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## GREECE 1921-1924 IN THE BAGNANI ARCHIVES

Gilbert Bagnani was born in Rome in 1900, the only child of Gen. Ugo Bagnani, a military attaché, and Florence Dewar Bagnani, an heiress from Port Hope, Ontario. His father died at the British front in France in 1917. He attended private schools in London and Rome and graduated from the University of Rome in 1921. He studied archaeology in Greece and travelled extensively in Europe, becoming proficient in at least six languages. In 1929, he married Mary Augusta Stewart Houston, the great granddaughter of Sir John Beverly Robinson, Chief Justice of Ontario, and granddaughter of John Beverly Robinson, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. He was invited to join the Italian excavations at the Graeco-Roman sanctuary town of Tebtunis in Egypt in 1931, and acted as Field Director there until 1936. He then immigrated to Port Hope, Ontario, where they bought and enlarged a country house he called Vogrie. He taught in the Classics Department at the University of Toronto from 1945 to 1965, and both Gilbert and Stewart taught part-time until 1975 at Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario, not far from Vogrie. After their deaths in 1985 and 1996 respectively, their property and papers were left to Trent University. A few years earlier, however, Stewart had donated several cartons of letters and photographs to the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO), where she had run the extension department many years earlier. As a result, their papers are divided between the two institutions in Peterborough and Toronto.<sup>1</sup>

Gilbert wrote letters almost every week to his mother in Rome from 1918 until her death in 1935, as well as letters to Stewart in the years before their marriage. There are hundreds of names, many well known or identifiable, scattered through thousands of pages, and it will require much time to finish the identifications. Most of the hundreds of photos are not labeled, but are primarily of Egypt, Italy and Greece, and are being closely examined. As a student, Gilbert made use of small pages of notes (now at Trent), some made by quartering full pages. On the

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<sup>1</sup> It is pleasant to have this opportunity to acknowledge publicly the unflinching support of the archivists at Trent University, Dr. Bernadine Dodge and her Assistant Jodi Aoki, and at the Art Gallery of Ontario, Larry Pfaff and his assistant Amy Marshall; without their help, this project would not have proceeded as expeditiously as it has. I am also deeply grateful to Prof. Thomas Symons and his fellow Trustees of the Bagnani Endowment for their continued support and encouragement.

backs of some of these, after being re-pieced together, can be seen itemized lists of his travel expenses. By studying all of this scattered material, it has been possible to reconstruct his life as a student in Greece from 1921 to 1924.

The letters surprisingly reveal that he acted as the anonymous foreign correspondent for the London *Morning Post*; an album in the AGO of pasted newspaper cuttings of anonymous articles corresponds exactly to his references. The letters further reveal that his sources were the elite political families of Athenian society, although many names remain to be identified. He had the habit of referring to individuals by nicknames or abbreviations, which he explains only when his mother did not know the intended references. For example, the W refers to Alessandro della Seta because Seta means silk Worm, the beautiful apothecary is evidently Kalopothakis, and the Incest is Philadelphus, because the name means brother-lover. Many names, however, evidently known to his mother, remain to be identified. How he arrived in Greece so well prepared is still unclear. In Rome he was well acquainted with William Miller, an historian writing books on modern Greece, to whom he wrote letters updating him on the Greek political scene. He also brought with him several letters of introduction to specific members of Greek society. Indeed, several of the elite individuals seem to reside in Italy as well as Greece.

At the same time, he was studying archaeology at the Italian School in Athens, giving public lectures in the winter, and travelling extensively throughout the countryside in the spring. He participated in excavations and explorations especially in the Dodecanese islands, then under Italian control. This article is a first attempt to reconstruct his life in Greece in chronological order within the context of the political events in Athens.

It may be helpful to the reader to have a brief survey of Greek politics in the period leading up to Bagnani's arrival in Greece.<sup>2</sup> During the First World War, Britain wanted Greece to join her side against Germany, Austria and Turkey. In January 1915, when Prime Minister Venizelos hinted that he needed the prospect of significant gains in order to overcome the opposition of King Constantine to entering the war, the Liberal Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey,<sup>3</sup> offered Venizelos undefined "important territorial concessions on the coast of Asia Minor." His Acting Chief of the General Staff Ioannis Metaxas opposed the offer: not only did the Turks outnumber the scattered Greeks every-

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<sup>2</sup> The main secondary sources employed in this historical reconstruction are: Housepian 1972, Macmillan 2002, Mavrogordato 1931, Miller 1928, Pallis 1937, Smith 1973, Sturdza 1983, and the *Annual Register of World Events* for the appropriate years and countries.

<sup>3</sup> It was Grey who observed: "The lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime."

where in Anatolia, even in Smyrna, with no natural geographical limit there was no military way that Greek forces could occupy and hold such an extensive territory against the will of the Turkish inhabitants; they would be as overstretched as Napoleon in Russia. Only with guaranteed Allied support and the partitioning of Anatolia could Greece safely accept the proposed territory. Nonetheless, the Great Idea of the political union of lands inhabited by Greeks was very appealing for both Venizelos and the Greek people. At this period, irredentism was much discussed; originating in recently unified Italy, this was a nationalist movement agitating for the inclusion of "unredeemed" adjacent lands inhabited by ethnically related peoples under a foreign government, like the Italians in Trieste, or the Greeks in Anatolia; in Greece this was called the Great Idea.

King Constantine, however, was adamantly opposed to entering the war, possibly anticipating a stalemate and refusing the appeals of both sides. Whether or not Constantine was reflecting the popular will of the Greek people, by not accepting the advice of his Prime Minister to enter the war Constantine contributed to the political polarization of his country. Venizelos was dismissed by Constantine after allowing French and British troops into Salonika to defend Serbia and check Bulgaria, a foreign occupation bitterly resented by many Greeks. The Allies then bombarded Athens and blockaded Greece until Constantine appointed his second son Alexander in his place, since Crown Prince George was also unacceptable to the Allies. Constantine left for exile and Venizelos was finally able to lead Greece in the war against Germany and Turkey in June 1917. The blatant foreign interference supporting his coup left him much less popular at home than abroad.

Throughout the spring of 1919 Britain and France were rapidly demobilizing the millions of men still in service and had no stomach or means for more fighting. Despite the grandiose reordering of the world at the Versailles Peace Conference after the war, in reality no one was prepared to implement any of their political decisions. Turkey, however, was being reenergized by its rebel leader Kemal, who had successfully defended the Dardanelles from repeated Allied attacks. Several hundred thousand troops deserted the last Sultan. Italy, while pressing for its territorial claims in Anatolia offered to it too by Britain and France during the war, was also offering support to Kemal in the East through its Ambassador in Constantinople, Count Carlo Sforza. Alarmed by the warm reception to Venizelos in Paris, in March 1919 Italy landed marines from Rhodes at Adalya on the south coast of Anatolia and began advancing northward toward Smyrna. Since neither Lloyd George, Clemenceau, nor Wilson was willing to occupy Smyrna with any of their own forces, Lloyd George suggested sending in the Greeks, who were eager. The leaders made this decision without

consulting their advisers in order to keep the Italians from learning of it, and while the ostensible pretext was to protect Greek nationals from the Turks, in reality it was to prevent their Ally Italy from unilaterally occupying unassigned territory. So in May 1919 Greek troops disembarked from destroyers and transports at the harbour of Smyrna to find a warm welcome from the Greeks and open hostility from the Turks. It was a gift to Kemal.

