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The Significance of Mark H. Ward's Diary in the Context of Christian Deportations across the Ottoman Empire

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Ценность дневника Марка Уорда в контексте депортаций христиан в Османской империи


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Abstract. Goals. This article aims to comprehensively analyze the diary-memoir of Mark Ward, a member of the American Committee for Near East Relief, which carried out inestimable humanitarian activities in Asia Minor under the cruel conditions of the first decades of the twentieth century, when the Ottoman Empire's genocidal policy was at its peak. **Materials.** The diary contains day-by-day accounts of the events that shed light on the process of the forced deportations of Christians in Asia Minor. **Results.** This topic remains highly relevant in today's dramatically changing and sensitive world, particularly considering the desire for a more balanced life and increased mutual understanding. Moreover, the tendencies and actual actions of genocide are a primary concern for all humanity, and scientific research cannot avoid discussing the issue. Reevaluating Mark Ward's activity and the information contained in his diary is crucial for the reconstruction of past events and achieving historical justice. A thorough study of the diary and a series of significant archival documents put into scientific circulation for the first time, will help clarify the deportations that were occurring in several regions of the Ottoman Empire and identify numerous atrocities committed by the state-adopted genocidal policy.

Keywords: Mark Ward, Ottoman Empire, Asia Minor, genocide, diary, eyewitness accounts, forced relocation

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Аннотация. Целью данной статьи является комплексный анализ дневника-мемуара Марка Уорда, члена «Американского комитета помощи Ближнему Востоку», который осуществлял неоценимую гуманитарную деятельность в Малой Азии в жестоких условиях первых десятилетий XX в., когда геноцидная политика Османской империи достигла своего пика. **Материалы.** Дневник содержит повседневные отчеты о событиях, проливающих свет на процесс насильственных депортаций христиан в Малой Азии. **Результаты.** Эта тема остается весьма актуальной в современном резко меняющемся и чувствительном мире, особенно учитывая стремление к более сбалансированной жизни и большему взаимопониманию. Более того, тенденции и реальные действия геноцида являются первостепенной заботой всего человечества, и научные исследования не могут обойти стороной этот вопрос. Переоценка деятельности Марка Уорда и информации, содержащейся в его дневнике, важна для всестороннего понимания событий прошлого и достижения исторической справедливости. Тщательное исследование дневника, а также ряда важных архивных документов, которые впервые вводятся в научный оборот, поможет прояснить депортации, происходившие в ряде регионов Османской империи, и выявить многочисленные зверства, имевшие место в ходе проведения государственной политики геноцида. **Ключевые слова:** Марк Уорд, Османская империя, Малая Азия, геноцид, дневник, показания очевидцев, насильственное перемещение

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1. Introduction

The problem of genocides and the question of forced deportations within the frame of genocidal policies practiced by various rulers have been discussed in many books and scholarly articles. However, the investigation of documented atrocities conveyed through first-hand accounts has not lost its relevance. Although

Mark H. Ward's diary has only been referred to in some works, it introduces details about the historical picture of the time, the humiliation and suffering that prominent Christian intellectuals underwent during the 1921–1922 deportations in Asia Minor.

It is well known that after the Armistice of Mudros, under the pressure of the Allied po-

wers, particularly Great Britain, the defeated Ottoman Empire was compelled to take some legal actions to prosecute the organizers and perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide, Young Turk criminals, former Ottoman authorities, and those responsible for the involvement of the Ottoman Empire in World War I.

Court hearings began [Dadrian 1995b: 5–6; Dadrian, Akçam 2011: 222; Dadrian 1995a: 321–343], and on 13 July 1919, with Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin's ratification, the sentences of the Ottoman Court-Martial became effective: the Young Turk criminal ringleaders were sentenced to death in absentia, and several criminals were imprisoned [The Genocide 1988: 13–19; Anumyan 2011: 13, 24–15; Dadrian, Akçam 2008: 44–45]. In this sentence, the Ottoman Extraordinary Court-Martial de facto recognized the Armenian Genocide. Yet, even that circumstance did not prevent the Kemalists from carrying on and completing the Genocide of Armenians and other Christians [Dadrian 1991: 89–90].

2. Materials and methods

Mark H. Ward's diary, is the main target of our research as it provides valuable information and data regarding the 1921–1922 deportation of Christians in Asia Minor. We have also studied papers written by other missionaries and many documents stored in the Armenian Question and Armenian Genocide Archive in Jerusalem. This sheds additional light on the empirical data presented in Mark H. Ward's diary and helps shape the readers' understanding of the ideological, political, and social intentions behind the genocidal project of the Ottoman authorities and the Kemalists. This research employs a new methodological approach to studying humanitarian testimonies by applying historical-philological, comparative, and deductive methods, which reveal multiple facts related to the matter under consideration. This has provided an opportunity to restore an accurate picture of the reality of the time, thus adding to the accuracy of historiographic knowledge. The implementation of the comparative method has also been useful in the study of the original English text and its French and Armenian translations that highlight inconsistencies in the numerical data and toponyms

in the translated versions, which are critical for the adequate understanding and interpretation of the Ottoman rulers' genocidal policy.

