

Notes

1 Anglo-Greek Attitudes: an Introduction

1. An even more striking visual image of this troubled relationship is afforded by the triptych of photographs taken by Dimitri Kessel, the Time-Life photographer, of British troops bivouacked in the Acropolis Museum during the December 1944 fighting and pictured resting their weaponry on the archaic statuary, *Ellada tou '44*, (Athens, 1994), p. 176.
2. The Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, Sir Alexander Cadogan, and Churchill's assistant private secretary, John Colville, both testified to the degree to which during December 1944 Churchill's attention was focused on the Greek crisis, more or less to the exclusion of all else, despite the critical state of the war elsewhere in Europe, David Dilks, ed., *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan, O.M. 1938–1945* (London, 1971), p. 688 and J.W. Wheeler-Bennett, ed., *Action this Day*, (London, 1968), pp. 51–2. On Churchill's consuming interest in Greek affairs during the Second World War, see Thanasis D. Sfikas, "'The people at the top can do these things which others can't do": Winston Churchill and the Greeks, 1940–45', *Journal of Contemporary History*, XXVI (1991), pp. 307–31.
3. Public Record Office FO 371/29817, R9591.
4. Churchill had offered membership of the Commonwealth to the French at the time of the fall of France.
5. FO 371/58678 R 3496, quoted in Heinz Richter, *British Intervention in Greece: from Varkiza to Civil War: February 1945 to August 1946* (London, 1986), pp. 423–5.
6. The complex history of Greece under German occupation is elucidated in John Hondros, *Occupation and Resistance: the Greek Agony 1941–1944* (London, 1983); Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece: the Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (London, 1993); Procopis Papastratis, *British Policy towards Greece during the Second World War 1941–1944* (Cambridge, 1984) and C.M. Woodhouse, *The Struggle for Greece, 1941–1949* (London, 1976).
7. British policy and resistance movements in Greece: report by Major D.J. Wallace on his visit to Greece, 14 July–9 August, 1943, FO 371/37213, R8419.
8. On 12 March 1947, *Time* not only paid 'Historian Toynbee' the accolade of putting him on the cover of the magazine but declared, with characteristic hyperbole, that he had 'found history Ptolemaic and left it Copernican', William H. McNeill, *Arnold J. Toynbee: a Life* (New York, 1989), p. 216.
9. In *Experiences*, a memoir which he wrote towards the end of his life, he wrote that 'the School's role was to serve as a headquarters and as a rest-house where one could recuperate during brief intervals between hiking campaigns' (London, 1969), p. 21.
10. XX1 (1985) v–xi, pp. 1–117.
11. Burrows' enthusiasm for everything Greek is epitomised in this passage

from an article that appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for February 1919: 'the Greek race is not decadent, not on the down grade, but on the up grade – fertile, expressive, constantly expanding. It has at its head one of the great men of the century [ie Venizelos], a man who fulfils in his own person the ideals and aspirations of the race'. Not all members of the Greek community in Britain were well disposed towards him, see, for instance, P. Katapodes, *Pseudophilhellenes: a Letter to E. Venizelos on the Duplicity of Principal Burrows of King's College* (London, 1917). One happy outcome of the publication of *Politics and the Academy* was an invitation to write the entry on Burrows, a pioneer in the development of area studies in British universities, for *The Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons* (Oxford, 1993) ed. C.S. Nicholls, pp. 106–7.

12. In his letter of condolences to Burrows' wife on learning of his death in May 1920, Venizelos wrote that 'I wish he could have been spared to visit and see with his own eyes the "Greater Greece" for which he has worked as few have. He would indeed have experienced the secret satisfaction of knowing that he had not laboured in vain', Venizelos Archive 267, Benaki Museum, Athens.
13. According to Dimitri Kitsikis, George Glasgow consulted these papers in the Legation when writing his *Ronald Burrows: a Memoir* (London 1924), *Propagande et pressions en politique internationale. La Grèce et ses revendications à la Conférence de la Paix (1919–1920)*, (Paris, 1963), p. 459. Professor Kitsikis likewise made extensive use of the archives of the London Legation in writing his book. Subsequent to the publication of my book, Dr Philip Carabott kindly unearthed a number of documents in the archives of the Greek Foreign Ministry bearing on the foundation of the chair and the subsequent controversy. From these it is interesting to note that the chargé d'affaires at the Greek Legation in London did not regard Toynbee as being motivated by a 'deeply rooted spirit of mishellenism or by fanatical turcophilia' but rather by an exaggerated wish to appear even handed, despatch to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 13 March 1923. Likewise, A.A. Pallis, who headed the Greek Commission for the Welfare of Refugees in Istanbul, considered Toynbee to be 'the type of intellectual investigating questions in a clearly objective spirit and free of fanaticism'. Rather than being inspired by anti-Greek ideas, Toynbee considered Greece to be a victim of the policies of the British prime minister, Lloyd George, who had propelled Greece, for selfish reasons, into an adventure in Asia Minor that was beyond her powers, despatch to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens, 24 April 1923. Dimitrios Caclamano, the Greek minister in London, on the other hand, considered that Toynbee had been transformed into 'an apostle of anti-Greek propaganda'. While academic freedom was a value that should be respected, it was difficult to accept that a 'professor of Byzantine and modern Greek history and literature should metamorphose into a one-sided prosecutor of everything that is Greek and counsel for the Turks', Caclamano to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 4 January 1924. Athos Romanos, the Greek minister in Paris, likewise regarded Toynbee as an 'instrument of anti-Greek propaganda', Romanos to the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 30 March 1923.
14. Now that Boards of Studies have ceased to exist at the University of

London, the 100 year rule has been lifted and a 30 year rule applies. Personnel files at King's College remain subject to an 80 year rule, five years longer than that applied by the Vatican, a notoriously secretive institution. Access can be granted earlier if the individual is dead and subject to their not containing material likely to prove objectionable to members of the family. It is characteristic that although the imbroglio over the Koraeas Chair caused major ructions in the Faculty of Arts in the College over a period of several years, there is no mention of it in Gordon Huelin's *King's College London: a History Commemorating the 150th Anniversary of the College*, published in 1978. In his *A Centenary History of King's College London* (London, 1928), F.J.C. Hearnshaw, without mentioning Toynbee by name, did touch briefly on the controversy. Referring to the establishment of four new departments in the College during the First World War (Slavonic, Spanish, Portuguese and modern Greek) he observed that 'the fact that governments and politicians were interested in these modern linguistic chairs had advantages in securing money and promises of money ... although the actual payment of foreign government grants proved to be liable to frequent interruption by revolution or change of administration'. Moreover, reliance on foreign subsidy had 'the grave disadvantage that the holder of these subsidized seats found his academic freedom compromised. He was expected to teach what was agreeable to his patrons', 466–7. Additional information on the early years of the School of Slavonic Studies, when it still formed a part of King's College, is contained in my 'Marcu Beza and the Development of Romanian Studies in England', in I. Agrigoroaiei, G. Buzatu and V. Cristian, eds, *Români în Istoria Universală*, IIIa (Jassy, 1988), pp. 351–65.

15. Inevitably, the controversy did not pass unnoticed in Turkey. Indeed, once Toynbee's resignation had become public knowledge, Yusuf Kemal the Turkish minister in London, approached him with the offer of a teaching position at the University of Istanbul, an offer in which Toynbee expressed considerable interest in principle. Muallim Cevdet, a Turkish teacher, at much the same time pointed to the way in which rich Greeks were prepared to dig into their pockets to fund chairs in European capitals and specifically referred to Toynbee's problems in the Koraeas Chair. He attributed the sympathy enjoyed by the Greek cause to Greek cultivation of European scholars, 'Rum mesai ilmiyesi', in *Mektep ve medrese* (Istanbul, 1978), pp. 115–23, quoted in Pinelopi Stathi, 'Skēpseis enos Tourkou daskalou gia ton Elliniko Philologiko Syllogo', *I kath'imas Anatoli. Periodiko ekdosi tou Syndesmou tou en Athinais Megaloskholiton*, II (1994), pp. 246–7. Cevdet attributed greater power and authority to the famous Greek Literary Association of Constantinople (*O en Konstantinoupolei Ellinikos Philologikos Syllogos*) than to the Greek state itself, an exaggeration but one containing a kernel of truth. In introducing in the Greek Parliament in 1917 (Law 1064 *Peri khorigiseos pistoseos dia tin systathisomenin edran en to Panepistimio tou Londinou*) the bill providing for a yearly Greek government subsidy of 7500 gold drachmas, the Minister for Religious Affairs and Public Education, Dimitrios Dingas, stressed that in addition to the general motive of promoting philhellenic sentiment in England, there was 'the specific national reason' that chairs of Slavic history and literature were

already in existence at the university, the implication being that one of the purposes of the Koraes Chair was to counter Pan-Slav propaganda.

16. By 1933, one half of the School's income derived from the Czechoslovak, Polish and Yugoslav governments, I.W. Roberts, *History of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies 1915–1990* (London, 1991), p. 32. R.W. Seton-Watson's own chair, the Masaryk Chair of Central European History, was funded by the Czechoslovak government, and when this subsidy dried up as a consequence of the Nazi dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, both the Romanian and Yugoslav governments, independently of each other, offered in 1940 to provide funding for the chair for the remaining years of Seton-Watson's tenure of it. These parallel approaches created what the then director of the School, Professor William Rose, termed 'a rather ludicrous, though for us all very gratifying, situation', Rose to the Earl of Onslow, 5 February 1940, PRO 371/2940. I am grateful to Maurice Pearton for this reference. In the event, funding was forthcoming for Seton-Watson's chair from Prince Paul of Yugoslavia, but it is not clear whether funds reached the School from the Romanian government for this purpose.
17. See also McNeill's 'Arnold Joseph Toynbee', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LXIII (1977), pp. 441–69.
18. *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* (1916), reprinted by Hodder and Stoughton.
19. As Toynbee was himself to write, for Greek peasants 'Ancient Greece was not, as it had been for me at Winchester, a city of refuge from which one could keep the present-day world at bay', *Experiences*, p. 28.
20. Arnold Toynbee, Naxos, 27 November 1911, to Edith Toynbee, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
21. 'The pliable, plastic, receptive Baboo of Bengal eagerly avails himself of this system [of English education] partly from a servile wish to please the *Sahib logue*, and partly from a desire to obtain a Government appointment', *Fraser's Magazine*, (August 1873) 209, cited in Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, eds, *Hobson-Jobson: a Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (Calcutta 1896).
22. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 17 December 1911, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
23. Arnold Toynbee, Hotel d'Alemagne (*sic* [*sic*]), Olympia to Edith Toynbee, 25 February 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
24. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 2 January 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
25. Arnold Toynbee, Volos, to Edith Toynbee, 14 Jan 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
26. Arnold Toynbee, Hotel d'Alemagne, to Edith Toynbee, 25 February 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
27. Arnold Toynbee, Naxos, to Edith Toynbee, 27 November 1911, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
28. Arnold Toynbee, Karyais, Mount Athos, to Edith Toynbee, 19 June 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
29. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 24 July 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

30. In the multi-volume *A Study of History*, on which his reputation as historical guru principally rested, Toynbee was to express regret at the way in which 'in the name of an alien ideal [nationalism] which had thus been imported in an evil hour, the shot-silk fabric of a seamless Ottoman robe was remorselessly plucked to pieces by cruel hands, and the broken threads of each diverse national hue were then roughly rewoven into so many separate rags to make a patchwork coat of many colours, in which the only note of uniformity was a monotonously pervasive stain of blood', VIII, (London, 1954) 191, cited in Elie Kedourie, 'The Chatham House Version' in Elie Kedourie, ed., *The Chatham House Version and other Middle Eastern Studies*, (London, 1970), p. 361.
31. Arnold Toynbee, Yerapetro, Crete, to Edith Toynbee, 17 March 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
32. *Experiences*, p. 35.
33. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 24 July 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
34. Arnold Toynbee, Corfu, to Edith Toynbee, 29 July 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
35. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 24 July 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
36. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 8 March 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
37. Arnold Toynbee, British School at Athens, to Edith Toynbee, 8 March 1912, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
38. Arnold Toynbee, 7th Division Headquarters, Greek Army of Asia Minor, 2 April 1921, to Edith Toynbee, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
39. Arnold Toynbee, Ushak, to Rosalind Toynbee, 4 February 1921, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
40. Arnold Toynbee, Smyrna, to Rosalind Toynbee, 26 January 1921, Toynbee Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
41. F.H. Marshall, 'Some debts to Byzantinism', an inaugural lecture delivered on Monday, October 11th, 1926, p. xv.
42. On this controversy see, for example, Romilly Jenkins, *Byzantium and Byzantinism. Lectures in Memory of Louise Taft Semple* (Cincinnati, 1963); Cyril Mango, 'Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVIII (1965), pp. 29–43 and the review article by Speros Vryonis, 'Recent scholarship on continuity and discontinuity of culture: classical Greeks, Byzantines, modern Greeks', in Speros Vryonis, ed., *The 'Past' in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture* (Malibu, CA, 1978), pp. 236–56.
43. Averil Cameron, *The Use and Abuse of Byzantium: an Essay on Reception* (London, 1992), pp. 24, 5, 20.
44. Letter from Stanford Shaw, 14 March 1986. I already knew of the bomb attack as, by coincidence, I had arrived in Los Angeles from Seattle to give a lecture at UCLA on the day that it occurred, 4 October 1977, and still retain a clipping from the *Los Angeles Times* of that day which recorded the incident on its front page.
45. A lengthy review/précis of the book was published by Professor Cem Cakmak of the Department of Public Administration of the Middle East

Technical University as 'Arnold Toynbee ve bir kürsünün hikayesi', *Mulkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi*, 116, February 1990, pp. 19–23.

