

# The Greek Cypriot ‘Jewish-Phobia’: Negative Perceptions of the Jewish Settlement Attempts in Cyprus During the Early British Rule (1883-1906)

MAGDALINI ANTREOU,<sup>1</sup> NIKOLAOS STELGIAS<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

*In 1883-1906, Jewish immigrants made three attempts and developed one scheme to settle in Cyprus. Had these plans succeeded, a new Jewish minority group could have been established. However, the attempts failed due to several exogenous factors. What is rarely mentioned as a factor contributing to the said failure was the hostility towards the arriving Jews by most of the local population and the government. This article intends to examine the breakdown of the settlement attempts within the socio-political framework of Cyprus, using national and international literature as well as the local newspaper and government archives. Our aim is to argue that the Greek Cypriot ‘Jewish-phobia’ and the hostility of local authorities’ condemned the Jewish vision of a home in Cyprus to collapse.*

**Keywords:** Jewish settlements attempts, Greek Cypriot nationalism, British economic policy, Union

## Introduction: A Minority Group in the Making During the First Decades of the British Administration of Cyprus

*We are respectfully undersigned Jews of Romania who arrived here by last Austrian Steamer and purchased a Chiftlik with the necessary lands and houses near the village of Kouklia in the Paphos District, we have already taken the necessary title deeds. Our object in purchasing this property is the establishment there of 20 families amongst which some are artisans of different European professions and others are cultivators and which are coming here with the required agricultural tools and animals and the necessary money. We, therefore, beg Your Excellency to give them the necessary permission for landing at Limassol and every possible facility.<sup>2</sup>*

---

<sup>1</sup> Dr Antreou Magdalini, Independent Researcher – Historian, PhD in Political Science and History; Dr Nikolaos Stelgias, Independent Researcher – Historian, PhD in Political Science and History.

<sup>2</sup> SA1/4432/85 ‘Letter by Jews to Commissioner of Limassol, 26 October 1885’ (Nicosia: Cyprus National Archive, 1885)

The above excerpt is part of a letter sent by Jewish immigrants who arrived in Cyprus from Europe during the first years of British rule. The immigrants arrived on the island as part of the three attempts and one scheme to establish Jewish settlements that took place from 1883 through 1906. During this period, as anti-Semitism was on the rise all over Europe, Jews were facing significant pressures searched for a safe destination.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the Zionist movement established the objective 'to direct a people without land to a land without people',<sup>4</sup> whilst, in 1895, Theodore Herzl put forth his vision to create a Jewish State.<sup>5</sup>

Seeing that Ottoman Palestine was then unavailable, other destinations such as Cyprus, that had been under British rule since 1878, were seen favourably. As Van Millinger put it in a letter to the island's government, 'all eyes are turned toward this experiment and if it succeeds many immigrants will come to Cyprus but if it fails Cyprus will be further discredited'.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, had the settlement plans succeeded, a new Jewish minority group could have been established in Cyprus. However, Jewish endeavours to settle in Cyprus were gradually brought to an impasse. Several exogenous factors, such as the proximity to the expanding Jewish colonies in Palestine, the financial shortcomings of each plan, and the rejection of Cyprus as a destination by the third Zionist Conference led to their abandonment.<sup>7</sup> But what is rarely mentioned as a factor contributing to the said failure was the hostility towards the arriving Jews by most of the local population and the government. This article intends to examine, the breakdown of these attempts within the sociopolitical framework of Cyprus. Our aim is to argue that the Greek Cypriot 'Jewish-phobia' and the local authorities' hostility condemned the Jewish vision of a home in Cyprus to collapse.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, see Albert S. Lindeman and Richard S. Levy (eds), *Antisemitism: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). For the issue of anti-Semitism in Greece see, for instance, Sakis Gekas, 'The Port of Jews of Corfu and the "Blood Libel" of 1891: A Tale of Many Centuries and of One Event' (2004) 7(1-2) *Jewish Culture and History* 171-196.

<sup>4</sup> Viktor Karady, *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era: A Socio-Historical Outline* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2002) 266.

<sup>5</sup> Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (Το Εβραϊκό Κράτος) (Athens: Papadopoulos, 2017) (in Greek) 51.

<sup>6</sup> SA1/1524/96 'Mr Van Millinger to Mr Ashmore 4 August 1896' (Nicosia: CNA 1896).

<sup>7</sup> Yossi Ben-Artzi, 'Jewish Rural Settlement in Cyprus 1882-1935: A "Springboard" or a A Destiny?' (September 2007) 21(3) *Jewish History* 361-383, 380-381.

In the case of Cyprus, as in the case of Europe, ‘Jewish phobia’ build on four ‘anti-Jewish narratives’<sup>8</sup>: race, religion, economy, and politics-nationalism.<sup>9</sup> Within this framework, we will examine how the British economic policy of ‘minimum cost maximum gain’ affected the prospects of the Jewish settlements. In addition, we will analyse how the Greek Cypriot fears of Jewish domination in the field of economy led them to reject the attempts. Moreover, we will review the role of nationalism in the reactions of the Greek Cypriots towards the Jewish immigrants. We will also discuss how Greek Cypriots strongly objected the possibility of establishing a ‘foreign’ Jewish minority group that could delay or obstruct their national aim. Furthermore, we will investigate the racial and religious basis of the Greek Cypriots’ objections towards the Jews who wanted to settle in Cyprus.

Drawing on national and international literature as well as the local newspaper and government archives kept at the Press and Information Office and the National Archives of Cyprus, we aim to consider the reasons why a Jewish minority group was not established in Cyprus. In the first part of this article, we will discuss the socio-political context of the island during the late 19th-early 20th century and review the three attempts and one scheme for the Jewish settlements. In the second part, we aim to examine the question of why the Jewish settlements did not take root by focusing on the hostility of the British government and the Greek Cypriot community.

## **The First Jewish Settlement Attempts in Cyprus**

### ***The Socio-Political Context***

In July 1878, a few years before the first Jewish settlers had set foot on the island, the British arrived in Cyprus. In the backstage of the international discussions in Berlin regarding the Anatolian Question,<sup>10</sup> the British stroke a beneficial deal with the Ottoman Empire which allowed them to rule over the island, even though

---

<sup>8</sup> William I. Brustein, *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe Before the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 337.

