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**Moments and Expressions of the European Philhellenism:
The “Cretan Question” in Messina (1866-1889)**

Agli Elleni di Candia
nobil progenie
della terra cretense dalle cento città
tiraneggiati da barbara dominazione
dopo IV secoli non cessata
ai perenni propugnatori
della nazionale libertà e religione
conculcate
dal dispotismo turco
nell'Europa civile e potente
accampato ognora e infellonito
ai novelli eroi termopilensi
macellati e invitti
un saluto di fraterna simpatia
eco dell'universa cristianità
in queste pagine
consacrano
gl'italiani di Messina
desiosi
di proseguire i filellenici esempi
dei loro padri e connazionali
nella guerra santa della greca indipendenza
e
non immemori
degli elleni commilitanti
al XLVIII nella sicula Missolungi
al LX lungo le terre della Magna Grecia
per lo Italico Risorgimento¹

¹ Giuseppe Morelli, “Dedica,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa e in verso*, Pubblicazione a cura di Antonino Scorsonelli a spese del Comitato italo-ellenico in Messina (Messina: Tipi D'Amico, 1868), 8.

The vigorous *Dedica* addressed in 1866 to the people of Heraklion –which were revolting against the Ottoman domination– by the teacher, journalist and patriot Giuseppe Morelli, one of the many authors of the volume *Candia. Scritti in prosa e in verso*, published in Messina for the Cretans who had been fighting for two years, represents strong evidence of lasting feelings of sincere sympathy and common values by the Peloritani citizens and by their political and cultural *élite* for the sad events suffered by the Greek people and, in particular, by the habitants of the Eastern Mediterranean island of Crete.

This island represented then a nerve centre of the “Eastern Question,” which was an intricate tangle of issues concerning the geopolitical order of the Balkan-Danubian area under the sovereignty of the more and more decadent Ottoman Empire –“the great sufferer of Europe” or “the giant with feet of clay,” according to some common phrases in use– in particular, after the failure of the second siege in Vienna in 1683.² Because of the strong bond with the West, developed from the long and complicated colonial connection with Venice (1204-1669), Crete had reached, in modern history, a period of great prosperity, as the many poetic and prose independent writings prove. Therefore, Crete was seen as the continuator of Constantinople in its universal mission of bringing civilization, after the dramatic Ottoman occupation in 1453,³ and it was also tied up to Italy for the important influence of the *Serenissima* culture.⁴ The island was subdued by the Sublime Porte after the conquest of Heraklion, following a twenty-year siege started in 1645, but Crete did not give in to these circumstances and preserved a linguistically and religiously (i.e.,

² See Matthew Smith Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations* (London: Macmillan, 1966); Francesco Cognasso, *Storia della questione d'Oriente* (Torino: Ed. Palatine di R. Pezzani e C., 1948).

³ It inspired the folk poem in rhyme “Anàklima [Lamentation] of Constantinople” elaborated in Crete. See Bruno Lavagnini, *Storia della letteratura neoellenica* (Milano: Nuova Accademia Editrice, 1959), 66 (in general up to p. 91).

⁴ Gherardo Ortalli, ed., *Venezia e Creta*, Conference Proceedings, Iraklion-Chania, 30 September-5 October 1997 (Venezia: Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, 1998).

Greek Orthodox Church) homogeneous population with a defined national identity.⁵ This endemic instability emerged during the great rebellion put down with bloodshed in 1770⁶ and during other similar vain attempts in the 19th century (1821, 1833, 1841, 1858) –under the Mehmet Ali Pasha Egyptian government (1831-1840)– while Crete was longing for the union with the tiny Greek sovereign state, established by the London Protocol of 3 February 1830 in a limited breadth, defined in the North, between the Ambracian Gulf and the Pagasitikos one.⁷

Since the end of the nineteenth century to 1913, the date of the actual reunion with its homeland, the “Cretan Question” continued to inspire the public opinion debate and found valid support among the people of Messina, whose coeval analytic vision is the object of the present essay. Indeed, the bond between Messina and the Hellenic world since the Greek-Roman Age gave the city of the Strait a clear Greek character, which persisted, at a different scale, until modern and contemporary history, and that could depend on a large

⁵ Leonidas Kallivretakis, “I garibaldini nell’insurrezione cretese del 1866/67,” in *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano: lotte, cultura, arte*, ed. Caterina Spetsieri–Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli, Mostra promossa dall’Ambasciata di Grecia e dall’Associazione per lo sviluppo delle relazioni fra Italia e Grecia, Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 25 marzo-25 aprile 1986 (Roma: Edizioni del Sole, 1986), 173.

⁶ Franco Venturi, *La rivolta greca del 1770 e il patriottismo dell’età dei lumi* (Roma: Unione internazionale degli istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell’Arte in Roma, 1986); Mario Vitti, *Storia della letteratura neogreca* (Roma: Carocci, 2004), 105.

⁷ Richard Clogg, *Storia della Grecia moderna dalla caduta dell’impero bizantino a oggi* (Milano: Bompiani, 1996), 69-72; Georges Castellan, *Storia dei Balcani: XIV-XX secolo* (Lecce: Argo, 1999); E. Hösch, *Storia dei paesi balcanici: dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Torino: G. Einaudi, 2005), 316-9. The political events in Crete from the 19th century to the date of the unification in 1898 can be read in Leonidas Kallivretakis, “A Century of Revolutions: The Cretan Question between European and Near Eastern Politics,” in *Eleftherios Venizelos. The Trials of Statesmanship*, ed. Paschalis M. Kitromilides (Edinburgh: Institute for Neohellenic Research/National Hellenic Research Foundation–Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 11-35.

Greek colony, constantly enriched by a remarkable number of people, especially after the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire. The important and large Hellenic group still represented, at the end of the 18th century, the vastest foreign community in Messina and proved, during the centuries, to be a valid and successful mediator despite conflicting needs. The Greeks fit in the political, social, economic and cultural milieu of Messina to such a state that, in the course of time, they often changed their surnames and made more Sicilian. Sometimes, they could master the Sicilian dialect better than their ancestral language that was unknown to many youngsters.⁸ On the

⁸ Michela D'Angelo, *Comunità straniere a Messina tra XVIII e XIX secolo. Alle origini del British Cemetery* (Messina: Perna edizioni, 1995), 18, 157; Gaetano La Corte Cailler, "Colonie straniere in Messina dopo il terremoto del 1783," *Il Marchesino* 17-24 (8 May-26 June 1926): 151; Georgios N. Moschopoulos, "Un racconto su Messina di Sicilia e la colà Comunità greca (1865): Insediamenti e descrizione della città, monasteri, costumi, usi, dialetto, influenze," *Thesaurismata. Bollettino dell'Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini* 39/40 (2009/2010): 439-60; Daniele Macris, "Cognomi di origine greca a Messina," *Messenion d'oro* 17 (2008): 5-16. About the Greek Peloritani community cf. *Immagine e scrittura. Presenza greca a Messina dal Medioevo all'età moderna* (Palermo: Fondazione Federico II, 2013); Daniele Macris, "Riflessioni sulla presenza greca a Messina in età moderna," *Pagnocco* 6 (2005): 48-51; Joannis Korinthios, "La Universitas Graecorum di Messina nel '700 e '800," *Ελληνικά Μηνύματα* 4 (2001): 60-86; Daniele Macris, "Note sulle chiese ortodosse e di rito greco a Messina," in *San Nicola nel Valdemone tra memoria e devozione*, ed. Carmelo Micalizzi and Daniele Macris, Conference proceedings, Messina, 4 December 2010 (Messina: Trischitta, 2011), 111-22. By the same author, Joannis Korinthios, *I greci di Napoli dal '500 ad oggi. Un innesto riuscito* (Napoli: Editrice Jakor, 2012), giving many historical references to the Hellenic condition in Messina. About the foreign settlements in Messina, a part from D'Angelo, *Comunità straniere*, refer to Luigi Chiara, ed., *Famiglie straniere a Messina nell'Ottocento. Con un'appendice di documenti sui Bette di Halberstadt* (Messina: Armando Siciliano, 2005), including the essays of Salvatore Bottari, "Famiglie straniere a Messina: presenze e attività," 21-64 and of Sergio Di Giacomo, "I segni della presenza straniera nella Messina dell'Ottocento," 65-125; Luigi Chiara, "Comunità straniere e ceti urbani a Messina nell'Ottocento," in *Famiglie straniere a Messina nell'Ottocento. I segni della presenza*, ed. Luigi Chiara and Nino Principato (Messina: Armando Siciliano, 2007), 15-45; Michela D'Angelo, *Mercanti inglesi in Sicilia (1806-1815). Rapporti commerciali tra Sicilia e Gran Bretagna nel*

one hand, the Hellenic group was aiming at the preservation of its identity through the defence of the religious values (especially those of the Eastern Orthodox Church) and at the protection of a heritage of events, memories, traditions and customs handed down, not just to the new generation, but also to the whole Peloritani population; on the other hand, the Hellenic group took care of the integration in the city through a series of marriage and socio-cultural politics capable of transmitting values outside the group of origin, and of encouraging the sharing of mutual national sentiments, of the very same cultural atmosphere and of the same political and ideal stance. This progressive attitude was indeed typical of educated people and local management in the “long nineteenth century,” resulting in an efficient *trait d’union* between the Italians and the Greeks.⁹ On the Hellenic side, there had been manifest and tangible support to the Italian Risorgimento, through heroic gestures, along the shore of Messina by Spiridone Gambizo and Dimitrios Bisbikis during the

periodo del blocco continentale (Milano: Giuffrè, 1988); idem, “‘Wir sprechen Deutsch.’ La comunità di lingua tedesca a Messina nell’800,” *Atti dell’Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti* LXXIII (2000): 15-47; Rosario Battaglia, *Sicilia e Gran Bretagna. Le relazioni commerciali dalla Restaurazione all’Unità* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1983); Alba Crea, *L’Associazione culturale italo-tedesca di Messina (1980-1994)* (Messina: Industria poligrafica della Sicilia, 1995); Luciana Caminiti et al., eds., “*Un luogo dell’anima*”. *Villa Pace dai Sanderson ai Bosurgi all’Università* (Messina: EDAS, 2003); Ida Fazio, “Temporanee confusioni. Matrimoni e modelli di successo nelle comunità estere a Messina nell’Ottocento,” *Quaderni storici* 2 (agosto 2001): 475-515; Franz Riccobono, “Operatori economici stranieri a Messina,” in *La Camera di commercio. Storia e struttura di una secolare istituzione messinese*, ed. Rocco Sisci (Messina: Edas, 1988), 170-94; Salvatore Bottari, “Gli operatori commerciali stranieri a Messina nel secolo XIX,” in *Scritti in onore di Vittorio Di Paola* (Messina: Circolo filatelico numismatico peloritano, 1985), 19-32.

