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The London Greek Diaspora and National Politics

The Anglo-Hellenic League and the Idea of Greece, 1913–1919

Kouta, Georgia

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**THE LONDON GREEK DIASPORA AND NATIONAL POLITICS:
THE ANGLO-HELLENIC LEAGUE AND THE IDEA OF GREECE,
1913–1919**

**by
Georgia Kouta**



THE CITY'S WELCOME TO MR. VENIZELOS

The Greek Premier is standing on the right of the Lord Mayor. Seated on the left of the Lord Mayor are Mr. Arthur Balfour and Lord Curzon, and on the right of Mr. Venizelos is Mr. Winston Churchill, seated.

A thesis submitted to the Department of History

In conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

King's College,
University of London
United Kingdom July 2015

Cover image shows The City's Welcome to Venizelos, 16 November 1917. Source: AH League, pamphlet no. 35, 1917.

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Abbreviations

ABM	Benaki Museum Archive, Athens
AH League	Publications of the Anglo-Hellenic League, London
BEA	Bank of England Archives, London
CMS	Centre of Asia Minor Studies, Athens
ELIA	Greek Literature and Historical Archive, Athens
GMFA	Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens
GP	John Gennadius Papers, Athens
HC	House of Commons, Hansard
KCA	Archive of King's College London
LSEA	London School of Economics and Political Science Archive, London
NA	National Archives, London
SP	John Stavridis Papers, Oxford

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Στην οικογένεια μου

Abstract

This dissertation attempts to understand the complex interactions between British and Greek political and business figures in London and Athens during the early twentieth century. It is a portrait, in particular, of the importance of the Greek diaspora in the politics of modern Greece. The role of diasporas is one of the most important current interpretative emphases of transnational historians, and I seek to map how diasporic Greeks, Anglo-Greeks and Philhellenes produced an extended programme of propaganda for the cause of the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos. The focus of the dissertation is the Anglo-Hellenic League, which was founded in 1913 in London to 'defend the just claims of Greece'. Since this is the first time the League has been the focus of a work of scholarship, it is one of the priorities of this dissertation to examine its identity, activity and discourse, which are contained in its public interventions. The dissertation, at its core, is a study of the origins and ideology of the League, based on manuscript and pamphlet sources and applying theoretical approaches drawn from both discourse analysis and the study of diasporas and nationalism. Following the history of the London Greek community from the late nineteenth century, I study how the economic interests of this commercial bourgeoisie shaped their political interventions in early twentieth-century Greece, and in particular their activity as an influential transnational interest group in favour of Venizelist politics. Through a meticulous study of the League's forms of political speech in its pamphlets and other writings and its relations with eminent British and Greek figures, this thesis intends to map Anglo-Hellenic interactions during the First World War through the scope of this particular political organ of the Greek London diaspora. It seeks to provide a diasporic dimension to the internal Greek political crisis of that period, in which the League played an active role in debates about the future of Greek politics, the National Schism (1915–1917) and the aims of Greek foreign policy during the Balkan and First World War, as well as towards the Greek populations under Ottoman rule. In this context, I aim to show how the Greek diaspora of London constituted an idea of Greece for both British and Greek consumption which connected the aims of British imperial grand strategy with those of the Greek bourgeoisie.

Keywords: diaspora, transnational interest groups, Greek nationalism, Venizelos,
Greek community in London, propaganda

Οι Δον Κιχώτες πάνε ομπρός και
βλέπουνε ως την άκρη
Του κονταριού που εκρεμάσαν σημαία
τους την Ιδέα.
Κοντόφθαλμοι οραματιστές, ένα δεν
Έχουν δάκρυ
Για να δεχτούν ανθρώπινα κάθε
βρισιά χυδαία
Σκοντάφτουνε στη Λογική [...]

Καρυωτάκης, Νουμάς, 1920

Chapter One

Introduction

On 1 December 1913 the Greek flag was raised at the fort of Firka in Chania, Crete. Since the ‘ages of Nikiforos Fokas’, the Byzantine emperor who had ‘driven the Arabs out of Crete’, it was the first time that a ‘Greek King had landed in the island’. The ‘rising sun’ and the ‘serene night’ had even made the sky appear to ‘celebrate’. The streets were infused with the ‘aroma of the myrtle’, while the ‘tall, El-Greco like figures’ of villagers packed the city, which was decorated with ‘byzantine flags’.¹ The event of the Cretan Union with Greece, which was the result of the successful outcome of the First Balkan War and the Treaty of London, was celebrated by the Hellenes from Greece to Britain, because for many it had been the cornerstone to the realisation of the national programme of the period, the *Megali Idea*.²

Two weeks later, on 15 December 1913, a group of Anglo-Greeks in London took the Cretan Union as an unmistakable omen for the establishment of an organisation dedicated to the promotion of Anglo-Greek friendship. The ‘rising sun’, the ‘Byzantine and Greek flags’, the ‘Byzantine Emperor’ and the ‘Arabs’ had all been elements in the irredentist ideology of the Anglo-Hellenic League since its establishment in the Royal Asiatic Society in London on that day. The Chairman read the telegram describing the Cretan Union and commented that ‘it was a good omen that such news should come on the day of the constitution of the League.’³ In a private meeting earlier that year a group of eminent Greek elites of the London

¹ The quote from which I provided the extracts reads: ‘Η πόλις ηγρύπνησε στολιζομένη. Εορτάζει δε ο ουρανός, αποκατασταθείσης από της νυκτός της γαλήνης και ανατείλαντος εαρινού ηλίου. Οι δρόμοι παρουσιάζουν όψιν λειμώνων ευωδιαζόντων από τας μυρσίνας. Παντού είναι ανηρητημένα Βυζαντιναί σημαίαι μεταξύ των κυανολεύκων. Συνωστίζονται παντού χωρικοί υψηλόκορμοι ζώσαι εικόνες του Θεοτοκοπούλου. Τα Κρητικόπουλα εις σμήνη κυκλοφορούν με τις φουφουλίτσες των. Από του Νικηφόρου Φωκά του εκδιώξαντος εκ Κρήτης τους Άραβας πρώτην φοράν Έλλην βασιλεύς αποβιβάζεται εις την νήσον.’ From *Hestia*, 1 December 1913.

² To which the programme of Greek nationalism was related since the mid-nineteenth century. In a nutshell, it represented the idea of incorporating into the Greek state the ‘unredeemed’ lands that currently formed part of the Ottoman Empire. It became particularly dominant as a political programme after the Balkan victories and throughout the First World War, when it influenced and shaped foreign and domestic Greek policy. This idea is explained further below in this thesis. Hereafter it will be used interchangeably with the English translation ‘Great Idea’.

³ The Anglo-Hellenic League, pamphlet no. 4, *The Inaugural Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1913. Publications from the Anglo-Hellenic League will be cited hereafter as AH League.

diaspora and prestigious figures of British diplomacy and the academy had come together and decided to form a 'permanent society, with a definite policy, and well supplied amongst its members with information and writing power' that 'should, under the guidance of a strong committee, be able more effectually to vindicate the policy and defend the honour of Greece'.⁴

From its establishment in 1913 until the end of the First World War the Anglo-Hellenic League was a passionate and systematic exponent of pro-Hellenic propaganda in Britain on matters concerning the consolidation of the liberal regime in Greece and the proliferation of the national programme of the *Megali Idea*. The League established a discourse in favour of the Anglo-Greek alliance by highlighting, on the one hand, the historical (romantic) connections that tied the two countries together and, on the other, the connection between British imperial grand strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean and the aims of the Greek liberal bourgeoisie. To achieve that, the League constructed a discourse on the grand narrative of modernity, infused with the notions of racial and cultural superiority, to establish the Greeks as the rightful heirs of the Balkan and Asia Minor territory. Acting as an influential interest/pressure group, through its propaganda the League not only produced discourses on the identification of the national enemy in the form of the 'Other' but also created a system of representation for internal consumption. Within this system it sought to shape debates about the future of Greek politics, the National Schism (1915–1917), and the aims of Greek foreign policy during the Balkan and the First World War as well as towards the Greek populations under Ottoman rule.

The main research questions that guide this study are: how was the ideology of this League shaped and which interests did it seek to articulate; and how much political influence did it wield during the period under investigation? Subsidiary issues of interest, however, include how a diasporic community comes to constitute an interest group with a political scope, and how these agents position themselves in relation to homeland and the host country. Behind this, there is the greater question of how nationalism and modernity shaped the perceived identities of our agents and

⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, *Private and Confidential, An Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1913.

their discourses beginning in the late nineteenth century, when the idea of a Greater Greece, which remained dominant in Greek foreign policy until the early 1920s, first appeared.

This thesis aims, therefore, to explore and analyse the discourse produced by the League and evaluate its political influence during the period under investigation. The examination of the forms of political speech contained in its public interventions will also contribute to our understanding of the interests articulated by the League and assist in conceptualising the character of this group of diasporic bourgeoisie. This study of the Anglo-Hellenic League will also provide useful insights into the political role of diasporas and more precisely transnational interest groups in influencing politics at home and abroad: research on transnational interest groups is currently one of the most important interpretative emphases of transnational historians. This thesis also seeks to map how diasporic Greeks, Anglo-Greeks and Philhellenes produced an extended programme of propaganda with a specific agenda in mind.

Since this is the first time the League has been the focus of a work of scholarship, it is one of the priorities of this dissertation to meticulously examine its identity and activity during the first six – and most politically intense – years of its existence. The thesis, at its core, is a study of the origins and ideology of the League, based on manuscript and pamphlet sources and applying theoretical approaches drawn from the study of diasporas, interest groups, nationalism and discourse analysis. Using a complete body of their pamphlets, the thesis will attempt to answer questions that relate to the production of discourse and the ways that the idea of Modern Greece were moulded through the interaction of British power and Greek nationalism – a species of European nationalism. This idea was formulated in the context of the alliance between the Greek diasporic bourgeoisie and British imperialism with the purpose of positioning Greece as a British proxy in the Eastern Mediterranean.

This thesis is greatly preoccupied with the role of the League as an ‘interest’ or ‘pressure’ group in the promotion of Venizelist politics and the consolidation of a liberal modern Greek state during in the 1910s. In social theory, modern ‘interest groups’, as analytical constructs representing organised interests, are often directed

toward the political arena with the intention of influencing political decisions, but in general without the aspiration to become a political party.⁵ The study of the social phenomena under examination rose in tandem with the rise of full-scale mass society and mass politics, on which the American political scientist Arthur F. Bentley published his famous treatise in 1908. Taking as his main example US politics, he placed emphasis on the role of interest groups in a political process, stating that we only need to list existing groups to have an overview of everything there is in social life.⁶

Indeed, as the science of examining political phenomena gradually matured, in 1951 the French sociologist Maurice Duverger explicitly highlighted the ambition, on the one hand, of the political party to attain and exercise power and, on the other, of the pressure groups to influence power. In his classic treatise *Les Partis Politiques* Duverger was, moreover, preoccupied with the role of these groups as 'social forces' in the organisation of political parties, setting out the way to examine the political process through the different organisations, from the 'cadre' to the 'membership' party. His work also, separately, considers Leagues, which he describes as associations 'set up with political aims, in contradistinction to the other "external organizations"', but which do not employ the same means as parties to 'attain their ends'. More explicitly, Leagues do not 'put forward candidates at elections' but are 'solely organizations for propaganda and agitation'.⁷ In the same vein, another French political scientist, Jean Meynaud, developed further the theory of pressure group politics and divided pressure groups into two large categories according to the interest they represent: the professional organisations and the groups with an ideological vocation. By their activity, pressure groups aim to influence the government apparatus to satisfy their demands or aspirations.⁸

⁵ Kay L. Schlozman, 'Interest Groups', in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford, 2001), 7703.

⁶ 'When the groups are adequately stated, everything is stated. When I mean everything I mean everything, The complete description will mean the complete science, in the study of social phenomena, as in any other field.' Arthur F. Bentley, *The Process of Government: A Study of Social Pressures* (Chicago, 1908), 208–9.

⁷ Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in Modern States* (London, 1978), xxxii–xxxiii.

⁸ Jean Meynaud, *Les Groupes de Pression* (Paris, 1960), and *Nouvelles études sur les groupes de pression en France* (Paris, 1962).

Moreover, the activity of the League as a lobbying group can be examined in the light of ethnic politics and diaspora lobbying. A constituent feature of the process of lobbying is the communication promoted by group representatives or lobbyists with members of the government who are favourable to the cause of the group. Interest groups will exercise lobbying strategies directed at sympathetic policymakers through immediate contact, but will also attempt to exert influence on public opinion through the press.⁹ Specifically for the period under examination, the representation of several and diverse interests in Britain was best expressed through the constitution of committees, and in our analysis of the origins of the Anglo-Hellenic League in the following chapter we will examine how the pro-Hellenic interests of various such committees were finally incorporated and represented by the League.¹⁰

In their seminal yet controversial work on the Israeli lobby in the US, Manheimern and Walt have attempted to delineate the definition of 'lobby', but for the Israeli as much as for the Greek case a completely accurate definition is not possible.¹¹ The scholars identified that the term itself is 'somewhat misleading, insofar as many of the individuals and some of the groups in this loose coalition do not engage in formal lobbying activities', but, in general, in order to be part of the lobby 'one has to actively work to move American foreign policy in a pro-Israeli direction'.¹²

Key player members of the Anglo-Hellenic League who undertook to become passionate advocates of the Leagues' mission were mostly journalists and academics, or academics taking up the journalist role, while the League represented the

⁹ On the connection between lobbying and interest groups see Beth L. Leech, 'Lobbying and Interest Group Advocacy', in George C. Edwards III, Frances E. Lee, and Eric Schickler (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the American Congress* (New York, 2011), 599-617, also Kenneth M. Goldstein, *Interest Groups, Lobbying and Participation in America* (New York, 1999).

¹⁰ For more on the role of various committees, as well as the importance of press criticism and pressure-group activity for British politicians and especially Sir Edward Grey in 1912, see Keith Robbins, 'Public Opinion, the Press and Pressure Groups', in *Politicians, Diplomacy and War in Modern British History* (London, 1994), 125-48.

¹¹ Their seminal book was preceded by a report on 'The Israel Lobby' in March 2006 in *London Review of Books*, 28, 6 (2006), 3-12, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/v28/n06/john-mearsheimer/the-israel-lobby>, accessed 28 June 2017.

¹² John J. Mearsheimer and Stephen M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York, 2007), 113-14.

organised interests of a certain economic and political elite. It is important to stress that a crucial part of this lobbying process was undoubtedly an academic institution – King’s College London – that gave a strong impetus and valid character to the propaganda advanced.

Historiographical endeavours concerning Anglo-Hellenic relations have been dominated by studies that employ a high political analysis which addresses the matter in a strictly political fashion. Such an approach obscures aspects of the internal dynamics of the London Greek community and its role in shaping policies through a network of interactions between British and Greek figures, especially during the First World War. Anglo-Hellenic political relations in the period 1910–1920 have received significant attention from scholars seeking to explain either their relation to the preservation of British imperial dominance in the Mediterranean or, on the other hand, their relation to the rise of Venizelist politics and the politics of the First World War in Greece.

However, British interaction with Greece during the period under examination still remains a daunting problem, especially when we attempt a closer examination of the historical agents and their role in promoting this Anglo-Greek interaction. Those Greek agents, based mainly in London, who represented and promoted British economic and political interests in Greece have remained vastly understudied, while the study of various other Greek diasporic or migrant communities has received, in contrast, considerable attention.¹³ Therefore, the scholarly literature on this subject can be divided into two broad thematic categories: one examines the history of the modern Greek diaspora and its activities during the period and the other examines the Anglo-Hellenic political relations of the period from 1910 to 1920.

¹³ Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919–1937: Ethnicity & Class* (London, 1989); Sia Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία. Οι ελληνορθόδοξες κοινότητες 19ος -1919. Από το μιλλέτ των Ρωμιών στον ελληνικό έθνος* [Asia Minor. The Greek-orthodox communities. From the Rum millet to the Greek nation, 19th c.–1919] (Athens, 1999); Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, MA, 1964); Viron Karidis, ‘A Greek mercantile paroikia: Odessa 1774–1829’, in Richard Clogg, ed., *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence* (London, 1981), 111–36; Ioanna Laliotou, *Transatlantic Subjects: Acts of Migration and Cultures of Transnationalism between Greece and America* (Chicago, 2004); Anna Mandilara, ‘The Greek Business Community in Marseille, 1816–1900: Individual and Network Strategies’ (European University Institute, Ph.D. thesis, 1998); and Olga Katsiardi-Hering, *The Greek Community of Trieste 1751–1830* (Athens, 1986).

There is already a substantial literature on the history of Greek migration. In particular, the study of the Greek diaspora has been characterised by the work of Richard Clogg and Dimitris Tziovas, both of whom have produced influential work on the Greek communities and their activities in the modern era. Clogg's edited volume *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century* examines a number of dispersed Greek communities, in Egypt, Australia, Canada, the United States, South Africa, Russia and Georgia. Although a very enlightening study, it pays no attention to the Greek community of London and its economic and political importance in modern Greek politics.¹⁴ Tziovas, using an interdisciplinary approach, also examines a variety of case studies regarding the Greek communities of the diaspora in his edited volume *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture*. The two chapters that concern the Greek community in Britain are those by Jonathan Harris on the Greeks in eighteenth-century Britain and by Maria Christina Chatziioannou, which focuses on the Greek merchants of Britain during the Victorian era.¹⁵ However, both studies are limited chronologically to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and although an attempt is made by Chatziioannou to examine the Greek merchant community in London, she does not address the political conditions of this community and its activities. This is one of the tasks that this study intends to undertake in making a distinctive contribution to this field of study.

The second strand of historiography concerns those studies that examine Anglo-Hellenic political interaction during the period under examination. George Leontaritis's seminal studies attempt to map the interaction between Greece and the Great Powers during the years 1914–1917 and the matter of neutrality and intervention in 1917–1918.¹⁶ Although they provide valuable information about the period they do not mention the importance of the London Greek 'elite' and its attempts to influence British public opinion and political decisions in favour of Greek territorial demands. Clogg's *Anglo-Greek Attitudes*, although mainly focused on the period of the Second World War, makes an insightful reference to the period 1910–

¹⁴ Richard Clogg (ed.), *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999).

¹⁵ Dimitris Tziovas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture* (Farnham, 2009).

¹⁶ George B. Leontaritis, *Greece and the First World War: From Neutrality to Intervention 1917–1918* (New York, 1990); *Greece and the Great Powers: 1914–1917* (Thessaloniki, 1974).

1918, touching on subjects that directly concern our study, such as the foundation of the Koraes Chair in London, the first Chair of Modern Greek Studies in London.¹⁷ Similarly, *Greece and Great Britain during World War I*, the volume of conference proceedings presented in Thessaloniki in 1984, offers an illustrative account of the collaboration between the two countries, in which Calvocoressi's chapter on the Anglo-Chiot diaspora provides some information on the history of the London Greek community in the nineteenth century.¹⁸

This body of literature offers limited interpretations of the social class, political aspirations or ideological affiliations of the London Greek community, or the mechanisms through which it became politically active. It also fails to demonstrate the crucial link between the Greek bourgeois diaspora and British imperialism and the importance of that alliance in the promotion of the territorial claims of the modern Greek state.

On the other hand, studies that examine the internal dynamics of the Greek community of London against the political conjunctures of the period are rare if not completely absent in the historiography of diaspora. Related studies tend to examine Anglo-Greek relations from a perspective that only gives justice to high politics, international relations and top-down justifications, downplaying the role of the internal factor (here, the Anglo-Hellenic League) in the process of shaping connections. There is also a historiographical lacuna regarding the history of the London Greek community after its 'commercial spring' in the late nineteenth century. Questions about how this community politically 'matured' in the twentieth century, acquiring the role of a liberal diasporic bourgeoisie, about its relations with the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos and about its discourse regarding irredentism are issues that this research will attempt to address.¹⁹

¹⁷ Richard Clogg, *Anglo-Greek Attitudes: Studies in History* (New York, 2000).

¹⁸ Peter Calvocoressi, 'The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora', in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I: First symposium organized in Thessaloniki in 1983 by the Institute for Balkan Studies and King's College London* (Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1985), 247–57.

¹⁹ Tsoukalas mentions that the Greek diasporic bourgeoisie circles understood their political role and the need to consolidate their hegemonic role in the national state at the beginning of the twentieth century. Konstantinos Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή. Ο κοινωνικός ρόλος των εκπαιδευτικών μηχανισμών στην Ελλάδα (1830–1922)* [Dependence and reproduction. The social role of the educational mechanisms in Greece (1830–1922)] (Athens, 1977), 370–71.

This thesis will thus attempt to illuminate a piece of a puzzle that has remained in shadow until now. The Anglo-Hellenic League, the political organ of the Greek bourgeoisie of London, had an indispensable role as an advocate of Greek national interests during the period. The thesis thus aspires to examine the emergence of the community firstly as an economic and then as a political entity, and to trace its activities and map its discourse relating to important events in modern Greek history of the period. It will also highlight the role of this community in the foundation of the Koraes Chair at King's College London.

A vital methodological note concerns the social group under examination. The available archival material regarding the League restricts our research to a very confined social group, that of the London Greek bourgeoisie. This was comprised of ship-owners, lawyers, entrepreneurs, merchants and diplomats, who clearly belonged to the upper social strata. Thus, the information that we draw upon for the social, economic and political actions of the dispersed Greeks organised in the League has a limited social range. Those described as the 'unknown flock' – who obviously form the majority of the diaspora – and those of the lower social strata remain largely voiceless in the available archival material.²⁰ It is strongly apparent that the lower social strata, lacking means of representation and the opportunity to exercise power during this period, are not *a priori* represented by the League, which in fact does not represent most of the different social or economic groups that make up the multifaceted Greek diaspora of London. The class distinction between the bourgeois members of the League and the Greek working class in London will have generated ideological discrepancies that should be examined in a future study.

The complexity of the endeavour is highlighted if we take into account that the activities examined here are contemporaneous with two momentous events that dominated the period from 1909 to 1919. Firstly, the Greek state experienced a gradual but significant territorial expansion as a result of the Balkan and the First World Wars and, secondly, there was consequent massive movement and dispersion of populations across the newly formed borders. The chronological framework of this thesis has as its point of departure the Balkan Wars and the establishment of the

²⁰ Vasilis Kardasis, 'Ελληνική Διασπορά: Οικονομικές και Κοινωνικές συμπεριφορές' [Greek Diaspora: Economic and Social Attitudes], *EEOI seminar on Economic and Social History*, Athens, 14 May 2005.

League in December 1913, but it was considered important to provide a brief historical account of this community prior to its political organisation in the early 1910s. The period covered (1900–1920) included other important milestone events, such as those of 1905, 1908, 1909 and 1919, which are not of immediate interest to our research. Rather, the period from the beginning of the Balkan Wars, from which time Greece's political interaction with Britain was intensified up to the end of the First World War, along with political developments in Greece during this period (neutrality, National Schism) and the consolidation of the irredentist programme of the *Megali Idea*, provides a more useful background for the examination of the League's activities and discourse and consequently, the community's economic and political role.

But what happens when, alongside the already problematic notions of 'community' and 'diaspora', we consider other defining factors, such as 'identity', 'nationhood' and 'nationalism'? And if all of these theoretical categories are subsumed within a greater context that in its turn gives them meaning, such as 'Greek foreign policy', or international conjunctures such as the 'Balkans and the First World War', then how stable, really, is any concept that is submerged into so many different ideas? Thus, we consider it important to provide some clarification regarding the terminology employed in this thesis. We understand that the diasporic phenomenon is asymmetric, and employ the term 'community' to connote a group of diasporic subjects which shares common activities and attitudes within the same timeframe. The community examined here is referred to as the 'commercial', 'aristocratic' or 'mercantile' 'bourgeoisie' or 'elite' according to the argument of each chapter. The phrase 'Greek community of London' is also used very specifically here to connote the diasporic community of subjects with Greek origins and in many cases British nationality who acted in the name of the Anglo-Hellenic League. For the purpose of convenience this group will be also referred to as 'London Greeks' or the 'London Greek diaspora', which again is very strictly economically and politically defined.

Any history of the Greek diaspora in the early twentieth century is unavoidably bound to be a history of Greek politics and nationalism translated into the programme of the Great Idea. But history is not the mere reproduction of events

or even the sterile explanation of the causal relations that produced these conjunctures. History is the harvesting of every little idea that relates to these 'causal relations' as fundamentally important to the analysis and exegesis of the phenomenon under examination. These concepts – minor or significant – that orbit around milestone events, political decisions and social groups and identities form the greater pattern of what we know about our field of study. This study – because of the nature of its object – employs different theoretical models throughout, depending on the theme of each chapter. Although the main body of the thesis is primarily based on empirical historical research, the theoretical frameworks of diaspora, nationalism, interest/pressure groups and discourse analysis have also been employed in an eclectic manner. In addition, the analytical tools of historical sociology have been employed to avoid a top-down analysis, providing a methodology of structural analysis that allows the political organisation of this diasporic group to be conceptualised.

Drawing on the theory of diaspora, the seminal work of Robin Cohen constitutes a fundamental theoretical grounding for the first chapters of this thesis.²¹ Cohen's comparative study on the origins and development of world diasporas has assisted me in identifying different types of the diasporic phenomenon over and above the traditional binary divide of 'home' and 'away'. In order to identify certain types of diaspora, this eminent social scientist drafted out a table of proposed 'common features' to use as a tool along with 'emic/etic claims', the 'time dimension' and 'ideal types' so as to delineate a diaspora and help understand the phenomenon. A couple of the features provided by Cohen apply accurately to the Greek case, such as the preservation of a 'collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements' and 'an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintained, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation'.²² A more analytic review of the theory of diaspora will be developed in Chapter Two of this thesis.

²¹ Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (London and New York, 2008).

²² *Ibid.*, 17, Table 1.1.

As regards the Greek diaspora, Chassiotis's proposal of periodisation and causes of the modern Greek diaspora and the indispensable study of Chatziiosif on the character of the Greek commercial diaspora have served as exegetical frameworks in historicising the diasporic phenomenon in general.²³ However, the analysis adopted in this thesis attempts to explain the performance of a particular diaspora within the British context, analysing its activities and discourse.

For the examination of the activities of this predominately commercial bourgeoisie, the classic work of Stanley Chapman regarding merchant enterprise in Britain provided important information on the role and character of the enterprises, capital and investments of the Greek entrepreneurs.²⁴ Chapman, by stressing the supra-nationalist outlook of the Greek community, not only describes the historical background of this group but also comments on the identity of the Greek merchant – an element that is important in an understanding of the nature of this group and their activities. In this category, we should also include the seminal work of the pre-eminent sociologist Constantine Tsoukalas,²⁵ which, despite its problematic methodology, nevertheless constitutes an essential study of the economic and political role that the Greek diaspora played in the Greek state.

The political and nationalist discourse of this community, and especially its political structure – the Anglo-Hellenic League – is examined here through the methods and tools of discourse analysis. Although multiple definitions might exist, that rely on different perspectives of discourse theory and analysis, discourse can be broadly defined as a 'particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world).'²⁶ To better theoretically conceptualise the nature, significance and potential consequences of discursive struggle, our analysis draws mainly on two major theoretical and methodological approaches: the theory of

²³ Ioannis Chassiotis, 'Past and present in the history of modern Greek diaspora', in Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Toloyan and Carolin Alfonso (eds.), *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research* (London, 2004), 93–101; Chassiotis, 'Continuity and Change in the Modern Greek Diaspora', *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, 6 (1989), 9–24; Christos Chatziiosif, 'Εμπορικές παροικίες και ανεξάρτητη Ελλάδα. Ερμηνείες και προβλήματα' [Commercial communities and the Independent Greece; Interpretations and Issues], *Politis*, 62 (1983), 29–30.

²⁴ Stanley D. Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain: From the Industrial Revolution to World War I* (Cambridge, 1992).

²⁵ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*.

²⁶ Marianne Jorgensen and Louise J. Phillips, *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (London, 2002), 1.

discourse as articulated by, first, the French philosopher and social theorist Michel Foucault and, second, the later British-based political theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. In some cases, this study also relies on the theoretical tools offered by the critical discourse analysts Teun A. Van Dijk and Norman Fairclough.

Discourse analysis has as a starting point that the way we perceive and reflect on our world through speech and writing is not neutrally constructed, but rather our identities and social relations function as catalysts in forming and constraining the way we talk and act. In this direction, the most prominent theorist in examining the development of discourse analysis has been Michel Foucault. Even if not explicitly stated at times, the understanding of these concepts and the analytical procedure employed here are essentially influenced by Foucault. Foucault's theoretical and empirical research provided some important methodological tools, primarily in his work the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) but also in *Order of Discourse* (1970) and in treatises included in the edited volume *Power/Knowledge* (1980). Drawing on an 'archaeological' analytical strategy (which we will examine more closely below), Foucault defined discourse as 'a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [... . Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined'.²⁷

In Foucault's discursive analysis, based on the definition above, he provides the methodological tools that helped him excavate the next, 'archaeological' phase of his research. The *statement* is the smallest element of discourse. *Statements* can exist only through their enunciation and this requires at least four aspects, according to Foucault: the *discursive object*, the *subject*, the *conceptual network* and the *strategy*. These features give the *statement* a 'function of existence' that 'enables groups of signs to exist'.²⁸ *Discourse* is the final formulated body of statements, while *discursive formation* manifests the regularity in the dispersion of statements.

Moreover, Foucault's discourse theory has been developed on the idea of *power* as a productive force that exists in and is able to shape different aspects of all social practices and interactions while remaining inextricably linked with the notion

²⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London, 1972), 117.

²⁸ Niels Akerstrom Andersen, *Discursive Analytical Strategies: Understanding Foucault, Koselleck, Laclau, Luhmann* (Bristol, 2003), 11.

of *knowledge*. In his words, 'the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power'.²⁹ As a system of representation, discourse produces the objects of our knowledge, but it also influences the way in which ideas are put into practice and how they are utilised to control the conduct of others. Given this productive character of power, we will examine the League's statements and actions as meaningful practices that aspire to 'shape and influence' social and political practices, acting within the realm of greater narratives, such as modernism and nationalism.³⁰

Later post-structuralist discourse theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe adhered to the Foucauldian notion of power, developing the idea further and drawing on the work of the sociolinguist Saussure (1960) to explain that the exercise of power occurs when certain signifiers correspond to fixed meanings to the exclusion of others. Exactly this exclusion of other meanings (what they call *nodal points*) is what constitutes power in the field of discursivity: 'any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre'.³¹

In their seminal work *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985) Laclau and Mouffe highlighted the fact that discourse analysis is political, in the 'way contingent relations become fixed in one way, but could have been fixed in many others'.³² Discourse is constantly transformed through its interaction with other discourses, a process that the writers named *discursive struggle*. Different discourses produced different 'ways of talking about and understanding the social world'; they were thus engaged 'in a constant struggle with one another to achieve hegemony'.³³ This Gramscian idea of hegemony, alongside Foucault's power relations, will be used in drawing some conclusions regarding the success of pro-Hellenic discourses in propaganda.

²⁹ Michel Foucault, 'Prison Talk', in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972–1977* (Brighton, 1980), 52.

³⁰ Stuart Hall, 'Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse', in Margaret Wetherell, Simeon Yates and Stephanie Taylor (eds.), *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader* (London, 2001), 72–3.

³¹ Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (London, 1985), 112.

³² Andersen, *Discursive Analytical Strategies*, 52.

³³ Jorgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis*, 6–7.

Essentially, this part of Laclau and Mouffe's theory will help us understand the antagonism of the propaganda discourse between the pro-Bulgarian, pro-Albanian and pro-Hellenic lobbies. Laclau and Mouffe eloquently describe the successful discourse as hegemonic once it manages to establish itself as 'common sense' in the 'natural order', while its intrinsic origins are forgotten.³⁴

Additionally, we will employ Laclau and Mouffe's work on the theory of *group formation* to understand how group identity is constructed by multiple discourses within specific historical and institutional formations and practices. In texts that follow his primary work on hegemony, Laclau attempted to explain group formation theory by drawing on Lacan's *Theory of the Subject*, highlighting that the identity of the subject and collective identity is discursively constituted, which means that neither exists until discursively constituted. Notably, in Laclau's words 'It is not until someone speaks of, or to, or on behalf of, a group that it is constituted as a group.'³⁵

Laclau and Mouffe's incorporation of Lacan within their discourse theory means that the identification of the subject with the group identity is unavoidably constructed on the exclusion of alternative interpretations in order to ignore differences within the group. The so-called *chains of equivalence* have defined how the subject is and how it is not; identification, then, is constituted on a system that defines identities only relationally.³⁶

In our research, the subjects postulate through their discourse the relationship between the Greeks and the British, or the Greeks and the West, which generates meaningful understandings about their perceived identity and the world they want to see around them. Their discourse, having primarily a mediating character, aims to reveal the relationships between the particular community and other national communities or groups, or, in anthropological terms, the relationships between the 'self' and the 'Other'. In this respect, the subjects also postulate discourses about the national 'Other': the Albanian, the Bulgarian and the Turk. The 'Other' is also a Greek 'Other' in the case of the National Schism [Ethnikos

³⁴ Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 174.

³⁵ Ernesto Laclau, 'Power and representation', in M. Poster (ed.), *Politics, Theory and Contemporary Culture* (New York, 1993), 289ff.

³⁶ Laclau and Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, 127–9.

Dichasmos], which stands in the way of the satisfaction of their political aspirations. The construction of national identity can be explained on the basis of *equivalence* and *difference*. The national community acquires a single collective identity through the 'contrast with an alien "Them" or "Other" discursively constituted with a single identity' which essentially promotes 'the dichotomisation of political space, a division of the social into two opposing camps'.³⁷

This discourse, which produces identifications and constructs the social imaginary in which the League is at once member and constructor, can be illuminated by the concept of *hegemonic interventions*. By employing this term, they highlight the 'efforts to re-articulate discourses and achieve the dominance of one particular perspective'.³⁸ This interrelates with the idea of antagonism, which is essentially the struggle between discourses for the creation of meaning. If two or more discourses are in collision, then the hegemonic discourse prevails by creating a new fixation of meaning. As examined in detail in Chapter Five, pro-Hellenic discourse was often in conflict with other discourses for the creation of the meaning of certain discursive objects, such as 'civilised' or 'modern'.

Although Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical approach to discourse and group formation is important for this study, their particular orientation is towards theory development and they do not 'include ... many practical tools for textually oriented discourse analysis'.³⁹ Consequently, we will supplement their theory with the analytical tools provided primarily by Foucault and, to a lesser extent, with those drawn from the toolkit of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Although Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is, rather, a type of discourse analytical research that offers ways of theorising and analysing discourse and not so much a distinct school in discourse studies, it nonetheless offers methods and theories to assist in studying the role between discursive practice and social and cultural phenomena, which can be useful for this study.⁴⁰ More specifically, what

³⁷ D. Rear and A. Jones, 'Discursive struggle and contested signifiers in the arenas of education policy and work skills in Japan', *Critical Policy Studies*, 7, 4 (2013), 375–94.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 379

³⁹ Jorgensen and Phillips, *Discourse Analysis*, 24.

⁴⁰ Teun A. Van Dijk, 'Critical Discourse Analysis', in Deborah Schiffrin, Deborah Tannen and Heidi E. Hamilton (eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (MA, 2001), 352.

CDA provides here is the *critical* understanding of the production of social identities and social practices. Equally important for evaluating the success of the Anglo-Hellenic League's propaganda is the idea that the 'power and dominance of groups are measured by their control over (access to) discourse'.⁴¹

One of the founders of CDA, Norman Fairclough, highlighted the role of this analysis in systematically exploring

the opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and tests arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power.⁴²

CDA, therefore, also employs the Foucauldian notion of power to deal with the relationship between discourse and power, and especially *social power* or the *exercise of control* of groups, organisations or institutions.⁴³

Understanding discourse as transcending the linguistic as well as extra-linguistic systems will help us deconstruct another concept that dominates most of the discussion on discourse: propaganda. Although the terms 'propaganda' and 'pro-Hellenic discourse' are used interchangeably here, it should be understood that all discourse of the period, in the context examined, is essentially propagandistic insofar as it deliberately attempts to 'persuade people to think and behave in a desired way'.⁴⁴ To understand the tools and mechanisms of propaganda, however, it is essential to conceptualise it as a type of discourse developed in a certain socio-political context that often employs a variety of discourses (political, national, religious, racial) to substantiate its argument. Propaganda can thus also be understood as a strand of political discourse if we accept that all discourse is essentially political.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Teun A. Van Dijk, 'Principles of critical discourse analysis', in (ed.), *Studies in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Special issue of *Discourse & Society*, 4, 2 (1993), 257.

⁴² Norman Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (London, 1995), 132.

⁴³ Isabella Fairclough and Norman Fairclough, *Political discourse analysis. A method for advanced students* (New York, 2012), 78.

⁴⁴ Philip Taylor, *Munition of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day* (1st ed. 1990; Manchester, 2003), 6.

⁴⁵ Michael J. Shapiro, *Language and Political Understanding* (New Haven, CT, 1981).

For Duverger, propaganda formed the fundamental component of a league; as he understood it, a league was an organisation that was primarily set up for propaganda purposes.⁴⁶ Propaganda theorists have all attempted to produce an accurate definition of the term without managing to agree on one.⁴⁷ Unsuccessful attempts at a definition were also due to different understandings of the word itself up until the First World War, which, according to Erwin Fellows, an early scholar of propaganda, 'gave great impetus to the use of the term'.⁴⁸ The experience of the First World War and its nature as a 'total war' made it clear that public opinion could no longer 'be ignored as a determining factor in the formulation of government policies' and, therefore, propaganda that exercised control over this opinion slowly emerged as 'the principal instrument' of the national arsenal.⁴⁹ With the press being the primary medium through which the government could effectively influence public opinion, or exercise 'opinion management', as David Welch eloquently puts it, it was not long before the first Press Bureau was created in Britain, along with the Foreign Office News Department in August 1914. Gradually 'an elaborate machinery had been constructed for the purpose' and by 1918 the Ministry of Information and the propaganda department at Crewe House had taken the lead in the war of words.⁵⁰

In addition to the scholarly work cited, the studies of Jowett and O'Donnell and Taylor have been particularly important for this thesis in advancing an understanding of propaganda as a form of communication and persuasion that aims to achieve 'a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist'.⁵¹ Using these studies, we can determine the purposes behind the propaganda produced by

⁴⁶ Duverger, *Political Parties*.

⁴⁷ In the words of Leonard W. Doob, 'a clear-cut definition of propaganda is neither possible nor desirable'. *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique* (New York, 1935), 375.

⁴⁸ Erwin W. Fellows, "'Propaganda': History of a Word", *American Speech*, 34, 3 (1959), 184. The word propaganda was first introduced in 1622, when the Vatican established the 'Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide' (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith), 'which was charged with carrying "the faith" to the New World and with reviving and strengthening it in Europe as a means of countering the Protestant revolution'. Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA, 2012), 75.

⁴⁹ David Welch, 'Introduction', in Nicholas J. Cull, David Culbert and David Welch (eds), *Propaganda and Mass Persuasion, a Historical Encyclopedia 1500 to the Present* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2003), xvi.

⁵⁰ Philip M. Taylor, *The Projection of Britain: British Overseas Publicity and Propaganda, 1919–1939* (Cambridge, 1981), 12.

⁵¹ Jowett and O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 1.

the Anglo-Hellenic League, identify themes and persuasive methods and, finally, attempt to assess its success. It appears that the definition that would be particularly relevant to the period under examination is Taylor's: he defines propaganda as the 'conscious, methodical and planned decisions to employ techniques of persuasion designed to achieve specific goals that are intended to benefit those organizing the process'.⁵²

Examined thematically rather than chronologically, the discourse of the League produces narratives that complement and shape the national narrative of the period. To be more specific, they constitute diasporic narratives that concern the production of 'space', 'time' and 'belonging' constructed by a community already shaped by the space, time and belonging narratives produced by the Greek state in the 1850s. These narratives are unavoidably connected with the greater narrative of the period, that of nationalism.

According to Kornprobst, all major schools of thought on nations and nationalism (modernism, ethno-symbolism and social constructivism) emphasise the key role of elites in 'inventing and re-inventing nations'.⁵³ A central argument of this thesis concerns the construction of a culturally and politically 'superior' identity by the elites in order to combat mainly external but also domestic 'enemies'. Their discourse is connected with the discourse of modernity and westernisation as indispensable features of nationalism. In order to examine their means and methods for consolidating this identity and to identify the elements connecting westernisation and modernisation with the national identity we have relied on *inter alia* the works of Liah Greenfeld for an understanding of modernity as an inherent condition of nationalism.⁵⁴ Additionally, the work of Anna Frangoudakis and Çağlar Keyder has proposed interesting findings that may help in a comprehension of the Greek project

⁵² Taylor, *The Projection of Britain*, 6.

⁵³ Markus Kornprobst, 'Episteme, nation-builders and national identity: the re-construction of Irishness', *Nations and Nationalism*, 11 (1995), 403–21.

⁵⁴ Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge, MA, 1992) and 'Modernity and Nationalism', in Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* (London, 2006), 157–68.

of modernity and its inextricable connections with the 'westernisation' of a traditional discourse.⁵⁵

In this respect, and in order to avoid the generalisations and abstractions that tend to surface when examining national historical events as such, it is considered mandatory to contextualise the arguments by subsuming them in the general historical context and, in addition, by setting out for the reader the ideological underpinnings which both fuelled the actions of our historical agents and formulated their national perceptions regarding the 'Other'. It is our understanding that events, and especially national events with a considerable impact on the formation of national history, should be perceived and understood within the broader historical context and contemporary conjunctures. In the words of Frantz Fanon, 'every human problem must be considered from the standpoint of time'.⁵⁶ Thomas Mann has also expressed this concept in his *Magic Mountain*: 'a man lives not only his personal life, as an individual, but also, consciously or unconsciously, the life of his epoch and his contemporaries'.⁵⁷ Hence, such an approach acknowledges the event in its historical, rather than its national, time and thus respects both micro and macro history.⁵⁸

The League became active during a period when the principle of self-determination constituted the supreme political value shaping the national aspirations of different Balkan and Central European nations. British and American diplomacy appealed to the 'right of self-determination'. Lloyd George considered it as one of the 'three fundamental conditions of a permanent peace' and President Wilson regarded it as a principle that gave 'justice to all peoples and nationalities whether they be strong or weak' and argued that, unless it was met, 'no part of the structure of international justice can stand'.⁵⁹

In his first study of interest group politics, Bentley explains how groups are formatted because of the existence of another group, while their activities are defined in relation to those of other groups: 'a group can be stated or defined or

⁵⁵ Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder (eds.), *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey* (London, 2007).

⁵⁶ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London, 1986), 14.

⁵⁷ Thomas Mann, *The Magic Mountain*, trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter (New York, 1955), 328–9.

⁵⁸ Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία*, 12–13.

⁵⁹ Hans Kohn, 'The United Nations and National Self-Determination', *The Review of Politics*, 20, 4 (1958), 527–8.

valued, in terms of other groups, while no group has meaning except in its relations to other groups.⁶⁰ In this context, the Anglo-Hellenic League was not the only society in Britain promoting national interests. Groups representing other Balkan countries also sought to exert influence and manipulate British policies in favour of their territorial demands.⁶¹ Obviously, on many occasions the interests of these societies collided. For example, this thesis will also address the propaganda produced by the Anglo-Albanian Association, founded in 1912 (as the Albanian Committee) to 'support the Albanian cause in Britain and to promote recognition of the newly independent Albanian state'.⁶² The propaganda produced by Aubrey Herbert MP, the chairman of the association, was one of the reasons for the Anglo-Hellenic League's initial formation. Herbert also became the chairman of the Ottoman Association, founded in 1913 to 'support the integrity of the Ottoman Empire'.⁶³ In addition, there was also the Serbian Society of Great Britain, established in October 1916 'to popularise the apparent threat to the British Empire posed by Pan-Germanism'.⁶⁴

Moreover, in 1916 a group of British liberal nationalists founded *New Europe*, a journal 'pour la victoire intégrale' with a broadly internationalist outlook. It held strongly to the cause of the small nations and the principle of national self-determination for an independent Poland and Czechoslovakia, and, for the southern Slavs, an independent Yugoslavia.⁶⁵ In its first issue on 19 October 1916 it set out its ambition to 'provide a rallying ground for all those who see in European reconstruction, on a basis of nationality, the rights of minorities'.⁶⁶ The famous British historian Robert W. Seton-Watson, the principal of King's College London and founding member of the League, Ronald Montague Burrows and Tomáš Masaryk,

⁶⁰ Bentley, *The Process of Government*, 217.

⁶¹ There is also evidence for the existence of a Polish Society of London, an Anglo-Armenian Association and an Anglo-Spanish Society. See also the Anglo-German Friendship Society (1905), the Institut Français du Royaume Uni (Anglo-French Society) and the Anglo-Russian Entente in Robbins, 'Public Opinion'.

⁶² Robert Elsie, *Historical Dictionary of Albania* (Plymouth, 2010), 13.

⁶³ Bejtullah D. Destani and Jason Tones (eds.), *Albania's Greatest Friend: Aubrey Herbert and the Making of Modern Albania: Diaries and Papers 1904–1923* (London, 2011), 168.

⁶⁴ James A. Perkins, 'British liberalism and the Balkans, c. 1875–1925' (Birkbeck, University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 2014), 191.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁶⁶ *New Europe*, I, no. 1 (1916)

the future president of Czechoslovakia comprised the writers and foreign affair experts of *New Europe*. Venizelist Greece and Serbia enjoyed extra attention in the pages of this journal. Its clear pro-Hellenic character was furthered by Burrows' articles in favour of Venizelos, such as the interview Venizelos gave Burrows on 29 March 1917.⁶⁷ But it was also evident in the attacks it published on various pro-Bulgarian figures, such as Noel Buxton, who was accused in 1917 of being a 'sentimental tourist with good introductions who has secured for his inevitable book of travel the necessary interviews with political personages'.⁶⁸ The League, therefore, is situated within a broader period in which the national claims of smaller nations were a popular subject within British liberal politics. Acting fervently as a kind of 'PR agency in London', the League managed to introduce the Liberal leader Venizelos into British circles and produce an elaborate programme of propaganda in collaboration with *New Europe*, King's College London and eminent figures in British politics and academia.⁶⁹

This thesis is based upon a collection of primary sources whose extensive study has not so far been recorded in the historiography. Specifically, the main body of research has relied on the study of the archives of the Anglo-Hellenic League, which were gifted to King's College London. The documents held at King's include, primarily, the publications of the League, including its pamphlets and newspaper articles, as well as correspondence between the executive board and the College regarding the foundation of the Koraes Chair and some of the private documents of the first lay principal of the College, Ronald Burrows. The information within King's College archive provides a fresh perspective on Anglo-Hellenic relations of the period and an important insight into the structure and affairs of the League and its dealings with British and Greek politicians and academics. However, gathering all the pamphlets produced by the League has not been an easy task. Some of the pamphlets that were missing from the College were found in the archives of the Liberal Club in Athens and others in libraries in London and Athens.

⁶⁷ *New Europe*, II, no. 24 (1917)

⁶⁸ *New Europe*, I, no. 6 (1917), 170.

⁶⁹ Slobodan G. Markovich, 'Anglophiles in Balkan Christian States (1862–1920)', *Balkanica*, XL (2010), 127.

A further important source of primary information has been the Historical Archive of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in which is held all the diplomatic documents relating to communications between the Greek state and the Greek Embassy in London. Information from this archive has been indispensable in our understanding of the role of the London Greek community and its political organ within a wider context of relations between Greek and British officials.

Complementary to this research was an examination of documents at the National Archives in Kew, undertaken mainly to understand the British standpoint regarding Greece during the First World War.

In addition, this research has been enriched by the examination of the private documents of key figures of the League: John Gennadius, the Greek Minister in London (in the Gennadius Archives in Athens); John Stavridis, the solicitor and consul general of Greece in London (through his private diary in St. Anthony's College, Oxford); and the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos (through research in the Liberal Club Archives and the Archives of the Venizelos Foundation held at Benaki Museum). Other archives consulted are the London School of Economics and Political Science Archive (LSE), which contains some papers on William Pember Reeves, director of the London School of Economics and co-founder of the League, and the Greek Literary and Historical Archives (ELIA).

Finally, yet importantly, a study of the newspaper and journal articles of this period has allowed an examination of the influence of the League upon the British press and vice versa: that is, how the press perceived and reproduced the developments between the two countries during this period. They have also been an invaluable source of information about the propaganda produced by other 'rival' groups, such as the pro-Bulgarian, pro-Albanian and pro-Ottoman lobbies in London. Besides pamphlets and correspondence, the Anglo-Hellenic League archives also hold seven volumes of newspaper cuttings (around 1,750 articles) dated from November 1915 to August 1919, diligently gathered and compiled by members of the League.

This thesis is arranged in four main chapters that cover the period along chronological and thematic lines. Chapter Two provides a historical map of the Greek community in London, one of the most prolific financial communities of the British

capital, by examining its economic activities from the mid-nineteenth century. The chapter will follow the activities of this bourgeoisie – the merchant houses, their financial investments, the shipping industry and their business progress – throughout the First World War. This chapter also provides an examination of the politicisation of the London Greek bourgeoisie and its relations with the British liberal philhellenic establishment at the end of the century. It will be argued that their economic interests coincided with the irredentist politics of the liberal leader Venizelos and they soon became political allies, advocating for Greek expansionism. The conclusion of this chapter paves the way for the establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League in 1913, mapping the philhellenic initiatives in the British capital from 1878 to 1912 and preparing the ground for the development of a new kind of propaganda mechanism.

Chapter Three outlines the establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League in London in 1913. It is intended to provide a broad picture of how this pressure group was organised, how it functioned and how it connects to the wider historical context. In doing so, a sketch of its most important publications, events and activities will be given and its most important members, both Greek and British – among whom we find the principal of King's College London, Ronald Burrows, and William Pember Reeves, the Director of the London School of Economics – will be examined. The chapter focuses also on an analysis of the discourse of some of the most important publications of the League and a detailed account of its thirty-nine publications. Last but not least, the League is examined as an organised group of pro-Venizelist propaganda and as a network including League members and Greek officials in London acting together to promote certain interests, which functioned both as a political club for Greek liberalism in Britain and as a lobbying organisation for British interests in Greece.

Chapter Four focuses on an examination of the League's discourse regarding the Greek regime and the character of its authority. A historical background outlining Greek liberal politics during the early twentieth century precedes the discourse analysis in order to accommodate the liberal ideology of the League within a historical context. The chapter then extends throughout the period of the First World War, mapping the reactions of the League on the issue of monarchy,

beginning with the ascendance of Venizelos to the premiership and reaching the tumultuous period of the National Schism (1915–1917). In addition, it examines the continuities and ruptures in the diasporic perception regarding the crown, and attempts to highlight the shifting perceptions regarding the Greek monarchy. The chapter also includes the reaction from the House of Commons and the British political scene regarding the issue of the official recognition of Venizelos' government during the National Schism. In conclusion, we provide an account of a socialist voice, that of John Mavrogordato, within an otherwise liberal League, which asks for the historically premature 'End of the Greek Monarchy' and the 'proclamation of the Greek Republic'.⁷⁰

Following this examination of the discourse of the League on the domestic political situation and its support for the consolidation of liberal power, Chapter Five aims to provide a detailed account of the discourse regarding the national demands associated with Irredentism and the *Megali Idea*. At first, we attempt to conceptualise Greek nationalism during this period and ascertain an identification of the League with Venizelos and Greek irredentist expansionism. This chapter also studies the connections between Greek nationalism and the concomitant project for modernisation with the idea that progress was dependent upon western values. Ultimately, the chapter records the League's discourse relating to three case studies of national propaganda: first, there is an analysis of the discourse produced by the League to combat the pro-Albanian propaganda of Aubrey Herbert MP regarding the 'Greekness of Epirus'; the second case study concerns claims of 'Greekness' over Macedonia and responds to the pro-Bulgarian propaganda of the Buxton brothers (MPs), which posed a practical danger to Greek territorial demands in the area; and, last but not least, the final case study follows the writings of the League regarding the deportations of a great number of Greeks from the Anatolian coast during the events of 1912–1914.

⁷⁰ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *End of the Greek monarchy*, 1917 (reprinted from *The Edinburgh Review*, January 1917.)

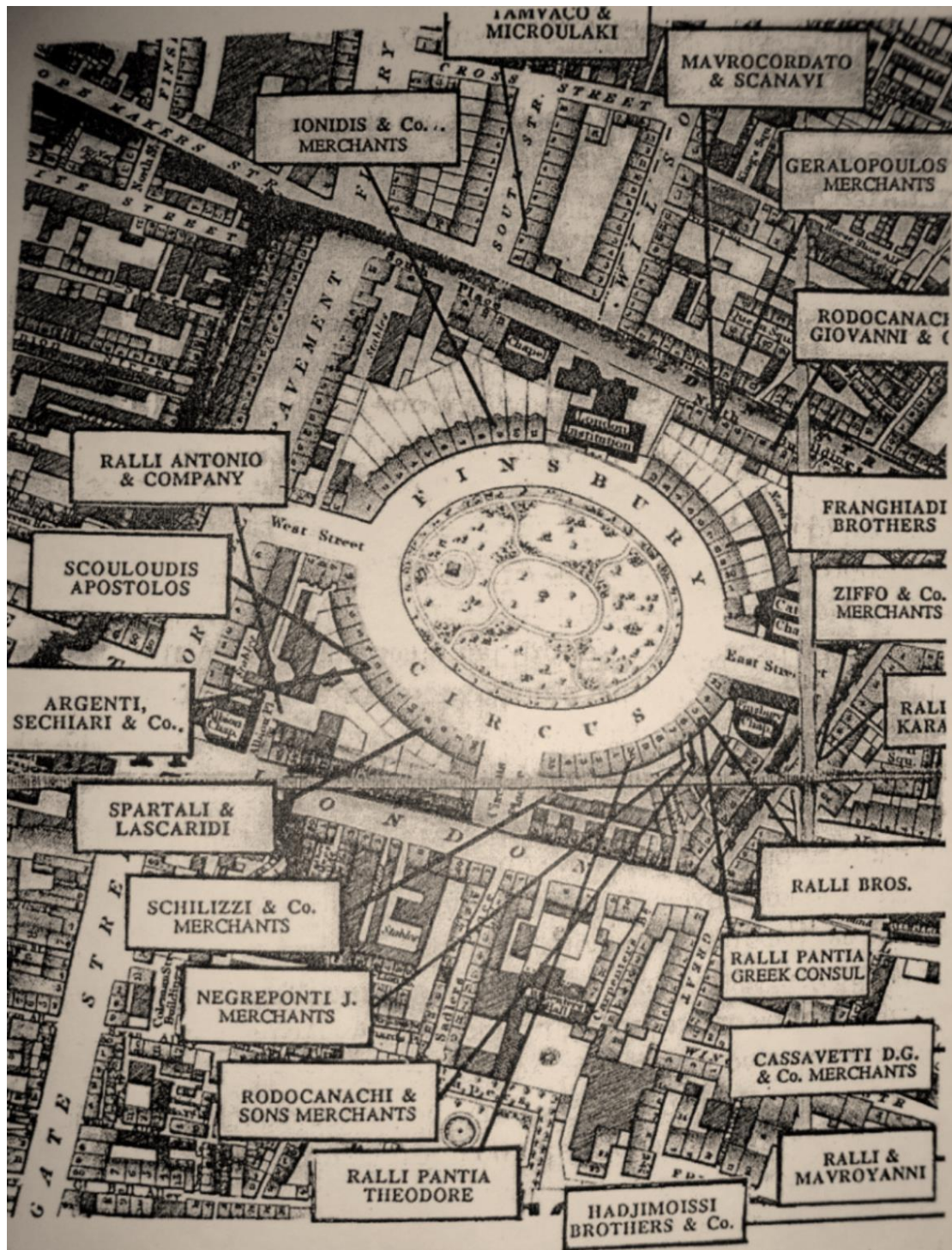


Figure 1. The centre of Hellenic activities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Source: Charis Mettis, *The Roots of Hellenism in Great Britain* (Athens, 2003), 142.

Chapter Two

The London Greek Bourgeoisie: An Economic and Political Actor 1900 –1920

Finsbury Circus is London's oldest public park, dating back to 1607. From the 1820s until the early twentieth century its elegant curved terraces and four-storey premises accommodated influential Greeks who came to England mainly from the island of Chios to establish their firms. The prominent families of Ralli, Mavrogordato, Ionidis, Cassavetti, Argenti, Schilizzi and others populated this part of London and turned the park into a bustling commercial neighbourhood for their businesses. In 1837 a Greek chapel was set up in the area, while the majority of the houses belonged to Greek merchants, entrepreneurs and lawyers.

This chapter focuses on the history of the London Greek bourgeoisie, a diasporic minority of wealthy and influential individuals, and their economic activities until the formation of the Anglo-Hellenic League in 1913. It examines them as a transnational commercial group who were embedded in the modern Greek diaspora and attempts to map their mercantile performance as one of the most prolific operating in twentieth-century London, mainly owing to their shipping fleet. While describing their economic activities, especially during the First World War, we also seek to understand their relations with the Greek domestic economy. Further, this chapter is also preoccupied with the politicisation of the London Greek bourgeoisie and its relations with the British liberal philhellenic establishment at the end of the century. At the time, the financial interests of this particular diasporic group coincided with both the liberal politics of the Greek state regarding the expansionist plans towards the East and British liberal policies in the Eastern Mediterranean. The chapter concludes with an overview of the pro-Hellenic initiatives prior to the foundation of the League and paves the way for an examination of the means and mechanisms of pro-Hellenic propaganda in London during the First World War.

The Greek Commercial Diaspora: A Note on Methodology

In undertaking this research on the economic and political activities of the Greek diasporic community in London, a focus on its commercial development until 1913 is paramount. The phenomenon of the diaspora is a much discussed subject in the modern historiography because it requires a combination of approaches in order to properly assess the socio-economic, political and cultural impact of its historical protagonists (communities, bodies, institutions and persons) in the national and transnational arenas.

Accepting the asymmetry of the diasporic phenomenon, rather than adopting the results of empirical studies without criticism and analysis, is an equally important methodological note. For example, the term 'community' has been employed uncritically by historians to describe a group of diasporic subjects, without questioning how the term relates to the activities, attitudes and temporalities of the group itself. We should not follow a linear exegesis to explicate the term 'community', as this risks resulting in a simplistic explanation. An approach of this kind does not leave room for any vertical examination along either the temporal or the hermeneutic line. Consequently, it imposes a horizontal view of the phenomenon which may lead to misconceptions and inaccurate assumptions.

To understand the mercantile performance of Greeks in London up to the First World War we need to examine the interaction of the mercantile trade practices of this group with British capital, international trading houses and mercantile businesses in general. Both the Industrial Revolution and wars with the French caused London to succeed Amsterdam as the cosmopolitan hub of international trading communities. Hence, London became home to 'a more heterogeneous mix of races' than ever before.⁷¹ Political and economic developments, as well as the major technological advancements that characterised the period, changed the traditional role of the merchant. Although London was the fulcrum of international finance, it was soon 'overtaken by a new wave of

⁷¹ Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century* (New York, 1981), 30–31.

international trading families' who became, in the words of Bergeron, 'an aristocracy that knew no national frontiers'.⁷²

Evridiki Sifneos argues that the cosmopolitanism of the merchant was connected to an increase in the international nature of trade in the early industrial period. This phenomenon is what characterised the commercial nature of the modern Greek diaspora. This 'mercantile ethos' was comprised of 'certain skills and qualities' that ultimately shaped a particular 'internationalization'; an economic ethic and worldview.⁷³ The increasing internationalisation of trade made the development of a world economic market much more feasible. Commercial elites sought to promote their interests by advocating for the integration of peripheral arenas into the world economy. Following this line of reasoning, Fairlie characterises the Greek enterprises that settled in Britain as 'the main agents for the expansion of British trade in the Ottoman Empire'.⁷⁴ In addition, this concept of an open world market echoed the ideas of economic liberalism – a characteristic notion of the political philosophy formulating the business ideology of our historical agents.

The Greek commercial diaspora shared much in common in terms of their skills and qualities with their Sephardic Jewish and Huguenot analogues. Firstly, they adopted an international commercial attitude that could be traced into succeeding generations. This formulated and standardised their business activities in the long run. Then they acquired adequate 'capital, credit or connections' along with sufficient mercantile experience to overcome the hardships of war. This allowed them to respond to the prospects of the developing industry. The efforts of the community culminated in the Greek merchant fleet, which not only survived the catastrophic First World War but came out of it more robust and competitive.⁷⁵ Lastly, they shared a 'sectarian outlook that interlocked families in chains of partnerships and marriages and loyalties', which allowed these commercial houses

⁷² Louis Bergeron, 'Les banquiers rhénans, fin du XVIII^e siècle au début du XIX^e siècle', *Bulletin du Centre d'histoire économique et sociale de la région lyonnaise*, 2 (1976), 31–42.

⁷³ Evridiki Sifneos, "'Cosmopolitanism" as a feature of the Greek commercial diaspora', *History and Anthropology*, 16, 1 (2005), 97–111.

⁷⁴ Susan E. Fairlie, 'The Anglo-Russian Grain Trade 1815–1861' (LSE University of London, Ph.D. thesis, 1959), 158–61.

⁷⁵ This is not to suggest that the Greek merchant fleet did not suffer its losses; an extensive analysis follows later in this chapter.

to be stable enough to respond to the 'uncertainties and vicissitudes of nineteenth-century trade'.⁷⁶

Stanley Chapman, a scholar of British industrial and mercantile enterprise, uses specific hermeneutic tools to understand mercantile business in London. Chapman relies on the work of Cain and Hopkins, particularly their category of 'gentlemanly capitalism'. Briefly, these authors analyse the rise of the aristocratic bourgeoisie during the age of the British Empire.⁷⁷ While Cain suggests that leisure is identified as a 'means of drawing entrepreneurs away from manufacturing industry and providing time to promote political interests', Hopkins argues that the aristocratic focus is orientated towards an aristocratic lifestyle that will consequently lead to amateurishness in business. This idea, which was firstly expressed by Walter Bagehot in *Lombard Street* (1873), underlines how 'leisure' as the result of excessive capital and adequate experience became a necessary trait in the life of the international trader, who had to devote time to planning his entrepreneurial activities according to the regular shifts in the trading arena. What dominated the scene of international trade houses in London in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the image of the 'head of a great firm dealing with foreign countries' who needed to be a 'statesman', an 'economist' and a 'financier', as well as a 'merchant'.⁷⁸

The Diasporic Community from a Transnational Perspective

Diaspora communities have been the subject of study by scholars coming from different theoretical backgrounds, whose perspectives and methodologies have questioned and developed the traditional understanding of diaspora, especially during the last two decades.

To understand how the notion of diaspora has come to be shaped by scholarship to constitute a distinctive social category, however, we need to carefully review some of the key general works that provide the theoretical framework in

⁷⁶ Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, 131–2.

⁷⁷ Peter J. Cain and Anthony G. Hopkins, 'Gentlemanly capitalism and British expansion overseas I. The old colonial system, 1688–1850', *The Economic History Review*, 39 (1986), 501–25.

⁷⁸ Samuel Smith, *My life-work* (London, 1992), 36.

which this thesis is presented. As mentioned in the Introduction, one of the most important works on diaspora is Cohen's book *Global Diasporas*. This was the first of a series of books on global diasporas and served as a coherent and analytic introduction to the study of the phenomenon. Cohen made an extensive attempt to provide the conceptual tools that would help the student of diaspora delineate, analyse and compare many diasporic phenomena. These tools generated a typology that helps to classify diasporas according to their type and which allows scholars to draw comparisons between them. Cohen thus paves the way in examining diasporas not as isolated groups but in their social context, analysing each case in relation to their attachment to both the homeland and their host countries, to the networks they create and to the links they maintain with their culture. He also develops the insightful metaphor 'diasporic rope', which, as Wittgenstein's fibres of meaning, consists of different fibres that are intertwined – in this case the nine common features exhibited by diasporas.⁷⁹ Another important scholar of the political aspect of ethno-national diasporas, Gabriel Sheffer, is mentioned by Cohen. Sheffer, a political scientist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has attempted to produce a book to serve, as he puts it, as a 'general book on diaspora politics', but which provides, perhaps for the first time, a thorough and consistent understanding of diasporas as political organisations.⁸⁰

However general, Sheffer's book delivers articulate answers on why and how diasporas become organised and what sort of interests they seek to promote. He argues that what makes these diasporas pursue political status is their wish to maintain 'their ethno-national identities, contacts with their homelands and with other disperse communities of the same ethnic origin'.⁸¹ Diaspora, in this reading, acquires a political dimension because it is formed by a defined community and collective actors who take political action and seek to establish trans-state networks.⁸² In chapter six of his book Sheffer provides a full analysis of the functions of diaspora organisations, essentially summarised into the following three

⁷⁹ Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, 161–2.

⁸⁰ Gabriel Sheffer, *Diaspora Politics: At Home Abroad* (Cambridge, 2002), xi.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 26–7.

categories: 'maintenance, defence and promotion of its communities' multifaceted interests'.⁸³ The case we examine in this thesis falls particularly under the third function, which entails promotional and advocacy activities in the cultural, political and economic arenas. All in all, Sheffer's book outlines an important framework of the functions and activities of an organised diaspora and its theoretical underpinnings, all of which has been important for this research.

Another important treatise in the field is Kokot and colleagues' volume of case studies presented at a conference that took place in Hamburg in 2004, which aims to address the question of diasporic identity formation by providing a 'testing ground for theoretical concepts and generalizations'.⁸⁴ Making the assertion that 'diasporas are *sited* in history as well as in space', it relies largely on the definition of diaspora of the Armenian scholar Khachig Tölölyan, which respects the spatiality and temporality of the term:

Any diaspora is still a space of real and imagined relations between diasporic communities as well as between them and the homeland. But this space is still composed of places, of localities that are both sites of settlement and nodes in a transnational network of mobility and communication.⁸⁵

The theoretical chapters of Kokot et al.'s work touch upon diaspora not as a monolithic unity but as a highly de-territorialised concept, whose examination would be inadequate without reflection on the related concepts of ethnicity and transnationalism. For example, the introductory chapter argues that transnationalism is focused on 'lasting relationships and repeated movements across borders, the agents being not states or nations, but individual actors and associations'.⁸⁶ It is also pointed out that transnationalism is not a new phenomenon, referring to the work of Foner (1997) on migrant communities in nineteenth-century New York.⁸⁷ Last but not least the volume challenges, through the ten diaspora cases, the concept of identity. Each case provides an understanding

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁸⁴ Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan and Carolin Alfonso (eds.), *Diaspora, Identity and Religion: New Directions in Theory and Research* (London, 2004), 1.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁸⁷ N. Foner, 'What's new about transnationalism? New immigrants today and at the turn of the century', *Diaspora*, 6, 3 (1997), 355–73.

of the specific social conditions and the historical context that formed the diasporic identity of its subjects without limiting itself to a particular theoretical approach.

