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THE REFORMIST PARTY IN IONIAN ISLANDS, (1848-1852): INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS

The liberal "experiment" of the Ninth Parliament, the first free Parliament of the Ionian State¹, was essentially over on the 26th November 1850. However, during the short period of its operation, this Parliament achieved a national and social task². Although the disagreement between Radicals and Reformists in the Ninth Parliament had taken the form of a confrontation of principles³, the deputies of these two parties introduced a series of bills with which they tried to solve the serious social and financial problems which their country had inherited from the past.

In February 1850 Napoleon Zambelis had been elected deputy of Sta. Maura in the Ninth Ionian Parliament as a member of the Reformist Party. He then distinguished himself for his speeches, mainly when he submitted the

1. The elections of the Ninth Ionian Parliament were carried out according to the new liberal law which was issued by Lord Seaton in May 1849 and sanctionned by the Eight Parliament, in December 1849. The elections were proclaimed by Commissioner Ward in February 1850.

2. See, Acts of the Ninth Parliament of the United States of Ionian Islands, issued under the Constitution of 1817, Corfu 1850 (in Greek). Idromenos, Political History of Eptanissos (1815-1864), Corfu 1935 (in Greek), pp. 55-65.

3. At that time (1849-1850) political opinions in Ionian Islands were expressed by three political groups: i) the Reformist party (which had the majority of the Parliament) simply wished the national restoration, claimed for constitutional liberties and promised the improvement of the administration, leaving all these to the good will of the british government, ii) the Radical party of revolutionary character which denounced the Protectorate and wished the union of Eptanissos with Greece, based its principles on the national idea and accepted the internal improvements through legislature, but rejected the constitutional reforms, and iii) the group or "clique" of the conservatives and well disposed towards the British, being deprived of any political credo. See, Zervos Iakovatos, *The Eptanissian State during the English Protectorate and the Parties*, Athens 1969 (in Greek), pp. 88-94. See also, Panas, *Radicals and Improvements in Eptanissos*, Cephalonia 1880 (in Greek), pp. 4-5, and Loucatos, *Reports of Greek consuls from Heptanissa during the Ninth Ionian Parliament (1850-1851)* Argostoli 1977 (in Greek), pp. 2-3 (f. n. 5).

bill regarding the limitation of the High Police Power⁴ and the guarantee of the civil rights⁵.

Napoleon Zambelis had become widely known in the Ionian society since 1848, when the claim regarding the reform of the 1817 Constitution was revived owing to the external and internal coincidence. The echo of the revolutions which were then shaking Europe soon reached the remote corner of the Ionian Islands and the High Commissioner lord J. Seaton (1843-1849), wishing to allay the causes of internal uprisings, renewed his demands towards the Colonial Office for the constitutional sanction of the freepress, of the right of the Parliament to control the public budget and the free election of Parliament and municipal members⁶.

In Corfu, the new upper middle-class generation demanded the revision of the 1817 Constitution as being the sole condition for a smooth political life in the country. They pressed for its realization addressing memoranda and holding political banquets, aiming, not without self-interest, at the exercise of power. They had succeeded in winning the warm support of the High Commissioner to their petitions.

The liberal intellectual Society of Corfu which surrounded the affable High Commissioner Seaton and were friendly connected with him, included among its members, the lawyer of the Ionian Bank, Nap. Zambelis. P. Chiotis, the historian of the Ionian Islands, mentions the following, concerning Nap. Zambelis: "Napoleon Zambelis, originating from Sta. Maura, but living for a long time in Corfu, one of the most distinguished jurists and lawyers of the Ionian, a man of thorough character and liberal feelings, was connected since Nugent's time, with all the Ionian liberals as well as with the members of the opposition. Gaining the sympathy of numerous Englishmen of the Ionian for his wisdom and straight-forward character, he had often spoken with

4. The High Police (part B', Chap. 7, art. 4, of the Constitution of 1817) was directed by the commander of the british garrison and was subjected to the jurisdiction of the Lord High Commissioner. Through this, Commissioners could order arests and transportations of the disloyal citizens and proclaim the martial law.

