

**“MADE IN MASSACHUSETTS”: CONVERTING HIDES AND SKINS
INTO LEATHER AND TURKISH IMMIGRANTS INTO INDUSTRIAL
LABORERS**

(1860s-1920s)

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by

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Ankara

October, 2010

In Memory of Sabiha & Hakkı Acehan

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LABORERS**

(1860s-1920s)

**The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University**

by

IŞIL ACEHAN

**In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

in

**THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA**

October 2010

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ABSTRACT

“MADE IN MASSACHUSETTS”: CONVERTING HIDES AND SKINS INTO LEATHER AND TURKISH IMMIGRANTS INTO INDUSTRIAL LABORERS

(1860s-1920s)

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October 2010

Early twentieth-century America witnessed a large influx of immigrants largely from eastern and southern Europe as well as the Near East. The major “pull” factor stimulating the growth of migration was the rise of several American industries and a growing demand for laborers. In addition to the demand for immigrant labor, rising concern over political and economic conditions in the homeland resulted in a process of chain migration of Ottoman ethnic and religious groups from particular regions. By analyzing both “pull” and “push” factors triggering an out-migration from the Harput *vilayet*, as well as the migration trajectories of the Turkish immigrants, this dissertation argues that existing ethnic and social networks determined the settlement and employment patterns and inevitably affected the acculturation processes of Turkish immigrants in the United States. Specifically, this study contends that while the Turkish immigrants on the North Shore of Boston assimilated into American life,

they also participated in the process of Turkish nation-building, maintained old home networks and transnational engagements.

Keywords: United States, Ottoman Empire, foreign relations, migration/emigration, leather industry, transnationalism, assimilation, adaptation, acculturation

ÖZET

“MASSACHUSETTS YAPIMI:” DERİLERİ TABAKLAMAK, TÜRK GÖÇMENLERİNİ DÖNÜŞTÜRMEK

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Yirminci yüzyıl başlarında Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Doğu ve Güney Avrupa ile Yakın Doğudan önemli ölçüde göçmen akınına sahne olmuştur. Giderek daha da artan bu göçlerin başlamasına neden olan en önemli “çekici” etken, hızla büyüyen Amerikan endüstrileri ve giderek çoğalan işgücü gereksinimidir. Göçmen işçi ihtiyacının yanısıra, çeşitli politik ve ekonomik nedenlerden dolayı duyulan endişe, çeşitli etnik ve dini Osmanlı unsurlarının zincirleme bir göç ağı oluşturmalarına neden olmuştur. Bu tez, Harput vilayetinden göçlerin başlamasına neden olan hem “çekici” hem de “itici” nedenleri ve bunların yanı sıra göç yollarını incelemenin sonucunda, etnik ve sosyal ağların Amerika’da yerleşim ve iş edinme şekillerini büyük ölçüde belirlediğini ve kültürel etkileşim sürecini önemli derecede etkilediğini savunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, özellikle Boston’un kuzey bölgelerinde yaşayan Türk göçmenlerinin asimilasyon sürecinden geçerken aynı zamanda milliyetçilik akımı içerisinde yer aldığını, Türkiye’deki sosyal ağlarını koruduğunu ve ulus-ötesi bağlantılarını devam ettirdiğini ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, dış ilişkiler, göç, deri endüstrisi, ulus-ötecilik, asimilasyon, uyum, kültürel etkileşim

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NOTE ON TERMS AND TRANSLITERATIONS

Although this study does not intend to examine the identity of Turkish communities in the United States from an anthropological perspective, it will be helpful to explain who is included into the category of “Turk.” One of the major challenges in studying Turkish migration to the United States is the difficulty of separating Turkish and Kurdish immigrants. If we take names as the first identifiable elements of identity, we can categorize the group as “Muslim” immigrants from Eastern Anatolia as all had typical Muslim names such as Ali, Hasan, Osman, and Mamad. Among the “Turks” who are the subject of this study, however, there are also Kurds.¹ They were peasants from the villages of Harput and made their way to the United States to work in the New England leather industry. Their identities were based more on their region than religion or

¹ Passenger manifests (ships’ manifests) provide valuable information on the passenger’s name, the hometown, language, age at the year of migration, by whom the passage was paid, the place of origin and definite destination, whether s/he is going to join to a relative or friend, calling or occupation, whom the immigrant was to meet etc. A gradual change and more remarkable description of each immigrant registered in these forms can be observed beginning in 1882, when the federal government assumed control of U.S. immigration. For detailed information on the use of passenger manifests and census records in studying Turkish immigrants in the United States see John J. Grabowski, “Forging New Links in the Early Turkish Migration Chain: The U.S. Census and Early Twentieth Century Ships’ Manifests,” in *Turkish Migration to the United States: From Ottoman Times to the Present*, eds. A. Deniz Balgamiş and Kemal H. Karpat (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 15-28. In 1903, the section of “Race or People” was added to the ship’s manifests. Therefore, the Kurds, who were registered as “Kurdish” into the manifests, can be distinguished from Turks by looking at the passenger arrival records. However, the census records include a section for “color or race” and the Ottoman immigrants were registered according to their “colors.” Just a “W” indicating “white” was used in this section. Therefore, information provided in the census records is not useful in identification of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants, who were registered as Turkish speaking individuals from eastern Anatolian provinces.

nationality as revealed by ship manifests and Peabody census records, in which many Kurds, Turks, and Armenians were grouped together.

Barbara Bilgé defines the population of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in Metropolitan Detroit as “Turkish-and Kurdish-speaking Ottoman Sunni Muslim immigrants”² who came to the United States before World War I. Interviews of these immigrants’ children and grandchildren, however, show that Turkish and Kurdish speaking Alevi Muslim immigrants were also represented in the category of “Turks.”³ Furthermore, “Islam” and “Muslim” are relatively modern concepts. Historically, the Muslim immigrants in the United States were called “Mohammedans” and Islam was referred to as the “Mohammedan religion.” Thus, “Muslim” as an identity category for the immigrants does not provide a common ground for representation of these immigrant groups.

As Talat S. Halman notes, “The term Turk or Turkish designates a person born in the Ottoman Empire before 1923 or in the Turkish Republic after 1923, who is Muslim or whose family was Muslim, who was raised in a Turkish speaking household and who identifies as a Turk.”⁴ “Turk,” in this dissertation, follows this definition. Also both assigned identifications and asserted identities are taken into consideration; both those who asserted their identities as being Turkish and those who were depicted so by the newspapers of the time and first hand accounts of residents of Peabody. Because of the fact that no clear

² Barbara Bilgé, “Voluntary Associations in the old Turkish Community of Metropolitan Detroit,” in *Muslim Communities in North America*, eds. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Jane Idleman Smith (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), 381.

³ Interviews were conducted with descendants of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants residing in Turkey and the United States.

⁴ Talat S. Halman, “Turks,” in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, eds. Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, Oscar Handlin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), 992.

distinction between Turks and Kurds can be made, this study considers “Turk” as a definition for the Muslims of the Harput region. Instead of specifying “Turkish and Kurdish speaking, Alevi and Sunni Muslim immigrants groups,” “Turks” will be used as an umbrella identity for these immigrants.

Although there are several transliterations of the term, Harput, which refers to the Harput *vilayet* [an Ottoman province] and the towns and villages in the area, in this dissertation “Harput” is used to define the geographical area from where Turks, Kurds, and Armenians came. “Harput” is the Turkish spelling, “Harput” the American and “Kharpet” the Armenian. Furthermore, usage such as “Kharput” was also seen. Despite the differences in spellings, all refer to the same district.

Individual and family names are left as they appeared in newspapers and other archival materials. Thus, for example, although the right spelling of “Alli Hassan” is “Ali Hasan,” has not been transliterated according to the Turkish language because of the impracticality of such an endeavor. There are a considerable number of Turks who used “Alli Hassan” instead of their own names, because of the fact that the name was widely known among Americans and, thus, was convenient for the Turkish immigrants. Moreover, sometimes the Turkish immigrants used one name among their social group and another when they shifted to the American sphere. There are also others who adopted American names, such as “Joe” or “Mike” without going through an official name change. It should also be noted that a vast majority of Turkish immigrants did not officially change their names. Thus, the Americanized names of the

Ottoman and/or Muslim immigrants, which appear in this dissertation, are those that the immigrants themselves chose or were given by Peabody's community.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

At the end of the nineteenth century and during the early years of the twentieth, many Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Albanians, Greeks, and Sephardic Jews left the Ottoman Empire for economic as well as political reasons. This Ottoman migration had been in part fostered by American charitable and philanthropic work, particularly in regions with a considerable Christian population. The circulation of information about life and opportunities in the United States started the process of an Ottoman immigrant influx to America particularly to the East Coast. The first departures were seen among Armenians who made their way to America with missionaries. Immigrant networks, letters to friends, and immigrants going back and forth would provide rich sources of practical information about jobs and opportunities in American industries, and lead immigrants to the American cities where members of their groups had already established themselves. Those letters attracted not only other Armenians but also other Ottoman peoples living in close proximity to one another in Anatolian villages.

Additionally, a number of Ottoman migration agents, fostering and coordinating the migration process for profit had been established in Turkish and European ports of departures. Consequently, immigrants from Anatolia, many of whom migrated from Harput, a large Ottoman province which at the end of the nineteenth century included today's Elazığ, Tunceli, and Malatya, migrated to industrial eastern Massachusetts cities and towns, including Lynn, Peabody, Salem, Worcester and Lawrence.



Figure 1.1. A Map of Essex County, Massachusetts

Source: <http://www.mass-doc.com/images/essex%20county%20bw%20map.gif>,
September 3, 2010.

Among the variety of reasons which had contributed to this population movement from Anatolian villages to industrial centers of the United States was the adoption of a new constitution in 1908, which would require all Muslim and non-

Muslims of the Empire to serve in the Ottoman army. Army service, which could last from seven to ten years, under harsh circumstances and the threat of contagious diseases, would leave no room to start a new life upon return from the army service. Thus, the army service requirement for Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire would also play a crucial role in stimulating out-migration from the Ottoman regions.

Although there is a growing secondary literature particularly on early Turkish migration to the United States, Turkish immigrants are still absent from general books on American immigration history. Thus, for an advanced understanding of Ottoman diaspora in the United States, more detailed and comparative case studies need to be undertaken. Unfortunately, however, there are major difficulties limiting the Ottoman diaspora studies. One of the sources of confusion in the study of Ottoman ethnic and religious immigrants to the U.S. is the contestation of identity and identification. Many of the of the early immigrants from the Ottoman Empire, including Christian groups such as Armenians, Syrians and the Lebanese, had entered the U.S. as Turks because of the failure of American bureaucracy to improve the system that was used to assign the immigrant groups into proper ethnic or racial categories. Moreover, voluntary identity shifts among Muslim immigrants for an easy access to the United States also resulted in a historic confusion concerning the number of Muslim immigrants. Studies on Turkish, Armenian, Greek and Syrian immigrants in the United States are misleading in terms of the numbers, places of origin and settlement patterns of the early Ottoman immigrants to the U.S. When the census taker asked about these immigrants' country of origin, the reply was "Harput" (Harpoot), which is an indicator of their

sense of belonging and identity. When the records were reviewed, census officials would realize that Harput was not a country, and “Harpoot” would be replaced by “Turkey”.¹

A considerable literature on Ottoman immigrants in the U.S. tends to group Ottoman migrants to the United States according to their ethnic or religious affiliation.² To give an example, Anny P. Bakalian notes that the earliest Armenian immigrants settled predominantly in the urban industrial centers of the Northeast, such as New York City, Providence, Worcester, and Boston.³ However, records such as ships’ manifests, census schedules and the military draft cards⁴ of those who migrated from Turkey show that various ethnic groups from particular regions migrated to the US together. Similarly, Martin Deranian suggests the importance of Worcester as the first center of a considerable Armenian population from eastern

¹ Identification of the Ottomans in this dissertation is made on the basis of name, mother tongue, and the immigrant’s birth place.

² See Robert Mirak, *Torn Between Two Lands: Armenians in America, 1890 to World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Anny B. Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993); Hagop Martin Deranian, *Worcester is America: the Story of Worcester’s Armenians, the Early Years* (Worcester: Bennate Publishing, 1998).

³ Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans*, 13.

⁴ Six weeks after America entered World War I on April 6, 1917, a policy of conscription, “the Selective Service Act,” was formulated and adopted which required men between ages of 18 and 45 to register for military service regardless of their citizenship status. However, not all the men who registered actually served in the U.S. Army, and there were some who served in the war but did not register for the draft. There were three separate registrations. The First Registration on June 5, 1917 was for men between the ages of 21-31. The Second Registration on 5 June, 1918, was for men who had turned 21 years of age since the first registration. The Third Registration on September, 12, 1918 was for men aged 18 to 21 and 31 to 45. Moreover, the Congress enacted and the President on May 18, 1917 approved a law, which contains the following provision: “That all male persons between the ages of 21 and 30, both inclusive, shall be subject to registration in accordance with regulations to be prescribed by the President” Moreover, those who failed to register would be tried. It was noted: “any person who shall willfully fail or refuse to present himself for registration or to submit thereto as herein provided shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall, upon conviction in the District Court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, be punished by imprisonment for not more than one year.” For all the three registration cards, following information must have been provided: full name, home address, date and place of birth, age, race and country of citizenship, occupation and employer, physical description (hair and eye color, height, disabilities), additional information such as the nearest relative, etc.; and signature.

http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/usconscription_wilson.htm;

<http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6482> accessed August 8, 2010.

Anatolia.⁵ Nevertheless, military draft cards of the Turkish immigrants in Worcester suggest that the size of the Harput Turkish community in Worcester was as big as the Armenian community. Any study carried out isolating these two groups from one another and arguing that there were no relations between the two groups would be inaccurate. The census and military records of the Armenian, Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in U.S. also suggest that all the immigrant groups from the Harput region settled in the same neighborhoods of these urban industrial centers.

Moreover, the study of Ottoman ethnic and racial groups in the United States within a broader context will shed light on contemporary historical studies of the Turkish immigrants abroad. The studies assessing the identity of current Turkish immigrants fall into a common fallacy while providing background on the Turkish migration phenomenon in a historical context. This is because of the inadequacy of the previous literature in defining the identity and identification of the early Turks in the United States. For example, in his extensive study on Turkish American identity formations in the United States, Ilhan Kaya notes that the “first Turkish immigrants did not have a strong Turkish national identity because they considered themselves to be Ottomans or Muslims rather than Turks.”⁶ However, case studies on early Turkish immigrants in particular settings will show that regional identity had a considerable place in the identity formation processes of the early Turkish as well as Armenian immigrants to the United States. Consequently, the region where the immigrant originated became one of the most powerful ingredients in the construction of Ottoman enclaves across the Atlantic. Moreover, Ottoman

⁵ Deranian, *Worcester is America*.

⁶ Ilhan Kaya, “Shifting Turkish American Identity Formations in the United States” (PhD diss., The Florida State University College of Social Sciences, 2003), 100.

immigrants developed multiple belongings and went through several identity shifts over the years. Considering these southern Anatolian peasants as “Ottomans,” as if this were a homogenous entity, would be an incorrect generalization considering that Ottoman immigrants did not go beyond the borders of their hometowns.

Furthermore, studies on the Turkish diaspora in the United States, also fail to mention the earlier wave of Turkish migration before the 1960s which results in irrelevant comparisons between the migration of the “Turks” after 1960s and the Turks before that period. To give an example, in his Ph.D. dissertation “Turkish Immigrants in the United States: Historical and Cultural Origins,” Mustafa Saatci traces the history of Turkish population movements back to more than a thousand years ago, the time of Turkish nomadic tribes. He also refers to the Ottoman migration during the transition from Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic as forced migrations. This approach suggests that the voluntary Turkish population movements occurred only during the nomadic era and later population movements were exclusively non-Turkish as Saatci notes, “until the 1950s, emigration from Turkey consisted almost exclusively of non-Turkish ethnic groups leaving the Ottoman Empire/Turkey.”⁷ Although Kemal H. Karpat’s two major articles on Ottoman and Turkish migrations to the U.S.,⁸ and Talat S. Halman’s entry on the Turkish immigrants in *Harvard Encyclopaedia of Ethnic Groups*⁹ had already been published, like Saatci’s Ph.D. study, a considerable number of sociological studies

⁷ Mustafa Saatci, “Turkish Immigrants in the United States: Historical and Cultural Origins” (PhD diss., Binghamton University, 2003), 11-12.

⁸ Kemal H. Karpat, “The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17 (1985); Kemal Karpat, “The Turks in America,” *Les Annales d L’Autre Islam* 3 (1995).

⁹ Talat S. Halman, “Turks,” *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Stephen Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, Oscar Handlin, eds., 992-996, Cambridge: Harvard University Press (1980).

on Turkish Immigrants in the U.S. after 1960's do not even mention these works when providing the historical context of the migration process. Thus, a lack of historical perspective leaves many sociological studies on Turkish immigrants abroad, whether in Europe or in the Americas, without a basis of comparison. Thus, this Ph.D. dissertation will be useful in providing a ground for comparison between earlier and later Turkish migrations to Europe and the U.S. while encouraging new studies on the subject by setting forth the resources in both the Turkish and U.S. archives.

Kemal H. Karpat's pioneering article, "The Ottoman and Turkish diaspora in the United States," opened up the path for studies on the Ottoman diaspora in the United States through a broader context by studying the "Syrian" emigration not as an isolated phenomenon, but as part of the Ottoman migration as a whole. Because of the troubling problem of inadequacy of material in the Ottoman archives, specifically the Prime Minister's and Foreign Ministry archives, the literature on the Syrian emigration to the United States was limited in quantity and scope because it solely relied on Arabic sources. Thus, a number of major studies on the Syrian diaspora in the U.S., such as Alixa Naff's *Becoming American*, provides a framework which suggests that the process of Syrian assimilation started immediately after entry into the U.S.¹⁰ However, as Gualtieri notes, "this scholarly emphasis on assimilation obscures the intense debates over what it meant to be Syrian in America in the early period of migration and settlement in the United States."¹¹ It is a grave historical error to overlook Ottoman archives which contain

¹⁰ Alixa Naff, *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University, 1985).

¹¹ Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White: Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian Diaspora* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 13.

rich materials on the Syrian emigration to the United States, providing destinations, numbers, identities and an expression of concern by the Ottoman government for its Syrian citizens abroad.

The earliest attempt to reconstruct the history of Syrian emigration within a larger context was made by Kemal H. Karpat in his article “The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914” published in 1985. His other pioneering work on Turkish immigrants in the United States made a remarkable contribution to Turkish diaspora studies by bringing the issue under consideration. However, his study failed to credit the role of Turkish immigrants and Turkish elites in the U.S. in the processes of Turkish nation-building, transnationalization, and immigrant adaptation. Concerning the failure of the early Turkish immigrants in making permanent ethnic foundations in the U.S., Karpat contends that “the Turks lacked an enlightened leadership who understood the spiritual and cultural needs of their people and could explain to these immigrants the laws of the country in which they lived.”¹² However, as will be discussed in chapter five of this dissertation, the Turks had achieved considerable success in maintaining group solidarity and strengthened their ties with Turkey while they adjusted to American life through their community leaders as well as government representatives who visited the Turks and instructed them on life in the United States. Thus, contrary to the argument about early Turkish immigrants’ failure to integrate into American society, this dissertation argues that they had experienced assimilation through the Turkish government’s as well as individual leaders’ hard work among the Turkish community in Peabody and on the North Shore.

¹² Karpat, “The Turks in America,” 236-237.

This dissertation will also shed new light on the issue of diasporic nationalism which is an uninvestigated subject in Near Eastern, Middle Eastern and Arab American studies. As Sarah M. A. Gualtieri notes, “scholarship on Arab Americans had likewise avoided the relationship between migration and national identity formation, perhaps an unintended consequence of the commitment to an assimilation paradigm, which has emphasized how immigrants became American, not Syrian, Lebanese, or Palestinian.”¹³ The role of the Ottoman government’s early efforts at nationalizing Ottoman immigrants in the United States has never been fully credited. Like the new nation-states of Italy, Germany, and Poland, whose efforts of nationalizing their citizens went even beyond their borders by extending citizenship to their people’s descendants born abroad, the Ottoman and Turkish governments were not indifferent to its citizens or former citizens in the United States. Before World War I, Ottoman elites tried to encourage all political fugitives to return to build up the new country after the Young Turk “Revolution” in 1908. Thus, this study creates a new argument about the Middle and Near Eastern diaspora in the U.S.: it argues that before “becoming American,” the Ottoman immigrants, including Syrians, developed multiple belongings and undergone a series of identity shifts with the rise of Ottomanism and later Turkish nationalism.

This dissertation is a microstudy of an Ottoman immigrant group from a particular region to a particular American urban setting. Each Ottoman immigrant group in the United States had different destinations, settlement patterns, and occupations. Thus, the complex relation between Ottoman immigrant groups’ region of origin as well as destinations has to be analyzed through well-documented studies

¹³ Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 14-15.

of immigrants in particular settings in the United States. The Turks, Kurds and Armenians of Eastern Anatolia bore sizable cultural differences and histories compared to those immigrants from the central and western Turkey. Being from Harput, and some sense of “Turkishness” bound them together. With its approach concerning early Turkish immigrants to a particular city and industry, this dissertation fills a void in the research agenda of Turkish diaspora studies in the United States.

This dissertation also seeks to position early Turkish immigrants in the United States within broader American migration phenomenon as well as labor history. Although a large majority of the Turkish immigrants were sojourners, they achieved considerable success in the industries they occupied in terms of labor activism. Furthermore, particularly after World War I, acculturation and assimilation was experienced by those who remained in the United States. This study argues that the identity of Turkish immigrants was defined and redefined through the years spent abroad due to crucial events such as the Balkan Wars and World War I. Consequently, while Turkish immigrants were experiencing asserted and assigned identity shifts, they were also becoming transnationals. The Turkish immigrants’ intention of returning to their homeland, combined with the prejudice and social exclusion they experienced in the host community, fostered the immigrants’ involvement in homeland affairs.

The military and census records for Ottomans in New England’s industrial cities show that nearly all Turks, Kurds and Armenians were registered as being from “Harput Turkey” or “Harput Armenia” and found employment in the leather and leather-related industries. This dissertation argues that being employed in

leather industry under the unhealthiest conditions posed considerable difficulty in assimilating Turks in the United States. Aside from the difficulty of the tasks they were given in the leather factories, other hardships existed for the Turkish and Kurdish immigrants. In Boston, for example, they lived near the headquarters of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Thus, information flow from the missionaries in Harput, which was mostly negative, circulated widely in Boston and on its North Shore where Turks and Kurds had settled.

Moreover, studying Turkish immigrants in specific American industries may help us understand the reasons contributing to the return of immigrants. The period between 1922 and 1923 was not only when the Turkish Republic was formed, but it was also when migration of shoe and leather establishments from the North Shore to the West, where unorganized and cheap labor could be found, occurred. Thus, a high job loss rate in the shoe and leather industries was one of the major reasons why the Turkish leather and shoe workers engaged in return migration.

Previous literature on the shoe and leather industries of Massachusetts usually has the tendency of singling out the shoe and leather industries.¹⁴ Moreover, a substantial number of these studies also have also depicted the laborers as one group or divided them along gender lines leaving the individual and ethnic identities aside. Historically, cities and towns on the North Shore of Boston had always been connected in terms of the leather and shoe industries. This connection created a

¹⁴ Paul Gustaf Faler, *Mechanics and Manufacturers in the Early Industrial Revolution: Lynn, Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981); Philip Sheldon Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union: A Story of Dramatic Struggles and Achievements* (Newark: Nordan Press, 1950); Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

considerable change in the dynamics of industry location and concentration. This dissertation shows that the industrial interrelation among the cities and towns of eastern Massachusetts, particularly Peabody, Lynn, Salem, and Beverly, had a remarkable contribution to the success of the shoe and leather industries. Moreover, the Turkish immigrants played an important role in shaping the leather industry on the North Shore through ethnic solidarity and labor activism.

Another unique aspect of this study is its exploration of the tanning and leather industries from the workers' point of view. Without understanding the nature of the work, it is impossible to realize how the leather tanning industry shaped the settlement patterns in the city and the social interactions of the ethnic communities residing in a factory town. One major contribution of this dissertation is that it is the first study on the North Shore's leather industry in connection with the shoe industry. Although there are dozens of published books and articles on the shoe industry, particularly in Lynn, and the textile industry in Lowell, the leather industry and Peabody, "the leather capital of the world," has been neglected. As early as 1937 Edgar M. Hoover, Jr. notes that "the relations existing between the shoe and leather industries are well worth considering" because "by far the larger part of the product of the former serves as the chief material for the latter, so that they may be regarded as successive stages in one process."¹⁵ However, the historiography on the New England/Essex County shoe industry, and the three major studies by Alan Dawley, Paul Faler and John Cumbler, whose works are considered as major works on nineteenth century community life in Lynn and the transition from artisan to factory life, do not mention the interindustrial relations between Essex county's

¹⁵ Edgar M. Hoover, Jr., *Location Theory and the Shoe and Leather Industries* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), viii.

cities and towns. The nature of the industry changed as a result of industrialization in Lynn and artisans and ten footers¹⁶ were replaced by factories as a consequence of the rapid industrialization after the Civil War. While leather was produced within the same shops or ten-footers where the shoe was made, industrialization brought about a division of work and concentration of industries in particular towns and cities. Thus, beginning from the late nineteenth century, no leather from Peabody would mean no shoes for Lynn; similarly, if there were no demand for Lynn's shoes, it would mean a halt in production of leather in Peabody, as will be demonstrated in the chapters on leather industry.

Consequently, if we add laborers into the framework of the relationships between the shoe and leather industries, we will be able to acquire a complete sense whole sense of the industry and its laborers. One of the major outcomes of the Industrial Revolution was its impact on the whole organizations of the cities and the fabric of the people who populated these industrial clusters. Thus, a study on an immigrant group in an industrial context should provide a whole picture of the industry that encouraged them to leave the U.S. Furthermore, understanding the cooperation between major industries in the U.S. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is a prerequisite to estimate the impact of these industries on the settlement structures and immigrant influx to these cities. Although after the Civil War, major developments in industry and machinery changed the whole nature of the work, which shifted from the hands of the artisans to less skilled laborers, the concentration of industries in major American towns and cities had an enormous effect on the ethnic makeup of cities and the diversity of immigrants concentrated in

¹⁶ "Ten-footers" are small workshops where the shoemakers took part in each stage of production.

a particular industry. Thus, industry became a brand for the city, while a job in the factory became the meaning of life for the worker and the whole community.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the artisan transformed into the factory worker and the tan shops into factories; the city would experience another transformation by the influx of immigrants. While the city would transform these immigrants into industrial workers, immigrants would transform the city into a multicultural and multilingual industrial entity where each ethnic group settled in a particular setting and formed their own neighborhoods. Thus, this dissertation traces the transformation of a city through the rise of industry and the influx of immigrant labor. Furthermore, when a particular ethnic group is examined, the industry in which they were most represented should also be evaluated due to the fact that in addition to a variety of factors, the employment patterns of the immigrants and the nature and quality of the work in which they were employed not only defines the extent of their exposure and adaptation to the host culture, but also the prospect of their socioeconomic upward mobility and success.

Early twentieth-century America was shaped and reshaped by industries, the businessmen who shaped those industries, and the immigrants who changed the American society in unimaginable ways. It was within this framework that Anatolian peasants became another force of change upon their arrival in the U.S. In Massachusetts, while Lynn left most of its leather job to Peabody, Worcester became the rubber city, and Beverly consolidated its work force around slipper manufacturing and shoe machinery. Seeing this concentration of industry in the cities, major business trusts such as the United Shoe Machinery Corporation in Beverly and Swift&Co., the meatpacking empire in Chicago, both established in the

late nineteenth century, acquired major leather and leather machinery firms in Peabody in the early twentieth century. Previous studies on the leather, meatpacking and shoe industries fail to mention this interrelationship between these major industries, which had a profound impact on the social, cultural, religious, and economic life of the U.S. Thus, the meatpacking industry should also be taken into account when relations between the shoe and leather are analyzed; over time, all three became successive stages in one process. Consequently, a larger framework of interrelated industries will reveal an industrial triangle which shaped and reshaped the experiences of immigrants, as well as the population dynamics and settlement patterns in the U.S.

The rise of the leather industry in Peabody was not a coincidence. Usually “the leather industry has been located primarily with reference to the cost of transportation of one or another of the materials.”¹⁷ The beef trust in Chicago, particularly Swift & Co. became the major stockholder of the most modern and largest leather factories, focusing their leather business on the North Shore, where the hides of the animals they slaughtered could be processed. Two of the factories acquired by Swift & Co. were A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin Co., both located in Peabody. The primary reason for the selection of the area was the ready cheap labor supply composed mostly of Ottoman immigrants. Thus, availability of relatively cheap Ottoman labor on the North Shore accelerated the development of a leather industry with record speed. As Horace B. Davis notes, even in the 1940s, manual work in the tanneries was still required in the leather industry. In his study of the leather and shoe industry and its workers, he points out the fact that:

¹⁷ Hoover, Jr., *Location Theory*, viii.

The amount of work done by hand in tanneries is still considerable. Hardly any of the machines in use can be called automatic, and almost every process involves some manual skill. The stock is easily damaged by unskillful handling, and at some stages it deteriorates rapidly if not pushed with due promptness through the routine of manufacture. A high premium is consequently put on skill and training.¹⁸

As a matter of fact, in an industry heavily reliant on manual labor, Turkish workers were one of the crucial factors which made Boston and the North Shore one of the most prosperous regions in the United States.

During the Industrial Revolution and Gilded Age, society, social structure, institutions, sexual interactions, and the racial and social makeup of American cities experienced several transformations. As Alan Dawley notes in 1976 in his Ph.D. dissertation on Lynn's shoe industry and the industrial revolution, "to explore these generalizations about the Industrial Revolution at close range, one must take up the study of particular industries."¹⁹ The textile industry has been studied for this purpose but, as Dawley stated almost four decades ago, "other investigations have yet to be made of such industries as garment, meat-packing, farm implements, and iron fabrication that converted from household to factory organization"²⁰ Dawley's call for the development of this area of research has been heeded and studies have been undertaken by scholars in the aftermath of his dissertation.²¹ Although Dawley did not mention the leather industry and Lynn's neighbor Peabody in his dissertation, this dissertation will examine the impact of industrialization on a

¹⁸ Horace B. Davis, *Shoes: The Workers and the Industry* (New York: International Publishers, 1940), 114.

¹⁹ Alan Dawley, *Class and Community*, 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

²¹ See Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780-1910* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

particular city and its society. It will also provide a case study of a particular immigrant group within a specific social and cultural context. Thus, Peabody has been selected because not only is it a representative of industrialization, but it also is the only city in which the Turkish population made up the majority of the immigrant working class by 1915.

This study's major focus is the early Turkish migrants to eastern Massachusetts and their employment in the leather industry. Therefore, it will focus on immigration statistics and records on immigrants, as well as leather industry records. Unfortunately, data on the leather factories and the leather unions no longer exist. Instead, newspapers, journals, unpublished articles written by local people, a few interviews, private conversations with current and former residents of Peabody, industrial trail brochures, and a documentary film on Peabody's leather industry have been used to reheat the leather industry and the story of the Turkish leather workers.

Because of the fact that a considerable number of Turkish immigrants returned to Turkey after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, only a few people were interviewed in the United States including the offspring of early Turkish immigrants: Frank Ahmed and George Ahmed, Professor Madeline C. Zilfi, Ray Kako, and Eileen Masiello. Thus, newspaper articles on the Turkish immigrants on the North Shore, although colored by nativism, were used in this dissertation. To find descendants of the Turkish immigrants who returned Turkey was also a difficult task and even those identified did not remember much about their fathers' or grandfathers' stories and did not keep any of their papers or records. However, a few individuals such as Mehmet Tevfik Emre, who knew almost all the families in

Harput province and whose uncle-in-law was one of the prominent Turkish immigrants in Peabody provided valuable information.

Archival materials and sources in the Harvard University libraries, Massachusetts Historical Society, the Peabody Historical Society, George Peabody House, the Boston, Peabody and Salem Public Libraries, and the JFK Institute, Freie Universität Berlin had were consulted as part of this study. Furthermore, the Smithsonian Institution and National Museum of American History, as well as the Library of Congress collections and resources were consulted for the documentation of the rise and growth of the history of the North Shore's leather and shoe industry and its laborers in the early twentieth century. Also, archival materials from the Ahmet Emin Yalman collection located at Stanford University's Hoover Institution were used. The Ottoman Prime Ministerial archives and the Turkish Red Crescent archival materials have also been referred to in this dissertation, which with its comparative approach deriving from an extensive use of Turkish and American archival sources, will be a major contribution to the narratives of the Ottoman/Turkish diaspora in the United States.

The first chapter of this study looks at the ethnic and cultural structure of Harput *Vilayet* and the circumstances leading to the formation of a migration chain from Eastern Anatolia to Eastern Massachusetts. Furthermore, it examines the Ottoman and American governments' migration policies and their effects on the emigration and immigration of Ottoman ethnic and religious groups. Chapter one is also an assessment of the population statistics and settlement patterns of the Ottomans in the United States. It argues that regardless of their ethnic and religious identities, the Ottoman immigrants of Harput immigrated and settled in particular industrial cities and towns on the North Shore. Moreover, by analyzing the “push” and “pull” factors fostering the out-migration from Eastern Anatolia, chapter one places the Ottoman migration phenomenon into a broader emigration and immigration context.

The second chapter focuses on the rise and growth of the leather industry on the North Shore. It argues that among a variety of factors sustaining the growth of the leather industry, the most crucial were the convenient location, proximity of the towns and cities engaged in leather and leather-related industries, and the beef trust of Chicago which channeled all its efforts into the promotion and development of the leather industries. Thus, the flow of large sums of capital into the leather and shoe industries eventually led to the rise of large leather establishments, including A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin Co., which would be a chief factor for the large influx of immigrant labor into the industries.

Chapter three examines the Ottoman migration to the leather industry and the response of the host society to the Turkish immigrants. The chapter argues that employment in the beamhouses was one of the most important forms of interactions between the Peabody's society and the Turkish immigrants. The nature of the jobs in which the Turkish immigrants were employed in had a substantial effect on the immigrants' incorporation into the American mainstream and the formation of Turkish enclaves in Peabody. On the other hand, as chapter three will demonstrate, after a few years of employment in the leather industry, Turkish leather workers became active in the labor struggles on the North Shore, which eventually led to higher wages and changes in labor relations in Eastern Massachusetts.

Chapter four analyzes the settlement patterns of the Turkish immigrant in Peabody and the spatial segregation both in the city and in the leather factories. Moreover, this chapter examines the role of the coffeehouse as an institution in the Turkish transnational's life, and its negative and positive effects on adaptation to and assimilation in the United States. This chapter contends that the residential and spatial segregation of the Turkish immigrants negatively affected their exposure to the host culture and their assimilation to American society. Moreover, by limiting their access to the mainstream, it constrained Turkish immigrants' socioeconomic upward mobility and intermarriage, which could have contributed to the formation of an established Turkish community on the North Shore.

Finally, the fifth chapter introduces transnationalism and assimilation theories into the history of early Turkish immigrants to the United States. The

transnationalization of the immigrant, which has been added to the research agenda of immigration studies in the 1990s, contends that the immigrants might have been involved in social networks, and political and economic activities in two or more nation-states. Thus, this chapter argues that early Turkish immigrants in the U.S. underwent a transnationalization process through their social, political, and economic networks and hometown involvement, while assimilating into the American mainstream. Life after reverse immigration and Turkish-American marriages as the ultimate step of Turkish assimilation are also examined in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER II

OTTOMAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Each Ottoman region and province had its own peculiarities, histories, cultures, and ethnic compositions. Given the vast range of socioeconomic, cultural, and religious characteristics of the lands under the Ottoman rule, every emigrant-sending region needs to be studied individually if we are to appreciate Turkish immigrants' settlement and occupational patterns in the U.S., as well as their adjustment trajectories to American life which were shaped by the social and cultural life and the economic conditions of the villages of Anatolia. Due to the fact that a substantial number of Turkish immigrants on the North Shore were from Harput, a brief history of the region in terms of population, economic conditions, and cultural traits will be helpful since these were critical elements for the shaping of Turkish life and identity in the United States.

This chapter also challenges the contention that early Syrian immigrants to the United States were infuriated by the label "Turk" because "they were fleeing the corrupt and decaying regime of the Ottoman Turks."¹ By analyzing the stages prior to the ethnicization and nationalization of the Ottoman

¹ Steven J. Gold and Mehdi Bozorgmehr, "Middle East and North Africa," in *The New Americans*, eds. Mary C. Waters and Reed Ueda (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 529.

immigrants in the United States, this chapter will argue that following the proclamation of the *Tanzimat*, the Ottoman government adopted a policy of reconciliation *Ittihad-ı Anasır* [Unity of the Elements] toward the Ottoman nationalities in the United States, which was welcomed by the Armenian and Syrian immigrant communities.²

2.1. Life in the Ottoman Empire: Harput Vilayet

After a long history under various empires and *beglik* rules, the city of Harput—Tsopk or Karpert in Armenian—came under Ottoman control between 1515 and 1517 and was placed within the *pashalik* (governor-generalship) of Erzurum. Harput emerged as a *mutasarriflik*, a *sanjak* (county) of the *vilayet* (province) of Diyarbakir. The total area of this *vilayet* became about 123,595 square kilometers 37,800 square miles and was divided into three *sanjaks* – Harput-Mezre, Malatya, and Dersim—and eighteen *kazas* or districts. These were Arabkir, Egin and Keban Maden in Harput-Mezre Sanjak; Malatya, Behesni, Adiyaman or Husni Mansur, Kahda, and Akcedag in Malatya Sanjak; Hozat (Khozat), Cemisgezek, Carsancak (Perri), Mazgerd (Medzgerd/Metskert), Khuzuchan, Ovacik (Ovajiugh), Pertek (Pertag/Berdak), Pakh (Pah), and Kizil Kilise in Dersim *Sanjak* with a combined total of 2,443 villages.³ The *vilayet*

² For an extensive discussion of the scholarship on the rise of Arab nationalism and assimilation among early Syrian immigrants in the United States, see Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, “Making the *Mahjar* Home: The Construction of Syrian Ethnicity in the United States” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2000). Gualtieri argues that Syrian nationhood evolved within an Ottoman framework and did not call for a total separation from the Ottoman Empire. However, World War I changed the direction of the Syrian diaspora, transforming compromise into a call for full-fledged independence.

³ Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2002), 40.

was later renamed Mamuret-ul Aziz (the town made prosperous by Aziz) after the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Aziz (1861-1876). A majority of the Ottoman immigrants in eastern Massachusetts came from villages of these three *sanjaks* in the *vilayet* of Mamurat-ul Aziz (Harput).

Although accurate numbers for the demographic and ethnic breakdown of the *vilayet* of Harput cannot be given, the population figures should be provided in order to illustrate the ethnic composition of Harput:

Table 2.1. Vital Cuinet (circa 1890)

Muslim	267,416
Kurd	54,950
Kizilbash [Shiite Muslim]	182,580
Armenian Apostolic	61,983
Armenian Catholic	1,675
Armenian Protestant	6,060
Greek	650
TOTAL	575,314

Source: Vital Cuinet, *La Truquie d'Asie* in Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 41.

Table 2.2. Ottoman Census (1911-12)

Muslim	446,379
Gypsy	71
Armenian	87,864
Syrian [Assyrian Christian]	2,823
Greek	971
Chaldean [Catholic Assyrian]	8
TOTAL	538,116

Source: Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia* in in Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 41.

Table 2.3. Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople (1912)

Armenian	168,000
Jacobite, Nestorian, Chaldean	5,000
Turk	102,000
Kizilbash	80,000
Nomadic Kurd	20,000
Sedentary Kurd	75,000
TOTAL	450,000

Source: Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia* in Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 42.

Table 2.4. Statistics According to Justin McCarthy

Muslim	564,164
Syrian, Nestorian, Chaldean	2,883
Armenian	111,043
Greek	1,227
Other	984
TOTAL	680,241

Source: Justin McCarthy, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia* in in Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 42.

As statistics from different sources indicate, the *vilayet* of Harput had a greater number of Muslims than other religious groups. Although there are differences in the number of Armenians given by the Armenian Church and the Ottoman government, these figures indicate that the two groups, Muslims, including Turks and Kurds, and the Armenians, formed the majority of the population in this region.

The region's large Armenian population and its isolation attracted the ABCFM missionaries [American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions] to the Harput province. The town of Harput had the distinction of being the center of all mission stations and activities carried out within Turkey. The mission station was established in Mezre (today's Elazığ) in 1855 and by 1865, the ABCFM had established themselves in Harput province with the founding of the Harput Armenian Evangelical Union. The Union operated 83 primary schools and one of its most important accomplishments was opening the

Armenia College, which would be renamed the Euphrates (Firat) College on February 16, 1888.⁴

The establishment of United States consulate in Harput on January 1, 1901 represented a change in American diplomacy from isolationism to expansionism and interventionism. However, unlike the consulates established along the seacoast, on major trade routes, or in large commercial centers, the American consulate in the city of Harput was located 750 miles from the capital of Istanbul (Constantinople) and 400 miles from the nearest seaport in Samsun on the Black Sea. The reason behind the establishment of the consulate in Harput was due to both American missionary demands and economic interests.

At the turn of the twentieth century, Harput was not a prosperous province despite its bustling manufacturing activities. The chief economic activity in Harput was agriculture, yet it was plagued by poor roads, its long distance from seaports, and a lack of security in the countryside all of which kept the area poor.⁵ Thus, Harput could not export any agricultural or mineral goods produced in the region. European powers with expanding markets saw the potential of the region, and gained a foothold in the area long before the American consulate was established in Harput, Thomas H. Norton arrived in 1901, and as he explained after his arrival, “competent, live American traders have an excellent opportunity now to establish themselves in this region and gain such a foothold that serious competition in the future will become a matter of

⁴ Hovannissian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 209-273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 45.

extreme difficulty.”⁶ However, in his report of 1904, Norton noted that the stagnation in the region was mostly due to restrictions placed on Armenian merchants, who formed the bulk of the trading class. Another reason, perhaps much more serious than the restrictions on trade, was the heavy burden of taxation and the drain on tax revenue by Istanbul.⁷ Thus, along with the lack of conditions that would allow the area to prosper, governmental intervention on trade, and heavy taxation, made the province stagnate economically, leading its people to seek work elsewhere. For the Armenian merchants, obtaining permits to journey outside their *vilayet* of residence was extremely difficult and going to Istanbul was completely prohibited.⁸

Another reason for economic stagnation and poverty in the region was the extreme conservatism of the local people—both Muslims and Christians—that remained a problem even after the reinstatement of the Ottoman Constitution in the wake of the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. Actions of the new leaders such as removing restrictions on mining operation which would accelerate the prosperity of the region, were expected to contribute to the economic livelihood of the region. However, as the American Consul William Masterson observed in 1910, the population did not desire change:⁹

Just because their forefathers never had such an article, even [one] that seems of the most indispensable nature to one of us, an outsider, their descendants will not use it or will but slowly take to the use of it. It would seem that a bedstead with springs and a mattress or a dining table at which a person could sit on

⁶ “American Trade in Armenia: Encouraging Report from the Consul at Harput—Confidence in Quality of American Goods,” *New York Times*, December 27, 1901.

⁷ Christopher Clay, “Labour Migration and Economic Conditions in Nineteenth-Century Anatolia,” *Middle Eastern Studies* (1998): 34.

⁸ Department of Commerce and Labor, *Monthly Consular and Trade Reports* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), 93.

⁹ Hovannissian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 289.

a chair to eat would both be necessary articles of furniture, yet it is safe hazard to say that there are not, outside of the Mission stations and this Consulate, over two dozen beds, and dining tables in this district, and a further increase of these articles is going to be a slow process, for the mattress on the floor answers every purpose as a bed and the little low table scarcely six inches about the floor around which people sit on cushions or on the floor as they eat, is their idea of comfort in eating.¹⁰

By 1913, consular reports show that there was more economic prosperity because of the good crop weather. As Masterson noted, there was a potential for the development of agriculture but it needed an educated farming community to adopt advanced techniques and use modern machinery. Without advanced farming techniques, the crop produced within the area was only enough for subsistence. Furthermore, there was a lack of men to cultivate the land since many of them—both Muslims and Christians—migrated to the United States for fear of being drafted into the army during the Balkan Wars in 1912 and 1913. Masterson observed that “there is hardly a village but what the residents are principally women, children, old men, and a small sprinkling of younger men.”¹¹

Political push factors for the outmigration from Harput to the United States should not be underestimated. The peak years for migration from the Harput area was after the 1909 law, as Quataert notes, that rendered Ottoman Christians eligible for military service.¹² However, it was not just Christian males who left the province in order to avoid conscription; the Muslim population, who were suspicious of the Committee of Union and Progress, were

¹⁰ Quoted in Hovannissian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 289-290. This habit of eating, which is still used in the villages of Anatolia, is known as “yer sofrasi.”

¹¹ Hovannissian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 290.

¹² Suraiya Faroqhi et al., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 792.

also reluctant to serve in the army for many years. Consequently, Turkish migration to the United States reached its peak just before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. As William W. Masterson, the American consul to Harput noted:

The Turks of this community are suspicious of the Committee of Union and Progress and within the past week have organized another society (secret) called the Committee of Islamism (*Cemiyet-i Islamiye*) of some two hundred members whose sole purpose seems to be to discredit the Committee of Union and Progress, while the Armenians on their side are loudly complaining that the promised reforms have not come, that their liberties are all promises and that they have no hand in the new movement.¹³

The people of Harput province knew little about the Committee of Union and Progress since none of its representatives had come to explain its programs. Tension in eastern Anatolia increased dramatically during Abdulhamid II's deposition and the succession of Mehmed V. Resad to the throne. The Tripoli War between the Ottoman Empire and Italy eliminated any hope for the new government in Istanbul, while the economic condition of Harput deteriorated. The consul in Harput noted that "999 out of every 1,000 Turks in this part of the Empire are at heart reactionaries and are not in sympathy with the regime in power in Constantinople [Istanbul]." ¹⁴

Consequently, both economic and political factors created a massive demographic change in the region by stimulating outmigration from the region to the United States. Additionally, the creation and development of informal immigrant networks would facilitate the process and persistence of migrations from particular villages and regions. Moreover, immigrant networks, which

¹³ Hovannissian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 297.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 298.

assisted the journeys and arrivals of new coethnics or covillagers, would determine the settlement as well as employment patterns of the immigrants.

2.2. Formation of an Immigration Chain to the United States

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, considerable portions of the Ottoman population, from Syria as well as Anatolia, emigrated as a result of the need for manpower in North America and the fields of Argentina and Brazil. The opportunities for craftsmen and artisans also paved the way for skilled and unskilled labor movement to these areas.¹⁵ However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the rise of mechanization in North America resulted in less demand for skilled laborers, and created a remarkable change in the characteristics of the emigrants destined settle the industrial cities. The bulk of immigrants were the peasant-farmers of Anatolia and Syria as well as Eastern and Southern Europe who were in search of employment as unskilled or semi-skilled laborers in American cities. Thus, the large number of Ottoman migrants to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century was part of a global phenomenon of migration patterns shared by peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe. For example, just over half of the migrants from the Syrian provinces in 1911 were unskilled farm and factory workers, about one-fifth were engaged in trade with the U.S., and another one-fifth were in skilled occupations.¹⁶

¹⁵ Karpav, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914," 176-177.

¹⁶ Faruqi, *An Economic and Social History*, 792.

Labor migration from Eastern Anatolian provinces was not new, its inhabitants had experienced interior migration particularly from Mamuret-ul Aziz, Diyarbakir and Van. As early as the 1860s, the people of Harput traveled to Istanbul in search of work. For example, Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, noted “three naked Kurds” who had come from “beyond the Euphrates” to be employed in the masonry work for the college as they needed money “to pay their taxes and redeem their little holdings, which had been seized by the government.”¹⁷

Technological, as well as political and economic developments in the late nineteenth century would determine the migration trajectories of the Ottoman immigrants. In the 1890s, road construction, which would reduce the journey time from Harput to Samsun, the development of regular steamer services along the Black Sea coast, and the increase in employment opportunities in Istanbul would pave the way for a floating population in search of work. A journey from Harput to Samsun would normally take twenty to thirty days. Although a cartel formed by the Austrian, Turkish, French and Russian operators in the 1860s kept the rates for a journey from the Black Sea coast to Istanbul high, increased British competition in 1884 resulted in a reduction of the price by half. In 1894, another reduction in the price of the journey resulted in a population movement from the region to the capital, Istanbul.¹⁸ For a person from Eastern Anatolia, Istanbul would sometimes be the first place to start the search for employment and better wages. Lower ticket costs and the reduced travel time from Harput to

¹⁷ Cyrus Hamlin, *My life and Times* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1893), 459-460.

¹⁸ Clay, “Labour Migration,” 6-7.

Samsun, and then to Istanbul, would contribute to outmigration to the United States, which was an unforeseen consequence.

The American missionaries in Harput also fostered migration process. Although the missionaries were reluctant to encourage the peoples of Eastern Anatolia to migrate, bringing their Armenian servants to their hometowns in the United States resulted in the migration of Ottomans. The first Armenian from Harput province, from Mezireh, was Aaron Yenovkian, who arrived in Worcester in 1878. He took up employment in the Washburn & Moen Manufacturing Company, “the wire mill,” as it was popularly called. His enthusiastic letters to home advised Armenians to come to America rather than stay in Istanbul or Adana, Turkey.¹⁹ Not surprisingly, his enthusiastic letters across the Atlantic encouraged new immigrants, which in turn unintentionally created a regular pattern of outmigration and an effective transnational system of communication between Eastern Anatolia and Eastern Massachusetts. Furthermore, letters and stories would not only attract the Armenians, but also Turks and Kurds from Harput.

By 1888, “American fever” in Harput had become so intense that Reverend James Barton, President of Firat [Eurphrates] College, informed Oscar Straus, American Minister to the Sublime Porte, of the situation:

From this immediate ward of... [Kharpert], which constitutes less than one sixth of the whole city, 105 persons are at present either on their way to or in the U.S. I have not the figures for the whole city, but judge above to be a fair proportion. From Husenik, a good sized village one half mile away over 200 are now in the U.S. and fully as many more are ready to start as soon as this (the Ottoman) government gives full liberty of

¹⁹ Deranian, *Worcester is America*, 13-18.

immigration.²⁰

As the Dillingham Commission, which was established by Congress in 1907 to study “new immigration” after the 1880s, noted, the source of the “old immigrants” and the “new immigrants” changed as a result of global social, economic and political dynamics. While prior to 1880, the so-called old immigrants came chiefly for purposes of settling and being employed in agricultural production, after this period the new immigrants had arrived chiefly to be employed in American industry. Thus, the Dillingham Commission concluded that the nature of their work was the primary reason for the new immigrants’ ignorance, low standard of life and their inability to assimilate into American society. The old immigrants were composed of peoples from Western Europe including the English, Irish, and German, whereas the new immigrants were from Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Spain, Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia.²¹

Despite the commission’s discriminatory character, it succeeded in studying the political, economic, and social conditions in the migrant-sending regions by appointing staff to stay in the country of origin of immigrants and keeping reports of their accounts. The commission identified the foremost reason

²⁰ Barton to Straus, Kharpert, August 4, 1888, enclosure, Pendleton King, Chargé d’Affaires, Constantinople, to Secretary of State Bayard, September 25, 1888, RG 59, NA, M46, Roll 49. Quoted in Mirak, *Torn Between Two Lands*, 41.

