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Amending the Record: Proofreading American Naval War Diaries Written in the Pontus, 1921-1922

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Amending the Record: Proofreading American Naval War Diaries Written in the Pontus, 1921-
1922

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of New Orleans
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
English

by

Toria Smith

B.A. Northwestern State University, 2017

May, 2019

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Abstract

In their naval war diaries, American naval officers who were stationed in the Pontus region recorded their observations of deportations of the Ottoman Greek people by Turkish Nationalists; they also documented their conversations with Turkish military and civilian leaders, conversations with Americans living in the area, interactions with Greeks seeking refuge, and messages that they sent to Admiral Mark Bristol, who was stationed in Constantinople. These diaries are reproduced in Robert Shenk and Sam Korktzoğlu's forthcoming book, *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval "War Diaries": Naval Commanders Report and Protest Death Marches and Massacres in the Pontus Region of Turkey, 1921-1922*. When the diaries' contents were retyped, however, the typist introduced some errors into the manuscript. I proofread the manuscript's reproduction of the diaries alongside photographs of the war diaries in order to leave a more accurate record of what the American officers saw happening there.

Keywords: proofreading, naval war diaries, publishing, copyediting, professional writing

Introduction

The majority of my thesis is devoted to proofreading naval war diaries that tell the story of the Greek genocide in Turkey. These diaries are included in a forthcoming book from UNO Press, *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval “War Diaries”: Naval Commanders Report and Protest Death Marches and Massacres in the Region of Turkey Called Pontus, 1921-1922*, by Robert Shenk and Sam Koktzoglou.

My personal interest in this project grew out of my interest in becoming a professional editor, an interest that deepened after taking the UNO Publishing Laboratory course with Abram Himelstein and G.K. Darby of the UNO Press. Since completing that course during my first semester as an MA student, I have been an intern at two independent publishing houses. I knew that I wanted my thesis to deal with publishing, but I did not want to simply write about the publishing process; instead, I wanted to be involved in it somehow.

I originally planned to edit a manuscript related to one of my internships, but I was unable to do so because of copyright issues. From there, Dr. Shenk and I decided that I could proofread the naval war diaries that are included in *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval “War Diaries.”* Dr. Shenk only toward the end of the project realized the possibility that the original, typed copy had not been proofread well toward the end of the project, so the proofreading that I did actually helped to prepare the manuscript for publication.

The war diaries that are presented in Shenk and Koktzoglou’s book offer an inside view into what happened in the Pontus region during the early 1920s. In mid-1921, Nationalist Turks began marching ethnic Greeks and Orthodox Christians south supposedly because they were afraid that these people would support the Greek army’s landing on the Northeast coast of Turkey (Pontus region, which is in the modern-day eastern Black Sea region of Turkey). The

deported Greeks were brutalized by the Turkish Nationalists, despite the insistence of Nationalist Turks that many of the Greek deaths were to be blamed on thieves and bandits rather than on those who were enforcing the deportations. Those who were deported were deprived of food and water, men were taken to labor camps that amounted to death sentences, and young women were raped, abducted, and taken as concubines and slaves (Shenk and Koktzoglou 4). Many of the women and children died from having to march hundreds of miles without food, water, and shelter from the elements.

These diaries tell the story of the American officers who had to make decisions in these extraordinary, terrible circumstances. *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval "War Diaries"* details what happened in the Pontus in the early 1920s largely through naval war diaries that were written by American naval officers. United States Navy warships were present in the city of Samsun from the late spring of 1921 to the middle of 1922 (Shenk and Koktzoglou 5).

All of the diaries included in the book were found in the United States National Archives in Washington, DC. Koktzoglou found over a year's worth of war diaries, photographed them, and had someone type them up and preliminarily proof them (Shenk and Koktzoglou 5). After the 2,000 photographed diaries were transcribed in manuscript form, Dr. Shenk suggested what might be omitted from their reproduction of the diaries in their book, what might be summarized within a diary, and which whole diary sets might be summarized rather than presented whole. He then asked Koktzoglou for his approval. These decisions were a payoff between providing full detail versus the tendency of the war diaries, like most diaries, to give equal attention to interesting, important details and to unimportant, uninteresting, and repetitive matters.

Before I began my proofreading project, Dr. Shenk made decisions about how to best reproduce and summarize the diaries. These changes are described in the introduction to the manuscript. I used the manuscript's introduction as a sort of style sheet for this project. Throughout the reproduced war diaries, grammatical errors and spelling deviations are silently corrected. For example, Harput is spelled Kharput, Harput, Harpoot, and Harpout, so the spelling has been changed to Harput in all of the diaries for consistency. Passages from the war diaries that are not relevant either to the Greek genocide or military operations in the area were deleted, and these deletions are denoted by ellipses. All of the parentheses that are included in the reproductions of the war diaries are also found in the original; however, the brackets that are found in the reproductions either provide additional information, provide a probable reading of a word that is obscured in the original, or indicate an apparent meaning. Ellipses contained within brackets indicate that the original is unreadable, which only happens a few times. Commas and paragraph breaks have been added for clarity and added readability, respectively. Asterisks or the equivalent marks in the asterisk system indicate the additional information which has been provided by the authors at the end of that date's war diary (Shenk and Koktzoglou 5). (The asterisk system is used to denote explanatory footnotes at the end of some of the diaries. The idea to use the asterisk system in *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval "War Diaries"* came from a naval diary Dr. Shenk had published with the University of South Carolina Press.)

I familiarized myself with the above style decisions before beginning the proofreading process. I also researched the act of proofreading itself and took my proofreading experience with BHC Press into consideration. In *Copyediting & Proofreading for Dummies*, Suzanne Gilad asserts that proofreaders are "charged with catching the errors that everyone, including the

copyeditor, has missed” (112). Gilad’s statement perfectly describes the role of a proofreader. In my case, however, I had to make sure that the typist had not introduced errors into the text. I compared the reproduction of the war diaries in the manuscript of *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval “War Diaries”* (which derived from the typist’s copy) to photographs of the war diaries from the National Archives. At the same time, I had to be conscious of changes that Dr. Shenk made to the original text so that I would not bring new errors—or introduce old errors—into the manuscript.

Gilad identifies ten methods of reading material that is to be proofread and recommends trying all of the techniques first before deciding on a method to stick with for the duration of the proofreading project (115).

Gilad’s recommended proofreading methods are:

1. Scan it first—skim the document before proofreading to determine formatting style, e.g. straight or curly quotation marks, justified or aligned left copy
2. Slow it down—read the document more slowly than you read for pleasure. Pay close attention to the spelling of each word, question whether each punctuation mark is correct, ensure that subjects and verbs agree with each other, pay attention to capitalization, and look at small words (a, an, of, the, etc.)
3. Pump it up—read out loud, pause at each comma, and emphasize all numbers
4. Stretch it out—read with the document held out at arm’s length
5. Turn it upside down—turn the manuscript upside down while reading
6. Inch your way—read with a ruler beneath the line you are currently working on to ensure that you do not skip ahead before thoroughly reading each line

7. Don't look back—read with a ruler above the line you are currently working on to prevent rereading lines
8. Pace yourself—hold your finger under each word as you read it
9. Race yourself—put a finger at the top left corner of the page and move down the left margin as you read
10. Reverse yourself—read the document backwards; doing so makes you pay attention to each individual word without focusing on the context around it

I used a combination of technique number two (slow it down) and technique number eight (pace yourself) for this project, so I read much more slowly than I normally do and put my finger under each word so that I could fully focus on it. Because I was comparing photographs of the original war diaries with the typist's version of the war diaries now in the diary manuscript, I would slowly read three to four words at a time from the photograph and then make sure that those words matched what the manuscript's version of the war diaries said. Of course, I did not correct changes that were introduced to the war diaries for clarity, like changing spellings for consistency, adding paragraph breaks, and adding commas.

Ultimately, my intention was to improve the written record of the Greek genocide in Turkey by thoroughly proofreading the photographed war diaries, that is, those photographed from the National Archives, against the manuscript of *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval "War Diaries": Naval Commanders Report and Protest Death Marches and Massacres in the Pontus Region of Turkey, 1921-1922* side by side.

A Brief History of the Greek Genocide in Turkey

As I proofread the war diaries, I watched the genocide of the Greeks unfold through the eyes of American naval officers. After World War I, the United States Navy sent a flotilla of warships to Turkey, and their homeport was in Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul). This flotilla's mission was to "speed teams of investigators and relief personnel responding to reports of great atrocities," including such atrocities as massacres, murders, mass deportations, and hangings that had been committed by the ruling Turkish officials in Turkey during World War One—particularly those committed against the Turkish Armenians—reports of which had spread around the world during the war (Shenk and Koktzoglou 9). In 1921, reports began to circulate that the same kinds of atrocities that the Turkish people committed against the Armenian people in 1915 and 1916 were being committed once again, but now they were being committed primarily against the Ottoman Greeks rather than the Armenians (these later atrocities became the focus of the American destroyers stationed at Samsoun in 1921-1922).

In 1919, parts of the Hellenic army had been asked to land in Smyrna by World War I Allies to stop the Italian military from taking over Western Anatolia; thus, the Hellenic military occupied Smyrna and the nearby region (Shenk and Koktzoglou 11). Soon, the Hellenic army was urged to occupy quite a bit of Western Anatolia and to govern the area for five years; after the five-year-long occupation, there would be a plebiscite in which the locals would decide whether or not they would remain under the Greeks' rule (Shenk and Koktzoglou 11).

