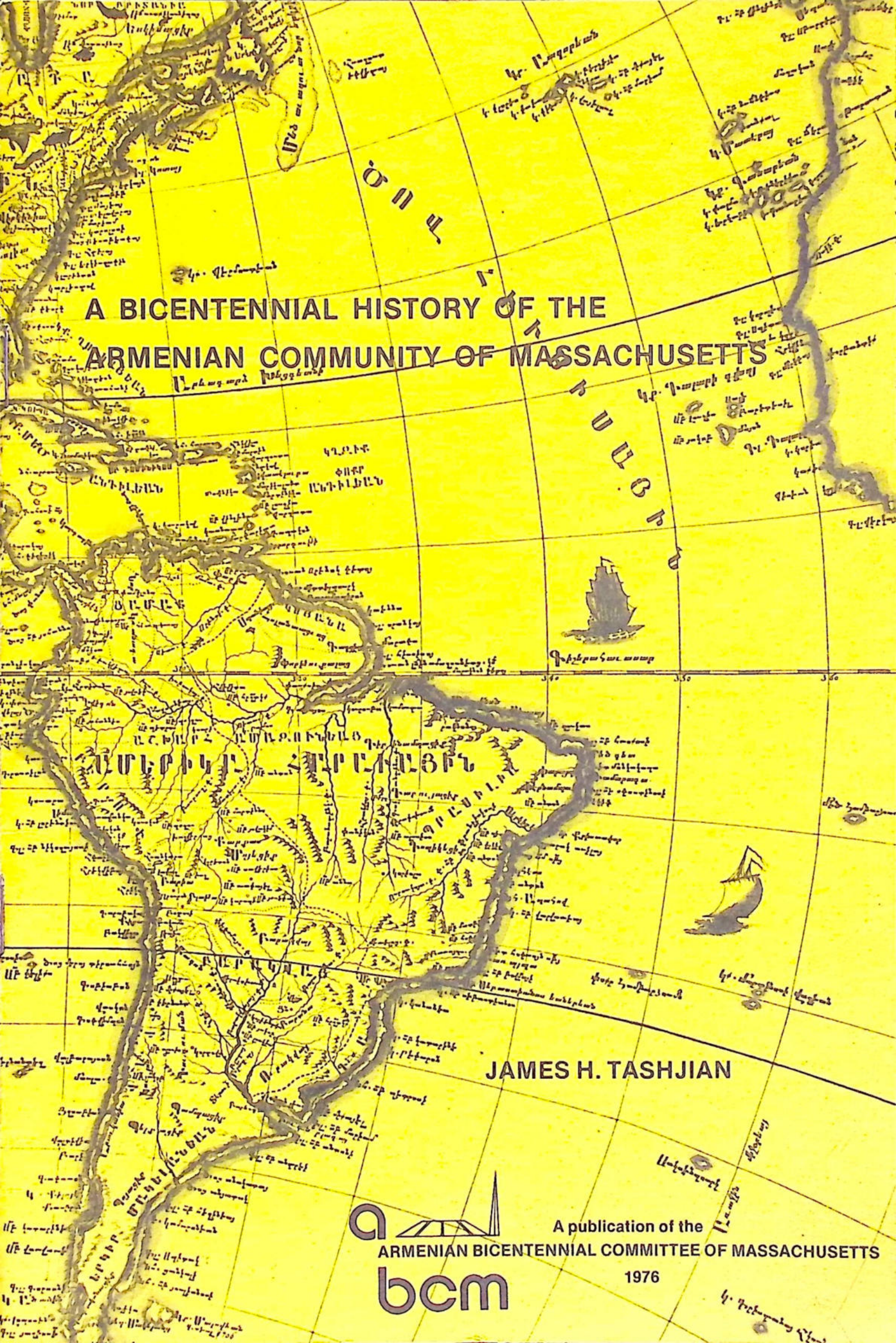




A BICENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE
ARMENIAN COMMUNITY OF MASSACHUSETTS

JAMES H. TASHJIAN



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Wrap-around cover map:

"America" as depicted 1778 by the cartographer of the Armenian Mekhitarist Fathers,
San Lazzaro, Italy

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For copies apply:

ABCM, 34 Allen St., Arlington, Mass., or the Author,
278 Belmont St., Watertown, Mass.

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By JAMES H. TASHJIAN

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I. APPROACH AND ARRIVAL

AMONG the forces which played roles in the drama of the Armenian immigration to America were, the traditional interest and curiosity of the Armenians in the world about them, the pursuit of commerce and livelihood, a search for higher education or training in the crafts and trades and, finally, and most decisively, the continuing struggle to survive and win the rights of man — an effort which has become almost a national occupation with Armenians under the incessant hammerblows of foreign tyranny, terror and oppression.

The earliest arrivals of Armenians in the New World were, in fact, the consequences of two early emigrations from the homeland, both the results of such alien impositions. The first was an exodus of a segment of the Armenians seeking to escape the rigors of the Seljuk Turkish occupation of Armenia, the second, a deportation forced on another group of Armenians by the Persian crown.

By 1310, of our era, the Armenians of the environs of the city of Ani had all but completed a migration northward and westward which led to the establishment of important Armenian colonies in the Crimea, Moldavia, Poland, Rumania, and Hungary.

When Captain John Smith, later of American colonial fame, arrived in eastern Europe at the turn of the 17th century to participate in the general continental effort to throw back the surging Ottoman Turkish tide, he officered a contingent of troops heavily larded with the Armenians of the Hungarian community, Poles and Germans. On Smith's subsequent return to England after his escape from Turkish bondage, he led to London a number of Armenians of Hungary.

In England, Smith immediately immersed himself into the effort to form a third expedition to establish a permanent English colony in Virginia. He forthwith recruited his Armenian, Polish and Germans of the late Turkish wars, added to them a contingent of "stout Irishmen"; and the little fleet of three vessels bearing both "colonists and strangers" departed London on December 19, 1606, heaving to off James Town on May 13, 1607 — which then may be ascribed as the date of the earliest arrival of Armenians in America.

The Armenians, Poles and Germans acted as both the labor force of the colony and its sentinel guard. As "foreigners" — that is non-Englishmen — they enjoyed no political rights, were barred from taking part in the civil business of the colony, were underpaid — even though their contributions to the James Town settlement were essential both to the welfare and the outright survival of the colony.

Outraged finally at this "outcast" status, the Armenians and their "stranger" friends simply struck. They sat down and refused to do any more of the heavy work and patrolling needed to keep the colony operating and secure. They demanded equality with the English settlers. They said they wanted all the political, civil and human rights and liberties guaranteed every Englishman under English law — and they won; for the Virginia Assembly forthwith resolved that "it was agreed that they shall be enfranchised and made as free as any inhabitant whatsoever."

A historic thing had happened in Virginia. *At that now remote date, the Armenians and their "foreigner" companions had pulled off successfully the first demonstration and test for political and civil rights in American history.*

In 1619, the pioneer Armenians of America were joined by another compatriot, a certain John Martin (Mardigian, Mardirosian?), who arrived in Virginia that year as the "servant of Governor George Yeardley" of Virginia.

References to John Martin in the Virginia records as both "Martin the Armenian" and "Martin ye Persia" mean of course that John Martin was an Armenian from Persia — and this leads to the matter of the second emigration which influenced the Armenian "colonization" of America.

Early in the 17th century, the Persian Shah Abbas I deported the Armenians of the city and district of Julfa to his royal capital of Ispahan, in Central Persia. There the Armenians were encouraged to pursue commercial activities. Within a period of a few years, the business and trade of Persia was virtually in Armenian hands — to the great good of the Empire.

Certain of these merchants pushed on to India where they established themselves in the coastal cities of the subcontinent. The British arrival in India, of course, brought the English into contact with the Armenian colony there. Some Armenians proceeded to sail to England on British ships, and it is obvious that John Martin was one of these itinerants. In London, he apparently fell in with Sir George Yeardley who added him to his personal staff and took him with him to Virginia.

When, however, Virginia conferred English citizenship on the "foreigners" in the colony, Martin, now a "freeman", left Yeardley's employ and took to tobacco growing.

