

“But I mustn’t let myself be [a] Philhellene” Arnold J. Toynbee’s unpublished correspondence in the Hoover Institution archives (January–May 1921)

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Abstract

In 1925, Arnold J. Toynbee, recently resigned from the Koraes Professorship at King’s College, London, donated to Hoover War Library a set of transcribed letters from his fact-finding tour of Anatolia during the Greco-Turkish war of 1921–1922. Authored by himself and later by his wife Rosalind, the letters capture their first impressions of what Toynbee understood as a clash of civilizations. They also foreshadow and complement his war dispatches to The Manchester Guardian and his controversial book The Western Question, both of which solidified his conversion from institutional Philhellenism to unapologetic Turkophilia. This first edition of any Toynbee correspondence covers the early months of 1921 and is heavily annotated with cross references to his unpublished diary, contemporary articles, and The Western Question. Two appendices provide a complete title list of Toynbee’s articles in The Manchester Guardian, and a full reproduction of the ones on the “Smyrna problem.” Exploiting both the academic privileges of a British university and the Greek government’s free access to an active war front, Toynbee crisscrossed Anatolia in search of empirical confirmation of a preconceived view of history that favored a primitive yet vital Turkey over a corrupt westernized Greece.

Keywords

Greco-Turkish War (1921–1922), Anatolia, Smyrna, The Manchester Guardian, Koraes Professorship, British Turkophilia, British colonialism, Arnold J. Toynbee.

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Georgios Giannakopoulos for sharing his expertise and insights on Toynbee, and especially for giving me access to his personal transcripts of letters and diary entries in the Bodleian Library’s Toynbee archive. Thanks are due to Hannah Carson and the staff of Bodleian Library’s Special Collections for providing scans from Toynbee’s diary. Finally, I am deeply appreciative of Dr. Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou for his interest in my research and the opportunities he provided to make it publicly available.

1. Arnold Joseph Toynbee (1889–1975) holds a unique place in modern philhellenism. A brilliant Oxford-educated Classicist and the inaugural Koraes Professor of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language and Literature at King’s College, The University of London (1919–1924),² he turned, within weeks in mid-1921, from academic representative of modern Hellenism in Britain to a bitter critic of Greece’s military presence in Anatolia.

After a few terms of teaching Byzantine and modern Greek history, Toynbee requested and received a two-term paid leave for an extended tour of Anatolia to acquire first-hand knowledge of the Greco-Turkish conflict.³ What he failed to disclose was a parallel contract as foreign correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian* (his reports were published anonymously).⁴ Worth nearly half his professorial salary, this extra income allowed his wife Rosalind to join him in Constantinople.

Both in Athens and in Smyrna, Toynbee found open doors at the highest political and military level and was granted *carte blanche* to inspect the Greco-Turkish front.⁵ Received enthusiastically by Asia Minor Greeks, he was expected to translate his eyewitness experience into glowing publicity for the Greek claims.⁶ Indeed, many of his early dispatches portray a positive view of the Greek side,⁷ though one can also find skepticism about the future of this confrontation.

Things changed with his move to Constantinople, where he was joined by his wife,⁸ the aristocratic Rosalind Murray, granddaughter of the Earl of Carlisle and a rising novelist.⁹ The humanitarian crisis in the Yalova peninsula, on 24 May 1921, was the turning point in his conversion to the Turkish side.¹⁰ The couple’s participation in a Red Crescent evacuation

² For the establishment of this Professorship and Toynbee’s turbulent tenure, see Richard Clogg, *Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair* (London: Frank Cass-Centre of Contemporary Greek Studies, King’s College London, 1986). This study was first published as a single-issue article in *Middle Eastern Studies* 21:4 (1985), 1–117.

³ Clogg, *Toynbee*, 53.

⁴ William Haslam Mills, *The Manchester Guardian: A century of history* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1921).

⁵ This was the equivalent of today’s “embedded journalism”: Georgios Giannakopoulos, “Once Upon a Time in Asia Minor: Arnold and Rosalind Toynbee’s Frames of the Greco-Turkish War in Anatolia (1929–1922),” *Camera Graeca: Photographs, Narratives, Materialities*, ed. by Philip Carabott, Yannis Hamilakis and Eleni Papargyriou (Ashgate, 2015), 213–32: 221.

⁶ Clogg, *Toynbee*, 54.

⁷ For example, “The Anatolian Greek[.] An optimistic race.” *The Manchester Guardian* (henceforth *MG*), 29 March 1921, 4; “The Ushag front[.] II.—Greek army impatient to advance”, *MG*, 14 March 1921, 10.

⁸ Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Contact of Civilizations*, 2nd edn. (London: Constable, 1923), xxx (henceforth *WQ*).

⁹ Rosalind’s artistic imagination inevitably affected her reporting of Greek atrocities: see Giannakopoulos, “Once Upon a Time in Asia Minor,” 227–28. The first complaint about her role in Toynbee’s reporting appears in G[eorge]. Melas, *The Turk as He is. Answer to a Libel. Sidelights on Kemalism, Bolshevism, and Pan-Germanism [1922]*, who claims that Toynbee “puts forward his wife as a shield before his hazarded assertions.” (9)

¹⁰ See Toynbee’s letter to *The Times*, 3 January 1924, reprinted in Clogg, *Toynbee*, 117.

mission of refugees exposed them to the dark side of Greece's military presence in Anatolia, that of mistreatment of and atrocities against the Muslim population.

From then on, Toynbee's dispatches to *The Manchester Guardian* turned into a constant protest of the Greek presence in Anatolia.¹¹ They were widely read, damaged public reception of Greek territorial claims, and infuriated Britain's Greek Diaspora, who had sponsored his academic position in the first place. Things escalated with their appearance in book form in 1922 (*The Western Question in Greece and Turkey*), which foresaw the Asia Minor catastrophe and eventually led to his resignation from the Koraes Chair in 1924.¹² Since then, Toynbee has been seen as a colonial apologist of nationalist Turkey, a "Blind disciple of Fallmerayer",¹³ and (45)" thus an enemy of modern Hellenism (see the concluding remarks in this introduction).

2. Toynbee's tour of the Anatolian front was not a "Road to Damascus" nor was his conversion to Turkish nationalism an epiphany triggered by the Yalova crisis.¹⁴ Two years earlier, at the Paris Peace Conference (1919), he had resisted Lloyd George's Middle East policy and proposed national segregation as the solution for the Anatolia conflict ("Let the Turks have Anatolia as their own. Give the Greeks European Turkey only.")¹⁵ His first articles from Athens (January 19) and Smyrna (February 2), though reporting Greek successes at the front, openly warn of Kemal's strategic advantage over the exhausted Greek army.¹⁶ Still worse, his "First impressions of Smyrna" propagate the denial of the Greek millennial presence in the area!¹⁷ With this

¹¹ The first of these dispatches is a reprint of a letter by Turkish newspapers: "Turkish Press and Greek outrages. A protest." *MG*, 28 May 1921, 9. Toynbee would continue forwarding Turkish protest letters to the British press (see "Anatolia's Plight," *The Times*, 6 April 1922, 8).

¹² See his letter to *The Times*, reprinted in Clogg, *Toynbee*, 116–17.

¹³ Melas, *The Turk as He is*, 45. George (Michael) Melas (1860–1931) had served as private secretary to King Constantine until 1915. He defected to the Venizelist camp and settled in London, where he died. (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:George_Melas.JPG) In 1920, he had published his memoir *Ο Κωνσταντίνος: Αναμνήσεις πρώην γραμματέως του*.

https://www.google.com/books/edition/%E1%BD%89_%CE%9A%CF%89%CE%BD%CF%83%CF%84%CE%B1%CE%BD%CF%84%E1%BF%96%CE%BD%CE%BF%CF%82/g75BAAAAYAAJ

¹⁴ The changing role of nationality and self-determination in Toynbee's thinking is explored in Georgios Giannakopoulos, "A world safe for empires? A. J. Toynbee and the internationalization of self-determination in the East (1912–1922)," *Global Intellectual History* 6 (2021), 484–505.

¹⁵ Reprinted in Clogg, *Toynbee*, 39; see also William H. McNeill, *Arnold J. Toynbee: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 81–82.

¹⁶ "Yet such further advance, even if successful, might exhaust Greek resources without ending the war, since Kemal has almost unlimited space for retreat and for the maintenance of guerilla warfare. [...] Time is on Kemal's side, and the danger of the Anatolian war to Greece is not military disaster but the economic and political effects of prolonged mobilization." ("The Greek attack in Anatolia." *MG*, 19 January 1921, 7.) "**How Kemal is Hitting Greece.** / [...] As things are now, he can hold 100,000 Greek troops in Anatolia, thereby withholding that amount of man-power from the fields and factories of Greece, and he can make the Greek Government pay three million drachmas [...] a day to maintain these men in the unproductive employment of sitting under arms on the edge of the Anatolian plateau." ("The Anatolia campaign," *MG*, 16 February 1921, 4.)

¹⁷ "**The Coming of the Greeks.** [...] When the French, English, Dutch and other Western families who have built up the trade of Smyrna, and their own fortunes with it, settled here two centuries and three centuries ago the Greeks were not an important element in the population. [...] But for the last century

background and his fermenting ideas on global history, especially the impossibility of governing mixed populations (“I do not think that either people can lead a satisfactory life under the rule of the other”¹⁸), he understandably felt uneasy to hold the Korae Professorship,¹⁹ a position intended to promote the Greek stance in Britain.²⁰ To his credit, he acknowledged the conflict between his personal viewpoint and the duties of his academic post by offering to resign more than once prior to 1924.²¹

A key to understanding Toynbee’s conversion is his correspondence from Greece and Asia Minor in the early months of 1921. Although his letters to family outline the themes in his *Manchester Guardian* articles, which in turn became the basis for *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* book (1922), their fresh and unmediated tone best reveals his state of mind.

Donated as part of his archive to the Bodleian Library in 1977,²² Toynbee’s correspondence has already been used by scholars (and widely excerpted by his biographer William McNeill),²³ but, remarkably for a person of his fame and influence, it has never been published.²⁴ To make things more intriguing, a significant number of his letters from that period survive in edited transcript in the furthestmost academic bastion of the American West, the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford University.

In January 2014, while investigating (more precisely, excavating) Hoover Institution Library and Archives’ modern Greece holdings,²⁵ I stumbled on the collection “Arnold Joseph

and a half the Greek has been gaining ground steadily. Greek merchants and shippers came over from the Islands and captured an increasing share of the trade.” (*MG*, 17 February 1921, 6. See Appendix 2.)

¹⁸ “The Turk at home.” *MG*, 12 April 1921, 9. More explicitly put, “The Greeks have shown the same unfitness as the Turks for governing a mixed population.” (*WQ*, xxvii.)

¹⁹ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 87; Clogg, *Toynbee*, 27.

²⁰ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 95.

²¹ Clogg, *Toynbee*, 57.

²² <https://archives.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/9601>

²³ See Clogg, *Toynbee*; McNeill, *Toynbee*; and Giannakopoulos, “Once Upon a Time in Asia Minor.” Although “meticulously ordered” during his lifetime (Richard Clogg, “Beware the Greeks: How Arnold Toynbee became a mishellene,” *The Times Literary Supplement* [no. 5059], 17 March 2000, 14), Toynbee’s papers were still “temporarily (and confusedly) stored” a decade after the donation, thus making it difficult to accurately cite them (McNeill, *Toynbee*, viii).

²⁴ Transcripts of Toynbee’s letters and diary in the Bodleian Library were included as an Appendix (“Ο Arnold Toynbee και η Μικρασιατική Εκστρατεία: Ανέκδοτες Επιστολές και Ταξιδιωτικές Σημειώσεις”) in Γιώργος Γιαννακόπουλος, “Ταξιδεύοντας με τον Arnold J. Toynbee στην [Εγγύς] Ανατολή [1897–1922]” (*Διπλωματική Εργασία, Πρόγραμμα Μεταπτυχιακών Σπουδών, Πολιτική Επιστήμη και Ιστορία, Πάντειο Πανεπιστήμιο*, 2007), 118–47 (henceforth *Γ*). Discounting the fact that a thesis is an academic degree requirement and not a publication, the transcription of Toynbee’s not always legible handwriting by a young non-English political scientist could not qualify for public presentation without editorial intervention. Still, Γιαννακόπουλος gets credit as the first researcher to focus on the documentation, textual and visual, of Toynbee’s Anatolia tour.

²⁵ Hoover designates only 34 of its “over 6,000 archival collections” as pertaining to Greece (<https://guides.hoover.org/europe/collections#s-ig-box-28168859>). My investigation, in 2014, revealed that over 200 of its collections include material on modern Greece.

Toynbee miscellaneous papers.”²⁶ Acquired in 1925, it is described as “Transcripts of letters from Arnold and Rosalind Toynbee to relatives and friends in England, 1921–1923, relating to their observations of conditions in Greece and Turkey during the Greco-Turkish War; and sound recordings of speeches by Arnold Toynbee in San Francisco and at Stanford University, 1950, relating to the prospects for Western civilization.”²⁷

Given that Toynbee’s archive, including his correspondence, was posthumously donated to the Bodleian Library, in 1977, it is astonishing that he had sent private, indeed family, correspondence to a US institution half-a-century earlier!²⁸ A possible explanation is that, during his visit to the US in Summer-Fall 1925, invited by Harvard University for a series of lectures,²⁹ he may have been asked to contribute primary material to the collections of the new “Hoover War Library”³⁰ (both he and Herbert Hoover had participated in the Paris Peace Conference as advisors to the British and US governments, respectively³¹).

The collection comprises typewritten transcripts of 17 letters by Toynbee and his wife Rosalind during their stay in Anatolia, covering the period from 12 January to 20 September 1921, a Turkish report forwarded by Toynbee to *The Times* (6 April 1922), and three letters by Toynbee from January and April 1923.³² Presumably typed by a third person, the transcripts are filled with handwritten corrections and inserted Greek and Turkish names in Toynbee’s own hand.³³

The expected full match of the Hoover transcripts with the original letters in the Bodleian is put into question by certain excerpts reproduced in McNeill’s biography.³⁴ A number of letters designated for “family circulation” in the latter³⁵ are specifically addressed to Rosalind in the Hoover transcripts. McNeill’s transcribed abbreviation “H.M.G. [His Majesty’s Government].” from the 7 February letter³⁶ appears as “L. G. [Lloyd George]” in the Hoover transcript.³⁷ And

²⁶ The collection is listed and briefly described in Joseph D. Dwyer (ed.), *Russia, the Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe: A Survey of Holdings at the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1980), 58, 73.

²⁷ https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt4489r674/entire_text/

²⁸ Just before his death, Toynbee admitted about his Koraes Chair papers that “there was nothing confidential about them as far as he was concerned” (Clogg, “Beware of the Greeks,” 14). One assumes that the donation to Hoover, in 1925, had been made with the consent of his wife Rosalind.

²⁹ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 128–29.

³⁰ <https://www.hoover.org/about/hoover-story/timeline>

³¹ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 80–81.

³² The material covers 133 typewritten pages totaling 50,759 words.

³³ I thank Dr. Georgios Giannakopoulos for confirming Toynbee’s handwriting.

³⁴ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 105.

³⁵ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 304.

³⁶ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 105.

³⁷ Giannakopoulos transcribes the same abbreviation as “M.G. [*Manchester Guardian*]”: “Once Upon a Time in Asia Minor,” 225.

the transcription “Zoe o Anglia” in McNeill³⁸ is correctly inscribed as “Ζήτω ἡ Ἀγγλία” in the Hoover source. Such inconsistencies call for a textual comparison of the two sources.

What follows is, to my knowledge, the first published collection of Toynbee correspondence. It records his unadulterated reflections on people, landscapes, and circumstances during his sojourn in Greece and Asia Minor between January and May 1921 (until his Yalova “conversion”). The first page of all letters bears on top Toynbee’s inscription of their sender and recipient.³⁹ All dates follow the Gregorian calendar (New System) and are also converted to the Julian one (Old System), used in Greece until February 1923. Editorial additions appear in square brackets. The text has been checked against the only extant transcript of the original letters in the Bodleian, by Γιώργος Γιαννακόπουλος (2007); variants and changes appear in footnotes and help establish the Hoover collection as an enhanced source, as it was reviewed and corrected by Toynbee himself.⁴⁰ Complementary information from his diary in the Bodleian Library is also included to provide context or close chronological gaps in his correspondence.⁴¹

3. Some final thoughts: The letters published here testify to Toynbee’s independent spirit, which had suffered asphyxiation under the burden of conventional academic duties at Oxford and King’s College London.⁴² This is not a professor on a field trip, but rather a freelance journalist who craves to peek at the other side of whatever he is presented with. He longs for action and new experiences, and feels embarrassment or guilt whenever he is treated like a colonial celebrity. He likes individuals, particularly uneducated ones, on either side of the conflict (“One really loves the peasant and working classes of all the nationalities and finds very little national difference between them.” [11/5/21]), but despises authority and irrational policies when left alone to contemplate the state of the world. Above all, he aspires to shape contemporary events as a top expert/wise man whose ideas should influence international politics.⁴³

Did Toynbee exceed the scope of his academic leave? Absolutely. According to his own published account, he had received “leave of absence abroad for two terms, in order to enable me

³⁸ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 105.

³⁹ This information is missing in the manuscript letters: Γιαννακόπουλος, “Ταξιδεύοντας,” 118. Addressee details were expectedly included in their respective envelopes.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Γιώργος Γιαννακόπουλος for making available his transcript (on 24 July 2023) for the revision of this article.

⁴¹ Archive of Arnold Joseph Toynbee: Diaries and offprints, 1911–1971, Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. 13967/43 (henceforth *D*).

⁴² Teaching being “intolerable” was one reason that led him to join the government in 1915: see McNeill, *Toynbee*, 72.

⁴³ Read, for example, how he frames his *Western Question* within two international conferences: “THE preface to the first edition of this book was written on the 22nd March 1922, the day on which the Foreign Ministers of the Principal Allied Powers met at Paris in a last vain attempt to arrive at a settlement with Turkey and Greece before the catastrophe. I am writing this preface to the second edition on the 20th November of the same year, the opening day of the Peace Conference at Lausanne.” (*WQ*, vii.) Even in his journalistic work, Toynbee “did not hesitate [...] to give his own views as to what the British government should and should not do.” (Clogg, *Toynbee*, 103, n. 8.) Interestingly, his activism reflected (and counterweighted) that of the creator of his professorship, King’s College London Principal and leading philhellene Ronald Burrows (1867–1920): Richard Clogg, “The ‘ingenious enthusiasm’ of Dr. Burrows and the ‘unsatiated hatred’ of Professor Toynbee,” *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 9 (1993), 75–98: 80–81.

to pursue the studies connected with my Chair by travel in Greek islands.”⁴⁴ Instead of collecting material for a scholarly book or an academic course he was transmitting intelligence back home, apparently discharging his duties as a contracted journalist but essentially seeking to vindicate his political stance against Greek claims in Anatolia and to discredit Lloyd George, against whom he had been holding a “fierce, intensely personal grudge” since the Paris Peace Conference.⁴⁵ This was not the first time that Toynbee had crossed a professional line. Back in 1918, when he was in government service, the Military Intelligence Department accused him of “having exceeded his authority by recommending a policy of nonintervention in Central Asia which was ‘tantamount to saying we should hand over the whole country to Germany.’”⁴⁶ Appeasement of the Turks was his goal now. After a two-day visit to Aidin, he rushed to publish a telegram, on top of three beefy articles, on his own Smyrna settlement proposals to influence the outcome of the London Conference;⁴⁷ and he kept promoting his “thesis that this vilayet ought to have a mixed Administration, recruited proportionately from the two [population] elements and placed under foreign control.”⁴⁸ To call him a spy would be an exaggeration⁴⁹—though he was not a stranger to clandestine operations,⁵⁰ and had suffered a traumatic arrest during his first visit in Greece⁵¹—for his activity was under surveillance by the Greek military and his dispatches went through the usual censorship channels.⁵² Still, the private correspondence of the Toynbees is replete with calls for wide dissemination of its content, not to

⁴⁴ *WQ*, xxix.

⁴⁵ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 80. On David Lloyd George’s anti-Turkish policy, see Joseph Winton Hind, “Lloyd George and the Turkish question: An examination of Lloyd George’s Turkish policy, 1918–1922” (MA thesis, The University of British Columbia, 1978): <https://open.library.ubc.ca/media/stream/pdf/831/1.0094336/2>.

⁴⁶ McNeil, *Toynbee*, 78.

⁴⁷ “Future of Smyrna. Suggested settlement on new lines,” *MG*, 23 February 1921, 7. See Appendix 2.

⁴⁸ “The Turk at home.” *MG*, 12 April 1921, 9.

⁴⁹ George Melas insinuates ulterior motives behind Toynbee’s mission, charging him for “masquerading as the ‘special correspondent’ of one of the most esteemed English newspapers, evidently in order to conceal another unavowable mission?” (*The Turk as He is*, 10.) This is one of very few charges in this book that Toynbee deigns to address: “I have never yet been offered a bribe either by a Turk or by a Greek.” (*WQ*, xxii.)

⁵⁰ “Once [...] Toynbee went off to Switzerland on a month-long secret mission. Ostensibly he was a journalist [!], writing about the activities of the International Red Cross; but in fact he went to try to persuade British Secret Service agents, code named ‘C’, to share information about Ottoman affairs with him. [...] On getting back home, he asked Gilbert Murray [his father-in-law] to intervene with ‘the grandees at the top’ in hope of persuading them ‘to take some action which would have a permanent effect.’” McNeil, *Toynbee*, 77–78.

⁵¹ In 1911–1912, just before the First Balkan War, “he was arrested and accused of being a Turkish spy while seeking to walk across the Asopos viaduct which carried the only railway line to the north and to the contested territory of Macedonia. To his fury, he was examined by eleven people in turn, culminating in the local police chief who emptied his pockets and counted out his money. To add insult to injury, he was marched at rifle point through the streets.” (Clogg, “Beware the Greeks,” 14.)

⁵² “You could not telegraph from Constantinople or Smyrna to London or Paris without running the gauntlet of the Greek censorship” (*WQ*, 34).

mention Arnold's own admission of regular contacts with a close friend at the Foreign Office.⁵³ Toynbee's burning ambition to influence policy would make him seek direct access to Ankara,⁵⁴ and eventually would turn him into a liaison between Turkish officials and the British government.⁵⁵

Was Toynbee as impartial as he claimed, privately and publicly, to have tried to be?⁵⁶ The record shows that his ideas about the Anatolia conflict had been fixed years before visiting the area. Already in 1915, in his “juvenile” book *Nationality and the War*, he envisioned Smyrna as the capital of a successor state to the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁷ Moreover, his official reports at the Foreign Office record his preference for an “independent Turkish national state” and his opposition to the Greek landing on Smyrna.⁵⁸ There is no doubt that touring Anatolia enriched his perspective with a human touch. Indeed, he tried to see and report the good elements on the Greek side. Yet his preconceived notion of Turkey as a vilified West-resisting nation in need of redemption led him to feel that something was missing. As the weeks went by, the crave to “get a corrective towards the Turkish side” seems to have grown exponentially (“I simply must see their side”).⁵⁹ The search for a “corrective” may well have been a form of atoning for his anti-Turkish stand in the aftermath of the Armenian genocide.⁶⁰ In the end, his Anatolia tour seems to have served as a “lab experiment” of populating preconceived ideas with field data and brewing narratives with concrete personal experiences.⁶¹

Were his Greek sponsors justified in feeling betrayed by Toynbee?⁶² Most certainly. His university position was meant to promote Greek causes in the heart of the British Empire

⁵³ “But now I must write [to] Forbes Adam[s] on politics.” (9/2/21) “I do hope my despatches [*sic*] and telegrams—both to the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*] and Eric Forbes Adams at the F. O. [Foreign Office]—have arrived in time.” (19/2/21) “Send this to Lady Mary and anyone else interested.” (2/4/21)

⁵⁴ See his draft letter to Halide Hanum, dated 17 April 1921, requesting “for me and my wife to visit Angora,” transcribed in Γιαννακόπουλος, “Ταξιδεύοντας,” 134–35.

⁵⁵ Clogg, *Toynbee*, 57.

⁵⁶ “I have therefore expressed freely, though carefully, my judgments of right as well as of fact, and I submit that I am not convicted of partiality by the fact that, in discussing particular chapters of a long story, I sum up against one party in favour of the other. If that disqualifies me, then every verdict must be accounted a miscarriage of justice.” (*WQ*, xxxi.)

⁵⁷ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 71.

⁵⁸ Eleftheria Daleziou, “Britain and the Greek-Turkish war and settlement of 1919–1923: The pursuit of security by ‘proxy’ in Western Asia Minor” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Glasgow, 2002), 72, 84. See also his draft letter to Halide Hanum (17/4/21): “I was personally against the Peace Conference’s action in regard to Smyrna.” (Γιαννακόπουλος, “Ταξιδεύοντας,” 135.)

⁵⁹ “I have fallen in love with the Turkish Children – there are a surprising number of them in the dilapidated villages.” (4/2/21)

⁶⁰ McNeill, *Toynbee*, 109.