The five-year occupation and plebiscite would not happen, however. The ethnic Turks resisted the idea of being ruled by ethnic Greeks, especially because the Ottoman Greeks had been subservient to Ottoman rule for centuries. Thus, the outrage of the ethnic Turkish people, along with plenty of propaganda, gave way to Turkish nationalism (Shenk and Koktzoglou

12). At nearly the same time that the Hellenic military landed in Smyrna, by happenstance, Mustafa Kemal, a Turkish World War I hero, landed in Samsun. Kemal intended to build a Turkish Nationalist government and army to replace the Sultan and to defeat and drive away the Hellenic forces (Shenk and Koktzoglou 12).

In 1921, only two years after the Hellenic army occupied Smyrna, reports started being sent to Constantinople about atrocities being committed against the Ottoman Greeks in Turkey, especially in Pontus (Shenk and Koktzoglou 13). As had been the case during World War I against Turkey's Armenians, deportations were the preferred method of diminishing Turkey's Greek population; however, "even without outright killing, the effects of deportation upon the Pontic Greeks were devastating—particularly if the men were first separated from their families and sent away, as was often the case" (Shenk and Koktzoglou 13).

With no way to support themselves, those who remained after the men were sent away could not afford food and shelter, especially if their villages were burned—which the Turks began doing throughout the region. Also, Greek people were frequently killed during deportations, as the naval war diaries show; often, the Turkish nationalists blamed these deaths on other forces who attacked and robbed the people who were being deported.

Of course, the Turkish nationalists used other methods to decimate the Greek population, too. Indeed, "by the late summer of 1921, numerous killings, massacres, the burning of Greek villages, and many forced deportations (which soon became death marches) into the interior had become commonplace in Pontus" (Shenk and Koktzoglou 14). Some of the Ottoman Greek men were sent to labor battalions where life expectancy was estimated to be only two months by British diplomat George W. Rendel (Shenk and Koktzoglou 30). Life in the labor battalions was incredibly bleak; the men who were sent there completed difficult tasks, like breaking rocks for

road construction and repair, and they received “meager food and inadequate clothing, little or no shelter from the elements” (Shenk and Koktzoglou 30). They also suffered “rampant diseases and lack of medical care, and occasional outright killings” (Shenk and Koktzoglou 30).

Despite the horrors that they faced, however, the Greeks that were living in the Pontic region did not lose hope completely. There were partisan or bandit groups of Greek men living in the Pontic mountains that took women, children, and elderly people into the mountains in order to save them from the atrocities being committed against the Ottoman Greeks, who had lived in this area for thousands of years (Shenk and Koktzoglou 32). The Turkish nationalists found a way to use the existence of these bandit groups to rationalize the deportations of the Greek people; they believed that removing the local population of Greek people would dramatically decrease the support that these guerilla groups were receiving.

The atrocities that the Greek people faced at the hands of Turkish nationalists and the response of the Greek people, Turkish officials, and Americans who lived in the area are recorded in the diaries of American naval officers. These officers “sometimes saw firsthand the deportation parties of hundreds or even a thousand at a time being sent south” (Shenk and Koktzoglou 5). These naval captains recorded their accounts of these deportations and other events in their war diaries, each day’s report of which stretches from a few short paragraphs to several pages. In addition to documenting their occasional observations of the deportations (or the more frequent reports of them by others), the officers also documented their conversations with Turkish military and civilian leaders, conversations with Americans who lived in the area, interactions with Greeks who sought refuge, and messages that they sent to Admiral Mark Bristol, who was stationed in Constantinople (Shenk and Koktzoglou 5).

Completing the Proofreading Project

When I first started proofreading the naval war diaries as they appear in the manuscript of *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval “War Diaries”* and comparing them with photographs of the original war diaries, I turned one set of proofread diaries into Dr. Shenk at a time. At first, I spent about a week to a week and a half on each set, and I always read through them at least twice, sometimes three times. After about a month or so of progressing in this way, I realized that I was spending too much time on each set of the war diaries and that I had to speed up the proofreading. So, I started spending up to a week on each set and only read through the diaries twice. I started proofreading during the first week of school (around January 16 or so) and finished proofreading in mid-March (around March 10), so the whole process took about two months with an average of about three to five hours spent on proofing per day. Over the course of those two months, I proofread roughly 120 pages of the manuscript. In a real-world situation, I certainly would not have been given two months to proofread these pages, especially if I was a full-time proofreader. I would likely have about a week to complete two passes of a manuscript of comparable size.

The overall process did not change much as I progressed through my proofreading. I always downloaded the photographs of the war diaries from Dr. Shenk’s emails. At first, I downloaded the pictures individually, but I soon realized that they were easier to keep track of if I downloaded all of the pictures in a set as one folder. I opened the downloaded photographs in the Preview app on my Macbook Pro. Then, I opened the manuscript of *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval “War Diaries”* in Word. I resized both the Word window and the Preview window, placing the Preview window on the left side of my screen and the Word window on my right.

I kept all of the photographs for each set pulled up as I worked through the manuscript. I minimized all of the photographs and opened them up on the left side of my screen individually; after I finished comparing a photograph to the manuscript, I closed that particular Preview window and opened up the next photograph file.

This workflow worked really well for me and made it easy for me to stay on task. If I were to continue working with this manuscript, I would use this workflow throughout the project and only change my process if I discovered tools or methods that could potentially speed up the proofreading process while still ensuring accuracy. For example, now that I know that photo editing software could have helped me to manipulate the photographs of the war diaries so that they were easier to read, I would have added retouching the photos to my workflow.

Most of the errors that I found were minor, like “a” in place of “the” or a missing word whose absence did not greatly affect the text’s meaning. There were quite a few errors of this kind, and I found that I often caught more of them on the second readthrough than on the first. During the first readthrough, I usually caught the few major errors that the typist had introduced into the manuscript’s version of the naval war diaries; these errors included misspellings of names, incorrect dates, and the omission of words or phrases whose absences affected the meaning of the text.

A few weeks into the proofreading, my MacBook Pro’s display started to flicker, which made the photographs hard to see. Thankfully, I could connect my computer to my Apple TV via AirPlay and use my television screen as a computer monitor. Doing so made it easier to see the words that were hard to make out on my computer screen because of the constant flickering. Also, some of the photographed war diaries were printed with very light type, and I was able to adjust my television screen’s brightness more than that of my laptop screen. After completing the

proofreading, I learned that I could have used photo editing software to convert the photographs of the war diaries into negative images. As such, I would recommend that editors who work with photographed archival material add photo editing software to their toolkit.

After proofreading a set of diaries, I sent the manuscript back to Dr. Shenk for approval. At first, I relied solely on Track Changes to illustrate the changes that I made, but Dr. Shenk and I agreed after the first set of diaries that I should underline the change that I made, too. Underlining the changes made it much easier for him to find the changes before reviewing and approving them.

Examples of Corrections I Made

Typically, the errors that I found in the manuscript were small and did not have a major impact on the text. There were times, however, when the changes brought added clarity and additional information to the text.

For example, in the May 29, 1921 entry from the *USS Overton*, Commander A. L. Bristol, War Diary Set from May 27-June 7, 1921, I changed “higher” authority to “high authority” and added and deleted words according to what is stated in the photographed war diary (Shenk and Koktzoglou 78).

S.S. OVERTON: Diary of in Samsoun area.

May 1921. (Cont'd.)

1. That the present time constitutes a crisis for the Greeks in a large area surrounding Samsoun.
2. That there is a definite movement against these Greeks and that this movement is directed by high authority- probably Angora- and that the movement is under strict control.
3. That the coming week will show whether or not this movement contemplates the complete extermination of all Greeks in this area.
4. That foreigners in Samsoun are not in danger.

I am of the personal opinion, based on no particular facts, but the above general impressions, that disturbances of a serious nature, i.e., wholesale massacre, rioting, etc., which endanger the lives of Americans, will not occur in the town of Samsoun proper.

It is rumored today, that the troops who have been engaged in destroying Greek villages, have been called in and are now quartered in the barracks on the hillside behind Samsoun. It struck me as important to learn as much as I could regarding the status of these troops. Repeated inquiry brought no positive information, at least from all the replies, I am of the opinion that these are troops of the regular army, they were probably at one time Osman Agah's and may still be attached to his command, but I am fairly positive that they have been incorporated in the army and are under strict control of the military; numbers of them were seen around town without arms and still wearing the Lari headdress. Other soldiers in the more or less regulation uniform were also seen.

I sent the usual liberty party and baseball party ashore this afternoon and on my return to the ship found that these men had all been searched on the dock by the customs officials before being allowed to pass the gate returning to the boat. This is contrary to the understanding which I have with the Mutassariff. I will take the matter up with him.

May 1921.

Received Detachment Commander's despatch, serial 73, directing to make representation to the local authorities concerning the movement against the Greeks. Because of electrical storms which were occurring every afternoon and evening, communication with Constantinople is difficult and this despatch was only received after repeated attempts. Before going on shore I transposed the meaning of this despatch into language such as I hoped to be able to get through to the Mutassariff through an interpreter. While the Mutassariff's English is improving and is quite good for ordinary conversation, most of the interviews with the Mutassariff must be conducted in most simple language in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Image 1: A photograph of Commander A. L. Bristol's original May 29, 1921 war diary.

USS Overton, Commander A.L. Bristol,
War Diary Set from May 27- June 7, 1921

....

May 29, 1921

From interviews with foreign company representatives and Near East Relief personnel in Samsun, the American ship commander* formed the following definite impressions which I have embodied in a dispatch to the Detachment Commander. They are as follows:

1. That the present time constitutes a crisis for the Greeks in a large area surrounding Samsun.
2. That there is a definite movement against these Greeks and that this movement is directed by higher authority – probably Angora – and that the movement is under strict control.
3. That the coming week will show whether or not this movement contemplates the complete extermination of all Greeks in this area.
4. That foreigners in Samsun are not in danger.