In 1622 this enterprising Armenian took a "small parcell" of tobacco to England for purposes of sale. But, apparently, granting of English citizenship by a Virginia court was one thing, recognition of that status by the English authorities was another. When the English port officers demanded that Martin pay "foreigner imposte" on his tobacco, Martin rebelled, arguing that he was an English citizen and therefore was entitled to pay only that modicum import duty imposed on Englishmen.

Martin's petition was heard by an English court, which found in his favor, and his tobacco was allowed into England at normal "English" fee. But the court did something else. It expressed the hope that its action would "happily encourage other strangers in the like resolucon to go over thither" — that is, to Virginia.

Now, two historic things had occurred. *John Martin vs. The Crown* today stands as the very first naturalization trial in American history. It established in fact the postulate that a non-Englishman could win citizenship. Secondly, in throwing open the doors of an English colony to "strangers", the court gave birth to the concept of "foreign immigration" to a Crown colony. Immigration to America was born with the case of Martin ye Armenia. . . and it was after this trial at law that in fact "immigration ships" bearing numbers of other "foreigners" began appearing in the Virginia colony.

A number of other Armenians began showing up in James Town. Two of them, expert in sericulture, were introduced to Virginia by a leading English settler of Virginia in order to establish a going silk industry there. Although the Virginia Assembly passed a resolution "That George the Armenian for his encouragement of silk and to stay in the country to follow the same have four thousand pounds of tobacco allowed him by the Assembly" the experiment failed, — and we'll probably never know what happened to George (Kevork) and his companion "from Turkey" — for that matter, the fate of all the members of the earliest Armenian "community" in America simply remains a riddle.

The widespread interest among Armenians worldwide in America gave rise to an extraordinary incident, almost unknown to Western historians, around the name of George Washington himself.

In 1773, an intellectual Armenian, Shahamir Shahamirian, residing in Madras, India, published an Armenian-language work, loosely titled *The Snares of Glory*, which said in one place:

"At present, we hear of rumblings in America. A wise man by the name of Washington, born in America of English descent, having militantly rallied the people, is trying to win Freedom and to become independent. Although the outcome (of that struggle) still hangs in the balance, the basic aspiration of the American people is only natural to man, because there is nothing sweeter among the sayings of man than the word 'freedom'."

This reference to Washington is certainly astonishing, occurring as it does in a work published half-way around the world from America; but it is even more astonishing that it appeared in 1773, at a time when Washington was not generally recognized abroad as he who would lead the colonies in their struggle against England, for in 1773, George Washington was overshadowed by such other patriotic leaders as the Adamses, Jefferson, Otis, Franklin, Hancock, Dickinson and Lee . . .

For our purposes, Shahamirian's work manifests that the Armenian interest in America was, at the time of the publication of his work, a very real thing.

II. THE INTERIM YEARS

In 1831, Turkey and the United States arrived at a "mutual friendship" agreement and almost immediately American Protestant missionaries started arriving in Constantinople "to convert the heathen Turks". Confronted, as they found, by Ottoman law forbidding the proselyting of Turks, these missionaries started working among the numerous Armenians in and around the capital city finally, by about the early 1850's, penetrating the Armenian homeland itself.

One of the results of these missionary activities was the establishment of a network of lower schools throughout the Armenian provinces of Turkish-held Armenia. A system of formal colleges followed. Although the American personnel meant these schools to cater to the educational needs of all the nationalities of the Empire, it developed that the vast majority of the pupil-student personnel of these schools were Armenians, long known for their ambition for education. This early experience with American education led to a general desire to pursue even higher education in the United States. Many of the brighter students were sent under sponsorship of individual missionaries to the colleges and universities of the American Atlantic seaboard, still others found their way to American campuses on their own.

The first of these students was Catchadour Oscanyan, a native of Constantinople and a pupil of missionary classes in that city. Oscanyan arrived in New York city in 1832 and, four years later, took his degree from what later became known as the City College of New York. We cannot here deal with the subsequent career of this colorful figure who became well known in New York circles.

He was followed by another Armenian student from Constantinople who took his Princeton theological degree in 1840. Still others followed — a succession of interesting individuals who studied either theology or medicine, generally in the colleges of New York City. Most returned to their native environs.

By 1855 or so, a more minor movement of non-students, men who came to the United States either to find their fortunes in the "gold-plated streets of America", or to learn trades and crafts in American industry, were showing up in New York.

With the opening of the Civil War, according to an old source, there was a "community" of eleven Armenians in the city. All of these men — with a single exception — served in the Northern armed forces. Four of them were contract surgeons in the Grand

Army of the Republic, one was later to win his medical degree, and still another, a young man whose name has unhappily been lost, was killed in action — the first known Armenian casualty of America's wars. This "community" also included a certain Tateosian, a former servant of a missionary, who, as a native of Kharpert, Armenia, was the first Armenian of known record to arrive in the United States from the Armenian homeland itself. Scattered, individual forays into the madness of American life followed.

The Armenian student representation continued to grow, but the inconsiderable nature of all this is shown by testimony coming from one of these early residents of New York that, from 1850-70, only about 55 Armenians were known to have come to America — and almost all of these were transients — students or others who had no intention of staying permanently in this country.

The factor restraining larger numbers of Armenians from seeking fortunes or education in America was the stern Ottoman restriction on the departure of subject peoples from the Empire. In 1878, with the signing of the Congress of Berlin which tepidly called for the relaxation on the part of the Porte of the burdens placed on Armenians and other non-Turks in the Empire, egress from Turkey became somewhat easier.

Considerably larger contingents of Armenians started showing up in the ports of the American seaboard. Most took up residence in New York or else went across the Hudson to New Jersey. By 1885 there was a considerable concentration of Armenians in Jersey City Heights.

It was only at the beginning of the 1880's that Armenians started finding their way in numbers to Worcester, Massachusetts, and to other industrial towns and cities in the central reaches of that Commonwealth.

Most of these arrivals were bachelors, younger men who aspired to work here for a period, make some money, and then return home to their folk abroad.

As for Armenian women . . . an old Armenian resident swore that "the first women — really three girls — came to America in 1867". Who they were and what happened to them we simply do not know.

The interim period in the history of the Armenian American community had as its crowning glory the buildup of the Armenian community in Worcester, Massachusetts . . . and finally literally throughout the Commonwealth. And it is to that story to which we now turn.

III. THE MASSACHUSETTS STORY

The narrative of the "colonization" of Massachusetts by the Armenians can best be told by reviewing the Armenian experience with a number of cities and towns of the Commonwealth.

Worcester, the "Mother Community": The Armenian discovery of Worcester, dating back to 1867, was occasioned by at least seven direct factors.

The first of these was that Worcester was admirably situated along the main trunk railroad which ran from the port of New York to Boston, with Worcester an important way station. The city was "easy access" for immigrants, a comfortable five hour or so "no transfer" ride from New York.

The second was that up to the turn of the century, when New England began to decline as the most important industrialized region of the nation, Worcester was not only the most heavily industrialized city in the country but its prospering mills were turning out a great variety of products. The city experienced a continuing voracity for fresh (and) cheap unskilled and skilled labor, and the Armenians were willing to work at anything.

Third the salaries paid by the Worcester mills were higher than in other areas of the country.

And a fourth was that the Armenians coming into New York regarded Worcester as America. "When one speaks of America", wrote an Armenian newspaperman in 1891, "one speaks of Worcester". The Armenians simply followed one another to the city . . . where they were to get their feet wet in the American waters . . .

A fifth arose from the above. The Armenian immigrants were assured housing and jobs through the presence of compatriots in the city. There was a "grapevine" among the Armenians which quickly provided lodgings and work for a newcomer.

The sixth was that Worcester had had considerable experience with migrant workers dating back perhaps to the 1840's. In contrast to Boston's "dour and restrictive reception of 'foreigners'," Worcester had already become quite accustomed to the presence of the 'strange people' who indeed produced the wealth of the city —, the Worcester government and the top brass of the factories husbanded the workers so as not to lose their labor force to other cities.

And finally, there was the fine public transportation (trolley) system which the city early boasted. Workers could in fact reside in areas somewhat distant from their factories, in fairly decent wards. What is more, this public mobility served a radius of twenty miles and thirty-five towns. One could get out "to the country" in no time for a nickel, or see fellow Armenians in Millbury or Oxford over a Sunday.

The founding of the Worcester colony is usually traced back to a certain Garo (Garabed or Charles, his family name is lost) who came to Worcester in 1867 as the houseservant of missionary George C. Knapp, who had served in innermost Armenia.