Taking into consideration theoretical as well as empirical approaches to the concepts of *diaspora* and *community*, our examination of the Greek diasporic community needs to be understood outside the exegetical framework of the 'long durée' and through the analytical case study of the specific group under examination. To offer a crystallised view of the phenomenon of the diaspora in London, we firstly need to consider it as an organic body with an independent development *vis-à-vis* the Greek state, and not functionally linked with the latter's establishment and course. On this note we agree with the majority of scholars who underline that diasporas cannot be considered 'a single field of studies' simply because they share in common that they are developed outside the geographical borders of the national state.⁸⁸ The pluralism implicit in the identification of subtypes of diaspora such as 'labour, trade, business, professional, religious, cultural, ethno-national and refugee diasporas' offers the first point of departure for a more analytical explanation of the characteristics of each diaspora. However, problems may be introduced by the complexity of each diaspora at the micro-level, in terms of, for example, its historical progress or class diversity.⁸⁹

On the other hand, dealing with the term from a geographical standpoint allows an understanding of the materiality of the spatial and temporal processes accompanying the diasporic phenomenon while acknowledging that diaspora in general, and the Greek diaspora in particular, have been comprised of several successive waves of immigration (in the Greek case, to London). In this sense, the human geographer Michel Bruneau departs from the notion of transnationalism and trans-territoriality to think about the different waves of mobilities, or 'mixities', as he calls them, which comprise the diaspora network.⁹⁰ In his words, 'a diaspora is a patchwork of families, communities and religious networks integrated in a territory

⁸⁸ Anna Mandilara, 'Η Ελληνική Διασπορά και η Ιστοριογραφική Διασπορά' [Greek diaspora and historiographical diaspora], *Mnemon*, 22 (2000), 241.

⁸⁹ Robin Cohen, 'Diaspora', in Neil J. Smelser and Paul B. Baltes (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (Oxford, 2001), 3643.

⁹⁰ Michel Bruneau, 'Diasporas, Transnational Spaces and Communities', in Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist (eds.), *Diaspora and Transnationalism Concepts, Theories and Methods* (Amsterdam, 2010), 47.

by a nation-state, within its borders'.⁹¹ Accordingly, the famous Chiot merchants who arrived in the city of London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ship-owners and bankers that we find in the mid-nineteenth century and the well-established commercial bourgeoisie of the early twentieth century deserve their own separate examinations from scholarship and should not be treated as a one discrete body of Greek commercial immigration. As far as their integration rate in the diaspora is concerned, we should state that each wave brought about significant changes in the entrepreneurial and business practices of the Greek commercial diaspora.⁹²

Just as 'diasporas must be considered within their historical as well as spatial contexts', the same applies with the term 'community', which we cannot consider as an *a priori* all-inclusive term that acts within a firm context and reproduces stable meanings.⁹³ The explanation that views the community not in its organic sense but as an inflexible institution has been castigated by Anagnostopoulou, who denounces the myth of 'the continuity of Hellenism through its communities'.⁹⁴ An approach that accepts the spatiality and gives particular notice to the *temporalities* of a diaspora, that takes into account its 'anteriorities, presents, futurities', offers a starting point for one to explore causations, results and agendas in time, space and order.⁹⁵ In other words, by drawing on the asymmetry of the phenomenon we can produce meaning outside the imposition of necessity and teleological reading.

To offer, therefore, a more specific framework of the analysis that will follow, we will conceptualise the diasporic community of London greeks under examination,

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁹² According to Calvocoressi, there were at least two waves of Chiot diaspora to London. The first was a forced migration resulting from the catastrophe of Chios in 1822, which lasted until the outbreak of the First World War. These Chiots were 'very conscious of their origins and they did not lose their sentimental attachment' to their ancestral land. However, over the years the lack of physical presence and relationship weakened their sentimental link. We can thus infer that the Chiots of the late nineteenth century were different from the ones that initially arrived, in the sense that they were more 'cosmopolitan' in their business outlook. The second wave included 'arrivals who have their businesses in foreign parts but have homes in Chios which they regularly visit' and have 'Greek rather than British nationality'. The latter probably includes Chiots from the early twentieth century to the end of the Second World War. See Calvocoressi, 'The Anglo-Chiot Diaspora', 251–6.

⁹³ Kokot et al., *Diaspora, Identity and Religion*, 5.

⁹⁴ Anagnostopoulou, *Μικρά Ασία*, 27.

⁹⁵ Brian K. Axel, 'The context of diaspora', *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for cultural Anthropology*, 19 (2004), 27.

taking into account the international situation that led to their migration. According to Chassiotis' chronological schematisation of modern Greek diasporas, the community we examine belongs to the second historical category, which begins around the mid-nineteenth century and concludes with the Second World War.⁹⁶ The conjunctures on both the international and the national/domestic levels influence the *modus operandi* and role of the diasporic bourgeoisie.

Changes in the structure and in the operating mode of the Greek economy, according to Chatziiosif, are 'ascribed to a global upward phase of the years 1896–1914 which succeeded the European economic depression of 1873–1895'.⁹⁷ This new global economic setting encouraged more vigorous state intervention in the economy, including the protection of the domestic market with high import tariffs and the acquisition of new markets through military interventions. On a political level, Britain's policies regarding the protection of the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire began to reverse, when German infiltration in the Ottoman Empire altered British strategic orientations. 'Pax Ottomanica' was gradually abandoned. Instead, the new political dogma was formed around the dissolution of the empire, with Greece representing the only guarantor of British interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.⁹⁸

Within the general process of the taking up of capitalism by the imperialist system, the business activities of the Greek diaspora shifted towards the Greek space between the last quarter of the nineteenth century and 1920.⁹⁹ Although there was a solid ideological underpinning for the dominant political narrative of the *Megali Idea*, Chatziiosif notes how, on the national level, it lacked any economic groundwork to support it.¹⁰⁰ The 'Great Idea' had been, according to Mazower, a

⁹⁶ Chassiotis differentiates between three categories into which the modern Greek diaspora can be divided. The first begins around the mid-fifteenth century and ends with the formation of the Greek state in 1830; the second covers the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the pre-Second World War years; and the last encompasses contemporary dispersion of the 1940s to the 1980s. Chassiotis, 'Past and Present', 96–8.

⁹⁷ Christos Chatziiosif, 'Η εξωστρέφεια της ελληνικής οικονομίας στις αρχές του 20ου αιώνα και οι συνέπειες της στην εξωτερική πολιτική' [The extroversion of the Greek economy at the beginning of the 20th century and its consequences on the foreign policy] in *Η Ελλάδα των Βαλκανικών πολέμων 1910–1914* [Greece of the Balkan wars 1910–1914] (Athens, 1993), 150.

⁹⁸ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 366.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 251.

¹⁰⁰ Chatziiosif, 'Η εξωστρέφεια της ελληνικής οικονομίας', 150.

‘dream of territorial expansion to incorporate the Greek diaspora into the new kingdom, thereby creating a Greater Greece to rival the glories of the Byzantine Empire’.¹⁰¹ While in 1912–1913 victory in the Balkan Wars provided the first step towards the realisation of the *Megali Idea*, this was probably more the result of a new economic and social dynamic that shifted focus towards the expansion of frontiers and less due to the reorganisation of the administration and the army, as has been suggested.¹⁰² The latter were, rather, the consequence of the former and not the other way around. Hence, developments in the international setting resulted in the organisation of ‘a political and military substructure within the country’ that would predominate in the forthcoming conflicts.¹⁰³ This study maps the interplay of the London Greek mercantile bourgeoisie with this economic, political and military dynamic, which begins during this period.

A Brief History of the London Greek Bourgeoisie

With the end of the Napoleonic wars and the re-establishment of peace, Greek merchants acquired considerable control of the shipping trade from the Levant to Italy.¹⁰⁴ Within this context, a wave of Greek commercial bourgeoisie established the first settlement of the modern era in Britain, taking advantage of the rapidly developing British textile industry. In fact, Greek merchants became regulars at the Leipzig fairs, where the British textile industry sold its products twice yearly, of which two-thirds were re-exported to the Danubian principalities and to Russia through trade routes traditionally controlled by Greeks.¹⁰⁵ Greek merchant activity was also

¹⁰¹ Mark Mazower, ‘The Messiah and the bourgeoisie: Venizelos and politics in Greece, 1909–1912’, *The Historical Journal*, 35 (1992), 890.

¹⁰² Chatziiosif, ‘Η εξωστρέφεια της ελληνικής οικονομίας’, 144.

¹⁰³ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 367.

¹⁰⁴ Fairlie, *The Anglo-Russian Grain Trade*, 264. Chapman attributes the fact to the competitive price of their freights (Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, 154) whilst Chatziiosif supports that the neutrality of the Ottoman Empire also benefited them, as for the first time ‘the various branches create a network with a common mercantile strategy and constitute a close crediting group which is supplied by a circular flow of currency-exchange’ see Chatziiosif, ‘Εμπορικές παροικίες’, 33.

¹⁰⁵ These networks were established during the Ottoman Rule given the advantages of the commercial liberties provided by the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774. The Greek trading communities of Trieste, Odessa, Buda and Peste were founded and less than a century later, these liberties were extended to allow substantial freedoms to all subjects of the Ottoman Empire, with the reform of Hatt-ı Hümayu in 1856. These positive circumstances facilitated the creation of Greek diasporic networks in the territories of the Habsburg, Russian and British Empires that acted as catalysts for the ‘ideological and material preparation and success of the Greek War of Independence in 1821’. Alexander Kitroeff, ‘The

enhanced by the repeal of grain import restraints – the famous ‘Corn Laws’ – in Britain in 1846, which signalled a noticeable increase of imports from the Black Sea ports.¹⁰⁶ The qualitative difference from other international houses operating in London lies in the fact that Greek houses were not only ‘larger and more stable than their northern counterparts’, but, most importantly, they also ‘succeeded in finding new markets for cotton piece goods’ in a part of the world where the British presence was weak: namely, Turkey, Egypt and Africa.¹⁰⁷

Thus, during the golden period of Greek commercial activity we can trace up to eighty-six established Greek merchant/business houses, most of which were of Chiot origin, with the most prestigious the House of Ralli Brothers.¹⁰⁸ Records from the Bank of England assert that by the mid-nineteenth century two leading Greek houses operating in London were accredited as ‘first class’,¹⁰⁹ as was confirmed by a quality assessment conducted by the merchant bankers Baring Brothers in 1860, where the Greek firms were evaluated to the highest standard. According to the evaluation, the firms of Ralli Bros, Rodocanachi Sons and Co., Schilizzi and Co. and Frangiadi and Rododanachi scored amongst the wealthiest in London.¹¹⁰ Other important entrepreneurs who helped to turn London into ‘the headquarters of Greek commerce and finance’ included the prominent Agelastos, Argenti, Eumorfopoulos, Ionidis, Laskaridis, Melas, Petrocochino, Sechiari, Scaramanaga and Vaglianos families.¹¹¹

Transformation of Homeland–Diaspora Relations: The Greek Case in the 19th–20th centuries’, in John Michael Fossey and Jacques Morin (eds.), *International Congress on the Hellenic Diaspora* (Amsterdam, 1991), 233–50.

¹⁰⁶ Chapman, *Merchant Enterprise in Britain*, 154.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 157.

¹⁰⁸ The estimated capital of the Ralli Bros House was calculated at £500,000; next came Argenti, Sechiari & Co. and then Rodocanachi, Sons & Co., Spartali & Lascaridi, Cassavetti and Ionidis: Bank of England Archive, MS 3394, Bank of England Liverpool and Manchester Agent’s Letter Books; also see records in Timotheos Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London* (London, 1993), 158. We can safely suppose that there must have been more than 86 houses during the period because in the Baring’s record alone we find 84. The Rallis had 15,000 workers and 4,000 clerks in branches in Marseilles, Odessa, Constantinople, St Petersburg, Taganrog, Tabriz, New York, New Orleans, Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi by 1861. See Stanley D. Chapman, ‘Ralli, Pantia Stephen (1793–1865)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39298>, accessed 23 April 2012; Leoni M. Calvocoressi, *Ο Οίκος των αδελφών Ράλλη* [The house of Ralli Brothers] (Chios, 1953), 2.

¹⁰⁹ Bank of England Archive, G30/4, London to Leicester letter, 7 August 1850.

¹¹⁰ Baring Brothers archive, in Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 422.

¹¹¹ ‘The Greek Colonies in England’, *Hellenic Herald*, 1908.

The Greek merchants became more influential with their involvement in the Baltic Exchange, the 'main British (and ultimately world) freight market'.¹¹² Membership of this enterprise was extremely important because it guaranteed access to buyers and vendors of freights, vessels and transport services. The Baltic Exchange records printed and circulated in 1873 show the participation of the most prominent Greek family firms, while members such as Stephen Ralli and E.M. Rodocanachi even became presidents of subcommittees within the Exchange, fostering particular business interests, such as the Incorporate Oil Seed Association, which in 1888 promoted a standard price of linseed freight (for products such as margarine and soap), and the City of London Exchange Syndicate, an association focusing on constructing a site in Jeffrey's Square for mercantile and other activities.¹¹³ By the end of the century Greeks constituted 7 per cent of the world's most influential mercantile and shipping centre.¹¹⁴

The Anthropogeography of the Greek Community

The first wave of Greek immigrants, a group of merchants and businessmen from the Greek islands, set up communities in London, Cardiff, Manchester and Liverpool from around 1815, where they established their business houses. They represented 'one of the wealthiest communities in nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.'¹¹⁵ The Greek population residing in London during the nineteenth and early twentieth century gradually increased, although the absence of official registers for the Greek population makes an attempt to obtain accurate numbers a hazardous task. An estimate can be made from the population census of 1881, which suggests a number of approximately 600 people. Further evidence comes from the birth registers of the orthodox Greek church of St Sophia, which suggest that the majority of registered professionals were involved in some sort of mercantile or financial activity (banking, commerce or shipping).¹¹⁶ The same is true for the eve of the new

¹¹² Gelina Charlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (London, 1996), 57.

¹¹³ The Baltic Exchange, <http://www.balticexchange.com/about-us/history/>, accessed 2 April 2013.

¹¹⁴ Baltic Exchange, *List of Members*, 1886; and in Charlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 59.

¹¹⁵ Panikos Panayi, *Immigration, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain 1815–1945* (Manchester, 1994), 70.

¹¹⁶ Dimitris Mangriotis, 'Η δημογραφική ιστορία της ελληνικής κοινότητας του Λονδίνου, 1837–1881' [The demographic history of the Greek mercantile community in London, 1837–1881], *Historica*, 6

century, as primary sources confirm the population in 1908 to be 'engaged in banking, commercial and shipping business and occupy[ing] a prominent position in the city'.¹¹⁷ The Greek London newspaper *Hellenic Herald*, owned by Greek ship-owner Stephanos Xenos, estimates the Greek population of London during that time to be about 2,000, while the picture of a shipping–commercial diaspora continued to exist up to the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922.¹¹⁸ The places where this diasporic bourgeoisie chose to live are also indicative of their socio-economic background: we find Greek families residing in traditionally aristocratic neighbourhoods such as Mayfair, Westminster, Hyde Park, Bayswater, Kensington and Holland Park, where 97 per cent of London's bankers were concentrated.¹¹⁹

Alongside their professional occupations, the Greek diasporic elite also developed an aristocratic lifestyle, sharing social interests and activities with their British counterparts. The field of cultural and social events and the interaction between British and Greek elites of the period remain to be diligently examined in other studies, taking into account the movements of romanticism and neoclassicism and their influence on British philhellenism. However, we would like to mention the most representative example of the period, the art collector, patron and Greek consul-general (1884–9) Alexander Ionidis and his son Constantine, whose house at 1 Holland Park became a meeting place for artists such as the Rossettis, William Morris, De Morgan, Du Maurier and others.¹²⁰ Alexander became the first patron of George Frederic Watts, a popular symbolist Victorian painter and sculptor, while Constantine was the patron of the famous Pre-Raphaelites Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Edward Burne-Jones. Constantine later bequeathed all 1,156 pieces of his collection, including famous works by Rembrandt, Degas, Delacroix and Botticelli, to the Victoria and Albert Museum, where they are still on display today.¹²¹

(1986), 367. However, it is logical to suppose that not all births were recorded in the Church's register. It is unclear whether families that gave birth outside the city shared the necessity to record their children's birth with the Church.

¹¹⁷ 'The Greek Colonies in England', *Hellenic Herald* (1908).

¹¹⁸ Alexander Kitroeff, 'Εμπορικές Παρουσίες και Μετανάστες' [Merchant Colonies and Immigrants], in Christos Chatziosif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ου Αιώνα Β1 1922–1240* [History of Greece in the 20th century, 1922–1940], B1 (Athens, 2002), 362.

¹¹⁹ Youssef Cassis, *City Bankers, 1890–1914* (Cambridge, 1994), 245.

¹²⁰ Theodore E. Dowling, *Hellenism in England* (London, 1915), 52.

¹²¹ Michael C. Kauffmann, 'Ionidis, Constantine Alexander (1833–1900)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14441>, accessed 4 February 2013.

Education was another important field that allows us a better understanding of the socio-economic underpinnings of this community. Efforts towards a Hellenic College were first made in 1870, when some of the community's most eminent members formed a committee with the objective of establishing the first 'Hellenic School' at 84/85 Kensington Gardens Square. Despite the efforts aimed at its founding and the initial supposition that the School would represent a vital constituent in the preservation and enhancement of the shared national identity, however, most Greek parents either preferred the English public schools 'to the humble school of the Community' or employed private tutors for Greek home tuition.¹²² Thus, the ambitious initiative for Greek education came to an inglorious end in 1884, and it would be another thirty-five years until the foundation of the Modern Greek Chair at King's College. The understanding of this shift in support of Greek education lies in the realm of political alliances which, with the arrival of the new century, brought about new aspirations and interests eager to be satisfied.¹²³

A Mapping of Economic Activities: The London Greek Merchant Marine, the War and the Profits

There is no doubt that, on the eve of the new century, the London Greek commercial community constituted an ardent player in the game of international shipping and commerce. Since the early nineteenth century they owed their economic progress to the increasing demand for agricultural products and raw materials from western countries, in addition to the demand from eastern countries for industrial products. Although the Greeks were scarcely involved in the manufacture of such products, they had a leading role in their transportation and trade, which was conducted mainly with their own ships.¹²⁴ Chapman affirms that 'Ralli, Rodocanachi, Spartali, Argenti and so on' emerged as the 'leading international specialist[s] in the Levant

For an elaborate research on Ionidis family and Art see Athena Leoussi, *Circles of Light: The Making of the Ionides Art Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London and Athens, 2001).

¹²² Catsiyannis, *The Greek Community of London*, 463.

¹²³ For more on how Greek education in London was affected by political conjunctures see 'The establishment of the Koraes Chair' in Chapter Three.

¹²⁴ Olga Katsiardi-Hering, 'Τα Δίκτυα της Ελληνικής Εμπορικής Διακίνησης' [The networks of commercial transport], in Spyros Asdrachas (ed.), *Ελληνική Οικονομική Ιστορία, 15^{ος}–19^{ος} αιώνα* [Greek Economic History 15th–19th century], 1 (Athens, 2003), 462, 480.

Trade' and that these firms had made 'their fortunes in the grain trade from Odessa to London and Liverpool'.¹²⁵

Already in 1870 Greece was the fifth maritime power in the world according to her population, after colossal countries of maritime commerce such as Great Britain and Germany. Immediately before the eve of the Balkan Wars in 1912 the Greek fleet was the second most powerful, behind Norway, relative to its population.¹²⁶ The development of Greek commerce from the last quarter of the nineteenth century to the eve of the Balkan Wars was recorded by the famous Greek economist of the period, Andreas Andreadis: in an article he provides numbers that show a remarkable increase in the Greek merchant fleet, from 2,000 tons in 1873 to 407,000 in 1911.¹²⁷

The magnificent growth of the Greek merchant marine owed much to the increasing demands created by western capitalism, especially in the Mediterranean basin, but also particularly in the British capital.¹²⁸ Greek firms imported at the best price the products needed in Britain, while at the same time they exported and advertised Britain's industrial goods. This fact not only made Greek ship-owners a nodal component of British supremacy in the Mediterranean, but also consolidated their role as 'ministers' of British interests.¹²⁹ In an eloquent phrase, the Greek historian Giannis Kordatos wrote that 'Greek capitalism has become the scout of British imperialism.'¹³⁰ Although serving mainly British interests, however, the Greeks operated an international commercial fleet, where profit had 'no political alliances'.¹³¹ This assertion is important when, later on in our analysis, we attempt to examine the national aspirations and identity of this rather cross-national bourgeois group.

¹²⁵ Stanley D. Chapman, *The Rise of Merchant Banking* (London, 1984), 127.

¹²⁶ Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, 'La Grèce, sa situation et ses perspectives', *L'Economiste Français*, 15 March 1913, quoted in Andreas Andreadis, 'La Marine Marchande Grecque', *Journal des Économistes* (1913), 5.

¹²⁷ Andreadis, 'La Marine', 5.

¹²⁸ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 336.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 357.

¹³⁰ Giannis Kordatos and Thanasis C. Papadopoulos, *Εισαγωγή Εις την Ιστορίαν της Ελληνικής Κεφαλοκρατίας* [Introduction to the History of Greek Capitalism] (Athens, 1972), 50.

¹³¹ Charlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 298.

As a consequence of the diaspora's activities, London became the capital of Greek commercial activity and economic interests. In 1914, 28 per cent of the Greek fleet capacity was represented by offices based in the British capital.¹³² More specifically, Greek shipping offices in London doubled in a period of fourteen years and their ship numbers rapidly increased. By 1914 there were 13 shipping offices and 74 ships operating within the London Greek shipping force.¹³³

The First World War was a prolific period for Greek shipping, during which the internationalisation of the Greek fleet was established and Greek shipping offices in London acquired a dominant role in the consolidation of Greek commercial shipping. At the same time, they explored new markets and routes that became available to them, thus gaining huge profits from freight rates that were reasonably high during the war.¹³⁴ Their interests in the domestic market came about after the Law 816 was passed. This led to the establishment of an independent administrative authority for the organisation of the commercial fleet, the terms of which were drafted by the Venizelian government in 1915. While the Opposition demanded the incorporation of this service under the Ministry of Communications, the government of the Liberals insisted on its integration into the Ministry of National Economy, thus highlighting the importance of the commercial fleet to the economic politics of the Greek state.¹³⁵

During Greece's neutrality in 1914–1917 the Greek shipping offices in London took advantage of the strong demand for maritime transports and became the leading fleet carrying bulk cargoes between the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the Western Mediterranean and Northern Europe. Inscribed, of course, in its political context, this commercial activity on the part of the Greek ship-owners was castigated by the anti-Venizelist press when the allied forces imposed a blockage on the Greek port of Piraeus in November 1916. During the so-called 'November Days', or 'Noemvriana', the Greek newspaper *Nea Imera* spoke of the 'bloodthirsty

¹³² Gelina Charlaftis, *Ιστορία της ελληνόκτητης Ναυτιλίας: 19ος-20ος αι* [A History of Greek-Owned Shipping] (Athens, 2001), 439–40.

¹³³ Charlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 360–64.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹³⁵ George D. Papamichalopoulos, *Ο Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος και η εμπορική ναυτιλία* [Eleftherios Venizelos and the commercial shipping industry] (Athens, 1964), 26.

merchant' who 'drinks the people's blood'.¹³⁶ The wealthy diasporic commercial bourgeoisie was, therefore, ranked alongside the domestic Venizelist bourgeoisie as opposed to the people who suffered from the embargo.¹³⁷

During the First World War the Dounis' *Chronicle of Lost Ships* indicated that Atlantic and northern seas shipping routes were acquired by Greek merchants. Unfortunately, 26 per cent of the Greek merchant fleet was lost in the Atlantic, 12 per cent in the North Sea and 31 per cent in the Mediterranean.¹³⁸ However, the demand for deep-sea vessels during the war enhanced Greek shipping, which, after Britain and France, owned the highest percentage of ships larger than 2,000 gross register tonnage among the European Allies. Hence, during the first two years of the war Greek ship-owners doubled the value of their merchant fleet and increased their capital by £30 million.¹³⁹

The importance of diasporic capital in the domestic economy has been generally overrated, but we would agree with Tsoukalas that the 'unusually expanded Greek economy' was related to the 'permanent influx of external mediums of exchange'.¹⁴⁰ Andreadis, who quotes Thèry, estimates that the direct transfers of capital to Greece were up to 25 million francs, a sum to which Andreadis then adds 30 million francs of net profit from commercial shipping and 20 million francs from the remittances of the overseas immigrants.¹⁴¹ This amount, in total 75 million francs, not only equilibrated the balance of payments of the Greek state but also created a surplus.¹⁴²

This development led the Greek government in 1917 to pass the Law 1043/1917 'on exceptional profits' in an attempt to 'both secure some proportion of excess war profits at a time of desperate need and to assure the rehabilitation of the

¹³⁶ *Nea Imera*, 9 December 1916 in George Th. Mavrogordato, *Εθνικός Διχασμός και Μαζική Οργάνωση: Οι Επίστρατοι του 1916* [National Schism and Mass Organization: The Reservists of 1916] (Athens, 1996), 142.

¹³⁷ A detailed analysis of the divisive politics during the *Dichasmos* follows in Chapter Four.

¹³⁸ Cited in Charlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 182.

¹³⁹ André Andréadès, *Les Effets Économiques Et Sociaux De La Guerre En Grèce*, avec la collaboration de G. Charitakis, D. Kalitsounakis, S. Coronis, A.A. Pallis and B. Simonide [The Economic and Social Impact of the War in Greece] (Paris, 1928), 183. See also Papamichalopoulos, *Ο Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος και η εμπορική ναυτιλία*.

¹⁴⁰ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 39.

¹⁴¹ Edmond Thèry, *La Grèce actuelle au point de vue économique et financier* (Paris, 1905), 180.

¹⁴² Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 236.

lost fleet'.¹⁴³ In an attempt to avoid high taxation rates ('21.5 per cent on exceptional war profits and 22 per cent on the difference between the price of a ship purchased before the war and the amount of its war indemnity or sale'),¹⁴⁴ Greek ship-owners began purchasing ships at a high value. They were confident, furthermore, that they would profit from the high freight rates that would follow an economic restoration in the post-war period. This also explains the rapid rehabilitation of the Greek-owned fleet after the war. In 1914 the Greek fleet owned 475 ships; by 1919, at the end of the war, it had lost almost half (282), and in 1922 it had acquired another 136, reaching 418 ships in total.¹⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that during 1914–1915 Greek shipping profits were double the capitalised value of the fleet.¹⁴⁶ Specifically, the net profit of Greek ship-owners during the First World War went from 100 million golden francs in 1914 to 220 in 1916 and 150 million by the end of 1918.¹⁴⁷

The average net profit of the Greek commercial marine during the First World War was equivalent to 15–20 per cent of the Greek national income in 1910.¹⁴⁸ In addition to mercantile marine-made profit, emigrant remittances increased from £1.7 million in 1914 to £14.8 million in 1919. The almost 800 million gold francs accumulated during the war vastly exceeded the pre-war average of 25–30 million.¹⁴⁹ Thus, the incredible surplus from mercantile marine-made profits created an accumulated investable capital that originated outside Greece. In this respect, the diasporic commercial community was gradually identified with the financier bourgeois class of the diaspora.

The shift from commercial to financial activity gave the commercial diasporic bourgeoisie an impetus towards further capital increase. Their activities were

¹⁴³ Charlaftis, *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping*, 185.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Επιθεώρηση Εμπορικού Ναυτικού [Bulletin of the Greek Commercial Navy] (Athens, 1937), 278, 313 in *Ibid.*, 191; Papamichalopoulos mentions that the percentage of lost fleet during the war reached 68 per cent: *Ο Ελευθέριος Βενιζέλος και η εμπορική ναυτιλία*, 9.

¹⁴⁶ Michael B. Miller, *Europe and the Maritime World: A Twentieth Century History* (Cambridge, 2012), 241.

¹⁴⁷ Michel L'Heritier, *La Grece* (Paris, 1922), 93, cited in Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 340. These are the numbers also provided by HMSO, *Report on Commercial and Industrial Situation of Greece for the year 1919* (London, 1920).

¹⁴⁸ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 343.

¹⁴⁹ Mark Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis* (Oxford, 1991), 56.

characterised by the high degree of liquidity of their capital and a huge net profit margin. The profits from Greek commercial activities were easily converted into any foreign currency until the 1920s, a fact that made Greece – a country in which low risks benefited the exercise of free trade – a very profitable market.¹⁵⁰ During the period 1885–1905 their profits were further increased by the rate of currency exchange between the drachma and foreign currencies owing to the constant devaluations of the Greek national currency. Dertilis, moreover, suggests that in addition to the profit gained from the devaluations, Greek diasporic merchants also tried to increase their profit by manipulating the exchange rate.¹⁵¹ According to the official British diplomatic report of 1893, ‘half a dozen profiteers are able to control arbitrarily the parity of exchange’.¹⁵²

Diasporic financial investments had in common very high depreciation rates. Capital was invested in business deeds, loans or real estate properties, but always in activities that entailed a rather small engagement at the domestic level. These investments were characterised by easily exported capital and a huge net profit margin. There were also concession agreements for the mining industry that could be deemed as extremely favourable. Additionally, the Greek bourgeoisie diaspora invested in banking and brokerage businesses, as well as ‘virgin markets’ that were capital-thirsty, in which interest rates of 30–36 per cent were common in times when international interest rates were limited to 2.5–4.5 per cent.¹⁵³

In contrast, diasporic capital was not interested in investing in the industrial sector, where gains were long-term and risks higher. They aimed to profit from the exploitation of traditional means rather than from the introduction of any modernising developments.¹⁵⁴ There was thus a general tendency to invest in commerce, where the oligopolistic character of the financial market provided easier opportunities for high profits with minimal risk. In addition, they supported the most

¹⁵⁰ George Dertilis, *Κοινωνικός Μετασχηματισμός και Στρατιωτική Επέμβαση, 1880–1909* [Social Transformation and Military Intervention, 1880–1909] (Thessaloniki, 1977), 66.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

¹⁵² E.F.G. Law, Foreign Office, *Annual Series 1169* (London, 1893), 12.

¹⁵³ Dertilis, *Κοινωνικός Μετασχηματισμός*, 64–5.

¹⁵⁴ George Dertilis, *Το ζήτημα των τραπεζών 1871–1873: Οικονομική και πολιτική διαμάχη στην Ελλάδα του 19^{ου} αιώνα* [The Banks Issue 1871–1873: economic and politic conflict in Greece of the 19th century] (Athens, 1980), 56–7.

direct and secure way to invest and increase their capital, which was through the promotion of banking and financier activities. This may explain the fact that two of the four banks that operated in Greece from the last quarter of the nineteenth century were founded by diasporic funds.¹⁵⁵ Tsoukalas describes it articulately, therefore, when he notes that the Greek diasporic bourgeoisie scarcely interfered in the process of the stage of production and dramatically restricted their involvement in industrial activities such as shipyards, especially after 1870.¹⁵⁶

In general, industrial activity in Greece before the Balkan Wars was limited. Only from the 1880s onwards can we trace stirrings of industries, primarily for the 'processing of agricultural materials, such as flour, olive oil and grapes'.¹⁵⁷ Mazower argues that, before the beginning of the century, industrial activity mainly attracted foreign investments and was operated by Western managers. However, at the turn of the century it turned into a Greek affair. In the late nineteenth century the Greek government had already imposed a high tariff protection in order to promote the development of new industries, which assisted many native companies to flourish.¹⁵⁸ State intervention also extended to the transformation of the National Bank. Modelled on the French *Crédit Mobilier*, a branch of the National Bank called the *banque d'affaires* was formed to handle 'industrial investments'.¹⁵⁹ The lack of reliable statistical evidence does not allow any exact conclusions to be drawn regarding the extent of industrial activities before the Balkan Wars; however, a safe and informed assumption suggests that during the wartime period 'Greek industry expanded significantly'.¹⁶⁰

In 1915 Venizelos announced his plans to create a 'Great Greece, powerful and wealthy, capable to develop a domestic vital industry' and called for the autarky

¹⁵⁵ Kostis Moskof, *Εθνική και Κοινωνική Συνείδηση στην Ελλάδα, 1830–1909* [The national and social consciousness in Greece, 1830–1909] (Thessaloniki, 1972), 162.

¹⁵⁶ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 339.

¹⁵⁷ Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, 53.

¹⁵⁸ Pallis mentions, for example, the Pouloupoulos industry (a hat factory), which established itself 'in the face of foreign competition which would otherwise have strangled them'. Alexander A. Pallis, *Social and Labour Legislation in Greece* (London, 1948), 5.

¹⁵⁹ Dertilis, *Το ζήτημα των τραπεζών*, 10–11.

¹⁶⁰ John Drossopoulos, 'Industrial development in Greece', *The Banker*, 5, 25 (1928), 287 in Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, 57.

of the Greek economy.¹⁶¹ After the war, in 1918, the foundation of the 'Bank of Industry' confirmed the shift in official policies towards a more industrialised economic model;¹⁶² however, it was not until after 1922 that rapid industrial development took place. Greek manufacturing thus acquired two characteristics: first, the majority of the industries were small family businesses of an artisanal character and, second, there was a small number of large and – generally – innovative companies that consolidated their success via the close network of associations 'their directors maintained with politicians, the military, and the National Bank of Greece'.¹⁶³

Throughout this period, diasporic capital was not willing to contribute effectively to the growth of a domestic industry sector. It appeared reluctant to abandon the 'easy trade profits for the risky and bothersome business of factory production'.¹⁶⁴ This, *inter alia*, was one reason why the economic historian Dertilis refrained from categorising the Greek ship-owners of London as members of the Greek domestic bourgeoisie of the twentieth century: because the nature of their investments was largely non-industrial and bore small domestic liabilities and commitments.¹⁶⁵

Diasporic Investments and Domestic Economy: A Review of the Historiography

The mercantile trade and the financial investments became the main economic activities of the Greek diasporic community. In an attempt to understand their choices, the Marxist historian Nikos Psiroukis gives a rather simplistic explanation which views the diasporic merchant as the 'agent of advanced capitalism'.¹⁶⁶ In this procrustean view, the role of the bourgeoisie was limited to serving and satisfying industrial capital and at the same time developing the 'material basis of the Modern

¹⁶¹ Library of Hellenic Parliament, Athens, Greece, *The Gazette of the Parliamentary Debates*, 21 October 1915.

¹⁶² Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, 57. [Τράπεζα Βιομηχανίας], see also Margarita Dritsa, *Τράπεζες στην Ελλάδα του Μεσοπολέμου* [Banks in Greece during the Interwar Period] (Athens, 1990), 235

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 54.

¹⁶⁴ Nikos P. Mouzelis, *Modern Greece: Facets of Underdevelopment* (New York, 1978), 21.

¹⁶⁵ Dertilis, *Κοινωνικός Μετασχηματισμός*, 64.

¹⁶⁶ Nikos Psiroukis, *Το Νεοελληνικό Παροικιακό Φαινόμενο* [The Modern Greek Diasporic Phenomenon] (Athens, 1974), 102.

Greek State: that is the maritime industry'.¹⁶⁷ For Psiroukis the diasporic phenomenon served a functionalistic role in the consolidation of a world colonial bourgeois (capitalist) market the analysis of which, however, makes the Greek diaspora's 'organic relation' with the Greek reality indiscernible.¹⁶⁸ His argument rather subsumes the historical subject in an ocean of economic determinism, rendering any analysis or justification of its initiatives outside or beyond that, impossible.

However, for Dertilis the diasporic financial activities did not serve a positive role in the domestic market; therefore, the diasporic bourgeoisie cannot be understood as part of the domestic bourgeoisie; rather, it constitutes an 'alien' element in Greek society. In his own words, the 'ship-owners of London whose ships sail under foreign flags cannot be categorised in the Greek bourgeois class of the twentieth century with the same reasoning that the Jewish diaspora cannot be to be understood as a part of the Israeli bourgeoisie'.¹⁶⁹ This parallelism is ultimately unjust because of the absence of a Jewish state at the beginning of the century. Kitroeff, another scholar of Greek history, simply chooses to identify this bourgeoisie as 'absentee', while he argues that the political and economic project promoted by the *Megali Idea* for a Greek expansion 'appealed to the patriotic as well as the business instincts of the diaspora notables'.¹⁷⁰

On the other hand, Tsoukalas traces a 'real community' encompassing domestic and diasporic Greeks, 'not only on the ideological, but also on the economical level as well'.¹⁷¹ He advocates for the strong link between the development of the Greek 'merchant bourgeoisie diaspora ... and its relation with the structures of the Independent Greek State'.¹⁷² The constant influx of foreign surplus (diaspora capital) has as its profound consequences the deformation of social stratification and unavoidable state intervention in the process of its 'allocation and

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Chatziiosif, 'Εμπορικές παροικίες και ανεξάρτητη Ελλάδα', 30.

¹⁶⁹ Dertilis, *Κοινωνικός Μετασχηματισμός*, 58.

¹⁷⁰ Alexander Kitroeff, 'Continuity and Change in Contemporary Greek Historiography', *European History Quarterly*, 2, 19 (1989), 269–98 and 'The Transformation of Homeland–Diaspora Relations', 237.

¹⁷¹ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 20.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 19 (Translating the word 'μεταπρατική' as merchant).

distribution'.¹⁷³ Perhaps the most important consequence of that is that it fuelled the establishment of a 'state-bureaucratic bourgeois and petty bourgeois class', which in turn affected the 'character of the political struggles' aimed at political dominance.¹⁷⁴

On this note, the political scientist George Th. Mavrogordato affirms the exegesis of Tsoukalas, but claims further that the bourgeoisie of the Greek diaspora aspired to become a 'national bourgeoisie' because it 'espouse[d] Greek Irredentism with unprecedented fervour'.¹⁷⁵ The motives were both political and economic. The inability of a state bourgeoisie to represent national interests was manifested by the Greek defeat in the Greco-Turkish war of 1897, which led to its 'political bankruptcy'.¹⁷⁶ With a political void emerging, the entrepreneurial faction of the bourgeoisie assumed the role of the political rival of a traditionalist military–bureaucratic stratum of the bourgeoisie. It would be associated with monarchical power not only on the political level but also on the ideological one. Different conceptions of the state and economy would ultimately fuel the political struggle of both the 1909 military coup in Goudi and the National Schism during the war decade. Mavrogordato explains the Schism as a conflict of politically and ideologically distinct hegemonic projects.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, Dimou understands it as the rupture of 'two hegemonic antagonistic multi-party blocks – the Venizelists and Anti-Venizelists'.¹⁷⁸

The distinctiveness of those two worldviews is fundamental in understanding the points of rupture between these two fractions of the Greek bourgeoisie. On the political level, Venizelists were ready to incorporate the programme of the *Megali Idea* into their agenda as the main political narrative of the nation. At the same time, they had already adopted the principles of economic liberalism which envisaged a rationalisation of the state, economy and society to correspond to that of the

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁷⁵ George Th. Mavrogordato, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922–1936* (Berkeley, 1983), 125.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁷⁸ Augusta Dimou, *Entangled Paths towards Modernity: Contextualizing Socialism and Nationalism in the Balkans* (Budapest, 2009), 306.

western states, with Britain constituting the primary model. Venizelist liberalism connoted modernisation and industrialisation structured on a capitalist conception of modern Greece. In contrast, anti-Venizelist powers campaigned for an essentially anti-capitalist future in Greece, which would be mainly constructed around the 'traditionalist military–bureaucratic regime' represented by the monarchy.¹⁷⁹ In the conception of contemporary liberal journalist Georgios Ventiris, in this clash of hegemonic projects the 'power of old elites crumbled under the pressure of new commercial and modernizing classes'.¹⁸⁰

Chatziiosif, recognising the existence of a pragmatic relationship between the diaspora and the domestic economy, argues for the importance of the mercantile marine as a 'cohesive link between the economy of the independent Greek state and that of the diaspora'.¹⁸¹ He furthermore rebukes the hyperbole of Psiroukis's view that the growth of the diasporic communities of the nineteenth century was dictated by the needs of the Greek ship-owning capital. In contrast, he argues that the Greek merchant marine was greatly dependent on the financial activities of the big mercantile firms.¹⁸² Thus, he identifies a particular autonomy in the actions of the historical agents outside the mandates of the rising commercial capital. This autonomy promoted the non-restrictive character of the diasporic bourgeoisie, which could act both in a 'non-national' or 'international' and in a 'national' context according to the requirements of the times.

The inflow of diasporic capital was indeed a very important source of income for Greece, either as remittances or in any other form of financial activity. The data reveals that from the beginning of the twentieth century and during the decade that led to the end of the Great War the Greek economy, with an industry in its infancy, was to a great degree dependent on this capital to achieve economic growth. However, this economic development was far from stable and safe during the first decade of the century. Its primary dependence on the profits from currant exports (a monoculture) had turned out to be a vital mistake. The country was placed in an

¹⁷⁹ Mavrogordato, *Stillborn Republic*, 128.

¹⁸⁰ Georgios Ventiris, *Η Ελλάδα του 1910–1920; Ιστορική Μελέτη* [Greece of 1910–1920, a historical study], vol. I (Athens, 1970), 36.

¹⁸¹ Chatziiosif, 'Εμπορικές παροικίες και ανεξάρτητη Ελλάδα', 34.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

extremely difficult position when the current crisis occurred in the 1890s. Greece's irredentist ambitions against the Ottomans, along with other national events, resulted in the investment of the accumulated capital in the military rather than in 'the country's primitive infrastructure'.¹⁸³

At the eve of the new century Greece was facing both a financial and a national crisis as a result of the debt default and defeat in the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. Although a vertical examination should be applied, it is possible to suggest that during the last decade of the nineteenth century and until the end of the Great War the Greek economy and diasporic capital were inextricably linked. The first was dependent on foreign investment, emigrant remittances and trade profits, while the latter required 'a unified and relatively large internal market' for its investments.¹⁸⁴

In order to secure a market for their products and a strong fiscal system, the commercial diaspora turned to the creation of a 'necessary institutional framework' to assist in the capitalist transformation of Greece. Such an ideology was synonymous with the rationalisation of the state administration, the establishment of financial bodies and the amelioration of the educational system. The situation was realised by the 'moderniser' Greek politician Charilaos Trikoupis, who strived to attract diaspora and foreign capital to be mainly spent, ultimately, on the acquisition of weaponry.¹⁸⁵ However, it is with Venizelos that the liberal ideology assumes control of the state apparatus, balancing between free trade and protectionism. In addition, the new charismatic 'archigos' [leader] incorporated in his political style a 'more aggressive foreign policy' that was 'sensitive to the dreams of the masses as well as their material needs, and able, above all, to encompass the Great Idea'.¹⁸⁶ Diasporic interests saw their representative in the figure of Greece's new prime minister and Venizelos looked to diasporic assistance to consolidate his power and

¹⁸³ Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, 41.

¹⁸⁴ Mouzelis, *Modern Greece*, 18; Mazower argues that foreign investment 'chiefly in the extractive sector, increased and a considerable part of the foreign debt was repatriated'. Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, 66.

¹⁸⁵ Christos Chatziiosif, *Η γηραιά Σελήνη: Η βιομηχανία στην Ελλάδα 1830–1940* [The Giraia Selene: The Greek Industry 1830–1940] (Athens, 1993), 376–7.

¹⁸⁶ Mazower, 'The Messiah and the bourgeoisie', 904.

further his irredentist mission, which represented a direct rupture with the royalist slogan 'A small but honourable Greece'.¹⁸⁷

Dertilis considers that the bourgeoisie of the diaspora was not willing to play the role of a domestic social class: to struggle that is, not only for financial dominance but also for domestic capital accumulation, not only for political influence which would protect their business interests but also for political action and participation in power even indirectly.¹⁸⁸

However, our understanding is that the London Greek bourgeoisie stands in opposition to or, more probably, outside this paradigm. At least as far as to ensure their economic and hence their political interests, the bourgeoisie organised into an active political body that proclaimed their support for the liberal Greek leader, who they vociferously promoted, especially during the tumultuous National Schism. This entailed political action and participation in power, indirectly, but the relationship of the League and the outlets of power is not so simple, as we will see in the coming chapters. The League found ways to infiltrate and exercise power that allowed it to escape Dertilis's exegesis.

Following the same line of reasoning, the League's discourse, regarding *inter alia* the end of the Greek monarchy and the rationalisation of the State, was indicative also of their role in the shaping of an ideology that desired the bourgeois transformation of the state. Both Dertilis and Mouzelis, another prominent sociologist, acknowledge the change towards more a westernised style in Greek politics, but both attribute this to different factors. Although Dertilis states that scholars erroneously believe that the 'diasporic bourgeoisie has decisively affected the domestic ideology towards bourgeois norms', he nonetheless makes no solid criticism to justify his assertion apart from castigating such speculation as 'schematic and misleading'.¹⁸⁹ Mouzelis, on the other hand, asserts that this ideology assisted in the rise of the middle classes, which in turn helped Venizelos 'contribute in a spectacular way to the bourgeois transformation of Greek society'.¹⁹⁰ Venizelos,

¹⁸⁷ Paschalis M. Kitromilides (ed.), *Eleftherios Venizelos: The Trials of Statesmanship* (Edinburgh, 2006), 119.

¹⁸⁸ Dertilis, *Κοινωνικός Μετασχηματισμός*, 58.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁹⁰ Mouzelis, *Modern Greece*, 21.

nonetheless, although he acknowledged that he came from the bourgeoisie, always 'rejected the idea that his party was its mouthpiece' in an effort to extend his power to wider social strata.¹⁹¹

Last but not least, the economic surplus created by the influx of diasporic capital in Greece unavoidably affected the social stratification of the city by creating 'a thick *state-bureaucratic* bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie' in order to sustain the immense expansion of the state apparatus.¹⁹² Many scholars have interpreted the rise of Venizelos after the 1909 movement at Goudi as a bourgeois revolution or as the 'triumph of a bourgeois class over conservative, if not aristocratic, elites'.¹⁹³ Others have viewed the victory of liberalism as the consequence of a long political vacuum between 1897 and 1909, an 'absence of a political force which could articulate a credible hegemonic vision'.¹⁹⁴

Consequently, since the diasporic bourgeoisie – namely, the London Greek community – made a significant contribution to the shaping of the Greek economy (in terms of the establishment of financial bodies, fiscal system, banks, investments and so on), we should also enquire about its role and character in the political transformation of Greece in the beginning of the twentieth century. In particular, we should investigate the mechanisms employed to support Venizelist liberalism from its ascent to power (1910) but mainly after the Balkan victories (1913); and we should try to understand its role by examining the discourse produced during the seminal milestones of the period.

The Politicisation of the London Greek Bourgeoisie and the British liberal Philhellenic Establishment 1878 –1912

The last decades of the nineteenth century found London's Greeks well established in the economic sphere of the British capital and equal members of the aristocracy, socialising in clubs and associations. Attendance at clubs and organisation into associations allowed influential members of the Greek community to develop

¹⁹¹ Mazower, 'The Messiah and the bourgeoisie', 903.

¹⁹² Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 22.

¹⁹³ Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, 6.

¹⁹⁴ George J. Andreopoulos, 'Liberalism and the Formation of the Nation-State', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 7, 2 (1989), 198.

personal connections with political figures and become involved in political action.¹⁹⁵ This kind of voluntary organisation, operating in many spheres (culture, leisure, economy and politics) became an inherent component of the sociability of Victorian England and was perceived as a hub for policy-shaping ideological and political discussion.¹⁹⁶ With their involvement in associations and committees the Greeks became part of this new form of politicisation that benefited the promotion of organised interests, but also provided a new means to respond to or influence state policies. The pro-Hellenic Committees and organisations developed at the end of the nineteenth century paved the way for the rise of strategic non-state political action that would constitute an important advantage of the Hellenic propaganda in the years to come. Momentum was provided by regional developments in Greece and the international conjunctures rapidly altering the geography of the Balkans after the Eastern Crisis in 1875–1878.

The Hellenic Committee

The Eastern Crisis made evident the danger posed to the territorial aspirations of Greece by Bulgaria rising as a new power in the region of the Balkans, and at the same time it highlighted that the absence of any Greek political or diplomatic influence in the European centres of decision-making made Greece's immediate aim of gaining Thessaly and Epirus from Turkey impossible.¹⁹⁷ The political tension between Greece and Bulgaria had an impact on the British governing elites' reception of Greece (and the Greeks). The British philhellenic stance was imperilled as the adverse conditions created by the Russo-Turkish War brought Bulgaria a step closer to the realisation of its irredentist dream, the Treaty of San Stefano favouring the creation of the 'Greater Bulgaria'. This development, as expected, unsettled both Greek ideological aspirations and those Greeks – particularly those of the City of

¹⁹⁵ An example would be the Anglo-Chiot Pandely (Toumazis) Ralli, son of one of the founders of Ralli Brothers, who was elected Liberal Member of Parliament in 1875–1885 and employed his position to advocate for the rights of Chiots in the Island of Chios, then under Ottoman Rule.

¹⁹⁶ R.J. Morris, 'Clubs, Societies and Associations', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950*, v. 3 (Social Agencies and Institutions) (Cambridge, 1990), 395–445 (Reform Club, St James Club, Athenaeum, to name a few).

¹⁹⁷ Ioannis Koliopoulos, *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας από το 1800, η Διαμόρφωση και η άσκηση της Εθνικής Πολιτικής* [History of Greece since 1800, the formation and implementation of national politics] (Thessaloniki, 2002), 163.

London – who viewed British bulgarophilia as an obstacle to Anglo-Greek commercial collaboration in the region. Thus, in order to respond to pro-Bulgarian propaganda and in the absence of an official response by the Greek Embassy in London, they organised themselves into the Hellenic Committee in 1878 in order to persuade the British to protect Greek economic and national interests in Macedonia and Thrace and Asia Minor.¹⁹⁸

The Greek community of London, not able to remain an idle spectator of the events taking place in the Middle Eastern Europe and while Hellenism is undergoing a critical period of its existence, has considered its duty to organize an active committee under the title Hellenic Committee in London [...] which would publish in the press and organize meetings in favor of the Greek interests.¹⁹⁹

Introducing themselves as ‘a deputation of the Greek Merchants resident in London’, they met later in the same year with the Foreign Office Minister, Lord Derby, accompanied by the British solicitor of the Bank of England and Conservative MP Charles Freshfield. They were represented by, among others, E.A. Mavrogordato, Antonio Ralli, Alexander Vlasto, A. Peterocochino, T.H. Schilizzi, J. Calvocoressi and E. Eumorphoulo, who expressed their feelings about the ‘outrages’ and ‘acts of oppression’ perpetrated on the Christian populations in Macedonia. But although their demand was for the protection of the Greek towns presently being destroyed, the reason was economic rather than political. The towns destroyed had been commercial towns on the sea board, in which ports all goods of international trade were deposited; consequently, the Greek merchants’ organised interests were indeed substantially threatened. The Greek deputation told Lord Derby that ‘These ports, are entirely unprotected, and the interference of this Government might save them from wanton and unnecessary destruction.’²⁰⁰ Lord Derby, in a vague and

¹⁹⁸ The founding of the Committee was announced in *The Times* on 5 February: ‘The Greek residents of London are organizing a patriotic committee for the purpose of aiding Greece during the present Crisis.’

¹⁹⁹ Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (hereafter GMFA), Central Service Papers 1878, 78/1c, Letter of the Hellenic Committee to unidentified receiver, probably the Greek Foreign Minister Deligiannis in Greek. Although the letter is not dated, it must have been sent around late March or April, after Gennadius had informed the Ministry of the establishment of the committee.

²⁰⁰ ‘Greece and Turkey, Meeting of the Hellenic Committee with Lord Derby’, *The Times*, 6 February 1878.

conservative reply, assured them that the matter of territorial arrangements should be left to the Powers at the coming Conference to decide.²⁰¹ The outcome of this meeting was not very positive for Greece, as *The Times* reported that, despite any danger posed to Greece by an armed attachment of Turkish artillery, this 'hardly [constitutes] a reason and can hardly be seriously regarded by the Greeks themselves as a reason for the armed interference of England [...] in a great international question which there is now a reasonable chance of settling by peaceful means.'²⁰² The Committee then endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of British elites and those of the government towards the efforts made amid the Eastern Crisis to secure Greek territorial claims. In this respect, twenty members of the Committee, including Mavrogordato, Rallis, Petrocochino and Rodocanachi, also met with Gladstone to convince him to support the rights of the Greeks in the region.²⁰³ Gladstone's anti-Ottoman viewpoint was indeed helpful to the Greek cause, as it appealed to both 'traditional Liberal sympathy for national movements' and also to a 'latent religious hostility towards Muslim rulers'.²⁰⁴ Both facts were incorporated within the discourse of the Committee, who sought to establish the Greek element as the hegemonic power in the Balkans, by projecting the rights of the Christians in the area.

We should note that the Hellenic Committee acted independently and sought no representation from the Greek government nor the embassy in London: 'we do not represent the Greek Government and do not profess to speak in its name', they said to Lord Derby during their meeting.²⁰⁵ In addition, the fact that they preferred to approach the king of Greece in June 1878, rather than the Prime Minister, and inform him of their sympathies probably admits to the fact that they were not attempting to influence official Greek policy but rather intended to enlist the support

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² 'We are not surprised to hear that a deputation', *The Times*, 6 February 1878.

²⁰³ Archive of Theodoros Deligiannis, BVI-57-121, [...] to Deligiannis, London, 26–27 February 1878.

²⁰⁴ Hugh Seton-Watson, 'British Policy towards the South-East European States 1914–1916', in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I: First symposium organized in Thessaloniki in 1983 by the Institute for Balkan Studies and King's College London* (Institute for Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki, 1985), 68.

²⁰⁵ 'Greece and Turkey', *The Times*, 6 February 1878. Also in the letter addressed to Deligiannis 1878/78 they declared that 'we do not pursue any purely political program neither we have an official character ... but the reason of our establishment is the patriotic interest' – GMFA, Central Service Papers 1878, 78/1c.

of powerful allies, one of whom represented the king. In an address they published as the Hellenic Committee but signed as 'Greek Residents in England' they reported to the king their trust that the territorial claims of Greece will be 'entertained by the beneficent Powers' and that they will 'take into consideration the civilising power which characterises the Greek people in the East'.²⁰⁶

With the incorporation of influential members of the Greek community – especially the Chiots – the Committee sought to exercise pressure on the ruling elites through different memoranda and reports published in the British press and comprised of information they requested from the Greek Minister in London.²⁰⁷ The information for these was requested by the Committee's president, E.A. Mavrogordato, who in a letter informed an official, probably the Minister of Foreign Affairs Theodoros Deligiannis, that

we would like to receive reports, or information related to the ill-treatment of Greeks [...] and the situation on the neighbouring populations and those inhabiting in the Greek towns of Turkey [...] and any other information that might be useful and enlightening for us to help us shift the English spirit and public opinion.²⁰⁸

In March 1878 Alexander Ralli, a member of the Committee, published a response to a correspondent's view on Bulgarian interest, and reported the urge that existed for the British government to 'appease the jealousy between Greek and Slav races by dealing equitably with the just claims of each'.²⁰⁹ In June of the same year, the Committee decided to publish a petition of Sciotes residing in England to the Congress at Berlin, demanding the liberation of their island 'after the unparalleled massacre' and that of the 'birthplace of Homer, the father of poetry' so that the 'annals of history would have a brighter page'.²¹⁰ Their activity, which was formally communicated to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Greek Minister in London, John Gennadius, sometime after the Committee's establishment, not only

²⁰⁶ Hellenic Committee, *Address to his Majesty the King of the Greeks*, No. 5 (London, 1878), 19.

²⁰⁷ American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library Archives, John Gennadius Papers (hereafter GP), Scrapbook 6.1, 517, Schilizis to Gennadius, 26 March 1878. GMFA, Central Service Papers 1878, n.19, letter from the secretary of the Committee to Deligiannis, 21 March 1878.

²⁰⁸ GMFA, Central Service Papers 1878/78/1c.

²⁰⁹ Alexander Ralli, 'Greece and Bulgaria', *Daily News*, 25 May 1878.

²¹⁰ Hellenic Committee, 'Sciote petition to Congress at Berlin', *Miscellanea* (London, 1878), 17–18.

bypassed the protocols of diplomacy – of which the Greek Minister had an excellent knowledge – but could ‘endanger the Greek national interests’, as the Minister of Foreign Affairs privately communicated to Gennadius.²¹¹

This situation was soon to change, as Gennadius, a powerful figure with a detailed understanding of political diplomacy, became more influential in the Greek Embassy and took a personal interest in advocating for Hellenic interests. Although the Committee remained active until the end of 1879, the unsuccessful meeting with Derby and the lack of collaboration between them and the Greek government pointed out the need for a more coordinated and multilateral attempt in approaching the ruling elites. A British philhellenic committee that would work as a counterbalance to the rising British bulgarophilia was regarded as more suitable to execute the work at that present moment.

The Greek Committee

John Gennadius, the Greek Minister in London who was active in and devoted to the pro-Hellenic movement that developed from the last quarter of the nineteenth and continued through the first two decades of the twentieth century, had early on warned that the rising British slavophilia might entail negative consequences for the philhellenic cause. For this reason, the embassy in London was now concentrating on nurturing a philhellenic movement as an essential action after the Eastern Crisis events.

As Miliori states, British slavophilia and philhellenism might have gone hand-in-hand in the 1870s and 1880s, as the ‘common philhellenic/Slavophile world-view was above all else Turkophobe and anti-Islamic’,²¹² but this does not mean that each of these nationalisms did not seek to enlist British sympathies at the expense of the other. The fact that Bulgaria was the great victor of the Berlin Treaty shows that the slavophile propaganda promulgated through various pro-Bulgarian committees in Britain had been successful in promoting Bulgaria’s desire for an independent state.

²¹¹ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1880/1/2, Deligiannis to Gennadius, Athens, 8/20 May 1878, no. 1121.

²¹² Margarita Miliori, ‘Ambiguous Partisanship, Philhellenism, Turkophilia and balkanology in the 19th century Britain’, *Balkanologie*, V1, 1–2 (2002), 144.

Although the Greeks followed the British government's advice to 'remain quiet and we [the British Government] will see your interests are not prejudiced', a member of the Hellenic Committee admitted that the 'protégés of Russia had almost achieved their independence from Turkish rule' while 'the Greeks are still expecting the small concession of territory that was made to them, and which to this day remains a matter of dispute and doubt'.²¹³

As a result, a committee comprised of British political elites positive to the Greek cause had to be set up in order for Greek propaganda to be rendered fruitful. The tradition of leagues, committees and clubs was well established in Victorian Britain not only as a form of bourgeois socialisation but also as a fruitful ground for advancing ideological and political aims. A combination of Gennadius' connections through these clubs and the influence exercised by the organised Greek bourgeois through the Hellenic Committee, as well as its strong representation of the Greek financial bourgeoisie in the City of London, managed to push towards the establishment of the Greek Committee in January 1878.

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Hellenic Committee, the Greek Committee, a large and important group of British philhellenes led by the radical liberal MP Charles Dilke, operated in the dark for a year and then was made public on 26 April 1879. Dilke later recorded in his memoirs:

I invited the speakers and drew up an appeal to the public and acted as Chairman of the Executive Committee with Rosebery for President and Lefevre for Treasurer. The meeting was held at Willis's Rooms on May 17th, 1879 and was attended by men of all shades of opinion – The Duke of Westminster, Sir Robert Peel, an independent Conservative, and several

²¹³ Mavrogordato as member of the Hellenic Committee addressing the opening meeting of the Greek Committee in 1879: Greek Committee, *Report of the meeting at Willis' rooms, Saturday, May 17th, 1879, in support of the claims of Greece*, no. 1 (London, 1879), 29. Drawing on the British fear of Panslavism, the Hellenic Committee also circulated in 1878 a pamphlet in which they advised British political circles that 'The Union of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly and the Islands with free Greece would constitute a nation of nearly for millions, that would exert upon the autonomous province of Thrace and influence of civilization, strong enough to counteract Panslavist propagandist.' See Hellenic Committee, *Hellenic Claims and The Congress*, No. 4 (London, 1878), 27.

other Conservatives, as well as the Mass of the Liberals. I presided, and Landsowne moved the first Resolution.²¹⁴

Although the initiative for the creation of this committee is exclusively credited to Dilke, the pressure from the Greek Embassy and more specifically the connections of Gennadius and his influence on Dilke should be underlined. Days before the establishment of the Greek Committee, Dilke wrote in his diary that he dined at his house with a gentleman the identity of which he did not wish to reveal at the present time, who furnished him with a document regarding the ill-treatment of Greece by the British government.²¹⁵ According to Christopoulos's findings, it is quite possible the gentleman Dilke meant was Gennadius, because of the telegraph he send to Deligiannis some days later informing him about the establishment of a philhellenic committee with a strong influence.²¹⁶

The Committee was comprised mainly of Liberal MPs, although some Conservatives were present, as well as academics such as the classicist Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb²¹⁷ and Professor James Bryce and reporters such as Frederic W. Chesson and George Augustus Sala. Some of the powerful names on the executive committee included the earl of Rosebery as president, George Shaw Lefevre MP as treasurer, Dilke as the executive chairman, the marquises of Bath and Lansdowne and Joseph Chamberlain MP, while the duke of Westminster, Arthur Arnold, Lewis Sergeant and members of the Hellenic Committee E.A. Mavrogordato and A.A. Ralli comprised the general committee, which numbered more than 150 by its inaugural meeting in London's Willis Rooms.²¹⁸

During this overly successful meeting – as guests were more than expected and there was insufficient room for all to enter the venue – the Committee advocated the 'general public demand' for the extension of the Greek frontier 'at least as far as the line traced by the Congress',²¹⁹ while in a more general sense it

²¹⁴ Personal correspondence and memoirs of Sir Charles Dilke: Stephen Gwyn and Gertrude M. Tuckwell, *The life of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bart., M.P.*, vols. 1, 2 (London, 1918), 278.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 241.

²¹⁶ Christopoulos, Marrianna, 'John Gennadius and the formation of national Greek politics (1970-1918)' (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Ph.D. thesis, 2012), 196.

²¹⁷ Close acquaintance of John Gennadius.

²¹⁸ Greek Committee, *Report of the meeting at Willis' rooms*.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

sought to promote the interest of Greece in the East. The Greek government was represented through delegations from the Greek Ministers in Liverpool (Dimitrios A. Rallis) and Manchester (Th. Ioannidis), while Mavrogordato, was a guest speaker, representing the Greek community of London. The intentions of this British philhellenic committee were declared by the executive committee as follow:

[...] it is the duty not only of those who are interested in the Greek race and hopeful of this future, but of all Englishmen who value the good faith and good name of their country, to press upon Her Majesty's Government the necessity of insisting that the Turkish Government shall not disregard the deliberate judgment of the Great Powers. A committee has been formed for this purpose. It proposes to take every means of informing the public mind respecting the claims of Greece. English statesmen of all parties have long recognized that is the true interest of England to support the Greek Kingdom, to promote its well-being and to aid in the development of its power.²²⁰

The last sentence of the above quotation was carefully pitched to appeal to a broad political spectrum and not only to liberal sympathisers, although the core of the Committee was comprised of radical Liberals and the period from summer 1878 until the elections of 1880 was characterised by the active involvement of British Liberals in the promotion of the Greek interests. In the context of their election rallies, liberal politics assumed a philhellenic discourse that would correlate to the policy they would have to adopt the day after the elections – at least, that was one of Gennadius' strong assertions.²²¹

One of the main preoccupations of the Greek Embassy at the time was to prevent relating the British philhellenic sentiment of the Liberals with a purely oppositional discourse, although the momentum sparking philhellenic statements within the House of the Parliament was particularly helpful to Greek efforts. The matter of British philhellenic liberalism, which was twofold, included, first, the unconditional support of the British Liberals as a matter of conviction in the just claims of Greece deriving from a romantic philhellenism and, second, the abiding of

²²⁰ Greek Committee, *Greece and Europe* (London, 1879), 48.

²²¹ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1878/18/1, Gennadius to Koumoundouros, London, 22/3 September 1878, no. 762 (private).

this sentiment to the liberal discourse against the government in the context of the forthcoming elections. As *The Observer*'s main article put it, some days before the general meeting, 'It would be an easy matter for the Liberal politicians under whose auspices the Pro-Hellenic demonstration is to take place, to make party capital out of the policy pursued by the Government with respect to Greece.'²²² Gennadius was determined to change such a condition, and pressed upon the Greek government to support British Liberals with official statements in order to show that the Liberals represented an official position and that their interest in Greece did not reflect only their party's micro-politics.

In accordance with their political agenda, British Liberal philhellenes assisted the promotion of Greek interests by employing parliamentary questions to challenge or press ministers over their policy regarding Greece. Secondly, they engaged in publishing articles and pamphlets regarding the Eastern Question and the unfair conduct of England towards Greece.²²³ Publishers George Macmillan (*Macmillan's Magazine*) and Frank Hill (*Daily News*), along with reporters Chesson, Augustus Sala and Charles Fitzgerald, were flooding the press with the views of this philhellenic committee.²²⁴ Lastly, they organised major events in cities throughout England to gather public support and raise awareness of their views.

As intended, demonstrations organised by the Greek Committee served a dual role, or, rather, aimed at one goal, though two outcomes were achieved: an electoral campaign for the Liberals and the advocating of Greek claims on the periphery of this. The first of these meetings was organised in the Willis Rooms in London, as mentioned above, and a couple of months later the committee organised two large events in Liverpool on 5 June and in Manchester on 21 July. At the Liverpool event a speech was delivered by Arthur Arnold and Dilke at the Reform

²²² *The Observer*, 11 May 1878.

²²³ Some examples of parliamentary questions and interpolations in parliament include the Liberals blaming the government for not helping Greece during the Congress of Berlin: Hansard, HC Deb 29 July 1878 vol 242 cc527–612; when they attacked the government for allegedly proceeding to a convention with Turkey: HC Deb 08 July 1878 vol 241 cc965–6; and comments regarding the Greek population residing in the districts of Thrace and Macedonia and their fate in the 'New Bulgaria': HC Deb 14 March 1878 vol 238 c1289.

²²⁴ A full list of the eight pamphlets published by the Greek Committee can be found in the bibliography; they contained addresses to the British government, reports from the meetings of the Committee and articles written by MPs on the claims of Greece. The Committee also published six leaflets concerning the situation in Epirus.

