to: Vasilis S. Gavalas, ‘Marriage patterns in Greece during the twentieth century’, in *Continuity and Change*, Vol. 23, Issue 3, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 509-529.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸ The *Cittadini*, in order to safeguard their privileges, established a separate noble class, the *signori* (landowners residing in townships) creating the Golden Book, known as: *Libro d’oro*; refer to: G. Yannopoulos, ‘State and Society in the Ionian Islands 1800-1830’, in R. Clogg (ed.), *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*, London, 1981, pp. 40-49. See also: A.M. Idromenos, *op.cit.*, p. 75. One should bear in mind that the sources are not clear when *Libro d’oro* appeared in the Ionian Islands. It seems that a “book” existed in Zakynthos from 1582 onwards (others believe that this happened in 1542), while in Kefalonia the relative testimony goes as back as to 1593.

⁹ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

Nonetheless, the Venetian sovereignty financially bled the Islands, as its major concern was to maintain its territory and collect taxes, which essentially meant total economic enslavement of the local population. As Calligas notes, the majority of the population were “economically deprived socially oppressed and politically excluded”.¹⁰ The Venetians kept the occupied Greek territories in conditions of ‘spiritual darkness’ by prohibiting the establishment of schools and printing houses,¹¹ despite the fact that the Venetians were famous for their rapid progress in typography, as Idromenos explains: “Ουδέν δημόσιον εκπαιδευτικόν κατάστημα, ούτε λύκειον ούτε γυμνάσιον, ούτε προκαταρκτικόν σχολεῖον, ούτε βιβλιοθήκη, ούτε τυπογραφεῖον, ούτε βιβλιοπώλης υπήρχεν εν Κερκύρα”.¹²

Overall, the Venetians were uninterested in promoting any socio-cultural or political issues in the Ionian Islands, yet as Pratt points out: “the great triumph of Venice’s colonial rule was that although it seldom governed by popular consent, it brilliantly maintained the illusion of doing so”.¹³ The administrative, social and economic structure deprived the Ionian population from any essential rights, including the freedom of speech and protection rights. The Venetian army treated people inhumanely, literally like slaves. By enabling the noble class, Venice created hatred between the *popolari* and the *nobles*, discarding and dismantling the Ionian social structure which led to social decline, and as Calligas points out: “Venice utilized the local power of the nobility to impose her rule”.¹⁴ Especially during the last years of her rule, the government was paralyzed, there was corruption, and within the noble class, even ordinary crimes remained unpunished for years. Venice, thus, was unable to address these enormous problems, because the empire was gradually being stripped

¹⁰ Eleni Calligas, *The Rizospastai (Radicals-Unionists), Politics and Nationalism in the British Protectorate of the Ionian Islands, 1815-1864*, University of London, 1994 (unpublished PhD thesis), p. 14.

¹¹ Pieri states that Latin dictionaries as well as grammar books were available only in the drugstores; see: M. Pieri, *Della vita di Mario Pieri Corcirese, scritta da lui medesimo*, Firenze, 1850, Vol. 1, p. 19.

¹² A.M. Idromenos, *op.cit.*, p. 90. Paschalidi also notes: “No educational system was established in the Septinsula. The sons of the nobility were tutored privately at home and then sent to Italian Universities, mainly in Padua and Pisa, where they were exposed to western knowledge and progress”; refer to: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

¹³ M. Pratt, *Britain’s Greek Empire*, London: Rex Collings, 1978, p. 23.

¹⁴ Eleni Calligas, *The Rizospastai (Radicals-Unionists)...*, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

of its allure, was losing territories, the administration system with *popolari* and *nobles* had failed and its economy was bleeding.¹⁵

In this context, the gradual decline was a natural consequence, and, in 1797, after almost 400 years of Venetian colonization, the Ionian Islands fall in the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte's soldiers without any resistance on the parts of the Venetian guards.¹⁶ Thus, the seven Islands were no longer a part of the Venetian *Stato del Mar* and the Venetian maritime territories. Bonaparte dissolved the Republic of Venice and the French occupation lasted for approximately two years (June 1797-March 1799), where he instituted a new democratic regime.¹⁷

1.2 The French occupation (1797-1799)

The invasion of this great commander reached the blue waters of the Adriatic Sea where, with skillful political maneuvers, and without war, he took the Ionian Islands away from the Venetian rulers, through the *Campo Formio Treaty* (October 17th, 1797), marking the dissolution of the Republic and the sharing of its territories.¹⁸ The Ionian political status quo was differentiated along with the advent of the liberator Republican French, ending several years of Venetian domination and the unfair feudal scheme.¹⁹ The Heptanesians welcomed Bonaparte's invasion; in him, they saw an opportunity for freedom, and someone who would liberate them from 400 years of Venetian dynasty. More specifically, the Corfiots justifiably considered Napoleon Bonaparte as the terminator of the long-lasting feudal government, and as redemption from their exploitation by the aristocratic oligarchy.²⁰ Bonaparte's army invaded the

¹⁵ In addition, regarding the political condition of the Ionian Islands under the Venetian rule, refer to: E. Lunzi, *Della Condizione Politica delle Isole Ionie sotto il Dominio Veneto*, Venice, 1858, pp. 240-480.

¹⁶ Indicative of the Islands' geo-political importance was their three successive military occupations over a twenty year period; see: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 66; S. Verykios, *op.cit.*, p. 33; A.M. Idromenos, *op.cit.*, pp. 95-99. For the first French occupation, see also: N. Moschonas, 'Τα Ιόνια νησιά κατά την περίοδο 1797-1821', in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Vol. 11, pp. 382-389.

¹⁷ For a general overview of the history of the Ionian Islands from the French occupation until the British rule, see respectively: E. Koukou, *Ιστορία των Επτανήσων από το 1797 μέχρι την Αγγλοκρατία*, Athens: Papadima, 1983. Refer also to: N. Moschonas, *op.cit.*. Vol. 11, pp. 382-402. See lastly: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 23-36.

¹⁸ Gekas notes that "on 16 June 1797 two frigates and two brigs, carrying fifteen hundred French soldiers under the command of General Gentili, landed on Corfu"; *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹ See: I.A. Typaldos, *Η Φεουδαρχία και η γεωργία κατά τας Ιονίους νήσους*, Athens, 1864, pp. 27-32.

²⁰ Napoleon had acknowledged the strategic significance of the Islands, instituting some great reforms; he burned the *Libro D' Oro*, planted trees of liberty, stood up against the Ionian nobility, established provisional councils and assisted in the political participation of all social classes; see respectively: Stuart J. Woolf, *Napoleon's Integration of Europe*, London, 1991. Also: E. Koukou, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

Ionian Islands believing that the Venetian nobility should be abolished and replaced by a more democratic political formation. However, even though the church property was taken by the French without asking the locals, the French brought with them many benefits for the Ionians, such as a liberal constitution, peace, self-governance, religious freedom etc. The Heptanesians started using the Greek language mostly in official documents (notaries), encouraged stronger involvement of the Ionian bourgeoisie, organized the education system by establishing public schools and a public library. But, most importantly, they disseminated the ideas of the French Revolution, which were still unknown to the Heptanesian world.²¹ But, the initial enthusiasm of the Ionians quickly began to fade because of the high taxes,²² harsh budgetary measures, and contempt for the Ionian morals and customs, including their orthodox/catholic religion.²³ The French grew oppressive towards the ionian islanders arousing the enmity of the Ottoman and the Russian Empire, which in turn led to the Russo-Ottoman campaign against the seven Islands and as its culmination, to the four-month siege of Corfu.²⁴

1.3 The Russian-Turkish occupation (1798-1799)

The French stay in the Ionian Islands was short-lived, since the Russian-Turkish fleet, strongly annoyed by the French assault of Egypt in July 1798, captured the Ionian Islands (1799), during their military campaign in the Mediterranean (1798-1799), through a naval expedition.²⁵ Through intense lobbying by the British and the Ionian nobility; το *Ιόνιο αρχοντολόι*, the Russian-Turkish fleet occupied Kythira, Zante, Kefalonia, Lefkada, and Ithaka, within a month, but the Corfiot defenses were strong and the Capital was besieged for almost four months. As a consequence, on March 3rd, 1799, the Russian-Turkish fleet finally occupied the old Corfiot fortress, and the Islands constituted a free/independent state under Russian-Turkish protection;²⁶ the new regime restored privileges to the nobles, thus, restoring the Venetian status.²⁷ Yet, despite the strong support for the end of the French rule, part of the Ionian

²¹ Refer to: Spyros Milonas, ‘*Οι Εθνικοί και Πολιτικοί αγώνες στα Εφτάνησα...*’, *op.cit.*, p. 169.

²² M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

²³ E. Koukou, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Spyros Milonas, ‘*Οι Εθνικοί και Πολιτικοί αγώνες στα Εφτάνησα...*’, *op.cit.*, p. 171.

²⁶ S. Verykios, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

²⁷ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

population was dissatisfied with the new occupation, mostly due to the presence of the Turks. The bad faith towards the Turks was obvious, and manifested through repeated conflicts between the local population and the crews of the Ottoman fleet. Consequently, on March 21st, the Russians asked the noble class to take temporary command of the seven Islands and regretfully abandoned them.²⁸

1.4 The ‘Επτάνησος Πολιτεία’ (1800-1807) and the second French occupation

The 1800-1807 period was magnificent for the Islands. The Russian-Turkish rivalry had caused a political dead-end, allowing the Ionians to create their own independent state in 1800, named: *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία*.²⁹ Historically, it was the first ‘Greek’ independent state, and it revived the hopes of the entire dominated Greek *generis* for freedom. The *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία* state was founded on March 21st, 1800, and the establishment of a democratic constitution in the *Septinsular Republic* was a major milestone in Modern Greek history.³⁰ Papadatos argued that, despite protections and dependencies, the Islands had all the essential elements that made up the concept of a state; flag, administration, an elected body, embassies in other states, a governmental newspaper entitled *Monitore Septinsulare* (1803), etc.³¹ Nevertheless, the *Septinsular Republic* was small, and not completely able to fully recover from the past rules.

On July 7th, 1807, the Tilsit treaty stated that the Islands would be given to France. The independent Heptanesian republic would cease to exist, when the Imperial French army arrived in Corfu a month later, on August 7th, 1807. The French transformed the Ionian democracy into a Constitution, which was again fully dependent from the French Empire, focusing on Corfu and almost entirely ignoring the other six Ionian Islands. Even though Bonaparte was exhibiting a friendly attitude towards the Islanders, he implemented new governmental structures by removing the Islands’ rectors and by replacing them with his appointed administrators of the government ‘*Administori Del Governo*’, publishing the governmental newspaper *Monitore*

²⁸ A.M. Idromenos, *op.cit.*, pp. 101-102.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-110.

³⁰ According to Calligas, the Constitution created in 1800, and amended three years later (1803), favored a definitive electorate, as she notes: “it created a constitutional aristocracy based on individual rights and wealth as opposed to hereditary privilege, and incorporated enough of the discontented middle class to stabilize the Islands”; refer to: E. Calligas, *The Rizospastai (Radicals-Unionists)*..., *op.cit.*, p. 26. Also: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

³¹ G. Papadatos, ‘Το κίνημα των ριζοσπαστών και το Ιόνιο Κράτος’ in *Proceedings of the 6th International Panionian Conference*, (Zakynthos 23-27 September 1997), Vol. 2, 2001, pp. 533-544.

Corcirese, in January 1808.³² In order to appease the Ionians, he even proposed Count Ioannis Kapodistrias (member of a prominent Corfiot family and former official in the Russian Foreign Office, the first Greek governor, and a dreamer of a united and educated Modern Greece) significant administrative positions and offices in the Islands, which he did not accept. Count Kapodistrias acknowledged that staying in the Ionian Islands under the French rule would be contrary to his beliefs; he knew that he could be more helpful to his homeland Corfu and to the Greeks overall, from another political position. However, it was obvious to Kapodistrias that the Imperial French were abolishing the Ionian autonomy and independence of the state; on the other hand, the Ionian population had quietly and relatively easily accepted all invaders: the French Republicans, the Russian-Turkish rulers, and the Imperial French.³³ But, very soon, the British fleet blocked and occupied Heptanesian ships bearing the French flag in the Mediterranean, imposing a naval blockade which had severe financial consequences for the Islanders. The southern islands, and especially the noble pro-British Kefalonians/Zakynthians addressed the British fleet Commander, demanding immediate liberation of their vessels. As a consequence, in a short amount of time, the British (British Royal Navy) occupied (1809-1810) Ithaka, Zakynthos,³⁴ Kefalonia, Kythira and Lefkada,³⁵ taking thus all the Ionian Islands, except Corfu and Paxos, which finally passed into the Crown in 1814.

1.5 The Ionian Protectorate (1815-1864)

The Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) and the Treaty of Paris (November 5th, 1815) decided to place the seven Islands under the exclusive amical protection of the United Kingdom, naming them *The United States of the Ionian Islands*.³⁶ Indeed, Count

³² The newspaper had similar content with *Monitore Septinsulare* (1803). Yet, within a year, the paper was renamed into *Monitore Jonio* (1809) publishing articles in three different languages; Greek, Italian, and French, for five years, i.e. until the arrival of the British; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 72-79.

³³ For the second French occupation, refer to: N. Moschonas, 'Τα Ιόνια νησιά κατά την περίοδο 1797-1821', *op.cit.*, pp. 400-401.

³⁴ On October 1st, 1809, the British John Oswald captured the island of Zakynthos, forcing the French-led garrison to surrender by October 4th, 1809. In 1809-1810, the island of Zakynthos was the capital, *ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.* Refer also to: S. Verykios, *op.cit.*, pp. 45-76. Also see: M.Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

³⁶ See: P. Dietz, *The British in the Mediterranean*, Brassey's, London: distributed in North America by Macmillan Pub. Co., 1994, p. 66. In addition, It is worth referring to Kalogeropoulos-Stratis paper, examining the international regime of the Islands, and analyzing the concept of the British 'protection' and the violation of the Treaty of Paris by the British; see: S. Kalogeropoulos-Stratis, 'Το Διεθνές καθεστώς των Ιονίων Νήσων υπό Αγγλικήν προστασίαν (1815-1864)', in *Δελτίον Αναγνωστικής*

Ioannis Kapodistrias, present at the Treaty of Paris, acknowledged that this was an appropriate time for such liberal political change, particularly referring to the British Empire as the best solution for the Ionian Islands: “η καλύτερα διά τους Επτανησίους λύσις ήτο να ανατεθή η προστασία των Νήσων εις την Μ. Βρετανίαν, ήτις λόγω της κατά θάλασσαν ισχύιος της ήτο άριστα εις θέσιν να εξασφαλίση την ειρήνην και να προστατεύση το εμπόριον και την ναυτιλίαν των Ιονίων, εφημιζετο δε επί πλέον ως κράτος φιλελεύθερον”.³⁷ The Treaty would guarantee a tremendous advantage in commercial terms and defense policy; the Ionian Islands were granted a commercial status equal to that of the British Empire.³⁸ Under these circumstances, the Senate treated the British Crown with political maturity, as the local politicians sent to the great powers –Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia– a memorandum requesting the creation of an independent state, free from all subjection.³⁹

The arrangement was made official with the ratification of Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Maitland (1760-1824), the first Lord High Commissioner,⁴⁰ a prominent

Εταιρία Κέρκυρας, Year 10, Vol. 10, Corfu, 1973, pp. 44-63. Lastly, with regards to the Treaty of Paris, refer to: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-89.

³⁷ S. Th Laskaris, *Διπλωματική Ιστορία της Ευρώπης 1814-1914*, Athens, 1936, p. 30. For further information concerning Kapodistrias’s contribution in the establishment of the Ionian state, see: P. Petrides, ‘Η συμβολή του Ιωάννη Καποδίστρια στη συγκρότηση του Επτανησιακού Κράτους (1815-1820)’, *Πολιτισμικές επαφές στα Επτάνησα και αναμεταδόσεις στον υπόλοιπο Ελλαδικό χώρο, 16^{ος} - 20^{ος} αιώνας, Πρακτικά Β’ Συνεδρίου Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού* (Lefkada, 3-8 Sept. 1984), Lefkadian Studies Society, 1991, pp. 287-295. Refer lastly to: P. Petratos, *Οι πολιτικές λέσχες στην Κεφαλονιά κατά την περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας* (unpublished dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), 2006, p. 27.

³⁸ Through the Islands’ protection, the British could promote their interests in the Mediterranean and control political developments in the Italian states and the Ottoman Empire; see: G. Graham, *The Politics of Naval Supremacy; studies in British Maritime Ascendancy*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1965, pp. 65-67. Also: Clayton, D., G., *Britain and the Eastern Question, Missolongi to Gallipoli*, The London History Studies, Vol. 8, London, 1971, pp. 31-35. For a general overview of the period of British rule in the Ionian Islands, refer also to: A.M. Idromenos, *Πολιτική Ιστορία της Επτανήσου (1815-1864)*, Corfu, 1835 (reprinted).

³⁹ See: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, Vol. 13, *op.cit.* Indeed, according to Paschalidi, the British too began to issue declarations aiming at assisting the Ionians reestablish a free government based on civil/individual and commercial rights; refer to: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

⁴⁰ The British sent totally a great deal of Commissioners in the Ionian Islands. Others were strict and authoritarian, while a few others were quite communicative and friendly. Sir Thomas George Ward and Sir Thomas Maitland are often criticized in the Heptanesian newspapers with strict accusations against their political methods and policies. On the other hand, John Colborn Lord Seaton and William Ewart Gladstone, are favorably presented in the Heptanesian newspapers as philhellenes, fighting for justice and freedom: namely, Sir James Campbell (1813-1816), Sir Th. Maitland (1816-1823), Sir Frederick Adam (1824-1832), Sir Alexander George Woodford (1832 acting), George Nugent-Grenville, 2nd Baron Nugent (1832-1835) Sir Howard Douglas (1835-1841), James Alexander Stewart-Mackenzie

personality favored by the British, leader of the British forces in the Mediterranean who had also served as colonial administrator, as Governor of Ceylon, and Governor-General of Malta (1813).⁴¹ He had also previously sat on the Board of Control for India and the Privy Council.⁴² Maitland arrived at Corfu's harbor on 16th February 1816 to undertake duty, and according to Moschonas, his commission was vivid proof of the high importance and the strong geopolitical interest of the British for the Ionian Islands, since the British exercised in effect suzerainty over the Islands for the largest part of their occupation.⁴³ However, Gallant points out that Maitland's personality was ideal in restoring order to the chaos that had reigned on the islands since 1797.⁴⁴ Considering that the Ionian islands were not a sovereign state, Maitland oversaw the drafting of a constitution, making clear to his Colonial associates that the purpose of this constitution was to muster all powers into his own hands in order to exert the maximum influence possible.⁴⁵ Besides, Maitland had little hope of complying with the Ionians.⁴⁶ Consequently, Sir Th. Maitland did not begin his rule in an auspicious way. He rapidly restricted democratic freedoms and suppressed the expression of national spirit, since his authoritarian Constitution –unanimously approved by the Constituent Assembly in April 1817– allowed him to gather all powers into his own hands, in violation of the Treaty.⁴⁷ He had thus controlled “public appointments, the Assembly, the police, the treasury, the justice system, as well as the government's press”, as Paschalidi accurately points out.⁴⁸

More particularly, Sir Maitland's militaristic constitution officially commenced on January 1st, 1818, and one of the first things he did, was to prohibit the freedom of the press in the Ionian Islands. The only printing press located in Corfu was allowed to

(1841-1843), John Colborn Lord Seaton (1843-1849), Sir Henry George Ward (1849-1855), Sir John Young (1855-1859), William Ewart Gladstone (1859), Sir Henry Knight Storks (1859-1864).

⁴¹ Maitland was so authoritarian that the Maltese were (informally) referring to him by the nickname ‘King Tom’, due to his totalitarian behavior; refer to: Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 7 (Introduction).

⁴² See respectively: Dixon, C. Willis, *The Colonial Administrations of Sir Thomas Maitland*, New York City: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969.

⁴³ N. Moschonas, ‘To Iónio Krátoç’, *op.cit.*, pp. 401-402. For a thorough analysis of Maitland's life, see: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-95.

⁴⁴ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁵ M. Pratt, *Britain's Greek Empire*, London: Rex Collings, 1978, p. 104.

⁴⁶ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

⁴⁷ Maitland had also been criticized for secretly selling a small town in the Greek mainland, Parga, to Ali Pasha and ordered the deportation and confiscation of property of Heptanesians fighting in the Greek war of independence; see: Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, pp. 7-10. See also: S. Kalogeropoulos Stratis, *op.cit.* And lastly: N. Moschonas, ‘To Iónio Krátoç’, *op.cit.*, pp. 202-217.

⁴⁸ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 104.

print materials exclusively for the British government. Thenceforth, the Ionians were continuously trying to preserve their individual rights and freedoms. Konomos quotes a specific article of the Constitution, which characteristically refers to the government's printing press: *Μία γενική Τυπογραφία θα υπάρχει εις τας Ενωμένας Επαρχίας των Ιονικών Νήσων, η οποία θα συστηθή εις την παντοτεινήν Καθέδραν της Γενικής αυτών Διοικήσεως, και τα Πιεστήρια καθυποβάλλονται εις την άμεσον Εφορείαν της Βουλής, και της Αυτού Εξοχότητος του Λορδ Μεγάλου Αρμοστού του Προστατεύοντος Βασιλέως, και υπό της άμεσου Επιστασίας του εξ' Απορρήτων του Γενικού Διαμερίσματος της Βουλής: και ουδεμία άλλη Τυπογραφία συγχωρείται να συστηθή και να βαλθή εις έργον, χωρίς της άδειας της Βουλής, και χωρίς της συγκαταθέσεως της Αυτού Εξοχότητος Λόρδ Μεγάλου Αρμοστού του Προστάτου Βασιλέως.*⁴⁹ His authoritarian rule annoyed many prominent Heptanesian personalities and was one of the factors contributing to the emergence of Greek nationalism and to the separation between the colonizers and the colonized. For instance, Gallant specifically refers to a formal complaint that Count Ioannis Kapodistrias addressed to the Prime Minister Lord Liverpool in 1819, pointing out that “other developments soon shifted both Greek and British attention away from the constitutional question, and turned it instead to an issue that would immeasurably complicate British rule over the islands: Greek nationalism and Ionian unification”.⁵⁰

Truly, Sir Th. Maitland's Constitution was consistent with the developments taking place in other parts of the British Empire, as he seemed unstoppable in securing the British power in the Mediterranean through his commissions both in Malta and Ionian state.⁵¹ However, between 1824 and 1832, the Scottish major-general at the battle of Waterloo, Sir Frederick Adam (1781-1853), was appointed Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands and was extremely appreciated by the local population for constructing several public buildings, especially in Corfu.⁵² Nevertheless, Sir Fr. Adam's primary purpose was to safeguard the Ionian Islands against external threats,⁵³ since the British statesmen and diplomats were led to

⁴⁹ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 89-90.

⁵⁰ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

⁵¹ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 108.

⁵² For instance, Gekas points out that, in 1825 the organization of the Ionian post office had allowed the communication between Corfu and the Colonial office; see: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

⁵³ W. David Wrigley, “The Ionian Islands and the advent of the Greek State (1827-1833)”, *Balkan Studies XIX*, 1978, p. 425.

believe that the newborn Greek state would annex the Ionian Islands, and were suspicious of the Greek political and diplomatic policies. Thus, Adam continued his authoritarian rule, and while he suspected Kapodistrias as a Tsar-agent, he implemented measures for reasons of security; he re-affirmed the Anglo-Ionian policy of strict neutrality, ordered an embargo of all Ionian shipping, not allowing them to travel if they were destined to the Greek Mainland, and was planning to return 20,000 Greek refugees who had fled to the Ionian Islands after the Navarino action, back to Greece.⁵⁴

The newly-appointed Whig government in Britain (1830-1834)⁵⁵ reflected the changing British policy line and appointed new colonial administrators with an enthusiastic reformist agenda. In particular, during Lord Nugent's (1788-1850) and Sir H. Douglas's (1776-1861) Whig commissions, the British Crown ruled the Ionian Islands for an almost ten-year period of prosperity and peace. Their administration was occasionally forward-looking and beneficial, establishing various welfare and cultural institutions.⁵⁶ These new administrators had swept onto the Ionian Islands with promises of institutional reforms and greater home rule, and as Gallant writes, this was to be the moment when the "wise strangers were to bring enlightenment to the uncivilized Greeks".⁵⁷ Certainly, the Whig administrators reduced criminality, and enacted legislation ensuring that governmental positions were filled based on objective recruitment criteria. The fiefs were abolished, new roads were built, and aqueducts were constructed.⁵⁸ They also reconstructed the Ionian commerce, public education, healthcare and justice.⁵⁹ However, even Sir Douglas used dictatorial powers at the end of his commission in order to maintain public tranquility and to suppress several public protests in favor of the unification with Greece. It was at this time that the British recruited John C. Lord Seaton (1778-1863), his primary goal being to include more Greeks into the administration, in an effort to promote a more

⁵⁴ For Frederick Adam's Commission, see: *ibid.*, pp. 413-426. Regarding the Anglo-Ionian diplomacy and the Greek revolution, see: David C. Fleming, *John Capodistrias and the Conference of London, 1828-1831*, Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1970, pp. 17, 46, 48.

⁵⁵ See respectively: C. Cook and B. Keith, *British Historical facts: 1830-1900: Palgrave historical and political facts*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1984.

⁵⁶ Gallant generally refers to the 1830s and 1840s commissioners sustaining a reformist imperative; refer to: Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

⁵⁸ Antonios I. Agiouis refers in detail, to the pros and cons of the British rule in the Islands, taking into consideration all British Commissioners in the Ionian state; see: Antonios I. Agiouis, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-88.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

liberal government.⁶⁰ Undoubtedly, both the British and the Ionians constantly created conflicts, as the numerous arrests, lawsuits, exiles and hangings testify, especially during the commission of Sir Henry George Ward (1797-1860) who, in retrospect, scorned the journalists' power, considering that their voice could harm the Ionian state.

In conclusion, the Ionians remained an independent state only in theory and in official documentation, as Enepekides points out.⁶¹ Similarly, Alisandratos notes the social conservatism and the British colonial attitude as characteristic indications of the British rule.⁶² Indeed, there were periods of social tension and absolutism, hard ruling and militaristic policy. In my personal viewpoint, this political instability could be a consequence of the constant changes of the Commissioners.⁶³ However, even though one of the greatest achievements of the British was the establishment of the Ionian Academy in 1824, the multitude of the seven Islands remained uneducated, poverty-stricken and politically exhausted.⁶⁴ Unable to rule even his own language (since the official language in the Ionian Islands was the Italian), an Ionian was forced to pay unbearable taxes. But, above all, the British did not allow the circulation of the political press and the establishment of the private printing houses during most of their rule. Thus, citizen journalism was forbidden, and Greek newspapers were not allowed to be distributed in the Ionian state either.⁶⁵ Having outlined some landmarks and socio-cultural characteristics in the history of the Ionian Islands in an effort to facilitate the reader to understand the historical developments, the following chapter presents several examples of the Colonial Press in other British territories of the 19th century, in an attempt to demonstrate the paths of the local press in a number of British colonies. It aspires at placing the Islands into a colonial context, and compares and contrast the Ionian protectorate's press with other British occupied lands in the period examined, with a view to show the efforts of the British authorities to fully control the colonial press and products of the printing houses in their colonies.

⁶⁰ The extraordinary mission of W.E. Gladstone (1858-1859) is not mentioned in the chapter in order to keep it short. However, a thorough analysis of his short Commission in the Ionian Islands is presented by Robert Holland and Diana Markides; see: R. Holland, and D. Markides, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-45.

⁶¹ See indicatively: P. Enepekides, *Ιωάννης Καποδίστριας 176 γράμματα προς τον πατέρα του εκ του εν Κερκύρα αρχείου της οικογένειας Καποδίστρια*, Athens, 1972.

⁶² G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, (ed. by G. Moschopoulos), Argostoli, 2006, pp. 31-32.

⁶³ Refer to: R. Holland, and D. Markides, *op.cit.*, pp. 46-81.

⁶⁴ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER TWO

THE 19TH CENTURY COLONIAL PRESS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

2.1 Introduction

Despite the Greek researchers' poor interest in investigating the role of the Ionian Islands' press, in recent years, the domain of colonial journalism in the British Empire has attracted a significant number of researchers from the fields of media, history and political science. In a similar fashion, this thesis, acknowledging this gap, attempts to incorporate the granting of freedom of the press in the Ionian state into the British Empire colonial context.¹ In geographic terms, this section briefly refers to specific examples from Canada, South Africa, India, New Zealand and Malta, with the purpose of being as comprehensive as possible. It presents the work of several researchers, working in compartmentalized spheres, referring to examples from a variety of British Empire territories. However, it should be noted that, according to Kaul, it is quite difficult to adopt an integrative approach in the exploration of the nineteenth century colonial press, considering that the British Empire was not a 'uniform association', and thus, it is difficult to identify the overall impact of the press within the imperial context.²

The historian Frank McDonough, in his introductory chapter concerning the history of the British Empire (1815-1914), was proudly describing that, at its height, Britain was 'territorially' the largest Empire in world history; he specifically noted: "It seems that wherever you look within historical study at present, the Empire is, for good or ill, striking back".³ In 1914, its citizens had a presence across the globe; Egypt, India, Australia, Canada, Malaya, West Indies, etc. Nevertheless, going back to 1815, the various Colonies had very little in common; no single constitution, religion, language, or legal system and, therefore, there was a wide variation in the

¹ Refer to: D. Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422-1992*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992. Also: Hampton Mark, *Visions of the Press in Britain 1850-1950*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 2004.

² Kaul's purpose was to describe the 'role of media in the context of the Empire', because as she notes: "each case is indicative of the problematic relationship between the media and the practice of imperial domination"; see: Ch. Kaul (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 2-4 (Introductory Survey).

³ Frank McDonough, *The British Empire 1815-1914, Access to History*, Keith Randell (ed.), Hodder and Stoughton, 1994, p. 1.

forms of rule. India, for instance, was ruled by a private charter company, Ascension Island by a Royal Navy Captain, and Canada by an all-powerful Governor appointed by the British government.⁴ Indeed, another imperialism historian, John M. MacKenzie, refers to the early nineteenth century as “a period of autocratic rule in the colonies of the British Empire”.⁵ In particular, in India and Africa, a small number of colonial administrators imposed a militaristic and absolutarian British rule, replacing the previous weak/non-existent control. In a similar manner, the ratification of the British forces leader in the Mediterranean, Lieutenant-General Sir Th. Maitland, as Lord High Commissioner, first in Malta (1813) and afterwards in the Ionian protectorate (1816-1823), confirmed the British aspirations of summoning all powers into a soldier’s hands.⁶ Hence, governorships were mostly in the hands of military figures, and all significant decisions regarding the Empire were taken by the colonial office, for the British government was focused exclusively on domestic politics.

However, for several reasons, between 1815 and 1870, the British had no major rivals: slavery was abolished, protectionism had ended, and self-government was granted to the remaining colonies, with the exception of West Indies.⁷ In terms of self-government, granting complete independence to the British colonies was not only inevitable, but also desirable, since the colonies were truly a burden for taxpayers.⁸ But, also from a press perspective, self-governing seemed essential too, because it constituted a significant pillar for ensuring freedom of speech. Indeed, in a wider context, the change of government in Britain and the arrival of the liberal Charles Grey 2nd Earl Grey, a firmly Whig politician (1830-1834), whose political reforms

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3.

⁵ See: John M. MacKenzie, ‘To enlighten South Africa: The Creation of a Free Press at the Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century’, in *Media and the British Empire*, Ch. Kaul (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 20. Furthermore Laidlaw’s work is a notable point of reference regarding imperial governance; see: Zoe Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections 1815-1845: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government*, studies in Imperialism, Manchester, 2005.

⁶ Indicative of his militaristic rule was the immediate imposition of the authoritarian constitution (1817) in the Ionian Islands; see: N. Moschonas, ‘To Iónio Κράτος’, *op.cit.* It is also worth referring to Chris Bayly in *Imperial Meridian*, where he provides a short account of the British rule in the Ionian Islands, placing it within the context of policies across the British Empire; see: C. A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian, the British Empire and the world 1780-1830*, New York, 1989, pp. 196-202. For the Maltese protectorate, see: Henry Frendo, *Maltese Journalism 1838-1992, A Historical overview*, Malta: Press Club Publication, 1994, p. 8.

⁷ The colonies were split into two distinct parts: the dependent (by direct rule) colonies and the settlements that were granted self-government, such as West Indies, Canada, Cape Colony, and Australia, all governed by a British appointed governor; see: Frank McDonough, *op.cit.*, pp. 6-9, 13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22 (The Historical debate).

had an enormous impact on the development of Democracy in Britain, was a strong predictor that independent newspapers would finally emerge.

2.2 The Canadian press

According to McDonough, the catalyst for the commencement of self-governing colonies was the Canadian rebellion in December 1837 against the arbitrary rule of the British Governor. This rebellion was the culmination of years of discontent with the British Colonial government in Canada (the government's officers were ignoring the demands for democratic principles), and even though Britain ultimately retained overall control, the Canadian rebels were indeed successful. Consequently, the British allowed a locally elected government to decide on domestic policy issues, and transformed the country into a fully functioning self-governing colony with a democratic voting system, and its own domestic policy (1867).⁹

Similarly, this same period was the heyday of Canadian newspapers, yet it needs to be noted that prior to these reforms, the Canadian press, had been operating as the government's tool.¹⁰ Truly, the British were unwilling to grant freedom of speech and, as a result, this period, the so-called '*Partisan Period*' (1800-1850), was characterized by prosecutions and oppression. The Canadian newspaper-persons were faced with obstacles and challenges such as beatings, imprisonments, threats, and constant prosecutions, since anyone who published anything but government notices was considered an outlaw.¹¹ Nevertheless, in the third period, '*The Nation Building Period*' (1850-1900), the press was finally free from any governmental control, and, within a short period of time, the Canadian editors stopped publishing only the government's declarations and news. Quite soon, the Canadian journalists had started using their papers as political medium, promoting their political thinking. In a similar

⁹ Frank McDonough, *op.cit.*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰ One of the most significant timepoints in the history of the Canadian press in the 18th and 19th century was the so-called '*Transplant Period*' (1750-1800), during which printing and state newspapers were introduced in Canada. Under the French administration, no printing presses had been established and thus, all the newspapers in the British colonies had essentially been adopted based on the example of the 13 American colonies. For further information, see: Fetherling Douglas, *The rise of the Canadian Newspaper*, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1949. For a full spectrum of the Canadian newspapers' history and their five important periods, see accordingly: W.H. Kesterton, *A history of journalism in Canada*, McClelland and Stewart, 1967.

¹¹ James John Talman, 'The newspapers of Upper Canada a century ago', *Canadian Historical Review*, (CHR XIX), No. 19, 1938, pp. 9-23.

manner, Canadian printers and editors had acknowledged the power of the press, hoping that it would be free from governmental control and would thus play an important role in the political discourse (the above is also indicative that this period was also characterized by efforts to democratize the press, since up to the mid-1800s, many newspaper-persons became politicians). Consequently, numerous newspaper columns promoted specific political lines, and harshly criticized the government. Thus, the local newspapers played a major role in constructing the Canadian identity in this period, since the journalists' efforts focused on establishing a common nationalistic view, with the ultimate goal of formulating a political mindset among the Canadian population.¹²

2.3 The Maltese press

In 1800, Malta voluntarily became part of the British Crown, and the Paris Treaty (1814) reaffirmed Malta's transformation into a British Crown Colony (1813-1964). Sir Thomas Maitland was appointed as the first military commissioner, and during his first commission the warlord 'King Tom' ruled with an iron fist; therefore, no civil freedoms and no constitutional improvements could be expected.¹³ As a result, it becomes apparent that one of the early major problems that the Maltese had faced was the censorship of the press.¹⁴ Even though printed material could be imported from abroad, local material was strictly censored; hence, Maltese scholars preferred to print their texts in London.¹⁵

Nevertheless, several researchers of the Maltese press refer to 1835 as a crucial year for the British, commenting that the establishment of the press, thanks to the introduction of press-related legislation, would be beneficial.¹⁶ At the same time, Frendo focused on the case of Giorgio Mitrovits and his patriotic party persuading the

¹² W.H. Kesterton, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

¹³ Henry Frendo, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* For the abolition of censorship in Malta, see: *ibid.*, pp. 8-16 (Censorship abolished).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁶ Apart from Frendo's research, further information regarding the period before the Maltese granted freedom of the press, the conditions under which the Maltese Press emerged, and for the newspapers being published under governmental license, see indicatively: Grima Iosif F., *The History of printing Malta from 1642 to 1839* (BA published dissertation), University of Valetta, Malta, 1991; William Zammit, *Printing in Malta, 1642-1839: Its cultural role from inception to the granting of Freedom of the press*, Malta: Gutenberg, 2008. For a number of rare Maltese newspapers of the 19th century and their roles, see: Arnold Cassola, *Lost Maltese Newspapers of the 19th Century*, Malta: Tumas Fenech Foundation for Education in Journalism, 2011.

Maltese Commission of Austin and Lewis (1836) to support press freedom. However, it was not until March 1839, when the freedom of the press was put into effect, bringing an end to the strictly enforced censorship.¹⁷

Soon after that, the Maltese newspapers began being published in Italian obviously aiming to address the literate readers, as pointed out by Frendo.¹⁸ However, the Maltese journalists, who were essentially protectorate scholars, were encouraged to write not only in Italian, but also in their mother tongue. Yet, apart from Maltese intellectuals, the freedom of the press also spurred numerous Italians, who were exiled in Malta to discuss their nationalistic aspirations; their impact on journalism and political mobilization was truly considerable. Questions regarding imperialism, nationalism and religion, were the central subjects of the newspapers.¹⁹ Especially after 1849, the journalists were writing political articles, and given that Maltese representatives could now be elected, the newspapers were promoting their candidacy through campaigns and through reporting on their debates, in an effort to increase their audiences.

2.4 The South African press

The integration of the Cape under the British Crown, as well as the arrival of the first British –Scots– settlers/journalists,²⁰ poet Thomas Pringle (1820),²¹ and educator John Fairbairn (1823),²² mark the beginning of the history of press in South Africa. At this time, the Cape Colony (1814-1910) was ruled by the absolutist British colonial (Tory) Governor, Lord Charles Somerset (1814-1826), whose primary aim was to restrict the press freedom, as well as to fully control the (pre-existing) governmental newspaper *Cape Town Gazette* (1800).

¹⁷ Henry Frendo, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁹ Specifically, for the roles of the press in Malta, see: Catherine Mallia, *The Role of the Press in Malta, 1948-1959*, University of Valetta, Malta, 1980.

²⁰ John Lambert, 'South Africa's English Language Press and Imperialism', in *Media and the British Empire*, Ch. Kaul (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 38. For further details concerning the freedom of expression in Cape Colony, see: John M. MacKenzie, 'To enlighten South Africa: The Creation of a Free Press at the Cape in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Media and the British Empire*, Ch. Kaul (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 20-36. Apart from Pringle and Fairbairn, MacKenzie also refers to a third party, Dr. John Philip (1775-1851); *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

²¹ For Pringle's activities, see: Angus Calder, 'Thomas Pringle (1789-1834): A Scottish Poet in South Africa', in *English in Africa*, Vol. 9, 1982, pp. 1-28.

²² For John Fairbairn's detailed activities in South Africa, see: H. C. Botha, *John Fairbairn in South Africa*, Cape Town: Historical Publication Society, 1984.

These two newspaper-men triggered a strong support for the right of free expression and established two publications (1824) in the Cape; namely, the *South African Journal*, the first magazine in the English language, and the Cape's first independent newspaper, the bilingual *South African Commercial Advertiser* (1824-1879).²³ In this short-lived magazine, Th. Pringle was writing about free and independent press, however, he abruptly ceased its publication, refusing to be controlled by Somerset. In a similar manner, even though he continued to work with Fairbairn through their newspaper, both strongly opposing the idea of censored press, Pringle finally gave in to Somerset's pressure and to the conflicts with the authorities. At that time, the editors were not aware of the legacy they left behind, since their efforts set the foundations for the English/Afrikaans papers, which were published later. For instance, the first newspaper in Dutch, *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, was published in 1830; in the Eastern Cape, the first newspaper in English was *The Grahamstown* in 1831; the first newspaper in Afrikaan, *Umshumayeli Wendada*, in 1837, followed by *Eastern Cape Herald* (1845), *Natal Witness* (1846), *Natal Mercury* (1852), *The Argus* (1857), etc.²⁴

Even though Pringle returned to Britain in 1826,²⁵ Fairbairn stayed in South Africa and upheld their common conviction that press censoring would ultimately compromise the liberties of the people, and, conversely to Pringle, he adopted a moral stance. He continued to fight for the freedom of the press by repeatedly appealing to the British government, and claiming the right to issue without governmental control, until his efforts came to fruition. In April/May 1829, the Cape Colonial administration granted freedom to the press by proclaiming Ordinance No.60, *the Press Ordinance*. Even though this ordinance included certain limitations, along with further legislation passed in 1859, it enacted the liberty of the press in British South Africa. Consequently, the abolitionists Fairbairn and Pringle, became part of the freedom of press history. Being considered as honored contributors, and as a powerful voice for greater democracy in the Cape Colony, they dominated the Cape's media for the following years, and essentially paved the way for many aspiring publishers.

²³ The newspaper was printed by George Greig, and it was banned from May 1824 until August 31st, 1825, and March 1827 until October 1828. The newspaper's final name was: *The Cape Standard and Mail*; see: John Lambert, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

²⁴ For the English language press in South Africa, see: *ibid.*, pp. 37-54.

²⁵ Angus Calder, *op.cit.*, pp. 12-26.

2.5 *The Indian press*

The rule of the East India Company on the Indian peninsula (1757-1858) was characterized by a number of press regulations, i.e. the *Censorship of Press Act* issued in 1799, imposing that a high-ranking official should audit all newspaper issues, and provide governmental approval before any manuscript, including advertisements, could be published. Therefore, the newspaper editors had to either accept censorship or face deportation.²⁶ The main purpose of such regulations was for the Company to maintain tight control of the press for a number of reasons, the major one being the insulting nature of some articles published during the early stages of journalism in Bengal. In the first paper, the *Hicky's Bengal Gazette (1780-1782)*, James Augustus Hicky who is also known as the 'father of Indian press' wrote articles regarding corruption, scandals, and generally anti-government articles, and the newspaper was eventually banned (1782) because of his harsh criticism. Additional reasons included the increasing dissent among the emerging Indian elite and the damaging impact that articles regarding scandals had on the government's reputation.

After the Indian rebellion in 1857-1858 and the direct rule of the British Crown (*the British Raj*, 1858-1947), the British Crown imposed Lord Canning's *Gagging Act*. In brief, Lord Canning sought to establish a set of rules regarding the publication and circulation of newspapers –regulation for the establishment of printing presses–, aiming to prevent the publication of criticism, to control the tone of all printed material, and generally curtail the freedom of the Indian press.²⁷ Consequently, all local newspapers needed a license from the government, with a major preference for publications in English; actually, the British government banned all publications written in regional languages. However, when the British government could not control/repress the nationalistic sentiments of the press, it introduced the stricter

²⁶ For the Indian press, there are some studies available analyzing the 19th and 20th century history of journalism in British India, in depth. Indicatively, the following studies focus mostly on the 19th century: M. Barns, *The Indian Press: A History of the Growth of Public Opinion in India*, London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1940; C.A. Bayly, *Information and Empire: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870*, Cambridge University Press, 1996; G. Boyce, J. Curran, P. Wingate, (eds.), *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, London: Constable, 1978. Refer lastly to: Chandrika Kaul, *Communications, Media and the British Empire. Britain and India in the twentieth century*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2014; Chandrika Kaul (ed.), *M.K. Gandhi, Media, Politics and Society*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

²⁷ See: Tim Pratt, 'Ernest Jone's Mutiny: The People's Paper, English Popular Politics and the Indian Rebellion 1857-1858', in *Media and the British Empire*, Ch. Kaul (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 88-103.

Vernacular Press Act (1878), in an attempt to stop editions in the local language.²⁸ Pursuant to the Vernacular Act, any magistrate or police commissioner was authorized to confiscate any printed material which was considered objectionable. Essentially, this Act obliged editors to present each newspaper edition to the police and get their permission in order to publish it. As a consequence of this Act, numerous newspaper editors were prosecuted or imprisoned for not complying with the censorship imposed.²⁹

2.6 The New Zealand press

In 1840, the British and the Maori chiefs signed *the Treaty of Waitangi*, which essentially brought New Zealand, the remotest of all British territories, under the British Crown.³⁰ In 1841, thus, New Zealand becomes a British colony (1841-1907), and very soon (1852) the British grant them self-government status. The first government –colonial– newspaper was published in the capital Russell in 1840, under the title: *New Zealand Advertiser and Bay of Islands Gazette*; the Bay of Islands was the headquarters of the colonial government.³¹ The newspaper mostly printed government’s notices/news which were relevant to the local settlers. However, this paper was forced to cease publication due to the New Zealand wars in 1843, which were triggered by the settlers’ efforts to acquire land from the Maori. At this time, the government introduced its own newspaper, the *New Zealand Government Gazette*, and additional newspapers were issued, including the *Chronicle and New Zealand Colonist* (1841), the *Examiner* (1842), the *News* (1848), and the *Christchurch’s Guardian and Canterbury Advertiser* (1852).

From 1860 onwards, the two main factors which enabled the emergence of the New Zealand’s press and made newspaper publishing financially viable, included the wealth acquired from the “gold-rush” and the growing literacy of the increasing

²⁸ See: Gupta, Uma Das, ‘The Indian Press 1870-1880: A Small World of Journalism’, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, Cambridge University Press, 1977, p. 222.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Also, see: J. Natarajan, in *History of Indian Journalism*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2010, pp. 81, 100-102, 108-112.

³⁰ Harvey Ross, ‘A Sense of Common Citizenship? Mrs Potts of Reefton, New Zealand, Communicates with the Empire’, in *Media and the British Empire*, Ch. Kaul (ed.), Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 191-192.

³¹ Before 1840, *New Zealand Gazette* was the first newspaper in New Zealand. It was printed in London in 1839 by Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s New Zealand Company for settlers migrating to Wellington; see: Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand*, Wellington: A.H.& A.W. Reed, 1958, p. 25.

population. But, additionally, the aspiring politicians had already begun issuing their own local newspapers, aiming to promote their political ambitions and their personal interests.³² In a more general note, the major roles of these papers were to provide a community notice board, and report news from abroad, but, most importantly, to serve as a platform for the politicians to present their views. Very soon, each community in New Zealand would have its own local paper: *Otago Daily Times* (1861), *New Zealand Herald* (1863), *Wellington's Evening Post* (1865) etc., as a result of the efforts made by the local newspaper publishers (Rag-planters), who founded newspaper chains in the rural areas of the 1870s.³³

2.7 Conclusion

From the above examples, it becomes apparent that the development of journalism in the aforementioned colonies has been truly interesting and challenging. Through this chapter, I aspired at setting the ground for comparisons between several British colonies with the case of the Ionian Islands. In the dependent colonies in the early nineteenth century (i.e. Canada, Malta, S. Africa & India) the press began operating as a governmental tool and all private printing initiatives were censored, since the papers published needed a license from the British rulers. It thus becomes apparent that the press was controlled by the government, and consequently, journalists either had to publish their political articles abroad (i.e. Malta) or were faced with imprisonments, exiles and prosecutions (i.e. Canada, India). It was only when the British Crown granted self-government status (see New Zealand & Canada) and allowed reforms in their colonies, mainly through the development of Democracy in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, that journalism could flourish and act independently. Thus, several local pioneer-journalists successfully attempted (and finally succeeded) to gain press freedom, and the right to criticize the acts of the governors and the High Commissioners. They aspired at acting independently and strongly supported the right of free expression.

In Canada and Malta, the journalists saw the newspapers as political instruments, and promoted their political views, acknowledging that the newspapers could serve as a political 'platform', in an attempt to harshly criticize the government. In a similar

³² For a fuller view of journalism in New Zealand, see: Mark Derby, 'Newspapers-First Newspapers 1860-1900', in the *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*.

³³ *Ibid.*

manner, chapters 3&4 of the thesis introduce the reader to the Ionian printing culture, and evidence that the Ionian protectorate had numerous similarities with the press of the aforementioned two colonies. Particularly, the journalists saw the newspapers as political means and acknowledged their significant role in the political discourse. They aspired at democratize the press, facing, in several cases, severe challenges and threats. But most importantly, the following chapters reveal that the Ionian local press played an important role in formulating a political mindset. Hence, while chapter 3 shows that the Ionian press was under strict governmental control, and the Ionians had to comply with censorship, chapter 4 demonstrates that, even though the Ionian state embraced the grant of the freedom of the press (1848) by philhellene Commissioner John Colborn Baron of Seaton (1843-1849), the arrival of Sir Ward in 1849 rapidly changed these conditions of freedom. He openly threatened the Ionian journalists with consecutive newspaper bans and the newspapers' staff with exiles and prosecutions, for the Commissioner was not able to suppress the nationalistic/radical sentiments of the Ionian Islands' local press and the viewpoints of its journalists-men of letters.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IONIAN ISLANDS' PRINTING CULTURE

3.1 Introduction

Ntinos Konomos, in his journal *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα*, highlighted that the Venetian occupation in the seven Islands was a long period of stagnation, with the aim of controlling and manipulating the masses.¹ But, most importantly, he made particular reference to their printing culture, emphasizing the absence of a printing house,² due to the strict Venetian policy of stubbornly prohibiting typography in the scattered Greek colonies, despite the fact that Venice was famous for its own remarkable progress in typography.³ Indeed, the majority of the Ionian population was not familiar with typography, a desirable luxury for the middle-upper class because Venice was strictly censoring all Greek printed materials arriving to the seven Islands.⁴ In a fashion similar to Konomos, Makris describes the Venetian policy using phrases such as financial enslavement, intellectual darkness, depression, prohibition of establishing schools etc., characteristically noting the following: “Η εγωιστική και ζηλότυπος Δημοκρατία του Αδρία (...) διετήρει τας Ελληνικάς της κτήσεις εις κατάστασιν πνευματικού σκότους”.⁵ Certainly, this form of intellectual ‘darkness’ was an intentional political act, because Venice knew that if the Greek spirit and culture were awakened, this would have serious consequences for Venice and would endanger the feudal system.⁶

¹ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-7.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dionysios P. Kalogeropoulos, *Η τυπογραφία εν Επτανήσω*, Athens, 1946, p. 2.

⁴ According to Μpokos’s research, there were three main factors hindering intellectual developments in the Ionian Islands: the Venetian absolutist administration, the authoritarian rule and the colonialist behavior; see: G. Μpokos, *Τα πρώτα Ελληνικά Τυπογραφεία στο χώρο της Καθ’ ημάς Ανατολής (1627-1827)*, (E.L.I.A), Athens, 1998, pp. 91-94. Conversely to Μpokos’s concluding notions, Nt. Konomos indicates three significant factors, which were actually lifesaving for the Ionians: first, Venice embraced and protected Greek refugees/scholars in the West, encouraging them to establish printing houses and educational institutions, thus promoting free speech. Second, it offered valuable services and protected the Ionians from any possible raid. But, most importantly, the Venetian tolerance towards the Greek Orthodox dogma (one of the most important shelters) kept the Greek flame alive; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 3-7.

⁵ Theodoros S. Makris, ‘Η ελευθεροτυπία και η ένωση της Επτανήσου’, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 13, 2nd International Panionian Conference, 1967, p. 39.

⁶ Hiotis notes that the Venetian unwillingness regarding education, by restricting the establishment of public schools and impeding an educational uplift for their colonies, did very little in promoting the

3.2 *The first governmental printing house*

Contrary to the Venetians, the Liberator French cared about the abandoned education system; they created schools and libraries and introduced the virtues of typography to the Ionians by establishing the first –governmental– printing house in the island of Corfu. Indeed, Hiotis refers to the first printing press (1797) in the Ionian Islands as the first in Greece, specifically noting: “Ἡδη τοσούτον συστήνεται τυπογραφεῖον ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Καίτοι οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος δυνάσται ἀπεμάκρυναν ὅλα τα μέσα, τα διασχίζοντα τὸ κάλυμμα τῆς ἀμάθειας (...)”.⁷ This printing press operated exclusively on behalf of the state, printing only decrees by the government. Therefore, it did not undertake any private or local printing, since Bonaparte had established it exclusively in order to publish future announcements related with his expansion endeavors to the East.⁸

However, it was not only Bonaparte who used it exclusively for the government’s decrees. This first printing press operated under strict governmental control continuously, from 1797 until 1816, printing administrative/legislative flyers and pamphlets, as well as the official documentation of the government, papers, journals,⁹ and books.¹⁰ The books, apart from literary and scientific topics, also contained

Ionian identity; see: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἰονίου Κράτους...*, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 22. Still, despite this sort of unwillingness, Konomos states that a small number of educational centers were still financially dependent; it must be noted that schooling was not considered a state responsibility, but a private matter at that period; see: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., p. 3.

⁷ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ἱστορικά Απομνημονεύματα Ἐπτανήσου*, Vol. 6, Zakynthos, 1887, pp. 221-222. Also, Konomos states that all publications in Greek, were clearly marked with the following: *Ἀπὸ τὴν τοῦ Γένους Τυπογραφία Ἐν Κερκύρα* and the respective issues -written in French and Italian language- had the respective mark: *Del’Imprimerie Nationale, de Corcure* and *Dalla Stamperia Nazionale di Corcyra*; see: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., p. 14.

⁸ The printing press arrived straight from Paris (February 1798) and started operating in May 1798. For 11 months, all proclamations were handwritten. The printing press was located in the monastery of St. Francis, operated by French soldiers and an Italian immigrant. Konomos refers also to a Corfiot translator/editor, *Σπυρίδωνα Κονδό*; see: G. Μpokos, op.cit., pp. 95-107. For more information, see: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ἱστορικά Απομνημονεύματα Ἐπτανήσου*, Vol. 3, op.cit., p. 637. Also: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., pp. 10-12.

⁹ Μpokos clarifies that journals had a supplementary character, and covered subjects that were not included in flyers and governmental newspapers, including literary, art-related, and financial issues; see: G. Μpokos, op.cit., pp. 95-107. For instance, Konomos highlights the efforts of E. Theotokis from 1815 until 1817, under the title: *Mercurio Letterario* written in the Italian language, Sarantopoulos’ journal *Foglio Estemporaneo* and St. D. Prosalentis’s journal *Ἐφημερίς φιλολογικὴ καὶ οικονομική*; see: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., pp. 41-42.

¹⁰ A few derogations of private activities constitute the exception that proves the rule, and do not coincide with the Ionian requirements. For a detailed synopsis of the typography during the French occupation in the Ionian Islands, see: G. Μpokos, op.cit., pp. 95-107.

governmental declarations and essays regarding local issues.¹¹ After the arrival of the Russian-Turkish fleet, the printing house continued to operate as “*Από την Τυπογραφία Κορυφούς 1799*”, with foreign staff under the management of Salvador, an Italian immigrant and with the financial support of the Russians. Indicative of this period was the grammar errors and the mistaken syntax of the proclamations, mostly due to the editor’s and translator’s poor grasp of the Greek language.

3.3 The governmental newspapers

During the period of the semi-autonomous *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία* (1800-1807), the above mentioned Corfiot printing house continued to serve the government, and all printed material was examined by a competent state official.¹² This was the time that the first paper was published; it was distributed as the official government gazette and it strictly served state purposes. The first Ionian newspaper was thus, a fact, and its distribution began on March 5th, 1802, under the title *Gazzetta Urbana*.¹³ It was a weekly newspaper with a moralistic view ‘*φύλλο ηθικολογικό*’, written in Italian, and was edited by both Andreas Moustoksides and Marios Pierris.¹⁴ However, *Gazzetta Urbana* was short-lived and its publication ceased one year later. The second governmental paper began its distribution in June 1803, and was entitled *Monitore Septinsulare*.¹⁵ According to Mpokos’s research, the paper’s contents were divided into two major categories. In the first category, the *Notizie Estere*, the editor reprinted recent articles from other European newspapers, covering foreign, political, and military topics. The second category, the *Notizie Interne*, consisted of articles

¹¹ Mpokos explored the government’s publications for the period 1798-1800 and 1807-1813. During that period, 175 books and 2004 pamphlets were published in Corfu. Pamphlets were another means for the government to communicate its decisions to the public; refer to: G. Mpokos, *op.cit.*, p. 165. For a detailed overview of the fluctuations in governmental publications, see: *ibid.*, pp. 165-179.

¹² Zaharias Haramis becomes manager of the printing house under the supervision of the experienced Peloponnesian Dion Sarantopoulos. After Haramis’s passing, Sarantopoulos invested his significant disposable income into modernizing the printing press. For a synopsis of the printed material during the *Επτάνησος Πολιτεία* period, refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-52. See also: P. Lampros, ‘Ιστορική Πραγματεία περί της αρχής και προόδου της τυπογραφίας εν Ελλάδι μέχρι του έτους 1821’, *Χρυσσαλίδς*, Vol. 3, 60th issue (1865), pp. 361-364, 61st issue (1865), pp. 398-402, Vol. 4, 80th issue (1866), pp. 169-172, 94th issue, pp. 573-576, 95th issue, pp. 597-602, 96th issue, pp. 622-626.

¹³ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-21.

¹⁴ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορικά Απομνημονεύματα Επτανήσου*, Vol. 3, *op.cit.*, p. 229. Also: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-40.

¹⁵ P. Lampros, *op.cit.*

covering domestic/local issues as well as official documentation, proclamations, affirmations etc.¹⁶

3.4 Typography during the first years of the British rule

During the British occupation of the southern part of the Ionian Islands (1809-1810), the British established their own printing press in the island of Zakynthos. Transported directly from the colony of Malta, it was called 1) *Stamperia Pubblica Del Zante*, 2) *Pubblica Stamperia delle Isole Jonie Liberate*, 3) *Pubblica Stamperia delle Isole Jonie*, and 4) *Βασιλική Τυπογραφία η κατά τας Ιωνικάς Νήσους*. Its operation however did not last for long (1810-1814), and its publishing activity was actually limited.¹⁷ In essence, this was a quick fix for the British to be able to publish their proclamations, while prohibiting any local publishing efforts. Thus, the British used it as their official printing house, strictly serving governmental purposes.¹⁸

One of the first publications of the Zakynthian printing press was a governmental newspaper written in Italian, in order to address a wider audience and especially the Zakynthian upper class/nobility. Its publication commenced in the end of 1811, and it was entitled *Gazzetta Zacintia* and *Gazzetta delle Isole Jonie Liberate*.¹⁹ The printing house remained active until 1814, when the equipment was transferred to the islands' capital, Corfu. In July 1814, in the capital henceforth, the British launched their official newspaper publishing the government's political acts, proclamations –the Senate's decisions–, as well as domestic and foreign news from the main capitals of the world. It was entitled *Gazzetta delle Isole Jonie* and was issued in both languages; the Italian edition was *Gazzetta Jonia* and the Greek edition was *Εφημερίς Ιο(ω)νική*. After 12 years of continuous publishing, on January 1st, 1831, the British decided to unite the two editions into a single paper entitled *Εφημερίς του Ενωμένου Κράτους των Ιονικών Νήσων*, which contained articles related with domestic/foreign news, acts

¹⁶ According to Mpokos, we are not able to determine exactly when the newspaper ceased its operation or the reasons for this; see: G. Mpokos, *op.cit.*, pp. 172-174.

¹⁷ It operated under the management of Andreas Kornelios, and was located at his house; see: Leonidas X. Zois, *op.cit.*, p. 226.

¹⁸ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 54. For more information regarding the Zakynthian printing press: *ibid.*, pp. 53-88.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58. Konomos's research shows that, from May 1812, there was a translated version of the Zakynthian newspaper written in Greek, referring to a lack of information due to the destruction of the archives as a consequence of the 1953 earthquakes in Zakynthos, Ithaca, and Kefalonia; see: Nt. Konomos, 'Η άγνωστη ως τώρα ελληνική έκδοση της πρώτης εφημερίδας της Ζακύνθου 1813', *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα*, Vol. 12, 1984, pp. 73-79.

of the Government, news from the Greek Kingdom, obituaries, as well as a small number of art-related news.²⁰

The upgrade of typography in the Ionian Islands was a *sine qua non* condition. During the first years of their rule, the British brought new presses from the Empire, appointing as manager of the governmental printing house, the pro-British scholar and Sir Th. Maitland's right hand, the Constantinopolitan Platon Petrides, who, in order to facilitate private printing created the "government printing office". However, according to Makris, the freedom of the press in the Ionian state was rather narrow-sighted, because the prevailing perception was that the existence of governmental printing equipment undermined the freedom of speech.²¹ Despite the upgrade of the printing presses –advanced machinery, government printing office– and the facilitation of establishing private printing presses, Makris points out that the Heptanesians did not wish to seek permission by the government's printing office; he specifically states: "Οι Επτανήσιοι όμως προτιμώσι να εκτυπώσι τα βιβλία των εις το εξωτερικόν, παρά να λαμβάνωσι υπερτέραν άδειαν από το κυβερνητικόν γραφείον τυπώσεως".²² On the contrary, rather than being subjected to censorship, the Heptanesians preferred to publish their essays either in Athens, Greece, or in another British protectorate, Malta, as a way to defend their rights and fight against Maitland's authoritarian rule. Makris states accordingly: "(...) οι δε Επτανήσιοι πατριώται ηναγκάζοντο να δημοσιογραφώσιν εν τη αλλοδαπή (...). Καθ' όλον το διάστημα τούτο, ελλείποντος του τύπου, μόνο εις τας εφημερίδας των Αθηνών και της Μάλτας ήτο δυνατόν να καταχωρίζωμεν άρθρα περί της καταστάσεώς μας".²³ Actually, part of Paschalidis's research explored the British conservative *Times* and the liberal *Daily News* newspapers and found that they, indeed, provided a platform for the Heptanesian perspective on various issues to be directly communicated to the

²⁰ From January 3rd, 1818, and the commencement of Sir Th. Maitland's commission, the newspaper changed its main title into *Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Jonie*, issued in Italian (size 0,36x0,22), and *Εφημερίς των Ενωμένων Επαρχιών των Ιονικών Νήσων* issued in Greek, until December 19th, 1818, (size 0,34x0,25), both published in a weekly basis. From the 25th of December 1843 until the union (1864), the newspaper was being published in three languages: Greek, English and Italian, however, the majority of the articles were in Greek; refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-92.

²¹ Theodoros Makris, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-47.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 44.

²³ *Ibid.*

British public; therefore, several Heptanesians published their articles in London, as well.²⁴

3.5 The establishment of the private printing houses

The lack of any private printing activity in the Ionian state was a direct effect of the censorship imposed by the British Commissioners, going back to the beginning of Sir Th. Maitland's commission (1818). Maitland concentrated all authorities –executive, legislative and judicial– into his own hands and, among other things, prohibited the freedom of the press and restricted numerous democratic liberties. His behavior was indeed despotic, and his constitution was infuriatingly authoritarian,²⁵ prohibiting the establishment of private printing houses in the Ionian territory; he did so without even asking permission from the Ionian Parliament, considering that this would undermine the allure of the British Empire.²⁶

Indicative of the publishing prohibition in the Ionian state is an article published in 1849, shortly after Lord J.C. Seaton granted freedom to the press, by Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, the editor of the pro-British newspaper *Ανεξάρτητος*. Dandolo was fearlessly complaining about the absence of private printing houses, arguing that the lack of printing facilities was hindering the development of the public spirit, as well as the promotion of civilization, concluding that the press restriction was more harmful than beneficial to the Ionian protectorate. In this article, he stated the following:

Και τω όντι ουδέποτε εσυγχωρήθη καθίδρυσις τυπογραφείου εις τας Ιονικάς νήσους εξαιρουμένου εκείνου της Κυβερνήσεως, και αναντηρηήτως ο τοιούτος περιορισμός βραδύνει την ανάπτυξιν του κοινού πνεύματος και την πρόοδον του πολιτισμού τον οποίον η προστατεύουσα Κυβέρνησις ώφειλε να ενθαρρύνη δραστηρίως και κατά πάντα τρόπον.²⁷

Upon the arrival of the liberal John Colborn Seaton in the Ionian Islands (1843-1849),²⁸ an ex-Canadian Governor and General and an important and wise British figure, the British timidly allowed the establishment of private printing houses, which

²⁴ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 61. Refer also to the previous chapter of the thesis and the resemblance of the Ionian with the Maltese press, where the Maltese journalists published their articles in London.

²⁵ Theodoros Makris, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-48. Refer also: G. Papadatos, 'Το κίνημα των ριζοσπαστών και το Ιόνιο Κράτος', in *Proceedings of the 6th International Panionian Conference*, (Ζάκυνθος, 23-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1997), Vol. 2, 2001, pp. 533-544.

²⁶ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 90.

²⁷ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Περί Ελευθεροτυπίας', *Ανεξάρτητος*, April 2nd, 1849, No. 1.

²⁸ Theodoros Makris, *op.cit.*

were however limited to printing (non-governmental) books only, which were free from the burden of censorship, as they did not involve any criticism or politics.²⁹ An Italian refugee and inhabitant of Zakynthos island, Professor Lewis I. Martzokis, immediately seized this opportunity. With the strong support of Senator Giorgos De Rossi, and thanks to his connections, Martzokis managed to establish the first private printing house in Zakynthos, named *O Ζάκυνθος*, together with another publisher, Konstantinos Rossolimos, a progressive Zakynthian scholar who devoted his life in printing and publications. The first issue by Rossolimos, on June 20th, 1847, entitled *Αγγελία* is characteristic; it salutes this great opportunity and invites financial contributions. Among other things, this issue states:

(...) Σήμερον δια της παρούσης σαλπίζεται γενικώς κατ' εξοχήν εις το κοινόν ταύτης της πόλεως ότι, χάρις εις την Γενικήν Κυβέρνησιν μας, ήτις ευηρεστήθη να δώση άδειαν, και χάρις εις την Τοπικήν αφού δια μέσου της αποπερατούνται, χωρίς αναβολήν καιρού τα ζητήματά μας, στένεται σήμερον πρώτην φοράν τυπογραφία μερική, η μάλλον ειπείν, ανοίγεται νέος πόρος του ζην εις την πόλιν μας, πράγμα του οποίου η έλλειψις όλους μας κατέθλιβεν, καθότι επαισθητώσ εβλέπαμεν την οπισθοδρόμησιν μας υστερούμενοι το μέσον της αναπτύξεως των νοερών δυνάμεων (...) κατ' εξοχήν παρακαλώ εκείνους εξ' υμών εις τους οποίους η πρόνοια εχάρισε πλούτη και έως τώρα αρμοδία περίστασις δεν έτυχεν, θυσιάζοντες τα περισσεύματα των υπάρχόντων των, να ωφελήσουν την πατρίδα μας, εμψυχώσατε λέγω το έργον τούτο συνδράμοντες με ζήλον ως καθεαυτό ιδικόν σας καθότι πρόκειται λόγος υπέρ της δόξης και όφελος της πατρίδος μας (...).³⁰

Thus, Rossolimos was the first to establish a private printing house in May 1847, and shared responsibilities with his right hand, Martzokis. Even though they both wished to issue a local newspaper with political content, this was not an easy task to accomplish, because the High Police was indeed alert, since the British had granted the relevant permission on the condition that a strictly literary newspaper would be published. Skiadas also explains that, although the establishment of private presses was ratified since 1843, the British did not issue any operating licenses in order to

²⁹ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 99.

³⁰ Konomos quotes this text as part of Spyridon de Viazi's research. However, Konomos may have never actually seen this text as I have not; see: *ibid.*

sustain censorship and prevent the expression of any criticism.³¹ The Zakynthian publisher recruited a few scholars, and together they commenced distribution of the literary newspaper *Ο Σπινθήρ* (1847), which constituted the first Ionian private publishing effort which was written in Greek and had educational purposes. It mostly published articles regarding history, geography, commerce, ethics, educating questions, etc.³² The editorial of the first issue specifically notes:

*Ο σκοπός της εφημερίδος θέλει είναι η διάδοσις των γνώσεων αι οποίαι συντείνουν εις την εκπαίδευσιν του λαού (...). Η Εφημερίς αύτη θέλει διαλαμβάνει άρθρα Ιστορίας, γεωγραφίας, περιηγήσεων φυσικής ιστορίας, παραγγελμάτων υγιεινής και ηθικής, νομικών υποθέσεων, εμπορικά, οικονομικά, γεωργική; τεχνών ωφελίμων και εφευρέσεων, ποιήματα μυθιστορίας και διάφορα άλλα προς τέρψιν, μην αντιτείνοντα εις τον σκοπόν της εφημερίδος.*³³

The second printing press was established in Corfu (January 1849) and was named *Ερμής*. The operation manager of the printing house was the eminent Athenian publisher Ch. Nikolaides-Philadelfeas, with the cooperation of the excellent article writers I. Petritsopoulos and N. Zampelios. *Ερμής* was an exceptional printing house, with modern equipment and experienced staff. Indicative of its reputation is an article in the newspaper *Πατρίς*, which provides many details about the firm and the financial contribution of 53 men, quoting the following:

Γιγνώσκετε Κύριοι, ότι άμα ψηφισθέντος του περι ελευθεροτυπίας νόμου, προβλέποντες τινές τας πολλές δυσκολίας, αι οποίαι εδύνοντο επί πολύ να εμποδίσωσι την σύστασιν ενός τυπογραφείου εις Κέρκυραν, διάφορα επενόησαν σχέδια επί σκοπώ του να ασφαλίσωσιν όσον τάχιστα την ύπαρξιν ενταύθα τοιούτου κοινωφελούς καταστήματος. Οι μεν εσυμβούλευον την αγοράν, οι δε την μίσθωσιν ενός πιεστηρίου, και άλλοι άλλα. Φυσικώ τω λόγω έμελλε να προτιμηθή το απαιτούν ολιγωτέρας θυσίας και δαπάνην, και επομένως ενεκρίθη το προταθέν δια του προγράμματος υπό ημερομηνίαν α΄ Ιουνίου 1848, το οποίο υπογραφέν υφ' υμών έλαβεν και ισχύν συμβολαίου (...) εσυγκροτήθη επί τούτου εταιρία, της οποίας τα μέλη 53 τον αριθμόν, προς επίτευξιν του σκοπού υπεχρεώθησαν δια της

³¹ N. Skiadas, 'Επτανησιακά τυπογραφεία', (insert) *Επτά Ημέρες, Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας*, K. Giourgos (ed.), May 30th, 1999, *Καθημερινή*, p. 7.

³² It was issued twice per month, starting from October 1st, 1847. It was a two-column, eight-page paper. In the first issue, the newspaper's title was accompanied by the following sentence, highlighting its non-political nature: *Ο Σπινθήρ εφημερίς περιέχουσα ωφελίμους και τερπνάς αναγνώσεις*. For a more detailed view of the articles' titles, see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 99-102.

³³ (Anonymous), (No title), *Ο Σπινθήρ*, October 1st, 1847, No. 1.

*υπογραφής των να συνεισφέρωσι κατ' έτος και επί διετίαν, ποίος 10, ποίος 15, ποίος 25 τάλληρα, συμπεριληπτικώς δε ποσόν 755 διστήλων.*³⁴

Simultaneously with the establishment of the Zakynthian and the Corfiot private printing presses, the Kefalonian printing house (1849) also began operation under the management of the prominent radical Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos. As Tsitselis notes, Nikolaos Metaxas-Tzannis, Timotheos T. Forestis and Ilias Ratzis Loukatos, participated in this endeavor: 'Κατά το 1849 εν Κεφαλληνία συνέστη διά μετοχών τυπογραφικόν κατάστημα, της μετοχής ορισθείσης εις δίστηλα δέκα, επίτροποι δ' εξελέχθησαν οι Νικόλαος Μεταξάς Τζαννής, Τιμόθ. Τ. Φορέστης και Ηλίας Ραζής Λουκάτος'.³⁵ Despite the fact that Zervos-Iakovatos's printing house was operating below its capacity, because of the arrests and exiles of its manager, it has produced at least 200 publications during this period, including several local papers. Characteristically, Konomos quotes an excerpt from a rare pamphlet written by Zervos-Iakovatos:

*Ητο το πρώτον εν Κεφαλληνία εισαγόμενον τυπογραφείον, το οποίον και εβάπτισα και «Κεφαλληνίαν» και εξέδωκα παραχρήμα την πρώτην εν τη πατρίδι μου ως και εν Επτανήσω ριζοσπαστική εφημερίδα υπό τον τίτλον «Ο Φιλελεύθερος».*³⁶

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter offered a brief overview of the printing culture of the Ionian Islands. It highlighted the long lasting absence of the private printing houses during the Venetian Occupation (1387-1797) and pointed out the emergence of such activities in the region after the coming of its next rulers, the liberator French (1797); they established the first printing house, which operated under governmental control, but also published a number of governmental newspapers. In addition, this chapter also examined Typography during the first years of the British rule; as I have remarked, the British authoritarian strategies imposed on the Ionian Islanders, as far as the freedom of the press and the constitutional rights are concerned, led to the

³⁴ (Anonymous), 'Προς τους συνδραμώντας εις την καθίδρυσιν του εν Κερκύρα τυπογραφείου', *Πατρίς*, July 16th, 1849, No. 27.

³⁵ Ilias Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα. Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν και λαογραφίαν της νήσου Κεφαλληνίας*, Vol. 1, Athens, 1904, pp. 147, 149.

³⁶ Nt. Konomos, *Ο Ηλίας Ζερβός Ιακωβάτος και η Ένωση της Επτανήσου*, Athens: Ekdoti Sillogou pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 1964, pp. 40-49.

implementation of censorship by the authorities and to the initial hesitation of private entrepreneurs to be involved in press initiatives. However, as indicated above, this situation was to change in the years to come, with the establishment of private printing houses as a driving force and a powerful motivator for the freedom of speech. Noting their emergence in the three largest Ionian Islands, Corfu, Kefalonia and Zakynthos, the private printing houses were owned or directed by talented and (sometimes) experienced personnel. They published the first non-political and non-governmental newspaper *Ο Σπινθήρ* in 1847, as an aftereffect of the private initiatives. *Ο Σπινθήρ* paved the way for the emergence of the freedom of speech and the heyday of political local newspapers in the Ionian Islands.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMERGENCE OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS' LOCAL PRESS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the emergence of the Ionian press in 1849. It illustrates the conditions under which the press was initially established as a political informer, and commences with the presentation of the historical facts, based on which High Commissioner Lord J.C. Seaton (1778-1863) granted freedom to the press in the Ionian Islands “*unleashing untapped forces*”, as Gekas eloquently pointed out.³⁷ It further examines the views of certain scholars and journalists of that period, who argue that the freedom of the press was an aftereffect of the European revolutions and not a British bounty at all. Truly, this chapter evidences that the major factors contributing to the emergence and flourishing of the press in the Ionian protectorate was the pre-existing national consciousness,³⁸ influenced by the Greek efforts towards becoming a newborn constitutional state, the well-known liberal European revolutions of 1848, as well as the repatriation of numerous Heptanesian scholars from several cities across Europe. But, it also becomes apparent that an additional major promoter of the press was the establishment of the political clubhouses in the Ionian state; another great reform implemented by the philhellene Commissioner Lord J.C. Seaton. By exhibiting that this new media of newspapers encouraged the Ionian population's demand for constitutional changes and democratic reforms, fanned by the strong dissatisfaction caused by Thomas Maitland's authoritarian constitution, this chapter investigates the newspapers' political culture and shows that their political views were crystallized into the respective political parties.

4.2 The press freedom in the Ionian state

The circulation of local newspapers in Ionian cities occurred simultaneously with the proclamation of philhellene John Colborn Baron of Seaton's in the Ionian Parliament on May 17th, 1848, in which, by the signature of the military officer and ex-General Governor of Canada, the Crown grants freedom of the press.³⁹ Seaton proclaimed the

³⁷ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy*., op.cit., p. 315.

³⁸ Refer to: N. Moschonas, ‘Η έννοια της εθνότητας και η εθνική ιδέα στα Επτάνησα’ *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά*, Vol. 8, 1999, p. 393.

³⁹ This is a small part of the High Commissioner's recommendations addressed to the Parliament concerning the freedom of the press, as quoted (in the Greek language) in the official gazette: “Ο

abolition of censorship, and suggested the cancelation of the constitutional press' restrictions, effectively reflecting a modification in the Ionian protectorate policy.⁴⁰ It thus becomes evident that the British reshaped their policy regarding the Ionian Islands and, through the granting of freedom of the press, they allowed Heptanesian voices to be heard, in the context of a more protective and progressive policy –as already mentioned in chapter 1–.⁴¹ Indeed, only five days later, the British government, through a decision of the Ionian Parliament dated May 22nd 1848, announced the abolition of censorship. This decision provided that all press related legislation would be issued exclusively by the Ionian Parliament, and could not be modified without a favorable majority vote from the Parliament. The official Gazette particularly stated that:

*Ελευθεροτυπία εισάγεται εις το Κράτος τούτο υπό κατασταλτικούς νόμους. Η λογοκρισία παντός είδους καταργείται. Οι κατασταλτικοί νόμοι του τύπου θα πηγάζουσι από ολόκληρον την Βουλήν και δεν θα καταργούνται ούτε θα τροπολογούνται άνευ της συνδρομής ολοκλήρου της Βουλής.*⁴²

Simultaneously, Lord J.C. Seaton supported the circulation of Greek newspapers in the Islands,⁴³ discussed new aspects in the Ionian educational system, and allowed the establishment of political clubhouses and political rallies.⁴⁴

Αρμοστής λαβών παρά της Κυβερνήσεως της βασιλίσσης Προστάτιδος την συναίνεσιν να συστήση προς το Νομοθετικό Σώμα την απομάκρυνσιν παντός περιορισμού του τύπου του Ιονίου Κράτους, η αυτού Εξοχότης εδηλοποίησεν ει την Βουλήν, ότι προτίθεται να συγκαλέση την Γερουσίαν, δια να δυνηθή η Κυβέρνησις να πραγματοποιήση το προβαλλόμενον αυτό μέτρον. Εφημερίς επίσημη του Ηνωμένου Κράτους των Ιονίων Νήσων”, in the Official Gazette of the United States of the Ionian Islands, March 29th, 1848, No. 169.

⁴⁰ Theodoros Makris, *op.cit.*, pp. 39-48. See also: A. Nikokavoura, *op.cit.*, pp. 27-37. Refer also to: Nikos Skiathas, ‘Η Επιβολή της λογοκρισίας και οι αγώνες των Επτανησίων για την κατάκτηση της ελευθεροτυπίας’, *Proceedings of the 5th International Panionian Conference*, Vol. 2, Kefalonia, 1991, pp. 151-167.

⁴¹ Refer also to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 313-317.

⁴² This text constitutes part of an article, written in Greek from the *Official Gazette of the United States of the Ionian Islands*, May 22nd, 1848. In addition, Konomos refers to another important piece of press legislation, concerning its ‘proper’ operation, enacted one week later on, on the 28th of May, writing particularly: *προς αποφυγήν των εκ της αφαιρέσεως παντός περιορισμού δυναμένων να λαβώσι χώραν καταχρήσεων*; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

⁴³ Lord Seaton’s support in circulating Greek newspapers may have been a factor influencing the Ionian press and its typical layout. But, also, Gekas informs us that in 1836 (when the society *Αναγνωστική εταιρεία* was established), the Corfu Reading Society had the best selection of English, French, German and Italian papers available in its reading room; refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, p. 303.

⁴⁴ For a detailed view on Seaton’s reforms, refer to: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, *op.cit.*, p. 203.

However, it is important to note that despite Seaton's liberalism and progressivism, the first papers, which were distributed after freedom was granted to the press, did not refer to the emergence of the press as a British bounty. I assume that, through the distribution of Greek newspapers in the Islands, the Ionians as well as the Heptanesian journalists acknowledged that the mid-19th century was characterized by constant liberalism in the European nations, necessitating multiple constitutional reforms in several European states.⁴⁵ Hoping to clarify the above points of view, two prominent radical newspaper' editors provided information about these revolutionary activities to the Ionians. Their viewpoint is evident in the pamphlet of one of the radical party leaders; a courageous journalist and distinguished member of the Heptanesian society, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, who stated that the freedom of the press in European nations was granted as an after-effect of a plethora of revolutionary movements, noting in particular:

Ἐπρεπε να σεισθή ὅλος ο κόσμος, να κρημνισθούν οι θρόνοι των βασιλέων, να επαναστατήσουν οι λαοί, δια να αποκτήσουν τα δικαιώματά των, και τότε να συγχωρηθή και εις ημάς μόλις να ομιλώμεν. Ας μη καταφρονήσωμεν το φυσικόν αυτό δικαίωμα της ελευθερίας του λόγου και ας καταβάλωμεν πάσαν προσπάθειαν, όπως απολαύσαμεν δι' αυτού τας αληθινάς ωφελείας και τα λοιπά δικαιώματα, από τα οποία είμεθα υστερημένοι (...) Είναι έργον της ελευθεροτυπίας να δράζει τις περιστάσεις του κόσμου και να ενεργήση τα πρέποντα δια την απόλαυσιν και το μεγαλείον του ελληνικού εθνισμού.⁴⁶

In a similar manner, Iosif Momferratos, another prominent radical figure in the Ionian Islands published a series of articles regarding the importance of the French revolution in his newspaper,⁴⁷ while in Athens, the 25-year old Antonios Fatseas (1823-1872) had published a literary booklet about the significance of the freedom of the press.

⁴⁵ Tassos Vournas, *Το ελληνικό 1848-Αγώνες για κοινωνικό και πολιτικό μετασχηματισμό στην Ελλάδα κάτω από την επίδραση των ευρωπαϊκών αστικοδημοκρατικών εξεγέρσεων*, Athens: Tolides publication, 1983, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁶ Refer to the rare pamphlet of Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos discussing the multiple advantages related with the freedom of the local press in the Ionian protectorate; see: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος ή διδασκαλία περί καλής ή κακής χρήσεως της ελευθεροτυπίας εις την Επτάνησον* (pamphlet), December 26th, 1848. According to Konomos, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos had realized the role of the press and the free movement of ideas much earlier, as in 1839 had given a lecture at the Greek Studies Society in Piza regarding the freedom of the press; see: Nt. Konomos, *Ο Ηλίας Ζερβος-Ιακωβάτος, και η Ένωση της Επτανήσου*, Athens: Ekdosi Sillogou pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vilvlion, 1964, p. 13. The above-mentioned pamphlet is also referred in the same study by Konomos: pp. 42-49.

⁴⁷ Iosif Momferratos, 'Γενική έποψις των μεταβολών του 1848', *Αναγέννησις*, April 15th, 1849, No. 2. Refer also to the next edition of the same newspaper on April 22nd, No. 3.

Fatseas's views were groundbreaking for the literary Athenian and Ionian circles fully supporting the above argument:

(...) τώρα δε ότε επήγε να χαλάση ο κόσμος του στρόνει το τραπέζι της ελευθεροτυπίας δια να πασχάση αλλά κυρίως, δια να κακοστομαχιάση και δικαιολογήση την άκραν νηστείαν των ελευθεριών, εις την οποίαν τον κρατεί και ήτις κινδυνεύει να τον αποθάνη.⁴⁸

What becomes evident through these references, is that the European revolutions had influenced the Heptanesian bourgeoisie significantly. Indeed, the pamphlet of Zervos-Iakovatos manifests that one of the main reasons for the emergence of the press is the increased national consciousness of the Heptanesians. As a consequence, a number of questions arise regarding the factors contributing to the emergence of the Ionian press. More specifically, was the philhellenism of Lord J. C. Seaton important? Did the revolutionary European outbursts truly influence the Ionians? Did the pre-existing national consciousness enhanced the emergence of the press? Who and what had indeed influenced the Heptanesian Intelligentsia? The following section highlights that the emergence and the flourishing of this new media of newspapers in the Ionian Islands was influenced by four major factors: the Greek state's independence, the European revolutions of 1848, the repatriation of many Heptanesian scholars, and finally, the creation of the political clubhouses in the Islands.

4.3 The key factors for the establishment of the Ionian Islands' press

The outset of the newspapers' publishing activity was accomplished at the same time when the Greek nation was taking its first steps as a newborn state.⁴⁹ The local press makes its appearance in the Ionian state in 1849, and for the first time a societal tool with a political context is manifested, influenced by an –already existing– national consciousness,⁵⁰ and, as Gekas stated, the Ionian men of letters “developed different

⁴⁸ A. Fatseas, *Ο Θεομπαίκτης Παιδαγωγός ή η Επτανησιακή Ελευθεροτυπία*, Athens: Τυπογραφείο Antoniadou, 1849, pp. 3-4.

⁴⁹ Concerning Greece's nation-building efforts, it is worth referring to the period of Otto's reign in Greece (1833-1862), in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Vol. 13, pp. 8-217. For Greece's constitutional monarchy and the Greek press, see also: Antonis Skamnakis, *Πολιτική Εξουσία και ΜΜΕ στη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα (1821-1940)*, Thessaloniki, 2018, pp. 101-130. With regards to the Greek press, refer also to: Dimitris Psychogios, *Τα έντυπα μέσα επικοινωνίας. Από τον πηλό στο δίκτυο*, Athens: Kastanioti publications, 2004, pp. 250-254.

⁵⁰ It is worth mentioning the book of Konstantina Zanou, where she investigates the transition ‘from a world of *Empires* to a world of *nation-states*’. By making particular reference to three popular Ionian Islands' poets (U. Foscolo, A. Kalvos, D. Solomos), she reframes their biographies, and points out the

media strategies depending on their loyalties”.⁵¹ By both attracting and influencing the ‘educated’ class, as well as the people, they shaped a public opinion for the first time in the Ionian cities.⁵²

First and foremost, the Ionians were strongly encouraged by the 1821 Greek Revolution, and consequently, by the establishment of the New Greek state (1829-1830). But, more importantly, the Heptanesians were strongly motivated by the *September 3rd, 1843, Revolution*, in Athens, when the Greeks, in their nation-building efforts, fought for the establishment of a constitution and of fundamental principles.⁵³ Undoubtedly, the Greek revolution in 1843 put an end to absolute monarchy and to xenocracy, and, at the same time, mobilized all democratic elements of the country;⁵⁴ the first Constitution of the Kingdom of Greece in 1844 guaranteed, among others, the freedom of the press.⁵⁵

Secondly, the essentially democratic and liberal revolutions of 1848 (a series of political upheavals throughout Europe: France, Italian states, German states, Wallachia, Denmark, Austria –Habsburg Empire–, Hungary, Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Belgium, Ireland, Greece etc.) organized by the rising urbanized middle class, aimed to abolish the old monarchical structures and create independent nation-states.⁵⁶ Alisandratos points out a small number of Greeks

emergence of the generation of the Ionian political thinkers, who contributed greatly in shaping Greek patriotism/nationalism. Refer to: Konstantina Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, pp. 25-64.

⁵¹ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 315.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ These fights were supported by many citizens who, side by side with the Greek army, prepared an uprising against King Otto’s rule. They demanded the establishment of a constitution and claimed that the Bavarian executives, who were part of the government, should leave. For further details regarding the successful *Revolution of 3rd September* and, in general, the difficult economic situation of the period in the Greek Kingdom, refer to: I. Petropoulos - E. Koumariou, ‘Περίοδος απόλυτης μοναρχίας’, in *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους*, Vol. 13, pp. 96-103.

⁵⁴ Petratos states that the Kefalonian radicals were influenced by a powerful philhellenic sentiment, manifesting or strengthening the unifying trend; see: P. Petratos, *Οι πολιτικές λέσχες στην Κεφαλονιά κατά την περίοδο της Αγγλοκρατίας* (unpublished dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), 2006, p. 56.

⁵⁵ According to Skamnakis, regardless of these liberal arrangements, the Greek state aimed at striking the freedom of thought and the free circulation of ideas, imposing numerous newspapers’ confiscations as well as prosecutions of the journalists. For general information regarding the anti-press legal provision in Greece (1850), refer to: Antonis Skamnakis, *Πολιτική Εξουσία και ΜΜΕ...*, op.cit., pp. 114-121.

⁵⁶ Refer to: Priscilla S. Robertson, *Revolution of 1848: A Social History*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1968; Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Η εποχή των Επανάστασεων 1789-1848*, (M.I.E.T.), 1961, pp. 161-307, 416-431; J. Sperber, *The European Revolutions 1848-1851*, Cambridge, 1995; K. Marx, ‘Οι ταξικοί αγώνες στη

outbursts too in 1848, in the cities of Athens, Kalamata and Korinthos.⁵⁷ As a consequence, these revolutions encouraged the Ionians to demand constitutional changes for themselves,⁵⁸ since, all these upheavals, reflected the widespread desire for changes in respect of civil freedoms, liberal and democratic constitutions, national identity of the states, freedom of association, free elections, use of native language, etc.⁵⁹ But, the freedom of the press and the abolition of censorship were also important, as an inviolable expression of the popular will. Therefore, numerous independent newspapers started manifesting in the European nations;⁶⁰ a breath of fresh air at long last to this authoritarian fug in the European states.⁶¹

Another important factor contributing to the further development of the new media of newspapers was the repatriation, from several European cities, of the Heptanesian bourgeoisie, i.e. of several Heptanesian ‘men of letters’ of the diaspora, who essentially comprised the *Intelligentsia* of the Ionian state, and were distinguished abroad, even in the darkest Venetian days.⁶² By substituting the old nobles, the

Γαλλία από το 1848 ως το 1850’, in K. Marx-F. Engels, *Διαλεχτά έργα*, Vol. 1, Athens: Anagnostopoulos publications, 1964.