The story goes that Garo was performing his duties for 75 cents per month when an Irish laundress told him that he could earn 8 dollars per week in the Worcester factories. Garo left Knapp and went to work at the Washburn and Moer Wire Mill, which was to become the principal place of employment for the Armenians who were to follow Garo to the city.

Now this Garo was obviously a Protestant — he worked for a Congregationalist missionary — and apparently sent word to his people back home that he was working at a munificent salary at "The Wire Mill". The response was slow in coming, but come it did! Thus, the very first arrivals after Garo were Protestant Armenians.

In 1875, Hovhannes Yazjian got to Worcester. His wife, Sara, soon joined her husband,

who was then a hand at "The Wire Mill". In a 1933 interview, Mrs. Yazijian recalled, "When I arrived in Worcester, there were about a dozen Armenians there. I was the first Armenian woman to settle there. All the Armenians were accustomed to gather nightly in our house (on Laurel street) for long discussions . . . In the following years, the number of Armenians, both Apostolic and Evangelical, grew. I was joined by other women — Mrs. Tophanelian, Mrs. Toomajian, Mrs. Borakian, Mrs. Eretsian and Mrs. Kazanjian. We always met. There was no difficulty in finding jobs in Worcester. The Wire Mill saw that the Armenians were good workers. Each man averaged 8 dollars per week, at that time considered a most satisfactory salary . . ."

Others followed — Hovannes Potigian, Melcon Markarian who said that when he reached Worcester, he found ten Armenians there. The Seropian brothers joined the little community in 1889; then Tovmas Nishanian and his brother Onnig arrived and Tovmas became the first Armenian of Worcester to marry an "odar" (non-Armenian) and the child of this union — alas, his (or her) given name has been lost — became the first Armenian infant born in Worcester.

Meanwhile, in 1878, a signal thing had happened — Aaron Yenovkian had become the first native of the city of Kharpert, in Armenia, to set eyes on Worcester. Two decades later his "Kharperksi" compatriots were to become so numerous in Worcester that the city which had become synonymous among Armenians as "America" enjoyed still another sobriquet — "Little Kharpert".

By 1887, 300 Armenians were reported to be living in Worcester. This massive bachelor representation in the community were living in rented homes which resembled communes. It was not uncommon to have as many as 12 men living in a single room. These households were efficiently organized, and each occupant not only paid an equal rental for his lodging but performed certain housekeeping chores.

Now consisting mostly of members of the Apostolic faith, the community started conversations on how best to introduce the sinews of community existence and activity to the colony. Mikael Tophanelian's arrival in the city accelerated the process of gathering the scattered Armenians among themselves. He had already participated in the organizing of the "communities" in New York and Providence, and he early started propounding the establishment of an Apostolic church in Worcester. But the community was small and although individual earnings were comparatively large, the immigrant workers were monthly sending sums back home to assist their families.

But Tophanelian argued that the founding of such a Church in Worcester would be of benefit to all Armenians in New England. He took to traveling throughout the region, visiting tiny Armenian colonies in other cities and villages, soliciting money from these compatriots for "a New England Church". And they gave.

The genesis of that effort, which was eventually to result in the opening of St. Savior's Armenian Apostolic Church, dates back however to 1882. In that year, a group of migrants from the village of Huseynik, near Kharpert, founded an organization, the first formal society in Worcester, calling itself the "Illuminatorian Education Union of Huseynik", one of the purposes of which was to encourage the building of an Armenian Church in the city. This effort was further buttressed by the emergence of the famed "Haigagan Gadjar" — "Armenian Club" — in 1888 which too warmly espoused the Church cause.

In 1890, the die was cast. By that time the community had practically taken over the Laurel — Chandler — Wellington street area and, through some now mysterious dealings on the part of an architect known as "Mr. Haskell", a suitable lot was found for church-building flush on Laurel Hill.

Members of the community took part in the actual construction of the Church. Finally, on Armenian Christmas Day, January 6, 1891, the Armenians of Worcester consecrated their St. Savior's Armenian Apostolic Church; with the Very Reverend Hovsep Sarajian, who had been sent by the great Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Archbishop Megerditch Khrimian Hairik, to serve as pastor of and consecrator of the first Armenian Church, the first branch of the earliest Christian Church in history to be built anywhere in the New world, officiating. The historic structure was lately sold, and the parishioners now occupy another structure.

The Protestant community had been no less active in terms of its own needs.

In 1881, that group had started holding prayer meetings in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Yazijian (Mr. Yazijian appears to have been a lay reader of the Congregational Faith). Mr. Moer, a co-owner of The Wire Mill and himself a devout Protestant, interceded (1882) with a Rev. Sleeper to allow the Armenians to use the facilities of the latter's church for services. On January 1, 1892, Worcester's Evangelical Armenians officially established their own Church of the Holy Martyrs; but the edifice was not to be consecrated until July 14, 1901. It is still in use.

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In the summer of 1891, the entire Worcester Armenian community had grown to about 700 souls — then the largest concentration of Armenians in the United States. But the source of this information also revealed that there were only 6 Armenian *families* in the city! Which of course had given rise to a number of social problems.

Armenian "coffeehouses" had popped up all over the Laurel Street enclave — and they had been joined by "Armenian restaurants".

These unique institution — so intimately connected with the early Armenian story in this nation — became scenes of minor gaming and "slothful frequentation" for the bachelors of the community. One eyewitness called them "dens of iniquity", and the problem of the unmoored young men became a matter of responsible community concern.

After a backbreaking day at the mills, the young men would head for the "Armenian clubs" and "face temptation"; but one wonders if these early descriptions of these clubs and their effects on the youth were not exaggerated; for official city reports issued at that time showed that the number of Armenians arrested by the police for infractions was the lowest per capita of any immigrant group in the city!

If Worcester's salary scale for mill workers was high for those days, there seems to have been good reason for it. For working conditions in the industries were so awesome that certainly only the "high" pay could keep people in those "infernal" mills. One visitor to the city, as a single example, wrote in 1891, "When I recently visited the Worcester Wire Mill, I got a good idea of conditions. I think a couple of hundred Armenians work there. The heat is unbearable. A worker can stand near his oven (sic) only a couple of minutes. The place is dense with acrid smoke. I left suffocating after a few minutes. I had had my bellyful . . . bade the place farewell forever. I saw one lad coughing his life away. I told him to go back to Armenia but I didn't have the heart to tell him he had tuberculosis — if I had that would have killed him!"

In the same year, a Worcester correspondent wrote the Armenian journal "Haik" in New York, "For God's sake tell them not to come here! Tell our people over there and elsewhere not to come here. Neither the streets are lined with gold nor is there a heaven here. Come here and be buried . . .!"

But still they continued to come, in a steady trickle, still they came to make "our fortunes, to send money home, and to return to the fatherland with our pockets tinkling" . . . but a change was in fact effecting the lifestyle of the community. In the mid-90's, former employees of The Wire Mill were starting to open their own businesses. One enterprising lad started peddling fruit, another blocks of ice. Another opened a modest metals supplies firm, several became barbers, showmakers, or operated variety stores or spas. Others, like Varaztad Hovannes Kazanjian, sought education — he was to become the nation's pioneer founder of plastic surgery.

By 1912, an obvious change had taken place in Worcester — revealed by a carefully written news story appearing in the Armenian press.

There were, said the correspondent, about 2,200 Armenians in the city. This included 315 families, and 600 bachelors of the Apostolic persuasion (how things had changed over twenty years!). The Armenians had 21 barbers, 11 restaurants, 8 groceries, 9 shoe-maker shops, 7 tailors, 12 watch repairers, 2 medical doctors (one was Dr. Sempad Parechian, the first Armenian physician to practice in Worcester), 1 dentist, a host of other petty businesspeople, women, married, unmarried or widowed, children — and there were those who still worked in the mills. And it was an orderly community — the 1911 Worcester police blotter showed that of the 6,037 arrests in the city that year, only 19 were Armenians, the lowest of all city groups surveyed!

Numerically speaking, obviously something had happened to generate such an enormous growth within a period of twenty years . . . and that something was the 1895-96 massacres by the Turks which had taken 300,000 Armenian lives. An emigration of major proportions had been induced, and about 20,000 refugees of those terrors had found their way to the United States, with 26 percent of them settling in Massachusetts — most in Worcester!

