Cyprus and Greece: Two Appeals for Enosis

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THIS ESSAY IS NOT A STUDY OF the Enosis (union of Cyprus with Greece) movement but a presentation of two previously unpublished documents about the struggle. A brief review of the efforts of Greek Cypriots to liberate their island from its Ottoman masters between 1600 and 1878 should provide continuity and satisfy historical curiosity.

Ottoman Occupation, 1571-1878

The capture of Nicosia and Famagusta by Sultan Selim in 1571 brought an end to Venetian (1489-1571) rule of Cyprus and established the Turkish occupation (1571-1878) of the island. “The history of Turkish rule,” wrote Sir Harry Luke, “is a story of provincialism and decay, of contracting commerce and unenterprising administration, a story not regal but parochial... From a kingdom renowned throughout Christendom the island was to become an obscure Ottoman dependency.”¹ While the crowned heads of Europe were not willing to leave Cyprus to the Turks, the Christian inhabitants of the island and in particular the Greek Cypriots made repeated efforts to “induce” the kings and princes of Europe to “undertake expeditions” to liberate Cyprus.² Of all the European kings and princes with ambitions to re-establish their “rights” over the Kingdom of Cyprus, the Duke of Savoy showed the greatest sympathy and determination. The efforts of Charles Emmanuel to stir up the Christian subjects of the Sultan by raising false hopes of liberation and freedom were frequent and well recorded. “The

Duke's ambition," wrote Sir George Hill, "was notorious in the Christian lands which had fallen into the hands of the Turks, and naturally excited the wildest hopes." In 1600 Francis Accidas, a Rhodian and agent of the Duke, travels to Alexandria where he has a meeting with the Patriarch; he then goes to Cyprus, where he meets the Archbishop of the island, and with him investigates the potential for a Christian uprising against the island's Turkish masters, promising help from the Duke. Such vain proposals and promises gave the Greek Cypriots the "delusive hope that their deliverance would come from Savoy."

A letter from one Peter Goneme of Cyprus, "interpreter of the Pasha of Cyprus," dated 8 October 1608 appeals to the Duke of Savoy in "the name of the Christian peoples of Cyprus" to act in concert with the King of Spain, Philip III, to liberate the "oppressed Christians" of Cyprus. A year later, on 5 October 1609, an appeal to Charles Emmanuel signed by Christodoulos, Archbishop of Cyprus (1609-1631), the Bishops of Famagusta, Limassol, Paphos, Kyrenia, and Amathus and other Church dignitaries was delivered on their behalf to the Duke of Savoy by the Cypriot "Loizos son of Nikolo." On 6 April 1611 the Cypriot hierarchs despatched the Cypriots "Loizos son of Nikolo and Konstantino son of Demo" to Count Mombasiglio, Chamberlain of the Duke. In both communications the hierarchs appealed to Charles Emmanuel to help them free their island from the rule of the Turks: "Clerus insulae Cypri Carolo Emmanuel, Sebaudiæ duce, auxilium petit contra Turcos." Alas, their efforts were in vain. The hierarchs were unaware that Charles Emmanuel's ambitions far exceeded the skill, means and abilities of his State: Savoy was too weak to take up the cause of Cyprus. In the course of the seventeenth century numerous other appeals were made; there was one in 1625, another in 1632, yet another in 1664, and a final attempt was made in 1668. The 1668 appeal, wrote Sir George Hill, represented the "last recorded attempt by the Cypriots to interest a western prince in the deliverance of Cyprus."

Despite the formidable obstacles against them, the Greek Cypriots repeated their efforts with greater determination and hope during the years of the War of the Greek Independence. The struggle of the Greeks of Cyprus for union with Greece can be traced back to the early days of the birth of the modern Greek state in 1829. Victory came after a long and difficult war of independence which the Greeks officially launched on 25 March 1821 and fought against their Turkish masters. The Greeks of Cyprus, as of other regions of the Greek diaspora, actively participated in the preparations for and upheavals of the Greek uprising of 1821. But although the Cypriot Greeks paid dearly for their evident sympathies, and endured severe deprivation and hardship as well as bearing the brunt of Ottoman reactions, they were denied the fruits of victory.