⁵⁷ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, Argostoli, 2006, pp. 34-35.

⁵⁸ In contrast to the above, Bowen argued that Lord Seaton had already started reforming the Ionian protectorate prior to the European revolutions, as from 1844, he had proposed the application of certain political reforms. One of his primary purposes was to invite Heptanesians into the administration; see: G. Bowen, *The Ionian Islands under the British Protection*, London, 1851, p. 74.

⁵⁹ Pr. Robertson, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁰ Refer to: Jean-Noël Jeanneney, *Η Ιστορία των Μέσων Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης. Από την εμφάνισή τους ως τις μέρες μας*, translated by: Nasi Mpalta, Athens: Papadima publications, 2010, pp. 119-123.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-130. The successive concessions of the Kings led to an explosion of papers, caricature journals, political clubhouses and trade unions. Numerous ephemeral papers emerged in the aftermath of the revolutions. In France particularly, the newspapers skyrocketed from 50,000 to 400,000 editions. In Great Britain, newspapers publication increased and the same happened in other Western countries. For a fuller picture of the explosion of the papers and the historical conditions of which they emerged, see two studies by Goldstein: Justin R. Goldstein, *Censorship of Political Caricature in Nineteenth-Century France*, Kent: State University Press, 1989. Justin R. Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Basingstoke, 1989.

⁶² Ntinos Konomos presents the cases of two prominent Heptanesian personalities: the first one refers to the noble efforts of the Kefalonian progressive and highly educated monk, Nikodimos Metaxas (1585-1646); a spiritual leader and founder of the first printing press in the East. He attempted to introduce Greek typography in the center of the Orthodox world, Constantinople (1627), aspiring to establish the first printing house in the island of Kefalonia; however, this was unsuccessful, due to his collision with Zakynthian nobility; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 4-6. The second case refers to the well-known efforts of the distinguished Zakynthian author and publisher, Georgios Ventotis, to distribute the first Greek newspaper in the city of Vienna (1784). Refer to: Nt. Konomos, ‘Αφιέρωμα στον Ζακύνθιο Γεώργιο Βεντότη (1757-1795), πατέρα της ελληνικής δημοσιογραφίας’, *Επτανησιακά Φύλλα*, Vol. 3, Athens, 1958, pp. 161-184.

bourgeoisie –or according to Gekas– the *liberali*,⁶³ rose to prominence also through the establishment of the Ionian local press.⁶⁴ They manifested Ionian Liberalism mainly through the interaction with Western cultural and political ideologies, thus, according to Gekas, they had become “*the voice in the public sphere*” through the media of newspapers, transforming Ionian politics.⁶⁵ Some of them had studied in Venice, Padua, Pisa, Paris, Berlin and Moscow, while others were entrepreneurs travelling in Europe and the East. People of the middle-upper classes were more likely to be educated and to have studied in an Italian university, while many of these brilliant minds were able to flourish in various Greek communities abroad, aiming at attaining better financial and intellectual status. These scholars were highly educated and obviously influenced by the West.⁶⁶ Most of them were prolific writers, polyglots, and culturally sophisticated; others were solicitors and poets, while others had become professors and/or members of the Ionian Parliament, forming an *Ionian Enlightenment*, as Paschalidi states.⁶⁷ Gekas indicates that, from the 1840s, this liberal middle-upper class had become ‘hegemonic’ in politics;⁶⁸ they all tried to seize the opportunity offered by the press freedom, in order to communicate their ideas and views and the values of the French Revolution: *freedom, equality and solidarity*.⁶⁹ Thus, the Ionian Islands’ press became their new ‘medium’ in challenging both the

⁶³ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 286.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 307.

⁶⁶ M. Paschalidi similarly notes: *the son of the nobility were sent to Italian Universities and returned to the Islands with western practices, reflected in their language, manner and dress, forming an Ionian Enlightenment*. Refer to: M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 66. However, apart from Paschalidi, other Heptanesian scholars have analyzed the contribution of the *Ionian enlightenment* to the *Greek Enlightenment*. In brief, Kasimatis concluded that the Ionians were a driving force for the Greek Enlightenment; he specifically wrote: *As σημειώσω σήμερα πως οι σπουδαιότεροι επτανήσιοι συνεργάστηκαν για πολύ με την αστικοδημοκρατική, δηλαδή την προοδευτική με τα κριτήρια της εποχής, μερίδας του έθνους, ο Ιάκωβος Πολυλάς, ο Κ. Λομβάρδος και ο Γεώργιος Θεοτόκης με τον Τρικούπη, ο Ζαβιτσιάνος με τον Βενιζέλο*. Refer to: Gr. Kasimatis, ‘Η συμβολή της Επτανήσου στη Νεοελληνική Αναγέννηση’, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 15, Corfu, 1970, pp. 9-20. Also, Kitromilides invokes the notion of a *Septinsular Enlightenment*, and examines the manifestations of this cultural Enlightenment. Refer to: Paschalis M. Kitromilides, ‘Επτανησιακός Διαφωτισμός. Τα όρια της ιδιομορφίας’, *Proceedings of the 7th International Panionian Conference*, (Lefkada, 26-30 May, 2002), Lefkadian Society Studies, Athens, 2004, pp. 241-257.

⁶⁷ M. Paschalidi, *op.cit.*, p. 66.

⁶⁸ Gekas points out that “*the making of the Ionian bourgeoisie coincided with the formation of the Ionian state and civil society*”; refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 2.

⁶⁹ See specifically: A. Liakos, ‘Η διάπλαση των επαναστατικών ιδεών στον ελληνικό χώρο, 1830-1850’, *Τα Ιστορικά*, Vol. 1, (Sept. 1983), pp. 121-144.

British rulers and the noble class.⁷⁰ As Gallant argues, their reputation as true and genuine leaders, preserving their inextinguishable social sensitivity, spread to the Greeks and similarly to Western Europe.⁷¹ The educated elite of the Ionian Islands could not be ignored, as it was a very cosmopolitan group.⁷² The high level of the bourgeoisie is characteristically described in an article published in the leading colonial pro-British newspaper *O φίλος του λαού*, which refers to the journalists as great personalities, who were not afraid to strongly voice unpopular opinions. In one of its rare issues, the journalist states, particularly, the following:

*Δόξα τω Θεώ! Εάν, ως τινες λέγουσιν, υπάρχει λειψανδρία επιστημόνων και πεπαιδευμένων εις τον τόπον μας, υπάρχει όμως πληθώρα Δημοσιογράφων από τας ασβέστους των οποίων λυχνίας φωτίζεται άπας ο λαός και σύμπασα η υφήλιος, διατηρείται η τάξις, συντηρείται το Σύνταγμα, και προλαμβάνεται πάσα κατ' αυτού επιβουλή, την οποίαν καθ' ύπνουσ βλέπουσιν άπαντες οι άγρυπνοι της αντιπολιτεύσεως Πανόπται!!*⁷³

In my viewpoint, one of the most significant points of reference regarding the rising Heptanesian scholars is the Corfiot lawyer, congressman and historiographer, Andreas Moustoksidis (1785-1860), editor of the reformist paper *Φιλαλήθης* (1851-1854). He was a prominent Heptanesian personality who, in order to claim freedom of speech and other constitutional liberties in the Ionian Islands, undertook a diplomatic effort (1839).⁷⁴ More specifically, this noble politician led a Heptanesian delegation which was determined to travel to London, and in person deliver to the British Minister of Colonies, John Russell, a complaining note, a memorandum entitled: *Promemoria sulla condizione attuale delle Isole Ionie*. In brief, this memorandum described the poor political status of the Ionian Islands, specifically referring to the imperative for a more liberal and fair election system, for the right of parliament members to assemble on an annual basis and to control governmental expenses. It further highlighted the need for establishing private printing presses and the need for granting freedom of the

⁷⁰ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 314.

⁷¹ Thomas W. Gallant, op.cit., pp. 57-74.

⁷² *Ibid.* Gekas also notes that 'lifestyle also distinguished the Ionian state middle-upper class from other classes such as the Greek bourgeoisie'. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 11.

⁷³ Aristides Chiapini, 'Εξωτερικά', *O φίλος του λαού*, October 5th, 1850, No. 20.

⁷⁴ See: Spyros Verykios, op.cit., pp. 232-238.

press.⁷⁵ As Moustoksidis noted, the fact that press legislation was inapplicable, shows that the freedom of the press was essentially prohibited, because the British had to provide their permission:

Η Κυβέρνησις λοιπόν δύναται και μάλιστα οφείλει, ένεκα της ευθύνης την οποίαν υπέχει εξ αυτού του δικαιώματος της ιδιοκτησίας, να απαγορεύη όπως εκ του πιεστηρίου της εξέρχωνται δημοσιεύματα μη συμφωνούντα προς τας αρχάς και τας απόψεις της. Αλλά ποίος νόμος εμποδίζει την ελευθερίαν του τύπου εις τας Ιονίους Νήσους; Ουδείς. Η ελευθερία αυτή απαγορεύεται εμμέσως.⁷⁶

Makris describes this journey as a bold attack against the British totalitarian scheme; he comments that this memorandum was truly a wind of change for the Ionians, and concludes that it played an instrumental role and constituted a good starting point for initiating debates over constitutional reforms in the Ionian Islands. But, apart from Moustoksidis' attempt, Makris notes that other Heptanesian scholars were also harshly criticizing the British rulers by publishing brochures in several cities abroad, requesting the redemption of their homeland. They were actively opposed to the autocratic Maitland and his persistent refusal to grant freedom to the press. Lastly, Makris's research makes special reference to the works of Manesis and Arliotis regarding the censorship and the unofficial ban imposed on the circulation of the Greek newspapers reporting on Heptanesian political issues and criticized Sir Howard Douglas's commission in the Islands (1835-1841):

Καθ' όλον το διάστημα τούτο, ελλειπόντος του τύπου, μόνον εις τας εφημερίδας των Αθηνών και την Μάλτας ήτο δυνατόν να καταχωρίζωμεν άρθρα περί της καταστάσεώς μας, τα οποία κατόπιν δυσκόλως ηδυνάμεθα να ίδωμεν, διότι συνήθως ήτο απηγορευμένη η εισαγωγή εφημερίδων, ιδίως δε των ελληνικών, όσαι επραγματεύοντο περί Επτανησιακών ζητημάτων. Και η ζηλότυπος αστυνομία του Δούγλας, επεξετείνετο μέχρι και αυτών των ιδιωτικών εγγράφων, ώστε ο πολίτης δεν ήτο ασφαλής ούτε όταν

⁷⁵ Gekas makes particular reference to this 'memorial', and notes that both the memorial and visit represent the pinnacle of the reform effort, highlighting that liberalism was at the heart of the debate. See: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 311.

⁷⁶ I was not able to access Moustoksidis' memorandum myself. As a result, this text is quoted from Makris's and Konomos's research; see: Thodoros Makris, op.cit., pp. 41-42. Refer also to: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., pp. 98-99. For further details, also see: N. Moschonas, 'Το Ιόνιο Κράτος', op.cit., p. 202, and Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., pp. 311-313.

*εκράτει εντός των τοιχών της οικίας του έγγραφον σχετικόν
προς την κακήν διοίκησιν των νήσων.*⁷⁷

4.3.1 The role of clubhouses

Hiotis argues that the appearance of the political clubhouses in the Ionian state was accomplished during Lord J.C. Seaton's commission,⁷⁸ and constituted one of the most significant contributors in the propagation of the press in the Ionian Islands, and in the establishment of the political dialogue.⁷⁹ Established exclusively by radicals, and, led by the Heptanesian bourgeoisie, the Ionian clubhouses were influenced by the British political clubs of the 17th and 18th century. They constituted a grand meeting point, strengthened the social ties among citizens of all social classes, and united them politically-ideologically with the ultimate goal of abolishing the British, becoming thus, hubs of resistance.⁸⁰ Particularly, the journalist Daves defines the clubhouses through his radical newspaper *Ο Χωρικός*, and writes:

*Δυνάμει του ιερού και αδιαφιλονείκητου δικαιώματος
τούτου, υπήρχε, προ πολλών ήδη ετών, συστημένον ενταύθα
Δημοτικόν Κατάστημα, του οποίου τα μέλη, τακτικώς
συνερχόμενα, είτε προς συνδιάλεξιν και ανάγνωσιν
εφημερίδων και περιοδικών συγγραμμάτων, είτε προς*

⁷⁷ Makris referred to the cases of N. Zampelis, V. Kapodistrias, Petritsopoulos, Gaitas and Loverdos; see: Theodoros Makris, *op.cit.*, pp. 44-45. Petratos also refers to Ieronimos Typaldos Pretenderis's memorandum to the British Parliament (1837) and the Kefalonian memorandum in 1841, signed by 5,000 citizens; see: P. Petratos, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

⁷⁸ Hiotis specifically writes: *επέτρεψε δε (referring to Lord J.C. Seaton) την σύστασιν λεσχών και συνδιαλεκτηρίων εις το Κράτος. Έδωσε την άδειαν του να συνέρχωνται και να συνομιλώσι περί των δημοσίων εις κοινάς συνελεύσεις οι πολίται επί εγγυήσει ησυχίας και αταραξίας. Παρεχώρησε προσέτι να εισέρχονται άπασαι αι εφημερίδες της Ελλάδος;* see: Panayiotis Hiotis, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 53. From a historical perspective, Petratos argues that the political clubhouses in the Ionian Islands principally existed under the Venetian rule (1500-1797) as an entertainment venue and a relaxing meeting point for officers; under the French rule (1797-1799) the clubhouses had started to become political, but their operation ended along with the end of the French rule; see: P. Petratos, *op.cit.*, p. 84-86.

⁷⁹ Dembonos was one of the first to research the political clubhouses in Kefalonia during 1851-1852. Refer to: A.D. Dembonos, *Το Αναγνωστήριον «Η Ομόνοια» Αηξουρίου*, Έκδοση Πολιτιστικού και Εορταστικού Κέντρου Αηξουρίου, 1995. For the Zakynthian political clubhouses, see respectively: Leonidas X. Zois, 'Σύλλογοι και Λέσχαι εν Ζακύνθω', *Χρονικά Ζακύνθου*, Vol. A, Athens, 1964, pp. 201-213. Also, D. Katifori, 'Πολιτικές λέσχες στη Ζάκυνθο επί Αγγλικής Προστασίας', *Παρουσία*, Vol. 6, 1988, pp. 7-43. In addition, Panayiotis Hiotis refers to two other clubhouses in Corfu: the *Πατριωτική Εταιρεία* and the *Εταιρεία των Φίλων*; see: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορικά Απομνημονεύματα της νήσου Ζακύνθου*, Vol. 3, Corfu, 1863, pp. 603-604. And, lastly: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

⁸⁰ However, Petratos refers to the difficulty of the lower classes, craftsmen, workers, villagers and peasants, to follow the political clubhouses in the cities, mostly due to their educational and financial status; see: Petros Petratos, *op.cit.*, p. 96. Refer also to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, p. 316.

*διάσκεψιν επί εθνικών και κοινοφελών αντικειμένων,
κατεγίνοντο αταράχως εις το έργον τούτο (...).*⁸¹

From the above extract it becomes apparent that the members of the clubhouses were constantly reading the newspapers (Greek & Ionian) in an attempt to acknowledge the political events, as well as to access a more comprehensive and accurate information. Truly, according to Petratos's study, one of the principal occupations within these political clubhouses was reading the newspapers, criticizing the acts of the British rulers, promoting specific political views, "awakening" the population and shaping public opinion. Therefore, the political clubhouses were rapidly transformed into "proletariat" revolutionary centers, and their members demanded parliamentary changes and freedom of speech.⁸² Lastly, indicative of the role of the clubhouses in the Ionian state is an other article from *Ο Χωρικός*,⁸³ in which the columnist provides guidance regarding the upcoming parliamentary elections to its readers; he specifically notes:

*Ο Κολοσσός ούτος είναι το δημοτικόν κατάστημα. Δεν εννόησαν οι άθλιοι ότι Δημοτικόν κατάστημα και λαός είναι εν μόνον πράγμα· και ότι το κατάστημα άλλο δεν κάμνει παρά να συμβουλεύει και διευθύνει τον Λαόν ή τους εκλογείς, διότι είναι αδύνατον όταν αφεθή μόνος ο λαός, να ενωθή και να επιτύχη.*⁸⁴

Overall, Alisandratos points out the most significant political clubhouses of the Ionian state. He notes the two Kefalonian *Δημοτικόν Κατάστημα Αργοστολίου*, the *Ομόνοια* clubhouses in Lixouri, and the Zakynthian *Ένωσις*, referring that the clubhouses were, in a way, the radical party's headquarters. They performed a great service to the Ionian society and, according to Panayiotis Panas, they formed the core of the Heptanesian radicalism.⁸⁵

⁸¹ Dimitrios Daves, 'Διαμαρτύρησις ενόπιον του κοινού', *Ο Χωρικός*, January 18th, 1851, No. 29.

⁸² Petros Petratos, *op.cit.*, pp. 80-91.

⁸³ Kontoni points out the exclusive use of the clubhouses by the Heptanesian radicalists, since *οι Μεταρρυθμιστές δεν έχουν λόγους να δράσουν εξωκοινοβουλευτικά*; see: Anna Kontoni, *Φιλελεύθεροι στοχασμοί και δεξιάωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο. Ιδεολογία και πολιτική των Μεταρρυθμιστών (1848-1864)*, Athens, 1989 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Athens), p. 13.

⁸⁴ Dimitrios Daves, 'Εκλογείς της Κεφαλληνίας', *Ο Χωρικός*, April 28th, 1850, No. 11. Obviously, the columnist refers to the political clubhouse of Argostoli in Kefalonia, *το Δημοτικόν Κατάστημα*. For more information regarding this political clubhouse, see: N. Tzouganatos, 'Το Δημοτικόν Κατάστημα Αργοστολίου η εστία του Ριζοσπαστισμού', *Ιόνιος Ηχώ*, period C, Year 17 (31), Vol. 190-191, 1962, pp. 7-8. Also, N. Tzouganatos, *Μελετήματα Ιστορίας και Λαογραφίας της Κεφαλονιάς*, Kefalonia: Syllogos 'Leivatho', Vol. A, Athens, 1996, pp. 132-136.

⁸⁵ Panayiotis Panas, *Ριζοσπάσται και Βελτιώσεις εν Επτανήσω*, Kefalonia, 1880, p. 8.

4.4 Conclusion

Chapter four introduced the reader to the core issues of the main subject of the thesis, since it emphasized on the emergence and development of Ionian press in the context of speech and press freedom, established towards the end of the 1840s. Truly, the emergence of the press constituted a radical and progressive change in the Ionian social life, as the Heptanesians had for the first time in their history their own means of information and mass communication. Despite that the mid-nineteenth century was not a politically tranquil period for the Islands, the establishment of newspapers was a major milestone, which gave rise to the journalistic fervor in the Ionian scheme.⁸⁶ But, the issue of the local newspapers were also vivid proof that the British had softened their approach after 32 years of consecutive rule, allowing a more liberal governing of the Ionian state. Indeed, this new orientation of the British authorities, among with the character of Lord J.C. Seaton, the liberal atmosphere of the period in Europe, the strong feeling of “Greekness” among the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, as well as the repatriation of the Heptanesian *literati* are further proof of the formation of a more liberal context in the Ionian Islands. I, thus, presented the conditions under which the press first emerged, and discussed that the papers were strictly operating as a political instrument; a pillar for the development of political thinking in the Ionian state, because they addressed all social classes; middle-upper class, as well as villagers, peasants and the lower classes living in the cities.

These new conditions strengthened the power of the press, and the newspapers played a decisive role to the formation of political and social ideas of the locals, as the Ionian journalists were concerned mostly for the rise of Greek nationalism in the Ionian state. However, while Lord Seaton was recorded as a true philhellene in Greek Historiography, the arrival of High Commissioner Sir Ward in 1849, was considered as a bad omen, especially for the journalists of the Islands. Sir Ward employed a militaristic attitude, and constantly attacked the press and the journalists, reacting to their articles with newspaper bans and journalist exiles. Yet, sending newspaper staff

⁸⁶ Antonios I. Agious specifically refers to the enthusiasm of the lawyer and poet, N. Lountzis, regarding the publication of the Ionian newspapers, quoting his poem: *Λαέ της Επτανήσου! Πόσες καλές ελπίδες, που τες εφημερίδες δίνουνε στα νησιά. Αρχίνησε το «Μέλλον». Να! Κι' η «Πατρίς» κατόπι. Την «Ένωση» όλοι οι τόποι μονάχη καρτερούν. Όπου κ' οι τρεις σμιγμένες μ' ελεύθερο κονδύλι, ωσάν πιστοί σου φίλοι θα γράψουνε καλά! Την άδικη εξουσία θα την παραμονεύουν και θα την στηλιτεύσουν μ' αισθήματα εθνικά! Τώρα λοιπόν τα μάτια είναι καιρός ν' ανοίξεις με πόθον να τα ρίζης εις όποιον σ' αγαπά;*; see: Antonios I. Agious, *op.cit.*, pp. 52-53.

on exile had the opposite result; they were considered heroes, and thus, the journalism of that era was strengthened, and able to convey the ideals of the French Revolution. But, most importantly, Ward's commission was further proof that the censorship had been reinstated and, within only a short while, the freedom of speech was again into turbulent waters.

Considering that the local newspapers were mirroring daily political life, the next four chapters focus on the mainstream newspapers of that period, and provide an analysis of the articles published by different socio-political groups in the Islands; from the pro-British and the reformists, who asked for the protection of Britain, till the circumstances would allow political changes, up to the radical ones, who struggled for unification with the Greek state. The study of the newspapers evidences that, despite the press censorship imposed by Ward, this new media of newspapers were increasingly becoming an agent of free expression, reporting various political views. The following chapters aim to present the papers' role by analyzing the Heptanesian journalists' attitudes. By exhibiting the turmoil within the political circles, as reflected in the newspapers, these four chapters highlight various aspects of the Heptanesian life, review the prevailing perceptions regarding the middle-upper class, present views concerning poverty, race and class, and further explore how the discourse in popular newspapers has shaped the political mindsets and the Ionian Identity. In particular, the next part of the thesis, Chapter five, presents extensively the papers which favored the British and the policies the High Commissioners implemented, and makes reference to a number of financial, social military and educational factors remarked by the pro-British press in order the necessity for the continuation of the British protection of the Islands to be shown.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PRO-BRITISH PRESS

5.1 Introduction

Nowadays, it would sound rather strange to any Ionian Greek to hear that part of the Ionian population in the nineteenth century was supportive to the British Crown, considering that the Islands were seeking their independence and the unification with their fellow-brothers in the mainland. Chapter five contradicts this unifying angle, and aspires to prove, through the examination of the pro-British press, that a pro-British trend, indeed, existed. While the existing academic and scholarly studies refer to particular researches focusing on specific radical and reformist papers, there is hardly any relevant literature providing an analysis of the pro-British press in the Ionian Islands.¹ However Modern historians describe certain periods of the British rule in the Islands as forward-looking and beneficial,² in spite of the British cruelty, the injustice,

¹ Anastasios N. Mikalef, 'Ο Φιλοκυβερνητικός Τύπος στα Επτάνησα επί Βρετανικής επικυριαρχίας', Proceedings of the 10th International Panionian Conference, (30 April - 4 May, 2014), *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 6, 2018, pp. 321-330. Refer also to: Panayiota Moschona, 'Ο Φιλοκυβερνητικός Τύπος', in the: *Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας*, K. Giourgos (ed.) *Επτά Ημέρες* (insert), *Καθημερινή*, May 30th, 1999, p. 15.

² Gekas refers to infrastructure works/administrative buildings as part of the developmental project promoted by the High Commissioners in the Ionian Islands; refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, p. 101. But, in more specific terms, I would like to mention the book of the Heptanesian scholar, Antonios I. Agious. According to his study, under Sir Fr. Adam's Commission (1824-1832) the British brought an end to the grievous residues of Venetian moneylenders and henchmen, through laws that were unforgiving and not biased by social class or power, thus preserving the honor and property of all Island inhabitants. Civil services were reorganized and the Orthodox Church regained its dignity. Efforts were also made for the financial recovery of the Islands. Under the constant care of Adam, a brilliant road network was constructed (especially in Corfiot suburbs) and fully met the needs of that time. A modern aqueduct was constructed by Adam on July 27th, 1831, ensuring a constant water supply to the city. The cost of this aqueduct amounted to 30,000 pounds and used up the entire cash reserves of the Ionian Treasury. Before the British rule, Corfu in particular did not have any aqueducts and the citizens had to get water from public and private tanks which were located in city squares and fortresses. Public education was promoted through the establishment of the infamous Ionian Academy in 1823, with the first professor being the philhellene Lord Guildford; refer to: Antonios I. Agious, *op.cit.*, pp. 19-54. Also, Gregorovios makes particular reference to the Ionian Academy, noting that it was essentially the cradle for a new generation of Greek scientists: *το εύκαρπον κέντρον της επιστημονικής μορφώσεως απάσης της Ελλάδος*; see: Gregorovios Ferdinand, 'Κέρκυρα', *Ιόνιον Ειδόλλιον*, Corfu, 1884, p. 45. In addition, under the commission of Sir Howard Douglas (1835-1841), the British assisted in the establishment of the telegraph service and the state penitentiary, where the prisoners were being taught various crafts/professions; see respectively: Michalis Mitsakis, 'Το εν Κερκύρα Σοφρωνιστήριον', *Εστία*, Vol. 22, 1887. The British also assisted in the establishment of an asylum for the mentally ill, a catholic cemetery, and a poorhouse. The Ionian Bank Ltd was also established in 1839 and it was the central bank of the Ionian state and the first banking institution

and the authoritarian rules of Maitland and Ward.³ The Ionian state's flag was still being honored as the flag of a free and well-governed state; it adorned numerous trade ships travelling from the seven Islands across the Mediterranean, and it is quite certain that the Ionians, especially the Corfiots, still have intense the British marks.⁴

Even though this chapter's purpose was to analyze the pro-British newspapers, not as separate units but as a journalistic trend, this proved to be quite difficult, because the scarcity and rarity of the issues did not allow me to explore the pro-British editions as a whole. Nevertheless, by focusing on the most reputable pro-British newspapers, and by presenting anew this pro-British direction within the Heptanesian middle and upper circles, this chapter aspires to reveal new information concerning the relations between the British colonizers and the colonized Ionians; the protectors and the ones protected. It analyzes the papers' contents, and explores a considerable amount of pro-British front-page editorials, in an effort to demonstrate the political orientation of each newspaper, as well as confirm the existence of pro-British voices within the Ionian protectorate. Hence, through the exploration of the most influential pro-British newspapers of the period, this chapter constitutes an attempt to illustrate the pro-British policy line in the Ionian state.

By pointing out that the pro-Britishness was significantly strengthened following a number of critical constitutional reforms/benefactions within the Ionian state (1849) – press freedom, election law, function of the Senate–,⁵ this chapter contradicts the existing scholarly studies, which essentially hint that all pro-British supporters had a self-centered character,⁶ and, proves that, according to the pro-British argumentation expressed through the press, the seven Islands could actually flourish under the protection of the British flag. Therefore, this chapter aspires at showing that one of the most significant aims of the pro-British press was to present a line of arguments,

across the entire Greek territory; as such, it was able to issue banknotes. Also, Sir Douglas established the Ionian High School and Primary school, *το Ιόνιον Γυμνάσιον*, and he formulated and published the Ionian Civil Code, the *Progetto di Codice Civili per gli Stati Uniti delle Isole Ionie*; see: Antonios I. Agious, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

³ For the authoritarian rules of Sir Th. Maitland and Fr. Adam, similarly refer to: *ibid.*, pp. 19-36.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵ Gekas pointed out particularly also the extension of franchise and the right to control expenditure, emphasizing the fact that the Parliament would consist exclusively of people elected and not appointed by commissioner. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy..*, *op.cit.*, p. 318.

⁶ Nikos Moschonas, 'Το Ιόνιο Κράτος', *op.cit.*, pp. 208-209. Refer also to: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 9. Also: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, pp. 44-45. Refer lastly to the particular reference by Verykios: G. Verykios, *Απομνημονεύματα περί της πρώην Ιονίου Πολιτείας*, Kefalonia, 1970, p. 250.

demonstrating that the pro-British attitude was not based on the narrow personal interests of the Ionian aristocracy and few members of the Ionian Parliament, but part of a wider plan to improve the living standards of the Ionians by means of political reforms. Based on the above, the chapter briefly touches upon the poverty issue in the Ionian state, principally through the examination of the writings of an important Heptanesian personality in the Ionian state, and one of the most influential pro-British journalists, Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo (1788-1863), as his paper columns demonstrate his strong interest in social issues and in the well-being of the population.

5.2 The pro-British newspapers

Finding papers entirely supportive to the British Crown was a truly demanding task, mainly due to their rarity and scarcity in the libraries and the Greek state's archives.⁷ Even one of the most important pro-British supporters, the editor/journalist Aristides Chiapini, in his newspaper *To Τιμόνι* referred to the difficulty, yet necessity, of producing such political newspapers. In particular, in one of his issues, he stated that a pro-British newspaper should represent/defend the views of the High Commissioners, and ought to explain/justify the British rulers' actions. Thus, in his opinion, the role of a pro-British paper would be solely to report in an apologetic and subjective manner, avoiding any sort of bad criticism. He specifically wrote the following:

Παράδοξον πράγμα, κάποιος έλεγεν, ότι όλαι η Εφημερίδες των νήσων μας είναι αντικυβερνητικά! Τούτο το βλέπομεν και ημείς, και όχι μόνον δεν παραξενεύομεθα, αλλ' εζ' εναντίας μας φαίνεται και απλούστατον. Τω όντι δια να λύση κανείς το ζήτημα τούτο «Διατί δεν υπάρχει καμμία Εφημερίς κυβερνητική», δηλαδή μία εφημερίς η οποία πιστώς να υπερασπίζεται την Κυβέρνησιν, και να ανταποκρίνεται με θάρρος εναντίον των αντικυβερνητικών όταν την προσβάλλουν, πρέπει πρώτον να λύση εν άλλο ζήτημα πολύ δυσκολώτερον, και τούτο είναι το να προσδιορίση «που υπάρχει καθαυτό η Κυβέρνησις». Αν προηγουμένως δεν λύσωμεν το δεύτερον δεν δυνάμεθα να αποκριθώμεν εις το πρώτον. Μία κυβερνητική Εφημερίς πρέπει να ήναι το όργανον της Κυβερνήσεως, να την αντιπροσωπεύη, να δέχεται το χρώμα της και να την

⁷ It is important to note that this chapter would be more complete, if it could also consider Aristides Chiapini's very rare *Ο Φίλος του λαού* newspaper, as well as Dimitrios Karousos's *Ο Πέλεκος* paper, where very few issues were actually saved.

*δικαιολογή εις τας πράξεις της. Αλλά τίνος όργανον ήθελεν
είναι, εις ημάς;*⁸

However, in spite of young Aristides Chiapini's writings, the pro-British papers did exist to a small but noteworthy extent, and some of their editorials are quite revealing and valuable. The pro-British newspapers of the Ionian state, which essentially voiced the views of the pro-British and rebutted all criticism by the opposition parties, included: *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* [The Independent] (1849-1850), *Το Τιμόνι-Il Timone* [The Wheel] (1849), *Ο Φίλος του λαού* [People's friend] (1850-1851), the short-lived *Η Επτάνησος* [The Septinsular] (1850) and *Ο Πέλεκυς* [The Axe] (1850) and lastly, *Ο Παρατηρητής* [The Observer] (1858-1862). It is quite evident that these newspapers can be chronologically classified into two categories. The first category includes the papers which were published right after the press freedom was granted in the Ionian Islands through the constitutional reforms implemented by Lord J.C. Seaton. The second category includes only *Ο Παρατηρητής*, which commenced its distribution a few years prior to the union of the Ionian Islands with the Greeks and few editions supported the British Crown; the newspaper favorably commented on the arrival of the eminent British politician William Ewart Gladstone, who was appointed by the British government (1858) in order to enquire the grievances of the Ionians.

All the above mentioned papers supported the British status quo, either directly or indirectly, and were essentially the voice of a portion of Ionian citizens, who viewed the Islands as a part of the British Empire and not as part of the Greek newborn state, even though the Ionians shared a common language, culture, morals and religion with the Greeks. Overall, these newspapers mostly had political content, and occasionally included local news as well. A great deal of articles criticized the local authorities, as well as quoted the minutes of the Ionian Parliament and several orations of its members. But, apart from the continuous coverage of the corresponding political lines, it is extremely important to note that these journalists additionally produced plenty of editorials focusing on various subjects such as financial matters, education, agriculture, the poverty question, as well as religious issues, mostly between the differences between the Orthodox and the Catholics. Last but not least, the pro-British newspapers included other noteworthy articles as well; these were in support of the Ionian citizens, often urging the administration to revise its practices, laws for example, in order to protect the lower socioeconomic classes.

⁸ Aristides Chiapini, 'Η Δημοσιογραφία εις τα νησιά μας', *Το Τιμόνι*, August 8th, 1849, No. 13.

5.2.1. *Ο Ανεξάρτητος (1849-1850)*

Ο Ανεξάρτητος was the first political pro-British newspaper issued in the Ionian Islands, and it was a one-person affair.⁹ Contrary to Mackridge's conclusion,¹⁰ Konomos describes this newspaper as pro-British,¹¹ since through his research, he characterizes most of the pro-British newspapers as *συντηρητικές* –conservative ones–. Written in Greek and Italian (with a small number of articles also written in French), its publication commenced on April 2nd, 1849, and ended on February 16th, 1850; a total of 23 consecutive issues.¹² The heart and soul for the entire duration of this experiment was a distinguished Heptanesian personality, the military officer, lawyer and politician,¹³ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo (Dandolo was the first cousin of Count I. Kapodistrias, foreign minister of Russia and first Governor of Greece. He was a noble solicitor, a member of the Ionian Parliament, and for a certain period was its Chairman).¹⁴ Prior to commencing the publication of *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, and in order to prepare the grounds for its establishment and attract an audience, Dandolo issued a leaflet with a mission statement, bearing his signature.¹⁵ In this mission statement, he stated that one of the principal aims of his paper was to directly confront the leading reformist newspaper *Πατρίς*, which was widely circulated across the Ionian and foreign readers, thus, monopolizing the readership. Dandolo specifically wrote:

⁹ All issues of *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens, Greece.

¹⁰ Even though Mackridge states that Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo was against the establishment of the Greek language as *the man who spoke most vociferously against the precipitate introduction of Greek*, he characterizes *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* as a radical paper; see: Peter Mackridge, 'Venise après Venise: official languages in the Ionian Islands, 1797-1864', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, University of Birmingham, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2014, p. 81.

¹¹ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 113-114.

¹² *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* (size 0.44x0.28) consisted of four pages with two columns. It was usually issued twice a month, i.e. every other Saturday, and was published in the printing house of *Ερμής*, Hermes H. Nikolaidou Filadelfeos. The front page of the newspaper carried the motto *Αλήθεια και δικαιοσύνη*, placed right under the main newspaper title; this, in my viewpoint, represented a social contract between the editor, Dandolo, and his readership.

¹³ See: Andreas Papadopoulos, 'Βιογραφικαί σημειώσεις περί των εικονογραφηθέντων προσώπων εν τω παρόντι ημερολογίω', in the Marinos Papadopoulos-Vrettos, *Εθνικόν Ημερολόγιον*, Vol. 5, 1865, p. 360.

¹⁴ Refer to his autobiography entitled: *Les Iles Ioniennes, suivie de la biographie de l' auteur*, published in Paris, in 1861. Also, regarding Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, see: Enepekides K. Polichronis, *Κοραΐς-Κούμας-Κάλβος, Αν. Γαζής, Ο. Φώσκολο, Α. Δάνδολος, Β. Κοπιτάρ, Ελληνικός τόπος και Τυπογραφεία της Βιέννης 1790-1821*, Athens, 1967, pp. 150-159.

¹⁵ The mission statement '*Πρόγραμμα συνδρομής*' (size 0.43x0.30) written in Greek and Italian, was released two weeks before the newspaper's publication; see: Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, '*Πρόγραμμα Συνδρομής εις την εφημερίδα Ο Ανεξάρτητος...*', March 16th, 1849.

Επειδή φανερώς αποδεικνύεται ότι όπου μία και μόνη Εφημερίς δημοσιεύεται, δεν υπάρχει, ούτε δύναται να υπάρξει ελευθεροτυπία, αλλά μονοπώλειον (...) Ομοίως θέλομεν νομίσαι χρέος απαραίτητον να ανασκευάσωμεν τα εσφαλμένως έχοντα και την κατάχρησιν τοιαύτης ελευθερίας όταν φέρη βλάβην ή ζημίαν εις τα άτομα, και εις τα υλικά συμφέροντα του λαού.¹⁶

Being both a journalist as well as editor of this endeavor, Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo was principally endorsing the Italian writer and poet Ugo Foscolo's (1778-1827) pro-British perspective through specific newspaper' issues;¹⁷ besides, Enepekides had already stated that Ugo Foscolo and Dandolo were truly close friends.¹⁸ Dandolo, in his editorials, was referring to some of the virtues of the Heptanesian journalism, indicating that the press ought to be modest and prudent. He considered journalism as a territory free from personal likes and dislikes or the perpetual manipulation and propaganda, characteristically noting in his first newspaper' issue:

ότι η ελευθεροτυπία εις την οποίαν τοιαύτας ωφελείας χρεωστούσιν οι λαοί της οικουμένης θέλει φέρει και εις ημάς ευτυχία και ωφέλιμα αποτελέσματα εάν οι γράφοντες έχωσι μετριοπάθειαν και φρόνησιν, διότι μόνον τοιουτοτρόπως η Κυβέρνησις θέλει προθυμηθή να εισακούη τας ευχάς ημών (...).¹⁹

Even though the mission statement clearly revealed that Dandolo was behind every single article, the majority of the newspaper' articles were not signed; however, on rare occasions Dandolo did sign few articles as *Φοινίκιας* [Phoenician]. It is probable that this penname was originated by the fact that he was one of the principal establishers of the *Corfu Masonic lodge foundation*.²⁰

Overall, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* was essentially a political newspaper, and a great deal of first-page editorials emphasized on the 1849 electoral and constitutional reforms. Its articles were discussing, among other issues, the significance of the freedom of the press, the voting system in the Ionian state, as well as the Kefalonian rebellions of

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Refer to the following newspaper' editions of *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, where there are similarities with Ugo Foscolo's views: (No. 2) April 12th, 1849, (No. 12) August 13th, 1849, (No. 14) September 17th, 1849, (No. 17) November 5th, 1849, and (No. 19) November 30th, 1849.

¹⁸ Refer to: Polichronis K. Enepekides, *op.cit.* It is worth noting that Dandolo was the founder of the Masonic lodge in Corfu 'The Phoenix'.

¹⁹ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Περί Ελευθεροτυπίας', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, April 2nd, 1849, No. 1.

²⁰ See respectively: <https://phoenixkerkyras.com>

1848-1849, when Kefalonian radicals rebelled and clashed with the British army.²¹ In addition, a series of articles reflect profound respect and appreciation for Lord High Commissioner J.C. Seaton. In particular, the journalist makes reference to his efficient governing, the philhellenic attitude and the significant assistance that he provided to the peasants, simultaneously highlighting Seaton's concern regarding public revenues and the establishment of courts.²² But, more importantly, Dandolo in his paper did not fail to criticize the radical press for its aggressive and demagogic character, and for misinterpreting the political facts.²³ Moreover, one may observe that, away from the newspaper's political sphere, several –secondary– columns included reports regarding foreign/domestic policy, law, economy, commerce, agriculture, literature, obituaries, etc.; this was part of his efforts to create an integrated newspaper, worthy of its editor's reputation.

With respect to the pro-Britishness of *O Aνεξάρτητος*, this was reflected in the analytical presentation of Dandolo's views, through a series of articles, which are thoroughly presented in another section of Chapter five.²⁴ However, even from the first issue, a reader may observe Dandolo's references to the necessity of both embracing and appreciating the British rulers, specifically noting the following:

*Εάν δε είναι αληθές ότι ουδεμίαν πολιτικήν μεταρρύθμισιν δυνάμεθα ημείς μόνοι να κατορθώσωμεν, πώς να ελπίσωμεν ότι θέλομεν πείσει την ούτω πραγματικήν εξουσίαν να πράξη κατά την επιθυμίαν ημών, δεικνύοντες αχαριστίαν ήτις, ου μόνον αποτρέπει αλλά και αποξενώνει και παροργίζει την Αρχήν εκ της οποίας η ικανοποίησις αυτών των επιθυμιών και χρεών μας ουσιωδώς εξαρτάται;*²⁵

But, most importantly, according to the paper's contents, it seems that another primary purpose of Dandolo was the February 1850 elections in the Ionian state; the first free elections, designating the glorious 9th Ionian Parliament. In particular, Dandolo aimed at advising the British government as well as the politicians, and emphasized on

²¹ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός τύπος με τους δημαγωγούς του...', *O Aνεξάρτητος*, August 31st, 1849, No. 13.

²² See: Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Λόρδ Σείτων', *O Aνεξάρτητος*, April 2nd, 1849, No. 1. Refer also: Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός τύπος με τους δημαγωγούς του...', *op.cit.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Refer to the section of this chapter entitled *The British support*, which presents, in detail, the advantages of the British rule in the Ionian protectorate, based on *O Aνεξάρτητος* and other pro-British newspapers.

²⁵ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Περί Ελευθεροτυπίας', *O Aνεξάρτητος*, April 2nd, 1849, No. 1.

promoting a role model of good governing.²⁶ He was stating specifically, that the Lord High Commissioner, Sir Ward, should be prudent in his command, and should take at least two years in order to fully comprehend the most significant issues in the Islands and the state's modus operandi. Otherwise, no Commissioner could have a say about the protectorate, as he should cause a continuous inconvenience and instability to the Ionian population.²⁷ He also proposed that Sir Ward should inspect everything with his own eyes, be open to different opinions, make sure to appoint the good and beneficial, and finally, to honor the truth and make good use of it. According to Dandolo, if Lord Ward was, indeed, a true politician, he would acknowledge and appreciate the need to reinstate state institutions.²⁸ As a consequence, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* was proposing to the government specific areas in which reforms were necessary. To this end, Dandolo made specific references to grain taxation, free exports of oil, prohibition of cutting trees, and the need for education of the population residing in the suburbs and the countryside.²⁹

But, most importantly, in a similar fashion, Dandolo's editorials were educative not only for the government and the politicians, but also for the people. With reference to the election legislation, the journalist describes the voting process as a matter of major importance. In particular, he mainly tried to consult the Ionians to choose their representatives in the Ionian Parliament wisely, and wrote that the Ionians should be very careful in selecting who they would vote, since the elected parliament members would essentially act on the voters' behalf and if a member failed, then the democracy, the institutions and morals, would have failed as well. He specifically stated:

*Χωριανοί μου, δια το όνομα του Θεού και της Πατρίδος
αδέλφια, κοιτάζτε καλά, ανοίξτε τέσσαρα μάτια τώρα όπου
θα γένουν ή νέαις εκλογαίς των αντιπροσώπων σας.³⁰*

Lastly, in an effort to analyze the voting system and the election legislation, through the presentation of the voting eligibility criteria,³¹ Dandolo similarly addressed the

²⁶ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Η αναχώρησις του λόρδου Σείτωνος και ο νέος αρμοστής Κ. Ουάρδ', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, June 11th, 1849, No. 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Λόγος περί μεταρρυθμίσεων των καταπιστευμάτων...', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, November 30th, 1849, No. 19.

³⁰ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Προς τους εκλογείς της Κέρκυρας', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, February 16th, 1850, No. 23.

candidates, noting that they ought to, among other things, have a ‘quiet’ soul, mature minds, experience, innovative ideas, and the ability to handle a crisis.³² He also pointed out that the elections should be conducted in conditions of freedom, independence, and with clear thinking, because the peasants were mostly illiterate, and thus, their votes could be easily manipulated.³³

Overall, Dandolo, through his newspaper, emphasized the necessity of carrying out more reforms, in order to produce beneficial effects for the Ionian state, highlighting that a non-operating freely Parliament, would cause instability and constitutional stagnation. Without free voices, the electoral system could not be in favor of progress, and could not embrace strong political changes.³⁴ Even though he advocated the Crown, he strongly criticized the British rulers, and considering the paper’s major political role, it becomes apparent that *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* had an educational, social and advisory character; in my opinion, this is one of the reasons why Dandolo’s paper was most influential at the time. It is not a coincidence that Dandolo ceased the paper’s distribution during the 1850 elections, since his articles showed a particular emphasis on its importance, openly supporting a constitutional monarchy in the Ionian state, certainly under a British status quo.

However, even though this chapter aspires at proving Dandolo’s advocacy to the British, according to both Enepekides and Papadopoulos-Vrettos, Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo was referred to as a unionist, a fighter, and a true supporter of the union of the Ionian Islands with the Greeks.³⁵ Indeed, this observation is quite correct since another pro-British paper, *Ο Παρατηρητής*, was stating in 1858 particularly that Dandolo firmly opposed Gladstone’s reforms.³⁶ The same attitude is also evidenced in

³¹ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Ο Εκλογικός Νόμος’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, May 14th, 1849, No. 5. Dandolo was complaining about the disproportion in the number of Ionian Parliament members in relation to the population of the Ionian Islands, noting that Lord Seaton should not elect the Senators himself, in order to avoid responsibility for their actions; refer to: Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Κέρκυρα 4 Μαΐου’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, April 30th, 1849, No. 4.

³² Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Αι μεταρρυθμίσεις. Επήγαν για μαλλί κ’ευγήκαν κουρεμένοι’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, December 17th, 1850, No. 20.

³³ *Ibid.* Moreover, Spyridon G. Malakis similarly refers to the voters’ limitations, noting that a villager should possess at least 1,800 thalers while a town resident should possess 3,000 thalers in order to have voting rights; see: Spyridon G. Malakis, *Απομνημονεύματα επί της συγχρόνου ιστορίας*, Athens, 1895, p. 21.

³⁴ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Ο Εκλογικός Νόμος’, *op.cit.*, No. 5.

³⁵ Refer to: Polichronis K. Enepekides, *op.cit.* Also: Andreas Papadopoulos, *op.cit.*

³⁶ (Anonymous), ‘Τα δικαιώματα του Ιονίου’, *Ο Παρατηρητής*, December 31st, 1858, No. 52.

a second article of the same paper, describing how Dandolo defended the Ionian state from the British rulers; it specifically states:

Οι Άγγλοι ουδέποτε υπήρξαν οι Κύριοι της Κέρκυρας και αν ενταύθα έθεσαν τον πόδα, τούτο έλαβε χώραν ένεκα της συνθήκης, των ισχυρών της Ευρώπης δυνάμεων (...) Μετά βαθείας λύπης εγώ θιασώτης του μεγαλείου και της φρονήσεως των θεσμοθεσιών και της μεγάλης αναπτύξεως της Μ. Βρεταννίας, αναγκάζομαι να υπενθυμίσω προς τον κ. Συντάκτην του Χρόνου ότι οι Τονες καθό λαός πολιτισμένος παρουσιάζεται υπό της ιστορίας εις εποχήν πολύ αποτέραν του Αγγλικού πολιτισμού.³⁷

Lastly, it is worth noticing that the paper *Η Παλιγγενεσία* was also complimenting and supporting Dandolo for his stable/independent character throughout his parliamentary tenure, showing Dandolo's change in viewpoint.³⁸

To conclude, based on the above excerpts, it becomes evident that Dandolo was an intriguing figure within the Heptanesian circles. Having showed Dandolo's advocacy to the British Crown in 1849-1850, I firmly believe that the policy line adopted by his newspaper eventually became common practice for the other pro-British titles as well, acting as a role model for future pro-British journalists. Yet, more significantly, the examination of Dandolo's paper essentially confirms that a pro-British trend, indeed, existed in the Islands. Truly, after the closure of *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, another eminent Heptanesian personality, discussed below, takes the lead of the pro-British support race, the young Italian tutor, Aristides Chiapini, and comes to confirm the existence of the pro-Britishness in the Ionian protectorate.

5.2.2. Aristides Chiapini's newspapers (1849-1851)

Το Τιμόνι (1849)

On May 16th, 1849, the Corfiot newspaper *Το Τιμόνι*, written in Italian and Greek demotic language,³⁹ was launched in the Ionian state. According to the first issue editorial, one of its primary aims was to promote the overall development of the

³⁷ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, (No Title), *Ο Παρατηρητής*, November 10th, 1858, No. 45.

³⁸ (Anonymous), 'Φυσιογνωμία της Βουλής, Εβδομάς Α', *Η Παλιγγενεσία*, February 8th, 1857, No. 2.

³⁹ *Το Τιμόνι* (size 0.44x0.28) consisted of four pages and two-columns; its publisher was Francesco G. Tommasi. It was printed in the printing house of *Ερμής*, Hermes Nikolaidou Filadelfeos or in Italian: *Tipografia Mercurio di C. Nicolaides Filadelfeos*. There is little information regarding this newspaper in Konomos's study. Refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-117.

Ionian Islands,⁴⁰ as well as to highlight the aims of the local press, noting particularly the following:

*Ποία πρέπει λοιπόν να ήναι η αποστολή του τύπου; – Να ξεσκεπάση, να γυμνώση, να πλήνη τας κοινωνικαίς μας πληγαίς δια να ταις γιατρέψει – να εμψυχώση τους καλούς, και να στενοχωρέση τους κακούς ή να γένουν καλοί, ή να ζαναπέσουν μέσα στη λάσπη απ' όθεν ευγήκαν (...).*⁴¹

Behind this journalistic endeavor was the 28-year old Aristides Chiapini (1821-1856).⁴² He was an Italian and Latin private tutor who, for the needs of his ambitious newspaper, acted as both journalist and editor.⁴³ However, he managed to publish only 18 issues of his newspaper.⁴⁴ The last issue was published on October 3rd, 1849. In spite of the fact that the radical Spyridon G. Malakis lists two additional contributors: Ieronymos Typaldos Pretenderis (Momolos) and Sayiannis,⁴⁵ the fourth issue shows that *To Τιμόνι* was one person's affair, noting in specific:

*Ο Συντάκτης του Τιμονιού, νέος, μοναζιός, ανεξάρτητος, δεν είχε προσωπικά πάθη να ξεθυμάνη, ούτε φιλόδοξους σκοπούς να επιτύχη.*⁴⁶

Characteristic also is the first edition, which highlights the difficulties Chiapini faced in acquiring citizenship, noting particularly:

*Εκαταπολεμήθηκε το Τιμόνι και πριν βγάλει το πρόγραμμά του. Εστεναχώρησαν έναν Ίωνα [Ιόνιο] να πολιτογραφηθή διά να λάβη την άδεια να γένη υπεύθυνος συντάκτης.*⁴⁷

⁴⁰ It is also worth referring to the third (No. 3) as well as the ninth (No. 9) and the eighteenth (No. 18) issues, where the editor points out the bad financial condition, emphasizing on the maladministration of the Ionian Islands. Refer to: Aristides Chiapini, 'Το Παρόν το Απερασμένο και το Μέλλον', *Το Τιμόνι*, May 30th, 1849, No. 3; Aristides Chiapini, 'Ο Πολιτικός κατάλογος', *Το Τιμόνι*, July 11th, 1849, No. 9; Aristides Chiapini, 'Περί της Δημοσιότητας', *Το Τιμόνι*, October 3rd, 1849, No. 18.

⁴¹ Aristides Chiapini, 'Προλεγόμενα', *Το Τιμόνι*, May 16th, 1849, No. 1.

⁴² For additional biographical information, see: Nt. Konomos, 'Το «Giornale» του Αριστείδη Κιαπίνη. Συνεργάτες και περιεχόμενα', *Ο Εραμιστής*, Year 2, Vol. 2, No. 7-12, Athens, 1964, p. 120.

⁴³ Chiapini appeared to be a prominent personality, having the privilege of co-working with several Heptanesian scholars through his journal, *Giornale di Legislazione Giurisprudenza, Letteratura, Scienze, e varieta di utili conoscenze* (1845-1846), such as: Andreas Moustoxides, Andreas Kalvos, Spyridon Zampelios, Spyridon Veloudes, Georgios Markoras and Georgios Typaldos. It was printed in Corfu: *Dalla Tipografia Del Governo*; see: Nt. Konomos, 'Το «Giornale» του Αριστείδη Κιαπίνη. *op.cit.*, pp. 119-126. Concerning Aristides Chiapini and his printing aspirations, see also: Spiridon De Viazis, 'Άγνωστος Λόγιος', *Χαραυγή* (Μυτιλήνης), Year 3, Vol. 5, No. 63-64, (May 15-31, 1913), pp. 101-102.

⁴⁴ All eighteen editions as well as the mission statement are saved at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

⁴⁵ Spyridon G. Malakis, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁶ Aristides Chiapini, 'Άς αρχίσωμε', *Το Τιμόνι*, June 6th, 1849, No. 4.

⁴⁷ Aristides Chiapini, 'Προλεγόμενα', *op.cit.*, No. 1.

In a more general sense, my research allowed me to conclude that Chiapinis's writings expressed his personal disagreement and disappointment with the socio-political status quo, emphasizing that few Ionians criticized his pro-British stance. This is why a great deal of articles were characterized by a continuously complaining attitude, present in numerous editions. As a matter of fact, the excerpts quoted below clearly reflect his reaction to this sort of criticism. In particular, the first passage essentially explains that Chiapini had not sold out to the British, and also defend the right of every citizen to express his views freely, noting particularly:

ηθέλησαν να πληροφορήσουν τους άλλους πότε ότι το Τιμόνι είναι μια εφημερίδα κυβερνητική, πότε ότι ζητάει την εύννοια του λαού, και πότε ότι είναι ο Θεός ηξεύρει τι (...) Δεν πουλιάται Κύριοι, δεν επουλήθηκε ποτέ, ούτε εις την Κυβέρνησιν, ούτε εις Καμαρίλλαις, ούτε εις φατρίαις (...) Ο συντάκτης είναι ανεξάρτητος· οι γνώμαις του Κύριοι είναι εδικαίς του, και όταν αυτός τις καθηποβάνει εις την κρίσην του κοινού, προσθέτει άφοβα και τ' όνομά του, επειδή είναι αμόλυντο και επειδή η γνώμαις του, όποιες και αν ήναι, είναι ειλικρινείς, χωρίς πάθη, χωρίς προσωπικούς σκοπούς.⁴⁸

In addition to the above, the following excerpt from the first issue shows his efforts to defend himself against such allegations. He specifically states:

Και λοιπόν το Τιμόνι δεν θέλει λάβει καμμία συστολή να χτυπήση τους καταχθονίους οποιού χρώματος ή όποιου βαθμού κι αν είναι, όση και αν είναι η δημοτικότητα οπου χέρονται, διατί δεν είναι ακόμα γνωρισμένοι – θέλει τους ραβδίζει αλεημόνιτα. Θα βγάλη την προσοπίδα όπου σκεπάζει τους υποκριτάδες και θα τους στενοχωρήσει να φανερωθούν (...) Είν' αναγκαία τούτη η εξεκαθάριση δια να ημπορή να καταλάβη καθένας καθαρά τι είναι το Τιμόνι, και τι θα κάμει. Είναι αναγκαία επειδή θ' αρχηγήσει τώρα ευθύς το έργον του, και δεν φοβάται, όχι, κανέναν. Η δικαιοσύνη και η αλήθεια είναι η σημαία του.⁴⁹

In spite of the fact that, at first glance, these two excerpts could be considered as clear proof that the journalist was not pro-British at all, it becomes evident that Chiapini was stigmatized as a pro-British person and, in his effort to denounce this allegation and clear his reputation, he tried to establish his newspaper as politically independent. However, even though Chiapini claimed that he was not a pro-British, his writings

⁴⁸ Aristides Chiapini, 'Ας αρχίσωμε', *op.cit.*, No. 4.

⁴⁹ Aristides Chiapini, (No title), *Το Τιμόνι*, May 16th, 1849, No. 1.

were often contradictory. Hence, the following question arises: was Aristides Chiapini and his newspaper truly pro-British?

To begin with, indicative of the newspaper's pro-Britishness is the last phrase of the second excerpt presented above *Η δικαιοσύνη και η αλήθεια είναι η σημαία του*, showing that Chiapini embraced Antonio Dandolo's newspaper motto. However, this argument is not adequate by itself. A particular excerpt from the 2nd issue perfectly shows a convergence to British protection,⁵⁰ as the journalist writes:

*Εμείς δεν επιχειρηστήκαμε όχι την βαρειά αποστολή του τύπου, δια να χτυπήσωμε την τωρινή Κυβέρνησι στενοχωρώντας τους κυβερνητικούς να μας αδειάσουν τον τόπο.*⁵¹

In a similar fashion, one of the last issues of this paper clearly demonstrates Chiapini's preference to the British rulers, writing particularly:

*Ο Πολίτης, όστις είναι φιλήσυχος, όστις αισθάνεται αγάπην δια την μητρικήν του Γην, αν γνωρίζη ότι δύναται να το κατορθώση, ας στρέψη την φωνήν του, χωρίς πικρίαν και προσωπικόν σκοπόν, προς την Προστασίαν από την οποίαν κρέματα η ευτυχία τούτου του λαού.*⁵²

Moreover, even though Konomos did not characterize *Το Τιμόνι* as pro-British, but, falsely, as a 'liberal' newspaper, which was *υπεστήριζε αρχές μάλλον φιλελεύθερες*,⁵³ the radical newspaper *Η Αναγέννηση* describes it, indeed, as pro-British, stating that:

*Τα μέλη του εν Αργοστολίω Κεφαλληνίας Δημοτικού Καταστήματος, λαβόντα υπ' όψιν τον πρώτον αριθμόν φύλλου τινός εσχάτως αναφανέντος εν Κερκύρα, υπό τ' όνομα το Τιμόνι, αληθούς μιάσματος της εφημεριδογραφίας, και παρατηρήσαντα μετ' αγανακτήσεως την δολίαν και αντεθνικήν αυτού τάσιν (...).*⁵⁴

In addition to the above, Chiapini frequently raised arguments opposing the radicals's views,⁵⁵ as his first issue stated:

⁵⁰ The 6th issue is also indicative of the journalist's political orientation, where Chiapini emphasizes on the voting question in the Ionian state; refer to: Aristides Chiapini, 'Η Μεταρρύθμισες', *Το Τιμόνι*, June, 20th, 1849, No. 6.

⁵¹ Aristides Chiapini, 'Εξακολούθησις και αποτελέσματα της Αναβολής', *Το Τιμόνι*, May 23rd, 1849, No. 2.

⁵² Aristides Chiapini, 'Τελευταία Συμβάντα της Κεφαλληνίας', *Το Τιμόνι*, September 26th, 1849, No. 17. Some of the reasons explaining his support can be found in the editorial of the 15th issue; Aristides Chiapini, 'Το Ιονικόν ζήτημα', *Το Τιμόνι*, August 22nd, 1849, No. 15.

⁵³ See: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

⁵⁴ Iosif Momferratos, 'Δημοτικόν Κατάστημα', *Η Αναγέννησις*, May 14th, 1849, No. 6.

⁵⁵ Refer also to: Aristides Chiapini, 'Διάφορα', *Το Τιμόνι*, July 11th, 1849, No. 9.

Ο Φιλελεύθερος και η Αναγέννησις με περισσότερη έπαρση, φαίνεται ότι θεωρούν ως πυγή κάθε κακού της Αγγλική προστασία και υψώνοντας το ζήτημα του εθνησμού, ζητούν την ένωσίν μας με το έθνος.⁵⁶

Last but not least, a specific front-page editorial referred multiply to the advantages of a non-democratic regime, noting particularly:

Τώρα θέλει αποδείξομαι ότι η δημοκρατική αρχή δεν ζωογονεί το εθνικόν στοιχείον, αλλά το καταπολεμάει, δεν πηγαίνει εις απάντησι του μεγάλου μέλλοντος του Έθνους αλλά το δυσκολεύει, το αφανίζει.⁵⁷

In his effort to promote monarchy, the writer, through this particular editorial (No. 5) promotes his viewpoints, and reveals that, every democratic mechanism should be rejected, for it could cause immeasurable damage to all social classes, arguing that democracy is detrimental and may lead to the disappearance of an entire nation. Overall, Chiapini thought that the ideal solution for the Greeks would be the revival of the Byzantine Empire.⁵⁸

From the above, it becomes apparent that Aristides Chiapini's efforts to reject pro-British allegations were ineffective. But, most importantly, in my attempt to prove Chiapini's pro-Britishness, it must be highlighted that, this case is a perfect example for those arguing that every British supporter had personal interests.⁵⁹ Based on his articles and views, Chiapini certainly did not have a self-centered character, and, even though he acknowledged that violating the Treaty of Paris was not an easy task, he grabbed this opportunity to firmly criticize the British through his paper. For instance, a specific issue comments that the British had failed to assist the Islanders and to protect them from poverty and social injustice.⁶⁰ Truly, Aristides Chiapini hoped for a protective government, liberal ideas, fair laws, freedom and truth, and believed that the Crown should bestow self-government status to the Ionians, as it did in the case of other British Colonies of the period.⁶¹ His writings in *Το Τιμόνι* were an effort for independence and impartiality, and this is the main reason why no Modern scholar – apart from the radical Malakis⁶² – has classified *Το Τιμόνι* as a pro-British.

⁵⁶ Aristides Chiapini, (No title), *Το Τιμόνι*, May 16th, 1849, No. 1. Refer also to: Aristides Chiapini, 'Εξακολούθησις και αποτελέσματα της Αναβολής', *Το Τιμόνι*, May 23rd, 1849, No. 2.

⁵⁷ Aristides Chiapini, 'Εξακολούθησις', *Το Τιμόνι*, June 12th, 1849, No. 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Refer to the introduction of this chapter.

⁶⁰ Aristides Chiapini, 'Το παρόν, το απερασμένο και το μέλλον', *Το Τιμόνι*, May 30th, 1849, No. 3.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Spyridon G. Malakis, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

Nonetheless, throughout the period, Chiapini appears as journalist in another pro-British newspaper, titled *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, being clearly supportive of the Crown. Thus, it would be reasonable to wonder, why would Chiapini change his political views in the very short period of only a few months between the closure of *Το Τιμόνι* and the establishment of *Ο Φίλος του λαού*? Chiapini's overall attitude proves that he was always pro-British.

To conclude, having already discussed Chiapini's journalistic activity with his first newspaper, it is quite unfortunate that there is no information on the main reasons leading to its discontinuation. In a fashion similar to Dandolo's newspaper, the review of Chiapini's paper confirmed that a pro-British trend existed in the Ionian Islands; however, this examination of the newspaper contents concludes to the approach that it was not easy for pro-British Ionians to express their views, as they knew they would be accused of protecting their own personal interests. Nevertheless, Aristides Chiapini did not stop writing; the young tutor continued working as a writer (or editor) in the leading pro-British *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, and simultaneously with *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*'s closure in February 1850, it takes over the reins of pro-British journalism and the advocacy to the Crown.

Ο Φίλος του λαού (1850-1851)

After the closure of *Το Τιμόνι*, and taking advantage of the absence of a pro-British paper, Chiapini became journalist –and probably editor– in the new Corfiot pro-British *Ο Φίλος του λαού*.⁶³ This newspaper commenced its distribution on May 21st, 1850, until December 4th, 1851, and counted 62 issues in total.⁶⁴ Konomos was the first to confirm the pro-British attitude of this newspaper, mainly through the review of a lithographed tabloid, which was distributed on May 18th, 1850, announcing the launch of this newspaper.⁶⁵ But, in my viewpoint, a strong indication of the

⁶³ *Ο Φίλος του λαού* (size 0.52x0.34) was a four-paged, four-column newspaper, being issued on a weekly basis. It was printed in the printing house of Hermes Nikolaidou Filadelfeos, and its main publisher was Spyridon Goulios. The newspaper quoted the following text from the Bible as its motto: *Συνέσεις την γην έδειξας τω λαώ στα σκληρά: επότισας ημάς οίνον κατανύξεως: έδωκας τοις φοβουμένοις σε σημείωσιν: του φυγείν από προσώπου τόξου. Ψαλμ.νθ*. From the 20th issue, the newspaper was printed in the printing house of *Σχερία*.

⁶⁴ It is quite unfortunate that only 9 issues are saved. One issue (No. 2) can be found at the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece, and the other eight (No. 20 & No. 56-62) at the Museum of the Press in Patras, Greece; see accordingly: <https://www.mouseiotipou.gr>.

⁶⁵ Refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

newspaper's pro-Britishness is the front-page editorial of the 58th issue, in which the journalist states:

Εάν δεν εναπέκειτο εις ημάς να διαφωτίζωμεν τους απλοϊκούς και εκείνους οίτινες δεν γνωρίζουσιν, ή είναι ανεπιτήδειοι να κρίνωσιν ιδίαις δυνάμεσι περί της αληθούς καταστάσεως των Ιονίων πραγμάτων, κατά της δυσπιστίας των προσβολών όσαι αδιαλείπτως εκσφενδονίζονται κατά της Προστασίας, και της διαχειρήσεως του Αρμοστού, επ' αληθείας ήθελεν είσθαι γελοία η συζήτησις τινών ζητημάτων με δημοσιογράφους αναδεχομένους οίαν δήποτε διαβεβαίωσιν από των ευηθεστέρων ανοησιών μέχρι των αναιδεστέρων ψευδολογιών.⁶⁶

All articles were written in both Greek and Italian, and the journalist wrote mostly about political matters; either demonstrating the pro-British policy or confronting the opposition parties, vigorously criticizing the radical orientation and its respective journalism. For instance, indicative of this opposition is the 57th issue, where Chiapini accuses the radical papers as *αντιμεταρρυθμιστικές εφημερίδες*, noting particularly:

Δύσκολο επιχείρημα ήθελεν είσθαι να εξετάση τις λεπτομερώς όλα τα ψεύδη τα οποία οι αντιμεταρρυθμιστικάί Εφημερίδες του Ιονίου περιέχουσι, και τας προσβολάς αυτών κατά της Προστασίας και της Κυβερνήσεως (...) Τις δύναται να αναγνώση άνευ αγανακτήσεως, την σειράν εκείνην αγοραίων ύβρεων των οποίων λέγει ο Φιλελεύθερος η Αναγέννησις και ο Ρήγας;⁶⁷

In a similar fashion, characteristic of the opposition to the radicals' views is also the 60th issue, where Chiapini appeared confident that the radicals' attitude had agitated the Ionians, and believed that the Kefalonian rebellions were triggered by both the radicals and the Greeks. He specifically stated the following:

Είναι εναργές ποίος υποθάλλει την ληστείαν εις την Ελλάδα, και διατί· ποίος μισθόνει τον ριζοσπαστισμόν εις το Ιόνιον Κράτος και προς ποίον σκοπόν (...) και συμφέρει εις Ελλάδα όχι η στασίασις, αλλ' η ληστεία και η σπατάλη των οικονομικών (...) Η πρώτη ήθελεν είσθαι σπινθήρ (...) εν ω η ληστεία ετοιμάζει τον τόπον εις εύκολον και ανανθίστατον κατάστασιν.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Aristides Chiapini, (No title), *Ο Φίλος του Λαού*, October 30th, 1851, No. 58.

⁶⁷ Aristides Chiapini, (No Title), *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, October 23th, 1851, No. 57.

⁶⁸ Aristides Chiapini, (No Title), *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, November 13th, 1851, No. 60. It is also worth referring to the No. 56 issue, where Chiapini characterizes the radical press as a profound insult, writing: (...) *ο ριζοσπαστικός τύπος έγεινε δυσφημία του τόπου, σκληρά ύβρις κατά των νόμων και της εξουσίας*; see: Aristides Chiapini, (No title), *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, October 16th, 1851, No. 56.

But, more importantly, from the above it becomes apparent that *Ο Φίλος του λαού* was paying attention to Greek news; I assume in fear of a Greek/Heptanesian revolution in the Ionian Islands.⁶⁹ Yet, apart its political profile, the review of this limited material led me to the conclusion that this newspaper published also foreign, as well as social news; a great deal of articles covered matters of finance,⁷⁰ education, the press freedom, the Ionian Youth, the Ionian institutions etc. For instance, according to the 2nd issue, the columnist stated that financial issues should be a priority for the Ionian Parliament members; he also accused them of mismanaging Ionian public funds, mostly through their own very high wages, stating in particular:

(...) *ότι η αρχική φροντίς της Βουλής θέλει είσθαι η τακτοποιήσις του οικονομικού μας συστήματος· ότι θέλει το λάβει υπ' όψιν όπως και η ισορροπία του Ταμείου τακτοποιηθή, και η τιμία και προνοητική χρήσις των δημοσίων χρημάτων περιορισθή εις τρόπον δυνάμενον να θεραπεύση όλας τας τάξεις των πολιτών.*⁷¹

However, despite Chiapini's interest for the Ionian population, specific radical papers of the period referred to Chiapini's journalistic attitude rather unfavorably. Indicative of the above is the following article from the paper *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, which is directly criticizing Chiapini and his political tactics:

*Η Τζακπινική εφημερίς ήτις εκδίδετο εις το ιδιωτικόν τυπογραφείον η Σχερία, υπό τον τίτλον ο Φίλος του Λαού, και έπαυσεν προ τινών μηνών, ανεφάνη κατ' αυτάς από τα πιεστήρια της κυβερνήσεως. (...) Τις σας έδωκε το δικαίωμα να αρπάξεται τον άρτον από το στόμα του λαού και να τον μετατρέπετε εις θανατηφόρον κατ' αυτού φάρμακον;*⁷²

Overall, it seems that *Ο Φίλος του λαού* constituted the main organ of the pro-British in the Ionian state for two consecutive years. Having proved its stance through specific extracts, it is evident that the newspaper had, apart a political nature, a social plan and truly cared for the population. Considering the radical policy as impossible, Chiapini envisaged the Ionian state as part of the glorious British Empire, with primary purpose the amelioration of the Ionian society. Yet, Chiapini was not the only pro-British journalist. In the mid-nineteenth century, two other newspapers were manifested in the

⁶⁹ Aristides Chiapini, *op.cit.*, No. 60.

⁷⁰ The front-page editorial concerns a letter from an anonymous subscriber to the editor; see: Aristides Chiapini, 'Κύριε Συντάκτα του Φίλου του λαού', October 4th, 1850, No. 20.

⁷¹ Aristides Chiapini, 'Το μισθολόγιον', *Ο φίλος του λαού*, May 28th, 1850, No. 2.

⁷² Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, (No title), *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, September 13th, 1851, No. 54.

Islands and even though short-lived, it certainly implies a slight tendency to the Ionian protectorate's pro-Britishness.

5.2.3. *The short-lived newspapers Η Επτάνησος and Ο Πέλεκος (1850)*

Η Επτάνησος

Η Επτάνησος was a short-lived newspaper of Corfu, and commenced its distribution on January 25th, 1850.⁷³ It was a pro-British newspaper, issued on a weekly basis, in both Greek and Italian, by the editor Achilleas Delviniotis Varotsis; however, it was published for 4 weeks, i.e. only produced four issues, in total. Even though only the first issue of this newspaper has been saved, its pro-British attitude is rather evident in the following text, contained in an editorial signed by its editor himself:

Διά τούτο αποκαθίσταται απαραίτητως αναγκαίον το να προσφέρη τις εις τον λαόν όχι υπό μίαν μόνην και αποκλειστικήν έποψιν, αλλ' εις τρόπον απλούν και ειλικρινή όλα εκείνα τα ζητήματα τα οποία μέλλει να λύση μετά των άλλων πολιτικών σωμάτων του Κράτους, και να τω εγχαράξη, ότι υπάρχουσιν εις το Κράτος μας δύο άλλαι δυνάμεις εκτός εκείνης την οποίαν αι νέαι μεταρρυθμίσεις τω έδωκαν. (...) Και ότι θλιβερόν μέλλον ήθελε παρασκευασθή διά τας Ιονίους Νήσους αν λάβωμεν ως σύνθημα: ότι παρά των Κυβερνώντων ημάς δεν έχομεν να ελπίσωμεν ειμή κακόν.⁷⁴

But more importantly, further details concerning *Η Επτάνησος* pro-British stance were obtained by the reformist newspaper *Ένωσις*, which specifically states the following:

(...) Αλλ' αν εζ'ενός τούτο ήτο δύσκολον, ηδύνατο πας τις να προΐδη ότι Κυβέρνησις ισχυρά, και άπειρα μέσα διαφθοράς πρόχειρα έχουσα δεν ήθελεν επί τέλους επιτύχει τον σκοπόν της, καθώς πραγματικώς τον επέτυχε δια της συστάσεως της εφημερίδος Η Επτάνησος, της οποίας την αγγελίαν ήδη ανα χείρας έχοντες δεν διστάζομεν από τούδε ως κυβερνητικήν να κηρύξωμεν.⁷⁵

Ο Πέλεκος

The short-lived *Ο Πέλεκος* was a political and literary newspaper *εφημερίς πολιτική και φιλολογική*.⁷⁶ It launched on April 1850 in Argostoli, Kefalonia, the cradle of

⁷³ *Η Επτάνησος* (size 0,50x0,37) was a four paged and four-columns newspaper. Refer also to the brief reference in Konomos: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 118. However, unfortunately only the first issue of this paper has been saved, and is located in the Museum of the Press, in Patras, Greece.

⁷⁴ Achilleas Delviniotis Varotsis, (No title), *Η Επτάνησος*, January 25th, 1850, No. 1.

⁷⁵ (Anonymous), 'Η Νέα Πολιτική Εφημερίς', *Ένωσις*, January 22nd, 1850, No. 21.

⁷⁶ I was able to locate only five issues of this paper (No. 2 & No. 6-9) at the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

Heptanesian radicalism, and according to Spyridon Malakis,⁷⁷ it constitutes another pro-British publication, as he particularly stated the following:

*Τον Μάιον με τα κεράσια ή με τα βύσινα, κατά τινα Κεφαλληνιακήν παροιμίαν, ανεφάνη εν Κεφαλληνία ο «Πέλεκυς», εφημερίδα αργυρώνητος και καταχθονία, συντασσομένη εν ύφει δυσήχω και κακοζήλω νεοελληνικής γλώσσης υπό του αρνησιάρχου και ψευδοφιλελευθέρου Κωνστάντε Ευαγγέλου Λιβαδά και άλλων αισχρών νόθων πλασμάτων της Αγγλοϊονίου καταχθονίου συμμορίας, εν οίς και ο μικρομέγας Δόκτωρ Ιωάννης Σκαλτσούνης».*⁷⁸

The eighth issue is similarly indicative of the support of the British government and its policies, and notes:

*Είς την εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως ανεγνώσαμεν δύο επιστολάς, η μεν του Προέδρου της Γερουσίας η δε του Αρμοστού, ων το αντικείμενον κυρίως είναι τα έκτακτα έξοδα των νήσων μας, δια τα έτη 1850 και 1851, τα οποία φρονίμως ποιούσα η Κυβέρνησις (...) παρεδέχθη την αρχήν να περιορίση τα έκτακτα έξοδα εκάστης νήσου, εις την επισκευήν και διατήρησιν των οδών, των υδραγωγείων, και των Δημοσίων Οικοδομών, και εις την τελειοποίησιν τινών επικυρωθέντων και ήδη αρξαμένων έργων. Ημείς δε ενώ επαινούμεν την παραδοχήν τοιούτου συστήματος (...).*⁷⁹

Being the first and the only pro-British endeavor published outside Corfu, the study of the very few issues available today suggest that its publisher was Spyridon Polykalas. The newspaper was produced at the printing house *Η Σάλπιγξ*, and was written in Greek and French. According to Alisandratos, the content of its articles reveals that it was pro-British and Dimitrios Karousos was one of its main journalists, and probably also its editor.⁸⁰ *Ο Πέλεκυς* has firmly opposed the Kefalonian radicals.⁸¹ It reported local news, mostly Kefalonian, and apart from criticizing political matters, it touched

⁷⁷ According to Spyridon G. Malakis, the newspaper was pro-British (size 0.46x0.31), and lists as its editors the Heptanesians Konstante E. Livadas and Ioannis Skaltsounis; see: Spyridon G. Malakis, *op.cit.*, p. 28. Yet, contrary to Malakis, Konomos refers to it as a reformist paper, and lists Spyridon Polykalas as its publisher; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 119-120. Giorgos Alisandratos, on the other hand, makes particular reference to the paper's pro-British attitude, indicating Dimitrios Karousos as its main journalist; see: G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατά την Αγγλοκρατία', *op.cit.*, p. 5. Refer also to: Πίης Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, p. 854.

⁷⁸ Spyridon G. Malakis, *op.cit.*

⁷⁹ (Anonymous), (No Title), *Ο Πέλεκυς*, July 15th, 1850, No. 8.

⁸⁰ See: G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατά την Αγγλοκρατία', *op.cit.*

⁸¹ (Anonymous), 'Το Συντακτικόν συμβούλιον της Κομοπόλεως Σπαρτιών', *Ο Πέλεκυς*, July 2nd, 1850, No. 6. Indicative of the accusations against the radical party is the article titled: 'Η Ριζοσπαστική Δημοσιογραφία', (No. 6).

upon social issues, mostly focusing on the education and on the language question.⁸² However, the journalist, even though pro-British, refers to the period before the grant of the constitutional reforms, noting, through a small series of articles, the regressive policies of Thomas Maitland and his continuous violations of the Treaty of Paris. This showed that *Ο Πέλεκυς* was not a newspaper wearing blinders, but it harshly criticized the British and despite its short-life span, it acted in favor of the people.⁸³

5.2.4. Ο Παρατηρητής (1858-1862)

Six years prior to the unification of the seven Islands with the Greeks, the political and literary newspaper *εφημερίς πολιτική και φιλολογική* was launched on January 4th, 1858, again in the island of Corfu.⁸⁴ It was entitled *Ο Παρατηρητής* and published a total of 227 issues, with the last one being published on December 24th, 1862.⁸⁵ Although this was mainly a political newspaper, its journalists seized the opportunity to present the most significant matters of their time, focusing on the need to improve educational institutions, the reinstatement of the Orthodox clergy, the use of public resources, the administration system, and the development of trade and agriculture.⁸⁶ Based on a few signed articles, the lawyer and a few years later member of the Greek Parliament, Athanasios Paramythiotis appears as the main journalist/editor.⁸⁷

Nevertheless, even though Paramythiotis was characterized –in the Heptanesian literature– as an eminent pro-British figure, still it was not easy to clearly establish the newspaper’s political identity, since from its first edition, the journalist referred to the need for solidarity and harmony between the Heptanesian political parties. The first

⁸² According to Konomos (Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 120), author of this article was Andreas Laskaratos; hence, refer to: Andreas Laskaratos, ‘Η Γλώσσα και ο Λογιοτατισμός’, *Ο Πέλεκυς* (appendix), July 15th, 1850, No. 8.

⁸³ Regarding these series, see: (Anonymous), ‘Έποψις της πολιτικής καταστάσεως της Επτανήσου και μέσα προς βελτίωσιν αυτής. Άρθρον Α΄ Πολιτική Κατάστασις πριν των Μεταρρυθμίσεων’, *Ο Πέλεκυς*, July 15th, 1850, No. 8. See also the issue published on July 9th, (No. 7), and the issue published on July 22nd, 1850, (No. 9).

⁸⁴ One can find *Ο Παρατηρητής*’ editions at the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, and the Press Museum in Patras, Greece.

⁸⁵ *Ο Παρατηρητής* (size 0,43x0,28) had four pages and three columns. It was issued on a weekly basis. Its publisher was Nikolaos Mavroioannis and was printed in the printing house *Η Ιωνία*. Starting from its tenth issue, the paper’s size was changed (size 0,46x0,31) and from issue 63 onwards, Mavroioannis was replaced by A. I. Vrachliotis.

⁸⁶ Athanasios Paramythiotis, ‘Το Πρόγραμμα’, *Ο Παρατηρητής*, January 4th, 1858, No. 1.

⁸⁷ See particularly the annex between issues 27 and 28, as well as issue 46. In addition, regarding the political beliefs of the editor, it is worth noting the Heptanesian novel entitled: *Το παραμύθι της Ηλιώς* published in the 1970s by Spyros Katsaros (Vol. 2, n.d) in which Athanasios Paramythiotis is presented as an important pro-British figure of the mid-nineteenth century.

issue also revealed that one of the newspaper's main goals was to write responsibly and comment on the political agenda, in an objective manner. Thus, *Ο Παρατηρητής* could be easily a newspaper with confusing political identity, as the journalist notes:

*Σύμπνοιαν λοιπόν υποβάλλει προ πάντων η εξαιρετική ημών θέσις, και ουδαμώς διαιρέσεις και κόμματα. Ριζοσπάσται, Μεσαία και Άκρα Αντιπολίτευσις, εισί φθόγγοι μάταιοι οίτινες ώφειλον παρ' ημίν να εκλείψωσι.*⁸⁸

However, only a few lines above, the same article characteristically reflects this pro-British orientation, as the journalist notes through the following excerpt:

*(...) αποβλέπομεν δε εις το πώς μάλιστα να βελτιώσωμεν την παρούσαν ημών κατάστασιν χωρίς να βλάψωμεν ποσώς την μέλλουσαν. Και τη αληθεία, αφ' ενός μεν η Δύναμις ήτις έχει την προστασίαν του Ιονίου, και συνήργησεν εις την σύστασιν του Ελληνικού βασιλείου, και την τύχην αυτού, ως και της όλης Ελληνικής φυλής δύναται αποτελεσματικώς να επηρεάση.*⁸⁹

Even Alisandratos, one of the most important researchers of Heptanesian history, was a bit confused; he had actually referred to a rumor according to which the editor of the leading reformist newspaper *Πατρίς* was either an anonymous author or even the main editor of *Ο Παρατηρητής*.⁹⁰ Likewise the editor of the radical newspaper *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, in several issues, criticized *Ο Παρατηρητής* for its reformist approach, noting characteristically:

*(...) οι πέντε, ή δέκα απομείναντες Μεταρρυθμισταί μας εν τη απελπισία των (...) απεφάσισαν να στήσωσι, κατά την παροιμίαν Τσατήρι εις τον Παρατηρητήν Κερκύρας και το έστησαν (...) καταταχθέντος υπό την σημαίαν των του μόλις εικοσαετούς νεανίσκου, συντάκτου του φύλλου εκείνου.*⁹¹

However, regardless of the above excerpt, it is evident that the satirical poet and writer Andreas Laskaratos (1811-1901), the radical paper *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*,

⁸⁸ Athanasios Paramythiotis, 'Το Πρόγραμμα', *Ο Παρατηρητής*, January 4th, 1858, No. 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατά την Αγγλοκρατία', *op.cit.*, p. 6.

⁹¹ See: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, March 5th, 1859, No. 41. See also: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, March 21st, 1859, No. 43. It is worth noting that Lombardos refers to the publisher of *Ο Παρατηρητής*, expressing his disapproval regarding the verbal attacks against the radicals, and this was the reason why the publisher quit his job; he stated the following: *Ο πρώην υπεύθυνος συντάκτης του Παρατηρητού Νικόλαος Μαυροϊωάννης, αφού εις μάτην ειδοποίησε τους συντάκτας αυτού ότι δεν ήθελεν υπογράψη πλέον το φύλλον, αν εξακολουθούν να γράφωσιν κατά του ριζοσπαστισμού, απεσύρθη μ' όσας και αν τω εγένοντο προτροπαί και προσφοραί;* see: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, April 4th, 1859, No. 44. In general, regarding the conflicts between these two newspapers, see additionally the issue (No. 48) of *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*.

as well as other papers of the same period, were openly criticizing *Ο Παρατηρητής* as pro-British.⁹² In particular, the paper *Τα Καθημερινά* repeatedly referred to its pro-British character, arguing that Paramythiotis's essays were clearly a defense against each and every pro-British accusation.⁹³ Moreover, another paper titled *Νέα Εποχή*, accused *Ο Παρατηρητής* of being a semi-official tool of the British government; it specifically stated the following:

*Το ημεπίσημον ὄργανον της Αρμοσθείας μας αναγγέλει (ὅρα Παρατηρητοῦ ἀριθ. 183) ὅτι ο καιρός της Καμαρίλλας παρήλθεν ανεπιστρεπτί· ὅτι ο νυν Αρμοστής δεν θέλει γίνῃ το θύμα της Ιονικῆς ραδιουργίας, ὡς οἱ προκάτοχοί του.*⁹⁴

Indeed, the review of specific newspaper issues reveals its pro-British character,⁹⁵ especially after the arrival of W.E. Gladstone to the Ionian Islands as Extraordinary High Commissioner, late in 1858.⁹⁶ The pro-British journalist seemed enthusiastic regarding Gladstone's arrival, and wrote a series of front-page editorials concerning his virtues. More particularly, a specific excerpt highlighted that the people were joyful and happy to hear about the arrival of this philhellene. Among others, he stated:

*(...) Ο λαός ανεπλήσθη χαράς και ἔδραμε προς τα τείχη της πόλεως και πέριξ του Παλατίου ὅπως ἴδη ἄνδρα λίαν κατ' ὄνομα γνωστόν προς αὐτόν (...) Ναι, ὦ φιλέλλην Γλάδστον! Ο λαός σε εἶδε, ο λαός σε ηγάπησε, πρυζενήσας εἰς αὐτόν ἐντύπωσιν λίαν ευχάριστον (...) πεπείσμεθα ὅθεν εἰς την ἀγγίνοιαν σου, τας γνώσεις σου, και την πολιτικὴν συνῆσιν σου, πεπείσμεθα εἰς τα φιλελληνικά αἰσθήματά σου και εἰς την χαροποιάν ἐντύπωσιν ἣν μας ἐπροξένησας.*⁹⁷

In this article, it is important to note that the journalist referred also to the beneficial commission of Lord Young, noting that in the Ionian Parliament proceedings, there are no references to either violations of the constitution or to any violations regarding individual liberties and the freedom of the press. He particularly noted:

Ἡ ἀπόδειξις του αἰσίου τούτου ἀποτελέσματος εὐρίσκεται ἐν τη ἀναφορᾷ της Βουλῆς, ἣτις οὐδέν ὑπαινίττεται περὶ της

⁹² See: G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατὰ την Αγγλοκρατία', *op.cit.*, p. 6.

⁹³ Refer to Ath. Paramythiotis's (signed) separate edition of *Ο Παρατηρητής*, between issues 27 and 28, defending against the allegations of the newspaper *Τα Καθημερινά*. See: Athanasios Paramythiotis, (No title), *Ο Παρατηρητής*, August 26th, 1858, No. 38.

⁹⁴ (Anonymous), 'Διάφορα', *Νέα Εποχή*, September 30th, 1861, No. 188.

⁹⁵ I am referring particularly to fifteen editions, from November 3rd, 1858 until February 9th, 1859; see accordingly the No. 44-59 issues, and particularly the series of articles 'Τα δικαιώματα του Ιονίου'.

⁹⁶ In a similar manner, Alisandratos refers to the pro-Britishness of the paper, right after Gladstone's arrival in the Ionian Islands; see: G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατὰ την Αγγλοκρατία', *op.cit.*, p. 6.

⁹⁷ Athanasios Paramythiotis, 'Ἡ ἀφιξις του Γ.Ε. Γλάδστον', *Παρατηρητής*, November 17th, 1858, No. 46.

*υψηλής πολιτικής, ουδέν περιέχει παράπονον κατά της προστασίας, και ουδεμίαν αναφέρει παραβίασιν κατά του συντάγματος της ατομικής ελευθερίας και της ελευθερίας του τύπου.*⁹⁸

To sum up, apart from a small number of editions regarding Gladstone, I came to realize that *Ο Παρατηρητής* as a whole, was extremely cautious in presenting its political views, and thus, the newspaper's political identity could be easily debated. In my opinion, this newspaper could be characterized as objective, and had no political affiliations, even though its journalist left his mark in local history and literature as an important pro-British figure. My understanding is that the element of objectivity was the main reason why this particular paper lasted for four consecutive years, which is a major difference versus the other papers presented in the chapter. Specifically, it appears that most of the papers published in Corfu during 1849 and 1850 were short-lived, even though they did not fall out of the government's favor throughout their circulation period.

This section reviewed the local newspapers, and classified them according to their political identity, despite the many missing issues, the anonymity of most of the articles and the multiple contradictions, in many of the editorials examined. Their exploration led me to the conclusion that it was quite difficult to express a pro-British attitude to the Ionian society of that period. Even though certain newspapers appeared to be pro-British, the journalists were often writing contradicting articles, and this indicates that they were probably not absolutely free to express their points of view. For instance, Chiapini, an important young expresser of the pro-British trend, was so afraid of revealing his political identity to the society. Paramythiotis is also a similar case, as aforementioned. Consequently, the advocacy to the Crown was not a common behavior in the Ionian protectorate, thus, manifesting such attitude was truly avoided and misplaced. The following two sections analyze the concept of the pro-Britishness in the seven Islands, and hope to confirm, through press, its very true existence.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

5.3 Expressing Pro-Britishness in the Ionian protectorate

While particular testimonies point out that the pro-British desired the continuation of the British rule in the Ionian Islands, mainly in order to protect their own interests,⁹⁹ this section focuses on three newspaper' articles, which demonstrate that being pro-British was not socially accepted. Despite the constitutional reforms implemented by Lord J.C. Seaton, this section argues that expressing support for the British was still a politically unusual act, since any sort of allegiance to the Crown would be considered as betrayal, either from the opposition parties or the Ionian people.

