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HOMETOWN AND FAMILY TIES:

**The Marriage Registers of the
Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox Churches of Montreal,
1905-1950**

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March, 1990

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community of Montreal between 1905-1950 primarily through information found in the marriage registers of the two Orthodox churches. The first purpose of this study is to evaluate the importance of the three pillars of this ethno-religious group's culture - religion, family and hometown. The second purpose is to draw a composite of this immigrant community based on the information provided in the valuable source of an immigrant church's records. This study serves as a beginning for further studies of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community in Montreal, this ethno-religious group's largest and founding community in Canada.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse examine la communauté libanaise-syrienne orthodoxe de Montréal entre 1905 et 1950, principalement à partir des renseignements consignés aux registres de mariages des deux églises orthodoxes de cette communauté. Le premier but de cette étude est d'évaluer l'importance des trois fondements de la culture de ce groupe ethno-religieux: la religion, la famille et le village. Le deuxième but est de dépeindre le composé de cette communauté d'immigrants tel qu'il se dégage des données recueillies dans les registres des deux églises. La thèse se veut le début d'études plus approfondies de la communauté libanaise-syrienne orthodoxe de Montréal, la communauté fondatrice et la plus nombreuse de ce groupe ethno-religieux au Canada.

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I wish to thank Professor John E. Zucchi, my thesis supervisor, who endured constant delays between the period of my research and the writing of this thesis. His patience, advise and help were greatly appreciated. I also want to thank my husband Charles who kept his promise. Now we can get on with the rest of our lives.

Finally, I want to thank my parents whose faith and pride in my abilities always encouraged me to reach a little higher. As they are both first-generation Canadians, the study of immigration history is close to my heart. At last, mom, you can bring my long-awaited thesis to the mayor of your hometown - Rashaya, Lebanon. It is to my parents that I dedicate this study.

INTRODUCTION

Using the information found in the marriage registers of the two Orthodox churches as the primary source, this study will examine the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community of Montreal from its beginnings in 1905 until 1950. The emigration from the area then called "Syria" to Montreal will be viewed as a process through which immigrants travelled from a sending to a receiving community. The findings of the marriage registers of the ethnic churches demonstrated patterns of chain migration, and hometown endogamy, as well as of occupational and residential trends of the settlers in the receiving community. As the marriage registers of the two ethnic churches serve as the principle source of the information on this community, this study can only claim to be a beginning look at this ethno-religious group.

As much as this study is concerned with the Montreal Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community, it also presents the possible uses of marriage registers in reconstructing communities. The value of church records to historians allows a composite to be done of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community in Montreal over the forty-five year period. As both the founding and still to this day the largest community of this ethno-religious group in Canada, an historical examination of the Montreal community is worthwhile. The people directly involved in this study are limited to those members of the community who married within the churches, but many

of the findings can apply to this entire community as a whole, as well as other Lebanese communities in North America.

This thesis is divided into two distinct parts. The first part discusses the importance of the three pillars of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox culture, namely religion, family and hometown. Each of these elements is dealt with separately although they are inter-related. In the first section, an overview of the Orthodox religion, and the establishment and formation of the North American Orthodox Church is provided with particular emphasis on the significant role of the Montreal community.

The section on family describes the vital role of the extended family to the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox. Along with religion, family replaces nationality in importance to this group.

In the last section, hometown or village loyalty is viewed as the prime cultural tie of these people to a land whatever community in which they found themselves. Organized around these three pillars, the early Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox view themselves as a separate community based on religious, familial, and village ties.

The second part of the thesis concentrates on the Montreal experience. An overview of the emigration experience and Canadian immigration policy begins the chapter. These sections are followed by discussions of endogamy, the role of Montreal as the founding

Orthodox community, residential trends, occupational trends and the growth of associations within the city. Using the marriage registers, many significant points are raised.

Two chapters precede the sections on the importance of religion, family and hometown. In the methodology chapter, an explanation is offered for the use of the marriage registers. Limitations within this type of study are also introduced. In the historiography, some authors of significance and their works related to immigration history and the Lebanese-Syrian Christian immigration, in particular, are evaluated for their contribution.

It is hoped that this study will act as a beginning for further studies of this community in Montreal despite the limited sources available. As one of the largest Lebanese-Syrian communities in North America, the Montreal community deserves to be recognized by an academic study for its important role as the founding community in Canada and for its pioneering role within the North American Orthodox Church. I offer this study as a small token of respect to those first settlers from Rashaya and the neighbouring villages in Lebanon.

METHODOLOGY

The marriage registers of an ethnic church contain a wealth of information that until recently has often eluded immigration historians. Through the careful use of this valuable and seldom-employed source, the immigration historian may uncover a wide gamut of significant facts not otherwise readily available.¹ Such facts may reveal, among other things, occupational and residential trends, and patterns of chain migration, two of the main topics of this study.

The following study examines the marriage registers of two ethnic churches, namely St. George and St. Nicholas of Montreal. The marriage registers of these Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox churches have been examined over the forty-five year period between 1905 and 1950. Over this period a total of 715 marriages were recorded in these two churches. Despite the small size of this database, the information it yielded was vital to providing a composite of this ethno-religious group.

This chapter has four purposes, namely to provide a definition of key terms in this study, to discuss the study's limitations, to outline the methods employed, and to describe Orthodox weddings that were the human element in this otherwise impersonal study.

Definition of Terms

There are five terms which must be defined in order to understand the subjects of this study. These terms are "Lebanese-Syrian", "Orthodox", "community", "hometown", and "family".

"Lebanese-Syrian" are those immigrants and their families who were from the area of the Middle East that is now recognized as the nations of Lebanon and Syria. In other studies, this immigrant group is often referred to as "Arabs", "Syrians", or "Syrian-Lebanese". As approximately 90% of those who immigrated to Canada were from Lebanon, the term Lebanese has been put in front of "Syrian". Given the importance of family, hometown and religion to these immigrants, it would be unfair to classify them under the general term "Arab". As well, there are many Lebanese who would, in fact, find this term unacceptable as many Lebanese today would consider the term "Syrian" an insult due to the present political situation. The term "Lebanese-Syrian" is a compromise between historical accuracy in describing the region from where these immigrants came (then called "Syria), and an emphasis on the area where the majority were localized, namely present-day Lebanon.

"Orthodox" refers to the religion and Church in North America that was first affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Church, but now is considered part of the Antiochian Orthodox Church. The immigrants of this religious background were called "Roum-Orthodox"

both as a group in "Syria" and amongst themselves in Montreal.

"Community" refers to the geographic and social starting point to which these immigrants identified themselves. It was a centre around which a group was defined by religious, village, and family affiliations.

"Hometown" refers to the village in Lebanon or Syria that these immigrants recognized as their own. Hometown, as a place, was of greater significance than country or nation to these immigrants. It is the village or hometown that figures as the immigrant's main point of reference.

"Family" means the extended family. The family includes parents, siblings, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. The extended family holds a greater importance to these immigrants than does the nuclear family to North Americans.

Limitations

Before discussing the findings in later chapters, the limitations and the methodology of this study must be detailed. First and most obvious, all conclusions reached in this study apply only to that community of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox who married within the two churches during those years. The years 1905-1950

encompass the first wave of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox immigration to Canada. Given the generally-recognized importance of religion to these people, it is highly unlikely that a significant number married outside the Church.

Endogamy among the Montreal group cannot be examined solely in terms of religion among Lebanese-Syrian brides and grooms. No indication was given that any of the brides or grooms of Lebanese-Syrian descent were of any religion other than Orthodox, i.e. Maronite or Melkite. However no indication of religion or ethnicity was provided for non-Arab brides or grooms either. The likelihood of inter-religious Arab marriages seem slim given the importance of religion to this group. In Tannous' study of the Christian Lebanese village of Bishmizzeen, he demonstrates the significant influence religion played upon marriage. "Intermarriage between the Greek Orthodox and the Maronites is very rare indeed, only five cases being reported in the history of Bishmizzeen."²

Names

A second limitation of this study involves the inconsistency of the information available in each successive marriage recorded. Priests, while noting basic points of fact, such as the names of the wedding party (bride, groom, and witnesses) and the date of the service, less frequently recorded the ages of the bride and groom, their place of residence, occupations, parents' names, original hometowns in the old country, marital status, or other interesting details. The lack of consistency in the recording becomes even more frustrating when coupled with simple spelling errors in the names recorded. Identifying Arab names and kinship groups poses a twofold problem. For example, the same family name was often spelt a number of ways. Such was the case with the family name Kuri. The same priest recorded the marriage of a Mr. C-o-u-r-e-y and a day later the marriage of a Miss K-o-u-r-i. One could presume that there was no relationship between these two. However, a closer examination revealed that they were in fact siblings.

The second type of spelling problem involved Arab names that were Anglicized or Francized as immigrants passed through government immigration centres. Two such examples are the family names Makhul which became Mc-Cool and Bawshi which became Beauchamp. In each case, the historian must be able to identify the true origin of the name by relying on some other information, usually the first name or the parents' names. At that time, it

was very rare to find a French Canadian with the name Shaheen Beauchamp. Instead it probably was Shaheen Bawshi. With the assistance of native Arab speaker, Dr. Norma Salem and her standardized table of these names, some sense was made of this madness.

David Weale experienced similar difficulties in identifying Lebanese immigrants in Prince Edward Island based on the names they had in Canada. His explanation does much to clarify this problem.

Island Lebanese names are a study in themselves. When they arrived in this country, most Lebanese could neither speak nor write English, which meant that they could not give, either in word or on paper, an English rendition of their names. One Lebanese man in Charlottetown used to tell the story of a compatriot who selected his name randomly from a sign. Probably in some cases the new name of the emigrant was decided when an immigration official made a well-intentioned stab at writing the name in English so it would sound something like what he had just been told in Arabic. One must conclude that this was a difficult procedure, or that some of the registrars had a very poor ear, for in many cases names were transformed radically. It is even possible under this system for members of the same clan to arrive here with different names. Perhaps the best examples locally are the names Kays and Ghiz: in the old country they are one.³

Methods

Various methods have been used by scholars to compile information on this ethnic group. Naseer H. Aruri and Bahu Abu-

Laban asked members of the Lebanese-Syrian community to fill out a questionnaire. In this constrained manner, the researcher gets only what information he asks for, and the answers are stilted as respondents try to fit the needs of the researcher. The respondents are not permitted in a questionnaire to relate their experience in their own words and as they recall it.

David Weale's use of oral history attempts to allow the respondent more freedom to reply to questions. However control is still in the hands of the researcher who asks the questions. Although a useful source, oral history must be considered only as accurate as the respondent's memory and objectivity, and as such this source of information must be used carefully. Failing memories of respondents, or a tendency to embellish the past may distort accuracy the information provided.

Computer

In this study, the computer had an active role in the compilation of the data from the marriage registers of the two Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox churches in Montreal. Having entered all the relevant information from each marriage record onto an index card, eighteen variable were chosen and cross-referenced (See Appendix A - Sample Page of Marriage Registers on computer). These variables included the standardized as well as the registered

spellings of the brides' and grooms' family names, their ages, marital status, residence and location of the wedding (by city), parents' hometowns in the old country, the grooms' occupation, the date of the wedding, and whether the marriage was ethnically endogamous or exogamous. Using the Lotus system, the marriages were organized according to whatever primary variable chosen, for example grooms' parents' hometown. As a secondary variable the computer organized the marriages according to the brides' parents' hometown. The computer would then present an alphabetized list of the marriages according to the grooms' parents' hometown and among those of the same hometown the marriages would be alphabetically arranged according to the brides' parents' hometown. The result would be a clear list of those marriages between people who parents were of the same hometown, i.e. evidence of chain migration. Then results were available to support or argue findings, either original or secondary.

Once past the initial stage of entering the data, this processing avoids the chance of mathematical or organizational errors, facilitates further examination of the database, and provides easy-to-read tables of the marriages, all at the touch of a button. It would be fair to say that the computer has now made using marriage registers a feasible undertaking for immigration historians.

Orthodox Weddings

Before discussing the information found in these marriage registers that allowed for the historical reconstruction of the Montreal community, a few words should be said about the Orthodox wedding ceremony.

This ceremony, considered by bridal parties and guests alike, is one of the most beautiful in the Christian faith. Steeped in tradition, the Orthodox marriage ceremony consists of two parts, the service of betrothal and the service of crowning. Formerly held separately, in the first of these elements the rings are blessed and exchanged as an outward token of the free will and consent of the two partners joining in marriage. In the service of crowning, crowns of gold, silver and precious stones are placed on the heads of the bride and groom signifying the special grace that the couple received from the Holy Spirit. They drink from a common cup of wine, symbolizing a common life, recalling the miracle at the marriage feast of Cana in Galilee.⁴ Each time the couple partakes in either the wearing of crowns, drinking from the cup, lighting of candles, or circling the Analogion or the altar, the priest blesses and interchanges each article and act thrice representing the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. During this whole ceremony, the church is perfumed by incense consuming the bridal party and their guests in the special ambience created in this ritual. Mary Macron describes the service:

The wedding was long, for after the lengthy Mass, the ceremony uniting the young couple might last another hour. The rings were blessed with much chanting, and crowns were placed upon the heads of the bride and groom -- blessed and interchanged three times -- as the cantor sang and the priest prayed over them. The priest would then lead the couple around the altar and along the aisles of the church, all the while chanting the nuptial liturgy and swinging the thurible vigorously as the sweet and heavy vapors of incense filled the air.⁵

The records of marriages noted by the parish priest have revealed an abundance of information about the members of this religious community and the importance of their native church. One can see that the marriage registers of an ethnic church do, in fact, contain a wealth of information. The key to uncovering this information, however, lies in a clear methodology and a careful analysis of the document's limitations. Following the next chapter, chapters on religion, family, and hometown, as well as the case study of the Montreal community, will show the value of this information. First, an overview of the readings on ethnic and immigration history or a historiography will be provided in the next chapter.

ENDNOTES

1. See Sylvie Taschereau, **Pays et Patries: Mariages et lieux d'origine des Italiens de Montréal, 1906-1930.** Etudes Italiennes 1. (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1987); Bruno Ramirez, **Les Premiers Italiens de Montréal: L'origine de la Petite Italie du Québec.** (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984); Bruno Ramirez and Michael Del Balso. **The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement, 1900-1921.** (Montréal: Les Editions du Courant Inc., 1980); John E. Zucchi, "Italian Hometown Settlement and the Development of an Italian Community in Toronto, 1875-1935." **Polyphony** 7 (1985): 20-27; John E. Zucchi, "The Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935." Diss. U Toronto, 1984.
2. A.I. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," **American Journal of Sociology**, Vol. XLVIII (1942): 238.
3. David Weale, **A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian/Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island.** Island Studies Series, No. 1. (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1988): 14.
4. Timothy Ware, **The Orthodox Church.** (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967): 301. Russians and Lebanese-Syrians use gold crowns. Greeks use leaves and flowers.
5. Mary Macron, **A Celebration of Life: Memories of an Arab-American in Cleveland.** ADC Issues 7. (Washington: The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, n.d): 6.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This historiography will acknowledge the authors, and some of their works, whose research have influenced both the field of immigration history and this study. Compared to their American counterparts, the number of studies in Canadian immigration history have been relatively few over the last two decades. This chapter will briefly discuss works key to the framework of this thesis. Thoughtful presentations on the Lebanese-Syrian Christians have been even fewer. Some significant works in this specific field will also be reviewed for their contribution.

APPROACH TO CANADIAN IMMIGRATION HISTORY

To begin this examination a brief review of the existing literature of Canadian immigration history must be undertaken. Historian Howard Palmer has acknowledged the large gap in Canadian history and the results that neglect for this field has generated.

There were no Canadian counterparts to American historians like Marcus Lee Hansen, Carl Wittke, Theodore Blegen or Oscar Handlin. The realm of ethnic history was thus left almost entirely to the groups' amateur historians, who were often handicapped both by a limited perspective of the broader Canadian scene and by an inability to write fluently in English, a second language for most immigrant scholars. The results of such efforts -- ethnic histories, which were very often self-congratulatory, overconcerned with showing group 'contributions', and lacking the broader picture of Canadian history and greatly in need of an English language editor -- could be easily dismissed, when they were read, which

was infrequently.¹

Since the 1970s a generation of immigration historians have emerged to fill the gap. These historians are "people who both have a link with the group, which gives them a special sense of insight, understanding and empathy, and also have university training, which gives them the sense of detachment necessary for perspective and critical analysis."² Many successful examples have concentrated on Italian immigrants and include Bruno Ramirez's *Les Premiers Italiens de Montréal: L'origine de la Petite Italie du Québec* and John E. Zucchi's *The Italian Immigrants of the St. John's Ward, 1875-1915: Patterns of Settlement and Neighbourhood Formation*. This "dual perspective -- insider's insight combined with critical detachment"³ is, in fact, the approach this author has taken to the present study.

Baha Abu-Laban's *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree*, part of the *Generations Series*, has been categorized both as an "unmitigated failure" due to a singular lack of context,⁴ and "strong in their portrayal of the immigrant's culture and social background, their economic and institutional adjustment, their family life and their experiences with the processes of assimilation."⁵ Although it contains some useful particulars about specific ethno-religious groups, it fails to provide an overview that acknowledges the important differences between the groups that Abu-Laban together labels "Arabs". The significance of religion, family and hometown as institutions that define one's identity is

a fact that cannot be overlooked in any study of a so-called "Arab" community.

Canadian immigration history should be examined on a less myopic scale as it crosses many borders. First, the field usually crosses the border into other branches of history, such as religious, labour, and urban histories. And second, another almost invisible border to immigration history is the 49th parallel. The field should be examined in the broader context of North American immigration history. It is not the intention of this author to review the global historiography of North American immigration history, and the various other fields of history touched on in this study. Of more value to this subject are four works whose influence were vital to the approach taken by this author.

Frank Thistlethwaite's "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" (1960) examines not only the receiving community but also the sending community. Thistlethwaite discusses the pre-occupation of the generation of historians since Marcus Lee Hansen "with one phase, and one phase only of the migration process: that of immigration."⁶ The push factors that encouraged emigration are weighed with the pull factors that induced immigration to a particular location. He emphasizes that these immigrants must be viewed as coming not from "countries of origin", but from specific hometowns or villages. Their destinations too were specific. Thistlethwaite offers the example

of "sections of New York where immigrants from individual Italian districts occupied separate streets, with often mutual hostility."⁷ Migration is viewed as a process with a beginning and an end. Only by examining the entire continuum can a thorough study of a ethnic group be accomplished.

Four years after the publication of Thistlethwaite's inspiring article, John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald (1964) wrote that ethnic groups migrate in a pattern called "chain migration". "Chain migration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants."⁸ Through this process communities from the old world are transplanted to the new and 'little Italies', Syrias and the like are established.

Once again an Italian community was used as the example. Dividing the chain migration process into three broad types, the MacDonalds, like Thistlethwaite, emphasized employment as the prime determining factor for the pattern of chain migration. The three types consisted first of established males or **padronis** who enticed a second group, male breadwinners, to the new world with the promise of employment. Later the third group followed, namely the families of the first two groups.⁹ It only stands to reason, according to the MacDonalds' theory, that only once the families

joined the working male population in the new home were immigrant churches created. Prior to this last wave of immigrants, the families, such institutions as boarding houses and loan institutions stood as the source of community support. The church took over this role once the need for such services as baptisms, weddings, and funerals became necessary.

This leads to the third key article. In Raymond Breton's "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants", the author "focuses on the direction of the interpersonal relations of immigrants. The immigrant can become interpersonally integrated within the 'native' community, within his ethnic community, or within a group of immigrants of an ethnicity other than his own."¹⁰ If no formal organization exists for that immigrant community, then these immigrants will likely be assimilated into native institutions. If other, though similar, ethnic groups had institutions already established then the newer immigrants made use of them until they developed parallel institutions of their own, and so no longer needed those 'foreign' institutions. Finally, where no suitable support was found, immigrants recreated as much as possible their native institution in the new world.

Breton acknowledges that religious institutions played a dominant role in an ethnic community. Indeed the role of the church served as the prime community institution for many groups.

Similarly Sylvie Taschereau's **Pays et Patries: Mariages et lieux d'origine des Italiens de Montréal, 1906-1930** revealed the vital role of the church and particularly marriages in maintaining an endogamous and cohesive community in Montreal based on Italian hometown loyalties.

As the fourth influential work, Will Herberg's "Protestant - Catholic - Jew" refutes the melting-pot theory and offers in its place a triple melting-pot theory. Rather than all immigrants blending into one collective mixture, Herberg postulates that three distinct groups emerge from the immigration population based on religion. Although not the most relevant aspect of this study, Herberg's theory stresses the importance of religion over nationality as a dividing line between ethnic groups.

Back home, the church (or synagogue) had been, for most of them, the meaningful center of life, the repository of the sacred symbols of community existence. As soon as they touched land in the New World, they set themselves to re-establishing it. But here there were difficulties, and in meeting and overcoming these difficulties they inevitably transformed the church they thought they were transplanting.

The immigrants were men of their village or region ("province"), and the church they were intent upon transplanting was their village church with all its ways; above all, with the old village customs and dialect.¹¹

The combined will of the immigrants towards the single goal of building their native church encouraged a united community in the new world. In a similar view, Zucchi pointed out the key to understanding immigrant communities in the new world. "A migrant

retains old world local loyalties and continues to live within the orbit of his home village."¹² Therefore a key difference between communities lay in their successful recreation of institutions based on religion, family, and hometown ties.

In light of this brief theoretical discussion, a few significant successful studies of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community in North America should be examined. There have been only a few works produced on this specific immigrant group. Several were of the variety that Palmer acknowledged "could be easily dismissed". There are four however that particularly bear reading.

Philip K. Hitti's **The Syrians in America** (1924) stands as the forefather to all work on this community to date. Insightful in many ways, Hitti was the first to stress the importance of religion, family and hometown to these immigrants. These aspects both divided and united them. It made each new community in North America separate unto itself, but similar in structure. The ties to the home village were unbroken as each new community tried to reestablish home institutions.

Philip and Joseph Kayal's **The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation** (1975) offered a modern historical look at this community, the first since Hitti's. As a result of assimilation found within the community, these brothers

stressed the role of religion over nationality in the make-up of this community. Through a careful examination of each separate religious group, the response of immigrant communities to their new environment was evaluated. Kayal and Kayal predicted the dissolution of the Syrian-American community

because of their unwillingness to recognize the needs of a fully Americanized third and fourth English-speaking generation. It is for this reason that the churches of the Syrian-Lebanese Americans will die or become altered beyond recognition, signalling the end of the Syrian-Lebanese community as we now know it.¹³

From another point of view, Alixa Naff's **Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience** (1985) returns to the beginnings of this immigrant group in the United States. She uses the more current practised skills of an historian, such as the collection of oral history, and primary source materials such as church records, to detail many aspects of the lives of this immigrant group. Her work has successfully filled a large part of the gap in the general study of these immigrants. Her findings are more plausible when compared to Abu-Laban's general study of the Arabs in Canada. Based on extensive research and thorough reading she outlines the general pattern of Lebanese-Syrian Christian migration and settlement.

The only work to date that approaches the specific subject matter of the history of the Lebanese-Syrians in Canada has been David Weale's **A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the**

Coming of Syrian/Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island (1988).

Although a brief study whose emphasis and forte lies in the examination of Lebanese peddlers, Weale examines both the receiving and sending means of the migration process. As well he reviews the hometown culture, and evaluates the success of this community in retaining institutions such as their church.

It is this very limited tradition of research and publication on the history of the Lebanese-Syrian community in North America that this study hopes to improve upon. The sparsity of the literature in the past has provided an impetus for this work. As the founding settlement in Canada, and still today the largest, the Montreal community has been long overdue for an examination of its migration and settlement patterns.

A secondary result will be to provide a chronicle that may well be added to future historiographies as reference. The combination of available theories and existing gaps within the literature leads to a necessary examination of the three pillars - religion, family, and hometown - as the next step in this research.

ENDNOTES

1. Howard Palmer, "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s." **Journal of Canadian Studies** 17, Spring 1982: 36.
2. Palmer: 38.
3. Palmer: 38.
4. Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography." **Canadian Historical Review** 64 (1983): 446-7.
5. Palmer: 39.
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THE THREE PILLARS - RELIGION, FAMILY & HOMETOWN

AN INTRODUCTION

Essential to understanding this immigrant group are three pillars in the structure of their community; religion, family, and hometown. These institutions bind these immigrants in strong common beliefs that form the foundation of their approach to life. Before each pillar is studied individually, their collective significance and emotional impact must first be appreciated.

The importance of family, village and religion, acknowledged below by Philip and Joseph Kayal, has been confirmed by other studies on Lebanese villages.

A Syrian's religious identification is so intense that he is the proverbial "man without a country." His patriotism and group identification is based on love of family and religion. For all practical purposes his family and church take the place of the state for him. In both Syria and Lebanon, religion is the practical equivalent of nationality, with each religious community recognized in and within the structure of the state. All cooperation between individuals, therefore is limited to their traditional groups -- family, village, and religion.¹

In his article entitled "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," A.I. Tannous states "the group rather than the individual is the center of community life in the Lebanon

village.... Three main groups predominate in village life -- the family, the church and the community as a whole."² In another article, he points out that even "a stranger is always 'placed' with respect to his village, family and church."³ The Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox in North America used these three factors as points of reference in order to 'place' themselves in their new home. In his study of the Lebanese in Prince Edward Island, David Weale noted that

It was not "place" or country which was most important to the emigrating "Lebanese" or "Syrians". Blood and religion were much more important components of their self-identification as a people.⁴

Although this appears to undermine the importance of the village or hometown, hometown should be clarified as the community of village people who belong to the same church or parish.

Therefore it can be said that religious affiliation is a prerequisite for identifying with someone of the same village. Orthodox Christians and Muslims of the same village would not identify themselves as being part of the same community. One first has to be of the same religion before one can be seen as being of the same village.

The interdependency of the three pillars - family, village, and religion - is strengthened when one considers that

Many Syrian parishes are practically a kinship system in themselves, with almost everyone related in one way or another.⁵

This may have been the case in Montreal. However due to inaccurate registration at immigration offices and in church records, there were difficulties identifying the relationships within the same family names. The following sections will present the importance of these three pillars.

ENDNOTES

1. Philip M. Kayal and Joseph M. Kayal, **The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation**, The Immigration Heritage of American Series (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975): 116.
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RELIGION

The first of the three chapters on the essential elements for the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox is devoted to religion. A chronicle of the Syro-Arab Mission of the Orthodox Church in North America will focus on the Montreal parishes. Both the Syro-Arab Mission and the Montreal parishes figured very prominently in the history of the Orthodox Church as an institution in North America.

The churches represented and continue to represent an extension of the extended family for the Arab immigrants. These churches then function as the locus for the establishment, preservation and maintenance of primary relations. To that extent, they are also the locus where self-identity is constructed.¹

A history of the Syro-Arab Mission of the Orthodox Church in North America reveals much about this immigrant group. First, the North American Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox longed to be independent from outside control by their parent Church and, by extension, its world-wide community. Second, parishioners wanted to participate actively in the composition and politics of their own church. Third, the interplay between the lay parishioners of a local church and the Orthodox Church in North America demonstrated that not only was the local church important to the immigrant family, but the devotion and involvement of these immigrants were vital to the growth and success of the North American Church. Finally, this immigrant group continued ties to their hometown through rites

performed in their local church.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE EAST

In the Middle East, it was the Russian Patriarchate who rose in prominence as it helped found, build, and maintain many of the Orthodox churches in Lebanon and Syria. So it was expected by both the immigrants and the Russian Orthodox Church that the connection to North America would be extended. Further, the church, more than any level of government, formed the community centre in a village, and, with the support of the Russian Orthodox Church, this would also be the case in North America.

The Orthodox in the Middle East have always been a minority within a minority. Moslems make up the majority of the population, with Maronites and Melkites (Catholics) comprising the bulk of the Christian minority. The money and power provided by the Russian Orthodox church raised the stature of this small religious group far beyond its numbers.

The Orthodox in the Middle East had been under Ottoman rule since the occupation of Constantinople in 1453. It was the Patriarch of Constantinople who became the leader of all Orthodox Christians. The Patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, who were also under the Ottoman Empire, were

theoretically independent but practically subordinate. The **millet** system of government was established by the Turks to delegate to non-Muslim sects, recognized as religious communities, legal control of secular political affairs, and of personal matters such as marriage and divorce.² The members of this religious **millet** chose their leader who was then approved by the Sultan. Having a religious leader rather than a political one was less resented by the people, and ensured the survival of the Orthodox Church under Turkish Muslim rule.

