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The Settlement of Armenian Refugees in Syria and Lebanon, 1915-1939

Thesis submitted in fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

1978

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon between 1915 and 1939. The topic was conceived not so much as a refugee study but as a study of the processes of minority settlement in the Middle East, for while the importance of the ethnic mosaic pattern in the area has long been recognised, there have been few studies of the processes involved in the evolution of this pattern. A study of the processes of Armenian settlement would enable an assessment of the relative significance of ethnicity, economic status and political manipulation in determining the settlement pattern as well as test the writer's assumption of the interdependence of these constraints. While for purposes of analysis the principal constraints on settlement were investigated separately, and regional and urban patterns were differentiated, the object of the study was not to test individually the significance of the various constraints discussed, but to construct an overall picture of the processes in operation against which their significance could ultimately be tested. The study reveals that while economic and social constraints acted powerfully to inhibit dispersal and maintain concentration, political manipulation was less significant. In all respects, however, social, economic and political constraints were interdependent and their principal effect was to maintain a self-perpetuating process of concentration and segregation.

To

Mum and Dad

Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the opportunity given to pursue this research by Professor W.B. Fisher, the patient advice of my supervisor, Dick Lawless, the assistance given to me in the field by members of the Armenian community of Syria and Lebanon, the patience and support of my cousins Ken and Dorothy and the help and encouragement of my colleagues, friends and relations.

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Note on Standardisation of Names

Where possible names have been standardised according to contemporary French Levant Series mapping. Names of places outside Syria and Lebanon have been standardised according to the Times Atlas. Names not included in these two sources have been left in the form in which they were encountered.

Addendum

Note on the Index of Dissimilarity

The Index of Dissimilarity, used frequently in this study, measures the percentage of Population A within a set of administrative divisions which would need to move location in order for Population A to achieve the same distribution as Population B within the same set. It is calculated by summing the differences between the percentages of Populations A and B in each administrative division and dividing by two.

For any administrative division within the set the Location Quotient is obtained by dividing the percentage of Population A contained in that administrative division by the percentage of Population B contained within the same division.

Introduction

The subject of this thesis is the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon between 1915 and 1939. More specifically, the thesis investigates the extent to which the Armenians formed and maintained a particular settlement pattern, and seeks to identify the processes involved in the formation of this pattern. The following paragraphs consider how the topic was chosen, its relevance to current research frontiers, and the approach adopted. The approach adopted is considered in relation to current methodology and to the source material available which is described and assessed. The discussion concludes by introducing the chapter-plan of the thesis.

The choice of topic was rather fortuitous. When the writer began his doctoral research in October, 1973, the intention was to study the development of the urban system of Syria and Lebanon since 1800. The time-span of the study was soon narrowed down to the Mandate period, but the lack of a satisfactory data-base for the study, in particular the lack of adequate statistics to permit the relatively sophisticated statistical analysis then desired, led to a search for a more specific topic concerning urban development. One topic which seized the attention was the impact of Armenian refugee settlement on urban growth, for it was apparent from the annual reports of the Mandatory Power, which contained regular reports on the refugee situation, that most of the Armenians had settled in the cities. A visit to Geneva to investigate

possible source material in the archives of the League of Nations revealed a major documentary source, the archives of the Nansen Office concerning the settlement of Armenian refugees, that would permit the establishment of a viable research project. It remained to redefine the focus of the study, switching the emphasis from the urban impact of the refugees to the processes involved in their settlement.

The existence of an adequate documentary base is not, of course, sufficient in itself to justify the launching of a costly and time-consuming research project. The project must be justified in terms of its relevance to current research frontiers. In this respect the most immediate usefulness of the project would appear to be as a geographical study of refugee settlement in the Middle East. In recent years, as in the past, there have certainly been sufficient refugee movements in the area to justify investigation.[1] Moreover, while the settlement of some refugees, like the Palestinians or the Balkan Turks, has been considered by a variety of scholars, geographers have been rather conspicuous by their absence.[2] There is no geographical model of refugee settlement in the Middle East, and the work of generalisation remains to be done. While the absence of geographical case-studies of refugee settlement in the Middle East is to be deplored, the lack of theorisation is however understandable and correct. Refugee settlement is not a problem to be considered uniquely in a Middle Eastern context, but in a world context, for the problems of refugees the world over are likely to be in many respects similar. Thus no attempt is made to use this study to build a model of Middle Eastern refugee settlement. Indeed, while accepting its

relevance as a case-study in refugee settlement, the focus of the thesis is not primarily on Armenian settlement as refugee settlement. Rather, the settlement of the Armenians is viewed as an example of minority settlement, that is as an episode in the evolution of the ethnic "mosaic" pattern of Middle East population.[3]

Such a mosaic has long been recognised as one of the most significant features of the Middle East population pattern.[4] Remarkably, however, while the existence of such a structure is recognised at both the regional and urban levels, the processes by which it was formed have received little attention from geographers. On the regional level a few studies consider the structure and evolution of minority settlement patterns, but there is little detailed examination of the processes involved.[5] De Planhol[6] has identified the tendency for minority groups to accumulate in areas far removed from the centres of urban power, or alternatively in the city itself, where they might secure their prosperity under the protection of the established power. In the present day he sees the gradual abandonment of the remote refuges with the return of security, and a tendency for minorities to be absorbed and disappear. Old "ethnic" allegiances however, have given place to new ones, and minorities based on language and culture are far from giving way:

> "In the grouping of peoples nationality has tended to replace religion. National minorities appear to be irreducible, whereas religious minorities either disappear entirely or else transform themselves into national minorities." [7]

This is certainly the experience of the Armenians. All the more surprising then, that the processes involved in the evolution of minority settlement patterns should have failed to attract sufficient attention to be able to support the generalisations put forward by De. Planhol.

Similarly, urban studies have tended to attribute the ethnic "quarter" system in Middle Eastern cities not to the complex inter and intra-urban movements of ethnic groups, but to a system of social relations based on Islam.[8] The explanation is conceived in static rather than dynamic terms, ignoring process. It is therefore inadequate. More recently, attention has been drawn to the need to study the processes involved in quarter formation,[9] and a large number of case-studies do contain relevant observations.[10] As yet, however, there is no theoretical consideration of these processes, and it is probably fair to say that the empirical evidence to support such theorisation is still lacking. Nevertheless, several writers have suggested a tendency to the disintegration of ethnic clusters in Middle Eastern cities. This has been identified as part of a movement towards a new social organisation based on socio-economic class structure, and has been regarded as more characteristic of the wealthier sections of the population than of the poorer.[11] However, in view of the continued importance of ethnicity as a factor in the sociology of the Middle East, and in view of the lack of detailed case-studies of the disintegration of ethnic quarters, there is reason to believe that this contemporary disintegration may be illusory.

There is therefore a clear need for studies which investigate the processes involved in the evolution of minority settlement patterns in the Middle East, at both the urban and regional levels. This is the principal justification for this study of Armenian refugee settlement in Syria and Lebanon. It is hoped that the processes identified at work in this empirical study will suggest profitable lines of investigation for future studies which will eventually enable some meaningful generalisations to be made about the formation of ethnic settlement patterns in the Middle East. Underlying this rationale is, of course, the assumption that the Armenians did settle in a manner comparable to that in which other groups have settled to form differential ethnic settlement patterns at other times and in other areas of the Middle East. This assumption cannot be tested in this thesis, which may reasonably claim to be a pioneering study. Future scholars, considering the processes of settlement of other ethnic groups, may care to consider the applicability of the conclusions of this thesis to their own cases.

In the analysis of processes particular attention should be given to the relationship between ethnicity and economic status in determining settlement patterns. Implicit in the argument that ethnic population patterns in the Middle East are giving way before patterns based on economic status is the assumption that these ethnic patterns were themselves established independently of economic status, that is that they were a reflection of the social organisation of ethnic groups and their social relations with their host society,

in which it is stressed that the need for security was a key consideration. However, recent studies in the geography of ethnic groups outside the Middle East have suggested that ethnic population patterns may be largely determined by the economic status of the ethnic group, that is that ethnic concentration is a by-product of the concentration of persons of the same economic status.[12] This is not the situation towards which it has been suggested that Middle Eastern society is moving. Rather, there has been postulated a movement towards the disintegration of ethnic clustering in face of economic stratification as opposed to a redefinition of ethnic clustering on an economic base. Thus, two possible explanations of ethnic clustering exist; one based on ethnicity, the other on economic status, in their extreme forms mutually exclusive. By a detailed investigation of the processes of Armenian settlement in Syria and Lebanon, one might be able to shed light on the relative significance of ethnicity and economic status in determining the settlement pattern. In addition, in view of the complex political situation in Syria and Lebanon into which the Armenians moved, with its Franco-Arab rivalry, and the opportunity which the Armenians offered to the French Mandatory power for population juggling, it might be expected that the Armenians' population pattern would reflect political considerations. Investigation of the processes of settlement might also show to what extent these political considerations, intimately related to ethnicity, were operative. Thus, in effect one has defined three hypotheses regarding respectively ethnic, economic and political constraints on settlement to be

tested through an investigation of the settlement process. In practice, it was the writer's belief that none of the constraints indicated would on its own satisfactorily explain the pattern of Armenian settlement. Nor was it felt that they would operate independently. Indeed, had it been felt at the outset that any one constraint would be dominant, then the research could have been moulded around the appropriate hypothesis, but this was not the case. The investigation of processes will therefore also test the writer's belief in the interdependence of ethnic, economic and political constraints on settlement.

What techniques should be employed in investigating processes in order to test these ideas against reality? In formulating an approach, it is necessary to consider both current methodology and the sources available, although obviously neither can be considered in isolation. In so doing, one has to accept that one is poorly served in terms of methodology by Middle Eastern studies of minorities, for as already observed, these have tended not to focus on process. For methodology one is obliged to look beyond Middle Eastern studies to the more general sphere of social geography.

Even in the sphere of social geography, little theoretical work has been produced on the processes of evolution of regional ethnic settlement patterns. While a number of studies have used statistical or cartographic techniques to describe and measure the distribution of ethnic groups,[13] there has been little systematic attempt to explain these patterns.[14] Exceptions are studies by Price and Hugo, who have investigated the chain migration process in relation to regional settlement patterns, and by Peach, who has sought to

explain the distribution of West Indian immigrants in Britain by comparing their distribution statistically with that of selected ecological indicators.[15]

Studies on urban ethnic settlement are much more highly developed.[16] A variety of increasingly sophisticated indices have been used to measure ethnic population distribution and segregation,[17] while Boal has used activity patterns to analyse segregation, and Connell has called for the use of social-network analysis in this respect.[18] The explanation of these patterns and the analysis of the processes involved, however, still leaves room for improvement. As Jones and Eyles put it, "We need to know much more about process."[19] A number of writers, for example, have sought to relate the ethnic settlement pattern to the ecological setting by means of rather deterministic statistical analysis which omits consideration of the decision-making process.[20] The weakness of this approach has been pointed out by several writers,[21] and there has more recently been a tendency to concentrate on the use of survey techniques to analyse the decision-making process,[22] an approach which has in recent years formed the focus of studies in migrant-settlement as a whole.[23] Other writers have used simulation models to analyse ghetto expansion,[24] but in view of the dangers of inferring process from form it is difficult to see what these models can achieve without being based initially on a rigorous investigation of the decision-making process. More useful are the studies examining chain-migration, focussing on the processes by which members of ethnic groups concentrate together.[25]

It seems from this brief review of current methodology in

social geography that the most profitable approach to the study of the Armenian settlement process would be to use statistical analysis to describe the patterns, then seek to explain them through the use of survey techniques designed to investigate the decision-making process of the Armenians. The surveys would in particular investigate the ideas introduced above concerning the constraints on settlement. In practice, the Armenians did not have freedom of choice in deciding their place of residence. Decisions relating to their settlement were also made by official and semi-official bodies. The decisions of these bodies could by investigated through the documentary record, but the focus of the investigation would still be the identification of the significant constraints on settlement. Thus the ideal approach would combine the study of the official records with the use of field-survey techniques to investigate the settlement process with respect to the ideas discussed above concerning the principal constraints on settlement.

In practice it was decided that the use of survey techniques would be impracticable. There were several reasons for this. Any such survey would be retrospective, seeking information in some cases fifty years old, from persons aged over seventy years, placing its reliability in question. The successful implementation of such a project would have required the co-operation of the Armenian community and the blind-eye or consent of the government authorities. Neither could be taken for granted. In practice, the writer received splendid co-operation from the Armenian community in virtually all cases. However, the eruption of the Civil War

ruled a survey completely out of the question in Lebanon, and in Syria, where it was especially necessary to be discrete, it was felt that a survey would have aroused the suspicions of the authorities and possibly led to a premature curtailment of the research. The use of a survey would have extended the time necessary to complete the research in the Middle East, for it would have demanded thorough preparation, including the establishment of trust amongst the Armenian community. This would have increased the size of the travel grant demanded from the SSRC, which had to be kept to a realistic figure in view of travel grants to study the archives in Paris and Geneva. A balance in terms of time and money had to be struck between the investigation of the documentary record and field-work. Further, a survey would be far more easily carried out given a knowledge of Armenian, and in practice, it was not felt that a sufficiently strong grasp of the language could be gained in time to use it effectively in the research. (In retrospect this was probably an error.) For all these reasons it was decided not to carry through a systematic survey, but to use field-work and less systematic interviews with leading members of the community as a supplement to the study of the documentary record.

To what extent, then, do the documents available reflect accurately the decision-making process? Before answering this question, it will be appropriate to classify and describe the principal sources available. They may be broadly grouped into official documents, official archives, records of various philanthropic arganisations, and miscellaneous sources,

including maps and census material.

The starting-point for the study should be the reports and documents of the two official bodies most responsible for the refugee settlement; the French Mandatory power, and the League of Nations refugees office (Nansen Office). Regular reports on the Armenian refugees are contained in the annual reports of the Mandatory power to the League, which appeared from 1922 onwards. The interest and participation of the League in the settlement work from 1925 is reflected in the documents of the Nansen Office. These are supplemented by the minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which from time to time considered Armenian issues in Syria and Lebanon, and the reports of the Commission for the Protection of Women and Children in the Near East, whose Commissioner at Aleppo, Karen Jeppe, took an active interest in Armenian settlement.

The consideration of these documents leads to an investigation of the related archives. Some useful material principally on French policy rather than on the condition of the refugees is contained in the French Archives Diplomatiques, Levant series, open only up to 1929. The archives of the French High Commission in Syria and Lebanon however are held at Nantes and are in principle closed. Special application may be made to consult certain documents, but on application to consult files concerning the Armenians, the writer was refused permission. The League archives are subject to a forty-year rule, but permission to consult documents beyond 1934 was easily obtained. Only certain files concerning the Sanjak of Alexandretta remained closed. The records consulted were principally those of the Nansen Office, and provided a

rich source of documentation for the thesis, though with a notable gap in the correspondence btween 1931 and 1937. The archives available at Geneva are minutes of committee meetings, reports, and the Geneva files of correspondence between Geneva and the Office representative in Beirut. Together they form easily the most important source for the study, and it was the discovery of these files which suggested to the writer that a study of Armenian settlement was a viable proposition. The location of the files of the Office representative in Beirut is not known. Some were located in the hands of a Lebanese lawyer in Beirut, but the eruption of the Civil War prevented their consultation. Other government files available include the well-indexed British Foreign Office papers in the Public Record Office, open for the whole period, which, apart from providing insights into political aspects of the settlement, include other unexpected material such as reports by the Aleppo representative of the Near East Relief. These papers may be supplemented by the War Diaries of Allenby's army in the War Office papers, which contain information on the discovery of, and assistance to, Armenian deportees and refugees in 1918. The Armenian Catholics of Sis at Antelias in Lebanon kindly made available to the writer the Armenian archives which contain some illuminating correspondence in French on the settlement question. Most of these records are of course in Armenian, and therefore unavailable to the writer. It should be noted that the Armenian church had little time for the systematic preservation of archives in the unfortunate situation in which it found itself in Syria and Lebanon. Furthermore, the outbreak of the Civil War made it impossible to complete the examination of these records. Some additional

information, on the numbers and origin of the deportees repatriated in 1918-19, comes from the archives of the Armenian National Union of Damascus.

Apart from the governments involved, a number of philanthropic organisations took an active interest in the refugee problem, and have left a record of their activities in published reports etc., and in their archives. The most useful sources bequeathed by these organisations are two journals, Le Levant and The Friend of Armenia, the former roughly bi-monthly, the latter quarterly, respectively the organs of the 'Action Chretienne en Orient' and the (British) 'Friends of Armenia'. Both these journals chronicle the involvement of these Protestant philarmenian organisations in relief-work, but more importantly they contain a vast number of letters from their workers in the field describing the situation of the Armenians, in addition to reports and other miscellaneous information of inestimable value. Their main weaknesses are their undoubted philarmenian bias, their exaggerated descriptions of conditions, and their excessive sentimentality. When opinion is stripped from fact, however, these sources are invaluable. The reports of the American Near East Relief provide information principally on the activities of that organisation. Correspondence and reports concerning the Armenians are also contained in the archives of the American University of Beirut (for 1920-21), of the American National Red Cross (who conducted relief-work between 1922 and 1925), and of the Society of Friends in London, whose missionary in Lebanon, Marshall Fox, took a special interest in the Armenians. The Society of Friends' archives proved

particularly rich, yielding a missing annual report of the Nansen Office representative (for 1934), contained in an album of photographs of the Office's urban and rural settlements, which included a series of vertical photographs of the new Armenian quarters of Beirut. One should finally mention the archives of the Maison des Lazaristes at Beirut. The Lazarists' missionary, Vincent Paskes, chronicled the flight and resettlement of his flock from Ekbes in Cilicia, and his record of this movement is preserved in Beirut.

Additional information came from various reports, now filed in the Royal Institute of International Affairs library at Chatham House, complied for Sir John Hope Simpson's 1939 survey of the Refugee Problem. Trade directories, notably L'Indicateur Syrien and the Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce d'Alep enabled some analysis of the economic structure of the Armenian community. Several articles were written by prominent personalities involved in the settlement work contemporary with the events they describe, notably by the Jesuit priests Mecerian and Jalabert, by Mr. Burnier, the Nansen Office representative at Beirut, and by Medecin-Inspecteur Duguet of the Health Service of the French High Commission. A remarkable collection of contemporary photographs of the Armenian quarter of Aleppo, in the possession of Dr. Jebejian, himself of Aleppo, was kindly made available to the writer for inspection and reproduction. Various maps were consulted in the course of the study at Durham, the Bodleian, London University Library, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Institut Francais de Damas. The best collection is in the library of the Royal Geographical Society.