3. Actions of the Kemalists after the Armistice of Mudros

Soon after regaining their lost territories from the Allied powers, the Kemalists not only acquitted Young Turk criminals but also admitted quite a few of them to their ranks. The Kemalists continued to commit mass murders and deport Greeks, Armenians, and other non-Turks, expelling them to various destinations, thereby emptying Asia Minor and Western Armenia of their native inhabitants for good.

Taking advantage of the opportunity provided by the Armistice of Mudros, a small number of Armenian and Greek deportees could return to their homes. However, they found their houses ruined and their property confiscated. Moreover, the settlements were inhabited by *muhajirs* (Muslim exiles who penetrated the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans and Russia) [Turkish-Russian Dictionary 1977: 636; Information Register 2024: 988], who, along with local Turkish authorities, showed an apparently hostile attitude toward the returnees. Yet, to the amazement of those around them, it did not take the homecomers a long time to arrange their household and everyday life [AQA-GA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. dz 273–dz 288, k 705–k 710, k 714; Information Register 2024: 850–850, 914–916]. Many Armenian and Greek deportees settled in Cilicia.

However, despite having suffered defeat in World War I, as a result of the triumphal march of the Kemalists' "Milli" movement in Cilicia and nearly all across the empire from 1919 through 1922, the Ottoman Empire brought the total extermination of the Christians to an end. The Kemalists, whose ranks were replenished by numerous former Young Turk criminal officials and ordinaries [Melkonyan 2018: 152–165], formed groups of *chetes* (irregular armed groups) [Khasapetian 2015: 41] and accomplished their nationalistic plan of Turkification. Ruben Melkonyan notes that "in 1923, the majority of the founders, leading staff, and the state bureaucracy of the Republic of Turkey were Young Turks, who continued the traditional genocidal xenophobic

policy” [Melkonyan 2018: 152]. The Kemalist movement was facilitated by the uninvolved attitudes of the Allied powers and the retreat of their armed forces. After the declaration of the Republic of Turkey, the activity of courts-martial was suspended, the sentences of the Extraordinary Courts-Martial were abolished, and the criminals were acquitted.

It should be noted that during World War I, the Ottoman authorities exterminated hundreds of thousands of Greeks, along with Armenians through either forced displacement or slaughter [Vardanyan 2012: 68–87]. Some hold the opinion that the deportations of Greeks served as a precedent for the Genocide of Armenians, because after the deportations of Greeks, which took place before the very eyes of the Greek government, the Ottoman authorities remained unpunished, and this fact untied them in perpetrating the Genocide of Armenians [Vardanyan 2012: 42; Vardanyan 2014: 39–47]. This is how the American Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire at that time, Henry Morgenthau, commented on the detached stance of the global community toward the deportation of Greeks during some three–four months before and after the onset of World War I: “*That was the reason why Turks decided to apply the same method to a larger scale to not only Greeks but also Armenians, Syrians, Nestorians, and other subject peoples*” [Morgenthau 1918: 323–324].

4. Archival evidence

Numerous official documents from the archive of the “Information Bureau” (in particular, letters, reports and notifications, Patriarch’s personal *taqrirs* [statements] to grand vizier Mahmud Shevket pasha, sent from Armenian primacies in reply to Patriarch Hovhannes Arsharuni’s circulars), certify that, concurrent with deportations of Greeks, in 1911–1913, as an aftermath of the 1909 massacre in Adana, killings, kidnappings, confiscation of land and property, forced Islamization, and unlawful detention of Christians were mass phenomena, culminating in the Armenian Genocide of 1915.

It is worthwhile mentioning that the activities aimed at creating the “Information Bureau” were initiated by Archbishop Zaven Der Yeghiayan — the Armenian Patriarch of Con-

stantinople, who, back in 1916, had been exiled to Mosul by the Young Turks [Der Yeghiayan 1947: 185]. In parallel with the mass extermination of most Armenians in the Armenian provinces and Armenian-inhabited areas of the Ottoman Empire, the Young Turkish government strived to destroy the Armenian structures and erase their every possible trace. In August 1916, Talaat’s decision cancelled the Armenian National Constitution of 1863 and closed the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople. Soon after, state bodies accused the patriarchate of being under the influence of Armenian revolutionaries [Griker 1980: 69–70; Yeghiayan 1975: 57–66].