Sir Young, High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (1855-1859), thought that the island of Corfu was dull and uninteresting. At the same time, he considered Corfu and its inhabitants as fertile ground for all sorts of corruption, bribery, and special favors.¹⁰⁰ But, according to Chytiris, Sir Young was not referring to any particular political party.¹⁰¹ Yet, on the other hand, Hiotis and Malakis indicated that the reformers and the radicals characterized the pro-British as evil and sneaky, using the nicknames *προστασιανοί*, *καταχθόνιοι* and *καμαρίλλα*. Hiotis and Malakis further note that the pro-British were considered corrupt, and this is why they were called *Αργυρώνητοι* (which means corruptible, bribable).¹⁰² Indicative of the hatred against the pro-British is also a bizarre report included in the first issues of the radical paper *Η Αναγέννησις*, in which the columnist referred to the burning of an issue of a pro-British newspaper in the main city square of Corfu. He describes this event as follows:

Το κοινόν της Κερκύρας, δίδον πάνδημον δείγμα της μεθ' όλου του λαού της Επτανήσου συμεριζομένης απεχθείας και αποστροφής του, και της προς τα επικρατούντα εθνικά φρονήματα αφοσιώσεώς του, συνελθόν πρό τινων ήδη ημερών εις την πλατείαν της πόλεως, έκαυσεν εκεί δημοσίως φύλλον τι, περιοδικώς εν Κερκύρα εκδιδόμενον υπό το όνομα «ο Ανεξάρτητος», δια του οποίου αι πλέον ανθελληνικαί και δουλικαί ιδέαι εκηρύττοντο, και αι αναιδέστεραι ύβρεις προσήπτοντο εις πάντα όστις εις την

⁹⁹ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, *op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 3-17. Spyridon G. Malakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-34.

¹⁰⁰ See: Gerasimos Chytiris, 'Γιαγκ και Γκλάδστον Προσπάθειες για παράταση της επικυριαρχίας', *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 27, 1983, pp. 61-62.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² For instance, Spyridon G. Malakis repeatedly refers to Dimitrios Kasousos as a corrupt figure in the Islands, calling him *Αργυρώνητος* (Αργυρός και ωνητός/ώνος, αυτός που αγοράζεται με χρήματα); see: Spiridon G. Malakis, *op.cit.*

*υπεράσπισιν των εθνικών και απαραγράπτων του λαού
δικαιωμάτων αγωνίζεται.*¹⁰³

According to the above passage, the burning of the paper was triggered by anti-Greek viewpoints, because British support was seen as a subservient behavior. Consequently, even though the analysis of the papers' profile has shown that there was fear related with the open expression of pro-British views, this excerpt shows that the hatred of the society against the pro-British was very strong.

In a similar manner, the popular radical paper *Ο Χωρικός* is another characteristic example of the hatred against the pro-British supporters. In particular, the radical journalist was putting a tag on the pro-British, characterizing them as speculators and traitors, accusing them of focusing on their personal interest and benefiting to the detriment of others. Additionally, it is also important to observe that the journalist characterizes the pro-British as members of the pro-British party, specifically stating:

*Το τρίτον και τελευταίον κόμμα, συγκείμενον εκ μικράς τινός ομάδος λυμεώνων και ολετήρων της κοινωνίας μας, εξ' ων οι πλείστοι είναι περιμαζώματα ξένης καταγωγής, και στηριζόμενον επί της αγγλικής λόγχης, αγωνίζεται όλαις δυνάμεσι να διατηρήση παντοτεινήν την δουλείαν του λαού, και να διαιωνίση το από τσοούτων ετών επικρατούν ολέθριον και φθοροποιόν σύστημα. Οι συγκροτούντες το προδοτικόν τούτο κόμμα άνθρωποι, ουδένα Θεόν λατρεύουσιν άλλον, παρά το πρόσκαιρον υλικόν των συμφέρον, η δε ψυχή αυτών, παντελώς εξαχρειωθείσα, κατέστη ήδη ανίκανος του να συλλάβη γενναίον τι και υψηλόν φρόνημα. Το κόμμα λοιπόν τούτο, ως ήτο φυσικώς επόμενον, επέσυρε καθ' εαυτού το μίσος και την αποστροφή παντός τιμίου και αγαθού πολίτου, και είναι βδελυκτόν εις πάσαν ευσυνείδητον και ειλικρινή καρδίαν, τόσον εντός όσον και εκτός της Επτανήσου.*¹⁰⁴

Finally, concerning the aforementioned allegations, Dandolo eloquently describes that being pro-British was unacceptable by the Ionian society, pointing out that it was difficult for a pro-British to even walk through a crowd without getting lynched; he wrote the following:

Δεν είναι ολιγότερον παράδοξον και λυπηρόν πράγμα το να βλέπωμεν αδιακόπως τόσους κυβερνητικούς υπαλλήλους, αντί να κατακρίνωσι, καθώς είναι χρέος των, τουλάχιστον επί κοινού, την διεύθυνσιν εκείνων των κακοτρόπων εχθρών και καταδιωκτών της Κυβερνήσεως, τους πλησιάζουν

¹⁰³ This is an excerpt from the pro-British *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, re-published in the radical *Η Αναγέννησις*, August 6th, 1849, No. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Dimitrios Daves, 'Η Εκλογή της Κεφαλληνίας', *Ο Χωρικός*, November 25th, 1850, No. 23.

αδιακόπως; και τους περικυκλώνουν με πομπήν, περιπατούντες, χωρίς εντροπήν και αναιδώς, εις την αγοράν πλησίον εκείνων καταφρονούντες την παλαιάν παροιμίαν ήτις παντού είναι παραδεδεγμένη, και ήτις λέγει «εάν θέλης να ηξεύρης τις είμαι, θεώρει με ποίον συναναστρέφομαι» ή εκείνην την άλλην, ήτις μας λέγει «όποιοι ομοιάζουν συμπεθερεύουν».¹⁰⁵

In conclusion, the three newspaper excerpts quoted above illustrate the discrimination against pro-British advocates and essentially prove that this sort of discrimination was very strong in that period indicating that there was difficulty in supporting the positive effects of the British rule for the Ionians. Truly, existing literature describes the pro-British as people lacking morality and those refusing the unification with Greece were also presented in a negative manner in the literature. Thus, taking into account that Greek historiography was based on a nationalistic angle, presenting certain political groups (such as the radicals) in a favorable light, the following section aspires to demonstrate one of the most important aims of the pro-British socio-political press, and introduces the reader to the core thematics of the pro-Britishness i.e. to raise pro-British arguments, to familiarize the Ionian people with the beneficial role of the British rule, as well as to persuade them that the British colonial policy's efficiency was truly in favor of the Ionian protectorate.

5.4 The British support

This section aspires to present the main reasons for pro-British support in the Ionian protectorate, and takes into consideration the most influential pro-British newspapers; *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, *Ο Φίλος του λαού* and *Ο Παρατηρητής*. It hopes to contradict the arguments of certain researchers who claim that the pro-British were getting involved into politics to protect their personal interests and to benefit financially.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, in an attempt to show that not all pro-British supporters were self-serving, this section presents a constructive pro-British argumentation, proving that supporting the British Crown was, indeed, a profitable political choice for the Ionians.

Yet, before commencing the presentation of the newspapers' points of view, it is highly important to refer to two major historians and their characterizations that they have used for the 'pro-British' term in the Ionian state. First and foremost, the great

¹⁰⁵ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός Τύπος', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, August 13th, 1849, No. 12.

¹⁰⁶ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 9. See also: N. Moschonas, 'Το Ιόνιο Κράτος', op.cit., pp. 202-205.

and influential Heptanesian historian of the nineteenth century, Panayiotis Hiotis, based on Sir Thomas Maitland's, Sir Adam's and Lord Ward's totalitarian rules and militaristic behavior, describes the pro-British as fund holders, fund managers or, in general, as supervisors favored by the British government; he particularly points out: *“Ούτε ηγνώνει ο αληθής πατριώτης [the Count Ioannis Kapodistrias] ότι οι Άγγλοι τότε κατείχον στρατιωτικούς τας νήσους, και ότι σκιάν τινα εγχωρίου Κυβερνητικής διαχειρήσεως υπ’ αυτοχθόνων άφησαν εν εκάστη νήσω. Αυτοί ήσαν κάτοχοι ταμείων, διαχειρισταί προσόδων, επιστάται υγειονομείων και αστυνομίας. Καθίδρυνον και διώριζον εξαιρετικά δικαστήρια, παρ’ οίς εδίκαζον Άγγλοι κυρίως, και υπάλληλοι Ιόνιοι πιστοί τη Αγγλοκρατία, όπως αυστηρώς τιμωρήσωσιν πάσαν παραβίασιν αστυνομικήν, υγειονομικήν, τελωνειακήν, και πάσαν συνωμοσίαν ή πλεκτάνην πολιτικήν, ή συμπαιθείς διαθέσεις των πολιτών προς Γάλλους και τας δημοκρατικές δοξασίας”*.¹⁰⁷

In addition, one of the most significant modern historians, Nikos Moschonas, has used similar references to the British supporters in the voluminous History of the Greek Nation, describing them, once again, as self-serving.¹⁰⁸ He characterized them as individualistic people, who pursue selfish interests, as people who react to any sort of political debate and, at the same time, try to suppress every liberal movement in the Ionian Islands; he wrote the following: *Με τη διοργάνωση του πολιτικού βίου στα Ιόνια νησιά εμφανίστηκαν τρεις διαφορετικές τάσεις, που εξέφραζαν τις πολιτικές αντιλήψεις των κοινωνικών ομάδων. Όπως ήταν φυσικό, εκείνοι που έβλεπαν ότι τα συμφέροντά τους είχαν κατοχυρωθεί από το καθεστώς της αγγλικής προστασίας και είχαν οι ίδιοι αναλάβει ενεργό συμμετοχή στα πράγματα, έγιναν υποστηρικτές του καθεστώτος και πολέμιοι κάθε προσπάθειας που αποσκοπούσε στην αλλαγή ή ακόμα και στη βελτίωση του πολιτικού συστήματος. Οι οπαδοί της προστασίας (...) υπήρξαν στοιχεία πολύ συντηρητικά και αντιδραστικά. Στενοί συνεργάτες και μιμητές των Άγγλων προσπάθησαν να καταπνίξουν κάθε φιλελεύθερη κίνηση, αντέδρασαν στην παραχώρηση συνταγματικών μεταρρυθμίσεων και ιδιαίτερα πολέμησαν την ιδέα της ενώσεως των νησιών με το ελληνικό κράτος*.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ See particularly: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, op.cit., pp. 208-209.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

In a similar fashion, the most trusted reformist newspaper *Η Ένωσις* corroborates Hiotis's and Moschonas's statements, and its columnists refer to the existence of a pro-British trend, which was focused on nothing else but their own interest:

*Ουδείς σχεδόν σήμερον των κατοίκων της Επτανήσου διστάζει πλέον, ότι εις εκάστην των νήσων μας υπάρχει συμμορία τις καταχθόνιος, σκοπός της οποίας πρώτιστος είναι να παρεμβάλλη προσκόμματα κατά της προόδου και ευημερίας μας μη φειδομένη ουδενός μέσου ως και αυτών των πλέον φθοροποιών, προς επιτυχίαν των πασιγνώστων ήδη σκοπών της, του να αποκλείση πάντα άλλον ορθοφρονούντα και αληθή πατριώτην (...).*¹¹⁰

Gallant reaches similar conclusions; he indicates that, in a way, the Ionians did not resist the imperial enterprise of the British, since the Ionian elite was embracing the British initiatives and was willing to 'collaborate' with the imperial masters. They did so in order to obtain local power for themselves, and to be able to gain the upper hand in their power-struggles with other Heptanesians within the Ionian protectorate.¹¹¹ In light of the above, the concept of the pro-Britishness could not survive in the Ionian protectorate, since the protective effects of the British rule were strongly debated.¹¹² Consequently, it seems difficult for any researcher to grasp and prove the pro-British concept; especially in view of Maitland's, Adam's and Ward's authoritarian rules, one could easily wonder, how is it possible to support a ruler, who acts by force?

In response to the above hypotheses Gallant endorsed the self-centered perspective, yet, he acknowledged that some pro-British believed that cooperating with the British rulers was the right thing to do, because that period seemed to be ripe for reforms.¹¹³ In a similar manner, Dandolo, in one of his articles, stated that the admiration for the British Empire was not based on personal benefits but was, rather, a desire for social advancement, writing the following:

Και πως τολμούν τινές να ειπούν, ότι ημείς ομιλούμεν δια να υπερασπισθώμεν, ποιόν; την Κυβέρνησιν, ήτις βέβαια δεν μας έχει χρείαν, και ήτις με την μεγαλητέραν και ταπεινωτικωτέραν περιφρόνησιν, εθεώρησε και θεωρεί τα Ιονικά περιοδικά, τα οποία φέρονται προς αυτήν με

¹¹⁰ (Anonymous), 'Ψηλαφητή κατά της νήσου μας σκευωρία', *Ένωσις*, July 23rd, 1851, No. 15.

¹¹¹ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹² Regarding the British protection, the political status in the Ionian state, and the Paris Treaty (1815), refer to: Spyros Kalogeropoulos-Stratis, 'Το διεθνές καθεστώς των Ιονίων νήσων υπό Αγγλικήν προστασίαν', in *Δελτίον Αναγνωστικής εταιρίας Κέρκυρας*, Year 10, Vol. 10, Corfu, 1973, pp. 44-58. The same article also refers to the continuous violations of the Paris Treaty; see: pp. 58-63.

¹¹³ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

δυσμένειαν, ως και τους εκδότης αυτών όσοι και αν είναι; Ημείς ωμιλήσαμεν μόνον δια το συμφέρον του λαού και υψώσαμεν την φωνήν κατά των εφημεριδογράφων εκείνων, οίτινες απαύστως τον βλέπουν, επειδή ζητούντες να τον περιπαίξουν και να τον απατήσουν τον σύρνον εις του ολέθρου το χείλος. (...) Ημείς είμεθα ενταυτώ υποστηρικταί του δικαίου, των δικαιωμάτων και της δικαιοσύνης της Κυβερνήσεως, ήτις μας υπερασπίζεται και μας προστατεύει, της Κυβερνήσεως, ήτις και φανερά και μυστικά ευρίσκειται κτυπημένη, προσβάλλεται και υβρίζεται ακαταπαύστως από εκείνους τους διεστραμμένους και ανόμους, τους οποίους αυτή εύγαλεν από την λάσπην, και τους οποίους ακόμη τρέφει και παχένει.¹¹⁴

In my view, the desire for the continuation of the British protection in the Islands is summarized in a brief question found in a pro-British article by Antonio Dandolo; the journalist is wondering who are the truthful friends and harmful enemies of the Ionian state. He particularly wrote:

*Ποιοί είναι οι αληθείς φίλοι του λαού,
και ποιοί οι βλαβερώτεροι εχθροί του;¹¹⁵*

The editor of *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, Dandolo, was one of the first journalists to praise Lord Seaton's commission. He made particular references to the granting of the freedom of the press, frequently referring to the freedom of speech and the liberty of the press as his leading arguments in favor of the British support. More specifically, in his articles, Dandolo was speaking highly of Lord J.C. Seaton, because he strongly believed that the liberties granted by the British were definitely not a consequence of the European 1848 outburst (as already discussed in Chapter 4), but rather a decision of the British authorities as a "gift" to the Ionian population. He particularly noted:

Αι μεταρρυθμίσεις αύται δεν είναι βέβαια απόρροια του τύπου, αλλά ούτε το αποτέλεσμα του Ευρωπαϊκού αναβρασμού τούτων των ύστερων μηνών (...) αλλά τουναντίον, καθώς είπαμεν και άλλοτε, εις άλλο δεν πρέπει να αποδοθούν, πάρεξ εις την ελευθέραν εξάσκησιν της εξουσίας, όπου έχει η Κυβέρνησις.¹¹⁶

Conversely to the radical journalists, who argued that granting freedom of the press was not a decision made by the British, but an aftereffect of the liberal European revolutions, Dandolo argued that the freedom of the press was a British endowment.

¹¹⁴ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός Τύπος', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, August 13th, 1849, No. 12.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

He also indicated that the 32 years of continuous prohibition of journalism in the Islands was temporary, and the British had no reason not to support free expression, which would essentially prove beneficial to both the British and the Ionians.¹¹⁷ In a similar way, according to the young tutor, Aristides Chiapini, the press freedom in the seven Islands was a ‘gift’ offered by Lord Seaton. As the journalist stated in his article quoted below, this ‘gift’ was a social remedy and an intellectual painkiller:

Αλλά επειδή η πικράδα του γιατρικού ήθελε ίσως φοβίση των άρρωστο, και επειδή κάποιοι ή παρά καλοί, ή συρμένοι από τα συμφέροντά τους ήθελε ίσως το κατακρίνουν, στοχάζωμαι χρέος μου ν’ αποδείξω ότι το γιατρικόν είναι αναγκαίον, και ότι η ανάγκη είναι τέτοια ώστε κάθε άλλο μέσο δεν ήθελε είναι παρά ψεύτικη παρηγορία.¹¹⁸

In addition, *Ο Φίλος του λαού* expressed similar views, considering that the pro-British trend was undeniably not linked with Maitland’s constitution (1817) due to his militaristic behaviour and authoritarian rule. On the contrary, the columnist refers that the British support was significantly strengthened with the constitutional reforms (1849), creating a trust-based relationship with the Ionians. The columnist, thus, expressed disdain against Maitland’s rule, but simultaneously saluted the reforms, by stating the following:

Αυτόδηλον και εύγλωπτον παράδειγμα τούτου ίσταται ενώπιόν μας: αι εισαχθείσαι μεταρρυθμίσεις. –Επιπολύ αναστενάξαμεν δια την απόλαυσίν των· επιπολύ εγογγύσαμεν υπό εν κυβερνητικόν σύστημα το οποίον ηρνείτο εις τους Ιονίους λαούς πάσαν διαχείρισιν των ιδίων των πραγμάτων. Προσέρχεται η εποχή της δικαιοσύνης, και ταχέως χορηγείται εις τον στοχασμόν η πλήρης εξουσία του εξηγείσθαι. (...) Χορηγείται εις τον τόπον το δικαίωμα του νομίμου αντεπιλογισμού επί των δημοσίων προσόδων και εξόδων· η δε ανικανότης της δημοσιογραφίας εν γένει, επί τσοσούτο σοβαρού αντικειμένου, είναι απίστευτος.¹¹⁹

In a similar manner, the first editorials of Dandolo made detailed references to the benefits of these reforms; these editorials communicated a sense of freedom, since the freedom of expression is a fundamental prerequisite for a free and independent state:

Όπου ελευθεροτυπία δεν υπάρχει, θέλει είσθαι προσωρινή και αβέβαιος η ύπαρξις ενός κράτους και πάντοτε κλονουμένη και εν αγωνία, και ταχέως ομού με την

¹¹⁷ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Βραχεία πολιτική έποψις της Ευρώπης’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, November 5th, 1849, No. 17.

¹¹⁸ Aristides Chiapini, ‘Το παρόν, το απερασμένο και το μέλλον’, *Το Τιμόνι*, May 30th, 1849, No. 3.

¹¹⁹ Aristides Chiapini, ‘Το Μισθολόγιον’, *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, May 29th, 1850, No. 2.

*ελαττωμένην, ακολούθως δε εκλείπουσαν ελευθερίαν θέλει
εκλείψει και καταστραφή ολοκλήρως.*¹²⁰

According to the same article, the freedom of the press constituted a “thermometer” of the public opinion, promoted values and, most importantly, elevated the truth as a palladium of liberty and common happiness; a true source of bliss and glory for the people.¹²¹ As a consequence, granting freedom of the press constituted a compelling argument against the accusations of their political opponents, highlighting that the British had modified their strict policy in favor of the Islands, and thus, the Ionians could flourish under the protection of the British Crown.

Yet, in an effort to construct a compelling line of arguments, the local newspapers *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* and *Ο Παρατηρητής* made reference to the dominance of the British Empire and its high protective role over the Islands. Similarly, even though Hiotis was not seeing the pro-British in a favorable light, however, he did acknowledge the arguments of both Count Kapodistrias and Ugo Foscolo, who claimed that, being under the protection of the British Empire provided major defensive benefits to the Ionian protectorate.¹²² For instance, Dandolo made reference to the case of a burglary committed against an Ionian citizen by Ottomans; after this crime was officially reported, the British demanded that the Ottomans returned the stolen property within three days. Dandolo wrote the following comment regarding the favorable outcome achieved:

*δυνάμει αιτήσεως της Βρετανικής Κυβερνήσεως, μετά τρεις
ημέρας η Οθωμανική Κυβέρνησις επλήρωσε τα χρήματα, τα
οποία έχασε ο Ιόνιος υπήκοος.*¹²³

Considering that the Crown constituted one of the foremost global powers of that era,¹²⁴ the waving British flag endowed the Ionian territory with allure but, more importantly, it allowed Ionians to fearlessly engage in trade/commerce. In a similar manner, *Ο Παρατηρητής* refers to the protective role that the British would play in the Islands, noting the following:

*(...) δια της από 5 Νοεμβρίου του αυτού συνθήκης ετέθη
υπό την Αγγλικήν Προστασίαν, όπως η κραταιά αύτη*

¹²⁰ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Περί ελευθεροτυπίας’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, April 2nd, 1849, No. 1.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² See accordingly: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, op.cit., Vol. 1, pp. 3-19, 55-56, 67-69.

¹²³ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Ο Ιονικός Τύπος’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, August 13th, 1849, No. 12. See also: Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Ο Ιονικός Τύπος’, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, September 17th, 1849, No. 14.

¹²⁴ Frank McDonough, *The British Empire 1815-1914*, op.cit., p. 1.

*δύναμις της επιθέσεως ισχυρωτέρου εξωτερικού εχθρού, και εξασφαλίζη ούτω την ελευθερίαν και ανεξαρτησίαν εκείνην, ήν από πολλού είχαν εγγυηθή αύτη αι Ευρωπαϊκαί δυνάμεις του υπολοίπου έθνους στενάζοντος τότε ακόμη υπό τον Τουρκικόν ζυγόν.*¹²⁵

Furthermore, in another article of *Ο Παρατηρητής* as an effort to highlight the valuable contribution of the British to the local economy and commerce through the purchase of Ionian products, the columnist argued that the British safeguarded the Islands from port attacks and invasions from any potential enemies (such as the Turks and the Russians); he actually described a related incident in which two Russian vessels, one frigate and one corvette, sailed the Adriatic Sea in the spring of 1854. Despite the absence of military forces to defend the port from their mighty weapons, the Russian naval ships did not attempt to enter the Corfiot port; the journalist states the following:

*Αλλά δεν ετόλμησαν να διέλθωσιν απέναντι της Κέρκυρας, μολονότι μία μόνη αγγλική φρεγάτα ευρίσκετο στο λιμάνι.*¹²⁶

The above arguments¹²⁷ raised by the pro-British newspapers regarding the British protection in the Ionian state essentially reflect the perspective of the revolutionary Ugo Foscolo, as presented by Hiotis. Hiotis explains that the British Empire provided protection from external raids, because the Ionian Islands –and especially Corfu– were a geographical area of strategic importance as well as a significant military and naval station in the Adriatic Sea.¹²⁸ Indeed, Hiotis seems to agree that it would be difficult for the Ionians to defend against the attacks of the Ottoman Empire or Austrian military powers by themselves, due to the lack of adequate manpower and tight finances.¹²⁹ Last but not least, Holland also had reached a similar conclusion, i.e. that the Crown was deterring external attack from enemies, thus keeping the Ionians safe.¹³⁰

In any case, the lack of the Ionian defensive forces and the implementation of constitutional reforms are not sufficient to construct a strong argumentation. In an

¹²⁵ Athanasios Paramythiotis, 'Τα δικαιώματα του Ιονίου', *Ο Παρατηρητής*, November 8th, 1858, No. 45.

¹²⁶ Athanasios Parmythiotis, 'Η άφιξις του Γ.Ε. Γλάδστωνος', *Ο Παρατηρητής*, November 17th, 1858, No. 46.

¹²⁷ It is also worth referring to a third example similar to the above presented, written by Aristides Chiapini; see: Aristides Chiapini, 'Πειρατεία', *Ο Φίλος του λαού*, October 16th, 1851, No. 56.

¹²⁸ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, op.cit., Vol. 1, pp. 32, 55, 67-69.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9, 12-13.

¹³⁰ Robert Holland, *Blue-Water Empire, The British in the Mediterranean since 1800*, U.K: Penguin, 2013, pp. 26-68.

effort to construct the Ionian identity, Gallant referred to pro-British Zakynthians who were accusing the Greeks of being dirty and uncivilized,¹³¹ noting that the British were passing legislation regarding personal hygiene and civilization, in order for the Ionians to observe the same standards as the British.¹³² But, apart from these characterizations, according to Kotina's research, the Greek Kingdom was facing major financial issues, and its operation was problematic.¹³³ Indeed, *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* and *Ο Φίλος του λαού* refer to the Greeks' inability to incorporate other Greek territories into their newborn state, convincingly arguing that a union with the Greeks could potentially lead the Ionian Islands to a financial, social, and political collapse.¹³⁴ In particular, *Ο Φίλος του λαού* pointed out the consequences of the brutal and long-term Ottoman occupation of the Greek territories, in comparison with the British protection of the Ionian state, stating in particular:

Δεν υπάρχει Ιόνιος όστις δεν αισθάνεται εαυτόν ανανεωμένον στοχαζόμενος ότι θέλει έλθει η ευτυχής ημέρα καθ' ήν η κλασική γη θέλει ανακτήσει την παρελθούσαν λάμπην της και επιστρέψει βασιλίσσα της Ευρώπης (...). Αλλά δι' όλου του διαστήματος αυτού (...) τι θέλουν κάμει οι Ιόνιοι; –Όλα τα πέριξ του ωραίου τούτου ουρανού εσκέπαζεν η βάρβαρος δουλεία του άγριου Οθωμανού –άνευ ελευθέρως θρησκείας– άνευ ασφάλειας ιδιοκτησίας και τιμής.¹³⁵

Based on this excerpt it becomes evident that the above-mentioned leading pro-British newspapers were firmly supporting an extension of the British rule, at the same time highlighting the Greek state's incompetence.¹³⁶ Dandolo endorsed this view, arguing that the political conditions in Greece were not appropriate for incorporating the Greek Diaspora and specifically noted:

Όλαι αι πληροφορίαί, τας οποίας έχω υπ' όψιν δεν με εξουσιοδοτούν να πιστεύω ότι η πολιτική κατάστασις της ελευθέρως Ελλάδος είναι τόσον στερεά, οι νόμοι της και οι θεσμοί της τόσον ώριμοι, ώστε να είναι εις κατάστασιν να

¹³¹ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, pp. 64-65.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 65.

¹³³ Maria Kotina, *Το Ριζοσπαστικό κίνημα στα αγγλοκρατούμενα Επτάνησα (1848-1864)*, Athens, 2014, pp. 371-372.

¹³⁴ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός Τύπος', *op.cit.*, (No. 12).

¹³⁵ Aristides Chiapini, (No Title), *Ο Φίλος του Λαού*, October 16th, 1851, No. 56.

¹³⁶ Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...**op.cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 375-394. See also: Robert Holland & Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes, Struggles for Mastery in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850-1960*, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 13-45.

*παρουσιασθεί ως πυρήν και κέντρον συνενώσεως όλων των διασκορπισμένων μελών της φυλής.*¹³⁷

Finally, the same article also referred to the high risk of poverty, pointing out that the Ionian sustainability would be put at risk, both in political and financial terms. It specifically stated the following:

*και τίνι τρόπω θα ημπορέσωμεν τότε ημείς πτωχότατοι όντες να βοηθήσωμεν την Ελλάδα, ήτις όντας πολύ πτωχοτέρα από ημάς, δεν θα ημπορεί βέβαια να μας δώση καμμίαν βοήθειαν.*¹³⁸

The continuation of the Islands' protectorate status seemed like a beneficial choice, at least for a considerable part of the Ionian people. Truly, Gallant cites Spencer's views, according to which the Ionian Greeks should regard England as what it really was; "a protecting power, which would relieve them from the corruption the Venetian rule left behind".¹³⁹ Indeed, the pro-British newspapers shared this view, and reinforced their political lines by referring to the socio-political advantages the Islands would gain under the British flag. According to this argument, the British would be able to support and improve the living standards of the people. For instance, a specific editorial refers to the potential prosperity, the establishment of a social welfare state, the financial development, the stronger defensive capability of the Ionians, and the reduction of unemployment through the hiring of locals in state services and the army.¹⁴⁰ Dandolo focused on what he considered as one of the major political questions in the Islands, i.e. the poverty question, noting that the British were providing to the Ionians almost two million thalers annually. These funds were shared by the local lords, the local industries, and the Ionian government; Dandolo characterized them as the main source of revenue, stating:

*Ναι, ας ηξεύρουν, όσοι αγνοούν, ότι η Προστασία εξοδεύει ετησίως παρ' ημίν συμπεριλαμβανομένων των συναλλαγματικών των Άγγλων ευγενών, εν μιλιούνιον ταλ. Το ακούετε; Εν μιλιούνιον ταλ. Αμέσως δε ως πρώτη αιτία, ως ψυχή και πηγή και υποστήριγμα της εσωτερικής Κυβερνήσεως, προσδαπανά άλλαις 750.000 ταλ. περίπου τα οποία η Γενική Κυβέρνησις και οι τοπικοί κλάδοι εξοδεύουν και διαμοιράζονται μεταξύ τους.*¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός Τύπος', *op.cit.*, (No. 12)

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Thomas W. Gallant, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁴⁰ Ioannis-Antonis Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός Τύπος', *op.cit.*, (No. 12).

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Insisting on the poverty question, Dandolo argued that the British would be able to safeguard trade and promote development while a possible union with the Greeks would definitely hinder all imports and exports. He also pointed out the threat of the Ionians immigrating to other countries, since a large proportion of the agriculture workforce was already indebted and would not be able to survive;¹⁴² he particularly noted:

Ενδυμένοι τριμμένα φορέματα, θέλομεν τρέφεσθαι με δόξαν, δια να απογεμίσωμεν το άθλιον κενόν, όπου θέλει σχηματίσει τον αφανισμόν του κράτους μας (...). Χάνει ο τόπος την πρόσοδον της χρονικής κυκλοφορίας δύο μυλιούντων ταλλάρων περίπου, περί των οποίων ωμιλήσαμεν· παύωντας δε και η Γενική Κυβέρνησις ενταυτό, προέρχεται εκ τούτου εξ ανάγκης και η παύσις του Εμπορίου, η βιομηχανία εις μίαν στιγμὴν χάνεται δι' έλλειψιν εργασιών και εξαγωγής (...). Τότε αι οικείαι θέλουν ερημωθή, τα εργαστήρια θέλουν κλεισθή, ενώ τώρα αστράπτουν από το χρυσάφι, το ασήμι, τους πολύτιμους λίθους, τα αρώματα και την μεγάλην συλλογήν των τοσούτων και τόσων ποικίλων σκευών.¹⁴³

Indeed, Dandolo's editorial emphasized on the poverty issue, discussing that the sole income of the Ionians over the last twelve years (1836-1848) was exclusively related with olive oil production and exports, and which amounted to a total of only four million thalers. This editorial stated the following:

Ηξεύρετε λοιπόν ότι εις τους ύστερους δώδεκα χρόνους, όπου απέρασαν, όλον το εισόδημα του λαδιού μας, όπου είναι το μόνον εξαγωγής είδος, όπου έχομεν, τέσσαρα μυλιούνια τάλλαρα μοναχά εμβήκαν εις την πόλιν μας.¹⁴⁴

But, Dandolo was not the only one who supported this view. Actually, the editor of *Ο Φίλος του λαού* published an anonymous letter regarding the poverty issue, which also stated that all income was linked with the only exportable goods produced in the Islands, i.e. olive oil; he also commented on the farmers' debts, noting the following:

Άπαντες γνωρίζουσιν ότι αι εγχώριοι πρόσοδοι σύγκεινται κυρίως εκ του εξαγομένου των εγγείων κτημάτων ανηκόντων εις την Κοινότητα, τουτέστι, των κτημάτων εντός

¹⁴² Gekas refers that the Ionian state was bankrupt by the time of union with Greece in 1864, due to several reasons: first the state's debts exceeded £200,000 or approximately 150 per cent of the annual revenues, and second the Ionian state could not tackle one of the most pressing issues: the indebtedness of the peasants; see: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 327.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* For the olive cultivation and the export economy, refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., pp. 133-135. Gekas refers also to the currant, a type of raisins cultivated in the Ionian Islands, *ibid.*, p. 135.

της πόλεως και εν τη εξοχή· ότι ταύτα τα κτήματα μισθώνονται εις τον πλειοδοτούντα επί τινα συμφωνημένον καιρόν και ότι η είσπραξις τούτων των προσόδων επιφέρει όχι ελαφρόν έξοδον δια το Εισπρακτορείον.¹⁴⁵

On the basis of the above, it becomes apparent that specific pro-British newspapers published articles with a social perspective, noting that all British residents were paying extremely expensive rents for their residences in the Ionian state, and these rents constituted an important source of income for the local society. Moreover, the British were paying 400 pounds per year for water supply, and last but not least, the British infantry and navy were extremely helpful to the society in many other ways. For instance, the soldiers participated in public projects such as the creation of suburban streets, pro bono, as the journalist explains:

Εάν δεν εγνώριζεν ότι όλος ο μακρότατος δρόμος, όστις από τον μεγάλον δρόμον φέρει εις την Παλιοκαστρίτζαν, έγινε αμισθί από τους στρατιώτες της φρουράς.¹⁴⁶

In addition, according to Dandolo, Lord Seaton significantly helped the peasants by employing them in public roadways. The journalist specifically states:

Θέλομεν ανενθυμίσει μετά ταύτα πως ο Λόρδ Σείτων ηθέλησε με ελεήμονα αγάπη να βοηθώνται πάντοτε οι εργάται της εξοχής, εις τους μήνας κατά τους οποίους η πενία τους καταθλίβει.¹⁴⁷

Finally, *Ο Παρατηρητής* described another incident, in which the British soldiers acted as firefighters. The columnist criticized the local lords on the lack of Ionian firemen and thanked the British soldiers for their quick response in saving the local people. He specifically wrote the following:

(...) οίτινες εν τω μέσω της πυρκαϊάς με κίνδυνον ζωής ηργάζοντο όπως σβέσωσιν αυτήν, όπερ και μετά πολύν κόπον επέτυχον.¹⁴⁸

Overall, through this section, I presented a small number of front-page editorials by Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, Aristides Chiapini and Athanasios Paramythiotis, raising arguments in favor of the British Crown and its beneficial policies. Their aim was to provide their readership with strong arguments and sound reasoning, in order to convince them that it would be beneficial to support the British. By making reference

¹⁴⁵ Aristides Chiapini, (No Title), *Ο Φίλος του Λαού*, October 4th, 1850, No. 20.

¹⁴⁶ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Ο Ιονικός Τύπος’, *op.cit.*, (No. 12).

¹⁴⁷ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, ‘Περί Ελευθεροτυπίας’, *op.cit.*, (No. 1).

¹⁴⁸ Athanasios Paramythiotis, ‘Τα δικαιώματα του Ιονίου’, *Ο Παρατηρητής*, November 10th, 1858, No. 45.

to a number of financial, social, military and educational factors remarked by the pro-British press, these journalists believed that their political positions were worth expressing, despite the fact that the pro-British were accused of prioritizing their own personal interests over the well-being of the Ionian population. In particular, the analysis of the pro-British columns shows that the continuous British support was necessary in terms of finances and politics. According to the journalists' arguments, this financial aid was helpful, allowing the creation of a monetary inflow to the Islands. On the opposite side of the Ionian sea, the Greeks were taking their first steps as a newborn state and were not able to assist the Ionians, because they were still struggling to stand on their own feet. In conclusion, this section evidenced a different, yet rational perspective, expressed by the most influential pro-British journalists, who argued that even though the Ionians shared a common language and religion with the Greeks, a possible union would not be effective or functional, showing lastly that part of the public opinion and the local press remained pro-British.

5.5 The poverty question through *O Aveξάρτητος*

Having stated that the papers examined were indeed pro-British, and having presented the main arguments of the most influential local papers (something that has not been stressed by the researchers of the Ionian Islands' history), this section focuses on the coverage of the poverty question by the pro-British columns, published in a specific leading newspaper of that period, and reveals unknown aspects of the everyday life in the Islands. The aim of this analysis is to present information regarding the society in the Ionian protectorate, and to show that politics were not the exclusive focus of the pro-British press, but also to tackle the issue of urban poverty, since, as Gekas states "the Ionians were mostly concerned with the extent of famine".¹⁴⁹ Therefore, through the presentation of a series of articles concerning the poverty issue in the Ionian Islands, this section evidences the eminent pro-British journalist's desire to protect the Ionian people. It highlights that *O Aveξάρτητος* did not serve only informative and political purposes, but touched upon social issues with a paternalistic attitude, since Dandolo was strongly interested in both the lower income classes and the peasants.

Based on narratives and folk tales, harsh punishments were imposed in case of a burglary in the Islands, and this is indicative of the importance of the poverty question

¹⁴⁹ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., pp. 250-269.

in the Islands during the period of British rule. More specifically, in case of stealing a sterling pound, a nose or a hand was being cut off along with ten years in prison.¹⁵⁰ Considering the above, and, in an attempt to explore the poverty question, I studied Dandolo's paper thoroughly and, taking into account his own serious financial issues, I concluded that he was extremely sensitive regarding that issue.¹⁵¹ In particular, in his articles, he repeatedly emphasized that poverty was one of the most significant issues, linking it directly with the state of living conditions for the Ionians, and thus, made it one of his major goals; to expose and analyze this crucial question. Indeed, Dandolo's aim was to ask the British government for income increases and equal wages for the Ionian people, and also demand a detailed expense analysis.¹⁵² But, in order to present his line of arguments, Dandolo described the peasants' poor living conditions, and exposed the chronic livelihood issues that the majority of peasants were facing. He also described that the unprivileged Ionians, who were struggling with everyday survival issues, were excluded from education and deprived from essential goods and access to healthcare.¹⁵³ Indeed, in his newspaper, Dandolo was speaking highly of the peasants, wanting to protect them from the poverty, the destitution, and the social exclusion they were faced with. For instance, the eighth issue explains that the housewives did not leave clothes hanging in their yards and the priests kept 24-hour vigils in the church, to protect them from the thieves who would steal clothes, lamps and other religious objects. The journalist also made reference to the large number of Ionians who had multiple debts due to private loans, unpaid taxes due to over taxation, and pointed out that the lower social classes were suffering the most.¹⁵⁴ Dandolo highlighted that the villagers' debt was three times the value of Ionian property, since olive oil, i.e. the only exportable product of the Ionian Islands, was not sufficient to cover the debt and the state treasury had very low revenues. The same issue also refers to the injustice and the illegalities committed by the lenders against the peasants, quoting an anonymous letter, which explains how the creditors

¹⁵⁰ Gekas refers particularly to this social problem of the period, and points out the increase in the number of beggars and vagabonds in the Ionian Islands, *ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

¹⁵¹ When Dandolo moved to Corfu, his financial situation was very poor, and he actually had to sell many of his personal belongings; see: Polichronis K. Enepekides, *op.cit.*, pp. 150-159.

¹⁵² Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Βοηθείτε τους πτωχούς χωρικούς', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, June 4th, 1849, No. 8.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

aimed to create financial enslavement through high interest rates; this article specifically notes the following:

Ακόμη δεν είναι δίκαιον αφού ο τόκος υπερέβη το κεφάλαιον να τρέξη περισσότερο, διότι οι πτωχοί χρεωφειλέται, από χρόνον σε χρόνον την εσοδίαν περιμένοντες και τόκον επάνω εις τόκον, δυναστευόμενοι από τους δανειστάς, προσθέτοντες, εσκλάβωσαν εις τους δανειστάς των εαυτούς και τους κληρονόμους των.¹⁵⁵

Similar comments were published in other issues of the newspaper, in which Dandolo was reporting the views of several Corfiot villagers regarding their living conditions, the unfair loans and the high interest rates they had to repay. A villager specifically wrote:

Δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι, ενώ όλοι σχεδόν οι κάτοικοι της πόλεως εξαιρουμένων εκείνων, οίτινες ζουν με μόνα της εξοχής τα εισοδήματά των, χείρουσιν εκείνην την ευημερίαν, εις την οποίαν αποβλέπουν αι προσπάθειαι των και η βοήθεια της Κυβερνήσεως, οι δυστυχείς ξεχωρίζονται από το μέγεθος των εκ του τόκου χρεών των, και των εκ τούτων αποτελεσμάτων.¹⁵⁶

Furthermore, another essay by a Corfiot village mayor, which was published in the twelfth issue of the newspaper, also exposes the problem of poverty. This essay states that in order to reduce unemployment rates in the region, the British employed peasants in public roads and livestock care.¹⁵⁷ Dandolo commented on this essay and the high unemployment rate, noting that it would have been even higher if the British hadn't intervened by employing peasants in public projects. However, even then, due to hailstorms and flooding from the rivers during the winter, many Ionians were forced to stay home and were unable to obtain the necessities for themselves and for their livestock because there were no roads and bridges. In this essay, the villager specifically said:

Αλλά με όλας ταύτας τας θυσίας όπου εκάμαμεν επέρασαν ήδη τόσα έτη και φαίνεται ότι ουδ' ενθυμείται η Κυβέρνησις ότι ζουν άνθρωποι εις ταύτα τα μέρη, τον χειμώναν κλειόμεσθεν από ανεμοχαλάζας, από βροχάς, από ποταμούς, και δεν ημπορούμεν εκ τούτου να φθάσωμεν εις την πόλιν δια να προμηθευθώμεν τα προς ζωάρκειαν.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Ο Ιονικός Τύπος με τους δημαγωγούς του...', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, August 31st, 1849, No. 13.

¹⁵⁷ G. Giannakopoulos, (No title), *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, August 13th, 1849, No. 12.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Dandolo concluded that one of the most significant factors enhancing poverty was the low quality of education and the lack of public schools in the suburbs. Particularly, he was stating that the majority of the students living in the villages had no access to school due to the long distances they had to travel,¹⁵⁹ and thus, it was quite difficult for the people in the countryside to improve themselves morally and intellectually.¹⁶⁰ Dandolo also made reference to the meager salaries for teachers and the minimal funding for the construction of schools, arguing that education should be made available to the entire Ionian society and that meritocracy was necessary for further development of young Ionians. He wrote the following:

(...) *ότι το σχολείο των κοράσιων να συντηρείται δαπάνη των αμερικανών γυναικών Σκωτίδων και λοιπών ξένων, η κυβέρνηση δικαιολογούσα την αίτηση εχορήγησε τα αναγκαία προς την συντήρηση των σχολείων εκείνων κεφάλαια, και όταν επισκεφτήκαμε πρώτη φορά τα εν τη εξοχή σχολεία εύρομεν εκεί πολλούς των διδασκάλων λιμώττοντας καθότι η αρχή δεν έδιδε εις αυτούς τίποτε, οι δε χωρικοί καθότι άποροι δεν ηδύνατο να δώσωσιν αυτοίς τον μισθόν, και ως εκ τούτου, οι άθλιοι εκείνοι διδάσκαλοι δεν είχαν ούτε δύναμιν ούτε ζήλον να διδάξωσι το τους άθλιους αυτούς φοιτητάς, επανελθόντες ημείς εις την πόλιν, απευθύνθημεν αμέσως προς τη γερουσία υπέρ των δυστυχών εκείνων, όπως τύχωσιν ενός μισθού δέκα ταλλήρων κατά μήνα εξ ων η κυβέρνησις εχορήγησεν αυτοίς πέντε, τη συμπράξει της προστασίας.*¹⁶¹

As a consequence, Dandolo, proposed a number of reforms in favor of the villagers, focusing on the fact that the local rulers should care for the villagers' basic needs and take a more active interest by offering effective assistance for survival.¹⁶² He was also proposing that the government should reconsider any potential income from the production of olive oil, dried grapes and bread, taking into account that the Ionians could not satisfy their basic daily needs by themselves. Also, the land owners should

¹⁵⁹ See: Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'La Presse Ionienne', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, July 20th, 1849, No. 11. Indicative of the education during the British rule is also Gerakaris's paper; N. Gerakaris, 'Η δημόσια εκπαίδευσις εν Επτανήσω', in the Proceedings of the *1st Panionian Conference*, (May 20-22, 1914), Athens, 1915, pp. 250-258. Refer also to: N.K. Kourkoumelis, 'Η Εκπαίδευση στην Κέρκυρα κατά τη διάρκεια της Βρετανικής προστασίας (1816-1864)', Athens, 2002, p. 313.

¹⁶⁰ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'La Presse Ionienne', *Ibid.*, (No. 11).

¹⁶¹ Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Λόγος περί μεταρρυθμίσεων των καταπιστευμάτων...', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, November 30th, 1849, No. 19.

¹⁶² Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, 'Άφού το ζώνον εκεντήθη από το κέντρον...', *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, July 1st, 1849, No. 10. According to Gekas, tackling the poverty question "became more systematically organized by the central and municipal authorities, the political class, the British administration and the urban elite"; refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., pp. 251-252.

effectively care for the cultivation of the fields, in order to assist the villagers acquire economic and social strength and not being taken advantage of by rigorous and ruthless exploiters.¹⁶³ Dandolo was claiming that the British government should pass legislation to ensure the financial safety of peasants; this should be directly related with the profit deriving from agriculture. He also argued that the laws regarding theft, which were way too strict, should also be amended. Overall, Dandolo tried to ensure the livelihoods of the Ionian people through the Commissioner's charitable and fair interventions. Dandolo also published the villagers' views which were very similar to his own:

*Προς βοήθειαν των πτωχών ξεχωριστών εχρειάζετο εν μέτρον εντίμου αμοιβαίου συμβιβασμού διά τα υπάρχοντα χρέη, και Νόμος, όστις να εμποδίζη εις το εξής τον τόκον παντός είδους, μία ολιγόστευσις εις το χαρτί το βουλλωμένον και επιθεώρησις μερικών εκ των κρισολογιών της εξοχής και η βοήθεια με ιατρούς και με σχολεία.*¹⁶⁴

To conclude, all these references to the poverty question by Antonio Dandolo clearly demonstrate that *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* was not only politically, but also socially oriented. Dandolo cared for the people, as he believed that every individual should be included into the society, and argued that the poorer Islanders should be rightfully represented as well. Through his paper, he tried to assist the Ionians with socially disadvantaged backgrounds, by proposing reforms, by undertaking the responsibility to advise both the Ionians and the British government, his ultimate goal being to improve living standards in the Islands.

5.6 Conclusion

This was the first examination of the pro-British papers; it revealed new information regarding the relations between the colonizers and colonized, and brought forth a number of significant issues, including the need to create a trusting relationship between the pro-British and the Ionians. Noting that the pro-British trend was significantly strengthened following the constitutional reforms of 1849, this chapter identified some of the most prominent front-line pro-British journalists in the Islands such as the young tutor, Aristides Chiapini, Athanasios Paramythiotis, and the most-respected Heptanesian, Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo. For the first time, this chapter

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Efstathios Grigoropoulos, (No title), *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, September 17th, 1849, No. 14.

demonstrated a totally different line of arguments, explaining the principal reasons for supporting the British Crown. It has also shown that the pro-British, even though a minority, were not an unorthodox corrupted group of people caring for their personal interests only. In reality, and contrary to the allegations of the opposition parties, it cared about the amelioration of the Ionian daily life, and this is evident through their newspaper columns, discussing how progress could be achieved in the Ionian Islands. Excluding any immediate links between the pro-British trend in the Ionian Islands and Sir Maitland's militaristic rule, the detailed study of *Ο Ανεξάρτητος* additionally revealed a concern for the society and the people, contradicting the theory of all pro-British supporters being self-centered and interested in their personal profit only. By giving to his paper a social orientation, Dandolo was opposed to any unfair acts, and even though he was pro-British, he pointed out several drawbacks of the British policy. By acting in favor of the people, he offered new information concerning the poverty question, highlighting the livelihood challenges the peasants were facing, including their need to settle past debts, and essentially proved that this was a critical issue; the people were living in conditions of poverty, and as a result, the villages and the cities were developing in a very different pace. In conclusion, it is obvious that the role of the pro-British newspapers was quite different from promoting authoritarians and monarchs. The pro-British journalists envisaged themselves as paternalistic leaders and had no personal aspirations; in this context, they considered pro-British press as a means for guiding the Islanders along the path to civilization. Despite the newspapers' link with the ruling government, pro-British journalists had to overcome a daunting variety of limitations, as well. By denouncing totalitarian regimes and illiberal acts, these newspapers supported the continuation of the protective status, at the same time demanding freedom and necessary constitutional reforms. In its effort to be neutral and unbiased, the pro-British press was meant to serve higher purposes, fought for constitutional monarchy, separation of power and recognition of the Ionians' individual civil rights.

The following chapter deals also with the Heptanesian journalists' fights for individual freedoms and separation of power. It investigates the press of the reformist party, in which newspaper *Πατρις* stands out for the bulk of information and approaches that offers, in quantity and quality, on many aspects of the Ionian state as British protectorate. Chapter six aspires at depicting the various tendencies within the reformist party and the socio-political aspirations of its journalism by discussing its

significant roles; to the awakening of the so-called “Greekness” of the Islanders and on the other, to the cultivation and promotion of Modern Greek Language, within the context of the Ionian state. At the same time, a number of initiatives of the reformists, towards the amendment of many authoritarian characteristics of the British administration in the Islands, along with some reform proposals they suggested, are shown, while the impact of a gradual unification with the Greek Kingdom on the region is taken seriously into consideration from the journalists - political thinkers.

CHAPTER SIX

THE REFORMIST PRESS

6.1 Introduction

The aim of Chapter six is to examine the rise of the Ionian protectorate's reformist press during the period of British rule (1849-1864) through a close reading of all the papers which had a reformist political approach, specifically focusing on one of the most respected leading papers of that period: the high-quality *Πατρίς* (1849-1851).¹ It analyzes the journalists' viewpoints, as these were reflected in the reformist press, and demonstrates selected excerpts, in an attempt to assess its purposes and overall contribution. Indicative is the following passage from an important reformist paper of the period, *Νέα Εποχή*, as the journalist notes particularly in a secondary column, the following:

Εις ουδένα αναιρέσαμεν το δικαίωμα του να ελπίζη, ας επιστρέψωσιν όμως τα Καθημερινά [newspaper] και εις ημάς να τα ερωτήσωμεν: τι επέτυχον επί τρία ολόκληρα έτη καθ' α συζητούσι; Τί επέτυχον υπέρ της πατρίδος τί η τοσούτον κροτήσασα Πατρίς, τί η Ένωσις, τί το Μέλλον, τί ο Φιλαλήθης, τί άπασαι αι σοφαί εφημερίδες; (...) Αφού δε ουδέν επέτυχον, και αυτά ταύτα τα Καθημερινά ομολογούσιν, ότι τα πάντα είναι φύλλα χωρίς καρπόν, απλαί άπάται, φενακισμοί και πλάναι, δεν εννοούμεν πως συμβιβάζουσι την εν θεωρία ελπίδα με τα εν πράγματι αποτελέσματα.²

The above excerpt constitutes in point of fact the research question of Chapter six, since the columnist of *Νέα Εποχή* wonders whether the reformist newspapers truly benefited the Ionian society or not. First of all, was the reformist press just making empty promises and pointless achievements? Second, were the reformist newspapers unimportant or vain? In an attempt to answer these important research questions, this chapter reviews the political and socio-cultural aspirations of specific eminent journalists, all of which were highly respected within the Heptanesian scholarly

¹ By happy coincidence, *Πατρίς* was available at the Corfu Reading Society, as it was saved in whole and without any issuing gaps. This particular factor enabled both Konomos and Nikokavoura to explore this reformist paper. In particular, Nikokavoura was the first who presented the headlines of *Πατρίς*, offering a brief overview of its contents; see: A. Nikokavoura, 'Η Εφημερίδα 'Πατρίς' στην Κέρκυρα', Proceedings of the 4th International Panionian Conference, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 26, 1982, pp. 57-78. Ntinios Konomos however, was the first to write about the profile of *Πατρίς*, in a two-page position; see respectively: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 108-109.

² (Anonymous), 'Η συνταγή', *Νέα Εποχή*, April 5th, 1858, No. 4.

circles. But, most importantly, Chapter six shall prove that one of the most essential reasons for the emergence of the reformist press was the need to revive the “Greekness” of the Islanders. These papers attempted to encourage national pride, and also to demonstrate that the Greek Ionians were, indeed, part of the Greek community and history. Moreover, a great deal of front-page editorials bring to surface significant information concerning the Ionian protectorate and its society by revealing that one of the principal purposes of the reformist press was to amend Sir Thomas Maitland’s authoritarian constitution and, in this context, to propose the necessary reforms for the Ionian state. The reformist journalists presented in Chapter six point out the social ills of the Ionian society, aim to promote better understanding of the issues that needed to be solved and to demonstrate the possibilities that the Greek Ionians would have, to ameliorate their homeland, if standing united with the Greeks.

Chapter six is divided into two sections: the first part presents and analyzes one of the most respected and high-quality papers of the Ionian Islands, *Πατρίς*, in which the reformers had gloriously expressed their political stigma. In an attempt to analyze its significance, this first section highlights this Corfiot paper as a journalistic pioneer; as a role model for both the journalistic and the political circles of the Ionian Islands of that period. Certainly, the selection of analyzing *Πατρίς* separately is not at all accidental. First and foremost, it constituted the official press of the reformist party. Second, the columnists’ excellent and well-structured arguments, their leadership qualities, their rational argumentation, and the contribution of several eminent Heptanesian personalities, being involved as members of the editorial board, persuaded me to concentrate on specific questions and to demonstrate all the aims and purposes of *Πατρίς*’s literary scholars. In particular this section examines the language question in the Ionian state, and contributes to the notion that the reformist press cared about the people, and aimed to both enlighten them and educate them. Consequently, focusing on the paper’s content, the analysis of specific articles shall demonstrate that one of the aims of the leading *Πατρίς* was to tackle the language question, since for almost half a millennium (1386-1852), Italian was the Ionian Islands’ official language. Thus, this first section will try to prove that the union of the Islands with Greece could only be accomplished through the education of its people, and by reminding the Islanders’ of their lost “Greekness”.

The second section presents the profiles of all the other reformist newspapers, and studies them as a group consisting of *To Μέλλον* (1849-1851), *Ενωσις* (1849-1850),

Σπινθήρ (1849-1850), Φιλαλήθης (1851-1854), Ερμής (1851-1852) and lastly, Νέα Εποχή (1858-1862). In a similar manner with the previous chapter, this section demonstrates the newspapers' mission statement, presents the papers' profiles, and traces the columnists' points of view through the detailed reading of the newspapers' content. Even though this section presents all the reformist papers of that period, not all them are analyzed as thoroughly, due to the word limit of the thesis. Nevertheless, this second section focuses especially on two of these newspapers: the prestigious *To Μέλλον* and *Ένωσις*, outlining their efforts to promote the “Greekness” of the Islanders through their columns. Overall, the journalists of these newspapers, as well as of the aforementioned *Πατρίς* make numerous references to the close relationship between the seven Islands and Greece. Their purpose was to enlighten the Ionian population, to highlight the efforts of the establishment of the nascent Greek state and to promote the idea that the Ionian Islands were, indeed, an inextricable part of the Greek Kingdom.

6.2 The Reformers and their policy lines

The British, soon after a decade of ruling the Ionian protectorate, came to the decision to soften their policy, and one of their main tasks was to gradually allow different political voices to be heard in the Islands. Indeed, the command of the reformist Whig government in Great Britain in the 1830s is clear proof of the British adopting a completely different way of ruling, which was significantly less authoritarian.³ But, it is worth pointing out that, apart from the Whig reformist policy line, other factors which were equally important have contributed in the emergence of political parties in the Islands; for instance, Moschonas refers to the poor governance of the Islands by the British, and to the absolutist character of specific Commissioners, all of which created disappointment among the Ionian population.⁴

In the mid-nineteenth century, apart from the pro-British point of view presented in Chapter five, other political groups in the Ionian state were also expressing their own political opinions. On the one hand, the revolutionary radicals were denouncing the existing political status quo, and were rejecting any proposition of constitutional reforms because –as mentioned in Chapter four– the radicals desired an immediate

³ Indicatively refer to: C. Cook and B. Keith, *British Historical facts: 1830-1900: Palgrave historical and political facts*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1984.

⁴ See: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-213.

union with the Greeks. In the 9th Assembly of the Ionian Parliament (February 1850), even though a minority, the radicals were truly most effective; a united small group under the spirit of cohesiveness, as Miranda Stavrinou pointed out.⁵

Second in order, the liberal reformers, who were a conservative political party (in the sense that they did not desire an immediate change of the political system, and overthrow the British rule) and were the majority in the Ionian Parliament at the 9th Assembly.⁶ Following their success in convincing Seaton to proceed with the reforms of the Ionian Constitution in 1848-1849,⁷ this liberal political group –an Hegemonic political power according to Gekas⁸ aimed to exert similar pressure on High Commissioner Sir Ward in order to secure additional constitutional concessions.⁹ As Gekas stated, they promoted the programme of state by proposing social reforms, and ‘*broadened the agenda of demands*’.¹⁰

Indeed, according to Miranda Stavrinou, one of the reformers’ purposes was to approach Sir Ward and conciliate with the British governing,¹¹ in an attempt to improve their ratings, in view of the upcoming elections for the 10th Assembly, in 1852,¹² and gain political power over their political opponents.¹³ But, at the same time, she pointed out that, according to *Πατρις*, the union of the seven Islands with the Greeks could not be achieved after negotiations with the British protectors, ‘*but can only result from the course of events, namely, from a general upheaval which could bring about a remodeling of the European States (...) believing that any attempt towards a violent hastening of the desired aim is only an act of despair*’.¹⁴ Yet, despite the parties’ differences and general divergence of political views, both the

⁵ Miranda Stavrinou, ‘The reformist party in the Ionian Islands, (1848-1852): internal conflicts and nationalist aspirations’, *Balkan Studies*, Vol. 26, 1985, p. 351. Similarly, Gekas also refers to the political formations of the 9th Ionian Assembly, pointing out the election results: 21 reformers, 11 radicals & 10 government supporters; see: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 314.

⁶ Further details regarding the 9th Assembly and its Acts can be found in: Andreas M. Idromenos, *Πολιτική Ιστορία της Επτανήσου...*, op.cit., pp. 55-65.

⁷ Noting that Seaton considered the discontent of the Ionian liberals against the authoritarian rule as being entirely justified, Stavrinou refers to the grant of the freedom of the press, the right of the Ionian parliament to control the public revenue, as well as the free parliamentary elections; refer to: Miranda Stavrinou, *op.cit.*, pp. 352-353.

⁸ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 317.

⁹ Refer to: Panayiotis Panas, *Ριζοσπάσται και Βελτιώσεις εν Επτανήσω*, Kefalonia, 1880, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 316.

¹¹ See: Sir Ward’s proclamation to the Ionian Parliament, *Official Gazette*, March 8th, 1852, No. 12.

¹² Refer to: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, *op.cit.*, p. 210.

¹³ Miranda Stavrinou, *op.cit.*, p. 355.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

radicals and the reformers had, definitely, proposed a series of bills to the British government, since their principal purpose was to tackle many social and financial issues.¹⁵

But, who were these Ionian Islands' reformers in reality and, second, and most importantly, were these politicians also acting as journalists in the protectorate's press? To begin with, the reformers were a group of the Ionian population sharing a number of common characteristics; they were representatives of the Ionian bourgeoisie. On the one hand, they were acknowledging the British Empire's virtue, and, on the other hand, were promoting the "Greekness" of the Islanders. Viewing the union with the Greek Kingdom as a long-term commitment,¹⁶ the reformers were, indeed, distinguished personalities and highly-respected as members of the upper-middle social classes.¹⁷ All of them were significant figures of the Heptanesian intelligentsia and science,¹⁸ and were united under the umbrella of the reformist political party by a simple pro-Ionian code; to improve the living conditions, and to simultaneously exercise pressure to British administration, in order to ensure political reforms in the Ionian Islands.

In a similar manner, the Greek Ionian scholar, Chytiris, refers to the 19th century bourgeoisie as the new middle-upper class, which aspired to transform the social

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 351-361.

¹⁶ G. Verykios refers to the radicals and their excessive demands for union, noting that: *εφαίνοντο ενδοιάζοντες τω εφικτώ της εθνικής αποκατάστασεως, τους ταύτην προσδοκόντας ονειρώττειν φάσκοντες*. See: G. Verykios, *Απομνημονεύματα περί της πρώην...*, *op.cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁷ For a more concrete view of the reformist party, refer to the following dissertation of Anna Kontoni: *Φιλελεύθεροι στοχασμοί και δεξίωσή τους στον επανησιακό χώρο. Ιδεολογία και πολιτική των Μεταρρυθμιστών, 1848-1864*, Athens, 1989 (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Athens). See also: A. Kontoni, K. Parathanasopoulos, 'Οι Πολιτικές και εθνικές ιδέες των Μεταρρυθμιστών', (1848-1851), *Πρακτικά Β' Συνεδρίου Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού, Πολιτισμικές επαφές στα Επτάνησα και αναμεταδόσεις στον υπόλοιπο Ελλαδικό χώρο, 16^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνες*, Lefkadian Society Studies, Athens, 1991, pp. 310-319. Furthermore, see the following article: M. Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, 'Εσωτερικές διαφοροποιήσεις των Μεταρρυθμιστών στην Επτάνησο και μία ανέκδοτη επιστολή του Ναπολέοντα Ζαμπέλη (1852)', *Πολιτισμικές επαφές στα Επτάνησα και αναμεταδόσεις στον υπόλοιπο Ελλαδικό χώρο, 16^{ος}-20^{ος} αιώνες, Πρακτικά Β' Συνεδρίου Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού*, (Λευκάδα 3-8 Σεπτ., 1984), Εταιρεία Λευκαδικών Μελετών, Athens, 1991, pp. 320-334.

¹⁸ Nikolaos Moschonas states that among them, there were two great poets, Andreas Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos, the thinker/philosopher Petros Vrailas-Armenis, the famous scholar Andreas Moustoksidis, the eminent lawyer Antonios Gaitas, the poet and later Chair of the 9th Ionian Parliament Kandianos Georgios Romas, Socratis Kouris, Stefanos Padovas, the Senator and member of the Ionian Parliament Volteras Nikolaos, the lawyer Michalitzis Dimitrios, Diamantopoulos Georgios, the lawyer of the Ionian Bank Napoleon Zampelis, Spyridon Zampelios, Ioannis Marinos, Nikolaos Balieris, Nikolaos Horafas, the teacher and lawyer Mandrikardis Nikolaos, the prolific writer and doctor Karvelas Fragkiskos, the lawyer Karvelas Nikolaos, and Merkatis Fragkiskos. See accordingly: N. Moschonas, 'Το Ιόνιο Κράτος', *op.cit.*, p. 209.

stratification, and to change the financial status of the Ionian Islands. Reflecting thus on financial empowerment, the new upper-middle social class demanded reforms and aspired to rise, both politically and socially.¹⁹ But, in more specific terms, they were essentially demanding the totalitarian constitution of Sir Maitland to be revised, even though the reformers were, in reality, not against the Paris Peace Congress of 1815.²⁰ The reformers supported a number of social changes; for instance, they proposed a number of internal improvements, guaranteed civil rights, aspired to strengthen the patriotic feeling, and surely contributed in reminding the population of the Islands' national character in order to promote the unification with the Greeks. However, the unification of the Ionian Islands with the Greeks was truly a natural progression, but only as a future prospect, as a long-term commitment, and certainly such a unionistic perspective could be accomplished only under specific socio-cultural, political and economic requirements. Indicative of the above is Moschonas' assertion, who specifically noted that the reformers acknowledged that any political action in favor of the union would be premature and would harm the interests of the entire nation.²¹

Given the circumstances, the High Commissioners Lord J.C. Seaton and Sir H.G. Ward could rightly foresee that the Ionian protectorate could hopefully co-operate with the Ionian reformist middle-upper class.²² Actually, it was Lord Seaton who once said that the reformers were '*the only ones capable to check or counteract the intrigues of the unionist party*'.²³ Indeed Miranda Stavrinos indicated that both Seaton and Ward were considering the idea of assigning administration tasks to the Ionian politicians, in order to ensure the seamless operation of state institutions and the continuation of the British influence and consequently, motivate the emerging middle-class to support the British protection.²⁴ Certainly, it also becomes apparent that the above political tactic was not applicable to any other political parties, other than the reformers. In specific, especially after the violent Kefalonian outbursts of September 1848 and August 1849, Commissioner Sir H. G. Ward had decided to fight radicalism with all his might, arguing that no radicals should be reelected in the new parliament –

¹⁹ Gerasimos Chytiris, 'Πολιτική έκφραση της κοινωνικής διαφοροποίησης..', *op.cit.*, pp. 91-109.

²⁰ N. Moschonas, 'Το Ιόνιο Κράτος', *op.cit.*, pp. 208-209.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 208.

²² Miranda Stavrinos, *op.cit.*, p. 353.

²³ See specifically Lord John C. Seaton's modifications of the Constitutional chapter, in *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XCVII (97), Edinburgh: Open Court Publishing Co, 1853, pp. 53-56.

²⁴ Miranda Stavrinos, *op.cit.*, p. 353.

referring to the 10th Assembly—. In this context, following the violent outbursts in Kefalonia, stirred by a small group with radical characteristics, Ward turned to the reformers, and asked for their co-operation, guaranteeing them offices and governmental positions.²⁵ He had attempted to achieve a *modus vivendi* with this group, as one may easily discern the common front between the reformers' political viewpoints and the pro-British conservative policy line of that period, in the fight against radicalism in view of the upcoming elections.²⁶ Nonetheless, while the reformers were attempting to approach the British government, various disagreements occurred within the reformist party, and even though the reformers had a safe majority in the 9th Assembly, their efforts to approach the British backfired, and essentially reduced their share in the 10th Assembly, in 1852.

6.3 *The Reformist press*

One of the first and most significant representatives of the press in the Ionian state, was the philosopher and great Heptanesian politician, Petros Vrailas-Armenis (1812-1884). Through his newspaper, *Πατρίς*, he promoted the importance of free speech, and introduced the national character in the Ionian Islands, making these two goals his primary journalistic task. In his handwritten note, found at the Corfu Reading Society, he was particularly stating the following:

Αποκτήσαντες τέλος πάντων το πολύτιμο δικαίωμα της ελευθέρως των κοινών συζητήσεως, τολμώμεν πρώτοι ημεείς να παρασταθώμεν εις το δημόσιον προς έκδοσιν εφημερίδος (...) θέλομεν προσπαθήσει πρό πάντων να διατηρήσωμεν και να αναπτύξωμεν τον ανεξάλειπτον εθνικόν χαρακτήρα των λαών της Επτανήσου. Δια τούτο εις μόνην την ελληνικήν θέλομεν εκδίδει το φύλλον και τούτο εκοσμήσαμεν με το γλυκύτερον και ιερόν όνομα της Πατρίδος.²⁷

But, most importantly, the close examination of the reformist newspapers, which were published right after freedom of the press was granted, led me to the conclusion that the journalists strongly believed that it was of utmost importance to “reward” the true patriots (the reformers) by appointing them in high ranking offices/positions within the Ionian Islands' administration. As a consequence, the priority and one of the most

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 355.

²⁶ Refer to Ward's Proclamation in the Ionian Parliament, *Official Gazette*, March 8th, 1852, No. 12.

²⁷ Vrailas-Armenis's note (1848) saved at the Corfu Reading Society, constitutes vivid proof of the proceedings of the establishment of the Corfu Reading Society; details of this note are also presented in: A. Nikokavoura, “Η Εφημερίδα ‘Πατρίς’ στην Κέρκυρα”, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

significant aims of the reformist press was to ensure votes for the reformist party in the upcoming elections. Second, it becomes apparent that the reformist papers and the respective political party were two communicating vessels, and thus, while studying the reformist journalism, we essentially refer to the same political men, the reformers; there is no distinction. The reformers were exactly the same men of letters, and the newspapers presented in this chapter were totally in line with the principles of their party; they were used as tools for the promotion of the journalists' viewpoints and political prospects. Hence, the reformist political guidelines were totally reflected in the press.

In this context, a great deal of articles refer to the review of the 1817 constitution which was, according to the journalists, the only solution towards ensuring a serene political life in the Ionian state.²⁸ However, the reformers were highlighting that the timing was not appropriate for the union, and through their papers, illustrated several reasons why, such as the lack of defensive forces in the Ionian Islands, the need for a better structured social state, the need of financial growth etc. Truly, the reformist issues ought to both respect and abide with every international convention imposed. However, it is important to note that, even though the reformers were favorable to the British Empire, as indicated earlier, a great deal of articles referred to the misuse of power by the British,²⁹ as well as to the limitations imposed by the British High Police forces.³⁰

By promoting their political aspirations, the journalists' writings focused on the need for local institutions, which should be established/improved before seeking national recovery. Indeed, according to Kontoni's research, the reformers were a political group whose existence could not be based solely on presenting national matters and having a solely nationalistic approach. On the contrary, the reformers supported the modern ideology of resolving national issues through the modernization of the Ionian state, as some of the most important questions raised by their papers

²⁸ For instance, the first editions of *Πατρίς* refer to the absolutarian/militaristic rule and the misuse of power by the British Commissioner.

²⁹ Similarly refer to: A. Nikokavoura, *Η ελευθεροτυπία στα Επτάνησα και η Αναγνωστική Εταιρία Κερκύρας*, *Δελτίον Αναγνωστικής Εταιρίας*, Vol. 9, No. 9, Corfu, 1972, pp. 27-29.

³⁰ It is worth noting Napoleon Zampelis's (deputy of Santa Maura in the 9th Ionian Parliament) note concerning the measure of power of the High Police. This note was forwarded to the Assembly, but Commissioner Ward proposed modifications, and, thus, its content was changed; see accordingly: Panayiotis Hiotis, *Ιστορία του Ιονίου Κράτους...*, op.cit., Vol. 1, p. 227. See also: A.M. Idromenos, *Συνοπτική Ιστορία της Κέρκυρας*, Corfu 1893, p. 57.

concerned the promotion of active citizenship in the local population, the amendment of criminal and civil laws, the amelioration of the British authorities' strict policy, the strengthening of the welfare state, the approach of the poverty issue mostly in the villages and suburbs, and the fair taxation.³¹ According to Kontoni, the above evidence that the journalists pursued a well-organized state and a stable political system, and, at the same time, aspired to protect all individual rights.³² Through their articles, the reformers fought for a strong constitution and a robust economy, and for institutions which would fulfil the ambitions and needs of every Ionian citizen, mostly through political education and maturity. Last but not least, they passionately believed that an Ionian political authority should be elected and should act under a specific legal framework, which would be defined by national will, in order for the powers of the state to be limited by law.

Given that the journalists desired to get involved into British administration, they argued, especially in the first issues of the newspapers, that the main reason for the mismanagement of the Ionian state was not the inability of its rulers but the lack of Heptanesian men of letters in the management of the Ionian protectorate. Moreover, they acknowledged that the British were not easily swayed by the recommendations of the local politicians and by their suggestions for several constitutional reforms, and essentially expressed a cry for a well-governed state. This strong urge for the participation of locals into politics is reflected in a front-page editorial of *Πατρίς* leading newspaper, which specifically focused on the need for better governance by the British and for a well-meant management of the Ionian state's internal affairs. The columnist –most probably Vrailas-Armenis– stated that a government should clearly present every political argument in an honest way, without complicated or unnecessary tricks, always with the intention to uphold morality, i.e. nor to corrupt or be corrupted, to work for the well-being of the people. Consequently, he argues that it was necessary for Ionians to be ruled by local politicians, who did not have a foreign policy perspective, instead of the British. The journalist stated the following:

*Δεν θέλομεν ειμή καλήν κυβέρνησιν και φρόνιμον
διαχείρισιν των δημοσίων. Κυβέρνησιν απλώς, άνευ
περιπλοκών περιττών τεχνασμάτων, και αλληλομαχώμενων
αρχών· κυβέρνησιν γνησίαν, τουτέστι τιμίαν και ειλικρινή,*

³¹ A. Kontoni, 'Η Πατρίς των Μεταρρυθμιστών', (insert) *Επτά Ημέρες, Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας*, May 30th, 1999, *Καθημερινή*, p. 14.

³² *Ibid.*

ούσαν πραγματικώς οία λέγει ότι είναι άνευ απάτης και προσωπείου, ήτις να μη καταχράται των λέξεων διά να καταχρασθή των πραγμάτων, να βελτιόνη τα ήθη και όχι να τα διαφθείρη, να υψόνη και όχι να ταπεινόνη τους πολίτας, να μας εξασφαλίζη την εθνικήν απόλαυσιν των φυσικών μας δικαιωμάτων, να ήναι η έκφρασις του κοινωνικού νοός και των αναγκών μας και να εγγυάται την συνταγματικήν εκείνην ελευθερίαν, ήτις ήδη κατέστη το κοινόν δίκαιον όλων των πολιτευμένων λαών. Θέλομεν να διοικηται ο τόπος υπό των εντοπίων και όχι υπό των ξένων, οι διοικούντες να ήναι οι πλέον διακεκριμένοι δια τα φώτα και τον πατριωτισμόν, τα υπουργήματα να δίδονται εις τους αξιωτέρους, να ήναι η ανταμοιβή της ικανότητος και όχι της δουλοφροσύνης, μέσον υπηρεσίας και όχι κερδοσκοπίας, αφορμή ανεξαρτησίας και όχι αίτιον διαφθοράς.³³

The above excerpt from an article published as early as February 1849 is also indicative of the reformers' political expectations, views and prospects. It is worth noting also that the same article referred to the reformers' beliefs; namely, not to acquire huge salaries and pompous titles, as these would constitute an insult to the largest part of the population, who were poor.³⁴ In a similar manner, this article also made particular references to the unfair taxation arguing that taxes should be equitable and based on each citizen's actual income.³⁵ In consideration of the above, and taking into account the significance of *Πατρίς*, the following section presents this paper, and aspires to outline its role and purposes, placing particular emphasis on the attention that the paper paid to the issue of political education, and to describe the struggles of the reformist press and particularly the efforts of *Πατρίς* and its journalists for constitutional reforms.

6.3.1 *The Πατρίς newspaper (1849-1851)*

Πατρίς constitutes one of the most characteristic examples of the Ionian press.³⁶ So outstanding was this newspaper, that Konomos states that the Greek King Otto, while reading *Πατρίς*, pointed out that Corfu was not important only because of its geographic location but also because of its high quality political journalism; he specifically stated that *Η Κέρκυρα δεν είναι μόνον υπό γεωγραφικήν αλλά και υπό*

³³ (Anonymous), 'Που υπάρχει η σύγκρουσις', *Πατρίς*, February 12th, 1849, No. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ A. Nikokavoura, "Η Εφημερίδα 'Πατρίς'...", *op.cit.* It is fortunate that all issues of *Πατρίς* are available at the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, as well as the Museum of the Press in Patras, Greece.

πολιτικήν έποψιν κεφαλή της Ελλάδος.³⁷ In a similar manner, Nikokavoura, one of the main researchers of this most-respected newspaper, was surprised and amazed by the variety of the newspaper's contents and the plethora of valuable articles, stating that this paper never failed to gain an audience in the Ionian Islands, the Greek state and other Western countries.³⁸ So extraordinary was this paper that, Nikokavoura pointed out that, it had too many similarities with other famous European newspapers and with the government's Gazette; the *Gazzetta delle Isole degli Stati Uniti*.³⁹ Lastly, the importance of *Πατρίς* is also documented by the first-page editorial of its 6th edition, in which the editorial board, consisting of the five most significant journalists working for this newspaper, stated that they would not accept any public offices (!), since their goal was to focus exclusively on the operation of this newspaper. They specifically wrote the following:

ΑΠΑΝΤΗΣΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΑΣ Οι συνιστώντες το πενταμελές Συντακτικόν Συμβούλιον της ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ, καθ' ην έλαβον απ' αρχής απόφασιν, διαμαρτύρονται ότι, αναδεχθέντες αφιλοκερδώς το επίπονον της δημοσιογραφίας έργον, με μόνον σκοπόν να εκπληρώσωσιν ιερόν καθήκον, δεν θέλουν δεχθή παρά της Αρχής ουδεμίαν έμμισθον θέσιν, διαρκούντος του πολιτικού διοργανισμού, τον οποίον καταπολεμούσι.⁴⁰

Πατρίς constituted one of the first and most reputable journalistic endeavors across the seven Islands.⁴¹ Its first issue was distributed on January 15th 1849, and continued its distribution for two consecutive years, until January 13th, 1851, counting 104 issues, in total.⁴² Its founder and editor-in-chief was the Professor of Philosophy in the Ionian Academy and politician, Petros Vrailas-Armenis (1812-1884). However, the

³⁷ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 108-109.

³⁸ A. Nikokavoura, *op.cit.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ (Anonymous), (No title), *Πατρίς*, February 19th, 1849, No. 6. The fact that certain members diverged from this principle, became the cause of personal conflicts and disputes in the reformist circles; see: Miranda Stavrinou, *op.cit.*, p. 355.

⁴¹ The Corfu Reading Society holds a hand-written note by Petros Vrailas-Armenis concerning the newspaper's program and aims. In an effort to show his reformist policy, he concentrated on the "Greekness" of the Ionian Islands, highlighting that the Ionian state was actually a Greek state. Apart from the Corfu Reading Society, for Vrailas-Armenis's hand written note, also see: A. Nikokavoura, *op.cit.*, pp. 58-59.

⁴² *Πατρίς* (size 0.52x0.34) was a four-sheet newspaper, and was issued on a weekly basis (starting from the 5th edition, its size was changed to 0.55x0.37). It was being printed in the Corfiot printing house of *Ερμής* (Hermes Nikolaides Filadelfeos) and Petros Fokas is listed as its publisher. Under the newspaper title, the newspaper carried the following motto; a proverb concerning the virtues of justice, freedom of speech and truth: *Καλόν γ' αληθείς και ατενής παρρησία· αιδώς γάρ εν κακοίσιν ουδέν ωφελεί.*

newspaper's greatness lies mostly on the participation of other eminent Heptanesian men of letters, either as journalists or contributors, who expressed their points of view from a specific political and ideological perspective, which was clearly based on the principles of the French Enlightenment and Revolution; the famous Greek poet and Professor in the Ionian Academy Andreas Kalvos (1792-1869),⁴³ the scholar Spyridon Zampelios (1815-1881) known for his research work on the history of Hellenism,⁴⁴ the lawyer and Ionian Parliament member Napoleon Zampelis (1809-1896), and the Heptanesian poet Ioannis Petritsopoulos.⁴⁵ Written mostly in both Greek and French, *Πατρίς* constituted a role model, in terms of the high quality of its articles and the arguments raised, and became a point of reference for all the Ionian journalists of the middle nineteenth century.

In terms of content, the main topics of *Πατρίς* were mostly political and were presented principally in the form of front-page editorials. Some of the headlines included the proceedings of the Ionian Parliament and of the Senate, the 1848 constitutional liberties granted by Lord Seaton, the British administration, the arrests and seizures by the High Police, as well as the abuse of powers by the British administration. In an attempt to inform and educate their readers, *Πατρίς's* writers focused also on attracting votes for the upcoming elections in February 1850, as a series of articles referred to a direct election procedure and a secret non-manipulative vote.⁴⁶ Oftentimes, the newspaper reprinted front-page editorials referring to the Ionian protectorate, from important British national newspapers such as the *Times*, the *Examiner*, and the *Daily News*.

But, apart from the political articles, the newspaper also hosted articles regarding the legal system, the required civil and criminal law amendments, the organization of the courts, financial and tax issues, the Ionian Bank and the Ionian stock exchange, issues related with Ionian education, the villagers, the Kefalonian outbursts, the

⁴³ Konomos remarks that the (unsigned) article in the 3rd issue of *Πατρίς* (January 29th, 1849) entitled 'Επίκρισις Θεολογική' was written by Andreas Kalvos; this article directly accused Ioannis-Antonio Dandolo, the editor of the pro-British *Ο Ανεξάρτητος*, writing in a parenthesis: (avvisi amorevoli ad D' Antonio Dandolo). Refer also to Georgios Th. Zoras, in *Ελληνική Δημιουργία*, Vol. 6, 1950, pp. 119-122.

⁴⁴ See respectively: Dimitris Stefos, 'Ζαμπέλιος Σπυρίδων', *Παγκόσμιο Βιογραφικό Λεξικό (Global Biographical Dictionary)*, Vol. 3, Athens, 1985.

⁴⁵ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 108-109. See also: A. Kontoni, 'Η Πατρίς των Μεταρρυθμιστών', *op.cit.*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Indicative of the direct election procedure is the 52nd issue; see: (Anonymous), 'Πολιτικά Ομολογία', *Πατρίς*, January 7th, 1850, No. 52.

language question, and lastly, articles concerning Greek nationalism.⁴⁷ In an effort to promote the “Greekness” of the Islanders, *Πατρίς* attempted to create links between the seven Islands and the Greeks, based on religion and language, presenting these factors as common denominators. On the one hand, the language was a key question, since the local population ought to start using Modern Greek in daily language and official documentation. On the other hand, the newspaper was making particular references to the Orthodox dogma and the patriotic feeling, noting that the Islands were a religious bastion against the attacks by other unfaithful nations.⁴⁸ Moreover, in an attempt to analyze and oppose all the other political views, *Πατρίς*’s journalists published a great deal of articles concerning the radical and the pro-British parties. In particular, the paper presented the concept of Heptanesian radicalism from a reformist perspective, and simultaneously accused the pro-British party and the ‘*Καταχθονία*’ for its self-centered character. The reformist journalists also reported the latest international news, mostly from Austria, the Italian States, Russia, France, and the Greek Kingdom, and had an increasing appetite for an additional column, which was located on the last pages as an appendix/supplement. The articles in this column were quite extensive, and sometimes, were much longer than the first page editorial. Most of the times, their content was social, historical, literary or religious. Oftenly, this additional column was being used to criticize the British rule with a sense of strong and courageous journalism, as the journalist specifically explains:

*Η παραφυλλίς ιστορεί, διδάσκει, παραινεί, ρίπτει εν βλέμμα
επί του παρελθόντος, φυλλολογεί, ανακαλύπτει και
δημοσιεύει αρχαία έγγραφα, επαναλαμβάνει ή και συνθέτει
δημοτικά άσματα, ηθικά διηγήματα, εικονίζει περιέργους
τινάς χαρακτήρας.*⁴⁹

Despite the constitutional reforms granted by Lord J.C. Seaton, the journalists desired to get involved into the political circles as their primary purpose was the improvement of all the Ionian state’s institutions. For instance, the newspaper’s first issue is characteristic; according to the journalist, a newspaper should be able to criticize the disadvantages of the British administration, and seek justice in the society. The journalist specifically stated the following:

⁴⁷ A great deal of articles concerning the Greek state are found in the ‘*Εξωτερικαί Ειδήσεις*’ and the ‘*Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος*’ columns.

⁴⁸ Refer to: (Anonymous), ‘*Η εθνική γλώσσα*’, *Πατρίς*, (appendix), January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

⁴⁹ (Anonymous), ‘*Κύριε Συντάκτα*’, *Πατρίς*, January 29th, 1849, No. 3.

Δια των ειρηνικών και νομίμων μέσων, δια της πειθούς και όχι δια της βίας, δια της εμπιστοσύνης και όχι δια της δυσπιστίας, δυνάμεθα να φέρωμεν εκείνους, από τους οποίους εξαρτάται η τύχη μας, εις το να αναγνωρίσωσιν όλα τα κακά του παρόντος συστήματος, και να τα θεραπεύωσι.⁵⁰

According to *Πατρίς*, one of the main reasons for the political uncertainty in the Islands was the continuous succession of British Commissioners.⁵¹ The journalists considered the sequencing of the Commissioners as a huge disadvantage, and as an obstacle prohibiting good governance and steady growth. In this context, one of the major aims of *Πατρίς* was to protect the human rights of the Islanders and to act in the capacity of their political leader.⁵² But, most importantly, in most of the newspaper's columns, the journalists were obviously and principally concerned about the wellbeing of the Ionian state, both in terms of politics and social affairs. This is why they were continuously expressing their objections and concerns regarding the British rule, since according to the first edition:

Τοιουτοτρόπως θέλουσιν ελαττωθή τα παρόντα παθήματα των Επτανησίων, θέλουσι λησμονηθή τα δάκρυα του παρελθόντος και η Αγγλία δεικνύομενη φιλόστοργος και άγρυπνος προστάτις των ελευθεριών και της ευδαιμονίας του λαού τούτου, θέλει ανακτήσει τας συμπάθειάς του.⁵³

In addition, the journalists frequently concluded to the notion that the British had essentially transformed the Ionian protectorate into a British Colony. Indicative of the above assertion is the journalist's comments expressed in the following excerpt containing questions regarding the Paris Treaty in 1815:

Τι εστί προστασία; Είναι κατάκτησις ή χειρόν τι της κατακτήσεως; (...) ότι ο προστατευόμενος, άμοιρος των φυσικών απαραγράπτων δικαιωμάτων του, έχει να εξαρτάται μόνον από την διάθεσιν του προστάτου;⁵⁴

It therefore becomes apparent why *Πατρίς* placed so much emphasis on the Kefalonian rebellions of 1848-1849 and hosted detail reports regarding these movements, including the complaint letters written by the radicals who were exiled by Lord High Commissioner Ward, namely, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, Iosif Momferratos,

⁵⁰ (Anonymous), 'Τις η αποστολή της δημοσιογραφίας εν τη Επτανήσω', *Πατρίς*, January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

⁵¹ (Anonymous), 'Συνθήκαι και συντάγματα, δι' ων καθιερώθησαν αι ελευθερίαι του Ιονίου λαού', *Πατρίς*, January 29th, 1849, No. 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ (Anonymous), 'Πρώτη έποψις της πολιτικής ημών καταστάσεως', *Πατρίς*, January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

⁵⁴ (Anonymous), 'Συνθήκαι και συντάγματα....*op.cit.*, (No. 3).

and Gerasimos Livadas. Under these circumstances, one of the principal goals of the *Πατρίς* was to criticize the violent actions performed by the British authorities, and present arguments regarding the nature of the Kefalonian movements.

6.3.1.1. The Kefalonian rebellions through *Πατρίς*

Through its columns, *Πατρίς* highlights detailed facts about the two Kefalonian rebellions of 1848 and 1849, against local and central state authority.⁵⁵ In particular, a great deal of articles referred to the “*Cross revolution*” (1848) in the Argostoli region, and the organized rebellion in the region of Skala, located in the northern part of Kefalonia, which is known as “*Στάση της Σκάλας*” (1849).⁵⁶ In brief, through their articles, the ‘shocked’ journalists considered these movements as sporadic individual events; they were however practically condemning these violent acts, denouncing this cruel behavior, as the journalist noted:

*Εννοείται οίκοθεν ότι παρ’ ημίν η κοινή γνώμη ουδέποτε δύναται να υπερισχύση με βίαια και εξαιρετικά μέσα. Ουδέποτε ηθέλαμεν δυνηθή να ανατρέψωμεν δια της βίας σύστημα κυβερνητικόν, όσω και αν εφαινέτο εις ημάς ανυπόφορον και καταπιεστικόν.*⁵⁷

Concerning these rebellions, *Πατρίς*’ articles state that High Commissioner Ward was considering responsible for these riots two eminent Heptanesian radical political figures, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos and Gerasimos Livadas.⁵⁸ Actually, their revolutionary political attitude was the main reason why Sir Ward had them exiled to the island of Paxos. Consequently, *Πατρίς* refers to the principal factors enabling their deportation

⁵⁵ The Kefalonian movement was an important issue for discussion in the British Parliament; it was described particularly by one of its members, Hume, who was directly accusing Commissioner Ward regarding his stance in relation to this rebellion; see: A. Nikokavoura, *op.cit.*, pp. 62-63 & 64-65. Concerning this movement, also refer to issues No. 10, No. 33, No. 35 & No. 36 of *Πατρίς*.

⁵⁶ Moschonas indicates that the main reasons for the outbursts were the political ferments within the Ionian middle class, the liberal patriotic movements in Europe, the Greek rebellion of September 3rd, 1843, and finally, the establishment of political clubs within the Ionian state; see respectively: N. Moschonas, ‘Το Ιόνιο Κράτος’, *op.cit.*, pp. 205-208.

