

BETWEEN TRADITION AND MODERNITY: JOANNES GENNADIUS AT THE END OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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As I was researching the papers and books of Joannes Gennadius for a presentation on him for the 2010 “Day for Remembering Joannes Gennadius” organized by the Association of Friends of the Gennadius Library in Greece (the “Philoï”) together with the Director of the Gennadius Library, I became conscious of the parallels presented by his age and the situation today. 1878 and 2011 — what do these two years in the history of the Greek state have in common? Then and now, we have the weakness of the Greek state’s ability to borrow and the presence of international evaluators. Gennadius was an innovative diplomat who contributed to the solution of the most important national problem of his time, the restoration of the country’s creditworthiness within a framework of national irredentism. Today economists and politicians negotiate proposals and solutions, constantly rearranging the context of public history in order to legitimize their views. History is called upon once again to show not only its usefulness but also its scholarly skill.

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In this essay in reading the history of Joannes Gennadius, I will make use of especially rich archival and historiographical source material for his life and work (I refer to Gennadius’s own archives as well as the edition of his correspondence with Trikoupis published by Lydia Tricha) and will endeavor to draw it into a new methodological framework. Taking the ideas worked out by Eric Hobsbawm in his book *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* as my point of departure along with more recent approaches, I shall inscribe the case of Gennadius within the historical context of the British Empire and the Greek state. In the age of empires, the world of Europe would give rise to different rates of development and would form cohesive bonds with the other continents through the movement of goods, people, capital, and ideas. It is the period that exemplifies the development of globalization.¹

In the 19th century, modernity was identified with the Industrial Revolution and the new social, economic, and political changes connected with it. Conceptually, modernity is related to a complex assemblage of institutions, with each of these institutions undergoing a variety of changes and modifications in the course of time. In this particular presentation, we are interested mainly in the political, economic,

1. The Gennadius Library holds his archives and has published a considerable number of small volumes devoted to his life and work while maintaining a well-documented website. As an indication of this activity, I cite Nicol 1990 and Tricha 1991. For the general historical framework, see Hobsbawm 1989, 2000.

and cultural processes that determine the establishment of the civil state and the development of the capitalist world economy.² This theoretical proposition can be historicized through the paradigm of Joannes Gennadius. In this period, Joannes Gennadius was an agent who moved between the modern Greek state, a modern form of political organization — the traditional version is characterized by a society loosely organized in communal, guild, or kinship social networks — and the Greek diaspora, a heterogeneous community which is distinguished by an “imagined solidarity” with the modern Greek nation-state. Here, the idea of “imagined community” is being elaborated in the sense in which Benedict Anderson introduced it in 1983 when he published his homonymous study of the phenomenon of nationalism.³

Joannes Gennadius was a diplomatic representative of the modern Greek state in the last quarter of the 19th century. In this capacity he lived, observed, and dealt with the potent processes of national organization of the political, economic, and cultural life in the modern Greek state within the framework of global economic developments. On the economic level, this period is associated with international lending, global trade, and the development of big business. Anthony Giddens, taking as a given that the central institutions of western modernism were capitalism and the nation-state, has maintained that globalization is one of the most visible consequences of modernity.⁴ Joannes Gennadius was very active during the period in which the globalization of Europe was developing. He had grasped the rules of the economic game of globalization, recommending that the nation-state be strengthened not only by means of the Greek example — Greek state, Greek diaspora, Greeks of the East (the Ottoman Empire) — but also through the Armenian demand for the creation of an independent Armenian state.

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In the 19th century, globalization meant intensive trade in commodities, ideas, and capital between continents. Essentially, it had to do with the development of international trade through the increasing integration of international markets at the end of the 19th century. This period, a time in which Europe was without military conflicts (1871–1914), was favorable to financial aggrandizement and international lending. At the same time in the East, the period of the Sultan Abdul Hamid’s reign (1876–1909) and the Young Turk movement (1906–1908) were distinguished by conflicting ethnicist claims, with Armenians and Greeks as the principal groups inside the Ottoman Empire, that culminate in the Balkan Wars as well as in the Armenian genocide of

2. Hall, Held, and McGrew 2003, Introduction, pp. 16–20.

3. Anderson (2006, pp. 6–7) defines the nation as “an imagined political community” that is imaginatively conceived as “inherently limited and sovereign.” He explains that the nation is an “imagined” community because its members do not know most of the people of whom the nation is composed; it is never a matter of them meeting or of hearing about them, “yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” According to Anderson, communities must be distinguished not according to their falsity or genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. See also Kitromilides 1989.