2 The British School at Athens and the Modern History of Greece

1. The eight British archaeological schools and institutes in various part of the word have also come under fire in the United Kingdom, dismissed by their critics as remnants of a colonial past and as 'expatriate dining clubs'. See, for instance, *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 17 June 1994.
2. *Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraeos Chair* (London, 1986).
3. *Ibid.*, pp. xvii, 342. The actual annual Treasury grant at this time amounted to £500.
4. (London, 1941). Forster's history was reprinted in 1957 in an edition revised by Douglas Dakin.
5. Arnold Toynbee, *Experiences* (London, 1969), p. 4.
6. *Ibid.*, 21 ff.
7. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVIII (1912), p. 317.
8. *A Study of History* (Oxford, 1954) X, 107. See Thomas Africa, 'The final Vision of Arnold Toynbee', *Historical Reflections*, X (1983), p. 227.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 134.
10. *Experiences*, p. 28.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 26, 35. Toynbee's encounter with his amateur *klephts* might have had an altogether less happy outcome, for the *Annual Report* for 1924–1925 records a large turn out from the British School at the Anglican Church in Athens for the funeral of a student of the American School who had been fatally wounded by brigands whilst travelling in Acarnania: 'an event without parallel in the history of the foreign schools in Athens', p. 14.
12. William McNeill, *Arnold Toynbee. A life* (New York, 1989), pp. 41–2.
13. *Experiences*, pp. 35–6.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–9.
15. *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, 1915–1916* (London, 1916).
16. George Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows: a memoir* (London, 1924), pp. 161–2.
17. Clogg, *Politics*, pp. 26–7.
18. *A Study of History*, X, p. 139.
19. It is interesting to note that Gennadius, in the deed of gift establishing the Gennadius Library, envisaged special conditions of access for members of the British, French and German Schools, together with professors of the University of Athens and members of the Council of the Greek Archaeological Society
20. Clogg, *Politics*, p. 29. One outcome of Scutt's researches at the School was a lengthy two-part article on 'The Tsakonian dialect', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XIX (1912–13); XX (1913–14), pp. 18–31. It is noteworthy that more than half of the 1912–13 *Annual* was devoted to post-classical topics.
21. Clogg, *Politics*, p. 36.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
23. Helen Waterhouse, *The British School at Athens: the First Hundred Years* (London, 1986), p. 135; Toynbee, *Experiences*, p. 22.
24. (London, 1914), pp. 12, 13.
25. For a detailed listing of Dawkins' voluminous writings, see Minas Alexiadis, 'To ergo tou R.M. Dawkins: vivliographiki symvoli', *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon*, V (1984–85), pp. 361–89.
26. Clogg, *Politics*, p. 26.
27. Waterhouse, *The British School*, p. 22.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
29. *First Athenian Memories* (London, 1931), pp. 196–7. In *Greek Memories*, first published in 1932 and hastily withdrawn when its author was charged under the Official Secrets Act, Mackenzie had revealed that the Passport Control Office was a cover for secret service activity.
30. Piers Dixon, *Double Diploma: the Life of Sir Pierson Dixon. Don and Diplomat* (London, 1969), p. 9.
31. Mackenzie, *First Athenian Memories*, pp. 194, 200–1.
32. Waterhouse, *The British School*, p. 24.
33. Mackenzie, *First Athenian Memories*, p. 253. See also J.N.L. Myres, *Commander J.L. Myres, R.N.V.R.: the Blackbeard of the Aegean* (London, 1980) *passim*.
34. See his *The Wandering Scholar* (London, 1925).
35. The war service of former students during the First World War is detailed in the *Annual*, XXIII (1918–19), pp. viiii–xvi. A similar listing for the Second World War is given in the *Annual*, XLII (1947), pp. ix–xv.
36. Waterhouse, *The British School*, p. 26.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 25. Myres seems also to have been involved with the Anglo-Hellenic Educational Foundation that was established in London in 1918 with the aim of advising and assisting 'in the foundation in Greece of schools conducted on English principles'. In a talk to the Anglo-Hellenic League in 1919 he mentioned educational experiments foreshadowed under the catch-word of a 'Greek Eton', adding, apparently in all seriousness, that if such a foundation were to succeed in being either 'Eton' or 'Greek' then 'its curriculum must be that of ancient Persia – to ride and to shoot and to tell the truth', *Address by J.L. Myres to the Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League on Friday. June 20 1919* (London, 1919). Nothing appears to have come of this particular scheme either. On the sometimes rather eccentric philhellenic circles in Britain during this period see my 'The "ingenious enthusiasm" of Dr. Burrows and the "unsatiated hatred" of Professor Toynbee', *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook*, IX (1993), pp. 75–98, reprinted in the present volume.
38. Waterhouse, *The British School*, p. 47.
39. In 1951 the School received a legacy of £500 from William Miller for the upkeep of the garden, his dog being buried near the west wall, *ibid.*, p. 69.
40. See Dilys Powell, *The Villa Ariadne* (London, 1973), 121 ff.
41. Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan* (New York, 1984), p. 428.
42. For more detail on the involvement of British and American academics in the affairs of occupied Greece see my paper 'Distant cousins: SOE and OSS at odds over Greece' in the present volume.

43. Marion Saraphis (Pascoe) recalls that during her time at the School she encountered complete indifference to the pre-war Metaxas dictatorship. Some of its members, indeed, were of the view that Metaxas was what the Greeks deserved. Marion Saraphi, *O Stratigos Saraphis opos ton gnorisa* (Athens, 1990), p. 14.
44. Casson's experiences on the Macedonian front during the First World War are recounted in *Steady Drummer* (London, 1935).
45. Ellen Bosanquet, *Robert Carr Bosanquet: Letters and Light Verse* (Gloucester, 1938), 181 ff.

3 The 'ingenious enthusiasm' of Dr Burrows and the 'unsatiated hatred' of Professor Toynbee

1. Scarcely six months after de Robeck wrote his dispatch, the mercurial Greek statesman suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of a war-weary electorate that had grown disillusioned with the arbitrariness and vindictiveness of Venizelos' henchman after he had returned to power in anomalous circumstances in 1917.
2. This was presumably a reference to Venizelos's Cretan origin.
3. *Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, 1st Series, vol. xii (London, 1963), pp. 18-19.
4. (London, 1922; second edition with revised preface, 1923; US edition, Boston, 1923).
5. G. Melas, *The Turk as He is* (Hove, 1922), pp. 44-5, 49.
6. Op. cit., pp. 63-4.
7. The story is told in considerable detail in Richard Clogg, *Politics and the Academy: Arnold Toynbee and the Koraes Chair* (London, 1986).
8. London, 1907.
9. George Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows: a Memoir* (London, 1924), p. 30.
10. See Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 1.
11. D.J. Cassavetti was the author of *Hellas and the Balkan Wars* (London, 1914).
12. Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves: New Zealand Fabian* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 328, 331, 321. Pember Reeves was the author, *inter alia*, of *Mr. E. Venizelos's Great Speech on the Balkan Crisis and a Sketch of the Political Career of the Great Man from the Pen of the Hon. W.P. Reeves*, printed in London, apparently in December 1912.
13. In a letter to Miss Wright of the Anglo-Romanian Society, 6 April 1919, file 269, King's College, London, Archives.
14. D.J. Cassavetti to Helena Schilizzi, 14 July 1916; R.M. Burrows to Helena Schilizzi, 13 July 1916, quoted in Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 8.
15. These are conveniently listed in Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows ...*, pp. 284-6.
16. *The New Europe* was a journal published by Seton-Watson and others from the College. The editorial assistant, George Glasgow, was to be Burrow's biographer and was subsequently to marry his widow. On the *New Europe* group, which was tireless in its promotion of the principle of self-determination for the peoples of Eastern Europe, see Hugh and Christopher Seton-Watson, *The Making of a New Europe: R.W. Seton-Watson and the Last Years of Austria-Hungary* (London, 1981).

17. J.A. Douglas was the author, *inter alia*, of *Death's Ride in Anatolia and Armenia: a Sermon Preached at Southwark Cathedral, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, the Metropolitan of Trebizond, the Archbishop of Syria ...* (London, 1920) and *The Redemption of Saint Sophia, an Historical and Political Account of the Subject* (London, 1919).
18. On the lobbying over this issue, see Erik Goldstein, 'Holy Wisdom and British Foreign Policy, 1918–1922: the St. Sophia Redemption Agitation', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, XV (1991), pp. 36–64. As Goldstein points out, the Crusade cannot be dismissed simply as a marginal pressure group of 'Near Eastern cranks', for it numbered two future Foreign Secretaries in its membership, p. 37.
19. Ronald Burrows, *Give Back ... Saint Sophia* (London, 1919), pp. 25–6, 15.
20. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 20. Interestingly, a recording of Venizelos's speech at this meeting survives.
21. On the background to this affair, see C.M. Woodhouse, 'The Offer of Cyprus. October 1915' in *Greece and Great Britain during World War I* (Thessaloniki, 1985), pp. 77–89.
22. Glasgow, *Ronald Burrows*, p. 251.
23. Compton Mackenzie, *Greek Memories* (London, 1932, reprint 1987), pp. 401–2. Mackenzie was perturbed to find that Burrows had been taken in by a 'thoroughly bad hat' called Watney Hyde who had been acting as correspondent of *The Times* on the Salonica front, pp. 369, 396.
24. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 27.
25. Ernest Barker, Burrows's successor as principal of King's College, noted in his memoirs how refreshing he found the encouragement of the serious study of Eastern Europe at the College, *Age and Youth: Memories of Three Universities and Father of the Man* (London, 1953), pp. 122–4, 114.
26. Masaryk recorded in his memoirs that, at the time, he thought his professorship at King's College to be a 'bothersome interruption' to his work of propaganda on behalf of an independent Czech and Slovak state, although subsequently he realized that Seton-Watson and Burrows had advised him well when they had urged him 'so insistently to accept the appointment'. He 'esteemed highly' Dr Burrows's 'manliness and devotion to his university', T.G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State* (London, 1927), pp. 95, 100, 147.
27. See Richard Clogg, 'Marcu Beza and the development of Romanian Studies in England' in *Români în Istoria Universală* (Jassy, 1988), pp. iii, 351–65. It is interesting to note that, even at the height of the controversy between the subscribers to the Koræes Chair and Toynbee, King's College should have felt no qualms in soliciting funding from the Romanian government for the promotion of Romanian studies. But it should be noted that, in the early 1920s, approximately one quarter of the School of Slavonic Studies's funding came from foreign governments. In 1940, by which time the School, now the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, had become an independent institution within London University and Seton-Watson had suffered in the financial crash of 1929, both the Romanian and Yugoslav governments offered the School funding for the maintenance of the Masaryk Chair of Central European History, for as long as Seton-Watson continued to hold it.
28. Cassavetti, *Hellas and the Balkan Wars*, pp. 263, 305–6. For a fictionalized,