However, in 1918, after the Armistice of Mudros, the deleted Armenian Constitution was reaffirmed on 11 November. On 19 February 1919, Patriarch Zaven reassumed his position as Patriarch and invested all his efforts in saving the last survivors of the Armenian Genocide [Der Yeghiayan 1947: 277; Griker 1980: 70]. He focused on the pursuit of the Armenian Question in Versailles and Sèvres, along with gathering orphans and taking care of them. Under the direct auspices of the Patriarch, many different organizations were established, which, in addition to various other activities, were supposed to collect facts about the demographic situation of Armenians, their persecutions, massacres, deportations, and confiscated property. These organizations were also tasked with preparing documents about Turkish massacres to be used as evidence in the trials opened or to be opened against the perpetrators of those genocidal acts. To prepare letters addressed to the embassies to provide them with the required information and perform the secretarial duties of the Hamazgayin Council (Pan-national Council), Patriarch Zaven deemed it necessary to create a new bureau under the title of “Information Bureau,” which would spare no time and effort to collect reliable information about what the Christian population was forced to undergo.

In 1919–1922, thanks to the hard work of the dedicated staff of the “Information Bureau” and other individuals, documents related to criminals and data and testimonies about them were collected, documented and translated into French, English and Ottoman for submission

to the relevant courts [Der Yeghiayian 1947: 302]. About 300 reports were prepared by the “Information Bureau” and submitted to the High Commissioners of the Allied states, and 292 other bulletins obtained the necessary factual documents about the deportations and the “political evils” committed by the perpetrators whom the Turks sought to justify and liberate from responsibility [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M360. Doc. no. b 900ab–b 902ab].

The Armenian side was hopeful that the Ottoman Military Emergency Tribunal established after the 1918 Armistice of Mudros, and the courts of the League of Nations would hold the organizers and perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide and the Genocide of other Christian nations legally responsible. However, the capture of Smyrna by the armed forces of the Kemalists and their approach to Constantinople made Patriarch Zaven realize that he should secretly organize the removal of the multi-thousand-page archive created by the “Information Bureau”. Patriarch Zaven was a wise and far-sighted person. He understood that he had only a short time left in office, so he first sent the archive from Constantinople to Manchester, which was then moved to Marseille, and since 1938, its last resort has been the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem [Sahakyan 2022: 3–32].

Focusing on the events of 1919–1922, this large-scale archive covers the complex geopolitical confrontations of the historical period fateful for the Armenian and other Christian peoples in the Ottoman Empire. Including a great variety of documents in Armenian, French, English, German, Russian, Ottoman, and Armenian-script Turkish, this little-studied multilingual depository of important documents is extremely valuable from the viewpoint of revealing the details of the historical-political events of the time in general and the Genocide accomplished by the Ottoman and Kemalist authorities, in particular. Numerous documents include several reports obtained by the Patriarchate that present the 1919–1922 situation in the Greek and Armenian settlements under the control of the Kemalists after the retreat of Greek troops. Many facts about the murders, deportations, kidnappings, and robberies of the Greeks and Armenians by the regular Kemalist army and chetes are available in these reports.

Pages of reports stored in the “Information Bureau” archive present in detail the statistics on the dead and survivors, material losses suffered, and destroyed settlements of the Greek and Armenian population before the Armistice and after their return to their homes [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder 201. Doc. no. dz 257 - dz 261, № dz 273 - dz 288; Information Register 2024: 912–913, 914–915; The Black Book 1920].

We have studied this archive of eleven boxes and found many documents relevant to our research. These reports were prepared based on information obtained by the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate and Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople. They provide researchers with new details on the history of this issue, describing, among other things, how conscripted Christian youths, aged from twenty to twenty-five, were sent to labour battalions, where the same extermination measures as during World War I were applied [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. dz 354–dz 382].

In May 1919, weapons were distributed to the Muslims of Ordu town and its villages to form gangs to exterminate the Greeks and Armenians [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. dz 354–dz 382]. Authorities used to reward the perpetrators of the crimes and give them titles. The report mentions the names of the perpetrators and the types of barbarities they committed. In August 1921, according to the latest information obtained by the Greek Patriarchate, about 7,000 Christians aged from sixteen to fifty were displaced from Samsun to be included in labour battalions; 6,500 of these were massacred by Turkish soldiers accompanied by gendarmes on the road from Samsun to Kavak. Having escaped the massacres, 500 Christians were in an extremely pitiful state. However, the Kemalists forced them to migrate to Malatya. Only women and children of the Greek population remained in Samsun, and they were saved only thanks to the official intervention of the United States. Moreover, gendarmes accompanying the caravans of women and children passing through Sebastia to the Pontic coast put them for sale [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. dz 374].

The report entitled “The Armenian Children – Victims of World War 1. The Question of Salvation, the Present Situation, the Needs”

testifies to the kidnapping of many Christian women and children (around 100,000), blocking them in harems and forcefully converting them to Islam. This report was presented to the League of Nations on 12 July 1920 by the “Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants. Genève. Section Arménienne” (“Geneva Armenian Section of the International Union for the Aid of Children”) [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder i. Doc. no. i 285–i 363].