Another thing that had happened was that large numbers of Armenians had taken advantage of the relaxed atmosphere in Turkey brought about by the promulgation of the abortive Turkish National Constitution of 1908, which gave all Ottoman subjects the right to leave the Empire. And now skilled Armenian workers started arriving in America to set up their own craft shops in Worcester and elsewhere.

The Turkish massacres of the Armenians of 1915-18, which took the lives of 1½ million Armenians, two thirds of all Armenians in Turkey, shut off immigration from Turkey for "the duration"; but by 1920, survivors of that genocide started arriving in Massachusetts. In that same year, there were 8,040 Armenians living in the Commonwealth, over 3,500 of them in Worcester alone. Today, more than 8,000 Armenians call the Worcester area home.

They are a prosperous, hardworking community now chiefly consisting of the American-born of the early cadres. If there are workers in industry among them, many are company executives or administrative personnel. Higher education is the rule among the young generation. The community boasts physicians, dentists, attorneys, educators, professional men and women of all sorts, small businessmen, labor leaders, political figures. And is it a sort of poetic justice that in 1943 one of the American born and educated scions of one of the oldest Armenian families in Worcester, John S. Thomajan (Toomajian), became the President of that same "The Wire Mill" — the Washburn Corporation now in Norton, to the prosperity of which his father and his other compatriots had contributed so very much?

Characteristically, the Worcester Armenians have eagerly entered the mainstream of American life; yet Worcester continues to be a hotbed of Armenian political, cultural, religious and social life, contributing to the nation, city and their Armenian inheritance.



The scant details we have given of the Worcester story is in many respects characteristic of the experiences of the other communities of Armenians in Massachusetts, many of which owe their own origins to early settlers from Worcester — for which the city has won its place in the history of both America and the Armenians as "The Mother Armenian Community of America".

Let us now swiftly examine the stories of other Armenian communities of Massachusetts, reserving our discussion of the Greater Boston story until the last.



Brockton, Bridgewater and East Bridgewater: These three sister communities at one time the center of America's most important shoe manufacturing concerns, have had common origins. The Armenian presence in the area traces back to 1901. A report in that year describes the usual communal life and says that the workers were sending money home to their families each month. The community has remained fairly small, and today is the center of a larger area including Armenians in Holbrook, Abington, Middleboro, Avon, Randolph and Stoughton. Its political, religious and society life is intimately connected with the Greater Boston community.

Chelsea: The romance of the Armenian experience with Chelsea goes back to the 1890's, when a handful of Armenian workers took employment at the shoe mills there. A lively community ensued, with its own political and social clubs; and the city enjoys the distinction of being among the first to encourage Armenian youth athletic activities. Never of major importance, there were however over a thousand Armenians living in Chelsea about the 1920's, but the community as such has since dwindled and today enjoys close commune with the Watertown settlement.

East Weymouth: An increasingly popular "bedroom community" suburb of Boston, this town nevertheless had a small Armenian colony at least as far back as 1915. Most families are today American-born.

Fall River and New Bedford: In 1899 there were 35 Armenians, all bachelors, in Fall River working in the now almost vanished textile mills. A handful of Armenians remains. New Bedford has experienced a like history.

Fitchburg: The community was founded in 1889 by a group of expatriate Worcesterites. By 1900, there were 50 there, most employed at the Iver Johnson Arms and Cycle Works. They lived in Worcester-type communes in the Federal street district, known for it as "Little Armenia". An "Armenian Union" was established by Megerdich B. Yarumian. Melikeseth Der Melikesethian and Kevork Juskalian, credited to be the first to arrive in the city. By 1899, Fitchburg had its first Armenian patriotic organizations and contributed later to the various World War One drives for "Armenian relief". Fitchburg industry having declined, so too the number of Armenians there. Other small Armenian colonies in Gardner and Leominster, along Route 2, have vanished.

Franklin: There were Armenians in Franklin in 1910, either farmers or mill hands. Franklin today is best-known among Armenians as the seat of Camp Haiastan, an extensive Armenian picnic-outing ground, which contains Camp Haiastan of the Armenian Youth Federation of America, the first Armenian-sponsored summer camp in America, opened in 1951. Millis, Wrentham, Foxboro, Blackstone and Bellingham have small Armenian communities.

Haverhill: Haverhill was enjoying a fairly well-organized Armenian presence by 1899. In 1915, an enterprising local correspondent of an Armenian newspaper actually headcounted his compatriots and came up with 65 families, or 475 individuals, living in the city. Most were shoe-factory workers. The community has, surprisingly enough, more than held its own despite the troubles besetting its industries. In 1933 there were 500 Armenians there, most self-employed or still at the remaining shoe combines. It has always played a considerable role in Armenian political party activity. Haverhill has its own Apostolic and Protestant churches. Other Armenians are found in Bradford, Groveland, Amesbury and Plaistow, New Hampshire.

Hudson-Maynard-Acton: Farmers and mill workers settled this general area in the 1910's. In 1915, there were only 15 Armenians in Hudson alone, about a like number in Maynard and Acton, but some of the old families have hung on and have been joined lately by "suburban types". Maynard is well-known as the home of Camp Ararat, an outing-picnic ground often visited by throngs from the Greater Boston region.

Lawrence: Lawrence has played a considerable role in Armenian affairs in the Commonwealth since the arrival (1885) of its first Armenian, Hadji Amou (Uncle) Aharonian, from Worcester. Intelligent beyond his years (22), Aharonian shunned employment in the great American and Pacific textile mills, did apprentice bakery work for three years before he opened his landmark "A.A.A. Aharonian Company", 80 Hampshire street, which was to become the "city hall", or "staging area" of the community. A life-long bachelor, he spent his days in attending to the needs of his compatriots, finding jobs for new arrivals, soothing rifts, locating lodging and serving as "priest and father-confessor".

In 1889, two other refugees from Worcester joined Aharonian in Lawrence and found jobs in the woolen mills. Ten years later the community, now growing, was immersed in its "bachelors" problems . . . youth and very little to do. It was the time of the greening of the community, the era of the Armenian cafes, with all the good and not so good generated by those establishments.

But 1899 in Lawrence was a time of response to urgent appeals from abroad — and the band of workers raised \$163 for relief for Van. The usual patriotic societies were active in the city, the first Armenian "picnic" in city history was held in the same year and the community was already so well organized that a correspondent wrote to a

newspaper, "O God, can you believe it . . . we have every kind of organization, society, club and whatnot here that you can imagine. We have everything but a society for the angels — and hush — don't breathe it . . . we'll have that too very soon!"

Conditions in the mills were literally abominable. "Vat sickness" struck the workers, and the salaries were inadequate. In 1912, the Armenian workers participated wholeheartedly in the great strike that swept the city, from which Lawrence never really recovered. In 1915, the number of Armenians had grown to 1,500 "despite the weak employment picture here."

During the massacre-war years, the community gave beyond its means to both the relief fund efforts and the military; many Lawrence men joined the United States armed forces, others enlisted in the various Armenian volunteer brigades fighting Germany's ally, Turkey, abroad.

A Protestant church was established in Lawrence in 1912 and an Armenian Apostolic Church was later consecrated and is still dispensing its services to the community.

The Lawrence community has had a history of stability. it has weathered depression and crisis, and has emerged from its hardships into a modest, prosperous, proud community of Armenian Americans, deeply conscious of their heritage and jealous of their traditions.

Lawrence today is the seat of what is coming to be known as the "Merrimack Valley community" which also includes Haverhill, Lowell, Methuen, Andover, Westford and Salem New Hampshire, a colony of industrious farmers.

Lowell: The third comparatively large "Merrimack Valley" city is Lowell, again, an important factor in the Commonwealth's Armenian history.

To Lowell came one Zora(b) Kidder (sic) Theodorian in 1863 perhaps to rejoin his old friend Simon Graves (sic) Minasian, who was serving his medical "residency" in Lowell, while studying medicine at Harvard. Minasian entered the Union armies shortly as a contract surgeon, but Theodorian worked for several months in Lowell as a "mechanic" before he returned to New York himself to enlist as a medical orderly, rejoining Dr. Minassian in a Philadelphia evacuation hospital.