⁶¹ “Πρώτα και πάνω από όλα ο Toynbee αντιμετώπισε τον ελληνοτουρκικό πόλεμο ως ένα είδος εργαστηρίου σε σχέση με την συμβίωση εθνοτήτων που στην συνέχεια μετατράπηκαν σε κλειστά πολιτισμικά σύνολα. [...] εμπειρικό παράδειγμα το οποίο θα του επέτρεπε να αρθρώσει ένα πρώτο σχέδιασμα μιας πολιτισμικής θεωρίας της ιστορίας.” (Γιαννακόπουλος, “Ταξιδεύοντας,” 111.)

⁶² Toynbee addresses these reactions, specifically G. Melas’ booklet *The Turks as he is* in the preface to the second edition of *The Western Question* (1923), xxii–xxv.

(London instead of Oxford) and was funded largely by Diaspora Greeks.⁶³ His trip to Asia Minor and access to the front was possible only thanks to the Greek government.⁶⁴ Greek Army officers and laymen treated him as a British celebrity. He could not have hoped for a better reception during war time. Yet his initial dispatches are filled with skepticism about the Greek army's future in Anatolia and by late April he openly writes "I do not plead for the establishment of Greek sovereignty in Asia Minor".⁶⁵ To top everything, he allowed the Yalova atrocities to outweigh decades of genocidal Turkish policies against Christians,⁶⁶ and led him to drop any pretense of tolerating a Greek Anatolia. No surprise then that Stergiadis and other Greek officials avoided to see him during his subsequent visit to Smyrna (3–8 August 1921).⁶⁷ Undaunted, Toynbee resumed his anti-Greek campaign in London producing *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* at breakneck speed—so fast, indeed, that he had to append a long note just to dismiss the Greek government's account on Asia Minor as an hypocritical "apologia".⁶⁸ For someone who became full professor at the tender age of thirty with help from his father-in-law (Oxford's Classics professor Gilbert Murray),⁶⁹ and who just months ago was calling on ministerial offices in Athens to secure further funding for his position, it was preposterous to "publish violent articles against the country whose History he teaches,"⁷⁰ and turn against the hands that fed his family and secured his social standing in Britain.

Finally, the most disturbing of all questions: was Toynbee, the inaugural holder of the first modern Greek studies professorship ("the mother and father of [ethnic] chairs") in the West,⁷¹ a philhellene at all? An easy answer can be extracted from the fact that his nemesis was the most philhellenic leader of the Allied Powers, David Lloyd George. Things are more complicated though. On the one hand, as a classics-educated Briton and a brilliant Oxford scholar, Toynbee assumed the foundational role of ancient Greece in Western civilization. Indeed, his first letters from 1921 exude the typical western enthusiasm for Greece's landscapes and ancient ruins. On the other, his training at elite British institutions, especially Balliol

⁶³ "[King's College London Principal] Burrows conceived of the role of the Koraes professor as being essentially that of a propagandist for the cause of a Greater, and at the same time a Venizelist, Greece." (Clogg, "Burrows," 83.)

⁶⁴ "The greek [*sic*] authorities have let me go about very freely in the district under their control": draft letter to Halide Hanum (17/4/21), transcribed in Γιαννακόπουλος, "Ταξιδεύοντας," 135.

⁶⁵ "Aivali." *MG*, 26 April 1921, 14.

⁶⁶ Clogg points out that "whereas the Greek authorities placed few obstacles in the way of Toynbee's travels, their Turkish counterparts kept him from the Turkish side of the front where he might have encountered scenes similar to those in the Yalova peninsula which had so profound an effect on him." ("Burrows," 92.)

⁶⁷ *WQ*, 377.

⁶⁸ *WQ*, 375–77.

⁶⁹ See Clogg, *Toynbee*, 34–35. The Principal of King's College London and driving force behind the creation of the Koraes Chair, Ronald Burrows, had been Gilbert Murray's assistant and protege (Clogg, *Toynbee*, 1; see also 26).

⁷⁰ Melas, *The Turk as He is*, 7.

⁷¹ Clogg, "Beware the Greeks," 14.

College,⁷² and his considerable service as a Foreign Office propaganda and intelligence staff,⁷³ inculcated him with an imperialist worldview.⁷⁴ Given his dismissive attitude (bordering on racism) towards modern Greeks (“all blessings on this country, and all curses on its inhabitants”),⁷⁵ a way to combine Hellas and Empire was through a remote link: “we Westerners have as good a claim as any Near Easterners to be the true Hellenes’ spiritual descendants”.⁷⁶ Reading his letters alongside his public writings from this period, one detects certain prominent themes (emphasis in bold added):

a) colonialism (Western supremacy vs. Eastern ineptitude):

At the moment, ours is the greatest civilisation in the world, and though our superiority may be temporary, it imposes obligations on us so long as it lasts. (*WQ*, 361.)

the striking progress which the N[ear]. E[satern]. Xtians [Greeks] have made in some ways [...] is nearly all due to a finer civilisation—ours (11/5/21).

[...] how strange a country Anatolia is. It combines the romance of the new and the old. [...] Yet the dominant impression is not the memory of classical antiquity. Old as its history is, you feel that **the country has never been used by its inhabitants**. The forests, the waters, the plains, **still wait for the hand that will gather in their riches**. (“Agriculture in the Smyrna zone.” *MG*, 4 April 1921, 7.)

One sees why European administrators in Eastern Countries **hate** the educated natives, [...] You cannot **exterminate them** or side track them, (11/5/21).

Turkey is like those **primitive** biological organisms which propagate by subdivision, but do not die. (“The Revulsion in Greece,” *The Contemporary Review* 119 [January–June 1921], 10–19: 17.)

No, the Smyrna Turks were obviously in need of a mandatory. They were far too **ignorant** of the methods of Western politics and administration to be fit to govern themselves. (*WQ*, 393.)

⁷² See Giannakopoulos, “A world safe for empires?” 486.

⁷³ “I worked, always on Turkish affairs, in the Intelligence Bureau of the Department of Information (May 1917 to May 1918); in the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office (May to December 1918); and in the Foreign Office section of the British Delegation to the Peace Conference at Paris (December 1918 to April 1919).” (*WQ*, xxix.)

⁷⁴ Flashes of British snobbery can be found in his private correspondence from 1921: “I am being entertained by the 2 Generals of the 2nd and 13th divisions, who live here,” (4/2/1921).

⁷⁵ Clogg, “Beware the Greeks,” 14; see also Clogg, “Burrows,” 88–89. One should not bypass the significance Toynbee assigns to the anthropological differences between Aegean and Anatolian Greeks: “Aivali has played a much more important part than Bergama in the history of the modern Greek nation, but its ancient history is a blank. [...] The Greeks of Aivali are swarthy, like those of the Archipelago and the Peloponnese. You do not find here that high percentage of blonde hair and blue eyes that arrests your attention among the native population of Anatolia, to whatever nationality it belongs.” (“Aivali.” *MG*, 26 April 1921, 14.)

⁷⁶ *WQ*, 335.

Greece [...] has proved as **incapable** as Turkey (or for that matter any western country) of governing well a mixed population containing an alien majority and a minority of her own nationality. (*WQ*, 320.)

The Turks have now become **infected** with the Western idea of political nationality as thoroughly as the Greeks. (*WQ*, 320–21.)

we [Westerners] have taught the unfortunate Greek peasant and merchant to say, parrot wise, “I am a descendant of Pericles,” like foolish parents who bring up their children to be more affected than themselves. (*WQ*, 128.)

the germs of chauvinism with which these people [Turks and Greeks] **infect** their children in their schools. (11/5/21)

b) Turkophilia and excusing Turkish crimes:

We have injured the Turks most by making them hopeless and embittered. (*WQ*, 353.)

The fundamental truth was that a number of Near Eastern Christians [Greeks] and Middle Eastern Moslems [Turks] were bearing the brunt of one particular clash in a vast interaction between civilisations. But if differences in their degree of suffering are to be noted and compared, then surely one must judge that the Rumili Turks, who were driven out first and amid the terrors of invasion and battle, were the more unfortunate. (*WQ*, 140.)

Greek nationalism in Anatolia was felt by the Turks not only as a menace but as a betrayal, and the Christian minority was bound to suffer, [...] in the Near and Middle East, similar situations [repression of minorities] at present lead to spoliation and massacre. (*WQ*, 130.)

the arrival of the Rumelian [Muslim] refugees from the end of 1912 onwards produced an unexampled tension of feeling in Anatolia and a desire for [Turkish] revenge (*WQ*, 139).

In any war with Turkey, Greece could not feel herself the aggressor. In invading Ottoman territory she was simply recovering what she regarded as her own. A war of liberation always seems to those who make it to be morally a war of defence, even when they take the offensive. (*WQ*, 137.)

c) Anti-Hellenism and denial of Hellenic continuity:

our Modern Greek contemporaries have about as little Hellenic blood in their veins as our Osmanli contemporaries have of nomadic (*WQ*, 334–35).⁷⁷

the Hellenic civilisation of the Ancient Greeks and the Near Eastern civilisation of the Modern Greeks are totally distinct from one another; (*WQ*, 335).

The Modern Greek merchants and peasantry of the Ottoman Empire only learnt to call themselves Hellenes from the children of the French Revolution in the West, (*WQ*, 337).

⁷⁷ “ancient DNA suggests that living Greeks are indeed the descendants of Mycenaeans”: Ann Gibbons, “[The Greeks really do have near-mythical origins, ancient DNA reveals](#),” *Science*, 2 August 2017, online. The article reports on the following study: Iosif Lazaridis, Alissa Mittnik, Nick Patterson, et al. “Genetic origins of the Minoans and Mycenaeans,” *Nature* 548 (2017), 214–18. <https://doi.org/10.1038/nature23310>.

the cradle of the Modern Greek people [...] was Central and Eastern Anatolia. (*WQ*, 332.)

But in most parts of Anatolia where in the Middle Ages there were Orthodox Greeks belonging to the Near Eastern world, there are now Middle Eastern Moslem Turks. **The continuity has been interrupted**; the past offers not foundations but treacherous ruins; and the Greeks make matters worse by digging down below the mediaeval stratum to **memories of Ancient Hellenism. For this folly we Westerners are largely to blame**, (*WQ*, 128).

The Educated Near Eastern Xtians [Greeks] [...] are people who have lost their own civilisation and have taken ours to fill the vacuum. (11/5/21)

But the worst elements introduced into the Greek character by intercourse with the West have been the more impalpable **weaknesses of superficiality and lack of originality**. Having by our sympathy stimulated the Greeks to make efforts, we have often tempted them to relax them by premature and insincere commendation; and by placing our spiritual heritage unreservedly at their disposal, we have led them to turn their backs upon their own. (*WQ*, 350.)

The general stimulus to her [Greece's] vitality and the concrete services rendered to her are outweighed by the demoralising effects upon her national character. **We have encouraged her to be conceited and pharisaical—to over-estimate her own merits and achievements**, and to ignore the qualities of the Turk" (*WQ*, 349).

Toynbee reduces modern Greece into a construction of the Western mind (essentially a cultural fraud). It is an Anatolian population (sinisterly labelled "Near Eastern") who, by being "inoculated" with the Western "virus" of nationalism,⁷⁸ imagined they were the continuation of Hellenism,⁷⁹ and thus felt entitled to upset the Ottoman *status quo* through territorial claims. In his mind-bending reasoning, he equates perpetrator and victim, bloody conqueror and bleeding slave to propose that, after half-a-millennium of dominance in the area, the Muslim Turk became the victim of the oppressed Christian. It follows that the abominable crimes this Muslim state committed against Anatolian Christians were in defense of its integrity. By contrast, whatever violence Christians committed against the Muslims is inexcusable because, cynically put, in this part of the world Christians are supposed to be the victims (their civilization failed to resist or absorb that of the Muslim invader⁸⁰), hence their uprising threatens the *status quo* and upsets the imperial policies of the Great Powers. Toynbee's obsession with an unjustly accused Turkey

⁷⁸ "Nationality is a question of sentiment, not of language or race," (*WQ*, 121).

⁷⁹ For the shifting content of Hellenism among Greek intellectuals in the two decades before and after the Minor Asia catastrophe, see Effi Gazi, Georgios Giannakopoulos, and Kate Papari, "Rethinking Hellenism: Greek Intellectuals Between Nation and Empire, 1890–1930," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 39 (2021), 163–89. doi:10.1353/mgs.2021.0008

⁸⁰ "the sedentary, civilised population of East-Central Anatolia was assimilated by a barbarous nomadic people, [...] a military occupation in weak force by nomads was followed by the almost total extinction of Near-Eastern civilisation, Orthodox Christianity and the Greek language, and this was not accomplished by massacre. [...] Near Eastern civilisation here, in spite of an imposing exterior, must have become a hollow crust which broke under the nomads' horse-hoofs." (*WQ*, 111, 113.)

leads him to clouds of speculation that cancel any claim to journalistic integrity and expose him as cheap propaganda writer (emphasis in bold added):

In judging Greek and Turkish atrocities [...] The argument generally advanced is that Turks have committed a very much greater number of atrocities upon Greeks than Greeks upon Turks [...] **The fact is true but the deduction is fallacious** [...] From 1461 to 1821, very few Greeks in the world were not in the power of the Turks, while the Greeks never had considerable numbers of Turks in their power till 1912. To obtain **properly comparable figures** [...] one ought to divide the total number of atrocities inflicted by each people upon the other by the number of its opportunities to inflict them, and then correct the result (if the evidence suffices) by the strength of the stimulus in each particular case.⁸¹

Beneath this colonial “affirmative action” treatment of two historical yet unequal belligerents lurks a staggering void of empathy for core Hellenic values, such as self-sacrifice. One marvels that a former don of ancient (mostly Greek) history at Oxford should write this about the fight over Kovalitsa’s crest: “It is odd that people give their lives for such silly things as a hill” (2/4/21). Two decades later, Winston Churchill—an ardent admirer of Lloyd George’s leadership, by the way⁸²—would challenge Germany’s military superiority with the historic pronouncement: “we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender,” (4/6/1940).⁸³ Appeasement—which Toynbee promoted in the pre-WWII years to the extent of personally interviewing Adolf Hitler⁸⁴—does not count among Greek virtues!

Toynbee’s Greek myopia goes far beyond insulting the millions of dead and exiled Anatolian Greeks. It reveals a peculiar mindset that calls for an explanation. One that has been proposed is that he is not a historian at all. Indeed, he often poses as the British Empire’s oracle, using past records, field research, and the skills of a Foreign Office analyst to predict the future.⁸⁵ Consider the annoying use of the verb “prophesy” in his writings of this period:

A year ago [1921], the writer of the present article was able to prophesy accurately what has actually happened now,⁸⁶

I have been a true prophet of evil, [...]

⁸¹ *WQ*, 269–70.

⁸² “His [Lloyd George’s] was the only personal leadership I ever knew Winston to accept unquestioningly in his whole political career.” (Violet Bonham Carter, *Winston Churchill: An Intimate Portrait* [New York, 1965], 129.)

⁸³ <https://winstonchurchill.org/resources/speeches/1940-the-finest-hour/we-shall-fight-on-the-beaches/>

⁸⁴ “Toynbee therefore declared that he believed that ‘any response from the English side to his overtures for our friendship would produce an enormous counter-response to us from Hitler.’” Robert D. Venosa, “Arnold J. Toynbee, the Colonial Question, and ‘Peaceful Change,’” *Britain and the World* 14 (2021), 22–46: 36.

⁸⁵ “In 1915 critics referred to Toynbee’s *Nationality and the War* as the work of a ‘prophetic Hertslet’, alluding to the mapping and codification schemes undertaken by the Hertslet family in Victorian England.” Giannakopoulos, “A world safe for empires?” 488.

⁸⁶ Toynbee, “The *Dénouement* in the Near East,” *The Contemporary Review* 122 (July–December 1922), 409–18: 413.

all my prophecies of evil were made contingent upon the Powers failing to take the action necessary to avert them; [...]

it gives me no satisfaction that in spite of myself I have in many cases prophesied right, [...]

I also prophesied that the game of using the local nationalities as pawns, to which both our Governments have had recourse, would prove very poor economy[.]⁸⁷

His oracular propensity would peak with *A Study of History*, his *magnum opus* that took decades to reach completion (1934–1954). One of his strongest critics openly called him a “prophet [who] poses as a historian” and “dwells in a world of his own imagining, where the challenges of rationally thinking mortals cannot reach him.”⁸⁸

Another explanation (a secular version of the first, actually) is that Toynbee was theoreplectic, a thinker whose engrossing vision of human history and supreme intellectual confidence turned him blind to counterevidence and procrustean in his judgment. Pieter Geyl, his critic cited above, considers him a “subtle mind deceiving itself in so naive a manner” by using “the pretence of an empirical investigation,” and aided by an “inexhaustible wealth of language and of metaphor which he has at all times at his disposal, and enveloped in scientific and biblical and mythological allusions and parallels.” Alas, this cornucopia of information “is all subordinated, and intended to contribute, to a system, a message” and “the facts had been marshalled in accordance with the writer’s pre-conceived conclusion.” The result is disappointing and misleading: “learning, even when assisted by an acute mind and a sensitive as well as powerful imagination, is not enough to produce history.”⁸⁹

Whatever explanation one elects to account for Toynbee’s anti-Greek bias, the point remains that his narratives and seductive prose—which so often feel like cruising a German Autobahn at top speed without meeting any turn or obstacle—cannot be taken at face value. The monstrous irony is that the criminal policies of Greek governments leading to the Asia Minor catastrophe did confirm his predictions (“the Greeks ought to evacuate Anatolia” [11/5/21]), making population displacement appear the *final solution* for peace.⁹⁰ Of all most tragic is,

⁸⁷ *WQ*, vii, x, x–xi, xii.

⁸⁸ Pieter Geyl, “Toynbee the Prophet” (review of *A Study of History, Vol VII–X* by Arnold Toynbee), *Journal of the History of Ideas* 16 (1955), 260–74: 270, 274. Geyl explains that “His dream is the unity of mankind in the love of God. Or rather, his dream is to participate in that loving vision and to see it approach realization. He has pretended to ‘investigate’ the phenomena of communal life, within the framework of ‘civilizations,’ throughout the course of history. In reality he is the prophet revealing that one, to him all-meaning, idea and trying by his revelation, accompanied by warnings and denunciations, to contribute to its glorious and blessed consummation.” (261) On Toynbee’s “religious progression,” see Cornelia Navari, “Arnold Toynbee (1889–1975): Prophecy and Civilization,” *Review of International Studies* 26 (2000), 289–301.

⁸⁹ Geyl, “Toynbee the Prophet,” 260, 261, 271, 260, 262, 269.

⁹⁰ “I see no alternative to an interchange of populations. [...] Leave the Asiatic territories under Turkish sovereignty, the European under Greek, and interchange the minorities so as to have only Christians under Greek and only Moslems under Turkish government.” (*MG*, 13 May 1921, 14.)

however, that the Toynbee who, in 1916, had compiled British documentation on the Armenian Genocide⁹¹ became a *de facto* apologist of Turkish ethnic cleansing.

4. Before I inundate the reader with the heaps of Toynbee's prose that follow let me close with this statement: Whether or not Toynbee ignored the barriers of historiographical research and presentation is irrelevant outside the heavy curtains of academia. He considered himself, if not an oracle, at least a middleman between scholarship and policy making. Staying on this level of "applied" historiography, I wish to emphasize that Toynbee should not be let off the hook so long as ideas and arguments he originated or transmitted survive in the propaganda of the Turkish state (genocidal policies as defense against the nationalism of Anatolian Christians):

[Turkish] crimes are undoubtedly exaggerated in the popular Western denunciations, and the similar crimes committed by Near Eastern Christians in parallel situations are almost always passed over in silence. (*WQ*, 354.)

FACT 2: Armenian losses were few in comparison to the over 2.5 million Muslim dead from the same period. (Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "The Armenian Allegation of Genocide: The issue and the facts," online.)

and of sundry anti-Hellenic vortices in the West (Greece as the prodigal child of Europe):

the "dreadful" Greeks "are the **hangers-on of Europe**, and come to us for their models in everything" (Toynbee to his mother, November 1911: Clogg, "Beware the Greeks," 14).

the advantages which the Greeks [...] have derived from **Western goodwill**. **Our sympathy** has stimulated their efforts, **our charitableness** encouraged them to retrieve their mistakes, **our exceptional disinterestedness [!]** and **even generosity** towards them has thrown open to them the highest career as a nation for which they may be qualified by their talents. (*WQ*, 348.)

Aus Euren Geldautomaten kommen nur deshalb noch Euro heraus, weil wir, die Deutschen, und die anderen Euro-Staaten sie reingesteckt haben. [Euros only come out of your ATMs because **we, the Germans, and the other Euro countries put them in.**] ("Liebe Griechen, macht jetzt keinen Fehler," *Bild*, 15 June 2012.)⁹²

⁹¹ "During the European War, I edited, under the direction of Lord Bryce, the Blue Book published by the British Government" titled *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–16* (London: Causton, 1916): *WQ*, xxviii; see also Michelle Tusan, *Smyrna's Ashes: Humanitarianism, Genocide and the Birth of the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 121–29. For a summary of Toynbee's propaganda writings against Turkey during the war years, see Clogg, "Burrows," 85–87.

⁹² <https://www.bild.de/politik/ausland/griechenland-krise/liebe-griechen-macht-jetzt-keinen-fehler-24686922.bild.html>. See also Vincent Venus, "Nach Schema G: Die Griechenlandhilfe in der Presseschau," <https://www.treffpunkteuropa.de/>, 15 May 2010: <https://www.thenewfederalist.eu/Nach-Schema-G>.

[Arnold Joseph Toynbee miscellaneous papers, Hoover Institution Library & Archives, <https://digitalcollections.hoover.org/objects/70/arnold-joseph-toynbee-miscellaneous-papers>]

[Wednesday 12 January 1921]

From A. J. Toynbee / to his wife / Rosalind Toynbee

Hotel Europa, / Brindisi.

12/1/21.

My steamer is a second day late—they promise, unconvincingly, that it will start for certain to-morrow evening—and the Italian papers have sensational reports of a big⁹³ offensive starting on the Anatolian front.⁹⁴ It is very annoying, as Oeconómos⁹⁵ would say, for I want to be in at the death whether it is the greeks' or the Turks'. But I am sure that I shall be able to wangle⁹⁶ an official tour of the front as soon as I get to Athens. I shall probably stay in Athens a very short time indeed, and push on to Smyrna.

Brindisi is the biggest profiteer⁹⁷ I have seen yet. It is by nature a little⁹⁸ sleepy town with stone pavement and jolly old houses, but the Italian fleet was stationed here during the war, and the life line to all the British forces in the East, from Salonika to Mesopotamia,⁹⁹ ran through here. So they made their fortunes and are doing a bust. You see there is something odd about the place as you come in by train. There are 2 reinforced concrete hangars¹⁰⁰ for airships just outside which look very odd among the olive-yards,¹⁰¹ and when you walk down the street you find the shops all done up with new fronts and plate glass and those ultra-smart ruckled up curtains as a back ground (the kind you see in hat-shops in Oxford Circus) and full of sugar cakes, scents, liqueurs, woolen underclothes, electric irons and kettles and everything that human beings desire. It is a good shopping town for people with sterling[.] I got a [s]plendid veritable silk muffler for lire 26 (6/5) and a tie for 6 (=1/6), and I travelled to Lecce and back for 4/–, and had a blow out at one of the half-dozen sumptuous pasticcerie [*sic*] for 1/6, and so on. I like the people of Brindisi for their riotous living. I suppose the war prosperity will die down and the shops will wind up, but they are enjoying themselves meanwhile. It is a contrast to Lecce, the capital of the province, where I went this afternoon. Lecce is extravag[a]nt Barocco—there is an amazing Barocco square, with cathedral, municipio, etc[.] all to match, Lenin doesn[']t penetrate there.

⁹³ “G[ree]k” (*I*, 118).

⁹⁴ “part.” (*I*, 118.)

⁹⁵ Lysimachos Oeconomos (1895–1944). Byzantinist and Lecturer in Modern Greek and Byzantine History, the second position under the Koraes professorship at King’s College London. His published books include *The Martyrdom of Smyrna and Eastern Christendom* (London, 1922) [https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Martyrdom_of_Smyrna_and_Eastern_Chri/Av5GAAAAIAAJ], and *The Tragedy of the Christian Near East* (London: The Anglo-Hellenic League, 1923).

⁹⁶ “start” (*I*, 118).

⁹⁷ “profiter” (*I*, 118).

⁹⁸ “very” (*I*, 118).

⁹⁹ “Salonica [...] Messopotamia,” (*I*, 118).

¹⁰⁰ “huge reinforced [...] hampers” (*I*, 118).

¹⁰¹ “olive-yards there....” (*I*, 118). The remaining part of the letter is missing in Γιαννακόπουλος’ transcript.

The cathedral square is plastered with “Viva Gesu Cristo,” and we were examined many times over by gentle and apologetic police officers. Lecce is at about 1650 B.C.

The heel of [I]taly is as flat as your hand—horizontal limestone strata, mostly planted with olives. The downs between Bari and Taranto stop before the heel begins.

Well, I hope the Greek steamer will come in tomorrow.¹⁰² Otherwise even the Brindisi shops will begin to bore me.

Arnold.

[“Jan. 15–26: Athens”]¹⁰³

[Wednesday 6/19 January 1921]

A[.] J[.] Toynbee to his wife / Rosalind Toynbee

British School, / Athens.¹⁰⁴

19/1/201.¹⁰⁵

I have been casting my bread on¹⁰⁶ the waters to day and harvested an appointment with Stratos,¹⁰⁷ the King’s favourite¹⁰⁸ for the premiership when the chamber meets, and an invitation to dinner with a Veniselist. I have also delivered other cards and introductions which I hope will bear fruit.