In the document of the “Information Bureau” archive, we also encounter the report “About the Blocking of Armenian Women and Children” by Zaven Der Yeghiayan, Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. It presents statistical data obtained by the Patriarchate, from 1915 to 1920 [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder i. Doc. no. i 311–i 328]. This report also provides information on the actions of the famous bandit Topal Osman of Trabzon against Greeks and Armenians. Assuming the task of stopping the Greek self-defense movements in Giresun, according to different sources, Topal Osman destroyed 300 Greek villages in the area, from Bafra and Inebolu to Trabzon [Haykuni 1924; Şener 2005]. Part of the population managed to take shelter in the mountains, and the rest were ordered to be burnt in their houses [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder i. Doc. no. dz 382].

As mentioned in the document, the Armenian population of the once-blooming province of Trapizon, which was spared from the 1915–1918 massacres, consisted of women and children concentrated mainly in two cities: Trapizon and Samsun. The dates and descriptions of robberies, confiscation of property, deportations, rapes, and murders by Turkish gangs and former Young Turks against Armenians from January 1919 to August and September 1920 in Unye, Samsun, Trapizon, Charshamba, Giresun, are also certified in this document. It is noted that the Allies’ passive stance encouraged the Turkish destroyers.

The above-mentioned document states that the information obtained at that moment could possibly be incomplete because, due to the Kemalist control and the lack of free communication, it was extremely difficult to gather information quickly. However, according to even this incomplete information, as a result of armed attacks and rapes against Greeks and Ar-

menians, 37,160 people were massacred in the province of Trapizon in 1919–1921 [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder i. Doc. no. dz 382].

The fate of the surviving and exiled Christian population on the southeastern shore of the Black Sea is revealed in Mark H. Ward’s diary, which presents impressive evidence of this tragic panorama.

5. Mark H. Ward’s mission in the Near East

The first question we need to clarify is: Who was Mark H. Ward, and what was his role in Asia Minor in the first decades of the twentieth century? Born in 1884 in Massachusetts to parents who were not indifferent to human fate and actively engaged in missionary activities, he graduated from Amherst College in 1906 and had a great desire to contribute to missionary work. Thus, in 1915, he arrived in Constantinople and worked for two years at the American Red Cross. Later, he joined the US army, but after the Armistice of Mudros (1918), he returned to Asia Minor and was stationed in the province of Kharberd to participate in the activities of the “American Committee for Near East Relief” [Harpoote’s large family 1920], assuming the position of the Acting Director of the organization. Because he was a physician by profession, he was also entrusted with the management of the hospital of the “American Committee” in the settlement of Mezre (Mezire, Mezereh), a rural town in Kharberd Vilayet.

During his stay in Asia Minor, Mark H. Ward witnessed and described in his diary with thorough details the horrifying conditions, deaths from diseases, and deprivations suffered on the road by the masses of deported Greeks, Armenians, and Assyrians between May 1921 and late February 1922.

Before long, the Turkish government expelled him and other relief workers for collecting information and keeping notes on the forced displacement of the Christian population. In June 1922, upon his immediate arrival in Great Britain following his expulsion, he reported the situation in Asia Minor to the British Foreign Office [Kostos 2010: 170]. The *Voice of Armenia* weekly, published in Paris, reported on that occasion:

*“One of these days, in London, the Anglo-Hellenic League and Anglo-Armenian Committee published in a separate brochure Dr Mark Ward’s diary titled *The Deportations in Asia Minor: 1921–1922*. This evidence of Dr Mark Ward is part of the documents that will be investigated by the newly established Commission of Inquiry. The Commission will be sent to Anatolia [Asia Minor] by the governments of England, France, Italy, and America to check on the spot and investigate the barbarities committed against the Christian population”* [*The Deportations* 1922: 6].

Subsequently, Mark H. Ward headed to Washington, where he reported on the deplorable situation in Asia Minor and called for an independent commission to inquire about the extermination of Christians. While still in Constantinople, in an interview with Herbert Adams Gibbons, special correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* in Asia Minor, Mark Ward said,

“If the people of America only knew how their Christian brethren are being slain in Asia Minor to satisfy the fanatical Kemalists’ political aspirations, they would quickly answer the call of humanity, just as they did in the World War. The horrible facts are only now reaching the outside world; the Turks have censored all outbound dispatches. Under the threat of dire punishment, they have forced the American Committee workers to sign statements that no crimes are being committed. I fear the next move of the Kemalists will be to expel all American Committee workers, as they did to me and several others. I see dispatches today from Constantinople to the effect that the Turkish Nationalist Government will not permit a commission of inquiry of Americans and representatives of the Allied powers to go into Asia Minor. If they do, this will be a positive admission of guilt” [*Nations of world* 1922].

