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NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL POLICY:
THE GREEK REVOLUTION AND THE
FOREIGN POWERS, 1821–1824

By

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A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of
Mississippi State University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
in History
in the Department of History
Mississippi State, Mississippi

August 2002

UMI Number: 1411426

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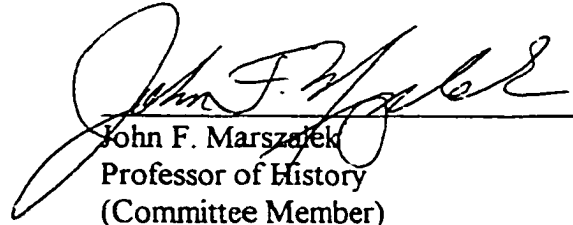
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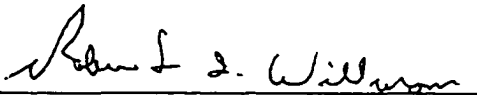
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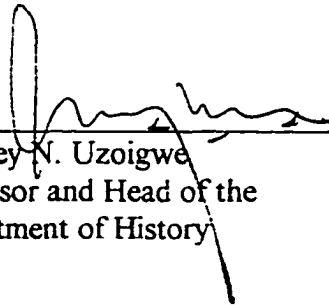
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Title of Study: NATIONALISM AND NATIONAL POLICY: THE GREEK
REVOLUTION AND THE FOREIGN POWERS, 1821-1824

Pages in Study: 93

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The Greek War for Independence from the Ottoman Empire progressed in a series of stages from the end of the eighteenth century through the early decades of the nineteenth century. A lack of national unity among the Greek revolutionaries, and no official support from the international community, caused the war to progress slowly. The situation changed when three individuals, Lord Byron and John Cam Hobhouse of Great Britain and Edward Everett of the United States, committed themselves to the Grecian cause. Their efforts contributed to changes in the foreign policy of Great Britain and the United States and to the creation of a Greek nation. This study examines the interrelationship between individual effort, national policy, and the formation of a national identity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Students studying classical Greece read of rivalries between city-states. Athens and Thebes went to war as allies against Sparta, or Thebes and Corinth allied themselves with Sparta against Athens. All of the city-states combined to wage war against Persia only to see the alliance crumble following the Grecian victory. This lack of unity manifested itself, again, during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the Greek revolution progressed from a series of individual uprisings to war against the Ottoman Empire. The war for independence began a new era in the history of Greece.

Alexander the Great expanded Hellenism throughout Asia Minor, extending Grecian culture and thought as far east as India. Greece fell to the Roman Empire in the second century B.C., resulting in a change in authority, but daily life remained fairly constant with the Romans adopting Hellenistic ideas. Grecian culture thrived and inspired the Roman emperor Constantine as he built Constantinople, the eastern capital of the Roman Empire, and it did not wane after the city fell to the Ottoman Empire in 1453. The most trying times for the Greeks followed Venetian victories over the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century, but Turkey quickly re-conquered the peninsula. Greek culture survived throughout these hundreds of years, and the people enjoyed degrees of autonomy; but non-Greeks occupied the highest levels of government. Ideas concerning

independence, perhaps a distant dream, began to take the form of action following the liberal revolutions in North America and France at the end of the eighteenth century. A lack of unity and common consensus among the Greeks themselves proved the greatest difficulty hampering the revolutionary cause.

The Greek struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire extended over a lengthy period of time. The second chapter of this work presents an historiography of the Greek revolution. Chapter three presents the war of independence beginning with the events that began in the late eighteenth century through the coronation of Bavaria's King Otho on 8 August 1832. The summary of the revolutionaries' gains and losses will provide the reader with an insight into the Greeks' continuous attempts to gain their freedom and their repeated lack of success. Those attempts and failures compose the fourth through eighth chapters of this work, focus directly on the years 1821 through 1832, and present this writer's conclusions of the Greek Revolution.

The people of Greece did not successfully organize to resist Turkish territorial gains following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The rebellion in 1821 lacked the support of a united Grecian population and the international community. The thesis of the following pages maintains that two individuals, the English poet Lord Byron and the American scholar and statesman Edward Everett, attempted to inspire the beginnings of Greek nationalism and to bring foreign attention and support to the Greek cause. They failed in their efforts to unite the Greeks, but they did gain English and American aid.

George Gordon, the sixth Lord Byron, died in the evening on 19 April 1824, in Missolonghi, Greece. He had volunteered to join the Greek revolutionaries in their war

against the Ottoman Empire. Infected with malaria early in his life, he suffered relapses in later years and succumbed to a fever in the swamps of southwestern Greece. This final exposure to disease ended the life of the poet-turned-revolutionary.

A short biography of Byron's life composes the fourth and fifth chapters of this work. His original interest in Greece occurred during the years of his youth, and the events of his early years, described in chapter four, combined to turn the poet into the revolutionary discussed in chapter five. Byron's interest in Greece intensified through the years leading to his total commitment to the cause, and it corresponds to the series of stages required to organize the revolution. This work addresses several questions: What concerns involved England in Grecian affairs? How did those interests evolve during the Greek war for independence? And, did an affluent member of England's House of Lords, who willingly endured hardships and died in that foreign war, contribute to unifying the Greeks?

Byron traveled to Greece twice during his life. He had returned to England from his first continental tour in 1811. Considered a reliable source on events in Greece, he met with many individuals who had questions concerning his tour of the peninsula. Byron met Edward Everett in June 1815. Everett, a Bostonian recently appointed Greek professor at Harvard College, had left Massachusetts for a tour of the European continent intending to devote much of his time to Greece. He talked at length with Byron about the Greeks' history of unsuccessful attempts at revolution and explained the concern of others in the newly established United States for the Grecian cause. He spoke of the similarity seen by many who equated the North American colonial war for independence with the revolt in Greece. Byron and Everett found that they also shared an interest in the language of

modern Greece and discussed their efforts at clarifying its pronunciation and grammar. Byron provided Everett with letters of introduction to individuals who would welcome him in Greece.¹ Chapter six focuses on Everett's contribution to the Greek cause and introduces the United States' involvement in Greek affairs. The conclusions presented in this work maintain that Everett's commitment to Greek liberty did not have a unifying effect on the revolutionaries, but he did contribute to a growing pro-Greek sentiment that spread throughout America. Popular support, and Everett's later efforts as one of Massachusetts's congressmen in the United States House of Representatives, for the revolutionaries' cause eventually affected American governmental policy toward Greece resulting in recognition of the Greek revolutionary government.

Chapter seven presents the intervention of foreign powers in the Greek struggle. England began to lend its official support to the revolutionaries in the years immediately preceding Byron's death. Everett continued his efforts to gain a commitment by the United States during this same period. The revolutionary government had functioned during these years and then began to disintegrate into factional struggles for power. Those disputes gradually ended as the international community increased its involvement. The break from Turkish rule became complete with the coronation of King Otho.

This study of the Greek Revolution presents a contrast to the earlier volumes written about the war and the individuals who supported it. Many of the works which address Byron's participation in the revolution explain that his presence increased international

¹Stephen A. Larrabee, *Hellas Observed: The American Experience of Greece 1775–1865* (New York: New York University Press, 1957), 28–31.

concern for the cause and aided the Greeks as they sought outside assistance.² None of them present his growing concern for the revolutionaries as one of the contributing factors in a developing sense of Greek nationalism. One of the most recent studies discusses Byron's role in the war, but as in the earlier volumes, it does not address Greek unity.³ This study does not attempt to decipher Byron's poetic symbolism or his use of metaphor. Many works examine the influence of classical Greece on Byron's poetry, the meaning of laughter or darkness in particular poems, and the development of the poet as an artist. His verses and statements, here, are taken at face value. These pages present the poet as an agent of change, not only in the ideas of his readers but as a motivator of governmental policy and action.

Lord Byron's activities in England and on the continent of Europe eventually contributed to English popular support for the revolution. Edward Everett worked toward the same end in the United States. Both of them affected the governmental policies of England and the United States as those nations gradually began to support the revolutionaries' cause. The actions of Lord Byron and the efforts of Edward Everett following their initial introduction raise an additional question addressed in the concluding

²Harold Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822–1827: England, the Neo-Holy Alliance, and the New World*, with an Introduction by Herbert Butterfield (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), 325; Douglas Dakin, *The Greek Struggle for Independence 1821–1833* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 107–120.

³David Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle For Freedom From Ottoman Oppression and the Birth of the Modern Greek Nation* (New York: The Overlook Press, 2001), 194–219.

chapter of this work. Does Percy Bysshe Shelley's statement, "Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world," ring true?⁴

⁴Percy Bysshe Shelley, "A Defence of Poetry," in *English Romantic Poetry and Prose*, ed. Russell Noyes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 1112.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE GREEK REVOLUTION

The many volumes of research written about the Greek Revolution address two types of reader: the professional historian conducting his own investigation, and those who want to learn of the Grecian cause either as students or general readers interested in the topic. The historian will find thousands of pages of primary source material available written in Greek, French, or English. The student has access to a limited number of secondary sources written either by those who personally witnessed the events or scholars who wrote about it in later years. This chapter addresses a very small fraction of the primary material and presents an overview of the secondary works.

The reader will find particular references to primary material in the bibliographies of Greek historians such as Douglas Dakin, Stephen A. Larrabee, or David Brewer, but Nikiforos P. Diamandouros provides the most complete listing of sources in his “Bibliographical Essay” in *Hellenism and the First Greek War of Liberation (1821–1830): Continuity and Change* (Thessaloniki, 1976). He divides his list of works into the two categories of primary and secondary sources and then specifically classifies the research. Primary sources contains published bibliographies of Greek history as well as personal memoirs of those who witnessed or participated in the revolution. He divides his secondary materials into many sub-categories focusing on Greek society, government,

and military campaigns, as well as the efforts of foreigners in the many Philhellenic organizations. Diamandouros explains the lack of research conducted concerning the impact of the war on Grecian society and indicates the necessity of more research into the lives of the Greek population. The researcher will find a wide variety of topics and treasure these documents for their contemporary information, however, readers seeking secondary sources will find a more limited number of works.

Diamandouros's bibliography will help all readers understand that a continuing interest in the Greek revolution endured through the years. The titles: *History of the Greek Revolution* (London, 1832) by Thomas Gordon, an English Philhellene who participated in the war, *Causes of, and Contributing Factors to, the Greek Revolution of 1821* (Paris, 1927) by Apostolos B. Daskalakes, and *Fortresses of Liberty: The Greek Press Before and During the Revolution of '21* (Athens, 1971) by Konstantinos Th. Papalexandrou demonstrate that writers' efforts, and readers' interests, in Greece continued through the decades.

Those interested in secondary sources about the Greek war for independence will find that many, if not most, of the works written predate Diamandouros's bibliography. They divide into several categories: contemporary histories of the Greek effort, specifically focused accounts concerning American or international Philhellenes, and two current books about the subject. Supplemental information also exists in works detailing English and American foreign policy and biographical accounts of certain participants.

History of Modern Greece, from 1820 to the Establishment of Grecian Independence (London, 1823) by G. Riebau presents the reader with an account of the war plus an

impassioned plea by the author for English support for the cause. *Greece, Ancient and Modern* (Boston, 1883) by C. C. Felton, LL.D., and *The War of Greek Independence: 1821–1833* (New York, 1897) by W. Alison Phillips examine the war from a distance of several decades but continue to follow Riebau's theme of the necessity for foreign intervention. Douglas Dakin has presented the topic in two separate volumes. *The Unification of Greece: 1770–1923* (New York, 1972) examines Greece from its rule by Turkey through the beginning of the twentieth century, while his *The Greek Struggle for Independence: 1821–1833* focuses directly on the revolution and the establishment of independence.

The concern and contributions of citizens in the United States for the Greek cause forms the thesis and content for Stephen A. Larrabee's *Hellas Observed: The American Experience of Greece 1775–1865* (New York, 1957), and Paul Constantine Pappas's *The United States and the Greek War for Independence, 1821–1828* (New York, 1985). Larrabee discusses American Philhellenic individuals and groups and their efforts to aid the Greeks, while Pappas focuses on the Grecian efforts to acquire American-built naval vessels. William St. Clair brings the Philhellenic movement, international in scope, to life with his biographical accounts of foreign volunteers in the service of Greece in *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (New York, 1972).

David Brewer's *The Greek War of Independence: The Struggle for Freedom from Ottoman Oppression and the Birth of the Modern Greek Nation* (New York, 2001) and *Modern Greece* (New York, 2001) by Thomas W. Gallant represent the most current

works addressing the topic. Brewer virtually retells the story of the revolution as presented by Riebau or Dakin, while Gallant's work examines Greece from its position as an Ottoman possession through 1989.

The Greek revolution occurred during a period of time that found diplomats, rather than armies, taking center stage in the development of nations. The system of congresses established by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia following the final defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte receive detailed examinations in C. K. Webster's *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815–1822: Britain and the European Alliance* (London, 1958), Harold Temperley's *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822–1827: England, the Neo-Holy Alliance, and the New World* (London, 1966), and *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812–1822* (New York, 1964) by Henry A. Kissinger.

The foreign policy of the presidential administrations of the young United States also addressed the Grecian cause. Paul Constantine Pappas details a portion of the actions taken by President James Monroe in the previously mentioned *The United States and the Greek War for Independence, 1821–1828*. Earnest R. May expands the investigation of Monroe's administration in *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1975). James A. Field, Jr. discusses the actions of the United States Navy in the Greek war in his work *From Gibraltar to the Middle East: America and the Mediterranean World 1776–1882* (Chicago, 1991).

Many works of biography address the Greek revolution on a limited, while still very valuable, basis. Lord Byron's participation in the war composes a portion of *His Very Self*

and Voice: Collected Conversations of Lord Byron (New York, 1954) by Earnest J.

Lovell, Jr. Byron's activities combine with those of Edward Trelawny in David Crane's *Lord Byron's Jackal: A Life of Edward John Trelawny* (London, 1998). The actions of Philhellenes of the United States are partially examined by Paul Revere Frothingham in his *Edward Everett: Orator and Statesman* (New York, 1925), and in greater detail in Robert V. Remini's *Henry Clay: Statesman for the Union* (New York, 1991).