- and frequently hilarious, account of his experiences in the early 1930s as a teacher at the Anargyreios Skholi on Spetses, which was run on such lines, see Kenneth Matthews's novel, *Greek Salad* (London, 1935).
29. See J.N.L. Myres, *Commander J.L. Myres, R.N.V.R.: the Blackbeard of the Aegean* (London, 1980).
 30. *Address by J.L. Myres to the Annual General Meeting of the Anglo-Hellenic League on Friday, June 20, 1919* (London, 1919).
 31. Greece's propaganda effort, particularly in Britain and France, during this period is described in considerable detail in Dimitri Kitsikis, *Propagande et pressions en politique internationales. La Grèce et ses revendications à la Conférence de la Paix (1919–1920)*, (London, 1963).
 32. Pember Reeves, *An Appeal for the Liberation and Union of the Hellenic Race* (London, 1918).
 33. Toynbee's biographer, William McNeill, has unearthed evidence that Toynbee had been found fit for military service by 1915 but used a complaisant doctor to gain exemption from service. He postulates that Toynbee's guilty conscience in the matter subsequently weighed heavily on him, *Arnold Toynbee. A Life* (New York, 1989), pp. 68–70.
 34. On the activities of academics, including Toynbee, at Wellington House, see Stuart Wallace, *War and the Image of Germany. British Academics 1914–1918* (Edinburgh, 1988), 167 ff.
 35. A.J. Toynbee, *The Murderous Tyranny of the Turks* (New York, 1917), *passim*.
 36. Nevill Forbes, Arnold J. Toynbee, D. Mitrany and D.G. Hogarth, *The Balkans: a History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 232–33.
 37. McNeill, *Arnold Toynbee*, pp. 41–2.
 38. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 39.
 39. Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (London, 1933), p. 312.
 40. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 51.
 41. A.J. Toynbee, *The Place of Mediaeval and Modern Greece in History* (London, 1919), p. 27.
 42. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 52.
 43. Arnold Toynbee, *Acquaintances* (London, 1967), 240 ff.
 44. Arnold Toynbee, *Acquaintances*, p. 246. On Toynbee and the Armenians, see Lillian Etmekjian, *Toynbee, Turks, and Armenians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985).
 45. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 55.
 46. Toynbee, *Acquaintances*, p. 245.
 47. Toynbee, *Acquaintances*, p. 244.
 48. Toynbee Papers, Box 53, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
 49. Toynbee, *Acquaintances*, p. 247.
 50. Elie Kedourie, *The Chatham House Version and other Middle-Eastern Studies* (London, 1970), p. 366.
 51. Toynbee, *The Western Question*, pp. 269–70
 52. Toynbee, *The Western Question*, p. xi.
 53. Clogg, *Politics and the Academy*, p. 91.

4 The Special Operations Executive in Greece

1. See, for instance, *The Memoirs of Lord Chandos* (London, 1962), p. 239.
2. *Spectator*, 3 November, 1973. For criticism of SOE's activities in Yugoslavia, see also David Martin, *Patriot or Traitor: the Case of General Mihailovich* (Stanford, 1978), 117 ff.
3. *The Times Literary Supplement*, 22 October, 1971. The journalist Drew Pearson, in similar terms, described Colonel 'Wild Bill' Donovan, the founder of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the American counterpart to SOE, of having recruited 'one of the fanciest groups of dilettante diplomats, Wall Street bankers, and amateur detectives ever seen in Washington', R. Harris Smith, *OSS. The Secret History of America's first Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley, 1972), p. 17. OSS was, in part at least, the offspring of SOE and from Harris Smith's book it is clear that it shared many of the characteristics of its British prototype, namely a working environment of endemic chaos and unorthodoxy, internal political feuding, left- and right-wing factionalism and a deep-rooted and mutually perceived suspicion of the State Department and military establishments.
4. Despite the widespread destruction of early records and periodic weeding, there were some 350 box files at SOE headquarters in Cairo in October 1944, *Report on S.O.E. Activities in Greece and the Islands of the Aegean Sea* (1945), p. 226.
5. The *Apollo* organization apparently numbered over 800 agents at its peak. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
6. This summary account of the Peltekis affair is based on Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Baker Street Irregular* (London, 1965), pp. 221–2; Foreign Office Archives, Public Record Office, London (hereafter FO) 371/43691, R 12747; R 13235 and private information.
7. FO 371/43691, R 11844.
8. A good summary of the genesis of SOE is contained in M.R.D. Foot, *S.O.E. in France* (London, 1966); and Foot, *Resistance: an Analysis of European Resistance to Nazism* (London, 1976), pp. 137–41. Sweet-Escott's *Baker Street Irregular* is a well-informed and highly entertaining insider's view of SOE.
9. This aspect of British strategic thinking is thoroughly analyzed in David Stafford, 'The Detonator Concept: British Strategy, SOE and European Resistance after the Fall of France', *Journal of Contemporary History*, X (1975), pp. 185–217. A joint Planning Staff paper of December 5, 1941 (No. 73) called for the preparation and exploitation of 'all forms of subversive activities but specially the fostering of latent rebellion and sabotage of communications including ports and shipping', *Report on S.O.E. Activities*, p. 40.
10. See, for instance, David Kahn, *Hitler's Spies: German Military Intelligence in World War II* (London, 1978) for a revealing account of the vicious infighting between the Abwehr, the Sicherheitsdienst, and the Forschungsamt.
11. This appears not to have been an isolated incident of its kind. One SOE operative in Greece was alarmed to hear 'that several of our own British troops with our Missions had gone completely pro-ELAS. One recalcitrant sergeant had been shot dead by his SOE British officer for habitual drunkenness and gross disobedience to orders. He was also suspected of selling

arms to the ELAS through his women friends. The officer, who was moved out of Greece, was later exonerated', Donald Hamilton-Hill, *S.O.E. Assignment* (London, 1973) p. 166. A member of the *Harling* party that was parachuted into Greece in September 1942 to sabotage the Athens–Thessaloniki railway was at one stage in danger of being shot for insubordination.

12. A substantial number of these were recruited from the law firm of Slaughter and May, which led to the jibe that SOE's activities were 'all May and no Slaughter'.
13. It is perhaps worth noting in passing that while it is true that Britain had a number of investments in Greece, and in particular had a vested interest in the vexed question of Greece's external debts, in the overall context of British overseas investment these were insignificant. The British, for a number of reasons, were anxious to retain their influence in postwar Greece but desire to protect their investments cannot be considered as a significant factor in determining policy.
14. Julian Amery's wartime memoir, *Approach March* (London, 1973) gives a graphic insight into the interlocking web of school, university, and family connections that linked many of those who served with SOE or ancillary organizations. Although in his early twenties, Amery, by virtue of the fact that his father, Leo, was a cabinet minister, was able to gain a more or less immediate entrée into influential circles wherever his wartime duties took him and was able, when necessary, to ensure that his views became known in the highest quarters. At one stage it was proposed that Amery should accompany Myers on his return to Greece after visiting the Middle East and London in August and September 1943, but when a veto was placed on Myers's return the proposal lapsed, 267–9. Elsewhere Amery is critical of the 'indecent, almost masochistic, glee' with which SOE officials revelled 'in the destruction of Chetniks and Zogists who were at least our friends'. *Sons of the Eagle: a Study in Guerilla War* (London, 1948), p. 334.
15. FO 371/43681, R 3713.
16. For example, Peter Kemp, a highly enterprising B(ritish) L(iaison) O(fficer) in Albania, who complains in *No Colours No Crest* (London, 1958) of being barred from wearing the medals that he had been awarded for fighting with Franco's Nationalists in the Spanish Civil War. SOE in Greece had its fair share of such types. See the comments of Colonel Donald Hamilton-Hill, second-in-command of *Foxforce* (as the troops earmarked for the liberation of Greece were code-named), 'in fact, if the British troops in Athens in October had been allowed by General Scobie to make a ruthless clean-up of the ELAS the moment they arrived in Athens, the later troubles – in our opinion – might not have been allowed to get out of hand. We in Foxforce certainly had no illusions. *Politics or no politics* [my italics] we would be keeping 'our' liberated areas clean of ELAS bandits'. *S.O.E. Assignment*, p. 147.
17. On Frank Thompson see the memoir by T.J.T. (his mother) and E.P.T. (his brother) *There is a Spirit in Europe ...* (London, 1947) and Stowers Johnson, *Agents Extraordinary* (London, 1975).
18. Sweet-Escott, pp. 197–8. One of the protagonists has written an account of this exploit composed, as he disarmingly states, in a 'spirit of

- light-heartedness and twenty-two-year-old exuberance (almost bumptiousness)', W. Stanley Moss, *Ill Met by Moonlight* (London, 1950), p. 7.
19. This is of course a very broad generalization. Major Gerald K. Wines, for instance, who in December 1943 succeeded Captain Winston Ehr Gott as the ranking US officer in the Allied Military Mission to the Greek Resistance, was markedly hostile to ELAS, referring in his memoirs to Aris Velouhiotis as 'the Himmler of El as'. *A Lesson in Greek*, p. 31, unpublished (1948) in the Woodhouse Papers, Burrows Library, King's College, London.
 20. Smith, p. 51.
 21. Section D had been created in 1938 'to investigate every possibility of attacking potential enemies by means other than the operations of military forces', Foot, *Resistance*, p. 137.
 22. The following account relies heavily on an account of SOE's early activities in Greece compiled by Pirie and on private information.
 23. Dispatch dated 2 July, 1941, FO 371/29816, R 6962.
 24. On the antagonism between SOE and PWE, see Charles Cruickshank, *The Fourth Arm: Psychological Warfare 1938–1945* (London, 1977), 17 ff.
 25. MI9's principal role was to arrange for the evacuation of Allied personnel from occupied Europe. See, for instance, Airey Neave, *Saturday at MI9* (London, 1969) and M.R.D. Foot and J.M. Langley, *MI9: Escape and Evasion 1939–1945* (London, 1979).
 26. See George Taylor's remarks in Phyllis Auty and Richard Clogg, eds, *British Policy towards Wartime Resistance in Yugoslavia and Greece* (London, 1975), pp. 263–4.
 27. FO 371/33187, R 1490.
 28. See Denys Hamson, *We Fell Among Greeks* (London, 1946).
 29. C.M. Woodhouse, 'Early British Contacts with the Greek Resistance in 1942', *Balkan Studies*, XII (1971), pp. 347–63.
 30. Cf. FO 371/37201, R 2636, R 3348.
 31. Cf. FO 371/37202, R 5306.
 32. *Report on S.O.E. Activities*, p. 43.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
 34. Auty and Clogg, 178ff. See also Chapter 5 of the present volume.
 35. Despite his undoubted abilities, Keble was not a popular man. See, for instance, the unflattering sketch by Xan Fielding (who does not mention Keble by name): 'a globe-shaped choleric little militarist did his best to conceal his natural and professional shortcomings by a show of blood-thirsty activity and total disregard for the agents in the field, whom he treated like so many expendable commodities', *Hide and Seek. The Story of a War-time Agent* (London, 1954), p. 98.
[Since this chapter was originally published the voluminous records of the Special Operations Executive relating to Greece have, after 'weeding', been released to the Public Record Office.]