<sup>9</sup> According to Brunstein, the roots of anti-Semitism in Europe are categorised into scientific racism, and religious, economic, and political anti-Semitism. *Ibid* 49, 95, 177, 265.

<sup>10</sup> Clifford A. Kiracofe, *Dark Crusade: Christian Zionism and US Foreign Policy*, International Library of Political Studies (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009) 10–11.

Cyprus remained an Ottoman territory.<sup>11</sup> Thus, under the policy of 'effective occupation',<sup>12</sup> the British acquired a place-of-arms<sup>13</sup> in the Mediterranean and promised to assist the Ottoman Empire. The British also agreed to pay an annual tribute of 92,800 pounds to the Sultan, respect the religious freedom of the island's Muslim inhabitants, and finally return Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire if and when Russia returned Batum Kars and Ardahan.<sup>14</sup> Soon after, the occupation of Egypt made Cyprus the white elephant of the British Empire and framed both the British policy and the island's future.<sup>15</sup>

After the arrival of the British, two elements shaped the island's political scene and fed the Greek Cypriot community's anti-government feelings. First, the community's national aspirations, namely the prospect of union with Greece, and second, the British economic policy of minimum cost–maximum gain. Moreover, the distinctions between 'us' and the 'other' based on race<sup>16</sup> and religion<sup>17</sup> were also crucial in the shaping of the national aspirations and the anti-government feelings. The dominant nationalist narrative of the time was based on the exclusion of any element which was considered 'foreign' to the Greek-Orthodox identity that most of the population embraced.<sup>18</sup> These elements functioned as communicating

<sup>11</sup> Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 189–90.

<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Black, *A Military History of Britain: From 1775 to the Present* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006) 98.

<sup>13</sup> Stefanos Papageorgiou, *The first Period of British Rule in Cyprus (1878-1914) – Political Modernization and Social Inertia* (Η Πρώτη Περίοδος της Αγγλοκρατίας στην Κύπρο (1878-1914). Πολιτικός Εκσυγχρονισμός και Κοινωνικές Αδράνειες) (Athens: Papazisis, 1996) 86 (in Greek).

<sup>14</sup> Philios Zannetos, *The History of the Island Cyprus from the British Occupation until 1911*, (Ιστορία της Νήσου Κύπρου από την Αγγλική Κατοχή μέχρι το 1911) Vol. 2 (2nd edn, Nicosia: Eriphanou, 1994) 15-21 (in Greek).

<sup>15</sup> Charles W. J. Orr, *Cyprus Under British Rule* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015) 44. See also, George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>16</sup> For instance, see Niyazi Kizilyurek, 'From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond' (1993) 5(2) *The Cyprus Review* 58; Nikos A. Stamatakis, 'History and Nationalism: The Cultural Reconstruction of Modern Greek Cypriot Identity' 1991 3(1) *The Cyprus Review* 59.

<sup>17</sup> For instance, see Andrew R. Novo, 'The God Dilemma: Faith, the Church, and Political Violence in Cyprus' 2013 31(2) *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 193–215; Michalis N. Michael, *The Church of Cyprus During the Ottoman Period, 1571-1878. The Process of Forming an Institution of Power* (Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου κατά την Οθωμανική Περίοδο, 1571-1878. Η Διαδικασία Διαμόρφωσης ενός Θεομίου Εξουσίας) (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2005).

<sup>18</sup> According to Papageorgiou, 'From the very beginning the British had to face a solid community imbued with national conscience. The Christians in Cyprus, trying to acquire legitimacy in the present,

vessels and were the essential components articulating the demand for union. For instance, when the Greek Cypriots asked for the reduction, abolition, or payment of the tribute by Britain, they aimed to reduce the island's economic burden and disengage Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire, thus bringing the union with Greece one step closer.

Since the early days of British rule, the issue of the union had been discussed at length both in Cyprus and Britain.<sup>19</sup> The Greek Cypriots repeatedly declared their desire to continue to be governed by Britain and, simultaneously, their desire to be united with Greece when the circumstances allowed it.<sup>20</sup> Throughout this period, the urban elites and the community's leading political figures actively pursued and instrumentalised the demand for union as a means to consolidate their power over the rural masses.<sup>21</sup>

The second element that shaped the community's anti-government stance was the British financial policy implemented on the island. This policy paved the way for radical changes in the fabric of social class and influenced the island's socio-political life. According to the British 'minimum cost–maximum gains' policy, Cyprus was meant to cover both its administrative costs and the tribute to the Sublime Porte without any assistance from Britain. Thus, the economic policy applied was orientated more toward the production of tax revenue and less toward any welfare provision.<sup>22</sup> For instance, the government's efficiency in collecting taxes led to the further rise of usury, resulting in the political and economic dependence of

---

had resource to the past and became organically linked to it. They joined a "pure" and ancient race and adopted the theory of their uninterrupted historical continuity. Outcasts and "bastards" for centuries, they found themselves "pure" and famous ancestors: the Hellenes'. Stefanos Papageorgiou, 'The Genesis of the Greek and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus, 1878-1914: A Common march at a Different Pace' in Emiliou Solomou-Hubert Faustmann (eds), *Colonial Cyprus 1878-1960: Selected Readings from the Cyprus Review*, (Nicosia, University of Nicosia, 2010) 47-56, 50-51.

<sup>19</sup> Andrekos Varnava, *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017) 246-266; Stavros Panteli, *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (UK: East-West Publications, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> For the Greek Cypriots, the idea of the union identified with freedom. For instance, see Sotiria Moustaka, 'The Labor Movement in Cyprus during the British Rule of 1878-1955' ('To Εργατικό Κίνημα στην Κύπρο κατά την Περίοδο της Βρετανοκρατίας 1878-1966') (Phd Thesis, Panteion University, 2010) 54–56 (in Greek).

<sup>21</sup> Papageorgiou (no 17) 50; Altay Nevzat, 'Nationalism Amongst the Turks of Cyprus: The First Wave' (Phd Thesis, University of Oulu, 2005).