From the Turkish point of view, the Greeks, as opposed to the English, were precisely the wrong nationality to police Smyrna. In the violence immediately following the landing, scores were killed on both sides. In the Turkish press, this became a massacre of thousands, and Kemal's rebel Nationalist supporters grew rapidly. The new High Commissioner, Aristeides Sterghiades, did not endear himself to his fellow Greeks by his severely even-handed treatment of the situation: he had Greek culprits caught and executed. By the time that the Supreme Council in Paris subsequently determined that the Greek-occupied territory should consist only of Smyrna and the surrounding area within three kilometers, the Greek forces had already spread out in all directions to protect their own nationals in outlying towns and villages. The Greek and Italian governments agreed between themselves on their respective territories in Anatolia, while the Greeks alleged that Turkish guerillas were launching their attacks from Italian-held territory with Italian support and encouragement. This is the geo-political context of the Nationalist Turks later granting permission for Italian excavations around Bodrum, ancient Halikarnassos.

What the Greek people failed to realize was just how militarily isolated they were in Anatolia. The very reason that they were there was because no other Ally was willing to send any troops to the region. Nor did the Greek populace appreciate the strategic impossibility of their situation, as foreseen and articulated by Metaxas in 1915.

By the Treaty the Allies and the Sultan's representative signed at Sevres in August 1920, all of Turkey was partitioned into zones of influence: Constantinople and the Dardanelles were to be demilitarized, there would be an independent Armenia and Kurdistan, and Greece was to obtain both Thrace and Smyrna. By 1920, since the Powers were all dealing unofficially with Kemal and all unwilling to get involved militarily, the degree of unreality of the Sevres Treaty is astonishing. The publication of its terms gave encouragement to both sides for opposing reasons. In its immediate aftermath, the Greek forces achieved some military successes, which further extended their lines and manpower, but the Sultan's willingness to accept the dismemberment of Turkey inspired the Nationalists to revolt.

In October, during the Greek election, Alexander died from blood poisoning from a monkey bite; when Venizelos offered the throne to his

younger brother Paul, who refused it, the succession became an election issue. In the first election since Constantine's forced surrender to the Allies in 1917, the Royalist party won, Demetrios Rallis became the transitional Prime Minister, and Venizelos retired into exile in France, a "broken man" according to William Miller who saw him in Rome shortly afterwards. In December 1920 after obtaining a landslide majority in a plebiscite, Constantine returned as king. The Allies, who had not appreciated the depth of nationalist feelings aroused by their treatment of Greece during the war, were now free to withdraw even nominal support of Greece in Anatolia, and refused to pay any further reimbursements to Greece for expenditures incurred by her for their armies in Greece. The country was seriously split between the Royalists and the Venizelists, and political purges began to reverse the purges previously undertaken by the Venizelists, both among civilians and, more forebodingly, the military. Gounaris, the leader of the Constantinists, deferred to foreign opinion and stepped aside for Kalogeropoulos to become Prime Minister in February.

Despite election promises by the Royalists to cease hostilities and the mobilizations and to reduce taxes, in early January 1921 Constantine announced the continuation of the military campaign in Anatolia. The reasons for his fatal decision are still debated. It was the Greeks living abroad who actively supported the Great Idea and Venizelos. To abandon the Greeks in Asia Minor and sacrifice territory held by the army that was winning battles seemed "monstrous" (Polyzoides 1923, 544). In any case, with so much national pride and dreams placed in the Anatolian enterprise after its initial apparent successes, to persuade the Greek populace to accept a return of the army now and abandon the Great Idea was more than Constantine was prepared to do. An invitation in February 1921 by the Allied Supreme Council to attend a peace conference in London with Turkish representatives split the cabinet. The new Premier Kalogeropoulos told the Council that Greece was ready to clear Kemal's Nationalists out of Anatolia. The Council, however, responded with a proposal to modify the unratified Sevres Treaty, much more favourable to the Turks and leaving only the city of Smyrna occupied with Greek troops under the sovereignty of the Turks. Kemal rejected it and Gounaris immediately called up reserves and launched a new offensive which again achieved initial successes.

Constantine and his brothers led the Greek army toward Ankara. Despite the fact that Greece had been the Ally and Turkey the enemy, the Council declared it was a private war between Greece and Turkey and that the Great Powers would be strictly neutral, although that did not prevent France and Italy from sending aid to Kemal. In August the Greek army was defeated by Kemal, helped in part by bombs dropped

from French planes, beyond the Sakarius River in central Anatolia and withdrew. In October Stratos, the leader of the National Reformist Party, one of the opposition parties, demanded and was granted by Constantine a convocation of the National Assembly, which endorsed a visit to Paris and London by Prime Minister Gounaris and Foreign Minister Baltazzis to find a face-saving way out of the untenable situation, but the mission failed to bring about any immediate results. Lloyd George told them that, with the restoration of Constantine as King, it was absolutely impossible for the Greeks to remain in Asia Minor (Smith 1973, 248). Greece was in a state of war with the Turks, a war they did not have the military or financial resources to win, but which no one dared politically to resolve. The lives of two hundred thousand Greek soldiers plus many more undefended Greek inhabitants in Anatolia were at risk.

It was at this point in December 1921, as the Royalists were celebrating the first anniversary of Constantine's return from exile, that the twenty-one year old Gilbert Bagnani arrived in Athens. Kalopothakis, who had been the correspondent for the *Morning Post* during the war, invited him to tea where everyone seemed considerably surprised at finding that he was familiar with Greek politics (5 December 1921). At the same time, it was somehow determined that he was going to study the Roman Agora and the Tower of the Winds.

Within a week of arriving, after leaving letters of introduction, he was invited to tea with the Princess de Vicovaro, a sister of Mme Bouboulis, and there he met their family, the Skouzes, whom he calls the Skews. Alexander Skouzes (1853-1937) had been a lawyer, Deputy, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and his family were all Royalists. In a few more days his invitations began to conflict between the Royalists and Venizelists like Alexander Carapanos, the Deputy for Arta and former Foreign Minister. By this time, he was already carrying on conversations in Greek, and reading the *Hestia* newspaper.

His first article from Greece for the *Morning Post* concerned a religious purge: the Venizelist Archbishop of Athens, Meletios Metaxakis, had been deposed by the Royalist government in December 1920 and, after travelling through America to rouse support for Venizelos, was now elected by the Holy Synod to be the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. The government and Royalist bishops refused to recognize him and intended to convoke their own synod and elect their own Patriarch. Bagnani's viewpoint is that of the dispassionate though bemused observer.

At a dinner party at the Skouzes', he met the Italian Ambassador, Giulio Cesare Montagna, and members of the Serpieri family. Ferdinando Serpieri and his father were Italian engineers who had reopened the ancient mines at Laurion and reestablished the Greek

mining industry; their house in Athens later became the headquarters of the Agrarian Bank. "The dinner was excellent but never ending. We first had soup, then a large fish, looked like a sturgeon (by the way, the fish here is wonderful) with mayonnaise, olives, etc. Then came three courses of entrées of various sorts including a kind of Russian salad and small pieces of liver on toast, then turkey, and finally ground chestnuts and whipped cream, cheese, fruit and chocolates and sweets. Too much." The Princess de Vicovaro "took me aside a moment and told me where to leave cards. She said she wanted me to get to know the right people (i.e. read royalist circles)" (Friday 16 December 1921).

Gilbert left this party after Ambassador Montagna did about 11:00 p.m., and walked down the street to the Carapanos house. As it was still lit up, he went in to make the acquaintance of Carapanos. He met a woman named Peroglou who introduced him to Venizelos' secretary Politis, and they discussed Greek and Italian politics. Count de Rilly, the French Ambassador was there too, but Bagnani did not know him yet.