With the conclusion of the civil war, Theodorian entered the medical schools of New York University, took his degree, returned for a brief time to practice in Lowell, but soon left the city.

Theodorian and Minassian can hardly be termed the fathers of the Armenian community of Lowell. That honor must justly go to Kerpe der Manuelian who got to Lowell about the turn of the century, found work at the Saco-Lowell mill there, was joined by another colleague from Worcester.

The usual pattern of growth followed. Mr. Manuelian was the factotum of the community — "attorney", scribe, counsellor and eventually the leading spirit behind the construction of the second Armenian Apostolic church in Massachusetts history, opened in 1915. The old structure was recently sold and has been replaced with another.

Lowell workers suffered during the post World War One decline in industrial activity but by that time the community had become permanently attached to Lowell. Its donations to the relief efforts were high, and it has always enjoyed an animated political, religious and social life. Many Lowell Armenians today are professional people or have their own places of employe. In common with trends in the nation, Lowell's Armenians have lately been seeking houses in suburbia. The small communities of Westford, Tyngsboro, Tewksbury, are part of the Lowell satellite system.

Lynn: The Lynn story dates back to 1891, but the Armenian buildup was steady and, by 1899 the city boasted one of the largest Armenian patriotic society branches in Massachusetts. In the same year, Lynn's residents started attending special Apostolic services held at St. Crysostom's R.C. Church, through the courtesy of its kind Irish pastor, who weathered a minor parish storm for it.

The Armenian workers, the everpresent bachelors, lived in communes, had housing problems (ingeniously solved by showing "Yankee landladies the green of the Armenian dollar") either frequented or scorned their coffeehouses — but gathered together to raise a sum of \$200 in 1899 for Van's reconstruction.

The wall-to-wall bachelor face of the community was shattered when, in 1892, Mrs. Sophia Mooradian, who passed away lamented by all in 1945, got to Lynn. It suffered terribly during the 1930's depression years, and today is comparatively a small community tied to the affairs of its brethren Boston community.

Marlboro: Farmers arrived there in the 1910's, of course from nearby Worcester, and the community numbered only about 30 in 1915. It nevertheless showed some strength in the war drives, and a number of new families have recently joined the old there. Armenian dairy farming is said to have first been practiced in Marlboro.

Milford: Worcester sent its first representatives to Milford about 1910. It has been a hardworking mill community. It has always contributed to Armenian American life and, at its zenith, numbered about 300, what it is today. It receives its religious services from Whitinsville.

Newburyport: Comparatively isolated, this old port city experienced a couple of decades of prosperous Armenian community life, destroyed almost completely by the depression. A handful of self-employed Armenians live today among its historic sites.

North Adams, Williamstown, Pittsfield: Avedis Dagdigian left Troy, New York in 1891 and went to work in a shoe factory in North Adams, became a foreman but, alas, few other Armenians ventured there. In 1912, there were 30 Armenians in residence, There are less today.

Williamstown had Armenians working in its mills in 1891. Undoubtedly, these people were from Troy. There are two known Armenian families in this Berkshires town, the seat of Williams College.

Migrant workers from Troy settled in Pittsfield in 1891. They worked in the shirt factories of the cities — and then practically vanished. Only traces of the old community remain today.

Salem: In 1915, there were about 15 Armenians in Salem, people who worked in the tanneries of the city and in nearby Peabody, which by the way is becoming a fairly important center of Armenian residency. Few Armenians dwell in Salem at this time.

Spencer: In 1907, Worcesterites got to Spencer and the town saw a respectable Armenian growth, most natives of Everek-Fenessi in old Armenia. They worked in the Spencer mills, some did farming, but almost all have gone on hopefully to greener pastures.

Springfield: In 1856, the two Dobrashian brothers arrived here from their homes in Bardizag, near Constantinople. The older, who became a mechanic, married a local woman but passed away in semi-poverty. His brother studied animal husbandry, but returned home where he adopted the name "Robinson" and became a sort of legend in his time.

Springfield's fine community however was founded in 1899 by two Armenians who, on their way to Worcester, stopped over in Springfield — and stayed there. They summoned others of their clan to the city and in 1891 there were about 40 Springfield

Armenians, all as usual mill hands; but the organizational plateaux were successfully achieved. The community boomed during the first world war years because of defense orders and Armenian relief was heavily contributed to.

French American College (now American International College) drew Armenian students to the city; one of them, A. Yeran, became the first lexiconist on the Armenian American scene.

These students entered community life, lectured at organizational gatherings, and opened English-language schools for the immigrants.

Springfield has a stable Armenian population, replete with all the usual Armenian organizations, and it has two Apostolic churches. Many of its residents are today professional and business people. A large number of families reside in the spic-and-span community known as Indian Orchard. Other Armenians live in nearby Ludlow, Holyoke, Northampton, Longmeadow and Amherst.

Whitinsville: A remarkable community with a remarkable history, one of the few remaining densely concentrated Armenian communities in the nation.

Whitinsville was originally founded by the Whitin family, proprietors of the Whitin Machine Works.

In 1885, George Whitin was advised by a nearby Hopedale industrialist to fill his need for foundrymen by importing Armenians, whom the latter had found to be reliable workers.

Whitin personnel agents were sent to New York to select for employment in the mill village "men with distinctive Armenian — ian suffix names". By 1888, as company records show, "Armenian names began to appear frequently on company pay lists". These immigrants were known to work hard and long hours "to accumulate enough cash to finance the escape of their relatives and friends (from the Turkish terrors)." More likely, the Armenians were trying to gather enough money to assist the families abroad.

Within five years — in 1893 — there were more than 45 Armenians working at Whitin. Says the company historian, "in 1894 and 1895, when Armenians in the homeland were being massacred by the Turks, the number of Armenians hired by the Whitin company was more than offset by the number who quit in protest over the company's refusal to discharge a handful of Turkish employees." An Armenian strike followed, but soon waned.

"Like other immigrant workers," the same source continues, "the Armenians often worked for a short while and then moved to other locales. Yet gradually, there was built up in Whitinsville one of the largest per capita concentrations of Armenians in the United States . . . Being able businessmen, many second generation Armenians rose to middle-class status in the village. They became property owners and small business-people and soon owned a large portion of the privately-held (as against Company) real estate in Whitinsville . . ."

Organized life grew apace and soon the village had branches of the various Armenian political, charitable, compatriotic and educational groups. St. Astvadzadzin church was erected in the 1950's.

The villagers have been extraordinarily Armenian-conscious. They gave heavily to World War One charity.

Despite the exodus of educated young people, the community is holding its own numerically and otherwise. Village affairs are of keen interest to the Armenians, now totalling about 400. Whitinsville enjoys the honor of having provided the Commonwealth

with its first Representative to the General Court, attorney Joseph Kurzon, who was politically active in the 1930's.

The machine works still employs many Armenians, some of whom have attained high posts in the administrative structure of the company.

Other Armenians live nearby in Hopedale, Uxbridge and Northbridge.

THE GREATER BOSTON COMMUNITY

Cambridge: if Worcester was the mother of the Massachusetts community, Cambridge mothered Greater Boston.

Histories of the city contend that the "Armenian immigration into Cambridge — port (the general Central Square area) began about 1914" but Armenian sources date that origin back to 1891 when notice is given in old reports of the formation of an organization of Cambridge Armenians.

In 1899, Cambridge too was suffering the problems of an almost wholly bachelor community. Writing in an Armenian newspaper, a young lady complained that the "young men of this community are lost." She said, "each night I see the young men sitting in those awful restaurants and drinking beer . . . They then go to Boston and revel . . . and the next day they miss work". The community then must have been fairly large, and must have had its share of problems.

The Simplex Wire and Cable works, off Brookline Street, the warehouses, coal and ice yards, food processing plants, and petty mills and shops in East Cambridge beckoned other Armenians thither.

What had happened was that many Armenian immigrants landing in the port of Boston simply found their way to nearby Cambridge (on pre-advice of course).

The community was still numerous in 1915 — families had emerged and the social problems seem to have vanished — although Watertown had begun to siphon off the young men. But others had found work in the Cottage Farm district of the city, and the Protestants among the community had established an Armenian Evangelical Church in 1912, while the Apostolics were holding Sunday services at the Sacred Heart R.C. Church, in East Cambridge. A city census of its "foreign content" in 1912 showed that there were 200 Armenians living in East Cambridge in 1912 . . . "And they were doing the rough, unskilled labor".