<sup>22</sup> Hubert Faustmann, 'Clientism in the Greek Cypriot Community of Cyprus under the British Rule' in Emiliou Solomou, Hubert Faustmann (eds) *Colonial Cyprus, 1878-1960: Selected Readings from the Cyprus Review* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010) 229-246, 348.

the rural majority and the urban minority.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the implementation of free-market principles and the unprecedented agricultural crisis of 1887 caused a significant portion of the rural masses to move to the cities, which led to a wave of industrialisation.<sup>24</sup>

Throughout this period, the pro-union rhetoric, which was both radicalised and crystalised, dominated most of the political and economic discussions that took place on the island and was perceived as a panacea for the Greek Cypriot community's economic, social, and political problems.<sup>25</sup> During the same time, the fragile collaboration between the Greek Cypriot urban elites and the British local authorities was gradually disrupted. In this tense environment, the Jewish efforts to settle in Cyprus became a part of the island's politics and were an additional thorn in the relations between the locals and the government. The anti-Jewish feelings voiced by the local population in 1883-1906 were likewise related to the demand for union and were expressed in accordance with religion, race, national identity, and the economy.

### Three Attempts and One Scheme

During the first period of the British rule, three major attempts and one political scheme were planned for a Jewish settlement in Cyprus.<sup>26</sup> Jewish immigrants begun arriving in Cyprus shortly after its transition to British rule. According to

<sup>23</sup> Rolandos Katsiaounis, *Labour, Society, and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996) 103–5.

<sup>24</sup> Rolandos Katsiaounis, *The Consultative Assembly 1946-1948 – With a Review of the Period 1878-1945 (Η Διασκεπτική 1946-1948, με Ανασκόπηση της Περιόδου 1878-1945)* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000) 25 (in Greek).

<sup>25</sup> For instance, see 'The Cypriot People Must Have One Goal, the Union with Its Motherland' (Ο Κυπριακός Λαός Πρέπει να Έχει Έναν Στόχο, την Ένωσις με την Μητέρα Πατρίδα) Neon Kition (Nicosia: 25 May 1881) (in Greek). As Georghallides mentions, 'Although the seeds for unionism were present before the beginning of the British rule, the movement took some years to develop fully. Soon after their 1901 electoral success the new Greek leaders embarked on that systematic enumeration of in arguments in favour of union with Greece which in due course became one of the chief features of Cypriot politics'. George S. Georghallides, *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926, With a Survey of the Foundations of the British Rule* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979) 81-83.

<sup>26</sup> For the Jewish presence in Cyprus during this period see Evangelia Mathopoulou, 'The Jewish Presence in British Cyprus 1878-1949, Ideological and Socio-Political Transformations, Entrepreneurship, and Innovation in Colonial Setting' (Η Εβραϊκή Παρουσία στην Κύπρο 1878-1949, Ιδεολογικοί και Κοινωνικο-Πολιτικοί Μετασχηματισμοί, Επιχειρηματικότητα και Καινοτομία στο Αποικιακό Πλαίσιο) (Phd, Nicosia, University of Cyprus, 2016) (in Greek); Stavros Panteli, *Place of Refuge: A History of the Jews in Cyprus* (Elliott & Thompson, 2003); Heinz Richter, *History of Cyprus (Ιστορία της Κύπρου)*, Vol. 1 (Athens: Estia, 2007) 136–144.

Ben Artzi, the island, that was seen as a ‘reasonable alternative’ to Eretz Israel, became an object of Jewish settlement.<sup>27</sup> The first attempt was organized by the Syrian Colonization Fund in 1883 at Orides, and it was promoted by ‘19th century Protestant English Millenarian circles’.<sup>28</sup> In May and September 1883, 35 families of Russian Jews settled at Orides.<sup>29</sup> By April 1884, the settlers, who, according to their representative, Mr Ziffirin, had even sold their clothes to obtain food, asked the government for financial aid.<sup>30</sup> The government’s response was to urge them to work in road making at Koukليا, and stated that ‘If these people refuse to work for wages, it can scarily be hoped that Government will assist’.<sup>31</sup> By June 1884, the Commissioner of Paphos reported that most Jews had left Cyprus for Odessa, putting an end to the first Jewish venture.<sup>32</sup>

The second attempt took place in 1885 at Koukليا, Paphos and was organised by Romanian Jews and Mr Friedland.<sup>33</sup> According to Mathopoulou, in late 1885, a group of Romanian Jews joined the five families from the first settlement at Orides that chose to stay on the island and established the Koukليا settlement under the leadership of Michal Friedland.<sup>34</sup> Little is known about what happened with the second attempt at Koukليا. But it seems that a number of those settlers remained in Cyprus.<sup>35</sup>

The third attempt in 1895 at Margo was organised by the Ahavat Zion, founded in 1892 by Russian and Polish Jewish immigrants living in London. It later expanded at Chomlekzi and Koukليا in Famagusta with the financial support of the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA), created in 1891 to assist in the Jewish emigration. The Ahavat Zion bought land from the Greek landowner Georgios Papadopoulos at 3,725 pounds, payable in annual instalments.<sup>36</sup> At the beginning, the two rep-

---

<sup>27</sup> Yossi Ben-Artzi, ‘Historical Perspectives of Jewish Rural Settlement in Cyprus 1882-1935’ in Giorgos Kazamias and Giorgos Antoniou (eds) *Historical Perspectives on Cypriot-Jewish Relations* (Nicosia: University of Cyprus: 2015) 8-27.

<sup>28</sup> Ben-Artzi (no 6) 361.

<sup>29</sup> Mathopoulou (no 25) 88–89.

<sup>30</sup> SA1/1297/84 ‘Jewish Colonists at Paphos, 22 April 1884’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1884).

<sup>31</sup> SA1/1313/84 ‘Telegram from Commissioner of Paphos, 24 April 1884’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1884).

<sup>32</sup> SA1/1877/84 ‘Commissioner of Paphos to Chief Secretary, 2 June 1884’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1884).

<sup>33</sup> Mathopoulou (no 25) 92. Also, for further information about Friedland see *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> SA1/4432/85 (no1); Mathopoulou (no. 25) 92–93.