On the other hand, he was convinced that the commission of inquiry would not find all the horrible facts, because the Kemalists would have covered them up. One way or another, the known sources were enough to convict the Turks. The United States and the rest of the civilized world should go further than inquiry. To prevent the merciless Kemalists from taking action, he proposed outlawing Turkey and

quitting any kind of relations with that country. Great Britain, France, and Italy seemed to have political and business reasons for not adopting a firm stance. However, Mark Ward believed that Great Britain would rise to her place if the United States took the lead, and together they would erase that blot on civilization [*Nations of world* 1922; *The Martyrdom* 1922: 36–37].

6. Mark H. Ward’s diary-memoir: *The Deportations in Asia Minor, 1921–1922*

Memoirs and diaries are written confirmations of eyewitness testimonies. Studying them enables not only learning about the facts and events of a given period but also reveals the causal link between them. It is also known that eyewitness testimonies are subjective. Notwithstanding this, by juxtaposing and comparing major or minor facts from various historical documents, especially those from archive records, it is possible to arrive at the objective truth and generalize insights about the historical period under consideration.

Mark H. Ward’s diary, *The Deportations in Asia Minor: 1921–1922* [*Ward* 1922] attests to the displacement, genocide, and exile of Christians, including Greeks, Armenians, and Assyrians, by the Kemalists in 1921–1922. Working as a physician at the “American Committee for Near East Relief” hospital in Kharberd, Mark Ward witnessed numerous horrifying scenes and entered in his diary truthful notes about mass slaughters and deportations of Greeks in 1921–1922, as well as about the banishments, torments, and losses that Greeks and Armenians suffered in the same period. In the introductory summary of the diary, Mark Ward provides empirical data about the deportees, who reached Kharberd from Konya, Caesarea, Amasya, Bilejik, Eskishehir, Bursa and the vicinities under the Kemalist military forces, as well as from Eregli, Afium Karahisar [Afion Karahisar], Alishar, Kutahia [Kyotahia], Sivrihisar, Akshehir, Keroman [Karaman], Haymans [Haymana], Ordu, Kerasun, Samsun [Samson], Khanga, Marsivan [Marzvan], Tobejuk [Tepejik], Kopy [Kop], Vozir-Kupru [Vezir-Kyopru], Sparta, and Burdur, Endemosh [Odemish].

According to the data obtained, from May 1921 to January 1922, the number of deportees from the mentioned settlements totalled 30,000,

but only 20,348 reached Kharberd and passed through it. Around 18,000 of them were Greeks, and 2,000 were Armenians. Turkish rulers sent them through Sebastia (Sivas) to Kharberd, and from there they were herded in different directions. Around 5,000 managed to escape on that road [Ward 1922: 3]. In the fall and winter months, around 4,000 of the deportees settled in Malatia, where the “American Committee for Near East Relief” organized care for over 600 children in an orphanage and provided food for around 400 people. Nonetheless, Americans were not able to rescue everyone: around 2,000 deportees died in winter from typhoid and famine [Ward 1922: 3–4]. Mark Ward certifies that most deportees dropped on the roadside and froze to death in winter. In December 1921, on his way from Sebastia to Kharberd, an American saw 1,500 dead bodies on both sides of the road. Another American heading to Kharberd from Malatia at the beginning of the same month counted 150 corpses of children and women [Ward 1922]. By adding to this number the mentioned 5,000 who managed to escape, he informed that only 20,378 were able to reach Kharberd. Mark Ward stated that in seven months, the American hospital in Kharberd received over 1,300 exiles. Despite proper care, almost twenty-five per cent of them died. Across the province of Kharberd, the number of deaths among deportees reached 2,000. They received no other care except that provided by Americans. From Mark Ward’s diary, we also learn that out of 15,000 people who were to pass through the high mountainous terrain southward to Diyarbakir, only 12,000 reached the destination [Ward 1922: 4].

Thus, of the 30,000 forcibly displaced people who reached Sebastia and then were forced to leave the place, only 10,000 managed to cross the bridge over the Tigris River, reach Diyarbakir, and travel from there to the province of Baghesh (Bitlis). No further information regarding their destiny or whereabouts is available. The only known facts are that of the 30,000 deportees, 2,000 stayed in Malatia, 3,000 in Kharberd, and 1,000 in Diyarbakir [Ward 1922: 4]. The first group consisted mainly of young men registered for roadwork in Kharberd and Diyarbakir. The conditions in which they were kept were inhumane: no compensation, barely 200 grams of bread, and a bowl of weak soup, and none

of these if they fell ill. Deprived of any medical care, they died. There were cases in which a deportee, in exchange for money, stayed and worked in a large city. This gave them an opportunity to find relatives and obtain monetary aid for sustenance through a bank. The majority in other groups were women and children; old men, let alone the young, were a rare exception. In some cases, they were allowed to set out on a journey on their carts or donkeys, but most had to walk. Since mothers carried food and bedding on their backs, small children had to cover the cruel road afoot. Some of them were unable to continue and died, as did those who were born on the road. Even in the American hospital, only 13 of 33 babies born of deportee women survived [Ward 1922: 5]. According to Mark Ward, patients could only be admitted to the American hospital after being thoroughly examined or bribing local physicians. Even when clothing was to be handed out to those half-naked people, negotiations with the Turks were far from smooth. None of the deportees doubted that they were sent to death. Neither did the Turkish officials [Ward 1922: 5; *The Deportations* 1922: 9].