⁹ Andrea Giovanni Noto, “La comunità greca di Messina nel ‘lungo Ottocento’: il ‘dorato crepuscolo’ di una plurisecolare presenza,” in *Immagine e scrittura*, 355-83. For an overview of the “long” Messina 19th century refer to Michela D’Angelo, “Un ‘lungo Ottocento’: 1783-1908,” in *Messina. Storia, cultura, economia*, ed. Fulvio Mazza (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2007), 185-232.

Revolutions of 1848,¹⁰ or by volunteers backing the Expedition of the Thousand in Sicily and in Southern Italy,¹¹ not to mention the presence of secret societies united by the love for the two Countries,¹² and celebratory writings dedicated to the liberator Giuseppe Garibaldi.¹³ People of Messina reciprocated with similar gestures as

¹⁰ The two Greek of Galaxidi, the *Aristòvalo* pilot Spiridione Gambizo and the captain of the same merchant ship *Aristide* (see Raffaele Grillo, “Contributo di cittadini greci alla Rivoluzione Siciliana del 1848,” *Archivio Storico Messinese* XVII-XIX (1966-68): 141) Dimitrios Bisbikis took part in the revolutionary revolts in 1848 along with the Messina people, with no regards for their own lives. The young Bisbikis was wounded in the battle field on 25 February 1848 –according to the comment by Gaetano Oliva in his *Annali*– “petto a petto, contro le soldatesche nemiche, sulla spianata di Terranova, con lo stesso eroismo e con la stessa fede nella libertà che immortalò i compagni di Botzari e di Zavella” and died on 9 April of the same year, and was buried after a touching funeral in the Church S. Nicolò dei Greci. On the subject, cf. Gaetano Oliva, ed., *Annali della città di Messina*, vol. VII. *Continuazione all’opera di C. D. Gallo* (Messina: Reale Accademia Peloritana, 1939), 356-7. In September 1848, during the siege of Messina by the House of Bourbon, the Greek consul of Greece and Bavaria Giorgio Mattia Kilian was killed and his house was looted. He had been very active in the economic life of his city for fifty years and he had signed for the double riot of 26 January and 3 February, started by several foreign consuls delegations against the hypothesis of the royal troops bombing the city. *Ibid.*, 138-9, 148-9.

¹¹ Antonis Liakos, *L’unificazione italiana e la Grande Idea. Ideologia e azione dei movimenti nazionali in Italia e in Grecia, 1859-1871* (Firenze: Aletheia, 1995), 112.

¹² Within the intricate tangle of the Carboneria, several secret societies linked to the Hellenic world rooted all over the island such as “Società segreta dei Cinque,” often known as “Silenzio de’Greci,” founded in 1817 and characterized by a strong revolutionary afflatus, and “Amore dei Greci,” founded ten years later and considered “favoreggiatrice la greca rivoluzione [...] che anche delle cose interne occupavansi e che l’amore pei Greci non scompagnava dall’amore per l’Italia.” Cf. Giovanni De Castro, *Il mondo segreto*, vol. III (Milano: G. Daelli, 1864), 105-6.

¹³ In 1861, for example, “A Teresita Garibaldi,” an elegy written in Greek was published both in Messina and in Athens. It was written by the Greek-Catholic papàs Vincenzo Schirò and it had an Italian translation by the Hellenist, man of letters and soon to be rector of the University of Messina Riccardo Mitchell. It represented an evident example of patriotic and risorgimental poem dedicated to the third-born of hero of Caprera and, thanks to her, to her famous father, “long-

a long and alert participation, both ideal and practical, to the tortuous process for the independence of the Hellenic nation and the subsequent consolidation of the Kingdom of Greece in accordance with the philhellenic sentiment that was spreading over larger portions of society from the latter half of the 18th century and that had proved to be essential in fighting the Ottoman occupation.¹⁴ For example, financial contribution, equipment, and men were sent for the revolutionary cause, whereas the Peloritani site represented a safe refuge

waited avenger” of the Sicilian people. *A Teresita Garibaldi. Elegia greca di Vincenzo Schirò con la versione italiana di Riccardo Mitchell* (Messina: Nobolo, 1861).

¹⁴ See William St. Clair, *That Greece might still be free. The Philhellènes in the War of Independence* (Londra: Oxford University Press, 1972); Carlo Francovich, “Il movimento filoellenico in Italia e in Europa,” in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale in Italia ed in Grecia*, ed. Giovanni Spadolini et al. (Firenze: Olschki, 1987), 1-23; Gilles Pécout, “Une amitié politique méditerranéenne: le philhellénisme italien et français au XIX^e siècle,” in *La democrazia radicale nell’Ottocento europeo*, ed. Maurizio Ridolfi (Milano: Feltrinelli, 2005), 81-106 (esp. 82-3, fn. 5); Loukia Droulia, *Philhellénisme, ouvrages inspirés par la guerre de l’Indépendance grecque (1821-33). Répertoire bibliographique* (Athens: Centre de Recherches Neo-helleniques de la Fondation Nationale de Recherches Scientifiques, 1974); Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi and Enrica Lucarelli, *Risorgimento greco; Garibaldi e il filellenismo italiano nel XIX secolo*, Atti del convegno di studi tenuto ad Atene nel 1982 (Athens: Istituto italiano di cultura in Atene, 1985); Fani-Maria Tsigakou, *Alla riscoperta della Grecia: artisti e viaggiatori dell’età romantica* (Milano: Edizioni di Comunità, 1985); Venturi, *La rivolta greca*; Andrea Giovanni Noto, “Intellettuali, viaggiatori e artisti italiani alla ‘riscoperta’ della Grecia fra XVIII e XIX secolo,” *Studia Universitatis Petru Maior. Historia* 11 (2011): 23-40; Elena Persico, *Letteratura filellenica italiana. 1787-1870* (Roma: Tip. Bondi e C., 1920); Guido Muoni, *La letteratura filellenica nel romanticismo italiano* (Milano: Società editrice libraria, 1907); Arnaldo Di Benedetto, “‘Le rovine d’Atene’: Letteratura filellenica in Italia tra Sette e Ottocento,” *Italica* 3 (autumn 1999): 335-54; Fabrizio Cicoira, “Il silenzio dell’antico. La Grecia fra passato e presente nelle relazioni di viaggiatori italiani del tardo Settecento,” *Studi Settecenteschi* 3-4 (1982-1983): 267-86; Caterina Spetsieri-Beschi, “Il filellenismo italiano nelle arti figurative,” in *Risorgimento greco*, 120-7; Roman Vlad, “Riflessi del filellenismo nel teatro musicale italiano dell’Ottocento,” in *Risorgimento greco*, 128-30.

for the many refugees fleeing from their homeland.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the evolution of the inconstant international framework excited interest on the press, in particular the resolution of the “Hellenic problem” during 1830-1831.¹⁶ Moreover, events and protagonists of the historic and political context of Modern Greece were appearing in literary and artistic works of the time.¹⁷

In line with it, in 1866 there was a new crisis in Crete, originated by the absolute rigidity of the Supreme Porte towards a series of requests (i.e., equality before the law, fundamental rights, modernization, equal taxation, the use of Greek language for economic transactions, amnesty for former rebels) included in a long report submitted by the Christian members of the population. These promoters

¹⁵ Giuseppe Morelli, “Note alla Dedicà,” in *Candia. Scritti*, 114; Gioacchino Chinigò, “Candia e Messina,” in “*Pro Candia*”, numero unico a beneficio degli insorti candiotti e delle vittime armene, compilatori Franz Adolf Cannizzaro e Raffaele San Marco [Sammarco] (Messina, ottobre 1896), 4. The liberal Giuseppe Maria Rossaroll was a leading figure in voluntarism. He was the officer commanding the garrison troops of the city and a brave defender of the constitutional experiment in 1821 against the Austro-Borbonic troops. He was sentenced to death by default while in exile and spent his last days in Nauplia, on 2 December 1825, fighting for releasing the Greek, after distinguishing himself in the Spanish riot in 1820. See *I martiri della libertà italiana dal 1794 al 1848. Memorie raccolte da Atto Vannucci* (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1860), 91-2.

¹⁶ See *L'Osservatore peloritano* (1830-1831), Messina.