CHAPTER III
THE GREEK WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

The first attempts at revolution in Greece followed an on-going series of wars between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. One of those wars began in 1769 and ended in 1774 with the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji and an additional conflict followed in 1788. Russia had blocked any Turkish attempts at gaining a firm foothold in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire had prevented Russia from expanding its borders to the south. The contested area represented a vital interest to both parties because the victor would control warm-water, year-round ports on the Black Sea with direct access to the Mediterranean Sea. Greece occupied a strategic portion in this disputed territory, and many of the Greeks began to consider their location as the basis for a negotiating position. Early Grecian independence efforts used their geographical location to form an alliance with Russia against the Turks.¹

The revolutionary efforts had failed to free the Greeks due to a lack of Russian support. In 1769 and again in 1788, the Greeks who rose against the Turks found themselves left to fight alone as the Tsar negotiated separate peace settlements with the Sultan. The Greeks, while not gaining their independence, did realize a possible promise for the future from these wars. The Sultan, understanding that he lacked the ability to

¹Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 26–30.

dominate the Balkan region militarily, granted Russia a limited authority in the area. The Tsar would oversee and retain the right to disapprove of any Turkish authority within the disputed territory. This settlement between the Tsar and the Sultan proved to be a two-edged sword for the Greeks who desired independence. They continued to look to Russia for aid against the Turks, but the Tsar failed to produce any real support for the Greek revolutionaries.

Stung twice by a lack of support from Russia, while many continued to hope for their rescue by the Eastern Orthodox Church, other Greeks turned to France for aid. The revolutionary spirit and cry for universal revolution of the first French Republic bolstered the Greeks' courage. Napoleon's successes on the battlefield produced an optimism in Greece that their cause could find support should the French armies continue their march toward the east from Italy. These hopes, just as those in the previous revolts, failed, though not completely. One individual enthused by the possibility of French aid, Rigas Velestinlis, began to take steps aimed at liberating his homeland.

Velestinlis attained legendary status among later generations of revolutionaries who considered him a folk hero. During the negotiations of the treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji in 1774, Velestinlis had served as a clerk for Konstantinos Ipsilantis. Ipsilantis, a Greek holding a position that made him responsible to the Sultan, intended to free Greece from Turkey. He formed an army of 12,000 men and planned for the rebellion to begin in the province of Wallachia, northeast of Albania. As had former rebels, Ipsilantis hoped for Russian aid against the Turks, and just as those former efforts had failed, he did not fulfill his dream. Plans of the proposed revolt became known and the movement collapsed.

Ipsilantis went to Constantinople and convinced the Sultan of his innocence. He did not remain in Turkey. Rather, he traveled to Russia and became a spokesman for Grecian affairs to Tsar Alexander until he died in 1807. Velestinlis continued the pursuit of freedom alone.

Firmly believing in the goals outlined by the revolutionaries of France, Velestinlis went beyond the ideals of the original French republic and intended to establish a democracy as the future Greek government. He published his ideas in October of 1797 by declaring independence for Greece, defining basic human rights, drafting a beginning for a Greek constitution, and composing a patriotic hymn to unite the various factions. His new government consisted of executive, legislative and judicial branches, and extended the right to vote to all citizens. The new nation would eliminate the Turkish authorities and those Greeks who had profited by collaboration with the Sultan, but it would not be a solely Greek state. The freedoms would include all nationalities, and the Moslem religion would coexist with the Orthodox church.

Velestinlis did not live to see his idea become reality. Napoleon's forces had advanced into Italy, and Velestinlis hoped to gain French support for his goal. He went to Trieste in 1797, where Austrian authorities arrested him. Returned to the Turks and executed on 24 June 1798, Velestinlis became a martyr for the Grecian cause.²

The desire for independence began to increase, but it did not unite the Greeks with common goals. Greece consisted of many factions in the early years of the nineteenth century, and each of these groups adhered to its own agenda. Many wanted freedom from

²Ibid., 26–30.

Turkish taxes, while others feared having their children forced into the Sultan's service, and some spoke of a new crusade to free Christians from the rule of Islam. Many Greeks overlooked the various motives that divided them and found a form of unity in the desire for personal advancement involving the acquisition of land or an increase in wealth.

Mahmud II, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, ruled a multi-ethnic population and controlled a vast territory from his capital in Constantinople. The Empire extended south from the Black Sea, and it included the Levant, the lands extending from Greece through western Asia Minor to Egypt and beyond. The Sultan had witnessed changes in administration before achieving power, and he created his own innovations in Turkish policy. One of his new policies granted authority to local leaders. They governed with his approval, enforced his laws, and collected his taxes.

By the early nineteenth century, many of these leaders were Greeks. An *archontes*, similar to a mayor, served as an official in each village. Taxes paid in kind represented personal hardships when harvests failed to produce ample supplies of grain, but the local leaders, now, determined those taxes. Originally, former Sultans had required a quota of Greek male children to fill the Janissary corps of soldiers and government officials, but the system gradually fell into disuse. The Janissaries had evolved through the years achieving elite status, and the Sultans had allowed them to marry and maintain families in an effort to retain their allegiance. This eventually produced a class of subjects intent on protecting their own positions of authority until they passed their domain to their children as an inheritance. Many of these individuals became autonomous and controlled large areas of land due to the extent of the empire. Mahmud II had no need to demand the tribute of

Greek children from their families as in the past, but parents remained apprehensive and wary of a return to the original system. Byron had employed a young boy, Robert Rushton, as one of his servants during his first continental tour. He sent Rushton back to England before arriving in Greece “because Turkey is in too dangerous a state for boys to enter.”³

Freedom of the Christian church contributed to the desire for independence but this, too, had exceptions. The Nation of Islam offered Christians a choice. They could retain their faith and pay a tax, “called *devshirme* by the Turks and *pedhomázoma*, or child-collection, by the Greeks,”⁴ or they could convert. Many Christians adopted Islam, and those who did not paid their taxes through the Patriarch of the Orthodox church. The Patriarch’s authority, combining religious concerns and secular matters of the state, began to represent a greater hardship than the distant authorities in Constantinople. Orthodox Greeks primarily looked to the church in Russia for support, but Tsar Alexander refused to come to their aid. The freedom of the Christian church became a louder, more unified, cry in the nations of Europe than in Greece itself.

The desire to improve oneself contributed the most common motive to unite the various interests in Greece. Individuals may have protested against taxes, the possibility of having to relinquish their sons, or the secondary status of their church, but they found agreement in the basic human desire to improve the condition of their lives. This may

³Leslie A. Marchand, ed., *Byron's Letters and Journals*, vol. 1, 1798–1810 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 221–222.

⁴Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 10.

have come through the acquisition of added lands to increase the size of their farms, or the ability to improve themselves financially and rise to a higher economic level. The Greeks eventually neared unification in their desire for independence through the basic motivation of personal ambition, and this unity contributed to an increased dissatisfaction with Ottoman rule.⁵

Ali Pasha, one of the local leaders recognized by the Sultan, controlled most of Albania from his headquarters in Jannina. As unrest spread and scattered rebellions in Greece began to gain supporters, the first battles occurred in Albania. Those efforts toward independence clashing with Ali Pasha's determination to remain in control became further entangled as a result of the Napoleonic wars.

Ali Pasha and the various Greek factions leaned, at one time or another, toward English or French support, depending on Napoleon's success as he advanced eastward. In 1806 the klefts, a Greek faction wanting independence and consisting of individuals from the mountainous terrain the Turks had failed to conquer, had joined with the English to attack Ali Pasha. He, in turn, had allied himself with the French. These military actions consisted of short-lived, small-scale operations aimed at local control in Greece compared to the large armies battling for territory in central and eastern Europe. The battles represented a Grecian struggle for power as the klefts attempted to defeat Ali Pasha and through him break from the Turks, while he tried to defend his domain. The fighting lasted less than a year, but by 1807 the Greeks had become pawns in the European chess

⁵Douglas Dakin, *The Unification of Greece: 1770–1923* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1972), 11–14; Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 9–24.

match for power. The international community then focused its attention on Napoleon and paid little heed to Greek concerns.

Napoleon negotiated the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 with Tsar Alexander of Russia. This treaty concluded the years of warfare that had resulted in the French conquest of provinces on the Italian peninsula, the Germanic territories known as the Holy Roman Empire, Austria, and Prussia. Tsar Alexander agreed to the treaty's terms to prevent an invasion of Russia, and Napoleon used the opportunity to establish his Continental System to deprive England of its European trade. The treaty also gave France control over certain contested portions of Greece and the Ionian Islands, despite the fact that English–French battles in Greece had not produced a military victory for either nation.

Napoleon's troops entered Greece and established an area of control in the Morea, the southern extremity of the peninsula. The French presence caused the opposing factions in Greece to change their allegiance. The klefts, hoping to achieve independence from the Turks, broke from their alignment with the English and attempted to gain French support for their cause. Ali Pasha, intending to defend himself against the Greeks and considering the French occupation a threat to his control, negotiated with England. The year 1808 found Napoleon invading and failing to win victory in Spain. England supported the Spanish cause in an effort to regain a foothold on the continent and resume its European trade. It also intended to drive the French out of Greece and undo that portion of Napoleon's blockade. In 1809, Byron met Ali Pasha during his first tour of the Continent. He learned that the Albanian favored the English, but he had found their

support sporadic and undependable. His primary concern, whether he had foreign assistance or not, remained the preservation of his own power and authority.⁶

English involvement intensified in October of 1809, but it happened as the result of an individual's commitment rather than official government policy. An English army officer, Major Richard Church, landed on the peninsula and met with individual Greeks opposed to both the French and the Turks. He established a base on Zante, an island west of the peninsula. Major Church personally sympathized with the Greeks' cause and, in order to engage the French, formed the Duke of York's Greek Light Infantry. This regiment consisted of British and Grecian soldiers, and it conducted operations on the mainland.⁷

Major Church returned to England after nearly three years fighting and the creation of a second Greek regiment in 1812. The Greeks who had allied themselves with the English understood that they had begun to make progress toward their goal of freedom. They asked Church to assist them in negotiating financial aid for their effort. Robert Castlereagh, the British Foreign Secretary, did not immediately answer this request. In the months that followed, events unfolded on the continent that overshadowed any English considerations of aid for the Greeks. Napoleon's failed offensive in Russia in 1812, and his abdication, resulted in the first Treaty of Paris in May 1814. The peace negotiations aimed toward establishing peace resulted in the English denying any further support to Greece. This situation altered, again, following Napoleon's escape from Elba and his

⁶Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 32–33; Phillips, Sampson, and Company, *The Works of Byron: Embracing His Suppressed Poems, and a Sketch of His Life*, New edition, complete in one volume (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, and Company, 1853), x.

⁷Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 33.

regaining power in France during the Hundred Days. The English denied any real support to Greece as they concentrated their attention on Napoleon and his eventual defeat at Waterloo.⁸

The allies made a new attempt at establishing peace in Europe following Napoleon's exile to St. Helena. The many Greek revolutionaries who had failed in their efforts to gain international support for their cause, dating from the years preceding the French Revolution, now witnessed a further hindrance to their goal. The nations which had defeated Napoleon, namely Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia, formed the Holy Alliance in 1815, led by Lord Castlereagh, foreign secretary of Great Britain; Prince Clemens von Metternich, foreign secretary of Austria; King Frederick William III of Prussia; and Tsar Alexander I of Russia. The Sultan did not become a part of this alliance, nor was he invited to join. Rather, the Europeans sought to use the growing instability of the Ottoman Empire to their advantage, with both Russia and England hoping to gain Turkish territory. Formed following the Congress of Vienna, the Holy Alliance met in a series of congresses designed to maintain peace in Europe. The diplomats had two goals: first, the establishment of peace in Europe and second, the preservation of that peace. These goals became illusive as revolts occurred in Spain and Italy and the Greeks intensified their efforts toward self-government. The Holy Alliance expanded its goals to include the policy of putting down any and all revolutions in an effort to maintain its original goals for peace. This resolution by the Holy Alliance also affected Edward

⁸Ibid., 33.; Henry A Kissinger, *A World Restored: Metternich, Castlereagh and the Problems of Peace 1812–1822* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1964), 215–217.

Everett's efforts in the United States and American governmental policy toward Greece addressed in Chapter four.⁹

The Ionian Islands of Corfu and Lefkas had enjoyed near independence by the year 1812, and both had formed republican governments following an earlier French defeat in 1800, prior to Napoleon's conquest of Europe. The Sultan had allowed the governments to function due to the insignificant amount of territory involved, and with the stipulation that the populations would continue to pay their taxes. Since the islands did not represent a vital concern to the Turks, the Sultan concentrated his efforts at maintaining control of the population on the peninsula. He considered the Greeks in the Morea as particularly threatening as he occasionally received word of rebel attempts to establish their own government.

Count John Kapodistrias, a Greek from the island of Corfu, had entered the service of Tsar Alexander in 1809. He represented Russia at the formation of the Holy Alliance. Major Church's regiment had defeated the French in part of western Greece, so that that portion of the peninsula's fate became one of the considerations facing the diplomats. Kapodistrias had the authority to negotiate the fate of his island home and the conquered area of Greece. He preferred independence, but he agreed to submit them to English control. He hoped for the preservation of the republics under the protection of the English, but this was not the result of the treaty signed on 15 November 1815. The mere mention of the word "republic" struck fear in the hearts of the conservative members of the Holy Alliance and reminded them of recent revolutions. The English did receive

⁹Kissinger, *A World Restored*, 215–217.

control over the two islands, but they maintained them in a manner similar to their control of their colonies.¹⁰

Events proceeded in Greece during the years 1816 through 1821 much as they had in the past. Local leaders defended their domains from rival factions or from demands by the Sultan's troops, and they conducted campaigns to add to their areas of control; but some of them began to accept the idea of combining their forces. The cry for independence became louder and gained support. The pace of activity accelerated with the turning of the decade, and the altercations that occurred began to evidence increasing degrees of violence. The Morea became the center of battle in April 1821 following a quickly-subdued revolt further north in Moldavia in January. The rebellion in Moldavia would have, theoretically, signaled the beginning of a series of uprisings throughout Greece, but events did not unfold according to design. The result of the action in Moldavia did directly affect Ali Pasha.¹¹

The uprising in Moldavia included joint actions in its southern neighbor Wallachia. These provinces, known as the Principalities, fell under the joint control of the Sultan and the Tsar according to the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji of 1774. The Sultan had dominion over the areas and determined those in control of the local governments, and the Tsar had the authority to insure that the residents led contented lives. As in greater Greece, further to the south, Greeks composed the majority of the population and filled the governmental offices. The rebellion began in early 1820 through the efforts of a group known as the

¹⁰Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 38–39.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 57–59.

eteria, and within a year, it produced local and international ramifications. The group represented yet another example of the lack of unity within Greece.

The *Filiki Eteria*, the friendly society, originated in Russia during the years between Napoleon's failed Russian campaign and his final defeat at Waterloo. The secret organization, perhaps originally suggested years earlier by Konstantinos Ipsilantis during his exile in Russia, had spread throughout Greece and its neighboring provinces steadily acquiring new members. Ipsilantis's son Alexandros followed his father into the organization and became its leader in 1820. Ipsilantis, maintaining that he had received word from Count John Kapodistrias, Greek advisor to Tsar Alexander, that Russia would send financial and military support to the uprising, gathered his forces and prepared to attack the Sultan's troops. The Sultan, however, could not concentrate all of his forces against the eteria due to the simultaneous revolt of his Janissary, Ali Pasha, in neighboring Albania.

