

Children of the Occupation

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An escalation of the Turco-Italian War occurred on May 4, 1912 when Italian naval and army units commenced the seizure of the Greek-speaking Dodecanese Islands in the Aegean Sea, off the coast of Asia Minor. Italy entertained imperialist aspirations in the Near East, and a national desire for grandezza. Fighting the "Sickman of Europe" in Libya and then shifting attention to the Aegean was a way of transferring the war to a strategically vulnerable part of the Ottoman Empire without "embarrassing communications with other powers."¹ Further, for foreign policy makers, possession of the Dodecanese created a base from which Italy might develop economic interests in South Anatolia. While the Great Powers cared little for the Turkish Empire, they showed no interest in seeing its demise in 1912. In fact, international concerns over the Italian presence in the Aegean surfaced immediately, continued throughout the Great War, and remained unabated until the formal transferral of the islands to Italy by virtue of the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923. The details of that discussion, however, belong to diplomatic history. This is a social history.

Among the scattered islands of the Dodecanese, a modern travel guide describes Patmos as "a dot at the northern end," some 12m. long and 5k. wide.² Patmos supported a population that never exceeded two thousand five hundred souls, insignificant when compared to the thirty thousand residents of Rhodes in 1912, the capitol of the Dodecanese group. Little more than a fortnight after the seizure of Rhodes, the Italian navy removed the small Turkish garrison from the island of Patmos. Although no one knew it at the

time, this action put an end to four hundred and fifty-four years of Ottoman hegemony. The notably quiet transfer of power took place on Monday, May 20. Domna Fokakis was born that same day in the village of Skala. She and other children born on Patmos between 1912 and 1945 grew up as children of occupation. Like the generations of other Patmians who came before them, they saw themselves as Greeks, but never experienced life under Greek government. Life on the island seemed to promise more continuity than change, yet in 1912, opinions remained mixed as to what was to come.

The five "children" interviewed for this oral history, with one exception, now live in Jackson, Mississippi. Today, they range in age from 62 to 94. They came from the two main villages, Hora and Skala. Two of those interviewed were born under the Ottomans, the remainder under the Italians. One interviewee left Patmos in 1920, two during the 1930s, and two in 1947. The men came to America seeking a better life. The women came with their husbands as newlyweds. Another of the "children" described this propensity to leave as a necessity: "People of the island immigrate everywhere to make a living. Only a fisherman can make a living on Patmos." Before they left for a new life in America, however, they spent their formative years on the island. There, they received educations both inside and outside the classroom which prepared them for adulthood. In addition, they worked, one met her first love, all observed the major feasts of the Orthodox Church's liturgical calendar, and they tried to maintain a safe distance from their foreign overlords. They experienced a continuity of life that, to a large degree, existed for the previous four centuries but also changes that brought them into contact with more sinister powers emerging in the modern world.³

Shortly after the birth of his first daughter, Ioannis Gazis stood near his wife's bed conversing with his nephew George about the recent arrival of the Italians. George spoke positively of the change in administration stating that "Now we have to deal with a civilized country." For Ioannis, now a family man, the future looked more ominous. "Εβγάλουμε την σιδερένια αλυσίδα και εβγάλουμε την ατσάλενια," he responded with an almost poetic ring.⁴ In the decade to come, the words of the sea captain turned merchant sug-

gested an unfounded paranoia. In 1923, however, when his youngest daughter Anna was born, slight changes implemented by the new Fascista regime in Rome began to appear. Gazis died in 1935, but the next year his words proved prophetic as Count De Veechi became governor of the Aegean with full military and civilian powers and proceeded to introduce a fascist and totalitarian spirit to the colonies.⁵ An intensive fascist indoctrination of the children began in 1938, coinciding with Mussolini's racial laws. Only the fall of Il Duce in 1943 ended the program. Ironically, some Patmians welcomed the Germans as liberators who fed the starving populace and reopened the previously illegal Greek speaking schools.

