

# Journal of Greek Archaeology

Volume 10 2025

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The Editor, JGA,  
Department of Archaeology, Edinburgh University, Teviot Place,  
Edinburgh, EH8 9AG  
United Kingdom  
[johnlbintliff@gmail.com](mailto:johnlbintliff@gmail.com)

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John Bintliff

Edinburgh University, U.K. and Leiden University, The Netherlands

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## **Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 10: Editorial**

**John Bintliff**

University of Edinburgh

johnlbintliff@gmail.com

Volume 10 has a very rich dish of articles for you. It is dominated by 14 papers covering every aspect of Archaeological Lidar in Greece, that will give you a complete state-of-the-art introduction to the technology, methodology but especially Greek case-study applications. Then we have articles on houses and house artefacts in Minoan Crete and late Dynastic Egypt, ceramics in Geometric and Late Roman Greece from contrasting approaches – artistic symbolism and economics, the social and symbolic as well as practical aspects of female dress in Ancient Greece, the changing role of the gymnasium in Hellenistic times on Cyprus and in Cyrene, religion and figurine dedication in Spartan society, and finally a failed American colonial town in 19th century AD Corinthia



# Washingtonia 1829: an American refugee colony in Greece

## Kostis Kourelis

Franklin & Marshall College

kkoureli@fandm.edu

## David K. Pettegrew

Messiah University

dpettegrew@messiah.edu

## Nikos Poulopoulos

University of Missouri-St. Louis

poulopoulosn@umsl.edu

## Albert Sarvis

Harrisburg University

Asarvis@HarrisburgU.edu

## Alexandra Shehigian

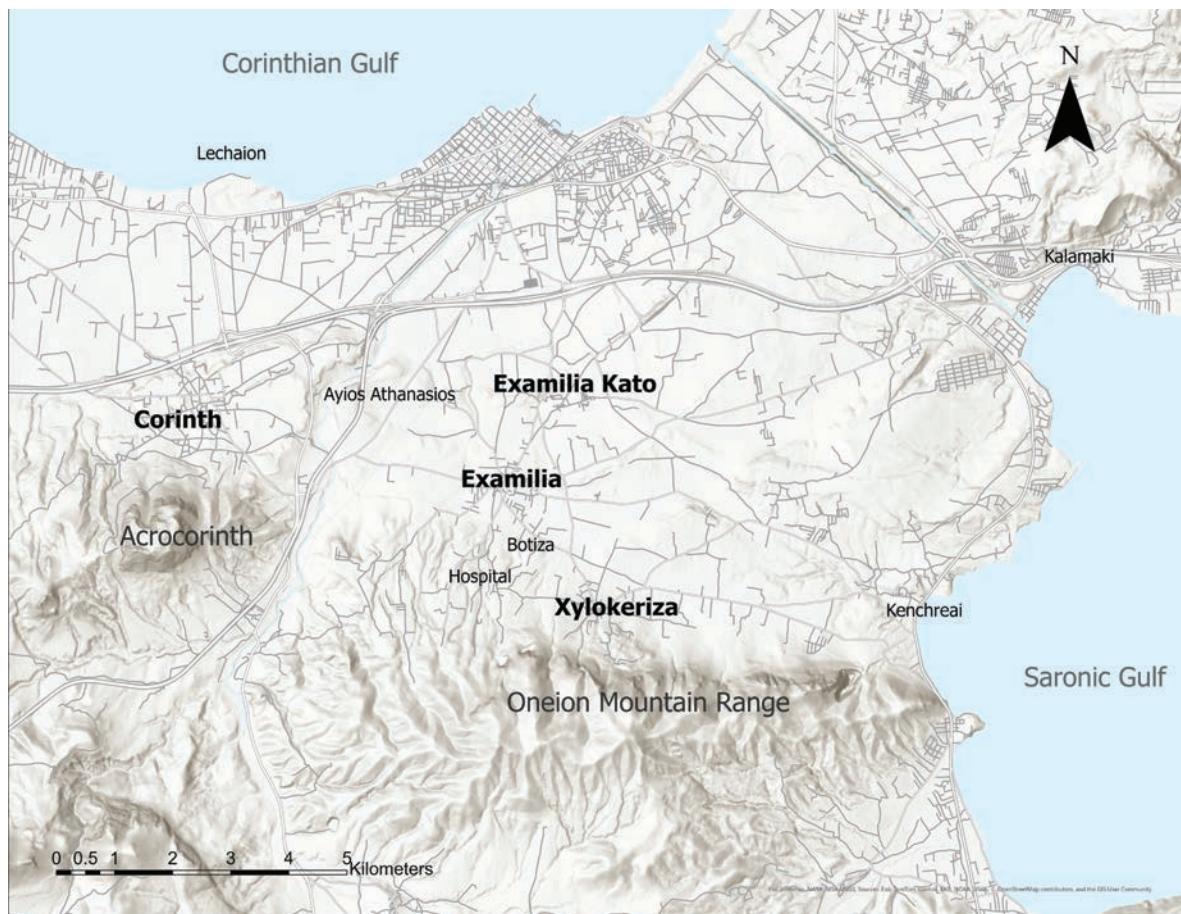
Messiah University

as1887@messiah.edu

## Introduction

The founding of the colony of Washingtonia at Ano Examilia on the Isthmus of Corinth represents a unique, forgotten episode of collaborative humanitarianism at the birth of the Greek nation-state (Figure 1).<sup>1</sup> Established in 1829 by Samuel Gridley Howe and his colleagues, funded by American citizens, and chartered by Governor Ioannis Kapodistrias, the settlement housed several dozen migrant families displaced during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829). Within a few years, refugees successfully cultivated an agricultural district of the Isthmus and built or rebuilt houses, hospital, school, church, and port facilities. Although the memory of the original colonists soon disappeared and the settlement's name 'Washingtonia' returned to its earlier name of Examilia, the colony served to revitalize an important Corinthian village after the war. The establishment of Washingtonia was significant as a pioneering transnational intervention in which utopian experiments of cooperative farming in the U.S. could be put into action by Greek refugees halfway around the world.

<sup>1</sup> This study of Washingtonia developed out of the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (1997–2003). We are indebted to local historian Anastasios Tsigos, who has tirelessly collected source material and oral testimony from the region and written the definitive history of Examilia (2020); Tasos has been a most generous host and local ambassador who kindly read and commented on a draft of this article. Our work has also benefited from conversations with Leslie Kaplan, who gathered traveler accounts in her dissertation (2001); Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory, who collected oral histories and studied the cemetery of Examilia (see Gregory 2007); Guy Sanders, who analyzed contemporary sharecropping patterns (2013); and the anonymous reviewers of this article. Thanks also to John Bintliff, William Caraher, Jon Frey, Keli Ganey, Miltiadis Katsaros, Noah Kaye, Richard Rothaus, Thomas Gallant, and Hector Williams for productive conversations, encouragement, collaboration, and feedback. Three digital field schools for undergraduates from Messiah University, Harrisburg University of Science and Technology, and Franklin & Marshall College contributed to our work in 2017, 2023, and 2024. Financial support was provided by Messiah University, Harrisburg University of Science and Technology, Franklin & Marshall College, and Ken and Lois Stern. Thanks to Jonathan Werthmuller, Devon Hearn, and Molly Elspas for digitizing and transcribing Samuel G. Howe's archival material. Earlier versions of this paper were presented at meetings of the Archaeological Institute of America (January 2024), Central Pennsylvania GIS Day (November 2023), and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Public Humanities Initiative at Columbia University (March 2023). An early public version of the story circulated in *The Greek Revolution (1821–1829), through American Eyes*, an exhibition of Stockton University and Hellenic College Holy Cross Seminary (September 2021–December 2022).



**Figure 1.** Map of the Corinthian Isthmus showing 19th century locations named in text against a modern basemap. Created by Albert Sarvis.

The authors of this article initiated the study of Washingtonia in 2016 during the Syrian Civil War that saw thousands of refugees and asylum seekers trapped in ad hoc camps throughout Greece. We were particularly interested in how Washingtonia might illuminate the study of refugee settlements in a country that has experienced continuous forced migration. In a field that has traditionally focused on classical antiquity, we initiated this study to reflect on modern Greece's potential contributions to global historical archaeology, pedagogy, and community engagement. We were also interested in incorporating this lost site into a broader study of diachronic settlement in the late medieval, Ottoman, and early modern Corinthia as a continuation of the work of the Eastern Korinthia Archaeological Survey (1997-2003).<sup>2</sup> Although the focus of this essay is the archaeological recovery of Washingtonia, our research revealed other overlooked migration communities over the last two centuries that invite further study (see Figures 30-32).<sup>3</sup>

The refugee settlement of Washingtonia offered a unique opportunity to study an early moment of cooperation between foreign entities and the emerging Greek state, the transition from Ottoman to early modern times, and the archaeological character of displaced refugees. The history of Washingtonia reveals all the challenges in the study of humanitarian relief through the palimpsest of an infrastructure that persisted in the Corinthian landscape for no more than five years. However, our experience in studying this ephemeral settlement through archival records, historical maps

<sup>2</sup> See Pettegrew 2024.

<sup>3</sup> These include migrant worker housing for the construction of the Corinth Canal, remittance houses built by immigrants from the U.S. following the currant crisis of 1893, Asia Minor refugee settlements after the 1923 exchange of population, an orphanage for victims of the Armenian genocide, a Greek-American farm school, a military camp where Greek Jews were imprisoned before deportation to Auschwitz, a camp for undocumented migrants incarcerated in 2012, a Roma encampment, and a contemporary Syrian refugee camp.

and aerial photographs, drone survey, mobile GIS, and physical investigations demonstrates that progress is possible through multiple lines of evidence and methods. Recovering any kind of material evidence for this colony helps us to understand how a feudal late Ottoman countryside transformed into a national landscape with international actors, and demonstrates that it is possible to restore the history of voiceless migrants. This article also showcases how an archaeology of short-lived early modern Greek settlements sheds light on displaced communities within landscape history.

Our paper proceeds along four lines. In the first section, we provide a selective summary of Washingtonia's history from textual evidence. The second section outlines the methods we used for discovering and recording the colony. The third part lays out the evidence for different features of the refugee settlement. Our fourth section describes the pedagogical and digital humanities components of our project. A brief conclusion draws broader implications for the study of displaced migrants. Altogether, our article highlights the potential of collaborative, multi-evidential archaeology in making sense of Greece's modern period and the history of forced migration.

### A brief history of Washingtonia

In 1829, a young American doctor named Samuel G. Howe (1801-1876) collaborated with Ioannis Kapodistrias (1776-1831) and like-minded philhellenes to found a colony on the Corinthian Isthmus to house refugees displaced by the Greek War of Independence (Figures 2 and 3). With a land grant



**Figure 2.** Colonel Leake's Map of Greece before the War of Revolution. Overlaying circles in red show homelands of refugees who settled at Washingtonia. Map of Greece included in Howe's *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution* (1828).



**Figure 3.** John Elliot (1859-1926), *Samuel Gridley Howe* (unfinished), n.d. Oil on canvas, 50 x 31 inches. Used by permission of Brown University Portrait Collection. BP. 34, HP.1584.

state and to solve the crisis of the day through resettlement and other forms of care. In 1824-1831, the newly formed Greek government settled thousands of displaced refugees in at least a dozen locations that included Aegina, Monemvasia, Euboea, Nauplion, Crete, Methoni, and the Isthmus of Corinth.<sup>5</sup>

Howe and his colleagues became interested in the Kapodistrian program of rebuilding after personally encountering human suffering during the war.<sup>6</sup> When Howe arrived in 1825, he served as a volunteer physician in the navy, working alongside Greek military leaders and other European and American philhellenes. He distributed American aid and established an American hospital on Poros. In 1827, his collaborator George Jarvis (1797-1828), another American, provided relief to several thousand refugees from Athens, Boeotia, and Megara camping at Kenchreai and Kalamaki who were deprived of housing, food, clothing, and health.<sup>7</sup> Howe returned to the U.S. in 1827-1828 to raise funds on their behalf. Although the U.S. officially pursued a policy of isolationism (the Monroe Doctrine), private citizens organized committees, gathered donations, and raised \$60,000, about \$2 million today.<sup>8</sup> Howe returned to Greece late in 1828, distributing aid and employing Greeks to rebuild Aegina's harbor.

In 1829, Kapodistrias agreed to support a colony of the poor on the Isthmus of Corinth as part of a broader program of reconstruction in post-war Greece. He entrusted the work locally to the

from the new Hellenic state and financial aid raised in the U.S., they restored the war-torn Ottoman-era infrastructure, oversaw farm operations, and supervised the building of facilities for the care of ordinary Greeks. After Howe returned to the U.S. in 1830, he went on to achieve national recognition for his ardent support of abolitionism and his groundbreaking work in the education of the blind.<sup>4</sup> In Greece, Howe is celebrated today as a national hero for his humanitarian labors in the 1820s and 1860s; streets, neighborhoods, and monuments bear his name in Athens, Aegina, Tripolis, and Chania.

The founding of the colony of Washingtonia in 1829 marked an unprecedented moment in which cooperation between the new Greek nation and American and European philhellenes was directed to a humanitarian crisis. Howe and his contemporaries, who came to Greece to help in the war, brought a knowledge of American utopian experimentation in community design that included Moravian town-planning, Owenist socialist cooperatives, Fourierist phalanxes, and Transcendentalist communes. They found themselves in the company of French, Prussian, and Greek administrators, whose own humanitarian and administrative visions had led them to engage in the creation of a new nation-

<sup>4</sup> Trent 2012.

<sup>5</sup> Karamouzi 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Howe 1906: 347-367 and Trent 2012: 43-50.

<sup>7</sup> Miller 1828: 75-76, 82-83, 141, 228, 243-244.

<sup>8</sup> Cline 1930; Repousis 1999.