Political change dictated religious change. In 1774, Russia and the Turks signed what proved to be a stepping stone for Russian involvement in the religious life of the Middle East - the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji. "From that moment Russia began to consider herself as guardian of Orthodoxy and of the Holy Places in the Ottoman Empire."³

Another global change in religion had an impact on Middle East churches. Early in the next century, the effect of Catholic and Protestant missionaries began to take a toll on Orthodox representation as the number of Orthodox began to decline steadily. Russia counteracted this perceived threat by erecting churches, schools, and hospitals in an attempt to spread Orthodoxy.

A result in 1899, from the efforts of a coalition of Russians and Syrians was the naming of the first Arab Patriarch of Antioch

in centuries. Similar support from the Russian Church was extended to immigrants in North America in the form of appointments of Arab priests, a Syro-Arab Mission, and a powerful Arab Bishopric.

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA

Histories on the Orthodox Church in North America are very few in number, sparse in detail, and scattered in location. Most are either period pieces or concentrate on a single individual. The following section will provide general histories of both the Syro-Arab Mission of the North American Orthodox Church, and of the churches of St. George and St. Nicholas of Montreal from the dates of their founding to the consecration in 1950 of the cornerstone of present-day St. Nicholas Church in Montreal. A secondary purpose will be to show the involvement of lay parishioners in church matters, and of the Church in parish communities. (See Appendix B: Chronology of Events in History of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox Church in North America)

In the 1880's, Lebanese-Syrian immigrants began to arrive in North America. By 1892 their numbers had increased to the point where the Syro-Arab Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church was established in New York. Father Constantine Tarazy of Damascus was one of the first clergy to arrive in New York. He took it upon himself to serve the immigrants in that community. However he

returned to Syria later that year as the community was still too small to support a permanent priest. Later in 1892, Archimandrite Christopher Jabara arrived also on his own initiative, to serve the same community. However he too left the next year, as his religious opinions had scandalized his parishioners.

By 1895 the New York community had grown to the point where the laymen formed the Syrian Orthodox Benevolent Society, and subsequently founded the first Syro-Arab church of North America in Brooklyn, New York - St. Nicholas Church. In the next year clergyman Raphael Hawaweeny of Damascus arrived in New York to serve this new parish. In 1898 he published the first Arabic book of services for North America.

Meanwhile the Montreal community had grown to such a size as to have their petition for a priest granted by Archimandrite Hawaweeny. In 1898, newly-arrived Father Ephrem Dibs was appointed the Montreal community's first priest. These actions were the first recorded examples of parishioners' initiatives in their newly formed North American church.

On December 15, 1898, Bishop Tikhon, hierarch of the Russian Church in North America at the relatively young age of 33, celebrated Liturgy in the Syro-Arab church of St. Nicholas in Brooklyn. Archimandrite Hawaweeny gave a welcoming speech.

Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord.

All twenty thousand members of the Syro-Arab colony living together in New York and elsewhere in North America together with me greet Your Grace, our new spiritual Father and Archpastor, on the occasion of your safe arrival. We are so bold to ask Your Grace for only one thing -- that you will continue to give to us, the Orthodox Syro-Arabs living within the boundaries of your diocese, the same maternal love, the same paternal care, the same archpastoral attention that was given to us by your most gracious predecessor. And we, on our part, remembering the words of the Apostle, "obey your leaders and submit to the, for they are keeping watch over your souls" (Hebrews 13:17), not only promise to the Holy Synod and to Your Grace our full obedience and our filial submission to all your paternal commands and archpastoral directions, but we also fully deliver ourselves over to your archpastoral care and blessings.

May our Lord Jesus Christ, through the prayers of the holy Nicholas of Myra in Lycia and Tikhon on Zadonsk, help Your Grace in this your new archpastoral ministry for the benefit of the Orthodox Church and the flowering of the Orthodox Faith in this New World. Amen.⁴

This request for continued support from the Russian Church in turn promised continued loyalty on the part of the Arab immigrants.

The following year, Archimandrite Hawaweeny received permission from Bishop Tikhon to raise money so that the Syrian community in Brooklyn could establish its own cemetery and erect its own church; the previous St. Nicholas was likely a borrowed Anglican church.⁵ At the turn of the century, the Arab community in Brooklyn was estimated at 3000 - the largest Arab Orthodox community in North America. On October 27, 1902, the "Mother

Parish of the Archdiocese", St. Nicholas Cathedral was consecrated in Brooklyn. A survey in the following year revealed that a quarter of the new Syrian-American immigrants in New York were from the same hometown of Zahle.

While the New York community was establishing a church, the Montreal community was having difficulties keeping a priest. Father Dibs resigned his post in 1900 and soon after Archimandrite Meletios Karoum was named to replace him. In November 1902, Father Mahfouz of Rashaya, from where most of the Montreal flock hailed, arrived in Montreal. As a result of this far more welcome addition to the Montreal community, Archimandrite Karoum accepted a temporary assignment to New York.

New York Archimandrite Hawaweeny's influence in the Russian Church grew rapidly. On February 1, 1904, an Auxiliary Bishopric of Brooklyn was established within the North America Diocese of the Syro-Arab Mission, and on March 12, Archimandrite Raphael Hawaweeny was named the Bishop of Brooklyn and Vicar to Archbishop Tikhon, making him the first Orthodox bishop of any ethnic group to be consecrated in North America. The following year Bishop Hawaweeny founded the Archdiocese publication "Al-Kalimat", forerunner to the present-day Word. Hawaweeny's kind words to welcome Tikhon to North America in 1898 and to promise the loyalty of the Syro-Arab community to Archbishop Tikhon had not fallen on deaf ears. The Syro-Arab mission's stature had grown rapidly as

had Hawaweeny's.

The Montreal community was similarly growing by leaps and bounds. On May 10, 1905, the Syrian Orthodox Benevolent Society of Montreal and the Syrian Ladies Benevolent Society of Montreal were established. The lay initiative of the Lebanese-Syrian immigrants was not uncommon among "new immigrants" in North America. According to Professor T.L. Smith, "on the contrary, laymen often played key roles in both local and regional religious affairs and expected priests, bishops, and rabbis to support lay social and political interests."⁶ The purpose of these two new societies in Montreal was twofold: 1. "to look after the welfare of the Orthodox of Middle Eastern origin, to see to their physical needs by assisting one another and to pool their resources for the mutual good of all" and 2. "to work towards fulfilment of their desire to have their own place of worship and a resident clergyman to celebrate the services for them."⁷

However the unity displayed in the founding of these societies did not sustain itself, and debate among the members of the societies led to deeper divisions. It is not clear either what caused this debate, or along which lines the groups split. What is clear is that the root of the division was not serious enough for anyone today to either remember or continue the grudge. The more likely dividing lines were uptown versus downtown Rashayans, or family squabbling between first cousins - for example the

Zegayer versus Shamy families. Although not expressed in any of the literature, the implication is that differences regarding the authority of the Russian Church over their new local church was the cause of the division. The results were that around 1905 a minority among the men and women left the group to form their own church (now St. Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox Church), and that the majority remained united and founded St. George Church of Montreal (then also called St. Nicholas) at 270 Vitre Street in a remodelled abandoned factory.

This Montreal community division as well resulted in a change of the local priest. On Dec. 13, 1905, Father Aftimios Ofeish of Bikfaya arrived in New York. The next summer, Archmandrite Ofeish was appointed pastor of St. George Church of Montreal after the minority of parishioners had involved themselves in church matters and tried to remove Father Mahfouz as priest of the community.⁸ Father Ofeish intervened in the Montreal community dispute and restored the peace between the groups. His efforts resulted in both sides requesting that he stay as their pastor. Although peace had returned to the Montreal community, the root of the division, namely disagreement over the Russian Church's involvement in North America, was simply repressed and not removed as a point of contention.

As head of the Russian Church, and after having lived a few years among the parishioners in North America, Archbishop Tikhon

developed very liberal beliefs on how the diocese should be run. In 1906, he sent his opinions to the Preconcilian Commission of the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg.

The diocese of North America must be reorganized into an Exarchate of the Russian Church in North America. The diocese is not only multinational; it is composed of several orthodox Churches, which keep the unity of faith, but preserve their particularities in canonical structure, in liturgical rules, in parish life. These particularities are dear to them and can perfectly be tolerated on the pan-orthodox scene. We do not consider that we have the right to suffer the national character of the churches here; on the contrary, we try to preserve this character and we confer them the latitude to be guided by leaders of their own nationality. Thus, the Syrian Church here received a bishop of its own (the Most Rev. Raphael [Hawaweeny] of Brooklyn), who is the second auxiliary to the diocesan bishop of the Aleutian Islands, but is almost independent in his own sphere (the bishop of Alaska having the same position).... It should be remembered however that life in the New World is different from that of the old; our Church must take this into consideration; a greater autonomy (and possibly autocephaly) should therefore be granted to the Church of America, as compared with the other Metropolitan sees of the Russian Church. The North American Exarchate would comprise: (1) the archdiocese of New York, with jurisdiction over all Russian Churches in the United States and in Canada (2) the diocese of Alaska, for the orthodox inhabitants of Alaska (Russians, Aleutians, Indians, Eskimos), (3) The diocese of Brooklyn (Syrian), (4) the diocese⁹ of Chicago (Serbian), (5) a Greek diocese.

His opinions were not appreciated by the Mother Church and Archbishop Tikhon was transferred to Russia in 1907. Two reasons led to his recall to Mother Russia. First, the Russian Church

could not tolerate the fact that the head of their Church in North America espoused the same beliefs as some of the parishioners. Second, the Church did not want to lose the control nor the financial contributions of these immigrants in North America whatever their ethnic origin.

In the meantime, the Montreal community continued to grow and the parishioners remained active within the Church. Layman Michael Zarbatany of Montreal published the first Arabic publication in Canada, "Al-Shehab", in 1908. His continuing efforts, both on this publication and on other church matters, made him highly respected within the Montreal parish. In a few years, his fellow parishioners would call upon him to fill a void that the Church could not, namely that of a permanent priest who would be acceptable to all concerned, and who would serve more than a few years.

On June 4, 1910, charters were granted for the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas of Canada (St. Nicholas Church) and The Saint Nicholas Syrian Greek Orthodox Church of Montreal (later to become St. George Church). The division in the community had not resolved itself and thus two churches were formed where numbers only warranted one. A legal battle decided only in 1940, would finally settle the dispute over which church would use the name of St. Nicholas. St. George, patron saint of Syria, would become the name of the later church.¹⁰ On June 20, 1910, the

cornerstone at the first location of St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Church was blessed at 342 Notre Dame Street East in Montreal. Father Ephram Ghulam was that church's first parish priest and he served from 1910 until 1917.

On Feb. 27, 1915, the head of the Syro-Arab Mission, Bishop Hawaweeny, died. Metropolitan Shehadi, who arrived from Beirut in 1914 and was affiliated with the Orthodox Church of Antioch but not as an official envoy, hoped to replace Bishop Hawaweeny. Instead, on May 13, 1917, Archimandrite Ofeish was consecrated as Bishop of Brooklyn to serve the Syro-Arab Mission of the Russian Church, and Vicar to Russian Archbishop Evdokim. After Ofeish had raised over \$14,000 to build a church, some of his more critical parishioners claimed that he wanted to separate the parish from the Russian Patriarchate in favour of joining the Antiochian patriarchate. Ofeish was called upon to answer this charge in front of Metropolitan Platon, the new head of the Orthodox Church in North America. He did so successfully. The same issue arose in the belief held by some of the Montreal parishioners, as well as the former head of the North American Church, Archbishop Tikhon. It simply meant that the view shared by many within the community was that the North American Church should be autonomous. Later it would become clear that Ofeish himself held such a belief.

Another influential priest was Michael Zarbatany who answered the call from fellow parishioners and on November 17, 1917 was

ordained priest of St. Nicholas Church in Montreal, a post he would hold for forty-three years. In 1925, he would be elevated to Archpriest and Economos, the highest honour that a married priest could attain. Meanwhile in St. George Church, Archdeacon Emmanuel Abo-Hatab, who would during his tenure translate the Divine Liturgy and Church hymns into English, was elevated to Archimandrite in 1918 to fill the vacancy in Montreal caused by the departure of Bishop Ofeish. By 1923, Bishop Ofeish of Brooklyn was raised to the status of Archbishop by Metropolitan Platon, an initial step towards the autonomous Syro-Arab diocese in North America as predicted in 1906 by, now the Patriarch of Russia, Tikhon.

Having felt slighted over the appointment of Ofeish to the Bishopric of Brooklyn a year earlier, the ambitious Metropolitan Shehadi incorporated his own separate diocese "The Syrian Holy Orthodox Greek Catholic Mission in North America" on February 18, 1919. Despite orders from the Antiochian Church to return to Lebanon, Shehadi used the First World War as an excuse to remain in North America. By 1924, Metropolitan Shehadi had established over twenty-four parishes under his care, all loyal to the Patriarchate of Antioch. In 1924, Bishop Victor Abo-Assaly, the official representative of Patriarch of Antioch, arrived and tried to attract disgruntled parishioners of Archbishop Ofeish to the Patriarchal See of Antioch. Whatever support Metropolitan Shehadi received from the Antiochian Patriarchate is unclear, however the arrival of Bishop Abo-Assaly seems only to have undermined

Shehadi's pretention as the head of the Antiochian Church in North America.

As a result of the 1917 Revolution in Russia, the Russian Church found itself in a precarious position. Under the Soviet regime, the Church's funds were frozen and its powers circumvented. In March 1924, Patriarch Tikhon signed a statement (presumably under duress) printed in the Russian language press in America accusing Metropolitan Platon of counter-revolutionary acts against the Soviet State. This statement, although taken very seriously, was seen as evidence of the precarious relations between the Mother Church in Russia, who could no longer provide neither funds nor religious guidance, and the North American Diocese. To answer Tikhon's charge, the Fourth All-American Council was convened on April 4, 1924. The Council arrived at two results; first, it reaffirmed Metropolitan Platon's election in 1922; and second, it provided the impetus for non-Russian groups to form their own ecclesiastical organization. As an anti-climax to this first period of division within the Church, Patriarch Tikhon died in 1925.

1925, as well, was the year in which Metropolitan Platon of the Russian Church recommended that the Syro-Arab Mission become an independent church. However "Autocephaly", considered de facto from this point, would not be granted by the Russian Church until 1970. Meanwhile the efforts of Bishop Abo-Assaly resulted in the

formation of the Independent Syrian Antiochian jurisdiction in 1925.

There seems to have been two camps of thought in North America regarding the ties to either the Russian Church or Church of Antioch. "Russys", as they were known, were not loyal to the Russian Church, due to its nearly total lack of power after 1917. They did feel however that ties to the Russian Church were their means of independence. Belonging to the Russian Church meant they could control their own destiny without interference from any foreign power. "Antackys", on the other hand, longed to belong to the Church that had named an Arab patriarch in 1899. The tie to the Church of Antioch was an ethnic one that bound the immigrants to their community in both Lebanon and Syria, and abroad.

On Feb. 2, 1927, perhaps in an attempt to appease the Antacky group, Metropolitan Platon signed a solemn act placing Archbishop Ofeish in charge of North American Orthodox churches. By this act, Archbishop Ofeish's beliefs in an independent church now seemed to be encouraged by the Russian Church in North America. Ofeish apparently thought he no longer needed to deny his beliefs and in the April-May 1927 edition of **The Orthodox Catholic Review**, he published "Present and Future of Orthodoxy in America in Relation to Other Bodies and to Orthodoxy Abroad".

The foundation and development of Orthodoxy in America under the benevolent authority and guidance of the Holy Synod of the Patriarchate of Moscow and All-Russia was calculated to

result in an autonomous province or autocephalous and independent American church of the Orthodox Catholic Communion....Orthodoxy in America, unlike that in any previously existing Orthodox Province, is made up of people of all languages and from all political, racial, and ecclesiastical allegiances within the Church. It is not a homogeneous body of people of one language, race, or nation. Only two things are common to all Orthodox in America -- the fact of their Orthodox Faith, and their residence in this country. In other particulars their interests, thought, feelings and prejudices are diverse and, too often, mutually antagonistic. It is not practical for all of them to be under the discipline and authority of Bishops of any one foreign Orthodox national Church....The very survival and future existence of Orthodoxy depends on the rapid and firm organization and development of the Orthodox Catholic Church as one unified body in America.¹¹

On Sept. 11, 1927, Archimandrite Abo-Hatab was given the newly-created title of Bishop of Montreal and Vicar to Archbishop Ofeish. The Montreal community had become very established and their churches were serving all of Quebec and southwestern Ontario. In their appointment of Abo-Hatab, the North American Church may have already been grooming Ofeish's successor. On May 26, 1928, Sophronius Bashira was named Bishop of Los Angeles, demonstrating the growth of the Church both in the south and the west by this point. Finally, on May 6, 1930, Archbishop Ofeish was removed as Bishop of Brooklyn because he promoted an independent American church. In 1931, Bishop Abo-Hatab of Montreal was appointed by Metropolitan Platon as leader of the Syro-Arab Bishopric. Another turning point came in April 29, 1933, Archbishop Ofeish married a

young Syrian girl and as a result was deposed from his position by his followers. Many authors cite Ofeish's marriage as the reason for his downfall, but as the dates indicated it was his pronouncement of an independent church that was the cause. Ofeish remained in virtual isolation until his death in 1971.

The Montreal community lost St. Nicholas Church to a fire in 1931. Out of the ashes grew discussions that were held over the next five years concerning the possibility of merger between St. Nicholas and St. George churches in Montreal. However, the same disagreement over affiliation either to the Russian or Antiochian Church - otherwise known as the "Russy-Antacky" debate - would bring an end to this period of relative truce. Similar disagreements would divide other Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox communities in other North American cities with similar results.

The "Russy-Antacky" debate would reach a climax when the Orthodox Church in North America lost all its leaders within two years in 1933 and 1934. In May 1933, Bishop Abo-Hatab died. In April 20, 1934, Metropolitan Platon died. In April 1934, Metropolitan Shehadi, who had just returned to Beirut the previous Nov. died, and in April 19, 1934, Archbishop Abo-Assaly died. With no obvious candidate in place elections were held for the new leader of the Church in North America. The options were Antony Bashir who was from the Russey camp, and Samuel David of the Antacky camp. On Nov. 19, 1935, Archimandrite Antony Bashir was elected.

On April 19, 1936, Antony Bashir was consecrated by two Russian bishops as Metropolitan of New York and All North America. St. George Church of Montreal had been one of his supporters.

Also on April 19, 1936, Samuel David, who had lost the election but continued being encouraged by his many followers, was consecrated as Metropolitan of Toledo and Its Dependencies, and the spiritual leader of Patriarchate of Antioch in America, which remained disunited from the Church until 1975. St. Nicholas Church of Montreal had supported his candidacy and election.

The election of Bashir and the loss by David demonstrates an excellent example of the parishioners deciding church matters. Even though the majority of churches in the diocese had elected Antony Bashir, an influential yet smaller group convinced Samuel David to become a Metropolitan in his own right. The Russian Church, although having consecrated Metropolitan Bashir, faded into the background and left the Syro-Arab mission on its own.

Having split over the Russy-Antacky issue, the Montreal churches became clearly separate from this point on. St. George Church of Montreal decided to build a new church on November 17, 1936 at the recognized (and present) geographic centre of the community, namely the corner of Jean Talon and Lajeunesse. On Sept. 29, 1940, St. George Orthodox Church was inaugurated at 555 Jean Talon in Montreal. The final piece to the Montreal story was

in the form of the cornerstone for St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, which was consecrated at the present day 80 de Castelnau Street East address on September 14, 1950.

The first fifty years of the Syro-Arab Mission of the North American Orthodox Church and the Montreal community saw the initiative of the newly-arrived immigrants first establish, then seek to separate from the mother Church. Through the turmoil, the fervour of the parishioners remained steadfast to their Orthodox beliefs. By 1977, the Antiochian Orthodox church of North America was the soul of a loyal community that had grown to 105 churches and a congregation numbering some 150,000.

The significance of religion to these immigrants must be considered in relation to their other ties to family and hometown. Only once all three of these factors, are considered can one discuss the Montreal community in its proper context. The next chapter will focus on the family in its importance to these immigrants.

ENDNOTES

1. Norma Salem, unpublished paper: 21.
2. Baha Abu-Laban, **An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada**, Generations, A History of Canada's People (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980): 32.
3. Wlodzimierz Baczkowski, "Russia and the Holy Land," **The Eastern Quarterly**, 2.2 (1949): 42.
4. Leonid Kishkovsky, "Archbishop Tikhon & the North American Diocese, 1898-1907," in Constance Tarasar et al., eds, **Orthodox America 1794-1976: Development of the Orthodox Church in America**, (Synosset, N.Y.: The Orthodox Church in America, Dept. of History and Archives, 1975): 83.
5. The reason why the Orthodox immigrants were drawn to Anglican churches when no Orthodox church existed was because "The British...encouraged the separatist tendencies of the Orthodox churches, seeking to make them independent of both the Ottomans and the Russians....on the grounds that both were anti-papist. The Church of England sent missions to, and sponsored conferences with, the Orthodox churches" Morrow Berger, "America's Syrian Community: Patterns of a Minority." **Commentary** 25 (1958): 321.
6. Timothy L. Smith, "Lay Initiative in the Religious Life of American Immigrants, 1880-1950," **Anonymous American: Explorations in Nineteenth-Century Social History**, ed. Tamara K. Hareven (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971): 215. S.J.G. Alexander's study of the Catholic Slovaks of Pittsburgh revealed that "lay initiative spurred the development of all four Slovak Catholic churches in Pittsburgh: neither the bishops nor priests led the way in establishing these parishes." Sylvia June Granatir Alexander, **The Immigrant Church and Community: The Formation of Pittsburgh's Slovak Religious Institutions, 1880-1914**. Diss. U of Minnesota, 1980. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980. DDJ70-23240: 348.
7. **St. Nicholas Antiochian Church of Montreal: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Tribute 1910-1985**, n.p.
8. As was the case with the Italian Catholics in Toronto in J.E. Zucchi's study, "The laity was never a docile group...harsh criticisms, insult, or any attempt by the clergy at over-extending its power in the community were challenged by tough resistance on the part of parishioners." John E. Zucchi,

"Church and Clergy, and the Religious Life of Toronto's Italian Immigrants, 1900-1940." CCHA, Study Sessions 50 (1983): 542.

9. Volaitis: 114-5, Tikhon in "Opiniious (Otzyvy) of Diocesan bishops concerning Church Reforms, submitted to the Preconcilian Commission of the Holy Synod, St. Petersburg, 1906, Part I: 531.
10. In 1939, Metropolitan Anthony Bashir would convince the St. George group to be called St. George. St. George accepted the new name in part because it had to change the charter due to a limitation of assets (\$25,000) which the building of the new church exceeded. St. Nicholas Orthodox Church cost approximately \$200,000 in 1949. According to the 1910 charter of both churches, "the immovable property held by it at any one time shall not exceed twenty-five thousand dollars, and at any time sell, lease, exchange, hypothecate or alienate this property or any part thereof and acquire other immovable property in lieu thereof".

The names that appeared on the 1910 charter for St. Nicholas were Alexander Saad, Salim Bouziane, Joseph Tabah, Salim Kassab, and John Shamy. For St. George, the names were Aftimios Offiesh, Chaheen Aboud, Essa Boosamra, Salim Boosamra, Najeeb Tabah, Fahed Tabah, Mansour Shatilla and Michael Zegayer.

11. Bishop Ofeish, "Present and Future of Orthodoxy in America in Relation to Other Bodies and To Orthodoxy Abroad," in **The Orthodox Catholic Review**, Vol. I, No. IV-V, April-May 1927, as cited in Tarasar: 196-198.

FAMILY

The second of the three pillars on which Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox communities were formed was the family. Family is considered by most scholars to be the most important influence on Middle Eastern culture. For example, Anthropologist Raphael Patai went as far as to describe "the culture of the Middle East a 'kinship culture'"¹

As one aspect of this thesis suggests, the three pillars of religion, family and village must be considered separately despite the fact that they are interrelated. In his general study entitled **An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada**, B. Abu-Laban calls the immigrants 'kinsmen', "not only in the sense of blood relations, but also in the sense of people of their own kind."² In that study the boundaries between the terms 'kinsmen' and 'people of their own kind' are not well defined by the author. In the aforementioned statement and his general use of the term Arab, the author overgeneralizes. No distinction between the different religions, families nor villages is clearly made. While his statements are true on the whole, his combining of all these peoples into one pot ignores the great difference that religion, family and village make to these people in relation to their interactions. The point being that an Orthodox Christian from Rashaya, Lebanon and a Muslim from Damascus, Syria do not consider themselves any more similar than would a Catholic from Nicaragua

and a Protestant from Ontario.

In this chapter, the emphasis is on family. The theme throughout will be that the culture of, and approach to life in Montreal by the local Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox group were based on family values carried over from their village.

It is the family that passes on the socioreligious values of the culture to its offspring. Indeed, proper introduction and identification of a Middle Easterner does not end with the announcement of his name and profession. Rather, his family group must be ascertained as well as his village community. For the Levantine immigrant, the family was an extension of himself, and his religion an extension of his family. From this bedrock commitment to family came both identity and strength, loyalty and love, and on occasion feuds and fracas.³

Indeed the division of the community in Montreal, and the subsequent forming of St. Nicholas Church as an alternative to St. George Church, is based on such a family feud. "Since families were religiously homogeneous, family loyalty became translated into religious fidelity."⁴ By introducing aspects of kinship, cousin marriage, and process of immigration as three examples, this section will show the relative importance of 'family' to the Lebanese-Syrian culture as a whole.

The Meaning of Kinship

The terms family and kinship (which for the purposes of this study are considered synonymous) cannot refer simply to the nuclear family. They are terms that describe the extended family including grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins. Similar terms in other cultures used to describe family in the same manner would be 'clan' and 'famiglia'. The extended family or kin group for the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox forms the same point of reference as the immediate family does for North Americans. It is a vital part of this group's self-identification.

"Descent is important in the Middle East for establishing the ascribed status of an individual, for providing him with the basis of his claim to position, occupation, property, a girl's hand, economic help, armed support, social, legal, or religious functions, a seat in council, membership in larger social units, etc.⁵

To the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox, the importance of family is all encompassing in his life, culture and society. The names of parents are affected by the birth of the first male child. If a couple has a son named George, the father is called **abu George** and the mother **im George**. This becomes the most common way that this couple is referred to, even more than their common first names.

Rodger P. Davies points out another important indication of the strength of Syrian Arabic kinship. There is only one word for one's father's brother, one's spouse father, and one's parent's

sisters' husbands; that is 'ammi. "Application of the term 'ammi to persons outside the kin group as a respectful form of address is some indication of the important status of father's brothers within the group."⁶ "The terms listed suggest that the bint 'amm, 'father's brother's daughter' is a potential wife and, conversely, that an 'ibn 'amm, 'father's brother's son', is a prospective husband."⁷ One's father's brother is also one's father-in-law.

Kinship and Marriage - The Cousin Marriage

If one considers the impact of kinship through language, then what of practices? Whereas in western culture, a marriage brings together two families, for better or worse, the Lebanese-Syrian culture uses marriage to solidify one family. The practice is called "cousin marriage". It has been said that

The subject of kinship and marriage occupies a rather prominent place in most of the anthropologically relevant literature on the Arab Levant. There are two reasons for this. One is that the Levantine Arabs are very conscious of their own patterns of behavior and expectations in this area of life....The second reason is that it is a standard and basic subject of anthropological inquiry.⁸

A particular feature of this culture highlights the importance of family to this group beyond all others. The practice of cousin marriage is a trait of Middle Eastern culture not found in almost any other.

"The Middle Eastern family has been

characterized ... as patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, extended, occasionally polygynous, and emphatically endogamous. The first five of these six basic traits are found also in one or more of the culture areas contiguous to the Middle East. The sixth, endogamy, and especially its most conspicuous Middle Eastern form, which is marriage between a man and his father's brother's daughter (bint 'amm in Arabic), is practically nonexistent outside the Middle Eastern culture continent."⁹

As Davies again pointed out, in the Arabic language the same term is used for one's uncle and father-in-law. Although Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox are religiously forbidden to marry any first cousin, there exists a "conflict with two firmly established patterns in Arab culture: the dominance of patriliney and the preferential marriage of the closest possible relatives outside the nuclear family".¹⁰ Cousin marriage is not forbidden, but rather encouraged in the Muslim faith.

As in many cultures, one does not simply choose one's mate. The particular case of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox sees rules of convention regarding marriage that must be considered.