4. Giddens’s thesis is discussed by McGrew (2003).

1915. After the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Greek and Armenian diaspora in Britain, united in their common involvement with international commercial transactions, would meet with Joannes Gennadius as principal agent in the negotiations.⁵

The story of Joannes Gennadius's role in Greek diplomacy has been the object of a fair amount of scholarship; Joannes Gennadius indisputably constitutes one of the most significant figures in the world of 19th-century Greek diplomacy, as he combined wide-ranging erudition with an aptitude for negotiating and the British paradigm of the culture of collecting. If the reception of technological innovation represents a sample for measuring the spread of modernity, then it is worth dwelling on the fact that, in 1896, Gennadius paid for 10 lessons in riding a bicycle in traffic in London, a small personal detail, yet one of substance, that associates him with his age's most modern means of transport, according to Hobsbawm.⁶

Most contemporary scholarship revolves around the collections of Joannes Gennadius, which constituted the core of his gift to the American School in 1922 for the creation of the library in Athens which bears his name. It is a gift that might have been dictated by strong political claims since, as has recently been maintained, with this gift he sought American recognition of the Greek campaign in Asia Minor, the American Protestant philhellenic standpoint at a crucial point in Greek irredentist policy.⁷ Gennadius's posthumous fame has been based to a great degree upon the superb brilliance of his creation, the Gennadius Library; it is the collections themselves that have conferred value on their creator. We lack a biography that can come to terms with this diplomat and collector, who was shaped by the interweaving of modern Greek history with British liberalism from the last quarter of the 19th century down to the period between the two World Wars.

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5. The relevant material relates especially to 1896. See Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Scrapbook 014, vol. 2, : 1) letter of Edward Atkin, who on behalf of the Duke of Westminster asked Gennadius to participate in a demonstration (October 19, 1896) of protest against the acts of violence that were being perpetrated in Turkey; 2) Ticket of participation in the demonstration of protest against the acts of violence in Turkey on October 19, 1896; 3) Invitation from the Anglo-Armenian Association to a dinner and anniversary sermon on October 26, 1896; 4) Information leaflet from the Anglo-Armenian Association about the anniversary sermon of the Armenian priest Canon Charles Gore at St. Andrew's Church in London on October 26, 1896; 5) Announcement by the Byron Society that it would welcome all Armenians from the surrounding areas who wanted to participate in the annual celebration organized by the Anglo-Armenian Association October 26, 1896, and had no place to stay, from the *Daily News*, October 21, 1896; 6) "The Public Feeling. Peace and Dishonour," a report on the annual celebration of the foundation of the Anglo-Armenian Association, and on the acts of violence by Turks against Armenians, from the *Daily Chronicle*, October 27, 1896; 7) "ORDER OF PROCEEDINGS (subject to alteration) and DRAFT RESOLUTIONS to be Submitted to the St. James's Hall Meeting Monday, October 19th, 1896, at 8 p.m.," regarding a series of acts and proposed statement connected with the meeting to protest the acts of violence that were being committed against various ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire, and especially about the slaughter of the Armenians.

6. Hobsbawm 1989, p. 52.

7. Papadopoulos 2008, pp. 455–456.

The archival corpus of the correspondence constitutes a valuable source for the history of Joannes Gennadius. Correspondence constitutes a social practice which displays relationships with others, signifies exchange and reciprocity, pursues some goal, and refers to old and new relationships. Correspondence is at once impersonal and personal: it combines stereotypical expressions with the expression of sentiments.⁸ Gennadius's incoming correspondence contains a mixture of letters of a public nature that have to do with his official position in the diplomatic sphere with many private letters from the world of the Greek diaspora. As a whole, the correspondence shows him as a mediator between the modern Greek state and the world of the Greek diaspora.