5 'Pearls from Swine': the Foreign Office Papers, SOE and the Greek Resistance

1. III (London, 1971), pp. 383–439.
2. Minute of 29 June 1941, FO 371/29840, R 6528.

3. Minute of 28 December 1941, FO 371/29842, 10665.
4. FO 371/37196, R 3923. The Foreign Office seems never to have appreciated the depth of bitterness felt by the Greeks for the Metaxas dictatorship. Despite his experiences of war and post-war Greece, Sir Reginald Leeper was still able to write in his memoirs that 'it would be a mistake to imagine that the Metaxas regime aroused anything like the fierce hostility throughout the country that Greek politicians would have you think', *When Greek meets Greek* (London, 1950), p. 10.
5. Minute of 18 February 1942, FO 371/33156, R 1240.
6. FO 371/29909, R 8996.
7. FO 371/29910, R 9987.
8. FO 371/33171, R 1018.
9. FO 371/37196, R 4117.
10. FO 371/33187, R 1836, R 1994.
11. FO 371/33187, R 2887.
12. FO 371/43684, R 5083.
13. FO 371/43684, R 5084.
14. 'Early British contacts with the Greek Resistance', *Balkan Studies*, XII (1971), p. 354.
15. FO 371/33175, R 1793.
16. FO 371/33187, R 5354.
17. FO 371/33163, R 6961. I have been unable to trace a copy of Warner's actual report.
18. FO 371/33163, R 6961.
19. FO 371/33163, R 7640.
20. *La Résistance grecque 1940-1944* (Paris, 1966), p. 156; *The Kapetaniou Partisans and Civil War in Greece, 1943-1949* (London, 1972), p. 22; *Griechenland zwischen Revolution und Konterrevolution (1936-1946)* (Frankfurt, 1973), p. 258.
21. Political Warfare Executive directives for 30 October to 5 November, 20 to 27 November, 27 November to 4 December, 4 to 11 December, 11 to 18 December.
22. Warner's emphasis. Minute of 5 February 1942, FO 371/33156, R 1269.
23. Minute of 31 December 1941, FO 371/2988, R 10898.
24. FO 371/37197, R 5657, Warner to Dixon, 20 June 1943, apropos SOE's proposal to spring the republican leader General Nikolaos Plastiras from the south of France, where he had been in exile since 1933. Warner added that he was horrified to learn that Ian Pirie 'reigns supreme in Greek affairs in Baker Street'.
25. FO 371/37208, R 11753.
26. FO 371/33163, R 7640.
27. FO 371/37199, R 8314; 371/37206, R 10553.
28. FO 371/37206, R 10553.
29. FO 371/43676, R 1127.
30. FO 371/37201, R 654. Emmanouil Tsouderos shared Sargent's low estimate of the value of the resistance effort in Greece. In a letter of 17 July 1943 he wrote to Leeper: 'Today all your expenses for the secret warfare of the guerillas are in vain and still more so are our sacrifices in lives and material used for these secret operations. The profit you get out of these operations

is small when compared to your enormous financial expenses for this type of warfare and to the reprisals taken by the enemy against us, by executions, expulsions, setting fire to villages and towns, rape of women etc. and all else that the enemy practices in revenge for the relatively unimportant acts of sabotage of the guerrilla groups'. *Tsouderos Archive*, file 10, Gennadeion Library, Athens.

31. FO 371/37201, R 2050.
32. FO 371/37201, R 2050.
33. FO 371/37194, R 2226.
34. FO 371/37201, R 2598.
35. Minute by Sir Alexander Cadogan, 6 April 1943, FO 371/37201 R 2636.
36. FO 371/37201, R 2636.
37. FO 371/37201, R 3348.
38. FO 371/33177, R 2657.
39. Minute of Dixon, 15 July 1943, FO 371/37203, R 5909.
40. FO 371/37203, R 5029.
41. Minute by D.S. Laskey, 16 June 1943, FO 371/37203, R 5192.
42. FO 371/37199, R 8314.
43. *When Greek meets Greek*, pp. 30–3; *Greek Entanglement* (London, 1955), pp. 228–65; *Eight Years Overseas, 1939–1947* (London, 1948), pp. 166–8; *O Doureios Ippos* (Athens, 1958), pp. 148–70.
44. *Harling* to Cairo, No. 50, 21 February 1943, SOE Records.
45. FO 371/37201, R 2050.
46. FO 371/37201, R 2702.
47. Cairo to *Keelrow*, 6 May 1943, SOE Records.
48. FO 371/37196, R 4236.
49. FO 371/37202, R 4717.
50. FO 371/37196, R 3456.
51. FO 371/37203, R 6555.
52. FO 371/137202, R 4504.
53. FO 371/37197, R 6418.
54. Minute of 25 February 1944, FO 371/43680, R 3308.
55. FO 371/37202, R 4459.
56. FO 371/37202, R 4503.
57. *When Greek meets Greek*, p. 31.
58. FO 371/37204, R 7884.
59. FO 371/37204, R 7217.
60. *Baker Street Irregular* (London, 1965), p. 174.
61. FO 371/37204, R 7884. In his preliminary report on his mission, radioed from within Greece, Wallace made the point that during the course of his visit he had met only one genuine Royalist. FO 371/37204, R 8088.
62. *When Greek meets Greek* p. 32.
63. FO 371/37204, R 7884.
64. FO 371/37198, R 7515.
65. FO 371/37198, R 7514.
66. FO 371/37198, R 7515.
67. FO 371/37198, R 7516.
68. FO 371/37204, R 7548.
69. *O Doureios Ippos*, pp. 154, 155. There is a discrepancy between the accounts

of Pyromaglou and Leeper as to who was making the running over the constitutional issue in Cairo. According to Pyromaglou (pp. 149–50, 160) it was the non-Communist delegates, i.e. Kartalis, Tsirimokos and himself, who were the most uncompromising. This was not, however, Leeper's reading of the situation. On 25 August he wrote to Sargent that Pyromaglou, whom he considered to be much the 'nicest' of the delegation, attached 'far more importance to weakening the influence of EAM in Greece than trying to exclude the King from returning there. In fact he, like Zervas, will do anything we wish on this matter or on any other matters' (FO 371/37199, R 8314). One of the reasons why Leeper may have got this impression was because Pyromaglou, at his first meeting with Leeper, deliberately omitted any mention of the issue of the monarchy, as he had previously been told by Wallace that Leeper had been fully persuaded on the constitutional issue (Pyromaglou, 153). Leeper dismissed Kartalis, the EKKA representative, as 'a frivolous character educated at the London School of Economics' (FO 371/4367, R 1860).

70. FO 371/37198, R 7758, R 7819.

71. FO 371/37231, R 7894.

72. *Greek Entanglement*, p. 254.

73. FO 371/37198, R 7950.

74. Minute of 24 August 1943, FO 371/37198, R 7950.

75. FO 371/37198, R 7950. The views put forward by Leeper and Churchill are a striking manifestation of the tendency, to which Colonel Woodhouse has drawn attention, of the British government authorities 'to under-rate the importance of what went on in Greece, so long as tranquillity was restored in exile', *Apple of Discord: a Survey of Recent Greek Politics in their International Setting* (London, 1948), p. 157.

76. FO 371/37204, R 7864, R 7884, R 8216,

77. FO 371/37204, R 7532. Pearson in his covering letter of 10 August wrote that Wallace's telegrams had been delayed owing to corruptions in transmission. Further telegrams were forwarded on 11 August.

78. FO 371/37204, R 8088. Leeper, on learning from Wallace of the existence of the telegrams, was understandably furious, particularly as he discovered that some of them had been forwarded on to SOE London before he, in Cairo, had had sight of them. When he taxed Glenconner about the muddle, he was told that it was entirely due to a shortage of cipherers. Telegram of 16 August 1943, FO 371/37204, R 7754.

79. FO 371/37199, R 8314.

80. FO 371/37204, R 8216.

81. FO 371/37204, R 8048.

82. FO 371/37199, R 8314.

83. FO 371/37213, R8419. This document was available to Sir Llewellyn Woodward in writing his official history of British foreign policy. According to Woodward, the Foreign Office regarded the Wallace report as an extremely able piece of work. One of the recommendations contained in the Wallace report may have been that Myers should not return to Greece, for on 6 October Howard minuted that 'Mr Leeper has all along been against Brigadier Myers' return to Greece; so for that matter has Major Wallace. They base their objections on the fact that Myers is so committed

to the guerilla cause (and in particular to the Communist E.A.M.) that nothing will change his views, – and that even if he were convinced and wanted to change his policy, he would not now be able to do so', FO 371/37205, R 9679.

84. FO 371/37199, R 8314.
85. FO 371/37198, R 7742.
86. FO 371/37199, R 8263.
87. FO 371/37199, R 8370.
88. FO 371/37199, R 8382.
89. FO 371/37205, R 9679. See note 83, above.
90. FO 371/37205, R 9679.
91. FO 371/37206, R 10831.
92. FO 371/37199, R 8314.
93. *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 173.
94. FO 371/37208, R 11753.
95. *Eight Years Overseas*, p. 169; *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 175. See also Sir Colin Gubbins, 'S.O.E. and the co-ordination of regular and irregular warfare' in M. Elliott-Bateman, *The Fourth Dimension of Warfare* (Manchester, 1970), pp. 94–5.
96. FO 371/37208, R 11753.
97. FO 371/37206, R 10553.
98. FO 371/37208, R 12295.
99. *Report on S.O.E. activities in Greece and the islands of the Aegean Sea*, Appendix III, 10.
100. FO 371/37205, R 9785.
101. FO 371/37207, R 11098.
102. FO 371/37207, R 11673.
103. FO 371/37209, R 12642.
104. FO 371/37209, R 13188.
105. FO 371/37209, R 13431.
106. FO 371/37209, R 13431.
107. FO 371/37209, R 1342.
108. FO 371/37209, R 13478.
109. *Baker Street Irregular*, 196.
110. FO 371/43677, R 1687.
111. FO 371/43678, R 1940.
112. FO 371/43678, R 1940.
113. FO 371/43678, R 1940.
114. FO 371/43680, R 3308. See Churchill's minute of 6 February 1944: 'There seems to be no limit to the baseness and treachery of E.L.A.S. and we ought not to touch them with a barge pole', FO 371/43678, R 1933.
115. FO 371/14368, R 3342.
116. Churchill, in a letter of 27 October 1941 to Tsouderos, referred to Greece's 'beloved constitutional monarchy', *Tsouderos Archive*, file 19, Gennadeion Library, Athens.

6 Distant Cousins: SOE and OSS at Odds over Greece

1. Quoted in Matthew Jones, *Britain, the United States and the Mediterranean*

- War, 1942–44* (London, 1996), p. 13. Interestingly, Casey was himself an Australian. I am grateful to Dr Lars Baerentzen and to Professor John Iatrides for their helpful comments on an earlier version of this chapter. Some of the material in this chapter is incorporated in “‘Cousins and Allies’: British and American misunderstandings over Greece during the Second World War’, *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, xiv (1997), pp. 105–18.
2. *Baker Street Irregular* (London, 1965), p. 145. Sweet-Escott was a prominent functionary within SOE. His exceptionally readable memoir is indispensable to an understanding of the organization’s inner workings.
 3. National Archives and Records Service, Washington, OSS Records RG 226 Entry 47 Box I.
 4. For a brief comparative analysis of the role of the two organizations, see M.R.D. Foot, ‘A comparison of SOE and OSS’ in K.G. Robertson, ed., *British and American Approaches to Intelligence* (London, 1987), pp. 153–64. Jay Jakub, *Spies and Saboteurs: Anglo-American Collaboration and Rivalry in Human Intelligence Collection and Special Operations, 1940–45* (London, 1999) affords an excellent analysis of the overall relationship between SOE and OSS. Although he devotes a chapter to divergences in respect of the ‘Yugoslav morass’, Jakub has relatively little to say about the complexities of the relations between the two organizations over policy in Greece. André Gerolymatos, *Guerrilla Warfare and Espionage in Greece 1940–1944* (New York, 1992) contains much interesting material on SOE’s activities in Greece but very little on those of OSS. But see the same author’s ‘American foreign policy toward Greece and the problem of intelligence, 1945–1947’, *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, VII (1991), pp. 157–62. On OSS’s relations with SOE over Yugoslavia, see Scott Anderson, “‘With friends like these . . .’ The OSS and the British in Yugoslavia’, *Intelligence and National Security*, VIII (1993), pp. 140–71. On the role of the OSS in Yugoslavia, see Kirk Ford, Jr, *OSS and the Yugoslav Resistance, 1943–1945* (College Station, Texas, 1992). An indication of the riches contained in the OSS archives is given in Jürgen Heideking and Christof Mauch, ‘Das Herman-Dossier. Helmut James Graf von Moltke, die deutsche Emigration in Istanbul und der amerikanische Geheimdienst Office of Strategic Services (OSS)’, *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, XL (1992), pp. 567–623.
 5. Characteristically, journalists have categorized as startling revelations facts contained in newly-released files that have been in the public domain (not to mention already readily accessible in the Public Record Office) for decades, for example, that Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary, was angry about ‘support given by SOE to communist resistance groups in Greece’ or that King George of Greece accused SOE of undermining the position of the Greek royal family. See, for instance, Richard Norton-Taylor in *The Guardian*, 8 September 1994.
 6. ‘Albania: new aspects, old documents’, *East European Quarterly*, XXVI (1992), p. 31.
 7. (New York, 1987), p. 559.
 8. Eduard Mark, in arguing in his fascinating study ‘The OSS in Romania, 1944–45: an intelligence operation of the early Cold War’, that OSS spent ‘more time in Romania than in any other country of Eastern Europe or Southeastern Europe’, save Yugoslavia, appears to have overlooked OSS’s

extensive involvement in Greek affairs, *Intelligence and National Security*, IX (1994), p. 320. According to Gerolymatos, OSS deployed over 400 operatives in Greece between September 1943 and November 1944, *Guerrilla Warfare and Espionage*, p. 303.