<sup>35</sup> According to the island’s census, the number of Jews increased from 68 in 1881 to 127 in 1891. *Cyprus Blue Books 1881 and 1891.*

<sup>36</sup> SA1/224/99 ‘Registrar General, Mr Smith, to Chief Secretary, 19 January 1899’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1899).



representatives sent to the Margo Chiftlik by the Ahavat Zion mailed disappointing reports back to London, but, according to the letter received by the island's government in August 1896, the problem in developing the Margo settlement appeared to lie more with the representatives' families than with the land itself.<sup>37</sup> Soon after, as the efforts reached a halt, the heads of the Ahavat Zion secured the financial support of the JCA.<sup>38</sup> The Association sent Walter Cohen<sup>39</sup> to Cyprus to examine the Margo Chiftlik, and the High Commissioner instructed all the Commissioners to 'facilitate [him] in his inquiries'.<sup>40</sup> Walter Cohen found the Chiftlik satisfying, and he informed the High Commissioner that '15 families are to come out in September, and the rest of the Society by instalments'.<sup>41</sup> In August 1898, thirteen more families, the majority of which were British subjects, came to the neighbouring village of Peroi.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the scheme for the Jewish immigration to Cyprus occurred between the years 1899-1906. It was organised by Mr Davies Trietsch,<sup>43</sup> a German expert in migration who envisioned the establishment of Greater Palestine, individual organisations in Romania, and the Jewish Oriental Colonisation Society.<sup>44</sup> In November 1899, Trietsch put forth his proposal to the High Commissioner of Cyprus, and his petition was sent to London for consideration.<sup>45</sup> Soon after, many Romanian Jews began to arrive under his instructions. Promoting the idea of Cyprus 'colonisation', Trietsch attempted to purchase lands in the Eastern Messaoria in 1903.<sup>46</sup> He and

<sup>37</sup> SA1/1524/96 (no 5)

<sup>38</sup> SA1/224/99 'Margo Chiftlik to Chief Secretary, 27 March 1899' (Nicosia: CNA, 1899). The JCA was a philanthropic association created in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch with the purpose of assisting the emigration of Jews. For the JCA settlements in Cyprus see, Yair Steltenreich and Yossi Katz, 'Between the Galilee and its Neighbouring Isle: Jules Rosenheck and the JCA Settlements in Cyprus, 1897-1928' (2009) 45(1) *Middle Eastern Studies* 87-109, 91-97.

<sup>39</sup> 'Mr. W. Cohen [was the] son of the late Lionel Cohen M.P., deputy of the Jewish Colonisation Society'. SA1/229/97 'Letter of introduction from Mr Walter Cohen who has been debuted by the Jewish Colonisation Society to proceed to Cyprus' (Nicosia: CNA, 1897).

<sup>40</sup> SA1/2997/97 'Chief Secretary, Arthur Young to Commissioners' (Nicosia: CNA, 1897).

<sup>41</sup> SA1/229/98 'W. Cohen to Acting Chief Secretary 24 January 1898' (Nicosia: CNA, 1898).

<sup>42</sup> SA1/3084/98 'Jews, Landing of 13 Families for Peroi' (Nicosia: CNA, 1898).

<sup>43</sup> Davies or Davis Trietsch was a German expert in migration who envisioned the establishment of Greater Palestine, an area which included Cyprus as a solution to the Jewish immigration issue. For further information on Trietsch's plans see Oskar Rabinowitch, *A Jewish Cyprus Project: David Trietsch's Colonisation Scheme* (Herzl Press, 1962).

<sup>44</sup> SA1/1232/00 'Proposed Landing of Jews in Cyprus, 27 April 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900); For the establishment of the Jewish Oriental Colonisation Society and its endeavours in Cyprus see SA1/1988/03, 'Letter by Davies Trietsch to High Commissioner, 3 July 1903' (Nicosia: CNA, 1903).

<sup>45</sup> Richter (no 25) 140.

<sup>46</sup> SA1/1232/00 (no 43).



his associates also asked for British citizenship to be granted to the potential Jewish settlers, but the request was turned down by the Cypriot authorities.<sup>47</sup> However, the scheme soon proved to be a failure, and many Jewish immigrants found themselves stranded in Cyprus.<sup>48</sup>

In 1906, representatives from the Jewish Oriental Colonisation Society sought again to promote colonisation through the establishment of factories on the island but were not successful.<sup>49</sup> The discussions for the Uganda plan<sup>50</sup> combined with the hostility of the locals and the government were meant to bring Trietsch's plans to a halt. From March to July 1906 approximately 265 Jews came to Cyprus, and about one third of them left soon after.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the prospect of establishing a new Jewish minority group in Cyprus during the late 19th-early 20th century was abandoned.<sup>52</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> SA1/1223/04 'Report by Chief Secretary, 4 May 1904', (Nicosia: CNA, 1904).

<sup>48</sup> The testimony of Netty Marcovich is evident of the difficulties these settlers had to overcome once they arrived in Cyprus. "I am a Romanian Jewess. Last February Her Trietsch told my husband that we could get work here. As soon as my husband came here he was given work at Acherito, there were about 15 Jews working there, and nearly all became sick we left because we were ill and had no milk. Then we went to Margo. Another woman with her child died at Margo. We remained two weeks but could get no work there. Sometimes we had nothing to eat there". SA1/1936/00 'Jewish Immigrants left for Cyprus. Queen Advocate to advice action to be taken, 5 July 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>49</sup> SA1/376/06 'Letter by Louis Brisih, Berlin, to His Excellency the High Commissioner of Cyprus 11 January 1906' (Nicosia: CNA, 1906).

<sup>50</sup> Ben Artzi (no 6) 378.

<sup>51</sup> SA1/1425/06 'Is Landing of Jew Emigrants Allowed in Cyprus? Enquiry by Agent of Austrian Lloyds, 18 April 1906' (Nicosia: CNA, 1906); SA1/1358/06 'Immigration of Jews. Arrival of 62 Russian Jews. Report from Chief Collector Customs, 11 April 1906' (Nicosia: CNA, 1906); SA1/1272/06 'Immigration of Russian Jews. Chief Collector Customs reports the arrival of 60, 4 April 1906' (Nicosia: CNA, 1906).

<sup>52</sup> However, the history of Jewish presence in Cyprus did not end in 1906. During the 1930s as anti-Semitism was rising in Europe, Jewish organisations considered the settlement of Jews in Cyprus as a temporary stepping-stone to Zion. For instance, see Evangelia Mathopoulou, 'Pioneers in Stagnant Economy: The Jews in British Cyprus, 1883-1939' in Giorgos Kazamias and Giorgos Antoniou (eds), *Historical Perspectives on Cypriot-Jewish Relations* (Nicosia: University of Cyprus: 2015) 28-49. Moreover, after the end of World War II, Cyprus was designated as a 'place for the temporary internment of Jewish refugees' that intended to reach the Mandate Palestine. Alexis Rappas, 'Jewish Refugees in Cyprus and British Imperial Sovereignty in Eastern Mediterranean, 1933-1949', (2019) 47(1) *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 138-166, 149. Also, for the local Jewish community of Cyprus after the 1950s see, Gabriel Haritos, 'Israel's entry to Colonial Cyprus' (Fall 2020) 32(2) *The Cyprus Review* 29-49, 38-41, 44-46.