⁵⁷ (Anonymous), ‘Τις η αποστολή της δημοσιογραφίας εν τη Επτανήσω’, *Πατρίς*, January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

⁵⁸ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos (1814-1894) was a Kefalonian lawyer and one of the most prominent radicals of the period. He published the newspaper *Φιλελεύθερος*, in which he frequently criticized the British policies. He was arrested/exiled right after the third issue of his newspaper. Gerasimos Livadas (1789-1876) was also a Kefalonian lawyer, fighting against slavery and mis-hellenism in the Greek territories. He participated actively in the Greek revolution for national independence and also fought passionately for the Ionian Islands’ independence. For Zervos-Iakovatos and Livadas see accordingly: Ilias Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 133, 155, 294-303, 375-376 & 424. In addition, Alisandratos states that the radical party was definitely not responsible for these riots; see: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

by Sir Ward: first, the fearless support of radicalism by the deported figures as well as their efforts towards unification with the Greeks. Second, and most important, the Commissioner strongly believed that Iakovatos and Livadas were the main instigators of these rebellions; he thought that the villagers were seduced by these two men, and therefore, their liberal/revolutionary attitude was the major factor for being exiled.⁵⁹ In this case, *Πατρίς*'s journalists were accusing the British for boundless military despotism, pointing out that these deportations had to be followed by multiple interrogations or trials, specifically noting:

*Τι έγινε εξ'εναντίας; Πολίται αφηπάσθησαν από τους κόλπους των οικογενειών των, προσεβλήθησαν εις τα συμφέροντά των, εφυλακίσθησαν, εξωρίσθησαν άνευ ανακρίσεως, άνευ δίκης, διεσπάρη ο φόβος και ο τρόμος (...).*⁶⁰

In certain issues, one can find information regarding the causes of their deportation (March 10th, 1849), the acts of the British military forces, the punishment of the Kefalonian villagers, as well as the letters sent by the deported Kefalonians.⁶¹

With regards to the second outburst, the columnist presents in detail the facts, and, once again, makes particular reference to the two significant Heptanesian journalists being exiled to the islands of Kythira, as well as Othonoi, a small isolated island in the Northern side of the island of Corfu.⁶² *Πατρίς* publicized their complaint letters, and held the British accountable for injustice and disrespect of personal freedoms.⁶³ But, apart from the necessity of publishing these letters, the newspaper also focuses on the proclamation of High Commissioner Sir Ward and the declaration of military law in

⁵⁹ Apart from the exile of Iakovatos and Livadas the paper states that many other were deported to the island of Kithira, while others were detained in Kefalonian prisons; the columnist specifically notes: *Ηξέυρομεν ότι δύο των συλληφθέντων εφέρθησαν εδώ δια του αυτού ατμοπλοίου, και ακολούθως διευθύνθησαν και εξωρίσθησαν εις Παζούς` ότι άλλοι εξωρίσθησαν εις Κύθηρα, άλλοι ευρίσκονται εις τα δεσμοτήρια της Κεφαλληνίας (...)*. See: (Anonymous), 'Τα Κεφαλληνιακά', *op.cit.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ For further information on deportations, see the following article: (Anonymous), 'Καταδυναστεία', *Πατρίς*, February 5th, 1849, No. 4. Also, the newspaper publishes the letters of the exiled Livadas and Iakovatos. See respectively the following editions: Gerasimos Livadas, Ilias Iakovatos, *Πατρίς*, 9/16/23 April, and 28th of May (appendix), 1849, No. 13-15 & 20.

⁶² The first Heptanesian was again Ilias Zervos Iakovatos. After publishing the fourth issue of his newspaper, he was exiled again to the island of Kythira. The second one was Iosif Momferratos, the editor of the radical *Αναγέννησις* paper; after the release of the 20th issue, Ward was furious with his writings and ordered his exile; see: (Anonymous), 'Ποικίλα', *Πατρίς*, October 8th, 1849, No. 39.

⁶³ Iosif Momferratos, 'No title', *Πατρίς*, October 8th, 1849, No. 39.

Kefalonia.⁶⁴ In brief, according to Ward's proclamation, the Commissioner pledged to protect the Ionian state from any form of violence, as the military law was a response to the rebellions, and definitely not proof of an authoritarian rule. Either way, the columnist notes that the deportations were evidence that the state was not acting independently, since the British, in violation of the Paris Treaty, ordered deportations and financially suffocated entire villages, despite the fact that the military law had ended with the arrest of the rebels. Once again, Sir Ward believed that the second outburst was similarly instigated by men with specific personal interests and not for any liberal reasons, and particularly wrote:

Είναι αδιάφορος η αιτία τούτου. Είτε δημοσία είναι είτε ιδιωτική, είτε εν μέρει πολιτική και εν μέρει ως κλίνω να πιστεύσω, αποτέλεσμα των τοπικών διχονοιών (...) το στασιαστικόν αυτό κίνημα πρέπει να καταβληθή, άλλως η εξουσία των νόμων θέλει παύσει, και η Κυβέρνησις θέλει ατιμασθή.⁶⁵

To sum up, the suppression of these outbursts accelerated developments with regards to the union but also it radicalized a significant part of Greek Ionians. Unquestionably, the grant of the freedom of the press in the Ionian state was true bliss for the Heptanesians and according to the journalists, a big part of this success (referring to the constitutional reforms) was due to the strong pressure that they (the reformers) had exercised. However, regardless of the reformers' political standpoints, all the papers fought against injustice, defended fairness, and certainly the articles of *Πατρίς* aimed at enlightening the population in terms of politics, addressing even the lower social classes. But, more importantly, *Πατρίς's* journalists exposed two of the main goals of the reformist press or, in a contrary approach, *Πατρίς* revealed two of the main weaknesses of the seven Islands. Considering the previous section regarding the reformist policy lines, the lack of involvement of local men of letters and politicians into the British administration was, indeed, a tremendous weakness, since the reformers considered that the "Greekness" of the Islanders could be directly built-up by the active involvement of the reformist scholars into the political life. For instance, in several occasions the journalists were requesting direct involvement into the British

⁶⁴ *Κηρύττεται η στρατιωτική διοίκησις εις εκείνας τας περιοχάς της νήσου Κεφαλληνίας, εις τας οποίας εξετάθη το τελευταίον τούτο στασιαστικόν κίνημα το οποίον εχαρακτήρισθη δια τόσων ωμών πράξεων*. See accordingly: Henry G. Ward, 'Προκήρυξις', *Πατρίς*, August 20th, 1849, No. 32. Also see the journalist's comments on the declaration in: (Anonymous), 'Η προκήρυξις και το διάγγελμα', *Πατρίς*, October 15th, 1849, No. 40.

⁶⁵ Henry G. Ward, 'Προκήρυξις', *op.cit.*, (No. 40).

political agenda, and they were repeatedly comparing the local politicians' capabilities and skills against the skills of the British officers, who were at the time holding positions in public bodies.⁶⁶ Second, in an effort to enhance the "Greekness" of the Islanders, the detailed review of *Πατρίς* revealed another weakness of the Ionian state, which made the reformist press even more essential for the people: the reformers were acknowledging that Italian was the official language in the Ionian Islands, instead of Greek. The same was true for the daily life language which was, again, not Greek but a mixture of Italian and Greek words and phrases. In this context, *Πατρίς*'s goal was to promote the adoption of the Greek language in both the daily life and the public documentation in the Ionian Islands; actually, this was one of the top priorities of *Πατρίς* and, consequently, for the reformist press overall.

6.3.1.2. The language question in the Ionian state and *Πατρίς*

This section aspires at examining the language question in the Ionian state,⁶⁷ by making particular references to the prestigious newspaper and to the efforts of its journalists. It, thus, focuses on *Πατρίς*, and aims to demonstrate the attitudes of the Heptanesian journalists-scholars regarding the adoption of Modern Greek as the official language of the Ionian state, since for almost half a millennium (1386-1852),⁶⁸ the official language in the Islands was Italian. Studying the articles/essays published in the newspaper by the philosopher Petros Vrailas-Armenis, the poet and Professor of the Ionian Academy Andreas Kalvos, the famous Greek man of letters Adamantios Koraes, the members of both the Corfu Reading Society and the Corfu Bar Association,⁶⁹ this section highlights the importance of using Modern Greek in

⁶⁶ It is important to note that the journalists also presented the British viewpoint based on which the local politicians were considered as an endless source of complaints and a dreadful influence for the Ionian people. On the contrary, the British wished to appoint as provincial administrators, individuals, that they considered worthy of a superior and a modern British state; see indicatively: (Anonymous), 'Απάντησις εις τους συκοφάντας', *Πατρίς*, February 19th, 1849, No. 6.

⁶⁷ This section was first presented in the 6th European Congress of Modern Greek Studies (4-7 October 2018, Lund University), Centre for Languages and Literature. Refer to: Anastasios Mikalef, 'The language question in the Ionian state and the newspaper *Πατρίς*, 1949-1851', 6th European Congress of Modern Greek Studies (4-7 October 2018), *The Greek World in Periods of Crisis and Recovery, 1204-2018 European Society of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 3, Lund University: Centre for Languages and Literature, 2020, pp. 95-111.

⁶⁸ The columnist of *Πατρίς* refers to the date of the Greek language recall, specifically stating: *Εισάγεται αμέσως εις τα παιδευτικά καταστήματα, και υποχρεωτικώς εις όλα τα δικαστικά και διοικητικά γραφεία μόνον τω 1852*. See: (Anonymous), 'Ποικίλα', *Πατρίς*, May 21st, 1849, No. 19.

⁶⁹ Gekas makes particular reference to the Ionian lawyers, characterising them as true activists. He also notes that they instigated the resistance to British rule, and were the most enthusiastic reformers. They

daily life and public discourse. Moreover, it outlines the role of Heptanesian newspapers in the promotion of the Greek language, in an effort to terminate the use of the Heptanesian dialect –a mixture of Greek and Italian words and phrases– in daily life discourse.⁷⁰

To begin with, Peter Mackridge eloquently points out that the language question presented in this section, concerns ‘*a rivalry between languages, and not a rivalry between varieties within the Greek language*’.⁷¹ Indeed, in examining the paper’s content, one can see that the language question emerges from a very early stage, bringing the issue of bilingualism into focus. Actually, the journalist considers it a question of utmost importance, and specifically stated the following in his article:

Εάν των πολλών και ποικίλων συμφερόντων παντός λαού μέγιστα και κυριώτατα πρέπει πάντοτε να λογίζονται όσα με τον εθνισμόν αυτού είναι στενώτατα συνδεδεμένα, νομίζομεν ότι δεν υπάρχει αντικείμενον σπουδαιότερον της εθνικής γλώσσης.⁷²

lastly constitute a central group in the process of class formation in the Islands. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 302.

⁷⁰ According to scholar Triantafyllides, the Heptanesian idiom has not been sufficiently examined, due to the fact that along with the Peloponnesian idiom, it constituted the base of the Neohellenic language. Defining the Heptanesian dialect as a Western idiom, Triantafyllides gives the title ‘*εφτανησιώτικα*’, stating that all Greek linguistic dialects had taken their final form in the early 19th century. In addition, Triantafyllides also notes that the Heptanesian dialect was not influenced only by Italian/Venetian, but also by the refugees from Crete and Cyprus who had preserved many linguistic elements from the Ancient Greek language; see: Manolis Triantafyllides, *Άπαντα-Νεοελληνική γραμματική, Ιστορική Εισαγωγή*, Vol. 3, Athens, 1938, pp. 64-74. For the specificity of the Heptanesian dialect, see also: N. G. Kontosopoulos, *Διάλεκτοι και ιδιώματα της Νέας Ελληνικής*, Athens, 2000; M. Cortelazzo, ‘Vicende storiche della lingua italiana a Corfu’, *Lingua Nostra*, Vol. 8, 1947, pp. 44-50; Aggeliki Ralli-Vasiliki Makri, ‘Η προσαρμογή Ιταλικών και Ενετικών δανείων στην Επτανησιακή διάλεκτο’, Proceedings of 10th International Panionian Conference, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 5, 2018, pp. 207-220.; G. N. Leontsinis, “Ελληνική γλώσσα και βρετανική πολιτική στα επτάνησα”, in his book *Ζητήματα επτανησιακής κοινωνικής ιστορίας*, Athens, 2005, pp. 559-583.

⁷¹ Refer to: Peter Mackridge, ‘Venise après Venise: official languages in the Ionian Islands, 1797-1864’, *Byzantine Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies*, University of Birmingham, Vol. 38, No. 1, 2014, p. 69. Also, it is worth pointing out that Theodosios Pylarinos recently examined the language question of the Heptanesians, presenting their noble fights for establishing Modern Greek; Theodosios Pylarinos, *Γλωσσικός Πατριωτισμός. Οι αγώνες για την καθιέρωση της γλώσσας του Ελληνικού λαού. Από τον Βράϊλα Αρμένη στην Κερκυραϊκή Εφημερίδα ‘Πατρίς’ έως τον Λορέντσο Μαβίλη στη βουλή των Ελλήνων*. Corfu Reading Society, 2013, pp. 37-51, 54-101.

⁷² (Anonymous), ‘Η Εθνική Γλώσσα’, *Πατρίς*, (Appendix), January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

According to the appendix of the newspaper's first issue,⁷³ the journalist's aim was to educate the Ionian people and promote the Modern Greek language in daily life and public discourse. A few lines below, he specifically writes:

*Επειδή λοιπόν η εθνική γλώσσα και καθ' εαυτήν είναι σπουδαιότατον θέμα και συγχρόνως το μόνον όργανον, δια του οποίου η δημοσιογραφία δύναται να επενεργήση εις την εκπαίδευσιν και την ηθικήν μόρφωσιν του λαού, δεν εκρίναμεν άξιον να δημοσιεύσωμεν το πρώτον της εφημερίδας μας φύλλον, χωρίς ν' αφιερώσωμεν εις αυτήν ιδιαίτερον άρθρον.*⁷⁴

Indeed, a large part of the population was bilingual, adopting a mixture of Greek and Venetian words, obviously an influence of the colonization.⁷⁵ The local population had mingled with the rulers, and numerous Greek words disappeared from the Ionian daily life, as they were replaced by the equivalent words in Italian, causing a temporary, yet significant, loss of the linguistic identity of the Islands. The journalist mentions particularly:

*Αλλ' εάν ταύτα ήναι φανερά εις όλους, δεν είναι άρα γε επίσης φανερόν ότι ούτε η Ελληνική γλώσσα είναι δια τον Ιταλικόν νουν, ούτε η Ιταλική δια τον Ελληνικόν εν γένει: ξένη γλώσσα και ξένη φωνή ομοιάζει με φυτόν ξένον εις αλλότριαν γην μεταφυτευμένον και πολεμούμενον από τας ανικήτους δυνάμεις της φύσεως.*⁷⁶

Indicative of the significance of the language question in the Ionian state, is another article published four months later on, having the same title with the above. Pylarinos indicates that the aforementioned articles are similar; hence Vrailas-Armenis could be easily the author.⁷⁷ Yet, this article appears to have a more personal spectrum, aspiring to express the ideologies of the author in a more comprehensive description, and analyzing in depth the concerns of the Heptanesian middle class regarding the

⁷³ According to Pylarinos, this article is possibly writings of Petros Vrailas-Armenis, editor of *Πατρίς*; see: Theodosios Pylarinos, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

⁷⁴ (Anonymous), 'Η Εθνική Γλώσσα', *op.cit.*, (No. 1).

⁷⁵ According to Mackridge, during the British rule there were three *official* languages in the Ionian Islands: Italian/Venetian, Modern Greek and English. Thus, the matter of bilingualism had been transformed into a trilingualism question; see respectively: Peter Mackridge, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-90. See also: Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766-1976*, Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 39-40, 168-173. For the language and national identity, see also: Dimitris Arvanitakis, 'Γλώσσα και εθνική ταυτότητα στο Ιόνιο κατά τον δέκατο ένατο αιώνα', *Τα Ιστορικά*, Vol. 46, 2007, pp. 15-24.

⁷⁶ (Anonymous), 'Η εθνική γλώσσα', *op.cit.*, (No. 1).

⁷⁷ Theodosios Pylarinos, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

necessity of using Modern Greek. In brief, he repeats the same ideas as in his first article, at the same time commenting on the need of using Greek in certain sectors, such as the courts, the Ionian Parliament, the Heptanesian daily life and, most importantly, in the Ionian education. He specifically states:

*Βλέπουσιν οι βουλευταί μας πόσον πάσα ημέρα στενώνει τον κύκλον του Ιταλισμού και εντός αυτού του περιβόλου των διασκέψεων των (...) Εκτός δε της βουλήs, όσους δεν πείθει ο λόγος, δεν κινεί ο πατριωτισμός και δεν προτρέπει το παράδειγμα, πρέπει να τους υποχρεώση η ανάγκη (...) Κατά το νέον σχολαστικόν έτος πρέπει ν' αρχίση μόνη η Ελληνική να ηγή εις όλα τα παιδευτικά ιδρύματα (...).*⁷⁸

The same article, however, is putting more emphasis towards the use of the Modern Greek in the courts, expressing, in a theoretical aspect, the views of the Corfu Bar Association.⁷⁹

In order to tackle this cultural issue the Heptanesian journalists-scholars published their articles in a conservative, yet simpler, form of the Modern Greek language, *katharevousa*, a compromise between Ancient Greek and the demotic Greek of the time.⁸⁰ Their articles were written in a coherent and easy to understand language, attempting to both attract more readers and resolve this highly controversial matter, hence reinforcing a stronger national character. In addition, there are a few cases where the author uses the *Demotic*, the naturally evolved colloquial language of the Greeks. For instance, the literary texts of the column 'Σφηκείον' and the essay titled 'Γέρων πατριώτης' are typical examples of the use of demotic language in *Πατρίς*. Also, the columnist publicizes his views as regards the use of demotic, highlighting its neglect by the Ionians:

Ομολογητέον όμως, ότι η όλως δημοτική και αγοραία διασώζουσα, καθό γνήσια θυγάτηρ της αρχαίας, τύπους και φράσεις αμαράντου νεότητος και όντως Ελληνικής

⁷⁸ (Anonymous), 'Η Εθνική Γλώσσα', *Πατρίς*, May 7th, 1849, No. 17.

⁷⁹ These views are presented thoroughly in another paragraph below. However, prior to exhibiting these points of view analytically, it is worth noting Mackridge's reference to the (Venetian) law in the Ionian Islands, highlighting that its presence was a major obstacle for the establishment of the Greek language. He also stated that matters of private law were subjected to Venetian criminal and civil law; see: Peter Mackridge, 'Venise après Venise...', *op.cit.*, pp. 68-70.

⁸⁰ Refer also to: Th. Pylarinos, *Γλωσσικός Πατριωτισμός...*, *op.cit.*, pp. 26-27. Also see: Th. Pylarinos, 'Πατρίς', in *Encyclopaedia of the Greek Press 1784-1974*, (edited by Loukia Droulia and Yioulia Koutsopanagou), Vol. 3, pp. 467-468. For a thorough analysis of the linguistic positions of the editor of *Πατρίς*, Petros Vrailas-Armenis, refer to: Th. Pylarinos, 'Οι γλωσσικές θέσεις του Π. Βράιλα-Αρμένη', *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 2, 2005, pp. 181-210.

*αρμονίας, παρά πολύ ημελήθη, και ουδόλως πρέπει να αμεληθή από τον επαγγελθσομένον να λαλήση προς τον λαόν, να τον φωτίση, να του ρυθμίση το ήθος, και να κερδίση τας συμπάθειάς του.*⁸¹

Taking into account the above, *Πατρίς* struggled to promote the establishment the use of Modern Greek in Heptanesian education and judicial documents, thus expanding its use into public discourse and official documentation. However, in respect of the language issue, the columnist insists on highlighting the significance of a common language, repeating the following phrase: “*Η επικρατούσα εις ταύτας τας νήσους γλώσσα να είναι η νεοελληνική*”.⁸² At the same time, the editor of *Πατρίς*, Vrailas-Armenis, aimed at strengthening the cohesive bond between the Ionians and the Greeks, stating:

*Πόσων λαών και εθνών η αρχή ή η συγγένεια δια μόνης της γλώσσης ευκόλως και σιωπώσης της Ιστορίας! (...) η Ιταλική γλώσσα δεν έχει πλέον μέλλον εις την Επτάνησον, τούτο παρακαλούμεν ν’αποδείξη την πλάνιν μας και θέλομεν γνωρίζει την χάριν.*⁸³

Following a detailed presentation of the Heptanesian writers regarding the language argument in the Ionian Islands, it was concluded that the Italian language certainly had no future in the Ionian state but, most significantly, the Greek language ought to become a means of resisting the Venetian residues and the British authoritarian rule. On these grounds, *Πατρίς*'s journalists presented the nature of the language question in detail, analyzing it as a two-fold issue. On the one hand, the everyday language was partially deteriorating, due to the increasing incorporation of the Venetian linguistic element, since many Greek words were being replaced by their Italian equivalents. As a consequence, the everyday language, formed *in absentia* of official documentation, was particularly widespread in the three big islands of Kefalonia, Zakynthos and Corfu, where a great number of people adopted the Venetian dialect as their primary language. The journalist writes:

*η βενετική νομοθεσία (...) έμελλεν αναγκαίως να φέρη όχι μικράς και μερικάς τροπολογίας, αλλά ριζικήν τινά αλλοίωσιν εις τα πράγματα και ισχυρώς να επενεργήση εις τας ιδέας και την πάτριον γλώσσαν.*⁸⁴

⁸¹ (Anonymous), ‘Ελληνισμός’, *Πατρίς*, (Appendix), August 26th, 1850, (between No. 32 & 33).

⁸² (Anonymous), ‘Διασάφησις’, *Πατρίς*, January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

⁸³ (Anonymous), ‘Η εθνική γλώσσα’, *op.cit.*, (No. 1).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

On the other hand, the state was using the Italian-Venetian language for formal purposes, in documentation, politics, letters, contracts, the official gazette,⁸⁵ etc. Therefore it was of utmost importance for the journalist to emphasize the relationship with the Greek nation and culture in terms of language, noting the following:

*Η επικρατούσα εις ταύτας τας νήσους γλώσσα να ήναι η νεοελληνική (...) να κατασταθή το ογληγορώτερον εκείνη μόνη εις την οποίαν πρέπει να γράφονται όλαι της Διοικήσεως αι πράξεις, όλαι αι κρισολογίαι, και να ήναι η μόνη αποδεκτή γλώσσα εις πάσας τας δημοσίας υπηρεσίας των νήσων.*⁸⁶

Indeed, Mackridge eloquently explained the difficulty of preserving the Greek language in state matters. First, he pointed out that the official documentation, which was conducted in the Venetian language, was an obvious manifestation, since the Venetian criminal and civil law was applied in the Ionian Islands for many decades, up until 1841. Hence, private law matters were subject to Venetian law and the Greek language was used only by the notaries, i.e. in documentation concerning property, family matters and inheritance.⁸⁷ Second, even though the Greek language played a significant role in the congregations of many churches across the Ionian Islands, Mackridge noted the abolition of the Orthodox Church hierarchy.⁸⁸ Indeed, there are numerous references in the Ionian Islands' press concerning the conflicts between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox dogma. For instance, *Ανεξάρτητος* presents numerous examples of such conflicts. Yet, in our case, an excellent example of Mackridge's reference meaning is a signed article published in *Πατρίς*, titled 'Θρησκεία και γλώσσα', where according to the title, language and religion are becoming interchangeable. According to the article's content the journalist publicizes the thoughts of the Corfiot archbishop Athanasios Politis and subsequently highlights the displeasure between the two Churches, indicating their continuous conflicts. He refers, in particular:

⁸⁵ Konomos indicates that the official Gazette of the Ionian Islands, *Gazzetta degli Stati Unity nelle Isole Ionie*, was written both in Italian and Greek from the beginning of the British rule; during its last ruling period (1852-1864) the Gazette was published only in Greek and English "in conformity with the stipulations of the 1817 Constitution", as Mackridge notes; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 90-93. Refer also to: Peter Mackridge, 'Venise après Venise..' *op.cit.*, pp. 75-76.

⁸⁶ (Anonymous), Τις η αποστολή της δημοσιογραφίας εν τη Επτανήσω', *Πατρίς*, January 15th, 1849, No. 1.

⁸⁷ Refer to: Peter Mackridge, 'Venise après Venise..' *op.cit.*, pp. 68-70.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

Και έτερον στοιχείον του εθνισμού μας και πλέον σεβαστόν και ιερόν προσεβλήθη καιρίως υπό τινός Λατινοεπισκόπου απεσταλμένου ως άδεται, υπό του Πάπα ίνα συμβοηθήση τον αρχηγόν της ενταύθα Λατίνου εκκλησίας. (...) διότι είναι ήδη καιρός να εκπεραιωθή η υπόθεση αυτή και να δοθή νόμιμοις Οικανοποιήσις και εις την επικρατούσαν θρησκείαν και εις τον λαόν τον οποίον αφ' ενός εξυβρίζουσιν και ερεθίζουσι αφ' ετέρου.⁸⁹

Furthermore, Mackridge pointed out that the fluent use of Italian was increasing the social prestige of most Heptanesians, nobles and aristocrats, studying law, medicine, and international commerce in Western Europe.⁹⁰ Certainly, from a historical point of view, Italian was a highly prestigious language in Renaissance Europe, and many individuals of high culture spoke Italian. However, we should not forget that Italian, the language of the Venetian rulers, not only survived, but dominated in the Ionian territory.

Nevertheless, there were specific events which influenced the use of the Greek language by the islanders. For instance, the Ionian Constitution of the Septinsular Republic, early enough, in 1803, highlights the necessity of re-introducing the Greek language into the interior of the Ionian state. Again, Mackridge characteristically presents/translates a part of it, pointing out that “the noble, rich and harmonious Hellenic dialect, having been exiled by the Venetians, should be recalled to the dominion and become the language of administration and the interpreter of the active citizens”.⁹¹

Second, as mentioned above, the Venetian culture dominated the Ionian territory for almost five hundred years and, in retrospect, their influence had an enormous impact. However, Greek culture also managed to endure in the islands, in a way assisting the “Greekness” to be re-born from the ashes of the past. For instance, from a historical point of view, the Venetian lax policy allowed the Greek Identity to

⁸⁹ The same article presents two official documents of the archbishop; the first dates April 15th, 1847 addressed to Lord Commissioner Seaton, and the second dates May 19th, 1849, addressed to both the President and the members of the Ionian parliament. It is worth highlighting the second article referring to the history of the Corfiot Church, demonstrating the unbreakable of the Orthodoxy in the Ionian Islands; see: Athanasios Politis, ‘Θρησκεία και Γλώσσα’, *Πατρίς*, June 4th, 1849, No. 21.

⁹⁰ Peter Mackridge, ‘Venise après Venise..’, *op.cit.*

⁹¹ Peter Mackridge, *Language and National Identity in Greece, 1766-1976*, *op.cit.*, p. 39. See also: K.E. Soldatos, ‘Η εθνική γλώσσα εις την Επτάνησον’, Proceedings of 2nd International Panionian Conference, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 13, 1967, p. 88.

survive.⁹² This loose policy was in favor of Greek unity and, as a result, the Ionians used this opportunity to establish frequent communication with Epirus and Peloponnesus in the Greek mainland. More characteristically, the Venetians followed a favorable general policy allowing the Ionians to preserve their religious beliefs;⁹³ the Greek Church maintained its own written and spoken language, despite the stronghold of the Roman Catholic Church. In hindsight, it is evident that the Greek Church was a true pillar and a great supporter of the Greek language, customs and tradition, keeping the Greek identity alive both inside and outside of the Greek Kingdom's boundaries.⁹⁴

Thirdly, according to Salvanos, the Venetian dialect was widely used in the cities along with numerous Greek words, whereas the people in the countryside continued to speak Greek, thus, keeping, although unintentionally, the Greek flame alive. He argued that the villagers rescued the "Greekness" of their language, demonstrating that diglossia was an issue mainly in the cities of the islands; he specifically wrote:

*αδιστάκτως δυνάμεθα να είπωμεν ότι η διάσωσης της
γλώσσας ταύτης εν τη όλη νήσω οφείλεται εις τους χωρικούς
κατά πρώτιστον λόγον.⁹⁵*

Salvanos also notes that the Heptanesian middle class played a significant role as the sleepless guardian of the Greek linguistic richness. Every educated Heptanesian citizen acknowledged the strong bond with the Greeks, and, as a matter of fact, the newspaper discussed in this study is a representative example of the noble fights of the Ionian intelligentsia.

Lastly, following Dimitris Arvanitakis' assertion regarding the new national consciousness of the Ionians,⁹⁶ Mackridge highlights three momentous events in Greek history influencing the linguistic Heptanesian attitude: the revolution of 1821, the Greek independence in 1830, and the first Greek constitution, in 1843.⁹⁷

Bearing the above in mind, understandably, *Πατρίς* is a perfect example of the restless middle class fighting against the status quo for socio-cultural and political

⁹² A.M. Idromenos, *Συνοπτική Ιστορία της Κέρκυρας*, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁵ Refer to: G. Salvanos, *Μελέτη περί του γλωσσικού ιδιώματος των εν Κερκύρα Αργυράδων*, Athens, 1918.

⁹⁶ Dimitris Arvanitakis, 'Εισαγωγή' in D. Arvanitakis (ed.), *Μουστοξύδης-Τυπάλδος, Αλληλογραφία*, Athens, 2005, pp. 100, 103.

⁹⁷ Peter Mackridge, 'Venise après Venise..' *op.cit.*, p. 70.

matters. In order to strengthen the aforementioned argument of Salvanos regarding the potential of the middle class, the newspaper lists evidence deriving from the core of the Heptanesian society, aspiring to present the efforts and concerns of the 19th century middle class's trend for a non-mixed language. Naturally, and after almost fifty years of wishful thinking, the newspaper publicized the language question to its readers from the beginning of its distribution, trying to tackle this issue, for all intents and purposes. But, apart from acknowledging this matter, *Πατρίς* put forth, early enough, a very significant question: referring mostly to the daily life language (and not the language of the official documentation, since it was imposed by the Venetians), was the adoption of the Venetian language by the Ionians a result of the conscious will of sovereign people? The answer was definitely negative. Acknowledging the necessity of adopting a single language into the Islands, *Πατρίς* describes the cultural influence of the Venetians as inevitable, particularly stating:

Τα έθνη μεταλλάσσουν ενίοτε την γενέθλιον χώραν, είτε εκουσίως μεταναστεύοντα, είτε βιαζόμενα υπό μεγάλων πολιτικών ή φυσικών καταστροφών.⁹⁸

In the same article, the columnist notes that since there was neither cultural nor social growth, the adoption was clearly not intentional but rather accidental:

Μόνον οι συνειθισμένοι να κρίνωσι περί της ηθικής αξίας των ανθρωπίνων πράξεων από τα γινόμενα αυτά καθ' εαυτά, χωρίς να αποβλέπωσι εις τας περιστάσεις, από τας οποίας προήλθον δύνανται να πιστεύωσι ότι η Ιταλική γλώσσα εις την Επτάνησον είναι όλως αποτέλεσμα της προαιρέσεως των Ιονίων.⁹⁹

As a consequence, the above statement demonstrates that the Heptanesians were unaware of ways to preserve their cultural identity through the ages.

To begin with demonstrating the effort of *Πατρίς*, the journalists present the opinions of the Corfu Bar Association on the language question. Many solicitors with experience in the European judicial chairs, such as I. Komiotis, N. Zampelios, and S. Padovas, demanded all legal and judicial documents to be written in Greek.¹⁰⁰ The journalist particularly states:

⁹⁸ (Anonymous), 'Η εθνική γλώσσα', *op.cit.*, (No. 17).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ According to Idromenos, Modern Greek was only introduced into the local courts (1836) as well as into the minutes of the Ionian Parliament in 1849; see respectively: A.M. Idromenos, *Συνοπτική Ιστορία της Κέρκυρας...*, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

Επιθυμούντες οι υπογεγραμμένοι δικηγόροι και υποδικηγόροι της Κερκύρας να αφαιρέσωσι, όσον το κατ' αυτούς, τα προσκόμματα, άτινα φέρουσιν εν μέσω, ίνα εμποδίσωσι την επικύρωσιν του νόμου του αφορώντος την άμεσον εισαγωγήν της εθνικής γλώσσης εις τας δικαστικάς πράξεις και συζητήσεις, κρίνουσι χρέος αυτών να πείσωσι την υμετέραν εξοχότητα.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, apart from the possibility of translation, the representatives of the legal community demanded that Modern Greek should be heard inside the courts and that their proceedings should be written in Greek as well. Indicative of the solicitors' concern is the journalist's comment:

Επίσης, εις την έναρξιν των δικαστηρίων όχι κατ' ανοχήν αλλά καθ' υποχρέωσιν μόνη και μόνη πρέπει να λαλήται και να γράφηται η Ελληνική, την οποίαν οι φιλοπάτριδες δικασταί και δικηγόροι και υποδικηγόροι δεν αμφιβάλλομεν ότι θέλουν ασπασθή ασμένως (...).¹⁰²

In an effort to better reflect the attitudes of the Corfu Bar Association, the journalist presents a detailed argumentation on their perspectives, in the aforementioned article of May 7th, 1849. He specifically refers to the immediate translation of the civil, criminal and commercial law, saying that:

Η βουλή οφείλει προ πάντων να επισπεύσει την δημοσίευσιν της προ τόσων ετών γενομένης και μετ' αισχύνης όχι μικράς ανεκδότης εισέτι μενούσης μεταφράσεως των αστυκών και ποινικών και εμπορικών νόμων.¹⁰³

He also suggests that all solicitors should contribute to the Hellenization of judicial and law-related matters, through the publication of a dictionary with a Greek judicial, notarial, and legal vocabulary, stating:

Οφείλει να προσέτι να συνδράμη και να βοηθήση τον τέλειον εξελληνισμόν του δικαστικού και νομικού στοιχείου, δια της εκδόσεως και δια της δωρεάς διανομής συντόμων λεζικών και συλλογών δικαστικών, συμβολαιογραφικών και εν γένει νομικών τύπων (formularii).

Finally, he opposed to the appointment of foreigners in public positions, highlighting the need for local officers:

Οφείλει τελευταίον να διατάξη δια γενικού νόμου, ότι ουδείς αλλοεθνής δύναται εις το εξής να γίνη δεκτός εις τα δημόσια

¹⁰¹ (Anonymous), 'Προς τον Εξωχότατον Λορδ Μέγα Αρμοστή', *Πατρίς*, May 28th, 1849, No. 20.

¹⁰² (Anonymous), 'Η Εθνική Γλώσσα', *op.cit.*, (No. 17).

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

*υπουργήματα, και εκ των εντοπίων δεν θέλουσι διορισθή εις τας δημοσίας θέσεις ειμή οι εγκρατείς της μητρικής γλώσσης, ως επί της Επτανήσου πολιτείας είχαν επανειλημμένως θεσπισθή.*¹⁰⁴

But, apart from demonstrating the solicitors' expectations, the author acknowledges that the local community had to accept two law professors in the Ionian Academy, teaching in a foreign language, although all courses should be in Greek. The journalist however, accepts the foreign language, due to the lack of Greek law professors, criticizing at the same time the British rule for its poor administrative policy, specifically noting:

*Δυνάμει του τελευταίου επί της εθνικής μας γλώσσης Νόμου όλα τα μαθήματα πρέπει να παραδίδονται Ελληνιστί. Οι δύο λοιπόν καθηγηταί της Νομικής, όντες αλλοεθνείς και αλλόγλωσσοι, ευρέθησαν εμπερδεμένοι. Ο μεν Σαντόριος αγνοεί όλως διόλου την γλώσσαν μας, ο δε κ. Ιός, την γνωρίζει πολλά λίγον. (...) Προς θεραπείαν λοιπόν της παροράσεως, η επιτροπή διατάσσει τον κ. Σαντόριον να επαναλάβη τα μαθήματά του Ιταλιστί (...).*¹⁰⁵

Indeed, although the Corfu Bar Association made considerable efforts for the adoption of the Greek language by the Heptanesian middle class, the Ionian Academia was thinking very highly of its law Professors, regardless of their foreign origin.

Yet, apart from the solicitors' efforts in the Ionian territory, the contributors of *Πατρίς* presented the different perspective of a distinguished scholar, who however shared the same moral viewpoint. More specifically, the newspaper editor P. Vrailas-Armenis published a letter by the well-known scholar Adamantios Koraes expressing his views and concerns, and explaining why Koraes considered the language as the most significant issue.¹⁰⁶ In particular, in this letter dated September 30th, 1810, Koraes was embracing the Ionian Academy as an inextricable institution of the Greeks. Koraes specifically notes in the beginning: (...) *εις δε την Ιόνιον Ακαδημίαν (μέρος και μέλος της Ελλάδος τιμιώτατον) τας ευχάς μου, γεροντικάς και ταύτας, αλλ' όμως θερμάς.* He pointed out that the Ionian Islands should consider Greek as the

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ (Anonymous), 'Περί της Νομικής Σχολής εν τη Ιονίω Ακαδημία', *Πατρίς*, December 3th, 1949, No. 47.

¹⁰⁶ Adamantios Koraes's letter was written in Paris. It was addressed to a prominent Heptanesian scholar, the young solicitor Stilianos Dorias Prosalentis (1789-1812); see respectively: Adamantios Koraes, (No title), *Πατρίς*, (appendix), March 19th, 1849, No. 10.

only language of the state, especially in the educational institutions and particularly stated:

Ωφελιμώτερον, κατά την κρίσιν μου, ήθελεν είσθαι εις την δόξαν της Ελλάδος, από την οποίαν η δόξα της Ακαδημίας πρέπει να ήναι αχώριστος, να περιορίσετε κατά το παρόν, και να κατευθύνετε όλας σας τας δυνάμεις, εις το να καταστήσετε όσον είναι δυνατόν εις την Επτάνησον την είδησιν της προγονικής γλώσσης.

Koraes also proposed that every member of the Academy should acknowledge either Ancient or Modern Greek, emphasizing that teaching of the Greek language, and its occasional modifications, should be the primary purpose of the Academy. Moreover, he suggested that the Ionian Academy students should strive to promote the Greek spirit and culture, noting amongst others:

Ελληνικής Ακαδημίας ο πρώτιστος σκοπός πρέπει να ήναι η γνώσις της προγονικής γλώσσης, και η διόρθωσις της οποίας την σήμεραν λαλούμεν.

Considering what he has written in this letter, Koraes seems like a strict intellectual but, besides the above comments, he also highlighted that the Ionians should neither despise Modern Greek nor turn away from the Greek culture otherwise no help should obviously be expected from Greece in any matter:

(...) χωρίς τούτου να δοξασθή η Ακαδημία σας, μην ελπίζετε ποτέ. (...) Αλλ' εν όσω καταφρονείτε την Ελληνικήν γλώσσαν, μην ελπίζετε Ελληνικήν βοήθειαν. Δυνατόν είναι να δοξασθήτε ίσα με της φωτισμένης Ευρώπης τας πλέον λαμπράς Ακαδημίας, αλλ' η δόξα σας ποτέ δεν θέλει κοινωνηθή εις τους λοιπούς αδελφούς σας Έλληνας.

In conclusion, Koraes applauded the efforts the Ionians had to undertake, in order to preserve the Greek language. Considering his message to Dorias Prosalentis, he was obviously aware of the linguistic mixture, and the publication of the above validates this linguistic amalgamation. Indeed, Vrailas-Armenis, as well as the Corfu Reading Society, shared the views of Koraes, acting as guardians of the Greek tradition and culture. Their purpose in life was to rapidly disseminate Modern Greek culture, to restore the Greek language and to promote its study.

Struggling to preserve the Greek language, the paper frequently focuses on the society's linguistic rhythm, using this opportunity to present its readers with the views of people from lower economic backgrounds, in a way contradicting the study of Salvanos. The study of the newspaper proves that a high proportion of the Ionian

population experienced difficulties incorporating Greek into their daily routine, as they had been familiarized with the Venetian/Italian vocabulary. For the average illiterate Ionian citizen, the difficulty in comprehending the Greek written language was indeed tremendous, as the columnist notes:

*γνωρίζουσι πολλά καλὰ οἱ Ἴόνιοι ὅτι (επειδή) ἡ ἐθνικὴ αὐτῶν γλῶσσα δὲν ὑπάρχει γνωστὴ εἰς τὸ κοινόν του προστατεύοντος Κράτους (...) με ἄκρα αὐτῶν λύπην ἀναγκάζονται νὰ μεταχειρισθῶσιν ἄλλην γλῶσσαν οἰκειοτέραν αὐτοῖς (...).*¹⁰⁷

In order to support the above point, *Πατρίς* published parts of a literary text concerning the difficulty of understanding Modern Greek in the Islands. In particular, Vrailas-Armenis was highly concerned distributing his newspaper to as many readers as possible, targeting, at the same time, to the lower income backgrounds. In brief, these texts were easy for the readers to understand, reflecting a dialogue between two peasants talking about the difficulty of understanding Greek. Moreover, some Corfiots, and particularly the family of Kokkolos Massoulis, were jokingly threatening to leave the island, destined for Italy, due to the diversification of their language. The columnist quotes the discussion of the peasants:

*–Τι ορίζετε, Κύριοι; Τους λέγω – Νὰ φύγωμεν, νὰ φύγωμεν τὸ σγλιγωρότερον – Καὶ διατί Κύριοι; – Διότι ἐδῶ ὁ λαός δὲν θέλει πλέον νὰ ἀκούη ἰταλικά· νὰ φύγωμεν Καπιτάν Βλάσση’ – Καὶ ποὺ θέλετε νὰ κοπιάσετε, Κύριοι; – Ἀλλοίμονον! (...) Εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν σύγχυσιν, τοὺς ἄκουες νὰ προβάλλουν τῶρα τὴν Βενετίαν, τῶρα τὴν Λιβόρνον, δέκα, εἴκοσι τόπους.*¹⁰⁸

The above dialogue continued one month later, despite the fact that the author’s signature alters. The writer specifically states:

*Νὰ φύγεις Καπ. Βλάση μου τὸ σγλιγωρότερον, καὶ νὰ μὴν κάθῃσαι. (...) Οὐτ’ εἶναι δύσκολον ἐπομένως ἀπὸ μίαν στιγμὴν εἰς ἄλλην, ἀντὶ νὰ ταξιδεύσης δια τὴν Καλιφόρνιαν, νὰ σε στείλλουν νὰ ἀλλάξης ἀέραν εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ νησιῶν, χωρὶς νὰ σου πουν τὸ γιατί.*¹⁰⁹

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning that the columnist essentially reflects the views of the citizens who were unable to use Modern Greek and prioritized their self-

¹⁰⁷ (Anonymous), ‘Τὶς ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῆς δημοσιογραφίας ἐν τῇ Ἐπτανήσῳ’, *op.cit.*

¹⁰⁸ Cap. Vlassis, ‘Σφηκείον-Γραφεῖον τοῦ Μπάρμπα Γεράσιμου’, *Πατρίς*, March 5th, 1849, No. 8.

¹⁰⁹ Metapratis, ‘Σφηκείον’, *Πατρίς*, April 9th, 1849, No. 13. In general, the ‘Σφηκείον’ column exists in several issues (No. 4, 6, 8, 9, 13, 49, etc.), and presents several political and socio-cultural issues of the Ionian Islands, in the form of a literary dialogue.

interests in being able to efficiently carry on their daily tasks, even without the Greek language. In addition to the above, there is also a discussion between spouses written in January 31st, 1849. It concerns the preservation of Modern Greek which is actually amusing, and very interesting from a literary point of view, making the newspaper more appealing for the lower social class readers:

*(...) η γυναίκα μου, η τόσο ήσυχη και χαριτωμένη μου γυναίκα, εξαγρίεψεν εις τρόπον, ώστε κάθε βράδυ σαν της λέγω, ύστερα από το δείπνο να περάσωμεν από το τινέλο εις την κάμερα ντα λέτο, ξεκαρδίζεται από τα γέλια, και μου ψάλλει πως ημπορώ να πάω εγώ εκεί όπου θέλω, και ότι αυτή θέλει να πάει εις τον κοιτώνα της (...) Εγώ, Κύριοι Συντάκται, δεν θέλω την ελληνικήν γλώσσαν να το ηξεύρετε (...).*¹¹⁰

Yet, unlike previous cases, and despite the difficulties faced by lower social classes, foreign languages were well integrated into all levels of the Heptanesian education system. *Πατρίς* demonstrates that Italian and English maintained their importance in the education system and, even though the newspaper fully supported the use of Modern Greek in the Ionian Islands, its contributors saluted the presence of several foreign Professors in the Ionian Academy, for specific reasons.¹¹¹ For instance, the columnist specifically refers to the necessity of appointing a British Architecture Professor in the Ionian Academy:

*Προ πολλού ησθάνοντο οι Ιόνιοι την ανάγκην καθηγητού της αρχιτεκτονικής μη γνωρίζοντος άλλην γλώσσαν παρά την Αγγλικήν. (...) Πολυχρόνιος πείρα απέδειξεν εις την Κυβέρνησιν, ότι το καταλληλότερον μέσον δια να αναπτύσσεται εντελώς και ταχέως ο νους των σπουδαζόντων είναι η ακρόασις καθηγητών, διδασκόντων εις γλώσσαν ξένην, γλώσσαν την οποίαν οι πλείστοι των νέων εννοούσιν ως έγγιστα.*¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Massoulis Kokkolos, 'Αλληλογραφία', *Πατρίς*, February 4th, 1849, No. 4.

¹¹¹ (Anonymous), 'Περίεργον', *Πατρίς*, January 22nd, 1849, No. 2. Additionally, concerning the Ionian education during the British rule, refer to: N.K. Kourkoumelis, *Η Εκπαίδευση στην Κέρκυρα κατά τη διάρκεια της Βρετανικής προστασίας (1816-1864)*, Athens, 2002, pp. 151-258.

¹¹² According to Kourkoumelis's research, the Ionian University had invited four Italian Professors: Francesco Orioli, Ottavio Mossotti, Paolo Costa and Girolamo Lanzili, thus adding an Italian aspect to the Ionian higher education: 'Και ιδού η σοφία της Ιταλίας, η σοφία της Ευρώπης μεταφέρεται υπό της ενεστώσης Κυβερνήσεως εις την Ελλάδα. Αν ταύτα δεν είναι προόδου σημεία, δεν ηξεύρω πλέον τι είναι πρόοδος'. Also, the British pastor William Gill, teaching English Language and Philology and Salvatore Maria Guerra Rachetti and Girolamo Santorio as Law Consultant and Professor: '(...) αλάφιασαν οι νησιώτες να δούνε την Ακαδημία τους φραγκαμένη και χωρίς ανάγκη (...)'; see: N.K. Kourkoumelis, *op.cit.*, pp. 306-307.

The major argument presented by the columnist was that teaching in foreign languages was more beneficial because it promoted fast thinking and careful attendance of the lectures by the students in the Ionian educational system:

Καθότι, ουδέν ωφελιμώτερον του να συνειθίζεται η μάλλον να βιάζεται ο νους του μαθητού να μαντεύει ή ν'αρπάζει εις τον αέρα ό,τι ο διδάσκαλος λέγει. Η μέθοδος αύτη εθαυματούργησε παρ' ημίν, ως εκ πολλών εξάγεται.¹¹³

In order to further support this argument, the columnist presents three additional examples: the Ionian Academy, the Ionian High School, and the Corfiot educational institution specializing in farming studies, located at *Καστελλάνοι* village. He first points out that the Ionian University used the Italian language for the faculties of law and medicine, with great success. The journalist specifically states:

Και πρώτον μεν απίστευτον είναι πόσον η Ιταλική γλώσσα ετελειοποιήθη και εκαλλωπίσθη λαλουμένη υπό των ημετέρων καθηγητών του Δικαίου και της Ιατρικής.

Moreover, with the Ionian High School having an Italian director, the progress of the student community became evident within five to six years, as the journalist notes:

Ούτος δεν εγνώριζεν άλλην παρά την ιδίαν του γλώσσαν, οι δε μαθηταί αυτού δεν ελάλουν, ούτε εννόουν άλλην παρά την Ελληνικήν, και όμως εις πέντε ή έξ ετών διάστημα κατώρθωσε θαυμάσια.

Finally, the students of the Corfiot Institution of farming excelled with the assistance of their foreign teacher. The journalist respectively wrote:

Άλλη páλι τρανωτέρα απόδειξις είναι το μοναδικόν εκείνο κατάστημα των Καστελλάνων, όπου παιδεύονται οι καλοί γεωργοί. Εκεί καθηγητής προσκληθείς επίτηδες εκ Φλωρεντίας, εδίδασκε νέους αγροίκους εκ διαφόρων χωρίων της νήσου μόλις ηξέυροντας να καππακίζωσι.

The columnist highlighted that the educational centre for farmers had a teacher from Florence, Italy, and despite the fact that none of the students spoke Italian, the results were amazing:

Ποιος δε ήθελε πιστεύσει, ότι ο κατορθώσας τα τοιαύτα καθηγητής μόλις ήξευρε να ψελλίζη καμμίαν λέξιν Ελληνικήν, ή ότι οι χωρικοί, εις τους οποίους είχε να

¹¹³ (Anonymous), 'Περίεργον', *op.cit.*, (No. 2).

μεταδότη των ιδέων του, δεν γνώριζαν ούτε γρη της
Ιταλικής,¹¹⁴

As a result, according to the above excerpts, the use of foreign languages would enhance Ionian education and benefit the students.

Undeniably, the prestige of *Πατρίς*' journalists was high and well-known among the journalistic and literary circles of the Ionian Islands. The reputable *Πατρίς* represented a high level of intellectuality and enlightened the readership with Western ideologies, both liberal and progressive. Altogether, they expressed their opinions courageously, denounced revolutionary perspectives, and accused the radicals for using violent means in order to impose their political idealism, simultaneously underlining and criticizing any false opinions. The close reading of the newspaper's contents led me to the following conclusions regarding its structure: columns' variety, high quality written language, well-structured articles, significant socio-cultural and political essays in the main body of the paper, but, even more important was that these journalists were outstanding personalities; analytical minds, writing passionately in favor of the Ionian Islands' well-being. They wrote in plain comprehensible language, and aspired to propose solutions for the most significant issues of the Ionian state. *Πατρίς* played a major role in the Ionian political process and in the society, served higher purposes such as promoting the "Greekness" of the Islands, education, politics, and finally, the language issue. Aiming to inform and enlighten the society, *Πατρίς* acted as a "social conscience" in favor of the people, highlighted the virtue of liberalism, and wrote about individual freedoms, separation of powers, political rights, and the rationalization of the British administration.

Πατρίς journalists' reports regarding the Kefalonian rebellions of 1848-1849 essentially described that the Ionian protectorate, in reality, had the characteristics of a colony. The reformist journalists' aim was to make these rebellions known through the press; they condemned such behaviors through *Πατρίς*, expressed their concern regarding the political situation and aspired at politically educating/assisting the British holding key political positions, in an effort to overturn any colonial attitudes. In view of the above, and in an effort to educate the Ionian readership, *Πατρίς* was actively reporting on the issue of diglossia within the Ionian state.

Thus, one of my goals was to study the language question by way of monitoring the attitudes of the Heptanesian thinkers. Taking into account that the written and

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

colloquial discourse was determined by historical circumstances in the Ionian Islands, the role of *Πατρίς* was threefold; to inform and communicate with local and foreign readers, to make the Ionians aware of socio-cultural and political issues, as well as to promote the use of Modern Greek in formal documentation and daily life and thus *Πατρίς* was a remarkable rescuer of the Greek language and culture. This study also revealed particular aspects of the relationship between Modern Greek and the Ionian education system. The study also identified that Modern Greek was the most appropriate language for the courts, the Ionian Parliament, and the public sector, as demonstrated by Heptanesian scholars. It also highlighted the necessity of including foreign languages into the Ionian education, for they had been extremely useful for the youth, offsetting shortages of teachers. But it has also pointed out the difficulty that the socially disadvantaged faced in using Modern Greek in daily life. In conclusion, the language question was a matter of utmost importance during that period and *Πατρίς* has significantly contributed in shaping the cultural identity of the Ionian Islands.¹¹⁵

6.3.2 The two Zakynthian papers: *To Μέλλον* and *Σπινθήρ* (1849-1851) *To Μέλλον* (1849-1851)

The Zakynthian reformist paper *To Μέλλον* was, from a chronological point of view, the first political newspaper issued in the Ionian Islands, edited by eminent reformist figures.¹¹⁶ Its distribution started on January 1st, 1849, and ended on March 15th, 1851,

¹¹⁵ The anonymous poem below published in *Πατρίς*, describes the language question passionately and is a great example of all the aforementioned in this section, regarding the “Greekness” of the Ionian spirit: ‘*Δημοσιεύομεν ευχαρίστως το εξής ποιημάτιον, το οποίον μας εδόθη παρά νέου τινός ποιητού*’: (No poem title) *Τι ημεῖς εἴμεθα ὄλ’ ηζεύρουν, λαοὶ γνήσι’ Ἑλληνικοί/ Εἰς τὴν πίστιν, εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα, εἰς τὸ αἶμα ὅλοι ἀδελφοί/ Ὅπου στρέψης βλέπεις ὄψεις, βλέπεις ἦθη Ἑλληνικά/ Καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ποῦ θ’ ἀκούσεις εἶν’ Ἑλλήνων λαλιά/ Ναι νὰ βωβαθῆ ὅστις εἶπε χθες ἡμᾶς νόθον λαόν/ Ψυχὴ, στόμα, βλέμμα Ἑλλήνων ψεύστην δείχνουν τὸν μωρόν/ Στὴν Κυβέρνησίν μας μόνον καὶ ἐξ’ αἰτίας μάλιστα αὐτῆς/ Εἰς ὀλίγους νέους καὶ γέρους μαθημένους ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς/ Ὡς κομμάτι τῆς ἀλύσου ποῦ μας εἶχε ἡ Βενετιά/ Ἡ συνήθεια μένει ἀκόμη νὰ ομιλοῦν Ἰταλικά/ Πλέον δὲν εἴμεθα ὁμως δούλοι τῶρα εἰς τούτον τὸν καιρόν/ Βρεττανοὶ μας προστατεύουν ὡς ἐλεύθερον λαόν/ Τῆς σκλαβιάς μας τὸ σημεῖον σ’ ἡμᾶς τῶρα εἶν’ ἐντροπή/ Ἀς τὸ ρίψωμεν μακράν μας, εἰς τὴν θάλασσ’ ἀς ταφῆ/ Καὶ τὸ Σύνταγμα τὸ λέγει μέλλει ἡ γλῶσσα νὰ εἰσαχθῆ/ Κι ἡ Κυβέρνησις τὸ εἶπεν. Ὅμως τι; Τι ἀκόμη ἀργεῖ;/ Νόμους Φράγγικα γραμμένους, ὁ λαὸς δὲν ἐννοεῖ/ Σ’ τὴν Συνέλευσιν δὲν θέλει γλῶσσα ξένη ν’ ἀκουσθῆ./ Ὁ λαὸς ὅλος φωνάζει! Δυνατὴ, δικαία φωνή/ Εὐθύς λέγει ἡ γλῶσσα! Ἡ γλῶσσα βασιλεύουσα ἀς γενῆ/ Του λαοῦ φωνὴν ἀκούστε καὶ μ’ αὐτὴν φωνὴν Θεοῦ./ Τῆς Θρησκείας μας ἡ γλῶσσα ἀς λαλήται πανταχοῦ./ Ἐξὼ! Ἐξὼ γλῶσσα ξένη. Γραϊκικά κάθε Γραϊκός!/ Ὡς μὴ πίστις καὶ μὴ γλῶσσα. Μία ψυχὴ κι ἕνας λαός.* See: (Anonymous), (No title), *Πατρίς*, February 19th, 1849, No. 6.

¹¹⁶ *To Μέλλον* (size 0.54x0.34) was a four-sheet two-column newspaper. It was printed in the printing house ‘*Ζάκωνθος*’ of Konstantinos Rossolimos and was distributed on a weekly basis. All issue of *To*

counting 106 issues in total,¹¹⁷ and like most newspapers its circulation was addressed to a specific group of subscribers. *To Μέλλον* was written both in Greek and Italian for more than a year, from January 1849 till March 1850; thereafter, it was written exclusively in Greek, in an attempt to promote Modern Greek as the official language of the Ionian Islands. Similarly to *Πατρίς*, *To Μέλλον* used simple *demotic* language. Despite the fact that the vast majority of the newspaper's articles were anonymous, it was known that the heart of this journalistic endeavor was the solicitor and one of the most important journalists of the said period, the editor Antonios Gaitas.¹¹⁸ However, Gaitas was not alone, and had a number of contributors with him; actually, the editorial of the first issue states that the paper had the help of the considerable number of ten promising men of letters, whose names were unfortunately not listed. This editorial specifically states:

*Δέκα πολίται συνενωθέντες και επικαλεσάμενοι την κοινήν ευχήν, έτυχον γενικής εμπυχώσεως, και αδρών του τύπου επικουριών, ως εκ τούτων δε πάντων δημοσιεύεται η παρούσα Εφημερίς. Επιγράφεται δε ΤΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝ, καθότι το παρελθόν διεγείρει λυπηράς αναμνήσεις, το παρόν είναι δυσάρεστον, και η καρδιά εκάστου τιμίου πολίτου πάλλει, προς το μέλλον αποβλέπουσα.*¹¹⁹

Alisandratos particularly specifies that, apart from Antonios Gaitas, other significant reformers were contributing in *To Μέλλον*; the doctor Fragkiskos Karvelas (1794-1849), the lawyer Nikolaos Karvelas (1799-1872), Frag(g)iskos Merkatis, the later President of the Ionian Parliament –after the February 1850 elections– Georgios Kandianos Romas (1796-1867), the lawyer Mihalitzis Dimitrios, Volterras Nikolaos, the lawyer and philologist Mandrikardis Konstantinos (†1852) and Georgios

Μέλλον are available in the Museum of the Press in Patras, as well as the National library in Athens, Greece (Π 1525).

¹¹⁷ In respect of this particular paper, it is worth noting an excellent effort of indexing *To Μέλλον* in the context of a postgraduate course in the Department of Literature-Modern Greek Studies by student Konstantina Ioannidou, supervised by Professor Aikaterini Tiktopoulou-University of Thessaloniki; see respectively: Konstantina Ioannidou, *Η Περίπτωση της εφημερίδας το Μέλλον, Ζάκυνθος, 1849-1851*, Thessaloniki, 2014 (unpublished dissertation).

¹¹⁸ Antonios Gaitas was the main editor of the paper until the 32nd issue. From the 33rd issue (August 13th, 1849) he was replaced by Theodoros Zervos. In his research, Konomos refers to Gaitas's character and praises his moral attitude; he notes his strong and patriotic journalism in another paper under the title *Ομόνοια*, which was the main reason for his assassination by his political opponents; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 107. Kontoni also points out that Gaitas was writing in the Maltese paper, titled *Mediterraneo*, usually in favor of the Ionians' rights and democratic principles; see: Anna Kontoni, *Φιλελεύθεροι στοχασμοί και δεξίωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο...*, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

¹¹⁹ (Anonymous), (No title)', *To Μέλλον*, January 1st, 1849, No. 1.

Diamantopoulos.¹²⁰ Finally, it is also worth noting a reference made in one of the front-page editorials of the radical newspaper *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, in which G.K. Romas is named as the main editor of *Το Μέλλον*. The columnist writes in particular:

*Το Μέλλον, εφημερίς αποκλειστική του ήδη επί εθνική προδοσία στιγματισθέντος κ. Ρώμα, (...) Εις την τελευταίαν αυτήν κατάστασιν, την κατάστασιν του Λάγνου Ιακώβου Φεράνδου, και αξίαν μάλλον ελέους και συμπαθείας, ευρισκόμενον το Μέλλον, ή καταλληλότερον ο άθλιος διαθέτης κ. Ρώμας, και οι αθλιέστεροι υποβολείς του κκ. Αντώνιος Γαητάς, Γεώργιος Διαμαντόπουλος και Νικόλαος Καρβελάς (...).*¹²¹

The columnists of *Το Μέλλον* vividly present various aspects of the daily Heptanesian life, and demonstrate a large number of the issues troubling the Ionian state, including the following head titles, some of which are analyzed in more detail than others: the Kefalonian rebellions of 1848-1849,¹²² the lack of property protection, agricultural growth, the vague Heptanesian legislation, the failure of using Greek as the official language of the Ionian state, the inadequate operation of Ionian institutions, the unequal healthcare and protection of the Heptanesians from the bubonic plague and cholera, the exclusion of locals from the state's governance, the lack of public works, the very heavy taxation system (simultaneously referring to the spendthrift year 1834), the poverty question, the financial mismanagement, and the trade-shipping issue; actually, a number of articles refer to that subject as *Εμπορική Έπομις-Εμπορικά*.¹²³ Additionally, certain articles present the Ionian political parties, while other articles disapprove the tough and violent stance of the Commissioner Sir Ward,

¹²⁰ See respectively: G Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατά την Αγγλοκρατία'..., *op.cit.*, p. 15. In addition, for biographical information regarding the above contributors, see respectively: Leonidas X. Zois, *Λεξικόν Ιστορικών και Λαογραφικών Ζακύνθου: Τόμος Α' Ιστορικών-Βιογραφικών*, Athens, 1963.

¹²¹ Πίπας Ζερβός-Ιακωνάτος, 'Το Μέλλον και η διαθήκη του', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, April 6th, 1851, No. 33.

¹²² Concerning the Kefalonian rebellions see: (Anonymous), 'Κεφαλληνιακά', *Το Μέλλον*, September 17th, 1849, No. 38; (Anonymous), 'Διάφορα', *Το Μέλλον*, October 1st, 1849, No. 40; (Anonymous), (No title), *Το Μέλλον*, October 15th, 1849, No. 42; (Anonymous), 'Τα καθέκαστα', *Το Μέλλον*, October 22nd, 1849, No. 43; (Anonymous), 'Το Στρατοδικεϊόν', *Το Μέλλον*, October 29th, 1849, No. 44; (Anonymous), 'Αι όσον ούπω διενεργηθησόμεναι', *Το Μέλλον*, November 26th, 1849, No. 48; (Anonymous), 'Η δημοσιότης των πεπραγμένων', *Το Μέλλον*, December 3rd, 1849, No. 49.

¹²³ Indicatively, the newspaper marks the need for following the same trading policy with the British, highlighting the poor development in the other six Ionian Islands, excluding Corfu; it also refers to the multiple benefits the Ionians would have from a possible upgrade, see: (Anonymous), 'Παρί του ημετέρου εμπορίου και των μέσων της συγκοινωνίας', *Το Μέλλον*, March 5th, 1849, No. 10. Also, another article lists the transaction prices of products such as wheat, coffee, raisins, oil, soap, maize and barley, and the departures-arrivals of steamships. See: (Anonymous), 'Εμπορική Έπομις', *Το Μέλλον*, January 15th, 1849, No. 3.

and few articles support the radicals Zervos-Iakovatos and Momferratos, arguing that they were unfairly banished by Ward.¹²⁴ Overall, in an attempt to strengthen the “Greekness” of the Ionian Islands, the paper aspires at preserving the Greek element in daily life by distributing the paper as an educational tool for the Ionians, by promoting Greek language in the Ionian state, and by proposing a number of education reforms. But, most importantly, by noting the three major common grounds with the Greek Kingdom; nationality,¹²⁵ religion, and language.¹²⁶

Apart from the first-page editorial, the paper also published secondary columns, which were usually shorter than the main front-page article. The secondary columns mostly contained: 1) reports of news from foreign cities and states, the *Ποικίλα/Διάφορα, Εξωτερικαί Ειδήσεις* column; 2) political news, relations between the Islands and the Greeks, and news concerning the Greek Parliament, legislations etc., counting a total of almost 70 articles in the *Βασίλειον της Ελλάδος* column; 3) the separate distinguishable column *Παραφυλλίς*, occupying the bottom of a page;¹²⁷ 4) obituaries. It is also worth noting the large number 17(!) of obituaries, one of which refers to Fragkiskos Karvelas –one of the main contributors of this newspaper– written by Fragkiskos Merkatis, entitled *Ο εγωιστής ο τα πάντα*.¹²⁸

In retrospect, according to the first issues of the newspaper, Seaton’s constitutional reforms were some kind of a victory for the reformist party. Gaitas, Romas, and the other contributors praised the virtues of the press freedom as they were opposed to Sir Th. Maitland’s authoritarian constitution. In addition, specific articles refer to the protection of privacy and to the necessity of establishing personal freedoms. They however embraced Ugo Foscolo’s viewpoints regarding politics in the Ionian Islands, since the paper has printed and commented on translated excerpts from Ugo Foscolo’s

¹²⁴ (Anonymous), ‘Ουδείς κωφότερος του μη θέλοντος’, *Το Μέλλον*, December 31st, 1849, No. 53.

¹²⁵ This particular article describes the celebrations for the Greek National Independence Day; see: (Anonymous), ‘Η ιερωτέρα της κτίσεως’, *Το Μέλλον*, March 25th, 1849, No. 13.

¹²⁶ (Anonymous), ‘Η φιλολογική Φήμη’, *Το Μέλλον*, January 22nd, 1849, No. 4.

¹²⁷ Some of the titles include the following: *Η φιλολογική Φήμη, Περί της πολιτών αγωγής, Αι Ιονικαί Νήσοι: Περιήγησις Αγγλον τινός κατά το θέρος του 1848, Ιστορική έποψις της Ελληνικής Ενότητος, Ουγγρία*. It is worth mentioning the publication of several small parts of the Italian poet Ugo Foscolo’s doctoral dissertation: *Πολιτική κατάσταση των Ιονίων Νήσων*. In brief, Ugo Foscolo considers the Ionian Island’s sovereignty a necessity, due to their limited geographical area and population. He also refers to a kind of discord into the interior of the Islands, due to the negative results of the Venetian rule, corruption, and the vengeful instincts of the islanders. See: Ugo Foscolo, ‘πολιτική κατάσταση των Ιονίων Νήσων: Διατριβή γραφείσα Ιταλιστί εν Λονδίνο κατά το 1817’, *Το Μέλλον*, July 16th (29th issue) October 8th (41st issue) and November 26th, 1849, (48th issue).

¹²⁸ (Anonymous), ‘Ο εγωιστής, ο τα πάντα’, *Το Μέλλον*, March 11th, 1849, No. 12.

dissertation: *Περί της πολιτικής καταστάσεως των Ιονίων Νήσων*.¹²⁹ Taking into account the above, it becomes evident that the paper's columns mainly had a political character. However, the paper also had a literary interest, and in this context published scientific studies, historical essays and dissertations, hoping that the newspaper would become a training manual supporting the adoption of the Greek culture and language.

The major goals of *To Μέλλον* are clearly reflected in its first issues, in which the journalists' desire for political reforms is evident. Even though a number of front-page editorials highlight the aspiration for national independence, the authors were demanding three significant reforms: a democratic and representative administration, separation of powers, and free elections.¹³⁰

In light of the foregoing reasons, *To Μέλλον* harshly criticized Sir Ward, pointing out that no political action of the Ionian administration was legitimate, unless approved by the respective commissioner. Secondly, the newspaper was stating that the Commissioner should not choose the President of the Ionian Parliament; instead, the President should have the unanimous approval of all Ionian Parliament members.¹³¹ In addition, the 9th issue makes special reference to the judicial authority of Commissioner Ward with the columnist stating the approval of the Commissioner is required for an important court decision.¹³² The same article also stated that out of the four judges, two Heptanesians and two British, the British judges' decision would always prevail. But, apart from the absolute judicial authority of the British rulers, the 14th issue similarly analyzes the financial administration and reports that the financial management was in the Commissioner's absolute jurisdiction, who was also able to appoint a general treasurer as he saw fit.¹³³

Certainly, during the first year of the newspaper's publication, the main subject of *To Μέλλον* editorials referred to the separation of powers arguing that the executive, legislative, and judicial functions should be exercised by different bodies with a separate origin; in reality, the British Commissioners in the Ionian Islands were the

¹²⁹ See respectively the following newspaper editions: No. 7, No. 29-30, No. 41, No. 48-49.

¹³⁰ Refer to: (Anonymous), 'Περί ελευθέρων εκλογών', *To Μέλλον*, February 11th, 1849, No. 7. Also: (Anonymous), 'Μυστική Ψηφοφορία', *To Μέλλον*, 26 February, 1849, No. 9.

¹³¹ (Anonymous), 'Πολιτική κατάσταση, και ανάγκαι των Ιονίων Νήσων' *To Μέλλον*, February 5th, 1849, No. 6. Concerning the Commissioner's authorities, also refer to the following editions: February 19th, No. 8, and February 26th, No. 9.

¹³² It is worth noting the following article regarding the suggestions for the appropriate function of the countryside courts: (Anonymous), 'Τα δικαστήρια της εξοχής', *To Μέλλον*, May 7th, 1849, No. 19.

¹³³ (Anonymous), 'Πολιτική κατάσταση, και ανάγκαι των Ιονίων Νήσων', *To Μέλλον*, April 2nd, 1849, No. 14. See also: (Anonymous), 'Η Νομοθετική συνέλευσις', *To Μέλλον*, April 16th, 1849, No. 16.

ultimate rulers, acting alone on even the most significant issues, ignoring both the Parliament and the Senate. On the contrary, according to a series of articles, the reformers were adamant that the Heptanesian intelligentsia should be involved into the Ionian state's administration and act in favor of the population¹³⁴ (for instance, the headline “Πολιτική κατάσταση, και ανάγκαι των Ιονίων Νήσων” appears in numerous articles strongly criticizing the British and outlining the main differences between the British ‘rule’ and the British ‘protection’ of the Islands). As a consequence *To Μέλλον* was strongly interested in the British misuse of power, and the powers of the High Commissioner in the state.

For this particular reason the journalists were trying to promote their policy lines, especially during the first year of the newspaper's distribution, in an effort to attract votes for the upcoming elections (February 1850). These journalists aimed to inform and educate the Ionians on the importance of the people's free expression in selecting Parliament candidates. Particularly, during the election period, the voting criteria was a considerable concern and was a major subject in the news. For instance, certain front-page editorials were referring/demanding a direct election procedure and a secret/non-manipulated vote.¹³⁵ Thus, in an effort to highlight the incorrect election procedure, several issues analyzed the voting question and referred to the principle of popular and national sovereignty.¹³⁶ Particular issues (No. 11,12 & 17) referred to the desire for free elections and secret/non-manipulated voting for all Ionians/Christians without any social class distinction. According to these issues, the author was against any sort of discrimination, and actually cited a brief excerpt from Montesquieu's ‘*De L' esprit des Loix*’ as additional argument.¹³⁷ On the other hand, it is worth reminding that *Πατρις* had argued that not every Ionian should vote.¹³⁸ As a consequence, the analysis of the two newspapers proves that there was no united code among reformist journalists; in other words, there was no sense of togetherness. Nonetheless, despite

¹³⁴ Refer to the following series of articles: (Anonymous), ‘Πολιτική κατάσταση, και ανάγκαι των Ιονίων Νήσων’, *To Μέλλον*, January 8th, 15th, 22nd, 29th, February 5th, 19th, 26th; March 5th, April 2nd, 30th 1849, No. 2-6, No. 8-10, No. 14 & No. 18.

¹³⁵ (Anonymous), ‘Περί ελευθέρων εκλογών, *op.cit.* Also, see: (Anonymous), ‘Ο περί εκλογής οργανικός νόμος’, *To Μέλλον*, May 14th, 1849, No. 20.

¹³⁶ See specifically the 11th (March 12th), the 12th (March 19th), and 17th (April 23rd) 1849 issues of *To Μέλλον*.

¹³⁷ (Anonymous), ‘Οσάκις ελάβομεν αφορμήν’, *To Μέλλον*, March 19th, 1849, No. 12.

¹³⁸ See: (Anonymous), ‘Οσάκις αντικείμενον τι συζητείται’, *To Μέλλον*, March 12th, 1849, No. 11. For the subject of elections, also see: (Anonymous), ‘Πολλάκις ήδη συζητήσαντες’, *To Μέλλον*, April 9th, 1849, No. 15.

the diversity of views, in the 1850 elections, the journalists desired to have a representative administration which would primarily separate powers in the Islands. Hence, *To Μέλλον* focused on publishing the reformist journalists' political program, strongly criticized Sir Ward's political decisions, highlighted the significance of the election process in the Ionian state, and definitely promoted the reformist party to the society.

Even though a slight difference of opinions concerning the voting question is apparent between the journalists of two of the most significant papers of that period, the *To Μέλλον* journalists were highly interested in the education system of the Ionian Islands, and they were seemingly adopting the same views with *Πατρίς*. Hence, in an effort to promote an educational culture, *To Μέλλον* was proposing certain political reforms for an uplift of the education system in the Ionian state. More specifically, its columnists focused on the necessity of immediate improvements in the education system. However, "education" was not only the establishments and the professors, but it perceived in different ways too; for instance, reading a paper, getting advice from family members, as well as proper parenting or the establishment of a reading society could be considered as educational activities. The journalists were respectful of the sacred constitution of family and were arguing that parents should behave as educators, in order to change the mentality and "open the eyes" of the youth through knowledge. Moreover, the participation in both reading societies and clubhouses could assist in the re-construction of the Ionian education, and indeed the newspaper, in order to assist the socio-cultural recovery of the state, wrote about the need for socialization, accurate information as well as empathy. Furthermore, it discussed the benefits that the Ionian population would gain from the clubs and reading societies, considering that the Ionians' willingness for politicization and constant concerns for their future would contribute to both their own development and the development of their homeland. Indicative of the above is a specific front-page editorial, in which the columnist was continuously advising the readers by referring to the need for rigorous consciousness while voting.¹³⁹ The 4th issue similarly states that the scholars ought to enlighten the population and that the journalists should become lecturers and teachers, in order to serve higher purposes.¹⁴⁰ But, apart the above-mentioned admonishments, *To Μέλλον* could not disregard the lack of teachers mostly in the suburbs and villages

¹³⁹ (Anonymous), 'Ο λαός και η ελευθεροτυπία', *To Μέλλον*, January 15th, 1849, No. 3.

¹⁴⁰ (Anonymous), 'Η φιλολογική Φήμη', *To Μέλλον*, January 22nd, 1849, No. 4.

where illiteracy levels were really high.¹⁴¹ It also becomes evident that the reformist journalists strongly believed in an educational system where the best students should teach-assist the younger ones, under the guidance of their teacher. In a similar manner other articles argue that educators should not be involved in politics, making recommendations for the operation of a number of institutions, such as the university,¹⁴² the libraries, the school units, the printing house, and the museums.¹⁴³ Prompted by this particular teaching method, the *To Μέλλον* journalists were noting the absence of school units in the Ionian Islands and expressed multiple complaints concerning the existence of a sole university in the Island of Corfu which, according to the writer, was actually of a lower level than the universities in the rest of Europe, as it was both inefficient and short of its real potential.¹⁴⁴

It therefore becomes apparent that *To Μέλλον* acted as an intellectual leader for the Ionians. Its purpose was to provide knowledge in order to assist the population achieve political maturity and its journalists certainly aspired to an educated and well-informed state. Without any of the above, the newspapers' mission could obviously not be materialized, and the journalists considered these constitutional revisions necessary for the state's well-being and for the union with their brothers in the mainland.

Σπινθήρ (1849-1850)

Σπινθήρ (the Spark) was the second Zakynthian newspaper with a reformist approach but this was published less frequently. According to Konomos's study, its distribution started on February 17th, 1849, almost two months after the first publication of *To Μέλλον*. It was distributed for almost 14 months, until April 20th, 1850, and counted a total of 49 issues.¹⁴⁵ Konomos states that *Σπινθήρ*'s political viewpoint was similar

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² This article in brief refers to the abolition of the Ionian Academy and one seminary school in Corfu, as the above institutions should operate in a public expense state; see: (Anonymous), 'Δημοσία εκπαιδευσις', *To Μέλλον*, June 18th, 1849, No. 25.

¹⁴³ As aforementioned earlier, the editor published a small part from the Italian poet Ugo Foscolo's dissertation, 'Πολιτική κατάστασις των Ιονίων Νήσων'-Διατριβή γραφείσα Ιταλιστί εν Λονδίνω κατά το 1817', *To Μέλλον*, October 8th, 1849, No. 41.

¹⁴⁴ (Anonymous), 'Εκ της δημοσίας εκπαιδεύσεως', *To Μέλλον*, January 22nd, 1849, No. 4.

¹⁴⁵ It is unfortunate that all available evidence is derived from Konomos's research. This newspaper remains unexplored, since its issues have not been saved. According to Konomos, *Σπινθήρ* (size 0.30x0.22) was distributed on a weekly basis. Every issue consisted of four sheets and two columns and all the articles were unsigned. From the 9th issue (April 11th, 1849) onwards, the newspaper's size

with that of the other reformist papers presented above. It was written exclusively in Greek, and its main editors/journalists were the politician Georgios Verykios, the poet Georgios Lagouidas, as well as the solicitor Nikolaos Minotos. *Σπινθήρ* published articles mostly relating to politics, finance, commerce and literature. Its columns were similar to the other reformist papers, hosting political articles, articles referring to the reformist policy line, foreign and domestic news columns, commercial news, literary news, etc. Konomos informs us that, according to the paper's first issue, the mission statement of *Σπινθήρ* included the expression of comments on internal affair issues, stressing the necessity for reforms within the Ionian state, and to assist in the revival of the Greek identity by promoting the Greek spirit and the idea of a common nation. Indicative of the above, is Konomos's citation from the front-page editorial of the first issue in this newspaper:

*Ουδεμία προσωπικότης, στηλίτευσις των εσωτερικών καταχρήσεων, πάσα αναγκαία του πολιτεύματος μεταρρυθμισις, εμπορικά, εσωτερικά και εξωτερικά ειδήσεις, και φιλολογικά, θέλουν είσθαι το αντικείμενον του παρόντος φύλλου. Ηθέλαμεν προς τούτοις λείπει του χρέους μας αν συνάμα δεν προσπαθώμεν να αναπτύξωμεν τον εθνισμόν μας, περί του οποίου τόσοσιν καυχώμεθα, και να διαλαμβάνωμεν αμερολήπτως περί των πραγμάτων της αδελφής μας Ελλάδος, προς της οποίας το μέγα μέλλον όλα τα τέκνα του Ιονίου, με ελπίδα ατενίζουσιν.*¹⁴⁶

In an attempt to present the first edition, Konomos refers to the freedom of the press, noting that the journalists ought to contribute to the salvation of the Ionian Islands, noting in particular:

*Η δημοσιογραφία ούσα λοιπόν κατά το παρόν η μόνη σωτηρία μας, θέλομεν και ημείς την επικαλεσθή· διό καιτοι γνωρίζοντες το δυσχερές του επιχειρήματος και τας μικράς ημών δυνάμεις αναδεχόμεθα την έκδοσιν της παρούσης μικράς εφημερίδος.*¹⁴⁷

Konomos aspires to show that one of the paper's aims was to enhance the "Greekness" of the islanders, and in an effort to briefly present the purposes of this particular paper, he concentrates on issue No.9 (April 11th, 1849). In particular,

was changed (size 0.54x0.28) and now consisted of three columns. It was published in the printing house of Konstantinos Rossolymos 'Ο Ζάκυνθος' by the publisher Periklis Kalofonos, and under the newspaper's title there was the following motto: *Ο παρών καιρός, ω άνδρες, είτερ ποτέ, και πολλής φροντίδος και βουλήσ δείται.* See: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 109-111.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Konomos focused on a journalist's column describing the testimony of a Zakynthian eyewitness who was expressing his agony and describing events that took place during the siege of Messologgi by the Turks. He specifically quotes:

Τρεις ημέρας προ του Πάσχα φθάνει είδησις, ότι το Μισολόγγι πλέον δεν υπάρχει. Οι ανδρείοι πολεμισταί περιζώσαντες τας γυναίκας και τα παιδιά εξήλθον δια νυκτός και διασχίσαντες τα πλήθη των Τούρκων οι μεν εσφάγησαν, οι δε ηγματοτίστησαν και ολίγοι τινές εις τα όρη διεσώθησαν (...) Οι γέροντες, οι ασθενείς, μη δυνηθέντες να ακολουθήσωσι τους συμπολίτας των, συναθροισθέντες εις εν οίκημα έβαλαν φωτιά και κατεκάηκαν.¹⁴⁸

In addition, Konomos cites the following text which was published in *Σπινθήρ* and connects the fight for Greek independence with religion/the Orthodox dogma:

Οι δρόμοι της πόλεως ήσαν έρημοι και μόνον έξωθεν των εκκλησιών κατά το σύνηθες ίσταντο πλήθος Χριστιανοί κρατούντες αναμμένα κεριά, και εις το μέσον αυτών ο Ιερεύς αναγιγνώσκων μεγαλοφώνως το Ευαγγέλιον της Αναστάσεως του Χριστού, και στρεφόμενος προς όλα τα μέρη ο Ιερεύς ανέκραζε – Χριστός Ανέστη.¹⁴⁹

6.3.3 Ένωσις (1849-1850)

Ένωσις (the Union) commenced its publication on April 16th, 1849, in Kefalonia, and after a complete year of circulation it abruptly ceased its distribution for unknown reasons (April 30th, 1850), publishing 34 issues in total.¹⁵⁰ The examination of a considerable amount of issues led me to the conclusion that *Ένωσις* had excellent and courageous columns, expressing compelling arguments and rational viewpoints.¹⁵¹ Written in Greek, the newspaper's columns were mostly political, as their principal aim was to attract votes in the February 1850 elections, in order for the reformers to be actively involved in the Ionian Parliament. Therefore, one may assume that one of the main reasons for the abrupt discontinuation of this newspaper was the end of the elections procedure. Another potential reason could be that Kefalonia was mainly an

¹⁴⁸ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, in: (Anonymous), 'Η αυγή του Πάσχα', *Σπινθήρ*, April 11th, 1849, No. 9.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

¹⁵⁰ *Ένωσις* can be found at the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece, where only a few issues are missing (the last issue of this newspaper is at the Museum of the press, in Patras, Greece). Specifically, there is only a big gap between September 1849 and March 1850: No. 19-20 & No. 22-26 and another small gap regarding the last two issues: No. 31-32 (April 1850).

¹⁵¹ *Ένωσις* (size 0.47x0.32) was a four-sheet three-column paper and was distributed on a weekly basis. The front page carried as a motto a dictum from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine, deriving from religious oversights: *Εν τούτω νίκα*. The newspaper was printed in the printing house Η Σάλπιγξ and Spyridon Polykalas appears as its publisher; refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

island of radicals and thus *Ένωσις* was not meant to be long-lived. Nonetheless, apart from political articles, a small part of *Ένωσις* columns were devoted to other subjects, such as history and literature. Thus, having a broader socio-political frame, this newspaper aspired at reporting weekly news, either through the front-page editorials or through other secondary columns, such as the *Διάφορα* column. Even though all the articles were unsigned, Tsitselis states that the lawyers Nikolaos Valieris, Dimitrios Miliarexis and Nikolaos Horafas (lawyer and congressman in the 10th Ionian Parliament) were the newspaper's journalists/editors.¹⁵² Moreover, Konstantinos Fokas also appears as contributor in the 16th issue of the paper (July 30th, 1849).

Given that the abrupt closure of this paper coincided with the end of the elections period, the *Ένωσις*'s first issue proves another purpose, which was equally important: the editor describes the newspaper's mission statement, and focuses on the desire for a future unification with the Greeks, by promoting the "Greekness" of the Islanders. Indicative of the above assertion is the following excerpt, which highlights the progress that the Ionian state had to make in order to achieve the much-desired union; the journalist particularly writes:

Τα φρονήματα ημών, τας ευχάς ημών! Και τις δεν τα γνωρίζει! Και τις δεν δύναται να μας μεμφθή δι' αυτά; Έλληνες, μέρος αναπόσπαστον της ελληνικής φυλής απαρτίζοντες, μεθ' ής αδιαρρήκτως μας συνδέουσι καταγωγή, θρησκεία, γλώσσα, ήθη, και έθιμα, πως είναι δυνατόν να μην επιθυμούμεν, να μην θέλωμεν, να μην απαιτούμεν την μετά των ημετέρων αδελφών της ελευθέρας Ελλάδος ένωσίν μας; (...) Πιστεύομεν δε αδιστακτως ότι δεν θέλει επί πολύ βραδύνει η πολυπόθητος εκείνη ημέρα, καθ' ήν και ημείς μεθ' άπάσης της ελληνικής φυλής θέλομεν και πραγματικώς συνενωθή εις εν έθνος υπό τον Συνταγματικόν Ελληνικόν Θρόνον, όπως βαδίζοντες την οδόν της προόδου ταχύτερον φθάσωμεν εις τον προορισμόν, τον οποίον η θεία πρόνοια απ' αρχής προσδιώρισε δια το έθνος μας. Αλλά ούτω λαλούντες δεν λησιμονούμεν την πολιτικήν ημών θέσιν.¹⁵³

This front-page editorial presents the journalists' principal prospects and, in a similar manner with *Πατρίς* and *Το Μέλλον*, it clearly highlights that the British protection ought to be maintained. The journalist points out characteristically:

¹⁵² Tsitselis noted particularly the following: *De jure matrimony apud populos historici temporis sive antiquitatis praecipuos. specimen. Ev Κεφαλληνία, 1845*; see: Ilias Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, p. 877. See also: (insert) *Επτά Ημέρες, Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας*, (ed. K. Giourgos), May 30th, 1999, *Καθημερινή*, pp. 5, 11.

¹⁵³ (Anonymous), 'Η πορεία της Ενώσεως', *Ένωσις*, April 16th, 1849, No. 1.

*Η Επτάνησος, η μαθηματική αύτη στιγμή, ούτως ειπείν, προς την υφήλιον παραβαλλόμενη, δύναται να εγερθή, να δράξη τα όπλα και πλήρης αγανακτήσεως να καταστρέψη την ενεστώσαν πολιτικήν κατάστασιν; Άπαγε της βλασφημίας!*¹⁵⁴

From the above excerpts, it becomes evident that *Ένωσις* was not departing from the usual reformist policies and, in order to ensure a common ground with the reformist party, the subjects reported were similar with the ones published in the above presented papers.

Overall, a number of editorials refer to the aftereffects of Sir Thomas Maitland's authoritarian constitution,¹⁵⁵ while others comment on the poor administration by the British focusing on the waste of state revenues, and several other sources of income and expenses in the Islands.¹⁵⁶ But, most importantly, blaming the British rulers for their militaristic attitude, several articles refer to the violation of personal freedoms mostly by the British High Police forces¹⁵⁷ and criticize the abuse of powers by the British.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that *Ένωσις* journalists did not criticize only the British, but also held accountable the local politicians for their apathy and self-centeredness.¹⁵⁹

In addition, a series of articles refer to the stagnating Ionian education,¹⁶⁰ the language issue,¹⁶¹ as well as the voting question, focusing on the elections process, as the journalists point out the benefits of a secret vote in the upcoming elections.¹⁶² For instance, it is worth citing a columnist's article regarding the voting criteria in which

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ See the following editions; No. 1, No. 3, No. 8, No. 10 & No. 30.

¹⁵⁶ Refer to the series of articles under the common title; Το οικονομικόν, (No. 12, 14, 18 issues).

¹⁵⁷ Refer to: (Anonymous), 'Περί Υψηλής Αστυνομίας', *Ένωσις*, April 23rd, 1849, No. 2, and also the newspaper's issue No. 21 of January 22nd, 1850.

¹⁵⁸ Indicative of the violation of the personal freedoms is a series of articles, where the columnist refers to the 'voluntary' exile of Dimitris Miliarexis one of the paper's contributors. Characteristic is the columnist's following phrase: *διατελεί εις εκούσιον εξορίαν*; see accordingly: (Anonymous), 'Περί Υψηλής Αστυνομίας', *Ένωσις*, April 23rd, 1849, No. 2. For Miliarexis' exile see also the 1st and the 11th issue: (Anonymous), 'Ο Λόγος και η Απάντησις', *Ένωσις*, April 16th, 1849, No. 1. Also: (Anonymous), 'Ο Λόγος και η Απάντησις', *Ένωσις*, June 25th, 1849, No. 11.

¹⁵⁹ See the above referenced articles from No. 1, No. 2, No. 11 and No. 21 issues.

¹⁶⁰ The paper publicizes two important articles concerning the education question under the common title *Παιδεία*, in which the columnist relates the concept of education with the virtues of freedom and civilization; refer to: (Anonymous), 'Παραφυλλίς-Δημόσια Εκπαίδευσις', *Ένωσις*, May 15th, 1849, No. 5. Also, see: (Anonymous), 'Παραφυλλίς-Δημόσια Εκπαίδευσις', *Ένωσις*, May 27th, 1849, No. 7.

¹⁶¹ For the language issue in the *Ένωσις* the following article is characteristic: *Η Προοδύουσα γλώσσα μας*, published on July 16th, 1849, No. 14.

¹⁶² See the editorials of the editions No. 3-5 & No. 21.

he notes that the majority of the Ionian population were not eligible to vote. He also refers to the five features that an Ionian should have in order to vote: age, nationality, morality, capability, and socioeconomic status. The article specifically says:

Την μέθοδον ταύτην ακολουθούντες οι την περιορισμένην ψηφοφορίαν πρεσβεύοντες απαιτούν συνήθως από τον εκλογέα, πέντε προσόντα, ηλικίαν, εθνικότητα, ηθικότητα, ικανότητα και κατάστασιν, το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των οποίων ουδ'αυτοί της καθολικής ψηφοφορίας οι οπαδοί δύνανται να απορρίψωσι.¹⁶³

Last but not least, various articles criticized the viewpoints of other papers, both pro-British and radical, while other articles focused on the exile of the radical newspapermen-politicians.¹⁶⁴ A number of essays covered the proceedings of the Ionian Parliament and harshly criticized the Commissioner's views. Secondary columns covered commercial news, foreign news, Greek Kingdom's news, news related with the arrival of Sir Ward, religious articles, and court decisions.¹⁶⁵

6.3.3.1. The roles of Ένωσις

Even though Ένωσις managed to survive for just over a year, it was as important as the other well-respected Πατρίς and Το Μέλλον. However, Ένωσις expressed slightly different political views. Particularly, it differed by openly expressing doubts regarding the purposes and prospects of the reformist press. The paper's first issues is indicative, as it strongly criticizes the reformers' principal aims. It characterizes the reformist press as 'demands falling on deaf ears', highlighting the following phrase:

Εις την αυτήν κατάστασιν μενόντων των πραγμάτων η φωνή του τύπου θέλει είναι φωνή βοώντος εν τη ερήμω.¹⁶⁶

In my viewpoint, this differentiation was rather an expression of disappointment because certain reformers approached and conciliated Sir Ward and his perspectives. However, in any case, Ένωσις as a whole, promoted the importance of the Greek nationality and Hellenism, overall. It also promoted the union with the Greeks as a future prospect, even though the Ένωσις's journalists acknowledged that reviving the "Greekness" of the Islanders alone may not be enough, since no state can survive

¹⁶³ (Anonymous), 'Η Μεταρρύθμισις του εκλογικού των αντιπροσώπων συστήματος', Ένωσις, April 30th, 1849, No. 3.