History records the date of 5 October 1821 as marking the first attempt to bring Cyprus into the Greek uprising. On that date Kyprianos Theseus of Cyprus wrote to the notables of the island of Hydra requesting a loan to purchase arms and gather the necessary force to undertake a campaign against the Turks and liberate Cyprus. Two months later, on 6 December 1821, several prominent Cypriots, Spyridon Bishop of Trimetheus, Ioannikios, Exarch of the Archdiocese of Cyprus, Archimandrite Theophilos Theseus and seven Cypriot laymen who had escaped to Marseilles issued a manifesto condemning Turkish rule of their island and the atrocities committed against their fellow Greek Cypriots, and appealing for help to liberate Cyprus.

A new appeal for financial support to the Cypriot cause was directed in February 1825 to the temporary Greek government by Charalambos Malis, a Cypriot patriot highly respected for his role in the Greek struggle. The case of Cyprus confronted Ioannes Kapodistrias in October 1827. To a question, "Quelles sont les limites qu'elle [i.e. Greece] a imposé sa son étendue territoriale?" put to him by William-Horton of the British Foreign Office he made the following reply:

Les limites de la Grece sont tracées depuis quatre siècles par les droits que ni le temps, ni les malheurs de tout genre, ni la conquête n'ont jamais pu prescrire. Elles le sont depuis 1821 par le sang versé dans les massacres de Cydonie, de Chyprie, de Chios,

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1 John Koumoulides, Cyprus and the War of Greek Independence 1821-1829 (London, 1974).
2 Ibid. p. 78.
4 E. Protopsalti, "Ο Κύπρος άγγελος της Χαράλαμπου Μαλής," Ελληνική Κύπρος (September, 1953), p. 197.
5 Hill, History, p. 41.
6 Ibid. p. 53.
7 Ibid. pp. 53-54.
8 Hill, History, p. 54; F. Miklosich and J. Muller (eds.) Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi Sacra et Profana (Vindobonae, 1865), 4, pp. 266-69.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid. p. 58.
11 Ibid. p. 59.
de Candie, de Psara, de Messolonghi, et dans les nombreux combats sur terre et sur mer dont s’honore cette brave nation.”

In a letter to Kapodistrias addressed in August 1828 by several Cypriot notables, including Archbishop Panaretos of Cyprus and the Bishops of Paphos, Kition and Kyrenia, he was urged to include Cyprus as part of Greece in his future negotiations with European governments. On 18 October, in a circular to the protecting powers (Britain, France and Russia) Kapodistrias advocated that the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes be annexed to Greece. In 1829 the Cypriots despatched Paul Vondidziano to Kapodistrias to press once again for the annexation of Cyprus by Greece.

On 8 November 1829 the British Resident, Dawkins, writing from Argos to the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen wrote:

My Lord,

Two natives from Cyprus, professing to be deputed by the Archbishop, Clergy and Primates of that Island and to hold full powers on their behalf, have been arriving in Greece during the last two years and endeavouring to enter into negotiations with this Provisional Government.

Having failed to receive the encouragement they expected from Count Kapodistrias, they have employed a native of the Ionian Islands named Colaro to obtain for them an interview with me, for the purpose, as this individual states, of imploring on the part of their countrymen, the direct protection of His Majesty’s Government.

I have endeavoured to impress upon Mr. Colaro’s mind the impolicy of their attempting to effect any change in their present position; and I have declined to hold any intercourse with them, either privately or as an Agent of His Majesty’s Government.

I have the honour to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord,
Your Lordship’s
Most obedient
Humble Servant
Dawkins.