Club, a liberal association established in early 1879, while the Greek residents of the town, with their leader Greek Consul Sir Dimitrios L. Ralli, also addressed the representatives of the committee. The address paid a warm tribute of gratitude to the Committee 'for the generous efforts they are making on behalf of Greece'.²²⁵ To ease political agitation, the liberal editor of the *Leeds Mercury* noted on his front page that this was not a party meeting and that the Greek Committee was not a party committee. 'It was natural that there should be a majority of Liberals upon the committee because the policy recommended was the traditional policy of the Liberal party.'²²⁶

The meeting in Manchester was organised by the Liberal Association of Manchester at the Free Trade Hall, which embodied the massive character organisers wished to impress upon the demonstration. Because of the short period since the previous demonstration in Liverpool, Rosebery was reluctant to proceed with another in Manchester so soon, as he feared accusations of political opportunism. Gennadius, however, managed to arrange for significant participation from the Greek community in Manchester, which would also cover the financial cost of the demonstration, enabling it to be presented as a public demand stemming from the Greek community. His arrangements with the representative of the community there, Ioannis Zygomalas, achieved the goal of massive participation, as 4,300 people attended.²²⁷ Rosebery then mentioned in his address that he was

proud and glad to stand within this hall ... as an advocate on behalf of a great cause, because we are so apt to deliver nothing but speeches which are dictated by party politics that it is some relief to approach a question which is not a party question in England.²²⁸

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century developments in the Balkans and concerns about the fate of the 'Eastern Christians' gave rise to another strand of

²²⁵ 'Sir Chas. Dilke at Liverpool', *Leeds Mercury*, 6 June 1879.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*

²²⁷ GP, Scrapbook 5.3, 31, Zygomalas to Gennadius, 22 July 1879.

²²⁸ Greek Committee, *Report of a Meeting at Manchester, July 21st, 1879*, no. 5 (London, 1879).

philhellenic discourse, which was linked with British academia. The institutionalisation of philhellenic interest was encompassed in the establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in 1879. The idea for a society exclusively devoted to Hellenic Studies came to George Macmillan when Gennadius introduced him to the analogous French Association pour l' Encouragement des Études Grecques, of which Macmillan became a member.²²⁹

As the establishment of this literary society coincided with the activities of the Greek Committee, it is unsurprising to find 'shared' members taking part in both initiatives, such as the much-admired Hellenist Richard Jebb, who served as the Society's president (1890–1905), Charles Dilke and Edward A. Freeman, to name a few. Alongside the academics, such as Percy Gardner and the Irish classicists John Pentland Mahaffy and Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, we also find the Conservative MP Arthur Balfour, later Prime Minister (1902–1905), and the famous poet Oscar Wilde.²³⁰ By 1882 it numbered more than 450 members, while among the fifteen honorary members we find the king of the Hellenes, British diplomatic representatives in the Eastern Mediterranean and academics from Florence, Berlin, Strasbourg, Paris and Athens.

The Society was so successful because it managed to incorporate professional and non-professional gentlemen in its ranks while organising both academic meetings in Cambridge and Oxford and meetings that catered for the general interest of the public in London. Its social basis thus extended beyond the academic community, incorporating an 'amalgam of professionalising scholarship, connoisseurship, travel literature, and amateur interest'.²³¹ That meant that the Society drew together members who were acclaimed Philhellenes as well as laymen and professionals with a keen interest in Greek scholarship, creating in this way a large pool of British Hellenists whose activity and writings were essential during a period when British slavophilia was still on the rise.

²²⁹ George A. Macmillan, *An Outline of the History of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies (1879–1904)* (London, 1905), 1.

²³⁰ Phillip T. Stevens, *The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1879–1979: a historical sketch* (London, 1979), 7.

²³¹ Christopher Stray, *Classics Transformed: Schools, Universities and Society in England, 1830–1960* (Oxford, 1998), 138.

The objects as they were drafted during the first meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern on 16 June 1879 highlighted the need to 'advance the study of Greek Language and art and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the *ancient, Byzantine and Neo-Hellenic* periods',²³² to collect Greek-related material and organise travel for members to Greece for the study of the Hellenic civilisation. The objects were promoted through the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* and various proceedings and meetings. In one of the meetings in 1883 it was decided that because of growing interest in classical study there appeared to be a need for a school of archaeology and classical studies to be established in Athens. The British School of Archaeological Studies at Athens opened in 1886, and from 1887 was partly funded by the Society, maintaining close associations.²³³

Despite claims that the Society wished to maintain 'neutral' political ground, the British interest in Greek language, history and archaeology could not but work in favour of the general philhellenic movement of the period, which translated Greece as a unified topos of ancient byzantine and modern heritage that, amid the Eastern Crisis, had the right to lay claims against Slavonic or Ottoman elements.²³⁴

Pro-Hellenic Initiatives 1897–1912

The new century found British Hellenism well advanced, with a philhellenic committee and a committee composed of Greeks in England, as well as an academic society with an interest in Greek letters. However, the Greek Committee began to informally disband in 1881 after a meeting to celebrate the cession of Thessaly and the Greek Minister Gennadius was reassigned to Vienna. Greece thus lost two strong advocates of her interests in Britain at a time when other Balkan states, such as Bulgaria, were finding powerful allies. Pro-hellenic activities during the last decade of the 19th century were very limited also because during this period Greece faced two

²³² 'Rules', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), ix, my emphasis.

²³³ Stevens, *The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies*, 10, and 'The British School At Athens', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 27 June 1883.

²³⁴ Charles T. Newton at his introductory Address during the first general meeting stressed that he carefully avoided in his address any allusion to politics. 'I have spoken as if there was no Eastern Question at all. I have done so in the hope that this Society will form a neutral ground, on which Englishmen and Greeks may in the interest of learning co-operate without coming into collision on account of political differences.' 'An Introductory Address', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1 (1880), 6.

of the most critical events in her recent history, one the Greek Debt in 1893 and the Greco-Turkish War of 1897 which resulted in a political vacuum with no competent political force to acquire a plausible hegemonic agenda. Within this void, small attempts were made mainly by the Greeks in England, to articulate an English pro-hellenic perspective of the War and assist the refugees, such as the Conference organized by the Greek Committee (which revived every now and then), between 'friends of Greece and representatives of the Greek residents in England'.²³⁵ The Conference which was attended by the official representatives of the Greek Committee as well as Liberal MPs such as Herbert Gladstone, aimed at 'expressing its profound sympathy with the Greek people and with his Hellenic Majesty's Government in their present circumstances.'²³⁶ Also, Dilke moved a resolution which included that this Conference 'urges upon her Majesty's Government the duty of taking immediate steps to secure their declared policy of peace in Europe and liberty in Crete by preventing any increase of Turkish dominion'.²³⁷ In addition, a Liverpool Greek Committee was set up shortly after the war, comprised by the Hellenic Consul in Liverpool Mr. Malandrinos, the Archimandrite and fifteen prominent Greeks, with the object to 'render any lawful aid that may be required by Greece or the island of Crete.'²³⁸ Throughout the period however, it became clear that the end of the war brought about the need for regeneration and recovery and prepared the ground for a more 'aggressive' nationalism, which was embodied in the associations and leagues of the new century.²³⁹

Between 1903 and 1911 London became the centre of the activities of another powerful committee, at first with anti-Ottoman scope but soon to become a pro-Bulgarian advocate: the Balkan Committee. Established in 1903, the Committee comprised Liberals and previous members of the Greek Committee, such as James Bryce MP, who served as its first president, Lord Edward Fitzmaurice MP, who served as vice-president, and Richard Jebb MP, who was closely associated with the

²³⁵ 'The Radicals and Greece', *Times*, 13 May 1897

²³⁶ 'Greece and the Powers', *Daily News*, 13 May 1897

²³⁷ 'The Greek Committee', *Morning Post*, 13 May 1897

²³⁸ 'Liverpool and Greece', *Liverpool Mercury*, 23 November 1897

²³⁹ Christos Chatziosif, 'Εισαγωγή' [Introduction], in *idem* (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα 1922–1940* [History of Greece in the 20th century 1922–1940] A1 (Athens, 1999), 21.

Committee.²⁴⁰ An analytical examination of the committee and its role in propagating Bulgarian interests can be found in Chapter Five of this thesis; however, it is important to highlight in this section that amid the Macedonian Crisis and the 1907 revolt Greek matters were left almost undefended, while the Macedonian Question was already taking a pro-Bulgarian turn in London. Dimitrios Metaxas, the Greek attaché in London, was unable to prove worthy of his predecessor, and Gennadius accused him of 'destroying with his impotence the philhellenic organization' he himself had established in previous years.²⁴¹

Lacking any other means in London, especially those provided by an organised association or committee, the Greek government through Metaxas provided a salary for an 'esteemed English publicist or reporter' to 'visit the area of Macedonia and study the situation of the Greeks there in order to publish a book and write articles in English journals or papers'.²⁴² G.F. Abbot was recruited by the government for the cause from 1907 to 1912 and paid £500 per year to produce and publish pro-Hellenic articles in the press, £125 of which were provided by members of the Greek community, M. Corgialenio and P. Argenti.

In 1908 the Young Turks Revolution created an international conjuncture in which the Balkan states were seemingly united against the barbarism of the Young Turks policy; despite hopes that the desired liberal multi-ethnic establishment in Turkey would peacefully accommodate the Christian minorities within itself, the nationalist politics of the new regime mobilised the Greek populations residing in the area to seek means to defend their national identity and gradually pursue their incorporation into a Greater Greece.²⁴³ Gennadius, on his return in London in 1910, understood that if any philhellenic propaganda were able to survive it would be that which stood against the Ottomans, placing Greece in the ambiguous category of the 'Civilized Balkans'. That would ensure wider British support that did not have to collide with the objectives of the well-connected Balkan Committee.

²⁴⁰ Balkan Committee, *Macedonia* (London, 1903).

²⁴¹ GP, Scrapbook 5.6, Gennadius to Vlasias Gavrielidis, Ireland, 3 September 1903.

²⁴² GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2/4, document from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, signed by Dimitrios Metaxas, Athens, 13 July 1907; GP, folder 5.1, Abbot to Metaxa, 12 June 1907 and G.F. Abbot to D. Metaxa, 23 September 1907.

²⁴³ Konstantinos Svolopoulos, *Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική* [Greek Foreign Policy] (Athens, 2008), 101

In this regard, Gennadius began the new era of philhellenic initiatives, which did not, however, exclude relations with the Balkan Committee, as its anti-Ottoman sentiment was considered essential for the efforts of the Greek government in Britain. The embassy in London extended its relations with the press and made closer acquaintances with British philhellenes such as Crawford Price, Colonel Arthur Mordaunt Murray, A.H. Trapman, Emile Joseph Dillon and, most importantly, the professor of archaeology Ronald Burrows and the director of the London School of Economics William Pember Reeves, who would become the core of organised philhellenic activity for almost a decade. In addition to the latter, during the Balkan turmoil the incorporation of influential personalities from the Greek community, such as Dimitrios Cassavetti and the bright scholar John Mavrogordato, would provide indispensable assistance in the defence of Hellenic demands.

Furthermore, attaining closer relations with the press in order to advance national claims had also been a conviction of the new Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos when he founded the first Greek Press Bureau in 1910 (operating within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) and who stressed the need for affiliating significant personalities from the press and academia to the embassy. In a confidential note within the Ministry he drafted the objects of the Bureau, which included the 'Finding of persons abroad who are influential in the local press and provide them with useful and beneficial' and 'the incorporation of more philhellenic journalists and scholars through which the influence of International Press will be achieved'.²⁴⁴

Perhaps the most important activity of the embassy in this regard was the purchase of £1,200 worth of debentures of the newspaper *The World* 'as a contribution in the proprietary of the *The World*, in recognition of our efforts to

²⁴⁴ Valentini Tselika, 'Η οργάνωση του Γραφείου Τύπου από την Κυβέρνηση Βενιζέλου (1930–1932)' [The establishment of the Greek Press Bureau by the Venizelos Government (1930–1932)], in Thanos Veremis and Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos (eds.), *Μελετήματα γύρω από τον Βενιζέλο και την εποχή του* [Studies on Venizelos and his time] (Athens, 1980), 532. According to evidence in the GMFA, among those affiliated to the Greek Embassy we find Percy F. Martin, who received £100 for his book *Greece in the 20th century* (London, 1913), and Colonel Murray, who in September 1913 was sent to Epirus, probably at the expense of the embassy, to see and write about the situation of the Greeks there. GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2/4/3, Coromilas to Martin, 13 February 1913.

make plain to the British public the justice of our cause'.²⁴⁵ Although the idea belonged to A. Laker, the chairman of the newspaper, who communicated with the Greek government through Colonel Murray, Gennadius consulted with John Stavridis, lawyer and general consul in London, and proceeded with the payment, which was made from the Fund of the Committee of Charitable Causes with the justification of 'emergency national demands'.²⁴⁶ In this way, the Greek government ensured that there was at least one press organ with a good reputation where it could 'publish whatever we wanted', according to Gennadius, something which was generally difficult in the circumstances.²⁴⁷

By 1912 the dynamic of the accumulated philhellenic activity led to the establishment of a more targeted committee that could press the national claims of Greece amid the anti-Hellenic propaganda produced by both the Albanian and the Ottoman Committees, established in the same year.

Aegean Islands Committee 1912

By July 1912 a fund for the Aegean Islands Committee was set up by wealthy Greeks of the community, including the Ralli Brothers (who paid the largest amount), Michalinos, Argenti, Rodocanachi, Calvocoressi, Schilizzi and Petrocochino, which managed to raise £750 for the establishment of a committee devoted to the promotion of the cession of the Aegean Islands to Greece.²⁴⁸ Members of this committee included Pember Reeves and Colonel Murray, while Professor Ronald Burrows was appointed as chairman and A. Symonds, a member of the Balkan Committee, as secretary. Other members of the Balkan Committee included Noel Buxton and Professor Westlake, while the new committee managed to enlist members of the British political elite such as Sir Lionel Rothschild and Sir Herbert Raphael.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2/4, part 3, Gennadius to Coromilas, London, 18/31 March 1913, 675.

²⁴⁶ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2/4, part 3, Receipt of payment from Banque Nationale de Greece to Gennadius account in St Mary's Axe Branch, 9 June 1913.

²⁴⁷ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2 /4, part 3 Gennadius to Coromilas, 18/31 March 1913, 675.

²⁴⁸ 'Aegean Islands Committee Fund', GP, folder 13.2.

²⁴⁹ Christopoulos, 'John Gennadius', 314.

The Committee had a very specific goal: during its first meeting in December 1912 and in prospect of the developments in the Aegean and the Peace Conference in London to decide the fate of the Balkan struggle, it was considered mandatory to advocate in favour of the cession of the Aegean Islands to Greece, contrary to the establishment of an autonomous government which was proposed by the Treaty of London.²⁵⁰ Burrows published the claims in an article in the *Manchester Guardian*, later to be published by the Aegean Islands Committee, where he stated that, despite the 'many times they have changed masters, the Islands have retained a practically homogenous Greek population [and] ... it cannot be doubted that union with Greece would be enthusiastically welcomed'.²⁵¹

The role of the Committee was essential but its scope remained too restricted to the Aegean Islands; the general Greco-Bulgarian rivalry was developing apace through press publications and discussions in parliament and was not given the proper attention by the Committee. On 29 April 1913 the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lambros Coromilas, mentioned to Gennadius that it would be good if the Committee could broaden its goals to function as an 'organization which would support all the interests of the Greeks in Britain', while now it offers 'its services in order to illuminate public opinion for the issue of the islands.'²⁵² In the same letter, Coromilas warned that the financial assistance raised by the Greek community was running out and that there was a pressing need to raise new funds in order for the committee to continue its mission. Thus, he advised Gennadius to inform him immediately about the 'amount that the committee essentially requires to operate annually',²⁵³ probably so that the Greek government could contribute to the operating expenses.

The Aegean Islands Committee constituted the first philhellenic committee of the new century with a clear political aim, strong bonds with British academic and political elites and the support of the Greek government. Its existence, although

²⁵⁰ Article Five of the Treaty mentioned that the 'Great Powers were responsible for deciding the fate of Aegean Islands', essentially leaving the matter unresolved. See Svolopoulos, *Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική*, 86.

²⁵¹ Aegean Islands Committee, *The Claims of Greece to the Aegean Islands* (London, 1914).

²⁵² GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/30/2/1, Coromilas to Gennadius, 29 April 1913.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

short-lived, would underline the tenacious need for the establishment of a solid philhellenic group with the power to publish its views, organise meetings and develop a structured programme of propaganda modelled on the modern pressure/interest groups acting in London at the time. It thus paved the way for a new kind of philhellenic initiative to arise, one that would incorporate scholarly and political interests but with a main objective of influencing political power, the increasing power of the public opinion and the press, towards Greek territorial claims during the Balkan and First World Wars.

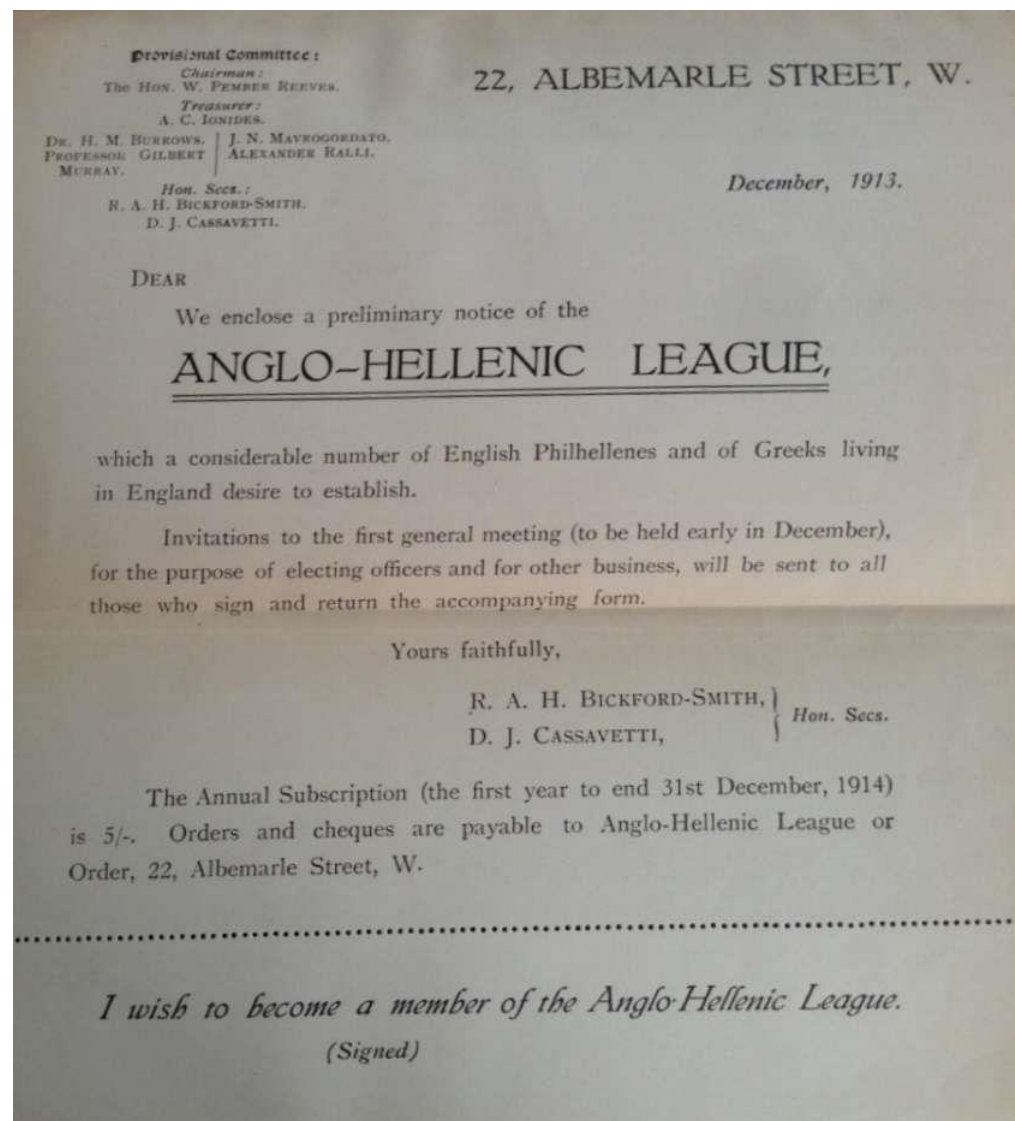


Figure 2. The first invitation of the Anglo-Hellenic League and first call for subscriptions. Source: Archives of the Liberal Club, Athens, 302.

Chapter Three

The Making of the Anglo-Hellenic League

‘It is not too late – indeed, it is none too soon – for an Anglo-Hellenic League to set to work. There is much to be done and not time to lose before beginning upon it.’²⁵⁴

With these words the Anglo-Hellenic League, a London Greek bourgeoisie group comprised of lawyers, businessmen, merchants, ship-owners, academics and diplomats, was established in December 1913. The League acted as a pressure group advancing propaganda in favour of the Venizelist cause; during a period where Greece could use all the help it could get in relation to its territorial claims over the Ottoman Empire, the League appears as one of the most ardent supporters of this cause, right in the centre of the British empire.

This chapter focuses on the establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League in London on the eve of the First World War. It is intended to provide a broad picture of how this pressure group was organised, how it functioned and how it connects to the wider historical context. In doing so, a sketch of its most important publications, events and activities will be examined. Soon after its establishment, the League operated as a structured lobbyist in favour of Greece’s new leader Eleftherios Venizelos. In the aftermath of the Balkan Wars Greece not only doubled her territory but was also ready to ‘enter a new age of transitions with pragmatic and not rhetorical – as in the past – trust in her potentials’.²⁵⁵ Grasping the pragmatic conditions and drawing on the ideological connotations of the national programme of the *Megali Idea*, the group worked alongside academics and politicians to create a network of pressure that functioned both as a political club of Greek liberalism in Britain and as a lobby for British interests in Greece.

²⁵⁴ These were the words of the founders as quoted in the League’s first publication: AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

²⁵⁵ George Margaritis, ‘Οι Πόλεμοι’ [The Wars], in Christos Chatziosif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα* [History of Greece in the 20th century] A2 (Athens, 1999), 118.

Staging the Establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League

The previous period in Anglo-Greek relations, which roughly coincided with the turn of the century, saw the establishment of two committees for the advancement of Greek interests: one from a British perspective – the Greek Committee – and one from a Greek or, rather, an Anglo-Greek point of view – the Hellenic Committee. The establishment of these committees, as well as that of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, encapsulated the interest in Greek matters (old and new) and revived – in new terms – that romantic philhellenic interest of the mid-nineteenth century in the history of Greece and its fate in the modern era. Perhaps the most important contribution of these societies was the fact that, amid the clashing antagonisms, they managed through purely political expediency and/or romantic devotion and interest in Greek heritage to bring forth Greece as a country of today. The discourses, although vested with the mantle of romantic sentimentalism inextricably linked with contemporary nationalism, managed to place Greece on the European map of the modern day. Thus, Greece would no longer be solely the object of examination of classicists and ardent scholars of the classical past, but would attempt to escape the memorable phrase ‘the most classical country in the world’²⁵⁶ and, rather, be constructed as a country of the modern era. Through the initiation of discussion on the matters concerning Greek claims in the Balkans by these committees, especially the Greek and the Hellenic, was created the potential for Greece to stand up as a modern liberal country and equal ally of the west, and specifically, as a naval ally of Britain. With the founding of the Aegean Islands Committee part of that scope was proliferated. The committee, which had a clear political aim to convince Britain and France that the Aegean Islands were rightfully Greek and should be incorporated within the kingdom, was raising a contemporary issue involving not just the Greek community in Britain but esteemed members of the established Balkan Committee, British political figures and well-known academics.

This new period of Anglo-Greek relations represents a more dynamic and politically oriented effort by Greeks and British Philhellenes to develop a solid

²⁵⁶ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Notes of a journey from Cornhill to grand Cairo* (London, 1846), 75.

alliance between Greece and Britain in view of the prospective international conjunctures. Bulgaria, which at the time constituted the main rival to Greek interests, had gained important ground in the British capital through its representation by the Balkan committee and especially the Buxton brothers, both Liberal MPs.²⁵⁷ At the same time, the rising of the Young Turk movement in the Balkans promoted anti-Ottoman sentiment in the 'Christian West', a consequence that Greek interests could not have found more helpful. By the end of 1912 it was crystal clear that Athens had to establish strong relations with London, which would now unfold in fertile ground with the experience and the allies gained through the three committees and the Society of the previous years.

On 10 November 1912 the young but well-connected John Stavridis, after dining with David Lloyd George, made a remarkable entry in his diary that would define the relations between the two countries. Stavridis met Lloyd George when they were both practising solicitors, while his position as a Reuter correspondent and his relations with the Ralli House made him an influential delegate of Greek interests to British politics. The Balkan victories made British Liberals, among them Lloyd George, recall their 'Gladstonian distaste for Turks and warm sympathy for the oppressed peoples who had thrown off the yoke'.²⁵⁸ During that evening, Lloyd George wished the 'Turk to be turned out of Europe and sent to ... where he came from'.²⁵⁹ Stavridis understood that there appeared to be an opportunity for Greece to become an ally of Britain and informed Venizelos of these conversations. Through Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and later Prime Minister, Greece had found an ardent supporter who gave Stavridis an important piece of information: that if the Greeks wanted to influence politics they would have to 'create a public opinion in England by means of the Press and public meetings, publications etc.'²⁶⁰

Britain, through the first lord of the admiralty, Winston Churchill, expressed its interest in acquiring a naval basis in Greece and in particular in Argostoli, on the

²⁵⁷ For a detailed account of the Bulgarian propaganda carried out by the Buxton brothers see Chapter Five.

²⁵⁸ Michael Llewellyn-Smith, *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor. 1919–1922* (London, 1973), 12.

²⁵⁹ Private Papers, Papers of Sir John Stavridis, 10 November 1912 entry in Diary (hereafter SP).

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

island of Cephalonia, and in return they were ready to cede Cyprus to Greece. Stavridis wished to extend the alliance with Britain and during his next meeting with Lloyd he suggested that:

a general understanding with Greece, with Great Greece as she would be in the future, would enable them to use all their ships for fighting the enemy, leaving us to police the seas and protect their commerce. We would undertake to strengthen our navy and to build under the guidance of England and act in all matters in conjunction with England.²⁶¹

These arrangements brought forth a new 'future' for Greece. The idea that Britain was positive towards proceeding with an Anglo-Greek entente laid the foundations of a new policy for Greece, one that would certainly require an influential network organisation and representation in London as well as in Athens. Lloyd George's suggestion to organise and influence English public opinion was not new to the members of the Greek community. Publisher Constantine Pouptis had from 1906 printed the Greek monthly illustrated journal *Hellenic Herald* 'in the belief that British public opinion has of recent years been poisoned against the Greeks'; The *Hellenic Herald* aimed to provide 'an exhaustive account of the various movements and affairs – political, racial and social – in the Near East; and to set forth with clearness the Greek claims in the Balkan Peninsula'.²⁶² In addition, in a letter he sent to Venizelos in 1913 Pouptis, probably as a result of information he gathered from the various meetings taking place between British and Greek officials in London, proposed that a 'Anglo-Hellenic League' should be founded in London 'in order to defend our just claims, just like [Leagues] do here in England', taking advantage of the already stated positive stance towards Greece.²⁶³ In the same vein, another member of the Greek community (and later the League), the wealthy merchant Zorzi Michalinos, congratulated Venizelos on his successful policies in liberating Chios and declared that he, as well as the Greek community that he represented,

²⁶¹ SP, 22 November 1912 entry in Diary.

²⁶² *Hellenic Herald*, London, December 1906, 1; also GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1907/77/1/2. Pouptis was also paid by the Greek government for press services he provided through the *Hellenic Herald*; see Bank of Athens remittance 6 April 1912 in GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1912/65/4.

²⁶³ Digital archive of Eleftherios Venizelos, Athens in Archive of Benaki Museum (ABM), *Letter from Pouptis to Venizelos*, London 8 May 1913, f.365–35.

was grateful for the patriotic initiatives of Gennadius in London, expressing in this way his support for the philhellenic initiatives that aimed to re-establish Greece's glorious past.²⁶⁴

It was understood, therefore, that a more centralised and targeted organ with the support of the wealthy members of the community was required to help the Anglo-Hellenic understanding to proliferate and pave the way for arrangements that would take place in London in the coming months. Gennadius, who understood the potential of the momentum, wrote a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Dimitrios Panas informing him of the establishment of a League that had been long prepared but waiting for the right moment to assume full realisation. The letter is not only indicative of the role the League was called to play but informs us that the Greek government both knew of the establishment and supported this initiative. In his reply, Panas praised the establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League 'for the defending of the rights of Greece' and for its choice of collaborators.²⁶⁵ The following represents the full body of text of the letter Gennadius sent to Panas informing him of the establishment of the League:

Between different means that I constantly think of so we can influence the press and the politicians, as well as the public opinion, the establishment of leagues or committees was always the first to come in mind but was awaiting the right moment and the right colleagues to proceed with.

It was easy, at any point to establish an influential group [...] but these stillborn committees which not only they do not benefit but they also harm the common interests. We are in need of strong elements eager for action and capable to influence. After diligent search, rigorous ordeals and thorough indoctrination these elements have been secured and the desired League 'the Anglo-Hellenic League' is currently being established.

One of the leading collaborators who is not only willing but also enthusiastic I found in the person of William Pember Reeves, whose name is already known to you through my previous reports and whose service to us is

²⁶⁴ ABM, *Letter from Michalinos to Venizelos*, 16–29 November 1912, London, f.173–86.

²⁶⁵ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/55/5, Panas to Gennadius, 14 November 1913, n.31141.

impossible to overestimate. His personal influence, his political prestige, his value in philological issues and his pure love for Greece guarantee for the undertaking of this establishment for which I enclose the programme and the scope.

Another ardent and established collaborator we find in Cassavetti the son, whose zeal, willingness and beliefs are beyond any praise. We plan to send him in Manchester and Liverpool to recruit the leading figures for the Greeks that live there. Because we have previously prepared the Greeks here, we have the Greek element already active mobilized. However, to truly unite means to commit a real alliance with the English element which sympathizes with us so to attract with us those who maybe uninterested politically, but interested philologically or as archaeologists and merchants or as businessmen and travellers.

For this reason, in the program [of the League] we include these last concerns and actions of the League and we would like to advise to take extra effort in encouraging and facilitating the traveling throughout Greece from which we aspire to collect an important income for the country and a reason to attract friends and admirers of Greece.

First of all though, we take care that this League will not be understood as implemented or instigated by the Greek Government, but rather as a spontaneous and independent body which would act in favour of Greece in its own will and with the agreement of the members of the executive committee comprised by an equal number of Greeks and English. The insusceptible character of the League would make its actions more powerful.

The day after tomorrow we will proceed in the first general meeting of the founders. [...] I would prefer if your excellence does not know any further information on the matter. Especially this should be highlighted by the Minister announcing the news, that the government has in no way

instigated this action or is not participating, but is sympathetic [...] and appears neutral.²⁶⁶

The Profile of the League between Influence and Propaganda

Employing the analytical tools of historical sociology, we can define the Anglo-Hellenic League as a 'non-indigenous' commercial bourgeoisie that aspired to promote its economic and political interests during the period 1913–1919. Some scholars have identified it in the context of a commercial bourgeoisie opposing the state bourgeoisie, making an argument based on intra-class struggle.²⁶⁷ The opposition between a class-oriented and an intra-class struggle serves to explain the tension between political parties in the first decades of twentieth-century Greece and underlines the fact that Greek society was still in the making. Following this line of reasoning, we can understand the political motives of the diasporic bourgeoisie and its vehement denouncing of monarchy, especially during the period of the National Schism.²⁶⁸

Drawing on the theory of interest groups, it can be argued that the League acted as an interest group as much as a lobby or pressure group advocating for interests connected with a certain political party. As early as its establishment, the League aligned itself, either inter-personally or ideologically, with the Greek 'Liberal Party' [Κόμμα Φιλελευθέρων], established in 1910 by Eleftherios Venizelos, and acted thus as an 'insider' group, which means that it had access to the corridors of power.²⁶⁹ On many occasions the discourse and the activities of the League give us enough evidence to understand it as one of the Party's factions, analogous to the political club of 'Φιλελευθέρων' (Liberals) in Crete, in Athens or even in smaller areas such as Piraeus. The link between the League and the Liberal Party is evident throughout its activities: members of the Liberal Party were invited to London to

²⁶⁶ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/55/5, Gennadius to Panas, 30–12 November 1913, n.2762, confidential. [...] indicates illegible words or sets of words in the document.

²⁶⁷ Mavrogordato, *Stillborn Republic*, 127–30, and *idem*, *Μελέτες και Κείμενα για την περίοδο 1909–1940* [Studies and Documents from the Period 1901–1940] (Athens, 1982), 59.

²⁶⁸ When we refer to the commercial bourgeoisie we mean the one in Greece which along with the diasporic one (based outside Greece) they form a unique class which struggles against the state bourgeoisie for political domination. – The state bourgeoisie is the one aspiring to the Monarchy and is based in the Old Lands – before the new territories acquisitions. In this respect, the intra-class struggle bears also geographical distinctions.

²⁶⁹ On the distinction between insider and outsider groups see Wyn Grant, *Pressure Groups and British Politics* (London, 2000).

deliver lectures or speeches on various occasions, thus promoting the ideological party–interest group relationship. Although both political parties and interest groups such as the League seek to ‘influence the form and content of public policy’,²⁷⁰ interest groups do not envisage to assume power themselves but attempt to influence those in power. In contrast, political parties attempt to gain power or participate in the exercise of power.



Figure 3. Member's identity card of the Liberal Club in Piraeus, 1918. Source: ELIA, 4.3, Κόμμα Φιλελευθέρων (Liberal Club), 1918–1941.

Interest-group politics and its relation to political parties has opened the discussion of group–government engagement, resulting in two main approaches in explaining this interaction. The pluralist approach, which better explains the system in which the League was founded, argued that power should be ‘dispersed in society and diversity should be encouraged’;²⁷¹ diverse groups can exist to provide information and specialised views about contemporary issues and to become the

²⁷⁰ Elin H. Allern and Tim Bale, ‘Political parties and interest groups: Disentangling complex relationships’, *Party Politics*, 18, 1 (2011), 9.

²⁷¹ Duncan Watts, *Pressure Groups* (Edinburgh, 2007), 15.

vehicle for the representation of less advantaged ethnic or other groups within the population, thus preventing any single group from exercising disproportionate influence. This view has claimed an understanding that pressure groups enhance the democratic process, at least in western liberal democracies.²⁷² The other view of group–state engagement concerns the corporatist approach, in which organised interests are incorporated in the process of the government. In this understanding, groups have institutional involvement with the state and the latter ‘observ[es] certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports.’²⁷³ In a sense, the state encourages the organisation of groups to enhance its public policy.

Although its establishment was not instigated, at least in a direct manner, by the Liberal Party, like the Liberal clubs in Piraeus and Chania, the League shares some common features with them, such as a formal membership roster to ‘distinguish those “in” from those “out”’, a ‘regular meeting place where members periodically come together’ and ‘a series of planned events’.²⁷⁴ The advancement of the cause of the Liberals by political clubs in different areas of Greece forms the basis of the development of mass parties. The new party structure, based on ‘bureaucratic, universalistic principles of recruitment and functioning, acquired a mass following, especially in the urban centres’.²⁷⁵ In the same sense, the foundations were laid for the creation of a ‘public opinion’ that was nation-wide and in a position to have a significant impact on the shaping of political issues.²⁷⁶ Indeed, this new political philosophy can be traced on 5 September 1910, when Venizelos himself, in his address to a massive crowd, declared that:

I do not come here as the leader [αρχηγός] of a new organised party. I come simply as the bearer of new political ideas. Recognising the need to educate

²⁷² David Truman, *The Governmental Process* (New York, 1951) and Bentley, *The Process of Government*.

²⁷³ P. Schmitter, ‘Still the Century of Corporatism?’, in P. Schmitter and G. Lehmbruch (eds.), *Trends Toward Corporatist Intermediation* (London, 1979), 7–52.

²⁷⁴ James Q. Wilson, ‘Political Clubs’, in David L. Sills and Robert K. Merton (eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), 214.

²⁷⁵ Nikos Mouzelis, ‘Continuities and Discontinuities in Greek Politics: From Eleftherios Venizelos to Andreas Papandreou’, in Kevin Featherstone and Dimitrios K. Katsoudas (eds.), *Political Change in Greece: Before and After the Colonels* (London and Sydney, 1987), 274–5.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 275.

the Greek People and to emancipate it from personal partyism, I shall work to organise a political association with branches throughout the State and designed to constitute the organisation of a new political party, of Rectification [Ανόρθωσις], whose formation is awaited by the People.²⁷⁷

In this context, political clubs and pressure groups that could encompass a large amount of the population in support of Venizelos were necessary components of his new political philosophy. His intention to support the establishment of political clubs reveals the importance of these pressure groups in foreign capitals such as London. The collective identity of the League, its members and other influential figures was also developed by the political nature of the new regime that Venizelos proposed. Indeed, it has been argued that ‘forms of policymaking determine forms of political action and not vice versa’.²⁷⁸ In this respect, it is not impossible that the establishment of the League coincided with a new era in liberal politics, one highly dependent on clubs and sympathetic groups to consolidate its power.

In our case, the promulgators of this Venizelist propaganda promoted the political ideology of the Liberal Party inasmuch as they pursued their economic interests relating to the consolidation of this regime. This complements the idea developed by Mancur Olson in his book *The Logic of Collective Action* regarding group behaviour and consensus. Olson argued that one of the most important incentives for group articulation is the economic one, and while other incentives might exist, such as social acceptance, social status and prestige, they should be analysed in the same way as the monetary incentive.²⁷⁹ In addition, Pollis underlines that ‘the rights which they claimed against the state and the freedoms they demanded were designed to further their interests as an economic class and to enable them to acquire political power’.²⁸⁰ In a pamphlet circulated among a limited roster of members in 1913, the League asserted that ‘influence in trade, finance, and industry already large, is certain to increase’ with the development of ‘Greater

²⁷⁷ Speech by Venizelos from the Great Britain hotel balcony to the Greek people, 5 September 1910: *Patris*, 6 September 1910.

²⁷⁸ Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Malden, MA, 2006), 111.

²⁷⁹ Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups* (Cambridge, 1965; 5th ed. 1975), 60–61.

²⁸⁰ Adamantia Pollis, ‘Commentary’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 7, 2 (1989), 227–9.

Greece' and, for this reason, 'closer and better relations' between the Greeks and the English must bear 'substantial commercial fruit'. Finally, it concludes: 'for business reasons as well as others, the two races should know each other better'.²⁸¹ Therefore, their support for Venizelos should not be explained on the basis of some metaphysical devotion to his 'charismatic' personality, but because as a leader he represented and could pragmatically realise their political and economic pursuits and advance their objective of a liberal state.

A closer look at the profile of the members that comprised the League reveals that around 70 per cent of the Life members were engaged in some kind of commercial activity: banking, stockbroking, shipping or trade.²⁸² Famous names of the Greek diaspora, such as Rallis, Vagliano, Calvocoressi, Argenti, Cassavetti, Embiricos, Eumorfopoulos, Ionidis, Mavrogordato, Pallis, Lambrinudi, Schilizzi, Theophilatos, Vouvalis and Zochoni, were some of the families who had more than one family member included in the list of members of this influential lobby during the 1910s.

The literature relating to the categorisation of groups that promote certain interests, material or not, is vast, and the terms 'pressure group', 'interest group', 'political club' and 'lobby' can all be used interchangeably to respond to the role of the Anglo-Hellenic League. However, both in theory and in practice, the question of the relationship between an interest group and a political party has received little attention, despite the profound relations that have been identified by Duverger. In his 1968 study, Duverger deals with the issue of power in the group-party relation and addresses the organisational links between the interest group and the political party. For groups that have privileged connections with parties, it is common that both the group and the party influence and control each other through what Duverger calls 'overlapping leadership'.²⁸³ An example of this overlapping leadership – although not fully in place, since when the proposal was made the Liberals were not constitutionally a government – was the offer made by Venizelos to the

²⁸¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

²⁸² Out of a total of forty Life members during 1915. AH League, pamphlet no. 21, *List of Members*, 1915.

²⁸³ Maurice Duverger, *Sociologie Politique* (Paris, 1968), 455–8.

chairman of the League, Roland Burrows, to become the semi-official representative of his provisional government in Britain. In a letter of 17/30 November 1916 Venizelos invited Burrows to take a semi-official position, while he notified the British Minister of Foreign affairs, Lord Grey, to accept Burrows, 'who[,] following the liberal traditions of his noble and great nation, has never ceased to give tokens to Hellenism of his valuable friendship'.²⁸⁴

This interdependence also had an important impact on the decision-making and implementation of the government's official policies. The degree of dependence of the League can be classified according to Meynaud's and Duverger's categorisations as showing a 'privileged link between the interest group and a particular party'²⁸⁵ and as 'egalitarian cooperation between interest group and political party, whether on an ad hoc or on a permanent basis'.²⁸⁶ This means that the League acted autonomously, free from state/party control, but developed 'privileged' links and associations with party members and acted in the interests of the party, at least after 1915 and the crystallisation of its position as a Venizelist propaganda group. More recent studies on group-party politics would categorise the League according to the Cooperation/Ideological Model, which suggests that ideological links and policy orientation, rather than a relationship of integration, form a 'strong connection between a political party and an interest group'.²⁸⁷

The outlets of influence

The League, as any other pressure group, sought to shape public policy by 'seeking to persuade decision-makers', by exerting influence both through the Liberal Party and through public opinion.²⁸⁸ The influence exerted can be placed into three categories: a) providing information; b) creating connections with prime ministers and influential members of the elite, which is considered direct influence; and c)

²⁸⁴ George Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows, a Memoir* (London, 1924), 249, 252. The invitation was more an act of appreciation and less an official invitation for a governmental position, since Gennadius, who held this official role, stepped down from representing the Greek government of the king and remained loyal to Venizelos.

²⁸⁵ Meynaud, *Nouvelles études*, 123–8.

²⁸⁶ Duverger, *Sociologie Politique*, 455–8.

²⁸⁷ Clive S. Thomas (ed.), *Political Parties and Interest Groups: Shaping Democratic Governance* (Boulder, CO, 2001), 20.

²⁸⁸ Bill Coxall, *Pressure Groups in British Politics* (Harlow, 2001), 3.

organising a sympathetic public opinion (attitude shaping), which is considered indirect influence, as it does not immediately involve politicians.²⁸⁹ These three routes of exerting influence target three different power groups: political parties; the ruling elite, which can be political or academic; and public opinion. The means of exerting influence were first and foremost the publications of the League – its pamphlets and articles in newspapers and journals – followed by the lectures and events organised to disseminate its views to the public and personal contacts with political and academic figures. In addition, the composition of its membership cannot be underestimated, since it offered both financial resources as well as important contacts that could promote the goals of the League, as will be examined below.

Regarding the influence on state elites and important figures, the League, through these outlets, was able to influence specific parliamentary discussions in the House of Commons and set the agenda for issues concerning the recognition of Venizelos' provisional government. Duncan Watts discusses parts of the governmental structure he calls 'access points': that is, points where group influence can better infiltrate, such as the executive (ministers and civil servants), the legislature, which includes MPs, and public opinion.²⁹⁰ The League attempted to establish this kind of policy network with influential ministers and MPs. For example, Arthur James Balfour, who served as secretary of the state for foreign affairs (1916–1919) and as first lord of the admiralty, was already a member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, and became a strong intermediary of the interests of the League amid its establishment. His fervent speeches at many of the League's organised events, and especially those in Venizelos' presence, manifest the success of the lobbying process.²⁹¹ Among others, at the parliamentary level the leader of the House of Lords Earl Curzon and the Minister of Munitions and future Prime Minister, Winston Churchill were both the targets of influence of the Anglo-Hellenic League during the First World War. Apart from advancing the League's interests in their speeches, MPs in the League's network of influence also asked questions during

²⁸⁹ Duverger, *Sociologie Politique*, 458.

²⁹⁰ Watts, *Pressure Groups*, 45.

²⁹¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 35, *England's Welcome to Venizelos*, 1917.

parliamentary proceedings to 'ferret out information, clarify an ambiguous position, goad ministers into action or protest against some policy or occurrence on behalf of the group'.²⁹² Indeed, during the much-troubled period of the National Schism Lord Robert Cecil, under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, and his successor in 1922, Ronald McNeill, advocated for the recognition and support of Venizelos' government by the British.²⁹³

Another practice of pressure groups, according to Watts, is the appointment of 'MPs to honorary positions within the group'.²⁹⁴ For example, John Dillon MP (an ardent supporter of Irish nationalism) and Commander Carlyon Bellairs MP (Liberal Unionist) were appointed as vice-presidents of the League in 1919. Through practices such as these, the League aimed to inspire credibility *vis-à-vis* other interest groups and promote its access to discussions in the House of Commons. In this respect we should also assess the role of Sir John Stavridis, who, as we mentioned, apart from being general consul, was also on friendly terms with David Lloyd George and who essentially acted as an intermediary between Venizelos and the British Prime Minister.²⁹⁵ He was also sufficiently famous in Greece to deliver in 1918 an address at the national Liberal Club in Athens on the 'Revival of Greece' in the presence of the Greek Prime Minister.²⁹⁶ Although most of Stavridis's activities involved manipulating decisions from behind the scenes – paving the way for the 'Anglo-Greek pourparlers', in the words of Leontaritis,²⁹⁷ especially because his official position would endanger the autonomous nature of the League's actions, he had also proposed the establishment of a national union of Greeks in Great Britain to 'help by all lawful means the struggle for the liberation and restoration of Greece; offering her all moral and material assistance'.²⁹⁸ In 1917, along with the Committee of the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, he organised the 'chartering of the

²⁹² Watts, *Pressure Groups*, 54.

²⁹³ Hansard HC Deb 31 October 1916 vol 86 cc1547; HC Deb 23 November 1916 vol 87 cc1550–1; HC Deb 22 December 1916 vol 88 cc1805–7.

²⁹⁴ Watts, *Pressure Groups*, 53.

²⁹⁵ SP, Stavridis to Lloyd, 1 December 1916, 151–2.

²⁹⁶ SP, 'The revival of Greece', 14 November 1918, 676–992.

²⁹⁷ George Leontaritis, 'Greece and the Central Powers 1913–1914. The Origins of the National Schism', *Südost-Forschungen*, 39 (1980), 126.

²⁹⁸ SP, 'My Dear Compatriots' (SP), 961–3.

Greek Mercantile Marine to England and the Allies' for purposes connected with the war.

In addition, the League sought to establish clear lines of authority within British society, something that connects with their hegemonic elite aspirations. As it declared, it would 'determine its own policy and manage its own affairs', and would be 'independent of outside control or financial assistance'.²⁹⁹ Demarcation of authority, class and power was first indicated by the fact of a member subscription fee to the League amounting to five shillings annually. Most of the events and lectures organised by the League were addressed to 'Members and Friends', as was characteristically mentioned on the invitations, but in the case of elections and annual meetings the attendance was restricted to members only. Moreover, the League had a policy of equal participation of men and women, who were 'usually resident in Great Britain'; it was expected that 'most, not though not all, of them would be British subjects'.³⁰⁰

Establishment and Missions

The establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League was officially decided upon during a 'private and preliminary meeting of English Philhellenes and Hellenes' in 1913.³⁰¹ However, preparations for its establishment were already underway, as correspondence between Gennadius and the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs informs us.³⁰² Taking seriously Lloyd George's recommendation to Stavridis regarding the need to shape public opinion in England through the press, public meetings and publications, the League was established as an organised group the role of which was to proliferate Anglo-Greek entente, becoming the exponent of Hellenic and soon Venizelist propaganda in Britain and putting forth an agenda for the promotion and consolidation of the liberal regime in Greece and the satisfaction of the irredentist aspirations encapsulated in the programme of the *Megali Idea*.

²⁹⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 4, *The Inaugural Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1913.

³⁰² GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/55/5, confidential, Gennadius to Panas, 30/12 November 1913, n.2762.



Figure 4. The logo of the Anglo-Hellenic League found on official letterheads and correspondence. Source: King's College London, College Archives (KCA), KCLCA³⁰³

The League initially had offices in 43 Aldwych, London WC2, and after 1926 it moved to 53–54 Chancery Lane WC2. Both properties were in close proximity to King's College, where the bulk of the League's activities took place – and also where Burrows was based – and to the LSE, and Reeves. Motivated by the recent events in the Balkan Peninsula and the continuous nationalistic turmoil that affected all the Balkan states and especially Greece's most troublesome rival, Bulgaria, the League conceived its role as being one of providing answers to those treating Greece with animosity in newspaper articles and various other published writings. Thus, the organisational structure was based on the conviction that a 'permanent society with a definite policy' provided with writing power was required, which 'under the guidance of a strong committee' would be able to propagate effectively and 'defend the honour of Greece'.³⁰⁴

³⁰³ The League's logo depicts Greece and Britain as two female goddess-like figures, wearing helmets representing the respective empires. National personification is a vocal example of the self-image and, while different personifications have been employed to connote different nation-images at times, in this instance the choice of the female figure of Britannia serves to deliver the message of the mother of colonies, as Britain was at the peak of its imperial history at the time. Athena represents the wisdom of the Classical past of Greece, which became the cradle of all western civilizations. The torch might be translated as the light of democracy which is carried by both countries, while the dolphins symbolise the supremacy of these countries at sea. For the association of Athena with Britannia and the symbolic meaning of their representations see Dominic David Alessio, 'Domesticating "the heart of the wild": female personifications of the colonies, 1886–1940', *Women's History Review*, 6, 2 (1997), 260.

³⁰⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913

Its missions, *inter alia*, referred to 'bringing Englishmen into closer touch with modern Greece', 'improving the feeling between British and Hellenic races' and 'promoting a better knowledge of the character, history, literature, hopes, difficulties, and progress of the Hellenes of to-day'.³⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the League struggled to promote the kind of understanding that would bring the two nations into political and ideological harmony, particularly at times when political circumstances were challenging their amicable ties.

Objects

The articulation of the objects of the League in 1913 shed light on the preferred functions the League performed towards the creation of an Anglo-Hellenic understanding, just as discussed by Lloyd and Stavridis in November 1912, and outlined the scope it desired to promote an Anglo-Hellenic commercial, cultural (educational) and political alliance. The official *Rules of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, published at its establishment, detail its aims and objects. These were summarised in five points:

1. To defend the just claims and honour of Greece;
2. To remove existing prejudices and prevent future misunderstandings between the British and Hellenic races, as well as between the Hellenic and Other races of South Eastern Europe;
3. To spread information concerning Greece and stimulate interest in Hellenic matters;
4. To improve the social, educational, commercial and political relations of the two countries;
5. To promote travel in Greece and secure improved facilities for it.³⁰⁶

In the annual meeting of 1915, approximately a year after its establishment, the League set out anew the aims of its establishment: 'The main and pressing business of our newly formed League was to answer [to] incessant attacks upon Greece and to put the case for Greek policy, administration and national aspirations clearly and

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *Rules of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1913.

fairly.³⁰⁷ In 1918, and due to the contemporary situation, the League, 'in order to stimulate co-operation of ordinary members in the work of the League', had issued a circular letter that underpinned the importance of the members' contribution in the Leagues' objectives. It argued for 'strengthening friendly relations between the English and the Greek peoples' and invited members to inform their friends 'of the loyalty and perseverance with which Greece, under terrible difficulties, is shouldering her burden as an ally of England, France, Italy and Serbia against the threat of a Germanic domination in the Balkans'.³⁰⁸

Members

The creation in London in previous years of various committees (Greek, Hellenic and Aegean Islands) and a literary society for the promotion of Hellenic studies, as well as the organised propaganda put out by the embassy in collaboration with the Greek community, created a legacy for British Hellenism that served as an important pool of resources and members ready to subscribe to the League. With the way paved, the League, as a new kind of philhellenic initiative, incorporated a large number of the Greek community on its establishment. Most of these members were already enthused by the Balkan victories and viewed the League as a means to promote their bilateral commercial interests as well as a way of satisfying Greek irredentist claims.

By 31 December 1913, only two weeks after its formal establishment, the League numbered more than 350 members;³⁰⁹ two years later, it had 650 members.³¹⁰ The League's committee was comprised of several British and Anglo-Greek or Greek members characterised by their professional diversity. However, the majority of members had a political or academic background or were involved in some kind of business or commerce, generally either banking or law. Members, who were suggested to the Executive prior to their election, were required to pay an annual subscription of five shillings or £10 for a Life membership and were entitled to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the League.³¹¹

³⁰⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, *Annual Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1915.

³⁰⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, *Annual Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1918.

³⁰⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 4, 1914.

³¹⁰ AH League, pamphlet no. 21, 1915.

³¹¹ Rules 25, 26 and 27 of AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *Rules*, 1913.

In the section that follows, we will attempt to have a closer look at the profiles of some of the most important members of the League, with the intention of forming an understanding of its make-up and the interests that it advocated for.³¹²

William Pember Reeves was elected chairman of the General and Executive Committee of the Anglo-Hellenic League during its inaugural meeting in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society on 15 December 1913, a position he retained until 1925.³¹³ It was Reeves, along with Alexander Ionidis, who went to Paris to meet with Venizelos and discuss the 'policy and methods of the League'.³¹⁴ On the same trip they visited Greece and had audiences with His Majesty King Constantine, Queen Sophia, Prince Nicholas and Princess Alice. Reeves reported that the League and its efforts enjoyed royal sympathy. Thus, it was not long before HRH Prince Nicholas of Greece became the League's Patron.³¹⁵ Reeves was also instrumental, along with Ionidis, in establishing an Athenian Branch of the League. As the League's chairman he wrote the first article of the League, published by the *Daily Chronicle*, on 'The Aegean Islands and Epirus'. This was the League's very first attempt to put into practice the most important of its own objectives: to defend the just claims and honour of Greece. The article appeared as the response to Mr Aubrey Herbert's letter to the *Morning Post* on 5 November 1913, which made 'distinct charges against the Greeks in Epirus treating brutally Notables of that district'.³¹⁶

Up until 1918 Reeves was calling attention to the 'amount of propaganda work [that] we have to do in this country before peace is attained'.³¹⁷ His role in organising the responses to issues of Greek interests sent to the British press was vital. Although he had spent his earlier years in New Zealand, where he served as a member of the parliament, it was when he came to London that he became a very

³¹² The members selected for detailed presentation are only indicative of the character of the League and provide a good picture of its overall outlook. However, there are also other members from wide-ranging fields, such as archaeology and journalism, who also present interesting case studies for detailed examination.

³¹³ AH League, pamphlet no. 4, 1913.

³¹⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 6, *Visit of Chairman and Treasurer to Greece*, 1914.

³¹⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 21, 1915.

³¹⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 4, 1914.

³¹⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

passionate journalist and publisher for the Hellenic cause, towards which, according to his biographer, he always had the deepest feelings.³¹⁸

Ronald Montagu Burrows was one of the most important philhellenes of early twentieth-century Britain, advocating for the teaching of Ancient Greek in schools of Britain at an early stage with sophisticated study materials, and not ‘baby books’, as he called them. In 1907, when he was still a professor of Greek at University College, Cardiff, he published his views on the subject, stating that his aim was to ‘enlist on the side of Greek all those who love poetry and value the spiritual side of things, all who want to know what is said in the greatest of the world's literatures’.³¹⁹

In cooperation with Reeves, his homologue at LSE, his role was critical in the foundation of the Anglo-Hellenic League. At the League’s inaugural meeting in 1913 he was proposed as a member of the Executive Committee along with Professor Gilbert Murray, Mr John Mavrogordato and Mr Alexander Ralli. At that same year he became the principal of King’s College London, a position that he retained until his death in 1920. His double role as an agent of Greek–Venizelist propaganda and as the principal of one of the most historic colleges in Britain seemed to have given the League the academic authority to promote its goals. During Burrows’ principalship the honorary secretary of the League, Nicholas Eumorfopoulos, had extensive correspondence with the College in order to found a chair in Modern Greek. In addition to the members of the League, many wealthy members of the Anglo-Greek community in Britain also subscribed to the endowment of the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, established at King’s College London in 1919.

As an ardent editor of the League’s pamphlets, Burrows thrived on meeting the League’s objectives ‘to counter anti-Greek propaganda in the United Kingdom’. His devotion to Venizelos had idealistic connotations, but was certainly based on deep respect and a later mutual friendship. His own words in the poem ‘Song of the Hellenes to Venizelos the Cretan’ are quite vocal: ‘Venizelos! Venizelos! Do not fail

³¹⁸ Michael C. Pugh, ‘Reeves, William Pember (1857–1932)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38493>, accessed 27 October 2011).

³¹⁹ Ronald M. Burrows, ‘School Editions and the Teaching of Greek’, *The Classical Review*, 21, 4 (1907), 124.

us! Do not fail us! Now is come for thee the hour, to show forth thy master power. Lord of Hellenic men, Make our country great again!’³²⁰ Adhering to the League’s endeavours during the problematic period of the National Schism, he made incessant calls ‘for the official recognition of Salonica government’.³²¹ In November 1916 he was appointed by Venizelos himself to act as the ‘semi-official representative’ of the provisional government until it was officially recognised.

In that role he went on to publish articles such as ‘King Constantine’s treachery’ in *The Sunday Times* (10 December 1916) and ‘Mr. Venizelos states his policy’, along with a memorandum he wrote with R.W. Seton-Watson entitled ‘Is it expedient or honourable to make a separate peace with Bulgaria?’ which was for circulation among the College community and the Houses of Parliament (16 March 1916). A year earlier he had published ‘The Crisis in Greece’, which was packed with political propaganda in favour of Venizelos.

These two figures, one can say, represented the steam power of the League’s political production, and were both quite distinguished both in their academic posts and in British political circles. As heads of the two most eminent academic institutions of London (LSE and King’s College) they enjoyed considerable popularity within their social circle, which they made sure to employ as an instrument for advancing their political propaganda. The League also contained members who had no political role to advance (at least not an explicit one), but were almost exclusively utilised because of their academic and/or business authority. Two such examples, George Macmillan and Sir Arthur Evans, each contributed via a different route to the League’s mission.

George Augustine Macmillan (1855–1936), of Macmillan and Co. Limited, was an important figure in the publication of the League’s pamphlets. Apart from the professional service he offered to the League, the publication of Hellenic pamphlets and books concerning Greece became for him a matter of personal interest.³²² He was one of the founders of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, which

³²⁰ *Manchester University Magazine* (January 1913). The complete poem can be found in Glasgow, Ronald Burrows, 161–2.

³²¹ *Greece and Great Britain During World War I*, 196.

³²² George A. Macmillan was in charge of publications regarding Greek literature and archaeology in his family printing house.

he served as honorary secretary (1879–1919), honorary treasurer (1920–1934) and acting president (1928–1929). He also served as the honorary secretary of the British School at Athens (1886–1897). From 1913 to 1916 he was a member of the Council of the Anglo-Hellenic League, and from 1917 until 1920 he served as one of its vice-presidents.

In the same spirit, Sir Arthur Evans, the well-known archaeologist famous for his excavations in Knossos Palace in Crete, served as the League's vice-president in 1917.³²³ He was also a member of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies and founder of the British School at Athens. His book *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* was published by MacMillan and Co. in four volumes between 1921 and 1936. In 1901 he became member of the British Academy and eight years later he received the royal gold medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. He was knighted in 1911 and became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1936.³²⁴

Moving on to the Greek and Anglo-Greek members of the League, we should primarily examine the case of John (Ioannis) Gennadius, the Greek Minister in London. Gennadius was not exactly a member, as he is not listed officially in the members' list; rather, he is better considered as the co-founder, who instigated the League's establishment along with Burrows, Reeves, Ionidis, Eumorfopoulos and Cassavetti. After he retired from his governmental position he became the honorary president of the League, while he also served as vice-president of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in 1879. In 1878 he was *chargé d'affaires* of the Greek Embassy in London and he later served as the Greek minister to London and to Prague. He is also mentioned as a member of the committee of the Koraes Chair³²⁵ and an acting honorary secretary.³²⁶ He delivered a great number of speeches under the aegis of the League – mainly on diplomatic matters – and, being the official representative of Venizelos' government in London, his role is particularly central to this study. Although he was highly respected for the services he provided to the

³²³ AH League, pamphlet no. 35, 1917.

³²⁴ John L. Myres, 'Evans, Sir Arthur John (1851–1941)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33032>, accessed 27 October 2011).

³²⁵ King's College London, College Archives (hereafter KCA), KAS/AC2/F194, Eumorfopoulos to Burrows, 22 April 1918.

³²⁶ KCA, KAS/AC2/F195, XLIII. – *University Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature tenable at King's College and University of London Senate Minutes*, 15 May 1918.

League, members' correspondence reveal a certain discontent relating to their interactions with him and especially about his decision to apply for the Koraes Professorship. Burrows mentioned this situation and informed both Reeves³²⁷ and Macmillan in a letter stating: 'Gennadius is a wonderful man but he has been getting very difficult to work with lately and has quarrelled with quite a large number of his colleagues.'³²⁸ In addition, Eumorfopoulos shared the same opinion a year earlier and confessed to Mavrogordato that he was quite unsatisfied with Gennadius: 'here we are founding a Chair to try and impress on the public a good opinion of the Greeks and Gennadius gets up and behaves like a perfect boor'.³²⁹

His subscription to the Chair was not the most significant, either (£50), whereas Eumorfopoulos, the honorary secretary of the League, subscribed £250 and most of the members offered £100 or more.³³⁰ Despite these problems, which were attributed to Gennadius' rather difficult character, the community agreed that he should deliver the introductory address to Toynbee's inaugural lecture in the Great Hall in 1919.³³¹ As far as his role in the League is concerned, he appeared to be a valuable asset in promoting the territorial interests of Greece on official occasions, where his enthusiastic speeches filled the audiences with pride. In addition, his contribution to the Departmental Library of the Modern Greek and Byzantine Chair at King's College still constitutes a significant source for Modern Greek studies.³³²

John Mavrogordato, a Chiot in origin, was King's scholar at Eton College and post-holder at Oxford as a classical scholar. He served as an occasional correspondent for the *Westminster Gazette* in Greece (1912–1913), and had also been a literary adviser for the *English Review* (1910–1912). He served as the League's honorary secretary from 1916 to 1918 and contributed regularly to the *New Statesman*, *The Times* and *New Europe*.³³³ In the latter, he wrote one of his most influential articles, entitled 'England in the Balkans; a Hellenic note on British

³²⁷ KCA, KAP/BUR/333a, Burrows to Reeves, 29 January 1919.

³²⁸ KCA, KAP/BUR/333a, Burrows to Macmillan, 2 February 1919.

³²⁹ KCA, KAS/AC2/F194, Eumorfopoulos to Mavrogordato, 10 April 1918.

³³⁰ KCA, KAP/BUR/333a, *Koraes Chair of Modern Greek*.

³³¹ Arnold Toynbee, *The place of mediaeval and modern Greece in history: inaugural lecture of the Koraes Chair of modern Greek and Byzantine language, literature and history* (London, 1919).

³³² KCA, KAP/BUR/333d, *University of London, King's College, Session 1918–19*.

³³³ *Ibid.*

Policy', published in 1916 and reproduced by the Anglo-Hellenic League. In this article he advocated for the legitimacy of Venizelos as the Greek leader and denounced the pro-Bulgarian territorial claims. Mavrogordato's writings appeared very useful sources of propaganda in various instances of the Anglo-Greek connection and assisted in advancing further the League's goals, as we will meticulously examine further in the forthcoming chapters.

Another Chiot member of the League and founding member was Nicholas Eumorfopoulos. A highly knowledgeable teacher of physics at University College, London, Eumorfopoulos was given the status of a Life member, along with his family, in 1915.³³⁴ A year later he took on a position in the Executive Committee and in 1919 he became the honorary secretary of the League. During the establishment of the Koraes Chair he had extensive correspondence with Burrows regarding details relating to the appointment. In a letter to Burrows in 1918, referring to the selection of the right incumbent for the Koraes Chair, he mentioned that 'the question of British or Greek nationality is not going to be touched on; we leave it to the good sense of the University not to appoint a Turk'.³³⁵ On that note, he also proposed to call the trust for the Chair 'The Venizelos Chair Fund'. It was also Eumorfopoulos who proposed to Burrows that the League should buy 1,000 copies of the translated Greek national anthem by Rudyard Kipling in the *Daily Telegraph* on 17 October 1918.³³⁶

Branches

Acting in the same way as a political party, the League established branches in the major cities of Greece so to better promote, disseminate and organize its activities in both countries. The branches were generally responsible for furnishing the League with information and reports on various events and to further the collaboration between Britain and Greece in the educational/cultural, commercial and political fields. The Athens branch was set up in January 1914, a few weeks after the

³³⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 21, 1915.

³³⁵ KCA, KAS/AC2/F194, Eumorfopoulos to Burrows, 14 February 1918.

³³⁶ KCA, KAS/AC2/F194, Eumorfopoulos to Burrows, 18 October 1919.

foundation of the Anglo-Hellenic League in London.³³⁷ William Pember Reeves and Alexander Ionidis visited Greece in order to meet with Venizelos and the Greek royal family and inform them about the League's mission. The associated branch, which was comprised of 45 eminent members, including Professor Andreas Andreadis, who served as the chairman, and Professor Simos Menardos, who was a member of the Council, had worked hard to create networks of communication with the League in London.³³⁸ The aim was 'to assist in every way the work of the Anglo-Hellenic League', with which it shared the exact same objects.³³⁹ The Ladies' Committee was also organised under the patronage of HRH Princess Alice, with Mrs Ph. Pallis serving as the chairwoman.

With its formal recognition by the government and the provision that its officials could have 'reasonable access to ministers and government departments', it was intended that this branch would act as the executive branch regarding discourse concerning internal policies and administration.³⁴⁰ At the annual meeting of 1915 it was reported that the branch had industriously been 'distributing pamphlets, showing hospitality and courtesy to our friends visiting Greece and aiding [the League] in the sale of Greek art work in this country'.³⁴¹

Its role included the strategic analysis of the situation in the conflict zones of the Balkan front, Minor Asia and Epirus and reporting back to the AH League in London. For better coordination, it was arranged that a committee of the League would also be formed in Corfu,³⁴² and there was a good prospect of another branch in Patras, 'under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce there'.³⁴³ At the annual meeting of the Athens branch in 1918 there was an election of a new committee after the retirement from the chairmanship of Professor Andreadis. Under the new

³³⁷ The Statute of the Anglo-Hellenic League, Athens Branch, refers to the official date of its recognition by the Court of First Instance of Athens [Πρωτοδικείο Αθηνών] as 30 December 1914 by decision No. 7155.