²¹ “Turkey in Asia” and “Turkey in Europe” categories have changed over time because of territorial and population changes. For 1850–1900, Turkey in Asia included with Turkey in Europe; beginning in 1950, Turkey in Europe included in Turkey in Asia. Armenia, Palestine, and Syria included Turkey with Asia in 1910. For 1920–1950, Armenians were included with “other Asia”; beginning in 1960, with the USSR.

of migration to U.S. as the assistance of relatives and friends who had previously emigrated and established themselves in the United States. Thus, the commission concluded, “through the medium of letters from those already in the United States and visits of former emigrants, the emigrating classes of Europe are kept constantly if not always reliably informed as to labor conditions here, and these agencies are by far the most potent promoters of the present movement of population.” Interest in America had always been sustained by immigrants themselves, resulting in a continuous flow of transnational information back and forth. As the commission noted:

It was frequently stated to members of the Commission that letters from persons who have emigrated to America were passed from hand to hand until most of the emigrants' friends and neighbors were acquainted with the contents. In periods of industrial activity, as a rule, the letters so circulated contain optimistic references to wages and opportunities for employment in the United States, and when comparison in this regard is made with conditions at home it is inevitable that whole communities should be inoculated with a desire to emigrate. The reverse is true during seasons of industrial depression in the United States. At such times, intending emigrants are quickly informed by their friends in the United States relative to conditions of employment and a great falling off in the tide of emigration is the immediate result.²²

Along with the letters going back and forth, those who had returned for a visit to their homeland were also promoters of emigration as they were considered to be examples of success in their old homes. Moreover, the system worked in reverse in times of economic stagnation and industrial inactivity when the immigrants returned to their homeland due to a lack of available jobs. Almost all the Ottomans' ships' manifests show that they had been destined to meet a member

²² U.S. Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries*, Vol. 11 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 187-188.

of the family or a friend, which proves the commission's conclusions about the promotion of immigration.

Another factor in promoting migration from Turkey, which was not noted by the Dillingham Commission was the role of agents encouraging migration from Harput to the United States. An Armenian from Worcester, MA sent a letter to the Ottoman Legation in Washington, D.C. in 1891 warning the Ottoman government about an individual, Gaspar Nahigyan from Harput's Huseynik Village, who had established agents not only in Harput, but also in Istanbul and the United States. Nahigyan had been encouraging Harput's residents, both Muslims as well as Armenians, to migrate to U.S.²³ In 1893, the Ottoman government noted that there were some agents established by the Armenians of Harput in Marseilles and the United States, who had deceived Armenians and Muslims by facilitating migration to America based on false pretenses. Thus, it was decreed that an investigation would be made to prevent the immigration of Armenians and Muslims from Harput.²⁴

Overall, immigrant letters as well as immigrants themselves encouraged the formation of a migration chain to the United States, while a number of agents fostered an increase in the volume of immigration. Moreover, the American missionaries, in part, had a role in stimulating outmigration by triggering the process of a transnational information flow. The rising numbers of Ottoman immigrants as well as their controversial citizenship status, consequently, become one of the hotly debated issues in Turkish-American relations.

²³ "Harput'ta Bazı Kişilerin Ermenileri Amerika'ya Göçe Teşvik Ettikleri," February 6, 1891, in T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Ermeni-Amerikan İlişkileri (1839-1895)* Vol.I, (Ankara: Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, 2007), 36-37.

²⁴ BOA, fol. 2055, 132. February 26, 1893.

2.3. The Ottoman Government's Migration Policy

Ottoman Armenians from the province of Harput had established regular patterns of migration to America as early as the 1860s.²⁵ However, a vast majority of immigrants were clandestine as a result of the failure of the Ottoman government to formulate a long-term and consistent migration policy: sometimes immigration was completely forbidden for all Ottoman subjects, while at other times, bribes could obtain permission. The government's emigration policy usually paralleled tax and manpower needs, especially in times of war. The Ottoman government thus often made swift changes to emigration policy, and migration flows to the United States fluctuated considerably, but were invariably linked to economic and political factors in the Ottoman Empire.

For the first time, the Ottoman government applied a ban on immigration of its citizens in 1885, when the American government deported contracted laborers entering the United States and sent them back to Antwerp, Belgium. After this incident, it was decided that the Ottoman laborers would suffer if their entrance was refused. Furthermore, 1885 reports of U.S. consular officers noted that, "the want of occupation and the misery among the working classes of the United States are at present large and widespread that warning must be given to all those desiring to emigrate thither to postpone any change until the times have improved."²⁶ Consequently, the U.S. *Contract Labor Law of 1885* outlawed the

²⁵ Faroqi, *An Economic and Social History*, 792.

²⁶ United States Bureau of Foreign Commerce, *Emigration and Immigration: Reports of the Consular Officers of the United States* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 133.

practice of recruiting foreign laborers to work in America for low wages. As Jacob Mueller, the Consul-General to Germany noted in 1886, “Russia, Austria, Turkey, or any other country, should no longer be accommodated to rid themselves at the expense of the United States of the degraded products of their own make.”²⁷ Thus, the law targeted particular ethnic and religious groups of immigrants for exclusion. In February, 1888, 24 Ottoman subjects were denied entry into the United States and were sent back to Marseilles. The Ottoman government decided to let its subjects know that the U.S. did not want any more laborers. The Sultan decreed that the refusal of Ottoman subjects be circulated by the newspapers in order to deter those intending to migrate. After these denials of entry, the Ottoman government started to design policies tackling the problem of clandestine emigration. On July 18, 1890, it was decreed that emigration of both laborers and students should totally be banned, a port would be built in Samsun, police in Samsun would be replaced by government officials capable of identifying suspicious passengers, and a chief would be assigned for the boatmen.²⁸ However, these precautions failed to curb clandestine migration to the United States.²⁹

Beginning in the 1890s, the Ottoman government became concerned by the migration of Armenians and Muslims from the provinces of Harput and Diyarbakır to the United States. In one of its reports in 1892, the Ottoman

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 326.

²⁸ BOA, fol. 1743, 81, July 18, 1890; BOA, fol. 1496, 6, 09/B /1305 (Hicrî), BOA, fol. 1500, 93, 01/Ş /1305 (Hicrî), BOA, 2044, 76, 02/B /1310 (Hicrî); BOA, fol. 19, 34, 22/L /1310 (Hicrî); BOA, fol. 38, 59 04/2/1888 (Miladî). Beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which banned Chinese immigration for ten years and eligibility for citizenship, the U.S. passed a series of restrictions on immigration.

²⁹ A consular report from the United Kingdom, stated that in Russia and Turkey, a subject could emigrate without the Czar’s or Sultan’s permission in the 1880s. U.S. Bureau of Foreign Commerce, *Reports of the Consular Officers*, 437.

legation noted that there were 200 Muslims immigrants in the United States and 10 of them were from Harput. This group from Harput, included one *imam* (religious leader) who came to work with his sons who were already in Worcester.³⁰ A 1893 report of the *Sefaret-i Seniyye* [consular report] stated that the Muslims, who had migrated to the United States in order not to be conscripted for the army and to make a fortune, were living in miserable conditions.³¹

The problem of army conscription and deserters was common in other territories during the last decades of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. The American Consul to Bremen, where “the Turk and the Norwegian together climb up the side of a ‘Lloyd’ steamer on sailing day, seeking home in America,” observed that the agricultural and working classes supplied the greatest number of emigrants from that consular district to the United States. Moreover, many young men, under twenty-one years of age from all classes and life conditions, were emigrating to escape compulsory military service. As noted:

The young men, both rich and poor, high born and lowly, emigrate to escape compulsory military service, which is considered by the rich as inconvenience and by the poor as a hardship. Another hardship is calling in of young men (who have served) for military practice of some fifteen days or more, and then from four to six weeks each year to the fall maneuvers. The young men who have a position as clerk or workmen often loses his position or job by being called off to military practice in the midst of his work, or the young farmer is called off to the maneuvers for a period of four to six weeks just at harvest time, when he least can afford to go. The two or three years of military service could be endured, and be, perhaps, beneficial to most of the young men, but after

³⁰ BOA, fol. 72, 20, October, 11, 1892. BOA, fol. 69, 13. March 15, 1892.

³¹ BOA, fol.107, 35. August 10, 1893

interruption aforesaid bears serious consequences to their future.³²

The Ottoman government, was concerned not only about Muslims suffering in the United States (they did not know the language and traditions of Americans), but also by the loss of young men who would serve in the army. Consequently, in 1893, it resolved that migration to the United States should be stopped immediately.³³ It was well known by government officials that the Armenians of Harput, who had migrated previously and had agents in both Marseilles and the United States, were encouraging the Muslims of Harput to migrate to the United States by presenting them as Armenians whose living habits were similar to those of other Anatolians in the U.S. and who spoke Turkish as their first language. Thus, the Ottoman government initiated a series of decrees to repress the Muslim migration to the United States by revealing the nature of Armenian migration agents and clandestine migration. In order to encourage its citizens to return, the government released another decree in April 1897, during Greco-Turkish War, stating that those intending to return from the United States were not required to serve in the army.³⁴

Ottomans suffering in the United States without food and shelter were also seen as a blight on the Ottoman Empire. Similarly emigration of the Armenians, who had formed regular migration patterns to the United States,

³² U.S. Bureau of Foreign Commerce, *Reports of the Consular Officers*, 152.

³³ BOA, fol. 14, 1311/M-044. July 31, 1893.

³⁴ BOA, fol. 1991, 95, August 24, 1892; BOA, fol. 1991, 89, August 24, 1892; BOA, fol. 92, 9, 15 April, 1897. BOA; fol. 2045, 57, 1893. See also Karpat, "Ottoman Emigration to America." Here I should mention a story that I heard from one of interviewees, Erman Dincer, who related a well-known story in Malatya that there were Turkish people returning from the United States to fight in the Turkish War for Independence in 1919. However, they were kept in the Istanbul Port and told that it would be more appropriate to donate money for the war cause. They were sent back to the United States. Erman Dincer, interview by author, Ankara, May 15, 2007.

alarmed the Ottoman government as the extremist Armenian groups were forming associations which would worsen the Ottoman Empire's reputation. Returning Armenians were under close surveillance since it was contended that extremist Armenians, who had immigrated for the purpose of studying or being employed in the United States, had begun planning an insurrection in Harput in 1908.³⁵

The government policy of curbing emigration alone was not sufficient enough to address the economic and social problems of the immigrants. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire changed its attitude of indifference towards its subjects in the United States, a vast majority of whom had migrated clandestinely. Thus, along with the desire to curb the outmigration, a policy of encouraging the return of immigrants was adopted. The most important attempt of the Ottoman political elite to convince its subjects to return to Turkey was in 1908, when Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) proclaimed general amnesty to all political fugitives from Turkey, regardless of ethnicity. The amnesty was part of the Young Turk "Revolution" and the proclamation of the Second Constitution in 1908, which restored the 1876 Ottoman Constitution with the hope of creating a strong state and protecting freedom of speech and the press. Furthermore, the Second Constitution would mark an end to the religious community (*millet*) and its all pervading influence, except in the sphere of

³⁵ BOA, fol. 307, 193. March 30, 1908.

religion.³⁶ Many ethnic and religious groups under the Ottoman rule, including Arabs, Turks, Greeks and Armenians, rejoiced with the events of 1908.³⁷

Proclamation of the Second Constitution and the *Tanzimat*'s ideal of reconciliation of Ottoman nationalities, *Ittihad-ı Anasır* [Unity of the Elements], also found its way to the United States and the Ottoman ethnics. On July 30, 1908 the general amnesty was declared by the Turkish Consul Mundji Bey in New York. This amnesty targeted about 200,000 Armenians and other Ottoman ethnics in the United States. The message from the Sultan to the Turkish consul was:

Inform all the fugitive Turkish citizens in New York City and in all the United States, including political fugitives without regard to race or nationality—whether Greek, Armenian, Turkish, Albanian, everything that after promulgation of a constitution for the Turkish Empire, his majesty the Sultan, upon request of the government, has granted general amnesty, and all political fugitives may go back to Turkey after having the necessary passports verified at the office of the Turkish Consul General, 59 Pearl street, New York City.³⁸

According to the Turkish Consul General, at the time of the proclamation of the general amnesty, there were 400,000 Turkish citizens in the United States, of whom more than 200,000 were political fugitives. They had often longed to return to their old homes, he noted, but feared to do so. He assured these political fugitives, as well as other Turkish citizens in the United States, that they could return to their old homes without any fear. Although the amnesty included

³⁶ Faroz Ahmad, "The Young Turk Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History* 3 (1968): 22.

³⁷ Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 52.

³⁸ "Sultan Proclaims a General Amnesty: About 200,000 Armenians in the United States Are Understood to Come in Under the Provisions of This Order, As They Are All Political Fugitives," *The Salem Evening News*, July 31, 1908.

political, not criminal, fugitives, it prompted great hope for the return of Ottomans in the United States to “help in the work of constructing a united nation” as Turkey was expected to be “as free as the United States.” To encourage return of the immigrants, Mundji Bey compared the new era in the Ottoman Empire to the period after the Russian revolution of 1905, which resulted in a failure of constitutional democracy. He assured that the proclamation was made in good faith and that there would be “no repetition of the Czar’s fiasco in regard to the Russian duma.” With the Second Constitutional Era, he believed, Turkey would “now take its former place among the nations of the world.” The Consul noted that he would be “surprised if at least 100,000 Turkish subjects did not return to their native lands within the next month or so.” He estimated that at least 5,000 out of the 50,000 Armenians, and Syrians would depart in a very short time after the proclamation. Furthermore, the Turkish refugees, the Turkish Consul noted, did not constitute a large number in New York City but had settled in Providence, Rhode Island as a large colony which was also expected to return.³⁹

After the proclamation of general amnesty, the Armenians and Syrians of New York City were consulted with respect to their thoughts about the Sultan’s call for return. Mihran Bohgelian, an Armenian spokesperson, said “I feel absolutely certain that the Sultan is acting in good faith I trust implicitly in the proclamation.” Moreover, F.M. Faddoll, a Syrian Jeweler and an important figure in the Syrian community in New York City, noted “we Syrians, of course, are greatly pleased at what the Sultan has done.” Regarding the situation of the

³⁹ *Ibid.* The Turkish colony in Providence, Rhode Island was one of the largest.

Armenian and Syrian immigrants in the United States, he observed that “the Armenian is a political refugee, where Syrian is not; the Syrian has come to America because the conditions of life, business and industry there do not offer the possibility for progress that America does.” He believed that “the advance in the cause of freedom may mean a new era for Syria.”⁴⁰ The proclamation also found its voice in Turkish newspapers. *Sabah*, one of the most important newspapers of the time, noted that many of the Muslim and Armenian refugees were preparing to return to their homeland.⁴¹

Another important development in initiating and sustaining the Ottomanization process among the Ottomans in the United States was the removal of the Turkish Minister to the United States from his office in Washington D.C. and his recall to Turkey. On August 11, 1908, Mehmed Ali Bey, the Turkish Minister to the U.S., received a recall from the Turkish government. The chief reason for the Turkish minister in Washington was an attack upon Hasan Izzet Pasha, the father of the retiring minister, made by Mundji Bey who accused Izzet Pasha of being involved in the Armenian massacres. Although Mehmed Ali Bey noted that his father was not the instigator of the alleged Armenian massacres (referring to the Armenian uprisings in 1894 and 1896) “and could not have been, for at the time of those massacres he occupied no political position, being President of the Commercial Tribunal, an organization which included in its membership both Europeans and Turk.”⁴²

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ “Amerika’daki Osmanlılar,” *Sabah*, August 4, 1908.

⁴² “Turkish Minister Admits Recall; Mundji Bey Ordered From New York to Washington as Charge d’Affaires,” *New York Times*, August 12, 1908.

After the minister was recalled, Mundji Bey made his way to Washington as Chargé d'Affaires. Upon his arrival, Mundji Bey noted:

I have received a telegram from the Foreign Office directing me to proceed at once to Washington and take the charge of the Legation. I am pleased to see that the new government remains in power and am sure that a new era is dawning for my country. I shall spend to-morrow in Washington in calling on the Secretary of State, making official visits, and receiving the papers of the Turkish Legation from Mehmed Ali Bey. I shall return to New York on Friday. Until I receive further instructions from Constantinople my time will be divided, between Washington and New York.⁴³

Moreover, Mundji Bey suggested the Turkish government's new approach to its people in the United States by mentioning that there would be a mass meeting of Turks, Armenians, Syrians, and Greeks, and all persons interested in the Ottoman Empire at Carnegie Hall, New York City, on August 23, 1908. He conveyed that he would "preside and assist in the discussion of the best means of getting a permanent good government for Turkey, so that the people would be free to go ahead and develop the resources of the country."⁴⁴ However, when all hope for the reunification of Ottoman ethnic elements under one umbrella disappeared and the government eventually came to terms with the impossibility of achieving the ideal of *Ittihad-ı Anasır*, these efforts turned out to be in vain.

Another series of strict restrictions were put on emigration to United States on the eve of the Balkan Wars. As the Commissioner General of immigration contends in his report of 1914, "owing to the strict laws against

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

emigration in Turkey, most emigrants leave secretly.”⁴⁵ A Turk, Ali Haydar Ibrahim, who had returned Turkey after living in the United States many years in the United States, related his story of exodus from his village, mostly on foot, to the Black Sea port of Trabzon:

It was a port where mostly French ships called to pick up hazelnuts for the French port of Marseilles. The shipping agents were all French. These agents knew what we Turkish peasants wanted to do, and they advised us on how we could circumvent the Turkish laws which prohibited its citizens from departing the country without permission of the government. All the Turks were told to tell the Turkish authorities that they were going to Istanbul to look for work. The French shipping agents would then sell us two tickets: one would read “Destination Istanbul” and the other would read “Destination Marseilles.” We hid that ticket until we cleared Turkish waters. Of course, the French also gave small bribes to the Turkish officials, who had heard of and understood what these Anatolians were really up to.⁴⁶

However, Ottomans leaving secretly for the New World were exposed to exploitation as was acknowledged by both the Ottoman and American governments. The ignorance of the emigrants, especially Armenian women, made them suffer on the way to the United States. As Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, a special agent of the United States immigration service, noted, many women, particularly Armenian women migrating from Turkey to the United States, were first brought to Marseilles and then to Liverpool where they were made to believe that they had reached America. They remained there until they discovered that they were in Liverpool, since they could not enter the United States from England, they were brought to another European port by a trans-

⁴⁵ U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (Washington, DC, 1915), 374-375.

⁴⁶ Frank Ahmed, *Turks in America: The Ottoman Turk's Immigrant Experience* (Columbia: Columbia International, 1993), 87.

Atlantic company.⁴⁷ The hardships of migration suffered by the immigrants were not only propagated by the policies initiated by the Ottoman government, but also by immigration restrictions enforced by the American government.

2.4. The American Government's Response to Ottoman Migration to the United States

As already noted, one of the major U.S. laws that led to the Ottoman government's placing further restrictions on emigration was the first "contract labor law" of February 26, 1885 which made it unlawful to import aliens into the United States for labor services of any kind. Under this act, there were instances of deportation of the Ottomans who came to the United States with promises of jobs. Another act, which gave the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to enforce the law, provided that prohibited persons be sent back on arrival, was passed on February 23, 1887. Consequently, as a response to the Ottomans' being barred in the United States and returned home, the Ottoman government imposed a series of restrictions on the emigration of its subjects.

Furthermore, the two more acts, which were designed to discourage immigration before the quota restrictions of 1924, were passed in 1891 and 1893, and added inadmissible classes to the list of persons to be barred from entry into the United States. These classes were: persons likely to become public charges; persons suffering from contagious disease; felons; persons convicted of other crimes or misdemeanors; polygamists; and aliens assisted by others through

⁴⁷ U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report*, 374-375.

payment of passage. These laws also forbade the encouragement of immigration through advertisement. The Act of 1893 added to the reporting requirements, which now included new information as occupation, marital status, ability to read or write, amount of money in possession, and facts regarding physical and mental health. This information was needed to determine the admissibility of the immigrant.

After the enactments of these laws, several instances of the deportations of Ottomans, as well as southern and eastern Europeans, occurred. One of these cases was the “case of Mitroudís and 10 companions” who were Greek laborers arriving in New York from Turkey with the promise of employment in Attleboro. Similarly, the “Case of Krikoroff and 16 companions,” heading for Riverside, ended with the deportation of these individuals and their companions.⁴⁸ As was noted,

A countryman had recently been in their native village and instructed them how to proceed in order to enter the country and to obtain employment in a cement works at Riverside. Most of them had borrowed money with which to pay their passage, the rates of interest being usurious, and in some instances their homes having been mortgaged as security. There was reason to believe that the cost of passage would be gradually deducted from their pay, this fact indicated that some one connected with the cement works was responsible. With the exception of four, they were ordered deported, as careful consideration of the circumstantial as well as the testimonial evidence fully justified the conclusion that their migration had been induced and encouraged.⁴⁹

The case of Krikoroff also illustrates how immigrant networks assisted trips across the Atlantic. Similarly, nine Turkish men, who were encouraged by the

⁴⁸ U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1912), 120

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

promised jobs, were barred from entry into the United States. Considering the “Case of Mustapha and 8 Companions” it was noted:

These Turkish laborers arrived at Philadelphia, going to Providence, R.I. and Peabody, Mass. In this instance it was found possible to develop direct evidence of unlawful inducement. A Turk who had lived in this country for a long time and who was engaged in contracting for construction work told a fellow countryman who had worked for him and who lives in Philadelphia that if he would send him some Turkish laborers he could use them, and this second person proceeded to correspond with people in his native town, which correspondence resulted in the coming of the 9 laborers. They were of course deported.⁵⁰

Mostly, the Ottoman groups were regarded as unassimiable elements, “alien in thought and habits of life, and fixed traits of character evolved from totally different surroundings.” Thus, the acts passed in 1891 and 1893 were designed “to absolutely exclude certain classes of aliens whose presence is regarded as detrimental to the interests of American citizens upon moral, financial, or physical grounds.”⁵¹ However, the two acts did not effectively curb the influx of immigrants with promised jobs.

Ottoman immigrants themselves could also sometimes damage Ottoman-U.S. diplomatic relations. Although it was not the official work of the missionaries, they helped Armenians to transfer funds from the United States, obtain travel permits to America for wives and children left behind, and, perhaps most importantly, protect the rights of Armenians who had emigrated to the United States, obtained citizenship, and returned to Harput. The last one became the most problematic aspect of Turkish-American relations. The Sublime Porte either had refused to recognize the acquired citizenship of the Armenians and

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 35-36.

treating them as Ottoman subjects or deporting them. Although the number of naturalized Armenians of Harput was reported by the American government in 1906 to be 64, it was estimated that it was at least 500.⁵²

Besides the problem of acquired American citizenship, there were also cases of fraudulent citizenship. A number of Ottoman immigrants, who had been to the United States, had obtained fraudulent papers of naturalization as well as passports with the hope that these papers would provide protection by the American government if they were in trouble with the Ottoman government. Consequently, the fraudulent citizenships would sometimes raise the tension between the Ottoman and American governments. A 1904 report by an immigration agent, after an investigation in Syria, revealed the gravity of the issue. The missionaries and professors in the missionary schools and colleges.

They consider the promotion of this traffic a curse, for, as Professor Crawford of the American College at Beirut told me in one these interviews “those returning from the United States bring back in addition to their former bad habits, which consist chiefly of a lying disposition, also the nasty habit of forwardness. A characteristic of such returning Syrians is the almost universal custom to come back supplied with American naturalization papers; they do not, however, disclose such citizenship; in fact they conceal this circumstance as much as they possibly can. They still pose as Turkish subjects, and probably because of these naturalization papers are obtained fraudulently, they refrain from asserting their American citizenship until for some reason or other they get in trouble and difficulties with the Turkish authorities, when, and in which event, their certificate of citizenship is immediately produced and the American consul called upon for protection, giving no end of inconvenience to our said consul.”⁵³

⁵² Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 282.

⁵³ U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 46.

Thus, both the American and Ottoman governments were concerned with Ottoman subjects obtaining fraudulent American citizenships and the diplomatic crises resulting from these so-called American citizens. Disturbed by the fraud, the American consul, Oscar Straus, in 1899 refused to help an Armenian immigrant named “Joe the Turk.” The story entitled “Joe the Turk’s Hard Luck Story” appeared in *The Washington Post*:

The attorney for the Salvation Army has called the attention of Secretary Hay to the indignities alleged to have been heaped on Joseph Garabed, an ensign of the Salvation Army, known all over the United States as “Joe the Turk,” who went to Turkey recently for the purpose of visiting some of his relatives. On July 11, 1899, he got a passport and necessary papers, which he supposed would protect him as an American citizen in Turkey, having been a citizen of this country for over eighteen years. On landing, instead of receiving protection, he says his passport was seized by the Turkish authorities and thrown into jail.

Nashan Garabed reached the American consul in Istanbul who not only refused to protect him but also ordered Garabed “to leave the country, as the Turks had directed, on the very next steamer.” Otherwise, he could be kept in an American jail, after which would be placed by the American consul on a European ship sailing for America. Garabed left Turkey on a Russian steamship without ever seeing his family.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ “Joe the Turk’s Hard Luck Story,” *The Washington Post*, October 24, 1899.



Figure 2.1. An Image of Nashan Garabedian, an Armenian known as “Joe the Turk.” *The Salem Evening News*, February 28, 1910. It is noted on the Salvation Army’s website that Joseph Garabedian was an Armenian and an ensign of the Salvation Army, known all over the United States as “Joe the Turk.” He was from Talas, Kayseri, a town which had a large population of Armenians. Garabedian became a shoemaker in Boston upon his arrival in the United States. In the U.S., this tall and impressive Armenian protected the persecuted Salvationists. He changed his name to John, and took up the name “Joe the Turk.” Garabedian travelled the country as a representative of the Trade Department, preaching and exhorting others to repent.

Nashan Garabed’s conflict with the Ottoman government existed because of the Ottoman Nationality Law of January 19, 1869, which required that “former Ottoman subjects who had acquired foreign nationality after emigrating with the permission of the Ottoman government would be considered as foreign aliens upon their return home.” According to the law, Ottoman subjects who left *without* the permission would be treated as Ottoman subjects upon their return even if they had acquired a foreign citizenship. Their foreign naturalization would be considered null and void once on Ottoman soil. Consequently, the

question over the nationality of the returning Ottoman immigrants would lead to diplomatic crises between the United States and the Ottoman Empire as returning Armenians, Greeks and Syrians sought American protection in legal matters when they returned home. Eventually, the two governments reached an agreement over the question on September 11, 1874. According to the agreement between the two governments, “former Ottoman subjects who had acquired U.S. citizenship would be deemed to have expatriated themselves and become once more Ottoman citizens if they returned and remained for two years in their homeland.” However, although the treaty was accepted by the Sublime Porte, it did not take effect since leading missionaries, with the instigation of prominent Armenians who had been naturalized as American citizens and returned to Turkey, opposed the ratification of the law. Thus, the issue of citizenship remained unsolved and continued to constitute a problem between the two governments until the twentieth century.⁵⁵

Because the controversial citizenship issue continued to affect the legal status of the previous immigrants, an imperial decree on October 9, 1896, ended immigrants’ possibility of return and stipulated that “all who desire to leave the country must sign a document and also have a solvable guaranty, confirmed by the patriarchate, that they will not return to Turkey.” Moreover, the decree provided that “Ottoman Armenian subjects who have emigrated under false names and, yet, by diverse means, have returned to Turkey with foreign passports will not be recognized as foreign subjects, nor will they be allowed to

⁵⁵ Karpal, “Ottoman Emigration,” 115-116.; Oscar S. Straus, *Under four Administrations: from Cleveland to Taft* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1922), 91-92.

live in any part of the Empire.”⁵⁶ Thus, the decree left no room for legal migration or the return of the Ottoman emigrants.

Consequently, in 1899, Nashan Garabedian, or “Joe the Turk,” as was known, called upon Secretary of State John Hay to “assert the right of citizens of the United States to visit freely the dominion of the Sultan of Turkey.” *The New York Times* article about Garabed’s imprisonment in Turkey noted that American citizens, other than those who were born in the Ottoman Empire, were not prohibited to visit Turkey or any part of the Sultan’s dominion. The Ottoman law required that “a subject of the Sultan may not leave Turkey without the Sultan’s permission.” Furthermore, “should he leave, with or without permission, he would be subject upon his return to certain penalties, his citizenship in a foreign nation would be disregarded, and he might be less fortunate than Joseph Garabed, whose American Passport did not protect him against being jailed.”⁵⁷ Thus, the Ottoman law of expatriation resulted in the emigrants’ trying different tactics to conceal their emigration in order to circumvent the legal obligations that they could face upon their return to the homeland. Furthermore, as was previously noted, those who had made their way to the United States before the decree concealed their acquired American citizenship after their returning to their homeland and often revealed their status when they encountered problems with the Ottoman government. Consequently, the Ottoman policy of emigration and repatriation paved the way for the formation of an invisible population going back and forth between Turkey and the United States. Eventually, strict

⁵⁶ Karpap, “Ottoman Emigration,” 115-116.

⁵⁷ “Joe, the Turk,” *The New York Times*, October 26, 1899.

limitations on migration made it impossible to estimate the accurate numbers of the emigrants from the Ottoman territories.

2.5. An Assessment of the Statistics of Ottoman Immigrants in the United States

The numbers of each Ottoman religious group migrating to the United States are imprecise because of the fact that the Ottomans kept few official figures of immigration. Furthermore, the large numbers of clandestine migrations, as was noted, also added complexity to Ottoman statistical figures, so they must be treated with caution. Thus, United States immigration statistics, despite their flaws, give us much more precise information about the numbers and characteristics of the Ottoman immigrants in the United States. Despite the fact that the American government had begun collecting immigration data as early as 1798, it was not systemized until 1880.⁵⁸ Migration flow from Asian Turkey began only after 1869, and in low numbers. Ottoman migration flow began in considerable numbers after 1890.⁵⁹

In 1899, eighty-four percent of the Ottoman migrants were males and sixteen percent of all Ottoman emigrants to the United States were women.⁶⁰ The immigrants from the Harput area during the years of mass migration were composed of almost all males, with a high proportion employed in American

⁵⁸ Karpal, "Ottoman Emigration," 181.

⁵⁹ Although E.P. Hutchinson gives the number of immigrants from "Turkey in Asia" in 1910 as 59,729, the numbers of such immigrants given for the same year in *Historical Statistics of the United States* is far lower than this, at 15,212.

⁶⁰ Faroqi, *An Economic and Social History*, 792.

industries. A majority of males were between the ages of 15 and 40 and from 1860 to 1914, Ottoman subjects migrating to the Americas totaled 1.2 million. During the period 1869-1892, 178,000 persons migrated from “Turkey-in-Asia” to the United States; 120,000 migrants from “Turkey-in-Europe” and another 150,000 from the Asian provinces arrived in the United States between 1895 and 1914.⁶¹ The most considerable leap in the population movement from “Turkey in Asia,” was seen in the 1910 census with a total of 23,533 immigrants from Turkey in Asia, an increase around twice the number of immigrants in 1909. In 1911 and 1912, after a decline in the number of migration from “Turkey in Asia” to 10,229 and 12,788 respectively, another rise was observed in 1913. 23,955 immigrated probably due to the devastating effects of the Balkan Wars on the socioeconomic conditions in Turkey and the decline in the prospect of a better life at home.⁶² After the outbreak of World War I, Ottoman immigrant arrivals into the United States abruptly came to a halt.

The most difficult task involved in identifying the Ottoman communities in the United States is understanding under which categories they were defined by the American bureaucracy. The elusiveness of the racial and ethnic categories that were used to identify the immigrants makes it more difficult to estimate the numbers of Ottoman immigrants in the early decades of the twentieth century. The Dillingham Commission’s racial dictionary of 1910 added more confusion to ethnic and religious categories. For example, the dictionary suggested that in some cases the “Mohammedan” Albanians or Croatians were categorized as

⁶¹ Faroqhi, *An Economic and Social History*, 792.

⁶² Susan B. Carter et al., *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Turks because they called themselves Turks.⁶³ However, most Muslims, including Turks, changed or anglicized their names for fear of not being accepted by a Christian country. Thus, Turks who were registered with Christian names at the port of entry were considered Christians. Kemal Karpat notes that roughly 200,000 people out of the 1.2 million from Ottoman lands were Muslims, and included roughly 50,000 ethnic Turks.⁶⁴

A further problem about U.S. governmental documents is that there is no clear distinction between Turkish and Kurdish immigrants. Although a considerable number of immigrants from Eastern Anatolian provinces were composed of Turks, Kurds and Armenians, the Kurdish immigrants are neither mentioned in the federal nor in the state censuses, although the ship registers list a number of Kurdish speaking emigrants from Harput heading for Peabody, Salem, Providence or other industrial towns or cities. This seems to suggest that the Kurdish immigrants were considered Turkish, and registered so in census and military records.

Although there were instances of a few Armenians and Muslims making their way to the United States, immigrants from “Turkey in Asia” category appeared for the first time in 1869 in the annual reports of the Commissioner General of Immigration. The numbers did not exceed five until the year 1886, and reached their peak in 1913. By the outbreak of World War I, which was followed by the immigration restrictions of the 1920s, migration from Turkey in Asia declined considerably. Below is an extract of the statistics for immigrants from Turkey in Asia, and the years they entered the United States.

⁶³ U.S. Department of Labor, *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 15-49.

⁶⁴ Kemal H. Karpat, *Studies in Turkish Politics and Society: Selected Articles and Essays* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2004), 614.

Table 2.5. Immigrants, by country of last residence – Asia:

Fiscal Year	Turkey/Number
1886	15
1887	208
1888	273
1889	593
1890	1,126
1891	2,488
1892	--
1893	--
1894	--
1895	2,767
1896	4,139
1897	4,732
1898	4,275
1899	4,436
1900	3,962
1901	5,782
1902	6,223
1903	7,118
1904	5,235
1905	6,157
1906	6,354
1907	8,053
1908	9,753
1909	7,506
1910	15,212
1911	10,229
1912	12,788
1913	23,955

1914	21,716
1915	3,543
1916	1,670
1917	393
1918	43
1919	19
1920	5,033
1921	11,735
1922	1,998
1923	2,183
1924	2,820

Source: Susan B. Carter et al., *Historical Statistics of the United States, Millennial Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Bureaucratic confusion over not only the ethnicity and religion of the Ottoman subjects, but also over their races would even lead to the denial of citizenship for Syrians. As early as 1909, the Ottoman government had reported citizenship denials for Syrians on the basis of being from a “yellow race.”⁶⁵ Salayman N. was one of those Syrians who were denied American citizenship on the ground that Syrians were of the Chinese race. He noted:

When President Wilson said that Syrians are of Chinese race and can't get citizenship papers, the people in New York united, collected money, and sent a lawyer to Washington. He argued that if the Syrians were Chinese, then Jesus, who was born in Syria, was Chinese. They won the case and so I went here [Spring Valley] and got my citizen[ship].⁶⁶

Thus, although numbers for all the immigrants from Turkey in Asia can be estimated, because of blurred ethnic or religious boundaries, it is impossible to

⁶⁵ BOA, Fol. 56, 5, March 11, 1909.

⁶⁶ Naff, *Becoming American*, 259.

differentiate one Ottoman group from another in order to provide exact numbers for each.

2.6. Trajectories, Destinations, and Populations of Ottoman Ethnics in Massachusetts

As was already argued in the previous section, many of the immigrants from Harput, as well as other immigrant-sending Ottoman provinces, knew where they were going and their possible employment opportunities before they boarded the ships. However, the first destination was not necessarily the United States. There were those who had tried the Ottoman port cities, such as Istanbul and Izmir, joined the unemployed and then boarded ships which would take them across the Atlantic.⁶⁷ As a Grecian Turkish Merchant living in Peabody noted, almost all Turkish people “come from Kharput [Harput], in Asiatic Turkey, and they came to this country because they were sick of the present government in Turkey and have no desire to fight...” He noted that “a great many of them left their homes to go to Constantinople [Istanbul], because it is hard to make a living in Kharput, and they have come to this country to escape compulsory military service.”⁶⁸ Furthermore, the Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration in 1900 and the immigrants’ ship manifests indicate that there were also those who first migrated to Canada or perhaps Mexico and after a brief

⁶⁷ Faroqi, *An Economic and Social History*, 791-792, Hovannisian, *Armenian Tsopk/Kharpert*, 281.

⁶⁸ “Peabody Turks are Numerous,” *Salem Evening News*, July 16, 1912.

residence in one of these bordering countries, eventually made their way to the U.S.

Initial settlement patterns of each European and Asian immigrant group to the United States followed a distinctive pattern linked to the period of arrival and economic intentions and opportunities. Thus, eastern European groups such as Italians, lacking the money for travel far into the U.S. interior, settled mainly in or near the eastern seaboard. Similarly, the Chinese and Japanese chose western coastal states and Hawaii for practical purposes.⁶⁹ Besides the existence of the ABCFM missionaries in Boston, a better prospect of employment as well as a lack of money to go far into the interior resulted in Turkish immigrants' concentration on the eastern seaboard, specifically in New England cities and towns.

Ship manifests of the Turkish immigrants, as well as reports and accounts of individuals, show that Providence was usually the first stop for Turkish immigrants in the United States. For example, when in 1908 Sultan Abdulhamid II proclaimed a general amnesty for all Ottoman political fugitives and demanded that all Ottoman peoples return from abroad, the Turkish Consul of New York, Mundji Bey, noted that the Turks did not constitute a large number in New York City but had settled in Providence as a large colony and had been expected to return.⁷⁰ Also when Imam of the Turkish legation in New York, Mohammed Sadig, assumed his job in 1910, he started his mission by visiting Providence first. Then, he made visits to Worcester, Boston, Peabody, Lawrence,

⁶⁹ Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 83.

⁷⁰ "Sultan Proclaims a General Amnesty: About 200,000 Armenians in the United States Are Understood to Come in Under the Provisions of This Order, As They Are All Political Fugitives," *The Salem Evening News*, July 31, 1908.

Lowell, and a few other places where a vast majority of the Turkish immigrants resided.⁷¹ Thus, although many of the immigrants ended up in Peabody, Providence had become a major port for Turkish immigrants in the United States.

In addition to immigrants heading directly to their final destinations, there was also a considerable number of floating Turks. A good example of a mobile Turkish population can be found in the trial of Said Mohammed in 1907. In Peabody he assaulted a fellow countryman, Said Ahmad, who owed him money. Both Ahmad and Mohammed had met in Providence in February, 1906 and Ahmad borrowed \$17, of which \$3 was to enable him to get his clothes out of pawn. Also, both had been to Worcester before coming to Peabody. Mohammed noted that “Ahmad was of so many countries and spoke several languages so that he could not say just what his nationality is.”⁷² In Peabody, their fight over money had been brought to court, revealing that a number of Turks in the United States had been to a variety of countries and were not residing in any particular place but floating from one city to another.⁷³

The decennial census of Massachusetts in 1915 suggested an increase in the numbers of Turks and other ethnic groups from the Ottoman Empire. Regarding all these ethnic groups which might have included Greeks, Kurds, Sephardic Jews and Albanians, it was noted:

The Turks constitute another foreign-born element which has been increasing at a remarkable rate in our population in recent years. There were 8,263 natives of Turkey and the various

⁷¹ “A Turkish Visitor.” *The Salem Evening News*. January 26, 1910.

⁷² “Said Mohammed Trial Finished,” *The Salem Evening News*, June 6, 1907.

⁷³ *Ibid.* Also, it was understood from the case that there was solidarity between the Turks during their passage not only from the old home, but also between towns and cities. Said Mohammed was asked “if it did not surprise him to have this man come to him for money to pay board.” He replied that “it was the custom of their people to help one another when they had no money.”

countries under its dominion returned in the Census of 1905; in 1915, the number was found to be 21,986, an increase in 10 years of 13,723, or 166.1 per cent. The Armenians alone increased from 2,855 to 6,374, or 123.3 per cent, and the Syrians from 3,381 to 7,771, or 129.8 per cent. Of the total number reported for 1915, 17,576 were from Asiatic Turkey and 2,184 from European Turkey, the remainder, 2,226, not being distributed as between Asia and Europe. The natives of Turkey in the population of Massachusetts for the Census of 1910 were 16,138.⁷⁴

The considerable rise in the flows of migration from the Ottoman territories of Turkey in Asia and Turkey in Europe was due partly to the political and economic instability in the early years of the 1900s and later the Balkan Wars between 1912-1913. Although following the outbreak of World War I migration to the United States halted for a number of years, the Turkish immigrants residing in U.S. had already reached a considerable volume by 1915 as the Massachusetts Decennial Census indicates.

⁷⁴ The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Decennial Census 1915* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1918), 288.

Table 2.6. Native, Foreign Born (By Country of Birth) by Sex and Native by Parent Nativity, by Sex for the State

	TOTAL	MALES	FEMALES
TURKEY	21,986	15,260	6,726
Armenia	6,374	4,457	1,917
Syria	7,771	4,477	3,294
Other Asiatic Turkey	3,431	2,637	794
European Turkey	2,184	1,942	242
Turkey n.o.c.⁷⁵	2,226	1,747	479

Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Decennial Census 1915*. (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1918)

Because of the fact that “Armenia” and “Syria” were not included in the Turkey n.o.c. category by 1915, immigrants from Turkey the n.o.c. category almost exclusively consisted of ethnic Turks and Kurds. Thus, the population figures above indicate that 2,226 people from Anatolia, excluding Armenians, were residing in Massachusetts by 1915, although the actual numbers were probably higher.

⁷⁵ Because of the crumbling empires in 1915, the census statistics applied a new category, N.O.C. [not otherwise classified] to the origins of immigrants residing in the United States. The N.O.C. category for the Ottoman Empire designated “all persons returned as born in those parts of Turkey not accounted for as born in Armenia, Syria, other Asiatic Turkey and European Turkey the population of each which is given separately.”

Table 2.7. Distribution of Foreign-Born by Cities and Towns in Which the Foreign-Born Population of Certain Specified Countries is Represented by 50 or More Persons

CITIES AND TOWNS AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1915	1905	Percent of Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in 1915 as Compared With 1905
<u>ARMENIA</u>	6,374	2,855	+123.3
WORCESTER	912	599	+52.3
BOSTON	898	360	+149.4
Watertown	692	287	+141.1
LAWRENCE	561	174	+222.4
CHELSEA	330	233	+41.6
Northbridge	279	118	+136.4
LOWELL	259	135	+91.9
HAVERHILL	238	16	+138.8
CAMBRIDGE	232	160	+45.0
LYNN	213	162	+31.5

Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Decennial Census 1915* (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1918), 288.

The table above illustrates that Peabody was not one of the major places of Armenian settlement. However, there is no definite answer to the question why even though many of the Turkish, Kurdish and Armenian immigrants from the same regions settled in Worcester in large numbers, Peabody experienced particularly Greek (mainly from Greece), Turkish and Kurdish settlement.

Table 2.8. Distribution of Foreign-Born by Cities and Towns in Which the Foreign-Born Population of Certain Specified Countries is Represented by 50 or More Persons

CITIES AND TOWNS AND COUNTRY OF BIRTH	1915	1905	Percent of Increase (+) or Decrease (-) in 1915 as Compared With 1905
<u>TURKEY n.o.c.</u>	7,841	2,027	+286.8
BOSTON	1,315	342	+284.5
WORCESTER	775	362	+114.1
Peabody	561	96	+484.4
LYNN	489	143	+242.0
NEW BEDFORD	474	37	+1,181.1
LOWELL	449	190	+136.3
CAMBRIDGE	318	117	+171.8
CHELSEA	259	7	+3,600.0
Southbridge	248	67	+270.1
LAWRENCE	233	40	+282.5
Northbridge	211	20	+955.0
Natick	208	10	+1,980.0

Source: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Decennial Census 1915*. (Boston: Wright & Potter Printing Co., 1918), 288.

The two tables above show that a considerable part of the Ottoman population, in which the Turks, Kurds and Armenians were highly represented, resided in Worcester with an Armenian population of 912 and Turkish and Kurdish

population of 775. On the other hand, Peabody ranked second, with a large Ottoman population consisting chiefly of a Turkish and Kurdish immigrants.

The U.S. Census statistics, at both the local and national levels, however, are imprecise and often contested. One of the major factors complicating the U.S. Census statistics is the difference between actual and imagined political boundaries. Because of the fact that the American bureaucracy referred to eastern Anatolia, particularly the Harput region, as Armenia, actual political boundaries were obscured. Consequently, whether the Turks and Kurds from Harput were registered as immigrants from “Armenia” still remains a question. Another statistical complication is that Turks had always understated the size of the groups because of the fear that they might encounter problems with government officials in terms of their numbers in boarding houses. Moreover, day and night shifts had made it harder for police and health officers to estimate the number of a group inhabiting the same boarding house. In addition, movement of Turks back and forth for seasonal work to nearby cities and towns resulted in unrecorded individuals. The colony of 400 or more Turkish males in Worcester is a good example of the difficulty in maintaining accurate census statistics. As the *Report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration* (1914) noted:

It is generally impossible to do more than estimate the size of the group, as the men underestimate the number. Police and health officers testify that day and night shifts are frequently found. In one case, an investigator was told that a house of seven rooms was occupied by fourteen Turks, sleeping two in a room. On a visit at five in the afternoon he found eighteen men who apparently lived there, while four others who work at night were sleeping in an adjoining room. Making a night inspection, he discovered seventeen men occupying the seven rooms. This investigation was made by the commission early in the autumn. In the winter, when the men drift back to the cities

of Massachusetts from construction work all over New England, the numbers are greatly augmented.⁷⁶

The floating population was one of the major results of the factory system in New England. It had created a population “composed of people who moved from city to city like vagabond peddlers of labor.”⁷⁷ It was an outcome of the seasonal production cycle. Because of the nature of the business, which relied heavily on leather, shoe, and textile production, New England cities housed a large transient population. Thus, the nature of business in Peabody, which demanded much labor in times of seasonal shifts in the production of leather, particularly for shoes inevitably created a floating population which complicated the population statistics, as immigrants traveled from one city to another in search of work during times of unemployment.

In addition to the problem of a floating population, which engendered miscalculations and shortcomings, a serious problem for the census enumerators in 1920 Federal Census was the “Red Scare.” The immigrants in the Salem and Marblehead districts believed that the census takers were seeking “reds,” socialists and communists, and they tended to withhold information about the boarders of persons not at home at the time the census enumerator called.⁷⁸

Although there is no solid evidence, it is likely that the Turkish immigrants, who had become prominent figures in the labor unrest in Peabody and its vicinity, might have withheld information about the boarders in their own boarding

⁷⁶ “Extract from *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Immigration (1914)*” in Edith Abbott, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924.), 531.

⁷⁷ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 139.

⁷⁸ “People Trying to Keep Information From Census Folks,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 7, 1920.

houses. Despite the fallacies and shortcomings of decennial censuses, however, they remain the most reliable sources of information providing relatively accurate data on the size, growth, settlement patterns and composition of the Ottoman immigrants in Massachusetts.

2.7. Conclusion

Economic stagnation in the Harput region inevitably resulted in a floating population, men going to the towns and cities of the Ottoman Empire in search of work and eventually facing challenges of a transatlantic sojourn for the prospect of economic betterment. The migration of Harputians was part of the twentieth century migration phenomenon in which the eastern and southern European emigrants to the U.S. became the most visible actors. Thus, it was a labor migration of mostly peasants who were willing to work in the American mills, looking for economic opportunities that the homeland could not provide.

Migration routes differed according to where the emigrant had started his journey. If the emigrants were traveling from Harput to the United States, the port of departure would be Samsun and the next point was usually Marseilles. There were also instances of people migrating first to Istanbul or Izmir, earning money for the journey, and then reaching the U.S. in about 20-25 days. This journey became easier with the enhancement of roads and regular steamer services, which were available along the Black Sea coast. Moreover, immigrant letters and networks remarkably promoted emigration from eastern Anatolia. The ABCFM and its missionaries also promoted emigration. Although it was not the

official duty of the missionaries, information they provided about the routes and life in the U.S. compelled many Harput men to go to the United States, particularly to the North Shore of Boston.

A sustained Ottoman government policy of emigration did not exist. Consequently, due to a fluctuating Ottoman emigration policy, sometimes emigrants encountered difficulties in emigrating from and returning to the Ottoman Empire. Although migration of Muslims to the U.S. had been strictly prohibited, their emigration did not halt because of the difficulty in controlling clandestine migration and government officials allowing the migration traffic by taking bribes.

A growing tide of emigration from the Ottoman lands, and the concern over returning migrants, sometimes angered the Ottoman and American governments. While a series of decrees made the return of Ottoman subjects nearly impossible, returning migrants remained a problem until the declaration of the *Tanzimat*, which sometimes led to crises in terms of U.S.-Ottoman diplomatic relations. Eventually, following the proclamation of the *Tanzimat*, a policy encouraging return migration was adopted, although it was not successful in achieving its goals.

As a result of the failure of policies restricting immigration, and the process of return migration, the Ottoman influx into American industries continued. The next chapter looks at the rise and growth of the leather industry on the North Shore of Boston and analyzes the process through which it became a magnet for Turkish emigrants to the United States.

CHAPTER III

THE CITY

Like the shoe industry of the neighboring city of Lynn, Peabody's leather industry was a representative of the Industrial Revolution where "existing class systems (wage worker/industrial capitalist) emerged from the steep slopes of the peaks that faced forward." Thus, the old forms of inequality (master and servant) were replaced by the new forms (employed and employee) while the old institutions such as producer's household and the guilds disappeared as the new ones such as the factory and trade union emerged.¹

Consequently, Peabody's process of industrialization had a major impact on existing social relations as well as the racial and ethnic composition of the city. Thus, while industrialization transformed the city into a dynamic entity which changed and transformed its residents, the city transformed the lives of its transplanted peoples from a variety of ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. Since the majority of its residents worked in tanneries and leather factories, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the city resembled one big leather factory where the residents interacted with one another according to their status in the

¹ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 5.

factories. Moreover, the leather industry and the work in the tanneries would define not only social relations on a daily basis, but also determine an immigrant group's settlement patterns, the extent of their exposure to the host culture, adaptation and assimilation, and finally their success or failure in their new surrounding. Thus, the rise and growth of the leather industry in Massachusetts, and its socioeconomic and demographic implications on the North Shore of Boston, need to be examined.

3.1. History of Tanning in Peabody and the Early Entrepreneurs

There are a number of factors contributed to Peabody's success in leather making and its position as the largest leather manufacturing center on eastern seaboard. Besides natural and geographical features, such as the quality of water, which paved the way for the rise and growth of tanning business, there were other factors that made the North Shore a leader in the world of leather and shoe manufacturing. Historically, Peabody was destined to carry on foreign trade because of its excellent location which was close to Salem, one of America's major ports. Another important factor was its constant supply of labor, particularly from southern and eastern Europe as well as the Near East, which was a crucial factor in the tanning business. A third important factor was its neighboring towns, which had engaged in shoe making. Moreover, various kinds of goods relied on the leather tanned in Peabody. The businessmen and

politicians, whose families had been in the shoe and leather business for centuries supported and protected the leather business.

Originally Peabody and Danvers were part of the territory of Salem. The township of Danvers was generally designated the “North Parish” or “Salem Village,” which is associated with the Salem Witchcraft trials of 1692.² The history of tanning in Peabody dates back to before the arrival of the colonists in Salem, as Indians had discovered the qualities of its water in tanning and dressing the skins of the deer and smaller fur animals. With the arrival of John Endicott and the first settlers numbering around a hundred in Salem in 1628, agriculture, ship-building, and all useful trades led Salem colony to prosperity. In addition to the people of his company, he also brought shoemakers, leather dressers, and tanners, who would set up the new colony and make a home in the new country. For the first year, the colonists depended on England for their supply of clothing, household utensils, leather, boots, and shoes. Because of the scarcity of domestic animals, skins of deer, wolves, and foxes furnished the first home-tanned leather until the increase of cattle in Massachusetts Bay in the mid-eighteenth century.³

Like in many of the New England towns, leather-making was a domestic occupation. Prior to the establishment of well-arranged tanneries and leather factories, tanning operations were carried out in small shops which were located in the vicinity of the tanners’ houses and the sewing process would be performed by the women of the households. The early tanneries were primitive to a degree

² Thomas Carroll, “Historical Sketch of the Leather Business in Peabody,” unpublished and undated manuscript believed to be written in early 1900s, George Peabody Museum Archives, Peabody.

