

Club de Constantinople  
Private  
Alumni Pera

Paris 21<sup>st</sup> Feby 1910

My dear Buxton,

I was very glad to hear  
from you, and to know that  
both you and your brother had  
been successful at the elections.  
I was in London for a few days  
in the beginning of December, but  
you were busy electioneering,  
and I hardly had time to

See anybody. But I hope to go  
home in July and look forward  
to seeing you then.

In my opinion it is very  
desirable that the Balkan  
Committee should continue to  
interest itself in the new régime  
in Turkey, and to give its  
support to the Young Turks, as  
long as they deserve it. But  
it is most important that this  
should be done with discrimination,  
and that the Committee of Union

and Progress should not be given

a blank cheque to fill up on

behalf of all the inhabitants of

the Turkish Empire.

The Committee of the Ballian Council  
owe you a great

deal for the conversion of the

Liberal Press in England to a

Turcophilic attitude and its

present unwillingness to indulge

in even friendly criticism of

the doings of the "Reformers" -

It is just as well that they should

be reminded from time to time

that this involves an obligation

to behave accordingly, and that any  
failure to live up to their truly  
liberal programme will be met  
by some form of protest, and,  
if necessary, by the withdrawal  
of British countenance and  
support. There are Young Turks  
and Young Turks - even among  
the apostles of freedom of July  
1908 there are men who are  
at heart anti-Christian, Chauvinists  
and Panislamites. To these  
have joined themselves a large  
body of opportunists who took  
no part in the revolution but

were quick to join the winning  
 side, and this combination is  
 now in a fair way to ~~the~~ swamp  
 the more moderate and tolerant  
~~element~~  
 element in the Committee,  
 represented by men who have taken  
 office in the present Government, like  
 Talaat, Djavid &c. This

this Chauvinist section of the  
Committee which is responsible  
for nearly all the serious mistakes  
of the new régime <sup>W. 9.9.</sup>

1. The inadequate measures to  
repress and punish the Adana

Massacres.

in Wam

2. The Law of associations, Art 4 -  
Suppressing all the political Clubs  
except the "Union & Progress, and  
tending to drive Armenian Bulgarian  
and Greek agitation underground  
again, instead of giving it a  
natural outlet.

3. The Bugandage Law, including  
Secret trial of accused without  
appeal or employment of Counsel,  
and deportation and Exile of  
the innocent wives and families  
of suspects.

Cart raim

4. Doctor Nazim Bey's crazy

and most dangerous scheme for  
Colonizing Bosniae Moslems in  
Macedonia, so as to break up  
the Bulgarian majority there,  
and in Epirus, so as to produce  
the same effect on the preponderating  
Greek element. This of course  
tends to increase and perpetuate  
racial and religious hatred and  
fanaticism.

5. The <sup>re-organizing</sup> obstruction of Europeans  
called in for the reorganization  
of the Navy, Gendarmerie and  
the

other Service, and the encouragement  
of the belief that Turkey wants  
no European expert advice or  
assistance and "fara da se."

6. The <sup>inner denies</sup> Campaign against the  
employment of the Latin character  
for the Albanian Language. The  
"Union + Progress" majority join  
hands with reactionary and  
obscurantist hodjas to impose  
upon the Albanians the utterly  
unsuitable Arabic alphabet.

7. The neo-Panislamic  
propaganda, which is being kept



Very dark so far, but which  
is undoubtedly being organized  
under the auspices of such leaders  
as Ahmed Riza Bey and D.  
Razim. I can tell you (in  
Confidence, and not for publication)  
that these people have sent Turkish  
officers on a secret mission  
to Afghanistan, Morocco &  
Algeria, and the Caucasus,  
and their ultimate purpose cannot  
be otherwise than hostile to  
the European Powers interested

in those countries.

§ The tendency to spend money

recklessly on their army and

navy is also the work of  
these Chauvinists, and will  
seriously damage Turkish

Credit if it is not checked  
in time.