¹⁷ Felice Bisazza, “Atene al re Ottone,” in *Opere di Felice Bisazza pubblicate per cura del Municipio*, vol. II (Messina: Tip. Ribera, 1874), 293; idem, “A Giorgio I re di Ellene,” *ibid.*, vol. III, 85-6; idem, “Italia e Grecia,” *ibid.*, 88; *La tomba di Marco Botzari. Racconto storico tradotto ed annotato per Francesco Soraci* (Messina: T. Capra, 1837), XVI. With regard to Bisazza, refer to Daniela Bombara, ed., *Rompe il raggio di tremula aurora... Felice Bisazza fra tradizione e modernità* (Reggio Calabria: Città del Sole, 2012). With regard to Letterio Subba (1787-1868), many-sided artist and one of the most representative figure in the local figurative culture of the first half of the century, exiled because of his anti-Borbonic position, author of some paintings dedicated to the legendary hero Marco Botsaris and to moments of the Greek revolution, refer to Gioacchino Barbera, “Pittura messinese dal Settecento al Novecento,” in “*Dina e Clarenza*”. *Centro storico di Messina*, ed. Giovanni Molonia (Messina: Edizioni Di Nicolò, 2004), 110, and to the biographic profile that can be consulted at http://pittorisiciliani.it/elenco%20pittori%20siciliani/subba_litterio.htm, accessed May 2, 2016.

were compared to the rebels and the governor-general of the island enjoined the iron hand to keep the situation under control. On 21 August, this resulted in the vote of the General Assembly of Cretans in favor of the abolition of the Ottoman authority and of the *ènosis* with the Kingdom of Greece, following the urging of relying “al coraggio del popolo cretese, all’aiuto dei greci e di tutti i filelleni, alla benevola mediazione delle Grandi potenze e all’onnipotenza di Dio.”¹⁸ It represented the beginning of a sanguinary revolt going on for three years and opposing the Christian Greek, assisted only by Greek, European and American volunteers, to the vast Ottoman forces, reinforced by armed bands of local Muslim Turks and Egyptians. The revolt had disastrous consequences: the fall of the production system, a very high death toll on both sides, hundreds of looted and burnt villages, more than 50,000 women and children forced to flee to Greece. Among them, there was a very young Eleftherios Venizelos, the future leader of the Unionist cause and a celebrated Hellenic statesman.¹⁹ Despite the efforts made, the expectations were disregarded and the independence of Crete was sacrificed for the sake of politics pragmatism and power balance. In January 1868, a special Administrative Regulation, better known as the *Organic Statute* –which was aiming at giving the Christians larger access to the “state machinery,” reduction in tax revenue, the foundation of a bank and the election of a General Assembly with legislative powers at local level– was imposed, without any debate, during the Conference of Paris January-February 1869, to a rebellious Greece, headed by the Ministry of Thrasylvoulos Zaïmis.²⁰

Under these circumstances, in contrast to the cautious *modus operandi* of the Historical Right government, led at that time by Ricasoli, Rattazzi and Menabrea –which were theoretically open to support the ambitions of the oppressed peoples, but which were actually in line with the inner circle of the most powerful countries in

¹⁸ Kallivretakis, “A Century of Revolutions,” 18-20.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 21; Francesco Guida, “Italia e Grecia dalla formazione del Regno di Grecia ai giorni nostri,” *Il Velcro* 1-2 (January-April 1983): 32.

Europe where Italy wanted to be accepted to take part in making decisions about the destiny of the Ottoman Empire— the forces of the Left, prone to look at the international relations under the new perspective of Mazzini and Garibaldi about moral duties, philanthropic afflatus and mutual solidarity, and the national public opinion, reinvigorated after the Third Italian War of Independence, openly sided with the island rebels claiming that the revolt needed to be fully upheld and to not be an isolated case.²¹ The mobilization was fulfilled thanks to about two hundred volunteers with democratic and garibaldian background, including the famous Amilcare Cipriani, Achille Grandi and Luciano Ardemagni. The volunteers had left by themselves or in small groups and had been gathered together into two forces led by Major Luciano Mereu (1866), and Andrea Sgarallino and Ricciotti Garibaldi (1867) respectively—who had received clear instructions from his father to lead the revolt against Epirus and Albania— not forgetting Alvise Venezia and Adolfo Bruzzone, commanding officers of the *Legione Italo-ellenica*, founded in the same year and composed of Greek volunteers to branch out into Thessaly.²² All the impediments and delusions of this experience made the honourable contribution of the “Redshirts,” who paid with their

²¹ Liakos, *L'unificazione italiana*, 189-91; Angelo Varni, “Opinione pubblica italiana e Grecia dopo l'unità,” in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale*, 145-61.

²² Cf. the following essays to confront the discordant numbers of the Italian volunteers whose number is yet indeterminate: Angelo Tamborra, *Garibaldi e l'Europa. Impegno militare e prospettive politiche* (Roma: Ufficio Storico SME, 1983), 131-4; Leonidas Callivretakis, “Les Garibaldiens à l'insurrection de 1866 en Crète. (Le jeu de chiffres),” in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale*, 163-79; Antonio Monti, “L'Italia e il Risorgimento ellenico (con 9 documenti inediti),” in *Italia e Grecia. Saggi su le due civiltà e i loro rapporti attraverso i secoli*, Istituto nazionale per le relazioni culturali con l'estero (Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1939), 350-64; Antonis Liakos, “Garibaldi e i garibaldini verso Creta nel 1866-1869,” *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento* III (July-September 1993): 325-34; Ricciotti Garibaldi, *La camicia rossa nella guerra greco-turca (1897)* (Roma: Tip. Cooperativa sociale, 1899); Eva Cecchinato, *Camicie rosse. I garibaldini dall'Unità alla Grande Guerra* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2007).

lives, even more important.²³ Moreover, in January 1867, in Livorno, an interim committee for supporting the Cretan cause was set up. It was led by writer and democratic patriot Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi and then, in Florence, on 16 January, it was transformed into the *Associazione Italo-Ellenica*, “in the name of Humanity and civilization,” an interesting but short-lived organization headed by Giuseppe Garibaldi – who, since the rebellion announcement, exerted himself to support, using his acquired ascendancy, this noble cause among various advocates and interlocutors, such as Queen Victoria of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Garibaldi also encouraged his fourth child to go to Greece for the expedition.²⁴ The executive of the *Associazione Italo-Ellenica* was elected on 5 February and it numbered among its members personalities from the Democratic Party such as Guerrazzi, Crispi, Bertani, Fabrizi, Avezzana, Cairoli and the great philhellene Niccolò Tommaseo.²⁵ It also included an

²³ Beside the essays of note 22, cf. Angelo Tamborra, “L’Europa centro-orientale nei secoli XIX-XX (1800-1920),” in *Storia universale*, vol. VII, tom. III (Milano: Vallardi, 1973), 318, and the mentioned pamphlet Adolfo Bruzzone, *La verità de l’insurrection de Crète par des Garibaldiens qui ont pris part* (Paris, 1867); Kallivretakis, *I garibaldini nell’insurrezione*, 174-5.

²⁴ Monti, “L’Italia e il Risorgimento ellenico,” 351-2, 363-4.

²⁵ Liakos, “Garibaldi e i garibaldini,” 323-4 and 325 for “Proclama agli Elleni,” addressed by the “General” on 28 October 1866 to incite the “sorella nel genio, nelle glorie, nelle sventure e nelle redenzioni;” Tamborra, *Garibaldi e l’Europa*, 133. About the relationship between Tommaseo and Greece, refer to: Jože Pirjevec, *Niccolò Tommaseo tra Italia e Slavia* (Venezia: Marsilio, 1977); Francesco Bruni, ed., *Niccolò Tommaseo: popolo e nazioni. Italiani, corsi, greci, illirici* (Roma: Antenore, 2004), vol. 2; Cosimo Ceccuti, “Risorgimento greco e filoellenismo nel mondo dell’ ‘Antologia’,” in *Indipendenza e unità nazionale*, 79-131; Giovanni Spadolini, “Niccolò Tommaseo e l’indipendenza della Grecia,” in *Risorgimento greco*, 90-1; Georgios T. Zoras, “Tommaseo e la Grecia moderna,” in *Niccolò Tommaseo nel centenario della morte*, ed. Vittore Branca and Giorgio Petrocchi (Firenze: Olschki, 1977), 485-518; *Il supplizio d’un italiano in Corfù. Esposizione e discussione di Niccolò Tommaseo* (Firenze: Barbera, 1855); Italo Zingarelli, “Tommaseo a Corfù. Lettere e documenti dagli Archivi viennesi,” *Nuova Antologia* 347 (1 February 1930): 359-73; Andrea Giovanni Noto, “Aneliti di libertà e impegno per l’affratellamento dei popoli: Niccolò Tommaseo tra la rivoluzione del ’48 e il ‘Secondo Esilio’ di Corfù (1848-1854),” in *Liberalismo, costituzioni*,

only-women section established by the *Società Patriottica Femminile* and it urged to create, all over the peninsula and inside the Italian communities abroad, a series of committees promoting calls, demonstrations, fundraising, ammunition and stokes of medicines supplying to dispatch to Heraklion and to the rest of the island.²⁶

However, Messina did not pale in comparison in this “solidarity competition” and took part in fightings with some of its citizens, still unknown today, except Agostino Pizzi, a garibaldine included in the list of the Italian volunteers who went to Crete, according to Antonis Liakos.²⁷ The city contributed about 49,000 drachmas, corresponding to the total amount of the Italian financial support, thanks to the leading *Associazione Italo-Ellenica*,²⁸ whose role was fundamental, at the setting on 8 April 1867, to urge the Peloritani town council to fund, following the “gran sentimento che prevale nell’Europa civile,” 300 liras for “al soccorso dei feriti e delle famiglie di Candia e di altre province greche danneggiate dalla Guerra.”²⁹

The following year, the Committee engaged in publishing, at its own expense, a collection of literary writings, both in prose and in verse, written in seven different languages and concerning the Cretan situation, and whose proceeds were meant to relieve “the miserable situations of the exiles.”³⁰ The support to the generous project by the Greek Byzantine Catholic *papàs* Vincenzo Schirò and by the intellectual *gotha* of the Sicilian city was extremely meaningful. Among them, some names deserve to be mentioned, such as the journalist and future vice school inspector Antonio Scorsonelli, philosopher

nazionalità. Il 1848 in Italia e nell’area danubiana, ed. Paquale Fornaro (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2011), 93-112.

