

Exile and the Circulation of Political Practices

Exile and the Circulation of Political Practices

Edited by

Catherine Brice

Cambridge
Scholars
Publishing



Exile and the Circulation of Political Practices

Edited by Catherine Brice

This book first published 2020

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Copyright © 2020 by Catherine Brice and contributors

All rights for this book reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright owner.

ISBN (10): 1-5275-4812-0

ISBN (13): 978-1-5275-4812-1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
<i>Catherine Brice (Université Paris-Est Créteil Val de Marne, Centre de Recherche en histoire européenne comparée (CRHEC))</i>	

1: Global Repertoires of Collective Action in Exile

Foreign Political Refugees, Bureaucratic Controls and Cultures of Surveillance in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1862	16
<i>Christos Aliprantis (European University Institute, Florence)</i>	

Britain as a Setting for the Political Apprenticeship of Italian Exiles: The case of Aurelio Saffi	32
<i>Elena Bacchin (Università degli Studi di Padova)</i>	

2: Speaking Out and Conspiring

Claiming the Right to Speak: The Use of Toasts, Addresses and Other Forms of Public Speech in Exile Politics, London and Paris, 1830-1848	50
<i>Camille Creighton (Utrecht University)</i>	

Specific Ways of Speaking Out from Exile: The Case of Cuban Separatists Abroad, 1840-1880	62
<i>Romy Sanchez (CNRS, France)</i>	

Preaching in Exile: Three Cases of Oratory as Political Practice in the Italian Diaspora	76
<i>Ignazio Veca (Università di Pisa)</i>	

An anti-French conspiracy among Neapolitan Wxiles in Paris during the Consulate: Prince Pignatelli's attempt to "Deliver the Kingdom of Naples to the English Government"	90
<i>Paolo Conte (Researcher at University of Basilicata)</i>	

3: Organizations

Publishing, Professionalization and the Practice of Exile in Chile 104
Edward Blumenthal, (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3)

The Political Structures of Carlism in Exile (1870s) 121
Alexandre Dupont (Université de Strasbourg)

The Iberian Democratic Club:
 Exile, Nation and Republicanism in 1848 136
Ignacio Garcia de Paso (European University Institute, Florence)

The Foundation of the Italian Worker Mutual Aid Society
 in Constantinople: Exile and transnational mutualism 151
Francesco Pongiluppi (La Sapienza University of Rome)

4: Political Cultures in Exile

Exporting the Cult of Martyrs to Lands of Exile:
 The communities of banished Italians in France and
 Piedmont-Sardinia in the early 1850s 170
*Pierre-Marie Delpu (Casa de Velázquez - Ecole des Hautes Etudes
 Hispaniques et Ibériques)*

The Radial Avenue:
 Gyula Andrassy and the Politics of Architecture 186
Heléna Tóth (Bamberg University)

INTRODUCTION

CATHERINE BRICE

Political exile is a feature of nineteenth-century European history. Certain aspects have been well studied, but many lines of research are still to be explored. The purpose of the studies presented in this volume is to add to our understanding of how it affected political practice.

In the wake of the French Revolution, the nineteenth century was characterised by bouts of political unrest followed by repression and restoration. During this “age of revolution”, as Eric Hobsbawm dubbed it, political reasons drove ever greater population movements, peaking at virtually unprecedented levels in the 1850s. Though outside the scope of this book, *Émigrés* of the French Revolution no doubt formed the first wave of displacements. The years of the French sister republics and then the French Empire saw opponents and “political travellers” alike take to the roads, in response to reconfigurations brought about by the policies of Napoleon I and allied governments. On the Italian peninsula, pro-republican enthusiasts of the years 1796-1799 were pursued as “dangerous Jacobins”, and compelled to depart.¹ Nor should we forget the legitimists who likewise fled “baleful ideas” to take refuge in safe countries, in the Austrian or Russian Empire, for instance, or on the northern margins of Europe. Such was the case of the Savoyard Joseph de Maistre, who left his native land in 1792, heading to Lausanne, Venice, then St Petersburg. Few countries were unaffected. Emigres headed into exile from France, Piedmont-Sardinia, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Papal States, the Duchy of Modena, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, German states, the Habsburg and Romanov empires, Poland, Spain, and Portugal. Even in the United Kingdom, unaffected by revolution, Chartism was violently repressed, though this admittedly led to more people being arrested and deported than going into exile. Conversely, at various moments nearly all these countries acted somewhat paradoxically as host countries. France, the United Kingdom, the

¹ Anna Maria Rao and Giuseppe Galasso, *Esuli: l'emigrazione politica italiana in Francia (1792- 1802)*, L'altra Europa 9 (Napoli: Guida, 1992).

Ottoman Empire, the Maghreb, the Balkans, Latin America, and North America were privileged destinations for exiles, and even the little Kingdom of Piedmont saw emigres leaving in 1821 and arriving in 1850.

The at times brutal restorations were followed by series of revolts and revolutions. The landmark years of 1821, marked by revolutions in Piedmont and Naples, followed by fighting in Spain, then of 1831, with the great Polish emigration, and then the revolutions of 1848, when the numbers going into exile no doubt peaked, are only the best-known in a whole set of less visible yet equally powerful micro-repressions.

From spring 1848 to autumn 1849, thousands of people from the German confederation, the Habsburg Empire, and the Italian states left their home countries which had been upended by revolutionary turmoil. The 1848 revolutions in Europe unleashed several waves of political emigration, by republicans, socialists, moderate liberals, and even, at times, conservatives, all fleeing threats of persecution. Some of those who left for other lands returned home once the tide turned in favour of their political faction, or on being granted amnesty. Others shuttled around before deciding where to settle. Still others never returned. Some stayed as close to their home countries as possible; others moved ever further from home over the course of the years – from the continent to England, thence to the Americas or Australia; yet others exploited weak border controls to frequently visit their families from the safety of exile, scarcely leaving home at all. In short, the European revolutions generated thoroughly heterogeneous forms of political exile. Moreover, the waves of political migration in the wake of the 1848 revolutions were on a scale unparalleled in the nineteenth century. By July 1849, Swiss territory was acting as home to over ten thousand refugees from German lands. By September of the same year, over three thousand soldiers from the Hungarian revolutionary army, together with their camp followers, had fled the Habsburg Empire and temporarily settled near its border with the Ottoman Empire. Hundreds of individuals and families followed them over the next decade. Between 1850 and 1860, almost 30,000 Italian exiles chose to stay in the Kingdom of Sardinia awaiting full unification.

The years 1850-1860 saw further repressions and thus further departures, such as those following the coup by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the 1863 Polish revolt, and, a bit later on, repression of the Paris Commune. This is not the place to explain yet again that exile covers very different situations, ranging from banishment, an increasingly rare occurrence except

as commutation of sentence, to fleeing conviction. This, the most frequent cause of departure, was sometimes followed by an *in absentia* sentence of exile, often in conjunction with being stripped of all civil rights.² Still, what was at stake in all cases was the protagonists' room for manoeuvre, a point we should not lose from view.