I know that the Moderates  
would be very glad of arguments  
to help them in resisting  
the pressure of the Extremists,  
who claim a monopoly of

Patriotism, and wish to oblige  
everybody to become patriots  
on their own particular Turkish  
model. If it can be borne

in upon the ~~latter~~ <sup>extremists</sup> that a

continuance of their present

~~this~~ line of conduct <sup>would</sup> must lead

in the first place to adverse  
press criticism, then to

the loss of financial credit, and

finally to the withdrawal of

the material and moral

support of the friendly

& Liberal Western Powers,

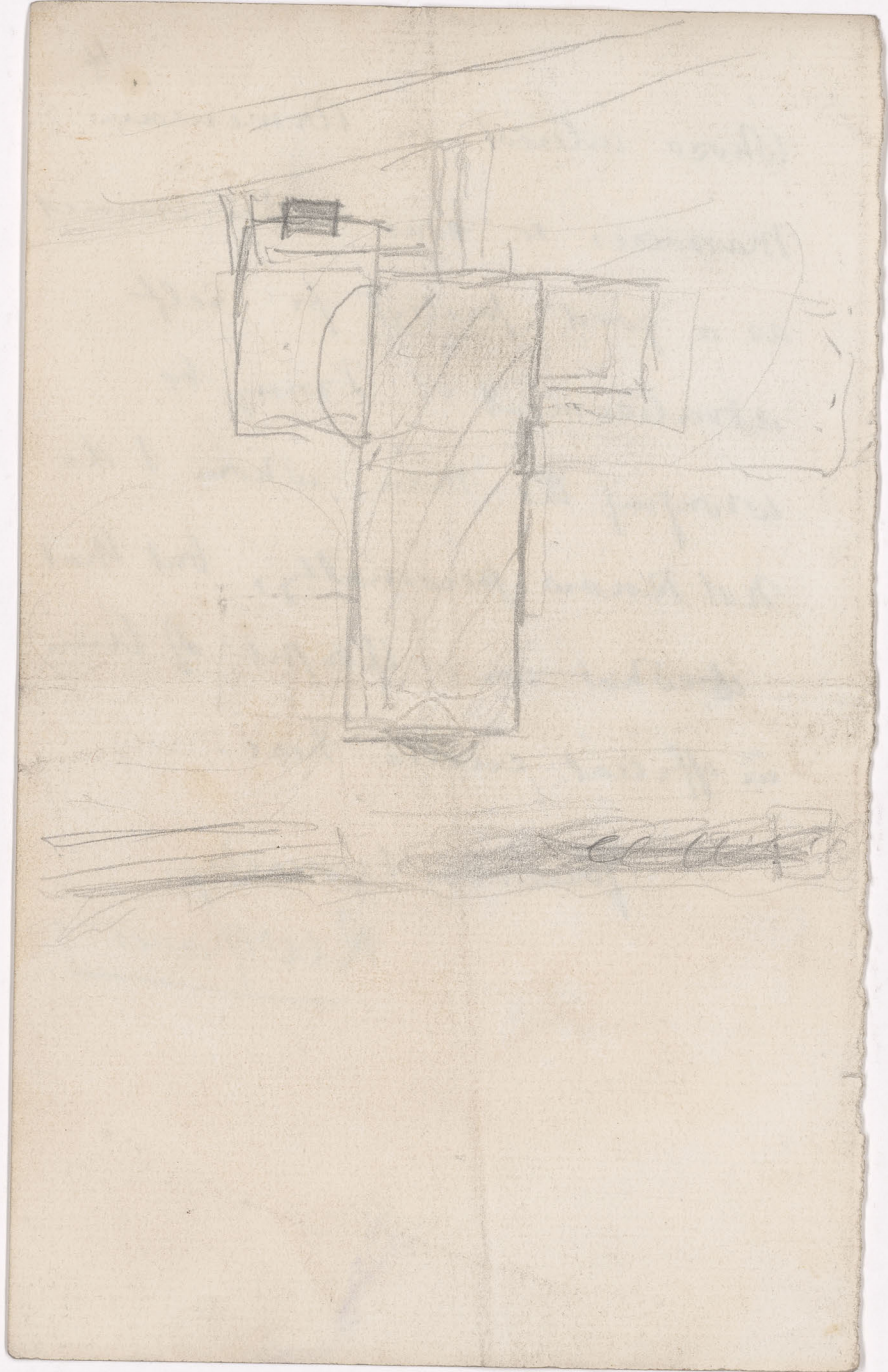
It may enable the Moderates  
to recover the upper hand in the  
Councils of the Party, which  
they have now undoubtedly  
lost, or are losing.