The appeal to Dawkins was the last recorded attempt by the Greek Cypriots to help bring about the enosis of their island with Greece in the 1820s; but it did not put an end to the struggle of the Greeks of Cyprus, whose ambitions and determination in the succeeding years continued unabated, despite the tremendous obstacles which confronted them. Throughout the years of Turkish occupation of Cyprus (1571-1878), the island’s identity and character remained predominantly Greek and Orthodox. In 1878 the administration of Cyprus was transferred to Great Britain. On 12 July 1878 the British flag was hoisted in Nicosia, and in November 1914 the island became part of the British Empire. The Greek Cypriots enthusiastically welcomed Britain’s entry upon the Cyprus scene in 1878, interpreting the change as a prelude to their enosis with Greece. Alas, they were to be greatly disappointed. Yet vain and futile efforts towards achieving enosis continued on both the individual and the official plane in an attempt to translate nationalistic inspiration into political reality. The two documents which follow set these efforts in perspective. The first appeal is by a romantic young Cypriot, the second by the Greek Voulites of Cyprus.

Two Appeals: 1908 and 1917

Miltiadis Ch. Loizidis, a young Cypriot, left his island for England, where he entered University College, London during the year 1907-8, but was not registered for a degree at the University of London. He was “admitted to study Modern History.” On 24 May 1908 this young romantic patriot wrote to King Edward VII appealing to him to help unite Cyprus with Greece.

University College, London
May 24th, 1908

To His Most Excellent Majesty
King Edward VII.

May it please your Majesty,

On the anniversary of the immortal Queen Victoria, with the humility of a humble servant of Your Majesty, I wish that the British Empire under Your reign may be more powerful and still greater than in the past. And at the same time I venture to send Your Majesty this peti-

15Koumoulides, Cyprus, p. 81. To M. Mechain, French Consul in Cyprus, the besolution to the question of Cyprus was that the island "be part of France." Mechain
1612 June 1820 in Κυπρων Χρονικα, 7, p. 151.
17Koumoulides, Cyprus, p. 81.
18FO 32/6. Dawkins to the Earl of Aberdeen.
tion in Homeric Verses which I composed in the above University of which I am a student and which expresses the highest desire of all my countrymen Cyprians.

I have the honour to be, With profound veneration, Sir, Your Majesty's most faithful subject, and dutiful Servant, Miltiades Ch. Loizidis

GOD SAVE THE KING EMPEROR EDWARD VII.19

On 4 June 1908 Mr. Loizidis received the following reply to his letter:

FOREIGN OFFICE June 4, 1908

Sir,

I am directed by Secretary Sir E. Grey to acknowledge the receipt of the letter addressed to you to His Majesty the King on the 24th ultimo, enclosing a petition in Homeric Verse in which you urge the annexation of Cyprus to Greece.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient, humble Servant, Louis Mallet20

The repeated appeals for enosis made by the Greek Cypriots to the British authorities since 1878 are covered in detail by Sir George Hill in his indispensable four-volume History of Cyprus;21 while the excellent study by Nancy Crawshaw devotes particular attention to the struggle for enosis in this century.22 The present essay aims to present two previously unpublished appeals for enosis. Not long after England's entry onto the Cyprus scene the British set up in 1882 a Legislative Council on the island in accordance with the first constitution of 1878. Membership of the Legislative Council reflected the existing population pattern of 136,000 Greeks and 46,000 Turks: out of the Council's 12 elected members, 9 were Greek Cypriots and 3 Turkish Cypriots. This arrangement stayed in force for years even though the population ratio changed in favour of the Greek Cypriots.23 In 1914 Cyprus was annexed by Great Britain and became part of the British Empire. The offer of Cyprus to Greece in 1915 by the British (in return for Greece committing herself to assist the Allies by guaranteeing support to Serbia should she be attacked by Germany) brought enosis closer than ever

19FO 371/465.
20FO 371/465.
21Hill, History, 4, pp. 488-568.
23From 25% Turkish and 73% Greek at the first census in 1881 to 18% Turkish and 48% Greek by 1960. Cyprus (London, 1978). Report No. 30.
to realization. But alas, the Greek government of Alexandros Zaimis, influenced by the pro-German King Constantine, rejected the offer, preferring to maintain Greek neutrality in the war. On 25 July 1917 the Greek Cypriot members of the Legislative Council of Cyprus, in a letter to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, urged the union of their island with Greece. At the same time the Greek Cypriot members addressed a memorandum to the Greek government.