²⁶ Liakos, *L’unificazione italiana*, 192.

²⁷ Idem, “Garibaldi e i garibaldini,” 343.

²⁸ Callivretakis, “Les Garibaldiens,” 166, fn. 7.

²⁹ *Atti del Consiglio Comunale di Messina*, Tornata dell’8 aprile 1867.

³⁰ Antonino Scorsonelli, “Ai lettori,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa*, V. The news appeared in *Gazzetta di Messina* 150, July 8, 1868, Messina, reported in Gerardo Rizzo, *Annali della Città di Messina (1862-1885)*, introductory note by Giovanni Molonia, preface by Giovanni Raffaele (Messina: Intilla Editore, 2007), 117. For a thorough examination of this subject on *Gazzetta di Messina* consult Carmen Salvo, *I giornali della provincia di Messina* (Palermo: Edizioni Giada, 1985), 32-3, 61.

Antonio Catara-Lettieri, the Hellenist, man of letters and soon to be rector of the University of Messina Riccardo Mitchell, the politicians and patriots Emanuele Pancaldo, Michelangelo Bottari, Raffaele Villari and Giuseppe Morelli, the physician and town councillor Rosario Pomara, the man of letters and folk psychologist Letterio Lizio-Bruno, the lawyers and jurists Salvatore Buscemi and Giovan Battista Impallomeni, the librarian and chronicler Gaetano Oliva, the poets Tommaso Cannizzaro, Vincenzo Amore and Letteria Montoro, the teachers Pietro Macri, Scipione Saya Moleti and Andrea Vayola. They were all fervent advocates of the Risorgimento ideals of freedom, which many of them had personally experienced in fighting in the front line for the national unity.³¹ There is nothing that conveys the humanitarian and democratic afflatus of their actions more than the first phrases addressed to “Ai lettori” by its editor, Antonio Scorsone:

“Lo scrivente, facendosi iniziatore di questa raccolta, ebbe a constatare ancora una fiata che i liberi ingegni armonizzano con le nobili cause. Gl’Italiani di Messina risposero volentieri al suo invito, e grazie all’appoggio degli scrittori patrioti (ai quali egli tributa la sua gratitudine) questo libro equivale ad una testimonianza di simpatia verso gli eroici Candiotti, e nel tempo stesso ad una protesta contro la barbarie ottomana [...]. Ormai il grido di Candia trova dappertutto eco. Il nome di Koroneos –l’eroico capo degli insorti [...]- e degli altri

³¹ For more particular news, consult Pietro Preitano, *Biografie cittadine* (Messina: Tip. f.lli Messina, 1881), facsimile reprint edited and prefaced by Michela D’Angelo e Luigi Chiara (Messina: Perna, 1994); *Cenni biografici degli illustri contemporanei messinesi compilati ad uso del popolo da Orazio Biasini* (Messina: Tip. dell’avvenire, 1877), facsimile reprint edited and prefaced by Giovanni Molonia (Messina: Perna, 1995); Giorgio Attard, *Messinesi insigni del sec. XIX sepolti al Gran Camposanto (Epigrafi, Schizzi Biografici)*, ed. Giovanni Molonia (Messina, Società Messinese di Storia Patria, 1991, 2nd ed.); Rosario Battaglia, Luciana Caminiti, and Michela D’Angelo, eds., *Messina 1860 e dintorni. Uomini, idee e società tra Risorgimento e Unità* (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2011), 299-327; Maria Canto, *Dizionario degli uomini illustri messinesi* (Lodi: Lodigraf, 1991).

generosi campioni dell'insurrezione suona caro dovunque si nutre un affetto pei prodi. La diplomazia, checché faccia, potrà ritardare, non impedire il trionfo dell'insurrezione cretese. Il popolo di Creta che da due anni combatte la guerra sacra, senza cedere giammai alla potenza de'suoi oppressori, quel popolo vincerà."³²

Despite the objective value of the book, it is worth being recalled here that the re-presentation of some recurring *topoi* of the national patriotic discursive rhetoric of the time is widely shared, not only on a national scale, but also on a European one, as Banti's research have finely shown.³³ Among these *topoi* there are the references to the Christian traditional symbolism, which were intensified by the enemy's religion (i.e., the "holy" national rebellion, a new "crusade" against the Ottoman infidels before the "risorgimento" –or the "resurrection"– of the enslaved homeland, which was supported by God as a mission of all those militants who were willing to die as "martyrs" following the example of Jesus Christ);³⁴ the family metaphor

³² Scorsonelli, "Ai lettori," V-VI.

³³ Alberto Mario Banti, *La nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell'Italia unita* (Torino: Einaudi, 2000); idem, *L'onore della nazione. Identità sessuali e violenza nel nazionalismo europeo dal XVII secolo alla Grande Guerra* (Torino: Einaudi, 2005).

³⁴ "Ascoltate popoli della terra, e voi che procacciate la giustizia, e voi che camminate al lume della lampana della civiltà. La figliuola dell'Oriente è in amaro cordoglio; e non è alcuno che abbia finora porto il suo braccio a riscuoterla di mano dell'infedele. [...] La terra popolosa appellata dalle cento città che in rinzomanza pervenne, per le leggende di Minosse e Radamanto e Dedalo, fatta è segno a feroce vendetta! Vedi, mentre grondano sangue le ferite, è pur bella come la sposa nel dì degli sponsali. [...] E questi erti solitari monti offrono asilo al cretese figliuolo; ei combatte, e per lunga che fia la lotta contro l'oppressore, non alena giammai. [...] O Canea o Candia o Rettimo, esultino pure i vostri nemici delle loro iniquità, presto le loro gioje saranno mutate in cordoglio, conciossiaché non vi sia pace per gli empi, ha detto il Signore. [...] Il Dio degli eserciti non ha abbandonato il suo popolo nei giorni della sventura, conciossiaché egli sta scritto: il giusto non perirà per la spada del suo nemico. [...] Dell'Europa i regi hanno turato le orecchie e volto indietro la faccia perché non odano i lamenti di quelli. Ma non per questo tremò la spada nelle mani dei prodi figli di creta. Un oceano di luce spande su di

(i.e., the image of the nation as a “descent” consisting of blood-related generations with the same cultural background; the twofold meaning of “family” as a “motherly homeland” and a sort of family connection between its members and between them and people from different nations, like in “sisterhood,” and the title of “fathers of the nation” for the great of history and the contemporary leaders);³⁵ the

essi la storia dei secoli passati, e la lor vita offrono generosi in olocausto a Dio ed alla Patria. [...] Combatti e spera adunque o figliuola dell’oriente che Ei, l’immenso, ti trarrà di mano dei maligni. Così sta scritto, imperciocché passerà il Cielo e la Terra, ma le parole del Signore non passeranno.” Pietro Macri, “Candia. Imitazione orientale,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa*, 89-90, 95-7.

³⁵ For the first representation refer to Antonino Scorsonelli, “A Creta. Sonetti. II,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa*, 106: “Sorgi, alma Creta, e dopo il rio servaggio / Ti congiungi all’ellenica famiglia: / Tu sorta pure dal divin suo raggio, / Tu pur della famosa Ellade figlia. / Se ancor ti grava l’ottomano oltraggio, / Se del sangue de’tuoi Tu sei vermiglia, / In Te de’padri ancor vive il legnaggio / Ch’ai figli le gagliarde opre consiglia! / Le mille stragi miserande, al greco / popolo inflitte da tiranna possa, Onde ministro l’oppressor fu teco, / Ebbero ogni alma di pietà commossa; / Ed or, dei lunghi orridi eccidi all’eco, / S’è l’oltraggiata umanità riscossa!” For the second, refer to the poetic text by Salvatore Buscemi, “Alla terra. Lamento di un cretese,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa*, 21-5: “O della patria mia leggiadre zolle, / Tutte cosparse di novello incanto / Tornate agli occhi miei, / Or che di primavera il roseo manto / Vi copre il dorso, e più raggiante il sole / Sorge a mirarvi dall’idalio colle. / [...] Chi tanti raggi amate zolle, spande / Nel vostro antico grembo? / [...] Dimmi chi mai ti muove / A coronarti in questi di di fiori? / Chi t’apre il labbro a quel sorriso arcano? / Tempo di gioia è questo? Ohimè! Non miri / Che d’innocente sangue / Hai maculato il manto? / Non odi tu i sospiri / Di chi nel grembo tuo svenato langue; / L’angosce di chi fugge / Entro i violati avelli; / Dei barbari i tripudi; / Il fragore dell’armi e dei flagelli? / Mentre così mi lagno, ove son io? / Dove i fratelli miei compagni al lutto? / Altri pugna, altri muore, altri ramingo / Volge alla patria un doloroso addio. / E mentre noi co’padri e i figlioletti, / E le tenere spose / Per remote campagne andiam vagando, / I sacri templi e le magion’ci spoglia / Il crudo, e sulla soglia / Degli avvampati tetti / Nei vecchiarrelli inermi insozza il brando. / Aure soavi, che per tanta via / Stanche venite ad aleggiarmi attorno, / Questi tiepidi olezzi e questa pia / Voce, che geme col morente giorno, / Non son forse i sospiri / Delle vergini nostre e degli invitti, / Che per la patria libertà pugnando / Cadon dal ferro mussulman trafitti? / [...] O guerrieri gagliardi, / O giovanette dalle rosee gote, / O teneri fanciulli, o pii vegliardi / Voi con sicura mano / Accendeste quei roghi / E volontari vi sacraste a morte. [...] Benedetti vivrete / Nel canto delle vergini e dei bardi.”