On Monday 19 December the Royalists were celebrating the first anniversary of Constantine's return from exile. There were crowds of people in town, many in national dress. The Royalists displayed banners as large as the houses. The entire city was illuminated, with festoons of bulbs being hung across Stadiou Avenue resembling a kind of gallery of light. The Serpieri had sent a car around to the Italian School, causing a stir there, with an invitation for Bagnani to go to their house after dinner. Assuming this would be similar to the previous dinner, he wore his dinner jacket and went around at 10:00 p.m. After passing the Evzone guards posted outside and seeing everyone else inside in tails, he was preparing an excuse for his hostess on his way up the stairs when "the footman flung open the doors and the first person I saw, standing in the center of the room, was Tino!!!!" [King Constantine] A beautiful blond woman wearing an electric blue dress embroidered in gold was the Romanian Princess Elizabeth, who was married to Crown Prince George. "The King was continually talking to a very striking woman. Old but very straight, with a wonderful mop of white curly hair (I thought it a wig but am assured it isn't) with what in other days must have been a wonderful face. Very suitably dressed too in black and silver with a long train. To cut it short, she seemed to me a grande dame of the 17th century & most decorative where she stood with the King (she is quite as tall as I am). Later on she came into the ballroom where I was talking to the lovely Skew, everyone paying her almost as much deference as to royalty. She came up and spoke to the Skew & so I dropped discreetly into the background till she beckoned to me with her finger and introduced me to — Lady Law!!!<sup>4</sup> I have come to the

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<sup>4</sup> Catherine, the Greek widow of Sir Edward Fitzgerald Law, an expert in state finance.

conclusion that the two most imposing ruins of Athens are the Acropolis and Lady Law" (20 December 1921).

The next morning Bagnani had to go to the Athenian port of Piraeus to meet Doro Levi, his fellow student, who would eventually become the most eminent Italian archaeologist in Greece. After showing Levi the sites of Athens, he went to the Peroglou's house "The young Perogle was very much amused when I told her of my social life; she said though that I will have to be very careful if I want to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Certainly of the two, the royalists have the chic and the Venizelists the brains... The Perogle told me that there is every probability that I will find the King when I call on the Ruin, so will have to put on my best clothes. This explains why at the Carapanos Friday none are in smoking [jacket] even; no danger of royalty calling there!" Mme Carapanos invited him to go to Aigina on her yacht and he met Col. Ghika, a Romanian military attaché, who was violently Venizelist (Tuesday 20 December 1921).

While he was visiting the Gripari family on 21 December, a paper was brought in with the news of an attempt to assassinate Admiral Paul Condouriotis, former Regent and prominent Venizelist. He did not think the government could be behind it since Condouriotis was very popular with everyone and all the government people he had spoken with considered the matter very serious politically (23 December 1921). He called on the Carapanos to hear the Venizelist version, but there too no one thought that the government was behind the attempt. The Griparis told him that the French Ambassador supported the Venizelists since he had been in Salonika with them, and recently had been provocative (30 December 1921). Members of the French Legation frequently turned up at the Carapanos (3 February 1922). When his friends the Courvoisiers planned to arrive in Athens Bagnani believed that, since they were related to de Rilly, who was known for his Venizelist sympathies, they could not expect to be greeted by any Royalist (4 March 1922). At Lady Law's, he met Mme Chariclée Baltazzi, the wife of Foreign Minister Georges Baltazzi, and Nikolaos Stratos, the opposition leader of the small National Conservative Party, as well as the man in charge of antiquities in Attica, Philadelphus, the Incest (Friday 23 December 1921). A lot of [Venizelist] generals were being dismissed (25 December 1921) while others [Royalists] like Hadjianestis were awaiting new appointments (Hibben 1923, 545).

On Wednesday 28, the Director of the Italian School, Alessandro della Seta, finally arrived at the Piraeus. Bagnani, Levi and the third student Cattaneo, went down to greet him. Della Seta told him that he had heard much about him from Mrs Strong, the eminent Roman art historian and Assistant Director of British School at Rome. Bagnani told him that he had met the Italian Ambassador through the Princess de



Vicovaro, but della Seta told his students, looking hard at Bagnani, not to waste time in society, and gave him to study, in addition to the Roman Agora, the statue basis of Nemesis at Rhamnous with its reliefs (30 December 1921).

Bagnani met the Italian military attaché, Col. Ferdinando Perrone di S. Martino, who had known his father in London, and enquired from his friends at the Foreign Office about the political status of Mt. Athos for Miller in Rome: Greece had confirmed all its privileges by the Treaty of Berlin, which most people he had consulted regarded as a regular treaty and not just a protocol. Also, the frontier between Albania and Northern Epirus had been closed, and not even Carapanos, the Deputy from that district, had any influence on it (30 December 1921).

Ambassador Montagna gave a New Year's reception at which Bagnani met the members of the Italian Legation (3 January 1922). At the Carapanos, he met Prof. Soteriades of the University of Athens. As a Venizelist, Soteriades was expecting to be purged at any moment, and the Royalist and Venizelist students had come to blows over the purges. At one point students rushed into his classroom and stopped his lesson (3 January 1922). Soteriades had to lecture in the puristic Katharevousa language preferred by the Royalists while the Venizelists favoured the vulgar Demotic speech of the people (18 February 1922). On a climb up Mt Hymettos just east of Athens, Carapanos gave Bagnani his opinion of Stratos as a politician: a good administrator, debater and Parliamentary, but not a leader. Bagnani spent Orthodox Christmas with Col. Hoare Nairne and his wife; his comment that Hoare Nairne spoke not a word of Greek<sup>5</sup> (9 January 1922) is interesting in light of his task, as the British military attaché in Greece, to visit and assess the Greek forces in Anatolia to report back to London (Smith 1973: 221-222, 273-275).

On 7 February Gilbert saw a wonderful sculptural relief that had just been discovered, and sent an article about it for the *Morning Post*, to be followed by articles about the Parthenon and the Patriarchal dispute. He hoped to see Sir Arthur Evans, who had come to Greece to visit Mycenae, Tiryns and Thebes again, and was in Athens discussing the transfer of his property at Knossos, Crete, with Wace, the Director to the British School (Evans 1943, 376). Another base with a relief carving resembling a hockey game was found in the Wall of Themistokles, less fine than the first one (4 March 1922), and Bagnani sent a brief notice to the *Morning Post* (9 March 1922).

On Tuesday 21 February Bagnani gave his talk about the Roman Agora at the Open Meeting of the Italian School, making use of slides that he photographed and developed himself. Many distinguished guests attended, mostly Royalists like Lady Law and the Skouzes, and

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<sup>5</sup> "They made me milit. attaché without any qualifications for the job."

Bagnani had a challenge simultaneously looking after them as well as the Venizelists like Peroglou (22 February 1922).

In February, Greece seized an Italian ship carrying airplanes and a French freighter, the 'Espoir,' carrying coal to Kemal. Bagnani spoke with a naval officer in the Greek air force flying one of the seized planes who told him that the Turkish officers on board the ship had passports supplied by the Italian High Commissioner in Constantinople, Count Carlo Sforza (25 February 1922). Since Lloyd George refused to see him Gounaris appealed again to Lord Curzon, indicating that, since France, Italy and Russia were sending supplies to Kemal, if Britain could not support Greece, then the Greek army would have to withdraw while they still could. Curzon offered no military or financial aid, but suggested that the Greeks expedite a diplomatic solution for an orderly evacuation, while telling the Turks that he was trying to persuade Greece to withdraw from Anatolia (Nicolson 1934: 256-258).