I am of the personal opinion, based on no particular facts, but the above general impressions, that disturbances of a serious nature, i.e., wholesale massacre, rioting, etc., which would endanger the lives of Americans, will not occur in the town of Samsun

noner

Image 2: A screenshot of the changes I made to the manuscript's recording of Commander A.L. Bristol's May 29, 1921 war diary entry

It is rumored today, that the troops who have been engaged in destroying Greek villages, have been called in and are now quartered in the barracks on the hillside behind Samsun. It struck me as important to learn as much as I could regarding the status of these troops. Repeated inquiry brought no positive information, but from all the replies, I

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am of the opinion that these are troops of the regular army, they were probably at one time Osman Agha's men and may still be attached to his command, but I am fairly positive that they have been incorporated in the army and ~~they are~~ under ~~strictly in~~ control of the military; numbers of them were seen around town without arms and still wearing the Lari headdress.**

I sent the usual liberty party and baseball party ashore this afternoon and on my return to the ship found that these men had all been searched on the dock by the customs officials before ~~being~~ allowed to pass the gate returning to the boat. This is contrary with [TS1] the understanding which I have with the Mutasariff. I will take the matter up with him.

Image 3: A continuation of the changes I made to the May 29, 1921 war diary entry in the manuscript

None of the changes that I made significantly affect the meaning of the text, but they do match the original more closely than the typist's version of this particular war diary entry does.

A grammatical error still remains in the manuscript's version of the May 29 entry (a comma interrupts a parenthetical expression). I did not remove this comma because my goal was to make sure that the text of the manuscript matched Commander A. L. Bristol's original war diary.

The changes I made to the May 30 entry in the same *USS Overtonset* are also minor, but they add more specificity to the entry as a whole. For example, in this entry, I changed "strict orders had recently been received directing that all persons...be searched" to "strict orders had recently been received from Angora directing that all persons...be searched" (Shenk and Koktzoglou 81).

U.S. OVERTON: Diary of in Samsoun area.

May 1921. (Cont'd.)

1. That the present time constitutes a crisis for the Greeks in a large area surrounding Samsoun.
2. That there is a definite movement against these Greeks and that this movement is directed by high authority- probably Angora- and that the movement is under strict control.
3. That the coming week will show whether or not this movement contemplates the complete extermination of all Greeks in this area.
4. That foreigners in Samsoun are not in danger.

I am of the personal opinion, based on no particular facts, but the above general impressions, that disturbances of a serious nature, i.e., wholesale massacre, rioting, etc., which endanger the lives of Americans, will not occur in the town of Samsoun proper.

It is rumored today, that the troops who have been engaged in destroying Greek villages, have been called in and are now quartered in the barracks on the hillside behind Samsoun. It struck me as important to learn as much as I could regarding the status of these troops. Repeated inquiry brought no positive information, but from all the replies, I am of the opinion that these are troops of the regular army, they were probably at one time Osman Agah's men and may still be attached to his command, but I am fairly positive that they have been incorporated in the army and are under strict control of the military; numbers of them were seen around town without arms and still wearing the Lari headdress. Other officers in the more or less regulation uniform were also seen.

I sent the usual liberty party and baseball party ashore this afternoon and on my return to the ship found that these men had all been searched on the dock by the customs officials before being allowed to pass the gate returning to the boat. This is contrary to the understanding which I have with the Mutasarrif. I will take the matter up with him.

May 1921.

Received Detachment Commander's despatch, serial 73, directing me to make representation to the local authorities concerning the movement against the Greeks. Because of electrical storms which were occurring every afternoon and evening, communication with Constantinople is difficult and this despatch was only received after repeated attempts. Before going on shore I transposed the meaning of this despatch into language such as I hoped to be able to get through to the Mutasarrif through an interpreter. While Kider Bey's English is improving and is quite good for ordinary conversation, most of the interviews with the Mutasarrif must be conducted in most simple language in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Image 4: Photograph of the May 30 entry in the USS Overton, Commander A. L. Bristol set

E.S. OVERTON: Diary of in Samsoun area.

May 1921. (Cont'd.)

Went on shore at ten thirty a.m., and arranged with Haidar Bey for an interview with the Mutasariff at five p.m. I directed Haidar to meet me promptly at four p.m., as I intended to drill him with what I had to say to the Mutasariff. Before the interview called on the Near East and gossiped with Van Tour and Miss Anthony for some time.

Lunched with Johnson and later had a long talk with King in his office. During this talk with King, a Turk, who was the former Mutasariff here and who was removed from office last fall, came in. and King talked together in Turkish for about half an hour. After his departure King told me that his information was as follows:-- that twelve locally prominent Turks had gone to the Mutasariff and informed him that the present conditions must cease; that the economic prosperity of this locality was being completely destroyed; that the people doing the damage and conducting the massacres were all strangers and not from the Samsoun province; and that it was very certain that at some future time Samsoun and its people would be killed upon to pay the price. He further stated that the Mutasariff had been forced to telegraph Angora and that these twelve men had themselves sent telegrams to Angora; that a halt had been called in the whole affair and that there was every hope that the whole movement against the Greeks would be stopped.

Haidar Bey did not arrive until ten minutes to five. It was then too late to have a long talk with Haidar Bey before the interview with the Mutasariff and in view of this and of the news which I had just heard, I decided not to deliver the Detachment Commander's message today. At five p.m., called on the Mutasariff and after exchanging greetings took up the question of the liberty party. I informed the Mutasariff that my men had been searched on the dock and that this was not in accordance with my agreement with him and something which I could not permit. The Mutasariff replied that he regretted very much that it would be necessary, as strict orders had recently been received from Angora directing that all persons, without exception, be searched (this statement of the Mutasariff I do not believe to be true in any particular). I replied to the Mutasariff that in such case I quite understood that orders must be carried out, but that under the circumstances, it would be impossible for me to permit any of my men to go on shore. I further stated that in the future I would greatly appreciate a word from him on any conditions under which we might be operating were changed. The interview ended after a few unimportant observations on both sides.

Image 5: Continuation of the May 30, 1921 war diary entry

May 30, 1921

Received Detachment Commander's dispatch, serial 73,* directing us to make representation to the local authorities concerning the movement against the Greeks. Because of electrical storms which are occurring every afternoon and evening, communication with Constantinople is difficult and this dispatch was the only one received after repeated attempts. Before going on ashore I transposed the meaning of this dispatch into language such as I hoped to be able to get through to the Mutasariff through an interpreter. While Haidar Bey's English is improving and is quite good for ordinary conversation, most of the interviews with the Mutasariff must be conducted in most simple language in order to avoid misunderstanding.

Went on shore at ten thirty a.m. and arranged with Haidar Bey for an interview with the Mutasariff at five p.m. I directed Haidar Bey to meet me promptly at four p.m. as I intended to drill him with what I had to say to the Mutasariff. Before the interview called on the Near East and gossiped with Van Toor and Miss Anthony for some time.

Lunched with Johnson and later had a long talk with King** in his office. During this talk with King, a Turk who was the former Mutasariff here and who was removed from office last fall, came in. He and King talked together in Turkish for about half an hour. After his departure King told me that his information was as follows: that twelve locally prominent Turks had gone ~~went~~ to the Mutasariff and informed him that the

Image 6: Screenshot of the changes that I made to the May 30, 1921 entry

locally prominent Turks ~~had gone~~^{went} to the Mutassarrif and informed him that the present conditions must cease; that the economic prosperity of this locality was ~~being~~ completely destroyed; that the people doing the damage and conducting the massacres were ~~all~~ strangers and not from the Samsun province; and that it was very certain that at some future time Samsun and its people would be called upon to pay the price. He further stated that the Mutassarrif had been forced to telegraph Angora and that these twelve men

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had themselves sent telegrams to Angora; that a halt had been called in the whole affair and that there was every hope that the whole movement against the Greeks would be stopped.

Haidar Bey did not arrive until ten minutes to five. It was then too late to have a long talk with Haidar Bey before the interview with the Mutassarrif; and in view of this and of the news which I had just heard, I decided not to deliver the Detachment Commander's message today. ~~After~~ five p.m., called on the Mutassarrif and after exchanging greetings took up the question of the liberty party.

~~—~~Informed the Mutassarrif that my men had been searched on the dock and that this was not in accordance with my agreement with him and was something which I could not

Image 7: Continuation of the May 30, 1921 entry

permit. The Mutassariff replied that he regretted very much that it would be necessary, as strict orders had recently been received from Angora directing that all persons, without exception, be searched (this statement of the Mutassariff I do not believe to be true in any particular). I replied to the Mutassariff that in such case I quite understood that orders must be carried out, but under the circumstances, it would be impossible for me to permit any of my men to go on shore. I further stated that in the future I would greatly appreciate a word from him given~~on~~ any conditions under which we might be operating were changed. Interview ended after a few unimportant observations on both sides.

Image 8: Final image of the May 30, 1921 entry

In this particular entry, the most significant changes are the addition of “from Angora” and the changing of “after five p.m.” to “at five p.m.” (Shenk and Koktzoglou 81). Changing the description of the time at which Commander Bristol visited the Mutassariff helps to restore the manuscript’s version of the war diary to what Commander Bristol originally wrote and more accurately reflects his account of what happened. The addition of the phrase “from Angora” makes it clear that the order to search Bristol’s men on the dock came from officials in the Turkish capital, or at least that the Mutassariff was claiming this authority for his actions. As noted in the manuscript’s introductions and footnotes, there is a question as to whether a subordinate but powerful Turkish local official was insisting on deporting noncombatants or whether the decision had been made in Angora by either Mustafa Kemal himself or one of his staff members.