³ Thomas Carroll, “History of the Leather Industry in Salem and Danvers, Mass, U.S.A.” Unpublished and undated manuscript.

but by the mid-eighteenth century Phillip R. and Adna Southwick, who were tanners for generations, laid out the first well-arranged tannery.⁴

The mid-nineteenth century marked a remarkable improvement in the leather industry, which was accompanied by the rise of leather factories. The transition from the shop to the factory was mostly due to enterprising merchants who shipped cargoes of Rio Grande and Buenos Ayres hides, fit for making the finest wax leather in the world. Eventually, the influx of the Irish immigrants around 1846 created a considerable impact on leather production as they were a superior class of workmen from the tanneries of the city of Cork in Ireland, where the history of tanning dates back to ancient times.⁵

During the first year of the Civil War, the leather industry was devastated by the great depression that was felt in the other trades as well. However, in the second year of the war, demand for leather for the army spurred and turned tanning into an established industry, with an increase in tanneries and additions made to existing ones.⁶ Beginning from the 1860's, a new generation of sheepskin tanners arose, transforming and creating a new phase in the production of leather and the type of imports. When the leather industry of Peabody weathered the panic of 1879, it seemed like the industry on the whole was well established. By 1880, it was on an enduring foundation.⁷

The Great Strike Wave of 1886, which came as a heavy blow to the leather industry, would change Peabody's social and industrial relations

⁴ Carroll, "Historical Sketch of the Leather Business in Peabody."

⁵ P.W. Joyce, *A Smaller Social History of Ancient Ireland: Treating Of The Government, Military System, and Law; Religion, Learning, and Art; Trades, Industries, and Commerce; Manners, Customs, and Domestic Life, of the Ancient Irish People* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1908), 471.; *History of Leather Industry in Salem and Danvers, Mass, U.S.A.*, 6-7.

⁶ Carroll, "Historical Sketch of the Leather Business in Peabody."

⁷ John A. Wells, *The Peabody Story: Events in Peabody's History, 1626-1972* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1972), 337-8.

dramatically in a short time. New leather workers, mostly immigrants, were employed instead of the local. The strike was called by the Knights of Labor⁸ to which many of the workers belonged. The Knights attempted to enforce a new price list for some branches of the industry. However, the manufacturers refused and posted the following resolution on July 12, 1886:

That hereafter we employ such men as will bargain individually with us and agree to take no part in any strike whatever; and all men desiring so to be employed by us may report on Tuesday morning, July 13th, at the usual hour of this factory. That we are determined to stand by the men who do so, and also determined to run our business without dictation.⁹

The blow of the 1886 strike wave was perhaps more harsh to the leather industry than the other industries, as the shops were abandoned with the hides in the lime without the hands to save them except the owner. Around two thousand men in Salem and Peabody went out and left the leather in every stage from the beam-house to the finishing room. Consequently, relations between the employers and the workers worsened.¹⁰

The strike failed and the manufacturers instantly began to import non-union help from Maine and Canada due to the perishable nature of hides and skins. The aftermath of the strike would mark Peabody's gradual rise to the "leather capital of the world." Natural and locational advantages, combined with the craftsmanship and a constant supply of labor, would play a considerable part in this process. Among the most important natural advantages was the purity of

⁸ The Knights of Labor was one of the largest and most important labor organizations of the nineteenth century. It was established in 1869 and reached the peak of its membership in the 1880s.

⁹ Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 347.

¹⁰ Carroll, "Historical Sketch of the Leather Business in Peabody."

the water, which helped to make Peabody the headquarters of the sheepskin industry of the United States. Furthermore, Peabody's location (fourteen miles from Boston) connected by two railroad lines, would also help the city become convenient place for the importation of hides and skins and the exportation of finished leather. Lynn, the shoe center of the United States, was just five miles away and there were direct trains going to Lawrence and Lowell along with easy communication with all the business centers of the East.¹¹

3.2. Exploring the “North Shore”: The Leather and Shoe Connection

Although much attention had been paid to the steel, oil, and textile industries of the United States, meatpacking and its byproducts has always been underestimated. Furthermore, the leather industry's remarkable impact on the prosperity and development of Boston's North Shore also has also been neglected, and still remains an understudied subject. As Francis A. Warren, Senator of Wyoming, noted in 1906:

Of all that had been spoken or written concerning our great industries, the least has been said of the largest. I doubt if one person in ten would be able to tell offhand what our greatest industry is and give an approximately its annual value. Some would say our iron and steel production, with its more than \$1,000,000,000 worth of yearly output. Others would say our textile industry is the largest; and yet our woolen, cotton, silk, and linen goods combined do not equal to our iron and steel products. Others would perhaps say our mineral products, which in 1904 amounted in value to \$1,289,000,000. Some might think our building industry is the greatest... Some might

¹¹ Carroll, “Historical Sketch of the Leather Business in Peabody”; John A. Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 348.

say our freight traffic or total railroad earnings of about \$2,000,000,000. But they would all be wrong, for, as I have already indicated, the one branch of industry under consideration is greater than any of the others I have named, and it far exceeds any other single agricultural or manufacturing pursuit in which our people are engaged.¹²

Senator Warren identified the raising, slaughtering, and distribution of animals and animal products as the greatest industry of the United States by 1905. The city that would benefit most from this industry would be Boston. By 1906 Boston and its vicinity had become the most prosperous city throughout the U.S.; just within ten years, exports of leather and goods had increased about 150 percent and boots and shoes over 500 percent in number and 700 percent in value. The purchasing ability of the average person in Boston was far more greater than of any of other American population. By 1906, one-twentieth of the wealth of the United States was within 50 miles of Boston. Furthermore, one-fifth of the savings of the people of the U.S. was in the Massachusetts savings and co-operative banks. The per capita wealth of the people in Boston amounted to \$1,942; New York, \$1,337; Philadelphia, \$1,127; Chicago, 1,016; and St. Louis, \$918.¹³ Boston's prosperity was due to the shoe and leather industry which reached its peak as a result of the rapid industrial development, and sustained with a constant labor supply and the businessmen and politicians who promoted the leather business with an unimaginable success.

Peabody's success as one of the largest leather producers in the world was not accomplished individually. The interdependence and interconnections of Massachusetts cities to one another in terms of leather and leather products

¹² American Protective Tariff League, *The Tariff Review* (New York: American Tariff League, 1906), 20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 23.

would pave the way for the area's prosperity. About 25 miles to the north of Boston, was the shoe and leather triangle, known as the "North Shore," formed by "a thousand and more shops of the shoe, leather, and allied trades, some spotting the landscape, some clustered together like a bunch of grapes."¹⁴ The North Shore's bunch of grapes consisted of Lynn, Salem, Peabody, Danvers, and Beverly, which were among the most industrious cities of the United States at the turn of the twentieth century.

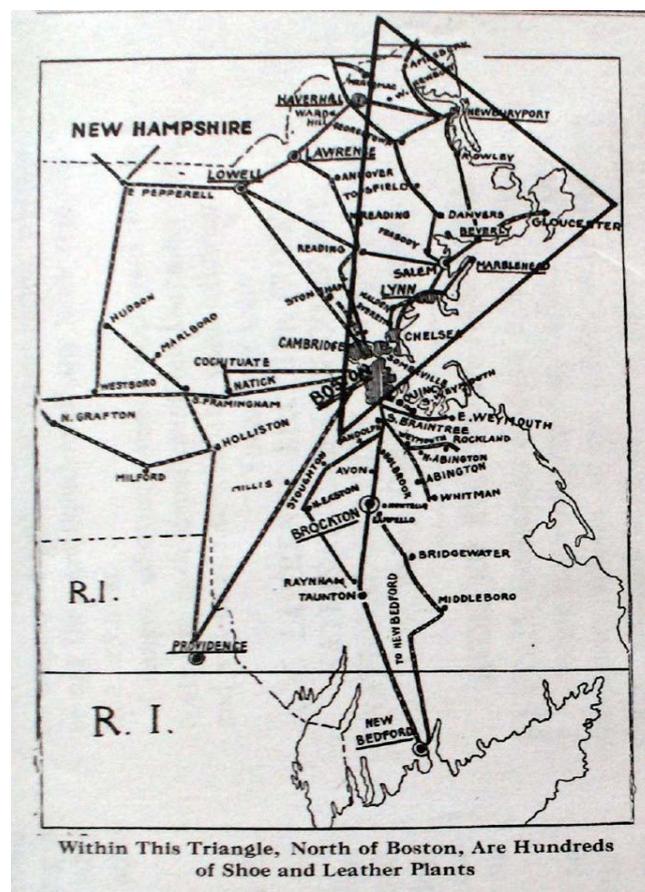


Figure 3.1. The Shoe and Leather Triangle
 Source: "The 'North Shore'," *The Export Recorder*, 12 (1920)

By the eighteenth century, Salem had become one of the chief ports of the United States, creating a stimulating effect on the rise and growth of the

¹⁴ "Industrial Centers of the United States: The 'North Shore'," *The Export Recorder* 12 (1920), 21.

leather and shoe industry on the North Shore. Salem merchants sent the first American trading ships to Africa, the Far East, and Russia and in turn received many hides and skins from the region to be tanned at home.¹⁵ Thus, tanning and shoemaking became the traditional handicrafts of the region. Shoes were made in homes, and all of the elements including masters, journeymen, ten-footers, tools of the trade, and real property were fused in the household, which was the basic unit of production.¹⁶ In the nineteenth century Lynn shifted its production from the home to the factory with the rise of mechanization, the tanning industry, in turn, reacted to the growing leather demand. Thus, Peabody would support Lynn with its high quality leather, which was very suitable for quality shoes.

Moreover, over time, Essex County cities and towns became more and more interdependent as the result of spatial segregation and the concentration of industrial activities in particular locations. While Lynn gradually became the world center for manufacturing women's shoes, Peabody acquired the reputation of being the "leather capital of the world" Haverhill, in north-west of Essex County, came to be known as "Queen Slipper City" and a rival to Lynn with its high quality and design shoes.

On the North Shore, one would be able see "the making of a shoe all the way from the vat of the tanner to the carton in the shoe shop."¹⁷ Functional interdependence of the industries on the North Shore combined with geographical conveniences would allow rapid economic growth. As *The Export Recorder* noted, the North Shore's shoe and leather industries were "interlocked, not by any formal agreement, but simply by the fact that the tanner, the shoe

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁶ Dawley, *Class and Community*, 17.

¹⁷ "Industrial Centers of the United States: The 'North Shore'," *The Export Recorder* 12 (1920), 24.

man, the last man, the machinery man and others of the craft are dependent one upon the other for their prosperity individually and collectively.” This connection provided the tanners and the shoemakers a unique opportunity and convenience unparalleled in any other region of the United States. On the North Shore,

If the tanner wishes to know how his leather looks in shoes, he goes to a nearby shoe factory. If the shoe man wishes to know what leather will soon come forth for shoes, he goes to the tannery. Likewise are the relations between the shoe men and the last men.¹⁸

Even small New England towns operated a few leather tanning establishments that had opened following the years after independence. Leather, and a range of leather-related supporting industries had developed in New England. Machinery, glue and chemical factories also opened as a result of leather and shoe production. Because of technological advances, the boot and shoe industries in the cities of New England had also flourished with the rising demand for shoes during and after the Civil War. For example, Peabody’s neighbor Lynn housed 220 factories by 1866, whose annual output was \$12,000,000, while the state output was \$53,000,000, increasing to \$88,000,000 by 1870. By 1890, Lynn’s industry alone was evaluated at \$26,000,000 and other cities such as Haverhill, Marlborough, Brockton and Worcester were all shoe centers. Another neighbor of Peabody, Beverly, was home of the world giant United Shoe Machinery Corporation which produced shoe machinery at an immense plant in Beverly and smaller ones at Boston and Waltham. The rise of industrial production, as a consequence, paved the way for the rapid expansion of Boston’s trade with its convenient location on the Atlantic seaboard, processing raw materials such as skins and hides for the tanneries, as well as

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 24.

cotton and wool for the textile mills, and carrying finished products to the remotest markets of the world.¹⁹

Lynn's shoe supremacy, and Peabody's supremacy in leather tanning, were due to these two cities' proximity to one another, as well as marketing facilities in Boston. As Malcolm Keir noted that:

The harbors of Massachusetts Bay should gain supremacy in commerce was due partly to a fact that is often overlooked, namely, that the roadsteads were open all the year round whereas the Hudson and Delaware rivers were closed by ice. In the leather business this deflected large shipments of hides that otherwise would have entered at New York to the harbor at Boston. To her position near these open ports Lynn must largely attribute the growth of her shoe business. Hides from California, Central and South America, and New Orleans; rosin gum (for waxing the threads) from Carolinas; thread from Florence; and goatskins from Europe and Asia, all were heaped in profusion on the wharves at Salem or Boston. The hides and skins were converted to leather in Peabody and other towns adjacent to Lynn. With skilled workmen at home and with plenty of raw material at hand, it is no wonder that the shoe business developed at Lynn faster than anywhere else.²⁰

Eventually, by 1910, New England made more than half the shoes that were produced in the United States, and Boston had become the leading shoe and leather center not only in U.S., but also in the world. As a report from the Boston Chamber of Commerce notes, "it is a Massachusetts industry whose history goes back nearly three centuries. In Boston may be found the offices, factories, or headquarters of more than one thousand concerns engaged in the manufacture or sale of leather, hides, footwear, shoe goods, machinery, and the accessories of this great American business, whose total product is nearly \$ 1,000,000,000 annually." In the shoe and leather district of Boston there were streets that were

¹⁹ See Federal Writers' Project, *Massachusetts: A Guide to its Places and People* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1937).

²⁰ Malcolm Keir, *Manufacturing Industries in America: Fundamental Economic Factors* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1920), 222-223.

“wholly devoted to this industry, and hotels whose patronage at certain seasons is almost entirely of shoe buyers and dealers.” Moreover, “millions of dollars worth of products of tannery, shoe factory, last works, and machine shops change hands here every year, and are shipped to all parts of America and to every civilized country.”²¹ In the shoe and leather district of Boston, millions of dollars had been accumulated. As the report conveys, it was the leather and shoe industries which made Boston one of the most vibrant cities and a microcosm of the industrial capitalist American city. The leading men of Boston were on the directorates of banks and railroads and active in the affairs of clubs, commercial organizations, and civic and welfare movements. Thus, the leather and shoe district of Boston was “one of the most important and most American commercial-industrial nerve-centers in the United States.”²²

In 1908, a bulletin from Washington illustrated that the United States was becoming “the shoemaker of the World.” It was due to the North Shore district, which by that time was leading the world in exporting shoes, leather, and goods from the shoe and leather trade. Moreover, by 1907 the U.S. had ended the supremacy of the world’s shoe giant, England, in foreign shoe trade with its export of 6,300,000 pairs worth \$11,600,000. England had, on the other hand, exported 9,000,000 pairs, worth \$9,900,000.²³

Consequently, by 1910, Boston came to be acknowledged as “the Mecca of the shoe trade.” Several North Shore manufacturers from leather, shoe, and allied industries were visiting the Boston market at least once a week to learn about the market situation. Boston became the most vibrant hub of shoe and

²¹ George French, ed., *New England: What It Is and What It Is To Be* (Boston: Boston Chamber of Commerce, 1911), 72-73.

²² *Ibid.*, 72-73.

²³ “The North Shore Leads the World,” *The Salem Evening News*, December 7, 1908.

leather manufacturing in the world, with a network of more than a thousand firms in the shoe, leather, and allied trades. Between 1869 and 1910, over 3,000,000,000 pairs of shoes had been shipped from Boston.

Boston owed most its prosperity to the manufacturing cities of the North Shore including Salem, Peabody and Lynn. About a hundred firms in Salem and its vicinity maintained offices in the shoe and leather district of Boston. Moreover, the offices of the United Shoe Machinery Corporation of Beverly and A.C. Lawrence Leather Co. of Peabody had the largest offices in Boston. In 1913, the leather industry was among the “the big six” American industries, which were the iron, copper, wood, leather, cotton and refined mineral industries.²⁴

Moreover, industrial activities would also determine the size of the population employed in manufacturing. About one-third of the total population of Peabody had been employed in the leather manufacturing industry as wage workers. Moreover, half the total population of the town was engaged in the shoe, leather, machinery and allied industries. In Salem, about one-sixth of the total population of the city had been engaged in manufacturing industries, and about half of them were in the shoe manufacturing industry. By 1910, the Salem shoe factories employed more people than the factories in any other industry, even more than the textile mills. By the same year, in Lynn about one-quarter of the population had been engaged in shoe, leather, and allied industries.²⁵ Thus, Boston and its North Shore are a good example of industrial interdependence, forming an organic unity between cities and towns during the time of mass

²⁴ “Leather One of Big Industries,” *The Salem Evening News*, July 21, 1913.

²⁵ “Boston is the Mecca of the Shoe Trade This Month; Shoe City of the World,” *The Salem Evening News*, July 7, 1910.

industrialization. They contributed to America's process of transformation from a domestic supplier of goods to an international manufacturing giant by World War I.

3.3. The Growth of Leather Industry, and the Beef and Shoe Trusts Take Over Peabody

During the early years of industry, leather manufacturing was not localized in a particular town. There were early records of tanning in Essex, Rowley, Wenham, Salem, Bradford, Danvers, Georgetown, Haverhill, Swampscott, Newbury, and Lynn as every town needed its own tanyard because of the inconvenience of traveling from one town to another over forest trails. Then, "the tanning business gradually emerged from a neighborhood industry to a comparatively well-organized and centralized business." By the mid-nineteenth century, there were more than 7,500 tanning establishments in the United States while in 1914 (the latest date for which comparable figures are available) there were less than 750 establishments because of the concentration of the leather industry in particular areas.²⁶

The interconnection of Massachusetts towns and cities in terms of leather and shoe manufacturing was not only natural, but it was also profitable. The most important criteria in the selection of a tannery location were

1. Supply of hides and the class of leather for which they are adapted
2. The distribution of the leather so produced
3. The supply and quantity of water
4. The efficiency of labor

²⁶ Claude M. Fuess, ed., *The Story of Essex County* (New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1935), 239-244; U.S. Federal Trade Commission. *Report on Leather and Shoe Industries* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 162.

The tan bark, which was used in turning leather into hides, and the hides themselves could seldom be found in one area. Consequently, either hides or tan barks would make a journey. Since New England provided substantial amounts of tan bark, hides and skins would be transported to the area, whether from independent meat producers or the meat-trust of Chicago. After the Civil War, industrial transformation was created by the railroads and the refrigerated car, which made meat a portable product, this had a considerable effect on both the meatpacking industry and the leather industry. More cattle had to be slaughtered for the growing numbers of workers and immigrants, and more hide was available for the leather industries. Eventually, the meat and leather industry became two industries interconnected to one another: they supplied people with products to eat and wear, among which the most important were shoes.

Peabody's leather industry flourished through the vertical integration of the meat packing firms and the leather factories, a typical way of expanding business at the turn of the twentieth century. By the early 1900s, five meat packing firms, Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., and the Cudahy Packing Company, had become major stockholders in the leather business. These five concerns slaughtered 82 percent of the cattle 79 percent of the calves slaughtered were transferred through interstate commerce. The hides produced by these packers were generally of more desirable quality than those provided by the smaller meatpackers. Thus, a considerable percentage of the supply of hides available to American tanners was under the control of these five large meatpacking firms. Swift & Co., one of the largest meatpackers in Chicago, was owned by Gustavus Franklin Swift. There was a business relationship

between Gustavus F. Swift, a Cape Cod butcher who went west to establish his meatpacking empire, and Peabody's tanning business. Swift was a friend of J.B. Thomas of Peabody, a successful businessman; Thomas had helped Swift in the early days of his business.²⁷

By early 1908, Chicago packers, including Swift and Armour, as well as smaller meatpacking firms, extended their interests on the North Shore. Swift & Co. had placed 100,000 hides under contract (to be tanned by the tanners) as early as 1892. However, its outright entry into the leather industry was in 1897 when it acquired a considerable interest in A.C. Lawrence Leather Co. in Peabody as a part of its integration policies. By 1910, tanneries owned by the meatpacking trust in Chicago and the North Shore produced \$30,000,000 worth of leather annually.²⁸ The firm's growth in leather tanning continued as it incorporated the capital of other important leather establishments. Even in the 1940s, the A.C. Lawrence Leather Co. was still one of the largest leather tanning companies in the United States.²⁹

The 1917 report on the leather and shoe industries reveals why meatpacking and tanning businesses gradually became concentrated in the hands of big businesses: they drove out the small hide and calfskin suppliers by creating monopolies. As a dealer in Hartford, Connecticut noted:

He [a dealer at Hartford, Connecticut] stated that five years ago he purchased hides in New Hampshire, Vermont and eastern New York, and shipped them to Hartford. His business would amount to probably 10 carloads a year, but he does not get this

²⁷ "Men of the Shoe, Leather, and Allied Interests Will Meet Next Month," *The Salem Evening News*. January 28, 1911.

²⁸ "Shoe Industry Going Slowly," *The Salem Evening News*, December 17, 1910.

²⁹ Merrill A. Watson. *Economics of Cattlehide Leather Tanning* (Chicago: The Rumpf Publishing Company, 1950), 32.

business now. This dealer stated that Swift&Co., through their various rendering plants, control the hide business in New England. Statements of this character were made by a number of dealers, and there is no doubt that the tendency in some sections is for the business to fall largely into the hands of the rendering companies controlled by the meatpackers.³⁰

A.C. Lawrence was considered to be a village in itself with an army of 1,500 workers by 1908, and 24 immense buildings covering 24.5 acres of floor space. Unlikely to the other establishments, A.C. Lawrence did not concentrate on any particular kind of leather production, but manufactured various kinds of leathers from cowhides to sheepskins with an enormous capacity of 3,400 hides and skins daily. Patent calf and upper leather for shoes of every description, as well as novelty and glove leather, was manufactured and sold through the Boston office of the A.C. Lawrence Leather Co. located at 95 South Street.³¹ There was no limitation to the leather plant of A.C. Lawrence, and many of its buildings were constantly in a process of construction. The firm owed its success to bringing hides and skins directly in cars from packing houses out West to the company's storehouses in Peabody. The railroad conveniences were so ideal that transportation of the raw materials required little cartage.³²

National Calfskin Co., located on Webster Street in 1899, was another establishment owned by Swift & Co. with an international reputation for its high-grade production. The company's capacity was 800 dozen skins daily, and in 1908, 650 skilled hands were employed, 32 buildings were occupied with five of them possessing seven floors, each including a carpenter and a machine shop and an extensive beam house. National Calfskin Co. produced tanned calfskins and

³⁰ U.S. Federal Trade Commission, *Report on Leather and Shoe Industries* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 158.

³¹ "Peabody, Massachusetts: New England's Tanning Center," (Souvenir), 1908

³² "Great Leather Industry of Peabody and Salem," *Boston Globe*, July 8, 1906.

ooze leathers³³ which were of better quality than those sold through the Boston office of A.C. Lawrence Leather Co. The selling agents were distributing the skins manufacturers all over the United States as well as Europe, Australia, and even to distant points such as the Philippines and Japan.³⁴

In 1906, the state bureau of labor showed that Massachusetts made \$29,228,192 worth of leather in 1904, most of which was made on the North Shore, particularly in Essex County including Peabody, Lynn, Salem, Danvers, and in Middlesex County, in Woburn. The rise in the value of leather produced in the district was an outcome of the increase in skill and the wages of the tanners. The average wage of tanners in 1900 was \$482.11 and \$499.32 in 1904. The number of tannery workers increased from 7,011 in 1900 to 7,605 in 1904.³⁵ Consequently, industrial growth led to an increased need for labor and stimulated an influx of immigrants, including Turks, Kurds and Greeks, to provide labor for these two major leather establishments and the other Peabody tanneries

By the eve of the twentieth century, a much greater variety of leather was being manufactured not only because of the new tannages and treatments, but also due to a growing taste for leather in fashion. More female workers in the shoe industry as well as other industries relying on a female work force, had created a population of mill girls and other various classes earning enough to afford “style shoes” rather than contending with very modest footwear. The height of one’s heel, toe, and color became considerations for this growing group

³³ “Ooze” is a term for the vegetable tanning liquor used in converting hides and skins into leather. Ooze leather” is a leather produced from calfskin by forcing ooze through the skin by mechanical means, producing a soft, finely grained finish like velvet or suede on the flesh side.

³⁴ “Peabody, Massachusetts: New England’s Tanning Center,” (Souvenir), 1908, 22.

³⁵ “Massachusetts and Essex County Holding the Lead in Leather Making,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 13, 1906.

of mill girls.³⁶ Thus, this new demand necessitated more hands and expertise to produce a variety of leather. Eventually, a growing taste for shoes and the rise of female employees would create more demand for shoes, more leather that would be manufactured, and a larger immigrant work force for tanning the leather and turning them into shoes.

In the 1910s, there were over 100 New England communities which engaged in shoe manufacturing. Boston had the largest single factory in the world producing women's shoes. Lynn, "the mother of American shoemaking," was the world's leader in women's footwear. It had more than 100 boot and shoe manufacturing concerns, and many engaged in the manufacture of collateral products. Its annual output was about \$55,000,000, and it possessed 13,000 of the most skillful and best paid workers in the world. Haverhill was the world's greatest slipper and low-cut footwear city, producing 20,000,000 pairs of men's and women's shoes and slippers valued at \$30,000,000, annually. Beverly, which was considered the heart of the North Shore district, was the home of the United Shoe Machinery Company. Moreover, USMC acquired Turner Tanning Machinery Company and in 1905 moved from Boston to Peabody, to the famous Walnut Street, also known as "Ottoman Street." With this new shift of space, it would turn into the largest and greatest tanning machinery corporation in the world. Swift & Co. and USMC also established themselves in Peabody, contributing to the city's fame as one of the leading leather producers in the United States. This would carry New England's fame in the shoe and leather industries to every part of the world.

³⁶ "Phases of the Shoe Style Situation," *The Export Recorder* 6 (1920): 22; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1929), 228.

The 1914-1921 report of the National Industrial Conference Board on wages and hours in American industry conveyed the place of Massachusetts as the center of American leather tanning and finishing, as illustrated in the chart below:

Table 3.1. The Geographical Distribution of Establishments Engaged in the Tanning and Finishing of Leather

California7	New Jersey.....4
Connecticut.....2	New York.....7
Delaware.....1	North Carolina.....2
Illinois.....3	Ohio.....5
Iowa.....1	Oregon.....1
Maine.....3	Pennsylvania.....6
Maryland.....1	Tennessee.....1
Massachusetts.....16	Virginia.....1
Michigan.....2	Washington.....1
Minnesota.....1	West Virginia.....1
Missouri.....1	Wisconsin.....7
New Hampshire.....1	

Source: National Industrial Conference Board. *Wages and Hours in American Industry July, 1914-July, 1921* (New York: The Century Co. New York Publishers, 1922), 107

Establishments in Massachusetts far exceeded those in other states, followed by California, Wisconsin and New York with seven establishments. It should also be noted that the numbers of these establishments was confined to the tanning and finishing of leather hides, and did not include the manufacture of leather. Thus, the process of turning hides and skins into leather was mainly carried out in Massachusetts. Meatpacking giants, and the “meat trust” fostered the leather

and shoe industries by concentrating all their efforts in the processing of leather tanning and introducing their profit-making methods into New England factories.

In addition to the meat trust, a number of New England manufacturers, businessmen, and business associations channeled their capital and resources substantially into the leather and shoe businesses. The most active agent of change in shoe and leather industry was the “New England Shoe and Leather Association,” established in 1871 and located at 79 and 87 Bedford Street in Boston. The most prominent Boston gentlemen connected with the trade had met in Boston at the Revere House on July 10, 1869 to establish such an association since “the time had come for the organization of an association for mutual acquaintance among the members of the hide and leather, boot and shoe trades of New England.”³⁷

The year 1910 marked an unmatched rise in shoe and leather manufacturing. Consequently, the New England Shoe and Leather Association declared the week of July 11 as “Made in New England” week. During the course of the week, retail and shoe dealers, and the manufacturing concerns maintaining retail stores, and several of the largest manufacturers had promised to arrange artistic window displays of footwear and leather which were produced of in New England States. The manufacturers of the three most important leather and shoe producing centers, Lynn, Peabody, and Salem, manifested much interest in the affair.³⁸ On the day of the convention, President of the Association Charles C. Hoyt noted:

³⁷ “The Shoe and Leather Exchange,” *Boston Daily Globe*, March 28, 1889.

³⁸ “Planning Field Day: Shoe and Leather Men Go to Salem July 14, Senator Lodge Will be One of Speakers at Dinner,” *Boston Daily Globe*, June 27, 1910.

You, gentlemen of New England, careful painstaking, industrious and successful, have long carried on high the banner of New England's shoe and leather supremacy. You have drawn your raw material from remote lands where play Africa's sunny fountains, from India's coral strand festive goatskins; from the pampas of South America and the Brazilian forests; from the island empire of Australia; from the great abattoirs of Chicago and the cotton fields of the south; silk from Japan and China, flax from Russia and Ireland, and, in short, supplies from nearly every section, civilized and uncivilized, of the whole world. You have sent out from your busy hives of industry in Lynn, Brockton, Haverhill and Peabody, and many other towns and cities, to every civilized community, the useful, comfortable and artistic products of your factories, so that the United States not only leads in the production of leather, but you have convinced the nations of that fact.³⁹

The watchword of the convention was again "Made in New England," which indicated how heavily New England was involved in the business. The slogan appeared on the buttons worn by the hundreds of participants. The convention, held on July 14, 1910, was the biggest and most representative gathering of those involved in the shoe and leather business not only in US but also in the world. Eventually, the meat and shoe trusts, as well as New England businessmen with their expertise and ability to mobilize large amounts of capital into the leather and shoe industries, ensured sustained business success.

3.4. "Leather Capital of the World"

In 1907, the *New England Shoe and Leather Association Gazette* identified 27 leaders in the shoe and leather trade, all of whom were headquartered in Boston. Among these leaders were A.C. Lawrence Co.,

³⁹ "New England Shoe and Leather Industry" (Boston: New England Shoe and Leather Association, July 1910), 11.

National Calfskin Co., and Turner Machinery Co. located in Peabody and owned by the largest and most powerful American trusts. In the early years of the twentieth century, Peabody's leather industry demonstrated considerable growth in terms of the number of leather establishments, wage earners, and the value of products. Between 1895 and 1905, for example, the growth of the leather industry and Peabody was unprecedented, as Peabody gained the distinction of producing more finished sheepskins than any other leather center in the United States.⁴⁰ Below is a comparison of the industrial statistics of Peabody in 1900 and 1914, which demonstrates the spectacular growth that Peabody experienced within fourteen years.

Table 3.2. Industrial Statistics of Peabody

	1900	1914
Number of Establishments	161	77
Capital Invested	\$4,437,229	\$21,280,990
Average No. of Wage Earners	2,881	5,916
Total Wages	\$1,384,126	\$3,595,891
Cost of Material Used	\$4,583,297	\$12,243,486
Value of Products	\$7,261,647	\$18,441,906

Source: Wells, *The Peabody Story*

As the figures above indicate, between the years 1900 and 1914, Peabody demonstrated a large increase in the average number of wage earners as well as

⁴⁰ Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 394.

total wages with nearly a 300 percent increase. The considerable rise in the values of products and the number of wage earners was also due to a sudden influx of labor, composed of a large percentage of Turks, Kurds, and Greeks. Moreover, the large decrease in the number of establishments between 1900 and 1914 was not because of a decline in industry but because concentration of leather manufacturing highly in the large, well-established leather factories.

Peabody exhibited the greatest statistical growth in Massachusetts at the turn of the twentieth century. The value of goods manufactured rose from \$15,272,412 in 1905 to \$18,442,157 in 1906, an increase of \$3,169,745 or 20.25 percent.⁴¹ In 1909, Peabody held first place in Massachusetts for the manufacture of leather as well as the distinction of being the chief center of the leather tanning and finishing industries in the country.⁴²

Consequently, when World War I made “Uncle Sam” the tanner of the world, buyers from Europe began visiting the North Shore more regularly to buy leather in large quantities. In 1915, exports of leather and leather goods doubled 1914 leather exports, with a value of more than \$100,000,000.⁴³ When the United States declared war in April, 1917, “no single industry had a test greater than the tanning and shoemaking trade.” Thus, entering the war marked the greatest turning point in the industry’s history and created a vibrant economy unseen in any period. It was noted:

Shoes for millions of men, man harness for the same millions,
harness for an artillery unit greater than the world had ever
seen, equipment of a naval force, unparalleled in history, called

⁴¹ The Commonwealth Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Statistics of Manufactures, 1904-1905, Part IV of the Annual Report for 1906* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1906).

⁴² The Commonwealth of Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics, *Statistics of Manufactures for the Year 1912* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Co., State Printers, 1914).

⁴³ “Exports of Leather Great,” *The Salem Evening News*, August 3, 1915.

for quantities of leather that the human mind could hardly grasp, on top of which was developed a body of aviators of staggering numbers, a large part of whose equipment had to be made from sheep leather.⁴⁴

Not surprisingly, the leather industry of the North Shore and particularly Peabody, which contained a substantial number of leather factories specializing in sheep as well as various other kinds of skins, benefited considerably from the wartime economy. Although the importation of sheepskins from France, Russia, Turkey, and South Africa halted to a degree with the war's impact on trade, in 1918 the federal government guaranteed the tanners supplies of skins, as well as the prices which they would receive for their leather. Furthermore, experiences of the American soldiers in the trenches showed that the wool skin (sheepskins with wool on them) was neither sanitary nor comfortable.⁴⁵ Thus, trench war conditions led to the rise of demand for sheepskins, a majority of which would be supplied by the tanneries of Peabody.

The two largest tanning companies in Peabody, A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin Co. supplied most of the leather for the American army. By 1917, A.C. Lawrence Leather Co. had increased its output of leather for the army, making cow hide leather for army shoes, pigskin and horse hide leather for leggings, and sheepskin leather for army equipment. Moreover, National Calfskin Co. was making calf leather for army shoes. They became the largest producers of army leather on the North Shore. Other smaller establishments in Peabody, Lynn and Danvers started manufacturing various kinds of leather for the needs of the American army.⁴⁶ Also, a sustained demand for American

⁴⁴ Frank C. Allen. "The Leather Situation Today." *The Export Recorder* 12 (1920): 27.

⁴⁵ "Uncle Sam Wants Many Sheepskins," *The Salem Evening News*, April 3, 1918.

⁴⁶ "Leather Industry Looking Better," *The Salem Evening News*, October 5, 1917.

leather and leather goods, started to come from all over the world, marking the triumph of Peabody. In 1917, Peabody came to be recognized as the world's largest producer of leather with 91 industrial establishments that employed 8,676, with yearly wages of \$10,233,573. Peabody's products were valued at \$52,906,722 which was double that of Salem.⁴⁷

3.5. Conclusion

The period between the 1880s and 1920s was crucial in the development of modern capitalism as these four decades witnessed the proletarianization of the skilled worker, the first merger wave, and the rise and the fall of the Socialist Party of America. Peabody, like a number of metropolitan Boston cities, was a representative of this period with changing social relations, new flows of southern and eastern European ethnics, and a large population of Turkish workers employed in the leather industry.

Due to the concentration of vast sums of capital in the hands of a few nineteenth-century industrialists, late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century America was shaped and reshaped by the rise of industrialism and big businesses. Eventually, particular industrial activities and establishments came to symbolize particular American cities. As already noted, A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin Co. were the leather establishments that contributed to Peabody's becoming "the leather capital of the world" in 1919. However, *Swift & Co v. U.S.* in 1905 became one of the landmark cases in which the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, which was designed to limit cartels and monopolies in interstate

⁴⁷ Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 428.

commerce, was fully applied. Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1908) adopted the act as a part of his trust busting endeavors. Thus, in 1905, the Supreme Court ruled for the first time that Congress could constitutionally prohibit local business practices if it fell within the “stream of commerce” between the states.⁴⁸ The decision would affect Swift & Co.’s and a number of local meat dealers’ practice of buying butchered livestock in one state and selling fresh meat to retailers or agents in another.⁴⁹ Also as part of its trust-busting or regulating, “the government greedily seized the machinery that the United Shoe Machinery Co. had for making and for repairing shoes.”⁵⁰

In 1917, the trust regulating efforts of the U.S. government under the Sherman Antitrust Law were abandoned as the war effort required reliance on big businesses, many of which made up the Council for National Defense, and the public safety committees of the Commonwealth. Even the antitrust case against the United Shoe Machinery Corporation halted because of war conditions. Thus, war conditions also changed the policy of trust busting or regulating, and paved the way for the support of big businesses which supplied wartime needs. Swift & Co. was the largest tannery owner among the “big five” and by 1919 its tanneries in Peabody had the most liquid capital when compared to the other tanneries that it owned in other cities. In 1919, Peabody became the “leather capital” as its leather had reached “all parts of the world” and was used “wherever shoes are made by machinery.” Moreover, by the same year, sales agencies representing Peabody manufacturers were established in the leading

⁴⁸ This was a landmark decision that expanded federal power under the Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

⁴⁹ “Supreme Court History: Capitalism and Conflict,” http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/capitalism/landmark_swift.html, accessed on August 7, 2010.

⁵⁰ “War May affect United Shoe Suit,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 1, 1917.

shoe centers of the world. Its factories and around 100,000 workers were busy with manufacturing all types of leather to be consumed both at home and abroad.⁵¹ The next chapter will discuss the role of the Turkish immigrants in Peabody's rise to one of the largest leather manufacturers in the world as well as their contributions to the changing labor relations on the North Shore.

⁵¹ Fred A. Gannon, "Leather Centers of the *United States: Peabody, Massachusetts.*" *The Export Recorder*, October, 1919, Vol I, No. 6. 11-13.

CHAPTER IV

TURKS AS THE AGENT OF CHANGE IN THE LEATHER INDUSTRY

Employment of Turkish workers in the leather industry had coincided with the industry's tremendous growth in the early years of the twentieth century. Aside from the successful businessmen, convenient location, and the centuries old knowledge of making quality leather and shoes, the constant flow of cheap and unorganized Turkish labor into the industry was another component of the industry's success. Turning hides into leather had always been one of the toughest jobs and the vulnerability of hides and skins during conversion into leather required reliance on the labor much more than the other industries did. No matter how leather and shoe industry had been mechanized, they nonetheless had to rely on manual labor. Thus, migration of Turkish labor to the industry and their forming immigrant networks that would supply a ready source of labor would contribute remarkably to the success of Peabody's leather industry. With the constant supply and ease of training provided by their fellow countrymen, the Turkish labor was one of the factors facilitating industrial growth in Peabody. Furthermore, although the Turkish immigrants were criticized because of their

not fighting in World War I, their labor had helped the American army to a great extent.¹

As Richard Alba and Victor Nee noted, socioeconomic inequality was always the main factor in ethnic differentiation. Thus, historically there had always been a vital link between ethnic groups and their concentration in specific socioeconomic strata. In urban and suburban America of the early twentieth century, “to name an occupational group or a class is very much the same thing as naming an ethnic group.”² Thus, type of work had a considerable impact on the experiences of the host community as well as the immigrant. Like many of the immigrant groups with agricultural backgrounds, a vast majority of Turkish immigrants inevitably entered American social structure on its lowest rungs. Therefore, the extent of socioeconomic mobility determined the extent of socioeconomic assimilation.³

As a matter of fact, employment in the leather industry was closely related to Turkish immigrants’ concentration in industrial enclaves, the slow process of absorption and exclusion by the mainstream American society. In this chapter, the relation between Turkish immigrants’ employment and settlement patterns and the process of their assimilation in American society will be explored. Also the working and sanitary conditions, which significantly

¹ On the other hand, military records of those who registered to the army from Peabody indicates five Turkish immigrants were among the residents of Peabody who served in the U.S. Army: George Ahmed, Shurkey Hassan, Dgemal Huder, Mike Kelly Oman, and Risa Surliman.

² Quoted in Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 77.

³ For an extended discussion over assimilation, both in the old context and in the new, see Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*. Although the social mobility and social assimilation were seen as parts of the same process, Alba and Nee argue that this conception becomes problematic when it is applied to contemporary immigrant groups who no longer start at the bottom of the labor market.

constrained the Turkish immigrants' socioeconomic mobility and social integration into the mainstream, will be examined.

4.1. Ottoman Migration to the Leather Industry

At the end of the nineteenth century, small towns grew up around industries and the communities defined themselves with the products they made. While it was textiles in Lowell, shoemaking in Lynn, meatpacking in Chicago, or the wire industry in Worcester, the industry that would define Peabody and its peoples would be leather. This particular economic activity determined settling of the immigrants, their social and daily lives and their interaction to one another. As Philip K. Hitti notes in his pioneering work on Syrian immigrants in the United States, in Lowell and New Bedford, Mass., by the turn of the twentieth century, "Syrians, with Armenians and other 'recent' immigrants, were gradually displacing the French Canadians who had displaced the Irish, the latter having displaced the Yankee stock."⁴ One leather worker noted "my whole social contact was people from the leather shops"⁵ each of whom returned home with paychecks from the leather factories. Thus, in Peabody the leather industry defined immigrants' ethnicities as well as the everyday life and interaction of its society on a daily basis.

Peabody's and its neighbor Lynn's growing leather and shoe industry required more laborers, who were not particular about laboring conditions. As a result, the vast majority of Turkish immigrants were hired immediately upon

⁴ Philip K. Hitti, *The Syrians in America* (Piscataway: Georgias Press, 2005), 71.

⁵ *Leather Soul: Working for a Life in a Factory Town*, DVD, directed by Joe Cultrera and Bob Quinn (1991, New York, NY: MGM/UA Home Video, 2006).

arrival. Turkish migration to the U.S. usually took the form of movements from farms to villages, villages to towns, and towns to cities. Moreover, there were also seasonal migrations from Harput to the other Ottoman provinces, then to Istanbul or Izmir. The last stop of this floating population would be overseas migration from Harput or from Harput to Istanbul, and then to the United States. Some already had family members in the industry, like Suliman Alli, one of the last surviving first generation of Turkish immigrants. He noted that he already had an uncle in Peabody before his arrival in 1910.⁶

An article published in *Boston Globe* noted, by 1906 there were 700 Greeks and 400 Turks helping fill the quota in leather industry. It was also emphasized that “with five or six exceptions, they had no families. They live in colonies, and retain the manners and customs of their native lands.” While this population benefited the town, the presence of so many men from Turkey and Greece gave the town its cosmopolitan appearance.⁷ The industry and its requirements, as well as the previous networks, determined the destinations of the Turkish immigrants. Consequently, as Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut wrote in their book, “for newcomers of working-class communities, the natural thing to do is to follow the path of earlier arrivals into the host labor market.”⁸

Armenians, who had begun migrating to the U.S. earlier than Turks, had been previously employed in the leather industry. However, after a few years, they had begun making their ways out of the leather industry. Reports of the

⁶ Paul W. Mailloux, “Curiosity or Contributor: The Turk in Peabody, Massachusetts, 1900-1930 and 1974,” (Student paper presented for “Immigration in American Life” class at Salem State College), 1974, Massachusetts Historical Society Archives, Boston.

⁷ “Great Leather Industry of Peabody and Salem,” *Boston Globe*, July 8, 1906.

⁸ Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: the Story of the Immigrant Second Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 48.

Dillingham Commission, which took reports of two representative leather establishments in New England, suggest that in mid 1880s, the first employees in New England tanneries were Irish and Irish Americans with a few Swedes and Germans. In the first establishment, “workmen of Armenian race entered” in about 1896-1897, “and followed three years later, by Polish and Lithuanian workers.” The considerable change in the ethnic makeup of the tanneries was due to labor difficulties. The former immigrants and the native born employees were reluctant to take the jobs that they performed before, because of the bad working conditions and low wages. Thus the new immigrants found it easy to fill the jobs left by the former workers, which also paved the way for a constant change in the ethnic composition of the towns and cities.

Although the newly arrived immigrants were rarely welcome, reluctance of the native-born and the former immigrants working in the tanneries meant that there would be no competition over labor.⁹ For example, by 1895 Lynn’s 24 percent of shoe workers were foreign born, while over 60 percent of the leather workers were foreign born. This was mostly “because of the obnoxious odors and the constant splashing of foul fluids which were part of leather processing.”¹⁰ The beamhouse work was the toughest job in this business and the local workers had tried to avoid it for a long time. Similarly in Worcester, which came to be called “Little Kharpert,” Armenians, Turks and Kurds of Harput were employed in “the wire mill” with the tasks which would not be taken by the local laborers. The immigrants from Turkey overall were thought be capable of enduring extreme factory environments much longer than the indigenous peoples

⁹ U.S. Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries*, Vol. 11 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 19.

¹⁰ John T. Cumbler, *Working Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1979), 72-73.

of the town.¹¹ As one visitor to Worcester who toured the Washburn and Moen Mill in 1891 wrote:

The heat is unbearable. A worker can stand near his oven 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.¹²

A local newspaper in 1981 claimed that a Peabody tannery entrepreneur brought 500 Turks to Peabody after hearing that the “Turks were the strongest and hardest working men in the world”.¹³ Thus, along with the Turks’ intention to settle in Peabody to be employed in the tanneries, there is also a possibility that the Turks were preferred by the employers particularly for the beamhouse tasks where strength and knowledge counts much more than the other departments in the leather factories. On the other hand, no matter how and in what ways the early Turkish immigrants were employed in leather manufacturing, the ethnic networks secured a steady Turkish immigrant influx which would result in a visible Turkish presence on the North Shore. The Turkish immigrants’ being not particular about the employment conditions because of the intention of returning home as soon as securing enough money, as well as the factors such as providing unorganized and cheap labor composed almost entirely of young men, made the owners bring more Turkish laborers to be employed in the beamhouses. Military draft cards of the Turkish immigrants in Peabody, Lynn, and Salem show that a vast majority of them were employed in tanneries of Peabody and its vicinity.¹⁴

¹¹ See Hagop Martin Deranian, “Worcester is America,” *Journal of Armenian Studies* 3 (1986-1987): 18.

¹² *Ibid.*, 18.

¹³ “Peabody’s Greeks and Turks – Rivalry Strong as Coffee,” *Daily Evening Item*, July 21, 1981.

¹⁴ See Appendix I.

As the nature of the industry required physical strength and endurance as well as art of the tanner to some extent, the Turks and Greeks were employed and became the most prominent groups in the beamhouses of Peabody's tanneries for their fame with their physical abilities and artistic skills. Although Harput province, with over 60 tanneries, was one of the chief centers of tanning in the Ottoman Empire, a considerable number of the Turkish immigrants employed in Peabody's leather industry came from rural backgrounds, except a few individuals like Ismail Chief [Şef], who was a tanner in Harput and a janitor in the American Mission station in Harput.¹⁵ The table below, prepared by the Dillingham Commission, shows the previous occupations of the immigrants who were employed in leather industry in Massachusetts.

¹⁵ Bahadır Şef, e-mail message to the author, May 8, 2008. Also see Isil Acehan, "'Ottoman Street' in America: Turkish Leather Workers in Peabody, Massachusetts," *International Review of Social History* 54 (2009): 35.

**Table 4.1. Occupation before coming to the United States of foreign-born males who were 16 years of age or over at time of coming, by race of individual.
(Study of Households)**

Race of Individual	Number Reporting Complete Data	Percent Without Occupation	Per cent working for wages						Percent working without wages			Percent Working for Profit		
			Farm Laborers	General Laborers	Leather Factory Operatives	In hand trades	In other occupations	Total	Farm Laborers	In other Occupations	Total	Farm ers	In other Occupations	Total
German	20	5.0	10.0	0.0	45.0	20.0	0.0	75.0	10.0	5.0	15.0	0.0	5.0	5.0
Irish	31	.0	16.1	12.9	.0	.0	3.2	32.3	58.1	3.2	61.3	6.5	.0	6.5
Italian, South	63	7.9	19.0	.0	4.8	4.8	3.2	31.7	25.4	6.3	31.7	14.3	14.3	28.6
Polish	119	.8	19.3	.8	1.7	1.7	9.2	31.1	58.0	.0	58.0	9.2	.8	10.1
Slovak	21	.0	19.0	.0	.0	.0	4.8	23.8	61.9	.0	61.9	14.3	.0	14.3
Turkish	438	.5	4.8	.0	.0	.0	.2	5.0	90.9	.0	90.9	3.7	.0	3.7
Total	722	1.4	10.9	.7	1.8	1.4	2.4	17.2	72.3	1.0	73.3	6.4	1.8	3.2

This table includes only races with 20 or more males reporting. The total, however, is for all foreign-born. U.S. Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Vol. XI (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 36.

As the table indicates, 90.9 percent of the Turkish immigrants in Massachusetts' leather industry had been farmers without wages. The Dillingham Commission report in 1911 on the immigrants in industries was one of the best examples to show the interrelation between immigration and a particular industry. In the section on leather manufacturing, the commission explained that there was a substantial volume of migration to the leather-tanning industry.¹⁶ Thus, it seems impossible to distinguish the immigrants and the industry from one another, as

¹⁶ U.S. Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries*, Vol. 11 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 16.

the industry had not only been the foremost pull factor for the immigrants, but it also would shape the ways in which the immigrants adapted to American life.

4.2. The Community and Early Encounters with the Turkish population

Peabody was no exception in the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-religious framework of Massachusetts in early twentieth century. The members of Irish descent decreased in number while those from eastern and southern Europe increased. “McCarthys” and “Mahoneys,” like in many of the industrial towns, subsequently were replaced by twenty-seven separate and distinct nationalities including Greeks, Finns, Poles, Portuguese, Russians, Armenians, Turks and Kurds.¹⁷

The nature of the work was the most prominent factor in determining the ethnic composition of the towns and cities where leather production became the most prominent industry. Before the introduction of Southern and Eastern European immigrants as well as Ottoman immigrants into the leather business, more than one-half of the leather workers’ population were native-born. In Massachusetts, the Irish had much larger representation than the other immigrant groups in the leather business. In ten years, between 1880 to 1890 the number of employees in the leather tanning and finishing industries increased by one-third, which explains the rapid increase in business.¹⁸

¹⁷ Peabody High School Student #2425, “The Foreign Invasion—A Social Problem” (Paper read at a Conversation held at the Unitarian Church), November 23, 1906, George Peabody Museum Archives, Peabody.

¹⁸ U.S. Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Industries*, Vol. 11 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 14.

However, by 1910, Peabody seemed like “a melting pot of all nations” with a population of 15,721 in which 21 nationalities were represented. The influx of Ottoman immigrants had brought a considerable change in the gender as well as ethnic composition of the population. The total number of the foreign-born in 1910 according to the Federal Census was 5,347 and the largest groups were as follows:

Table 4.2. Peabody’s Foreign-Born Population in 1910

Nationality	Population
Irish	1,469
Russian	765
Canadian	644
Turkish	644
Greek	515
English	247
French Canadian	201
Portuguese	187
Austrian	175

Source: Wells, *The Peabody’s Story*, 386.