Nevertheless, while the phenomenon became far more large-scale, it did not follow a simple pendulum movement. Exiles did not go from one place straight to another. Difficulties on the way, legislation in host countries, the nature and location of their networks (when they had any), together with the opportunities and obstacles encountered meant that displacements were often meandering, stays varied in duration, and returns could be followed by fresh departures. Equally striking is the non-linearity of travel from country of origin to country of destination. Though rarely studied in relation to exiles, the impact of amnesties should not be neglected for they not infrequently caused more people to return home. Exile was thus a massive transnational phenomenon profoundly linked to the political life of states and the European continent. It has even been used as a label for the nineteenth century.³ The literature has adopted various perspectives.

Scholars have long examined European political exile in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴ The frequency with which the topic has been revisited

² Catherine Brice, "Confiscations et séquestres des biens des exilés politiques dans les États italiens au XIXe siècle. Questions sur une pratique et projets de recherches", *Diasporas. Circulations, migrations, histoire*, no. 23-24 (1 December 2014): 147-63.

³ Sylvie Aprile, *Le siècle des exilés: bannis et proscrits de 1789 à la Commune*, CNRS histoire (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2010).

⁴ Nancy L. Green, *Repenser les migrations*, Le noeud gordien (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002); Catherine Brice and Sylvie Aprile, *Exil et fraternité en Europe au XIXe siècle*, (Pompignac près Bordeaux, Ed. Bière, 2013); Aprile, *Le siècle des exilés*; Giovanni Ferretti, *Italia e Svizzera nel 1848*, Studi e documenti di storia del Risorgimento 28 (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1947); Giovanni Ferretti, *Esuli del Risorgimento in Svizzera, Bol* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1948); Eliana Augusti, Antonio M. Morone and Michele Pifferi, *Il controllo dello straniero: i "campi" dall'Ottocento a oggi*, I libri di Viella 242 (Roma: Viella, 2017); Mario Battistini, *Mario Battistini. Esuli italiani in Belgio, 1815-1861...* (Firenze: Brunetti, 1968); Nicolas Beaupré and Karine Rance, *Arrachés et déplacés: réfugiés politiques, prisonniers de guerre, déportés 1789-1918*, Histoires croisées (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2016); Daniel Beauvois, *Pouvoir russe et noblesse polonaise en Ukraine: 1793-1830* (Paris, France: CNRS éd., DL 2003, 2003); Agostino Bistarelli, *Gli esuli del Risorgimento*, Studi e ricerche 626

is largely due to evolving research topics. Recent renewed interest is associated with a transnational and connected approach to the history of the circulation of people.⁵ This phenomenon was explored by many excellent works in Italy during the fascist *Ventennio* (such as the works by Ersilio Michel), for reasons to do with the regime's interest in the dispersal of Italians across the Mediterranean, together with its desire to annex

(Bologna: Il Mulino, 2011); Greg Burgess, *Refugee in the Land of Liberty: France and Its Refugees, from the Revolution to the End of Asylum, 1787-1939* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Jordi Canal, *Exilios: los éxodos políticos en la historia de España, siglos XV-XX*, Biblioteca histórica (Madrid: Sílex, 2007); Marino Ciravegna, *L'Emigrazione politica in Genova...*, published by the Istituto per la storia del risorgimento italiano and the Comitato per le onoranze a Carlo Pisacane nel centenario della sua morte (Modena: In-8°, undated); Comitato per le onoranze a Carlo Pisacane nel centenario della sua morte and Istituto per la storia del risorgimento italiano, éd., *L'Emigrazione politica in Genova ed in Liguria dal 1848 al 1857, fonti e memorie... [Prefazione di Arturo Codignola.]* (Modena: Società tipografica editrice modenese, 1957); Attilio De Gasperis and Roberta Ferrazza, "Italiani di Istanbul: figure, comunità e istituzioni dalle riforme alla repubblica, 1839-1923, Turin, Fondation Giovanni Agnelli, 2007; Delphine Diaz, *Un asile pour tous les peuples? Exilés et réfugiés étrangers en France au cours du premier XIXe siècle* (Armand Colin, 2014); Delphine Diaz et al., *Exils entre les deux mondes: migrations et espaces politiques atlantiques au XIXe siècle*, Le monde atlantique (Mordelles, Ille-et-Vilaine: Les Perséides éditions, 2015); Alexandre Dupont *Une Internationale blanche. Les légitimistes français au secours des carlistes (1868-1883)*," thesis abstract (forthcoming); Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile: Italian Émigrés and the Liberal International in the Post-Napoleonic Era* (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Maurizio Isabella and Kōnstantína Zánou, *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long 19th Century* (London, New York: Bloomsbury, 2016); Jacques Grandjonc, "Les étrangers à Paris sous la monarchie de Juillet et la seconde République", *Population*, no. 1 (1974): 61; Helga Jeanblanc, *Des Allemands dans l'industrie et le commerce du livre à Paris: 1811-1870*, De l'Allemagne (Paris: CNRS, 1995); Charlotte A. Lerg and Hélène Tóth, *Transatlantic Revolutionary Cultures, 1789-1861*, The Atlantic World, vol. 36 (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2018); Anna Maria Rao and Giuseppe Galasso, *Esuli: l'emigrazione politica italiana in Francia (1792-1802)*, L'altra Europa 9 (Napoli: Guida, 1992); Juan Luis Simal, *Emigrados: España y el exilio internacional, 1814-1834*, Historia de la sociedad política (Madrid: Centro de estudios políticos y constitucionales, 2012); Hélène Tóth, *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁵ See Akira Irie and Pierre-Yves Saunier, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstoke, Hampshire (GB) New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

remembrance of the Risorgimento.⁶ Still, with migration finding its way into the contemporary political and social life of many European countries, there has an uptick in scholarly interest in political exiles. Without claiming to be exhaustive, a few broad trends may be noted, the better to situate this work in contemporary historiography.

A first major concern has been determining the number of exiles. This is a difficult problem given the difficulties in comparing the available police, economic, and diplomatic sources. Agostino Bistarelli has managed to reconstitute the cohorts of Piedmontese and Neapolitan exiles in 1821,⁷ and Delphine Diaz has put forward figures for France during the Bourbon Restoration. Certain archives contain precious information, but we are mostly only dealing with orders of magnitude. The difficulty in counting flows with sufficient accuracy is, no doubt, revelatory of the authorities' difficulties in identifying exiles. This was compounded by the fact that circulation was not driven solely by political reasons, but could be part of larger professional displacements. One such instance was the German population in Paris, comprised of printers and librarians as well as political activists and refugees.⁸ Expulsions, which have been used to estimate the number of exiles in a given place at a given time, have been shown by recent scholarship to be a poor proxy, since these measures concerned impoverished workers as well as political exiles.⁹

Over recent years, many historians have looked at departure conditions in order to understand the “micro-choices and micro-constraints” leading to exile,¹⁰ combining family and economic reasons with political ones. But even greater attention has been paid to reception policies in various

⁶ Massimo Baioni, *Risorgimento in camicia nera. Studi, istituzioni, musei nell'Italia fascista*, (Turin, Carocci editore, Pubblicazioni del Comitato di Torino dell'Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 2006)

⁷ Agostino Bistarelli, *Gli esuli del Risorgimento*.

⁸ Helga Jeanblanc, *Des Allemands dans l'industrie et le commerce du livre à Paris*; see also Michel Espagne, *Le paradigme de l'étranger: les chaires de littérature étrangère au XIXe siècle*, Bibliothèque franco-allemande (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 1993).