"The Lebanese village as a type of kinship structure may be defined as an endogamous local group which is segmented into patrilineages which are preferably endogamous but often exogamous is practice.... Kinship and marriage patterns thus are an integral part of the extreme localization of interests and activities, which is the hallmark of village culture."¹¹

Patai contended in his article entitled "The Structure of Endogamous Unilineal Descent Groups" that "a man's patrilineal descent counts for everything; his matriline counts for nothing".¹² Cousin marriage is, however, not restricted to cousins of patrilineal descent. Matrilineal kin have provided a subordinate but nevertheless significant number of spouses for the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox.

Patai's contention that one's matriline counts for nothing was refuted by Murphy and Kasden who were active in the anthropological debate on the practice of cousin marriage in the Middle East. "The Arabs most certainly have a patrilineal ideology, and children are uniformly assigned to the agnatic line. In terms of actual composition, however, the Arab kin group include one's matrilineal kin also, just as does the bilateral kindred."¹³

In F.I. Khuri's study of kinship in-marriage in two suburbs of Beirut, he discovered that kinship marriages based on matrilineage were as significant as those based on patrilineage. While father's brother's daughter (FBD) marriages occur the most (28.3%) among husbands and wives who are related, 14.7% of kinship in-marriages were of the father's sister's daughter (FZD) variety. In contradiction to Patai's statement that the matriline counted for nothing, Khuri found that 17.8% of kinship in-marriages were of the mother's brother's daughter (MBD) type and 26.0% were

mother's sister's daughter (MZD) marriages, only slightly lower than the FBD rate.

A more significant figure from Khuri's study however is that only 13.1% of Christians married with their traceable kin group. Although this figure demonstrates a trend of kinship marriage, it is not nearly a majority of the marriages. In fact, the majority married spouses of no relationship.¹⁴

Evidence then bears out the contention of anthropologists John Gulick and Millicent Ayoub that cousin marriage should not be viewed "as the central focus of marriage selection...it should be regarded as 'but the most extreme example of the more general configuration of preferential endogamy.'"¹⁵

In my study of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox in Montreal, several points are very clear. First, figures of marriage within one's patrilineal kin is markedly high. Of those 605 endogamous marriages between Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox, and assuming that the same family name means the same kin group, 36 were between people of the same family name, ie. 6.0%. Second, an even higher percentage came from the marriage of people of the same hometown, some 48% of those marriages that list hometown. A third important point was that over the forty-five year period that the marriage records have been examined, the kinship in-marriages were equally spread over the years and showed no preferences to first or second

generation immigrants. Another interesting point shows that of the thirty-six kinship in-marriages, four families had two sets of marriages within their kin group, and one family, the Yarid's, had four marriages (of their total of eleven marriages). It can easily be said then that the pattern of kinship marriage was

"So intensive [that] the predominance of kinship positions in patterning and regulating interpersonal affairs that intermarriage within the same lineage was often the preferred form. This was especially true of many American families of Syrian ancestry who did not have the range of eligible marriage mates available to them that they had had in the old country. The only alternative was marriage within the village community that drew its strength from the intensive association and social intercourse afforded people in such close proximity. So the village often became nothing more than the extension of the family."¹⁶

That is not to say that marriage was the sole key to kinship amongst new arrivals. It can be argued that for those who married outside their kin, family or village group, intermarriage must be seen as occurring because of assimilation, and not that assimilation occurred because of intermarriage. There is a causal relationship between intermarriage and assimilation.¹⁷ Of the 106 marriages that were ethnically exogamous of the 715 marriages in the two churches over forty-five years, most took place in the late 1930's and the 1940's. Assimilation had begun as the second generation reached the age of marriage and began to take spouses

from outside their own ethnic, religious, and kin group. A clear change in the values instilled by families in Montreal became visible. The conflict between not being able to marry one's first cousin in the Orthodox Church, and patriliney by marry one's closest relative outside the nuclear family was resolved as the latter lessened in the value placed on it by kinship culture. The only true clarity was that kinship marriage was one more factor in the cultural identity of that community.

Family in North America

The third aspect in this section deals with the family unit in North America. Briefly touching upon the impact of immigration onto kinship, it serves more as an introduction to the third 'pillar' of the community. By dealing with the results of the new community in North America, it forces our attention to turn first to the hometown in Lebanon and Syria as the source of North American communities, the subject of the following chapter.

All evidence suggests that extended families remained the foundation for this group in any city they settled. The kin group, or extended family, drew new members away from their home village as the continued lure of being with ones family proved stronger than geographic boundaries.

As more and more immigrants left the homeland to improve their

lot, they also left for those places where their families were to be found. This was not mainly because their family could be used to help establish the new immigrants in the New World, but rather the prime reason was to be reunited as a family unit. Even as late as the post-WWII era, 20% of Lebanese-Syrian immigrants who came to Canada did so to reform the extended family; i.e. to either join other family members and relatives, or for the sake of their children, or because they were accompanied by family.¹⁸ The largest percentage of immigrants (45%) cited "social and career advancement" as the main reason for leaving their hometown. The effects of hometown on family and kin are so important that more detail on the hometown ties will be found in the following section.

ENDNOTES

1. Raphael Patai, "The Structure of Endogamous Unilineal Descent Groups," **Southwestern Journal of Anthropology** 21.4 (1965): 348.
2. Baha Abu-Laban, **An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada**, Generation, a history of Canada's peoples (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980): 110.
3. Philip M. Kayal and Joseph M. Kayal, **The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation** (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975): 113.
4. Philip M. Kayal, "Religion in the Christian 'Syrian-American Community'". Barbara C. Aswad, **Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities**. (New York: Center for Migration Studies of N.Y. Inc. & Association of Arab-American University Graduates Inc., 1974): 119.
5. Patai: 335.
6. R.P. Davies, "Syrian Arabic Kinship Terms." **Southwestern Journal of Anthropology** 5 (1949): 249.
7. Davies: 250.
8. John Gulick, "The Arab Levant" **The Central Middle East**. Ed. Louise E. Sweet. (New Haven: HRAF Press, 1971):103.
9. Raphael Patai, **Golden River to Golden Road: Society, Culture, and Change in the Middle East**, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969): 135.
10. John Gulick, "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction" **American Anthropologist** 55 (1953): 369.
11. Gulick, "The Lebanese Village": 371.
12. Patai, "The Structure of Endogamous Unilineal Descent Groups": 335.
13. Robert F. Murphy and Leonard Kasdan, "Agnation and Endogamy: Some further considerations," **Southwestern Journal of Anthropology** 23 (1967): 4.
14. Fuad I. Khuri, "Parallel Cousin Marriage Reconsidered: A Middle Eastern Practice that Nullifies the Effects of Marriage on the Intensity of Family Relationships," **Man** 7 (1970): 599.

One of the exceptional groups, other than the Lebanese-Syrians, found to practice cousin marriage were the Highland Scots. According to M. Molloy's study of Highland Scots in Cape Breton, marriages tend to be of two forms: cousin marriage and brother-sister exchange marriages. The importance of patrilineage as opposed to matrilineage does not seem to matter within this group.

"However, when the marriages of groups of cousins are examined, it is found that even apparently exogamous marriages commonly contributed to the formation of new, intensely inter-related kin groups... extensive kin ties provided a source of material and emotional support for emigrants facing dislocation and subsequent colonization."

Maureen Molloy, "No Inclination to Mix with Strangers": Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand, 1800-1916.' *Journal of Family History* 11.3 (1986): 221-222.

15. John Gulick, "The Arab Levant": 105 and Millicent R. Ayoub, "Parallel Cousin Marriage and Endogamy: A Study in Sociometry." *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 15 (1959): 274.
16. Kayal and Kayal: 114.
17. As discussed in Simon Marcson, "A Theory of Inter-marriage and Assimilation," *Social Forces* 29 (1951): 75-78.
18. Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada*, Generation, a history of Canada's peoples (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980): 77. Although it is unclear how valid Abu-Laban statistics are, his study confirms the findings of other scholars. He asked the question "For what reason(s) did you come to Canada" of 454 foreign-born respondents. From his many responses, he divided them five sections. 1) Social and Career Advancement - 45%, 2) Kin and Friends - 21%, 3) Political Considerations - 12%, 4) Spirit of Adventure - 9%, and 5) Miscellaneous Reasons - 13%.

HOMETOWN

The third and final pillar of importance to a Lebanese-Orthodox community is the hometown. The village from where one's family hails represents a point of reference for these immigrants as do religion and family ties. As a close-knit community, the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community can be defined as related, extended families of the same faith who originate from the same village or hometown.

This chapter will examine two important features of hometown ties. First, patterns of chain migration between specific villages in the Old Country and the new settlements will be detailed. Second, evidence of endogamy based on hometown lines will be chronicled. These are two prime points that are seen as integral to the discussion of this study. The case study of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox in Montreal which follows will reveal the significant role that hometown played to this community based primarily upon these factors.

Chain Migration

According to John and Leatrice MacDonald, "chain migration can be defined as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have

initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants."¹ That is to say that a trend begins with the first few families or individuals who emigrate from a Lebanese village to an area, for our purposes Montreal. As D. Weale explains, one should

Consider the phenomenon of "chain-migration" in terms of a single Lebanese village. At first just a handful left, but wherever they landed they were soon filled with longing for familiar faces. In their letters they urged others to come join them. Often the merits of their new situation were exaggerated. It was difficult not to fall into that temptation, for it served the double purpose of justifying their decision to leave, while making it more attractive for relatives and friends to join them. In this way a few more would be drawn away, and in some cases it was not long before such a tide of people was flowing that it seemed as though everyone would leave. After all, departure from one's native land was no longer exile when there were comrades and family members beckoning from the new place of settlement.²

Over a dozen localized studies of Lebanese-Syrian communities in their new found home noted that in each study the Lebanese-Syrian immigrants originated from a handful of villages in Lebanon and Syria.³ (See Appendix C - Chain Migration of Lebanese-Syrian Christians) For example on the African continent, the Lebanese communities in Ouagadougou (Upper Volta) and in Bouake (Ivory Coast) were from Bayno (north Lebanon), those in Accra (Ghana) were from Tripoli, Lagos (Nigeria) from Mizyara, Dakar (Senegal) from Tyre, and Bamako (Mali) from Bayt Shabab.⁴

Among Lebanese groups in North America, the pattern of chain migration described above seems to have been as strong. A traveller visiting Montreal at the turn of the century noted that the Maronites and Greek Catholics in Montreal were from Beirut, Beskinta, and Hasroun.⁵

Viviane Doche, in her study of Lebanese-Americans in the Twin Cities, has located the hometowns of those in Minneapolis as Batrounm, south of Tripoli, Bijdarfel, Batroun, Jdabra, and other neighbouring towns, and those in St. Paul emigrated from Toula-el-Jebbe, Aslout, Bane, Hadchit, Zghorta, and Bouharet.⁶

An anomaly to this appears with the Lebanese and Syrians in Nova Scotia, who have not been as carefully divided by hometown. Authors Nancy and Joseph Jabbra, in **Voyageurs to a Rocky Shore**, have listed some fifty villages as the principle sources of Nova Scotian Lebanese and Syrians. A weakness in this discussion is that they hardly attempt to distinguish the number emigrating from each village, its predominant religion, or the time period during which migration took place.⁷ They do, however, offer as an example of "chain migration in action," the case of an Orthodox extended family, the Khalils, all of whom came from the village of Beit ad-Dib in the Akkar region of northern Lebanon, which seem to emphasize the point of this section.⁸

The Lebanese of Mexico and Central America have been carefully

studied both in terms of the original hometowns and the family names or kinship as seen above. While some villages account for over a hundred families in Mexico (namely Beirut, Beit Mellet, Bqaa'Kafra, Deir El Ahhmar, Gunie, Qarttaba, Tannurin, Tripoli, and Zgharta), the Central American countries demonstrate more clearly the pattern of chain migration. For example half of the Lebanese families in each of the Republics of Costa Rica and Guatemala, come from the village of Hhassrun, i.e. 182 families from a village of 5 000 inhabitants. What is even more revealing is the small number of family names (about 250) found in total for all 6241 families in Mexico and Central America.⁹

Two authors writing around the turn of the century noted the extreme localization of originating villages of these immigrants. First, Darwin Bengough writing in **Harper's Weekly** about the New York Lebanese-Syrian community in 1895 recognized that "The Mount of Lebanon and the coast of Syria are the localities from which, as a rule, they have emigrated".¹⁰ Then in 1903, Norman Duncan noted in **Harper's Monthly Magazine** that there were 5000 Syrians in New York's "parent colony" - chiefly from Beirut and Damascus.¹¹

An important point should be made concerning the destination of this emigrating groups. It seemed to matter little where the destination was located. What took precedence was that a specific group from a specific hometown travelled to the same destination

as members of their religion and family. As the repetition of certain village names indicates, immigration history is a continental phenomena: to immigrants, borders and even continents were secondary, except that immigrants wanted to go to 'Amrika'. "Going to 'Amrika' came to mean the United States as well as Canada, South and Central America, and Australia where, whether through the deceit of steamship agents and brokers or by the emigrants' choice, communities of Syrians developed their own magnetic attraction."¹²

To emphasize this last point, a very clear pattern of chain migration can be observed between specific villages in Lebanon and specific cities and towns in Quebec and Ontario. A clear pattern can also be drawn between specific towns in Lebanon and specific family names, thereby indicating that certain families migrated over a period of time to particular cities in Canada based on chain migration.

MONTREAL

The Montreal experience can easily be used as an example for this point. The Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox families who immigrated to Montreal between the late 1890s and the Great Depression came primarily from Rashaya and the surrounding villages of Ain Hircha, Chebaa, Rashaya el Foukhar, and Kfar Mechki, as well as Damas and

Zahle. (See Appendix D - Map of Lebanon) According to the process of chain migration, one of the first emigrants from Rashaya or a neighbouring village must have come to Montreal either directly or more likely via the United States. He would have established a business and felt secure enough to write home and ask a brother, cousin, or other member of his extended family to join him. Soon most of the family, along with their spouses, children, extended family and their friends, would join them until the village would be transplanted much along the same lines as described by Robert Ostergren regarding another immigrant group in the United States.¹³ Interestingly each study of the Lebanese-Syrian in various cities around the world involves different family names and different towns and villages in Lebanon and Syria.

Most of the Lebanese in Charlottetown can trace their ancestry to just a few villages, and almost all of them are related to other members of the group here. Indeed, the majority of Island Lebanese came from one or the other of two villages in southern Lebanon: Kfeir, in the province of Hasbaya; or Deir Mimas, just a few miles away, in the province of Marjayoun.¹⁴

This pattern of chain migration from a few villages is found in every study of this group no matter what part of the world.

Over three-quarters of the more than 45,000 Lebanese in Australia, as the result of strong village chain migrations, have settled in metropolitan Sydney where many have formed separate religious and village clusters based strongly on kin ties, rather than any one Lebanese ethnic quarter.¹⁵

Hometown Endogamy

Based on the theories of the relative importance of family and kinship described in earlier sections of this study, it stands to reason that given the importance of hometown to these immigrants they may have similarly encouraged marriages based on hometown ties.

Anthropological studies of this practice in the Middle East have stressed the tradition of village endogamy. In his discussions of the old country of Lebanon & Syria, John Gulick examined the village of Munsif and discovered that "No one is remembered to have married outside the village... before about one hundred years ago."¹⁶ "Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it."¹⁷ The same pattern has been witnessed in immigrant Lebanese-Syrian communities. "Lebanese almost always marry within their own community, and, usually, within their own religion."¹⁸

In testing this theory among the 715 marriages that were recorded in St. Nicholas and St. George Churches in Montreal between 1905 and 1950, 89 were between people of the same hometown origin or some 12.4% of the total. 187 of the 715 marriages listed the groom's and/or bride's hometown in Lebanon and Syria. 48% of

those immigrants married people from the same hometown. (See Appendix E - Marriage Registers Listing Same Groom and Bride Hometown) Therefore finding a prospective partner from the hometown was a significant factor to be taken into consideration when choosing one's mate. This fact is not surprising when one considers it in light of the strong pattern of chain migration within this community and the importance of religion, family and hometown. The combination of these factors perpetuated an inbred community. It was only once acculturation of the second and third generations began to take place that exogamous marriages were recorded, and that the close knit community started to dissipate.

SUMMARY

To recapitulate, the three dominant pillars of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community are religion, family and hometown. Each was a vital aspect of the make-up of these immigrant communities wherever in the world they settled. "A Syrian is born to his religion, just as an American is born to his nationality. In fact, his church takes the place of the state for him."¹⁹

Religion, family and hometown act as reference points for the immigrant in his new world.

The typical Middle Easterner sees his family as an extension of himself, and his religious grouping becomes the demarcation point between himself (family) and the world outside. The members of one's family are almost always of the same faith and tradition, and consequently

it is his religion which locates and identifies a person in time and space. His coreligionists are 'his people' and act as his extended family.²⁰

A people organized socially around their religion and village express most of their values in relation to family life.²¹

Unanimity exists with regards to which is the most important of the three, i.e. kinship. "Family ties were important and functional, the extended family being the basis on which the social organization, social control and the economy were founded."²² David Weale's comment on the immigration of Lebanese-Syrians to PEI is valid for or inherent in every study of this immigrant group.

The family or kinship group is an esteemed institution in Lebanon, and family loyalty supersedes loyalty to the state or the group. Family being such a dominant force in their lives, it is perhaps not surprising that the Lebanese should have emigrated, not just as individuals, and not as an ethnic group, but as families.²³

The dominant institution for retaining culture in the new world for these immigrants, just as it was in the old world, was the church.

The church's importance in the old country made religion the primary and most significant institution established by the immigrants in America. As a means of comfort in the anonymity of their new urban environment, the church continued its traditional role of providing support for the insecure immigrant. However, the immigrant church was an instrument, not only of preservation but of adaptation as well. Inevitably the change in environment meant that the churches would be transformed even while they were still being

transplanted.²⁴

In the following chapter, the case study of the Montreal community will be examined further using information derived from the marriage registers of St. Nicholas and St. George Orthodox Churches from 1905-1950. Through the use primarily of this source, a composite of this community will be developed.

ENDNOTES

1. From John S. MacDonald and Leatrice D. MacDonald, "Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation, and Social Networks," in *An Urban World*, Ed. Charles Tilley (Little Brown & Company, 1974): 226.
2. David Weale, *A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian/Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island*. Island Studies Series, No. 1. (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1988): 7-8.
3. Chain migration between hometowns in the old country and cities in North, Central, and South America has been discovered by studies not only of Lebanese-Syrian groups, but of other groups as well. Robert Ostergren's examination of a Swedish immigrant community points out that "the strongest evidence for a transplantation of traits from the parent to the daughter community was made in the area of social organization. Here the influences of **church, village and especially kinship linkages** were significant in re-establishing and preserving time-honoured ways and traditions." Robert Ostergren, "A community transplanted: the formative experience of a Swedish immigrant community in the Upper Middle West." *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (1979): 211.
4. Fuad I. Khuri, "Kinship, Emigration, and Trade Partnership Among the Lebanese of West Africa," *Africa*, Vol. 35 (1965): 385.
5. Sélim Abou, *Contribution à l'étude de la nouvelle immigration libanaise au Québec*, Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, publication B-66 (1977): 5.
6. Viviane Doche, *Cedars by the Mississippi: The Lebanese-Americans in the Twin Cities* (San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1978): 40.
7. Nancy W. Jabbra, and Joseph G. Jabbra, *Voyageurs to a Rocky Shore: The Lebanese and Syrians of Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1984): 11.
8. Jabbra and Jabbra: 27-31.
9. Jacques Najm Sacre, *Directorio Por Familias De Los Descendientes Libaneses de Mexico Y Centroamerica* (Centro de

- Difusion Cultural de la Mission Libanese de Mexico, 1981): 14-15, 435, 436, 441, 461, 464, 470, 474, 478, 484-491.
10. Darwin W. Bengough, "The Foreign Element in New York: The Syrian Colony," **Harper's Weekly**, 1895: 746.
 11. Norman Duncan, "A People from the East," **Harper's Monthly Magazine**, 106, 1903: 556.
 12. Alixa Naff, **Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience**. Middle East Research Institute Special Studies. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985): 89.
 13. Ostergren: 211.
 14. Weale: 8.
 15. I.H. Burnley, "Lebanese Migration and Settlement in Sydney, Australia." **International Migration Review** 16 (1982): 102.
 16. John Gulick, **Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village**. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology. (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1955): 129.
 17. Gulick: 126.
 18. R. Bayly Winder, "The Lebanese in West Africa." **Comparative Studies in Society and History** 4 (1962): 320; & Harold B. Barclay, "A Lebanese Community in Lac La Biche, Alberta." Elliott: 69. Although a study of a Muslim community in Canada in the years after World War II, the same was found to be true in the case of the Muslims as it was with the Christians. "Kinship ties, however, rarely cross respective village lines. Thirty per cent of the Lebanese in Lac La Biche belong to a single lineage or 'ayla, while another thirty per cent belong to three other lineages."
 19. Philip K. Hitti, **The Syrians in America**. (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924): 34.
 20. Kayal and Kayal: 25.
 21. Kayal and Kayal: 113.
 22. Ralph Kepler Lewis, **Hadchite: A Study of Emigration in a Lebanese Village**, Ph.D., 1967. Anthropology, Columbia University: 235.
 23. Weale: 9.
 24. Kayal and Kayal: 152.

MONTREAL: A CASE STUDY

The next section will attempt to show, through the use of the marriage registers of the two ethno-religious churches, the movement of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox immigrants to Montreal and how that particular community took hold and flourished. Push/pull factors, Canadian immigration policy and more will be examined to set the stage for an overview of the Montreal community, primarily based on information drawn from the marriage registers of the two Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox churches.

EMIGRATION

Despite the fact that emigration from their homeland was illegal, Lebanese-Syrian Christians began to arrive in substantial numbers in Canada at the turn of the century. The conventional reasons offered for the emigration of the "greatest travellers in the Arab world"¹ have been largely unsatisfactory. Historians have tended to adopt blindly the explanation of Professor P. Hitti and this perhaps has produced a serious distortion in the immigration history of this ethno-religious group. Hitti argued that "while Syrian emigration is attributable primarily to economic causes,...it cannot be wholly explained on that ground. The movement is the resultant of a combination of political and

religious forces as well."² He cites the "desire of the Syrian to live free and unhampered from political restraints" associated with "four long centuries of oppression."³

Other authors have provided other opinions. Fuad I. Khuri acknowledges the same feeling among Orthodox, that "the Muslim majority whose nationalism" was "gaining momentum in the Middle East" was a factor that favoured emigration.⁴ However after examining the literature, including accounts written by emigrants themselves, Professor Najib E. Saliba contends that, "on the whole, religious persecution was a supplementary rather than a primary factor in emigration."⁵

Professor B. Abu-Laban, in his book on the Arabs in Canada, has identified three "push" factors.⁶ They were religious and political oppression, a rapid process of Westernization under the French Mandate, and finally, poor economic conditions.⁷

An on-going re-evaluation of these factors by Dr. N. Salem, formerly of the Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, has seen an emphasis of certain points, a de-emphasis of others, and still the rejection of others. Political and religious persecutions, usually associated with the massacres of the 1860s, have proven to be unsatisfactory reasons for the emigration, given the twenty year period between these events and the recognized beginning of the exodus. The Westernization process encouraged

emigration by providing positive information to the people about the West. However it also fostered animosity towards, and distrust of, these new rulers.

Not unlike Canada, "the Ottoman Empire was a classic example of a developing country in which raw materials were exported and finished materials imported."⁸ As few could be employed under the economic conditions that existed, the exodus, caused partially by population pressure, was accelerated. "The changing forces and eventual collapse of the Lebanese silk industry dispelled any illusion that prosperity could be achieved in the rural districts of the homeland."⁹ The silk and agricultural industries declined, and an increasing population forced sons off the land. A study of emigration from a Greek Orthodox village in northern Lebanon concluded that population pressure coupled with "the lure of cash" in America were the prime factors encouraging emigration.¹⁰

Alix Naff's explanation of the factors that encouraged migration from Lebanon and Syria to North America is based on an understanding of the immigrants' culture and interview of Syrian-born immigrants.

Syrian Christians, emigrating from an area in which religion was the most meaningful basis of group identity and where religion and politics were hardly separable, would be expected to cite persecution as a motive for emigration when interviewed. Yet, none of the Syrian-born informants of any Christian sect, including those from Mount Lebanon, mentioned

persecution and, when pressed, regarded the suggestion as amusing.¹¹

Persecution, so often described by historians as a motivating factor, in this case referred to the 1860 massacres by members of the Druze community of Christians in Hasbaya and Rashaya, a massacre of some 1800 people. It would seem that the immigrants that Naff interviewed were likely not from this area.

The majority of immigrants to Montreal originated from Rashaya and the neighbouring villages. As such, these immigrants were likely affected by the massacres to a greater degree than immigrants from the North of the country. Father Zarbatany of Montreal's St. Nicholas parish recalled that

Syrian Christians were, therefore, living under the shadow of oppression, with the massacre of the 60s [1860s] still fresh in the memories, never knowing what fatal surprises the morrow held for them, and constantly discriminated against in their contacts with constituted authority. In view of all this and of their natural bent towards trade, and fondness for travel, is it to be wondered at that they should finally have found in emigration to America 'the Land of Freedom', relief from all their fears and worries?¹²

Precise reasons for villagers' emigration must be weighed separately. Two examples illustrate this point. While religiously-motivated attacks on Christian villages contributed to the large exodus of Christians from Southern "Lebanon", the failure

of the silk industry tended to affect people from the Mount Lebanon section more than other regions. Factors outlined by historians - namely political, religious and economic oppression, population pressure and crop failure - all contributed in varying degrees to the emigration exodus. However in each hometown and for each religious group, the degree of importance of each factor differed.

On the other hand, the factors that seemed to pull immigration to Canada seemed far simpler. They were primarily based on the perception of Canada "as a land of freedom and economic opportunities" that had been transmitted by British missionaries, returning immigrants, statements by agents from the various steamship lines, and perhaps the most important detail, remittances and letters from relatives abroad.¹³

The exact number of immigrants who left Lebanon and Syria and arrived in Canada is difficult to ascertain exactly. No comprehensive or accurate census had been done in "Syria" until 1932. Coupled with this problem, emigration was illegal and so emigration statistics were not kept.

Canadian government statistics have come under much criticism for poor categorization of ethnic and religious groups (especially of the Jews) and there too often appears to have been faulty estimation of the actual number of immigrants entering Canada. A number of Lebanese-Syrian immigrants entered and/or left Canada

legally or illegally via the United States. Due to a far more strict enforcement of U.S. laws that barred immigrants with the eye condition trachoma, "the smuggling of unfit persons by way of Canada, through certain lake cities, is believed to have been a profitable industry."¹⁴ The Canadian statistics are therefore not complete. However they remain the only viable statistics with which to work.

According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the number of "Syrian" immigrants who arrived annually (which included the Lebanese until 1955) was anywhere from about two hundred to a thousand, with the exception of the years around the First World War and the Depression of the 1930s.¹⁵ (See Appendix F - Syrian Immigrants to Canada, 1900-1965) If the ten year period of 1955-65 is any indication, the vast majority (70-90%) of these "Syrian" immigrants were from Lebanon; hence the use in this study of the term Lebanese-Syrian.

A religious breakdown of the arriving group seems appropriate to the context of this study. Of the Syrian-Lebanese who immigrated to Canada between the 1880s and the Second World War (WWII), the vast majority were Christians of the Orthodox, Melkite and Maronite religious groupings. As the majority of these immigrants were Christians and over a third of them Orthodox, the annual number of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox arrivals can be estimated at about seventy-five to three hundred and fifty immigrants per annum, most of them settling in Montreal, the centre for this

ethno-religious group in Canada. In 1906, a Lebanese traveller passing through Montreal on his way to the United States noted in his journal that at least half of the Lebanese-Syrian immigrants were Greek Orthodox, the remainder (about 500 he estimated) were Maronites and Greek Catholics (Melkites).¹⁶

Immigration historians have tended to categorize immigrants as having arrived in waves. The immigrants being described in this study prior to World War II are viewed as a homogeneous group. Many studies of this group have divided the Lebanese-Syrian immigration into three distinct waves with the World War I and the Great Depression of the 1930s as the dividing lines. Taking into account these breaks, immigration to Montreal did not entirely stop during World War I and the Depression. Although numbers dropped off markedly, immigrants continued to arrive from the United States and South America.

The importance of religion, hometown and family to these first immigrants separates them from those that arrived after World War II. Immigrants and the second generation born in Canada, helped provide consistencies when it came to the three pillars of their culture. The arrival of more immigrants after World War II coincided with the coming of age of a third generation of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox Canadians who had by then assimilated into Canadian life and share little in common with either their grandparents or newly-arrived immigrants. The church, as the central institution

in this community, has decreased in importance, and the values once held so highly both in the original hometown and the transplanted Montreal community has ceased to direct these people.

CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

The year 1896 marks the beginning of a new period in Canadian history. In that year, Canada elected a Liberal government under Wilfrid Laurier's leadership. On the horizon was the hope that the twentieth century would belong to Canada. Accompanying this change in government was renewed economic prosperity after twenty-five years of recession. The ethnic make-up of Canada towards the close of the century was approximately 57% British (English, Irish and Scottish), 30% French, 2.5% Indian and Eskimo, and 10% 'other' (six of this 10% being German).

Prime Minister Laurier appointed to the Ministry of the Interior a very capable man who would look after immigration and settlement, Clifford Sifton. Government immigration policy prior to 1896 had been largely unsuccessful, with a net emigration of new arrivals and Canadians flocking to the United States. Sifton's mandate was to evaluate the reasons for, and reverse, this trend.

When Sifton announced his open-immigration policy, he had a specific type of immigrant in mind. Canada needed the

stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children.¹⁷

Canada did receive this type of immigrant, as well as less desirable types, at least from the government's perspective, those

whom Stephen Leacock wittingly termed

mere herds of the proletariat of Europe, the lowest classes of industrial society, without home and work, fit objects indeed for philanthropic pity, but indifferent material from which to build the commonwealth of the future.¹⁸

To Sifton, would-be city dwellers such as poor English and Irish, Blacks, Italians, Jew, Arabs, and Orientals were undesirable as immigrants because they would only add to the already competitive urban work force.

Sifton's "openness" was not without opposition. For example, public sentiment in British Columbia was strongly against further Chinese immigration to Canada. To appease the British Columbians, in 1900 Sifton raised the head tax on every Chinese immigrant to Canada to \$100 from the \$50 tax that had been imposed in 1885 (conveniently the same year that the CPR, on which many of these immigrants worked, was completed). By 1903, this tax was further increased to \$500.

In 1905 Sifton resigned his ministry, due to political pressures caused by his immigration policy, as well as other matters, and Frank Oliver took over. Oliver was not a broadminded as Sifton and had been critical of Sifton for his failure to discriminate. The first piece of legislation that Oliver introduced was "An Act respecting and restricting Chinese Immigration" (1906) which affirmed matters regarding head tax and

mode of entry. In 1908 in order to appease British Columbians' fears of a "mongrelized nation," an Order-in-Council was passed to the effect that all immigrants must enter Canada by means of "a continuous journey and on through tickets." Japanese who heretofore had enjoyed ease of passage via Hawaii now found that route out of bounds. In 1910, a new Immigration Act was passed which permitted the Governor General-in-Council to bar entry of immigrants of any race, class, occupation, or character deemed unsuited to the country. The continuous journey clause which was also contained in the 1910 Immigration Act, meant, in practice, that East Indians for one were being excluded since there was no direct steamship line between India and Canada. A matter which would have ugly repercussions in 1914 was the Komagata Maru incident.¹⁹

Although the original intention of these discriminating laws was to keep out Japanese, Chinese, and East Indians, it was extended to the Lebanese-Syrian. The 1908 Order-in-Council requiring immigrants to travel to Canada by continuous journey could have been applied as well to the Lebanese-Syrians since there was no direct steamship route. In the past the majority of these immigrants had travelled via Marseilles, France. However, it is not known how stringently enforced this 1908 edict was on this group, and indeed, it appeared that this did not have as great an effect on Lebanese-Syrian immigration.

A stiff requirement that Asian, other than Japanese and Chinese, immigrants must possess \$200 when landing in Canada was imposed by Order-in-Council, P.C. 926. Although the order was aimed at immigrants from India, the Superintendent of Immigration in Ottawa, W.D. Scott, interpreted it to include Lebanese-Syrians as well. Scott deemed Lebanese-Syrians to be an undesirable class of immigrants and Lebanese-Syrians peddlers to be "more of a nuisance than anything else to the residents of Canada."²⁰

"It cannot be denied that many of the Syrians who have come to this country have been successful from a financial point of view. Montreal especially furnishes many examples of Syrian merchants who have made large amounts of money not only in their regular capacity as traders but also as dealers in real estate. There is, however, a higher standard of citizenship than the mere ability to acquire dollars and cents, and it is in that broader sense, viz., lack of desire to assimilate, that the Syrians are looked upon by the Department as undesirable immigrants. A large number of Syrians who came to this country also suffer from trachoma and other eye diseases. Generally speaking, Syrians are city dwellers confining their attention largely to peddling or, when their financial position justifies, opening up store for the sale of goods of Eastern manufacture."²¹

Responding in a letter to the Honourable Dr. Roche on the eve of receiving a delegation of Lebanese-Syrians from Montreal, Superintendent Scott wrote on January 16, 1913 that

"The delegation will no doubt represent to you that P.C. 926 was promulgated solely for the purpose of debarring the entry of Hindoos. Such an assertion upon their part, if made, will not be in accordance with the facts of the case. Primarily it was the large influx of Hindoos which directed the attention of the then Government to the question of Asiatic immigration, and when the question was under

consideration it was felt that with the possible exception of Russia in Asia that continent did not supply to this country a class of people who would become assimilated and form true Canadians in the best and widest meaning of the term. The regulation above referred to was, therefore, intentionally drafted so that it would include not only the Hindoos but also Arabians, Turks, Syrians, and Persians..."²²

His statement reveals three results of this legislation, two of which had a direct impact on the Lebanese-Syrian community in Montreal. First, by enforcing the legislation on all Asians, the Canadian government avoided the touchy issue of explicit discrimination against East Indians who were British subjects, and therefore had freedom of passage throughout the British Empire, including Canada. Second, the government used the xenophobia of British Columbians, which prompted the legislation, to restrict immigration of other groups they, and presumably certain other Canadians, deemed undesirable. Finally, the Lebanese-Syrian of Montreal, where the largest concentration of these immigrants were centred, reacted negatively to this legislation and felt that they were financially successful and therefore 'good Canadians'.

This was not to say that Canada stood alone in this discriminatory reaction. Nativism and discrimination reared their ugly heads in other parts of the world where Lebanese-Syrian immigrants settled as well. In Australia, the volume of Lebanese-Syrian migration was restricted by the 1901 immigration act until

after the Second World War. As a result of this 1901 act, the number of Lebanese in the inner suburbs remained the same in 1933 as in 1901.²³

In Sierra Leone, animosity against the Lebanese-Syrian manifested itself in events of 1914 and 1919. When the Turkish Empire in November 1914 joined Germany and Austria in declaring war on Britain and France, Lebanese-Syrians in Sierra Leone became subjects of a hostile state as they were Turkish citizens and were subject to internment. Despite the hostility of natives, the Governor decided not to intern the Lebanese-Syrians as he believed them to be anti-Turkish because they had fled Turkish rule. The bitterness of natives returned in 1919 when riots directed against Lebanese-Syrian traders exploded and Lebanese-Syrian shops were stoned, doors battered down, stocks looted, and one Lebanese-Syrian killed. "As the Police were unable to control the rioters the Government decided to place the Lebanese under protective custody in the Town Hall and two smaller building. For eight weeks they had to stay there in enforced idleness, considering and discussing their plight."²⁴

In the United States, Alabama's Congressman Burnett announced upon returning from an immigration fact-finding mission in Europe in 1907, "I regard the Syrian and peoples from other parts of Asia Minor as the most undesirable."²⁵ His visit prompted him to introduce a bill "To further regulate the exclusion of undesirable

aliens from admission into the United States," which required immigrants to pass an English literacy test. Knowing that the Lebanese-Syrian immigrants were largely illiterate, Burnett hoped to keep out the undesirables. Similar sentiments were expressed by J.D. Goss in his 1920 campaign "For Coroner, Vote for J.D. Goss, "'The White Man's Candidate.'" It went on, "They have disqualified the negro, an American citizen, from voting in the white primary. The Greek and Syrian should also be disqualified. I DON'T WANT THEIR VOTES. If I can't be elected by white men, I don't want the office."²⁶

Despite restrictive immigration laws and xenophobic reactions by natives, Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox managed to establish communities in their new world homes. They quickly learned that the streets were not paved with gold and they would have to struggle to earn financial rewards to which they aspired. Discrimination by the government continued in the new world as it had in the old. No longer ruled by their religious leaders as under the millet system of the Ottomans, Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox quickly formed churches as a means of safeguarding their culture and rituals. Marrying fellow villagers and kinsmen in their own church as they would in their hometown, the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox slowed the process of acculturation into Canadian life.

The marriage registers of St. George and St. Nicholas Orthodox

Churches of Montreal reveal much more than the importance of religion, family and hometown to the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox in Montreal. The registers gauge a) the eventual acculturation of these immigrants through exogamous marriages; b) the importance of Montreal as a centre to a larger community of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox; c) the role of these Arab Orthodox churches to other ethnic Orthodox groups in Montreal; d) the move of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox neighbourhood over time; and e) the occupational pattern and progression of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox workers in the Canadian work force. The following section will examine these and other factors and as such depict the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community in Montreal.

ENDO GAMY/EXO GAMY

The vast majority of brides and grooms were from Montreal, and others were from other Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox communities in North America. This does not mean that family and village loyalties were discontinued. On the contrary, a number of marriages were contracted between people from the same original parents' hometown, this suggests that many of these marriages were arranged. However because more and more marriages were between native Montrealers of Lebanese-Syrian ethnic background, arranged marriages were harder to verify, and perhaps were less likely: a number of social functions, organized by the churches, introduced young people of Lebanese-Syrian origin to each other.

Of the 715 recorded marriages, 605 were ethno-religiously endogamous, 84.6%. (See Appendix G - Marriage Registers Listing Ethnic Exogamous Marriages) Of the remaining 110 marriages, 83% of the brides were non-Arab, as compared to 87% of the grooms. "Wives are expected to follow the religion of their husbands."²⁷ The vast majority of exogamous marriages occurred during the Second World War and the five years following it. The sudden increase may have been due to the breaking down of barriers during the war as people lived under intense pressure. However, more likely, the second and third generations of this ethnic group had begun to assimilate and inter-ethnic marriages are manifestations of this. Those exogamous marriages that did take place involved a variety

of ethnic groups, e.g. French, Italian, Irish, Bukovynian, and English (many of whom would have been Catholic, which shares much with the Orthodox faith).

Among these seventy two marriages, nineteen were between people who resided in different cities, leading one to believe that many were arranged. One such case involved my mother's aunt whose marriage was in fact arranged by relatives, also from Rashaya, encouraging the maintenance of both hometown and kinship ties. Another eleven of these seventy two marriages took place between people whose Montreal addresses were exactly the same, usually that of the bride's parents. An explanation for this "coincidence" may be that the groom was a recent immigrant who boarded with the family, and/or he was brought over from the 'old country' for the purpose of marrying the daughter.

MONTREAL SERVES

For most of the period under study, the two churches, St. Nicholas and St. George, served a wider community of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox; one which included not only Montreal, but also southeastern Ontario and the whole of Quebec. Frequently marriages between people, neither of whom resided in Montreal, were recorded in the registers. In some cases the priest travelled to the cities and towns in Quebec and Ontario, and in other cases the wedding party travelled to Montreal for the ceremony. (See Appendix H - Marriage Registers Listing Locations of Marriages Performed Outside Montreal)

Father Michael Zarbatany travelled consistently to Ottawa to marry and otherwise serve the faithful, who despite having a church, St. Elijah, had no permanent priest. (See Appendix I - List of Services Performed in St. George and St. Nicholas Churches, 1905-1950) Other, smaller settlements of Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox can be traced along old peddling routes, the proximity of towns being within fifty miles of each other.

Of the 715 marriages recorded in the two Montreal churches over this forty-five year period, over one hundred and sixty grooms and one hundred brides resided outside of Montreal. Many came from other Quebec cities, and from Ontario, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island; others still were from the United States.

The churches also served other immigrant groups who had not yet established their own respective churches. The marriage registers of St. Nicholas and St. George Orthodox churches include marriages of Greek and Ukrainian (then known as Bukovynian and Galician) Orthodox. These non-Arab marriages, performed sometimes by Arab priests and other times by Greek or Ukrainian priests, ceased to be recorded when these ethnic groups founded their own Orthodox churches; the Greeks in 1925 with Holy Trinity Church; and the Ukrainians in 1931 with Ste. Sophie Church.

ETHNIC NEIGHBOURHOOD

The early immigrants to Montreal settled in and around Old Montreal where they later obtained the buildings that housed their first churches; St. George at 290 Vitre Street East, and St. Nicholas, at 454 Notre Dame Street East. As well, the registers showed that over the forty-five year period of this study, the churches did not always have a house of worship. After fire gutted St. Nicholas, services were performed in the priest's home or in that of some member of the wedding party. (See Appendix J - Map of Montreal)

The marriage registers of these two churches listed the

addresses of the bride, groom, their parents, and/or some member of the wedding party where the wedding took place. Based on these addresses the move of the ethnic neighbourhood has been plotted. According to the 1931 Census, the number of "Syrians" by racial origin in Montreal was 2081. Of this total 1310 or 63% were from the old and new neighbourhoods identified by the marriage registers of the two churches. The old neighbourhood which was centred in the district of Cremazie listed 224 Lebanese-Syrians. The most populated Lebanese-Syrian districts of St. Denis, St. Edouard, and Villeray held 1086 of these immigrants.²⁸

At the same time as the immigration doors were closing to new immigrants (1930), the community's centre began to shift to the Jean Talon and St. Denis area. As a glance at the map of Montreal indicates, this move parallels the street car line. As the home and jobs moved so too did the group's central institution, the Church. St. George and St. Nicholas parishes built new church structures in this area in the 1940s. These buildings presently house the respective churches.²⁹

OCCUPATIONS

A pattern of migration and settlement based on occupations has been noted in the limited literature on this ethno-religious group. Arriving in the last two decades of the 19th century, the initial Lebanese-Syrian Christians in North America were young males who without a trade took up peddling as a means of putting together a nest egg with which to return home. The image of 'Amrika' as a gold mine of opportunity was tarnished by the reality of the situation in Montreal and in other North American cities.³⁰ On a continent being flooded with immigrants from all over the world, these unskilled immigrants turned to peddling as they had in other parts of the world where they settled. "Peddling, which required no special training or permanent settlement in town or on a farm, was attractive to the Syrian immigrants, most of whom did not intend to remain in America permanently."³¹ Professor Morroe Berger's description of the occupation of "America's Syrian Community" aptly fits Montreal's Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox community. With little or no experience in an urban commercial environment, peddling offered inexpensive employment to these peasants.³²

John and Leatrice MacDonald's theory of three waves of an ethnic group's immigration based on occupational patterns fits the trend witnessed in the Lebanese-Syrian Christian community in North America. After the first wave of males began to return home with

stories of potential earnings in 'Amrika', other males, ramely family breadwinners, followed them. Although conditions were poor and the Lebanese-Syrian peasants lived under less than ideal conditions, opportunities seemed more abundant in Montreal than in their hometowns, and so the final group, families, were brought over to settle permanently. Once a permanent community began to form, the establishment of churches became an immediate goal.

It is this last wave of occupational migration that church records document. The number of peddlers among the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox in Montreal is nearly impossible to ascertain. The priests of the period rarely mentioned the groom's occupation, and the Luvell city directory list few of the peddlers.³³ The city of Montreal required foot and vehicle licences, but due to their high fees many of the city's peddlers evaded authorities.³⁴ "It was claimed in 1895, for example, that one expensive Montreal licence served three pedlars: one took the receipt, another the badge, and a third the licence itself."³⁵ Whether this claim has any validity for this immigrant group remains debatable.

The occupations of grooms provided in the marriage registers date back to 1915. Most however date from the 1940s. The inconsistency of priests in recording occupations largely explains the reason why this information is absent. A supplementary reason may be the limited importance of one's occupation in comparison to one's hometown which is frequently listed during the early

period.³⁶

Before discussing the Montreal findings, a review of the peddling stage based on other studies should be undertaken.

"The first immigrants, like their counterparts elsewhere, were peddlers. Needing little capital or knowledge of English, they began by tramping the country roads carrying heavy packs on their backs, selling dry goods in isolated rural areas.³⁷ John Benson points out the bitter reality behind the decision of these immigrants to peddle. It is not true that in Canada

"peddling came easily to...immigrants;[that] even if they never tried it themselves they came from the small villages and towns where the itinerant salesman was common." What drove European and Asian immigrants into street selling was their poverty, the discrimination which they faced, and their desire to resist -- or at least control -- the threat of acculturation.³⁸

And so began the peddling tradition. "No other immigrant group, with the exception of the German Jews, so completely identified with it."³⁹ Peddling helped these immigrants in at least four ways. First, without a skill they were able to find work. Second, without an abundance of or sometimes any capital, they were able to acquire goods on consignment from former peddlers turned wholesale merchants or suppliers. Third, the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox learned English and French very quickly through daily contact with English and French Canadians. Fourth, to put it in Dr. Shadid's words "I saw a lot of America. And the more I

saw of it the more I loved it."⁴⁰

The early Arab immigrant peddlers found Quebec particularly attractive because, according to our older respondents, French Canadians were seen as being kinder, friendlier and less likely to display feelings of superiority than English Canadians. One respondent, relating his experiences as a young Montreal peddler at the beginning of this century, spoke for many others like him when he reminisced:

"I harbour nothing but gratitude and good feeling towards the French Canadians. As a young peddler I recall many instances when I could not return home at the end of the day, either because of long distance from home or heavy snowfall. At that time, roads were not cleared of the snow. I used to knock at the door of the closest house and, by gesture, ask for accommodation for the night. At that time I knew neither French nor English. In every case accommodation was gladly provided."

This positive feeling towards French Canadians, together with Montreal's important position as a port city and commercial centre, may explain why the Arab community in Quebec grew steadily in size and importance.⁴¹

For a time, Montreal served as the main centre for peddlers to replenish their stock. "As peddlers dispersed, Montreal was no longer a convenient supply centre for all of them."⁴² The Syrian peddler was an institution in many areas of the country including western settlements and Prince Edward Island where peddling was referred to by Lebanese-Syrians as "going to the country".⁴³

As far back as the mid-1880s, Ameen Lutfi, a Syrian wholesaler in Montreal, supplied peddlers not only with goods, but also with accommodation in a rented house, often without charge. Newcomers from Syria were given

accommodation while being initiated into the trade. The arrangement proved to be profitable for all concerned.⁴⁴

As peddling was not a common occupation in their homeland, it seem odd that so strong a pattern developed among the diverse settlements of Lebanese-Syrian Christians in North America. Alixa Naff's explains this seeming coincidence. As discussed in the hometown chapter, most of the Montreal community originated from the village of Rashaya and neighbouring hometowns.

The Rashayya (sic) people peddled from Fort Wayne and roamed freely over Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan. Some crossed the Mississippi River westward, and individuals are known to have reached Denver and El Paso, but the bulk, it would appear, made the Middle West their home. They settled in such communities as Spring Valley, Illinois; Terre Haute, Indiana; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Rochester, Pennsylvania; Manchester, New Hampshire; and Canton, Akron, and Toledo, Ohio. Only in Fort Wayne, Spring Valley, and Grand Rapids, however, did they colonize in sufficient numbers to form the majority in what might be called "Rashayya settlements." The Rashayya people were well on their way to developing a network comparable to that of Ayn Arab when they became drawn to a mushrooming settlement, not in the United States, but in Canada. Since about 1882, a misrouted group of Riyyashni (as they were called) purportedly settled in Montreal, Quebec, and began to attract townsmen from abroad and the United States by 1900, outstripping other Rashayya settlements in size. Initially, its growth was due to the more lenient Canadian immigration laws, but it also proved to be a lucrative peddling area. Like New York, Montreal was an important port city and, similarly, it would become a major receiving colony with numerous immigrant shops, residences, restaurants, and a Syrian

commercial center of manufacturers, importers, and wholesalers. Riyyashni flocked there, fanning out into nearby provinces as well as into the American stream with relative ease. Immigrants crossed the international border in both directions, often illegally, all the while maintaining communications between the center and its satellites.⁴⁵

Peddling and later commercial businesses were a way of life for these immigrants and their families. Every member of the extended family became involved in the business. The importance of family meant that businesses would seldomly be started with people who were not relations.

Most of the occupations listed in the Montreal church registers were that of merchant. (See Appendix K - Marriage Registers Listing Occupations Held by Grooms) It is likely that most of these merchants were former peddlers. Whether or not they were performing the same job is unclear, but likely some of the merchants were storekeepers, others retailers, wholesalers, and salesmen, and yet others traditional peddlers. Other occupations included clerk, cutter, (clothing) designer, inspector, manager, manufacturer, restauranter, salesman, shipper, and tailor; most of which relate to the textile industry which employed many of these men from the twenties up and until this day. Numerous factories, dating back to the forties, still operate in and around the group's present ethnic neighbourhood.

Although many aspects of this section have shown the Montreal community to be close-knit and 'old country' in focus, it should not be said that the community was anti-Canadian. An important demonstration of the acceptance of Canadian life by the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox was their involvement in the war efforts during both world wars. Abu-Laban describes a celebrated case:

On the eve of and throughout World War I, their patriotism was singularly towards Canada. A celebrated example of this was the case of a Syrian from Montreal, named Salim Boosamra, who purchased a ring at an auction for the Patriotic Fund, paying \$1,000 for it. The full story was carried on the front page of the September 19, 1914, issue of the **Montreal Daily Star**. The report concluded by stating that "Mr. Boosamra told how he had come to Canada from Syria a poor man, and was glad to be able to help the Fund."⁴⁶

In church publications for conference and events during the war years, numerous advertisements by parishioners included photographs and references to Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox who had enlisted as loyal Canadians to fight for King and country. The loyalty of these immigrants to their new homeland demonstrates the beginnings of their assimilation into Canadian life.

ENDNOTES

1. Desmond Stewart, and the Editors of **Life**, **The Arab World** (New York: Time Incorporated Life World Library, 1962): 61.
2. Philip K. Hitti, **The Syrians in America** (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924): 50.
3. Hitti: 51.
4. Fuad I. Khuri, "A Comparative Study of Migration Patterns in Two Lebanese Villages," **Human Organization**, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Winter 1967): 212.
5. Najib E. Saliba, "Emigration from Syria," **The Word** (March 1982): 10.
6. See Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" in **Population Movements in Modern European History**, Ed. Hans Moller (New York, 1964): 73-92, for a discussion of the Thomas two-country approach which Thistlethwaite borrows to apply to studying emigration/immigration history.
7. Baha Abu-Laban, **An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada**, Generations, A History of Canada's People (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980): 74-75. Roberto Perin has accurately described this work as an unmitigated failure that grew out of literally a stillborn, virgin birth, "without benefit of extensive and fertile research at the local or regional level and without being tied to specific issues integral to Canadian history." See Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," **Canadian Historical Review**, Vol. LXIV, No. 4 (1983): 446.
8. Justin McCarthy, **The Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans (1878-1914): A Handbook of Historical Statistics**, A Reference Publication in International Historical Statistics, Ed. Oliver Pollak (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1982): 207.
9. Marvin W. Mikesell, "Lebanese Emigration," **The Geographical Review**, Vol. 53 (1963): 601.
10. See A.I. Tannous, "Emigration, A Force of Social Change in an Arab Village," **Rural Sociology**, Vol. 7, 1942, for a discussion of the factors that prompted emigration in the village of Bishmizzen in North Lebanon. The same "push" and "pull" factors were offered by Ralph Kepler Lewis, **Hadchite: A Study**

of **Emigration in a Lebanese Village**, Ph.D., 1967. Anthropology, Columbia University: 241.

11. Alixa Naff, **Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience**. Middle East Research Institute Special Studies. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985) 87.
12. As cited in Abu-Laban: 74.
13. Baha Abu-Laban: 75. See Appendix A for photographs of Beirut during this period. Beirut, with its port, would be the city from which most of the emigrants would leave.
14. Seymour Louise Houghton, "Syrians in the United States." **The Survey** 1 July 1911: 491.
15. Canada, **Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism**, Book IV, A. Davidson Dunton and Jean-Louis Gagnon, Chairmen, Ottawa, 23 Oct. 1969: 238-245.
16. From Sélim Abou, **Contribution à l'étude de la nouvelle immigration libanaise au Québec**, Centre international de recherche sur le bilinguisme, publication B-66 (1977): 5-6.
17. Clifford Sifton, as cited in D.J. Hall's "Clifford Sifton: Immigration and Settlement Policy 1896-1905," Howard Palmer, Ed., **The Settlement of the West** (Calgary: University of Calgary Comprint Publishing Company, 1977): 77.
18. Stephen Leacock, "The Immigration 'Problem'," Howard Palmer, Ed., **Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism**, Issues in Canadian History Series (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975): 48.
19. In 1914, 376 prospective East Indian immigrants arrived in Vancouver harbour upon a ship, Komagatu Maru, requesting immigrant status. Public outrage flared and would not allow them to land. After two months of remaining anchored a few hundred yards from Canadian soil these British subjects were turned away, the stated reason being that they did not come directly from India, but via Hong Kong. The Borden government found it convenient to use the 1908 legislation. Technically overt discrimination against East Indian subjects had been avoided, but actually it was the fear of white British Columbians which won out: Had the 376 East Indians been allowed to land, there would have been nothing, in the minds of British Columbians, to stop those remaining in India from converging on Canada. The last thing Canada wanted was to be full of "Jappy-Chappies, Chinks, and Little Brown Brothers." Phrase taken from Robin W. Winks, **The Blacks in Canada** (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1971): 299.

20. As cited in Abu-Laban: 84. Page 95, footnote 7 reads **Records of the Immigration Branch** (Record Group 76), RG 76, Vol. 522, File No. 801591, Pts. 1, 2, 3: "Immigration from Syria and Lebanon, 1910-1949." (Letter from W.D. Scott to Mr. Clements, dated March 27, 1913.)
21. Abu-Laban: 84. Page 95, Footnote 8 reads **Records of the Immigration Branch** (Record Group 76), RG 76, Vol. 431, File No. 642439: "Immigration from Syria and Lebanon, 1905-1910, 1913" (Letter from W.D. Scott to the Honourable Dr. Roche, dated January 16, 1913.)
22. Abu-Laban: 86. Pages 95-6, Footnote 11 (Ibid, 12) reads Letter from W.D. Scott, Superintendent of Immigration, to the Honourable Dr. Roche, dated January 13, 1916. (See footnote 8) It should be noted that the 1910 Immigration Act gave extensive powers to the government. For example, Section 37 reads:

Regulations made by the Governor in Council under this Act may provide as a condition of permission to land in Canada that immigrants and tourists shall possess in their own right money to a prescribed minimum amount, which amount may vary according to the race, occupation or destination of such immigrant or tourist, and otherwise according to the circumstances; and may also provide that all persons coming to Canada directly or indirectly from countries which issue passports or penal certificates on demand of the immigration officer in charge before being allowed to land in Canada.

23. I.H. Burnley, "Lebanese Migration and Settlement in Sydney, Australia," **International Migration Review** 16 (1982): 106.
24. H.L. Van der Laan, **The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone** (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1975): 4. The Lebanese-Syrian in Sierra Leone differed from those in North America in that they were viewed by the natives as successful businessmen who were superior to the Africans. The Lebanese-Syrian in North America were viewed as an inferior race who begged or peddled for a living.
25. Alan Dehmer, "The Politics of Survival," in **Taking Root Bearing Fruit: The Arab-American Experience**, Ed. James Zogby (Washington: ADC Reports, 1984): 37.
26. Dehmer: 39 as cited from Hitti without full reference.

27. Mary Bosworth Treudley, "The Ethnic Group as a Collectivity." **Social Forces** 31 (May 1953): 263.
28. Archives municipales. **Les quartiers municipaux de Montréal depuis 1832.** (Montréal: les archives municipales, 1973): 7, 33, 41, 43; & Canada. **Population of Municipal Wards of Montreal. City by Quinquennial Age Groups, Conjugal Condition, Birthplace, Racial Origin, Religion, School Attendance and Literacy, by Sex, Census 1931:** 8-29.
29. Nothing except one clothing store remains of the original neighbourhood of this community: municipal government buildings and parking lots having replaced it. By 1950, the cornerstone was laid in the present-day building that houses St. Nicholas Orthodox Church. This event provides the end of the timeframe for this study.
30. See Terry Copp, **The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929.** (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974). Montreal's working class lived under abysmal conditions, and infant mortality, in turn of the century Montreal, was the world's second highest after the Black Hole of Calcutta.
31. Morroe Berger, "America's Syrian Community: Patterns of a Minority." **Commentary** 25 (1958): 315.
32. Marvin W. Mikesell, "Lebanese Emigration," **The Geographical Review**, Vol. 53 (1963): 601. Also see David Weale, "Going to the Country: Lebanese Peddlers on Prince Edward Island," **The Island Magazine**, No. 18 (Fall/Winter 1985): 11-16.
33. Dr. Norma Salem and Brian Aboud have gone through the Luvells of the 1890s to 1925 tracking down with difficulty some of the Lebanese-Syrian peddlers.
34. Benson: 77.
35. Benson, 79.
36. The recording of information church records was not consistent as the priest noted the information he wished or was offered. There was no rhyme or reason in what information was noted, except for the constant of the names of the bride, groom and their witnesses.
37. Nancy W. Jabbra and Joseph G. Jabbra. **Lebanese of the Maritimes.** Maritime People Series. (Tantallon, N.S.: Four East Publications, 1987): 25.