³³⁸ By 1920 the branch had 135 members. AH League, pamphlet no. 39, *Annual Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1920.

³³⁹ Library of Hellenic Parliament, Statutes of the Anglo-Hellenic League – Athens Branch, 277/2, 1914 Article II.

³⁴⁰ AH League, pamphlet no. 6, 1914.

³⁴¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

chairman, Stephanos Delta,³⁴⁴ the branch proceeded with cordial ‘co-operation with the American-Hellenic Society’.³⁴⁵ The mission of the branch was further facilitated by *Hestia*, a journal for literary and political matters that devoted several columns to British affairs and ‘whose Editor is a member of the Council of the Athenian Branch of the League’.³⁴⁶

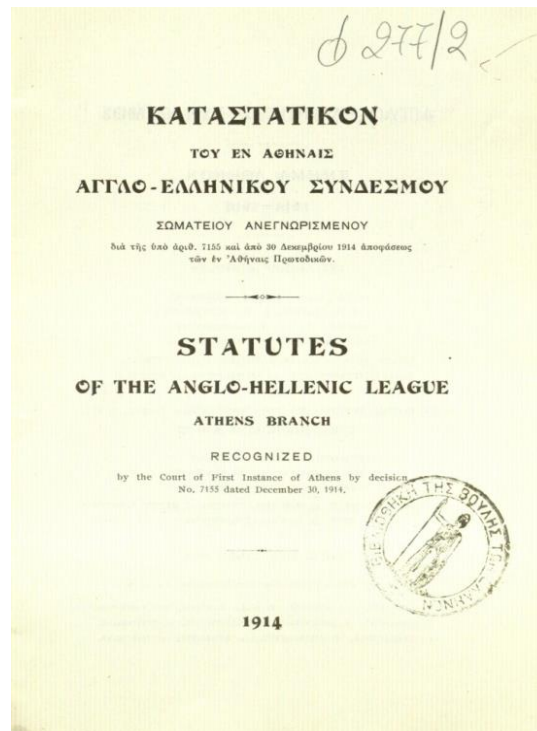


Figure 5. Statute of the Athens Branch of the League. Source: Library of Hellenic Parliament, 277/2.

The Thessaloniki branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League was established on 15 December 1918 under the name ‘British Hellenic League of Salonica’ exactly five years after the League was founded in London. According to its memorandum, the object of the Salonica branch was to ‘strengthen the social and intellectual relations between the two nations’.³⁴⁷ Its missions as they appeared on its statute included:

³⁴⁴ Stephanos Delta was also member of the Greek–Egyptian League and one of the founders of the Athens College, a Greek–American educational institution in Greece. He married the well-known novelist Penelope Delta, daughter of Emmanuel Benaki.

³⁴⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

³⁴⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 17, *The Near East and the European War*, 1915.

³⁴⁷ ‘Η σύσφιγξις των κοινωνικών και πνευματικών σχέσεων μεταξύ των δύο λαών’ – National Archives (hereafter NA), FO 286/670, British Hellenic League of Salonica Memorandum, 1918.

- a) the spreading of the English language by the establishment of schools, reading rooms and libraries etc.;
- b) the arrangement of lectures, public gatherings, entertaining evenings and excursions;
- c) the publication of a magazine and the inclusion therein of translations from works of general interest.³⁴⁸

The branch was temporarily stationed in the offices of the Venizelist party in Macedonia and the League of Trade Unions. In 1919 the British Hellenic League launched a night school for the teaching of the English language, with 386 students and three teachers, and embarked on establishing a day school as well, after the raising of subscriptions and donations by 'societies, clubs, banks and associations'.³⁴⁹ It was decided that the branch should be 'governed by a Committee of eleven members duly elected at a General Meeting'.³⁵⁰ In 1918 the barrister Konstantinos Tattis became the president, while Charles Ruggels, a member of the British Red Cross, was the vice-president. The branch had three kinds of financial resource: first, there was the subscription, with entrance fees reaching 5 drachmas and monthly subscription 2 drachmas; second, donations or legacies bequeathed to the branch; and finally there was an entrance fee to lectures and other events that contributed directly to the League's treasury. The branch aimed to encompass both Greek and English nationals of both sexes who were entitled to member status as long as they were proposed by two members of the branch and approved by the Committee.³⁵¹ The main qualification for membership would be 'a genuine sympathy with the Hellenes as they are and a belief that they have a present and a future as well as a past'.³⁵²

We can infer from the evidence that the Salonica branch was founded to serve the objective of the fourth object of the AH League: that is, 'To improve the

³⁴⁸ Α) Η διάδοσις της Αγγλικῆς γλώσσης δια τῆς ιδρύσεως ἀναγνωστηρίων, σχολείων, βιβλιοθήκης κλπ. Β) Η ὁργάνωσις διαλέξεων, δημοσίων συγκεντρώσεων, εορτῶν καὶ ἐκδρομῶν. Γ) Η ἑκδοσις ἀγγλοελληνικοῦ περιοδικοῦ καὶ ἡ μετάφρασις διαφόρων κοινωφελῶν ἔργων' in *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ George Daskalopoulos and Konstantinos Tattis to Anglo Hellenic League, 15 May 1919, published in AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁵¹ Rule 4/a, in *Ibid.*

³⁵² AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

social, educational, commercial and political relations of the two countries', placing particular emphasis on the spreading of the English language. Its focused objective was to assist in familiarisation with the English language and offer opportunities for an English education within Greece. In fact, the foundation of the English School in Athens took place on 19 February 1918 in a meeting in the Legation in Athens. Its organising committee regarded its establishment as a means to promote Anglophile propaganda and as a 'great service to the spread of British Influence in Greece'.³⁵³ The committee hoped to raise subscriptions from Greek firms in England, Egypt and India as well as the British government, while they were also depending on the Anglo-Hellenic League to offer an endowment fund. One of the ex officio members of the School would be appointed by the Anglo-Hellenic League and it is interesting that there was a specific provision that no religious element be part of the Committee or the School staff and no teaching would be religious in nature.³⁵⁴ This provision follows the general pattern set by the League to not include in its governing ranks any religious elements.

The main objective of this English school was to ameliorate the commercial relations between Greece and Britain, providing for 'Greek boys and for the sons of British residents a practical education and qualify them for a business career'.³⁵⁵ It offered senior certificates accredited by the London Chamber of Commerce, described in the memorandum as being 'a very important feature of the scheme from the propaganda point of view'.³⁵⁶ Similarly, an English School for Girls that already existed in Nikodimos Street was considered very important for the cultivation of 'English ideals and principles'.³⁵⁷ A memorandum was presented asking for a revision of the curriculum to follow the one for an English School for boys that demanded that all subjects should be taught in English and the teachers should be English as well 'so as to make the school as English as possible'.³⁵⁸

³⁵³ NA, FO 286/670.

³⁵⁴ Article 3 of the Memorandum – 'No religious teaching should be given; and there should be no religious element on the Committee or the School Staff' – in AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

The anglophile character of the League's branches within Greece manifest to a great extent the relation of dependency on Britain that characterised Venizelos' internal policies, particularly in this period. The overall objective of education in Greece, which was put forth by the educational reform of 1917, can be summarised by the following three points: a) the instrumentalisation of education for the construction of a new national conscience; b) the class-oriented bipolarisation of the educational system; and c) the adjustment of education to the needs of the economy – that is, the development of a more practical and industrial sector within the Greek educational system.³⁵⁹ Venizelian educational policies were assisted by the Salonica Branch of the League in turning education towards the British rather than the French model. Indicative is the role of the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation, established on 20 November 1918.³⁶⁰ The consequences of an English education in Greece were to contribute effectively to the pro-British stance of the Greek economy and policies in general over the coming years.

External Relations and Hellenic Affiliations in the Rest of the World

The League extended its cooperation with similar pro-Hellenic groups or societies within Britain and abroad. It was thought that a more coordinated effort for the promotion of its cause by analogous institutions would enhance the effects of propaganda during this crucial period. Therefore, as early as its foundation it began to create internal and external networks between different groups to export its political discourse in France and the United States, where the most vibrant Greek communities were based.

Collaboration with a philhellenic society in France was arranged via the League's correspondent and diplomat Leon Maccas, whose work included *Ainsi Parla Venizelos* (1916), a study of Greek internal policies, and a pamphlet on *Constantin I^{er}* (1917). Maccas founded a monthly review, *Les Etudes Franco-Grecques*, on which

³⁵⁹ In particular, the Technical University became a Higher Education Academy in 1914, and in 1920 the Supreme School of Commercial Studies (Ανώτατη Εμπορική) and the School for Farm and Industrial Studies were established (Γεωργική και Βιομηχανική Σχολή). Efstratios Bournazos, 'Η εκπαίδευση στο ελληνικό κράτος' [The education in Greek state], in Christos Chatziiosif, *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα* [History of Greece in the 20th century] A2 (Athens, 1999), 263.

³⁶⁰ AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

the League collaborated, and 'specimen copies of this Review and subscription forms' could be obtained from the offices of the League.³⁶¹ Further correspondence between Maccas and Burrows reveals that the former had proposed Constantine Cavafy as one of the candidates for the Modern Greek Chair founded at Kings in 1918.³⁶²

The League was also cordially cooperating with the American-Hellenic Society, founded in November 1917. That Society was particularly proactive regarding the refugee problem in 1918 and the Greek population in Asia Minor, which argumentation was exported in pamphlets and books and reached the League and consequently Greece.³⁶³ Its first publication was the translation from French of Auguste Gauvain's book *The Greek Question*, a study of the political situation in Greece since the First World War. It was decided that a copy of this book would be presented by the American-Hellenic Society to every member of the League in London. In addition, its second publication included a reprint of the League's pamphlet no. 23, *Greece and Tomorrow*, by Z.D. Ferriman.

In Britain it was not hard for the League to develop close connections with most, if not all, of the pro-Hellenic societies, as their memberships often overlapped, with members of the League often having organised around these societies before the League's foundation in 1913.³⁶⁴ Thus, the League's members were interlinked in a broad range of political, intellectual and artistic groups or societies established within the British space. We should also note that when the League started to produce its more seminal pro-Hellenic writings, mainly regarding territorial claims, these were also diffused to the its fellow societies through the 'sharing' of members, resulting in an organised, coordinated and multifaceted wave of Hellenic propaganda. This was further assisted by the fact that members of the League resided in Liverpool, Manchester, Oxford, Surrey, Birmingham, Glasgow, Cambridge

³⁶¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

³⁶² Maccas to Burrows 28 July 1918, cited in *Greece and Great Britain During World War I*, 24.

³⁶³ Karl Dieterich, *Hellenism in Asia Minor* (New York, 1918); London School of Economics and Political Science Archive (hereafter LSEA), CHAT L 7/6.

³⁶⁴ It is perhaps, more useful, if we perceived these societies as the constituencies of the Anglo-Hellenic League so to conceptualize on their inter-relation. Although, we cannot support that this was a conscious process, especially because the League was created later on, it seems however, that when it was finally founded in 1913 it incorporated the members and programmes from most of these groups.

and Dublin, and thus the pamphlets were circulated among an even larger community than that of the League in London. In addition, the Liverpool Branch of the League, established in 1914, volunteered to 'carry on the routine work of the League in that city'.³⁶⁵

At the general meeting that took place in 1918 (issues and reports concerning the previous year, 1917) the League commented:

The League has continued to co-operate with other organisations having objects similar to its own, such as the *Committee of the Anglo-Greek Fund* (established primarily to provide financial assistance for Greeks in England) and the *Venizelos Fund*, organized by Miss Schilizzi to provide medical supplies and general comforts for the Greek Army; and has also whenever occasion arose made it a point of policy to promote friendly relations between Greece and the other Allies..³⁶⁶

The promotion of friendly relations was also accomplished via the Committee for Promoting an Intellectual Entente among the Allied and Friendly Countries appointed by the Royal Society of Literature, which aimed at a 'similar understanding in the intellectual sphere'.³⁶⁷ The Anglo-Hellenic League had sent its representatives to attend the conferences organised by the above Committee on two occasions.

Publications

The League's publications offer an excellent opportunity to examine its discourse of propaganda while taking a closer look into its agenda and main goals throughout the course of a variety of events. The pamphlets include vocal examples of the 'range of styles, linguistic resources and rhetorical devices', or what we call discursive devices, employed in a rhetorical manner to present the League's cause as righteous and moral.³⁶⁸ The mean of publication during the period was of particular importance in influencing public opinion; societies and leagues with the ability to place their writing in influential papers were considered to be at an advantage in promoting their

³⁶⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

³⁶⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ Derek Edwards and Jonathan Potter, *Discursive Psychology* (London, 1992), 28.

propaganda. The circulation of numerous pamphlets during the period, as the archives show, indicate that they were perceived as an effective medium for promoting a certain cause. Pamphlets also formed a special section in the propaganda bureau of the British Ministry of Information.

In our case, the League's pamphlets can be seen as tools of political communication; their tone of urgency and abundance of rhetoric devices aim at securing the reader's identification with the League's objectives. Especially in the ones produced during the period of the National Schism and Greece's perilous journey through neutrality, the rhythm of the language often gives the sense of an immediate call to action: a call to join either the Venizelist camp in times of internal struggle or the Entente during the First World War or the Christian populations in their long journey seeking justice and return.

The publication of pamphlets and articles by the League in the daily press also served to provide information to the sympathetic MPs of the government and to create an amicable public opinion. The League, acting as a pressure group, provided meticulous reports applying scientific discourse to issues concerning the population, history and political inclination of areas such as Asia Minor and Thrace. The provision of specialist information, usually produced by academics of high standing, which could thus not be deemed as biased (at least not directly), was targeted at Liberal MPs who were advocating for the interests of Greece in the House of Commons or writing articles in the press. When the League was addressing not the outlets of power but public opinion the information it provided is better described as propaganda, designed to shape perceptions and shift attitudes towards a desired goal.

The circulation and distribution of the pamphlets was wide reaching, from universities and Colleges to libraries, fellow societies and leagues and public bodies within the UK (London, Manchester, Liverpool, Cardiff) and abroad. Pamphlets were sent regularly to Greece and circulated there by the Athens branch (The Liberal Club in Athens holds the complete series), to Paris, through the philhellenic society there, and to New York after 1917.

For the purposes of analysis we may place the thirty-nine pamphlets of the period 1913–1919 into three general thematic categories, with subcategories, which

will assist in crystallising our understanding of the central arguments articulated by the League during different events and occurrences. Although most of the pamphlets, especially those concerning propaganda and the National Schism, will be analytically examined in the following chapters, providing a clear view of the content and the political agenda they carry, this section will attempt to shed light on some of the main discursive techniques employed by pamphlets such as those occupied with the meetings, events and institutional/organisational procedures of the League during its Annual General Meetings.

The first of the three general thematic categories, with which we will start our examination, concerns a large set of pamphlets devoted to the promotion of the idea of a modern Greece, a competent ally of the west and specifically Britain, as well as the professed 'Love of England'.³⁶⁹ The majority of pamphlets fall into the second category, which we call propaganda pamphlets. It would not be an exaggeration to say that all pamphlets use a propagandist discourse to a larger or lesser extent, in the sense that they attempt to influence individuals and groups to adopt the League's objectives and specific opinions about certain issues. Last but not least, the third set of pamphlets are those pamphlets that deal with the everyday business of the League, most commonly to be found in the publication of its General Annual Meetings, which took place during the summer months and included information about the roster of members, the financial position of the League and the activities and publications the League undertook during the past year.

Modern Greece and the Love of England

An illustrative example of this professed love, accompanied by feelings of appreciation, is provided in pamphlet no. 31, which presents the address delivered by Alexander N. Diomidis, former Greek Minister of Finance, in the Great Hall of King's College. Following an invitation by Burrows and Reeves, Diomidis, acting as a representative of Venizelos, praised the League for their 'whole-hearted moral and material encouragement and assistance',³⁷⁰ referring to the assistance raised by the

³⁶⁹ Title of short speech by Gennadius on 15 January 1915 a propos the address delivered by Prof A. Andreadis, AH League, pamphlet no. 17, 1915.

³⁷⁰ AH League, pamphlet no. 31, *Address of Alexander Diomidis*, 1917.

Venizelos Fund, to which Venizelos had personally appealed in December 1916. With the general aim of putting pressure on the British government in order to recognise the provisional government of Salonica and regard Greece as an ally, amid the neutrality imposed upon the country by the king, Diomidis underlines the 'natural' inclination of Greece towards the West.

It can be argued that, by employing this particular theme of discourse through pamphlets on different occasions, with the assistance of discursive devices such as 'consensus or collaboration', the 'membership categorisation' or the 'identity ascription', the League attempted to construct England as a historical supporter of Greece, a construction from which England could not escape. 'It is a tradition which we have received from our fathers, and which we bequeathed to our children, – I mean the Love and admiration of England [...] We are not only in sympathy, but are absolutely attached and devoted to the cause of England.'³⁷¹

In return, by presenting in strident terms the love of Greece for England, a loyal friend was being built, one which could not harm its ally – exonerating Greece thus from the distrust and suspicions of alignment with the German camp during the period of neutrality. What we can take from this discursive formation is that England is being discursively constructed in such a manner as to reflect its duty to help Greece as it had in the past, while giving the impression that it was mandatory to regard Greece as a trusted, allied country – as proven through the feelings of 'love and appreciation'.

England has always appeared to us as an *unapproachable ideal*, an ideal which we all look up and to approximate to which we all continually strive. [...] All these bonds, visible and invisible, tangible and intangible, created the tradition, and this tradition, casting its roots deep in the consciousness of the nation, caused it instinctively, where organized as a state or still unredeemed, to expect from the West more than from anywhere else moral encouragement and material help in the difficult circumstances of its chequered existence. This assistance was never denied by Western Europe either then or now.³⁷²

³⁷¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 17, 1915.

³⁷² AH League, pamphlet no. 31, 1917.

Hence, the professed 'love for England', a theme which runs through the discourse in this group of pamphlets, and the construction of Greece as 'a modern liberal country of the West' are to be considered discursive formations which aim to ensure British support to Greece during times of war (support in Macedonia, Asia Minor and North Epirus) and peace (Peace Conference 1919).³⁷³

Adjacent subjects in this category are found in those pamphlets supporting Venizelist propaganda during the National Schism, including appraisals of Venizelos and his policy throughout the period. Particularly for this subcategory, we see utilised the device of identity ascription, where a set of attributes, personality traits and moral dispositions are ascribed to a particular person. Aside from being ascribed general adjectives of courage such as 'distinguished statesman', 'patriot' and 'rebel',³⁷⁴ Venizelos is also explicitly identified with the 'archigos' – the leader,³⁷⁵ the steersman and the captain – the mule driver who guides the mule to the right path despite the traveller's nervousness,³⁷⁶ as great as Pericles, who can liberate the country from its present crisis (referring to the National Schism)³⁷⁷ and knows how to deal with the Athenians 'like his predecessor',³⁷⁸ a Herakles who dealt with the Hydra of neutrality and saved the community.³⁷⁹ A useful technique in this propagandist discourse through identity ascription is that of *transference* or association. This technique seeks to carry over the authority and the prestige of something or someone we respect and project it to the person/situation to make the latter accepted with this qualities. For example, Venizelos is projected next to

³⁷³ The following pamphlets deal with this new Greece that is discursively constructed by British interests in the region, having at heart the promotion of the Anglo-Greek commercial and political entente: No. 14 *The New Greece* by Ronald Burrows, 1914; No. 20 *Trade between England and Greece*, 1915; No. 23 *Greece and To-morrow*, 1915; No. 24 *England in the Balkans: a Hellenic Note on British Policy*, 1915; No. 29 *The Anglo-Hellenic Hansard/A Reprint from the Official Parliamentary Reports of Some Questions and Debates on Greek Affairs in the House of Commons, November 27–December 22 1916*; No. 36 *The Anglo-Hellenic Alliance; Speeches of Mr. Winston Churchill, the Greek Minister and Viscount Bryce at the Mansion House June 27, 1918, the Anniversary of the Entry of Re-United Greece into the War with Some Account of Other Celebration*.

³⁷⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 35, 1917.

³⁷⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 24, *England in the Balkans, a Hellenic Note on British Policy*, 1915.

³⁷⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

³⁷⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 27, *Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1916.

³⁷⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 14, *The New Greece*, by Burrows, 1914.

³⁷⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

Pericles several times in the pamphlets, or as the captain of a dangerous sea expedition, with the aim of transferring these attributes to his person.³⁸⁰

Propaganda Pamphlets

Articles in these publications were circulated in the British press on the occurrence of certain events and promulgate specific propaganda against the discursively constructed national 'Other'. Using Keschemeti's term, this is, in a sense, an *agitational* propaganda, which 'seeks to arouse people to participate in or support a cause'.³⁸¹ This discursive struggle was well planned and organised to correspond specifically to the antagonistic propagandist discourse.

In this category discursive devices and propaganda techniques are abundant. Characteristic techniques are the 'testimonial' or 'third party technique' and that of 'card stacking'. The first is employed to inform the public opinion about the situation on the war front or otherwise troubled areas via reports from eye-witnesses, institutions, journalists and other groups in the field. In 1914, when the economic boycott of Greek products took place in Anatolia as a first step in the homogenising aims of Turkish nationalism, the League published extracts from the *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* to draw attention to the oppressive living conditions of the *fellow* Christian population. Such testimonial evidence by a powerful authority such as the Church had a twofold function for the League: first, it enhanced the legitimacy of the statements, since facts delivered by the Patriarch could not be questioned, and, second, it reminded public opinion that Greeks are Christians, were being oppressed by a 'barbaric' misrule and required the help of the British in their protection – a common theme in western heroic representations of history telling.

After considering the situation of our fellow-countrymen, they decided to draw up and submit to the Government a 'mazbata' [mandate] of protest, demanding immediate measures. [...] the Commission then went to the

³⁸⁰ Pamphlets in this subcategory include: no. 19 *Eleftherios Venizelos and the English Public Opinion*, 1915; no. 28 *Speech of Venizelos to the People. Delivered in Athens on Sunday August, 27th 1916*; no. 30 *Venizelos and his fellow-Countrymen*, 1916, *The End of the Greek Monarchy (Additional Series)* 1917; no. 34 *The abdication of King Constantine, June 12, 1917 by Burrows*, 1917; no. 35 *England's Welcome To Venizelos*, 1917.

³⁸¹ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York, 1973), 1973, 70–73. Agitational propaganda has been associated with a revolutionary objective to overthrow the government. Although this might be particularly true for the instance of the National Schism, this is not a general stance of the League.

Minister of Justice, laid before him the requests of the Patriarch, [...] he tried in some measure to justify the acts of violence by attributing them to the irritation cause by the war.³⁸²

The 'card stacking' technique, very commonly used in these pamphlets, provides a selection of population statistics and illustrations to overemphasise one side of a case while concealing another.³⁸³ An example would be the use of statistical information from *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in the footnote of one of the pamphlets regarding the number of Greeks in Asia Minor: '1,818,000 Christians other than Armenians in Kurdistan and Asia Minor. (An under-statement).' This example is very eloquent because the League chose to include this important information in a footnote, both to suggest that it was not of immediate importance to the text and to give it a scientific significance as a statement of reference for the thesis of the pamphlet. In addition, the statistical numbers are accompanied by fragments of 'scientific research' from different sources which all support the 'Greekness' of the population. The following extract is from 'Travels and Researches in Western Asia Minor', written by a professor of ethnography who is presumably unbiased because he is German(!):

p. 45 – 'The small town of Budrum is the heir of ancient Halicarnassus, an Ionian colony which, later, was included in the Dorian Hexapolis. The houses are like those of the Greek islands, [...] The inhabitants of the town and peninsula are mostly Turks, but manifestly Greek in type.'

p. 64 – 'The population is almost entirely Turkish, yet the very obvious Greek type, and the numerous Greek place-names on the coast, show that it is really of Ottomanized Hellenic stock.'³⁸⁴

This appeal to authority in the form of a professor who is an 'authority on the ethnography of the region' makes the conclusions drawn unquestionable, because

³⁸² AH League, pamphlet no. 22, *Greeks in Asia Minor*, 1915.

³⁸³ 'How to Detect Propaganda', *Propaganda Analysis*, 1, 2 (November 1937), 5–7.

³⁸⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915. The research results are published in no. 183 Petermann's 'Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft', by Alfred Philipson, professor of geography at the University of Bonn.

they are 'based on trained scientific observation' – and who, in the enlightened western world, would question the evidence of research?³⁸⁵

Further discourse analysis of the content of these pamphlets will follow in Chapter Five, with the aim of understanding how discourses are produced in a battlefield of antagonist propagandas, where there is never a stable meaning. The point at which Greek propaganda manages to convince that discursive elements acquire a fixed and crystallised meaning is where that particular discourse acquires hegemony over an antagonistic one, and the moment where Greek demands can be advanced in the international political arena as the righteous and just claims of the people.

General Meetings

The final main category of pamphlets to be examined here is that which deals with the everyday business of the League, most commonly to be found in the publication of its General Annual Meetings, as noted above. Publications in this category provide evidence for the organic structure of the League and its *modus operandi* and facts that are complementary to the annual report and are essential in our understanding of the overall image of the League, such as the names of members who were present during the meetings, concentrated accounts of the events and lectures delivered during the past year and data regarding the activity of other societies or committees in England and globally. Through these pamphlets, therefore, we will attempt a micro-discourse analysis of the text in order to harvest information relating to the identity of the group and understand its formation, the promotion of its agenda, and its membership, drawing from the relevant frameworks of discourse theory.

These pamphlets usually begin with an elaborate address by the chairman on the subject matter of the year, which was read during the meeting in front of

³⁸⁵ In the category of propaganda pamphlets we can include: No. 2 *The Fate of the Aegean Islands*. By Prof. Burrows, 1913; no. 3 *What is Greece Fighting For*, published initially by the Aegean Islands Committee and then under the League, 1913; no. 7 *Albania and Epirus* by William Pember Reeves, 1914; no. 12 *Letters Relating to Greek Macedonia, and to the Expulsion of Greeks from Turkey*, 1914; no. 13 *Letters on the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor, and in reply to allegations of ill-treatment inflicted on Turks in Greek Macedonia*, 1914; no. 16 *The Northern Epirotes* by C.S. Butler, 1914; no. 22 *Greeks in Asia Minor*, 1915; No. 26 *Greece and the War*, 1916.

members and audience. General meetings were not restricted to members only; in contrast, they were seen as an opportunity for socialisation and networking, attracting new members and reaching out to the British political, academic and press elite. During the period under examination one inaugural meeting and five general annual meetings took place. In general, annual meetings sought to reinforce the allegiance of the members with the League, present the year's activities and financial report and make the public aware of its ideological aim and disseminate its positions.³⁸⁶

Pamphlet no. 4 recorded the activities during the inaugural meeting on 15 December 1913 at the premises of the Royal Asiatic Society. The meeting, which marked the first public appearance of the League, had been a 'business meeting', as the pamphlet puts it. It was intended to 'declare the League formally in existence, to elect officers, and to set up a framework and machinery'.³⁸⁷ The chairman presented the organisational structure, which comprised a General Council to direct policy and a small executive to plan activities. The first committee of the League consisted of William P. Reeves as chairman of the General and Executive Committees – as proposed by Gennadius to the Greek Minister Panas a month earlier – A.C. Ionidis as honorary treasurer, D.J. Cassavetti and R.A.H. Bickford-Smith as honorary secretaries and Dr R.M. Burrows, Prof. Gilbert Murray, J.N. Mavrogordato and Al. Ralli as members. The pamphlet also records the presence of 350 members and the existence of sufficient funds to embark on a supportive mission on behalf of Greece. As a complementary article, the pamphlet also included the very first publication of the League in the English press: a letter published by the *Daily Chronicle* regarding the Aegean Islands and Epirus in which Reeves requests incorporation of the islands to their 'Mother country Greece' and the granting of 'full provincial independence to the Epirotes'.³⁸⁸

Pamphlet no. 18 deals with the proceedings of the second General Meeting which took place at 22 Albemarle Street on 19 February 1915. The publication is mainly devoted to the address delivered by the chairman on the international

³⁸⁶ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (New York, 1973), 69, 304.

³⁸⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 4, 1913.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

position of Greece and its representation in the press. It furthermore records the activities of the League throughout the year, concluding that the 'object of the League is not merely to disconcert reckless assailants, but to improve the feeling between the English and Greek races'.³⁸⁹ This pamphlet includes information on the activities of the League throughout 1914, of which one that stands out is the circulation of fifteen pamphlets and the way in which the members worked in distributing information to the most influential circles of the British capital. The League had developed a system of circulation for the pamphlets not only to its members but also 'to newspapers, Members of Parliament and persons likely to be interested in England and elsewhere'.³⁹⁰ In addition, during 1914 the League organised lectures on Epirus, Albania and other Balkan questions in London, Manchester and Liverpool, presented by Murray, Burrows, Andreadis and Reeves. The importance of the branch in Athens was also stressed, with the organisation of readings of papers on Balkan affairs and the distribution of pamphlets. For that matter, Reeves announced that a good prospect existed of the establishment of another branch in the commercial city of Patras.

The main line of argument in this pamphlet appears to be the stress placed on the exceptional work achieved over the past year to 'answer to incessant attacks upon Greece' and towards the 'favourable change in public opinion with regard to Greece'.³⁹¹ On the eve of the European war, the League aimed to present Greece as so far not 'injured by the dangers and calamities', in contrast to the powerless Turkey: 'Greece, speaking generally, has suffered perhaps as little, economically and commercially, from the War as any country in the world.'³⁹² The strong drachma, even stronger Greek shipping activity and maritime trade and the good condition of the country in terms of calamities from the war all served to promote her as a worthy ally of Britain. Thus the League's work during this year had been to promote the image of Greece for British consumption, to 'improve the feeling between

³⁸⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² *Ibid.*

English and Greek races' and to 'justify the position of England in the present gigantic war amongst Hellenes'.³⁹³

A year later we find completely the opposite situation, as recorded in pamphlet no. 27, including the proceedings of the third General Meeting, which took place amid unfortunate circumstances for Greece, in the Aeolian Hall on 15 June 1916.

The fortunes of Greece and the reputation of Greece are lower throughout Europe than they have been since the Turkish War of 1897. We are mourning to-day. It is certainly no time for self-glorification and it would be as unfitting for your representatives to attempt to give your rhetorical consolation as it would be impossible for them to confine themselves to a cool historical survey of events. If the Anglo-Hellenic League is to exist at all, it cannot shrink or remain silent at the moment of crisis.³⁹⁴

Acting chairman Roland Burrows refers here to the condition of neutrality Greece continued to maintain after the attack on the Dardanelles in March, the invasion of Serbia by Bulgaria in October and the forced resignation of Venizelos. This situation imperilled Anglo-Greek relations, which it was the League's first objective to foster. It also imperilled the very existence of the League, which no longer enjoyed the governmental approval – even in an unofficial sense – it had had since its establishment. In an effort of identification with the Greek electorate the League claimed that in the present situation its thoughts were more about Greece and not about the imperilled entente with Britain.

This speech is important because, as examined in Chapter Four, the matter of Greek neutrality brings to light a more important internal condition of Greek politics: that of the regime. Viewing the monarchy as absolutist in its decisions not to respect the popular demand for Venizelos, the League developed a fierce discourse in favour of the Liberal constitutional government and against the (specific) regime of monarchy. 'The one condition precedent for the re-establishing of Constitutional Government in Greece', says Burrows, 'is that the manhood of the nation should no longer be retained under military discipline, but should be enabled to express their

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 27, 1916.

will as free citizens by vote and public meeting.’³⁹⁵ This pamphlet remains firstly a pro-Venizelist text; employed as a discursive strategy to advance pro-Venizelist politics rather than as an anti-monarchical call, the discourse regarding the nature of the regime gave the League a definite mission during the period: the re-establishment of Venizelos in power through any means available – or, as the pamphlet states, ‘to do all that lies in its power to preserve a friendly feeling between the English and Greek races, and to provide both with material for taking a just view of the other’s actions and position’.³⁹⁶

At this precarious time for both Greece and the League, with more enthusiasm than ever the League advanced a series of meetings and arranged lectures about the political position and policy of Greece in relation to the war, while it published nine pamphlets during 1915 and six in Greek to be distributed in Greece.

The next annual general meeting found Greece and the League sailing – again – under blue skies, as the chairman would announce – ‘the sky has cleared’, referring to the ending of Greek neutrality and its alliance with the Entente. Pamphlet no. 33 describes the meeting that took place in the Great Hall at King’s College, on 5 July 1917, organised in the form of a public gathering to praise Eleftherios Venizelos and his policy to align Greece with Britain. Among the guests were the Serbian minister and Madam Jovanovich, Sir Francis Elliot G.C.M.G., Mr and Mrs Stavridi, Madame Gennadius and Archimandrite Dr C. Pagonis.

MP members of the League Robert Cecil, Hugh Law and Ronald McNeill addressed the meeting, talking of England’s affection for Greece and proposing a resolution from the League congratulating Venizelos for his ‘enthusiastic appreciation of this fresh service he has rendered to the cause of Greece’.³⁹⁷ The importance of this publication is perhaps that the League decided for the first time in such an eloquent and explicit manner to support the Venizelist movement and to place this at the centre of its official future policy. Although established with claims of non-partisan attachment, the political circumstances of the year 1916 forced the

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

League to openly support a particular political leader; 'Venizelism has now become Hellenism.'³⁹⁸

The pamphlet contains more information on how, during the period of neutrality roughly between May 1916 and May 1917, the League had to take a definite position in the controversy in order to abide to its original aims of promoting Anglo-Hellenic friendship. Burrows provides the reasons:

The Anglo-Hellenic League, remembering that its first aim and object, as defined in its rules, is 'defend the just claims and honour of Greece' and 'to remove existing prejudices and prevent future misunderstandings between the British and the Hellenic races' [...] wishes to express its firm conviction, [...] that the action of King Constantine's Government, so far from representing the nation, is viewed with horror and disgust by the great majority of the population, whether in Greece itself or in the great Greek colonies outside the kingdom. [...] It calls the Protecting Powers of Greece to free her from the military terrorism under which it now suffers, so that M. Venizelos, the greatest statesman that Modern Greece has produced, may be restored to that position of authority [...].³⁹⁹

In this respect the League was no longer impartial; as the pamphlet informs us, it was decided that it would drop the balance it had kept between the two parties in Greece and would openly support the party of Venizelos as the 'only [one] capable of maintain[ing] those cordial relations with England'.⁴⁰⁰ Indicative of this decision is the cooperation with two other committees in England promoting the Venizelist movement, the Committee of the Anglo-Greek Fund, which regularly funded the League for the purposes of propaganda, and the Venizelos Fund, established by Helena Schilizzi, later Venizelos, to provide medical supplies to the Salonica Provisional Government.

Throughout this tumultuous year the League organised lectures and meetings to promote knowledge of Greek affairs, published seven pamphlets with content mainly around the controversy of King Constantine and Venizelos and the impact on

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 33, *Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League*, 1917.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

the relations between Britain and Greece and, finally, reached a total membership of 600.

If one of its titles summarises the context of pamphlet no. 37, of the Fifth Annual General Meeting of 11 July 1918 at King's College, it would be 'The departure from the classical to the modern Greece'. Chairman Reeves delivered a first address on the activities of the League over the past twelve months, including the important achievement of organising a meeting at the Mansion House on 16 November 1917 to welcome Venizelos to England, in which the Lord Mayor, Balfour, Earl Curzon and Churchill all delivered memorable speeches. Through this meeting, an attempt was made to use symbolic power to establish Venizelos as the leader who saved Greece not only from the war but from its internal enemies as well. Reeves' long and highly graphic introduction serves as a *hypotyposis*, a stylistic device rhetoricians use to provide 'the contextual warrant' for what will follow next.⁴⁰¹ The vivid description serves to guarantee the veridicality of the arguments; although they are just personal acknowledgments, the detailed narrative description of events contributes to a more believable account. The second important achievement of the League during the period was the establishment of the Koraes Chair at King's College London (in spring 1918), a chair devoted to the study of Modern Greek Language and History.⁴⁰² Both of these developments contributed to the advance of a discourse about a regenerated Greece as a country of the modern age, to cultivating interest in its modern history and language and to making her able to take on the role of Britain's ally in the Eastern Mediterranean. More explicit on this subject was the address delivered during the meeting by Professor Gilbert Murray, who wished to disentangle Greece from its antiquarian past and represent it as a 'spirit of the West':

I always feel a little bit annoyed and inclined to contradict when people attribute my philhellenism to antiquarianism, and I think I take the Society [The League] with me there. I do not feel the interest in Greece, the love for Greece that I have, purely for antiquarian reasons. Of course as a matter of fact, Greece cannot escape from the burden and the glory and the danger of

⁴⁰¹ Edwards and Potter, *Discursive Psychology*, 122.

⁴⁰² More in the section on the Koraes Chair that follows.

its tremendous history. [...] But the true inheritance of Greece has not anything to do with Empire or territory, it is a spiritual heritage which does not belong to Greece alone, but to the whole world. [...] Modern Greece makes its own appeal. Among the Balkan Nations, I think one can say without fear of contradiction, Greece is the freest, the best educated, the most civilized in that corner of Europe. She is more a spirit of the West.⁴⁰³

The idea of a modern Greece, the westernised liberal country that would take up the lead in representing British interests in the region, requires a thorough analysis through the discourse of the League, one which falls under the respective section in Chapter Five. It would be helpful for our analysis, however, to mention here is that this idea was seconded through various activities of the League to promote modern Greek history and language. In the annual report Reeves makes a call to members who were willing to promote the aims of the League by delivering lectures on modern Greece or by collecting information regarding aspects of modern Greek history. He also suggested that these lectures might open up to include any aspect of modern Greek language and literature, describe the contemporary scenery in Greece or examine contemporary social conditions in the country.

The annual report concluded with the notice of new collaborations with similar societies, such as the American-Hellenic Society, established in New York, and the philhellenic society in France. In addition, six new pamphlets had been published in the past year and distributed to public bodies and libraries, with lectures and membership continuing on the same scale as in previous years.

The sixth annual general meeting was devoted to an overall evaluation of the work the League had done and another chance to promote Greece's territorial claims amid the ongoing Paris Peace Conference. The meeting was held, as usual, on the campus of King's College London on 20 June 1919. The enthusiasm about the end of the war and the certainty that the Allies would respect Greece's claims is evident throughout the pamphlet. The League's aim over the previous year had been to remind its members of Greece's demands after the final victory of the Allies and inform public opinion about the position of Greece at the Peace Conference. In this

⁴⁰³ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

respect, a pamphlet regarding an 'Appeal for the Liberation and Union of the Hellenic Race', written by Reeves, was circulated in collaboration with the London Committee of Unredeemed Greeks, a sister committee of the League, and distributed at the expense of the committee to the tune of more than 20,000 copies.

Paving the way for the satisfaction of Greek irredentist aspirations, Reeves informs his audience that the League would have succeeded in its cause and would be able 'to feel that politically, or territorial at any rate, it has not very much left to work for'⁴⁰⁴ if Cyprus was united with Greece, the Aegean Islands ceded to the country, Epirus allowed to choose under which king they would like to live and justice was granted in both Asia Minor and Thrace. Only then could they embark on building a Greater Greece, and only then would the Greek race 'have a fair chance'.⁴⁰⁵

The central address was delivered by Professor J.L. Myres, who attempted in about twenty-five minutes to deliver an overview of the history of Greece from 1200 BC to the modern day. Constructing the social imaginary, and therefore the shared identity, Myres drew a connecting line from the ancient civilisations to the modern Greeks, only to suggest that future citizens of a Greater Greece would share a common way of life, unity in language and a glorious past that had been imprinted on their modern idiosyncrasy. His speech was heavily indebted to Herodotus, Xenophon, Sophocles and Homer, while Pericles, Socrates, Themistocles and Alcibiades also made appearances. These associated signifiers carry with them a catholically accepted meaning connected with the values of bravery, gallantry, justice, democracy and civilisation, ideas which through juxtaposition are transferred to the modern Greeks and their country.

The annual meetings, attempting as they do to present a final concluding remark on the subject of the underlying political agenda, provide a good overview of the League's objectives, since they encapsulate the scope and means of the League in each year, highlighting the main issue in the central address, usually delivered by an esteemed philhellene guest. Running from the first meeting to the last, the line of argumentation can be drawn as follows: first, the League is being established while it

⁴⁰⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

searches domains of authorisation in both Greece and Britain; the year 1915 finds the League constructing the image of Greece in Britain as a worthy ally through a vociferous propaganda campaign produced over fifteen pamphlets in one year, an unprecedented record for the League; subsequently, in 1916, came a period of uncertainty due to Greek neutrality in the War and the extremely important role of the League in fixing this injustice; 1917 finds the League hailing Venizelos' policy of carrying Greece in the war alongside Britain, which at the same time is a self-appraisal of their activities and the skilful propaganda that the League unfolded during the period. What follows in 1918 was a serious effort to present Greece as the country of the future, where liberal values and western processes prevailed, establishing modern Greece as the scout of British interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. We can see that immediately before and after the war this was the pressing business of the League: the image construction of a modern nation with guaranteed safety in its borders, stable government and economic progress. Thus, almost convinced of its full victory in all domains, including the satisfaction of territorial claims and alliance with Britain in the commercial, educational and political sectors, the League offers a self-evaluation (pamphlet no. 39) hailing its policy as successful.

Audiences, Lectures and Events

In order to meet its objectives regarding the dissemination of information, the stimulating of interest regarding Greece and the improvement of relations between the two countries the League organised lectures and events aiming to both familiarise the audience with matters concerning the current state of affairs and improve 'the feeling between the British and Hellenic races [by] promoting a better knowledge of the character, history, literature, hopes difficulties, and progress of the Hellenes to-day'.⁴⁰⁶ What is more, the League suggested that these lectures ought not to necessarily 'deal with politics or war' but may as well 'spread the knowledge of Modern Greek Language and literature, or describe the scenery or social conditions of the country'.⁴⁰⁷ These generally took place in the Great Hall of King's

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

College London or the Aeolian Hall at 135 New Bond Street, and less regularly in the Mansion House. On some occasions lectures were also delivered to the Essay Club of the Gas Light and Coke Company and to the Paddington Branch of the Women's Diocesan Association.⁴⁰⁸ The reception that these lectures and speeches received is worth stating. It has been recorded that fourteen leading London newspapers included reports or notices of the proceedings, among them *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Times* and the *Daily Chronicle*, as well as thirty-four provincial papers.⁴⁰⁹

The multilateral character of the events and lectures enabled the League to appeal to different audiences (political and/or academic) and disseminate its objectives to a wider but at the same time quite specific public. Focusing on the character of the audience as recipient of this discourse is worthwhile in understanding the profile of the publics engaged in the League's events and lectures and having access to the League's pamphlets. Greek commercial, shipping and industrial bourgeois and a certain group of British intellectuals and elites comprised the particular bourgeois audience that was acting, in fact, in a political public sphere.⁴¹⁰

The lectures promoted by the League in collaboration with intellectuals from Greece or British philhellenes were instrumentalised systematic practices in the context of the promotion of the *Megali Idea*. The historical momentum that called upon the rise of a modern Greece as opposed to the classical idea of Ancient Greece posed a mandatory contradiction – a paradox.⁴¹¹ Although rallying for a modern Greece that could stand alone and detached from its past, the League also supported the idea of a continuous heritage between the old and the new, and a modern Greece that was characterised by the 'undying Hellenic elements in national character' and infused by 'the extraordinary public spirit displayed by the Hellenes during the vicissitudes of the last hundred years'.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁰⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 17, 1915.

⁴¹⁰ Jürgen Habermas, 'The Public Sphere: An Encyclopaedia Article' (1964), Sara Lennox and Frank Lennox (transl.), *New German Critique*, 3 (1974), 49–55.

⁴¹¹ A further examination of this paradox will be addressed in Chapter Five.

⁴¹² AH League, pamphlet no. 37, 1918.

However, the pressing object of the League remained the promotion of the ‘modern Greek civilisation’, which, despite its ancestral lineages, deserved to be examined and receive attention in its own right. This aim was shared by Venizelos and became official educational policy with the educational reform of 1917, which had as its pillars the study of ‘the contemporary reality ... the traditional music’ and arts and would be based on a ‘true [authentic] language with an ultimate goal the creation of a modern Greek educational tradition’.⁴¹³

In London, the lectures given by the League’s academics also covered aspects of modern Greek language, literature and history. However, following the nationalistic narrative, the League could not and did not want to disentangle modern Greece from its ancient glory; rather, it conceived of it as ‘a continuity of the Hellenic race and language’,⁴¹⁴ a fact which illustrates the ideological impact of the *zambeliopaparigopoylio schema* upon the ideology of the League.⁴¹⁵ It is in this light that the League’s public lectures should be examined, since they constitute an integral part of the propaganda that endeavoured to reconstruct Greece as the new strong political power in the Balkans. The League envisioned and made an effort to represent New Greece as the intellectual and political powerhouse of the Balkan Peninsula, whose superiority justified its intellectual predominance over the ‘barbarian’ tribes via an inextricably linked ‘glorious’ past. Although the lectures fell under the aegis of the League or the University of London and the Department of Modern Greek and Byzantine Language, Literature and History, they were in reality drafted through a collaboration of the King’s College principal Ronald Burrows and the Greek Minister in London, John Gennadius, in order to correspond to the aforementioned aims. The lectures, which were financially supported by the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek Fund and private donations, revolved thematically around literature, history and economics. A common feature and a connecting thread of their reasoning rested on the ideological construction of Zampelios and

⁴¹³ From the Proceedings of the Educational Commission, cited in Bournazos, ‘Η εκπαίδευση στο ελληνικό κράτος’, 258.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁵ This schema is the ideological product of folklorist and historian Spyridon Zampelios and the historian Konstantinos Paparigopoulos, which offered Greece the historical continuity of three eras – ancient, medieval and modern – and provided legitimisation to the nationalist discourses of the *Megali Idea* for a Greater Greece.

Papargopoulos: the history of Hellenism ancient, medieval and modern, which was connected through a linear progression of the nation and its righteous relation to the territory.

Within this understanding, a series of six public lectures with the general title 'The History of Modern Greece since the Foundation of the Kingdom' was delivered by John Mavrogordato, a prominent member of the League. The lectures were delivered under the auspices of the Department, lending an undeniable academic character to the content. The admission was free and non-ticketed, which meant that anyone could attend without an invitation. The series included, among others, the titles 'The possibilities of the New Kingdom', 'The Reign of King George till the coup d'état of 1909', 'The Balkan War' and 'Greece during the Great War'.⁴¹⁶

The 1918–1919 session included ten public lectures in English. Colonel Phrantzis was summoned to analyse 'The Part played by the Greek Army in the Recent Victories in Macedonia' in the Great Hall at King's. In addition, Mr Thomas H. Mawson delivered two lectures on the 'Rebuilding of Salonica' and the 'Rebuilding of Athens'. M. Renè Puaux addressed an invitation-only audience on 'L'Asie Mineure et la Question d'Orient', in French with lantern slides.⁴¹⁷

The following session, 1919–1920, included lectures from Arnold Toynbee, the incumbent of the Koraes Chair, which were part of the course he offered on 'Outlines of Greek History, 6th Century to 19th Century A.D.', while Lysimachos Oeconomos presented 'La Dynastie de Macédoine' in French.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁶ KCA, K/LEC6/3/24, *Public Lectures Sessions – Department of History and Modern Greek*.

⁴¹⁷ GP, 1/12.

⁴¹⁸ KCA, K/LEC6/3/25B, Lecture session 1919–1920.

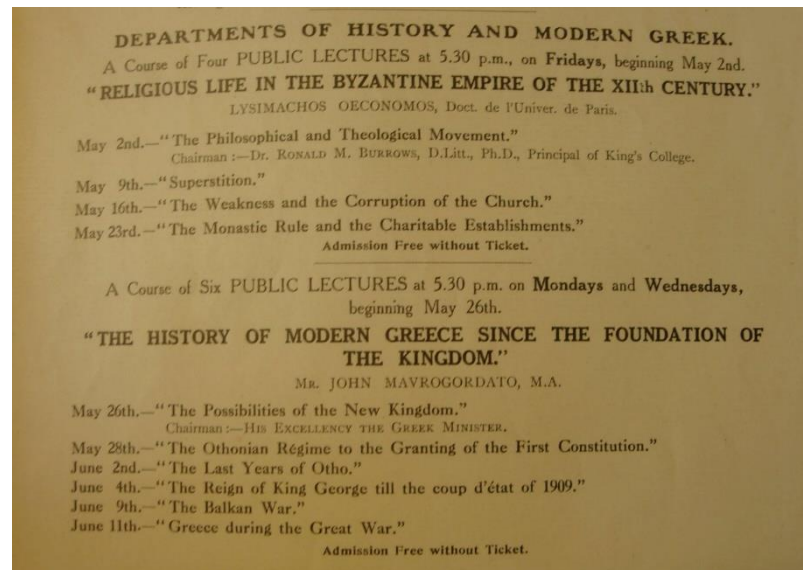


Figure 6. Lecture series from the Department of Modern Greek Studies. Source:
 K/LEC6/3/24 (KCA).

With the accession of the New Lands after 1913, Byzantinism became an ideological trend very popular in Venizelist politics. These new territories, although lacking the immediate political past of 'Old Greece' were ideologically incorporated – for reasons of social and national cohesion – because of their Byzantine monuments. In this context, the foundation of the Byzantine Museum in 1914 also served to facilitate the process of land 'assimilation'.⁴¹⁹ Hence, a series of Byzantine-centred lectures was organised on topics such as 'Religious life in the Byzantine Empire of the XIIth Century', delivered in four public sessions by Oeconomos,⁴²⁰ and 'The Byzantine Emperors' by Professor Norman Baynes.⁴²¹

Other lectures included 'Outlines of the History of Chios (1089–1912)' by Mr Philip Argenti, a notable Chiot of the diaspora; 'Some features of the period of Turkish domination in Greece', by Professor F.H. Marshall; and 'The later poetry of Dionysios Solomos' by Mr R.J.H. Jenkins, Lewis Gibson Lecturer in Modern Greek in the University of Cambridge.⁴²²

⁴¹⁹ Christos Chatziiosif, 'Εισαγωγή' [Introduction], 29.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴²¹ KCA, K/LEC3/1/14B, Four Public sessions by Lysimachos Oeconomos.

⁴²² KCA, K/LEC3/1/15, Lectures and talks on various topics.

In 1914, shortly after its foundation, the League organised lectures on 'The Northern Epirus in 1913' by Col. A.M. Murray, as well as a course of six public lectures presented by W.P. Reeves at the London School of Economics and Political Science on 'The Balkan States – some historical lectures on the Near East and its Problems', while Burrows spoke on 'The Present Condition of the Balkans'.⁴²³

The League's events had a similar objective to its lectures – the communication of the League's missions to a broad Anglo-Hellenic and British audience which most often included influential political and academic figures. One of the most important events organised by the League in terms of the guests invited and the publicity gained was the meeting held in Mansion House in the City of London on 16 November 1917. It was organised to officially introduce Venizelos as the leader whom the League supported. Given the recent abandonment of neutrality and the official alliance with the Entente, Venizelos was represented as having the virtues of the charismatic leader that would lead Greece into the dawn of a new liberal age. The guests included the Lord Mayor, Winston Churchill, Lord Curzon and Mr Arthur Balfour, among other notable Britons and Greeks.⁴²⁴

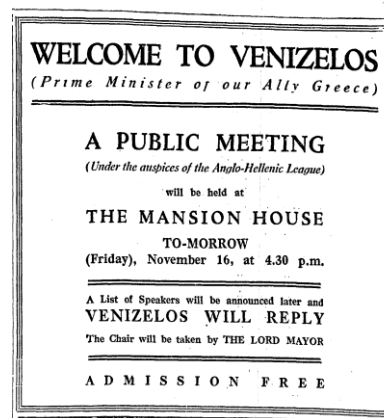


Figure 7. Advertisement of an Anglo-Hellenic League event. Source: *The Times*, 15 November 1917.

This was probably one of the League's most significant events, because it marked the passage from the temporal end of the National Schism (on a social basis;

⁴²³ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁴ More information about this event is available in the next chapters.

it continued to exist as an ongoing struggle for political domination)⁴²⁵ to the period in which the commercial bourgeoisie – including the diaspora – could embark on becoming the country's main political and economic power.⁴²⁶

An event very different in nature was organised at the Olympia exhibition hall in London for the Woman's Kingdom Section of the Children's Welfare Exhibition that ran from 11 to 30 April 1915. At this occasion various embroideries of lace and silk, and other cotton materials, were on sale as examples of the Greek folklore tradition. The specimens were donated to the League's Ladies Committee by various societies, such as the Royal Hellenic Schools and Madam Mela-Schliemann's School of Lace in Thessaly, and by private individuals such as Madame Kephala. The total amount raised was £187.⁴²⁷ Finally, events also took the form of lunches such as the one given in honour of the Greek commercial delegates who visited Great Britain and dinners such as the one M. Venizelos gave in honour of M. Gennadius on the occasion of his retirement from the Greek diplomatic service.⁴²⁸

The Establishment of the Koraes Chair

The Anglo-Hellenic League had another important achievement which fed into the wider context of its missions to spread information concerning Greece and improve educational relations with Britain. However, it is very important to emphasise the political significance of this action as well, as it came in a moment when Britain was called to back up Greek territorial claims in Asia Minor and place Greece as the guardian of its interests in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Koraes Chair, established at King's College London in 1918, was the offspring of the friendship between the principal of King's College, Roland Burrows, and the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos. Between 1913 and 1920 Burrows' role in the establishment of the first chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature in the British capital was catalytic. Of course, the Koraes was not the only chair Burrows was instrumental in establishing. Actively supporting

⁴²⁵ Mavrogordato, *Μελέτες και Κείμενα*, 55 – 'The Schism as Class Struggle'.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴²⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

⁴²⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

the principle of national self-determination for peoples, specifically but not only those of Eastern Europe, throughout his tenure, he established the Cervantes Chair of Spanish and the Camoëns Chair of Portuguese, while he had a primary role in the institution of the Slavonic School (later known as the School of Slavonic and East European Studies). Being an Imperial Federation sympathiser, he was also instrumental in the foundation of the Rhodes Chair for Imperial Studies in 1919.⁴²⁹

Along with F.J.C. Hearnshaw, the head of the History Department, Burrows believed that King's College must provide the vehicle to advance the Imperial Federation Movement by creating an academic position that would enhance Low's argument that 'the British Empire is going to be a democracy'.⁴³⁰ From 1913 he undertook both missions: the promotion of an academic post that would eulogise the imperial power of Britain and its potential to maintain a system of governance that would advance the idea of Commonwealth, and a post in Modern Greek Studies. The foundation of the Koraes Chair was considered as the hub for 'a more practical expression of his philhellenic sentiments'⁴³¹ and the promotion of the link between Greek and British political and intellectual thought.

As Tomáš Masaryk also observed, Burrows was a passionate advocate of the small nations, 'particularly 'Greece but also Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia'.⁴³² His biographer recorded, probably accurately, that his favourite academic creation had been the Koraes Chair, and his engagement with the League and his promotion of its causes contribute to this assertion.⁴³³ The importance of the Chair for the proliferation of the national demands of Greece in the forthcoming Peace Conference was one of the reasons why Burrows had to complain to the editor of *The Times* about the advertisement placed for the establishment of the chair, which was reduced by the newspaper to 'almost half its length'.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁹ Richard Drayton, 'Imperial History and the Human Future', an inaugural lecture in the Rhodes Chair of Imperial History delivered in The Great Hall, King's College London on Monday 19 October 2009.

⁴³⁰ KCA, KAP/BUR/81, Low to Hearnshaw, 8 October 1915.

⁴³¹ Clogg, *Anglo-Greek Attitudes*, 40–41.

⁴³² Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows, a Memoir*, 22.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁴³⁴ KCA, KAP/BUR/333a, Letter from Burrows to the Editor of *The Times*, 17 May 1918.

Treated not 'merely as an academic matter, but as proof of the reality of the alliance of Venizelist Greece and England',⁴³⁵ the Chair was a true proliferation of the aims of the League since 1913 to establish friendly connections with the British political and academic elite. Through the League's representative in Athens and the governor of the Bank of Greece, Professor Andreadis, the League was able to communicate Venizelos' proposals to Burrows as regards the establishment of the Chair. The first documentary evidence of Venizelos' proposal, which includes Burrows' personal involvement to found a Modern Greek Chair at King's College, dates to 1915, in a letter stating that 'the Greek Prime Minister would be very pleased to grant £300 per year for the chair of "Modern Greek History and Literature"'.⁴³⁶ However, founding a Chair in Modern Greek was considered important for the promotion of Greek interests as early as the Balkan Wars. One of the founding members of the League and a historic member of the Greek community in London, Dimitrios J. Cassavetti, had included in his book of 1914 that 'the institution of a Chair in Modern Greek at London University is one of the most practical suggestions that has been made for furthering the Hellenic cause in this country'.⁴³⁷ Burrows himself, in 1914, in a pamphlet entitled *New Greece*, which was circulated among Members of Parliament, newspapers and other interested parties, *inter alia*, scrutinised the absence of a 'representative of Modern Greek Language and Literature in the University of London'.⁴³⁸

John Gennadius was also a key figure in the establishment of the Chair, as he acted as the official representative of Venizelos to the British capital and primary communicator of his positions to Burrows. In October 1915 he informed Burrows that the Greek government would like to guarantee 'une chaire d'histoire et de littérature Grecques Modernes' for seven years.⁴³⁹ Discussions with the authorities of the University of London seemed fruitful, and there was no problem in making public the source of the endowment. This was an excellent outcome for the League

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ KCA, KAP/BUR/333a, Andreadis to Burrows, 20 February 1915.

⁴³⁷ Dimitrios J. Cassavetti, *Hellas and the Balkan Wars* (London, 1914), 308.

⁴³⁸ Ronald Burrows, 'The New Greece', published initially in *The Quarterly Review* (April 1914) and reprinted as AH League, pamphlet no. 14, 1914.

⁴³⁹ Richard Clogg, *Politics and the Academy* (London, 1986), 5.

and for Burrows, who, delighted, informed Venizelos that, 'as an ardent Phil-Hellene', he felt pleasure 'to be the medium of receiving this gift from Greece to England at such a crisis in the history of our two nations'.⁴⁴⁰

Despite the war and the internal animosities in Greece with the ongoing National Schism and Venizelos' resignations from the government, the Koraes Chair Subscribers Committee continued to work on and develop the establishment throughout this turbulent period by inviting Greek and English scholars of Greece to apply for a lectureship. William Miller, Mrs Ernest Gardner, Christos Kessary and even the to-be-famous poet Constantine Cavafy were among those proposed for the Chair or the lectureship during its preparatory stages.⁴⁴¹ Despite the apparent stagnation of the establishment, this was a very crucial political period for Greece, and the League was ceaseless in producing pamphlets to disseminate its propaganda. Burrows especially undertook all the work of collecting curricula vitae, drafting lecture series and inviting speakers to give talks on various subjects of Greek interest. On one of these occasions he proposed that the chairman of the Subscribers Committee, John Gennadius, deliver some public lectures at King's on Modern Greek Literature. According to his letter, his aim was, even during wartime, to attract 'quite a good and select audience from English Phil-Hellenes and Hellenes'.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴¹ For the purposes of our study, the proceedings of the election of the Koraes Professor are not of immediate interest and thus not examined in depth. In any case, this, along with illustrative information about the establishment and the aftermath of the 'Toynbee affair' at King's College London have been recorded in great detail by Richard Clogg in *Ibid.*

⁴⁴² GP, Letter from Burrows to Gennadius, 27 July 1917.

Reprinted from the Advertisement Columns of
The Times
 Thursday, May 16, 1918.

KORAËS CHAIR OF MODERN GREEK.

A Committee has been formed for the FOUNDATION of a CHAIR of MODERN GREEK and BYZANTINE HISTORY, Language, and Literature at University of London, King's College. The object of the Chair is to promote the study of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language, and Literature both among English people educated in the classical Greek tradition and among members of the Greek Communities in Great Britain.

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G. Marchetti, Esq.,	
N. Eumorfopoulos,	
His Excellency Mon. Gennadius, Greek Minister in London,	Hon. Secretary.
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Miss H. Schilizzi,	
A. Pallis, Esq.,	Liverpool
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£11,380

The Subscription List is still open, and communications should be addressed to N. Eumorfopoulos, Esq., 24, Pembroke-gardens, W.2., or Dr. Ronald Burrows, King's College, Strand.

Printed and Published by THE TIMES PUBLISHING COMPANY (Limited), Printing House-square, London, E.C.4.
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Figure 8. Advertisement of the Koraes Chair, *The Times*, 16 December 1918. Source: KCA, KAP/BUR/333a.

During this period the League was eager to promote the Greek cause by whatever means. The foundation of a Chair in Modern Greek was a very good opportunity to do so; academic in form but political in essence, the Chair was expected to serve in the promotion of the Greek cause in England. Actually, Burrows had pointed out that the professor (speaking about Miller) was expected to have 'very little routine work, and would be able to give practically his full time to the general promotion of the cause'. Specifically, they wanted to invite to London 'an English Phil-Hellene of high standing who should have his whole time to devote to

the cause of Greece'.⁴⁴³ The best way to do so was by introducing the establishment of a Modern Greek chair, the incumbent of which 'would really have very little of his time taken up with the University duties, and would have the bulk of his time available to act as an *unpaid official of the League*'.⁴⁴⁴

The Greek government's delay in issuing the funds required for the establishment of the Chair made Burrows and the League seek other means of funding for this important development. During this period, a group of wealthy Anglo-Greeks established the 'Koraes Chair of Modern Greek Fund' under the secretary Nicholas Eumorfopoulos. This committee of subscribers, with the participation of Gennadius, Ionidis, Mitaranga, Embiricos, Schilizzi, Pallis and others, undertook the mission of approaching potential donors and raising money for the Chair. The archives provide multiple lists of subscribers between 1916 and 1918, evidence of Eumorfopoulos and Burrows' assiduous activity to gather the funds needed. The object of the subscribers was 'to promote the study of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature both among English people educated in classical Greek tradition and among members of the Greek communities in Great Britain'.⁴⁴⁵ By May 1918 they had managed to raise the amount of £11,380.⁴⁴⁶ They also placed a call for subscriptions in *The Times*, providing as contacts Eumorfopoulos and Burrows. By the end of the same year the Greek government had finally managed to vote an annual grant fixed at 7,500 drachmas (approximately £300) and the college decided that this grant should be used for the appointment of a lecturer in the Department.⁴⁴⁷

In advance of the official inauguration of the Chair on 15 January 1919 Burrows and Eumorfopoulos arranged for a series of public lectures to be delivered at King's in order to familiarise members of the Greek community and English students and scholars with the Chair's objects and further the aims of Greek propaganda in the country. In Burrows' words, when he was writing to William Miller to ask him whether he would like to be a candidate for the chair and explaining the

⁴⁴³ Burrows to Schilizzi, 13 July 1916, quoted in Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, 8.

⁴⁴⁴ KCA, KAP/BUR/333a, Cassavetti to Schilizzi, 14 July 1916, emphasis is mine.

⁴⁴⁵ KCA, KAP/BUR/333d, Eumorfopoulos to The King's College Delegacy, 24 April 1918.

⁴⁴⁶ KCA, KAP/BUR/333d, *Greek Professorship Fund*.

⁴⁴⁷ KCA, KAS/AC2/F195, *Report of King's College London Delegacy*.

nature of the chair, he assured him that he would have the 'opportunity for public lectures on propagandist subjects in our Great Hall at King's'.⁴⁴⁸ The purpose of these lectures was no different from the objects of the League and, particularly at that time, the need to establish the Greek state as a modern western country that could guarantee British interests in the area was more crucial than ever. In furthering the Anglo-Hellenic connection there was a need to prove that, by benefiting Greece, Britain would benefit equally, especially in terms of her economic interests in the region. Thus lectures and talks that were arranged in cooperation with the College and the League aimed to present Greece as strong country worthy of its classical past with which modern Greeks shared a linear connection. As Burrows' letter to Miltiadis A. Mitaranga, a member of the Greek community of Marseilles, reveals, 'unfortunately'

there is a wide gulf fixed between Ancient and Modern Greek literature and history, and the average educated Englishman sees no connection between the two. The importance to the Greek nation as a whole of the establishment of such a department, in the centre of the British Empire, can scarcely be exaggerated. The permanence of the classical Greek tradition in the education of the upper and middle classes ought to make it possible and natural for Modern Greece to have a unique hold on the interest and affection of the English governing classes. It is not sufficiently realised among Greeks in England or in the Mother-country, that education in Ancient Greek literature and history is immeasurably deeper and wider-spread in England than in France or in any other country in Europe, and that public opinion in parliament and the press depends practically entirely on the opinion of the classes so educated.⁴⁴⁹

The public lecture series – presented above in the section 'Audiences, Lectures and Events' – were courses called by the Senate of the University of London under the Foundation of the Chair. As the booklet of the 1918–1919 series advertises, Professor Simos Menardos of Athens, Professor Diehl of Paris and Mr

⁴⁴⁸ Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, 9.

⁴⁴⁹ KCA, KAR/AC/F194, Letter from Burrows to Mitaranga, 7 March 1917. Mitaranga subscribed an amount of £1410 which was collected by sympathizers of the cause in France.

John Mavrogordato of Oxford were to support the work of the Department, delivering regular classes on language and literature. Although the Koraes Professor was yet to be appointed, Mr Lysimachos Oeconomos of Paris was appointed as the lecturer to teach language and literature. In addition, the Department, thanks to the 'benefactions from members of the Athens Branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League and His Excellency M Gennadius', was able to establish a Departmental library that would be at the service of students. The first two courses delivered were on 'Byzantine History' and 'Modern Greek Poetry', while the opening lecture had the eccentric title 'The scientific and practical value of Modern Greek' and was delivered by Menardos.⁴⁵⁰

Both *Manchester Guardian* and *The Times* praised the establishment of the Chair at King's College and referred to it as Venizelos' project, probably after Burrows' indications. The *Manchester Guardian* named the Greek prime minister as the 'real founder' of the Chair, explaining how, back in 1915, he had communicated to Burrows his desire for the establishment. *The Times* employs similar vocabulary in naming Venizelos the 'virtual founder' of the Modern Greek Department.⁴⁵¹ During his visit to London to attract potential donors the Greek Prime Minister stated that in Greece 'we are proud of the Greek Communities in England, and in return we would ask two things of these Communities: that they also should be proud of Greece and that they should not allow the Greek Language to be forgotten.'⁴⁵² After all, this was a Chair founded to support Venizelos and his policy throughout the dangerous years of the war and to propagate his diplomacy on every occasion required. Thus, apart from the importance of the introduction of Modern Greek among those modern languages taught in the university, the League – through the lectures, through the Chair's Committee and through raising awareness for Modern Greece in the press and among circles of interest – was acting directly towards the proliferation of its own agenda.