In the 1905 decennial census, there were just 96 males from Turkey and no Turkish females, a number which is a total of Armenians, Turks, and Kurds from Turkey as the category of Armenia, which refers to Eastern Turkey, had not existed in 1905 decennial census.¹⁹ However, the decennial census of 1915 proved a considerable rise of the immigrants from Turkey, this time other than

¹⁹ The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, *The Decennial Census 1915*, 124-125.

the Armenian population, with a number of 561, which is 484.4 percent higher than the previous census. Although the number of the registered people from Turkey in Peabody in the 1905 census turned out to be 96, a newspaper article indicates that there were more than 400 in Peabody employed in the tanneries in 1906. If we take the number of 1915 Turkish population in Peabody as was given in the decennial state census, which was 561, the number seems to be incorrect.²⁰ After a jump in migration from Turkey 1913, which totaled 23,955, it would be hardly expected that out of this grand total only about 100 had arrived Peabody, the center of Turkish community. Moreover, Ahmet Emin Yalman asserts that there were nearly 1,000 Turks in Peabody when he visited there in 1911.²¹ Thus, the federal census numbers of 1910 seem to be more accurate in this respect. Furthermore, as was noted before, the day and night shifts of Turkish laborers as well as their mobility, going back and forth from one city to another, complicated the census takers in terms of providing accurate numbers of Turkish immigrants.

Although the numbers of Turkish immigrants were inaccurate, obviously the Turkish community in Peabody started to become considerable in size by around 1905. *The Salem Evening News* article in July, 1905 noted that “a Turk, whose name could not be ascertained, aged 45 years, a resident of the country about one month” was taken to the hospital from the Turkish boarding house. He was operated for an acute disease but could not survive after the operation.²² Most probably, the details of the story and the name of the Turk was not known because the Turkish immigrants had not yet have any interpreter at that time.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 125-125.

²¹ Naki Konyalı, “Ahmet Emin Yalman’ın Kaleminden Amerika’daki Göçmen Türkler,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 92 (2001), 29.

²² *The Salem Evening News*, July 27, 1905.

However, the newspaper articles in later years mention a Turkish name, Joe Hussien, who acted as a spokesperson for the Turkish community in Peabody and around. Generally, it was Joe Hussien, who was relied on by the newspaper as a source. There were also a number of merchants who came from Turkey, knew English and were referred to for their expertise on the Turkish community. Because of the lack of English language skills and an interpreter, many of the stories on the Turkish community appearing in the newspapers and thoughts of the townspeople about the group were nothing but mere impressions. However, apparently because of the rise in the Turkish immigrant numbers in and around Peabody, the news articles began to cover more and more articles on the Turkish immigrants.

The rise of the Turkish population in 1905 had also called for new methods and responses from the city government. One of the earliest arrangements for the new Turkish and Greek immigrants occurred in terms of providing better communication facilities to the immigrants. By 1905, the postmaster of the Peabody post office had realized the need for a larger and better post office because of the growth of Turkish and Greek populations in town. Turks and Greeks, looking forward to the news from “the other side” were rushing to the post office every night and causing a large crowd. One-third of the rented boxes at the office was held by Greeks and Turks. It was noted:

They gather there nightly waiting for letters from the other side, and having no particular place to go they often linger about the office longer than is actually necessary. The result is that the office is crowded every evening is poorly ventilated and a most disagreeable place to enter. Furthermore the inside office is not large enough, the postmaster says, for the rapidly

growing business especially the foreign money order business.²³

Like many of the Eastern and Southern European immigrants in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the intention of the Turkish migrants was to return home as soon as they secured money enough that would provide them better economic and social status in the homeland. Thus, the intention to stay for a brief period determined the work place, the age range, and the settlement patterns in a new urban or suburban setting. The Turks never had the idea of making this new world a homeland. As a result, the letters and news from “the other side” had utmost importance for both the Greeks and Turks during their sojourn in Peabody as once they had enough money, it was the place where they would spend the rest of their lives.

Moreover, the city government of Peabody had also made other arrangements for the Turkish immigrants a majority of whom did not know English. For example, when Ahmet Emin Yalman, one of the most prominent journalists and intellectuals of his time, visited Peabody in 1911, noted that when he got out of the train, which took them to Peabody, he felt as if they were in a Turkish town because all the signs in the train station and the civic instructions on the walls were both in English and Turkish. He concluded that the Turkish population had a considerable place within the town’s population. Yalman had also noted that the Turks were not interested in the world around them; they did not try to understand it and they tried to keep their communication with their non-Turkish neighbors to a minimum. Even if they needed something from a shop that might be located on a nearby street, they would request help from an

²³ “Better Post office Accommodations Are Needed: The Office is Crowded. Greek Policeman Needed,” *The Salem Evening News*, May 16, 1905.

Armenian who knew English.²⁴ At the time of Yalman's first visit the Turks themselves operated only one coffeehouse and a bakery, both on Walnut Street. Because of the lack of enough Turkish coffeehouses, the Turks were frequenting the Greek coffeehouses on Walnut Street which numbered five according to the Peabody City Directory of 1910. The Directory of 1910 also indicates that O. Osman Coffeehouse was located on 27 Walnut Street, and on 24 Walnut Street, H. Mistafa was operating a bakery. Consequently, the Turkish immigrants' attachment to the homeland, which remained strong, and the language barrier led to resistance to integrate into the host community in the early years of their settlement.

4.3. An Assessment of the Interrelation Between the Turkish immigrants and the Leather Industry

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the United States experienced a spectacular change not only in the means of production but also in the size, diversity and dispersion of the immigrants employed in the American industries. Thus, there is a necessary relation between the industrial change and the influx of a certain ethnic group into a particular industry.

By 1910, a study on the North Shore leather and shoe industry had been commissioned in order to promote the American industry in the world. By invitation of President William Armstrong of the Board of Trade, at a meeting held on March 15, 1910 in Peabody by New England Shoe and Leather

²⁴ Ahmed Emin Yalman, "Amerika'da Türk Muhacirler," *Darülfünun Edebiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1332-1334), 179-188.

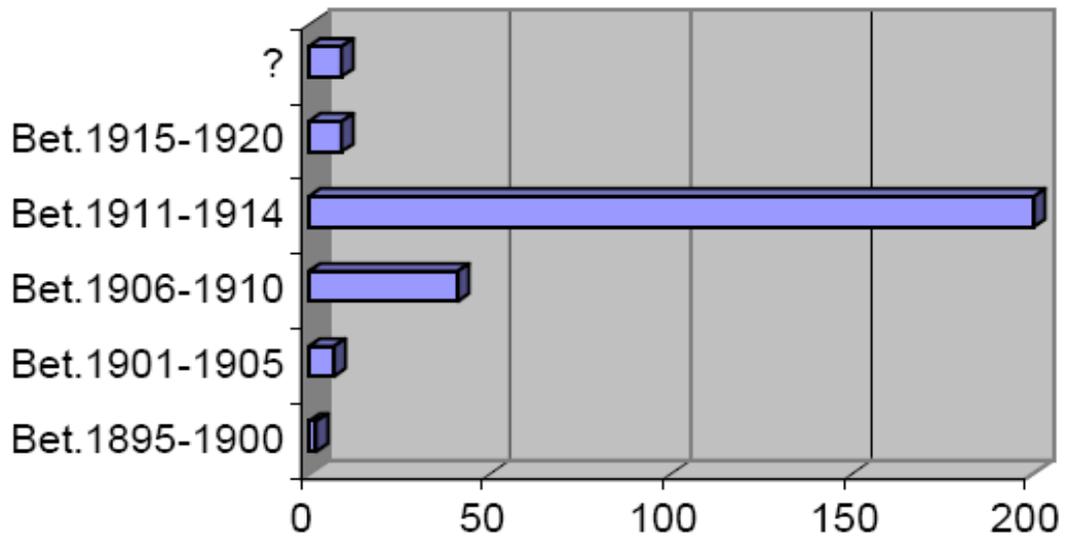
Association, the future of the shoe and leather industry of New England throughout the world was discussed. Armstrong noted that it was “the grandest evening, in a business way” the town of Peabody had ever seen. By 1910, the manufactured products of Peabody valued \$19,000,000. Armstrong did not also strongly advocated development of manufactures, “for it was by manufacturing that people were employed and industry fostered.”²⁵

In 1910, with the rising demand for sheep leather, nearly all the sheepskin tanners were busy and some of them were even running their factories during evenings. Because of a liberal supply of raw material at reasonable prices in 1910, they were able to make many kinds of leather and sell them at quite low prices. Thus, the affordability of leather resulted in a larger demand for sheep leather which would be used in shoes and boots. According to the figures which had been prepared by the commercial bulletin in 1910, sheepskins and wool provided a great deal of employment for New England capital and labor. The bulletin also noted that Peabody had become the leading sheep leather making center of the country.²⁶ Rising demand for leather, not only from domestic markets, but also from foreign countries resulted in employment of more foreign hands, particularly Turkish and Greek laborers in the leather factories. Peabody census records of 1920 indicate a significant influx of Turkish immigrants into the leather industry started by 1907 and reached its climax point from 1911 to 1914 due to the instability of socioeconomic conditions in Turkey combined with the tremendous industrial growth in Peabody which became a magnet for the Turkish immigrants.

²⁵ “To Stimulate Shoe and Leather Industry,” *The Salem Evening News*, March 16, 1910.

²⁶ “Sheepskin and Wool Industries,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 6, 1911.

**Figure 4.1. Numbers of the Turkish Immigrants in 1920
Federal Census, Peabody**



Source: Acehan, "Outposts of an Empire," 43.

The largely represented groups in the tanneries were Turks, Greeks, and Poles. Even Indian tribes and the Chinese were employed on the North Shore's leather industry. Thus, a new trend of labor efficiency, with the tremendous growth of American industries by the early 1900's, would bring the necessity of dealing with every ethnic group according to their own peculiarities. It was noted that it would be a "mistake to generalize immigrant workers" as they were "no more alike than are buyers of leather all alike." Thus, if the leather manufacturer would fail to "distinguish between the different classes of immigrant workers," he would "find himself in as much trouble as the man who failed to sort his skins." The Greeks and the Poles were grouped as the most progressive and industrious workmen, who are settling down in the United States. However, the

Turks were depicted to be confined to the beamhouse and were not able to move upward to the positions like the Greeks did. Moreover, they were also criticized for their intention to return to their old homes. Under the banner of “Turks as Puzzle,” it was claimed that “the Turks are a puzzle to many employers.” In an effort to define this group, it was noted: “Their language and their customs are so different from the American that it is difficult to understand them. Many of them appear to be Mohammedans. How they feel toward their employers is uncertain.” The article also claimed that the Greeks and the Turks fight upon slight provocation whereas the Greeks generally win. With a tone of contempt, it was said that “luckily the Turks are content to remain beamhouse workmen, while the Greeks generally make their way up to positions as machine operators in tanning and finishing rooms.” Underlining the Turks’ intention of return, the article noted:

Most of the Turks seem to be in this country only for the purpose of getting enough money to go home and live in comfort. They live frugally and save much. It is said that a Turk can live at ease on the income of a few hundred dollars in his own homeland. He will be looked upon as a rich man among his people. A tribesman from Turkey, perhaps a Kurd, once told his foreman in broken English that he intended to go home just as soon as he saved money enough to buy entrance to a tribe of mountain brigands.²⁷

In Peabody, the Turks were the only group stigmatized with their confinement into the beamhouse as well as the intention to return to the homeland. Moreover, the Turks were defined as spending less money than the Greeks, which was seen as an indicator of their being better workers than the Turks. On the other hand,

²⁷ “Men of Many Nations at Work in Peabody Tanneries; Difficulties in Handling Them,” *The Salem Evening News*, August 6, 1913.

“the Turks of the Mohammedan faith” were considered not efficient enough as workers because of their transitory nature as temporary immigrants without families. Moreover, the host community believed or hoped that the Turkish women would not come to the United States as “the laws of the Koran stand in the way.”²⁸

Criticism over the Turks mixed with a feeling of contempt also disturbed the leading figures among the Turkish immigrants of the North Shore. For example, Mamad Effendy, a Turkish resident in Peabody since 1902 and a storekeeper since 1905, adopted a role as a referee to the Turkish workers for the business owners. He noted in an article titled “For Turkish Labor” which was published in the Peabody’s local newspaper in the very same year it started its publication life:

Having been in Peabody for the past ten years I am in position to talk intelligently about my countrymen who live in this town. I was told before coming to America of the good customs which are obtained here and since my residence I have come to know the liberality shown by the American people. I have found Peabody people willing to give respect to all law-abiding citizens and as a storekeeper here for seven years I have but words of praise for the treatment accorded me. Some citizens think Turks are uncivilized. The Turks in Peabody do not represent all of my country and there is both good and bad in all nations. My position in the community permits me to recommend my countrymen to employers of labor. I am able also to supply any desired information regarding my people and I will cheerfully give any information asked. Call on me.²⁹

Mamad Effendy gave his address and phone number for any possible inquiries about Turkish people. Thus, Mamad Effendy, in an attempt to improve the

²⁸ “Men of Many Nations at Work in Peabody Tanneries; Difficulties in Handling Them,” *The Salem Evening News*, August 6, 1913.

²⁹ “For Turkish Labor,” *The Peabody Enterprise*, May 17, 1912.

images of the Turkish immigrants challenged by the media, tried to prevent public prejudice and social exclusion against the Turkish immigrants on the North Shore. The Turkish immigrants in Peabody not only encountered a stigmatized status, prejudice and discrimination, but they also suffered serious threats to their health because of the poor working conditions.

4.4. Working and Sanitary Conditions in the Tanneries and Health Problems

Tanning had always been one of the toughest jobs in world history. One of the most important aspects of the tanning industry is that no matter how much industrialization has been experienced in the industry, a considerable amount of the work should be done by hand while the workforce was dominated by immigrants. Thus, it has always been an art and craft, though the toughest and dirtiest one. The toughness of the tanner's job even caught the attention of Shakespeare who refers to the tanner in Act V, Scene I, of *Hamlet* during his beloved Ophelia's burial in a churchyard. Hamlet takes the king's deceased jester's skull into his hand; questioning life, death and spiritual aftermath of death, he asks the clown: "How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot?" The conversation goes on as:

First Clown:

I' faith, if he be not rotten before he die--as we have many pocky corses now-a-days, that will scarce

hold the laying in--he will last you some eight year
or nine year: a tanner will last you nine year.

HAMLET:

Why he more than another?

First Clown:

Why, sir, his hide is so tanned with his trade, that
he will keep out water a great while; and your water
is a sore decayer of your whoreson dead body...

The clown's statement about the tanner's skin was enough to show how much the tanner was exposed to the tanning agents during his work. The tannins would penetrate into the tanner's skin to a degree that was enough to give him one more year before his body rots after being buried. Thus, it will be helpful to understand the business, the health conditions of the tanners, and the sanitary problems in the tannery in order to have a whole picture of leather industry in Massachusetts and the Turkish leather workers.

A large number of Anatolians were employed with the beamhouse work. After receiving the skins and hides, the process of turning them into leather in the beamhouse, which was on the lower floor of a leather factory, would begin with removing the remnants of animal flesh clinging to the hide through fleshing machines. Then, they would be sent to the wash wheels, which were rotating drums that washed and purged the hides of the residual curing agent, salt. The next step was soaking the hides and skins into lime vats for about a week to soften the hair. After their removal from the vats, they would be put into the "unhairing" machines that would finish the process of removing the hair. In the end, the hides would be sent over to the tanyard for the process of transformation

into leather.³⁰ Even a glimpse of the beamhouse could give one idea about how hard the work was.

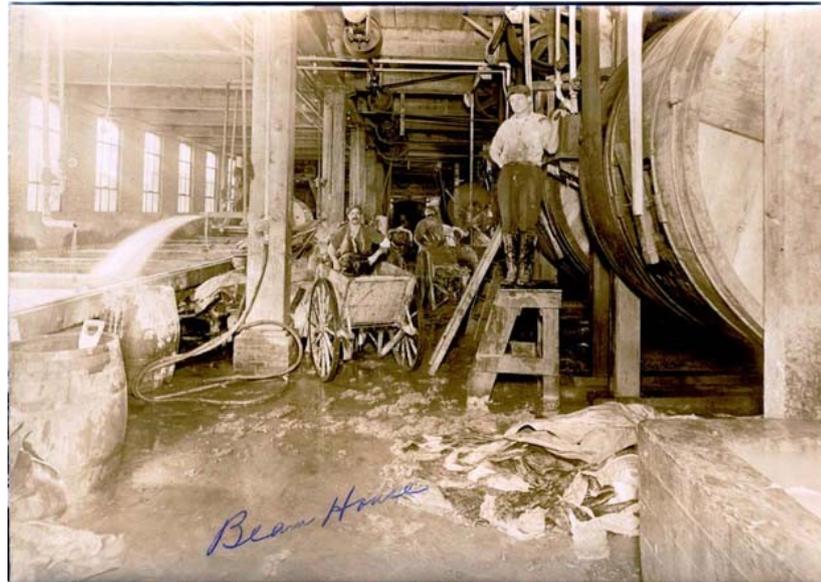


Figure 4.2. A Beam House, undated.

Source: Peabody Institute Library Collection, Peabody

³⁰ Gerald Zahavi, *Workers, Managers, and Welfare Capitalism: the Shoeworkers and Tanners of Endicott Johnson, 1890-1950* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 77.

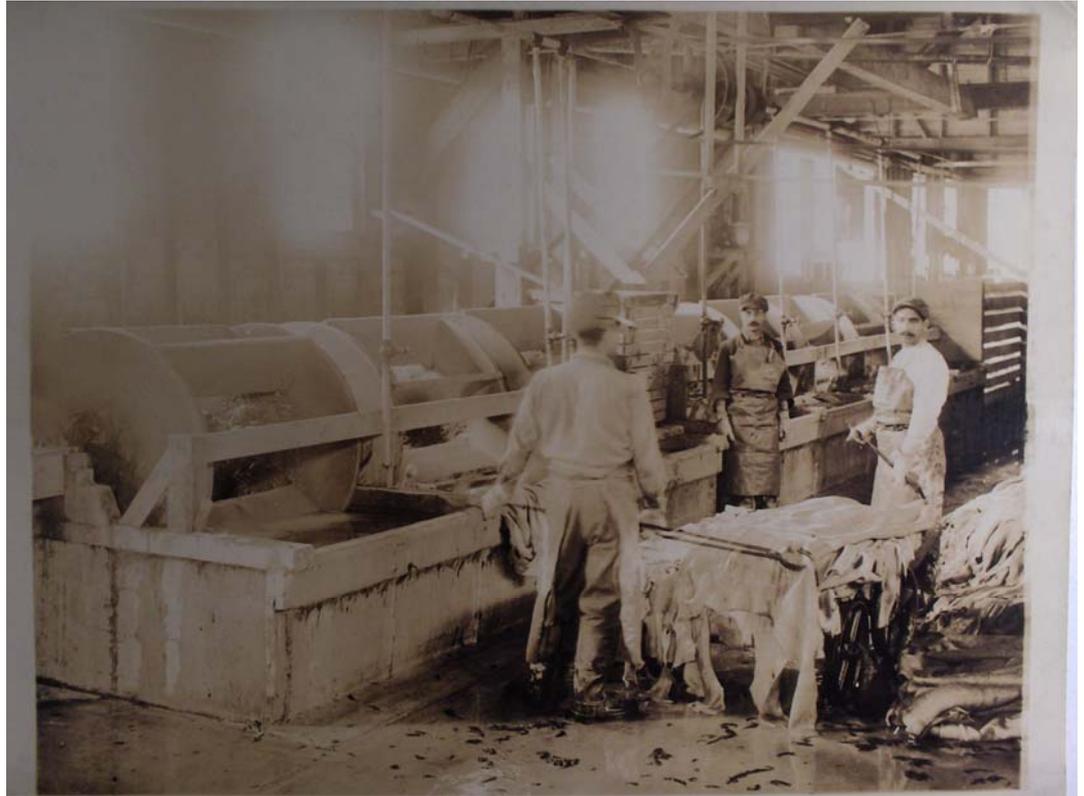


Figure 4.3. A Beam House, undated.

Source: United Shoe Machinery Collection, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, Washington, DC

Until 1905, health of the tanners had not appeared as a concern for the United States health officials. Because of large influx of the “new immigrants” by 1890s, industry-related diseases for the first time received attention of the health officials by the early 1900s. Tuberculosis was the primary concern. Both the medical doctors and the state inspectors of health worked in collaboration in order to define the source of the disease and the ways to control its spread.

In 1905, study of the health of tanners became a subject of a special investigation for the first time in the United States. Before the study, tanning was believed to be a healthy industry because of the examples of old-time tanners such as Solomon Stevens of Salem who was 95 years old in 1905. That special investigation revealed the detrimental nature of the industry to workers’ health

and the study showed that tanning industry tended to shorten life. The average life for a tanner was 42 year, while it was 48 years for a shoemaker.³¹ As the death records of the Turkish laborers indicate, about two-thirds, who were at the working age, had died of tuberculosis.

Besides the difficulties of tanning industry, health problems it constituted for the tanners made the local workers reluctant to take these jobs. Beamhouse work was one of the most difficult and hazardous jobs among all the other industry-related jobs. “Wet work,” for example, meant “coming into contact with a number of caustic chemicals, having piles of heavy hides over wooden ‘horses,’ bending and scraping flesh and hair, often still infested with the remains of worms or parasites.”³² The most commonly known occupational disease for the tannery workers was anthrax and this resulted in many cases of Turkish leather workers infected by the disease. For example, in 1912, a Turkish worker who was employed at the Vaughn sole leather plant in Salem, was taken to Peabody, Thomas Hospital to be treated. He was one of six victims of anthrax who had all come from the same factory in Salem. The beamhouse workers in the tannery, all whom were Poles and Turks of Peabody, consequently ended up in Peabody’s local hospital. However, many of the nurses were refusing to take care of the patients with anthrax disease, as it was infectious and hard to cure. Thus, a number of medical workers were even resigning their positions rather than working on the patients.³³

³¹ “Interesting Study of Health of Health of Tanners Made by South American Doctors,” *The Salem Evening News*. January 16, 1905.

³² Zahavi, *Workers, Managers, and Welfare Capitalism*, 78.

³³ “Another Victim of Anthrax Brought From Salem Leather Plant to the Thomas Hospital,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 21, 1912.

Although the most commonly known occupational disease for the tannery workers was anthrax an article written by an industrial physician in 1925 and published in the *Journal of Industrial Hygiene* identified forty-two occupational disease hazards in the tanning industry. The writer noted that the tanning industry “has a greater variety of occupational hazards than almost any other one.”³⁴ Because of the fact that there were no “standard recipe” for tanning hides, every ingredient that had had been used by individual tannery owners posed a different health disease for the tannery workers. The beamhouse workers could get burned as a result of the salt or caustic sodas that were used in curing hides as was described by Battista:

That’s where the bull work was, and I mean that was bull work. It was unbelievable how hard you had to work... The stench was terrible... The conditions were terrible. You were wet most of the time. You were full of lime. It would splash on you. You would wear a blue denim shirt...you’d probably wear it, at most, a month. It would be all starched. You would wind up with sores and stuff like that from the burns.³⁵

Aside from the burns caused by the caustic sodas, salt or lime, arsenic poisoning would occur as a result of handling arsenic-cured hides. A considerable amount of the light leather produced was those which were turned into leather from imported skins. The leather workers in Peabody, who tanned the skins imported from overseas, were frequently exposed to this kind of poisoning. Besides various chemicals that caused serious health hazards among the tannery workers, tannin materials that were used in further steps of the tanning process would also cause serious sores on the hands of the workers.

³⁴ Dorothy K. Minster, “Forty-Two Occupational Disease Hazards in One Industry: The Tanning Industry as an Example of the Multiple Hazards in Industry,” *The Journal of Industrial Hygiene and Abstract of the Literature* 7 (1925), 299.

³⁵ Zahavi, *Workers, Managers, and Welfare Capitalism*, 78.

Vegetable tannins extracted from different parts of plants such as sumac, oak bark, chestnut, quebracho, and myrobalan, were causing dermatitis particularly on the hands of the workers on the tannery. Eileen Masiello relates the bad condition of her father's and uncles' hands, even many years after their retirement. Thus, even when the workers were not exposed to these tanning materials anymore, the sores and scars as well as other serious health hazards were the legacy of the beamhouse work.

In other stages of tanning the hides and skins, a variety of chemicals and natural extracts used in finishing or coloring the leather were also responsible for serious health problems among the tannery workers. The forty-two occupational hazards for the tanning industry that were identified can give an idea of under what circumstances the workers were employed. They were listed as: 1. Anthrax; 2. Sulphuretted hydrogen; 3. Cyanide poisoning; 4. Arsenic poisoning; 5. Bichloride of mercury; 6. Salt; 7. Caustic Soda; 8. Sulphurous acid; 9. Lime; 10. Sulphide of soda; 11. Arsenic sulphide; 12. Bacterial action; 13. Parasitic fungi; 14. Ammonium sulphide; 15. Lactic acid; 16. Methane; 17. Carbon dioxide; 18. Myrobalan; 19. Sumac; 20. Quebracho; 21. Sulphites; 22. Sulphuric acid; 23. Chrome; 24. Hydrochloric acid; 25. Formaldehyde; 26. Lead; 27. Fish or mineral oils; 28. Leather dusts; 29. Hair; 30. Tanbark; 31. Aniline; 32. Mercury; 33. Amyl acetate; 34. Butyl acetate; 35. Benzol; 36. Naphtha; 37. Turpentine; 38. Butyl alcohol; 39. Methyl alcohol; 40. Potassium ferrocyanide; 41. Carbon monoxide; 42. Brassfounders' ague.³⁶

Skin diseases such as dermatitis, inflammation of the skin, or chrome ulceration on the hands could also occur. Furthermore, a number of cancer types,

³⁶ Minster, "Forty-Two Occupational Disease Hazards in One Industry," 300.

most commonly lung cancer, sinonasal cancer and pancreatic cancer associated with leather dust and tanning, and bladder cancer and testicular cancer associated with dyes or solvents in the finishing process were other concerns.³⁷ Below are the available death records of the Turks buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery of Peabody. There are more Turks buried in Cedar Grove but these are the only identifiable Turkish names.

Table 4.3. Turks Buried in Cedar Grove Cemetery, Peabody MA

Name	Date of Interment	Age	Cause of Death	Residence at Time of Death
Mamat Hassen	26-Jul-05	25	Exhaustion. Stranglating hernia	Peabody
Abraham Mohammitt	31-Mar-12	25	Phthisis	Tewksbury
Allis Hassan	7-May-13	23	General peritonitis	Peabody, Mass
Mamet Mystphia	12-Oct-15	25	Tuberculosis	Lynn
Mamet Tamma	18-Mar-16	32	Pulmonary tuberculosis	Salem
Joseph Mohamet	27-Apr-16	25	Tuberculosis of lungs	Peabody
Mehmed Hassen	1-May-16	18	Tuberculosis of lungs	Tewksbury
Allie Hassan	15-Jul-16	24	Tuberculosis	Peabody
Husein Hassan	1-Sep-16	26	Tuberculosis	Peabody
Isman Alli	18-Oct-16	22	Tuberculosis of spine	Peabody
Mustaffa Hassan	20-Nov-16	30	Tuberculosis	Peabody

³⁷ Indu Shekhar Thakur, *Environmental Biotechnology: Basic Concepts and Applications* (New Delhi: LK International Pvt. Ltd., 2006), 402-403.

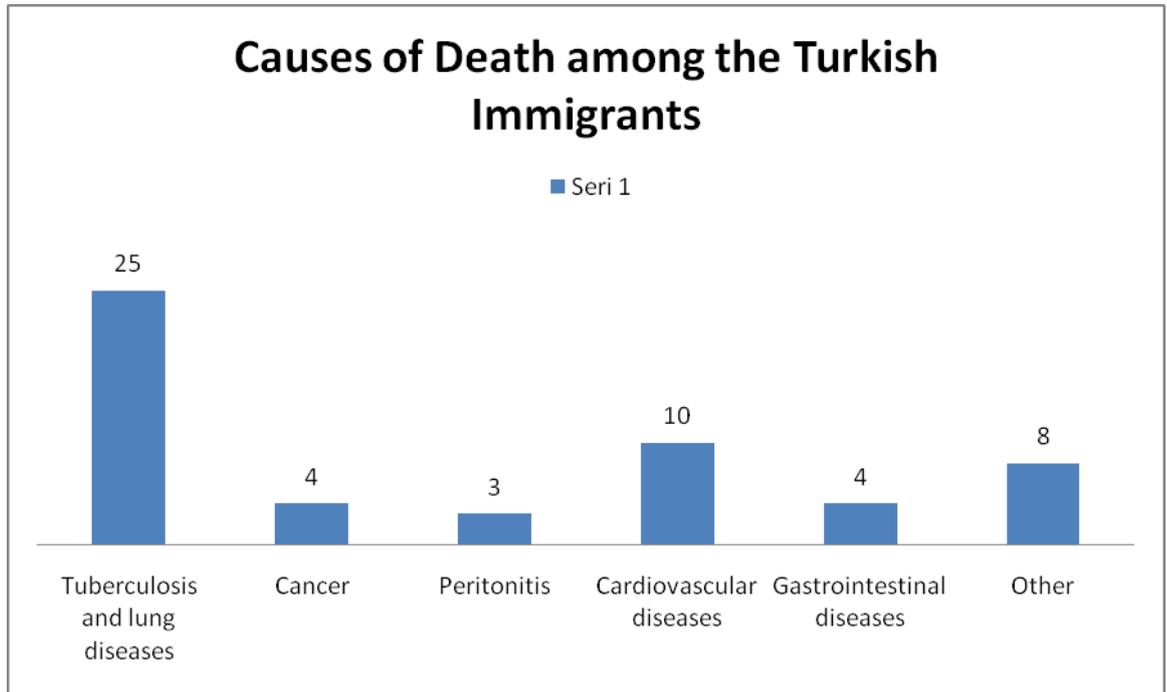
Mustaffa Hassan	20-Nov-16	30	Tuberculosis	Peabody
Ahmed Obsen	3-Dec-16	27	Intestinal obstruction	Peabody
Mustaffa Hassan	4-Dec-16	20	Tuberculosis of lungs	Peabody
Mamet Hassan	23-Feb-17	35	Tuberculosis	Peabody
Mamet Hassan	23-Feb-17	35	Tuberculosis	Peabody
Mamad Hassan	19-Apr-17	33	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	Peabody
Mamid Hassan	3-Jun-17	45	Cancer of Liver	Lynn
Amed Hassan	5-Jul-17	28	Fall from pole	Peabody
Abdullah Hassan	28-Sep-17	36	Tuberculosis	Tewksbury
Ismiah Mamid	21-Feb-18	35	Chronic nephritis	Peabody
Mamad Hassan	2-Apr-18	45	Lobar pneumonia	Peabody
Mamad Hassan	18-Sep-18	26	General peritonitis	Peabody
Yasif Hassan	17-Apr-19	30	Tuberculosis	Salem
Ali Hassan	4-Nov-24	33	Tetanus	
Ismael Hussein	22-Oct-27	35	Probable fractured skull	Salem
Fike Hassen	18-Aug-28	30	Stab wound in chest	Woburn
Alli Hassan	25-Sep-28	49	Gastric carcinoma	Boston

Alli Hassan	18-Mar-29	42	Tuberculosis	Tewksbury State Hospital
Ahmed Hussein	19-Nov-29	44	Chronic myocarditis	State Infirmary Tewksbury Mass.
Murtaza Hassan	28-Jun-30	43	Coronary occlusion	Salem Hospital
Allie Hassan	24-Feb-32	40	Cancer	23 Foster St. Peabody
Ali Hassan	31-Dec-36	48	Cardio-renal disease	State Infirmary Tewksbury Mass.
(John) Ismail Hassan	28-Jan-37	50	Asphyxiation by illuminating gas. (Suicide)	14 Munroe St. Lynn
Mamad Hassan	11-Mar-38	55	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	State Infirmary Tewksbury Mass.
Ahmed Mustafa	8-Apr-38	60	General peritonitis	27 Walnut St. Peabody
Solomon Imerhorn; Alli or Abraham Hasson	16-Mar-40	46	Cancer of Rt. Lung	Tewksbury State Hospital
Kako Hassan	28-May-43	44	Ruptured Wall. Salt Fell on him.	11 Caller St. Peabody
Abdullah Hassan	10-Jul-43	47	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	Peabody [Died at Essex Sanatorium]
Ebish Hasson	26-Feb-44	54	Perforated Gastric Ulcer	Lynn [cement container]
Samuel Hassan	25-Jan-47	68	Pulmonary Tuberculosis	City Infirmary, Peabody Mass.
Alli Kuder	16-Dec-47	78	Arterio-Sclerosis. Broncho pneumonia	Tewksbury State Hospital & Infirmary
Ismael Inrahim	1-Feb-51	89	Heart disease-coronary occlusion. Heart dead in bed.	38 Central Ave., Lynn, Mass

Alli Hassan	15-Jan-53	60	Cancer of pancreas	65 Main St. Peabody, Mass
Thomas Hassan	31-Aug-53	70	General Arterio-Sclerosis	Crystal Lake Rest Home, Peabody, Mass.
Rizzo Suliman	6-Mar-55	75	Arteriosclerotic heart disease	Tewksbury State Hospital
Ismael Hassan	17-Nov-55	67	Artericlerotic heart disease; broncho pneumonia	188 Main St. Peabody, Mass
Shaban Hassan	25-Jun-56	71	Acute pulmonary edema	Peabody, Mass
Charles Suleyman	5-Apr-58	74	Septisemia	20 Beaver St., Salem, Mass.
Mamad Suliman	27-Nov-59	67	Carcinoma of the lung & Pulmonary Tuberculosis	Essex Senatorium
Hallil Hassan	17-Apr-61	78	Presumably coronary occlusion-Sudden	50 St. Andrews, Lynn, Mass.
Mustaffa Ahmed	5-Jun-61	74	Pulmonary tuberculosis, gen. art. Sclerosis malnutrition	65 Main St. Peabody, Mass
Alli Hassen	7-Aug-61	84	Prob. Coronary thrombosis-found dead in bathtub. Sudden death	45 Central St., Peabody Mass. [welfare case]
Ali Kaly Suliman	14-Jun-87	92	Arteriosclerotic heart disease	50 Warren Street, Peabody, MA

Source: Peabody Cedar Grove Cemetery Records

Figure 4.4.



As the table and figure above indicate, tuberculosis was the most common disease among the Turkish immigrants of the North Shore. Tuberculosis was a disease that was fed by the ill-housing and working conditions as well as ill-nourishment. For the Turkish immigrants, like many of the early immigrants, money supposed to be sent to or spent in the old homes. Consequently, the eating and housing conditions were limited by this mentality which remained for a long time even when the majority of them had returned Turkey. Frank Ahmed notes that even the possessions and savings of the deceased Turks would be packed up and sent to Turkey to the village of the deceased. None of the relatives in the United States would keep any of this

money because of the understanding that “the deceased had come to the United States to enrich himself and his family in Turkey.”³⁸

When Ahmed Emin Yalman visited Peabody for the first time in 1911, he noted that he found the Anatolian workers in unfavorable working conditions. In the tanneries, they were given the tasks which would not be accepted by any other working class. In return, their weekly wages were about \$5-\$6, an amount below even that of the children employed in the factories. Moreover, the damp air and noxious odors had affected the Turkish workers’ condition of health. Yalman noted that their only concern was their health and saving money. One of the Turkish workers in Peabody explained Ahmet Emin Yalman:

None of us think to stay here. Our goal is to save some money, return to the homeland, and come together with our children. You see, none of us came with our families and think to live here... We try not to learn this country’s language only not to allow any thought of living here. We disregard those who try to learn the language and we try to stop their efforts. Our job is to work in tanneries. It is a filthy, difficult job... There is not much demand for this job, and for this reason they are trying to keep us, so we have never been left hungry. We are cooking together, we are trying to save money, and send it to the homeland.³⁹

The Turks were solicitous of their health and visited doctors and dentists in Peabody. Dr. Henry Yale, who practiced dentistry for over half a century beginning from early 1900’s, counted many Turks among his patients. Where the Turks worked was “the most unhealthy aspects of their living.”⁴⁰

³⁸ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 82.

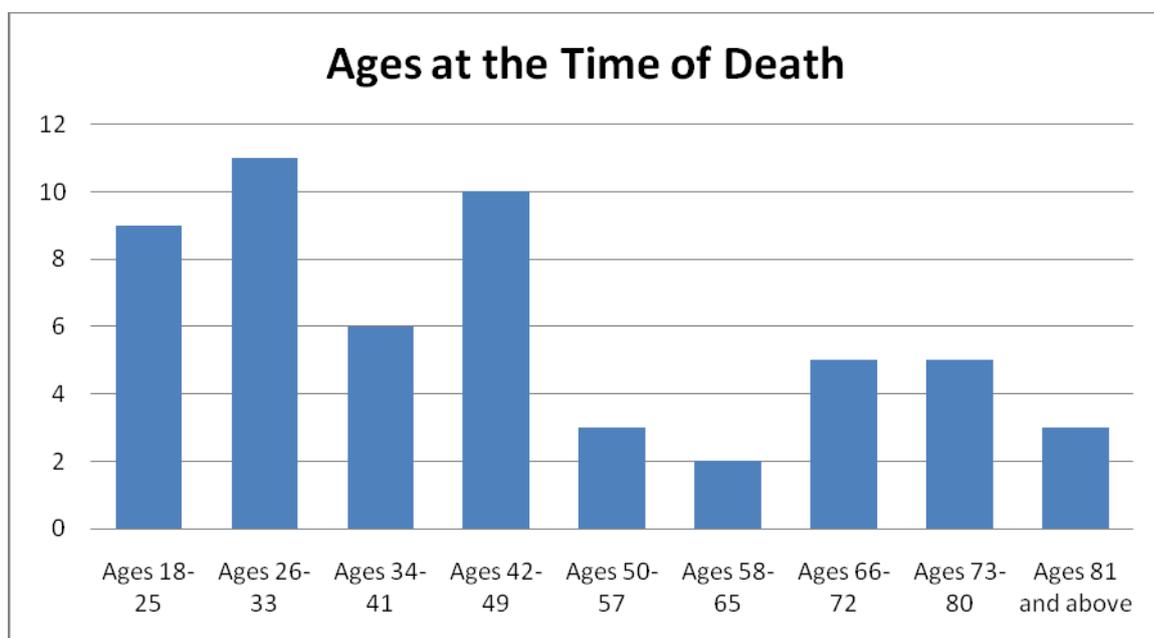
³⁹ Yalman, “Amerika’da Türk Muhacirler.”

⁴⁰ Mailloux, “Curiosity or Contributor.”

There were also some other work accidents such as electrocution in the factories where industrial safety hardly existed. In 1912, a Turk, Tashye Gashar was electrocuted at A.C. Lawrence Co.'s plant. As he was quitting work at noon, he was hanging a wet apron, which was widely used by the beamhouse workers, on an electric switch button and he received a fatal shock. The deceased was 30 years old and left a wife and a daughter. Tashye Gashar's uncle carried out a suit for \$50,000 against A.C. Lawrence through the office of S. Howard Donnell. However, A.C. Lawrence Co. did not accept the workingmen's compensation act.⁴¹ Thus, before the rise of the United Leather Workers of America, Local No.1, as will be discussed, and the laborers' becoming more conscious of their rights, the workers remained nothing but mere commodities that would be used and could easily be discarded and replaced by others.

⁴¹ "Sued for \$50,000," *The Salem Evening News*, October 23, 1912.

Figure 4.5.



As the figures above indicate, death rates among Turkish immigrants were much higher during their early years of settlement into the North Shore. The ages of the Turkish immigrants who died because of Tuberculosis indicate that Tuberculosis was not totally eliminated and could take a toll of the individuals even in the old ages.

Perhaps one of the earliest arrangements specifically for the Turkish immigrants had been achieved by Francis L. Conway, the owner of Conway Funeral Home, which was established in 1894. Conway made special arrangements for both Turks and Jews in order to allow for proper funeral services. Moreover, Francis L. Conway, his son and grandson supplied the Turks a special room to wash the body of the dead and to prepare it according to Islamic traditions. Conway Funeral Home also provided special linen sheets (kefen), needles, thread, soap, and oils which were needed in the process of

preparing the body for the burial. American headstone carvers also were able to carve in Arabic script by imitating the handwriting of the Turks. Frank Ahmed notes that the script was a bit crude but legible, such as the one below.



Figure 4.6. Headstone of a Turk, Halid Naman, located in Cedar Grove Cemetery, Peabody. It is written on the headstone in Ottoman script “Diyarbakir Vilayeti’nden Halid bin merhum Naman” [Deceased Halid Naman from Diyarbakir Province]. He was from eastern Turkey, Diyarbakir and died in Peabody in 1920. The photograph was taken by the author on May 8, 2007.

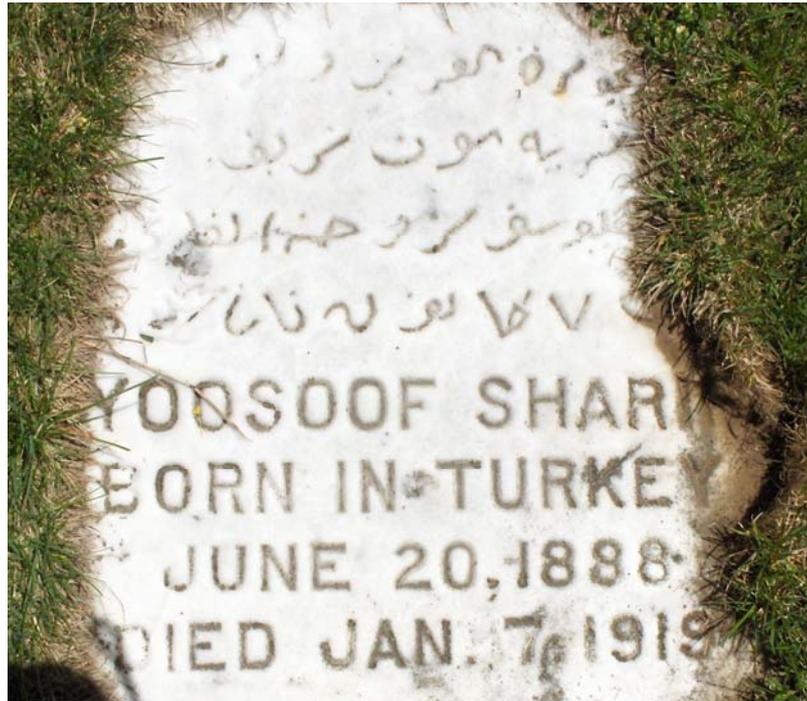


Figure 4.7. Headstone of a Turk, Yoo-soof Sharif, located in Cedar Grove Cemetery, Peabody. The photograph was taken by the author on May 8, 2007.

Ten out of fifty-five Turkish immigrants buried into the Cedar Grove Cemetery died in Tewksbury Hospital, which was the last residence for many of the European immigrants. However, as can be understood from the records above, Turks who died in the Tewksbury Hospital were taken care of by their friends and they were interred into Cedar Grove Cemetery. Moreover, funeral expenses of the single Turks, who were buried in Cedar Grove, were compensated by the city government of Peabody. Many of the Turks buried in Cedar Grove do not even have headstones, which is an indicator of their financial status.

Among the Turks who died in Peabody and vicinity and brought over to Peabody for the funeral services, there were two suicides. Although one of the cemetery records was available, the other had not been located. The two Turks

committed suicide in the same way: by gas. On December 29, 1920, Mamad Ali, who was 40 years-old and living in a boarding house in Peabody, 34 Main Street, was found to be asphyxiated from the effects of the gas which filled the room as he had opened wide all the gas cocks in the room. He was a leather worker in Carr Leather Co., Peabody.⁴² John Ismail Hassan, the other Turkish immigrant committed suicide on 28 January, 1937, as his record in Peabody cemetery shows. Although the reason or reasons which led to the suicide of these two Turkish immigrants are unknown, because of the fact that committing suicide is strictly prohibited by Islam, these two cases show the helplessness of their condition.

There were a few Turkish individuals, however, such as Ali Kaly Suliman, who survived until the age of 92. After his arrival in Peabody in 1910, he worked at A.C. Lawrence Leather Company. Paul W. Mailloux, who wrote a paper on the Turkish immigrants in Peabody in 1974 and interviewed Ali Suliman [or Suliman Ali, as he was usually known] noted that he was “in excellent shape for a man in his eighties” and added that “this might be due to the fact that one of his former interests was football.”⁴³ Another Turkish individual, Baker Abraham, who was from Elazığ, lived for 105 years and died on 24 April, 1986 in Peabody. His death had closed a chapter on the story of the Turkish immigrants who came to the United States in early twentieth century.⁴⁴

⁴² “Peabody Leather Worker Suicides,” *The Salem Evening News*, December 29, 1920.

⁴³ Mailloux. “Curiosity or Contributor.”

⁴⁴ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 48.

4.5. Labor Activism and United Leather Workers of America, Local No.1

The shoe workers are known to be the first wage-earners in the United States to establish unions, and had long been leaders in the labor movement.⁴⁵ Thus, the air of a strong labor movement on the North Shore would also affect the Turkish leather laborers who would awaken to the labor rights after a few years of their arrival into the U.S. Their labor activism reached its height during the formation of the *United Leather Workers Union*, Local No. 1 and the labor troubles and mass strikes of the 1917. Eventually the Turkish immigrants became the strongest ethnic group in the leather workers union. Although a number of strikes were seen among the Turkish laborers in their early in leather industry, until 1915, however, these strikes were not successful at all until when the World War I created a tremendous need for labor and the Local No. 1 of the United Leather Workers' International was established in Peabody.

Because of their rural backgrounds and their supposedly docile nature, the Turkish leather workers in Peabody were not expected to demand better wages and working conditions. However, the rising waves of strikes, particularly among the foreign born, would prove the signs of a growing uneasiness. For example, in 1909 extensive strikes among the workers at the plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks and the other steel plants in that section in Kansas, Missouri, did not escape public attention. These strikes were led by

⁴⁵ Davis, *Shoes*, 163.

unskilled laborers and foreigners, most of whom had only recently arrived in US when they struck and could not even speak English. As it was noted in *The Leather Worker's Journal*, which took accounts of the strikes and labor problems in the other industries as well as the leather industry:

This strike emphasized a new and hopeful trend in the industrial situation in this country. Among the employers who are so unscientific as to refuse to deal with union labor, it has been assumed that it was a perfectly safe position to employ the unskilled and recently arrived immigrant of the Slav race. It was supposed that his ignorance and his previous low standard of living and his inherited patience under bad treatment would make him incapable of resenting the very low wages and oppressive treatment which it might be inadvisable to offer the American workman with his better education and higher standards of living.⁴⁶

The article concluded that the recent events showed that “Slav workman had imbibed some ideas about personal freedom and the dignity of labor, though where or how he got them would be difficult to discover, considering the conditions under which he works in this country.”⁴⁷

Majority of the Turkish leather workers were employed at A.C. Lawrence Co. and National Calfskin Co. Given the proportion of the Turkish immigrants without industrial backgrounds and education, it is not surprising that they were open to exploitation of the factory owners upon their arrival in Peabody to be employed in leather industry. Moreover, their intention to return home after spending a few years in U.S. also was a critical factor in determining the work place and working conditions. Regarding the early Armenian immigrants of Massachusetts, the Federal Writers' Project notes:

⁴⁶ United Leather Worker's International Union, *The Leather Worker's Journal* 1 (1909), 285.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 273.

Because they did not intend to make America their permanent home and were not very particular as to the occupations they chose, they entered the factories, where they worked long hours for low wages. They had no class consciousness, took no interest in labor unions, and showed no dissatisfaction with their working conditions. Their lack of knowledge concerning American labor traditions and habits made them appear hostile in the eyes of the American workers and for some time they were apt to find themselves targets of stones and derogatory epithets. However, with them life in America was but a question of a few years of concentrated endeavor; looking toward their return home with money in their pockets, they cared little what hardships and privation they endured in the meantime.⁴⁸

However, after a few years spent in the United States, the Armenians of Massachusetts opened their eyes “to the ease and comfort which the average resident of the new country enjoyed, and saw the greater opportunity for advancement which America afforded.”⁴⁹ Similarly, within a few years of residence, the Turkish immigrants began to demand rights and wage increases as the Turkish immigrants had been exposed to the host culture and their presence in the industry had become more secure. Particularly during World War I, they organized strikes and achieved wage raises to a considerable extent.

During the early times of Turkish settlement into the leather industry, both because of their being foreign to the industry and the general decrease in strikes due to depression in 1908, the Turks, like the other laborers, waited until the conditions got better and their places became more secure. The annual report of the State Bureau of Statistics on strikes and lockouts showed in 1908 that “there was a very marked decrease in the number and magnitude of strikes in

⁴⁸ Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration, *The Armenians in Massachusetts* (Boston: The Armenian Historical Society, 1937), 31-32.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 32.

Massachusetts” compared to 1907 because of the depression following the panic of October, 1907.⁵⁰ However, by 1910, strikes rose again in Boston and on the North Shore, mostly on an ethnic basis. For example in January, 1910, fourteen Armenian shoe workers employed by Cass & Daley of Salem formed The Boot & Shoe Workers’ Independent Union of Salem went on a strike.⁵¹ Similarly, in January 1910, the Turks struck at the A.C. Lawrence Co.’s plant. However, their places were filled and only “the best men” were taken back at the same wages they had received before they went out. Furthermore, they were taken into court on the charge of obstructing the sidewalk and each man fined \$5.⁵²

Similar to the other lower class of workers in other parts of the United States, within a few years of their sojourn in the United States, the Turkish immigrants employed in the beam houses had begun demanding wage increases. By 1913, the Turkish immigrants’ ignorance had been broken in terms of the old country as well as the newly adopted country. As was noted before, when Ahmed Emin Yalman visited Peabody in 1911, he was disappointed with the ignorance of the Anatolian workers as well as the wages and conditions under which they were working. However, when he visited Peabody for a second time in 1913, he was surprised by the progress that had been made by the Anatolian workers. Yalman observed that the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) had resulted in their indifference to the homeland. They had subscribed to the Istanbul newspapers and they had been gathering in the coffeehouses in order to read the newspapers and discuss the situation at home. Moreover, an Anatolian Greek had

⁵⁰ “Fewer Labor Troubles in 1908: Annual Report of the State Bureau of Statistics on Strikes and Lockouts,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 20, 1909.

⁵¹ “Still Another New Labor Union Formed Last Night: Largely of Armenians,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 11, 2010.

⁵² “Strike at the Lawrence Shop About Over: Turks in Court This Morning,” *The Salem Evening News*, February 3, 1910.

started giving lectures in Turkish on American labor laws. The lectures had worked well on the Turkish leather workers to develop group consciousness and begin demanding higher wages from the factories. In return, the factory owners raised their wages considerably for fear of losing such hard working and less demanding beam house workers. Moreover, the two Turks from Midilli [a former Ottoman island which was left to Greece by the end of the Balkan Wars in 1913], who had lived for a period within the Turkish community of Peabody, had started publishing a Turkish newspaper which contributed to the intellectual development of the Turkish workers to a great extent by introducing new ideas.⁵³ However, an increasing consciousness in terms of labor rights and seeking for long-term goals through organizing into a labor union would occur by the outbreak of World War I and its aftermath.

World War I and its aftermath had created crucial changes in terms of American leather industry as well as labor relations and the rise of the rights of labor. Previously, despite numerous attempts at organizing the tannery workers, the organizers had failed because of the organizational division into craft locals as well as the diversity of laborers along ethnic lines. In 1915, the leather workers would finally find common ground to organize into a union. The *United Leather Workers Union*, Local No. 1, was organized in 1915 in Peabody on an industrial basis. With over 2,000 employees, A.C. Lawrence Co. and National Calfskin Co., which were subsidiaries of Swift&Co. had resisted all attempts of unionization up to the formation of the *United Leather Workers Union* on

⁵³ Ahmed Emin Yalman, "Amerika'da Türk Muhacirler," 179-188.