Census material, available from various sources, and in various degrees of completeness, includes the 1922 Census of Syria and Lebanon, the 1932 Census of Lebanon and the 1942 Census of Lebanon by the Office des Cereales Panifiables. This is supplemented by the figures from the Civil Register reproduced at various dates in the reports of the Mandatory power. The accuracy or otherwise of this data is considered later. Here it is only necessary to point out that much of this material is grossly unreliable.

Finally, one must mention with regret those sources which it proved impossible to consult. Of these the most important are undoubtedly those in Armenian, including letters in Armenian in the archives and in particular the Armenian newspapers which are preserved for example in the Universite St. Joseph, and would have provided not only a mine of additional information, but also an invaluable check on the biases in other sources, It is the writer's belief that his inability to consult Armenian sources is the greatest weakness in the present study. Other sources, including part of the Beirut end of the Nansen Office correspondence, it proved impossible to consult because of the outbreak of fighting in the Lebanon. Who knows if they still exist?

The sources contained no reliable data-base for statistical analysis. Even the basic facts of Armenian population distribution are in contention, as will emerge more fully in Chapters 2 and 3 The presentation of a case would have to depend on the painstaking correlation of information from documents in widely scattered sources. But how much reliable information would they contain on the decision making process?

Here it is necessary to distinguish between the decisions made at Governmental level and the decisions made by the Armenians themselves. On the former the documentary record is, while not complete, especially with respect to French policy, at least impressive, the most important source of course being the Nansen Office archives. With respect to the unprompted settlement decisions made by the Armenians themselves, there is no corresponding documentary record, and information has to be gleaned in several ways. First, there exist, amongst the various archives, primary documents written by Armenians expressing their settlement preferences. This is not surprising for it was the duty of the Nansen Office officials to take due account of Armenian settlement preferences, and Armenians were represented on its committee. These are the most useful statements of Armenian settlement preferences, but it is necessary to point out that the statements preserved in this way reflect the points of view of the Armenian community leaders, and it is sometimes questionable to what extent these leaders were truly representative of the communities they claimed to speak for. A second way in which Armenian preferences have been recorded is through the reports of field-workers in which Armenian opinions are given at second-hand. They are not therefore necessarily inaccurate, but they need to be treated with caution, for again the desires of the Armenians may in some cases have been deliberately misrepresented for political reasons. On the other hand, such second-hand checks on the statements made by Armenian leaders may provide useful confirmation of the opinions expressed, or call them into question. The same of course applies vice versa. Finally,

the third way in which Armenian preferences can be ascertained is by inference. This is the least satisfactory method, based not on an appreciation of the decision-making process as revealed in the documents, but on the structure of observed behaviour. This method has been used extensively only in one important instance, that is in the investigation of economic constraints on settlement. Its use is an acknowledgement that the documentary record is assumed to be incomplete in the constraints it portrays through the decision-making process. One might reasonably expect the documentary record to reflect the positive settlement preferences of the decision-makers rather than the negative constraints which, imposed at the outset, constituted an accepted and unchallenged background which reduced the discussion of settlement possibilities (and consequently the record of possibilities discussed) to a limited number of options.

These then are the limitations of the sources at the writer's disposal. In principle one would wish to investigate these documents according to a well constructed experimental design, involving the testing of the hypotheses defined above concerning the constraints perceived in the socio-economic environment. In practice, it would have proved exceedingly difficult to achieve any worthwhile results following a rigidly defined experimental design. And here it is first necessary to correct an illusion which may have been created by the foregoing discussion of all sources together. There never was a time before data-collection at which it was possible to look at all the sources together in this manner. Only at a late stage was it possible to know exactly what data was available. All the sources had to be located personally

by the writer, and they were scattered in many different localities; London, Paris, Geneva, Beirut, Damascus and Aleppo. None were known at the beginning of the study. Some were discovered as the result of logical and persistent enquiry; some by chance. Some were discovered early, like the League archives; others late. The only practical way of tackling these sources, from the financial point of view, was to deal with them area by area, with little possibility of revisiting them. This meant that it was necessary to investigate some sources before others had even been discovered with little chance of revisiting the first sources should the previously "undiscovered" sources throw up new lines of approach. A fairly total coverage of each source was therefore absolutely necessary, especially at the outset. This problem, of limited finances and initially unknown and widely scattered sources, must inevitably be frequently encountered by any researchers working individually in the history or historical geography of developing areas, where research is often at a primitive level, and where much of the administration was conducted from outside the territory. It is a problem which impinges on the entire approach to the study in view, for it renders impossible the detailed construction of an experimental design. It can only be avoided by the organisation of a more rational research structure within the discipline as a whole.

A second limitation on the usefulness of a rigid experimental design is that it is impossible to extract from documentary sources more information than they contain, and there is no point in asking questions which cannot be answered. Indeed, an inductive rather than deductive approach to

documentary sources has the advantage that it imposes no pattern on the data, but allows the documents to speak for themselves. On the other hand, it has already been observed that the documentary record is incomplete in the constraints it portrays operating through the decision-making process. Therefore, a purely inductive approach is inadequate, and some initial deductive reasoning is necessary. In any case, even an essentially inductive approach to the data requires some structuring and some selectivity unless large amounts of time are to be wasted pursuing leads which are unlikely to enhance the explanation. The documents must first be approached within a broad framework, corresponding to some deductive logic. Then they generate particular lines of enquiry, thrown up inductively. In turn these lines of enquiry may be pursued within a deductive framework. The separation of the inductive from the deductive approach is artificial.

The approach adopted was to impose some order on data collection and analysis by investigating the sources for evidence of respectively economic, social and political constraints on the settlement process, an approach which was all inclusive but related to the ideas put forward above regarding constraints on settlement. As the sources were examined, research was biased towards those areas which the sources indicated had particular relevance. In adopting this framework the object was not to test one by one the significance of the various constraints discussed, but to construct an overall picture of the processes in operation against which their significance could ultimately be tested. In the analysis of process the separation of constraints was an

analytical convenience. Thus, while the chapter plan of the thesis is related to the constraints examined, comment on their significance is reserved until the conclusions.

The Nansen Office archives and documents presented a special problem, for it seemed pointless initially to separate the motives behind decisions in the Nansen Office scheme when the scheme evolved over a number of years and when the final decisions made were the result of a continuous balancing of interests. The possibility of treating the scheme chronologically and separately from the main discussion was considered, so that all the decisions made could be set in context. But it was felt that such a study would in any case need to be followed by a more analytical approach to the decisions involved, for the chronological presentation of the decision-making process would be so complex as to be obscure. Accordingly the League archives were approached, like the other documents, from a thematic point of view, but special care was taken in separating out the motives involved in League decisions to take account of the context in which the decisions concerned were made. In fact, the League scheme, like other settlement schemes, was essentially a response to economic constraints on settlement. Thus the scheme is sketched in its essentials in Chapter 4 of the thesis, which considers settlement schemes as a response to economic constraints. In this discussion, however, while the economic basis of the scheme is recognised and the economic constraints on its implementation are described, no attempt is made to describe the social and political constraints affecting its implementation. These are discussed separately in the following chapter.

The approach adopted treats the Armenians in principle as a homogeneous unit. In fact, the Armenians were not a homogeneous body but were divided on political and religious grounds. One would be entitled to assume at the outset that they were also divided in terms of socio-economic class status. This question, however, is difficult to resolve. Whatever the class structure of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire before 1915 (this is considered in the opening chapter) the refugees formed a group which had been mostly impoverished. No doubt some Armenians would retain their skills and even some of their wealth and succeed in re-establishing their position in Syria and Lebanon. Where the evidence permits such cases have been brought to light, but the documents to permit a systematic investigation of the differential settlement behaviour of different socio-economic classes, or different religious or political groups, do not exist, at least in the sources available to the writer. This is particularly unfortunate in the case of socio-economic groups in regard to which some previous writers have made interesting observations on settlement behaviour. Where evidence for such internal differences does exist, however, it is brought to light.

The main tool used in the research was a card-index system. As the documents were collected they were cross-referenced on index-cards recording the places, personalities, organisations, and (in the case of general discussions) the motives for settlement which they indicated, or on which they shed light. The system was flexible, new cards being introduced according to the lines of enquiry thrown up by the

documents. When all the data had been collected these cards then provided the key to the subsequent analysis based on the most profitable lines of inquiry thrown up during the collection process. The documentary record was supplemented by field-work in the area to check on facts revealed by the documents and to try to fill the gaps, as well as to locate the sites of the Armenian settlements. Systematic surveys having been ruled out, this took the form of personal reconnaissance and interviews with leading members of the Armenian community, to whom I remain indebted for their willingness to help. Discretion being the better part of valour, no visit was made to the former Sanjak of Alexandretta, now the Turkish province of Hatay and devoid of Armenians, where it was felt that inquiry on the matter might not be well received. Further, the writer's visit to Beirut, where there was the greatest possibility for detailed investigation, coincided with the outbreak of the Civil War, which created an atmosphere somewhat inimical to research, and ultimately made it impossible even to visit the Armenian "quarter" of Bourj-Hammoud.

In the analysis of the settlement process, a distinction has been made between regional and urban settlement patterns. While the explanation of the regional pattern has been structured thematically, according to the constraints involved, in chapters focussing on economic, social and political constraints, explanation of urban patterns has been structured town by town, with a concluding section summarising the processes involved. This duality of exposition is a reflection of the nature and complexity of the data available. In both cases the object is the same; to identify the constraints

involved in the settlement process. However, the data on urban settlement in each town formed a fairly coherent whole involving processes which could be understood without the data being broken down further for thematic analysis. A thematic approach to urban settlement would have destroyed the unity of the data on each town, and, by demanding discussion of specific settlement schemes in all the towns simultaneously, would have led to confusion. Generalities about urban settlement are not drawn, therefore until each town has been discussed in turn, when it is possible to present, not a thematic analysis of the constraints involved, but a synthesis. Such a synthesis is of course the ultimate object of the thematic approach adopted to the regional pattern. This synthesis is reserved for the Conclusion, which brings together the various constraints on settlement at both the urban and regional levels and relates them to one another. The separation of the discussion of urban and regional settlement patterns, like the thematic discussion of constraints at the regional level, is only an analytical convenience. The goal of the study is to identify the processes involved in Armenian settlement. It will then be possible to test the ideas discussed above concerning the significance of economic, social and political constraints on settlement.

Before introducing the following chapters, it will be appropriate to recapitulate on the rationale behind the thesis. The topic was chosen rather fortuitously, following the discovery of a major documentary source, the archives of the Nansen Office with respect to the settlement of Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon. It was conceived not so much as a refugee study, but as a study of the processes of minority

settlement in the Middle East, for while the importance of the ethnic mosaic pattern in the area has long been recognised, there have been few studies of the processes involved in the evolution of this pattern. A study of the processes of Armenian settlement would enable an assessment of the relative significance of ethnicity, economic status and political manipulation in determining the settlement pattern as well as test the writer's assumption of the interdependence of these constraints. Methodologically one is poorly served by Middle Eastern case-studies. It was necessary to look to studies in social geography to formulate an ideal framework for research based on the investigation of the decision-making process through field-survey techniques and the documentary record. However, it was judged impracticable to use survey techniques in the study, and it was necessary to rely essentially on the documentary sources, which are numerous but in some cases of doubtful reliability. Practical problems of data-collection as well as methodological problems concerned with the study of documentary sources inhibited the formulation of a rigid experiemental design. The approach adopted was therefore part deductive - part inductive, involving the investigation of the sources for respectively economic, social and political constraints on the settlement process. In this investigation the Armenians are treated as a homogeneous unit, although internal differences in settlement preferences are identified where revealed in the documents. The main tool in the research was a card-index system applied to the documentary record, which was supplemented by work in the field. While for purposes of analysis the principal constraints on settlement were investigated separately, and regional and urban

patterns were differentiated, the object of the study was not to test one by one the significance of the various constraints discussed, but to construct an overall picture of the processes in operation against which their significance could ultimately be tested.

The study begins, then, with a consideration of the historical background to the problem, reviewing briefly the history of Armenia and the Armenians, the situation of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire before 1915, their situation in Syria and Lebanon before that date, and the development of the Armenian question to the massacres and deportations of 1915. The historical discussion is followed by a consideration in Chapters 2 and 3 of the figures available concerning the total number and distribution of the Armenians. The following three chapters consider settlement at the regional level. Thus, Chapter 4 considers economic constraints on settlement, Chapter 5 discusses the settlement schemes proposed or carried out in response to these constraints, and Chapter 6 considers together social and political constraints on settlement, for analysis revealed these constraints to be so closely related as to be inseparable in explanation. Urban settlement is considered in Chapters 7 to 9 which focus on Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus and Alexandretta and contain some preliminary conclusions. Finally, the conclusions of the sections on both regional and urban settlement are brought together to enable an overview of the processes operating in the formation of the Armenian settlement pattern in Syria and Lebanon, and an assessment of the significance of the constraints involved.

Chapter 1

The Historical Background.

One should not attempt to study the processes involved in the settlement of the Armenians in Syria and Lebanon without some knowledge of the historical context of the migrations, and an appreciation of the organisation of Armenian society in the Ottoman Empire and in Syria itself before the migrations began. This chapter sketches very briefly the history of the Armenian people, and then attempts to describe the organisation of Armenian society within the Ottoman Empire on the eve of the First World War. The long-established Armenian communities in Syria itself are then described, and the chapter concludes with an account of the development of the "Armenian Question" and the traumatic events of 1915.

Armenia and the Armenians

The land which is known as Armenia today straddles the borders of the Turkish Republic and the Soviet Union. The eastern part forms the Soviet Republic of Armenia, containing a population still largely Armenian; the western part, in the Turkish Republic, is practically devoid of Armenians. The land first received the name 'Armenia' in a Persian inscription of about 521 B.C. The origins of its people are obscure, but it seems that by about 500 B.C., a process of ethnic mingling, associated with the infiltration into the area of new peoples

from the west, had culminated in the identification of the land as 'Armenia', this name replacing the old designation of 'Urartu', the name of the kingdom formerly occupying the land which had by that time crumbled in face of the onslaught of Medes, Scythians and Cimmerians.

The history of Armenia[1] is one of a buffer-state or battlegound, fought over almost constantly by a succession of expansionist peoples; Persians, Seleucids, Romans, Arabs, Byzantines, Seljuk-Turks. Between conquests were periods of autonomy, even brilliance. The Orontid, Artaxiad, Arsacid and Bagratid dynasties maintained Armenian autonomy in the face of constant pressure from outside, and the apogee of Armenian power was reached in the Empire of the Artaxiad Tigranes II, the Great. Under the Arsacid Tiridates II Christianity was made the state religion of Armenia, Gregory the Illuminator the first Catholicos. Ultimately, however, external pressure proved too great. Weakened by internal squabbles and hard-pressed by the Seljuk-Turks, the Armenian Bagratid kingdom passed to Byzantine control in 1045 A.D., and subsequently to the Seljuk Turks after the Battle of Manzikert in 1071. Increasingly, in these unstable conditions, Armenians sought refuge outside their homeland. In Cilicia, recaptured by the Byzantines in 945, Armenians were appointed as governors. Gradually, these chieftains assumed hereditary status, and set up independant enclaves and baronies of their own, with only a nominal allegiance to Constantinople. As historic Armenia was annexed by Byzantium and then overrun by Seljuk-Turks, Armenians moved en masse from their homes to Cilicia. In 1080 an Armenian Kingdom was formed there which

lasted until its fall to the Egyptian Mameluks in 1375. Armenia proper meanwhile continued to serve as a battleground. Ravaged by Mongols after 1223, and by Tamerlane between 1387 and 1404, the country was subsequently fought over by Turks and Persians. Only in 1639 was a measure of stability achieved, when Persia and Turkey made a new partition of Armenia. The plain of the Araxes, with Echmiadzin and the northern region became Persian; the rest of former Armenia passed to the Turks. This division remained in force for about 200 years until, in 1827, the fortress of Yerevan fell to the Russians, and Persian Armenia was joined to Russia. Historic Armenia was henceforth divided between the two great Empires of Russia and the Ottomans.

Throughout the long history of Armenia its people had frequently been subject to the ravages of war. Not surprisingly the population tended to emigrate, while deportations also occurred. Notable, of course, were the mass migrations to Cilicia in the eleventh century, but mass emigration also accompanied the Mongol invasions. The Armenians settled in the east in Persia, India, Indonesia and China, and in the west, in Syria, Eygpt and the great ports of the Mediterranean, including Constantinople. They even reached Poland, Galicia, Moldavia, Bukovina, Transylvania, Italy and beyond. As they moved out, the country was depopulated, and whole regions lay deserted. Other peoples moved into this vacuum. While Kurdish nomads settled in the mountains, Turks, Kurds and Tartars occupied the valleys and plains. The population became very mixed and remained so until the twentieth century.

The Armenians in the Ottoman Empire on the Eve of the First World War

Figures concerning the Armenian population of the Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire before the First World War should be treated with considerable reserve (Table 1.1.). Prejudice and distortion on a subject of such political significance make accurate statements difficult and even cautious statements vulnerable to abuse.[2]

Table 1.1.

Estimates of the Armenian population of the Asiatic Provinces of the Ottoman Empire before the First World War

	Source			
	Ormaniam (1912)		Cuinet(1890-5)(1896-1901)	
	Armenians	%	Armenians	%
Apostolics	1,730,000	93.6	944,525	86.0
Catholics	75,500	4.1	86,575	7.5
Protestants	42,400	2.3	75,658	6.5
Total	1,847,900	100.0	1,156,758	100.0

Notes:

The total presented for Ormanian (1912) includes all Armenians listed in his tabulation pp. 205-209, less those in the Catholicossate of Echmiadzin, and the dioceses of Cyprus, Eygpt, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece.
That presented for Cuinet includes all Armenians listed in the tabulations in his two works less those in the Vilayets of the Archipelago and of Crete. For some Vilayets, however, totals for Catholics or Protestants are not available.