⁹ Delphine Diaz, Hugo Vermeren, “Introduction,” in *Diasporas – Circulations, migrations, histoire*, no. 33, 2019, 8-9.

¹⁰ Stéphane Dufoux, *Politiques d'exil: Hongrois, Polonais et Tchécoslovaques en France après 1945*, (Presses universitaires de France, 2002), 50.

countries.¹¹ Gérard Noiriel has conducted pioneering work on this topic.¹² This book contains a chapter by Christos Aliprantis (“Foreign political refugees, bureaucratic controls and cultures of surveillance in the kingdom of Greece, 1833-1862”) which adopts such a perspective to explore how Greek government monitoring of political practices by exiles settled in the country fed back into how surveillance was organized for the country as a whole.

Exile not only provided an opportunity to meet fellow exiles from the country of origin, together with populations in the host country of course, but also to encounter exiles from the rest of Europe. In 1830s and 1840s Paris, for instance, Italians, Germans, and Poles could meet and share experiences, itineraries, and the political solutions available to them. Equally, in the decade following 1849, Turin was home to 30,000 “foreigners” from Rome, Naples, Milan, and Venice, and so on, enabling people from the length and breadth of the peninsula to cross paths.¹³ While we should not underestimate the level of conflict between exile groups – fuelled by political differences, social inequalities, differential access to financial and economic resources, and the weight of national stereotypes between them and in their host country –¹⁴ these communities

¹¹ Diaz, *Un asile pour tous les peuples?* Mention should also be made of works by the AsileuropeXIX group (<https://asileurope.huma-num.fr/>), as well as by Eliana Augusti, Antonio M. Morone and Michele Pifferi, *Il controllo dello straniero: i “campi” dall’Ottocento a oggi*, I libri di Viella 242 (Roma: Viella, 2017).

¹² Gérard Noiriel, *L’identification des personnes. Genèse d’un travail d’Etat*. (Paris: Belin, 2007), Gérard Noiriel, *Etat, nation et immigration: vers une histoire du pouvoir*, Socio-histoires (Paris: Belin, 2001); Gérard Noiriel, *Réfugiés et sans-papiers: la République face au droit d’asile XIXe-XXe siècle*, [new edition with a new preface], Pluriel (Paris: Pluriel, 2012); Alexis Spire, *Accueillir ou reconduire: enquête sur les guichets de l’immigration* (Paris: Raisons d’agir, 2008).

¹³ Gian Biagio Furiozzi, *L’Emigrazione politica in Piemonte nel decennio preunitario*, Biblioteca dell’ Archivio storico italiano, 21 (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1979); Ester De Fort, “La Società Subalpina e l’emigrazione politica”, in *Cavour e Rattazzi, Una Collaborazione Difficile*, Atti Del LXIV Congresso Di Storia Del Risorgimento Italiano. (Alessandria, 7-10 October 2009).

¹⁴ See Ester De Fort, “Une Fraternité difficile. Exil et associationnisme dans le Royaume de Sardaigne après 1848,” in Catherine Brice, Sylvie Aprile, *Exil et Fraternité En Europe Au XIXe Siècle*, Centre de Recherches En Histoire Européenne Comparée, Université de Paris-Est Créteil (Paris: Editions Bière, 2013), 143-161, and, in the same work, Delphine Diaz, *Une difficile fraternité: Polonais et Allemands en exil en France sous la Monarchie de Juillet*, 161-173

nevertheless managed to coalesce, and, most importantly, to drive the transmission of political ideas.

In discussing exiles in the context of their host countries, historians all now tend to emphasize the fragmented nature of émigré experiences, moving ceaselessly from one place to another, before settling, and often setting off again, together with the requirement to continually adapt.¹⁵ While the emphasis was long placed on how exiles were culturally uprooted, other issues are now examined, including their legal, institutional, and administrative uprooting, and transformations to their everyday living conditions. Lastly, social relegation or displacement have also been explored in nuanced terms.¹⁶

The role exiles – or volunteer combatants – played in this internationalisation of politics has been addressed in recent works, such as those by Maurizio Isabella on the Liberal Internationale, by Agostino Bistarelli on the Piedmontese and Neapolitans of 1821 (in the wake of Silvio Mastellone’s major works on Mazzinism), and now including the White Internationale who went into exile too.¹⁷ The term *exopolitie* applied by the sociologist Stéphane Dufoix to the twentieth century works well for

¹⁵ Tóth, *An Exiled Generation*; Sylvie Aprile, *Le siècle des exilés*.

¹⁶ For all these “new approaches, consult Nancy L. Green, *Repenser les migrations*, Le noeud gordien (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2002) and the forthcoming book by Delphine Diaz and Sylvie Aprile (eds.), *Les réprouvés. Les Européens sur les routes de l’exil au 19^{ème} siècle*, Presses de la Sorbonne, forthcoming, 2020.

¹⁷ Maurizio Isabella, *Risorgimento in Exile*; Bistarelli, *Gli esuli del Risorgimento*; Lloyd S. Kramer, *Threshold of a New World: Intellectuals and the Exile Experience in Paris, 1830-1848* (Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press, 1988); “Alexandre Dupont, *Une Internationale blanche. Les légitimistes français au secours des carlistes (1868-1883)*, Position de thèse”, Billet, *Actualité du XIXe siècle*, consulted on 4 September 2019, <https://histoire19.hypotheses.org/1525>; Juan Luis Simal, “Exils et circulations des idées politiques entre Amérique hispanique et Espagne après les indépendances (1820-1836)”, *Revue d’histoire du XIXe siècle. Société d’histoire de la révolution de 1848 et des révolutions du XIXe siècle*, no. 51 (1 December 2015): 35-51, <https://doi.org/10.4000/rh19.4918>; Salvo Mastellone, *Il progetto politico di Mazzini: (Italia-Europa)*, *Il pensiero politico* 21 (Firenze: L. S. Olschki, 1994); Salvo Mastellone, *Mazzini: scrittore politico in inglese democracy in Europe (1840-1855)*, vol. 1, *Il Pensiero politico* 25 (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2004); C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini (eds.), *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalization of Democratic Nationalism, 1830-1920* (Oxford, 2008).

nineteenth-century exiles.¹⁸ Dufoix uses this term to designate political action by exiles to continue playing a role in the politics of their country of origin. But for our purposes, we need to include at least two other forms of political practice in exile. In addition to political action addressing their country of origin, exiles were often engaged in the political life of the host country. Attempts to improve their living and circulation conditions, petitions, newspapers, calls to public opinion, attempts to play on inter-state relations – all such activities meant exile acted as a crucible for political circulations in nineteenth-century Europe, which is precisely the angle explored in this book.

Secondly, in addition to politicisation targeting the country of origin and the host country (or host countries, one should say), politicisation also occurred at the heart of exile communities. This “intra-exile” aspect has been largely neglected. Yet on reading their correspondences, it is striking how much it occupied exiles. Their practices were fairly specific, ranging, on the one hand, from Francesco Crispi’s operations in exile to conserve and disseminate a political memory of recent events by gathering the archives of all Italian republican governments in 1848-1849, so as to publish them and illustrate the democratic functioning of these governments, to, on the other, assassinations conducted in the host country, such as the famous assassination attempt by Orsini against Napoleon III in France. Political practices among exile communities also included a set of little-studied techniques: managing correspondences, communicating information, numbering documents, raising funds, and circulating to acquire weapons, spies, and means of influence. Scholarship has explored themes at the overlap between police history and security studies with regard to governments, but less so concerning exiles, at least during the nineteenth century.¹⁹

Without being mechanistic about it, we need to distinguish between the increased circulation of political ideas driven by exiles, and the circulation

¹⁸ Dufoix, *Politiques d'exil*.