From the wealth of material in the Joannes Gennadius archive, I would just like to emphasize the significance of the well-known scrapbooks, the albums that contain clippings and photographs. Albums, which were a particularly widespread social phenomenon in the Victorian period, contain material that allows one to approach the identity of the person who compiled them. These albums became popular not only with women and children in 19th-century England, but also with men from different socio-political spheres.⁹ Joannes Gennadius's compilation of scrapbooks (116 volumes) connects him with new models of social behavior. A new method of organization is evident from the study of the totality of his archive, which refers to the formation of a private archive with a personal entrepreneurial strategy.

12 Gennadius signifies the archetype of the social agent, who participates in the social life of Victorian England, in the circles of the Greek diaspora and of international diplomacy. Gennadius himself constituted the principal representative of diplomatic mediation in Greek-British relations during the last quarter of the 19th century through to the First World War. Of particular importance was his participation in the Congress of Berlin (1878), since he had been involved in the diplomatic negotiations concerning the admission of Greece to the conference. This congress was a stage in the advance of nationhood of different religion-based ethnic groups from the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰ Greece's main demand in this period was still the expansion of its borders and consequently the issue of national irredentism that constituted the main characteristic of Gennadius's politics.

Joannes Gennadius handled two crucial issues connected with Greece's position in the international markets during the last quarter of the 19th century: the settlement of the debt resulting from the first loan to Greece in 1824–1825 and the problem of the import tax on currants levied by the Americans and the British, at a crucial stage

8. Moullas 1992.

9. Hunt 2006. For example, the politician and businessman Lynch Davidson (1873–1952), who lived in the American state of Texas at the same time as Gennadius, left a series of 21 political scrapbooks that he compiled between 1920 and 1931; see the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, The University of Texas at Austin: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/taro/utcah/02079/cah-02079.html> (accessed May 16, 2011).

10. Kofos 2001, p. 181.

of the “currant crisis” at the end of the 19th century. At the same time, he played a significant role in the world of the Greek trade diaspora in Britain from the last quarter of the 19th century all the way to the period between the two World Wars.

Already at the time of the Dilessi Murders (1870) and the unjust accusations made against Greece because of an unfortunate isolated incident, Gennadius had indicted Britain’s anti-Greece stance together with the loans of 1824-1825. He held back on making Greece’s unjust exclusion from international money markets public, accusing the British of Turcophilia and imperialism. In the period of preparations for the Congress of Berlin, Gennadius’s handling of the problem of Greece’s borrowing at the time when the nation rose up against the Turks intensified. He recounted the case of the loans for Greek independence, which had shut Greece out of borrowing in the international money markets as well as the assertion of its political claims, according to his testimony.¹¹

In 1878, the law “Concerning the settlement of the old loans of the years 1824 and 1825,” an arrangement for administering the debt between the Greek government on the one hand, represented by Joannes Gennadius, secretary at the Greek Embassy in London, Themistokles Malikiopoulos, and N. A. Nazos, and on the other the representatives of the holders of foreign securities and especially of Greek bonds. After many months of negotiations with the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders and the Committee of Greek Bondholders, Gennadius concluded an agreement on September 4, 1878; after being approved by the bondholders, it was debated and approved by the Greek Parliament, with Theodoros Deligiannis as Prime Minister. The main points of the agreement were 1) instead of the total demanded amount of £10,000,000, which included the initial principal and the unpaid interest, it was agreed the sum of £1,200,000 would be paid; 2) the debt would be paid off in 33 years with a grace period; 3) new bonds equal in value to the reduced sum and bearing 5% interest were to be issued for the liquidation of the loans. Every £100 bond issued in 1824 was to be exchanged for £31,12. Every £100 bond issued in 1825 was to be exchanged for £30,10. The detached coupons were to be funded at the rate £11,12% in bonds of the same issue; 4) the Greek’s government’s mortgaging of the proceeds from the stamp duties (£4,400) together with the income from the Customs office on Corfu constituted a guarantee for the annual payment of £75,000.¹²

Here we are interested in Gennadius’s activity as intermediary with a newfangled institution of his time, the Corporation of Foreign Bondholders, an association of British investors that had been set up in 1868 and was licensed by the Board of Trade in 1873.¹³ This organization laid claim to the smooth coordination of foreign loans

11. Gennadius 1870, pp. 160, 164, 172.

12. Mauro and Yafeh 2003. For the administration of loans, see the Greek government official gazette (ΦΕΚ) 82 for December 28, 1878, Law ΨΛΔ; the same text was also published as a leaflet in 1879. For a full analysis, see Levandis 1944, pp. 27–28.