September 2, 1915. Consequently, the smaller tanneries in the area followed suit and recognized the union which served only in Massachusetts.⁵⁴

Moreover, the War provided favorable conditions for the growth of the union because of the expanding war orders. With the stimulating effect of a growing demand for leather and leather goods for the military, Local No.1 had secured contracts and established locals in the most crucial shoe and leather centers of the North Shore including Peabody, Lynn, and Woburn. The union remained primarily as a New England union until its fold in 1933 and the birth of the new union which took the name of *National Leather Workers Association*. The Union's greatest achievement was the contract it won with the A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin Co. in 1915.

The place of the Turks in the leather industry had become stronger with the outbreak of the Great War and the establishment of the union. Previously, A.C. Lawrence plants, which employed large numbers of Turkish laborers, had seen several small strikes mostly resulting in replacement of the striking laborers. However, after Local No. 1's organization, the leather workers, particularly the Turks, whose places were strengthened by the industry's unimaginable growth as a result of the World War, began striking at several leather companies in Peabody. It was noted that A.C. Lawrence Co. "at once conceded the large demands of about 150 Turks who went out." Thus, the workers at the other companies, took the example of the Turks in going on strike at A.C. Lawrence for the prospect of better wages and working conditions. It was reported that those who went out strike were Turks working at A.C. Lawrence

⁵⁴ Davis, *Shoes*, 214.

Co. and Morrill Leather Co.'s plants, Hunt-Rankin Leather Co. and a number of other leather factories. Even the strike-breakers did not want to get involved with the strike because of the seriousness of the condition. Even the police forces were not enough to suppress the strikes that the Turks inspired.⁵⁵ The strikes were mostly results of bread-and-butter issues as involvement in any socialism or anarchism by the Turkish immigrants was not seen.

The labor troubles of 1916 were chiefly due to the fact that the war had created unusual demands of leather and consequently labor force to tan the leather. Thus, the Turkish as well as the Greek immigrants of Peabody had understood their indispensability to the employers. Although the wages of the beam house and tan houses had doubled compared to the year before the war and reached \$18 a week, the workers in other departments had received smaller increases. This was because of the nature of work: due to the fact that the Turks and a number of immigrant workers were employed in the beam and tan houses where the skins and hides came first and tanned with utmost care as quick as possible in order not to destroy the whole stock. On the other hand, the finishing rooms, where native-born workers were employed, required less attention as the leather had been tanned and the leather could be left as tanned. This situation was explained as:

Some circumstances of the labor situation are perplexing. It seems that largest increases in wages have been made to Greeks, Turks, and other immigrant workers. Many of these have no homes and no dependants. It is said that some of them are rolling up bank accounts. The lesser increase in wages have been to native-born workers, many of whom have families. The immigrant workers labor chiefly in beam houses and tan houses. Here, skins must be handled promptly. So, if a beam

⁵⁵ "Peabody Faces Labor Trouble," *The Salem Evening News*, November 29, 1916.

house crew strikes, there isn't much anything to do but to pay them what they ask. Time was when a tanner finding his beam house men on a strike, went to coffee house and hired another crew. But there are no men loafing around the coffeehouses these days.⁵⁶

The reason why there were no men “loafing around” the coffeehouses was the war that increased employment for the immigrant workers. A.C. Lawrence as well as several other leather plants responded to the labor troubles by appointing a number of their employees as special police officers and arming them for the protection of their property.⁵⁷

In 1917, entrance of the U.S. into the war had led to strikes in various American industries. Almost everyday, newspapers were reporting big or small strikes associated with an immigrant group in a particular industry. Following the strike of Turks, the Poles employed in the Peabody Bleachery struck for a raise of \$2 in their wages which was \$18.74 per week.⁵⁸ The tremendous demand for labor during World War I made the government to adopt a two-pronged policy: The first one was to suppress radical labor movement in a violent way, while, on the other hand, to open government-sanctioned collective bargaining with the right to organize.⁵⁹ Favorable conditions for the workers as well as government support led the workers to organize under the umbrellas of more conservative unions.

The special police officers in the leather factories had their first experiences with the strikers when on October 30, 1917, 250 laborers, composed

⁵⁶ “Labor Condition Troubles Tanner,” *The Salem Evening News*, December 3, 1916.

⁵⁷ “Factories Protected,” *The Salem Evening News*, April 7, 1917.

⁵⁸ “Small Strike in Bleachery,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 10, 1917.

⁵⁹ Aaron Brenner, Benjamin Day, and Immanuel Ness, *The Encyclopedia of Strikes in American History* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 2009), 73.

mostly of Turks employed at the A.C. Lawrence Co.'s and National Calfskin Co.'s plants struck. Their demand was a raise from \$18 to \$22 per week in the beam houses and from \$16 to \$18 in the storehouses, with extra pay for Saturday afternoon work. One of the strikers reported to *The Salem News* that the strikers included Turks, Greeks, French and Russians.⁶⁰ For the first time, the strike had been won and the workers returned to their works on November 1, 1917. Their wages were raised to \$20 per week and they would receive extra pay for Saturday afternoon. Furthermore, it was the labor's success as the increase in wages would affect 800 tannery workers, as was noted by Charlie Peterson, who supplied foreign labor to the factories.

In 1918, discrimination against the Turkish beam house workers became more visible due the concern about their being "enemy alien" workers. Despite the presence of the other immigrant workers in the strike, the community turned their attention to the Turks because of the Turkish alliance with Germans against whom the U.S. was fighting. It was noted by *The Lynn News*:

Turkish leather workers in Peabody are asking an increase in wages from \$21 to \$25. There you have an illustration of the alien fighting demand. Turks work here at good wages while we send our American boys to fight against their unspeakable nation. They secure the protection of our country and their own country does the Kaiser's brutal bidding.⁶¹

Even the smallest strike or labor dispute was declared an un-American effort which would endanger the conduct of the war. Emmeline Goulden Pankhurst, an English political activist and a suffragist, warned in her Boston Common public speech in 1918 that there was a "great danger which lies within every one of the

⁶⁰ "250 Strikers in Peabody Shops," *The Salem Evening News*, October 30, 1917.

⁶¹ "Strikers Win Out," *The Salem Evening News*, November 1, 1917.

Allied nations.” The danger was that “if you go on with your class war, if you have strikes and hold up supplies needed at the front—if your house is divided against itself—you will lose the war.”⁶² Thus the strikes, which came be viewed as un-American and a threat to the war effort, created more anti-Turkish sentiment despite the other immigrant groups’ participation in these strikes.

Perhaps one of the biggest labor meetings in Peabody was held on October 16, 1918. The strong place of the Turkish leather workers in the United Leather Workers of America was also proven with this meeting. More than 1000 laboring men, members of Local No. One, United Leather Workers of America, held a meeting in the large city hall in which Poles, Turks, Greeks, Russians and Americans were largely represented and all had their spokesmen. After the election to assign a business agent on October 4, in which Joseph Hayes of Salem had defeated James T. Burke of Salem by a vote of 544 to 514, more trouble was seen because Burke contested the election based on several irregularities. Thus, with the meeting, this problem was expected to be solved. It was noted that “it was impossible, however, with such a crowd to take a vote and the report of the committee on the recent election of a business agent was not acted upon, but was referred to the national executive committee.” The two candidates had their own supporters at the meeting and Turks, who were the strongest group in the meeting, were evidently strongly with Hayes and it was claimed that “had a vote been taken, he would have carried the meeting.”⁶³ In August, 1920, delegates to the annual convention of United Leather Workers International Union of America, which would be held in Lynn, were elected after

⁶² “Strikes as Menace to Our Victory,” *The Salem Evening News*, August 5, 1918.

⁶³ “Big Labor Meeting,” *The Salem Evening News*. October 17, 1918.

a considerable rivalry between the candidates. Among the 35 delegates, who were elected for the convention, was Allie Effendi, a Turkish leather worker.⁶⁴

Local No. 1 of the United Leather Workers' International began recruiting members by hundreds. Moreover, through the efforts of Local No. 1, nearly all factories had adopted the eight-hour schedule by 1919. In July 1920, A.C. Lawrence announced a wage increase from 5 percent to 15 percent in the daily scale, and an unspecified advance to certain piece workers, a 48-hour week and closed shop conditions to 2800 employees who had accepted the company's terms. As was noted before, A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin Co. had always served as example to the other tanneries of the North Shore. Thus, it was noted: "the settlement of the Lawrence labor affair is of especial importance for the reason that numerous other tanners in that vicinity have been accustomed to being guided to some extent in arrangements with workmen by the attitude of larger company."⁶⁵

However, the favorable conditions that had prevailed in the leather industry during and after the war years would come to an end by November, 1920 when Swift&Co. put through a 10% cut in wages. Consequently, the cut in the wages would lead to a bitter strike which lasted around three months. The wage cut, as well as working hours and the sanitary conditions in the leather plants had become other objectives of the strike held.⁶⁶ In a letter addressed to the employees, A.C. Lawrence called for a liquidation in wages and as well as an increase in efficiency. The company's excuse was that the market conditions in

⁶⁴ "Leather Worker Delegates Elected," *The Salem Evening News*, August 12, 1920.

⁶⁵ "A.C. Lawrence Leather Company Adjusts Labor Matters," *The Export Recorder* 3 (1920), 51.

⁶⁶ "Leather Workers' Union Admitting Many Members," *The Salem Evening News*, May 3, 1919.

the leather business which had grown worse since November, 1920 because of demand for lower priced footwear as well as other commodities. It was proclaimed on December 28, 1920:

Hereafter we will deal directly with our employees only and with them only as employees. We will at all times treat with you individually, or by groups, or by self-appointed committees, on grievances, conditions, wages, or any other matters affecting your interests. In taking this action we will, among other things be able to properly reward those employees who, by length of service, loyalty to the Company, or particular skill and efficiency, deserve recognition in the way of promotion, higher pay, etc., which has not been possible heretofore. It will be the policy of the company to treat all its employees with equal consideration, whether or not they are members of any labor organization or union.⁶⁷

This resolution would also affect the other leather establishments throughout the North Shore which were accustomed to follow their example with regard to prices, labor schedules and other matters.

As a result, in March, 1921, the foreign workers, composed mostly of Greeks and Turks, struck at the National Calfskin's plant. They also complained to the Peabody Mayor William A. Shea against the company for bringing men into the city to take their places and the unsanitary conditions at the plant where a number of the men were housed and fed.⁶⁸ The strike was the longest in the history of leather strikes in Peabody. Even the strike breakers brought from Philadelphia turned out to be useless as they made exorbitant demands which resulted in their being sent back to Philadelphia. Instances of assaults by the strikers directed to those who continued working for the National Calfskin were

⁶⁷ "Wage Liquidation: Large Leather Company Proposes Increased Efficiency and Moderate Reduction of Wages—To Deal Directly With Employees," *The Export Recorder* 10 (1920), 28.

⁶⁸ "Strike Situation Unchanged," *The Salem Evening News*, March 12, 1921.

observed. For example, one of the strikers, Arvis Alli, by his automobile followed the company's truck bringing the workers over to Salem after work and clubbed two workers when they left the truck.⁶⁹

On March 31, 1921, A.C. Lawrence joined the strike of National Calfskin Co.'s workers. One of the strikers noted that "they did not expect wartime wages but did expect and demand a living wage and the cut which they got did not give it." The strike committee report of the meeting described the conditions and the reason for extension of the strike to the A.C. Lawrence plants:

The City Hall was packed to the doors, including the balconies with employees of the A.C.L. Co. and the vote to strike was unanimous. It was made as a protest against wages and conditions that were put into effect last Jan. 1., when the company issued a pamphlet telling us that the wages would be reduced from eight to 30 per cent, and that on and after that date all collective bargaining would be of their own choosing and representatives of organized labor would be denied. There were over 1500 employees present when the vote was taken.⁷⁰

The strike of about 1550 workers at the two companies' plants led the skins and hides to perish while a considerable number of workers, who realized that they were not likely to be employed at these plants, left Peabody for other regions in the United States. In the later stages of the strike, the primary issue became "closed" or "open" shop while the struggle over wages turned out to be a secondary concern. Because of the strong sentiment against accepting the conditions and strong loyalty to the union, the strikers did not give up despite the

⁶⁹ "Arrest Salemite on Charge of Beating National Calfskin Workers," *The Salem Evening News*, March 19, 1921.

⁷⁰ "A.C. L. Employees Join in Strike at Peabody against Cut in Wage," *The Salem Evening News*, March 31, 1921.

propositions from the companies to take a number of the employees back. The strikers instead found employment in other industries in the vicinity.⁷¹

Three months after a bitter struggle over the recognition of the union by A.C. Lawrence several cases of violence arose between the strikebreakers and the strikers. The strike was called off as the Business Agent Joseph Hayes, who had been called “the brains of the union leaders” explained to the strikers that “the funds of the union were exhausted and that the men owed to their wives and children as well as to themselves to accept the terms offered and return to work.” The two companies took back almost all the strikers without recognition of the union. Moreover, they instituted an “employee representation plan” or company union after the return of the strikers to their former positions.⁷²

4.6. Conclusion

One of the major challenges for the Turkish immigrants in the leather industry was high exposure to the tannin agents which created serious health problems. However, although they faced a number of challenges by being beamhouse workers, the Turkish immigrants created a major change on the North Shore in terms of labor relations. Despite their rural backgrounds, a few years of American experience transformed the Turkish peasants into organized industrial laborers. As was noted before, A.C. Lawrence and National Calfskin

⁷¹ “A.C. L. Plant Likely to Shut Down by the Middle of the Week,” *The Salem Evening News*, April 11, 1921; “Leather Strikers by Large Majority Vote not to Resume Work,” *The Salem Evening News*, April 25, 1921.

⁷² Davis, *Shoes*, 214; “Leather Strike at Peabody Called Off; Terms are Accepted,” *The Salem Evening News*, May 27, 1921.

Co. were the two largest leather establishments on the North Shore and they were taken as examples by many of the other businesses in the area. Thus, any wage raise or adjustment in working conditions achieved by a strike in the plants of the two companies, in which the Turkish laborers were the highly represented, affected the wages and working conditions in leather and shoe industries of eastern Massachusetts. Moreover, their influx into the industry influenced the labor market by raising the wages as well as providing better employment conditions for the natives and the other immigrant groups previously employed in the beamhouses. Because the tasks that the Turks were assigned in the beam houses complemented those of the natives, who were mostly occupied in finishing rooms under much better conditions, the Turks did not displace but rather made better opportunities and upward mobility available for the native workers.⁷³

Roger Waldinger notes that “the hosts see the foreigners as strange, not simply because they are aliens but often just because of the jobs to which they are put by the hosts themselves.” Consequently, “in deploying immigrant labor to perform the tasks that natives find dishonoring, nationals generate ethnic inequality.” In the end, “the stigma associated with the jobs ends up sticking to the people who hold them.”⁷⁴ Thus, being employed in the beamhouse, which had been considered as the lowest grade job in the leather industry and was

⁷³ See Neeraj Kaushal, Cordelia W. Reimers, and David M. Reimers, “Immigrants and the Economy,” in *Transforming Foreigners into Americans*, in *The New Americans*, eds. Mary C. Waters and Reed Ueda (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 181. It is noted that according to the economic theory, if the immigrants and the natives are “complements,” rather than “substitutes,” an immigrant influx will increase job opportunities for natives and may even attract natives in other regions.

⁷⁴ Roger Waldinger, “Transforming Foreigners into Americans,” in *The New Americans*, eds. Mary C. Waters and Reed Ueda (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 143-144.

avoided by the native workers had become one of the most crucial elements in shaping interactions of Turkish immigrants with the host society.

There was a necessary relation between the employment patterns and formation of ethnic clusters in Peabody. As result of the rising industry and a growing need for immigrant labor, the social and ethnic fabric of the city had undergone a series of transformations and adaptations. While employment in the beamhouses led to the formation of a Turkish immigrant enclave on Walnut Street and divided the city along ethnic lines, it paved the way to a further spatial segregation in the leather factories. The next chapter examines the spatial segregation in terms of settlement and employment which negatively affected the absorption of the Turkish immigrants into the American mainstream.

CHAPTER V

AN OTTOMAN MICROCOSM IN PEABODY, MASSACHUSETTS

A considerable amount of research on the first-generation immigrants has shown that the first generation of immigrants tend to recreate ties with their country of origin and form transnational social spaces. As José Itzigsohn and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo note, while “some immigrants forge economic ties with the country of origin” some others may “create social and cultural ties that allow them to extend the boundaries of their communities of settlement and origin.” Another form of transnationalism is participation in the political life of the country of origin even when living abroad. However, no matter in what ways the immigrant is involved in his/her homeland, it does not set a barrier for his/her incorporation into the host community. As the literature on transnationalism suggests, “incorporation and transnationalism are concurrent processes.” Thus, “immigrants become part of the receiving country and its institutions while simultaneously maintaining ties to their countries of origin.”¹ In this chapter, the

¹ José Itzigsohn and Silvia Giorguli-Saucedo. “Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender: Immigrant Incorporation and Transnational Participation as Gendered Processes,” *IMR* 4 (2005): 899-900.

process through which the Turkish immigrants became part of the United States while they strengthened their ties with Turkey will be discussed.

The Turkish immigrants, similar to the majority of the Slavic and Italian immigrants, intended their sojourn in the United States to be temporary. Consequently, even after their years of arrival, immigrant letters as well as the immigrants themselves went back and forth as a result of the advances in transportation technology. As Ewa Morawska notes, “the back and forth flow of migrants and letters created an effective transnational system of communication, social control and household management, and travel and employment assistance.”² Thus, the Turkish immigrants managed their farms and family affairs, sent thousands of dollars over the years to support the relatives at home, and maintained their ties through involvement into the affairs of the homeland during the process of its transformation from an empire to republic. Moreover, similar to the other European sender societies, the cultural and political elites of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the religious figures, were not indifferent to the nation-building process across the Atlantic. As will be discussed in this chapter, their repeated visits to the Turkish community in Peabody and its vicinity helped the immigrants’ adaptation to the host community while keeping their interest in the homeland alive.

This chapter argues that the early Turkish immigrants, who settled into the United States for a period of time, not only went through incorporation and assimilation, but they also maintained connections, built institutions, conducted

² Ewa Morawska, “Transnationalism,” in *The New Americans*, eds. Mary C. Waters and Reed Ueda (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 150.

transactions, and influenced local and national events of the homeland.³

Transnationalism of the Turkish immigrants, public prejudice and discrimination, spatial segregation, transformation of the Turkish identity during and after the Balkan Wars and World War I, educational practices, and their assimilation into the American society will be examined.

5.1. Housing

Housing of the immigrants was one of the most problematic aspects of the community life in Peabody. Housing patterns did not only have significance for living and working conditions of the immigrants because of poor sanitary conditions, this sort of housing had also a negative impact on their social life and integration into the host community. Immigrant enclaves, or in other terms, ethnic concentration in a particular industry and neighborhood, determined the level of exposure to the culture of host community as well as the trajectories to assimilation. In Peabody and its vicinity, including the cities of Salem, Lynn, and Haverhill, the immigrants had to find their own ways for housing. The old home networks and the rent for housing would determine the housing and living conditions of the Armenians, Greeks, and Turks in Peabody. Thus, although the old home networks would secure housing and job opportunities for immigrants, it would lead to concentration of particular ethnic groups in particular neighbourhoods as well as their confinement to a certain socioeconomic level even years after their arrival.

³ For an extended argument of the latest literature on transnationalism see Ewa Morawska, "Transnationalism," 149-163. Nina Glick Schiller et al. "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 1. (1995), 48-63. Also see Itzigsohn, "Immigrant Incorporation and Sociocultural Transnationalism," 766-798.

Although in the 1890s tenement reforms, which called for improvement of the conditions of the tenements, had been initiated in a number of states such as New York, Massachusetts began considering the housing problem in the early 1900s. First the journalists drove government attention to the tenement problem. However, it took about ten years until the health officials began considering the problematic aspects of immigrant housing. As the *Salem Evening News* noted in 1906, there were no “Andrew Carnegies in this section” who would build model tenement houses for philanthropy’s sake. The article went on to say:

One problem that is becoming serious in local industrial cities is that of housing of the workers. Every man must have his home, as well as his place to work. But while there has lately been and still is going on, a remarkable increase in the number of places in which to work, there had been nothing like a proportionate increase in the number of places in which to live. Consequently there has been a condensation of people, especially in the Greek, Armenian, and Turkish boarding houses, and in large tenement houses, and such conditions are generally regarded as not for the best interests of the community.⁴

There was also a fear among the employers that better housing would mean that the laborers would move from the city for a cheaper rent or higher wages for the laborers to be able to pay for it. However, as the New York State Tenement House Commission argued, bad housing without improved sanitary conditions and ventilation, would mean an early death or loss of physical condition of the worker which would result in a much higher cost for both the factory owners and the whole country than raising the wages of the immigrants.⁵

⁴ “Problem of Housing Their Workers Begins to Bother the Manufacturers: Few Tenements Available.” *The Salem Evening News*. May 16, 1905.

⁵ Robert Weeks De Forest and Lawrence Weiller, eds., *The Tenement House Problem: Including the Report of the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903).

This would not be realized, nonetheless, by the landlords and the factory owners for a long time as the landlords had at least to make 10 percent profit [monthly rent for a tenement normally was \$10 in 1905] on a rental of improved tenement houses. The workers were not able to pay more rent and the factory owners were reluctant to raise the workers' wages. Thus, it turned out to be a vicious circle for both the immigrants and the community by leading to further residential segregation by limiting the space in terms of social mobility of the Turkish immigrants.

John A. Wells, a local historian of Peabody, described the Turks as they formed their own groups and lived in various boarding houses in Peabody in early the 1900s. The boarding houses could sometimes be occupied by large numbers like the one on lower Main Street which was called "the house of the 101 Turks." However, the Turkish boarding houses were not necessarily as crowded as the so-called "house of the 101 Turks." An investigation of the board of health proved although crowds of Turks were seen around the boarding houses, "they do not all live in those houses, but congregate there socially." The board noted that in one of the Turkish boarding houses on Central Street, Peabody, where a crowd was often seen, only 16 Turks were found in eight rooms.⁶ Thus, the living habits of the Turks, which was the most criticized aspect of the Turkish immigrant life in the United States, were usually exaggerated because of the prejudice combined with ethnocentrism of the host community.

The Turkish and Greek boarding houses were all scattered along Walnut Street and its vicinity, because of the street's proximity to the tanneries. The

⁶ "Health Conditions among the Foreigners Not So Bad as Painted," *The Salem Evening News*, August 10, 1914.

Turks usually settled into these boarding houses when an enterprising immigrant rented a house and then arranged for his fellow countrymen, as well as other immigrants to live with him. The usual rent in 1910 was about two or three dollars per month for room and board. If a Turk would rent the house, its rooms would be rented to his fellow Turks. The proprietor would also arrange food and cleaning at a very low price.⁷ These boarding houses were “usually large rambling, old fashioned homes, which would bring \$10 or \$12 a month if let to ordinary American families, but they bring \$50 or \$60 when let to a keeper of a boarding house for immigrant workmen.”⁸ There were large buildings on Walnut Street, such as the one on 5 Walnut Street, which contained 25 rooms and owned by James Aleck. Among his boarders were fifteen Turks.⁹ Thus, the boarding house was beneficial not only for the immigrants, but also it would provide the highest profit for the owner of the boarding house, which would lead to a steady increase in the economic welfare of the town.

Wells noted that “they often slept on floors, in hallways, or any place they could find.”¹⁰ The sleeping habits of the Turkish immigrants were perhaps the most criticized aspect of their living conditions. As was noted before, even the eating habits of the people in Eastern Anatolian villages and their resistance to change were criticized by the missionaries. Similarly, the Turks’ sleeping on the mattresses scattered onto the floor made the health officers concerned about the health of the Turkish immigrants. Usually mattresses were preferred for

⁷ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 29-83. Also see Işıl Acehan, “Outposts of an Empire: Early Turkish Migration to Peabody, Massachusetts” (M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 2005), 61.

⁸ “Men of Many Nations at Work in Peabody Tanneries; Difficulties in Handling Them,” *The Salem Evening News*, August 6, 1913.

⁹ “Stubborn Fire Discovered by Mayor,” *The Salem Evening News*, February 25, 1920. Because of the fire on the three story building, the Turks left their large sums of money as well as clothes while they were leaving the building.

¹⁰ Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 387.

giving more space to the people inhabiting a room and for being lower in price compared to beds. It was noted:

As is to be expected under the circumstances, the living and sleeping conditions of these men are far from good. In most cases economy leads them to choose houses for which rents are low, and which consequently are often in a most dilapidated condition. These houses are planned for a family of four or five persons, and are totally unsuited for the purposes to which they are put. The sanitary conditions are far from adequate; the furnishings are often the poorest possible. Moreover, as the rooms receive the minimum of care and attention from the men, the apartments are seldom clean and are sometimes filthy. The sleeping quarters are, of course, crowded. Frequently the floor is covered with mattresses and pillows, and clothes are scattered about the rooms. Among the Turks beds are seldom used.¹¹

Although this type of sleeping was common among many of the “old” immigrant groups at the turn of the century, sleeping on the mattresses was attached only to the Turks. Intention of return to the homeland, that will be discussed later, sleeping on the mattresses were considered or depicted as if it was exclusively a Turkish habit.

The housing problem had great significance. Introduction of the Turkish, as well as Greek and Armenian immigrants from particularly eastern Anatolian villages occurred in a period when the Southern and Eastern Europeans poured into the industrial American cities and became subjects of public and government criticism. Much of the criticism was directed at their housing pattern which was divided along ethnic lines. As it was described in the reports of the Immigration Commission for the year 1910, “aside from the alertness and

¹¹ “Extract from *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Immigration* (1914),” Abbott, *Immigration*, 530-531.

adaptability of the individual immigrant, two factors, generally speaking, are the most important in determining the extent to which American speech, customs, and institutions are adopted by immigrants in the United States.” The Commission identified one of the factors as “the length of residence in this country.” The other factor was “surroundings in which the immigrant finds himself after coming here.” These factors were seen as barriers to assimilation as “an immigrant coming direct from Europe to a foreign colony of a large American city must get his ideas of America from this colony.” Thus, the immigrant might “live in a colony for a number of years and have little contact with Americans. The race may have its own stores, its own newspapers, its own church, and its own schools in which English may or may not be taught.”¹²

Along with the concern over the immigrants’ settling in segregated neighborhoods, a phenomenon which obscured the way to exposure to the white majority and “spatial assimilation,” another problem was the belief that the boarding houses were places of corruption, unsanitary conditions, alcoholism and prostitution. The Turkish immigrants were not an exception and their housing pattern was regarded as breeding evil which would mean increasing isolation from the mainstream. Moreover, “decent” girls would stay away from the Turkish immigrants. Thus, another obstacle for the Turkish laborers for their integration into the host community turned out to be lack of women and families. Without the presence of women or families, the Turks had to find ways which would fit their own living and working conditions. While Polish, Lithuanian, and Italian immigrants of Massachusetts tended to lodge with their married

¹² U.S. Immigration Commission, *Immigrants in Cities*, Vol. 26 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 413.

friends, thus had all the opportunities of housing that women would provide, the Turks and Greeks were mostly living in wholly male households. What the report of the Massachusetts Commission on immigration observed about the living conditions of the Turkish colony of over 400 males was exactly the same for the other Turkish colonies in Massachusetts. It was noted that “the men club together and hire a cook,” who was one of them, “each paying \$1 a month.” The cook would provide culturally familiar food. However, most of the Turkish groups were doing their own cooking, “either acting each one as his own commissary, or taking turns at buying and cooking the food.” On the other hand, it was noted that the Greeks were mostly eating at the restaurants or the coffee-houses.¹³ Although, upon their decision to remain in the U.S., a considerable number of Greeks and Armenians sent for their families or brought over girls from their own communities and got married, without the presence of Turkish women and the hardships in communicating with native girls of the town, as will be discussed later, a vast majority of the Turks would remain single for the rest of their lives.

Even in old age, there were still Turkish immigrants who retained their old style of housing, composed of males. Eileen Masiello is a daughter of one of the Turkish Immigrants, Husseyin Suliman [Charles Hassan]. She noted that after his father’s divorce, he moved to his uncle Mamed Suliman, “Uncle Mike’s” house in the 1960’s. There were also a few other single Turkish men in the building. They had a maid to do the cleaning and cooking.¹⁴

¹³ “Extract from *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Immigration* (1914),” Abbott, *Immigration*, 530-531.

¹⁴ Eileen Masiello, interview by author, Boston, MA, June 15, 2007.

5.2. Spatial Segregation

Urban America had been shaped and reshaped in the last decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century by successive waves of immigrants particularly from eastern and southern Europe as well as the Near East. Thus, the residential structure of cities changed as a result of growing industrialization and the immigrants employed. The influx of the Turkish, Armenian and Greek workers into Peabody's leather factories produced a wide diversity of the nationalities inhabiting the town and contributed to the formation of new ethnic clusters isolated from one another. Large numbers of Greeks particularly from Greece, and Armenians, Kurds, and Turks from eastern Anatolia would settle into the working-class residential district Ward Four, which contained the famous Walnut Street or "Ottoman Street" and many of the leather factories. Both the nature of the work carried out by these immigrants and their reluctance in communication with the outside world, isolated them from the rest of the community. Thus, while the city changed these immigrants by turning them into industrial workers and making them develop new ways in their new setting, the immigrants changed the city in terms of residential and ethnic structures. Furthermore, where the immigrants settled would shape their experiences in Peabody.

This way of settlement patterns did not take place in all the industrial cities and towns in New England. For example, Peabody can be compared to Fall River, MA, "Queen City of the Cotton Industry," for this type of residential structure. John T. Cumbler notes, in Fall River the immigrant workers first

settled around the mills that they came for employment. The French Canadians, for example, were first brought as strikebreakers by the American Linen Company and settled around the mills owned by the company in the late nineteenth century. The next step in resettlement of the city was that the other ethnic workers employed in other mills would move from the area settled by the French Canadians as now the area was identified with a particular ethnic group. The other ethnics would, if they could, settle into the neighborhoods of their own, paving the way for further isolation between these groups. However in Lynn, which was a neighbor of Peabody, a very different settlement pattern was observed as “centrifugal forces of the working-class residential area discouraged ethnic segregation.”¹⁵

One of the main factors which set Lynn apart from Peabody and Fall River in terms of settlement was that there was a sense of community solidarity which passed from generation to generation. Thus, the newcomer, the “alien worker” was not regarded as a threat to the rest of the community. Cumbler notes, “the workers taught the new member of the work force, both those from Europe and from rural New England, the strength and power of unionism, class solidarity, and community cohesion.” Moreover, “they integrated the new workers into the community, instilling in them the idea that Lynn was a union town and that the strength of the workers lay in the union and the community.” Thus, the workers of Lynn relied on class solidarity in order to achieve their goals in terms of work and adaptation into the city and factory life. The Irish Catholic shoe workers of Lynn, for example, learned the need of labor cooperation with the other shoe workers and did not cast themselves out from the

¹⁵ Cumbler, *Working Class Community in Industrial America*, 7.

society.¹⁶ Cooperation of labor made the Irish immigrants integrate more easily into the host society in Lynn.

Considering the working conditions in Peabody and Fall River, one can easily understand the ethnic segregation both in the factory and in the settlement patterns. While the working environment of the Lynn shoe workers united them, in Peabody and Fall River the same factor separated certain ethnic groups from the rest by segregation of work. For example, the textile workers of Fall River, among which the French Canadians, English, Irish, and Poles constituted the largest numbers, were placed in different departments by the manufacturers which segregated and isolated the ethnic groups from one another. The French Canadians of Fall River, who had retained their customs, religion and language throughout the nineteenth century and early twentieth, were usually put on ring frames, apart from the tasks which were carried on by other nationalities.¹⁷ Similarly, the Turkish and Greek laborers were segregated spatially by being put into the beamhouse, located on the ground floor, while the other nationalities were assigned to the other tasks in the leather factories in and currying and finishing that were carried out in the upper levels. Thus, although many of the families in Peabody were employed in the leather industry in one way or another, they did not develop group solidarity because of different task assignments.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 36-49.

¹⁷ Cumbler, *Working-Class Community*, 123-130.



Figure 5.1. Finishing Room of a Leather Factory in Peabody. United Shoe Machinery Collection, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History Archives, Washington, DC. In this undated photo, which belongs to the Turner Machinery Corporation of Peabody, owned by USMC, we see workers in a leather factory. They are employed in the finishing room, which is a much healthier and cleaner environment than the beam house shown below. Furthermore, the photo suggests that those who were employed in the upper levels of the leather factories were older and most probably the European immigrants or Americans.



Figure 5.2. Beamhouse of a Leather Factory in Peabody. United Shoe Machinery Collection, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History Archives, Washington, DC. Beamhouse conditions can be observed from the photo. Moreover, the physical differences between the laborers in the photo above and in this photo can easily be seen. As is evidenced by these two photos, age range of the beamhouse workers was lower than that of the finishing room workers. There is a high probability that the laborers in this picture are Turkish immigrants, who were famous for their long mustaches and relatively dark complexions.

Another factor resulting in deeper spatial segregation in the town was lack of a meeting point for all the leather workers for leisure. Thus, the leatherworkers were not only divided along ethnic lines in the leather factories, but they were also isolated during their leisure times. Although in later years, there were other nationalities visiting the coffeehouses, in the early years of the immigrants the coffeehouses remained exclusively Turkish, Armenian and Greek. As a result, while the existence of the coffee house meant isolation from the rest of the community, it had a uniting effect for the Turks and Armenians of eastern Anatolia and the Greeks of Greece and Turkey. Walnut Street, which

turned out to be called “Ottoman Street” or “Peabody’s Barbary Coast,” because of the rising numbers of the Turks and Greeks, it became the center of Ottoman immigrant life on the North Shore with Turkish and Greek coffee houses, restaurants, bakeries, fruit stores and other businesses located on the street.

5.3. The Ottoman World in Peabody, “Ottoman Street” and the Coffeehouse

Walnut Street in Peabody was a cultural hub that had always been occupied mostly by Peabody’s immigrant communities. As early as 1906, a Peabody High School student described the cosmopolitan town as “what was known as Dublin a few years ago, the eastern section of the town, is fast taking on the atmosphere of Turkey, Greece, and Finland, with a little of Poland, Portugal, Sweden and Armenia thrown in, while wandering Jew is omnipresent, and is buying property like his prototype, Shylock himself.”¹⁸ In fact, settling in Walnut Street reflected the location of employment opportunities as well as the socioeconomic mobility of the immigrant communities. The latest arriving groups, composed usually of single males, would enter on the lowest rungs and settle on the street and its vicinity for the area’s proximity to the factories as well as the affordable housing opportunities. As they climbed to the upper levels of the leather factories and attained better employment and economic opportunities, they would establish families and move to the spots inhabited by family and the ethnic majority groups.

¹⁸ Student #2425, “The Foreign Invasion.”

Walnut Street not only provided housing for many of the Turkish and Greek immigrants in Peabody, it was also the center of Turkish and Greek community life. Furthermore, it was a gathering place not only for the Turkish and Greek immigrants in Peabody, but also it was regularly visited particularly on Sundays by the other Ottoman ethnics living in Peabody and the vicinity cities such as Boston, Lynn, Worcester, and Salem. As was noted by John A. Wells, Walnut Street became “a mecca for coffeehouses for both Greeks and Turks.”¹⁹ Thus, Walnut Street, which later came to be called “Ottoman Street” and “Peabody’s Barbary Coast” had played a crucial role in shaping Turkish image in the United States as well as the bringing peoples (or former people) of the Ottoman Empire together.

Before the Americans became acquainted with the Turks, the “terrible Turk” image had long been established. Along the streets Turks and Kurds lived in close proximity with Italians and Greeks. Many Greeks, Turks, Kurds, and Armenians lived either at the same boarding house or next to one another. European residents of the city would not let their children or wives go along that street “because there was this element, the Greeks and the Turks” as Barbara Doucette of the Peabody Historical Society recalls. There were even Turkish individuals in Peabody who came to be called the “Terrible Turk,” who was arrested several times by the police on the charge of several cases.²⁰ Portrayal of the Turks with racial overtones and the newspaper reports on crime where the Turkish immigrants were referred to by their ethnicity, aroused public prejudice and ethnic discrimination against the Turkish immigrants.

¹⁹ Wells. *The Peabody Story*. 387.

²⁰ “Police Doings,” *The Salem Evening News*, September 1, 1914.

However, there were instances of close relations between the Turks and natives of Peabody on an individual basis. One of these examples was Daniel Harrigan, who had employed a Turkish individual, Alick Fiak [Ali Faik] as a foreman in his farm on Allen's Lane, Peabody. Harrigan had considered Faik so reliable as to entrust him even with the care of Harrigan children, one of whom related the story to Paul Mailloux. When Faik went to a coffeehouse on Walnut Street to congregate with the other Turks, the children were also allowed to go to Walnut Street as "it was felt, they would be perfectly safe." When the Harrigan children would go to the movies, their first stop would be the coffee house where they could find Faik and would invariably come away with money up to 75c apiece from the other Turks.²¹ As it is a tradition among the Turks, particularly males, to give pocket money to the children of their relatives or close friends, there is no doubt that they saw the Harrigan children as their own relatives. Below is the 1917 registration card for "Alick Fiak." He was from Harput and, a native of Turkey and he was single.

²¹ Mailloux, "Curiosity or Contributor," 21.

ORDER NO. 2569 171
 REGISTRATION CARD NO. 3569
 1 Name: Alli Faik
 2 Place: Albino Lane, Mass
 3 Date of birth: dont know 1889
 4 Race: Alien
 5 Where born: Harput, Turkey
 6 Occupation: Farmer
 7 By whom employed: David Harrigan, Peabody
 8 Marital status: Single
 9 What military service have you had? None
 10 I certify that I have certified on my answers and that they are true.
 Alli X Faik
 mark
 211-3-0-A
 REGISTRAR'S REPORT
 1 Let nature or other agency check? Medicine
 2 Color of eyes? Brown Color of hair? Black
 3 Do you have any bad feet or bad eyes, or do you have any disabled limbs?
 No
 I certify that my answers are true, that the person registered has read his own answers, that I have witnessed his signature, and that all of his answers of which I have knowledge are true, except as follows:
 Walter H. Brown
 Notary Public
 Peabody, Mass
 June 5 1917

Figure 5.3. Registration Card for Alli Faik, 1917. It is noted on the card that he was born in Harput and was not a naturalized American citizen. His race was registered as “Mongolian,” which indicated the racial category of the Turks in the U.S. in early Twentieth Century. He was 28 years-old and single. All the military draft cards of the Turkish immigrants were signed by the officials, not by themselves a fact that indicates many of them were either illiterate or did not know how to sign in Latin script.

After Ali Faik returned to Turkey, his correspondence with the family continued. He returned to Harput to live on a farm his sister had bought with the money he had sent home. He got married in Harput but “threw his wife out after three days.” Unfortunately, he died from tuberculosis in an old age.²²

Similarly, Chet Dlugokinski, who had spent his entire young life going to school in Peabody with many different nationalities, disagrees with the idea that Walnut Street was a dangerous place for children. He notes: “Walnut Street was off limits to most of us grammar schools children, not because of any danger to

²² Mailloux, “Curiosity or Contributor,” 21.

us, but because of a parrot outside a coffeehouse in a cage and taught us all the words that my mother would get red in the face when we were caught using.”²³

Thus, recollections about Walnut Street has always been blurred with the prejudice against the Turkish immigrants, which explains the hardships in Turkish assimilation in the U.S.

A few Anatolian immigrants, like many of their contemporaries, had come as lonely adventurers. Instead, as Roger Waldinger notes, they made use of “the one resource on which they can almost always count—namely, support from one another—which is why social connections between veterans and newcomers lubricate the migration process.” Waldinger explains the transforming effect of immigrant networks as:

Because those ties also provide the means for solving the practical problems of starting a new life—whether securing shelter, getting a job, or just finding one’s way around—the networks furnish the foundation out of which a new collectivity gets made. Moreover, new identities arise as the migrants undergo a similar experience: displaced from the familiar ground, they get treated as strangers. Consequently, they discover a commonality with people who were seen as different back home but who now, once the context has been transformed, appear as people of the same kind.²⁴

In the Ottoman immigrant’s transformation in the United States, the coffeehouse became a ground for bringing the Turks as well as the other Ottoman ethnic groups together and formed a commonality. Although, the intimacy of the boarding houses and coffee houses would sometimes lead to conflicts among the different ethnic groups, especially during the times of crisis in the homeland, there was certain cooperation between the Ottoman immigrants in the United States.

²³ Chet Dlugokinski, e-mail message to the author, 15 May, 2007.

²⁴ Waldinger, “Transforming Foreigners into Americans,” 143.

When Turks and Greeks had begun coming to Peabody by 1905, they had not yet established the coffeehouses. Before the mushrooming of the coffeehouses particularly on Walnut Street, Turks, Greeks and Armenians were gathered in some buildings on Sundays where they could play their beloved dice game called “barbut” and would entertain themselves after a week’s heavy work. Gambling and drinking on the Lord’s Day was prohibited by the state and this would result in several police raids on Sundays to the gambling places and coffeehouses which were run by the Greeks and Turks. They would be released after paying fines. One such place was opposite the fire station on Lowell Street, formerly occupied ironically by Father Matthew Society and rented by “a lot of Turks” by 1906. The proprietor was an Armenian, Bedros G. Margosin, who was also charged for keeping such a place. Four Turks were “shaking dice for money on a sheet on the floor” when the Police rushed into the building and found “18 other Turks looking on.” It was noted that “they had all kinds of money, which they carried in the shoes, stockings, and about everywhere else. Some had bank books which they showed up as collateral” They were not represented by counsel but one Turk acted as an interpreter for the other Turks.²⁵

Easy access from Peabody to the other towns and cities where Ottomans found employment also would help the Turks congregate on Sundays and special days. The gathering place would be Peabody. According to the 1912 Peabody City Directory,²⁶ another distinct feature of Walnut Street was A. Hodge Turkish

²⁵ “Police Made a Descent Upon Turkish Gambling Joint and Got over a Score,” *The Salem Evening News*, July 2, 1906.

²⁶ U.S. City Directories contain household head names or a particular immigrant group. For example, in the years particularly before the World War I, the Turkish and Greek boarding houses in Peabody are listed as “Turks” or “Greeks” and specific names are not given. The City Directories of Peabody and Salem are not available for every year. Thus, the City Directory

baths located on 18 Walnut Street, just across St. Vaseilos Greek Church. Thus, on Walnut Street, the Turks, as well as the other Ottoman ethnics, had various facilities that they needed in their daily lives. Walnut Street was a home away from home, that rarely one would go out and leave the comfort of feeling at home.

Like the ethnic saloons in urban and suburban America, which were located within an ethnic group's neighborhood, the coffeehouses were located all along Walnut Street. Gambling their wages at the coffeehouse was one of the common habits of the Turks, as well as the Greeks and the other Ottoman ethnics, which would lead to several police raids. The most famous way of gambling was dice shooting [barbut]. Not only the Turks, but also the Greeks and Armenians from neighboring cities, such as Beverly, Lynn, and Salem, would come over to Walnut Street sometimes just for the purpose of gambling. In the case of disputes over money, they would fill the police station in order to solve the problem, usually ending with arrest of one or more of the gamblers.

The coffeehouse was not just a place to visit after long hours of labor. The coffeehouse became a vital institution in the Turkish immigrant's life which would provide first hand information about the new life that was waiting for the immigrant as well as jobs and housing possibilities. In the context of the Ottoman Empire, historically the coffeehouse was an entrepreneurial endeavor and had been created as an institution for the consumption of coffee. Being exclusively a male space, it gradually became a social entity which weakened the distinction between the rich and the poor, and blurred the socioeconomic

findings rely on the available years which are 1910, 1911, 1912, 1930, 1935, 1942, 1945, 1947, 1949, 1952, 1953, and 1957 for Peabody.

boundaries.²⁷ Although a venue for leisure time activities for Turkish immigrants as well as the other Near Eastern immigrant groups in the United States, coffee house's transplantation into a new setting resulted in its transformation and function in a variety of ways.

Having adapted to the Turkish clusters in the United States, the coffeehouse turned out to be the base for Turkish transnational activities. It became a place to gain vital information about lodging, work, and finding the old villagers. Similar to the ethnic clubs, the coffeehouse would also serve as an agent for adaptation of the newly arrived immigrant into the new environment. It became a clubhouse, bar, social center, general meeting place and hangout. Moreover, it served to unite the Turkish community in times of national crises, and thus fostered ethnic solidarity. It also functioned as a place where the Turkish transnationals would share the news from home, collect donations, read Turkish newspapers and discuss home issues. Thus, the coffeehouse was a channel keeping the Turkish transnationals connected to the home through engaging them in social, political, and economic transnational activities.

The coffeehouse had mostly been a place for single males who spent nearly every evening there and it was less frequented by the married immigrants. Although the opening of the first Turkish coffeehouse in Detroit (1924) was rather late compared to the ones in Peabody, it functioned exactly the same as the coffeehouses on Walnut Street. As Barbara Bilg  notes, the Ottoman Muslims in

²⁷ For a history of evolution of the coffeehouse as a social institution in the Near East see Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2005); Cemal Kafadar, "A History of Coffee" (paper presented at the XIIIth Congress of the International Economic History Association, Buenos Aires, July 22-26, 2002; Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: the Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).

Detroit “used their coffeehouse not only as clubhouses, but also as mailing addresses, informal employment agencies where men working in different factories could inform their unemployed friends about job openings at their plants.”²⁸

Furthermore, the coffeehouses would also serve as a place to host receptions in honor of the deceased immediately after the burial. Very true to the Turkish tradition of giving a lunch or dinner right after the burial of the dead, in the coffeehouse a reception would be given where Turkish dishes and coffee would be served. Frank Ahmed, whose father was from Harput and who was one of the few Turks who remained in the United States for the rest of his life, recalls that the conversation at the reception would revolve around the life of the deceased, which he believes “a highly civilized way of remembering the dead.” Ahmed’s vivid depiction of the coffeehouses explains vitality of the place and its indispensability during the process of transplantation and transnationalization of the Turkish immigrants in the United States:

In the coffeehouses news from home would be conveyed. Newly arrived immigrants were united with former villagers; this was a clearing house for coveted news from home. How relatively comfortable and fortunate was the immigrant who arrived to find a complete Turkish environment that could include a relative, prepared to offer him a place to live and assurances of some work. I witnessed how these Anatolian Turks took care of each other.²⁹

Another important aspect of the coffeehouse was that it would also become a gathering place for many of the Ottoman ethnic groups residing in

²⁸Bilg , “Voluntary Associations,” 392-393.

²⁹ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 82.

Boston and its North Shore. Bob Mullen notes that “Armenians and the Turks, worked with the Greeks and they liked them and they worked with them, and although they were enemies in Europe, they were working together over here. So they started hanging around in the Coffeehouses with the Greeks. That went on for years and years.”³⁰ Gambling was one of the habits of the Ottoman immigrants as a means of gaining instant money. Thus, there were frequent police raids to the coffeehouse where the Turks, Greeks and Armenians could together be found gambling. Thus, the coffeehouse would also play a unifying role for the Ottoman peoples from different regions of the Empire who would not otherwise even see one another if they had remained in their old homes. As Frank Ahmed notes, his grandfather was a gambler and drinker for his brief period in the United States.³¹ However, sometimes gambling would lead to disagreements even between the co-ethnics who tried to curb the habits of their own people gambling their wages away. In 1908, for example, Turks and Armenians in Peabody were caught gambling after a police raid by complaints of numerous Turks.³²

The Red Crescent Societies in the U.S. were also located right in the area of Turkish coffeehouses, which indicates indispensability of the coffeehouse in the Turkish transnational’s life. The Peabody Turkish Red Crescent Society which later was referred to as the “Anatolian Club” had a large hall for general meetings, a small office, a modest kitchen and a bathroom. The environment was totally Anatolian and the Turks, mostly composed of single males, would spend their evenings and weekends both in the coffeehouses and the Society. Dated

³⁰ Leather Soul.

³¹ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 41.

³² “Peabody Turks Caught Gambling,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 8, 1908.

Turkish newspapers, as well as the inevitable backgammon board could be found in the building.³³

Despite the conveniences it conferred to the immigrants, by 1913 the coffeehouse became target of criticism for breeding evil. The police officers saw the coffeehouse as a device to lower “the moral standard of the foreign element in this community.” Thus, police Chief Grady decided to close all coffeehouses which did not have victualer’s licence. It was noted that the evil existed in the coffeehouses was because of “lewd women seeking employment in these houses.” Like the ethnic saloons, the coffeehouses were labelled as immoral places for alleged corruption and prostitution in these institutions:

According to the statements made by the chief, and by some members of the board of selectmen, the lowest class of women ply their arts in these coffeehouses, coming here from the big cities, and voluntarily making white slaves of themselves among the Greeks and Turks. The better class of men of those nationalities in town are only too anxious to have such women driven out of the town and kept out. They say that the men of their native countries are now fighting in the war and have left their wives and children at home, often no means of support, and the money that these coffeehouse women entice from them should be sent home to the old countries to aid those in distress.³⁴

The Peabody Police Chief Michael H. Grady explained that in 1916, the police had over 1200 arrests, “more than any city of the same size in the country, and nearly all of them came from the coffee houses.” He noted that the reason for the arrests was importing “immoral women”³⁵ Thus, in 1917, victualer’s licence bill

³³ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 46.

³⁴ “Will Close the Coffee Houses,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 31, 1913.

³⁵ “Peabody Holds Arrest Record,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 25, 1917.

was enacted into law and the Turks started having victualer's licences granted or their coffeehouses in Peabody.

Prejudice combined with racial discrimination turned the coffeehouse a target of public criticism. This was very similar to the ethnic, such as Italian, Bohemian, or Polish saloons in Boston and Chicago, where "every group had its favourite beverage, spoke its own language freely, told its own jokes over the bar, and enjoyed its own delicacies."³⁶ Being open on the Lord's day, as well as gambling carried out in the coffeehouses, led to a rising paranoia over the institution which was exclusively Turkish, Armenian and Greek. Furthermore, the proprietors did not show any effort to attract other nationalities to the coffeehouse.

The coffeehouse did not attract the attention of the prohibitionists and temperance advocates against the liquor interests, like the ethnic saloon did. However, similar to the saloon, it became associated with corruption, crime, worries over assimilation of immigrants, and the moral decay of the youth. As Perry Duis notes, "hardly an issue of a big city newspaper hit the streets without some mention of a barroom, perhaps as the scene of a crime or a political meeting or as a subject of a human interest feature."³⁷ Similarly, there was hardly any day on which the newspapers did not talk about a fight, a police raid for gambling or a prostitution case in a coffeehouse.

Finally, although the coffeehouse provided a secure place for the Turkish immigrant in an alien world and fostered his adaptation to a hostile environment, it became a sustained barrier for assimilation of the Turkish immigrants into the

³⁶ Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston, 1880-1920* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 145-6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.

host community because of its negative connotations. Moreover, the Turkish immigrant's reluctance to find entertainment elsewhere and the coffeehouse's being strictly a male environment, made it harder to meet women and marry members of the other ethnic groups. It also delayed Turks' learning English and having connection with the world outside the domains of the coffeehouse and the boarding houses. Thus, the coffeehouses served both in positive and negative ways in terms of Turkish assimilation in the United States.