¹⁹ See Laura Di Fiore, *Gli Invisibili: Polizia politica e agenti segreti nell'Ottocento borbonico* (FedOA - Federico II University Press, undated); Hsi-huey Liang, *The rise of modern police and the European state system from Metternich to the Second World War* (Cambridge [England], New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); P. Williams (ed.) *Security Studies, an Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2012). From the point of view of exiles, see the interesting case of the Fabrizi Brothers in Malta: Chiara Pulvirenti, *Biografia Di Una Rivoluzione. Nicola Fabrizi, l'esilio e La Costruzione Dello Stato Italiano*, Bonanno. Editore, Acireale-Roma, 2013, or of the “banker of the Risorgimento”, Adriano Lemmi.

of political *practices*. Indeed, ideas never circulate in free-floating isolation, but due to the context in which they are deployed and the factors driving their circulation. The divided and protean nature of the Liberal Internationale studied by Maurizio Isabella has already been noted, often deriving any unity more from the “external” viewpoint (that of repression) than from the perceptions of those involved.

Rather than a history of political ideas in exile, we need to focus on the social history of political ideas.²⁰ But in this field, what social context would allow us to best characterize ideas in exile? We may draw on suggestions by Samuel Hayat, whose works seek to characterize the social history of political ideas during revolutions.²¹ Indeed, a certain number of the characteristics of revolutions may also apply to exile: “studying ideas during revolutions in the same way we study ideas in context thus presupposes suspending belief in the existence of ideological currents, of which revolutions would be a moment of secular confrontation. This is the precondition for immersing ourselves in the events and apprehending the specific rationales at work in controversies engendered by the novelty of the revolutionary situation. However, this methodological choice comes at a price. The very brief period of revolution is not that of learned thought”.²² Is it possible to compare the “revolutionary” situation to that of exile? That would imply viewing political exiles not as thinkers, but primarily as protagonists caught up in sometimes conflicting rationales. Furthermore, drawing on Michel Dobry’s work on political crises,²³ Hayat suggests we explain the production of new ideas during revolutions as a process in which individuals, during crisis periods, turn towards familiar habituses, when “each individual tries to apprehend the new situation in familiar terms”, and “each protagonist does so from their own position, their own dispositions, their own specific habitus”.²⁴ Such analysis thus plays close attention to the disruptive context of political crises, of which exile may be an alternative

²⁰ Chloé Gaboriaux et al., *Vers une histoire sociale des idées politiques*, Espaces politiques (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2017).

²¹ Samuel Hayat, *Etudier les idées en révolution. Questions de méthode*, in Gaboriaux et al., *Vers une histoire sociale des idées politiques*, 251-263.

²² *Ibid.*, 255.

²³ Michel Dobry, *Sociologie des crises politiques: la dynamique des mobilisations multisectorielles*, Nouv. éd, Références 29 (Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1992). See also Quentin Deluermoz and Boris Gobille, “Protagonisme et crises politiques”, *Politix* 112, no. 4 (2015): 9-29, on Haim Burstin’s notion of protagonism.

²⁴ Hayat, *Etudier les idées en révolution*, 261-262.

version. This implies apprehending exile politics not as the dissemination of ideas along the paths taken by individuals, but rather as a constant process of accommodation, in which a known habitus (political practice in the country of origin) is continually readjusted in the light of new situations.

This circulation of ideas “within societies” logically implies that we explore the repertoires of collective action in exile. For this is what the political action of refugees tends towards, be they liberals or Catholics or republicans. The central postulate of this book is that exile enabled protagonists to discover, experiment with, and redeploy repertoires of collective action in Europe which, at beginning of the period studied here, was a place of very diverse experiences, and whose governments were following even more varied political models. The constraints on these repertoires could range from the highly restrictive to the relatively loose depending on the context – the robust parliamentarianism of the United Kingdom, the French constitutional monarchy, the restored Papal government, or Imperial Hungary, for instance. And repertoires of political action depend largely on these “opportunities”. Nevertheless, the possibility of apprehending how exile impacted on political practices is complicated by the need to compare the contexts in which exiles were formed as political agents, the leeway available to them in their host countries (of which, it will be remembered, there could be several for any individual), the repertoires of collective action already present in the countries of arrival, and, lastly, refugees’ ideas in exile. Recognizing and publicizing one’s cause, preparing a conspiracy, and purchasing arms for a military expedition require different means and different approaches. In a most basic and elementary manner, political actions such as setting up and running an organisation in exile, making it representative (of whom?), deliberation procedures, “propaganda”, and its corollary, funding, are all instruments that are “improvised” in exile. Key parameters obviously include whether there is any public opinion, whether there is any censorship, and whether political pluralism is recognized or tolerated. But within these parameters, practice can take countless possible forms – imitating, transforming, reproducing, inventing, and so on and so forth.

There are of course two snares this book needs to avoid. First, it needs to steer clear of any “teleological” vision, in which forms of modern practice would inevitably be traced back to exile; second, it needs to shun any implicit model in which the (more liberal) host country “unilaterally” diffuses practice to exiles. More could be said about the notions of improvisation (*bricolage*) and poaching (*braconnage*) dear to Michel de

Certeau – not so as to dodge issues, but rather to better capture the diversity of practices. Rather than some inexorable rationalisation of increasingly effective political practices, what we actually observe is a mixture, in which ways of doing politics in the country of origin are transformed in at times curious ways by new techniques – a form of political engineering whose composite nature is compounded by the contacts between exiles from different countries within one or several host countries. This is what lies at the heart of this book.

The authors have paid particular attention to the range of exiles' discursive practices made possible by freedom of expression, examining their performative dimension. Camille Creighton ("Claiming the Right to Speak: The Use of Toasts, Addresses and Other Forms of Public Speech in Exile Politics, London and Paris, 1830-1848") compares two forms of speaking in exile politics, namely toasts and speeches, carefully comparing the distinct utterance and reception conditions in London and Paris. Romy Sanchez ("Specific ways of speaking out from exile. The case of Cuban separatists abroad, 1840-1880") examines discourse by Cuban separatists in exile between 1840 and 1880. Her chapter enquires into the role discourse plays in exile politics, what its specificity resides in, and whether we may observe Cuban speech in New York, Paris, and Madrid. Ignazio Veca ("Preaching in exile. Three cases of oratory as political practice in the Italian diaspora") tackles the ways in which "licit" discourse in the country of origin – religious preaching – was transformed by Italian clergymen in exile, further showing that this modified oratorical practice was subsequently reimported to the country of origin. By examining the very different forms of preaching by Vincenzo Gioberti, Father Ventura, and Alessandro Gavazzi, he illustrates how this "hybrid form of political activism" also prefigured future ways of relating to the sacred in the new society under construction. Conspiracy, as opposed to public speech, is a pre-eminent case of secrecy. Paolo Conte ("An anti-French conspiracy among Neapolitan exiles in Paris during the Consulate: Prince Pignatelli's attempt to 'deliver the kingdom of Naples to the English government'") shows how French domestic policy and diplomatic relations between states transformed ways of conspiring, heavily influenced by Ancien Régime diplomatic techniques, and altered the outcome of such manoeuvres.