13. Mauro and Yafeh 2003, pp. 6–14.

by the debtor countries in the international securities market for bonds, particularly in the period 1870–1913. It was precisely at this period that Britain and other countries lent enormous capital sums to emerging markets. The Corporation of Foreign Bondholders managed to attain successful settlements with highly indebted nations such as the Ottoman Empire, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil. The involvement of Joannes Gennadius in this settlement acted as a catalyst for the Greek state.

Beyond the sphere of international financial markets, international trade in agricultural products was the other sector which interested the Greek state's foreign economic policy. In 1888, a new tariff on the import of currants had been debated in the U.S.A. and the Greek government sent Joannes Gennadius from London to avert its impact. A little while later Gennadius sent a copy of Antoine Pecquet's *Discours sur l'art de négocier* (1737) to the U.S. State Department, obviously as an act of courtesy.¹⁴ It is known that at the end of the 1880s, the most dynamic sector of the 19th-century Greek agricultural economy had fallen under the wheels of the currant crisis. The demand for a reduction in the import tax on Corinthian currants, according to Gennadius, was above all concerned with the increase in the consumption of the product in the American market, and not with the reduction in the product's transport cost or in the increased profits to Greek producers. At any rate, independent of the justification for his goal, Gennadius's intervention was instrumental in this case as well.

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From early on, Joannes Gennadius had developed close ties with Anglophone Protestant education as a result of his association with John Henry Hill, founder of the well-known school in Athens, as well as his studies at the British Protestant College in Malta. The study of Protestantism was one of the topics that excited Gennadius's interest. He chose to settle in England and to work at the merchant firm of Ralli Brothers, with the mercantilist conviction that commerce contributed to general progress: "I was desirous of gaining commercial experience, in the belief that I would be able to use it later on for the advancement and development of the country."¹⁵

The social relationships which Gennadius systematically cultivated in Britain permitted him to develop a personal network of diplomats, politicians, intellectuals, and businessmen. The social life of the London clubs allowed him to mingle on familiar terms with Greek and British entrepreneurs such as the Rallis and the Rothschilds. And so it was in 1890 that he wrote to Charilaos Trikoupis to say that he could act as an intermediary with Nathaniel M. Rothschild (1840–1915) in connection with the loans of that period: "when an opportune moment presents itself, I will repeat my

14. See his "Autobiographical Notes" (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series III, Box II, Folder II.1) and the thank-you letter he received from A. W. Dulles in Washington, August 24, 1922 (Series I, Box 5, Folder 5.4).

15. Quoted from Gennadius's letter to S. Parasyrakis, December 18/30, 1897, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series III, Box II, Folder II.1.

exhortations to Lord Rothschild, whom I meet frequently in society. Furthermore, at a time of personal financial difficulties, Gennadius was able to seek employment at the mighty branch of the Rothschild firm in Vienna, and had the social ease and facility to apply to Stephanos Rallis and to the British royal court for the sale of books from his library.¹⁶ His experience on the international diplomatic stage and in the world of international business allowed him to handle major economic issues pertaining to the Greek state's foreign borrowing and the export trade (in currants), as mentioned above.

Joannes Gennadius developed a personal strategy, entering the sphere of diplomacy and taking up leading positions in the Greek state's diplomatic corps from the last quarter of the 19th century on, with the spread of panhellenism as his aim, analogous to comparable ideological currents of the period. Many texts from his pen articulate the quest for the unity of Hellenes in the Greek state, in the East (the Ottoman Empire), and in the diaspora. An "imagined solidarity" interwoven with personal relationships is recorded in his correspondence and a large number of published texts¹⁷.*Diplomacy, not commerce, offered Gennadius the opportunity to play a significant role in Greek-British relations, developing liberal political models during the period when Britain's global political and economic power increased. In his capacity as an employee of Ralli Brothers, and as a high-placed member of Greece's diplomatic service, he was not permitted to publish his views freely, so that much of what he wrote was unsigned or circulated under a pseudonym. Yet both of those posts were what allowed him to be at the center of information and to associate with businessmen, politicians, intellectuals, and religious leaders.