¹⁰² “Thursday 13 [January] / 6.0 p.m. left Brindisi in Yannoulato S.S. *ύπεροχή*; clear star-light night. 1st class passengers: self, Casson [*sic*], M^{me} Mela, g[ree]k. ex-ship’s-engineer, g[ree]k with broken nose, Corfiote lawyer and Italian wife. / A Venizelist & anti-Venizelist officer came a board: steward placed Casson & me between them / Friday 14 / 6.0 AM. passed Akrokerannos / 8.0 AM. landed Corfú, walked with Casson to One Gun Battery / 12.0 p.m. left Corfu / 8.0 p.m. came under Ile of Ithaca / Gulf as I saw it first time; same sense of excitement in passing isthmus and rounding corner / Saturday 15 / 1 A.M. Patras / 6 A.M. opposite Kiato, nearing Perakhora / 12.0 arrive Peiraeus” (D).

¹⁰³ *WQ*, xxix.

¹⁰⁴ “[Saturday 15] 1.30 arrive British School / Afternoon: call on Atchley (out) / find Charles Dodd & Bentinck at legation. / Sunday 16 / Lunched with Minister at legation / Tea and walk with Atchley / At lunch: Casson, Col. Naivne (mil[itary]. attaché), Bentinck, self / Despatch to MG. 1400 words (i) / Monday 17 / Morning: got permission from Minister to go ahead with Smyrna; saw Col. Naivne about Eski Shehir offensive. / Afternoon, went with Wace to see Philip Graves in *Εὐαγγελισμός* hospital / Procured ticket for telegraphing at Journalist rate, and sent wire on Eski Shehir. Wandered to Olympieion” (D).

¹⁰⁵ The original letter in the Bodleian is erroneously dated “04.01.20” (I, 119).

¹⁰⁶ “at” (I, 119).

¹⁰⁷ Nikolaos Stratos (1872–1922). Greek politician and Prime Minister (3–9 May 1922), who was executed on 15/28 November 1922 as one of the culprits for the Asia Minor catastrophe. “Saturday 22 / [...] 3.0–4.20 p.m. interviewed Stratos. [...] Monday 24 / [...] Evening: Casson to dinner, wrote to Scott + interview with Stratos” (D).

¹⁰⁸ “favorite” (I, 119).

On the whole to day has been a holiday, as it is the Epiphany¹⁰⁹ and everybody goes down to Piraeus¹¹⁰ to see a cross thrown into the sea. So I wandered¹¹¹ up on to the Acropolis and Philopappos this morning,¹¹² and was seised¹¹³ with the same violent longing to get among the mountains as I was the other day when I saw them from the steamer. However I am off in a few days to the front—I start getting ready my permits tomorrow¹¹⁴—and I daresay I shall get as much of it then as I want¹¹⁵—the S[outh.] E[ast]. sector is well up on a¹¹⁶ plateau and will be under¹¹⁷ snow I daresay. My plan is to come back from the front to Smyrna, interview the administrator of the territory,¹¹⁸ who has a considerable reputation, and tell him I want to walk about in the country where I like and see his work. I fancy he will be too proud to refuse. I shall then make one or two expeditions to Turkish and Graeco-Turkish Districts behind Smyrna, and make my way to C[onstantino]ple via the Panderma R[ailwa]y and the Marmara.¹¹⁹

The wonderful thing about the Akropolis, next to the outline¹²⁰ of the rock, is the fineness and exactitude of the masonry [*sic*]—it gives one a sort of direct physical pleasure to see stones cut like that.¹²¹ It was very clear to day and one saw the whole view—Akrokorinth¹²² between the two mountains of Salamis, and Methana behind Aegina¹²³—a nicer place than the [M]inistry of Foreign Affairs, where I had kept an appointment on my way.

Yesterday I spent mostly at the M.F.A. [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] seeing a fellow called Sisilianos¹²⁴ who is permanent under secretary and just back from exile in Krete, and then interviewing Rallis¹²⁵ the Prime Minister[.]¹²⁶

¹⁰⁹ 6 January in the Julian Calendar. Greece adopted the Gregorian calendar in early 1923 (15 February=1 March).

¹¹⁰ “Peiraeus” (*I*, 119).

¹¹¹ “wondered” (*I*, 119).

¹¹² “Wednesday 19 [January] / Epiphany: *σταυρός* festival at Peiraeus; nothing doing, wandered round Acropolis + Philopappos” (*D*).

¹¹³ “seized” (*I*, 119).

¹¹⁴ “Friday 21 / Permit from *ἀστυνομία* to go to Smyrna.” (*D*)

¹¹⁵ “much of it as I want” (*I*, 119).

¹¹⁶ “the” (*I*, 119).

¹¹⁷ “undy” (*I*, 119).

¹¹⁸ “interview Stergiadhis, the administrator of the territory,” (*I*, 119).

¹¹⁹ “and on my way [...] Pandema [...] and Marmara.” (*I*, 119.)

¹²⁰ “outlines” (*I*, 119).

¹²¹ “fineness of the masonry [...] gives me a sort of physical pleasure [...]” (*I*, 119).

¹²² “Akrikorinth” (*I*, 119).

¹²³ “and Methana...” (*I*, 119).

¹²⁴ Dimitrios Sisilianos (1875–1974). Greek diplomat and author.

¹²⁵ Dimitrios Rallis (1844–1921). Greek politician and five-time Prime Minister. His last premiership was between 24 November 1920 and 24 January 1921. Reports anticipated his resignation as early as 1 January 1921 due to ill-health: “Premier to resign shortly,” *The Times*, 3 January 1921, 9.

¹²⁶ “Tuesday 18 / Called at F.O. [Foreign Office] on Sisilianos, interviewed Rallis, sent telegram and interview to M G. [*Manchester Guardian*]” (*D*).

I telegraphed my interview last night,¹²⁷ so you will probably have seen it—there was nothing much in it—long before this letter.¹²⁸

The respective dismissals and reinstatements of officers and officials of¹²⁹ either party since 1917 are the things that really interest¹³⁰ people in Athens¹³¹—far more than the financial situation or¹³² the Anatolian War.¹³³ I thought I would put out a feeler on this, so I remarked that a great many exiles seemed to be returning. I was amused at the way the old boy¹³⁴ took the hint and entered on a long and very earnest defence of the dismissals of Veniselists,¹³⁵ which of course are the obverse of the restoration of the Constantinians.¹³⁶ I have telegraphed what he said with some comments—but I was still more amused this morning when I discovered why he was so particularly full of this subject at the moment. I had been preceded by the British Minister, and most papers this morning described his interview with Rallis as having been on the comparatively harmless subject of food supplies from the Smyrna district for C[onstantino]ple. But one less discreet or better informed journal reports that the Minister also protested against the dismissals, and this was no doubt why Rallis worked¹³⁷ off his elaborate defence on me.

I wish I could get into the country—from what I hear the peasants (who aren't concerned in the personal politics of Athens) voted against Veniselos because [of] the continued mobilisation[.]¹³⁸ I must make one or two raids into the country when we come back here[.] Meanwhile, the front is the most important thing.

¹²⁷ “Greek Policy To-Day. Determined to fulfil Obligations. Interview with New Premier.” *MG*, 21 January 1921, 7.

¹²⁸ “... before this letter.” (*I*, 119.)

¹²⁹ “by” (*I*, 119).

¹³⁰ “is the thing that really interests” (*I*, 119).

¹³¹ “They [Athenians] are absorbed in controversies over their respective behaviour in 1916 and 1917, and personal rivalries dominate their politics.” “Greece after Veniselos,” *MG*, 3 February 1921, 9.

¹³² “and” (*I*, 119).

¹³³ “The war against Mustapha Kemal does not seem to weigh heavily on the Athenians. It is a war beyond the sea, and though that must greatly increase the drain upon the shipping and the revenues of Greece, and might even be fatal to the Greek army in case of any serious disaster, it makes the war a less anxious and imminent affair for the population of the capital than former wars against Turks or Bulgarians on the European frontier. Whatever happened, Mustapha Kemal could hardly invade European Greece.” “Greece after Veniselos,” *MG*, 3 February 1921, 9.

¹³⁴ A reference to Rallis’ “political career of 48 years”: “Greek policy to-day,” *MG*, 21 January 1921, 7.

¹³⁵ “I remarked upon the return of officials exiled under the late régime, and the corresponding dismissal and transfer of the Veniselist officials now. / The Premier spoke on this question at great length than on any other.” “Greek policy to-day,” *MG*, 21 January 1921, 7.

¹³⁶ “[...] old boy who took the hint and entered on a... very earnest defence of the dismissals of the Veniselists, [...] of the refutation of Constantinians.” (*I*, 119.)

¹³⁷ “waked” (*I*, 120).

¹³⁸ “Venizelos [...] mobilization.” (*I*, 120.) Probing the causes of Venizelos’ defeat in “Why Greece turned against Veniselos,” Toynbee concludes: “I am becoming convinced that when he reacquired power in 1917 he did so at a price which made his permanent retention of it impossible. His restoration by Allied arms and the terrific purge of officers and officials which he found necessary in order to make his control

It is a wonderful climate. I have about double the physical energy here that [than] I have in England, an enormous appetite, and I sleep like a log. And I feel as if I had always been here.¹³⁹ I am very glad we are coming back. I hope many times. But it is exciting going to Asia Minor. I shall improve my Turkish in the upper Cayster valley.¹⁴⁰

Love to everybody, I am enjoying myself.

Arnold.

[Monday 11/24 January 1921]

A. J. Toynbee / to his wife / Rosalind Toynbee / 24.1.21

British School, / Athens.

I am just winding up here before starting for¹⁴¹ Smyrna tomorrow or next day—I don't know which yet because I am going on the same boat as Vlachopoulos,¹⁴² the Chief of the Greek Staff,¹⁴³ and he hasn't made up his mind yet. I have commendations from the gov[ernmen]t. here to Papou[l]as,¹⁴⁴ the C[ommander] in C[hief]. in Anatolia,¹⁴⁵ and to Sterghiádis,¹⁴⁶ the civil commissioner at Smyrna. My plan is to visit the Smyrna front first (Ushaq and Brusa¹⁴⁷) and then do some tours¹⁴⁸ in the country round Smyrna to see how the place is being governed. I shall combine some business¹⁴⁹ with journalism by taking in Ephesos¹⁵⁰ and Pergamon—I wish I could get to Hierapolès¹⁵¹ and Laodicea up the British Railway, but I fancy there is a sort of Graeco-Italian front in that neighbourhood¹⁵² and that I may not¹⁵³ get there. But the manager of

secure inflicted what has proved to have been an incurable wound upon the Greek national consciousness." *MG*, 15 February 1921, 9.

¹³⁹ "been at home." (*I*, 120.)

¹⁴⁰ "my Turkish..." (*I*, 120.)

¹⁴¹ "to" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁴² Aristotelis Vlachopoulos (1866–1960). A royalist Army officer, he was recalled to service following the defeat of Venizelos in the 1920 elections. In January 1921, he was assigned the command of the Third Army Corps in the Minor Asia front.

¹⁴³ "I'm going in the same boat [...] the chief of the general staff" (*I*, 120). "Monday 24 [January] / Morning: saw Vlachopoulos and fixed up journey with him to Smyrna." (*D*)

¹⁴⁴ Anastasios Papoulas (1857–1935). Greek Army officer. Like other royalists, he was recalled after the return of King Constantine. He was Commander in Chief until May 1922.

¹⁴⁵ "the G[eneral] in C[hief] in Anatolia" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁴⁶ Aristeidis Stergiadis (1861–1949). Governor of Smyrna during the Greek Asia Minor expedition (1919–1922).

¹⁴⁷ "Uhsag and Brussa" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁴⁸ "towns" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁴⁹ "history" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁵⁰ "Ephessos" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁵¹ "Hierapolis" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁵² "neighborhood" (*I*, 120.)

¹⁵³ "and I might not" (*I*, 120.)

the Aidin railway,¹⁵⁴ which is no doubt being ruined by being partitioned between the Greek and Italian zones, will tell me about that.

I have been busy interviewing politicians and telegraphing and pursuing the King's College Grant through the various government departments,¹⁵⁵ concerned in paying it (there are at least four).¹⁵⁶ Red tape seems to me about the same here as in England¹⁵⁷—except that the distances between offices are shorter than in London. The best that can be said for the job is that it is a good exercise in speaking Greek.

Yesterday I had a perfect day, cloudless sky, round sun and round moon, bright green pines. Pines turning purple in the evening, crocuses [*sic*] and irises and resin wine, and Wace¹⁵⁸ and Eléni Negreponi¹⁵⁹ and Welch the passport officer and I went out by train¹⁶⁰ and spent the day in the country behind Pendeli.¹⁶¹ Delphi, the great peak in Euboea,¹⁶² was marvellous [*sic*] and you could see the snow in the Peloponnese. That is what I really like doing. But it is 12.30 p.m. and I have to write a letter in Greek to the ministry of Education and then pack.

Love from,

Arnold.

[Wednesday 13/26 January 1921]

A. J. Toynbee to his wife / Rosalind Toynbee

S. S. Ismene,

off ~~Smyrna~~ Sunium¹⁶³

¹⁵⁴ Ottoman Railway Company, known as the İzmir–Aydın Railway, the oldest one in Anatolia.

¹⁵⁵ “Saturday 22 [January] / morning, [...] tracked K.C. grant / 8.0 p.m. dined with Pallis at grande Bretagne. [...] / Monday 24 / [...] pursued K. C. grant further.” (*D*)

¹⁵⁶ As early as 1915 Greek Prime Minister Venizelos had promised a Greek government annual subvention of £300 for the Korae Professorship. The tumultuous political scene in the following years delayed this arrangement, which was finally ratified by the Greek parliament in 1917 (Clogg, *Toynbee*, 3–6, 13.)

¹⁵⁷ “same as in England” (*I*, 120).

¹⁵⁸ Alan John Bayard Wace (1879–1957). English archaeologist and director of the British School of Athens (1914–1923). He had met Toynbee in Athens in 1911 and was one of his three references for the Korae Professorship (Clogg, *Toynbee*, 35). See also, David Gill, “Wace, Alan John Bayard (1879–1957),” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, accessed 6 September 2023.

¹⁵⁹ Eleni Negreponi (later Ourani, 1896–1971). Daughter of a wealthy family, she was a pioneer Greek female author, literary critic, and feminist activist. In 1971, she became the first female member of the Academy of Athens.

¹⁶⁰ “went by train to Kephisia” (*I*, 121).

¹⁶¹ “Sunday 23 [January] / Train to Kephisia; walk Bougiati—Stamata—Dionysos Kephisia; train Athens” (*D*).

¹⁶² “Euboes” (*I*, 121).

¹⁶³ “Sunion” (*I*, 121).

26/1/21.

This is between sun and moon and after a large dinner and before we get into the rough sea—in fact just the time for writing a letter. If I could see the mountains still, I expect I should be on deck. Before sunset we had rounded Hymettos and I recognised¹⁶⁴ all the mountains along the coast of Attica—just like recognising¹⁶⁵ people’s faces. I walked along this coast from Laurium¹⁶⁶ 9 years ago.¹⁶⁷ I always think of those¹⁶⁸ mountains as alive—immortal invulnerable creatures sitting still and looking on—I daresay the invasion of Western Civilisation,¹⁶⁹ which they are looking at now, is the strangest thing they have seen. It is like a new flora covering the country and giving it a different appearance.

My boat is full of soldiers going to the front,—as we left Piraeus there¹⁷⁰ was a poor little officer waving to a poor little lady in a row boat to our stern. How it drags on.

I am on my way first to the front and then to tour round the territory under Greek administration [*sic*]. It is going to be cold¹⁷¹—there is an ominous N.E. wind blowing and I remember how¹⁷² the worst cold I have met was from this same wind at Volo. In the interior of Anatolia there is sure to be snow—but I am well clothed.

I have missed my general Vlachopoulos whom¹⁷³ I was to travel with.¹⁷⁴ Just as my cab called for me, he telephoned to say he had put off coming till the next steamer¹⁷⁵ and I couldn’t change my ticket and my plans.¹⁷⁶ Never mind—I shall write him a letter hyper-purist Greek letter¹⁷⁷ (I have been exercising my purist Greek on the ministry of Education in the pursuit of

¹⁶⁴ “recognized” (*I*, 121).

¹⁶⁵ “recognizing” (*I*, 121).

¹⁶⁶ “Laurion” (*I*, 121).

¹⁶⁷ A star student at Balliol College, Oxford, Toynbee had won the prestigious Jenkins prize, which sponsored an extended tour of Italy and Greece during 22 September 1911–6 August 1912. At one point he walked from Athens to Sounion and back in a single day: McNeill, *Toynbee*, 36, 38. Later in his life, he would recall with amusement that his first introduction to international affairs was in the Greek countryside by Greek peasants: “Arnold Toynbee lecturing at UCLA 4/1/1963,” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=60hQ5Vc5TMw&t=526s>.

¹⁶⁸ “these” (*I*, 121).

¹⁶⁹ “Civilization,” (*I*, 121).

¹⁷⁰ “Peiraeus ther” (*I*, 121).

¹⁷¹ “very cold” (*I*, 121).

¹⁷² “now” (*I*, 121).

¹⁷³ “who” (*I*, 121).

¹⁷⁴ “Tuesday 25 [January] / Morning: Found out at W.O. [War Office] that Vlachopoulos meant to sail Wedn[esday].; bought ticket on Ismini;” (*D*).

¹⁷⁵ “streamer” (*I*, 121).

¹⁷⁶ “Wednesday 26 [January] / 9.0 Vlachopoulos telephoned to postpone travelling till Thursday.” (*D*)

¹⁷⁷ Katharevousa (*καθαρεύουσα*) was the form of modern Greek proposed by Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), after whom Toynbee’s professorship was named (see Clogg, *Toynbee*, 43).

the belated grant to K.C. [King's College]—I think I have set the wheels moving)¹⁷⁸ and I have a letter from Gounaris¹⁷⁹ to Papoulas the Commander in Chief.

How much nicer a ship is than a train. Travelling here is a holiday. I started from Wace's house at 10 a.m. and I could still see it (or its site) at 6.45 p.m. when our boat finally rounded Hymettos. We left Piraeus¹⁸⁰ 5 hours late¹⁸¹—*δὲν πειράζει* [it doesn't matter] not only journalists but chiefs of staff travel in the same happy go lucky fashion and I don't think it makes much difference in the end.

At¹⁸² Athens I have been competing with Col. Repington¹⁸³—but he has been cultivating the Royal Family while I have been interviewing Ministers. I don't fancy the King counts for much—the politicians control the Black and Tans¹⁸⁴ here as in England, and therefore have the power.

Gounaris is a crooked fellow, but his rival Stratos¹⁸⁵—a genial ruffian with any amount of brains—attracted me a good¹⁸⁶ deal and I hope to see him again when I come back.¹⁸⁷

My next stunt is feet and knapsack work to give a concrete account of what the Greeks¹⁸⁸ are doing in Anatolia[.] Incidentally I shall see some anticas and improve my Turkish. Repington isn't coming to Smyrna so I shall have the field to myself.

Love to everybody,

Arnold.

[“Jan. 27–March 15: Smyrna, and [...] journeys into the hinterland”]¹⁸⁹

[27 January 1921]

¹⁷⁸ “Tuesday 25 [January] / [...] fixed up K.C. grant with Mandoudhis at Min[istry]. of Ed[ucation].” (D)

¹⁷⁹ Dimitrios Gounaris (1867–1922). Greek royalist politician and prime minister (1921–1922). He was executed on 15/28 November 1922, as one of six public figures found guilty of causing the Asia Minor catastrophe.

¹⁸⁰ “Peiraeus” (I, 121).

¹⁸¹ “Wednesday 26 [January] / [...] 10.0 A.M. cab to Monastiraki, tube to Peiraeus. / 5.0 p.m. Ismini left Peiraeus” (D).

¹⁸² “In” (I, 121).

¹⁸³ Lieutenant Colonel Charles à Court Repington (1858–1925). British Army officer who later became a military and war correspondent.

¹⁸⁴ “Black-and-tan” (I, 121).

¹⁸⁵ “during the war he [Gounaris] committed himself deeply on the German side, and if he became Premier King Constantine would presumably find himself more compromised than ever in the eyes of the Allied Governments. It is rumoured that the King inclines to favour Mr. Gounaris's rival, Mr. Stratos,”: “Greece after Veniselos,” *MG*, 3 February 1921, 9.

¹⁸⁶ “great” (I, 122).

¹⁸⁷ “Saturday 22 [January] / morning, interviewed Gounaris at ministry of war, [...] / 3.0–4.20 p.m. interviewed Stratos. / 6.0 p.m. got interview passed by gounaris and telegraphed it. [...] Monday 24 / [...] Evening: [...] wrote to Scott + interview with Stratos” (D).

¹⁸⁸ “Turks” [!] (I, 122).

¹⁸⁹ *WQ*, xxix.

I forgot to post this at Chios where I sent off some postcards and as a matter of fact it will probably arrive sooner from here (Smyrna—Splendid Palace Hotel—I wish it was—ex-Hotel Kraemer; I daresay it was more splendid when the poor old Germans ran it.)

I arrived here¹⁹⁰ about 6.30 to-night¹⁹¹—an awful pandemonium in the little boats that take you off to the customs house—crowds of boats jostling at the foot of the ladder with crowds of men and packages passing from one to the other, and a hubbub of the best kind; also pouring rain. My Boat (both steamer¹⁹² and varka here) was crammed with Greek officers and as I untied my umbrella from my Cretan club I saw the officer next me untying his mother's umbrella from his sword—to shelter them both. I am sure my stick was a more effective weapon th[an] his scimitar.

Smyrna made me laugh from the first moment I saw it. Cafés—I have never seen any so big and so bright (the Kapheneion¹⁹³ Photi was the first sight object I have sighted in Asia) and streets never so dark or narrow or ill paved (with large uneven blocks, Italianwise)[.] No,¹⁹⁴ I saw Smyrna before I saw it, for there were English Levantines on board the Ismene.¹⁹⁵ I couldn't place them at first—a rather distinguished old lady with a good deal of character, two awful girls, and a neutral young man—he turned into a Levantine when the boats came to take us ashore—he began¹⁹⁶ to shout and gesticulate, and it took me a long time to discover that their natural language was English with a Greek¹⁹⁷ accent and that they were indigenous here. When they sighted Smyrna they really were coming home: “There is Aunt Alice's house,” etc. Not like Anglo-Indians, because they are birds of passage and unassimilated, while these are of the earth earthy—so far as I have caught the smell of Smyrna yet, it is theirs. It certainly is neither a Greek nor a Moslem smell—the wine is not a bit like Greek wine, and the Greek soldiers have a look of being in a foreign country.¹⁹⁸ Possibly Smyrna is indirectly a Western¹⁹⁹ product—a parasite produced by²⁰⁰ Moslem conditions.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁰ “there” (*I*, 122).

¹⁹¹ “Thursday 27 [January] / [...] 7.0. p.m. reach Smyrna, splendid Palace Hotel.” (*D*)

¹⁹² “steamer” (*I*, 122).

¹⁹³ “kafeneion” (*I*, 122).

¹⁹⁴ “Now,” (*I*, 122).

¹⁹⁵ “Ismeni.” (*I*, 122.)

¹⁹⁶ “begun” (*I*, 123).

¹⁹⁷ “with Greek” (*I*, 122).

¹⁹⁸ “the mine is not a bit like a Gk mine, and the Gk soldiers here have [...]” (*I*, 122).

¹⁹⁹ “Moslem” (*I*, 122).

²⁰⁰ “in” (*I*, 122).

²⁰¹ In his second dispatch from Smyrna, on February 3, Toynbee offered the following startling assessment of the city: “Smyrna is what metaphysicians call [...] an ‘epiphenomenon’ [...] The life of Smyrna, the capacities and activities that flourish in its purlieu, could not possibly have come into existence on their own account. They are an artificial selection from all over the world, of those capacities and activities in which the Turkish peasant of the hinterland is deficient. The peasant is primitive, his country is fabulously rich, and the prosperity of Smyrna is the legitimate reward of foreigners who have settled there as middlemen between the rural Turk and the outer world.” “First impressions of Smyrna.” *MG*, 17 February 1921, 6. See Appendix 2. He later summarized the point as follows: “Smyrna is not a

My English Levantines disliked the Greek occupation and whispered to me that it had killed their trade.²⁰² Well, they have had three centuries monopoly²⁰³ and must take their luck. No doubt the Greeks will do them in. My goodness, the contrast between this and Athens is an advertise[m]ent for the Greeks, or at any rate for their success in taking the Western inoculation. But I mustn't let myself be Philhellene, for they are taking me up with a vengeance—sent an officer on board to meet me (he didn't catch me, of course);²⁰⁴ and a young man who is naval control²⁰⁵ officer to my hotel to night; and an officer is coming to take me to G.H.Q.²⁰⁶ [General Head Quarters] to-morrow morning²⁰⁷—all which means that after they have shown me round, I must poke round on my own, and if possible get also into areas they don't²⁰⁸ control.