Ipsilantis's rebellion failed. He faced the same difficulties that had prevented a truly united Greek effort in the past, and he received no support from Russia. The Greek soldiers continued to practice their usual methods of warfare. Adept guerilla fighters with a thorough knowledge of their mountainous neighborhoods, they inflicted great losses on their enemies with well-planned tactical strikes, and then they disappeared into the hillsides to fight again in a new location. The Greek commanders of the various units did not subordinate their forces to Ipsilantis's control. Rather, they sought to insure their own success and possible enrichment in either booty or added territorial gain. The Sultan's well-trained army caused Ipsilantis's collection of troops to scatter leaving him in an

indefensible position. He appealed to Russia for the aid that Kapodistrias had promised. Kapodistrias denied supporting the rebellion and, while the Tsar personally wanted to support the rebels, he refused any aid to Ipsilantis. The rebellion became an international concern when news of the uprising reached the Tsar as he attended the Congress of Laibach in January 1821.

During the Congress at Laibach, and also later at Hanover in October 1821, Lord Castlereagh and Prince Metternich succeeded at convincing the Tsar to not become involved in the Greek rebellions. Castlereagh maintained the English position that the uprisings constituted a series of ill-conceived plots instigated by individuals who merely sought personal gains. He held to his previous conclusion that Greece was in no position to form a new government, and that if one did form, it could not possibly endure. The Greeks were not ready for self-rule. Metternich managed to convince the Tsar that the rebellion represented the most recent example of the activity of a liberal revolutionary committee supposedly operating from somewhere in Paris. The Tsar acquiesced to the conclusions of his counterparts.

The Congress at Laibach did contribute to one concrete, although dismal, result. Tsar Alexander rebuked Ipsilantis and demanded he cease his activities. Ipsilantis removed himself from command, asked for and received permission to seek exile in Austria, and secured safe passage out of Greece. As soon as Ipsilantis crossed the border into Austria, the Austrian authorities withdrew their offer of safety and immediately imprisoned him. He remained in prison until his death in 1828. Meanwhile, during the uprising in the Principalities, and as the Sultan's forces pursued Ali Pasha, the Morea had erupted in

revolution. This series of uprisings represents one of the most unified efforts toward Grecian independence, but it did not endure. The participants continued to fight for individual rather than national goals.¹²

The earlier confrontations in the Principalities had resulted in sporadic yet ferocious fighting, but the warfare in the Morea produced the first atrocities of the revolution. The rebels gained territory during these campaigns by inflicting heavy casualties on the Turks. The revolt spread to the islands of Spetses and Idra, as the Greeks solidified their steps toward, and their commitment to, independence.¹³

The massacres in the Morea and the revolts on the islands caused the Sultan to intensify his measures at restoring order. The outbreaks in 1821 extended to a variety of dispersed areas and united previously diverse groups toward a common goal. One of the factions, the Christian Turks formerly opposed to the revolution, changed sides and allied its support with the rebels. The Christian Turks represented the wealthiest Greeks who had remained faithful to the Orthodox Church, paid their taxes to the Sultan, and built businesses that depended on Turkish strength. Their change in allegiance contributed needed funds for the revolution.

The Sultan determined to quash the rebellions spreading to the various areas by means that would leave no doubt concerning his resolve. Throughout the years, the

¹²Ibid., 48, 58, 60; G. Riebau, *History of Modern Greece, From 1820, to the Establishment of Grecian Independence* (London: G. Riebau, 1823), 30–34; C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh: 1815–1822; Britain and the European Alliance* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1958), 349–366.

¹³Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 57–59.

Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church had faced the decision of encouraging the Greeks to free themselves or of overseeing a peaceful coexistence between the Sultan and his subjects. The Patriarch, Grigorios, in Constantinople became one of the martyrs for the revolution. Following their arrest and conviction for supposedly collaborating with the rebels, the Turks hanged the Patriarch and his bishops in front of their church. This act led to increased insurrections throughout the peninsula and the islands, but it also began to attract the attention of individuals and groups in the nations of western Europe.¹⁴

The congress at Hanover produced an outline of four points designed to quell the uprisings, pacify the Sultan, and satisfy the Tsar: first, a restoration of the damaged or destroyed Greek churches; second, an agreement to protect the Greek religion; third, a determination of the guilt or innocence of the Greeks accused of participating in the rebellions, and fourth, an evacuation of the Sultan's troops from the Principalities so the areas could rebuild. During the peace talks at Hanover, portions of the Sultan's army continued its attempts to subdue Ali Pasha in Albania and reaffirm the Sultan's authority.¹⁵

The Sultan had branded Ali Pasha an outlaw and demanded his immediate presence in Constantinople to answer charges of insurrection against his regime. He ignored the order to appear and defend himself and, instead, offered to trade information he claimed to have concerning the eteria. The Sultan, considering his most pressing problems, decided that Ali must answer the charges against him lest other local leaders perceive a weakness in the government in Constantinople. The troops he had sent made slow but steady advances,

¹⁴Ibid., 60; G. Riebau, *History of Modern Greece* 30–34.

¹⁵Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, 379.

finally, forcing Ali Pasha to retreat to an island on Lake Jannina. Ali attempted to buy his freedom and, hopefully, return to the Sultan's favor. The Sultan rejected the bribe and declared that Ali had to die. The Sultan's forces murdered him in his island fortress and returned his head to Constantinople. With Ali's death in January 1822, the Sultan's forces could concentrate on subduing the remaining Greek rebels.¹⁶

The Greeks did achieve independence from the Ottoman Empire, but real stability did not begin until 1833, nine years after Byron's death. Greek freedom came in stages due to the continued lack of a unified effort among themselves and the inconsistent support of the international community. The Sultan intensified his military actions on the peninsula, causing the Holy Alliance reconsider its policies toward Turkey. By 1824 France had become an active player in war-torn Greece, and the five European powers of England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France began to dictate terms to the Sultan. They instructed him to cease military operations and allow the Greeks to form their own government under the protectorship of the European powers. A form of constitutional monarchy became real in January 1833 when Otho, the son of King Ludwig of Bavaria, assumed the throne of Greece.¹⁷

¹⁶Ibid., 391; Dakin, *The Greek Struggle* 68–69.

¹⁷Dakin, *The Unification of Greece*, 64.

CHAPTER IV
LORD BYRON'S EARLY YEARS

The American and French Revolutions instituted new, and overturned previous, forms of government during the late eighteenth century, as the Industrial Revolution fueled social upheaval. The Romantic period in literature, dating from approximately 1750 through 1850, developed during this period of political and social change. The writers of this era produced works that reflected the innovations they witnessed and introduced ideas that inspired future developments. Lord Byron, with his contemporary and companion Percy Bysshe Shelley, and John Keats followed in the footsteps of William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and Robert Southey, but their path eventually led them away from their forerunners' conclusions.

Romantic literature evolved through several stages during its century of life. It began as a reaction against Classicism and the idealization of Reason as inspired by the *Philosophes* of the Enlightenment. The Romantics praised nature, presented new ideas concerning mankind's abilities, and stressed the importance of human emotion. Originally, these innovative ideas occurred as revolutionaries established republics in the colonies of North America in 1776 and in France following the overthrow of the Bourbon monarchy in 1789. Wordsworth toured France in 1790 and again in 1792. He and Coleridge supported liberal, republican goals as the French Revolution unfolded, but they revised

their conclusions when the new government descended into the Terror and produced Napoleon Bonaparte. They continued to believe in human rights and liberties, but they became cautious in their political views after seeing the violence that accompanied change. Byron, Shelley and Keats followed in the next generation, and they saw revolution as necessary and desirable for any subjected people. This difference of opinion between the older and the younger generations concerning revolution occurred during the social upheaval produced by the Industrial Revolution.¹

The Romantics believed that the Medieval period represented a simple and wholesome era that sharply contrasted with the expansion of business and industry. They shared a reverence for the purity of nature and condemned the expanding forest of chimneys blackening the smoke-filled sky. As technology advanced, society appeared to degenerate with cities spreading into the surrounding countryside and individuals losing their dignity when seen as common laborers rather than skilled craftsmen. The Romantics applied their original idea of mankind attaining a better life to the changing social conditions that they witnessed. Their writings glorified working men and women and praised the wholesome lives of those who lived far from courtly society. Their search for the ideal, prompted by an admiration of the Medieval past and combined with a reverence for nature, led the Romantics still further back in history to the period of ancient Greece and Rome. Both generations published works inspired by this earlier epoch. Wordsworth wrote “Laodamia” in 1815, and Keats began writing “Hyperion” in 1818. Byron’s *Childe*

¹Noyes, “Introductory Survey,” in *English Romantic Poetry and Prose*, xxxii, xxix.

Harold preceded these poems in 1812 and, as the years went by, his interest in Greece intensified.²

Byron lived with his mother, Catherine, in London during the early years of his life. His father, John Byron, deserted his family shortly after his son's birth on 22 January 1788. Aware that the child suffered from a physically misshapen foot, an accident at birth, the young mother attempted to find remedies for his handicap. Although he walked with difficulty, Byron attended school and shared in his friends' activities. He forced himself to become adept at sports and established a reputation for his boxing abilities. His interests remained the same throughout his years of schooling; physical activity took precedence over his academic studies. He recovered from an attack of scarlet fever at the age of eight, and his mother took him to the Scottish countryside near Aberdeen, seeking a healthier environment than London's Holles Street. William, the fifth Lord Byron, George Gordon's granduncle, died 17 May 1798, and Catherine's son inherited his title. Lord Byron and his mother returned to England and the family estate at Newstead Abbey.

Lord Carlisle, uncle of the young Lord Byron, became his guardian upon their arrival, and his mother moved on to live in Nottingham. The boy returned to his studies and over the years attended Harrow School and Trinity College Cambridge. His mother and his nurse had introduced him to the Scriptures, and he soon began to study the classics. He became a student of the Reverend Francis Hodgson as he entered Cambridge. The two shared many interests and became friends enhancing their teacher-pupil relationship. They valued the lessons taught by history and philosophy and found common ground in their

²Ibid., xxxi, xxxii, 348, 1173.

love of poetry and knowledge of the Bible. Their reverence for Scripture and verse blossomed as they explored the Psalms and engaged in lengthy conversations. This exposure to Greek history and literature contributed to Byron's desire to include Greece in his first tour of the continent.³

The majority of the literate English population possessed some knowledge of Greek history, its literature, and its status in the late 1700's. English students became familiar with Grecian affairs, depending on the extent of their study. Byron arrived at Cambridge shortly after Reverend Hodgson joined the faculty. The theologian described the format for one of the courses he would teach to his colleagues. He suggested an all-inclusive study of ancient Greece and Rome. The writings and speeches of classical poets and statesmen would become real for the students when read with a knowledge of daily life in Athens or Rome. The verse of Byron and other Romantic poets brought the memory of classroom assignments to life and enhanced their awareness of Greece. Their poetry addressed various aspects of classical life from the many gods and goddesses who interacted with the lives of mortals to verses that described the symmetry of sculpture. This knowledge of Greece, extending from the schools to the daily lives of the reading public, contributed to the development of philhellenism.⁴

³Phillips, Sampson, and Company, *The Works of Byron*, viii; Rev. James T. Hodgson, M.A., *Memoirs of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B.D.: Scholar, Poet, and Divine: With Numerous Letters from Lord Byron and Others*, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1878), 95.

⁴*Ibid.*, 84–85; Noyes, “Introductory Survey,” xxxii.

Philhellenism, a term that united those concerned with the Greek cause, combined the Greek words *philo*, which means loving, and *Hellene* which means Greek. Through the years, many Greeks had migrated from their homeland to various nations throughout Europe. Russia, due to the influence of the Eastern Orthodox church, became the home for many of these migrants. They did not entirely abandon their culture, and many of them spoke of the desire to free their homeland from the rule of the Ottoman Empire. As the revolution unfolded, non-Greeks began to offer their support to the philhellenes.

Many of the Greeks had become educators in their new homes, while others had entered the business and industrial fields. Trade routes brought Grecian events to European ears and western ideas to Greece. This exchange of information added fuel to the sparks ignited by the desire for Greek independence. The Greeks who expressed ideas concerning freedom found support in the tenets advocated by the *Philosophes* of the Enlightenment. They learned of the successful revolutions of 1776 and 1789 that made the ideals of Locke, Rousseau and Montesquieu become real. As the eighteenth century came to a close, Greeks from various walks of life began to demand their freedom.

The English government maintained a diplomatic office in Turkey under the direction of Thomas Bruce, Lord Elgin. He had become ambassador to Constantinople in 1802, following assignments in Berlin and Vienna. He also pursued a personal interest as he became fascinated with the sculpture of Greece. Legendary buildings, dating from the Classical period of antiquity, attracted his attention. The expansion of the war's battles had damaged or destroyed many of those buildings and continued to threaten others. He became a procurer of Greek antiquities while at his post, acquiring and arranging for the

shipment of sculptures to England. Many people in England approved of his efforts and believed that he saved the sculptures from destruction, but others disapproved of his efforts.⁵

Byron criticized Lord Elgin's actions in the twelfth stanza of the second canto of *Childe Harold*:

But most the modern Pict's ignoble boast,
To rive what Goth, and Turk, and Time hath spared:
Cold as the crags upon his native coast,
His mind as barren and his heart as hard,
Is he whose head conceived, whose hand prepared,
Aught to displace Athena's poor remains:
Her Sons too weak the sacred shrine to guard,
Yet felt some portion of their Mother's pains,
And never knew, till then, the weight of Despot's chains.⁶

The acquisition and public display of these sculptures contributed to the English peoples' awareness of their relationship with Greece, but Byron explained the incorrectness of the deed. His verse also informed his readers that the Greeks, realizing their loss, began to resent the oppression of the Ottoman Empire.

Lord Byron departed England for the continent in 1809. He returned in 1811, having formed firm conclusions concerning Grecian independence. Traveling with John Cam Hobhouse and several servants, he toured Portugal, Spain and Malta before arriving in

⁵Dakin, *The Unification of Greece*, 11; Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 22–23; Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783–1919*, vol. 1, *1783–1815* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1923; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 313 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Larrabee, *Hellas Observed*, 18.

⁶George Gordon, Lord Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, in *The Selected Poetry of Lord Byron*, ed. and with an Introduction by Leslie A. Marchand (New York: Random House, Inc., 1951), 42.

Albania where he became a guest of Ali Pasha, as the local leader began to fall out of favor with the Sultan.