In early March, Andreas Kavaphakes, the Director of one of the Venizelist newspapers, *Eleutheros Typos*, was murdered. Bagnani attended his funeral and the subsequent session of the Senate with the Italian legation (9 March 1922). Carapanos told him that the Venizelist party could support Stratos as premier under certain conditions, and Bagnani wondered whether Miller wanted him to conduct an interview with Stratos for the *Morning Post*, which he could arrange easily through Lady Law (13 March 1922). Another article on March 13 noted that the publication of a new newspaper, the *Eleutheron Bema*, indicated a revival of the Venizelist party.

On a brief trip to Delphi with the Murray Youngs of New York, he had their driver bring him a telegram with the names of the latest members of the cabinet. All the Deputies around Delphi supported Gounaris and the people in that region believed that Gounaris had not been successful because the Allies stood in his way. The local head of antiquities, however, was a Venizelist who had nearly lost his position after the elections and whispered to him that Venizelos was a great man (19 March 1922). Also at Mycenae, the custodian was an ardent Venizelist while most of the local people were supporters of Gounaris (26 March 1922).

On Saturday 25 March, Bagnani attended the Open Meeting of the British School, where a solicitor named Freshfield spoke about Byzantine Constantinople, and Stanley Casson the Assistant Director about his excavations in Macedonia. Bagnani's article on "Plea for Excavation in Constantinople" was dated 26 March but it did not appear in the *Morning Post* until 4 April. Grant, an editor at the *Morning Post*, made an offer to Bagnani, which he declined because, being away from Athens all spring and summer, he would not be able to keep in touch with the situation but he was willing to send him information from Asia Minor and for Smyrna in particular. Bagnani hinted that he

might reconsider the offer at the end of his term as a student in Greece as he found it an amusing experience (26 March 1922).

In Paris, a conference of the Allied Foreign Ministers in March proposed still more favourable terms for Turkey: a three months armistice, both Smyrna and its hinterland would be under Turkish rule, racial minorities would be under the League of Nations, the Greek army should evacuate Turkey, the Straits were to be demilitarized, and Greece would retain Adrianople in Thrace. Turkey was ready to accept provided that the Greek army evacuate Smyrna immediately and Asia Minor within four months. Greece announced her acceptance too, but simultaneously prepared for a Government of Ionia in Asia Minor. The Greeks abroad, mostly supporters of Venizelos, opposed the Greek army evacuating Asia Minor.

In a *Morning Post* article dated March 26 and entitled "M. Gounaris—Peace at any Price— Struggle to Continue in Office," Bagnani wrote "That the country is heartily sick of the war is absolutely unquestionable." Gounaris was prepared to evacuate Asia Minor, either because Kemal would never accept peace terms as some said, or because Gounaris wanted peace at any price, as Bagnani maintained. Gounaris had the confidence of the Parliament, but not of the Greek people.

On March 30 in an article entitled "Greece Relieved—Satisfaction Over Adrianople," Bagnani wrote that Greece was relieved that it would not be asked to surrender Adrianople and Gounaris would accept the peace terms as proposed in the Note by the Allies provided that they recognize the King. The Greek press pretended that his acceptance was only a basis for negotiations, but the Venizelist and Independent opposition politicians were screaming betrayal of Greece's interests. Bagnani wrote home that some of the Venizelists were even hoping that Kemal would reject the proposed peace terms. He himself felt that the Greeks had been badly treated and lamented the original British offer of territory around Smyrna. Parliament gave Gounaris a narrow vote of confidence, as Bagnani had predicted, and the Venizelists withdrew (2 April 1922).

Everyone was quite depressed about the peace terms, and Greece's inability to raise any funds abroad necessitated a "forced loan" to help pay the military expenses which barely passed in Parliament (6 April 1922). Formerly a Professor of Engineering, Petros Protopapadakis as Finance Minister had the currency cut in half into "crosses" (money which remained in circulation) and "crowns" (bonds to be redeemed by the state), with the result that the drachma fell to half its value. The drachma, which had been worth 24 to the British pound in 1919, sank to 70 in 1921, and 165 in 1922 (Miller 1928, 66). All Athens was illuminated for the Greek national holiday but the more ardent Venizelists did not support the flag (9 April 1922).

After giving a lecture on Cyrene in a school for the local Dante Alighieri Society on April 9, Bagnani joined the other students as they began their journey around the Peloponnese and western Greece. When he arrived at Olympia, he ran into Mme Courvoisier who told him that Lord Apsley, the son of Lady Bathurst, the owner of the *Morning Post*, was in Athens looking for him to ask him to become a permanent correspondent. Bagnani was annoyed to learn that Wace now knew that he had been writing for the newspaper (21 April 1922). Della Seta told Apsley that as Director of the Italian School he had to ignore such "outbreaks" among his students.<sup>6</sup> Another correspondent, still not identified, began contributing articles of a different political persuasion from Bagnani's (13 May 1922). Only in northwestern Greece, the region represented by Carapanos, did Bagnani find support for Venizelos (2 May 1922). The Italian consul at Ioannina told him that Sterghiades had been Governor there and had earned a reputation for being able but very violent (13 May 1922).

Gounaris resigned a second time, followed again by Stratos who resigned 22 May to make way for a Coalition Cabinet which included Stratos and Gounaris, led by Protopapadakis. Gen. Hadjianesti was appointed as Commander in Chief of the military. Despite the ideals implied by a "coalition," this was the cabinet that was doomed to pay the price for being in power at the wrong time. Many Royalists were ignoring the situation, discussing the illness of Princess Elizabeth, the wife of Crown Prince George (25 May 1922).

Public awareness in Athens of Bagnani's role as a foreign correspondent caused him difficulties as articles about King Constantine recently written by his successor were attributed to him. His own stance had been politically neutral, and he would henceforth refrain from contributing political articles to the *Morning Post*, since its political viewpoint no longer corresponded with his own (25 May 1922).

The Italians' hopes of excavating in Caria in southern Turkey were dashed by the evacuation of the Meander Valley leading to Ephesus some distance south of Smyrna (16 May 1922). As Bagnani was setting out for Rhodes, he was planning to write an article on the fourth centenary of the Turkish siege of the Knights Hospitalers of St. John and hoped to be able to go to England in the fall to lecture to the English Knights about it (30 May 1922). The Dodecanese islands had been seized by the Italians during their dispute with Turkey over Libya in 1912 and remained under Italian control until the Second War. The students stayed with the family of Amedeo Maiuri, the Director of the Italian Mission in Rhodes, in the Inn of the Auvergne in the medieval

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<sup>6</sup> Soon Apsley would be flying to Iraq to negotiate with the Arab leaders there with the assistance of Gertrude Bell.

town and he became reacquainted with Count Alessandro de Bosdari, the Governor, who knew the Bagnanis in London. Bagnani loved medieval Rhodes, which he observed had more Turks and Jews than Greeks. On a brief visit to Bodrum in Turkey, he noted that the village was almost deserted of its Greek inhabitants, perhaps massacred he thought, all the shops were closed, and only Turks were in evidence. The Tower of England at the Crusader castle had been badly damaged by English bombardment during the war. The governor at Bodrum received orders from Kemal to facilitate the Italians excavating some tombs at a site north of town (31 May 1922).