9. On the British side these memoirs include Arthur Edmonds, *With Greek Guerrillas* (Putararu, NZ, 1998); Nicholas Hammond, *Venture into Greece: with the Guerillas* (London, 1983); Denys Hamson, *We Fell among Greeks* (London, 1946); William Jordan, *Conquest without Victory* (London, 1969); John Mulgan, *Report on Experience* (London, 1947); E.C.W. Myers, *Greek Entanglement* (London, 1955; revised edition 1985); Michael Ward, *Greek Assignments: SOE 1943–1948 UNSCOB* (Athens, 1992) and C.M. Woodhouse, *Something Ventured* (London, 1982). Also valuable is the memoir of an S(ecret) I(intelligence) S(ervice) operative, Nigel Clive, *A Greek Experience 1943–1948* (Salisbury, 1985). Costas Couvaras, *OSS with the Central Committee of EAM* (San Francisco, 1982) is a rare memoir by an OSS operative relating to Greece, as is the manuscript account of Gerald K. Wines, the first deputy commander of the Allied Military Mission to the Greek resistance, *A lesson in Greek* [1948]. (Copy in the Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, London.) On OSS activities in the Evros region, where the borders of Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria meet, see Angeliki Laiou, 'Andartes kai symmakhikes apostoles ston Germanokratoumeno Evro: i martyria tou Alekou Georgiadi' in Hagen Fleischer and Nikos Svoronos, eds, *Ellada 1936–1944. Diktatoria, Katokhi, Antistasi* (Athens, 1989), pp. 303–26. Lars Baerentzen has conveniently annotated and published a number of particularly influential reports by British operatives, *British Reports on Greece 1943–1944 by J.M. Stevens, C.M. Woodhouse and D.J. Wallace* (Copenhagen, 1982). There is no American equivalent of the near contemporary analysis of the situation in occupied Greece by C.M. Woodhouse, Brig. 'Eddie' Myers' successor as commander of the British Military Mission to the Greek Resistance, *The Apple of Discord: a Study of Recent Greek Politics in their International Setting* (London nd [1948]). There is at least one entertaining novel based on the activities of SOE and OSS in Greece, Desmond Carolan, *And Ruffians Leap* (New York, nd), while Woodhouse has published a collection of short stories with a resistance background, *One Omen* (London, nd). For a critique of the value of the British memoirs to the historian, see Ole Smith, 'The Memoirs and Reports of the British Liaison Officers in Greece, 1942–1944: Problems of Source Value', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, XI (1984), pp. 9–32. For a brief overview of SOE activities in Greece see Richard Clogg, 'The Special Operations Executive in Greece' in John O. Iatrides, ed., *Greece in the 1940s: a Nation in Crisis* (Hanover, New Hampshire, 1981), pp. 102–18, reprinted in the present volume.
10. On the official Washington view of Greece during the period of the occupation, see John O. Iatrides, 'United States' Attitudes towards Greece during World War II' in Louisa Laourda, ed., *Meletimata sti mnimi Vasileiou Laourda* (Thessaloniki, 1975), pp. 599–625 and Lawrence Wittner, 'American Policy Toward Greece during World War II', *Diplomatic History*, III (1979), pp. 129–47.
11. *Baker Street Irregular*, pp. 40–1.

12. Sweet-Escott, *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 61.
13. The expression is that of David Wallace who, in the summer of 1943, was sent to report on the situation in occupied Greece on behalf of a Foreign Office which believed that SOE was effectively pursuing its own foreign policy in Greece, Wallace to Pierson Dixon of the Southern Department of the Foreign Office, 27 August 1943, P(ublic) R(ecord) O(ffice) F(oreign) O(ffice) 371/37199, R8317.
14. This crisis, which had major implications both for the future course of resistance in Greece and for SOE itself, is discussed in some detail in my, "Pearls from swine": the Foreign Office papers, SOE and the Greek resistance' in Phyllis Auty and Richard Clogg eds, *British Policy towards Wartime Resistance in Yugoslavia and Greece* (London, 1975), 178 ff, reprinted in the present volume (Chapter 5).
15. On the British cultivation of Donovan before the US had entered the Second World War, see Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero: Wild Bill Donovan* (New York, 1984), 148 ff. Some OSS agents were trained by SOE at its training school, known as Camp X, on Lake Ontario. On Camp X, see David Stafford, *Camp X: Canada's School for Secret Agents, 1941-1945* (Toronto, 1988).
16. John A. Iatrides, ed., *Ambassador MacVeagh reports: Greece, 1933-1947*, (Princeton, 1980), p. 281.
17. The academic input into the OSS and subsequently the CIA, and in particular the close connection of the Yale University History Department with both organizations, is discussed in considerable, and fascinating, detail in Winks, *Cloak and Gown*. The naivety of the assumption that a historian of a given country would necessarily make a competent analyst of its current politics was strikingly illustrated in the case of Conyers Read, an authority on England under the Stuarts and one of the great panjandrums of the pre-war Yale History Department. In September 1944, he detected 'definite indications' of a trend in Britain towards Russia and away from the United States and he opined that, in the event of a postwar electoral victory by the Labour Party, then 'the pro-Russian trend of British labor might eventuate in a position in which the US as the exponent of a free economy might find itself aligned against both Russia and England as the exponents of a controlled economy ...', in which case Britain might seek Russian support 'in a struggle against predatory capitalism', OSS Records RG 226 Entry 37 Box 2.
18. Pendlebury, who had been curator of Knossos during the 1930s and had been charged with building up networks for post-occupation resistance on the island, was killed in circumstances that are still not wholly clear during the battle for Crete in May 1941. See, for example, *John Pendlebury in Crete; comprising his 'Travelling Hints' and his 'First Trip to Eastern Crete (1928)' together with appreciations by Nicholas Hammond and T.J. Dunbabin and a prefatory note by S.C. Roberts* (Cambridge, 1948) and Dilys Powell, *The Villa Ariadne* (London, 1973) 126 ff.
19. Other academics with a background in archaeology or the classics were also harnessed to the war effort. Gerard Mackworth Young, the director of the British School [of Archaeology] at Athens, was in charge of the Press Office established by the British Legation in Athens on the outbreak of war in

- September 1939, while David Wallace, a former student of the British School where he had been studying Frankish military architecture in Greece, served as press attaché. A.J.B. Wace, a former director of the British School worked on Greek affairs for MI5, the counter-intelligence organization, during the Second World War as he had during the First, when the library of the British School had housed the Passport Control Office. When, during the early summer of 1940, the Foreign Office had proposed the establishment in Greece of a 'shadow mission', which would, *inter alia*, prepare the ground for a regular military mission if and when Greece entered the war, Sir Michael Palairret, the British minister, was dismissive of military tasks being carried out by 'ex-archaeologists' without staff experience, John Koliopoulos, *Greece and the British Connection* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 164–5.
20. Captain G.F. Else, 'Report on activities of OSS Greece', 31 January 1945, OSS Records RG 226 Box 31. Young was based in Cairo, Sperling in Istanbul, Caskey in Izmir, Daniel in Cyprus and Oliver in Bari. Homer Thompson worked with Canadian Naval Intelligence.
 21. Report submitted by Virginia Grace, 10 January 1945; Report by Lt John W. Savage to Capt. Christian M. Freer, 10 January 1945, OSS Records RG 226 Box 3.
 22. Reported submitted by Miss Virginia Grace, 10 January 1945, OSS Records RG226 Box 3.
 23. Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p. 428.
 24. Compton Mackenzie, *Greek Memories*, (London, 1939), pp. 8–9. The publication in 1932 of the first edition of *Greek Memories* (which was a riposte to Sir Basil Thomson's *The Allied Secret Service in Greece* (London, 1931) led to Mackenzie being prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act in 1932 and to the book being withdrawn on publication day for amendment. He wrought his revenge in a highly entertaining novel, *Water on the Brain* (London, 1933). He had earlier written another novel based on his wartime experiences in Greece, *The Three Couriers* (London, 1929). Unexpurgated copies of *Greek Memories* are now collectors' items, although University Publications of America (Washington, 1987) has reprinted the original text, with the passages that were excised at official behest helpfully highlighted. One of Mackenzie's transgressions had been to reveal that the Passport Control Office in British embassies and consulates was a cover for intelligence activity. The Compton Mackenzie trial is discussed in H. Montgomery Hyde, *Crime has its Heroes* (London, 1976), pp. 156–68. Mackenzie's Athenian exploits were regarded in some quarters as counter-productive. Indeed, it is reported, not necessarily apocryphally, that when, on Greece's entry into the war in the summer of 1917 on the side of the Entente, Mackenzie's arch-rival, the German Baron Schenk, was obliged to leave the country, he bade a public farewell to his well-wishers with the cryptic remark that 'I... leave the cause of the Central Powers in the best possible hands – those of my dear friend Mr Compton Mackenzie', J.M. Cook, *Greece in the 1930s: the Reminiscences of Professor J.M. Cook* (Edinburgh (privately printed), nd) p. 11.
 25. Yiannis D. Stefanidis, "'Preaching to the converted": the British propaganda campaign in Greece, 1939–1941"', *I Ellada kai o polemos sta Valkania*

- (1940–41)/*Greece and the war in the Balkans (1940–41)*, (Thessaloniki, 1992), p. 189. Wrede, who gave a guided tour of the Acropolis to Field Marshal von Brauchitsch when the latter visited Athens, wrote an enthusiastic account of his activities on behalf of the Nazi Party in the *Jahrbuch des Auslands-Organisation der NSDAP*, IV (1942), pp. 49–66, cited in Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler's Greece* (London, 1993), pp. 6–7. *Inter alia*, he complained that 'the Führer, Volk and Army' had been 'most evilly mocked' in the Athenian press after the German invasion of Greece on 6 April 1941.
26. Minute of 6 July 1940, PRO FO 371/24922
 27. Arthur Gould Lee, *The Royal House of Greece* (London, 1948), p. 81.
 28. The British School at Athens lost three members during the Second World War, all of them closely involved with Greek affairs. These were David Wallace, Stanley Casson and J.D.S. Pendlebury. They are commemorated in a memorial plaque in the entrance to the School.
 29. The circumstances of Marion Pascoe's first encounter with Sarafis when he was a political exile during the pre-war Metaxas dictatorship and the renewal of their friendship when he was once again in exile during the post-occupation civil war are movingly recounted in her biographical introduction to the English translation of Stephanos Sarafis, *ELAS: Greek Resistance Army* (London, 1980). Her experience of the British School in 1938 was manifestly not a happy one. Not only did she encounter among its members complete indifference to the Metaxas dictatorship but also the view that it was no more than the Greeks deserved. Marion Saraphi, *O Stratigos Saraphis opos ton gnorisa* (Athens, 1990), p. 14. On the involvement of Students of the British School at Athens in Greek affairs in both World Wars, see my own 'The British School at Athens and the Modern History of Greece' in the *Journal of Modern Hellenism*, X (1993), pp. 91–109, reprinted in the present volume (Chapter 2).
 30. Captain G.F. Else, 'Report on activities of OSS, Greece', 31 January 1945, OSS Records RG 226 Box 31. Characteristically, Else, having made mention of Sperling, Caskey, Daniel, Oliver, Edson, Crosby and himself, declared that 'the bottom of the barrel had already been pretty well scraped of Americans who knew Greek and Greece'. He seems to have forgotten about Greek Americans. OSS likewise made extensive use of Americans of South Slav descent in its Yugoslav operations, although towards the end of the occupation Tito made it clear that American officers of Yugoslav descent were no longer welcome, Ford (1992), p. 141.
 31. Certainly Major Otto C. Doering, one of Donovan's aides, in November 1943 enquired as to whether such an agreement had been entered into, OSS Records RG 226 Box 39.
 32. Arthur Kellas, *Down to Earth (or Another Bloody Cock-up): a Parachute Subaltern's Story* (Edinburgh, 1990), p. 169.
 33. *Venture into Greece*, p. 160.
 34. *Patriots and Scoundrels: Behind Enemy Lines in Wartime Greece, 1943–44* (Melbourne, 1997), p. 150.
 35. John Mulgan, 'Report on work of Allied Military Mission in Area 3 Greece', 1 November 1944.
 36. Sgt Alfred J. Borgman, 'A report on my duties in Greece from 4 June to