Patterns of Continuity: Home and Church

The exchange of administration in 1912 brought little immediate change in the minds of the people: "[Things] they go on, one person occupies you, then another."⁶ On Patmos, life certainly continued. The children grew up in homes where their mothers were housewives. For women, to consider any other venue was laughable.⁷ Nonetheless, mothers exercised authority in the hearth, imposing often strict moral standards upon their children and managing the household while their men went out to work. Lucrative endeavors for the men included cargo hauling and fishing. Others were fortunate enough to work at businesses near the port or even on small farms. Often, men left the island entirely to seek their fortunes. A connection in America might land a job so that monies could be sent home to support the family. Theologos Vallas' father worked a hamburger stand in Galveston, Texas before returning home to build his ship. Michael Kountouris first met his father, a salesman, at Houston in 1930. After Ioannis Gazis died in 1935, his widow Anastasia depended on monies sent to the family by their son George, then working in Alexandria, Egypt.

Just as the young men prepared to seek work upon completion of their eighth grade education at the Apocalypse School, young women prepared for the eventuality of marriage. Some 90 percent of the marriages on Patmos were arranged by the respective families, who made the decision as to which son would marry which daughter. Custom required the girl to bring a dowry (or προικα) to the marriage, usually a house that belonged to her mother. In

this way, the house passed from one generation of girls to the next. If a man had more than one daughter, more houses and land were required for the additional doweries. The remaining 10 percent of marriages were out of love. Apparently, no divorces occurred on Patmos.⁸

From ancient times, religion permeated the island. St. John the Theologian wrote his *Apocalypse*, or *Book of Revelation*, in a cave there at the end of the first century. In time, the cave became a place of pilgrimage, and the nearby monastery attracted generations of monks. Countless children were baptized and named after the saint.⁹ Stories of the saints and their miracles inspired courage and provided a source of pride. The Greek Orthodox Church and its liturgical calendar laden with feasts and fasts punctuated and even defined life on the island. The feast of St. John the Theologian, Christmas, Epiphany, and especially Pascha (Easter) were great moments of celebration.¹⁰

Prior to the "Feast of Feasts," Holy Week meant fasting and church services two and three times a day. The solemn drama of Holy Week mounted as Holy Friday arrived. On that day preparations commenced with the decoration of the Epitaphios, a funeral bier that bore an icon of Christ in the tomb. In the morning, the young girls gathered all sorts of flowers into their baskets and then decorated the Epitaphios to be carried in procession that night. In Skala, processions began from each of the three churches. "So, the procession of the three Epitaphioi then met in the square and we come around in the neighborhood and everybody [is] sprinkled with rose water. It was nice." Remembered Anna Gazis.

Besides the proclamation of the risen Christ and reception of the paschal light after midnight on Easter, food provided the most vivid memories of these religious ceremonies. Gazis continued, "After the service Good Saturday night, everybody had a lot of food and meat, always was lamb. We had *patsa*, the intestines of the lamb. They clean it very well and they cook it. This was the main [course], the soup. And then we roast lamb, *dolmathes* (stuffed grapes leaves), different things. We ate after the service. And then we went to bed." The festivities resumed the next day. Again church services and food were the order of the day. "Well, the next day we went to the Agape [a special Vespers service], the other service...

We'd have eggs, a lot of eggs, and sometimes the families, would have a picnic." Year after year, these traditions and festivities repeated and became ingrained in the soul of the people, giving both spiritual solace and an all-important sense of communal identity.¹¹

Becoming a Nuisance

At the village of Skala, the Italian presence consisted of the customs' house (the Kazarma), post office, and an army station staffed by twenty to twenty-five soldiers and sailors. Theologos Vallas knew these structures well since they stood one block over from Mr Stratos' general store where he went to work in 1916. Because of the store's proximity to these governmental buildings, interaction with the Italians was a fact of daily life. For this reason, Vallas endeavored to become fluent in the Italian language. During those years in which this teenager learned "honesty" and "how to move the merchandise" from Mr. Stratos, Theologos assessed the first years of occupation as a time when "there was no friction, nothing you know." He added, "We lived in peace, I mean we had no trouble."

For the businessmen on Patmos, the Great War raised concerns about the flow of commerce to and from the other islands. This situation affected Vallas directly. Stratos' store sold goods to the Italian Army daily, and his father's ship carried supplies for both the British and the Italians. On the occasion, a U-boat carrying both German and Turks stopped his father's ship. By virtue of a bribe, the elder Vallas saved his own life and avoided confiscation of his cargo. Such encounters during the war, however, were undoubtedly rare but fearful moments for the islanders as most Patmians did not engage in commercial interests of this nature.