On June 1 they arrived on Kos at Kephala, a small village near its west end. From here Bagnani excavated a little around earlier German excavations at Astypalaia while Levi discovered and excavated a Neolithic settlement in a cave at Aspri Petra. After a few days however, Maiuri wanted to go elsewhere looking for inscriptions and so they sailed to Kardamina about midway along the south coast. As the others rode their mules up to the village of Pili, Bagnani took a detour to see the Crusader castle near Antimachia. Setting out for the town of Kos, they passed the Byzantine castle at the deserted village of Palaio Pili. Based at Kos, Bagnani proceeded to excavate the Roman theatre south of town for the next three weeks (25 June 1922).

Briefly leaving Cattaneo to oversee this dig, Bagnani returned to Bodrum on June 19 where he heard that the Greeks had bombarded Samsun, a Turkish port on the Black Sea. After studying the Crusader castle, he sailed away the next day on the torpedo boat of Governor de Bosdari for Samos and Kos. Later in Rhodes he met the Russian Ambassador, Prince Demidoff and his wife. He took a postal ship to Smyrna on July 12 to visit the brother of their Italian maid who appeared very comfortably established. Smyrna had a population approaching 500,000, according to the American consul George Horton, who had resided there for a decade (Housepian 1972, 265). A very cosmopolitan port, it was the largest exporting city in Turkey, dealing especially in tobacco and carpets. There is no mention in Bagnani's letter of any concern about the future of Smyrna at this time (11 July 1922).

Both Bagnani and Levi were invited to return to the Italian School for the following year. The week of July 17 to 22 was spent in the disappointing excavation of a cave at Pharsalos in Thessaly, and Bagnani acted as the photographer/developer (25 July 1922).

In an effort to obtain a better bargaining position, on July 29 the Greek Government sent a note to the Allies declaring its intention of occupying Constantinople with Greek troops, and General Hadjianesti, the Greek Commander in Chief, transferred 25,000 troops from Anatolia to Rodosto, a port on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara. In response to a British warning against this action, Foreign Minister Baltazzi gave

assurances that Greece would not occupy Constantinople without Allied approval, which was refused. The following day the Greek Government proclaimed a protectorate over Smyrna.

Back in Athens in early August, Bagnani lunched with the Demidoffs where he met Col. A. C. Corfe from New Zealand. He was Chairman of a League of Nations Mixed Commission on Graeco-Bulgarian Emigration established to arrange the transfer of peoples in Macedonia. Corfe later introduced Bagnani to Drummond Wolf, who turned out to be the new correspondent for the *Morning Post*, although just when he began this position is not yet clear. He was also a representative of Armstrongs, the British aircraft and munitions manufacturer, which had just signed a large contract with the Greek Government (12 August 1922).

On Friday 4 August, British Prime Minister Lloyd George made an historically important and controversial speech in which he strongly supported the Greek claims to Asia Minor and Thrace. As a result, the Greeks believed they had British support to maintain their claims and occupation of Turkish territories, and wanted to proclaim an independent Ionia in Asia Minor; the Turks on the other hand may have felt they had to hurry before Britain sent support to the Greeks. What neither side knew was that Lloyd George had no support in cabinet for this policy and was speaking only for himself.<sup>7</sup> The Allies announced a peace conference to be held in September. While Athenians felt very supported by Lloyd George's speech, Bagnani said he was afraid that Lloyd George was a jinx because all his favoured nations seemed to end badly (12 August 1922). Bagnani was away visiting sites and museums in Crete from August 8 until 31, when he returned to Athens for a week before leaving for Rome and England.

Whether Lloyd George's speech may have set in motion the final calamity has been debated. On August 26 the Turks caught the Greek armies by surprise at Afyon Karahisar, and captured 50,000. The Greek forces were scattered and increasingly separated, having lost their communications. Greeks fleeing toward the Sea of Marmara surrendered to the French who turned them over to the Turks. As their soldiers fled, Greek residents panicked and joined them, allegedly torching their own villages behind them. Greece appealed to the Allies to intervene but it was too late. The Turks, having the upper hand, refused an armistice. In his article dated September 9 and entitled "Greece's Disaster – Misled by Mr. Lloyd George," Bagnani wrote that Kemal had captured the railway lines between Afion and Eskishehr allowing him to concentrate his troops at any point along the front with great rapidity, and a general

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<sup>7</sup> Lloyd George's political position is outlined in Churchill 1929, 414-417.

panic among the foreign colonies in Smyrna ensued. The Greek press blamed Stratos for having taken 50,000 Greek troops from the Turkish front to Thrace to support the Greek bluff against Constantinople. The Greek people still hoped that the Greek army in Thrace would attempt to occupy Constantinople by force if the situation in Smyrna became too desperate (but Constantinople was already occupied by British and French forces). The Greeks could hardly expect the French troops there to hold their fire as the Greek press was already printing names of French aviators allegedly supporting Kemal. Foreign Minister Baltazzi was powerless to muzzle the most violent articles in the press. As the Greek populace belatedly realized they would have to abandon Asia Minor, no one had had the courage to give the order in time and face the returning army. Stating that Lloyd George's policy of dilatoriness and rhetoric might have caused the ruin of European enterprise and influence in the region, Bagnani believed that Britain and France should finally agree and force Greece to leave Asia Minor to induce Kemal to an armistice. But events were moving too quickly.

At first defeated soldiers and then thousands of panicking residents from the interior began streaming into Smyrna and the port of Cheshme to the southwest. Major Davis of the American Red Cross estimated that about 150,000 Christians poured into Smyrna in early September (Housepian 1972, 265). Sterghiades and other Greek officials departed on Friday,<sup>8</sup> and on Saturday September 9 Turkish troops entered an undefended Smyrna. As order gradually broke down, looting, raping, and killing were seen, especially in the Armenian section of town.<sup>9</sup> The Greek Archbishop was hacked to pieces. Early on Wednesday fires deliberately set by the Turkish troops using cans of oil began to spread forcing anyone in hiding to try to escape to the harbour, where they were penned in by more troops. Ships of the British, French and Italian fleets lay at a distance in the harbour, at first refusing to take any but their own nationals to safety. Finally, despite orders to the contrary, they rescued perhaps 30,000 who were taken to Salonika and Piraeus.

Kemal declared that all Greek and Armenian males between eighteen and forty-five (including civilians) were prisoners of war and that the rest had only until October 1 to leave the area. After considerable international deliberation and heroic individual efforts, 180,000 refugees were taken to nearby islands, according to Commander Powell of the American ship Edsall. It is alleged that out of perhaps 400,000 Christian occupants of Smyrna at the time of the fire, since 210,000 were

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<sup>8</sup> Sterghiades sailed to Romania and lived in exile in France, never to return to Greece. Smith 1973, 304-305.

<sup>9</sup> For a map of Smyrna, see the sketch facing p. 36 in Bierstadt 1924.

transported to safety on nearby Greek islands, 190,000 were never seen again, although the figures of the dead and missing have been controversial.<sup>10</sup>

Faced with this catastrophe, the Greek coalition cabinet was powerless and resigned, replaced by a temporary government led by Triantaphyllakos, a former High Commissioner to Constantinople. Nonetheless, as the islands began to fill up with refugees with no food nor money, mutiny spread among the remaining Greek forces. With the remnants of their armies on the islands of Chios and Mitylene, Colonels Gonatas and Plastiras conspired to overthrow the Government, demanding the abdication of King Constantine and the imprisonment of the politicians. Martial law failed to quell the spreading revolt, and the King abdicated September 27, succeeded by his eldest son George II, and the cabinet resigned. As Greek troops entered Athens the next day, the Colonels ordered the arrest of the leading politicians and the expulsion of the royal family.