Several chapters examine political organisation in exile, all seeking to highlight the borrowings, recurrent features, and hybridisations too. Elena Bacchin provides an exhaustive study of how exile in Britain acted as a crucible for experimentation, and its after-effects in Italy ("Britain as a

setting for the political apprenticeship of Italian exiles: The case of Aurelio Saffi”). Alexandre Dupont insists on the impressive “panoply” of political initiatives and actions implemented by Carlist leaders in seeking to build up a structured, complex political organisation (“The political structures of Carlism in exile (1870)”). He thereby confirms a point already mentioned in other studies of the White Internationale, namely its capacity to adapt to exile contexts and to devise early pre-modern forms of political organisation in a transnational dimension.²⁵ Edward Blumenthal shows how press freedom enabled exiles to structure their action around publications about education and rights, key domains for their integration in societies, and, for some of them, for accessing positions of responsibility (“Legal and Educational Practices of Exile in Nineteenth-century Chile and the Rio de la Plata”). The organisations used as examples by Ignacio García de Paso (“The Iberian Democratic Club: Exile, Nation and Republicanism in 1848”) and by Francesco Pongiluppi (“The foundation of the Italian Worker Mutual Aid Society in Constantinople: exile and transnational mutualism”) show how the context influenced their very different evolution. Although the Iberian republican association formed in Paris in 1848 met with little success, its model permeated republican culture in Spain. But the mutual aid society, founded in Constantinople in 1863, was the first original form of worker organisation in the Ottoman Empire, implementing transnational mutual aid for foreigners in the city, as well as for the inhabitants of Constantinople, thus acting as a place for political experimentation abroad.

Lastly, political practices may also transpire in forms other than organisations, namely in symbols and spaces. That is the line taken by Pierre-Marie Delpu (“Exporting the martyr cults to lands of exile. The communities of banished Italians in France and Piedmont-Sardinia in the early 1850s”) and Heléna Tóth (“The Radial Avenue: Gyula Andrassy and the Politics of Architecture”). Delpu shows how martyrology – in this instance the presentation of many patriots from the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies as martyrs for the national struggle, one of the most popular forms of disseminating experience of the Risorgimento – was exported to places of exile, before then being taken up once again in post-unification nation-

²⁵ See also, Philippe Secondy, “Royalisme et innovations partisanses à la fin du XIX^{ème} siècle,” in *Revue française de science politique* 53, no. 1 (February 2003): 73-99; Arthur Hérisson, “Les catholiques français face à l’unification italienne (1856-1871)” (PhD diss., Université Paris-1, 2018), Bruno Dumons and Hilaire Multon, “*Blancs*” et contre-révolutionnaires en Europe: espaces, réseaux, cultures et mémoires, fin XVIII^e-début XX^e siècles France, Italie, Espagne, Portugal, Collection de l’École française de Rome 454 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2011).

building. Heléna Tóth, for her part, focuses on an urban form encountered by the exiled Hungarian leader Andrassy while in Paris, namely rectilinear avenues, and on his desire to import the idea to post-1867 Budapest. Detailed analysis of debate in the Hungarian parliament clearly shows that far from being posed in purely aesthetic terms, it was seen by MPs as eminently political, acting both as a symbol, and as a model for a modern public interpretation of urban planning and of the new capital.

One final question is that of understanding how these political practices were recycled if and when exiles moved back to their countries of origin. What legacy did exile have in establishing new regimes? Once the former refugees became MPs or rulers, did they have a different understanding of parliamentary politics, of how to structure opposition, and of organisational forms and procedures? This question is examined by Elena Bacchin, who examines Aurelio Saffi's political practices once back in Italy, which were increasingly removed from the Mazzinist tradition whence he hailed. Ignazio Veca also mentions the feedback effect of political preaching in exile on religious perceptions in unified Italy. Edward Blumenthal indicates the extent to which setting up a legal and educational press helped exiles find a place in Argentina and Rio de la Plata. Pierre-Marie Delpu looks at how martyrology was re-employed on returning from exile. For many exiles who had the opportunity to return to their countries at the end of national and political struggles, their status granted them a legitimacy that certain put to good use. The post-1861 Italian political classes afford one illustration of this, as do those in post-1867 Hungary. But independently of this status, we show that exile was a multifaceted and often difficult political apprenticeship, in which exiles had to accommodate their habituses, the possibilities that exile brought, and the constraints of their political objectives. Finally, exiles helped build places of political experimentation in their places of arrival, in Constantinople, in 1850s Turin, in Argentina in the years 1820-1869, and in 1848 Paris.

Catherine Brice
Université Paris-Est Créteil-Centre de recherche en histoire européenne
comparée (CRHEC)

1:

**GLOBAL REPERTOIRES
OF COLLECTIVE ACTION IN EXILE**

FOREIGN POLITICAL REFUGEES, BUREAUCRATIC CONTROLS AND CULTURES OF SURVEILLANCE IN THE KINGDOM OF GREECE, 1833-1862

CHRISTOS ALIPRANTIS

I

The century that followed the French revolution of 1789 saw an unprecedented rise in cross-border mobility of highly politicized groups and individuals. The dramatic turn of political events after 1789-93, 1815, 1830-32, 1848-49 and 1870 pushed waves of political refugees abroad given the increasing hostility of the new regimes at home against them.¹ Be them French royalists after 1789; German, Italian and Italian defeated liberal and radical revolutionaries after 1830 and 1848; or French communards after 1870, the nineteenth century experienced the emergence of this new type of activist overseas, i.e. the political exile, who frequently found refuge in allegedly more liberal states such as Great Britain or Switzerland.² These

¹ S. Aprile, *Le Siècle des exilés. Bannis et proscrits de 1789 à la Commune* (Paris, 2010); G. Noiriel, *Réfugiés et sans papiers. La République face au droit d'asile, xixe-xxe siècle* (Paris, 1998); K. Bade, *Europa in Bewegung: Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich, 2000); S. Freitag (ed.), *Exiles from European Revolutions: Refugees in Mid-Victorian England* (Oxford-New York, 2003); W. Siemann, "Asyl, Exil und Emigration der 1848er," in D. Langewiesche (ed.), *Demokratiebewegung und Revolution 1847 bis 1849. Internationale Aspekte und europäische Verbindungen* (Berlin, 1998), 70-91; L. Kramer, *Threshold of a New World: Intellectuals and the Exile Experience in Paris, 1830-1848* (Ithaca, 1988).