But, says the same survey, "the Armenian group seems to be remaining small . . . Here too, there are a number of young men living in crowded boarding houses, with as yet a smaller complement of women. For this reason they have not settled down as householders to any considerable extent . . . Where work is found thither they shift and as they seem to have started to work in number, they scatter from here to the rubber shops of Watertown or Malden as the chance affords."

The transient community nevertheless established the muscles of community life. Political party branches were formed and, in 1912, an Armenian student at Harvard, Harutune Chakmakjian (who was also an editor of the Hairenik Daily newspaper, in Boston, and later served a distinguished career as a member of the faculty of Tufts University) opened boarding house classes in English, an enterprise which, according to the official Cambridge scribe, "showed the shortcomings of the city's night schools." There is evidence that the now fine "immigrant oriented" Cambridge night school system received its earliest reform on the aegis of the Armenian experience.

The Armenians lived generally on Hampshire, Magazine, River, Cambridge, Thorndike and the numbered streets off East Cambridge. They early established their

own library (through the efforts of Manoog Hampartzoumian, also studying at Harvard) and "received monthly visits from a priest in Lawrence". "There are no records of arrests of Armenians in the city," the historian reported in 1912.

Better housing and higher paying jobs were soon to take some Cambridge Armenians to Jamaica Plain, Roxbury and Dorchester, where they too opened small stores. When the great wave of massacre survivors struck the Commonwealth, Cambridge received but few of the newcomers. Watertown and the Converse Shoe factory in Malden beckoned. Today there is a small community of about 700 Armenians in Cambridge, intimately tied with the community in Watertown.

Watertown: Watertown it seems was inevitably to become the fulcrum of Armenian life in Greater Boston. Long the most heavily industrialized town in the nation, easily reached through public transportation from Boston, with good housing available, Watertown's experience with the Armenians got its great boost almost with the opening of the Hood Rubber Company, in the 1890's.

The East Watertown precincts continue to be the center of the Armenian population. Well-kept rows of Armenian houses stand along School, Dexter, Melendy, Nichols, Bigelow, Elton and other streets around the now razed Hood plant; and it is interesting to note that the closing of that factory in 1970 scarcely created a ripple among the Armenians, for sometime before the concern's departure, the Armenians had found other employment in Boston and other suburban areas, or else had established their own businesses along colorful Mount Auburn Street, a stretch of avenue which still boasts block-lengths of interesting Armenian-operated businesses.

Lately, the offspring of the early arrivals, in major part educated in the great university complex of Greater Boston, have been moving out of the town into such nearby suburbs as Belmont, Arlington, Waltham, Westwood, Norwood, Lexington, Concord and as far west as Framingham. They have established their homes on both the North and South Shores of Boston — but the Watertown community still stands at about 5,000 — about what it was in 1940. Newcomers have arrived in the community, some from abroad, and "little Armenia" is still alive and well — one of the few remaining heavy concentrations of Armenians in the nation.

The community has two Apostolic Churches and a third, in nearby Cambridge, draws heavily from Watertown. There is an Armenian Evangelical Church and a second, in Belmont, has a heavy Watertown congregation.

A spacious community center was recently built by the St. James Armenian Apostolic Church Parish on Mount Auburn Street. A second, the Armenian Cultural and Educational Center, is presently under construction in the St. Stephens Armenian Apostolic Church area.

The town is also the site of meeting places and clubs maintained by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and the Armenian Democratic Liberal Organization, and the latter's party press, which issues the Baikar Daily and the Armenian Mirror-Spectator, has been established in Watertown, since 1962.

The Armenian General Benevolent Union maintains its New England headquarters building in Watertown, and the Armenian Relief Society has its cultural center on School Street.

The community is superbly organized. There is no short-term thinking among Watertown Armenians. The community is there to stay.

There is little need to give a background history of the community. There is evidence that there were Armenians in Watertown as early as 1888, but the community growth

did not really commence until after 1920 when refugees from the recent massacres arrived in Watertown. There they have found a rich, productive life, have reared their children in the spirit of good citizenship, have contributed to their town, have given Watertown's administration selectmen and other high ranking officers and today are an integral part of the affairs of this great little town standing on the banks of the Charles.

Boston: The first Armenian known to have settled in Boston was a certain Joseph Iasigi (that is perhaps "Yazejian"), who was a native of Smyrna, Turkey.

When Iasigi entered Boston in 1835, he was apparently already a man of some means, for he almost immediately established at India Wharf, in partnership with a prominent American merchant, an export-import house which soon owned a number of clipper ships. It is today widely accepted that the Armenian's enterprise established as a going concern Boston's famous maritime trade with Smyrna and the Near East. The Iasigi family was long prominent in the economic, social and cultural life of Boston, and descendants still reside in the Boston area.

Another Armenian came to Boston briefly in 1845 and three years later Sarkis Khachadoorian, of Constantinople, enrolled at the Boston College of Dental Science. Both he and his brother, Sarkis, took their degrees, returning to Constantinople.

In 1854 a man named Antranigian arrived in Boston, was still in the city in 1859, but later passed away, perhaps the first Armenian to be buried in Boston.

Hagop Balian followed (1854). He was a student at Cyrus Hamlin's pioneer missionary school in Constantinople and was sent here to learn the bakery trade, which he did and then returned to his home where he became a principal figure in the famous Hamlin "bread factory".

Three years later the Boston community had "swelled" to twelve — all males. Hagop Arakelian, 14, settled in Boston in 1867, became an apprentice printer and later one of Boston's prominent publishers. When he died in 1934, he bequeathed his printing establishment to the Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, who continued it as "The Pilgrim Press".

In 1885, at least 32 Armenian names are found in the Boston Directory. These include that of Dickran Aznive who is regarded as the virtual founder of new process photoengraving in the city.

The community was up to 42 individuals in 1886.

Joseph Azarian, from Constantinople opened his export-import business at least as early as 1866. Relatives from his native city followed and the Azarian firm was soon vying with that of Joseph Iasigi for the "Turkey trade". The whole family disappeared from the Boston records in the 1870's.

Hagop Bogigian, who was to become one of Boston's most outspoken figures, opened a small rug shop in Cambridge in 1867, but he soon moved to Boston where through the years he became one of the city's wealthiest men. A member of the Park Street Congregational Church, he accorded a signal service to the community in preventing the sale of that historic church, famed "Brimstone Corner" of War of 1812 fame. That it maintains in our own day its grand presence on the corner of Beacon and Tremont streets, overlooking the Boston Common, can be attributed to this native Kharpert, Armenia.

Moses H. Gulesian's story is also of historical interest. He first went to Worcester but in the following year, 1883, traveled on to Boston where he opened a copper-moulding business, and became a legend for it. When (1905) he read in a Boston newspaper that

the Department of the Navy planned to scuttle the great old frigate, the U.S.S. Constitution, the beloved "Old Ironsides", he immediately offered the Government a sum of \$10,000 for the old warrior. Turned down, he aroused Boston opinion against the destruction of the ship. Gulesian's campaign soon spilled out all over the country and it was his initiative that constrained the authorities to preserve the vessel. It also resulted in the famed "pennies and nickles" drive among the schoolchildren of the nation. "Old Ironsides" of course is today a Boston landmark, protected and preserved as a National Treasure and Monument.

In 1896, there were 108 Armenians in Boston, and we learn from material published by a South End agency that, in the following year, 125 Armenians alone lived in the "northern part" of the district, that is around Dover street. The source says, "Most of these Armenians arrived within the last three years as a result of the (1894-96) massacres . . . They learn English much more readily than the Italians partly because their occupations demand it more, and partly because they are not so illiterate (as other immigrants)."

It is also valuable information that a "chapel" had been provided for the South End Armenians and that the place was a center of "social work" among these people.

This then was the beginning of the Armenian community of the South End of Boston which was later, in the Post World War One years, to become for a decade or so a teeming Armenians concentration.

The Boston Directory of 1900 lists about 185 adult male names and only a sprinkling of "unmarried and widowed" ladies.