Further on, Mark Ward provides a daily account of the number of deportees who reached Kharberd, their woeful conditions, and the medical assistance they received, adding that in a day or two, they were driven in another direction. Specifically, his 20 June note states that ten people were brought from Konya and sent to the American hospital to be cleaned of lice: the deportees with typhoid were treated particularly terribly by Turks, as the latter feared that the Turkish populace might catch the infection. This small group of 10 included highly respectable people: a Greek priest, a well-to-do Greek engineer, a rich merchant couple, and the President of the American College at Konya, Professor Armenak Haigazian.

Esteemed Armenak Haigazian (1870–1921), a Hadjin native, was an outstanding Armenian intellectual who left an indelible trace in the history of Armenian education and pedagogy. After receiving his elementary education in his hometown in 1884, he graduated from the Kedronakan Turqioy College (Central Turkey College) in 1889 and then from the Marash Seminary, where, in 1889–1892, he studied theology. In 1894, he taught at Saint Paul’s Col-

lege in Tarsus, then continued his studies in the field of archaeology at the University of Chicago. At Harvard Divinity Seminary, he studied and majored in Assyrian and Babylonian and could read cuneiform inscriptions. Interestingly, in the Library at Harvard Seminary, under some decipherments of cuneiform inscriptions, one can still read his initials (A. H. H.). He was the only Armenian who had received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Yale University. In 1898–1899, he took music classes in Toronto for six months. In Chicago, the Adventist Congregational Church ordained him a priest. With this multidisciplinary education, Haigazian could have stayed abroad to live a safe and prosperous life; however, he accepted the invitation of Reverend Jenanyan and, in 1899, assumed the position of Education Inspector at the Apostolic Institute of Asia Minor, a higher educational institution founded in Konya by Reverend Jenanyan himself. Haigazian decided to return and engage in teaching his people, which he did for two years. Subsequently, he applied all his knowledge and skills as President of the College.¹

Detained by the authorities of Konya, he was expelled on 31 May 1921. While accompanying the group of exiles from Sebastia to Kharberd, missionary Mary Grafham, who had voluntarily joined the exiles [Barton 1930: 67–68], exerted huge efforts to set Haigazian free, yet in vain. Unable to withstand the harsh road conditions, Haigazian fell ill and, upon reaching Kharberd, stayed with his fellow exiles in the courtyard of the Protestant Church in Mezre. The Americans, Reverend Yeghoyan, and others did the impossible to admit Haigazian into the American hospital, yet the Turkish doctors intervened, claiming that he was not sick. Eventually, he was taken to the hospital, but too late; Haigazian passed away a few days later. In his notes, Mark Ward admired Professor Haigazian's high intellectual level and vast knowledge, describing his death with great pain and the barriers he had to overcome to lay Haigazian's body to rest.²

¹ Details about A. Haigazian's life and activities can be found in many different works [Lapjinjian 1985: 479; Galustian 1934: 529; Poghosian 1942: 407–409; Ashchean 1950: 238–241].

² In honour of this talented and venerable Armenian intellectual, the university, founded in Beirut in

Mark Ward's diary was deservedly considered a trustworthy source describing that period, and as such, was translated not only into Armenian but also into French. The French translation is stored in the unique Armenian Question and Armenian Genocide Archive of the "Information Bureau" at the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 365–e 374; Information Register 2024: 816–828]. It is important to keep in mind that this archive was compiled as a lawsuit file with the intention to judicially convict the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide. Grigor Kerkerian, who had a chance to study copies in the archive of the "Information Bureau," noted: *"During the trials conducted by the Turkish War Office in 1919–1921, Armenians were legal parties before the Office and due to this circumstance, they had the right to have officially certified copies and examples of Turkish documents"* [Griker 1980: 71].