Able to communicate once again with the *Post*, Bagnani resumed submitting articles. In "The Bulgar Slayer," he concluded that, while court circles had been aware of the militarily impossible situation, no one had had the courage to admit it and order the evacuation of the troops, even after it had become a certainty as a result of the Allied note in March. Constantine was alleged to have positioned his political enemies at the front and Royalist shirkers near the back of the fighting, and hence the revolution broke out among the front line troops. In his next article on "The New King of the Hellenes," George and his uncle and mentor, Prince Nicholas, were believed to have been the actual leaders of the opposition to Venizelos in 1917, although Venizelos believed that George was dominated by his uncle. George was booed by his own troops at a review in December 1921.

As Kemal's troops disregarded the Allied neutral zone along the Straits and began to surround the British at Chanak on the Dardanelles, Lloyd George finally decided to hold firm and insist on a Turkish withdrawal. The Greeks were regrouping in Thrace but they were not even invited to participate in the negotiations at the harbour town of Mudania on the south shore of the Sea of Marmora. The British had little choice but to offer to hand over Constantinople as well as Eastern Thrace including Adrianople to the Turks to keep them from fighting the British through the neutral zone and attacking Constantinople. All the Christian inhabitants of Thrace, perhaps 250,000, began to leave immediately for Greek territory west of the Maritza River as the Greek

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<sup>10</sup> Housepian 1972: 265; Clogg 1992: 97, says that 30,000 Greeks and Armenians were massacred in Smyrna. For a detailed account of the escape by the most famous refugee, Aristotle Onassis, see Fraser et al. 1977, 15-23.



troops protecting them there were soon replaced with Turks. There were no roads and the rail line was barely adequate to move the remaining troops. The silent procession of the refugees walking in mud for days in the pouring rain was observed and vividly described by a young Ernest Hemingway when he was a reporter for the *Toronto Star* (White 1985, 232).

In Athens more politicians and generals were arrested and charged with treason. Despite the plight of the swelling numbers of refugees, politics prevented government action. It was decided that "only through an independent, non-political organization could something be done," and the Refugee Treasury Fund directed by Epaminondas Charilaos was established by the Greeks themselves to begin the Herculean task of sheltering and resettling the refugees (Morgenthau 1929, 71-78). Though less dramatic than the Smyrna disaster, and much less written about, the successful assimilation of over a million refugees within a few years by a country of only five million is no less worthy of commemoration as an illustration of Greek resilience.

Of significance for future relations with Greece, after months of turmoil in Italy Mussolini staged a peaceful coup in Rome. In England, for his near war with the Nationalist Turks at Chanak the Liberal Prime Minister Lloyd George lost the support of the Conservative Leader Bonar Law and resigned. On October 31 Bagnani was in London to address the Central Asian Society on "The Knights of St. John in Rhodes and Asia Minor;" this was subsequently privately printed, and a copy survives in the Trent Archives. With Kemal recognized as the effective leader in Turkey, he had the National Assembly abolish the Sultanate and declared Turkey a republic. Four governments (Greece, Britain, Italy and Turkey) had changed hands within a matter of weeks.<sup>11</sup>

In Greece, however, Prime Minister Gounaris, War Minister Theotokis, Foreign Minister Baltadjis, Interior Minister Stratos, Finance Minister and Prime Minister Protopapadakis, and Gen. Hadjianestis were charged with treason for having allowed the Turks to occupy Greek territory (which legally it had never been). Col. Plastiras, the leader of the revolution, demanded punishment as a purification (catharsis) because as Royalist politicians who had allowed King Constantine back, thereby alienating Greece's European supporters, they had not provided adequate financial aid to the armies (Papadakis 1923, 673). Despite British pressure, the politicians were executed hastily on November 28, while Admiral Michael Goudas and Gen Xenophon Stratigos were imprisoned for life. As a prisoner on trial, Prince Andrew (the father of Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh) was fortunate to be

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<sup>11</sup> It is little wonder that the discovery and ongoing revelations from the tomb of Tutankhamen in Egypt from November onward came as a welcome journalistic relief.

allowed to go into exile. In protest against the executions, Britain recalled Ambassador Lindley. Venizelos, very much in touch with European governments, had to restrain the colonels, who still believed that they could militarily force the Turks out of Eastern Thrace.

The timing too of the executions was unfortunate because they interfered with Curzon's arrangement of the negotiations at Lausanne for Greece's benefit, and so he then invited Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian explorer acting as the High Commissioner for Refugees for the League of Nations to report on the refugees. As a permanent solution for irredentism, Nansen proposed a compulsory exchange of the remaining half million or so Christians and Moslems, along the same lines as the previous voluntary exchange of Greeks and Bulgarians in 1919. While it seemed inhuman to Curzon, it passed easily enough by the end of January so that the conferees could get on with negotiating more difficult boundary concerns along the Straits (Nicolson 1934, 300-302).

When Bagnani returned to Athens for a second year of study at the beginning of January 1923, his first problem was to find accommodations in a city filling up with refugees, although most were in the islands (19 January 1923). Both the Italian and British Schools were fully occupied with students. He asked both the Skouzes and Condouriotis families to look out for a room for him (3 January 1923). He then had to rush off to the Cycladic islands to join the other students there for a week on Santorini. The boat and the islands it stopped at were full of refugees (19 January 1923). When he returned Condouriotis helped him find a room in a pension at almost twice his housing allowance (20 January 1923). Levi had returned as well, and this year the new student was Giulio Jacopich; Bagnani felt that he was inclined to take things too seriously, although he got along well enough with the students and the Director (19 January 1923).<sup>12</sup>

Ex-King Constantine died in exile in Palermo, Sicily, on January 11, barely two years after his rapturous return to Athens. His health had never been very robust after he had had pneumonia, pleurisy and two ribs removed in 1915 (Michael, 1990, 53). As his burial in Athens was refused by the government to avoid public disturbance, his temporary resting place was at Naples: the Liberals, military and 125,000 refugees from Anatolia and Thrace now crowded into Athens would intensely resent any public honours for the man who caused all their disasters

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<sup>12</sup> Both of the latter were Jewish, and years later, after the promulgation of the racial laws against Jews in Italy in 1938, Jacopich would be responsible for forcing Mario Segre, a Jewish epigrapher who worked for years on the inscriptions of Kos, out of the German library in Rome and the possibility of a job in America but into a jeopardy that would end with his death at Auschwitz (Barbanera 1998, 150-151). Jacopich worked for several years as the head of antiquities in the Dodecanese, and no other explicit evidence on the nature of his working relations with Della Seta or Levi is yet apparent.

and undo the reconciliation underway. John Metaxas and his wife were at the Serpieris with Bagnani but they had no news of the King's funeral. The *Daily Express* correspondent told Bagnani that to avoid censorship he sent his messages out of Greece by wireless from the boats (20 January 1923); nevertheless, Bagnani wrote that he did not try to contribute anything about the King's death because no one in Greece was allowed to comment on it. He was told by Kalopothakis that the government was tapping the wireless transmissions and would know all about them (9 February 1923).

After Ambassador Lindley's recall to London, the senior British diplomat in charge was Sir Charles Bentinck, a chargé d'affaires. According to him, the Greeks must have known that Lindley was not bluffing because Lord Curzon had informed the Greek Ambassador in London that if the men were executed Lindley would be withdrawn. Bentinck and Bagnani suspected that Kalopothakis had written the *Morning Post* article on the murders (20 January 1923). Until he actually saw each article, he was not sure which ones published by Grant in the *Post* he himself had written (9 February 1923).