¹⁶⁴ The paper presents characteristically the pro-British Η Επτάνησος and wonders about its existence. It also comments on Ο Χωρικός and Ο Ριζοσπάστης newspapers and their radical stance.

¹⁶⁵ For the judicial decision from the Kefalonian civil court, see: K. Rikkis (Judge), 'Το Πολιτικό Δικαστήριο Αργοστολίου', Ένωσις, June 25th, 1849, No. 11.

¹⁶⁶ (Anonymous), 'Ο Λόγος και η Απάντησις', Ένωσις, April 16th, 1849, No. 1

without resources/wealth.¹⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, the journalist pointed out that a free state should act freely and independently:

Εάν παρατηρήσωμεν το ζήτημα τούτο υπό την πολιτικήν του έποψιν δεν θέλομεν βραδύνει να βεβαιωθώμεν ότι άνευ του πλούτου δεν είναι δυνατόν να υπάρξη ούτε πολιτισμός, ούτε ανεξαρτησία, ούτε ελευθερία εις εν έθνος. (...) Το ιερόν εκείνο αίσθημα είναι βέβαια αναγκαίον εις τα έθνη στοιχείον. Αλλά απαιτούνται προσέτι και τα μέσα προς πραγματοποίησίν του. Όταν το αίσθημα υπάρχη μεμονωμένον, οι δυνατοί το κατεπνίγουσιν και το κατέπνιζαν πολλάκις.¹⁶⁸

In addition, the newspaper also concentrated on the poor financial status of the Ionian state and published three important editorials concerning this issue of utmost importance. By publicizing detailed facts regarding sovereign debts (according to the journalist, amounting to 1.330.219 thalers) and the unnecessary expenses of the Ionian state, the reformist journalists thoroughly identified a variety of financial difficulties and aspired to prove that the state went bankrupt.¹⁶⁹ By presenting the deplorable financial situation, the inactivity of industry and trade, the waste of state funds, the need for withdrawing pension schemes, the huge salaries of the foreign public officers, the High Police's disrespectful actions and, finally, the elimination of redundant administration positions, the *Ένωσις* journalist concludes the following:

Τι δεν εδύνατο να γίνη εις το μικρόν τούτο Κράτος εις τσοσούτων ετών διάστημα με ετήσιον εισόδημα 200,000 λιτρών στεργλίνων; Πόσοι νέοι πόροι δεν εμπορούσαν ν' αναπτυχθώσιν εις την υπό της φύσεως τσοσούτον πλουσιοπαρόχως και μυριοτρόπως προικισθείσαν ταύτην γην; Πόσα στάδια να ανοιχθώσιν εις την γοργώσαν νεολαίαν μας; Πόσα παιδευτικά καταστήματα να ιδρυθώσι προς νοητικήν και ηθικήν του λαού μόρφωσιν; Και όμως ουδεμία περί τούτων και άλλων ομοίων πρόνοια!¹⁷⁰

As stated previously, *Ένωσις* was also criticizing the huge salaries paid to the foreign officers. Characteristic of these criticisms was the July 16th editorial which argued that it was unfair for Ionians to pay such high salaries taking into consideration the state's

¹⁶⁷ (Anonymous), 'Παραφυλλίς - Η Ελληνική Εθνικότης', *Ένωσις*, April 23rd, 1849, No. 2.

¹⁶⁸ (Anonymous), 'Παραφυλλίς - Ο Εθνικός Πλούτος', *Ένωσις*, June 18th, 1849, No. 10.

¹⁶⁹ Refer to: (Anonymous), 'Το Οικονομικόν', *Ένωσις*, July 2nd, 1849, No. 12. (Anonymous), 'Το Οικονομικόν Β', *Ένωσις*, July 16th, 1849, No. 14. (Anonymous), 'Το Οικονομικόν Γ', *Ένωσις*, August 13th, 1849, No. 18.

¹⁷⁰ (Anonymous), 'Το Οικονομικόν', *Ένωσις*, July 2nd, 1849, No. 12.

bankrupt status and the poor state revenues. The editorial specifically states the following:

*Κατάργησις των περιττών θέσεων, απόλυσις εκ της δημοσίου υπηρεσίας των ξένων, ελάττωσις προ πάντων των υπερόγκων μισθών και κατάργησις του γελοίου και ολεθρίου των συντάξεων συστήματος ταύτα είναι κυρίως τα μέτρα, τα οποία άπαντες ομοφώνως κηρύττουσιν ότι πρέπει όσον τάχιστα να ληφθώσιν όπως εξέλθωμεν της ελ(ε)εινής οικονομικής και ηθικής καταστάσεως εις ην ο ξενικός δεσποτισμός μας έρριψε, (...).*¹⁷¹

Having discussed that one of the main contributions of this paper was to publicize the poor financial status of the Islands, *Ένωσις* argued that the union with the Greeks, even though highly desirable, was not an immediate priority at all. This newspaper, in line with the other reformist papers, emphasized also on the education of the Islanders but, most importantly, focused on the constitution of family and the importance of the women's role in the society. Noting that this reference to the role of women was both extraordinary and rare it seems that *Ένωσις*'s journalists greatly respected women and their educational role, directly linking them with the family institution. The journalists indicated, through a specific article, that the upbringing of children in the families was highly important, and this is why women in the Ionian state should also be educated. The journalist specifically highlighted the following:

*Και τωόντι άπασα η αποστολή της γυναικός συνίσταται εις την εκπλήρωσιν του διττού τούτου σκοπού της αρμονικής συμβιώσεως μετά του ανδρός και της μητρικής στοργής και επιμέλειας των τέκνων. Αλλά άνευ σπουδαίας προπαιδεύσεως πώς είναι δυνατόν να φυλάττεται αρμονία μεταξύ συζύγων διαφερόντων κατά τας ιδέας και τα ήθη; (...) Ανάγκη όθεν να εφαρμοσθή τοιούτον σύστημα γυναικείας εκπαιδεύσεως, (...) ή με άλλας λέξεις να εγγυάται την μόρφωσιν αξίων συζύγων και μητέρων(...).*¹⁷²

6.3.4 The Corfiot *Φιλαλήθης* and *Ερμής* (1851-1854)

***Φιλαλήθης* (1851-1854)**

Φιλαλήθης (truthful) was the second Corfiot paper with a reformist political approach. It commenced its distribution on September 8th, 1851,¹⁷³ and, according to its second

¹⁷¹ (Anonymous), 'Το Οικονομικόν Β', *Ένωσις*, July 16th, 1849, No. 14.

¹⁷² (Anonymous), 'Γυναικεία εκπαίδευσις', *Ένωσις*, July 9th, 1849, No. 13.

¹⁷³ *Φιλαλήθης* (size 0.32x0.23) was a four-paged two-column paper and was distributed on a weekly basis. It was being printed in the *Σχερία* printing house by Petros Fokas. But, apart from Fokas, other publishers of this paper were Spyridon Mavros and Nikolaos Mavroioannis; Mavros replaced Fokas from the 13th issue until he was replaced himself by Mavroioannis from the 40th issue onwards.

issue, apart from the annual and six-month subscriptions, the readers could also get *Φιλαλήθης* from a bookstore, which was the main point of sale, noting:

Η εφημερίς «Ο Φιλαλήθης» πωλείται παρά τοις βιβλιοπώλοις κκ. Παπανικόλα και Σπερανδίω οβολ. Παλαιούς 6.¹⁷⁴

All articles were written in Greek, and despite Konomos's reference¹⁷⁵ this newspaper survived for two and a half years, i.e. until March 19th, 1854, counting a total of 108 issues. The last edition of the paper is characteristic since the journalist announces the closure of this newspaper, due to Commissioner Ward's abuse of power, noting in particular:

Το παρελθόν Σάββατον, οι κκ. Ιπ. Α. Μουστοζύδης, Α. Πολυλάς, Ν.Β. Μάνεσης, Ι. Βερβιτσιώτης και Σπυρίδων Ζαμπέλιος, προσεκλήθησαν εις τα μέγαρα των Αγίων Μιχαήλ και Γεωργίου, ένθα εύρον τον Γραμματέα του Αρμοστού και τον Αρχιγραμματέα της Γερουσίας. Ούτοι τοις ανέγνωσαν διαδήλωσιν εκ μέρους του Υψηλού Αστυνόμου Σιρ Ε. Ουάρδ, εν η ελέγετο, ότι ο Αρμοστής, κατά τας ενεστώσας δυσκόλους περιστάσεις (...) δεν ηδύνατο να ανέχηται την δια του Φιλαλήθους δημοσίευσιν ερεθιστικών άρθρων (...).¹⁷⁶

Even though the paper's articles were unsigned, from the above extract, it becomes apparent that the famous politician Andreas Moustoksides (1785-1860),¹⁷⁷ one of the

Φιλαλήθης newspapermen acknowledged the importance of the freedom of speech and of truth in local journalism; the paper carried the following motto: *Απλούς και μονότροπος της αληθείας ο λόγος*. Refer also to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-125.

¹⁷⁴ (Anonymous), 'Ειδοποίησις' *Φιλαλήθης*, September 15th, 1851, No. 2. Georgios-Drakatos Papanikolas was the brother of the bookstore owner, and probably he was the soul of a series of articles concerning politics and the Ionian state in *Φιλαλήθης*. He was an eminent Heptanesian personality who lived in Great Britain, and wrote numerous articles there, with regards to the Ionian state. For further information regarding his views, refer particularly: Nikos Pagkratis, *Γεώργιος-Δρακάτος Παπανικόλας, Ένας Ιόνιος Πατριώτης*, Corfu, 2021. It is also worth noting his reputation and importance, where, *Πατρίς* (see indicatively the No. 69 issue of the newspaper May 6th, 1850) was reprinting Papanikolas' writings; see: *ibid.*, pp. 9, 107-111. Besides, Moustoksides praised too Georgios-Drakatos Papanikolas for his philhellenics sentiments, characterizing him as honest and true Ionian; see: Andreas Moustoksides, *Confutazione di Andrea Moustoxide al dispaccio*, Malta, 1841, p. 121. Lastly, I could not exclude Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou study regarding the patriot; see: Miranda Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, 'Γεώργιος Δρακάτος-Παπανικόλας, Μερικά βιογραφικά και μία ανέκδοτη επιστολή του', *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά*, Vol. 4, 1982, pp. 221-235.

¹⁷⁵ Konomos states that *Φιλαλήθης* stops its circulation on September 2nd, 1852, No. 52, however, one may find at the museum of the press, in Patras, 108 continuous editions; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 125.

¹⁷⁶ (Anonymous), 'Προς τους Συνδρομητάς μας', *Φιλαλήθης*, March 19th, 1854, (Appendix), No. 108.

¹⁷⁷ It is worth reminding that Andreas Moustoksides was the first Ionian who opposed against the British government, when submitting to the Colonial Office his 'memorandum'. In addition, according to Miranda Stavrinou, Moustoksides was put aside by the younger generation of Reformers, causing

most significant scholars of both Ionians and Greeks and a close associate of Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Greek Governor, probably was the inspirer of this paper, who after his electoral failure, he decided to oppose the local administration. However, this article also mentions additional contributors/journalists, such as the Heptanesian intellectuals Ioannis Vervitsiotis, Ioannis Petritsopoulos, N.V. Manesis and lastly Antonios Polyas; all were truly disappointed from the official reformist policy line.¹⁷⁸

Considering that for a few months, there was no reformist newspaper in Corfu, one would anticipate that most of the articles in *Φιλαλήθης* would be strictly political, considering that the last months of 1851 were informally a pre-electoral period; indeed, they oftenly covered parliamentary minutes and election issues. It focused on the second round of reforms in the Ionian state in 1852, manifesting the extent of the project of the reformist political agenda.¹⁷⁹ For the most part, *Φιλαλήθης* journalists reported the most significant news of the period, focusing also on illegal activities in the Ionian state. In particular, taking into account that all radical newspapers were forcibly stopped being issued at the period, a series of articles reported complaints regarding the activities of the High Police.¹⁸⁰ In brief, according to several front-page editorials, *Φιλαλήθης* was very much interested in defending the personal rights of the Ionian citizens and it pointed out the urgent need for separation of powers which were all vested into the British Commissioner's hands, in view of the climate of violence and terrorism in the January 1852 elections. Thus, the journalists aspired at promoting a non-violence attitude, however, they continued criticizing the British rulers.

this his bitterness towards the party, see accordingly: Miranda Stavrinou, *The Reformist Party in Ionian Islands...*, *op.cit.*, p. 357, (footnote 27).

¹⁷⁸ According to the same article of *Φιλαλήθης*, Spyridon Zampelios does not appear as a journalist of the paper, noting: *ο δε κ. Ζαμπέλιος απεκρίθη ότι ουδέποτε έλαβε μέρος εις την σύνταξιν της εφημερίδος*; see (No. 108). In addition, Anna Kontoni, through her dissertation, she mentions the lawyer Napoleon Zampelios as journalist of the paper; see: Anna Kontoni, *Φιλελεύθεροι στοχασμοί και δεξίωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο...*, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁹ For instance: distinction between the 3 powers, the commissioner's withdrawal from the supreme council of Justice, and the abolition of the High police. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, p. 318.

¹⁸⁰ Regarding the front-page editorials regarding the High Police, see respectively the following seven issues: (Anonymous), 'Φυλακίσεις εν Κεφαλληνία', *Φιλαλήθης*, September 23rd, 1851, No. 3; (Anonymous), 'Αι εν Κεφαλληνία φυλακίσεις', *Φιλαλήθης*, September 29th, 1851, No. 4; (Anonymous), 'Η Υψηλή Αστυνομία και τα έργα αυτής', *Φιλαλήθης*, October 13th, 1851, No. 6. Refer also to the following articles under the same title: October 22nd, 1851, No. 7; October 27th, 1851, No. 8; November 5th, 1851, No. 9; November 10th, 1851, No. 10. See also: (Anonymous), 'Νέα άθλα της αστυνομίας', *Φιλαλήθης*, December 5th, 1851, No. 13, and finally: (Anonymous), 'Αι αδόμεναι περί την υψηλήν αστυνομίαν μεταρρυθμίσεις', *Φιλαλήθης*, December 10th, 1851, No. 14.

Consequently, several articles disapproved both Sir Thomas Maitland's absolutarian rule and Sir Ward's militaristic attitude, in which the journalists were questioning the true nature of the continuous accusations, exiles and imprisonments of Ionian politicians-journalists.¹⁸¹

With regards to the newspaper's political identity, it became evident to me that there was a constant confusion in terms of politics, because the newspapermen were not clearly attached to any Ionian political party. However, right from its first editions it appears that *Φιλαλήθης* rejected the willing compliance of Vrailas-Armenis, editor of *Πατρίς*,¹⁸² as well as its journalists rejected his proposing reforms, for they were turning down Lord Seaton's reforms, and thus questioned the intentions of both Vrailas-Armenis and the British protectors; right after spring 1851, i.e. before the formal dismissal of the eighth parliament, the reformers distributed a printed *memoria* of P. Vrailas-Armenis, which was referring to a number of constitutional reforms. In brief, this *memoria* referred to the necessity of an annual meeting of the Ionian Parliament, in an attempt to abolish any right of the Senate to issue legislative measures, the need for an independent Judicial Authority, the need for British High Police forces to protect the Ionians' civil rights and it also proposed measures concerning social order and security, always taking into consideration the Kefalonian rebellions of 1848-1849.¹⁸³ Indicative of the above, is the 52nd issue noting in the very beginning:

Καθ' ην στιγμήν μέλλει να λυθή εν των σπουδαιοτέρων ζητημάτων αφ' όσα υπεκινήθησαν μέχρι τούδε εις την πολυπαθή και ηπατημένην ταύτην χώραν, ημείς αναγκαζομεθα να σιωπώμεν. Αι παρατάσεις, αι ραδιουργίαι και όλα τα μέσα δι ών η Κυβέρνησις προσπαθεί να γίνωσι δεκταί αι προτεινόμεναι απαίσιτοι μεταρρυθμίσεις, διεγείρουσιν εις τον τεταραγμένον νουν μας πολλωτάτας και συγκεχυμένας σκέψεις· όθεν δεν δυνάμεθα σήμερα να ασχοληθώμεν περί αυτών αμερολήπτως και ωρίμως. Περιμένομεν λοιπόν την λύσιν του ζητήματος με ψυχήν αγωνιώσαν, και είθε να μη προκύψη εξ αυτής ζημία εις τας

¹⁸¹ The same article also lists the full names of those arrested, focusing on Spyridon Malakis's predetermined exile to the island of Antikythira. See: (Anonymous), 'Αι εν Κεφαλληνία φυλακίσεις', *Φιλαλήθης*, September 29th, 1851, No. 4.

¹⁸² See also: Miranda Stavrinou, 'The reformist party in Ionian Islands...', *op.cit.*, p. 357.

¹⁸³ According to Miranda Stavrinou, *this memoria was subjected to many modifications because High Commissioner Ward submitted counter propositions in an obviously irreconcilable spirit*; see: Miranda Stavrinou, *op.cit.*, p. 356.

*ελευθερίας του τόπου, και να μη συμμεθέξῃ και ο
Φιλαλήθης της κοινής δυστυχίας.*¹⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the detailed exploration of the paper's contents led me to the conclusion that *Φιλαλήθης* aspired at being objective and straightforward, without blatantly expressing the reformist agenda. Consequently, the newspaper's purpose was not to exclusively express the journalists' reformist views. These newspapermen wanted to first of all have an informative character by presenting a variety of weekly news in the Ionian Islands. This is why the radical paper *Η Αναγέννησις* points out that *Φιλαλήθης* was definitely not a pro-British newspaper, concluding however that, the paper should clearly select a political side; the radical columnist writes:

*Η εφημερίς αυτή είναι εφημερίς αντιπολιτευομένη· αλλά μέχρι τινος, το ομολογούμεν, εκ της αναγνώσεως των ήδη δημοσιευθέντων φύλλων δεν ηδυνήθημεν ακριβώς να εξανοίξωμεν. Νομίζομεν δε, ότι ο χαρακτήρ της φιλαληθείας απαιτεί, πρό πάντων, περισσοτέραν σαφήνειαν και παρρησίαν.*¹⁸⁵

However, in any case, the first issue demonstrates the newspaper's mission statement and the editor presents its socio-political aims, and far from the independent sphere, the editor outlines various aspects of the reformist line, noting characteristically:

*Ημείς δε πεποιθότες εις τον εθνικόν και φιλελεύθερον χαρακτήρα των συμπολιτών μας, και μη αποδίδοντες παντάπασιν εις αυτούς την ταχείαν και σχεδόν ταυτόχρονον παύσιν της Κερκυραϊκής εφημεριδογραφίας, νομίζομεν ότι προς αναίρεσιν πάσης σφαλεράς περί του τόπου μας γνώμης των αλλοεθνών, οι ειλικρινείς και αληθώς φιλελεύθεροι πατριώται δεν πρέπει να μείνωσιν άπρακτοι και άπονοι.(...) χωρίς ν' αποβλέπωμεν εις καμμίαν ιδιοτέλειαν, επιχειρούμεν την έκδοσιν εφημερίδος δια της οποίας, στηριζόμενοι επί της αληθείας και του λόγου χωρίς να παραμορφώνωμεν δι'εμπάθειαν εις κακόν το καλόν το οποίον ενδέχεται να δοθή εις τον τόπον, ουδέ αφίνοντες να μας γοητεύωσι τα φαινόμενα και αι αβέβαιοι και απροσδόκητοι υποσχέσεις, επιμόνως θέλομεν στιγματίζει την παρανομίαν και υπερασπίζει τα δικαιώματα και την ελευθερία του Ελληνικού τούτου λαού.*¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, it is worth referring to the 33rd issue, which analyzes the status of the reformers in the Ionian state and distinguishes them into two poles: the reformers

¹⁸⁴ (Anonymous), (No title), *Ο Φιλαλήθης*, September 2nd, 1852, No. 52.

¹⁸⁵ Iosif Momferratos, (No title), *Η Αναγέννησις*, September 22nd, 1851, No. 34.

¹⁸⁶ (Anonymous), 'Το Πρόγραμμά μας', *Φιλαλήθης*, September 8th, 1851, No. 1.

(οπισθοδρομικούς), and the ‘true’ reformers, who aspire the union, as the journalist notes particularly the following:

*Ηξέρεις ω Λαέ της Επτανήσου τι είναι πραγματικός εκείνοι τους οποίους οι μεγαλόνοες της εποχής μας άνδρες ονομάζουσι μεταρρυθμιστάς, και τι είναι εκείνοι τους οποίους ονομάζουσι οπισθοδρομικούς; Αφ’ ου κάπηλοι τινές της ελευθερίας συνενοηθέντες μεταξύ των συνηκούσθησαν με τον Αρμοστήν και εσυνθηκολόγησαν στενήν μετ’ αυτού συμμαχίαν, αισχνυόμενοι να ονομάζωνται Κυβερνητικοί και θέλοντες να απατήσωσι τον λαόν, ωνομάσθησαν Μεταρρυθμισταί, δικαιολογούμενοι ότι συμφωνούσι με την Κυβέρνησιν επειδή ο κύριος Ουάρδος ενέδωκε τέλος εις τας επιθυμίας αυτών και εισήλθε εις την οδόν των μεταρρυθμίσεων!*¹⁸⁷

In addition, the editor’s purpose was to present a different, yet, more concrete, view of the socio-political facts, as well as to compare and contrast other viewpoints derived from the British side. Therefore one of the main purposes of *Φιλαλήθης* was to reprint foreign newspapers’ articles, with regards to politics and the Ionian state (for instance, a number of articles, mostly from the British papers *the Sunday Times*, *Daily news*, *Spectator and Globe*, *The Sheffield free press*, *Poole Herald* and *Morning Chronicle*, concern the doctoral dissertation by the Corfiot patriot Georgios Drakatos-Papanikolas with regards to the evaluation of the first 30 years of the British rule in the Ionian Islands).¹⁸⁸ The same reprinted articles were afterwards commented upon by the journalists; this commentary allowed the journalists to express their own viewpoints and perspectives. The journalist refers particularly to these re-publications and states the following:

*Εξακολουθούμεν να κοινοποιώμεν όσα ευρίσκομεν αναφερόμενα περί ημών εις τας ξένας εφημερίδας και μάάλιστα εις τας Αγγλικάς, διότι νομίζομεν ωφέλιμον να γνωρίζωσιν όλοι τί φρονούσιν οι άλλοι και μάάλιστα οι Άγγλοι περί των υποθέσεών μας.*¹⁸⁹

As aforementioned, other articles address topics such as the proceedings of the Ionian Parliament and present the journalists’ critical comments either on several speeches or official correspondences made by Lord Commissioner Ward (No. 15, No. 25, No. 41,

¹⁸⁷ (Anonymous), ‘Η αλλαγή του ονόματος δεν αλλάσει τα πράγματα’, *Φιλαλήθης*, April 22nd, 1852, No. 33. See also the editorial of the 36th issue, May 10th 1852, titled: *Αι αιτίαι της Αντιπολιτεύσεως*.

¹⁸⁸ See respectively the following editions: (No. 2-3, No. 5-6, No. 10, No. 15, No. 17-18). For a concrete view of the Heptanesian journalist (writing in several English newspapers at this period) and patriot Georgios Drakatos-Papanikolas, see the aforementioned study in the beginning of this section: Nikos Pagkratis, *Γεώργιος Δρακάτος-Παπανικόλας*., op.cit.

¹⁸⁹ (Anonymous), ‘Τα Χρονικά της Κυριακής περί Επτανήσου’ *Φιλαλήθης*, October 6th, 1851, No. 5.

No. 81-88 & No. 91-94) while other articles focus on the dissolution of the 9th Ionian Parliament, the Ionian Parliament's elections in 1852, (No. 18-19) the candidates (No. 20), the election results (No. 21 & No. 23-26), the Senate,¹⁹⁰ Zakynthian and Lefkadian news (No. 30-35, No. 37-38, No. 41-42) and the Ionian state's public debt. Lastly the newspaper had a separate column for Greek and foreign political news, and publicized several letters by a number of anonymous subscribers; these usually had a social content. It is also worth indicating a number of articles published in *Φιλαλήθης* concerning the penal system and related abuses (No. 3), the will and testament of the wealthy Corfiot Helen Armeni (No. 4), references to earthquakes within the Ionian state (No. 5), the Greek language (No. 16), letters from the exiled Heptanesian Frangkiskos Domenegines to his son Ioannis and his wife, Ionian education (No. 101), the judicial body (No. 102, No. 108), etc.

To conclude, *Φιλαλήθης* is a perfect example which depicts the division inside the reformist party, and imprints their doubts with regards to the goals serving Vrailas's reforms.¹⁹¹ On the one hand, *Φιλαλήθης*' existence depicts a reformist declination, as Kontoni points out two different political tactics; the liberal reformers, who were rejecting Vrailas's memoria, and, on the other hand, the conservatives reformers, who supported the editor of *Πατρίς*, but also President of the 10th Ionian Parliament.

Ο Ερμής (1851-1852)

The Corfiot *Ο Ερμής* (Hermes) newspaper *εφημερίς των Δημοτικών Συμφερόντων* was launched on October 6th, 1851, almost a month after the initiation of distribution of *Φιλαλήθης*,¹⁹² however, for unknown reasons, it survived for three months only, i.e. until January 1st, 1852, counting a total of 13 issues.¹⁹³ It was written in Greek, and as usual, the front-page editorial of the first issue presented its aims, noting in particular:

¹⁹⁰ (Anonymous), 'Αι αδόμεναι συνταγματικά μεταρρυθμίσεις περί την γερουσίαν', *Φιλαλήθης*, November 17th, 1851, and November 24th, 1851, No. 11-12. See also: (Anonymous), 'Το Προσφώνημα της Γερουσίας', *Φιλαλήθης*, April 28th, 1852, No. 34. Also: (Anonymous), 'Η Γερουσία και ο Ποντίφηξ', May 20th, 1853, No. 80; (Anonymous), 'Η Γερουσίαν και το Επαρχιακόν Συμβούλιον', *Φιλαλήθης*, August 10th, 1853, No. 90.

¹⁹¹ Refer also to: Anna Kontoni, Φιλελεύθεροι στοχασμοί και δεξίωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο..., *op.cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁹² It is worth noting that according to the article titled: *και πάλιν ο συνδρομητής του Ερμού*, No. 38 issue of *Φιλαλήθης* (May 24th, 1852), *Ο Ερμής* continues its distribution until the 29th issue. However, only the first 13th issues of *Ο Ερμής* are saved at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens.

¹⁹³ *Ερμής* (size 0.28x0.18) was a four-sheet two-column newspaper. Under the main title, the following motto was printed: *Διό και καθήκον εκάστου μανθάνειν τι μεν ωφέλιμον, τι δε βλαβερόν, ίνα εκείνο μεν*

Όθεν ευγνωμονούντες προς τους συνδραμόντας ημάς εις την παγίωσιν του κοινωφελούς τούτου Καταστήματος, απεφασίσαμεν να εκδόσωμεν την μικράν ταύτην εφημερίδαν φέρουσαν το όνομα του Τυπογραφείου και σκοπόν έχουσαν την νοητικήν και ηθικήν ωφέλειαν του λαού, την πρόοδον των φώτων, την διάδοσιν ωφελίμων και τερπνών γνώσεων, την έκδοσιν ανεκδότων και ποικίλων πονηματίων, την δημοσίευσιν παντοίων ειδήσεων και αγγελιών, εμπορικών, βιομηχανικών, γεωργικών παραγγελμάτων, ηθικών αποφθεγμάτων, ιστορικών γνώσεων, εθνογραφικών ειδήσεων, περί της κοινωνικής των άλλων εθνών καταστάσεως και προ πάντων του ημετέρου, της τε ελευθέρας και δούλης Ελλάδος, ενί λόγω, παντός ό,τι δύναται να ρυθμίση τα ήθη, να μορφώση την καρδίαν, ή να φωτίση τον νουν και να πλουτίση το πνεύμα. (...)

Πολιτικοί δεν είμεθα, εις κόμματα πολιτικά δεν ανήκομεν, αλλά καθό τυπογράφοι, φύσει και θέσει ουδέτεροι και αμερόληπτοι φίλοι προς όλους είμεθα και άλλο συμφέρον δεν έχομεν παρά την πολλαπλασίασιν των τυπογραφικών έργων, καθό βιομήχανοι, και την υπό πάσας τας όψεις κοινωνικήν ανάπτυξιν καθό πολίται. Πολιτικοί δεν είμεθα, αλλά δυνάμεθα να προετοιμάσωμεν, να ευκολύνωμεν, να συνδράμωμεν της πολιτικής το έργον και τον σκοπόν, ο οποίος άλλος δεν είναι, νομίζομεν, ειμή η επί της γης ταύτης ευημερία των ανθρώπων δια της πραγματοποιήσεως της δικαιοσύνης και δια της κατά φύσιν και κατά λόγον ανθρωπίνης αναπτύξεως.¹⁹⁴

According to Kontoni, it is propable that Vrailas-Armenis is one of the journalists of this paper.¹⁹⁵ Even though it becomes apparent its political nature¹⁹⁶ the close reading of the newspaper' contents allows me to conclude that *Ερμής* was quite different from the other reformist papers, since a number of editions focused mostly on religious articles (No. 1-3, 5-6 & 9-10), cultural articles (regarding the language question),¹⁹⁷ as well as foreign news in the '*Περίληψις Εξωτερικών ειδήσεων*' column.

εν εαυτώ περιποιήται, τούτου δε απέχη. This newspaper was printed in the printing house of *Ερμής*. At first, the publisher of this short-lived paper was Spyridon Mavros and later on, after the 4th edition, he was replaced by Th. Romaios.

¹⁹⁴ (Anonymous), 'Τι είναι η παρούσα Εφημερίς', *Ο Ερμής*, October 6th, 1851, No. 1.

¹⁹⁵ Anna Kontoni, *Φιλελεύθεροι στοχασμοί και δεξίωσή τους στον Επτανησιακό χώρο...*, op.cit., p. 14.

¹⁹⁶ For the political nature of the paper, see characteristically the No. 6-8 (November 10th - November 25th 1851, and the editorials *Περί Πολιτικών Κομμάτων*, as well as the 9th issue and the editorial 'Κυριαρχία και Γερουσία', December 2nd, 1851.

¹⁹⁷ See : (Anonymous), 'Κύριε Συντάκτα της εφημερίδος Ο Ερμής', *Ο Ερμής*, No. 4-6, (October 27th - November 10th). See also the No. 12 edition and the editorial titled: *Η Εθνική γλώσσα*, December 23rd, 1851.

According to Konomos, one edition before the newspaper's closure (i.e. in the 12th edition), the journalist was fearlessly pro-British,¹⁹⁸ however, in my view, from the 11th till the 13th edition, the journalist had clearly a reformist approach. In particular, the journalist notes the following:

Πώς παρουσιάζεται το μέλλον μας; Πού είμεθα και πού βαδίζομεν; Νέαι μεταρρυθμίσεις μας προτείνονται. Είναι πραγματικά, ή είναι παγίδες καθώς έλεγαν οι παλαιοί ριζοσπάσται και καθώς λέγουν οι νέοι; (...) Ημπορεί ίσως να ειπή ότι εκείναι όπου μας δίδονται σήμερα είναι ολίγαι και χρειάζονται και άλλαι, ή να ειπή ότι θέλει γενικήν και ριζικήν μεταρρύθμισιν, αλλά δεν ημπορεί να ειπή ότι δεν τας θέλει, ριζικήν μεταρρύθμισιν όλοι επιθυμούν όλοι θέλουν και εις τούτο έτεινεν απ' αρχής το κόμμα των μεταρρυθμιστών. Αλλά διότι θέλομεν την γενικήν διά τούτο να μην δεχθώμεν την μερικήν, τούτο είναι, Κύριε συντάκτα, παραλογισμός και αντίφασις, ή δόλος.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, *Φιλαλήθης* provides additional information for *Ο Ερμής* by presenting the different viewpoints between the two reformist Corfiot newspapers. For instance, it is worth noting two signed letters by a *Φιλαλήθης* writer, under the pen-name *Κρίτων* (these two letters are essentially a response to the writer/columnist of *Ερμής* under the pen-name *Ευθύφρων*). Particularly, while the second letter refers to the different points of view concerning the policies of Sir Commissioner Ward,²⁰⁰ the first article argues that it is unreasonable for the *Φιλαλήθης* journalists to support radical views in their articles. *Κρίτων*, on the other hand, was accusing *Ευθύφρων* for his point of view, simultaneously characterizing the radicals as victims of despotism, and particularly noting the following:

Πρέπει βέβαια τα ομολογήσωμεν ότι εις την εποχήν ταύτην, απαιτείται μεγάλη ευτολμία εκ μέρους εκείνων οίτινες διακηρύττονται μετά παρρησίας ως ανήκοντες εις το κόμμα των Ριζοσπαστών. (...) Βέβαια, το επαναλαμβάνομεν, εις τοιαύτην τρομεράν εποχήν, εκείνοι οίτινες κηρύττονται Ριζοσπάσται προσφέρονται αυτοθελήτως θύματα του πλέον εξηγημένου δεσποτισμού (...).²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸ Refer also to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 125-126.

¹⁹⁹ Refer to: (penname) Ευθύφρων, 'Η Ενεστάσα Κατάστασις', *Ο Ερμής*, December 16th, 1851, No. 11. Regarding the journalist's reformist approach see also the 13th issue: (penname) Ευθύφρων, 'Αι Ανάγκαι', *Ο Ερμής*, January 1st, 1852, No. 13.

²⁰⁰ (penname) Κρίτων, 'No Title', *Φιλαλήθης*, January 9th, 1852, No. 18.

²⁰¹ See: (penname) Κρίτων, 'No Title', *Φιλαλήθης*, December 24th, 1851, No. 16. For the differences between the two newspapers also see in the 37th edition of *Φιλαλήθης*, the editorial 'Ο Συνδρομητής του Ερμού κατά του Φιλαλήθους', May 18th, 1852, No. 37, and from the 38th edition of the same paper the front-page editorial entitled: 'Και πάλι ο συνδρομητής του Ερμού', May 24th, 1852, No. 38.

To sum up, taking into account the issues examined, these two Corfiot papers seem to reflect the difference of opinions inside the reformist party, i.e. revealing that the reformers had diverging opinions and perspectives, disapproving the new reformists' approach. After the closure of *Φιλαλήθης* (1854) and *Ερμής* (1852), for the next few years there was no other reformist newspaper published since one of the top politician reformers, Petros Vrailas-Armenis, had achieved to approach Sir Ward, giving a conciliatory hand to the British thus, seized the opportunity to get politically involved.

6.3.5 *Νέα Εποχή* (1858-1862)

In 1858, during the second period of the Ionian newspapers' publication, the Corfiot newspaper *Νέα Εποχή* was launched, and according to researcher Alisandratos,²⁰² it constituted another excellent example of the Islands' press.²⁰³ *Νέα Εποχή* started its publication on March 10th, 1858, and survived until October 13th, 1862, counting a total of 231 issues.²⁰⁴ It was written in Greek and Italian, and a small number of front-page editorials were translated in French, as well.²⁰⁵ Being published almost ten years after freedom of the press was granted, and only a few years prior to the union with the Greeks,²⁰⁶ *Νέα Εποχή* was particularly interested in various questions, thus publishing a series of articles regarding the Ionian education (under the common title: *Η Παιδεία εν τη Επτανήσω*),²⁰⁷ the Ionian Bank (under the common title: *Η Ιονική τράπεζα*),²⁰⁸ the poor administration or the abuse of powers during the British rule (*Ο γόρδιος δεσμός*),²⁰⁹ the Heptanesian question (referring to the successive occupations

²⁰² The majority of the newspaper issues is located at the library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

²⁰³ G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατά την Αγγλοκρατία...', *op.cit.*, p. 5.

²⁰⁴ See also: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 130-131.

²⁰⁵ For example, the 41st issue of November 22nd, 1858, is distributed in Greek and French under the title: *Nouvelle époque, journal national*.

²⁰⁶ *Νέα Εποχή* (size 0.46x0.31) distributed on a weekly basis. It was four-paged and three-column and had a nationalistic approach: *εφημερίς εθνική*. Under the newspaper's head title, the editor used the following motto: *Και μείζον όστις αντί της αυτού πάτρας φίλον νομίζει, τούτον ουδαμού λέγω*. Its publisher was Gerasimos Moraitis and the paper was printed in the Corfiot printing house of *Σχερία*. [From the 5th issue of April 12th, 1858, the newspaper was printed in the printing house *Η Ιονία*, and from the 36th issue of October 31st, 1858, it was being printed in the printing house of *Ερμής* by Antonios Terzakis. In addition, from the 41st issue, its size was changed (0.54x0.37) and the paper thus became four-column. Finally, from the 65th issue its size was changed once again and returned to its initial size (0.46x0.31)].

²⁰⁷ See the following editions of *Νέα Εποχή*: No. 1-2, No. 5 & No. 16-17.

²⁰⁸ Again, refer to: No. 20-22, No. 25, No. 28, No. 33 & No. 35.

²⁰⁹ These articles refer mostly to the Case of Mr. Taylor; see: No. 26-27, No. 32 & No. 34.

of the Ionian Islands *Το Επτανησιακό ζήτημα*),²¹⁰ and the British staff appointments (*Οι διορισμοί και η πολιτική της προστασίας*).²¹¹ In addition secondary, yet important, articles indicate the newspaper's concern about various proclamations of the High Commissioners. *Νέα Εποχή* writes about Gladstone's arrival and his purposes (dismissing calls for union, but he conceded to a number of constitutional reforms), and illustrates the viewpoints of other British newspapers, such as *London Times* and *Examiner*, referring, at the same time, to the problematic successive British Commissions in the Islands.²¹² Moreover, the newspaper publicized religious articles, articles with trading information, and also interesting articles regarding the Corfu Philharmonic Society.²¹³ It is quite interesting that this paper publicized the points of view of several Heptanesian citizens, and although the citizen-journalists remained anonymous, this has essentially created sort of a dialogue between the Ionian population and the respective journalist:

*Εσπεύσαμεν να καταχωρίσωμεν την επιστολήν ταύτην, διότι σύστημα έχομεν, σεβόμενοι τον λόγον και τας πεποιθήσεις των άλλων, να δημοσιεύωμεν κατά προτίμησιν πάσας διατριβήν ημάς καθαπτόμενην. Ακολουθως θέλομεν δώσει κατηγορηματικήν απάντησιν (...).*²¹⁴

Based on his research, Alisandratos argues that the newspaper's editors were an old reformist, Stefanos Padovas, who embraced the radicals during the end of the British rule and the Kefalonian Theodoros G. Kladas.²¹⁵ Yet, even though Alisandratos states that their primary purpose was to remain unbiased and objective, in an effort to secure the credentials of modern Heptanesian means of information,²¹⁶ he found it difficult to identify the political character of *Νέα Εποχή*; still, he refers to the similarities with another radical paper, *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*. Consequently, one of my main tasks in this section is to try identifying the political perspectives of this particular newspaper, and, therefore, to justify its reformist and radical frame, at the same time.

²¹⁰ See the following editions: No. 38, No. 41-44.

²¹¹ See: No. 230-231.

²¹² Indeed, Gekas's study explores how the Ionian protectorate became unmanageable, mostly due to political (as well as economic) reasons. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 2.

²¹³ Refer to issues: No. 4 & No. 12.

²¹⁴ (Anonymous), (No title), *Νέα Εποχή*, April 5th, 1858, No. 4.

²¹⁵ See: G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Τύπος κατά την Αγγλοκρατία...', op.cit., p. 5.

²¹⁶ It is worth noting a phrase from an anonymous letter from the 5th issue stating in particular: *Φίλε Συντάκτα, παραχώρησον μοι φίλε, μικράν τινά γωνίαν εις τας στήλας της ανεξαρτήτου εφημερίδος σου.* Refer to: (Anonymous), (No title), *Νέα Εποχή*, April 12th, 1858, No. 5.

6.3.5.1. *The Νέα Εποχή's political identity*

One of the last, yet of great interest, front-page editorials of *Νέα Εποχή*, written and signed by the life force of this paper, Theodoros G. Kladas, discusses the financial issues that the newspaper faced, indicating that one of the paper's principal aims was to expand its distribution abroad. In the following excerpt, he refers to London, in particular, and states:

Ημείς καθ' άπαν το τετραετές διάστημα της εκδόσεως της Εφημερίδος ημών, ουδένα ηνοχλήσαμεν δι' όσας οικονομικάς δυσχερείας υπέστη η Εφημερίς ημών. Ημείς, καταδικασθέντες υπό των φίλων μας να μεταβώμεν εις το Λονδίνον, την ηθικήν υποστήριξιν αυτών μόνον καλέσθημεν, ουδενός δε των πολιτικών Επτανησίων την βοήθειαν εξητήσαμεν ίνα ανθέξωμεν εις τα υπέρογκα έξοδα της εκδόσεως της Εφημερίδος εν Λονδίνω.²¹⁷

The above excerpt reveals that the editor's main objective was to promote *Νέα Εποχή* abroad. Yet, which was the true reason of this promotion? The following phrase shows that this newspaper was making a tremendous effort to make the British abuse of power known, as the two journalists-scholars believed that this sort of abuse, or any sort of British arbitrary actions should not be tolerated:

Πολλάκις ο τύπος ανέφερε τας καταχρήσεις και αυθαιρεσίας των Αγγλων Προξένων, και Πρακτόρων εν τη αλλοδαπή.²¹⁸

In a similar manner, one of the first editions, stated that one of the journalists' goals was to highlight issues related with the political system in the Islands, and to criticize the British Colonial policy and poor governance, noting in particular:

Περαίνοντες λοιπόν αναγγέλομεν, ότι η πορεία της εφημερίδος ημών έσεται εθνική – τα δε κυριώτερα άρθρα αυτής θέλουν μεταφράζεσθαι εις μίαν των Ευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών, ίνα βλέπωσιν οι ευρωπαϊκοί λαοί την κατάστασίν μας.²¹⁹

But, most importantly, the author, in an effort to defend the newspaper against the allegations made by *Τα Καθημερινά* newspaper, responds by writing the following:

Εις ταύτα όμως αντιτάττουσι τα Καθημερινά, ότι μ'όλας τας απαιτήσεις ημών η προστασία υπάρχει εν πράγματι, και ως εκ τούτου μας παρακαλούσι να τοις επιτρέψωμεν ώστε, να ελπίζωσιν ότι οι αντιπρόσωποι αυτής δύνανται να μας παρέχωσι χείρα αρρωγόν εις την βελτίωσιν της πολιτικής μας καταστάσεως, ή τουλάχιστον ότι αυτοί δεν θα

²¹⁷ Th. G. Kladas, 'Η αναίρεσις ημών', *Νέα Εποχή*, November 11th, 1861, No. 191.

²¹⁸ (Anonymous), 'Αγγλική Προστασία εν τη αλλοδαπή', *Νέα Εποχή*, September 30th, 1861, No. 188.

²¹⁹ See: (Anonymous), 'Η συνταγή', *Νέα Εποχή*, April 5th, 1858, No. 4.

*αντενεργώσιν εις τας προς τούτο προσπαθείας μας. Εις ουδένα αναιρέσομεν το δικαίωμα του να ελπίζη (...).*²²⁰

The following passage is also indicative of the journalists' disappointment concerning the allegations of the political circles characterizing them as pro-British, particularly noting:

*Ενώ ο της Επτανήσου Τύπος δια μακρυσκελών άρθρων υπερασπίζεται τα κοινότερα του τόπου δικαιώματα, και προσπαθεί να προφυλλάξη από των ονύχων των ξένων την κατάστασίν μας, (...) Ευτυχείς οι αδελφοί ημών. Δυστυχείς ημείς, οίτινες κατεδικάσθημεν να πολεμώμεν στοιχείον τόσω άπληστον, όσω και ισχυρόν, σχετικών ημών.*²²¹

Lastly, one of the last front-page editorials of *Νέα Εποχή* quoted an anonymous allegation from another newspaper, which was directly characterizing *Νέα Εποχή* as pro-British:

*Εκτός του Φιλελευθέρου, της Αναγεννήσεως, του Κεραυνού (!) αυτής της Αληθείας και τινών άλλων, αι λοιπαί Εφημερίδες και αυτού του Επιθεωρητού συμπεριλαμβανομένου, δεν είναι ριζοσπαστικάί. Εκτός των αρχών των πατρώνων της, αι προσπάθειαι των λοιπών ριζοσπαστών εισί δόλιαι, καταχθόνιοι ή αγυρτικάί.*²²²

Thus, taking into consideration the above remarks, the articles presented demonstrate that *Νέα Εποχή* was not pro-British at all, even though it was accused as such by other noteworthy newspapers.²²³

²²⁰ *Ibid.* In a similar manner, another issue of *Νέα Εποχή* refers to the altercations between the two newspapers, and notes: *Κύριε... Έκαστος είδε μετά λύπης, ότι ηρχίσαστε διαπληκτισμούς μεταξύ των αδελφών, με άλλους λόγους εμβήκεν εις το μέσον η διχόνοια, ήτις πάντοτε έφερε την καταστροφήν, και αφαιρεί την φήμην του Επτανησιακού τύπου. (...) Έαν εξακολουθήσετε εις το φύλλον σας απαντήσεις και ανταπαντήσεις, παραβλέποντες τα κοινά συμφέροντα αυτού του πτωχού λαού, σκοπόν έχουν εδώ να συστήσωσι συντακτικόν συμβούλιον, δια του οποίου θέλετε έχει παρατηρήσεις επί της πορείας του Επτανησιακού τύπου δια του σημαντικότερου Ευρωπαϊκού φύλλου.* See: (Anonymous), 'Νέα μέσα ηθικοποιήσεως', *Νέα Εποχή* (appendix), July 23rd, 1858, No. 18. It is also worth noting a separate edition (Appendix) of this paper (between No.27 / No.28), a re-print from *Παρατηρητής*, in order to defend against the allegations of *Τα Καθημερινά*, refer to: Athanasios Paramythiotis, (No title), *Παρατηρητής*, August 25th, 1858, No. 34.

²²¹ (Anonymous), (No title), *Νέα Εποχή*, August 10th, 1858, No. 24.

²²² Th. G. Kladas, 'Η αναίρεσις ημών', *Νέα Εποχή*, November 11th, 1861, No. 191. Additionally, the last issue of the newspaper comments on the accusations made by the two other radical papers *Ο Ριζοσπάστης* and *Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*. See: (Anonymous), 'Αι δύο εν Κεφαλληνία εφημερίδες', *Νέα Εποχή*, October 13th, 1862, No. 231.

²²³ *Νέα Εποχή* was also accused by *Τα Καθημερινά* and *Φοίνιξ* newspapers. See respectively the 4th (April 5th, 1858) and 6th issue (April 19th, 1858) of *Νέα Εποχή*. Also, an anonymous letter published by *Νέα Εποχή* in the 9th issue (May 10th, 1858), similarly accuses the newspaper of being pro-British, referring to it as *Καρουσιανή*.

In my personal viewpoint, the journalists' unbiased writing tone created a sense of ambiguous political identity, and I assume that this was a critical factor for the newspaper's longevity. Even though the exploration of the paper's mission statement, published as usual on the 1st issue, suggests that *Νέα Εποχή* was independent,²²⁴ the thorough study of the newspaper's contents shows that, in reality, during the first years of its distribution, it had a reformist approach. It had as primary purpose the *βελτίωσιν της ημετέρας αξιοδακρύτου θέσεως*, since right from its first issue it discussed the necessity of a number of reforms in the Ionian state, in essence, following the policy of the previous reformist newspapers. In particular, the journalist was referring to the enormous decline of the Islands' industry, commerce, agriculture, and shipping, writing and complaining of the following:

*Αναδεχθέντες όθεν το ακανθώδες και πολύμοχθον της δημοσιογραφίας στάδιον, το ανώτερον των ασθενών δυνάμεών μας, θέλομεν υπερασπισθή τα δικαιώματα της πατρίδος ημών (...). Θέλομεν εξετάσει ποία τα προσφορώτερα μέσα προς ταχύτεραν απολαύην της απελευθερώσεως ημών, και αποδείξει ποία τα καθήκοντα ημών προς βελτίωσιν της ημετέρας αξιοδακρύτου θέσεως. Θέλομεν αποδείξει, ότι υπό των ξένων, των και προστάτων μας καλουμένων, ουδέν πρέπει να ελπίζωμεν, και επομένως εξετάσει κατά πόσον η αμοιβαία βοήθεια δύναται να βελτιώση την τοςούτον παραμεληθείσαν γεωργίαν, βιομηχανίαν, εμπόριον και ναυτιλίαν μας` (...) ούτω και ημείς μη έχοντες κυβέρνησιν υπέρ ημών μεριμνώσαν, αλλ' απλώς φορολογούσαν ημάς ίνα τρέφη τους ξένους και επιτοπίους κηφήνας, να ανεύρωμεν ημείς αφ'εαυτών τα μέσα δι'ων απέναντι πάσης ξενικής αντιδράσεως, να κατορθώσωμεν την νοητικήν ημών πρόοδον.*²²⁵

The writer of this article similarly considered the need for immediate improvements, but, he was also certain that, under the British flag, the Ionian Islands could prosper. Nevertheless, following the lines of the previous reformist papers seeing the union with the Greeks as a future prospect, a great deal of articles showed an interest in politics relating to the Greek Kingdom, as *Νέα Εποχή* journalists were repeatedly referring to the "Greekness" of the Islanders. By considering the Ionian Islands a Greek territory, they were making continuous comparisons with the island of Crete and published a number of philhellenic articles regarding Crete's political status, in an effort to highlight both Islands as unredeemed Greek lands. But, apart from the

²²⁴ See also the 5th issue: (Anonymous), (No title), *Νέα Εποχή*, April 12th, 1858, No. 5.

²²⁵ (Anonymous), 'Το πρόγραμμά μας', *Νέα Εποχή*, March 10th, 1858, No. 1.

comparison, other secondary articles in the *Πολιτικά* and *Ελληνικά* columns covered Greek politics, as well. In addition, *Νέα Εποχή* re-printed articles from several Greek newspapers addressing the Ionian Islands political status quo.²²⁶ But, apart from politics, several subjects were socio-culturally oriented, and the journalists published texts from Greek literary and historical studies, book reviews, poems, travelers' correspondence, essays etc. To sum up, in a fashion similar to Alisandratos, I reach to the conclusion that this paper had been reformist in the beginning of its distribution, altering later (1861-1862) its political orientation by reporting a great deal of Greek news, certainly acknowledging the British decision to 'grant' the seven Islands to Greece in 1862.²²⁷ Indeed, considering that the British had showed their willingness for the union, this paper advocated in favor of Lombardos' unionistic policy, since it seemed that *Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* (refer to No. 231) was not very keen on *Νέα Εποχή*.

6.4 Conclusion

The reformist press, as a whole, constitutes an exceptional case study with plentiful contributors, noteworthy journalists and a variety of political/socio-cultural columns. In an attempt to evaluate its contents and demonstrate the characteristics which shaped the reformist identity within the press, Chapter six presented, in detail, the profiles of all the newspapers that were published after the freedom of the press was granted, and showed that the newspapers truly benefited the Greek Ionians, since the reformist press's key role was to preserve the Greek identity in the Ionian Islands. This chapter has focused mainly on the leading and most influential newspaper of the period, *Πατρίς*, where, in my opinion, the journalists's writings constituted the norm for all the reformist journalists who followed, up until the union with Greeks in 1864. But, it also analyzed other local newspapers as well, i.e. *Το Μέλλον*, *Ένωσις* and *Φιλαλήθης*, concluding that they were worthy wingmen of the reformist policy line. Thus, Chapter six presented these four high-quality newspapers as a reference point, because their journalists expressed highly important questions, either political or societal, and all of them had set as their primary purpose to amend Sir Th. Maitland's authoritarian constitution by proposing the necessary reforms. By embracing the 1849

²²⁶ The newspaper was also re-printing articles from foreign newspapers, such as the *London Times*; indicatively refer to: (Anonymous), 'Αι Ιόνιοι Νήσοι και η Αγγλία - εκ της Κλειούς, αρ. 12', in *Νέα Εποχή*, September 23rd, 1861, No. 187. Also, it is worth noting that the same edition reprints articles from the Belgian newspaper *Le Nord*; refer to: (Anonymous), 'Διάφορα', *op.cit.*

²²⁷ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, *op.cit.*, p. 2.

reforms, the journalists acknowledged that the freedom of the press would signify, in the long run, multiple socio-cultural and political developments, and would also gradually bring prosperity to the Ionian state; that was their vision and their wishful thinking.

By exhibiting the most important political events of the period, and demonstrating in depth, the reformist policy, the journalists were encouraged to underline the British mismanagements by exercising some serious criticism. They promoted a non-violent behavior, taking into account the Kefalonian revolutionary attitude of their political opponents, and also made known the weaknesses of the state's apparatus through press by focusing on certain drawbacks of the British rule. In order to enhance their argumentation, the journalists also re-printed other foreign newspapers' approaches concerning the Ionian state's status quo, and similarly publicized the views of the Heptanesian citizens in regards several questions such as, the sovereign debts, the unnecessary expenses, the violation of personal freedoms and the High police's arbitrariness. It therefore becomes apparent that the reformist press was focusing on the importance of the British rule to embrace the Heptanesian reformist men of letters into the administrative body, hence, presenting this aspect as a prerequisite for the amelioration of the Ionian protectorate.

In addition, the reformist press promoted the "Greekness" of the Islanders and argued that only the virtue of education and learning could accomplish this re-call. It encouraged a national pride by highlighting the Greek Ionians' close relation with the fellow-Greeks, and believed in an educated and well-informed state, in an attempt to act as patronizers to the people. Indeed, the journalists' purpose was the politicization of the population and the guidance of the Ionian youth through the active participation of both the reading societies and political clubhouses. Acting as intellectual leaders, they enlightened the readership, and hoped at re-calling to the Greek Ionians their lost "Greekness". On these grounds, and considering that one of their main goals targeted the spread of Hellenism in the Ionian state, the reformist press, principally through *Πατρις*, promoted the use of the Modern Greek language in the Islands and fought for the establishment of the Greek language as official, since they argued that the use of the Modern Greek was a *sine qua non* in order to re-construct Greek identity in the Ionian protectorate. But, apart the numerous articles concerning the language question, other articles as well illustrate the multiple significances of the education. For instance, according to specific journalists, espoused family constitution was a

principal mentality changer. In a similar manner, the journalists wrote incessantly about Greek history, politics and literature, once again in an attempt to recall the Greek Identity.

Lastly, Chapter six showed that the reformist press did not intend to upset political order, and thus, try to change the existing status quo by beginning outbursts with force and mistrust, for causing a rebellion in the Islands would only worsen the existing political status quo. Nevertheless, by making particular references to the Ionian state's vitality, the reformers wrote about the abolition of censorship and non-authoritarian rules, highlighting that without wealth no state could truly survive, and a free state should be able to act freely and independently. In a similar fashion, Chapter seven is devoted to the examination of the Radical party Press, and tries to demonstrate the various problems raised for radicals by the British authorities. It focuses on the radicals' attempt to democratize the Ionian Islands mainly via the establishment of constitutional and social rights along with speech and press freedoms within the Ionian state. In this, the major radical papers are thoroughly examined, while other similar press initiatives are also considered.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE RADICAL PRESS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the first radical newspapers in the Ionian state during the period of British rule (1849-1852). It examines their contents and aspires to prove that one of the principal roles of the radical press was to promote the Ionian Islands much-desired union with their fellow-brothers in the mainland. In a similar manner with the previous chapters (Chapter 5 & 6), Chapter 7 focuses on the most influential radical newspapers of the period, taking into account that most of the newspapermen were constantly persecuted by the British authorities, dispelling any myths regarding the freedom of speech ‘granted’ to the Ionian state, as well as regarding the abolition of censorship. Considering, thus, that the radical newspapers were a subject of judicial prosecution, as well as a disputed issue between the political parties, I discuss the journalists’ attitudes and noble fights for national liberation and inalienable claim of human rights against the British.¹ I also show that the radical journalists’ purpose was not solely to report weekly news, as usual, but to advance and promote Heptanesian radicalism, to support parliamentary elections and, in a broader context, to combat poverty and injustice, as well as to fight for a democratic regime in the seven Islands. Indeed, the radical newspapers strongly denounced British arbitrariness and misuse of power by exposing the British High Police’s actions against the Ionians. To this direction, selected examples, revealing the arbitrary actions of the British policemen, the continuous human rights violations, the closure of several political clubs, and, lastly, the exiles of the most significant radical politicians-journalists, are presented.

Even though previous studies have thoroughly explored the political movement of the Heptanesian radicalism,² there is no further academic research analyzing the radical press and its role, as a whole. Thus, with that purpose, the radical press is being divided into two significant periods (Chapters 7 & 8); on the one hand, the *Old*

¹ Ntinou Konomos is referring to the fact that the radicals were also against the pro-British; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 89.

² See indicatively the following research studies: Maria Kotina, *Το Ριζοσπαστικό κίνημα στα αγγλοκρατούμενα Επτάνησα*, Athens, 2014; G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, Argostoli, 2006; Sp. Loukatos, *Η Επτανησιακή Πολιτική Σχολή των Ριζοσπαστών*, (Σύνδεσμος Φιλολόγων Κεφαλονιάς - Ιθάκης), Argostoli, 2009; Aggeliki N. Yiannatou, *Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός 1848-1865*, University of Athens, 2004.

radicals' press (1849-1852), discussed in this chapter, supported the union and expressed the desire for establishing a purely democratic regime, as well as the social regeneration of the Ionian state. On the other hand, the *New* radicals' press (1858-1862), presented in the following chapter, expressed politically differentiated views, which caused the radical press's schism.³ Chapter 7 commences the review of the radical journalism by concentrating on two of the most significant radical newspapers: *Φιλελεύθερος* (1849-1851) and *Αναγέννησις* (1849-1859), which were essentially two communicating vessels; according to Gekas, these newspapers "called the Ionians to set aside their differences and fight united as brothers to paralyze the destructive force of xenocracy and its instruments".⁴ Their editors were eminent political figures in the Ionian state, prolific writers, as well as courageous journalists; the lawyers, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos was the editor of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, and Iosif Momferratos was the editor of *Αναγέννησις*.⁵ Their multilevel actions marked the Heptanesian political agenda, and in spite of the British arbitrariness and their continuous exiles, they both carried on, fighting for personal liberties and freedom, and this is why they are remembered today as true pioneers of democracy and humanism. These two highly respected newspapers constituted the principal means of introducing to the Ionian population –especially to the lower social classes–⁶ the radical policy and were also the trigger for the rapid development of all other radical papers in the Ionian Islands

³ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 77, 81.

⁴ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 1.

⁵ It is worth highlighting Giorgos Alisandratos's primary research regarding the two eminent men of letters. For Iosif Momferratos, see the following: G. Alisandratos, 'Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου αυτοβιογραφικά σημειώματα (Συμβολή στον Επτανησιακό Ριζοσπαστισμό)', *Δελτίον Αναγνωστικής Εταιρίας Κέρκυρας*, Vol. 7, 1970, pp. 7-34; G. Alisandratos, 'Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου ανέκδοτα γράμματα στους αδελφούς του από την Ερείκουσα', *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά*, Vol. 3, 1978-1979, pp. 235-286; G. Alisandratos, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα του Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου (Συμβολή στην ιστορία του Επτανησιακού Ριζοσπαστισμού)', *Proceedings of the 4th International Panionian Conference*, Vol. 1, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 23, Corfu, 1980, pp. 3-23; G. Alisandratos, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα του Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου από τις εξορίες του στους Οθωνούς και την Ερείκουσα' *Proceedings of the International Symposium on History από το Κέντρο Μελετών Ιονίου*, (Corfu, May 1988), Athens, 1997, pp. 11-35; G. Alisandratos, 'Άλλα τρία γράμματα του Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου', *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά*, Vol. 5, 1986, pp. 267-274. For Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, refer to: G. Alisandratos, 'Τρία σημειώματα για τον Ηλία Ζερβό Ιακωβάτο', *Μνημοσύνη*, Vol. 11, 1990, pp. 235-243; G. Alisandratos, 'Δύο ανέκδοτα έργα του Ηλία Ζερβού Ιακωβάτου', *Κυμοθόη*, Vol. 4, 1994, pp. 7-30.

⁶ Alisandratos makes particular reference to the radical movement and its popular base. Even though the party met a big response to all social classes, it emphasized on the lower social strata; the Ionian peasants as well as the workers of the cities. They were all living in hope for economic relief and social justice. See: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 42-44.

since both I. Momferratos and I. Zervos-Iakovatos acted as political/journalistic role models. Another indicative example of the Heptanesian radicalism's spread through the press was the very rare, handwritten paper *Νεολαία* ("The Youth", 1849). Established in the island of Lefkada by a few young and restless men, *Νεολαία* is presented in this thesis, in an effort to show the success of the Heptanesian radicals in other Islands, apart from Kefalonia, Zakynthos and Corfu. Other important radical newspapers reviewed in this chapter include *Ο Χωρικός* ("The Peasant", 1850-1852) by the ambitious and courageous Dimitrios Daves Loretzatos, who focused on the High Police's arbitrariness, and the Corfiot *Ελλάς* ("Hellas", 1850-1851). By studying the above titles, I attempt to show the radical papers' impact regarding the unification of the Islands with the Greeks, as well as to present their attitudes and goal to revive the "Greekness" of the Islanders. Retrospectively, all radical papers were revolutionary in promoting radicalism –under a unifying umbrella⁷ in the Ionian state, as well as an excellent means of exerting pressure on the Crown. However, in an attempt to deliver a more comprehensive picture of the radical papers and their purposes it is of major importance to analyze the concept of Heptanesian radicalism and try to demonstrate its direct relationship with the newspapers presented in this chapter.

7.2 Heptanesian radicalism and the radical press

One of the most recent Greek studies has analyzed the concept of Heptanesian radicalism and explored its ideological background.⁸ According to this research, Heptanesian radicalism was defined as the political phenomenon manifesting in the Ionian Islands in the 1848-1864 period; it was a progressive ideology with several socio-philosophical principles, which combined the demand for Ionian independence and called for the unification of the Ionian Islands with the Greeks, with the concept of social regeneration under a purely democratic regime.⁹ Petratos respectively describes Heptanesian radicalism as a political movement created by and addressed to the people particularly emphasizing on the lower social classes.¹⁰ Inspired either by

⁷ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy..*, op.cit., p. 1.

⁸ Refer to: Aggeliki Yiannatou, *op.cit.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-20. Refer also to: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 36.

¹⁰ Petros Petratos, 'Η σύγκρουση μεταξύ Ριζοσπαστών και Ενωτιστών', *Κυμοθόη*, Vol. 25, 2015, pp. 97-128.

the *French revolutions* (1789 & 1848) or the *Italian Risorgimento*,¹¹ the Heptanesian radicals bridged the gap and disseminated the new revolutionary ideologies. This is actually the reason why all Greek studies on the Ionian Islands' radicalism note its unceasing progressiveness, its liberating purpose (getting rid of the British rule), as well as its direct influences from the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's modern political thinking, and the Jacobins, to the Italian politician/activist G. Mazzini and his Europeanism ideas of establishing a republic.¹² Moreover, Kotina highlights the strengthening of the radical ideology in the Ionian Islands due to the close bonds between the Italians and the Greek-Ionians, the Italian education that most of the Heptanesian men of letters had, and finally, the presence of Italian immigrants in the Ionian Islands.¹³ But, while exploring radical journalism, I personally came to the conclusion that the Greek independence (fully recognized in 1830) played a major role in the development of Heptanesian radicalism; it was a strong motivator, which drove the Heptanesian radicals into directly opposing the Crown, further confirming their desire for immediate liberation.

Nevertheless, in contrast with the above approach, one of the most important Heptanesian radicals of the period, Giorgos Verykios, in one of his rare pamphlets (1848) found in Zakynthos, refers to the aims of the radical press, simultaneously discussing its beneficial roles as well. The author particularly notes that an article ought to assist both the British government and its constitution, and most importantly, a newspaper's mission is to maintain balance between the British colonizers and the Greek-Ionians. But, in more general terms, the radical press ought to fight against all injustices, to criticize the government's actions, as well as to address any superstitions and prejudices among the Ionians, as he clearly states in the following excerpt:

*Η εφημεριδογραφία, αδελφέ μου, αν ακολουθήση τον ίσιον
δρόμον, και λέγω τον ίσιον επειδή εις κάθε πράγμα είναι και
το στραβό μονοπάτι, χρεωστεί να κτυπήση κατακέφαλα και*

¹¹ The Italian *Risorgimento* was a socio-political movement, which consolidated various states across Italy, into the Kingdom of Italy in 1871. See: Maria Kotina, *op.cit.*, pp. 371, 374-377. For further analysis with regards to Heptanesian radicalism and its relation to the *Risorgimento* and the French revolutions, refer to: G. Alisandratos, 'Ο Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός (1848-1864) και η σχέση του με τις Γαλλικές Επαναστάσεις του 1789 και 1848 και το Ιταλικό *Risorgimento*', *Πρακτικά Β' Συνεδρίου Επτανησιακού Πολιτισμού*, (Lefkada, 3-8 September 1984), Lefkadian Society Studies, Athens, 1991, pp. 337-373.

¹² Concerning the radicalism's influences in the Islands, see particularly: Sp. Loukatos, *op.cit.*, pp. 43-91.

¹³ See: Maria Kotina, *op.cit.*, p. 377.

με ανδρικό θάρρος, όχι μόνον τα κακά της κυβερνήσεως (δηλ. να επικρίνη τις πράξεις της) αλλά και πολλές προλήψεις, δεισιδαιμονίας και ελαττώματά μας, πράγμα δια το οποίον φοβούμαι μήπως από την αυγή της φανώμεν, σχεδόν όλοι, ενάντιό της.¹⁴

According to the same pamphlet, this new media of newspapers should constitute an exceptional organ for publishing political guidelines, as well as educating and updating the Ionian readership, once again, in terms of politics. As a consequence, Verykios's pamphlet openly refers to the middle-upper as well as the lower social classes, stating that they need to get actively involved into the political processes. In view of the foregoing considerations, it becomes apparent that Verykios appears prophetic and realistic, at the same time, by introducing the re-construction of the Ionian identity through the press, noting that the –radical– press should ‘rid’ the Ionian state from all the ‘dirt’ left over by the Venetian rule; he certainly refers to the Ionian nobles. Indicative of the above assertion is the following excerpt, in which Verykios refers to the landholding aristocracy as lying, deceptive, and selfish hypocrites, particularly writing the following:

Ο τύπος ίσως ειπεί, ότι ακόμη δεν εκαθαρίσθημεν από την βενετικήν λέπραν, ως έπρεπε· ότι πάμπολλοι από ημάς είμεθα μ' εκείνα τα ίδια φρονήματα, ίσως και χειρότερα, τα οποία μας άφησε κληρονομίαν η επικατάρατος αρχοντία των βενετών· (...) και λοιπόν ανάγκη να απεδυκθώμεν τον παλαιόν άνθρωπον, τον άνθρωπον της υποκρισίας, του ψεύδους, της απάτης και του εγωϊσμού, δείχνοντες εις το ξένον έθνος το οποίον μας προστατεύει, ότι γνήσια τέκνα είμεθα των προγόνων μας (...) Ο τύπος πιθανόν να κτυπήση τους πομπώδεις τίτλους (...) και να μας κάμη να καταλάβωμεν ότι οι άνθρωποι όλοι είμεθα ίσοι και όμοιοι, κανείς δε ουρανοκατέβατος.¹⁵

Referring to the granting of the press freedom and its importance, Makris described the –radical– press as a major promoter of the union, empowering Ionian freedom and as a standard-bearer of the unifying movement; he specifically notes the following:

Η χορηγηθείσα εις τους Επτανησίους ελευθεροτυπία υπήρξε το σύνθημα του αγώνος προς απόσεισιν της ξενικής προστασίας. (...) Αι πρώται ανακρούσασαι των Ενωτικών αγώνα εφημερίδες των Ιονίων ριζοσπαστών, παρέσυραν αρχικώς την μεγάλην μάζαν του λαού (...) Επιγραμματικώς

¹⁴ G. Verykios, *Ο Μάγος ή ολίγα τινά περί Τύπου*, Zakynthos: Konstantinos Rossolimos Publications, 1848, (pamphlet). For more information on the Ionian Islands' pamphlets, refer to: Leonidas X. Zois, “*Η παμφλετογραφία εν Επτανήσω*”, *Αι Μούσαι*, Vol. 38, Issue No. 860, Zakynthos, 1930.

¹⁵ G. Verykios, *Ο Μάγος ή ολίγα τινά περί Τύπου*, op.cit.

θα ηδυνάμεθα να χαρακτηρίσωμεν τον τύπον ως σημαιοφόρον της εθνικής ιδέας εν τη ιστορική ταύτη περιόδω της Επτανήσου.¹⁶

In the same article, the radical politician-journalists promoted the citizens' well-being, the Island's independence, the need for a democratic regime and a fair constitution, and generally a peaceful environment, development of moral values, prevention of misuse of power and the cooperation of locals towards the common cause.¹⁷

Nonetheless, the radical journalists were constantly faced with huge challenges. It is worth noting Tsitselis's particular reference to the radical press' difficulties, which highlights the pressure, exiles, and pursuits that these journalists were faced with in this period; he specifically notes:

*Η υπό του ιδίου περιγραφή της εξορίας εκείνης συγκινεί και την σκληροτέραν καρδίαν, όσον δικαιοί την προς τον άνδρα εκτίμησιν δια την καρτεροψυχίαν, την αυταπάρνησιν και το ευσταθές του φρονήματος. Εσίγησε τότε εν Επτανήσω ο τύπος· ο Μομφερράτος ο γνωστός συντάκτης της Αναγεννήσεως εξωρίζετο εις Ερίκουσαν, οι εν Ζακύνθω συντάκται του Ρήγα κατεδιώκοντο, οι του Κεραυνού εν Κεφαλληνία ήσαν εις τας φυλακάς. Ο σκαιός και δεσποτικός αρμοστής Ουάρδος ενόμιζεν ότι ούτω φερόμενος, θα επολέμει αποτελεσματικώς το φρόνημα και θα κατασβέννυε το πυρ του εθνισμού, αλλά η ιστορία των μεγάλων και ευγενών ιδεών διδάσκει, ότι αι καταδιώξεις και μάλιστα όσον αύται εισί βιαιότεραι και επιμονώτεραι, δύνανται μεν να κατορθώσωσι πρόσκαιρον κατευνασμόν, αλλά και συντελούσιν εις τουναντίον (...).*¹⁸

The Kefalonian politician Iosif Momferratos (1816-1888) was the foremost exponent of Heptanesian radicalism; a well-known Heptanesian scholar and a skillful –yet inactive– solicitor, educated in the European cities of Paris, France, and Pisa, Italy.¹⁹ But, he was also a courageous journalist, whose editorial goal was principally to promote the union of the Islands with the Greeks. However, in addition to the above, the mission statement of Momferratos' newspaper titled, *Η Αναγέννησις (1849-1859)*, which was printed as a separate pamphlet,²⁰ showed that the goal of the union supporters was not the union itself, but to also introduce the following policies. First,

¹⁶ Theodoros Makris, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-48.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Ilias Tsitselis refers to the 4th exile of Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos.

¹⁹ Regarding Iosif Momferratos and his radical views, refer to: Panayiotis Panas, *Βιογραφία Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου συνταχθείσα υπό Παναγιώτου Πανά. Εκδίδεται δι'εισφορών προς ανέγερσιν μνημείου*, Athens, 1888.

²⁰ Iosif Momferratos, 'Πρόγραμμα', Kefalonia, January 22nd, 1849, (pampflet).

that no protector was needed after the establishment of the Greek state. In other words, along with the establishment of the Greek state, the need of the Ionian Islands to be protected from a foreign power was no longer necessary, since the British protection had no legal effect; the radicals were arguing that the British did not get the consent of the people for their suzerainty. Second, that the Ionian aristocrats should be isolated and the urban middle class, which included a number of intellectual leaders operating through political clubs, should be politically empowered,²¹ and act in favor of the union;²² c) promoting national consciousness in the Ionian state, acknowledging that a potential unification could alter their social status; d) the Heptanesian radicalism, derived from the French Revolution ideals and utopian socialism, ought to serve democratic principles and should not be restricted in a limited geographical context. Its ambition should be long-term, with a broad perspective, since one of its main purposes was to unite all Greek territories, as well as to democratically civilize the East, ‘την δημοκρατικήν της Ανατολής ανάπλασιν’, as Alisandratos quotes.²³

But, Iosif Momferratos was not alone on this journey. Another true supporter of these goals was Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos (1814-1894),²⁴ an eminent Kefalonian lawyer and prolific writer, as well as an exceptional journalist, who spent half his life supporting the union and the liberal ideologies of the French/Greek enlightenment, directly opposing the British rulers.²⁵ Indicative of his viewpoints is the first issue of his most-respected radical paper *H Αναγέννησις*, in which Zervos-Iakovatos made particular reference to the Ionian independence and to the strong desire to unite with the Greeks; the politician-journalist particularly highlighted the following phrase:

²¹ Maria Kotina, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

²² It is worth noting an article in *H Αναγέννησις* newspaper, referring to the poor relations between the Ionian aristocrats and the local press; refer to: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, ‘Η Αριστοκρατία λυσσώσα κατά του Λαού και κατά του Τύπου’, *H Αναγέννησις*, August 30th, 1849, No. 20.

²³ Maria Kotina, *op.cit.*, pp. 11-20 (Introduction). Refer also to: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

²⁴ Reference must be made to Tsitselis’s research, in which he presents a number of interesting biographic details on Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos’s life; see: Tsitselis Ilias, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα*, Vol. 1, Athens 1904, pp. 143-171.

²⁵ In the 12th Ionian Parliament (1862), I. Momferratos and I. Zervos-Iakovatos had demanded the suspension of the national question (the much-desired union) in order to encourage improvements in the Ionian state. See: Petros Petratos, ‘Η σύγκρουση μεταξύ Ριζοσπαστών και Ενωτιστών’, *op.cit.*, pp. 97-100. Regarding the conflicts between the *New* radicals ‘the unionists’, and the *Old* ‘pure’ radicals, see the Chapter 8 of the thesis.

Θέλομεν να ενωθώμεν εις εν έθνος αληθώς ελεύθερον και ανεξάρτητον μεθ' όλης της Ελληνικής φυλής.²⁶

Therefore, it becomes apparent that the radical local press intended to be a powerful indicator of revolutionary fervor in daily life discourse. But, as far as I am concerned, this short passage is also indicative of the overall tone running through the articles, i.e. socialist writings with characteristics of a political manifesto, discussing the concepts of radicalism, democracy and liberty, within the boundaries of the Ionian state. *Η Αναγέννησις* was a typical example of the radical policy line and its long-term and short-term goals, demanding a new kind of democracy; a global democracy, as well as freedom, equality, solidarity, and a union of all Greeks. The journalist specifically states the following:

Ζήτω η απελευθέρωσις και η συνένωσις όλης της Ελληνικής φυλής! Ζήτω η Εθνική Ανεξαρτησία! Ζήτω η απελευθέρωσις των λαών! Ελευθερία, ισότης, Αδελφότης! Ζήτω η παγκόσμιος Δημοκρατία!²⁷

In light of the above, Heptanesian radicalism was associated with republicanism and civic nationalism, as it sought political support, through the press. In addition, in an article in *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* radical newspaper, the columnist points out that the radicals were progressive, oppositional, and defensive, but more than anything, they were democratic, and avoided any sort of ruling and arbitrary actions:

Οι ριζοσπάσται δεν αποτελούν βέβαια μέρος ενεργητικόν της κοινωνικής εκείνης Αρχής, ήτις καλείται κυβέρνησις – αυτοί είναι αντιπολιτευόμενοι – η ενέργειά των είναι φύσει αρνητική, και τα ενεστώτα δεινά είναι όλα θετικά, επομένως δεν δύνανται ποτέ να αποδοθώσιν εις αυτούς διότι ούτοι δεν ενεργούν, αλλά αντιενεργούν, – δεν τυραννούν αλλά υπερασπίζονται – δεν καταδιώκουν, αλλά καταδιώκονται – δεν καταστρέφουν αλλά οικοδομούν. Η αρνητική αυτών ενέργεια είναι μάλιστα φύσει προοδευτική, διότι ενώ αντιπολεμεί την Αρχήν, στιγματίζει τας καταχρήσεις της και καταδεικνύει την αθλιότητα της θέσεώς μας, αναπτύσσει ταυτοχρόνως το δημόσιον πνεύμα – ισχυροποιεί και στερεώνει τας πεποιθήσεις – και διατηρεί άγρυπνον τον νουν

²⁶ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, (No title), *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, February 19th, 1849, No. 1.

²⁷ Iosif Momferratos, 'Εθνική εορτή της Ελληνικής Επανάστασεως', *Η Αναγέννησις*, April 9th, 1849, No. 1. For Momferratos's views regarding the Ionian state and Greece see: Iosif Momferratos, 'Οποία η σημερινή Θέσις της Ελλάδος', *Η Αναγέννησις*, May 28th, 1849, No. 8; Iosif Momferratos, 'Εν βλέμμα επί των γενικών πραγμάτων', *Αναγέννησις*, March 21st, 1859, No. 52.

*και ζώσαν την καρδίαν επί των αληθών συμφερόντων της
κοινωνίας και των εγκληματικών αποπειρών της εξουσίας.*²⁸

The above quoted excerpts from two of the most influential newspapers are indicative of the notion that the radical press did not deviate from the republicanism rules. The writing tone proves that it played a major role in the organization of the radical party. Still, as a political outcome, it emerged from the need for constitutional liberties. Actually, the first editions were clear proof of the radicals' resentment towards the militaristic and authoritarian British rule. Its purpose was to activate a national consciousness of the masses and attract potential supporters of the movement. That is the main reason why the radical press, as a popular political organ, focused on promoting the lower classes' political awareness and politicization; for instance, the newspaper *Ο Χωρικός* was referring to the exponential increase of radical followers in the Ionian territory.²⁹ G. Verykios similarly points out the movement's popular breadth, noting that, apart from the lower classes, numerous men of letters, wealthy individuals, even Ionians of noble birth, were truly supporting the union; he specifically states:

*Οι γαρ την ελευθέραν Ελλάδα επισκοπούντες Επτανήσιοι
γεωργοί, έμποροι, βιομήχανοι, χειρώνακτες, πολιτικοί,
εώρων πληρουμένους τους εθνικούς αυτών πόθους. Εντάυθα
δια την αίγλη της ελευθερίας περιλαμπόμενοι
συνανεχρώννυντο τοις οικούσι την ελευθέραν επικρατείαν,
ραδίως εκ τε γεωργίας και της εμπορίας και της βιομηχανίας
τον βίον ποριζόμενοι.*³⁰

However, even though they acknowledged the need to restore the Ionian state, all radicals did not propose any reforms, as this would signify the acceptance and recognition of the British protection.³¹ The two above mentioned politicians-editors' fight for popular sovereignty, national reconstruction, goodness, values, morality, was enough to influence the other radical local newspapers presented in this chapter. They constituted the centre of Heptanesian radicalism, and despite their political differences (Zervos-Iakovatos was conservative, and wanted Greece to remain a constitutional monarchy, while Momferratos was liberal, and wanted Greece to become a republic

²⁸ Πιας Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Τίνες οι αίτιοι των δεινών μας και ποια τα μέσα της θεραπείας', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, June 16th, 1851, No. 42.

²⁹ (Anonymous), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, April 20th, 1851, No. 38.

³⁰ G. Verykios, *Απομνημονεύματα περί της πρώην Ιονίου Πολιτείας*, Kefalonia, 1870, pp. 141-142.

³¹ Πιας Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Όποια είναι η αληθής αποστολή του τύπου εις την Επτάνησον', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, February 19th, 1849, No. 1.

without a king),³² they both embraced and communicated the ideals of social justice, equality and freedom, as they strongly supported the separation of powers and judiciary independence. All radical journalists were closely involved into shaping the Greek race in terms of ethics and social regeneration, and thus, were more than ready to liberate the Ionian Islands from the British rule. They considered freedom of speech as an integral part of the constitution and as such, political authorities would not be able to violate it. They were acknowledging that the press could play an important role in Ionian education, paving the way to honesty, transparency and rule of law. In order to achieve the highest level of freedom, an Ionian citizen should be completely free regardless of his nationality.

7.3. The first two and most-respected radical newspapers

7.3.1.Ο Φιλελεύθερος (1849-1851)

The political and literary paper *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* (“The Liberal”) *Εφημερίς πολιτική και φιλολογική*, launched its distribution in Argostoli, Kefalonia, in 1849, and from a historical point of view, it constitutes the first radical newspaper in the Islands.³³ The multiple references made to it in other primary and secondary sources prove that it was surprisingly popular among the Heptanesian political circles. But, indicative of the newspaper’s popularity was also the fact that the term *radicals* in the Ionian state first appeared in an Ionian journalistic column. Specifically, in *Πατρίς*, the reformers characterized the union’s supporters as radical elements, and according to the second edition of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*,³⁴ it seems that the journalist Mavroyiannis had gladly accepted the title, as his article (written in response to the aforementioned article in *Πατρίς*) was signed as follows: *εις ριζοσπάστης*.

Issued in the new printing house that Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos had previously established, it commenced its distribution on February 19th, 1849.³⁵ It mostly carried

³² G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 38. For Zervos-Iakovatos’s strong support towards the Greek Kingdom, refer to: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, *Αι δύο Πρωτεύουσai της Ανατολής κατά το 1858 και 1860 και η Διπλωματία μετά της Ελλάδος*, Kefalonia, 1873. Conversely, Momferratos’s support to the Greek Republic is evident through his newspaper *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* (1862-1863) published, at the same time, King Otto was being ousted.

³³ For the paper’s profile see also: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., pp. 111-113. All issues of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

³⁴ Refer to the 2nd issue of the newspaper (p. 4), circulated on February 26th, 1849.

³⁵ *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* (size 0.47x0.32), as its motto, quoted the following political-philosophical text by philosopher Aristotle in *Politics*: *Πάντα γαρ αναγάγοι τις αν τα τυραννικά προς ταύτας τάς υποθέσεις, τα*

articles supporting the individual freedoms and voting rights of the Ionians, but also aspired at publishing a great deal of articles with Greek socio-political and historical content.³⁶ In essence, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* was one of the first newspapers paving the way towards Ionian independence; it was actually the first newspaper, along with the other radical newspaper *Η Αναγέννησις*, to start the noble fights against the British Crown and its colonial policy; as such, these newspapers essentially constituted the major political “weapons” of Heptanesian radicalism.

Being in constant conflict with the reformist *Το Μέλλον* (reviewed in detail in Chapter six) and targeting one of its main journalists Georgios Kandianos Romas,³⁷ *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* was densely written; in three-columns and four pages, it mostly expressed the radical policy line, and harshly criticized the political acts of the British. By reviewing the newspaper contents, it seems that *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* was a one-person affair. The heart and soul of this journalistic endeavor was Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos. As Tsitselis states, having been exiled for four months to the small island of Othonoi in 1843, Zervos-Iakovatos was the talk of the town for a long period of time, because of his political beliefs. However, it would be unfair to only refer to his philosophical thinking because he was a brilliant mind as he was the force behind the creation of the first private printing house in Kefalonia. Moreover, Zervos-Iakovatos’s personality was so strong, since, according to Konomos, he encouraged the establishment of additional radical papers in Corfu, such as *Εθνεγερσία* (1861-1863); unfortunately, very few issues of this newspaper are available today.³⁸ Therefore, in my view, he is justifiably considered one of the greatest intellectual leaders of the Islands.

μέν όπως μη πιστεύωσιν αλλήλοις, τα δ’ όπως μη δύνωνται, τα δ’ όπως μικρόν φρονώσιν (Αριστ. Πολιτ.). According to the information printed on the last page of the first issue, the newspaper was being printed in the printing house of Kefallinia, *Εκ της Τυπογραφίας Κεφαλληνία - οδός Αγίου Γεωργίου*, and its publisher was Petros Polakis. From the 6th issue (June 4th, 1850) onwards, the new publisher was Efstathios Maraveyas, and from the 14th issue, Ioannis Floratos. Moreover, the 25th issue informs us of the relocation of the printing house *Οδός Ν.Μ Αγίου Γερασίμου*. It also makes particular reference to a trial concerning publisher Floratos, particularly noting: *Ένεκα της μετακομίσεως του τυπογραφείου εις άλλο οίκημα και της δίκης του υπευθύνου ηναγκάσθημεν να βραδύνωμεν μέχρι την σήμερον την έκδοσιν του φύλλου μας*; see: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, (No title), *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, February 7th, 1851, No. 25. Lastly, it is worth noting that the 44th issue (June 29th, 1851) published in detail the prosecutor’s order against publisher Floratos.

³⁶ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 111-113.

³⁷ Regarding the conflicts between the two local newspapers, see respectively issues No. 22-23, No. 25, No. 43, and No. 48 of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*.

³⁸ *Εθνεγερσία* (size 0.45x0.30) was first published on February 16th, 1861, and continued until May 23rd, 1863, counting 63 issues in total. It was distributed on a weekly basis; it was four-paged and had the following motto: *Η εν τη συνέσει αποφασιστική τόλμη*. It was being printed in the printing house of

Even though he was very popular in the Heptanesian political circles, Zervos-Iakovatos acknowledged that he ought to promote/advertise the establishment of his new local newspaper. Indeed, Konomos informs us that, prior to the beginning of his newspaper's distribution, Zervos-Iakovatos had already published two flyers in the printing house of *Ερμής* in Corfu, in order to lay the foundations for launching his newspaper.³⁹ The first flyer was issued on Boxing Day, December 26th, 1848, and was entitled: *Επτανήσιοι και λοιποί Έλληνες*. It was strictly informative, since Zervos-Iakovatos was announcing the launch of his paper. The second flyer was published a few days later, in January 1849; it had more of a journalistic tone and demonstrated how the Ionians would benefit from the press freedom. This flyer was titled: *Ο Φιλελεύθερος ή διδασκαλία περί καλής η κακής χρήσεως της ελευθεροτυπίας εις την Επτάνησον*.⁴⁰

Having announced the launch of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, Zervos-Iakovatos commenced publishing his newspaper's issues, beginning with a description of his guidelines. Actually, in the very first issue the editor presented his aims and purposes, not failing to refer to the benefits of the freedom of the press, characterized by the radical views of a charismatic leader. Still, on a broader context, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* continuously criticized the British rulers and their followers. An indicative example is the case of the pro-British Dimitris Karousos –penname: *Σπαρτζίνης*.⁴¹ Specifically, one of the newspaper's last editions refers in detail to Karousos which the columnist describes as an “enemy” of both *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* and *Χωρικός* radical newspapers, through the following lyrics:

*Του Σπαρτζίνη τα μυαλά
Είναι βέβαια τρελά
Και τ' Ουάρδου πελελά
Κι' αν τη θέσι δεν αφήσουν*

Ερμής and its publisher was Spyridon Melissinos. From the 47th edition (October 17th, 1862) onwards, the newspaper was printed in the printing house of *Η Ιονία*. Refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 133-134.

³⁹ The reason of publishing these flyers in Corfu was that there was no printing house in Kefalonia at that time. For more details concerning these flyers and the efforts of Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos to create the first private printing house in Kefalonia, see particularly: Nt. Konomos, *Ο Ηλίας Ζερβός-Ιακωβάτος και η Ένωση της Επτανήσου*, Athens: Ekdoti Sillogou pros Diadosin Ofelimon Vivlion, 1964, pp. 40-49; Also see: Ilias Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, pp. 147, 149.

⁴⁰ For more information regarding the flyers, see: Nt. Konomos, *Ο Ηλίας Ζερβός-Ιακωβάτος...*, *op.cit.*

⁴¹ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, (No title), *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, February 17th, 1851, No. 27.

*Γρήγορα θα ξεκαμπίσουν.*⁴²

Most of the articles-essays were strictly political, and aspired at analyzing the radical policy line, with the journalist making direct references to the minutes of the Ionian Parliament. But, he similarly focused on the mismanagement by the British, making particular references to the imposition and brutal collection of illegal taxes.⁴³ The newspaper reported either on the deficiencies of the Ionian state or directly on the poor administration exercised by the High Commissioner Sir Ward.⁴⁴

Even the poems published in the newspaper were political. More particularly, the 11th issue publishes a poem by Spyridon G. Malakis entitled: *Αι ημέραι του στρατοδικείου*, which referred to the punishments imposed by the British after the Kefalonian rebellions; the 31st issue publishes a poem by I. A. Aravantinos under the title: *Διάλογος βαρυνθιμούντος Ποιητού μετά της Λύρας*; the 32nd issue publishes a poem by Kritikos entitled: *Ο Ποιμήν και το αηδόνι*; finally, the 33rd issue published a political poem by Psilianos (No title), which referred to the illegal acts of the British in the Ionian state, exclusively focusing on the island of Lefkada. The other standard columns of the newspaper reported foreign news in the *Εξωτερικά* column, commerce news in the *Εμπορικά* column, and most importantly, Greek news in the *Ελληνικόν Κράτος* column. Several additional announcements were published under the titles *Αγγελίες*, *Ειδοποιήσεις* and *Διάφορα*, as well as a small number of obituaries.