Λαμβάνοντας την τιμήν της άνακοινώσεως ημείς ότι η Ελληνική βουλευτική κυβέρνηση έπεδωκε ένα γεγονός σημαντικόν προς τον κ. Πρωθυπουργόν δ’ ου διαβιβάζονται αυτοί άντρας ὁπομνήματος όπου συνεπάγεται κατά την . . . αυτών σύσκεψιν και διπλασθήκην πρός τον Υπουργόν των Α’Ηλιακών της Αγγλίας. Παρ’ του μοριομένου της κινητότητας των προορισμονόν πόθον της Κύπρου δι’ της ανάγκης αυτής μετά της Α’Ελλάδος, θεωρούμενο ότι η νύν στιγμή είναι η (μόνη) κατάλληλης συμβιβασμός διά τον μικρόν αυτών δυνάμεως είτε επιπτούν διά τον μεγάλο κοπόκο. Οι βουλευτείς είς το πρός τον Πρωθυπουργόν έγγραφον απευθύνουν καταγγείλειν της Α’Ελλάδας πάντοτε φύλας και γνώσης συμμάχου της Αγγλίας . . . Τα εγγράφα ταυτά πέμπου διά τον σημερινόν παραμετρον.”

BATIMPELLA

However, for the British Secretary of State for the Colonies the appeal of the Greek elected Members of the Legislative Council of Cyprus was a “closed” matter. “The request in the Memorial is a renewal of the demand that Cyprus should be ceded to Greece. . . This subject is definitely closed and cannot be further discussed.”

On 13 July 1922 during Prime Minister’s questions-time in the House of Commons, Sir C. Yates asked Lloyd George, “Is there any question of offering Cyprus to Greece?” to which the Prime Minister answered with a categorical “No.” The struggle for enosis was to enter a new phase.

24The proposal was made to Greek government by Sir Francis Elliot on 16th October 1914. See the text of the telegram from Sir Edward Gray to the British Ambassador in Athens in S. P. P. Cosmetatos, The Tragedy of Greece (London, 1928), pp. 70-71.

25Archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs (5268, 25 July 1917).

Κυβερνησία της Α. Βρεττανικής Μεγαλειότητας καὶ τῶν φυλετευόμενων συνείδησιν τοῦ Μεγάλου Βρετανικοῦ “Εθνούς. Η δοσισμαχή ἐν τούτοις μετὰ τῆς Τουρκίας συνήθη τοῦ 1878 ἡμιδιδαζά τὴν ἐκ μέρους τῆς Βρεττανικής Κυβερνήσεως ἀποδοχοὺς τοῦ αἰτήματος ἡμῶν καὶ τούτο ὑπήρξε τὸ διαρκές εἰς ἡμᾶς προβαλλόμενον κάλλισσα διὰ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν αἰώνιων πόδου τοῦ Κυπριακοῦ λαοῦ.