5. This Bill has passed by the Assembly, but Commissioner Ward proposed such modifications that its context was almost changed. After the protests and eager speeches of the Rizospasti members against its sanction, the majority of the Assembly decided to reject it. See, Chiotis, *History of the Ionian State*, 1815-1864 (v. 2), Zante 1877 (in Greek), p. 227. Also, Idromenos, op. cit., p. 57.

6. Seaton to Grey, Corfu 21 Feb. 1848, No 1 and No 2. Papers respecting recent changes in the Constitution of the Ionian Islands. London 1850. Moore Smith, *The life of John Colborne, Field-Marshall Lord Seaton*, London 1903, p. 338.

High Commissioner Seaton, and had earned his goodwill in favour of the Ionian Rights"⁷.

Seaton considered the discontent of the Corfiote liberals against the despotic administration, as being entirely justified and based his optimism for the good effect of the constitutional reforms on their relative assurances which, however, did not constitute a safe criterion for the political tendencies prevailing in the southern Ionian Islands and especially at Cephalonia, this "thorn in the body of the Protectorate".

In 1848, Seaton submitted to the Colonial Office, a memorandum written by Nap. Zambelis in favour of the Ionian rights, warmly supporting his propositions. In this memorandum, Nap. Zambelis argued on behalf of the rest of his fellows, as the sole remedy of this "common adversity", "the liberty of the press and the free election of the deputies"⁸.

However, whichever were his motives of justice towards the local demands⁹, Seaton (as well as his successor Ward) could rightly foresee that with the introduction of certain concessions in the Constitution, the Protectorate would gain the eager co-operation of the middle class¹⁰ in the administrative task, on the condition that it would permit it to move in a state of nominal freedom, while at the same time it would divide it and consolidate british influence over the Islands and through these, all over the Greek State. On the other hand, the policy of limited reforms to the degree that would not

7. Chiotis, op. cit., p. 134.

8. ... A letter to the Right Hon. The Earl Grey ... By an Ionian... London 1848, p. 16. During the same year, the poet Julius Typaldos had submitted a similar memo to Lord Seaton's son. Antony Gaetas of Zante had also submitted to the Colonial Office a report on contitutional reforms in 1848. See, Stavrinou, "A memorandum of Antony Gaetas on constitutional reforms in the Ionian Islands (1848-1850)" (in Greek), *Parnassos* (1975).

9. The reforms that took place in 1849 have come out, amongst other motives, from the high sense of justice of the innovator High Commissioner: "If a Colony like Malta could have a free press, why not the independent state of Ionia?". Seaton to Grey, Corfu 21 Feb. 1848, op. cit. The election of a whig government in Great Britain, since 1946, have also contributed to the change of colonial policy towards liberalism. Tumelty, *The Ionian Islands under British Administration*, 1815-1864, unpublished PH. D. Dissertation, Cambridge University 1952, p. 178. The most recent survey of the british policy in Heptanissos in the period of 1847 and on based thoroughly on english sources is that of B. Knox, "British policy and the Ionian Islands, 1847-1864: Nationalism and Imperial administration", *The English Historical Review*, XCIX (1984), p. 505.

10. "The only capable to check or counteract the intrigues of the unionist party". Seaton's article in *Edinburgh Review*, v. XCVII (1853), pp. 53-56. Not ignoring the national orientation of Ionians, Seaton seemed however convinced that the "enlighted individual interest" which favoured British Protection would finally prevail and check nationalist sentimentality.

harm the interests of the Protectorate, was imposed according to the external policy of Palmerston, who was in favour and in some instances, was stirring up indirectly national liberative movements in Italy and in the German Confederation, according to what dictated the occasional financial, and strategic interests of Great Britain, in 1848.