5.4. Sexual Mores and Marriage

Many of the male Turkish immigrants in the United States had arrived alone even if they were married. There were a number of reasons for not sending for families in Turkey. One of these reasons was the intention to return after earning enough money to secure a decent life in Turkey and perhaps purchase land. Another reason could be the concern over adaptability of the Turkish women to the U.S. in terms of clothing. When a merchant from Turkey, most probably an Armenian or a Greek, was interviewed, he noted "Turkish men do not bring their wives to this country and establish homes here because the Mohammedan religion forbids Turkish women to go unveiled except in their homes." Thus, it seemed difficult for the Turkish women to get along with life in the U.S. and wear veils at the same time. Consequently, the merchant concluded, "because the homes of the Turks, as well as their thoughts, are in Turkey, there is

no prospect of their settling in this country, and taking up American ways and becoming American people.”³⁸

Marriage had perhaps been the most difficult barriers for assimilation of the early Turkish immigrants in the United States. Intermarriage, “a process by which the group members cross a recognized boundary with increasing frequency and eventually so often that the boundary becomes blurred or disappears,”³⁹ had generally been regarded as “the litmus test of assimilation.” As Alba and Nee note, “a high rate of intermarriage signals that the social distance between the groups involved is small and that individuals of putatively different ethnic backgrounds no longer perceive social and cultural differences significant enough to create a barrier to long-term union.”⁴⁰ The Turkish immigrants of the North Shore, many of whom were single males, had come across a number of difficulties for a long-term union with the other nationalities in their host communities.

Among these difficulties were negative image of the Turkish immigrants, their association with crime and violence, and “white slavery,” subject of a popular literary genre of the period. Moreover, being Muslim and coming from a region where social contact with women had almost been impossible was another difficulty that the Turkish immigrants had to go through. In Eastern Anatolia, a majority of men and women were married without having ever seen one another before. There had been many incidences when men and women saw their spouses for the first time on the date of marriage. Thus, interactions between

³⁸ “Peabody Turks are Numerous,” *The Salem Evening News*. July 16, 1912.

³⁹ Joel Perlmann and Mary C. Waters, “Intermarriage and Multiple Identities,” in *The New Americans*, eds. Mary C. Waters and Reed Ueda (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 111.

⁴⁰ Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 90.

women and men, which were very rare and unusual in the villages of Anatolia, also limited the Turkish males' communication with the American-born girls. Lastly, the other key challenge was the language barrier which resulted in the Turkish immigrants' being usually silent in their contact with the outside world and avoiding women instead of being misunderstood.

Even though the Turks did not bring Turkish women over to the U.S., their prospects of marrying American-born women were also limited because of a variety of reasons. Being from a culture in which communication between males and females was not appropriate at all would pose a barrier for the Turks to communicate with the females on a daily basis. Frank Ahmed notes, for the Turkish men, sexual mores and natural conduct of American women "were diametrically opposite to what they experienced in Turkey." Thus, their approach toward women was to avoid them during the early days of their settlement on the North Shore. Moreover, the Turks were "uncomfortable with the social freedom American women enjoyed, for back in Anatolia one did not talk to a young girl without the knowledge of her family" to avoid any misunderstanding that would lead to humiliation of the girl's family. To give an example, a Turkish individual, Mustaffa, who was called the "old Turk," is remembered by many people as "being afraid of women." It was because of his habit of pulling his hat down over his eyes when a female approached him.⁴¹ Although a person from Turkish culture would know that his pulling his hat over his eyes was a way of showing his respect to women, it was totally misunderstood by the host community. This is a good example of how the traditions, perceptions and sexual

⁴¹ Mailloux, "Curiosity or Contributor," 25.

mores of the original home and the receiving country can lead to misunderstandings and misperceptions.

Furthermore, the negative Turkish image, which had prevailed for a long time mostly due to the prejudiced local and national newspapers, made the females of the host community reluctant to marry Turkish men. Not only the small fights and arrests had been depicted by *The Salem News* with anti-Turkish overtones, but also a simple sexual intercourse would be reported under big and bold banners such as “Peabody Turk and Woman Both Held in Grand Jury in Shocking Slavery Case.” The article noted not only a Turk, but also two “Chinamen,” who were laundrymen in Salem, were held in the “slavery” case. Blanch Berthoune of Salem and Hassan Effendi of Peabody were the main actors of the newspaper story. Berthoune was keeping a young girl who was serving to men for sexual purposes. The girl said “Effendi assaulted her giving the woman bills in payment” and the woman would give the girl a silver coin after he had gone. However, when she did not receive the silver she had been promised, “she finally got up courage enough to complain.”⁴² Usually a case of paid sexual intercourse would be turned into a “white slavery case,” which, as a matter of fact, would attract many newspaper readers who would be more interested in such a story than they were in a common prostitution case. Even the waitresses in the Turkish and Greek coffeehouses could be taken to court for involvement in white slavery. For example, in 1913 one of the waitresses working in a Greek coffeehouse was arrested on the charge of being involved in “white slavery.” She

⁴² “Peabody Turk and Woman Both Held in Grand Jury In Shocking Slavery Case,” *The Salem Evening News*, March 15, 1920.

noted that her husband had gone to the Greek war and she had to earn her living.⁴³

Moreover, even if a Turkish immigrant, like John Zelphee, could find a woman for the purpose of marriage, they could, however, be interrupted by the families of the girls. In 1913, unfortunately, “Brief honeymoon” of John Zelphee of Peabody and Somia B. Glovsky of Boston, “was sadly interrupted” by the mother of the bride. It is noted that the girl gave her age as 22 although it was claimed by the mother that she was 16 years-old. Thus the mother wired a telegram to the police and wanted her arrest. Although they got married, the girl was “held for safe-keeping over night at the station,” then, her mother came from Portland and took the girl with her. It was noted that John Zelphee had a good reputation among those who knew him.⁴⁴ Similarly, Mustafa Sami Zilfi, a Turkish immigrant from Elazığ, who made Norwood, Mass. his home, and married an American of Irish descent faced objection from his wife’s family.⁴⁵ There were also Turkish immigrants, who tried to marry American women although they had wives in Turkey. On December 11, 1919, a Turkish immigrant was charged \$10 for taking a false oath when applying for a marriage licence. He claimed that “he had heard his family in Turkey was dead and therefore he was in a position to legally marry again.”⁴⁶

Turkish association with crime did not only delay incorporation of the Turkish individuals into the community, but also it became a barrier in the process of assimilation by obstructing the way to marriage with the European or

⁴³ “Police Doings,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 21, 1913.

⁴⁴ “Portland Bride of a Turk is Arrested after Marriage,” *The Salem Evening News*, August 30, 1920.

⁴⁵ Madeline C. Zilfi, interview by author, Boston, MA, April 28, 2007.

⁴⁶ “About Town,” *The Salem Evening News*, December 11, 1919.

American-born natives. Moreover, the language barrier and significant differences in terms of the sexual norms mitigated against intermarriages between Turkish immigrants and the other ethnic groups as well as migration of the Turkish women to the United States. Also, immigration restrictions of the 1920s, which halted Turkish immigration to the United States to a considerable degree, limited the possibility of bringing over Turkish women to the United States after the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Needless to say, although from the beginning the Turkish immigrants intended to return to homeland, the immigration restrictions of the 1920s limited the possibility of bringing over Turkish women to the United States or intermarriage, fostered return migration to Turkey and doomed the Turkish community in the United States eventually to disappear.

5.5. Anti-Turkish Sentiment and Social Exclusion

Turkish migration to the United States at the turn of the twentieth century was a part of “‘the new immigration’ phenomenon between the years 1890 and 1930 when a larger proportion of the immigrants were single young males who ‘saw the trip across the ocean as a sojourn rather than permanent relocation.’”⁴⁷

The rise of industry and the New England cities attracted many immigrants particularly from Southern and Eastern Europe. “The immigrant invasion”

⁴⁷ Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: an Ethnic History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 112.

resulted in a change in ethnic mixture of New England cities. As was noted by the Federal Writer's Project:

Sixty six percent of all the white stock in Massachusetts contains a foreign strain. Before the Civil War, immigration was drawn largely from western Europe, but beginning by the decade of the eighties, the majority came from the southern and eastern sections of the Continent, with the result that almost every racial group is represented in the population. The most rigid type of immigration control was in effect up to 1849, and Massachusetts contained a relatively small racial admixture; today it has more foreigners than any other state except New York. French-Canadians, Greeks, Poles, Czechoslovakians, Russians, Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, and Turks live side by side with the descendants of Bay Colony settlers. Many new strands have been added to the Anglo-Saxon culture.⁴⁸

One of the most prominent reasons for a rising anti-immigrant sentiment was the evolutionary ideas identifying a supposedly racial hierarchy. These theories scapegoated the newcomer as mentally and socially inferior. Another factor was the fact that the newly arrived immigrants were seen as responsible for the high rate of crime, moral decay and contagious diseases such as tuberculosis. Job competition could also have played a major role in U.S. xenophobia but considering the tanning jobs in Peabody, which the local workers were reluctant to take, it did not have any significant effect in hostility against the Turkish immigrants.

As Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut note, "a well-established sociological principle holds that the more similar new minorities are in terms of physical appearance, class background, language and religion to society's mainstream, the more favourable their reception and the more rapid their

⁴⁸ Federal Writers' Project, *Massachusetts*, 50-51.

integration.” Moreover, in America, they identified race as “a paramount criterion of social acceptance that can overwhelm the influence of class background, religion, or language.”⁴⁹ Thus, the acculturation of the Turkish immigrants of eastern Anatolia, who were comparatively dark-skinned and physically identifiable with their long moustaches, would be problematic because of the discernable physical differences besides the racial, linguistic, religious and educational concerns.

Moreover, attempts to define and redefine the Turks by the American newspapers colored by nativist sentiments would also play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and created a negative image associated with the Turkish identity in the United States. An article published in the *Salem Evening News* illustrated the assigned Turkish identity in US. In July 1912 it was noted:

Turks in Peabody of whom there are now many seem about as foreign to the citizens of the town as if they were in their home land several thousand miles away. And they are in their home land, in their thoughts, according to a Turkish merchant of whom the inquiry was made the other day concerning the Turks in Peabody. These Turks of Tannery Town, according to the merchant, are low class men of Turkey. They are not educated. Indeed some of their views of life are centuries old. They have no intention of settling in this country. Their purpose is to earn and save as much money as they can in this country and then go back to their old homes.⁵⁰

Being from a region, which was considered as backward, remained as one of barriers in the Turkish immigrant’s acculturation. Turks were unassimiable and uncivilized in the public eye, they were incapable of grasping the American values and Protestant ethics. The “moody” Turk of Peabody, it was noted, “looks

⁴⁹ Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 47.

⁵⁰ “Peabody Turks are Numerous,” *The Salem News*, July 16, 1912.

for all the world as though he did not know what he was living for.” They tended to “horde together in large bunches, retain, for the most part, the habits and traditions of their native Harpoot, and do not bring their women to America.”⁵¹

A 1914 report of the Massachusetts Commission on Immigration pointed out particularly three “non-family groups of men” in Massachusetts: they were the Armenians, the Greeks, and the Turks. The “newness” of the immigration was considered to be in part responsible for the Armenians’ and Greeks’ living without the presence of women and “the preponderance of the men over the women is, more or less, a temporary condition, which, to some extent, will be remedied by time.” On the other hand, the Turks were excluded from the group on the basis that they “have strong, permanent motives in their religion and in their attitude toward women for not wishing to bring their wives to this country.”⁵² Thus, their reluctance to send for the families led to further exclusion from the American society who expected the immigrants to shift their attachment from the homeland to the new home.

Reports of the American missionaries on life in Harput and its peoples were one of the problematic aspects in the lives of the Turkish immigrants in the United States. In the reports made public through the American newspapers, the Turks of Harput, from where a substantial number of the immigrants came, were described as low-class, backward people who were not able to appreciate the American values. Furthermore in 1915, relying on the missionary reports and the radical Armenian groups in the United States, headlines in the American press focused attention on the alleged Armenian massacres by highly provocative titles

⁵¹ “Student #2425, “The Foreign Invasion.”

⁵² “Extract from *Report of Massachusetts Commission on Immigration* (1914),” Abbott, *Immigration*, 530.

and pictures of Armenians killed in the hands of the Turks. As Hussein I., one of the Syrians immigrants, who often were confused with Turks, was subjected to discrimination after his being a Muslim was revealed. He noted: “Armenians came first to the United States...and start to say Muslims kill my father, brother, and so on, and [this accusation] went all over the country.”⁵³ Thus the Armenian issue became crucial in regard to both Turkish and other Ottoman Muslim groups’ acculturation and assimilation in the United States.

World War I was one of the most crucial events in the Turkish immigrants’ life in the United States as they had to face several challenges by America’s declaration of war on Germany. Thus, the storm of anti-Germanism was sometimes directed not only against the German immigrants but also against the Turkish immigrants. Ottoman entrance into World War I on Germany’s side in August, 1914 would result in rising hostility against the Turks in Peabody. Now, even the small conflicts with the town’s residents would be regarded as the Turkish immigrants were trying to bring over the World War into Peabody. Newspaper headlines were alarming that “Turks Start Hostilities” and the depiction of the conflicts were in the tone of a war correspondent. Below is an example of how such an event would take place in the newspapers:

There was a small sized race riot early Sunday morning near the corner of Grove and Main Streets in Peabody just beyond the Salem line. It was occasioned originally by a small mixup between a Turk and one of the more native population of that section. It is said that the Turk attacked the other who is said to have been intoxicated. Then friends of the man attacked joined in and came to the rescue. On the other hand reinforcements came in large numbers from the Turkish strongholds of the vicinity and in a short time the Turks had mobilized an army of defense equal in numbers to approximately five times the size

⁵³ Naff, *Becoming American*, 251.

of the compatriots of the drunken man who was originally attacked.⁵⁴

The story went on as if the World War was fought in Peabody and it was claimed “the Turks surrounded their opponents and had it not been for the advent of Patrolman James Bresnahan of Salem, the fight might have resulted in greater casualties.”⁵⁵

Turks in Canada were even held as prisoners as enemies of England. Thus, although migration of Turks and other ethnic groups halted to a great extent with the global war, the Turks in Canada began searching ways to come to the United States. Thus, in 1915 the Peabody Turks appealed to two lawyers who would bring their fellow countrymen from Canada. On the other hand, the U.S. was not happy as the Turks were not citizens of the U.S. and many asked “why this country should intervene in their behalf?”⁵⁶

When the United States declared war on Germany in 1917, rising anti-Turkish feeling reached its climax. Participation of the immigrant groups into the Liberty bond parades turned out to be a litmus test for loyalty to the United States. Thus, absence of the Turkish immigrants from the Liberty bond parades exacerbated anti-Turkish overtones. However, many of the Turkish immigrants in Peabody had bought Liberty bonds that were sold at the leather factories of Peabody and the vicinity. The manager of large Peabody leather firm explained:

⁵⁴ “Turks Start Hostilities,” *The Salem Evening News*, September 8, 1914.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ “Turks Held Up,” *The Salem Evening News*, January 7, 1915.

We made a personal canvass among our employees. We found two classes of buyers of Liberty bonds, one the fathers and brothers of the boys who have gone to war. They were ready to stake their last cent in Liberty bonds. The other class, to our surprise, was made up of our immigrant workers. Some of them dug rolls of money from their money belts, or mattresses, and paid cash for the bonds. It was a good thing. It brought hidden money into circulation.⁵⁷

The labor strikes as well as the considerable amount of raise in the wages of the Turkish immigrants, as had been explained before, led to further discrimination against the Turkish residents of Peabody. Exaggeration of wages paid to the Turkish workers in the tanneries as well as depiction of their working circumstances as “not dangerous or unhealthy” added to the criticism directed to the Turkish immigrants. An article appeared in *The Salem Evening News* on August 14, 1918, relying on a sketch of the Turkish workers appeared in *The Weekly Bulletin*, had aroused a great deal of public interest by many people in Peabody and its vicinity. The article noted that a leather establishment, whose name was not identified, was paying its Turkish workers \$31 a week, which was far more than the other workers in the tanneries. It was noted:

Now this little household of nine men bring in each week from \$350 to \$400 and are “salting” most of this money against the time of return to their native soil in Asia. One bought \$1000 Liberty bond not long ago out of his savings, and another, who does not have much confidence in banks, brought in \$400 cash this week and asked the member of the firm to keep it for him until he called for it. They work continuously for seven hours with only ten minutes intermission for light refreshments. They have a mild strike often very few words are exchanged; they see the superintendent as he passes through and confine their remarks to the words “more pay.” If the superintendent says no

⁵⁷ “Employees Buying Bonds,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 6, 1917.

they do not quit in the middle of the day's work, but do not show up the next morning.⁵⁸

Furthermore, the article noted that "these men are citizens of a nation now an enemy of the United States." It was claimed that when the war was over, they would return home with the money that they had earned and be "big men in their community." Pointing out the disparity between the wages that the Turkish and the other laborers were receiving, it was asserted that "common laborers earning \$44 a week above their living expenses, while our soldiers risk their lives for a much smaller income." In the closing paragraphs, finally, the article implicitly made a call to the employers not to employ the Turkish workers to prevent such "extravagant cases" like the one that was described in the article. Consequently, their intention to earn money and eventually to return to their country of origin, although a general tendency among many of the European immigrant groups (excluding the Jews), sparked an intense criticism of the Turks because of the remittances channeled toward the homeland. Besides the threat of unemployment for the Turks in the leather industry, another threat became visible by 1918 as they were refused coffeehouse licenses on the ground that the Turks were pro-German and their coffeehouses were "hotbeds of sedition and treason."⁵⁹

Although they were widely criticized for not serving in the American army, on November 18, 1918, a week after the Armistice, discharge of the "enemy aliens" from Camp Devens⁶⁰ showed that 177 Turkish subjects and 17

⁵⁸ "Turks Saving Money to Go Back Home; Earn Vast Sums Here While Brothers in Old Country Are Fighting; Sidelight on Alien Enemy Workers," *The Salem Evening News*, August 14, 1918. Also See Isil Acehan, "'Ottoman Street' in America," 42.

⁵⁹ Acehan, "Ottoman Street in America," 42.

⁶⁰ Camp Devens, which today is known as Fort Devens, was established on September 5, 1917 as a temporary cantonment for soldiers during World War I. It is located in Middlesex and

Austrians had been trained in the camp. It was noted that these enemy aliens were the first soldiers discharged from the camp and their last act would be to sign receipts at the finance office of quartermaster sub-depot for their pay. The first man, who was discharged, was Mustafa Abdullah, “a native of Constantinople.”⁶¹ This 177 is quite a large number regarding the relatively smaller numbers of the Turkish immigrants in the area compared to the other immigrant groups. Thus, the number shows that criticism over the Turks for not serving in the army had no grounds at all. The available military records of those who registered to the army from Peabody indicate that there were five Turkish immigrants among the residents of Peabody who served in the U.S. Army: George Ahmed, Shurkey Hassan, Dgemal Huder, Mike Kelly Oman, and Risa Surliman.

Anti-Turkish propaganda, along with the Turks’ reluctance in going among the indigenous peoples of the town made it much harder for them to be incorporated into the community. Both the community and the Turks were suspicious of one another as “Americans who have come into contact with the Turks” on the North Shore factories, would “find it difficult to learn anything of their previous history, or future ambition” as it was noted in a newspaper. Consular reports coming from Turkey to the U.S., telling that the Turks were “miserably poor” were circulating through the local newspapers of the towns and cities where the Turks were residing. Turkey was depicted as a backward region where there was no electricity, no clothing and no food. It was stated that if it were not for the American missionaries and the money Turks in America were

Worcester counties, Massachusetts. “Fort Devens,” http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fort_Devens, accessed on August 10, 2010.

⁶¹ “Enemy Aliens Go First at Devens; Major Gen. McCain Ordered to Release Turks and Austrian; Other Discharges Soon,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 18, 1918.

sending home, the Turks back home would starve as “about \$12,000 weekly comes to Turkey through banks of Harput from Turks working in America.” As the cost of living was very low in Turkey, the article claimed that it was the “ambition of many young Turks to go to America, and work until a few thousand dollars is saved, and then return to Turkey and buy a farm or a store and be rich and prosperous during the remainder of life.”⁶² Regarding the young Turkish leather workers on the North Shore’s tanneries, the article noted:

Young Turks often make trips back and forth between America and Turkey. They rarely settle down in Turkey, to spend the money they make in America, until they get along in years. If the Turks who work in the tanneries were as badly off in the old country as they are the Turks described in the consular reports, they now must feel very prosperous, for \$1.50 a day in a tannery is a big wage compared with 10 cents a day in a Turkish workshop, and even the most densely inhabited dwelling in Peabody must seem like a palace compared with the rude huts and burrows in the hill sides that the consular reports speak of.⁶³

The article’s tone and depiction of Turkey and the Turks’ living conditions was also an indicator of the Turkish immigrant’s place within the mainstream of society and how they were perceived by the common people. Thus, the image and stigmatized racial categorization of the “Turk” with a variety of connotations ranging from brutality, moodiness, being unable to assimilate, intending to return, backwardness, high rate of crime, gambling, white slavery, and later massacring Armenians and being enemy aliens made it much harder for the Turks to be incorporated into the American mainstream. As Portes and Rumbaur wrote in their book: “No matter how motivated and ambitious immigrants are,

⁶² “Turkey Demands American Goods: Consular Reports Tell of Benighted Conditions There and of American Uplifting.” *The Salem Evening News*, August 8, 1911.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

their future prospects will be dim if government officials persecute them, natives consistently discriminate against them, and their own community has only minimum resources to offer.”⁶⁴ Thus, the prospect of an established Turkish community had been affected negatively by the relatively lower socioeconomic conditions and limited upward mobility, low educational attainment, the pervasive anti-Turkish sentiment which reached its climax by World War I, and the government officials and police forces who pervasively attacked the coffeehouses and Walnut Street. Moreover, the growing homeland concerns for the Turkish immigrants by the end of World War I also made them unable to shift their attention to the local issues and, thus, slowed down the process of developing roots of permanent settlement in the United States. Finally, the Turkish immigrants’ home-country orientation was also fostered by the prospect of socioeconomic status or prestige attainment in the homeland with the money accumulated in the United States.

5.6. Conclusion

There are particular differences between male and female incorporation into the receiving country. While female immigrants are more involved in the social life of the immediate society, male immigrants may develop a “reactive transnationalism” as a result of negative experiences, frustration with the occupation or the social status in the host community. Thus, the immigrant

⁶⁴ Portes and Rumbaut, *Legacies*, 49.

becomes more engaged in the transnational practices which would allow him/her to enjoy a higher level of prestige in the homeland. While that migration for the males means a loss of status, for women it is regarded as a status gain.⁶⁵ Being a group composed of a hundred percent male population without families and encountering a variety of challenges of a hostile environment significantly contributed to the development of a reactive transnationalism among the Turkish immigrants on the North Shore. Moreover, transnational involvements of the Turkish immigrants lasted longer than usual among the European immigrants: while in the aftermath of the war, the eastern and southern European immigrants turned their attentions more into the new home affairs, the Turkish War for Independence sustained a stronger sense of ethnic attachment among the Turkish immigrants.

A variety of factors slowed down the process of Turkish assimilation in the United States: Among these were the negative Turkish image, being without families and the obstacles that they had with ethnic intermarriage, sticking to the coffeehouses for a long time, being employed as leatherworkers who were given the most unwanted positions in the factories and thus constrained by socioeconomic factors, and a strong ethnic enclave which discouraged Turkish immigrants to learn English. However, by the 1920s acculturation to a certain degree would be experienced as a result of the lessening numbers of the Turks by World War I, which halted overseas migration, and the immigration restrictions of the 1920s, which considerably limited the numbers of new arrivals from Turkey. The next chapter will examine the direction of spatial and cultural

⁶⁵ Itzigsohn, "Incorporation, Transnationalism, and Gender," 899-900. The latest literature on gender and migration shows that the status of immigrant women, particularly in the United States, improves as a result of their increased access to resources through employment and protective institutions.

assimilation of the Turkish immigrants and the remaining years on the North Shore after a substantial number of them returned to homeland.

CHAPTER VI

DRAWING BOUNDARIES: IDENTITY FORMATION AND ASSIMILATION

The Ottoman immigrants in the United States, like the early wave of European immigrants, had located their identity in their village or province upon entrance to the United States. However, the subsequent encounter with the host culture had resulted in an identity and identification shift. Thus, a considerable number of immigrants from the lands under the Ottoman rule had been “racially” categorized as Turks regardless of their ethnic or religious origins. Confusion with the identities of the Ottoman ethnic groups in the United States combined with negative stereotyping and a rising anti-Turkish sentiment, especially during World War I, however, would not only lead to exclusion of the Turks from the mainstream, but also became problematic for the other Ottoman ethnics. Thus, “Turk,” an umbrella term defining the assigned racial identification for several Ottoman ethnic groups including the Turks, Kurds, Armenians, Syrians, Greeks, Albanians, and Sephardic Jews, turned out to be used as a tool to express a pervasive racial discrimination against the Turks as well as the other Ottoman peoples in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Although Alixa Naff notes that “Muslims were sometimes confused with Turks for whom Americans harbored a special antipathy” it is obvious that this confusion went even beyond religion and ethnicity.¹

Like many of the “old” Slavic and Italian immigrants, the Turkish immigrants, a majority of whom were from rural backgrounds, entered the United States with a group identity and a sense of belonging that did not extend beyond the limits of their villages. Referring to the “old” immigrants, Ewa Morawska notes, “paradoxically, it was only after they came to America and began to create organized immigrant networks for assistance and self-expression, and to establish group boundaries as they encountered an ethnically pluralistic and often hostile environment, that they developed translocal national identities with their fatherlands, as Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Lithuanians, and so on.”² Therefore, both the crucial events in the homeland and their subsequent struggles with the challenges of the surrounding society, often hostile to the immigrant, would foster development of group solidarity among the Turkish immigrants as well as more involvement in homeland affairs.

Although many of the studies on Ottoman immigrants in the United States refer to the national mobilization of the Ottoman diaspora in U.S., they tend to take their ground after the end of World War I. However, there is little mention of the Ottoman government’s concern for its citizens abroad before World War I and its nationalizing endeavors through its agents. In this chapter, nationalization of Turkish immigrants from overseas during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and after that period will be examined. Furthermore, the roles of the

¹ Naff, *Becoming American*, 251.

² Morawska, “Transnationalism,” 150.

immigrant networks, the coffeehouse, and the Turkish leadership in emergence of a salient Turkish national identity and development of Turkish transnationalism will be explored.

The premise of this chapter is that with the length of time spent in the U.S., the asserted identities and assigned identifications of the Ottoman immigrants went through a series of transformations. Moreover, due to an increasingly hostile environment combined with the developments in their native land, the Turkish immigrants developed transnational involvements while they followed their own trajectories to adaptation to the host society. Eventually, the high rate of Turkish return by the end of World War I and the immigration restrictions of the 1920s resulted in a loosening attachment to the homeland, more involvement in the local affairs and an accelerated process of assimilation.

6.1. Fractured Identities

As has been discussed before in the literature review, perhaps the most challenging difficulty in studying migration from “Turkey” was its being the most confusing emigrant sending region because of the ethnic and religious diversity and dispersion. For example, in a 1910 report, the Dillingham Commission reported that comparing the immigrant “races” coming from Russia and Austria-Hungary, the immigration movement from Turkey furnished the “most striking illustration of the mingling of emigrating races in a single political division, for in the fiscal year 1907 there came from that country to the United States 9,412 Bulgarians, Serbians, Montenegrins, 7,060 Greeks, 952 Syrians, 588 Hebrews, 194 Roumanians, 1,124 Turks, and 1,437 persons of other races.”

Therefore, composition of such a diverse immigrant group coming from one political area made it much harder for the commission to provide numbers and analysis for each ethnic group. Thus, the commission concluded that although it was not probable that all these people had been born in Turkey, for the purposes of capability of rendering a statistical data “in the absence of other data, it might be necessary to assume that all persons of the above group born in Turkey were Turks. As a matter of fact only about 1 in about 18 was really of that race.”³ Thus, various Ottoman ethnic groups were lumped together by the U.S. government bureaucracy into the broad category of Turks. However, such an approach added more confusion to the identification of each Ottoman ethnic group in the United States. Moreover, the Dillingham Commission was reluctant to consider eastern Anatolia as a part of Turkey and instead regarded it as Armenia. Furthermore, it is not clear whether those Armenians reporting their country of birth as Turkey, were considered as Turks by the American bureaucracy.

Assigned identities of the Ottoman ethnics would sometimes lead to trouble because of the anti-Turkish feeling which reached its zenith during World War I. One of the examples for public prejudice and discrimination against the Turks had been experienced by Yahya A.’s father, a Syrian peddler. When he was peddling near Urbana, Illinois, he was provided lodging by a Catholic farmer for the night. Yahya related the story of his father who was invited over to dinner by the farmer providing lodging:

³ U.S. Immigration Commission, *Abstracts of the Reports of the Immigration Commission*, vol. 1 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), p.18.

A prayer was said and they all crossed themselves, but my father did not. They asked him “Aren’t you Christian?” He replied that no, he was a Muslim. They did not understand what a Muslim was and proceeded to explain...and he mentioned the Turkish government... At this point, the farmer rose up in anger and, reaching for his gun, said, “So, you are a Turk. I’ll kill that Turk; get out of my house.” So my father left.⁴

Confusion of the Americans about the Ottoman ethnic identities, led to identification of not only the Muslim groups but also the other immigrant groups from the Ottoman Empire as Turks. Both the newspapers and the public were unable or reluctant to identify and distinguish the Ottoman ethnic groups from one another. Thus, when a person from the Ottoman Empire was involved in a criminal activity or arrested by the police, the newspapers couldn’t avoid displaying it with big and bold banners in which the word “Turk” could easily be seen at a first glance. For example, *Worcester Daily Telegram* reported about “a swarthy Turk named Sarkis Davitian” who “was on North Street and a gang of boys got after him calling him names and tantalizing him.” He had seized his revolver but when the boys saw “the Turk” approaching them with the gun, they run away. There were also instances appearing in the media where Armenians were intentionally mentioned as Turks.⁵ One of these Armenians was Nashan Garabedian, an ensign of the Salvation Army, known all over the United States “Joe the Turk.”

⁴ Naff, *Becoming American*, 251.

⁵ Quoted in Hagop Martin Deranian. *Worcester is America: The Story of Worcester’s Armenians* (Worcester: Bennate Publishing, 1998), 48-49.



Figure 6.1. A popular image of “Joe the Turk,” which indicates that there were intentional identity alterations and racial differentiation between the Armenians and the Turks was virtually impossible. Source: The Salvation Army Southern Historical Center, Atlanta.

The Turkish and Kurdish identities and identifications in the United States were more confusing compared to the other Ottoman groups. Because of being two ethnic groups who were Muslims with typical Muslim names had made defining these people almost impossible. However, with the increasing length of time spent in America, the ethnic identities would become more salient. For example, in Peabody Ismael Ismael, who was accused by murdering two Greeks in 1915, reported his identity as a Kurd to the Police Chief and that was

made public through the newspapers. Ismael Ismael's trial showed that a number of those who were known to be Turks could in fact be Kurds. Thus, after the trial, for the first time the newspapers began referring to the "Kurdish" fights in Peabody in 1915.

Another problem was alterations of identity for practical purposes which led to a further confusion of identity of the Ottoman immigrants. For example, in 1892 many Muslims sought to pass as Christians from the American ports because of the ban on Muslim migration initiated by the Ottoman government.⁶ Similarly, as will be discussed later, for practical purposes several Turkish and Kurdish immigrants in the United States pretended that they were Armenians or Syrians when they were trying to secure passports and safe-conducts that would enable them to return Turkey in 1919.

In 1910, the Dillingham Commission's "scientific" approach to the immigrant "races" in the United States led to the formulation of a dictionary of races included in its massive report on immigration. The dictionary of races not only served as a basis for exclusion of immigrants from particular geographical regions but also as a justification for the government's discrimination between the old and new stock immigrants. The dictionary also mirrored the mindset of the American bureaucracy as it had approached Ottoman ethnic groups as "races" and each ethnic group was delineated by biological features. It was noted, for example, "linguistically the Armenians are more nearly related to the Aryans of Europe than to their Asiatic neighbors, the Syrians, Arabs, and Hebrews (Semites), and especially the Turks and Kurds, the inveterate enemies of the Armenians." That definition went on to claim that "to add to the ethnical

⁶ Karpat, "Ottoman Emigration to America," 186-189.

confusion they are related physically to the Turks, although they exceed these, as they do almost all peoples, in the remarkable shortness and height of their heads. The flattening of the back of the head is noticeable at once in most Armenians.”⁷

By the rise of nationalism and fracturing of the Ottoman Empire, and the U.S. experience, the Ottoman immigrants would go through a process of identity change. Moreover, not only the immigrants’ national concern but also the discrimination that the Turkish immigrants had received would make them more assertive of their national identity; while Armenians and Syrians tried to detach themselves from the Turkish identity partly due to their disturbance about being associated with a regime that they did not approve and also to avoid discrimination, the Turkish immigrants developed a reactionary transnationalism and reiterated their Turkish identity and their national honor on every occasion. However, although the polarization within the Ottoman immigrants had become visible by the rising tide of nationalism, certain cooperation and good relations at the personal level had been maintained to some degree, particularly among the members of diverse Ottoman ethnic groups migrated to the U.S. from the same region.

6.2. Turkish Transnationalism and Assimilation

There were three crucial events which shaped the nationalizing endeavors of the Ottoman and later Turkish government. The first one, as has already been noted, was the Young Turk Revolution and proclamation of the Second

⁷ U.S. Immigration Commission, *Emigration Conditions in Europe*, Vol. 4 of *Reports of the Immigration Commission* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), p.16

Constitution. A call for return of the Turks, Armenians and Syrians in the United States to Turkey in order to build up a new “nation” was made by Abdulhamid II through a general amnesty in 1908. The second crucial element in nationalizing the Turkish diaspora in U.S. was the Balkan Wars. During the Balkan Wars, a number of governmental and non-governmental figures visited Peabody and the other towns and cities where the Turks lived, in order to foster national consciousness as well as raising money for the families of deceased soldiers in the Balkan Wars. The third crucial period would begin from the outbreak of World War I and last until the proclamation of the Republic in 1923.

Similar to their Syrian and Lebanese counterparts, the Turks of the North Shore had experienced acculturation as well as nationalization in their newly adopted lands. For the Ottoman immigrant ethnics in the United States, the period between the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913 and the frame that remained in the wake of World War I would lead to a tremendous transformation in terms of identity. The Ottoman Empire had crumbled and turned into a new entity which would lead to the immigrant’s transformation of identity from thousand miles away. As was noted before, Kemal Karpat asserts that the Turks in the United States lacked an enlightened leadership, like the ones that Armenians and Greeks had, that would allow them making permanent foundations in the United States. He explains this reason for the lack of a leadership as:

The mass-elite division of the Turks was their worst enemy, for the elite looked down upon their own lower classes as ignorant beasts of exploitation rather than as kin to be helped. Members of the Ottoman intelligentsia, like many modernist Turks, were trained to serve not their people and society but the state and thus were unable to establish their own viable, independent ethnic community. Lacking a communal foundation to provide continuity, each wave of immigrants had to start a new process

of adjustment to the unfamiliar environment but ultimately abandoned its efforts, either by returning home or by disappearing within the American society.⁸

Although Karpat's observation about the Turkish immigrants' failure of establishing foundations in the United States for a permanent presence is true to some extent, a deeper look into the Turkish society in Peabody will prove that they neither lacked an enlightened leadership nor they were ignored by the elites who fostered the process of nationalization and adaptation of the Turkish immigrants in the U.S.

One of the early attempts of Turkish nationalization was the Turkish consul of Boston, Abraham Effendi's visit to Peabody with his clerk Faik Bey in 1911, which had created much excitement among the Turkish residents of Peabody. A large number of Turks, about 250, had gathered at O'Shea building at Peabody Square to see the consul. His address, which was one of the first attempts of nationalization among the Turkish immigrants, was on the topic "The progress and the education of a nation."⁹

While the conditions worsened by the Balkan Wars, Turkish nationalism was built up among the Turkish immigrants in the United States. As was noted before, by the proclamation of the Second Constitution, Turks, as well as the Ottoman *millets* were expected to return to the homeland in order to take place in the formation of a new nation. However, Balkan Wars had started a process of no return for the Ottoman *millets* who would emerge as nationals by the end of World War I. During and after this process, not only the government

⁸ Karpat, "The Turks in America," 236-237.

⁹ "Visit by Turkish Consul," *The Salem Evening News*, December 18, 1911.

representatives visited Peabody in order to tell about the condition of the country, but also the leading figures among the Turkish immigrants had updated their countrymen about the conditions in Turkey while trying to make their assimilation into the host community easier.

One of these leading figures among the Turkish residents of Peabody was Joe Hussien, who had played as both an interpreter and arbitrator for the Turks in terms of legal issues and a mouthpiece for the Turkish community on the North Shore. Another figure, as was mentioned before, was Mamad Effendy, a Turkish resident in Peabody since 1902 and a storekeeper since 1905. Knowing the customs of the newly adopted country, he also counseled the Turks in times of difficulties that they had encountered.¹⁰ There were also other prominent figures who advised the Turkish community on the North Shore and tried to ease the difficulties stemming from being in a foreign land. One of the earliest examples of the consciousness among the Turkish immigrants was seen after the Turks and Greeks “had a miniature battle” on October 19, 1912. It was claimed that the fight had started after an assault on a Turk by a Greek on Wallis Street, Peabody where they lived in the adjoining houses with their own nationalities. Wallis St. 82-84 was a double house on Wallis Street occupied by Turks and houses in the rear were occupied by Greeks. It was noted that the Turks and Greeks “evidently sought to import the war of their several countries and fight it out with knives.” The fight came to an end with the arrival of police officers who took two Turks and a Greek into custody while the severely wounded were taken to hospital. The fight was perhaps one of the most important events that led to a rising Turkish

¹⁰ “For Turkish Labor,” *The Peabody Enterprise*, May 17, 1912.

and Greek sentiment on the North Shore. Police Chief Grady “cautioned them against meeting each other and fighting over their war.” Moreover, he also noted that “they could go back to their native lands and get all the real fighting they wanted, but they must keep out of it here.”¹¹

The following day after that event, a mass meeting of around 1000 Turks, from Peabody, Haverhill, and Lowell, held on October 20, 1912, was called by Mamad Effendy. Besides raising \$1000 for the war cause and expecting to send \$7000 from Peabody to be forwarded to the Sultan, leading Turkish individuals raised a sense of nationalism and suggested ways to the Turks to make their lives easier in the United States. Moreover, a call to arms had been awakened among the Turks as about 30 of them left the U.S. to fight in the Balkan Wars. Mamad Effendy, one of the most prominent figures among the Turks on the North Shore, counseled the Turks to “obey the laws of the country in which they reside” and resented the fight which took place between the Greeks and Turks of Peabody. Another Turk, Hussin Effendy of Lynn, gave a talk on religion and loyalty to the native land which left many of the Turks in tears. Another speaker at the meeting was Mamat Soloman Effendy, 18 years old, who addressed the meeting on the Mohammedan religion that aroused great enthusiasm. Moreover, Hussein Effendy, another Turkish individual, counseled the Turks “not to engage in the combat with the local Greeks, and if assaulted by them to inform the police authorities.”¹²

¹¹ “Peabody Greeks and Turks had a Miniature Battle,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 21, 1912.

¹² “Mass Meeting of Turks Sunday,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 21, 1912.

Besides raising money for the war effort, there were Turks departing for Turkey to take their part in the war. The leading figure in this effort was Husny Hassan [Hüsni Hasan], who was known as Alley Hassan [Ali Hasan] and was a first sergeant in the Ottoman army. Sergeant Hassan arrived in the U.S. in 1908 and since then had been living in Lynn where he was employed at the shoe factory of the Charles F. Cotter Shoe Company. Since his arrival into the country, he had been drilling his fellow countrymen and holding meetings in Peabody, where he had made his headquarters. His other headquarters were located in Lynn, Haverhill, Lawrence, and Lowell. In the shoe factory he had “gained respect of his associates by his quiet demeanor and attention to his own business” and they never suspected that “this man of peace was really a trained soldier in the wars of Turkey.” Over the years, he had raised an army of about 400 men ready to depart. He had also been in touch with the officials of the army in Istanbul where they would receive uniforms and equipment upon arrival and would start to the front for combat with armies of Greece and Bulgaria. It was noted in the newspaper article that there was “no conflict between Sergeant Hassan and his recruits and those of Greece,” because Sergeant Hassan said, “if they want fighting, it can not be done in this land, but when he meets them on the battlefield they can get all they want.” While they were in the U.S., the Greeks and Turks, he said, would only be “citizens of two countries in conflict and not as men in this country, where he entertains nothing but the best feelings of all people.”¹³ Thus, due to the presence of these Turkish individuals, who had common sense and were aware of the fact that they should make their countrymen adapt to life in the U.S., the prospect of any possible fight between

¹³ “Turkish Soldier Raising Troops,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 24, 1912.

the Turks and the Greeks had been prevented. Moreover, their reputation as being respected people among the American community helped the Turkish immigrants to better their relations with the host community.

By Turkey's entrance into World War I, one of the Turkish immigrants [he may also be a Kurd] named Mehmed from a village in Diyarbakır, "Aşağı Çanakçı," established the *Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i İslâmiye* (Islamic Benevolence Society) in Peabody. The Society had been founded in an effort to raise money for the orphans of the Muslims who had lost their lives during World War I. He had also secured a license for the Society which was composed of seven Turkish business owners in Peabody in the beginning. After founding the Society, he had begun the work of registering new members to the Society by gathering the Turks on Sundays in the Society building and giving lectures on the conditions in the homeland and their duty for the welfare of their own country. Mehmed also started visiting the Turkish coffee houses in Peabody and its vicinity such as Salem and Worcester giving lectures. He was collecting at least 25 cents from each person. He had told about all his efforts by writing a letter to the Turkish Council in Boston.¹⁴ By November 30, 1919, he had collected around \$6700 to be sent to Istanbul for contribution to the war effort.¹⁵ By December 13, 1919, the amount of the money raised among the Turkish immigrants had reached

¹⁴ "Bâb-ı Âli, Hariciye Nezareti, Umur-u İdariyye Müdirriyet-i Umumiyyesi, Umur-u şehbenderî Müdirriyeti," No 18,163.1. Undated Document, The Turkish Red Crescent Society Archives, Ankara.

¹⁵ "Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Risayet-i Âliyyesine Peabody Cemiyet-i İslâmiyesinden Gönderilecek Melağ Hakkında," Bab-ı Âli Hariciye Nezareti, No 19,209. Hususi 387. November 30, 1919, The Turkish Red Crescent Society Archives, Ankara.

\$7,010.55, and they had decided to give the money to the Turkish Red Crescent Society.¹⁶

Although, by World War I the Turks would find themselves in a more hostile environment, the length of time spent in the United States would facilitate the process of acculturation to American life while maintaining a stronger national identity. One of the incidents in 1917, the funeral of a popular young Turk, Mustaffa Kabo, became an occasion for the Turks to show their allegiance to their new country. The funeral was largely attended by the Turks on the North Shore. When the body of the deceased was taken from the rooms of Undertaker Conway to be buried into Cedar Grove Cemetery, the funeral procession comprised fourteen coaches and four automobiles. The Turks in the autos wore their red hats (fez) and one of the cars the American and Turkish flags were displayed.¹⁷ The automobiles and the American flag was a very clear message to the American public that the Turks had become prosperous by their ethic of hard work and were loyal to the United States. On the other hand, the red hats and the Turkish flag had become symbols to exhibit that they still retained their distinct Turkish identity. In 1918, the police reports indicate that there was a considerable rise in the number of Turkish immigrants owning automobiles as well as motorcycles.¹⁸ The high wartime wages had also provided

¹⁶ "Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Risâyet-i Sâniyesine," Bab-ı Âli Hariciye Nezareti, No. 19,395. December 13, 1919. Hususi 397, The Turkish Red Crescent Society Archives, Ankara.

¹⁷ "A Turkish Funeral," *The Salem Evening News*, February 23, 1917.

¹⁸ "Police Doings," *The Salem Evening News*, September 23, 1918. An assault case in 1919 showed economic prosperity of the Turks after World War I: A Turk had been assaulted by two Turks at the National Calfskin Co. plant on July 31, 1919. When the three had been brought to the Peabody police court, the two were sentenced to pay a fine of \$75 each. It was noted that one of them had \$1000 bill with him besides large bundles of bills while also all the other Turks present at the court room had "money of all denominations, large bills predominating." The police carefully examined the \$1000 bill as none of them "had ever seen one before or expect to see another." Because of the ban on travelling on the Lord's Day, the police officers were taking numbers of all autos seen on the streets on Sundays. On that day, among those reported were

socioeconomic mobility for the Turkish immigrants, who had previously been constrained by limited economic opportunity, and more favourable conditions for their integration.

6.3. Religion

A number of studies on the religion of the early Turkish immigrants in the United States had not taken religion into consideration assuming that all of them were Muslims. However, individual stories and the regions where these Turks had come reveal that they had belonged to different Islamic sects, Sunni and Alevi. On the other hand, from the American point of view, all the Muslim groups including the Turks, Kurds, Albanians, and Arabs were regarded as Mohammedans as a whole. Thus, Mohammedanism, regardless of sects, was considered as religious identification of the Muslims in the United States. Even the children of immigrants did not know which sect their fathers belonged aside from their being Mohammedans.¹⁹ In their new surroundings, however, the Turks had gone through unification with the other Muslim groups in the United States. Thus, the U.S. experience not only resulted in nationalization among the Turkish immigrants, it also created an Islamization through identification with the Muslim communities.

Mustaffa Ahmad [Mustafa Ahmed], who lived in Worcester and brought a party of Turks to Salem, and was on his way back home. The other one was Abdulla Hassan of Peabody, who said that he was taking a sick man to his destination.

¹⁹ Ray Kako, interview by the author, Peabody, MA, May 23, 2007.

One of the earliest attempts of the Ottoman government in terms of religion was appointment of a Turkish imam, Mohammed Ali in January, 1910 by “the supreme pontiff of Islam at Constantinople as a regular missionary in America to make converts to the Mohammedan faith.” The work had been given utmost importance by the Ottoman government as Mohammed Ali ranked as “one of the princes of the church”²⁰ in the Islamic hierarchy. Shortly after his arrival, before he made his way to Washington as a “Sefarat Emmam,” imam of the Turkish legation in U.S., Mohammed Ali commenced a program to lecture in towns and cities which had larger Turkish populations. His visit to Peabody on January 25, 1910 had created a very positive feeling not only among the Turks of the town. “Safarat Emmam, Mammam Alli Affandi,” it was stated, “a distinguished person representing the government of Turkey and the church, addressed the Turks of this town in the small Town hall last evening about 150 being present. He spoke on religion and the duty the Turks owed to their adopted country, how they should conduct themselves, etc. and his visit was received as a high honor.” Outlining the importance of Mohammed Ali’s position in the Turkish government his visit to the Turkish community in Peabody, the newspaper article noted:

The visitor corresponds to a priest and is said to be the first who ever came to this country. He comes here on a special mission. He landed in New York , Jan. 3, and has visited Providence, Worcester, Boston and Peabody. Today he goes to Lawrence and tonight will speak in Lowell, and after visiting a few other places where the Turks have located, will go to Washington and meet the Turkish minister to the United States. He is about 35 years of age and wears a very long, black, silky beard, his face never having been shaved since he was born.

²⁰ “Mohammedans Send Missionary to U.S,” *The Salem Evening News*, March 19, 1910.

His visit to Peabody is expected by the leading Turks in town to result in much good.²¹

Imam Mohammed Ali's visit to Peabody and the Turkish colonies in other towns and cities of Eastern Massachusetts had restored confidence in the Turkish immigrants at least for a brief time period. Mohammed Ali was also a respected figure among the Turkish intellectuals, such as Ahmet Emin Yalman and Ahmet Sukru Esmer, who were studying in Columbia in the 1910s. Below is a picture that was taken in 1910 in New York, which Ahmet Emin Yalman captioned as "Columbia Days: With New York Imam."



Figure 6.2. Ahmet Emin Yalman (first from the left) with New York Imam Mohammed Ali. Source: Ahmet Emin Yalman Papers, Stanford University, Library and Archives of Hoover Institution, Palo Alto.

²¹ "A Turkish Visitor," *The Salem Evening News*, January 26, 1910.

Although the Turks had never had an imam or built a mosque in Peabody, there were individuals who had been regarded as religious leaders. Although Frank Ahmed notes that the Turks were never wealthy or secure enough to build a mosque, probably the Turks had preferred sending their money over to Turkey, as there had always been a prospect of return, rather than wasting their money by construction of a mosque in a land that they wouldn't remain long. For example, during the Balkan Wars and the Turkish War for Independence, large sums of money had been collected among the Turks on the North Shore for the war effort and construction of orphanages in Turkey.

The two prominent Turkish individuals, who would lead the Friday prayers, prepare the dead for burial and read the Quran, were Baker Abraham and Mehmet Abraham. Both had executed a duty as religious leader to the Turkish community not only in Peabody, but also in Lynn and Salem. During the days of early settlement, for Friday prayers Turks were gathering at Emerson Park in Peabody with an educated person leading them. Facing toward Mecca, they would usually be led by Mehmet Abraham or Baker Abraham. In the winters, the prayers would be conducted in the hall of Turkish Orphan Society. After the numbers began to decrease by the 1950s, the remaining Turks began praying individually in their own homes.²²

Many of the Muslims in the United States were very late in building mosques. This can be due to the fact that their hope of returning to the homeland had prevailed for a long time or, as the Muslims could also pray at their homes or

²² Frank Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 83.

masjids, they did not feel any need for spending large sums of money for construction and maintenance of a mosque. Similar to the Turks in Peabody, Syrian and Turkish Muslims in various parts of the United States did not have mosques for a long period of time. Philip K. Hitti, whose pioneering work on the Syrian communities in America had first been published in 1924, notes that Syrian “Muhammadans” in Cleveland, Detroit, Akron, and New York had meeting places for prayer. However, only in Detroit had they established a mosque which had been established in 1921 but was closed in 1924. For Syrian Muslims in New York, the meeting place for prayer was West Street, Manhattan and their religious leaders had devoted only part of their time.²³

One of the most striking examples for incorporation of the Turkish immigrants to the community in Peabody occurred when the Turks of Peabody were visited by a Muslim Missionary of Ahmadiyya Movement. Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, who is the first missionary of Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, an orthodox universal community, landed in America on February 15, 1920. Despite his short stay in the U.S., through his efforts and the monthly magazine, *The Moslem Sunrise*, that he had started, he had attracted a substantial number of converts in Detroit and Chicago between 1922 and 1923.²⁴ Mufti Muhammad Sadiq was a native of India and had been a distinguished speaker with many titles both in London and the U.S. On September 13, 1923, he came to Peabody as the guest of Joe Hussien, the well-known Turkish leader and interpreter. It was noted that he would give a lecture on Islam in City Hall in

²³ Philip K. Hitti, *The Syrians in America* (Piscataway, NJ: Georgias Press, 2005), 108.

²⁴ “Islamic Movement Came to U.S. in 1920,” *New York Times*, May 22, 1993.

English and it would be “of interest not only to followers of Islam but to all Christian students of other religions.”²⁵

On September 16, Saturday night, Sadiq gave his address in the City Hall to an audience who was composed almost wholly of Turks. However, on Sunday morning, accompanied by several Turks, Sadiq attended worship at Rev. Mr. Bakeman’s church in Peabody and was invited to speak in the church. He noted that “the doctrine he preaches is the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and that never before had he been invited to speak in any other than a Unitarian Church.”²⁶ Turks had been honoured by Sadiq’s visit and even his presence had become a symbol for the Turks’ desire to go among the community in Peabody. Accompanying Sadiq to the church was like waving an American and a Turkish flag in terms of religious identity, it was the first attempt of establishment of a dialogue between the Muslims and Christians of the North Shore. Also, choice of the Congregational Church in South Peabody, which was also referred to as “Harmony Village”²⁷ by Peabody seems to have implications for the Turkish residents who were willing to go among the host community.