² D. Diaz, *Un asile pour tous les peuples? Exilés et réfugiés étrangers en France au cours du premier XIXe siècle* (Paris, 2015); H. Reiter, *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert. Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848/49 in Europa und den USA* (Berlin, 1992); B. Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Politics* (Cambridge, 1979); R. Ashton, *Little Germany: Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford, 1986); C. Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees:*

émigrés often developed contacts among themselves as well as with native political powers in their places of exile thus increasing transnational political communication across Europe.³ On the other hand, European governments watched closely the refugees, their whereabouts and activities, and during the nineteenth century, they developed modes of transnational policing ranging from espionage to interstate communication and collaboration so as to limit this allegedly transnational political threat.⁴

Yet, these phenomena did not take place only in western or central Europe. Even smaller states of the so called European periphery such as the Papal States, the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, and Greece (since 1832), which either expelled or received significant numbers of émigrés, also built up structures of domestic control or supranational policing.⁵ In some cases such as the Kingdom of Greece, it can be even suggested that massive refugee arrivals from the Italian peninsula after 1849 pushed the Greek authorities to expand their mechanism of control against suspicious or undesirable groups.⁶ Yet, even if state formation has received serious attention in the literature on modern Greece, this “contribution” of the foreign exiles to the Greek state formation had passed largely unnoticed. The early years of the Greek Kingdom in particular are associated with conscious efforts to construct a westernized state apparatus.⁷ However, some have argued these were

German Socialism in Britain, 1840-1860 (London, 2004); T. Busset, “La politique du refuge en Suisse, 1820-1870, réalité et mythe,” *Études et sources*, 25 (1999).

³ C. A. Bayly and E. F. Biagini, eds., *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalization of Democratic Nationalism, 1830-1920* (Oxford, 2008); A. Jianu, *A Circle of Friends: Romanian Revolutionaries and Political Exile, 1840-1859* (Leiden-Boston, 2011).

⁴ W. Siemann, *Deutschlands Ruhe, Sicherheit und Ordnung: Die Anfänge der politischen Polizei 1806-1866* (Tübingen 1985); H.-H. Liang, *The Rise of Modern Police and the European State System from Metternich to the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1992); M. Deflem, *Policing World Society: Historical Foundations of International Police Cooperation* (Oxford, 2002); K. Härter, T. Hannappel and J. C. Tyrichter, eds., *The Transnationalisation of Criminal Law in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt a.M., 2019).

⁵ C. Lucrezio Monticelli, *La polizia del papa. Istituzioni di controllo sociale a Roma nella prima metà dell'Ottocento* (Rubbettino, 2012); L. DiFiore, *Gli Invisibili. Polizia politica e agenti segreti nell'Otto-cento borbonico* (Naples, 2018); C. Aliprantis, “Lives in Exile: Foreign political refugees in Greece (1830-53),” *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 43, no. 2 (2019): 1-33.

⁶ Aliprantis, “Political exiles of the 1848-49 revolutions in the Kingdom of Greece.”

⁷ J. Petropoulos, *Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece, 1833-1843* (Princeton, 1968); P. Kitromilides, “The Orthodox Church in Modern State

obstructed by local elites attempting to safeguard traditional prerogatives.⁸ These interpretations are apparently influenced by conventional Weberian narratives of bureaucratization and the monopolization of armed violence.⁹ They focus additionally on aspects of state expansion, such as investments, public infrastructure and political/constitutional reforms and tend to link the previously mentioned processes with peaceful, prosperous and stable periods.¹⁰

While these studies have offered many insights to aid our comprehension of modern Greece, they overlook certain parameters of state building. It is my assertion herein that by trying to see the history of the Greek state only through the lens of liberal constitutionalism, economic modernization and military reorganization, we miss the whole picture. In what follows, I show that state expansion does not necessarily go hand in hand with peace, prosperity and stability. Periods of turmoil and crisis can instigate processes that otherwise could not have occurred.¹¹ To support my case, I shall concentrate on the crisis triggered by the European political refugees that arrived in Greece from Italy following the 1848 revolutions there. The reason I have chosen to use this example is that it constituted the first and largest refugee security crisis in Othonian Greece.

As I will explain, in 1849 the Greek state faced a grave dilemma. The masses of refugees that arrived in Greece created a state of emergency for an administrative mechanism that was not at the time capable of dealing with these kinds of challenges. Nineteenth-century notions of transnational solidarity in Greek society for the liberal revolutionaries compelled the Greek state to offer humanitarian aid. However, the refugees needed shelter,

Formation in South-East Europe,” in A. Mungiu Pipidi and W. Van Meurs, eds., *Ottoman into Europeans: State and Institution Building in South-East Europe* (London, 2010); G. Dertilis, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κράτους, 1830-1920 [History of the Modern Greek State, 1830-1920]* (Heraklion, 2014).

⁸ I. Koliopoulos, *Brigands with a cause: Brigandage and Irredentism in Modern Greece 1821-1912* (Oxford, 1987); C. Lyritzis, *Το τέλος των "τζακιών". Κοινωνία και πολιτική στην Αχαΐα του 19ου αιώνα [The end of the "tzakia". Society and Politics in Nineteenth century Achaea]* (Athens, 1991).

⁹ Above all, see C. Kostis, *History's Spoiled Children: The Story of Modern Greece* (London, 2018).

¹⁰ D. Dakin, *The Unification of Greece, 1770-1923* (London, 1972); R. Clogg, *A concise history of Greece* (Oxford, 1992); T. Veremis, I. Koliopoulos, *Greece. A Modern Sequel* (New York, 2002); Thomas Gallant, *Modern Greece* (Oxford, 2001); K. Gardika et al., eds., *Η συγκρότηση του ελληνικού κράτους [The formation of the Modern Greek State]* (Athens, 2008).

¹¹ S. Kalyvas, *Modern Greece: What everybody needs to know* (Oxford, 2015).

food and accommodation that the Greek government was apparently unable to sufficiently provide. At the same time though, the Greek state simultaneously had to deal with a pressing security threat. Thousands of armed ex-revolutionaries sought asylum in Greece, and despite their initial warm welcome, the government grew to perceive them as political agitators reacting with border closures, arrests and deportations. At the end of the day, as I argue, this crisis benefited state expansion since from 1849 onwards Greece ended up exercising stricter border controls and more systematic police surveillance on the newcomers. Even more significantly, this restrictive policy, as it will be indicated, did not disappear as the refugee crisis faded. Instead these measures survived and they were used to monitor population movement of Greek nationals in the later 19th century as well, a fact that pinpoints to the lasting repercussions of the 1849 crisis for the Greek kingdom.

II

The liberal and national revolutions of the 1820s set the Mediterranean basin ablaze. At a time when European revolutionaries were thought to have developed networks of communication and collaboration across the Continent,¹² the governments that opposed them were keen to limit these bonds, especially after the revolutions of 1830-32.¹³ In Greece, too, the new absolute monarchy aligned with this conservative turn. Unlike the earlier warm welcomes for foreign philhellenes, King Othon (r.1833-62) prioritized state security and attempted to block revolutionary mobility. Consequently, a French liberal émigré living in Greece named Victor Bernhard and, more notably, the Italian emissary of the Mazzinian organization ‘Young Italy’, Emil Usiglio, were both deported from the

¹² A. Liakos, *L'unificazione italiana e la grande idea 1859-62* (Florence, 1995); M. Isabella, *Risorgimento in exile: Italian émigrés and the liberal international in the post-Napoleonic era* (Oxford, 2009); M. Isabella, K. Zanou, eds., *Mediterranean Diasporas: Politics and Ideas in the Long Nineteenth Century* (London, 2016); J. Innes, M. Philip, eds., *Re-Imagining Democracy in the Mediterranean, 1780-1860* (Oxford, 2018); K. Zanou, *Transnational Patriotism in the Mediterranean, 1800-1850: Stammering the Nation* (Oxford, 2018). These networks were indeed existent, although not so coherent as the conservatives thought them to be.