- 1 December 1944', undated, PRO HS5/706.
37. Minutes of the Second Meeting of the SOE/OSS Committee held ... Sunday 15th August 1943, PRO HS5/587.
 38. OSS personnel in Greece as of 30 November 1944, OSS Records RG226 Box 6.
 39. Halifax to Foreign Office, No. 4471, 19 August 1944, PRO Prem 3 212/2.
 40. Churchill to Bedell Smith, 24 August 1944, Chain no. 193, PRO Prem 3 212/2. Bedell Smith replied on 26 August that he had forwarded the message to Donovan, who had left England about an hour before he had received it. He added that he had always been worried about Donovan's 'predilection for political intrigue, and have kept a firm hand on him when I could, so he keeps away from me as much as possible'.
 41. Churchill to Harry Hopkins, 24 August 1944. Chain no. 205, PRO Prem 3 212/2.
 42. Beaverbrook to Churchill, 25 August 1944, Clasp 213, PRO Prem 3 212/2.
 43. Brigadier K.V. Barker-Benfield, the commander of Force 133, as SOE in the Middle East was by this time known, shared the widely held perception in British official circles that 'Greek-speaking Americans as a rule are violently anti-British', Cairo 14 August 1944 to Maj.-Gen. J.A. Baillon, PRO W(ar) O(ffice) 1598. I am obliged to Dr Lars Baerentzen for this reference.
 44. A.C. (Shan) Sedgwick of the *New York Times* had a curiously convoluted, indeed one might say Byzantine, explanation for the antipathy towards Britain displayed by many of his 'newly naturalized fellow citizens', among them Poulos. In reality, they were expressing their antipathy towards their adopted country. But if were they to criticize the US openly then someone would say 'Get the hell out and go back where you came from!', Richard Capell, *Simiomata: a Greek Note book 1944-1945* (London, ?1946), p. 130.
 45. Edward Warner, Cairo, to the British Ambassador in Rome, 21 August 1944, PRO Prem 3 212/2. Churchill was in Italy at this time, as was Leeper.
 46. Rex Leeper to Orme Sargent, no. 645, 2 September 1944, PRO Prem 3 212/2. Some days earlier Leeper had written to Pierson Dixon of the Southern Department of the Foreign Office that 'OSS in Greece are: (a) operational, (b) intelligence. In the case of (a) their officers form part of the Allied Mission under Colonel Woodhouse; in case of (b) there is no such control. It is here that the trouble occurs. Neither the American Ambassador ... nor the State Department have any control over OSS. Only the President can call General Donovan to order', Leeper to Dixon, 23 August 1944, PRO Prem 3 212/2.
 47. Lord Halifax, Washington to Foreign Office, 9 September 1944, PRO Prem 3 212/2; FO 371/43692, R 14265. I owe this last reference to George Alexander.
 48. Sweet-Escott, *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 44.
 49. W. Stanley ('Billy') Moss, for instance, was only 21 when he took part in the kidnapping of General Karl-Heinrich Kreipe on Crete in April 1944, one of SOE's less explicable operations. See his *Ill Met by Moonlight* (London, 1950). The Kreipe operation, planned in the Club de Chasse in Cairo, is an example of the kinds of problems that could arise when youthful exuberance was not held in check. The kidnapping was executed with consummate bravery and skill but it nonetheless remains difficult to see

what military or political objective could have been served by such an operation at such a late stage of the war, resulting as it did in very heavy reprisals against the Cretan people. The original target of the operation, General Müller, had been implicated in the policy of savage reprisals against civilians but his successor Kreipe had not. Some wiser counsels within SOE were strongly opposed to the operation. Indeed Sweet-Escott made himself 'exceedingly unpopular' in trying to interdict the kidnapping, so much so that he ran the risk of being court-martialled for insubordination, *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 197; Marion Sarafis, ed., *Greece: From Resistance to Civil War* (Nottingham, 1980), p. 118.

50. Clogg, *SOE in Greece*, pp. 108–9.
51. Franklin Lindsay, *Beacons in the night: With the OSS and Tito's Partisans in Wartime Yugoslavia* (Stanford, 1993), pp. 248, 341–2. On the role of Klugman, see, for example, Ralph Bennett, William Deakin, David Hunt and Peter Wilkinson, 'Mihailović and Tito', *Intelligence and National Security*, X (1995), pp. 527–8. Lindsay himself, having been invited to dine one evening in Maclean's mess, was subsequently informed that he had passed the test of social acceptability and that he would be invited back, despite being a 'colonial'. The memoir of Julian Amery, an SOE operative whose father was also a member of Churchill's cabinet, affords a useful insight into the establishment connections of many SOE operatives. Amery served in Albania, although at one stage it was proposed that he should join Myers in Greece, *Approach March* (London, 1973), *passim*. See Peter Wilkinson, *Foreign Fields: the Story of an SOE Operative* (London, 1997), p. 141.
52. Sweet-Escott, *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 36.
53. F. Bradley Smith, *The Shadow Warriors. O.S.S. and the Origins of the C.I.A.* (New York, 1983), pp. 102–3.
54. *The Spectator*, 3 November 1973.
55. *The Times Literary Supplement*, 22 October 1971.
56. R. Harris Smith, *The Secret History of America's first Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley, 1972), p. 17.
57. Basil Davidson, *Special Operations Europe: Scenes from the Anti-Nazi War* (London, 1980), p. 77.
58. Stevan Pavlowitch, 'D.T. Hudson (1910–1995): a depressed witness of the first civil war in Yugoslavia', *Tokovi Istorije*, 1/2 (1995), p. 269.
59. Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p. 603. In lobbying Donovan for a job with OSS, George Skouras had argued that 'I know the history and modern politics of that nation [Greece] as well as I know my own children. I know their way of thinking, their customs, their habits, and psychological reactions; and [am] aware of their idiosyncracies, and speak their language fluently'. R[odney] Y[oung], writing on 25 April 1944, to 'Jack' [Caskey] reported that 'Uncle George Skouras' was willing to afford Greek War Relief Association cover to those collecting intelligence on behalf of OSS, OSS Records RG 226, Unnumbered Box Izmir Mission. George's brother, the movie mogul Spyros, who headed the Greek War Relief Association, was taken on by Donovan as an adviser on Greek–American and Greek politics at a salary of one dollar a year, which contrasted with the quarter of a million dollars that he received as president of Twentieth Century Fox, Cave Brown, *The*

- Last Hero*, pp. 603–4; 596–7. By the time that he was nominally placed on the OSS payroll, Donovan must presumably have rid himself of the fears that Skouras had ‘fascist tendencies’ which he had expressed in a letter of 28 February 1942 to J. Edgar Hoover, the head of the FBI. In turn, Donovan seems to have based this estimate on a report, dated 20 February 1942, from Benjamin Merritt to DeWitt Clinton Poole, head of the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the S[ecret] I[n]telligence] section of OSS, OSS Records RG 226, Entry 100, Box 51.
60. John Iatrides, ed., *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports*, p. 525.
61. *The Kapetanios. Partisans and Civil War in Greece, 1943–1949* (London, 1972), p. 93.
62. Telegrams of 2 and 14 November 1943, US Department of State Archives, 868.01/407 A; 868.01/409.
63. See Clogg, ‘The Special Operations Executive in Greece’, 102ff.
64. Amoss had apparently worked with the YMCA in Greece between 1920 and 1927. A female secretary at the Greek Legation in Washington had nothing but admiration for the ‘perfect gentleman, clean, honourable Mr Amoss, who has been known to her and to the Legation for 20 years and about whose love for Greece she cannot say enough’. If many of his business undertakings had ended in failure then that had not been his fault. B.C. to Allen W. Dulles, 25 March 1942, OSS Records RG 226 Entry 106 Box 13.
65. OSS Records RG 226 Box 3.
66. OSS Records RG 226 Entry 100 Box 51. See Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, pp. 292–3. In a letter of 9 January 1942 to DeWitt Clinton Poole, Amoss characterized Bodosakis Athanasiadis as a ‘sort of [Sir Basil] Zaharoff’ [the Greek arms dealer of sinister repute and legendary wealth], ‘a king maker and breaker’ who had double-crossed both sides during the Spanish civil war. He considered him ‘a man of extreme ability and no perceptible conscience’, OSS Records RG 226 Entry 100 Box 51.
67. OSS Records RG 226, Box 30.
68. OSS Records RG 226 Box 30.
69. OSS Records RG 226 Box 30.
70. Conversation between Frank Wisner and David Bruce, recorded in C.A. Sulzberger, *A Long Row of Candles* (New York, 1969), p. 777, cited in Harris Smith, OSS, p. 124. According to Cave Brown, Amoss had been dismissed for having assisted in ‘the rearrangement of the Greek Cabinet to suit the personal politics and finances of a powerful arms merchant’ [presumably Bodosakis Athanasiadis], *The Last Hero*, p. 597. Harris Smith records that after the war Amoss set up a private intelligence organization known as ‘The International Services of Information Foundation’. The organization was embroiled in a bizarre plot to kidnap Stalin’s son in Moscow, p. 370.
71. OSS Records RG 226 Box 30.
72. On the R and A Branch, see Barry Katz, *Foreign Intelligence. Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).
73. *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 129. This unwelcoming attitude appears to have continued after the liberation of Greece for W.L. Langer, the head of R and A in Washington, wrote on 1 November 1944 to Jay Seeley, at that time acting head of the R and A Branch in Cairo, that ‘[R.L.] Wolff writes that