Official Turkish estimates can expect little credence, given the absence of a census conducted according to modern techniques.[3] Thus, given also the language difficulties involved no attempt has been made to gather data from the Ottoman yearbooks. On the other hand, as Hovannisian concedes[4] with regard to figures emanating from the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, "it is likely that the figures relating to the Armenians were exaggerated." Thus Ormanian's figures must be treated with reserve. The same is true for those of Cuinet, which have been used to substantiate Turkish claims regarding the number of Armenians in the Empire. Hovannisian comments,[5] "The Armenians, refuting these figures, point out that Cuinet's work is riddled with discrepancies and inconsistencies. Moreover, Cuinet himself confessed that his statistics were unreliable and complained that Ottoman officials had refused to make available much pertinent information." Lynch also noted[6] how he had never found Cuinet's figures reliable. Given the sensitive nature of this question, and the necessity for a thorough re-examination of the problem, no preference is expressed for any of the totals cited. Suffice to draw attention to the confessional composition of the Armenians. It is clear that the overwhelming majority belonged to the Armenian Apostolic (or "Gregorian") Church, with those in the Armenian Catholic and Protestant churches forming distinct minorities.

Despite the unreliability of the figures of Cuinet and Ormanian as regards the total number of Armenians within the Empire, it is perhaps more justifiable to use them to provide a picture of the distribution of the Armenians, as here the

concern is with neither the absolute total of Armenians, nor the Armenian proportion of the population. Accordingly, the figures of Cuinet and Ormanian have been mapped separately (Figs. 1.1., 1.2.). As would be expected, the Armenian population appears concentrated in eastern Anatolia and Cilicia, the two historic centres of Armenian settlement, but as these two centres are adjacent to one another, the net result is a broad band of Armenian settlement from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the Russian border. Other Armenians were scattered elsewhere in the Empire with a notable concentration at Constantinople.

Table 1.2.

Percentage of Armenians living in the administrative centres of cazas in selected provinces of the Ottoman Empire

Interior Vilayets	%	Other Vilayets	%
Sivas	26	İzmir	84
Harput	46	Biğa	83
Van	37	Bursa	30
Diyarbakir	54	İzmit	33
Total for 4	37	Baghdād	100
		Total for 5	39

Source: Cuinet (1890-5)(1896-1901)

Note: Comparable figures for Cilicia cannot unfortunately be established. Not all administrative centres could necessarily be regarded as containing "urban" population, while not all "urban" centres were necessarily included amongst the administrative centres. The low percentages obtained for the vilayets of Bursa and İzmit, in which provinces it was expected that the Armenians would have been concentrated in the towns, cast doubt on the usefulness of the analysis. Figures are presented only for those vilayets for which Cuinet lists, without inconsistency, the Armenian population of the administrative centres of all cazas.

Fig. 1.1

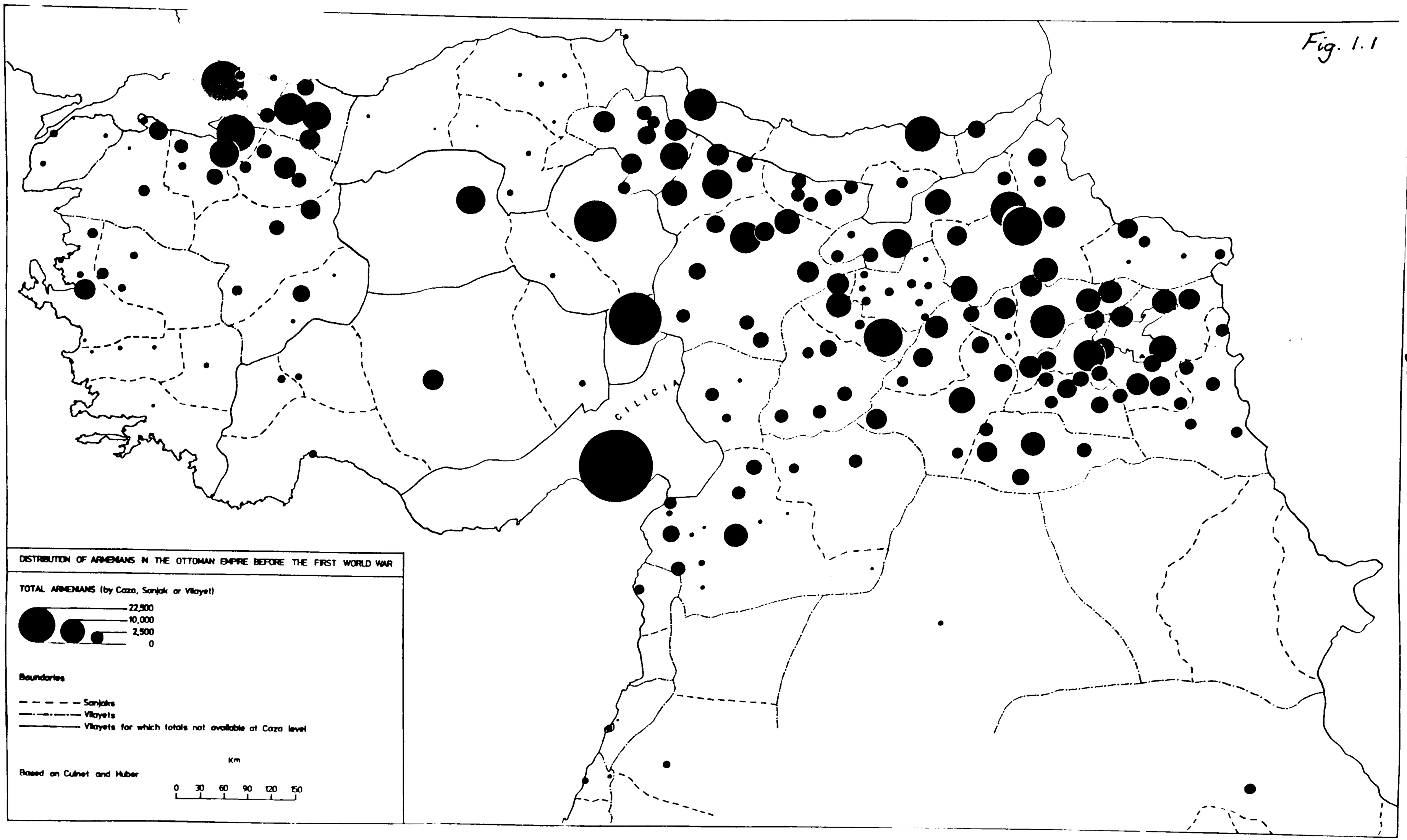

CILICIA
DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR
TOTAL ARMENIANS (by Caza, Sanjak or Vilayet)
22,500
10,000
2,500
0
Boundaries
Sanjaks
Vilayets
Vilayets for which totals not available at Caza level
Km
0 30 60 90 120 150
Based on Cuinet and Huber

Fig. 1.2

N

PERSIA

RUSSIAN EMPIRE

TURKEY

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS WITHIN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Total Armenians by Dioceses of the Armenian Apostolic Church (including Armenian Catholics and Protestants)

90,000
40,000
10,000
0

Km
0 30 60 90 120 150

Diocesan boundaries

Limits of the Six Vilayets

Based on the figures of Ormanian and the maps of administrative divisions by Cuinet and Huber

It is difficult to assess the rural-urban distribution of the Armenian community, given the lack of reliable statistics. The sources stress the contrast between the peasant communities of the interior and the urban community of Constantinople and other coastal settlements like Bursa and İzmir.[7] There were considerable peasant communities in both eastern Anatolia and Cilicia,[8] but the Armenians of Cilicia were probably more highly concentrated in the towns.[9] Atamian, after noting the absence of statistics to indicate the rural-urban ratio in the interior provinces, gives an estimate, based on interviews, of 3:1.[10] The balance was upset by a steady migration from the land,[11] notably to Constantinople, where Lynch in 1895 estimated as many as 80,000 migrants from the provincial centres of Van and Arapkir alone.[12] Some comparison of the relative proportion of urban-dwellers in different provinces can be made, using Cuinet's statistics for the administrative centres of Cazas, but the results are not conclusive. (Table 1.2.).

The population pattern of the Armenians within the Ottoman Empire before the First World War was clearly not static. There were considerable population losses during the massacres of 1895-6 and 1909. There was also considerable migration. This took the form of the internal migration noted above, from the interior to the coastal towns, especially to Constantinople, and of emigration to Russia, Europe and America.[13] Migration appears to have been most marked from the interior provinces, due to the poor living conditions prevailing there, although there was certainly some migration from Constantinople and the coastal towns following the massacres of 1896.[14] Restrictions were placed by the authorities on the migration

of Armenians in search of work, apparently following the Hamidian massacres,[15] but these were lifted in 1908, when not only was the migration to Russia and Constantinople resumed,[16] but there was also a certain reflux of refugees from Russia and America. [17]

Within the Empire, the Armenian community was divided on religious, social and political grounds. In the first place, the Armenians were divided between three religious communities; the Armenian Apostolic (or Gregorian) Church, the Armenian Catholic Church, and the Armenian Protestant community. The great majority of Armenians, as has been observed, belonged to the long-established Apostolic Church, which had long been recognised as having millet status. Not surprisingly, for a church enjoying such status and history, it came to be identified with the Armenian nation, and politics played an important part in its life.[18] During the nineteenth century it came under increasing pressure from the Catholic and Protestant movements. The history of the Armenian Catholic church is reviewed by Mécérian (1965). He observes that there had always existed Catholic Armenians, but that they had been persecuted by the Apostolic Church. This persecution was brought to an end when in 1830 the Armenian Catholics of the Empire were constituted into a distinct community.[19] The Armenian Protestant community grew up as a result of American missionary activity within the Empire. Beginning in the 1830's, this was so successful that in 1847 the Protestant communities were also granted millet status.[20] While the Apostolic Church was strongly identified with the Armenian nation, the Catholics and Protestants adopted a more universalist outlook.[21] Not surprisingly there was as a

result considerable mutual dislike between the churches,[22] the Apostolics tending to regard the other sects as renegades.[23] This feeling was most marked between the Apostolic and Catholic Churches,[24] the Protestants maintaining closer links with the Apostolic Church, and identifying more with Armenian nationalism.[25]

The Armenian community was no less divided socially. Not only was there a division between urban and rural Armenians, with the peasantry engaged in agriculture and the rural crafts,[26] but there was also considerable variation in the occupations exercised by the Armenians in the towns. Here they were almost everywhere employed in commerce and the small-trades,[27] excelling as metal-workers,[28] and they seem to have been to the forefront in spreading innovations.[29] They were also involved in banking and money-lending,[30] and to a certain extent in the professions and administration.[31] In the interior there were, in addition, some Armenian landowners.[32] The greatest fortunes, however, were possessed by those involved in banking and commerce in the capital.[33] The position of this Constantinople élite can be contrasted with that of the thousands of Armenian labourers, migrants from the interior, who came to the capital and coastal towns to seek their fortunes. The diversity of urban life-styles is as striking as the rural-urban contrast, which in any case was artificial, given that a certain proportion of "urban" Armenians were engaged in agriculture.[34]

The migration noted above, from the interior to Constantinople and the coastal cities, was related to the poor living conditions in the eastern provinces, which in the late

nineteenth century were increasingly felt to be intolerable. High taxation,[35] coupled with corrupt officialdom,[36] Kurdish depredations and associated insecurity,[37] exacerbated by inequality of Armenians and Muslims before the law,[38] poor communications,[39] and the Armenian massacres themselves, with their toll of death, destruction of property and damage to trade,[40] all fell heavily on the Armenian population. The peasantry also fell victim to moneylenders, sometimes themselves Armenian.[41] While some of these exactions fell universally on all Armenians within the Empire, they fell most heavily on the peasantry of the eastern provinces. Likewise in the towns of the east the Armenian tradesmen and artisans were hard hit by the general economic depression which resulted. Thus another distinction might be drawn in Armenian society, between the relatively impoverished Armenians of the interior and the relatively more prosperous Armenians elsewhere, especially in the capital and the coastal cities. To meet the crisis in the interior, labour intensive industries were introduced by European and Armenian charitable societies,[42] but most Armenians saw their redemption in the emigration already noted, either temporary or seasonal to Constantinople and the coastal cities, or permanent to these destinations or abroad.[43] These movements were not confined to the rural peasantry: with the general depression of trade, merchants left the provinces too.[44] The migrations were indeed so important as an economic regulator that, when restrictions were placed on migration by the government, the economic malaise was felt all the harder by the Armenians constrained to remain in the provinces.[45]

It seems possible, then, to point to two fundamental divisions in Armenian society; a rural-urban division,[46] and a division between the Armenians of the capital and coastal cities and those in the interior provinces.[47] Neither of these divisions is entirely satisfactory. Rural-urban distinctions were blurred, and there was as much social variation within the cities as between town and country. Further, while most provincials, peasants and townsfolk, suffered from the economic malaise in the eastern provinces, others were able to exploit it. If these divisions must therefore be rejected as simplistic, it is equally difficult to accept, without further inquiry, a simple division into social classes, as propounded by Atamian, for example, given the variations in wealth and status which could be encompassed by such terms as "artisans", "traders" and "commerçants". Suffice to stress the diversity of Armenian society, and to appreciate that its members might be expected to have correspondingly different opinions concerning the desirability of the preservation or destruction of the system in which they lived.

The Armenians in Syria

With regard to the Armenian population in Syria before the First World War, the various figures available are presented in Table 1.3. The most useful figures are those of Cuinet, although they should not be regarded as accurate. Ormanian's figures, as noted above, are likely to be overestimates. Little weight should be attached to the other figures. Cuinet's figure of 26,817 Armenians represents 1.2% of the total population of Syria.

Table 1.3.

The Armenian population of Syria before the First World War

Estimate	Source and Observations
26,817	Cuinet (1890-5 (1896-1901). Composed of 16,657 Apostolics (58.4%) and 11,160 Catholics (41.6%). Protestants are excluded from the total, but a total of 1,025 specifically Armenian Protestants are recorded in the Sanjak of Damascus. For area on which this estimate is based see Fig 1.3.
44,000	Ormanian (1912) 205-210. Composed of 33,000 Apostolics (75.0%), 7,500 Catholics (17.1%)and 3,500 Protestants (8.0%). Area concerned exceeds that above, embracing the dioceses of Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut, Aleppo and Antioch.
35,000	Khairallah in Contenson (1913). Composed of 25,000 Apostolics (71.4%) and 10,000 Catholics (28.6%). Limits of his "Syria" unknown.
25,000	Bernard (1919) 851. Apostolics only. In addition there were small groups of Catholics. Limits of his "Syria" unknown.

A notable feature of the Armenian population of Syria which emerges from the figures of both Cuinet and Ormanian is the relatively high proportion of Catholics. Ormanian's figures suggest too a relatively high proportion of Protestants. Interpretation of all these figures is obviously made more difficult by the population changes which took place as a result of the massacres of 1895-6 and 1909.

Cuinet's figures (Table 1.4., Fig. 1.3.), show the Armenians to have been especially concentrated in the north-west of Syria, where they formed an extension of the Armenian Cilician population. They were found there particularly in the cazas of Aleppo, Antioch, Djisr, Alexandretta and Latakia. Elsewhere they were found notably in Beirut and Damascus cazas. There were also smaller communities in the Euphrates region (Deir ez Zor caza), in the Jebel Hauran, in southern Lebanon, and in Kesrouane to the North of Beirut. Ormanian's figures add little to this picture, but further information exists concerning the Armenians in particular locations. This information, which includes data from the Ottoman provincial yearbooks (Table 1.5.), from Brezol (Table 1.6.), and the additional comments of Cuinet himself, enables a more critical assessment of Cuinet's figures to be made as regards particular locations.