In more *Post* articles, written on January 21 1923, Bagnani wrote that prices had soared but the streets were no longer crowded with refugees, who were all violent partisans of the present revolutionary Government, and many wanted to emigrate. A massive military build-up in Thrace by Gen Pangalos at great expense to a bankrupt country was not justified by the peaceful attitude of the Turks and was causing great consternation in Athens. Although the Venizelist press was claiming that the Greeks could easily defeat the Turks, the suspicion was rather that Pangalos intended to use the military to proclaim a republic, now favoured openly by many Venizelists. The execution of the five ministers would perpetuate the poisonous political life of the country. In an unpublished article about the recent declaration of an amnesty, he wrote that the Revolutionary Committee, away from the influence of Pangalos, was trying to conciliate its opponents but the ultra-Venizelists were not pleased with it (25 January 1923).

At the end of January Greece and Turkey signed conventions agreeing on an obligatory exchange of populations based on religion from May 1, 1923, with Moslems (some speaking Greek) having to leave Greece except Western Thrace, and orthodox Christians (some speaking Turkish) having to abandon Turkey except Istanbul. Perhaps a million people were to be forcibly exchanged by the end of the year, although the main movement did not begin until May 1, 1924 (Huntford 1998, 15).

In a published article dated February 4 and entitled "Bellicose Athenian Press," the press of all parties felt aggrieved at the Allied warning to the Greeks to respect the armistice zone. Some, however,

blamed the disaster on the Gounaris government and not the army and called for the use of force against Turkey. Some extremists even argued that the government had provoked the catastrophe just to abandon Smyrna (28 January 1923). In "Greeks & Serbs at Salonika - Expected Ending of Old Balkan Trouble," written February 4, Greece and the Kingdom of Serbia agreed to keep Salonika as an open port to provide an outlet to the sea for Serbia.

Bagnani sent off a brief note to the *Post* entitled "Gregorian Calendar in Greece - Church's Conservatism," explaining that Greece was converting from the old Julian calendar to the Gregorian by adding the missing thirteen days so that they would jump from Old Style February 15 to New Style March 1, 1923. The article was dated February 1 but not published until February 14.

Bagnani's mother was in Greece from the end of February until May. During that period, there is only a travel and expense diary to account for his moves, and the dates of the articles in the *Post* to illuminate the politics in Athens. Because of continued deportations of Greeks from the Pontus, Greece was postponing the exchange of civil prisoners, but eventually started the process by deporting 25,000 Moslems to provide houses for homeless Greek refugees. The Greek Government began to seize gold deposits and impose a retroactive capital tax. Foreign military missions were being dismissed for economic reasons.

At an Open Meeting of the Italian School, 15 March 1923 Levi spoke on excavations of the previous year at Kos, particularly in Aspri Petra and in the nymphaeion cave at Pharsalus; Bagnani illustrated a statue of Artemis from the Museum at Canea in Crete whose type was connected to that of the Artemis at Ostia, now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme in Rome.

In a still enigmatic reference, Anna Cosadino was suspected of something, according to Mme Boubouli, and warned Bagnani, who destroyed her letters. Mme Pyrrhos Carapanos now claimed to have been a fool to be Royalist and blamed everything on Gounaris (diary entries for 1 April 1923).

On April 2 Bagnani and Levi set out for the Peloponnese. In Arcadia he was told that the people there were against Venizelos as they had suffered too much under him. Although the top local officials had been replaced during the Revolution, most of the people remained royalist. King George was not as popular as his father since people felt he should have abdicated because of the executions. The wife of a Venizelist prefect was collecting for the refugees (6 April 1923). The museum guard at Sparta was reluctant to reveal that he was opposed to Venizelos (8 April 1923). At Levitsova a monument to Constantine had been defaced, and there were more Venizelists in Lakonia. Some adult male refugees had been sent to Tripolis for propaganda purposes (9 April 1923).

Sailing to Gytheion, he met a thin young man in uniform who told him that he had worked in Smyrna and had been captured. While he had little to eat and thrashings were frequent, the same was true for the Turkish soldiers (12 April 1923). He then met a wounded captain returning home who was still Royalist like many others in the Mani (13 April 1923). For the first half of May, the students excavated at Poliochni on Lemnos. Stopping at Chios and Lesbos, he saw that these islands also were full of refugees. The large bay at Mudros had been occupied by the Allies during the war and dumps of empty tins and petrol cans were still visible. The churches at Salonika were interesting but full of refugees. The value of the Greek drachma was plunging on the currency exchanges (18 May 1923).

He met a colonel at Mme Bouboulis' who told him that he had accompanied the King and Queen around the Peloponnese where they had been enthusiastically received. On Monday 21 with Cosadino he visited Admiral Goudas in prison, where he was writing a history of the trial. Cosadino told Bagnani that Mme Baltazzi had grown very thin. Bagnani also visited General Stratigos who had been condemned but allowed to live at home because he was crippled with arthritis. Bagnani found him intelligent and less violent than some other Royalists. Bagnani believed that the peace agreement would not be signed before the end of June, and that the government would have to demobilize the troops and settle the refugees before they could hold elections. He asked his mother to convey to Miller a brief article that would not pass the censor: everyone was anticipating war as the only way out of Greece's dilemma, but hoping that England would force Greece to yield (24 May 1923). On Sunday morning 27 May, everyone was relieved to hear that Turkey had accepted the peace agreement, and that war had been avoided, as he had been predicting against the pessimists like Cosadino (27 May 1923).

Out in the Dodecanese again, the politics had not changed from the previous year, in that the Greeks were still awaiting annexation to Greece, which was not going to happen. The falling exchange rate had made Athens much more expensive than the Italian islands (6 June 1923). For a variety of reasons they were not able to work in Turkey, and therefore explored around the island of Karpathos. He returned to Smyrna to visit Ernesto again, and found him doing a good business helping to rebuild the city, as were his in-laws (20 July 1923), but his article for the *Post* on "Smyrna Today — Life Amid the Ruins" reveals details and the extent of the devastation. On July 24 the peace treaty of Lausanne was signed.

The Greeks refused to allow the Italians to dig on Lemnos on the ground that Greek archaeologists had not explored there yet, but they had allowed the French to dig on the newly acquired territories of

Thasos and Samothrace and so the Italians did not believe their reasons. Bagnani was also upset because he had been telegraphing a lot lately and the Greeks had intercepted one of his telegrams quoting a Venizelist newspaper. Coming to the end of his term as a student in Athens, he was willing to stay on as a paid correspondent to cover the upcoming elections, if they asked him (28 July 1923).

Bagnani toured the *Averoff*, one of the warships in the Greek navy. He was expecting Goudas and Stratigos to be released under the terms of the peace treaty (9 August 1923). He spent a fortnight on Mykonos staying with the Grippari family, who were all more or less violently Venizelist. After sailing twice to the nearby island of Delos, he submitted an article about it, "A Visit to Delos — Ancient Mart and Sanctuary." Despite a general strike, Greece ratified the Lausanne Treaty on August 26. The letters reveal that Stratigos was the "distinguished general" whose thoughts published by Bagnani August 21 in "Greek General on Policy of M. Venizelos" set off a debate in the *Post* between C. S. Hourmouzios of the Foreign Press in London and M.G. Grusuchi formerly of Smyrna. The last articles for 1923 concern attempts to arrange the Greek general election, but then they cease abruptly and intentionally.