I do not think that the  
people here know much about  
the Eastern Question Association.  
Ahmed Riza & the other Positivists  
among the Young Turks no  
doubt regard Frederic Harrison  
as a great man. As for Mr  
Atkin, he was I think regarded  
at an earlier date  
" as a bit of a political adventurer

Whose interest in Armenian  
Massacres &c was rather assumed  
as a good pretext for self-  
advertisement. I may be  
wronging the man, whom I do  
not know personally, but that  
is what was thought of him  
in official circles here.

Yours very sincerely,

R. W. Graves



3/GRAVES

C/ple.  
Feb 25. 1911

3 Graves

Dear Buxton.

I quite disagree with your view as to the possibility of "controlling events"; on the part of the F. O., the Embassy, the Times or anybody but the principals in the Balkan game. viz - the Turks, Austrians, Bulgars etc.

- 1) If the bulk of Turkish officers had been trained in England,
- 2) if our Ambassador or any possible British officer had ambassador combined the qualities of White & Marshall
- 3) If Turkish statesmen were

free agents

- 4) If the C.V.P. was not, as far as its civilian elements are concerned, obsessed with a droll mixture of French anti-clerical + centralising, + Turkish Islamic, + Jewish anti-Slav notions.
- 5) If the Y.T's would leave us alone in the Gulf + Egypt etc. + frankly accept the situation in El-Hasa, Bahrein etc., besides leaving Persia alone —

Then we might have a chance of being more than observers!

But — let us be perfectly frank in facing facts: Thanks to the absence of any British army, we can only rely on

Keep  
matters  
more



"moral" force (i.e. bluff + glamour)  
in the Balkans. The Y.T.<sup>s</sup>, who  
really think, - mostly Dönme's +  
Jews - realise this + say - 'Well,  
England won't lose a single  
Highlander for our beaux yeux,  
+ her ships will not drive  
the Bulgar from Adrianople or the  
Austrian from Nitrovitza.

If we lose Salonika + Adrianople  
we lose them whether England is  
with us - or whether she is  
~~with~~ neutral. So let us  
make friends with the people "in  
shining armour."

Then we can perhaps force England to be  
appealable in Asia - for if we become  
a military power under the  
Teutonic aegis we can threaten

England in Egypt etc & Russia  
in the Caucasus.

I don't propose to make myself  
ridiculous by trying to 'control'  
unmanageable forces. If Turkish  
Conservatism can't control them  
for all its *vis inertiae*, a  
man with a pen cannot. I am  
here to chronicle & give people an  
idea of how affairs may turn.

It was a very bad day for the  
non-military peoples like ourselves  
when v. Arentthal & Ferdinand  
broke the ~~Paris~~ Treaty of Berlin.

I'm not discussing the morals  
of the business - The Bulgars  
had nothing to thank the  
Turks for: - but I simply  
state the fact.

Assuming that the financial improvement is not maintained. If it is the outlook is so much the better, only "man shall not live by bread alone" - even nowadays.

objections have any particular effect. Lots of Turks commend criticism in general: When you criticize details of their policy - which is the only possible method of criticism for a man who isn't vaguely-minded & a lover of generalities & sonorities - then they cut up rough.

As for financial pressure - three more Adana massacres wouldn't prevent the big capitalists lending money to the Y. I. S. if it paid them.

As long as Turkey has anything to mortgage <sup>year</sup>, she'll get money at 5 or 6 per cent. The I. O. B.'s recent reconciliation is a proof.

'Political morality' is not so wide  
spread in France England &  
Italy that we can blame the  
less 'civilised' but perhaps more  
clear-sighted E. Europeans.

As for the Turks - what can you  
expect after a demoralising  
régime plus two Revolutions?

What I blame the Turks for  
is their persistence in  
attempting the impossible.

"Ottomanisation" under Turkish  
auspices is an impossibility.

With 1,000,000 moderately  
progressive Rumeliotés &  
7. or 8,000,000 backward Anatolians  
be able to impose their will  
on the non-Turks. Abdulhamid

though he appealed not to Turkish  
national sentiment but to Islam  
& c<sup>d</sup>. Thus rope in many  
Albanians & Kurds & the  
bulk of the settled Arabs,  
(Yemen excepted owing to the  
strength of Zaidism - i.e.  
modified Shiachism - there).

to support his policy, failed hopelessly.