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Joannes Gennadius's personal archive shows off his activities as a systematic social intermediary in providing services to a circle of his compatriots. Gennadius maintained a very wide circle of personal contacts and favors through an abundance of letters. For instance, a member of the prominent Vallianos family firm had asked that Gennadius have a young relative appointed to the Greek embassy in London. After this request was fulfilled, a check for FF 5,000 was offered to Venizelos by Gennadius in 1917.¹⁸ This testifies that positions at embassies and consulates were much sought-after because they conferred the value of social capital and above all functioned as access points to an information network. Gennadius's services as a personal go-between, however, seem to have supported a network for funding political activity as well, especially that of Eleftherios Venizelos.

A diplomat's position could become an object of public criticism, or of adulation. Gennadius became a principal figure in patronage relationships not only with

16. Tricha 1991, pp. 142, 340, 19, 237, 257.

17. Gennadius's personal papers and documents offer a rich source for his relations with Diaspora Greeks. For Gennadius and the Eastern question, see Ailianos 2007.

18. Athanasios S. Vallianos (Paris), letter to Gennadius in London, May 16/29, 1917, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 6, Folder 6.6.

the Greek and British bourgeoisie, but also with his fellow-countrymen, who would mobilize flattery, complaints, and emotional blackmail with patriotic outbursts.

A typical instance of this is represented by Gennadius's relationship in 1918 with an employee of the Bank of Athens in London. Nicolas Milo Vlassis came from Cheimara and boasted of the Epirote ancestry he and Gennadius shared; he regarded the latter's success and/or failure in the diplomatic service as a mutual concern. Vlassis defended Gennadius's public image in London: the emigrant from Cheimara in London wrote to Gennadius in Greek, at the same time also made remarks and rhetorical phrases in Greek and Albanian in the Greek alphabet, such as "They will throw our fez in the mud," emphasizing the value of their manly honor. Again, in public debates among gatherings of Greeks in London, where Gennadius was accused of giving preference to a Jewish supplier to the Greek public sector, Vlassis responded rather threateningly to the accuser, "Surely you've become bored with living to speak thus about Gennadius, because the Ambassador is an Epirote and does not deign to do what you are saying." This relationship of devotion and mutual support was apparently reciprocated, because Gennadius interceded so that the emigrant from Cheimara in London would be hired by the shipowner Antonis A. Empeirikos (1870–1931) as secretary on his estate in England at a higher wage than the Bank of Athens paid, and with housing and food provided free. Vlassis, who had been located in London as an employee of the Bank of Athens, obviously could not communicate well with the group of Greek businessmen in Britain who had already become Anglicized by the end of the First World War. Rather, he came from the world of the Mediterranean, which has been described in terms of the gender-based behavioral code of honor and shame, a code linked to the client-patron system. The lack of understanding between Vlassis and Empeirikos, the clash of different codes of behavior in Victorian England, led to the annulment of their collaboration, an event that was publicized in the British press.¹⁹

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The post of Greece's diplomatic representative in a foreign country served, smoothed, and facilitated the affairs of Greek subjects. A group of commercial entrepreneurs of Greek origin had dealings with Gennadius that reveal their international identity and dealings with the Greek state. For example, the international firm Paterson, Zochonis & Co., Ltd., which was founded at the end of the 19th century by the Scot George Henry Paterson and Georgios V. Zochonis from the Peloponnese, had branches in Manchester, Liverpool, Marseille, and much of West Africa, including Conakry (Guinea), Sierra Leone, Monrovia (Liberia), and Lagos and Calabar (Nigeria). From the firm's second generation, Vasilis G. Zochonis requested that a passport be issued for his niece so that she could travel to Switzerland. The niece was