At the turn of the century, there was only one Armenian coffeehouse, seven tailors, as many shoemakers, the "Masis Bakery", two photographers (one of them the famed John Garo), two Armenian restaurants, two variety stores, four carpet workers, two engravers, artists, clerks, printers, laundries, a cigarette manufacturer, one physician, a preacher (Roxbury Methodist Episcopal Church), furrier, bookbinder, salesman, ropemaker, engineer and so forth and so on — and one college student, John Mardick, M.I.T., a Roxbury resident . . . an astonishing variety of craftsmen and tradespeople, most obviously self-employed!

It was in 1900 that the Very Rev. Mashdotz visited Boston and preached "membership in the Church". Was this the real start of the campaign to give Boston its own Church . . . something which was not to occur until almost twenty-one years later? We have already seen an early "Armenian chapel" in the South End, and we now note that as the community grew, it took to holding services at St. Paul's Cathedral (Episcopal), on Tremont Street. The Armenians were having "community pangs". In 1900 they could even boast a theatrical group which gave a memorable (and tumultous) performance of "an original drama drawn from Armenian history" at the YMCA, 48 Boylston Street.

On September 22, 1900, the *Hairenik Daily*, the official organ of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, started a career of uninterrupted publication extending to our day. Originally published in New York in 1899, it was in the following year moved to 7 Bennett Street, in the South End but, in 1923, found new self-owned quarters at 212 Stuart Street, where that publishing house today remains. The *Hairenik Daily* is the oldest Armenian newspaper in the world and today stands as the third oldest ethnic news publication in the nation.

In 1907, *Baikar Daily*, the organ of the Armenian Democratic Liberal Organization, after having been published as "Bahag" in Providence, established itself in its own building at the corner of Shawmut Avenue and Waltham Street, the central artery of

the Armenian compound of the South End. There it continued to operate until 1962 when it transferred its operations to a newly-built structure at 755 Mount Auburn Street, on the main "Armenian stem" of Watertown.

The advent in Boston of the two most important Armenian-published newspapers in the United States of course was symptomatic of the growing importance of Boston as the center of the Armenian community nationwide. In 1934, the Hairenik and Baikar establishments added English-language organs, separately distributed. *The Armenian Mirror-Spectator* (Baikar) and *The Armenian Weekly* (Hairenik) both appeared almost simultaneously in that year. The Hairenik-sponsored *Hairenik Monthly*, now discontinued, did much to make Boston an international center of Armenian letters. A scholarly quarterly, *The Armenian Review*, was initiated in 1948 by the Hairenik.

By 1915, the flow of immigrants accelerated by the mid-1890 massacres was ebbing somewhat. By that time too, more affluent Armenian households of the South End had found their way to Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, South Boston and Dorchester, where they established little schools, all of which have long since vanished — along with their communities.

Literally thrives of Armenians flocked into the South End beginning with the 1920's. They were survivors of the Great Massacres of the war years, and they joined those who had settled and stayed in the South End after migrating to the United States following the 1895 terrors.

This great community, estimated by some to have numbered about 5,000 at its zenith, found housing in a wide belt of the South End comprehended north to south by Dover and Dudley Streets, east to west by Harrison Avenue to Tremont Street, and along the parallel thoroughfares of Washington Street and Shawmut Avenue, and up and down the perpendiculars generally known as the "city-name streets" Waltham, Concord, Worcester, Springfield, and the like. In 1921, the old community effort to have at its avail an Apostolic Church was crowned by the purchase of an old stone church located on Shawmut Avenue, akimbo to Blackstone Park. The Very Reverend Shahe Vartapet Kasparian was the first rector of this historic church. The waning of the Armenian community of the South End led inexorably (1960) to the Holy Trinity Armenian Apostolic Church moving out of the area to rebuild on Brattle street, in Cambridge, where it is presently located.

The South End Armenian colony, which bustled vibrantly for over a decade, is no more. Scarcely an Armenian family lives in the area today. That grand, courageous folk have long ago gone on to other areas of the Greater Boston enclave — most to Watertown — and, in Boston itself, only the silent vestiges of the community live — in the rows of graves resting in Evergreen Cemetery, in Brighton . . .

APPENDIX I

Demography

Some observers estimate that the Armenian American community of the nation numbers as low as 300,000. Others place it as high as a half-million. It is perhaps closer to 425,000 than anything else.

The national community is not however an inherently static community, that is owing any growth it might be experiencing only to a rising birthdate — and Armenian families are traditionally large. Trickle of Armenians continue to arrive from abroad under the new immigration laws which, generally speaking, in 1923, cancelled out "unlimited immigration" and replaced it with changing types of "quota systems" and, presently with other criteria of selection.

As fair estimate, the Armenian content of Massachusetts is around 90,000 which of course means that about 20 percent of all Armenian Americans today call the Commonwealth home. The State, however, can no longer claim the highest concentration of Armenians in the Nation. California has taken over in that regard.

The Armenians remain one of the smallest ethnic groups of the Nation. Demographers have estimated that only about .003 of the total population is of Armenian descent.

APPENDIX II

Organizations and Institutions in Massachusetts

(in alphabetical order)

Political Parties

Armenian Democratic Liberal Organization; Armenian Revolutionary Federation; Armenian Social Democratic Huntchakian Party. (All are nationally and internationally constituted.)

Churches of the Armenian Apostolic Faith

In Cambridge: Holy Trinity Armenian Apostolic Church of Greater Boston; in Haverhill: St. Gregory the Illuminator Armenian Apostolic Church; in Indian Orchard: St. Gregory Armenian Apostolic Church; in Lawrence: Holy Cross Armenian Apostolic Church; in Lowell: Sts. Vartanantz Armenian Apostolic Church; in North Andover: St. Gregory Armenian Apostolic Church; in Springfield: St. John the Divine Armenian Apostolic Church; in Watertown: St. James Armenian Apostolic Church and St. Stephen's Armenian Apostolic Church of Greater Boston; in Whitinsville: St. Astvadzadzin Armenian Apostolic Church; in Worcester: Holy Trinity Armenian Apostolic Church and Our Savior's Armenian Apostolic Church. (*In all, 64 Armenian Apostolic Churches in the Nation.*)

Churches of the Protestant (Evangelical) Church

In Belmont: First Armenian Church; in Haverhill: Armenian Congregational Church; in Watertown: Armenian Memorial Church; in Worcester: Armenian Congregational Church of Our Martyrs. (In all, 19 Churches of the Armenian Protestant Faith in the United States.)

Churches of the Armenian Roman Catholic Faith

In Cambridge: Holy Cross Armenian R.C. Church. (In all, 5 Armenian Roman Catholic Churches in the United States.)

Charitable — Educational — Cultural Organizations

Armenian General Benevolent Union; Armenian Relief Society (both are nationally and internationally constituted); Armenian Artists' Association of America; Armenian Cultural Association of America, Inc; Armenian Cultural Foundation; Armenian Evangelical Union; Armenian Library and Museum of America; Armenian Women's Welfare Association (sponsors the Armenian Home for the Aged, Jamaica Plain); Friends of Armenian Culture Society; Hai Guin Club; Hamaskaine Armenian Cultural Association (national and international); National Association of Armenian Studies and Research (national, established at Harvard first Armenian Studies chair in U.S.A.); Tekeyan Cultural Association (national and international).

Youth Organizations

(Only national organizations having branches in Mass. listed).

Armenian Church Youth Organization of America; Armenian Youth Federation of America; Armenian Students Association; Hai Marmnakrtakan Entanoor Miutun (HMEM) (Armenian Physical Education Union, national and international).

Armenian Publications of Massachusetts Only

Armenian Mirror-Spectator (weekly); Armenian Review (quarterly); Armenian Weekly; Baikar Daily; Hairenik Daily.

Fraternal

Knights of Vartan and Daughters of Vartan.

Summer Camps and Outing Grounds

Ararat Grounds, Maynard; Camp Haiastan Grounds, Franklin; Camp Haiastan of the Armenian Youth Federation (summer youth camp); St. Gregory's Armenian Language School, Falmouth (summer youth school and camp).

American Bicentennial Committees in Massachusetts

Armenian Bicentennial Committee of Massachusetts (commissioned by the Massachusetts Bicentennial Commission, Boston); Armenian Festival Bostonian Planning Committee (auspices the Mayor of Boston's Office of Cultural Affairs); City of Worcester Armenian Bicentennial Committee.