Byron's visit to Greece occurred as sporadic military activity began to spread in Greece, but he did not participate in any of the military actions. He stayed in Jannina and then traveled on southward to Athens. His tour of the peninsula included portions of the Morea, but the skirmishes between the English and French did not affect his travels. He became ill with a fever during this excursion in late 1810 and went to the Capuchin convent in Athens to recover his health. During his convalescence he studied recent Greek history to learn more about the volatile environment he had entered. His inquiries into Greek efforts toward independence included current events, history extending forty years in the past, and tales that resembled folklore. His history lesson concerned failed Greek rebellions and the advancement of Napoleon's armies. Greek myths became real as the poet learned of the first martyr for the Greek cause, an obscure individual named Rigas Velestinlis. He combined his efforts to understand historical facts and the folk hero Velestinlis with the current events he had witnessed during his travels and at the home of his host in Jannina, Ali Pasha.⁷

Strongly impressed by his recently acquired knowledge of the Greek who had advocated independence from Turkey, Byron translated the hymn that Rigas the revolutionary had written and included it in *Childe Harold* after returning to England:

⁷Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. III, Brown-Chaloner (London: Humphrey Milford, 1917; reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1921–1922 and again 1937–1938), 589 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Dakin, *The Greek Struggle* 26–30.

Sons of the Greeks, arise!
The glorious hour's gone forth,
And, worthy of such ties,
Display who gave us birth.⁸

Byron described the Grecian efforts toward independence to English society after he returned to England; although he did not actively campaign or seek support for the cause. He believed in the goal of Greek independence, but he thought it must come from a Grecian effort. Byron had survived an incident during his travel through the Morea that left him with vivid memories of one of the Greek factions and their motives. He had traveled with several Albanians and Greeks, and the group withstood an armed attack. “At that time five and twenty Mainotes (pirates) [Greek pirates] were in the caves at the foot of the cliff with some Greek boatmen their prisoners.”⁹ The pirates did not attack when they saw the size of Byron’s group, but he witnessed the victimization of Greeks at the hands of their own countrymen. He knew that foreign aid could not enhance and encourage a united effort where the spirit of unity did not exist.

Upon his return to England in 1811, Lord Byron divided his attention between the events occurring in Greece and his personal life. Arriving in London in July, he first faced financial difficulties. He arranged his business affairs and began to concentrate on the final preparations of *Childe Harold* with his publisher, when he received word of his mother’s illness. He hurried to Newstead, but she died before he arrived on the first day of August. In a letter to Hobhouse on 10 August he wrote, “My dwelling you already know is the

⁸Lord Byron, *Translation of the Famous Greek War Song*, Phillips, Sampson, and Company, *The Works of Byron*, 539.

⁹Marchand, *Byron's Letters and Journals*, vol. 2, 1810–1812, 30–31.

house of mourning, and I am really so much bewildered with the different shocks I have sustained, that I can hardly reduce myself to reason by the most frivolous occupations.”¹⁰ His mother’s death followed shortly after those of two of his closest friends, and he lost a third friend soon after she died. His letter to Hobhouse indicated the extent he felt each loss, and he withdrew into a period of solitude as others promoted the Greeks’ cause.

Byron’s seclusion proved short-lived. The poet received the admiration of the English public immediately following the publication of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold* in 1812. Critics praised his work, and he became the center of attention at elite social gatherings. *Childe Harold* remained incomplete, but the release of the first two segments of the poem demonstrated his talents as a Romantic poet. His verse also presented England with a clear picture of the turmoil in Greece with this description in stanza seventy-five of the second canto:

In all save form alone, how changed! and who
That marks the fire still sparkling in each eye,
Who but would deem their bosoms burned anew
With thy unquenchéd beam, lost Liberty!
And many dream withal the hour is nigh
That gives them back their father’s heritage:
For foreign arms and aid they fondly sigh,
Nor solely dare encounter hostile rage,
Or tear their name defiled from Slavery’s mournful page.¹¹

¹⁰Peter Quennell, ed., *Byron: A Self-Portrait, Letters and Diaries 1798–1824 with Hitherto Unpublished Letters*, vol. 1 (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), 107; Phillips, Sampson, and Company, *The Works of Byron*, xi.

¹¹Samuel C. Chew, *Byron In England: His Fame and After-Fame* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc., 1965), 5–28; Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 592–593; Lord Byron, *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*, in *The Selected Poetry of Lord Byron*, ed. by Leslie A. Marchand, 62.

Byron's notoriety contributed to an increased concern in English society for Grecian affairs. Public opinion began to influence English governmental policy through the efforts of John Cam Hobhouse, Byron's lifelong friend, companion during his continental excursion, and member of Parliament. The revolutionaries did not immediately receive assistance either from legislation or, as previously discussed, Lord Castlereagh's foreign policy despite the increase in public awareness. But the plight of the Greeks had begun to receive more attention and verbal support.

Byron took his seat in the House of Lords and voiced his support for the common working man demonstrating that his Romantic ideals outweighed the importance of his aristocratic position. In the years that followed, he pursued a series of unsuccessful personal relationships. He discussed society's expectations for individuals of his position with John Cam Hobhouse. He understood that marriage and family combined with his personal endeavors as a poet and parliamentarian equaled success and status in the eyes of many. In a ceremony that approached a marriage of convenience, with both the bride's and groom's families belonging to England's aristocracy, Lord Byron married Anne Isabella Milbanke on 2 January 1815.¹²

Byron's first speech in the House of Lords on 27 February 1812, concerned a recently enacted law known as the Frame-work Bill. The law addressed violent demonstrations against the owners of factories and damages to their property. Factory owners had replaced skilled artisans with machines operated by unskilled labor, and the unemployed workers had begun to riot and destroy the machines. The law declared frame-breaking a

¹²Chew, *Byron In England*, 12–28.

capital offense. Byron opposed the bill after personally witnessing the Luddite riots of Nottingham's stocking manufacturers nearby his home at Newstead Abbey. Those riots during late 1811, and early 1812, demonstrated the inhumane callousness of the Industrial Revolution and the heartlessness of manufacturers to Byron.

The Luddite riots involved skilled artisans who broke into factories and private homes to destroy the newly installed machines. These workers justified their actions as a defense of their livelihoods and a preservation of a sound society. Factories, according to the artisans, eliminated professional skills developed over a lengthy period of time. The apprenticeship system provided a stabilizing effect on the trades as young men entered a profession, learned their tasks through an established series of duties, and finally achieved the status of skilled craftsmen. Machines eliminated the need for skilled labor and forced workers from their professions. Society itself became threatened by these innovations as the admirable traits of frugality, patience, and pride in an occupation took second place to mass production.

The government had responded to the riots by sending troops to put a stop to the destruction. In early 1812, two regiments reinforced the 1900 infantry and cavalry troops that had previously arrived in Nottingham on 9 December. The scene appalled Byron, and he immediately wrote to company authorities and members of Parliament to voice his opinion of the situation. His correspondence foreshadowed his speech in the House of Lords.

Professing his abhorrence of violence, he defended the artisans' actions as the drastic steps necessary to protect their well-being. He described the workers' plight as they had

their wages reduced, or their jobs eliminated, during a period of rising costs for life's necessities. Rather than aiding these workers, the government responded with military force and the threat of armed confrontation. Byron condemned the factory owners for mass producing inferior products that failed to meet industry standards. He did not succeed at undoing the law, and he began to reevaluate his position in the House of Lords. His lack of success caused him to reflect on his effectiveness as a legislator and on any government's ability to control human behavior. He formed the conclusions that later led him to abandon his political career and publicly criticize members of the English government during this period of his life.¹³

Byron's marriage to Anne Milbanke proved as disillusioning as his Parliamentary experience. The union did not provide the happiness that the young couple had imagined. Lady Byron gave birth to their daughter Augusta Ada on 10 December 1815, but by the time of her birth, both of them viewed the marriage as a failure.¹⁴ Whether encouraging him as he prepared to address the House of Lords, or offering an understanding ear during his marital difficulties, John Cam Hobhouse remained a true and steadfast friend to Byron.

Hobhouse and Byron had gone their separate ways in 1810, during their tour of the Continent, but they maintained an active correspondence. He pursued his own literary career and wrote accounts of his travels with Byron, Napoleon Bonaparte's exile to Elba, and the Hundred Days when Napoleon attempted to regain power in France. Hobhouse

¹³Michael Foot, *The Politics of Paradise: A Vindication of Byron* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988), 127–130, 398–404.

¹⁴Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 594–595.

began to assist Byron and ensure that he received sound legal advice as he faced financial difficulties when he and Anne Milbanke separated. Their friendship had developed into a lasting relationship that found each of them relying on the other for support and encouragement.¹⁵

Byron's personal difficulties during this period affected the remaining years of his life. The marriage that had ended in separation resulted in a divorce, and the poet left his wife and daughter never to see them again. He found himself nearly bankrupt and failed to see any promise of change in the future. Byron had met Edward Everett, as the Bostonian began his European tour, during this period of turmoil. He explained to Everett that he remembered his travels in Greece as the happiest period of his life and spoke of returning in the future. His future arrived on 24 April 1816 when Byron, again, left England for the continent.¹⁶

Byron traveled through Belgium and Germany to Geneva, Switzerland. He made arrangements with his publisher, John Murray, concerning the sale of previous works, and he sold Newstead Abbey. With his finances in better repair, he rented the Villa Diodati on Lake Geneva and concentrated on his verse. He had heard of Percy Bysshe Shelley and met him for the first time while he lived in the villa when Shelley, too, arrived in Geneva. Shelley's wife Mary and Claire Clairmont, Mary's half-sister, had accompanied Shelley to Switzerland. The writers encouraged each other as they focused on their work, sailed on

¹⁵Peter W. Graham, ed., *Byron's Bulldog: The Letters of John Cam Hobhouse to Lord Byron* (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1984), 10–11.

¹⁶Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 594–595; Larrabee, *Hellas Observed*, 30.

the lake, and explored the Alps. They found they shared social and political opinions as well as their love of literature.¹⁷

The short five-month time from May until September in 1816, proved decisive for Byron due to his companionship with Shelley. Similar in age, Byron five years Shelley's senior at twenty-eight, they complemented and challenged each other. Mary Shelley described their flowing conversations in true Romantic fashion; Byron spoke and Shelley answered just as rain followed thunder. Both of them had left England as the result of financial difficulties and failed personal relationships. In Shelley's case, the economic straits involved an annual income inherited from his grandfather, and the relationship included Harriet Westbrook, the wife he deserted to elope with Mary. He often found himself penniless since Harriet had access to his accounts. The reasons for their departure from England created a common bond between the poets, but their personal difficulties took second place to the other interests that they shared.¹⁸

Shelley had met Mary after becoming acquainted with William Godwin, Mary's stepfather. He had studied Plato and George Berkeley prior to meeting Godwin and formed his own theory of Free Will. The philosophers had described common events or occurrences as reflections of an ideal reality, and Shelley expanded the concept into man's ability to improve himself and his surroundings toward that greater ideal. He became interested in Godwin after reading his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, which

¹⁷Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 595–602; Chew, *Byron In England*, 5–28.

¹⁸Noyes, *English Romantic Poetry and Prose*, 955–956.

addressed human ability to improve by first changing the institutions of society. These ideas became part of Shelley's late-night, and all-night, discussions with Byron.

Byron roamed the base of the mountains with a copy of Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Héloïse*, excited to walk in the author's steps and fascinated by the timelessness of his prose. Shelley's definition of free will exactly fit what Byron had read, and it coincided with his own poetry. Rousseau had written a description of nature that appeared timeless to Byron so that, years later, he could experience the same feelings the author described. He knew that he personally wrote of things that existed and of ideas that could, perhaps, become real. He reflected on his literary goals and his discussions with Shelley about free will. The step from individual improvement which would, then, create beneficial social change appeared to apply to both his poetry and his social ideals. The desire to make an honest effort toward a positive outcome became crucial several years later when Byron and Shelley met again in Venice.¹⁹

Byron's life also began to fill with controversy during this period in Geneva. The sudden success he had enjoyed in 1812 had begun to fade as he faced financial and marital problems. The English public heard rumors of his actions in Geneva, and the innuendos quickly became scandalous conversation. Byron had a relationship with Claire Clairmont in Geneva. The Shelleys returned to England, delivering the third canto of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* to Byron's publisher, and Claire accompanied them, giving birth there to Byron's daughter, Allegra. John Cam Hobhouse left England for another of his European excursions and met Byron in Geneva in November. They traveled to Venice

¹⁹Ibid., 957–961; Foot, *The Politics of Paradise*, 174–182.

together. Hobhouse traveled on southward through Italy, while Byron took up residence in Venice. He remained in Italy until he departed for Greece in 1823.²⁰

The Shelleys and Claire Clairmont, again, left England in 1818, and traveled to several cities in Italy before settling in Pisa. Their lives, complicated by real and rumored extra-marital affairs, go beyond the focus of this study. Their reunion with Byron is, however, vital to this work and forms a turning point in all of their lives.

²⁰Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 596–602.

CHAPTER V
THE REVOLUTIONARY LORD BYRON

Byron lacked a definite direction during the time between late 1816 and 1818. He lived in Venice for a time and then moved to Bologna and on to Ravenna. He continued to write and produced “Don Juan” during this period, but his reputation at home further diminished as he pursued an affair with a married woman. He had become concerned with his weight earlier in his life, and he weakened his already frail health with a diet that provided little nourishment. He sent for Allegra, and the Shelleys and Claire Clairmont brought her to him in 1818. He refused to have any contact with Claire and cared for Allegra, alone, in Venice and Ravenna before sending her to the Bagna-Cavallo convent near Ravenna in 1821. He provided money for her care and returned to Venice.¹

Byron had considered leaving Italy for Spain or South America and participating in the liberal revolutions that had begun in those areas. He affiliated himself with the Carbonari in early 1821, in Ravenna, as that group attempted to accomplish its own revolution. The Italian revolt failed. The Holy Alliance put down the rebellion and strengthened Austria’s position in Italy. The actions of the Holy Alliance infuriated Byron and strengthened his commitment to liberal change. He left Ravenna and moved to Pisa in

¹Ibid., 596–602; Anne K. Mellor, *Mary Shelley: Her Life, Her Fiction, Her Monsters* (New York: Methuen Publishers, 1988), xvi.