⁴⁵⁰ KCA, KAP/BUR/333d, *Session 1918–1918, Department of Modern Greek and Byzantine Language, Literature and History*.

⁴⁵¹ 'A chair in modern Greek', *Manchester Guardian*, 16 May 1918 and *The Times*, 16 May 1918.

⁴⁵² Letter from Eumorfopoulos to potential subscribers, 22 December 1917, quoted in Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, 13.

Despite romantic evocations of an ideal Greece that dominated the English imaginary that appeared to accompany the advertisement of the Chair in the press, the importance of the Chair and its establishment was far more practical than theoretical. In contrast to the 'ideal and historical appeal to the imagination of the educated Englishman'⁴⁵³ there was indeed a more concrete necessity in establishing and promoting Modern Greek studies in Britain, which lay in the financial and commercial bonds between the two countries. In his 1914 study Cassavetti mentioned the practicality of the issue while attempting to indicate 'Greece as the natural ally for Great Britain in the Near East.'⁴⁵⁴ He writes characteristically:

the field which is open to British enterprise in Greece's new territories should encourage greatly the association of English and Greek men of business, and the co-operation of the British Naval Mission in Greece is a still stronger link between the two countries which should contribute largely to the establishment of close friendship between Briton and Hellene.⁴⁵⁵

Conclusion: An Evaluation of the Early Political Influence of the League

During the early years of its establishment the League managed to exert important political influence regarding specific issues with the aim of supporting Greek territorial claims. Especially for this period, the influence of 'public opinion' played a supreme role in the shaping of British foreign policy.⁴⁵⁶ The League endeavoured to create amicable ties with influential elites and to encourage an inter-state collaboration in various sectors with the aim of promoting allegiance to the Greek cause.

Although measuring the League's influence can be a hard task, as it concerns the shaping of attitudes and preferences for which qualitative statistics do not exist, a way to estimate the early influence of the League would be through an examination of the importance that was accorded to its activities by key decision-makers and also by examining how policymaking was influenced by the propaganda

⁴⁵³ 'A chair in modern Greek', *Manchester Guardian*, 16 May 1918.

⁴⁵⁴ Cassavetti, *Hellas and the Balkan Wars*, 298.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁴⁵⁶ Robbins, 'Public Opinion', 128–9.

put forth by the League and its leading members. To understand the role of the League we can conceptualise the influence exerted as soft power, which 'involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies' to shape public diplomacy'.⁴⁵⁷ The notion of 'soft power', developed by Joseph S. Nye in 1990, deals with the role that resources – other than the traditional territory, natural resources, economic size, military forces and political stability – play for state or non-state actors in promoting certain policies. The resources exercising soft power utilised specifically by non-state actors such as the League are usually culture, shared political values and economic relations.⁴⁵⁸

These resources, in our case, were concentrated around the aim of establishing preferences among public opinion and shaping public diplomacy through the building of friendship bridges between states and among citizens of Britain and Greece. In this respect, the League can be credited for being an organisation that fostered Anglo-Hellenic affairs and created an open dialogue between the two countries in the political, economic and cultural (academic) fields. What is more, through the promotion of positive images of Greece, the League aimed to wield influence through intangible assets such as culture and shared values. Soft power, in fact, relies on shared values and the creation of an attractive image of a country so to obtain the desired outcomes.⁴⁵⁹

To achieve its goals the League sought to wield influence through three main strategic outlets: a) by developing lasting relationships with key individuals such as high-ranking political officials and the governing elite, which also led to the promoting of discussions regarding Greece in the House of Common; b) by establishing an elaborate press agenda and publications; and c) by furthering cultural/academic/commercial collaboration between the respective states.

Starting with the first strategy, the League maintained amicable ties with influential figures in both Greece and Britain. Although Gennadius became a member of the League only after his official resignation in 1919, his role in

⁴⁵⁷ J.S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York, 2004), chapter 4, Wielding Soft Power, 107.

⁴⁵⁸ Nye, J.S., 'Soft Power', *Foreign Policy*, 80, Twentieth Anniversary (1990), 154.

⁴⁵⁹ Nye, *Soft Power*, 111.

orchestrating the activities of the League from behind the scenes and his official position as minister provided an excellent opportunity to further Anglo-Greek collaboration through the diplomatic outlet. Through Gennadius, the League had access to the Greek Prime Minister Venizelos, members of the Greek cabinet and academics and businessmen based in Greece, who were regularly invited to deliver lectures or addresses at the League's meetings.⁴⁶⁰ Gennadius would personally inform Venizelos in their private cables about the activities of the League and its members in different instances. For example, in April 1916, when Greek neutrality was endangering Anglo-Greek relations, the Greek minister kept Venizelos updated on the activities of Reeves and the reports compiled by Burrows.⁴⁶¹ In addition, as we have seen, Gennadius worked with Stavridis to enlist British support from the early beginning. One of their targets was the British Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer and later Prime Minister David Lloyd George, with whom Stavridis developed a long-lasting friendship which benefited the relations between the two governments.⁴⁶²

Perhaps the League's most influential moment was during 1916, when it initiated a vehement programme to get Venizelos' provisional government recognised by the British government amid Greek neutrality. In making this effort the League attempted to alter perceptions of Greece, from the neutral – but Germanophile – country that it appeared to be in the public press to the benevolent pro-Entente ally that it wished to become. This shifting of the image of Greece can be strongly attributed to the work the League promoted. The culmination of their propaganda was the recognition of Venizelos' government by the end of 1916 through the words of the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, in a Commons' sitting:

[...] this is why we have taken in the last few days very strong action in Greece. We mean to take no risks there. We have decided to take definite

⁴⁶⁰ For example, see address delivered by Alexander Diomidis, AH League, pamphlet no. 31, 1917.

⁴⁶¹ ABM, *Letter from Gennadius to Venizelos*, March 30/ April 12, 1916, London, f.3213–53.

⁴⁶² Greek Literature and Historical Archive, Athens, Greece (ELIA), Venizelos Archive, *Letter from Stavridis to Venizelos regarding a discussion he had with Lloyd George*, 26 October–12 November 1912, London, f.01–028; ABM, Venizelos Archive, *Telegram from Gennadius to Ministry of Foreign Affairs Greece*, 6 July 1917, London, f.014–199 in which Gennadius informs the Ministry that Lloyd George has provided answers to all the questions made to him in the House of Commons regarding the political condition in Greece and stated that Greece is being revitalized and that Britain needs to leave Greek people find their own way.

and decisive action, and I think it has succeeded. We have decided also to recognize the agents of that Greek Statesman M. Venizelos.⁴⁶³

The relation between Venizelos and the League also manifests the influence exerted. Especially through the period of the National Schism, and amid vociferous royalist and German propaganda, the initiatives undertaken by the League in favour of his policies in the British capital were considered imperative.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, after the successful lobbying to have his provisional government recognised Venizelos congratulated the League during the meeting organised in his honour to welcome him to Britain. Venizelos expressed his 'deep obligation to the members of the Anglo-Hellenic League' for organising this initiative and he extended his thanks especially to the English members of the League, 'for it is they who perpetuate the noble tradition of the sympathy of this great country for Greece'.⁴⁶⁵

Moreover, the importance of the League's publications and communications with the press is inextricably linked with the shaping of a sympathetic public opinion. In an attempt to tackle the 'attacks upon her [Greece] in the public Press ...' the League worked to convince the public that Greece was entitled to a formal and co-ordinated response to these 'frequent, bitter and wildly inaccurate' allegations.⁴⁶⁶ Although a more thorough evaluation of the influence of its publications and press coverage will be attempted in the conclusion of this thesis, at this point it suffices to say that between 1913 and 1919 the League produced or supported the writing (either through information provided or financially) of more than 2,300 articles related to the Greek political events during the First World War, the subject of neutrality, the refugees and Greek territorial demands. Most of them have been collected and catalogued by the League and are presently held at its archive, while others were presented to journals such as the *Contemporary Review*, the *Quarterly Review*, *New Europe* and others. The pamphlets, as well as other pro-Hellenic

⁴⁶³ David Lloyd George MP, *The Great Crusade*, extracts from a speech delivered in the House of Commons on becoming premier, 19 December 1916: Hansard HC Deb 19 December 1916 vol 88 cc1333–94.

⁴⁶⁴ For German and royalist propaganda in Athens, see Elli Lemonidou, 'Propaganda and Mobilizations in Greece during the First World War', in Troy Paddock (ed.), *Propaganda and the First World War* (Leiden and Boston, 2014), 273–91.

⁴⁶⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 35, 1917.

⁴⁶⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

writings, were also translated by the League and sent to Greece, where, Lemonidou recognises, the 'circulation of Venizelist newspapers and the distribution of booklets and circulars gave Venizelist propaganda considerable impetus'.⁴⁶⁷

Last but not least, some evidence of influence through the exercise of soft power is related to the cultural and academic achievements of the League. The importance of the fact that the serious organisation of English education in Greece was directly orchestrated by the League cannot be underestimated. The committee of the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation was formed on 20 November 1918 in order to advise and assist in the foundation in Greece of schools 'conducted on English principles and in general questions of English teaching in Greece'.⁴⁶⁸ The meeting for this establishment was presided over by Venizelos and included representatives from the Greek and British governments and the Anglo-Hellenic League. Chairman of the committee was the British Minister in Greece Sir Francis Elliot, while the secretary was the League's secretary Nicholas Eumorfopoulos. The same applies to the promotion of Modern Greek studies in England. The League's role in the establishment of the Chair had been indispensable, as examined above. In addition, the support of the government in these high-cultural exchanges – although not always profitable in the short term – positively affects key foreign elites and the development of long-term relationships.⁴⁶⁹ The establishment of the Koraes Chair not only guaranteed a permanent group of British philhellenes in Britain, but in the following years became the nucleus for the advancement of Modern Greek studies abroad and promoted the relations between the two countries through education, student and academic exchange and scholarships.

The Anglo-Hellenic League thus arose as a new intangible power resource in international diplomacy, as a medium that supported effective communication and fostered collaboration between the two countries through the promotion of a common political ideology, international institutions and culture.⁴⁷⁰ In the following chapters, the aim is to examine the political discourse of the Anglo-Hellenic League

⁴⁶⁷ Lemonidou, 'Propaganda and Mobilizations', 278.

⁴⁶⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

⁴⁶⁹ Nye, *Soft Power*, 114.

⁴⁷⁰ Nye, 'Soft Power', 167.

on the different milestones such as the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the matter of neutrality, the refugee problem and, last but not least, the nature of irredentism up to 1919 and the Paris Peace Conference. Through discourse analysis we will attempt to crystallise the views and ambitions, the proposals and disagreements of the Anglo-Hellenic League by investigating the political ideas and the political action of the agents. Comprised mainly of business actors and academic scholars, the League's interests were certainly favoured by the fact that a Liberal government in Greece was gaining momentum right at that time, a fact which satisfied their economic and political aspirations. In view of the National Schism, the following chapter will map their discourse during the struggle between democracy and autocracy which brought about the Republican moment for the League.

Chapter Four

The 'Republican Moment' of the Anglo-Hellenic League: Shifting Perceptions about the 'Monarchy' during the National Schism 1915–1917

'This war is a struggle between democracy and autocracy, between the ideas that make life worth living and a State and one man who are attempting to dominate the whole world in contempt of all law, human and divine.'⁴⁷¹ With these words, the Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos chose to define the internal struggle in Greece during the First World War. Soon after the outbreak of the First World War Venizelos' aspirations regarding the incorporation of the 'unredeemed' lands within Greece began to seem like a real possibility, given his alliance with the Entente Powers. However, internal disagreement with the Germanophile King Constantine imperilled relations between Greece and Britain. This, in turn, led to the period of civil strife known as the National Schism. The Schism essentially divided the population between two hegemonic projects: the democratic imperialistic vision that encapsulated the Venizelist motto of making Greece 'the country of the five seas and the two continents'; and the autocratic group made up of those who supported the self-sufficient and introvert royalist slogan of a 'small but honourable Greece'.⁴⁷²

Hegemonic skirmish brought certain interesting questions to light, particularly over the nature of the regime and its relation to authority. This chapter will examine the discourse regarding the question of the regime during the politically fragmented years of the National Schism, 1915–1917. The examination will commence with an overview of the convictions of Greek liberalism during the second decade of the twentieth century. This section will document aspects of the relationship between Greek Liberals and the Greek crown from the consolidation of Liberal power in 1910–1915. The intention is to trace possible intrinsic discrepancies or disagreements that could have undermined the political relations between Greek liberalism and constitutional monarchy.

⁴⁷¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 35, 1917.

⁴⁷² Mavrogordato, *Stillborn Republic*, 90–91.

The Schism, in 1915, culminated in a series of political decisions made by the crown that were blatant constitutional deviations that overlooked the principles of parliamentarism. The forced resignations of Venizelos initiated an internal interrogation regarding the authority of the crown and its power over the democratically elected Prime Minister. This led, further, to an inquiry into the very nature of the monarchy itself. However, discussions of this kind were not seriously addressed by the Liberal Party; instead, they just formed another weapon in the pro-Venizelist propaganda to combat the discourse in favour of the monarchy. Their stance symbolised the rejection of any possible measure to enact serious political change.

Accordingly, the export of this discourse to the diaspora through the Anglo-Hellenic League also played a catalytic role in influencing the British political scene towards a pro-Venizelos policy. Thus, the main body of my analysis will be concerned with the League's perspective on the subject of the National Schism and both its reception and response. Anti-monarchical views will be analysed in the light of political opportunism, as that opportunism was formulated to correspond to the needs of a pro-Entente war propaganda that, in its turn, satisfied the League's own interests with regard to territorial expansion through the consolidation of Venizelos. The Liberal Party, and especially its leader, Venizelos, never appeared to question the institution of monarchy; rather, they expressed a professed animosity towards the person of King Constantine. The Anglo-Hellenic League, on the other hand, instrumentalised the discourse regarding the regime in order to reflect their pro-Venizelist politics and influence British politics towards Greece.

The National Schism marked the beginning of the proliferation of a discourse by the League's liberals that truly consolidated their influential authority over British policy. What is more important, perhaps, is that this political instance gave rise for the first time in liberal diasporic circles to talk about the possibility of a Greek Republic and the abolition of monarchy altogether.

Greek Liberal Politics 1910–1920

The notion of liberalism throughout the long nineteenth century was rapidly changing and dynamically adapting to the context of the European economy and the

political demands put forth by the states. From 1875 Greek liberalism shared a lot in common with Serbian, Italian, Spanish and French liberalism – each in their own time. Its demands for a welfare state, a constitution and the extension of freedoms that would eventually vest political power in society were important features in its overall philosophical approach and political vision.⁴⁷³

In its first phase, the Liberal constitution of 1844 was established by Greek liberalism. This constitution was based on the other European restorative ones. It emphasised the nation-state, monarchical power, the division of powers and the protection of individual rights. The constitution aspired to the principles of ‘laissez faire laissez passer le monde va de lui même’ and wished to solidify the political authority of the bourgeois. Yet it did not have practical significance in a country with acute social antitheses, where private initiative was still in an embryonic stage. The constitution of 1864, however, ushered in a second phase of Greek liberalism, which endeavoured to establish the democratic principle. This time it was not based on extrinsic institutions imported from other European constitutions; rather, it took into consideration the Greek social and national peculiarities and priorities. The 1864 constitution was crafted according to the native social and historical conditions that organised the state, and sought to present the best measures to aid economic development in the country. The latter were characterised by the centralised structures of the state as well as hereditary monarchy, which had also been a contributing factor to economic progress.⁴⁷⁴

In 1910–1911, with the emergence of a new political regime in Greece, the political demands of Greek liberalism were summarised in the quasi-messianic programme of ‘Ανανέωσις’ [renewal] and ‘Ανόρθωσις’ [recovery], as well as the promotion of a state of efficiency to stabilise social disparities. These were two central ideas upon which the political programme of the government was constructed. Firstly, there was a need for the rapid development of a bourgeois society connected with state centralisation and a capitalist economy. Secondly, it

⁴⁷³ Frederick M. Watkins, *The Political Tradition of the West: A Study in the Development of Modern Liberalism* (Cambridge, 1948), 120–208.

⁴⁷⁴ For a detailed discussion regarding the two phases of Greek liberalism see George Sotirellis, *Συνταγμα και Εκλογές στην Ελλάδα* [Constitution and Elections in Greece] (Athens, 2003), 433.

was necessary for the irredentist expansionist programme to be realised.⁴⁷⁵ This entailed a modernisation of the army and economic expenditure on munitions.

Kondylis' reading of the political grounds upon which liberalism unfolded applies, too, to the case of the Greek liberalism of the period. He argues that, in terms of foreign policy, liberalism had to count – every time to a different degree – on alliances with conservative or democratic powers that represented the national idea in their own terms. At the level of domestic policy, again liberalism had to take care not to force the lower strata – chiefly the Greek working class – towards the conservative political power (monarchy and old parties). Hence, in the long term it would be advantageous if the workers were to be drawn to the Liberal Party with the promise of some concessions.⁴⁷⁶

From the perspective of liberalism, both economic and political modernisation required the 'transition from oligarchic/decentralised to less restrictive but more centralised forms of clientelism' as well as the establishment of a bureaucratic state.⁴⁷⁷ The reinforcement of the role of the executive power was not considered problematic by the leadership of the Greek Liberals, as in their paternalistic perspective the Greek society required a guardian.⁴⁷⁸ That meant that the party would have to abandon the 'night-watchman' role and assume a more active and *visible* role with its economic and social policies. Through the union of the political and economic spheres the Liberal state acquired an interventionist character. First the economy was developed to protect and reinforce the means of production and, second, and more importantly, it sought to 'protect' and 'ensure' social order. The growing development of statism and the empowerment of the state apparatus after 1864 came to be identified with a liberal anti-parliamentarism. The goal was to overthrow the parliamentary oligarchy. This was achieved when universal suffrage was extended in 1864.

⁴⁷⁵ Gunnar Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα, 1821–1936* [Political Parties in Greece, 1821–1936] (Athens, 2006), 807.

⁴⁷⁶ Panagiotis Kondylis, *Η παρακμή του αστικού πολιτισμού: από την μοντέρνα στην μεταμοντέρνα εποχή αι απο τον φιλελευθερισμό στην μαζική δημοκρατία* [The downfall of bourgeois culture, from the modern to the post-modern era and from Liberalism to mass democracy] (Athens, 1991), 224.

⁴⁷⁷ Mouzelis, 'Continuities and Discontinuities in Greek Politics', 275.

⁴⁷⁸ Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 808.

The confluence of the two Balkan Wars and the country standing on the threshold of another war reinforced the bellicose liberal politics regarding the expansion of the Greek territory. In this space a fervent support existed for a national idea of a Greater Greece. With the establishment of power mechanisms such as the army, and with the expenses on munitions, Greek society not only suffered a fatal economic burden but also witnessed the realisation of a truly centralised state and an empowered executive.⁴⁷⁹ For Greek Liberals, values such as individual freedom and justice, which constituted the core of the liberal doctrine, were less important than the national interests of the country and their political programme of territorial expansionism.⁴⁸⁰ For them, the nation-state constituted the focal point of power for both the proliferation of the irredentist claims over the Ottoman Empire and the consolidation of order and public security within the country when undermined.⁴⁸¹

Understanding the objectives and values of Greek liberalism in 1910 can be quite complex, especially if we take into account Venizelism. This term refers to the political vision of the Greek liberal movement during Venizelos' premiership, which was characterised by the 'will to view and implement the constitutional law under the prism of political expedience and to control the democratic institutions in such a way that would best advance its political objectives'.⁴⁸² However, a closer analysis of the discourse of its advocates *vis-à-vis* the politics implemented during the period

⁴⁷⁹ The immediate consequences of this economic debasement were the foreign loans for armament, which indebted the country to the European powers (mostly Britain) and thus undermined Greek national sovereignty. For example, the loans to Greece during the war period amounted to £3.8 million from which £1.5 million came from Britain and the rest from France and the US. G30/3/173 (BEA). Also see Nikolaos S. Pantelakis, 'Τα πολεμικά δάνεια 1918–1919, παράγοντας εξωτερικής οικονομικής και πολιτικής εξάρτησης' [The War Loans 1918–1919, a factor of foreign financial and political dependence] in Christos Chatziiosif and George Mavrogordato, *Βενιζελισμός και Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός* [Venizelism and Bourgeois Modernization] (Herakleio, 1988), 405–15.

⁴⁸⁰ However, the nationalist ideology was not a privilege of the Greek liberals, as there was a conservative variant of the nationalist doctrine espoused by the monarchy. Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 814.

⁴⁸¹ Nikos Potamianos, 'Κοινοβουλευτισμός, ούτος ο εχθρός' [Parliamentarism, the enemy], *Outopia*, 56 (2003), 79.

⁴⁸² Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 789.

highlights the ruptures and divergences between the theoretical doctrine and the actual practice of *liberal* politics by the Greek Liberal Party.⁴⁸³

In the early twentieth century the Liberal Party began a divergence from classic liberalism to statism, a condition that was not new in Greek politics, as it had been well 'entrenched in Greece' from the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁴ The political shift aimed at 'strengthening the party's central organization' and more traditional clientelism was substituted by 'more centralised forms of party and state-oriented patronage'.⁴⁸⁵ Statist conceptions and practices are connected with the understanding that the state alone guarantees social harmony and balance, which will finally lead to the preservation of social order. Hence, it was imperative that the institutional and governmental elite groups remained strong.⁴⁸⁶ Venizelos was conscious of the well-established character of statism in Greek politics and the measures taken by the Liberal Party were aimed at redirecting 'the well-founded statism of Greek society towards socially responsible goals'.⁴⁸⁷

The consolidation of statism and the demise of oligarchic parliamentarism in Greece, this thesis argues, was notably assisted by the propaganda of the London Greek diaspora and its organ the Anglo-Hellenic League. This entrepreneurial fraction of the bourgeoisie, of which the diasporic Greeks formed a part, depended on the political decisions of the state and, for this reason, 'attempted to influence them with any means available'.⁴⁸⁸ The discourse of this fundamentally bourgeois group, as that of the Liberal Party after 1915, diverged from the classical liberal principles of laissez-faire and the invisible hand of the market working on a self-regulatory basis. Rather, it supported the state's intervention in regulating the economic and political spheres.

⁴⁸³ For example, see the case studies examined in the edited volume by Christos Chatziosif and George Mavrogordato, *Βενιζελισμός και Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός* [Venizelism and Bourgeois Modernization] (Herakleio, 1988).

⁴⁸⁴ Dimou, *Entangled Paths towards Modernity*, 367.

⁴⁸⁵ Mouzelis, 'Continuities and Discontinuities in Greek Politics', 274.

⁴⁸⁶ Thanasis Bochos, 'Εσωτερική Πολιτική' [Domestic Policy], in Christos Chatziosif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ου Αιώνα 1900–1922* [History of Greece in the 20th c. 1900–1922] A2 (Athens, 2002), 96.

⁴⁸⁷ Andreopoulos, 'Liberalism and the Formation of the Nation-State', 209.

⁴⁸⁸ Kondylis, *Η παρακμή του αστικού πολιτισμού*, 231.

The economic and political endeavours of this diaspora would be realised only if the Greek state protected their economic interests (by setting tariffs, law-protecting commercial agreements) and interfered in society to reshape the values of the social contract. State interventionism in regulating the economy and shaping social relations unavoidably signifies the transition from the 'invisible hand' to the omnipresent hand of the government.⁴⁸⁹

The Discourse over Monarchy: Greek Liberals and the Crown

The direct confrontation with the difficult choice between monarchy and republic in both political and ideological terms began to dominate the discourse of the League during the period of the National Schism (1915–1917). This period shook the Greek political scene to its core, not only because it was manifested through violent civil conflicts but also because it gave rise to a constitutional discourse over the political regime.

However, the origin of this polarisation in Greek political life was the Coup d'état of Goudi in 1909, which underlined the clash of conceptions between the ruling and the entrepreneurial fractions of the bourgeoisie. Taking advantage of the favourable conditions created by the military intervention, the entrepreneurial fraction assumed the role of the political rival of a traditionalist military–bureaucratic stratum of the bourgeoisie associated with monarchical power on both the political and the ideological level. With the elections of August 1910 the established Liberal Party took over the reins of the country under the premiership of its leader Eleftherios Venizelos.

The way in which the Liberals assumed power needs to be further explained. When in 1910 the public demanded a constituent assembly Venizelos responded in the parliament and addressed the people in his speech from the balcony of the Grande Bretagne Hotel. He stated that he would rather proceed with a Revisionist Parliament, completely disregarding not only the political agitation of the public and their popular demands, but also the constitutionally elected representatives. He dissolved the First Revisionist Assembly of 1910, in which the Old Parties

⁴⁸⁹ For more on this transition *Ibid.*, 231 onwards.

(παλαιοκομματισμός) had won the majority.⁴⁹⁰ However, the League, in a 1915 pamphlet (right at the beginning of the Schism, that is), interpreted Venizelos' anti-popular decision as proof of wise leadership and not demagoguery. An excerpt read: 'And at last the crowd, in sheer astonishment at this rebuke from a popular orator, were silenced. They have found a leader, not a demagogue.'⁴⁹¹

These are not exactly constitutional perceptions. In the context of his speech on 5 September 1910 to the Athenian public, Venizelos' political sentiments conveyed a rather conservative inclination towards constitutional monarchy, and less towards its abolition and the establishment of a republic. More specifically, the 'bearer of new political ideas' ironically spoke, rather, for a revisionist assembly. This assembly would not undertake reforms of the fundamental clauses of the constitution, such as the regime, the monarchy, the succession, popular sovereignty or the separation of powers.⁴⁹²

At heart, Venizelos was certainly not anti-monarchical, although he was labelled an anti-monarchist during the Revolt of Therissos, when he fought against the autocracy of Crete's commissioner Prince George and promoted the idea of Crete's autonomy. In his programmatic statements before the Greek public Venizelos spoke of the Aristotelian prerequisites for the "correct order" of things – such an order, exists only when the authority of the state – regardless of whether it is exercised by one, some or many – serves the common good'.⁴⁹³ This not only would undermine the core of any democratic regime but also represents an

⁴⁹⁰ Bochotis, 'Εσωτερική Πολιτική', 83.

⁴⁹¹ 'M. Venizelos', *Daily News*, included in AH League, pamphlet no. 19, *Eleftherios Venizelos and the English Public Opinion*, 1915.

⁴⁹² Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 781. Also see his speech in 'Speech of Venizelos from the Great Britain hotel Balcony to the Greek people', 5 September 1910, *Patris*, 6 September 1910.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, 782. The original text of Aristotle which Venizelos paraphrased reads: 'ἐπεὶ δὲ πολιτεία μὲν καὶ πολίτευμα σημαίνει αὐτόν, πολίτευμα δ' ἐστὶ τὸ κύριον τῶν πόλεων, ἀνάγκη δ' εἶναι κύριον ἢ ἓνα ἢ ὀλίγους ἢ τοὺς πολλούς, ὅταν μὲν ὁ εἷς ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν συμφέρον ἄρχωσι, ταύτας μὲν ὀρθὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὰς πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον ἢ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων ἢ τοῦ πλήθους παρεκβάσεις.' [But in as much as 'constitution' means the same as 'government', and the government is the supreme power in the state, and this must be either a single ruler or a few or the mass of the citizens, in cases when the one or the few or the many govern with an eye to the common interest, these constitutions must necessarily be right ones, while those administered with an eye to the private interest of either the one or the few or the multitude are deviations], original text in Aristotle, *Politics*, Book III, 1279a (25–31), translation by Perseus Digital Library Project (<http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0086.tlg035.perseus-eng1:3.1279a>, accessed 3 March 2013).

interesting point of departure for the examination of the Venizelian political ideology hereinafter. In another instance, during the well-advanced National Schism, Venizelos argued that ‘the authority belongs to the People and to the people only’.⁴⁹⁴ Opportunistic and contradicting statements such as these manifest clearly the fragmentation and fluidity of Venizelos’ political ideology. At the same time they expose both the inconsistency between his party’s ideology and its actions and the existing internal party division, illustrated in 1917 by George Kafantaris, a prominent member of his party, who announced in the parliament his preference for a Republic, with which Venizelos disagreed.⁴⁹⁵

At least for the period examined here, Venizelos’ support of constitutional monarchy rather than a republic was openly stated. His famous last secretary Stephanos Stephanou made a personal remark on Venizelos’ view regarding the monarchical regime. He stated that the ‘matter of the supreme ruler’s role within a democratic context does not constitute for him a substantial issue for which he should have had a dogmatic, irreversible position’.⁴⁹⁶ On another, equally vocal, occasion he eloquently expressed his duty to employ ‘his whole mind, his whole heart, and his whole life in order to praise and provide greater power to the Royalty’. This is despite the fact that the royal family, he admits, ‘will do nothing else but downgrade us, if they do not manage to destroy us’. And yet, he concludes, ‘we have to do our duty, because this is our duty’.⁴⁹⁷

The persistent support of monarchy is hard to understand in the context of the National Schism of 1915. However, if it is examined within the context of the general expansionist policies of the Liberal Party, its logic becomes evident. Political aspirations for territorial expansion justified Venizelos’ rational attitude, which was aimed at ensuring as quickly as possible the internal stability that had been shaken

⁴⁹⁴ Stephanos I. Stephanou (ed.), *Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου Πολιτικά Υποθήκαι* [Political Documents of Eleftherios Venizelos] (Athens, 1965), 137.

⁴⁹⁵ Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 905–6. Also, Leontaritis, *Greece and the First World War*, 102, quotes Kafantaris’ statement that the ‘monarchy should be accepted as a temporary solution, while we should work to establish a dominant democratic regime’ in a parliamentary meeting in 1917.

⁴⁹⁶ *Το θέμα της μόρφης του ανώτατου αρχόντος εντος του πλαισίου του δημοκρατικού πολιτεύματος δεν είναι δια τον Βενιζέλον ζήτημα ουσιώδες, δια το οποιο θα όφειλε να λάβει δογματικήν, ακλόνητον θέσιν*, Stephanou, *Ελευθερίου Βενιζέλου Πολιτικά Υποθήκαι*, 145.

⁴⁹⁷ From Take Ionesco’s book *Souvenirs* (Paris, 1919), quoted in Stephanou, *Πολιτικά Υποθήκαι*, 146.

after 1909. By refraining to call upon a constituent assembly he refused to address the question of the regime; instead, he intended to broadcast the message of a united and strong Greece, which would be much more useful in drawing diplomatic assistance from abroad than that of a Greece that had still not solved its internal political questions.⁴⁹⁸

In that same speech of 5 September 1910 he also outlined the principles of the desired regime, stating that the 'Constitutional Monarchy, which constitutes essentially our regime, is the type of regime which adapts perfectly to the political education of the Greek people and serves in the best way the national interests.'⁴⁹⁹ Even amid his disagreement with the king and the establishment of a provisional government in Salonica, the views of his closest colleagues chimed closely with his own. According to a telegram from Lord Granville to Balfour in November 1917 both Emmanuel Repulis, the Minister of Interior, and Andreas Michalakopoulos, the Minister of War, 'are sufficiently intelligent to realise that Greece is not ready for a republic and that for the present at least a constitutional monarchy is the best form of Government for her'.⁵⁰⁰ By preserving the monarchy Venizelos was taking a conscious decision to consolidate the role of the Crown through the support of the executive power in favour of the legislative, and, consequently, placing the support of the state and its decisions over any other social formations.⁵⁰¹ In his own words, he had never dreamt of 'changing either the form of the Government or the reigning house'.⁵⁰²

Nonetheless, five years later the Liberal Party was speaking about 'royal absolutism'⁵⁰³ while the League, in a more radical expression, was translating the Schism in terms of political legitimacy, reaching as far as to accuse the king of

⁴⁹⁸ Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 782.

⁴⁹⁹ [Βασιλευόμενη Δημοκρατία, οποίο είναι κατ'ουσίαν το πολίτευμα ημών, είναι ο τύπος του πολιτεύματος, όστις προσαρμόζεται άριστα προς την πολιτική μόρφωσιν του ελληνικού Λαού και εξυπηρετεί προσφορότερον τα εθνικά συμφέροντα.] Stephanou, *Πολιτικά Υποθήκαι*, 144.

⁵⁰⁰ NA, FO 286/638 no. 44/1, Granville to Balfour, 10 November 1917.

⁵⁰¹ Chatziiosif, 'Introduction', 36.

⁵⁰² 'Greece and the Allies, An interview with Mr. Venizelos', *New Europe*, II (24), 1917.

⁵⁰³ Giannis Giannouloupoulos, 'Εξωτερική Πολιτική' [Foreign Policy], in Christos Chatziiosif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ου Αιώνα 1900–1922* [History of Greece in the 20th c. 1900–1922] A2 (Athens, 2002), 127.

constitutional deviation.⁵⁰⁴ However, Venizelos himself, even during at the height of the Schism, when he was forced to resign for the second time, still reassured the king that the Liberal Party was not 'hostile to the Crown', 'nor to the Dynasty', nor to 'his Royal Person'.⁵⁰⁵

The Crystallisation of the National Schism 1915–1917

The Liberals ruled until 1915, both advancing internal reforms and supporting further the political programme of the *Megali Idea*. Their aspirations were emboldened after the victories of the Balkan Wars. In 1915, when Greece was summoned to decide on which camp she would place herself in the First World War, Greeks were divided between conflicting ideologies, or, perhaps more accurately, between two different hegemonic projects: one represented by the crown and the other by the ruling Liberal party.

The First World War fuelled internal disagreement regarding the nature of government and the character of the regime. This would polarise the country into two distinct ideological battlefields. Briefly, the disagreement was between the king and the Prime Minister regarding Greece's alliance with the Entente Powers. This quickly acquired the character of a struggle for mastery between the two antagonistic blocks, the Venizelists and the Royalists.

In 1915, when Anglo-French troops landed in Gallipoli in what was essentially a war against Turkey, Venizelos proposed sending troops because it would be in Greece's best interests. The king's refusal forced Venizelos to give up the premiership on 5 March 1915. Venizelos won again in the elections which followed, but the king declared that the 'votes should be weighed and not counted'. This raised a crucial constitutional matter regarding whether the king or the elected Prime Minister of the country should decide matters of national defence.⁵⁰⁶ When Bulgaria declared war against Serbia, Venizelos again asked for the mobilisation of

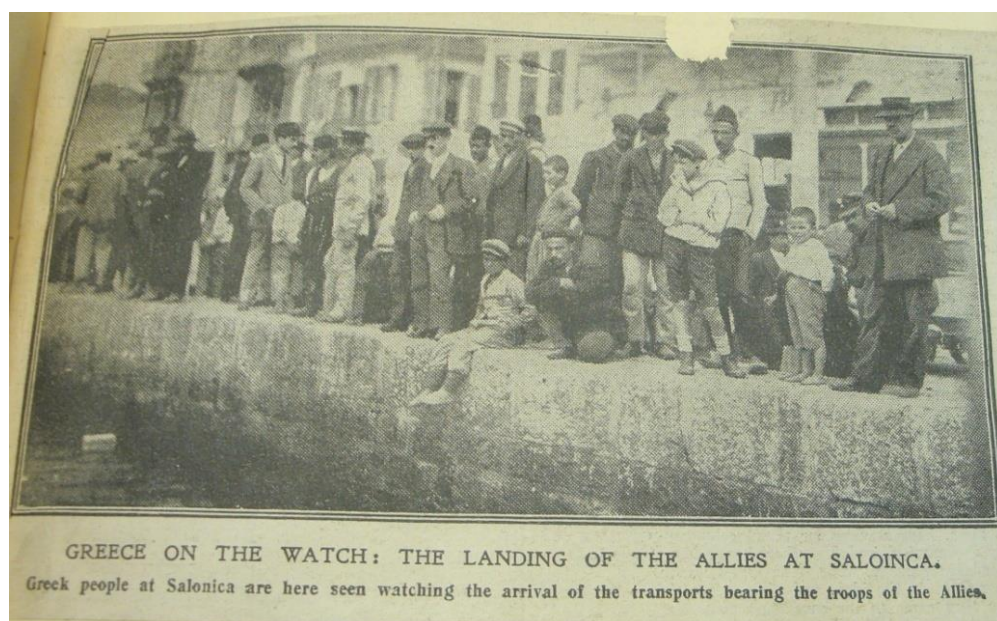
⁵⁰⁴ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *End of the Greek monarchy*, 1917: 'constitutional and an unconstitutional party'.

⁵⁰⁵ Speech of the Prime Minister Venizelos to the Liberal Party, 14 August 1916 in Stephanos I. Stephanou (ed.), *Τα κείμενα του Ελευθέριου Βενιζέλου* [Eleftherios Venizelos' texts], vol. II (Athens, 1981–1984), 229.

⁵⁰⁶ Giannouloupoulos, 'Εξωτερική Πολιτική', 124.

the Greek army to assist Serbian troops, as the treaty signed in 1913 promised mutual cooperation. Again, the king declined this proposal and Venizelos was forced to resign for the second time in the same year, thus highlighting the unconstitutional nature of his resignation.

These developments led to the radicalisation of public opinion, which was now not only ideologically but also geographically divided. In the meantime, troops of the Entente Powers landed in Salonica. These acts essentially violated Greek neutrality. The Greeks of the city were angered by the actions of the Entente Powers because they not only undermined Greek national sovereignty but also created financial difficulties that put the Greek population at risk.⁵⁰⁷ However, despite the complete blockade by the Allies of Greek ports, the British government categorically stated that there was not a state of war between Greece and the Allies.⁵⁰⁸ In the words of the British Minister in Athens, Sir Francis Elliot, it was necessary that Britain was ready to show the 'naval force when the right time comes' and not 'hesitate to take further steps', especially after all the 'infractions of the Rights of Greece as an independent and neutral State' that had been committed.⁵⁰⁹



⁵⁰⁷ Chatziiosif, 'Introduction', 3.

⁵⁰⁸ Hansard, HC Deb 14 December 1916 vol 88 c812.

⁵⁰⁹ Thanos Veremis, *The Military in Greek Politics, From Independence to Democracy* (London, 1997), 60.

Figure 9. The Landing of the Allies at Salonica. Source: *Daily Graphic*, 22 October 1916.

This development obviously impeded the efforts of Venizelist propaganda to turn public opinion in favour of the Entente and intervention in the war. In a memorandum sent to the cabinet by the intelligence officer in Salonica and pro-Albanian, Aubrey Herbert writes that:

Responsibility for all this is put upon the French and particularly on General Sairail. The French have certainly followed a policy that has gained the dislike of everyone concerned. The Greeks believe that the French [...] are anxious to smash the Greek Monarchy and establish a French Protectorate over Greece and Macedonia, with future commercialism as their real objective.⁵¹⁰

In August 1916 Venizelist officers, civilians and members of the Liberal Club organised in Salonica and established the revolutionary movement 'National Defence' [Εθνική Άμυνα]. Before assuming the leadership of the movement and forming the provisional government there, Venizelos made a final attempt to force the king to change his opinion in a mass meeting of the Liberal Party in Athens on 14/27 August 1916. On this date Venizelos delivered a speech in which he highlighted German infiltration into the Greek political scene, described the king as a political marionette and warned him of being a 'victim' of his military advisers, who had the 'desire to establish an absolutism which would make them substantially masters of the situation'.⁵¹¹ Throughout his speech, Venizelos continued to point out the anti-constitutional character of the present situation, expressing the idea that the king believed so deeply in a German victory that he came to 'desire it, hoping that it would enable [him] to concentrate in [his] hands all the authority of the Government, and substantially to set aside our free Constitution'.⁵¹²

The formation of a provisional government in Salonica and the division between the 'State of Athens' and the 'State of Salonica' proved incontrovertibly that the Schism was irreconcilable. The capitulation of the Rupel Fort in Eastern

⁵¹⁰ NA, CAB 21/47, 'Greece and the Balkans', note by Hon Aubrey Herbert MP, 1917.

⁵¹¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 28, *Speech of M.E. Venizelos to the People*, 1916.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

Macedonia to the Bulgarians, along with the ongoing ideological war, which was radicalising day by day, pushed further the demand for Greek participation in the war. The French seized the opportunity and by 19 November 1916 called all the foreign representatives in Athens to vacate the city. After the failed demand from the king for demobilisation the French admiral Dartige du Fournet landed some detachments in Piraeus, attempting to interrupt the neutral condition by establishing a blockade while troops began marching to Athens.

During the so-called 'Noemvriana', the French army encountered opposition from the royalist armed group the Reservists [Epistratoi]. This was a paramilitary organisation of former officers characterised by Mavrogordato as a form of 'primary but incomplete fascism'.⁵¹³ The Reservists as well as armed civilians undertook a pogrom against the Venizelists of the capital in a massive explosion of mob violence, clashing with foreign intruders in order to protect the king.⁵¹⁴ The persecutions of Liberals culminated in the *Anathema* (excommunication) of Venizelos by the Church of Greece through the metropolitan of Athens, Theoklitos Minopoulos. This was an extraordinary ceremony, in which the act of excommunication was carried out by two symbolic episodes: the first was the cutting off of a bull's head, which symbolised Venizelos; the second involved a royalist crowd assembling under the gaze of the Reservists, which proceeded to hurl stones at Venizelos in effigy while at the same time chanted curses against his character. The ceremony of *Anathema* in all its medieval 'glory' was performed in more than 100 cities and villages across Greece and at once became a favourite story for the British press. Mavrogordato, the League's honorary secretary, had to write to John Gennadius informing him that the Foreign Office was asking for a description of this ceremony for the American press.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹³ Mavrogordato, *Εθνικός Διχασμός και μαζική οργάνωση*, 135.

⁵¹⁴ Veremis, *The Military in Greek Politics*, 60.

⁵¹⁵ GP, Mavrogordato to Gennadius, 28 Dec. 1916, 4/7.

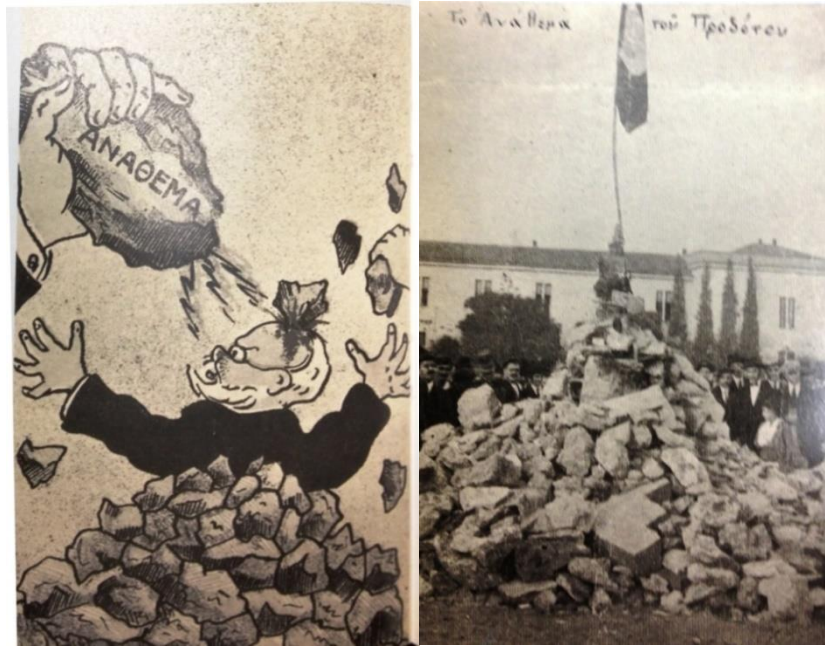


Figure 10a, b. 'Anathema of the Traitor', Source: *Patris*, 21 May 1915.

Finally, in June 1917, the Entente Powers forced the king to abdicate his throne and leave the country. The Venizelist government coming to power did not initiate a discussion regarding the regime, but removed all royalists from state positions, the university, the church and the army, regardless of whether they had taken part in the 'Noemvriana' or committed high treason.⁵¹⁶

Diasporic Representations of the Schism: The Reception and Anti-monarchical Propaganda of the League

Within these oppositions between two political camps, which culminated in 1915, the Anglo-Hellenic League not only found fertile ground to express its discourse in favour of the Prime Minister but also shifted its scope to advance purely Venizelist propaganda. Statements from members of the League demonised the king as illegitimate and accused him of both treason and terrorism.⁵¹⁷ This 'demonisation' should not be perceived as an inconsistency in the League's ideological beliefs, albeit their dislike of monarchy had not been always the case. As we have seen, their establishment was greeted favourably by the royal family in Athens during Reeves

⁵¹⁶ Bochos, 'Εσωτερική Πολιτική', 96.

⁵¹⁷ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *End of the Greek Monarchy*, 1917; AH League, pamphlet no. 25, *Aspects of Greek Neutrality*, 1916.

and Ionidis' visit to the country. What is more, early writings of the League were equally entertained by the idea of a king whose name echoed the glory of Byzantium, as were those romantic philhellenes of the mid-nineteenth century.⁵¹⁸ Further collaboration with royalty extended up until the beginning of 1915, the year of rupture. The executive of the League expressed its gratitude to Prince Nicholas for the 'constant interest taken in the work of the League' and 'of the good fortune of the League in possessing so distinguished a patron'.⁵¹⁹ In addition, during the Children's Welfare Exhibition at Olympia in April 1915 the Ladies Committee of the League received art work for sale from the *Πρόοδος* Society [Progress], which was under the authority of Princess Andrew, and from the Royal Hellenic Schools, by command of Princess Nicholas.⁵²⁰

The above events suggest that anti-monarchical ideas had not been an articulating conviction of the League's political ideology. Rather, we can infer that the Anglo-Hellenic League gradually developed an anti-monarchical sentiment as a result of converging political circumstances that focused on one particular sovereign, and not on the institution of the monarchy itself. This was most vehemently expressed during the period of the National Schism, where their opposition to the king was a key element in Venizelos' rise to power in Greece.

In terms of political affinities, the League, according to its manifesto in 1913, hoped to secure the 'sympathy and approval of the Government of Greece', but it wished to remain entirely 'independent of outside control and financial assistance'.⁵²¹ It also maintained that it would remain 'entire non-partisan and altogether detached from any political clique or party in Greece or Great Britain'.⁵²² However, with the culmination of the Schism between Prime Minister Venizelos and the king, the League strengthened its attachment to the Venizelist political and even identified itself with the Greek Liberal Party, which it recognised as the 'givers of Freedom and Unity'.⁵²³

⁵¹⁸ 'King Constantine, whose name, with its echo of Byzantium, is as romantically attractive as his person and his temperament is only forty-five', AH League, pamphlet no. 14, 1914.

⁵¹⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1925.

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵²¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

⁵²² *Ibid.*

⁵²³ AH League, pamphlet no. 25, 1916.

With the resignation of Venizelos on 4 October 1915, the League's publications began to focus on the matter of the legitimacy of the regime. In light of the 'forced' resignation, members of the League extended their discourse on the rights of the king within a constitutional government. There are multiple levels of representation of this 'illegitimacy'. For example, there are articles that express deep distrust of the king, while others reflect devotion to Venizelos. By examining their own publications, the reproductions of newspaper articles they selected to include in their own prints and their archival material of newspaper cuttings from 1915–1917, we will attempt to reconstruct their view of the Schism. In order to do this, an emphasis will be placed on the question of the regime, so as to examine the League's level of radicalisation.

The layers of analysis of the phenomenon of the National Schism vary, but they are all centred on the reality of the existence of two different camps, separate both ideologically and, after the second resignation of Venizelos, also in a pragmatic sense; the Schism can also be characterised along geographical dividing lines – the 'state of Athens', governed by the king and the old parties, and the 'state of Salonica', governed by Venizelos and supported by the Entente. These divisions permeate into the symbolic sphere by infiltrating the language employed by Venizelist and anti-Venizelist newspapers. The language from these media evokes a polarisation within the state of Greece based on moral and racial terms. For example, the Venizelist strand of propaganda that targeted the king and his followers degraded the German as 'inhumane'. Their culture was deemed as a 'pseudo-civilisation', in direct contrast to the Anglo-French. Most of these arguments were grounded in superior racial characteristics. In Venizelos' opinion, a victory for the Central Powers would be a horrific regression of civilisation.⁵²⁴ The Venizelist vocabulary employed racial and biological characteristics to denote German inferiority that simultaneously mirror the inferiority of its own enemy, the anti-Venizelists. In this way, the internal enemy is identified with the external enemy, something which leads to further polarisation and extreme fanaticism.

⁵²⁴ Venizelos to George Streit, 8 August 1914, quoted in Hering, *Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα*, 858.

VENIZELIST WARNINGS OF TREACHERY.

The Anglo-Hellenic League has received official information regarding events in Greece from the Greek Provisional Government, and makes the following announcement:—

The Greek Press at Salonika expresses a certain feeling of disappointment prevalent in Venizellist circles owing to the apparent credulity with which the Allies are accepting the assurances of King Constantine, who, in spite of the blockade, of course remains in Wireless communication with Berlin, and is seeking to gain time in expectation of the German invasion of Greece solemnly promised by the Kaiser.

The persecution and arrest of Venizelists by the agents of King Constantine are being continued with the greatest activity. All civil servants in Government departments suspected of Liberal opinions have been arrested, and warrants have now been issued for the arrest of a number of professors at the University, including Professor Nonardos, formerly a lecturer on modern and medieval Greek at Oxford, and Professor N. C. Politis, who has a European reputation as an authority on Byzantine and Modern Greek literature, and is founder and editor of *Laographia*, the journal of the Greek Folk-lore Society.

All Cretans residing at Athens are being arrested offhand, and it is feared that many have been shot.—*Reuter.*

Figure 11. 'Venizelist Warnings of Treachery'. Source: *The Times*, 21 December 1916.

The anti-Venizelist camp employed exactly the same tactic in constructing the Venizelists as traitors to the country. In this camp, supporters of Venizelos were aligned with the 'foreign invader', a comparison referring to the Entente's intervention in Greece and blockage of the Greek port of Piraeus in 1916. In this respect, the Venizelists were characterised as an 'instrument of the Anglo-French who have occupied many areas of the country – like Corfu in 1916',⁵²⁵ which symbolised the abolition of sovereign authority. Based on this, their national sentiments were questioned and they were accused of acting in a way that was inconsistent with traditional Greek behaviour.⁵²⁶ Thus, the Greek Liberals were represented as lesser Greeks, even as anti-Greeks, because of their close collaboration with the 'perceived' enemy. It is thus expected that in texts produced by Liberal propaganda the element of nationality (that is, their professed Greekness) would be strongly and ardently stressed.

It is crucial to demonstrate more explicitly some other characteristics of those divisions that pervaded not only the perception, construction and representation of the 'Other' – that is, the 'enemy', both internal and external – but

⁵²⁵ Bochothis, 'Εσωτερική Πολιτική', 94.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

also the pre-existing ideologies . For an enemy to be identified or created either in the Venizelist or the anti-Venizelist camp, the enemy must have existed (been constructed) historically in the imaginary perceptions of the nation. The origins of this enemy must have been reproduced in the national narrative, and must have 'heroically' received the hatred of the nation, which placed it opposite to its own self, thus giving it its quality as the 'Other'. The fact that there is more than one 'Other' helps us to understand how many instances of self-identification must have occurred for the Greek nation, and how many different constructions of 'Others' as enemies.⁵²⁷ Each time an 'enemy' was constructed, different values of the nation's self were highlighted according to the historical conjunctures. On these occasions the nation was heroic, and the enemy was not; the nation was civilised, and the enemy was barbarian. The element of 'contradiction' was, intrinsically, 'an internal condition of every identity'.⁵²⁸

The success of this process lies in the fact that the enemy was constructed through shared national experiences that were neither Venizelist nor anti-Venizelist. In this respect the enemy is a national (or common) objective value, and therefore it is universally accepted as such. During the National Schism, with propaganda that channelled opposing ideologies, in each case the status of 'enemy' was ascribed to an internal actor (here, the king and royalists or Venizelos and Venizelists) in order to intensify and invigorate the animosity felt towards it. The immediate result of the battle of ideas was in the short term to denigrate the opposing camp. The long-term effects threatened to rupture and divide the entire nation itself.

Each of the opposing camps developed its own hegemonic project that concerned the nation as a whole, and not one that was politically fragmented. However, because of the divergent ideological traditions of the two camps, the total conceptions of monarchic hegemony appeared problematic. The 'monarchic' or anti-Venizelist camp was protected by the institutional power of the crown and the support of the majority of the military. Its lack of social, economic and consequently

⁵²⁷ The Bulgarians, the Ottomans and the Albanians have all at some point in Greek history taken their place as the national 'Other', the external enemy of the nation, and through each of these compositions of Otherness, new narratives of self-identification of the Greek nation have arisen.

⁵²⁸ Slavoj Žižek, *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London, 1989), 6.

political programme, its inherent romantic tradition and its conservative outlook regarding the expansion of the Greek state in a time of strong nationalism might have led *inter alia* to its downfall in 1917, with the abdication of its leader, King Constantine. The Venizelist camp, on the other hand, was supported by both an electoral and a parliamentary majority. During the provisional government of Salonica Venizelists enjoyed the support, both political and military, of the Entente and appeared to be in a more favourable position according to the historical conjunctures. Nonetheless, the polarisation created a fragile balance which was constructed and preserved with political rather than military means.

During the National Schism and throughout the First World War the Greek political scene became keen on a very prominent means of popular manipulation: that of propaganda. The propaganda of both the Venizelist and the anti-Venizelist presses depicted explicitly the invention and consolidation of a domestic 'Other' – that is, a domestic enemy that became a danger to the survival of the nation.⁵²⁹

Evidence of this polarisation can be located in the writings of the League's acting chairman Ronald Burrows. In 1915 Burrows emphasised that the social and political crisis was focused on two personalities: the king, who is 'more than a royal personage', and Venizelos, a 'democrat and nationalist'. At this time, king and politician found themselves on opposing sides for the first time. Burrows perceived the pro-Entente position of Greece as a historical tradition. For example, he cites the case of the Boer War, when 'the one and only parliament which passed a vote of sympathy with England was that of Greece'.⁵³⁰ His reading of the situation reflects the interests he represents. His perceptions are based on the consequences of the present status quo in the economy and do not transcend into the spectrum of the political. Neutrality, according to Burrows, will offer nothing compared with 'what would follow the opening up of the rich coast provinces of Asia Minor'.⁵³¹ The alliance with the Entente Powers is a matter of chance and profit: the partnership carries with it a chance which tempts the Greek commercial classes not to miss the cooperation with the leading French and English marine that controls the trade of

⁵²⁹ Bochotis, 'Εσωτερική Πολιτική', 95.

⁵³⁰ AH League, pamphlet no. 19, 1915.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*

the Mediterranean. Both commercial and military considerations prevail in Burrows' text justifying the Venizelist stance of entering the war with the Allies. His writing escalates in its description of the long awaited and imminent triumph that he hopes will come out of this war, the proliferation of the Megali Idea, which celebrates the 'indomitable political spirit of the Greek race'.⁵³² Greece, in his words, will be given territory in Asia Minor, and this will be 'in harmony with the principle of the rights of nationalities'.⁵³³ At the same time, Greece will be made into a 'Homogenous State',⁵³⁴ with military strength at least equal to that of Bulgaria or Rumania'.⁵³⁵

In the next pamphlet, published in the spring of 1915, the association of the internal enemy with the external one continues to work with an economic and commercial logic rather than on a political level. This does not mean that the League did not associate the economic alliance with the political one, but this was done only on a level of external policy.⁵³⁶ The Greeks would have found themselves in the winning camp at the end of the war, and this is what was important. Questions about the nature of the political regime or even the authority of the state depended on an alliance – or not – with England during the war.

In *Trade Between England and Greece* the League constructed a pro-Entente (specifically pro-British) argument that favoured an enduring alliance between Greece and the Entente. The objective of the pamphlet was to offer suggestions for 'possible improvements in the methods employed by British traders' to capsize the German dominance in the Greek trading market'.⁵³⁷ In collaboration with the Athenian branch of the League, the League interviewed Greeks in England who strongly seconded the statements expressed and agreed that, even in trade, 'the predominance of a rival may later on have far-reaching effects that it will then be

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ The Liberals believed that the Greek nation-state could not survive unless with a homogenised population; in Hering, Τα πολιτικά κόμματα στην Ελλάδα, 813.

⁵³⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 19, 1915.

⁵³⁶ For example, Mr Messinesi's report stressed both the political and psychological impact of the domination of German trade. 'The inundation and predominance of German goods over British in Greece is a fact which from a political and sentimental point of view is much to be regretted, as it silently leads to alienation of faith and attachment in British influence', AH League, pamphlet no. 20, *Trade Between England and Greece*, 1915.

⁵³⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 20, 1915. Memorandum compiled by Al. R. Rangabé, acting chairman of the Athens branch.

very difficult to recover the lost ground.'⁵³⁸ In its conclusion, the pamphlet suggested ways in which the 'Briton' can beat the 'Teuton' by 'studying the taste of his customer, offering him what he wants' and 'make his weights and his measures, his prices and his conditions easily understandable to his customer'.⁵³⁹

From the spring of 1915 and throughout the year the matter of neutrality came with another significant consequence that would escalate the war crisis into a political and constitutional one. Because of the different perspectives regarding the outcome of the war and the allied camps, the disagreement that took place in parliament led to the Prime Minister's resignations twice, in March 1915 and October 1915 respectively.⁵⁴⁰ The issue here concerns the anti-parliamentarian tendencies of both the Venizelists and the monarchists, while, throughout the period of the National Schism, there were multiple constitutional deviations (shifts) which threatened the legitimacy of the state.⁵⁴¹ Therefore, the political discourse that was articulated after Venizelos' resignations began to acquire a more radical tone. Questions of the authority of the crown were articulated in the discourse of the League which at one point even supported the idea of ending the institution of monarchy.

The political 'anomalies' caused by Venizelos' resignations began to be interpreted in the realm of ideology, which forced Venizelos to clarify his party's ideological orientations regarding the question of the regime. In an interview with the *New York Times* in April 1916, Venizelos stressed the crown's legal commitments to the constitution. He criticised the absence of fundamental rights, such as freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, as guaranteed by the constitution. He castigated the present condition in Greece as a 'denial of every constitutional liberty'.⁵⁴² However, his discourse was moderate, in that he did not question

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*; the main products that Greece imported from England were coal, coke, cotton goods and cotton yarn, woollens and woollen yarn, ships and boats, iron, steel, machinery, arms and ammunition. In exchange, Greece exported raisins, iron ore, sponges and, most importantly, currants, which represented three-quarters of the total export value.

⁵⁴⁰ See more in Dimou, *Entangled Paths towards Modernity*, 360 and Kitromilides (ed.), *Eleftherios Venizelos: The Trials of Statesmanship*, 118

⁵⁴¹ For example, the blockade of Piraeus port (October and December 1916) or the landing of Anglo-French troops in Salonica (October 1915).

⁵⁴² 'Venizelos openly defies King Constantine; Wants to settle question of divine right', *New York Times*, 19 April 1916.

constitutional monarchy. On the contrary, his language endorsed the institution. Venizelos outlined the question Greeks were confronted with: 'Whether we are to have a democracy presided over by a King or whether this hour in our history we must accept the doctrine of the divine right of Kings.' In both cases, the monarchy forms a fundamental element of the political perception of the Greek liberal leader. This sentiment, which prevails throughout the interview, is at its strongest when he notes 'I am not talking in any sense of the possibility of a republic in Greece.'⁵⁴³ What he insisted upon was that the king should ensure that all constitutional rights were protected, and that his position should be 'strictly defined that it will forever be impossible to raise again the question of the divine right of Kings in Greece; or to arrogate itself rights which reside only in the whole of Hellenic people'.⁵⁴⁴

In the same vein, the first Hellenic Communities Conference met in Paris in January 1916 to support Venizelos' political victory in the two elections of 1915. The Anglo-Hellenic League alleged that the fact of diasporic greek communities' fervent support for Venizelos was 'deliberately ignored by the arbitrary action of the present ministers of the crown'.⁵⁴⁵ The Conference, which represented the roughly four million Greeks of the diaspora from France, England, Switzerland, Holland, Russia, Romania, Egypt, Turkey and North America, was a manifestation of loyalty to the king and an expression of gratefulness for his achievements 'in the Balkan Wars under the political guidance of Venizelos'.⁵⁴⁶ It decided to communicate its demands to the Greek king via a telegram in the form of a manifesto. It stated: 'That is of urgent national importance to vindicate the constitutional liberties of Greece' and 'that in her own interest Greece should abandon neutrality in order to take her place at the side of Entente.'⁵⁴⁷ It furthermore demanded by all legal means the integrity of the constitution and urged the king to collaborate with the Liberal Party.⁵⁴⁸ Nonetheless, the king and his authority were not castigated or deemed anti – or extra-constitutional. In contrast, his position and power were confirmed by the

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 25, 1915.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Conference. In President Triantaphyllidi's speech explaining the reasons for this meeting of the thirty-three Greek communities, he underlined a total 'recognition of the policy of the crown' because 'respecting the crown is included in the respect of the constitutional rights. The crown reigns as it shall reign above all political rivals.'⁵⁴⁹ Sadly, this telegram never reached its destination, according to the League because the king refused to receive it. This was a blatant disregard of the 9th article of the constitution. This section concerned the right of the people to communicate in written form with the authorities, which in turn were obliged to respond.⁵⁵⁰

Both the *New York Times* interview and the conference telegram outlined two truths. First, they revealed the Liberal leader's political ideology and, consequently, his party's official line. Despite the aspirations of the Hellenic communities abroad regarding the nature of the regime, though, neither touches upon the subject of the crown's constitutional interference in politics or its abuse of 'the constitutionally prescribed royal prerogatives'.⁵⁵¹ Rather, in the wording of Leontaritis, the crown's role in the 'formulation and execution of foreign policy had acquired a 'customary acceptance through traditional practice'.⁵⁵² Second, they manifest the further escalation of tension on the Salonica Front. This dictated a more dynamic response from the League in the spring of 1917. In May of that year an article from the League, entitled 'A New Greece – Will King Constantine Be Deposed?', made its appearance in London. Its contents conveyed growing demands for the king's deposition because of his unconstitutional character and called for the 'abolition of monarchy' as a necessary policy for Greece. The article was written by Nicholas Eumorfopoulos, the League's honorary secretary, who argued that Venizelos had not taken an anti-dynastic stance because the Entente Powers had requested that he did not,⁵⁵³ but that the current moment required drastic

⁵⁴⁹ ELIA, *Hesperia*, Paris, 3–16 January 1916.

⁵⁵⁰ Article 9, of 1911 Constitution – Hellenic Parliament online (www.hellenicparliament.gr, accessed 4 March 2014).

⁵⁵¹ George B. Leontaritis, *Greece and the Great Powers: 1914–1917* (Thessaloniki, 1974), 116.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 116–17.

⁵⁵³ In an interview he gave to Burrows for the journal *New Europe* he mentions that 'I did not give an anti-dynastic character to my movement, although I had declared that King Constantine had betrayed his country [...] The Entente had been good enough to promise me their indispensable aid, under the express stipulation that the movement should *not* be anti-dynastic.' 'Greece and the Allies, An interview with Mr. Venizelos', *New Europe*, II, no. 24 (1917).

measures. As he admits, advocating for the creation of a Greek republic does not actually find Greece prepared for the establishment of a republic and an abolition of monarchy, but it appeared to be the only solution to the current situation in Greece. In his article Eumorfopoulos includes a cable received by the League from the inhabitants of the island of Skopelos, which 'solemnly' asked that Constantine be 'deposed' in order to 'up-root the tree of unconstitutional monarchy'.⁵⁵⁴

Earlier that month the League had established the Venizelos Fund under the official patronage of John Gennadius, Ronald Burrows and the Committee of the Anglo-Hellenic League in order to 'help the cause of the Allies'. The inspiration behind it came from Miss Hellena Schilizzi, who would become Venizelos' second wife in 1921 and who collected the financial assistance raised by the Fund.⁵⁵⁵ The funds went towards the provision of medical supplies, hospital equipment and general comforts for the troops of the Greek provisional government at Salonica. Burrows wrote a long advertisement for this Fund and sent it to the editor of *The Times*, along with Venizelos' requests of the Fund, so that the 'personal appeal of M. Venizelos to the charity of his British Ally' was widely transmitted. The cable from Venizelos requested motor ambulances and 'specified surgical appliances and drugs', as well as 'socks and every form of woollen underclothing of the use of his troops fighting in the mountains'.⁵⁵⁶

Anti-Venizelist Voices in London

The main royalist argument against Venizelos in London was developed around the idea that he had become the 'mouthpiece and advocator of foreign interests',⁵⁵⁷ while Greece represented for the British a 'mercenary subordinate state'.⁵⁵⁸ It was not long before anti-Venizelist pamphlets would turn against the League as the

⁵⁵⁴ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 2/1, Eumorphouloulos 'A New Greece – Will King Constantine be Deposed?', 27 May 1917.

⁵⁵⁵ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 2/1, Venizelos Fund, 4 May 1917.

⁵⁵⁶ 'The Venizelos Fund', *The Times Weekly Edition*, 4 May 1917.

⁵⁵⁷ Georgios S. Ploumidis 'Αντιβενιζελικά Φυλλάδια και η πολεμική τους (1910-1935) [The polemics of the Anti-Venizelist pamphlets (1910-1915)] in Thanos Veremis and Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos (eds.), *Μελετήματα γύρω από τον Βενιζέλο και την εποχή του* [Studies on Venizelos and his time] (Athens, 1980), 629.

⁵⁵⁸ Miltiadis Panas, *Φιλελεύθεροι τύραννοι ήτοι περιληπτική ιστορική μελέτη περί Αγγλίας* [Liberal tyrants, and a summative historical study about England] (Athens, 1916) in *Ibid.*, 613.

medium of pro-Venizelist arguments, and against its chairman in particular. In November 1917 a pamphlet entitled 'Pseudophilellenes' appeared, which included a letter to Eleftherios Venizelos that essentially denounced the "Philhellenic" actions of the Anglo-"Hellenic" League and, particularly of Mr. Burrows'.⁵⁵⁹ The letter, which was written two days before the Greek Prime Minister's welcome in the Mansion House in London, was included in this pamphlet alongside Venizelos' response to the letter and information about other societies established in Great Britain. In this letter, Panos Katapodis, well known for his pro-monarchical views, presented two maps of Anglo-Serbian society, which were supposed to proclaim Serbian territorial aspirations in 'Greek Macedonia'.⁵⁶⁰ On that note, he embarked on a frenzied denunciation of Burrows and other members of the Anglo-Hellenic League because they were also members of the Serbian Society of Great Britain and, in his words, were 'shouting and working in defence of Macedonia which is Greek *par excellence*, and claiming that it is rightly Greek, and at the same time rightly Serbian!'⁵⁶¹

In particular, he blamed Burrows because of his dual role of acting chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-Hellenic League and member of the Executive Committee of the Serbian Society, which he considered to be two 'irreconcilably antagonistic political bodies'.⁵⁶² Katapodis' aim was clearly to attack Venizelos through an attack on his followers, and this is quite evident when he writes:

I am not aware whether the London official and unofficial representatives and followers of the Government under you, know these things long ago known to all, and what action they may have taken in regard to them ... I cannot (though holding political views different from your own ... I cannot as Greek do otherwise than bring these things to the notice of one in whom the 'protectors' of Greece appear to place so much confidence.⁵⁶³

⁵⁵⁹ Panos Katapodis, *Pseudophihellenes* (London 1917).