The resolution for the union of the Ionian Islands to Greece, submitted by the Radical representatives during the historical meeting of the 26th November 1850¹¹ of the Ninth Ionian Parliament, provoked the hasty postponement of its functions.

High Commissioner Sir H. G. Ward (1849-1855), whose name has been associated with the bloody suppression of the 1849¹² peasants' insurrection in Cephalonia, decided to dismiss the Ninth Parliament and fight Radicalism. The Radical deputies should not be re-elected in the new Parliament. At the same time he turned to the topmost Reformers and asked for their co-operation in the government, promising them honors and offices, if in the elections they supported the moderates and the ones devoted to the Government.

The Reformists had already given their political stigma through the official press of their party, the newspaper "Patris" issued in Corfu, the editorial board of which consisted of P. Armenis-Vrailas¹³, Napoleon Zambelis, Spyridon Zambelis, Ioannis Petritsopoulos and Andreas Calvos, the poet.

After the submission of the Radical's historical decree, they hastened to distinguish their positions from them: "The others (i.e. the Reformists) on the contrary, being more realistic and being taught by experience that power is stronger than justice, and judging by the events the dispositions of England,

11. "The events of the 26th November 1850", Corfu 1850 (in Greek). Zervos Iakovatos, *Memorandum to the Respectable Government of Greece*, Cephalonia 1866, pp. 51-52 (in Greek). Panas, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. For a summarized account of these events, see Idromenos, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-66.

12. Stavrinou, The Rebellions of Cephalonia in the years 1848 and 1849, Athens 1980.

13. Petros Vrailas-Armenis has been elected deputy of the Ninth Parliament, but his election had been cancelled because he was not yet naturalized an Ionian citizen. In 1851, Vrailas gained Ward's esteem, who regarded him as "conservative". Vrailas was then bestowed with Sts George and Michael's order. In 1854, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the Ionian University. Later on in 1857, he was appointed secretary of the Senate on the economic dep't. Vrailas continued to enjoy british esteem long after the end of the Protectorate. In 1865, he was appointed member of the Conseil d'Etat in Greece and during the same year, minister of foreign affairs in Koumoundouro's government. He died in England in 1884. See, Hytiris, *A policy of compromise*, Corfu 1982 (in Greek), p. 31 (f. n. 38). Also: Moutsopoulos-Dodou, *P. Vrailas-Armenis, Philosophical works, Corpus*, Thessaloniki 1969, (in Greek), v. A', pp. με'-νστ'.

think that the desired union cannot be achieved after negotiations between Protector and protected, but can only result from the course of events, namely, from a general upheaval which could bring about a remodelling of the European States and owing to this, they believe that any attempt towards a violent hastening of the desired aim is only an act of despair, inevitably irritating the Protectors and putting invincible obstacles to the progress of our society, to the development of our internal freedom and prosperity and even to our Hellenism itself"¹⁴.

The Reformers never stopped exercising pressure aiming at the yielding of the Protecting Power and political change. When High Commissioner Ward showed his disposition to materialize it. Vrailas¹⁵ who was the principal leader and the tough kernel of the Reformist Party up to the union, hastened to give a conciliatory hand to the British. Two explicit conditions were put beforehand for the negotiations between the High Commissioner Ward and the Reformers: The fighting of Radicalism¹⁶ and the formation of a common front with the "conservatives" or adherents of the Protectorate for the coming elections¹⁷. The object of this transaction would be the new constitutional reforms. The negotiations started in spring of 1851, before the formal dismissal of the Eighth Parliament. S. Kouris was appointed at first, as mediator and afterwards he was replaced by Vrailas. The top members of the Reformist Party, after numerous conferences in Corfu, agreed to submit in common to the High Commissioner, a memoria with their propositions concerning the constitutional reforms with reasonable grounds for each one of them. The memoria which Vraila undertook to hand to the High Commissioner on behalf of his fellows, suggested the following: 1) The annual meeting of the Ionian Parliament, so as to abolish the constitutional right of the Senate to issue legislative measures when the Parliament was not functioning, 2) Wider competences bestowed to the local government, 3) Independence of the Judicial Authority, 4) Abolition of the constitutional article of the High Police Power and its substitution by a law which would protect and guarantee the civil rights and would grant to the ruling power the suitable measures for the protection of