Chorales and Dance Groups in Massachusetts

Armenian General Benevolent Union Daron Dance Ensemble, Watertown; Hamaskaine Armenian Cultural Association Dance Group, Watertown; Komitas Choral Society of Greater Boston, Watertown. (N.B. Armenian churches of the three Faiths have their own choirs).

Armenian Community Centers in Massachusetts

Armenian Cultural and Educational Center of Greater Boston, Watertown (under construction); Armenian Relief Society Cultural Center, Watertown; St. James Armenian Cultural Center, Watertown; Shahe Hall of the Holy Trinity Armenian Apostolic Church, Cambridge; Worcester Armenian Community Center. (N.B. Smaller installations of the general nature are not listed, nor are "Armenian clubs" found in most of the Armenian-populated cities and towns in the Commonwealth. Auditorium facilities existing within the premises-proper of the various churches are not noted).

The above register does not touch upon various "compatriotic and educational societies" comprising natives of the diverse cities and towns of Armenia and elsewhere in Asia Minor.

There are a series of Armenian language schools sponsored by the Armenian Relief Society and the Armenian General Benevolent Union, some in collaboration with church parishes.

As is clear, the Armenians of the Commonwealth constitute one of the better organized ethnic communities of Massachusetts.

APPENDIX III

A Few Contributions and Contributions to the American Scene

— The Armenians of the Virginia colony participated in the first American demonstration for civil, political and human rights — later an American Constitutional *sine qua non*.

— An Armenian of the Virginia colony was the first non-Englishman to sue for English recognition of British citizenship conferred on a “foreigner” in that colony. The court’s decision in his favor expressed the hope that thus other “strangers” would be encouraged to migrate to Virginia. This may be considered to be the opening of immigration to America.

— Two Armenians were instrumental in introducing the culture of silk in America.

— An Armenian, Dr. Christopher Seropyan (Yale Medical, 1856) invented the inks used on American “banknotes”. The formula is still applied to the colors of American paper currency.

— American trade with the Middle and Near Easts became a growing concern under the aegis of two Armenian merchant houses of Boston.

— *In politics and government* the Armenians have given the nation a Senator, two Representatives, a Secretary of the Navy, a number of city mayors, city councillors, selectmen and aldermen and State senators and representatives. George Keverian and Robert Bogigian are (1976) members of the Massachusetts Court.

— *In law*, there has been a State attorney general, county attorneys, and a number of judges of federal, state and in local courts. Berj Tashjian, of Westboro, is a former President of the Massachusetts Bar Association. There are twenty-five attorneys-at-law listed in the Boston directories alone.

— *In the military*, Armenians have fought in all American wars from the Civil conflict through Vietnam. In World War II, 432 Armenians lost their lives — one of the highest percentages among all American ethnic stocks. The late Brigadier General Haig Shekerjian, USA, the late Brigadier General Sarkis Zartarian, USA, Arlington, Brigadier General Michael Tashjian, USAF, and Major General Vahan Vartanian, USA, Adjutant General of the Massachusetts National Guard, have served or are serving in the military. Commander Baret Ajemian, USN, an Annapolis graduate, is the highest ranking Armenian American naval officer in history.

— The Armenian record *in education* is especially noteworthy. According to a survey of the Armenian Assembly, Washington, nationally, 1104 Armenians hold academic posts in the colleges and universities of the nation. Massachusetts has 186 faculty members of Armenian stock, or 1.28 percent of the total, highest in the nation. Dr. Gregory Adamian is President of Bentley College, Waltham, and there are two other senior college presidents elsewhere in the land.

— *In medicine*, the Armenians have produced the late Dr. Varaztad H. Kazanjian, of Harvard's medical school, the "father" of plastic surgery in the United States. Dr. Mihran K. Kassabian was one of the first Americans to lose his life in the early X-ray experiments. Dr. Aram Chobanian, of Boston University's medical facility, is recognized as an eminent authority in hypertension, while Dr. Setrag Zakarian, Longmeadow, is one of the leading figures in the treatment of skin cancer. The Armenian American Medical Association, Boston, has estimated a number of about 100 for medical doctors practicing in the Commonwealth. The names of 25 physicians are found in the Boston directory. There are about 100 dentists in Massachusetts.

— *In science*, a host of Armenians have played an especially notable role in space and missile work, in research, the agricultural sciences, chemistry, industrial research, engineering, and so forth. We note that a resident of Newton, Paul Bablouzian, was one of the engineers who devised the famous "laser array" which went to the moon during the first American landing. Dr. Harry Daghljan was one of the first American nuclear physicists to lose his life in the experiments to develop a nuclear weapon.

— *In music*, Alan Hovhaness, a Somerville native, and Richard Yardumian are prominent composers. Lucine Amara, Lili Chookasian, Armand Tokatyan and Shake Vartenissian have sung with the Metropolitan Opera, and Rouben Gregorian, composer and conductor, is connected with the Boston Conservatory. Berj Zamkochian, organist, and David Ohanian, horn, are members of the Boston Symphony. Other Armenians are with the leading symphonies of the nation.

— *In entertainment*, in television alone, Arlene Francis continues as the "grand lady" of the medium. Mike Connors (Krekor Ohanian) is the popular "Mannix". David Hedison, Adrienne Barbeau, Cher, Eddie Mekka are often seen. Akim Tamiroff was in his day one of the movie's top character actors, and Rouben Mamoulian produced some of the greatest of Hollywood's films. Rupen Ter-Arutunian is a top scenic designer. There are a number of other well-known personalities in the field.

— *In the world of the visual arts*, Carl Calousd, Manuel Tolegian, Varujan Boghosian, Hovsep Pushman, Souren Ermoyan, Martin Barooshian, Sarkis Yerganian have achieved standing in the creative arts field. The late Arshile Gorky (Adoian) is ranked among the top abstractists in the world. Haig Patigian, Khoren Der Harootian and Nishan Toor have won fame in sculpting. There are a host of Armenian art educators.

— *In journalism*, Roger Tatarian is the retired news editor of the UPI. Ben Bagdikian is a Pulitzer Prize winner, author and lecturer. Roy Essoyan is presently chief of the Middle East news bureau of the AP. Haig Keropian, editor of the Valley, Van Nuys, (California) News, is the President of the Los Angeles press club. Mitchell Kehetian edits the Macon (Mich.) News . . . and there are others.

— *In photography*, John Garo, Boston, was the founder of the "Garo Method" of photography, emulated worldwide. Yussuf Karsh, the Canadian photographer, celebrated for his portraits of the great of the world, studied in Boston. Aram Kazanjian and Arzoumanian were also prominent in Boston photographic circles. Harry Naltchayan is the prize-winning Washington Post White House cameraman. Tom Vartabedian, Haverhill Gazette, is a prize-winner. And there are more.

— *In business and industry*, A large number of successful Boston business figures of our day include Stephen Mugar, founder and President-emeritus of the important Star Market chain of New England. John Mirak, a survivor of the 1915-18 massacres, is a successful Arlington automobile dealer. Jacob Kambourian was the founder of the huge International Shoe Machinery Company. Elsewhere in the United States: Alex

Manoogian, founder and president of the Masco Company, Taylor, Michigan, and a well-known philanthropist; Edward Mardigian, a Detroit industrialist; Sarkis Tarzian, whose television components firm is one of Indiana's most important industries. Alex Pilibos and Harry Carian, who pioneered in the development of the Indio Valley agriculture area, in California; George Mardikian, the San Franciscan, whose Omar Khayyam Restaurant is world known. Where does one stop in this category?

— *In Literature*, William Saroyan has been one of the world's most-read authors since his debut in the early 1930's. Of late, the works of Michael J. Arlen (Kuyumjian) have gained international attention. A number of other Armenians, notably Leon Surmelian and Marjorie Housepian, have published important fiction and non-fiction.

A myriad of Armenian-owned businesses, industries, stores and shops are found throughout the "Armenian belts" of the United States. There is a pronounced tendency among Armenians toward self-employment.

There is scarcely an American profession, trade or craft which lacks a well-known Armenian among the top brackets. This is of course a tribute to the inherited characteristics of hard work, ambition and talent of the Armenian people — that despite their small number, and that there are so few of them, so many of them have made their way to the pinnacles of success.

The steady occurrence of Armenian names in the life and times of America today has made that people almost ubiquitous on the American scene.