In the *USS Fox*, Commander C.S. Joyce war diary for June 17, 1921, I changed the word “afternoon” to “forenoon” to match what Joyce wrote as he described being unable to go ashore because of a delay caused by some Russian refugees (Shenk and Koktzoglou 105).

DAY, June 17, 1921 -- Continued.

Sent the following despatch this date:
"The arrest of all male Greeks between the ages of fifteen and fifty has been completed. It is reported that two thousand have been marched into the interior in the last twenty four hours. About one hundred and fifty were seen by us leaving under guard this afternoon with one priest among them. No deportation of women and children but there will be great suffering among them from hunger. Tobacco business stopped."

Due to the delay occasioned by the Russian refugees, we were unable to go ashore in the forenoon. About 11:30 I went on board the HUMPHREYS and stayed for luncheon with the intention of going ashore immediately afterward but before starting, a very heavy rain squall started which lasted for about two hours. Soon after three o'clock, Captain Spears and I started ashore, stopping alongside the steamship Remo to find out if Mr. Alston and Mr. King had gotten aboard. A Turkish policeman came to the foot of the gangway and told us that he had orders from the Commandant that we must not come aboard as Mr. King and Mr. Alston were not on board. We therefore went ashore and found Mr. Alston, Mr. King, Mr. McDowell and Mrs. McDowell on the dock preparing to embark. Haidar Bey was there seeing them through. They afterward got aboard and the ship left in the evening. We then walked out to Mr. Johnston's house and had tea. On the way out we saw about one hundred and fifty men being marched out of the town under guard and among them a priest. The Turkish school house was filled with Greek men and a guard of soldiers around the outside. However, the soldiers did not prevent a large crowd of women and children circulating nor did they prevent them from passing food etc. to the men inside. The yard near the Mutassarif's office building was filled with boys. Upon arrival at Mr. Johnston's house, I found out from him that all the male Greeks between the ages of fifteen and fifty had been arrested and deported. This is regardless of whether they were natives of Samsoun or not. He further said that about two thousand of them had been marched out of the city during the night and that they would probably be gone by tomorrow. There is no news as yet of what has happened to those who had already been deported.

Image 9: A photograph of the June 17, 1921 entry in the USS Fox, Commander C. S. Joyce, war diary set for June 14- July 1, 1921.

June 17, 1921

....

Sent the following dispatch this date:

“The arrest of all male Greeks between the ages of fifteen and fifty has been completed. It is reported that two thousand have been marched into the interior in the last twenty four hours. About one hundred and fifty were seen by us leaving under guard this afternoon with one priest among them. No deportation of women and children but there will be great suffering from hunger. Tobacco business stopped.”

Due to the delay occasioned by the Russian refugees,* we were unable to go ashore in the forenoon^[TS7]~~afternoon~~. About 11:30, I went on board of HUMPHREYS

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Image 10: A screenshot that shows the change from “afternoon” to “forenoon” in the manuscript.

and stayed for luncheon with the intention of going ashore immediately afterward but before departing, a very heavy rain squall started which lasted for about two hours. Soon after three o'clock, Captain Spears and I started ashore, stopping alongside the steamship Remo to find out if Mr. Alston and Mr. King had gotten aboard. A Turkish policeman came to the foot of the gangway and told us that he had orders from the Commandant that we must not come aboard as Mr. King and Mr. Alston were not on board. We therefore went ashore and found Mr. Alston, Mr. King, Mr. McDowell and Mrs. McDowell on the dock preparing to embark. Haidar Bey was there [working] them through. They afterward got aboard and the ship left in the evening. We then walked out to Mr. Johnson's house and had tea. On the way out we saw about one hundred and fifty [Greek[TS8]] men being marched out of the town under guard and among them a priest.

The Turkish school house was filled with Greek men and had a guard of soldiers around the outside. However, the soldiers did not prevent a large crowd of women and children accumulating nor did they prevent them from passing food etc. to the men inside. The yard near the Mutasariff's office was filled with boys. Upon arrival at Mr. Johnson's house, we found out from him that all the male Greeks between the ages of fifteen and fifty had dve been arrested and deported. This is regardless if-of whether they

Image 11: Continuation of the June 17 war diary entry.

inside. The yard near the Mutasariff's office was filled with boys. Upon arrival at Mr. Johnson's house, we found out from him that all the male Greeks between the ages of fifteen and fifty had dve been arrested and deported. This is regardless if-of whether they were Samsun natives or not. He further said that about two hundred of them had been marched out of the city during the night and that they would probably [all[TS9]] be gone by tomorrow. There is no news as yet of what has happened to those who had already been deported.

Image 12: A continuation of Commander Joyce's war diary entry from June 17, 1921.

By changing “afternoon” to “forenoon,” I offer a clearer, more accurate picture of the timeframe that Commander Joyce is describing. Later in the June 17 entry, I removed the brackets that were around “Greek” and “all.” The typist did not include these words in her reproduction of the war diary entry, but they can be found in the original entry. I alerted Dr. Shenk to these changes by commenting on them in the right margin.

The typist’s version of the June 25 entry from the *USS Williamson*, Lieutenant Commander J.C. Cunningham war diary set from June 22- July 7, 1921 says “about 2:30 observed from the ship 75 to 100 camels on the hillside” (Shenk and Koktzoglou 133). However, the original war diary entry gives the time as 3:30.

NO. 244 DIARY.

this Turk was afraid to tell him as much, he (Mr. Farqua) was certain that his men had all been killed.

My first impressions are that conditions are not only very serious, but they will grow worse, the Greek women and children will be subjected to great suffering and probably starvation.

24 JUNE 1921.

Did not go ashore. Underway at 6:15 to hold full power trials. Anchored in Samsoun at 2:15 p.m. Called on the FOX.

25 JUNE 1921.

At 10:00 went ashore with Comdr. Joyce to meet the Mutasarrif. Met Van Toor on the dock. He said the town was heavily patrolled by soldiers and that a N.E.R. woman was discourteously treated by soldiers and only succeeded in reaching the hospital by taking a very round about route. Went to Mr. Currin's office and found that since all Greeks were confined to their houses and the entire Greek section of the town surrounded by soldiers, both tobacco plants were closed. Heidar Bey came in and stated that the Mutasarrif regretted that he would be so busy with the Military Commander, that he would be unable to see Comdr. Joyce and me today, but would see us tomorrow at 10:00. Heidar Bey said that the Greek houses were being searched in order to find out if any males between the ages of 15 and 50 had evaded the deportation order. Greek males below and far above the above ages were being corralled near the police station. Karmie Bey, the Gendarme Commandant, came in. He stated that when this canvas was over, the Greeks would be allowed the same freedom as before. Heidar Bey also stated that all Greeks outside the ages 15 to 50 would be released as soon as the search was over, but when asked, "Will they?", he shrugged his shoulders and said, "I hope so." I do not think they will.

Returned to the ship at 1:30. About 3:30 observed from the ship from 75 to 100 camels on the hillside and saw a caravan of probably 50 wagons, moving over a road to the southward. Some officers ashore reported that these were loaded with ammunition and some machine guns and were being escorted by soldiers.

Image 13: Photograph of Lieutenant Commander J.C. Cunningham's entry for June 25, 1921.

June 25, 1921

At 10:00 went ashore with Cmdr. Joyce to meet the Mutasariff. Met Van Toor on the dock.

As Captain Cunningham of the USS WILLIAMSON had attended the same meeting and encountered the same conditions as Captain Joyce of the USS FOX, the war

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diaries are similar and are omitted here, except this final comment that doesn't appear in the other war diary:

Returned to ship about 1:30. About ~~32:30~~ observed from the ship 75 to 100 camels on the hillside and saw a caravan of probably 50 wagons, moving over a road to the southward. Some officers ashore reported that these were loaded with ammunition and some machine guns and were being escorted by soldiers.

Image 14: Screenshot of the June 25 war diary entry in the manuscript of *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval "War Diaries."*

In this particular entry, the time was off by an hour, which may seem like a minute error to some. However, by changing the time back to what Lieutenant Commander J. C. Cunningham originally wrote, I help to leave a more accurate record of the American Navy's time in Pontus. Establishing accuracy is one of an editor's responsibilities so making sure the time is correctly given is an important part of this project.

In the July 2 entry from the *USS Williamson*, Lieutenant Commander J.C. Cunningham war diary set, I again made minor changes, but I also used the comments feature in Track Changes to alert Dr. Shenk to a consistency issue. I noticed that the name of one of the villages in which a massacre took place was spelled “Teke Keuy” in this particular entry but was spelled “Tekekeuy” in other entries. While calling attention to this consistency issue does not directly affect the record of what happened in the region, it does help to smooth over the issue and adds cohesiveness to the manuscript. Dr. Shenk changed every instance of the original spelling in the text (used two or three times) to the second spelling (used ten to fifteen times).

The date for the first entry of the *USS Brooks*, Commander Victor Stuart Houston war diary set from July 7-17, 1921 was incorrect in the version of the manuscript that I received from Dr. Shenk. The date was given as July 8, 1921, but the original war diary is dated July 9, 1921.

SARJAK DIARY.

9 July 1921.

Turkish steamship KHERSAN came in during the night. French steamship Marichall Joffre came in.

Went ashore to call on the Mutessarif and the commanding officer of the troops, accompanied by Haidar Bey. The Mutessarif was apparently busy with two officials who had arrived from Angora. Haidar Bey did not know what the business was, but they were going to Constantinople.