- the British are being extremely reluctant in permitting Americans entry into that country [Greece]', OSS Records RG 226 Entry 1 Box 15.
74. Manuscript History of [OSS] Special Operations in the Middle East, 2, OSS Records RG 266 Entry 99 Box 44.
 75. OSS Records RG 226 Box 22.
 76. Glenconner to Leeper, 18 May 1943, PRO H55/587.
 77. OSS Records RG 226 Box 22.
 78. OSS Records RG 226 Box 15. For a report on McBaine's activities between June 1943 and May 1944 when he was OSS's Chief Intelligence Officer in the Middle East, see his Report on Field Activities, dated 3 August 1944, OSS Records RG 226 Box 39.
 79. Capt. G.F. Else, Report on activities of OSS, Greece, 31 January 1945, OSS Records RG 226, Box 31.
 80. The author of the History of [OSS] Secret Intelligence, Cairo makes reference to what is termed the 'gratuitous generosity of ISLD'. McBaine apparently received copies of all ISLD's intelligence reports for forwarding to Washington: 'this arrangement on the part of ISLD was most unusual, and is probably unique in the annals of cooperation between British and American agencies ... the terms of this gentlemen's agreement were very well kept', OSS Records RG 226 Entry 99 Box 43. Whether ISLD was quite as open-handed in practice as SI believed is not clear. Certainly OSS appears seemingly not to have reciprocated this apparent generosity, as a message dated 17 March 1945 makes clear: 'our GAC series [is] designed to prevent British customers from learning by means of simple enumeration that they are not receiving all our reports. This [is] done to protect our sources', OSS Records RG 226 Entry 47 Box 1.
 81. Jay Seeley to Richard Hartshorne of the Board of Analysts, 5 November 1943, OSS Records, RG 226 Entry 47 Box 2. At much the same time, Capt. John I.B. McCulloch, the then head of the Research and Analysis Branch in the Middle East, wrote to William Langer, who headed R and A operations in Washington, that British intelligence 'still far exceeds our own in volume', OSS Records RG 226, Entry 1 Box 15.
 82. On 10 February 1944, Caskey in Izmir complained that Noel Rees, ISLD's representative in the city, had never passed on to him letters, photographs and plans that had been brought out for him from Greece, OSS Records RG 226 Box 2. There was not only friction, refusal to co-operate and concealment of information in Izmir between ISLD and OSS but between ISLD and other British organizations in the city. These included MI9, whose task was assisting the escape of allied prisoners-of-war from occupied Europe. Sweet-Escott speaks of 'bitter inter-departmental warfare' in the city, *Baker Street Irregular*, p. 85. As J.L. C[askey] wrote from Izmir to Rodney [Young], letter 12, 25 August 1944, '... I have seen and heard plenty about the rows between M1 6 [ISLD] and MO 4 [SOE] and MI 9 (your A Force, I take it). 106 [presumably Noel Rees] takes up most of our interviews with moans about how the activities of the other services ruin his security, and he is undoubtedly right', OSS Records RG 226 Unnumbered box Izmir Mission.
 83. R.S. Young, Cairo, to Jack [Caskey], 1 June 1944, OSS Records RG 226 Box 1. When an OSS mission was infiltrated into Crete in June 1944, it was clearly regarded with considerable suspicion by SOE operatives already on

- the island, not least because it was accompanied by 'a discarded ex-agent of SOE who had become a well-known anti-British intriguer'. As Lt-Col T.J. Dunbabin sardonically remarked in his *Final Report on SOE Missions in Crete 1941–1945*, 'the object of this Mission was stated to be an inquiry into industrial and economic conditions; as Crete had at this time neither industries nor economics it may be doubted whether this was all', N.A. Kokonas, ed., *The Cretan resistance 1941–1945: the official British report of 1945 together with comments by British officers who took part in the resistance* (Rethymnon, 1991), p. 82. On the 15th of the same month, June 1944, one 'Highram' wrote to Rodney [Young] that 'this week stands out as the most seriously anti-British week I have spent'. Similar frictions arose in relations between SOE and OSS over Yugoslav affairs. One OSS operative, in reporting on a meeting with a representative of the Yugoslav partisans, wrote that 'our cousins arranged the meeting, which was held in their shop, but they tactfully withdrew, probably to adjust the microphones in the next room', quoted in Anderson, "'With friends like these ...'", p. 140.
84. J.L. C[askey], Ankara, 18 June 1943 to Rodney [Young], OSS Records RG 226 Box 2.
 85. *Baker Street Irregular*, pp. 73–4. Xan Fielding, who served with SOE in Crete, relied on Arthur Read as his guide to 'the departmental bickering, sectional jealousies and personal strife' reigning in SOE Cairo, *Hide and Seek: the Story of a War Time Agent* (London, 1954), p. 97.
 86. Hermione Ranfurly, *To War with Whitaker: the Wartime Diaries of the Countess of Ranfurly 1939–1945* (London, 1995), 73ff. According to Artemis Cooper, Lady Ranfurly was particularly affronted by the behaviour of the 'good-time Charlies' in SOE's Cairo headquarters although the evidence of her own diary suggests that her own social life was scarcely an inactive one, *Cairo in the War 1939–1945* (London, 1995), p. 95.
 87. Lars Baerentzen, ed., *British Reports on Greece*, p. xxxv. The report must have been re-typed once it came into American possession, as it contains American spellings.
 88. J(oint) I(ntelligence) C(ommittee) A(rmy) M(iddle) E(ast) report, 1 July 1944, OSS Records, RG 226 L40424. Cf Baerentzen, *British Reports on Greece*, p. 178.
 89. OSS Records RG 226 L37857.
 90. OSS Records RG 226 Entry 99 Box 44. The oldest, at 51, was Serge Obolensky and the heaviest, apparently, Lt George Musulin, one of OSS' Yugoslav operatives. The gruelling life of a liaison officer resulted in Wines incurring a double hernia occasioned by scrambling over the Greek mountains. According to his unpublished memoir, *A Lesson in Greek* (1948), during his nearly seven-month stint in the mountains Wines lost 40 pounds in weight and six inches from his waistline, p. 207. Woodhouse, in his preface to this memoir, pays fulsome tribute to Wines, lauding the 'truly heroic tolerance of an American veteran of the first world war who submitted himself in the second to the command of a foreign fledgling of twenty-six'. Woodhouse makes the interesting point that the Allied Military Mission in Greece was 'the only completely integrated Anglo-American unit in the Middle East Command'. The close relations that developed between Woodhouse and Wines contrasted sharply with the

marginalization of the OSS operatives parachuted at much the same time to join the BLOs at the headquarters of Tito and Mihailović in Yugoslavia. Brig. C.D. Armstrong, the head of the British mission to Mihailović, told his American counterpart, Lt-Col Albert Seitz, that 'the mission was British and whole show would remain a British show', the Americans being in the country solely 'to give an Allied illusion to the Yugoslavs', Ford, *OSS and the Yugoslav resistance*, p. 20.

91. C.M. Woodhouse, *History of the Allied Military Mission in Greece*, MS Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives, King's College, London, pp. 106, 188; Jerry Wines, *A Lesson in Greek*, p. 39. Col Woodhouse has written that 'the only trouble with Jerry [Wines] was that he was *too* loyal: EAM could not understand why he never disagreed with me, even when they got hold of him alone. Wink Erhgott, on the other hand, suspected everything I did and said. If I had suddenly dropped dead, he would have wondered, like Talleyrand, why I did that', Letter to the author of 5 July 1996.
92. Wines to Lieutenant-Colonel Paul West, *Mortlake* to Cairo, 30 May 1944, PRO HSS/587.
93. Wines, *A Lesson in Greek*, p. 32.
94. Wines, *A Lesson in Greek*, p. 121.
95. Woodhouse, *History of the AMM*, p. 142.
96. Lieutenant-Colonel Paul West, Operation Feather 3, 25 October 1943, OSS Records RG226 Box 39.
97. Woodhouse, *History of the AMM*, p. 134. Erhgott was soon joined by Lt Wallace Hughling of the 513th Squadron of the USAAF. He had been shot down on 5 October 1943 after bombing Elefsina airfield near Athens. Rather than be evacuated, he was, with Woodhouse's permission, attached to Erhgott's mission. The following month Lt Joel Hartmeister, who had been shot down on 8 October likewise following a raid on Elefsina airfield, joined the AMM, where he was assigned to relief work among the Italian troops who had surrendered after the Italian armistice.
98. Woodhouse, *Something Ventured*, p. 71.
99. Michael Ward, *Greek Assignments*, p. 47. OSS had sent its first operative, Lt Walter Mansfield, into Yugoslavia during the previous month, August 1943.
100. Wines, *A Lesson in Greek*, p. 50.
101. Ward, *Greek Assignments*, p. 175. No great feat of detection on the part of the scholar is required to work out the identity of 'Eric Butler'.
102. On 22 May 1944, Toulmin told Lincoln MacVeagh that *Overlord* would take place between 2 and 5 June (the actual date was 6 June) and MacVeagh, likewise demonstrating a curious laxity in matters of security, duly noted the information in his diary, John Iatrides, ed., *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports*, p. 525.
103. On the Russian Military Mission see, *inter alia*, Lars Baerentzen, 'The arrival of the Soviet Military Mission in July 1944 and KKE policy: a study of chronology', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, XIII (1986), pp. 77–111. Much remains unclear about the Mission, not least its instructions. Material should be available in the former Soviet archives now that these are more open to researchers. Preliminary enquiries made in Moscow during the summer of 1992, however, yielded no result. Indeed, I was asked whether

the name of the leader of the Mission, Lt-Col Grigori Popov, might have been a pseudonym as no material could be found under his name. The OSS records add a curious detail to the still mysterious *paraskinia*, or things behind the scenes, of the Popov mission. In a letter of 28 July 1944 from Cairo to William Langer in Washington, Moses Hadas speculated that arrangements for the reception in Greece of the Russian Mission might have been made in Cairo, when a Russian mission en route from Yugoslavia stayed at the same hotel as most of those leading figures, including communists, summoned from Greece by the British authorities to attend the Lebanon Conference in May 1944, which was convened to try to establish a Government of National Unity, OSS Records RG 226 L 42556.

104. Hammond, *Venture into Greece*, p. 170.
105. Stephen B.L. Penrose, Jr, Cairo, to Whitney Shepardson, 12 August 1944, OSS Records RG 226 Box 31.
106. Woodhouse, *History of the AMM*, p. 106.
107. Interview with Jay Seeley, 18 November 1984.
108. Couvaras, *OSS with the Central Committee of EAM*, p. 33.
109. Kermit Roosevelt, ed., *The Secret War Report of the OSS* (New York, 1976), pp. 169–70.
110. In another letter to 'Mort', dated 22 August 1944, Couvaras wrote that 'the EAM is not as Communist as Tito's armies or the Albanian partisans are... The EAM itself and the Communist party in particular do not teach communism, and tell their members that they should not expect communism to come as a result of the war ... but as a result of an evolutionary and parliamentary process', OSS Records RG 226 Box 42.
111. On Stott's contacts, see Hagen Fleischer, 'The Don Stott affair: ouvertures for an Anglo-German local peace in Greece' in Marion Sarafis, ed., *Greece: from Resistance to Civil War*, pp. 91–107 and the same author's *Stemma kai Swastika: i Ellada tis katokhis kai tis antistasis*, II, (Athens, 1995), pp. 359–78.
112. Couvaras to 'Mort', 14 July 1944, OSS Records RG 226 Box 42.
113. Cave Brown, *The Last Hero*, p. 609.
114. *Venture into Greece*, p. 160.
115. OSS Records RG 226 Entry 1 Box 15. C.M. Woodhouse has written that Waterhouse's main vice was 'making mischief, which he often did by making silly judgements which he probably regretted, but which others took seriously; and then he could not back away from them', letter to the author of 5 July 1996. On coming out of Greece in the summer of 1944, Woodhouse was disconcerted to learn that Waterhouse was convinced that his attitude both to the Resistance and to the Americans was 'hopelessly naive'. Solon Grigoriadis has contended that Waterhouse was the sinister mastermind who on his secondment to Ambassador Leeper's staff gave direction to previously unco-ordinated British policy towards Greece but adduces no evidence for this inherently improbable claim, *Ellis Waterhouse: o praktoras pou erthe apo tin omikhli ...* (Athens, 1987).
116. OSS Records RG 226 L 45259.
117. John Iatrides, ed., *Ambassador MacVeagh Reports*, p. 418; Lawrence Wittner, *American Intervention in Greece, 1943–1949* (New York, 1982), p. 319.
118. OSS Records RG 226 Entry I Box 24.