On August 27 near Iannina in western Greece, unknown assailants attacked and murdered Italian General Tellini, the president of the commission for the delimitation of the Gréco-Albanian frontier and four members of his suite. Mussolini demanded an immediate apology, an inquiry, and 50,000,000 lire. Greece refused and on August 31 Italian troops occupied Corfu after a lethal bombardment. Greece appealed to the League of Nations over the incident.<sup>13</sup> Bagnani wrote to his mother that Italy was completely in the wrong and the Greeks had behaved very well about it. He postponed a planned trip with Mme Bouboulis through Arcadia. The Legation and Italian schools but not the School of Archaeology were being guarded by troops. At the Serpieris, Bagnani heard the Italian consul give the Legation's version of events. When Grant did ask Bagnani to cover the news for the *Post*, however, Bagnani refused, saying that as a member of the Italian School he could not compromise the School or the Legation (7 September 1923). Bagnani printed over one hundred photos of the crime for the Legation. Ambassador Montagna wanted a report on the political feeling in the area and Perrone, the Italian military attaché, a report on the military possibilities of the railway in the Peloponnese and where it might be vulnerable from the sea.

So, with Mmes Boubouli and Edoux (not yet identified) as traveling companions, he set out by train for the Peloponnese, possibly on Sunday morning the 16<sup>th</sup>. Decades earlier the Italians had built a trac-

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<sup>13</sup> For a detailed account of the events, see Barros 1965.

tion rail line to bring ore down from Kalovryta through a gorge to the Corinthian Gulf at Diakopto. The travelers went up to the monastery at Megaspeleion and the village of Kalovryta before passing on to the waterfalls on Mt Chelmos where the River Styx supposedly originated. They were back in Athens by Wednesday 19 (24 September 1923). No trace of any report has yet been located.

Upon their return from Crete on Wednesday 5, Levi, Jacopich, Reggiani, and Cosadino were involved in a minor car accident in Athens. Anna Cosadino nursed Levi back to health and within two weeks Bagnani suspected that she was in love with him (24 September 1923). In 1928 they would marry in Florence (Gerlini 1995,170).

On September 19, the Greeks held a public funeral for the slain Italians, as part of their agreement. They paid the 50,000,000 lire on September 27, and the League pressured Italy to withdraw her troops from Corfu.

After being released from prison, Admiral Goudas invited Bagnani to join him on the island of Poros together with the Baltazzi family, and he stayed with them from Monday 1 until Thursday 4 October, before returning to Athens to sail for home. In November Henry Morgenthau, formerly American Ambassador to Constantinople, arrived in Greece as the head of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission for the League of Nations. With loans from abroad, he was able to follow Charilaos' lead in providing for the permanent resettling of the refugees still sheltered in schools, churches, warehouses, etc. (Morgenthau 1929; see also Howland 1926 and Ladas 1932).

Censorship was increased, prohibiting any reference to the executed ministers, King Constantine or the individual Revolutionary leaders. In late October a military counter revolt of Royalists under Metaxas around the Peloponnese was suppressed. Military Republicans like Pangalos demanded a plebiscite on the monarchy. The frequently postponed Greek elections were finally held in December and the Venizelists and Republicans won in a landslide. At the request of Prime Minister Gonatas, on December 18, just three years after Constantine's triumphant return, King George and Queen Elizabeth left Greece for Romania, pending a plebiscite, with Condouriotis acting as regent again. On December 30, finally yielding to universal demand, Venizelos left Marseilles for Athens.

Over the course of the winter the widow of the executed Foreign Minister Baltazzi wrote several letters to Bagnani in Rome, at least four in French to him and one in English to his mother (these are in the Trent Archives). In the reprisals and purgings that followed the failed counter coup, Admiral Goudas had been arrested again and condemned to exile and his property seized even though it was proven that he had no knowledge of the attempted counter coup. Mme Baltazzi reported that

on the Sunday before the election, a peaceful demonstration of a quarter million royalists ended in a riot with several dead and many wounded when they were charged by machine guns and rifles. The opposition royalist parties therefore abstained from the election (27 December 1923).

In March Bagnani offered to translate Baltazzi's legal defense into French and English. For this and any other support, his aggrieved widow was very grateful. She blamed Venizelos for the assassination of her husband, who had the misfortune to be in the cabinet at the time of the catastrophe engineered by Venizelos (13 March 1924). She expressed her husband's opinions from his correspondence about some of the English individuals in London with whom he dealt as a Foreign Minister (28 March 1924). She wanted to send copies of the translation to anyone in Rome who had worked with her husband or Prime Minister Gounaris, and asked for help in getting their names, some of which she already had. She was deeply grateful for Bagnani's efforts to rehabilitate her husband's name abroad (3 April 1924).

On March 25 the Greek Assembly declared Greece a Republic pending the upcoming referendum, and on April 13 the referendum supported a republic.

Bagnani returned to Athens on Tuesday May 13, 1924, to find it packed with people and prices much higher than in Rome. Della Seta had married a violently jealous woman, and the Demidoffs had been ejected from the Russian Embassy by the Bolshevik minister. The American diplomat Henry Morgenthau had arrived, and William Miller the historian had moved to Athens in November 1923 (15 May 1924), but there had been a 'raffroidissement' between Bagnani and the Millers over Greek politics.<sup>14</sup> Being Venizelist, the Millers were considered rude by Lady Law. Perrone introduced Bagnani to the new Italian Ambassador Brambilla (26 May 1924)

Jacopich had been offered and accepted a position as inspector at Rhodes for two years. Despite not having a job, Bagnani believed that he would have been wrong to accept the position. Perhaps not completely serious, he admitted to becoming Royalist only after their fall from power, and did not see many during his short stay in Athens. He left Greece on Sunday May 25 for Istanbul and Trabzon<sup>15</sup> in Turkey (26 May 1924), and did not return again, despite repeated intentions to do so, until 1936.

In conclusion, the Greeks did not create the international situation that led to their being offered such a temptation as the part of a dis-

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<sup>14</sup> By a coincidence, Bagnani mentions in a letter that Miller's dog was a nuisance, and Miller had a dog buried on the property of the British School at Athens, where he spent a lot of time in the library (Waterhouse 1986, 69, 78).

<sup>15</sup> It may be significant that Miller wrote a book on *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire* in 1926.



membered Turkey inhabited by Greeks for three thousand years, but once offered it was hard for any Greek to resist it. At several stages the Allies could have intervened to prevent a militarily impossible situation from growing worse, but they did not. What is striking in Greece, however, is the bitter division between the political factions vividly and repeatedly exemplified in the Bagnani papers. Indeed politics seem to have been of greater concern to Athenians than the increasingly perilous situation in Turkey. Bagnani's letters highlight the social schism between the warring political factions, while his moderate stance and his family's background in diplomatic circles enabled him to remain in friendly contact with both sides. His position as a disinterested outsider with access to elite sources allowed him to articulate his unique viewpoint and astute insights to English readers. As such his articles provide us with a balanced yet vivid account of the lifestyles and thoughts among elite Athenians at a very tragic time for Greece.

The foregoing is a first preliminary attempt to present the socio-political aspects of the new material and, as such, may be emended in future. It is far too soon for an evaluation of Bagnani's value as an historical resource or as an historical analyst: much remains to be done. There are many names remaining to be identified, partly through genealogies, and their Italian connections need to be researched. References to contemporary events need to be investigated to understand the context and significance of conversations; copies of old Greek newspapers are being examined to bring into focus the historical events on a daily basis. As part of the larger Bagnani Project, records of the *Morning Post* from 1921 to 1924 need to be examined in England for any surviving correspondence with Bagnani.

It is due to the intelligence, foresight and generosity of Gilbert and Stewart Bagnani that so much was written, preserved, and donated to Canada for publication. As a result, the tumultuous events of an unhappy period in Greece's modern history may be seen in a new or clearer light.

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