idea of an ancient past full of glory and civilization to venerate in the memory of contemporaries and posterity, combined with the urgent need to claim the glories of the past by the more recent ones, against the decline of the oppressor “primitive brutality.”³⁶

Similarly, it is no accident that a further underlying theme of the volume –represented by the “harrowing” call for help from the land of culture and progress to all humankind and to the indifferent “great Powers union,” which had worked only to maintain the *status quo*–was accepted as interpretation of the crisis by the democratic movement of Messina.

For example, the physician Emanuele Pancaldo was one the most important local Mazzini republicanism representative. He was elected in 1861 as a member of the Turin parliament and before that, during the Garibaldi’s dictatorship, as governor of the city of Messina. In *Il mistero cretese*, he presented an original interpretation

³⁶ “Facciamo di cappello all’antica Grecia! riverenti salutiamola madre delle Arti, delle Lettere, delle Scienze, del vivere Libero! Ma, ahimè! nequizia di tempi, vista dolorosa ad ogni uomo, che non ha anima di fango, la scimitarra del musulmano la domina, intende spegnere ogni elemento civile di quel magnanimo popolo, cancellandole sinanco le gloriose memorie! È il dominio della forza brutale –è la negazione dell’Idea, ma certo non la distruzione di essa– che questa è eterna, ognora risplende all’umano intelletto, e riscalda e vivifica coi suoi divini raggi il cuore degli uomini! [...] Ecco risorge la Grecia come da lungo e profondo sonno, con maggiori forze di prima – colla fede cristiana nel petto, e col ferro in mano! Fu una lotta fra la barbarie e la civiltà – fra la forza e il diritto. Vinse per poco la forza il diritto [...]. Salutiamo con tutta la potenza dell’affetto la nuova Grecia, degna figlia dell’Antica! Sì, salutiamola, ed il nostro saluto avrà un eco in tutto il mondo civile, figlio in gran parte delle aure vitali, che muovendo dalle elleniche sponde si propagarono ovunque, e per ogni dove furono apportatrici di miglior sociale comunanza! Sa il mondo intero i tesori civili che ereditò dalla Grecia! [...] Pure non è tutta intera risorta! ma risorgerà! Veggo il Genio della libertà colle sue invulnerabili grandi ali su quell’Isola, in atto di tutelarla dalle offese da nemico feroce! [...] I figli di Creta, i Candiotti, combattono, vincono non per numero ché sono pochi, ma per valore, non per forza, ma per diritto; non per barbarie, ma per civiltà; non per meccanismo di forze, ma per vitalismo di esse! Combattete il barbaro, figli dell’antica Grecia! la vittoria sarà per Voi, come per Voi è il diritto, la ragione, Dio, tutto!” Antonio Catara-Lettieri, “Un saluto a Candia,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa*, 10-2.

claiming that the indomitable resistance of Heraklion and of the other towns in the island was due to the utilitarian concurrence of interests between the Russian Empire and the United States of America, which were allegedly exploiting the anti-Ottoman fighting to take over the nerve centre in the geopolitical framework, i.e., South-east Europe.³⁷

Moreover, the magazine *Fede e Avvenire*, which was described by Gino Guerrito as “uno dei principali e più lineari organi mazziniani della Sicilia,”³⁸ served as standpoint for some crucial phases during this difficult turbulence, giving brief news reports as the situation evolved,³⁹ of the Hellenic cabinet proclamations giving the material and moral support of all the nation, in view of a clash against the Sublime Porte⁴⁰ and of editorials and articles about burning political issues.⁴¹ The prospect of a Cretan revolution, prelude to a future inevitable war, prevailed: a war concerning all the East and not just the two countries involved –but not Italy which was supposed to be neutral considering its economy– with two “armed” fronts (on one side, there were the Kingdom of Greece supported by Russia and Prussia, and on the other side, the Ottoman Empire supported by France, England and Austria-Hungary).⁴² Furthermore, the brave Hellenic nation was encouraged to not fall into the trap of diplomacy that had demeaned Italy –a current practice, like the very

³⁷ Emanuele Pancaldo, “Il mistero cretese,” in *Candia. Scritti in prosa*, 26-38.

³⁸ Gino Cerrito, ed., *I periodici di Messina. Bibliografia e storia* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1961), today in facsimile reprint, introduced by Antonio Baglio (Messina: Istituto di Studi Storici “Gaetano Salvemini,” 2004), 10 (and in general, 7-14). For a general view over the Messina press, consult Armando Saitta, *La stampa periodica a Messina dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Messina: Editrice La Sicilia, 1968) and Salvo, *I giornali*.

³⁹ “Fatti e notizie varie,” *Fede e Avvenire* 20 (December 24, 1868), 3 (February 1, 1869), 7 (March 8, 1869) and “Notizie italiane ed estere,” *Fede e Avvenire* 12 (April 25, 1869).

⁴⁰ “Proclama greco,” *Fede e Avvenire* 1 (January 15, 1869).

⁴¹ “La guerra e la Grecia,” *Fede e Avvenire* 4 (February 8, 1869); “L’attualità politica,” “Grecia ed America,” and “A chi la vittoria?,” *Fede e Avvenire* 5 (February 19, 1869).

⁴² “L’attualità politica,” *ibid.*

polemic Parisian assembly in early 1869, “quantunque in modo gentile e amichevole” – but to use their qualities, which were known to be famous for “potenza d’intendere, come per magnanimità d’operare,” getting rid of their local enemies and ensuring victory.⁴³ Finally, there was a violent allegation against the timid monarch George, who was portrayed as a pawn in the hands of the tsar of Russia – which was plotting to take over Constantinople, as many of his predecessors had tried to do in the past. Indeed, King George was accused of unscrupulously betraying the demands of his people to protect his throne.⁴⁴

⁴³ “La guerra e la Grecia,” in which it was stated: “Tre o cinque individui Greci valgono quanto un esercito, e mai domandarono quanti siano i loro nemici, ma dove siano: in quella terra di ammirevoli esempj non v’è zolla che non fosse inzuppata di eroico sangue, ed ivi on àvvi uomo da trivio che non fosse capace di nobilitare la loro storia. In altre contrade del mondo si conta chi abbia una capacità, ma presso i Greci si conterà chi ne manchi.”

⁴⁴ “A chi la vittoria?,” *op. cit.* A critical evaluation of the monarch, despite lacking in severity, and of the future of his reign, considered to be almost over, later explained in “L’avvenire della Grecia,” *Fede e Avvenire* 18 (giugno 6, 1875), which was written during a hectic political phase marked by the rise to power of Charilaos Trikoupis. He was one of the most important statesmen in the Hellenic contemporary history, and the responsible of the country modernization thanks to his representative role in the most dynamic fields of the economics and merchant bourgeoisie of the country abroad. Clogg, *Storia della Grecia*, 261-2): “Giorgio I non fece senza molte difficoltà il suo tirocinio, e ha dovuto adottare una politica prudente ed un riserbo grandissimo. Scriveva un noto diplomatico francese che non vi è in Grecia un uomo meno indipendente, più sorvegliato e più spiato di Re Giorgio. [...] La salita al potere di Tricupis e dei suoi amici politici è un trionfo per la causa della libertà e del popolo ellenico, e il suicidio del monarcato. Malgrado l’accorgimento del re di piegare verso gli uomini di parte democratica, pure vediamo impossibile che la corona possa salvarsi dal naufragio, che la minaccia, quantunque abbia cercato d’alleggerire il peso della responsabilità che ricade su di essa, per gli errori commessi dai suoi antichi consiglieri e ministri allontanandoli dal potere. Ma v’ha una colpa, di cui il Re di Grecia, non può disgravarsi, e le attenuanti della sua nuova condotta non varranno che a menomare per poco la condanna che la storia gl’infligge. Egli deve rispondere di un peccato imperdonabile, di essere venuto cioè da estraneo paese a reggere le sorti di un popolo, le cui tradizioni, costumi ed ispirazioni erano bene diverse da quelle alle quali lo destinava la diplomazia europea. Presto o tardi dunque egli non sfuggirà al suo destino.”