¹³ F. T. Hoefler, *Pressepolitik und Polizeistaat Metternichs die Überwachung von Presse und politischer Öffentlichkeit in Deutschland und den Nachbarstaaten durch das Mainzer Informationsbüro (1833-1848)* (Munich, 1983); W. Siemann, *Metternich. Strategie und Visionär. Eine Biographie* (Munich, 2016): 764-86.

kingdom in 1835.¹⁴ Even a few French utopian socialists, like Gustave d'Eichtal, who had been employed by the Greek state, were forced to leave due to their "Saint-Simonian heresy."¹⁵ Such security measures would be greatly expanded after 1849, when Greece received waves of European fugitives.

The 1848-49 revolutions increased transnational mobility and created the largest modern political migrations Europe had ever seen.¹⁶ Due to these developments, the post-revolutionary European governments faced an acute crisis of legitimacy and (in their understanding) security, which lasted until the 1860s.¹⁷ At first, they reacted by expanding state apparatus in order to tame political opposition and regulate peoples' movements.¹⁸ Greece would be forced to adopt similar policies so as to face these transnational challenges.

The revolts of 1848-49 that were geographically closest to the Greek kingdom occurred in the British-controlled Ionian island of Cephalonia. The Greek border authorities had gone in great pains in the past years trying to contain the frequent illegal mobility across the Greco-Ionian frontier.¹⁹

¹⁴ Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους (ΓΑΚ), Ανακτορικά Όθωνα (Αν.Ο.), [General State Archives, King Otto's Palace Archive], file 404: Αστυνομία Ξένων, No. 24862, 25459, 593, 14, 15, 17, 26 May 1835. On Usiglio, T. Nider-Kouvara, «Το ταξίδι του Emilio Usiglio στην Ελλάδα και το μήνυμα της 'Ευρώπης των Λαών'», [“Emiglio Usiglio's trip in Greece and the message of 'Peoples' Europe'”], in *Η Επανάσταση του 1821. Αφιέρωμα στη μνήμη της Δέσποινας Θεμελή-Κατηφόρη* [*The Revolution of 1821. Volume in memoriam of Despoina Themeli-Katifori*] (Athens 1994), 173-201.

¹⁵ ΓΑΚ, Αρχείο Υπουργείου Εσωτερικών (ΑΥΕΣ), [Home Ministry Archive] file: refugees 1834, No. 16,966, 19 September 1834; K. Moskov, *Η εθνική και κοινωνική συνείδηση στην Ελλάδα, 1830-1909* [*The national and social consciousness in Greece, 1830-1909*] (Thessaloniki, 1978), 151-53.

¹⁶ H. Tóth, *An Exiled Generation. German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848-1871* (Cambridge 2014): 1-19; J. Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, trans. P. Camiller (Princeton 2014): 543-47.

¹⁷ C. Bayley, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914* (Oxford 2004), 155-60, 165-69.

¹⁸ H. Reiter, *Politisches Asyl*; A. Fahrmeir, *Citizens and Aliens: Foreigners and the Law in Britain and the German States, 1789-1870* (New York-Oxford, 2000); C. Clark, “After 1848: The European Revolution in Government”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (December 2012): 171-97.

¹⁹ See for instance the reports about Cytherian fugitives in Laconia in 1848, ΓΑΚ, ΑΥΕΣ, file: refugees 1848, No.4961, 5408, 6207, 26 June, 9 July, 6 August 1848.

Accordingly, and given their political meaningfulness, the Caphalonian fugitives of 1849 attracted special attention. After the British suppressed them, the protagonists sought refuge in Greece. Although the liberal opposition and press (Ελπίς [Hope], Αθηνά [Athena] etc.) loudly favored the Ionian cause,²⁰ the government, headed by Konstantinos Kanaris, remained more reluctant. Concerns about state security, combined with pressure from Britain, eventually prevailed against humanitarian and liberal sympathies for Greece's "co-nationals." In June, the interior minister Dimitrios Christides forbade entry to the country of further Ionian subjects without a valid passport.²¹ Already in March 1849, he had the refugees taken from Patras and transferred to Athens and later to Nafplio.²² There, they were detained under police surveillance over the next months, despite heavy protests from the opposition and the refugees themselves. More significantly, on 9 August, Christides clarified to the prefect of Argolis (the region that included Nafplio) that the refugees could move within the town limits, although they had to respect the Greek law. The authorities, he continued, had to supervise their conduct so that they wouldn't stir up trouble or maintain political relations with the locals.²³ Thanks to the Cephalonians, the Greek bureaucracy thus began exercising surveillance and containment measures against suspicious individuals. This subtly restrictive treatment would also be duplicated against Italian and Polish exiles.

From July to October 1849, thousands of defeated revolutionaries from the Italian states arrived in Greece, mostly in Patras, Athens and Syros.²⁴ Although they were initially well received and offered substantial material support from charitable associations and local authorities, this pattern did

²⁰ M. Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, «Οι εξεγέρσεις της Κεφαλληνίας κατά τα έτη 1848 και 1849», ["The rebellions in Cephalonia in 1848 and 1849"] (PhD thesis, Panteion University, 1980) 157-64.

²¹ Αρχείο της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας (ΑΙΕΕ) [Archive of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece], Interior Ministry circular, No. 11,207, 16 June 1849.

²² The National Archives (TNA), Foreign Office (FO), 32/170, fos.228v-230r, 236r-v, 255r-256r, fo.259r-v, fo.337r-v; 32/172, fos.1v-2r, 6r-7v.

²³ Ιστορικό και Διπλωματικό Αρχείο του Υπουργείου Εξωτερικών (ΑΥΕΞ) [Historical and Diplomatic Archive of the Foreign Ministry], file: refugees 1849, No.16070, 9 August 1849, see ΑΥΕΞ, file: refugees 1850, No.8508, 15 May 1850, on additional instructions.

²⁴ C. Kerofilas, *La Grecia e l'Italia nel Risorgimento Italiano* (Florence 1919) 17-48; M.C. Chatzijoannou, "La presenza degli Italiani nella Grecia indipendente," in *Risorgimento greco e filellenismo italiano* (Rome, 1986), 137-43.

not last long.²⁵ A combination of pragmatic needs and conservative ideological orientation led the Greek government to ultimately adopt an anti-refugee stance. According to the interior ministry, a total of 1,109 armed, combat-trained and potentially radical refugees from Italy arrived in the largest Greek cities.²⁶ Taking into consideration illegal migration, their total number might have exceeded 2,000.²⁷ For the port city of Patras, to give just one example, this meant a sudden population rise of about 5% (about 700 newcomers), enough to cause serious disturbances.²⁸

Acute humanitarian problems arose due to the poor state infrastructure.²⁹ In Patras, the Greek police reported in autumn that there were masses of wretched and unemployed refugees. Due to their miserable living conditions, the first deaths of refugees (even highly ranked ones) were recorded.³⁰ In Syros, Hermoupolis coped with similar difficulties, because many refugees had turned to beggary.³¹ Additionally, the municipal hospital was quickly occupied by suffering Italians, Hungarians and Poles, despite communal mobilization.³² The sick émigrés further worried the local notables because

²⁵ Aliprantis, “Political refugees”, *passim*.