French engineer, Jean Pierre Peytier (1793-1864), a geographer and civil engineer based in Corinth who was then training Greek officers to carry out a topographic survey of the Peloponnese and to assist in the rebuilding of its settlements. An exchange of letters between Peytier and Kapodistrias in February 1829 reveals that the two had already identified Examilia as a suitable location for rebuilding a settlement that might grow into the important city of the region.<sup>9</sup> On March 13, Peytier led Howe and George Finlay (1799-1875) to this site where lay an abandoned village called Ano Examilia ('Upper Examilia') (Figure 4).<sup>10</sup> Although Howe would report in his journal that the idea of the colony was his own ('I decided at once in my own mind to ask...[for] land... from the Government, and plant a colony of poor families upon it'), he saw the situation through Peytier, his guide. The advantages of the site included arable land of lowland plateau that stepped northward toward the Corinthian Gulf; seasonal streams from the Oneion Mountain Range that provided immediate sources of water; and its position at a strategic crossroad between Corinth and Kenchreai and wider networks of travel, communication, and exchange that might one day include the railroad and a canal. Like Kapodistrias and Peytier, Howe imagined the enormous potential of this site as the capital settlement of the region, if not the country. Corinth served as the national capital after the First National Assembly at Epidaurus in 1822, followed by Aegina in 1827, and Nauplion in 1829. In the anarchy that followed the assassination of Kapodistrias in 1831, Corinth became the capital of a counter-government and was considered as a site by King Otto before selecting Athens as his capital in 1834.<sup>11</sup>

The Washingtonia refugee colony had an auspicious start. Howe selected 26 poor families whom he had met at Kalamaki and Aegina, who were displaced from homes in places as scattered as Chios, Aivali, Smyrna, Livadeia, Thebes, Athens, Mesolongi, Ioannina, Spetses, Ermioni, Agios Vasilios, and Sophiko.<sup>12</sup> The Kapodistrian government granted 5,000 stremmata of national land stretching southeasterly from Ano Examilia to Kenchreai; a supplemental gift brought the total to 6,000. The colonists set to work in April to rebuild homes of the preexisting village destroyed during the war and to plant cotton and maize (which Howe calls 'Indian corn') with seeds provided by American agencies. Fourteen of the original thirty families of the village who had holed up in nearby caverns and quarries out of fear of brigands returned to their former houses; Howe incorporated the 10 poorest families into the colony, bringing the total number of families to 36. He soon began to call the colony 'Columbia,' eventually settling on 'Washingtonia,' in honor – as he once said – of George Washington,<sup>13</sup> but also as a reminder of American aid,<sup>14</sup> and perhaps in the hope of the site's future status as a national capital.<sup>15</sup>

The new colony quickly proved successful as Howe related to American agencies and supporters back home.<sup>16</sup> The 200 colonists set to work cultivating their fields, and over 200 other poor Corinthians were hired as day laborers to make mortar, move stone and timber, and construct buildings. Houses were rebuilt from local fieldstone, mud mortar, ceramic tiles imported from Athens, and timber from the Corinthian village of Sophiko. A small school was founded on May 21; its first teacher, Efstratios Kokonaros, a young Greek man from Aivali who had studied briefly in London, was supervising 35 students by June 1829.<sup>17</sup> Hired hands laid the groundwork for a

<sup>9</sup> See Peytier, Letter to Kapodistrias, February 6/18, 1829, with discussion in Tsigos 2020: 518-520.

<sup>10</sup> Howe, Journal, March 13, 1829. Transcribed in Howe 1906: 338-340. Cf. Tsigos 2020: 520.

<sup>11</sup> Tsigos 2020: 322-326. The first proposal of an imperial capital in the Corinthia dates to 1443-1446, when Cardinal Bessarion urged soon-to-be Emperor Constantine IX Paleologos to move the capital of his Despotate from Mystras to the Isthmus.

<sup>12</sup> Tsigos 2020: 523. For a convenient albeit selective transcription of excerpted journals and letters marking Howe's year with the colony, see Howe 1906: 347-367.

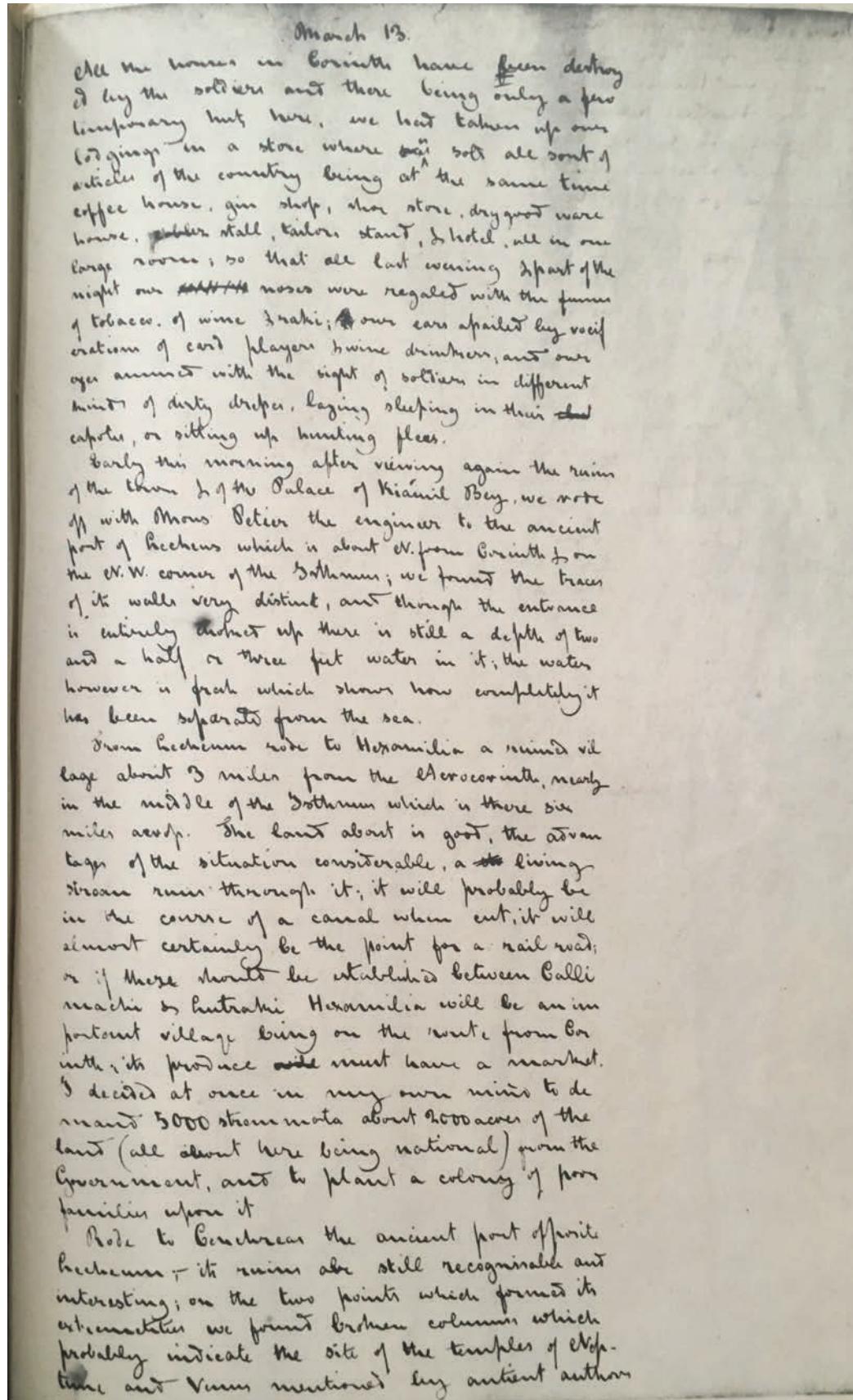
<sup>13</sup> Howe, Letter to George Finlay, November 22, 1829.

<sup>14</sup> Trent 2012: 46.

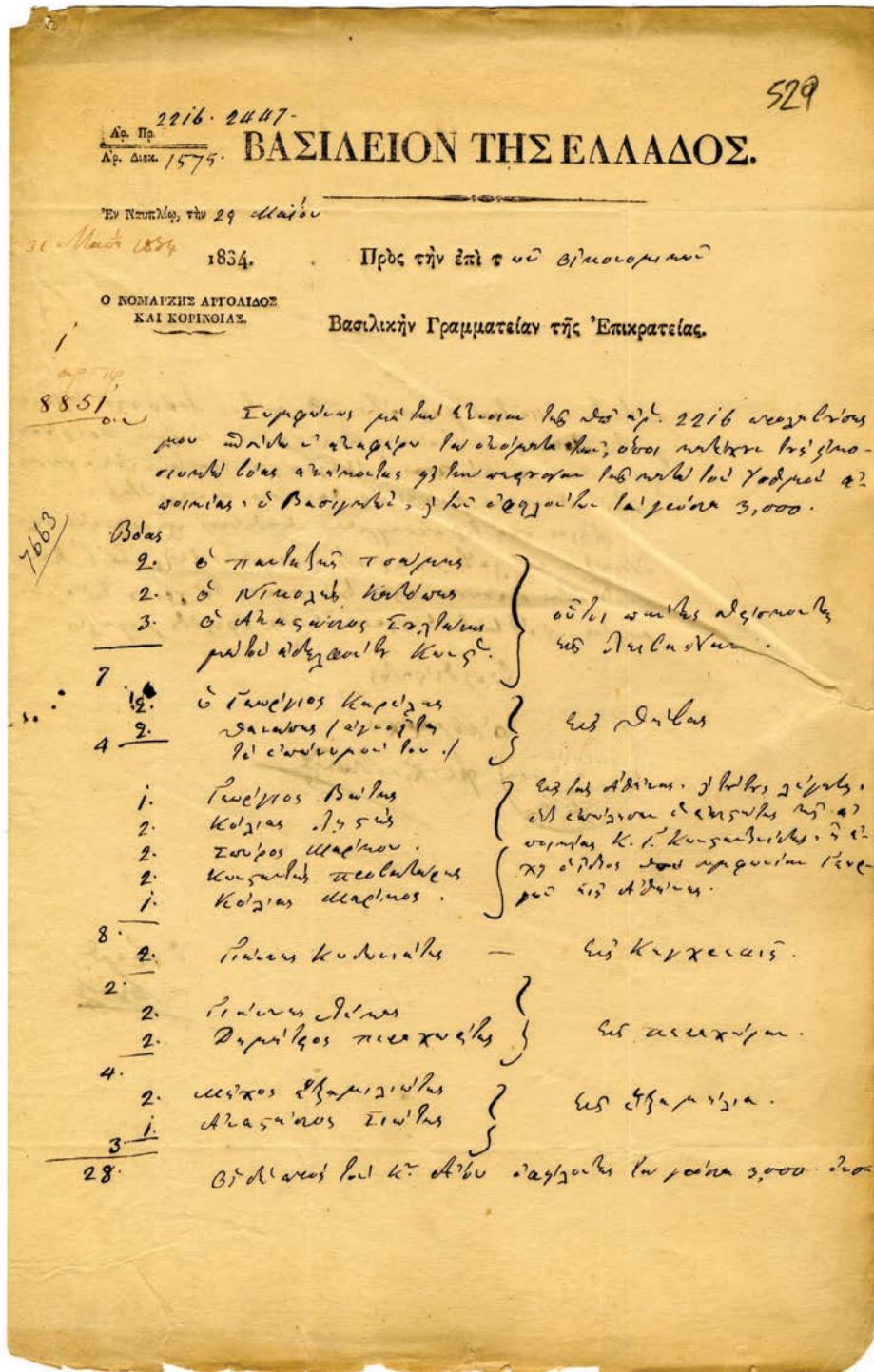
<sup>15</sup> Until Athens was selected in 1834, many Greeks and philhellenes considered the Isthmus the most suitable location for a capital.

<sup>16</sup> See various journals and correspondence published in Howe 1906: 347-367.

<sup>17</sup> Howe, Letter to the Greek Committee in America, June 16, 1829 (see Howe 1906, 356). Cf. Howe, Journal, May 21, 1829; May 27, 1829. See also Athousakis 2003, 84, 271, 302-303, 330, 392. Thanks to Anastasios Tsigos for sharing with us additional information and source material for the school.



**Figure 4.** Samuel Gridley Howe's journal entry of March 13, 1829, detailing his tour of Isthmus with George Finlay and Jean Pierre Peytier ('Monsieur Petier'). From *Samuel G. Howe, Journal, Sept. 1828 to June 1829*. Photostat copies made by Harvard College Library. Source: Gennadius Library.



**Figure 5.** A tax document of June 10, 1834, listing the names of colonists. Source: Γενικά Αρχεία του Κράτους, Archive of the Secretariat of State/Ministry of Finances (1833-1862), f. 254, 10 June, 1834, doc. 326.

field hospital. A church was (re)built, and Howe sought a priest who might also serve as a new headmaster for the school.<sup>18</sup> Howe pitched his tent at the ruins of the Ottoman governor's country house to the south of the village, which hired laborers were rebuilding as the principal house, with a school planned for the second story.<sup>19</sup> Two remarkable tax documents from 1834 (Figure 5)

<sup>18</sup> Howe 1906, 365. Howe, Letter to George Finlay, December 20, 1829.

<sup>19</sup> Howe, Letter to Greek Committee in America, June 16, 1829 (see Howe 1906: 354-359).

record the names of the colonists and note the presence of a cow shed, tower, vineyard, and olive groves near Howe's rebuilt house, a tower and two storehouses at Kenchreai, and a pharmacy and blacksmith.<sup>20</sup> The colony grew to its maximum population of about 45 families by the time that Howe departed Greece in February 1830.<sup>21</sup>

But the first year also brought difficulties that tempered expectations.<sup>22</sup> Howe himself faced a bout of malaria, near drowning at sea, death of a family member in the U.S., and growing conflict with Kapodistrias whom Howe accused of willfully thwarting plans for the colony.<sup>23</sup> When he departed Greece, he left the colony in the hands of his British friend George Finlay, whom he asked to visit periodically to keep account of revenues and arbitrate disputes.<sup>24</sup> On top of the hefty financial agreement of donating half their crop yields to Howe,<sup>25</sup> the colonists faced crop failures and diseased cattle. The worst problem was ongoing harassment of hungry, restless, wandering Greek soldiers who sought food and pay during a civil war between Greek political factions. The tax record of 1834 notes that brigandage and political turmoil had destroyed homes and afflicted olive trees and vineyards. Many of the colonists had dispersed to Athens, and Thebes and Livadia in Boeotia, some taking their cattle with them.<sup>26</sup> The village was abandoned and the agreement that Howe had made with Kapodistrias for a five-year remittance of taxes for the colony dissolved.<sup>27</sup>

Ultimately, the planting of a colony of Washingtonia at Ano Examilia left a mixed legacy. The project was, in one respect, judged a failure at the time. The colony never became the major settlement that Peytier, Kapodistrias, and Howe and his philhellenic colleagues had projected, nor did it achieve Howe's lofty utopian goal of a sustainable economically self-sufficient agricultural settlement that might serve as a model community of education, industriousness, and prosperity for the new Greek nation. Nor had the colony profited according to expectations.<sup>28</sup> The efforts of the collaborators were concrete and genuine, but the resources needed to make the settlement flourish were limited, and the relationships of collaboration tenuous, especially after the assassination of Kapodistrias. On a local level, the same destabilizing forces that uprooted the original inhabitants of Ano Examilia continued after the war.

In another respect, Washingtonia did provide several years of sustained relief for displaced Greeks, as well as the employment of the wider local population of poor peasants through paid labor. The renovated homes at Ano Examilia were significantly better than the make-shift domiciles of other refugees on the Isthmus in 1827-1829, who had made homes 'in caves, and holes, and miserable huts, rudely constructed of mud and grass and the branches of trees.'<sup>29</sup> Reinvestment also revitalized elements of Corinthian settlement following a tumultuous revolution and its aftermath. Although many colonists migrated to other regions, some remained and were joined by local Corinthians at Examilia.

Memory of the American colony slowly vanished over the 19th century. In 1844, when Howe returned to the region after a long absence, villagers recognized him and gave him a warm welcome.<sup>30</sup> Fisher Howe (no relation to Samuel), who passed by Examilia in 1853, could still observe

<sup>20</sup> General State Archives, Archive of the Secretariat of State/Ministry of Finances (1833-1862), f. 248, May 6, 1834, docs. 305-306; and f. 254, June 10, 1834, doc. 326.

<sup>21</sup> Tsigos 2020: 523, citing a letter of Howe to Kapodistrias on February 6, 1830. For comparable estimates, cf. Howe, Letter to William Sampson, January 30, 1830 (see Howe 1906: 362-365); Ragkavis 1853, Vol. 2, 299.

<sup>22</sup> Trent 2012: 49-50.

<sup>23</sup> Howe, Letter to Sampson, January 30, 1830.

<sup>24</sup> Howe, Letter to Finlay, November 22, 1829.

<sup>25</sup> Howe, Journal, April 1, 1829 (Howe 1906: 352-354).

<sup>26</sup> GAK, Archive of the Secretariat of State/Ministry of Finances (1833-1862), f. 248, May 6, 1834, docs. 305-306.

<sup>27</sup> Ragkavis 1853, 299.

<sup>28</sup> GAK, Archive of the Secretariat of State/Ministry of Finances (1833-1862), f. 254, 10 June, 1834, doc. 326.

<sup>29</sup> Miller 1828: 243, preserving Henry Post's report to the Greek Committee in America on the dire situation at Loutraki the previous year.

<sup>30</sup> Sanborn 1891: 80.

'the buildings occupied by the Greek colony, founded by Dr. Howe, of Boston, subsequent to the Greek revolution.'<sup>31</sup> A contemporary account of the region by the Greek scholar Iakovos Ragkavis published in 1853 treated the settlements at Ano Examilia and Kato Examilia as abandoned,<sup>32</sup> but as Tsigos has observed,<sup>33</sup> the population of the village of (Ano) Examilia at this time was only slightly smaller than during Howe's day.

Beyond the mid-19th century, travelers knew the village of Examilia without reference to Howe or Washingtonia.<sup>34</sup> Howe's younger friend Franklin B. Sanborn could only locate the site in 1890 in vague relation to the new train station, somewhere near Examilia, Kenchreai, and Isthmia,<sup>35</sup> and his daughter, Laura Richards Howe, could do no better fifteen years later.<sup>36</sup> Rufus B. Richardson, the first director of the American Excavations at Corinth, observed that older Examilians could still recall the names of Samuel and Julia Howe in 1890, but that none could ten years later.<sup>37</sup> History preserved only a faint memory of a refugee colony near Examilia.<sup>38</sup>

### The archaeological rediscovery of Washingtonia

This historical overview of an ephemeral early modern refugee colony underscores the challenges of studying short-lived communities in the archaeological record. If the infrastructure of buildings, people, crops, and animals of refugee settlements fail to persist even a few years after foundation and investment, what hope do archaeologists have in locating and studying historically contingent populations?<sup>39</sup> Yet, our previous experience in researching such settlements in the Corinthia shows how real discoveries are possible when approaching the problem through multiple methods and lines of evidence.<sup>40</sup>

When we initiated the collaborative project in 2016 to research Washingtonia, our most solid evidence was the rich textual record left by the colony's founders.<sup>41</sup> The Greek Committees of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston required reports to donors and these survived in correspondence from Samuel Howe, Jonathan Miller (the Committees' representative), and George Jarvis (the first American to fight in the Greek War of Independence).<sup>42</sup> Howe journaled about his experiences overseeing the foundation of the colony in 1829, and the diary survives in archival collections, which were selectively published by his daughter Laura Richards in 1907. Howe's surviving correspondence with George Finlay, Governor Ioannis Kapodistrias, and other contemporaries adds rich details about their collective enterprise. Other extant written sources – ranging from traveler accounts to governmental and tax records of the newly formed Greek state – serve to balance Howe's self-important narrative.

The survival of a written record about Washingtonia allowed archaeologists to make the first educated guesses about its location in the later 20th century. In *Land of the Ancient Corinthians* (1978), James Wiseman relied on a small sample of Howe's journals to propose that Washingtonia was a direct equivalent to Examilia. That village, he observed, was situated at an ideal location, just west of a major stretch of quarries and at an important crossroads. An ancient settlement probably

<sup>31</sup> Howe 1854: 37.

<sup>32</sup> Ragkavis 1853: 299.

<sup>33</sup> Tsigos 2020: 536-537

<sup>34</sup> Kaplan 2001: 203.

<sup>35</sup> Sanborn 1911: 245-246.

<sup>36</sup> Howe 1906: 366.

<sup>37</sup> Richardson 1900: 151-152.

<sup>38</sup> Gardner 1908: 107. But see now Tsigos 2020 for a fulsome history of the village.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the rich scholarship on the liquidity of Greek villages: e.g., Sutton 1994, 2000; Forbes 2007.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Pettegrew and Caraher 2021; Kourelis 2018, 2019, 2023.

<sup>41</sup> Relevant materials can be found today at the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the British School at Athens Library, the Houghton Library at Harvard, the General State Archives of Greece, and the Archives National of France. The material is vast and we continue to process it.

<sup>42</sup> Miller 1828. On the history of American humanitarianism, see Watenpaugh 2015.

lay at or near the spot since antiquity.<sup>43</sup> Wiseman proposed that for a short period following the Greek War of Independence, the town bore the name Washingtonia before reverting to its older name (Examilia) in the late 19th century.<sup>44</sup> His brief account treated Examilia as a stable settlement stretching deep into the past, even to antiquity.

Subsequent scholarship raised critical questions about equating Washingtonia with modern Examilia. In an important study of historical traveler accounts to the Corinthia, Leslie Kaplan recognized that the exact location of Washingtonia was problematic,<sup>45</sup> and that even the situation of Examilia was historically uncertain. The toponym ('six miles'), after all, bore various meanings from at least the 12th century, sometimes denoting a geographic zone between Corinth's twin harbors that spanned a distance of approximately six miles, sometimes marking the name of a settlement in that zone or another name for the Byzantine-period Hexamilion wall which itself lay six kilometers to the east.<sup>46</sup> Kaplan's comprehensive review of travel literature showed that the location of the current village was not necessarily inhabited in medieval times, since variant versions of village names – Kato Examilia ('Lower Examilia') and Ano Examilia ('Upper Examilia') – indicate that the village shifted in medieval to early modern times.

Our own work grew out of the Eastern Corinthia Archaeological Survey project (1997–2003), which made important strides toward identifying the colony within its late Ottoman and early modern landscape.<sup>47</sup> In the district of Gonia and Yiriza located on the ridge of a marine terrace (see Figure 1, 24), field teams recorded ceramic evidence of Ottoman to early modern date, the 16th-century church of Agios Athanasios,<sup>48</sup> and 19th-century houses, demonstrating that a medieval-early modern settlement preceded modern Examilia at a different location.<sup>49</sup> Lita Tzortzopoulou-Gregory's study of Corinthian villages and cemeteries showed that the cemeteries of Examilia and Xylokeriza included no evidence of graves earlier than 1880,<sup>50</sup> which complicated a simple notion of settlement continuity in a single village location. Her interviews with local residents recorded the toponym *Nosokomeio* (the Greek word for 'Hospital') a kilometer southwest of Examilia. If the toponym marked a distant memory of Washingtonia's hospital, then the colony must have spread well beyond the modern village of Examilia.

We began our work to locate the settlement in 2016 by assembling a comprehensive corpus of relevant texts beyond the smaller collection of published journal entries. Our initial field season with students on-site in 2017 involved reading the landscape through textual materials, mined from digital and physical archives in the United States and Greece. These included an array of documents, letters, journals, articles, and tax records related to the colony's history, which consistently noted that the refugee colony was founded at Ano Examilia ('Upper Examilia'), not Kato Examilia ('Lower Examilia'), and included territory that extended as far east as the harbor at Kenchreai across lands formerly owned by Kiamil Bey.<sup>51</sup> The problem we encountered on the ground in 2017 was how the variant names for the villages of Examilia in written accounts actually mapped to contemporary sites in the landscape.<sup>52</sup> This experience directed us to create a digital collection of available historical maps.

<sup>43</sup> Wiseman 1978: 68–69, 79n132–133.

<sup>44</sup> Wiseman 1978: 69.

<sup>45</sup> Kaplan 2001: 198.

<sup>46</sup> Kaplan 2001: 174–180.

<sup>47</sup> On the survey generally, see Pettegrew 2024. For treatments of the late Ottoman and early modern periods, see: Diacopoulos 2004; Caraher, Nakassis, and Pettegrew 2006; Gregory 2007; Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2008, 2010; and Pettegrew and Caraher 2021.

<sup>48</sup> Tsigos 2020, 581.

<sup>49</sup> Caraher, Gregory 2007: 186; Tsigos 2020: 359.

<sup>50</sup> Gregory 2007; Tzortzopoulou-Gregory 2008.

<sup>51</sup> Howe, Journal, March 31, 1829 (Howe 1906: 351).

<sup>52</sup> See now Tsigos 2020, 29–31, 34–35, 420–425, for an overview of the neighborhoods of Ano and Kato Examilia in the late 18th and early 19th century.

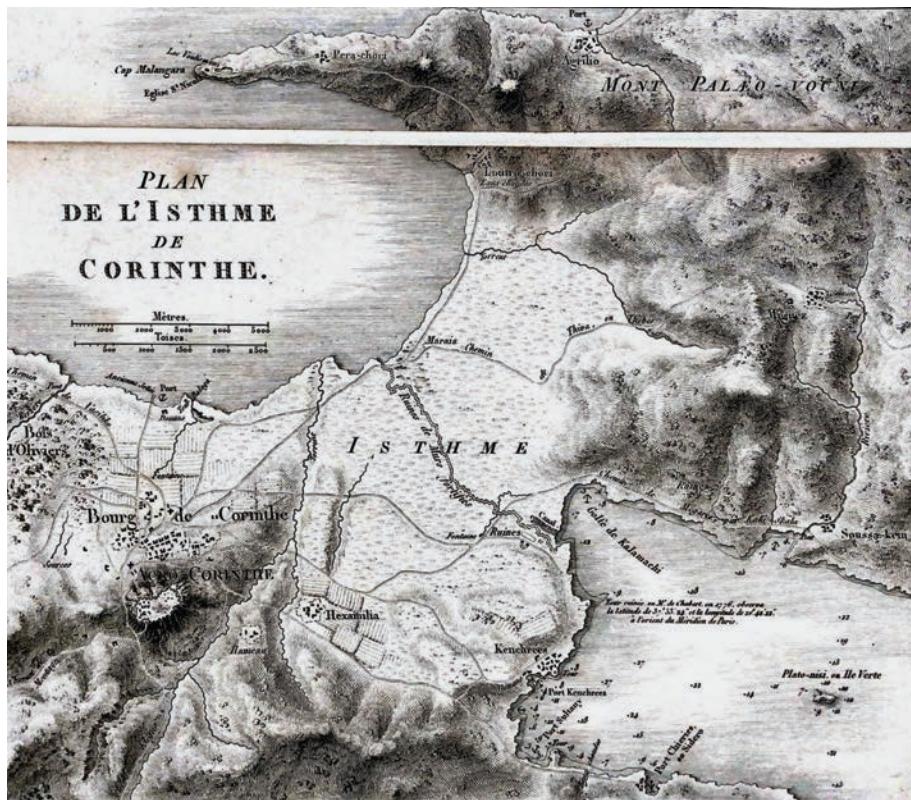


**Figure 6.** Francesco Morosini, map of central Corinthia, 1687, showing the village of Kato Examilia (*Villa di Zevgalatia rovinata*) just to the north of (and below) the ridge of Gonia. The map was originally oriented to the south at top; the selection of the map used in this figure is reoriented to the north at top. Source: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 'Maps, GIS Data, and Archaeological Data for Corinth and Greece,' Ancient Corinth Digital Resources, accessed June 30, 2025, <https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/excavations/ancient-corinth/digital-corinth/maps-gis-data-and-archaeological-data-for-corinth-and-greece>.

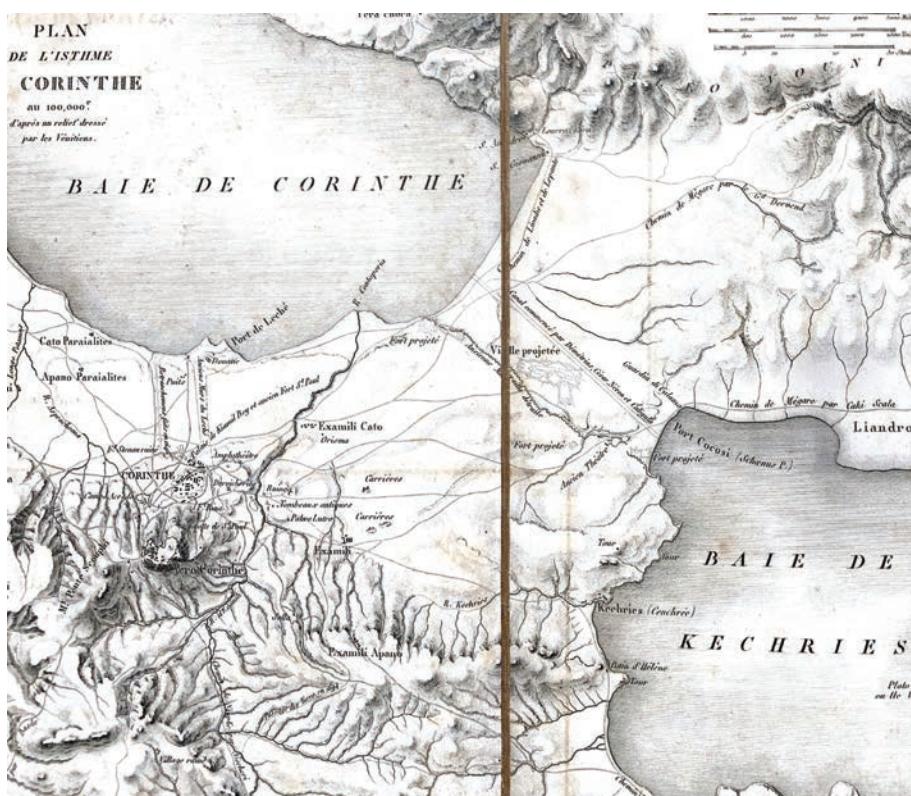
The Venetian, French, German, and Greek maps that we gathered showed that nucleated settlements had either shifted or flickered on and off over time across the Isthmus. The topographic map commissioned by Francesco Morosini in 1687 (Figure 6) as part of his conquest of the Morea shows a ruined village on the plain, just below the northernmost marine terrace, a mile north of modern Examilia, in the location that EKAS documented Ottoman-era ceramic scatters and churches during survey. The map shows 33 buildings plus several churches and fountains to its west; a label, *Villa di Zevgalatia rovinata*, indicates that the settlement was older, ruined, and no longer flourishing. On the other hand, a late 18th-century map by Rigas Velestinlis (*Charta of Greece*, 1797) depicts a small settlement labeled *Phlygeia* (Φλύγεια) at the midpoint between Corinth and the Hexamilion wall, on the plain near the Corinthian Gulf well north of both the modern village of Examilia and the Zevgalatia of the Morosini map.

French and British maps of the early 19th century before and during the Greek War of Independence are the first to show settlements by the name of 'Examilia' but they locate it at different places. The *Carte de la Morée* (Figure 7), for example, produced under Barbie du Bocage (1814), represents Examilia as a cluster of a dozen houses between Corinth and Kenchreai at approximately the same location as modern Examilia. Pierre Lapier's 1826 map of the Isthmus (Figure 8), however, shows three distinct villages bearing the name: 'Hexamili Apano' (on the lower slopes of Mt. Oneion), 'Hexamili' (at the location of modern Examilia), and 'Hexamili Cato' (on the coastal plain near the location of Zevgalatio on the Morosini map of 1687). Other versions of this map published in 1826 and 1829 use alternative names for the southernmost village on the slopes of Oneion – 'Xylokephalo' and 'Xylokerata' – and locate Kato Examilia near the ridge of Gonia and Yiriza.

In short, the cartographic evidence of the 17th-to-19th centuries indicated a more dynamic and confused history of settlement on the Isthmus in which little hamlets and settlements flickered on and off (or became large enough for cartographers to notice) at multiple locations: on the lower slopes of Mt. Oneion near today's Xylokeriza village, along the Corinth-Isthmia road near today's modern Examilia village, on the plain just below the marine terrace, and on the plain closer to the Corinthian Gulf. It proved difficult, therefore, to simply identify the past colony with modern



**Figure 7.** Plan of the Isthmus of Corinth, an inset map in Barbie du Bocage's *Carte de la Moree* (1814) showing Examilia village as a centralized cluster of houses. Source: Gennadius Library.



**Figure 8.** Plan of Isthmus by Pierre Lapier (1826) showing three villages including the name of Examilia. Source: Gennadius Library.



**Figure 9.** Section of an unpublished draft map of Isthmus of Corinth by the French engineer, Jean Pierre Peytier, dating to 1830 showing distinct locations visible at the foundation of the colony. Source: Archives de la Défense/Dépôt de la Guerre/Cartes/SHDGR\_R18\_4.10.C. 65.1.0009 [feuille D1], Paris.

Examilia because 'Examilia' at the time of foundation referred to several adjacent but distinct settlements.

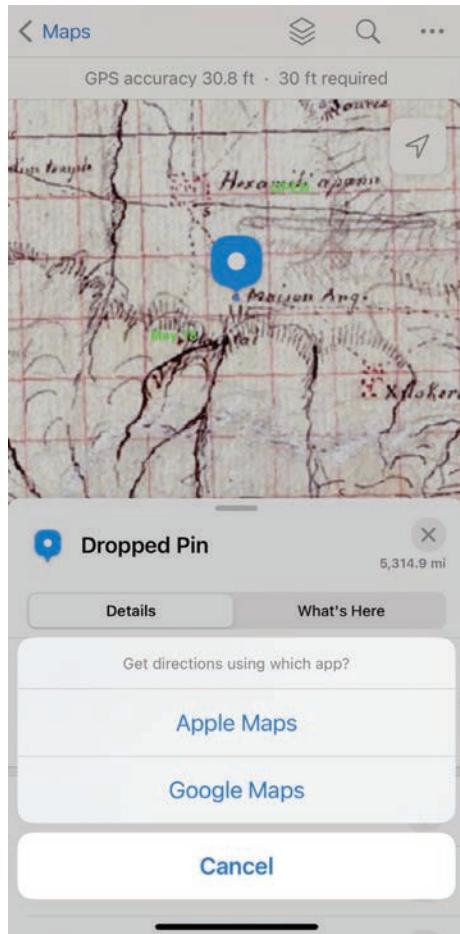
The cartographic key to unlocking the location of Washingtonia was a draft map of the Isthmus created by Jean Pierre Peytier in 1829-1831 (Figure 9).<sup>53</sup> Captain Peytier had accompanied the French Expedition Scientifique and directed the completion of the first official geodetic map of the region published in 1832.<sup>54</sup> Rather than demolishing buildings to facilitate an ideal grid plan, Peytier's plans for rebuilding recommended superimposing a grid organization as closely as possible to the existing fabric. Although Peytier's plan of the village of Ano Examilia remains missing,<sup>55</sup> his extant first draft map of the Isthmus probably dating to 1830 shows locations of villages, harbor, mosques, fountains, hospital, and houses in greater detail than any map of the period, indeed, greater than Peytier's final map of the Isthmus (1832). Five distinct clusters of active or ruined settlements appear between the slopes of Oneion and the Corinthian Gulf; scattered individual houses, chapels, springs, and landmarks are also identified. We gained from this map an authoritative primary view of the district's cultural and natural resources.

To prepare for our study of the physical remains in 2023, we built a GIS loaded with a georectified version of Peytier's map against a backdrop of other spatial data that included 1:5,000 and 1:50,000 Greek topographic maps, our recent drone photographs of the Isthmus, World War II aerial photographs taken by the British Royal Air Force (RAF) and kindly provided by the British School

<sup>53</sup> Unpublished map of Corinth and its Environs by the Expédition Scientifique de Morée, s.d. (1830): Archives de la Défense/Dépôt de la Guerre/Cartes/SHDGR\_R18\_4.10.C. 65.1.0009 [feuille D1]. Nikos Poulopoulos provided a copy to the team in 2023.

<sup>54</sup> Bory de Saint Vincent 1835.

<sup>55</sup> Peytier's letter to Kapodistrias in February 6/18, 1829, notes the former's intention to create a plan of Examilia. Only the plans for restoring the ancient city of Corinth survives. See: Loukatos 1999; Bartzis 2011: 77-80.



**Figure 10.** The georectified map of Pierre Peytier imported in the Field Map mobile app showing capacity to navigate via Google and Apple maps. In most cases, the georeferenced map was accurate to within 50 meters. Image by Albert Sarvis.



**Figure 11.** Oblique drone photograph of a mudbrick chapel on the coastal plain north of Kato Examilia which appears on Peytier's map. The former church is now used as a storage building. Facing south toward Oneion Mountain Range. Photo by Albert Sarvis.



**Figure 12.** Kostis Kourelis and a team of students conversing with Anastasios Tsigos in Examilia about the history of the village. Photo by David K. Pettegrew.

at Athens,<sup>56</sup> and the German Luftwaffe collected from the U.S. National Archives in College Park. A comparative study of these photographs alongside Greek topographic military maps revealed how hamlets and villages rapidly developed in the later 20th century and obscured the footprints of the earlier village locations. The aerials gave us a foundation for viewing building footprints in the landscape as they appeared nearly 75 years ago.

In May 2023 and June 2024, we carried out field studies to determine if the colony's features could be located. From our base in Ancient Corinth, we collaborated with undergraduate students from our universities to build digital and public humanities projects, digitize buildings visible on World War II aerials, and study the early modern landscape (Figures 10-13). In 2023, students joined the field team to visit locations on Peytier's map. With the ArcGIS Field Map mobile app, we accessed GIS database files (drone images, historical aerials, and topographic maps) to engage with the

<sup>56</sup> The collection at the British School at Athens was digitized by Gian Piero Milani in 2016-2017 and made available through their website: [https://www.bsa.ac.uk/about-us/library/collections\\_and\\_resources/aerial-photographs/](https://www.bsa.ac.uk/about-us/library/collections_and_resources/aerial-photographs/)

contemporary landscape. Because Field Map interfaces with Google Maps and Apple Maps, we could simply drop pins on specific locations on the Peytier map and follow voice navigation to drive to different locations. When we located buildings visible in early modern times, we captured photographs, recorded notes, and made illustrations, sometimes studying locations through repeated visits. Conversations with local historian Anastasios Tsigos further clarified the topography and history of the buildings we recorded. We refined our identifications through further study in June 2024.



**Figure 13.** Albert Sarvis and students capture drone images near the hospital location in summer 2023. Photo by David K. Pettegrew.



**Figure 14.** High-resolution drone raster of the region south of Examilia, including the ridges occupied by the hospital (west) and the English house (east). The overlay layout shows a closeup view of the location of the plantation house. Map by Albert Sarvis.



**Figure 15.** The georeferenced Peytier map with a closeup view of the locations of the English house and hospital. Image by Albert Sarvis.

We also collected high-resolution drone imagery of the Examilia area in May-June 2023 and June 2025 (Figure 14; see Figure 24). Albert Sarvis, a licensed remote pilot, conducted a series of drone flights in 2023, using a DJI Mavic 3 Multispectral Enterprise at 120m Altitude for a ground sampling distance of approximately 5.5cm per pixel resolution<sup>57</sup> To avoid interaction with people not involved in the operations, we avoided flights over populated areas. Some 13 pre-programmed flights were conducted. Each flight included a student and instructor ground crew to monitor airspace and maintain visual line-of-site. In total, we added 4 sq kilometers of photomosaics to the ArcGIS Pro database. The imagery allowed us to map the changes of land use over the last half century and identify the region's building footprints prior to 1945 (see below). In addition, we conducted individual video and photo capture flights in 2023 to gain oblique aerial imagery of select areas, including a 360-degree panning video through a pop-up flight over the house renovated by Howe. In June 2025, we captured additional low-altitude (15-100 m) oblique images of the Examilia area using a DJI Mini 4 Pro (Figure 16).

The range of methods we used to study the early modern landscape showed that many of the buildings contemporary with the colony survived in physical remains in the modern landscape. We turn now to an outline of the extant physical features of the refugee settlement.

<sup>57</sup> Sarvis followed the approval process administered by the Hellenic Civil Aviation Authority. European Union Countries, including Greece, complying with the European Aviation Safety Agency (EASA) 'Easy Access Rules for Drones' initially published in 2019. Under these regulations drones in the 'Open' (low risk civil drones) Category are subdivided by weight and flight proximity to people. Subcategory A2, under which this project's drone work was conducted, covers drones with a take-off mass of less than 25 kg and operations close to people.



**Figure 16.** Drone photograph of the Botiza Ridge (center) facing southeast toward Oneion Mountain Range and Kenchreai. Photo by Albert Sarvis.

### The archaeological topography of Washingtonia

Our goal in this section is to outline the physical and textual evidence for the colony's 'anchors,' those critical elements that Howe and his colleagues considered essential to creating a successful, prosperous, and sustainable farming community. We reserve a fuller description of settlement and landholdings in the late Ottoman and early modern period for a later publication.

#### ***The English House and the konak on Botiza Ridge***

The house that Howe refurbished for his use at the colony marked the administrative center of Washingtonia (Figure 15). Upon arrival in the region, Howe pitched a tent in the ruins of the house of Kiamil Bey and began to restore it. The house is identifiable by a notation on Peytier's map that reads '*Maison Ang.*' in between the early 19th-century villages of 'Hexamili Apano' and 'Xilokerisa,' at a point where the road bends from a southeasterly to easterly course. Peytier placed the house just southwest of the road, immediately north of a prominent ridgeline and about 500 m northeast of a location labeled '*Hôpital*' ('Hospital').

Since Peytier used the labels *Maison* and *Maisons* on his map to denote stand-alone houses that are not part of larger settlements, *Maison Ang.* must indicate a recognizable house situated between today's Examilia and Xylokeriza. The epithet *Ang.* is significant since the cartographer uses qualifying terms for identification purposes, for example, *Maisons Ruinées* and *Anciennes Maisons Ruinées* at Lechaion, and *Maison Jar.* north of Ancient Corinth. *Maison Ang.*, then, represents a prominent house that Peytier considered distinct during his survey.

Peytier used the label *Maison Ang.*, i.e., *Maison Anglaise* ('English House'), rather than *Maison Amér.* ('American House'), because he associated the building with English speakers. Howe's primary collaborator, George Finlay from Great Britain, was with Howe when Peytier gave them a tour

of the Isthmus in March 1829, and he took charge of the colony after Howe departed Greece in February 1830.<sup>58</sup> As Finlay would have occupied the building while visiting from Aegina, *Maison Anglaise* was suitable for a house occupied by English-speakers (Howe and Finlay) or an Englishman (Finlay). The label indicates that Peytier's draft map was contemporary with the founding of the colony when Howe and Finlay were in possession of the building and the hospital still lay in the field of their vision.

The georeferenced Peytier map locates the English house on the prominent Botiza ridge that provides a sweeping view of the Isthmus and a strategic overlook toward the colony's roads, hospital, village, and distant harbor (Figure 16). The toponym – Μπότιζα (Botiza) – which appears on late 20th-century Greek topographical maps, corresponds to a toponym recorded in the 1834 tax document denoting the location of Howe's house and tower house. Thus, this place name, with its variants Μπότζα/Μπότσα, marks a survival of that noted in the early 19th century.<sup>59</sup>

The view from the Botiza ridge today corresponds to Howe's own description of the house's commanding view in 1829 (Figures 17 and 18). Then he noted:<sup>60</sup>

I laid the corner stone of a house in which I mean to reside myself, in case I continue Director of this colony. Its site is on a beautiful little jutting tongue of land at the base of the mountain, running forward horizontally like a cape, and then falling away from the brow which overlooks the whole Isthmus spread below, commands a view of both gulfs, of Parnassus, Helicon, Cithaeron, Geranium, Attica, Hymettus, the Isles of the Egean, sea-born Salamis and old Egina, while the Acropolis of Corinth, that bold, rocky mountain which stands solitary and unconnected like a huge giant in the middle of the entrance to the high road to the Peloponnesus shuts up the view to the West.

The mountain here can only refer to Mt. Oneion and the words 'cape' and 'tongue' accurately describe the ridge that forms a northward extension of Oneion's foothills (see Figure 16). At an elevation of 111 masl, the cape rises thirty meters above Examilia to the north and provides a sweeping view of the locations Howe mentions. A viewshed analysis indicates this is one of the few places near Examilia that would provide a view of both gulfs, and a 360-degree video captured by drone at 15-20 feet above ground (our estimate of the original building's second floor) creates the panoramic view described by Howe (Figures 17-18).

Additional proof that this ridge marks the location of the colony's house comes from physical vestiges visible on location (Figures 19-21). Collapsed building remains appear on an RAF photograph of 1944 as a bright reflective rectangle at the point of the cape. Our visit to the location confirmed the debris of a collapsed building or buildings. Cut stone, rubble, and mortar were abundant, as were numerous non-distinct potsherds, including early modern fragments of coarse ware with interior glazing that fit the chronological profile of a domestic site of 19th century date. Fragments of window glass and early modern roof tile point to similar conclusions. Wall alignments are suggested by low slumped lines.

Howe refers to the house as 'a sort of *casa di padrone* for the colony,'<sup>61</sup> and notes that it once belonged to Kiamil Bey, Ottoman governor of the Corinthia.<sup>62</sup> In that respect, the house clearly marked a

<sup>58</sup> On Finlay's oversight of colony, see, for example, Howe's letters to Finlay dating to November 22, and December 14 and 18, 1829, and June 13, 1831. Cf. Tsigos 2020: 524. Howe departed from Greece in February as evident in letters written from Malta dating to the first days of March 1830: see S. G. Howe, *Samuel Gridley Howe letter book: manuscript, 1829-1831*. Houghton Library.

<sup>59</sup> Botiza is an Albanian word for a white soil used in wood-fired bake ovens. Tsigos surmises (2020: 37) that the location took its name as the source of this soil in earlier times.

<sup>60</sup> Howe, Diary, May 23, 1829. In *Typescript of diary, with autograph interpolations; [Greece] 6 Mar 1829-. Philadelphia, 16 May 1831*. Houghton Library.

<sup>61</sup> Howe 1906: 351.

<sup>62</sup> Howe 1906: 350-354.



**Figure 17.** A drone photo from the Botiza ridge, facing north toward the Corinthian Gulf and central Greece. Photo by Albert Sarvis.



**Figure 18.** A drone photo from the Botiza ridge, facing east toward Kenchreai and the Saronic Gulf. Photo by Albert Sarvis.

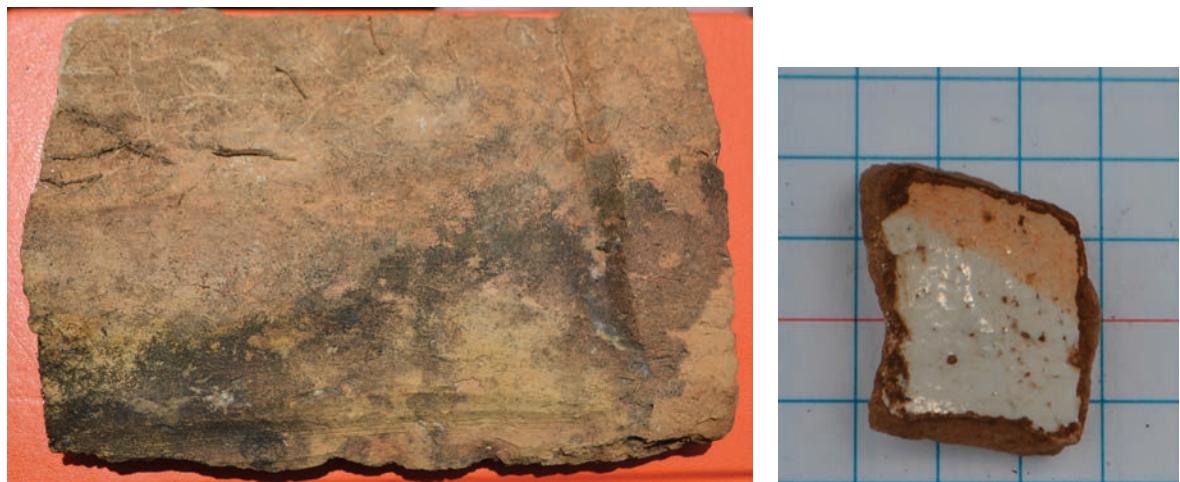
*konak*, or ‘plantation house’ in Turkish, as Howe’s description of previous agricultural arrangements with peasants make clear.<sup>63</sup> One of the richest landlords of the Peloponnese, Kiamil Bey controlled over 100 villages, which he governed from a sumptuous palace in Ancient Corinth.<sup>64</sup> Kiamil Bey was executed by Greek revolutionaries in July 1822 and his properties destroyed, but his agricultural

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Mazower 2021: 47



**Figure 19.** RAF Aerial Photograph of the region of Examilia from 1945, showing closeup views of the Botiza ridge and the village. Note the linear lines of homes in the village and the reflective rectangle on the ridge marking the location of a former building. Map by Albert Sarvis.



**Figure 20.** An early modern Laconian tile found on the Botiza ridge. Photo by Kostis Kourelis.

**Figure 21.** An early modern coarse ware body sherd with white and orange glazed interior found on the Botiza ridge. Photo by Kostis Kourelis.

control once extended over a vast territory through multiple *konaks*. A *konak* at the coastal village of Sykia (where Kiamil Bey was born in 1784) is the only property associated with Kiamil Bey that survives today (Figure 22), while a *konak* belonging to one of Corinth's Greek landlords, the Notaras family, survives in the mountainous village of Trikala.<sup>65</sup> *Konaks* differed from ordinary houses in

<sup>65</sup> Bartzis 2015 studied all the textual and visual documents of Kiamil Bey's palace and visually reconstructed its architecture. A small section of Kiamil Bey's palace was excavated by Robinson 1962. For a study of Kiamil Bey's house in Sykia, see Demetropoulou 2011. The Notaras mansion was surveyed by the Polytechnic University of Athens but has not been published.



**Figure 22.** The konak of Kiamil Bey in Sykia. Photo by Kostis Kourelis.

their elevation (two or three stories high), their numerous annex buildings, storage facilities, stables, and amenities for the collection and distribution of crops.<sup>66</sup> The comparanda for konaks abounds in Thessaly, where Greek Independence occurred later (1881) and the feudal system lasted into the early 20th in the hands of Greek speculators; for instance, Konaki Kyzeride in Polyneri and Konaki Vasileiou in Palaiomylo retained their original armature of agricultural buildings. Ottoman-era managers' *konaks* with associated peasant longhouses have also been studied by the Durham/Cambridge Boeotia Project (e.g., at the sites of Harmena and Guinosati).<sup>67</sup>

Even as the Bey's house had previously dominated the social and economic lives of farmers in the area, the newly renovated *casa di padrone* at Washingtonia formed a clear administrative center that commanded the new colony. Occupying the highest point in the area, it created a point of surveillance over the single-story village houses a kilometer to the north. It had a clear line of sight to the planned hospital half a kilometer to the west. And it looked eastward over the rich agricultural lands that stretched to Kenchreai. The *konak*'s storage buildings gathered the profits of agricultural produce, while the school planned for the building's second floor would collect the colony's valuable human resources – the children.<sup>68</sup> Although Howe resisted the local view that he was a new feudal overlord, he played the part by taking over the plantation center, arbitrating social relations, implementing hierarchical relations with the colonists, and creating a difficult financial payment structure for the colonists.<sup>69</sup>

Howe's rebuilding of the *konak* made use of both local and imported materials. Cut limestone was likely sourced from nearby quarries, which are numerous in the area, or spoliated from the abundant building remains of ancient structures at Ano Examilia and elsewhere. Howe's letters make it clear that he acquired timber from the mountainous region around Sophiko for constructing the roofs. Ceramic tiles were imported from Athens through Kenchreai. Howe complains in a letter to Finlay

<sup>66</sup> Lock 1986.

<sup>67</sup> Vionis 2016: 379.

<sup>68</sup> It is unclear if Howe's plans to convert the second story of the house into a school were achieved by the time he left Greece.

<sup>69</sup> Howe, Journal, April 1, 1829 (Howe 1906: 352-354).

that they were of such low quality that they were hardly worth the cost of freight. He curses the seller, Pittakis, 'that shallow brained' man,<sup>70</sup> which likely refers to Kyriakos Pittakis, first director of the excavation at the Athenian Acropolis. As Pittakis cleared the Ottoman-period constructions around the Parthenon and monetized spolia by reselling it as building material, Washingtonia's tiles may well have come from the Acropolis.

Howe adapted the local agricultural regime of the former Ottoman governor (and the new Greek state) in renting land to farmers through a sharecropping arrangement.<sup>71</sup> The colonists at Washingtonia received home, seed, clothing, oxen, tools, and land free of government taxes in exchange for half of their agricultural produce. Howe used this gift to build a 'charitable fund' for the community that would fund the pharmacy, pay the school teacher, support the completion of a hospital, and create capacity for new families to join the colony. We currently have limited information about the distribution or size of land allotments, but Guy Sanders's study of parallel 19th century arrangements suggests that a sharecropping family would have needed 8 hectares of non-irrigated land to cultivate enough barley, wheat, and legumes to survive at subsistence level.<sup>72</sup> The calculation is complicated, however, by the fact that Howe's colonists reportedly cultivated a range of other kinds of crops that included American corn (*kalamboki*), cotton, wheat, and rice; Howe himself cultivated olives and vines at Botiza.<sup>73</sup> In any case, the tax document of 1834 makes clear that the colonists complained frequently that they were unable to benefit from the burdensome arrangement.<sup>74</sup>

The fate of the *konak* is unclear, but it seems reasonable to infer that it would have remained in use, or reused, during the agricultural boom of the late 19th century. It was certainly out of use well before the early 1940s as the aerials suggest a building signature but no standing architecture. Further study is needed to determine if the early modern archaeological materials visible on location today represent objects from the house of the colony or a subsequent phase in the 19th or early 20th century. The archaeological debris visible at Botiza today probably does not represent a single building, but the remains of multiple structures known from textual sources (house, storehouse, tower, stables, and nine-foot high walls) and perhaps multiple phases of building in the 19th to early 20th centuries like other houses at nearby Examilia (see below).<sup>75</sup>

### ***The hospital***

The hospital at Washingtonia formed a second important notional center of the colony and an anchor for American relief aid in Greece. Howe and his colleague John Russ (1801-1881), another young American medical doctor, had founded hospitals in Aegina and Poros in 1827, and Howe made plans to raise funding in the U.S. for additional hospitals in the Peloponnese. A journal entry from February 1829 notes conversations with Dr. Russ about the imminent founding of a hospital for the destitute population of the Morea. Kapodistrias, Howe wrote, supported the plan and was then working to determine the ideal location.<sup>76</sup> In a letter dating to November 1829, Howe notes that the site's location was selected not primarily with the people of the colony in mind, but for the chronically ill of Greece more broadly.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Finlay 1995: 782.

<sup>71</sup> Howe, Letter to William Sampson, January 30, 1830 (Howe 1830: 363-364). See Sanders 2014: 111-113, for a discussion of Howe's assessment of the burden of sharecropping under the Ottoman governor vs. the new Greek state.

<sup>72</sup> Sanders's calculations are based on a 1835 Greek government document used for land grants in confiscated property: 'a family would require 4.0 hectares of irrigated land in the plain, an uncommon commodity, 8.0 of un-watered land in the plain or 12.0 hectares of land on hill slopes.' Sanders 2014: 114-115.

<sup>73</sup> Howe 1906: 351, 355, 360, 362. GAK, Archive, May 6, 1834, docs. 305-306.

<sup>74</sup> GAK, Archive, May 6, 1834, docs. 305-306.

<sup>75</sup> Finlay 1995: 780. Letter dating December 14, 1829.

<sup>76</sup> Howe, Journal, February 8 and 9, 1829.

<sup>77</sup> Howe, Letter Book, November 23, 1829. In *Samuel Gridley Howe letter book: manuscript, 1829-1831*. Houghton Library.



**Figure 23.** A view of the valley from the location of the hospital, facing northeast toward Botiza ridge. Photo by David K. Pettegrew.

The founding of Washingtonia in March seems to have settled the location of a general hospital on the Corinthian Isthmus. In June 1829, when Howe wrote to the Greek Committee in America about the progress of the colony, he reported that he had selected a location that was 'central, healthy, accessible by sea on each side, and with running water at hand,' and expected to begin construction soon. Dr. Russ had \$2,000 remaining from the cargoes of the American relief funding, and Howe had requested that the Kapodistrian government provide the revenues from the use of Kenchreai harbor for the sustainability of the hospital.<sup>78</sup> Howe's letter to Reverend Rufus Anderson in July expressed hope that the surplus generated from the fall harvest might fund a hospital with 50 beds, and that the facility would grow into a large model hospital in the next ten years.<sup>79</sup>

Howe's and Russ's vision for a successful hospital sustained by the colony's profits from crops and Kenchreai harbor, however, seems not to have materialized. A summary of a letter that Howe wrote to a friend in England in November 1829 notes that funding was available to finish it but that some sustainable revenue would be needed from the government to secure its future. Another letter to William Sampson in January 1830, just before Howe left Greece, describes the hospital as a future enterprise which would be sustained through the agricultural surplus of the colonists. The hospital is not named in the 1834 tax document. We wonder whether the 'pharmacy' of the tax document of 1834 marks a compromise to the unfulfilled plans to create a grand hospital in the center of Greece.

Peytier's map identifies the location of the hospital (*hôpital*) approximately 500 meters southwest of the colonial house (Figure 23). Through the Field Map app, we located this place on a headland that stretches northward from the foothills of Mt. Oneion. Occupying a prominent height, the hospital formed a clear line of sight to the colonial house and thereby fell under the surveillance of the colonial lord. It was also situated immediately above stream beds that begin in the foothills above and was therefore adjacent to a reliable water source.

<sup>78</sup> Howe, Letter to Greek Committee in America, June 16, 1829 (Howe 1906: 354-359).

<sup>79</sup> Howe, Letter to Reverend Rufus Anderson, July 14, 1829 (Howe 1906: 360-362).

Today the location is occupied by a modern house, which may have destroyed earlier building remains. We observed no preserved architectural plan in our visits to this location but documented several cut stone blocks piled along the edge of the property above the nearby ravine. Determining whether the hospital ever became functional would require additional evidence. Nonetheless, our identification of the location of the hospital reinforces the view that the notional and administrative center of the colony fell well south of the village of Examilia. The hospital also indicates the ambitious vision of the colonizers to provide modern facilities of health to Greeks well beyond the limited field of the families of Washingtonia.

### ***The villages of Examilia***

As discussed above, three villages existed on this part of the Isthmus in the later Ottoman and early modern period: Xylokeriza (alt. Xylokephalo and Xylokerata), Ano Examilia, and Kato Examilia. Xylokeriza occupies the approximate location of the village of the same name today, while Ano Examilia occupies the general location of today's Examilia village. The early 19th-century Kato Examilia does not survive today but is represented by scattered modern farmhouses, abandoned longhouses, and older extant churches on and below the marine terrace ridge; the modern Romani settlement at 'Kato Examilia' occupies a different location than the earlier settlement of the same name. In an analysis of a report that Howe sent to Kapodistrias,<sup>80</sup> Tsigos has observed that the three settlements were founded by the Ottoman governor and had populations before the Revolution of 30 families (Ano Examilia), 20 families (Kato Examilia), and 15 families (Xylokeriza). In contrast to Ano Examilia, Kato Examilia and Xylokeriza comprised seasonal settlements used during harvest seasons.<sup>81</sup>

The exact location of the colony's houses is not obvious but were rebuilt on earlier houses in the village of Examilia. Although Peytier's plans for the post-war restoration of Ano Examilia remain missing, Peytier proposed to the Kapodistrian government the complete restoration of Ano Examilia at the same time that Howe recommended founding Washingtonia as a suburb of that village. In contrast with ancient Corinth,<sup>82</sup> we currently have no direct testimony to a full-scale rebuilding of Examilia by the Kapodistrian government. Howe wrote in 1829 that the peasant houses were built directly over the ruins of the late Ottoman village, 'as the foundations and the fallen walls remained.'<sup>83</sup>

The problem of identification is compounded by the growth of the village in the late 19th to 21st centuries (Figure 24). The earthquake of 1856 destroyed local villages and houses on the Isthmus and led to the foundation of a new city of Corinth along the coast. The economic boom from the monocultural cultivation of currants in the 1880s added grand two-story houses to the village, while the currant crisis of 1893 turned the boom into bankruptcy and led to mass migration to the U.S. The 1928 earthquake caused major destruction as evident in Examilia's only declared historic monument, the old schoolhouse at the north end of the village, which was built after 1928. The main location of the residential district of the colony was lost in the evolution of the village of Examilia from the 1970s to the present.

Yet, the georectified World War II aerials and an architectural inventory have allowed us to define the oldest houses in Examilia village that were encased in later buildings. The RAF photographs from 1945 (see Figure 19) show three or four roughly parallel lines of an early settlement structure in Examilia that is no longer obvious today. They affirm the observation of the scholar Iakovos

<sup>80</sup> Tsigos 2020, 521-522.

<sup>81</sup> Tsigos, *Ibid.*, citing GAK, f. 199, May 7-8, 1829.

<sup>82</sup> Loukatos 1978. In Ancient Corinth, Peytier provided two detailed reports that document the restoration of a house for the seat of the governor, the conversion of bathhouses into prisons, and the conversion of barracks into a school (dedicated during Kapodistrias' visit in July 1829).

<sup>83</sup> Howe 1906: 354-355.



**Figure 24.** Wide-angle drone photograph of modern Examilia, facing west, with Acrocorinth and Corinthian Gulf in distance. The road to Corinth-Isthmia road is visible in the center. At the far right of the image marks the location of the settlement of Kato Examilia near the prehistoric sites of Yiriza and Gonia.

Ragkavis (1853) that the homes of the colony were constructed in an orderly alignment,<sup>84</sup> and a comment by the traveler Grenville Temple (1836) that the American village was 'built on Mr. Owen's plan by the American missionaries and [consisted] of three long rows of houses, parallel, but at a considerable distance from each other.'<sup>85</sup> This comment about 'Mr. Owen's plan' refers to the utopian towns of socialist Robert Owen that Americans would have encountered in New Harmony, Indiana. The state-sponsored refugee neighborhood of Pronoia in Nauplion (Figure 25) was also designed using aligned rows of houses.<sup>86</sup>

Today, Examilia looks like a chaotic array of roads that meet roughly at the center of the village near the church of St. Demetrios, which was rebuilt in concrete in 1966, replacing an older church that may date back to the 19th century.<sup>87</sup> The majority of the houses are modern and only 14 domestic structures show exterior evidence of pre-concrete masonry. The houses with diagnostic architectural features date to the period of agricultural prosperity in the late 19th century and were financed by the 'black gold' of currant cultivation. These grander two-story buildings



**Figure 25.** Plan of Pronoia, refugee settlement near Nauplion, on display at National Historical Museum of Greece. Photo by Kostis Kourelis.

<sup>84</sup> Ragkavis 1853: 299. Thanks to Anastasios Tsigos for bringing this source to our attention.

<sup>85</sup> Temple 1836: 58.

<sup>86</sup> Kardamitsi-Adami 1994.

<sup>87</sup> Tsigos 2020: 581.



**Figure 26.** Remains of House 7 in Examilia, a 19th century house visible in the 1940s aerial photographs. Photo by Kostis Kourelis.



**Figure 27.** Low-altitude oblique drone photograph of the Xydis house in Examilia with Acrocorinth in the background. Photo by Albert Sarvis.

newer structures. Our hypothesis was confirmed by the Nordas and the Xydis houses, which offer examples of earlier single-story dwellings.

The Nordas house is located in the main intersection of the village and contains multiple phases. An oral history of the Nordas family in 2024 suggests a secure chronology of construction that places the eastern half of the house to the revolutionary period; it is distinguished by different interior walls and the presence of a basement. The Nordas house provides an example of a building that was not converted to a two-story house in the late 19th century.

The deteriorating Xydis house, which lies on the south end of the village (Figure 27), points to three phases. The two-story southern phase dates to the late-19th-century boom and features a bright red interior wall decoration in its parlor. The adjoining middle section of the Xydis house dates to the mid-20th century as evident in concrete elements that were partly built on the foundations of a yet earlier house to the north. The northern section marks the earliest house, evident in its distinct style of masonry and its alignment with the linear arrangement evident in the 1940s aerial. As a single-story building 13 m long, it was never fully demolished but repurposed as a shed.

were adorned with fashionable red plaster, elaborate fireplaces, and commemorative datestones (one surviving from 1871); they illustrate social stratification and the emergence of a middle class that reflects nothing of the impoverished conditions of 1829. Our survey identified two comparable buildings in the form of farmhouses near Kato Examilia, one of which even includes steel, which was introduced by the railroad line of 1884.

The oldest houses in modern Examilia, which predate the more elaborate late-19th-century vernacular housing, comprise one-story longhouses that survive in a few locations (Figure 26). In one respect, these buildings look deceptively secondary because some lie behind main domestic spaces that today face the street. However, in our house survey, we discovered that those single-story houses formed the strong linear axes visible in the 1940s aerial photographs (cf. Figure 19). We inferred that these buildings mark the earlier houses in the village that preceded the 1870s/1880s boom, which were used as subsidiary storage rooms to the

While the 1940s linear rows of houses are largely invisible today, their traces survive especially in a series of sheds. The approximately 14 structures that retain masonry from the early 19th century are long houses with large cut ashlar blocks at the corners and lintels of wood or flat segmented arches. Further study on the structural chronology of this sample could provide answers on absolute and relative chronology among the destructive experiences of the village (1831, 1858, 1922, etc.). We conclude from the remote-sensing alignment, the typological difference from later houses, and distinctive masonry styles that we have identified fragments of the original colonists' homes at Washingtonia that have weathered two earthquakes and rapid boom-and-bust cycles over the course of two centuries.

### ***Kenchreai***

While the colony's northern anchor was Ano Examilia, its easternmost point was the site of Kenchreai, known in the 19th century as Kechrees, Kichries, and Kerkhus. Like the harbor of Aegina, which was renovated by hired laborers through American funds in 1828, the philhellenes considered the harbor the critical linchpin for bringing aid to Greece and making the new colony sustainable. In letters of 1829 and 1830, Howe expressed his hope that the Kapodistrian government would designate revenues from the use of the port to sustain the ongoing costs of school and hospital.

The settlement at Kenchreai in late Ottoman to early modern times was small in comparison with the Roman and Late Antique town. Yet, the harbor with its protective moles and the beach to the south clearly remained an important node for communication, exchange, and anchorage throughout the premodern period. Like the other settlements of the Isthmus, the character and scale of settlement at Kenchreai varied from the 17th to 19th centuries. In the late Ottoman era, a village clearly existed near the harbor as evident in the plan of the Isthmus published in Barbie du Bocage's *Carte de la Morée* (1814) (see Figure 7), which shows two buildings at the port and over a dozen houses north of the harbor between the sea and the coastal road. An English version of the map (1826) identifies one of the harbor-side structures as a custom house.

The War of Independence devastated the settlement at Kenchreai. When the British military officer George Keppel passed through the region in July 1829, he described the 'village of Kerkhus' as no more than two 'fishermen's huts'.<sup>88</sup> Peytier's contemporary map (see Figure 15) likewise represents 'Kichries' as three small buildings along the coast at the southwestern edge of the ancient harbor and one building further inland on the alluvial plain; one of the buildings, labeled *magasin*, indicates a storehouse. Another contemporary traveler, the American missionary Rufus Anderson, observed that the site was totally uninhabited, represented only by the foundations of houses and part of a surviving mole.<sup>89</sup> Yet, at the same time, the site was clearly important for the philhellenes who put the harbor to use through their humanitarian work. In August 1827, Kenchreai became a distribution point for relief for over 4,000 refugees who had passed into the Peloponnese from the Mainland.<sup>90</sup> In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Kenchreai played an important strategic role as a maritime link between the Peloponnese and the island of Aegina, which was serving as Greece's de facto capital.

Howe's plan for Kenchreai entailed renovating structures that were already in place in the late Ottoman landscape. When Howe visited the site in late March 1829, he discovered 10 acres of good arable land for planting corn, cotton, and rice, and observed that 'the magazines of Kiamil Bey can be put in repair at a very small expense'.<sup>91</sup> In his progress report to the Greek Committee, he

<sup>88</sup> Keppel 1831: 13.

<sup>89</sup> Anderson 1830: 64.

<sup>90</sup> Miller 1828, 228.

<sup>91</sup> Howe, Journal, March 31, 1829 (Howe 1906: 351).

mentioned plans to employ the colonists and other locals during summer months ‘in dragging down rocks from the hills which overhang the port, and throwing them in upon the foundations of the old mole, and then easily making it what it once was, the most important harbour in the Province of Corinth.’<sup>92</sup> Like the hospital, however, Howe’s ambitious vision was not fully realized. He later remembered extending the domain of the colony over cultivated ground and the port,<sup>93</sup> and the tax record of 1834 does state that he built a tower and two stores there,<sup>94</sup> but the degree to which colonists ever renovated the mole remains uncertain, and there is no evidence that the port generated revenue for the colony as Howe had hoped it would.

Although Kenchreai has been the subject of American archaeological research since 1962, more attention is needed to understand its early modern topography.<sup>95</sup> Building remains south of the harbor seem to correspond to what is visible on historical maps of the area in late Ottoman and early modern times. We noted the slumped remains of what may be a seaside building in a scarp as well as what looks like a submerged quay. A Greek topographical map published in 1932 suggests that a quay extended a road that delivered supplies in a straight line from the inland village of Kechries, passing through an area labeled as Magaza that lay south of the ancient harbor.<sup>96</sup> These match the locations of a structure sited right on the coast and may contain debris from its demolition. Ongoing archaeological study of the area by the Kenchreai Coastal and Marine Survey should serve to clarify the date of these remains.

### **Washingtonia as pedagogy and public archaeology**

Our work prioritized an educational program designed to teach students the transferable skills of archaeological research, digital tools of geospatial study, and digital public humanities projects (see Figures 12 and 13). Our efforts to teach transferable skills, and our study of the contemporary problem of refugee landscapes, differs from a more traditional disciplinary concern to train undergraduate and graduate students in the skills needed to become professional archaeologists,<sup>97</sup> or the study abroad experience centered around the sites and objects of classical antiquity. We agree with Kyriakidis that practitioners must do more to help archaeology students look beyond the narrow traditional romanticization and prioritization of antiquity.<sup>98</sup>

Our program’s focus on transferable skills, socially-concerned pedagogy, and contemporary history aligns well with trends in undergraduate education in archaeology in the United States where we teach. Scholars have observed that an emphasis on logic, critical thinking, and multicultural awareness combined with community engagement and experiences in social activism, can both prepare students for professional archaeological practice and personal success in a globalized society.<sup>99</sup> Courses prioritizing social awareness can also help students to connect cultures under archaeological study with present-day communities.<sup>100</sup> John Bintliff’s seminal textbook on the archaeology of Greece has shown the fruitfulness of moving beyond a traditional Classical myopia to a diachronic approach that treats the archaeology of peoples and landscapes from prehistory to the modern day.<sup>101</sup> Recent efforts in Mediterranean archaeology provide promising case studies in

<sup>92</sup> Howe, Letter to Greek Committee, June 16, 1829 (Howe 1906: 358).

<sup>93</sup> Sanborn 1891, recounting Howe’s testimony recorded in 1857.

<sup>94</sup> GAK, Archive, May 6, 1834, docs. 305-306.

<sup>95</sup> An exception is the recent two-volume publication edited by Korka and Rife (2022) which includes chapters that consider more recent remains on the Koutsongila Ridge.

<sup>96</sup> ‘Korinthos.’ A 1:20,000 map of the Hellenic Military Geographical Service. British School at Athens Map Collection, Object B 8.5.

<sup>97</sup> Cobb and Croucher 2020.

<sup>98</sup> Kyriakidis 2019.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, Fredericksen 2005; Little 2007; Arendt 2013; Roberts 2018; and Blouet 2020.

<sup>100</sup> Arendt 2013.

<sup>101</sup> Bintliff 2012: 1-2, 478.

how to bridge the gaps between past and present through in-house public archaeology initiatives, such as virtual heritage tours.<sup>102</sup>

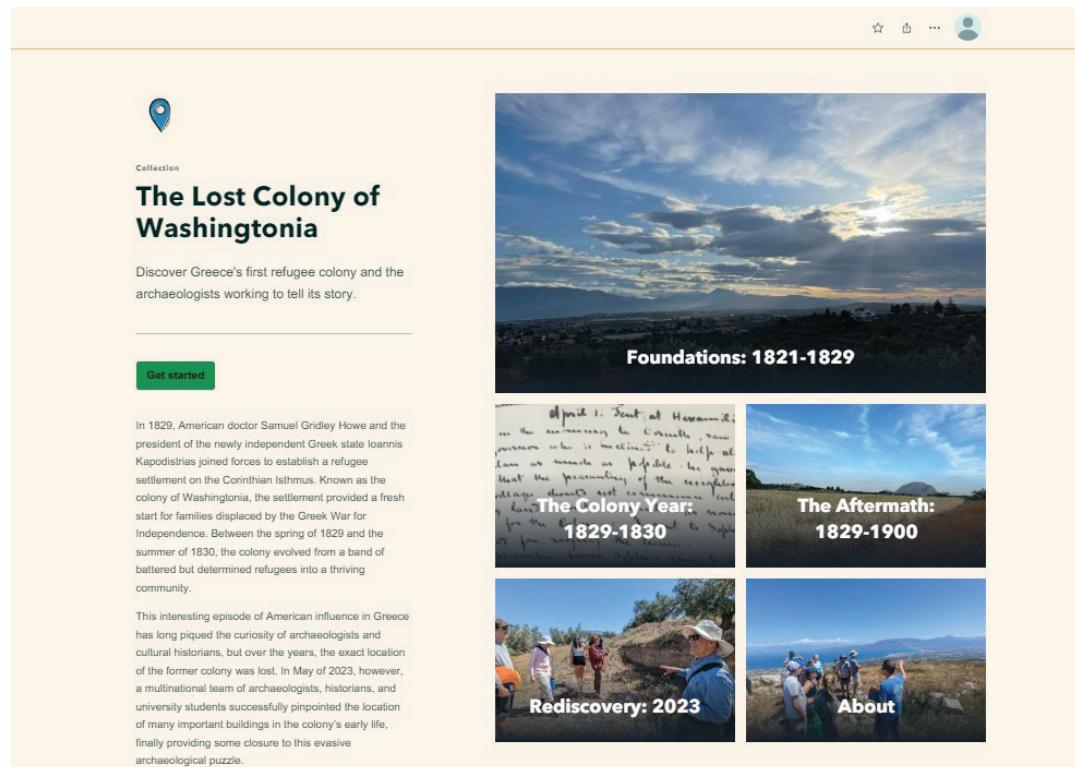
In this spirit, the field programs delivered to students in 2023 and 2024 were designed to provide a wider view. Students were introduced to a range of sites and periods of Greek history through lectures, site visits, and readings, and gained field experience through tools such as ArcGIS mapping, drone photography, and 3D modeling. Students also participated in a problem-oriented project of rediscovering modern Greece's oldest refugee settlement. To fulfill course requirements, they worked on public-facing products. In 2023, these focused around the recovery of Washingtonia, and in 2024, study of a 20th century refugee settlement in New Corinth. We will illustrate the public potential of these projects by outlining the two student-led public projects of 2023: a StoryMaps collection that provides an overview at the colony through text stories, images, and interactive map features; and a video documentary chronicling the archaeological processes that resulted in the recovery of multiple key structures.

*The Lost Colony of Washingtonia* StoryMaps collection (2023) was developed in tandem with our work in Examilia. Students collaborated to create a website using ArcGIS StoryMaps, a software platform designed for interactive, place-based storytelling (Figure 28). Students conducted research for the narrative portion of the site using Samuel Howe's personal papers, newspaper articles, travelers' accounts, and existing scholarship, and worked to connect historical accounts of Washingtonia with the archaeological data and geospatial records created by the team. The project aimed to recount both the rediscovery of Washingtonia in modern-day Examilia and the colony's impact on the post-revolutionary Greek landscape. An early version of the collection, authored by multiple students, was published in tandem with the field course. The following year, Alexandra Shehigian, then a senior Public History major at Messiah University, revised and expanded the collection through research, stories, and interactive map features.

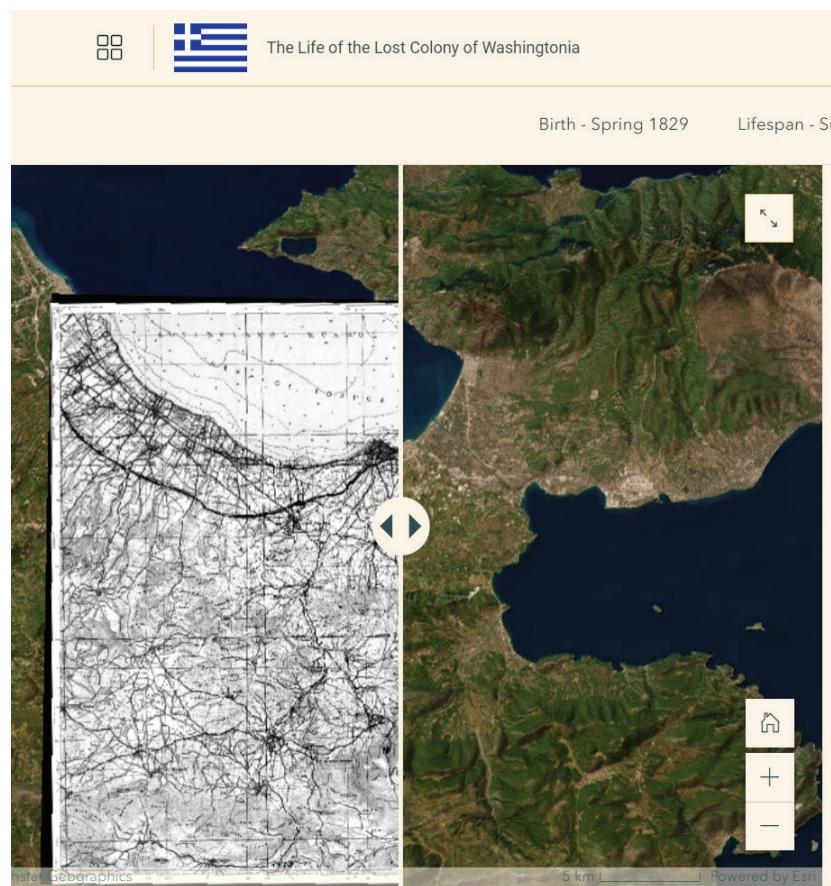
The final product – a StoryMaps collection accessible via desktop and mobile devices – invites users to page between four different stories arranged chronologically (Figure 29). The 'Foundations: 1821-1829' story introduces revolutionary Greece, the visionary Howe, and the conditions prompting Kapodistrias to enlist Howe in developing a farming colony. 'The Colony Year: 1829-1830' illuminates life during the colony's peak using a timeline of events recorded in Howe's journals. 'The Aftermath: 1829-1900' covers Howe's departure from Greece, the colony's decline and assimilation into Examilia, and the history of the region throughout the 19th century. The fourth story ('Rediscovery: 2023') provides an account of our team's work in May-June 2023 and student perspectives on public archaeology projects. A variety of interactive web maps and spatial layers visually represent the changes the landscape around Examilia underwent over the past two hundred years.

*The Lost Colony of Washingtonia* attempts to complicate the accepted narratives surrounding the colony and American philanthropic activity in Greece based on the words of Howe, his friends and family. Those narratives portray Howe as a savior figure who transformed displaced, helpless, and passive Greeks into self-sustaining individuals, and emphasize the unwavering support and gratitude for Howe and the Washingtonia project. The StoryMaps collection uses non-American sources to read against the grain of Howe's account and to offer a more complex picture of the colonists' experiences. It highlights moments such as Howe's refusal to allow the colonists to celebrate the Orthodox Feast of St. John, and the destruction of the school several years later. Simultaneously, we acknowledge that details gleaned from Howe's personal papers only provide a partial image of what happened at Examilia. The stories in the collection invite readers to engage critically with this absence of the colonists' perspectives.

<sup>102</sup> Ioannou *et al.* 2020; Tully 2009; Vionis, Papantoniou, and Savvides 2023.



**Figure 28.** The landing page of the Lost Colony of Washingtonia StoryMaps collection. Image by Alexandra Shehigian.



**Figure 29.** A swipe map in the Lost Colony of Washingtonia StoryMaps collection. Image by Alexandra Shehigian.

A second product arising from our public archaeology initiative in 2023 is a documentary film, *Finding Washingtonia*. Directed, filmed, and edited by Messiah University alumna Keli Ganey, the documentary chronicles the archaeological work carried out by our team from May-June 2023. It includes interviews with archaeologists and local historians as well as student perspectives on processes including collection and analysis of Howe's papers, drone flights, and the creation of digital maps through ArcGIS Pro. Additional interviews captured months after the team's return to Greece offer a more reflective element on lessons learned from the archaeological project and changing perspectives. These interviews are combined with high-resolution footage captured by Ganey, that bring viewers face-to-face with the modern-day locations associated with the colony of Washingtonia, including the early moments of our team's recovery of the *konak* renovated by Howe. Like the StoryMaps, *Finding Washingtonia* reframes Washingtonia as a collaborative international project rather than the efforts of a single hero.

The search for Washingtonia in 2023 highlighted the precariousness of historic preservation in migrant housing in the Corinthia and subsequently prompted new field research related to other transnational collaborative efforts to promote humanitarian aid to refugees in the region. One overlooked refugee colony is 'Synoikismos' ('Settlement'), a neighborhood of New Corinth. Synoikismos housed refugees who arrived during the 1923 exchange of population between Greece and Turkey following the Asia Minor Catastrophe. Later renamed 'Ionia' after the region of its original refugees, the original buildings of the settlement have largely disappeared in the subsequent growth of New Corinth and rebuilding in concrete.

In 2024, Athena Kotsopritis from Franklin & Marshall worked with the authors in collaboration with the Asia Minor House – a local heritage society of refugee survivors – to document visible remains. Our undergraduate-based field school created an architectural inventory of the few surviving houses (Figures 30-31). Using 1940s World War II aerial photographs, we reconstructed the state of the colony before the onslaught of concrete development and the overall reshaping of the city after the 1960s. As in the Washingtonia study, special attention was given to the archaeology, or the materiality, of the houses, including microscopic analysis of the exterior and interior wall plaster carried out by Kathleen Nguyen.<sup>103</sup> The study discovered that 72% of the planned homes were built and traces of only 9% of those houses survive today. With such a low rate of preservation over only 100 years, it is easy to imagine that no traces of this 9% will remain extant in the near future.

As the case studies of Washingtonia and Synoikismos show, student field schools centered around episodes of forced migration created the capacity to broaden students' views of Greece beyond the nostalgic gaze to antiquity and build a more inclusive history of landscape that incorporates places of forced migration and humanitarian aid. The projects challenged student scholars to reframe their understandings of Greece's history and archaeology along with their own positionality as Americans, and allowed them to create meaningful, digital, and public-facing resources that make accessible overlooked stories of Greece's refugee settlements. The pedagogy placed migration at the center rather than the margins of the curriculum, inviting students to reflect on modern Greece in relation to forced migration globally in the past (the Trail of Tears, Japanese American incarceration camps, etc.) or the present (U.S.-Mexico border, Myanmar, Sudan, Ukraine, Gaza, etc.).<sup>104</sup>

### **Archaeologies of displacement**

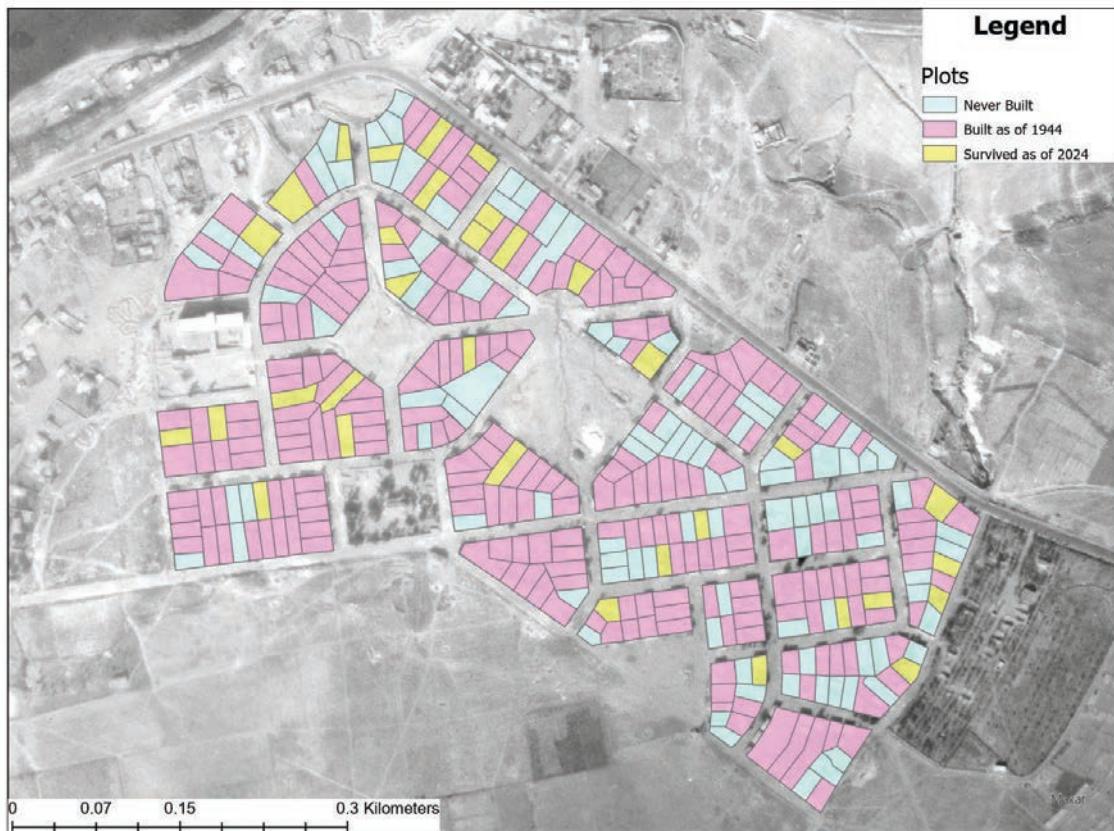
The rediscovery of Washingtonia through collaborative archaeological, archival, and digital methods reveals a forgotten chapter in the history of humanitarian intervention at the birth of

<sup>103</sup> As in Howe's sourcing of material for Washingtonia, the Synoikismos includes lumber acquired from Rumania; we have not identified the source of the Portland cement plaster or the binding organic fibers.

<sup>104</sup> Kourelis 2023.

## Asia Minor Refugee Dwelling Survival from 1934, 1944, and 2024

Map Authored by Athena Kotsopritis 2025



**Figure 30.** Asia Minor refugee colony, New Corinth. Survey of remaining houses (in yellow) including houses extant in 1944 aerial photography (pink). Map by Athena Kotsopritis.



**Figure 31.** Typical refugee house in Asia Minor refugee neighborhood, Apolonus 13, Corinth. Photo by Athena Kotsopritis.

the Greek nation-state and foregrounds a particularly persistent kind of settlement – the refugee encampment – that is often ignored in diachronic studies of landscapes. As the first refugee colony established by American and European philanthropists in partnership with members of the Greek state, Washingtonia provides an unusually clear example of how investments and intervention briefly created an extensive network of support from agents in Greece and around the world after the Greek War of Independence and momentarily reinvigorated an entire region. Although the circumstances of Washingtonia's foundation and failure are unique to its time and place in history, wider lessons can be drawn from this case study for the archaeology of displaced settlement in Greek contexts.

The study of Washingtonia highlights, first and foremost, the pervasiveness of refugees in the historical record and a wide spectrum of ephemeral domiciles that archaeologists might encounter in the regions in which they work. Washingtonia itself represented an unusually well-organized effort of resettlement that entailed American private funding, exceptional personal talent, an unusual transnational collaboration, and persistent government intervention. Even in the time of the colony, however, we learn from written sources of other kinds of refugee settlements in the Corinthia that were far more contingent and ephemeral. As we described earlier, accounts of post-war Greece note thousands of 'ambulant refugees' encamped on the Isthmus, living in huts, caverns, and holes.<sup>105</sup> We also hear of locally-displaced persons such as the native inhabitants of Ano Examilia and Kato Examilia who resided in caves and caverns for several years during the war and eventually returned to find their homes either intact or demolished. The history of the Corinthia over the last two centuries provides many such forgotten examples of refugee settlements that include ambulant refugees of the 1922 Asia Minor catastrophe, the Armenian genocide, Jewish concentration camps in World War II, and contemporary asylum seekers from Pakistan, Syria, and Afghanistan who inhabit a tent city in New Corinth opened by the Greek government in 2019.

Second, archaeologists who encounter refugees as a constant feature of Greece's history, especially its recent history, may discern a wide range of forms of their settlement that reflect compromises between the agency of the refugees, the ideals of those providing aid, and the material limitations of regional circumstances. In the case of Washingtonia, the American actors worked to establish a colony that reflected their own utopian ideals about self-sufficiency, agrarian life, and ordered settlements, but ultimately encountered difficulties in actualizing their ideals in an environment of scarcity that required collaboration and compromise. The settlement at Examilia took the form of ordered alignments of rebuilt houses, but the colony of Washingtonia comprised more than a nucleated village: it was an entire landscape of settlement, farmland, and harbor, stretching from Examilia to Kenchreai, centered at Botiza where Howe's renovated Ottoman plantation provided administrative oversight over agricultural toil. Their material investments were far greater than many refugee resettlements, as noted above, but their vision for a self-sufficient colony still encountered the limits of scarce resources and the instability of post-war Greece. Many of the original refugee families elected to resettle in other parts of Mainland Greece where they could be assured a more stable existence.

A third lesson provided by the Washingtonia case study is that short-term refugee settlements commonly occupy and reuse a preexisting structure of the landscape that can in turn structure regional settlement (Figure 32). We have noted, for example, on the one end, how refugees on the Isthmus in 1827 and 1828 simply occupied caves, holes, huts, and clefts in the rock. On the other end, Washingtonia provides a more formal and serious example of reuse of regional infrastructure as the colonizers made use of an Ottoman plantation, the magazines of Kiamil Bey at Kenchreai, and the foundations of village houses at Ano Examilia. More recent examples from the Corinthia tell a similar story of adaptation of preexisting resources. For example, the Near East Relief, an

<sup>105</sup> Miller 1828: 243. Cf. 75-76, 82-83, 141, 228, 243-244.

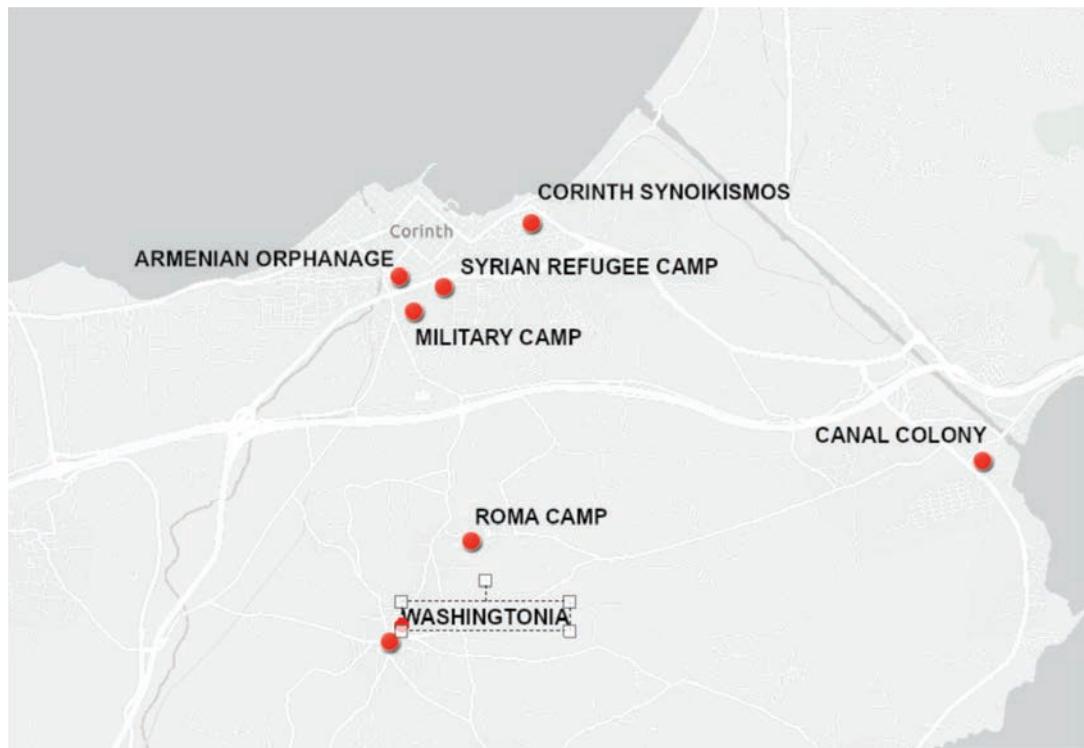


Figure 32. The Washingtonia Legacy. Sites of migrant housing in the Corinthia. Map by Kostis Kourelis.

American NGO founded in 1915, took over Corinth's abandoned military camp in 1923 to care for 2,700 orphans, the victims of the Armenian genocide in Turkey. The camp was reused by the Nazis as a Jewish concentration camp during World War II, which was then turned into a high security prison for undocumented migrants in 2012. Little of this complicated history is materially obvious but the material investments have impacted the landscape.

This leads to one final conclusion, that we must approach the study of refugee settlements diachronically and spatially, with attention to the longer histories of landscape, and in multidisciplinary tools sensitive to ephemeral occupation. A chronologically vertical study of the post-Washingtonia landscape includes many traumatic episodes of modern history and humanitarian relief that have been erased from the region but are too numerous and recurring to ignore. Landscapes absorb and reflect histories of displacement, humanitarian response, and settlement transformation across time. A multidisciplinary methodology that combines archival research, historical cartography, aerial photography, drone survey, architectural study, oral histories, and public humanities can recover, document, and publicize vestiges of this human story for scholars and wider communities.

In our archaeological studies of Greece, we ought not allow disciplinary preferences for prehistoric and classical antiquity to eclipse the equally important histories of forced movement in more recent times. The 110 million people currently displaced worldwide, according to 2023 UNHCR figures, remind us that the humanitarian crises that gave rise to Washingtonia are not isolated historical phenomena but ongoing challenges that encourage attention and care. Greece's first collaborative international project for a refugee colony in 1829 spotlights possible lines of research into more recent episodes of displacement and their material manifestations across human landscapes.

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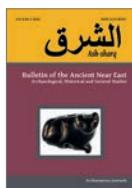


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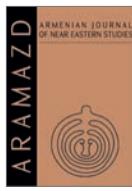


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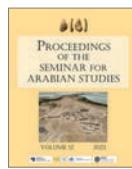


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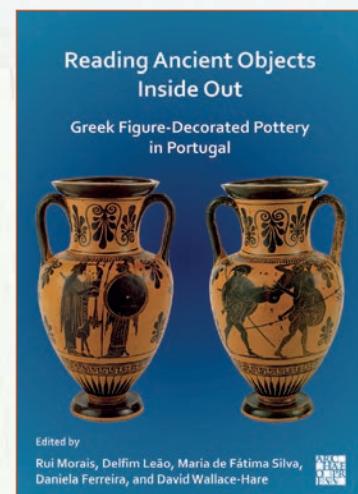
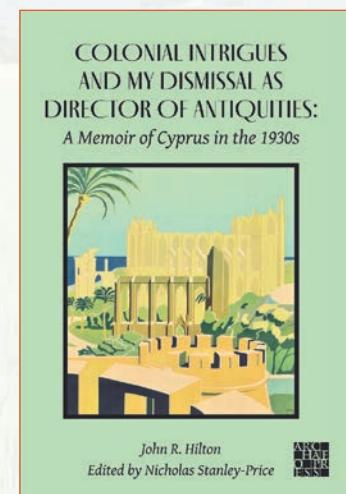
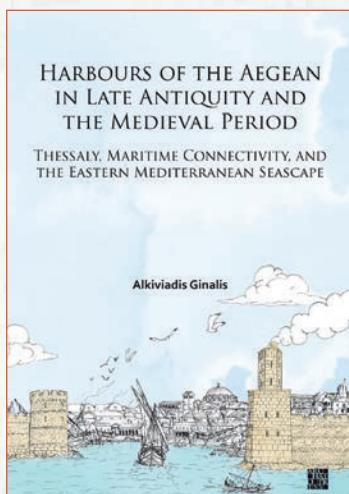
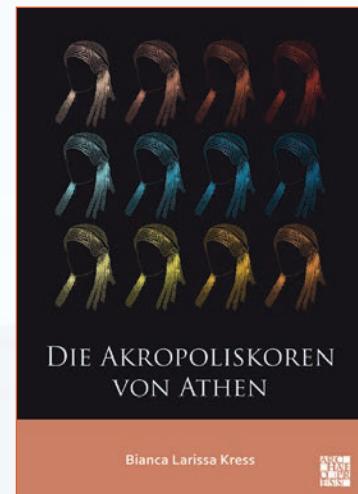
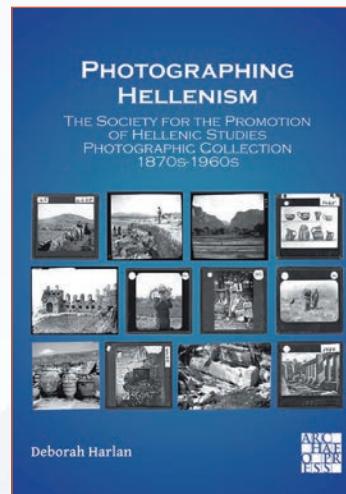
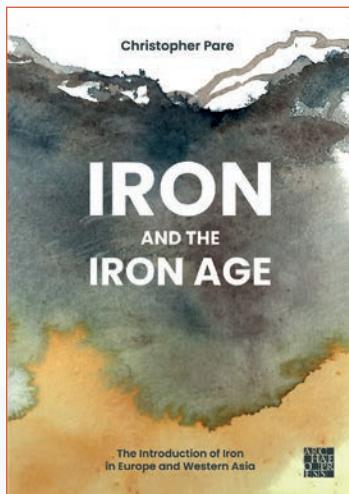
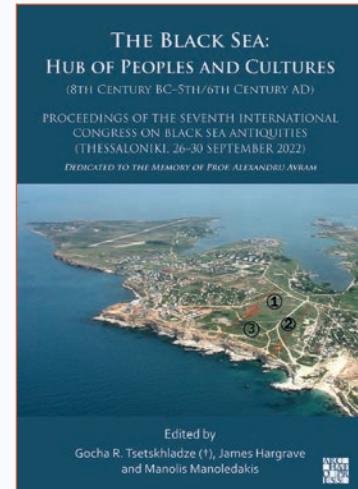
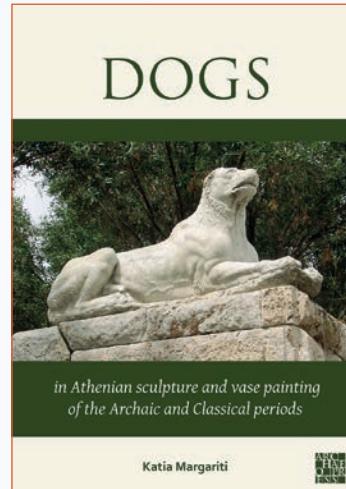
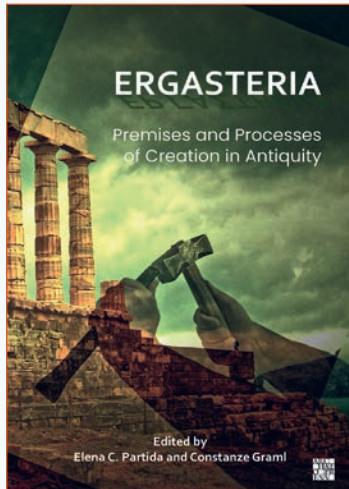
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