Despite the defeat, Crete lived in relative peace for about five years since 1869. Among the Christians of the island a new reformist movement grew inside a renovating General Assembly, which was modifying the rural essence of its social organism and accepting physicians, lawyers and graduated from the University of Athens, *in primis*.⁴⁵ However, Messina political journalism accurately highlighted how the atmosphere overheated again in conjunction with the umpteenth profound crisis in the East, after the protest movements in Bosnia and Herzegovina in July 1875 and those in Serbia and Montenegro, which had induced the two principalities to clash, in 1876, with the sultan, to whom they were still subjected as vassals (even though they were allowed a great deal of freedom), without reaching their dream.⁴⁶ In a rapid escalation of tension, an identical subversive project was ordered in spring 1876 by the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee. After a similar attempt in September, the Sublime Porte cruelly reacted slaughtering the civilians. Therefore, the Ottoman were ordered to call a European summit in December, in Istanbul, to ensure a better condition to the Christians.⁴⁷ The summit ended in failure, with the “cover” concession of a Western-style Constitution, which was suspended afterwards. The limited faith that the Peloritani observers had in the summit paved the way, in April 1877, for a conflict between the Russians (allied with the Romanians) and the Turks, during which the troops of Alexander II of Russia moved forward to the Ottoman capital and forced Abdul Hamid II to submit to the enormous demands of the Treaty of San Stefano, March 3, 1878.⁴⁸ Those instructions were distorted later on

⁴⁵ Kallivretakis, “A Century of Revolutions,” 22.

⁴⁶ See the articles in *Fede e Avvenire*: “La giovane Slavia,” 26 (August 1, 1875); “La Questione d’Oriente,” 31 (September 12, 1875); “Garibaldi agli insorti dell’Erzegovina,” 37 (October 24, 1875). Also, “La rivoluzione di Costantinopoli,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 125 (June 5, 1876), 1; “La questione d’Oriente,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 144 (June 28, 1876), 1.

⁴⁷ See the articles in *Fede e Avvenire*: “Una ipotesi nella quistione orientale,” 27-28 (August 13, 20, 1876); “Per la Serbia,” 31 (September 14, 1876).

⁴⁸ See the articles in *Fede e Avvenire*: R. Conti, “In fra due,” 6 (February 11, 1877); “La Guerra,” 8 (February 25, 1877); “All’Oriente,” 17 (May 6, 1877); “Ques-

during the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878) because of the opposition from the Balkan and western countries to a dominant Tsarist Empire through a "Greater Bulgaria," which was seen as a lookout of its Slavic protector. Indeed, the Greater Bulgaria would have eventually gained a prominent position thanks to five million inhabitants and its territorial extension, that virtually incorporated all Macedonia and guaranteed a strategic access to the Aegean Sea, together with another one to the Black Sea.⁴⁹

In such circumstances, the refusal from the Sublime Porte to back a new memorandum, presented by the Crete Christians in May 1876, made the Greek members of the island react violently, abstain from the General Assembly and form armed forces. Therefore, the Ottoman government took into custody the lawyer Costantinos Mitsotakis, who, however, was released after popular demonstrations in the city of Chania. These demonstrations never ended and actually

tion e d'Oriente," 18 (May 13, 1877); "Poveri Russi! Poveri Turchi!," 19 (May 20, 1877); "La Guerra," 26 (July 8, 1877); "Caos e fiat," 30 (August 5, 1877); "Che si dice?," 32 (August 26, 1877); "In Oriente," 37 (September 30, 1877); "Sommario politico," 43 (November 11, 1877); "Sguardo politico," 4 (January 27, 1878); "Condizione d'Europa," 10 (March 10, 1878). Also, "La questione d'Oriente. La Conferenza," *Gazzetta di Messina* 62 (March 15, 1878); "Il trattato di Santo Stefano e la politica estera della Sinistra," *Gazzetta di Messina* 88, 90, 92 (April 15, 17, 19, 1878).

⁴⁹ See the articles in *Fede e Avvenire*: "Rassegna politica," 25 (June 23, and July 4, 1878); "Il Congresso," 27 (July 13, 1878) and 28 (July 21, 1878); "La situazione" and "Conseguenze del Congresso," 29 (July 28, 1878); "La situazione," 30 (August 4, 1878) and 31 (August 11, 1878). Also, "Ultima ora. Berlino," *Gazzetta di Messina* 157 (July 6, 1878). These represent the principle decisions of the German Assembly: the independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania, with their borders enlarged, instead of their former autonomy; the reduction of "Great Bulgaria" of the Pact of San Stefano into the Independent Bulgarian Principality, between the Balkans and the Danube as a consequence of the birth of the governorate of Eastern Rumelia; the assignation of the three-year "temporary government" of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary, and the assignation of the Cyprus one to England. For a short but interesting study of this four-year, consult Guido Franzinetti, *I Balcani: 1878-2001* (Roma: Carocci, 2001), 25-30 and Francesco Guida, *La Russia e l'Europa centro-orientale: 1815-1914* (Roma: Carocci, 2003), 70-5.

burst, in January 1878, in the convocation of a revolutionary pancretan assembly in Fres, part of the municipality Apokoronas, which obliged the imperial powers to apply the Organic Statute with a series of improvements from the Pact of Halepa in November 1878. Among these improvements, there were the five-year compulsoriness of every governor's warrant, the governor's office was not reserved to the Christians only but was partnered with a counselor of the opposite religion to ensure a regular government apparatus, the creation of a local police with two ethnic groups, the use of two languages in administration correspondence and in court decisions against the Greeks as the only official language in tribunals, and a General Assembly, whose members were mostly non-Muslims.⁵⁰

Despite this ferment, Greece had an ambiguous and ineffective attitude but the Messina political journalism maintained a distinct attitude as the Historical Left in power was supposed to back Balkans initiative of creating a free and independent State.⁵¹ The reason why they supported this initiative was double: on the one hand, the "principle of self-determination of nations," which was important for those Risorgimento ideals, encouraged the Historical Far-Left and garibaldinian movement to enlist volunteers and to foster aid committees, like the one founded in Milan in 1876 and named *Lega per la liberazione e l'affratellamento dei popoli della penisola slavo-ellenica*, – which was inspired by the mazzinian philhellenic Marco Antonio Canini.⁵² On the other hand, there was the possibility of reunifying Trento and Trieste to the rest of Italy, which could be easily

⁵⁰ Kallivretakis, "A Century of Revolutions," 22-4; "Notiziario. Grecia," *Fede e Avvenire* 21 (June 25, 1875). See also the articles in *Gazzetta di Messina*: "Questione d'Oriente," 53 (March 4, 1878); "Questione d'Oriente. L'insurrezione in Creta," 62 (March 15, 1878); "Ultime notizie. Questione d'Oriente," 68 (March 22, 1878); "Ultime notizie," 250 (October 24, 1878).

⁵¹ "La giovane Slavia," "La Questione d'Oriente," "La rivoluzione di Costantinopoli."

⁵² Armando Pitassio, "L'Estrema Sinistra e il movimento Garibaldino di fronte alla crisi d'Oriente del 1875-1878," *Europa Orientalis* II (1983): 107-21; Francesco Guida, *L'Italia e il Risorgimento balcanico. Marco Antonio Canini* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984), 284 onwards; Tamborra, *Garibaldi e l'Europa*, 136-

obtained after the disintegration of the despotic multiethnic empires, as suggested in *Fede e Avvenire*.⁵³ Athens –which was confined between the people using nationalist pressure to support the “fierce brothers” in Thessaly, Macedonia, Epirus, and Crete⁵⁴ and all the politics and economics doubts coming from the king and the other various governments over the years to join the Serbs and the Russians in fighting– remained neutral pleading military lack of training, but always aware of public pressure and recall to arms, as *Politica e Commercio*, the official voice of the city entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, stated:

“La riscossa delle razze slave non ha sinora suscitato a pugne nazionali i rumeni e i greci. Che faranno e perché non si muovono ancora? Non si può credere che i figli di Botzari si siano assopiti e isteriliti interamente. [...] La Grecia è ora debole; senza finanze ordinate, senza quiete di reggimento stabile, col suo re all'estero e coi partiti che consumano entro di loro lo sdegno che dovrebbero volgere a più magnanime imprese. Tutto questo spiega in parte l'inerzia della Grecia. [...] Ma potranno i greci durare in questa attitudine di vigilante neutralità? Ne dubitiamo. Se la scintilla della sommossa e della ribellione scoppi nell'isola di Creta, com'è lecito sperare che i fratelli liberi non aiutino i fratelli oppressi? E dalla insurrezione del 1858 si trae la prova dell'indomabile odio con cui

47. About the attitude of the Kingdom of Italy towards its Hellenic neighbours in that tortuous historic phase, consult Francesco Guida, “I rapporti tra Italia e Grecia durante la crisi d'Oriente del 1875-78,” *Romània Orientale* XVII (2004): 75-87.

⁵³ A different interpretation, typical of the Right since the writings by Cesare Balbo in the forties, was attributed to the moderate *Gazzetta di Messina*. The *Gazzetta* accused the Depretis government of being not very political proactive during the crisis and of a weak attitude towards the other countries, especially Russia. This attitude resulted in an inadequate defence of the Italian strategy demands. Indeed, Italy could have taken advantage of a satisfied Austria after the extension of the Balkans, which represented a satisfying deal for the country. Cf. “Il trattato di Santo Stefano e la politica estera della Sinistra.”