119. C.M. Woodhouse has pointed out that, given that both his father and grandfather had been Liberal politicians, then he can scarcely have been a congenital Tory. He was aged 26 at the time.
120. Memorandum of 7 September 1944. OSS Records RG 226 Entry I Box 15. The swingeing criticisms of Wines that were voiced gave rise to a certain amount of *angst* on the part of Sherman Kent. In a hand-written note, he urged that 'Langer's office, Wolff, and Schorske sh[oul]d be told for Jesus's sake not to circulate these memos in OSS till they've read them carefully. Wines is an old OSS lad and a controversial figure', OSS Records RG 226 Entry 47 Box 2. Lincoln MacVeagh, US ambassador to the Greek government-in-exile, on meeting Wines in Cairo after he had been replaced as the senior American liaison officer in Greece by Col West, found him to be 'a very sensible fellow', adding that 'in general, he agrees with Woodhouse's views on the situation', 24 June 1944, *Ambassador MacVeagh*, p. 551.
121. OSS Records RG 226 Entry I Box 24.
122. Report of 16 September 1943, OSS Records RG 226 45749. Some circles within OSS apparently had similar suspicions as to the motives underlying British policy in Yugoslavia, Ford, *OSS and the Yugoslav resistance*, p. 65.
123. OSS Records RG 226 42028. Whatever may have been the interests of British capital in the Middle East, the British financial interest in Greece was insignificant. It is true that British interests controlled some two thirds of total private foreign investment in Greece, but the actual amounts of capital involved in relation to the sum of Britain's overseas investments were negligible. The principal source of British direct investment in Greece was the Whitehall Securities Group which, through the Société Générale Hellénique, operated the Athens-Piraeus Electricity Company and the Electric Transport Company. The total investment involved was some £4.5 million. A further £5 million of British capital was tied up in loans to the Greek Mortgage Bank. Small amounts of British capital were also involved in the Lake Copais Land Reclamation Scheme, the Anglo-Greek Magnesite Company, the Ionian and Popular Bank, the Eastern Telegraph Company and a few other concerns, Royal Institute of International Affairs, *South-Eastern Europe: a Political and Economic Survey* (London, 1939), p. 164. Bickham Sweet-Escott has described the British economic interest in Greece as scarcely amounting to a peanut in the overall context of Britain's overseas investments. British interests in Greece were a fraction of those in Iran and Egypt, Marion Sarafis, ed., *Greece: From Resistance to Civil War*, p. 88. It is true, however, that a substantial proportion of Greece's external debt was held by British bondholders, and Greece's default on the service of these loans had been a constant irritant to Anglo-Greek relations in the 1930s.
124. 25 March 1944, PRO FO 371/43681, R 3713.
125. Woodhouse, *Something Ventured*, p. 82.
126. Interview with two aviators back from the Peloponnese, OSS Records RG 226 Box 33.
127. In this letter of 11 December 1943, Edson complained that 'from the research point of view the situation here is maddening. There are masses of information. But from the political aspect which interests you and me, the whole problem is: who is right? It is like trying to write history with

voluminous sources which one is quite unable to control', OSS Records RG 226 Entry 48 Box 2. Edson, an academic specialist on the history of ancient Macedonia, *inter alia*, compiled for OSS use what he termed a guide to 'Greek in one easy lesson'. He was the author of 'Greece during the Second World War', *Balkan Studies*, VIII (1967), pp. 225–38.

128. Moses Hadas memorandum ('Not to be shown to the British') on 'Greek attitudes to the British', 5 June 1944, OSS Records RG 226 XL991. In commenting on the significance of the arrival of the Soviet Military Mission in Greece in July 1944, Hadas had written that 'aside from the Americans who have thus far identified themselves with British policy, the Russians are the only power concerned in Greek affairs whose interest can appear in any degree idealistic, for considerations of Empire too clearly revealed have tarnished the British reputation in Greece', Moses Hadas to William Langer, 28 July 1944, OSS Records RG226 L42556.

7 The Greek Government-in-Exile, 1941–44

1. This recurrent theme in Greece's independent history is discussed in Theodore A. Couloumbis, John A. Petropoulos and Harry Psomiades, eds, *Foreign Interference in Greek Politics. An Historical Perspective* (New York, 1976).
2. This episode and the whole course of Anglo-Greek relations between 1935 and 1941 is comprehensively and carefully analyzed in John Koliopoulos, *Greece and the British Connection 1935–1941* (Oxford, 1977).
3. *The Blast of War: 1939–1945* (London, 1967), p. 563. Predictably, the government's move from Cairo to bleak quarters near Salerno was the occasion of yet another crisis. Three prominent Liberals resigned, to be replaced by three (right-wing) Populists, John O. Iatrides, *Revolt in Athens: the Greek Communist 'Second Round', 1944–45* (Princeton, 1972), p. 112.
4. *The Second World War, V, Closing the Ring* (London, 1952), p. 470.
5. FO 371/24367, R 1860.
6. Reginald Leeper, *When Greek meets Greek* (London, 1950), p. 10.
7. FO 371/29842, R 10665; 371/37196, R3923.
8. Piers Dixon, *Double Diploma: the Life of Sir Pierson Dixon, Don and Diplomat* (London, 1968), p. 13.
9. C.M. Woodhouse, *The Struggle for Greece* (London, 1976), pp. 148–9.
10. FO 371/29817, R 9591.
11. FO 371/29839, R 883
12. FO 371/29818, R 4033.
13. Maniadakis had been the Special Operations Executive's direct channel to Metaxas in the crucial weeks before the dictator's death. See Bickham Sweet-Escott, *Baker Street Irregular* (London, 1965), pp. 61–2. While Palairot was vainly trying to impress upon the king the urgency of bringing non-Metaxist elements into the government, particularly in view of the imminent departure of the government to the strongly Venizelist island of Crete, SOE's operatives in Greece, working against time to lay the foundations of a post-occupation resistance network, were perforce in contact almost exclusively with Venizelists and communists. This was to have fateful consequences for future British policy in Greece.

14. Tsouderos' apologia is contained in his *Ellinikes Anomalies sti Mesi Anatoli* (Athens, 1945), supplemented by his *Diplomatika Paraskinia 1941–1944* (Athens, 1950). Part of Tsouderos' personal archive is accessible in the Gennadeion Library in Athens, another part is deposited, less accessibly, in the *Genika Arkheia tou Kratous*. Such of the records of the government-in-exile as survive are contained in the archives of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which applies an intermittent 50 year rule. Other useful accounts by participants in the government include those of Panayotis Kanellopoulos, deputy prime minister and minister of war between May 1942 and March 1943, and a subsequent holder of ministerial office in George Papandreou's Government of National Unity; *Ta Khronia tou Megalou Polemou 1939–1944. Istoriki Anadromi kai Keimena*, 2d edn. (Athens, 1964), together with his more recent *Istorika Dokimia I. Pos ephthasame stin 21 Apriliou 1967. 2: 1940–1944 Ethniki Antistasi* (Athens, 1975) and *Imerologio 31 Martiou I 1942–4 Ianouariou 1945* (Athens, 1977). See also George Papandreou, *I Apeleftheros tis Ellados*, 3rd edn. (Athens, n.d.). Papandreou was prime minister between 26 April 1944 and 3 January 1945. Elias Venezis, *Emmanouil Tsouderos: o Prothypourgos tis Makhis tis Kritis* (Athens, 1966) and Grigorios Daphnis, *Sophoklis Eleftheriou Venizelos* (Athens, 1970) are essentially works of piety but both contain much valuable documentation. Venizelos was minister of marine and aviation between May 1943 and April 1944 and prime minister for 12 days at the height of the April 1944 governmental crisis. V.P. Papadakis, *Diplomatiki istoria tou Ellinikou Polemou 1940–45* (Athens, 1956) makes use of Greek government records, while Panayiotis Pipinelis, *Georgios B* (Athens, 1951), is a life of King George by a close political adviser. *Ai Ellinikai Kyverniseis kai ta Proedria Voulis kai Gerousias, 1926–1959: Vivliothiki Voulis ton Ellinon* no. 1 (Athens, 1959) is an indispensable official record of government changes. [Since this essay was originally printed the Tsouderos archive has been published as *Emmanouil I. Tsouderou Istoriko Arkheio 1941–44*, 5 vols. (Athens, 1990). Lena Divani, *I politiki ton exoriston Ellinikon Kyverniseon 1941–44* (Athens, 1991) is a recent study of the government-in-exile.]
15. Daphnis, *Sophoklis Eleftheriou Venizelos*, p. 171.
16. FO 371/29816, R 6962. Despatch of 2 July 1941 from Sir Miles Lampson, the British Ambassador to Egypt, to Eden, enclosing a record of a conversation between a member of his staff with King George and Tsouderos. Warner in a minute rejected the suggestion that Maniatakis 'was sacrificed at our suggestion. Possibly M. Tsouderos made out to the King that we wanted to get rid of him in order to overcome the King's doubts about the wisdom of this course'.
17. FO 371/29909, R 8996.
18. On 25 July 1941, A.H.L. Hardinge, King George VI's private secretary, informed the Foreign Office that the king had no objection to Crown Prince Paul accompanying King George II to London provided 'he does not bring his wife [Frederica] who, although very anti-Nazi, is nevertheless German, and whose presence here would obviously be undesirable, FO 371/29886, R 7201.
19. FO 371/29817, R 8633.
20. FO 371/29842, R 10918.

21. FO 371/33187, R 1490.
22. This was in part occasioned by Tsouderos' reluctance to recognize Venizelos as the head of the Liberal *parataxis* or camp. See Daphnis, 201 ff. for details of an unedifying squabble over their respective past attitudes to Metaxas.
23. FO 371/29839, R 3817; 371/29840, R 3991. Tsouderos, in a letter to Palairot of 1 May 1941, went so far as to suggest that 'it would be immensely appreciated if the Island of Cyprus would be granted at this moment to King George II as a personal present', *Tsouderos Archive*, Gennadeion Library, Athens, File 8.
24. FO 371/29820, R 4715.
25. Memorandum to War Cabinet of 31 May, 1941, WP (41) 18. Earlier in 1941 there had been inconclusive talk in the Foreign Office of the return of the Elgin Marbles to Greece in the hope that such a gesture might to some extent deflect Greek eyes from Cyprus, FO 371/29861, R 643.
26. FO 371/29817, R 8008.
27. FO 371/29838, R 10333.
28. Kanellopoulos, *Ta Khronia tou Megalou Polemou*, 51 ff.
29. *Tsouderos Archive*, File 10, Gennadeion Library, Athens.
30. FO 371/37202, R 5396.
31. FO 371/43676, R 1127.
32. Leeper, *When Greek meets Greek*, p. 12.
33. Daphnis, *Sophoklis Eleftheriou Venizelos*, p. 266.
34. Phyllis Auty and Richard Clogg, eds, *British Policy towards Wartime Resistance in Yugoslavia and Greece* (London, 1975), p. 263.
35. C.M. Woodhouse, *Apple of Discord: a Survey of recent Greek Politics in their International Setting* (London, 1948), p. 37.
36. FO 371/37198, R 7742.
37. FO 371/33162, R 5766.
38. DSR, 868.00/1124 PS/LDP, quoted John O. Iatrides, 'United States' attitudes towards Greece during World War II' in Louisa Laourda, ed., *Meletimata sti mnimi Vasileiou Laourda* (Thessaloniki, 1975), p. 613.
39. FO 371/35161, R 1520.
40. FO 371/29840, R 6258.
41. FO 371/33187, R 1944, R 1836.
42. Asa Briggs, *History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom* (London, 1970), III, p. 461.
43. FO 371/37196, R 4117.
44. FO 371/37201, R 2050.
45. Daphnis, *Sophoklis Eleftheriou Venizelos*, p. 217.
46. FO 371/37204, R 7884.
47. FO 371/37204, R 7548.
48. Komninos Pyromaglou, *O Doureios Ippos* (Athens, 1958), p. 154–5. I have discussed this crucial episode at some length in my 'Pearls from Swine: the Foreign Office Papers, S.O.E. and the Greek Resistance', in Auty and Clogg, *British Policy towards Wartime Resistance in Yugoslavia and Greece*, 181 ff. This article is reprinted in the present volume as Chapter 5.
49. Daphnis, *Sophoklis Eleftheriou Venizelos*, pp. 257–9.
50. FO 371/43684, R 5084.

51. Leeper, *When Greek meets Greek*, p. 47.
52. MacVeagh had also turned down an earlier proposal by Leeper, made in December 1943, for the establishment in Cairo of a joint US/British committee on Greek affairs, Iatrides, 'United States' attitudes ...', pp. 620–1. The attitude of detached aloofness adopted by the US administration at this time contrasts sharply with the massive US involvement in Greece after 1947.
53. Prem 3 211/16 WM(44) 65th. Conclusions.
54. Harold Nicolson records a significant conversation with Eden shortly after the Moscow meeting. "And what about the Balkans?" Eden had asked at the first meeting. "Well", replied Stalin, "I am interested in the Black Sea countries and you are interested in the Mediterranean countries. You look after Greece", Nigel Nicolson, ed., *Harold Nicolson: the War Years 1939–1945*. Volume II of *Diaries and Letters* (New York, 1967), p. 421.

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