The Mutessarif is an ordinary looking Turk with a shifty expression. He started out by saying "How do you do" in French, but when I started speaking French expressed inability to carry on a conversation or to understand me. Haidar Bey also stated that he, the Mutessarif, did not understand French. The Mutessarif was very anxious to know what the news was, and in fact that was his only query. He didn't strike me as being beyond doing any of the things that are attributed to the Turks in this Sarjak at the present time.

Called also on the Military Commander, who is very much more cordial, and who impressed me much more favorably. He stated the usual thing, that all the outrages were due to the Greek outlaws. Turks always lived in accord until the British, about the time of the armistice, started arming and inciting the Greeks. He was convinced that the British were endeavoring to overthrow any semblance of government by the Turkish race. He stated that there was perfect security in the town and that the Greek women and children were perfectly safe.

Haidar Bey stated that the government had received permission for fifteen of the Greek employees of the tobacco firm to return. It remains to be seen if they will get back.

Mr. Currin stated that Haidar Bey had admitted that the Greek villages in the neighborhood had been systematically burned and plundered. That the refugees who had escaped must be in the mountains where there is nothing to eat, and that they will probably starve.

Arms, artillery and ammunition continue to be landed here. We saw two field pieces, two old siege guns, besides quantities of rifles and ammunition on the dock. A Turkish tug, towing a sailing vessel, came in from the direction of Trebizond.

Image 15: Photograph of Commander Houston's July 9 war diary entry

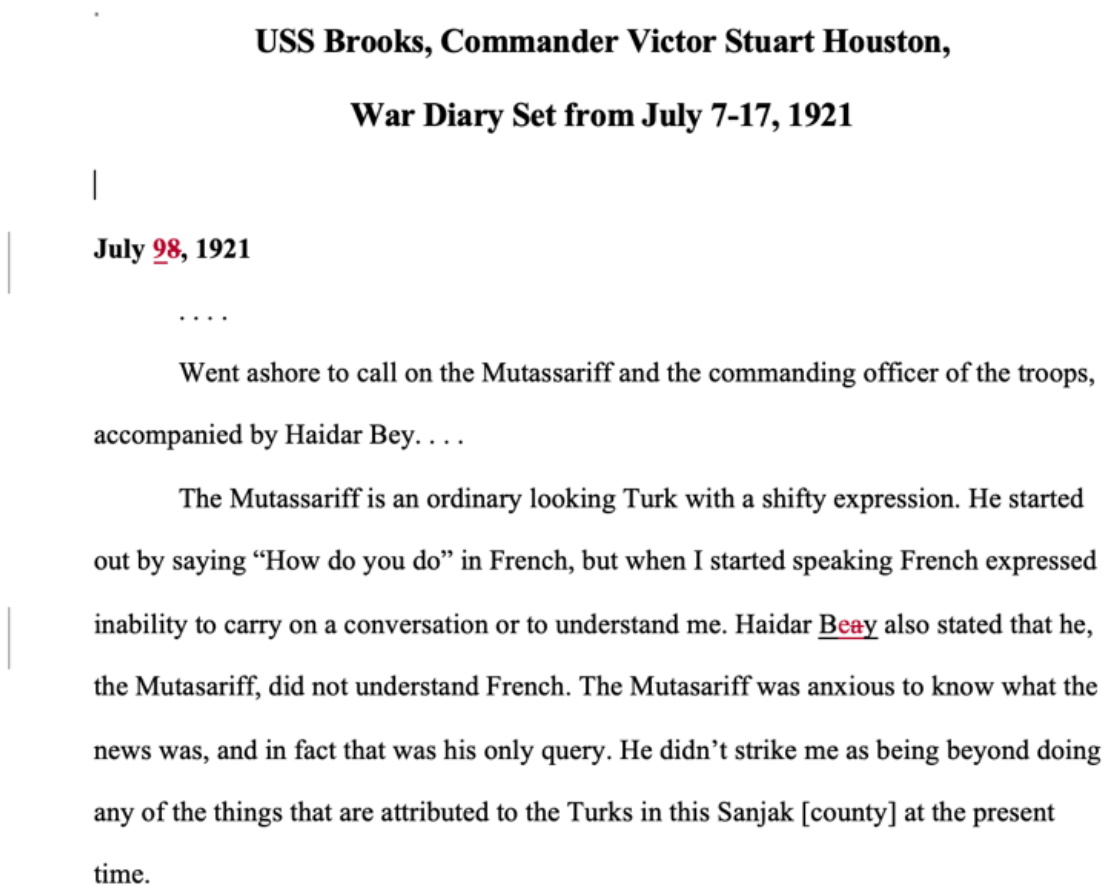


Image 16: Screenshot of the July 9 entry that shows the date change I made

By changing the date back to what Commander Houston originally wrote, I help to create a more accurate picture of the timeline during which these events happened.

Commander Houston includes paraphrases of two messages that he sent to Admiral Bristol in his July 14, 1921 war diary entry. These paraphrases were difficult to read and proofread because they are in all caps. Although I slowed down my reading pace throughout the whole proofreading project, I had to slow down even more while reading these messages because the capitalization made it hard to easily determine what the messages are saying.

SAMSUN DIARY CONTINUED.

14 JULY 1921.

ETC
"3. SYRIA, PALESTINE, etc., BUT DEMANDS UNEQUIVOCAL CONTROL IN ANATOLIA AND COMPLETE RESTORATION SMYRNA AND EASTERN THRACE. CLAIM THAT GRAND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS REAL DEMOCRATIC AND SOME ARBITER TRUE IN MAIN, BUT PERSONALITY REMAIN OVERSHADOWS AND IMPORTANT DEBATES SECRET.

"(3). NO BOLSHIEVİK MENACE THROUGH TURKISH MEDIUM APPARENT. BOTH RUSSIANS AND TURKS RECOGNIZE IRRECONCILIABILITY THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL AXIOMS AND NEITHER YET SEEKS PRESS SPECIAL INTERESTS. PRINCIPLE IS TO DIVIDE CAUCASUS ON RACIAL AND ECONOMIC LINES MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. FEAR OF RUSSIANS AND DESIRE NOT TO HAVE ENEMIES ALSO IN NORTH INFLUENCES TURKS, WHO ARE ALSO FLATTERED THAT MOSCOW IS FIRST GOVERNMENT TO RECOGNIZE THEIR PROGRAM, THOUGH MARCH TREATY NOT YET RATIFIED BUT WILL BE.

"(4). MARSOVAN AFFAIR HAS DONE AMERICAN STANDING INCALCULABLE DAMAGE, COMPARABLE TO THAT DONE BRITISH BY SAMHIR EXECUTION, AND CONSIDERABLE ANTI MASH RELIEF PROPAGANDA CURRENT.

"(5). GOVERNMENT WOULD ACCEPT OFFICIAL RELATIONS WITH NO POWER WHICH WOULD REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE ABOLITION OF CAPITULATIONS.

"(6). EXCESSES FOLLOWING PRESENT DEPORTATIONS CONFINED TO SAMSUN REGION AND LARGELY RESULT BAD CHARACTER LOCAL OFFICIALS AND USUAL LACK COORDINATION BETWEEN CAPITAL AND PROVINCES. DEPORTATION ORDERS ISSUED BY ANGORA BUT DETAILS CARRIED OUT BY LOCAL OFFICIALS WHO APPARENTLY FAIL REPORT INHUMAN ACTS BY TURKS AND SO ARE NOT HELD RESPONSIBLE. SPY AND SEMITIC MANIA WIDESPREAD AND MINOR OFFICIALS SEEK UNCHECKED PROMOTION BY INDISCRIMINATE ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CHRISTIANS. INTENTION NOT TO DEPORT WOMEN AND CHILDREN STATED TO ME.

"(7). MILITARY REGROUPING NOW IN PROCESS ON WESTERN FRONT IN ANSWER TO SIMILAR FIRST MOVE BY GREEKS, CONCENTRATIONS TRANSFERRED FROM KUTAILA TO AFION SECTORS. OPPOSED FORCES ABOUT EQUAL IN NUMBERS, APPROACHING QUARTER MILLION EACH GROSS, GREEK EQUIPMENT SUPERIOR, TURKISH MORALE BETTER. CHARGES BRITISH AID IN MONEY, MATERIAL AND MEN MADE FREELY BUT NO PROOFS PRESENTED. GREEK OFFENSIVE AWAITED WITHOUT APPREHENSION AND BELIEF GENERAL THAT ITS FAILURE WOULD PRECLUDE FURTHER EFFORT.

"(8). CHARACTER HIGH PROVINCIAL OFFICIALS, VALIS, etc., SHOWS STEADY IMPROVEMENT, BUT EVILS OF OLD SYSTEM AND TRADITIONS FAR FROM ELIMINATED. USUAL DAM DIPLOMACY

Image 17: Screenshot of a portion of the messages that Commander Houston paraphrases in his July 14 entry

(3) NO BOLSHEVIK MENACE THROUGH TURKISH MEDIUM
APPARENT. BOTH RUSSIANS AND TURKS RECOGNIZE IRRECONCILABILITY
THEIR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL AXIOMS AND NEITHER YET SEEKS PRESS
SPECIAL INTERESTS. PRINCIPLE IS TO DIVIDE CAUCASUS ON RACIAL AND
ECONOMIC LINES MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS. FEAR OF RUSSIANS AND
DESIRE NOT TO HAVE ENEMIES ALSO IN NORTH INFLUENCES TURKS, WHO
ARE ALSO FLATTERED THAT MOSCOW IS FIRST GOVERNMENT TO
RECOGNIZE THEIR PROGRAM, THOUGH MARCH TREATY NOT YET
RATIFIED BUT WILL BE.