⁵⁴ “Questione d'Oriente. Meeting ad Atene,” *Fede e Avvenire* 36 (October 22, 1876).

i cretesi perseguono i turchi; ed è manifesto che coglieranno la presente occasione per rinnovare la promessa. [...] Ma, oltre ai cretesi vi sono i tessali ed altre famiglie greche molto probabilmente spieranno l'istante della riscossa. Laonde il regno di Grecia, a mala voglia, è molto verosimile che sia trascinato nella guerra d'Oriente, se i serbi e i montenegrini riescono a prolungarla di qualche mese.”⁵⁵

In early 1878, the news of the tsarist army triumphal march to Istanbul provoked mass protests, which put the Royal Palace under siege and pressed the Council President Koumoundouros, together with the sovereign, to partially move the troops to Thessaly. Unfortunately, this occurred at the same time of an armistice between the troops in the field and it forced the Hellenic entourage to do an about-turn to avoid a clash with the Ottomans, causing, however, cruel reprisals by the latter to people of Greek origin.⁵⁶ Many of them were obliged to leave their houses and found asylum in the welcoming Messina, which registered a very high influx of refugees, according to a pithy article in the *Gazzetta di Messina*, a moderate newspaper that imposed itself over the years as the most authoritative journal:

“Parecchie famiglie greche, or che la guerra è divampata nell'antica Ellenia, àno lasciato la loro terra natia e son giunte in Messina per cercarvi asilo. Memori della fraterna ospitalità

⁵⁵ “I Rumeni e i Greci nella guerra d'Oriente,” *Politica e Commercio* 154 (July 13, 1876) (for further news about this “old” journal cf. Salvo, *I giornali*, 34-5, 57). About this topic, consult also “La guerra d'Oriente. Attitudine della Grecia,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 163 (July 21, 1876); “La guerra d'Oriente. Le simpatie dei Greci,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 166 (July 25, 1876); “Cose d'Oriente,” *Fede e Avvenire* 30 (September 3, 1876).

⁵⁶ See the articles in *Gazzetta di Messina*: “Cose d'Oriente,” 42 (February 19, 1878); “L'insurrezione greca,” 47 (February 25, 1878); “Ultime notizie. La sollevazione in Tessaglia,” 49 (February 27, 1878); “Ultime notizie. L'insurrezione dell'Epiro,” 53 (March 4, 1878); “Questione d'Oriente. Massacri in Grecia” and “Questione d'Oriente. Gl'insorti nella Tessaglia,” 62 (March 15, 1878); “L'insurrezione Greca,” 66 (March 20, 1878). Also, “Rivista politica,” *Fede e Avvenire* 12 (March 24, 1878).

che i nostri profughi trovarono al 1848 e al 1860 in quella classica terra, esortiamo i nostri concittadini a non mostrarsi ingrati e a retribuire con pari rimostranze d'affetto e di simpatia, quelle a cui i nostri furono fatti segno in quella eroica terra.”⁵⁷

The manifest sympathy for their neighbours from the opposite shore of the Ionian Sea took shape in *Fede e Avvenire*, in a short chronicle of the Hellenic nation—which was celebrated as the major “strength of creating” and propagator of vivid “civil light” over all the Mediterranean peoples—from the past glories to the present torments that were attributed to the petty tricks of the western courts. These were accused to be jealous of the Greek republican ambition and to be willing to manipulate the European borders; on the contrary, the peacemaking solution proposed to face the “new holy imperial alliance” was supposed to consider unifying Greece, “as historic and ethnographic right,” with the Turkish possessions in the Balkans and creating a federation of people independent from Athens to Warsaw, endowed with democratic and advanced institutions.⁵⁸ Any of this, obviously, found room in the peace conference in the German capital, from which the Greek government had been excluded like other countries in Southeast Europe but still allowed to file claims during the meeting on 17 June 1878. Greece was disappointed by the loss of Cyprus, which was inhabited by many compatriots, but it was also given assurance that the borders of Thessaly and Epirus would be corrected and new improvements for their compatriots under the sultan jurisdiction would be realized, as was the case of the inhabitants of Chania with the Pact of Halepa.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ “Emigrazione Greca,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 31 (February 6, 1878).

⁵⁸ “I Greci,” *Fede e Avvenire* 11 (March 17, 1878).

⁵⁹ See the articles in *Gazzetta di Messina*: “Ultima ora. Berlino,” “Ultima ora. Berlino,” 157 (July 6, 1878); “Telegrammi. Berlino,” 158 (July 8, 1878); “Cipro,” 166 (July 17, 1878); “Le entrate dell’isola di Cipro,” 168 (July 19, 1878); “L’Inghilterra e Cipro,” 203 (August 30, 1878). Also, “La situazione,” *Fede e Avvenire* 33 (August 25, 1878). For a thorough review of the general situation concerning the position of Athens during the four-year period, consult Rocco Aprile, *Storia della Grecia moderna (1453-1981)* (Lecce: Capone, 1984), 113-6.

In fact, the issue of the borders still persisted because of the Ottoman unwillingness to respect Protocol No. 13,⁶⁰ pushing Athens government to address –in a Nota, which was fully backed by the Peloritani press– the European cabinets so that they could put pressure on the “Mezzaluna.”⁶¹ Therefore, the Greeks’ rights were claimed in different ways (i.e., spare news and press agency telegrams; correspondence from Athens, Istanbul and İzmir; editorials)⁶² following the seesaw negotiation and demonstrations to plead the unheeded rights, as was the case with the *Comitato d’azione filellenico* founded in Rome under the presidency Filippo Lante Montefeltro della Rovere, thanks to Canini,⁶³ who, during the late seventies, spared no efforts to organize, all over Italy, many similar organizations hoping to unite them in one general philhellenic Assembly in the capital. He also fostered the *Lega Filellenica*, founded by the powerful Mason Carlo Michele Buscalioni –founder, in 1864, of *Associazione Internazionale Neolatina*– and he dreamt about a *Unione elleno-latina*.⁶⁴ So in 1880, when the Greek army was used to resolve

⁶⁰ “La situazione.”

⁶¹ The document is corroborated by *Fede e Avvenire*, which stated the following supporting message: “In esso la bontà della causa, la giustezza degli argomenti, la moderazione delle pretese, vanno di pari passo con una singolare temperanza di linguaggio. È la voce calma, ma energica della verità e del diritto. Esso è però l’accusa più efficace dell’opera innominabile della diplomazia. Fra la serie d’ingiustizie e d’errori, sanciti a Berlino dai rappresentanti europei, c’era una sola buona azione: il parziale esaudimento dei diritti della Grecia. Ebbene: all’atto pratico, questa deliberazione resta inefficace. [...] Tale la sorte del debole.” “La nota ellenica,” *Fede e Avvenire* 37.

⁶² Some of the articles titles by way of an example: in *Fede e Avvenire*, “Crisi e poli,” 43 (November 3, 1878); “Gazzettino. Grecia,” 33 (February 23, 1879); “Notiziario. Grecia,” 16 (April 20, 1879); “Questione Greca,” 32 (December 26, 1880); in *Gazzetta di Messina*, “L’Elefteria e Cairoli,” 141 (June 16, 1880); “La dimostrazione navale,” 233 (October 2, 1880); “Telegrammi. Atene,” 251 (October 23, 1880); “La Turchia e la Grecia,” 46 (February 23, 1881); “Questione turco-greca,” 48 (February 25, 1881); “Da Costantinopoli,” 100 (April 28, 1881).

⁶³ “Pro Grecia,” *Fede e Avvenire* 51 (December 19, 1880).

⁶⁴ Francesco Guida, “Marco Antonio Canini in Grecia: un mazziniano suo malgrado,” *Balkan Studies* 2 (1979): 343-92 (exactly 374 onwards); idem, *L’Italia e il Risorgimento*, 340 onwards; idem, “Correnti e iniziative filelleniche in Italia

the impasse, the *Gazzetta di Messina* backed the use of the army to defend what belonged to the Hellenic nation, knowing that Greece would obtain “i conforti morali e materiali di tutta Europa.”⁶⁵ Thankfully, the difficult peace negotiations prevented worse consequences; indeed, the Convention of Constantinople, which was ratified on 2nd July 1881 between the Ottoman Empire and the Kingdom of Greece, put an end to the fighting but assigned to the Greeks just Thessaly and not Epirus, except Arta, and obliged them to pay the Turkish landowners compensation for having expropriated their lands.⁶⁶

The late eighties represented for Crete the attempt of a new system of government, with liberal and parliamentary, but still primitive, characteristics, even though its difficult realization emphasized the regime contradictions and limits. The first violation to the Pact of Halepa was the removal of the Governor Alexandros Karatheodori Pasha, after just fourteen days since his appointment in November 1878, despite his five-year mandate, and the succession of his colleague Ioannis Photiadis Pasha.⁶⁷ Moreover, the introduction of

dopo il congresso di Berlino (1878-1886),” in *Risorgimento greco*, 71-101; idem, *Italia e Grecia*, 32-4; Lorenzo Michelangelo Billia, *La lega filellenica e l'ideale politico di Carlo Michele Buscalioni* (Torino: Eredi Botta, 1885); Marco Antonio Canini, *L'unione elleno-latina* (Venezia: Stabilimento tipo-litografico di M. Fontana, 1883); Giuseppe Monsagrati, “Carlo Michele Buscalioni,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 15 (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1972), 493-5; Angelo Tamborra, “Marco Antonio Canini,” *ibid.*, vol. 18 (1975), 108-16; Francesco Traniello, “Michelangelo Billia,” *ibid.*, vol. 10 (1968), 471-5.

⁶⁵ “Grecia!,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 296 (December 16, 1880). For similar texts, consult: “La Grecia e l'Epiro,” 297 (December 17, 1880); “La questione turco-ellenica,” 306 (December 29, 1880); “Conflitto greco-turco,” 8 (January 11, 1881).