²⁶ P. Iliou, *Ελληνική Βιβλιογραφία, 1800-1863* [*Greek Bibliography, 1800-1863*] (Athens, 1983), 161-64.

²⁷ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖS), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Ministerium des Äußern, Politisches Archiv (PA), XVI. 17: No.71, 23 October 1849.

²⁸ N. Bakounakis, *Πάτρα. Μια ελληνική πρωτεύουσα στον 19^ο αιώνα, 1828-1860* [*Patras. A Greek capital city in the nineteenth century, 1828-1860*] (Athens, 1988), 53-54.

²⁹ On medical infrastructure in Othonian Greece, see T. Barlagiannis, *Η υγειονομική συγκρότηση του ελληνικού κράτους, 1833-1845* [*The medical formation of the Greek state, 1833-1845*] (Athens, 2018).

³⁰ Examples in Αιών [Century], 29 October 1849; Μίνως [Minos], 24 October 1849; Αχαϊκός Κήρυξ [Achaean Messenger], 26 October 1849; AIEE, Interior Ministry circular, No.20,569, 5 October 1849; C. Triantafyllou (ed.), *Ιστορικό Λεξικό των Πατρών* [Historical Dictionary of Patras] (3rd edn. Patras 1995) I 905; M. & V. Bouse (eds.), *Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της Βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον πατέρα της, 1836-1853* [*Unpublished letters of Queen Amalia to her father, 1836-1853*] (Athens 2011), II, 543-44.

³¹ ÖS, HHStA, Ministerium des Äußern, Informationsbüro, Actes de Haute Police (AHP), Athen 1850: No. 47C, 12 November 1850, 2. Beilage.

³² ΓΑΚ Κυκλάδων, Δημοτικό Αρχείο Ερμούπολης (ΔΑΕ), Αρχείο Νοσοκομείου Σύρου, ‘Βιβλίον των εισερχομένων και εξερχομένων ασθενών του Νοσοκομείου Ερμούπολεως από Φεβρουάριο 1844 ως Νοέμβριο 1853’ [General State Archives of Cyclades, Municipal Archive of Hermoupolis, Archive of Syros’ Hospital, “Book of incoming and outgoing patients, February 1844 to November 1853]; Αίολος, [Aiolos] 8 October 1849.

their diseases, if left uncontained, could also infect the rest of the island.³³ In Athens, the problem appeared to be even more urgent due to refugee overpopulation. According to the refugees' own accounts, poor health was widespread in their ranks and many passed away homeless and helpless because of the inability of the Athens hospital to cure them.³⁴

The urban concentration of such impoverished crowds created both a humanitarian and a security crisis and pushed the government to take special measures to contain the threat. As with the Cephalonians, security anxieties and the unexpectedly high expenses of covering the refugees' needs proved stronger than humanitarian concerns. On 22 August, the interior minister forbade additional refugee settlement in Athens for the first time; later, the prohibition expanded to cover Patras and Syros. This restrictive agenda culminated with the closure of the borders to new refugee arrivals altogether in early October 1849.³⁵ Among the top echelons of government, the moving force behind this new policy was queen Amalia. In harmony with the likeminded Austrian ambassador, Amalia scolded minister Christides for having accepted the *émigrés*.³⁶ She underlined that such naïve notions of philanthropy could have grave consequences for the country's future. Apart from the increase in public spending, the Great Powers, on whose goodwill Greece rested, might see asylum being granted to so many outlaws in a negative light. Instead, the queen argued, the government had to turn away the exiles and ignore pro-refugee public opinion, with the hope that the Powers might reward Greece for this lawful behavior.³⁷

Since early 1850, a new cabinet led by the conservative admiral Antonios Kriezis (1849-54) and backed by Othon not only kept blocking new arrivals but also increased monitoring and obstructed political activities among the refugees.³⁸ Furthermore, it started coercing those already settled into

³³ C. Loukos, «Επιδημία και κοινωνία. Η χολέρα στην Ερμούπολη της Σύρου (1854)» [“Disease and society. The Hermoupolis' cholera of 1854”], *Mnemon* 14 (1992): 49-69.

³⁴ ΓΑΚ, ΑΥΕΣ, file: refugees 1851: No.40, 12 February 1851.

³⁵ In detail, see Aliprantis, “Political refugees of 1848-49”.

³⁶ ÖS, HHStA, AHP, Athen 1851: No.1C, 7 January 1851.

³⁷ Bouse (eds.), *Επιστολές της Αμαλίας* II 541, 546-47.

³⁸ Αρχείο Σύγχρονης Κοινωνικής Ιστορίας (ΑΣΚΙ) [Contemporary Social History Archive], Αρχείο οικογένειας Κριεζή [Kriezis family archive], file 1; ÖS, HHStA, AHP, Athen 1850: No.4C, No.6a, 22, 29 January 1850; Bouse (eds.), *Επιστολές της Αμαλίας* II 572.

emigrating again.³⁹ It was in these circumstances that the first conscious efforts in the history of the Greek kingdom to create early surveillance and containment structures took place at this point. In 1850, new circulars prohibited refugees from moving to Attica and generally entering the country without a passport.⁴⁰ At a domestic level, the police multiplied patrols in Athens and Patras, where most refugees dwelled, and placed secret agents among them to obtain intimate knowledge of their endeavors.⁴¹ Finally, the interior ministry started conducting censuses on the refugees, so as to gather precise data on their numbers and occupations.⁴²

III

These enactments, which addressed the refugee problem as a whole, were supplemented by the persecution of specific individuals deemed perilous to the security of the regime. In November 1850, a group of Italians in Athens had founded a society of mutual assistance to cope with their pressing everyday problems. However, political discussions must have taken place. Moreover, the leaders of the society, the Pole Alexander Milbitz and the Italian Francesco Gherardi-Dragomani, had a noted revolutionary past.⁴³ The fact that the refugees seemed to have become politically organized, along with suspicions of contact with leading Greek liberals like Pavlos Kallergis and Giannis Makrygiannis, made the government act openly against the group. With the support of Amalia and the Austrian and Neapolitan ambassadors, the police banned the association in early 1851, despite refugee protests.⁴⁴ The participating Italians were threatened with deportation if they continued to associate politically.

The foreign refugees lacked access to local networks that would allow them to negotiate a kinder treatment, and were thus easily isolable victims. Their

³⁹ Small amounts of money were given to the refugees to encourage them to leave. ÖS, HHStA, PA, XVI. 17: No.11.13, 5 March 1850; AHP, Athen 1851, No. 22, 24 June 1851.

⁴⁰ AIEE, interior ministry circulars, No. 790, 15,565, 21 January, 4 September 1850. ⁴¹ ÖS, HHStA, AHP, Athen 1850, 1852, No. 47C, 12 November 1850; No.112/9, 3 February 1852.

⁴² AYEΞ, file: refugees 1850, No. 2270/2559, 439/302, 2660, 1255, 18, 19, 26, 28 April 1850.

⁴³ ÖS, HHStA, PA, XVI. 17: No.49.A-C., 3 December 1850; AHP, Athen 1850, No. 50B, 10 December 1850; Athen 1851, No. 1C, 100/9, 7, 21 January 1851.

⁴⁴ ΓΑΚ, AYEΣ, file: refugees 1851: No .40, 12 February 1851; Αθηνά, 5 January 1851.