38. John Benson, "Hawking and Peddling in Canada, 1867-1914," **Histoire sociale -- Social History**, Vol. XVIII, No. 35 (mai - May 1985): 81.
39. Alixa Naff, "Arabs in America: A Historical Overview." Abraham and Abraham, **Arabs in the New World**: 15.
40. Salom Rizk, **Syrian Yankee**. (Garden City: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1951): 316.
41. Abu-Laban: 103.
42. Abu-Laban: 104.
43. Gilbert Johnson, "The Syrians in Western Canada." **Saskatchewan History** 12 (Winter 1959): 31; and David Weale, **A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian/Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island**. Island Studies Series, No. 1. (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1988): 19.
44. Abu-Laban: 102.
45. Alixa Naff, **Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience**. Middle East Research Institute Special Studies. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985) 150-151.
46. Abu-Laban: 87.

A FINAL THOUGHT

This thesis has but begun the study of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox immigrant community in Montreal. Through the successful use of one, and up-to-now untouched, primary source, the marriage registers of St. Nicholas and St. George Orthodox churches, several elements of the community have been revealed for the first time since its establishment. The significance of religion, family and hometown to the first generations has demonstrated the cultural ties that this group had to the relations, co-villages, and fellow parishioners at home.

As the community has become more assimilated into Canadian life in later generations, the decline in the importance of the church has been witnessed. As one direct result the community has begun to disperse from both its local, and Montreal environs. However, during those formative years between 1905 and 1950, the role of the church as the central institution for this community could not be denied. The power of the hometown was enormous upon the new citizens. Finally, the ties of the family were stronger than anything else to these immigrants. Truly, the Lebanese-Syrian, newly-arrived in Montreal during the early part of the twentieth century owed much to the three pillars from home.

APPENDIXES

- A - SAMPLE PAGE OF MARRIAGE REGISTERS ON COMPUTER
- B - CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN HISTORY OF LEBANESE-SYRIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA
- C - CHAIN MIGRATION OF LEBANESE-SYRIAN CHRISTIANS
- D - MAP OF LEBANON
- E - MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING SAME GROOM AND BRIDE HOMETOWNS
- F - LEBANESE-SYRIAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1900-1965
- G - MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING ETHNIC EXOGAMOUS MARRIAGES
- H - MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING LOCATIONS OF MARRIAGES PERFORMED OUTSIDE MONTREAL
- I - LIST OF SERVICES PERFORMED IN ST. GEORGE AND ST. NICHOLAS CHURCHES, 1905-1990
- J - MAP OF MONTREAL, 1925
- K - MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING OCCUPATIONS HELD BY GROOMS

COL#	GROOM'S FAMILY NAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	MS GA	DATE OF WEDDING	BRIDE'S FAMILY NAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	MS BA	GROOM'S RESIDENCE	BRIDE'S RESIDENCE	GROOM'S HOMETOWN	BRIDE'S HOMETOWN	GROOM'S OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF WEDDING	GROOM'S REGISTERED NAME	BRIDE'S REGISTERED NAME	ETHNIC ENDOGAMY
001G	SATFI	ELIAS B.	S	23 19060729	ZUGHAYR	AKADE B.	S	14		AAINA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	SATFI	ZIGAYB	1
002G	ELIAS	ELIAS A.	S	23 19060931	ID	SABA R.	S	18		AIN HIRCHA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	ELIAS	BID	1
003G	KUFI	GEORGE A.	S	22 19061004	SAGHIR	MOURE J.	S	14 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.				MONTREAL, Q.	KOURT	ZIGAYER	1
004G	ABU-SAD	SHAFER P.	S	36 19061010	BARAKAT	SIDY A.	S	20 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.				MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSAD	BARRECAT	1
005G	HADDAD	DAVID S.	S	25 19061209	TAQUM	NAIFI A.	S	22					MONTREAL, Q.	HADDAD	TACKOUB	1
006G	ABU-ASALI	ACEL J.	S	25 19070105	ZAKI	AMISI A.			MONTREAL, Q.				MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSALY	ZIKY	1
007G	SHATILLAH	SHAHIN	S	30 19070120	SALHANI	MALAKI K.	S	22					MONTREAL, Q.	SHATILLA	SALHANI	1
008G	KUSATAY	HABIB A.	S	24 19070630	TARBATANI	BIET E.	S	19		RACHAITYA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	KOUSALA	TARBATANI	1
009G	ABU-SAMRAH	HADIQ T.	S	26 19070814	SALHANI	KARIM B.	S	23					MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSAMRA	SALHANI	1
010G	NASSAR	NICOLA	S	26 19070922	ATA	HANI M.	S	18					MONTREAL, Q.	NASSAR	ATA	1
011G	JATFAR	TANOUS J.	S	25 19071116	ABUD	TACKLA M.	S	22 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.				MONTREAL, Q.	JATAR	ABOUD	1
012G	ZUGHAYR	ABRAHAM P.	S	25 19071127	ZUGHAYR	SACKNA P.	S	18 SHERBROOKE, Q.	SHERBROOKE, Q.				MONTREAL, Q.	ZIGGER	ZIGGER	1
013G	JUBRAIL	GEORGE K.	S	50 19080126	YUAKIM	KALAEK E.	S	30		RACHAITYA EL P, S.	RACHAITYA EL P, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	GABRIEL	JUAKIM	1
014G	SABA	RAJBE H.	S	30 19080209	HALIE	MALRECKY M.	S	17 SOREL, Q.		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	SABA	MALRECK	1
015G	KUSHUPY	ABDALLA D.	S	22 19080216	JATTAR	MALAKY H.	S	20		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	KUSHUPY	JATTAR	1
016G	SHUPI	PARIS E.	S	23 19080217	HADDAD	TAKEBA A.	S	16		RACHAITYA, S.	MUNHITAT, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	SHUPY	HADDAD	1
017G	SHAMI	SALIM D.	S	28 19080223	NIMR	WADERA P.	S	20		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	SHAMIA	NIMR	1
018G	ABU-JADI	NICOLA J.	S	27 19080301	SHAMI	SALMA D.	S	24		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ABUJADER	SHAMIA	1
019G	ABU-TATYAN	JACOB G.	S	28 19080503	ABU-BUTROS	AFREPY K.	S	22		TAHLE, S.	TAHLE, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUJIANHRE	ABUBUTROS	1
020G	RUHAYE	ABRAHAM M.	S	29 19080503	SABA	HALAKY P.				KPAIR, S.	KPAIRS,		MONTREAL, Q.	REHBIH	SABA	1
021G	BISHARA	SALIM K.	S	22 19080510	SAQI	ZANDA A.	S	18		JOAIDAT AARTOUS, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	BISHARA	SAQI	1
022G	KHOURI	HABIB A.	S	27 19080510	SHATILLAH	WAZEREA S.	S	22		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	KHOURI	SHATILLA	1
023G	ILYAS	GATTAS H.	S	21 19080531	RASI	PAZEEDA S.	S	23		DEIR-NIMAS, S.	RACHAITYA EL P, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ELIAS	RASY	1
024G	GHAYNAJI	MICHEL M.	S	27 19080810	DUNAS	CORUR DE LION	S	22	SHERBROOKE, Q.	RACHAITYA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	CAWNAJE	DUNAS	1
025G	DAUD	PARIS	S	33 19080919	NAKHLI	SAADA M.	S	17		QATANA, S.	QATANA, S.		VICTORIAVILLE, Q.	DAUD	NAKLY	1
026G	TABBA	MASSIF	S	51 19080920	BARDAWIL	REGINA	S	37		TAHLE, S.	MARJAYOUN, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	TABBA	BARDAWILL	1
027G	ABU-SAMRAH	SELIM G.	S	25 19080921	ABUD	EMILIA C.	S	17		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUSAMRA	ABOUD	1
028G	NAHL	MICHEL K.	S	22 19080929	ZUGHAYR	MARY G.	S	15		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	NAHL	TAKRIB	1
029G	ABU-SAMRAH	SHAKRI, S.	S	27 19081122	COMTANT	LOUISE T.	S	22	MONTREAL, Q.	RACHAITYA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUSAMRA	COMTANT	1
030G	SHUWAYRI	SALIM M.	S	20 19090117	SHUWAYRI	ZAHNEB H.	S	20		EL-TEIT, S.	MAGDAL, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	CHEWBRI	CHEWARI	1
031G	DAUD	ABRAHAM T.	S	28 19090207	DAUD	CAMILEH A.	S	16		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	DAVID	DAUD	1
032G	TURKI	PARIS	S	33 19090418	ABDALLAH	SALINE M.	S	21		CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	TOURKE	ABDALLA	1
033G	SAD	DIB H.	S	32 19090619	ABYAD	VASSIL K.	S	19		DAMAS, S.	DAMAS, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	SAED	ABIAO	1
034G	AZIZ	ELIAS T.	S	22 19091231	YARID	HAHIBA	S	24 NICOLET, Q.		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	AZIZ	YARID	1
035G	KACARIUS	JOSEPH	S	28 19100123	NINAM	JALICE	S	20		AIN HIRCHA, S.	KPAR MECKI, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	KACARIUS	MEHEH	1
036G	SHAR	JOSEPH R.	S	20 19100123	JUBRAN	SOPIA	S	20		CHEBAA, S.	BERVADA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	CHAAH	GOUBRAN	1
037G	ABU-JADI	BOUTROS Y.	S	25 19100206	YUAKIM	HAHID	S	20		RACHAITYA, S.	TAHLE, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUJADE	YUAKIM	1
038G	GHIZ	AYOUB	S	25 19100508	ZUGHAYR	SALMA	S	17		RACHAITYA EL P, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	GIZ	ZAGHEB	1
039G	NASSAR	SALIM	S	23 19100521	SHAMANDY	MALAKE	S	19		DET, S.	DET-ATIEH, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	NASSAR	CHEHAD	1
040G	TARBATANI	GEORGES	S	28 19100602	GHANIMAH	CATHERINE	S	15		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	TARBATANI	GEWENEN	1
041G	TANOUS	GEORGES	S	23 19100708	ANBAR	MARIAM	S	19					MONTREAL, Q.	TANOUS	ANBAR	1
042G	SAGHIR	NICHOLAS	S	27 19100724	ABUD	MOUNTANA M.	S	17		RACHAITYA, S.	TAHLE, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ZIGAYER	ABOUD	1
043G	SALHANI	ABRAHAM	S	36 19101030	GHUSN	PAHINE	S	17 MONTREAL, Q.		KPAR MECKI, S.	KPAR HATA, S.	TRADER	MONTREAL, Q.	SALHANI	GOSSEN	1
044G	ESKEN	SALIM	S	25 19101211	DAUD	NASSIBEH	S	20		RACHAITYA, S.	RACHAITYA, S.		MONTREAL, Q.	ESKEN	DAUD	1
045G	SHUPI	PARRIS A.		19110129	LAVANO	TAKIY M.				TAHLE, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	SHOUFY	LAVANO	1
046G	YARID	ESPER A.		19110129	YARID	JAMILE M.				RACHAITYA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	YARID	YARID	1
047G	JIRADAH	SHARREN R.		19110212	JIRJIS	KATHERINE M.			KEPERSHOUNA, S.	CHEBAA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	JERADY	GEORGES	1
048G	TABBA	HABIB D.		19110226	TABBA	MATILDA A.				TAHLE, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	TABBA	TABBA	1
049G	HABIB	PARRIS		19110430	SHAR	MASADDY				CHEBAA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	HABIB	SHAR	1
050G	ARAB	GEORGE M.		19110803	ABUD	TAKLA M.							MONTREAL, Q.	ARAB	ABOUD	1
051G	YAKIM	GEORGE E.		19110806	ABUD	ADAL-HAGE A.				TAHLE, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	YAKIM	ABOUD	1
052G	ABDALLAH	GEORGE T.		19111212	TABBA	HELIA S.				KPAR HATA, S.			MONTREAL, Q.	ABDALLAH	TABBA	1

APPENDIX B - CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN HISTORY OF LEBANESE-SYRIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA

- 1892 Syro-Arab Mission of Russian Orthodox Church established
- early 1892 Father Constantine Tarazy of Damascus arrived in New York on his own initiative, returns later that year as the community was still too small to support a permanent priest
- late 1892 Archimandrite Christopher Jabara arrived on his own initiative but leaves in 1893 because his religious opinions scandalized his parishioners
- 1895 Syrian Orthodox Benevolent Society formed in New York
- 1895 First Syro-Arab church founded in Brooklyn, New York - St. Nicholas
- 1896 Clergyman Raphael Hawaweeny arrived in New York
- 1898 First Arabic service book issued in North America
- 1898 Montreal petitioned for a priest and Archimandrite Hawaweeny appointed newly-arrived Father Ephrem Dibs
- 1899 Archimandrite Hawaweeny received permission from Bishop Tikhon (head of the American diocese and later Patriarch of Moscow) to raise money for a establish a cemetery and to erect a church for the Syrian community in Brooklyn
- 1900 Father Ephrem Dibs resigns post in Montreal
- 1900 Largest Arab Orthodox Community in North America - Brooklyn - approximately 3000 immigrants
- 1901 Archimandrite Meletios Karoum named to replace Father Dibs in Montreal
- Oct. 27, 1902 St. Nicholas Cathedral consecrated in Brooklyn, New York - now considered "Mother Parish of the Archdiocese"
- Nov. 1902 Father Mahfouz of Rashaya (where most of

Montreal flock hailed) arrived in Montreal; therefore Archimandrite Karoum accepted a temporary appointment to New York

Feb. 1, 1904 Auxiliary Bishopric of Brooklyn established within the North American Diocese of the Syro-Arab Mission

March 12, 1904 Archimandrite Halaweeny (first Orthodox bishop consecrated in North America) named Bishop of Brooklyn and Vicar to Archbishop Tikhon

1905 Bishop Hawaweeny founded Archdiocese publication, "Al-Kalimat"

May 10, 1905 Syrian Orthodox Benevolent Society of Montreal and Syrian Ladies Benevolent Society of Montreal established

1905 St. George Church of Montreal founded at 270 Vitre Street East - remodelled abandoned factory

Dec. 13, 1905 Father Aftimios Ofiesh arrived in New York

July 1906 Archmandrite Ofiesh appointed pastor of St. George Church

1908 Layman Michael Zarbatany of Montreal published first Arabic publication in Canada, "Al-Shehab"

June 4, 1910 Charters granted for a The Syrian Greek Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas of Canada (St. Nicholas Church) and The Saint Nicholas Syrian Greek Orthodox Church of Montreal (St. George Church)

June 20, 1910 St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Church cornerstone blessed at 342 Notre Dame Street East in Montreal

1914 Metropolitan Germanos Shehadi arrived in North America

Feb. 27, 1915 Bishop Hawaweeny died (Metropolitan Shehadi hoped to replace Bishop Hawaweeny)

May 13, 1917 Archimandrite Ofiesh consecrated Bishop of Brooklyn to serve Syro-Arab Mission of Russian Church, and Vicar to Russian Archbishop Evdokim

Nov. 17, 1917 Michael Zarbatany ordained priest of St. Nicholas Church in Montreal

1918	Archdeacon Emmanuel Abo-Hatab elevated to Archmandrite to fill vacancy in Montreal due to departure of Bishop Ofiesh
Feb. 18, 1918	Metropolitan Shehadi incorporated his own separate diocese "The Syrian Holy Orthodox Greek Catholic Mission in North America" - despite ordered to return to Lebanon, First World War provided excuse to remain in North America
1919	Lebanese-Syrian Canadian Association formed in Montreal
1923	Bishop Ofiesh of Brooklyn raised to status of Archbishop by Metropolitan Platon
1924	Metropolitan Shehadi established over twenty-four parishes under his care loyal to Patriarchate of Antioch
1924	Bishop Victor Abo-Assaly, representative of Patriarch of Antioch, arrived and tried to attract parishioners of Archbishop Ofiesh to the Patriarchal See of Antioch
March 1924	Patriarch Tikhon signs a statement printed in Russian presses in America (presumably under duress) accusing Metropolitan Platon of counter-revolutionary acts against the Soviet State (evidence of precarious relations with the Mother Church in Russia who cannot provide neither funds nor religious guidance to North American Diocese)
April 4, 1924	Fourth All-American Council convened to discuss statement - reaffirmed Metropolitan Platon's election in 1922 - resulted in non-Russian groups forming their own ecclesiastical organization
Jan. 25, 1925	Father Zarbatany of St. Nicholas Church, Montreal elevated to Economos
1925	Metropolitan Platon of Russian Church recommends Syro-Arab Mission become independent church
1925	Independent Syrian Antiochian jurisdiction formed
Feb. 2, 1927	Metropolitan Platon signed solemn act placing Archbishop Ofiesh in charge of North American

Orthodox churches

Sept. 11, 1927	Archimandrite Abo-Hatab given title of Bishop of Montreal and Vicar to Archbishop Ofiesh
May 26, 1928	Sophronius Bashira named Bishop of Los Angelas
1931	Fire destroyed St. Nicholas Church in Montreal
1931	Bishop Abo-Hatab of Montreal appointed by Metropolitan Platon as the Bishop of Brooklyn for the Syro-Arab Bishopric
1931-36	Discussion held on possibility of merger between St. Nicholas and St. George churches in Montreal
April 29, 1933	Archbishop Ofiesh married a young Syrian girl and was deposed by his followers (remained in virtual isolation until death in 1971)
May 1933	Bishop Abo-Hatab died
April 20, 1934	Metropolitan Platon died
April 1934	Metropolitan Shehadi (who returned to Beirut in Nov. 1933) died
April 19, 1934	Archbishop Abo-Assaly died
Nov. 19, 1935	Archimandrite Antony Bashir elected new leader of Church in North America
April 19, 1936	Antony Bashir consecrated Metropolitan of New York and All North America (St. George Church of Montreal supported)
April 19, 1936	Samuel David, encouraged by many followers, consecrated Metropolitan of Toledo and Its Dependencies (St. Nicholas Church of Montreal supported)
Nov. 17, 1936	St. George Church of Montreal decided to build church at corner of Jean Talon and Lajeunesse - now geographic center of the community
Sept. 29, 1940	St. George Orthodox Church inaugurated at 555 Jean Talon in Montreal
Sept. 14, 1950	Corner-stone consecrated for present-day St. Nicholas Orthodox Church at 80 de Castelnau Street East in Montreal

APPENDIX C - CHAIN MIGRATION OF LEBANESE-SYRIAN CHRISTIANS

HOMETOWN IN LEBANESE-SYRIAN	SETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY
Tyre	Dakar, Senegal ¹
Bayt Shabab, Mt. Leb.	Bamako, Mali
Tripoli	Accra, Ghana
Bayno, north Leb.	Ouagadougou & Bouake, Ivory Coast (O)
Mizyara, north Leb.	Lagos, Nigeria
Bsrma, Kafarakka, Anfeh, Kfarhalda, & Amioun (north Leb.)	Sydney, Australia (O) ²
Rahbe, north Leb.	Sierra Leone (O) ³
Bishmizzeen, Minsif, & Gharzooz	Deep South ⁴
Kfeir & Deir Mimas	Prince Edward Island ⁵
Hhassrun	Costa Rica ⁶
Ein el Charra	Terre Haute, Indiana(O) ⁷
Jbail	Vicksburg, Mississippi(O)
Aith-al-Fakhar	Grand Rapids, Michigan(O)

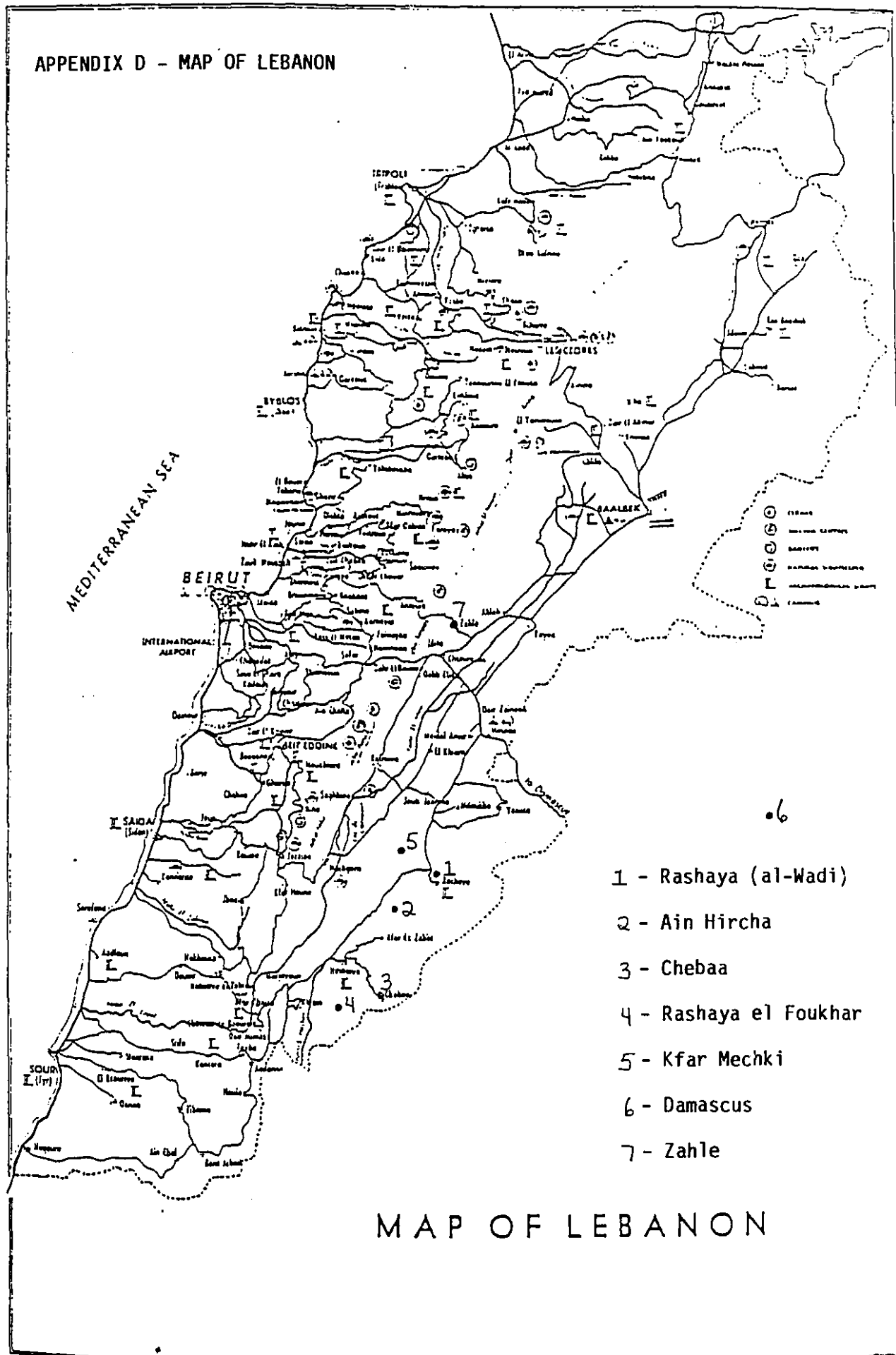
NOTES

(O) = Orthodox community

1. Fuad I. Khuri, "Kinship, Emigration, and Trade Partnership Among the Lebanese of West Africa." **Africa** 35 (1965): 385. Includes the hometown villages in Lebanese-Syria that had settlements in Senegal, Mali, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, and Nigeria.
2. Burnley, I.H. "Lebanese Migration and Settlement in Sydney, Australia." **International Migration Review** 16 (1982): 105.

3. Van Der Laan, H.L. **The Lebanese Traders in Sierra Leone.** (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1975): 237.
4. Tannous, Afif I. "Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South." **American Sociological Review** 8 (1943): 265.
5. Weale, David. **A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian/Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island.** Island Studies Series, No. 1. (Charlottetown: Institute of Island Studies, 1988): 8.
6. Sacre, Jacques Najm. **Directorio Por Familias de Los Descendientes Libaneses de Mexico Y Centroamerica.** Mexico: Centro de Difusion Cultural de la Mision Libanesa de Mexico, 1981: 441.
7. **A tribute to the old church in the new world.** 31st Annual Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America convention. San Francisco: St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, 1976: 91, 125, 135 - respectively for the last three communities.