I object to the <sup>Young Turk</sup> T. T. policy first  
& foremost because it makes

for political disturbance & weakens  
the Turks: I propose to

continue objecting - but I  
don't imagine that my

(Assuming that the financial improvement is not)

We have one pull: our influence on the moderates. A moderate victory involving the overthrow of the extremist revolutionary elements (<sup>of</sup> Masonic, Jewish, extremist, military, & the partisans of forcible Turcification) would give us a chance. That may come sooner than we think.

But if its coming is followed by a revival of Austrian military pressure on Turkey, a return to the policy of 1908, we shall look mighty foolish unless the <sup>Turks</sup> can really rely on our appearance in "shining armour." ie German-Austria must boss them.

~~Send~~ Ré Albanais.

I'd have preferred the other way but agree that the American plan has advantages & advise sending the cheques to Peet with a full statement of what ~~is~~ the donors want done. With many thanks.

Yours sincerely

Philip Graves

The  Times.

1785.

THE TIMES PUBLISHING COMPANY, LTD.  
PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE,  
LONDON, E.C.4

March 31, 1931.

Dear Buxton,

By all means use the extract from my letter of 12.2.1911 which you have sent me. I have made a couple of pen corrections of obvious slips in spelling. I am glad to see that I did prophesy correctly though at that time I did not foresee the Balkan War. I am afraid history repeats itself, and see some unpleasant analogies between the attitude of the Serbs towards the non-Serbs of Yugoslavia and that of the Young Turks whom we remember. And even the new Turks do not seem to be handling their Kurdish problem much better than their adversaries handled the Macedonian one.

I should like to come round and see you one of these days if and when you are at all free, to have a talk with you about East European affairs.

Yours sincerely,

Philip Grawh

1850

1850

Dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that I have made a search of the records of the office and find that the same is in the hands of the proper authorities. I am sorry to hear that you are unable to obtain the same and I am sure that the proper authorities will be able to assist you in this regard. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. M. Smith

I should like to know how you get on and how the business is going. I am all the time in the same old way with you about the same things.

Yours sincerely,  
J. M. Smith



Graves

Hill Farm House  
Michelmersh  
Romsey, Hants  
March 2/40

from March 4  
go  
The Times  
P. H. Square  
E.C. 4

Dear Noel-Buxton

I have read Conwell-Evans's book through. I have come across what seem to me to be several marked errors of appreciation and one or two of fact. Thus on p.30 Talaat Bey is made to refer to massacres of Armenians committed by his subordinates in 1910. This is all wrong. The Adana massacres were committed while Talaat was a fugitive from C'ple just after the military mutiny of April 13/09 by old regime officials and fanatical mobs. Talaat was no doubt a Thug but he had no more connexion with <sup>those</sup> ~~the~~ massacres than the man in the moon.

Your Turk(p.78) interests me. If it was Halil Halid or Dr. Nazim I cannot think that his opinion was worth much. Nazim, you will remember, ran the Turcification campaign and had much to do with the massacres of '15-16 and perished very properly on the gallows in '26.

The 'upper class' may have its weaknesses but I ~~do~~ not think that proletarian diplomacy (vide Russia passim) or middle class business mens' diplomacy would do our reputation any good abroad. The influence of big business (e.g. M. Constans or later the Comité des Forges) upon French diplomacy was fatal to needs requires ~~needs requires~~ the reputation of French diplomacy on several occasions in our time. You forget that the values

gy Talat

fab  
nc?  
What I ed  
at Ashm  
or in 186?

from hand #  
The Times  
P.H. 2/24  
2.2.4

Hill Farm House  
Michelin  
Romey, Hants  
March 2/40

*Handwritten signature*

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do our reputation any good abroad. The influence of  
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was fatal to  
des Forges) upon French diplomacy needs no saying  
because the reputation of French diplomacy on several  
occasions in our time. You forget that the value

*Handwritten notes and scribbles on the right margin*

of British democracy remain aristocratic rather than bourgeois. Straightness, courage, generosity, good manners, fair-mindedness are appreciated and I hope will be appreciated by the British (and Irish) public rather than acquisitiveness, caution, and the prudential virtues of the Levite in the parable.