## Why didn't the Jewish Settlements Take Root? The Local Hostile Environment

### *The British Obstacle*

One of the elements contributing to the failure of the Jewish settlements in Cyprus was the hostility of the local British authorities. The government's policy regarding the prospect of establishing a Jewish minority group was based on two factors: the volume of the Jewish immigrants arriving in Cyprus and the internal socio-political conditions. On the one hand, the British reaction towards the arrival of a small number of immigrants, who had jobs waiting for them in the agricultural sector or security deposits for their repatriation, was positive. On the other hand, the government was negative towards the arrival of a large number of immigrants, who did not have the financial backing of respectable organisations like the JCA, and their arrival in Cyprus would have risked the island's fragile socio-economic balances.

The archival sources indicate that, during the early stage of Jewish immigration to Cyprus, the British did not oppose the idea of the sporadic settlement of Jews provided that they had the means to support themselves.<sup>53</sup> For instance, the representative of the Jewish Colonisation Association (JCA), Mr Cohen, received help to establish a school, appoint a government official as supervisor, and avoid payment of land registration fees for the Margo Chiftlik.<sup>54</sup> This positive attitude changed when Davies Trietsch put forth his scheme to direct numerous destitute immigrants from Romania to Cyprus.<sup>55</sup>

A predominant reason for the local government's negative stance regarding the prospect of establishing a Jewish minority group in Cyprus was the understanding that this would add further friction in its relations with the Greek Cypriots, as well as disrupt the orderly function of the political system and, by extension, the

<sup>53</sup> Mathopoulou (no 25) 142–43.

<sup>54</sup> SA1/ 229/98 'Inspector of Schools to Chief Secretary, 5 February 1898' (Nicosia: CNA, 1898); SA1/3249/97 'Bovill to Chief Secretary, 9 November 1897' (Nicosia: CNA, 1897); SA1/224/99 'W. Cohen to Chief Secretary, 21 November 1899' (Nicosia: CNA, 1899).

<sup>55</sup> 'I do not think that Mr. Trietsch acts in a very straightforward way: before sending these Jews here or advising them to come here and find work he should have given security that his Society should maintain them and if necessary, pay the expenses of their deportation. No preparation appears to have been made for their proper reception and settlement and I propose to wire to the Collector that they cannot be permitted to land until security at the rate of 15 pounds per head is given'. SA1/1664/00 'Chief Secretary to High Commissioner, 21 July 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

economy.<sup>56</sup> Seeing ‘the restriction of Jewish immigration both as a political and economic defensive measure’,<sup>57</sup> the local government reacted against the prospect of dealing with impoverished Eastern European Jews who were not ‘desirable citizens and have not yet succeeded as colonists’.<sup>58</sup> These new immigrants could seek employment in fields other than agriculture, adding, thus, to the large number of the destitute Cypriot farmers that since the agricultural crisis of 1887 had been roaming the streets of the towns asking for a job as unskilled workers.<sup>59</sup> Faced with the possibility of a massive Jewish settlement in Cyprus, the British officials invoked two government decisions in their effort to rebuff the waves of immigrants mainly coming from Eastern Europe. According to the Ordinance no. 1 of 1882 and the Proclamation of 27 July 1898, the local government had the power ‘to prohibit the landing of any destitute person to Cyprus’ and to also ask that provisions were made ‘for the proper support of such persons in Cyprus’, while assurances were given ‘for the payment of deportation if such person was unable to maintain itself in Cyprus’.<sup>60</sup>

Within this framework, the government implemented stricter control of the passengers arriving in Cyprus and invoked several reasons for obstructing the landing of numerous destitute Jewish immigrants.<sup>61</sup> For instance, as the Commissioner of Larnaca writes to the Chief Secretary in July 1900, ‘Now, Jews even in England are not very clean, but in Poland and Romania, they are filthy and I would respectfully suggest that so long as plague exists in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Government will not permit the emigration of Jews into Cyprus’.<sup>62</sup> The government also announced that it didn’t desire, under any circumstances, to be forced to offer those settlers any form of employment. If there was work to be done in the island’s public works then ‘the Government were morally bound to obtain labour from the

---

<sup>56</sup> Mathopoulou (no 25) 144.

<sup>57</sup> Nicholas J. Evans, ‘Commerce, State, and Anti-Alienism: Balancing Britain’s Interests in the Late-Victorian Period’ in E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (eds) ‘The Jew’ in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture - Between the East End and East Africa (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009) 80–97.

<sup>58</sup> SA1/376/06 ‘High Commissioner, Smith to Chief Secretary Young, February 1906’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1906).

<sup>59</sup> SA1/1802/00 ‘Commissioner of Larnaca to Chief Secretary, 22 June 1900’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>60</sup> ‘Proclamation of 27 July 1898’, Cyprus Gazette (July 29, 1898).

<sup>61</sup> ‘The terms of Proclamation of 27th July 1898 must be strictly complied with immediately on the arrival of these immigrants’ SA1/1936/00 ‘Circular from Chief Secretary to all Commissioners, 5 July 1900’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>62</sup> SA1/1664/00 ‘Chamberlayne to Chief Secretary, 15 June 1900’, (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

island'<sup>63</sup>. After all, according to the government officials, the 'stupid Jews who had nothing arranged locally for their reception' were to blame for their disheartening situation.<sup>64</sup>

## The Obstacle of the Greek-Cypriot Nationalism

The Greek Cypriot community's negative stance towards the establishment of a Jewish minority group in Cyprus was also one of the factors leading to failure of the settlement attempts. Like the local government, most of the island's population was against the prospect of numerous Jews settling in Cyprus. The reasons put forth by the Greek Cypriots related to the demand for union with Greece, and the safeguard of their community's control over the economy. In this context, although the first and second plans received little attention by the local newspapers, the community's opposition to the increased Jewish immigration had skyrocketed by 1891.<sup>65</sup> Especially during the turbulent years of the Archbishopal question,<sup>66</sup> the attempts became a part of the island's politics. In conditions of political and economic turmoil these discussions comprised an additional thorn in the relations between the locals and the government and added to the confrontational atmosphere in the local Legislative Council.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>63</sup> SA1/800/00 'Chief Secretary to High Commissioner, 23 March 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>64</sup> SA1/1664/00 'Telegram of Cobham to Chief Secretary, 12 July 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>65</sup> The archival material we have collected indicate that the Greek Cypriots were hostile towards the settlement attempts from the beginning. For example, Phoni tis Kyprou wrote in 1883 'We are not xenophobic but we admit that the settlement (of Jews) can be anything other than beneficial', while in 1891 it writes, 'Justly fear grew in many of us upon hearing that some Jews expelled from Russia seek to inhabit here'. 'The Jews' (Οι Εβραίοι) Phoni tis Kyprou (Larnaca: 19 May 1883) (in Greek); 'Jews and Israelites' (Εβραίοι και Ισραηλίτες) Phoni tis Kyprou (Nicosia: 21 August 1891) (in Greek).