14. Supplement of the "Patris" paper, no ΞE .

15. It is worth noticing that the editorial board of the "Patris" paper of Corfu had made a common statement (No 6, 19.2.1849), that no one of its members would accept a civil post from the Ionian government. Yet, the fact that certain members of it, deviated later from this officially confirmed principle, became the cause of personal conflicts and disputes in the Reformist party.

16. Idromenos, op. cit., p. 69.

17. Ward's Proclamation to the Parliament. Official Gazette, No 12 of 8.3.1852.

social order and security in the event of revolutionary uprisings¹⁸. However, as it appears, this memoria was subjected to many modifications because High Commissioner Ward not only disagreed with Vraila's suggestions, but submitted counter propositions in an obviously irreconcilable spirit¹⁹. At last their agreement covered a minimum of claims, according to what Ward dictated. The final result of their deliberations however did not prevent Vraila from triumphantly anticipating the High Commissioner's consent to the Reformists' propositions, a whole year before their official announcement²⁰.

During the informal pre-electoral period, new persecutions took place against the liberals. In October 1851, the leaders of the Radical Party and deputies of the Ninth Parliament were banished. Elias Zervos Iakovatos²¹ to Antikithira (Cerigotto) and Joseph Mompheratos²² to Errikousa (Merlera). Numerous arrests and banishments of civilians followed during the next two months, particularly in Cephalonia, the "heart of the radical fire" and in Zante²³. All the radical newspapers stopped being issued. The Ninth Parliament was dismissed and elections were proclaimed for the Tenth Ionian Parliament in December 1851. The High Commissioner sent a circular to the residents and requested them to exercise all their influence so that the candidates of the Reformist Party would prevail.

The elections were carried out in January 1852²⁴, in a climate of violence

18. Zambelis, Document added to the already published ones by Dr. P. Vrailas, President of the Tenth Parliament, on the recently proposed and rejected reforms, Corfu 1853 (in Greek), p. 15. Same, Answer to the treatise published by the Avvocato Generale Dr. D. Courcoumeli, according to the dictations of sir H. Ward, Corfu 1853, (in Greek).

19. Hytiris, op. cit., p. 12.

20. In his letter of 13 July 1851 to Spiros Papanicolas at Corfu who had transmitted it later on to his brother George (established since a long time in London and a well-known personality of the political life of Heptanissos) in order to inform him on the political situation, then prevailing in their country, Vrailas has referred to the negotiations which he had made personally with commissioner Ward and triumphantly anticipated their success. Vrailas' letter was published by George Papanicolas, in the "Daily News" of London in September 1851. See, Zambelis, Document added to the already published ones..., op. cit., pp. 6-7, 9.

21. Zervos-Iakovatos, My capture in Cerigotto and that one of my coprisoners, Athens 1872 (in Greek).

22. Alissandratos, Joseph Momferratos, Autobiographical Notes, Journal of Reading Society of Corfu (1970), (in Greek), p. 20. Same, "Original Letters of Joseph Momferratos". Acts of IV' Panionion Conference, Corfu 1980, (in Greek), p. 21.

23. Chiotis, op. cit., pp. 281-282. Also, Papers relating to the Ionian Islands, London 1853, p. 53.

24. Moshonas, The Ionian State and the struggle of the Heptanissians. History of the Greek Nation, v. 13, Athens 1977 (in Greek), p. 210.

and terrorism. The adherents of the Reformists, especially in Zante, surpassed in their zeal the government itself, with acts of compulsion and terrorism of citizens, so as to succeed in the nomination of the candidates belonging to their Party and thus seize the Ministries and offices they had been promised.