I should like to be allowed to quote with acknowledgements Talaat's letter to you (p.30) and also my own (p.31)

in my book. May I do so?

Re Germany I have German step-relations and though I liked some of them very much personally I was convinced from 1902 on, chiefly from what I saw of them and heard from them that Germany was bent on attaining the hegemony of the Continent by war, and my experience in the Near East ~~entirely~~ fully confirmed that impression. Racial pride, Romanticism, State worship, the ambitions of soldiers and big bourgeois and by no means least the jealousy (which I have ~~noticed~~ found <sup>to be</sup> a very strong and unpleasant feature in the German character) all combined to bring about the results which we have seen. I cannot therefore agree with Conwell Evans's views.

Allow me to express my great regret and disappointment at your views concerning Finland and believe me

Yours sincerely

Philip H. Fawcett

Haec sola est virtus, argumentumque coloris  
Ingenui timidas non habuisse manus

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Allow me to express my great regret and disappointment  
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Yours sincerely

Philip H. Jones

linguist finibus non habitare manu  
haec sola est virtus, argumentum coloris

ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:  
CLUBHOUSE,  
CONSTANTINOPLE.

A false alarm  
with which  
R. report  
return

Club de Constantinople,  
Pera.

7. VIII. 1911

Dear Buxton

Get your Balkan Committee  
volunteers out to the Malissia  
as soon as you can and  
you can, even if the B. C.  
has to pay them to stay.  
There is an intrigue here  
on the part of D. Kazim,  
Talaat & the old Hamidian  
Redjmeddin Mollah to oust  
the Government during the  
next ~~few days~~ fortnight.  
The next cabinet, with  
Kitchük Said or some



old puppet at its head will  
then refuse to ratify the

Malissor arrangement & try

to alter it. See?

I don't say this will come off  
but it may - if so there'll  
be the devil to pay - & we  
shall know exactly what

Y.T.'s promises are worth.

The M's will may of them  
be without arms remember.

Re your letter, the Armenian Nat.  
Assembly did pass some  
such resolution. The  
situation of ~~the~~ in Kurdistan

is an uneasy one.

I think Talaat will "roule"  
us all if we don't watch  
that Malissor business like  
cats. If you agree - tell Grey  
so - + make our people  
at Cettigné watch close.

Yours in haste

Philip P. Graves



*I prayes by  
Pera Club  
Constantinople*

C'ple . 8 6.Feb.1911.

*In prayes  
Thank*

Dear Buxton

I have discussed the question , how can British help best be given to the Albanian movement for linguistic & educational progress , with Albanian & other European friends & have come to the following conclusions.