1822. He arrived in Pisa in very poor health. Weakened by his unhealthy diet, he had again succumbed to fevers in the swamps of Venice and Ravenna. He affiliated himself with a group of Italian Philhellenes known as the Pisan Group. The Shelleys had also, previously, moved to Pisa and belonged to this group.²

Shelley and Byron renewed their friendship despite their complicated personal relationships, particularly Byron's rejection of Claire, that had produced a tension between them. Their poetry, personal efforts to learn and continually add to their knowledge, and beliefs in the possible improvement of individuals and society remained their common bonds. They entered into an enterprise while living in Pisa, the publication of a literary journal, that represented a shared common interest, but it produced yet another strain on their friendship. The joint effort included a third member, an acquaintance of Byron's from many years in the past, Leigh Hunt. Hunt had edited a political pamphlet in England titled the *Examiner*. Byron had visited him in jail in 1812, following his trial and conviction for insulting a member of the royal family. Byron and Shelley, together, contacted Hunt about their proposed publication, and he left England to join them. As they awaited his arrival, Byron and Shelley made a new acquaintance who directly affected the outcomes of both of their lives, Edward J. Trelawny.³

Trelawny, English by birth and a wanderer by nature, arrived in Pisa in January 1822, at the home of his friends Edward and Jane Williams. The Williams, who were also

²Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 596–602; Chew, *Byron In England*, 5–28.

³C. L. Cline, *Byron, Shelley, and their Pisan Circle* (London: John Murray, 1952), 72–80.

friends of the Shelleys, had moved to Pisa the preceding January, become part of the Pisan group, and told and retold accounts of Trelawny's exploits as the group awaited his arrival. He, Trelawny, had read Byron's works and knew of his literary success, but he had become fascinated with Shelley's poetry and determined to meet the young poet who had not yet received the acclaim he would later achieve. As soon as Trelawny met Shelley and Byron, the three understood they shared two additional interests: a love for sailing and a concern for the developments in Greece, two topics the Edwards had spoken of in their description of Trelawny and his travels.⁴

Byron resolved to go to Greece and become part of the revolution as a result of his conversations with Shelley and Trelawny and the continual reports of the Greek war that reached them in Pisa. The three discussed going together, but made no definite plans for an immediate departure. Their contribution to Grecian independence, during these years, consisted of Byron's correspondence attacking the policies of Lord Castlereagh, and the poetry that he and Shelley wrote that described an ideal Hellenic domain.⁵

The Pisan group divided their attention between two topics during the year 1822. They continued to wait for Leigh Hunt to arrive so they could begin publishing their journal, and they read the latest news from Greece which intensified their interest in, and expressed commitment to, the revolutionaries' cause. They had two sources of information concerning Greece: newspaper accounts of the developments within the

⁴Ibid., 72–80.

⁵E. J. Trelawny, *Trelawny's Recollections of the Last Days of Shelley and Byron*, with an Introduction by Edward Dowden (London: Humphrey Milford, 1906), 16–18.

besieged areas, and a Greek living in exile in Pisa who tutored Mary Shelley. She had begun taking lessons in Greek with a man named Alexandros Mavrokordatos, a leader of one of the Greek factions who had come to Italy seeking aid for the revolution. He provided the group with details and explanations of events that made published news reports understandable and more complete. The conversations that Byron, Shelley, and Trelawny shared with Mavrokordatos caused them to focus their attention more fully on the cause of Greek independence.⁶ But the year 1822, also produced a series of devastating events that, eventually, destroyed the Pisan group.

The entire group enjoyed sailing, but all of them knew that Trelawny, alone, excelled as a seaman. He had joined the English navy at the tender age of thirteen and become a seasoned sailor during his time in service. One day, during the period that Shelley had begun to write *Hellas*, Trelawny took the poet on a tour of the docks at Leghorn. He knew that Shelley, and Byron on a more reserved, realistic level due to his previous travels in Greece, praised the Greek revolutionaries as descendants of the Hellenic past. They boarded a Greek trading vessel, and Shelley's idealistic vision of Greece collapsed as they conversed with the ship's captain. He had no concern for the revolution save the fact that it hindered his ability to conduct business. The crew argued, gambled, and ridiculed each other in garbled dialects that had no similarity to the language that his wife Mary devoted an hour-and-a-half to learning each morning. He left the ship disillusioned and began to

⁶Muriel Spark, *Mary Shelley* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1987), 77–80.

question his previous conclusions of the people of Greece. The Greeks he had seen fell far short of his Hellenic ideal.⁷

The lesson that Shelley learned onboard the ship provides an insight into Trelawny's character. Dashing and daring, one who had lived a life that Romantic poets praised and admired, Trelawny held no illusions of reality. He described life's events in blunt, at times harsh, realistic terms. He did not allow this trait to harden him to the thoughts or feelings of others, and he knew that he had inadvertently hurt Shelley. Perhaps to reassure his friend that he had meant no harm, or perhaps to become a part of Shelley's grand plan of improving the individual and society, Trelawny offered a suggestion. The group, the entire Pisan circle of friends, could acquire a boat, sail to one of the islands off the coast of Greece, and build their lives anew. Trelawny began to discredit the plan and admit that it had no possibility of succeeding as soon he had spoken the words, but the idea thrilled Shelley. He asked Trelawny to propose the plan to Byron.

Byron reacted with the same enthusiasm expressed by Shelley but suggested two boats rather than one. Trelawny listened to the poets' ideas about a large, decked yacht for Byron and a smaller, open boat for Shelley. He left Pisa for Genoa to meet a shipbuilder that he knew, Captain Daniel Roberts. Roberts began drawing the designs for the ships and preparing estimates for their costs.⁸ The group anxiously anticipated the completion of the ships and continued to await the arrival of Leigh Hunt, when the first tragedy occurred.

⁷Trelawny, *Trelawny's Recollections*, 53–55.

⁸*Ibid.*, 59–61.

In April Byron received the devastating news that his daughter Allegra had died after contracting a fever. This shock staggered him and nearly caused him to lose all sense of direction. He had originally arrived in Pisa in frail health but had managed to regain much of his strength. He had drifted with no specific goal or destination following the suppression of the Carbonari, but he had refocused his energies once among the members of the group. He suffered physically and emotionally because of his daughter's death, and he and the others mourned the loss of the five-year-old.⁹

Leigh Hunt arrived in Pisa at the end of June. The poets immediately began work on the first volume of their journal. Byron forced himself to devote his time and energy to the publication and found himself better able to come to terms with the loss of his daughter. The journal, titled the *Liberal* by Byron, soon began to strain the group's unity rather than serve as an invigorating project. The first difficulty involved Byron's relationship with Hunt's family. After all of the delay and anticipation awaiting Hunt's arrival, Byron met Hunt's wife very reservedly, if not coldly. This affront compounded due to Byron's impatience with Hunt's children. The second dispute occurred when publication rights to Byron's material came into question. Byron had notified John Murray, his publisher in England, of his work on the *Liberal*, but questions soon arose over the publication of Byron's other works. Byron did not want to end his business relationship with Murray, and he finally convinced Hunt that his poetry and his contributions to the *Liberal* represented two separate literary endeavors. They managed to reach a working agreement that satisfied all of the contributors and concentrated their

⁹Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 596–602.

efforts toward the first edition of the journal. They felt hopeful for the possibility of their success and dedicated themselves to the project.¹⁰

Captain Roberts delivered the two ships in June, and the final tragedy, that would destroy the Pisan group, began to unfold. Shelley christened his ship the *Don Juan* and Byron, his, the *Bolivar*. Trelawny may have experienced a feeling of foreboding as he sailed with Shelley and Edward Williams on the *Don Juan*. Williams had served as a sailor for several years before joining the cavalry, but he had limited sailing skills. Shelley's seamanship abilities consisted of a love for the pursuit with little, or no, knowledge of the procedure. Trelawny definitely felt fear and concern when Shelley and Williams sailed from Leghorn for the Gulf of Spezzia on the evening of 8 July.

The sky had begun to darken with threatening clouds prior to Shelley's and Williams's departure from Leghorn. Trelawny had followed them to Leghorn in Byron's *Bolivar*, but the harbor authorities refused him permission to leave without the proper papers. He watched his friends sail toward the gathering storm through the ship's glass and spent the rainy, windy night in Leghorn. The next day, still awaiting papers to sail from the harbor, Trelawny questioned the crews of arriving ships about the *Don Juan*. No one had seen the ship. He borrowed a horse, rode to Byron in Pisa, and asked him if Shelley and Williams had arrived. Byron became immediately concerned as the two had not yet arrived and, together, he and Trelawny organized a search for their friends. Byron waited in Pisa for their arrival, while Trelawny sent word to Leghorn for the *Bolivar* to

¹⁰Ernest J. Lovell, Jr., ed., *His Very Self and Voice: Collected Conversations of Lord Byron* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1954), 317–321.

coast the shoreline, as he rode back along the miles of shore. Trelawny became the first to know of the tragedy, as he found items from the *Don Juan* washed up on the shore. He returned to inform Byron, Mary Shelley, and Jane Williams of what he had found, but none of the group gave up hope for Shelley's and Williams's survival. Ten days later Trelawny found, first, Shelley's body washed ashore and, later the same day, Williams's body three miles away farther along the coast.

Trelawny oversaw the cremation of the bodies of Shelley and Williams, with Byron and Leigh Hunt in attendance. Shelley's cremation followed the day after Williams's on 21 July. Leigh Hunt, devastated by the loss of two friends, could offer no assistance to Trelawny. Byron looked toward the sea from the shoreline as the ritual took place and, perhaps thinking of Shelley's defiance of the approaching storm, defied the sea to claim his body, too, by swimming the mile to where the *Bolivar* lay anchored.¹¹

The Pisan group had had no leader. Byron represented the most famous of the writers. Mary Shelley had published her novel *Frankenstein* and several other works. Leigh Hunt had established his reputation as a minor poet, literary critic, and editor of radical journals. Trelawny personified the characters that made up Byron's and Shelley's poetry, but he had no claim to fame. Shelley had written many poems by the time of his death, but he received more criticism than praise from literary reviewers. Together, the individuals combined to form a functioning, creative unit. With Shelley's death, all of them understood that the catalyst that had united them no longer existed. When Shelley died, the Pisan group died, and the individuals went their separate ways.

¹¹Trelawny, *Trelawny's Recollections*, 72–90.

Jane Williams returned to London in September. Claire Clairmont, already nearly separated from the group due to Byron's rejection, moved to Vienna during the same month. Mary Shelley remained and, with Shelley's notebooks, attempted to help Leigh Hunt with publication of the *Liberal* until she departed for England in 1823. The Hunt's eventually returned to England after the *Liberal* had published only three editions. Byron and Trelawny remained in Italy, but their relationship became more distant. Shelley's death had devastated both of them. Trelawny went his own way as he had done throughout his life, and Byron began to talk seriously of departing for Greece.¹²

English Philhellenes had combined to form the London Committee in January 1823. Hobhouse, one of the organizers of the committee, began to actively seek support for the Greek revolution. Byron offered his services to the London Committee in April. In a letter on 6 May 1823, Hobhouse thanked Byron for his offer. He went on to say, "You, however, will find the elements of a regular government not yet settled into form & constant action but still having some useful operation—At all events your appearing amongst these poor fellows will have a great & beneficial effect." With these words, Hobhouse cautioned Byron about the situation he would find in Greece. The government that Hobhouse described represented one of the Greek efforts in the Morea that had alarmed the Sultan. Despite its lack of organization, it had begun to unify several of the Greek factions.¹³

¹²Mellor, *Mary Shelley*, xvi–xvii.

¹³Graham, *Byron's Bulldog*, 329.

Byron did not immediately leave Italy. His financial affairs, put in good order during his years on the continent, required a portion of his attention. He contacted his bankers in England to arrange for the transfer of personal funds, and he made preparations for the possibility of loans in the future. He also began to acquire supplies and materials for himself and for the rebels' cause. On 28 May 1823, he wrote to Hobhouse, "The medical stores 'for a 1000 men—for two years' are not very dear since their cost will hardly amount to seventy pounds sterling—and I shall either send or take them up with me—with other things for the service—as I said before—purchased & conveyed at my own expence—of course." Byron faced several months of preparation before departing for Greece.¹⁴

Byron also altered his public position concerning English governmental policy during his preparations to go to Greece. English popular opinion had swayed toward the Greek cause leading to the formation of the London Committee, and English policy makers had begun to reconsider their stance as well. John Cam Hobhouse, one of the London Committee's organizers and member of the House of Commons since March 1820, had continually worked toward gaining Parliamentary support for Greece. The English foreign minister, Lord Castlereagh, refused to support the Greeks in any manner throughout the early years of the war. Byron had continually criticized Castlereagh and condemned his actions with the Holy Alliance. Part of his criticism came from his support for liberal revolution, while the Holy Alliance determined to end all revolutionary activity. The majority of his criticism directly focused on Castlereagh and Byron's conclusion that he

¹⁴Marchand, *Byron's Letters and Journals*, vol. 10, 1822–1823, 188; Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography*, III, 601–602.

had the ability to redirect English policy and offer aid to those who desired it. English support to the revolutionaries may establish the necessary precedent so that other nations would follow suit. At the very least, England would gain a valued ally.¹⁵

Castlereagh understood from the continual reports from his ambassador in Constantinople, Lord Strangford, that Greece was indeed engulfed in revolution despite the lack of efficient coordination among the rebels. He also knew that Tsar Alexander could alter his position and decide to intervene in Greece if his countrymen demanded real support for their co-religionists. Contemplating these facts and possible outcomes, Castlereagh began considering the repercussions of England recognizing the Greeks as belligerents with legitimate grievances. He knew that England would maintain its domination of the seas by supporting Greece instead of standing aloof and allowing Russia to come to the Greeks' rescue. But he did not change England's official policy.¹⁶

Lord Castlereagh committed suicide on 12 August 1822, nine months prior to Byron's preparations to go to Greece. His successor, George Canning, had served with Castlereagh for several years. He knew of the changes under consideration toward Greece, and he began to direct English policy in that direction. Byron praised Canning for his stance on Greece as he began to offer his full support toward the cause. England altered its official position toward Greece in March 1823. George Canning took the step

¹⁵Graham, *Byron's Bulldog*, 329; Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy 1783–1919*, vol. 2, 1815–1866 (London: Cambridge University Press, 1923; reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1970), 44–45 (page citations are to the reprint edition); Lovell, *His Very Self and Voice*, 368.

¹⁶Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, 399–400.

that Castlereagh had considered prior to his death; England recognized the Greeks as belligerents. Canning justified the action along economic lines in that English commerce suffered due to the continuing revolution, and it would weaken further if the Tsar decided to declare war on Turkey and gain control of the Dardanelles. His changes in policy coincided with increasing English popular opinion for support for Greece.¹⁷

The Philhellenes throughout Europe began to intensify their commitment to the Grecian cause as a result of atrocities committed against Greek villages and the Church. Committees previously formed in France, Germany and Switzerland began to raise more funds and materials for the revolution. Volunteers from many nations began to arrive in Greece to join the rebels' cause. The Philhellenes of England had taken slower steps toward aiding the revolution. The voices desiring peace and noninvolvement in continental affairs, following the Napoleonic Wars, outweighed the cries for Grecian support. The division of English public opinion had also presented itself in Parliamentary debates, but Canning had changed the government's policy in the summer of 1823.¹⁸

In April 1822 the Sultan's forces had attacked the island of Chios. The outrage previously felt by many following the execution of the Patriarch Grigorios intensified after news arrived describing the death and destruction inflicted on Chios. The Sultan's troops

¹⁷Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, 399–400; Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning*, 326; Lovell, *His Very Self and Voice*, 368.