<sup>66</sup> Anastasia Yiangou, 'The Orthodox Church of Cyprus, Enosis, Politics and the British authorities during the First World War' (April 2020) 44(1) *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 137-153, 139-140.

<sup>67</sup> The issue was discussed in the Legislative Council when two questions, a resolution and a draft law, submitted by the Greek Cypriot representatives concerning the Jewish 'colonisation'. It was also discussed on the occasion of the amendment of the law obstructing destitute immigrants from landing in Cyprus. SA1/1666/00 'Immigration of Jews. Question of Mr Francoudis to Chief Secretary, 15 July 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900); SA1/1289/04 'Resolution by Mr Theodotou that Jewish immigration into Cyprus may be prevented by government, 12 April 1904' (Nicosia: CNA, 1904); SA1/1181/04 'Question by Mr Sozos for the immigration of Jews to Cyprus, 29 April 1904' (Nicosia: CNA, 1904); 'Law to prevent immigration of Jews by Mr Theodotou, 27 April 1906' *Cyprus Gazette* (Nicosia: 1906); 'The Legislative Council-Weekly deliberations' (Νομοθετικό Συμβούλιο-Εβδομαδιαίες Συζητήσεις) Phoni tis Kyprou (Nicosia: 22 July 1900) (in Greek).

According to a petition of the inhabitants of Larnaca, the Greek Cypriots mention that ‘We are not anti-Semites, we have always sympathised with these wandering people’.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, during this period they offered many reasons for opposing the influx of Jewish immigrants. Their objections were based on the assertion that the attempts were in contradiction to the history, religion, race, national interests, and economic prosperity of their community. These reasons were connected not only to one another but also to the demand for union. As the newspaper *Salpinx* put it, ‘Jews and Cyprus! [They are] two things that are in no way compatible, neither historically, nor religiously, nor ethnologically, nor politically, nor geologically’.<sup>69</sup>

Following in the steps of other European nations of the late 19th–early 20th century, the Greek Cypriots adopted an anti-Jewish position and saw the settlement attempts as a great danger to their present and future.<sup>70</sup> Their ‘Jewish-phobia’ had two dimensions: the national and the economical. The Greek Cypriots feared that the Jewish immigrants would be used by the British government to delay or even obstruct the union with Greece. According to Theodotou, a Greek Cypriot member of the Legislative Council, ‘if 50-60 thousand Jews will live here, in a few years we will see 3 or 4 members sitting in the Legislative Council, who joining with the Englishmen will have the majority of vote, which is very bad for Cyprus’.<sup>71</sup> Moreover, as the reporter of the newspaper *Ethnos* mentioned to Davies Trietsch, ‘since most of the inhabitants of Cyprus are Greek they ask the union of the island with the Greek kingdom. Your settlement here will be an obstacle’.<sup>72</sup> Adding to this, the newspaper *Evagoras* argues that ‘the mass colonization of Jews will make our position much more difficult, because it will strengthen the dissident elements and will provide stronger weapons to the Government to sideline the dominant Greek element of the island’.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> SA1/163/00 ‘Petition of the inhabitants of Larnaca to the High Commissioner, 23 January 1900’, (Nicosia: CNA, 1900). Although Greek Cypriots claim that they are not anti-Semitic, they use such insulting language when speaking about Jews. For instance, the newspaper *Aletheia* mentions that Jews are ‘leaches’. ‘Not so much Jewish-phobia’ (Όχι πλέον τόσο Εβραιοφοβία) *Aletheia* (Nicosia: 24 July 1891) (in Greek).

<sup>69</sup> ‘Jews and Cyprus’ (Εβραίοι και Κύπρος) *Salpinx* (Nicosia: 13 July 1891) (in Greek).

<sup>70</sup> ‘We warmly pray you will not allow the emigration of a Jewish populace which will endanger our national restoration’ ‘SA1/163/00 ‘Petition by inhabitants of Kato Drys, Vavla, and Lefkara to the High Commissioner, 22/7 January 1900’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>71</sup> SA1/1289/04 ‘Theodotou’s speech in Morphou, September 1904’ (Nicosia: CNA, 1904).

<sup>72</sup> ‘The colonisation of Jews. Interview with Davies Trietsch’ (‘Ο Αποικισμός των Εβραίων. Συνέντευξις μετά του κ. Davies Trietsch’) *Ethnos* (Nicosia: 2 December 1899) (in Greek).

<sup>73</sup> ‘The Jews in Cyprus’ (‘Οι Εβραίοι εν Κύπρω’) *Evagoras* (Nicosia: 17 November 1898) (in Greek).

The idea that the British authorities were hiding behind the Jewish 'colonisation' ventures was popular among the local population. For instance, the newspapers *Phoni tis Kyprou* draws a clear line between the two saying that 'The reasons for which you [government] are so concerned about the settlement of Jews in Cyprus can only be humble. [Either] to increase the taxpayers at the expense [or] to introduce a national feeling that is in opposition to the Greek feelings and the noble aspirations of the people'.<sup>74</sup>

The Greek Cypriot 'Jewish-phobia' also had a religious and racial dimension. These arguments were promoted based on the belief that the Greek-Orthodox Christian majority of Cyprus was destined to unite with the Greek Christian Orthodox kingdom. From this perspective, the introduction of a new identity that was foreign to the Greek Christian Orthodox majority put the union in danger. Therefore, the Greek Cypriots believed that the Jewish attempts must be obstructed because as the newspaper *Evagoras* claims, 'We consider the Jews 'the unholy executioners of Christ'. They are responsible for the 'slaughters of thousands of Greeks and have an undying hatred against the Greeks and especially the Christians in the East'.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, they argue that any settlement of the Jews will soon provoke religious and race disputes.