19. N. M. Vlassis, letters to J. Gennadius, April 23/May 6, 1918; May 8/21, 1918; January 26/ February 8, 1918 (Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 2, Folder 2.9); newspaper clipping, "A Greek Secretary and his Employer" (Series I, Box 5, Folder 5.5). On the subject of honor in the Mediterranean, see Campbell 1964; Pitt-Rivers 1965.

a British subject, but her father was a Greek subject. Many people of Greek descent in the business world of international transactions would acquire British citizenship in the course of the 19th century; for them, the official services provided by Greek diplomatic authorities were superfluous.²⁰

As has already been mentioned, Joannes Gennadius from the beginning combined the life of an emigrant in London with working together with the commercial house of Ralli Brothers in 1862. He remained in this position for a period of time for which we have little information despite the fact that during this interval he evidently made his acquaintance with the Greek world of international commerce. He left Ralli Brothers because of issues of political behavior. Gennadius's relationship with the Ralli family, or to be more precise with certain members of the family, nevertheless remained close to the end of his life in England.²¹

Gennadius managed a network of intermediations between the Greek state and Greeks of the diaspora connected with the Ralli family. Since the mid-19th century, the family network that was the Ralli Brothers' multinational company extended from Britain to Europe, America, Asia (Turkey, Iran, and India), and Africa. Their network of informants and the development of their enterprises was extensive, following the routes taken by the spread of British colonialism and international business deals.²²

The Rallis could provide capital and/or jobs in the offices of their commercial establishment. The position of broker at one of the most important firms in England conferred a high degree of authority to Joannes Gennadius as well. Thus did the University of Athens professor Neokles Kazazis thank Gennadius, via a mutual acquaintance, for the role he played in having Kazazis's son hired by the house of Ralli Brothers. Another instance was when the dire financial situation of a diaspora Greek was communicated to Gennadius by the man's sister so that Gennadius would intervene for him with Ralli Brothers.²³ Business-related introductions by means of a network of friends represented a supportive prerequisite for establishing oneself as a professional, but at the same time were an authoritative advertisement for services provided with success and effectiveness.

Gennadius's position in the Greek community in London as well as in British society more generally, especially after his marriage to Florence Laing in 1902 established him as a receiver of announcements for consumer products, either for his personal

20. V. Zochonis (Manchester), letters of July 5, 1917, and July 23, 1910, to J. Gennadius, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 2, Folder 2.9.

21. In 1897, for example, Stephanos Rallis invited Gennadius to attend a show put on by the students at Bedford College: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Scrapbook 014, vol. 2.

22. Vourkatioti 2006.

23. See the letters from N. Argyriades in Istanbul (June 12/25, 1910) and Marietta Kephala (February 28, 1921) to Gennadius in London: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 2, Folder 2.9 and Box I, Folder I.II.

use or to advertise and promote them commercially.²⁴ His relations with the world of learning in England are as evident from his ties to universities (King's College, London, as a member of the committee for the Koraes Chair), institutions (the Anglo-Hellenic League, the Classical Association, the University of Reading), and learned journals (*Revue des Études Grecques*), as from the requests that his compatriots directed to him. Greeks who wanted to study in Britain asked Gennadius for letters of recommendation, or for contributions toward financial help in their studies. The requests he received were both direct and indirect, for example, a thank-you letter from a Greek in London to Gennadius for his intercession interceding to obtain his election to a research center (the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy, since 2002 The Institute of Materials, Minerals and Mining), and a request for financial aid from a Greek studying at the London School of Economics. Requests also came from individuals in Gennadius's personal network. A businessman from Ithaki associated with the company Drakoulis Ltd., which was a steamship broker and trader in charcoal, asked Gennadius in his quality as a noted intellectual to write a letter of introduction for the son of the ship owner I. Matsoukis, also from Ithaki, in order for him to enroll at an Oxford college.²⁵ In London's Greek community, finding employment could be facilitated by means of a favorable introduction from Gennadius.