In Cephalonia particularly, the electoral parody was carried out by the Regent Dem. Karoussos, a devoted friend of the English and a fanatic fighter of radicalism, who for the first time introduced in the electoral customs of the Ionian Islands the system of the "Ten balloting-boxes"²⁵.

In the island of Sta. Maura as well, several electoral forgeries were committed with the purpose of electing the "conservative" candidates, as was boldly denounced in Parliament by Ioannis Marinos²⁶, member of this island. To this troubled, emotionally charged atmosphere of intolerance and political passions, was added the violent criticism of the opposition press by A. Moustoxydis. The circle of the old liberals of Corfu disapproved the new Reformists' approach to the High Commissioner and particularly the willing compliance of Vrailas. In their journal "Philalithis" of Corfu, they rejected the new reforms as being treacherous, because they were tending to the abolition of the rights and liberties which the citizens of the islands had acquired during Seaton's Commission.

At the same time they doubted the intentions of the Protecting Power regarding the contents of the new Reforms and were inducing the deputies of their party to refuse any co-operation with the Government.

We don't know exactly what "Philalithis" wrote against the Reformists²⁷. From an answering letter of Nap. Zambelis²⁸ to Vraila, written before the January Elections, concerning the publications of Corfu's newspaper, it is obvious that the attack was violent and alarmed Nap. Zambelis. Having a straightforward and honest character, Nap. Zambelis shared as it appears, Moustoxydis' reserves and wanting in time to separate his responsibilities from the compromising course of the Reformist Party, decided to retire definite-

25. Zervos-Iakovatos, The ten-balloting and its hero, Cephalonia 1872 (in Greek), p. 34.

26. Rontoyannis, History of Leucas, v. 2, (in Greek), Athens 1982, p. 392.

27. The "Φιλαλήθης" was directed by a three membered editorial board under the guidance of A. Moustoxidis. (Idromenos, *op. cit.*, p. 90, f. n. 1). Moustoxidis was the first Ionian who inaugurated the opposition against the anglo-ionian government, when he submitted his memorandum to the Colonial Office, in which he was stressing the need of certain constitutional concessions. See, Promemoria sulla condizione attuale delle Isole Ionie. Londra 1840. However, since 1849, he had been put aside by the younger generation of Reformists, something that caused his bitterness.

28. Without date. See, Hytiris, op. cit., p. 39.

ly from politics: "...convinced that nothing could be achieved and that I shall seriously harm my health without any hope of cure"²⁹. The insults the patriots had to suffer, intrigues and plots that took place in Sta. Maura, in order to forge the results of the elections, shook Nap. Zambelis' confidence³⁰ towards the conciliatory tone of Ward's Proclamation of 22nd December 1851 and towards the intentions of the British.

His disapproval of the electoral support given by the Reformists to the candidates of the Government, is mainly figuring in his original letter³¹ addressed to Vraila, in which he bluntly declared in a straightforward manner that he considered the "conservative" candidates of Sta. Maura as being improper to undertake public duties. Nap. Zambelis' point of view proves his fears regarding the conciliatory and affirmative attitude which would eventually be adopted by the "conservative" deputies of Sta. Maura³² towards Ward's propositions. They would thus impede any possibility for real improvement of the political and social life of the Ionian Islands, as well as (in the long run), the procedure for their unification with Greece.

As was expected, the Reformist Party won the absolute majority in the elections for the Tenth Parliament. Nap. Zambelis was elected deputy of Sta. Maura. In spite of his friends' efforts to change his mind and the refusal of the Parliament to accept his resignation "so as not to be deprived of the services of an eminent and most capable man", as mentioned by the historian A. Idromenos³³, Nap. Zambelis resigned from the office of deputy the next day of the elections, claiming reasons of health³⁴. In reality, however, his decision was prompted by the certainty that the Reforms for which he had fought as a journalist of "Patrida" were not to be materialized.

The announcement of the reforms by the High Commissioner, in his

29. Ibid.

30. Zambelis, Answer to the treatise published by the Avvocato Generale Dr. D. Courcoumeli..., op. cit., pp. 17-18.

31. This letter was presented by the author of this article at the Second Conference on Heptanissian Culture, Leucas (Sept. 1984).