Although, conversion to Christianity was intolerable by the Turkish and Kurdish immigrants, there were also a few Turkish immigrants who converted to Christianity. The fact that they had come from a conservative region and the Ottoman government’s strict prohibition of conversion to Christianity had been the chief reason for the Turkish community’s intolerance with conversion of its own members. One of the most serious fights over a religious argument occurred

²⁵ “About Town,” *The Salem Evening News*, September 13, 1923.

²⁶ “A Moslem Missionary,” *The Salem Evening News*, September 17, 1923.

²⁷ Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 478.

on July 15, 1917, after a 21-year-old Kurd from Harput, Mike Oman or “Kelly Mike” of Peabody, as he was known, decided to forsake Mohammedanism and worship in the Catholic Church. Around a month before the fight took place, Mike Oman had already begun attending the Catholic Church despite “displeasure of his fellow countrymen.” He said, “they have made life miserable for him and have pestered him until he was well high frantic at their taunts.” When the Peabody Turks asked him why he had decided to become a Christian, he said “that was his affair and none of their lookout.” Furthermore, it was claimed that when Oman shaved off his moustache, his fellow countrymen objected to it. The discussion over religion reached climax at the night of July 15. He was standing in front of a coffeehouse, along with several Turks and Kurds, “when along came Mahamat Sedelman in an automobile, with several friends.” Stepping out of his car, Sedelman walked up to Oman and “used the most vile language in referring both to Oman and his adopted religion.” Driven crazy by the oppression and Sedelman’s words, Oman began shooting with his revolver, which resulted in three Turks being shot by him. Oman was a leather worker in Peabody and had just registered for the draft on June 5th of the same year.²⁸

²⁸ “Kurd Shot Three Turks in Fight over Religion,” *The Salem Evening News*, July 16, 1917. Although the article claims that Oman was chased and attacked by over 500 Turks and Kurds, it seems like there is some exaggeration and sensationalism over the event because it was described not only an attack on a converted Kurd, but an attack on Christianity.

Form 1 15711 ORDER NO. 3051 No. 21		REGISTRATION CARD	
1	Name in full: <u>Mike Oman</u>	Age in yrs: <u>21</u>	
2	Name address: <u>6 Fulton Peabody Mass</u>		
3	Date of birth: <u>March 5 1896</u>		
4	Are you (1) a natural born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared you a citizen (specify which)? <u>Alien</u>		
5	Where born you born? <u>Harpur Turkey</u>		
6	If not a citizen, of what country are you a citizen or subject? <u>Turkey</u>		
7	What is your present trade, occupation, or office? <u>Leather worker</u>		
8	By whom employed? <u>Hunt & Rankin Co</u>		
9	Where employed? <u>Peabody Mass</u>		
9	Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, who's dependent on you for support (specify which)? <u>No</u>		
10	Are you or single (check)? <u>Single</u> Are you (check)? <u>Married</u>		
11	What military service have you had? <u>None</u>		
12	Do you have any other names? <u>No</u>		

20-3-0. A	
REGISTRAR'S REPORT	
1	Tell, uniform or short (specify which)? <u>Short</u> Stock, uniform or coat (check)? <u>None</u>
2	Color of eyes? <u>Blue</u> Color of hair? <u>Brown</u> Build? <u>Slender</u>
3	Has power for gun, by hand, foot, or both eyes, or is it otherwise disabled (specify)? <u>No</u>
I certify that my answers are true, that the person registered has read his own answers, that I have witnessed his signature, and that all of his answers of which I have knowledge are true, except as follows:	
<u>None</u>	
Signed: <u>John G. Gilman</u> (Name of registrar)	
Witness	<u>7</u>
City or County	<u>Peabody</u>
State	<u>Mass</u>
Signed: <u>James Oman</u> (Name of registrant)	

Figure 6.3. Mike Oman's registration card, June 5, 1917. He registered as 21 years old, born in Harput, single, and not a citizen of the United States. He was a leather worker at Hunt-Rankin Leather Co. in Peabody.

Mike Kelly Oman also served in the U.S. Army along with the six Turks, and fought in France in 1918.

Residence now at 135 Essex St., Salem

May 23, 1919

Name Mike Kelly Oman Gov't No. 2956797

Co and Reg. or Arm Inf. Unassigned. 1st Assigned F. Co. 114th Inf. att. to 8th Casual Co.

Residence 6 Fulton St., Peabody Kin _____

Born (place) Harport, Turkey Age at enl. 22 YRS. 3 MOS.

Eyes Blue Hair Brown Complexion Fair Height 5'-4"

Married or Single _____ Enl. period First

Prior Service None

~~Undrafted~~ drafted _____ Reported June 25, 1918 at Peabody

Assigned to 153rd Depot Brigade at Camp Dix, N.J.

Discharged May 20, 1919 at Camp Hill, VA. H. D. Dis. not recommended, D.D. _____
for re-enlistment,

Character Excellent

Military Record Service honest & faithful. No A.W.O.L. or G.O. 45/14-31/18

Battles _____

Wounds or other injuries received in action _____

Medal of honor (action and date) _____

Certificate of merit (service and date) _____

D.S.C. _____ D.S.M. _____ W.C.A. _____

Other medals and foreign decorations _____

Occupation Laborer

Military qualifications Private

Record of conviction by Courts-Martial _____

Company Punishment _____

Transfers 135th Inf.; Co. F. 114th Inf.; 8th Casual Co.

Service with A. E. F. France

Sailed from U. S. Oct. 12, 1918 Arrived at Port overseas Oct. 24, 1918

Sailed from Port overseas Apr. 24, 1919 Arrived at Port on return May 6, 1919

08/05/2007 3:20 pm

Figure 6.4. Mike Kelly Oman’s military record indicates that he was assigned to 153rd Depot Brigade and sailed to France on October 12, 1918 and back to the U.S. on April 24, 1919. He was 22 years-old when he served in the U.S. Army and discharged by May 20, 1919. Although he was residing on 6 Fulton St., Peabody, the document which was prepared on May 23, 1919, shows that he moved to 135 Essex St., Salem upon his return from the front. The 1924 Salem City Directory shows that A.J. Melanson lodging house on this address. Source: Peabody Institute Library Archives, Peabody.

Another example of a Turk converted to Christianity was Mustaffa, often known as “the Old Turk” by Peabody’s community and lived in Peabody for a long time. He attended Sunday Mass and established a close friendship with the community. He was seen quite often on Main Street. He had been regularly attending the 7.00 A.M. Sunday Mass at Saint John’s, which was a Roman Catholic Church, on Church Street in Peabody. He was remembered as “he

would pass to the front of the Church, bowing to members of the congregation as he went down the aisle.” Also he was a close friend of Father Fitzpatrick who served there in the 1950s.²⁹

Argument and criticism over religion or religious practices was a part of everyday life of the Turkish immigrants. This could be a result of one’s conversion to Christianity, as was illustrated before, or one’s Islamic practices, as can be seen in many close-knit communities. Frank Ahmed recalls Uncle Mustafa’s burial in Cedar Grove Cemetery on a bitter cold winter day when the ground was frozen and covered with snow. “Uncle Mehmet” stood over the grave to read the Quran for the deceased. When Ahmed’s father, George Ahmed looked at his son and saw that he was cold, he told Uncle Mehmet: “Stop praying so long. Mustafa is dead and God will accept your prayers in the coffeehouse, let’s get out of this cold!” Ahmed notes:

As we walked back to the cars, my Uncle Mehmet walked up to me, put his arms around me and inquired if I was cold. When I assured him I was fine, he told me “your father is a kâfir (unbeliever).” My father, who was nearby, couldn’t let this pass, and another one of their verbal jousting commenced. We all gathered at one of the Turkish coffeehouses, on Walnut Street for some food and conversation. Although these Anatolians were usually quiet in the company of strangers, they could be very verbal when they were in their own environment.³⁰

However, although there are a few who converted to Christianity, many of the Turks in Peabody remained Muslims for the rest of their lives but never built a mosque.

²⁹ Mailloux, “Curiosity or Contributor,” 25.

³⁰ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 81-82.

6.4. Greeks vs. Turks: Myth and Truth

Proximity of the Greeks and Turks in both the streets where they had resided and in the factories where they had worked was both good and bad for interactions between these two ethnic groups. Although, these two groups had always been depicted as two enemies, the fact that spending leisure time together indicates that there was a mutual understanding between the two as a result of a shared culture. The newspaper articles suggest that the times when the conflict between the two groups became visible were the Balkan Wars and World War I. As was noted before, the two wars had led to a division between Turks and Greeks both at home and the U.S. While the Turks and Greeks were neighbors of one another back in Europe, they were also neighbors in Peabody, on Walnut Street. Thus, as would be expected, the Balkan Wars would also be fought on U.S. soil.

By 1912, on the eve of the war, the Turks and Greeks of Peabody, who had maintained their long-distance ties to the homeland, started to become more and more involved in homeland issues. By October 1912, as every issue of the *Salem Evening News* had begun to be filled by the Balkan Wars, the Greeks and Turks started holding meetings, raising money for the war cause. Also a number of Turks and Greeks began departing to fight for the homeland.³¹ Moreover, the Turks and Greeks had been withdrawing their savings from the American banks

³¹ "Selling out Fight for Greece," *The Salem Evening News*, October 14, 1912.

to send home. By October, it was estimated that over \$25,000 had been withdrawn from the local savings bank in Peabody.³² Frank Ahmed notes that

A careless word or threat, real or imaginary, particularly if it was directed at one's family or national origin, could fill the street with fighting men. Whenever there was a cry that a Turk was under attack; the Turks from all their houses would pour into the street, usually armed with a large piece of wood or any handy heavy object, prepared for battle. Although these altercations were common they were generally confined to the police daily report.³³

However, most of the conflicts arose as a result of the habit of gambling among the Turks and the Greeks. The local newspapers had published hundreds of police reports describing fights between the Greeks and the Turks or those among the same ethnic groups as results of disputes over the money in gambles. Moreover, the habit of carrying money in money belts, which was usually attributed to the Turks, could sometimes lead to their being assaulted or murdered. Among various fights and police cases over gambling and money issues, three murders can be identified as the most important: First, the murder of two Greeks by a Turk, who would later be identified as a Kurd, and second, the murder of a Turk by two Greeks.

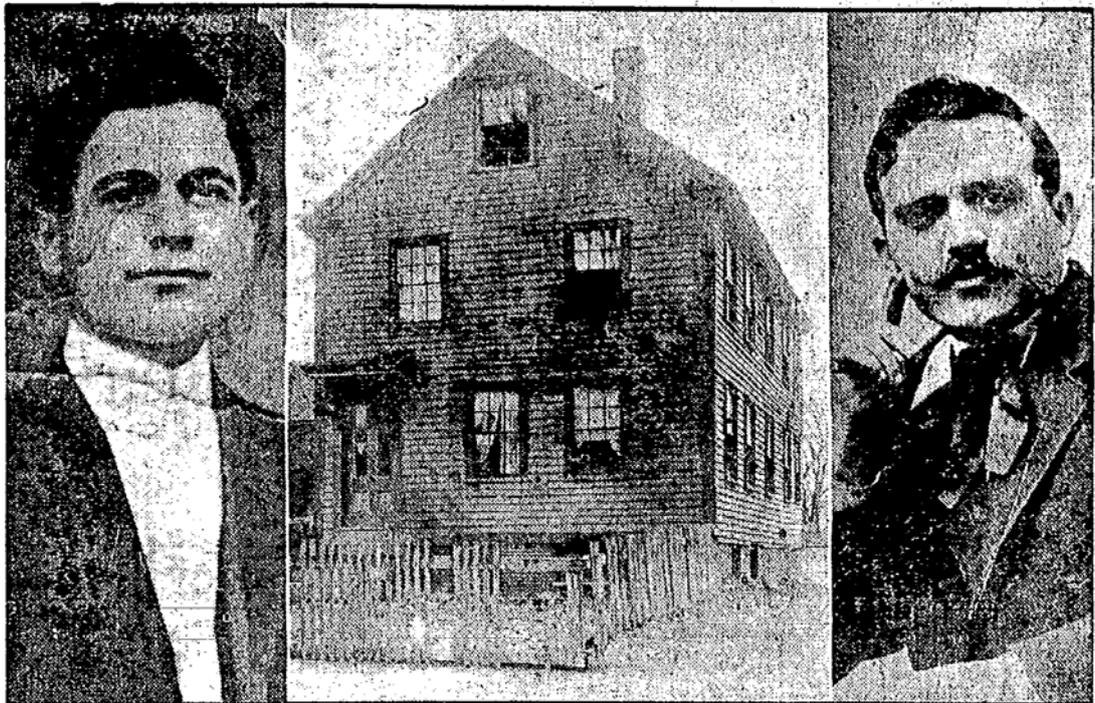
On April 15, 1915, two Peabody Greeks, Peter Karambelas and Authur Perolides, were found dead and a Peabody Turk, Ismael Ismael [Ismail Ismail]³⁴ was accused of the murder. As the three had shot dice on the day, and Perolides was the winner, it was believed that it was a foul play by the Ismaiel Galouvit [or

³² "Mass Meeting of Turks Sunday," *The Salem Evening News*, October 21, 1912.

³³ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 30-31.

³⁴ Several versions of his name appeared in the newspapers, such as Ismaiel Galouvit, Ismael Ismael, Ishmaiel Ishmaiel, Ismaiel Ismaiel, or Ismail Ismail all of which referred to the same person.

Ismael Ismael], as he was usually referred to] in order to have his money back.³⁵ Although, a robbery did not occur, the police immediately assumed him guilty as he could not be found after the double murder. He was boarding with a number of Turks on Caller Street and worked for Morrill Leather Co. The other Turks did not believe that he was the assassin of the two Greeks but promised the police to do all they could to apprehend him.³⁶



At left—Peter Karambelas, the dead barber. Centre—House at 31 Center street in lower front room of which tragedy was enacted. At right—Arthur Perolides, one of the murdered men.

Figure 6. 5. Photos of the two murdered Greeks, Peter Karambelas and Arthur Perolides.
Source: *The Salem Evening News*, April 17, 1915

Ismaiel was a regular gambler known by the police for a long time and he had lost \$15. Although he was missing after the murder, it was claimed that he could not commit the murder for loss of such a small amount. On the other hand, the manner in which Perolides was killed, four shots fired into him, showed that

³⁵ “Two Murdered in Peabody,” *The Salem Evening News*, April 15, 1915.

³⁶ “Seeking to Locate Turk in Connection With Peabody Murder,” *The Salem Evening News*, April 16, 1915.

there was a terrible hatred and desire for vengeance. William Perolides, the brother of the murdered Greek, related another story that Peter Karambelas had married a girl in Greece about ten years ago but immediately after the marriage he refused to live with her and left the country. Such an act was looked upon as most dishonorable, and the only redress would be murder. Thus, Perolides believed that the murder of his brother was not intended by the murderer, but the reason for his death was his being there at the time of the murder.³⁷ Ismaiel Ismaiel was finally arrested in Lynn, with the help of a Lynn Armenian, Maushuk Barbyian, who was employed by the Commonwealth to detect the murderer. Barbyian could speak four languages, Armenian, Greek, Turkish and English. Barbyian had a coffeehouse in Lynn which was frequently visited by the Turks in Lynn and Peabody. After a Turk, Mustaffa, called at his coffeehouse, they together went to Peabody, to a Turkish boarding house, where Ismael was hiding. Then, Barbyian helped the police to catch Ismael.³⁸ Ismael explained to the Police Chief Grady that he was 18 years old and a Kurd. He was brought over to Peabody where about 1000 Greeks crowded the streets near the police station for lynching Ismael. Although the newspaper articles about the capture of Ismael noted in their headlines that he was a Kurd, in the body of the articles he was continuously referred to as a Turk, which is an indicator over the confusion over identity of Turks and Kurds.³⁹

³⁷ "Double Funeral of Murder Victim," *The Salem Evening News*, April 17, 1915.

³⁸ "Armenian Testifies to His Part in Capture of Alleged Peabody Slayer," *The Salem Evening News*, September 24, 1915.

³⁹ "Arrest of Suspect in Peabody Double Murder Attended by Shooting," *The Salem Evening News*, April 20, 1915.



Figure 6.6. Ismaiel Ismaiel after he was arrested. Ismaiel had shaved his mustache off in order not to be identified after the double murder. Source: *The Salem Evening News*, October 1, 1915.

The news of the trial in Lawrence and his release had taken a large place in local newspapers. The jury acquitted him on September 29, 1915. On October 1, 1915, it was noted:

More than 500 Turks assembled at the B & M Station when the Lawrence train arrived last evening, expecting to greet Ismaiel Ismaiel, who had been acquitted by a jury of a charge of murdering the two Greeks in town last April, but he was not on the train. His nearest friend came on it, however, and he was given a rousing welcome. A procession was formed and the crowd, which was augmented by numbers from side streets all the way along the route, marched down Main Street into Boston Street, to Hartnett's old place, where a big crowd gathered and heard all about the verdict.⁴⁰

The verdict was a surprise for the Greek community as well as the Police Chief Grady. Several thousand dollars had been raised among the Turks for his

⁴⁰ "Ismaiel Acquitted of the Double Murder in Peabody," *The Salem Evening News*, October 1, 1915.

defense, which is a good example to the Turks' concern over their own countrymen. On March 5, 1917, his name again became associated with a shooting affair while he was gambling with two Greeks in Lynn. After the event, Ismaiel became a runaway again, and was thought to be hidden by the Peabody Turks.⁴¹ Murder of the two Greeks did not have any considerable effect on Turkish-Greek relations on the North Shore. In the following years after the trial several Turks and Greeks were found gambling together at Walnut Street coffee houses as the police records indicate. Many of them were locked up by the police and released on bail. However, although Ismaiel Ismaiel was not found guilty, the murders created feelings of distrust and fear of the Turkish immigrants on the North Shore and added to the pervasive anti-immigrant sentiments.

Another murder in March occurred in 1927. This time the victim was a Turk, whose known name was Alli Hassan, a small statured, well known Turk by residents of Peabody with the nickname "Pop." He was a leatherworker employed at the National Calfskin Co.'s plant, lived at Walnut Street, and was frequently seen on the streets of Peabody out of working hours. It was noted that "his dress was rather loud, a fancy vest which he commonly wore attracting attention, as well as his other garb." Peabody's residents used to like him as "he always made a good appearance, and possessed the acquaintance of many people, who greeted him with the above sobriquet." When he was last seen, he had a roll of \$500 or \$600.⁴² After his disappearance on February 18, every effort had been made to find him, including his description broadcasted over the radio and published in the newspapers. The Turks of Peabody became suspicious

⁴¹ "Seek Peabody Bad Man for Murder in Lynn," *The Salem Evening News*, March 5, 1917.

⁴² "Where is 'Pop'?" *The Salem Evening News*, March 9, 1927.

of foul play when James Karamis, a store and an eating house owner on Walnut Street, suddenly sold out his stock, shut up his shop and left the city with his friend George Metaxas. Thus, the Turks became sure that he had been involved in the foul play and told about their suspicions to the police. After a long investigation by the police, which lasted a month, Alli Hassan's mutilated body was found, unearthed in the cellar of the building which had been previously occupied by Karamis. Alli Hassan was living just across the Karamis's store, he was a boarder and a frequent visitor of the store as he was taking his meals and spending time talking with the women employed there. The 22 year-old waitress, who was questioned by the chief of police, noted that the last time he was seen alive in the store on February 18, he showed a money belt which he said contained \$800. After Pop's body was found, it was noted that the "victim of this most brutal murder was a Turk, 44 years of age, known as Alli Hassan, and called by the nickname 'Pop', but right name is now given as Hassan Abraham." When Pop opened a bank account, he had given his name as "Alli Hassan," his father's name as "Abraham," his mother's name as "Sullan" and told that he was "a native of Turkey."⁴³

His autopsy showed that there was no evidence that he "put up a fight." His throat was cut and head was smashed by a club, obviously had been killed without fighting back. The reason of the murder turned out to be robbery, as Karamis was known to have financial difficulties in running his store. After the murder, he had fled to Newark and was arrested there upon finding of Pop's body. It was noted that Abraham "was well known in the city, being of almost

⁴³ "The Two Arrested in N.J. for Peabody Murder to Fight Extradition," *The Salem Evening News*, March 28, 1927.

dwarfish appearance, his height measuring four feet, 10 inches.” He was quite a character and was described as:

He had the habit of dressing in a showy manner, and was a familiar sight when promenading the streets, dressed in brown shoes, a fancy vest with a big linked gold colored chain across his chest, a la Dickens, a fancy tie and showy scarf pin, coat, or sweeter, and a cap on the back of his head. He usually kept his hands in his pants’ pockets, and spoke to about everybody, being particularly friendly, and without an enemy in the world, so far as known. This somewhat eccentric Turk was employed in the beam house at the National Calfskin Co.’s plant and had lived in Peabody for the past 16 years. He has a brother and uncle who also live here.⁴⁴

When his body was found, he was in his silk shirts, two rings were on his fingers and a stickpin in his necktie, but his watch and chain were missing. Although, it is a sad story, Pop’s story is interesting in the sense that there were Turkish individuals who had no difficulty in communicating with the rest of the community. Moreover, having meals in the Greek restaurant shows that he, as well as many of the Turks, did not see any problem going to restaurants and coffeehouses owned by the Greeks. Another intriguing part of Pop’s story is that although he was a beam house worker, where he worked in the worst conditions that one can imagine, he valued his appearance and wore silk shirts and accessories. His story also illustrates that Turkish individuals could go through name changes at various times intentionally for the purpose of practicality, or unintentionally because of the wrong spellings, or could have nicknames given by the residents of the town.

⁴⁴ “The Two Arrested in N.J. for Peabody Murder to Fight Extradition,” *The Salem Evening News*, March 28, 1927.

To sum up, regarding the effects of the two trials, they did not have any noticeable impact on Greek-Turkish relations because the coffeehouse, gambling, and a shared culture would strongly bind them together. On the other hand, no matter what the result of Ismaiel Ismaiel's case was, the trial became a ground to justify the native population's fear of the Turkish immigrants and intensified the immigrants' social isolation. In the second case, the murder of Pop and his murderer's being a Greek did not create an anti-Greek feeling at all. The major difference between the two cases was the time of the murders. When Pop was killed, the Greek immigrants had already established a community of their own, families, and public institutions such as a church and a Greek school. Thus, while the former was attributed to the whole Turkish community and became an excuse for further social exclusion, the latter did not produce any considerable effect concerning the Greek community of Peabody.

6.5. The Decision to Return Home

The end of World War I had a tremendous effect on the immigrants who were planning to return to their old countries. In the same year, in the Tanners' Council Convention it was stated that they had estimated 5,000,000 immigrants were going back to the old home. Moreover, they would take \$2000 each and the total money they would bring back would be \$10,000,000,000.⁴⁵ The Department of Labor reported a widespread exodus of aliens from the United States in 1919. It was noted that among the most prominent factors in stimulating

⁴⁵ "Foreigners Going Home," *The Salem Evening News*, April 12, 1919.

the immigrant return to the old home were unemployment as well as family interests. Many of the aliens had reported to the Department's investigation service that "they had not heard from their families since Europe was thrown into war and they were going overseas to make personal investigation." Another reason for returning to the old homes was to participate in the settlement of estates of relatives killed in the war. It was noted that fully fifty percent of the aliens in nearly all the cities were returning. Among those who were returning in large numbers were Rumanians, Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, Poles, and Lithuanians.⁴⁶

By December, 1919, the number of Italians who had returned to Italy from the port of Naples were reported to be 80,000. By October, 1920, 102,000 unskilled alien workers had left the United States for their native countries. It was noted that the fortunes brought by the returning Italians were greatly welcomed by their relatives because of impoverishment as a result of the war. The Italians, as well as the other immigrant groups, had become prosperous people in their old homes as a result of "the five years of savings at wartime wages in America." Their clothes as well as the baggage had also contributed to their prosperous appearance upon their return to Italy.⁴⁷ The Department of Labor statistics of the fiscal year 1925 showed that of the 294,314 aliens were admitted to the country and 92,728 had left for their homeland, which had

⁴⁶ "Thousands of Aliens to Leave the United States for Old Homes Over Sea," *The Salem Evening News*, May 17, 1919; "102,000 Unskilled Alien Workers Left U.S. in One Year," *The Salem Evening News*, October 27, 1920.

⁴⁷ "80,000 Italian Immigrants Have Returned from U.S.," *The Salem Evening News*, December 9, 1919.

indicated a net loss of the nationalities who were important in the immigration totals.⁴⁸

Turks were also a part of the return migration phenomenon initiated after the Great War. Frank Ahmed notes that the large numbers of Turks returned to Turkey by the eve of World War I because the menace of Greek occupation. Thus, “many resolved to return home and defend their country.” Distresses over the families in Turkey as well as Turkish patriotism were the main motivational factors leading to the high Turkish return rate. Turkish return migration continued until the beginning of the Great Depression, when all hope for prosperity had melted away. By 1930, more than eighty percent of the Turks, who had entered the United States just a few decades before, returned to their native land. The remainder of the Turks constituted less than twenty of the approximately 50,000 Turks who were in U.S. in 1919.⁴⁹

Along with the Turkish immigrants’ concern over the homeland by the end of World War I and the beginning of the Turkish War for Independence, there were other major factors in the United States that fostered return migration of the Turkish immigrants. By the late 1920s, Lynn and the other shoe towns of New England had begun experiencing troubles because of the industrial depression “which hit the New England industries before the rest of the country.” One devastating result of the depression was Lynn losing sixty-seven factories out of which twenty-seven moved elsewhere and forty went out of business.⁵⁰ Both labor struggles and the depression in the trade had led to the closing or

⁴⁸ “294,314 Aliens Came in and 92,728 Went Out,” *The Salem Evening News*, October 3, 1925.

⁴⁹ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 85.

⁵⁰ Cumbler. *Working-Class Community in Industrial America*, 30.

migrating businesses. By the 1920s, there were times when a North Shore migrating boss “sends for half a dozen trucks, loads his machinery onto them, fires a parting shot at the union which has tried to enforce standards for his workers and sets off for whichever non-union town has bid the highest privilege of having him.” The eastward movement of the national shoe manufacturers was not just the result of the industrial depression, but there were other considerations. Among the most important reasons for this movement from the highly industrialized East Coast regions to the less industrialized West were labor costs and troubles, land cost, rental space available, and taxes. Between 1923 and 1935 the number of shoemaking jobs in Massachusetts fell from 69,397 to 44,371. Furthermore, Haverhill, which had jobs for 13,000 shoe workers in 1923, could barely provide jobs for 5,000 in 1938 at the seasonal peak. The number of shoemaking jobs in Massachusetts was cut by 25,000 and total wages paid fell to half of the former between 1923 and 1935.⁵¹

Besides migration of the shoe industry to the Western regions, the immigration quotas of 1924, which had a high impact on the migration of immigrants particularly from Southern and Eastern Europe, also had a decisive effect on the shoe and leather industries which heavily relied on immigrant labor. Employers in Peabody and its vicinity were highly concerned over the immigration restriction in 1924 “for the reason that corporations which employ hundreds of men when business is brisk have difficulty in getting what help they can use.” It was noted that the tanners were one of those who were interested in the immigration restrictions because the American-born hesitated to work in the

⁵¹ Davis, *Shoes*, 13-16.

tanneries; their hesitation was due to the fact that the many of the young males in 1920s have entered colleges which resulted in overcrowding of the colleges and young males seeking better employment opportunities.⁵² Thus, although the immigration restriction had a positive effect on the American economy by reducing income inequality of the interwar decades as well as immigration's wage depressing effect, the shortage of immigrant labor would lead to the demise of the North Shore's leather and shoe industries in the long run.⁵³

The quota system soon after the end of World War I, limited immigration from non-Western countries and those nations that had not been heavily represented in the past century of immigration. According to the Immigration Act of 1924, or Johnson-Reed Act, just one hundred immigrants per year from Turkey could enter the United States. Furthermore, that quota was also filled with non-Turks such as Greeks, Armenians and Assyrians as the new quota allotted to the immigrants from Turkey did not take the immigrant's ethnic group into consideration. Thus, many Greeks and Armenians born in Anatolia were regarded as "Turks" even if they lived out of Turkey. Thus, while the quota system halted Turkish migration to the United States to a considerable degree in 1924, it wiped off the Turkish immigrants' hope for reunion with their families in the United States. As a result of the quota system combined with the high level of Turkish return migration the Turkish population of Peabody markedly diminished. According to the 1930 Federal Census, only ninety-eight Turks had remained in the city. Thus, they had become a minority in the areas in which their population dominated just a few years ago. Despite a few Turkish

⁵² "Leather Plants Depend on Immigrant Labor," *The Peabody Enterprise*, April 25, 1924.

⁵³ Otis L. Graham, Jr., *Unguarded Gates: A History of America's Immigration Crisis*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 60.

coffeehouses along the Walnut Street and the Orphan Aid Society Hall in the O'Shea building on Peabody Square, the Turkish presence in Peabody visibly diminished. Thus, the areas where the Turkish population was dominating by the early 1910s turned out to be called the "Greek Areas" in the 1940s.⁵⁴ However, Turks, Greeks and the Armenians retained their cultural ties to one another for a long period. This interdependence was still present in the remaining years when just a few numbers of the Turks were residing in Peabody in the 1950s. For example, in 1949, an Armenian, Harry Kizirian and a Turk, Mahmed Mustaffa were together operating a coffeehouse on 22 Walnut Street. A few years later, in 1952, Harry Kizirian left and George Konstantin, a Greek took his place. He and Mahmed Mustaffa began operating a restaurant instead of the coffeehouse. In the same year, a Turk, Ali Hassen and and a Greek, Jas Geanoulis were running a talior's shop on 28 Walnut Street.⁵⁵

Thus, the high rate of Turkish return migration as well as the immigration restriction of 1924 had a considerable role in reducing numbers of the Turkish immigrants in the United States. However, ironically enough, one of the benefits of immigration restriction turned out to be successful and surprisingly rapid assimilation of the immigrants. The remaining Turks would be more quickly absorbed into the mainstream American society while they participated in the nation-building process and developed a stronger attachment to the homeland. As Ewa Morawska Notes, "the increasing length of the time spent in America, an upsurge of American nativism hostile to immigrants' 'alien loyalties,' and a vigorous Americanization campaign launched after the end of World War I by

⁵⁴ Acehan, "Outposts of an Empire," 95-96.

⁵⁵ City Directories of Peabody, 1949 and 1952.

U.S. government institutions and the media effectively undercut such home-bound enthusiasms among immigrants and redirected their attention to domestic issues and engagements.”⁵⁶ Although the Hungarian, Italian, Polish, and Lithuanian immigrants went through a similar process of transnationalization, which made them both involved in homeland issues and develop roots in the United States, perhaps one of the most significant challenges which would not let the Turkish immigrants redirect their attention to the American issues was the occupation of Turkey after the end of World War I and the Turkish War for Independence. Thus, the assimilation path that was taken by the Turkish immigrant had to balance homeland concerns and the domestic issues that required development of defense strategies against nativist threats. Moreover, after Turkey had severed diplomatic relations with the U.S. on April 20, 1917 (and would not be resumed until February 17, 1927), the Turkish immigrants were left without a body to take refuge in critical times. Therefore, a choice had to be made between returning or remaining and confronting a variety of hurdles to socioeconomic and political incorporation while facing the challenges of maintaining strong ties with the homeland and providing sustained economic support not only for family members but also for reconstruction of Turkey after the war. Consequently, those who remained after the high rate of return were the ones who had received relatively better education and stood higher on the socioeconomic ladder.

On November 18, 1919, having withdrawn large amounts from the banks where they had accumulated their savings, it was reported that many Turks were

⁵⁶ “Transnationalism,” Ewa Morawska, 152.

leaving Peabody. In 1920, large groups of Turks had been coming daily to Salem to buy English gold to take with them while they were returning to Turkey. It was noted that “thousand of dollars in English gold have been sold to the Turks of Peabody within the last year and large groups of them have gone back to their native land, never to return to this country.”⁵⁷ It was noted that a tax of about \$200 each would be deducted at the port of embarkation by the federal government. Those who failed to declare the full amount of their earnings would be subjected to pay a fine. In 1920, around \$10,000,000 had been gathered from the outgoing aliens “who were modest to declare the full amount of their earnings for income tax payments.”⁵⁸

However, similar to the difficulties that they had encountered while coming to the United States for the first time, the Turks had to go through several barriers as well as being subjected to exploiters. In the same year, when a considerable number of Turks were getting ready to return to the old homes, Soleman Mussa, a Turk from the Peabody’s Turkish community reported to *The Salem Evening News* that Mehomed Bey, a captain in the Turkish Army, who had been in Peabody for some time, left with \$20,000 in money belonging to the 100 Turks who were to sail for home on *Pannovia* from New York on Saturday. Mehomed Bey had been entrusted with the money and the commission to obtain tickets.⁵⁹ Several cases of exploitation had been seen among the Turkish community as the news about individuals, who had been supposed to buy tickets but did not, took a considerable place in the newspapers in 1919 and 1920.

⁵⁷ “Turks Lured Home by Prospects of Ease in Homeland,” *The Salem Evening News*, February 4, 1920.

⁵⁸ “Turks Going Home,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 18, 1919; “Millions Gathered From the Aliens Who are Leaving the Country,” *The Salem Evening News*, June 28, 1920.

⁵⁹ “Say \$20,000 Gone,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 20, 1919.

Another, and perhaps most challenging difficulty of the Turkish immigrants was the absence of the Turkish embassy in the U.S. who would provide safe-conducts which would allow the Turkish immigrants return to Turkey without confronting any difficulty. As a result, the Turks and Kurds had to pretend that they were Armenians and this fraud was carried on for a long time until it was discovered. An article titled “Peabody Man Held in Passport Plot” published in *Boston Daily Globe* on July 30, 1919. The French consul in Boston noted:

About six months ago there was a big rush of Armenians to secure “sauf conduit” [safe-conduct] and they came to my office with credentials that left no doubt as to their genuineness. First the so called Armenians, who later proved to be Turks and Kurds, secured passports from the Spanish Consul, who was looking after the interests of Turkey during the war... During the late Winter and early Spring there were but few applicants; but later they came in great numbers and made it necessary for me to retain James M.G. Fay, a linguist connected with my office, to talk after the filling out of such papers. I told him they were Armenians and were armed with perfectly proper credentials, some having been witnessed by clergymen in New York, who vouched for them... Just how the indorsement of the Armenian Committee in New York was obtained I do not know, but I suspect there must have been some collusion.⁶⁰

The Americans and Europeans could not make any distinction between a Turk, a Kurd, or an Armenian. Although there was a Turkish image in their minds, they could not tell the difference between a Greek, an Armenian, a Turk or a Kurd.

⁶⁰ “Peabody Man Held in Passport Plot,” *The Boston Globe*, July 30, 1919. Because Turkish-U.S. diplomatic relations were cut off on April 20, 1917 and were not resumed until February 17, 1927, Turkish and Kurdish immigrants who wanted to return to Turkey could not receive passports as the Turkish Ambassador to the United States was recalled.

A similar fraud case occurred during the time of Turkish Independence when Paul Asloglou,⁶¹ residing on Walnut St., Peabody was “arrested on charge of conspiring to defraud the United States by representing that certain persons were Syrians when in fact they were subjects of Turkey” until the Department of Justice agents found out about the fraud which had been going on for a long time in Boston and its vicinity. It is stated that Asloglou worked with another person in Boston who had offices in the city and circulating among the Turkish residents of Boston, Peabody, Providence, and New York, a circular bearing the information: “To all persons from Asia Minor, from Greece, the Balkans, as well as all people who speak Turkish. I am ready to get necessary aid to facilitate obtaining a passport.” The circular, which was printed in Turkish, noted that Italian, Dutch and French was spoken at the headquarters in Boston where the necessary documents were to be obtained. The purpose of the American State Department was to stop the Turks returning to the homeland with information from the United States. Below is the case of Fatta Abbas from Diyarbakır, which is a good example of how the Turkish identity could not be determined easily and the hardships of getting passports for the Turks leaving the United States for home.⁶²

One Fatta Abbas, born in Madin [most probably Maden], Diarbekir, Turkey, recently made efforts to return home. His pass was vised by the Greek consul in this city, but turned down promptly by the State Department. Four days later, he

⁶¹ Paul Asloglou had served in the U.S. Army and his discharge certificate shows that he was a merchant in Peabody and he was from Caesare [Kayseri], Turkey. He drafted on July 23, 1918 and was discharged on January 17, 1919. He owned a fruit store on 37b Walnut Street, as the Peabody City Directory of 1912 shows. He was 26 years old according to the military records of Peabody, MA. Military drafts, Peabody, MA., September 14, 1919.

⁶² “Peabody Man Held in Passport Plot: Turks Caught in Attempt to Leave U.S. Ports,” *Boston Globe*, July 30, 1919.

made a new application for safe conduct throughout the French consul with the use of credentials alleged to have been forced, in which he was born in Diarbekir, Syria. This was attested to and a picture showing a man with a bald head was substituted with a more recent picture in which the applicant, in some mysterious manner, had succeeded in raising a good growth of hair on the previously bald pate. When this case was taken up by the New York Syrian committee the applicant fell down flat, being unable to speak Syrian. . . This was signal for the French Consul General in New York to get in touch with the result that 48 Turks, who had been supplied with bogus credentials, were prevented from sailing, they having been booked for passage. Later 16 more were prevented sailing from by the activity of the Department of Justice and the Department of State.⁶³

Consequently, in 1919, A.C. Lawrence initiated an Americanization program, which assisted foreign employees in becoming American citizens. Factory classes of Americanization had been started at three plants of A.C. Lawrence, with five teachers, two afternoons per week, with around 150 pupils.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in 1920, A.C. Lawrence initiated a series of reforms in terms of living and working conditions of its employees. A factory restaurant, providing nourishing meals at cost,⁶⁵ a doctor in the factory, prescribing rules for health, an accident prevention committee, a vacation club plan, a travel club, an employees' benefit association, a pension plan, an employees' garden club, and a sports department were among these reforms to benefit the employees. These reform initiatives would also serve as examples to the other leather and shoe establishments of the North Shore. The safety first committee, which was made

⁶³ "Peabody Man Held in Passport Plot: Turks Caught in Attempt to Leave U.S. Ports," *Boston Globe*, July 30, 1919.

⁶⁴ Jan Pacak. "Information on A.C. Lawrence compiled by GPHM [George Peabody House Museum] volunteer Jan Pacak" Undated document, George Peabody House Museum Archives, Peabody; "About Town," *The Salem Evening News*, September 23, 1919.

⁶⁵ Although the food that was served in the restaurant were cheap (clam chowder for a dime, cold ham and potato salad for a quarter, steak for 40 cents, a good size piece of pie for a nickel) most probably the Turks could not take advantage of it because of the pork or ham served in the restaurant.

up by employees, tried to establish an accident prevention program with their slogan “Safety first invites happiness; carelessness brings trouble.” Also, a pension plan providing retirement for male workers at the age of 60 and females at the age of 50 was launched.⁶⁶

Moreover, by the mid-1920s, the local government had begun to recognize the right of the Turkish and Greek immigrants’ rights for playing card games and employing waitresses in the coffeehouses. In 1925, an amendment to the coffee house ordinance, which required victualler’s licenses to the coffeehouses, had been requested by the Peabody police chief. The amendment provided that “no female waiter should be employed in the coffee houses, that there should be no instrumental music in such places without consent of the police, that there should be no screens or curtains on the windows, and that there should be no card playing, dice shaking for purposes of gambling either for or without money.” However, Peabody City Councillors defeated the ordinance for coffee house control and argued that “card playing was the recreation of the people who patronized coffee houses, and they made a hobby of it.” Moreover, Councillor Boyle noted that the ordinance was “illogical and the council should start no such form of hypocrisy” as the other people in the city had also been playing cards. Another Councillor, Councillor Tumelty noted that “it was not a fair ordinance and was sectionalizing the city by saying that they could not play cards.”⁶⁷ Eventually, the ordinance was defeated by the councillors who argued against its rationality and believed it posed a danger to the unity of the city.

⁶⁶ “One way of Raising Standards,” *The Export Recorder* 5 (1920), 61.

⁶⁷ “Peabody Councilors’ Defeat Ordinance for Coffee House Control,” *The Salem Evening News*, May 15, 1925.

There were also Turkish individuals paving the way for recognition of the Turkish community as a part of the American society and curb the discriminatory practices. During World War I, American patriotism combined with jealousy over the wages that the Turkish immigrants received as a result of the wartime economic boom had contributed to a rising anti-Turkish sentiment. For example, in 1918, Peabody Police Officer Michael J. Sweeney arrested a Turk at the Peabody's Strand Theatre⁶⁸ for refusing to rise when the "Star Spangled Banner" was played. Although the Turkish immigrant was taken to the police station, the Police Chief could find no law that warranted locking up the offender but he later took the case before the United States marshal for instruction.

However, by the end of the war, the Turkish immigrants, who had been in the United States for over two decades, had begun pursuing justice and combating against prejudice and discrimination. In 1922, John Hassin and Harry Verdy intended to see a show on Strand Theatre in Peabody but were refused admittance to the reserved section by Special Officer Michael J. Sweeney, the same police officer in the previous trouble. Thus, the two local Turks of Peabody swore out a complaint against the Officer for "alleged discrimination against them." Judge Manning found Sweeney guilty in both complaints and they were filed by order of the court. The case, which became a landmark for the Turkish immigrants, attracted much attention on the North Shore and significantly reduced racial discrimination in public places. Joe Hussien, the interpreter and a

⁶⁸ Strand Theatre in Peabody was built in 1912, on Main Street. The first performance was on April 9, 1912. It had a capacity of 1,100. It had featured the latest moving pictures and vaudeville. See Wells, *The Peabody Story*, 379.

leader among the Turks, noted “the members of his race are vindicated locally by the decision made yesterday.”⁶⁹

In the years following the end of the World War I, the Peabody Turks, whose image had previously been negatively affected by the news circulating about the alleged Christian massacres in Turkey, had also begun informing the newspapers about the unreliability of the accusations. Disturbed by the news of Christian massacres in Turkey in Izmir, the Turkish immigrants of Peabody organized a mass meeting on September 18, 1922 in Leather Worker’s hall. Joseph Husien, the well-known interpreter for the Turks presided and addressed at the meeting along with the other speakers, Alli, and Hader Effendi. After a strong appeal to the Turks to raise funds for relief for the victims of the Turkish War for Independence to be distributed through the Turkish Red Crescent society,⁷⁰ they denounced the Christian massacres in Smyrna (Izmir) by Turks. It was explained that “the Turks were not guilty of such atrocities but that the stories were English propaganda to unite the Christians against the Turks to help out England in her effort to have the allies hold Constantinople against the Turks.” They noted that “when the true story was told it would be found that these reports of massacre of the Christians by the Turks were all lies.”⁷¹

Furthermore, the new Ankara government had also been disturbed about the missionaries and the reports that they provided for the newspapers, which were tales of massacres and conditions in Turkey. In 1922, the Anatolian News

⁶⁹ “Discriminated Against Turk at Theatre but Judge Files the Case,” *The Salem Evening News*, December 28, 1922.

⁷⁰ Funds raised among the Turkish immigrants for the Turkish Red Crescent were sent to the homeland through the Red Cross in U.S.

⁷¹ “Peabody Turks Deny Truth of Stories of Christian Massacre,” *The Salem Evening News*, 19 September, 1922.

Agency, mouthpiece of the Ankara government noted that the anti-Turkish propaganda had been conducted by the “American missionaries and relief workers who it alleges are attempting to bring about a war between Turkey and the United States.” The Anatolian News Agency also reminded that “the nationalist government has accorded every facility and hospitality to these people” and now their turning against Turkey was received with a great sorrow and resentment by the new government.⁷²

As a part of the fundraising process, by August 21, 1921, \$150,000 had already been raised among all the Turks and Kurds in the United States and the amount was given to the Turkish representative, Abdülhak Hüseyin, in Washington. However, only \$40,000 survived and \$10,000 was in the hands of an individual, Mr. Warren in Washington D.C. It was stated that \$30,000 would be sent to the Turkish Red Crescent Society in Turkey through Guarantee Trust Co. in Istanbul.⁷³ Turkish-American Information Bureau, located on 18 West Street, NYC, noted that through the newspapers they were informing the Turkish immigrants in the United States about the success of the Second Battle of İnönü (II. İnönü *Muharebesi*, March 26-31, 1921). They also wanted the Turkish Red Crescent Society to prepare a documentary film about the Battles of İnönü to promote raising funds for the Turkish Red Crescent Society. It was suggested the film should also include beautiful sights of Istanbul and Anatolia as well as the views of beautifully dressed ladies at homes and on the streets. The Bureau believed that the film would help the betterment of the image of Turkish society

⁷² “Turks Charge Anti-Turkish Propaganda Here,” *The Salem Evening News*, November 18, 1922.

⁷³ See Appendix D. What happened to \$110,000 is not explained in the letter, which is written by the Turkish-American Information Bureau in New York City to the Turkish Red Crescent Society in Istanbul.

among the American people. Moreover, the Bureau would contribute to the film in all ways possible and wanted the film rolls to be mailed to the Turkish-American Information Bureau in New York City.⁷⁴

Furthermore, in 1923, Dr. Mehmed Fuad, the founder of *Himaye-i Etfal*, a society that was established in 1921 to provide orphanages to children of the deceased soldiers in the Turkish War for Independence, had begun visiting many of the Turkish colonies in the United States, giving lectures and raising a considerable amount of money for the establishment of orphanages in Turkey. He visited the Turkish colonies in Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and many Turkish and Kurdish workers residing there donated all and their life savings to support the construction of orphanages and the reconstruction of the country. Dr. Mehmed Fuad (Umay)'s visit to Peabody aroused great excitement among the Turkish and Kurdish immigrants. It was one of the chances for the Turkish immigrants to manifest their national pride, attachment to the homeland, but at the same time their socioeconomic achievement evidenced with the arrival of Mehmed Fuad in Peabody "in an auto decorated with a large American flag and followed by a dozen autos filled with Turks, the machines decorated with American and Turkish flags." A day before his arrival, the Turks refrained from work and "went around with badges in honor of his coming."⁷⁵

Although Mehmed Fuad claimed that there were around 600 Turks when he visited Peabody in 1923, the newspaper article on Fuad's visit to Peabody noted that there were 240 Turks in Peabody. Despite their small number, they

⁷⁴ "Istanbul'da Hilâl-i Ahmer Cemiyeti Müdirriyet-i Umumiyesine," No. 839, August 21, 1921. The Turkish Red Crescent Society Archives.

⁷⁵ "Dr. Fuad Bey, Noted Turk, on Mission Here," *The Salem Evening News*, April 24, 1923.

had established the Red Crescent society. The next day, after being shown some of the tanneries in Peabody and Salem, Fuad gave an address to the Turks and Kurds in Peabody Institute. The scene was described as:

All the Turks in town were present. They made much of the doctor's coming, many of them taking a day off. They wore badges in his honor and displayed in front of the Institute the American and Turkish flags. Much enthusiasm prevailed. Baskets of roses were carried down the aisles and the flowers were bought at any price, bunches of money being put in the baskets. It was said that \$8000 was raised among the Turks of this city for Dr. Bey to take back with him.⁷⁶

Fuad Bey visited Peabody for a second time on August 14, 1925, as he came for the National Conference of Social workers held in Denver, Colorado in June, 1925. When he had arrived Massachusetts, he was met by a delegation of Turkish people from Peabody and was escorted to the Moose Hall in Peabody to deliver an address. When interviewed by *The Salem Evening News*, Fuad Bey noted that American people were "more friendly towards the Turkish people." He gave an example of an American Senator, William H. King from Utah, who was visiting Turkey at that time. The Senator's ideas before leaving this country were rather unfavorable" but he had changed his old opinion as was proved by his statements he had made to the Turkish papers during his visit. Fuad Bey concluded his interview by noting "as the time passes, the American people will be even more friendly toward the Turkish people."⁷⁷ Mehmet Fuad's two visits to the Turkish community in Peabody had contributed maintaining a better image

⁷⁶ "Turks Contribute \$8000," April 25, 1923.

⁷⁷ "Turkish Official Registered at the Hawthorne Hotel," *The Salem Evening News*, August 14, 1925.

of the Turkish society in the city by showing enthusiasm over their homeland while manifesting their concern over becoming part of the American society. Moreover, Mehmed Fuad's interview with *The Salem Evening News* and his expression of his faith in the prospect of better Turkish and American international and intergroup relations based on trust and cooperation enhanced the Turkish immigrants' individual and collective self-esteem and weakened the preexisting negative views about the Turkish immigrants.

Even the depiction of the Turkish people in the newspapers had considerably changed by the time Fuad arrived Peabody. Regarding Fuad's second visit to Peabody, it was noted:

The meeting of the Turkish residents of this city held in the City hall for the purpose of raising funds for welfare work among Turkish children, Sunday afternoon, was a huge success financially and a total amount of \$6960 was raised for this purpose. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Fuad Bey of Constantinople, who is in this country to secure financial assistance for the work done in his native land. There were about 160 present and the donations ranged from \$5 to \$260 or an average contribution of \$43.50 per person from those who attended the meeting. The affair typifies the liberality of the men of that race in this city and is conclusive evidence that the men of that race in this city are industrious and thrifty.⁷⁸

The fund raising had been done under the supervision of Joe Hussien, the Turkish spokesperson, who was a resident of Peabody for many years and well known there. The Turks, who had long been criticized for their channeling money to the homeland and intending to return, turned out to be described as "industrious and thrifty" by 1925 which indicates a better image of the Turks as well as better relations with the rest of Peabody's community.

⁷⁸ "Turkish Funds Raised," *The Salem evening News*, August 18, 1925.

Another indicator of Turkish assimilation was the rising numbers of the Turkish immigrants with English-language ability. Because of the fact that a vast majority of workers employed in the beamhouses were composed of Turkish and Greek immigrants, the ethnic enclaves had constrained development of English-language skills. The census records of the Turks registered in Peabody, which turned out to be 351 in 1910, although the actual numbers were far beyond that number as was discussed before, showed that the percentage of the Turks who could speak English was just 1% of the total. However, in 1920, those who could speak English had increased considerably and reached 64% of the total 280 Turkish immigrants registered in the census.⁷⁹

For the first time in 1929, The Peabody Institute acquired five sets of foreign language books in Turkish, Portuguese and Arabic from the Foreign Department of the State Division of Public Libraries. The books had been circulated from the regular adult room and were for the free use of Peabody residents. These books were to help the “foreign language using person to learn about America, to show him how to become a good citizen, as well as entertaining stories.” The books could also be borrowed for home use. The library slogan for the books became “At the same time that you read English, read also books in the language you knew first. A knowledge of two languages and the two literatures adds to your culture as an American citizen.”⁸⁰ Acquisition of books in Turkish by the Peabody Institute was the earliest attempt of the city government for integration of the remaining Turkish immigrants.

⁷⁹ See Acehan, “Outposts of an Empire,” 63-66.

⁸⁰ “Foreign Language Books,” *The Salem Evening News*, February 15, 1929.

6.6. Later Years and Turkish-American Marriages

Regarding the Italian return migration, Richard Alba concluded, “the shutting off the immigrant flow made clear to the second and third generations that their future lay in the new society.” Although the Turkish immigrants would produce just a few offspring, their going out of the limits of Walnut Street and the coffeehouse, would result in a gradual assimilation for the remaining Turks in Peabody and its vicinity. Many of the immigrant groups, the so-called “new immigrants” who had experienced a considerable reduction in size, would go through the a rapid assimilation as “the squalid ghettos of the turn of the century thinned out, and the New Immigrants and their children moved rapidly toward the mainstream of American society.”⁸¹ Thus, large numbers of Turkish return migration would eventually start the process of a rapid assimilation. The married Turks would either move to the other sections of the city where the other families resided, or to nearby cities such as Salem and Lynn.