APPENDIX D - MAP OF LEBANON



MAP OF LEBANON

1863	FLYAS	JOHN N.	S	25	19250315	EUGENE	AKABAR W.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	AIN HIRCHA, S.	AIN HIRCHA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ELIAS	EUGENE	1
2076	SAWSHI	THEOPHILE E.	S	25	19280505	KURI	ALICE J.	S	22	HEBERTVILLE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	AIN HIRCHA, S.	AIN HIRCHA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	EBADIAH	KOURI	1
1576	MIRAIL	MICHEL M.	S	33	19230722	MIRAIL	MARY N.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.		AIN HIRCHA, S.	AIN HIRCHA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MICHEL	MICHEL	1
1225	TUFI	FARIS	S	33	19090418	ABDALLAH	SALINE H.	S	21			CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	TOUSSE	ABDALLA	1
4345	ASSAF	NINE G.	S	24	19220504	ABEUS	SALEEM A.	S	21			CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ASSAF	ABEUS	1
1543	ABDUD	CAMILLE C.	S	26	19230617	HANNA	FADWA J.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDUD	HANNA	1
1516	ENAF	GEDEON C.	S	24	19240127	HANNA	FRANCINE S.	S	22	THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHAWINIGAN, Q.	CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	CHAPLES	HANNA	1
1922	SHAR	MAHMOUD S.	S	27	19260207	ABDUD	CECILE A.	S	17	GRAND'MERE, Q.	GRAND'MERE, Q.	CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAR	ABDUD	1
1935	NASSIF	MICHEL M.	S	28	19261024	HANNA	FARIDE N.	S	25	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	NASSIF	HANNA	1
1956	AZIZ	ALBERT E.	S	37	19270603	NASSIF	NIRRIE F.	S	24	OTTAWA, Q.		CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	OTTAWA, Q.	AZIZ	NASSIF	1
2025	HANNA	JAMES J.	S	32	19280624	MICHAEL	EHELINE N.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.		CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	HANNA	MICHEL	1
2050	KURI	HABIB J.	S	26	19280805	HABIB	EFFIE K.	S	26	MONTREAL, Q.	HUDSON, Q.	CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	COURY	HABIB	1
2156	NIMR	ELIAS A.	S	25	19290120	NASSIF	LUCIENNE M.	S				CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	NEMER	NASSIF	1
2168	ABADA	SOLOMON M.	S	28	19300126	HANNA	KHALAYK F.	S	28			CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABADA	HANNA	1
4815	MOUADAD	KALIL P.	S	30	19320217	ADUB	OLGA M.	S	18			DAMAS, S.	DAMAS, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MOUADAD	ADUB	1
4185	ZARBATANI	JOHN D.	S		19191101	AJAR	MARY	S				DAMAS, S.	DAMAS, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	AJAR	1
9236	SAD	DIB H.	S	32	19090619	ABYAD	VASSIL K.	S	19			DAMAS, S.	DAMAS, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SAED	ABYAD	1
4655	SALHANI	ASSAD T.	S	34	19270613	SALHANI	NAHEED M.	S	24			DAMAS, S.	DAMAS, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALHANI	SALHANI	1
4425	PAHAL	MOSES J.	S	38	19230622	PAHAL	MARY S.	S	17			JABBATHA, S.	JABBATHA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	PAHAL	PAHAL	1
1725	ABEUS	SALEM C.	S	22	19270626	BISHARA	MAHA S.	S	18	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	JODE, S.	JODE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABEUS	EDUCHARA	1
1723	MAFARIUS	CHARLES M.	S	35	19250228	GHIZ	SADIE N.	S	21	BERNICK, N.S.	CHARLOTTETOWN, P.	KFAIR, S.	KFAIR, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MC KARRIS	KAYS	1
9208	RUMAYH	ABRAHAM M.	S	29	19080503	SABA	MALAKY F.	S				KFAIR, S.	KFAIR, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	RENEH	SABA	1
1933	AMBAR	JOSEPH B.	S	35	19260312	ANGAR	ROSIE F.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.	AYLNER Q.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AMBER	AMBER	1
4145	DAUD	JOSEPH A.	S		19181208	ZAHALAN	ANNIE A.	S				KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	DAVID	ZAHALAN	1
4435	SAYKALI	MICHAEL E.	S	28	19240127	SAYVALI	MARIA E.	S	19			KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SAYKALI	SAYKALI	1
4233	HAJJI	ELIAS K.	S	25	19220505	NIMAH	FADWA M.	S				KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	HAJJI	NIMY	1
4315	ABD AL-NASIH	ELIA M.	S	30	19220123	ABDALLAH	MARIA M.	S	26			KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDULMANN	ABDALLAH	1
4515	KHALIL	NASSAD	S	35	19240608	LAHAM	YAMNA E.	S	22			KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	KELEEL	LAHAM	1
4275	AMBAR	SHIHADY F.	S	38	19230204	AYYUB	SALMA J.	S	22			KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AMBER	AYYUB	1
1758	QUMAYRI	RUTZALLAH E.	S	34	19250813	DIBS	MALAKIE N.	S	21	LAC-MEGANTIC, Q.	EAST ANGUS, Q.	HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	KOHERY	DIBBS	1
1526	ZAKO	ALBERT D.	S	25	19230123	AUTO	SOPHIE J.	S	17	MONTREAL, Q.		HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZAKO	AUTO	1
1555	CASSAR	BAOUD M.	S	31	19240720	KARO	JEANETTE J.	S		EAST ANGUS, Q.	EAST ANGUS, Q.	HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	CASSAR	KARO	1
1506	BADJARI	ADELARD A.	M	50	19221103	BADIR	ABDALLA G.	M	40			HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	BAKAR	BOUDR	1
1623	HARON	ABRAHAM M.	S	30	19240514	JARJUR	AFIFE C.	S	21	LAC-MEGANTIC, Q.	LAC-MEGANTIC, Q.	HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	HARON	JARJOUR	1
1396	ABDALLAH	MICHAEL G.	S	31	19210326	AUTO	ENALIE J.	S	18			HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDALLAH	AUTO	1
4255	KURI	JOHN E.	S	57	19291013	SHURBAJI	WADIENA	S	28			HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	KOURIE	CHERBACA	1
1946	NAKASH	AZIZ G.	S	34	19270531	JARJUR	FLORENCE G.	S	20	SHERBROOKE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	NAKASH	JARJOUR	1
1490	BAGLIS	MIKE D.	M	48	19230702	HABUN	MALAKIE M.	M	30	COOKSHIRE, Q.	LAC-MEGANTIC, Q.	HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	CASSAR	JARJOUR	1
1746	CASSAR	GEORGE N.	S	31	19250612	JARJUR	MABLE F.	S	21	EAST ANGUS, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	HARDIN, A.M.	HARDIN, A.M.	MONTREAL, Q.	CASSAR	JARJOUR	1
4525	ABU-SANDAN	ASSAD A.	S	24	19250725	NASSIF	NAEEMA A.	S	23			MOHAIATHAT, S.	MOHAIATHAT, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	BOGASHOA	NASSIF	1
9256	DAUD	FARIS	S	33	19080919	NAKHLI	SAADA M.	S	17			QATANA, S.	QATANA, S.	VICTORIAVILLE, Q.	DAUD	NAKLY	1
9156	JURRATIL	GEORGE K.	S	50	19080126	YUAKIM	KALAEK K.	S	30			RACHATYA EL F, S.	RACHATYA EL F, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	GABRIEL	JUAKIM	1
9143	SABA	RAJEE H.	S	30	19080209	MALIK	MALECKY N.	S	17	SOREL, Q.		RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SABA	MALECKY	1
9155	KUSHFI	ABDALLA D.	S	22	19080216	JAZZAR	MALAKY H.	S	20			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	KUSHFI	JAZZAR	1
9166	SHUFI	FARIS E.	S	23	19080217	HADDAD	ZAYEEA A.	S	16			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHUFI	HADDAD	1
9176	SHAMI	SALIM G.	S	28	19080223	NIMR	WADDEA F.	S	20			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAMIA	NIMR	1
9183	ABU-JADI	NICOLA J.	S	27	19080301	SHAMI	SALMA V.	S	24			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABUJADEE	SHAMIA	1
9226	KHOURI	HABIB A.	S	27	19080510	SHATILLAH	NAZEERA S.	S	22			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	KHOURI	SHATILLA	1
9265	NAHL	NICKEL K.	S	22	19080929	ZUGHAYB	MARY G.	S	15			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	NAHL	ZAKEIB	1
9316	DAUD	ABEYHAM T.	S	28	19300207	DAUD	CAMILLE A.	S	16			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	DAVID	DAUD	1
9346	AZIZ	ELIAS T.	S	22	19091231	YARID	MAHIBA	S	24	NICOLET, Q.		RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AZIZ	YAFED	1
9406	ZARBATANI	GEORGES	S	26	19100602	GHANTMAH	CATHERINE	S	15			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	GENEMEH	1
9446	ESKEN	SALIM	S	25	19101211	DAUD	NASSIBEH	S	20			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ESKEN	DAUD	1
9646	HUSAYNAM	ELIAS E.	S	22	19130525	ABU-ASALI	SALIMA T.	S				RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	HESSAYNAM	BOUASALY	1
9716	AZIZ	MILNEN G.	S	28	19130731	AZIZ	SHAFICKA A.	S	17			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AZIZ	AZIZ	1
9736	SHUFI	FARIS E.	S	30	19131221	YARID	ANALIN N.	S	22			RACHATYA, S.	RACHATYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHUFI	YAFED	1

4075	ZUGHAYB	SALIM A.		19150216	MELIK	NAZHA H.		RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZAKAIB	MALEK	1
4083	MAYIR	MIKE G.		19160227	YARID	HOURO B.		RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MALES	YARED	1
4105	HAJALI	SALIM		19180217	ASALI	LUTFIE		RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	HAJALI	ASSALI	1
4125	MJAFARIJ	MICHEL		19180218	MJAFARIJ	SADA		RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MJAFAREGE	MJAFAREGE	1
4135	ABU-TARAH	MAEED	S 36	19180215	ZUGHAYB	DEEBE	S 26	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	SHERBROOKE, Q.	SCUTARAH	ZAKAIB	1
4136	KURI	SHAKIR G.	S 35	19210612	MALIK	HASEEBI N.	S 23	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	KOURY	MALICK	1
4305	JAZZAR	GEORGE	S 22	19211202	KURI	HAJLA G.	S 18	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	JAZZAR	KOURI	1
4325	ID	THEOPHILE F.	S 24	19220217	MANSUR	ROSE	S 23	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ELD	MANSOUR	1
1445	ZARBATANI	ASSAD A.	S 27	19220224	GHANTUS	MADEA H.	S 21	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANY	KANTOUS	1
1465	RASI	FERRIS N.	S 26	19220618	HAID	FATZEN E.	S 21	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ROSSI	HAID	1
1555	AYYUB	ALEXANDER G.	S 30	19230701	ZARBATANI	FUTINA T.	S 18 MONTREAL, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AYOUB	ZARBATANY	1
4525	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE A.	S 29	19240803	SHATILLAH	HAIFY A.	S 18	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZAKAIB	SHATILLA	1
4575	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH E.	S 35	19250913	ZUGHAYB	WAZNA A.	S 25	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZAKAIB	ZAKAIB	1
4615	ZARBATANI	WILLIAM A.	S 37	19260223	ZUGHAYB	CATHERINE	S 30	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	KOUSSAYA	1
1875	BARAKAT	ADELARD M.	S 30	19260711	ABU-MUHIR	ALICE A.	S 17 THREE RIVERS, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	BARAKAT	BOUMINIR	1
1886	ZUGHAYB	MICHAEL A.	S 37	19260718	ABU-MUHIR	VICTORIA A.	S 19 SOREL, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZAKAIB	BOUMINIR	1
2116	BARAKAT	GEORGE	M 35	19280917	RASI	ZAKIEN	S 26 THREE RIVERS, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	BARAKAT	ROSSY	1
2126	HAJJI	ABRAHAM	M 49	19281007	SHAMI	SALMA	M 42 MONTREAL, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AMER	SHAMIE	1
2135	AYYUB	GEORGES J.	S 33	19290929	AYYUB	SOPHIE A.	S 23 MONTREAL, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AYOUB	AYOUB	1
3535	SHAMIE	MICHEL M.	S 32	19300222	SALHANI	ADCEGE E.	S 18	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAMY	SALHANY	1
2236	MALULI	MICHAEL J.	S 24	19300629	SAD	MATILDA H.	S 23 CHESTERVILLE, Q.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MALOLEY	SAAD	1
2236	MALULI	WAGAH N.	S 35	19300629	ABU-ASALI	ZAKIEN F.	S 24	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MALOLEY	BOUASSALEY	1
2245	MALULI	ASPER S.	M 50	19301024	ABU-ASALI	LATIFA F.	S 21 HARBOR-S, MT.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	MALOLEY	ABOUASSALEY	1
2256	YARID	GEORGE N.	S 28	19301026	YARID	CATHERINE S.	S 21 LOWELL, MASS.	RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	YEPID	YARED	1
3935	SAD	TANOUS G.		19130504	DAUD	LATIFEN K.		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	SAAD	DAUD	1
4025	MALULI	NICHOLAS M.		19150411	MJAFARIJ	SOURIA K.		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	MALOLLY	MOUARBEG	1
4865	ZASATLI	ABRAHAM H.		19151120	ZURAYQ	HADIEN J.		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	CASATLY	ZRAIK	1
3975	SHAKIR	HABIB		19130209	SHAKIR	FADWA		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAYER	SHAKER	1
4915	TAMIL	NICOLAS H.		19140607	LAHAM	ZAKIEN P.		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	TAMIEL	LAHAM	1
2276	YARID	ESPER		19320120	GHANIMAH	HALIEN		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	YARED	KEHENY	1
2365	HADIF	SAM		19340812	SHAMI	MANIFA		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	HADIF	SHAMIE	1
3935	SHADID	FAEES S.		19130305	ABU-SAD	SHAEIKA H.		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	SHADID	BOUSSADA	1
2376	KURI	SOLOMON		19340920	SHAM	REGINA		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	KOURY	KAYS	1
2382	SHAMI	FAEES N.		19130209	NAUF	NAZHA F.		SYRIA	SYRIA	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAMY	NAOF	1
1306	KURI	EACHEDE J.	S 26	19200620	NASIF	GHALIEH M.	S 21	THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	COUREY	KASSIF	1
4555	ABU-SAFI	GEORGE W.	M 38	19250222	DADRI	MADEENA J.	S 27	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUSSAFY	KADRY	1
2066	LAMAND	AMEEN N.	S 31	19280708	ABOUD	ELOISE K.	S 18 MONTREAL, Q.	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	LAMAND	ABOUD	1
3720	ABOUD	ATEL H.	S 25	19130907	ABOUD	ROSA S.	S 19	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUD	ABOUD	1
0156	ABU-ZAYYAN	JACOB G.	S 28	19080503	ABU-BUTROS	AFFEEY K.	S 22	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	ABOUZIANNE	ABUBUTROS	1
2045	GHANTUS	SALIM N.	S 27	19280624	ABOUD	SALWA S.	S 21 MONTREAL, Q.	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	GHANTOUS	ABOUD	1
4215	AYYUB	WILLIE	S 47	19290813	QASSIS	HAZLY	S 30	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	AYOUB	CASSISE	1
2176	HAIJAR	GEORGE J.	S 34	19290728	TABBA	ANNIE A.	S 21 BROOKLYN, N.Y.	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	MONTREAL, Q.	HAIJAR	TABBA	1
2143	MANSUR	SALIM J.	S 30	19290120	ABU-MANSUR	ACELE E.	S 18 UNION CITY, N.J.	ZAHLE, S.	ZAHLE, S.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MANSOUR	BOUMANSOUR	1

APPENDIX F - SYRIAN IMMIGRANTS* TO CANADA, 1900-1965

YEAR	SYRIANS	YEAR	SYRIANS
1900	464	1925	127
1901	1066	1926	221
1902	847	1927	101
1903	369	1928	41
1904	630	1929	55
1905	336	1930	67
1906	277	1931	15
1907	732	1932	20
1908	173	1933	13
1909	213	1934	13
1910	98	1935	26
1911	146	1936	19
1912	208	1937	12
1913	299	1938	22
1914	94	1939	14
1915	6	1940	1
1916	2	1941	2
1917	10	1942	
1918		1943	1
1919	9	1944	6
1920	395	1945	12
1921	153	1946	11
1922	88	1947	25
1923	235	1948	31
1924	253	1949	72
		1950	86
		1951	208
		1952	209
		1953	190
		1954	233

	Number		Percentages	
	Syrians	Lebanese	Syrians	Lebanese
1955	95	206	32	68
1956	67	408	14	86
1957	76	348	18	82
1958	21	244	8	92
1959	49	279	15	85
1960	19	225	8	92
1961	36	200	15	85
1962	109	422	20	80
1963	80	579	12	88
1964	164	624	21	79
1965	227	748	23	77

Source. **Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.** 4 vols. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969. vol. 4. Table A-1. Ethnic Origin of Immigrants -- Canada, 1900-1965, pp. 238-244.

*Included those of Lebanese origin until 1955.

5385	DRAGONAS	FOTI G.	S 33	19350630	FENNELL	AGNES J.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DRAGONAS	FENNELL	NA
5386	STEVENS	PETER D.	S 33	19400921	KRITICOS	LEMONIA P.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	STEVENS	KRITICOS	NA
5386	YAFESKY	MICHAEL	S 22	19490804	TAFUKAYLU	SAABET	S 26	SPICEFORTH, C.	MONTREAL, Q.	YAFESKY	TAFUKAYLU	NA
5388	QUENEAN	PETER	S 27	19460528	THUN	KISHFEY	S 28	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	QUENEAN	THUN	ON
5390	SHANAJI	MICHEL M.	S 27	19380930	DUMAS	LEON DE LION	S 25	SHERBROOKE, Q.	RACHATYA, S.	SHANAJI	DUMAS	Q
5390	ABU-SAMRAH	SHAFRI, S.	S 27	19381122	CONTANT	LOUISE Z.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	RACHATYA, S.	ABU-SAMRAH	CONTANT	Q
5391	SHAHIN	FAHED E.	S 23	19130121	CHOSKALOS	MARY F.	S 18		RACHATYA, S.	SHAHIN	CHOSKALOS	Q
5392	DIB	MASSIM E.	S 26	19130610	FRANKLIN	MORA AGNES C.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	LIBAN, S.	DIB	FRANKLIN	Q
5393	ASSAF	FARIS M.		19150811	CHAMPAGNE	SELIHO E.		ST. SAMUELLE, Q.	SYRIA	ASSAF	CHAMPAGNE	Q
5393	AL-AMIR	MEHDI E.	S 28	19160731	BOUCHER	BLANCH A.	S 20	BOUCHERVILLE, Q.		AL-AMIR	BOUCHER	Q
5396	BARBARI	MICHAEL N.	S 27	19160629	ROUSSEAU	ALICE R.	S 26	THREE RIVERS, Q.		BARBARI	ROUSSEAU	Q
5396	THUN	SHAHIN A.	S 40	19170122	BREEN	HELLIE J.	S 21		SYRIA	THUN	BREEN	Q
5396	KHOURI	NICHOLAS A.	S 30	19180414	CHAILLE	CLAUDIA A.	S 30	MONTREAL, Q.		KHOURI	CHAILLE	Q
5396	ALLAN	GEORGE	S 36	19190512	GOURD	AURILTA	S 25	ST. MARCISSE L, Q.	SAIDHAYA, S.	ALLAN	GOURD	Q
5396	JIGARAH	MOSES J.	S 27	19211113	GOUTH	LUCIE A.	S 21	SHERBROOKE, Q.	DAMAS, S.	JIGARAH	GOUTH	Q
5396	SALHANI	ASSAD	S 27	19220830	MC DUFF	MELLY J.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	RACHATYA, S.	SALHANI	MC DUFF	Q
5396	MIMAPI	NASSIB K.	S 31	19230804	BANDELET	SIHON A.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	SHOUFAT, S.	MIMAPI	BANDELET	Q
5396	LAWAND	ELIAS N.	S 44	19241213	MEYERS	LILY J.	S 32			LAWAND	MEYERS	Q
5396	SHALHUB	ELIE A.	S 25	19270113	LE CORNU	JEANNE E.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	DAMAS, S.	SHALHUB	LE CORNU	Q
5396	AUSTIN	JOSEPH B.	S 28	19310503	LUBBUS	DOLLY E.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.		AUSTIN	LUBBUS	Q
5396	BARAKAT	TANUS		19320610	BOOTH	ELLEN		MONTREAL, Q.	SYRIA	BARAKAT	BOOTH	Q
5396	KHALIL	CAMILLE A.		19320724	GENEST	MARGARET H.		LA TUQUE, Q.		KHALIL	GENEST	Q
5396	ZARBATANI	NICHOLAS T.	S 20	19330528	EMOND	LEA	S 19	MONTREAL, Q.		ZARBATANI	EMOND	Q
5396	HAJJI	FRANK		19330903	KONRETSKY	ALGA		MONTREAL, Q.		HAJJI	KONRETSKY	Q
5396	LUTFI	JOHN N.	S 23	19350701	CONDON	DORICE W.		MONTREAL, Q.		LUTFI	CONDON	Q
5396	BOUDREAU	ALEXANDER J.		19360126	SALHANI	LATIFEE		MONTREAL, Q.		BOUDREAU	SALHANI	Q
5396	HAYIK	ARMAND M.		19380221	BOUDIS	MARIE J.		MONTREAL, Q.		HAYIK	BOUDIS	Q
5396	ESSI	MICHAEL M.		19380501	SCISCENTE	CAROLINE G.		MONTREAL, Q.		ESSI	SCISCENTE	Q
5396	ZARBATANY	EMILE G.		19390618	ZENGA	ARMENIA D.		MONTREAL, Q.		ZARBATANY	ZENGA	Q
5396	GHANIMAH	CLIFFORD S.		19390624	SCISCENTE	PHILOMENA G.		MONTREAL, Q.		GHANIMAH	SCISCENTE	Q
5396	BENDALY J.		S 50	19390903	BRETON	GERTRUDE U.	S 32	MONTREAL, Q.	VERDUN, Q.	BENDALY J.	BRETON	Q
5396	SHAHIN	FRANCISCO M.		19390917	BOUZIANE	ROSE J.		MONTREAL, Q.	LONGUEUIL, Q.	SHAHIN	BOUZIANE	Q
5396	ASSAF	EDDIE G.		19391001	DI CAPRIE	FILHENA A.		MONTREAL, Q.		ASSAF	DI CAPRIE	Q
5396	LOVELUCK	PETER D.		19391109	ABU-SAFI	ROSE C.		MONTREAL, Q.		LOVELUCK	ABOUSSAFY	Q
5396	RADWAN	SHAFI S.	S 20	19391231	SAUVE	MARIE G.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.		RADWAN	SAUVE	Q
5396	ABU-DALAM	EDDY F.	S 28	19400217	LAHAIE	ISABEL P.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.		ABU-DALAM	LAHAIE	Q
5396	BARAKAT	ESSA H.		19400505	DRAGANOS	HELEN P.		MONTREAL, Q.		BARAKAT	DRAGANOS	Q
5396	TRUDEAU	JACQUES U.		19400511	HANNA	MARGUERITE Z.		MONTREAL, Q.		TRUDEAU	HANNA	Q
5396	ASSAL	PHILIP K.		19400714	JAMES	EILEEN M.		MONTREAL, Q.		ASSAL	JAMES	Q
5396	HOLD	JACOB	S 38	19400902	ABU-DALAM	OLGA F.	S 30	BROMPTONVILLE, Q.		HOLD	BOOKALAM	Q
5396	FURI	SAM A.	S 44	19400928	DELORME	GEORGETTE A.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.		FURI	DELORME	Q
5396	TABBA	NACILIE A.		19401116	SPIDALIENT	LETIZIA J.		MONTREAL, Q.		TABBA	SPIDALIENT	Q
5396	SABA	JOHN N.	S 35	19410414	GRONDIN	JULIETTE H.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	THEFTORD MIN., Q.	SABA	GRONDIN	Q
5396	ZARBATANI	ERNEST J.	S 25	19410706	HONDRA	GEORGETTE G.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	VERDUN, Q.	ZARBATANI	HONDRA	Q
5396	ABU-SAFI	JOSEPH C.		19410907	VILLENARIE	BLANCHE W.		MONTREAL, Q.		ABU-SAFI	VILLENARIE	Q
5396	JIRJIS	JOHN E.	S 25	19420125	CUSSON	PAULINE A.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.		JIRJIS	CUSSON	Q
5396	KOURI	ELIE A.	S 36	19420614	BOUCHER	MARIE A.	S 26	CARTIERVILLE, Q.		KOURI	BOUCHER	Q
5396	TABBA	GEORGE N.		19420712	CHRISTESCU	OLYMPIA T.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.		TABBA	CHRISTESCU	Q
5396	KHALIL	NICHOLA G.	S 60	19421009	DAVIES	MARGARET A.	S 33		CAIRO, E.	KHALIL	DAVIES	Q
5396	SHAR	ASSAF N.	S 37	19421106	SYLKA	MARY P.	D 23	ST. REMI, Q.	ST. PIER, Q.	SHAR	SYLKA	Q
5396	SEWARD	GORDON E.		19430627	SHAHIN	GEORGETTE		MONTREAL, Q.	AUSTRALIA	SEWARD	SHAHIN	Q
5396	SABA	DANIEL R.		19430704	KARSHIVSKI	OLGA J.				SABA	KARSHIVSKI	Q
5396	MILLARD	LEONEL L.	S 21	19430716	ZARBATANI	LOUISE J.	S 21	CAMP BORDON, Q.		MILLARD	ZARBATANI	Q
5396	ZUGHAYB	ADRIEN J.		19430816	GIRARD	ADELA T.		MONTREAL, Q.		ZUGHAYB	GIRARD	Q
5396	DAUD	CHARLES S.	S 38	19440424	GREENE	MARIE A.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.		DAUD	GREENE	Q
5396	AYYUB	KEZNA	S 34	19440506	KENNEY	ADELE	S 35	GRAND RAPIDS, M.		AYYUB	KENNEY	Q

6005	ANSARAH	NASER M.	S	25	19440525	HIGGINS	MARGARET T.	S	23	TIMMINS, D.	HALIFAX, N.S.	TIMMINS, D.	ANSARA	HIGGINS	0		
6055	JIRIIS	ALBERT E.	S	30	19441112	CHARLESBOIS	ANTOINETTE E.	S	28	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	GEORGE	CHARLESBOIS	0		
6065	AL-TUN	JOSEPH T.	S	32	19441119	CASAGRANDE	MARGUERITE	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	ALTEEN	CASAGRANDE	0		
6075	RIO	GEORGE F.	S	23	19441209	ZARBATANI	MAVELDA E.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	RIO	ZARBATANI	0	
3096	KURI	NASSAR M.	S	33	19450610	SINDOINGS	AMELIA N.	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.				KOURI	SINDOINGS	0	
3126	LEDDY	JOHN E.	D	35	19450703	MIKHAIL	ADELE	S	30			U.S. NAVY	MONTREAL, Q.	LEDDY	MICHEL	0	
3136	JARJUR	MICHEL	S	38	19450721	HOGAN	GLADYS	S	28	MONTREAL, Q.			MONTREAL, Q.	JARJOUR	HOGAN	0	
3146	PAQUETTE	ROGER	S	23	19450818	ASSAF	MARY	S	27	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.		MONTREAL, Q.	PAQUETTE	ASSAF	0	
6195	QUOSI	AZIZ S.	D	46	19451216	BEAULIEU	SIMONNE R.	S	30	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.		MONTREAL, Q.	COUDSEY	BEAULIEU	0	
6205	ZARBATANI	ANVER M.	S	35	19460217	DE CARLO	DOMENICA J.	S	35	LAVAL DES R., Q.	LAVAL DES R., S.	TELEPH. INSP.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	DE CARLO	0	
6215	ZARBATANI	FRED M.	S	31	19460217	CHARBONNEAU	MARIE E.	S	25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DESIGNER	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	CHARBONNEAU	0	
6235	KASHFI	TOM E.	S	43	19460225	DEZIEL	MARGUERITE T.	S	34	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KISHKY	DEZIEL	0	
3196	TABBA	EDWARD J.	S	28	19460406	STILES	PAULINE S.	S	26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DOCTOR	MONTREAL, Q.	TABBA	STILES	0	
6325	AYYUB	PETER G.	S	26	19460623	LUKER	WINIFRED J.	S	27	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHIPPER	MONTREAL, Q.	AYOUB	LUKER	0	
3256	RIVARD	PAUL E.	S	22	19460629	ZARBATANI	MARTHA	S	22	CANADON, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	STUDENT	MONTREAL, Q.	RIVARD	ZARBATANI	0	
6385	DAUD	PHILIP F.	S	35	19460929	BIANKI	MARGUERITE J.	S	25	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAWINIGAN-F, Q.	SHIPPER	MONTREAL, Q.	DAVID	BIANKI	0	
6405	BADRAN	JAMIL R.	S	33	19461027	LABONTE	BLANCHE E.	S	20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTMAGNY, Q.	SHOWMAN	MONTREAL, Q.	BADRAN	LABONTE	0	
3296	LAWAND	NORMAN	S	21	19461127	LEBLANC	THERESE	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.		MONTREAL, Q.	LAWAND	LEBLANC	0	
3326	MONIER	EDWARD	S	39	19470209	HADDAD	ROSE	S	38	DETROIT, M.	MONTREAL, Q.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONIER	HADDAD	0	
6695	SAD	CHARLES H.	S	25	19470227	OUELLETTE	MARGUERITE A.	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLOTH CUT.	MONTREAL, Q.	SAAD	OUELLETTE	0	
3366	MIKHAIL	VICTOR E.	S	25	19470518	GRANT	MARY A.	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	PETIT ROCHER, N.B.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	MICHEL	GRANT	0
6545	KUSAYAH	EDMOND A.	S	26	19470610	ADAMAKOS	CATHERINE P.	S	21	OUTREMONT, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN	MONTREAL, Q.	KOUSSAYA	ADAMAKOS	0	
6555	WEATHERBY	GEORGE A.	S	33	19470614	MAKHUL	VICTORIA S.	S	29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.			WEATHERBY	MC COOL	0	
6565	DHAKAR	JOSEPH E.	S	26	19470704	LAYTON	LILLIAN J.	S	24	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHEM. PLAT.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZACARD	LAYTON	0	
3456	LALANDE	ADRIEN	S	44	19470815	HANNA	JENNIE	S	44	ST. HILAIRE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.		MONTREAL, Q.	LALANDE	HANNA	0	
6575	ISBIR	NORMAN S.	S	25	19470830	DITTMAR	KATRYN J.	S	23	CANTON, OH.	CANTON, OH.		MONTREAL, Q.	ESBER	DITTMAR	0	
6605	LATREILLE	ALBERT E.	S	25	19470927	ZARBATANI	ROSE J.	S	29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	WAITOR	MONTREAL, Q.	LATREILLE	ZARBATANI	0	
6645	ZARBATANI	JIMMY J.	S	32	19470929	DE GREGORIA	MARTA C.	S	19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	DE GREGORIA	0	
6655	GENEST	ADELARD	S	31	19470929	ZUGHAYB	EVELYN W.	S	28	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT	MONTREAL, Q.	GENEST	ZAKAIR	0	
3556	ZARBATANI	EDDY	S	20	19471209	LAFRANCHISE	LEONA	S	22	MONTREAL, Q.	ST. JUSTINE, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANI	LAFRANCHISE	0	
6705	DESJARDINS	JOSEPH A.	S	23	19480307	ASSAF	GLADYS G.	S	26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	PHYS. INSTR.	MONTREAL, Q.	DESJARDINS	ASSAF	0	
6745	MORRISON	FREDERICK C.	S	34	19480508	LUTFI	VICTORIA H.	D	33	MONTREAL, Q.	OUTREMONT, Q.	STAT. ASS. BA	MONTREAL, Q.	MORRISON	LUTFI	0	
6845	FOOTH	PAUL P.	S	22	19480918	RIFDAH	NELLIE W.	S	23	BROOKLYN, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	THEAT. MANAG.	MONTREAL, Q.	FOOTH	REFFCA	0	
3635	GHALI	JOHN A.	S	39	19481212	BOUDREAU	VIOLA	S	34	BOSTON, M.	MONTREAL, Q.	AUTO. MACHIN.	MONTREAL, Q.	GELLY	BOUDREAU	0	
6905	KISBIR	JACK Z.	S	23	19490528	DEMERS	MAUREEN E.	S	18	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	WAITER	MONTREAL, Q.	KEZBER	DEMERS	0	
6915	KREISCH	WILLIAM L.	A	39	19490529	ID	LINDA E.	S	36	MANHATTAN, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHAUFFEUR	MONTREAL, Q.	KREISCH	EID	0	
3716	GENEST	ELIE	M	58	19490616	BAWSHI	MARIE	S	43	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.		MONTREAL, Q.	GENEST	BEAUCHAMP	0	
3746	DAUCSACK	THEODOR	S	27	19490710	SHAHIN	JEANETTE	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MACHINIST	MONTREAL, Q.	DAUCSACK	SHAHIN	0	
3806	SANARAH	JOHN	D	40	19490912	VERNETTE	REJANE	S	28	CAMBRIDGE, MS.	ST. THERESE, Q.	TOOL MAKER	MONTREAL, Q.	SAMAPA	VERNETTE	0	
6935	TABBA	SADE S.	S	24	19490914	VAN TOLEDO	HENDRIKA B.	S	25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	THE HAGUE, H.	TELEGR. OPER.	HAGUE/C/MIL.: CH.	TABBA	VAN TOLEDO	0
3816	NAKAD	CHARLES	S	19	19490925	HOSQUET	JEANETTE	S	21	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN	MONTREAL, Q.	NAFAD	HOSQUET	0	
6945	PAUKSZTA	CZESLAW V.	S	26	19491002	JIBARAH	VIVIAN T.	S	25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	WINDOW CLEA.	MONTREAL, Q.	PAUKSZTA	GIBARA	0	
3946	ANBAR	TAMZI	D	36	19491228	ERICKSON	BEATRICE	S	33	MONTREAL, Q.	PORTREEVE, S.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ANBAR	ERICKSON	0	
3956	PETERSON	FREDDY	S	24	19500114	HANNA	EDNA	S	26	THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHAWINIGAN-F, Q.	HOLLER	MONTREAL, Q.	PETERSON	HANNA	0	
6985	SAFYI	NICHOLAS E.	S	34	19500204	KITE	IRMA F.	S	26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	JOBBER	MONTREAL, Q.	SAFYI	KITE	0	
6995	KURI	LOUIS A.	S	46	19500213	MORISSETTE	CORONA C.	S	37	SHERBROOKE, Q.	SHERBROOKE, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KOURI	MORISSETTE	0	
7005	ANBAR	ALLAN C.	S	25	19500410	VIGEANT	ELISA L.	S	20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ANBAR	VIGEANT	0	
7015	GALLANT	RENE A.	S	25	19500415	KURI	RITA S.	S	14	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	LABOURER	MONTREAL, Q.	GALLANT	KOURI	0	
7055	GHANIMAH	MICHAEL E.	A	35	19500601	FILION	MARTHA J.	S	22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN	MONTREAL, Q.	FENEHY	FILION	0	
7065	BALL	PAUL V.	S	25	19500602	FARHUD	GENEVA A.	S	22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	ELECTRICIAN	MONTREAL, Q.	BALL	FARHUD	0	
7095	BATTY	GRAHAM C.	S	28	19500716	RAHAL	CECILE F.	S	25	FARNHAM, Q.	FARNHAM, Q.	ENGINEER	MONTREAL, Q.	BATTY	RAHAL	0	
7165	CRAWFORD	HENRY N.	S	30	19500728	BANDAR	SKYEE J.	S	37	MONTREAL, Q.	WESTMOUNT, Q.	CARPENTER	MONTREAL, Q.	CRAWFORD	BANDAR	0	
7115	LAWAND	ELIAS T.	S	25	19500819	REID	ELIZABETH V.	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	LAWAND	REID	0	
3946	BARAKAT	THEODORE G.	S	25	19501219	GOODFELLOW	WILMA W.	M		MONTREAL, Q.	SARNTA, Q.	INSPECTOR	MONTREAL, Q.	BARAKAT	GOODFELLOW	0	