Nevertheless, one of Zervos-Iakovatos's aims was to write intriguing articles. For instance, the (No. 22 - 23&25) issues directly criticized the President of the Parliament, the reformist Georgios Kandianos Romas, for his political beliefs/actions, and publish parts of his correspondence with Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos. The paper also published a number of letters by Andreas Laskaratos referring to the radical policy (No. 27-28), the correspondence of Domenegines' family with Ioannis Kapodistrias concerning Fragkiskos Domenegines (No. 29), and lastly, the newspaper published

⁴² The columnist reports 11 charges against *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* and 7 charges against *Χωρικός*. See respectively: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, (No title), *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 5th, 1851, No. 49.

⁴³ Indicatively refer to the first issue, but also see the front-page editorials of the 13th and 14th issue, both entitled *Η Νόσος και η Ουαρδική κυβέρνηση του κ. Ουάρδου*; also refer to the 20th edition under the title *Η Αναρχική κυβέρνηση του κ. Ουάρδου*; the 24th edition (*Φύλλον Έκτακτον*): *Τα εθνοκτόνα σχέδια της Αγγλικής κυβέρνησεως* and lastly, the editorials in the 44th and 45th issue under the common title *Αι δύο επιστολαί – Η' Η Ελλάς και η Επτάνησος*.

⁴⁴ See respectively the 9th issue. Also, the editorials in the 5th and 6th issue under the title: *Η κατάσταση της Επτανήσου*, specifically refer to xenocracy, military rule, poverty, and taxation. For the poor education system, refer to: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Η Παιδεία καταδιωκόμενη υπό του επάρχου κ. Καρούζου', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 19th, 1851, No. 12.

several articles regarding the arbitrary actions of the High Police.⁴⁵ Finally, it is worth noting issues 34 and 36, which, in the lower bottom part of the page, present an interesting political article entitled: *Τις η ηθικότης του Ιονίου λαού*, which refers to the relations between the British colonizers and the colonized Ionians.

Tsitselis presented the editor as a staunch defender of the union and an advocate of political rights and freedoms in the Ionian state.⁴⁶ Indeed, further evidence can be found in the first paper issue, in which Zervos-Iakovatos referred to the establishment of a republic of a united Greek nation, which would be free and independent and would ensure civil rights, democratic standards, and Greek education. The columnist particularly notes the following:

*Θέλομεν τω όντι να γίνωμεν και όχι να λεγώμεθα απλώς Έλληνες. Θέλομεν να ενωθώμεν εις εν έθνος αληθώς ελεύθερον και ανεξάρτητον μεθ' όλης της Ελληνικής φυλής. Θέλομεν να εξασκώμεν δημοκρατικά δικαιώματα. Θέλομεν να βελτιωθώμεν και να λάβωμεν υλικήν και διανοητικήν ανατροφήν, ως εκείνην της Μητρός μας Ελλάδος και όχι ξένην και ανθελληνικήν (...).*⁴⁷

However, it is important to note that, in contrast to Heptanesian radicalism theories, the editor did not promote the plan for the democratization of the East through his newspaper. His views were limited to a united Greek nation, as mentioned earlier. To this end, the promising journalist published articles/essays regarding this issue, with characteristic examples being the first and second issue titled *Η Τάσις του Ελληνικού πνεύματος*. In my view, they seem quite interesting, for they demonstrate the radicals' aspirations regarding the "Greekness" in the Islands. I assume that these references to the "Greekness" of the islanders were the main reason for Zervos-Iakovatos's exiles, which consequently caused the pause of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*. In specific, in the very beginning, the editor managed to distribute only three issues, because he was arrested by the British police forces due to his politically unsettling writings, but most importantly, because he was considered one of the instigators of the 1848 Kefalonian riots. Certainly, his second issue provoked the anger of the High Police, for he argued

⁴⁵ Refer to: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Η υψηλή αστυνομία ή το περί ατομικής ασφάλειας νομοσχέδιον', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, October 28th, 1850, No. 17; also see: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'η Λυσσώσα της επανήσου αστυνομία', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, December 17th, 1850, No. 20.

⁴⁶ Tsitselis Ilias, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

⁴⁷ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Όποια είναι η αληθής αποστολή του τύπου εις την Επτάνησον', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, February 19th, 1849, No. 1.

the need to support the nascent Greek nation. Zervos-Iakovatos promoted radicalism defying any consequences, and it is worth highlighting the following excerpt:

*Ο Επτανησιακός λαός ως μέρος αναπόσπαστον της
Ελληνικής φυλής συνεμερίσθη επίσης τον εθνικόν αγώνα·
(...) Η Ελληνική επανάστασις ήτο δια τους Επτανησίους η
ζωή και η σωτηρία των, ως ήτον η Γαλλική δι' όλον τον
Κόσμον.⁴⁸*

The third issue had a similar tone and the editorial expressed strong opposition against the British rulers.⁴⁹ These were the major reasons why Zervos-Iakovatos, along with his political companion and close friend Gerasimos Livadas, was immediately exiled by the British Commissioner to the island of Paxos, the smallest island complex within the Islands, starting on March 20th and lasting for three-and-a-half months. His exile was accompanied by the forced closure of his paper and thus, the radical press took a major hit.

Nonetheless, in spite of British cruelty and violation of a number of human rights, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* resumed publication seven months later, issuing its 4th issue on August 20th, 1849, right after Zervos-Iakovatos was granted amnesty by the Ionian Islands Commissioner George-Henry Ward (1849-1855).

7.3.1.1. The fourth newspaper issue (August 20th, 1849)

The 4th issue of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* is characteristic of the accusatory writing spirit of Zervos-Iakovatos's newspaper, which was presenting both the British and their local supporters as the persons responsible for the abolition of the freedom of the press in the Ionian state. Certainly, taking into account Zervos-Iakovatos' exile, as well as his constant conflicts with the British rulers and their supporters, he produced passionate and oppositional journalism. He was courageous on his part, especially in a non-democratic era. The 4th issue clearly demonstrates the heroic behavior of the author; a Heptanesian radical role model, for this particular issue published when the worried and restless Kefalonians were about to begin another rebellion in August 1849. And, indeed, so frustrating the political climate was in Kefalonia, that the columnist notes, at the end of page four of the 4th issue, that they were unaware of the imposition of

⁴⁸ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Οποίοι είναι οι αληθείς επιθυμίες του επτανησιακού λαού', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, February 26th, 1849, No. 2.

⁴⁹ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Αληθή και Νομικά μέσα της πραγματοποιήσεως των επιθυμιών του Επτανησιακού λαού - Άρθρον Α', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, March 5th, 1849, No. 3.

military law in the island, which was also an effort to defend themselves against any potential accusations. He specifically wrote the following:

Ευρίσκετο το φύλλον μας υπό τα πιεστήρια όταν εμάθομεν, ότι εκηρύχθη ο στρατιωτικός νόμος και εις την περιοχὴν της Εικοσιμίας, ως προχωρησάντων και εις ταύτην των επαναστατών.

Undeniably, this issue is vivid proof of the political turbulence, and offers us the opportunity of witnessing, one of the significant conflicts between the Kefalonian radicals and the British powers. It further demonstrates the British authoritarian rule, and indicates that individual freedoms and the abolishment of censorship were still in question, despite the proclamations of J.C. Seaton. The author makes particular reference to the execution, exile, brute force, abuse, and numerous false accusations against innocent Ionians, in the front-page editorial:

Εἶναι ἀληθές ὅτι εις τὴν ἐθνικὴν, ἔλλογον καὶ εἰρηρικὴν πάλην τὴν ὁποῖαν ηγοιζάμεν, ἀπήντησεν ἡ ξενοκρατία καὶ ἡ σύμμαχος αὐτῆς ψυχorraγούσα ἀριστοκρατία, δια τῆς αυθαιρεσίας, τῆς βίας, τῆς ωμότητος, τῆς δολοφονίας καὶ τῆς συκοφαντίας, καὶ ὅτι εις τὴν ἔξαψιν τοῦ πάθους των, ἐθυσίασαν ἀδιακρίτως τιμίους καὶ αθώους πολίτας.⁵⁰

The same editorial declared the radicals' commitment to opposing British absolutism by denouncing any sort of militaristic behavior, reprehending the political violent actions of the British and blaming them for injustice and violation of individual freedoms in the Ionian Islands. The journalist particularly states:

Ἠδικήθημεν μεγάλως, καὶ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἠδικήθη ὅλη ἡ Ἰόνιος κοινωμία, διότι ὄχι μόνον ἡ προσβολὴ τῆς ατομικῆς μας ἐλευθερίας ἦτο προσβολὴ παντός πολίτου ευρισκομένου εις τὸν αὐτὸν κίνδυνον, ἀλλὰ ἦτο προσβολὴ τοῦ τιμαλφεστέρου ἡμῶν αἰσθήματος, τοῦ αἰσθήματος τοῦ ἐθνισμοῦ μας, διότι ἔνεκα τούτου μόνον ἔλαβον χώρα αὐ ἀποτρόπαιοι τοῦ Μαρτίου προγραφαί.⁵¹

In a similar manner, a secondary column in the same issue straightforwardly accuses the Senators of being accomplices to the “unfair” exile of Zervos-Iakovatos. The editor describes them as a body lacking political voice, like a speechless marionette moving according to the will of the current commissioner; at the same time, he

⁵⁰ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, ‘Ο Φιλελεύθερος απολυθείς εκ των ονύχων της υψηλῆς Αστυνομίας’, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 20th, 1849, No. 4.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

wonders why the Senate did not support and defend their fellow citizens, but instead, consented to their exile without a trial or a public hearing:

Το άφωνον και άψυχον τούτο σώμα, το μηδόλως κινούμενον ειμή κατά τας ορέξεις των αρμοστών, οποίον έλαβε μέρος εις τας παρανόμους και ελευθεριοκτόνους Μαρτιανάς προγραφάς; – Οι μεν θέλουν το νευρόσπαστον τούτο ως αμέτοχον και μάλιστα εναντιούμενον, οι δε ως συνένοχον και μάλιστα προταίτιον των βιαίων και αποτροπαίων μέτρων. Πόθεν η διχογνωμία αύτη; (...) Τούτον μόνον λέγομεν ότι και αν δεν ήτο συνένοχος η Γερουσία, το οποίον ποσώς δεν πιστεύομεν, η σιβυλλική και περιφρονιτική απάντησίς της αρκούσε να την καταδείξη τοιαύτην. Ερωτώμεν τι κακό επράξαμεν και εξωρίσθημεν άνευ υπερασπίσεως και δικαστικής αποφάσεως, και μας απαντά ότι η εξορία μας αποδεικνύει τας αφορμάς και τους νόμους, δυνάμει των οποίων καταδιωκόμεθα.⁵²

Moreover, the columnist accused the pro-British and the aristocracy for capitulating to the foreign ruler, in order to protect personal interests and public offices, selling out their country and their religion; he specifically notes:

(...) και προσπαθεί (η καταχθόνιος συμμορία) πότε μεν εν κρυπτώ και παραβύσσω, πότε δε αναφανδόν και ασυστόλως, να συνθηκολογήση με τον ξένον, και πωλούσα πατρίδα και θρησκείαν, να λάβη εις ανταμοιβήν της προδοτικής αυτής πράξεως, τας δημοσίους θέσεις και να γίνη η κυρίαρχος του παντός.⁵³

In addition, the columnist criticizes Commissioner J.C. Seaton for not supporting the Ionian aspirations for unification with the Greeks. Despite the fact that Seaton appears as a positive link between the British Crown and the Ionians, the article argues that Seaton disliked Greek nationalism, accusing the newspapers for judgmental behavior. The columnist states the following:

(...) εδεικνυε τάχα γλυκύτητα τινά και ανοχήν εις τας διάφορους εθνικάς εκφράσεις και τα κινήματα. Αλλ' όταν πλέον ήκουσε διασαλπισμένον από τον τύπον (...) το εθνικόν κήρυγμα, όταν παρετήρησε να εκχειλίζη πανταχόθεν (...) όταν εγνώρισεν ότι αι εκφράσεις και τα κινήματα επιβεβαιώθησαν από τον τύπον ως προς τον εθνικόν σκοπόν των (...) τότε πλέον εξέσχισε τα υποκριτικά αυτού ιμάτια, και ρίπτων το προσωπίον, ανεδείχθη οποίος ήτον πραγματικός.⁵⁴

⁵² Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Η Γερουσία', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 20th, 1849, No. 4.

⁵³ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Η Καταχθόνιος συμμορία', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 20th, 1849, No. 4.

⁵⁴ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, 'Ο Αρμωστής Σείτων', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 20th, 1849, No. 4.

Lastly, one of the articles in the last pages of the same edition presents the Ionian Parliament as a fully decorative actor. The columnist particularly criticizes the attitude of the Parliament in respect of the exiles, and accuses them or address issues of lesser importance. As a result, he wonders whether the Ionians are safe or not:

Εάν άνευ λόγου και δίκης συνελήφθημεν, εφυλακίσθημεν και εξωρίσθημεν περί τον Μάρτιον, ποίος εμποδίζει το ίδιον αυθαίρετον να πράξη τα ίδια και τον Αύγουστον ή τον Σεπτέμβριον ή και πάσαν στιγμήν (...);⁵⁵

The 4th issue constitutes a massive indictment against almost everyone; the rulers, the pro-British and the Senate, as these accusations had a clear and direct political motivation to highlight the numerous violations and exiles. Because of his writings, but, most importantly, because of his radical perspective, Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos was arrested by the British police forces for the second time, just five days after the distribution of this issue, i.e. on August 25th, 1849. Once again, he was immediately exiled to the island of AntiKythira, on September 3rd, 1849 (again Tsitselis refers to the fourth consecutive arrest and exile of Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos to the island of Antikythira, naming him “*the hero of Antikythira*”).⁵⁶ British absolutism was the main reason why Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos managed to distribute his 5th issue 10 months later, on June 26th, 1850. In brief, the 5th issue was of similar importance with the 4th, because the columnist referred to the inertia of the Ionian Parliament and accused the pro-British of assisting the organization of a number of punishments imposed on

⁵⁵ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, ‘Η Βουλή’, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 20th, 1849, No. 4.

⁵⁶ Tsitselis publicizes a very interesting dialogue between Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos and one of the deputies, R. Stevens, noting among other things the reason for his arrest: *Να είπης εκ μέρους μου εις τον Μ. Αρμοστήν, ότι η διαγωγή μου ουδέν έχει το επιλήψιμον, ότι καλώς γνωρίζω τα δικαιώματά μου και τα καθήκοντά μου, και ότι αν θέλη να παύσω την έκδοσιν του Φιλελευθέρου, ή πρέπει να καταργήση τον περί τύπου νόμου, ή να διατάξη εγγράφως την παύσιν της εφημερίδος.* See: Ilias Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, p. 151. Furthermore, it is worth noting Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos’s note from his exile in Antikythira in February 1850, where he emphasizes on the British authoritarian rule, stating among others: *Εκτός δε όλων τούτων, δεν είναι του χαρακτήρος μου να αλλαξοπιστίσω και από ριζοσπάστης να γίνομαι μετριόφρων, και επί τέλους αγύρτης και τύραννος των λαών. Αποβλέπων εις την ευημερίαν και δόξαν του έθνους μου, έχων ως σημαίαν την αλήθειαν και ως όπλον ακαταμάχητον τον λόγον, βαδίζω θαρραλέως και μετά πεποιθήσεως εις την πραγματοποίησιν των αρχών μου (...). Δια να μη υποφέρωμεν όμως όλα ταύτα, απήτει ο μέγας Αρμοστής ως εχέγγυον την παύσιν του ‘Φιλελευθέρου’. Η θυσία δεν ήτο μεγάλη. Απαιτούσε να μένωμεν απλοί θεαταί εις την παράνομον σφαγήν των συμπολιτών μας και τον επαπειλούμενον όλεθρον την νήσου.* Refer to: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, *Τα Κεφαλληνιακά ή Αναφορά συνταχθείσα δια την Βουλήν των αντιπροσώπων της Ιονίου Επικρατείας*, Kefalonia: Milona publications, pp. 87-88.

Kefalonian rebels.⁵⁷ The following phrase from the 5th issue reveals that any political proposition by the radicals was strongly opposed:

*Ενώ κατηγορούν την ριζοσπαστική μειονότητα ως
εναντιουμένην και κατά των καλών και κατά των κακών
νόμων αδιακρίτως.*⁵⁸

Overall, this newspaper was being regularly published and distributed until Monday, October 1st, 1851, and counted 56 issues in total.⁵⁹ However, according to the last issue, the publishers were not intending to close the newspaper; thus, a sudden event must have forced them to change their plans. So sudden was this arrest, that the publisher, Ioannis Floratos, was unaware of the risk and addressed the subscribers as usual, asking them to settle their subscription fees, writing the following:

*Παρακαλούνται όσοι δεν επλήρωσαν εισέτι τας συνδρομάς
των, να τας εξωφλείσωσιν, αλλέως αναγκαζόμεθα να
παύσωμεν την προ αυτούς αποστολήν του φύλλου.*⁶⁰

To conclude, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* constitutes a vivid historical source, which depicts the political turbulence in the Islands, and witnesses the conflicts between the Kefalonian radicals and the British powers. However, despite British cruelty and abuse of powers, these exiles have actually strengthened the radical party, because the exiled journalist, who was also excellent politician, became “martyr” in the eyes of the Ionians. Zervos Iakovatos’ exile was another hit for the radical party, which was almost dissolved, because, apart from Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos’ exile, the British had also exiled his political companion and journalist, Iosif Momferratos, who was the editor of the second most important radical paper *Η Αναγέννησις*; actually, Momferratos was exiled to Othonoi, as well as to Erikousa, a small island located 8 nautical miles northwest of Corfu. The following section analyzes Iosif Momferratos’s journalistic endeavor, and attempts to present its roles.

⁵⁷ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, ‘Τα νυχτερινά συμβούλια και η καταχθόνιος ραδιουργία’, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, June 26th, 1850, No. 5.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, ‘Η Εισαγωγή’, (No. 5).

⁵⁹ Only the 13th issue (September 16th) was published one month after the previous 12th issue and explains the delay, noting: *Προσβληθέντες και ημείς ελαφρώς υπό της ενσκηψάσης ασθενείας, ηναγκάσθημεν προς καιρόν να παύσωμεν.*

⁶⁰ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, ‘Ειδοποίησις’, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, October 1st, 1851, No. 56.

7.3.2. Αναγέννησις (1849-1859)

Αναγέννησις (“Renaissance”) εφημερίς εθνική και δημοκρατική (size 0.47x0.32) started its publication on April 9th, 1849, in the city of Argostoli in Kefalonia.⁶¹ This newspaper was the initiative of one of the most-respected radical leaders in the Ionian Islands, Iosif Momferratos. Konomos lists additionally Gerasimos Mavroyiannis, Spyridon G. Malakis and I.A. Aravantinos (pennname: *κρασοπατέρας*), as contributors of this newspaper,⁶² while Tsitselis indicates that the editor of *Ο Χωρικός* (another radical newspaper presented below), Daves, was also a contributor in Momferratos’s newspaper.⁶³ *Αναγέννησις* was distributed on a weekly basis until the end of August 1849 (30/08/1849), counting a total of 20 issues.⁶⁴ The 20th issue is significant, for it constitutes a protest against the British militaristic behavior and executions following the Kefalonian outbursts of 1849. Indeed, according to Alisandratos, his close friends and family begged him not to publish this particular issue.⁶⁵ However, Momferratos had decided to stand against Sir Ward and fight for personal freedoms and democracy. Panas comments on Momferratos’s decision and notes:

*Εγίνωσκον κάλλιστα ότι πάσα αυτών υποχώρησις θα ήτο η άρνησις του ριζοσπαστισμού, η καταδική των προηγουμένων ενεργειών των, η επικύρωσις δικαιώματος εις τον Αρμοστήν, όπερ αυτοί πάντοτε ημφισβήτησαν, η αναγνώρισις της υψηλής αστυνομίας, ην αυτοί μετά την δημοσίευσιν των κωδίκων, εθεώρουν αυτοδικαίως καταργηθείσαν, ίσως δε και η δολοφονία του μετ’ αυτών αναποσπάστως συνδεδεμένου εθνικού ζητήματος.*⁶⁶

Right after the release of the 20th edition, Momferratos was exiled to the small island of Othonoi, located in the northwest of Corfu, the westernmost territory of Greece, because of his strong opposition against the British government and as a consequence, the newspaper ceased publication. The journalist notes the following in the 21st issue:

⁶¹ For the newspaper’s profile, see also: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 114-116. All issues of *Αναγέννησις* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 116.

⁶³ Ilias Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

⁶⁴ *Αναγέννησις* was distributed as a four-sheet and three-column newspaper. It was published in the printing house of ‘*Κεφαλληνία - Οδός Α. Γεωργίου*’ by the publisher Nikolaos Arsenis. From the 21st issue, the newspaper was being printed in the printing house of ‘*Η Σάλπιγξ*’ and from the 36th issue (November 15th, 1858) onwards, it was printed in the printing house of *Κεφαλληνία* and the publisher of the paper was Gerasimos Leivaditis.

⁶⁵ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

⁶⁶ Panayiotis Panas, *Βιογραφία Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου συνταχθείσα υπό Παναγιώτου Πανά. Εκδίδεται δι’ εισφορών προς ανέγερσιν μνημείου*, Athens, 1888, pp. 20-21.

*το φρικώδες τούτο τέρας της υψηλής αστυνομίας καθ' όν καιρόν ήρχισε να βάλλη εις ενέργειαν την θηριωδίαν του και να διατρέχει το καταστρεπτικόν αυτού στάδιον, μη υποφέρον να έχει επικριτάς αυστηρούς των ανοσιουργιών του έσπευσε και ημάς ν' αποπέμψη βιαίως εις τον σκόπελον των Οθωνών (...).*⁶⁷

The 21st issue was printed and distributed on June 23rd, 1851, however the circulation of this paper continued for only three months, until September 29th, 1851, counting by then a total of 35 issues,⁶⁸ because Momferratos was exiled again, to another small northern island, Erikousa, and therefore the newspaper's operation came to a pause.

Finally, the distribution of the 36th issue was accomplished seven years later, on November 15th, 1858, and continued until May 23rd, 1859, counting a total of 60 issues, as the writer characteristically notes following the second pause of the newspaper's operation:

Παρήλθεν ήδη και το έβδομον έτος αφότου η σιδηρά χειρ του αυθαιρέτου, κατά πάσης ελευθερίας εν γένει, και ιδίως κατά του ριζοσπαστικού τύπου επιπεσούσα επέφερε και της εφημερίδος ημών την βιαιάν εκ δευτέρου κατάπαυσιν. (...) Διήλθαμεν και ημείς τας βασάνους, τα πολυειδή παθήματα και τας κακουχίας της εξορίας, της επί εξαιτίαν ως έγγιστα διαρκεσάσης, και σταθερώς πάντοτε απεκρούσαμεν πάσαν εκ μέρους των δεσποζόντων αυθαίρετον ή επίβουλον πρότασιν, περιοριστικήν της ελευθερίας ημών και της ακεραιότητος του δικαίου, αγανακτούντες μεν, αφ' ενός, δια την ισχύουσαν βίαν, αλλ' ατάραχον και ευχαριστημένην έχοντες την συνείδησιν, αφ' ετέρου, δια την πιστήν εκπλήρωσιν του ιερού προς την πατρίδα καθήκοντος. (...) Δεν μας λανθάνουσι ποσώς τα πολυειδή και ακανθώδη προσκόμματα, όσα εις το προκείμενον στάδιον, ως άλλοτε, θέλομεν ήδη απαντήσει, κυρίως μεν και προ πάντων εκ μέρους της καταπιεζούσης ημάς ξενικής δεσποτείας, ήτις, εις την κήρυξιν και διάδοσιν της αληθείας βλέπουσα την κατάλυσιν της ισχύος της προσεγγίζουσαν, θέλει κατά το σύνηθες δια παντός ενθρικού και καταδυναστευτικού μέσου αντιστρατεύεσθαι (...) Αλλ' ημείς, ακλόνητον έχοντες πίστιν εις την υπερτάτην και ακαταμάχητον δύναμιν της αληθείας και του δικαίου, και φρονούντες ότι, όσον μεγαλύτερα είναι τα παρεμβαλλόμενα προσκόμματα και οι αντιδράσεις,

⁶⁷ Iosif Momferratos, 'Παύσις και Αναφάνησις της Αναγεννήσεως', *Αναγέννησις*, June 23rd, 1851, No. 21.

⁶⁸ 35 fruitful editions, and not 55 as Ntinis Konomos states through his research; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 115. The 21st issue editorial of *Αναγέννησις* refers particularly to a six month exile of Momferratos, and according to the article, the ten month newspaper' pause was due to the unavailability of finding a Kefalonian printing house.

τόσον θερμότερος ζήλος, τόσον μεγαλυτέρα θυσία και αυταπάρνησις απαιτούνται, προς αναχαίτισιν και απόκρουσίν των, απτοήτως και θαραλλέως, εις το προκείμενον ακανθώδες στάδιον επανερχόμεθα, σταθεράν και παρήγορον πεποιθήσιν, εν τη μικρότητι και αδυναμία ημών, έχοντες εις την υψηλήν αληθώς και θείαν ταύτην ρήσιν «*Η γ α ρ δ ύ ν α μ ί ς μ ο υ ε ν α σ θ ε ν ε ί α τ ε λ ε ι ο ύ τ α ι*».⁶⁹

The news that another radical newspaper –apart from *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*– began its distribution, spread rapidly in Kefalonia, since Zervos-Iakovatos was reminding the bonds between these two radical newspapers and their editors; it is worth noting that the two men officially lined up in politics in 1862.⁷⁰ Indeed, Momferratos was close to his friend and political ally, and they were both acknowledging that their newspapers would lead the way towards Heptanesian radicalism; they ought to be the prime heralds of the radical party. The 4th issue of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* notes:

*Κατεστράφη ή δια να είπωμεν κάλλιον διεκόπη Ο Φιλελεύθερος, αλλ' αντ' αυτού ανεφάνη η Αναγέννησις με την χαρακτηρίζουσαν αυτήν παρρησίαν, αφοβίαν και ελληνοφροσύνην. Το εθνικό κήρυγμα της ησπάσθη, ως και εκείνο του προκατόχου του με ανέκφραστον ενθουσιασμόν από όλον τον Ιονικόν λαόν, διότι ήτο κήρυγμα θείον και αισθανόμενον επίσης από την γενικότητα. Ο Φιλελεύθερος και η Αναγέννησις δεν έπραξαν άλλο ειμή να εκφράσουν με καθαρότητα και αφοβίαν, το μέγα και υψηλόν εκείνο εθνικόν φρόνημα, το οποίον ενυπάρχει, εξ' αυτής της γεννήσεώς του, εις τον γνήσιον και μη νενοθευμένον από την ζενοκρατίαν ή τον αισχρόν εγωισμόν, επτανήσιον.*⁷¹

Prior to the beginning of the newspaper's distribution, Momferratos in order to inform the Ionians about his newborn newspaper, distributed a pamphlet entitled *Πρόγραμμα*, presenting the newspaper's aims and mission statement (size 0.42x0.29). According to the pamphlet, Momferratos's purpose was to attract new subscribers and, in the end of the text, he specifically states the need to secure a specific number of subscribers in order to financially support the initiation of printing:

⁶⁹ Iosif Momferratos, 'Επαναφάνησις της Αναγεννήσεως', *Αναγέννησις*, November 15th, 1858, No. 36.

⁷⁰ Alisandratos perfectly depicts the radical schism between the *Old* and *New* radicals in the 12th Ionian Parliament (1862), noting that the *New* radicals was the majority. Refer to: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 77-81. Regarding the radical schism in 1858, refer also to chapter 8 of the thesis.

⁷¹ Iosif Momferratos, 'Ο Φιλελεύθερος απολυθείς εκ των ονύχων της υψηλής αστυνομίας', *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, August 20th, 1849, No. 4. See also: M. Kotina, op.cit., p. 151.

Η έκδοσις της εφημερίδος θέλει αρχίσει, μόλις συναχθή αριθμός συνδρομών ανάλογος εις την αναγκαίαν δαπάνην.⁷²

Surprisingly, this pamphlet was signed by Momferratos himself, and constituted a political manifesto of the Heptanesian radicals of that period. It was distributed on January 22nd, 1849:

Ούτω φρονούντες, απεφασίσαμεν την έκδοσιν πολιτικής εφημερίδος, υπό το όνομα η ΑΝΑΓΕΝΝΗΣΙΣ. –Πριν δε προβώμεν εις την επιχείρησιν του έργου τούτου, κρίνομεν χρέος ημών να προεκθέσωμεν, συνοπτικώς μεν, αλλ' ακριβώς και ειλικρινώς, τας αρχάς και την πορείαν, κατά τας οποίας η παρ' ημών εκδοθησομένη εφημερίς θέλει απαρατρέπτως βαδίσει.⁷³

In essence, through this pamphlet, Momferratos supported the change from monarchy to republic, and argued that constitutionality ought to be a principal societal element, which would allow the Ionians to be free/independent. Moreover, the establishment of Heptanesian institutions should be able to ensure a free and progressive development of the state. To accomplish this, the state should be unified with the Greeks, since they shared same origin, language, culture, customs and religion. In order for the union to be successful, the Greeks ought to develop and implement a healthy and dignified policy, in view of encompassing other Greek territories. Hence, the Greeks should be prepared and well-organized in finishing and perfecting the ideals of the Greek revolution. They ought to respect the sovereignty of the population and be consistent with the doctrine of *liberty, equality and fraternity*. Indeed, Momferratos's newspaper fought for this cause, and hoped at uniting the scattered pieces of the Greeks; his wishful thinking was applicable to other Greek unredeemed territories that were still under the Ottoman rule, hoping to establish a democratic regime for the Greeks and to reconstruct the social fabric, as he refers:

A) Η ανάπτυξις και υποστήριξις των απαραγράπτων και αναπαλλοτριώτων δικαιωμάτων του Επτανησιακού, ως και παντός άλλου επίσης Ελληνικού λαού, εις την εθνικήν αυτού αποκατάστασιν, τουτέστιν εις την συγχώνευσιν αυτού μετά της κοινωνίας της οποίας αποτελεί μέρος αδιάσπαστον, συνδεδεμένος ων με αυτήν δια κοινών στοιχείων καταγωγής, θρησκείας, γλώσσης, ηθών και εθίμων· εν ενί λόγω, εις την μετά της ελευθερωμένης

⁷² Iosif Momferratos, 'Πρόγραμμα', Kefalonia, January 22nd, 1849, (pamphlet).

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Ελλάδος πολιτικὴν αὐτοῦ συνένωσιν. Β) Ἡ ἀνάπτυξις καὶ διάδοσις τῶν υγιῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ κοινωνικῶν ἀρχῶν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὁποίων πάσα καλῶς ὀργανωμένη πολιτεία πρέπει νὰ στηρίζεται, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁποίας ἡ ἐλληνικὴ κοινωνία, ὑπὲρ πάσα ἄλλην, πρέπει ἐντελῶς νὰ διοργανισθῆ, πρὸς τελείαν ἐπίτευξιν τοῦ σκοποῦ τῆς ἀθανάτου ἐπαναστάσεώς τῆς, καὶ πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν τῆς ὑψηλῆς ἀποστολῆς, τὴν ὁποίαν καὶ ὁ προορισμὸς τῆς καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡ φύσις εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπιβάλλουσιν.— Αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὗται ἀνακεφαλαιούνται εἰς τὰ δύο ταῦτα θεμελιώδη καὶ κατὰ φυσικὸν λόγον συνυποτιθέμενα δόγματα: Εἰς τὸ δόγμα τῆς κυριαρχίας τοῦ λαοῦ, ὡς τὸ ὑπέρτατον, ἀπαραγράφτον καὶ ἀναπαλλοτρίωτον δικαίωμα τῆς κοινωνίας, ὡς τὸ ἀνώτατον κύρος πάσης κοινωνικῆς ἀλήθειας, ὡς τὸ μόνον ἀληθὲς μέσον τῆς καθιερώσεως πάσης κοινωνικῆς προόδου, ὡς τὴν μόνην ἀληθινὴν καὶ νόμιμον πηγὴν τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐξουσίας— καὶ εἰς τὸ δόγμα τῆς Ἰσότητος, Ἐλευθερίας καὶ Ἀδελφότητος.⁷⁴

In an attempt to publicize his ideological views, Momferratos made particular references to a hard, long and bitter war against the British, highlighting their strong desire for endless persecutions in the Ionian Islands, noting:

Δεν ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅτι ὁ δημοσιογραφικὸς ἀγὼν εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον ἐμβαίνομεν εἶναι δυσχερὴς ὡς πρὸς τὰς περιορισμένας δυνάμεις μας καὶ δυσχερέστερος ἔτι ὡς πρὸς τὰ ἀναπόφευκτα προσκόμματα εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα εἴμεθα ἠναγκασμένοι ν' ἀνθέξωμεν, ἀπέναντι μιᾶς φύσει καταδιωκτικῆς ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἐν γένει ἀπέναντι ὅλων ἐκείνων, οἵτινες, μὴ θέλοντες νὰ παραιτήσωσι πεπαλαιωμένας ἀντεθνικὰς καὶ ἀντιπροοδευτικὰς ἐξεῖς, θέλουσιν ἐπιχειρήσει τὸν κατὰ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἡμῶν φανερόν ἢ ὑπόκωφον πόλεμον.⁷⁵

Overall, the newspaper's content was strictly political, and the columnists focused mostly on the Ionian political question, demanding the union. In that event, its editor, Momferratos, published numerous editorials and secondary articles reporting Greek news. But, *Ἀναγέννησις* was keen on reprinting foreign articles concerning European politics, for it was interested in promoting a broader radical ideology. For instance, the editor republished parts of Giuseppe Mazzini's (1805-1872) book *Doveri dell'uomo* (see: No. 55-57 & No. 59-60), and reprinted certain articles from his paper *Pensiero Ed Azione* (No. 43, No. 47 & No. 51-56), indicating that G. Mazzini, the prominent Italian politician and activist, had considerably influenced Momferratos's

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

newspaper. Yet, on top of that, Momferratos strongly believed that a short overview of foreign news would shed more light upon potential Heptanesian deficiencies, as the columnist specifically stated:

Παρεκτός των Επτανησιακών και Ελληνικών εν γένει πραγμάτων, θέλομεν προσέτι καταγίνεσθαι και εις την περιληπτικήν έκθεσιν των εξωτερικών, προς φωτισμόν του κοινού, και διότι με αυτά ουσιωδώς συνδέονται και ελληνικά.⁷⁶

According to the first issue of *Αναγέννησις*, one of the major aims of the journalists was to immediately liberate the Islands from any foreign rule, to unify them with the Greeks, to unite and reconstruct in terms of politics the Greek race and, finally, fight for basic human rights and individual freedoms, as stated in the front-page editorial of the first issue:

(...) Η απελευθέρωσις της Επτανήσου και η συνένωσις αυτής μετά της ελευθερωμένης Ελλάδος, ιδού η αληθής και σωτήριος μεταβολή της ενεστώσης οδυνηράς καταστάσεώς σου, ιδού η αληθής και μόνιμος απαλλαγή των δεινών σου. Η σύναμις όλων των εθνικών δυνάμεων, προς απελευθέρωσιν και συνένωσιν παντός του ελληνικού γένους, και προς τελείαν εκπλήρωσιν του ιερού αγώνος της ελληνικής αναγεννήσεως, ιδού ο γενικός και σωτήριος σκοπός προς τον οποίον πρέπει να έχης συγκεντρωμένας όλας τας προσπαθείας σου.⁷⁷

From an early point in time, it becomes apparent that Momferratos referred to the ‘Greek question’, as various newspaper issues discussed the importance of restoring the Greek race.⁷⁸ The editorial of the first issue also shows that Momferratos along with Zervos-Iakovatos had instinctively taken leadership of the radical party and strongly criticized the British rule in their papers; however, in my view, their articles followed an ‘objective’ and democratic approach. For instance, the 4th issue points out the significance of a fundamental change of the old Ionian aristocracy which was strictly derived from the Venetian rule. The columnist believed that the Heptanesian nobles were keeping the Ionians many steps back from achieving progress in terms of democratic procedures, politics, social state, institutions, etc., and specifically wrote:

⁷⁶ Iosif Momferratos, ‘Πρόγραμμα’, *Αναγέννησις*, January 22nd, 1849.

⁷⁷ Iosif Momferratos, ‘Η Αναγέννησις προς τον λαόν της Επτανήσου’, *Αναγέννησις*, April 9th, 1849, No. 1.

⁷⁸ Apart from the first issue, also see another very interesting article written prior to Momferratos’ exile to the island of Erikousa in 1851: Iosif Momferratos, ‘Το Ελληνικόν ζήτημα’, *Αναγέννησις*, September 8th, 1851, No. 32.

Αι από τινός ήδη καιρού ενεργούμεναι μεγάλοι μεταβολαί, σκοπόν έχουσαι την εκ θεμελίων ανατροπήν του σεσαθρωμένου οικοδομήματος της παλαιάς κοινωνίας, εντός του οποίου αλυσόδετοι έκειντο οι λαοί, και επί των ερειπίων αυτού η ανέγερσις του μεγάλου, του λαμπρού και στερεού οικοδομήματος της νεωτέρας κοινωνίας, τουτέστι της απελευθερώσεως των λαών, δια της αποκαταστάσεως των εθνικότητων, δια της καταστροφής πάσης μοναρχικής και αριστοκρατικής θεσμοθεσίας, και δια της εγκαθιδρύσεως θεσμοθεσιών αληθώς ελευθέρων και λαοσών, επί τη μόνη στερεά βάση της κυριαρχίας του Λαού.⁷⁹

In addition, another editorial shows that Momferratos was opposed to any form of monarchical regime,⁸⁰ and this is the main reason why he opposed the British, and firmly supported his exiled fellow-radicals. In particular, with regards to Momferratos opposition, what stimulated my interest was a series of articles/essays regarding the sovereignty of the people, the dynamic involvement through a creative dialogue with the entire national unity government and most importantly, the concept of democracy. It was published under the title: *Τρεις πολιτικοί διάλογοι ήτοι Η Κυριαρχία του Λαού, η Εθνική Συνέλευσις και η Δημοκρατία* (No. 5-7 & No. 9) and referred to a sophisticated dialogue between Fragkiskos and Peter the instructor: *Φραγκίσκος και Διδάσκαλος Πέτρος*; the writer notes the end of the dialogue where both interlocutors accept the democratic status in a state:

Φραγκίσκος: Πιστεύετε λοιπόν ότι μόνη η Δημοκρατία δύναται να ανταποκριθή εις την αξιοπρέπειαν της ανθρώπινης φύσεως, να εκπληρώση τον νόμον της προόδου, να αποκαταστήση κυβέρνησιν ολιγοδάπανον, να σβέση την αντιζηλίαν των κομμάτων, να συνενώση την ελευθερίαν και την τάξιν, και να βελτιώση την πολιτικήν, ηθικήν και υλικήν κατάστασιν του λαού. Διδάσκαλος Πέτρος: Και συ Φραγκίσκε, δεν πιστεύεις άρα γε τούτο; Φραγκίσκος: Ναι, τώρα το πιστεύω.⁸¹

In his effort not to be sidelined, he published letters by the exiled I. Zervos-Iakovatos and Gerasimos Livadas (No. 1-2 & No. 12).⁸² Indeed, a great deal of articles protest

⁷⁹ Iosif Momferratos, 'Η Ομόθυμος Τάσις του Λαού', *Αναγέννησις*, April 30th, 1849, No. 4.

⁸⁰ Iosif Momferratos, 'Το γενικόν πνεύμα και η Ελλάς', *Αναγέννησις*, June 18th, 1849, No. 11.

⁸¹ Iosif Momferratos, 'Διάλογος Γ' Περί της Δημοκρατίας, ήτις είναι ο σκοπός', *Αναγέννησις*, June 4th, 1849, No. 9.

⁸² For the letters of Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos and Gerasimos Livadas, see: Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, *Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός, Αφιέρωμα στα εκατόχρονα της Ενώσεως 1864-1964*, (εισαγωγή-επιμέλεια: Σπύρου Μυλωνά), Athens, 1964, pp. 94-103. Also see: Andreas M. Idromenos, *Πολιτική Ιστορία της Επτανήσου (1815-1864)*, op.cit., p. 45.

against illegal prohibitions. The journalists demanded to know which law allowed the High Commissioner to implement such punishments, essentially putting terms such as individual safety, legal and social guarantees, freedom of speech and censorship, to the test. In a similar manner, the 21st issue, which was distributed a few months after the return of Momferratos from exile, refers to the High Police's extremist behavior, as well as to the unfair military courts in the island of Kefalonia.⁸³ As a consequence, one of the primary aims of *Αναγέννησις* was to discuss the relation between the Ionian Islanders and their rulers, highlighting the British militaristic regime, arbitrariness and punishments; it is also worth noting the references made (No. 20) to death sentences by gallows. For instance, a great deal of articles focus on the prosecutions and cases pending before the court against the radical newspapers *Χωρικός*, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* and *Αναγέννησις* (No. 21-23, No. 27-28, No. 32, No. 35). Truly, this paper emphasized the continuous persecution of the radical press by the British government and police forces. However, *Αναγέννησις* refers additionally to the attacks with stones against the editors of another radical newspaper titled *Ο Ρήγας*, Dimitrios Kallinikos and Pavlos Tavoularis (No. 30).⁸⁴ Momferratos seemed disappointed, for the press freedom was not accompanied by the necessary safeguards, and described the challenges that the radical journalists were faced with:

Αλλ' οποία μετ' ολίγον υπήρξεν η τύχη της νεωστί καθιερωθείσης ταύτης ελευθερίας; Μόλις ολίγοι μήνες είχαν παρέλθει, και, εις το πρόσωπον πολιτών εξασκούντων αυτήν μετά θάρρους και παρρησίας, κατεδικάζετο αύτη εις τα ερημόνησα και εις τους σκοπέλους. Οποία δε η τύχη της η σημερινή; Αντικείμενον καθημερινών δικαστικών καταδιώξεων, είτε άμεσων είτε πλαγίων, διατελεί θύμα της πλέον μανιώδους αντιδράσεως και επαπειλείται να καταστραφή.⁸⁵

In conclusion, *Αναγέννησις* is certainly one of the major means of promoting Heptanesian radicalism. Through multiple references to the fundamental goals of the newspaper, Momferratos expressed his desire for a democratic regime, a democratic government of the people and strived to enhance the "Greekness" of the Islanders.

⁸³ Iosif Momferratos, 'Παύσις και Αναφάνησις της Αναγεννήσεως', *Αναγέννησις*, June 23rd, 1851, No. 21.

⁸⁴ Iosif Momferratos, 'Διάφορα', *Αναγέννησις*, August 25th, 1851, No. 30. It is worth noting the columnist's point of view; he accused particularly three eminent Heptanesian personalities; G.K. Romas, Nikos Manesis and Nikolaos Kiliomelites as the people responsible for the stoning attack.

⁸⁵ Iosif Momferratos, 'Αι παγίδες της προστασίας' *Αναγέννησις*, June 30th, 1851, No. 22.

The detailed review of the paper's contents led me to the conclusion that Momferratos was one of the most significant Heptanesian humanists in the period examined. Despite his repeated exiles and punishments, his newspaper is vivid proof of his direct opposition to the British Crown. I also concluded that Momferratos, along with Zervos-Iakovatos, as political/journalistic role model, contributed in the emergence of other radical newspapers in the Ionian state. In more specific terms, the next section presents the journalistic efforts of a few young politically-active men in Lefkada, who in 1849, despite the lack of a printing press, managed to distribute the first anti-Imperial handwritten political newspaper of the Ionian Islands.

7.4 Νεολαία (1849): The handwritten paper

Νεολαία ("The Youth") (size 0.36x0.22) was the first 'handwritten' paper in the Islands during the period of British rule. It distributed very few issues (3 issues and an appendix), which are saved in the public records office in the island of Lefkada.⁸⁶ Konomos and Kontomihis indicate that main editor was the young apprentice-attorney Antonios Thermos.⁸⁷ The first issue was published in 16 sheets, on May 21st, 1849. The second one was published in 12 sheets, one month later, on June 23rd, 1849. The third and last issue was published in 8 sheets, on July 3rd, 1849. *Νεολαία* was distributed for free "*διανέμεται δωρεάν*", as was clearly listed on the front page of the first issue. The appendix (4 sheets) does not list a date, however, according to Kontomihis, it was distributed between the 2nd and the 3rd issue of this newspaper.⁸⁸

So significant was this effort of the Lefkadian youth, that *Πατρίς* made references to the Lefkadians' revolutionary fervor, praising this journalistic endeavor. The journalist particularly stated the following:

Ουδενός τυπογραφείου υπάρχοντος εισέτι εις Λευκάδα, διάφοροι νέοι των δικηγορικών γραφείων και άλλοι συνομηλικοί των, συγκροτήσαντες εταιρίαν φιλοεθνή και φιλοπρόοδον, απεφάσισαν δια της υπομονής και της ακουράστου συνεργείας εκάστου να υπερνικήσωσι τοιούτον πρόσκομμα φράττον την διάδοσιν των ιδεών των, και την έκφρασιν της κοινής γνώμης της νήσου των. Τί δεν εφευρίσκει ο εθνισμός, τί δεν θαυματουργεί η πρόοδος!

⁸⁶ Refer to: Nt. Konomos, 'Μια ανέκδοτη χειρόγραφη εφημερίδα της Λευκάδας 1849', *Νέα Εστία*, (αφιέρωμα Επτάνησα), Vol. 76, No. 899, 1964, pp. 210-229. Refer also to the research of Pantazis Kontomihis, *Ο Τύπος της Λευκάδας (1800-1987)*, Athens: Gregori publications, 2003, pp. 20-48.

⁸⁷ Nt. Konomos, 'Μια ανέκδοτη χειρόγραφη εφημερίδα της Λευκάδας 1849', *op.cit.*, p. 210.

⁸⁸ Pantazis Kontomihis, *Ο Τύπος της Λευκάδας*, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

*Ανέγνωμεν τον α' αριθμόν της υπό το όνομα ΝΕΟΛΑΙΑ (...) μικρόν αριστούργημα φιλοπατρίας και υπομονής. Οι αυτής Συντάκται από ζήλον ορμώμενοι βελτιώσεως και στενάζοντες την ένωσιν απάσης της Ελληνικής φυλής, προσφέρουσι και αυτοί τον οβολόν της χήρας εις την πατρίδα. –Εύγε σας, ω νέοι συνάδελφοι!*⁸⁹

As usual, the editorial in the first issue of *Νεολαία* presented the aims of the newspaper and the journalist makes particular reference to the British abuse of power, noting the following:

*Ο Ιονικός τύπος γνωρίσας την αποστολή του, με την διακρίνουσαν αυτόν φρόνησιν και πολυμάθειαν, αποδεικνύει εναργώς τα εκτεθέντα. Τούτου ένεκα λοιπόν και συναισθανόμενοι τας ημετέρας δυνάμεις, αναθέτομεν εις τον ζήλον και τον πατριωτισμόν των ειδημόνων την ειλικρινή συζήτησιν των δικαιωμάτων της κοινής πατρίδος και κύριον ημών σκοπόν εις την παρούσα χειρόγραφον εφημερίδα προτιθέμεθα «την αντίχενυσιν, κοινοποίησιν και στηλίτευσιν των ανέκαθεν βαρυπληττουσών ημάς καταχρήσεων. Έτι δεν διακοίνωσιν των αναγκών του τόπου».*⁹⁰

The second issue is similarly indicative of the revolutionary fervor, as it which perfectly depicts the political/patriotic passion in Lefkada in that period.⁹¹ Also, the third and last edition, refers to the exiles of the radical politicians/journalists and the prisoners in the Corfiot prison, particularly noting:

*Αδελφοί Κεφαλλήνες, ιδού η Λευκάς, ήτις συμμερίζεται τας οποίας κατά το παρελθόν έτος υποφέρατε κακουχίας από την λύσσαν της ξενοκρατίας, σας προσφέρει επιχείρημα ακαταμάχητον υπέρ της αθωότητος των εισέτι στεναζόντων εις τας φυλακάς της Κερκύρας συμπατριωτών σας, λάβετε αυτό, και φωνάζετε κατά των παρανομιών.*⁹²

Despite the predominantly political nature of this local newspaper, the journalists also displayed a social interest by referring to issues such as the education,⁹³ and the taxation in the Ionian Islands.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ (Anonymous), (No title), *Πατρίς*, June 4th, 1849, No. 21. *Πατρίς* also publicizes a letter of the editor of *Νεολαία*, in which he refers to the 'special' reason of the newspaper's closure. Refer to: Antonios Thermos, 'Κύριε Συντάκτα της Εφημερίδος η Πατρίς', *Πατρίς*, July 16th, 1849, No. 27.

⁹⁰ Antonios Thermos, (no title), *Νεολαία*, May 21st, 1849, No. 1.

⁹¹ Antonios Thermos, 'Ο λαός και η κατ' αυτού ραδιουργία', *Νεολαία*, June 23rd, 1849, No. 2.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 'Η εν Λευκάδι δημοσία Εκπαίδευσις'.

⁹⁴ Antonios Thermos, 'Η έκτακτος φορολογία και η κατά του λαού επιβουλή', *Νεολαία*, July 3rd, 1849, No. 3.

In an effort to promote and enhance the profile of *Νεολαία* within the Heptanesian journalistic circles, *Αναγέννησις* also referred to its liberal and revolutionary character. In particular, the 15th issue described the difficulties Heptanesian journalists were faced with, despite the fact that the press was granted freedom in the Islands; one of these difficulties was the lack of printing houses, and the Ionians' obligation to embrace Greekness, as the columnist stated:

Το έργον της δημοσιογραφίας είναι βέβαια μέγα και επίπονον, και έτι μάλλον ότε στερούμεθα τύπου· αλλά προκειμένου περί πατρίδος, πας κόπος γλυκύνεται και πάσα οχληρότης διασκεδάζεται. Δια το ηδύτερον τη ψυχής μας εντρύφημα, δια την πατρίδα, δια την γην των πατέρων μας, της γεννήσεώς μας, των τέκνων μας, και δια το ζωηρόν του εθνισμού αίσθημα, όπερ αναπετά εις τα σπλάγχνα μας και μας κινεί να πτύωμεν κατά πρόσωπον τον ισχυρόν και αλωπεκόφρονα τύραννόν μας και να λακτιζώμεν ως άχυρα τα περιστοιχούντα αυτόν εκτρώματα της κοινωνίας μας, καταφρονούντες απειλάς και βασάνους· δια την πατρίδα, λέγομεν, και τον εθνισμόν, χρέος είναι απαράβατον να θυσιάζωμεν και αυτήν την τελευταίαν πνοήν μας, δια να δίδωμεν εις εκείνα πνοήν. Το αίσθημα τούτο του εθνισμού και της δόξης, δια το οποίον πάντοτε ο Έλλην διεκρίθη και εκινδύνευσε την ύπαρξίν του, θεωρείται πολλά ζωηρόν και εις τον λαόν της Επτανήσου, και αποδεικνύει την ελληνικώτατην φύσιν του και το αδάμαστον αυτού κατά του πανδαμάτορος χρόνου και της σιδηράς της ξενοκρατίας δουλείας.⁹⁵

Αναγέννησις was also referring to a Lefkadian organization (members of which had created this newspaper) with a strong radical political ideology, aspiring to fearlessly support Greece, promote the Modern Greek language, and fight for unification.⁹⁶ In respect to the lack of a printing house in Lefkada, the journalist referred to an afternoon meeting held outdoors, in the fields near the town of Lefkada, to discuss the organization of marches and protests against the British, in order to exercise national will. More specifically, *Αναγέννηση*'s columnist states:

Ιδού τα περί ων ο λόγος διατρέξαντα, κατά την μαρτυρίαν της χειρογράφου εφημερίδος των φιλοπατρίδων νέων της

⁹⁵ Iosif Momferratos, 'Τα της Λευκάδος', *Αναγέννησις*, July 16th, 1849, No.15.

⁹⁶ Indeed, the appendix of the second issue of *Νεολαία* states: *Ενταύθα από τινών ημερών, προς το δειλινόν συνάξεται αρκετός αριθμός νέων από 15 έως 24 ετών εις την πλησιόχωρον πεδιάδα και κάμνουν γυμνάσματα στρατιωτικής εις την ελληνικήν γλώσσαν. Είναι αξιοπαρατήρητος η πρόοδος και η πειθαρχία των γυμναζομένων. Μετά την άσκησιν έρχονται με στρατιωτικήν τάξιν και διαλύονται εις την πλατείαν μετά χειροκροτημάτων. Refer to: Antonios Thermos, 'Σημείωμα', *Νεολαία*, (n.d.), 1849, No. 2 (appendix).*

Λευκάδος, η Νεολαία. Νέοι διάφοροι παρεδέχθησαν, από τινος ήδη καιρού, το μέτρον του να συναθροίζονται, περί το δειλινόν, εις τινα πλησιόχωρον της πόλεως πεδιάδα, και εκεί να κάμνωσι γυμνάσματα στρατιωτικής, κάμνοντες προσέτι εις τον έργον τούτο χρήσιν της εθνικής γλώσσης· μετά δε την άσκησιν ταύτην, να επανέρχονται εις την πλατείαν της πόλεως και εκεί να διαλύωνται. Τούτο εγένετο με απαισθητήν πρόοδον και αξιοσημείωτον πειθαρχίαν των γυμναζομένων, εν μέσω των γενικών του κοινού επευφημιών.⁹⁷

The same column also includes references to the arrest of several Lefkadian protesters by the British High Police, on June 19th, 1849.⁹⁸ Among those arrested was the editor of *Νεολαία*, Thermos, as well as other contributors supporting this journalistic endeavor of the Lefkadian youth. Most of them were either sentenced to three days of imprisonment or monetary fines, or both, as the journalist reported:

Αφού λοιπόν η αστυνομία ούτω συνέλαβεν όσους ευηρεστήθη, μεταξύ των οποίων και τον συντάκτην της Νεολαίας, έσπευσεν άλλους μεν να καταδικάση εις τριήμερον φυλάκισιν, άλλους εις πρόστιμον, άλλους και εις τας δύο (...).⁹⁹

In an effort to expose the arbitrary actions of the British, another front-page editorial of *Αναγέννησις* refers to the dissolution of this organization and the forced closure of *Νεολαία*. In order to justify their actions, the authorities stated that they could not allow the distribution of *Νεολαία*, because it was handwritten and, thus, constituted a ‘special document’. The following excerpt, again from *Αναγέννησις*, specifically refers to the legal terms of the newspaper’s closure, and points out the need to protect and defend the young Lefkadians in court:

Ήδη ερχόμεθα να αναφέρωμεν άλλο τι περιστατικό σοβαρώτερον, άλλην αυθαιρεσίαν, δολιωτέραν έτι και απανθρωποτέραν· την παύσιν, λέγομεν, της εν Λευκάδι εκδιδομένης χειρογράφου εφημερίδος, η Νεολαία. Η εφημερίς αύτη, την οποίαν φιλοπάτριδες τινές νέοι επεχείρησαν να δημοσιεύωσιν, επί σκοπώ κοινής ωφελείας, και δια την οποίαν τοσούτους κατέβαλλαν κόπους και με τοσούτον ζήλον ενησχολούντο, εξεδίδετο καθ’ όλους τους δια τας εφημερίδας και τα περιοδικά συγγράμματα εν γένει ωρισμένους κανόνας και τύπους· ο δε εισαγγελεύς, προς τον οποίον εδίδετο το ωρισμένον αντίγραφον, ανεγνώριζε την

⁹⁷ Iosif Momferratos, ‘Εθνικά διαδηλώσεις Λευκαδίων και βίαια μέτρα της εξουσίας’, *Αναγέννησις*, July 2nd, 1849, No. 13.

⁹⁸ Refer also to: Pantazis Kontomihis, *Ο Τύπος της Λευκάδας*, op.cit., pp. 40-42.

⁹⁹ Iosif Momferratos, ‘Εθνικά διαδηλώσεις Λευκαδίων..’, op.cit.

νομιμότητα του έργου και έδιδε το ανάλογο αποδεικτικό. (...) λέγει ότι δεν δύναται ν' αναγνωρισθή ως εφημερίς το φύλλον της Νεολαίας, καθό μη φέρον το προσόν του τύπου, και ως υπαγόμενον, ένεκα τούτου, εις την δικαιοδοσίαν όχι των ορκωτών, αλλά του πλημμελειοδικείου, ως έγγραφον ιδιαίτερον. (...) λυπούμεθα ότι η Νεολαία δεν έκρινεν εύλογο να ακολουθήση το έργον της, αντέχουσα κατά της βίας, και επιφυλαττόμενη, εάν εις δίκην ήθελε ποτέ υποβληθή, να υποστηρίξη την αναρμοδιότητα του πλημμελειοδικείου εις την δικαιοδοσίαν του οποίου ήθελαν την υποβάλει. Το θάρρος και η τόλμη είναι τα δραστικώτερα κατά της αυθαιρεσίας μέσα.¹⁰⁰

After *Νεολαία*'s forced closure, the Lefkadian youth were not idle, and *Νεολαία* was succeeded by another handwritten newspaper entitled *η Ρομφαία της Νεολαίας*, with unattested rumors stating that the editor of this new endeavor was the young radical man of letters (close friend of Valaoritis and Ioannis-Spyridos Zampelios),¹⁰¹ Ioannis N. Stamatellos (1822-1881). Unfortunately, no issues of this newspaper are saved, and the only references are found in the articles of *Αναγέννησις* journalist¹⁰² who states:

(...) Τοιαύτης σταθερότητος και ευτολμίας δείγματα, και εσχάτως ακόμη, μας έδωκεν ο γενναίος λαός της Λευκάδος, εν εκ των οποίων είναι και η μετά την παύσιν της χειρογράφου εφημερίδος η Νεολαία άμεσος δημοσίευσις άλλης τοιαύτης, επιγραφομένης, η Ρομφαία της Νεολαίας, καθαρώς και ευτόλμως καταφερομένης κατά του αποτροπαίου συστήματος της προστασίας, και κηρυττούσης συμφώνως με το επικρατούν γενικόν πνεύμα, την απελευθέρωσιν της Επτανήσου και την μετά της ανεξαρτήτου Ελλάδος συνένωσιν της.¹⁰³

In conclusion, the lack of a printing house in Lefkada was neither an obstacle nor a deterring factor for the few young men, who wanted to distribute their paper. *Νεολαία* was proof of the desire for democratic principles and of the need to revive the Greek identity. The example of the Lefkadian papers is characteristic of the efforts towards establishing the use of Modern Greek in the Ionian Islands, but, most importantly, to protest against British absolutism. *Νεολαία* was neither a radical nor a reformist paper; on the contrary, it became a symbol against British suppression; the persecutions by the High Police and its forced closure further enhanced its Greekness, proving that the

¹⁰⁰ Iosif Momferratos, 'Απόπειρα κατά της Δημοσιογραφίας. Παύσις της εφημερίδος «η Νεολαία»', *Αναγέννησις*, July 9th, 1849, No. 14.

¹⁰¹ Pantazis Kontomihis, *Ο Τύπος της Λευκάδας*, op.cit., p. 43.

¹⁰² See the following issues of *Αναγέννησις*: (No. 14-15, 18) (July 9th & 15th, 1849), (August 5th, 1849).

¹⁰³ Iosif Momferratos, 'Απόπειρα κατά της Δημοσιογραφίας'..., op.cit.

radical press was not an underground resistance movement but rather, the new *status quo* in journalism.

7.5 *Ο Χωρικός (1850-1852)*

The radical paper *Ο Χωρικός* (“The Peasant”, size 0.31x0.24), *Εφημερίς Δημοτική*, was initially published in Kefalonia on February 16th, 1850, and as the title indicates, it mainly addressed the villagers and the peasants in the Islands.¹⁰⁴ It was usually distributed twice per week, as the editor specifically stated: *εκδίδεται δις της εβδομάδος απροσδιόριστως*.¹⁰⁵ Written in Greek, this paper had two-columns and four-sheets and, like in most cases in the Ionian protectorate, its readers obtained the newspaper through annual, six-month or three-month subscriptions. In the front-page editorial of its first issue, the journalist explains:

*Ωνομάσθη δε Χωρικός η μικρά αύτη εφημερίς, διότι αποτεινόμεθα κυρίως εις τους χωρικούς μας, και διότι έχομεν σκοπόν να ομιλήσωμεν διά πράγματα, τα οποία να δύνανται αυτοί να καταλαμβάνουν. Αι αρχαί μας είναι εθνικά και δημοτικά· διευθυνόμεθα δε από το πνεύμα του εν Αργοστολίω Δημοτικού Καταστήματος και του εν Ληξουρίω Αναγνωστηρίου της Ομονομίας. Βλέποντες δε την μεγάλην ραδιουργίαν της εθνοκαταράτου συμμορίας του ξενισμού, αναγκαζόμεθα επί τέλους να επικαλεσθώμεν την προσοχήν του λαού και να ειδοποιήσωμεν αυτόν (...).*¹⁰⁶

According to the above excerpt, *Ο Χωρικός* was ‘guided’ by both the political club of Argostoli and the *Ομόνοια* Reading Society of Lixouri. Tsitselis indicates that behind this journalistic endeavor was the radical Dimitrios Daves Loretzatos (1812-1894), an eminent Kefalonian, journalist, politician, and also one of the founders of the *Κοραής* Kefalonian Reading Society.¹⁰⁷ Daves promoted his radical ideologies through the societies and clubhouses in Kefalonia, in which he was a prominent member, since they had proposed him as a radical candidate for the upcoming elections.¹⁰⁸ Dimitrios

¹⁰⁴ All issues of *Ο Χωρικός* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, as well as the Museum of the Press in Patras, Greece. For the newspaper’s profile, refer also to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 118-119.

¹⁰⁵ Publisher of this paper was Petros Pollanis and it was printed in the printing house of *Κεφαλληνία*. From the 16th newspaper’s issue onwards, Gerasimos Spathis was its publisher and it was no longer printed in *Κεφαλληνία*, but in *Η Σάλπιγξ*.

¹⁰⁶ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Η γαρ δύναμίς μου εν ασθενεία τελειούται’, *Ο Χωρικός*, February 16th, 1850, No. 1.

¹⁰⁷ For the biographical details of Daves refer to: Encyclopædia *Νέα Δομή*, Vol. 9, Athens, 1996, p. 270.

¹⁰⁸ Eri Stavropoulou, in *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου*, Vol. 4, p. 376.

Daves was an active Heptanesian, who was writing journalistic articles for Athenian newspapers and journals mostly regarding political matters in the Ionian state, even before freedom of the press in the Islands was granted.¹⁰⁹ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, he was also a journalist of *Αναγέννησις*, writing side by side with his close friend, Iosif Momferratos.¹¹⁰ I assume that *Ο Χωρικός* was not a single person affair, especially considering the continuous support of the societies/clubhouses in Argostoli and Lixouri. In view of the above, Tsitselis states that another contributor of the paper was M. Kourvisianos, a doctor of Theology, who was very close to Daves, as his mentor.¹¹¹ However, things did not turn out as expected, and *Ο Χωρικός* had to sail through rough seas from the day that its first issue was published through March 22nd, 1852, counting in total 61 issues.¹¹² In particular, the newspaper paused its circulation twice; from June until the end of September 1850, and again, from June, 1851, until October 22nd, 1851. Very briefly, in respect to the first pause, the columnist refers to the poor contribution of the readership, as well as to ‘other’ external factors, writing specifically:

(...) εάν ευαρεστώνται να συνδράμωσιν ημάς οι αγαθοί
ημών συμπολίται, και εάν περιστάσεις, μη εξαρτώμεναι από

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ It is worth noting that, according to Ilias Tsitselis, Momferratos and Daves were also chief editors of another radical short-lived newspaper titled: *Ο Ριζοσπάστης (1850)* (size 0.46x0.29), noting: (...) εκδούς μετά του Ι. Μομφερράτου και άλλων φιλελευθέρων τον Ριζοσπάστην σπουδαίως εξυπηρετήσαντα το ενωτικόν κόμμα μετά την παράνομον διακοπήν των συνεδριάσεων της θ' Βουλής. See: Ilias Tsitselis, *Κεφαλληνιακά Σύμμικτα...*, *op.cit.*, p. 120. *Ο Ριζοσπάστης* was circulated for about one month. It started distribution on April 5th, 1850, *εφημερίς εθνική δημοτική*, until May 17th, 1850, counting only 4 issues in total. It is quite unfortunate that I was able to examine only the first issue of this paper, which presented its purposes, highlighting the huge gap between British protection and Heptanesian radicalism, specifically stating: *Μέγα και αχανές υπάρχει χάσμα μεταξύ ημών και της προστασίας· ουδείς συμβιβασμός, ουδεμία συμφιλίωσις είναι δυνατόν να υπάρξη μεταξύ αυτής και των Επτανησίων*; see: (Anonymous), ‘Σκοπός και πορεία του Ριζοσπάστου’, *Ο Ριζοσπάστης*, April 5th, 1850, No. 1. Moreover, according to Konomos, this newspaper had four-pages and three-columns, was published on a weekly basis, and was printed in the printing house of *Ερμής- Χ. Νικολαΐδου Φιλαδελφέως*. Its publisher, as listed in the last page of the first edition, was Anastasios Temponeras; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

¹¹¹ Ilias Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, pp. 118-120.

¹¹² Apart from Konomos, Eri Stavropoulou presents the newspaper’s profile in the encyclopedia of the Greek press. She specifically refers to the efforts of Antonios Lelos leading to *Ο Χωρικός* resuming publication from December 1859 until April 21st, 1860, counting 10 issues. After the union of the Ionian Islands with the Greeks, an additional 16 issues were distributed from April 10th, 1865, until September 4th, 1865, published by Andreas Z. Razas. See: Eri Stavropoulou, in *Εγκυκλοπαίδεια του Ελληνικού Τύπου*, Vol. 4, p. 376.

*ημάς, δεν μας αναγκάσωσι να διακόψωμεν ή να παύσωμεν
αυτήν πάλιν.*¹¹³

With regards to the second closure, the columnist briefly, I assume by cause of fear, referred to the multiple threats against Heptanesian editors, as well as to the serious violations of human rights.¹¹⁴

Considering that it was rather common for radical journalists to report on political issues passionately, since, in most cases, these journalists were politicians as well, the thorough review of *Ο Χωρικός* led me to the conclusion that this newspaper, indeed, had a strong revolutionary approach. Particularly, the two eminent journalists (Daves-Kourvisianos) aimed at criticizing the current political status, focused on the protests against the British authorities and their followers, and also fearlessly expressed their negative sentiments and huge dissatisfaction. But, most importantly, the newspaper's priority was to disseminate the concept of Heptanesian radicalism, as well as to awaken the lower social classes living in the suburbs and distant villages. Indeed, according to the 16th issue, the journalists' efforts to promote the Greek spirit were politically-oriented. Actually, the columnist wrote the following:

*Η δε μεγαλητέρα εις ημάς ευχαρίστησις και ανταμοιβή είναι
το να τύχωμεν της γενικής επιδοκίμασίας του κοινού και να
αισθανθώμεν ότι ο μικρός ημών λίθος δεν αποβαίνει
μάταιος, αλλά προσθέτει μικρόν τι εις την προοδούσαν
ήδη γιγαντιαίους βήμασι λαμπράν ανύψωσιν του εθνικού
της πατρίδος οικοδομήματος.*¹¹⁵

In addition, *Ο Χωρικός* stood up against the pro-Britishness concept by highlighting its self-center nature. It also strongly criticized the reformers for their two political dimensions i.e. on the one hand supporting and communicating with the British administration, and on the other hand, aspiring at unifying with the Greeks. Consequently, it opposed the pro-British *Φίλος του Λαού* and *Πέλεκυς*, as well as the reformist *Πατρίς*. The two journalists of *Ο Χωρικός* accused all British supporters of being inhumane individuals encouraging the government's violent behaviors and punishments. The newspaper specifically reports the following:

*(...) όσοι πάντοτε εκλίνατε ενώπιον του τυράννου, όσοι
εβοηθήσατε τας βανδαλικάς πράξεις του στρατοδικείου,
όσοι επεδοκιμάζετε δια διαβολικών αναφορών τας σφαγάς,*

¹¹³ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, September 30th (Τρηνητού), 1850, No. 16.

¹¹⁴ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, October 22nd, 1851, No. 44.

¹¹⁵ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, op.cit., (No. 16).

*ραβδισμούς, και πυρπολήσεις, δεν έχετε άρα γε ουδέν ίχνος
ανθρωπισμού!*¹¹⁶

However, conversely to the above oppositions, it seems that *Ο Χωρικός* was really close to the radical newspaper published at the same period, titled *Ο Ρήγας*,¹¹⁷ for two important reasons: first, because *Ο Χωρικός* reprinted letters that were originally published in *Ο Ρήγας*, with its journalists expressing favorable comments. Second, they were openly supporting each other throughout their common political fights.¹¹⁸

In a similar manner, other secondary columns such as the *Διάφορα* and the *Αστυνομικά*, as well as the several untitled letters of a small number of Ionian citizens published in the newspaper were also political in essence, as they either analyzed an important political issue or a particular political stance by an Ionian political figure of the period. It should be emphasized that another important political issue raised by *Ο Χωρικός* was the electoral issue and in general the voting criteria in the Ionian Islands. In an effort to analyse the voting restrictions in the state, a particular article concluded that the Ionian villagers were sidelined and, thus, excluded from voting.¹¹⁹ In addition, a series of articles had an admonishing character, and focused on advising the readership to vote responsibly in parliamentary/local elections.¹²⁰ The journalists strongly believed in worthy representatives, who would be willing to fight for Ionian dignity and justice, frequently describing the genuine attributes that a politician role model should possess. The journalists aspired at electing virtuous and selfless politicians, with the hope that they would improve the Ionian education system and promote Greek patriotism. Indicative of the above is an article, stating that the Ionians should not bow to an arbitrary authoritarian rule, wealth, and nobility. The writer characteristically states:

¹¹⁶ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Οι καταχθόνιοι ως αντιπρόσωποι’, *Ο Χωρικός*, February 16th, 1850. No. 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ο Ρήγας* is thoroughly presented in chapter 8 of the thesis.

¹¹⁸ Noteworthy is a published dialogue between the Zakynthian publisher K. Rossolymos and *Ρήγας*’s contributors, concluding that: *every publisher has no authority over the newspaper’s subjects and contents*; see: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Διάφορα’, *Ο Χωρικός*, December 9th, 1851, No. 49.

¹¹⁹ See: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Και άλλοι εκλογικοί περιορισμοί’, *Ο Χωρικός*, March 30th, 1851, No. 35.

¹²⁰ It is worth pointing out the 5th issue, which referred to the election results (the big three radical Kefalonian representatives triumphed in the elections: G. Livadas 1,380 votes, I. Momferratos 1,293 votes, and I. Zervos-Iakovatos 1,271 votes); refer to: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Διάφορα’, *Ο Χωρικός*, March 4th, 1850, No. 5. Moreover, indicative of the accusations against other representatives is the 2nd issue, in which the columnist argues that K. Linardatos and D. Karousos got elected in Kefalonia because of their canvassing efforts; see: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Οι δύο Κύριοι’, *Ο Χωρικός*, February 19th, 1850, No. 2. Finally, in the 3rd issue the journalist expresses similar accusations against I. Kladas; see: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, February 22nd, 1850, No. 3.

*(...) ο δε λαός είπε, ματαιωποιείτε κύριοι, ησθάνθην το συμφέρον μου, δεν υποτάσσομαι εις τας αντεθνικάς θελήσεις σας, δεν προτιμώ τα πλούτη σας, την ευγενή καταγωγήν σας, και την προνομιούχον τάξιν σας, αλλά την αρετήν, την παιδείαν, τον πατριωτισμόν και την αυταπάρνησιν (...).*¹²¹

Considering the vast amount of political journalism in that period, *Ο Χωρικός* also hosted articles for a number of significant socio-cultural issues. More specifically, it addressed the language question in the Ionian state by demonstrating the columnists' points of view regarding the linguistic influences, the buttering-up of the British government towards the clergy through the increase of all Orthodox priests' salaries,¹²² and, last but not least, the funding of the political clubs by the Lefkadians, the Zakynthians, as well as the Corfiots.¹²³ In addition, the paper also made particular references to the 1850 cholera epidemic in Kefalonia (No. 17-19), during which 1,723 Ionian inhabitants were infected and 839 were reported dead. It is extremely interesting that the journalist points out the management of the plague by the British, and also attempts to decode the causes for this high death toll. Commenting on several factors leading to the plague, the writer emphasizes the naval blockade of Kefalonia, noting particularly that the Kefalonian islanders were deprived of food, drink and medicines:

*Μη, αφού μας καθυπεβάλετε εις απαραφριγμάτιστον αποκλεισμόν, εφροντίσατε, τουλάχιστον να μας προμηθεύσετε τα αναγκαία; Ουδέ 20-30 χιλιάδας βδελλών, εν αναντιρρήτως των αναγκαιότερων θεραπειμάτων, και το οποίον ηδύνασθε ευκολώτατα, δεν εφροντίσατε να πορισθώμεν (...).*¹²⁴

Another article in *Ο Χωρικός* refers to the Kefalonian population's efforts to escape the disease, as well as poverty and hunger, and reaches the conclusion that the British and the local authorities have mismanaged and squandered the public funds. In my opinion, it must be noted that the columnist reports all facts and efforts in an objective manner, and does not hold back any information, as he refers to the organization of multiple medical meetings, the creation of hospitals, and the appointments of

¹²¹ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Νέα Νίκη', *Ο Χωρικός*, April 28th, 1850, No. 11.

¹²² Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Η εξομολόγησι του κ. Ουάρδου', *Ο Χωρικός*, March 24th, 1851, No. 34.

¹²³ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Αι υπέρ των Κεφαλλήνων συνεισφοραί', *Ο Χωρικός*, October 21st, 1850, No. 19.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 'Τα Όργανα της Προστασίας'.

healthcare professionals in the countryside. Among other things, he wrote the following:

Τα όργανα της εξουσίας απέναντι των παραπόνων και της αγανακτήσεως του κοινού, και προς υπεράσπισιν των κυρίων των, θέλουσι αντιτάξει βεβαίως, ως ολονέν διασαλπίζουσι, τα συστηθέντα ιατροσυνέδρια, τας επιτροπάς, τα νοσοκομεία, τους διορισμούς των ιατρών και φαρμακοποιών εις τας εξοχάς, και άλλας πομπώδεις και επί ψιλώ ονόματι γενομένας διατάξεις.¹²⁵

7.5.1. The High Police's pursuits

It is true that the continuous conflicts between the Ionians ‘rebels’ and the British are not well-known amongst the Heptanesian scholars, and surely, they could constitute a significant topic in literature. In this respect, *Ο Χωρικός* offers us an opportunity to examine the relations between the colonizers and the colonized by exploring the conflicts between the British police and the Kefalonian people. Indeed, the newspaper had a separate column for reports related with the actions of the police, as almost every issue contains an article raising sincere concerns regarding authoritarianism, since the journalists repeatedly referred to human rights violations.¹²⁶ Besides, it is Gekas, who confirms the above, and in his book, refers to the ‘hated’ High Police, pointing out that “it maintained the right to arrest and expel individuals without trial”.¹²⁷ Taking, thus, into consideration that an entire column was dedicated to this subject, one wonders why would a newspaper so strongly accuse the British High Police? Firstly, Tsitselis informs us that Dimitrios Daves was being continuously persecuted by the police, and this has principally enabled him to directly accuse the Police through the press. Tsitselis notes particularly: *Δια τας ανταποκρίσεις εκείνας ο Δαυής κατεδιώχθη υπό της υψηλής αστυνομίας, τούτο δε παρέσχε ατώ αφορμήν ν’ αποδημήση εις Κωνσταντινούπολην, (...).*¹²⁸ *Ο Χωρικός* refers to these persecutions, in a similar manner. It thoroughly describes the imposed fines amounting to hundreds of

¹²⁵ See indicatively: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Δεινά της Κεφαλληνίας’, *Ο Χωρικός*, October 5th, 1850, No. 17.

¹²⁶ It is worth noting a poem published in *Ο Χωρικός* describing the High Police’s brutal behavior; see: I. A. Αραβαντινός, ‘Γάϊδαρος και Αλουπού’, *Ο Χωρικός*, May 5th, 1851, No. 40.

¹²⁷ Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 52. Gekas also notes that, in order to understand the function of the British power, the examination of the three police forces: (High/Executive/Court) as an ‘instrument of colonial hegemony’ becomes critical; see: *ibid.*, p. 87. For a more concrete view, see: *ibid.*, pp. 87-90 (Police and the Criminal Justice System).

¹²⁸ Ilias Tsitselis, *op.cit.*, p. 119.

pounds for inappropriate writing, and the newspaper also informs that the High Police closed Kourvisianos's clubhouse and raided his home, because of a celebration held on Greek Independence Day.¹²⁹ Also, a number of articles describe that the editor of *Ο Χωρικός*, Gerasimos Spathis, and the editor of *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*, Ioannis Floratos, were both brought to trial. The columnist specifically states:

Ο υπεύθυνος εκδότης της εφημερίδος μας, κ. Γεράσιμος Σπαθής, ως και ο του Φιλελευθέρου, κ. Ιωάννης Φλωράτος, καθυποβλήθέντες εις δίκην, παραπέμπονται ενώπιον του ενορκοδικείου, δια να δικασθώσι και δώσωσι λόγον, ο μιν δια το εις τον αριθμόν 35 αριθμόν του Χωρικού δεύτερον άρθρον, το επιγραφόμενον: Και άλλοι εκλογικοί περιορισμοί· ο δε, δια το εις τον 32 αριθμόν του Φιλελευθέρου πρώτον άρθρον, το φέρον την επιγραφήν: Η εθνική πανήγυρις και η κυβέρνησις.¹³⁰

But, essentially, the journalists's purpose was to literally expose the arbitrariness of the police in the state. This hypothesis is corroborated by the following excerpt from *Ο Χωρικός*, stating that, even though freedom of the press did exist, reading the press was still forbidden; the journalist highlighted the following phrase, in particular:

Είναι ελεύθερον το να γράφη τις εις την Επτάνησον, αλλ' είνε απηγορευμένον το ν'αναγινώσκη.¹³¹

In an effort to highlight the arbitrariness of the British police, a small number of excerpts are quoted below, in reference to the abuse of power by the policemen in the Ionian state. Specifically, the first excerpt refers to police officers trying to provoke the Kefalonias in order to respond violently against them. The journalist describes the following incident:

Ενώ εις το καφενείον 'Ο Μιαούλης' όπου πάντοτε ευρίσκετο αρκετός λαός συνηγμένος εγένετο η ετοιμασία, οι εύτακτοι χωροφύλακες μας έσπρωχνον με τους πόδας τον λαόν, οι τεχνίται ιδόντες τούτο, είπον εις αυτούς με πραότητα να παύσωσι, μήπως διαταράξωσι την ησυχίαν, οι δε χωροφύλακες απήντησαν εις αυτούς με τον βαρβαρώτερον τρόπον λέγοντες έτσι θέλομεν, έτσι είμεθα διατεταγμένοι να κάμνωμεν (...).¹³²

¹²⁹ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Προς την Δημοτικήν Επιτροπήν', *Ο Χωρικός*, January 18th, 1851, No. 29.

¹³⁰ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Καταδιώξεις του τύπου', *Ο Χωρικός*, May 26th, 1851, No. 43. The 41st issue presents details regarding the trial of K.M. Kourvisianos; see: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Δίκη του Κ. Μ. Κουρβιστιάνου', *Ο Χωρικός*, May 12th, 1851, No. 41.

¹³¹ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, November 11th, 1851, No. 46.

¹³² Dimitrios Daves (ed.), 'Κυβερνητικά Προσβολαί κατά της Εθνικής Εορτής', *Ο Χωρικός*, April 1st, 1850, No. 7.

The above excerpt reveals that the ‘soldierly’ behavior of the Police was a social issue of utmost importance. In a similar manner, the second example again reveals Police’s absolutism, and reports an incident in which the police officers were forcibly demanding to seize a specific report; the journalist is referring to a particular report by *Ομόνοια* Reading Society concerning the Kefalonian rebellions and punishments. In brief, the journalist argues that the Police’s purpose was to block its circulation and prohibit the dissemination of related information:

Ενώ ευρισκόμενουν εις το εν Παλαιά αναγνωστήριον της Ομονοίας, πάλιν οι χωροφύλακες ήλθον και εξήτουν να αρπάξωσιν δια της βίας μίαν αναφοράν αφορώσαν και αυτήν τα μαρτύρια της Κεφαλληνίας.¹³³

In addition, a similar example describes the arbitrary repression by the police forces, which arrested and imprisoned several Ionian citizens without any valid reason, aiming to suppress the freedom of expression, as the columnist explains in the below excerpt:

Ενεκα τούτου, η εξουσία (...) δια να διαστρέψη την εκλογήν και να επιφέρει ταραχώδεις συγκρούσεις, κατέφυγεν εκ νέου εις το σύνθητες αυτής μέσον της αυθαιρέτου καταπίεσεως, συλλαμβάνουσα και φυλακίζουσα διαφόρους πολίτας, ανήκοντας εις την του λαού νεολαίαν, χωρίς την παραμικράν εκ μέρους των ευλογοφανή αιτίαν, αλλά μόνον και μόνον προς τιμωρίαν της αταράχου μεν, αλλά ελευθέρας εκφράσεως των εθνικών αυτών φρονημάτων.¹³⁴

According to the 26th issue, the same irrational and unfair behaviors continued; the columnist referred to persecutions, exiles, brutality, and the prevailing suppressing attitude against innocent people. He also states that British Police was too harsh, even in its daily routine. For instance, he states that a priest should be exiled for saluting a representative of the Ionian Parliament, or that a citizen should be imprisoned for reading a political newspaper. The columnist particularly states:

Η υψηλή αστυνομία τούτου εξεσφενδόνισεν εις τον σκόπελον των Βαρδιανών, τον αξιοσέβαστον ιερέα Δημήτριον Μελέτην, εφημέριον της Υ. Θ. Φουσάτου. Το έγκλημα; Ευρισκόμενος επί τινός ηλιακού, ότε διέβαινον οι αντιπρόσωποι εχαιρέτησεν αυτούς!¹³⁵

¹³³ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Βουλευτικά’, *Ο Χωρικός*, May 5th, 1850, No. 12.

¹³⁴ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Νέα Τολμήματα της εξουσίας’, *Ο Χωρικός*, November 25th, 1850, No. 23.

¹³⁵ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Διάφορα’, *Ο Χωρικός*, December 14th, 1850, No. 26. The story of this arrest is also well-presented in the next issue of December 23rd, 1850, No. 27.

Furthermore, in the same issue, the columnist accuses the British Police for arresting Mr. Halikiopoulos, an Ionian citizen, for reading *Ο Φιλελεύθερος*:

*Εσχάτως συνέλαβε τον κ. Γεώργιον Χαλικιόπουλον, διότι ανεγίνωσκε τον Φιλελεύθερον εντός τινός καφερείου.*¹³⁶

A few days later, another article referred to specific police officers (without uniforms-going undercover), shutting down or monitoring Reading Societies:¹³⁷

*Πρότινος καιρού, παρατηρούσι μετά περιεργείας οι διαβάται, χωροφύλακα τινά άνευ στολής, κάμνοντα τους στρατιωτικούς κυματισμούς του, παραλλήλως της οικίας, εις ην ευρίσκεται το γραφείον μας’.*¹³⁸

Very briefly, other arbitrary attitudes presented in *Ο Χωρικός* include prohibiting the circulation of specific letters written by the vanished radical, I. Typaldos, thoroughly describing the causes of the persecution.¹³⁹ The same issue also hosts a column describing parts of the harsh daily life in the island of Kythira, marking the conscious suppression of the Greek spirit; the journalist writes:

*Ο κύριος σκοπός του τοποτηρητού και του επάρχου, ως επίσης και των λοιπών, ήτοι των λεγομένων ευγενών, είναι να καταπνίξωσι το αίσθημα του εθνισμού (...).*¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, it openly accuses the local authorities for corruption and raiding of homes, denouncing the High Police for bribery:

*(...) ότι ο κ. Ρωμανός είναι οπωσούν διακριτικός και δεν απαιτεί πολλά· μόνον ότι κολλήση. Διά να δώση παραδείγματος χάριν, το διαβατήριον εις τούς γεωργούς δωρεάν, ζητεί δύο οκάδες καφέ, ή δύο καψώνια.*¹⁴¹

But, apart from the journalists’ reports presented above, the editor aspired to also publish the views of the Ionians, who strongly complained about the police’s authoritarianism. A specific (signed) newspaper article, or rather a testimony, shows that the authorities’ goal was to control the masses, and notes that the British police was acting arbitrarily. The columnist states the following:

¹³⁶ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Διάφορα’, op.cit., (No. 26).

¹³⁷ Refer to: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Διαμαρτύρησις ενώπιον του κοινού’, *Ο Χωρικός*, January 18th, 1851, No. 29.

¹³⁸ Apart from No. 29, similarly refer to: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Διάφορα’, *Ο Χωρικός*, November 2nd, 1850, No. 20.

¹³⁹ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Νέον Τόλμημα της Προστασίας’, *Ο Χωρικός*, March 17th, 1851, No. 33.

¹⁴⁰ Dimitrios Daves (ed.), ‘Εκ Κυθήρων, την 20 Φεβρουαρίου 1851’, op.cit.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

*Σήμερα ο Αστυνόμος κ. Φάιερς με προσκάλεσε δια μέσου ενός χωροφύλακος και επήγα εις την Αστυνομίαν, όπου με είπεν ότι επέστρεψα εις την Κεφαλληνίαν χωρίς να προσμείνω να λάβω την άδειαν παρά του αρμοστού, και ότι τόσον ο τοποτηρητής, καθώς και η αστυνομία είναι πληροφορημένοι ότι συναναστρέφομαι κάθε είδος ανθρώπων και είμαι υπό την επιτήρησιν της υψηλής αστυνομίας και ως εκ τούτου να πάρω τα μέτρα μου. Εγώ δεν γνωρίζω να υπάρχει νόμος, όστις να προσδιορίζη με ποίους ανθρώπους πρέπει έκαστος να συναναστρέφεται (...).*¹⁴²

According to the same report, the British police forces wanted to manipulate and control relations, ethics, habits, and customs. But, another article makes particular reference to the fact that high-level police officers could blackmail an Ionian citizen's vote, as the following excerpt explains:

*Πληροφορούμεθα μετά θετικότητος ότι ο Έπαρχος απαντήσας χθες το εσπέρας καθ' οδόν τον υπάλληλον Γ. Κανάλην είπε προς αυτόν: –γνωρίζης ότι είμαι έπαρχος, –μάλιστα απεκρίθη ο υπάλληλος, –λοιπόν σε διατάττω, επανέλαβεν ο Έπαρχος με άγριον ύφος και οφρίδια υψωμένα, να δώσης την ψήφον σου εις τον υποψήφιον Β. Άννινον Ροδοθέατον.*¹⁴³

In conclusion, it becomes apparent that *Ο Χωρικός* was highly critical with regards to the British rule, as it constitutes an excellent example of illustrating the persecutions made by the High Police. Even though forced to cease its distribution twice, its revolutionary approach was evident, since the purpose of the two journalists was to disseminate the concept of radicalism, and “awaken” the sidelined suburbs and the villages. But most importantly, this newspaper focused on highlighting the violations of human rights, as well as to denounce the exiling of citizens. Considering that they were frequently victims of the High Police's brutality, their writings, indeed, confirm the perpetuation of absolutism. Strongly opposed to British arbitrariness, they directly referred to the threats, the prohibition in the distribution of papers, home invasions, restrictions of freedom of speech, violations of freedom of assembly and association, as well as in the freedom to read specific books.¹⁴⁴ Lastly, *Ο Χωρικός* constitutes an excellent example of the Ionian press, which demonstrates several cases of misuse of power, and surely reflects the image of a totally militaristic state by publishing articles

¹⁴² Ιωάννης Μεταξάς Ιακωβάτος, (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, April 20th, 1850, No. 10.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ See also: Dimitrios Daves (ed.), (No title), *Ο Χωρικός*, March 24th, 1851, No. 34.

concerning death sentences, slaughters, extreme violence, beatings with rods and brutality against civilians.