Return of a vast majority of the Turks with the end World War I and the remaining many of whom with the intention to stay in the United States had resulted in a rapid assimilation process. Moreover, a final decision to stay had been manifested by a few Turkish immigrants, such as George [Yakub] Ahmed, Baker Abraham, Frank Rushde, Mehmed Kako, and Husseyin Suliman who married to first and second generation of Irish, French-Canadian, Italian women and Lebanese. Available 1930 Federal Census records indicate that four Turkish immigrants married in the United States. One of the wives was a second

⁸¹ Graham, *Unguarded Gates*, 60.

generation French-Canadian, who was born in Rhode Island. Another was a second generation Syrian and was born in Massachusetts. The third and the fourth one were both second generation English, one of whom was from Rhode Island and the other from Massachusetts.⁸²

Although there were just a few Turkish-American marriages, these marriages had a considerable effect on the process Turkish incorporation into the host society and culture. Frank Ahmed notes that the “open-house” policy of the Turks, although would sometimes lead into conflict between the Turks and their American wives, it would contribute to the expansion of the Turkish society in Peabody. He remembers back in the 1930s, “it seemed there were always four or five Turks playing backgammon under the shade of the grape arbor in our front yard.” As children, they were bringing food and coffee to the thirsty gamblers.” It was “a bit coffeehouse atmosphere” that was moved to the homes of the married Turks. Although the American brides were not always happy about their husbands’ foreign-speaking friends, in this way, the children had acquired uncles. Ahmed concludes that “the Turkish community had expanded from the confines of Walnut Street in Peabody to the residential areas of Salem, and Lynn.”⁸³ Consequently, the Turkish-American marriages would not only help to the assimilation of the married Turks, it would also greatly contribute to the incorporation of the singles as a result of the shift of space from the limits of Walnut Street.

After the large numbers of Turks had returned, integration of the Turks into Peabody’s community accelerated both with the Turkish-American

⁸² Acehan, “Outposts of an Empire,” 57.

⁸³ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 55.

marriages, which is regarded as one of the most crucial elements of assimilation, as well as their becoming more and more a part of the society. Many of the remaining Turks were those who had decided to remain in the U.S. although there were those who always had intention of returning to homeland. As the number of Turkish immigrants decreased considerably, and most of the remaining were those who were eager to succeed in their adopted country, their incorporation into the community had become easier. Moreover, the remaining Turks were more educated or eager to receive education in the evening schools designed for the immigrants. By the mid-1920s, *The Peabody Enterprise* began listing the names of Peabody's immigrants who were receiving education in the evening schools. There was a considerable rise in the number of Turkish immigrants who attended the evening schools.

One of the Turks, who married a Turkish Jew, was Uncle Mehmet, as was referred to by Frank Ahmed. Frank Ahmed was a regular visitor of Uncle Mehmet who "had the most Turkish home" outside of Turkey with Ataturk's pictures as well as the Turkish newspapers of several weeks old, and the sofas along the walls covered with Turkish fabrics and carpets. Frank Ahmed notes that Uncle Mehmet "was a wonderful storyteller and among the stories he told were Greek Classics." Ahmed realized this fact when he was introduced to the Greek classics in High School. He knew the stories because he had "learned of them at the knee of this large, tough, Anatolian story teller." Uncle Mehmet could read and write in Arabic as well as in Turkish. However, he had trouble

with reading newspapers from Turkey which were written in Latin Script after the founding the Republic of Turkey.⁸⁴

The offspring of the Turkish-American marriages was a small minority where the children would call one another “cousins.” Moreover, children would be considered by the single Turks as their own nephews or nieces. Eileen Masiello, the daughter of Husseyin Suliman, remembers her uncle Mamed Suliman, “Uncle Mike,” and many other Turkish uncles, who took care of her when she was with her father.⁸⁵ Frank Ahmed relates the story of his departure to Fort Devens in 1943, during the course of World War II, for training and active duty just before his graduation from high school. All of his friends had agreed that they would say their farewells to families and friends at home as they didn’t want any tearful farewells at the railroad station. Thus, he said goodbye to his mother, sister, and brother but his father, George Ahmed, had disappeared earlier. Frank Ahmed thought that “he just could not face up to a good-bye.” He related the story as:

On the platform inside the station, I found my father and thirty seven of his Turkish friends. They were there to see me off to my military service in the traditional Anatolian manner. Military service was very natural to these men; it was unthinkable for a healthy Turk not to meet his military obligation, historically this was for a period of at least two years. Members of the village would go with the support of the villagers ringing in his ears. I was entitled to the same respect; I received it a bit more. I remember being embarrassed because all the other inductees had at the most two people to send them off. There I stood with my hardy band of Turks, each offering me his hand, money, and fruit. With my destination but thirty

⁸⁴ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 53.

⁸⁵ Masiello, interview.

five miles away, I boarded the train with two large shopping bags and food and a fistful of money.⁸⁶

This was the Turkish way of showing their respect to the young people who had honored them with their service in the military. Military service, whether in the Turkish or American army, had made them proud of one of their friends' sons. All the Turks, who came for farewell to Frank Ahmed, had taken time off from work and sacrificed a few hours of pay. Ahmed notes, "they had a code of honor that more than compensated for their broken English or lack of understanding of some of the social norms of their American or European neighbors."⁸⁷

The single and married Turks, who remained in Peabody and its vicinity, usually took up other jobs or started businesses of their own, which is another indicator of a gradual assimilation in the United States. Some Turks were successful and eventually became independent entrepreneurs. One of those individuals from Tunceli [Dersim], Hozat, who made Peabody his home until his death on November 8, 1959, was Ismail Hussen. After working for many years as a leather worker, he acquired a restaurant and opened Paradise Café on Walnut Street in the early 1940s. In 1958, a year before his death, Peabody's Chief of Police, John J. Purcell, had issued a permit for Hussen "to carry a pistol or revolver for a period of years." It was noted in the license that "the permit was issued to Mr. Hussen for the protection of life and property since he has been a reputable businessman in this city for a number of years." Thus, because of his business, he had been "required to carry large sums of money and the possession

⁸⁶ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 54.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

of firearms and the licence to carry the same essential to his life preservation.”⁸⁸ Instead of Turkish coffee houses, he had opened European style cafés, which is an indicator of the Turks’ and Kurds’ leaving behind their old world traits and obsession with the coffee houses by the 1940s while opening up Walnut Street by making it a street which can be visited by the other individuals of the city. When Ismail Hussen died because of coronary occlusion, he was single and was residing at 65 Main Street, Peabody.⁸⁹ The 1957 City Directory of Peabody shows that he was residing at Savoy Hotel at the time of his death. His body was prepared for burial in F.L. Conway & Sons and was sent to Turkey by his uncle, Ismail Sulliman, who also resided in Peabody at the time. Eventually, Ismail Sulliman arrived in Turkey in a coffin and was buried in Elazığ.⁹⁰

There were other entrepreneur Turks who invested in small restaurants, barber shops, and grocery stores. One of them, Mr. Husani, opened a soap factory in Worcester, Massachusetts. Their outright entrance into the business world required first to remain in the area which was populated by Turks for the purpose of ensuring the potential customer as well as companionship. However, as Frank Ahmed notes, “as they made money and felt more secure, they moved further and further away from that area close to the factories.”⁹¹

Another Turkish leather worker, Frank Rushde, remained and married to an American woman of French Canadian heritage, learned to cut hair and opened a barber shop on Main and Washington Streets, Peabody. Frank Ahmed notes

⁸⁸ Police Department, City of Peabody, “Permit to Carry a Pistol for Ismail Hussen,” October 14, 1958.

⁸⁹ The Commonwealth of Massachusetts-Division of Vital Statistics, “Permit for Transportation of Corpse,” November 9, 1959.

⁹⁰ Edward J. Cronin, Secretary of the Commonwealth. “Official Burial (or Removal) Permit for Ismail Hussen,” October 14, 1958.

⁹¹ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 102.

that he “had one of the largest and most varied contacts with the community of the most Turks.”⁹² Besides Rushde’s contacts of Turks in Massachusetts, he had good relations with the rest of the community in Peabody. Chester Dlugokinski, who spent his entire youth in Peabody, notes: “Frank was always looking out his window for those young men with their zoot suit haircuts that he said he would cut free of charge. I had mine cut just before I walked to city hall to catch a bus to Fort Devens during the Korean War.”⁹³ For Frank Rushde, offering haircuts free of charge was a Turkish way of showing his concern for the young people of the town; that was the way of their involvement in the American society. Thus, while the Turks had been changed and could better understand the society in which they were living, they had also contributed to the society in their Turkish way. In return, the society in which they lived had developed an understanding of the Turkish immigrants to a certain degree. Thus by the late 1930s and early 1940s, a mutual understanding among the Turks and Peabody’s community had been growing. However, because of the language barrier as well as the lack of large numbers of Turkish-American families, their integration into the society was not fully achieved. Chet Dlugokinski notes that his father had worked in various leather factories with the single Turks and he considered them “lonely but friendly.”⁹⁴ Thus, although they were very verbal within their immediate Turkish community, they were silent among the Americans because a considerable number of the Turks never completely learned English and maintained their Turkish language for a long time.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹³ Dlugokinski, e-mail message. Zoot Suit hair is a long hairstyle which used to be popular among the young American males in the 1960’s.

⁹⁴ Dlugokinski, e-mail message.

In the late 1930s, the Red Crescent Society in Peabody, the “Anatolian Club” in other words, had become the gathering place for the Turkish immigrants in Peabody, Lynn, Salem and nearby areas. They would come at least once a week for meetings and prayers. The Anatolian Club, which also had been established in Chicago, Detroit, New York, and Worcester, became a device for Turkish transnationalism in their later years in the United States. It was where funds were raised to be sent to Turkey through the Red Cross, who turned it over to the Red Crescent. According to the American Red Cross, the sum of \$3,500 was forwarded to Turkey for the victim of flood in Adana on December 17, 1930. For the Erzincan earthquake victims in December 1939, over 10,000 canvasses for tents and 25,000 blankets as well as a large amount of medical supplies were dispatched to Turkey.⁹⁵

The Turkish transnational activities became also instrumental in showing the old home the immigrants’ success as well as their continuing concern for their homeland. Frank Ahmed recalls in 1939 sitting with the Turks and a representative of the General Electric Corporation for contemplation over the purchase of an iron lung to be sent to Elazığ. The Turks in Peabody and Salem had paid in cash for the iron lung and the shipping expenses for Elazığ. When he asked “why an iron lung and not other types of medical supplies?” the reply was that “Turkey does not have an iron lung, not one in the entire country, that’s why!” Then, Ahmed concluded that “these Turks living on the North Shore of Massachusetts wanted to send a positive message of their interest and success to Turkey.” The message was “we have not forgotten you, do not forget us.”

⁹⁵ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 59.

Sending an iron lung was a way “to show that they were still Turks and very much cared for Turkey but, nevertheless, had done well in the United States.”⁹⁶

The Turkish picnics, which were held on the North Shore and received large numbers of participation by several single and married Turks and their families from all over New England, was both a recreation and an transnational activity for raising funds for Turkey. Every group had a turn to host the picnics, and the Peabody Turkish community’s place to host was Topsfield, Massachusetts. When the busses, which brought the Turks to the picnics to the picnic area, arrived with horns blaring, the other Turks would greet them by dancing. The Turks would race for the Turkish and American flags that were driven onto the ground where the dancing would place. There would be some American food, but mostly Turkish dishes were served: a variety of lamb dishes, rice and bulgur pilaf, salads, mountains of breads and pastries as well as watermelon and fruits.⁹⁷ Chet Dlugokinski , who was a friend of the Turkish barber Frank Rushde’s son, remembers various dances of Turks, and notes: “I will never forget the first lamb’s head I saw in large pot of boiling water which was a favorite delicatessen besides homemade yogurt.” He remembers that the “Turkish men were very kind to young boys that were friendly with young Turkish boys and always had coins in their hand with a smile, even though they very seldom said much.”⁹⁸

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁹⁷ Ahmed, *Turks in America*, 61.

⁹⁸ Dlugokinski, e-mail message.

6.7. Conclusion

The Turkish immigrants on the North Shore participated in the formation of the Turkish national identity in the United States. Yet while they transformed into transnationals, they tended to adapt to American life and change in the new context. Dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of the nationalism had a profound impact in the Turkish immigrants' experiences and the process of assimilation in the United States. Moreover, World War I and a growing anti-Turkish sentiment considerably broadened the gap between the Turkish community and the host society on the North Shore. Eventually, a growing Turkish nationalism combined with the social exclusion and discrimination led to an increasing homeland loyalty among the Turkish immigrants. Moreover, because of the Turkish War for Independence in the aftermath of the war sustained an extensive involvement in the homeland affairs and an increasing transnational activism.

Although a vast majority of the Turkish immigrants did not become American citizens, there are a few examples of naturalization, such as Frank Ahmed, who became an American citizen after he had served in the American army during World War I. In the later years, due to the relatively higher levels of socioeconomic attainment as a result of being promoted to high-status jobs in the leather factories and/or becoming business owners, economic as well as cultural incorporation of the Turkish immigrants into American society was observed. Moreover, the end of spatial segregation in the town and in the leather factories combined with the rising numbers of Turkish-American marriages eventually led

to blurred cultural and group boundaries and promoted assimilation into the mainstream.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The leather and shoe industries not only shaped the society, but they were also determinant factors in socioeconomic incorporation of the immigrants. Thus, the rise of the factory towns and concentration of particular businesses in particular areas determined the ethnic fabric of the society inhabiting these towns and cities as well as the social relations by leading to spatial segregation of certain ethnically, racially or culturally bound groups and formations of immigrant clusters. Moreover, the densely industrial area facilitated mobility of the workers to search for employment in the adjacent towns or cities while residing in a particular ethnic neighborhood. In turn, the industrial North Shore conferred a number of advantages and employment opportunities to the immigrants in times of unemployment and fostered the arrival of new immigrants into the area through existing networks. In this dissertation, the leather industry, the foremost “pull” factor for the Turkish immigrants is examined not individually but with its relation to the other leather-related

businesses to illustrate its success and longevity on the North Shore and its impact on the community life.

The early Ottoman immigrants in the United States were not ethnically, but locally, regionally and culturally bound groups. Thus, the trajectories of the immigrants as well as the destinations and settlement patterns were determined by a variety of group boundaries. Military draft cards of the Ottoman immigrants from a particular region, which in this case is Harput, reveals the fact that the immigrant networks were highly responsible for the stimulation of emigration from the Ottoman lands and the immigrants' destinations. Thus, the region where they came from determined their employment links as well as settlement patterns within the United States. However, during the time spent in the U.S., regional identification sometimes waned. Some groups emerged as specific sub-regional, sub-Ottoman communities while others did not. Beginning from the early twentieth century, the Middle Eastern immigrants in the United States faced the challenges of the world they left behind by defining, redefining and defending their identities as well as their ethnic and political affiliations. In many instances the manner in which American officialdom saw and categorized them served to unravel regional identities.

Although the family and social networks facilitate the process of immigration, they may sometimes become problematical by constraining the immigrants into the particular occupational opportunities that the network can offer and ethnic enclaves for a long period of time and slowing down the process of acculturation and assimilation. Thus, as it was argued in the third chapter, the Turkish immigrants on the North Shore were stigmatized by the beamhouse work, which in turn led to their being a relatively disadvantaged group and

remarkably slowed down their process of assimilation into the American mainstream.

As Richard Alba and Victor Nee argue in their extensive study, assimilation is “a direction rather than an end state that has already been attained.” They note:

Assimilation refers to the results of long-term processes that have gradually whittled away the social foundations for ethnic distinctions: diminishing cultural differences that serve to signal ethnic membership to others and to sustain ethnic solidarity; bringing about a rough parity of life chances to attain socioeconomic goods such as educational credentials and remunerative jobs while loosening the attachment of ethnicity to specific economic niches; shifting residence away from central-city ethnic neighborhoods to ethnically mixed suburbs and urban neighborhoods; and finally, fostering relatively easy social intercourse across ethnic lines, resulting ultimately in high rates of ethnic intermarriage and mixed ancestry.¹

Following the pattern of assimilation argued by Alba and Nee, this dissertation approached the Turkish migration phenomenon beginning from their transition from Turkey to the United States, their transplantation into the American soil, and the process of their adaptation to the host community. Furthermore, with an approach of examining the migration not to an area but to an industry, this dissertation uncovered the rise and growth of the leather industry on the North Shore where it became a magnet for the immigrants from the Near East as well as Southern and Eastern Europe. This dissertation evaluated the leather industry and its impact on the Turkish immigrant life in the United States. Besides the disadvantages of the occupational patterns among the Turkish immigrants, as was argued in the third chapter, racial stereotyping and public prejudice against the Turks in the United States combined with the rising hostility during World

¹ Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, 70-71.

War I also seriously damaged the prospect of an established Turkish community in the United States. Moreover, the third chapter proved that although Turkish immigrants did not actively participate in the local and national politics, their labor activism took a variety of forms including strikes and organization of the Local No.1. Despite their rural background and lack of training, Turkish achieved considerable success in the leather industry.

This study also demonstrated a variety of factors in the formation of a Turkish national identity in the U.S. and the rise of nationalism reflecting the old home developments a few years before the fall of the Ottoman Empire and during the transition to modern Turkey. Chapter five, for example, showed that the Turkish government was not indifferent to the Turkish immigrants in the United States. Through the governmental figures and agencies, the Turkish immigrants were nationalized while the Turkish image in the United States was improved.

This dissertation was an endeavor to bring about a new dimension to the studies of Turkish diaspora with its approach to the Turkish immigrants from a transnational perspective. Although in the in the 1990s transnationalization of the immigrants has been added to the research agenda in immigration studies, the Turkish immigrants' transnationalization while adapting to life in the U.S. is still an understudied subject. Thus, if we take the indicators of assimilation, such as ethnic boundary crossing and blurring, interethnic marriages, the adoption of English, and a loosening attachment of ethnicity, it is can easily be concluded that the Turkish immigrants went through a process of assimilation. However, due to the fact that assimilation theories are not measuring devices that will allow one to decide at a glance whether a particular group assimilated or not, in

this dissertation assimilation trajectories particular to the Turkish immigrants were also examined.

Moreover, the rising ethnic and religious consciousness among the Turkish immigrants of the North Shore and the nation-building process during their adaptation and acculturation in the U.S. was also one of the subjects explored in this dissertation. Collective and individual transnational activities, such as long-distance management of the farms and households, raising funds for special purposes and channeling remittances to the homeland had been carried out by the Turkish immigrants for a long period of time. For example, Eileen Masiello related the story about one of the letters that reached her father in Peabody in the 1940s. The letter was telling her father that “the cows are sick.” Thus, through letters and sometimes individuals going back and forth created the web of information that allowed them to manage the issues they left behind involve in the old home affairs. Moreover, transnational engagements of the Turkish immigrants had been consistently kept alive by the Turkish government and the political elite as well as the individual leaders among the Turkish immigrant community on the North Shore.

Finally, the approach to the coffeehouse as a transnational device and the center of cross-border social engagements was discussed extensively. Although there are a number of studies on the Ottoman immigrant communities in the United States which mention the existence of the coffeehouse in the immigrant neighborhoods, many of them underestimate the importance of the coffeehouse as a vital institution in the lives of the immigrants. For example, Alixa Naff’s pioneering study on the Syrian immigrants in the United States or Sarah M.A. Gualtieri’s study on the Syrian American *Mahjar* (diaspora) and the Syrian

transnationalism approach the Syrian coffeehouse just as a social institution.² However, as was discussed in the fourth chapter, the coffeehouse, upon its transplantation onto the American soil, went through a process of adaptation and begun to function in a variety different ways. Although Barbara Bilgé had mentioned some of the activities carried on in the coffeehouses of the Turkish community of Detroit, this dissertation evidenced that the coffeehouse was not only an institution of civic and social activities, but also it played a major role in shaping the Turkish identity by fostering and sustaining the immigrants' involvement into homeland affairs.³ However, as has been demonstrated in this dissertation, the Turkish coffeehouses had been subjected to opposition and scrutiny by the governmental agencies because of its association with crime, the undesirable immigrants and labor unrest. Both in the Ottoman and U.S. contexts, the coffeehouse was a venue for economic and social activities, and sometimes spheres of resistance and opposition.

Besides being the first interdisciplinary study on the early Turkish immigrants in the United States, this dissertation can also being a new dimension to the hotly debated issues concerning the Turkish and other Muslim immigrants in Europe and the United States. Thus, this study hopes to provide groundwork for a comparison between the Turkish immigrants in Europe and in the United States.

² See Naff, *Becoming American*; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*.

³ Bilgé, "Voluntary Associations," 381-406.

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APPENDIX A

MILITARY DRAFTS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS IN PEABODY, 1917

Name in full	Age in Years	Date of Birth	Are you (1) a natural-born citizen, (2) a naturalized citizen, (3) an alien, (4) or have you declared your intention (specify which)?	Where were you born?	If not a citizen, of what nation are you a citizen or subject?	What is your present trade, occupation, or office?	By whom employed? Where employed?	Have you a father, mother, wife, child under 12, or a sister or brother under 12, solely dependent on your for support (specify which)?	Married or single (which)?	Race (specify which)?
Abas Husen	24	1893	Alien	Diarbak er, Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	Cook, Peabody	Wife, Child	Married	Mongolian
Abdolha Mahmad	26	1891	Alien	Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife, child	Married	Mongolian
Abdula Mahmad	31	1886	Alien	Turkey	Turkey	Salesman	Escoijan Jewelry Co.	Father, Brother	Single	Mongolian
Abdula Rasid	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot , Turkey	Turkey	Leather worker	? Salem		Single	Mongolian
Abos Allie	21	1896	Alien	Hozat, Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	Armor Leather Co., Peabody	None	Single	Mongolian
Abraham Mostafa	21	1896	Alien	Neisash at, Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co., Peabody Mass.	Wife (in Turkey)	Married	Mongolian
Abraham Mustafa	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot , Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co., Peabody	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Abraham Sherkit	27	1890	Alien	Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	?	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Ibrahim Jemal	23	1894	Alien	Diarbac ker, Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	Rankin Leather, Peabody	No	Single	Mongolian
Ahmad Mamed	28	1889	Alien	Karport, Turkey	Turkey	Laborer	Arlington Mills, Lawrence, Mass	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Ahmed Allie	28	1889	Alien	Harpot, Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co., Peabody	Two brothers	Single	Mongolian
Ahmed Manlood Effendy	30	1887	Alien	Turkey	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co., Peabody	No	Single	Mongolian
Ahmed Mohamed	25	1892	Alien	Harpot,	Turkey	Laborer	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Ahmet Alli	21	1896	Alien	Van	Turkey	Leather Worker	George Vaughn	None	Single	Mongolian
Ahmet Alli	24	1893	Alien	Harpot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co,	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Ahmet Hassan	27	1890	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife Theree Children	Married	Mongolian
Albert Perch	22	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Shoemaker	Gass & Daley	None	Single	Mongolian

Albert Tarzian	30	1886	Alien	Arabqir	Turkey			Mother and sister	Single	Caucasian
Alli Osman	25	1892	Alien	Diarbaker	Turkey	Laborer	Mark Kelly Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Alli Hassan	26	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Ali Mustafa	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and a child	Married	Mongolian
Ali Riza	30	1887	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker		Wife, 2 Children and mother	Married	Mongolian
Allie Ahmat	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Father, mother, wife, and children	Married	Mongolian
Ali Hassan	26	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Zaza Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Ali Hassan	25	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Alli Ahmit	25	1891	Alien		Asia Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Alli Amet	26	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife and a child	Married	Mongolian
Alli Bogolu	23	1894	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and a child	Married	Mongolian
Alli Faik	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Farmer	Daniel Harrigan	None	Single	Mongolian
Alli Hassan	30	1886	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker		Mother, wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Alli Hassan	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	Abdullah Baker	Single	Mongolian
Alli Hassan	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and Children	Married	Mongolian
Alli Hassan	29	1888	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	None	Single	Mongolian
Alli Hassan	27	1890	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	L.B. Southwick	Father	Single	Mongolian
Alli Mahmed	26	1891	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother and sister	Single	Mongolian
Alli Mistafa	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Alli Noman	21	1896	Alien	Diarbaker Asia Monor	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Allie Hassan	22	1896	Alien	Astaina	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Allie Mamad	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Worker	Richard Young Co.	Hamad Mamad	No	Mongolian
Allie Mustafa	27	1890	Alien	Kozat Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Allie Ramazan	29	1888	Alien		Turkey	Not Employed		Mother and sister	Single	Mongolian
Allie Sulliman	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Sulliman Tahir	Single	Mongolian
Allie Gelliz	23	1897	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Alli Hayder	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot Hozat	Turkey	Baker	Own business	None	Single	Mongolian
Ally Hoseon	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Alli Sadik	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Assad Mammad	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Baker Ahmed	29	1888	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	None	Single	Mongolian
Baker Saly	21	1897	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mamad Mahomet	Single	Mongolian
Baker Fatta	23	1894	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Bakir Thaer	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Baroo Hassen	21	1896	Alien	Maggerd	Turkey	Leather Worker	Unemployed	None	Single	Mongolian
Botish Amet	24	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Cale Hasan	28	1889	Alien		Turkey	Waiter		None	Single	Mongolian
Charles Mahamet	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Unemployed	None	Married	Mongolian
Codo Mamet	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian

Dervish Housein	21	1896	Alien	Diabaker	Turkey	Leather Worker	Levead & Conway	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Dada Doogan	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife, children and parents	Single	Mongolian
Dursan Mustafa	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mustafa/Father	Single	Mongolian
Dgemal Huder	25	1892	Alien	Constantinople	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Allie Eriza	22	1896	Alien	Constantinople	Turkey	Leather worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Ebrahim Hassen	25	1892	Alien	Diabaker	Turkey	Laborer		Mamed	Single	Mongolian
Ebrahim Solomon	30	1887	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Ebrahim Souliman	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mother and sister	Single	Mongolian
Effendy Housein	23	1894	Alien	Keri	Turkey	Leather Worker		Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Email Mahmut	24	1893	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker		Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Esmali Mamad	25	1892	Alien	Golusha g	Turkey	Cook	Soman Coffeeshouse	Mother and father	Single	Mongolian
Essel Memed	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife and a child	Married	Mongolian
Kemeh Sheris	21	1896	Alien	Diabaker	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Galabe Ally	22	1895	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Mother, wife, children	Married	Mongolian
Gaya Mahmad	30	1887	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Geiod Sketchon	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
George Aharon	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey			Mother	Single	Mongolian
Dgemal Hassan	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Hafiz Hassan	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Halil Hatta	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Hallie Rashid	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Hamad Dulla	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calskin Co.	Wife and child 3 years old	Married	Mongolian
Hamas Mustafa	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Hambak Osman	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Sick		Father, mother, wife	Married	Mongolian
Hassan Hunlock	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Hassan Osman	26	1891	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mother and sister	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Abram	27	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Ale	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Barber	George Milones	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Hassan Aslam	23	1894	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Carr Leather Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Baglash	28	1889	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Hassan Esmail	29	1888	Alien	Halliglo u	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Halil	27	1890	Alien	Kozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Hussein	23	1894	Alien	Marash	Turkey	Barber		Mother	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Hussan	28	1889	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Father, mother, sister	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Hussin	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Hussin	21	1896	Alien	Diabaker	Turkey	Chef		None	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Ismael	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Mehmet	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and child	Married	Caucasian
Hassan Mahmoud	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Yes	Married	Mongolian

Hassan Mustaffa	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Yes	Married	Mongolian
Hassan John	22	1895	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Suliman	22	1895	Alien	Hozat	Turkey			Wife and children	Married	
Hassan Ucean	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Hassan Usiff	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother and father	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Zelfo	23	1894	Alien	Diarbaker	Turkey	Leather Worker	Carr Lea.Co.	Father, mother and wife	Married	Mongolian
Hassane Hassin	23	1894	Alien	Diarbaker	Turkey	Leather Worker	Lemure and Conway	None	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Mamid	27	1890	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Mother, wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Hassin Mamet	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Hassen Mohamed	21	1897	Alien	Diarbaker	Turkey	Leather Worker		Tamer Abraham	Single	Mongolian
Hassan Mustafa	24	1893	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Hassin Ismail	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Not employed	None	Single	Mongolian
Hassin Usup	24	1893	Alien	Diarbaker	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	Father and wife	Married	Mongolian
Haydov Hassan	22	1895	Alien	Hagale	Turkey	Leather Worker	James F. Ingraham	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Heder Ismail	25	1892	Alien	Peri Asia Minor	Turkey			Wife, father and mother	Married	Mongolian
Heder Mamad	23	1894	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Unemployed	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Heder Oglu Mehmed	21	1897	Alien	Hozat. Mal-Aziz	Turkey		Unemployed	Ismail Molla	Single	Mongolian
Kedir Amid	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather worker	B. E. Carr Lea. Co.	Ahmet Jemal	Single	
Keder Hassan	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Young Lea. Co.	Father, mother, children	Married	Mongolian
Hoosohn Abdurramion	24	1893	Alien	Perdig	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father, wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Hussein Ale	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Kurda Abby	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Lea. Co.	Mother and wife	Married	Mongolian
Huder Dguma	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Vaughn Leather Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Hullel Kamber	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Husihem Aedder	28	1888	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Hussin Firkat	21	1897	Alien	Chemis hgezak	Turkey	Leather Worker	Mat Lea. Co.	Abraham Mustaffa	Single	
Hussin Hader	28	1889	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Willows Road	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Ibish Hassan	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Essex Tanning Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Ibnim Hassan	30	1887	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker		Mother	Single	Mongolian
Ibrahim Mahall	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Mother and wife	Married	Mongolian
Ibrahim Shusin	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Clerk	Fruit store	None	Married	Mongolian
Ismail Hassar	27	1890	Alien	Folleu	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father, mother and wife	Married	Mongolian
Ismail Mistafo	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Ismail Monjor	22	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Laborer	Counter Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Ismail Osman	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	B.E. Carr Leather Co.	Father, mother, sister and brother	Single	Mongolian
Ismail Rashed	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Leather Co.	Ismail Rached	Single	Mongolian
Ismal Ahmont	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian

Ismile Suleiman	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Boston Leather Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Jaffer Mistofhia	25	1892	Alien	Diarbaker	Turkey	Leather Worker	B.E. Carr Leather Co.	Wife and brother in Turkey	Married	Mongolian
Jamal Asdiyev	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
James Mammet	23	1894	Alien		Turkey	None	None	None	Single	
Jenial Mustafa	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Father, mother, wife, child	Married	Mongolian
Joe Sullivan	24	1893	Alien	Constantinople	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
John Abram Hassan	23	1894	Alien	Caffetoria (Kurd)	Turkey			None	Single	Caucasian
John Allie	21	1897	Alien	Mazagid	Turkey		Joseph Mo. Grath	Sulliman Mamed	Single	
Kaco Mizer	25	1892	Alien	Kkeda	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Kassan Mustafa	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Kakal Alli	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hayes	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Kakio Raiser	21	1897	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Kako Mustaffa	Single	Mongolian
Kaleb Osman	27	1890	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Karama Kuclac	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Harem Mahamed	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		Wife	Married	Mongolian
Kader Kako	30	1886	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Salem Mass.		Single	Mongolian
Kelko Mustafa	29	1888	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Coffeehouse owner	Peabody	None	Single	Mongolian
Khanishool Ismayd	26	1891	Alien		Turkey			None	Single	Turk
Khedi Ali	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Khuder Atshe	22	1895	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Salem	None	Single	Mongolian
Khuder Husid	24	1893	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Khuder Mamad	21	1897	Alien	Marca	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.			
Kudda Tusin	22	1895	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Unemployed		Wife	Married	Mongolian
Mamat Husam	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		Father	Single	Mongolian
Mamed Kade	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	B.E. Carr Lea. Co.	Father, mother, wife, sister, brother in Turkey	Married	Mongolian
Mahmad Alli	30	1887	Alien		Turkey	Barber	Self	None	Single	Mongolian
Mahmad Alli	26	1891	Alien	Mamuretil Aziz, Asia Minor	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mahmat Alli	23	1894	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Mahmat Chukur	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Mahmat Ham	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mahmat Hikerney	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Mahmet Hussen	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Unemployed		Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Mahmat Ali	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and child in Turkey	Married	Mongolian
Mehmet Mustafa	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father, mother, sister, brother	Single	Mongolian
Mahmad Mahmed	27	1890	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Vaughn Lea. Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Mahmod Osmaan	29	1888	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Vaughn Lea. Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Mahmoud Osman	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Cotton mill worker	Unemployed	None	Single	Mongolian

Mahmus Hander	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Mahmud Rashid	24	1893	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Mair Hassan	29	1888	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Boston Met. Leather Co.	Yes	Married	Mongolian
Mamad Aly	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife, father and mother	Married	Mongolian
Mamad Ismail	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Hasan Mamad	Single	Mongolian
Mamad Khuder	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Mamad Haznel	Single	Mongolian
Mamad Mamad	29	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Essex Tanning Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Mamad Mustaffa	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mamad Sulliman	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife and one child in Turkey	Married	Mongolian
Mamad Thor	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Mother in Turkey	Single	Mongolian
Mamall Olanlak	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife and children in Turkey	Married	Mongolian
Mamat Sulliman	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mamatt Sulahman	22	1895	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife, father and mother	Married	Mongolian
Mamed Alli	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife, one child	Married	Mongolian
Mamed Barolean	24	1893	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Mamelly Hossen	26	1891	Alien	Polou	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Mames Housein	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mamet Hassan	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Mamet Hassan	28	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mamet Osman	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	No work	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Mamet Osman	25	1892	Alien	Asia	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Mamet Zilfo	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Mamet Zolfo	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Cook	Self	Wife and child (4 years old)	Married	Mongolian
Mamid Hassan	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mammat Hassan	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Mammed Russi	27	1890	Alien	Cartigle	Turkey	Laborer	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Mahmet Hamet	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Mamat Hassan	25	1892	Alien	Karin	Turkey	Leather Worker	National calfskin Co.	Wife and children	Married	Mongolian
Manmat Hassan	26	1891	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Marti Mustaffa	23	1894	Alien	Puge	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mother, father, sister	Single	Mongolian
Massa Apolla	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Leather Co.	None	Married	Mongolian
Medro Eframham	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and a child	Married	Mongolian
Mehmad Mussa	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Mahmed Oglu Ismail	20	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	John Hassen	Single	Mongolian
Mehmed Ussef	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Clerk	Mahmud Sulliman	None	Single	Mongolian
Memet Hassan	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian

Merlond Dursoon	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Yes	Married	Mongolian
Mertaza Omar	26	1891	Alien	Chentelle	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Brother in Turkey	Single	Mongolian
Mhram Ally	26	1891	Alien	Maliga	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father, Mother, 2 Children	Married	Mongolian
Mike Oman	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mistapha Kamber	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mother, sister, wife	Married	Mongolian
Moosa Suleiman	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Moosa Sulehman	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife	Married	Mongolian
Mossen Ahmet	23	1894	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Mustafa Kuzal	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Mother, wife, child (8 years old)	Married	Mongolian
Mustaffa Osman	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	None	Single	Mongolian
Muharem Osman	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Father, mother, sister	Single	Mongolian
Murlen Mohamad	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Nama Allie	Single	Mongolian
Muslim Hassan	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife and one child	Married	Mongolian
Mustaffa Bakir	21	1897	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Morrill Lea. Co.	Mamat Bakir	Single	Mongolian
Moustafa Oussan	30	1887	Alien	Gardet	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father	Single	Mongolian
Mustafa Abodal	25	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mustaffa Abdullah	21	1896	Alien	Constantinople	Turkey	Leather Worker	Jail and House of correction, Salem	None	Single	Mongolian
Mustaffa Mamad	23	1894	Alien	Diabaker	Turkey	Beam House	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife, father, mother, brother	Married	Mongolian
Mustaffa Osman	27	1890	Alien	Kasnah	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife, one child	Married	Mongolian
Mustaffa Gago	21	1896	Alien	Constantinople	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Mustaffa Omar	29	1888	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	B. E. Carr Lea. Co.	Mother, sister, 3 Brother	Single	Mongolian
Abraham Alli	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Ingraham Lea. Co.	Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Omar Faik	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Mother, wife, child (8 yr.)	Married	Mongolian
Omer Youssouf	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Osman Backett	24	1893	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Osman Tammer	22	1895	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker		Wife and two children	Married	Mongolian
Osman Esmail	25	1892	Alien	Diabaker	Turkey	Leather Worker	B. E. Carr Lea Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Osman Kacht	22	1895	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	George Vaughn	None	Single	Mongolian
Osman Musegha	26	1891	Alien	Karfin	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife, two children 4+6	Married	Mongolian
Osmon Hassan	27	1890	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Omer Hussin	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin	None	Single	Mongolian
Pata Rechid	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	George Vaughn	Wife and two children	Married	Mongolian
Rachid Mamad	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Armstrong Leather Co.	Tamir Hussein	Single	Mongolian
Rachid Tame	21	1896	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Razi Amhmed	23	1894	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Said Mahmed	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	None	Single	Mongolian
Said Shine	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence	None	Single	Mongolian

Saim Raram	27	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Sayit Kali Riza	30	1887	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	L.B. Southwick	Father, mother, sister	Single	Mongolian
Salli Alli	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Moore Lea. Co.	Zilfo Rizman	Single	Mongolian
Kerih Kasim	29	1888	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Shuguo Backer	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Shugree Ali	28	1889	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Father, mother, sister	Single	Mongolian
Soukiman Ebrihen	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Wife, children, mother	Married	Mongolian
Sulaiman Hassan	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Boston Mat Co.	Mother	Single	Mongolian
Sulayman Alli	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Unemployed	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Sullman Mamed	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Laborer	Morrill Lea. Co.	Father, brother	Single	Mongolian
Sulliman Hassan	29	1888	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Essex Tanning Co.	Father, mother, brother	Single	Mongolian
Sulman Alli	29	1888	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Sulman Hassan	22	1895	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Taffer Alli	29	1888	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Tamer Sadga	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Vaughn Leather Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Tancif Hammed	26	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Baker		Wife in Turkey	Married	Mongolian
Temir Halil	24	1893	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Father and mother	Single	Mongolian
Thako Housein	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		None	Single	Mongolian
Tizonmman Ali	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Vaughn Leather Co.	Father, mother, wife	Single	Mongolian
Tammer Hassan	26	1891	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and 2 children	Married	Mongolian
Yakoup Siko	23	1894	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker		Mother	Single	Mongolian
Usif Hassen	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Numoos Baker	26	1891	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Wallie Ismail	25	1892	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Yapot Ahmed	21	1896	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	National Calfskin Co.	Brother	Single	Mongolian
Yusuf Mustafa	27	1890	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	Wife and child	Married	Mongolian
Zainal Hussin	25	1892	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Boston Leather Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Zilfo Osman	27	1890	Alien		Turkey	Leather Worker	Hunt Rankin Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Zilfo Ibrahim	21	1897	Alien	Harpoot	Turkey	Leather Worker	Nathan Poor Lea. Co.	Bududu Rashid	Single	Mongolian
Zolfo Toonma	22	1895	Alien	Tazama kzile	Turkey	Leather Worker	Cook Lea. Co.	None	Single	Mongolian
Zoltas Kamber	25	1892	Alien	Hozat	Turkey	Laborer	A.C. Lawrence Co.	Wife and a child	Married	

APPENDIX B

ABCFM MISSIONARIES, HARPUT



Source: ABCFM Picture Collection, Harvard University, Houghton Library Archives, Cambridge, MA

Near East: Turkey - Harpoot

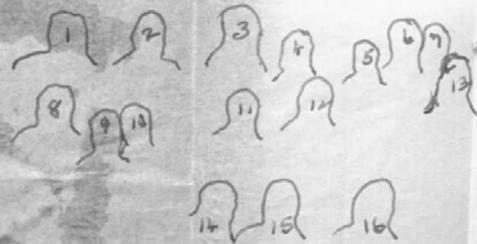
17:14

ABCFM
PICTURE COLLECTION:
MISSIONS



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of the Harvard College Library

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quoted without permission



Picture taken by Arthur E. Harper, of Harpoot missionaries and friends on
Thanksgiving Day, November 1910.

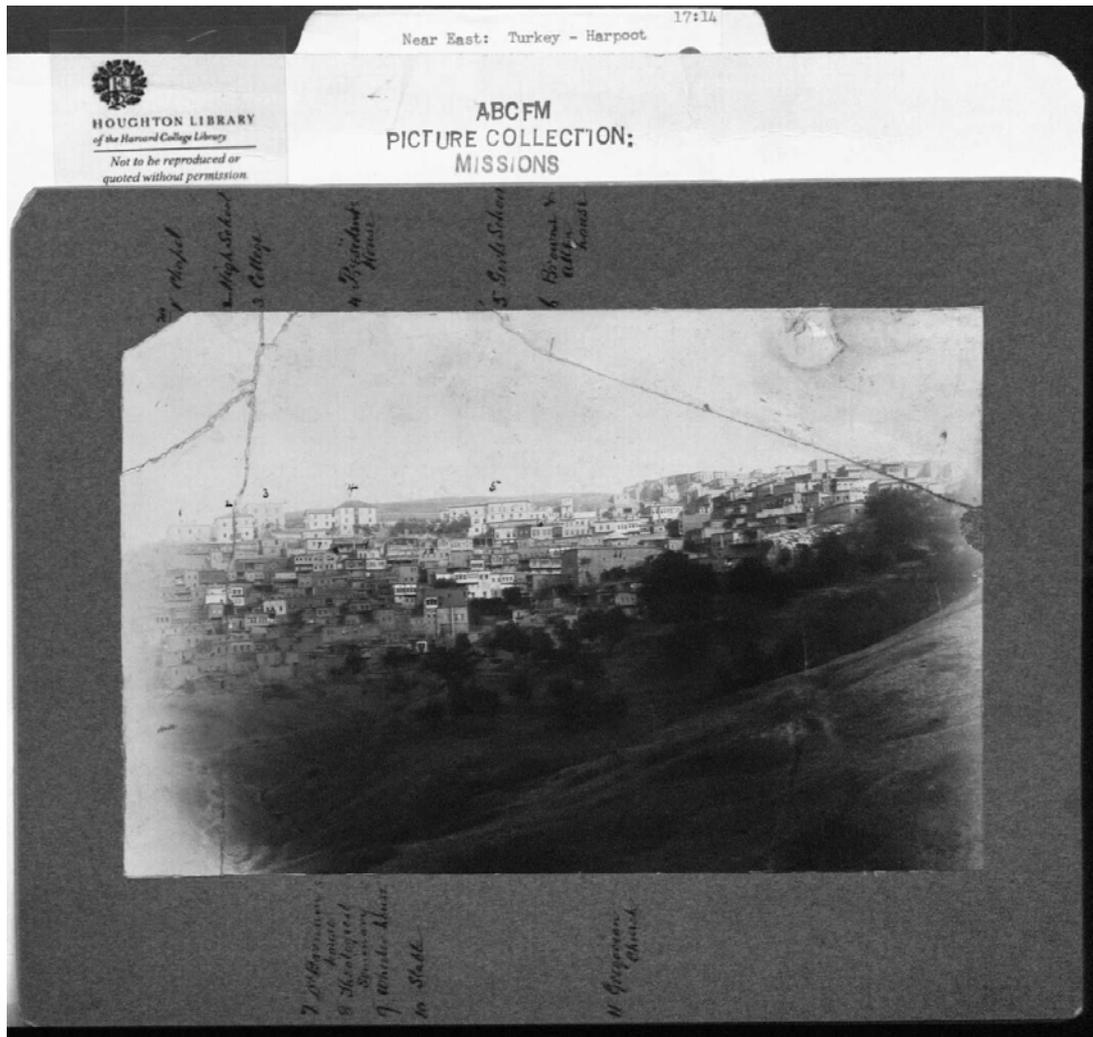
List, as numbered above.

- No.1. Professor Margot (Swiss gentleman teaching German and French at the College)
- No.2. American Consul Mr. Masterson.
- No.3. Rev. H. H. Riggs, President of Euphrates College.
- No.4. Dr. Barnum.
- No.5. Mrs. Barnum.
- No.6. Arthur E. Harper, short termer at the College, and high school.
- No.7. Mr. W. E. D. Ward, Treasurer " " "
- No.8. Miss Catlin, teacher in the Girls High School.
- No.9. Miss Bush (I think that was her name. She toured in the villages around Harpoot.)
- No.10. Miss Daniels, Principal of the Girls High School.
- No.11. Miss Jacobsen, Danish nurse at the Mission Hospital.
- No.12. Mrs. E. F. Coffey.
- No.13. Mrs. Brown.
- No.14. Mrs. H. H. Riggs. (daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Barnum).
- No.15. Rev. H. H. Riggs.

Source: ABCFM Picture Collection, Harvard University, Houghton Library Archives,
Cambridge, MA

APPENDIX C

ABCFM MISSION STATION, HARPOT



Source: ABCFM Picture Collection, Harvard University, Houghton Library Archives, Cambridge, MA

APPENDIX E

PASSPORT, ISMAIL HUSEYIN

- 2 -

IN-MAY NOT BE USED
AS A TRAVEL DOCUMENT



anın adresi: *18. West Street, No. 113
Peabody, Mass.*

New York B.

nyanın imzası: *[Signature]*

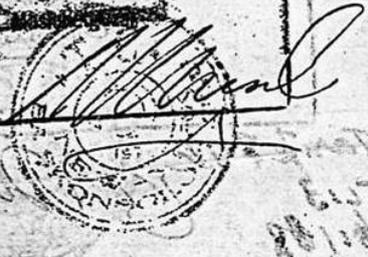
- 3 -

Soyadı Surname	<i>BOZKAN</i>
Adı Name	<i>Ismail</i>
Baba adı Father	<i>Huseyin</i>
Ana adı Mother	<i>Hamsi</i>
Doğdu yeri Place of birth	<i>Teştek</i>
Doğduğu tarih Date of birth	<i>1895</i>
İş gücü Occupation	<i>İsci Worker</i>
Özileki adresi	
Nüfus kütüğü kayı	<i>Tunceli, Hozat, Sü Teştek Hane Cilt Sayfa 3 12 112</i>

Yıllık harç vizaları

9591
835
No... 835
11. VIII. 1960. tarihine kadar
temdid edilmiştir.
The validity of this certificate is extended
until 11. VIII. 1960
New York 24. VIII. 1959
Baskonsole Başkonsolada - Memur
Tarihi: 7-12-60

T.k. 8.00
4 072



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APPENDIX F

LICENSE TO CARRY A PISTOL OR REVOLVER, ISMAIL HUSEYIN


POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY OF PEABODY

JOHN J. PURCELL
CHIEF OF POLICE

October 14, 1958

To Whom It May Concern:-

This will serve to certify that Ismail Hussen of Little's Lane, this city, has been duly licensed by me to carry a pistol or revolver for a period of years. However, the statutes governing such a license do not require the recording of the serial number or any description of the firearm that may be carried. In this connection, the licensee may carry any type of firearms that he may so desire.

The permit was issued to Mr. Hussen for the protection of life and property since he has been a reputable businessman in this city for a number of years. In connection with his business, Mr. Hussen has been required to carry large sums of money and the possession of firearms and the license to carry the same are essential to his self preservation.

Very truly yours,
John J. Purcell
Chief of Police.

Y. C.
Iskenderun Noterliği
Sayı 8400 - -
Üç tükete tercümesi verildi
31



APPENDIX G

PERMIT FOR TRANSPORTATION OF THE CORPSE, ISMAIL HUSEYIN

Form R 310 20m-1-41 4682

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.—DIVISION OF VITAL STATISTICS

PERMIT FOR TRANSPORTATION OF CORPSE

THIS DOES NOT TAKE PLACE OF LOCAL BURIAL PERMIT WHICH MUST BE OBTAINED BEFORE THE BODY IS MOVED FROM PLACE OF DEATH.

COPY OF OFFICIAL DEATH CERTIFICATE FILED AT PLACE OF DEATH

THIS CERTIFICATE AND PERMIT TO BE CARRIED BY PERSON IN CHARGE OF CORPSE. TO BE DELIVERED TO RECORDING OFFICER IN CITY OR TOWN WHERE BODY IS FINALLY DISPOSED OF.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
DIVISION OF VITAL STATISTICS
COPY OF
STANDARD
CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

1 PLACE OF DEATH
Essex (County)
Peabody (City or Town)
No. 65 Main Street St. (If death occurred in a hospital or institution, give its NAME instead of street and number)

2 FULL NAME Ismail Hussein (If deceased is a married, widowed or divorced woman, give also maiden name.) (Was deceased a U. S. War Veteran, if so (Specify WAR) no)

(a) Residence. No. 65 Main St., (If nonresident, give city or town and state)
Length of stay: In hospital or institution X years months days. In this community years months days. (Specify whether)

PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS			MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH		
3 SEX <u>male</u>	4 COLOR OR RACE <u>white</u>	5 SINGLE (write the word) <u>single</u>	18 DATE OF DEATH <u>Nov. 8 1959</u>	19 I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from <u>19</u> to <u>19</u>	
6a If married, widowed, or divorced HUSBAND of _____ (Give maiden name of wife in full) (or) WIFE of _____ (Husband's name in full)			I last saw h. _____ alive on _____, 19____ death is said to have occurred on the date stated above, at _____ m. Immediate cause of death: <u>Coronary occlusion</u>		
6 Age of husband or wife if alive _____ years			Due to _____		
7 IF STILLBORN, enter that fact here.			Due to _____		
8 AGE <u>61</u> Years <u>X</u> Months <u>X</u> Days If less than 1 day _____ Hours _____ Minutes			Other conditions (Includes pregnancy within 3 months of death)		
9 Usual Occupation: <u>Retired Proprietor Cafes</u>			Major findings Of operations _____ Date of _____ Underline the cause to which death should be charged statistically.		
10 Industry or Business:			Of autopsy _____		
11 Social Security No. <u>020-05-7234</u>			20 Was disease or injury in any way related to occupation of deceased? If so, specify (Signed) <u>Ralph P. McCarthy</u> M. D. (Address) <u>Peabody, Mass</u> Date <u>1-8 1959</u>		
12 BIRTHPLACE (City) <u>Turkey</u> (State or country)			21 <u>El-Azig</u> Turkey (City or Town) DATE OF BURIAL <u>Nov. 16, 1959</u>		
13 NAME OF FATHER <u>Ismail Hussein</u>			22 NAME OF FUNERAL DIRECTOR <u>F.L. Conway & Sons</u> ADDRESS <u>Peabody, Mass.</u>		
14 BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER (City) <u>Turkey</u> (State or country)			17 Informant (Age) <u>Ismail Sulliman (uncle)</u> Peabody, Mass.		
15 MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER <u>cannot be learned</u>			I HEREBY CERTIFY that a satisfactory standard certificate of death was filed with me BEFORE the burial or transit permit was issued: (Signature of Agent of Board of Health or other) <u>Donald B. Jones</u> (Date of Issue of Permit) <u>Nov. 9 1959</u>		
16 BIRTHPLACE OF MOTHER (City) <u>Turkey</u> (State or country)			#190 (Official Designation) (Date of Issue of Permit)		

PERMIT OF LOCAL HEALTH AUTHORITY

This Permit with above certificate must be presented to Initial Baggage or Express Agent, as the case may be, and delivered to body at destination. City ~~Essex~~ Peabody, Mass. Date Nov. 9, 1959

Permission is hereby granted to transport for final disposition at El-Azig, Turkey above described, if prepared in accordance with laws of this Commonwealth and rules made in conformity therewith, printed on the back of this permit. If cause of death be contagious communicable, state name of person who is authorized to accompany the body.

Signed Donald B. Jones
Health Official on Duty Clerk (Check which)