For Aleppo town, totals of Armenian population vary between 4,000 and 20,000.[48] This was a long-established population which benefitted somewhat from an influx of migrants at the time of the Hamidian massacres.[49] For Antioch town, totals differ between higher estimates of 3,000-4,000 and lower estimates of 1,000 or less.[50] In Antioch the Armenians

Fig. 1.3

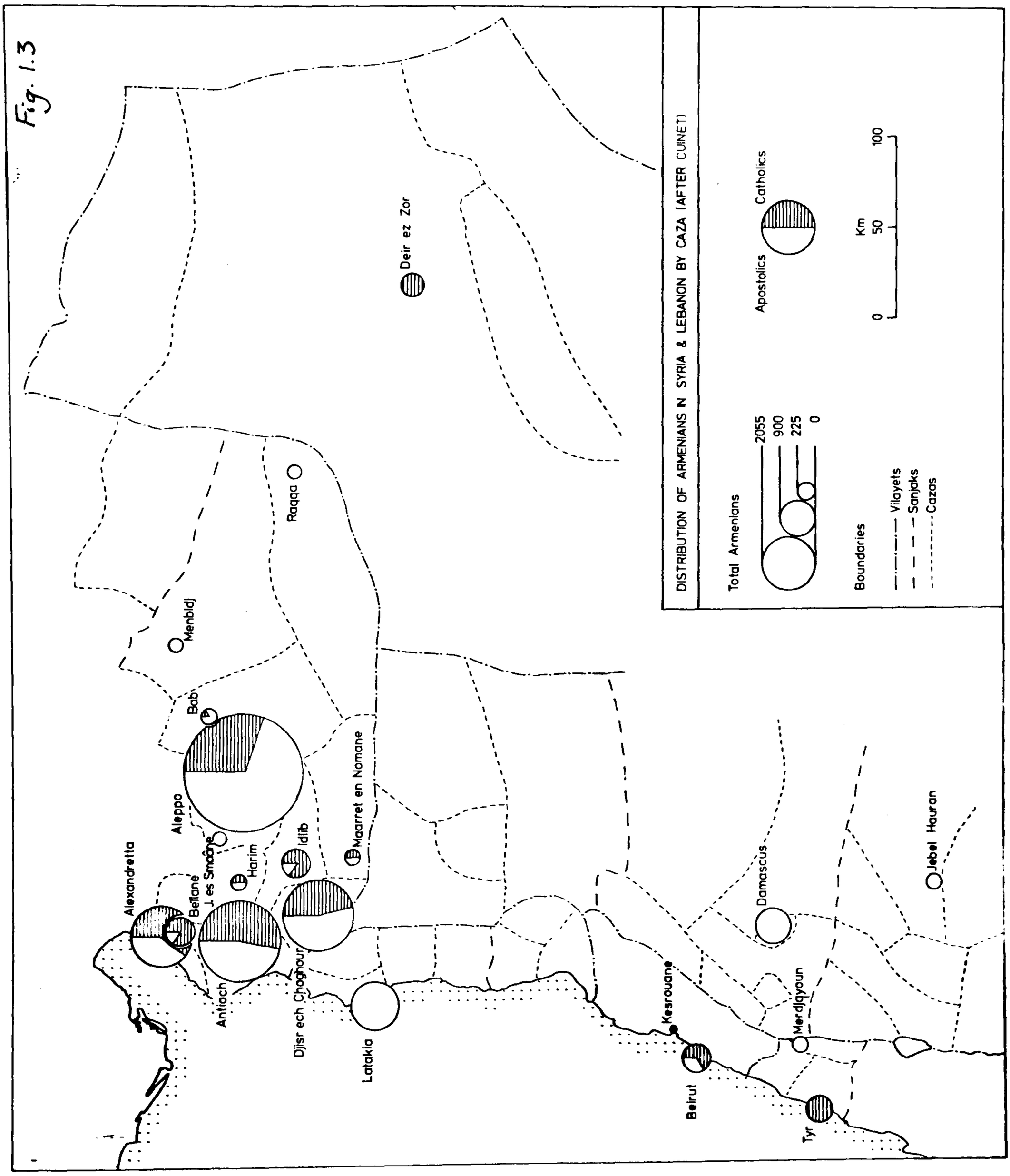

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIANS IN SYRIA & LEBANON BY CAZA (AFTER CUINET)
Total Armenians
2055
900
225
0
Apostolics
Catholics
Boundaries
Vilayets
Sanjaks
Cazas
0
50
100
Km
Deir ez Zor
Raqqa
Menbidj
Bab
Aleppo
Alexandretta
Beilane
J. es Smâne
Harim
Idlib
Maarret en Nomane
Antioch
Djisr ech Choghour
Latakia
Kesrouane
Beirut
Tyr
Damascus
Merdjayoun
Jebel Hauran

Table 1.4

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon by caza, after Cuinet (1890-95)(1896-1901)

	Armenians			A.Caths as % As	As.as % tot.pop.
	Apostolics	Catholics	Total		
Vilayet of Beirut					
Sanjak of Beirut					
Beirut	200	400	600	66.7	0.5
Saida	-	-	-	-	-
Tyr	-	530	530	100	3.2
Merdjayoun	201	-	201	-	1.9
Sanjak of Tripoli					
Tripoli	-	-	-	-	-
Safita	-	-	-	-	-
Akkar	-	-	-	-	-
Qalaat el Hosn	-	-	-	-	-
Sanjak of Latakia					
Latakia	1,600	-	1,600	-	4.1
Djeblé	-	-	-	-	-
Markab	-	-	-	-	-
Sahyoun	-	-	-	-	-
Mutessariflik of Lebanon					
Chouf	-	-	-	-	-
Meten	-	-	-	-	-
Kesrouane	-	30	30	100	0.0
Batroune	-	-	-	-	-
Jezzine	-	-	-	-	-
Zahlé	-	-	-	-	-
Koura	-	-	-	-	-
Deir el Qamar	-	-	-	-	-
Vilayet of Syria					
Sanjak of Damascus					
Damascus	900	-	900	-	0.5
Baalbek	-	-	-	-	-
Bekaa	-	-	-	-	-
Ouadi el Ajam	-	-	-	-	-

Hasbaya	-	-	-	-	-
Rachaya	-	-	-	-	-
Nebek	-	-	-	-	-
Douma	-	-	-	-	-
Sanjak of Hama					
Hama	-	-	-	-	-
Homs	-	-	-	-	-
Hamidiyé	-	-	-	-	-
Selemiyé	-	-	-	-	-
Sanjak of Hauran					
Cheïkh-Saad	-	-	-	-	-
Qouneitra	-	-	-	-	-
Bosra	-	-	-	-	-
Deraâ	-	-	-	-	-
Jebel Hauran	200	-	200	-	0.6
Ajlun	-	-	-	-	-
Vilayet of Aleppo					
Sanjak of Aleppo					
Aleppo	6,550	3,000	9,550	31.4	6.0
Alexandretta	1,142	1,500	2,642	56.8	11.3
Antioch	2,084	2,500	4,584	54.5	7.3
Idlib	100	500	600	83.3	1.3
Harim	100	100	200	50	0.8
Djisr ech Choghour	1,780	1,570	3,350	46.9	10.2
Maarret en Nomane	100	100	200	50	1.7
Bab	170	30	200	15	1.2
Beïlane	100	500	600	83.3	5.6
Jebel es Smaane	130	-	130	-	0.4
Menbidj	150	-	150	-	2.1
Raqqa	150	-	150	-	2.6
Sanjak of Urfa					
Sürüc	-	-	-	-	-
Mutessariflik of Zor					
Deir ez Zor	?	400	400	100?	0.9
El Achara	-	-	-	-	-
Ras el Ain	-	-	-	-	-
Abou Kemal	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15,657	11,160	26,817	41.6	1.2

formed their own quarter, but suffered severely during the 1909 massacres.[51]

Table 1.5

Distribution of Armenians in Syria
according to Ottoman provincial yearbooks

	Armenian Population		
Beirut Vilayet [1]	Apostolics	Catholics	Total
Cazas			
Beirut	108	461	569
Tripoli	-	14	14
Latakia	-	243	243
Sahyoun	?	?	392
Mutesarriflik of Lebanon [2]	?	?	about 5
Vilayet of Syria [3]			
Cazas			
Damascus	257	179	436
Ouadiel Ajam	52	-	52
Rashaya	-	30	30
Hama	5	-	5

Sources: 1. Beyrūt vilāyeti sālnāmesi, 1326H/1908, f.p.424.

2. Cebel-i Lūbnān sālnāmesi, 1306H/1888-89, p.92, and 1307H/1889-90, p.100.

3. Sūriye vilāyeti sālnāmesi, 1318H/1900-01, pp. 364-65.

All reproduced in Krikorian (1964) 188-90.

Table 1.6.

List of Armenian dwellings in Antioch and its region before the massacres of 1909, compiled by the Aleppo correspondant of the newspaper Puzantion

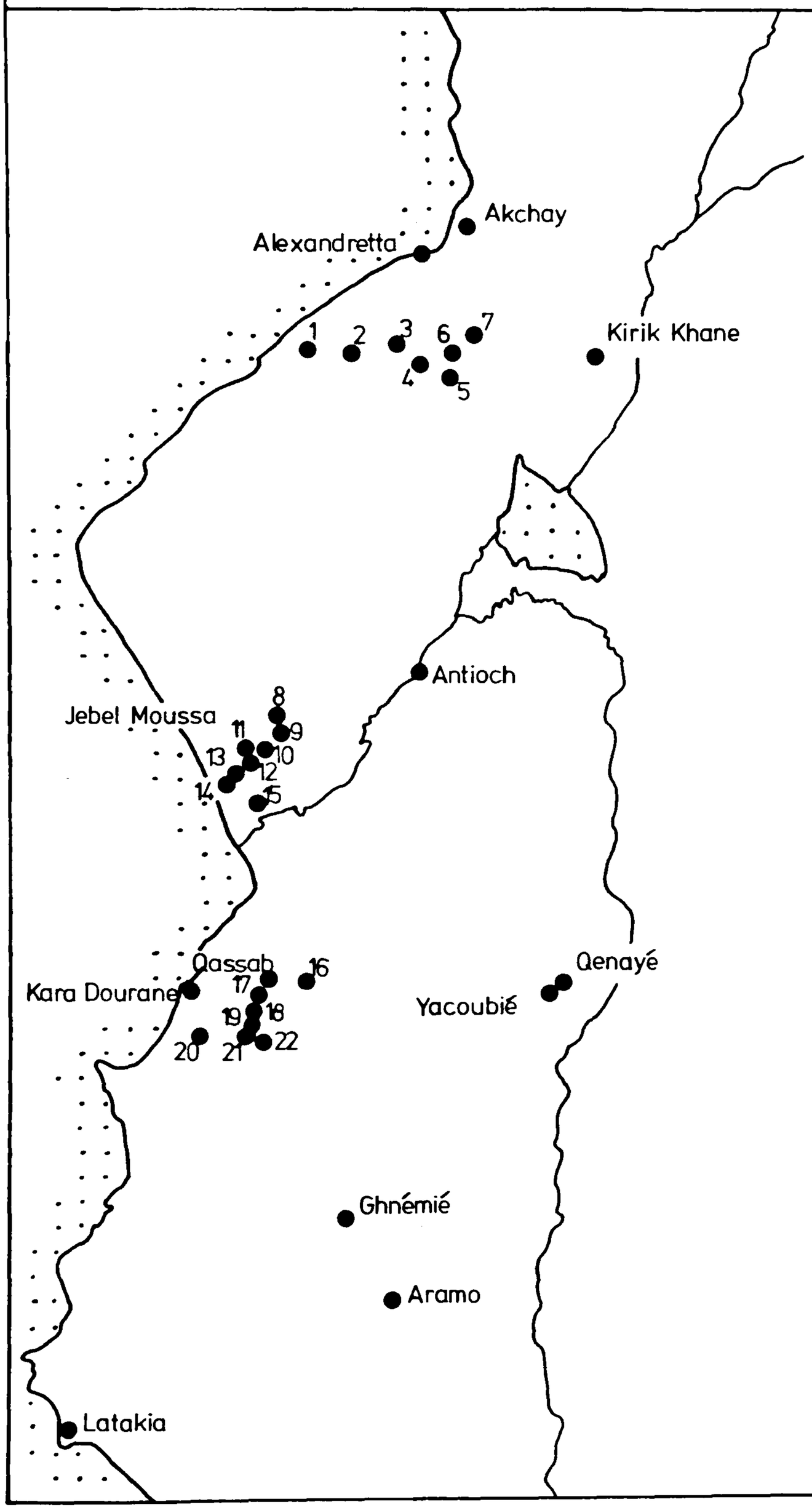
	Families		Families
Antioch	110	Aramo	78
Bitias	110	Ghnémié	55
Hadji Habélli	288	Arfalié	45
Yorhoun Oulouk	214	Qassab and environs	1,130
Khodor Bey	310	Kara Dourane	180
Kaboussiyé	150	Alexandretta	150
Ouakef	30	Beïlanes	455
Yacoubié	135	Kirik Khane	50
Qenayé	130	Total	3,620

Source: Brézol (1911) 370

To Latakia, Cuinet allocates a population of 1,600 Armenians, but there is no confirmation of this high total in other sources.[52] In Alexandretta town, 150 families are noted by Puzantion (Table 1.6), while Cuinet notes 2642 Armenians in Alexandretta caza. As there existed some Armenian villages in this region, Cuinet's total cannot be taken to represent Armenian townsfolk, and further evidence is lacking. In addition to these urban centres of the north-west, there were a number of long-established villages in this area (Figs 1.4., 1.5.), but it is difficult to evaluate their population precisely from the evidence of Cuinet and other sources.[53] The principal centres were the Jebel Moussa and the Jebel Aqra around Qassab. Other Armenians were scattered in and

Fig. 1.4

CENTRES OF ARMENIAN SETTLEMENT IN NORTH-WEST SYRIA BEFORE THE FIRST WORLD WAR

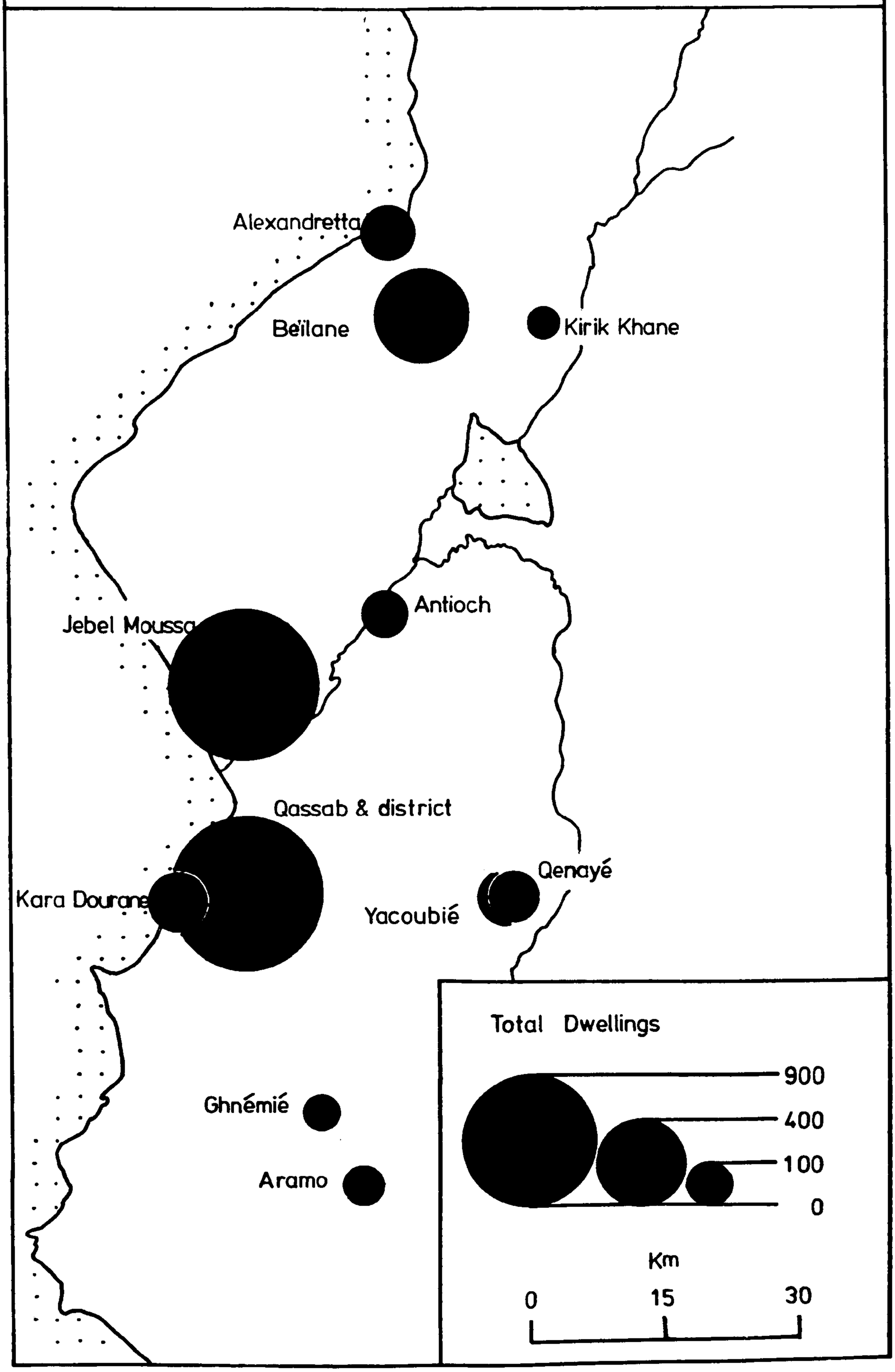


1 Pirinclik
2 Fartisli
3 Narguizlik
4 Soouk Oulouk
5 Catakdere
6 Beïlane
7 Aatik
8 Bitias
9 Hadji Habelli
10 Sürütme
11 Yorhoun Oulouk
12 Khodor Bey
13 Ouakef
14 Kaboussiyé
15 Soueidiyé
16 Kabadjik
17 Eski-Eurine
18 Keurkené
19 Ikiz Oulouk
20 Baghche Ghaz
21 Tchinardjik
22 Duz Arhatch

Sources:
Brézol (1911)
Jacquot (1931)
Bazantay (1935)
Mécérian (1965)

ARMENIAN DWELLINGS IN THE ANTIOCH REGION BEFORE 1909

(AFTER BRÉZOL)



around Beïlane, in the Orontes Valley at Qénayé and Yacoubié, and to the east of Latakia at Ghnémié and Aramo.

Turning to the Armenians living outside the north-west, populations totals for Damascus are confusing. According to Cuinet, there were 1,200 Armenians there (900 Apostolics and 300 Protestants). The Ottoman provincial yearbook yields 436 in the caza of Damascus, including 179 Catholics. Eprikean[54] notes only about 300 persons. Despite the figures of Cuinet, there certainly was an Armenian Catholic community in the city.[55] The origins of the Armenian community are obscure.[56] Totals are less conflicting for Beirut, displaying a remarkable uniformity in varying only between 500 and 750.[57] The Beirut community saw its principal growth in the nineteenth century, and benefitted by the troubles of 1895-6 and 1909, but it had also gained from the movement of Armenian Catholics to Lebanon[58] (see below). All the Armenians of Deir ez Zor lived in the town of that name, according to Cuinet. Some confirmation comes from Murray's Handbook,[59] which notes a few Armenians in the town, but no other references to this community have been found. In the Vilayet of Syria outside Damascus Cuinet lists only 200 Armenians, in the Jebel Hauran, not, apparently, living in Soueida. The provincial yearbook does not list these Armenians, but lists other communities in the Cazas of Rashaya, Ouadiel Ajam and Hama. There is no reference to these communities in any of the other sources consulted. The Armenian communities of Lebanon are better documented.[60] A number of Armenians had come into Mount Lebanon from the seventeenth century onwards, mostly Catholics seeking refuge from the persecution of the Apostolic Church. They

settled especially in Kesrouane, notably at Bzoumar, which was for a time the centre of the Armenian Catholic Church. In fact, the Armenian Catholic population of Kesrouane noted by Cuinet were all boys at the seminary of Bzoumar. While these Armenians in Kesrouane can thus be put in perspective, there is no corroborating evidence for the existence of the Armenian communities in Tyr and Merdjayoun listed by Cuinet, or for those in Tripoli listed by the provincial yearbook. Likewise, there is no corroborating evidence for the Armenian communities which Cuinet records scattered around Aleppo in north Syria, apart from the better documented communities of the north-west, for which the evidence has already been discussed.