*'The people of Cyprus are not so revengeful as to recollect the abominable homicides committed in the days of Trajan against them by those who now ask for their brotherly hospitality, but we think that, that bloody experience has sufficiently proved that we cannot live together in peace. [Also, the new settlers] are not natives and they are not connected with us by the ties of race'.*<sup>76</sup>

For these reasons, the people of Larnaca, 'strongly protests against such colonization of Jews who are absolutely strangers to the manners and habits of the Island, enemies to religion, the traditions and the interests of the country'.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to the national aspect of the Greek Cypriot 'Jewish-phobia', there were also economic reasons. According to the newspaper *Aletheia*, 'the danger is

<sup>74</sup> 'The Jews' (Οι Εβραίοι) *Phoni tis Kyprou* (Nicosia: 13 July 1900) (in Greek).

<sup>75</sup> 'The Jews in Cyprus' (no 72).

<sup>76</sup> SA1/163/00 'Petition of the inhabitants of Limassol to the High Commissioner, 8 January 1900' (Nicosia: CNA, 1900).

<sup>77</sup> SA1/1544/06 'Resolution passed by the people of Scala-Larnaca, 2/15 April 1906' (Nicosia: CNA, 1906).

double, national and economical. The government has of course her reasons for being in favour of the plans and perhaps for encouraging them [because] she will add thousands of taxpayers and reduce Cyprus' deficit'.<sup>78</sup> The Greek Cypriots on the other hand had a lot to lose from the settlement of numerous Jews. 'By accepting them, whether poor or rich, we shall either be deprived even of what little bread which we earn with so much venation and several sweat, because we shall have to share it with them, or we shall be subjected to their unlimited financial control'.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, as Phoni tis Kyprou mentions, 'we know what Jewish ability means in trade, arts, and sciences, and we fear what would happen if they were allowed to emigrate to Cyprus'.<sup>80</sup>

Furthermore, the Greek Cypriot's fears that the Jewish capitalists would, given the opportunity, dominate the island's economy were crucial in the rejection of the debtor's relief law. The reasons put forth were that,

*If this Bill was passed all the Cyprus capitalists would at once withdraw their capital on account of great difficulties which would be caused by the Bill and then the properties would naturally sink in price and the Jews will find a proper opportunity to lend their money at interest and after some years all the properties of the Cypriots will go into their hands, having us as servants'.<sup>81</sup>*

Similarly, during the debates in the Legislative Council for the establishment of an agricultural bank, Theodotou claimed that 'We want a Bank without foreign or Jewish capitals'.<sup>82</sup> Due to this harsh environment made of the Greek Cypriot's 'Jewish-phobia' and the local government's hostile attitude, the Jewish aim to settle in Cyprus was led to collapse.

## **Conclusion: Understanding the Failure of the Jewish Settlement Attempts**

The island of Cyprus was part of the Jewish plans to find a new homeland for the Jews of Europe during the late 19th- early 20th century. Although initially — unlike other countries such as Palestine— Cyprus received a limited number of immigrants, the island continued to attract Jewish interest throughout the 20th

---

<sup>78</sup> 'Jews in Cyprus' ('Οι Εβραίοι ενΚύπρω') Aletheia, (Nicosia: 18 November 1899) (in Greek).

<sup>79</sup> SA1/163/00 (no 67).

<sup>80</sup> 'The immigration of Jews in Cyprus' ('Μετανάστευσις των Εβραίων εν Κύπρω') Phoni tis Kyprou (Nicosia: 17 July 1891) (in Greek).

<sup>81</sup> SA1/1289/04 (no 70).

<sup>82</sup> SA1/1289/04 (no 66).



century. From 1883 until 1906, the Jewish community launched three attempts and planned one scheme for settling Jewish immigrants in Cyprus. However, as we have seen, these efforts gradually reached an impasse.

The main question surrounding these endeavours is why they failed. Why didn't the Jewish settlements take root? Why wasn't a Jewish minority group established in Cyprus? Based on the very informative existing literature and the study of local archives we believe that the answer to these questions is multidimensional. The breakdown of Jewish plans depended on several factors that were interconnected and deeply rooted in Cyprus' socio-economic context of the first period of British rule. Borrowing from Brustein's theory, we argue that the factors of race, religion, economy, and nationalism-politics were central to the development of the local 'Jewish-phobia'.

The local government and the Greek Cypriots agreed that the influx of numerous destitute Jews in Cyprus would burden the island's economy. Furthermore, the possibility of losing the control over the economy to the new Jewish capitalists alarmed the Greek Cypriot elites. At the same time, the government and the local majority also agreed that the arrival of Jewish immigrants could further complicate their relations and disrupt the orderly function of the political economical system. The Greek Cypriots on their part invoked several additional reasons, such as racial and religious, for objecting the Jewish settlements that were connected to the demand for union. As the Greek Cypriots clearly stated, 'We are purely Greek people, enslaved people, that always have in their minds their national restoration. We don't want pesky foreigners who will obstruct the realisation of our national aspirations'.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, according to the Greek Cypriots, the island's Greek and Christian Orthodox character was incompatible with other 'foreign' identities.

In this context, the Jewish attempts to settle in Cyprus failed mainly due to their incompatibility with the British and Greek Cypriot priorities and objectives. The government's strict economic policy was a major obstacle for the Jewish immigrants. In addition, the coincidence between the climax of the settlement plans and the radicalisation of the Greek Cypriot's pursuit of union with Greece could not possibly allow the Jewish settlers to acquire a foothold on the island.

---

<sup>83</sup> 'The Jewish Colonisation and the Government' (Η Εβραϊκή μετοικεσία και η Κυβέρνησις) Aletheia (Nicosia:16 June 1900) (in Greek)

## References

### *Archival Sources*

Cyprus National Archives: Secretarial Series (1883-1906)

Cyprus Blue Books (1881-1891)

Cyprus Gazette (1898-1906)

Newspapers: Phoni tis Kyprou, Aletheia, Evagoras, Neon Kition, Ethnos, Salpinx (1883-1906)

### *Secondary Sources*

Ben Artzi Y., 'Jewish Rural Settlement in Cyprus 1882-1935: a "springboard" or a destiny?' (September 2007) 21(3) *Jewish History* 361-383.