¹⁸Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 108–109.

had massacred 23,000 Greeks and left the island in flames. The reports describing the incident served as a turning point, both, in public opinion and in Canning's decisions.¹⁹

Byron's preparations continued for two months. He had acquired the medicines and supplies that he had discussed with Hobhouse, disposed of personal possessions, and bade his friends goodbye. He sold his ship the *Bolivar* and chartered a three-master, the *Hercules*, for his journey. His resolve began to waver at this point in his preparations, and he considered changing his mind about going. He contacted Trelawny.

Trelawny arrived in Genoa and they discussed Byron's indecision. Byron explained that he wanted to join the Greeks' cause, but he could not forget the lack of unity he had witnessed in the past. Perhaps his effort would fail due to the disagreements between the various Greek factions. Finally, after a lengthy conversation, Byron's pride determined his final commitment. Hobhouse may have laughed at him and ridiculed his decision not to go as he had planned. If Trelawny would go, Byron would go with him. Together, they left Italy sailing from the port in Genoa on 16 July. They arrived in Greece on 3 August 1823.²⁰

Byron and Trelawny did not go directly to the peninsula of Greece. They landed at the island of Kefalonia, located directly west of the mainland. They examined their surroundings and Byron became concerned for having made the journey. The lack of unity that he remembered still existed dividing the Greeks into various bands who shared

¹⁹Ibid., 108–109.

²⁰Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* III, 602. Trelawny, *Trelawny's Recollections*, 112–126.

no common goal. He criticized the London Committee and accused it of using him, and his reputation, to further their agenda. After venting his outrage, he resolved to stay despite his reluctance. Trelawny understood Byron's original reaction and knew that he would live up to his commitment. He also knew that this aspect of Byron's personality formed the greatest difference between them. Trelawny had idealized Shelley and seen him as a person who brought out the best in everyone around him. He had always felt a distance between himself and Byron. A gulf existed that separated Byron from those that he knew, and he protected himself by maintaining that separation.²¹

Establishing their base of operations at the village of Metaxata, Byron occupied the next four months with familiarizing himself with his surroundings and gathering detailed information to communicate to Hobhouse. Trelawny had grown impatient shortly after they established themselves in the village. He remembered Byron's indecision prior to their departure and thought that he might abandon his commitment to the Greeks. He waited for a period of time before confronting Byron about proceeding on to the peninsula, and when he did, Byron merely explained the need to wait. Trelawny had not hesitated to commit himself to the cause and disliked their lack of activity. He left Byron and affiliated himself with one of the Greek factions on the eastern side of the peninsula and saw the revolution through to its end.²²

²¹Harold G. Nicholson, *Byron: The Last Journey, April 1823–April 1824*, New edition (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1924, 1948), 64–69; Trelawny, *Trelawny's Recollections*, 141–147.

²²Trelawny, *Trelawny's Recollections*, 141–147.

Byron distributed the medical supplies and met with the leaders of several of the various factions, and he continued to wait. These months weighed on Byron, just as the months had as he prepared to depart from Italy. He endured times of idleness and times that he did not feel productive, but he also enjoyed periods of activity as he gathered information to relay to Hobhouse and the London Committee. He convinced himself that patience would eventually produce the action that he had imagined.

Byron wrote to Hobhouse and described his view of the progress of the war. He advised against Hobhouse's suggestion of sending a brigade of English regulars; the shipment of light field artillery pieces and officers to train Grecian soldiers in their use offered more beneficial results. Emphasizing the need for officers, he explained the absence of order he saw in the Greek military. A professional corps could undo the damage done by many of the Philhellenes, who had come to Greece intending to make profits or take plunder with little concern for the goals of the revolution. He described the cadre of Greeks he had hired upon his arrival. One of the factions, the Souliots, had been driven from the mainland and taken refuge in the islands. They intended to return to the battles on the peninsula and thought that Byron represented the opportunity that they needed. He hired forty of these Souliots as his personal unit.²³

Byron met with Mavrokordatos, the Greek he had met in Pisa who had tutored Mary Shelley. The former exile had returned to Greece hoping to stabilize the rebel government prior to Byron's departure from Italy. Hobhouse had accurately described the "not yet settled into form and constant action" government that Byron found. The fledgling Greek

²³Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 107–116.

government had formed in 1822 at Epidavros consisting of executive, legislative and judicial branches, the legislative, in theory, superior to the executive. The Greeks' first government formed a basic structure that they intended to refine as the revolution progressed. Empowered for one year, the administration prepared to pass authority to new representatives following the next election on 12 January 1823. That second election did not take place due to the growing intensity of the revolution. In April, one month prior to Byron's association with the London Committee, the Greeks had convened a national assembly at Salona to redefine their government and elect new representatives. This assembly brought the various factions together, and the differences of opinion previously evidenced on the fields of battle took the form of political debates.²⁴

The national assembly elected its new officers. Mavrokordatos became the secretary-general of the new government. The processes of rewriting the Greek constitution, redefining and reorganizing electoral districts, and more clearly outlining the differences of responsibility for the legislative and executive branches, then, occupied the delegates' time. The debates became heated, but a new concern added to and further complicated the disagreements. The original problem of a lack of common agreement, the lack of Greek unity, had remained unchanged. Greeks who held positions of authority did not want to negotiate away any of their influence, and those who hoped to attain power did not want to acknowledge their opponents' superiority. The new concern came from representatives who suggested the government should become a constitutional monarchy.

²⁴Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 103.

They believed that the Holy Alliance would be more willing to support that form of government rather than a republic. The debates gradually produced an impasse.²⁵

Due to their small size and widely-scattered locations, many of the islands had enjoyed near independence under the Sultan and had not been involved in the various battles. With the Turks now driven from neighboring areas, the islands did not intend to give up their autonomy and place themselves under the rule of any larger governmental body, whether it consisted of Greeks or non-Greeks. A similar situation occurred in areas on the peninsula where local leaders had gained control and, now, refused to willingly relinquish their authority. All of the progress that had occurred became threatened, and the revolution began to descend into a Greek civil war. Dismayed and disillusioned, Mavrokordatos withdrew from the debates to the island of Idra. Byron met him there.²⁶

Mavrokordatos had started to gather ships and crews on the island of Idra prior to Byron's arrival. He intended to break the Turkish naval blockade, land troops on the peninsula, and advance on the Turkish garrison in the town of Missolonghi. Byron and Mavrokordatos began to plan the invasion operation together.²⁷

Mavrokordatos had also begun what became a series of attempts to acquire foreign loans to sustain the rebellion. The consistent lack of support from Russia led him to turn his attention toward England, particularly as a result of the Holy Alliance's decision to grant England limited authority in the portion of Greece fought for by Major Church.

²⁵Ibid., 103; Dakin, *The Unification of Greece*, 53–56.

²⁶Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 106.

²⁷Ibid., 110–112.

Ioannis Louriotis, a friend of Mavrokordatos, had gone to England in February 1823 to borrow money for the revolutionaries. He failed to acquire the loans but, with his visit coinciding with the period when greater numbers of people began to listen to the pleas of the Greeks, his requests reached the influential ears of England's bankers.²⁸

Byron wrote to John Murray, his publisher in London, on 25 February 1824 from Missolonghi. He and Mavrokordatos had executed their invasion plans, but the anticipated battle had not occurred. The Turks had given up Missolonghi without a struggle and withdrawn to Patras and Lepanto. Patras, a fortress on the northern coast of the southern portion of the peninsula, and Lepanto, a fortress on the southern coast of the northern portion of the peninsula, together controlled access to the Gulf of Corinth directly east of Missolonghi. Byron explained to Murray that, while his landing had been peaceful, it had not been uneventful. "In coming here, I had two escapes; one from the Turks, (*one* of my vessels was taken, but afterwards released,) and the other from shipwreck. We drove twice on the rocks near the Scrofes (Islands near the coast)." He and Mavrokordatos began making plans for an assault on Patras and Lepanto.²⁹

The revolutionaries' prospects brightened in early 1824. Louriotis had returned to London in January 1824 and found the English ready to grant loans to the Greeks. They received several offers and, accepting the advice of the London Committee, negotiated a contract on 27 February 1824 with the firm of Loughman and Son and O'Brien for a loan

²⁸*Ibid.*, 111.

²⁹Peter Quennell, ed., *Byron: A Self-Portrait, Letters and Diaries 1798–1824 with Hitherto Unpublished Letters*, vol. 2 (New York: Humanities Press, 1967), 765.

totaling £800,000. The Greeks agreed that they would receive two £40,000 payments with the balance payable after the English had determined that the monies went directly to the government. Portions of land in Greece served as security for the loans.³⁰

Battle plans took second place to political developments; and, again, Byron found himself waiting for his portion of the revolution to begin. The provisional government had continued to operate in Salona, a city northeast of Lepanto, and the representatives invited Byron and Mavrokordatos to attend its sessions. The disbursement of the first English loan became the primary concern for these warrior-politicians. Mavrokordatos did not favor participating in a government that he had seen disintegrating, but he understood that the war could not continue without financial backing. He delayed going to Salona, and Byron, while expressing his view of their importance at the meeting, waited with him.³¹

Byron did pursue productive activities as he waited. In a letter to Murray, he wrote, "I have obtained from the Greeks the release of eight-and-twenty Turkish prisoners, men, women, and children, and sent them to Patras and Prevesa at my own charges." In letters to others Byron explained his actions concerning the prisoners. He understood the concept of war, and he knew that enemies confronted each other with deadly intent, but he also believed in the humane treatment of noncombatants. He expressed his hope that the Sultan would practice similar treatment with Greek prisoners.³²

³⁰Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 111.

³¹*Ibid.*, 117.

³²Quennell, *Byron: A Self-Portrait*, 765.

The representatives in Salona sent word to Missolonghi on 17 April 1824 and, again, asked for Byron's and Mavrokordatos's attendance. As the messenger neared Missolonghi on 20 April, he learned of the poet's death. Lord Byron had died the previous day after succumbing to yet another fever. Malaria took his life and denied him his romantic vision of death on the battlefield. On 25 May the *Florida*, the ship that had carried the funds from London, departed the island of Zante and returned Lord Byron's body to England. The meeting in Salona had commenced on 20 April, unaware of the event in Missolonghi. The representatives present proceeded to plan for the distribution of the English loans, the continuation of military maneuvers, and the independence of Greece.³³

The *Times* informed the English people of Byron's death on 15 May. His obituary began, "With unfeigned regret we announce to our readers that Lord Byron is no more." Two items accompanied the announcement. One, a proclamation from the Provisional Government of Greece, outlined a tribute to Byron. Among the ceremonies, "1. Tomorrow, by sunrise, thirty-seven minute-guns shall be fired from the batteries of this town, equal to the number of years of the deceased personage." A passage from the second item read, "Notwithstanding the difficult circumstances in which I am placed, I shall attempt to perform my duty towards this great man: the eternal gratitude of my country will perhaps be the only true tribute to his memory." Mavrokordatos had written both of the statements from his base in Missolonghi.³⁴

³³Dakin, *The Greek Struggle*, 118; Nicholson, *Byron: The Last Journey*, 195–199.

³⁴*The Times* (London) 15 May 1824.

Byron had been horseback riding on 9 April. He had written to friends that his health had improved since his malarial infections in Italy, and he attempted to dissuade their concerns for his health in the marshes around Missolonghi. Caught in a sudden rain, Byron returned to his house experiencing chills. He immediately retired to his bed and received aid from a physician. Fevers and chills wracked his body and, after several days, the doctor applied leeches to his temples. The bleeding did not provide the hoped for cure. He died ten days later on 19 April 1824.³⁵

Byron attempted to speak to those around his bed shortly before he passed away. He may have wanted to say that he would recover and take his place in the battles he had imagined. He may have told them he had experienced feelings of doom upon his arrival. He may have attempted to inform them of his last thoughts for them and his friends and relatives in England. He may have tried to tell them of an event from his youth. He had begun to understand the pleasure of solitude as he roamed the hills and valleys in Scotland at the age of eight and frequently slipped away from his elders. Noticing his absence, one day in the late afternoon, several people began to search for him. They found him struggling for life, nearly drowned, in a low-lying marshy area. He may have wanted to say that he had survived similar situations and would again, but as they watched his lips form words, he could make no sound.³⁶

³⁵Stephen and Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biography* III, 603–604; Phillips, Sampson, and Company, *The Works of Byron*, xiii–xiv.

³⁶Phillips, Sampson, and Company, *The Works of Byron*, viii.

CHAPTER VI

EDWARD EVERETT

Edward Everett shared Lord Byron's concern and enthusiasm for the Greek revolution, but they followed different paths to lend their support. Byron studied the Greek language as a personal pursuit, while Everett taught his knowledge of the language in the classroom. Byron went to Greece to fulfill his offer of service to the London Philhellenes, as Everett helped organize and serve as secretary of the Boston Philhellenic Committee. Byron, disillusioned with the intricacies of politics, voluntarily withdrew from his position in the House of Lords, but Everett devoted himself to politics. He served on, both, the state and national levels; support for the Greek revolutionaries, whether from the government of Massachusetts or the United States became one of his prime concerns. He demonstrated a "zeal and devotion to Greece [that] was unsurpassed by that of any of his countrymen. To no other American is due so much responsibility for arousing public sentiment in favor of Greece."¹

Everett's parents raised their children with a firm religious foundation and a love for learning. Oliver, Edward's father, struggled with frail health throughout his life, so he and his wife, Lucy, moved from Boston to Dorchester, Massachusetts, hoping that the rural

¹M. A. Cline, *American attitude toward the Greek war of independence, 1821-1828* (Atlanta, Ga., 1930), p. 31 in George C. Soulis, "Everett-Kapodistrias Correspondence," *The Journal of Modern History* 26 (March-December 1954): 272.

environment would improve his health. Edward, born on April 11, 1794, was the fourth of their eight children. Oliver had had to resign as minister of the New South Church in Boston so he could move his family, and he entered a new career in Dorchester as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. His health did not improve, and he died in 1802. Lucy returned to Boston to live near her family as she raised her children.²

Everett began his education as a three-year-old in the company of his older sister. He entered the “reading and writing schools in North Bennett Street,” in Boston, at the age of nine, and during his first year won “a Franklin Medal for reading.” He, then, attended “a private school in Short Street, that was kept by Ezekiel Webster.” Everett gained two lasting things at this school. First, he made the acquaintance of an individual who became a lifelong friend and colleague and second, as a result of the first, he began to develop his oratorical abilities. Ezekiel Webster, ill and unable to teach one day, asked his younger brother to take his place. “Into the little schoolroom, therefore, where young Everett sat, there strode one day a youth with heavy brows, dark hair, and deep black eyes. . . . Daniel Webster even then was a person to attract attention.” Everett began to attend the Public Latin School, a prerequisite for admission to college, the next year. “In 1805, when eleven years old, we find him in the Latin school where he took another Franklin Medal and delivered an English oration of his own composition.”³

²Paul Revere Frothingham, *Edward Everett: Orator and Statesman* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 3–6.