CODE	GROOM'S FAMILY NAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	MS	GA	DATE OF WEDDING	BRIDE'S FAMILY NAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	MS	GA	GROOM'S RESIDENCE	BRIDE'S RESIDENCE	GROOM'S HOMETOWN	BRIDE'S HOMETOWN	GROOM'S OCCUPATION	LOCATION OF WEDDING	GROOM'S REGISTERED NAME	BRIDE'S REGISTERED NAME	ETHN ENCL
6515	SHAHIN	MASAD J.	M	47	19470514	BARBARI	EVA M.	S	38	KIRKLAND LAKE, O.	ALEXANDRIA, O.			MERCHANT	ALEXANDRIA, O.	SHAHEEN	BARBARA	1
1566	AYYUB	FARRIS N.	M	50	19270609	KURI	MILADY N.	M	42	SAULT-S-M, O.	AYLNER, O.	KFAR MECHKI, S.			ALYNER, O.	AYOUB	KOURI	1
5105	SHAMMAS	JOSEPH M.	S	25	19311228	SHAMMAS	ANNE M.	S	17	TORONTO, O.	BLIND RIVER, O.				BLIND RIVER, O.	SHAMAS	SHAMAS	1
7985	SULAYMAN	NORMAN A.	S	34	19500702	BASSIS	BAHIE C.	S	32	BLIND RIVER, O.				INSPECTOR	BLIND RIVER, O.	SOLOMON	KASSIS	1
6575	ISBIR	NORMAN S.	S	25	19470830	DITTHAR	KATIRYN J.	M	23	CANTON, OH.	CANTON, OH.				CANTON, OH.	ESBER	DITTHAR	0
5055	KURI	WILLIAM G.	S	27	19310705	ASAD	SOPHIA K.	S	19	CORALI, O.	CORALI, O.				CORALI, O.	KOURY	ASSAD	1
4885	SALHANI	THEOPHILE T.	M	35	19300126	KUSAYAH	ZAMEYA F.	S	23	CORNWALL, O.	CORNWALL, O.				CORNWALL, O.	SALHANY	KOUSSAYA	1
4715	RAHAL	JOSEPH S.	M	31	19271009	NASIF	ALEXANDRA M.	S	24			JABBEHA ZAIB, S.	HAJBEL CHAMS, S.		DRUMMONDVILLE, Q.	RAHAL	NASSIF	1
4675	SHAHIN	MADEEH F.	S	34	19270627	BARBARI	AGEYA M.	S	24			KAFR MECHKI, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.		GLENSARRY, O.	SHAHEEN	BARBARA	1
4355	AU-KADAH	NAJEEB M.	S	31	19230415	ANDAH	HOUR A.	S	18			CHEBAA, S.	DAMAS, S.		GRAND MERE, O.	BOURADA	ANKA	1
6935	TABBA	SAGE S.	S	24	19490914	VAN TOLEDO	HENDRIKA B.	S	25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.			TELEGR. OPER.	HAGUE: C/MTL., CH.	TABAH	VAN TOLEDO	0
4635	BATAH	THOMAS E.	S	23	19260724	JAZZAR	SKYEE M.	S	19	MANCHESTER, N.H.					HAWKESBURY, Q.	BATTAH	JAZZAR	1
4525	SHAR	NAIF	M	51	19300602	DAUD	KARIME	S	36	OKA, Q.	HAWKESBURY, Q.				HUBSON, Q.	SHAAR	DAVID	1
6925	ISTIFAN	MICHAEL T.	S	45	19490712	SAMAN	AGNES S.	S	30	DORCHESTER, MS.	JOLIETTE, Q.			MERCHANT	JOLIETTE, Q.	STEPHAN	SAMMAN	1
2305	KHALIL	CAMILLE A.	S	28	19320724	GENEST	MARGARET N.				LA TUQUE, Q.				LA TUQUE, Q.	CALILLE	GENEST	0
1866	BISHARAH	AYOUB K.	S	37	19251101	DAFWISH	MARY E.	S	26	MONTREAL, Q.					LOUISEVILLE, Q.	BISHARA	DARWISH	1
4755	SAD	ALBERT E.	S	24	19280608	ABU-SAD	ROSEY B.	S	17	HASTING, O.	MAGOG, O.	KAFR MECHKI, S.		MERCHANT	MAGOG, O.	SAID	BOUSSADA	1
6155	SAHYUN	SAUEL J.	S	33	19450830	MAHSUR	EDNA B.	S	28	ROUYN, Q.	MATTAWA, O.				MATTAWA, O.	ZION	MONSOUR	1
4625	SHAHIN	MITCHEL	S	35	19280630	KHALIL	JEANNIE G.	S	21	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.	KAFR MECHKI, S.			OTTAWA, O.	SHAHEEN	KALIL	1
4355	ILYAS	GEORGE E.	S	28	19300921	DAUD	RITA G.	S	19	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	ELIAS	DAVID	1
4995	LOGUISTO	FRANK B.	S	20	19310217	ILYAS	EVA B.	S	18	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.			BAKER	OTTAWA, O.	LOGUISTO	ELIAS	1
5005	KARAM	NORMAN J.	S	25	19310221	NIKHAIL	SADIE	S	19	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	KARAM	MICHAEL	1
5075	ABUDD	NASSIB S.	S	28	19310226	GATTAS	MUZEERA S.	S	20	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	ABUDD	GATTAS	1
5215	FINLAY	GEORGE J.	M	62	19330427	DAUD	MARY N.	M	51	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	ETINAY	DAVID	1
5265	IGRAHIM	ABRAHAM D.	S	27	19330808	SHADIO	LYDIA F.	S	20	LACHUTE, Q.	LACHUTE, Q.				OTTAWA, O.	ABRAHAM	SHADEED	1
5295	SHAR	PHILIP K.	S	27	19340427	SAYKALI	SAIDE J.	S	20	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	CHARLES	SATKALY	1
5305	BAHSHI	JAMES F.	S	22	19340805	KHALIL	NAZIHA A.	S	21	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	BEAUCHAMP	KALIL	1
5755	FARHAH	WILLIE E.	S	35	19411012	AZAR	AFIFE J.	S	31	ROUYN, Q.	OTTAWA, O.				OTTAWA, O.	FARHAH	AZAR	1
6315	ABU-ASALI	EDMOND M.	S	27	19460616	LAHHAM	HELEN S.	S	19	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.			MANAGER	OTTAWA, O.	BOASSALY	LAHAM	1
6345	ANDAH	MICHAEL E.	S	29	19460701	MAKHUL	LAURA M.	S	22	OTTAWA, O.	OTTAWA, O.			BARRISTER	OTTAWA, O.	ANEA	MC. KHOOL	1
6865	SAYKALI	ERNEST M.	S	20	19480920	NAKKASH	VIVIAN A.	S	20	T.M.R., Q.	MONTREAL, Q.			MANUFACTUR.	OUTREMOND, Q.	SAYKALY	NAKASH	1
5475	GHI7	SAD N.	S	33	19360912	SHADI	JULIA N.	S	21	CHARLETON, PEI.	RICHMOND, Q.				RICHMOND, Q.	KAYS	CHADY	1
2896	BARAKAT	GEORGES T.			19420208	SALHANI	ALICE S.			THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHAWINIGAN F, Q.			MERCHANT	SHAWINIGAN F, Q.	BARAKETT	SALHANY	1
4135	ABU-TARAH	HABEED	S	36	19180615	ZUGHAYB	DEEBE	S	26			RACHAIIYA, S.	RACHAIIYA, S.		SHERBROOKE, Q.	BOUTARAH	ZAKATB	1
0636	SHADIO	SALEEM E.	S	23	19130519	HANNA	KARIMEH S.	S	19			DAMAS, S.	CHEBAA, S.		THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHOD	HANNA	1
0776	KURI	GHOUTAS D.	S	24	19140719	MANSUR	ROSA E.								THREE RIVERS, Q.	KOURI	MANSOUR	1
1306	KURI	RACHEDE J.	S	26	19200620	NASIF	GHALIEH M.	S	21			THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.		THREE RIVERS, Q.	COUPEY	NASSIF	1
1536	SHAR	GEDEON C.	S	24	19240127	HANNA	FRANCINE S.	S	22	THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHAWINIGAN-F, Q.	CHEBAI, S.			THREE RIVERS, Q.	CHARLES	HANNA	1
2146	MANSUR	SALIM J.	S	30	19290120	ABU-MANSUR	ADELE E.	S	18	UNION CITY, N.J.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	ZAHLE, S.			THREE RIVERS, Q.	MONSOUR	BOUMANSOUR	1
2616	SHALHOUB	GEORGE A.			19390621	ABUDD	ALINE C.			MONTREAL, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			MERCHANT	THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHALHOUB	ABUDD	1
2646	HANNA	JOSEPH P.			19390730	NASIF	ANELIA N.			GRAND'MERE, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			MERCHANT	THREE RIVERS, Q.	HANNA	NASSIF	1
5765	LUTFI	FRED N.	S	28	19411026	BARAKAT	VIOLET A.	S	22	MONTREAL, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.				THREE RIVERS, Q.	LUTFY	BARAKETT	1
2946	ABU-MANSUR	GEORGE E.			19420905	BARAKAT	LILY A.			THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			MERCHANT	THREE RIVERS, Q.	BOUMANSOUR	BARAKETT	1
6465	SAHYUN	ABRAHAM J.	S	29	19470209	BARAKAT	ALICE E.	S	30	ROUYN, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			FLIGHT ENG.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	ZION	BARAKETT	1
6775	AYYUB	LUCIEN G.	S	27	19480606	BARAKAT	MARY E.	S	23	MONTREAL, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			CLERK	THREE RIVERS, Q.	AYOUB	BARAKETT	1
6955	YUSUF	VICTOR J.	S	27	19491016	ABUDD	LAURETTE A.	S	27	GRAND RAPIDS, MI.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			MERCHANT	THREE RIVERS, Q.	JOSEPH	ABUDD	1
7145	BASSIS	JOSEPH C.	D	56	19500827	ABUDD	SALMA A.	S	39	GRAND RAPIDS, MI.	THREE RIVERS, Q.			GROCEER	THREE RIVERS, Q.	KASSIS	ABUDD	1
6905	ANSARAH	NASER M.	S	25	19440525	HIGGINS	MARGARET T.	S	23	TIMMINS, Q.	HALIFAX, N.S.				TIMMINS, Q.	ANSARA	HIGGINS	0
1956	AZIZ	ALBERT E.	S	37	19270603	NASIF	NIMRIE F.	S	24	OTTAWA, O.		CHEBAA, S.	CHEBAA, S.		TORONTO, O.	AZIZ	NASSIF	1
0256	DAUD	FARIS	S	33	19080919	NAKHLI	SAADA H.	S	17			BATANA, S.	BATANA, S.		VICTORIAVILLE, Q.	DAUDD	NAKLY	1

PERFORMED OUTSIDE MONTREAL

APPENDIX I - LIST OF SERVICES PERFORMED IN ST. GEORGE CHURCH, 1906-1950
ST. GEORGE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF MONTREAL, SERVICES 1906-1950

YEAR	BAPTISMS	MARRIAGES	FUNERALS
1906	33	5 (2)	2
1907	39	7	10
1908	49	17	14
1909	43	5 (2)	12
1910	33	10	11
1911	41	8 (7)	15
1912	54	8	13
1913	45	13 (2)	18
1914	54	8	22
1915	52	13 (1)	13
1916	57	20	16
1917 *	18	5	7
1918	44	4 (1)	16
1919	40	3	15
1920	53	10 (1)	16
1921	33	6	16
1922	50	9	9
1923	33	7	6
1924	52	12	7
1925	60	12	13
1926	49	10	13
1927	38	9	4
1928	39	12	10
1929	34	6	10
1930	20	6	11
1932	17	1	6
1932	20	5	4
1933	13	4	9
1934	16	2	6
1935	15	2	16
1936	14	6	10
1937	9	4	6
1938	18	6	10
1939	18	13	4
1940	26	15	10
1941	22	5	16
1942	19	6	11
1943	14	5	9
1944	20	6	14
1945	14	12	16
1946 **	25	11	17
1947 ***	25	27	12
1948	31	11 (1)	15
1949	24	15	18
1950	32	10	14
TOTAL	1455	391	522
AVERAGE	32.3	8.68	11.6

- * one engagement ceremony was performed in this year
 ** one annulment was granted in this year
 *** one adoption was registered in this year

APPENDIX I - LIST OF SERVICES PERFORMED IN ST. NICHOLAS CHURCH, 1913-1950

ST. NICHOLAS ORTHODOX CHURCH OF MONTREAL, SERVICES 1913-1950

YEAR	BAPTISMS	MARRIAGES	FUNERALS	ENGAGEMENTS
1913	46 (8)	5 (3)	3	0
1914	32 (14)	2 (6)	7	0
1915	47 (21)	5 (3)	4	0
1916	26 (6)	2	1	0
1917	1	1	0	0
1918	57 (3)	5	11	0
1919	26	4	11	0
1920	41	7 (1)	15	0
1921	36	5	11	0
1922	62 (1)	6	11	2
1923	53	12 (1)	8	5
1924	34 (2)	6	6	4
1925	51 (1)	5	5	0
1926	59	5 (2)	5	1
1927	39	7 (11)	6	3
1928	53	8 (6)	8	7
1929	53	8 (1)	14	4
1930	52	10 (10)	9	2
1931	40	13 (2)	16	4
1932	43	8	8	2
1933	42	9	5	3
1934	47	7	7	3
1935	28	8	8	2
1936	29	7 (1) *	11	2
1937	21	2	11	0
1938	26	4	10	0
1939	24	7	12	2
1940	38	7	15	2
1941	32	7	10	1
1942	35	14	12	2
1943	50	6	20	1
1944	29	11	17	0
1945	48	12	16	1
1946	36	23	17	0
1947	44	26	17	0
1948	35	20	9	0
1949	42	8	15	0
1950	33 **	19 ***	25	0
TOTAL	1490	321	394	53
AVERAGE	39.2	8.44	10.3	1.3

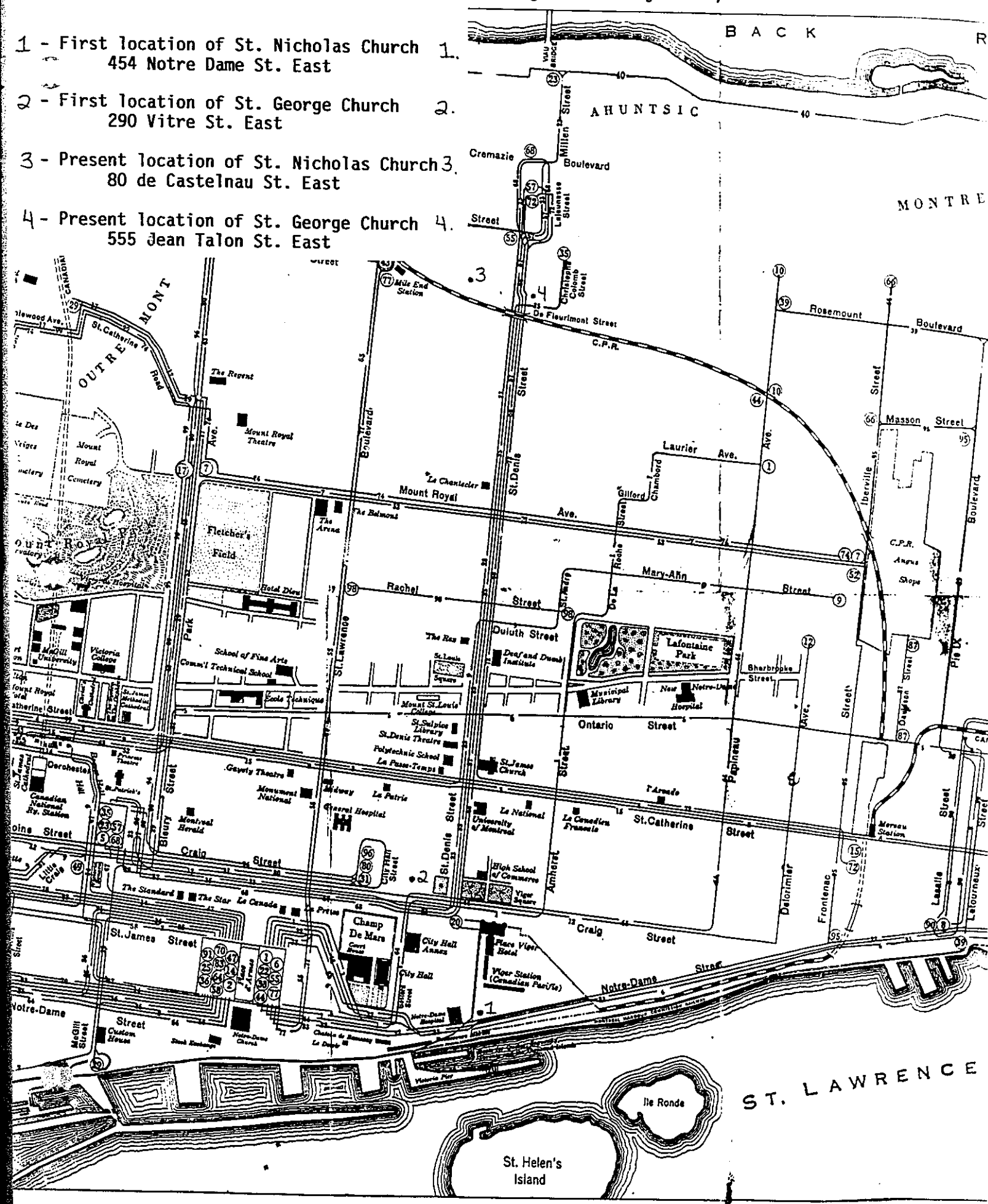
* one annulment was granted in this year

** one adoption was registered in this year

*** one marriage was revalidated in this year

APPENDIX J - MAP OF MONTREAL, 1925 (Showing the tramway lines)

- 1 - First location of St. Nicholas Church 1.
454 Notre Dame St. East
- 2 - First location of St. George Church 2.
290 Vitre St. East
- 3 - Present location of St. Nicholas Church 3.
80 de Castelnau St. East
- 4 - Present location of St. George Church 4.
555 Jean Talon St. East



APPENDIX K - MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING OCCUPATIONS HELD BY GROOMS

2633	SHALI	JOHN A.	S 39	19481212	BROUPEAU	VIOLA	S 34	BOSTON, M.	MONTREAL, Q.	AUTO MACHIN.	MONTREAL, Q.	GALLY	BROUPEAU	0
2634	PUSATAM	EDDY A.	S 23	19471012	RAHAL	MADINA K.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	AUTO DEALER	MONTREAL, Q.	LOUSSISA	RAHAL	1
4353	LOUISISTO	FRANK B.	S 20	19310217	ILYAS	EVA B.	S 18	OTTAWA, Q.	OTTAWA, Q.	BAKER	OTTAWA, Q.	LOUISISTO	ELIAS	1
6345	ANGAR	MICHAEL E.	S 29	19460721	MAKHL	LAURA M.	S 22	OTTAWA, Q.	OTTAWA, Q.	BARISTER S.	OTTAWA, Q.	ANA	MC KNOOL	1
2936	KABRASH	STON G.	S 29	19401124	KABRASH	ALICE T.	S 22	NEW YORK, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	BOOKKEEPER	MONTREAL, Q.	KABRASH	KABRASH	1
6305	SHATILLAH	ANTHONY F.	S 29	19460602	MIKHAIL	LAURICE C.	S 22	OUTREMONT, Q.	OUTREMONT, Q.	BOOKKEEPER	MONTREAL, Q.	SHATILLA	MICHEL	1
7105	CRANFORD	HENRY M.	S 30	19500728	BAIDAR	SVYEE J.	S 37	MONTREAL, Q.	WESTMOUNT, Q.	CARPENTER	MONTREAL, Q.	CRANFORD	BANDER	0
6255	AFI	HEBERT M.	S 25	19460221	ZABATANI	GLORIA M.	S 24	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHAUFFEUR	MONTREAL, Q.	AFI	ZABATANI	0
6515	TEITSCH	WILLIAM L.	A 39	19450529	ID	LINDA E.	S 36	MANHATTAN, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHAUFFEUR	MONTREAL, Q.	TEITSCH	EID	0
6595	WEATHERBY	GEORGE A.	S 33	19470614	MAKHL	VICTORIA S.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHEF. PLAT.	MONTREAL, Q.	WEATHERBY	MC COOL	0
6615	KEHRY	THEODORE M.	S 35	19470528	ASSAL	ADILE J.	S 33	OTTAWA, Q.	ROSEMONT, Q.	CIVIL SERV.	MONTREAL, Q.	HINREY	ASSAL	1
2556	PAST	MICHAEL M.	S 35	19380501	SCISCENTE	CAROLINE G.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	BOSSY	SCISCENTE	0
2665	ZABATANI	EMILE G.	S 29	19380518	ZENGA	ARMELIA D.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	ZABATANI	ZENGA	0
2675	LOVELUCK	PETER D.	S 29	19331109	ABU-SAFI	ROSE C.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	LOVELUCK	ABU-SAFI	0
2755	KUFI	MASSIF M.	S 29	19400714	STON	FLORIDA A.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	YOFI	STON	1
2765	ASSAL	PHILIP K.	S 29	19400714	JAMES	EILEEN M.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	ASSAL	JAMES	0
2855	ABU-SAFI	JOSEPH C.	S 29	19410507	VILLERHARIE	BLANCHE H.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	ABU-SAFI	VILLERHARIE	0
2865	MOORE	EDWARD H.	S 29	19411021	MIKHAIL	LILY N.	S 29	BROOKLYN, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	MOORE	MICHEL	1
3105	EATAH	MASIB M.	S 24	19450617	TOMA	EDNA R.	S 21	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	BATAH	TONY	1
6375	SAD	EDWARD E.	S 32	19460925	SHABERH	NORHA E.	S 22	CHICAGO, ILL.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	SAD	CHABRA	0
6555	ENKAR	JOSEPH E.	S 26	19470704	LAXTON	LILLIAN J.	S 24	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	ZACARD	LAXTON	0
3556	ZABATANI	EDDY	S 20	19471209	LAFRANCHISE	LEONA	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	ST. JUSTINE, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	ZABATANI	LAFRANCHISE	0
6775	AYUB	LUCHEN G.	S 27	19480606	BARAKAT	MARY E.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	AYCUB	BARAKAT	1
3755	NIHR	KALIL	S 32	19490710	KURI	PAULINE	S 26	LACHINE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	NIHR	COUREY	1
3765	KUSBARA	JIMMY	S 30	19490717	HANNA	CLAIRE	S 22	VICTORIAVILLE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	YASHBARA	HANNA	1
7115	LAMAND	ELIAS J.	S 25	19500819	PELO	ELIZABETH V.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLERK	MONTREAL, Q.	LAMAND	PELO	0
6635	SAD	CHARLES H.	S 25	19470227	QUELLETTE	MARGUERITE A.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CLOTH CUT.	MONTREAL, Q.	SAD	QUELLETTE	0
6815	NASSIF	LOUIS F.	S 36	19480714	JAZZAR	DAVEYA F.	S 22	TORONTO, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	COMM. TRAVEL	MONTREAL, Q.	NASSIF	JAZZAR	1
3586	NASSAR	FOUAD	S 36	19480718	MIKHAIL	MARLENE J.	S 27	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	COOK	MONTREAL, Q.	NASSAR	MICHEL	1
2626	SHANTAM	CLIFFORD S.	S 23	19390624	SCISCENTE	PHILOMENA G.	S 19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	SCISCENTE	SCISCENTE	0
6075	RIO	GEORGE F.	S 23	19441209	ZABATANI	MAVELDA E.	S 19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	RIO	ZABATANI	0
6455	KYSIR	ALEXANDER J.	S 24	19470202	MAKIR	ALICE M.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	MAKIR	MAKIR	0
3365	MIKHAIL	VICTOR E.	S 25	19470518	GRANT	MARY A.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	MICHEL	GRANT	0
6785	JIBARAH	JIMMY T.	S 21	19480608	LOISELLE	JACQUELINE M.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	CUTTER	MONTREAL, Q.	LOISELLE	LOISELLE	1
6795	TAKRABI	ELIAS S.	S 31	19480904	ABDUD	LINDA E.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DESIGNER	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDUD	ABDUD	1
6215	ZABATANI	FRED M.	S 31	19460217	CHARBONNEAU	MARIE E.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DESIGNER	MONTREAL, Q.	ZABATANI	CHARBONNEAU	0
3775	MIKHAIL	EMILE	S 24	19490717	SARAH	BETTY	S 34	MONTREAL, Q.	LACHINE, Q.	DESIGNER	MONTREAL, Q.	MICHEL	SARAY	1
6805	SHANTAM	JACK J.	S 23	19480704	SALHANI	LAURETTE F.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	BEAUMONT, Q.	DISPATCHER	MONTREAL, Q.	KEHRY	SALHANI	1
3195	TABBA	EDWARD J.	S 28	19460405	STILES	PAULINE S.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DOCTOR	MONTREAL, Q.	STILES	STILES	0
3316	AZIZ	FUAD E.	S 28	19501112	SHANI	GLADYS J.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DRAUGHTSMAN	MONTREAL, Q.	AZIZ	SHAMIE	1
3856	MAKAPUS	TOM F.	S 25	19500910	FARAH	ANGELINE E.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	LACHINE, Q.	DRESS CUT.	MONTREAL, Q.	MAKAPUS	FARHA	1
6875	HYKAL	WALTER J.	S 25	19481016	RIFDAR	JACQUELINE M.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DRESS PRESS	MONTREAL, Q.	MAKAPUS	RETTCA	1
3426	BURGUS	CAMILLE A.	S 41	19470706	KHADUM	MARJANE	S 25	ST. THERESE, Q.	ST. CASTRER, Q.	DRUGGIST	MONTREAL, Q.	MAKAPUS	KHADUM	1
3676	HADUD	PHILLIP M.	S 35	19480801	KURI	LAURICE	S 33	LACHINE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	DRY G. MACH.	MONTREAL, Q.	HADUD	COUREY	1
3406	FABDUL	RAYMOND T.	S 26	19470629	MIKHAIL	MARY	S 21	NIAGARA F. USA.	MONTREAL, Q.	ELECTRICIAN	MONTREAL, Q.	FABDUL	MICHEL	1
7065	BALL	PAUL V.	S 25	19500602	FARUD	GENEVA A.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	ELECTRICIAN	MONTREAL, Q.	BALL	FARUD	0
7095	BATTY	GRAHAM C.	S 28	19500716	RAHAL	CECILE F.	S 25	FARHAM, Q.	FARHAM, Q.	ENGINEER	MONTREAL, Q.	BATTY	RAHAL	0
6235	ILVAS	EDWARD S.	S 22	19460601	STON	TERESA A.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	EXPORTER	MONTREAL, Q.	ELIE	STON	1
6155	KURI	XABIB J.	D 55	19461104	ABU-TAKAH	LILY J.	S 39	RHODE ISLAND	MONTREAL, Q.	FIREMAN	MONTREAL, Q.	COUREY	BOUTARA	1
6455	SAHYUN	ABRAHAM J.	S 29	19470709	BARAKAT	ALICE E.	S 30	ROBYN, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	FLIGHT ENG.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	ZION	BARAKAT	1
2665	ASSAF	EDDIE G.	S 27	19480905	AZIZ	FLORENA A.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	GENERAL	MONTREAL, Q.	ASSAF	DI CAPRIE	0
6625	HINDI	SHAFI A.	S 27	19480905	AZIZ	ANGELINE M.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	GEN. CONTRAC.	MONTREAL, Q.	HEUDY	AZIZ	1
3636	GRASSIS	JOSEPH C.	D 56	19500827	ABDUD	SALMA M.	S 39	GRAND RAPIDS, MI.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	GROCE	THREE RIVERS, Q.	KASSIS	ABDUD	1
7085	SULAYMAN	MICHAEL	S 22	19480904	TAPUNAYLU	SADET	S 26	BRIDGEPORT, C.	MONTREAL, Q.	INSPECTOR	MONTREAL, Q.	YAKABOSKY	TAPUNAYLU	MA
7125	HUNSI	GEORGE P.	S 42	19500820	ZABATANI	BAHE C.	S 32	BLIND RIVER, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	INSPECTOR	BLIND RIVER, Q.	SOLIMON	KASSIS	1
						EVELYN M.	S 30	DETROIT, MI.	MONTREAL, Q.	INSPECTOR	MONTREAL, Q.	HANSEY	ZABATANI	1