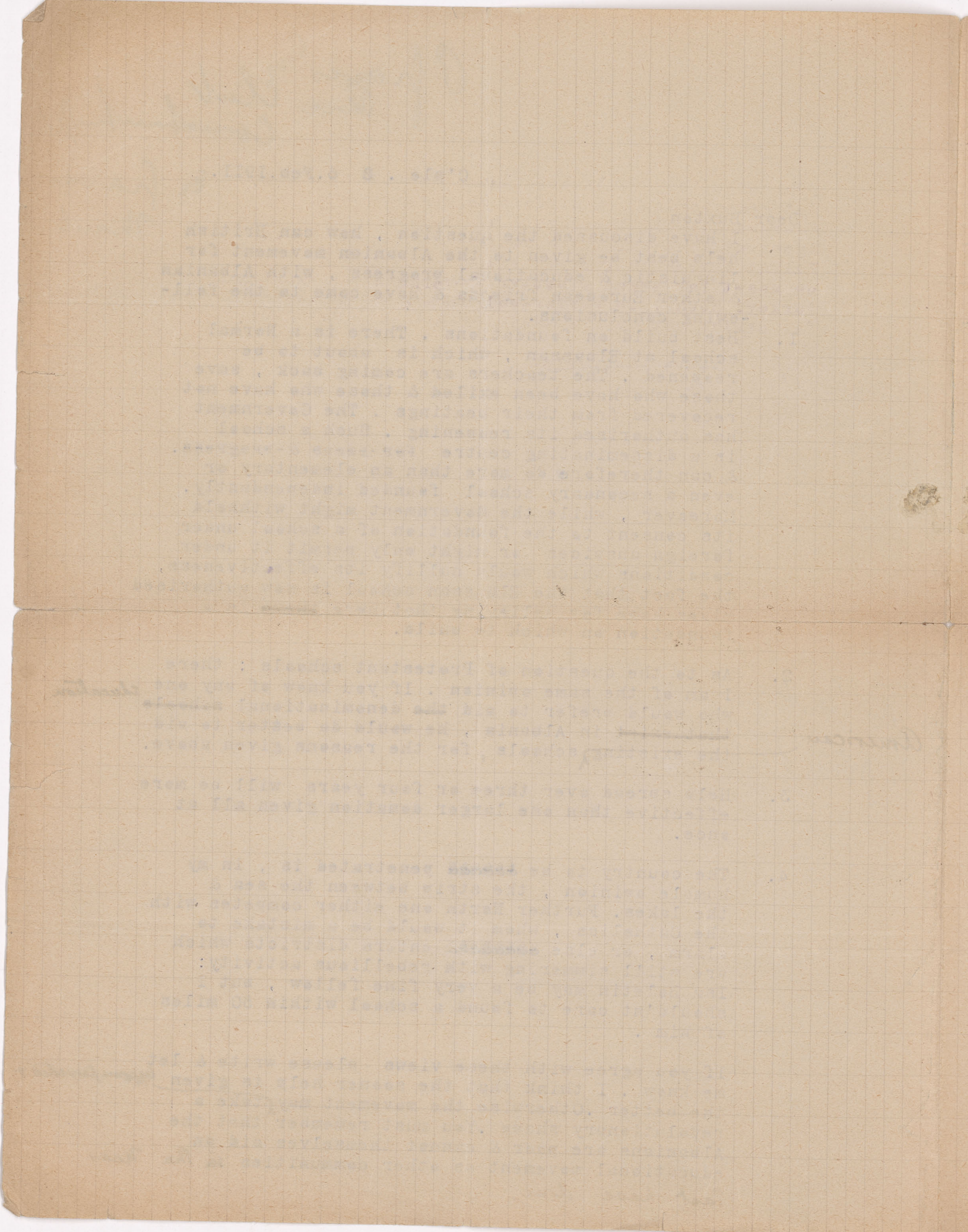
*Under whom?  
the new Alb  
com to ?*

- I. Best build on foundations . There is a Normal school at Elbassan , which is about to be reopened . The teachers are coming back , save those who have been exiled & those who have not recovered from their beatings . The Government has authorised its reopening . Such a school is a disseminating centre for ideas & progress . & can therefore do more than an elementary or even a secondary school founded independantly . Moreover , while the Government might withhold its consent to the foundation of a school under foreign auspices or might only permit it under conditions which would nullify its effectiveness , the fact that the Elbassan school is now authorised gives hope for believing that here there is a foundation on which to build .

*This is  
the best  
American  
to give it.*

2. As to the question of Protestant schools : there I am of the same opinion . If you know of any one who would prefer to aid ~~the denominational schools that exist~~ <sup>education</sup> in Albania , he would do better to aid the existing schools , for the reasons given above .
3. Help spread over three or four years will be more effective than one larger donation given all at once .
4. The country to be ~~best~~ penetrated is , in my humble opinion , the strip between the sea & the lakes . Further North one either competes with the Catholics , whom it would be a mistake to alarm , or else ~~enters~~ enters districts which are still simmering with rebellious activity : Isa Beletin may be a very fine fellow , but I should'nt care to found a school within 50 miles of him .

If you agree with these views please write & let me know . I think that the sooner help is given <sup>become diverted &</sup> the better . Otherwise the movement may take a revolutionary shape . You must remember that the Albanians are poor & cannot themselves aid an educational movement as other communities *in the Near East have done.*



Otherwise they would have made further progress. But geographical conditions have made them poor & comparatively ignorant & as long as they remain ignorant they will be a source of trouble in the Balkan peninsula! Every educated Albanian is an asset for peace & better Government in European Turkey! Such, in rhetorical form, is my reason for asking you to aid their educational movement.

Yours sincerely

Philip P. Graves

For the question 'How much' would be needed? I can only answer that in my opinion such a movement deserves all it can get. But - if you could let me know how much is at all likely to be raised by persons in sympathy with the movement in England - I could obtain from the Albanian <sup>Club (leaders)</sup> Schools a statement of what they proposed to do with the money.

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