³*Ibid.*, 8–9.

The Latin school did not satisfy Everett, and he showed the first “signs of a restless eagerness for change of scene and occupation which in later years was strongly marked.” He convinced his mother to allow him to attend the Phillips Academy in Exeter, New Hampshire, where his older brother Alexander taught as an assistant instructor. Alexander had graduated from Harvard in 1806, and Everett, after “a short two terms of three months each . . . had the honor of delivering a Valedictory Latin Address of his own composition.” In August 1807, at the age of thirteen, he entered Harvard.⁴

The education that Everett received at Harvard extended beyond the study of Greek, Latin, and the Classics. He, again, demonstrated his restless eagerness for change and new challenges. Collaborating with a fellow classmate, John C. Gray, he ventured into publishing the “Harvard Lyceum,” a short-lived literary effort that failed within one year. He also began to teach, “For the winter vacation, which lasted ten weeks, he went to East Bridgewater and imparted of his store of learning in a country school.”⁵ He graduated with a Bachelor Of Arts in 1811, at the age of seventeen and, rather than the career in law that he had considered, he decided to enter the ministry.

Everett followed in his father’s footsteps when he chose the ministry, but two other individuals helped guide his decision. The Reverend John T. Kirkland became President of Harvard in 1810, as Everett entered his junior year of study. Kirkland took an interest in the ambitious, talented student, but they also shared a personal connection. Kirkland had become minister at the New South Church in Boston, in 1792, following Everett’s father’s

⁴Ibid., 9.

⁵Ibid., 13.

resignation. Upon their return to Boston, Lucy and her children attended the Brattle Street Church ministered by J. S. Buckminster. He and Everett shared many hours of conversation each week at the minister's home. Shortly before Everett graduated, "Dr. Buckminster had recently been appointed the first lecturer on the new Dexter Foundation in the Divinity course at Cambridge." Everett became a tenant in President Kirkland's house as he began his studies with Buckminster. He received his Master of Arts degree in 1813, at the age of nineteen. "Brilliant, handsome, eloquent—the son of a Boston minister whose faithful service was well remembered, he was certain to be sought by several churches, and his only problem would be one of elimination."⁶ Everett, however, had begun to extend his interests into other fields during the course of his studies.

Kirkland and Everett shared conversations that ranged from theology to literature and history. Everett had written poetry and continued to develop his talents. "He was successful and promising enough in this direction to be chosen one year after graduation [as he pursued his Masters] as Poet of the Phi Beta Kappa." He read a selection of his verse titled "American Poets" "at the annual meeting of the Harvard Chapter on August 27, 1812." In the poem, he asked why no American poets sang the praises of the young nation or described her natural wonders. He also questioned the importance placed on business and trade. These thoughts, later, contributed to the literary works of a younger generation, "and the young author thought well enough of it to send an autograph copy printed on heavy paper with wide margins to the Boston Athenæum."⁷ He demonstrated

⁶Ibid., 15, 20.

⁷Ibid., 15–16.

his knowledge of history and his conclusions for what became one of the main concerns of his life, as he “spoke ‘an English oration,’ his subject—a prophetic one, and not suggestive of a ministerial career—being ‘On the Restoration of Greece.’ . . . Thus with an appeal for the restoration of Greece on his lips young Everett left the classic shades of Harvard to enter the profession of the Christian ministry.”⁸

Everett did not have long to wait to enter his profession. Dr. Buckminster had died in June 1812, but his parishioners did not immediately search for a replacement. Everett eulogized Buckminster in his Phi Beta Kappa poem, and following his graduation in 1813, the congregation asked him to serve on a temporary basis. The church members mourned their loss and looked to him for consolation and guidance and then asked him to fill the position permanently. He hesitated to accept their offer doubting his ability to fill the position of his former teacher. He had also decided to follow one of Buckminster’s suggestions and continue his education in Europe after completing his studies at Harvard. He struggled with his decision, but he accepted their offer on Christmas Eve, 1813.⁹

The congregation, well-satisfied with their choice, listened with rapt attention to Everett’s sermons. He used no notes to impart his message but continued a practice that he had developed during his years as a student; he memorized his text and repeated it verbatim. Ralph Waldo Emerson, one of the next generation’s accomplished poets who perhaps drew inspiration from Everett’s “American Poets,” described the twenty-year-old minister’s presence. The ten-year-old Emerson and his brother would “peep into the

⁸Ibid., 18.

⁹Ibid., 19–24.

church where their favorite was expected to preach, to make sure that he was in the pulpit.” He, later, said that Everett “was heard with such throbbing hearts and sparkling eyes in the lighted and crowded churches, [he] did not let go his hearers when the church was dismissed.”¹⁰ The young minister dedicated himself to his pastoral duties determined to serve his congregation as faithfully as his predecessor. He began to expand his efforts within a short period of time, however, and demonstrated again his desire for new and different challenges.

The first instance of his extra-activity occurred two months before he agreed to become the minister at Brattle Street Church. While he prepared two sermons for each Sunday, and began to visit parishioners as their interim pastor, he also found time to write *A Defence of Christianity*. The volume, approaching five hundred pages in length, represented his response to a book titled *The Grounds of Christianity Examined* written by George Bethune English. English, who had entered and then left the ministry, wrote of the failings of Christianity. Everett, dedicating his work to President Kirkland, defended it. He had begun writing in October of 1813, and finished the book as he accepted the ministerial position. Second, following his ordination, he began to preach in neighboring churches. Men of the cloth would become known for their expertise and serve as guest-speakers, and Everett’s eloquence placed him in great demand. He preached in Exeter, New Hampshire, among other towns; the former student returning to bring his message to others. The pace proved more than he could bear, and after suffering a “nervous breakdown,” he forced himself to take time off from his duties. He sought rest and solace

¹⁰Ibid., 25.

in Maine, but not feeling as though he had recovered his strength, he took additional time off from his ministerial duties and traveled to Washington.¹¹

Everett traveled through Hartford, Connecticut, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore, Maryland, on his way to Washington. He entered the nation's capital and viewed firsthand the charred remains of the Capitol and the White House. Daniel Webster had won election to the House of Representatives and guided his friend as he toured the city. The trip to Washington proved no more restful than the respite in the woods of Maine, and following his introduction to President James Madison, Everett returned to Boston. He faced a crucial decision upon his return, and again set off on a new path.¹²

The duties of a minister daunted Everett upon his return. He had humbly accepted the position fully aware of the needs of the large congregation. He had understood the effort required of him and was honestly hopeful that he could fulfill his responsibilities. But, he had always had his concerns, and they seemed to multiply. He began to question and doubt his abilities in earnest when he received an unexpected offer. "In the latter part of 1814 a gift was made to Harvard College for the establishment of a chair of Greek Literature. Everett was invited to assume the new professorship." The opportunity excited him, but it also gave him pause. He did not want to desert his congregation who had turned to him in their hour of need, but the professorship appeared to complement his personal endeavors at oratory and scholarly writing. He thought of Dr. Buckminster's suggestion of continuing his education abroad, and the offer included "permission to spend

¹¹Ibid., 26–30.

¹²Ibid., 31–33.

two years for study in Europe.” He discussed the opportunity with the Society of the Church in Brattle Street, the church officials who had hired him. They all agreed that, while his leaving would be regretted, he should accept the offer. “On April 12th, fourteen months after his ordination to the ministry, and on the day after his twenty-first birthday, Edward Everett was inaugurated as Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard University. Four days later, on April 16, 1815, he sailed from Boston for Liverpool.”¹³

Everett met Lord Byron in London in June, prior to his departure for Germany. They discussed a variety of topics. Napoleon Bonaparte had escaped from exile on Elba, completed his march through France, and his army was marching to meet the Duke of Wellington’s forces at Waterloo. Byron expected Napoleon to defeat the English army, but he hoped that it would produce a political change in England. He told Everett he hoped to “live to see Lord Castlereagh’s head carried on a pike under his window.” They talked about Everett’s studies at Göttingen and of his intended tour of the continent. As they discussed their shared interest in Greece, Byron said, “that but for domestic circumstances he should like to end his days there.” He wrote letters of introduction for Everett to the consul at Athens and to Ali Pasha in Albania. After he completed his studies, he nearly followed in the poet’s footsteps as he traveled to Greece, Ali Pasha’s Albania, and Constantinople.¹⁴

Everett studied and traveled in Europe from 1815 through 1819, extending his two years of study into four, to complete his preparation to fill the position at Harvard.

¹³Ibid., 34–35.

¹⁴Ibid., 37.

Enrolling at the University of Göttingen in August of 1815, he [received] “his diploma as Doctor of Philosophy” in September 1817, the first American to receive a Ph.D. from the institution. Everett had two goals in mind when he had departed for the continent. He intended to visit Greece, one of the reasons for the extension of his stay, and experience the environment and locale of what he, and many others, viewed as the birthplace of western culture. He also planned to study the Greek language, partly as preparation for his upcoming position at Harvard, and partly due to contemporary efforts to restore the language to its original form.¹⁵

Greeks spoke Romaic, at times referred to as the “modern Greek” language. It consisted of the ancient Greek tongue diluted or combined with the influences of Italian and Arabic words and phrases. Lord Byron had also taken an interest in the language during his first continental tour, and he and Everett discussed the language during their visit in June of 1815. Byron’s interest, as so many of Byron’s interests, remained mild or limited. Everett planned on thoroughly studying the language. To accomplish this goal, he sought out Adhamántios Korais, a Greek exile living in Paris in 1817.¹⁶

Korais and Everett discussed the modern Greek tongue, but the Bostonian learned an unexpected lesson from the seventy-six year old exile. Korais outlined his theory of the importance of education, and he explained that, in order for Greece to win its freedom, the people must first receive a quality education. He had attempted to contribute to this effort

¹⁵Ibid., 41.

¹⁶Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 21–25; Larrabee, *Hellas Observed*, 34–35.

by clarifying and systematizing the language. Greece had two languages in the early nineteenth century, the spoken “corrupted” form, and the written form that adhered to the grammar and structure of the ancient Greek tongue. Two opinions divided those who sought a language to unify the emerging nation, one who favored the spoken form since it had achieved a commonality and acceptance, and one who favored the written “pure” form of Greek despite the fact that only highly educated persons could read that written form. Korais became known as one of the “compromisers, . . . , who favored for his works a language that was largely based on the structure of the spoken variety, but retained many ancient features and rejected foreign importations.” Since it would “purge” the language of foreign terms, Korais named the language *katharévousa*. Everett and Korais discussed the language, and the American learned of the Greek’s ardent commitment to Grecian independence. As he translated classical works into the modern tongue, Korais used the opportunity to expound on the plight and subjugation of his countrymen. Everett returned to the United States firmly committed to the goal of aiding the Greeks in their slowly-developing struggle.¹⁷

He returned to the United States in 1819, began his career in education, and demonstrated his expertise as a Grecian scholar. As previously discussed, the Greek revolution commenced and failed several times throughout these years. The Holy Alliance successfully stifled Greek efforts during the period of Everett’s European education. The decisive, yet disorganized, attempts at independence did not begin until two years after he had returned to the United States. When the scattered rebellions became a nearly-

¹⁷Brewer, *The Greek War of Independence*, 21–25.

organized revolution, he became one of the influential advocates for Grecian independence, as he promoted the Greeks' cause to the American public and American policymakers turned to him for information about Greece.¹⁸ Those activities waited in his future, though, as Everett took his position at Harvard and began his teaching career.

The reputation that Everett had achieved for eloquence in the pulpit manifested itself in a new form in the classroom. Harvard, having one of the very few professors who had received their degree from a prestigious European university, began to attract students from distant states. "A new lustre was conferred on the University, and students were drawn to Cambridge from the South and West, some of them coming from points as remote as Louisiana, Georgia, and Tennessee." One of Everett's earliest admirers sat in awe in the classroom. Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "There was an influence on the young people from the genius of Everett which was almost comparable to that of Pericles in Athens. . . . He had a good deal of special learning, and all his learning was available for purposes of the hour." As in the past, however, Everett could not confine himself to one particular pursuit.¹⁹

The congregation at Brattle Street Church welcomed him back to their pulpit as a guest minister. When a Unitarian church formed in New York, "he was persuaded to deliver the Dedication Sermon." He made one of his most profound impressions on the elected representatives in Washington when he "preached on Sunday, February 13, 1820, and took the city by storm." He went home to Cambridge, but the "Statesmen and

¹⁸Larrabee, *Hellas Observed*, 31.

¹⁹Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 63–64.

politicians wanted more of him. He was suggested for the chaplaincy of Congress.” He, however, had already embarked on an additional endeavor. Everett had begun a series of lectures titled “Antiquities” in Boston, in addition to his regular professorial obligations. He also expanded his responsibilities and took on a new task by becoming the editor of *The North American Review* in 1820. In 1822, he wrote to the English poet Thomas Campbell whom he had met in Sydenham, a village outside of London, in 1818. Campbell had become the editor of the “New Monthly Magazine,” and Everett wrote to him of his efforts with *The North American Review*. He also included several poems that he had written for Campbell’s consideration.²⁰

Everett reviewed one of Korais’s translations in the October 1823, issue of *The North American Review*. He titled his piece “*The Ethics of Nicomachus, revised and edited by A. Coray, [Everett consistently spelled Korais as “Coray,” perhaps phonetically for an American reading audience.] at the expense of the injured and oppressed Sciotes.*” The review consisted of Korais’s preface to his most recent volume of a multi-volume translation of Aristotle’s works. It presented two columns of text. The left column contained the written version of Greek preferred by Korais, and the right column presented the English translation. The translation represented an appeal to any and all who would listen to the plight of the Greeks as they attempted to break from Turkish rule. Everett emphasized Korais’s main points throughout the article and then added his own firmly held opinions concerning the Greeks’ need of foreign assistance. He also included an English translation of the Greek Constitution that had been written by the revolutionary

²⁰Ibid., 64–70.

government at Epidaurus in January of 1822. He explained that Alexandros Mavrokordatos had been elected President of the newly formed government. He, then, addressed the American public saying, “Such an appeal from the anxious conclave of self-devoted patriots, in the inaccessible cliffs of the Morea, must bring home to the mind of the least reflecting American, the great and glorious part, which this country is to act, in the political regeneration of the world.” Everett began, with that article, to take the steps that would lead to his political career.²¹

Everett had formed a close friendship with Daniel Webster in the years that followed their meeting as student and substitute teacher. Webster, elected to the House of Representatives by the State of New Hampshire, had guided him through Washington when he was the minister of Brattle Street Church. Upon his return from Europe, “the first person to call upon him and to welcome him home to America was Daniel Webster.” By 1823, Webster had moved to Massachusetts and won election, again, to the House of Representatives. He read Everett’s review of Korais’s work, “became persuaded, and decided to champion the cause of the Greeks.” He contacted Everett and asked for more information concerning Greece and the progress of the revolution. They became prime movers for recognition of the revolutionary government of Greece and began to exert their influence on the foreign policy of the United States. Then, Everett ran for office.²²

²¹Edward Everett, “Coray’s Aristotle,” in *The North American Review* (October, 1823), 389–424; Larrabee, *Hellas Observed*, 31.