⁵⁶⁰ Katapodis was also known for his anti-Venizelos satirical lyrics, which included representations of Venizelos as a dictator, mercenary, and a demon. ABM, Digital archive of Eleftherios Venizelos, Athens, f.420-068.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ *Ibid.*

In the shadow of Venizelos' grand appearance in the Mansion House as an esteemed guest of the British political elite, the Prime Minister's representative Alexander Diomidis responded to Panos Katapodis that he had read the maps sent to him and had noted their content.

Characterised by Katapodis as an 'ignorant man, whom circumstances and the "well-wishers" of Hellas have vainly striven by force and fraud to claim as a champion of the freedom of his country',⁵⁶⁴ Venizelos faced further attack from his critic in another pamphlet which the latter published the following year entitled *The Star of Greece*. In this publication, Venizelos was labelled the 'servant of the Entente Governments'⁵⁶⁵ and Katapodis backs up his accusation with an extract from Venizelos' interview with Burrows, published in *New Europe* in March 1917. In this interview Venizelos mentions that:

I have tried my utmost, I repeat, not to cause any difficulties for my friends. I am told to evacuate Katerini – I evacuate Katerini. I am told to abandon Cerigo – I abandon Cerigo. A neutral zone is imposed upon me – I respect the neutral zone. I am asked to bring my movement to a standstill – I bring it to a standstill.⁵⁶⁶

In contrast, King Constantine is presented as the 'real champion of the Hellenic cause'! Katapodis argues that most of the kings involved in this war had ruined their nations in order to save their thrones and 'reap heroic praises from ignorant Entente patriots'. The one and only exception is King Constantine, who saved Greece, saved 'Hellenism – and gained another throne in the gratitude of the Panhellenes and the admiration of all real men!'⁵⁶⁷

British Responses to Venizelos' Legitimacy

The official recognition of Venizelos' government was the burning issue of 1916. The League published a lecture by Alexander Pallis that was delivered at a meeting held in Queen's Hall in London on 26 October 1916. Pallis, who was a classics scholar,

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁵ Panos Katapodis, 'Enemies and a champion of Hellenism', in *idem, The Star of Greece* (London, 1918), 12.

⁵⁶⁶ 'Interview with Mr. Venizelos', *New Europe*, II, no. 24 (1917), 329.

⁵⁶⁷ Katapodis, 'Enemies and a champion of Hellenism', 11.

Epirote in origin – born in Piraeus, Athens, who joined Ralli Bros in Liverpool in 1897, and also acquired British citizenship. In his address, he urged the Allied Powers to ‘recognize no other Government in Greece but that of M. Venizelos’.⁵⁶⁸ The period during which Pallis was writing was dominated by the issue of the legitimacy of Venizelos’ provisional government in Salonica and his right to act as the official representative of Greece, as opposed to King Constantine. Pallis vehemently stated at the beginning of his address that Venizelos was ‘the only and genuine representative of the Greek people’.⁵⁶⁹ To prove his statement, he presented as evidence the result of the two elections that took place in 1915 and in which Venizelos won a decisive majority.⁵⁷⁰ He considered Venizelos so important because he, as well as many of the other diasporic Greeks, believed that ‘he is devoted to our cause, which he believes to be the cause of justice and liberty’.⁵⁷¹

The situation with the two governments and the fragmented Greek political scene was creating problems for the Great Powers. Britain was of critical importance because it had the most influence over Greece’s decision to remain neutral. However, Greek propaganda in London was already well ahead and quite a number of MPs were in favour of Venizelos. Supporters of Venizelos were ready to recognise his government in Salonica as the only and official government of Greece. On the other hand, some MPs who advocated in favour of Bulgaria or Albania hesitated to recognise Venizelos. This reality was demonstrated by MP Arthur Lynch’s statement that ‘the House is face to face with one of the most amazing situations which has ever occurred during the progress of this War’.⁵⁷²

Discussions about the recognition of Venizelos’ government took place in the House of Commons during the last few months of 1916, with Mr R. McNeill and Lord Cecil stressing the ‘importance of promptly recognising and supporting M. Venizelos and his Government’.⁵⁷³ Around a month later, the House of Commons was informed about the real emergency presented by the need to protect Greece. Had there been

⁵⁶⁸ ‘Venizelos and Constantine’, an address by Alexander Pallis, in AH League, pamphlet no. 27, 1916.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁰ The results of the Greek elections in 1915 were also covered by *New Europe*, I, no. 8 (1916).

⁵⁷¹ ‘Venizelos and Constantine’, an address by Alexander Pallis, in AH League, pamphlet no. 27, 1916.

⁵⁷² AH League, pamphlet no. 29, *The Anglo-Hellenic Hansard*, 1917. Hansard, HC Deb 27 November 1916 vol 88 cc113.

⁵⁷³ Hansard, HC Deb 31 October 1916 vol 86 cc1547.

any danger of Germans joining hands with Greece 'they will have a clear run down to the Suez Canal', and if they could not be resisted they would have 'all Asia at their feet'.⁵⁷⁴

The League published in its pamphlet no. 29 the official parliamentary reports of some 'Questions and Debates on Greek affairs' in the House of Commons during 1916, which was essentially a reprint of the discussions that took place during that day.⁵⁷⁵ The delay of the official recognition of Venizelos' government was, in truth, a diplomatic tactic designed to force Greece to enter the Allied forces. On an unofficial level, the British government considered the government of Venizelos as the 'de facto authority' in the districts where it was established.⁵⁷⁶ It was already collaborating extensively with the provisional government of Salonica and, according to documents from the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, there was also a trade treaty between Greece and Britain that named on several occasions the provisional government of Salonica as the 'Venizelist District' and mentions Venizelos as being accountable for it.⁵⁷⁷ This, however, does not imply the exclusion of the king. As revealed by the discussions in the House of Commons, both the British government and the British royal family still maintained official relations with King Constantine's government.⁵⁷⁸ Even one month before the dethronement of the king in June 1917, Burrows, representing the League in a document found in the Greek Foreign Ministry Archive, urged the British government to 'recognize the Government of Venizelos without qualification' and he warns that as long as King Constantine has the authority of Athens 'we cannot consider the "State of Athens" as friendly neutral'.⁵⁷⁹

Another important issue raised by Pallis' lecture was that of the protection of Venizelist Greeks in Britain in the event of a war between Greece and the Allies. He argued that it would be 'a crime in a crisis like the present to possess such a man and not to utilize his genius to the full', but what would have constituted more of crime in the sense that Pallis is using the word would have been the conviction of diasporic

⁵⁷⁴ 'Italian Policy in Greece', 14 December 1916, in AH League, pamphlet no. 29, 1917. Hansard, HC Deb 14 December 1916 vol 88 cc937–86.

⁵⁷⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 29, 1917. Hansard, HC Deb 27 November 1916 vol 88 cc113.

⁵⁷⁶ Hansard, HC Deb 14 November 1916 vol 87 cc550–2.

⁵⁷⁷ NA, CO 323/716, Reg. 61372, 22 December 1916 and CO 323/716, no. 2060, 18 December 1916.

⁵⁷⁸ Hansard, HC Deb 14 November 1916 vol 87 cc550–2.

⁵⁷⁹ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1/4, Ronald Burrows, 'Wanted a New Policy in Greece', 5 May 1917.

Greeks within the British empire as pro-German because of their country's officially perceived position.⁵⁸⁰ The fact of an uneventful prosecution of Venizelist Greeks initiated the process of categorisation of diasporic Greeks according to their political aspirations, generating the need for political self-identification. Diasporic Greeks were forced to choose a camp: Venizelos or King Constantine. In a document from the Colonial Office, the Secretary of the State of Foreign Affairs Balfour delivered orders on how the British authorities should act on the case:

It will be necessary to treat as alien enemies all Greeks resident in the British Empire who are known to entertain royalist sympathies, but that it would be undesirable, in view of the fact that the majority of Greeks resident abroad are sympathizers with the Government of Monsieur Venizelos. As regards Hellenic subjects in this country, it may be possible to arrive at a working arrangement based on a differentiation between Royalists and Venizelists, in consultation with the late Greek Minister and with the late Greek Consul-General in London who have been appointed as representatives of Monsieur Venizelos in this country.⁵⁸¹

In order to avoid making a general and unfair categorisation of Greeks, he asked the representatives of Venizelos in London (John Gennadius and John Stavridis) to provide him with a list of 'responsible Venizelist representatives in the British colonies ... who could be relied upon to advise the local British Authorities' of which of their compatriots should be treated as 'royalists and consequently as enemy subjects' and to deliver this list to His Majesty's government, ensuring thus the safety of Venizelist Anglo-Greeks.⁵⁸²

The League, through its representative Eumorfopoulos, had attempted to promote the Venizelist force in Britain through the establishment of an Anglo-Greek Fund to 'assist any Greeks wishing to go out to Salonica to join M. Venizelos forces'. On 21 December 1916 they wrote to E.J. Foley, the director of Military Sea Transport, to request assistance for the transportation of Greeks wishing to

⁵⁸⁰ 'Venizelos and Constantine', an address by Alexander Pallis, AH League, pamphlet no. 27, 1916.

⁵⁸¹ NA, CO 323/716, Reg. 62345, 27 December 1916. J. Gennadius and J. Stavridi, Minister and Consul-General respectively had resigned their positions under the Royalist Government: AH League, pamphlet no. 33, 1915.

⁵⁸² AH League, pamphlet no. 33, 1915.

participate in Venizelos' corps.⁵⁸³ Despite their offer being deferred owing to a lack of space for their accommodation in store transports,⁵⁸⁴ the Fund clearly indicated the existence of a large number of Greeks in Britain who were not only Venizelists in spirit but also ready to join the Venizelist army on the field at any time.⁵⁸⁵

Another British policy designed to push Greece out of neutrality and to protect the country from German influence was the confiscation of Greek ships that failed to meet British regulations in the case of war. In this respect, they took measures against the Greek merchant shipping so as to prevent Greek ships from supplying Greek territories with goods during the Allied embargo of Greece in December 1916. In a conference that took place at the Foreign Office it was agreed that Greek ship-owners should be 'given to understand that in the event of the present crisis resulting in hostilities' they should engage in allied trade if they wished their ships to be immune from capture. Finding this suggestion impractical because of the 'impossibility of trusting Greek ship-owners and ship masters', the alternative was to transfer all Greek vessels to the British flag within two days. Furthermore, Greek vessels were to be kept in Allied ports and not allowed clearance 'unless transferred to an Allied flag'.⁵⁸⁶ The conference delegation even proposed that in cases where the cargo was extremely important it would be granted clearance only with an armed guard on board and failure to accept this could result in the 'seizure and forcible possession' of the ship.⁵⁸⁷

On 28 December 1916 the Greek ship-owners agreed to form an association that would be registered under the Companies Acts in England, and to transfer under the British flag the vessels registered in its name. Under provision number nine, 'The master, officers and crew must be subject to the approval of the British

⁵⁸³ NA, MT 23/695, Letter from Eumorfopoulos to Director of Transport, 22 December 1916.

⁵⁸⁴ NA, MT 23/695, Letter from the Director of Transports, Admiralty to Eumorfopoulos, 18 January 1917.

⁵⁸⁵ This follows the decision taken by the British authorities – after a formal demand being made by Greek authorities in Alexandria – to allow 1,000 men to be trained and sent to Salonica to assist the Venizelist force. NA, FO 141/467, Telegram from Athens to the High Commissioner for Egypt, 15 November 1916, No. 371.

⁵⁸⁶ NA, CO 323/716, Report from the Colonial Office regarding the treatment of Greek merchant shipping, 21 December 1916, Ref. 118.

⁵⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Admiralty.⁵⁸⁸ With the conclusion of the war and pending permission from the British government, the Greek vessels could be transferred from the British flag.

In looking at the British political stance towards Greek neutrality, we can conclude that the British government followed a precautionary policy in 1915 that became more radical in 1916, resulting in the blockade of the port of Piraeus along with the French. A memorandum submitted in the Cabinet states that, at first, the British allowed 'the Greek people to shape the destinies of their own country', but when they saw that this was not leading in the desired direction they 'prepared to take definite action to bring Greece into the war'.⁵⁸⁹ Further to this, in a telegram sent to Sir Francis Elliot, the secretary of state of colonies Viscount Long stated that the British government could allow Greek vessels to provide goods only if necessary and to specific areas including Salonika, Crete, Thasos, Syra, Naxos, Zante and the islands of the northern Aegean that fell under the authority of the State of Salonika.⁵⁹⁰ However, on 8 December, Britain and France imposed a blockade of those Greek coastal areas that remained loyal to the king, condemning the population to unprecedented famine and deprivations with the aim of forcing the king to abdicate and re-establish Venizelos in power.⁵⁹¹

These developments forced the Venizelists to concentrate on the efforts of the League to define and declare officially their status and beliefs. In a resolution in 1917 the League unanimously expressed 'its firm conviction, based upon wide and intimate knowledge of Greece, that the action of King' Constantine's Government, so far from representation the nation is viewed with horror and disgust by the great majority of the population, whether in Greece itself or in the great Greek colonies outside the Kingdom'.⁵⁹² They also called for the three Protecting Powers to 'free Greece from the military terrorism under which it now suffers'.⁵⁹³ Indeed, during the persecution of Venizelists in Athens following the 'Noemvriana' crisis, members of the Athens branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League were either expecting imminent

⁵⁸⁸ NA, CO 323/716, 23 Dec. 1916, ref. 228, *Draft agreement*.

⁵⁸⁹ NA, CAB 24/10, 'Memorandum' Feb. 1917, ref. 32.

⁵⁹⁰ NA, CO 323/716, 20 December 1916, ref 168.

⁵⁹¹ Svolopoulos, *Ελληνική Εξωτερική Πολιτική*, 131.

⁵⁹² AH League, pamphlet no. 33, 1917.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*

arrest – such as the branch’s head, Mr Petrocchino – or were already arrested – such as Professor Sotiriadis of the Foreign Schools of Archaeology in Athens.⁵⁹⁴

The League now had another reason to request the abdication of the king, as members of the League were directly harmed by his policies during the period. These events were also a powerful instrument for the League to use as an indication of the unstable conditions in Athens, the terrorism perpetrated by the king’s troops and the very real danger that Liberals faced in opposing the Monarchists in power.

The ‘Republican’ Moment of the League: Accommodating Socialist Voices within the Anglo-Hellenic League

At the end of 1916 the Anglo-Hellenic League’s honorary secretary John Mavrogordato published a manifesto entitled the *End of the Greek Monarchy*, which requested the abolition of monarchy and the institution of a republic in Greece. His manifesto, which was published under the auspices of the League, came after the discussions held in the House of Commons regarding the recognition of the Venizelos government in Salonica. Mavrogordato, a well-respected member of the League, served as the League’s honorary secretary from 1916 to 1918 and later became the Bywater and Sotheby Professor of Byzantine and Modern Greek Language and Literature at Oxford. He was influential because of his British and Greek acquaintances and soon became a vehement defender of Greek interests, vigorously publishing articles about the territorial claims of Greece against Turkey and Bulgaria. Mavrogordato maintained throughout his writings that the monarchy was not offering the opportunity for the justification of Greek demands; rather, he was ‘convinced that Greek interests were best served by a republican rather than a royalist regime’.⁵⁹⁵

Mavrogordato’s writings and more specifically his manifesto regarding the end of the Greek monarchy revealed his understanding of the nature of the regime and the way this bold proposal for the abolition of Greek monarchy was related to

⁵⁹⁴ ‘Arrests in Athens: Royalists still using Violence’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 15 December 1916.

⁵⁹⁵ Peter Mackridge, ‘Mavrogordato, John Nicolas (1882 –1970)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2010) (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53079>, accessed 9 December 2013).

the propaganda advanced by the Anglo-Hellenic League in general during the period. Was there any true ideological underpinning behind the progressive demand for a republic, or was it an appropriated claim by the League that seemed to satisfy its political interests at the particular moment? In any case, the 'republican moment' of the League should be understood in relation to the wider context of propaganda.

Mavrogordato's internationalist and pacifist aspirations, as well as his support for international socialism, are laid out explicitly in his book *The World in Chains*, published in 1917. Mavrogordato's biographer calls this an 'anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist manifesto' in which Mavrogordato argues that 'international socialism was the only remedy for modern society'.⁵⁹⁶ Indeed, in this book, the author professes that

the nature of the Government for the collective benefit is International Socialism. To Socialism belongs the duty of educating Europe against Imperialism, as it has begun to educate the nation against Capitalism. For Imperialism is only an allotropic form of Capitalism, manifesting itself in the exploitation of fellow-nations instead of in the exploitation of fellow-citizens.⁵⁹⁷

In the *End of the Greek Monarchy* he commented further on his conviction that the relationship between Britain and Greece could be explained by the former's tendency to carry out the 'exploitation of fellow-nations'. In his view, the Anglo-Greek connection – or that of any small nation with a Great Power – could be compared to the relationship of the worker with his employer:

The fact is that all small nations regard the Great Powers with something between contempt and suspicion, which can be compared only to the feeling of potential hostility with which the socialist workman in a great private factory regards his employer. The employer may be just and benevolent, but he is a capitalist, a member of another order, whose struggles with other members of his own class are not the concern of the wage-earner.⁵⁹⁸

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁷ John Mavrogordato, *The World in Chains. Some Aspects of War and Trade* (London, 1917), 123.

⁵⁹⁸ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *End of the Greek Monarchy*, 1916.

Mavrogordato began by stating the status quo current on the European continent, suggesting the necessity of Greece's alliance with England not on the grounds of a metaphysical 'sincere friendship' but for quite tangible reasons. He openly blamed the king – and not his ministers, as the Hellenic communities' manifesto does – stating that the king encouraged the organisation of the League of the Reservists with German money, which undermined 'by the merest hooliganism any serious consideration of the political ideals proposed by M. Venizelos'.⁵⁹⁹ German penetration into Greek politics was juxtaposed with the English propaganda in Greece, which Mavrogordato deemed as insufficient, suggesting that, if the British 'had spent as much money or displayed as much energy as the Germans in attaching and retaining the margin of undecided opinion in Greece, Venizelos would now be as fairly established in Athens as he was before the war'.⁶⁰⁰ Again, this claim for protection is not attributed to a romantic devotion supposed to exist between nations, but rather is explained by the historical structural presuppositions within which England acquired exceptional rights as one of the Protective Powers. Based on this understanding, England should have protected the constitutional rights, 'well-being' and 'prosperity' of the Greek subjects, which were undermined by the 'dynastic diplomacy' of King Constantine. As Britain had failed to do so, since the king's 'first unconstitutional intervention in September 1915' he had acquired 'by corruption and calumny' an ardent body of supporters.⁶⁰¹

Mavrogordato placed the issue within a constitutional context to which the Venizelist party fully held. The royalist was characterised as unconstitutional. Following Constantine's collaboration with the German foreign ministry, Mavrogordato accused the king of maintaining a force of secret police at the service of German interests and refusing even 'to acknowledge a respectful petition addressed to him by the Greek communities abroad' – referring to the conference that took place in Paris in January 1916.⁶⁰² Regarding the right of free speech and beliefs, he stated that the king, in wireless communication with Berlin, was

⁵⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰² *Ibid.*

mobilising his army, 'while his hooligans of the Reservist's League had shot or imprisoned without trial anyone who professed liberal opinions'.⁶⁰³ In addition, they 'looted, burned and tortured and his journalists had continued to urge the complete extirpation of the democratic party and the democratic Powers'.⁶⁰⁴ Thus, the need to restore Venizelos to power as a means of restoring constitutionality in a perverse political system appeared imperative.

For Mavrogordato, Venizelos represented the democratic authority, in contrast to the king. Venizelos had sufficient authority to heal the divided nation and had been 'twice constitutionally chosen by the body of the whole nation. The King is the "Tyrant"' whose removal will 'restore the health of Greece'.⁶⁰⁵ In his words, 'no national end can be served by preserving a dynasty' and it is 'useless to substitute for King Constantine and his retainers a milder or allotropic form of the same political perversion'.⁶⁰⁶ In any case, Mavrogordato has informed us about his views on democracy in the *World in Chains*. There, he claimed that the road to 'Real Democracy' could be followed only if the present regime 'leaves the selection of our rulers to the chances of birth or wealth or forensic success', casting a stone at the institution of hereditary rule and aristocracy.⁶⁰⁷

Thus, his call for a republic comes as no surprise. This anti-monarchical manifesto urged the proclamation of the Greek republic as early as 1916. This was eight years before the establishment of a republic and the abolition of the crown in 1924. He acknowledged that his proposal differed from Venizelos', whose view on the subject had been strongly stated in the *New York Times* a year previously. He wrote 'I am not talking in any sense of the possibility of a republic in Greece'.⁶⁰⁸ Mavrogordato commented that Venizelos' horror of 'extreme measures' was the reason that he was 'in favour of preserving not only the monarchical form of Government but also the reigning family'. Conscious of the radical character of his suggestion, he believed that a republican government would 'carry a message of

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁷ Mavrogordato, *The World in Chains*, 19.

⁶⁰⁸ *New York Times*, 19 April 1916.

revival to Greeks all over the world'.⁶⁰⁹ Indeed, after continuous and vehement propaganda King Constantine abdicated on 11 June 1917, but the Greek republic did not follow for another seven years, and its proclamation on 25 March 1924 ended the constitutional issue between the republicans and the royalists only officially;⁶¹⁰ the animosity which had developed between royalists and Venizelists would haunt the country's history in the years that followed.

Mavrogordato's vision of a Greek republic that entailed no form of survival for the constitutional monarchy was quite progressive for the dominant contemporary political ideology of the Greek state. But, for Britain, the 'republican moment', although a brief one, had preceded that of Greece by almost half a century without any radical results. Historiographical trends such as the one identified by Antony Taylor suggested that republican movements in Britain could be better understood as subscribing to 'anti-monarchist' instead of republican sentiments.⁶¹¹ British Liberals were, rather, projecting a sort of 'political opportunism' by attacking the monarchy – and especially the cost of the monarchy – so to appeal to the lower classes.⁶¹²

The absence of any serious systematisation of anti-monarchical discourse, even from the more radical political streams of British society, such as the socialists and the Labour Party, was attributed to the 'practical impossibility of remov[ing] or reform[ing]' the monarchy,⁶¹³ or to the assumption that the monarchy would 'simply fade away in the face of popular education and social advancement'.⁶¹⁴ Nonetheless, anti-monarchism in Britain, as in Greece at the time we examine, was neither persistent nor theoretically grounded, and these glimpses of republicanism therefore could quite possibly be attributed to opportunistic individuals or collective interests. Thus this 'republican moment' could be explained if we consider that many individuals' beliefs were characterised by a mixture of both anti-monarchical and

⁶⁰⁹ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *End of the Greek Monarchy*, 1916.

⁶¹⁰ Harry Cliadakis, 'The Political and Diplomatic Background to the Metaxas Dictatorship, 1935–36', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 14 (1979), 117–38.

⁶¹¹ Antony Taylor, *'Down with the crown': British Anti-monarchism and Debates about Royalty since 1790* (London, 1999).

⁶¹² The latter is a thesis developed by Miles Taylor, quoted in Andrzej Olechnowicz (ed.), *The Monarchy and the British Nation, 1780 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2007), 40.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

republican sentiments, following the general assertion that Britain could be both a democracy *and* a monarchy; alternatively, it might be attributed to a 'top-down' socialist worldview of a rational/technocratic state.

The question that arises and connects with the British perception of monarchy is how a socialist, anti-monarchical and republican voice could assist in promoting the Anglo-Hellenic League's object of establishing Venizelos in power. The term 'political opportunism' might be used to explain the decision of the League to accommodate a relatively radical voice in their liberal agenda. Active propaganda against King Constantine was already being advanced by both the League's liberals and those in Athens. The call for republicanism would intensify the demands for the abolition of the monarchy, most certainly beginning with the abdication of the king. Venizelos, as did his liberal British analogues, respected constitutional monarchy insofar as it did not strip the state of its democratic character: that is, as long as the crown's prerogative powers were subject to parliamentary control.

Mavrogordato was not the only socialist member of the League. Another prominent Fabian member was William Pember Reeves, who served as the League's president from 1913 to 1925. Reeves made a name for himself as Minister of Education and of Justice, and then Minister of Labour, in the Liberal government of New Zealand during the early 1890s. Upon moving to London in 1896 he joined the Fabian Society and became active in politics, mainly supporting the re-election of Sydney Webb in 1907. His idea of 'socialism' encompassed 'state paternalism to avert social unrest', while he was openly in favour of free trade – a view shared by the League in general. Hence, his Fabian ideology coincided in reality with the views of Liberal Imperialists such as Burrows. After his forced resignation from a post as a high commissioner for New Zealand he took over the directorship of the London School of Economics and Political Science following the proposal by Webb in 1908. As Burrows, Reeves was also an admirer and friend of the Greek Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos.⁶¹⁵

Mavrogordato and Reeves were both in favour of laissez faire and state intervention to regulate prices or to control social unrest. Mavrogordato supported a

⁶¹⁵ Pugh, 'Reeves, William Pember (1857–1932)'; information also obtained from Keith Val Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: New Zealand Fabian* (Oxford, 1965), 319–34.

policy in which the state would be assisted by and should assist trade, placing some restrictions around free-trade practices in time of war. Reeves was a free trade enthusiast all the way, with a quite orthodox perception of economic issues. Both were equally keen on trade issues. In his *The World in Chains*, Mavrogordato was evidently influenced by the writings of some prominent Fabians, such as Sydney Webb and Bernard Shaw, and examined the possibilities of trade during the war period mainly to stress the harm that imperialism and capitalism caused the world. Reeves' expertise on trade is evidenced by his membership in the commercial intelligence advisory committee of the Board of Trade and of the 1905–09 royal commission on shipping rings.⁶¹⁶ In this context, their ideology was not restrictive upon the aims of the League; rather, it advanced its objective of the establishment of a Liberal state in Greece through the consolidation of Venizelos' power: a power that was rooted in the modernisation of the state via interventionist practices in the economy and trade.

Conclusion

Through the above examination of its discourse, we can infer that it was highly unlikely that the League was serious about the abolition of the institution of monarchy. As far as it was concerned, if there was not an abuse of the constitutionally prescribed royal prerogatives to influence or execute foreign policy (extra-constitutional practice), the League, like the majority of Greek Liberals, including, first and foremost, their leader Venizelos, was not fundamentally against constitutional monarchy. After the king was dismissed by the Entente Powers in June 1917, Venizelos' government was given a final opportunity to abolish the monarchy altogether and establish a republic in Greece. However, the Greek leader declared that 'the Parliament did not consider that the time had arrived for a republic, but believed it its duty to give the monarchy another trial'; he felt the need to state this despite pro-republican tendencies that had risen within the Liberal Club, represented chiefly by George Cafantaris.⁶¹⁷ In reality, the crown had already

⁶¹⁶ Hansard, HC Deb 08 March 1910 vol 14 c1434W; 'The late High Commissioner', *Grey River Argus*, 28 November 1908.

⁶¹⁷ 'Greek Monarchy on Final Trial', *New York Times*, 28 August 1917.

attained through the toleration of Greek political leadership an active political function, but this was not constitutionally sanctioned.⁶¹⁸

The Anglo-Hellenic League was founded primarily to support liberal propaganda in Greece, which entailed the consolidation of Venizelist power. It became instrumental in incorporating in its discourse anti-monarchical ideas that were quite radical in comparison to its rather conservative character in other respects. The discourse regarding the abolition of the institution of monarchy, as opposed to the abdication of the king, dominated most of its pamphlets during the National Schism years. During these years the League – as with most Greek Liberals – believed that the monarchy impeded the modernisation of the Greek state by associating it with the traditionalist–conservative and quite anti-capitalist strand of the bourgeoisie. This further assisted the discourse against the monarchy, but, as we have argued, this was not due to ideological radicalisation but, rather, a quite opportunist perspective.

This is how we can explain the fact that such a radical text as Mavrogordato's *End of the Greek Monarchy* was published under the auspices of the League. However, his ideas about abolishing monarchy remained exclusively confined to that text. It might have been the case that Mavrogordato's desire to abolish the monarchy stemmed from an ideological perspective underpinned by his socialist affiliations, but this did not mean that such an ideology was suddenly adopted by the League at large. What the League did was to employ this propaganda against the monarchy in order to target King Constantine, in order to shape public opinion and influence British support towards Venizelos at that present time. Thus the fight against the monarchy became the other face of the disagreement with and struggle against Constantinism.

Venizelist propaganda used discussions around the National Schism and the nature of the regime as a means to warn the British and the French that they would have to deal with unpleasant consequences if Constantine did not abandon his crown: that is, Greece under the state of neutrality was susceptible to both German infiltration and Bulgarian attack. Venizelos, on the other hand, managed to influence

⁶¹⁸ Leontaritis, 'Greece and the Central Powers', 117.

the Entente Powers on the threat of German influence in Greece without taking a clear stance against the institution of monarchy. Through his rhetoric he cleverly presented himself, and his struggle, as an anti-dynastical struggle against the pro-German king. This bore a similarity to the ways in which the British, French and Americans were taking positions against the kaiser's absolutism.⁶¹⁹ In this respect, the discourse around him, initiated by the League in Britain, placed the Greek premier as an equal to his counterparts, who were democratically fighting against absolutism.

The anti-monarchical wave, or what we have named the 'Republican moment', that dominated the discourse of the League during the period of the National Schism must be read in the context of the propaganda in favour of the Liberal leader Venizelos, and not – perhaps with the exclusion of Mavrogordato's text – as a conscious manifestation against the institution of monarchy.



Figure 12. King of Greece, Queen of Greece and M. Venizelos. Source: *Daily Express*, 1 October 1915 (KCA).

⁶¹⁹ Victor Papakosmas, 'Το ζήτημα του αβασίλευτου δημοκρατικού πολιτεύματος' [The issue regarding the Democratic Regime], in Thanos Veremis and Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos (eds.), *Μελετήματα γύρω από τον Βενιζέλο και την εποχή του* [Studies on Venizelos and his time] (Athens, 1980), 499.

Chapter Five

‘Από του Ίστρου μέχρι της Ίδης’: London Greek Narratives of the *Megali Idea* and the Discourse on Nationalism

Two immense ideologies that dominated the twentieth century were particularly characteristic of the period under examination. Modernity, seldom treated as an idea rather than a fact, had, even as an idea, very pragmatic consequences for people’s worldviews, and nationalism as the product of this age became the fundamental component of the official programme of the Greek state that concerned the expansion and development of the nation according to western standards. Ideas, as products of a historical and social course, should be studied in the realm of the ‘représentations collectives’, which manifest collective realities.⁶²⁰ In this respect, understandings of Greek nationalism and modernity will be examined through the discourse of the League in an attempt to conceptualise the collective consciousness of the Anglo-Hellenic League regarding the Greek nationalist programme of the *Megali Idea*.

The prolific work of the League and its discourse regarding the question of the regime examined in the previous chapter adhered to the demand for political modernisation that was connected with the abolition of traditional power and, on a second level, with the foreign policy that shaped much of the outcome of the First World War for Greece. By supporting the liberal power represented by Venizelos’ government rather than the autocracy of the crown, the League was also advocating indirectly for the irredentist policy of Venizelism. For the League, these two discourses, within and outside national borders, were two sides of the same coin. Unavoidably, their interests in consolidating a Liberal government were connected with their support of an irredentist mission to ‘liberate’ the ‘unredeemed brothers’ residing outside the Greek state.

⁶²⁰ ‘Représentations collectives: shared mental constructs with the help of which, he argues, human beings collectively view themselves, each other, and the natural world’, in Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Paris, 1912); trans. Karen E. Fields (New York, 1995), xviii.

This study of Greek nationalism and the *Great Idea* – as any other study on nationalism – is bound to examine some characteristic notions that penetrated the discourse and formulated the perception of the social group under examination. First, we will attempt to provide the theoretical underpinnings of the ideology of the *Megali Idea* as it was formulated through its interaction with the concept of ‘modernity’ when it acquired the form of a full-bodied dogma in the early twentieth century. This understanding will then lead us to examine how our agents understood this national narrative and how it influenced the formation of their identity and led to the League’s radicalisation throughout the years of the war. Drawing from various theoretical frameworks concerning nationalism and modernity, the first part of the chapter aims to show that, despite the theoretical character of the *Megali Idea*, the League, through their discourse, aimed to satisfy solid economic and political goals related to Greek territorial claims in Asia Minor and the Balkans.

Certainly a fragmented ideology, the *Megali Idea* dominated the discourse of the League since the Balkan victories in 1913, as it provided the framework through which diasporic economic and political interests could be consolidated. The second part of this chapter examines three case studies of nationalist discourse through the pamphlets of the League which map the shifting perceptions and the radicalisation of the *Megali Idea*. They are also indicative of the versatile character of Greek nationalism and its adaptability to the claims and demands constantly formulated through the period of the First World War. The first case study concerns Greek discourse from the League regarding national disputes with Albania and the Epirus Question as it came to be in 1913 after the Balkan Wars. The second concerns the events that took place on the Anatolian coast, including the commercial embargo, persecution and deportations of Greeks by the Ottoman authorities during 1912–1914. Lastly, the Macedonian problem is examined through the dispute between John Mavrogordato and the Buxton brothers.

The Discursive Paradox of Greek Modernity: The Past in the Service of Modernity

Nationalisms, as Burleigh keenly puts it, ‘were rarely invented out of thin air ... but were constructed, from a selection of pre-existing components, such as institutions, landscapes, language, law and not least, local experience(s), that compose people’s

historical identities'.⁶²¹ This study makes use of the theory that understands the past as a concept only reproduced through processes of artistic, literary and historic invention that are employed in the production of nationalist discourses that aim to legitimise the nation's existence, a model that has both its opponents⁶²² and passionate advocates.⁶²³ Inventing or constructing a past can be considered as an act of modernity in the sense that it abolishes a given order to establish a new one. In this way, Greek nationalism considered as a prerequisite of its existence the establishment of a new way of looking into and translating the past, a past whose fragments were simultaneously forming part of another nation's past and which nation was accordingly producing its own counter-myths.

The discussion about nationalism and modernity can offer various ways of examining a certain micro-history or even commenting on the grand narrative. However, I would like to focus on two key points of these ideologies, as they characterise both much of the Greek case as a whole and also the micro-analysis attempted in the overall thesis. The first is the association of nationalism with the discourse of modernity – and, specifically, western understandings of the concept, as specific national groups articulated them. Dominant discursive objects of Greek nationalism that were utilised by groups such as the Anglo-Hellenic League, its members and the intellectual elites of Greece and Britain more generally included western notions to do with prosperity, such as 'progress', 'civilisation' and 'state building'. The second point concerns the way in which this modernist discourse was employed to combat 'anti-modern' opponents, namely the Bulgarians and the Turks. By examining some focal points of the interaction of nationalism with modernity, specifically in the Greek case, we will arrive at an analysis of the *Megali Idea*, the most articulate modern Greek national programme. As it was born as a signifier, rather than a full-bodied ideology, it is necessary to map its particular characteristics and its development by, in particular, the London Greek diaspora. In a dialectic

⁶²¹ Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: Religion and Politics in Europe from the Enlightenment to the Great War* (London, 2006), 157–8.

⁶²² 'The process of nation-formation [is] not so much one of construction, let alone deliberate 'invention' as of reinterpretation of pre-existing cultural motifs.' Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Malden, MA, 2001), 58, 83–4.

⁶²³ Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

manner, nationalism and irredentism not only gave birth to the dominant ideology of twentieth-century Greece but also had a fundamental impact on the formation of diasporic identity of the London Greek diaspora.

Many scholars view nationalism as a product of modernity, which they translate in either technological or political terms. In most cases, however, they agree that nationalism was developed in tandem with modernity.⁶²⁴ For example, Ernest Gellner considers nationalism to be the consequence of industrialisation, which is perceived as the outcome of collaboration between the state and culture.⁶²⁵ For Liah Greenfield modernity is inherently embedded in nationalism and the latter 'represents the cultural foundation of modern social structure, politics ... education ... so on and so forth'.⁶²⁶ An interesting proposal for reviewing the relationship between nationalism and modernity is that of Daniele Conversi, who suggests that modernity is a specific ideology 'accompanied by a broader discourse and ideological framework' and that it 'subsumes most other ideologies, including liberalism, socialism, communism and nationalism'.⁶²⁷

It is particularly true that nationalism's crystallisation and the notion of nationhood had undertaken various forms through different periods; however, it had been inextricably linked with statehood and 'the centralizing and modernizing tendency towards the homogenization of populations'.⁶²⁸ On this note, we can also draw a connecting line between nationalism/nationhood and the demise of the traditional/oligarchic order, as both doctrines can be lucidly understood in the light of modernity.

However, as a well-known Greek historian suggests, Greek modernity forms a contradiction in terms and a discursive paradox that was, at the least,

⁶²⁴ John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago, 1994), ch. 13; Walker Connor, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding* (Princeton, 1994); Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford, 2000); Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-producing traditions: Europe, 1870–1914', in Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence O. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), ch. 7; David D. Laitin, *Nations, States, and Violence* (Oxford, 2007); Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (Oxford, 1993).

⁶²⁵ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 2006).

⁶²⁶ Greenfield, 'Modernity and Nationalism', 239.

⁶²⁷ Daniele Conversi, 'Modernism and Nationalism', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 17 (2012), 27.

⁶²⁸ Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* (London, 2006), 3.

uncomfortable.⁶²⁹ The past, which was vitally connected with the ‘restoration of tradition’, represented a fundamental part of the image and narrative employed to forge the Greek present under modernity. People understood that the imagined belonging to a collective force and will derived from ‘a mythical vital energy shaped by their common historical continuity and destiny.’⁶³⁰ In this context, ‘Greek tradition’ became an object of a particular discourse assigned with new meanings and novel appropriations. It was historicised to produce a narrative of uniqueness and purity but also to correspond to political pragmatism, and thus vested with ideological and political meaning.

The westernisation of traditional discourse regarding the Greek past and its heritage was filled with meaningful signifiers such as ‘civilisation’, ‘progress’ and ‘novelty’ that shaped the ‘agency and the imagination’ but also led to the Europeanisation of the Greek project of modernity.⁶³¹ Constructing and reproducing the myth of a glorious Classical past not only served indigenous needs of self-identification and continuity but, more importantly, formed an inherent component of how the Europeans imagined themselves. This appropriated imagination included the incorporation of ancient Greek history into the forging of European ‘civilised’ identity. Greece, as the cradle of civilisation and democracy, was systematically glorified. Indeed, as Tsoukalas asserts, ‘the main narrative foundations of the self-perceptions and images of Greeks were first laid out in Western Europe as components of a broader representation of the sources of European civilization’.⁶³² Without any doubt, the discourse about modernity promoted nationalism and vice versa.

In the Greek case, even the unification of the kingdom as such was referred to using the term ‘modernisation’.⁶³³ Generally, modernisation in Greece came to

⁶²⁹ Konstantinos Tsoukalas, ‘The Irony of Symbolic Reciprocities – The Greek Meaning of “Europe” as a Historical Inversion of the European Meaning of “Greece”’, in Mikale Malmberg and Boed Strath (eds.), *The Meaning of Europe* (Oxford, 2002), 28.

⁶³⁰ *Idem.*, ‘European Modernity and Greek National Identity’, *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*, 1 (1999).

⁶³¹ Frangoudaki and Çağlar, *Ways to Modernity*, 45.

⁶³² Tsoukalas, ‘The Irony of Symbolic Reciprocities’, 27.

⁶³³ Helle Skopetea, *Το ‘Πρότυπο Βασίλειο’ και η Μεγάλη Ιδέα: όψεις του εθνικού προβλήματος στην Ελλάδα, 1830–1880* [The ‘Aspired Kingdom’ and the Great Idea: aspects of the National Question in Greece 1830–1880] (Athens, 1988), 95.

stand for advancement of administration and political institutions and the organisation of the army, as well as, in economic terms, the invitation to full capitalism and industrialism, albeit the latter was mainly advanced in the interwar period and not earlier.⁶³⁴ It was certainly a modernisation from above that was 'suspicious of the autonomous transformation of the society' and which 'presented itself as only possible route toward westernization'.⁶³⁵

It also meant the production of a self-image that reflected western values in both mentality and lifestyle. For example, since the rise of Venizelos educational policy became oriented towards a more practical–professional education.⁶³⁶ In this context, and taking as a fact that the knowledge of English was indispensable for the western course of the country, the League itself established the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation the primary object of which was to 'advise and assist in the foundation in Greece of schools conducted on English principles and in general questions of English Teaching in Greece'.⁶³⁷

In Tsoukalas' understanding, it was nationalism and not social unrest that was the driving force behind the transition from absolutism to democracy. In this respect, nationalism was directly linked with democracy and consequently with a westernised type of modernity. Greeks departing from the absolutism of the Bavarian authority to democratisation through the rationalisation of the representational system skipped the phase of liberalism that European states underwent after 1848.⁶³⁸ The Greek paradox, as characterised by Mouzelis, is that the Greek state experienced an industrial capitalism first, which then led to democratisation processes, and not the other way around. Thus, the demise of oligarchic politics was the unavoidable consequence of modernisation as imposed

⁶³⁴ Mazower, *Greece and the Inter-war Economic Crisis*, ch. 4.

⁶³⁵ Frangoudaki and Çağlar, *Ways to Modernity*, 2.

⁶³⁶ Alexis Dimaras, 'Αστικός Φιλελευθερισμός και εκπαιδευτικά προγράμματα' [Bourgeois Liberalism and the Educational Programs], in Christos Chatziosif and George Mavrogordato (eds.), *Βενιζελισμός και Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός* [Venizelism and Bourgeois Modernization] (Herakleio, 1988), 26.

⁶³⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919. As we have seen previously, the League also established English schooling in Salonica in collaboration with the branch there. See Daskalopoulos to the Anglo-Hellenic League in *Ibid.*

⁶³⁸ Frangoudaki and Çağlar, *Ways to Modernity*, 20.

from the outside and not directed by internal social and political forces.⁶³⁹ This lacuna between the national ideology and the socio-political situation in Greece created room for the unbalanced co-existence of both the 'traditional' and the 'modern' conditions.⁶⁴⁰ In any case, if modernity meant (western) liberalism in the Greek case, it certainly had a hard time keeping pace with democracy, which accordingly could not ensure a safe and stable constitutional development.⁶⁴¹

The Greek Elites of London

The Greek diaspora of London was socialised within a liberal context that impacted and shaped its political worldview and economic perspectives, and they aspired to export these ideals to Greece, a process that Levitt has described as the transfer of 'social remittances'.⁶⁴² Furthermore, the tradition of political clubs, a well-established feature of British liberalism, was offering to this diaspora the ability to organise into political groups and societies 'with the democratic values of freedom of speech and association'.⁶⁴³ The ideological context in which the London Greek diaspora produced this discourse and, in turn, the way this discourse formulated its national identity is very important in understanding why propaganda for Greece stemmed from western discourses on modernity. Nevertheless, another defining element we should keep in mind concerns the social condition of this diaspora, or rather of this fraction of the London Greek diaspora, which is mainly the bourgeois class.

As Koinova has noted in her essay, diasporas employ 'the universalistic creed of liberalism' in order to advance certain interests. In our understanding, diasporas

⁶³⁹ Nikos P. Mouzelis, *Politics in the Semi-Periphery: Early Parliamentarism and Late Industrialisation in the Balkans and Latin America* (New York, 1986), 50–55, 113–22.

⁶⁴⁰ *Idem.*, *Ο Εθνικισμός στην Υστερή Ανάπτυξη* [Nationalism in Late Development] (Athens, 1994), 39.

⁶⁴¹ Ioannis Tassopoulos, 'Constitutionalism and the Ideological Conversion to National Unity under the Greek Constitution of 1864', in Anna Frangoudaki and Keyder Çağlar, *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey* (London, 2007), 20–21.

⁶⁴² 'Social remittances are the ideas, behaviours, identities and social capital that flow from receiving – to sending – country communities.' Peggy Levitt, 'Social Remittances: Migration Driven Local-Level Forms of Cultural Diffusion', *International Migration Review*, 32, 4 (1998), 926. See also *idem.*, *The transnational villagers* (Berkeley, CA, 2001).

⁶⁴³ Maria Koinova, 'Diasporas and international politics: Utilising the universalistic creed of liberalism for particularistic and nationalist purposes', in Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist, *Diaspora and Transnationalism Concepts, Theories and Methods* (Amsterdam, 2010), 155.

that stem from liberal contexts and those whose homelands experience 'internal or external challenges to their sovereignty' are more likely to employ a certain kind of action, in our case the formation of a political league, in order to advance particularistic and nationalist purposes.⁶⁴⁴ We should take care, however, not to perceive them as genuine 'nationalists or democracy promoters'.⁶⁴⁵ What they aim to do, rather, is to advance nationalist goals by cultivating the ground between nationalism and modernity – which is synonymous with the democratisation process. In this respect, liberalising the nation will eventually lead it to its 'national destination', while that process of democratisation would have satisfied the political and economic demands of the diaspora elite.

Accordingly, the elite's discourse was associated with a vocabulary of modernity which intertwined notions of development, progress and nationalism. 'Development' in its ontological sense and not just as an economic or sociological category is connected here with eurocentrism, which has produced the incorrect view that European development is the obligatory path to modernity and should be followed by all other cultures.⁶⁴⁶ The associated 'fallacy of developmentalism' illuminates our understanding of the origins of the concepts of racial superiority and the concomitant discourses that went hand in hand with modernity.

Modernity, in these discourses, was presented as the only positive option nations had, while anti-modern arguments supported the rejection of any non-western national discourses. Essentially, what was not modern was neither good nor acceptable, and it had to be challenged.⁶⁴⁷ In view of that, one of the most central arguments of the discourse produced by the London Greek elite was the construction of a modern state based on western values, which would be culturally superior to any non-modern alternative. Perceptions of cultural and political superiority instantly produced negative identifications of the 'Other'. Baptising

⁶⁴⁴ Koinova, 'Diasporas and international politics', 155.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁶ In a philosophical context, the 'underdeveloped' country is for Hegel the 'not-modern.' See more Enrique Dussel, 'Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures)', *Boundary 2*, 20 (1993), 68.

⁶⁴⁷ We only have to think of Fascism, Nazism, the two World Wars, the deportations and genocides and the shameful act of the Holocaust to reject the argument that all modern is positive. After all, all the above were outcomes of the age of modernity.

national 'Others' as 'anti-modern' was one of the central points that most of the pro-Hellenic propaganda was based on and this labelling was often a sufficient condition for their exclusion and, worse, persecution.⁶⁴⁸

Consequently, modernist discourse also brought about the discursive tools of racial and cultural superiority. The myth of modernity produced *ipso facto* a sense of superiority, which took the form of the categorical imperative as it were to *develop*: to 'civilize, uplift, educate, the more primitive, barbarous, underdeveloped civilizations'.⁶⁴⁹ Specifically, constructed images of 'Hellenolatry' that pervaded European thought since the Renaissance had given birth to racial beliefs of European cultural superiority as opposed to the inferior and barbaric East. In turn, racist understandings of the superiority of the indigenous European civilisation formed part of the myth upon which European expansionism and domination laid its foundations.

Superiority in both racial and cultural terms – the perception of which owed its conceptual origins to the positivists and social Darwinism – was, of course, a phenomenon that pervaded most of the nationalist discourse of the period, be that Greek, Ottoman, Bulgarian and so on. But, aside from vehement writings aimed at giving modern Greece a place in the 'civilised' West and in the respective discourse, Greek elites did much to revisit the East, as it was inextricable from the nationalist vision of their modernity. The Greek past lay mainly in the territory of the East, and it was 'through the East' that Greece would reclaim 'its past glories, recover its true but dormant self and enter the world of civilization'.⁶⁵⁰ Regenerating the East was hence another goal of the pro-Hellenic discourse produced by the London diasporic Greeks.

⁶⁴⁸ Conversi, 'Modernism and Nationalism', 18.

⁶⁴⁹ Dussel, 'Eurocentrism and Modernity', 75.

⁶⁵⁰ Haris Exertzoglou, 'Metaphors of Change: "Tradition" and the East/West Discourse in the Late Ottoman Empire', in Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder (eds.), *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey* (London, 2007), 52.

‘Η Μεγάλη Ιδέα ηλέκτρισε πολλούς, μόλις εξέφυγεν ολίγους’.⁶⁵¹ *The Megali Idea and the Modern Condition of Greek Nationalism*

The Greek programme of irredentism was, therefore, invested with western values and furnished with eastern territories, both of which constituted the integral components of the *Megali Idea*. When in 1844 the Greek politician John Kolettis referred to the *Megali Idea*, he was aiming to put forth the argument of the autochthons and heterochthons,⁶⁵² and was certainly not conscious of the meaning his phrase would acquire for the decades to come. His use of this phrase came in a wider political speech in the National Assembly and was certainly not an ideological statement, nor did he express a fully-fledged ideology.⁶⁵³ If we can give him some credit for the notion of the Great Idea it is because, as Skopetea reminds us, consciously or unconsciously his speech provided the discursive elements for the future elaborations of this notion, including the placing of emphasis on the two destinations of the Greek *irredenta*: the East and the liberation of orthodox Christians from a pro-revolutionary stance.⁶⁵⁴ Thus, while we cannot associate the Idea with one politician, his speech was nonetheless catalytic in supplying the nation with what would be developed as its historic mission.

Over the nineteenth century the political idea of the *Megali Idea* became an *idée fixe* for the Greeks, while at the same time it was dynamically changing and adapting according to the potentials and priorities of the Greek government. Its dynamic character can be witnessed by the fact of the adjustability and generalisation of its interpretation and its intrinsic ability to denote abstract and specific meanings at any time.⁶⁵⁵ In an attempt to differentiate between its romantic and pragmatic forms, Llewellyn-Smith identifies the different strands in the mid-nineteenth-century conceptualisation of the *Megali Idea*. A programme with such fluidity is hard to categorise firmly, especially when we speak about ideologies with

⁶⁵¹ ‘The Great Idea touched many, when it escaped a few’, meaning that it became very popular after its ‘birth’. *Aion*, 13 September 1847, quoted in Skopetea, *To ‘Πρότυπο Βασίλειο’*, 259.

⁶⁵² heterochthons = Greeks from abroad.

⁶⁵³ Skopetea, *To ‘Πρότυπο Βασίλειο’*, 260. Also see Letter of Kolletis to Guizot in 1844, where he reassures him that he has no intention of invading the Ottoman Empire, quoted in Skopetea, *To ‘Πρότυπο Βασίλειο’*, 264.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 270.

transitory meanings. Nonetheless, we can agree that dividing lines can be drawn between the 'romantic dream of a revival of the Byzantine-Greek Empire centred on Constantinople' and the idea of a 'modern nation state, as the progressive redemption of the Greek *irredenta* by their incorporation in the Greek kingdom'.⁶⁵⁶ The first, because of its inherent idealism, was connected with a rather cultural and economic predominance over the Ottoman Empire, whereas the latter entailed an open and direct clash with the Empire. We should keep in mind, however, that the changing meanings attributed to the *Megali Idea* did not necessarily overwrite previous phases, but, rather, were incorporating new beliefs into older convictions. Thus, it is possible that more than one understanding of this concept co-existed at any given time during the period, and that belief in the 'romantic' idea did not entail a renouncement of its 'pragmatic' aspirations.

In this sense, the incorporation of the Byzantine past provided the missing part in the pattern of the Hellenic continuum from the ancient Greeks to the modern ones. In the understanding of history as a continuum, the Byzantine Empire was appropriated to justify the "restoration" of the empire in Macedonia and Asia Minor', while the Hellenic continuum bore the Christian conviction of Hellenism as its inherent part.⁶⁵⁷ This medieval 'imperial past was infused with a concept of the romantic destiny of the nation which included expansion in the Balkans and Anatolia'.⁶⁵⁸ On the other hand, the image of the Classical past with its glorious achievements represented the cradle of western civilisation from which not only the Greeks but also the Europeans could draw their origins. The image of the past functioned thus as a repository of European values which could be forged into the intellectual 'weapons' of the 'civilised west'. European 'Hellenolatry' formed part of western modernity as one of the pillars of the 'growing essentialist interpretation of European cultural origins'.⁶⁵⁹ For the Greeks, the national collective past was constructed to reflect the image of a well-ordered national state with definite borders and a bequeathed 'civilising' mission. A characteristic example of this is

⁶⁵⁶ Llewellyn-Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 4.

⁶⁵⁷ Antonis Liakos, 'Historical Time and National Space in Modern Greece', in Tadayuki Hayashi and Hiroshi Fukuda, *Regions in Central and Eastern Europe: Past and Present* (Sapporo, 2007), 20.

⁶⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁹ Tsoukalas, 'European Modernity', 8.

Venizelos' own words during the parliamentary proceedings in 1915, where he noted that the Greek nation wished to expand only up to the geographical point where 'the action of the Greek civilization gives us congruent foundations to advance our civilizing activity'.⁶⁶⁰ In this respect, amalgam-productions such as the *Megali Idea* were the most common concept within the nationalist programme perceived by the London Greeks.

Further to our analysis, we will be preoccupied with the Anglo-Hellenic League's understanding of the *Megali Idea* as it was formed to encapsulate the nationalist aspirations of irredentism: that is, a 'plan to enlarge the country's territories and liberate arrears predominantly populated by Greek populations [which] were politically part of the Ottoman Empire'.⁶⁶¹ The Greek quest for modernity finds itself entangled in the opposition between West and East and this by itself creates the space for multiple self-identifications to arise.

Forging National Identities: Venizelos, the Diasporic Greeks and the Megali Idea

Although, as inherent to nationalism, this *Idea* always had a lingering romantic/idealised character, towards the end of the nineteenth century it acquired a rather pragmatic conceptualisation as an active irredentist mission, partly because of the fact that in this period a large Greek population was residing outside the official national frontiers. Indeed, the Greek *Great Idea* was constructed upon the entanglement of time and space, which transcended geographical and chronological frameworks, thus producing multiple interwoven conceptual narratives regarding the nation and the perceived national identity.

In an important study of the Greek diaspora, Venturas underpins the 'transterritorial character' of the Great Idea as it was produced by the Greek state as comprising three sub-groups: 'those residing within the borders of the Independent state, the "*irredeemed* Greeks" living in the Ottoman Empire and those of the

⁶⁶⁰ Εφημερίς των Συζητήσεων της Βουλής. Συνεδρίασις της 28^{ης} Σεπτεμβρίου 1915 [Parliamentary Meeting on 28 Sept. 1915]. Stephanou, *Τα κείμενα του Ελευθέριου Βενιζέλου*, 295.

⁶⁶¹ Ioanna Laliotou, 'Crossings and Homecomings: Mobility and the Politics of Culture in Greece during the First Half of the Twentieth Century', in Anna Frangoudaki and Keyder Çağlar, *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey* (London, 2007), 137.

diaspora'.⁶⁶² English statistics of the period show that the eve of the First World War found 5,100,000 subjects living in Greece (including the Old and New Lands after the Balkan Wars) and 4,500,000 diasporic Greeks residing in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Oceania and so on, of whom 2,500,000 were living in Asia Minor and the Black Sea.⁶⁶³ The fallacy of statistics and misleading population maps were, however, well-known weapons of the propaganda of the period. Thus, although we can accept that a great number of Greek speaking subjects were residing outside the Greek state, we have to be cautious about the exact numbers provided. For example, the figures provided by the Naval Intelligence Division of the British Admiralty do not agree with the Ottoman census for the year 1914, differing by almost a million for the Greeks in the Ottoman state.⁶⁶⁴

In reality, robust foci of Greek population were flourishing at the beginning of the twentieth century, mainly in the coastal–urban centres of the Ottoman Empire. This had further contributed to the adoption of a more dynamic strategy by the Venizelist government regarding the territorial claims as dictated by the dogma of irredentism. Venizelos, after direct collision with King Constantine, abandoned the conciliatory policies and supported Greece's alliance with Entente as a means towards the annexation of the western Asia Minor territories. Indeed, he went as far as to suggest that the enlargement and development of Greece (meaning the *Megali Idea* project) was also the fulfilment of the 'obligation' to the unredeemed brothers.⁶⁶⁵

His interests, however, were not merely political; Papadopoulos affirms that in this way he would 'secure the already invested capital in those particular areas and he would attract new ones from the Greek communities abroad'.⁶⁶⁶ This latter

⁶⁶² Lina Venturas, "“Deterritorializing” the Nation: The Greek State and the “Ecumenical Hellenism”", in Dimitris Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture* (Farnham, 2009), 125.

⁶⁶³ See HMSO, *Handbook on Greece*, Vol. I, compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty (London, n.d.), 171, quoted in Charles B. Eddy, *Greece and the Greek Refugees* (London, 1931), 34.

⁶⁶⁴ 1,729,738 according to the Population Registers quoted in Kemal Haşim Karpaz, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, WI, 1985), 189.

⁶⁶⁵ From the Parliamentary Meeting on 21 October 1915, in Stephanou, *Τα κείμενα του Ελευθέριου Βενιζέλου*, 257.

⁶⁶⁶ Yiannis Papadopoulos, 'Η Μετανάστευση απο την Οθωμανική Αυτοκρατορία στην Αμερική (19^{ος}–1923): Οι Ελληνικές Κοινότητες της Αμερικής και η αλυτρωτική πολιτική της Ελλάδας [Migration from

point strongly justifies Venizelos' connection and cooperation with the Greek community of London and vice versa. Wealthy Greeks, whose economic endeavours would be satisfied by an irredentist policy, were found at once by Venizelos' side, producing the most vehement propaganda in favour of his policies.

Accordingly, in order to legitimise his irredentist aspirations and national(ist) political decisions Venizelos had to invent a notion that could encompass Greek subjects, regardless of their geographical dispersion. In other words, he had to provide a national *topos* for the fragmented and dispersed Hellenisms. This demand was satisfied by the concept of 'national consciousness' because of its flexibility in transcending the geographical limits of the Greek state and identifying as 'homeland' not only the territories forming the Greek state but also the lands in the Ottoman Empire known as the Greek East.⁶⁶⁷

Although Venizelist policies had acted upon this conviction since the Balkan Wars, the term 'national consciousness' was coined in 1919, in a memorandum dealing with the rights of Greece in the Paris Peace Conference. There, Venizelos affirmed that 'the democratic conception of the Allied and Associated Powers cannot admit of any other indicator of nationality than that of national consciousness',⁶⁶⁸ and again during the same year a memorandum submitted to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference in Versailles clarified that:

Religion, race, language cannot be considered as certain indicators of nationality. The sole unmistakable criterion is ethnic consciousness, that is to say the expressed wish of people as they determine their fate and decide to what national family they wish to belong.⁶⁶⁹

Eventually, in his understanding, Venizelos imagined an Asia Minor that was divided into Turkish, Armenian and Greek sections in which the 'population will eventually be homogenous'. He was confident enough to claim that the almost 800,000 Greeks

the Ottoman Empire to America (19th c.–1923), The Greek communities of America and the irredentist policy of Greece] (Panteio University, Ph.D. thesis, 2008). For the financial aspect see also Psiroukis, *To Νεοελληνικό Παροικιακό Φαινόμενο*.

⁶⁶⁷ Chassiotis, 'Continuity and Change', 9–15.

⁶⁶⁸ Eleftherios Venizelos, *Greece before the Peace Congress of 1919: a memorandum dealing with the rights of Greece* (Oxford, 1919), 3.

⁶⁶⁹ 'Observations sur la réponse bulgare au sujet des questions territoriales', *A memorandum submitted to the Supreme Council of the Paris Peace Conference* (Paris, 1919) cited in Clogg, *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, 16.

residing in the territory would remain outside the boundaries of the Greek, zone which might include the same amount of Ottoman population, an issue that could be solved by voluntary intermigration.⁶⁷⁰ With this transterritorial conception of Greek subjects, Venizelos embarked on the realisation of his political programme first through Greece's victory in the Balkan Wars. In 1913 he declared:

you should contrast the Greece of 1909 with that of 1913, which not only doubled its territory and its population but it developed in wealth, in army and in spirit.⁶⁷¹

Consequently, throughout the period under examination, this Idea became, along with its ideological offspring, irredentism, the articulating conviction of the Greek Liberal state. Papastratis identifies two main characteristics of this national project: first, the fact that its context is entirely general and abstract; and, second, that it is inspired by a particularly nationalist spirit.⁶⁷² Both of these, accordingly, characterise the writings of the Anglo-Hellenic League regarding the national aspirations of the *Megali Idea*.

In the examination that follows, we will trace some of the League's early writings on the concept of irredentism and, furthermore, examine how they articulate their argument in agreement with the consolidation of liberalism in Greece. What we expect to witness in their publications is a discourse in favour of modernisation in the context of a liberal bourgeois democracy, which would ensure (their) bourgeois hegemony. In Dimou's words,

the dynamics of Venizelism ... stem exactly from this dialectical relation between on the one hand, a vehement nationalism and on the other a program for bourgeois modernisation which meet exactly on the most fruitful historical conjuncture. Social reform, guaranteeing social peace at home and

⁶⁷⁰ Llewellyn-Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 71.

⁶⁷¹ 'προς την Ελλάδα εκείνην του 1909 αντιπαραβάλετε ήδη την Ελλάδα του 1913, Ελλάδα ου μόνον διαπλασιασθείσαν κατ' έκτασιν και κατά πληθυσμόν, άλλα πολλαπλασιασθείσαν κατά πλούτον, Ελλάδα μεγαλυνθείσαν και στρατιωτικώς και ηθικώς', *Script*, 19 August 1913.

⁶⁷² Prokopis Papastratis, 'Από τη Μεγάλη Ιδεά στη Βαλκανική Ένωση' [From the Great Idea to the Balkan Union], in Christos Chatziosif and George Mavrogordato (eds.), *Βενιζελισμός και Αστικός Εκσυγχρονισμός* [Venizelism and Bourgeois Modernization] (Herakleio, 1988), 418.

expansion abroad were constitutive elements of the same philosophy and often correlated chronologically.⁶⁷³

Having these ideas as the essential postulations of the ideology of the period in our mind when examining the League's writings, we will arrive at three general convictions that run throughout their propaganda and correspond to the main principles of Greek nationalism during the first decades of the twentieth century. These include a discourse on regenerating the East and the place of the past; a discourse about how anti-modern and 'uncivilised' the enemies are; and, lastly, a discourse that connects modernisation with irredentism.

The first conviction to which considerable space is devoted in the writings of the League has to do with the re-Hellenisation of the lands that formed part of the Ottoman Empire. This concept was connected with a regeneration of the 'past' as a *topos* where modern Greek liberals sought both their political foundations and the legitimation of their request for territorial expansion. A persistent discourse regarding the regeneration of the East was especially acute after the 1912–1914 deportations of the Greek population from the coast of Asia Minor. Secondly, and flowing from the first argument, the language they use to describe or refer to their enemies draws from the ideological toolkit of modernisation. We will find plenty of accusations of being 'anti-modern' or 'less civilised' levelled at elements in the East and the 'enemy' more generally, and in some cases we will find language connected with racial classification without, however, the existence of an articulated racial ideology. Lastly, we will witness how the League's demand for modernisation is intertwined with the promotion of *Megali Idea* on a political and economic level.

The Discourse of Burrows and Andreadis

According to Ernest Renan, 'a heroic past, great men, glory, this is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea. The nation, like an individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifices and devotions. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we

⁶⁷³ Dimou, *Entangled Paths towards Modernity*, 353.

are.⁶⁷⁴ In this respect, the League unfolded a vehement propaganda campaign disseminated through its pamphlets and articles in the daily and weekly press to promote understanding of the Greek national programme as it had been encapsulated in both the past and the glorious future.

During the events of 1912–1914 on the Anatolian coast, it became clear that Greeks could no longer live and flourish in the Ottoman Empire because of the dogma of Pan-Turkism that permeated the majority of the policies of the Young Turks Regime and which dictated that only a homogeneous Turkish Muslim population could be part of the New State.⁶⁷⁵ Hence, and since the Greek state regarded the coastal area of Anatolia as a zone vital to its prosperity, it had to regenerate the Greek origins of the lands in a way which would ultimately legitimise the Greek landing of troops in Smyrna in 1919.

In 1914, and after public opinion had witnessed a tremendous wave of Christian refugees fleeing from Asia Minor to Greece, Ronald Burrows wrote an article of ‘distinct historic interest’, according to the League. His ‘New Greece’ was sent to Members of Parliament, newspapers and ‘persons likely to [be] interest[ed] in England and elsewhere’.⁶⁷⁶ The article begins with a reference to the ‘supremacy of the Greek culture’ of which poets have written and to the ‘bulwark of civilization against barbarism’, which made Greeks realise their ‘new political importance’ when the ‘Hellenised East’ stood in the way of barbarian invasion at the eastern frontiers of the Roman Empire.⁶⁷⁷ The linearity comes as no surprise. Burrows then argues that the Greek spirit of the ‘race’ was responsible for the ‘long history of the Byzantine Empire’, which is ‘Christian in religion and Greek in language’.⁶⁷⁸ Then, Greece (meaning the modern state), ‘as a national entity, has throughout been a refining and civilising force’.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁴ Ernest Renan, ‘Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?’ [What is a nation?] Lecture delivered in the Sorbonne, Paris, 11 March 1882.

⁶⁷⁵ The dogma of Pan-Turkism and the nationalism of the Young Turks will be examined further below in the second case study.

⁶⁷⁶ Words of the League’s chairman W.P. Reeves in AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

⁶⁷⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 14, 1914.