7.6 *Ελλάς (1850-1851)*

Ελλάς (“Hellas”, size 0.43x0.29) is a Corfiot local newspaper, which commenced its publication on September 7th, 1850. It was a weekly paper, and was distributed for a period of approximately ten months (until June 2nd, 1851), counting a total of 35 issues.¹⁴⁵ Written in Greek, *Ελλάς* promoted Heptanesian radicalism, focused also on Greek politics, and expressed political comments regarding the arguments raised by the members of the Ionian Parliament. But, its title is representative of the contents, since the Greeks were the chief topic of the journalist.¹⁴⁶ This newspaper followed a radical policy; however, it is worth noting that the journalist was repeatedly referring to its ‘objectivity’, as the *Ο ανεξάρτητος τύπος* (in my view, this is due to the reprinting of selected articles/essays from major newspapers from Greece and France, referring to the unanimous desire of the Ionians for the union.¹⁴⁷ But, *Ελλάς* also reported news from Russia, Hungary, and a number of Western European countries, such as Germany, England, Spain, Austria, and Italy). Indeed, the front-page editorial of the first issue presents the paper’s mission statement, which focused on the unity of the Ionian population, and the need to eliminate any disagreements between social classes; the columnist writes:

*Ευτυχείς ημείς θέλομεν θεωρείσθαι, αν δια της ειλικρινούς και αδελφικής ημών φωνής δυνηθώμεν να συντείνωμεν κατά τι είς το να εκλείψωσιν διχόνοιαι τινές από τους πολίτας, σχίσματα τινά από τους φιλοεθνείς των βουλευτών και εφημεριδογράφων και εις το να μορφώσωσιν πάντες ομού έν ισχυρόν και συνετόν κόμμα (...).*¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ All issues of *Ελλάς* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

¹⁴⁶ *Ελλάς* was a newspaper with four-pages and three columns. It was printed in the printing house of Hermes *Ερμής Χ. Νικολαΐδου Φιλαδελφέως* by Spyridon Mavros. The following motto from the Holy Bible, referring to truth and objectiveness, was the motto printed below the newspaper’s title: *Και γνώσεσθε την αλήθειαν, και η αλήθεια ελευθερώσει υμάς -Ευαγ. Κατά Ιωάν.*

¹⁴⁷ The journalist specifically quotes in the 17th issue: *Γράφοντες περί Ιονίων δεν διακρίνομεν αυτούς υπό τους τίτλους των ριζοσπαστών και μεταρρυθμιστών. Το περί ενώσεως ιερόν αίσθημα υπάρχει έμφυτον εις πάντα Ιόνιον, κοινόν ανεξαιρέτως και αναλοιότων.* See the respective quote from the Greek newspaper *Αίωv*, reprinted by *Ελλάς*: (Anonymous), ‘Η κοινή γνώμη και τα δίκαιά μας’, *Ελλάς*, December 29th, 1850, No. 17. Concerning the Parisian newspaper ‘*Démocratie*’, also see the 20th issue.

¹⁴⁸ (Anonymous), ‘Περί της Εθνικής ημών αναγεννήσεως’, *Ελλάς*, September 7th, 1850, No. 1.

The same article spoke highly of the Heptanesian youth, paying special attention to their education and their Greek bonds, characterizing the youth as the main key in any form of revolution, noting in particular:

(...) δια της ομοφροσύνης και ομοιοίας να δυνηθή και εις την περιφανή αλλά πολυπαθή ταύτην μερίδα της ελληνικής φυλής να κατορθώση ώστε να θεραπευθώσιν αι κατεπείγουσαι χρείαι της κοινωνίας, ν' ανταμοιφθώσιν η παιδεία, η ικανότης και η αρετή (...) να εμψυχωθή η ζωηρά και ευφρεστάτη ελληνική νεολαία μας (...) να συσφιγθώσι περισσότερο οι εθνικοί δεσμοί, ν' αναπτυχθώσιν αι εθνικαί δυνάμεις.¹⁴⁹

However, the paper's support to the radical cause is more characteristically reflected in the arguments presented by the journalist in the second issue, which granted the readers an opportunity to explore several aspects of the Heptanesian radicalism. First and foremost, argument was that the Heptanesian radicalism could promote education in the Ionian state, since the journalist referred to the rapid progress of the Greek educational institutions, particularly noting the plethora of libraries, schools, new research and books:

Ποίος δεν γνωρίζει την γιγαντιαίαν πρόοδον της εκπαιδύσεως εν τη ελευθέρα Ελλάδι, την πρόοδον του πανεπιστημίου της, των διαφόρων εκπαιδευτικών καταστημάτων και εταιριών, της καθημέραν πλουτιζομένης βιβλιοθήκης της, των γυμνασίων και σχολείων της, των ωφελειών, των ελευθέρων συζητήσεως του βήματος και του τύπου, των συγγραμμάτων και των διδασκάλων, οίτινες, εξερχόμενοι από την εστίαν των Αθηνών, διασπείρονται εις όλα τα μέρη της Ανατολής.¹⁵⁰

Yet, the admiration towards Greece is apparent not only in one issue. Other front-page editorials also refer to the prosperity of the Greek educational system and its influence on the Western civilization. For instance, the 9th issue's editorial presents the history and the significance of the Greek educational spirit, commencing from the Roman Empire up until the Greek Revolution in 1821, and it is also worth noting the journalist's stance concerning the importance of uniting all Greeks through education. The journalist specifically states:

Από της συστάσεως της η ελευθερωμένη Ελλάς απήντησε πολλά εμπόδια εις την πορείαν της· άλλ' η νοητική πρόοδος

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ (Anonymous), 'Περί των δικαίων της Εθνικής ημών απελευθερώσεως, Ελλάς, September 14th, 1850, No. 2.

*την οποίαν έκαμεν απέναντι τοσούτων προσκομιμάτων μας δεικνύει τι θέλουσι πράξει οι Έλληνες εις το μέλλον ενώνοντες τας δυνάμεις των διεσπαρμένων μελών της φυλής των και προχωρούντες υπό την επιρροήν βοηθητικωτέρων περιστάσεων.*¹⁵¹

In this respect, *Ελλάς* was referring to the freedom of speech in Greece, by making special reference to high quality Greek/Athenian press. But, most importantly, it pointed out the rapid growth of Greek commerce and shipping, noting among other things:

*ποιός δεν βλέπει την προοδευτικήν αύξησιν του εμπορίου της Ελλάδος απέναντι τόσων προσκομιμάτων, τόσων αντενεργειών και επιβουλών, και την προοδευτικήν ανάπτυξιν της ελληνικής ναυτιλίας, ήτις εις μικρό διάστημα χρόνου εκάλυψε τας θάλασσας με τόσας χιλιάδας σημαιών (...).*¹⁵²

Finally, the same article referred to the Greek cultural influence on the modern world, through the centuries.¹⁵³ Based on these comments, it becomes apparent that the journalist was consistent in reviving the Greek spirit and virtue. Nonetheless, in order to strengthen *Ελλάς*' argumentation in favor of Heptanesian radicalism, the columnist also demonstrated a number of the weaknesses existing in the Ionian state, and actually did so in a considerable number of articles. In brief, the journalist pointed out the poor administrative structure, with similarly poor finances, public education, justice, agriculture, and healthcare services. He also referred to the weaknesses of several institutions, highlighting the Corfiot decadent theological school, and he also referred to the censorship imposed in all of the Islands, despite the fact that freedom of the press was granted. He characteristically stated the following:

*Η άθλια κατάστασις των πολιτικών θεσμών μας είναι εις αρμονίαν με την αθλιεστάτην διοικητικήν κατάστασιν της κοινωνίας μας. Καθώς είναι ταλαίπωρον το σύνταγμα μας, ως είναι δυστυχής η κατάστασις της δημοσίας εκπαιδύσεως, των οικονομικών, της γεωργίας, των δικαστικών κτλ.*¹⁵⁴

Moreover, another article refers to the current political system and its deficiencies, drawing attention to the poor education in the Islands, especially to the abandonment

¹⁵¹ (Anonymous), 'Περί της εθνικής Εκπαιδύσεως, *Ελλάς*, November 2nd, 1850, No. 9.

¹⁵² (Anonymous), 'Περί των δικαίων της Εθνικής ημών απελευθερώσεως, *op.cit.*, (No. 2).

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴ (Anonymous), (No title), *Ελλάς*, November 16th, 1850, No. 11. See also the following article: (Anonymous), 'Περί κοινωνικών βελτιώσεων', *Ελλάς*, January 4th, 1851, No. 18.

of the schools in the villages and finally, noting the inefficiency of both the Ionian Academy and the Ionian Library.¹⁵⁵ In respect of poor education, the journalist repeatedly uses the following phrases: *Ουδείς δε αγνοεί την αθλίαν κατάστασιν της Εκπαιδεύσεως εις την κοινωνίαν μας.*¹⁵⁶ Under these circumstances, the journalist was sounding an alarm regarding the need to enhance social institutions. He also recommended the creation of utility projects, the promotion of private services, *ιδιωτικά καταστήματα*, with the primary purpose of nurturing underprivileged children, the education of the female population in the Ionian Islands, the support of arts and sciences, and lastly, the promotion of Modern Greek. In this article, the journalist writes:

*Δύνανται οι πολίται να συστήσωσι και υποστηρίξωσι πολλά κοινωφελή έργα, δύνανται να συστήσωσι ιδιωτικά καταστήματα εις τα οποία τα περιπλανώμενα κι άπορα τέκνα να ευρίσκωσι διεύθυνσιν και περίθαλψιν, καταστήματα εις τα οποία να αναπτύσσεται και μορφώνεται νοητικώς και ηθικώς το γυναικείον γένος του οποίου η επιρροή είναι τόσον μεγάλην εις την ησυχίαν, ευημερίαν και πρόοδον της κοινωνίας, καταστήματα προς εμπύχωσιν των τεχνών και επιστημών, καταστήματα εις τας οποίας οι πεπαιδευμένοι πολίται να παραδίδωσι εις την εθνικήν γλώσσαν ωφέλιμα τινά μαθήματα (...).*¹⁵⁷

In addition, other front-page editorials reveal a complaining attitude regarding the current political status in the Islands. In brief, the columnist referred to the people's complaints for the absolutarian behavior of the British, the conflicts between members of the Ionian Parliament and the British authorities, the violation of privacy, the abolition of civil liberties, and the safety threats against certain individuals, such as notaries, journalists, and provincial councilors. References are also made to the poor illiteracy level, corruption, quackery and the complete lack of social welfare in the Ionian state.¹⁵⁸ It is also worth noting a number of other interesting articles published in *Ελλάς*; namely, the publication of some letters by Count I. Kapodistrias,¹⁵⁹ and A.

¹⁵⁵ (Anonymous), 'Διάφορα', *Ελλάς*, November 2nd, 1850, No. 9. Again, refer also to the 11th issue, in which the journalist refers to the significance of education.

¹⁵⁶ (Anonymous), 'Περί κοινωνικών βελτιώσεων', *op.cit.*

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ See indicatively: (Anonymous), (No title), *Ελλάς*, April 14th, 1851, No. 31.

¹⁵⁹ This letter was written in French in Geneva, on April 12th, 1823. It was addressed to Ignatios (1765-1828), the religious leader and one of the most significant fighters during the Greek revolution, who was living in the city of Pisa, Italy, and included a brief presentation of Greece's political status. See: *Ελλάς*, September 21st, 1850, No. 3.

Mavrokordatos,¹⁶⁰ the position of women in the Ionian Islands in comparison with women in the USA,¹⁶¹ the achievements of the Corfiot-Hebrew merchants who successfully expanded to the Epirus region of the Greek mainland, and the absence of Ionian representatives in the London international product exhibition in 1851,¹⁶² with the journalist pointing out that the government made a mistake in this respect:

(...) ο δαίμων της Επτανησίου πολιτείας έμεινε βαθέως κοιμώμενος υπό την Βρετανικήν δρύν και τώρα, ότε ο κόσμος όλος συντρέχει εις την μεγάλην έκθεσίν του 1851.¹⁶³

But, most importantly, *Ελλάς* also provides information regarding the existence of a very rare paper, mostly containing legal articles, under the title *Η Θέμις*. According to the above article, *Η Θέμις* was published both in Greek and Italian, and its purpose was to address judicial and legal questions, as the columnist notes:

Εις το κράτος τούτο όπου παρ' ολίγων ετών έγιναν παραδεκτοί θετικοί νόμοι, και όπου επομένως ο Δικαστής εις ακαταπαύστους ευρίσκεται αμφιβολίας μέλλων ποτέ μέν ν' εφαρμόση την καταλυθείσαν ατελή και κυμαινομένην Νομοθεσίαν, ποτέ δε την τωρινήν κατά την εποχήν των αντικειμένων λίαν αποβαίνειν ωφέλιμος Εφημερίς τις ήτις ν' επασχολήται επί του Δικαστικού κυρίως.¹⁶⁴

In my view, *Ελλάς* is a characteristic example of the local press's desire to report news objectively, as well as to educate its readers in politics. It aimed to promote unity and revive the Greek spirit, as well as to eliminate any disagreements between social classes. But, it also emphasized the education of the Heptanesian youth, and in a fashion similar to previous newspapers, exposed the weaknesses of the Ionian state, in terms of politics, finance, agriculture and education.

7.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented all the radical newspapers published in the Ionian state, until the emergence of the new radical political movement, provoking the infamous 1858

¹⁶⁰ This letter was written in Greek by Mavrokordatos in Athens, Greece, on October 3rd, 1850, and was addressed to A. Arsakis, congratulating him for his generous donation to be used for educational purposes in Athens. A part of this letter was published in this paper. Refer to: *Ελλάς*, December 22nd, 1850, No. 16.

¹⁶¹ (Anonymous), 'Περίεργον', *Ελλάς*, October 19th, 1850, No. 7.

¹⁶² Gekas makes also particular reference of the 'Great Exhibition of 1851', pointing out that the official *Gazette* had placed a notice in 1850 regarding the accommodation arrangements for those wishing to attend. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., pp. 305-307.

¹⁶³ (Anonymous), 'Διάφορα', *Ελλάς*, March 10th, 1851, No. 27.

¹⁶⁴ (Anonymous), (No title), *Ελλάς*, November 16th, 1850, No. 11.

Radical Schism. It has focused on the most significant papers, i.e. *Ο Φιλελεύθερος* and *Αναγέννησις* and presented them as role models, organs of the radical party and living proof of the authoritarian/militaristic British rule in the Islands. Chapter 7 attempted to assess the papers' impact on the Ionian independence, as well as its contribution in the Islands' union with Greece. The review of the papers revealed that the major aims of the radical press included: 1) fight for the Ionian Islands' independence, 2) the establishment of a republic, 3) protection of human rights, 4) separation of powers, 5) constitutional revision, 6) Ionian nationality, 7) fraternity, 8) democracy, 9) equality and 10) individual liberties. But, most importantly, the radical papers acted as a means for promoting the union with the newly established independent Greek state, by reminding the Greeks that they should perfect their revolutionary efforts in order to liberate the enemy-occupied Greek territories and, in the long-run, redevelop the East. Hence, I have highlighted the radical press's goals and showed that the newspapers presented were a major promoter of the union, through their repeated references to the urgency of implementing democratic principles in the Islands, such as liberalism and individual freedoms, as well as to the need for an active social state and protection of civil rights.

These newspapers stood at the forefront of the opposition against the British ruling forces. They emphasized the poor administration by the High Commissioner Sir Ward and the Ionian Parliament's inertia, and accused the pro-British as well as the Senators as "aids and abets", capitulating with the ruler to protect their personal interest and public offices. The journalists also focused on the mismanagement, the censorship, the imposition and violent collection of illegal taxes, the deficiencies of the state, the abolition of civil liberties, corruption, poverty, and the poor education. They also published several articles regarding the arbitrary actions of the British Police, since a great deal of editorials refer to consecutive violations of human rights, revealing thus the existence of British authoritarianism. For all these reasons, the radical journalists were convinced that the union was the right solution. Even though most of the radical newspapers were constantly persecuted by the British authorities, their editors had a substantial revolutionary approach; they were the true fighters and the newspapers were their weapons. Their cause was strictly political, as this was the main reason for their unceasing persecutions. Being exiled made them martyrs and contributed in uniting the Ionians. Their accusatory writing tone was revolutionary during a non-democratic period. Aiming to disseminate Heptanesian radicalism, they exposed the

British Police's actions, denounced the arbitrariness and misuse of powers, revealed the British mismanagement and absolutism and strongly criticized the rulers' actions, at any cost. They also directly opposed the pro-British and their views, in an effort to highlight their self-centeredness and personal interests. Hence, I have analyzed the operation of a militaristic state and shown that, according to the radical journalists, the British protection had rapidly transformed the Ionian Islands into a British colony.

Nevertheless, the *Old* radicals did not come into contact with free Greece.¹⁶⁵ It was the Zakynthian Konstantinos Lombardos (1822-1888), an eminent politician and doctor, who first approached them, in an effort to attach a national dimension to Heptanesian radicalism, thus, coming in straight opposition with Momferratos's and Zervos-Iakovatos's democratic principles. Chapter eight focuses on the so-called radical press after the split of the corresponding party in 1858, when Lombardos and his adherents promoted solely the idea of Islands' unification with Greece, not necessarily in conjunction with social reforms and democratization in this area, as the earlier radicals used to advocate up to then. Therefore, a rather strong conflict was developed between the supporters of Heptanesian radicalism, since a considerable number of them kept insisting on the social character of their demands along with their struggle of becoming part of the Greek Kingdom.

¹⁶⁵ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 54.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE RADICAL PRESS SCHISM IN 1858

8.1 Introduction

While Chapter seven presented the emergence of the radical press in the Ionian state and explored the most influential newspapers published by the Kefalonian socialists, the infamous *Old Radicals* (1849-1852),¹ this chapter provides a more in-depth analysis of the radical papers and focuses on the radical press's schism. The schism was triggered by a specific paper in 1858 entitled *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, being published by Konstantinos Lombardos who, shortly before the unification of the Islands with Greece, argued that the first priority of the Islands should be the union itself, thus dismissing the social regeneration concept promoted by the *Old* radicals. The main difference between the two opposite poles rests in their political approach, since the schism was essentially triggered by the *New* radicals' attempt to distance themselves from the *Old* radicals by implementing a more 'aggressive' and practical approach.² Indicative of this political diversity is Panayiotis Panas's writings in which, by firmly supporting the *Old* and 'true' radicals, he considered the new radical approach as anti-democratic and anti-patriotic; he particularly stated the following:

*Την ένωση, όταν δεν συνδέεται με τον ιερόν της κυριαρχίας του λαού δόγμα και δεν στηρίζεται επι της αρχής της απαιτήσεως, επί τη βάσει των φυσικών και απαραγράπτων δικαιωμάτων του ανθρώπου, θεωρούμεν ουχί μόνον ως έκφρασιν ζηράν και ανεπαρκή, ως κύρηγμα μονομερές και αντιπατριωτικόν (...).*³

Therefore, this chapter aims to describe the intense political climate among the radicals, by exploring the journalist-politicians' attitudes and views in relation to the long-awaited union. It aspires to present all newspapers opposing Lombardos, such as the Zakynthian *Ο Ρήγας* ("the king"), the three short-lived newspapers of Panayiotis

¹ The only exception in this period concerns the last 35 issues of *Αναγέννησις*, since it resumed publication from November 1858 until May 1859, in order to oppose Konstantinos Lombardos's views and monarchic regimes, as well as to clarify the Heptanesian radicalism's democratic perspectives (refer to section: 8.4.4).

² Indeed, Gekas writes that "the debate became heated, with accusations from the 'true' Radicals writing against the 'unionists' of Zante who privileged union with Greece at the expense of every other social and economic issue that had plagued the islands for decades (...)". Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 316.

³ Panayiotis Panas, *Ριζοσπάσται και Βελτιώσεις...*, op.cit., p. 26.

Panas, as well as Iosif Momferratos's two important radical papers. This chapter also presents two satirical newspapers mocking the schism describing it as completely unnecessary, and being unsympathetic towards the two opposite lines. However, even though this section presents all the radical papers published in this period, it mostly focuses on Lombardos, the Heptanesian political figure who caused the schism. Lastly, based on selected newspaper excerpts, this chapter shows that the term 'schism' is not completely accurate⁴ and discusses that Lombardos was not anti-democratic as his fellow-radicals argued. On the contrary, he believed that the first priority was liberation from the British and the concept of social regeneration under a purely democratic regime should follow; overall, he considered the radical schism a matter of prioritization.

8.2 *Old and New Radicals*

One of the principal reasons for the emergence of the *1858 radical schism* was the consecutive and long exiles of Iosif Momferratos and Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos.⁵ The two Kefalonian political figures spent more than five years in exile, from October 1851 until February 1857.⁶ The radical party was faced with serious leadership issues. Thus, Kefalonia was no longer the heart of the radical activity, as the party's headquarters had been gradually transferred to Zakynthos, because of the emerging prominent political figure the radical Konstantinos Lombardos. His primary purpose was to strongly oppose the *Old* radical Heptanesian "tradition" and shift to a more practical and simpler political ideology, in respect of the much-desired union. As a result, the schism between the radicals was in reality a political/ideological conflict between the leading figures of the radical political movement –especially between Iosif Momferratos and Konstantinos Lombardos–, which caused the radical party's division into two ideological poles/factions; the *Old* and the *New* radicals. The British Crown was so annoyed by the schism and the consecutive demands for union, that it

⁴ In a similar manner, it is worth noting Petratos' ascertainment that the term *schism* is not appropriate. He prefers to present the two opposite poles as a heated controversy between Iosif Momferratos and Konstantinos Lombardos; see accordingly: Petros Petratos, 'Η σύγκρουση μεταξύ Ριζοσπαστών και Ενωτιστών', *Κυμοθόη*, Vol. 25, 2015, pp. 97-105. Refer also to: Dimitris Arvanitakis, 'Ενωτιστές και Ριζοσπάστες στο Ιόνιο (1848-1864): δρόμοι που άνοιξαν και δρόμοι που έκλεισαν για τις επανησιακές κοινωνίες του 19^{ου} αιώνα', *Τα Ιστορικά*, Vol. 54, June 2011, pp. 171, 175.

⁵ Refer to: G. Alisandratos, *Επανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

decided to urgently appoint Lord Commissioner Gladstone (24/11/1858) to appease the political environment and reevaluate the Heptanesian status, in order to propose improvement measures. Indeed, Gladstone's arrival helped temporarily relax these conflicts, however, this radical opposition continued until the union of the Ionian Islands with the Greeks.

The Zakynthian Lombardos first appeared in the Heptanesian political scene in 1852 as a member of the Ionian Parliament. According to Alisandratos, at the very beginning, he was a riddle for his fellow-radicals, as he was extremely annoyed by the 'false' ideology of the *Old* leading radicals. However, Lombardos's movement did not appear suddenly; it gradually developed in Zakynthos between 1852 and 1858. Acknowledging the lack of a strong leader in the radical party during these years, Lombardos behaved like a radical leader, denouncing the formed democratic principles, as he identified Heptanesian radicalism exclusively with the unification. He managed to reestablish the radical party with a 'unionistic' perspective, as he was solely focusing on the union. He thus abandoned the goals of social recovery and democratic principles, deciding to draw a new political line. For these reasons, he was consequently accused of being a non-radical, even though he invited the Heptanesian political parties to collaborate and jointly fight for the union. Therefore, it becomes apparent that the Zakynthian did not satisfy most of the radical members, who felt betrayed by his anti-social principles and rationale. Specifically, in the end of 1857, Lombardos had invited two prominent Zakynthian scholars, Dimitrios Kallinikos (1814-1890) and Georgios Verykios (1818-1891), to collaborate in publishing a radical Zakynthian newspaper.⁷ Unfortunately, the entire effort was unsuccessful because these scholars were planning to publish their own paper (*Ο Ρήγας*) since they came to realization that their purpose was to oppose Lombardos's *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*; they actually wrote the following:

*Επωφελούμενοι την εις τον ριζοσπαστικόν τύπον
επιβληθείσαν πενταετή σιγήν, ενόμισαν ότι θα κατορθώσιν*

⁷ According to the newspaper *Φωνή του Ιονίου*, the publication of a Zakynthian newspaper entitled *Η Επτάνησος* was agreed, however, the different political views between Lombardos and Kallinikos/Verykios did not allow this radical newspaper to be issued, see: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, July 19th, 1858, No. 10. In addition, Alisandratos reprints Momferratos's letters to Lombardos highlighting the following excerpt: *Χαίρω κατά πολλά, πληροφορούμενος ότι εντός ολίγου θα έχετε αυτού το προ καιρού περιμενόμενον τυπογραφείον, και θα εμπορήτε πλέον δι' ομοθύμου συνεννοήσεως να συστήσετε και πρεπόντως να διευθύνετε εφημερίδα ριζοσπαστικήν*; see: G. Alisandratos, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα του Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου από τις εξορίες του..', *op.cit.*, p. 15.

ευκόλως τον επιδιοκώμενον σκοπόν. Τότε, ήρξατο
ραπτομένη εις το μέσον η ιδέα ότι ο ριζοσπαστισμός ουδέν
άλλο πρέπει να ζητή ή την ένωσιν, και ταύτην δι' ικεσιών
προς την άνασσαν της Αγγλίας.⁸

As a consequence, after the rejection of the two Zakynthian scholars, Lombardos established the first radical newspaper opposing the *Old* radicals' principles, titled *H Φωνή του Ιονίου* (1858-1859).

8.3 *H Φωνή του Ιονίου* (1858-1859)

The Zakynthian *H φωνή του Ιονίου* (La voix des Iles Ioniennes, Ionian's voice, size 0.47x0.32) was Lombardos's political newspaper.⁹ Written in Greek and French, it commenced distribution on May 17th, 1858, and continued until June 5th, 1859, counting 50 issues in total.¹⁰ It consisted of four-pages and three-columns and mostly published political news; however, some columns also covered literary news. It is interesting to note that, according to an article in *H Φωνή του Ιονίου*, the newspaper was also distributed in other countries, since Lombardos reports several problems in sending the newspapers abroad. He particularly notes:

(...) πληροφορούνται οι αναγνώσται ημών περί της μη
αποστολής εις το εξωτερικόν των εν Επτανήσω εκδιδομένων
εφημερίδων περί ής και η 'ημέρα' ανέφερε. Και όμως
νόμους και κανονισμούς έχομεν γεγραμμένους εις το χαρτίον
περί ταχυδρομείων. Και όμως προπληρόνωμεν εις τα
ταχυδρομεία δια την αποστολήν των φύλλων μας ό,τι μας
ζητήσωσι. (...).¹¹

In essence, *H Φωνή του Ιονίου* distanced itself from the demand for democracy in the Ionian state, and limited its scope into solely achieving the union, highlighting the opposing views between the radicals, with a purpose to differentiate its editor's

⁸ See: Panayiotis Panas, *Ριζοσπάσται και Βελτιώσεις...*, op.cit., p. 22. Also: (Anonymous), (No title), *Νέα Εποχή*, April 25th, 1858, No. 7. For the unpublished correspondence of Lombardos with the editor of *Νέα Εποχή*, see: D. Kalogeropoulos, 'Από την ανέκδοτον αλληλογραφία του Κων/νου Λομβάρδου και Κων/νου Σαούλη', *Proceedings of the 2nd International Panionian Conference*, Vol. 13, 1967, pp. 201-208.

⁹ This is the first Ionian newspaper including a table of contents on the front page of every issue, to facilitate its readers. It was printed in the printing house *H Αυγή* by Spyros Petrou; however, from the 35th edition onwards, the newspaper was printed in the printing house *Ερμής* by Antonios Terzakis. Starting from the 35th until the 41st issue, the newspaper was published in Corfu.

¹⁰ Almost all issues of *H Φωνή του Ιονίου* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens, Greece (only 3 issues are not saved, issues No. 3-4 & 7). For the newspaper's profile, refer also to: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., pp. 131-132.

¹¹ Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *H Φωνή του Ιονίου*, January 3rd, 1859, No. 33.

beliefs from the Old radical leaders, Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos. Indeed, Lombardos was differentiated from the Heptanesian radicalism theories and socio-democratic aspects from the very first issues of his newspaper. Characteristic of this political divergence is the following excerpt from the 47th issue, which perfectly depicts the notion that the theories of radicalism cannot apply to the Ionian Islands:

*(...) ας μας επιτραπή να προσθέσωμεν ότι ο Ριζοσπαστισμός, αν εφήλκυσε την προσοχήν εν Ευρώπη, τούτο συνέβη καθότι εθεωρήθη, ως πραγματικώς είναι, ομόθυμος πολιτική ιδέα ολοκλήρου κοινωνίας, και ουχί ιδέα κόμματος, και δη κόμματος Ματσηνιανού, το οποίον μένει καθείς ελεύθερος να το ζητή εις την φαντασίαν του, ουχί όμως και να πειράται να το δείξη ως δήθεν υπάρχον η δυνάμενον να υπάρξη εις Επτάνησον (...).*¹²

As previously mentioned, a major opponent of *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου* was the Zakynthian paper *Ο Ρήγας* by Kallinikos and Verykios.¹³ Lombardos wrote about his political stand-off, and used his editorials as a means for promoting his unionistic approach and, at the same time, defended himself against the allegations of the two Zakynthian scholars. An indicative example is the following excerpt from an article published in the 10th issue:

*Μας εκηρύσσετο ο πόλεμος· δεν τον εδεχόμεθα· μετά πλείστης όση σπουδής επροσπαθήσαμεν ν' αποφύγωμεν δημοσιογραφούντες παν ό,τι πειρακτικόν ή ερεθιστικόν, δια τους κ.κ. αρχισυντάκτας ηδύνατο να θεωρηθή· αμυντικήν αλλ' ουχί επιθετικήν θέσιν ενομίσαμεν κατά καθήκον να λάβωμεν.*¹⁴

Overall, the newspaper was keen on publishing articles regarding Greek politics, news on several local and foreign political subjects in the *Διάφορα* column, commercial news in the *Εμπορικά* column, advertisements, obituaries, financial news,¹⁵ judicial

¹² Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, May 2nd, 1859, No. 47.

¹³ Interestingly, these two opposing Zakynthian newspapers joined forces one year later, in 1859, with primary purpose the union (see accordingly section 8.5).

¹⁴ Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, July 19th, 1858, No. 10.

¹⁵ Gekas in his book points out that the state officials transplanted institutions directly from Britain to Heptanesian society, one of which concerned the Ionian bank, established in 1835, or as Gekas calls it *'the Savings Bank'*. Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy..*, op.cit., pp. 253-256. Indeed, *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου* included reports related to the Ionian Bank and its future, through a series of articles with a financial focus. The issue of the Ionian Bank's foreign capitals was an interesting read for me, as I realized that two specific journalists, Ioannis Skaltsounis and O.S. Pylarinos, were clearly annoyed, noting: *Ας μάθωσιν οι μη καλώς γινώσκοντες τα της Επτανήσου αναγνώσται ημών, ότι η καλουμένη Ιόνιος τράπεζα είναι Ιόνιος μόνον κατ' όνομα*, refer to: Ioannis Skaltsounis, 'Ιόνιος Τράπεζα', *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, August 2nd, 1858, No. 12. Regarding the Ionian Bank, 'Ιονική Τράπεζα', see also the issues

news, feuilletons etc. Other articles focused on various matters, such as the issue of carrying weapons in the Islands –making particular reference to the British forces,¹⁶ insurance agencies (No. 16, No. 41), healthcare and education matters (No. 10) or even abandoned cemeteries (No. 44), as well as small parts of narratives/stories with a literary interest, such as the essay/appendix ‘*Η καρδιά της Φωτεινής*’ (No. 11). Hence, this paper constitutes an interesting case study of the Ionian press. It was a weekly newspaper, being published every Saturday, and Lombardos had the courage and strength to take full responsibility of his writings, since most of the articles were signed; however, not individually but in total on the last page of each issue. His ambition was to become a radical leader, and even though the individual articles are unsigned, I assume that most of them were exclusively written by himself. He was a prominent personality, a prolific writer and a distinguished scholar, well-known in the political circles of the Ionians initially and of the Greeks afterwards. Nonetheless, as evidenced through the paper’s issues, apart from Lombardos, the Kefalonian scholar Ioannis Skaltsounis (1824-1905) was also a journalist in *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, who expressed his thoughts on several socio-political issues such as the Ionian Bank

dated August 9th, August 23rd, and October 4th, 1858 (issues No. 13 & No. 15). In brief, these articles indicate that the Ionian Bank should be transformed into a bank with either Greek or Ionian capitals, arguing that the Ionian state should not depend on foreign capitals and risk an economic slowdown. Refer to: O.S. Pylarinos, ‘*Τα οικονομικά ημών και τα περί εθνικής τραπεζικής*’, *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, October 4th, October 11th, October 18th, and November 1st, 1858 (issues No. 21, 22, 23, 25). Among other things, these articles state the bankrupt state of the Ionian Islands, as well as the political issues, had a negative impact on the Ionian Bank, which could not provide any financial support to the population. Therefore, the British government should assist the bank to generate capital by establishing a starting -non-British- capital which would serve as guarantee for the issued loans, would ensure that the current taxes would assist economic growth and performance, ensure good corporate governance, and contribute in the efficient implementation of a regulatory framework which would secure fair prices and prevent external debt; see: O.S. Pylarinos, ‘*Τα οικονομικά ημών και τα περί εθνικής τραπεζικής*’, *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, November 1st, 1858, No. 25. In a similar manner, Lombardos referred to the unequal treatment and different privileges offered to local and foreign capital, pointing out that it was unacceptable to have the headquarters of the Ionian Bank located in London. Highlighting the necessity of reviewing banking privileges, he acknowledged that a robust institution like the Ionian Bank needs domestic capital and local administration and publicized the proceedings of a meeting between Kefalonian capitalists and merchants held in Kefalonia on August 14th, 1858, discussing the bank question. Essentially, these discussions had two objectives; first, to highlight the establishment of a national bank as a major issue and then to promote this issue to the other Islands. For additional information, see: Konstantinos Lombardos, ‘*Πρακτικά της εν Κεφαλληνία λαβούσης χώραν συνεδρίασεως των κεφαλαιούχων και εμπόρων, περί του αντικειμένου της Τραπεζικής*’, *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, August 30th, 1858, No. 16. As a result, the journalists focused on the Ionian Bank in order to eliminate foreign influence on Ionian institutions.

¹⁶ See indicatively: (Anonymous - *Εκ Κυθήρων Ο Φίλος σας*), (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, May 9th, 1859, No. 48.

column (see previous reference). I assume that he may have also been writing the *Κρητικά* column, as he was openly supporting the revolutionaries in Crete (1866-1869).¹⁷ Other subjects covered in the newspaper's articles included the arrival of Commissioner Gladstone and his political aspirations, the British intentions regarding the colonization of Corfu and Paxos and their simultaneous withdrawal from the other five southern Ionian Islands.¹⁸ What is also noteworthy is that the paper was also opposing other political views, especially the pro-British views, since the journalist attacked a specific Heptanesian pro-British figure, Kourkoumelis, criticizing his colonization views.¹⁹

8.3.1. Konstantinos Lombardos's primary journalistic goal

Lombardos was a man of many talents; a significant politician, an excellent doctor, leader of the 'unionist' radical party, and a minister in the Greek government, until his passing in 1888. However, his journalistic talent did not begin with the distribution of *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*. He had been writing in *Νέα εποχή* until he commenced his own newspaper.²⁰ As a consequence, one may wonder what his primary journalistic goal was, taking into account that his intention was to directly oppose all the other radical newspapers.

Lombardos was, indeed, determined to go against the current radical stream and, in the end, change the course of the Ionian Islands' history by liberating the Ionians from any ruler once and for all. But, at the same time, he also hoped to get the Ionian population involved in politics, as well as to promote his own political aspirations and instill his unionistic perspective into the society. Through his paper, he emphasized that the Islands should appeal to the British Crown, in order to achieve a successful union with the Greeks and this thought was certainly one of his principal arguments in numerous issues. By publishing parts of his statements in the Ionian Parliament, Lombardos opposed any reforms proposed by the British and by local politicians

¹⁷ Regarding Ioannis Skaltsounis, refer to the Greek language *Encyclopedia Papyrus Larousse Britannica*, Vol. 46.

¹⁸ The newspaper makes particular reference to the writings of the popular newspaper *Time*. It points out Ionian protectorate as an unnecessary cost to the British, quoting a small part of the British Parliament proceedings: *Οφείλομεν να λάβωμεν υπ' όψιν ότι η Επτάνησος εκθέτει αδιαλείπτως τη Μ. Βρεττανίαν εις μεγάλας και ανωφελείς δαπάνας*. Refer to: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, December 20th, 1858, No. 32.

¹⁹ For a characteristic editorial regarding Kourkoumelis's British support, refer to: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, January 24th, 1859, No. 36.

²⁰ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 131-132.

alike, characterizing them as ill-suited and inefficient. In a similar fashion, in one of his speeches in the Ionian Parliament, he noted that the Ionians could no longer stand the British protection.²¹ Indeed, certain articles expose the abuse of power through particular references to the congressmen who “abandoned” the Ionian population.²² But, most significantly, Lombardos acknowledged that he was alone in his struggles with his political opponents, arguing that the *Old* radicals were populists, because any scheduled reforms proposed by them would essentially provide support to the British. Therefore, he was constantly demanding union with Greece, highlighting that the British were excessively strict and militaristic, and were gradually transforming the Ionian protectorate into British colonial territory. In another article, Lombardos clearly stated the following:

*Αθέμιτοι οι Μεταρρυθμίσεις, διότι αφού αύται δολίως και δημοσκοπικώς παρεισήφθησαν, αυτή η ατομική μας αξιοπρέπεια, αυτό το προς ημάς αυτούς παρ’ ημών αυτών οφειλόμενον σέβας μας υποβάλλει το καθήκον να τας απολακτίσωμεν (...).*²³

Lombardos became a distinguished journalist because he fearlessly published numerous front-page editorials regarding the Ionian state’s independence and union. In informing the society about his political views, he appeared aggressive and antagonistic but, at the same time, broadminded and certainly politically differentiated from his opponents. Conversely to the *Old* radicals’ theories, he was opposed to any European political movement and sociodemocratic theories (see references to G. Mazzini in Chapter seven) and accused both Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos of ‘democratic communism’, further explaining that he considered them responsible for the Ionians’ independence efforts reaching a dead-end and resulting in isolation.²⁴

However, it is evident that a great deal of Lombardos’ articles certainly opposed the British, the police forces –both executive body and High Police– and their militaristic attitude, despite the accusations by his radical opponents for ‘pleading’ with the British in order to achieve the union. In addition, what is worth noting is that

²¹ Refer to: Konstantinos Lombardos, *Αγόρευσις του Βουλευτού Ζακύνθου Δρος Κωνσταντίνου Λομβάρδου εν τη Ιονίω Βουλή. Κατά τη συνεδρίαση της 20 Μαρτίου 1862...*, Corfu, 1862.

²² See indicatively: Konstantinos Lombardos, ‘Λόγος Εκφωνηθείς εν τη Βουλή υπό του κ. Κωνσταντίνου Λομβάρδου κατά την συνεδρίασιν της 3/15 Φεβρουαρίου 1859 (συνέχεια ίδε αρ. 42), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, March 28th, 1859, No. 48.

²³ Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, February 14th 1859, No. 38. Refer also to: Konstantinos Lombardos, ‘Λόγος Εκφωνηθείς εν τη Βουλή...’, *op.cit.*, (No. 48).

²⁴ See: Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, May 2nd, 1859. No. 47.

in a similar manner with his predecessors, Lombardos was indeed complaining about the radicals' exiles, intimidation, imprisonments, whippings, and other inhumane and degrading punishments, social exclusion, violation of personal freedoms and raiding of homes; he particularly wrote the following:

*(...) και δυνάμει της οποίας οι Αρμοσταί δύνανται, ουχί μόνον να εξορίσωσι άνευ αιτιολογίας, το οποίον άλλως είναι το συνειθέστερον, αλλ' ακόμη και να φυλακίσωσι, να μαστιγώσωσι, να αποκλείσωσι πόλεις ή χωρία, να διώξωσιν εις τον δρόμον οικογενείας, να δημοπρατήσωσιν την ιδιοκτησίαν, να κατεδαφίσωσιν οικήματα, να πράξωσι τέλος πάν ό,τι βούλονται, χωρίς να δώσωσιν λόγον εις ουδένα (...).*²⁵

As the above excerpt shows, Lombardos was not against a democratic regime, but he strongly supported that his own political approach was preferable, since the *Old* radicals' approach was imperfect and should be modified, because it did not contribute in achieving the much-desired union.²⁶ In my opinion, the most intriguing phrase, presented below, is found in the 10th issue, and it perfectly reflects the political disagreement between Lombardos and the *Old* radicals. It also shows that Lombardos was not anti-democratic at all; on the contrary, he was prioritizing the needs of the Ionian state, strongly emphasizing the necessity to shake off the British rule, as he clearly states in the following excerpt:

*Ως φαίνεται οι κ.κ. Καλλίνικος και Βερύκιος επείσθησαν νεωστί, ότι πρέπει πρώτον να συστήσωμεν δημοκρατίαν και έπειτα να ζητήσωμεν την ένωσιν, ή να λάβωμεν την ένωσιν δια να συστήσωμεν δημοκρατίαν· ήγουν σιμά εις τ'άλλα μας καλά να κάμωμεν εχθρόν και τον θρόνον της Ελλάδος!!!*²⁷

The above text constitutes, in my opinion, the key phrase of this chapter, and clearly reflects Lombardos's political thinking. However, due to his continuous conflicts with the radicals, I am not certain that he was fully understood within the political circles. For instance, right from his first issues the reader will notice Lombardos's disapproval regarding the Zakynthian Regional Council, which was established at that period and was exclusively comprised of old radical members. Under the pretense of advising the

²⁵ Konstantinos Lombardos, 'Η Υψηλή Αστυνομία και ενόπιον των δικαστηρίων', *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, July 5th, 1858, No. 8.

²⁶ Konstantinos Lombardos, 'Διάφορα', *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, September 27th, 1858, No. 20.

²⁷ Konstantinos Lombardos, (No title), *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, July 19th, 1858, No. 10. It is also worth referring the Corfiot Independent newspaper *Νέα Εποχή*, in which the journalist supports Lombardos and his unionistic approach; see: (Anonymous), (no title), *Νέα Εποχή*, July 3rd, 1858, No. 20 (supplement).

Council, Lombardos soon came in direct conflict with *O Pήγας* and the old radicals Kallinikos/Verykios, who defended the Council. Actually, this conflict is officially the first journalistic dispute between the two radical Zakynthian papers; the main reason was the distortion of the Heptanesian radicalism's principles by Lombardos.²⁸ In addition, other noteworthy disputes between the *Old* and the *New* radicals refer to Lombardos discrediting the resolution of the 9th Ionian Parliament (November 26th, 1850) describing it as invalid. But, on the other hand, he praised the resolution of the 11th Ionian Parliament (June 20th, 1857), arguing that it was legitimate, in an attempt to belittle the *Old* radicals' actions.²⁹ Consequently, the above line of argumentation was considered audacious by the *Old* radicals.

Lombardos's newspaper was distributed for one year, ending on June 5th, 1859. Certainly, his writings had a stronger impact on the Ionian Islands, where other papers inspired by the *Old* radical party, were available and opposed his unionistic approach. Ultimately, the research question is whether there was indeed a political schism between the radicals or simply a matter of prioritization, as Lombardos argued through his newspaper. He supported the union with all his might, and noted that Heptanesian radicalism ought to be strictly national, as it could not go hand in hand with the concept of democracy and socialism. Lombardos certainly acknowledged the divergence he was creating. However, through his writings, he considered democracy not as a common requirement of the society, but as the desire of a minority who posed problems regarding the union. As a result, the radical schism/divergence appeared, and the Kefalonian radicals were planning their next journalistic steps. The following section continues the analysis of the newspapers' two opposite poles, and presents the newspapers which were against Lombardos; *O Pήγας* by Kallinikos and Verykios, Panayiotis Panas's and Iosif Momferratos's papers, as well as satirical/independent papers which were also opposed to Lombardos's views.

²⁸ See accordingly the following issues of *H Φωνή του Ιονίου*: May 17th, 1858 (No. 1), May 24th, 1858 (No. 2) and June 14th, 1858 (No. 5).

²⁹ Konstantinos Lombardos, 'June 20th, 1857', *H Φωνή του Ιονίου*, June 20th, 1858, No. 6. Also, it is worth noting Panas's view on this matter as he specifically writes, in relation to the 9th Parliament (1850): *ουχί δίκην επαίτου ικετεύων τους ισχυρούς (...) αλλ' ως λαός κυρίαρχος, έχων συνείδησιν των καταπατουμένων δικαιωμάτων του, και διεκδικών αυτά δια της αξιοπρεπείας και της ευθαρσίας (...)*; see Panayiotis Panas, *Ριζοσπάσται και Βελτιώσεις...*, op.cit., p. 20.

8.4 The newspapers against Konstantinos Lombardos

8.4.1. *O Pήγας* (1851-1859)

The principal newspaper opposing Lombardos's views was the Zakynthian *O Pήγας* ("The king", size 0.42x0.29, 1851-1859) εφημερίς πολιτική και φιλολογική,³⁰ especially during the second period of its distribution (1858-1859).³¹ The main editors of this paper were Dimitris Kallinikos and Georgios Verykios, Zakynthian radical men of letters; other contributors included Ioannis Ioannopoulos and Pavlos Tavoularis.³² Written in both Greek and Italian, this paper started its circulation on April 28th, 1851, and ceased distribution on June 2nd, 1859, counting a total of 47 issues.³³ It was densely written; it consisted of four-sheets and three-columns. It covered mostly political news, and to a lesser extent, literary news. Its editors were publishing articles of local, Greek and foreign interest, feuilletons, historical essays and book reviews.³⁴ It followed the same attitude with the radical papers discussed in Chapter seven, and highly supported the *Old* socialist radicals, Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos. Overall, the editorials emphasized the misinterpretation and distortion of the Heptanesian radicalism principles. This paper strongly supported the

³⁰ Next to the newspaper's title, the following subtitle appears in all issues: *Ελλάς Ζακύνθω κλπ.*

³¹ Unfortunately, only a few issues (17) are saved at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens, Greece (No. 1 issued in 1851) & (No. 13-14, 17-21, 23-28, 36, 47-48 issued in 1858-1859).

³² Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 122-124. It is worth noting that the last issue of *O Pήγας* states that the newspaper was a one person affair. Thus, Dimitrios Kallinikos was the only editor for a certain period of time (I assume, he remained the main editor, after the seven year pause), noting particularly: *Χάριν όμως της αληθείας αποφαινόμεθα προς το κοινόν, ότι εις εκ των δύο Συντακτών των υπογραψάντων αυτήν, διήνυσεν αμετατρέπτως ολοσχερές το στάδιον. Ο κ. Βερούκιος μετά την εκ Κερκύρας επάνοδόν του απειποιήθη να συνεργασθή μεθ' ημών προς την έκδοσιν της Εφημερίδος, ή από κοινού ανεδέχθημεν το διττόν προς την πατρίδα και τους συνδρομητάς ημών καθήκον -Η αποποίησης αυτή δεν εχαλάρωσε τας ασθενείς ημών δυνάμεις. Μόνοι και άνευ οιασδήποτε συμπράξεως εκπεραιώσαμεν το επίπονον έργον.* Refer to: D. Kallinikos, 'Ειδοποίησις', *O Pήγας*, June 9th, 1859, No. 48.

³³ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

³⁴ Under the main title, the paper carried the motto: *Αλλά τα μωρά του κόσμου εξελέξατο ο Θεός ίνα τους σοφούς καταισχύνη και τα ασθενή του Κόσμου εξελέξατο ο Θεός ίνα καταισχύνη τα ισχυρά.* This was the first newspaper being printed in the new printing house of Sergios H. Raftanis, *O Παρνασσός*. Its publisher was Dimitrios Mavrianos, who managed to print only four issues of this newspaper. Th. Karreris appears as the publisher of the next eight issues which were printed in the printing house *O Ζάκυνθος*. Konomos reports some biographical details on Raftanis and highlights his arrest by the British, as well as the temporary closure of his printing house; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 122-123. Actually, the 13th issue is characteristic, as it refers to the persecution of Raftanis, specifically noting: *Εν τω μέσω τοιούτου φόβου και οι ιδιοκτήται των ενταύθα τυπογραφείων ευρεθέντες ιδίως δε μάλιστα επί ποινής εξορίας απειληθέντες, αφού πρότερον εις εξ αυτών και κάθειρξιν και κατασχέσεις υπέφερε, ποτηθέντες πτόησιν ουχί σμικράν, απέκρουσαν έκτοτε την τύπωσιν πάσης γραφής και πάσης εκφάνσεως Ριζοσπαστικής;* see: D. Kallinikos, (G. Verykios), 'Ο Pήγας μετά επταετήν σιγήν', *O Pήγας*, May 22nd, 1858, No. 13.

union, based on the sovereign rights of the Ionians and the society's social regeneration, at the same time pointing out the importance of reviving the "Greekness" of the Islanders.³⁵ The first issue's front-page editorial is characteristic, because it reveals the purposes of its editors. It specifically refers to the revival of the Islanders' Greek identity and follows the *Old* radicals' political views, remaining faithful to the principles of Heptanesian radicalism and concentrating on the liberation of the enemy-occupied Greek territories.³⁶ Particularly, the journalist refers to the required trilogy; Greek Kingdom, revival of the Greek race, and further development and progress of the Greeks:

Ιδού η λαμπρά τριλογία του ελληνικού προορισμού, εις την οποίαν αντιστοιχεί η Ελληνική ανέγερσις—η απελευθέρωσις της δεδουλωμένης Ελλάδος και Επτανήσου—η αυταπάρνησις, η καρτερία, η αδελφότης, και η αγάπη (...) Το ένδοξον και σωτήριο Μέλλον μας ενυπάρχει εις την εθνικήν μας αποκατάστασιν. Ενυπάρχει εις τον προορισμόν της ενδόξου Ελληνικής φυλής. Ενυπάρχει εις τα μέσα με τα οποία το διατρέφομεν, με τας ελπίδας μας, τα μαρτύριά μας και την καρτερίαν μας.³⁷

After twelve consecutive issues, on November 11th, 1851, (mostly referring to the benefits of Heptanesian radicalism, I assume), the British punish the journalists of *O Pήγας* by exiling members of the editorial team, and this resulted in the newspaper's temporary closure.³⁸ After a long pause, in 1858, i.e. seven and a half years later, Lombardos approached his fellow-radicals Kallinikos and Verykios, in order to cooperate and publish a single Zakynthian newspaper. However, this effort was unsuccessful, since the two Zakynthians were keen on the principles of the *Old* radicals. Consequently, *O Pήγας* resumed distribution on May 22nd, 1858, (No. 13), with a larger shape (size 0.48x0.30); it was published in the printing house *H Αυγή* (dawn) and its editor in chief was Antonios A. Politis. The numbering of the issues

³⁵ Refer also to: G. Alisandratos, 'Επτανησιακός Ριζοσπαστισμός', in the newspaper *H χαραυγή Κεφαλληνίας και Ιθάκης*, Kefalonia, May 2nd, 1966. Also: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 64.

³⁶ D. Kallinikos, G. Verykios, 'Ο Προορισμός της ελληνικής φυλής', *O Pήγας*, April 28th, 1851, No. 1. It is worth referring also to the editorial of the 36th issue (January 24th, 1859), which shows the opposition to the British reforms, proposed by W.E. Gladstone.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *O Χωρικός* made a specific reference to Kallinikos' exile and accused the British police forces; see: Dimitrios Daves, 'Διάφορα', *O Χωρικός*, November 30th, 1851, No. 48. Refer also to: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., p. 122.

continued from the last edition back in 1851 and this highlights in a way the editors' unchanged policy line.

In essence, the exploration of the few issues saved, allowed me to conclude to the notion that their main goal in this second publishing period, was to prevent the domination of Lombardos's unionistic views. They were truly determined to decouple from Lombardos by rejecting his unionistic perspectives and practical approaches. Their true purpose was to expose the political breakup (1858) but, most importantly, to reverse Lombardos's line of arguments and to highlight that he had fully distorted the Heptanesian radicalism's principles. *O Pήγας* was a point of reference in respect of the radicals' numerous imprisonments and exiles. The first issue released in 1858, refers to the pause of the newspaper's circulation, explaining that this was caused by the exiles, imprisonments, fines, threats etc. The journalist specifically noted:

Εξορία, πολύτροποι καταδιωγμοί, παράνομοι καθείρξεις, πρόστιμα, απειλαί, αέναοι κατασκοπεύσεις, και κατ' οίκον έρευναι, βίαιαι επεμβάσεις κατά τας εκλογάς, παρέλνουν πάντα σύνδεσμον κοινωνικόν και πάσαν δραστοσύνην πολιτικήν εξεμηδένιζον (...) Εν τω μέσω τοιούτου φόβου και οι ιδιοκτήται των ενταύθα τυπογραφείων ευρεθέντες ιδίως μάλιστα επί ποινή εξορίας απειληθέντες, αφού πρότερον εις εξαυτών και κάθειρξιν και κατασχέσεις υπέφερε,πτοηθέντες πτόησιν ουχί σμικράν απέκρουσαν έκτοτε την τύπωσιν πάσης γραφής και πάσης εκφάνσεως Ριζοσπαστικής.³⁹

Having rejected Lombardos's proposal for establishing a common paper, Kallinikos and Verykios had agreed to stand against Lombardos's political views and often responded to his arguments through their own articles. For instance, a specific article addressed Lombardos's allegations against the *Old* radicals' views. In brief, it highlights that the 9th Ionian Parliament was purely democratic and notes the following:

Ο Ριζοσπαστισμός (...) δια της προσαγωγής του περι ενώσεως βουλευτικού ψηφίσματος, επαναφέρων την κοινωνίαν εις την καθαράν και όλως αμετάβλητον μορφή του δικαίου, εξασκεί την κυριαρχίαν και ανεξαρτησίαν αυτής, ην μετ' επιμονής εσφετερίσθη και παρεγνώρισεν ο Ξένος.⁴⁰

³⁹ D. Kallinikos, (G. Verykios), 'Ο Ρήγας μετά επταετήν σιγήν', *Ο Ρήγας*, May 22nd, 1858, No. 13.

⁴⁰ D. Kallinikos, (G. Verykios), (No title), *Ο Ρήγας*, July 9th, 1858, No. 18.

In addition, it is worth noting a letter from an anonymous Kefalonian radical, signing as *εις Ριζοσπάστης*, which was published in the same issue. In this letter, acknowledging the sacrifices of the old radicals, the author was accusing all those who were altering the principles of the Heptanesian radicalism, by stating the following:

(...) η αρχή την οποίαν ο ριζοσπαστισμός απ' αρχής επρέσβευε και πρεσβεύει και υπέρ της οποίας ηγωνίσθη και αγωνίζεται, είναι η αρχή της ελευθερίας και της προόδου, αρχή ήτις, εν τη περιληπτική και καθολική αυτής έννοια, παριστάνει και την εθνικήν ανεξαρτησίαν και την επί τη βάσει της κυριαρχίας του λαού διάπλασιν της κοινωνίας. Εθνική λοιπόν ανεξαρτησία και κυριαρχία του λαού, ιδού το αρχικόν και κύριον σύμβολον του ριζοσπαστισμού, ιδού το αληθές πνεύμα της νέας Ελλάδος, ιδού ενταυτώ η γενική τάσις της ανθρωπότητος.⁴¹

In a similar manner, the next issue (No. 19) of *Ο Ρήγας* continues the same policy and stands against Lombardos by clarifying the radicals' positions/views. Once again, it emphasizes the main differences between the *Old* and the *New* radicals. However, it acknowledges that Lombardos was not a "traitor" but the radical political circles were shocked to see a prominent radical personality being detached from the social aspect of radicalism:

Ο αποκρούων τας αρχάς της ελευθερίας δεν αποκρούει άρα γε και τα επιγεννήματα αυτής; Και τότε η ιδέα της ενώσεως, απροστάτευτος υπό των αρχών της ελευθερίας, τί απομένει; Τί γίνεται; Πού καταντά; Καταντά εις την αναίρεσιν της προσωπικότητος του λαού, όστις (...) γίνεται ομάς δούλων, οίτινες απολέσαντες την ίδιαν αυτοπραγίαν, προσφεύγουσιν εις το της παιτείας ζήτημα δια των παρακλήσεων (...).⁴²

Ο Ρήγας perfectly depicts the journalistic fervor in Zakynthos. It presents the journalists' efforts towards the union, and shows Kallinikos's concern derived by *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου* blatant attempt to destroy the values of Heptanesian radicalism. Yet, even though the Zakynthian journalist appeared quite reticent against Lombardos' approach, he cooperated with him in the end and embraced his political ideology, as Kallinikos states in the last edition:

Επανερχόμενοι εις την δημοσιότητα υπό το πρόγραμμα «ο Ρήγας και η Φωνή του Ιονίου» θέλομεν δώσει συνέχειαν εις

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² D. Kallinikos (G. Verykios), 'Το πολεμικόν ultimatum της Φωνής του Ιονίου', *Ο Ρήγας*, July 17th, 1858, No. 19.

τας εγνωμένας εν τω Ρήγα εθνικάς ημών αρχάς,
εκτυλίσσοντες εκ νέου τα εμφωλεύοντα εις την Ελληνικήν
Επτάνησον αθάνατα υπέρ της εθνικής ημών
αποκαταστάσεως φρονήματα – Δημήτριος Καλληνικός.⁴³

Nevertheless, the Zakynthian *Ο Ρήγας* was not the only paper opposing Lombardos. Panayiotis Panas (1832-1896), a liberal poet, a translator, but most importantly, a prestigious journalist, was also against this unionistic policy. The following section presents his efforts in establishing three high quality newspapers.

8.4.2. Panayiotis Panas's radical newspapers (1855-1862)

It has been well-known that Panayiotis Panas was truly a fighting scholar. However, he was also a courageous journalist, who apart from his own journalistic efforts, was also writing in numerous foreign papers.⁴⁴ The first Kefalonian radical newspaper,⁴⁵ written and edited by the ambitious 23 year old poet Panayiotis Panas was entitled *Ο Κεραυνός* (“the thunder”, size 0.28x0.19, 1855-1859).⁴⁶ It commenced distribution in 1855 and, as far as I am concerned, this was quite an accomplishment, considering the radicals' punishments, exiles and persecutions, as discussed in the previous chapter. Indeed, in the first issue, Panas noted the following:

Καταφρονήσαντες άπαντας τους φόβους ανέστημεν
θαρραλέως και απειράριθμα προσκόμματα υπερνικήσαντες
επιδήσαμεν ευτόλμως εις το στάδιον της δημοσιογραφίας.⁴⁷

The title of the newspaper was characteristic of the power of the press, especially in a period in which very few papers were published, because of all the aforementioned reasons.⁴⁸ The first issue was distributed in Argostoli, Kefalonia, on October 17th, 1855. *Ο Κεραυνός* supported Momferratos's principles, i.e. the fight for human rights and solidarity, advocated the union of the entire Greek race, and aspired to stand in

⁴³ D. Kallinikos, ‘Ειδοποίησις’, *Ο Ρήγας*, June 9th, 1859, No. 48.

⁴⁴ Panayiotis Panas was also a contributor (1859) in *Αναγέννησις* by Iosif Momferratos (where he published translated Mazzini's *Περί Καθηκόντων*), in the satirical paper *Διαολαποθήκη or Αποθήκη του Διαβόλου* by Ferdinando Oddi (December 1859 - March 1860), and in the Athenian newspaper *Φως* by Sofokles Karydes; refer to: Eri Stavropoulou, ‘Ο αγωνιστής Παναγιώτης Πανάς’, (insert) *Επτά Ημέρες, Η άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας*, (ed. K. Giourgos), May 30th, 1999, *Καθημερινή*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁵ All 18 issues can be found at the National library *Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη* in Athens, Greece (per.1396).

⁴⁶ Panayiotis Panas established his newspaper the same period he published his first collection of poetry (1855), titled: *Τα Πρώτα μου προς την ποίησιν βήματα*. For further details, refer to the high-quality dissertation of Erasimia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς (1832-1896): ένας ριζοσπάστης ρομαντικός*, Athens, 1985, pp. 30-31 & 92-95.

⁴⁷ Panayiotis Panas, (no title), *Ο Κεραυνός*, October 17th, 1855, No. 1.

⁴⁸ As already discussed in the introductory chapters, the only papers circulating at that period, apart from the government gazette, were the independent *Η Εφημερίς των Ειδήσεων* and *Τα Καθημερινά*.

the forefront along with the radicals, opposing British illegalities as well as the pro-British supporters.⁴⁹ However, he managed to publish only three issues (November 8th, 1855), most probably because of the High Police's persecutions or the lack of subscribers.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, *O Κεραυνός* resumed publication three years later,⁵¹ in September 2nd, 1858, this time as the official organ of the radical party in Kefalonia. The political clubhouse *Δημοτικό Κατάστημα Αργοστολίου* had commissioned Panayiotis Panas to fight the threat of the Unionists in the Ionian state. Its contributors included Andreas Momferratos and Dimitrios Zervos-Iakovatos (the brothers of the radical leaders, Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos),⁵² however Stavropoulou points out Spyridon G. Malakis and Ioannis Aravantinos as additional contributors.⁵³ In essence, Stavropoulou states that this paper acknowledged the main differences between the *Old radicals'* and Lombardos's radical approaches, publishing a great deal of front-page editorials regarding the two opposite political poles.⁵⁴ But, most importantly, through *O Κεραυνός*, Panas declared the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity, and thoroughly supported the direct universal vote, in order to break the political impasse of the Ionian state.⁵⁵ It is quite interesting that through his 4th issue, he supported the *δημοκρατικήν της Ανατολής ανάπλασιν*, in contrast to Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos paper, noting the following:

Σταθεροί εις τας ανέκαθεν παρά του Ριζοσπαστισμού διακηρυχθείσας αρχάς, ήτοι εις την εθνικήν της Επτανήσου αποκατάστασιν, άνευ της οποίας δεν δυνάμεθα να παραδεχθώμεν δι' ημάς ευδαιμονίαν, και εις την Δημοκρατικήν της Ανατολής ανάπλασιν, άνευ της οποίας δεν δυνάμεθα να εννοήσωμεν πολιτικήν ζωήν και μέλλον ευτυχές

⁴⁹ Refer to: Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit., pp. 31, 93.

⁵⁰ For a brief presentation of his biography, see: Ilias Tsitselis, op.cit., pp. 507-510. For a thorough analysis of his biography, also refer to the dissertation of Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit.

⁵¹ The newspaper's motto (based on a 1858 issue) was the following: *Εις οινός άριστος αμύνεσθαι περί Πάτρης. Παρέστησαν οι βασιλείς της γης, και οι άρχοντες συνήχθησαν επί το αυτό, κατά του Κυρίου και κατά του Χριστού αυτού. Διαρρήξωμεν τους δεσμούς αυτών και απορρίψωμεν αφ' ημών τον ζηγόν αυτών (Δαβίδ)*. It is worth noting that starting from the 13th issue, the editor added the phrase *Θεός και λαός* (God and people) to the newspaper's motto.

⁵² Stavropoulou points out that the newspaper was the organ of *Δημοτικό Κατάστημα Αργοστολίου*, therefore it could not be one person affair; refer to: Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit., pp. 32, 91.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 91.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 55.

για την Ελλάδα, ουδέ την πραγματοποίησιν της επ' αγαθώ
της ανθρωπότητος μεγάλης αποστολής της (...).⁵⁶

So significant was the journalist Panas, that the Kefalonian clubhouse did not wish to cease the newspaper's distribution, even though *Αναγέννησις* was back on track. Nevertheless, once again, the paper's distribution and courageous journalism did not last for long. The paper was issued until December 28th, 1859, counting a total of only 19 issues.⁵⁷ Panayiotis Panas was accused of defamation, and this led to the final closure of *Ο Κεραυνός*. Stavropoulou makes particular reference to his involvement in legal disputes with S. Anninos, a candidate member of the Ionian Parliament, an aristocrat who, according to Panayiotis Panas, was unworthy of seeking the people's vote.⁵⁸ Overall, taking into account Panayiotis Panas's experiences and background, witnessing exiles and brutal behaviors against Kefalonian radicals, *Ο Κεραυνός* was not only supporting the union but was also fighting for a democratic constitution and social changes, hence totally abiding with the *Old* radical socialists' beliefs.⁵⁹

After the final closure of *Ο Κεραυνός* and after a short stay at the city of Athens, Panayiotis Panas decided not to remain idle, so he returned to Kefalonia and resumed his journalistic efforts and aspirations to promote free speech and the *Old* radicals' democratic principles.⁶⁰ Actually he commenced the publication of the paper *Αλήθεια* ("the truth", size 0.30x0.22, 1861-1862), which, as the subtitle indicates *Εφημερίς του Λαού*, was a paper for the Ionian people *την ταλαίπωρον κοινωνίαν μας*, as he explains below:

Θέλομεν δε ενεργεί κατά τας δυνάμεις μας προς αναχαίτησιν
του ολέθρου εις τον οποίον η ξενοκρατία και η
οπισθοδρόμησις ωθούν την ταλαίπωρον κοινωνίαν μας, και
θέλομεν υποστηρίξει παν ότι εις το συμφέρον του λαού και
εις τον αγώνα της εθνικής ημών αποκαταστάσεως συντελεί,
συμφώνως με τας αρχάς τας οποία ο αληθής, ο αγνός
ριζοσπαστισμός εκήρυξεν ανέκαθεν και υπεστήριξε, και υπέρ
των οποίων ιδίως η Κεφαλληνία μετα πραγματικής
γενναιότητος εμαρτύρησε.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Panayiotis Panas, (no title), *Ο Κεραυνός*, September 2nd, 1858, No. 4.

⁵⁷ Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit. pp. 53, 55. In essence, February 26th, 1859, (No. 18) was his final issue, as Stavropoulou notes.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33. Refer also to: Panayiotis Panas, *Ριζοσπάστας και Βελτιώσεις*, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁶⁰ All issues of *Αλήθεια* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, in Athens, and at the National library *Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, in Athens, Greece. Also, for a brief overview of this newspaper, refer to: Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit., pp. 96-98.

⁶¹ Panayiotis Panas, (No title), *Αλήθεια*, September 16th, 1861, No. 1.

This paper was four-paged and was published on a weekly basis in Kefalonia, from September 16th, 1861, until September 1st, 1862, counting 52 issues in total. The publisher of this paper was Antonios Lelos, and it was printed in the printing house *H Κεφαλληνία*. Panas was the main editor until the 18th issue. It mostly published domestic articles, Greek articles under the title *Αθηναϊκά*, but also foreign articles under the title *Εξωτερικά*, since the journalist reported on the revolutionary movements in other European countries. The first issue was published in September 1861, in a very rough political period, during which the political ‘schism’ was evolving. Specifically, Panas wrote several articles regarding the conflicts with other Ionian papers, such as the Corfiot newspaper *Νέα Εποχή*. The 4th edition of *Αλήθεια* is indicative, because it publishes the editor’s statement regarding the radical Gerasimos Livadas and his strong opposition to the *Old* radicals.⁶²

Αλήθεια launched its distribution two years after the closure of *Ο Κεραυνός* (February 1859) and of *Αναγέννησις* (May 25th, 1859), in an effort to fill this journalistic gap, since there were no other radical newspapers being published in Kefalonia.⁶³ Overall, *Αλήθεια*, in a fashion similar to Panas’s previous newspaper, fully supported the principles of Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos⁶⁴ with a focus on promoting the radical party’s candidates for the Ionian Parliament. But, most importantly, an additional purpose was once again to criticize the British Crown, to promote the union with socio-democratic principles, unite all Greek territories still under Ottoman rule, and to fight against the unionists and Konstantinos Lombardos. The editorial of the first issue specifically stated the following:

*Σκοπός μας λοιπόν είναι να συνεισφέρωμεν και ημείς τον φόρον της ενέργειάς μας εις το έργον της απελευθερώσεως της πατρίδος, και πάσης εν γένει ελληνικής χώρας υπό ξένην δεσποτείαν διατελούσης, και της αποκαταστάσεως της όλης ελληνικής φυλής εις κράτος ανεξάρτητον και ελεύθερον, συμφώνως με τας αληθείς και υγιείς αρχάς της ελευθερίας και της προόδου αίτινες είνε το ελατήριον των προσπαθειών των σημερινών κοινωνιών.*⁶⁵

⁶² Iosif Momferratos, ‘Προς το Κοινόν’, *Αλήθεια*, October 7th, 1861, No. 4 (also, see: No. 11).

⁶³ Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 134.

⁶⁴ Refer to: Panayiotis Panas, ‘Ευχαρίστως καταχωρίζομεν το διακοινούμενον ημίν επόμενον άρθρον εις το οποίον εκτυλίσσονται και διευκρινίζονται αρκετά σαφώς αι αποτελούσαι τον ριζοσπαστισμόν αρχαί’, *Αλήθεια*, November 18th, 1861, No. 10.

⁶⁵ Panayiotis Panas, (No title), *Αλήθεια*, September 16th, 1861, No. 1. It is worth noting also the following front-page editorials: ‘Επτανησιακά’, *Αλήθεια*, October 23rd, 1861, No. 2; ‘Επτανησιακά’, *Αλήθεια*, October 30th, 1861, No. 3.

Being very interested in foreign news, Panas affirmed the principles of ‘true’ radicalism and emphasized the need for a democratic regime, equality, freedom, and solidarity.⁶⁶ Additionally, it must be emphasized that the same referenced article presents the journalist’s definition of Heptanesian radicalism, in which Panas notes that a radical ought to seek reformation of the society, and this is clearly highlighted in the excerpt below:

*Ριζοσπάστης, ή κατά τους Ευρωπαίους «radical», είναι ο επιζητών την αναμόρφωσιν της κοινωνίας επί νέων βάσεων, βάσεων στερεών και αμετακινήτων, συμφώνων με τας αρχάς του νεωτέρου πολιτισμού, και της φύσεως αυτής του ανθρώπου (...).*⁶⁷

In respect of the *Old* radicals’ democratic approaches, the issues of *Αλήθεια* coincide with the revolutionary struggle in the mainland and that was the main subject of the permanent column entitled *Αθηναϊκά*. This column hosted a great deal of articles concerning the capital of Greece, Athens, while articles highlighting the question of liberating the Ottoman-occupied Greek territories were usually published under the permanent column *Ελευθερωμένη Ελλάδα*. However, the paper also focused on the upcoming elections, urging the Ionians to vote wisely. In an effort to promote his fellow-radicals (amongst others, Zervos-Iakovatos and Momferratos), the journalist notes:

*Εγερθήτε λοιπόν, φίλτατοι νέοι! Μη φεισθήτε δρόμων και κόπων. Πετάζετε ως αετοί εις τους αποτόμους βράχους, όπου οι αγροδίαιτοι αδελφοί σας χωρικοί διατρίβουσι, κι όπου η ραδιουργία και η διαβολή δύνανται, ως εκ της απλοικότητας των αδελφών σας, να λάβωσιν ηχώ τινά.*⁶⁸

The last newspaper’s issue is indicative, since it officially passed the scepters to the newspaper *Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* of Iosif Momferratos. In the beginning of this issue, the author writes:

Εκδιδομένη η μικρά αύτη εφημερίς μας εις εποχήν καθ’ ην ο πόλεμος της αγυρτείας και της καταχθονιότητος, κατά της τιμιότητος και της αληθούς φιλοπατρίας, υπήρξε μάλλον πεισματώδης και επίβουλος, πιστεύει, αν όχι άλλο, ότι εξεπλήρωσε τουλάχιστον μετά θάρρους και ευσυνειδησίας τα καθήκοντά της. Επειδή δε, λήξαντος ήδη και του έτους από της ενάρξεώς της, μέλλει να εκδοθή όσον ούπω η ήδη

⁶⁶ Panayiotis Panas, ‘Κεφαλληνία’, *Αλήθεια*, November 18th, 1861, No. 10.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ Panayiotis Panas, ‘Προς το Κοινόν της Κεφαλληνίας’, *Αλήθεια*, January 13th, 1862, No. 18.

αναγγελθείσα νέα εφημερίς, *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, ήτις, πιστώσ και απαρεγκλίτως την ανέκαθεν διαχαραχθείσαν αληθή ριζοσπαστική πορείαν, προτιθεμένη να εξακολουθήση να αναδέχεται ήδη την υπεράσπισιν των εθνικών και πατρίων δικαιωμάτων, νομίζομεν ότι περιττή πλέον καθίσταται η εξακολούθησις της εφημερίδος μας ταύτης.⁶⁹

In conclusion, *Αλήθεια* constitutes an excellent example for highlighting the radical press schism in the Ionian state, since the radical dipole is evident in most of the articles, and also, the major political differences between the *Old* –and ‘true’, according to the newspaper’s title– and the Unionists are well-noted.

Simultaneously with the distribution of the 18th issue (January 13th, 1862), Panayiotis Panas announces his withdrawal.⁷⁰ Yet, the publication of the newspaper continued for another seven months; Stavropoulou indicates that Spyridon Kombothekras may have been the new editor.⁷¹ However, as mentioned previously, the discontinuation of the newspaper was a direct consequence of the launch of Momferratos’s radical newspaper *Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, which had attracted all radical journalists.

Lastly, the third newspaper was short-lived (4 issues) and had the title *Ο Διογένης* (Diogenes).⁷² It was a satirical paper, in which Panayiotis Panas was mocking the political schism and Konstantinos Lombardos specifically, as well as other prominent personalities of the pro-British party, such as Dimitrios Karousos.⁷³ It was distributed from July 16th until August 23rd, 1862, and far from presenting a rational argumentation, Panas’s aim was to ‘literaly’ expose his political opponents through political satire. Using his strong sense of humor the journalist came to opposition with his rivals, i.e. Lombardos, Valaoritis, Livadas and Karousos. His close friend Andreas Laskaratos, advised him to issue a third newspaper “to start taking the masks off, expose people, and be useful as a journalist”, noting in particular the following:

⁶⁹ (Anonymous), ‘Ειδοποίησις’, *Αλήθεια*, September 1st, 1862, No. 52.

⁷⁰ Stavropoulou notes that it is not possible to find the main reason for his withdrawal; refer to: Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit., p. 98. Indeed, Panayiotis Panas declares through his newspaper (No. 18), January 13th, 1862: *καθαρώς προσωπικοί και απροσδόκητοι λόγοι*.

⁷¹ Erasmia-Louiza Stavropoulou, *Παναγιώτης Πανάς...*, op.cit.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100. All 4 issues can be found at the National library *Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη* in Athens (per. 1396). Once again, *Ο Διογένης* was short-lived due to *Αληθής ριζοσπάστης*’s circulation.

⁷³ *Ο Διογένης* was four-paged and had the following motto: *Και ’ γω μέρα μεσημέρι – εις τους δρόμους περπατώ. Μ’ έναν λύχνο εις το χέρι – ναυρώ άνθρωπον ζητώ*. It was being printed in the printing house of *Κεφαλληνία*. From the motto it becomes evident the cooperation with Oddi and his paper *Αποθήκη του Διαβόλου*, since Panas’s title was part of the secondary title of Oddi’s aforementioned paper (*Ο Λύχνος του Διογένους*).

αν θέλει να ωφελήσει, πρέπει να αρχίσει να βγάλει
μπαρμπούτες κι όχι να κάθεται να μας λέει πως είναι κακοί
οι μασκαράδες.⁷⁴

In brief, the main purpose of Panayiotis Panas's third paper was, once again, to stand against the unionists, as he explains in the first issue:

Ο κόσμος εις τον οποίον ζήτε είναι ένα θέατρο, όπου καθένας παίζει ένα οποιοδήποτε μέρος, κατ' εκλογήν του, ενώ οι άλλοι τονε σφυρίζουνε ή τονε χειροκροτούνε, καθώς ευχαριστιούνται ή όχι στην παράστασι. Επειδή όμως και πολλοί, είτε δια να επισύρουνε χειροκρότησες, είτε δια άλλον κανένα σκοπό παρουσιάζονται επάνω εις τη σκηνή με προσωπίδαις και με ξένα ρούχα. Και επειδή από το άλλο μέρος και εγώ, αφού ήλθα εις τον κόσμο, έπρεπε να λάβω ένας μέρος εις την τραγικοκωμική ετούτη παράστασι, αποφάσισα να λάβω εκείνο του ξεφαυλιστού, δηλαδή εκείνου όπου θα τραβάη από τα πρόσωπα των υποκριτών ταις προσωπίδαις, και θα τους δείχνει εις το κοινό με την αληθινή τους μορφή.⁷⁵

8.4.4. Two satirical newspapers against Konstantinos Lombardos

Apart from the two Zakynthian men of letters and Panayiotis Panas, another two satirical newspapers were also standing against Lombardos's views; these were non-affiliated with any political party and thus there was no political influence. Generally, these papers constitute an important part of the satirical press in the Ionian state;⁷⁶ they represented a new form of political parody for the Islanders, they were quite popular and utilized irony and deadpan humor. The journalists reported real stories, criticizing both the British and the local political men, in a satirical and humorous manner.

The satirical newspaper *Ο Λύχνος* (the oil lamp, 1859-1863) was established by the Kefalonian poet and prose writer, Andreas Laskaratos (1811-1901).⁷⁷ It started

⁷⁴ Refer to the newspaper *Ο Λύχνος* (November 14th, 1861), in Andreas Laskaratos *Άπαντα*, Vol. C, p. 355.

⁷⁵ Panayiotis Panas, 'Άνθρωποι και Διογένης', *Ο Διογένης*, July 16th, 1862, No. 1.

⁷⁶ Apart from the two newspapers presented in this section, indicative of the satirical press is also the paper *Η Αλογόμυγα* (the Horsefly 1859), *εφημερίς εθνική, πολιτική, εμπορική, φιλολογική, γεωργική και ναυτική*. According to Leonidas X. Zois, *Η Αλογόμυγα* commenced publication on October 1st, 1859, in Zakynthos, and notes the rarity of its issues. Refer to: Leonidas X. Zois, *Λεξικόν Ιστορικών και Λαογραφικών Ζακύνθου*, Athens, 1963, Vol. 1, p. 41. Second, *Η Δενδροζωγλώσσα* (*εφημερίς μυθική*), published in 1858, (size 0,21x0,12 'the language of the trees and animals') was the mythical paper of the famous Corfiot satiric I.A. Aravantinos (pennname: krasopateras), which published mostly various satirical myths; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 132.

⁷⁷ This newspaper can be found at E.L.I.A., Athens, with the exception of the last 4 issues. See also *Λύχνος* republication in a) *Άπαντα Ανδρέα Λασκαράτου*, (intro. A. Papageorgiou), Vol. 3, Athens, 1959,

publication on May 5th, 1859, in the printing house of Παρνασσός (*Sergios Raftanis*) in Zakynthos.⁷⁸ *Ο Λύχνος* was circulating until the end of the 19th century (1896), counting a total of 53 non-consecutive issues. The first 43 issues constitute the first period (1859-1863) while the second period (1868), after the union with the Greek Kingdom, included 6 issues (issues 44-49), and the third period (1894 and 1896) included another 4 issues (issues 50-53). The articles were mostly written in Greek – idiomatic⁷⁹ demotic language, but a number of essays were also written in Italian and French. As Laskaratos states in his autobiography, his inspiration for establishing this newspaper came from some Zakynthian noble ladies (he does not list any of their names). He specifically states that these ladies persuaded him to create a newspaper, which should not be supportive of any political party (in spite of his strong opposition against Konstantinos Lombardos’s policy line) but, on the contrary, would be a family paper *Εφημερίς Οικογενειακή*.⁸⁰ Indeed, according to Asdrahas, *Ο Λύχνος* linked politics with ethics. It focused on the importance of the family institution as well as on the Ionians’ virtues. The first issue is characteristic, as he explains the paper’s aims, noting: *Σκοπός της είναι να δίνη ωφέλιμες ανάγνωσες εις τες οικογένειες*.⁸¹ Also, referring to the family concept, again the satirist-journalist notes:

*Η Επιθυμία τους να δώσωμε καλές και ωφέλιμες ανάγνωσες εις τες οικογένειες μας έκαμε να κλείσωμε τα μάτια εις όλα τα εμπόδια, και ν’ αρχίσωμε την έ(γ)δοση του παρόντος φύλλου (...) Όποιος θελει το λύχνο, ας του βάλη λάδι. Αν υπάρχουνε άνθρωποι που να τους μένη καιρός να γνοιάζονται και για την οικογένειά τους, ιδού ένα από τα χρειάζόμενα του σπητιού, ο ΛΥΧΝΟΣ.*⁸²

Asdrahas indicates that, in that period, Laskaratos was a famous writer and his family newspaper was quite popular, having 300 subscribers.⁸³ In particular, the first issue

pp. 223-442; note that the 50th and 53rd issues are missing. Also, b) *Απαντα Ανδρέα Λασκαράτου*, G. Pikros (ed.), Vol. 1, pp. 59-478. Lastly, refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 132.

⁷⁸ From the 2nd issue onwards, the newspaper continued its circulation from the islands of both Zakynthos and Kefalonia (one issue printed in Athens (1/7/1859). Also, from the 14th issue onwards, the newspaper changed its name to *Λυχνιές*, which was slightly more aggressive and dynamic than the previous.

⁷⁹ Andreas Laskaratos’s writing was affected by the Heptanesian dialect.

⁸⁰ The editor frequently added, under the main title, the words *Εφημερίς πολεμική* (issues No. 14-17, 21, 29) and sometimes, *Εφημερίς Σωφρονιστική* (issues 37-38). *Ο Λύχνος* was a one-column, eight-paged newspaper, and it was usually distributed twice per month.

⁸¹ Andreas Laskaratos, (No title), *Ο Λύχνος*, May 5th, 1859, No. 1.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Spyridon Asdrahas, ‘Ο Λύχνος του Ανδρέα Λασκαράτου’, in ‘Η Άνοιξη της ελευθεροτυπίας’, *Επτά ημέρες, Η Καθημερινή*, May 30th, 1999.

was printed in 250 copies and these were not adequate for his readership. Due to their humorous style, his articles were not boring. His writing style was convincing and easy to comprehend, while his subjects were carefully selected and included essays on ethics, religious texts, and articles referring to socially acceptable conduct. Laskaratos also published sayings by foreign authors, didactic anecdotes, and sometimes texts from ancient Greek authors, poems and prose.⁸⁴

Asdrahas points out that most of the essays/articles were written by Laskaratos. His opinions were strong and sometimes sparked reactions by both the clergy and the radical leader, Lombardos.⁸⁵ When such reactions occurred, he was changing his newspaper's title into *Λυχνιές*, in order to counterattack and enlighten his opponents with his "lamp"; when his essays were not criticizing, he would again change the newspaper's name into the original title. However, the main reason for establishing this paper was that Laskaratos perceived the radicals as selfish and distinguished them into three different categories: the radicals who were 'desperate' because of the social deadlock (referring to the *New* radicals); the radicals who did not take advantage of the current political status, either financially or socially; and the radicals who were 'dreamers', i.e. those who strongly believed in the Heptanesian radicalism ideology.⁸⁶ According to the same article, the radicalism concept was formulated by the middle class, which desired to achieve a similar social status with the nobles and their authorities. Yet, in order to accomplish this, the radicals ought to attract the voting preference of the 'puppets', i.e. the farmers, the peasants, or the mainland inhabitants. The term "puppets" mainly referred to the Heptanesians who were trapped in the status quo and had no revolutionary options and no hope in sight. The author specifically states:

(...) εξεκόλλησε κι ελευθέρωσε τον άνθρωπον από την
τυφλήν του υποταγήν εις άλλον άνθρωπον, του επίστρεψε
την ανεξαρτησία του και τον έβαλε σε θέση να γένει, αν
θέλει, άξιος για δαύτη.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ The same article underlines the financial system of an agrarian economy between the "rulers" and the "puppets", in which the first financially protect the latter. In exchange, the puppets are forced to offer a payoff made up of agricultural goods 'το προστύχι', which was usually illegal. As a consequence, the radicals' responsibility was to break-up this bond. See: Andreas Laskaratos, 'Ευγενείς και Υποχείριοι', *Ο Λύχνος*, June 8th, 1860, No. 13.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Αποθήκη του Διαβόλου (1859-1864) ('the Devil's warehouse', size 0.25x0.14) was another Kefalonian satirical paper, written in Greek and Italian. Its publication began on October 5th, 1859, and continued until June 3rd, 1864, counting 95 issues in total.⁸⁸ Its main editor was the Italian satirical author Ferdinando F. Oddi, who resided on the island of Kefalonia since 1840. It is worth noting that Konomos lists Laskaratos as one of this newspaper's contributors.⁸⁹ The consecutive publication of this paper for five years was indeed a success for Oddi, securing a large readership together with Laskaratos's *Ο Λύχνος* in Zakynthos and Kefalonia, taking into consideration that these two islands could not support two papers being printed during the same period. Apart from Andreas Laskaratos, Panayiotis Panas was also a contributor (December 1859-March 1860). The newspaper contained satirical texts, prose and verses, but also had an informative character as it reported local news and also hosted political articles related with the radical party. It also included cultural articles regarding literature and the theater.⁹⁰ Indicative of the support towards the *Old* radicals is an article referring to the 1852 upcoming elections, in which the journalist suggests that everyone should "blindly" vote for Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos, particularly stating:

*Εκλογείς! Αν ένα και μόνον αντιπρόσωπόν σας εδικαιούσθο
να αναδείξητε, ποίον άλλον οφείλατε να εκλέξητε, αν ουχί
τον εθνομάρτυρα Ζερβόν;*⁹¹

while for Momferratos in particular, he states:

⁸⁸ It was initially printed in the printing house *Η Κεφαλληνία*, but also in other printing houses such as *Η Ανατολή* and *Ερμής*. The publisher was Gerasimos Leivaditis who distributed the paper twice per month from the 17th issue onwards (its later publishers were Nikolaos Mperlaes and Dionysios Th. Zaorites). The first volume of the newspaper ends with the 12th issue. The second volume started on April 15th, 1860 (13th issue) (size 0.28x0.19) with the title: *Αποθήκη του Διαβόλου, Κυκλαίων*. From the 2nd volume until the 7th and last volume (1864), the paper slightly changed its title to *Διαβολοαποθήκη*. Please note that all the issues are reprinted in: Al. G. Papageorgiou, *Άπαντα Ανδρέα Λασκαράτου*, Vol. 3, Athens, 1959, pp. 223-442, 578-579. A small number of the issues are also salvaged in the Greek Parliament's library in Athens, Greece.

⁸⁹ Andreas Laskaratos was also a contributor in the newspaper *Ο Εωσφόρος* ("Lucifer", 1858-1860) since July 30th, 1860; this was an encyclopedic newspaper *Εωσφόρος-Φύλλον Εγκυκλοπαιδικόν*, which was first published in 1858. It was printed in the printing house of *Η Ιονία*, in Corfu. As Konomos indicates, this paper was under the management of Nikolaos Konemenos (from October 25th, 1858) and was succeeded by the satiric 26th years old, young author Andreas Laskaratos in 1860. Refer to: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 133. For the newspaper's profile, refer also to: Kostas Dafnis, 'Ο Εωσφόρος. Το Περιοδικό του Ν. Κονεμένου', Proceedings of the 4th International Panionian Conference, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 26th, Corfu, 1982, pp. 376-383.

⁹⁰ See: A. Ch. Kalogeras, *Η σάτυρα στην Κεφαλονία*, Vol. 2, Athens, 1946, pp. 101-107.

⁹¹ Ferdinando Oddi or Andreas Laskaratos, 'Αι υπέρ και κατά γνώμαι ήτοι τα ναι και τα όχι των υποψηφίων σας', *Η Διαβολοαποθήκη*, February 1st, 1862, No. 52.

*Το όνομα τούτο προφερόμενον μόνον είναι η ιστορία ολόκληρος της πατρίδος μας από τα 1849 άχρι σήμερα.*⁹²

8.4.3. Iosif Momferratos's papers: the republication of *Αναγέννησις* (1858-1859) and *Ο Αληθής ριζοσπάστης* (1862-1863)

In Chapter seven, I presented the profile of *Αναγέννησις* and focused on its first issues in which, in my view, the aims and the role of the newspaper were more evident. In the last period of the newspaper's publication (August 1858-1859, 35 issues), one may observe the efforts of Momferratos to defend his political views, in relation to the union, and point out the 'anti-democratic' unionistic approach of Lombardos. Just a few months before the republication of *Αναγέννησις* (December 1857), Momferratos distributed two letters (in the form of a two-page leaflet), in which he was keeping distances from Lombardos's views, accusing *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου* as strictly opposing Heptanesian radicalism, thus distancing from the main purpose of the union.⁹³ Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that, in reality, Momferratos was not referring to the radical party's schism, but to a 'divergence'; in one of his letters, he particularly noted the following phrase:

*Είναι αναντίρρητον, ότι πάσα εν μέσω του ριζοσπαστικού κόμματος διαφωνία καταντά δυσάρεστος και επιβλαβής, (...).*⁹⁴

Respectively, *Αναγέννησις* highlights this sort of divergence by referring to a particular dispute between Lombardos and Momferratos regarding Fr. Lenormant's writings.⁹⁵ More specifically, in the 56th issue, the journalist openly criticizes Fr. Lenormant, as well as the unionistic approach of Lombardos, noting:

Ο κ. Λενορμάνος επαναλαμβάνει, ως προς δικαιολόγησιν των Επτανησίων, το εν τη ΙΑ' Βουλή λεχθέν υπό τινων ενωτιστών, ότι δηλαδή το περί εθνικής αποκαταστάσεως της

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Iosif Momferratos, *Δύο επιστολαί προς τον Κων/νο Λομβάρδο, συντάκτην της Φωνής του Ιονίου*, August 15th, Kefalonia, 1858.

⁹⁴ G. Alisandratos, 'Ανέκδοτα γράμματα του Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου...', *op.cit.*, pp. 9-12.

⁹⁵ In 1859, Fr. Lenormant discusses the Ionian political question, and places it into a European sphere. He strongly criticized the British protection, and he did not refer to the *Old* radicals' theories, but rather emphasized on the support of Lombardos's views. Refer to: Francois Lenormant, *La question Ionienne devant l'Europe*, Paris, E. Dentu, libraire-editeur, Galerie d'Orleans, 13, Palais-Royal, 1859 (livre devenu rare), pp. 124-125. Refer also to another important book by Lenormant, written in Paris in 1861: Francois Lenormant, 'Η Διοίκηση των Νησίων του Ιονίου. Επιστολή προς τον Λόρδο John Russell', (translated in Greek by G.P. Steriotis), *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 10, Corfu, 1962, pp. 97-161.