'Historical Perspectives of Jewish Rural Settlement in Cyprus 1882-1935' in Kazamias G. and G. Antoniou (eds) *Historical Perspectives on Cypriot-Jewish Relations* (Nicosia: University of Cyprus: 2015) 8-27.

Black J., *A Military History of Britain: From 1775 to the Present* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2006).

Brustein W.I., *Roots of Hate: Anti-Semitism in Europe Before the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Evans N.J., 'Commerce, State, and Anti-Alienism: Balancing Britain's Interests in the Late-Victorian Period', in E. Bar-Yosef and N. Valman (eds) 'The Jew' in Late-Victorian and Edwardian Culture - Between the East End and East Africa (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

Georghallides G.S., *A Political and Administrative History of Cyprus 1918-1926, With a Survey of the Foundations of the British Rule*, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1979).

Faustmann H., 'Clientism in the Greek Cypriot Community of Cyprus under the British Rule' in Solomou E., H. Faustmann (eds), *Colonial Cyprus, 1878-1960: Selected Readings from the Cyprus Review* (Nicosia: University of Nicosia Press, 2010), 229-246.

Gekas S., 'The Port of Jews of Corfu and the "Blood Libel" of 1891: A tale of many centuries and of one event' (2004) 7(1-2) *Jewish Culture and History* 171-196.

Haritos G., 'Israel's entry to Colonial Cyprus' (Fall 2020) 32(2) *The Cyprus Review* 29-49.

Herzl T., *The Jewish State* (Το Εβραϊκό Κράτος) (Athens: Papadopoulos, 2017) (in Greek).

Hill G., *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Karady V., *The Jews of Europe in the Modern Era: A Socio-Historical Outline* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2002).

Katsiaounis R., *Labour, Society, and Politics in Cyprus During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1996).

Katsiaounis R., *The Consultative Assembly 1946-1948 – With a Review of the Period 1878-1945* (Η Διασκεπτική 1946-1948, Με Ανασκόπηση της Περιόδου 1878-1945) (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2000), 25 (in Greek).

Kiracofe C. A., *Dark Crusade: Christian Zionism and US Foreign Policy*, International Library of Political Studies (London-New York: I.B. Tauris, 2009).

Kizilyurek N., 'From Traditionalism to Nationalism and Beyond', (1993) 5(2) *The Cyprus Review*.

Lindeman A.S., Levy R.S. (eds), *Antisemitism: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Mathopoulou E., 'Pioneers in Stagnant Economy: The Jews in British Cyprus, 1883-1939' in Kazamias G. and G. Antoniou (eds), *Historical Perspectives on Cypriot-Jewish Relations* (Nicosia: University of Cyprus: 2015) 8-27.

Mathopoulou E., 'The Jewish Presence in British Cyprus 1878-1949, Ideological and Socio-Political Transformations, Entrepreneurship, and Innovation in Colonial Setting' (Η Εβραϊκή Παρουσία στην Κύπρο 18878-1949, Ιδεολογικοί και Κοινωνικο-Πολιτικοί Μετασχηματισμοί, Επιχειρηματικότητα και Καινοτομία στο Αποικιακό Πλαίσιο) (Phd, Nicosia, University of Cyprus, 2016) (in Greek).

Michael M.N., *The Church of Cyprus During the Ottoman Period, 1571-1878. The Process of Forming an Institution of Power* (Η Εκκλησία της Κύπρου κατά την Οθωμανική Περίοδο, 1571-1878. Η Διαδικασία Διαμόρφωσης ενός Θεσμού Εξουσίας) (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 2005).

Moustaka S., 'The Labor Movement in Cyprus during the British Rule of 1878-1955' (Το Εργατικό Κίνημα στην Κύπρο κατά την Περίοδο της Βρετανοκρατίας 1878-1966) (Phd Thesis, Panteion University, 2010) (in Greek).

Novo A.R., 'The God Dilemma: Faith, the Church, and Political Violence in Cyprus' 2013 31(2) *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 193–215.

Orr C. W. J., *Cyprus Under British Rule* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015).

Panteli S., *A New History of Cyprus: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (U.K.: East-West Publications, 1988).

Place of Refuge: *A History of the Jews in Cyprus* (Elliott & Thompson, 2003).

Papagoorgiou S., *The First Period of British Rule in Cyprus (1878-1914) – Political Modernization and Social Inertia* (Η Πρώτη Περίοδος της Αγγλοκρατίας στην Κύπρο (1878-1914). Πολιτικός Εκσυγχρονισμός και Κοινωνικές Αδράνειες) (Athens: Papazisis, 1996) (in Greek).

Papagoorgiou S., 'The Genesis of the Greek and Turkish Nationalism in Cyprus, 1878-1914: A Common march at a Different Pace' in Solomou E., H. Faustmann (eds), *Colonial Cyprus 1878-1960: Selected Readings from the Cyprus Review*, (Nicosia, University of Nicosia, 2010) 47-56.

Rabinowitch O., *A Jewish Cyprus Project: David Trietsch's Colonisation Scheme* (Herzl Press, 1962).

Rappas A., 'Jewish Refugees in Cyprus and British Imperial Sovereignty in Eastern Mediterranean, 1933-1949', (2019) 47(1) *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 138-166.

Richter H., *History of Cyprus (Ιστορία της Κύπρου)*, Vol. 1 (Athens: Estia, 2007) (in Greek).

Shaw S. J., Shaw E. K., *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Stamatakis N. A., 'History and Nationalism: The Cultural Reconstruction of Modern Greek Cypriot Identity' 1991 3(1) *The Cyprus Review*.

Steltenreich Y., Katz Y., 'Between the Galilee and its Neighbouring Isle: Jules Rosenheck and the JCA Settlements in Cyprus, 1897-1928' (2009) 45(1) *Middle Eastern Studies*, 87-109.

Varnava A., *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 246-266.

Yiangou A., 'The Orthodox Church of Cyprus, Enosis, Politics and the British authorities during the First World War' (April 2020) 44(1) *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 137-153.

Zannetos P., *The History of the Island Cyprus from the British Occupation until 1911, (Ιστορία της Νήσου Κύπρου από την Αγγλική Κατοχή μέχρι το 1911)* Vol. 2 (2nd edn, Nicosia: Epiphaniou, 1994) (in Greek).