Chios, where I landed this morning for half an hour is as Greek [as] Corfu²⁰⁹—there is a mosque converted into an *οικονομικὸν σσσίτιον* [common meal], and mountains as grey and hard as Epirus.²¹⁰ But heaven knows what this place is. I must write an article about it for Scott²¹¹—and another about a conversation with a Royalist officer on Board last night who was the image of Denny.²¹² He comes from Dharlia in central Greece and his sister had been violated by a Veniselos' Black and Tans (he had 3 yrs in prison himself so he was violent[]).²¹³

Arnold.

self-contained community, and you cannot stay there without being conscious every moment that the roots of its prosperity strike deep and far afield in the soil of Anatolia.” (WQ, 126.)

²⁰² Their protests to the British Government against the Greek landing are documented in Daleziou, “Britain and the Greek-Turkish war and settlement of 1919–1923,” 96–99.

²⁰³ “they had had a 3 centuries monopoly” (I, 122).

²⁰⁴ “Thursday 27 [January] / [...] 8.30 [p.m.] called on by Bachas, security officer, to take me in tow.” (D)

²⁰⁵ “naval” (I, 122).

²⁰⁶ “G.M.Q” (I, 122).

²⁰⁷ “SMYRNA, FEBRUARY 2. / General Papoulas, Commander-in-Chief of the Greek forces in Anatolia, was kind enough to receive me last week in order to make arrangements for me to visit the front,” “The Anatolia Campaign[.] Interview with Greek Commander.” MG, 16 February 1921, 4.

²⁰⁸ “didn't” (I, 122).

²⁰⁹ “Thursday 27 [January] / 7.0 Woke up off s. end of Chio / 9.0–11.0 at Chio; landed” (D).

²¹⁰ “2[6/7] January: / [...] Chios more bare and high than I had expected” (D).

²¹¹ Charles Prestwich Scott (1846–1932). British journalist and politician. He was the editor and eventually owner of the liberal newspaper *The Manchester Guardian* (McNeill, *Toynbee*, 104–5).

²¹² “Wednesday 26 [January] / [...] Evening: argument between g[ree]k officer like Denny & Levantine English lady.” (D)

²¹³ “He had a fanatical but honest and attractive countenance [...] He was a violent anti-Vénisélíst. Pulling open his tunic, he tapped the place where he had been wounded in the Balkan Wars, and asked whether three years internment under the Vénisélíst regime was a fitting reward. He came from Dharliá (the ancient Daulis), a country town in Central Greece, and told us that 90 women of his native town had been imprisoned by the Vénisélíst ‘security force,’ and that 40 of them, including his sister, had been violated. [...]” “Why Greece turned against Veniselos,” MG, 15 February 1921, 9.

[“Feb. 1–8: Alashehir, Ushaq, Kula, Salyhly, Sardis”]²¹⁴

[Friday–Saturday 22–23 January/4–5 February 1921]

J. Toynbee to his wife / Rosalind Toynbee

4/2/21. Ushaq²¹⁵

(Look at the Railway from Smyrna to Afium Kara Hissar,²¹⁶ and you will see this place half way between K. H. and Alashehr²¹⁷)²¹⁸

You must read [t]he M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*]²¹⁹ Now²²⁰ for most of my doings. I am in such a whirl of amusing employments that I cannot keep both letters, descriptive articles and political articles going.

This is my second day here. I go back to [Alashehr] tomorrow and then up to Brusa.²²¹

There are two divisions here and I have been riding all day round²²² the lines of the 2nd division (Athens) which holds the S. E. Sector.

On the map we are in an impossible salient only there is nobody opposite us. The villagers come and go through the lines,²²³ and we lunched²²⁴ in the open a few yards from the wire. Not a shot for several months.

²¹⁴ *WQ*, xxix.

²¹⁵ “Ushag” (*T*, 123). Γιαννακόπουλος consistently uses “g” in transcribing this word. However, Toynbee’s multiple corrections in the typeset letter of 17/4/23 confirm that his intended spelling is “Ushaq”.

²¹⁶ “Hisar” (*T*, 123).

²¹⁷ “Alasekhir” (*T*, 123). Γιαννακόπουλος consistently transcribes the name as “Alashehir”. Toynbee’s manuscript corrections to his typeset letters use the spelling “Alashehr”.

²¹⁸ “Anatolia is a country of few railways and many natural obstacles, and a small section of the Anatolian railway, between Eski[s]hehir and Afium Kar Hissar, is the key to the present situation. This railway lies within Mustafa Kemal’s lines,”: “The Anatolia Campaign[.]” *MG*, 16 February 1921, 4.

²¹⁹ “The Ushag front. I.—A dormant campaign.” *MG*, 11 March 1921, 9; “The Ushag front[.] II.—Greek army impatient to advance[.]” *MG*, 14 March 1921, 10.

²²⁰ “now” (*T*, 124).

²²¹ “Brussa” (*T*, 124).

²²² “around” (*T*, 124).

²²³ “the Greek troops [...] are on the best terms with the Turkish peasantry.” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 11 March 1921, 9. “[...] there is no doubt that the Greek troops have established very happy relations with the Turkish villagers in their zone of operations. [...] I do not think the Greeks have misrepresented to me the attitude of the Turkish population.” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 14 March 1921, 10. “Since their occupation the Greeks have made very remarkably successful efforts to conciliate the peasantry. If they can educate them as well they may win them completely.” “Impressions of Anatolia.” *MG*, 15 March 1921, 9. However, Toynbee cautions “I am doubtful whether the good feeling between the rural Turks and the Greeks can take firm root, so long as the upper-class Turks remain hostile;” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 14 March 1921, 10.

²²⁴ “launched” (*T*, 124).

I am being entertained by the 2 Generals of the 2nd [Athens] and 13th [Khalkis] divisions, who live here,²²⁵ and I am sleeping in the house of the Turkish Mukhtar (mayor). He has perfectly delightful children—a boy of 10 and 2 girls of 6 and 2—who come in and pour hot water over our hands in the morning.²²⁶ I have fallen in love with the Turkish Children—there are a surprising number of them in the dilapidated villages.

The country is like the Lincolnshire Wolds,²²⁷ with a few limestone mountains sprinkled over them. Such mud.²²⁸ They tried to take me in a Ford yesterday, which stuck, so I asked²²⁹ for a horse, which got through. It is like an everlasting ploughed²³⁰ field and you can trot but not canter.

But you must look at the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*] It is nearly dinner time; I start at 6 a.m.²³¹ tomorrow, and I must write a little Turkish letter to the Mukhtar.

Arnold.

5/2/21.

Now I am in the train about a kilometre out of Ushaq,²³² but something has gone wrong with a wheel so we are sitting in the middle of the wolds.²³³ The sun has just come up and there are patches of snow lying about.²³⁴

I have been bowled over by the Greek Officers. Of course these [2nd and 13th] are two picked divisions—they were on the Macedonian front during the war, then in Bessarabia against²³⁵ the Bolsheviks, then here.²³⁶ But they are something quite different from my

²²⁵ “Wednesday 2 [February] / [...] train to Ushaq, arrived about 9.0 p.m[.], dined with gens. Vlachopoulos and Manettas” (D).

²²⁶ “Wednesday 2 [February] / [...] Slept with Mukhtar [Ottoman Turkish script] / The mukhtar of Ushaq has 4 delightful children.” (D)

²²⁷ <https://www.lincswolds.org.uk/>

²²⁸ “An almost worse enemy than the snow is the mud. The country south of the railway is a heavy soil, with a slight undulation. There are no made roads—only tracks across the rolling surface,—and even a moderate rainfall turns track, field, and fallow into a quagmire.” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 11 March 1921, 9.

²²⁹ “looked” (I, 124).

²³⁰ “plashed” (I, 124).

²³¹ “pm” (I, 124).

²³² “kilometer [...] Ushag,” (I, 124.)

²³³ “worlds.” (I, 124.) “Saturday 5 [February] / 6.45 started from Ushaq. At Kara Kuyu engine broke down.” (D)

²³⁴ “around.” (I, 124.) “The real enemy is not Kemal but the weather. On the summit of the Elma Dag [.] there is always snow lying, and a three weeks ago there was a fall of 2½ metres depth.” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 11 March 1921, 9.

²³⁵ “againts” (I, 124).

²³⁶ “The two divisions holding the Ushag salient (the 2nd from Athens and the 13th from Khalhis [*sic*]) have had a long and very varied military experience. During the European war they were on the Macedonian front—in the Struma Valley, next to the British. After the Armistice they were sent up to

impression of G[ree]k officers 9 years ago. These men are well shaved[,] lean and smart. You would take the dark ones for French and the fair ones for English or²³⁷ German.

General Nieder (*Nίδερα*)²³⁸ who commands the whole Ushaq front from Alashehr,²³⁹ is in fact a German by descent—his ancestors came over with Otto from Bavaria in the 'thirties²⁴⁰ (I found another descendent²⁴¹ of these Bavarians in Smyrna—the assistant traffic manager of the British (Aidin) Railway[²⁴²]). But the others are²⁴³ all pure Greeks (most of them from country towns) and you couldn't meet more charming soldiers in any country.

Vlachopoulos, commanding the second division, is an oldish²⁴⁴ man with a little beard under his chin, a gentle voice and a very nice humour.²⁴⁵ Manettas,²⁴⁶ his colle[a]gue commanding the 13th division on the other flank of the salient, is a fair man with a clipped²⁴⁷ moustache and an open sort of smile—type Anglais. They have not only very great kindness and very good, reserved (non Greek) manners, but they talk all kinds²⁴⁸ of politics (not only their own party politics) read books (not only French Novels), are interested in the economics of this country and in the Turkish peasantry and in the Byzantine and Ancient remains²⁴⁹—in fact, I have enjoyed staying with them more than seeing the country—and that is saying a great deal. The young men, A. D. C's and so on, are the same sort (n. b. these are all Veniselists,²⁵⁰ it is characteristic of them, though, that they admit the mistakes of the Veniselist administration).

Bessarabia and fought the Bolsheviks for four or five months. In the summer of 1919 they were landed at Smyrna, and since then they have conducted a series of operations against the Kemalists, each time with success, and each time advancing to new positions further into the interior.” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 11 March 1921, 9.

²³⁷ “and” (*I*, 124).

²³⁸ Konstantinos Nider (1865–1942). Greek Army officer.

²³⁹ “Ushag [...] Alashehir” (*I*, 124).

²⁴⁰ “Tuesday 1 February / [...] 12.54 Arrived Aláshehir, drove to inn, lunched, climbed Acropolis, called on gen. *Nίδερα*, called on Bishop, dined with *Nίδερα* (N. Bavarian descent from Misolonghi, straight and well educated) / Wednesday 2 / Lunched *Nίδερα*, after lunch, train to Ushaq, [...] Saturday 5 / [...] Reached Aláshehir late and hungry, lunched with *Nίδερα*. [...] Evening, dined with *Nίδερα*.” (*D*)

²⁴¹ “descended” (*I*, 124).

²⁴² “Monday 31 [January] / Went over Aidin R[ailwa]y station and works with Mazade (traffic manager), Kopsch (Bavarian greek) his assistant and Elliot (construction engineer).” (*D*)

²⁴³ “were” (*I*, 124).

²⁴⁴ “olding” (*I*, 124).

²⁴⁵ “Vlachopoulos humorous, gentle, a philosopher” (*I*, 123).

²⁴⁶ Konstantinos Manetas (c. 1879–c. 1960). Greek Army officer and Venizelos supporter.

²⁴⁷ “dipped” (*I*, 124).

²⁴⁸ “kind” (*I*, 124).

²⁴⁹ “Wednesday 2 February / [...] dined with gens. Vlachopoulos and Manettas (Both intellectuals, Manettas simple, charming smile, Vlachopoulos humourous, gentle, a philosopher)” (*D*).

²⁵⁰ “Venizelists:” (*I*, 125).

I think they have been enormously influenced by the years they spent on the Macedonian²⁵¹ front in contact with the British. You can see it externally²⁵² in the way they clip their moustaches and brush their hair, and I think it has gone deep.²⁵³ Certainly the Royalist Officers (who were interned during the war) are of quite a different²⁵⁴ type, much more like the old one. They tend to have elaborate moustaches, and they carry swords (which these people laugh at).

I see I am in danger of becoming a Veniselist,²⁵⁵ and I [d]on't want to sum up in favour of either party, not just yet, anyhow.²⁵⁶ What is worse, I seem to believe that an Englishman is a good sort of thing to be.²⁵⁷ I am getting soft headed and this won't do if I am to write an impartial description of the front—which I shall try to do now whenever²⁵⁸ the train stops (it stops often)—when it is going, these ill-laid lines make one's pen dance.

Now I am sitting in the third story²⁵⁹ of a house belonging to a Greek landowner in Alashehr where General Nieder is billeted.²⁶⁰ The General is sleeping in his room (siesta) and I am sitting on a huge landing with a garden and a fountain below,²⁶¹ then the plain and beyond the mountains along the north side of the valley.²⁶² I am going across the mountains tomorrow with the Bishop, to visit a Greek village called Kula[.] Such a lovely view. I wish everybody was here to share it.

Arnold.

²⁵¹ “at the macedonia” (*I*, 125).

²⁵² “extremely” (*I*, 125).

²⁵³ “Moreover, the Greek Command have borrowed some ideas from us and the Americans. The 13th Division have a kinema [*sic*] close behind their lines [...] and there is a canteen and hot baths.” “The Ushag front.” *MG*, 11 March 1921, 9.

²⁵⁴ “quite different” (*I*, 125).

²⁵⁵ An exaggeration, perhaps to pique Greek government censors, since Toynbee had publicly declared himself an admirer of Venizelos only a few months earlier: “the writer [...] has always felt, and still feels, Mr. Venizelos to be a great man and a great statesman. [...] the present writer has certainly been left with a strong feeling of admiration for Mr. Venizelos whenever he has come personally into contact with his work.” Arnold J. Toynbee, “The Revulsion in Greece,” *The Contemporary Review* 119 (January–June 1921), 10–19: 10.

²⁵⁶ “Venizelist [...] anyway.” (*I*, 125.)

²⁵⁷ The same feeling, and similar statements, of British superiority over modern Greeks are recorded by Toynbee during his first visit to Greece in 1911–1912: Clogg, “Burrows,” 89; “the greatest result of his year abroad had been to instil [*sic*] in him an appreciation of ‘the value of England’”: Clogg, “Beware the Greeks,” 14.

²⁵⁸ “and do now wherever” (*I*, 125).

²⁵⁹ “store” (*I*, 125).

²⁶⁰ “Alashehir [...] *Νίδερ* [...]” (*I*, 125).

²⁶¹ “(sieste) [...] bellow,” (*I*, 125).

²⁶² “Saturday 5 [February] / [...] spent afternoon writing in house of Mr. *Παῦλος*, *Νίδερ*'s host and mine. Evening, dined with *Νίδερ*. / Lovely view S. from windows of *Παῦλος* house over *κάμπος* and [un?]to towards Kula.” (*D*)

[Monday 25 January/7 February 1921]

A[.] J[.] Toynebee / to his wife / Rosalind Toynebee

Salihli

7.2.201.

I am sitting in the General's room here. It is between tea and dinner and he is playing bridge with his staff and I am writing to you,—in pencil because it would make too much disturbance to fill my pen.

I am having tremendous fun. To-morrow I am going to ride over from here to Sardis with some officers, to climb up to Akropolis and also to see what has happened to Buckler's²⁶³ excavations and also to his museum (I am afraid it has been smashed up in the fighting—the front ran just here till last June).²⁶⁴

Yesterday I had the greatest reception I shall ever have in my life[,] motored over from Alashehr,²⁶⁵ where I had been visiting General Nider again, to a town called Kula to the North, with 3 or 4 thousand Greeks, and they had got it into their heads that I was a sort of emanation of L. G.²⁶⁶ [Lloyd George] When we got within about a quarter²⁶⁷ of a mile, we saw crowds coming out with Union Jacks and Greek Flags, and I was marched through the town with a procession of school children behind me, the priest on one side and the chief merchant²⁶⁸ on the other, and everyone shouting *Ζήτω ἡ Ἀγγλία* [Long live England]. They had hung carpets all along the roads²⁶⁹ (this²⁷⁰ is one of the chief places where they make them) and I was taken to a school, where I held a sort of state reception.²⁷¹

The Turks all came out of their houses and looked on—there are 6 mosques in Kula to 2 churches, and the population is in proportion. The Turks wer[e]n't liking it. However, in the afternoon, a deputation of 6 Turks waited on me,²⁷² and I managed to carry on a Turkish conversation.

Poor Greeks of Kula—They are now just inside the lines, and they seemed to think that I can keep them there.²⁷³ In the afternoon we went out in our car with a cavalry patrol beyond the

²⁶³ William Hepburn Buckler (1867–1952). American archaeologist.

²⁶⁴ “climb the Akropolis [...] excavation [...] run [...]” (*I*, 125).

²⁶⁵ “I motored [...] Alashehir” (*I*, 125).

²⁶⁶ “M.G.” (*I*, 125).

²⁶⁷ “1/4” (*I*, 125).

²⁶⁸ “mechant” (*I*, 125).

²⁶⁹ “road” (*I*, 125).

²⁷⁰ “it” (*I*, 125).

²⁷¹ “Sunday 6 [February] / Motored to Kula; ovation; lunched with Lambidhis; [...] night with Lambidhis and Sillelóglou. / All the town (greek *μαχαλαῖ*) came out in procession; *Ζήτω ἡ Ἀγγλία*; g[ree]k flags and union Jacks; reception in school; treated as alter ego of Lloyd George. / Volcanic *κεκαυμένη*; lots of anticars, greeks rich and Turcophonous; marvellous [*sic*] peasants from Simar, coming in to market with camels.” (*D*)

²⁷² “of about [...] awaited” (*I*, 126).

²⁷³ “the greek lines, [...] I could help [...]” (*I*, 126).

lines—an impossible road, but we had a marvellous Cretan chauffeur²⁷⁴—to an ex Greek village called Gölde (“by the lake”)[.]²⁷⁵ It is evacuated now, only the Turks were there, but there is rather a fine Byzantine²⁷⁶ [*sic*] Church (about 11th or 12th cent.).

As we were looking at the Church Ernest Walker came [r]ound the corner—There he was in his characteristic cap and a black overcoat, and he began to speak in his high pitched voice—but he spoke Turkish and had a rifle slung over his shoulder. He was a Gölde Greek—incidentally all these Greeks talk Turkish and only learn Greek at School: at Gölde the inscriptions on tomb stones were in Turkish written in Greek characters.

What interested me particularly was the physical type—lots of these people in the Alashehr²⁷⁷ and Gediz Chai valleys have auburn hair and pink faces—Greeks and Turks alike.²⁷⁸ But there is every kind of physique from Mongol to Swedish. Someday I shall spend several weeks in Gölde and take photographs in the Bazar.²⁷⁹ As we were going out to Gölde, crowds of Turkish Peasants with strings of camels were coming from the no-mans land—Simav²⁸⁰ direction—with wonderful costumes. Kula is a centre²⁸¹ for marketing for miles round—but as we passed out of the line²⁸² it was rather like going out of the Roman Wall. Inside—security, schools, newspapers, outside—sudden death, unless you had a patrol with you.

But for Kula and the Turks and my general impressions of Anatolia you must look at the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*]²⁸³

²⁷⁴ “marvellous Cretan officer” (*I*, 126). Based on photographs of Toynbee taken at Ushaq, Giannakopoulos identifies the officer as “captain Dimotakis”: “Once Upon a Time in Asia Minor,” 225 (see also captions on pp. 222, 223).

²⁷⁵ “Sunday 6 [February] / [...] afternoon motored out of lines to Gölde;” (*D*).

²⁷⁶ “Byzantine” (*I*, 126).

²⁷⁷ “Alashehir” (*I*, 126).

²⁷⁸ “Thursday 3 [February] / [...] N.B.—population round Aláshehir, Usháq and Kula surprisingly fair (in Moslems this is accounted for by Circassian muhajirs, but greeks are fair too)” (*D*). “The people, on the whole, look neither Greek nor Asiatic. The first thing that strikes a Westerner is that they are surprisingly fair. Below the window of a room in the Greek headquarters at Aláshehir there is a Turkish infant school, and I spent some time watching the children playing in the courtyard. Several girls had auburn, almost golden hair combed out and braided at the end. As they [wa]ved it glistened in the sun. there were more of this type at Ushág, and still more at Kula, a town in the volcanic country to the north of the Aláshehir plain. In the [...] at Kula I saw Turkish men and girls with straw-coloured hair and fair complexions and blue eyes. Some people account for it by the recent Circassian immigration, but the local Greeks are fair too, at least compared to the Greeks round the Aegean. I fancy that this strain in the population must go further back than 50 or 70 years. They strike you as a fine race.” “First impressions of Anatolia.” *MG*, 15 March 1921, 9.

²⁷⁹ Toynbee’s Anatolia tour yielded a total of 160 photographs: Giannakopoulos, “Once Upon a Time in Asia Minor,” 213–14.

²⁸⁰ “Simar” (*I*, 126).

²⁸¹ “center” (*I*, 126).

²⁸² “wire” (*I*, 126).

²⁸³ “First Impressions of Anatolia. The Struggle between Greek and Turk”, *MG*, 15 March 1921, 9.

In a day or two I am going up to the Brusa²⁸⁴ front. Then back to Smyrna to look at the civil administration.

Arnold.

[Wednesday 27 January/9 February 1921]

A. J. Toynbee / to his wife / Rosalind Toynbee

Cercle²⁸⁵ de Smyrne.

9/2/21.

Here I am sitting in the Club at Smyrna and starting on a huge mass of writing.²⁸⁶ I saw General Papoulas this morning and he advised me to put off my journey to the Brusa²⁸⁷ front for a week or so (i.e. if I do, I shall see something more interesting than if I go now).²⁸⁸ So I shall go down the English R[ailway]. to Aidin the day after tomorrow, see Ephesos on the way, and wander²⁸⁹ back across the Caystros [Cayster] valley.

I rode to Sardis yesterday morning from Salihli²⁹⁰—the temple of Artemis ha[s] the same fine workmanship as the things on the Akropolis at²⁹¹ Athens. The American House and museum were all smashed up by Turkish irregulars during the fighting—statues²⁹² defaced, vases in smithereens, but priceless Lydian inscriptions fortunately mostly intact.²⁹³ I am sending a report to the American School at Athens and urging them to come out here and save the remnants.

Salihli²⁹⁴ is a pleasant place with plane trees and a sort of boulevard in the Greek quarter²⁹⁵ between the Turkish town and the station.

The Artillery officer²⁹⁶ who entertained me and rode with me to Sardis was a charming man, luckily he comes from the Zagora in Epirus and so didn't mind climbing the citadel,²⁹⁷ but

²⁸⁴ “Brussa” (*I*, 126).

²⁸⁵ “Cerde” (*I*, 126).

²⁸⁶ “Wednesday 9 [February] / [...] Afternoon, wrote at Cercle de Smyrne,” (*D*). “Social life [in Smyrna] presented many attractions. [...] There were four large clubs: the ‘*Cercle de Smyrne*’, frequented mostly by British, French and Americans;” George Horton, *The Blight of Asia* (Indianapolis, 1926), 104.

²⁸⁷ “Brussa” (*I*, 126).

²⁸⁸ “Wednesday 9 [February] / [...] called on Papoulas, who told me to put in Aidin before Brusa.” (*D*)

²⁸⁹ “wonder” (*I*, 126).

²⁹⁰ “Salikli” (*I*, 126).

²⁹¹ “of” (*I*, 126).

²⁹² “statures” (*I*, 126).

²⁹³ “Tuesday 8 [February] / Rode [...] to sart [...] temple of Artemis; lunch; inspected ruins of American house and museum; climbed akropolos [*sic*]” (*D*).

²⁹⁴ “Salikli” (*I*, 127).

²⁹⁵ “gk vucufes” (*I*, 127).

²⁹⁶ “officers” (*I*, 127).

²⁹⁷ “Tuesday 8 [February] / Rode with Zaropoulos to sart” (*D*).

poor Koulambidhis—the officer from headquarters here who was attached to me for the journey—was rather done in by it.²⁹⁸ He comes from Alexandria. He is a very good fellow.

The fighting divisions at the front are all Veniselists—they are men who went through the European war and I must say they are an advertisement for Venizelos.²⁹⁹ The contrast between them and the Royalist officers and politicians I saw in Athens has gone a long way to³⁰⁰ making up my mind (but of course I haven't seen V's politicians, who by all³⁰¹ accounts were awful blighters).

Sardis citadel is made of soft easily weathered conglomerate³⁰² with a habit of weathering into precipices. There is only one way up—I discovered this by trying to get down by several others.

At Salihli I found Vlachopoulos travelling down.³⁰³ The telegram dismissing him from³⁰⁴ his command arrived the last evening I dined with him.³⁰⁵ It is madness—these personal politics in Greece. He had commanded the 2nd division 3 years, and they remove him on³⁰⁶ the eve (as I feel certain) of an offensive.

Do, if you can possibly fit it in, call on his wife, Madame Irene Vlachopoulos,³⁰⁷ 25 Courtfield Gardens, Earls Court, to thank her for his hospitality to me. There are 3 reasons: he was infin[i]tely kind to me, he is a charming and very hum[o]rous man—excellent company (talks good French), and he is in misfortune.

He is going to London now himself to join his family,³⁰⁸ I wonder if your Aunt Cecilia too would call on them, and perhaps your Mother, if she could fit it into one of her visits³⁰⁹ to town.

I do so want him to have a kind reception in England now he is down—and you will all like him.