The islanders generally had little social interaction with the foreigners. Anna Gazis, two decades into the occupation, described the black uniformed *carabinieri* who patrolled the villages as "polite" but not people with whom a person made contact. The more usual encounter took the form of the nuisance made by sailors off the warships that dropped anchor every two or three months. For example, Dimitrios Fokakis and his sister Domna related an incident that occurred when some fifteen to twenty sailors converged on their father's store in Skala. One sailor asked Mr. Fokakis to

help him with a "purchase" of wine. When the man turned away to reach for wine on the shelf behind, the other sailors stuffed their shirts with bottles. The store owner reported the incident to the sailors' commanding officer who then required the men to stand for inspection before returning to ship. The sailors came to attention beside the water's edge. As the officer passed by, the sailors proceeded to drop the bottles of wine behind their backs into the water. The next day, Patmians found the bottles floating. Those sailors who were caught received a reprimand.

On another occasion, a small boat arrived from one of the neighboring islands. The crew came ashore not brandishing weapons, but guitars, violins and banjos. As they roamed the streets in middle of the night, they sang love songs. Though the sailors woke the whole village with their antics, Anna Gazis described the enchanting evening as "a beautiful thing." The highly protective islanders saw these romantically inclined Italians as problematic. Dimitrios Cleoudis commented, "The Italians were womanizers. They were the champs." This low regard for the occupying Italians capacity for moral fortitude had some basis in fact.

On two or three occasions local girls eloped with Italian military personnel. The natives considered the marriage of a girl to someone outside the Orthodox Faith and from another country shameful. When such a man completed his six month to one year tour of duty on the island, both he and his new wife returned to Italy. More noteworthy was the one incident recounted. Anna Gazis told the story: "[there] was a maid. She used to take care of an old captain. She fell in love with a soldier, an Italian soldier. And something happened. And her family found out. And they took her away. I don't know where they took her. She gave birth to the baby and they gave the baby for adoption. And they came back to island late at night. And they took her straight to the monastery. She's still there....[A]dultery was something horrible, horrible to happen to the family. They took it very bad."

These and other comparable incidents formented a hatred for an already unwelcome foreign presence. Curiously, the Patmians never reverted to any violent resistance to the Italians comparable to that on the other islands. For example, in late December 1930, inhabitants of Kalymnos clashed with *carabinieri*, resulting in one

policeman's death. Some two hundred calvary and a detachment of Fascist militia were landed to restore order.¹² To the Patmians, such resistance was futile. Apparently the previous four hundred plus years of occupation had conditioned most of them to virtual docility. Patmian protests, by contrast, were peaceful and individualized statements of patriotism. Ioannis Gazis kept a Greek flag in a trunk, which he pulled out at night, held in his arms, and dreamed of the day when the island would be part of Greece. Through connections on the mainland, Gazis also managed to obtain Greek newspapers, previously banned by the authorities. When caught, the *carabinieri* jailed him for twenty-four hours. As the Fascists stepped up their program to indoctrinate the young in 1938, they showed little tolerance for the singing of Greek songs in the streets. For this crime Dimitrios Cleoudis' uncle received a three-year jail sentence.

Patterns of Change: Education

The Ministry of Education laid down guidelines in November 1928 for the rewriting of textbooks designed to "educate and cultivate the pupil's will" through the examples of heroes, artists, writers, poets, men of learning, inventors, discoverers, seamen, and statesmen produced by Italy.¹³ Between 1929 and 1930, the Italians altered the curriculum of both the grammar school and Apocalypse junior high school. Anna Gazis, then in the third grade, described the changes that followed as slow. Michael Kountouris, attending Apocalypse, agreed, although his schoolmate Dimitrios Fokakis simply said these changes were forced. In both schools, the authorities first imposed the mandatory study of the Italian language. After 1930, the fascist history books appeared. Most likely they followed this sequence in order to ease students into the new system while providing them with a grounding in the language before proceeding to teach the new history. Further, the Italians recognized the wisdom of utilizing a Patmos-born interpreter to teach the students, at least for Apocalypse, as opposed to a foreigner.¹⁴

As the relationship between Italy and Germany drew closer in 1936, fascism as an extreme form of nationalism broadened its ideology to include a position on race. Any competition with the

fascist brand of nationalism was not be tolerated. Inspired by the Nazi example, the Ministry of Popular Culture issued the *Manifesto della Razza* (Manifesto on Fascist Racism) in July 1938. Directed at Italy's Jews, the document gave rise to measures over the next four months designed to protect the Italian race from contaminating elements.¹⁵ The implementation of the race laws carried implications for the colonies. Ideally "to raise the war flag against Hebrew racism means to increase the diffusion of our spiritual values— especially in Eastern Europe, in the Balkan Peninsula, and the Arab world."¹⁶

Dimitrios Cleoudis entered the Apocalypse school in 1940 and soon experienced the program to instill "spiritual values" firsthand. Regimentation best described the school day there. "*Vincere, vincere, in il cielo, in terra, in mare*"¹⁷ the children sang as they marched to class, to lunch, and even down to the city hall where they came to attention before the Italian flag flying there. Instruction was general but the teachers placed a special emphasis on learning the Italian language and the fascist version of history. The latter stressed "glorifying the feast of the Italian Army and position" and showing that the Italian people were invincible.

Excluding the strict regimentation, Cleoudis' educational experience mirrored that of the previous decade. The wiping away of threatening contagions, as the race policy prescribed, took the form of a prohibition against the learning of the Greek language by the young. As previously mentioned, the abolition of all Greek language newspapers blocked legal access to news and opinions from Greece. If the authorities rendered Greek culture inaccessible, the children might be assimilated into the nationally-exclusive ideology of the Fascista.

After four-and-a-half centuries of Ottoman rule, the Fascista measures designed to promote Italianism in the colony failed to break the islanders' Greek identity. Instead, the racial policy worked to instill "a great hatred" in the children. The prohibition against learning Greek inspired a "thrust" for the language. Clearly, the measure had an effect opposite to what was intended. Perhaps stories of underground schools set-up when the Ottomans attempted to eradicate the Greek identity more than a century earlier stirred parents to encourage their children to gather in private homes for

language instruction. For them, the language was more than a tool. It identified them as a people, regardless of whose flag flew over the island. Identity was the very thing fascist nationalism and collectivism sought to stamp out in the colonies. Aligned to this Greek identity was a "patriotic hatred" fostered in the underground school and reinforcement at home. Even the friendly "Vasili," an Italian soldier and propaganda instrument who spoke Greek fluently, could not win over the children to the new way.¹⁸

The Day the King came

Etched graphically upon the minds of the children was a visit made by the Italian King Vittorio Emanuele III (1900-46) around 1929. Though none could recall the precise date or reason for the royal visit, it clearly outshined the regular inspections made by Governor Mario Lago (1924-36). The authorities announced the King's planned visit several days in advance. Preparations commenced and the *carabinieri* undertook security measures. Some of the locals, under orders, swept the dirt road leading from the port to the monastery while most of the old timers stayed at home to avoid the excess labor. One man capable of doing the work refused. The *carabinieri* locked him up and later sent him to Rhodes because they feared a plot against the King's life. Ioannis Gazis voiced his displeasure about the event privately, venting against his youngest daughter's mandatory participation in the planned parade of school children. Other Patmians undoubtedly expressed similar sentiments though none absented themselves from the festivities on the day the King actually arrived. As Michael Kountouris opined, "they didn't know any better." Then again, neither did the curious who came to view the event from other nearby islands.

Two naval vessels brought King Vittorio Emanuele and his Montenegrin born Queen Elena to Patmos. Children from the schools marched to the port to greet the monarch carrying flowers and waving small flags. Students from the Apocalypse school were issued special uniforms for the occasion: black pants, black shirts, and green ties. They marched along singing the song, "We're ready to travel to Rome." At the landing, they stood at attention as Italy's King, their King, came ashore for an afternoon visit.

The King arrived with Governor Lago, both attired in resplendent

black uniforms. This dual arrival caused some confusion as Kountouris and a friend argued over which of the two men was Vittorio Emanuele. The former queried, "Which one is the King?" His friend insisted that he had to be the "tall one." Koutouris resolved the debate when he pulled a coin from his pocket and examined the profile on it; "Hey you, look over here, the same thing. The short one is the King." The King's short stature disappointed Anna Gazis who described him as a "short man, not good looking," but "kindly looking." Lago, by contrast, struck the more kingly figure, "tall" and a "fine looking guy." Queen Elena opted not to come ashore but went fishing with two of the local boys. The apparent snubbing only mildly offended the Patmians who took consolation in the fact that the Queen later rewarded the boys escorting her with pocket watches inscribed with her name.

The King said little upon his arrival but proceeded to the monastery on the back of a saddled mule. The monks there gave him a souvenir. Before leaving that afternoon, Vittorio Emanuele asked the people what he could do for them. The islanders requested that the road leading up to the monastery be paved. Within four years, Patmos possessed its first paved road. In the years to come, engineers added other connecting roads on the island. The King fulfilled his promise to the people. Dimitrios Fokakis speculated that "if he didn't, they might not have automobiles."

The King visited Patmos again in the early 1940s. The scene mirrored that of a decade before. The children marched and sang. Again, impressions were similar. Cleoudis remembers a short man with bald head and wide mustache. Seeing the King in person hardly inspired as sense of monarchical military prowess. Instead, in Cleoudis' estimation, the King was only good for parades.

Royal visits to the colonies brought momentary excitement to the lives of the people, a chance to make a connection with personalities whose picture they saw and whose movements they only read about. One wonders, however, how these visits fit into the fascist agenda. The textbook reforms proposed in late 1928 may have been implemented in the colonies around the time of Vittorio Emanuele's first visit to Patmos. On his second visit, the King confronted the results of the more intensive indoctrination program of Patmian children inspired by the racial laws of 1938 and school

charter of 1939. To visualize the scene conjures up images of the surreal; Greek children marching in military step and singing songs glorifying Italy's fascist state while in the presence of a King hardly enamored with Il Duce. Though we do not possess record of the King's thoughts on the occasion, the scenario undoubtedly repeated itself wherever he travelled in the colonies. These were not scenes in which the colonists came freely to express their love for a benevolent monarch, but propaganda opportunities whereby the Fascista reminded both King and people of who actually ruled in the new Roman Empire. Cleoudis said the King was only good for parades. Based on what he saw and heard in those days, his remark is hardly surprising. One questions in the end if it was the children who paraded before the King, or he before the people, in a grand expression of fascist collectivism.¹⁹

Departure

"One morning the Italian flag was flying. Next morning the German," remembered Cleoudis. The beginning of World War II and subsequent blockade of Italy by the British eventually created food shortages on the island. The locals resorted to visiting other islands and trading family valuables for olive oil, grain, and fish. A general shortage of bread also existed, and certainly no meat could be found. Children might receive one *paximathe* a day and then nothing at night.²⁰ For the first time, Cleoudis saw a man eat from a garbage can.

Meanwhile, in Italy, the Fascist government fell with the dismissal of Mussolini by the King on July 25, 1943. With the loss of its ally, the Germans, then occupying Greece, moved to take Rhodes in September 1943. Anastasia Gazis feared the eventual coming of the Germans to Patmos on account of "a very bad experience" she had with them while visiting on the mainland; she thus made provisions to leave the island for Cyprus. Together, twelve families hired a boat for Cyprus. From there, the remaining members of the Gazis family travelled to safety in Palestine, where they waited out the war's end. Dimitrios Cleoudis remained on the island and watched as the priests welcomed the Germans' arrival. They brought food and reopened the Greek schools. In that sense, according to Cleoudis, the islanders were better off under the Germans. For the

last two years of the war, at least, Patmos remained relatively quiet while bombs fell "left and right" on the other islands.

After the war, the Gazis family returned to the island. Anna married John Gouras and left for America in 1947. In that same year, Cleoudis made his departure, leaving just as Patmos and the other islands of the Dodecanese finally became part of Greece, bringing the occupation to a close at last.

Assessing the Oral Sources

The "children of the occupation" presented certain challenges as interviewees. The most basic one was linguistic. In this situation, they were asked to recall, in English, childhood events they experienced between fifty and eighty years after the fact, events they remembered in Greek or Italian. The possibility of information being lost in translation was very real. Being the parish priest for the interviewees as well as possessing some Greek language skills probably helped alleviate this problem to some extent. Also, childhood memories made for a child's grasp of a sometimes complicated situation. On one level these often simplistic recollections worked well, preserving a childlike view of events. Telling the children's story was an understood goal all along. Excessive after-the-fact analysis of events fortunately seldom came through on tape. The downside to creating an oral history based exclusively on childhood memories lay with the generally limited answers to questions the interviewees could give.

Further, as their parish priest, I question whether the interviewees felt totally comfortable in relating their opinions on sensitive subjects to me. My concern in this regard peaked when I noticed that Cleoudis, a fellow priest, spoke quite freely on the subject, while the other children maintained a semblance of decorum. I found it quite odd, for example, that all the interviewees spoke of a "hatred" of the Italians, but as Cleoudis noted, the children were taught not to hate anyone at home. The children distinguished between "hate" and "patriotic hatred." In my estimation the dividing line was never quite clear.

The main problem to arise concerned developing the chronology of events between 1929 and 1930. At times the interviewees could only approximate dates of events they remembered. For ex-

ample, Fokakis spoke of changes in the school system from 1925 to 1930. Similarly, Gazis referred to a time when she was in either third or fourth grade. I tried to pinpoint the time of the first royal visit based upon the birthdate of Gazis in 1923 and knowledge of the fact that she started school at age five. Further, I knew that Kountouris left Patmos in 1930. So, after he finished Apocalypse School, I assumed from the tone of our interview that some time passed between the King's visit and his departure. The description of the visit as offered by Gazis, Kountouris, and Fokakis also suggested a strong propaganda element lurking in the background. Taking into consideration too, the late date for initiating the textbook reform, I assumed that at least a few months would have elapsed before they made their way to Patmos. A *Times* article referred to April 1929 as the target date for reforms to be complete. I concluded then, that the event took place on Patmos in 1929.

Generally, there were few contradictions in the stories as told by my informants. For most of the years covered, the stories told often overlapped, thus creating a sense of continuity and allowing one source to be checked against another. This unbroken sequence of recollections proved extremely important for the sections dealing with education and the King's visitation. In the end, the sources, though limited in their depth, told the children's version of what life was like growing up during the Italian occupation.

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Notes

¹ *New York Times*, June 2, 1912, pt. 2, p.12, col. 2. See also, Alan Cassels ed., *Italian Foreign Policy, 1918-1945* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1981), 5.

² Tom Stone, *Patmos* (Athens: Lycabettus Press, 1981), 1.

³ Throughout, I utilize the interviewee's actual names and refrain from Anglicizing them. In the case of the females, I retain maiden names.

⁴ "We take off the iron chain and put on the steel."

⁵ Denis Mack Smith, *Mussolini's Roman Empire*, (New York, Penguin

Books, 1976), 119.

⁶ Anna Gouras, Oral History Interview with Mark Elliott, October 9, 1996, (Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg).

⁷ When I asked Theologos Vallas and his wife Domna Fokakis what their mothers did for a living, they laughed uproariously.

⁸ This was the opinion expressed by Anna Gouras in her October 9, 1996 Oral History Interview.

⁹ Ioannis (John) and Theologos (Theologian).

¹⁰ All the interviewees agreed on this point. To stress the point regarding Pascha, Greek Orthodox liturgical books proclaim the celebration to be the "ἑορτῶν Ἑορτὴ καὶ Πανήγυρις ἔστι πανηγύρεων" (the Feast of feasts and the Festival of Festivals). Specifically, see the Eighth Ode of the Katavasias for the Paschal Matins.

¹¹ Anna Gouras, Oral History Interview with Mark Elliott, October 9, 1996.

¹² *New York Times*, December 30, 1930, p.5, col.4.

¹³ *Times (London)*, 13 November 1928, p. 15, col. c.

¹⁴ Michael Kountouris, Oral History Interview with Mark Elliott, October 9, 1996, (Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg)

¹⁵ Alexander DeGrand, *Italian Fascism: Its Origins & Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 115.

¹⁶ *Times (London)*, 9 August 1938, p.11, col. c. The article quotes a contributor to a new fascist journal, *Defense of the Race*.

¹⁷ "Victory, victory, in the sky, on earth, on the sea"

¹⁸ Dimitrios Cleondis, discussion with Mark Elliott, November 20, 1996.

¹⁹ DeGrand, *Italian Fascism*, p. 142.

²⁰ A paximathe is comparable to an Italian biscotti.