(4) MARSOVAN AFFAIR*** HAS DONE AMERICAN STANDING
INCALCULABLE DAMAGE, COMPARABLE TO THAT DONE BRITISH BY
SAGHIR EXECUTION,**** AND CONSIDERABLE ANTI NEAR EAST RELIEF
PROPAGANDA CURRENT.

(5) GOVERNMENT WOULD ACCEPT OFFICAL RELATIONS WITH NO
POWER WHICH WOULD REFUSE TO RECOGNIZE ABOLITION OF
CAPITULATIONS.

(6) EXCESSES FOLLOWING PRESENT DEPORTATIONS CONFINED TO
SAMSUN REGION AND LARGELY RESULT BAD CHARACTER LOCAL
OFFICIALS AND USUAL LACK COORDINATION BETWEEN CAPITAL AND
PROVINCES. DEPORTATION ORDERS ISSUED BY ANGORA BUT DETAILS

Image 18: Screenshot of the presentation of Commander Houston's paraphrased messages in the manuscript

I read through these messages extremely carefully and slowly three times to be sure that I caught everything. The extremely light type contributed to the difficulty I experienced while proofreading these messages. Ultimately, there were not many mistakes in the manuscript's

version of Commander Houston's paraphrased messages, and the mistakes that I found did not have a profound impact on the text.

In the manuscript's version of the August 1 entry from the *USS Williamson*, Lieutenant Commander J.C. Cunningham war diary set from July 26-August 16, 1921, Commander Bristol is referred to as Captain Bristol. After consulting the photograph of the war diary, I realized that Bristol's title was given incorrectly in the manuscript.

30 JULY 1921 (Continued):

Heard well founded rumors from several different sources that Osman Ajah, who has received orders to proceed with his forces to the front, had destroyed two villages enroute to Mersivan and had killed all the Greeks in them and that he had also destroyed a number of houses, and killed a number of Greeks in Mersivan.

31 JULY 1921:

Went ashore in the afternoon and visited Currin's house. Went on a swimming party with practically all the Americans. Nothing new.

1 AUGUST 1921:

At different times through the day observed three villages burning, all to the eastward of and only a few miles from Samsoun. Went ashore at 10:00 with Commander Bristol. Saw the tobacco people and Heidar Bey. Nothing new. Late this afternoon, my Commissary Officer observed newsboys selling communiques in town. Abdoullah, the contractor, reported that in these, Mustapha Kemal and his staff announced that the Greeks were in the town of Tehair Khan, four hours from Angora; that he (Mustapha Kemal) and his staff were withdrawing to the gates of the city; and that the Turks were going to make a very determined stand. This message implored the Turks to be confident as they were sure to deliver a crushing blow in view of the fact that the Greeks had advanced so rapidly that they were not only exhausted, but had also depleted their ammunition.

2 AUGUST 1921:

Went ashore at 10:15 with Comdr. Bristol. Saw all the Americans and Heidar Bey. Nothing new. Called on the Mutassarif with Comdr. Bristol. After the usual greetings, the following interview took place:

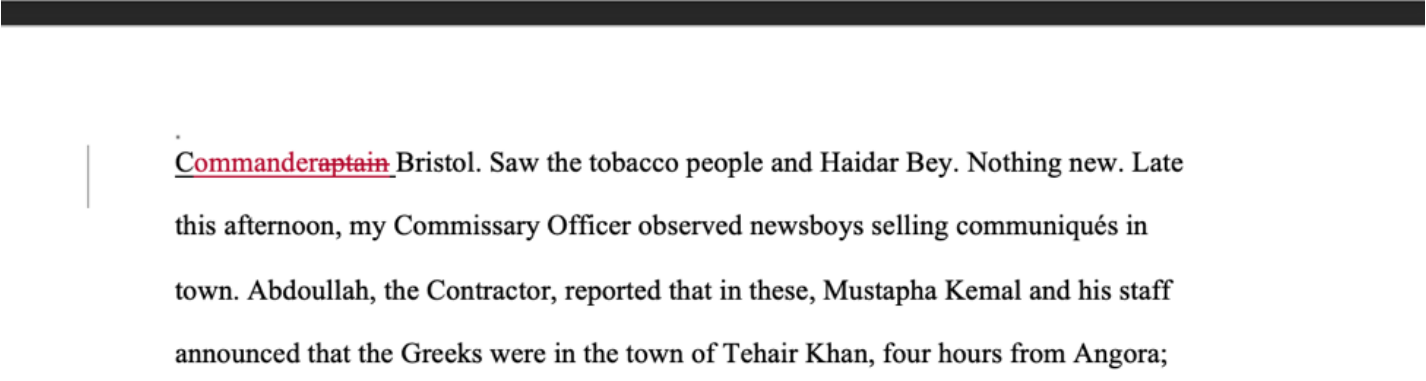
Comdr. Bristol stated that he had come to say good-bye, that the STURTEVANT was coming to relieve him and the WILLIAMSON would be left as senior ship present. The Mutassarif expressed him regrets and hoped that the OVERTON would soon come again and then asked if the STURTEVANT was bringing any passengers. Comdr. Bristol replied that he knew of no passengers, but would probably bring mail. The Mutassarif then endeavored to get some information about the Greeks, the English, and the conditions at the front. He asked why the Greek ships came in

Image 19: Photograph of Commander J.C. Cunningham's August 1, 1921 entry

August 1, 1921

At different times through the day observed three villages burning, all to the eastward of and only a few miles from Samsun. Went ashore at 10:00 with

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Commander~~captain~~ Bristol. Saw the tobacco people and Haidar Bey. Nothing new. Late this afternoon, my Commissary Officer observed newsboys selling communiqués in town. Abdoullah, the Contractor, reported that in these, Mustapha Kemal and his staff announced that the Greeks were in the town of Tehair Khan, four hours from Angora;

Image 20: Screenshot of Commander Cunningham's August 1 entry in the manuscript that illustrates the change from Captain Bristol to Commander Bristol

In the manuscript, the September 1 entry in the *USS McFarland*, Lieutenant Commander P.B. Haines war diary set for August 25-September 15, 1921 the Italian steamer *Carinthia* is referred to as *Corinthia*. Similarly, the French destroyer *Bambara* is called *Barbara* in the September 5 entry. By correcting the names of these ships, I help to leave a clearer, more accurate record of the ships that were present in the Samsoun harbor during this time.

and could not be found. He evidently swam over to the Italian steamer **CARNIOLIA**, which was anchored near by, and which left for Constantinople this afternoon.

visited Tobacco men and Near East. Town quiet. Remainder of Greek village women and children being gathered up and kept in buildings on hill near outskirts of town. I believe the deportation will start tomorrow. Sent radio to Detachment commander outlining present situation of Greeks in town. A Turk from Baffra reported that about 6000 Greek women and children, who are working for the Turks in the fields around Baffra, are to be deported into the interior.

Intended to go ashore at 6:00 p.m. but sea was running too high. Hoisted in boats to save them from pounding. At about 8:00 a.m. Italian steamer **CARINTHIA** stood in and anchored.

S.S. **CARNIOLIA** (Italian) sailed for Constantinople at about 6:00 p.m. Mr. Smith, Standard Oil Company, left on this ship for Constantinople.

SEPTEMBER 2.- The Italian Steamer **CARINTHIA** sailed about 11:30 last night. Shortly before midnight two men claiming to be Russians came on board over the boom. They had life belts from the **CARINTHIA**, so they had evidently jumped over from the **CARINTHIA** as she passed our bow. They gave the names of Leon Gritzay and Leon Prokhoroff. They say that they were arrested in Constantinople by the French. They say that they were sentenced with 20 others to be deported to Batoum. They were not prisoners on board, the gendarmes having been withdrawn when the boat sailed. They claim they are not Bolsheviks and that they will be killed if they go to Batoum. As they were investigated by the French and deported. I believe they are or were Bolsheviks or had those tendencies, so they were simply being returned to their friends. They were not under duress and the French had undoubtedly made arrangements for their landing in Batoum. As they can not be disposed of for the present, they will be retained on board until the **CARINTHIA** returns and then sent on board.

visited Near East and Tobacco men. Early this morning about 900 women and children from the Greek villages, who have been living in town were deported. A guard was provided and a few carriages, but most of them will undoubtedly succumb to the hardships of the road. In the crowd were numerous old women and young children. About half a dozen women apparently too weak to travel were left in the school house and a number sent to the Turkish hospital here. Also about 150 village women in "samsoun" clothes returned to the Alston Tobacco Company today while the Gary people have about 250. Apparently the Mutassarif is doing this to make the Americans think he is being lenient, and by leaving some old women here and letting some others work for a time he hopes to get away with this deportation without too much foreign attention. I believe if nothing more is done about this deportation that in a short time the remaining

Image 21: Photograph of Lieutenant Haines' war diary entry for September 1, 1921

September 1, 1921|

About 3 a.m., a Greek boy about 16 swam out to the ship and came on board. Sometime before morning he disappeared and could not be found. He evidently swam over to the Italian steamer CARNIOLIA, which was anchored nearby, and which left for Constantinople this afternoon.*

Visited Tobacco men and Near East. Town quiet. Remainder of Greek village women and children being gathered up and kept in buildings on hill near outskirts of town. I believe the deportation will start tomorrow. Sent radio to Detachment Commander outlining present situation of Greeks in town. A Turk from Bafra reported that about 6,000 Greek women and children, who are working for the Turks in the fields around Bafra, are [also] to be deported into the interior.

Intended to go ashore at 6 p.m. but sea was running too high. Hoisted in boats to save them from pounding. At about 8 a.m. Italian steamer CAORINTHIA stood in and anchored.