⁶⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

Burrows confirmed the *zambeliopaparigopoylio schema* of historical linear progression and built a background of a continuous existence of the Greeks that he now called 'unredeemed'. The problem, he says of these Greeks, is that they are 'suffering from Turkish oppression in Crete, Epirus or Macedonia'. Hence, 'ever since the Turk took Constantinople there has been in the mind of every Greek a hope'. This hope he calls an 'Idea' because of its dominance and persistence throughout the time in Greek imagination. The context of this 'Idea' is that the Greek 'one day would win back his inheritance'.⁶⁸⁰ However, Burrows reassured his readers that in the Greek movement there are no ideas of 'militarism' and 'jingoism', which, in contrast, accompany the progressive western concept of 'national regeneration'.⁶⁸¹ Then he justifiably turned to the 'ideal leader' of the national revival, Venizelos, whose success is attributed to the 'soundness of the race'. As a modern 'Pericles', he commands 'as fully as ever the confidence of the nation'. The nation is 'sound' and it is all united under his leadership, in 'blood and brains' in England, France, America and Australia.⁶⁸²

Burrows would be called to write again for the cause of the *Megali Idea* during the Peace Delegations in 1919. 'The Unity of the Greek Race' was presented as the Annual Address to the Historical Association in February 1919. It also formed part of the Greek delegate propaganda during the Paris Peace Conference and was circulated among the public.⁶⁸³ The author emphasised that the 'fate of three million Greeks' depend on the coming Paris Peace Conference. In fact, he underlined that 'there is no other race of whose so many members may remain unredeemed unless great efforts are made to free them'.⁶⁸⁴

On this occasion, he dealt with the notion of racial, historical and linguistic continuity in more depth. At the apogee of nationalism, he is conscious that territorial claims over non-Greek peoples would result in accusations of an aspirational imperialism. But, in his view, there is a need to think of the 'old

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸² *Ibid.*

⁶⁸³ *A catalogue of Paris Peace Conference delegation propaganda in the Hoover War Library*, Hoover Institution (Stanford, CA, 1926).

⁶⁸⁴ Ronald M. Burrows, 'The unity of the Greek race', *Contemporary Review Co* (London, 1919).

Byzantine Empire as [...] the homeland of the Greek race' without this meaning that Greeks were encouraging a 'wild and impractical imperialism'. It is, rather, in his view, a simple claim of the nation for 'self-determination of a homogenous area' where the race has been always 'unmixed'.⁶⁸⁵ The unity he claims on the principle of the continuity of the language, to which he devotes several lines to explain how it remained almost unchanged throughout the ages. Last but not least, he concludes on the point that the "Great Idea" comes to this, that the homeland of the Greek race, like the Greek language, is a unity, and that only one corner of it has yet been freed from alien rule'.⁶⁸⁶

If we go back to take up the thread of discourse where we left it in 1914, we will come across two other texts in the year following Burrows' first publication that have as their focus the Greece of the *Megali Idea*. Following the years running up to the Paris Peace Conference, where Greek territorial claims would be finally – even if briefly – satisfied, we witness a process of gradual radicalisation of the nationalist discourse, as exemplified by the propaganda text analysed next, entitled 'New Greece' and produced by Professor Andreadis, president of the Athenian branch of the League.

Andreadis, following an invitation by the League, delivered in London on 15 January 1915 an address on 'The Near East and the European War' with clearly irredentist argumentation. His address, which was followed by a speech from the Greek Minister in London John Gennadius, was reported by fourteen London newspapers and thirty-four provincial ones. The League published the address and the speeches that followed in their pamphlet no. 17, along with four articles from the British press that praised the bonds between England and Greece. Andreadis, who was professor of economics at the University of Athens and personal advisor of Prime Minister Venizelos, gave his lecture in front of 300 members of the League, among them influential Greek and English figures of the British capital such as the Greek Archimandrite Dr Pagonis, the consul general for Greece John Stavridis and his wife, the Liberal MP Sir Robert Moran, Miss Helena Schilizzi, an heiress and

⁶⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Venizelos' future wife, and the former director of the British School at Athens Professor Richard M. Dawkins.

Greece's neutrality during the period and the infiltration of German influence in the Greek capital in the form of a 'formidable and marvellously organized propaganda' brought forth English demands for reassurance that Greece was, is and would continue to be her respected ally.⁶⁸⁷ Hence, Andreadis, who dealt with the main problems that composed the discourse of nationalism – that is, the refugee problem, the anti-Greek persecutions in Asia Minor and the Bulgarian claims over Macedonia – also tried to convince his audience of the 'unalterable attachment of Greece to Great Britain'.⁶⁸⁸ Characteristically, he makes note of two feelings that Greeks have for Britain, namely gratitude – he mentions that 'you would not find a Greek, even a peasant, who does not cherish the names of Byron and Gladstone' – and 'confidence in England's might',⁶⁸⁹ reminding his audience that the League was not only a pro-Hellenic organisation but also an 'Anglo-Hellenic League', and that there was a mutual interest in these two countries' amicable ties.

However, 1915 was not the year of romanticism, nor was an economist such as Professor Andreadis a delusional sentimentalist who spoke about friendships among countries on a virtually theoretical level. His praising of character quickly gave place to the pragmatic motives of the Anglo-Hellenic understanding. With the annexation of Egypt by the English, Greece believed it could be benefited by England's interest in the Near East. And if the aforementioned annexation would, in his words, 'probably make [England] greater both from the political and economic point of view', then Greece was eager for a 'closer Anglo-Greek political and economic co-operation'. He then assumed once more a romantic turn of phrase to remind his audience that Britain had always followed a pro-Hellenic policy, from Gladstone and Canning to Queen Victoria, who followed her advisers' opinion and gave up the Ionian Islands to the Greeks.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸⁷ *Daily Chronicle*, 14 January 1915, quoted in Andreadis, AH League, pamphlet no. 17, 1915.

⁶⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

In the last part of his speech Andreadis devoted a few remarks to the Greek 'unredeemed' population in Asia Minor and Macedonia. What connected them was the 'national sentiment', a force known to the English as, he says, the 'same power that draws men from the heart of Canada and from the wilds of Australia to fight side by side'.⁶⁹¹ Lastly, he makes a point about the Greek linearity of history, which, like Burrows, he based on the ideological device of Paparigopoulos and Zampelios. 'Turkey', he stated, with all the persecutions it had committed against the Greeks, had only managed to remind 'the whole world that ancient Aeolia and Ionia (the country of Homer and the earliest musicians and philosophers)' not only 'remained unchanged for the last three thousand years' but also 'were and have ever been essentially Greek'.⁶⁹²

Another prominent text of the League published in the same year was Z. Duckett Ferriman's 'Greece and To-morrow', which enjoyed such a successful and broad circulation that the League had to publish a second edition in June 1917. It was also re-published by the American-Hellenic Society in its pamphlet no. 2 in 1918, along with an account of the banquet organised by the Greek community of New York to George Roussos, the Minister of Greece to the United States. Ferriman, a member of the League and already known to the Greeks because of his publications, such as *Turkey and the Turks* (1911) and *Greeks, Bulgars and English Opinion* (1913), was now called upon to second the main principles of the discourse of Greek nationalism, namely the issues of continuity, the purity of the language and the superiority of the civilisation. As the League underlined in a following statement, this pamphlet was designed to 'indicate the distribution and claims of the Greek Race in the Near East in the event of a territorial re-arrangement of the Levant'.⁶⁹³

Ferriman was approaching these issues as an Englishman and he clearly wanted to stress his nationality in support of his impartiality. This was an important element of Greek propaganda. Andreadis would write about the same things, but he was Greek and had a 'legitimate interest' in supporting the national territorial demands; but, for Ferriman, the reference to Greeks in the third person plural gave

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁹² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶⁹³ AH League, pamphlet no. 27, 1916.

his writing not only an academic character but also an objective one by virtue of the exclusion of the 'self' from the text.

All facts are presented as unquestionable truths: 'There can be no doubt of a common language and tradition. The continuity of Hellenism is an indisputable fact.' He argued that his affirmations came from a 'scientific standpoint', that of Dr Hogarth, whom he quotes as dispassionate: 'The Hellenic type of civilization, preserved by the agency of the Orthodox Church, has assimilated by its superiority all others.'⁶⁹⁴ On the continuity of the Greek language he quoted Prof. J.S. Blackie's introductory lecture at University of Edinburgh in 1853, in which he asserted that 'of all European languages Greek is that which has maintained itself for the longest period with the least amount of change'.⁶⁹⁵ As for Asia Minor, Ferriman said that it was where 'Hellenic blood is probably purer than anywhere else, reminding [us] that it is the earliest seat of Hellenic civilization'.⁶⁹⁶ He is reminding England this because he believed that Greece would be a very useful ally, as they were the 'only people in the Near East who really like us'. Again here, his attempt to disentangle linguistically the English (us) from the Greeks (them) from his writing serves to free his arguments from any accusations of bias, as he speaks as an Englishman for the Greeks and not as a philhellene. In the conclusion of his argument, Ferriman calls upon another intellectual to assist. This time he uses the words of the professor of Greek at Trinity College, Cambridge to underline the final remark of his eulogy, that of the 'intellectual, political, social superiority of the Greek civilization'. Professor Richard Jebb remarked in 1902 in his book *Modern Greece*: 'The Greek race offers, on the whole, the best hope of settled order, of constitutional government and of high civilization in those countries which were once Hellenic.'⁶⁹⁷

The Anglo-Hellenic League was very industrious in producing the appropriate propaganda in the right period. Many of the pamphlets were published immediately after major events, responding to attacks on Greek territorial claims or addressing an issue of national importance, such as the treatment of refugees in the 1912–1914

⁶⁹⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 23, *Greece and Tomorrow*, 1915.

⁶⁹⁵ The lecture was entitled 'The living Language of Greece and its utility to classical scholars', in *ibid.*

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

deportations from Asia Minor. In addition, as we examined in the previous chapter, their discourse was also oriented towards the legitimacy of the regime, thus producing passionate speeches about Venizelos' government and Greece's alignment to the camp of the Entente.

In evaluating the influence of the Anglo-Hellenic League, in terms of both its writings and its broader reach in British politics, it is evident that Venizelos' reception in London in November 1917 has enormous significance. At the meeting, which was organised by the Anglo-Hellenic League at the Mansion House, Venizelos was received by representatives of Greek and British politics a few months after Greece had successfully entered the war with the Allies. It is important to underline the political significance of the speeches that were given on the occasion by the secretary of the state for foreign affairs A.J. Balfour, the leader of the House of Lords Lord Curzon and the Minister of Munitions and Prime Minister to be Winston Churchill. In addition, Prime Minister Venizelos gave an address to a packed Egyptian Hall that was followed by speeches by the Greek Minister in London John Gennadius and Dr Ronald Burrows. Among the guests we find also the president of the Board of Education and MP H.A.L. Fisher, the Rumanian and Serbian ministers, the Greek consul general Mr. J. J Stavridis, MP Ronald McNeill, who had stood up for the recognition of Venizelos' government in the House of Commons the previous year, and Mr Alexander Ralli.

This was an occasion that clearly demonstrated that the pro-Venizelos and thus the pro-Hellenic propaganda of the League was paying off. The fruits of the vehement propaganda of the League in favour of Venizelos and its policies were evident in the guests' speeches. Balfour greeted Venizelos as the 'most distinguished living representative of the great historic race', highlighting that the 'Greek civilization laid the foundation of so much that all civilized nations now value.'⁶⁹⁸ Lord Curzon ended his speech with the grandiose promise: '[Venizelos] is the man who has stood by us through three difficult and critical years. We will stand by him to the end.'⁶⁹⁹ And, lastly, Churchill, in a rather poetic spirit, reassured Venizelos of British loyalty, speaking about the 'perilous voyage' of the war, with 'weathered

⁶⁹⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 35, 1917.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

gales and tempests as fierce as this'; but through the darkness 'we see those lights shining which spell for Britain, for Greece, for Mr. Venizelos and for civilization a broad and assured future of safety and freedom'.⁷⁰⁰ What makes it even more interesting, however, is that the same guests were assembled a year later, on 27 June 1918, to celebrate the anniversary of Greece's entry into the war. Speeches were again warmly delivered by Churchill and Viscount Bryce, a passionate liberal historian, politician and former British ambassador to the United States.

The discourse of the League was thus vehement, timely and supported by a great majority of the British elite, who were seldom guests of the meetings and the events organised. In the next part of this chapter, we will examine more closely not only the discourse they produced themselves in their pamphlets but also the material originating with their supporters and published by the League, including eye-witness reports, letters and opinions of English and Greek subjects living in the Ottoman Empire.

Three Case Studies of Nationalist Discourse: Introduction

Having examined the ideological background of nationalism of diasporic Greeks and how this had forged their national identity and their national aspirations, we will now attempt to demonstrate how the League conceived and reproduced the official narrative through the examination of specific instances of their writing productions. This examination, which will incorporate three case studies, will range from 1913, the year of the League's establishment, to 1915, when Greece found herself, still in a neutral position, in the maelstrom of the First World War. The case studies touch upon three important events that hold a prominent position on the altar of irredentism.

First, we will embark on an examination of the events in Epirus and Albania, probably the first aspect of Greek nationalism in which the League was involved upon its establishment. The League was motivated to publish regarding this issue because of the pro-Albanian propaganda that had started to flood the British press, originating with Aubrey Herbert, a Conservative MP and British diplomat famous for

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

his warm pro-Albanian feelings. It would not constitute an exaggeration to suggest that the establishment of the League was in fact forced, to a large degree, by the existence of this kind of propaganda, which imperilled the British alliance with Greek interests during the period.

The next case study follows a rather different form. It deals mainly with a collection of eye-witness reports of the events that took place in 1912–1914 in the Anatolian coast that the League brought together and published. These concerned the persecutions of Christians by the political organ of the Young Turks, the Committee for Union and Progress (CUP) [İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti]; commercial embargoes; and *en masse* deportations of population to the nearby islands of Chios and Mytilene. The events that are described in the League's pamphlets constitute the result of the vociferous Young Turk nationalism, which was in turn sparked by the conditions of the Muslims in the Balkans after the war. Thus, what we witness in these writings is an effort by the League to present the cruelty of the CUP while ignoring the treatment of Muslim refugees who had fled Macedonia during the turmoil and took refuge in Asia Minor, a place that was replete with Greek villages and where the Greek commercial class prevailed. In our analysis of the League's discourse we attempt to explain the atrocities committed by the CUP as a result of the rising economic antagonism between the Greek/Christian and the Turkish/Muslim populations under the dogma of pan-Turkism. It is, in a nutshell, an analysis that tries to map the interaction between nationalism and violence, between propaganda and influence, and offers a conceptualisation of the events of 1912–1914 within the realm of ideology.

The final case study takes as its point of departure the relations of Greeks and Bulgarians during the First Balkan War and paints the canvas of their interaction until Bulgaria's entrance to the war with Germany. The League was obviously interested in influencing primarily British public opinion regarding Greek territorial demands over Macedonia and attempted to attack the pro-Bulgarian feelings of some British Liberals, which were generally endangering the advancement of the Greek *Megali Idea* in the Balkan Peninsula. More precisely, the League was forced to produce these writings in an attempt to respond to the pro-Bulgarian propaganda put forth by Noel and Charles Roden Buxton, representatives of a radical 'new liberalism' that

was opposed to jingoistic imperialism.⁷⁰¹ The brothers, who advanced their policies through the Balkan Committee in London, were suggesting that Britain allow concessions to Greece in Asia Minor in order to secure concessions to Bulgaria in Macedonia, and especially the important port of Kavalla.⁷⁰² These thoughts, and especially the claim for a Bulgarian Macedonia, the Liberal MPs advanced in the daily press, but they also produced a book entitled *The War and the Balkans* in April 1915, in which they elaborated their proposal for Macedonian concessions to Bulgaria. The League's response to the Buxton brothers' allegations came from its esteemed member and soon to be honorary secretary (1916) John Mavrogordato, who, in October 1915, published a 'Hellenic Note on British Policy' that was essentially an indictment of the policy followed by the Buxtons.

All three case studies constitute vocal examples of the propaganda and communications, and exemplify the language employed by the League to advance its irredentist discourse. The Albanians, Turks and Bulgarians all take their position as the national enemy and the imminent threat towards the realisation of the *Megali Idea*, and the ideological weapons that are employed for attacking the various enemies are not very different. On the contrary, apart from the fact that, through the writings examined, Albanians, Turks and Bulgarians are somehow connected in terms of their conceptualisation as the 'enemy', they are also dealt with through the same mechanisms, those furnished by the age of nationalism.

At the outset of this examination the analysis will commence in a rather unorthodox way, or at least one unfaithful to the linear progression of the events that took place. Beginning with a speech given in 1913, when the Second Balkan War was already developing, the goal is not to offer another reading of the events, already well examined in the historiography,⁷⁰³ but to attempt a reading of the discourse that the League produced *vis-à-vis* the declarations made by the Greek Prime Minister during and after the events. This pamphlet will help us understand

⁷⁰¹ Charles Masterman to Noel Buxton ('Beloved Cadet'), 16 March 1901 in Perkins, 'British liberalism and the Balkans', 105.

⁷⁰² Llewellyn-Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 45.

⁷⁰³ Richard Hall, *The Balkan Wars 1912–1913: Prelude to the First World War* (London, 2000); Konstantinos Svolopoulos, Phillip Carabott and Gerasimos Apostolatos (eds.), *Η Ελλάδα των Βαλκανικών Πολέμων, 1910–1914* [Greece of the Balkan Wars 1910–1914] (Athens, 1993).

the official conceptualisation of Bulgarians and Turks. This will also be possible because the pamphlet, apart from the speech of the Greek Prime Minister in the Greek Chamber, combines an article by the League's honorary chairman William P. Reeves that serves as a guide to the reception of these events and their reproduction within the context of the British capital. Although the article was written several months before the official establishment of the League it is interesting, nonetheless, to see the views of one of its founding members and a great admirer of Venizelos on issues that would later constitute basic fields of discourse for the League:

I said to myself let us come to an understanding with them there is enough room for all the Near Eastern people, there are means of making a fair partition according to the just aspirations of each country according to the geographical positions of each country and for the welfare of the Near East.⁷⁰⁴

Venizelos' affirmation during his speech in the Greek Chamber already possesses a delusional character. At least to a serious student of the history of nationalism, statements such as 'a fair partition' or 'just aspirations of each country' appear not only utopian but perhaps even naïve. The question is whether we can describe the Greek Prime Minister as naïve and delusional, or ascribe to him a frivolity that furnishes him with the reassurance that, amidst an era of fierce national conflicts and claims, a country could come to an understanding with a neighbouring one based on the traits of justice, fairness and welfare.

In addition, Venizelos' views were expressed during a very critical temporal conjuncture, one that in fact provides the answer to the above-mentioned question. His speech took place on 4 July 1913, while Greece was at war with the 'them' of his above quotation. During the First Balkan War, Venizelos' decision to align with the Bulgarians, forming the Balkan League to fight against the Ottoman Empire, was strongly questioned, especially because there was no arrangement for the question of the partition of the claimed territories in advance.

⁷⁰⁴ 'Mr. E. Venizelos' great speech on the Balkan crisis, and a sketch of the political career of this great man from the pen of the Hon. W.P. Reeves', in W.P. Reeves, *The Strong Man of Greece* (London, 1913), 10–11.

His seemingly frivolous postulation regarding the question of the partition after the First Balkan War was in reality a piece of the defence he built regarding the question of why Greece was currently in a very vicious war with a country that only a month previously it had fought alongside. The Bulgarians, who after the First Balkan War had retaken the position of the national enemy and thus posed a pragmatic danger to the integrity of the irredentist programme regarding the northern territories of the Greek state, needed now to be divested of their ally costume and garbed in the enemy costume. In the discourse that followed, both Venizelos and the League took up this mission to 'barbarise' the Bulgarians, something that was not new at all, but had somehow been forgotten during their cooperation in the Balkan League.

In any case, during the period of the rapprochement and the fight against the Ottomans Greece, according to the Prime Minister, could not have achieved this victory without the 'co-operation of the Eastern Christian States'.⁷⁰⁵ Venizelos offers no other solution; to choose apathy in the struggle against the Ottomans would have led to 'a complete national failure of Hellenism in the Near East'.⁷⁰⁶ Thus, the conviction was that 'Bulgarians were bad but Turks were worse at the time', and this justified not only the naïve suppositions stated in his speech but also the decision to align with a country that had never ceased to have aspirations of annexing the wider territory of Macedonia.⁷⁰⁷ Reeves, in his article 'The Strong Man of Greece', which was published along with Venizelos' speech, quotes the Prime Minister's answer when he was accused of cooperating with Bulgaria: 'Yes, I thought Bulgaria might be an honest ally; optimism is a weakness of mine; but they did not catch me unprepared.'⁷⁰⁸

The Epirus Question

The League's first article by Reeves was entitled 'The Aegean Islands and Epirus' and was published in the *Daily Chronicle* on 18 December 1913, a day after the Protocol

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 9

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 12

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 10

⁷⁰⁸ 'The Strong Man of Greece – Eleftherios Venizelos', *Daily Chronicle*, 20 July 1913.

of Florence was signed, handing Northern Epirus to Albania. The article came as an answer to Mr Aubrey Herbert's letter in the *Morning Post* of 5 November 1913, which made 'distinct charges against the Greeks in Epirus treating brutally Notables of that district'.⁷⁰⁹

Greece's territorial claims in the Balkan Peninsula, within the context of the Balkan Wars, were one reason behind the foundation of the Anglo-Hellenic League on 15 December 1913. It was, however, more directly provoked by Herbert's sharp allegations regarding the Greek government's policy in the territory. As Reeves noted two years later, 'our League came into being at the moment when Great Powers, after a most inequitable division of Northern Epirus, had given the Greek Authorities there notice to quit';⁷¹⁰ or, in C.S. Butler's words, when the Great Powers 'deliberately sacrificed the rights of the Epirotes to their own selfish interests and jealousies'.⁷¹¹

Meanwhile, somewhere else in London, the Ottoman Committee, which was founded in the summer of 1913 by Duse Mohamed with the objective of supporting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, was reformed as the Ottoman Association, and in May 1914 elected as its chairman Aubrey Herbert. It was, therefore, a moment for extended propaganda, a moment to 'To defend the just claims and honour of Greece' and 'remove existing prejudices'; and, as we are about to see, the League engaged in a laborious programme of responding to the allegations, mostly through articles published in the British press.⁷¹²

What had initially sparked the Anglo-Hellenic response was Herbert's letter to the *Morning Post*, which, as mentioned above, was published on 5 November 1913. In the letter Herbert attempted to make a plausible case for the state of the Albanians of Argyrokastro, Valona, Fier and Berat and 'the way they were being prosecuted' by Greeks while protesting against the Greek territorial claims.⁷¹³

⁷⁰⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 4, 1914.

⁷¹⁰ AH League, pamphlet no. 18, 1915.

⁷¹¹ AH League, pamphlet no. 16, *The northern Epirotes*, 1914. Butler was an English newspaper correspondent in the Balkans.

⁷¹² AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *Rules*, 1913.

⁷¹³ Aubrey Herbert to the *Morning Post*, 5 November 1913, quoted in Destani and Tomes, *Albania's Greatest Friend*, 159.

In an earlier letter from Burrows and Reeves to the *Morning Post*, dated 25 October, there was a categorical denial of 'the murder of the 72 Albanian notables' both by the Greek Minister in London and by M. Venizelos. The League invited Herbert to 'state the places and the dates of these alleged massacres'. They were also concerned about his source, since 'as a public man [he] must be aware that charges so very serious as his ought not to be made unless the accuser is prepared to support them by detailed information'.⁷¹⁴ In turn, Herbert pledged to find the names of these notables and present them to the press. He also stressed that his information derived from the authorities and, calling upon its originality, he denied that anyone could condemn these statements as false or untrue.

Furthermore, he compared the Albanian cause with that of the Greeks in 1821, stating that 'The Albanians of to-day are fighting for their life, their liberty and their language.' He had wished that Greece would have 'held out the hand of friendship to a weaker neighbour that possesses the same nationalist ideals that inspired the other Balkan races.' But, on the contrary, he argued, Greece had 'chosen to follow a policy of greed'. He concluded the letter by attaching a catalogue of the cruelties committed by Greeks in the territory, which he named 'Atrocities and Massacres by Greeks'.⁷¹⁵

Herbert also denied the Greek sentiments of the Epirotes and declared that they were Albanian at heart. Reeves claimed that the Powers of the Triple Alliance should not accept the proposals of Sir Edward Grey as 'to the disposal of the Aegean Islands and North Epirus', as these were favourable to Austria, but remaining 'under [the] Turkish flag' was highly unpleasant for the inhabitants of the islands and the Greek race. Reeves' prose intensified when he referred to the 150,000 Greeks who were to be handed over to 'an Albanian Government which does not yet exist!', while 70 per cent of Northern Epirotes 'so earnestly desire union with Greece that [they] are ready to fight and die for it'.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁴ Burrows and Reeves to the *Morning Post*, published 25 October 1913, quoted in Destani and Tomes, *Albania's Greatest Friend*.

⁷¹⁵ AH League to the *Morning Post*, 5 November 1913.

⁷¹⁶ 'The Aegean Islands and Epirus', *Daily Chronicle*, 18 December 1913.

This pamphlet, as noted, also included Reeves' response to Herbert's letter to the *Morning Post* of 5 November. The League had requested that Colonel Murray, who was in the area at that time, to report on the situation as regards the charges made by Herbert. His telegraph, on 18 November, stated:

There is not a word of truth in any of the allegations, I have just been talking with three Mussulman Notables, reported in Mr. Herbert's letter to have been killed by the Greeks; no Mussulman, notable or otherwise, has been killed and not a single house has been burnt. I have also seen and talked with Hussein Effendi, the Mayor of Argyrokastro, whom Mr. Herbert alleged to be in prison. He has never been in prison in his life.⁷¹⁷

Murray concluded that these statements 'are nothing more than the mendacious myths of paid propagandists'.⁷¹⁸

Consequently, the matter was not put to rest. It was time for a more official Greek response to those allegations that daily flooded the British press. John Gennadius, as Greek Minister in London, in a letter to the Editor of *The Times* declared that he is 'instructed by (his) Government to give a formal and unqualified contradiction to the suggestion that the Hellenic Government has in any way encouraged or assisted revolutionary movement in Epirus'.⁷¹⁹ Gennadius supported his case by arguing that it had already been stated officially in the British parliament that 'the Greek Government has carried out loyally the promises made by His Excellency M. Venizelos to the Powers'. He furthermore stated that 'although there have been individual cases of disobedience [to the orders given by His Majesty King Constantine] their number is insignificant'.⁷²⁰ As regards the alleged massacres, he

⁷¹⁷ Telegraph from Colonel Murray to AH League, 18 November 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 4, 1913.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁹ Greece and the Epirus Rising, *The Times*, 20 April 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 10, *Greece and the Epirus Rising/Denial by Greek Minister— by John Gennadius*, 1914.

⁷²⁰ Gennadius is probably referring to the Parliamentary Questions, Thursday 2 April 1914, House of Commons (Hansard, HC Deb 02 April 1914 vol 60 c1320):

Mr. Aubrey Herbert asked whether the Hellenic Government has carried out its pledges as regards the evacuation of South Albania?

Sir E. Grey The evacuation of the district in question was, by international agreement, to have been completed by 31st March. It was proceeding up to a few days ago, when the Greek Government suggested to the Powers the advisability of delaying the withdrawal of their troops, in the interests of public order, pending the conclusion of negotiations between the Albanian Government and the provisional Government of Northern Epirus. No reply has, as yet, been

noted that the Greek government had received no reliable information so far. In contrast, the 'lamentable conditions' endured by the Christians of Epirus in the hands of the Albanian Muslims could have been 'obviated', he adds, 'if the Great Powers had satisfied the Greek suggestions of February 21st referring to the protection of the 'legitimate rights, interests and lives of the Christian populations'.⁷²¹ Lastly, Gennadius requested that the entire text of this 'official and responsible communication' should be given the same 'prominent publicity' that had been accorded to the 'unverified, mostly anonymous and unfair statements' of Mr Herbert.⁷²²

Herbert, although he was probably advised by the Chair for the bold language that he used in the parliamentary sessions,⁷²³ admitted that it was 'with very great reluctance' that he was attacking the Greek government. Referring to Gennadius' letter to *The Times*, he suggested that the 'Greek Government that instructed M. Gennadius in London to deny massacres knew that massacres took place' and reported once more alleged Greek atrocities in Argyrokastro.⁷²⁴

Herbert's accusations triggered further philhellenic responses, which the League willingly published. In a subsequent pamphlet they published a letter from C.S. Butler, the Balkans correspondent of a leading English newspaper. Butler directly confronted Herbert and his associate Edith Durham over their false testimonies regarding the Albanian refugees and the status quo in Northern Epirus. He stated that 'they make a very great mistake in launching these horrors in the British press

returned to this proposal and, at the present moment I am unable to say whether the evacuation has in fact been completed.

Mr. Aubrey Herbert asked whether regular Greek troops have assisted Komitajis in pillaging Albanian villages?

Sir E. Grey No such information has reached me.

⁷²¹ Gennadius to *The Times*, 19 April 1914 (published 20 April 1914).

⁷²² AH League, pamphlet no. 10, 1914.

⁷²³ Herbert to the House of Commons: 'The other day, in a supplementary question, I used some rather strong language, which drew, if I may with deference say so, a very proper reproof from the Chair.' Hansard, HC Deb 29 June 1914 vol 64 cc97.

⁷²⁴ 'In Argyrokastro there are about 8,000 men, women and children Mussulmans. They refused to leave their homes when ordered to do so. The Government has cannon mounted upon fortress, and intends to bombard at the first moment they deem necessary. The last telegram I will read is this:— 13th April, Koritza (Albania). The Andartis (Epirote Holy Battalion) together with regulars of Greek army have burnt all houses in village Kosee; fourteen houses in village Detrine; all houses of Mahomedans in Ogran. Many women, men, children burnt alive.' Hansard, HC Deb 29 June 1914 vol 64 cc99.

without having verified them by a visit to the locality itself'.⁷²⁵ In fact, he named them 'tourists' who 'know nothing' about the fundamental relations of the populations residing in the area. Furthermore, he attempted to waive the language criterion as a determinative factor in the nationality of Northern Epirotes, as most inhabitants spoke mostly (if not only) Albanian. 'The language test is an absurd one', he reported, accompanying the statement with a set of assorted paradigms: the Muslims of Crete, whose 'only language is Greek', or the Greeks of Cappadocia and Cilicia, 'who speak nothing but Turkish' and who definitely 'cannot be classified as Turks'. He witnessed Greek schoolchildren in a parade waving Greek flags when the Greek crown prince visited Korytsa in May 1913.

Therefore, he concluded that 'It is not the language, but the sentiment of a people that determines its national character.' In support of this statement he provided a list of wealthy, well-established Epirotes who had been national benefactors. Sinas had offered 'The Academy of Fine Arts' and the 'Astronomical Observatory'; the Zappas Brothers had donated a large amount to the Greek government for the creation of an exposition centre bearing their name, 'Zappeion Megaron'; and Zographos – 'the father of the president of the Epirote Government' – had founded a large school at Constantinople called 'Zographeion'. Averoff had donated the famous Greek battleship bearing his name and contributed financially to the 'splendid Panathenaic Stadium', while Tositsa and Stournara endowed Athens 'with its fine Polytechnic School'.⁷²⁶ Although Butler himself declared in his article that he was not Greek and was 'certainly not unfriendly to the Albanians and their legitimate aspirations',⁷²⁷ his article raises questions about his deep pro-Hellenic perspective.

Following the gallant declarations for the *Greekness* of Epirus, Reeves also wrote in 1914 'A plea for a Civilized Epirus', which was published by The Aegean

⁷²⁵ The AH League, pamphlet no. 16, 1914.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid.* Of course, the list could have hosted more names that might not have been known to Butler at the time, such as the famous Apostle Arsakis, who founded the Building of the Φιλεκπαιδευτική Εταιρεία [Society for the Promotion of Education and Learning] in Athens, which named the schools under her aegis 'Arsakeia' after her greatest benefactor. It is interesting to note that this Society also founded a Greek–Albanian College in Tirana in 1998 also named 'Arsakeion'. (<http://www.arsakeio.gr/en/schools-complexes/arsakeio-greek-albanian-college-in-tirana>, accessed 29 June 2015).

⁷²⁷ The AH League, pamphlet no. 16, 1914.

Islands Committee of London. In this brief but dense piece, he explained the reasons why Epirus should be 'handed over' to the Hellenes and why, if that was not the case, Epirus' fate as a civilised territory was under severe threat. Initially he provided an alibi for the Greek troops, stating that 'almost everywhere they have been received by the inhabitants, not as invaders, but as deliverers'. In his effort to paint the Greek force as a saving force, he went on to explain how the Epirotes had suffered under Turkish rule in earlier years.⁷²⁸

He adhered to Gladstone's view that it is 'immoral for a culturally inferior race to exercise dominion over a superior one'.⁷²⁹ He claimed, therefore, that 'the more civilized race should not be dragged down and put under the yoke of the more barbarous'. That was an argument that the Anglo-Albanian Society opposed in a pamphlet entitled 'Albania's Reply to the Demands of M. Venizelos'. Questioning the superiority of the Greek civilisation, they condemned Greece for compelling 'the Albanians of Northern Epirus to bear the yoke of Greek domination, a yoke which is repulsive to them, and to separate them from their racial brothers to whom they are bound by the ties of blood, of affection, and, to a great extent, of religion.'⁷³⁰

Reeves, however, in an attempt to make his argument plausible, took Epirus back in time so to construct a Hellenic historical past in which 'the earlier known Epirotes were at least closely akin to the Hellenes'. Having in mind the recent attempts by Aubrey Herbert and others to 'albanise' Epirus, he pointed out that, 'Historically, Epirus is a Greek province. Certain writers now try to make it something else by calling it Southern Albania. But you cannot wipe out a race or obliterate the boundaries of ages by inventing a name.'⁷³¹ In the rest of the article he painted the picture of a civilised area in which Greeks had assisted in its advancement with 'peaceful weapons, with industry, intelligence, national feeling and above all, with education'. He insisted that if Epirus was not Greek it was doomed to be uncivilised. The Hellenic element was 'the only civilizing influence', which would provide the territory with economic wealth, 'roads, bridges, drainage, engineers, doctors,

⁷²⁸ LSEA, D (49) D5, A plea for a Civilised Epirus by William Pember Reeves (London, 1914).

⁷²⁹ See his 'Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem', *Contemporary Review*, 29 (1876), 1–27.

⁷³⁰ Anglo-Albanian Society, *Albania's reply to the demands of M. Venizelos* (London, 1919), 7.

⁷³¹ LSEA, D (49) D5, 'A plea for a civilised Epirus'.

bankers, magistrates and policemen'. He finally submitted the crucial question: 'To Greece or to Albania? To progress or to stagnation?'⁷³²

On 11 April 1914 Reeves published another article in the *Daily Chronicle* entitled 'Home Rule for Epirus', this time advocating for the Epirotes' just claims, while at the same time Gennadius was responding to Herbert's allegations. On 28 February 1914 the Greek inhabitants of Northern Epirus had formed a provisional government with a leading figure, George Christakis-Zographos. The capital was Argyrokastró and they held mainly the west and the centre of the region. The north-east was in the hands of the Albanians, who, as Reeves noted, preferred to be under Turkish rule. The provisional government of Northern Epirus sought autonomy, a local parliament, local councils and, most importantly, 'that Greek schools, churches and municipal franchises should be respected and that gendarmerie and militia should be partly Greek'.⁷³³ Although the Epirotes forming this government really sought union with Greece, this was considered extremely unlikely, as Britain would not enjoy displeasing Italy, to whom they had promised lands in the territory and a protectorate over Albania in exchange for becoming an ally in the forthcoming war.

Reeves, though, attempted to argue for the justness and fairness of these demands of 'educated, civilized Christian people, who to please Italy and Austria are being forced under the rule of Moslem savages'. In this context, he provided a parallelism with recent British experience in order to invite the British public to engage more actively in what was happening in the Balkans, suggesting that the case of the Greeks of Northern Epirus could be compared with that of Ulster Protestants. 'No one proposes to expel the Ulster Protestants from the British Empire or to put them under a foreign flag', he suggested, implying that neither should the Epirotes be put under an Albanian sovereignty against their will. 'No one has suggested that her people should be called Arabs or Abyssinians that they should lose the protection of the British Army ... or be regarded as aliens by the British Parliament.'⁷³⁴ Reeves was obviously responding to the Great Powers' objections to the preservation of a Greek army in the Balkans. The last point of his argument was

⁷³² *Ibid.*

⁷³³ 'Home Rule for Epirus', *Daily Chronicle*, 11 April 1914.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.*

that 'Irish Nationalists may have their faults' – presumably implying that the Epirotes had too – 'but they are civilized Christians': and that Reeves regarded as an adequately convincing argument to satisfy their demands.⁷³⁵ Nonetheless, British plans in the region were known to Venizelos, who tried to convince Zographos to approve the Protocol without any further demands on autonomy. The autonomy and the rights of the Greek populations to religious and language freedom were recognised by the Albanian government with the Protocol of Corfu on 17 May 1914 and confirmed by the Great Powers on 1 June.⁷³⁶

In the same pamphlet, the League had chosen to include the views of a distinguished member, Z.D. Ferriman, who was known to the public through his writings on Greek philhellenes.⁷³⁷ Ferriman reflected on his visit to Epirus (Argyrokastro) and his personal acquaintance with George Christakis-Zographos. Furthermore, he stressed in a rather sharp manner his disapproval of British official attitudes to the territorial matter. 'Not all Epirus is free ... because a company of gentlemen seated round a green table in London have drawn a line on a map and decreed otherwise.'⁷³⁸ This comment refers to the Florence Protocol, signed on 13 February 1914, which defined the borders of the newly founded Albanian state. According to this protocol, cities that were largely populated by Greeks, including Argyrokastro, were included in the Albanian state – a state characterised as 'fictitious' by Ferriman, which was created to 'satisfy the covetous aspirations of two European Powers'.⁷³⁹

As for Zographos, Ferriman was astonished by his 'perfect command in English', but as he later found out it, was the first tongue he had learnt to speak. Zographos was the son of a very wealthy and respectable Greek of Constantinople. His father, Christakis Effendi Zographos, had founded the Greek high school in the city, 'Zographeion', which was only one of his many benefactions. He introduced himself to Ferriman as the 'Secretary to the Minister of War', but others had referred

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁶ The protocol was never implemented, as the First World War broke out some months later.

⁷³⁷ A series of pamphlets on well-known philhellenes published by the AH League. He was also the author of 'Home life in Hellas' and 'Turkey and Turks'.

⁷³⁸ 'Greek Epirus – The Free and the Unredeemed', *Daily Chronicle*, 3 April 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 10, 1914.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*

to him as 'the Prime Minister'. Political affairs were very complex in the area, hence the fluidity in the naming situation. The designated Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Karapanos, suggested that in Northern Epirus there was 'an Executive Committee acting as a Provisional Government'.⁷⁴⁰ History, however, eventually recorded Zographos and his government as the 'provisional Government of Northern Epirus'. Ferriman had been aware of the importance of the situation, no matter the nominal confusion. 'We are an autonomous state', he stated in his letter to the *Daily Chronicle* in 1914.⁷⁴¹

Throughout the period various articles and texts appeared in either the Greek or the English press, or even as stand-alone publications in defence of Greek claims in the Balkans. A piece that actually provided the historical context of the Greek territorial claims with a detailed reproduction of the events that took place during the Balkan Wars was Dimitrios John Cassavetti's *Hellas and the Balkan Wars*. Cassavetti, who served as the first secretary of the Anglo-Hellenic League in 1913, had already begun his pro-Hellenic propaganda within England with this book, which he published in 1914 with an introduction by P.W. Reeves. The latter noted that Cassavetti's book was a valuable contribution to the understanding of the 'Greek case and the part played by Greece in the Balkan imbroglio'.⁷⁴² Therefore, it is important to understand the conceptualisation of the Greek discourse at the time immediately after the end of the Wars and even before the foundation of the Anglo-Hellenic League. The fact that the book was not published under the auspices of the League is extraordinary, because it demonstrates that even before the establishment of an organised propaganda committee there were Anglo-Greeks and philhellenes putting out on their own accounts pro-Hellenic propaganda that the League finally came to include in its fundamental objectives.

⁷⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴¹ 'Autonomous Epirus – The Ulster of Albania', *Daily Chronicle*, 7 April 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 10, 1914.

⁷⁴² Cassavetti, *Hellas and the Balkan Wars*, Introduction.

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The preconditions upon which the atrocities were founded had been an amalgam of the nationalist era, the ideology of pan-Turkism and the growing influence of the Greek commercial class within the Ottoman Empire.⁷⁴³ Hobsbawm acknowledges that the Greeks in Anatolia formed part of an ‘international merchant and administrative class [that] also settled in colonies or minority communities throughout the Turkish Empire and beyond, and the language and higher ranks of the entire Orthodox Church, to which most Balkan peoples belonged, were Greek’.⁷⁴⁴ This fact was, *per se*, enough reason for the Young Turks to perceive the Greek minority as a threat to the existence of the envisioned modern state.

The ideology of Pan-Turkism had ‘infiltrated the various Turkish associations and journals of the period, which rapidly became the main platform on which the major conceptual and theoretical battles were fought’.⁷⁴⁵ However, these remained in the sphere of theory until the beginning of the First World War, when they were followed by ‘serious political repercussions’ and ‘put to practice by an influential group’ within the avant-garde of the CUP.⁷⁴⁶ The ruling elite, which included, *inter alii*, Ahmed Celâl, secretary of the Committee, Talât Pasha, the party leader and

⁷⁴³ The term ‘class’ in this study, and particularly ‘middle class’ is employed not in strict economic terms. Rather, it refers to a broader linguistic construction that serves as a political tool, or represents a collective self-identification that acts within a certain public sphere and which identifies itself by the way it asserts its modernity. That is the way in which it endorses western values and emerges as a collectivity through certain social practices such as spaces of sociability, common lifestyle and interaction, and, of course, common interests. For more on the assertion of modernity see Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton, NJ, 2006), 8. An enlightening discussion on, particularly, the Greek middle class in Smyrna is available in Vangelis Kechriotis, ‘Civilization and Order: Middle-class Morality among the Greek-Orthodox in Smyrna/Izmir at the End of the Ottoman Empire’, in Christos Chatziiosif and Andreas Lyberatos (eds.), *Social Transformation and Mass Mobilization in the Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean (1900–1923)* (Rethymnon, 2013), 114–31. In addition, a valuable contribution to my understanding of the Greek merchant groups in the Ottoman ports in terms of class analysis has been Athanasios Gekas, *Compradors to Cosmopolitans? The Historiographical Fortunes of Merchants in Eastern Mediterranean Ports* (Florence, 2008). That study examines the analytical tools for class analysis in the Mediterranean ports, while it poses some very interesting theoretical questions regarding cosmopolitanism.

⁷⁴⁴ Erik J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution 1789–1848* (New York, 1996).

⁷⁴⁵ Umut Özkırımlı and Spyros A. Sofos, *Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey* (New York, 2008), 127. Journals such as *Genç Kalemler* (*The Young Pens*) and *Yeni Mecmua* (*New Magazine*) were famous for their inclination towards revolutionary nationalist ideas.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 128.

Minister of Interior; and the Governor of Smyrna, Evranoszade Rahmi, began to realise the theoretical ruminations of Turkification. As Balkan refugees themselves, 'who had lost their own homeland', they strongly held to the belief that in order to claim their state back they had to substitute the non-Muslim middle class within the empire with a solid Turkish one.⁷⁴⁷ Nationalism combined with the patriotism shared by the Muslim refugees provided the 'ideological glue' and the 'ideological underpinnings' of the homogenisation project.⁷⁴⁸ The belief in 'unlimited progress' in its totalitarian version, which promised a 'new society and a new man', constituted the 'key legitimizing ideology of the new centralizing state'.⁷⁴⁹ The ideological construction of the new Turkish state cultivated a fertile ground for the implementation of theory, and it was not long before this was transformed into actions. Indeed, the homogenisation policy was put into effect in 1914, when Ahmed Celâl, 'the secretary of the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (which had established a one-party dictatorship after a coup d'état in January 1913) in Smyrna, was instructed by Talât Pasha to Turkify the Western seaboard of Asia Minor'.⁷⁵⁰

The first step towards the realisation of the above project aimed to undermine the economic supremacy of non-Muslims, and particularly Greeks, in commercial centres such as Constantinople and Smyrna.⁷⁵¹ Via the Special Organization, anti-Greek boycotts were organised on a large scale, accompanied by violence and propaganda. In Kamouzis' words, such measures aimed to create 'favouritism towards Turkish merchants' with the ultimate goal of the Turkification of the economy.⁷⁵² However, a commercial boycott was not the only means to accomplish total Greek financial destruction. According to the report compiled by the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other measures included requisitions and

⁷⁴⁷ Erik-Jan Zürcher, 'Greek and Turkish Refugees and Deportees 1912–1924', *Turkology Update Leiden Project Working Papers Archive* (January 2003), 2.

⁷⁴⁸ Daniele Conversi, 'Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing and Nationalism', in Gerard Delanty and Krishan Kumar (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism* (London, 2006), 321.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 323.

⁷⁵⁰ Zürcher, 'Greek and Turkish Refugees and Deportees 1912–1924', 2.

⁷⁵¹ It is indicative of the economic power of the Greek community in Constantinople that in 1911 'of the 654 wholesale companies in Constantinople, 528 (81percent) were owned by ethnic Greeks.' George N. Shirinian (ed.), *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide: Essays on Asia Minor, Pontos, and Eastern Thrace, 1912–1923* (Bloomington, GA, 2012), 13.

⁷⁵² Dimitris Kamouzis, 'The Constantinopolitan Greeks in an Era of Secular Nationalism, Mid-19th Century to 1930' (King's College London, Ph.D. thesis, 2009), 84.

levies. Because of the economic power and wealth of the Greeks, Greek commercial activities were particularly resistant to the boycott. The Ottoman authorities had to employ other measures, such as confiscating fortunes and commodities, to challenge deeper Greek economic authority.⁷⁵³

In economic terms, the Greek commercial bourgeoisie was identified as a comprador class, which occupied commercial and financier positions, particularly in the urban centres of Istanbul and western Anatolia.⁷⁵⁴ Bloxham maintains that a further reason for the deportations and repressive policy was the fact that this class ‘cooperated with or at least did not oppose European economic penetration since it benefited from the trading privileges’, a result of the European capitulatory system,⁷⁵⁵ which led to a more radical attempt on the part of the Turks to impose homogenisation – that of *en masse* deportations, persecutions and massacres – an omen of the violent extinction of the non-Muslim that followed.

Behind the economic motives, there lay also a political project. The government was eager to substitute the non-Muslim middle class with a purely Muslim and Turkish one, remembering the ‘New Life’ project of Gökalt. Beyond an economic threat, the non-Muslims also posed a national–political threat to the homogeneity of the new state. Various methods of ill-treatment led to the exclusion of the ethnic minority from the ‘nation’, based on the ‘concomitant and sudden allegation of the racial incompatibility’.⁷⁵⁶ Despite their formal citizenship status, these minorities were identified as ‘Others’ and were excluded from any formal participation in the Turkish nation because of their race or ethnicity.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁵³ Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Persecutions of the Greeks in Turkey since the Beginning of the European War* (New York, 1918), 14–16.

⁷⁵⁴ Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of the Ottoman Armenians* (Oxford, 2005), 18.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.* However, the conceptualizing of the Greek bourgeoisie as the domestic extension of the western states, which stems from a world systems analysis, is rather problematic. It presents the bourgeoisie (or the Greek middle class in question) as a by-product of economic and political conjunctures; namely, it renders the agents as mere intermediaries with no agency of their own. On the contrary, and especially for the Greek bourgeoisie of western Anatolia, Kasaba’s research has identified that often it acted ‘in its own right’, which was not always in accordance with western interests. Reşat Kasaba, ‘Was There a Compradore Bourgeoisie in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Western Anatolia?’ *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 11, 2 (1988), 215–28.

⁷⁵⁶ Meir Amor, ‘Oppression, Mass Violence and State Persecution: Some Neglected Considerations’, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 5, 3 (2003), 361–82.

⁷⁵⁷ For the identification as ‘others’ see, particularly, Taner Akçam, *From Empire to Republic: Turkish Nationalism and the Armenian Genocide* (London, 2004); Robert Melson, ‘Provocation or Nationalism:

With an ultimate goal of the cleansing of foreign elements in order to achieve a purely Turkish national culture and economy, the CUP embarked on a path to consolidate the nation-building process, beginning with the areas of trade and language.⁷⁵⁸ In this context, we now present the primary accounts of victims in the coastal areas of Asia Minor, regarding, first, the commercial embargo and, second, the violent persecutions and deportations.

Letters from Greeks

Dr Charalampides, a distinguished Greek physician residing in a village in Asia Minor, contacted the League via Messrs Craies and Stavridis to report the ‘terrible tortures and unheard of sufferings’ of Christians in the area. In his letter of 12 June 1914, he wrote to the League that he thought it would be a good plan to write about the details of what has been taking place, in order to afford you the material for writing and making known the atrocities committed by the Turks against the innocent and peaceful inhabitants of Asia Minor, the unmentionable orgies of the Young Turks, and the Uprooting of the Christian population from the Adramyttine Gulf.⁷⁵⁹

Charalampides, who was convinced that the orders were given centrally, was writing primarily with reference to the events that took place on 21 May when the CUP declared a boycott of Christian products and ‘twenty paid men of the very lowest class, armed with clubs in their hands’ prevented Turks from entering Christian shops or even ‘salut[ing] a Christian’.⁷⁶⁰

A Critical Inquiry into the Armenian Genocide of 1915’, in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide in Perspective* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1986), 77; Jennifer J. Preece, ‘Ethnic Cleansing as an Instrument of Nation-State Creation: Changing State Practices and Evolving Legal Norms’, *Human Rights Quarterly*, 20, 4 (1998), 817–42. However, Kechriotis notes that this was not the case in the early years of the century, when their national sentiment ‘did not necessarily contradict with civic loyalty to the Ottoman state’. Vangelis Kechriotis, ‘Experience and Performance in a Shifting Political Landscape’, *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* [Bulletin of the Center for Asia Minor Studies], 17 (2011), 63.

⁷⁵⁸ Matthias Bjørnlund, ‘The 1914 Cleansing of Aegean Greeks as a Case of Violent Turkification’, *Journal of Genocide Research*, 10, 1 (2008), 41–58.

⁷⁵⁹ AH League, pamphlet no. 13, *Letters on the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor, and in reply to allegations of ill-treatment inflicted on Turks in Greek Macedonia*, 1914.

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

In addition to this, rumours began to flood the town of imminent persecution that would drive inhabitants from the villages of Kemer, Karagiadz, Dikerli, Sansides, Kalagra and Regi Kiosk.⁷⁶¹ On the following day, the rumours were realised. The streets emptied and 'ruffians armed with sticks were spreading the fear'. 'Everyone was thinking of his approaching end', and if one thought to defend himself that would be considered 'as rebellion and a general massacre of Christians would follow', the Turkish herald had warned.⁷⁶² Charalampides also made an extensive note on how the Christians were abused and humiliated in every instance during that night, and everyone who tried to flee through the nearby harbour of Adramyttium was 'attacked, stripped, dishonoured or killed by Bashibazouks',⁷⁶³ adding that Turks had taken advantage of the situation and stripped Christians of their belongings, plundered their houses and taken their money, while they forced them to sign documents of sale of their property. Charalampides also described vividly his own personal experience when he was asked by a 'well-known Turk' to sell him his shop and stock for a pitiful price, but which sale saved his family, as it was protected by the Turkish Flag that was hoisted at once in front of his house.⁷⁶⁴ He ended his letter by reminding his audience that there is a 'sacred duty to take the part of Hellenism, Christianity and civilization and ... not rest from enlightening public opinion about the persecution of the Ottoman Greeks'.⁷⁶⁵ G. Charalampides was reported as one of the victims of a massacre in December that year, along with I. Procopiou and G. Mylonas at Karaulani village.⁷⁶⁶

Among the letters that the League received was one from A. A. Pallis, son of Alexander Palis, who had been an eminent member of the Anglo-Hellenic League and, in his words, served as 'secretary of a propaganda League' in 1918.⁷⁶⁷ At the time, he was residing in Salonica and witnessed the unsettling situation of the refugees arriving from Asia Minor. Pallis, reported on how 'there are hundreds lying about the quay. One thousand three hundred came yesterday from Troy, in Asia

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁶ Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Persecutions of the Greeks*, 23.

⁷⁶⁷ KCA, AC2/F194, Eumorfopoulos to Burrows, 8 July 1918.

Minor, from where they were forcibly expelled on threats of death.’ His writings coincide with Charalampides’ account detailing the way the refugees were forced to abandon their houses and flee. ‘They have the greatest difficulty in embarking, as the Turkish boatmen on the way to the steamers rob them and extract from them excessive fares.’⁷⁶⁸ Pallis asserted that these actions were perpetrated with the approval of the government. In addition, he reported that many of the Turkish refugees supposedly leaving Salonica and returning to Asia Minor said, when asked, that ‘they had come from Serbia’ and were found outside the Palace office ‘waiting for permits’.⁷⁶⁹ Indeed, of the 140,000 Muslim refugees that fled the Balkans by April 1914, ‘only 24,000 were from the newly conquered Greek territories’, while the vast majority came from areas under Serbian or Bulgarian authority, hoping to escape a future maelstrom.⁷⁷⁰

The condition of the ‘real’ Turkish refugees from the Bulgarian territories was addressed by *Eastern and Western Review*, which maintained that it was the ‘only magazine published in the English language with philhellenic affiliations’.⁷⁷¹ The magazine argued that the Turkish refugees who gathered in Thessaloniki had by June 1914 reached 32,000. The Greek authorities, represented by Chief Engineer Dallaportas, had undertaken relief work by providing the refugees with food and tent shelter. There were also infirmaries set up that could treat small-pox patients. The supplies for these ‘were given by H.M., the Queen’, who had also distributed among the refugees ‘thousands of blankets contributed to her disposal by the Greek colony of London’.⁷⁷² Mazower affirmed that ‘the Greek government fed many, and the city’s Muslim Committee looked after the rest, and organized their transportation: as under the Ottomans, care of refugees was still regarded as primarily a communal matter.’⁷⁷³

⁷⁶⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 12, *Letters Relating to Greek Macedonia, and to the expulsion of Greeks from Turkey*, 1914.

⁷⁶⁹ Pallis to Colonel Haywood, 1 June 1914 (Salonica), quoted in *Ibid.*

⁷⁷⁰ Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York, 2005), 316.

⁷⁷¹ *Eastern and Western Review*, 11 June 1914.

⁷⁷² *Ibid.*, 19.

⁷⁷³ Mark Mazower, ‘The Muslim Exodus from Salonika, 1912–1924’, presented by the Borderlands Seminar Series, Watson Institute, Brown University, 8 March 2005.

The manner in which language was employed by the magazine and the way in which the argument was structured obviously aimed to highlight the distinction between the treatment of refugees by the respective governments. It maintained that the ill-treatment of the Asia Minor and Thracian Greek refugees, who were arriving in Salonica in a 'pitiful state' with 'stor[ies] of the atrocities which the Turks committed in Thrace in order to force them into exile', would make one's hair 'stand on end'.⁷⁷⁴

Letters from Englishmen

In addition, the League received various reports from English subjects (who were not named) residing in the Ottoman Empire, who provided their own eye-witness accounts of the events. A pamphlet in 1914 published the letter of an Englishman living in Smyrna, who wrote that 'Things are looking, politically, as black as thunder. Refugee Turks from Macedonia have been arriving in thousands and on the plea that they were ousted by Greeks, they are doing so here. Worse still, they are massacring. There is no doubt it has been instigated by the Government.'⁷⁷⁵ Muslim refugees who fled the Balkan Peninsula and settled in Anatolia were subsequently organised into irregular *chetté* bands, 'wreaking *their* revenge on the Christian peasants', which had created a terrifying atmosphere in the villages around the coast.⁷⁷⁶ However, another letter by an Englishman on one of the Aegean Islands confirms that 'the Mohajirs (Turkish emigrants from Europe) who were brought to Chesmè to expropriate the Christians were not from Macedonia, but nearly all Albanians of the Cheg tribe, from Servian territory'. He, too, affirms that the Turkish government, although it 'professes ignorance', was fully aware of this 'organized plot of the Committee for getting rid of the Christian population along the Anatolian coast'.⁷⁷⁷

The League provided information that, by 1914, 90,000 refugees from the Anatolian coast had arrived in Mytilene and 70,000 in Chios by June 1914,⁷⁷⁸ while Pallis in his pamphlet on the exchange of populations speaks about 70,000 refugees

⁷⁷⁴ 'Telegram from Salonica', *Eastern and Western Review*, June 1914, 24.

⁷⁷⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 12, 1914.

⁷⁷⁶ Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 316.

⁷⁷⁷ 'Organized Persecution in Asia Minor', 2 July 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 13, 1914.

⁷⁷⁸ AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915.

from Asia Minor to the adjacent islands.⁷⁷⁹ As L. Calvocoressi reported to the League from Chios, 'since a couple of days large numbers of Christian inhabitants from the opposite coast of Asia Minor chiefly from the large village of Kato Panagia, near Tchesmè, are crossing over to our island to take refuge, in a pitiable condition'.⁷⁸⁰ The famous British historian Arnold Toynbee made similar observations in his *Western Question*, published in 1922:

Entire Greek communities were driven from their homes by terrorism, their houses and land and often their movable property were seized, and individuals were killed in the process. The procedure bore evidence of being systematic. The terror attacked one district after another, and was carried on by 'chetté' bands, enrolled from the Rumili refugees as well as from local populations and nominally attached as reinforcements to the regular Ottoman gendarmerie. Turkish 'political' chettés made their début in 1914 on the Western littoral they carried out the designs of the Union and Progress Government against the Armenians.⁷⁸¹

It was crucial for the League to prove that the current events on the Anatolian coast formed part of a greater, preconceived scheme to exterminate the Greeks in Asia Minor. In reality, the growing fear prevailing among Christians, stemming from the boycott in earlier years (1909–1910), attacks, acts of slaughter and the flamboyant discourse of the CUP, 'made any event look like an organized massacre' and cemented their conviction that they were suffering a 'systematic persecution'.⁷⁸²

Pamphlet no. 22, which dealt with the matter of 'driving out the Greek population pitilessly and in masses', was edited by Reeves and included accounts from *The Anatolia*, the organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) at Smyrna and an extract from the *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια*, printed in *Le Messenger d'Athènes* on 26 March 1914.⁷⁸³ By employing the propaganda technique of

⁷⁷⁹ A. A. Pallis, *Περί της ανταλλαγής πληθυσμών και εποικισμού εν τη Βαλκανική κατά τα έτη 1912–1920* [Regarding the population exchange and settlement in the Balkans during 1912–1920] (Constantinople, 1920).

⁷⁸⁰ Calvocoressi to The Executive Committee of the AH League, 1 June 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 12, 1914.

⁷⁸¹ Arnold Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (New York, 1922), 139, 280.

⁷⁸² Kechriotis, 'Experience and Performance', 102–3.

⁷⁸³ *Εκκλησιαστική Αλήθεια* [The ecclesiastical truth] in AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915.

reproducing testimonials, the League aimed to show that Turkey had a predefined and strategically planned policy to overthrow the Hellenic element in those regions, which had begun before the First World War and was still ongoing. For this reason, Reeves supported the idea that Turks 'represent everywhere government by force, as opposed to law'.⁷⁸⁴ Drawing on the words of Gladstone, written in 1876, Reeves reproduced and enhanced the western mind-set regarding Turkish oppression: 'Hence, then grew up what has seldom been seen in the history of the world, a kind of tolerance in the midst of cruelty, tyranny and rapine. Much of Christian life was contemptuously let alone.'⁷⁸⁵

He maintained also that it had been 'the policy of the Young Turks, under Dr Nazim, to expel from Ottoman soil this Hellenic population' for reasons that included the intensification of national feeling within the Ottoman Empire and the satisfaction of 'the impulse of revenge by persecuting helpless individuals'.⁷⁸⁶ Nazim, according to Taner Akçam, was also to be held accountable for the Armenian deportations and killings.⁷⁸⁷

Scholars such as Mark Mazower and Uğur Ümit Üngör have underlined the origins of the revengeful character of Muslim refugees and the way in which victims become perpetrators, based on the report provided by the British consul in Salonica, who wrote:

'They arrive in Turkey with the memory of their slaughtered friends and relations fresh in their minds, they remember their own sufferings and the persecutions of which they have been victims, and finding themselves without means or resources, encouraged to some extent by their own government, they see no wrong in falling on the Greek Christians of Turkey and meting out to them the same treatment that they themselves have received from the Greek Christians of Macedonia.'⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸⁵ William E. Gladstone, *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London, 1876).

⁷⁸⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915.

⁷⁸⁷ Taner Akçam, 'The Greek Deportations and Massacres of 1913–1914: A Trial Run for the Armenian Genocide', in George N. Shirinian (ed.), *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide: Essays on Asia Minor, Pontos, and Eastern Thrace, 1912–1923* (Bloomington, GA, 2012), 86.

⁷⁸⁸ Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts*, 317; Uğur Ümit Üngör, *The Making of Modern Turkey: Nation and State in Eastern Anatolia, 1913–1950* (Oxford, 2011), 44.

The will to avenge expulsion from the Balkans is also eloquently described by Perry Anderson in his *Kemalism after the Ottomans*, where he quotes from Enver's letter to his wife: 'Our anger is strengthening: revenge, revenge, revenge; there is no other word.' In another instance, he provides an abstract from Enver's speech:

How could a person forget the plains, the meadows, watered with the blood of our forefathers; abandon those places where Turkish raiders had hidden their steeds for a full four hundred years, with our mosques, our tombs, our dervish retreats, our bridges and our castles, to leave them to our slaves, to be driven out of Rumelia to Anatolia? This was beyond a person's endurance. I am prepared gladly to sacrifice the remaining years of my life to take revenge on the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Montenegrins.⁷⁸⁹

However, revenge was a two-way path. The unofficial proposal by Galip Kemali, the Turkish Minister in Athens, for 'an exchange of the rural Greek population of the Izmir province for the Muslims in Macedonia' was just ratifying what had already started as a reaction to the influx of Muslim refugees from the Balkans.⁷⁹⁰ Greeks of Anatolia, facing 'hostile mob behaviour and a more nationalistic state bureaucracy', began to migrate to the adjacent Aegean Islands. In Toynbee's words,

The arrival of the Rumelian refugees from the end of 1912 onwards produced an unexampled tension of feeling in Anatolia and a desire for revenge; and so the Balkan War had two harvests of victims: first, the Rumeli Turks on the one side, and then the Anatolian Greeks on the other.⁷⁹¹

Pamphlet no. 22, nonetheless, had another objective and that was to demonstrate explicitly the gradual intensification of the persecution. Reeves, apart from the drive to 'satisfy the impulse of revenge', identified as a motive of the Young Turks the problem of the accommodation of the incoming Muslim refugees in the territories already inhabited by Greek Ottomans. In his description of the two streams of refugees, the Muslim and the Christian, he illuminates the contradictions that reveal each group's objective. In the case of Greek refugees, Reeves maintained

⁷⁸⁹ Perry Anderson, 'Kemalism', *London Review of Books*, 17, 30 (2008), 3–12.

⁷⁹⁰ Renée Hirschon (ed.), *Crossing the Aegean: An Appraisal of the 1923 Compulsory Population Exchange between Greece and Turkey* (New York, 2003), 83.

⁷⁹¹ Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*, 139.

that those leaving the territories of Thrace and Asia Minor were composed mainly 'of ruined, half starved, and sometimes beaten and wounded men and women' who had been forced to leave their homes. In contrast, in the case of Muslims leaving Macedonia, the exodus 'was voluntary and in a large measure stimulated by Turkish agents'.⁷⁹² On that note, Pallis also emphasises the pitiful situation of Greek refugees from Asia Minor, in contrast to 'the refugees from Macedonia [who] had emigrated voluntarily and had taken care previously of their homes and fortunes'.⁷⁹³ An article by an Englishman in the *Manchester Guardian* on 2 June 1914 also maintained that in Phocaea the 'object of the expulsion is to procure homes for Mahometan refugees from Europe [but] the homes in this case were simply looted and in many cases destroyed'.⁷⁹⁴

The League was assured, based on the reports that it had received, that until 18 June 1914, the houses which had been vacated by Muslim emigrants remained unoccupied. When a new influx of Greek refugees made demands of the authorities that they be allowed to reside in the area, they were permitted to do so, but were advised by the Greek government that 'the owners have not by absence forfeited their right of property' and 'they have been always able either to sell their property or to return'.⁷⁹⁵ On a strictly official level, 'the property rights of the Ottoman state as well as Muslim individuals' were protected by the 1881 Greco-Ottoman Convention of Constantinople and the November 1913 Treaty of Athens.⁷⁹⁶

Reeves identified the boycott of Greek traders as the first step in the Turkish policy of 'exciting hatred and fanaticism against the Greeks in Asia Minor' that led to the 'forcible expulsion of thousands and thousands'.⁷⁹⁷ Characteristically, he stated that, in Turkey, boycott was not a mere economic or commercial policy. It had been accompanied by threats, the plunder and destruction of Greek shops and, where

⁷⁹² AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915.

⁷⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁴ 'Persecution of Greeks by Turks', *Manchester Guardian*, 2 June 1914, quoted in AH League, pamphlet no. 13, 1914.

⁷⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁶ Stefanos Katsikas, 'Millet Legacies in a National Environment: Political Elites and Muslim Communities in Greece (1830s–1923)', in Benjamin C. Fortna, Stefanos Katsikas, Dimitris Kamouzis and Paraskevas Konortas (eds.), *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830–1945* (London, 2013), 59.

⁷⁹⁷ AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915.

such tactics had been unsuccessful in persuading people to join the boycott, the beating and robbing of customers by 'club stations' outside the shops. Furthermore, the boycott was endorsed by a fervent press campaign led by *Anatolia*, which, in Reeves' understanding, aimed to 'lead to violence and murder'.⁷⁹⁸ In order to prove his assertion, he quoted extracts of violent propaganda from the Turkish newspaper, such as that which came as a response to the annexation of the Aegean islands by Greece: 'Greece, by this act of hers, is fishing in troubled waters; let her learn that after this step of hers we shall smash the heads and pick out the eyes of all the Christians in this town.'⁷⁹⁹

Interestingly enough, *Anatolia* targeted the Greek monarch Constantine and not the Prime Minister, Venizelos, who was most explicitly linked with the irredentist vision. The newspaper denounced the 'crazy' Greek king for the 'souls of men, their families, their fortunes [that] have been destroyed by Greek oppression, brutality and crime'. He was, moreover, accused as the main person responsible for the condition of Muslim refugees from Macedonia, adding that 'the soul of the Ottoman Empire is being strangled by the hand of a bloody, tyrannical madman whose wits are besotted by victory and by his own conceit. To the Greek hordes whom he has summoned about him Constantine offers orgies of Mussulman flesh.' The CUP drew a prophetic parallel between Nero and Constantine, concluding that the latter 'compels humanity to bless the memory of Nero'.⁸⁰⁰

In the same pamphlet we also find the CUP's circular inviting Muslims to boycott Greek goods. The discourse goes beyond calls for a commercial boycott and transforms into the speech of hatred.