Information concerning the socio-economic structure of the Armenian community in Syria is uneven. No information has been found on the communities in the cazas of northern Syria surrounding Aleppo, on the community of Deir ez Zor, of Latakia, or of the Lebanon outside Beirut (with the exception of Bzoumar). In the other centres of Armenian population, for which documentation does exist, it is apparent that there existed the same distinction between peasants and townsfolk as has been observed for Armenian society in the Empire as a whole. Sanjian has described the combination of agriculture, domestic industry and rural crafts which formed the life-style for the Armenian villagers of the north-west.[61] In the urban centres of Aleppo, Antioch, Alexandretta, Beirut and Damascus, the Armenians were occupied, as elsewhere in the Empire, primarily in commerce and the small trades.[62] A few held appointments in the Ottoman administration.[63] At Aleppo

they are several times mentioned in British Consular Reports as participating in innovatory enterprises,[64] and it was an Armenian who introduced photography to Aleppo,[65] a business which also involved Armenians in Beirut.[66] At Aleppo, out of six physicians listed by Baedeker, one, Dr. Altounyan, was Armenian.[67] Socially and politically the Syrian Armenians appear to have shared the lot of their compatriots in the Empire. Cuinet describes how the mutual dislike which has already been noted between Apostolics and Catholics extended also to Aleppo.[68] The Syrian community was also unable to avoid the political repercussions which stemmed from the competition between Armenian and Turkish nationalism. In 1895-6, at the time of the Hamidian massacres, there was restlessness in Syria, but fortunately no victims.[69] In 1909, however, the massacres of Cilicia extended to north-west Syria, where massacres took place at Antioch and in the outlying villages.[70] At this time there was some emigration from the affected areas,[71] including Aleppo, but a considerable number of these emigrants returned. The final holocaust of 1915 did not leave the Armenians of Syria unaffected either, and it is on the background to these events that attention will now be focussed.

The "Armenian Question"

The future of the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire, in Syria as much as in the eastern provinces and elsewhere, was linked unavoidably with the development of the 'Armenian Question'. There is a considerable literature on this subject, but a balanced assessment of its development is still lacking. The outline presented in this section is

therefore extremely tentative.[72] The Armenians, as observed above, had been granted millet status within the Ottoman Empire. This non-territorial recognition of group-status, while tolerant by contemporary Christian standards, disguised an actual political inequality. Given sound administration and a healthy economy it might have lasted longer, but by the nineteenth century it had come under great strain. Social conditions in the eastern provinces had become intolerable, while this decline had been paralleled by an Armenian cultural revival, exemplified by the founding of Mekhitarist communities in Venice (1717) and Vienna (1807). The result was to create specifically Armenian demands for reforms. These might have been met, in time, had not the Armenian revival coincided with a similar Turkish nationalist revival and a European desire for intervention in Ottoman affairs. The background to the development of the "Armenian Question" was then the struggle of three competing nationalisms; Armenian nationalism, Turkish nationalism, and the nationalism of the rival European powers.[73]

The first inscription in an international treaty of an article exclusively concerning the Armenians was in the Treaty of Berlin (1878), but no reforms followed. The Armenians began to turn to revolutionary parties. In 1893, they revolted at Sason: in September, 1895, they organised a demonstration at Constantinople. The result was the Hamidian massacres of 1895-6, and again no reforms. The Armenians continued to turn to the parties, but they were themselves split on the course of action to take. The British Consul at Erzurum divided into three political groupings the Armenian community of Asia Minor.[74] First, he noted the

conservative and Turcophile Armenians, composed of Armenian Ottoman officials or of Armenian Catholics, having under the Turkish regime more religious liberty than they would under a Russian or Armenian Apostolic regime. Second were the moderate liberals, including the businessmen and clergy, a group which would be content with the continuation of the existing regime. Both these groups would be in favour of reforms, and they found political expression in the foundation of the Ramgavar Party in 1908. Its sympathisers were not prepared to go to the extremes of the third group, the revolutionaries, composed of young Armenians, students at European universities. The revolutionaries were themselves split between two principal parties; the Dashnaksutioun, founded in 1890 at Tiflis, and the Hentchak Party, founded in 1887 at Geneva. Both had important links with Russia, the Armenian revoluti onary movement being inspired by Armenian intellectuals there. While the Hentchak Party advocated outright separation from the Empire, the Dashnaks, whilst also using terrorist techniques, favoured reform. They were therefore prepared to ally themselves with the Committee for Union and Progress and support the 1908 Turkish revolution. But Armenians were to be disappointed with the results. A Hamidian counter-revolution led to thousands of Armenian dead in Cilicia in 1909, while again no reforms came from the Young Turks once installed. The Armenians looked to European intervention, and a timely change of Russian policy in 1912 enabled the Armenian Catholicos of Echmiadzin to petition the Tsar successfully for Russian intervention, while enjoining Boghos Nubar Pasha, of the Eygptian Armenian bourgeoisie, to form an Armenian National Delegation to tour Europe in search

of support. The result of this pressure was a Russian initiative leading to the Reform Act of February, 1914, by which the Turkish government was obliged to accept the appointment of two European inspector-generals for the eastern vilayets. These provisions were never carried out, for war soon broke out, but the fact remains that in 1914 the nationalist Turks found themselves obliged to relinquish sovereignty over a large part of their territory as a result of European intervention on behalf of the Armenian minority. This is surely not without significance for what followed.

The full story of the events of 1915 has yet to be written.[75] In the meantime, Armenian claim and Turkish counter-claim make the task of even outlining the events difficult if not impossible, while the moral obligation to do so cannot be lightly ignored. What seems certain is that there was in 1915 and the following years, as a response to the extreme pressure under which the Turkish government found itself systematic deportation and massacre of a considerable part of the Armenian population of interior Turkey; an attempt at a "Final Solution" as understandable in its causes as horrific in its execution. The literature on the events is abundant,[76] but its final interpretation has not yet been made. Its reproduction here would add nothing to the ongoing debate. For our purposes, it is sufficient to note that, during the deportations, Syria acted as the receptacle for the deportees from the north.[77] They moved southwards, through Aleppo, to Hama, Homs, Damascus and beyond, or east, towards the Euphrates, where concentration camps were established at intervals, and where the final destination was often Deir ez Zor.

Many deportees died en route; many were killed. Others passed into the care of Kurds or Arabs. Their sufferings became legend. For Armenians all over the world there is only one interpretation of the meaning of these events.

Chapter 2

The Refugee Migrations and the Evolution of the Armenian Population of Syria and Lebanon, 1915-1939

The movement of the Armenian deportees to Syria was followed by a complex series of population movements which ultimately left a large refugee population in Syria and Lebanon. Repatriation of the deportees was followed by a series of refugee migrations which were supplemented by the rescue of women and children who had fallen into care of Arab and Kurdish tribes during the deportations. Subsequently the Armenian population of Syria and Lebanon decreased by emigration, but grew by natural increase. Given the complexity of the situation the total number of Armenian refugees in the region at any one time is difficult to evaluate. This chapter describes the evolution of the Armenian population of Syria and Lebanon between 1915 and 1939, considering in turn the repatriation, the refugee migrations, the rescue of women and children, naturalisation, emigration and demography, before concluding with a consideration of the available estimates concerning the total Armenian refugee population in Syria and Lebanon. The paucity of statistical data will quickly become evident.

Repatriation

As the soldiers of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force advanced through Palestine into Syria, they met the survivors of the Armenian deportations. In November and December, 1918,

they found the Armenians to be increasingly concentrating in the four centres of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo.[1] (Table 2.1.). In addition, Armenians from outlying villages were constantly arriving at the principal centres, swelling the numbers. Others, women and children, were awaiting rescue from Muslim households. For example, the Kurdish and Arab sheikhs in the area Menbidj-Harran-Raqqa-Meskene declared that they had in their villages and tents 650 Armenians, mostly women and children, while they reported 800 in the tents of the tribes friendly to them to the east.[2] Others were rescued by the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force: in January, 1919, there were 980 Armenians at Deir ez Zor.[3] In all there were believed to be about 85,000 Armenians in the region.

Table 2.1

Armenian refugees reported in Syria, 1918.

LOCATION	TOTAL	DATE
Damascus	30,000	Nov. 22
Homs	1,500	Nov. 26
Villages around Homs	500	"
Hama	6,000	"
Villages around Hama	3-4,000	"
Aleppo (non-Aleppine Armenians)	35,000	Dec. 1

Source: Sir Mark Sykes to G.O.C., G.H.Q., Eqypt, W.O.95/4372

Relief for the rescued Armenians was provided out of British Army funds, by Armenian and phil-Armenian societies, and by the American Red Cross and its successor in Syria, the American Committee for Relief in the Near East (Near East Relief).[4] At the same time a start was made on the rescue of Armenian women and children from Arab and Kurdish villages, a task undertaken by the Near East Relief. The Emir Feisal issued a proclamation that any Armenians living in Arab homes be returned to their people. By the end of September, 1919, nearly every village within 50 miles of Aleppo had been visited, and 450 children brought in.[5] To co-ordinate relief work a Directorate of Relief and Repatriation was formed in February, 1919, with a British director.[6] Repatriation of the Armenians from the Syrian camps appears to have begun in the spring of 1919, and the bulk of the task was completed by the end of summer.[7] Then in October and November 6,000 Armenians were repatriated rapidly from Aleppo, British officials fearing for their safety there after the withdrawal of British troops.[8] Some Armenians were also repatriated at this time from Damascus,[9] and apparently from Deir ez Zor.[10] Official French sources report a movement in all of about 100,000 persons.[11] It is not clear if all the surviving deportees and refugees were repatriated. Clearly the bulk of them were, but it seems unlikely that no deportees at all remained in the country, especially as not all their home towns had been occupied by the allies. (See Fig 2.1).

The Indigenous Armenian Population

The Armenian population of Syria had itself not been immune from deportation, but fortunately the process did not extend to the whole of the region.[12] The Armenians of

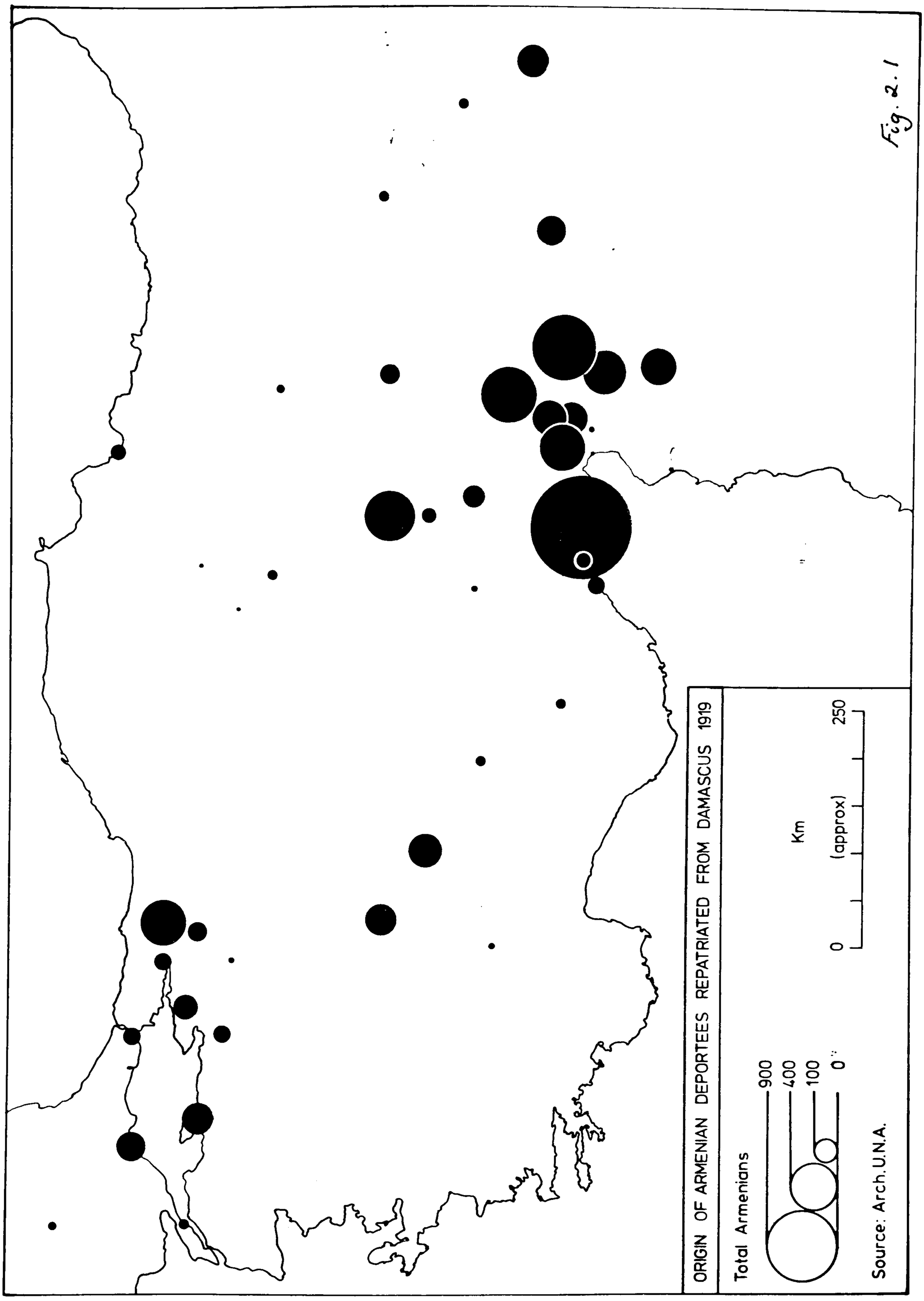

ORIGIN OF ARMENIAN DEPORTEES REPATRIATED FROM DAMASCUS 1919
Total Armenians
900
400
100
0
Km
0
(approx)
250
Source: Arch.U.N.A.

Fig. 2.1

Damascus, southern Syria and the Lebanon appear to have been exempt, as well as the major concentration in Aleppo in the north. The others in the north were less fortunate. While Aleppo was considered an exception, all the Armenians of Antioch, Latakia, Qassab and the other settlements of the north-west would appear to have been deported. The Armenian quarter of Antioch disappeared as a result of these deportations and the excesses of 1909. The sole compensation was the heroism of the Armenians of the Jebel Moussa who chose to resist deportation and held out in the mountain until rescued by a French cruiser and transported to safety at Port Said. 868 families (4,058 persons) were rescued in this way: 332 families who chose to stay were deported. The allied occupation left the deportees free to return to their homes, but the population had been substantially reduced. Thus, in assessing the local Armenian population in 1918-19, little weight should be given to the pre-war population figures, which are in any case unreliable. The best indication of surviving indigenous Armenian population is the figure of 14,829, given in the 1922 Census of Syria and Lebanon, but this figure excludes the important Armenian population concentration in the Sanjak of Alexandretta.

The Refugee Migrations

Following the repatriation, a new series of migrations of Armenians to Syria began in 1920. The Sykes-Picot agreement had allotted to France the right to the administration of Cilicia.[13] At first occupied by British troops the area passed to French control by a Franco-British agreement of September 15, 1919, but the French were never able fully to

enjoy their new possessions. Kemalist uprisings against their control began in January, 1920, and they began to lose their grip on the outlying towns. As the French garrisons withdrew they were followed by streams of Armenian refugees seeking shelter from Turkish vengeance. They concentrated primarily in Adana, but a number were evacuated to Syria, to Alexandretta, Aleppo, Beirut, and also to Dortyol, just across the future border.[14] It is difficult to assess accurately the number of these evacuees to Syria, but it is unlikely that they numbered more than 5,000 (excluding those in Dortyol). The movement effectively came to an end with the recapture of Gaziantep by French forces on February 9, 1921.

A second migration occurred at the end of 1921. By the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on August 10, 1920, France had ceded the bulk of Cilicia to Turkey, while a Tripartite Agreement between France, Britain and Italy recognised to her a zone of special interests there. This treaty was not ratified at Ankara, and a further agreement was made at London on March 9, 1921, by which France made more territorial concessions, receiving in return economic concessions in Cilicia and guarantee clauses for the rights of minorities. Again the parliament at Ankara refused to ratify this arrangement, and final agreement did not come until October 20, 1921 (the Ankara Agreement). Under this accord, the territorial boundaries between Turkey and Syria remained almost the same as in the earlier London agreement, but France lost her economic privileges and the guarantee clauses for minorities were weakened. France was to withdraw her troops from Cilicia within two months. Panic gripped the Christian population, which had already contemplated emigration at the time cf the

London agreement in March. This time they decided to flee. The more wealthy left first, and reached Cyprus and Egypt. The remainder were allowed to enter Syria. In the second half of December, 1921, 16,500 refugees were transported from Mersin to the different ports of Syria, while at the same time, 12,000 refugees came by land to Alexandretta and Aleppo. Several hundred others, voyaging under their own means, disembarked in the different ports. In a fortnight, 30,000 refugees, the majority Armenians, had arrived in French-protected territory according to French official estimates.[15] The exodus was completed by the transfer to Lebanon in the course of 1922 of the orphanages which the French government had left at Adana.[16]

Another exodus began in August, 1922, as a result of Turkish intimidation, following their success over the Greeks. The immigrants to Syria came above all to Aleppo, and the figures in the reports of the Mandatory Power and "Archives Diplomatiques" seem to refer only to recorded arrivals at Aleppo.[17] These record a total of 39,308 immigrants from the beginning of the new wave of migration until July 1, 1924, by which time it had largely subsided. Of these about two-thirds would have been Armenians, giving a total of about 25,000 more Armenian refugees.[18] This figure would omit any Armenians unrecorded at Aleppo as well as those arriving in other parts of the territory. Of these there certainly were some, 400 orphans from Cilicia reaching Beirut,[19] for example, and other refugees from Urfa settling in the north, outside Aleppo town.[20] This total must clearly be treated with considerable reserve.