Many facts recorded in Mark Ward's diary are confirmed in other memoirs [Künzler 2011; Sakayan 1997, etc.]. As an eyewitness, Swiss doctor Jacob Künzler also testified to the oppression of the Greek and Armenian population in 1920–1921. Since 1899, he worked as physician at a hospital attached to the Urfa Orphanage for approximately 20 years. Künzler directly participated in the liberation of Armenian women and orphans during the Armenian Genocide. In 1922, together with his wife, he continued his activities in Urfa as an employee of Near East Relief [Künzler 2011: 1–3]. In his memoirs, he vividly recounts the long processions of deported Greeks passing through Urfa in 1920–1921: *"Since Turkey was at war with the Greeks, the Turkish Parliament decided to expel the Greek Orthodox population from the country as well, and endless convoys set off from Marzvan, Sebastia, and Konya to Kharberd, Diyarbekir, and Bitlis. Winter arrived, and about ninety per cent died on the way. During my first visit to Kharberd, I saw the discolored bones of those thousands of victims in the Taurus Mountains..."* [Künzler 2011: 135–136].

Our thorough study of Mark Ward's diary and its French [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201.

1955, was named after him as the Haigazian University of Beirut.

[Doc. no. e 365 – e 374](#)] and Armenian translations¹ has provided a considerable number of distorted facts in the translated versions. We recognize the importance of the renowned missionaries' evidence and present some of the differences between the original and translated texts of Mark Ward's diary in the subsequent section of the present article.

7. On some differences between the original and translated versions of Mark H. Ward's diary

Comparing the English original of Mark Ward's diary with the above-mentioned French and Armenian translations, we notice several differences in the dates and statistics of refugees in the French version. First, it should be mentioned that, for some reason, the introductory part, which is one of the important sections of this document, is excluded from the French translation. Differences in the numerical data are also evident. Here is an example:

June 3. – 312 men from Eskishehir and Kutahia arrived to-day. On the way from Sivri-Hissar to Mamuret-ul-Aziz ... 20 of them were admitted to our hospital with typhus or relapsing fever. Later. – This convoy was kept in quarantine 25 days. Native Christians were permitted to send food to them, but the Government did not issue any rations; 125 Greeks, 187 Armenians... [[Ward 1922: 6–7](#)]

Both the original English and the Armenian translation state that twenty migrants were hospitalized (*Twenty of them were admitted to our hospital with typhus or relapsing fever*) [[Ward 1922: 6](#); [The Deportations 1922: 6](#)], whereas according to the French version, the number of hospitalized people is twenty-four instead of twenty. The number of expatriate Greeks was reduced to 121 instead of 125. The French translation reads as follows:

Juin 3. – 312 hommes d'Eski-Chéhir et de Kutahia, dont 187 Arméniens, 120 Grecs (312) furent amenés, aujourd'hui. Pendant leur voyage de Sivri-Hissar à Mamouret-ul-Aziz Nous en recueillâmes, dans notre hôpital 24 d'entre-eux qui étaient atteints du typhus et de la fièvre récurrente ... [[AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 365](#)]

¹ The Armenian translation was published in Paris in 1922, in *Voice of Armenia*, N° 1, 20 July 6–9; N° 2, 29 July 6–8; N° 4, 12 August 6–7.

Distortion of numbers is also evident in the French translation of the passage, which follows the original below.

June 13. – 574 men from Eskishehir, Bilejik, Sivri-Hissar, Kutahia, and Afium Karahissar came in to-day. Most of them penniless, as they have been robbed on the way; 200 Greeks, 374 Armenians ... [[Ward 1922: 7](#)]

In the French translation, the number of migrants who reached Afion Karahisar is again incorrectly reflected: instead of 200 Greek migrants, 300 are mentioned, and instead of 374 Armenian migrants, 274.

Juin 13. – 574 hommes d'Eski-Chehir, Bilédjik, Sivri-Hissar, Kutahia, Afion-Karahissar dont 300 Grecs, 274 Arméniens (574) furent amenés aujourd'hui. [[AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 365](#)]

The passages mentioned above clearly show the inconsistency of statistical data in the translated version compared with the original text.

In another part of the diary, Mark Ward provides information about a group of migrants from the village of Tepejik in Samsun Province.

Aug. 27. – 80 persons from the village of Tebejik, near Samsun, drifted in to-day. They had been robbed in their village, and also on the way. Later. – Although these people were really starving, they remained one night only, and were forced on south. [[Ward 1922: 10](#)]

In the French translation, the incorrect spelling of the toponym Tepejik (*Tebejik*) is even more distorted (*Topédjik*):

Août 27. – 80 personnes du village de Topédjik, près Samsoun, arrivèrent aujourd'hui en se traînant dans notre ville ... [[AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 369](#)]

As seen in the original passages, the name **Tepejik**, a village in the Samsun province of present-day Turkey, is specified incorrectly (*Tebejik*). However, in the French version, we encounter the double distortion *Topédjik*, while in the Armenian translation, it is mentioned as Bilejik, which, we believe, is the result of a misreading [[The Deportations 1922: 7](#)]. It is not difficult to notice that the sentence in the original text ... *and were forced on south* was not translated in the French version of the document [[AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 369](#)]; the direction of their forced deportation (*south*) is left out.

In another passage noted on the same day (27 Aug.), some toponyms are distorted by Mark Ward himself. These misinterpreted toponyms deviate from their original forms.