S.S. CARNIOLIA (Italian) sailed for Constantinople at about 6 p.m. Mr. Smith, Standard Oil Company, left on this ship for Constantinople.

Image 22: Screenshot of the September 1 war diary entry

...the situation in town is apparently quiet, but it is the lull before the storm. The Turks are listing all people who have lived in Samsoun less than twenty years. This will cover practically all Greeks in Samsoun. Semi-reliable reports from the Baffra district state that deportation of Greek women and children is well underway. Most of the stories come to me from the tobacco men, who state that Turks from near Baffra give them the information. I therefore consider that the report is in the main true and that deportations are now taking place in and around Baffra where there are supposed to be around 6000 Greek women and children.

Haider Bey visited the Mutassarif and Military Commander today. He told Mr. Johnson confidentially that the Mutassarif told him that he, the Mutassarif, had orders to deport only certain of the villagers, but that the Military Commander said he, the Military Commander, had orders to deport all villagers. This would account for the new lists being taken. Information was also received from various sources that the people being listed have been told to be prepared to leave in three days.

Sent radio to the Detachment Commander, copy in code radio file, stating that military authorities had received orders to deport all villagers, that lists were being made and that the deportation was underway at Baffra.

At about 5:00 p.m., French destroyer BAMBARA, Capitaine de Corvette Le Brun, stood in and anchored. Sent boarding officer. The BAMBARA seems to have no definite mission, but inquired about French Merchant ship TADLA, which sailed from here September 4th. The Captain states that he had heard a rumor that a Greek destroyer is on the way to Trebizond with orders to bombard the town if the deportation was not stopped. He intends to leave for Trebizond on Wednesday.

No more news of the Bolshevik mission supposed to be establishing a consulate here. Have started more inquiries to see if there is any further development. As regards the Bolshevik attitude of the Turks it is difficult to obtain accurate information. The following which I have picked up from time to time is given for information. Count Smecchia who has been making discreet inquiries states that in Angora there are two parties, one headed by Kutaphah Pasha which is conservative, the other the extremists, which numbers men like Nowadin Pasha and Osman Agha. The extremists are to a great extent terrorists, and are not for removal from Bolsheviks. The Army Officers are divided, but in case of a national disaster or fall of the government the extremists would undoubtedly come into power.

The two German Officers who escaped from the French in Beirut and made their way here state that numerous officers in the Turk Army have Bolshevik tendencies.

SEPTEMBER 5. - visited town, tobacco men, Near East Relief and Count Smecchia. The situation in town is apparently quiet, but it is the lull before the storm. The Turks are listing all people who have lived in Samsoun less than twenty years. This will cover practically all Greeks in Samsoun. Semi-reliable reports from the Baffra district state that deportation of Greek women and children is well underway. Most of the stories come to me from the tobacco men, who state that Turks from near Baffra give them the information. I therefore consider that the report is in the main true and that deportations are now taking place in and around Baffra where there are supposed to be around 6000 Greek women and children.

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The two German Officers who escaped from the French in Beirut and made their way here state that numerous officers in the Turk Army have Bolshevik tendencies.

Image 23: Photograph of the September 5, 1921 war diary entry

September 5, 1921

Visited town, tobacco men, Near East Relief and Count Schmecchia. The situation in town is apparently quiet, but it is the lull before the storm. The Turks are listing all people who have lived in Samsun less than 20 years. This will cover practically all Greeks in Samsun. Semi-reliable reports from the Bafra district state that deportation of Greek women and children is well underway. Most of the stories come to me from the tobacco men who state that Turks from near Bafra give them the information. I therefore consider that the report is in the main true and that deportations are now taking place in and around Bafra where there are supposed to be around 6,000 women and children.

Haidar Bey visited the Mutasariff and Military Commander today. He told Mr. Johnson confidentially that the Mutasariff [TS17] told him that he, the Mutasariff, had orders to deport only certain of the villagers, but that the Military Commander said he, the Military Commander, had orders to deport all villagers. This would account for the new lists being taken. Information was also received from various sources that the people being listed have been told to be prepared to leave in three days. . . .

At about 5 p.m. French destroyer BAMRBARA, Capitaine de Corvette Le Brun, stood in and anchored. Sent Boarding Officer. The Bamfbara seems to have no definite mission, but inquired about French Merchant ship TADLA, which sailed from here September 4. The Captain states that he had heard a rumor that a Greek destroyer iwas on

Image 24: Screenshot of the changes I made in the manuscript for the September 5, 1921 war diary entry

The screenshot of the September 5, 1921 entry shows the other changes I made to this particular war diary entry, too. These changes are not as significant as the changing of the French destroyer's name, but they do make the manuscript's version of the entry more correct.

The typist inserted the phrase “and saw all the Americans” into the October 4 entry from the *USS Williamson*, Lieutenant Commander J.C. Cunningham war diary set from September 28-October 10, 1921. This phrase is not used in Commander Cunningham’s entry for that day, and I used the comments feature in Track Changes to alert Dr. Shenk to the error instead of removing it completely. I did not want to simply delete insertion because I was not sure if it was added for additional context; thus, consulting Dr. Shenk seemed like the best decision.

Navy 7786-24

SAMSOUN DIARY.

1 OCTOBER 1921 (Continued):

above, but will try to do so tomorrow.

Attended a tea at the N.E.R., personnel house. All the Americans were there.

2 OCTOBER 1921:

Went ashore at 10:30. Had lunch at Currins. Saw Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, English and young King. Everything quiet. Nothing new. The women and children in jail have not been deported. Sent liberty party of six men ashore. They were all courteously treated.

3 OCTOBER 1921:

Went ashore at 10:00, and saw all the Americans. Mr. King reports that about 300 Greek men who have been in hiding in houses in town have given themselves up. There is a rumor that all these men and the 350 or 400 women and children who were arrested in, and around, the burned district are to be deported tomorrow, but I have heard this same rumor every day that I have been here.

Have verified the fact that there is an Azerbaidjan mission here as reported in diary of October 1, but have not been able to get any further details. Everything quiet in town.

4 OCTOBER 1921:

Went ashore at 10:00. Called on Count Schmeccia. He reports that some men, women and children were deported this morning. Ten arabas left with these deportees and the Count estimates the number of people at 60. I asked about the Azerbaidjan mission. Schmeccia says there are 40 in this party, that one of them is to be the Ambassador, that they only speak Turkish, and that this party is going to Angora via Ineboli. Two Bolsheviks, Mirny Wilner and Lichtowsky Malikoff went from Samsoun to Batoum two days ago.

Mr. King said that he knew some Greeks were deported this morning but he did not know the number.

Six N. E. R. people are taking passage this afternoon on the S. S. CARNIOLIA for Constantinople.

Image 25: Photograph of the October 4 war diary entry

October 4, 1921|

Went ashore at 10:00, and saw all the Americans. Called on Count Schmecchia.

He reports that some men, women and children were deported this morning. Ten arabas
left with these deportees and the Count estimates the number of people at 60. . . .

Toria Smith
This isn't said in the war diary

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Image 26: Screenshot of the October 4 entry with my comment to Dr. Shenk

Conclusion

By completing this proofreading project, I helped to amend the record that American Navy officers left of the Greek genocide in Turkey while earning real-world experience in the world of academic publishing. I worked closely with Dr. Shenk to ensure that I was progressing satisfactorily and actually improving the manuscript.

Proofreading the naval war diaries that are included in *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval "War Diaries"* gave me the opportunity to learn about the Greek genocide, an atrocity that I was completely unaware of. Learning about the genocide by reading the war diaries left behind by American naval officers made my learning experience thoroughly engaging and made me feel like I was watching history unfold before my eyes. At times, I did not realize I was absorbing any information because I focused intently on my proofreading task.

Although there were a few issues (figuring out how to manage my time effectively, dealing with technology failure, and coming up with the best way to communicate the changes I made to Dr. Shenk), I completed all of the proofreading in about two and a half months. The proofreading went smoothly, and I did not find many errors in the typist's version of the naval war diaries. Most of the errors that I found were relatively minor, like small differences in phrasing or inconsequential missing words or phrases. Some of them, however, had a more profound effect on the text and, thus, on the written record of the genocide of the Ottoman Greeks in Turkey. These errors included incorrect dates and times, incorrect titles, incorrect names, and the addition of phrases that are not used at all in the original diary entry. The major errors that I discovered in the manuscript's presentation of the naval war diaries impact the written record of the Greek genocide. By correcting these errors, I helped to create a more complete, correct manuscript of *The Genocide Against Ottoman Greeks in American Naval*

“War Diaries” and helped to amend the record left behind the American naval officers who were present in the Pontus region when the Greeks were persecuted and killed at the hands of Turkish nationalists.

I intend to use the skills that I learned and developed while completing this proofreading project in an editing career in the near future. Although there was not any editing involved in this project, I read multiple books on editing during the research stage of my thesis, so I did further develop my editing skills through working on my thesis. Also, being able to include the fact that I proofread a manuscript that will soon be published by an academic press will help me to show potential employers that I have the skills and experience that they are looking for.

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Appendix I: Interview with Dr. Shenk

This interview took place after I completed most of the proofreading. Interviewing the author of the manuscript can certainly benefit an editor, especially if the interview is conducted before the editorial work begins. The interview can be used to further the editor's understanding of what the author hopes to accomplish in the manuscript and what the author's expectations for the editor are.

Because I finished most of the proofreading before conducting the interview and because much of the manuscript is devoted to reproducing the naval war diaries, I used the interview to gain a clearer understanding of how Dr. Shenk and Sam Koktzoglou developed the idea for the book and how some of the promotional decisions (like who to get blurbs from and choosing someone to write the introduction) were made. Conducting this interview gave me a glimpse into the world of publishing that I did not see during the Publishing Laboratory course and my internships; here, I had a chance to learn about what happens after the editorial work is done and the manuscript is essentially ready to be published.