A final exodus of Armenians from Turkey to Syria occurred in 1929-30, beginning as early as September, 1929, but

apparently reaching its height in December. The refugees came this time from the regions of Harput and Diyarbakir, again apparently as a result of Turkish intimidation.[21] According to Mr. Monck-Mason, British Consul at Aleppo, [22]

> "The settled policy of the Turkish Government seems to be to get rid of all Christian elements in the distant Anatolian provinces by all means short of absolute massacre... "

The number of these refugees would not appear to have exceeded 800 families, according to Armenian estimates. [23] This was the last large scale migration from Turkey. Infiltration continued throughout the study period, but never on the scale of the four principal migrations. Figures are lacking for this movement.[24]

Although the exodus of 1929 was the last large-scale movement of Armenians from Turkey to Syria, the exodus from the Sanjak of Alexandretta in 1938 and 1939 quite equalled in scale the earlier migrations.[25] This exodus should perhaps be regarded as an internal rather than external migration as the Sanjak formed part of French mandated territory until its cession. The exodus began in June, 1938 after the disclosure that France had promised the Turks 22 deputies out of 40 in the Assembly of the Sanjak and had authorised the entry of Turkish troops into Alexandretta. This exodus appears to have involved about 750 families, although Burnier, the delegate of the Nansen Office, maintained only 300 to 400.[26] In July and August there was some reconsideration and returning to the Sanjak, but a second exodus began when, in mid-October, more Turkish officials and soldiers entered the Sanjak and a customs cordon was established along the Syrian border. This

movement continued until June, 1939, by which time, according to Mécérian,[27] 8,000 Armenians had left. Finally, following the announcement that, by the terms of the Franco-Turkish agreement signed at Ankara on June 23, 1939, the Sanjak would be ceded by France to Turkey a month later, most of the remaining Armenians were evacuated by the French authorities, while others, too nervous to wait for the organised emigration, left of their own accord. This last migration involved in all about 14,000 Armenians.[28] With the exception of those of the Qassab district, which was detached from the Sanjak and remained part of Syria, the great majority of Armenians in the Sanjak had left.

The Rescue of Women and Children

The Armenian population in Syria and Lebanon grew not only from migration, but also as a result of the rescue of numerous women and children taken into Muslim homes during the deportations.[29] As already observed, this work was begun by the Near East Relief. Then, in February, 1921, the League of Nations established a Commission of Enquiry on the Deportation of Women and Children in Turkey and Neighbouring Countries.[30] Miss Karen Jeppe, a Danish phil-Armenian philanthropist, was appointed to rescue women and children in Muslim hands, and she established a rescue-home at Aleppo. In winter, 1921, she estimated that there were from five to six thousand Armenian women and children in Muslim houses within the French zone of occupation, and in 1922 she estimated at least 30,000 in Muslim hands in the whole region accessible from Aleppo. When the League withdrew support for her work at the end of 1927, she continued to carry it on with the support of various charitable

organisations. By the time her Rescue Home was finally closed at the end of 1930 she had brought in about 1900 persons. Her efforts were supplemented by those of the Armenian General Benevolent Union (A.G.B.U..), which took over her work for the boys in 1928,[31] and by the Shirayian Girls' Hostel.[32] The total rescued was therefore rather more than 1900: indeed, some Armenians were still coming in as late as 1934.[33]

Naturalisation

The Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon did not automatically become citizens of those states. Of vital importance for understanding official population figures relating to the Armenians (and of considerable political importance) is the question of naturalisation. Article 30 of the Treaty of Lausanne provided that Ottoman subjects habitually resident in the territories detached from Turkey should become subjects of the state to which the territory was transferred. In execution of this provision of the Treaty, the French High Commissioner in Syria and Lebanon issued on August 30, 1924, two decrees (Nos. 2825 & 2825 bis), by which Lebanese and Syrian nationality was conferred en bloc to all ex-Ottoman subjects resident on that day in the territories of the Lebanon and Syria. The Armenian refugees, although their establishment in the region was not of long standing, were given the benefit of this enactment. By Decree No. 15/5 of January 19, 1925, naturalisation of Armenians arriving after that date was made conditional on five years' continuous residence.[34]

Emigration

By no means all the refugees remained in Syria and Lebanon.

There are many references[35] to the emigration of Armenian refugees, especially to France and the Americas, but it is difficult to assess the numbers involved. The movement would appear to have been at its peak between 1921 and 1929, as there are fewer references to mass emigration in the latter part of the inter-war period. Such totals as are available[36] suggest a figure of the order of tens of thousands, but it is difficult to reconcile an emigration of this magnitude with the available figures for immigration and total Armenian population. Perhaps the best indicator of the volume of emigration is provided by a table in the Nansen Office archives which records a total of 652 refugees leaving Syria and Lebanon provided with a Nansen certificate in the period June, 1928 to June, 1929 (Fig 2.2.), but this rate of emigration cannot necessarily be applied to other years. Much emigration was spontaneous, involving Armenians searching for better opportunities overseas, but some was organised. In particular the outplacement of N.E.R. orphans in France should be noted.[37] Altogether about 1,400 orphans were transferred to France for employment from N.E.R. orphanages in Greece and Syria. There was a similar movement abroad from other institutions,[38] when girls married young Armenians resident abroad, or orphans moved abroad to live with their relations. In addition, about 200 refugees were transferred from Syria to Soviet Armenia in 1931-32.[39] The Nansen Office also assisted the migration of Armenians to South America[40] at the end of 1928, but this process seems to have involved only a few families.

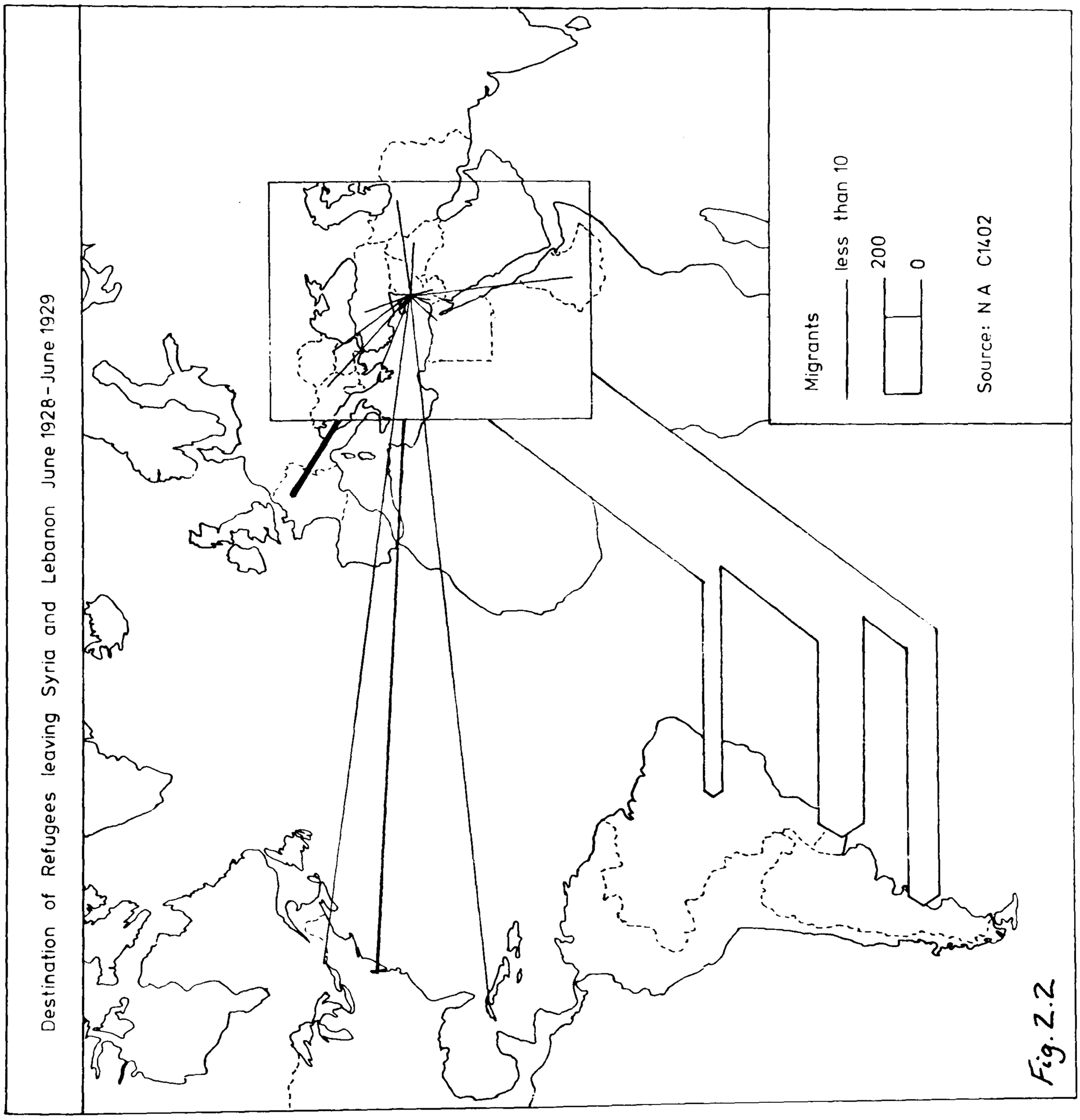

Destination of Refugees leaving Syria and Lebanon June 1928-June 1929
Migrants
less than 10
200
0
Source: N A C1402

Fig. 2.2

Demography

Birth and Death-rates

A number of references suggest that the birth-rate of the Armenians in Syria and Lebanon was exceptionally high.[41] Alice Poulleau for example describes a visit to an Armenian refugee camp at Damascus in September, 1925.[42]

> "Partout grouille déjà, «a spawn of babies», comme dirait Kipling, et les signes de prochaine maternité apparaissent chez presque toutes les jeunes femmes. Ce peuple témoigne d'un robuste optimisme."

Mécérian also stresses the high Armenian birth-rate, from the point of view of a Jesuit priest:[43]

> "Il semble ... que, dans les masses populaires du moins, les vices anti-conceptionels sont peu répandus. L'amour de la famille, le désir de constituer un ménage y sont encore vivaces."

He observed that amongst the Armenian Catholic population of the Beirut refugee camp there had been during the previous year (1927) an estimated birth-rate of 40 ‰, while in the indigenous Armenian village of Bitias (in the Jebel Moussa) the figure was 63.6‰. He added that the estimated rate of 40-50‰ therefore for the Catholics would have been about the same for the Apostolics. Liepmann, however, disputes such assertions,[44] arguing that:

> "The prolificacy of the Armenians seems to be relative only, in comparison with the very low birth-rate of the Russian refugees, not absolutely high, so as to assure 5 persons per family on the average. This impression can also be gathered from the other countries of refuge of Armenians. "

Statistics are lacking to test such assertions. Virtually the only figures available are the statistics of births and deaths

declared in Lebanon in 1945 and 1946. (Table 2.2), but both birth and death-rates seem so low compared with what might be expected in a developing country that these figures should perhaps be rejected. Possibly the only feature of significance which emerges from them is the higher birth-rate recorded for Armenian Catholics, which casts doubt on Mécérian's assertion regarding the equivalence of Catholic and Apostolic birth-rates.

Table 2.2

Birth-and Death-Rates of the Armenian population of Lebanon, 1945 and 1946

	Birth-rate (‰)		Death-rate (‰)	
	1945	1946	1945	1946
Apostolics	24.4	19.6	6.9	5.6
Catholics	28.2	19.8	7.1	5.8
Apostolics & Catholics	24.9	19.5	6.9	5.6

Source: Based on data in Conseil Superieur des Intérêts Communs, Recueil des Statistiques etc., (1944), (1945-47)

As regards mortality-rates, overall estimates are again lacking. The Lebanese figures for 1945 and 1946 seem too low (Table 2.2). Further information comes from the monthly reports on the villages established by the Nansen Office in the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Here, the most significant feature is that children's deaths accounted for about 75% of all mortalities recorded, with children less than one year old being particularly vulnerable.[45] Some attempt may be made to

calculate both birth-and death-rates on the basis of these figures, (Table 2.3.) but the results are distorted by migration, involve small populations, and may in any case be a typical of the Armenian refugee population as a whole. Little stress should therefore be laid on the statistically convenient results for Soouk Sou, which indicate a birth-rate of 42‰, and death-rate of 24‰.

Table 2.3

Annual Birth-and Death-rates in the Nansen Office settlements in the Sanjak of Alexandretta (Jan, 1928 - June, 1929)

	Birth-rate (‰)	Death-rate (‰)
Nor Zeitoun	73.4	22.0
Soouk Sou	42.4	23.5
Kirik Khane	64.7	46.2

Source: Based on data from monthly reports contained in N.A., C1429 and C1431.

Age-, Sex-, and Family Structure

According to Barton,[46] most of the refugees in Syria were women and children, but information on age-and sex-structure is rather scanty. It is possible to construct a composite age-sex pyramid for three Nansen settlements at December, 1927. (Fig 2.3). The results obtained are not necessarily typical of the entire Armenian population. In particular, they yield a Male/Female ratio greater than one, the opposite of the expected balance. For Lebanon, M/F ratios based on

the censuses of 1932 and 1942 again do not indicate any significant surplus of women (Table 2.4.). The annual reports of the Nansen Office provide some statistics on the sex of the adult refugees settled in the Nansen Office villages and quarters (Table 2.5.). The urban quarters yield values of less than one, but the villages yield values of more than one for 2 out of 5 years for which data are available. The Nansen Office figures are again not necessarily typical.

Table 2.4.

M/F ratios for Lebanon, based on the censuses of 1932 and December, 1942

	1932			December, 1942
Apostolics	0.98		Armenians	1.04
Catholics	1.06			
Apostolics & Catholics	0.99			

Note: In the tabulation of the 1942 Census results, the figures presented concerning sex-structure are inconsistent with those presented concerning total population.

As regards age-structure, there is more support for Barton's assertion as he himself notes that about 12,000 orphans[47] came into the area during the principal migrations of the post-war period. Information on the age-structure of the rest of the population is scarce. The age-sex pyramid of the Nansen settlements (Fig 2.3.) is probably atypical.

Table 2.5.

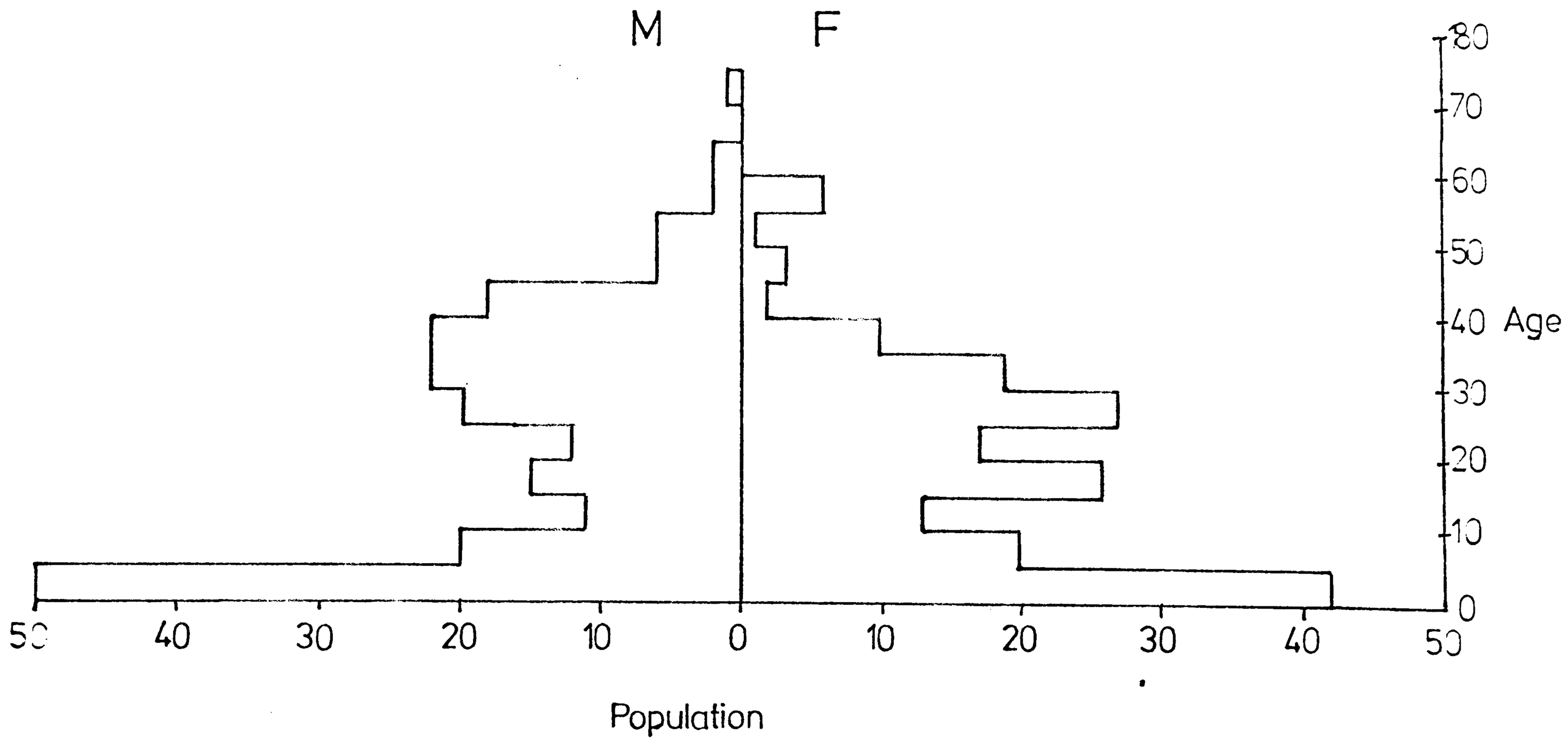
M/F Ratios in the Nansen Office settlements

	Dec. 1928	Aug. 1930	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Rural settlements							
Soouk Sou	0.93	1.43	?	1.03	?	0.96	0.74
Nor Zeitoun	1.02	1.06	?	?	?	?	0.80
Kirik Khane	1.14	1.14	?	1.00	?	?	1.00
Haiachène	0.90	1.01	?	1.00	?	0.96	0.96
Abdul Huyuk	0.95	0.95	?	1.00	?		
Massiaf	-	1.10	?	1.03	?	0.88	1.10
Bey-Seki	-	-	-	?	?	0.91	0.83
Banias	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Overall	0.96	1.10	?	1.01	?	0.94	0.95
Urban Settlements							
Aleppo	0.96	?	?	0.88	0.94	?	?
Kirik Khane	0.89	?	?	0.92	1.01	*	1.00
Alexandretta	1.14	?	?	?	1.08	*	?
Beirut	?	?	?	0.95	0.96	?	?
Damascus	?	?	?	?	0.96	*	?
Rihaniye	-	-	-	-	-	?	1.02
Overall	0.99	?	?	0.91	0.95	?	?
Rural & urban	0.97	?	?	0.92	?	?	?