Aug. 27. – 1230 persons, mostly women and children, passed through Mezereh at night, having camped out on the road some five miles away the day before. They came from Amasia, Khanza, Iledig, Marsivan, Torpojuk and near-by villages of Samsun. They were nearly starved, and in a pitiable condition, having been made to travel very fast ... [Ward 1922: 10].

The garbled versions of the toponyms (Khanza, Iledig, Marsivan, Torpojuk) are double garbled in the French translation, as in the passage below:

Août 27. – 1230 personnes, la plupart des femmes et des enfants, sont passés cette nuit de Menzéré. On les avait fait camper à 5 milles de là un jour auparavant. Elles venaient d'Amassia de Hafza, Ilodig, Marsivan, Topéjick et des villages voisins de Samsoun, et se trouvaient dans un état pitoyable de famine et d'épuisement, car on les avait fait voyager très rapidement. [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 370].

The exact versions of the given place names are Havza, Ladik, Marzvan, and Tepejik. The erroneous registration of the toponym Havza in the form of Khanza is also found in the Armenian translation [The Deportations 1922: 7].

In the following paragraph from the English original, Mark Ward describes the plight of another immigrant group: Greek women, children, and the elderly.

Aug. 30. – 1650 Greeks, women and children, with a few old men, passed through Mezereh during the night. They were crying in the streets they passed through; "We are dying from thirst!" "Find us some water!" [Ward 1922: 10].

In the French translation introduced below, both the distortion of the toponym and the change of sentences are noticeable.

Août 30. – 1650 Grecs, femmes et enfants avec quelques vieillards passèrent par Menzéré pendant la nuit. Ils pleuraient dans les rues pendant leur passage et criaient "Nous mourons de faim ..." [AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 370].

The name Mezre (Mezereh) is distorted, and the sentences "we are dying from thirst!"

and "Find us some water!" are changed to "we are starving" in the French version.

Misread toponyms can also be found in the following passages of both the original and French translation. Below is another incorrect presentation of a toponym in the original diary text.

Oct. 3. – To-day was Sunday. The police here went out and gathered about 250 of the deportees who had been permitted to stay in Mezereh from previous convoys...

These men were collected and sent out by Government to work on the road between Aghavni and Di[y]arbekir. [Ward 1922: 12].

The toponym Aghavni mentioned here is not accurate because the situation refers to road construction work stretching from Ankara to Diyarbakır. The wrong version of Aghavni was also chosen by the Armenian translator while in the French translation, the mistake was corrected, and the place name Angora (Ankara) is referred to: *Ces hommes furent ramassés par le Gouvernement pour être employés aux travaux de la route entre Angora et Di[y]arbekir* [The Deportations 1922: 6; AQAGA. Box 1. Folder M201. Doc. no. e 371].

The errors in the French and Armenian translations can probably be explained by the circumstance that the "Information Bureau" established under the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1919 had to organize the work hastily in difficult geopolitical conditions. Any testimony related to the Armenian Question and the Genocide of Armenians and Greeks was translated by the "Information Bureau" immediately upon obtaining the important information into different languages to bring it to the relevant courts with the desire of contributing to the just solution of the Armenian case. Mark H. Ward's diary, with its evidence, was so exceptional that it was translated into French and Armenian immediately after its publication. Hence, such omissions are natural in translation work performed under uneasy and overstressed conditions.

8. Conclusions

Mark H. Ward's diary, even though it documents the forced displacement of Greeks and Armenians from only a few regions of Asia Minor, contains important, irrefutable statis-

tical facts about deportations from other locations of the Ottoman Empire. This evidence provides insights into the incomprehensibly inhumane conditions that the exiles had experienced until their death. The information contained in the diary once again confirms that the ultimate deportation and extermination of Christians, Greeks and Armenians in particular, was a component of the Kemalists' genocidal policies. Most importantly, Mark Ward's diary shall be perceived as an official account submitted to the government by a representative of the American Near East Relief organization rather than merely evidence of a private eyewitness.

Thanks to Mark Ward's personal impressions, the diary acquires a peculiar value, adding unknown shades to the portraits of great individuals, intellectuals of vast knowledge,

and talents who selflessly served humanity. It also stimulates interest in the activities of other missionaries and helps recognize them as dedicated humanists.

The comparative analysis of the discrepancies between the original text of the diary and its French and Armenian translations underscores differences in dates, numerical data, and toponyms, demonstrating how even minor translation errors can alter the historical narrative and affect our understanding of events. As an eyewitness missionary, Mark Ward provides a comprehensive picture of human tragedies, deaths, and unknown fates that occurred during the deportations in several regions of the empire, thus exposing the genocidal policy of the Ottoman Empire practiced in Asia Minor in 1921–1922. The questions rethought in this study may help prevent new genocides.

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