32. Deputies of the island of Leucas (Sta Maura) in the Tenth Ionian Parliament were: 1) Sp. Valaoritis, 2) Nap. Zambelis, 3) John Valaoritis, 4) John Marinos, 5) Dem. Kondaris, 6) Theo. Soundias. Sp. Valaoritis had been appointed senator, while Nap. Zambelis had resigned. See, Rontoyannis, *op. cit.*, p. 597.

33. Idromenos, op. cit., p. 71 (f. n. 1).

34. See, Acts of the Legislative Assembly of the United State of Ionian Islands, during the Ist Session of the Tenth Parliament, Corfu 1853, p. 13, (in Greek). His fellow deputies and particularly John Marinos, Dem. Kondaris, S. Couris, G. Verykios and P. Vrailas-Armenis had warmly expressed their regret and had praised the man's virtues and abilities.

Notice of the 19/31 August 1852³⁵ to the Parliament, justified Nap. Zambelis' attitude and disappointed many of the top members of the Reformist Party. The concessions granted were poor and vague and maintained the unlimited rights of the High Commissioner, legalizing his exclusive rule. Their eventual ratification by the Parliament, would bring about the loss of political conquests, like the freedom of the press, the freedom of speech and mind. The conditions set by the High Commissioner in exchange for the acceptance of the reforms, concerned the subjection of the crimes of press from the jury courts to civil courts and established the penal character of acts or words which could be judged as being subversive of the Authorities³⁶.

The struggle of the press regarding the controversial subject of constitutional reforms, was transferred to the Parliament sessions. As President of the Tenth Parliament. Vrailas warmly recommended the acceptance of the High Commissioner's propositions, stressing the pleasant consequences they would bring about in the political life of the Ionian Islands and advised the deputies to overlook the malevolent proposals of certain people³⁷. Nap. Zambelis considered as his duty to interfere in this instance. In his open letter to Vraila which was published in an extra appendix of "Philalithis" paper on 3rd September 1852, he hastened to not only deny any participation and responsibility for the measures which his ex-collaborator recommended, but mainly to prevent the consequences which could be brought about by a careless and hasty solution of the national issues. He had checked Vraila because he supported suggestions which consisted in a counterfeit of "Patris" reforming programme, and were opposed to the liberty of speech and publicity, "without which the representative system would become a shameful fraud"³³. In detail, he thoroughly clarified and analysed one by one the official propositions and he pointed out the obscurity and often the contradiction of their contents, insisting on the term of High Police Power, which Ward maintained under a different name³⁹. Finally he induced Vraila, appealing to his patriotism, as sole mediator, to reject any reforms which were essentially different from those which they had mutually agreed upon a year before. This letter of Nap. Zambelis was of decisive influence over the fate of the Reforms

He enlightened the public opinion and managed to influence any deputies

- 35. Idromenos, op. cit., pp. 76-77.
- 36. Chiotis, op. cit., pp. 301-307.
- 37. Zambelis, Document added to the already published ones..., op. cit., p. 22.
- 38. Chiotis, op. cit., p. 303. Idromenos, op. cit., p. 78.
- 39. Chiotis, op. cit., pp. 304-305.

of the Reformist Party who had not yet overcome their doubts regarding the purpose served by these propositions.

The discussion which followed in the Tenth Ionian Parliament regarding the new reforms were dramatic in their tension and lasted from September until December 1852. The Parliament was divided into two opposing parties, the liberal Reformists who perceived the trap of the new propositions and rejected them, and the conservatives who supported them.

The deputy of Sta. Maura, John Marinos and S. Couris of Corfu⁴⁰ were distinguished fighters against these Reforms with their speeches. After the unsuccessful conciliatory efforts of the committee appointed by the Parliament, to discuss with the High Commissioner the possibility of amendments in the new measures, the Parliament rejected the Reforms with the difference of only one vote. The rejection of the Reforms confirmed the differenciation which had taken place in the bosom of the Reformist Party owing to this controversial issue.