* Figure identical to those of 1932

Source: See the annual reports on the progress of the settlement work in N.A., C1429, C1583, C1584, and for 1934 in S.F., M.S Vol 216.

Fig. 2.3. Composite Age-Sex Pyramid for the three Nansen settlements of Kirik Khane, Soouk Sou and Nor Zeitoun, December, 1927.



Source: N.A., C1429, C1431

More useful is the information from the annual Nansen Office reports (Table 2.6). Here, there is observable a constant tendency for the population of the rural settlements to become younger (Fig 2.4).

According to Poidebard[48] 3 or 4 children was the normal situation for an Armenian worker, while some Nansen Office figures appear to have been calculated on the basis of 5 persons per family. Liepmann[49] correctly criticises this assumption not confirmed by the available evidence. Some assessment of family-structure is possible on the basis of lists of families established in the three Nansen Office settlements of Ikiz-Keupru (Nor Zeitoun), Soouk Sou and Kirik Khane.[50] Here the mean family-size at December, 1927 was 3.5, with modal values of 2 and 4. Families were composed mostly of husbands and wives with their children, but a number were more extended, with mother, brothers, sisters, and in-laws of the head of household . Elsewhere, a list drawn up in August, 1928,[51] of families wishing to migrate to Argentina yields an average of 4.9 persons per family, with a modal value of 5, but the table includes the relatives in Argentina whose families desired to migrate. These families, most of which were from Beirut, were rather more extended than those of the village lists. Other Nansen Office figures (Table 2.7.) indicate an upward evolution from a mean family-size of 3.8 persons at the end of 1928 to a value of 4.6 at the end of 1931. Subsequently overall totals are lacking, but there is no conclusive evidence of a steep rise in the totals for individual locations (Tables 2.7, 2.8). In Aleppo, for example, family-size remained static at 5.0 persons between

Table 2.6

Children as a percentage of the population of the Nansen Office settlements

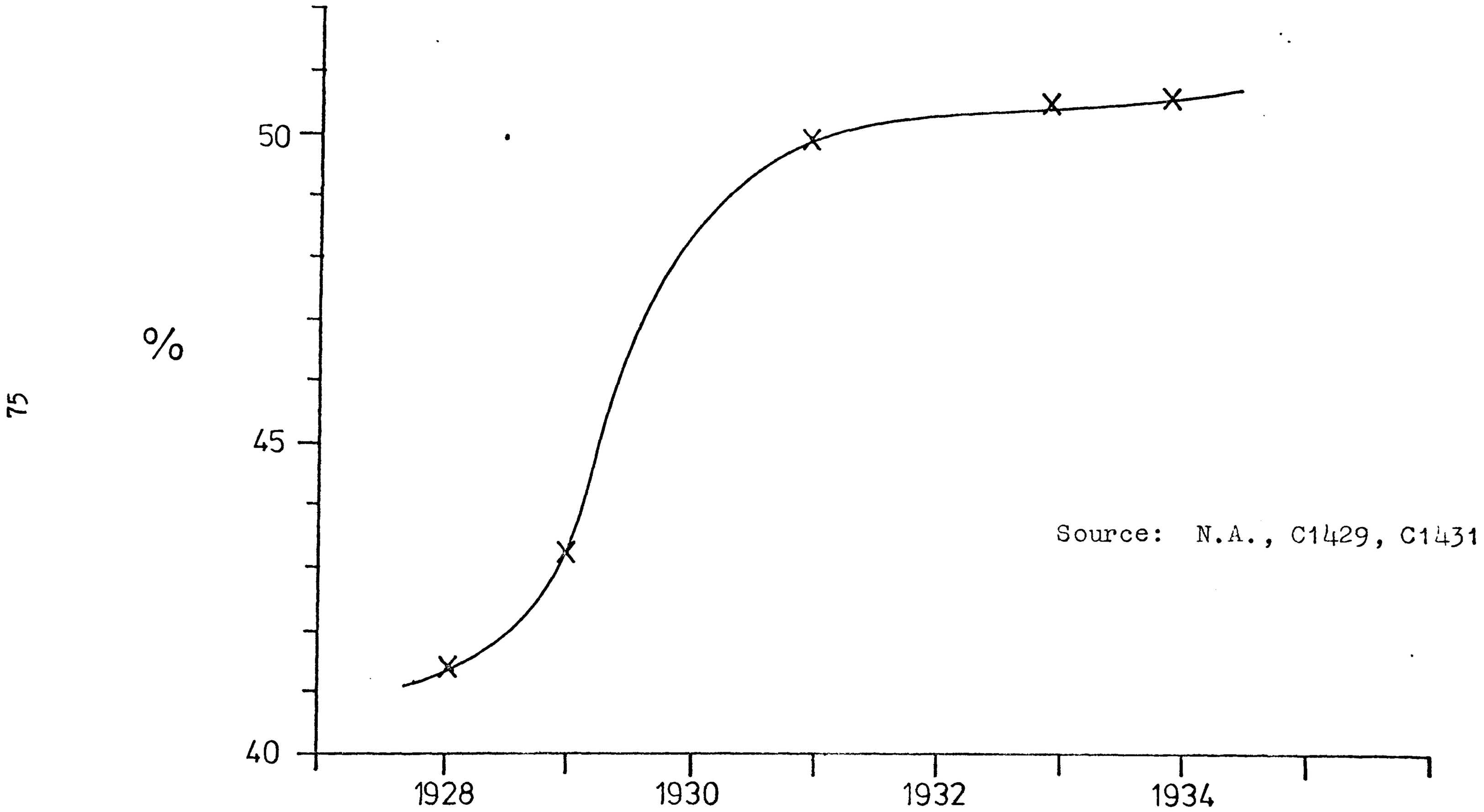
	Dec. 1928	Aug. 1930	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Rural settlements							
Soouk Sou	37.0	40.0	?	57.8	?	55.3	53.1
Nor Zeitoun	44.1	45.0	?	?	?	?	57.8
Kirik Khane	51.3	50.7	?	56.3	?	?	51.4
Haiachène	39.3	43.2	?	49.5	?	50.5	51.2
Abdal Huyuk							
Massiaf	-	35.8	?	41.2	?	47.0	45.2
Bey-Seki	-	-	?	?	?	41.7	40.5
Banias	-	-	-	-	-	?	?
Overall	41.4	43.2	?	49.9	?	50.5	50.6
Urban settlements							
Aleppo	36.3	?	?	61.8	42.3	?	?
Kirik Khane	39.3	?	?	67.4	46.2	*	54.1
Alexandretta	32.8	?	?	?	35.1	*	?
Beirut	?	?	?	45.5	46.1	?	?
Damascus	-	?	?	?	43.4	*	?
Rihaniye	-	-	-	-	-	?	53.4
Overall	35.9	?	?	55.2	43.7	?	?
Rural & urban	39.1	?	?	54.8	?	?	?

* Figures identical to those of 1932.

Note: It is impossible to compare these values with those of any 'normal' model as there is no definition of children given in the reports from which the figures are derived.

Source: as Table 2.5.

Fig. 2.4. Children as percentage Armenian population in the Nansen Office settlements



Source: N.A., C1429, C1431

Table 2.7

Armenian family size in the Nansen Office settlements

	Dec. 1928	Aug. 1930	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1937
Rural settlements								
Soouk Sou	3.7	4.0	4.1	5.9	?	?	?	4.8
Nor Zeitoun	3.5	3.8	3.9	?	?	?	?	2.9
Kirik Khane	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.6	?	?	?	5.1
Haiachène	3.9	3.5	3.7	3.9	?	?	?	4.3
Abdal Huyuk								
Massiaf	-	-	3.5	5.7	?	?	?	-
Bey-Seki	-	-	-	4.1	?	?	?	4.2
Banias	-	-	-	-	-	?	?	?
Overall	3.9	3.8	3.8	4.5	?	?	?	4.4
Urban settlements								
Aleppo	3.8	?	?	5.6	5.0	?	?	?
Kirik Khane	3.7	?	4.4	6.2	4.2	*	?	?
Alexandretta	3.6	?	?	4.0	3.6	*	?	?
Beirut	-	?	?	3.9	3.8	3.8	4.2	?
Damascus	-	?	?	3.4	3.9	*	4.4	?
Rihaniye	-	-	-	-	-	4.8	?	?
Overall	3.7	?	?	4.6	4.3	?	?	?
Rural and urban	3.8	?	?	4.6	?	?	?	?

* Figures identical to those of 1932

Source: as Table 2.5 and report in N.A., C1598.

1932 and 1936, while the rural settlements actually recorded a decrease in mean family-size between 1931 and 1937. The data further contain some anomalous figures and considerable variation between individual settlements, while significant noise is introduced into the data-set by migrations and by settlement in new quarters in the towns. Whatever may be concluded from these figures, one notable feature of Armenian demography was the process of physical "family reconstitution", as bereaved relatives united forces to reconstitute families after the war-years. This is illustrated by the more extended families noted above in the Nansen Office lists, but was particularly the case with the orphans who were outplaced wherever possible with relatives throughout the period.[52] It has already been noted that this process sometimes involved emigration.

Table 2.8

Armenian family-size

A. In Beirut and Aleppo, November, 1936

Aleppo		Beirut	
New quarters	5.0	New quarters	4.6
Huts	5.1	Huts	4.5
Overall	5.0	Overall	4.6

Source: Tables in N.A., C1524

B. Families settled by the Nansen Office in 1936 and 1937 in Beirut, Aleppo and Rihaniye

1936	5.4
1937	5.3

Source: N.A., C1598

Conclusions

It is clearly dangerous to generalise about Armenian demography, given the inadequacy of the data. It does seem possible, however, to detect a process of physical "family reconstitution" after the traumas of the war years. There is evidence of a post-war "baby-boom" as young couples founded new families, (Fig 2.4) which receives support from the age-sex structure of the Nansen Office villages (Fig 2.3) and from the family-size figures, which suggest an initial rise in family-size followed by a period of slower increase. Given such a process, then the number of young children in the streets in the densely-packed refugee "camps" might well have suggested an abnormally high birth-rate. It seems reasonable to envisage that this process would have more than offset mortality, concerning which information is sparse, thus providing a steady rise in Armenian population, but there is no evidence of a markedly high birth-rate beyond the observations of individuals.

Population Totals

French official estimates available include those contained in various censuses, the Civil Register, and the annual reports of the Mandatory Power. (Table 2.9). Censuses were taken in Syria and Lebanon in 1922, in Lebanon in 1932, and again in Lebanon in December, 1942. The results of the 1922 Census appear in several forms.[53] All are likely to be extremely inaccurate. Those presented exclude from consideration about 50,000 recent immigrants from Turkey. They also give no breakdown by confessional group for the Sanjak

Table 2.9

Official French Estimates of the Armenian refugee population in Syria and Lebanon

Date	Estimate		Source and Observations
1922	55,000	A.	France, M.A.E., La Syrie et le Liban en 1922 (1922). Protestants excluded. Base unknown.
1923	c.45,000	A.	"Rapport" (1922-23)22. Base unknown.
1923	14,829	A.	1922 Census results in France, Ministère du Travail (1923)71-74. Excludes about 50,000 recent immigrants from Turkey. Excludes Sanjak of Alexandretta. For the procedure followed in taking this census see Ministere du Travail (1923) and Ballita (n.d.)
1925	89,000	A.R.	"Rapport" (1924)50. i.e. at Jan.1, 1925.
1925	88,910	A.R.	Deuxième Bureau (1932)10. Position in April, 1925.
1925 -26	100,000	A.R.	Statements by M. Pams, French representative, to the Fifth Committee of the League Assembly, Sept.19, 1925 and Sept. 20, 1926. (LoN., Records of the Meetings of the 5th Committee, 1925, p.26, and 1926, p.31).
1926	69,112	A.	Civil Registers in "Rapport"(1926) 190-94. Protestants excluded. Figures inconsistent with respect to refugees, excluded from the total for the Vilayet of Aleppo.
1927	80,000	R.	"Rapport" (1927)66. Almost all Armenians.
1928	80,000	A.R.	Duguet (1928)51. (This paper originally appeared in 1927). A high official of the health service, Duguet was heavily involved in the settlement work.

1927	c.90,000	A.R.	Statement by M. Bastid , French representative, to the League Assembly, Sept. 26, 1927. (Assembly, Plenary Meetings, Minutes (1927) 21st Meeting, Sept.26, p.190)
1928	c.80,000	A.R.	"Rapport" (1928)69. Based on the assumption that since 1927 there had probably been no change in the number of refugees.
1928	80,000 - 100,000	A.R.	Statement by M.DeCaix, French representative to the Permanent Mandates Commission, June 25, 1928 (PMC Minutes, 13th Sess., 20th Meeting, June 25, 1928, pp.164-5)
1929	c.100,000	A.R.	Statement by M.De Caix, French representative, to the Permanent Mandates Commission, July 12, 1929 (PMC Minutes, 15th Sess., 21st Meeting, July 12, 1929, p.181).
1930	c.90,000	A.R.	"Rapport" (1930)51. i.e. out of c.125,000 Armenians. Source not given.
1931	117,131	A.	Deuxieme Bureau (1932)11-13. Excludes Armenians of Qassab district. A few persons in the Jebel ed Drouz should be added to the total.
1932	100,000	A.R.	Jude, Burnier and Lubet (1932) 173. Jude was director of the health service of the High Commission, Burnier the Nansen Office representative in Beirut.
1932	31,992	A.R.	Census of Lebanon, 1932 in "Rapport" (1932) 138-9. Total for Lebanon only, excludes Protestants. For details of procedure and comment on accuracy see "Rapport" (1932), Mazure (1968) 414, and Ballita (n.d.)
1938	98,880	A.	Civil Register in "Rapport" (1938) 220-21. Total excludes Lebanon and Sanjak of Alexandretta, and also Protestants.

1942	49,119	A.	O.C.P. Census of Lebanon, Dec., 1942 in Ballita (n.d.). For details of this Census see Ballita & Mazure (1968)414-15.
1943	187,169	A.	Conseil Supérieur des Intérêts Communs, Recueil de Statistique (1942-43) 11,18. Information communicated by the Ministries of the Interior of both Syria and Lebanon. The Lebanese figure included all registered Armenians, including those not resident on the territory. Protestants excluded.

Explanation: The letters following the totals indicate precisely to what the totals refer, according to the original sources, i.e.

A. : Armenians

A.R.: Armenian refugees

R. : Refugees

of Alexandretta. The total presented (14,829) therefore represents only a part of the indigenous Armenian population. The Lebanese Census of 1932 (total 31,992 Armenians) was more scientific and accurate than the earlier census and is described as undoubtedly valid by Mazure. The Census of Lebanon in December, 1942 (total 49,119 Armenians), also probably reasonably accurate, was taken by the Office des Cereales Panifiables for rationing purposes. Civil Register totals are based on the registration of births and deaths, not on migration, so give a misleading picture of population totals and distribution. Furthermore, as registration of demographic events improved progressively it is impossible to evaluate population growth using these figures. They appear to have been based initially on the 1922 Census, but registration did

not become well-organised until 1930-31.[54] Nevertheless, they do yield a useful figure for the number of Armenians in Syria at the end of 1938, and in Syria and Lebanon combined at the end of 1943.

The annual reports of the Mandatory Power contain a series of figures concerning the Armenian refugee population which would appear to have been gathered independently of the census and Civil Register figures, but their basis and accuracy is not known. Useful estimates are also provided by the Deuxième Bureau for April, 1925 and February, 1931.

Both the Censuses and the Civil Register enable an assessment to be made of the relative importance of the Catholic Armenian population, and this appears to have declined throughout the period as the predominantly Apostolic new-comers reduced the relatively high proportion of Catholics in the area. (Table 2.10)

Table 2.10

Catholics as a proportion of the Armenian population of Syria and Lebanon

	Catholics	Armenians	% Catholics
1922 Census	5,672	14,829	38.25
1926 Civil Register (excluding Lebanon)	7,305	36,253	20.15
1932 Census of Lebanon	5,890	31,992	18.41
1938 Civil Register (excluding Lebanon)	12,137	98,880	12.27
1943 M.O.I. figures	26,659	187,169	14.24

Sources: See Table 2.9

They also reveal that the Armenians as a whole came to form around 4% of the population of Syria and Lebanon. (Table 2.11)

Table 2.11

Armenians as a proportion of the total population of Syria & Lebanon

	total Armenians	total population	Armenians as % of total population
1922 Census (less Sanjak of Alexandretta)	14,829	1,927,082	0.8
1926 Civil Register	69,112	2,046,920	3.4
1932 Census of Lebanon	31,992	793,396	4.0
1938 Civil Register (less Lebanon)	98,880	2,468,210	4.0
1943 Revised O.C.P. Census of Lebanon	50,403	1,047,745	4.8
1943 M. O.I. figures for both Syria and Lebanon	187,169	3,965,080	4.7

Sources: See Table 2.9

Apart from these French official sources, more or less independent estimates are available from Nansen Office sources (Table 2.12) and elsewhere (Table 2.13). All require close scrutiny. In fact, when all estimates, official and unofficial, are compared it is evident that there are marked discrepancies between them.[55] Not only this, but in some cases it is not certain exactly what the figures represent;

Table 2.12

Estimates of the Armenian refugee population in Syria and Lebanon contained in the documents and correspondence of the Nansen Office

Date	Estimate		Source and Observations
1925	100,000	A.	Carle Report (1925)6. Reduced by death and emigration from a total "at one time" of 125,000.
1926	109,000	A.R.	Report by Mr. Burnier, representative of the Nansen Office in Beirut c. May, 1926 (N.A., C1429). Apparently unrelated to Carle's estimate.
1926	124,500	A.R.	Report by Mr. Burnier, Aug. 18, 1926 (N.A. C1429). The figure includes some indigenous Armenians. Unrelated to his earlier estimate.
1926	86,500	A.R.	Report by Major Johnson, Gen.Sec. of the Nansen Office, Dec. 18, 1926 (N.A., C1429). With the exception of the totals cited for Beirut and Aleppo, the table on which this total is based is strongly related to Burnier's table of Aug.18. It is also related partly to Duguet, and thus to official French estimates.
1929	85,842	A.R.	LoN Doc. A23. 1929.VII. Possibly an adjustment of Johnson.
1932	120,000	A.R.	LoN Doc. A.24.1932. Basis unknown. Possibly Civil Register or Deuxieme Bureau (1932).