But now I must write [to] Forbes Adam[s]³¹⁰ on politics.

²⁹⁸ “Koul[ambidhis]. followed in side car” (*D*).

²⁹⁹ “venizelists [...] Venizelos.” (*I*, 127.)

³⁰⁰ “towards” (*I*, 127).

³⁰¹ “all” (*I*, 127).

³⁰² “complamerate” (*I*, 127).

³⁰³ “Salikli [...] traveling” (*I*, 127).

³⁰⁴ “froms” (*I*, 127).

³⁰⁵ “Friday 4 [February] / [...] dined Vlachopoulos and Manettas. (cipher tel[egram]. with Vlachopoulos' dismissal arrived during dinner).” (*D*)

³⁰⁶ “at” (*I*, 127).

³⁰⁷ “Vlachopoulou,” (*I*, 127).

³⁰⁸ “Tuesday 8 [February] / [...] Train to Smyrna; same carriage as Vlachopoulos; [...] Vl. no personal feeling but desolated at situation. going to join family in London.” (*D*)

³⁰⁹ “journeys” (*I*, 127).

³¹⁰ Eric Graham Forbes Adams (1888–1925). British diplomat and First Secretary to the Foreign Office, “with whom [Toynbee] corresponded in private, relaying peace terms proposed to him by Turkish spokesmen, and urging action” (McNeill, *Toynbee*, 107–8). He died in 1925, in Constantinople.

Arnold.

[“Feb. 11–18: Ephesus, Kirkinjé, Aidin, Tiré, Torbaly”]³¹¹

[Saturday 6/19 February 1921]³¹²

A. J. Toynbee to his / wife Rosalind Toynbee

British P. O. / Smyrna.

19/2/21.

I am just back from a second journey into the interior—This time without a Greek Officer in tow, though³¹³ I fell into captivity among the Greeks many times as a sort of cross between the Prince of Wales and L. G.³¹⁴ [Lloyd George]. At Tira, while I lunched with the notables, the boy-scouts played God Save the King outside the door.³¹⁵ I have now escaped into the purlieus of Smyrna again and am making connections with the Turks. I simply must see their side before I go on to C[onstantino]ple. I have formed a very defin[i]te view about the situation here.

I do hope my despatches³¹⁶ [*sic*] and telegrams—both to the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*]³¹⁷ and Eric Forbes Adams³¹⁸ at the F. O. [Foreign Office]—have arrived in time.

³¹¹ *WQ*, xxx.

³¹² On the same day Toynbee also posted a letter to his mother Edith Marshall Toynbee: “Darling Mother, / Here I am today back from a second expedition into the interior, [...] I am drinking in new life here all the time and I think I have got in some stuff to the M.G [*Manchester Guardian*] in time for the conference which may be quite vulnerable. I have also been writing direct to the F.O [Foreign Office] / I am writing my news on a separate sheet, as I have been doing with R up to now. Will you – this time and henceforward – circulate it to whoever he’s been having it before. / In these expeditions into the interior business and pleasure are combined, and I find that studying people as well as places makes the whole thing 10 times more fun.” (*I*, 128.)

³¹³ “although” (*I*, 128).

³¹⁴ “Prince of Whales and M. G.” (*I*, 128).

³¹⁵ “At Sira, [...] I launched [...] the G[ree]k boy scouts” (*I*, 128).

³¹⁶ “dispatches” (*I*, 128).

³¹⁷ “Two Ruined Cities. Ancient Ephesus & Modern Aidin.” *MG*, 22 March 1921, 6; “The Anatolian Greek[.] An Optimistic Race.” *MG*, 29 March 1921, 4.

³¹⁸ “Adam” (*I*, 128).

On this journey I started with Ephesos,³¹⁹ all spangled with Anemones, and went up to the mountain above it where Lysimachos' wall runs.³²⁰ Two Gendarmes went with me, as the machine guns were popping away over the hills.³²¹ The Italian zone is not far away.³²²

Then I spent two days at Aidin in the Maeander valley,³²³ with some Scotch people who run a liquorice factory there,³²⁴ and arranged a journey across the mountains to Tira.³²⁵

I wanted chiefly to see the mountains, but also to see how many soldiers they would give me. They gave me 10 and³²⁶ 2 horses, and we took 5 gendarmes extra from the Turkish village

³¹⁹ "Ephesus" (*I*, 129).

³²⁰ "Lysimachus was one of Alexander's generals and heirs, and he laid out Ephesus at a moment when all Asia, from the Aegean to the Pamirs, had been opened to Greek enterprise by the conquests of Alexander. From Ephesus the caravan-routes led up the three rivers into the interior, as the railways lead up them from Smyrna now. But Ephesus was greater than Smyrna has ever been. In the time of the geographer Strabo (about the beginning of the Christian era) the economic hinterland of Ephesus had spread into the provinces of Sivas and Kaisaria, diverting their exports from the ports of the Black Sea, and it was a more prosperous as well as a wider hinterland over which Ephesus ruled." "Two Ruined Cities. Ancient Ephesus & Modern Aidin." *MG*, 22 March 1921, 6.

³²¹ "11: Έφεσος. Η βιβλιοθήκη: Here I am in divine weather in a first day of a trip Ephesus – Aidin – Tira – Aivali. I am looking at everything from Hellenistic architecture to experiments in farming with motor tractus." (*I*, 127; this entry is absent in Toynbee's diary.) "Saturday 12 [February] / 8.0 A.M. started with 2 χωροφύλακες to 'Prison of st. Paul' and then back along top of Koressos. View of Samos, excavations and Ayasoluq plain" (*D*).

³²² "far off." (*I*, 129.)

³²³ "The district between the Sèvres frontier and the Maeander River, now occupied by the Greek army, is assigned by the treaty to the Turkish Administration and the Italian economic zone. This means the destruction or evacuation of the large Greek population. In July, 1919, during three days reoccupation by Turkish irregulars, after the first Greek occupation, the Greek quarter was systematically destroyed, over 2,000 Greek inhabitants killed, and many others carried away. [...] The Maeander Valley is the richest region in the whole of the Smyrna hinterland, and the number of Anatolian Greeks in Aidin city is already greater than before the 1919 catastrophe. But the situation is complicated by the anarchy and economic isolation of the southern half of the Maeander Valley, of which Aidin was formerly the economic centre; and if Greek control ceases on the north bank of the river, the final ruin of Aidin is almost inevitable." "Near Eastern problems for London," *MG*, 18 February 1921, 8. A further description of the Aidin massacre is given a month later: "The work was deliberately done. The buildings were not destroyed in the heat of battle but burnt one by one, and there is a sudden sharp boundary between the gutted Greek houses and the intact Turkish centre of the town. [...] I was shown gardens where people were killed wholesale, and a gully where individuals, entered on a written list, were taken out and slaughtered one by one." "Two ruined cities," *MG*, 22 March 1921, 6.

³²⁴ "Smyrna [...] is the headquarters of the largest liquorice firm in the world, because the best grade of root is collected in the Maeander Valley. This firm used to forward it from their up-country collecting-stations by the British Aidin Railway; but the chances of war placed the line in the hands of the Greeks and the principal root-bearing districts in those of the Turks, and severed the communications between them. Under such conditions, how could business be carried on?" (*WQ*, 170.)

³²⁵ "Sunday 13 [February] / [...] took train to Aidin, spent night with Pengelleys / Monday 14 / Spent day with Vasilikós (representative of Armosteia) and Col. Tsirogiannis (governor) / arranged journey to Tireh." (*D*) On the Pengelley family, see <http://www.levantineheritage.com/pengelley.htm>

³²⁶ "+" (*I*, 129).

where we spent the night.³²⁷—Dagh Emir, 22 hours³²⁸ from Aidin, and 10 on from there to Tira.³²⁹ The Turkish villagers are³³⁰ charming, but they live like the beasts that perish. My sergeant, who spoke perfect American and Turkish,³³¹ translated Tolstoy’s stories for me to them.³³² The Two pilgrims to Jerusalem (translated into 2 Haggis to Mecca) went down splendidly, and the man who bought land from the Bashkirs even better. They live on chestnuts, and though the village was in sight of the sea, the sardine I gave to my³³³ guide (about 60 years old) was the first fish he had ever eaten! But all this is going into an article—you³³⁴ must read the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*]³³⁵ Then I had a splendid ride with the captain at Tira to Torbali across the Caystrian plain³³⁶—4½ hours, trotting all the way. And at Torbali I visited a huge estate that once belonged to Abdul Hamid.³³⁷ Now it is a model farm and the Greek administration is ploughing it with motor tractors.³³⁸ Last night I stopped off at Paradiso and

³²⁷ “We started from the konak at Aidin after lunch—myself, the sergeant, nine soldiers, and two horses.” “In a Turkish village.” *MG*, 1 April 1921, 8.

³²⁸ “kilometers” (*I*, 129).

³²⁹ “Next morning we started early, for we had many hours—we could never discover quite how many—to go. At first it was six, it had risen to eight by midday, and it was ten before we actually arrived at Tireh.” “In a Turkish village.” *MG*, 1 April 1921, 8.

³³⁰ “where” (*I*, 129).

³³¹ “The orphans at Aidin had been enrolled as boy scouts; the scout-master was a sergeant of 23, who had spent four years in America, and was employed in the military governor’s office as interpreter in Turkish and English.” “The Anatolian Greek”, *MG*, 29 March 1921, 4.

³³² “[...] my sergeant [...] began to tell a story from the Koran [...] Seeing that the tale had a moral, I thought of Tolstoy’s short stories, and as my Turkish does not run to narrative, I got the sergeant to translate.” “In a Turkish village.” *MG*, 1 April 1921, 8.

³³³ “our” (*I*, 129).

³³⁴ “toy” (*I*, 129).

³³⁵ “In a Turkish Village. A Journey through the Mountains.” *MG*, 1 April 1921, 8.

³³⁶ “Tyra [...] Caysian” (*I*, 129).

³³⁷ “Friday 18 [February] / Spent morning with Frangopoulos and Pandeloukas, going over the Hamidie chiftlik” (*D*).

³³⁸ “tracters:” (*I*, 129). “At Tepé Keni my friends left me at the gate of the experimental farm [...] I was greeted by the director of the farm and enjoyed his hospitality for the night and the following day. [...] Tepé Keni is Government property. The estate originally belonged to Abdul Hamid. After the revolution of 1908 it was transferred from the Crown to the State, and allowed to go to rack and ruin. My friend found the house dilapidated [...] he brought with him two old tractors which some American had scrapped as useless, but which he has managed to repair. He has with him 12 soldiers, seven pupils (all local Greek peasants), and a mechanic. He reckons that, with tractors, one man can perform all the agricultural operations required for 100 hectares in the year. At present he is only beginning, but the possibilities of expansion are almost infinite. We climbed to the roof of a building [...] and surveyed his kingdom. The estate stretched away as far as the eye could see. [...] In the director’s mind [...] the real importance of Tepé Keni is educational. By this example, the peasantry—Turks and Greeks alike—are to learn to exploit the agricultural riches of the Smyrna zone.” “Agriculture in the Smyrna zone.” *MG*, 4 April 1921, 7.

spent the night with Dr. Maclachlan³³⁹ of the American college to get a corrective towards³⁴⁰ the Turkish side,³⁴¹ and sent off my final telegram before the conference this morning.³⁴²

Now I shall stay here several days and dive in amongst³⁴³ the Turks. But for all the rest of my journey you must read the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*]³⁴⁴ I think I can work it off in 4 articles. One gets almost suffocated with the mass of impressions.

I am writing this in the Consul's dining room, and his black Moslem cook from Suakin and his Xtian [Christian] Greek hous[e]maid from Bouja keep popping in alternately to screw me up³⁴⁵ in one direction or the other.

But here everyone is a politician especially while the *Συνδιάσκεψις του Λονδίνου* [Conference of London] [same words inscribed in Ottoman Turkish³⁴⁶] is on.³⁴⁷

Arnold.

[Toynbee's correspondence with family members in England ceases until April 2, due to the arrival of his wife Rosalind at Constantinople.³⁴⁸ The following entries in his diary (Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, MS. 13967/43) record his activities in the interim period.]

Sunday 20 [February]

Morning lay in bed with [c]old coming on, mended stockings, and received Abdúl Aziz Efendi Misirli, introduced by Amin, Morgan's servant Syakin. Afternoon, saw Philip graves, passing Smyrna on way to Palestine / Called on Mehmed Kad[r]i, Ali Riza's

³³⁹ The Reverend Dr. Alexander MacLachlan (1858–1940). American missionary in Turkey and founder of Smyrna's International College. "In 1922, during the Smyrna disaster, he was severely wounded by brigands and spent a year in Greece recovering": *The New York Times*, 9 September 1940, 15. Contemporary reports of the attacks he suffered by Turkish soldiers are reprinted in Constantine G. Hatzidimitriou (ed.), *American Accounts documenting the Destruction of Smyrna by the Kemalist Turkish Forces, September 1922* (New York and Athens: Melissa International, 2005), 48–49, 58, 105.

³⁴⁰ "over" (*I*, 129).

³⁴¹ According to Edward Hale Bierstadt, author of *The Great Betrayal: A Survey of the New Eastern Problem* (1924) "Doctor MacLachlan has always been known for his strong pro-Turkish sympathies": reprinted in Hatzidimitriou (ed.), *American Accounts*, 47.

³⁴² "Friday 18 [February] / [...] Afternoon, train to Paradiso, slept with Maclachlans. / Saturday 19 / Motored down with Dr. Maclachlan, telegraphed," (*D*).

³⁴³ "drive in among" (*I*, 129).

³⁴⁴ "Agriculture in the Smyrna Zone. A Greek Experimental Farm." *MG*, 4 April 1921, 7.

³⁴⁵ "Christian [...] Bonja [...] alternatively to shew me up" (*I*, 129).

³⁴⁶ I thank Kioumars Ghereghlou, Middle East Curator at Stanford University Libraries, for translating the words.

³⁴⁷ Toynbee's telegram, published anonymously under the title "Future of Smyrna. Suggested settlement on new lines" proposes an expanded Smyrna zone to be declared independent state for 25 years with Sterghiadis as president and a nationally representative administration under the high supervision of the Allies: *MG*, 23 February 1921, 7. See Appendix 2.

³⁴⁸ "My wife arrived at Constantinople, a few days before me, in March and started home by sea from the Peiraeus on the 15th August. Between those dates we were travelling together." (*WQ*, xxx.)

brother. Evening wrote 2 articles in club. / Abdúl Aziz discussed Smyrna question first from economic point of view. Of course pro-Turk, but would like facilities for Egyptian colonisation in Aidin and Adana Vilayets.

Monday 21

finished and despatched articles. Walked up to tea with Maclachlans at Paradise. [?].0 p.m. met Karatheodoris³⁴⁹ at Kraemer's³⁵⁰ and sat with Mr Romanos. Said good bye to Morgan. / Despatched: — / (xii) Two ruined cities / (xiii) The Anatolian Greek / (xiv) A journey through the mountains / (xv) The new agriculture (with photographs) [See Appendix 1]

Tuesday 22

Started a[rticl]es for MG. [*Manchester Guardian*] Broke off for meeting with Husni which Abdul Aziz had promised to arrange. Maclachlan turned up but no Husni. / Afternoon, finished and despatched a[rticl]es. Husni turned up with Abdúl [*sic*] Aziz and talked 3 hours. / Letter to MG. containing a[rticl]es up to Feb[ruary]. 18th inclusive and despatches + telegrams scheduled up to Feb[.] 12 inclusive. / Husni charming but intransigent.

Wednesday 23

Evangelical School³⁵¹ extremely chauvinist, especially the librarian. / Old mayor a fool. Notables constrained before Ali Bey. But arranged to visit Manisa with Mehmed Efendi / Yawash-Zade, and to have tea with Salepji Hajji Midhat Efendi / Morning. Visited Evangelical School with Pittakis. Called on Miss Williamsons and then was taken by Ali Bey ([Cutav?] Molen in service of Armosteia) to call on Turkish mayor of Smyrna + notables. / Phrangopoulos dined with me at Ionian Restaurant

Thursday 24

Morning, waited in hotel for Turks who didn't come. Lunched with Mr. David Forbes at Bonja. Tea with Dr. Husni, and met Ramsi Bey and his sister Bedia. Evening sat in Hotel lounge with Mr. Romanos. / Forbes unshakeably Scotch—strong character. Runs whole business from Smyrna, including Tereh, C. Asia and China (till 30 y[ear]s ago ran all this from Sohia [*sic*]). Discussed diversion of trade from Smyrna. / Husni an old dear. Bedià charming. Ramsi attractive. Upper class Turks turned into European gentlepeople. Husni's children good musicians.

Friday 25

Hair cut. With Pittakes to Evangeliki Skholi to see 11th cent[ury]. octoteuch. Saw representatives of g[ree]ks across Maeander. Saw Mr. le Bounvier. Lunched with

³⁴⁹ Constantin Carathéodory (1873–1950). Greek Diaspora mathematician, he had been Professor at the University of Berlin and Member of the Prussian Academy before accepting Venizelos' invitation to create the Ionian University of Smyrna. See Maria Georgiadou, *Constantin Carathéodory: Mathematics and Politics in Turbulent Times* (Berlin, 2004).

³⁵⁰ "Hotel Kraemer Palace was a socially frequented place thanks to its famous restaurant/bar and the Hellenic Club located in a top floor." <http://www.levantineheritage.com/note130.htm>

³⁵¹ <http://gym-evsch-n-smyrn.att.sch.gr/englishweb/english-Our-school.htm>

Archbishop and Karatheodoris and visited Stadium in Archbishops car. / 6.0 p.m. Hajji Midhut Salepji drove me out in his trap to his house in the Karantina. / The business Turk—my goodness! High heels, champagne, rag-time. Hajji Salepji not vulgar, his children less (both good musicians) but his brother! and his sister in law!! An English girl, I should think from music hall chorus, but *τέλος πάντων* a good soul. / It is difficult to talk politics when they are playing and singing reg[ular] time. They offered me classical music and I chose ~~Beeth~~ [Beethoven] Mozart. The children played a sonate—very well, but the company was immensely bored. / They are enraged nationalists but profess to accept British control

[“Feb. 26–March 10: Manysa, Soma, Kinik, Bergama, Yukhara Bey Keui, Aivali, Dikeli”]³⁵²

Saturday 26 [February]

9.45 train to Manisa. Caught by the nomarkhes [prefect] Husni Bey at station, and put in hands of gendarmerie officer Mandropylias. Paid calls with letter on Reshad Bey Pomakli, Mufti, Sheikh of Mevlevis [Sufi order]. Visited Ulu Jami (Binbir direk) and Muradie, made appointments with all Moslems for next day. Slept with Veziroghlus.

Sunday 27

Received in state by g[ree]k community Manisa. Escaped and visited Reshad Bey, Mufti, Osman Bey k are [*sic*] Osman Zade, Sheikh / Reshad Bey Pomakli, speaks and reads French, educated at Mamisa gov[ernmen]t. gymnasium. Equally hostile to Kemal and Greeks. Importer of agricultural machines. Partner Hakhi Bey, Muhajir from Salonika. Beaten and boycotted by CUP [Committee of Union and Progress] because his father summoned a g[ree]k doctor

Monday 28

Morning visited g[ree]k schools[.] Afternoon, visited Niobe and climbed vrahhos [*sic*] above her to get view of plain[.] Tea with Kampouroghlous. / 6.0 p.m. to Reshad Bey’s. One hour’s raki, then an enormous meal[.] Slept in Reshad Bey’s house. / I expounded plan of independent vilayet to all Turks here. They were stubborn, but all admitted that it was preferable to present situation. Their grievances are political—not personal sufferings

MARCH—Tuesday 1

Morning: called on Kadi, Mufti to say good-bye. Tried to visit Turk school, but no time was left, and headmaster did not turn up / given lunch by greek community / Afternoon, picked up Karatheodoris on train from Smyrna to Soma. Slept Soma with Gounaris / Incompetence of Turks both in organisation and advertisement. Their school was not in working order and they could not even show me what there was of it. / At Soma, charming Mosque with wooden pillars and ceilings

Wednesday 2

Morning, visited coal-mines (now in hands of French railway). Lunched Gounaris. Afternoon, drove to Pergama. Tremendous reception at Kinik half-way. Made my first speech in G[ree]k. / Slept at excellent hotel Pergama (Angelopoulos) / Kinik pathetic—

³⁵² WQ, xxx.

but they had got school and baths going again. / Purely agricultural g[ree]k community, claiming about 4000 before war. / Expression of genuine though undeserved gratitude towards Great Britain. Arrived too late at Pergama for reception.

Thursday 3

Received deputation of Pergama G[ree]k notables. Visited schools and Akropolis. Lunched *λέσχη* on *Γουρνέλια*. / Afternoon, visited amphitheatre and Vivan Kapu. Evening dinner[,] recitations, dancing, my second speech.

Pergama Akropolis on much bigger scale than Athens. Set, like Tralleis & Sardis, on an isolated spur of mountains parallel to plain with commanding view and with communications behind, leading up at right angles to plain, to county beyond mountains. / Fineness of work on temple on theatre Terrace comparable to Erekhtheion at Athens. Hellenistic—history repeats itself. / city of imperial period on site of modern town, sharply distinct from city of Attalids and their predecessors. Extraordinary scale of buildings. Amphitheatre encloses part of course of small stream. Present state, with deep bed of stream, filled with brambles, passing in and out through great masonry tunnels, extraordinarily impressive—also sinister. / Pergama greeks were turned out at 2 hours notice in 1914, between Balkan and European wars. In exile 6 y[ea]rs at Mitylini, lost everything but their lives. Wonderful vitality and optimism and organisation—also charming local society.

Friday 4

Spent whole morning on Akropolis again with Kiosklis. / Afternoon, visited Armenians and Jews and representative of Beledie Reis, also Hajji Tewfih, rich Turk. Visited Tumuli in plain. Given tea by Alexakis at Karak, with heads of communities

Saturday 5

Started late in morning with horses and 2 gendarmes for Yokara Bey Keni, largest village in the Kosah—an *όμαλό* north of Pergama. Perfect weather, great view of plain.

Sunday 6

9.0 A.M. started from Yohava Bey Keni. Rode 5 hours through *κουκουναριές* (pistachio) pines. Reached view of Ida and Mityline[.] 5 p.m., Aivali 8.10 .pm (10 hours ride) / Perfect weather and amazing country—snow on Madaras, vast forest of *κουκουναριές*, lunched at ruins of Perperene near Airetlar, and were guided by Hoja Hilmi (about 23, has one daughter of 1 y[ea]r) / N.B. 4 hours from foot of mountains to Aivali, but olive plantations only last 2 hours. slept Parisis.

Monday 7

Visited notables of Aivali at Metropolis, then the gymnasium. / Afternoon, presented by notables with copy of the Resolution voted at the *συλλαλητήριο* on Sunday. Made speech to crowd from balcony of club. Afternoon, to Moschonisia and A. Nikolas on motor boat. / Evening, theatre.

Aivali a g[ree]k island. No connexion with Anatolian hinterland. Nothing now but g[ree]k currency. / Self-contained community—Make oil and soap from own olives and export to Europe. Imposing factories (tanneries—from malaria—destroyed by Turks, oil

and soap w[ork?]s intact and working. Crushed stones and skins used for fuel. / Very pleasant society, though not with same charm as Pergama. Sharp distinctions of wealth and beginnings of corresponding social distinctions (increased by presence of the Mavrommatis, regular Athens people). But everybody goes to the dance and they all sit mixed up in the theatre. / Aivali is recovering fast, Moskhonisi harder hit.

Tuesday 8

Morning, visited churches and oil and soap factories, with Γκραβάλης, γραμματεύς of the διοίκησις. [sic] / Afternoon, made member of the Academy. Made another speech. given tea by διοικητής Mavrommatis. Dancing, theatre, dancing (went to bed at 3.0 A.M.[])

Wednesday 9

9.0 A.M. Boat from Aivali to Mitylini landed and visited Karatheodoris' cousin Panagiotis Koupa. / Afternoon, to bikeli. Reception. saw situation and destination. Arrived Smyrna 1.0 AM.

Thursday 10

Morning, landed and breakfasted with Karatheodoris at Kosti's. Despatched telegrams M.G. [*Manchester Guardian*] and C[onstantino]ple. Saw Koulambidhis and Abdul Aziz. Lunched with Major Johnstone and Kostis'. Dined with Mr. Romanos at Kraemer's. / Tel. (viii) to M.G 366 words = 3865.00 piastres.

Friday 11

Morning, business. Mistake over letter of indication, resulting in exchange of Barclay's second £50 circular note for Ottoman Bank's. / Lunch Holes at Bonja, called on David Forbes, attended sports at American College.

Mrs. Hole Mitylene French. Very charming, and they have a nice baby and are in love with each other.

Saturday 12

All day with Turks. Abdul Aziz, a rich man whose name I have forgotten who has a chiftlik near Aidin (His father and brother were massacred by the g[ree]ks in their retreat), Ramsy, Dr Husni. / Evening, dined with de Bouvier and Dr. Chassand.

Sunday 13

Morning, wrote letters. Early lunch, called on Miss Williamson, train to Paradise, afternoon with Maclachlan, evening, concert in turkish cinema.

Monday 14

Fixed up arrangements at G[ree]k headquarters in event of Brusa offensive. Lunch Holes at Bonja (it was on Bank holiday—picnickers everywhere). / Evening, dinner with Karatheodoris at Kosti's

Tel. (ix) to MG words = 2027.20 piastres.