3. Ο Πανευρωπαϊκός πόλεμος καὶ ἡ ἐκ τούτου ἀνάμειξης τῆς Τουρκίας ἐκεῖνης ἡ ἀποτέλεσμα καὶ τὴν κατάργησις τῆς συνθήκης τοῦ 1978, ἡ δὲ Κύπρου διὰ τοῦ διαγγέλματος τῆς Α. Μεγαλειότητος τῆς 5ης Νοεμβρίου 1914 προσπεράτω ἐπὶ τὸ σκοπὸ τῆς διακυβέρνησις αὐτῆς εἰς τὰς κτήσεις τῆς Μεγάλης Βρεττανίας. Η Κύπρος αὐτὴ διὰ τῆς καταργήσεως τῆς συνθήκης τοῦ 1878 δύναται νὰ διεκδικήσῃ τὸ δικαίωμα ὅπως ὑπὸ τὴν ἱσχύναν προστασίαν τῆς Μεγάλης Βρεττανίας καὶ τὴν σκέψιν τῶν φυλετευόμενων ἅρχον ὡς πάντοτε ὑπερεῖχον, ἄκουστὴ ἢ κατ’ ἐπανάλημα διατυπωθεῖσα αὐτῆς θέλησις ἢ ἀφορθώσα τὴν θυμικήν αὐτῆς ἀποκατάστασιν.

Καθ’ ἑνὸς ἂν τὸ ‘Ελληνικὸν Βασιλείον, Ἐντιμότατο, συναντήσας τὴν τῆς ἀντίδος μὲ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος σας, ἀγονίζεται παρὰ τὸ πλευρόν σας, πρέφορον βαθύτατα τὴν πίστιν ὅτι ἡ προστασία ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ ‘Ελληνισμοῦ Δύναμις θ’ ἀποδώσῃ δικαιούσην εἰς τὸν Ελληνικόν τῆς Κύπρου λαὸν, ἑφαρμόζομαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς μεγάλας ᾠχίας. Υπὲρ ὅν ἡ ὁδὴ σας καὶ ἡ ὁδή μας φυλή, ἀγονίζομαι ἂν αἰώνιον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἅν χύνουσι σήμερον τὸ πολύτιμον αἷμα τῶν τικνων τοῦ. Ἐνοντες τὴν Κύπρον μετὰ τῆς ‘Ελλάδος δὲν θα ἀποδείξετε μόνον ἐμπράκτως τὴν εὐθύνην καὶ ἱερότητα τοῦ ἁγίους σας, δὲν θα ἀποδώσητε μόνον δικαιούσην εἰς ἕνα λαὸν εὐγένεια καὶ φυλετευόμενον δίδοντες δίκαιον πέρας εἰς τὴν μακρὰν αὐτοῦ ἱστορικήν σταδιοδρομίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θα χαλκεύσετε ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἄρρητοις καὶ ἱσχυροὺς τοὺς ἱεροὺς δειγμοὺς τοὺς ἔσοδος νῦν ἡμῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀκόλουθης σας καὶ θα εδραίωσετε μίαν αἰώνιαν ταυτότητα συμφερόντων καὶ τυχόν μεταξὶ τῶν δύο Κράτων. Συνήγορον λουκὴν τῶν θυμικῶν ἡμῶν δικαίων ἀπεκδισέωθε, μετὰ τὴν θείαν Πρόνοιαν, τὴν μεγάλην ἡμῶν Προστάσια καὶ ἐμπιστεύσεως εἰς τὴν εὐγένη συμβολήν τοῦ μεγάλου Βρετανικοῦ ‘Εθνούς τὴν θυμικήν ἡμῶν ὑπόθεσιν κυρίως εἰς στιγμές καθ’ ἑνὸς ἐνούσιοι μετὰ τῆς ’Ελλάδος θα ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ συμβάλλομεν διὰ τῶν μικρῶν ἡμῶν δυνάμεων εἰς ἐπιταχύν τοῦ μεγάλου σκοποῦ.

Διατελοῦμεν μετὰ πάσης διαθεσίας
Πρὸς τὴν ἡμιερὰν Ἐντιμότατο (Ὑποπ. Θ. Θεοδότου)
N. Κλ. Ιεράρχης
Λούσης Ε. Λουβέζ

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2 Archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs (AVE, 1917/A/5/11-25).