²²Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 60 and 77.

CHAPTER VII

THE FOREIGN POWERS AND THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK NATION

The establishment of an independent Greek nation occurred slowly progressing in stages just as the war of revolution. The fledgling attempts at home-rule previously discussed did not endure, and if not for the intervention of the European powers and the United States, a sovereign national government would not have formed. Those international efforts resulted in a commitment to the Grecian cause, but none of them would have succeeded without the efforts of individuals dedicated to Greek independence. Those individuals, whether they served in Greece or contributed to changes in European or American foreign policy, successfully brought the international community to the aid of Greece, contributed to a redefinition of the foreign policy of Great Britain and a weakening of the Holy Alliance, and reinforced a non-interventionist stance in the foreign relations of the United States that would endure for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

Lord Byron's active participation began with his arrival in Greece in August 1823, as English and American foreign policies began to change in favor of the Greek cause. The desire to preserve and protect English shipping contributed to George Canning's granting the Greeks belligerent status. His action represented a turning point in Great Britain's European diplomacy and served as the basis for negotiations that would occur later in

1826 and 1827. In 1823, however, possible changes in the foreign policy of the United States occupied the attention of the international community. President James Monroe had spoken of an era of good feelings that elevated political debate above party loyalty during his two terms in office. Part of his efforts to contribute positive change to parties in dispute concerned the revolutionaries of Greece. Those efforts culminated in his annual message to Congress on 2 December 1823 which later became known as the Monroe Doctrine. Monroe's statement resulted from his own personal concern for Greece, debate in the United States concerning national involvement in European affairs, and the approaching presidential election of 1824.¹

Edward Everett ran for political office in 1824, and he served at the state or national level for twenty-three years of his life. He served as one of Massachusetts's congressmen in the United States House of Representatives from 1825 through 1835. He returned home and won election as the governor of Massachusetts in 1836. He held that position through 1840 and followed it by serving as the American ambassador to Great Britain from 1841 through 1845. Returning home to Massachusetts, he became President of Harvard from 1846 through 1849. He served as President Millard Fillmore's Secretary of State for four months between 1852 and 1853. He closed his political career by serving in the United States Senate in 1853 and 1854. Everett's political involvement prior to his

¹P. J. V. Rolo, *George Canning: Three Biographical Studies* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1965), 234; William St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free: The Philhellenes in the War of Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 299–300; Ernest R. May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), 215–230.

election to, and during his term of office in, congress are vital to the formation of a foreign policy that guided the United States for the decades that followed.²

Everett became interested in political developments during a period of intense debates concerning the proper international role for the United States. Daniel Webster took up the Greek cause as a result of Everett's contributions to the *North American Review*.

Webster maintained that the United States should enter the international stage in support of the Greeks. He drew limited support from Henry Clay, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Calhoun, President James Monroe's Secretary of War. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, stood foremost against an interventionist stance in foreign affairs and favored an isolationist foreign policy. The political situation became further complicated by the fact that all of these office holders had visions of winning the presidency in the election of 1824. John Quincy Adams won that presidential election and had previously managed to convince President James Monroe to temper his support for the Grecian cause in his speech to congress, but while he tempered, he did not stop the growing support in the United States for the Greek revolutionaries.³

Webster wrote a series of letters to Everett in 1823, concerning the Greek revolution. He relied on Everett for information that he used in a speech in the House of Representatives advocating recognition of a de facto government in Greece. Everett wrote to John Quincy Adams offering to fill the position of American observer in Greece

²Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 77.

³Ibid., 77–81; St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 299–300; May, *The Making of the Monroe Doctrine*, 230–235.

should the United States recognize the revolutionary government that had formed. The Greek cause had become one of the main topics of public interest in the United States. Americans equated the Greek war with their own war for independence and many of them began to call for American assistance for the Greeks just as France had aided the colonists in their war with England.⁴

John Quincy Adams won the debates over American recognition of Greece, and the United States would not officially recognize the Greek government until the administration of President Martin Van Buren on November 7, 1837. Adams convinced Monroe that the United States had not gone to war during the previous years of his administration, and that there was no national interest at stake in risking war with the Holy Alliance merely to support Greece. He also reminded the president that American businesses buying goods from Turkey represented a significant portion of the nation's international trade. Monroe acquiesced to Adams arguments, overlooked the fact that much of the Turkish trade consisted of opium shipments destined for markets in China, and tempered his remarks by saying that the United States supported the Grecian effort as they would any attempt at the formation of a republican form of government, but he refrained from recognizing the Greek government. The official position taken by Monroe, however, did not impede popular American support for the Grecian cause.⁵

⁴Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 77–81.

⁵St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 299–300; Paul Constantine Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War for Independence, 1821–1828*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 122.

The American public rallied to support the Greeks. Civic gatherings, formal balls, and local groups raised money for the revolutionaries. Church groups and school children collected food and medical supplies to aid the suffering Greek population. The Philhellenic movement gathered a momentum that extended throughout the nation. Young men volunteered for service in the Greek army and navy, and Greek orphans found new homes in America. Everett served as one of the organizers of this Greek relief effort in the Boston Philhellene society. Nicholas Biddle, President of the Second Bank of the United States, served as Everett's counterpart in the Philhellenic group of Philadelphia. The growing national support for Greece caused the revolutionaries to turn to American businesses to buy the weapons of war.⁶

The Greek revolutionaries borrowed an additional £2,800,000 from their investors in England between the years 1824 and 1825. They had considered using the money to hire European mercenaries to serve in their army, but decided instead to invest it in building naval ships. They contracted with an English shipbuilder for a steam powered ship and with an American firm for construction of two fifty-gun frigates. Everett and the Marquis de Lafayette became involved in these negotiations for the ships.⁷

Lafayette traveled to the United States in 1824 during the period of intense American public support for Greece. Lafayette, an outspoken French Philhellene, intended to tour the country and meet with acquaintances from his tour of military service during the American Revolution. He received a heroes welcome when he landed in New York and

⁶St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 300–301.

⁷*Ibid.*, 301–303.

became the center of attention at numerous social gatherings. He had an additional, personal reason for visiting America. Harvard University had awarded him an honorary Doctor of Law degree in 1784, and he was to formally receive it during the graduation exercises of 1824. One of the speakers during the graduation ceremony, Edward Everett, who had met Lafayette during one of his trips to Paris during his studies in Europe, thrilled the audience and the Frenchman as he made an eloquent speech about republican forms of government in general and the Grecian efforts to establish their own sovereign government in particular. Lafayette became one of the spokesmen for the Greek representatives of London as they negotiated with an American shipbuilder to construct the frigates.⁸

The Greek experience with both the English and American shipbuilders proved disastrous. Richard Rush, a former schoolmate of Nicholas Biddle, served as the American minister to England. He became the go-between for the American and newly-reformed Greek revolutionary governments. He wrote letters that expressed American hopes for the future success of the Grecian effort while stopping short of implying any official governmental recognition. Rush served as the intermediary for the Greek deputies as they sought an American shipbuilder. William Bayard, a New Yorker serving as the president of the New York Philhellenic society, also held the position as a partner in the firm of LeRoy, Bayard and Company. His company received unofficial approval from the United States government to build the frigates. The original cost of the ships continued to

⁸Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, 82–86; Pappas, *The United States and the Greek War for Independence, 1821–1828*, 88–90.

rise and eventually skyrocketed to a sum that overspent the Greek loan. A dispute developed over original agreements and performed labors, and the case went to a court of arbitration which decided in favor of the Greek deputies. The settlement soured the American public's opinion of the shipbuilders and contributed to a declining interest in the Greek cause. Eventually, to settle the matter, the United States Navy purchased one of the frigates, so the Greeks could afford to pay for the completion of the second ship. That ship, originally name the *Hope* was renamed the *Hellas*, and it finally arrived in Grecian waters in 1826, two years after its intended arrival. The American enthusiasm for the Greek cause remained cool during 1826 and 1827, but the Greeks gained English support during this period. That support eventually produced the creation of the Greek nation.⁹

Canning continued to distance England from the Holy Alliance. He had decided that English support of Russia's activities in Greece represented the most fruitful possibilities for English governmental aims and business interests. This conclusion led to the Treaty of London of 1827. In this treaty, Canning stated that Turkey and the Greek revolutionaries must accept foreign assistance in negotiating a settlement to the continuing war. Turkey had no interest in adhering to the treaty since its ally Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, had successfully invaded the Morea and was beginning to win campaigns conquering new areas. That Egyptian invasion had served as the decisive factor in the Greek deputies' decision to build naval ships rather than hire armies. They had reasoned that a formidable navy would prevent Ibrahim from supplying and supplementing his troops in Greece. Russia had secretly appealed to Canning for support for the Grecian

⁹St. Clair, *That Greece Might Still Be Free*, 301.

cause, and following the signing of the Treaty of London, Czar Nicholas I, who had succeeded Alexander in 1825, began massing troops along the Russian border with Turkey. Canning had written the treaty so that, if either side refused foreign negotiation, the European powers would forcefully intervene. This led to two of the final individual efforts in the Greek war; one of those actions produced the nation of Greece.¹⁰

Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, commander of the English naval squadron sent to patrol Grecian waters, defeated the Turkish navy in the Battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827. The battle occurred in an unplanned, uncoordinated manner. Admiral Thomas Cochrane, an English Philhellene in service to the Greek government, captained the *Karteria*, one of the English steamships contracted in London. Cochrane attacked any and all Turkish ships that came within his sight and entered the harbor at Navarino where eighty-nine Turkish ships of war lay at anchor. He had heard reports that Turkish ships were due to leave the harbor to resupply Ibrahim's forces in the western portion of Greece. Cochrane interpreted the Treaty of London's phrase concerning forceful intervention to mean military force and prevent any Turkish ships from leaving the harbor.

Admiral Codrington led his fleet into the harbor accompanied by ships flying the French and Russian flags manned by a collection of European Philhellenes. He intended to prevent any Turkish ships from leaving the harbor but did not intend to provoke a confrontation. The battle began as musket fire but immediately progressed to a full scale naval battle. The Turks had twenty-nine ships survive the battle, and their navy lost the ability to fight naval battles and resupply the Egyptian land forces. The individual efforts

¹⁰Ibid., 316–317.

of Cochrane and Codrington eventually led to the Grecian victory in the war. Cochrane had conducted himself as one committed to his goal of aiding the Greeks. Codrington personally favored the Greeks, but he acted as one carrying out the Treaty of London. The Turkish ships had failed to accept foreign intervention, and he decided he had to enforce the treaty with firepower.¹¹

¹¹Ibid., 330–333.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

The people of England considered Greece important for several reasons. On a personal level, the English saw themselves as products of the thoughts and ideas that had radiated from classical Greece. The concepts explored by Socrates and Plato and the pleasures provided by Sophocles and Euripides continued in the works of David Hume, John Locke and William Shakespeare. On a social level, they watched as builders constructed the visions of architects, and the structures presented façades ornamented with columns and lintels reminiscent of the Classical Age of Greece. On a governmental level, they viewed their Parliament as being an evolution of the democracy established in fifth-century Athens.

The English support for the revolution in Greece proceeded in stages. Some offered their aid immediately believing the right of freedom applied to all mankind. Others joined in the effort as unjustifiable acts of violence replaced the death and destruction that are unavoidable in war. The English government's support began with the stationing of agents in Constantinople to oversee business and trade interests as England expanded as an international power. It progressed to viewing the Grecian cause as a threat to the stability of European peace as determined by England's position in the Holy Alliance. It eventually developed into the idea that, in supporting an independent Greece and

providing a measure of protection for that nation, England could increase her dominance of the seas.

Lord Byron had the opportunity to live for many years at Newstead Abbey, maintain his position in the House of Lords, and write poetry to please himself and the reading public. With his estate inherited from his family, his title unquestioned, and his talent continuing to develop through his own innovations, he did not have to die in Greece. But, Byron could not continue to live in England. Cut from a different mold and open to the possibility of intriguing ideas, he had to leave his guaranteed security and embrace a future that offered no known outcomes. He could not not leave England and survive. He may have foreseen his death in Greece. He may have imagined a valiant last effort on the field of battle. But, he had to die in the swamps from a disease, the tragic hero who, through no fault of his own, failed to win the victory.

Edward Everett resembled Byron's friend and traveling companion Hobhouse in many ways. Both of the men shared a concern for the fate of Greece that led to their efforts in government in both England and the United States. They actively campaigned to aid the Greeks monetarily and politically. However, they both did so from a distance. While Everett volunteered to serve as an advisor in Greece, he reconciled himself to the fact that he could do the most good by working within his government for the Greek cause, just as Hobhouse worked toward Greek goals in London.

These three individuals: Byron, Hobhouse, and Everett, are only a trio of the individuals who eventually contributed to helping to create the nation of Greece. Many other names share in the accomplishment. Whether one considers Castlereagh and his

desire to aid the Greeks, or Canning who made Castlereagh's desire become British foreign policy; or President James Monroe who wanted to offer American support for the Greek cause; or Admiral Codrington's efforts in the Battle of Navarino, all of the individual efforts eventually helped to contribute to the formation of Greece, but they did not happen on a set, organized pattern to ease the suffering of the Greek people.

Shelley's suggestion that poets create the changes that the remainder of society inherits may prove true in certain instances, but it requires a liberal interpretation to apply the statement to Lord Byron's actions in Greece, or to the poet Edward Everett who worked for the Greek cause in the United States. They did contribute to an eventual, permanent change. They did make observations and offer conclusions toward certain goals. They did adapt to situations that required innovative ideas, for themselves and others. But both of them took up the cause of Greek independence after the future nation had witnessed many attempts at achieving its freedom. They contributed to change in Greece but built their efforts on the foundations established by others.

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