Tuesday 15

11.0 A.M. Farewell interview with Sterghiadis. / Hole lunched with me at Kosti's. / Left Smyrna in Pantaleon SS. / Ἀρκαδιά about 5.0 p.m. / Caught the N[orth]. wind off Phokies and went to bed.

Wednesday 16

Woke up S[outh]. of Tenedos with Mitylene, Lekton and Ida still in sight (i.e. the back side of the view I had seen from the m[oun]t[ain]s above Aivali), spent the day going slowly through the Dardanelles in teeth of terrible north wind. Went below off Marmara Island. Rough again.

[*March 17–Aug. 2: Constantinople [...] journeys into the hinterland:*

March 27–April 5: Brusa, Pazarjyk, Kovalyja, Nazyf Pasha, Yenishehir, Köprü Hissar]³⁵³

Thursday 17

Arrive off Seraglio point during night, see S. Sophia and Achmedié from pathola next morning. Land at Galata quay and do not recognise R[osalind]. in her red Austrian boots and big bag, but am very much in love with her when I do. / Call on Gribbon at Harbié, back by tram.

(xvi) The Turk at Home / (xvii) Pergama / (xviii) Aivali

Friday 18

Tram in with R[osalind]. and take a first look at Stambul. / Call on British Embassy with Dr. Patrick.

Saturday 19

Speak on British Labour Roblund on Foundation Day of C[onstantino]ple College for Girls.

Sunday 20, Monday 21, Tuesday 22

Delivered introductions and saw sights in C[onstantino]ple.

Wednesday 23

G[ree]k offensive from Brusa and Ushaq begins.

Thursday 24

Lunch with Kennedy's, see Streit again. / Afternoon, news of G[ree]k offensive from Col. Stokes & Col. graves.

Friday 25

Spend all day getting G[ree]k visa through general Koutsis, trying to find substitute for British control (closed on good friday) through Ryan, and being assured by Gribbon that no control visa is necessary for Brusa

Saturday 26

³⁵³ WQ, xxx.

Fail by 10 minutes to catch steamer to Brusa, first at Galata quay and then at the control station off Scutari, owing to necessity of getting British visas / Tram to Yedi Kule. Walk to Edirne Kapu, and then down to Fatih tram

The Golden Gate might stand for last piece of exact workmanship of Hellenic civilisation (N.B. compare exactitude of early Osmanli and Selim masonry, e.g. Yeshil Jami at Brusa). / Otherwise, size and colour of walls, and impression of ruined city in quarters near them, reminded me of Rome. of Forum

Sunday 27

9.30 A.M. From Constantinople to Mudania in *Χελιδών*, Brusa by train. Called at strategion and got bed with Karassos.

3 Ushaq corps divisions take Afium Kara Hissar / Very heavy fighting at Avgin (3rd division.)

Monday 28

Morning, called at strategion, despatched telegram by Greek wireless to Smyrna / Afternoon, walked to point on Adranos road with view of Abulliond Göl, called on American School. / Evening, Epiteleion again

Tel. 11 from Brusa to Smyrna (paid other end) 314 words, / wirelessed in English to Smyrna by Greek headquarters.

10th division takes Chepni

Tuesday 29

Called Strategion, despatched telegram, arranged to go by lorry to headquarters of Army Corps at Bazarjik. Afternoon, climbed slopes of Olympus, tea in café next to Yeshil Jami, called at strategion again.

Tel. 12 from Brusa to Smyrna (paid other end) wirelessed in Greek to Smyrna by Greek headquarters (155 words)

7th division takes Kovalitsa.

Wednesday 30

7.0 A.M. started in lorry train for Bazarjik with Colonel. Giordano, Italian attaché at Smyrna. / Dined with General Vlachopoulos, commanding corps. / Evidently tension at corps headquarters

Thursday 31

Arrived mid-day at 7th Division headquarters, in a rheuma to right of Anatolian railway south of the pass / Nothing doing there that day, but evident tension and depression Fresh Turkish divisions arrive and attack 10th. Desperate fighting, Chepni taken and retaken.

APRIL—Friday 1

Morning early, walked up to Kovalitsa, commanding Eski Shehir plain on one side and southern debouchure of the pass on the other, with a view of Olympus over a depression. /

Afternoon, uncertainty and depression, constant changing of site for divisional headquarters camp.

Heavy fighting again on 10th division front. Turks on this sector get so near to Kara heni at rear of pass, on 7th div[ision].’s sector, that retreat of latter becomes necessary. / Fresh Turkish reinforcements reported by g[ree]k aeroplane reconnaissance in afternoon.

10th div[ision]. too badly mauled to stand; 7th div[ision]’s position beyond the pass untenable, if 10th retreats; 3rd div[ision]. also mauled and cannot be left in the air. Therefore general retreat ordered early in morning.

Saturday 2

4.0 A.M.–2.0 p.m. Retreat from old headquarters of 7th Div[ision]. about 2 kilometres before Kovalitsa to heights between Bazarjik and Ainegöl plains (35 kilometres) Nazif Pasha heights

[Saturday 20 March/2 April 1921]

from A. J. Toynbee / to his Mother / Mrs. S. E. Toynbee

7th Division Headquarters, / Greek Army of Asia Minor.

2nd April 1921.

Darling Mother,

I shall post this in C[onstantino]ple and by the time it goes off to you I shall be established again with Rosalind in an institution for the education of young ladies.³⁵⁴ At present I am sitting in³⁵⁵ a tent on the top of the watershed between the Aivegöl³⁵⁶ and Bazarjik plains—you will find it if you draw a lin[e] due east from Brusa to the Anatolian Railway—and we have just done a retreat of 35 kilometres³⁵⁷ between 4.0. A.M. and 2.0. P.M. Here we are quiet for a moment, I have done³⁵⁸ a wash and a shave, and feel almost a human being again. I am glad I was invited into this tent—2 of the 3 officers it belongs to are now asleep in camp beds round the sides of it—for there is vile weather coming up³⁵⁹ from Mount Olympus and a bad wind blowing. An hour or two ago and all the time this campaign has lasted³⁶⁰ the weather has been perfect—luckily for everybody—and when we arrived here the snow on³⁶¹ Olympus (the Asiatic one, of course) was shining away—we had seen it all the morning, as soon as we had turned the

³⁵⁴ Constantinople (Woman’s) College. See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Constantinople Woman’s College: constructing gendered, religious, and political identities in an American institution in the Late Ottoman Empire,” *Women’s History Review* 24 (2015), 53–71.

³⁵⁵ “at” (*I*, 132).

³⁵⁶ “Ainegöl” (*I*, 132).

³⁵⁷ “kilometers” (*I*, 132).

³⁵⁸ “to the moment and I have done” (*I*, 132).

³⁵⁹ “coming to” (*I*, 132).

³⁶⁰ “lasted so far,” (*I*, 132).

³⁶¹ “of” (*I*, 132).

corner of the pass through which the Railway goes to Eskisheh[i]r.³⁶² Hullo, not only rain but firing has begun. They have made contact with us again. Anyway, when we arrived, I could sleep in a field with my face in the sun, but now the weather has decidedly changed—which is another reason for getting down to Brusa³⁶³ in a lorry tomorrow and to Constantinople next day in order to send a telegram. The chief reason is that the Greeks have taken a knock, and Kemal hardly a lesser one, so that bad weather or good I think it will be some days³⁶⁴ or even weeks before they begin again, and meanwhile there may be some chance of preventing the beastly business beginning again at all.³⁶⁵ It is a beastly business, though I suppose it³⁶⁶ is only the last flicker of the great fire,³⁶⁷ and that that was infinitely more horrible. But anyway a dead man is a dead man, and they are not nice to see. The sudden fixation of a violent movement, like an instantaneous photograph, is very dreadful—the only mercy is that they look so unhuman³⁶⁸ that you think of them as something like waxworks, and forget that they had been men two days ago. There is something sinister, too, about the place where this is going on, so that in a day or two you begin³⁶⁹ to hate the hills and valleys (at least I did, though they were the sort of country³⁷⁰ I particularly like—wild, bare, rolling country³⁷¹ with rocky crests a[n]d crags sticking out of it). And the intense—and fascinating—activity of these thousands of people to produce the horrible results³⁷² of corpses and people coming down in stretchers is particularly obscene.

What a wonderful man Tolstoy is—that account in *War and Peace* of the sensation of³⁷³ getting in touch with the enemy is just what one felt, though I only remembered it now that I am resting.³⁷⁴ The sinisterness and the fascination certainly increase in the same ratio as you get nearer to the place where the obscenity is going on.³⁷⁵ Yesterday morning I wandered³⁷⁶ up to a crest called Kovalitsa, about 2 kilometres³⁷⁷ beyond divisional headquarters (up to 4.0. a.m. to day) which the [G]reeks had captured 2 days before. It had been heavily fortified by the Kemalists and taken after very heavy fighting by the G[ree]ks 2 days before. The Greek Army isn't ceremonious and I had a free pass to go anywhere I chose³⁷⁸ in the Division's Sector (most

³⁶² “lined the corner of the pass through which the railway goes to Eskisheh[ir]...” (*I*, 132).

³⁶³ “Brusa” (*I*, 132).

³⁶⁴ “become day” (*I*, 133).

³⁶⁵ “some change of the beastly business being prevented from beginning again at all.” (*I*, 133.)

³⁶⁶ “this” (*I*, 133).

³⁶⁷ “great fire and that,” (*I*, 133).

³⁶⁸ “inhuman” (*I*, 133).

³⁶⁹ “get” (*I*, 133).

³⁷⁰ “set of county” (*I*, 133).

³⁷¹ “county” (*I*, 133).

³⁷² “result” (*I*, 133).

³⁷³ “in” (*I*, 133).

³⁷⁴ “writing.” (*I*, 133.)

³⁷⁵ “into [...] when you get near [...] when the obscenity [...]” (*I*, 133).

³⁷⁶ “walked” (*I*, 133).

³⁷⁷ “kilometers” (*I*, 133).

³⁷⁸ “anywhere close” (*I*, 133).

of the Division know me now,³⁷⁹ as I am the only non-Turkish civilian hereabouts), so I wandered³⁸⁰ up to Kovalitsa early in the morning in a mist, and it certainly was a funny sensation, though when I got there[,] there wasn't an element of danger, as all the fighting yesterday was on the 10th Divisional front on our left flank.³⁸¹ But see forthcoming article in the M. G.³⁸² [*Manchester Guardian*] for all that.³⁸³

I must say that³⁸⁴ I like the Greeks on renewing a[c]quaintance (I am³⁸⁵ also of course charmed, as everybody is, by the Turks). I somehow think they are different from what they were nine years ago³⁸⁶—not nearly so Levantine—[b]ut maybe it is wrong to judge by the army, which has become a veteran army during those³⁸⁷ 9 years. I suppose the military frame of mind is the same in all practised armies and it is the opposite of Levantinism. Anyway, these men combine the friendliness and informality of Greeks with being thorough³⁸⁸ soldiers. The way this division (I haven't seen the others) is taking its retreat³⁸⁹—which is of course an awful political as well as military blow to them—is very admirable. They had heavy losses³⁹⁰ in capturing Kovalitsa, and one sees the plain of Eskisheh[i]r³⁹¹ from it, with nothing in between, and now after 2 days fighting³⁹² they have had to give it up.

It is odd that people give their lives for such silly things as a hill, when³⁹³ they often give so little to things that matter so much more. I believe that is pure convention,³⁹⁴ we give our lives for knocking another man out of a piece of ground simply because people did it 10,000 years ago. If it were proposed now for the f[i]rst time, no one would³⁹⁵ think it a sensible thing to do.

But I am getting sleepy again, and I must do a draft of my telegram. I am rejoicing in my strength—I have lived since the day before yesterday on 4 biscuits, 3 mugs of tea,³⁹⁶ an egg, half

³⁷⁹ “know me know” (*I*, 133).

³⁸⁰ “wondered” (*I*, 133).

³⁸¹ “it was certainly [...] any form of danger, all the fighting [...] was in 10th divisions front, on our left hand,” (*I*, 133).

³⁸² “forthcoming M. G article” (*I*, 133).

³⁸³ “Serious Greek defeat in Asia Minor. Eye-witness's story. Why the Kemalists won at Eskishehir. Politics v. Generalship.” (Brussa, Monday) *MG*, 7 April 1921, p. 7. Also, “With the Greeks in Asia Minor. Position on the Eve of Retreat.” *MG*, 11 May 1921, 4.

³⁸⁴ “say” (*I*, 133).

³⁸⁵ “was” (*I*, 133).

³⁸⁶ “superficially think [...] are rather different form [...]” (*I*, 133).

³⁸⁷ “that” (*I*, 133).

³⁸⁸ “though” (*I*, 133).

³⁸⁹ “(I have not seen the officers) is handling it's retreat,” (*I*, 133).

³⁹⁰ “They have...missed” (*I*, 133).

³⁹¹ “Eski Sehir” (*I*, 133).

³⁹² “after 2 days” (*I*, 133).

³⁹³ “such silly things while” (*I*, 133).

³⁹⁴ “all this is pure conventions,” (*I*, 133).

³⁹⁵ “should” (*I*, 133).

³⁹⁶ “4 pieces of biscuits, 3 cups of tea,” (*I*, 133).

a leek and water—slept on the ground, as³⁹⁷ far as it hasn[']t been too³⁹⁸ cold to sleep at all—and walked my 35 kilometres to-day and about 15 yesterday and feel extraordinarily well and vigorous at the end of it.³⁹⁹ I wish one could always live like it instead of in buses⁴⁰⁰ and tubes. Someday I will.

Send this to Lady Mary⁴⁰¹ and anyone else interested. I am looking forward to news of you and the girls when I get back to Arnautkeui.⁴⁰²

God bless you,

Your V.V.V.L.S. [very, very, very loving son]

Arnold.

Sunday 3 [April]

3.0 A.M. started from Nazif Pasha heights / 9.30 A.M. reached Ainegöl, then in lorry and Col[onel]. Harane's car to hill between Ainegöl and Brusa plains (= old G[ree]k positions). Sat on slope / and watched column pass till I fell in with mule carrying my baggage. / Then met Major Johnson and Heywood and went with them in car past Yenishehir to camp of 3rd Division (Gen[eral]. Trikoupis) / After many breakdowns, arrived Brusa 2.0 A.M.

Monday 4

Woke 9.0 A.M. late breakfast, went to headquarters, lunched with British at Madame Dórotte's. Wrote up what I had seen.

Tuesday 5

Morning—Train to Mudania, boat to C[onstantino]ple / Came up to Arnautkeui"

Tel. No. 13 from C[onstantino]ple = 561 words / Article (xix) Kovalitsa / Letter to Mr. Scott.

Wednesday 6

Morning—called with R[osalind]. on Vitali and Koutsis, secured 3 months visas for Brusa, bought cap

Lunch in College, with Admiral Bristol / Entertainment afterwards / Evening, Pera Y.M.C.A. dinner, spoke on war.

Thursday 7

³⁹⁷ "so" (*I*, 133).

³⁹⁸ "so" (*I*, 133).

³⁹⁹ "kilometers [...] and I feel [...] end of the day." (*I*, 133.)

⁴⁰⁰ "like that [...] of buses" (*I*, 133).

⁴⁰¹ Lady Mary Murray, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle, and Toynbee's mother-in-law (McNeill, *Toynbee*, 27).

⁴⁰² "Armakerni." (*I*, 133.)

Morning—To Brusa with R[osalind]. / From Mudania to Brusa with Lieut[enant]. de Troter, with whom I had travelled down on Apr[il]. 5

Article (xx) The greek Retreat + map

Friday 8

Morning, called on Karassos, visited Moja at Orkhan's Turbe, Ulu Jami, Yeshil Jami. /

Afternoon, visited Turk prisoners (privates) with Colonel Harane / Evening—failed to find Karassos, who was leaving for Smyrna, but met officer in 3^{ov} γραφεῖον, σῶμα στρατοῦ

Saturday 9

Morning—Called at 3^{ov} γραφεῖον Σ[ῶμα]. Σ[τρατοῦ]. saw the ἐπιτελάρχης and was given car. / Went with R[osalind]., Lieut[enant]. Lavallette, Yanni Spirakis (chauffeur) via Mudania Gemlik to Ermeni Solons, headquarters of 3rd Div[ision]. / Dined at headquarters mess, slept in house of Rebecca Kourian.

Sunday 10

Rode from Ermeni Solons to Bair Keni and Bourjoun, thence down gorge to Islam Solons. / Back in car to Brusa with Major Johnstone.

Isnik Lake notably higher than sea (road runs through ravine with considerable fall) and notably lower than Yenishehir plain, on which road emerges at Bourjoun without any descent. / Bad weather, but view of Brusa—Yenishehir road, Tympos to R[osalind]., Olympus in background

Monday 11

Up late; called on Gen[eral]. Vlachopoulos; Bazaars, lunch / Afternoon, walked to corner of lakaya road with view of Abulliond Göl, tea at American School, visited Muradie mosque's garden and turbés.

Tuesday 12

Morning, visited Turkish officer prisoners of war in military academy. / Afternoon, visited wounded g[ree]k officers 7th division + wounded Turk officers in hospital on citadel, / Called on Miss Everett, American Relief

Wednesday 13

From Brusa to Mudania in Major Johnstone's car, Turkish steamer to C[onstantino]ple.

Friday 15

(xxi) A Dangerous Legend / (xxii) The Victims / (xxiii) Greek Front after the Battle

Monday 25

Tel. 14 C[onstantino]ple = words

Saturday 7 [May]

Tel xv = 173 words

Monday 9

Article (xxiv) The Turkish Point of View

[Wednesday 28 April/11 May 1921]

Circular letter to friends / from A. J. Toynbee

Constantinople College, / Arnaoutkeui,⁴⁰³ Constantinople.~~(XXI) The Near and Middle / Eastern Problem.~~

11.5.21.

The time rushes along here terribly fast—I think, because there is a general atmosphere of waiting; the European business community waiting for the interior to open up before they are ruined; the Greek and Turkish soldiers waiting for the war to be finished off, so that they can⁴⁰⁴ go home; we waiting to get into closer touch with the Turks and perhaps further into Turkey before we have to leave,⁴⁰⁵ and the whole world waiting for war conditions⁴⁰⁶ to clear away.

Of course you get things in truer proportion at home. Here the chief ~~impatience of the~~ importance of the ultimatum to Germany,⁴⁰⁷ the coal strike, Ireland and Silesia is that they take up the attention of the Allied Governments, who alone can make any real settlement out here, and so prolong⁴⁰⁸ this ruinous paralysis in the near East. I suppose it is literally true that millions worth of economic loss⁴⁰⁹ is being suffered, thousands of people are dying, and hundreds of thousands being made acutely⁴¹⁰ miserable in the Near East because half-a-dozen people in London and Paris quite genuinely cannot [s]pare⁴¹¹ half-a-dozen hours to discuss the Near Eastern question.

It is difficult to make the local people realise that most people in England are not interested in Near Eastern affairs; that so far from⁴¹² taking a strong⁴¹³ line for [or] against one party here, they are taking no line whatever. The effects of this negative attitude, as⁴¹⁴ they are felt out here, are so positive and important that it is difficult to understand that they are not deliberate. I try and put the point that people in England are in the mass practically indifferent to what is going on in Ireland, next door. How then should they not be indifferent to the East?

⁴⁰³ “Arnaoutkeni” (*I*, 136).

⁴⁰⁴ “may” (*I*, 136).

⁴⁰⁵ See his draft letter to Halide Hanum (17/4/21): Γιαννακόπουλος, “Ταξιδεύοντας,” 134–35.

⁴⁰⁶ “the war-condition” (*I*, 136).

⁴⁰⁷ “to the Germans,” (*I*, 136).

⁴⁰⁸ “settlement here and not prolong” (*I*, 136).

⁴⁰⁹ “literary true [...] of the economic bale” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹⁰ “awfully” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹¹ “spend” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹² “of” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹³ “stray” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹⁴ “so” (*I*, 136).

But⁴¹⁵ apart from the difference of proportion, I don't believe the situation here is different at the bottom⁴¹⁶ from the post War situation in the West. What is the matter is the war state of mind. These people have had it more than we and have been more devastated by it—they are chronic invalids, but they are only more serious cases of the same disease.

Before the war we were obviously so much wiser and better behaved than they that we could do something for them—at least lay a⁴¹⁷ finger on the disease and point out the remedies with some hope of their agreeing with our advice, even if they didn't follow it.⁴¹⁸ Now our moral position is very different. What the Germans have done in Belgium and the English in Ireland rather chokes one when one is tempted to take a high line—still more the much less serious, but immediately present, example of Allied militarism here, especially in the requisition of houses, which is done in an altogether Prussian way, especially by the British contingent in the Army of Occupation. Perhaps, though, after all, this may make the gulf between us and these people easier to bridge, because it will compel us to treat them more as moral equals than we have done before, and I think it is possible [to] treat people on a moral equality, because on the whole we have all come pretty badly to grief, without forgetting also that on the whole we have had, and still keep, standards that they have not, and that the spreading of these standards is perhaps the only salvation for the world.

For instance, I am pretty pessimistic about a peaceful solution of the Graeco-Turkish quarrel in Anatolia, and I think this is owing to the vast unreasonableness of both parties. There are possible lines of settlement which would give both of them the things they fundamentally want, but when you discuss the question with either party on these lines, they only think you are a partisan of the other. The other day I showed a Turk—a rather clever and comparatively reasonable Turk, a précis of what I had been proposing in the M. G. [*Manchester Guardian*]⁴¹⁹—the first point being that the Greeks ought to evacuate Anatolia. But the only thing that made any impression on him was that I didn't propose to put back Smyrna under absolute Turkish sovereignty. He explained to me that this would be considered by all Turks as terribly hostile and I pointed out to him that it would be thought still more so by the Greeks,—but though he assented I saw he really hadn't grasped my anti-Greek points at all, and he began an elaborate exposition of why the Greeks should evacuate Smyrna—which I had proposed already. The finishing touch came next morning, when I read in a newspaper a proclamation by the Greek Gov[ernment] denying certain lying and malicious reports that Greece intended to make terms on precisely the terms that had upset my Turk.

Yet whenever one feels that both parties are hopelessly unreasonable one remembers the war state of mind in England; how “peace-talk” was received; how amiable humanit[a]rians like the Dutchman whose name ended in Van Beek en Donck [van Beek en Donk]⁴²⁰ were written down as German agents by us and as Entente agents by the Germans. And one feels that if one

⁴¹⁵ “That” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹⁶ “at bottom” (*I*, 136).

⁴¹⁷ “our” (*I*, 137).

⁴¹⁸ The remaining text is absent in Γιαννακόπουλος' transcript.

⁴¹⁹ “The Greek Retreat—and After. Problem of Anatolia. Two Possible Solutions.” *MG*, 13 May 1921, 14.

⁴²⁰ Benjamin de Jong van Beek en Donk (1881–1948). Dutch government official and peace activist: <https://digital.janeaddams.ramapo.edu/items/show/8378>

gives up trying to find a solution here one is really giving it up for Europe too. It is one disease, and one has to fight it everywhere. Only, one must not break one's heart, and for that reason I am thankful that I am a professor and can think of it all the time as a historical problem throwing light on other historical problems back to 4,000 B.C. So that even if the actual case is hopeless and the patients are bound to die, one can still gain a scientific knowledge of the disease, which is valuable in itself and may help perhaps later, in some very distant way, to save other lives.

I am in the middle of a short course of lectures at Robert College⁴²¹ on a non-national analysis of history; my stunt about civilisations being the smallest intelligible historical units, and so on. I feel it very much worth while. If one could at all propagate that historical view out here, one might combat the germs of chauvinism with which these people infect their children in their schools.

And one does love these people, one loves them in the mass, though one has equally strong repulsions towards certain individuals. One really loves the peasant and working classes of all the nationalities and finds very little national difference between them. They are genial and well mannered and straight forward and patient and surprisingly reasonable compared to their superiors—in other words, they lie outside the problem, because they are merely victims and not agents. The commercial and governing classes are the crux. One sees why European administrators in Eastern Countries hate the educated natives, but it is a tremendous mistake not to take account of them. You cannot exterminate them or side track them, and if you cannot get into satisfactory relations with them[,] sympathy between you and the peasants will be very little help towards solving the problem. It is in these upper classes that national differences come out and also those strange hybrid characteristics produced by the jumbling up of their civilisations with ours. It is as if a gardener had amused himself by grafting together two trees which were too different to harmonise. But it is worse than that, for if it had merely been done as a bad practical joke[,] we could undo it or simply not bother about it. But actually the blend has got to be made, and yet we don't know whether it can be successful.

The toughest and most interesting problem are the upper class Turks. The Educated Near Eastern Xtians [Christians] throw themselves at your head, and there is no difficulty about picking them up and seeing what they are. They are people who have lost their own civilisation and have taken ours to fill the vacuum. They have nothing to contribute except their vitality, and that may be very important for Western Civilisation in the long run. But at this moment, when we are fighting to keep quality and standards, they have nothing much to offer us. On the contrary, they are not gold but alloy—material to be refined and shaped very gradually, at a time when we already have too few potters and too much clay. I cannot be bothered about mixing metaphors—they show what I mean.