⁶⁶ Nicolas Svoronos, *Storia della Grecia moderna* (Roma: Editori Riuniti, 1974), 84-5; also, the articles in *Gazzetta di Messina*: “Telegrammi. Atene,” 304 (December 27, 1880); “L'arbitrato,” 307 (December 30, 1880); “Questione ellenica,” 11 (January 14, 1881); “Questione turco-greca,” 78 (April 2, 1881); “Telegrammi. Costantinopoli,” 120 (May 21, 1881); “In machina. Costantinopoli,” 157 (July 4, 1881); “L'occupazione di Arta,” 161 (July 8, 1881).

⁶⁷ “Telegrammi. Costantinopoli,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 272 (November 20, 1878); “Telegrammi. Costantinopoli,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 287 (December 7, 1878); Kallivretakis, “A Century of Revolutions,” 24-5.

an election system to designate the office holders, instead of an appointment one, incited a dangerous rivalry for an internal people cohesion between two political factions, which were becoming stronger: Conservative (reflecting great landowners and merchants) and Liberal (reflecting people with no property, smallholders, craftsmen, country people).⁶⁸ These events produced riots in 1889 as a consequence of a motion pivoting on the *enosis* request, unexpectedly introduced by five conservative deputies during the Assembly on 6 May. The Assembly could have the appropriate backing from other minority deputies and it could also create troubles for both the Liberal majority, the 2nd April elections victor –which numbered a more and more popular Venizelos, as a consequence of the party innovative work for the Lefkoreites group, named after the title of the newspaper *Lefka Ori*, i.e., White Mountains–, the Hellenic consul Gryparis in Chania and, indirectly, the Trikoupis government which did not want to make things worse after the blow suffered by the then President of the Council Dilighiannis with the international naval blockade to the Greek coasts.⁶⁹ The divergent techniques were emphasized once again in June when the two politics forces claims to

⁶⁸ Kallivretakis, *ibid.*, 25-6; Aprile, *Storia della Grecia moderna*, 127.

⁶⁹ A. Lily Macrakis, “Venizelos’ Early Life and Political Career in Crete, 1864-1910,” in *Eleftherios Venizelos*, 37-83 (in particular 49-55). In September 1885, Bulgaria provoked a multifaceted international crisis after the annexation of Eastern Rumelia, following up the invitation from the Governorate unitary movement. The Belgrade government even declared war on Sofia, relying on a better combat training, but was defeated and obliged to call for an armistice. Meanwhile, Greece passed from riots to military involvement in the hope of territorial compensation. However, on March 1886, Greece had its coasts blocked, in return, by the other countries, Italy included. After two difficult months, Dilighiannis was thus forced to resign. Clogg, *Storia della Grecia*, 93; Castellan, *Storia dei Balcani*, 373-4; Guida, “Italia e Grecia,” 34; *idem*, *La Russia e l’Europa*, 78, 89. About the contribution of the Messina press, consult *Gazzetta di Messina* (1885-1886); *L’Aquila Latina* (1885-1886), Messina (for further news about this “old” journal cf. Salvo, *I giornali*, 33-4, 60); *Fede e Avvenire* (1885-1886). Finally, it is important to underline how these events represented an opportunity to present a memorial, written by local authorities and members of the Assembly of Crete about the claim of the Greece unification, to the other countries’ mandataries. Cf. “La Grecia e l’isola di Creta,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 9 (January 12, 1886).

the imperial emissary received in exchange just some simple provisional promises.⁷⁰ Then, those who backed the revolt united in Boutsounaria, near Chania, forced the hand terrorizing the Muslims in the countryside with armed bands related to them, thinking thus that they would deal with the final negotiation from a privileged position. This move brought to riots between Christians and Muslims, Muslims and communities professing a different religion, and between Christians from rival political movements, while the island was transforming into a huge raid and violence field, and the increase of the civils and politicians emigration to the Kingdom of Greece as a result.⁷¹ The failure of the temporary truce between liberals and conservatives, as a consequence of the conservatives' inability to control their armed bands, which were hostile towards any compromise, together with the prudent conduct of the western countries and, inevitably, of Greece—which was gaining acceptance in the *L'Imparziale*, a political-literary newspaper with a democratic orientation, as a consequence of the sense of responsibility shown in the maintenance of peace and for having delayed, to a better time, the fair Greek claims⁷²—gave the Sublime Porte the pretext to vigorously bring back order, on the one hand tolerating the Muslim paramilitary groups

⁷⁰ Kallivretakis, "A Century of Revolutions," 27; "Telegrammi. Atene," *L'Aquila Latina* 8996 (June 15, 1889); "I partiti in Candia," *Gazzetta di Messina* 158 (July 6, 1889).

⁷¹ See the articles in *Gazzetta di Messina*: "La situazione di Candia," 165 (July 14-15, 1889); "L'agitazione in Candia," 171 (July 21-22, 1889); "La situazione in Candia" and "Gli insorti cretesi," 172 (July 23, 1889); "La situazione in Oriente," 177 (July 28-29, 1889); "La situazione in Candia," 179 (July 31, 1889), 180 (August 1, 1889) and 182 (August 3, 1889); "La situazione in Candia è grave," 179 (July 31, 1889); "I rifugiati cretesi. La nota della Grecia alle potenze," 185 (August 7, 1889). Also, "Dispacci Stefani. Atene," *L'Imparziale* 162 (July 16, 1889), Messina (for a profile of the journal, cf. Salvo, *I giornali*, 43-4, 80-1); "Telegrammi. Atene," *L'Imparziale* 227 (October 1, 1889). Cf. Macrakis, "Venizelos' Early Life," 54-5; Kallivretakis, "A Century of Revolutions," 27-8.

⁷² See the articles: "In Oriente," 171 (July 26, 1889); Sotyr, "Scena che muta," 186 (August 13, 1889); idem, "L'orizzonte," 187 (August 14, 1889); idem, "In Candia. La questione candiota," 192 (August 21, 1889); idem, "In Grecia," 252 (October 30, 1889); idem, "Quistioni pendenti," 259 (November 8, 1889).

that intensified the violence against the Christians, on the other hand nominating a military government, the Ottoman ambassador in Saint Petersburg Chakir Pasha. The Pasha, at the time of his installation in office, did not hesitate before applying a strong measure like the martial law (despite striking a balance, according to the *Gazzetta di Messina*),⁷³ which brought arrest and deportation during the time it was in force, until its end on 16 April 1890.⁷⁴ Finally, on 17 November 1889, to seal the regulation, a sultan firman abrogated many regulations introduced by the Pact of Halepa and established a new taxation, gave preference to Turkish-speaking people in the civil service, cut down the number of Assembly members from eighty to fifty seven, and allowed a general amnesty that actually excluded people sentenced by the court-martial and the riot instigators, Venizelos included, which was seen as the leader despite his opposition to the recent riot.⁷⁵

⁷³ “Le condizioni dell’isola di Candia se non sono ancora ritornate nello stato normale, hanno però perduto quel carattere di gravità che avevano nei giorni scorsi. La insurrezione è stata domata, e si fa sempre più manifesto che non aveva profonde radici nel paese. La missione di Chakir pascià è felicemente riuscita e convien riconoscere ch’egli, pur adoperando la necessaria energia, si è condotto con grande prudenza e moderazione, lasciando così la via aperta alle opportune concessioni, che ora la Turchia può fare senza essere tacciata di debolezza.” “Questioni internazionali,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 228 (September 26, 1889).

⁷⁴ See the articles in *L’Imparziale*: “Dispacci Stefani. Costantinopoli,” 174 (July 30, 1889); “Telegrammi. Sofia,” 186 (August 13, 1889); “Telegrammi. Costantinopoli,” 195 (August 24, 1889). Also, the articles in *Gazzetta di Messina*: “I conflitti in Candia,” 184 (August 6, 1889); “In Oriente,” 189 (August 11-12, 1889); “Candia e le potenze,” 191 (August 14, 1889); “Gli eccidi in Candia,” 193 (August 16, 1889); “La situazione in Candia,” 207 (September 1-2, 1889); “Telegrammi. Atene,” 221 (September 19, 1889) and 226 (September 24, 1889); “Arresti in Candia,” 228 (September 26, 1889). And “Rivista politica,” *Fede e Avvenire* 34 (September 15, 1889). Cf. Macrakis, “Venizelos’ Early Life,” 55; Kallivretakis, “A Century of Revolutions,” 28.

⁷⁵ “La quistione candiotta,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 283 (November 29, 1889); “Telegrammi. Canea,” *Gazzetta di Messina* 290 (December 7, 1889); “Telegrammi. Canea,” *L’Imparziale* 285 (December 8, 1889); “Telegrammi. Atene,” *L’Imparziale* 298 (December 24, 1889). Cf. Macrakis, *op. cit.*; Kallivretakis, *op. cit.*, 28-9.

As the weeks passed, the hope of a change faded but this did not stop *L'Imparziale* reiterating a heartfelt reunion wish between Crete and Athens, which, however, had to wait for almost twenty-five years to come true:

“Noi non sappiamo ancora se gli sforzi della Porta riusciranno a paralizzare il movimento insurrezionale che in Candia si fa sempre più vivo; ma se qualche cosa da questo movimento avesse ad uscirne per il bene dei Candiotti, auguriamo a questo eroico popolo ch'esso possa ritornare in seno alla greca famiglia, perché è l'appagamento legittimo delle sue aspirazioni, è la conquista delle secolari lotte sostenute per questo principio, è il trionfo di un diritto che dovrebbesi universalmente plaudire, perché è il diritto delle nazionalità che trionfa e s'impone.”⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Sotyr, “La questione candiota,” *L'Imparziale* 179 (August 4, 1889).