Toria Smith: How much did you know about this topic before you started this project?

Robert Shenk: I knew a lot about it. I'd written a naval history on the Navy in Turkey in which appeared a chapter called "Death in the Pontus," so I had read many accounts. I had gotten letters from people whose parents had been there, and who sent me collections of letters written to spouses from Turkey back in the early 1920s. I got a lot of letters from people like that. I ran into some, a few, naval war diaries like the ones we found, but we might find five, six, seven days of

those—only a few days’ worth of each. Some of them were in a file in the archives at ... The University of San Diego and some were held by the person’s family.

When Sam asked me, “Look, I’d like to get these archives out,” and he wasn’t an academic, I said to myself “Well, I’ve already published a substantial book chapter on the topic of the Greek genocide, and I’m not sure that the story hasn’t been told already,” but I knew a lot about it. I’d read a lot especially about the burning and destruction at Marsovan, so I was well prepared to edit this.

T: So how did you meet your coauthor?

R: I met him at a conference. Actually, the first conference where I talked. When the book came out, I realized this chapter was like nothing I had seen about the Greek genocide, so I looked online and found that there were many websites having to do with the Greek genocide. And so I sent the book to some of these websites or I asked them about it. They had a conference about the Greek, Armenian, and Syrian genocides and asked me to speak. So I came there and spoke. Sam Koktzoglou was there, and he talked to me about this because he had been told by one of the eminent historians in this field that the place to find some real information was the naval archives, the national archives’ naval material.

A year or two later, I was still going to conferences, and he said “look I found these at the national archives. Would you like to write a book about them?” I think he maybe had already had found them, researched them, maybe he asked me ahead of time, but he presented me 2,000 photographs of pages from the “war diaries.” It seemed to me that the most important time frame was just before the late spring of 1921 to the burning at Smyrna in late ‘22 because in all that time there had been a naval destroyer in Pontus, stationed at the port of Samsun. The destroyers

were there all the way through the burning of Smyrna, etc. The genocide proper, when the nationalists decided to take all of the Greeks out of that entire region and send them south or to labor camps which were basically death camps, that all started about then. And the deportation of women and children came shortly after. So that's why we decided to limit the diaries to that period—late spring of 1921 to near September of 1922. But I still hadn't agreed with him to do this because I just had 2,000 photographs. So I told him I can't do this, you know I can't just separate it out. It would take an enormous amount of time. So he went through it and decided what was important, what was not important, and included all material having to do with military operations for and against the Greeks and so on. Everything that might have anything to do with it, he included, and he presented me with a typed manuscript. And so with that, I read the whole business and said "this can be a book; I can do this." He not only collected all of the significant war diaries, but he had somebody type them up.

T: So all the research was done before you guys wrote or did you continue to look for stuff as the book progressed?

R: No, he had it all—virtually all of the "war diaries" written by naval officers stationed in Samsun or Trebizond during all that time—and many more war diaries than we could ever use, for that matter.

T: So how did you guys divide up the work after all the research was done?

R: Basically, I did most of the writing. I wrote the introduction, I wrote the preface, and I sent him copies of these things. He made all sorts of comments on what I sent him. He has been into this history for decades himself and was very knowledgeable even though he's not an academic.

So I took on almost all of the writing. But I shared it all with him. That's basically how we did it. I wrote all of the sectional introductions and footnotes, too. Eventually not only did I share it all with him, but then I asked him to read the whole book from front to back, and he made comments virtually everywhere in the whole book. And then if we had questions we didn't know about—he speaks Greek, has from childhood, and he writes Greek, I think, and so he would call up his friend who is THE expert on the Greek genocide in Greece (and who has come up with a massive collection of many volumes of personal stories about what they went through), and check with him. (I had met this fellow, and we were on the same panel, but he only speaks Greek and German and I only speak English. This conference was in Berlin just a couple of years ago, and they had simultaneous translators working there.)

T: So how did having a coauthor benefit you?

R: Enormously. Because, first of all, he's the guy that found it all and made it possible. You know, he found the war diaries. Now, that's not easy to do. He first tried to find ship's logs and realized finally that ship's logs don't tell you anything. He didn't know until someone told him what war diaries were. He did all that sort of legwork. He has his biases and I have mine, so we have to work through that kind of thing. I'm looking to make sure everything is even-handed and that we say the other side, too. What is the Turkish side? What is their case for doing this? The naval officers are asking that question, too, and we often have to ask that question too and bring up the Greek offenses against the Turks (or alleged offenses). And so he was perhaps less happy with that than I felt was necessary to show that we were even-handed with this; we had to be willing to change our minds when the evidence told us to do it.

T: So that was the main disadvantage of having a coauthor then?

R: He wanted to change a lot of things; that is, he commented on everything. But he's also the guy who wants to take this book to Greece and sell it, or at least publicize the whole thing and translate it and then take it to Greece. He had a friend from Greece who runs an international company and whose family came from the Pontus (actually, from the port of Samsun itself, where the destroyers were stationed), and that friend helped us to finance the book with the UNO Press. So, he's the reason for it all really. In a sense, I wrote it all; that is, I did all the editing and introductions and explanatory and academic footnotes. I had to work on this: to take out some things that weren't relevant to keep interest to a degree in the diaries (often hard to do). We almost always talked online; we've only spoken on the phone once or twice. I'm going to be the first author on the cover. He doesn't even know if he wants to be a coauthor, but I insisted upon it.

T: How did you choose the title?

R: We worked that over a while. First was The Genocide of the Ottoman Greeks and then we decided on a subtitle because it's really about the Pontus region primarily and we needed to mention that. The focus was on the Pontus and we had to add the dates in there. This is UNO Press' first "academic" book or so the press director tells us; they've done mainly nonfiction and fiction. I think they're doing well. They decided they needed to have the manuscript sent out to readers, and that's what you always do. So they sent this out and we think we knew who they sent it to even though they're anonymous. They were both very positive about the book, but they had to have that review. Somebody in that review looked at the title and said "well what is a war diary? Shouldn't you change it to 'naval diaries'?" We kept it in the title and then explained that these are naval "war diaries," that it was a genre that existed even when there was no naval war

going on. I also knew that just to use the terms “naval diaries” would be inexact, so I thought we should put naval “war diaries” in quotes in the title. We had some criticism on the title, but we still think it’s a good title. We also both wanted to keep the “genocide” word in there, because that was what it was—it constituted a genocide.

T: Who did you consider getting blurbs from and why?

R: Well, we haven’t done all of that yet, but we’ve done some. I have a close email connection with a fellow in Australia who’s an expert on the Armenian genocide, so I sent him the manuscript because he was interested in it, and I’m sure he will be able to give me addresses of places we can advertise the book to in Australia. And so I asked him, saying I hoped he would be interested in giving me a blurb. I don’t think he finished reading it before he gave me a blurb, but it was a good one. Another person is the person in charge of the Center for Asia Minor Studies in Greece. Sam has contact with him, and Sam asked if we shouldn’t get him to look at the manuscript, and I said yes. We decided to ask him to write a blurb for us. Thea Halo did the work which popularized the Greek genocide (a great book on her mother, who went through it all, and finally got to America, and had a large family). My friend Herb Gilliland of the Naval Academy read the manuscript, and I’ll ask him for a blurb as well.

T: Why did you and Sam want Admiral Stavridis to write the introduction?

R: He’s well-known everywhere in naval circles, and beyond that. He’s on tv a lot, being interviewed about something happening in the Middle East because he was, before he retired about three years ago, the head of a fleet in the Mediterranean. I thought the American Navy would not give much interest to this text even though it was written by American naval officers.

You know, it's 1921, and it's in Turkey, and so what? Diaries often are less readable for a naval audience; I knew that. I'd edited a naval diary before this. Also, was it a shooting war? No.

But if Admiral Stavridis endorsed it, we thought we'd have a real reason that various naval journals would review and more naval people would read this book. Sam mentioned his name, too—he had come across him before, as someone whose family was partly Ottoman Greek (his grandfather got out of Smyrna just in time; his grandfather's brother died there). So, we'd already made that decision to ask him. The book is really about the Greeks, but it's a secondary story of how the naval officers dealt with the genocide that they saw in front of them—perhaps the first time the Navy had ever directly confronted twentieth-century genocide. So, it's an important Navy story, too. We were very pleased that the Admiral agreed to do an introduction—actually a foreword. He's the chair of the board of directors for the Naval Institute, and as it turns out, he knows and admires my books, especially the naval writing guide which first came out in 1990 and is still in print. So, he quickly agreed to do it. Also, Stavridis has an Ottoman Greek family background. He knows the whole story; he's the ideal fellow to write the introduction.

One other thing: we use the word “genocide,” but in his introduction he used the term “ethnic cleansing.” Probably he knew that the Turkish government and others have never acknowledged it was a genocide (against the Greeks or the Armenians, either). So, I noted in his introduction that he used “ethnic cleansing.” It's a political issue, and he is aware of that. But he knows very well the nature of what went on there. Ours is a kind of major success, by the way, just in getting the Admiral to agree to do a foreword. It is almost impossible for a peon like me to ever get in to see this guy when he happens to be at Annapolis in his work as chairman of the Board of the Naval Institute. He's that prominent, in the Navy. And he's also an example of

someone of Ottoman Greek heritage reaching the very top in his profession—hence, you could not find anyone better to write the foreword.

Vita

The author was born in Opelousas, Louisiana. She received her Bachelor's degree in English from Northwestern State University in 2017.