I feel pretty clear that the N. E. Xtian [Near Eastern Christian] isn't superior to the Moslem, though again I don't think he is inferior, if you extend your comparison over the whole of each nationality and don't limit it to certain classes and individuals. I think the people are the same stuff. I believe the striking progress which the N. E. Xtians have made in some ways as compared to the Moslems is due to a negative reason. Such progress as both have made lately is nearly all due to a finer civilisation—ours—and the Moslems, simply because they have kept an

⁴²¹ The American Robert College of Istanbul, founded in 1863.

individual civilisation of their own, have greater barriers to get over before they can learn from us, than the Xtians have, who have lost their own special traditions.

The Turks are very baffling, but I think this is because there is something in them positive and different from what is in us. One is up not against a blank but against a blank wall with something behind it. And I am going to go on trying to climb this wall.

Here one has really started under the most difficult conditions—state of war, British Military Occupation, limited time. Time is the important thing, and one must come back again and again, come and live among them without setting out to accomplish any particular thing, and content to get to know them very gradually. But Turkey is the place to get to know them, because here they are and still will be most independent. When they are under foreign gov[ernmen]t, as I have seen them at Smyrna, they shrivel up, and I suspect it is the same in Egypt and India. They are there all right—with their traditions and moral standards and customs, but you cannot get at them. One has got to see Moslems under Moslem gov[ernmen]t., and I now understand why the Indian Moslems are so keen on preserving some ~~style of~~ single genuinely independent Moslem state. They don't quarrel with their own position in India because under any other régime they would fare less well, but they do want there to exist, somewhere a sort of preserve where their civilisation can try to work out its own salvation and, above all, can settle for itself what it will take and not take from the West.

Appendix 1

Toynbee's (anonymously published) articles in *The Manchester Guardian*, January–May 1921

- “The Greek attack in Anatolia. Situation unaltered.” (Athens, Sunday), 19 January 1921, p. 7.
- “Greek policy to-day. Determined to fulfil obligations. Interview with new Premier.” (Athens, Tuesday), 21 January 1921, p. 7
- “Greece after Veniselos[.] An impression of the new situation. The King and Mr. Gounaris.” (Athens, January 23), 3 February 1921, p. 9.
- “Why Greece turned against Veniselos. His restoration by the Allies a blow to national pride” (Smyrna, February 1), 15 February 1921, p. 9.
- “The Anatolian campaign[.] Interview with Greek commander.” (Smyrna, February 2), 16 February 1921, p. 4.
- “First impressions of Smyrna. The western community and the Greeks[.]” (Smyrna, February 3), 17 February 1921, p. 6.
- “Near Eastern problems for London. A Turkish danger. Greek occupation or terrorism.” (Smyrna, Wednesday), 18 February 1921, p. 8.
- “Future of Smyrna. Suggested settlement on new lines.” (telegram), 23 February, p. 7.
- “The Smyrna problem. Views of the Western European colony.” (Smyrna, February 8), 28 February 1921, p. 8.
- “The Smyrna problem[.] Methods and aims of the Greek administration” (Smyrna, February 12), 4 March 1921, p. 4.
- “The Smyrna problem. Suggestions for a special administration.” (Ushag, February 14), 8 March 1921, p. 6.
- “The Ushag front. I.—A dormant campaign.” (Ushag, February 16), 11 March 1921, p. 9.
- “The Ushag front[.] II.—Greek army impatient to advance” (Alashehir, February 18), 14 March 1921, p. 10.
- “First impressions of Anatolia. The struggle between Greek and Turk” (Smyrna, February 20), 15 March 1921, p. 9.
- “Two ruined cities. Ancient Ephesus & modern Aidin.” 22 March 1921, p. 6.
- “The Anatolian Greek[.] An optimistic race.” 29 March 1921, p. 4.
- “In a Turkish village. A journey through the mountains.” 1 April 1921, p. 8.
- “Agriculture in the Smyrna zone. A Greek experimental farm.” 4 April 1921, p. 7.
- “Serious Greek defeat in Asia Minor. Eye-witness’s story. Why the Kemalists won at Eskishehir. Politics v. Generalship.” (Brussa, Monday) 7 April 1921, p. 7.
- “The Turk at home. Interviewing under difficulties.” 12 April 1921, p. 9.
- “Aivali. The city of the olive.” 26 April 1921, p. 14.
- “The rumours of a new Greek offensive. A dangerous venture.” (Constantinople, Monday) 27 April 1921, p. 7.
- “Allied officers in Asia Minor. The origin of a legend.” 9 May 1921, p. 12.
- “With the Greeks in Asia Minor. Position on the eve of retreat.” 11 May 1921, p. 4.
- “The Greek retreat—and after. Problem of Anatolia. Two possible solutions.” 13 May 1921, p. 14.
- “The Greek front after the battle. A visit to the Third Division.” 14 May 1921, p. 6.

- “The Anatolian war. Allies’ laissez-faire policy. A gloomy outlook.” (Constantinople, Friday) 21 May 1921, p. 6.

Appendix 2

“a parasite produced by Moslem conditions”: Toynbee’s Smyrna

Nowhere is Toynbee’s colonial perspective more focused and transparent than in his writings about Smyrna in 1921.⁴²² His subsequent analysis of the Greek mandate, in the *Western Question*, exposes what he thought to be the true causes and the ultimate culprits for the Asia Minor catastrophe (emphasis in bold is added):

It is thus exceedingly unlikely that the political situation established in Anatolia after the armistice would have been violently disturbed, and meanwhile **the economic factor would have been operating powerfully to bring the two conflicting nationalities in the country together. During those six months after the armistice, the economic prospects of Anatolia were more brilliant than they ever were or probably will be.**⁴²³ In the industrial countries of Western Europe, there was then an unprecedented demand for wheat, wool, leather, cattle, and other food-stuffs and raw materials which Anatolia produces; the internal transport system of the peninsula (though scanty) was intact; and in the temporary dearth of shipping, its proximity to the European markets gave it an enormous advantage; but above all Anatolia would have benefited by the economic disorganisation and isolation of Russia, the country which normally placed the same products on the same market in greater volume. The opportunity was remarkable, and **the French and British merchants of Smyrna and Constantinople**, heavily though they had been hit by the War, **started out confidently to take advantage of it. The prosperity to which they looked forward would have been shared by the Turkish agriculturist and the Greek middleman. [...] common economic interest would have linked the various classes (which in Anatolia are equivalent to the nationalities) together; and the balance would have been held by that new and long-needed factor: a neutral control. [...] If the Greek troops had never landed, assuredly the breach could have been healed and the *status quo* restored.** But the policy actually chosen by the Supreme Council not only kept the wound open; it inflamed it almost beyond hope of cure.⁴²⁴

Only economy—not history, language, faith, traditions, ancestors, saints and martyrs—would have guaranteed peace and prosperity for postwar Anatolia. An economy run and controlled by the industrial European powers (Britain first and foremost) through their merchant communities in Constantinople and Smyrna. Once the Western hunger for raw materials and resources was satiated, the local Greek and Turkish populations could also get their *baksheesh* to stop their “silly” dogfight over fatherlands. Money levels all other values.

⁴²² My reading here coincides with that of Γιαννακόπουλος: “Ταξιδεύοντας,” 88–96.

⁴²³ “Between the 30th October 1918 (the date of the armistice with Turkey) and the 15th May 1919 (the date of the Greek landing at Smyrna), the Allies had the future of Anatolia in their hands. The country was ringed round by their naval and military forces occupying the Arab Provinces, the Straits, and Transcaucasia, and was under the surveillance of control-officers superintending the execution of the armistice terms.” (*WQ*, 145.)

⁴²⁴ *WQ*, 147–48.

To Toynbee's bitter disappointment, the Allied Powers did the exact opposite. They allowed Greece to realize her territorial aspirations, while withdrawing themselves from the area. Anatolia thus turned into a new theatre of military confrontation between two nationalisms, Greek and Turkish, which disrupted commerce and destroyed the lives of millions on both sides. Although Venizelos is charged with setting things in motion,⁴²⁵ the ultimate culprit is Lloyd George, who, at the Paris Peace Conference, had succumbed to his "romantic" philhellenism, while dismissing the advice of Foreign Office's "experts," including a precocious Toynbee.⁴²⁶

In a desperate effort to avert the forthcoming disaster and influence the outcome of the London Conference (21 February–12 March 1921), Toynbee published a series of long articles in *The Manchester Guardian*—an introductory one followed by three under the heavy title "The Smyrna Problem."⁴²⁷ They demonstrate his exceptional bundle of talents as perspicuous field reporter, superb political analyst, and ambitious policy influencer. Seemingly reporting on all perspectives in the conflict, he clearly sides with Smyrna's European colonists,⁴²⁸ whose bitterness against the Greek "intruders" he compares with that of Germans against the Poles. (One wonders what the Levantine Europeans might have contributed in the holocaust of the Greek Smyrniots a year later!)

The articles are reproduced here together for the first time for several reasons. First, to demonstrate Toynbee's thoroughly colonial perspective, which grants historical rights to

⁴²⁵ "the crucial event in the tragedy was the landing of the Greek troops at Smyrna on the 15th May 1919, for which Mr. Venizelos and not King Constantine was responsible." (*WQ*, xxi.) "The disembarkation of the Greek troops at Smyrna did not merely produce a guerilla warfare in the hinterland. It created the Turkish National Movement, which rapidly secured control of the whole interior of Anatolia with its military resources." "It was the Greek landing that created the Nationalist Movement and goaded the Turks into a renewal of hostilities against the Allies on all fronts." (*WQ*, 84, 312.)

⁴²⁶ With the burning of Smyrna and the subsequent collapse of Lloyd George's coalition government in Britain, Toynbee could openly plunge the dagger into his enemy's heart: "The blood of [the Greek and Turkish] slain and the smoke of their burning cry out to Heaven, and the Recording Angel has certainly entered these items against the names of Mr. Lloyd George and his French and Italian colleagues [...] Mr. Lloyd George made the mischief [...] to stake the national and imperial interests of Great Britain upon an ill-informed and wrong-headed policy of his own." "Mr. Lloyd George erred not only with his heart but with his head." (Toynbee, "The *Dénouement* in the Near East," 409, 410.) Archival research confirms Lloyd George's big share of responsibility: "Downing Street contributed to war in Anatolia not only by providing diplomatic cover to Greece but by convincing the country that any such support was conditional on their unwavering belligerence." "Greece not only received moral support but diplomatic protection against hostile allies, aid in circumventing the arms embargo, and backing to secure loans crucial to the war effort." (Daniel-Joseph Macarthur-Seal, "Intelligence and Lloyd George's secret diplomacy in the Near East, 1920–1922," *The Historical Journal* 56 [2013], 707–28: 717, 709.) Most impressing, the encouraged military escalation included capturing Constantinople: Michael M. Finefrock, "Ataturk, Lloyd George and the Megali Idea: Cause and Consequence of the Greek Plan to Seize Constantinople from the Allies, June–August 1922," *The Journal of Modern History* 52 (No. 1, On Demand Supplement) (1980), D1047–66: D1063.

⁴²⁷ On 5 February, Toynbee records in his diary "Posted 3 articles on political situation Smyrna" (*D*).

⁴²⁸ His private dismissal of Smyrna's English Levantines (see letter of 27/1/21) indicates his insincerity and pursue of a colonial agenda. It should be noted here that the Greek landing in 1919 had caused strong Muslim protests in the British colonies: Macarthur-Seal, "Intelligence and Lloyd George's secret diplomacy," 725.

Smyrna's Levantine economic settlers from thousands of miles away, while denying them to its Greek population, already equal in number to the Turkish one,⁴²⁹ just because they arrived from islands across the city's harbor! Second, to apprise of or help understand that the Levantines and not the Turks had more to gain from the destruction of the city's Greek community. Finally, to remind of the irreparable damage to modern Hellenism by Toynbee's anti-Greek bias, as demonstrated in statements like the following:

[...] the burning of Smyrna, **supposing** that Turks and not Greeks prove to have been the incendiaries. (And, unless and until this is proved, **the presumption lies against the Greeks**, who are the convicted perpetrators of the arson in the interior.)⁴³⁰

All emphasis (bold font) in the main text is added.

[3 February, published in *The Manchester Guardian*, 17 February 1921, p. 6.]

FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF SMYRNA.
THE WESTERN COMMUNITY AND THE GREEKS[.]
(From our Special Correspondent.)

SMYRNA, FEBRUARY 3.

Few things are more uncomfortable than getting out of a steamer into a rowing boat with one's luggage in the dark and in pouring rain. This was the last stage in my journey to Smyrna. As I sat in the little boat's stem and watched the horse-trams ambling along the quay, and the lights blazing in the most enormous café I had ever seen, I began to untie my umbrella from my walking stick and noticed the Greek officer next me untying his mother's umbrella from his sword. The lady's umbrella may have been as effective as mine, but I felt sure that if we had to test them my stick (a shepherd's staff from Crete) would prove a better weapon than my neighbour's scimitar. As I thought of this I began to laugh. Next day I realised that Smyrna might be taken seriously. **The day after I began to wonder whether the play I was watching might not prove to be a tragedy.**

I wonder if Smyrna was ever visited by Edward Lear. The architecture and environment remind one of his pictures; sights meet the eye (I ask forgiveness) which might have inspired the *Book of Nonsense*, and the city seems just to have entered upon its mid-Victorian epoch, I have hardly set foot yet in the Turkish quarter, but the Frankish quarter does not correspond to contemporary ideas of a Western town. The streets, which run roughly parallel to the quay, are incredibly ill-paved, narrow and crooked, and the alleys that connect them crosswise are generally difficult to distinguish from the entrances into private premises. The houses, though crowded together, are low and unadorned. The only scope for decoration they seem to offer is in iron-scroll work, for all ground-floor windows are heavily barred. Perhaps I have seen Smyrna under the most adverse conditions. One day we had ceaseless torrential rain which submerged nine out of every ten cobble-stones and sent streams of water pouring from the roofs into the alleys. Next morning it was a north-west wind, as intemperate as the rain, which sent the waves from the harbour swishing over the quay. I watched the horse trams ambling through these waves

⁴²⁹ "Turks and Greeks. Rival Claims." *The Times*, 25 February 1921, 10.

⁴³⁰ Toynbee, "The *Dénouement* in the Near East," 415.

as I sat over my morning coffee at the hotel window, and then I began to realise that the tram service was remarkably efficient. The horses have to amble through waves, over cobbles, on which English horses could not keep their footing. But they go on ambling, and there are a great many trams on the line. They do not keep you waiting long, they are not crowded, and they are cheap. I began to compare them not unfavourably with the sumptuous post-war machines of the London General Omnibus Company, for which one pays more and travels in less comfort.

The Thrifty Smyrniots.

Apropos of this, I had a conversation with a British resident in Smyrna who does not belong to the native English population, and who talked with detachment as well as knowledge. In this part of the world, he argued, the people were really moving on sounder lines than we were in Western Europe. Here they cut their coats according to their cloth. The Smyrniots spent no money on their town; it was badly paved, badly drained, badly lighted, badly served in every way, and yet business was done here and profits were made. The Near Eastern peoples were like proletarians rising in the world. Western Europe, on the other hand, was like a bankrupt aristocracy. We had been ruined by the war, but we could not change our style of living. We insisted on retaining certain decencies or luxuries, whether we could pay for them or not, and we were living extravagantly beyond our income.

It struck me then that the dim, poky shops along the narrow streets were full of all kinds of objects which presupposed a public with an imposing purchasing power, that the villages in the neighbourhood were full of the Smyrna merchants' country houses, and that the terminus station of the Aidin railway, which runs up the Maeander valley into the interior, was better appointed than the average railway station in England of equal size. And I became aware of the hinterland, which is the source of Smyrna's prosperity. Smyrna is what metaphysicians call, I believe, an "epiphenomenon"—that is, a phenomenon inseparable from and dependent on another phenomenon from which it differs totally in kind. The life of Smyrna, the capacities and activities that flourish in its purlieus, could not possibly have come into existence on their own account. They are an artificial selection from all over the world, of those capacities and activities in which the Turkish peasant of the hinterland is deficient. **The peasant is primitive, his country is fabulously rich, and the prosperity of Smyrna is the legitimate reward of foreigners who have settled there as middlemen between the rural Turk and the outer world.**

This is the serious side of Smyrna. Two railway systems, with numerous branches, converge upon it from the interior. In normal times the lines are fed laterally by trains of pack-mules and camels. **The country-people are laborious, their labour is cheap, the country full of wealth which is only half developed,** yet Smyrna already has an established position of many centuries' standing as the principal port and business centre of Anatolia, and **Anatolia is potentially one of the richest countries in the world.** Its development has depended so far on the cooperation of the Anatolian peasant and the Smyrniot business community—two economic factors which are complementary to one another.

The Coming of the Greeks.

But here the element of tragedy comes in. **The Franks of Smyrna and the Turks of the hinterland understand one another very well, but there is another factor which both would like to—but cannot—ignore: the Greeks.** When the French, English, Dutch and other Western families who have built up the trade of Smyrna, and their own fortunes with it, settled here two

centuries and three centuries ago the Greeks were not an important element in the population. **The trade of the Turkish hinterland was shared between the Franks and the Spanish Jews. But for the last century and a half the Greek has been gaining ground steadily.** Greek merchants and shippers came over from the Islands and Greek peasants settled first on the coast, then (in spite of the insecurity) in the interior, and latterly along the railways which Western enterprise had made. **The Greek, equipped with the apparatus of Western civilisation, entered into competition with the Westerners themselves for the economic domination of Smyrna and the hinterland,** and the collapse of the Turkish Empire has suddenly carried the rivalry into the political plane.

Who is to be the Turk's political successor? **After the Armistice the Western community in Smyrna,** accustomed to manage the economic life of the country by tact and long experience, **looked forward to the maintenance of Turkish sovereignty over an undivided Anatolia, but under Western advice and effective control.** They were confident that a form of Western control could be devised which would be both effective and at the same time acceptable to the Turkish community, and **they contemplated the renewal of the old partnership between Frank and Turk, this time with the Turk as subordinate partner in the political as well as the economic sphere.**

But they had not reckoned with the Greek and with the force of the Hellenic idea. The interests and traditions of the French and English colonies here cannot draw French and English soldiers from their homes to stand under arms in Anatolia. But the aspirations of the rising Greek element in the province, and **the memories (artificial revival though they may be) of Ancient Greek colonists on this coast** many centuries before the Frankish colonists came, are potent enough to induce 100,000 Greek soldiers to serve in Anatolia two years after the Armistice. Whatever the Allied Prime Ministers may agree upon in Paris or London, this local fact may prove to be the decisive factor in the situation.

French and English Resentment Against the "Intruders."

At any rate, **the Greek army and the Greek administration are very much in the foreground at present, and the Smyrniot French and English feel bitterly about the situation.** Many of them have been here for generations; Smyrna is their home; they love the country and are proud of its wealth, which they have done so much to develop themselves; and **they would not be human if they did not resent the intrusion of the Greeks upon their vested interests.** They take a gloomy view about the future of Smyrna under the Treaty of Sèvres. The Greek zone only covers a fraction of Smyrna's commercial hinterland. Even the much larger area beyond the political zone which is now included within the Greek military lines is not sufficient to maintain the prosperity of the city, and the more easterly sections of the French and British railways both run beyond the Greek lines into the country of Mustafa Kemal. While the war between the Greeks and Mustafa goes on, these sections are of course, unable to work, and the withering of the railways' outermost branches is typical of the general fate of the economic activities of Smyrna, in the remoter hinterland.

The Western community sees the national economic unity of Anatolia broken up, a fertile country, which they love, in great part ravaged and ruined, the Turkish population, with which they have been accustomed to do business, subjected politically, not to them but to a third party; and in addition to all this, or rather because of it, they are hard hit financially themselves. **They**

feel towards the Greeks rather as the Germans feel towards the Poles or the Austrians towards the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs. They look on them as interlopers of an inferior civilisation who have beaten them, not in fair fight, but through being backed by powerful protectors. And the irony of the situation, from the Smyrna Englishman's point of view, is that the principal protectors of the Greeks are the British Government. The Smyrna English feel that they themselves have been defeated as a result of the British victory over Turkey in the war, and this is hard for them to bear. For this very reason it is also hard for them to do justice to the Greeks, and their standpoint must be taken as one among several inevitably biased points of view. I shall write of the Greek point of view when I have visited the front and seen something of the administration of Mr. Stergiadhis, the Greek High Commissioner, in the zone potentially assigned to Greece under the Treaty of Sèvres. When I return from this journey I also hope to see something of the Turks. But so far I have been in Smyrna only a few days, and I shall not attempt just yet to give any verdict on the pleas of the several parties to the case.

[8 February, published in *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 February 1921, p. 8.]

THE SMYRNA PROBLEM.

VIEWS OF THE WESTERN EUROPEAN COLONY.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

SMYRNA, FEBRUARY 8.

I will try to state briefly what Smyrna is, what has happened to it since the Armistice, what are the views of the chief communities in the city and its hinterland on the present situation, and what the possible alternatives to this situation appear to be. The local factors are the least known in England; the local communities have the least opportunity for putting their case. Of course, everyone here realises that the problem which is life-and-death to them will be settled not here but in London or Paris, and probably not on the merits of the local situation. Yet in equity the local factors ought to be the principal consideration. Without seeing it for oneself it is difficult to realise the importance of the human interests or the extent and productivity of the territories concerned[.]

Smyrna is a port with about 350,000 inhabitants and large residential suburbs. **It lives, and always has lived since the beginning of its history, on the trade of its hinterland.** At times this trade has been shared with rivals, but now Ephesus and Miletus are archaeological curiosities. Since the 16th century, at least, the whole trade of the west coast of Anatolia has been concentrated at Smyrna, and the hinterland of this trade has been expanding. The French and British railways, begun after the Crimean War and gradually pushed up on the plateau, have extended the economic dominion of Smyrna over about a third of the Anatolian peninsula. During the few years before the war the Germans built the Anatolian Railway across Smyrna's line of advance and tried to head off the trade of the interior to their new port of Haidar Pasha, on the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople[.] But this diversion was artificial, and the defeat of Germany has killed her railway policy in the Ottoman Empire. During the war the Smyrna vilayet was not a zone of military operations. The Vali, Rahmi Bey, treated the Western community (mostly belonging to nations at war with Turkey) well, and refused to massacre the Armenians. The city, the people, and the province of Smyrna emerged from the war comparatively intact, with the fairest expectations of political improvement and economic prosperity.

A Victim of After-the-War.

Smyrna is one of the victims of the war—after the war. October, 1918 (the date of the armistice with Turkey), not October, 1914 (when Turkey entered the Great War), was the beginning of her misfortunes; since that date she has seen a two days' massacre in her streets; fighting all up and down the richest part of her hinterland, the Maeander Valley, where, I am told, that there are now devastated areas reminiscent of Northern France; the establishment of a military front in the interior, which cuts her railways in halt and pares down her hinterland to an area on which she cannot live; and, finally, the delimitation, under the Treaty of Sèvres, of a still smaller zone round the city, which is to be placed for five years, and, possibly in permanence, under a different government from the rest of Anatolia. No doubt the treaty constitutes Smyrna a free port for the territory excluded politically from the Smyrna zone, and the makers of the treaty will argue that the political separation of this zone from Turkey is without prejudice to the economic unity of Anatolia. **But the business community of Smyrna see their hinterland cut in pieces at present, not by mere political boundaries but by trenches and no-man's lands, infested with brigands, and there is no prospect locally of this paralysing state of insecurity being brought to an end. The Smyrniots would be less bitter if the misfortune that has overtaken them had been caused by the war.** Their good fortune during the war, their high hopes at the Armistice, and the sabotaging (as it appears to them) of the economic life of this country by the decisions of the Supreme Council, are more than they can bear with equanimity.

The Business Community.

When I talk of the business-community I mean the West European inhabitants of the city and its suburbs, with such other elements in the population as depend on them economically. The Dutch are the oldest, the French and British the largest of these Western colonies. They have all been here since the latter part of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. Certain families have lived here from generation to generation continuously for 150 years. This is their home. They love the country, are proud of its beauty and fertility, and are wrapped up in the business enterprises which have made their fortunes and enriched the province. The American community, though the youngest, has so thoroughly identified itself with educational and other philanthropic enterprises that its roots now strike as deep as those of the others. These people can justly claim to have made Smyrna what it is, and they are hit hardest, both in pocket and in sentiment, by the present situation. **They make a scapegoat of the Greeks. To their mind (speaking generally) the misfortunes of Smyrna date from the Greek occupation. Their ideal is an 'integral Anatolia' with Smyrna for its economic capital and a unitary Turkish Government** (in the commercial hinterland of Smyrna, taken as a whole, the Turks are enormously preponderant) **under the control of some or all of those Powers of which the Western residents in Smyrna are nationals.** They had practically attained this ideal during the months between the capitulation of Turkey in the autumn of 1918 and the landing of the Greeks in the following spring. This is the situation to which they wish to return.

[12 February, published in *The Manchester Guardian*, 4 March 1921, p. 4.]

THE SMYRNA PROBLEM
METHODS AND AIMS OF THE GREEK ADMINISTRATION
(From our Special Correspondent.)

SMYRNA, FEBRUARY 12.