APPENDIX K - MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING OCCUPATIONS HELD BY GROOMS con't

3945	BAPAT	THEODORE G.	WILMA H.	MONTREAL, Q.	SARITA, D.	INSPECTOR	MONTREAL, Q.	GOODFELLOW	0
3725	SUAYD	ELIAS G.	HELEN	S 32 BOSTON, N.	GRAND MEFE, D.	INSUR. AGENT	MONTREAL, Q.	SHIDE	1
3726	SAB	EDWARD	MARIE	S 22 MONTREAL, Q.	BOSTON, N.	INSUR. AGENT	MONTREAL, Q.	HUARDIE	1
3727	SAB	EDWARD N.	EVELYN H.	S 25 MONTREAL, Q.	ST. HYACINTHE, D.	JOBBER	MONTREAL, Q.	SUATO	1
3728	HADJI	CHARLES K.	HAZEL	S 38 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	JOBBER	MONTREAL, Q.	MICHEL	1
3729	SAYTI	NICHOLAS E.	IRMA F.	S 26 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	JOBBER	MONTREAL, Q.	KITE	0
3730	KHAFI	NICHOLAS A.	CLAUDE A.	S 30 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	JOURNALIER	MONTREAL, Q.	POURCY	0
3731	ADJIE	JOHN E.	SOFY A.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	LABOURER	MONTREAL, Q.	BAHNA	1
7015	GALLANT	RENE A.	RIITA S.	S 14 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	LABOURER	MONTREAL, Q.	GALLANT	0
7025	ABDI	SAH A.	LILY N.	S 26 GRAND PAROISSE, N.	MONTREAL, Q.	LABOURER	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDGY	1
7155	ABU AL-HANI	ROBERT A.	PAULINE M.	S 20 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	LABOURER	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDELHANY	1
5115	HADGAB	GEORGE	OPHELIA	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	MACHINIST	MONTREAL, Q.	HADGAB	1
2746	DAUSACK	THEODOR	JANETTE	S 23 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MACHINIST	MONTREAL, Q.	DAUSACK	0
3723	LEZIE	ELIAS	LILDA	S 30 BOSTON, N.	MONTREAL, Q.	MACHINIST	MONTREAL, Q.	LEZIE	1
2555	ASSAF	HENRY A.	DOROTHY E.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANAGER	MONTREAL, Q.	ASSAF	1
2525	LUFI	LEON N.	LAURIE G.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANAGER	MONTREAL, Q.	COUREY	1
2315	ABU-ASALI	EDMOND H.	WELSH S.	S 13 OTTAWA, Q.	OTTAWA, Q.	MANAGER	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSSALLY	1
4845	MASJID	AMISE S.	HADEYA R.	S 22 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	REFHISE	1
2536	ABU-SAMRAH	ALBERT S.	AMELIA N.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSSAMPA	1
2532	SHAMSHAD	ABRAHAM K.	ADELE A.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAMSHAD	1
2575	SAYKALI	EDWARD M.	VIOLA T.	S 20 T.M.R., Q.	OUTRECHONT, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	ROSSY	1
6355	LAZE	ELIAS C.	GLADYS J.	S 25 WORCESTER, NS.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	COLO	1
3356	NIKHAIL	DAVID	LILY	S 30 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	MICHAEL	1
6235	LOFI	PHILIP A.	EVELYN D.	D MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	LOUR	1
6725	SHAPRAH	EMILE E.	GEORGETTE S.	S 26 MONTREAL, Q.	OUTRECHONT, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	ROSSY	1
6755	ABU-SAMRAH	RUSSELL A.	YVONNE J.	S 25 MONTREAL, Q.	OUTRECHONT, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSSAMPA	1
5765	ABU-SAMRAH	ARTHUR A.	LORENAE T.	S 22 MONTREAL, Q.	OUTRECHONT, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	TABAH	1
6355	SAYKALI	ERNEST M.	VIVIAN A.	S 20 T.M.R., Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	SAYKALI	1
3835	SHAR	WALTER	CELENA	S 32 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	CHARLEY	1
7135	ZARGARTANI	NAGY N.	CELENA C.	S 18 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MANUFACTUR.	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARGARTANI	1
5345	PODEAU	JACQUES U.	MARGUERITE Z.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MECHANIC	MONTREAL, Q.	PODEAU	0
6735	ZARGARTANI	VICTOR H.	LOUISE A.	S 25 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MECHANIC	MONTREAL, Q.	ZARGARTANI	1
6435	FARHOD	GEORGE A.	MARY S.	S 19 MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MECHANIC	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSSY	1
8535	SHAH	DESLAH D.	HELEN G.	S 18	MONTREAL, Q.	MECHANIC	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAH	1
1855	AYUB	MIKE N.	ADELE G.	S 26 ANTOURVILLE, Q.	TORONTO, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	AYUB	1
4735	SHAMMAS	ELIAS A.	ROSE B.	S 22 ESPANOLA, D.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	MAIDELL	1
4755	SAB	ALBERT E.	MARY B.	S 17 HASTING, Q.	MAGOS, D.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSSADA	1
4775	ILYAS	GEORGE N.	MARY H.	S 19 TIMING, D.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ILYAS	1
4365	KUSAVAH	TAMMUS F.	WATNA A.	S 21 CORNWALL, Q.	SUDBURY, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KUSAVAH	1
2465	IRAHIN	JEAN-BAPT. K.	AMALEEN S.	ST. FRANCISCO, D.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	IRAHIN	1
2465	KURI	ELIA C.	VIOLETTE N.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KURI	1
2455	BARAKAT	ELLYA N.	ROSE T.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	BARAKAT	1
2505	ABU-MANSOUR	GEORGE E.	LORENAE P.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSSADOUR	1
2525	QUSSEH	ANTOINETTE A.	YVONNE S.	TORONTO, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	QUSSEH	1
2545	HADRA	CONSTANTINE N.	MARGUERITE T.	GRAND MEFE, D.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	HADRA	1
2565	RASI	NICHOLAS M.	ALICE N.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ABDGY	1
2575	SHAR	YARID G.	LUCIA E.	DORION, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	CHACK	1
2616	SHALHIB	GEORGE A.	ALINE C.	MONTREAL, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SHALHIB	1
2646	HANNA	JOSEPH P.	AMELIA N.	MONTREAL, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	HANNA	1
2556	SHAHIN	FRANCISSES M.	ROSE J.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAHIN	1
2716	TUGBA	ALIE N.	ANNE B.	GRAND, Q.	MAGOS, D.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	TUGBA	1
2726	TASBA	JAMIE A.	FREDIA M.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	TASBA	1
2775	SAYDHI	FRED I.	EVELYN N.	ST. JEAN, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SAYDHI	1
2740	SIMON	GEORGE A.	ANNE M.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SIMON	1
2753	YARID	LOUIS S.	LILY	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	YARID	1
2815	RASI	GEORGE S.	OLIVIA T.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	RASI	1

2856	TABBA	NACKLIE A.	19461116	SPIDALIENI	LETIZIA J.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	TABBA	SPIDALIENI	0			
2856	CATTINI	ALEET M.	19410601	SHATILLAH	RUBY A.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	CATTINI	SHATILLA	1			
2870	RASI	THEODORE S.	19410921	LUTFI	JANTLY N.	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ROSSY	LUTFY	1			
2890	BARAKAT	GEORGES T.	19420208	SALHANI	ALICE S.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHAWINIGAN F, Q.	MERCHANT	SHAWINIGAN F, Q.	BARAKETT	SALHANY	1			
2890	BARAKAT	PHILIP E.	19420412	HAJALI	OLGA N.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	ST. JEROME, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	BARAKETT	HAJALY	1			
2940	ABU-MAHSUR	GEORGE E.	19420906	BARAKAT	LILY A.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MERCHANT	THREE RIVERS, Q.	BOUMANSOUR	BARAKETT	1			
2930	SABA	CHEADE E.	19420306	NIMR	MARY A.	LACHINE, Q.		MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SABA	NEMER	1			
2935	YASHEI	TOM E.	S 43	19460225	DEZIEL	MARGUERITE J.	S 31	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KISHEY	DEZIEL	0	
2930	ANBAR	GEORGE	S 24	19460519	SUAYD	MARY E.	S 20	ST. JEROME, Q.	ST. HYACINTHE, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	AMBER	SQUAID	1	
2935	SHATILLAH	EMILE A.	S 32	19460526	SHATILLAH	ROSINE H.	S 28	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SHATILLA	SHATILLA	1	
2935	KUSAYAH	ROHED A.	S 24	19460904	SHATILLAH	VIOLET H.	S 23	OUTREMONT, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KOUSSAYA	SHATILLA	1	
2945	ABU-SAMRAH	JOHN J.	D 39	19461103	SHADID	MADELINE F.	S 30	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	BOUSAMRA	SHADEED	1	
2945	ABBUD	EDDIE M.	D 35	19470202	SAFYI	GEORGETTE E.	S 28	DETROIT, MI.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ABBUD	SAFYI	1	
2950	SHAR	PHILIPPE	S 41	19470420	SHURI	SADIE M.	S 33	QUEBEC CITY, Q.	QUEBEC CITY, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	CHARLES	SHOUREY	1	
2946	ISA	ELIE	S 40	19470421	SALHANI	JEANETTE	S 25	SYRACUSE, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	U.S.A.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	EASSA	SALHANY	1
2945	SHAHIN	NASSAD J.	M 47	19470514	BARBARI	EVA M.	S 38	KIRKLAND LAKE, Q.	ALEXANDRIA, Q.	MERCHANT	ALEXANDRIA, Q.	SHAHEN	BARBARA	1	
2970	DABUS	ALBERT	S 25	19470525	ABU-SAMRAH	GLORIA	S 24	TORONTO, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	DABOUS	BOUSAMRA	1	
2930	KURI	MAURICE A.	S 23	19470608	SHAR	EVELYN G.	S 20	CARTIERVILLE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KOURI	CHARLES	1	
2930	HAINA	EMILE	S 29	19470624	RADWAN	JACKLYN	S 21	GRAND'MERE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	HAINA	RADWAN	1	
2935	JUBAIL	MOITE S.	S 45	19470912	CADI	LODIE A.	S 27	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	GABRIEL	KADEI	1	
2975	HAJALI	MICHAEL N.	S 26	19471102	BARAKAT	LORRAINE M.	S 20	ST. JEROME, Q.	OUTREMONT, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	HAJALY	BARAKETT	1	
2980	MALULI	MADDY K.	M 50	19471123	ABU-ASALI	SHAFICA B.	S 44	STE. AGATHE DR, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	MALOULEY	BOUASSALY	1	
2976	KURI	MADDEH	S 30	19471214	BISHARA	GEORGETTE	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	COUREY	BISHARA	1	
2916	GHAMIMAH	NICHEL	S 32	19480215	KUSAYAH	VERA	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KEMERY	KOUSSAYA	1	
2926	KABBASH	WILLIAM	S 35	19480725	AZIZ	JULIETTE	S 19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KABBASH	AZIZ	1	
2925	SHANNAS	LOUIS M.	M 48	19480905	ABU-MUSAD	RASHIA M.	S 28	ESPANOLA, Q.		JOYDAR, MARYJOHN, S.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SHANNES	ABOUMRAD	1
2950	AZIZ	EDWARD M.	S 20	19480919	ZUGHAYB	DIANA G.	S 22	ST. LAMBERT, Q.	SOREL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	AZIZ	ZAKAIB	1	
2985	YARID	NICHEL R.	S 44	19481107	SAGHIF	MARY T.	S 35	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	YAFED	ZIGAYER	1	
2935	ISTIFAH	MICHAEL T.	S 45	19490712	SANAN	AGNES S.	S 30	DORCHESTER, MS.	JOLIETTE, Q.	MERCHANT	JOLIETTE, Q.	STEPHAN	SAMMAN	1	
2935	YUSUF	VICTOR J.	S 27	19491016	ABBUD	LAURETTE A.	S 27	GRAND RAPIDS, MI.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	MERCHANT	THREE RIVERS, Q.	JOSEPH	ABOUD	1	
2940	ANBAR	ZAWZI	D 36	19491228	ERICKSON	BEATRICE	S 33	MONTREAL, Q.	FORTREEVE, S.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ANSEP	ERICKSON	0	
2975	SARAY	JOSEPH M.	S 29	19500115	ASSAF	BEATRICE G.	S 20	LACHINE, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SARAY	ASSAF	1	
2995	KURI	LOUIS A.	S 46	19500213	MORISSETTE	CORONA C.	S 37	SHERBROOKE, Q.	SHERBROOKE, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	YOURI	MORISSETTE	0	
7005	ANBAR	ALLAN C.		19500410	VIGEANT	ELISA L.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	ANBAR	VIGEANT	0	
7035	YARID	EDWARD K.	D 48	19500509	YARID	SAIDE S.	S 33	GRAND RAPIDS, MI.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	YAFED	YAFED	1	
7045	KURI	JAMES T.	S 33	19500521	KUSAYAH	LILLIAN H.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	KOURY	KOUSSAYA	1	
7075	BATAH	NORMAN J.	S 23	19500625	BATAH	AGNIE D.	S 29	JOLIETTE, Q.		MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	BATTAN	BATTAN	1	
2900	STAURO	GEORGE C.		19501029	ABU-ISA	ROSELINE J.		MONTREAL, Q.	CARTAGENA, COL., S. AM.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	STAURO	BOUESSE	1	
2930	SIMON	JOSEPH A.		19501210	ZARBATANI	MARLENE J.		MONTREAL, Q.	ST. LIN	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SIMON	ZARBATANY	1	
2940	SALHANI	NICHEL	S 33	19471116	SHAMI	ELEANOR	S 30	SUDBURY, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	SALHANY	SHAMIE	1	
2955	PETERSON	FREDDY	S 24	19500114	HAINA	EDNA	S 26	THREE RIVERS, Q.	SHAWINIGAN-F, Q.	MERCHANT	MONTREAL, Q.	PETERSON	HAINA	0	
2956	ASSAL	THEODORE	S 34	19471213	TEPANH	JULIANNE	S 30	ROSEMOUNT, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	PACKER HELP, MONTREAL, Q.	ASSAL	APPAHAM	1		
2960	ZARBATANI	NICHEL	S 42	19490717	KUSBARA	SADIE	S 41	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	PACKER HELP, MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANY	KASHBARA	1		
2930	PHILLIP	ELIAS	M 74	19490519	ZAHALAN	MARY	M 61	MONTREAL, Q.		FILLIP	MONTREAL, Q.	ZAHALAN	ZAHALAN	1	
2995	TAMIL	FARIS N.	S 29	19490515	TUMA	FLORENCE R.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	PHOTOGRAPH, MONTREAL, Q.	TAMEL	TOMY	1		
2705	DESJARDINS	JOSEPH A.	S 29	19480307	ASSAF	GLADYS G.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	PHYS. INSTRU. MONTREAL, Q.	DESJARDINS	ASSAF	0		
2940	TADLI	MITCHELL C.	S 35	19480612	KURI	LILLIAN	S 27	MALONE, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	RADIO ANN. MONTREAL, Q.	TACKLEY	COUREY	1		
2960	WILLIAM	FARIS	HD 53	19460205	ABBUD	MARY	S 31	GRAND RAPIDS, MI.	THREE RIVERS, Q.	RATL WOFKER MONTREAL, Q.	WILLIAM	ABOUD	1		
2910	TABBA	GEORGE N.		19420712	CHRISTESCU	OLYMPIA T.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RCAF MONTREAL, Q.	TABBA	CHRISTESCU	0		
4725	NASR-ALLAH	THEOPHILE M.		19280422	ABU-ASALI	MARY	M	MONTREAL, Q.		RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	NISEKALLAH	BOUASSALY	1		
4910	FARAH	SOLOMON F.	M 42	19300601	SHATILLAH	NAHAYA	S 27	L'ASSUMPTION, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	LAJOIE	SHATILLA	1		
2470	BUTRUS	GEORGE J.		19370808	SHATILLAH	ADAL N.		PIKEVILLE, K.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	BETRUS	SHATILLA	1		
2505	ADUB	MIKE N.	S 47	19470425	ANIN	MARY K.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	ADUB	AMEEN	1		
2645	ZARBATANI	JIMMY J.	S 32	19470929	DE GREGORIA	MARIA C.	S 19	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	ZARBATANY	DE GREGORIA	0		
2635	GENEST	ADELARD	S 31	19470929	ZUGHAYB	EVELYN H.	S 28	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	GENEST	ZAKAIB	0		
2735	NASR-ALLAH	NESRALLAH M.	S 40	19480330	NASR-ALLAH	SALWA E.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.	OUTREMONT, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	NESRALLAH	NESRALLAH	1		

3798	HABIB	ALBERT	S 25	19490521	AZIZ	LAURICE	S 24	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	HABIB	AZIZ	1
6365	HASR-ALLAH	LAUFENCE T.	S 20	19491129	ABU-SAFI	RAYMONDE J.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RESTAURANT, MONTREAL, Q.	HASRALLAH	ABOUSSAFY	1
3335	RAHAL	ALEXANDER K.		19530521	GHANTUS	SARA A.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	RETIRED, MONTREAL, Q.	RAHAL	GANTOUS	1
3926	LEVAC	GEORGE E.		19420534	ABDUD	MATILDA K.		MONTREAL, Q.		RIJETER, MONTREAL, Q.	LEVAC	ABDUD	1
3510	HAYIK	ARMAND N.		13380221	DUBOIS	MARIE J.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	HAYIK	DUBOIS	0
3736	SHAHURI	HART H.		19400627	SAD	JULIA A.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	SHAHURY	SAAD	1
3216	SHATILLAH	GEORGE	S 23	19400512	DAVID	MADELENE	S 23			SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	SHATILLA	DAVID	1
6325	ZUGHAYR	ALCIE A.	S 25	19460625	GHATTAS	SKIEE T.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	ZUGHAYR	GHATTAS	1
6325	YARID	NICHOLAS F.	S 24	19460715	ILYAS	AGNES	S 22	WINDSOR, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	YARID	ELLIES	1
6465	DIB	LOUIS A.	S 26	19470420	ABDUD	MARGARET S.	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	DIB	ABDUD	1
6435	YHURI	THEODORE E.	S 22	19470420	KUSBARA	MARY S.	S 21	YOUNGSTOWN, OH.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	YHOURY	KASHBARA	1
6545	KUSAYAH	EDMOND A.	S 26	19470610	ADAMAKOS	CATHERINE P.	S 21	OUTREMOINT, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	KOUSSAYA	ADAMAKOS	0
6619	KAYAD	CHARLES	S 19	19430925	HOSQUET	JEANETTE	S 21	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	KAYAD	HOSQUET	0
7055	GHAMBIAN	MICHAEL E.	A 25	19530631	ELLION	HEITHA J.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	GHAMBIAN	ELILION	0
3735	GHATTAS	MICHEL	D 35	19430724	RINA	ISABEL	S 27	MONTREAL, Q.	NORTH SYD., N.S.	SALESMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	GHATTAS	RENEY	1
6325	AYYUB	PETER G.	S 26	19460623	LUKER	WINIFRED J.	S 27	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHIPPER, MONTREAL, Q.	AYYUB	LUKER	0
6385	DAUD	PHILIP F.		19460929	BIANKI	MARGUERITE J.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	SHAWINIGAN, F. Q.	SHIPPER, MONTREAL, Q.	DAUD	BIANKI	0
3665	BISHARAH	JAMES	S 39	19500119	SHADURAH	MARY	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHIPPER, MONTREAL, Q.	BISHARA	CHAEFA	1
3036	OGTRA	NICHOLAS	S 25	19470619	HASSIF	ETHEL	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHOEMAKER, MONTREAL, Q.	OGTRA	HASSIF	1
6425	BAGHAN	JAMIL E.	S 33	19461027	LABONTE	BLANCHE E.	S 20	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SHOEMAN, MONTREAL, Q.	BAGHAN	LABONTE	0
6063	ZUGHAYR	AKRIEN J.		19440116	GIRARD	ADELA T.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	SOLDIER, MONTREAL, Q.	ZUGHAYR	GIRARD	0
6745	MORRISON	FREDERICK C.	S 34	19480508	LUTFI	VICTORIA N.	D 33	MONTREAL, Q.	OUTREMOINT, Q.	STAT. ASS. BA, MONTREAL, Q.	MORRISON	LUTFI	0
3506	GHIZ	EDWARD	S 35	19480201	SHADURAH	NELLIE	S 32	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	STOCK-BROK, MONTREAL, Q.	GHIZ	CHACRA	1
6715	SAD	JAMES	S 23	19480307	KABBASH	MARY T.	S 24	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	STORE CLERK, MONTREAL, Q.	SAD	KABBASH	1
3116	SHAMANDI	EDWARD A.	S 20	19450624	SHATILLAH	VIVIANNE	S 19			STUDENT, MONTREAL, Q.	SHAMANDI	SHATILLA	1
3153	SAYYALI	MAUSICE W.	S 22	19450823	SHAWI	DORIS E.	S 18		OTTAWA, Q.	STUDENT, MONTREAL, Q.	SAYYALI	SHAWI	1
3153	RIVARD	PAUL E.	S 22	19460623	ZAFBATANI	MARINA	S 22	CANCOON, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	STUDENT, MONTREAL, Q.	RIVARD	ZARBATANY	0
1500	JARJOUR	NICHOLAS G.		19390611	SAFYI	ALEXANDRA E.		MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	TAILOR, MONTREAL, Q.	JARJOUR	SAFYI	1
3305	HANNA	BERNARD G.		19400811	HINDI	JEANNE A.		MONTREAL, Q.		TAILOR, MONTREAL, Q.	HANNA	HENDY	1
3536	SIMON	JOHN	S 27	19460122	KUSAYAH	IDA	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	TAILOR, MONTREAL, Q.	SIMON	KOUSSAYA	1
6535	SHORAH	ROMEO E.	S 27	19470304	SHATILLAH	JEAN A.	S 26	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	TAXI OWNER, MONTREAL, Q.	SHORAH	SHATILLA	1
6125	TABBA	SABE S.	S 24	19420314	VAN TOLEDO	HENDRINA B.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	TELEGR. OPER., HAGUE, C/MTL. CH.	TABBA	VAN TOLEDO	0
6205	ZAFBATANI	AMVER M.	S 35	19460217	DE CARLO	GENERICA T.	S 35	LAVAL DES R, Q.	LAVAL DES R, S.	TELEPH. INSP., MONTREAL, Q.	ZAFBATANI	DE CARLO	0
6316	FOOTH	PAUL P.	S 22	19480918	RIFOAN	NELLIE W.	S 23	BROOKLYN, N.Y.	MONTREAL, Q.	THEAT. MANAG., MONTREAL, Q.	FOOTH	REFFCA	0
3276	SAMARAH	JOHN	D 40	19490912	VERMETTE	REJANE	S 28	CAMBRIDGE, MS.	ST. THERESE, Q.	TOOL MAKER, MONTREAL, Q.	SAMARA	VERMETTE	0
6425	SALMANI	AESAHAM	S 36	19401030	GHOSH	FANIME	S 17	MONTREAL, Q.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	TRADER, MONTREAL, Q.	SALMANI	GOSSEN	1
6625	RABGAN	DOMINIQUE R.	S 26	19470920	BAGARIE	JULIETTE A.	S 22	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	TRUCK DRIV., MONTREAL, Q.	RABAN	BAGARIE	1
6625	SIGOLA	GEORGE A.	S 26	19471019	JIBARAH	GOLIA S.	S 32	WINTOSKI, VM.	LAQUEBE, Q.	TRUCK DRIV., MONTREAL, Q.	SIGOLA	JIBARA	1
3126	LEDDY	JOHN E.	D 35	19450703	MIKHAIL	ADELE	S 30			U.S. NAVY, MONTREAL, Q.	LEDDY	MICHEL	0
6505	ITSBIR	JACK L.	S 23	19490528	DEMERS	MAUREEN E.	S 18	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	WAITER, MONTREAL, Q.	ITSBIR	GENEFS	0
6605	LATREILLE	ALBERT E.	S 25	19470927	ZARBATANI	ROSE J.	S 29	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.	WAITOR, MONTREAL, Q.	LATREILLE	ZARBATANY	0
6345	CHESLAW V.	S 26	19431002	JIBARAH	VIVIAN T.	S 25	MONTREAL, Q.	MONTREAL, Q.		WINDOW CLEANER, MONTREAL, Q.	CHESLAW	GIBARA	0
3826	ISFANIM	NICHOLAS	S 23	19431002	KURI	GEREVIEVE	S 23	MONTREAL, Q.	STE. AGATHE DR, Q.	WOOD CARVER, MONTREAL, Q.	ISFANIM	FOUPY	1

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