Vrailas was enraged and tried to deny what Zambelis gave evidence to and accused him of defamation and of "shamelessly betraying their friendship"⁴¹, having allowed his letter of 3rd September 1852 to be published.

The dispute between these two old fellow members had in the end acquired a personal character. Nap. Zambelis however, reverted to the matter and proved with detailed arguments the existence of essential differences between the official propositions which Vrailas now supported, and the original demands which were submitted by the Reformist Party one year before: "...I made use of the sole weapon in my hands", he wrote, "this weapon was my evidence... Either contributing to the rejection of those measures or strengthening the general indignation against them, I am comforted by the conviction that I carried out my duty as a citizen... To stifle the truth and sacrifice the interest of my own country so as to maintain a deserting friend, if this is a virtue, I fail to understand it. God forbids that I ever exercise it..."⁴².

The Reformists' internal conflict became more apparent the next year. The two Parties published various pamphlets throwing down or refuting their rivals' arguments⁴³. Vrailas answered to Nap. Zambelis with a publication⁴⁴,

42. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

43. The deputy Lountzis (of Zante), Marinos (of Sta Maura) and Couris (of Corfu) have submitted a memorandum to the Colonial Office in which they analysed and commented

^{40.} Speech delivered in the Ionian Parliament during the session of the 4th September 1852. By the Deputy Dr. S. Couris, Corfiote, Corfu 1852 (in Greek).

^{41.} Zambelis, Document added to the already published ones..., op. cit., p. 4.

in which he cast accusations against the opposition as well as explicit hints against A. Moustoxydis and Nap. Zambelis in person: "...My propositions have been rejected as they should have been; because the Radicals voted against them together with some Reformists and others, whom I cannot otherwise characterize but as adherents of the old system through which they have been nourished, raised, enriched, honoured and praised"⁴⁵.

With the rejection of the reforms, the Tenth Parliament set the boundaries for the future course of the Ionian Parliament. At the same time it started out the long procedure which led to the end of the British Protectorate, the main manifestation of which was the failure of the extraordinary Commissioner W. E. Gladstone's mission to the Ionian Islands in 1858, as official bearer of the new constitutional Reforms⁴⁶. What occurred in 1852 was repeated in 1859, and the rejection of the reforms was equivalent to a loss of an opportunity for G. Britain to renew and legalize its contract of power over the Ionian people. Under this prism of the historical perspective, the contribution of the Tenth Ionian Parliament to the solution of the Ionian Question, is considered important and to Nap. Zambelis is attributed the credit of assessor, because with his actions, he contributed to averting solutions which would have been dangerous to the nation, without hesitating to sacrifice the very promising political career which was opened before him⁴⁷.

on the reforms in detail. See, On the rejected constitutional reforms by the Tenth Ionian Parliament. Corfu 1853 (in Greek). To the pamphlet titled: Reply to a pamphlet published by Dr. N. Zambelli, Corfu 1853 published by the Attorney-general Courcoumeli, answered Zambeli: "An answer to the treatise published by the Avvocato-Generale Dr. Courcoumeli..." op. cit. See also, Sulla questione delle riforme cenni di Socrate Curis, Corfu 1853.

44. Documents relating to the recently proposed to the Ionian Parliament constitutional reforms. D'. An answer by P. Vraila-Armeni, Corfu 1853 (in Greek).

45. Ibid., p. 114.

46. Theotokis, The W. Ed. Gladstone's mission to Heptanissos, Corfu 1924 (in Greek).

47. Rontoyannis, op. cit., pp. 398, 399, 409. Except for the fragmentary information quoted by Chiotis (in his history of the Ionian State, v. 2, Zante 1877), no other biographical information concerning Zambeli seems to be known. Zambelis died in Corfu in 1896 and as it comes out from his will, he must have been a very prosperous man.