Let us swear that from this day forth we shall not have the slightest relations with the Christians, that we shall not put foot inside the shops of these Christian traitors. Distinguish between our friends and our enemies. From the moment we take this oath will date inevitably the resurrection of Pan-Islamism.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁹ Extract from the newspaper *Anatolia*, quoted in *Ibid.*

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰¹ 'Circular Inviting Moslems to Boycott Greek Goods', 1914, quoted in *Ibid.*

This economic policy functioned on a theoretical level as ‘a “consciousness-raising” program for the Turkish/Muslim community in general’ and its actual consequences were that almost ‘500 Muslim/Turks established their own companies and entered the market as the newcomers in trade’.⁸⁰² The boycott was seconded by the Pan-Mahomedan Brotherhood, which passed the following resolution: ‘A commercial boycott to be applied rigorously against all Christians in general, to this end, speeches to be delivered at the various centres, and the Ulema to preach at the Mosques.’⁸⁰³ Unquestionably, during the period of these events, the League undertook the mission of reproducing and publishing the reports coming in from those areas so as to raise awareness of the treatment of Greeks, with the ultimate goal of eliminating Turkophile streams among British public opinion and, obviously, British diplomacy.

The Bulgarians and the Case of the Buxton Brothers

‘Madame, Salonique est la Mecque des Bulgares.’

King Ferdinand of Bulgaria to Queen Olga, London, 1912.⁸⁰⁴

This last dive into the examination of the League’s pamphlets concerns the pro-Bulgarian propaganda produced by Noel and Charles Roden Buxton and the consequent retaliation by John Mavrogordato. Mavrogordato was a highly intellectual individual who, along with the propagandistic material, a good example of which we have already examined, also published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* on Greek drama in Renaissance Crete and, according to Mackridge ‘was the only twentieth-century English translator of Cavafys’ poems to preserve the metre and rhyme scheme of the original’.⁸⁰⁵

As the road-name ‘Buxton Brothers Boulevard’ in downtown Sofia suggests, both Charles and Noel had been increasingly influential in British–Bulgarian relations. Their understanding was that Bulgaria could be influenced to enter the First World War along with Britain or, in the worst case, retain its neutrality. They visited

⁸⁰² Ayhan Aktar, ‘Economic Nationalism in Turkey: The Formative Years, 1912–1925’, *Boğaziçi Journal, Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, 10, 1–2 (1996), 266–7.

⁸⁰³ AH League, pamphlet no. 22, 1915.

⁸⁰⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 17, 1915.

⁸⁰⁵ Mackridge, ‘Mavrogordato, John’.

Bulgaria during 1914 with this mission in mind, but were attacked and wounded by Hassan Taxim, who was of Turkish origin.⁸⁰⁶ After their recovery, they travelled to Sofia, 'still pursuing the idea of the possible neutrality of Bulgaria'.⁸⁰⁷ Their interest had led them to co-found the Balkan Committee in 1902, which was based upon the conviction that Balkan unity and national self-determination could be compatible. One of the greatest strengths of this pressure group was in fact its ability to penetrate the British liberal networks, 'relating political activism to international political and humanitarian issues'.⁸⁰⁸

Noel Buxton, who had been the Committee's first chairman and then its president, was convinced that peaceful co-existence could be ensured in the peninsula and was unable to accept the inherent fragmented nature of the Balkan states themselves. His support for Bulgaria was heightened by the fact that at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 considerable parts of Macedonia were restored to Turkish rule because of Disraeli's policy on Russia. Some of these territories had previously been assigned to Bulgaria (satisfying the short-lived nationalist vision of 'Big Bulgaria') under the provision of the San Stefano Treaty and, therefore, Noel Buxton felt that it was Great Britain's obligation to 'see that this restored province was properly governed'. However, he was 'too good a Christian to impose his views unreservedly on others'.⁸⁰⁹ He would rather work on persuading the higher ranks of British diplomacy that his policy was right and just, but because he was mostly basing his arguments on the horrendous nature of the war, it would not be an exaggeration to characterise his suggestions as romantically utopian.

A letter sent in 1900 from Charles Buxton to his brother Noel offers a strongly worded example of what the brothers shared as a fundamental liberal conviction, and consequently what their imagined solution would look like in the Balkans. 'The liberal mind', writes Charles, should be viewed as 'an invisible power, which guides human affairs onward and upward', making people to 'do their utmost, with brain,

⁸⁰⁶ The news of their dangerous encounter in Bucharest made it to the *New York Times*, in an article with the eye-catching title 'M.P. AND BROTHER SHOT BY A TURK', 16 October 1914.

⁸⁰⁷ Robert Vogel, 'Noel Buxton: The "Trouble-Maker" and His Papers', *Fontanus*, 3 (1990), 131–50.

⁸⁰⁸ Perkins, 'British liberalism and the Balkans', 104.

⁸⁰⁹ *Ibid.* In addition, Noel Buxton wrote a book describing his experiences in 1913 when he was in Bulgaria during the Balkan War and after, entitled *With the Bulgarian Staff*, and which attempts to paint the idiosyncrasy of the Bulgarian military and the peasants (New York, 1913).

tongue and hand to help themselves'.⁸¹⁰ In addition, the brothers' deep religious convictions mandated that secular and social reforms should be promoted according to the Christian faith, an argument that was not necessarily shared by the other members of the Committee.

The Balkan Committee's work was appreciated by the Bulgarian authorities, which viewed the committee as another way of re-establishing the Great Bulgaria of 1878. In 1913 the Bulgarian Prime Minister Ivan Gueshoff admitted that 'the unceasing labour of the Balkan Committee to impress its objects upon public opinion brought about a change in that opinion which we most gratefully acknowledge'.⁸¹¹

In 1915 the brothers published their book *The War and the Balkans*, which, along with their articles in the daily newspapers of the British capital, stimulated the response of the League in the same year. The book concentrated on the importance of security and peace in Macedonia as a safety valve for the peaceful existence of the populations in the whole Balkan Peninsula. Indeed, cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece during the First Balkan War was achieved exactly because the two prime ministers avoided any discussion about the thorny issue of Macedonia, a forbearance that one historian names 'unique political maturity', because it facilitated the alliance during the war against the Ottomans.⁸¹²

Written amid the Great War, the Buxtons' book postulated that if the Allies were to win the problem of the Balkans should be resolved on the basis of nationality, which would guarantee 'a permanent fabric of peace' in the region.⁸¹³ This utopian declaration is reminiscent of the one made by the Greek Prime Minister in his speech in the Greek parliament in 1913.⁸¹⁴

However, it is unclear whether Noel and Charles Roden believed that there was truly a peaceful way to resolve the Balkan question solely based on nationality. In their book they argued that, after the Second Balkan War, the process of 'nationalisation' had been taking place in the newly acquired territories. They

⁸¹⁰ C. Buxton to N. Buxton, 22 July 1900: Noel Buxton Papers (MS 951, c. 9/6), quoted in Perkins, 'British liberalism and the Balkans', 108.

⁸¹¹ Buxton, *With the Bulgarian Staff*, 7.

⁸¹² Evangelos Katsaras, 'The Question of Macedonia in the Negotiations leading to the Balkan League of 1912', *Balkan Studies*, 48 (2013), 63.

⁸¹³ Noel Buxton and Charles R. Buxton, *The War and the Balkans* (London, 1915), 16.

⁸¹⁴ See n. 689.

described this as an 'endeavour to produce, as rapidly as possible, an unreal impression of uniformity by the crude process of supressing schools, churches, and newspapers, changing names, and penalising the use of languages. But the situation has not in it the elements of *permanence*.'⁸¹⁵

Bulgaria is throughout the book presented as the victim of an agreement made for her without her, mainly referring to the territorial claims with Serbia and Greece. This was a point that Mavrogordato relied upon in his response to the Buxtons in the League's pamphlet. The vocabulary stems, in many instances, from a religious context. For example, on page 71, Bulgaria was described as the 'Judas of the Slav race' because she chose to have no role in the mission of Slavism.⁸¹⁶ This kind of writing, which reflects the Buxtons' spiritual approach, presents Bulgaria as victim of an injustice that needed to be remedied, and the revelation should and would be delivered by the saving power, the British.

The Buxtons presented Bulgarian territorial claims that would be satisfied only by the boundaries set at the treaty of San Stefano, and which essentially realised the Bulgarian national vision of a 'Greater Bulgaria'. Although they recognised that a solution of this kind was now impossible, they placed the matter of the Macedonian territories in the context of the economic necessities of Bulgaria and the '*amour propre*' of Greece.⁸¹⁷ In this respect, and from their perspective, the matter is presented as a vital economic lung for Bulgaria, whereas for Greece it represents just another part of her national ego in the area. In their understanding, the matter of Macedonia should be resolved neither through the question of race nor that of language, but rather through the 'desire of the people to be united to one State or the other: it is a question of their sympathies, whether political or ecclesiastical.'⁸¹⁸ This alludes to Venizelos' 'unmistakable criterion' of ethnic consciousness, to which we referred above.⁸¹⁹ Of course, contrary to what Venizelos and the Greeks believed regarding the population of Macedonia, the Buxtons maintained that the majority has a positive inclination towards Bulgaria. Despite the

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 33 (the emphasis is mine).

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁸¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁸¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 83–4.

⁸¹⁹ See n. 664

‘assiduous propaganda’ of the Greeks in building schools and churches and furnishing revolutionary bands, it was a fact that ‘Bulgarian sympathies ha[d] taken such deep root that they could not be eradicated by anything short of a long period of violent persecution’.⁸²⁰

The persecutions comprise another part of their book, coming under the chapter titled ‘Macedonia’. The brothers argued that, albeit violent persecution was carried on by both Greeks and Serbs with the help of the Turks during 1903–1908, the peasants of the area were still feeling more favourable towards Bulgaria. On this basis, Bulgarians supported the autonomy of the district of Macedonia, feeling assured that the people there would be more comfortable with a Bulgarian government. The Bulgarians claimed the right to govern Macedonia because, as the Buxtons said, they were ‘natives of the soil’, in contrast with the Serbian and Greek movements there. Again, they claimed that it was Entente’s conviction and the British government’s intention that ‘each nationality has the right to live united and free’, thus ensuring that Macedonia would be under a rule that represented the majority of the people.⁸²¹ For this reason, the Buxton brothers supported the Bulgarian movement in Macedonia for ‘uniting Bulgarian Macedonia with the Kingdom’ – a kingdom that was based on a ‘deep underlying sense of national sympathies, [...] which is determined to keep the Macedonian question to the front and which exercises a powerful influence in politics’.⁸²²

The book, which was well received upon publication,⁸²³ concluded by stressing the important steps that the Entente and specifically the British government needed to take to ensure that the Balkan States would act on the same side. The Buxtons noted that ‘a part of Macedonia which is profoundly Bulgarian in sentiment, will doubtless be restored to her’; in addition, Thrace should fall into

⁸²⁰ Buxton and Buxton, *The War and the Balkans*, 84.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, 89, 86.

⁸²² *Ibid.*, 88.

⁸²³ A book review was even published by the Australian newspaper *The West Australian*, Perth, 29 June 1915. ‘There is probably no corner of the world about which so many illusions have centred and so many lies told as the Balkan Peninsula – among Englishmen at any rate. For some reason or another, the interesting nationalities whose home it is have always exercised a fascination over the mind of the English politician.’ Undated press-cutting of a review of Noel and Charles Buxton’s *The War and the Balkans* (published 1915): Noel Buxton Papers, McGill University, Montreal, Rare Books and Special Collections (MS 951 c. 24/4), quoted in Perkins, ‘British liberalism and the Balkans’, 16.

Bulgarian hands as well and there should be 'an outlet on the Sea of Marmora' for her.⁸²⁴

These opinions provoked, as expected, an immediate reaction from the pro-Hellenic circles in London. The League, which officially undertook this job, responded through Mavrogordato's pamphlet 'England in the Balkans – a Hellenic Note on British Policy', published in 1915. The pamphlet attempted not only to respond to the points made by the Buxtons in their book but also, accordingly, to influence British public opinion towards the Greek claims in the territory. In addition, it made a bold statement regarding the diplomatic affairs of Greece and England, suggesting that the British government's failure to extend help to the Greeks and the credence given by them to the Buxtons' propaganda indicated a lack of support for the government of Prime Minister Venizelos; as a result, Germans had infiltrated the Greek capital, managing to influence the Greek king to remain neutral.

Mavrogordato's pamphlet begins by expressing disappointment towards the leading British papers for publishing on subjects about which they were ill-informed, a point to which we will later return in more detail. His pamphlet was motivated partly by the discourse developed in the letter published by the Buxtons in the *Daily News* on 19 October 1915 regarding the position of Bulgaria. This letter, according to Mavrogordato, attempted to exonerate Bulgaria from its prosecutors and throw 'dust in the eyes of anyone in England who ventures to glance towards the Balkans'.⁸²⁵ In response, he praised the existence of the Anglo-Hellenic League as 'remarkable evidence of the number of Englishmen who are actively interested in the national future of Greece, refusing to be satisfied with the academic praise of her literary past'.⁸²⁶

The first of the points made by the brothers that Mavrogordato examined was the conviction that the Bulgarian people were not responsible for their entry into the war; rather, an ambitious sovereign drew them into it. To this Mavrogordato responded that it was impossible to distinguish the government from the people, as it is with the latter's support that the former declares war. The Buxtons also referred

⁸²⁴ Buxtons, *The War and the Balkans*, 107.

⁸²⁵ AH League, pamphlet no. 24, *England in the Balkans, a Hellenic Note on British Policy*, 1916.

⁸²⁶ *Ibid.*

to the Bulgarian opposition party as demonstrating a 'courageous protest' and 'gallant resistance', but Mavrogordato noted that the fact that their protest was unsuccessful proved that no considerable part of the Bulgarian population supported them.⁸²⁷

The Buxtons' discussion of an Entente-friendly party in Sofia referred to the pro-Russian party, which, however, was not satisfied by the territorial rewards communicated to them by the Balkan Committee during the brothers' trip to Sofia. Mavrogordato's view was that the 'whole policy of bribing neutrals is inherently wrong'. Further, he named this understanding between England and Bulgaria a 'buxtonian example of telling neutrals what territory they would be given in return for their support'. Condemning this kind of policy, he argued that it was the same as the English attempted to do with Greece when they bribed her with Cyprus. It was unquestionable, in his opinion, that when a state was offered lands in exchange for her neutrality this would mean that it 'might very well made to pay more than an island'. In the same respect, the Bulgarians asked for more and more territorial concessions in Macedonia without reaching the point of agreement.⁸²⁸

A third point on which Mavrogordato passed comment was the Buxtons' reminder that if the Bulgarians were induced to fight 'wholeheartedly' it would be because the war 'would be presented to them in the light of a campaign for the redemption of their kinsmen in Macedonia'.⁸²⁹ His highly ironic response noted how prompt were the Bulgarians to liberate a population which he names Macedonia Slav, and which he connects to the Russian as much as to the Bulgarian. Thus, he found it 'a little far-fetched to present the Bulgarian in the light of a knight-errant prepared to wade through bloodshed to the assistance of a second cousin'. So, for him, this Bulgarian persistence in redeeming their kinsmen was not a matter of saving the nearly extinct 'genuine Macedonia Slavs', but rather a 'case of land-grabbing pure and simple'.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁰ *Ibid.*

In Mavrogordato's opinion the Buxtons influenced a great part of English public opinion with their 'mist of sentimentalism' and by the repetition of the statement that 'all Bulgarians are long suffering angels in the disguise of small-holders'.⁸³¹ But his own description of the Bulgarians was no more impartial: he termed them a nation of 'agricultural peasants, underdeveloped and cruel', and related them to the Turks, with whom, he said, it was possible they shared closer connections than the Slavs.⁸³² The success of the Buxtons in shaping a pro-Bulgarian public opinion, Mavrogordato argued, was due to the fact that two of the most respected newspapers 'on the continent', *The Times* and *The Nation*, supported their Bulgarian lobbying. *The Times* he described as biased because its correspondent had been living many years in Sofia and had acquired, in his words, 'a second patriotism in favour of the land of his domicile'. As for *The Nation*, he argued that, as the official organ of the Balkan Committee and 'mouthpiece of the Liberal Government', it could not omit a weekly eulogy to the Bulgarian people.⁸³³ He cited characteristic examples from the latter: in an article on 18 December 1915 it insinuated that 'Greek-speaking natives of Macedonia are practically unknown', 'The Greek evzone regiments are often composed of drunken Albanians' and the natives are 'pure Bulgarians, habitually persecuted by the Turkish authorities with the assistance of the Greek bishop'.⁸³⁴

The Greeks, he recognised, had always been 'sentimentally' attached to the idea of an Anglo-Hellenic partnership, and their devotion to England stemmed from her appreciation of Greece as the 'cradle of Homer'. However, the Buxtons' policy had allowed a Germanophile minority to influence Greek politics to the degree that Venizelos, the leader of the Liberal Party and the Prime Minister of Greece, was forced to resign on two successive occasions. What seems a note on British policy turns instead into an appraisal of Venizelos and a condemnation of King Constantine, an issue quite familiar to Mavrogordato.

⁸³¹ *Ibid.*

⁸³² *Ibid.*

⁸³³ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁴ *Ibid.*

What Mavrogordato attempted to do here was to include England in this internal controversy (the National Schism) as being partly responsible for Constantine's pro-German policies. He noted, characteristically, that 'Athens [the core of pro-Germans] has disgraced Greece, and England shares her guilt'. He was not reluctant to openly blame England for the fact that Venizelos, although he had been widely trusted in Greece by Athenians – 'lawyers as well as the cabdrivers' – was forced to resign by King Constantine, who was representative of a 'Germanophile minority'. The answer to that, he said, was very plain and painful. 'It is on account of England's persistent denigration of everything Greek that the German agents who have their headquarters at the Hotel de la Grande Bretagne have had an easy task to persuade the King that nothing was to be gained by a Quixotic subvention of England'.⁸³⁵

Concluding his argument, Mavrogordato stated clearly: 'the formation and maintenance of a Germanophile party in Anglophile or rather Anglo-maniac Athens has been rendered possible only by the attitude of the English Press' – a press, he continued, which was ignorant and indignant of modern Greece and persisted in flattering 'Hellenism's confessed enemy'. The Buxtons, he ends, are those who orchestrated this 'extreme expression' of the British opinion.⁸³⁶

Pamphlets such as the one we have just examined were being published constantly during the turbulent years of the War. The League also supported its discourse on irredentism by publishing some extra series along with its own publications. For the issue we have just examined, for example, the League also published 'The Intervention of Bulgaria and the Macedonian Question' in 1915 by Crawford Price, with the main aim, as its writer notes, of 'remov[ing] some popular misconceptions concerning the nationality of the Macedonian Slavs'. Questioning the Bulgarian assertion that Macedonian Slavs were of Bulgarian race, and supporting the writings of Mavrogordato examined above, the author argued that Bulgaria was following a 'policy of opportunism'.⁸³⁷

⁸³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸³⁷ Crawford Price, *The Intervention of Bulgaria and the Central Macedonian question* (London, 1915), 27.

Conclusion

In Greece, debates and discussions regarding modernisation were established around the balance between tradition and an imported modernity. In this respect, the discourse produced by the League to advocate for the national programme included paradoxical schemas that stemmed from the concomitant existence of antiquity and modernity within the same political programme. According to Stathis Gourgouris, a modern historian, 'Neohellenism itself has been built on a history of heterological shifts' and on 'the consistent necessity of Neohellenic culture to define itself as Other to all Others'.⁸³⁸ Along the way, Greece had to confront both its eastern traditions and its western legacies; orthodox Christian beliefs had to go in parallel with the demands of modern secularisation. This struggle between the old and the new became an inherent element of Greek nationalism, which fundamentally shaped the modern Greek identity.

Greek modernity, as a product imported from the West, was ideologically situation to function in a legitimising fashion for Eurocentric arguments. In Europe, 'Hellenolatry' provided the 'first systematic ideological construction founding the triumphantly eurocentric orientalist discourse'.⁸³⁹ In Greece, it constituted the raw material to articulate an argument regarding the anti-modern opponents of the nation. The national imaginary internalised and collectively interpreted the European re-invention of Greek antiquity as manifested in movements such as philhellenism and neoclassicism by directly associating Greek with European culture.⁸⁴⁰

In 1912, John Stavridi, the Greek Consul in London, wrote: 'in future, should it ever be necessary, it will be Great Greece that will appeal to the Powers and to England, no longer as a beggar but as the greatest factor for progress and civilisation

⁸³⁸ Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization, and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford, CA, 1996), 275.

⁸³⁹ Tsoukalas, 'The Irony of Symbolic Reciprocities', 31; for more on the discourse on Orientalism see Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York, 1978). A vital note on this point is that although for many the phenomenon of modernity is essentially or exclusively European, it is in fact one constituted 'in a dialectical relation with a non-European alterity': in Dussel, 'Eurocentrism and Modernity', 65.

⁸⁴⁰ Dimou, *Entangled Paths towards Modernity*, 317.

in the Near East'.⁸⁴¹ In this characteristic conception, Greeks, beggars until now, would escape the state of guilt if they adhered to the West and, in turn, their redemption would arrive through modernity. Dussel accurately notes that, in the myth of modernity, modernity is presented as 'a force that will emancipate or redeem its victims from their guilt', a guilt which derives from their opposition to the civilising process.⁸⁴²

Fredric Jameson, in his attempt to de-mystify the ideology of modernism in the literary and artistic context, offers this quotation from Iris Murdoch's *The Unicorn*: "'truth is communicated from a particular speaker to a particular listener'".⁸⁴³ The League's discourse attempted exactly this: to communicate particular messages to a particular public in order to influence British foreign policy towards a pro-Hellenic stance after the outcome of the First World War. In doing so, it had to compete with the parallel work of analogous associations and leagues from other national backgrounds whose territorial interests were in conflict with Greek ones. Drawing from the modernist toolkit, the League's discourse was well articulated, with concepts of superiority and prosperity appealing directly in categorical manner to western ideas of progress and development.

The *mythomoteur* of the *Megali Idea*, which epitomised the ideology of Greek nationalism and the Greek version of modernity and which could advance specific demands, provided the context in which the Anglo-Hellenic League became politicised into an interest group supporting the statist policies of the Liberal government of Venizelos in the social and economic sector. The importance of their propaganda corresponds to the dependency of the Greek state on the diaspora's economic power. As has been examined in detail in Chapter Two, the economic prosperity of the state was dependent on direct or indirect diasporic capital inflows as well as on their generous financial contributions. Hence, the fervent national ideologues of the League, through advocating for the *Great Idea*, were in reality

⁸⁴¹ SP, J.J. Stavridis, consul general of Greece, during his speech at the Symposium given in London by the London Greek community in honour of Eleftherios Venizelos and the deputies for the peace negotiations after the First Balkan War, 22 December 1912.

⁸⁴² Dussel, 'Eurocentrism and Modernity', 75.

⁸⁴³ Fredric Jameson, 'Beyond the Cave: Demystifying the Ideology of Modernism', *The Bulletin of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, 8 (1975), 1; Iris Murdoch, *The Unicorn* (London, 1963), 118.

advocating for the preservation of their hegemonic status as a bourgeois political group and a ruling economic authority in Greece's bright new day.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

*From the waters of Crete to the peak
of Thessaloniki towards the Haimos ...
Let our path be free,
Wide, naked totally empty. Topos! Topos!
Because it will be dressed and filled with life,
All completely ours.⁸⁴⁴*

The Opportunity: Making Greece the 'British Proxy'

The Introduction to this thesis commenced with a reference to the article published in *Hestia* on 1 December 1913, which announced to the Greek people the long-awaited union of Crete with Greece. Cretan events were perceived as part of the greater pattern of hostilities between the Christian Balkan states and the Ottoman Empire that consequently destroyed the equilibrium in the region, resulting in the Great War in August 1914. For the Cretans – 'the suffragettes of European politics'⁸⁴⁵ – and of course for the Anglo-Hellenic League, which was established some weeks later, this union came as a harmonious development that at first satisfied Greek irredentist aspirations in the Mediterranean. But this victory also revealed that rival nationalisms would make the realisation of the Greek national programme a very hard task, especially given the fact that Britain's aim was to avoid any crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean by 'nursing' the 'Great Patient' of Europe.⁸⁴⁶

However, with the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the power vacuum that was created as a consequence, a chance appeared for the Greeks to use any

⁸⁴⁴ Kostas Palamas, 'Στ' ἄρματα' [To the Arms], *O Noumas*, 13, 30 (10 October 1915), 371. The poem forms a hymn to the national program of the *Megali Idea* and its appearance in the front page of *O Noumas* bears political significance. See Nikiforos P. Diamantouros, Thalia Dragonas and Çağlar Keyder (eds.), *Spatial Conceptions of the Nation, Modernizing Geographies in Greece and Turkey* (New York, 2010), 28. On the year it was written, Venizelos was preparing to march into the War, while 'ecstatic craving for more land, with no limits or end' became a constituent feature of the discourse of the *Megali Idea*, which transcended, the *topos* and the *chronos* calling for territorial expansion and continuity. In Anastasia Stouraiti and Alexander Kazamias, 'Imaginary Topographies of the *Megali Idea*: National Territory as Utopia', in *ibid.*, 11–34.

⁸⁴⁵ Sir Edward Grey, 28 August 1912 quoted in Robert Holland and Diana Markidis, *The British and the Hellenes: Struggles for Master in the Eastern Mediterranean 1850–1960* (New York, 2006), 132.

⁸⁴⁶ The dogma of the 'territorial integrity' of the Ottoman state was connected with a number of crucial strategic concerns in the Eastern Mediterranean, in particular the Straits and the Suez Canal. See Erik Goldstein, 'Great Britain and Greater Greece 1917–1920', *The Historical Journal*, 32 (1989), 1.

anglophile opportunity to become the 'aspiring heirs' of the deteriorating empire.⁸⁴⁷ At this point, Greek territorial claims coincided with British geopolitical aims, giving momentum to the establishment of an Anglo-Greek entente. The League, through its pamphlets and other activities, employed the growing western fear of Pan-Islamism as well as the fact of the replacement of German commercial dominance in Constantinople with an Anglo-French hegemony as means to support and consolidate a strong Greek presence in the region. On these grounds the League worked towards influencing public opinion and, more specifically, British high diplomacy that the Turk had no role to play in a modern western world, let alone that of a British ally.

In this respect, it becomes evident that the pro-Hellenic attitude of the majority of the British political elite stemmed partly from a vociferous turcophobia that the League understood and further cultivated.⁸⁴⁸ Characteristically, Harold Nicolson, who was appointed along with Allen Leeper and Arnold Toynbee to prepare Britain's policy towards Greece, remarked regarding the Greek claims in Asia Minor: 'for the Turks I had, and have, no sympathy whatsoever. Long residence at Constantinople had convinced me that behind his mask of indolence, the Turk conceals impulses of the most brutal savagery.'⁸⁴⁹ Such reports, including that of Sir Eyre Crowe, who was Nicolson's chief, influenced and shaped British policy towards the Ottoman Empire and understandings in the highest ranks of British diplomacy. For example, Crowe's view that the 'policy of allowing the Turk to remain in Europe is so contrary to our most important interests' managed to influence the highest reaches of Whitehall.⁸⁵⁰ Lord Curzon, whose pro-Hellenic sentiments were already familiar after the speech he gave to welcome Eleftherios Venizelos to England, suggested that 'the presence of the Turks in Europe has been a source of unmitigated evil to everybody concerned. Indeed, the record is one of misrule, oppression, intrigue and massacre, almost unparalleled in the history of the Eastern

⁸⁴⁷ Tsoukalas, *Εξάρτηση και αναπαραγωγή*, 366.

⁸⁴⁸ See Chapter Five, the discourse on civilized west vs barbarous east.

⁸⁴⁹ Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking, 1919* (Boston and New York, 1933), 35.

⁸⁵⁰ Minute by Crowe, 22 June 1919 quoted in Goldstein, 'Great Britain and Greater Greece', 343.

World.’⁸⁵¹ During the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 Lloyd George supported Greece, taking the view that a Greek renaissance would ensure British interests in the Eastern Mediterranean. His support, according to Llewellyn-Smith, ‘was based on a sense that Greece was the coming power in the Eastern Mediterranean, a virile, vigorous and expanding nation, opposed to a feeble moribund and untrustworthy Turkey’.⁸⁵² Indeed, the political aim of the League to place Greece as the British proxy in the area was realised in May 1919 with the Greek landing in Smyrna, accompanied by the personal blessings of David Lloyd George and the warm support of British Liberals, who viewed the Greek presence in Western Asia Minor as a significant counterbalance to an Italian landing further south on the coast.

Propaganda and Politics: An Evaluation of the Role of the Anglo-Hellenic League

If we are to describe the role propaganda and international politics played in favour of an Anglo-Greek entente in London during the period 1913–1919, there are two factors that we should underline and which contributed to the formation of this understanding in the political, commercial and academic sectors. This entente was achieved, first, as a result of the systematic and broad propaganda strategy stemming from the activities of Greek officials in Britain, specifically Gennadius, Stavridis and later Dimitrios Caclamanos, the Greek ambassador in Britain from 1918; and, second, because of the establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League in December 1913. After a certain point, the collaboration between the two – the official representatives of the Greek state forming the Greek Embassy and consulate in Britain and the League – became much closer and concentrated on the promotion of Venizelist politics and the propaganda concerning Greek territorial claims after the end of the First World War.⁸⁵³

⁸⁵¹ Speech delivered during the prestigious event at the Mansion House on 16 November 1917, along with Churchill and Balfour, AH League, pamphlet no. 35.

⁸⁵² Llewellyn-Smith, *Ionian Vision*, 84.

⁸⁵³ The interpersonal relations between Gennadius and members of the League should not be underestimated. When in December 1913 Gennadius was asked to withdraw from action owing to his age, Murray sent a letter to Venizelos requesting that he remain in his position because he understood perfectly the situation at the present moment and was more than able to promote the Greek cause. Murray made this intervention on behalf of the Greek community and philhellenes in Britain. ABM, Venizelos Archive, Letter from Murray to Venizelos, London 24 December 1913, f.365–80.

As Llewellyn-Smith identifies, 'the early papers and activities of the Anglo-Hellenic League showed how Greece and Venizelism were reflected in academic, intellectual and political circles', particularly through the activities of members such as Burrows.⁸⁵⁴ Venizelos and Burrows' friendship generated a strong foothold for Venizelism in Britain in times when the relationship between the two countries seemed uncertain. The Anglo-Hellenic League became a 'ready source of propaganda', particularly during the National Schism and after, when the consolidation of national claims had to be promoted first and foremost in London.⁸⁵⁵ The support provided by the Greek Embassy to the League and its activities from its very establishment, a support which was intensified through the years, helped to create a large philhellenic wave in Britain that benefited Venizelos' position in Greece and the Greek cause more generally.⁸⁵⁶ A point which perhaps deserves our special attention is that both the Anglo-Hellenic League and the embassy articulated the same objective, which meant that the League was acting de facto as a complementary medium of propaganda and information for the Greek government. In an interview in the *Levant Herald*, Gennadius expressed his conviction that the embassy must 'promote the interests against an opposing and aggressive public opinion, defend the rights and remove the prejudices'.⁸⁵⁷ In the same way, the League would 'defend the just claims and honour of Greece and remove existing prejudices and prevent future misunderstandings between the British and Hellenic races'.⁸⁵⁸ It remained vital, however, at least for the first years of its existence, that the League appeared unbiased and disconnected from the governmental grip, and, although its members had close relations with the Greek Embassy in London, the demand was to 'appear completely independent in the eyes of the English public'.⁸⁵⁹

In order to evaluate the influence exerted by the League during the first six years of its establishment we should understand it *vis-à-vis* the proclaimed

⁸⁵⁴ Michael Llewellyn-Smith, 'Eleftherios Venizelos and the British Friends, Supporters and Admirers, 1910–1920', in Paul Skourlas and John Kittmer (eds.), *British–Greek Relations: Aspects of their Recent History* (Athens, 2016), 193.

⁸⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵⁶ Christopoulos, 'John Gennadius', 319.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 362.

⁸⁵⁸ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *Rules*, 1913.

⁸⁵⁹ GP, Ion Dragoumis Correspondence, Petrocochinos to Dragoumis, Athens, 14 June 1914, n.1873.

objectives on which its propaganda was based. Through the examination of the first five objects as set out by the League, which are

1. to defend the just claims and honour of Greece;
2. to remove existing prejudices and prevent future misunderstandings between the British and Hellenic races, as well as between the Hellenic and Other races of South Eastern Europe;
3. to spread information concerning Greece and stimulate interest in Hellenic matters;
4. to improve the social, educational, commercial and political relations of the two countries; and
5. to promote travel in Greece and secure improved facilities for it⁸⁶⁰

we may identify the two core aims of this group: first, to defend Greek territorial claims and promote further the idea of a Greater Greece, which after a certain point was associated with Venizelism; and, second, the creation and preservation of an Anglo-Greek entente through the employment of soft-power resources to attract supporters and persuade them of the desired outcomes through politics, education/culture and economics.

The Establishment and an Evaluation of the First Years

By now we have seen that the League was far from a stranger to the Greek government, and in this the most important role was played by Gennadius, who was instrumental not only in establishing the League but also in making it known to Greek officials. He advised the committee and utilised his social circle to convert influential figures to the cause. However, the League was not openly supported by the government – as documents in the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reveal – as it was considered best to keep the collaboration between the League and the embassy secret to ensure the credibility of the former. Politics, for Joseph Nye, includes also the ‘ability to share information – and to be believed, and that becomes an important source of attraction and power’.⁸⁶¹ For that reason, Gennadius, who was responsible for recording Hellenic propaganda in Britain,

⁸⁶⁰ AH League, Additional Series pamphlet, *Rules*, 1913.

⁸⁶¹ Nye, *Soft Power*, 31.

regularly informed the Greek ministry in his monthly reports about the activities and publications of the League.⁸⁶² The previous period of philhellenic activity in Britain, from 1879 to 1910, was characterised by a lack of both means and a centralised mechanism that could provide an immediate response to anti-Hellenic outbursts in the press. Both the Greek and the Philhellenic Committees acted only on very specific issues, lacking collaboration with the embassy and substantial funding. With the founding of the first Press Bureau in 1910 as part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the demands for a more concentrated and fruitful production of propaganda material in the international press – especially in London and Paris – became imperative, according to the expenditures records held in the Greek ministry and the files of the London embassy.⁸⁶³ The need for a dedicated machine for press propaganda appeared imperative amid the Balkan Crisis. Venizelos himself advised the embassy that it was essential to regularly inform the European press about Greek matters.⁸⁶⁴ In this respect, the embassy in London arranged for the buying of debentures in widespread journals such as *The Sphere* and *The World*, so as to guarantee a prominent position for Greek opinion in the daily and periodical press of the country.⁸⁶⁵ It also secured regular funding for subscriptions to major British journals and for the buying of books related to Greek and international subjects.⁸⁶⁶

Months before the establishment of the League, future members, such as Cassavettis, were already affiliated with the embassy and involved in writing propaganda and promoting philhellenic interests. Cassavettis' job, as well as those of Burrows, Reeves and Mavrogordato, was much appreciated by Gennadius, who later employed some of these people to recruit other influential Greeks in Britain.⁸⁶⁷ The

⁸⁶² See, for example, the sending for the first pamphlet of the League signed as 'Private and Confidential' – GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/55/4, Gennadius to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 November 1913, n.7553.

⁸⁶³ GMFA, London Embassy Files, Press Expenditures 1914, D/108, 22 July, 1912 no. 23080, 22 April, 1913 no. 13137 and 8/21 May, 1913 no. 14627.

⁸⁶⁴ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/32/2, Venizelos to Gennadius, 22/4 October 1912, n.4226.

⁸⁶⁵ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2/4/3, Gennadius to Coromilas, London, 18/31 March 1913, 675/ also 1912/65/4, Act of Council of Ministers, 24 February 1912, act 219.

⁸⁶⁶ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1912/65/4, Approval of Act 230 of Council of Ministers, April 1912, no. 13179.

⁸⁶⁷ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913–1914, D/108, Gennadius to Coromilas, 15/28 August 1913, n.2125, and GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1913/55/5, Gennadius to Panas, 30/12 November 1913, n.2762, confidential.

growing demands and the expressed need for an organised propaganda mechanism to work with the embassy in promoting the Greek cause led to the establishment of the Anglo-Hellenic League at the end of 1913. Its establishment was a much-needed development in terms of creating networks of collaboration between the two countries on the political, cultural and economic levels. As a more focused group for propaganda, the League soon became an indispensable medium for defending and promoting Greek claims in London. With the accumulated philhellenic capital of previous initiatives, the incorporation of others, such as the Aegean Islands Committee and the adoption of its cause, the League acquired a large impetus right at the moment when both the Greek and the British governments needed a communication outlet that was less official but equally credible and influential. Next to the demand for a more concentrated body of propaganda, voices from both Greece and abroad indicated the need for a more elaborate and focused strategy developed by the embassies and the consulates in the political as well as the commercial field. The Greek ship-owners and brokers of Britain, for example, demanded in March 1914 that the General Consulate of London become staffed with salaried consuls – rather than unpaid – whose legal opinion on the naval mortgage law would be better appreciated and esteemed by British businessmen.⁸⁶⁸ In addition, D.P. Petrocochino, a member of the Athens branch of the Anglo-Hellenic League, stressed the need for more staff in the embassies and consulates (especially of London) to work in support of high officials such as the minister or the consul, who would thus be able to concentrate on more important activities than the everyday business of the office.⁸⁶⁹ These demands to upgrade the services provided by the state in the British capital, as well as the amounts paid occasionally for press subscriptions (*The Sphere*, *The World*, *Hesperia*, *Hellenic Herald*, *Daily News* and *Central News*, to name a few)⁸⁷⁰ and the salaries paid to individuals employed by the embassy to produce philhellenic writings (Hudson, Abbott, Price, Trapmann,

⁸⁶⁸ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1914/1, Letter from the Greek ship-owners to the President of the Greek Council, 4 March, 1914 no. 604.

⁸⁶⁹ GP, Ion Dragoumis Correspondence, Petrocochinos to Dragoumis, Athens, 14 June 1914, n. 1873.

⁸⁷⁰ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1912/65/4, no. 7630, 1914/1, no.05849, no.7461, 1918/2/4/3 receipt 9 June 1913 for 1200 pounds for *THE WORLD*, also letter 20 February, 1914.

Cassavetti),⁸⁷¹ indicate that the role and activities of the Anglo-Hellenic League during the first years of its establishment were indispensable for the Greek government, especially if we take into account that the League was independent from state funding.⁸⁷² On the contrary, there is evidence that funds for the purpose of propaganda and other pro-Venizelist activities were requested by the Greek community and the wealthy members of the League. Such requests may explain the existence of the Benevolent Fund of the Hellenic Community, set up in London in 1915 with N. Giannakopoulos as its president, the Committee of the Anglo-Greek Fund, set up in 1916, and, of course, the Venizelos Fund, also of 1916, the Committee members of which were also esteemed members of the League.⁸⁷³ In the same category can be included also the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek Fund, which funded the study of modern Greece and its history and language, contributing to the construction of Greece as a worthy ally of the West and establishing academic bonds between the two countries.

Therefore, we can conclude that for the first years of its establishment, between 1913 and the end of 1916, the League managed to become an important medium of propaganda and a trustworthy mechanism for the Greek government which worked both to combat anti-Hellenic attacks in the press but also to revitalise and further Anglo-Greek cooperation in various fields. Specifically, it placed particular emphasis on combating Bulgarian propaganda and making a case for the Greeks in Asia Minor through witness reports and letters from Greeks and Englishmen residing at the area. These reports flooded the English press, while the League devoted all of its publications in writing to these matters, aiming to reverse

⁸⁷¹ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1912/65/4 no. 19446, London Embassy Files 1914/1 no. 13137, no. 14627, 1918/2/4/1, letter of 24 July, 1908, receipt of 5000 pounds to Pouptis 5 May 1910, and 1918/2/4/2 Letter of January 1915; ABM, Venizelos Archive, Letter from Gennadius to Venizelos, London 30 April 1916, f.313–53.

⁸⁷² This does not mean to suggest that small contributions to its activities did not receive support from the Greek government through Gennadius. For example, after 1916 and the professed alignment of the League with Venizelism, there are some records indicating small amounts credited to members of the League, such as Mavrogordato, for propaganda activities. Nonetheless, the League's wealthy members would always contribute through different committees had necessity demanded it (see Venizelos or Koraes Fund) – GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1917/1/6, Letter from Mavrogordato to Gennadius, 14 August 1917.

⁸⁷³ See telegram of 8 April 1910 in which the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs asks Argenti and Corgialeni to contribute £125 to the state grant of £500 that Abbot would receive. GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1918/2/4/1.

any English pro-Bulgarian or pro-Ottoman feeling. At the same time, it worked towards the creation of an environment for Anglo-Greek cooperation in the fields of commerce, culture and politics, aiming to reconstruct a positive image of Greece based on shared values with Britain. Its assertion in 1913 that the 'influence in trade, finance, and industry already large, is certain to increase'⁸⁷⁴ was vindicated with the establishment of branches of the League in Athens and Thessaloniki and, most importantly, with the founding of the Koraes Chair of Modern Greek at King's College. The Leagues' activity in the cultural/educational sector as a result of the establishment of this Chair was hardly a mere academic achievement. Already from 1914–1915, when the subject first surfaced, both Burrows and Gennadius were enthusiastically working towards the founding of a Chair that would act not only as an academic hub attracting Anglo-Greek scholarship but as a means of disseminating propaganda that could be utilised to produce images of Greece and its culture tailor-made for the needs of the present conjuncture, or, in the words of Cassavetti, to create a 'natural ally for Great Britain'.⁸⁷⁵

Until the second resignation of Venizelos in October 1915, when Allied troops landed in Thessaloniki, the League wished to appear as an independent organisation acting voluntarily in favour of Greece in Britain as its insusceptible character would make its actions more powerful. However, with the beginning of the National Schism, the League turned out to be the most important agent in promoting Venizelist propaganda, openly supporting Venizelos and his policies. We agree with Christopoulos, who commented that 'the transition of the League from a promotional friendship club and informal collaborator of the embassy to a central pillar of Venizelists in London was an effortless development.'⁸⁷⁶ The following year would be crucial in crystallising the League's character as politics in Greece became even more radicalised, with the Allied blockade taking place in summer 1916, Venizelos' setting up of the provisional government in Thessaloniki and his anathema by the Church, the 'Noemvriana' crisis and the ultimatum given by the Allies. The League found itself in its most perilous and at the same time contradictory position:

⁸⁷⁴ AH League, pamphlet no. 1, 1913.

⁸⁷⁵ Cassavetti, *Hellas and the Balkan Wars*, 298.

⁸⁷⁶ Christopoulos, 'John Gennadius', 343.

to defend the perpetrators of an extremely hard situation for Greeks and convince the international press that, despite the blockade, Greece was still anglophile at heart. This frustration led to further radicalisation and the League became openly the most important agent of Venizelist propaganda and an irreplaceable asset for Greece in Europe.

The Moment of Radicalisation: The League in the Service of the State

As a means to ensure continued Anglo-Greek understanding amid this exceptional situation, and under pressure regarding the consequences of the blockade as food shortages increased, Venizelos initially followed the more reactionary route of traditional diplomacy. In early 1917 he sent two of his former ministers to ensure that the Allies would continue to support his cause and call on the king to resign. Alexander Diomidis and Andreas Andreadis embarked on a propaganda mission in London and Paris, delivering speeches and giving interviews to the press with the aim of convincing those countries of Greek pro-Allied feelings despite neutrality.⁸⁷⁷ In London the League, clearly in communication with Gennadius, arranged for their presentations at the Great Hall of King's College and later circulated their speeches in pamphlets in Greek and English. In the same vein, the secretary of the League, John Mavrogordato, and Gennadius communicated frequently during that year to arrange for propaganda articles to be translated by the League and sent to Greece and to exchange opinions on advocates of propaganda in Geneva and Paris.⁸⁷⁸ Although reactionary, Venizelos' politics called for a radical response by the League, who deserted any independence in the name of Venizelism. Under international pressure, King Constantine abdicated in June 1917, marking a new era of active propaganda politics for both Greece and the League.

The re-establishment of Venizelos in power and the difficult consolidation of his regime consolidated an important realisation for the Venizelist movement. There was a need for effective and organised propaganda both at home and abroad, with a dual scope: to act in favour of political unity in Greece (pro-royalist voices did not

⁸⁷⁷ Papakostas, 'Το ζήτημα του αβασίλευτου δημοκρατικού πολιτεύματος', 490.

⁸⁷⁸ GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1917/1/6, Letters from Mavrogordato to Gennadius, on official AHL letterhead paper, 8 and 9 May 1917.

cease to exist in allied countries)⁸⁷⁹ and, most importantly, to educate domestic and international public opinion on the ‘just’ claims of Greece amid the end of the First World War. The proliferation of the *Great Idea* and the satisfaction of the territorial claims of Greece became the core of this new dedicated propaganda, which was based on Venizelos’ anglophile attitude. For a more centralised and targeted action, the Greek government decided in 1918 that it was time for a *Bureau de la Presse* to be established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to coordinate propaganda and press services in the Greek embassies abroad.⁸⁸⁰ The respective Press Bureau at the embassy in London was officially established in the summer of the same year under the guidance of Caclamanos and with the assistance of the League. However, the services as they are proclaimed in Caclamanos’ letter to the Ministry had already been provided in an unofficial manner by the League since Venizelos’ reestablishment. The duties included the ‘translation and republishing of political, military, economic and other news received by Athens in the English press’, the ‘drafting of reports and articles on issues of interests’ and ‘the translation of brochures and pamphlets and their publication in English’, while special reference was made to the cultural activities taking place between the two countries, during which it was considered important to circulate news regarding Greek claims.⁸⁸¹ Examples of collaboration between the League and the embassy on behalf of the Bureau can be found in the letters exchanged between Gennadius and Caclamanos and the League, in which the Greek ministers ask for information on specific events for publication in the British press or collaborate with specific League members, such as Mavrogordato, Reeves, Burrows or Eumorfopoulos, to produce articles for propaganda reasons.⁸⁸²

⁸⁷⁹ See *Union Hellenique* in Switzerland; Leontaritis, *Greece in the First World War* [Greek translation] (Athens, 2000), 134.

⁸⁸⁰ Lemonidou, ‘Η ελληνική παροικία της Γαλλίας στον Α΄ παγκόσμιο Πόλεμο, η πολιτική στράτευση και η δράση των μελών της υπέρ του Βενιζέλου’, 236.

⁸⁸¹ GMFA, Central Service Papers, 1918, Press and Propaganda Folder, Caclamanos to Ministry, 9 August 1918, London, no. 7165.

⁸⁸² GMFA, London Embassy Files, 1917/1/6; most of the articles between Caclamanos and Gennadius with Burrows or Mavrogordato relate to specific everyday events or ask for photographic material from the League. Also in GP, folder 4.9. Moreover, Burrows, who was the most active of all, continued to offer his services by publishing in the *Quarterly Review*, the *Westminster Gazette*, *New Europe*, *The Contemporary Review* and other important journals.

In this respect, during 1918 the League also undertook the organisation of a major event in the Mansion House in London under the auspices of the Lord Mayor, which was utilised as an opportunity to promote the claims of Greece in the forthcoming Peace Conference. On 27 June the League invited Churchill and Lord Bryce to celebrate Greece's entry into the War, aiming to secure British consent to the long-proclaimed Greek territorial claims at the end of the war. Both Churchill and Lord Bryce did not fail to satisfy their ally by maintaining that 'in the long struggle Greece is bearing her share, and when the day of victory and the day of reckoning comes, Greece will also share in the glory'.⁸⁸³ Lord Bryce even claimed Greece as the 'second homeland of the British'⁸⁸⁴ because of the universality of its art and the influence of its culture in Britain. Victory in the European war would ensure that the 'sunshine will never turn pale on the marble columns of Parthenon'.⁸⁸⁵ Such statements suggest that the League's work on cultivating a relationship of shared values and preferences was very successful.

Through the exercise of soft power, the League managed to induce feelings of brotherhood between two countries whose relations, until recently, had been on perilous ground. Gennadius would even claim that it was an 'intrinsic characteristic of Greeks' to share the same idea of civilisation with the 'democracies of the West',⁸⁸⁶ while in the longing for resemblance he wishes for a warmer alliance between the two countries, based on the belief that the two nations have 'so many in common: lovers of freedom, adroit merchants, and superior sailors, both living from the sea'.⁸⁸⁷ Although a lot of work had been done by the League to achieve these goals, it was considered that the times called for more propaganda in the country in order for Greece to expand as greatly as hoped.

During the same year Venizelos himself, whose presupposition held that it was 'better to influence those who can influence others',⁸⁸⁸ chose to spend a great deal of time during the autumn of 1918 in London, where the Anglo-Hellenic League

⁸⁸³ AH League, pamphlet no. 36, *The Anglo-Hellenic Alliance; speeches of Mr. Winston Churchill, the Greek Minister and Viscount Bryce*, 1918.

⁸⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁶ AH League, pamphlet no. 36, 1918.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸⁸ Eglezou, *The Greek Media in World War I*, 28.

arranged meetings and events with British statesmen, journalists and academics preparing a propaganda response for the struggle that lay ahead. Venizelos was grateful for the work undertaken by the League, as he viewed the League as an important mechanism of preserving and cultivating philhellenic feeling in the British capital among other rival foreign propaganda and antagonism. The services and activity it provided to Venizelos' cause was done in addition to the official work of the embassy and the press bureau. The League's work was multifaceted. Over the first six years of its existence it had proved that it was able to work independently to recruit the best journalists or war correspondents providing first-hand accounts from the war front, enlist the best academics to produce elaborate research reports while setting up the first Chair of Modern Greek in London and establishing the first modern system of English education in Greece, and at the same time cater for the building of commercial bridges between the two countries (representation in Athens and Thessaloniki). In 1919 the League received official acknowledgement of its role throughout the War and its activities both as a propaganda pressure group and as a medium of international economic and cultural/educational collaboration between the two countries, activities it had promised to continue in the future. The official congratulations from Venizelos were delivered in a telegram to Caclamanos with the advice that it be openly communicated during its general meeting in 1919:

on the occasion of your Annual Meeting allow me to express to you my warm gratitude for your eminently faithful activity. The League may well be proud of its achievements in support of the cause of the Greek people. It has labored diligently and successfully for the promotion of ever closer and closer relations between the two countries whose mutual sympathy it symbolizes and I hope that its labours in this sense will be continued on the same high plane in the future which opens before us.⁸⁸⁹

Final Remarks

This thesis has had at its core the study of a diaspora pressure group formed after the Balkan Wars in order to proliferate pro-Hellenic propaganda in Britain.

⁸⁸⁹ Venizelos to Gennadius, Paris, 17 June 1919, AH League, pamphlet no. 39, 1919.

Throughout its course, the Anglo-Hellenic League had collaborated with the philhellenic British liberal establishment to further a specific agenda and become a strong agent of Venizelism and irredentist politics for a Greater Greece. Through important coalitions between non-state and state actors, the League channelled their activities towards the Greek cause and achieved the construction of an image of modern Greece inextricably linked with the British imperial grand strategy in the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, this image of modern Greece produced by diasporic discourse was also employed for internal consumption, satisfying the nationalist aspirations of the *Megali Idea*. Through the examination of the forms of political speech contained in the public interventions of the Anglo-Hellenic League, this thesis sought to offer interpretations on the body of pamphlets they published during 1913–1919. By looking more closely into how propaganda was structured around the idea of a modern state in a ‘Eurocentric world that defines itself in circular fashion by evoking a classical Greece that it has itself constructed’,⁸⁹⁰ it is hoped that this research has also shed light on understandings about British ‘philhellenism’ and Greek ‘Anglophilia’ of the period.

Today, the League continues to exist as a registered charity that functions mainly as a cultural body ‘dedicated in promoting Anglo-Greek understanding and friendship’.⁸⁹¹ It celebrates Greek scholarship in Britain through the Runciman Award, named after the League’s longest-serving chairman and the well-known historian Sir Steven Runciman, and the Katie Lentakis Memorial Fund Award, which is granted annually to an undergraduate of King’s College London. In 2013 the League celebrated its Centenary at the residence of the Greek ambassador in London in the presence of His Royal Highness Prince Michael of Kent, the League’s president and chief patron.

Despite claims that the League ‘has always been strictly apolitical’,⁸⁹² this thesis has offered solid evidence through a detailed analysis that the League had managed to infiltrate British diplomacy, taking advantage of the interpersonal

⁸⁹⁰ Michael Herzfeld, ‘The Absence Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101 (2002), 916.

⁸⁹¹ Website of the AH League (www.anglohellenicleague.org/about.html, accessed 3 May 2015).

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*

relationships between leading members of the Greek community and the British elite. Even later in its long history, British commanders in Greece during 1944 had served as chairmen of the Anglo-Hellenic League, such as George Jellicoe, 2nd Earl Jellicoe, who served as chairman from 1978 to 1986, and Peregrine Rhodes, high commissioner in Cyprus and British ambassador in Greece, who became Jellicoe's successor in the chairmanship of the League from 1986 to 1990. Rhodes was succeeded by Sir Brooks Richards (chairmanship 1990–1993), who had been previously appointed British ambassador in Athens in 1974. This Anglophile contingency creates lineages that we as historians cannot afford to dismiss.

The study of the Anglo-Hellenic League and its legacy serves in creating a better understanding of the post-war politics of modern Greece and opens the field for future research on Anglo-Greek relations through the politics of transnational interest groups. It also prepares the ground for a study of the British intervention in Greece during the Second World War and its aftermath. It even aspires to cultivate further interest in the study of diaspora politics and the mechanisms employed and consequently their role in promoting particular interests and influencing domestic and international politics. The Greek community in London constitutes an excellent example of how diasporas can contribute to and influence international politics and become significant factors both at home and abroad.

Appendix

List of Anglo-Hellenic League Pamphlets 1913–1919

No.	Title	Publication year	Writer	Brief description
1	<i>Private and Confidential, An Anglo-Hellenic League</i>	1913	Anonymous (committee of founders Reeves, Burrows, Mavrogordato, Cassavetti and Gennadius)	States the reasons why a League to further Anglo-Greek understanding was considered mandatory amid the conflicting interests of the Great Powers in the Balkans. Sole qualification for membership was the belief that Greece had a present and a future, as well as a past. The League is said to cooperate in a score of ways to spread information, smooth obstacles and promote social and intellectual intercourse.
2	<i>The Fate of the Aegean Islands. By Prof. Burrows</i>	1913	Ronald Burrows	Article reprinted from <i>Manchester Guardian</i> regarding the Greekness of the Aegean islands and the claim for annexation.
---	<i>Mr. Aubrey Herbert Refuted</i>	1913	Ronald Burrows William P. Reeves	Additional Series/Responding to Herbert's accusations of Greek misconduct in Epirus.
---	<i>Rules of the Anglo-Hellenic League</i>	1913	Anonymous (committee of founders Reeves, Burrows, Mavrogordato, Cassavetti and Gennadius)	Additional Series/Rules of the Anglo-Hellenic League, includes 33 clauses that set out the objects and procedure the League will adopt.
3	<i>What is Greece Fighting For</i>	1913	Malcolm R.R. Lightbody	Published initially by the Aegean Islands Committee and then by the League; presents the ties that bound the islands with mainland Greece.
4	<i>The Inaugural Meeting of the Anglo -Hellenic League</i>	1913	William P. Reeves	First annual general meeting held in the Rooms of the Royal Asiatic society at 5 p.m. on Monday 15 December 1913. During the first public appearance of the League, committees were set, members were approved and finances were made available. It includes an article by the chairman William P. Reeves in the <i>Daily Chronicle</i> regarding the Aegean Islands and Epirus.
5	<i>Address Delivered to the Anglo-Hellenic League by Colonel Murray</i>	1914	Colonel Murray	Address delivered in the Morley Hall on 7 January 1914, on Northern Epirus in 1913,

				reporting on his ten-week trip in Epirus and his account of the extent of identification with Greece.
6	<i>Visit of Chairman and Treasurer to Greece</i>	1914	William P. Reeves, Alexander Ionidis	An account of William Pember Reeves' and Alexander Ionidis' trip in Greece shortly after the establishment of the League. They held meetings with Venizelos and members of the Greek Royal family. Also, the foundation of the Athens Branch of the League marks its international – or rather transnational – presence.
7	<i>Albania and Epirus by W. P. Reeves</i>	1914		A vehement report by the League's chairman regarding the Autonomy of Epirus and an indictment of the Albanian policy. Sets the argument in terms of cultural superiority.
8	<i>Address Delivered to the Anglo-Hellenic League by Mr. Franz de Jessen</i>	1914	Franz de Jessen	Address delivered in the Morley Hall, on 30 March 1914 on Artificial Frontiers in the Near East. The war correspondent de Jessen traces evidence of Hellenic tradition throughout the region.
9	<i>Books Which we Recommend to our Members who Intend to Visit Greece</i>	1914	Anonymous (a League committee probably in collaboration with Gennadius)	Includes 46 books covering ancient, medieval and modern history and language as well as travel guides. An interesting account of contemporary Greek-related scholarship.
10	<i>Greece and the Epirus Rising</i>	1914	John Gennadius, Duckett Ferriman, William P. Reeves	A denial by the Greek Minister John Gennadius that Greece had in any way instigated the Epirus rebellion. Also includes accounts from Z. Duckett Ferriman of an autonomous Epirus and a strong statement by Reeves on the so-called 'Shoot-em down' policy.
11	<i>Reply to the Allegations of a Correspondent in the Manchester Guardian</i>	1914	Alexander Pallis	An account of Pallis based on first-hand information and eye-witness reports regarding the pro-Bulgarian propaganda in Macedonia.
12	<i>Letters Relating to Greek Macedonia and to the Expulsion of Greeks from Turkey</i>	1914	A.A. Pallis, T.A. Burlumi, L. Calvocoressi and W. Miller	Letters to the Press from Messrs A.A. Pallis, T.A. Burlumi, L. Calvocoressi and W. Miller with the intention of highlighting the injustices visited upon Greeks in Asia Minor and the refugee issue.
13	<i>Letters on the Expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor, and</i>	1914	Dr Charalampides, William P. Reeves	An eye-witness report from Dr Charalampides in Mytilini

	<i>in Reply to Allegations of Ill-Treatment Inflicted on Turks in Greek Macedonia</i>			regarding the expulsion of Greeks and the atrocities committed by Young Turks. Includes a letter from William P. Reeves to the <i>Westminster Gazette</i> in reply to the accusations regarding Greek ill-treatment of Turks in Macedonia.
14	<i>The New Greece</i>	1914	Ronald Burrows	A fervent support of the irredentist idea of 'Greater Greece' and the policy followed by Venizelos. Traces the historic roots and supports the modern Greek renaissance. A total appraisal of Venizelist policies.
15	<i>Reprint of Review of Report on International Commission into the Causes and Conduct of the Balkan Wars</i>	1914	Ronald Burrows	Review by Ronald Burrows on the pro-Bulgarian report produced by the Commission. Burrows accuses the commission of being ill-informed and unjust towards Greece.
16	<i>The northern Epirotes</i>	1914	C.S. Butler	A refutation of claims of ill-treatment of Albanians by Epirotes. Butler includes an eye-witness report highlighting the continuous Hellenic presence and the longing for autonomy.
17	<i>The Near East and the European War</i>	1915	John Gennadius, Spenser William, T.P. O'Connor	Address delivered by Professor Andreadis, on 15 January 1915 in London. Includes speeches by J. Gennadius, Prof. Spenser William and Mr T.P. O'Connor MP. The subject matter dealt with the growing Anglo-Greek friendship and the just claims of Greece in the Balkans.
18	<i>Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League</i>	1915	William P. Reeves.	Second annual meeting held at 22 Albmarle Street W., on Friday 19 February 1915, at 5.15 p.m. Includes address by William P. Reeves on Greek international position and the positive stance of British press towards Greek claims. Provides an account of the activities and publications over the past year.
19	<i>Eleftherios Venizelos and the English Public Opinion</i>	1915	Eleftherios Venizelos and Ronald Burrows	An outline of Venizelos' policy regarding Greek claims with the intention of educating the British press and public opinion on the internal situation of Greek politics. Includes articles from <i>The Nation</i> , an article by Burrows in the <i>Challenge</i> regarding the 'Crisis in Greece'

				and by Spencer Wilkinson in the <i>Westminster Gazette</i> on a brief history of the politics in Greece.
20	<i>Trade between England and Greece</i>	1915	Various contributors including Mesisinissi, Cotsis, Chrussachi and Burlumi	A compiled report from London Greek businessmen who stress their concerns regarding German infiltration in Greece as opposed to British. Proposal of methods that could help the British consolidate their position in the Greek market and develop the established Anglo-Greek collaboration.
21	<i>List of Members</i>	1915		Compiled List of Members for 1915, 650 in total.
22	<i>Greeks in Asia Minor</i>	1915		A detailed presentation of the commercial boycott and oppression of the Greek community in Asia Minor.
23	<i>Greece and To-morrow</i>	1915	Z. Duckett Ferriman	Ferriman structures a narrative of Greece's civilising mission in the Balkans based on the glory of its antiquity.
24	<i>England in the Balkans: a Hellenic Note on British Policy</i>	1915	John Mavrogordato	Mavrogordato attempts to negate the pro-Bulgarian influence on British policy by presenting the Greek interests as just and fair, hoping to correct misconceptions.
25	<i>Aspects of Greek Neutrality</i>	1916		A reprint of the letter of Prince Nicholas to the editor of <i>The Times</i> complaining about unjust images circulated in the French press. Includes also the resolution of the conference of the Hellenic Communities held in Paris.
26	<i>Greece and the War</i>	1916		An account of Greece's neutral position and a statement that no help has been given to Germany during the war. Also includes a policy of Venizelos, an essay on Bulgarian invasion and the assistance provided by London Greeks.
27	<i>Annual Meeting of the Anglo Hellenic League</i>	1916	Ronald M. Burrows	The third annual general meeting held at the Aeolian Bond Street, on Thursday, 15 June, accompanied with an introductory address by Burrows. His address makes a short evaluation of the reception of Greece in Britain today and concludes that, amid the National Schism, the role of

				the League is extremely important.
28	<i>Speech of M. E. Venizelos to the People</i>	1916		Venizelos' Speech, delivered in Athens on Sunday 27 August 1916. Includes English translation. [Greek original]
29	<i>The Anglo-Hellenic Hansard</i>	1916		A Reprint from the Official Parliamentary Reports of Some Questions and Debates on Greek Affairs in the House of Commons, 27 November–22 December 1916. Stresses the importance of pro-Hellenic propaganda to combat the pro-Bulgarian press and parliament debates.
30	<i>Venizelos and his Fellow Countrymen</i>	1917	P.N. Ure	An appraisal of Venizelos by P.N. Ure (Professor of Classics at University College), a Paper Read to the Classical Association, 6 January 1917, London. Ure concludes that Venizelos' policies were important in halting German militarism.
31	<i>Address of Alexander Diomidis</i>	1917	Alexander Diomidis	Address by the former Greek Minister of Finance, Diomidis, delivered in the Great Hall of King's College in the University of London, 16 February 1917. The address praised the efforts of the Greek army on the Balkan Front and remained positive that its aspirations would be satisfied in the near future.
32	<i>Italy and Greece. Roll of Honour of the Hellenic Community in London</i>	1917		An article regarding the policies of Italy towards Greece, saying that they should be viewed with caution. The Roll of Honour included Greeks enlisted in the British army, a great number of whom had received a bravery award.
----	<i>The End of the Greek Monarchy</i>	1917	John Mavrogordato	Additional Series/A reprint from <i>The Edinburgh Review</i> , January 1917. An important pamphlet since Mavrogordato stresses for the first time the possibility of a Republic in Greece following the King's dethronement. Written with concern to enlighten the British Press and public opinion on the constitutional issues and making a claim for the abolition of monarchy.

33	<i>Annual General Meeting, Anglo-Hellenic League</i>	1917	Ronald M. Burrows, William P. Reeves, MPs Robert Cecil, Hugh Law and Ronald McNeill	The fourth annual General meeting of the League took place in the Great Hall of King's College on Thursday 5 July 1917. Reeves, Burrows and British Liberal MPs addressed the audience in a celebratory mood due to Venizelos' re-establishment in power.
34	<i>The Abdication of King Constantine</i>	1917	Ronald Burrows et al.	A reprint of articles by Ronald Burrows and letters sent to the press regarding Constantine's dethronement and the Greek army on the Balkan front. Titles include 'Greece and the Entente', 'The Dynastic Crisis', 'Greece and the Balkan Front', 'The State of Feeling in Old Greece' and 'Venizelos in Athens'.
35	<i>England's Welcome to Venizelos</i>	1917	J. Balfour, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Winston Churchill, E. Venizelos, J. Gennadius, R. Burrows, Lord Mayor	A detailed account of the event at the Mansion House on 16 November 1917 to honour Venizelos and welcome him in Britain after the tumultuous last years. Speeches by the Right Hon. A.J. Balfour, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, Mr Winston Churchill, Mr Venizelos, Mr J. Gennadius and Dr R. Burrows. The event was presided by Lord Mayor and organised under the auspices of the League.
36	<i>The Anglo-Hellenic Alliance</i>	1918	Winston Churchill, John Gennadius and Viscount Bryce	Speeches of Mr Winston Churchill, the Greek Minister and Viscount Bryce at the Mansion House, 27 June 1918, the Anniversary of the Entry of Re-United Greece into the War with Some Account of Other Celebration. Also includes translation in Greek.
37	<i>Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League</i>	1918	Gilbert Murray, Ronald Burrows	Fifth annual general meeting organised on Thursday 11 July 1918. Devoted mainly to the subject of Philhellenism as a modern attribute as well, escaping antiquarianism. Address by Gilbert Murray and Ronald Burrows followed by Annual Report, Balance Sheet, Election of Officers, etc.
38	<i>The Retirement of M. Gennadius</i>	1919	Eleftherios Venizelos, Jojn Gennadius, Robert	Speeches of Monsieur Venizelos, M. Joannes Gennadius, Lord Robert Cecil, The Hon. W. Pember Reeves, Principal

			Cecil, William P. Reeves et al.	Burrows and Others at a Valedictory Dinner Given by M. Venizelos on 18 November 1918 in honour of M. Gennadius.
39	<i>Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League</i>	1919	Prof. John Linton Myres, Ronald Burrows, William P. Reeves et al.	Sixth annual general meeting of the League held at King's College London on 20 June 1919. The main address was delivered by Prof. John Linton Myres and focused on the strength of the Anglo-Greek understanding throughout the years and the role of the League in establishing and maintaining this bond through perilous circumstances.

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