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Gennadius's connections with the commercial and political world of the Greek community in Britain, as well as in the eastern Mediterranean, developed during his residence in London through his identity as a diplomat and his involvement with the book trade. It was a result of meticulous organization, which is also mirrored in the arrangement of his personal archive. Within his correspondence, Gennadius classified one bundle of letters as "English, socially, 1917–1925," and another "Requests from various persons and thanks regarding their affairs." He himself archived various thank-you letters from the governors of the Bank of England, Englishmen of the highest bourgeois social class, in the set "Congratulatory letters to various persons," while a comparable set bore the title "Letters of condolence to various persons," containing letters mainly from the world of the Greek community of London.²⁶

In the course of his career, Gennadius acquired great authority, and his views on the Eastern Question were welcomed in more extended English social circles and among the Greeks of the diaspora. I. L. Chalkokondylis, managing editor of the

24. Accordingly, among Gennadius's preserved papers are circulars advertising pens from a British firm, along with an offer to have them photographed by Elliott & Fry, a famous photographic studio of Victorian England: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 2, Folder 2.8, dating from 1930, 1931, and 1932.

25. Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series III, Box II, Folder II.7; see also Series I, Box 2, Folder 2.9, containing letters to Gennadius from N. Mavrokordatos (November 12/24, 1898) and V. Akylas (April 29, 1917), L. Tzikaliotis (May 29, 1919), and Drakoulis (May 27, 1921).

26. Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 2, Folder 2.9.

newspaper *Νέα Ἡμέρα* (*New Day*) of Trieste, asked him for books and opinion pieces on Greece and the Eastern Question. Gennadius's interest in the "Greek East" was intense; he had become known throughout a wide circle of Greek intellectuals such as Alexandros Pallis and Angelos Simiriotis.²⁷

In addition, Gennadius acted as an intermediary in connection with monetary support for the publication of books, as in the case of Z. D. Ferriman's *Some English Philhellenes* (1917). For this book, he had drawn a check for £150 from Athanasios Vallianos, with whom he had already openly had social and financial dealings. The British writer Percy F. Martin asked leave to publish as portrait of Gennadius in his book *Greece of the Twentieth Century*, with a foreword by Andreas Andreades and a dedication to King George I.²⁸ From the plethora of letters, it becomes understandable that social exchanges with Gennadius ranged from desirable to necessary in English and Greek diaspora intellectual circles that maintained a variety of interests in regard to Greece and the Levant.

The promotion of certain titles and copies of books created a self-renewing chain of relationships and readings, as well as of advertisement for those books. Gennadius sent copies of an edition of Korais's letters — supposed to have been privately published by Pandelis Rallis — to a Chian businessman of the diaspora.²⁹ This act can also be interpreted as an effort to emphasize the connection "Chios–Greek diaspora–Chian entrepreneurs." Years earlier, in 1881, Gennadius himself had advanced this connection by publishing *Loukis Laras: Reminiscences of a Chiote Merchant during the War of Independence*, his own translation into English of Demetrius Vikelas's *Λουκῆς Λάρας* (1879). The story of Loukis Laras from Chios, written in the 1870s, created the moral exemplar of a victim of the Revolution of 1821 who survived and immigrated to England. The book is the story of a self-made man, a member of a particular local group, with an international financial network and success in business. The choice to become involved in the buying and selling of books became Gennadius's characteristic attribute in England. Equipped with the cultural tools of an intellectual, he distinguished himself within the community of Greek businessmen in Britain. Through his copious letter-writing, he exchanged views on various issues — publications, education, the Eastern Question — which renewed his great authority

27. Letters to Gennadius in London from Chalkokondylis in Trieste, June 15, 1900, and Simiriotis in Athens, February 26, 1923: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 5, Folder 5.3, and Box 6, Folder 6.5. Simiriotis's letter indicates that the a copy of the polyglot Constantinople Pentateuch printed in 1547 by Eliezer (Albert) Soncino for ex-Greek Jews of the Karaite persuasion was on sale in Athens for £300.

28. Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 5, Folder 5.3, and Series III, Box II, Folder II.I: letters to Gennadius in London from John Mavrogordato, February 25, 1918, and Percy F. Martin, May 11, 1912. Martin's book was published by T. F. Unwin of London in 1913.