1936	134,466	A.R.	LoN Doc. A.23. 1936. XII. Figure supplied by the representative of the Nansen Office. Probably does not refer exclusively to refugees, as Hansson, President of the Nansen Office refers (1937) to a total of about 135,000 Armenians including indigenous Armenians. Confirmation seems to come from figures supplied by the local head of the Nansen Office to Consul-General Harvard in Beirut in 1938 (F.O. 371/ 21915), which cite 135,000 Armenians of whom 95,000 refugees and 40,000 indigenous.
1938	150,266	A.R.	Table in N.A., C1524. Includes indigenous Armenians, and possibly derived from Civil Registers.
n.d. (c.1938)	153,000	A.	Pallis (n.d.) 4. Figure supplied by Nansen Office.

For explanation see Table 2.9.

Armenian refugees alone, or the entire Armenian population. Armenian protestants[56] are generally excluded from the totals derived from the censuses and the Civil Register, while delayed naturalisation makes these figures difficult to interpret in some cases. The basis and independence of the estimates is often not known. It would therefore be useful to check population totals against migration and basic demography. Accurate comparison is however clearly impossible given the inadequacy of the statistical record. Only a few tentative comparisons may be made and conclusions drawn regarding the evolution of the refugee population.

Table 2.13

Estimates of the Armenian refugee population in Syria and Lebanon from unofficial sources

Date	Estimate	Source and Observations
1923	150,000 A.R.	Statement of Mr. Nouradounghian, President of the Armenian National Delegation to the League Council, Sept. 25, 1923 in LoN. Official Journal (1923) 1325-27 This figure is quoted several times e.g. Mécérian (1924)221.
1923	80,000 A. R.	Report of overseas observers who visited the area in 1923 in NER Report for 1923, p.19. No further details.
1924	Well over 100,000 A.R.	Memorandum on the Problem of the Armenian Nation, by Basil Matthews, 1924 (S.F., F.F.M.A., Syria S/3, Armenian Problem, 1924). Basis not known.
1924	125,400 A.	Arch. A.C.C. Figure pre-dates Aug.5, 1924.
1924	120-130,000 A.	Mécérian (1924) 222. Basis unknown.
1925	99,000 A.R.	Report by Joseph Burtt, who visited the area for the Society of Friends (N.A., C1425, C1428). Overall total of Armenians was 115,000.
1926	125,000 A. R.	Khanzadian (1926)44. i.e. in addition to 20,000 indigenous Armenians. There is some relation between Khanzadian's figures and those of the Catholicossate, above.

c.1929	120,000	A.	Ross, Fry & Sibley (1929)264. This total conflicts with that produced by summation of Ross et al.'s table which also includes at least some indigenous Armenians and is closely related to Burnier's table of Aug., 1926.
1928	128,327	A.	Mécérian (1928) (1) 144. This the total population within the limits of the Délégation Apostolique de Syrie. The total excludes the population of the villages in north-east Syria attached to the Délégation de Baghdād.
1929	125,000	A.R.	Charles (1929) 78. A rounded version of Mécérian's (1928) total, which therefore includes indigenous Armenians.
1939	120,000	A.	"a year ago". Report by Canon C.T. Bridgeman, Aug.1, 1939 (F.O.371/23302).
n.d. (c.1938)	150-160,000	A	Estimate of the Armenian Archbishop of Beirut, cited by Pallis (n.d.)3
n.d. (c.1938)	160,000	A.	Pallis (n.d.)3 To obtain this figure, Pallis took the Nansen Office total of 134,466 as representative of refugees only, and added to it an estimate of 25,000 indigenous Armenians. However, it has been observed that the Nansen Office figure already includes indigenous Armenians.

For Explanation see Table 2.9

Immediately striking is the deficit between the Armenian immigration recorded in the annual reports of the Mandatory Power up to July, 1924 (c.55,500) and the various totals of Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon cited for that year and afterwards. Even allowing for substantial unrecorded immigration, and other population movements unrecorded in the annual reports (e.g. the 1920 migration), the figure of 55,500 is barely reconcilable with the lowest estimates of the total number of Armenian refugees. This suggests that the lower estimates may be the most accurate, and significantly, these lower estimates emanate from French official sources, and from the Johnson Report, undertaken for the Nansen Office. If the lower estimates are therefore accepted, then the figure of tens of thousands of Armenian emigrants discussed previously seems unlikely. and would possibly accrue from the desire to reconcile early inaccurate estimates of the number of Armenian immigrants with later, more realistic appraisals.

It may be observed secondly that there appears to have been a steady growth of Armenian population throughout the period, possibly accelerating after the losses due to emigration which seem to have been most marked in the early part of the period. Rates of growth are impossible to establish. There is some evidence pointing to a high birth-rate, but this is not conclusive, and no confirmation can be established from the population totals available. It is worthwhile emphasising that considerable locational differentials may have operated in Armenian demography.

Conclusions

The bulk of the Armenian deportees to Syria and Lebanon were repatriated after the armistice, although it is possible that some were not. Following the repatriation, however, a new series of refugee migrations into Syria and Lebanon began in 1920, continuing in 1921, 1922-24 and 1929-30. An exodus from the Sanjak of Alexandretta to the south in 1938-39 quite equalled in scale the earlier migrations. The refugees thus admitted were supplemented by Armenian women and children rescued from the Arab and Kurdish tribes into whose care they had fallen during the deportations. Ultimately all the Armenians were accepted officially as Syrian and Lebanese citizens. An unknown number, however, subsequently emigrated. Information on the basic demography of the Armenians who settled is inadequate. It is possible to detect a process of physical family reconstitution after the traumas of the war years and there is evidence of a post-war "baby-boom" as young couples founded new families. It seems reasonable to envisage that this process would have more than offset mortality, but there is no evidence of a markedly high birth-rate beyond the observations of individuals. Estimates of the total refugee population, though abundant, are in fact difficult to interpret. Tentative comparison with the statistics concerning immigration suggests that the low estimates of refugee population (and of emigrants) are the most accurate. Subsequently there appears to have been a steady growth of Armenian population, possibly accelerating after the losses due to emigration, but providing no confirmation of a markedly high birth-rate. In the absence

of reliable overall statistics the sole means of evaluating these conclusions is to assess the growth of Armenian population in particular locations. In other words, it is only possible to assess overall population totals and growth more accurately after a consideration of population distribution.

Chapter 3

The Armenians in Syria and Lebanon : Population Distribution

In this chapter the available figures concerning Armenian population distribution are described. The initial arrival points of the refugees are described first, in relation to their origin and migration paths between 1920 and 1939. Figures concerning overall Armenian population distribution are then described, estimates from French official sources being discussed first. Estimates for particular locations and also of the distribution of orphans are related to these estimates of overall distribution. The urban-rural distribution of the Armenian population is then described, and finally some preliminary conclusions are drawn about the changing distribution of the Armenians, and conclusions about Armenian population totals are reassessed in the light of the examination of distribution.

Origins, Migrations and Arrival Points

In 1920, the refugees arrived in Syria either direct from the north or by sea, from the temporary camps in Adana to which they had fled. In the north, "thousands" of refugees were reported as reaching Aleppo, but the only precise reference is to 700 from Gaziantep.[1] These refugees were not, apparently, originally from Gaziantep, but were deportees who had been "repatriated" there after the Armistice, most of them originally from the Sivas region. Some Gaziantep refugees were sent on to

Beirut, in particular the orphans in the care of Near East Relief and of Miss K. Frearson.[2] A second group of Armenians reached Syria by sea. These were refugees from Cilicia who had fled or been transferred to Adana and who were subsequently transferred to Alexandretta (Table 3.1). They included for example the refugees from Ekbes, whose story is told by their Lazarist missionary, Vincent Paskès. Estimates of the numbers involved vary from 1,300 to 2,500.[3] These appear to have been the only refugees who arrived in Syria at this time. However there was also a transfer of refugees , important for the future, to Dortyol, just across the border to the north. These refugees came either direct from Hassan-Beyli (1,000-1,200 reported), or by sea from temporary camps in Adana (2,000 reported), these latter including refugees from the regions of Maraş and about 150 from Hadjin.[4] Many other refugees remained in the camps at Adana.[5]

The migration of 1921 was part spontaneous, part organised. The migrants came by three routes; by sea from Mersin to the coast of Syria, by land from Dortyol to Alexandretta, and by land from Gaziantep via Kilis to Aleppo.[6] (Fig 3.1, Table 3.2). The evacuation of the refugees from Mersin by sea was organised by the French authorities, the refugees being conveyed to the various Syrian ports, especially Beirut. Estimates of the numbers carried vary somewhat[7] but the total seems to have been about 16,500. Prior to this, about a thousand refugees had arrived at Beirut using their own resources.[8] The migrants included the Armenian orphans from Adana.[9] From Dortyol the exodus was initially spontaneous, later organised by the French authorities. At least 2,600 were reported to have fled from

Migration of Christian Refugees from Cilicia to Syria, November, 1921 to January, 1922

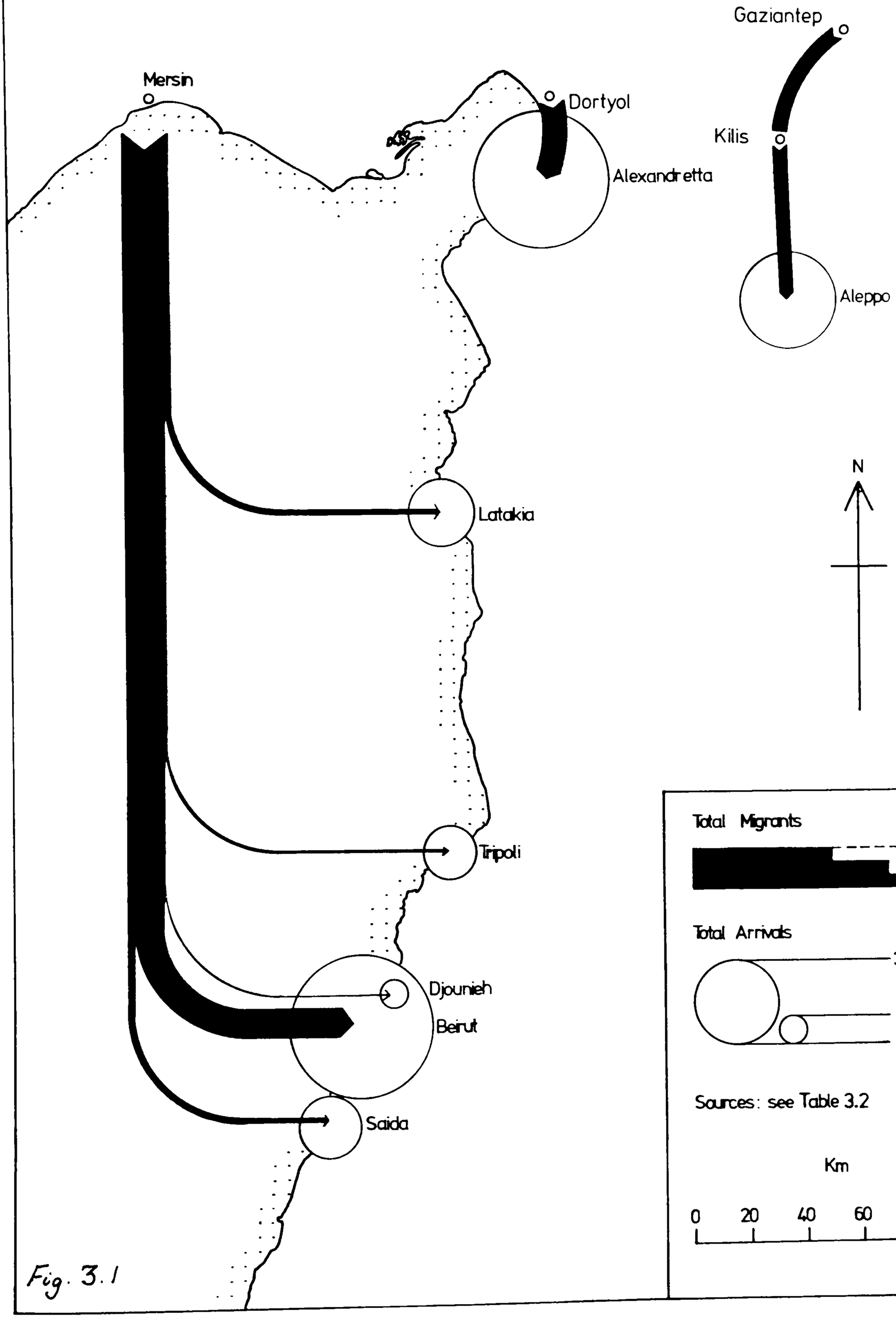


Fig. 3.1

Table 3.1

Refugees at Alexandretta, July, 1920

750	from	Ekbes
350	from	Maraş
150	from	Feundedjak
440	from	Gurumba, Diyarbakir, Sivas, Hassan-Beyli

Source: Du Véou (1937) 259

Table 3.2

Arrival of Christian Refugees
in Syria and Lebanon, Nov., 1921 to Jan., 1922.

	Arrivals
Aleppo	4,500
Alexandretta	9,200
Beirut	10,466
Djounieh	386
Latakia	2,226
Saïda	1,895
Tripoli	1,432

Source: Arch.Dip., S-L-C., Vols. 139, 141, 142.

Dortyol to Alexandretta of their own accord, and about 6,600 were transported by the French, a total of about 9,200, all moving to nearby Alexandretta.[10] A number of orphans at Dortyol were taken by sea to Djounieh, and were apparently counted in the

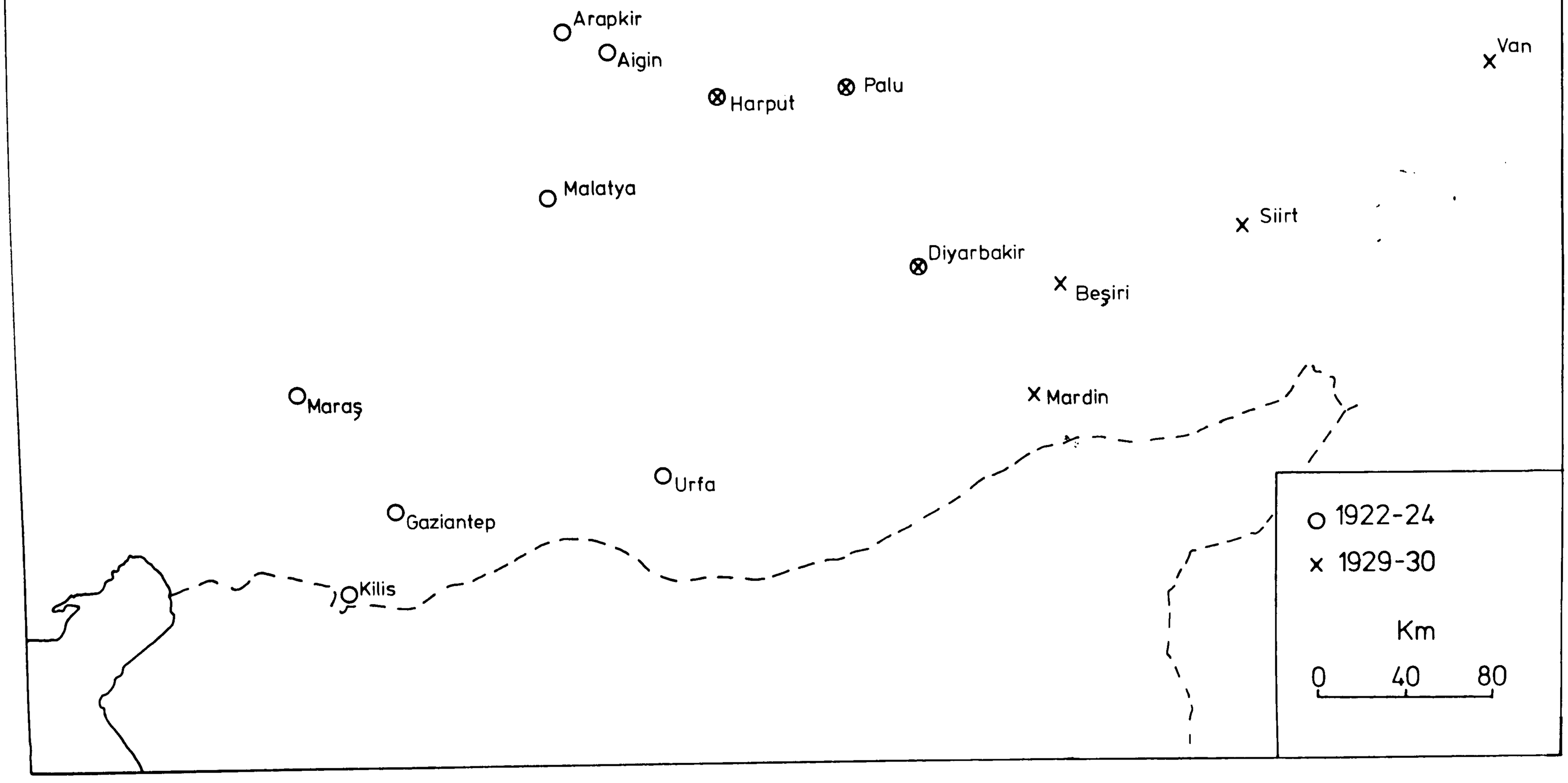
total of 16,500 above. From Gaziantep about 4,500 refugees, according to official sources[11] (3,000 according to Karen Jeppe[12]) made their way by their own means via Kilis to Aleppo.

Following the evacuation of Cilicia the Near East Relief decided to bring its orphans out of interior Turkey to safety in Lebanon.[13] