

The Continuing Value of *The Blight of Asia* by George Horton: An Assessment After Ninety-six Years.

Dr. Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou

George Horton's *Blight of Asia* is arguably the most important book concerning the destruction of Smyrna in 1922 written by an eyewitness. It is also one of the most comprehensive indictments of the policy of genocide and intimidation perpetrated by the Ottoman government upon its Christian minorities during the early decades of the twentieth century written by a seasoned diplomat with many years of first-hand experience. The author's purpose is made very clear on the book's cover page by the subtitles that were added: the first states that it is, *An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and of the Culpability of Certain Great Powers; with the True Story of the Burning of Smyrna*; and after the author's name is added: *For Thirty Years Consul and Consul-General of the United States in the Near East*.

Horton's status as a diplomat and an eyewitness, and his courage in telling the truth to the public, "not restrained ... by political reasons or by any consideration of fear or self-interest" is underlined in the Forward written by James W. Gerard, another diplomat, a former ambassador to Germany. Gerard adds that Horton "claims that high ideals are more than oil or railroads, and that the Turks should not be accepted into the society of decent nations until they show sincere repentance for their crimes." The same viewpoint is shared by another important publication on the same subject, which appeared in 1924, *The Great Betrayal* by Edward Hale Bierstadt. Additionally, in many respects it is also the counterpart of an earlier account *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* published in 1919, by Henry Morgenthau, a former American Ambassador to Turkey, another seasoned diplomat who focused on the Armenian genocide by Turkey and its German allies before and during WWI. Some of the information contained in the *Blight of Asia* was also later supplemented in another of Horton's books: *Recollections Grave and Gay* (1927) in which he provided both amusing and serious descriptions of aspects of his

experiences as a Consul in Athens, Saloniki, and Smyrna. Specific and harrowing details of what took place in Smyrna after the great fire were also published in a book entitled *Certain Samaritans* in 1927, by another American eyewitness, Esther Pohl Lovejoy who was there as part of the official American relief effort. Finally, it is sad to note that some eighty-eight years after the *Blight of Asia* was published, the Turkish government has yet to accept responsibility for crimes committed by its predecessors—so that this tragic chapter in its history can be properly understood and a healing and reconciliation between all the innocent victims of all sides can take place. [see Hofmann, et. al., *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks* for a detailed survey of the literature which has supplemented and expanded these viewpoints].

Horton had to wait until his retirement from public service to publish the truth concerning what he refers to as colossal crimes committed against the human race and emphasizes that, he writes strictly in my capacity as a private citizen." Although, he could not use any official documents to authenticate his viewpoints when the book was published, the subsequent release of classified State Department materials since that time, have more than vindicated what he wrote in his capacity as a private citizen. In fact, the official American records from that period document that the United States government was fully informed of the crimes committed and that the great fire that destroyed most of Smyrna was deliberately set by the forces of Kemal as a matter of policy. [see Hatzidimitriou, *American Accounts*, pp. 1-17, and more recently, "The Destruction of Smyrna," in *The Asia Minor Catastrophe*, 155-227.]

George Horton was born in 1859 in Fairville, New York. The family had been established in America from 1635 when one of his ancestors a certain "Captain Horton" emigrated from England and settled in rural Southold, now part of Long Island, New York. Young Horton was a voracious reader and became an ardent Hellenist with a knowledge of ancient Greek during his studies at the University of Michigan. Later on he added an impressive command of Modern Greek to this classical foundation and learned to speak several languages including French, Italian and even some Turkish. Following his graduation from college his family moved to California. George's first career was that of a teacher in various schools in and around Grass Valley, California. There, he married his first wife, Carrie Nickols who tragically died at an early age. From this marriage he had one daughter named Georgia. He remarried again but the marriage did not work out. His third and final marriage was to Aikaterini Sakopoulos in 1909 which resulted in another child, named Nancy.

Eventually Horton became a journalist in the exciting and highly competitive environment of urban Chicago where he distinguished himself by his devotion to highlighting injustice. At the same time, he was a prolific writer of poetry and prose, which attracted the attention and praise of Walt Whitman one of the nation's most prominent literary figures. Over his lifetime Horton published more than a dozen books of poetry, fiction and travel, most of which concerned his beloved Greece. Always the champion of the "underdog" and the struggling common man—he was essentially a romantic devoted to combatting injustice even if doing so was against his personal interest. In one of his books, *Recollections Grave and Gray* he described how he became involved with the diplomatic corps and provided many amusing anecdotes about how the U.S. government chose its consular representatives at that time. After turning down a chance to go to Berlin, he arrived in Athens as Consul in 1893 where he had his first opportunity to study the places firsthand, that he had only read about. He remained there until 1898 when he had to give up that post and return to the United States. In 1901 he published his impressions in a descriptive account of Modern Athens which provided an insightful account of that city as it transitioned from the nineteenth century to the twentieth. Because of his literary achievements he received an honorary doctorate from Washington University in 1903.

Scholars have yet to make any significant use of his numerous diplomatic reports from Athens during his tenure as U.S. Consul there. These documents are now readily available on microfilm and would not only provide a rich source of information concerning late 19th early 20th Century Greece, but on Greek-American relations and the immigration issues during this crucial period of mass immigration. One could also get a sense of how previous experiences shaped Horton's later reactions to Turkish and Greek interactions in Asia Minor. It is my sincere hope that they be published in the near future as a collection so that they can be used for future studies on a wide variety of subjects. In fact, not only Horton's but all the early American diplomatic archival evidence has yet to be properly investigated and should be combined with those of their Greek counterparts posted in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to illuminate Greek-American relations during this period.

In 2009 an organization called the Hellenic Electronic Center in collaboration with the Pan Macedonian Studies Center in NYC, published a book containing newspaper accounts concerning a lecture tour given by Horton in forty-seven American cities sponsored by the Archaeological Society of America. According to these accounts, Horton

stated that part of his purpose was: "to show that the present inhabitants of Hellas are not entirely unworthy of their great ancestors ... [and that] ... The more I know and understand the Greek race, the more they impress me as a people who have preserved their identity, their characteristics, their very blood to an extent which finds no parallel in history unless we except the Hebrews..." Clearly, Horton felt that there was not only a continuity between ancient and modern Greece but that he could discern these aspects based on his personal experience. What is also remarkable is that Horton was apparently very familiar with the history and contributions of Greek immigrants to the United States and integrated many important illustrations of how America has benefited from this immigration into his lectures. He not only had studied the history of ancient, medieval and modern Greece, but gone to the trouble to learn as much as he could about the Greek experience in the United States.

Because of Horton's support of Roosevelt's political activities he was reappointed to his Athens post by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905, and until 1910 served as Consul General. In that year he was transferred to Thessaloniki, then still part of the Ottoman Empire, and then became Consul General at Smyrna a year later. He remained there during the start of the First World War, and even represented several other western powers who had withdrawn their representatives while the United States remained neutral. He left Smyrna when the U.S. entered the war and was first sent to Switzerland and then back to Thessaloniki where he remained until Greece occupied Smyrna as part of the peace settlement in 1919 when he returned there again as Consul General.

Horton was a careful observer and diplomatic participant in all that took place in Smyrna and its hinterland during this period up until the city's destruction and the burning of the U.S. Consulate during the great fire in 1922. He had to leave his post under these very difficult circumstances but only did so with the permission and support of the senior American military representative on site. His goal was to help the numerous American civilian residents of the city reach a safe haven and secure American lives and property to the greatest extent possible. These actions and circumstances are documented in the official record. Shortly after he arrived in Athens aboard an American destroyer with his American refugees, on September 27th, 1922, he sent his official and highly confidential assessment to Washington of the situation in the Near East and what had occurred in Smyrna. In many respects it contains most of the facts and themes he elaborated upon in his book four years later. In it he makes clear that the corrupt politics of the Greeks greatly contributed to the disaster but that however, the resulting massive human suffering and

death was part of a long-term plan on the part of the Turks to rid themselves of their unwanted Christian minorities.

What is also documented by the diplomatic record from that period is how confused and contradictory American policy had become in that part of the world due to conflicting humanitarian, economic and political interests. This is made very clear in a study of Horton's role and that of the Senior American representative in the region, Admiral Mark L. Bristol, the U.S. High Commissioner in Constantinople, by the late Marjorie Housepian-Dobkin who added many documents and details to what she had written on this subject in her earlier, fundamental book on the destruction of Smyrna. In fact, in September 1922, the U.S. government did not officially recognize the authority of Kemal's administration and Horton was painfully aware that this fact hindered his ability to protect American interests. This political ambiguity is also a factor that must also be taken into account when evaluating the historical record and Horton's actions in Smyrna.

For example, in a dispatch to Washington dated September 12, 1922, Horton writes that: "My position here, at the present moment, as the representative of the American Government, is extremely difficult. I have received no instructions from the Department as yet to my telegraphic inquiry as to what are my official relations, if any, with the Kemalist civil and military authorities, and I am not, therefore in a situation to take up matters involving encroachments upon American rights and property..." He also concludes the same report by writing that: "...In closing, I have the honor again urgently though respectfully, to request a transfer from Smyrna to some other post unless a definite arrangement is made with the Kemalist government to recognize the capitulations in full force and, unless the hand of the consul is strongly upheld by the American Government, his position here would be intolerable. I have served the United States Government for many years and under various difficult and strenuous circumstances, giving the best service in my power, and I believe making few mistakes to involve it in diplomatic difficulties. Though still capable of giving good and possibly better service than I have ever given in my life, I believe that the Consulate here is not in a position to do much, either in the way of protection of our nationals or the expansion of commerce, and it is my opinion that it would be better, until diplomatic relations are definitely established, that this post should be closed..." [Hatzidimitriou, "Destruction of Smyrna" 164-5, in the volume edited by Shirinian].

It should also be noted that the possibility of Horton's being ordered to leave Smyrna had been discussed by Bristol in a cable to Washington on September 9, 1922. [see Housepian, "George Horton and Mark L. Bristol," 144-5.]. In fact, as the record shows Horton himself was keenly aware of the possibility that his critics would accuse him of abandoning his post and sought to assure that he was not open to this accusation. He and his family only fled the consulate as the flames engulfed it. He also made certain to save as many of its records as possible, although he was unable to take much of his personal property with him. Eventually, the State Department reimbursed him for his considerable personal losses. In Athens, he did his best to assist the American connected refugees who arrived there from Smyrna. Years later, the Greek government awarded him the Order of the Savior in recognition of his efforts to help all those in need. He returned to the United States on leave in November 1922, for a well-earned rest. His last consular assignment was to Budapest from which he retired in 1924. We know that he returned to Greece during the summer of 1927. His sojourn through the Greek islands resulted in another book, my favorite of his many publications entitled *Homes of Nymphs and Vampires* in which he not only describes his travels but contains many insightful and colorful stories containing insular folklore and history. In 1936 he returned to Europe with his family and lived in Italy from 1940 to 1942. That year they returned to the United States where he died on June 5, 1942.

There is no question that Horton was an ardent philhellene, however the documentation he has left behind also indicates that he was also keenly aware of the faults and shortcomings of the Greek people and their government. Furthermore, despite his personal feelings, as Housepian has pointed out in her detailed comparison of Horton's role as a U.S. representative in comparison to Admiral Bristol, even this opponent had to admit that he considered Horton's attitude to be "fair and square." [see: Housepian, "George Horton and Mark L. Bristol," 137.] This viewpoint however, has recently been challenged by Brian Coleman in a study of Horton's literary works where it is argued that he was not as objective as he sought to present himself in the *Blight of Asia* based on a careful study of the imagery and stereotypes of the "terrible Turk" presented in his fictional writings. The study concludes that: "George Horton writes of these events not as historian, but as a memoirist and publicist ... Horton sought to tell the truth, but he also tells half-truths, even if he came to believe in them. For these reasons, it is questionable value that he is remembered best today as the author of *The Blight of Asia*." [Coleman, "George Horton," 93].

Coleman's assessment appears to me to be too extreme and fails to adequately take into account the value of the many first-hand accounts reproduced in the book and Horton's valuable insights based on his personal experience. It also fails to note Housepian's study of Horton and Bristol based on diplomatic and other sources where his honesty and integrity are documented and show that he was highly regarded by both Christians and Muslims. In fact, even Coleman acknowledges that a Department of State inspection report found that his honesty was without question, that his Greek marriage and family life was beyond reproach, and that he was well liked by both Greeks and Turks. [Coleman, "George Horton, 86]. I also find it particularly interesting that in his effort to cast doubt on Horton's assessment of Turkish crimes against humanity, Coleman refers to the work by Justin McCarty which seeks to equate the hardships and deaths on both sides. In fact, long ago, Horton himself anticipated this perspective in the *Blight* and wrote a brief chapter [XXXVI] addressing the invalidity of this argument entitled: "The 50-50 Theory," where he indicates that it is a well used form of Turkish propaganda designed to appeal to western notions of fair play. If one considers both Horton's diplomatic correspondence and his famous book, it is clear that he acknowledged the reality of Greek atrocities but also argued that these were exceptions perpetrated as a result of circumstances stemming either from local vengeance or military defeat and not any systematic governmental policy as those of their Turkish counterparts. The scale was also quite different and one only has to compare the subsequent history of the fate of the Christian minorities of Turkey to those of the Muslim minorities in Greece to recognize the validity of Horton's assessment.

All of this having been said, there is no question that *The Blight of Asia* was written as a polemic against perceived injustice and that the author's religious perspective is a product of that time. Whatever preconceived notions and stereotypes Horton had concerning Turks prior to his arrival in that part of the world, he clearly felt that they were reinforced and extended by the tragic and terrible actions he witnessed and learned of through his extensive interactions with the victims. Furthermore, Horton was deeply concerned about the future of Christianity when he wrote his book and he knew that the Christian missionaries and their supporters were the primary audience to whom he had to appeal. As he tells us himself in his introduction, he wished to "give the church people of the United States the opportunity of deciding whether they wish to continue pouring millions of dollars, collected by contributions small and great, into Turkey for the purpose of supporting schools which no longer permit the Bible to be read or Christ to be taught."

It is also clear to me that he was profoundly affected by his experiences during Smyrna's final days which added to his previous observations of Turkish atrocities and which caused him to comment that: "One of the keenest impressions which I brought away with me from Smyrna was a feeling of shame that I belonged to the human race."

The book must also be viewed within the context of the struggle between the religious and philanthropic interests in the United States and those within and outside the American government lobbying for closer economic ties with post WWI Turkey. As has been well illustrated by Housepian and others, the emerging oil industry and its allies also played a key role. In this connection, one should note that Horton never highlights the heroic actions and the role of Asa Jennings, who worked for the Y.M.C.A. during the Smyrna tragedy. As I have discussed in my recent study of the American documents previously cited, I believe the reason for this silence is that soon after Smyrna's destruction, Jennings came under the influence of Admiral Bristol and the pro-Turkish American faction in opposition to that of the missionaries and their allies the group to which Horton and Bierstadt belonged. This is my tentative assessment given the state of the evidence we have on hand at this time. More research needs to be done however, concerning these domestic philanthropic and economic interests and their international connections to American actions in Turkey. It is only when this important work has been done, that we will be able to more precisely assess Horton's argument and the full political context within which it was written in the 1920's. Nevertheless, there is no question however, concerning the humanitarian and broader context of Ottoman and Turkish genocidal actions and violations of human rights. This has been amply documented by genocide scholars and their study of the historical record concerning the fate of the Armenians, Assyrian and Greek minorities.

What remains is to say a few words concerning the structure and arrangement of Horton's book. It is designed to be a persuasive piece of writing and is organized both chronologically and topically in order to make its argument. The thirty-nine chapters for the most part, are quite brief with some occupying only a few pages. To me they read like short essays or lectures which could have easily been combined together. The first nine chapters are historical in order to set the stage, and are designed to show that the policies of massacre and injustice of modern Turkey under Kemal had precedents and a long history. Horton's method is to quote first-hand accounts and official documents when he can, in addition to the perspective of distinguished authorities such as historians. For the periods when he was at his consular posts in Athens, Thessaloniki, and Smyrna, he also

mentions his own personal observations. In chapter three, pages 34-35, he quotes from his personal diary concerning the arrest, assassination and murder of Christians based on a diary entry dated December 11, 1910. Beyond the information cited, here we have verification that Horton kept a diary of his experiences—a document along with his letters and other personal papers that remain unpublished and only recently made known. [Ismini Lamb has announced that they are at the Georgetown University archives during an online discussion]. I know from personal conversations with Marjorie Housepian-Dobkin, that she was allowed some access to these private papers for the writing of her famous book. Similarly, in a brief account of the persecutions of Christians in the Smyrna district during 1911-14, in chapter five, Horton once again refers to his first-hand experience; it would be invaluable if his diary entries from this time were published.

Chapters ten to twenty-two are the centerpiece of the book and it is here that Horton systematically details the events beginning with the Greek landing until the great fire and his departure that led to Smyrna's destruction. In these chapters he presents a chronological account of events and presents not only what he personally observed or what was told but a wide variety of testimonies and documents from others who were there. He is often also careful to remark that so- and-so is a "native born American," in his presentation of the evidence in order to stress that these were unbiased and reliable sources. Practically all of the eyewitness he cites are either American or western, he does not present any Armenian or Greek accounts. Horton also adds a historical assessment of why the destruction of this city was important from a cultural and archeological point of view, also later amplified in chapter thirty-seven, and anticipates how the human cost will be politicized by arguments over the number of victims. Unfortunately, only very briefly, does he call attention to the contributions of the American navy in saving lives, yet he does so by publishing valuable naval messages from his personal papers. Once again, in the many years since the book's publication; many of the eyewitnesses and sources presented in it have been elaborated upon by either the individuals themselves or subsequent publications and archival evidence. In fact, even previously unknown Turkish sources have come to light and recently a handful of courageous Turkish scholars have begun to acknowledge aspects of this tragic reality of their nation's history, (for example, Taner Akcam, Serdar Korucu, Can Emre Daglioglu, and Umit Kurt).

In chapters twenty-three to twenty-nine, Horton deals with the international aspects of the tragedy and presents an insightful and penetrating condemnation of Western policies towards Turkey and its treatment of its Christian minorities. He does not

spare the United States in this assessment, and carefully alludes to policy errors and the force of economic interests which have enabled Turkey to act with wonton brutality and systematic murder against its helpless minorities. He also acknowledges the skillful political maneuvering of Turkish leaders (especially that of Kemal), and their exploitation of the rivalries of Western powers, which succeeded in turning Turkey's defeat in the great war into a successful resolution and rebirth into a "Turkey for the Turks." Horton holds the Western World responsible for what took place and writes that: "Mustapha Kemal, who burned Smyrna and completed the destruction of the Christians, is a creature of Europe." He also emphasizes that the image of Atatürk as a defender of Islam is being carefully cultivated in the West.

With this background, in chapters thirty to thirty-eight he addresses the missionaries and those sectors of the American public who support the establishment of philanthropic and educational institutions in Turkey. Here he argues that any additional investment in such institutions is ill advised since Christianity cannot be promoted there and such activities are deemed illegal. In fact, he presents evidence and testimonies to document that even long-established existing institutions are being persecuted and systematically closed. It is in some of these chapters, especially chapters thirty-three to thirty-five, where Horton presents an unrestrained and extreme assessment of Islam as compared with Christianity. The tone and bias contained therein, is a product of the time and was apparently intended to appeal to the extreme religious fervor of sectors of his audience and the supporters of missionary activities. It probably also reflected Horton's personal religious view as it had evolved over his long years of diplomatic service in that part of the world. In this respect, with regard to Horton's general religious attitude, Brian Coleman's comments concerning Horton's lack of objectivity have some validity. From the perspective of universal human rights in the twenty-first century, much of the tone and comments are extreme, biased and unfair no matter what the context. In this respect, our Horton reflects many of the Western stereotypes and prejudices current in his day to which he probably added the horrible scenes of murder and tragedy from his personal experience. However, as I have already indicated, this religious bias and tone does not in my judgment negate the value of the eyewitness accounts, his thesis concerning Turkish culpability and the documents presented in the earlier sections of the book.

In the final chapters Horton adds what was a prevailing view at the time concerning the prospects for Turkey being able to reconstruct its economy without its productive and western oriented minorities. Looking at the situation shortly after the end of the First

World War, he thought this meant only ruin. This assessment has also proven incorrect since his time and exaggerated and unbalanced. Turkey was able to modernize despite the genocide of its Christian populations and today Kemal Ataturk is largely credited with the secularization/westernization of many aspects of its society and economy.

However, it is also clear that Ataturk's secular reforms did not eradicate the Islamic ethos in the countryside, as the Anatolian masses maintained their Islamic traditions and customs.

Yet, his conclusions presented in chapter thirty-nine concerning the burning of the city and the murder of its Christian population, have largely been vindicated by the historical record and proven correct. This is the enduring value of the book and why it continues to be consulted and read. George Horton was not perfect, and had flaws and some ideas that strike us as extreme and biased. However, what emerges from the evidence we currently have is that he was also a highly sensitive and caring individual who cared deeply and with humanity about the suffering, injustice, and tragedy he saw around him no matter what race or religion was being victimized. Horton's account and perspective of what he experienced in the *Blight of Asia* was presented at a personal and professional cost and is an enduring example that in the midst of unspeakable crimes and tragedy, he and other Americans felt compelled to speak for the victims against the power and influence of governmental interests. One hopes that a full study of George Horton will reveal much more about his contributions to the welfare of his fellow human beings and the important events he experienced and wrote about. Like many of the Americans who tried to help the victims during the Smyrna holocaust that Esther Lovejoy wrote about, George Horton was guilty of many unauthorized acts of humanity. In the last analysis, it is because of his compassion and humanity that he deserves to be remembered and will always be honored by those he saved.

References Cited:

Akcam, Taner, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2006).

Bierstadt, Edward Hale, *The Great Betrayal: A Survey of the Near East Problem* (Robert M. McBride and Co., New York, 1924). Reprinted 2008 by the Pontian Greek Society of Chicago.

Coleman, Brian, "George Horton: the literary diplomat," in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. XXX no. 1 (2006) 81-93.

Hatzidimitriou, Constantine G. *American Accounts Documenting The Destruction of Smyrna* (Aristide D. Caratzas: New York, 2005).

Hatzidimitriou, Constantine G. "The Destruction of Smyrna in 1922: American Sources and Turkish Responsibility," in *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide* (The Asia Minor and Pontos Hellenic Research Center, Inc.: Bloomington, Illinois, 2012) 155-227.

Hellenic Electronic Center [www.greece.org] *The Greeks of Today 1907 by George Horton* (Athens: 2009).

Hofmann Tessa, Bjornlund Matthias, Meichanetsidis Vasileios, eds. *The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks* (Aristide D. Caratzas, New York & Athens, 2011).

Horton, George., *Modern Athens* (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1901)

Horton, George., *Recollections Grave and Gay* (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1927).

Horton, George., *Home of Nymphs and Vampires* (The Bobbs-Merrill Company, New York, 1929)

Housepian, Marjorie, *The Smyrna Affair* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1966, reprinted as *Smyrna 1922: The Destruction of a City* London: Faber and Faber. 1972 and again with a new introduction in 1998 by New Mark Press).

Housepian, Marjorie, "George Horton and Mark Bristol: Opposing Forces in U.S. Foreign Policy 1919-1923," in *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiastikon Spoudon* vol. 4 (Athens:1983) 131-158.

Korucu Serdar and Daglioglu, Emre Can, "Mapping Out Turkish Documents on the Unweaving of Greeks in the Black Sea (The Pontic Genocide, 1919-1923) in George N. Sirinian, ed., *The Greek Genocide 1913-1923: New Perspectives* (The Asia Minor and Pontic Hellenic Research Center Inc., Chicago: 2019) pp. 7-28.

Kurt, Umit, "The Legal Structure for the Expropriation and Absorption of Armenian and Greek Wealth in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey" in George N. Sirinian, ed., *The Greek Genocide 1913-1923: New Perspectives* (The Asia Minor and Pontic Hellenic Research Center Inc., Chicago: 2019) pp. 4-102.

Lovejoy, Esther Pohl., *Certain Samaritans* (Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, repr. 1928).

Michalaros, Demetrios A., "George Horton and His Work," in *Athene: The American Magazine of Hellenic Thought* volume 7- no. 2 (Summer 1946) 1-7. Most of this issue is devoted to Horton, and there are several other articles about his work as well as excerpts.

Morgenthau, Henry., *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1919); Reprinted by New Age Publishers, Plandome, N.Y. , n.d. circa 1979).

Sirinian George, N., *The Asia Minor Catastrophe and the Ottoman Greek Genocide*, (The Asia Minor and Pontos Hellenic Research Center, Inc. Bloomington, Illinois, 2012).

American Journal of Contemporary Hellenic Issues | Copyright © 2022 American Hellenic Institute Foundation, Inc.

All rights reserved. All articles appearing in the *American Journal of Contemporary Hellenic Issues* are the copyright of the Journal. The online edition is free to individuals and institutions. Copies of the individual articles are strictly prohibited. Reproduction, storage or transmission of this work in any form or by any means beyond that permitted by Sections 107 and 108 of the U.S. Copyright Law is unlawful without prior permission in writing of the publisher, or in accordance with the terms of licenses issued by the Copyright Clearance Center (CCC) and other organizations authorized by the publisher to administer reprographic reproduction rights. Distribution of the published articles for research or educational purposes is possible, but requires the formal authorization of the Journal editor and the authors. Commercial use of the AHIF Policy Journal or the articles contained herein is expressly prohibited without the written consent of the Managing Editor at AHIFPolicyJournal@aheworld.org. AHIF 1220 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.