29. Gennadius to Philip Chrysovelonis, January 18, 1928, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series I, Box 6, Folder 6.3. The work in question is probably Korais [1898] 2011. Gennadius had been engaged with Korais's works as well: see Gennadius 1903.

and leading position in Greek Diaspora circles as well as among the philhellenes in London society at the dawn of the 20th century.

The departure of a Greek diplomat from his post usually meant a series of ceremonious farewell meetings that Greek communities in England would organize. In Gennadius's case, we can speak of a farewell period (1918–1919) after the end of the First World War. Greek politicians, with Eleftherios Venizelos at their head, and the members of the Greek communities in Britain publicly expressed their gratitude to Gennadius after roughly a half-century of service in the Greek diplomatic corps. Loukas E. Rallis in London took a leading part in the organization of farewell banquets, farewell speeches, and farewell gifts.³⁰

20 Georgios V. Zochonis from Manchester, as president of the Greek community there, invited Gennadius to such a dinner, leaving the date open. At the same time, he took advantage of the opportunity by requesting that Gennadius intercede on behalf of his nephew so that the latter, who was in Switzerland, could serve in the Greek rather than the British army. The dinner was in fact arranged for the end of 1918. The Greek communities of Manchester and Liverpool provided both the organizing committee and the 58 guests, as well as speeches and an assurance on Gennadius's part that the matter of Zochonis's nephew was progressing well. The detailed description of the reception, the assembled diners, and the speeches for Gennadius was circulated in print, and it gave the opportunity for strong Venizelist sentiments to be expressed, for Gennadius's anti-Turkish and anti-Bulgarian politics to be praised, for the dimensions of the Megali Idea to be set forth by Gennadius himself, and for the Greek ancestry of the assembled diners to be noted. The main accounts refer to the public praise of Gennadius, with political references, while no mention is made of financial questions.³¹

Joannes Gennadius was a descendant of the urban middle class that took part in the Greek Revolution of 1821, of a world that was shaped by Greek education and Orthodox religion as much on the part of his father George Gennadius as on his mother Artemis Benizelou's side. Gennadius entered British life during the period when the British Empire was growing and when Europe was rising as a modern economic and cultural entity. This was the time at which his personal social network was assembled. The 1860s represented a preparatory stage when he was becoming acclimatized to England through contact with Greek diaspora circles and trade networks. After 1875, from his post as a diplomatic representative of the Greek

30 N. Giannakopoulos to Gennadius, December 31, 1918, and June 25, 1919: Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series III, Box II, Folder II.5. Even Venizelos himself was present at an official farewell dinner.

31. Zochonis to Gennadius, November 29, 1918, and December 12, 1918, Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies, Joannes Gennadius Archive, Series III, Box II, Folder II.5. See also the pamphlet "Το εν Μαγκεστρία Σύμπόσιον της 29/12 Δεκ. 1918 εις τιμήν της Α.Ε. του κ. Ι. Γενναδίου αποχωρούντος της ενεργού υπηρεσίας. Οι εκφωνηθέντες λόγοι," published in Manchester in 1919.

state, he would make his way into the world of British liberal politics. After 1902 and his English marriage, the philo-European cultural tendencies of Edwardian society would open up opportunities that even today have not been recognized or viewed in combination with the period of Venizelism in Greece.

Gennadius created a personal network — a result of careful management — that surpassed the bonds of family and local kinship. At a time when capital and markets were becoming globalized, he maintained a multifaceted relationship between the Greek diaspora and the Greek state. The interconnections between where he was brought up and where he settled highlight the question of the political nationality and cultural identity of Greek emigrants in England. Joannes Gennadius understood that in this discussion the nation-state complex constituted an institutional cause of the end of the diaspora, as it would lead to assimilation by the social and political environment of the place of residence or, less often, to repatriation back to the nation-state.³²

Joannes Gennadius, by virtue of his position at key nodal points in European centers and in the international networks of the Greek diaspora, represents a version of the “globalization” of his time, which was not limited to the economic level but rather forged on the level of social relationships. He managed client-patron networks that had their roots in traditional forms of power and that continued to function uninterrupted even in the modern period. Gennadius’s story reveals a course that intersects with economic power, state authority, and cultural values.

32. Gilroy [1994] 1999.