*Επτανήσου ζήτημα διαφέρει πολύ των άλλων περί εθνικότητας ευρωπαϊκών ζητημάτων και ότι δεν έχει τι κοινόν με τας υπο του Ματσίνη κηρυττόμενας θεωρίας, πράγμα, όσον άτοπον, άλλο τόσο εναντίον της αλήθειας.*⁹⁶

The above excerpt makes particular reference to Fr. Lenormant unionistic views. It notes that these views are not applicable to the Heptanesian political question since the Italian national question is totally different from the Ionian, thus differentiating from G. Mazzini's political theories. Nevertheless even though Momferratos observed and supported Mazzini's revolutionary activities, he emphasized the application of the general principles of law, stating specifically:

*Καθότι οι Επτανήσιοι εν γένει, και ιδίως, δεν λέγομεν οι απλοί ενωτισταί, αλλ' οι καθαροί ριζοσπάσται, το περί εθνικής αποκατάσεως ζήτημα στηρίζοντες επί της αιωνίου και καθολικής αρχής του δικαίου, ουδέποτε διέστειλαν αυτό εν αρχή και εν ουσία, από το γενικόν ζήτημα των εθνικότητων, ουδέ τας υπο του Ματσίνη κηρυττομένας ιδέας – εις τα οποίας οι λαοί όλοι, φυσικώ τω λόγω, συναδελφούνται – ενόμισαν ποτέ διαφόρους των ιδικών των. (...).*⁹⁷

In addition, and obviously in response to the 47th issue of *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, Momferratos continued the dispute, reminding the readers of the social-democratic principles of Heptanesian radicalism, and the necessity of applying them, since the 'others' –referring to Lombardos– have already distorted the radicalism's political lines; he specifically wrote the following:

*Εθνική αποκατάστασις επί τη μόνη βάσει του φυσικού και απολύτου δικαίου, κυριαρχία του λαού αληθώς και καθ'ολοκληρίαν εφηρμοσμένη, ιδού η περιληπτική και θεμελιώδης αρχή, (...) κατά την οποίαν ερρύθμισε πάντοτε την πορείαν του, και εις τον τύπον και εις την Βουλήν, και εις τας πολιτικάς ομηγύρεις, και εις τας δημοτικάς εκδηλώσεις, και εις παν ό,τι άλλο, εωσού τα βίαια και καταστρεπτικά μέτρα του αυθαιρέτου επέβαλαν φραγμόν εις πάσαν ενέργειάν του, και άφηκαν ανοικτόν εις άλλους το στάδιον προς παραμόρφωσιν ή διαστροφήν του (...).*⁹⁸

Therefore, the attitude and the journalistic fervor of Momferratos regarding his burning desire, the union, becomes evident. Nevertheless, upon the arrival of Gladstone in the Ionian Islands (November 24th, 1858), *Αναγέννησις* ceased the

⁹⁶ Iosif Momferratos, 'Οι κ.κ. Λενορμάνος και Δουνοαγέρος περί Επτανήσου', *Αναγέννησις*, April 25th, 1859, No. 56.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Iosif Momferratos, 'Απάντησις προς την Φωνήν του Ιονίου', *Αναγέννησις*, May 15th, 1859, No. 59.

dispute with Lombardos and decided to focus on rejecting Gladstone's proposed reforms.⁹⁹ Yet, regardless of Gladstone's arrival, it should be noted that Momferratos was still publishing translations of Giuseppe Mazzini's political articles from his newspaper *Pensiero ed azione*, thus staying loyal to his beliefs.¹⁰⁰ Specific articles include reprints of excerpts from Mazzini's book *Doveri dell'uomo* published in 1858.¹⁰¹

To conclude, *Αναγέννησις* aspired at promoting Heptanesian radicalism, advocated the union and differentiated itself from Lombardos's unionistic approach. It focused on the radical 'divergence' on behalf of the much-desired union and fought for a democratic approach. This newspaper ceased distribution on May 23rd, 1859. Momferratos's personal motto *Η γαρ δύναμίς μου εν ασθενεία τελειούται* was, beyond any doubt, fully representative of his spirit and inner strength, especially considering that this was not the end of his journalistic journey.

Ο Αληθής ριζοσπάστης ("The true radical", 1862-1863, size 0.45x0.31) was his second paper and, once again, the primary purpose was to defend his political beliefs against Lombardos's political success.¹⁰² Consisting of four-pages and three columns, this paper was the successor of the aforementioned paper *Αλήθεια*. It was published on a weekly basis, usually on Saturdays, commencing on September 15th, 1862, and ending on August 24th, 1863, counting a total of 48 issues.¹⁰³ The first issue clearly reflects Momferratos's goal as he, once again, aspired to act as a true advocate of Heptanesian radicalism, focusing on fundamental human and civil rights. In the front-page editorial, he stated the following:

⁹⁹ See particularly: Iosif Momferratos, 'Έκτακτη αποστολή του Γλάδστωνος', *Αναγέννησις*, November 14th, 1858, No. 36. Also see: 'Ο Γλάδστων εν Επτανήσω', *Αναγέννησις*, November 22nd, 1858, No. 37; 'Αι προταθείσαι μεταρρυθμίσεις', February 7th, 1859, No. 46.

¹⁰⁰ Refer to the following issues of *Αναγέννησις*: No. 43 (January 10th, 1859), No. 47 (February 14th, 1859), No. 51 (March 14th, 1859), No. 52 (March 21st, 1859), No. 53 (March 28th, 1859), No. 54 (April 4th, 1859) and No. 56 (April 25th, 1859).

¹⁰¹ See respectively *Αναγέννησις*' issues No. 55-60 (April 18th - May 23rd, 1859). It is also worth referring to Alisandratos's study regarding Fr. Lenormant and G. Mazzini's views on the Ionian political question; see: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 69-71.

¹⁰² Ntinios Konomos suggests that after the first four months, Momferratos was the only contributor. The publisher was Spyridon Livathinopoulos and the paper was printed in the printing house of *Κεφαλληνία*; see: Nt. Konomos, op.cit., p. 134.

¹⁰³ All issues of *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, Greece.

*Ως εκ των ειρημένων, κύριον και αρχικόν έργον της εφημερίδος ημών θέλει είσθαι, η επί τη βάσει των προεκτεθεισών αρχών υποστήριξις των δικαιωμάτων της ελληνικής εθνικότητας, της οποίας την τύχην σκληρά και άδικος πολιτική ήδη αναχαιτίζει, ενώ άλλως η εκπλήρωσις του μεγάλου και υψηλού αυτής προορισμού έγκειται εις την φύσιν αυτήν των πραγμάτων, και εις την προοδευτικήν πορείαν της ανθρωπότητας, ήτις τους δεσποζόμενους και καταπιεζομένους λαούς, τα εν δουλεία διατελούντα και καταδυναστευόμενα έθνη, καλεί εις απελευθέρωσιν και νέαν ζωήν (...).*¹⁰⁴

Emphasizing the differentiation from Lombardos's approach, the paper supported the union. Besides, it was already known that Great Britain had altered its politics in 1862, having decided to grant the Islands to Greece.¹⁰⁵ I assume, that is the main reason why Momferratos focused on reprinting news from the Greek Kingdom, mostly under the permanent column *Ελευθερωμένη Ελλάδα*. It also reprinted various Greek and foreign articles related to the Ionian protectorate and its political question. Main purpose of this column was to argue that the newborn Greek state ought to have a government that would be based on the principles of the Greek Revolution; he specifically noted the following:

*Τι άραγε ποθεί, τι θέλει ο Έλλην, καθ'όσον το εθνικόν αυτού πολίτευμα αφορά; Εκείνο το οποίο ποθεί ενθέρμως και θέλει μετ'επιμονής, είναι να κυβερνάται το έθνος εν πλήρει ανεξαρτησία και αυτονομία· θέλει κυβέρνησιν εθνικήν καθάραν και πραγματικήν απόρροιαν της κυριαρχίας του, (...) Τοιούτου δε πολιτεύματος τα στοιχεία ευρίσκει ο Έλλην εις τα εθνικά συντάγματα, τα παρά των αλληλοδιαδόχων Εθνοσυνελεύσεων ψηφισθέντα εν καιρώ του αγώνος.*¹⁰⁶

More specifically, through his writings, Momferratos opposed the institution of monarchy in Greece and, in view of Otto's ousting (interregnum period: 1862-1863), he pointed out that the Greek state should be governed democratically:

Τι αληθώς μέγα και σωτήριοιον δια το έθνος εκ της ενεστάσεως μεταπολιτεύσεως ήθελε προκύψει, εάν αύτη, πάντα τα άλλα εγκαταλείπουσα, εις απλήν και μόνον αλλαγήν δυναστείας

¹⁰⁴ Iosif Momferratos, 'Ο αγών των εθνικοτήτων και η Ελλάδα', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, September 15th, 1862, No. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Refer to: Gregorios E. Dafnis, 'Απαντήσεις χωρίς ερωτήματα. Η Βικτωρία και ο Palmerston δίδουν τα επτά νησιά στην Ελλάδα', *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 19, Corfu, 1974, pp. 141, 145-146.

¹⁰⁶ Iosif Momferratos, 'Η εν Ελλάδι μεταβολή', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, October 27th, 1862, No. 7. It is also worth referring to the 20th issue: 'Εν βλέμμα επί της Εθνοσυνελεύσεως', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, January 26th, 1863, No. 20.

και εις ταύτην κατ' αρεσκείαν της διπλωματίας
περιορίζεται.¹⁰⁷

In a similar manner, the 6th issue is indicative of Momferratos's opposition to monarchy regimes, as he expressed his relief and satisfaction for the ousting of Otto (1862), noting:

*Εν τούτοις, το σύστημα αυτό της δυναστείας, καθ'εκάστην
θρασύτερον γινόμενον, προφανώς παραβιάζον τα
δικαιώματα και τας ελευθερίας του έθνους, ασυστόλως
καταπατούν τους καθιερωμένους θεσμούς του, αθετούν
αναλγήτως και παραγκωνίζουν τα μεγάλα και πολύτιμα αυτού
συμφέροντα (...).*¹⁰⁸

However, his satisfaction soon turned into resentment, when the Greeks started seeking a new king. In his newspaper, Momferratos argued that hereditary monarchy is contrary to popular sovereignty, by stating:

*Το σύστημα της ισοβιότητας της διαδοχής και του ανευθύνου
είναι προς την κυριαρχίαν του λαού όλως ασυμβίβαστα, και
εκ διαμέτρου αντίθετα.*¹⁰⁹

Due to the aforementioned goals of Momferratos, his paper also published a great deal of articles referring to the Italian G. Mazzini and his revolutionary activities, strongly supporting his views. At the same time, Momferratos defended these views, taking into account Lenormant's recent publication in Paris (1861) regarding the Heptanesian question, entitled: *Le Gouvernement des Iles Ioniennes. Lettre a Lord John Russel*.¹¹⁰ It is however, equally important to note that according to Alisandratos, Momferratos was not actively involved in any revolutionary committees.¹¹¹ Even though his first issue did not support any revolutionary efforts, it argues that every national revolutionary action should begin in mainland Greece, instead of the Ionian Islands. In addition, according to the same article, it was wrong to wait for 'strangers' (meaning the British) to act on behalf of the Ionians because, not only it was inappropriate but it was also a false idea; he particularly noted:

¹⁰⁷ Iosif Momferratos, 'Τα εν τη ελευθέρα Ελλάδι', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, March 14th, 1863, No. 25.

¹⁰⁸ Iosif Momferratos, 'Κατάλυσις της εν Ελλάδι δυναστείας', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, October 20th, 1862, No. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Iosif Momferratos, 'Ποίος ο αληθής χαρακτήρ της εν Ελλάδι μεταπολιτεύσεως', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, November 10th, 1862, No. 9. See also the front-page editorial of the 11th edition, referring to monarchy, November 24th, 1862, as well as the 21st issue: 'Τα περί ηγεμόνος και η επέμβασις της διπλωματίας', February 2nd, 1863, No. 21.

¹¹⁰ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 71.

¹¹¹ G. Alisandratos, *Ο επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός και η σχέση του...*, op.cit., p. 349.

(...) εστία παντοίων, και κατά το πλείστον μέρος ξενικών, ραδιουργιών, υποθαλαπουσών πάντη αλλότρια και ενάντια της ελευθερίας και της προόδου του έθνους συμφέροντα.¹¹²

As a consequence, *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* was literally Momferratos's last effort to stand against those who advocated the union without the social imperatives of the Heptanesian radicalism. It highlighted that the Ionians should be the only ones to decide the conditions of the union, instead of the British, and should not accept any British intervention in the domestic affairs of the Islands.¹¹³ Acknowledging that Lombardos's unionistic approach was gaining ground over his radical political opponents, the paper's goal was to prioritize the improvement of living standards for the Ionians and that, in my view, is the reason why *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης* constitutes an exceptional example of the *Old* radical ideology.

Holland and Makrides note that the radicals, or as stated "*the Rhizospastes were in possession of the field*" since the February 1862 elections, noone had opposed the unionistic guideline in the Ionian state.¹¹⁴ After the ousting of King Otto (October 10th, 1862) from Greece,¹¹⁵ Lord Russell, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain, formally announced to the Greek government (December 10th, 1862) Britain's intention to surrender the sovereignty of the Ionian Islands.¹¹⁶ However, what is already known is that in the very end, Momferratos and Zervos-Iakovatos hoped that the union would be delayed.¹¹⁷ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos's (as Chairman of the Ionian Parliament) speech in the 12th Parliament, was characteristic of the demand for postponing the much-desired union; he specifically stated:

Εάν δε ρίψωμεν και βλέμμαν προσεκτικόν (...) προς την ιεράν εκείνην γην (...) θέλομεν ιδεί (...) την αξιοδάκρυτον θέσιν εις ην διάκεινται τα πράγματα. Επομένως, (...) οφείλομεν να σκεφθώμεν, μήπως εν βήμα απότομον και ολισθηρόν πριν της εντελούς αποκαταστάσεως της τάξεως ήθελε συνεπιφέρει ολεθριώτερα δεινά και διακινδυνεύσει και αυτήν την ύπαρξιν αυτής τε και ημών, διότι δεν πιστεύω εις

¹¹² Iosif Momferratos, 'Ο αγών των εθνικοτήτων και η Ελλάς', *Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης*, September 15th, 1862, No. 1.

¹¹³ Refer to the following issues: No. 15 (December 22nd, 1862), No. 17 (January 5th, 1863), and No. 22 (February 9th, 1863).

¹¹⁴ Robert Holland, Diana Markides, *The British and the Hellenes...*, op.cit., p. 53.

¹¹⁵ See: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 84.

¹¹⁶ Maria Kotina, op.cit., p. 443.

¹¹⁷ Indicatively refer to: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 77-78, 83.

την θέσιν εκείνην των πραγμάτων να είναι αλλότριος ο
ξενικός δάκτυλος.¹¹⁸

Believing that the union was strategically designed by the British diplomacy, even though elected top of the poll in Kefalonia, Zervos-Iakovatos refused to participate in the Greek National Assembly of 1864. Momferratos strongly believed in a republic, and, in his front-page editorials, pointed out that the King should not participate in a purely democratic regime.¹¹⁹ In the end, the *Old* leaders and exponents of Heptanesian radicalism stayed loyal to their beliefs and ideological backgrounds, as they remained against the union of the Ionian Islands with the Greek state.¹²⁰ As Gekas notes, they “insisted on the ‘sovereign and unalienable right’ of Ionians to demand union with independent Greece, declaring their uncompromising and non-degotiable position”.¹²¹ They thus believed that the Islands should primarily focus on relieving the Ionian people by effectuating immediate improvements in the interior, focusing on agriculture, taxation, education etc.¹²²

8.5 The final cooperation of *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου* and *Ρήγας* (1859-1864)

Through the editorial of the 50th and last issue of *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου* (June 5th 1859), Lombardos announces the onset of the collaboration between his newspaper and the ‘opposing’ Zakynthian *Ο Ρήγας*.¹²³ The newborn *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας* monopolized radical journalism,¹²⁴ also because both *Ο Κεραυνός* and *Αναγέννησις* had already ceased publication. The three union sympathizers, i.e. Lombardos, Kallinikos and Verykios, commenced the newspaper’s distribution on October 3rd, 1859. *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας* was mostly a political but also a literary paper, being published every Saturday (in its early days, because later on it was distributed twice per month). It is worth noting that from the first issue, the journalists agreed that

¹¹⁸ Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos, *Λόγος εκφωνηθείς υπό του προέδρου της ΙΒ΄ Βουλής, της Επτανήσου δρος Ηλία Ζερβού-Ιακωβάτου, κατά την συνεδρίασιν της 12^{ης} Μαρτίου 1862, επί του σχεδίου της απαντήσεως*, Kefalonia, 1862.

¹¹⁹ Refer to: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 79.

¹²⁰ Maria Kotina, op.cit., pp. 475-476.

¹²¹ Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 309.

¹²² Refer to: Panayiotis Panas, op.cit., pp. 9-12. Also: Sp. Loukatos, op.cit., pp. 175-177, and lastly: G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., p. 80.

¹²³ Konstantinos Lombardos, ‘Αγγελία Ρήγα και Φωνής του Ιονίου’, *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, June 5th, 1859, No. 50.

¹²⁴ All issues of *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας* (apart from No.136) can be found at the Library of the Chamber of Deputies in Athens, and at the Museum of the Press in Patras, Greece.

they would not translate their editorials into French, and explained the reason behind this decision as follows:

*Ενδίδοντες εις την οικονομικήν του τόπου δυσχέρειαν, και έχοντες άλλως πρό οφθαλμών ότι ο ηθικός σύμμαχος πάσης ευμοιρούσης ή δεινοπαθούσης κοινωνίας, είναι η δημοσιογραφία, αναγκαζόμεθα, όπως μη ή υπέρ των πατριών αυτής ενέργεια κατασιγάση, ν' αναβάλωμεν προς ώρας την προαναγγελθείσαν εις το γαλλικόν μετάφρασιν των κυριωτέρων άρθρων (...).*¹²⁵

The newspaper was published until May 14th, 1864 counting a total of 138 issues.¹²⁶ It contained exceptional social essays,¹²⁷ and political articles, usually regarding the long-awaited union and Greece. But, in a broader context, through its five years of life, it provided information by publishing several statements made by politicians in the Ionian Parliament, announcements, and declarations by the British High Commissioner; it also published unsigned letters by Ionian citizens, presenting in plain demotic language the people's views as well as the views of esteemed high-profile personalities, such as Stefanos Padovas, Nikolaos Minotos, Dimitrios Gigantes etc., in an effort to spur a productive debate regarding the union.

The front-page editorial of the first issue (signed by G. Verykios) reflects the newspaper's unifying scope. According to the writer, this newspaper aspired to be the voice of the Ionians, *η δικαία φωνή των Ιονίων*, reporting with wisdom and reason, in an attempt to revive the Greek spirit.¹²⁸ But, most importantly, the detailed review of the paper's contents led me to the conclusion that the main reason for this partnership was Lombardos's belief that the radicals should intensify their political efforts. At a glance, one could comment that this paper even though Ionian, contained more Greek than Heptanesian reports. Indeed, by criticizing the political attitudes of the Greek politicians, the journalists' goal was to ignite a spark in order to engage them into the

¹²⁵ Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), (No title), *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, October 3rd, 1859, No. 1.

¹²⁶ The paper was four-paged. It had the same size with *Η Φωνή του Ιονίου*, and was printed at the printing house of *Η Αυγή* by Emmanouil Manolopoulos.

¹²⁷ See indicatively: G. Verykios, 'Δύο λέξεις περί παιδείας και περί του εν Ζακύνθω Λυκείου', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, October 17th, 1859, No. 3; Konstantinos Lombardos, G. Verykios, 'Bulla unigenitus - Του Αρχιερέως Νικολάου Κοκκίνη κατά του Ιερού κλήρου Ζακύνθου', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, November 7th, No. 6. For the same religious question, see also (No.7).

¹²⁸ Georgios Verykios, 'Εν βλέμμα επί της ενεστώσης θέσεως της Επτανήσου', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, October 3rd, 1859, No. 1.

Heptanesian political question.¹²⁹ Hence, their goal was to encourage the active participation of Greek politicians, acknowledging that the Greeks ought to act responsibly and rationally in assisting the Islands achieve the unification. The excerpt quoted below, possibly written by G. Verykios, is indicative of the above:

*Κρίσιμος η ώρα δια την ελληνικήν φυλήν, ανάγκη κατεπείγουσα ενεργείας, και δη δραστηρίου και αποτελεσματικής εθνικής ενεργείας (...) Τι το πρακτέον; Ποίον το σύνθημα; Και εις απάντησιν ουδέν άλλο ακούομεν, ειμή αμοιβαίας αιτιάσεις των κυβερνητικών προς τους αντιπολίτας ομοίους και τούτων προς εκείνους. Η εθνική ενέργεια πρέπει εξ ανάγκης (...) να αρχίση εξ αυτού του κέντρου της εθνικότητος προς σύστασιν του οποίου αιματοκυλίσθη ολόκληρον το γένος, και άνευ του οποίου εθνική ενέργεια, εις τας σημερινάς μάλιστα περιστάσεις, είναι κάτι περισσότερο ή χίμαιρα, είναι ώθησις της όλης φυλής εις κρημνόν οριστικής απώλειας. Το σύστημα, ακούομεν, παρέλυσε και κατέστρεψεν, εξηφάνισεν τα πάντα και (...) αν το σύστημα δεν πέση,¹³⁰ ουδεμία ελπίς εθνική ενεργείας (...).*¹³¹

Although it is evident that the newspaper openly supported the union, it is important to point out that Lombardos had referred to a Greek political dead-end. More specifically, he stated that all the political powers were focusing on constructing the Greek nation and were accountable for ignoring the enemy-occupied Greek territories. Lombardos was making particular reference to the lack of Greek political voices, criticizing them for keeping silent on the political question, through the following phrase:

*(...) δεν παίζει μόνο εις αλλά παίουσι και βασιλείς και υπουργοί και βουλευταί και γερουσιασταί και δημοσιογράφοι. Ουδείς δε αθωούται, ουδενός, τα λάθη αποπλύνονται, όταν όλοι, οι οπωσδήποτε ένοχοι, πειρώνται ν' αναθέωσι την ενοχήν απάντων εις ένα και μόνον.*¹³²

Moreover, *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας* frequently referred to the Italians' unification efforts and compared them with the Greek politicians' attitudes regarding the liberation of the Ionian Islands and their unification with Greece. In one of his

¹²⁹ See indicatively: Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), 'Τι συμβαίνει εν τη ελευθέρα Ελλάδι;', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, September 24th, 1860, No. 36; Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), 'Τι συμβαίνει εν τη ελευθέρα Ελλάδι;', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, October 8th, 1860, No. 37.

¹³⁰ The journalist refers to the Greek King.

¹³¹ Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), 'Τι συμβαίνει εν τη ελευθέρα Ελλάδι;', *op.cit.*, (No. 36-37).

¹³² Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), 'Απάντησις προς την Νέαν Εποχήν', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, November 26th, 1860, No. 41.

articles, G. Verykios was holding the Greeks accountable for the exact same reasons, noting:

*(...) η πολιτική εν Ελλάδι δυνάμεθα να είπωμεν οτι ομοιάζει καθ' άπαντα με την πολιτικήν παρηκμακότων κρατών απολεσάντων την νεανικήν δύναμιν (...).*¹³³

Lombardos was also in full agreement with Verykios's views regarding the Italian efforts and, using their unity and cooperation as an example, he highlighted the value of solidarity and the need for Greek and Ionian patriots to get actively involved in politics, instead of relying on the government or the King.¹³⁴ Based on the above, his conclusion was that the alliance between the Greek and the Ionian society was of paramount importance; he specifically wrote:

*Εκ τούτων δ' όλων συμπεραίνομεν, ότι οι μεμψιμοιρούντες κατά της ενεστώσης αδρανείας πολιτικοί της ελευθέρας γωνίας του γένους είναι καιρός ν' αφήσωσι τα μοιρολόγια διδόμενοι εις τα έργα. Η απελευθέρωσις της Ιταλίας έδωκεν εις την Ελλάδα κραταιόν σύμμαχον, τον οποίον έως τώρα δεν είχεν (...).*¹³⁵

Indeed, Lombardos was arguing that the only political solution was unity between the Greek people, highlighting that the patriots were the key for political success and ought to act independently, yet essentially in favor of the union, noting in particular:

*Ουχί αι εξουσίαι, αλλ' οι εκτός της εξουσίας πατριώται τας εθνικάς επαναστάσεις εις όλον τον κόσμον ετοίμασαν και ωργάνωσαν. Αν, όταν τα πράγματα ωρίμασαν, αι εξουσία πολλάκις παρηκολούθησαν, ουδέποτε όμως κατά πρωτοβουλίαν ηργάσθησαν.*¹³⁶

In conclusion, Lombardos's journalistic approach can be summed up in four main points. He separated the concept of democracy from Heptanesian radicalism; through a series of articles he compared the Ionian state's political issue with the Italian liberation movement, in an attempt to promote and support the union. He also aspired at igniting a spark in order to engage the Greeks into the matter of the union, and lastly, he discussed the socialists' political dead-end in democratically civilizing the

¹³³ Georgios Verykios, 'Χαρά και παράπονον δια τα συγκροτούμενα εις Αθήνας Ολύμπια', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, October 31st, 1859, No. 5

¹³⁴ Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), 'Η λήξις των εργασιών των Βουλών εν ελευθέρα Ελλάδι', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, September 26th, 1862, No. 101.

¹³⁵ Lombardos was frequently referring to the actions of Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882), a prominent Italian political and military figure; see: Konstantinos Lombardos, 'Η Ελλάς και Η Ιταλία', *Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας*, August 12th, 1861, No. 63.

¹³⁶ Konstantinos Lombardos (ed.), *op.cit.*, No. 101.

East, in an effort to mingle Greek nationalism with Heptanesian radicalism. Alisandratos describes Lombardos as adaptable and opportunist. In my view, through his articles he does not appear as an ideologist but rather as a realist who ‘discoloured’ the concept of Heptanesian radicalism. Even though Lombardos was criticized about his non-radical views, his writings reveal his radical attitude.¹³⁷ His paper addressed all social classes and due to his simple policy, it succeeded.¹³⁸ Therefore, it was an unconditional prerequisite that every established newspaper should advocate in favor of the union. As a consequence, other new papers emerged which were free from political affiliations and independent from all conflicts between the political parties. All of them placed emphasis on and firmly supported the union, overwhelmed by ardent enthusiasm. Indicative of the above is *Ρήγας Φεραίος* (1863),¹³⁹ written and edited by the Zakynthian radical journalist Georgios Verykios. His newspaper clearly reflects the sentiments created by the radicals’ political victory, since his first edition refers to the radicals’ triumph.¹⁴⁰ The same is true for other independent newspapers which emerged in that period, such as *Η Ανατολή* (1863-1864),¹⁴¹ *Η Κοινότης της Κέρκυρας* (1864-1865),¹⁴² and the Corfiot *Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά* (1864).¹⁴³ Support for the union was also provided by the Zakynthian *Η 10^η Οκτωβρίου* (1862-1863);¹⁴⁴ its

¹³⁷ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-83.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹³⁹ *Ρήγας Φεραίος* (Rigas Feraios) was published every three months. Its circulation commenced on March 6th, 1863 (size 0.34x0.24). It was a two-column newspaper and it was printed in the printing house of *Παρνασσός*.

¹⁴⁰ G. Verykios, ‘Ο Θρίαμβος των ριζοσπαστικών αρχών εν Επτανήσω και εν ελευθέρα Ελλάδα’, *Ρήγας Φεραίος*, March 6th, 1863, No. 1.

¹⁴¹ *Η Ανατολή* (“the East”, size 0.43x0.37) started publication on November 11th, 1863, and it was a four-paged, four-column newspaper. Its editor was Alexandros I. Vrachliotis and it was printed at the printing house of *Hermes*. The newspaper paused publication on June 20th, 1864, counting a total of 26 issues; however, its 27th issue was distributed in Athens on September 2nd, 1864; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁴² *Η Κοινότης της Κέρκυρας* (the Corfiot community) was first published on March 7th, 1864, and was issued on a weekly basis in Corfu (size 0.45x0.31). It was published at the printing house of *Η Ιωνία* and its editor was Ioannis Manesis; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁴³ *Ισραηλιτικά Χρονικά* (“Israeli Chronicles”, size 0.32x0.22) was published once per month, and included political articles as well as articles regarding ethics. It was written in Greek and Italian and every issue consisted of eight pages; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 141.

¹⁴⁴ *Η 10^η Οκτωβρίου* (“10th October”, size 0.39x0.25) was a four-paged, two or three-column newspaper. It was printed on a weekly basis in *Παρνασσός* printing house. It started its publication on December 29th, 1862, and continued for approximately 11 months (until October 24th, 1863), counting 48 issues in total; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, p. 135.

first issue is characteristic, as it proclaims the long-awaited union, stating the following:

*Την σήμερον, προς τιμήν ημών των Επτανησίων, διακηρρύττομεν, ότι δεν υπάρχει άνθρωπος τολμών να είπη δεν θέλω την ένωσιν. Το έργο του Επτανησίου τελειώνει, το δέ του Έλληνοσ έρχεται (...).*¹⁴⁵

Finally, I would like to refer to the Corfiot *Αναγέννησις* (“Renaissance”, 1863) (different from the one discussed in the last chapters) which firmly supported the “Greekness” of the Islanders by publishing articles referring to various Greek issues/news.¹⁴⁶ In a similar manner, a great deal of articles supported the union (issues No. 13-14, No. 29, No. 39) with the journalist pointing out the paper’s objectiveness and its independence from any political parties. The first issue notes:

*Εις ουδέν κόμμα ανήκουσα, καθότι ουδέν κόμμα δύναται να έχη εθνικήν έννοιαν εν Επτανήσω κατά τας παρούσας περιστάσεις, η «Αναγέννησις» ούτε κόμματα θα ανυψώνει δια του επαίνου, ή θα καταβιβάζη διά του ψόγου αφίνουσα ώστε αι πράξεις αυταί και τα γεγονότα να απονεύμωσιν εις έκαστον πολίτην την θέσιν, ην οφείλει να κατέχη εις την εμπιστοσύνην και την αγάπην του υπέρ της εαυτού ελευθερίας και της προόδου αγωνιζομένου λαού (...).*¹⁴⁷

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined all the radical newspapers published in the years shortly before the union of the Ionian Islands with Greece. It demonstrated the radical press’s schism

¹⁴⁵ This introductory article was signed by all journalists, i.e. Nikolaos Ermanos Lountzis, B.A. Varviannis, Georgios Karvellas, Anastasios Gaitas, A.N. Markezinis, and Dionysios Stefanou, (No title), *10^η Οκτωβρίου*, December 29th, 1862, No. 1.

¹⁴⁶ *Αναγέννησις* (size 0.44x0.31) was published in the island of Corfu, at the *Ερμής* printing house by Georgios Perdikommatitis. It started its weekly distribution on January 12th, 1863, and was the voice of the homonym Corfiot political club. Journalists of this newspaper were the prolific writer Iakovos Polyilas and Spyridonourgourakis. Distributed every Thursday, the newspaper had three-columns and the following motto, derived from Homer, was listed under its main title: *Τους δε δ’ έα φθινύθειν, ένα και δύο τοί κέν Αχαιών/Νόσφιν βουλεύωσ’ άνυσις δ’ ουκ έσσειται αυτών*. Although it was written in Greek, certain articles-essays-announcements were also translated into French; see: Nt. Konomos, *op.cit.*, pp. 135-136. It is well-known Polyilas’s efforts in the union. Furthermore, Theodoros Makris tracks his political attitude, and notes his significant contribution to the Corfiot political club, *Αναγέννησις*, as its homonym newspaper becomes Polyilas’s patriotic spirit. Refer to: Theodoros Makris, ‘Από την πολιτική δράσιν του Ιάκωβου Πολυλά. Ο αγών του υπέρ της Ενώσεως’, *Κερκυραϊκά Χρονικά*, Vol. 4, Corfu, 1955, pp. 94-105. In addition, according to Makris, the newspaper showed Polyilas’s concern regarding the ‘turbulent’ relations between the British and the Ionians, even little before the long-awaited union; see: *ibid.*, pp. 98-102.

¹⁴⁷ (Anonymous), (No Title), *Η Αναγέννησις*, January 12th, 1863, No. 1.

by referencing editorials revealing the journalists's views and attitudes towards the highly anticipated union and identified the two journalistic opposite stands. Specifically, on the one side, Lombardos with *H Φωνή του Ιονίου* and his political articles implied a straight-forward policy and adopted a unionistic approach, and on the other side, almost all the other newspapers were loyal to the *Old* radicals' views and firmly advocated the views of the socialists Iosif Momferratos and Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos.

The newspapers supporting the socialists remained loyal to their ideological/social direction, as explained in the previous chapter of this thesis. These journalists reminded their readers that the radical party had specific principles and their editorials focused (similarly to the radical newspapers published during the 1849-1851 period) on the Heptanesian radicalism ideals, the Greekness of the Islanders, as well as the purely socialistic principles of the radical policy. The much-desired union was interpreted as a means of sociopolitical change. These journalists wrote about the strong desire of unifying the Greek race and highlighted the necessity of implementing fundamental individual and civil rights in the Ionian society. In conclusion, standing against monarchical regimes and constantly criticizing the illegal acts of the British, they kept their distance from Lombardos's views, arguing that the democratic approaches were the true radical principles.

On the contrary, Lombardos's writings indicate that he had indeed become the new radical leader in the Ionian state. In an attempt to draw a new political line, away from the socio-democratic basis of his radical opponents, he emphasized on the union itself, keeping a close eye on all political developments. According to his articles in *H Φωνή του Ιονίου*, he was adamant and repeatedly emphasized the intensification of the radicals' efforts for achieving the union with the Greeks. Through his newspaper, he strongly criticized Greek politics and hoped to get Greek politicians involved into the Heptanesian political question. However, it is important to note that a great deal of his articles do not depict him as anti-democratic, like the *Old* radicals' articles state, based on the fact that he believed that the Ionian Islands ought to primarily focus on the union, finally noting that social regeneration could not go hand in hand with the unionistic efforts. In the end, three of the best-known radicals of the period, i.e. Lombardos, Kallinikos and Verykios, agreed to release a common newspaper, in which several Ionian literati published their texts, promoting simultaneously a number of social matters along with the idea of the awaited union of the seven Islands with

Greece, and urging members of the Greek parliament to work towards the fulfillment of this goal.

Overall, by constantly expressing liberal and progressive views, all radical papers converged to the view that the newly established Greek state should work towards the abolition of the British status quo. Its editors nurtured national consciousness by enhancing the “Greekness” of the islanders and by repeatedly referring to the importance and value of education, especially for the Heptanesian youth, in order to enhance their Greek bonds which they considered the main key to any form of revolution. The papers’ goal was to advise and guide their readership, promote Greek patriotism by publishing articles related to Greek politics/education, as well as to compare the Greek political status versus the British arbitrary rule and the Ionian nobility. Iosif Momferratos and Ilias Zervos-Iakovatos made the concept of radicalism known and clearer to the Ionian Islands. Even though they were exiled to small and isolated islands, in retrospect, it seems that these persecutions were proof that the press had won its most important battle in a war in which the socialists *Old* radicals fought with excessive zeal; a war which Lombardos ended successfully.

CONCLUSIONS

This research constituted the first attempt to provide an overall picture of the Ionian Islands' local press during the period of British rule (1849-1864). It investigated the historical conditions and provided evidence of the circumstances under which the press emerged. By offering a brief overview of the protectorate's printing culture, this study examined its roles, impact and the attitudes of the Ionian journalists, in an effort to analyze the newspapers' multidimensional role. Among the contributions of this study was that the Ionian newspapers, in their heyday, offered a great service to the regenerative march of the Greeks, hence constituting a cornerstone for the union of the Islands with the nascent Greek state. By opening a space of political confrontation and by constantly reviving the "Greekness" of the Islanders, the majority of the journalists initially challenged and later rejected the Crown. They highlighted the necessity of overthrowing the British rule, because the Ionian Islands were nominally a state. The press, as a grand promoter of political discourse, and with an awareness of national consciousness, assisted in forming an *Ionian Enlightenment*, with the primary purpose of decolonization. It disseminated the patriotic and liberal ideas expressed by the journalists-scholars in an assertive manner, with a view to politically mobilize the society, and emphatically promoted parliamentary candidates in the Ionian state's 9th parliamentary elections in 1850,¹ as well as in the 10th parliamentary elections in 1852.

In an effort to incorporate the Ionian press into a British Empire colonial context, I have noted its similarities with the press of other British colonies, such as Canada and Malta, and pointed out that the Ionian Islands' newspapers were central to the political communication and participation processes, as its editors placed particular emphasis on formulating a political mindset, and even though they were subjected to a number of political injustices, they acted as social reformers too. Their aim thus was not only to politically educate the Ionian people but also admonish them towards protecting the weakest sections of society and offering a voice to those who had no say. Being the most iconic figures in the state, they firmly criticized the British maladministration and noted the pros and cons of their governance. Through the press, they denounced

¹ Regarding the importance of the 9th Ionian Parliament (the first free elections under the British rule) in 1850, Panas particularly notes: 'Εν αυτή ανεπύχθησαν αι προοδευτικώτεροι ιδέαι και δια μοναδικής αξιοπρεπείας διετρανώθησαν τα εθνικά του ιονίου λαού δικαιώματα'; refer to: Panayiotis Panas, *Βιογραφία Ιωσήφ Μομφερράτου συνταχθείσα υπό Παναγιώτου Πανά*, Athens, 1888, pp. 20-21.

the misuse of power, the censorship imposed, and the exiles ordered by Commissioner Sir Ward, the interventions made to the editors through threats and intimidations, as well as the papers' pauses and closures.

While the mid-nineteenth century British newspaper style was speedy reporting,² a Heptanesian journalist was far from being a hasty gatherer of facts or a speedy analyst aiming to make profit. There was no such thing as 'the newspaper business' in that period, and there was actually neither a firm nor a market. Profit was not a purpose and journalism was not a profession; it was rather a moral obligation, an ethical imperative. The Ionian Islands' press served as an excellent means for the bourgeoisie to step forward, acknowledging that the establishment of the press was proof of their efforts to establish a democratic and well-organized society. As key protagonists in the anti-Imperial struggles, the multi-faceted journalists highlighted the socio-political inequalities in the Heptanesian society, seizing the opportunity to exploit the power of printed words in advocating a non-violent 'disobedience', along with the struggle against 'xenocracy'.

However, the papers did not serve as an entirely independent monitor of power, since the majority of the articles published was characterized by honest favoritism. In particular, this study brought to light the existence of the pro-British colonial press and proved that few editors were openly in favor of the British Crown, arguing that the British protection was profitable for the seven Islands and envisaging themselves as paternalistic leaders. But, more importantly, in contrast to previous scholarly studies, I have showed that pro-Britishness should not be solely intertwined with personal interests, since not all British supporters cared only about preserving their property and pompous titles. On the contrary, advocacy to the Crown included clear arguments and a well-defined political program, concluding to the notion that this kind of support was indeed realistic and unbiased. Finally, the review of the pro-British press revealed a genuine concern for the Ionian society's well-being; it opposed any unfair actions and pointed out several drawbacks of the British administration.

² The British newspapers' style was speedy reporting due to the advent of the telegraph and it eventually became profitable by selling advertising space; see accordingly: Rachel Matthews, 'The emergence of the news paradigm in the English provincial press: A case study of the Midland Daily Telegraph', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2014, pp. 165-186. Refer also to: Beverley Ann Tudor, 'Retail Trade Advertising in the Leicester Journal and the Leicester Chronicle 1855-1871', *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 20, No. 986, pp. 41-56.

In a fashion similar to the pro-British, the reformist journalists considered themselves loyal subjects of the British Empire because, according to their writings, the Ionians were not yet ready to unite with the Greeks. Still, it would be inaccurate to characterize the reformist press as colonial, for many reasons. In particular, the journalists emphasized the need to revive the “Greekness” of the Ionian Islanders in an effort to contribute to the much-desired union, through liberal patriotism and Greek nationalism. By encouraging national pride, the newspapers promoted and assisted in the re-construction of the Ionian education by focusing on the need for immediate improvements in the education system. They aspired to preserve the Greek element in daily life by highlighting the common grounds with the Greeks (nationality, religion, language), in an effort to increase the philhellenic sentiment, acknowledging that the Islands were an integral part of the Greek Kingdom. The reformist journalists aspired to be actively involved into the British administration. In this respect, they demanded a number of reforms through numerous editorials referring to the necessity of amending Sir Maitland’s authoritarian constitution. Overall, they placed emphasis on the Ionian state’s transformation into a British Colony and consequently, they stood for an active citizenship, focused on the modernization/strengthening of the welfare state, placed particular emphasis on the parliamentary elections and outlined the societal ills. By expressing their reformist mark, their aim was to politically educate the Ionians and assist in the socio-cultural recovery, writing about the need to address social issues and promote solidarity. Acting as intellectual leaders, they fought against injustice, defended fairness, and proposed a series of bills to the British rulers. As true guardians of Greek tradition and culture, their purpose was to disseminate Modern Greek culture, restore the Greek language, and promote its study. By making considerable efforts for the adoption of Modern Greek in Ionian daily life and official discourse, the journalists were remarkable rescuers of the Greek language and thus, contributed in shaping the cultural identity of the Ionian Islands. In essence, the majority of reformist articles were pro-Greek. Hence, the papers analyzed in this thesis, promoted the union with all of their combined forces, and this was the common denominator with the anti-Imperial radical journalists.

Based on the exploration of the radical press, I have provided a detailed review of the press’s purposes, in an attempt to assess the newspapers’ impact on Ionian independence. The press reflected the revolutionary fervor in daily life discourse and depicted the political turbulence in the Ionian state. More particularly, the *Old* radical

journalists, although constantly persecuted, acted as strategists, standing at the forefront of the anti-Imperial struggles. On the other hand, Konstantinos Lombardos's aggressive approach expedited the long-awaited union and exclusively limited his scope to achieving the union. Writing about his political stand-off against his fellow-radicals, he prioritized the needs of the seven Islands and went against the current inefficient and ill-suited political stream. Still, through a great deal of editorials, all radicals highlighted human rights violations and confirmed the perpetuation of British absolutism. Being highly critical of the British rule, they denounced British arbitrariness and misuse of power, and protested against illegal prohibitions and punishments. Their 'socialist' writings, even though written in an accusatory spirit, disseminated the values of Heptanesian radicalism by making particular references to a global democracy and by discussing the values of freedom, equality and solidarity, in an attempt to get the Ionian society involved into the political processes. Simultaneously, they aimed at reviving the "Greekness" of the Ionian Islanders, activating national consciousness, and aspired at 'awakening' the sidelined suburbs and villages. They therefore promoted political awareness and politicization of the society, and aspired to ensure civil rights and Greek education. They frequently wrote about the need of a democratic regime, the establishment of a republic and a fair constitution, noting their strong opposition to any form of monarchical regime. They adopted a moral stance and claimed the right to publish their views without any control and governmental approval, since the freedom of the press was not accompanied by the necessary safeguards. Lastly, by highlighting the British mismanagement and by illustrating the image of a totally militaristic state, they publicized their complaints towards the British Police forces at any cost, arguing that the British protection was not legitimate.

Heptanesian journalism was meant to serve higher purposes; the journalists were diligent, determined, and had the ability to mobilize the majority of the Ionian population. However, similarly to the Maltese press, the circulation of a Heptanesian newspaper issue, even though addressed to all social classes, it principally focused on literate readers; the Ionian liberal bourgeoisie. It mostly addressed the *classes* and not the *masses*, since, as Alisandratos noted, the illiteracy of the Ionian population was indeed a widespread problem, and the instinct of survival was strong, especially in the

suburbs and the villages.³ Particularly, the lower income classes had no interest in reading a newspaper, since the majority of them could not vote and were subjected to mandatory conscription and servile behavior. Moreover, the lower income classes (craftsmen/workers/villagers/peasants) were not able to join the clubhouses due to their low educational and financial status.⁴ Indicative is also an article in *Πατρίς*, noting that the purchasing power of the lower social classes was limited, and a paper issue was rather expensive. As a consequence, the majority could not afford such an expense. Besides that, a significant proportion of the Ionian population could not efficiently comprehend an article written in Greek, since Italian was the language used in the Islands for many centuries.

To sum up, the journalists' attitudes and fights for the democratization of the press, but most importantly, for reconstructing national liberalism are quite astonishing. Truly, the Ionian Islands' journalists '*made the news and were the news at the same time*'.⁵ Having faith in the new media, i.e. newspapers and publicity, they referred to a broad range of freedoms in an effort to make the Islands' press indispensable. They opposed the concept of censored press, acknowledged that democracy is about people changing their views based on reasonable and rational arguments, and their primary purpose was to provide appropriate information in order to ameliorate the lives of the Ionians, mainly through knowledge. The arrival of the *Ionian Intelligentsia* into the political circles through this new media was further proof that the British 'protection' had failed. These journalists/men of letters are remembered today as true pioneers of democracy and humanism, and some of them are remembered as martyrs; they were major promoters of the union, standing at the forefront of the opposition against the British ruling forces, noting the Islands' ambivalent political status (neither a colony nor an independent state) and arguing that the union was the right path for the Greek Ionians. Being true fighters against authoritarianism, papers in the Ionian protectorate were not an underground resistance; instead, they became a symbol against British suppression and a proof of the political conflicts between the British and the Ionians. The Ionian papers thus became a powerful instrument guiding and reflecting public

³ G. Alisandratos, *Επτανησιακός ριζοσπαστισμός. Σχέδιο για δοκίμιο πολιτικής ιστορίας*, op.cit., pp. 42-44.

⁴ Refer to Petros Petratos, op.cit., p. 96.

⁵ I took the liberty of using Kaul's expression, in her effort to "evaluate M.K. Gandhi's place in the history of modern India and analyze Gandhi's discourse and engagement with various media technologies"; see: Ch. Kaul, *M.K. Gandhi...* op.cit., p. 2, (chapter 1).

sentiment; they became a game changer, because they voiced the views of the *Ionian Intelligentsia*, and this is why they constitute an invaluable archive for researchers.

The Ionian journalists acted as political communicators and their purpose was to provide essential socio-political information, hoping to establish a communication channel with the Ionian society. This study has focused on newspapers only and has not considered the Heptanesian pamphlets, which had a very remarkable role. More specifically, these pamphlets (single-sheet prints), either *μονόφυλλα* or *ημίφυλλα*, especially in the period prior to the union but also after the union was realized, constitute a distinct category of ‘ephemeral’ forms, informing the society and disseminating new ideas. Their content was similar to the content of the newspapers examined; it referred to socio-political, satirical/literary news, i.e. announcements, declarations, election results, obituaries, poems, reports of institutions etc. Alisandratos points out that pamphlets constitute a special and different kind of media, and should be thoroughly examined by future researchers and scholars.⁶ Even though a great deal of pamphlets are not saved, numerous pamphlets can be found in the Museum of Greek Culture, the Benaki museum and private libraries.⁷ Furthermore, the Corfu Reading Society has over 1,000 single-sheet prints, many of which are extremely rare; they date from 1769 until 1945, but most of them have been printed during the first half of the 19th century.⁸

Moreover, it is worth noting that to date, there is no study examining the *Official Government Gazette* and its role, as such investigation would provide further valuable insight into British colonial administration and into the relations between the British colonizers and the Greek Ionians.⁹

Last but not least, a researcher may also review the *satirical* papers from a literary perspective. But, most importantly, the independent press of the Islands ought to be investigated, published in the last days of the British rule, focusing on 1863-1864 and thereafter, in an effort to examine the period of the transition from the British rule to the integration with Greece, providing an analysis on whether and how the Islands had

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁸ A similar research has been conducted by Μπος; however, it focuses on the period of the French occupation in the Ionian Islands: G. Μπος, *Τα μονόφυλλα του Κερκυραϊκού Τυπογραφείου, κατά τη διάρκεια της γαλλικής κυριαρχίας στα Επτάνησα (1797-1799 & 1807-1814)*, Corfu, Ionian University, 1998.

⁹ Refer also to the section 3.4 of this thesis.

any benefits with the long-awaited union.¹⁰ As Gekas notes: “after 1864 the assimilation institutions and practices in Ionian Societies and economies dominated the local press. In every assimilation process something is lost in the name of integration”, implying that the Ionians’ political culture ultimately succumbed to the Greek realization of the *Megali Idea*, and their expansionistic purposes.¹¹

¹⁰ Agious quotes part of an article (*Κερκυραϊκά Νέα*, No. 979, October 10th, 1967) written by the Heptanesian scholar Kostas Dafnis, wondering how the Ionian Islands benefited by the union: *Την 20^{ην} Δεκεμβρίου 1865 υπουργούντος της Παιδείας του κ. Δαρειώτη, εδημοσιεύετο εις την Εφημερίδα της Κυβερνήσεως ο Νόμος ΡΗ' 'Περί διοργανώσεως της εκπαιδεύσεως κατά την Επτάνησον', ο οποίος εν ονόματι της αρχής της αφομοιώσεως, ισοπέδωνε την πρωτοπορούσαν παιδείαν της Επτανήσου με την της άλλης Ελλάδος. (...) Η Κατάργησις, πράξις εμπάθειας και μικρότητος, δεν απέβλεψε εις τίποτε άλλο παρά εις το να στερήση την Επτάνησον, η οποία προηγείτο εις πολιτισμόν και εις τας επιδόσεις του πνεύματος, της δυνατότητος να επηρεάζει την ελληνικὴν ζωὴν. (...) Δεν μας εσυγχώρεσαν ούτε θα μας συγχωρήσουν ποτέ τον Σολωμόν και τον Καποδίστριαν, που σφραγίζον με τας φωτεινάς των προσωπικότητας την αφετηρίαν της νεοελληνικῆς αναγεννήσεως.* Refer to: Antonios. I. Agious, *Η Ένωσις της Επτανήσου με την Ελλάδα*, Corfu, 2006, pp. 63-73. It is worth referring also to: Aggelos-Dionysis Dembonos, ‘Από την Αγγλική προστασία στο Ελληνικό βασίλειο’, *Proceedings of the 5th International Panionian Conference*, Vol. 2, 1989, pp. 228-230.

¹¹ Refer to: Sakis Gekas, *Xenocracy...*, op.cit., p. 315.

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NEWSPAPERS

Ο Ανεξάρτητος

No.1	April 2, 1849
No.2	April 12, 1849
No.3	April 16, 1849
No.4	April 30, 1849
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No.6	May 19, 1849
No.7	May 28, 1849
No.8	June 4, 1849
No.9	June 11, 1849
No.10	July 1, 1849
No.11	July 20, 1849
No.12	August 13, 1849
No.13	August 31, 1849
No.14	September 17, 1849
No.15	October 7, 1849
No.16	October 19, 1849
No.17	November 5, 1849
No.18	November 12, 1849
No.19	November 30, 1849
No.20	December 17, 1849
No.21 (I)	December 31, 1849
No.21 (II)	January 14, 1850
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Πρόγραμμα Συνδρομής	March 16, 1849

Το Τιμόνι

No.1	May 16, 1849
No.2	May 23, 1849
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Ο Φίλος του λαού

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Η Επτάνησος

No.1	January 25, 1850
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Ο Πέλεκυς

No.2	May 3, 1850
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Ο Παρατηρητής

No.1	January 1, 1858	No.11	March 17, 1858	No.21	May 26, 1858
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No.3	January 20, 1858	No.13	March 31, 1858	No.23	June 9, 1858
No.4	January 27, 1858	No.14	April 7, 1858	No.24	June 16, 1858
No.5	February 3, 1858	No.15	April 14, 1858	No.24b	June 17, 1858
No.6	February 10, 1858	No.16	April 21, 1858	No.25	June 25, 1858
No.7	February 17, 1858	No.17	April 28, 1858	No.26	July 3, 1858
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No.36	September 8, 1858	No.53	January 5, 1859
No.37	September 15, 1858	No.5x	January 8, 1859
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No.43	October 28, 1858	No.64	March 16, 1859
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No.83	September 12, 1859	No.136	October 8, 1860
No.86	October 4, 1859	No.143	December 3, 1860
No.87	October 14, 1859	No.145	December 19, 1860
No.89	October 24, 1859	No.146	December 24, 1860
No.90	October 30, 1859	No.148	January 14, 1861
No.91	November 7, 1859	No.156	March 11, 1861
No.92	November 14, 1859	No.157	March 18, 1861
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No.99	December 24, 1859	No.186	October 14, 1861
No.102	January 1, 1860	No.187	October 24, 1861
No.103	January 30, 1860	No.189	November 4, 1861
No.104	February 7, 1860	No.204	March 10, 1862
No.108	March 18, 1860	No.205	March 17, 1862
No.109	March 26, 1860	No.211	May 5, 1862
No.111	April 16, 1860	No.221	July 14, 1862
No.128	August 13, 1860		
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Παρίς

No.1	January 15, 1849	No.15	April 23, 1849	No.29	July 30, 1849
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No.43	November 5, 1849	No.66	April 15, 1850	No.89	September 30, 1850
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No.45	November 19, 1849	No.68	April 29, 1850	No.91	October 14, 1850
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No.52	January 7, 1850	No.75	June 24, 1850	No.98	December 2, 1850
No.53	January 14, 1850	No.76	July 1, 1850	No.99	December 9, 1850
No.54	January 21, 1850	No.77	July 8, 1850	No.100	December 16, 1850
No.55	January 28, 1850	No.78	July 15, 1850	No.101	December 23, 1850
No.56	February 4, 1850	No.79	July 22, 1850	No.102	December 31, 1850
No.57	February 11, 1850	No.80	July 29, 1850	No.103	January 6, 1851
No.58	February 18, 1850	No.81	August 5, 1850	No.104	January 13, 1851
No.59	February 25, 1850	No.82	August 12, 1850		
No.60	March 4, 1850	No.83	August 19, 1850		
No.61	March 11, 1850	No.84	August 26, 1850		
No.62	March 18, 1850	No.85	September 2, 1850		
No.63	March 25, 1850	No.86	September 9, 1850		
No.64	April 4, 1850	No.87	September 16, 1850		
No.65	April 8, 1850	No.88	September 23, 1850		

Ο Ερμής

No.1	October 6, 1851	No.7	November 17, 1851
No.2	October 13, 1851	No.8	November 25, 1851
No.3	October 20, 1851	No.9	December 2, 1851
No.4	October 27, 1851	No.10	December 10, 1851
No.5	November 3, 1851	No.11	December 16, 1851
No.6	November 10, 1851	No.12	December 23, 1851
		No.13	January 1, 1852

To M é λ λ o v

Part I

No.1	January 1, 1849	No.30	July 23, 1849
No.2	January 8, 1849	No.31	July 30, 1849
No.3	January 15, 1849	No.32	August 6,1849
No.4	January 22, 1849	No.33	August 13, 1849
No.5	January 29, 1849	No.34	August 20, 1849
No.6	February 5, 1849	No.35	August 27, 1849
No.7	February 11, 1849	No.36	September 3, 1849
No.8	February 19, 1849	No.37	September 10, 1849
No.9	February 26, 1849	No.38	September 17, 1849
No.10	March 5, 1849	No.39	September 26, 1849
No.11	March 12, 1849	No.40	October 1, 1849
No.12	March 19, 1849	No.41	October 8, 1849
No.13	March 25, 1849	No.42	October 42, 1849
No.14	April 2, 1849	No.43	October 22, 1849
No.15	April 9, 1849	No.44	October 29, 1849
No.16	April 16, 1849	No.45	October 5, 1849
No.17	April 23, 1849	No.46	November 12, 1849
No.18	April 30, 1849	No.47	November 19, 1849
No.19	May 7, 1849	No.48	November 26, 1849
No.20	May 14, 1849	No.49	December 3, 1849
No.21	May 21, 1849	No.50	December 10, 1849
No.22	May 28, 1849	No.51	December 17, 1849
No.23	June 4, 1849	No.52	December 24, 1849
No.24	June 11, 1849	No.53	December 31, 1849
No.25	June 18, 1849		
No.26	June 25, 1849		
No.27	July 2, 1849		
No.28	July 9, 1849		
No.29	July 16, 1849		

Part II

No.1	January 1, 1850
------	-----------------

No.2	January 14, 1850		
No.3	January 21, 1850		
No.4	January 28, 1850		
No.5	February 3, 1850	No.34	August 26, 1850
No.10	March 11, 1850	No.35	September 2, 1850
No.11	March 18, 1850	No.36	September 9, 1850
No.12	March 25, 1850	No.37	September 16, 1850
No.13	April 1, 1850	No.38	September 23, 1850
No.14	April 8, 1850	No.39	September 30, 1850
No. 15	April 15, 1850	No.40	October 7, 1850
No.16	April 22, 1850	No.41	October 14, 1850
No.17	April 29, 1850	No.42	October 21, 1850
No.18	May 6, 1850	No.43	October 28, 1850
No.19	May 13, 1850	No.44	November 4, 1850
No.20	May 20, 1850	No.45	November 11, 1850
No.21	May 27, 1850	No.46	November 18, 1850
No.22	June 3, 1850	No.47	November 25, 1850
No.23	June 10, 1850	No.48	December 9, 1850
No.24	June 17, 1850	No.49	December 26, 1850
No.25	June 24, 1850	No.50	January 7, 1851
No.26	July 1, 1850	No.51	January 27, 1851
No.27	July 8, 1850	No.52	February 12, 1851
No.28	July 15, 1850	No.53	March 15, 1851
No.29	July 22, 1850		
No.30	July 29, 1850		
No.31	August 5, 1850		
No.32	August 12, 1850		
No.33	August 19, 1850		

Εὐωσις

No.1	April 16, 1849	No.5	May 13, 1849
No.2	April 23, 1849	No.7	May 27, 1849
No.3	April 30, 1849	No.8	June 3, 1849
No.4	May 7, 1849	No.9	June 10, 1849

No.10	June 18, 1849	Annex	August 21, 1849
No.11	June 25, 1849	No.21	January 22, 1850
No.12	July 2, 1849	No.27	March 12, 1850
No.13	July 9, 1849	No.28	March 19, 1850
No.14	July 16, 1849	No.29	March 25, 1850
No.15	July 23, 1849	No.30	April 2, 1850
No.16	July 30, 1849	No.33	April 30, 1850
No.17	August 6, 1849		
No.18	August 13, 1849		

Φιλολήθης

No.1	September 8, 1851	No.24	February 20, 1852
No.2	September 15, 1851	No.25	February 25, 1852
No.3	September 25, 1851	No.26	March 5, 1852
No.4	September 29, 1851	No.27	March 10, 1852
No.5	October 6, 1851	No.28	March 15, 1852
No.6	October 13, 1851	No.29	March 22, 1852
No.7	October 22, 1851	No.30	March 28, 1852
No.8	October 27, 1851	No.31	April 8, 1852
No.9	November 5, 1851	No.32	April 9, 1852
No.10	November 10, 1851	No.33	April 22, 1852
No.11	November 17, 1851	No.34	April 28, 1852
No.12	November 24, 1851	No.35	May 5, 1852
No.13	December 5, 1851	No.36	May 10, 1852
No.14	December 10, 1851	No.37	May 18, 1852
No.15	December 19, 1851	No.38	May 24, 1852
No.16	December 24, 1851	No.39	May 31, 1852
No.17	January 1, 1852	No.40	June 6, 1852
No.18	January 9, 1852	No.41	June 17, 1852
No.19	January 16, 1852	No.42	June 21, 1852
No.20	January 19, 1852	No.43	June 28, 1852
No.21	January 30, 1852	No.44	July 5, 1852
No.22	February 5, 1852	No.45	July 15, 1852
No.23	February 13, 1852	No.46	July 22, 1852

No.47	July 26, 1852	No.78	April 14, 1853
No.48	August 2, 1852	No.79	May 8, 1853
No.49	August 9, 1852	No.80	May 20, 1853
No.50	August 16 1852	No.81	May 29, 1853
No.51	August 22, 1852	No.82	June 7, 1853
No.52	September 2, 1852	No.83	June 16, 1853
No.53	September 13, 1852	No.84	June 24, 1853
No.54	September 20, 1852	No.85	June 30, 1853
No.55	September 30, 1852	No.86	July 8, 1853
No.56	October 8, 1852	No.87	July 15, 1853
No.57	October 15, 1852	No.88	July 21, 1853
No.58	October 23, 1852	No.89	July 31, 1853
No.59	October 31, 1852	No.90	August 10, 1853
No.60	November 8, 1852	No.91	August 19, 1853
No.61	November 15, 1852	No.92	August 28, 1853
No.62	November 23, 1852	No.93	September 8, 1853
No.63	December 1, 1852	No.94	September 17, 1853
No.64	December 3, 1852	No.95	September 26, 1853
No.65	December 10, 1852	No.96	October 2, 1853
No.66	December 18, 1852	No.97	October 12, 1853
No.67	December 23, 1852	No.98	October 21, 1853
No.68	December 31, 1852	No.99	October 29, 1853
No.69	January 1, 1853	No.100	November 6, 1853
No.70	January 23, 1853	No.101	November 16, 1853
No.71	January 30, 1853	No.102	November 25, 1853
No.72	February 9, 1853	No.103	December 15, 1853
No.73	February 19, 1853	No.104	December 31, 1853
No.74	March 7, 1853	No.105	February 6, 1854
No.75	March 14, 1853	No.106	February 13, 1854
No.76	March 21, 1853	No.107	February 26, 1854
No.77	March 31, 1853	No.108	March 6, 1854

Νέα Εποχή

No.1	March 10, 1858	No.12	May 31, 1858
No.2	March 15, 1858	No.13	June 12, 1858
No.3	March 23, 1858	No.14	June 14, 1858
No.4	April 5, 1858	No.16	June 21, 1858
No.5	April 12, 1858	No.17	June 28, 1858
No.6	April 19, 1858	No.18	July 5, 1858
No.7	April 23, 1858	No.19	July 12, 1858
No.9	May 10, 1858	No.20	July 19, 1858
No.10	May 17, 1858	No.21	July 26, 1858
No.11	May 24, 1858	No.22	August 2, 1858

No.23	August 9, 1858	No.50	January 28, 1859
No.24	August 10, 1858	No.51	January 31, 1859
No.25	August 16, 1858	No.52	February 9, 1859
No.26	August 23, 1858	No.53	February 26, 1859
No.31	September 27, 1858	No.54	March 9, 1859
No.32	October 4, 1858	No.55	March 16, 1859
No.33	October 9, 1858	No.57	March 30, 1859
No.34	October 11, 1858	No.58	April 7, 1859
No.35	October 18, 1858	No.59	April 22, 1859
No.36	October 31, 1858	No.60	April 27, 1859
No.37	November 1, 1858	No.61	May 8, 1859
No.38	November 10, 1858	No.62	May 16, 1859
No.39	November 16, 1858	No.63	May 23, 1859
No.40	November 20, 1858	No.64	June 3, 1859
No.41	November 24, 1858	No.65	July 27, 1859
No.42	December 1, 1858	No.66	August 8, 1859
No.43	December 8, 1858	No.67	August 21, 1859
No.44	December 13, 1858	No.68	August 28, 1859
No.45	December 20, 1858	No.69	September 5, 1859
No.46	December 24, 1858	No.70	September 12, 1859
Annex	January 1, 1859	No.71	September 19, 1859
No.48	January 12, 1859	No.72	September 26, 1859
No.49	January 19, 1859	No.73	September 30, 1859

No.74	October 10, 1859	No.83	January 1, 1860
No.75	October 12, 1859	No.84	January 10, 1860
No.76	October 17, 1859	No.85	January 15, 1860
No.77	October 25, 1859	No.86	January 25, 1860
No.78	November 12, 1859	No.87	January 28, 1860
No.79	November 30, 1859	No.88	January 30, 1860
No.80	December 8, 1859	No.89	February 9, 1860
No.81	December 21, 1859	No.90	February 13, 1860
No.82	December 21, 1859	No.91	February 18, 1860

No.93	February 26, 1860	No.118	July 23, 1860
No.94	March 3, 1860	No.119	July 28, 1860
No.95	March 5, 1860	No.120	August 3, 1860
No.96	March 11, 1860	No.121	August 12, 1860
No.97	March 19, 1860	No.122	August 20, 1860
No.98	March 25, 1860	No.123	August 27, 1860
No.99	April 2, 1860	No.124	September 3, 1860
No.100	April 9, 1860	No.125	September 10, 1860
No.101	April 16, 1860	No.126	September 17, 1860
No.102	April 23, 1860	No.127	September 24, 1860
No.103	April 28, 1860	No.128	October 1, 1860
No.104	May 6, 1860	No.129	October 8, 1860
No.105	May 16, 1860	No.130	October 14, 1860
No.106	May 23, 1860	No.131	October 18, 1860
No.107	June 1, 1860	No.132	October 22, 1860
No.108	June 8, 1860	No.133	October 29, 1860
No.109	June 15, 1860	No.134	October 5, 1860
No.110	June 18, 1860	No.135	November 15, 1860
No.111	June 22, 1860	No.136	November 19, 1860
No.112	June 25, 1860	No.137	November 26, 1860
No.113	July 2, 1860	No.138	December 3, 1860
No.114	July 6, 1860	No.139	December 10, 1860
No.115	July 13, 1860	No.140	December 17, 1860
No.116	July 16, 1860	Annex	January 14, 1861
		No.141	January 23, 1861

No.143	January 28, 1861
No.146	February 2, 1861

No.147	February 5, 1861	No.180	August 11, 1861
No.148	February 11, 1861	No.181	August 12, 1861
No.149	February 18, 1861	No.182	August 19, 1861
No.150	February 23, 1861	No.183	August 28, 1861
No.151	March 4, 1861	No.184	September 1, 1861
No.152	March 5, 1861	No.185	September 2, 1861
No.153	March 15, 1861	No.186	September 15, 1861
No.154	March 18, 1861	No.187	September 23, 1861
No.155	March 23, 1861	No.188	October 2, 1861
No.156	March 28, 1861	No.189	October 14, 1861
No.157	April 2, 1861	No.190	October 28, 1861
No.158	April 6, 1861	No.191	November 11, 1861
No.159	April 9, 1861	No.192	November 18, 1861
No.160	April 14, 1861	No.193	November 25, 1861
No.162	April 21, 1861	No.194	December 2, 1861
No.163	May 2, 1861	No.195	December 23, 1861
No.164	May 5, 1861	No.196	January 5, 1862
No.165	May 11, 1861	No.197	January 17, 1862
No.166	May 16, 1861	No.198	January 20, 1862
No.167	May 20, 1861	No.199	January 24, 1862
No.168	May 26, 1861	No.201	February 17, 1862
No.169	May 31, 1861	No.202	February 24, 1862
No.170	June 8, 1861	No.203	March 3, 1862
No.171	June 14, 1861	No.204	March 10, 1862
No.172	June 19, 1861	No.205	March 12, 1862
No.173	June 24, 1861	No.206	March 17, 1862
No.174	July 1, 1861	No.207	March 24, 1862
No.175	July 8, 1861	No.208	March 29, 1862
No.176	July 15, 1861	No.209	March 29, 1862
No.177	July 26, 1861	No.210	April 3, 1862
No.178	July 29, 1861	No.211	April 6, 1862
No.179	August 5, 1861	No.212	April 20, 1862

No.213	April 28, 1862	No.226	July 21, 1862
No.214	May 2, 1862	No.227	July 30, 1862
No.215	May 5, 1862	No.228	August 14, 1862
No.217	May 24, 1862	No.229	August 24, 1862
No.218	May 25, 1862	No.230	October 4, 1862
No.219	June 1, 1862	No.231	October 13, 1862
No.220	June 7, 1862		
No.221	June 9, 1862		
No.222	June 16, 1862		
No.223	June 23, 1862		
No.224	June 30, 1862		
No.225	July 7, 1862		

Εφημερίς των Ειδήσεων

No.1	January 1, 1855	No.18	April 30, 1855
No.2	January 10, 1855	Appendix	May 2, 1855
No.3	January 17, 1855	No.19	May 7, 1855
No.4	January 24, 1855	Appendix	May 9, 1855
No.5	January 31, 1855	No.20	May 14, 1855
No.6	February 7, 1855	Appendix	May 16, 1855
No.7	February 14, 1855	No.21	May 21, 1855
No.8	February 21, 1855	Appendix	May 23, 1855
No.9	February 28, 1855	No.22	May 28, 1855
No.10	March 10, 1855	Appendix	May 30, 1855
No.11	March 14, 1855	No.23	June 4, 1855
No.12	March 21, 1855	Appendix	June 7, 1855
No.13	March 26, 1855	No.24	June 11, 1855
No.14	April 4, 1855	Appendix	June 13, 1855
No.15	April 11, 1855	No.25	June 18, 1855
No.16	April 18, 1855	Appendix	June 20, 1855
No.17	April 23, 1855	No.26	June 25, 1855
Appendix	April 25, 1855	Appendix	June 27, 1855

No.34	August 22, 1855	No.54 (Ap.)	January 11, 1856
No.36 (Ap.)	September 6, 1855	No.76	June 9, 1856
No.43	October 22, 1855		
Appendix	October 24, 1855		
No.52	December 24, 1855		

Τα Καθημερινά

No.15	July 2, 1855	No.74	August 18, 1856
No.33	November 9, 1855	No.86	November 10, 1856
No.35	November 19, 1855	No.87	November 17, 1856
No.36	November 27, 1855	No.92	December 22, 1856
No.38	December 11, 1855	No.93	January 1, 1857
No.40	December 24, 1855	No.94	January 5, 1857
No.43	January 14, 1856	No.95	January 12, 1857
No.44	January 21, 1856	No.98	February 2, 1857
No.45	January 28, 1856	No.99	February 9, 1857
No.46	February 4, 1856	No.100	February 16, 1857
No.47	February 11, 1856	No.104	March 25, 1857
No.49	February 25, 1856	No.105	March 30, 1857
No.51	March 10, 1856	No.110	May 2, 1857
No.52	March 17, 1856	No.112	May 18, 1857
No.53	March 25, 1856	No.113	May 25, 1857
No.53b	March 25, 1856	No.114	May 31, 1857
No.55	April 7, 1856	No.115	June 8, 1857
No.56	April 12, 1856	No.117	June 25, 1857
No.57	April 21, 1856	No.118	July 1, 1857
No.59	May 5, 1856	No.119	July 6, 1857
No.60	May 12, 1856	No.121	July 19, 1857
No.61	May 19, 1856	No.123	August 3, 1857
No.71	July 28, 1856	No.124	August 10, 1857
No.72	August 4, 1856	No.127	August 31, 1857
No.73	August 11, 1856	No.128	September 7, 1857

No.131	September 28, 1857	No.144	December 31, 1857
No.132	October 4, 1857	No.145	January 8, 1858
No.133	October 12, 1857	No.146	January 13, 1858
No.134	October 19, 1857	No.147	January 19, 1858
No.135	October 26, 1857	No.148	February 1, 1858
No.136	November 2, 1857	No.150	February 8, 1858
No.137	November 10, 1857	No.153	March 1, 1858
No.138	November 16, 1857	No.154	March 8, 1858
No.140	December 1, 1857	No.156	March 22, 1858
No.141	December 8, 1857	No.160	April 19, 1858
No.142	December 15, 1857	No.168	June 14, 1858
No.143	December 22, 1857	No.172	July 12, 1858
		No.181	September 15, 1858

Η Παλιγγενεσία

No.2	February 8, 1857	No.20	June 7, 1857
No.3	February 18, 1857	No.22	June 19, 1857
No.4	February 23, 1857	No.24	July 5, 1857
No.5 (ap.)	March 2, 1857	No.25	July 15, 1857
No.5	March 2, 1857	No.26	July 22, 1857
No.9	March 16, 1857	No.27	August 5, 1857
No.8	March 19, 1857	No.33	September 20, 1857
No.9	March 25, 1857	No.34	September 27, 1857
No.10	March 30, 1857	No.35	October 10, 1857
No.11	April 3, 1857	No.36	October 16, 1857
No.12	April 16, 1857	No.37	October 22, 1857
No.13	April 26, 1857	No.38	October 28, 1857
No.14	April 27, 1857	No.39	November 5, 1857
No.15	May 6, 1857	No.40	November 27, 1857
No.16	May 13, 1857	No.41	December 6, 1857
No.17	May 22, 1857	No.42	December 11, 1857
No.18	May 25, 1857	No.43	December 24, 1857
		No.44	December 30, 1857
		No.45	January 17, 1858

Ο Φιλελεύθερος

No.1	February 19, 1849	No.30	March 19, 1851
No.2	February 26, 1849	No.31	March 24, 1851
No.3	March 5, 1849	No.32	March 30, 1851
No.4	August 20, 1849	No.33	April 6, 1851
No.5	June 26, 1850	No.34	April 14, 1851
No.6	July 4, 1850	No.35	April 19, 1851
No.7	July 14, 1850	No.36	April 29, 1851
No.8	July 22, 1850	No.37	May 9, 1851
No.9	July 28, 1850	No.38	May 14, 1851
No.10	August 5, 1850	No.39	May 22, 1851
No.11	August 12, 1850	No.40	May 30, 1851
No.12	August 19, 1850	No.41	June 9, 1851
No.13	September 16, 1850	No.42	June 16, 1851
No.14	September 27, 1850	No.43	June 23, 1851
No.15	October 14, 1850	No.44	June 29, 1851
No.16	October 21, 1850	No.45	July 7, 1851
No.17	October 28, 1850	No.46	July 14, 1851
No.18	November 4, 1850	No.47	July 21, 1851
No.19	November 12, 1850	No.48	July 28, 1851
No.20	December 17, 1850	No.49	August 5, 1851
No.21	December 30, 1850	No.50	August 14, 1851
No.22	January 12, 1851	No.51	August 20, 1851
No.23	January 20, 1851	No.52	August 28, 1851
No.24	January 24, 1851	No.53	September 7, 1851
No.25	February 7, 1851	No.54	September 13, 1851
No.26	February 10, 1851	No.55	September 22, 1851
No.27	February 17, 1851	No.56	October 1, 1851
No.28	February 24, 1851		
No.29	March 29, 1851		

Αναγέννησις

No.1	April 9, 1849	No.32	September 8, 1851
No.2	April 16, 1849	No.33	September 13, 1851
No.3	April 23, 1849	No.34	September 22, 1851
No.4	April 30, 1849	No.35	September 29, 1851
No.5	May 7, 1849	No.36	November 15, 1858
No.6	May 14, 1849	No.37	November 22, 1858
No.7	May 21, 1849	No.38	November 29, 1858
No.8	May 28, 1849	No.39	December 6, 1858
No.9	June 4, 1849	No.40	December 13, 1858
No.10	June 11, 1849	No.41	December 20, 1858
No.11	June 18, 1849	No.42	January 3, 1859
No.12	June 23, 1849	No.43	January 10, 1859
No.13	July 2, 1849	No.44	January 17, 1859
No.14	July 9, 1849	Appendix	January 24, 1859
No.15	July 16, 1849	No.45	January 31, 1859
No.16	July 23, 1849	No.46	February 7, 1859
No.17	July 30, 1849	No.47	February 14, 1859
No.18	August 6, 1849	No.48	February 21, 1859
No.19	August 13, 1849	No.49	February 28, 1859
No.20	August 30, 1849	No.50	March 7, 1859
No.21	June 23, 1851	No.51	March 14, 1859
No.22	June 30, 1851	No.52	March 21, 1859
No.23	July 7, 1851	No.53	March 28, 1859
No.24	July 14, 1851	No.54	April 4, 1859
No.25	July 21, 1851	No.55	April 18, 1859
No.26	July 28, 1851	No.56	April 25, 1859
No.27	August 4, 1851	No.57	May 2, 1859
No.28	August 11, 1851	No.58	May 9, 1859
No.29	August 18, 1851	No.59	May 16, 1859
No.30	August 25, 1851	No.60	May 23, 1859
No.31	September 1, 1851		

Η Νεολαία

No.1	May 21, 1849
No.2	June 23, 1849
Appendix	-
No.3	July 3, 1849

Ο Ριζοσπάστης

No.1	April 5, 1850
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Ο Χωρικός

No.1	February 16, 1850	No.23	November 23, 1850
No.2	February 19, 1850	No.24	December 2, 1850
No.3	February 22, 1850	No.25	December 9, 1850
Appendix	February 23, 1850		
No.4	February 25, 1850	No.26	December 14, 1850
No.5	March 4, 1850	No.27	December 23, 1850
No.6	March 24, 1850	No.28	January 5, 1851
No.7	April 1, 1850	No.29	January 18, 1851
No.8	April 15, 1850	No.30	January 27, 1851
No.9	April 20, 1850	No.31	February 22, 1851
No.10	April 22, 1850	No.32	March 6, 1851
No.11	April 28, 1850	No.33	March 17, 1851
No.12	May 5, 1850	No.34	March 24, 1851
No.13	May 11, 1850	No.35	March 30, 1851
No.14	May 13, 1850	No.36	April 5, 1851
No.15	June 7, 1850	No.37	April 14, 1851
No.16	September 30, 1850	No.38	April 20, 1851
No.17	October 5, 1850	No.39	April 28, 1851
No.18	October 14, 1850	No.40	May 5, 1851
No.19	October 19, 1850	No.41	May 12, 1851
No.20	November 2, 1850	No.42	May 26, 1851
No.21	November 8, 1850	No.43	June 9, 1851
No.22	November 15, 1850	No.44	October 22, 1851

No.45	November 3, 1851		
No.46	November 11, 1851	No.54	January 17, 1852
No.47	November 17, 1851	No.55	January 19, 1852
No.48	November 30, 1851	No.56	January 22, 1852
No.49	December 9, 1851	No.57	February 2, 1852
No.50	December 21, 1851	No.58	February 29, 1852
No.51	January 3, 1852	No.59	March 7, 1852
No.52	January 10, 1852	No.60	March 13, 1852
No.53	January 13, 1852	No.61	March 22, 1852

Ελλάς

No.1	September 7, 1850	No.21	January 26, 1851
No.2	September 14, 1850	No.22	February 2, 1851
No.3	September 21, 1850	No.23	February 9, 1851
No.4	September 28, 1850	No.24	February 16, 1851
No.5	October 5, 1850	No.25	February 24, 1851
No.6	October 12, 1850	No.26	March 3, 1851
No.7	October 19, 1850	No.27	March 10, 1851
No.8	October 26, 1850	No.28	March 17, 1851
No.9	November 2, 1850	No.29	March 25, 1851
No.10	November 9, 1850	No.30	March 31, 1851
No.11	November 16, 1850	No.31	April 14, 1851
No.12	November 24, 1850	No.32	April 21, 1851
No.13	December 1, 1850	No.33	May 4, 1851
No.14	December 8, 1850	No.34	May 19, 1851
No.15	December 15, 1850	No.35	June 2, 1851
No.16	December 22, 1850		
No.17	December 29, 1850		
No.18	January 4, 1851		
No.19	January 12, 1851		
No.20	January 19, 1851		

Η Φωνή του Ιονίου

No.1	May 17, 1858	No.26	November 8, 1858
No.2	May 24, 1858	No.27	November 15, 1858
No.5	June 14, 1858	No.28	November 22, 1858
No.6	June 20, 1858	No.29	November 29, 1858
No.8	July 5, 1858	No.30	December 6, 1858
No.9	July 12, 1858	No.31	December 13, 1858
No.10	July 19, 1858	No.32	December 20, 1858
No.11	July 26, 1858	No.33	January 3, 1859
No.12	August 2, 1858	No.34	January 10, 1859
No.13	August 9, 1858	No.35	January 17, 1859
No.14	August 16, 1858	No.36	January 24, 1859
No.15	August 23, 1858	No.37	January 31, 1859
No.16	August 30, 1858	No.38	February 14, 1859
No.17	September 6, 1858	No.39	February 21, 1859
No.18	September 13, 1858	No.40	February 28, 1859
No.19	September 20, 1858	No.41	March 5, 1859
No.20	September 27, 1858	No.42	March 21, 1859
No.21	October 4, 1858	No.43	March 28, 1859
No.22	October 11, 1858	No.44	April 4, 1859
No.23	October 18, 1858	No.45	April 18, 1859
No.24	October 23, 1858	No.46	April 25, 1859
No.25	November 1, 1858	No.47	May 2, 1859
		No.48	May 9, 1859
		No.49	May 23, 1859
		No.50	June 5, 1859

Ο Π ή γ α ς

No.1	April 28, 1851	No.23	September 4, 1858
No.13	May 22, 1858	No.24	September 11, 1858
No.14	May 31, 1858	No.25	September 25, 1858
No.17	July 2, 1858	No.26	October 9, 1858
No.18	July 9, 1858	No.27	October 16, 1858
No.19	July 17, 1858	No.28	October 23, 1858
No.20	July 24, 1858	No.36	January 24, 1859
No.21	July 31, 1858	No.47	June 2, 1859
		No.48	June 9, 1859

Α λ ή θ ε ι α

No.1	September 16, 1861	No.24	February 24, 1862
No.2	September 23, 1861	No.25	March 1, 1862
No.3	September 30, 1861	No.26	March 10, 1862
No.4	October 7, 1861	No.27	March 14, 1862
No.5	October 14, 1861	No.28	March 17, 1862
No.6	October 21, 1861	No.29	March 24, 1862
No.7	October 28, 1861	No.30	March 31, 1862
No.8	November 4, 1861	No.31	April 7, 1862
No.9	November 11, 1861	No.32	April 14, 1862
No.10	November 18, 1861	No.33	April 21, 1862
No.11	November 25, 1861	No.34	April 28, 1862
No.12	December 2, 1861	No.35	May 5, 1862
No.13	December 9, 1861	No.36	May 12, 1862
No.14	December 16, 1861	No.37	May 19, 1862
No.15	December 16, 1861	No.38	May 26, 1862
No.16	December 23, 1861	No.39	June 2, 1862
No.17	December 31, 1861	No.40	June 9, 1862
No.18	January 13, 1862	No.41	June 16, 1862
No.19	January 19, 1862	No.42	June 23, 1862
No.20	January 23, 1862	No.43	June 30, 1862
No.21	February 2, 1862	No.44	July 7, 1862
No.22	February 10, 1862	No.45	July 14, 1862
No.23	February 17, 1862	No.46	July 21, 1862

No.47	July 28, 1862
No.48	August 4, 1862
No.49	August 11, 1862
No.50	August 18, 1862
No.51	August 25, 1862
No.52	September 1, 1862

Ο Κερavnός

No.1	October 17, 1855	No.10	November 18, 1858
No.2	October 24, 1855	No.11	November 20, 1858
No.3	November 1, 1855	No.12	November 25, 1858
No.4	September 2, 1858	No.13	December 2, 1858
No.5	September 21, 1858	No.14	January 28, 1859
No.6	October 9, 1858	No.15	February 4, 1859
No.7	October 16, 1858	No.16	February 11, 1859
No.8	October 25, 1858	No.17	February 18, 1859
No.9	November 5, 1858	No.18	February 26, 1859

Ο Διογένης

No.1	July 16, 1862	No.3	August 9, 1862
No.2	July 29, 1862	No.4	August 23, 1862

Ο Αληθής Ριζοσπάστης

No.1	September 15, 1862	No.10	November 17, 1862
No.2	September 22, 1862	No.11	November 24, 1862
No.3	September 29, 1862	No.12	December 1, 1862
No.4	October 6, 1862	No.13	December 8, 1862
No.5	October 13, 1862	No.14	December 15, 1862
Appendix	October 17, 1862	No.15	December 22, 1862
No.6	October 20, 1862	No.16	December 29, 1862
No.7	October 27, 1862	No.17	January 5, 1863
No.8	November 3, 1862	No.18	January 12, 1863
No.9	November 10, 1862	No.19	January 19, 1863
No.20	January 26, 1863		

No.21	February 2, 1863	No.35	May 18, 1863
No.22	February 9, 1863	No.36	May 25, 1863
No.23	February 16, 1863	No.37	June 1, 1863
No.24	February 23, 1863	No.38	June 8, 1863
No.25	March 2, 1863	No.39	June 15, 1863
No.26	March 9, 1863	No.40	June 22, 1863
No.27	March 16, 1863	No.41	June 29, 1863
Appendix	March 22, 1863	No.42	July 6, 1863
No.28	March 28, 1863	No.43	July 13, 1863
No.29	April 6, 1863	No.44	July 20, 1863
No.30	April 13, 1863	No.45	July 27, 1863
No.31	April 20, 1863	No.46	August 3, 1863
No.32	April 27, 1863	No.47	August 10, 1863
No.33	May 4, 1863	No.48	August 24, 1863
No.34	May 11, 1863		

Φωνή του Ιονίου και Ρήγας

No.1	October 3, 1859	No.18	March 19, 1860	No.35	September 10, 1860
No.2	October 10, 1859	No.19	March 30, 1860	No.36	September 24, 1860
No.3	October 17, 1859	No.20	April 16, 1860	No.37	October 8, 1860
No.4	October 24, 1859	No.21	April 23, 1860	No.38	October 22, 1860
No.5	October 31, 1859	No.22	April 30, 1860	No.39	October 29, 1860
No.6	November 7, 1859	No.23	May 7, 1860	No.40	November 12, 1860
No.7	November 14, 1859	No.24	May 14, 1860	No.41	November 26, 1860
No.8	November 21, 1859	No.25	May 28, 1860	No.42	December 3, 1860
No.9	November 27, 1859	No.26	June 4, 1860	No.43	December 16, 1860
No.10	December 9, 1859	No.27	June 11, 1860	No.44	January 4, 1861
No.11	December 16, 1859	No.28	June 18, 1860	No.45	January 14, 1861
No.12	December 31, 1859	No.29	June 23, 1860	No.46	January 28, 1861
No.13	January 16, 1860	No.30	July 2, 1860	No.47	February 11, 1861
No.14	January 21, 1860	No.31	July 16, 1860	No.48	February 25, 1861
No.15	February 27, 1860	No.32	July 30, 1860	No.49	March 16, 1861
No.16	March 5, 1860	No.33	August 13, 1860	No.50	April 1, 1861
No.17	March 12, 1860	No.34	August 27, 1860	No.51	April 28, 1861

No.52	May 6, 1861	No.77	December 23, 1861	No.102	October 20, 1862
No.53	May 16, 1861	No.78	January 3, 1862	No.103	October 31, 1862
No.54	May 20, 1861	No.79	January 20, 1862	No.104	November 13, 1862
No.55	May 20, 1861	No.80	February 3, 1862	No.105	November 30, 1862
No.56	June 3, 1861	No.81	February 17, 1862	No.106	December 14, 1862
No.57	June 10, 1861	No.82	February 28, 1862	No.107	December 22, 1862
No.58	June 20, 1861	No.83	March 17, 1862	No.108	January 11, 1863
No.59	July 1, 1861	No.84	March 24, 1862	No.109	January 21, 1863
No.60	July 10, 1861	No.85	March 29, 1862	No.110	February 9, 1863
No.61	July 21, 1861	No.86	April 3, 1862	No.111	February 22, 1863
No.62	July 29, 1861	No.87	April 19, 1862	No.112	March 7, 1863
No.63	August 12, 1861	No.88	April 24, 1862	No.113	March 19, 1863
No.64	August 26, 1861	No.89	May 3, 1862	No.114	March 27, 1863
No.65	September 16, 1861	No.90	May 11, 1862	No.115	April 4, 1863
No.66	September 23, 1861	No.91	May 24, 1862	No.116	April 27, 1863
No.67	September 30, 1861	No.92	June 6, 1862	No.117	May 8, 1863
No.68	October 14, 1861	No.93	July 6, 1862	No.118	May 25, 1863
No.69	October 21, 1861	No.94	July 14, 1862	No.119	June 7, 1863
No.70	October 28, 1861	No.95	July 24, 1862	No.120	June 20, 1863
No.71	November 11, 1861	No.96	August 4, 1862	No.121	July 5, 1863
No.72	November 18, 1861	No.97	August 13, 1862	No.122	July 30, 1863
No.73	November 28, 1861	No.98	August 21, 1862	No.123	August 12, 1863
No.74	December 11, 1861	No.99	September 6, 1862	No.124	August 21, 1863
No.75	December 16, 1861	No.100	September 13, 1862	No.125	September 2, 1863
No.76	December 23, 1861	No.101	September 26, 1862	No.126	September 7, 1863

No.127	September 16, 1863	No.131	October 11, 1863	No.135	January 23, 1864
No.128	September 25, 1863	No.132	October 23, 1863	No.137	April 15, 1864
No.129	October 2, 1863	No.133	November 9, 1863	No.138	May 14, 1864
No.130	October 9, 1863	No.134	November 27, 1863		

Αποθήκη του Διαβόλου - Κυκλιών

No.13	April 15, 1860	No.29	March 11, 1861
No.14	April 30, 1860	No.48	December 14, 1861
No.15	May 16, 1860	No.53	February 25, 1862
No.16	June 3, 1860	No.54	March 18, 1862
No.17	July 16, 1860	No.76	December 19, 1863
No.18	July 5, 1860	No.77	December 19, 1863
No.19	July 5, 1860	No.78	January 1, 1864
No.20	July 27, 1860	No.79	January 1, 1864
No.21	July 27, 1860		
No.22	August 23, 1860		
No.23	August 31, 1860		
No.24	September 17, 1860		
No.25	October 1, 1860		

Gazzetta degli Stati Uniti delle Isole Ionie

No.169	March 29, 1848
No.175	May 22, 1848
No.12	March 8, 1852

Pamphlets

Zervos-Iakovatos, Pias, *Ο Φιλελεύθερος ή διδασκαλία περί καλής ή κακής χρήσεως της ελευθεροτυπίας εις την Επτάνησον*, December 26th, Kefalonia, 1848.

Verykios, Giorgos, *Ο Μάγος ή ολίγα τινά περί Τύπου*, Zakynthos, 1848.

Momferratos, Iosif, *‘Πρόγραμμα’*, , January 22nd, Kefalonia, 1849.