In my previous article I explained the point of view of the Western Europeans in Smyrna. The Greeks see things very differently. **The great majority of the population of Greece has no economic status in Smyrna. For them the occupation of this country means the liberation of their unredeemed fellow-countrymen and an important step on the road towards the recovery of Constantinople.** With the local Greeks also nationalism is the first consideration. They are beginning to discover that their national allegiance and their economic interest may pull different ways, but they are prepared to sacrifice much for their political ideal, and for them the restoration of Turkish rule is an appalling prospect after the Greek has been top dog and—for a very brief but most regrettable period at the beginning of the occupation—has misused his position. Moreover, many of the Ionian Greeks are not traders in Smyrna but peasants in the country districts along the coast, who lived in great insecurity under the Turkish regime, and for these the Greek occupation has been nothing but a gain. And then there are the Greek administrators. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing the local Greek officials at work, and the character of every Government depends on the average standard of its personnel. But except for the gendarmerie, which the Greek High Commissioner has taken over entirely, I understand that the pre-existing authorities have been mostly left in their positions, and the guiding spirits at the centre, who are the new element in the government of the country, certainly make a very favourable impression. The High Commissioner, Mr. Sterghiadis, and his principal assistants are unquestionably giving the Smyrna zone the best administration in their power. Their task is beset with difficulties—the initial hostility of the Turkish and the western elements in the population; the acute party divisions among the Greeks; the economic dislocation produced by the fighting in the hinterland; the splitting of the hinterland into several isolated fragments; the discord between the Allied Powers, which, in spite of the signing of the treaty, prolongs the atmosphere of uncertainty in regard to the political future; the difficulties deliberately placed by certain Powers in the Greek Administration's path; and finally the general discomfort and unrest from which Smyrna, like the rest of the world, is suffering in consequence of the Great War. Mr. Sterghiadis and his colleagues are not dismayed by these obstacles, and they are not, I think, exploiting their authority for the benefit of their own countrymen. I am convinced that they are single-minded in their aims, and that they are working with all their might for the good of the country and population as a whole. Coming from Athens, where all the world talks party politics and cannot get away from the controversies of 1916 and 1917, I was struck at once by the fact that these men talk about administrative problems and are looking all the time towards the future. The “good civil servant” is, happily, a familiar type in the British Empire. I have found Greek examples of it here. These are essentially professional administrators in spirit, though in fact most of them are distinguished recruits from other careers. Mr. Sterghiadis himself is a barrister, and was only persuaded with difficulty to enter public life. His colleague who is organizing the University—which includes in embryo the departments of public health and agriculture is a mathematician [Constantin Carathéodory]. They are full—almost too full—of ideas, and when I

talk to them, I feel as if I were talking again with the British administrators of Mesopotamia during the war period. I find the same devotion to the task, the same belief in the future of the country, the same delight in constructive work, and also, perhaps, the same tendency to overestimate the extent of what administrative action is able to accomplish, the same desire to jump at fences, instead of looking for a way round them, the same under-estimation of difficulties (for instance, of these created by the existence of the Capitulations), and finally the same dangerous inclination to treat the raw material of administration as if it were lifeless metal or clay, and not living men and women with aims and ideas of their own.

Public Security.

There is something very attractive to an Englishman in these Greek civil servants. For them it is a new experience to put an undeveloped country into order. They are in the first stage of the colonial problem, in which the material aspect predominates and in which brilliant results can be achieved by honest work. They are not troubled yet by those psychological factors which came to the front in the second chapters, and which are baffling British administrators just now in India and Egypt. The great thing they have achieved already is public security. This is admitted by all parties in Smyrna, including those avowedly opposed to the Greek regime. You can now walk about in safety, not only in the country districts, but in the immediate neighbourhood of Smyrna city, which counted, under the Turkish regime, as one of the worst-policed districts in the world. They reckon, I think, that if they can gradually effect corresponding improvements in other public services—if they can modernize the port, extend the railways, irrigate the plains, stamp out malaria, and reduce the menace of syphilis—they can win the support of the non-Greek elements in the population.

Personally, I think they are too optimistic. The western colony likes material improvements, of course, but is it willing to purchase them at the price of its privileged position? Commercially it may be more profitable to live in a misgoverned Turkey under the shelter of the Capitulations than as an ordinary citizen in a decently governed Greek territory. And again, the Capitulations give those who enjoy their privileges an unquestioned status, while if the Smyrna zone is eventually annexed to Greece and the Capitulations disappear there is no security that the general standard of public morality in Greece will realise the aspirations of the present specially-chosen Greek administrators of the Smyrna zone. **I fancy that, for Greece, the conciliation of the western colony in Smyrna is going to be a thorny problem, even if the economic relations of port and hinterland are successfully restored.**

The Massacre of Moslems.

Then there are the Turks. It is said of Mr. Sterghiadis (and not only by Greeks) that where there is an issue between a Turk and a Greek he goes out of his way to favour the former. One of his colleagues remarked to me (I am sure with sincerity) that the conciliation of the Turkish population in the zone was the solution of the political problem. In this matter Mr. Sterghiadis has had a remarkable success. He arrived in Smyrna on the fifteenth day of the Greek occupation. During the first two days there had been a massacre of Moslems in the streets and on the quay. It was perpetrated by the disembarking Greek troops, egged on by the local Greek population. I have listened to detailed accounts of this massacre from three separate eye-witnesses, and an inter-Allied Commission, appointed to investigate it, drew up a report, which was long held back, but was subsequently published, at least in part, in the press. I am afraid that the affair was about as bad as it could be. Even if there was provocation (which is a disputed

point), the killing went far beyond retaliation, and I am told that the looting lasted ten days or so longer than the bloodshed. When Mr. Sterghiadis arrived he stopped this dead, and he has apparently succeeded by now in counteracting the moral consequences of this deplorable prelude to his administration. Whatever the Smyrniot Turk may feel, the High Commissioner's Government has certainly won the confidence of the Turkish peasantry. Turkish peasants from Mustapha Kemal's country have come as refugees into the Greek lines; when the Greek troops have made reconnaissances and then retreated, they have latterly been followed, in several cases, by part of the Turkish population, who seized the opportunity to escape from Mustapha's power. The recent submission of Edhem Bey, a feudal magnate from Salihli, on the extreme eastern border of the Smyrna zone, who has hitherto been one of Mustapha's lieutenants, is a remarkable triumph. In fact, the Greek Administrator is delighted with the rural Turk, just as the first British administrators in Egypt were delighted with the fellah. You can do so much for him; he is so easy to manage; he works so hard; he has all the primitive virtues. Governing him is as satisfactory as breeding prize cattle. And yet—the comparison with Egypt suggests misgivings. Can he be bred beyond a certain degree? Will he not become less manageable in the process? Have you really a free hand with him? Can you annul the overwhelming influence of his religion? Can you successfully compete for his allegiance with the mufti and the bey? Let us admit that his national leaders do not work for his interests but exploit him for their own. Is he so intelligent that he will realise where his true interests lie? Can you counteract the suggestions they will always be implanting in him? No doubt, if the Greek Administration had the Turkish governing class on its side all would be well, but that (as we know ourselves in Egypt, India, and Mesopotamia) is virtually impossible. How can a new Government be liked or even tolerated by the old rulers whom it has supplanted?

The Submission of Edhem Bey.

Take the case of Edhem Bey. I happened to be in General Papoulas's headquarters at Smyrna when Edhem came in to make his formal submission, and I saw him for a minute as he walked out of the General's room. He looked a proud, surly, violent-tempered kind of a man, and he is credited with having many people's blood on his head. I wondered what would happen when he returned to his estates at Salihli. For the moment he has quarrelled with Kemal; he wants to go home and look after his affairs; he has made up his mind to come to terms with the Greeks. But can he become permanently reconciled to the Greek Administration? Under the old system he was a feudal lord, accustomed to treat the Turkish peasantry on his estates as he pleased and to dominate the neighbourhood. No doubt the law and order of the Greek regime will in time increase his rents, but it will also deprive him from the outset of his arbitrary power. He can no longer reign—for good or evil—over Salihli, and if he clings to his estate and becomes a citizen of the Smyrna zone he cannot continue his career in the military or the civil service of the Ottoman Empire. No doubt he could serve under Mr. Sterghiadis—if he had either the desire or the qualifications. But feudal barons do not easily find a niche in modern colonial Administrations. I prophesy that Edhem Bey and his kind will give Mr. Sterghiadis trouble, and that the Turkish peasantry on their estates will follow their lead, as they have done for generations, even if it is against their true interests to do so.

Educated Turks' Grievance.

As for the educated Turks in Smyrna and the larger provincial centres, like Manisa or Odemish, I have not yet had an opportunity (as I hope to have later) of discussing the situation with them directly. But there is an important class of Turks in the district—officials, lawyers,

doctors, and cultivated men of leisure—who (like the Greeks, though less thoroughly) have come under the influence of Western civilization. The friendship of this class is all-important for the success of Mr. Sterghiadis's policy, but I have heard from several sources (though so far at second hand) that he has wounded the feelings of this class rather seriously by the sequestration of the Sultaniyya School, the big Moslem educational institution in Smyrna city which prepares boys for the University of Constantinople. This is the point in Mr. Sterghiadis's policy on which I have heard the most serious criticism. He has, I suppose, a good technical case. Under the Treaty of Sèvres, the High Commissariat is empowered to take over all Ottoman Government property in the Smyrna zone. The Sultaniyya School falls under this category, though I am not sure that part of its fine buildings and considerable endowment in landed property was not originally given by private donation. Mr. Sterghiadis wants the building for law courts, and he has offered to pay the rent for another building to house the Sultaniyya School, if the Turkish community can find one. But it is notorious that in Smyrna the house famine is as acute as in most other large cities of the world, and also—what is going to happen to the large income which the school draws from its landed property? Is that to go with the buildings? I suspend judgment till I have made inquiries on this point, but, anyhow, the paralysis which has overtaken the school through the loss of its buildings has created very great soreness among precisely that element in the Turkish population which really cares for progress and which ought therefore to have been conciliated before all others by an enlightened administration. There is surely an error of judgment here which can be and ought to be repaired before it does further harm to Mr. Sterghiadis's policy. It is not characteristic of that policy, and I have dwelt on it because it is the only serious blot I have discovered so far upon what is otherwise a very fine record.

My first hasty verdict on the Greek administration of the Smyrna zone, taken as a whole, is that it is a very creditable beginning in the face of formidable difficulties, and that it would be an act of wantonness on the part of the Allied Powers to wreck it in the midst of its work. I do not think that they have anything comparable to put in its place, but I will leave the question to my next article, in which I shall discuss the future.

[14 February, published in *The Manchester Guardian*, 8 March 1921, p. 6.]

THE SMYRNA PROBLEM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR A SPECIAL ADMINISTRATION.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

USHAG. FEBRUARY 14.

As far as I can see, there are four solutions of the Smyrna problem in the field at present: (i.) the Treaty of Sèvres, (ii.) a modification of the treaty in favour of the Greeks by an enlargement of the Smyrna zone, (iii.) the abolition of the zone and restoration of Ottoman sovereignty *sans phrase*, and (iv.) the establishment of a special administration, neither under Greek nor under Ottoman sovereignty, not merely Smyrna city and the zone delimited by the treaty, but over the greater part of that far larger area which constitutes Smyrna's economic hinterland.

The treaty has the immense advantage of actually holding the ground, but I have found nobody in Smyrna who has any positive good to say of it. The western commercial community hates it because it cuts their hinterland in pieces. The Greeks are discontented with it because it

saddles them with an indefensible frontier in the Hermos valley and leaves on the wrong side important Greek minorities who are at present behind the shelter of the Greek military lines. The Turks (or rather the politically conscious element among them) cannot bear any settlement which gives Greece a foothold on the Anatolian mainland. The French Government are opposed to it because they want to conciliate the Turkish governing class and so draw Turkey into the wake of French foreign policy. The Italian Government are working against it because they wish in every way to limit the aggrandizement of their Greek neighbours. **What the British Government want I do not know; possibly they do not know themselves; but I am embarrassed by the strength of the conviction, prevalent among Greeks of all parties and classes, that Mr. Lloyd George has constituted himself their champion.** I fear they may be disillusioned, and at the same time I should on the whole be surprised if the Treaty of Sèvres did not ultimately survive, however unworkable the Smyrna clauses may be.

Impossible Greek Aspirations.

The second solution—an extension of the Greek zone—need hardly be taken into consideration. It is inevitable that the Greeks should dream of it, for if you go by train from Smyrna to Alashehir, as I did the other day, it is an unbroken plain all the way, and you are hardly more than 200 metres above sea-level at the eastern end of it. From the geographical point of view the valleys debouching on the Aegean coast are a unity right away up to the edge of the Anatolian plateau, on the Greek military front[?]. And as for considerations of nationality—well, the population in a major part of the Smyrna zone as delimited by the treaty is as overwhelmingly Turkish as it is at Alashehir or Ushag, and if the Powers have given Greece (in effect) such Turkish cities as Manisa or Odenish, on what ground of principle do they deny her the heads of the valleys? I sympathise with the wish of the Greek soldiers for a strategical line and with their reluctance to abandon any Greek minority, however small, to the mercy of the Kemalists. And yet these Greek aspirations are surely impossible. The Italians would never consent to them (the Italian zone of economic influence under the treaty includes Alashehir and encircles the Smyrna zone on the south and the east). The French would never consent either, and the British Government have no incentive to quarrel with their allies and their Moslems in order to modify the treaty in Greece's favour. Nor would the extension of the Greek zone solve the economic problem.

There is a limit to the number of Turks that even the most optimistic Greek Imperialist is prepared to take in, and I have found no Greek who lays claim to the permanent possession of any part of the plateau. Yet the economic hinterland of Smyrna extends a long way east of the heads of the valleys, and this town of Ushag, where I am writing, is a great centre for the manufacture of "Smyrna" carpets—so called because these carpets are ordered, bought, transported, and placed on the world-market by the western business community in Smyrna city. Such Greek aspirations are hardly feasible, nor are they, I think, desirable in themselves.

What Restoring the Turk Would Mean

The third solution—the restoration of Ottoman sovereignty—is desired, I suppose, by every politically conscious Turk, and the French and Italian Governments have created the impression that they favour this settlement. I believe that the western community in Smyrna, in their present mood, would also accept it gladly, but they would do so with a very important reservation in their minds—namely, that the restored Turkish Administration should be subject to Allied control. If you ask them whether they dislike the present situation so much that they

would welcome the restoration of Turkish sovereignty undiluted, they generally do not answer your question directly, but remark emphatically that the Turk as a ruler is impossible. By the restoration of Ottoman government the western community in Smyrna really mean the erection of an Ottoman façade, behind which they intend to exercise the real authority themselves with the backing of their own Government. During their long history, the western colony have generally got on well with the Turk, and they are very confident about their ability to manage him now.

I think that they are over-confident, and that if Ottoman sovereignty is restored they may have a very disagreeable surprise. The ability of the French and British Smyrniots to manage the Turk depends on two things—the willingness of England and France to support their nationals abroad, and the willingness of the upper-class Turk to be “bossed” by tactful foreigners. I doubt whether the western community would be able to rely on either of these factors now as they have done in the past. What guarantee have the western residents in Smyrna that the restoration of Ottoman rule will not mean the advent of Kemal in their beloved province? Even if Kemal discreetly retired into the background when his aspirations were realised, I suspect that a restored Ottoman Administration in Smyrna would be a façade not for control by the western residents but for control by the Committee of Union and Progress.

And if they put their heads into this noose could the French and British Smyrniots count on the home Governments to cut the rope for them? I very much doubt it. **The British Smyrniots are already complaining bitterly that his Majesty’s Government have ceased to stand up for them as they used to do,** but they cannot get out of their heads the Palmerston tradition or bring themselves to believe that any ill-treatment of Englishmen abroad will not be made a *casus belli* by the Government at home. If they could live for a few months in England (with which they are out of touch, Smyrna being their real home), and could see for themselves **the post-war apathy of the British public in regard to foreign policy**—if they could see how little English public opinion is affected by their nearest and most vital foreign problem, Ireland,—I believe they would hesitate to tear up the treaty of Sèvres and return to an Ottoman regime in the vague expectation of protection from home. **They protest against having been “sold to Greece” by the British Government.** The inference is that the Government want to be rid of responsibility for them. In these circumstances they are in danger of being resold to the Turk. And would they really prefer him to the Greek as a master?

As for the French Government, I imagine that their concern for French interests in Smyrna will not weigh against their general policy—for instance, against their wish to secure Turkish support against Russia and to come to an understanding with the Turks in the frontier zone between Cilicia and Syria. If the Western Smyrniots tamper rashly with the treaty, they may slip out of the frying-pan into the fire.

A Special Administration Over a Wider Zone.

There remains a fourth solution—**the reunion of Smyrna with its economic hinterland and the establishment, in this larger zone, of an administration independent of both Turkey and Greece for a long term of years.** The zone I have in mind would extend eastwards almost to Afium Kara Hissar and Adalia, and would include an area on which Smyrna could really live, unlike the present Greek zone, which would strangle Smyrna if the frontier drawn round it were to become (as is at present likely) an economic barrier. The long term of years—say fifteen or twenty—would give time for the population of the wider zone to grow into some kind of

corporate unity, a process which could hardly take place during the short term of five years after which the population of the treaty zone is to vote upon its political future. Here are two important points in which I think the treaty might be modified with advantage.

I come now to the most difficult point of all—the form of government. First of all, I feel strongly that it would be a grave error to eject Mr. Sterghiadis and his immediate assistants. The work they have accomplished already, the energy and enthusiasm they are throwing into it, are far too valuable to be thrown away. It would be a wanton act—whether done in ignorance or in ill-will—to scrap all this and start at the beginning again. Smyrna and her hinterland are in too serious a condition to be able to afford such a further dislocation. At the same time Mr. Sterghiadis's Administration is not necessarily bound up with the conditions which the treaty prescribes. In effect, Mr. Sterghiadis is at present the Greek Government's pro-consul, hedged about with many treaty restrictions but virtually commissioned to carry the territory through a transitional phase of which the end (after five years) is to be annexation to Greece.

Cannot his commission be altered? **I should like to see him administering not merely the treaty zone, but the whole area which I have described as the economic hinterland of Smyrna City.** But I should also like to see him divested of all the obligations of a Greek pro-consul and liberated to work exclusively for the local interests of a territory and population which might well grow into a permanently distinct community independent alike of Greece and of Turkey.

The local constitution I have in mind is something like that of the Lebanon vilayet (with Ottoman suzerainty eliminated) as it was from 1864 to 1914. I should like to see the various elements in the territory organised into "millets," or non-territorial national bodies, like the Jewish and the various Christian "millets" in the Ottoman Empire, and the Moslem (which in this area means Turkish) element ought to constitute itself into a millet like the rest. I should like to see these millets represented proportionately, not only in the Parliament of the territory, but in the Cabinet or other supreme executive, in the Civil Service, and in the gendarmerie. Mr. Sterghiadis has achieved his great improvements in public security by importing gendarmerie from the kingdom of Greece, but it is well known that under the right leaders the Turk makes an excellent policeman. Why should not the Greek gendarmes be replaced gradually by a mixed local force, recruited in a fixed proportion from the various elements in the local population?

The Question of Defence.

There remains, of course, the capital question of defence against attack from abroad. A mixed local gendarmerie could certainly keep down brigandage and maintain internal order, but I do not imagine that they could keep out Kemal if he continued to exist as a military force. He is not a dangerous force for any European army, but if the Greek army were withdrawn Kemal would be the only military force in the neighbourhood and there would be nothing to prevent him from walking in.

On the other hand, it is evident that sooner or later the Greek army of occupation must go. Neither the Allied Powers nor Greece herself can pay for it indefinitely, nor can 100,000 of Greece's best men remain permanently away from their work and their homes.

Now the Greek army is confident that, given a free hand, it could smash Kemal in a short spring campaign, and I believe that their confidence is justified. I believe that the Greeks could drive Kemal from the railway junctions of Afium Kara Hissar and Eski Shehir without serious

opposition, and that there is really nothing to prevent them from marching on Angora. In that case the Turkish peasants, whom he levies by force, would desert him and return to their homes. He would also be cut off from the Italian base at Adalia, and I am inclined to think that he could be put permanently out of action.

If that could really be achieved[,] it would enable **the Greek army to be withdrawn**—a step which, if it can be taken without untoward consequences, **is in the interest of Greece herself, of the Powers, and of Smyrna.**

If Kemal were smashed, the Greek army withdrawn, and Smyrna and its hinterland were then placed under an administration genuinely independent of Greece and Turkey alike, I believe that Turkish public opinion, both in the Smyrna territory and in Turkey, might be reconciled to the new order. Could Turkish opinion be reconciled, the frontier between the Smyrna territory and Turkey need then no longer be held by a military front, and the greatest obstacle to a settlement would be removed.

This is the solution for which I think we ought to work. Let me enumerate the chief points in it in conclusion. They are (1) the enlargement of the Smyrna zone so as to include the whole of the economic hinterland; (2) the maintenance of Mr. Sterghiadis as administrator but not as pro-consul of Greece; (3) the complete independence of this territory from both Greece and Turkey for at least 15 to 20 years; (4) the development within the territory of the millet system—that is, the proportional representation of non-territorial communities in the Parliament, executive, Civil Service, and gendarmerie; (5) a free hand for the Greek army to destroy Kemal; (6) the withdrawal of the Greek army as soon as this has been accomplished.

[22(?) February, published in *The Manchester Guardian*, 23 February 1921, p. 7.]

FUTURE OF SMYRNA.

SUGGESTED SETTLEMENT ON NEW LINES.

[...]

I should recommend that the Conference include the entire former Aidin vilayet in the Smyrna zone, thus providing a sufficient economic hinterland for the city and protecting the larger number of the scattered non-Turkish minorities. They should constitute this territory an independent Republic for at least 25 years, **making Smyrna a free port** for all Anatolia and allowing free immigration from Greece and Turkey.

Sterghiadis (Greek High Commissioner) should be retained with his immediate assistants as servants not of Greece but of the Republic, and the administration, from the gendarmery upwards to Cabinet Ministers, recruited in a fixed proportion from the various local nationalities. Likewise, for education, revenues, buildings, and other facilities should be allotted proportionately.

The Conference should appoint Sterghiadis first President, perhaps for a term of five years, with either a single American or three Allied commissioners simply as arbiters between local nationalities, sovereignty being vested in the whole population.

Then the Allies ought to demobilise simultaneously Greek, Kemalist, and Italian forces in Anatolia, taking energetic action against any recalcitrant party.

A. Toyubee to his wife
Rosalind Toyubee

British School,
Athens.

19/1/21.

I have been casting my bread on the waters to day and harvested an appointment with *Shatos*, the King's favourite for the premiership when the chamber meets, and an invitation to dinner with a Veniselist. I have also ~~delivered~~ delivered other cards and introductions which I hope will bear fruit.

On the whole to day has been a holiday, ^{it is} as the Epiphany and everybody goes down to *Pivceus* to see a cross thrown into the sea. So I wandered up on to the Acropolis and Philopappos this morning and was seized with the same violent longing to get among the mountains as I was the other day when I saw them from the steamer. However I am off in a few days to the front - I start getting ~~ready~~ ready - my permits tomorrow - and I daresay I shall get as much of it then as I want - the S. E. sector is well up on a plateau and will be under snow I daresay. My plan is to come back from the front to Smyrna, interview the administrator of the territory, who has a considerable reputation, and tell him I want to walk about in the country where I like and see his work. I fancy he will be too proud to refuse. I shall then make one or two expeditions to Turkish and Graeco-Turkish Districts behind Smyrna, and make my way to C'ple via the *Pandema* Ry and the *Mamara*.

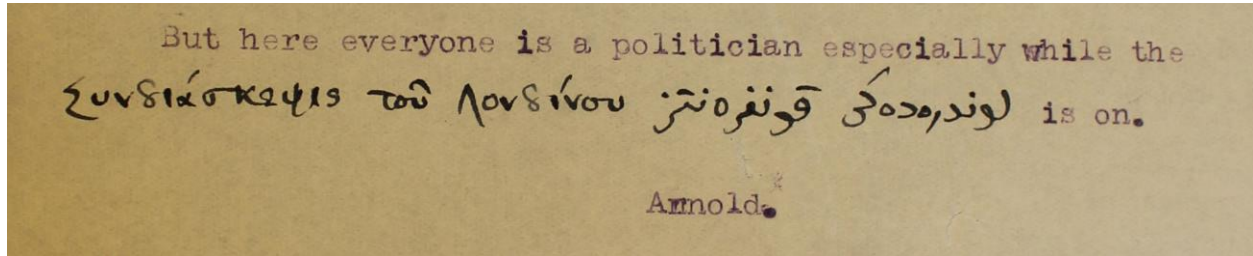
The wonderful thing about the Akropolis, next to the outline of the rock, is the fineness and exactitude of the masonry - it gives one a sort of direct physical pleasure to see stones cut like that. It was very clear to day and one saw the whole view - *Akrokoinitt* between the two mountains of Salamis and Methana behind *Aegina* - a nicer place than the ministry of Foreign Affairs, where I had kept an appointment on my way.

Yesterday I spent mostly at the M.F.A. seeing a fellow called *Sigilianos* who is permanent under secretary and just back from exile in Krete, and then interviewing Rallis the Prime Minister.

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Corrected transcript of Toynbee's letter to his wife Rosalind, January 19, 1921. Arnold Joseph Toynbee miscellaneous papers, "Letters," Hoover Institution Library & Archives.



Sample of Toynbee's Greek and Ottoman Turkish script, February 19, 1921. Arnold Joseph Toynbee miscellaneous papers, "Letters," Hoover Institution Library & Archives.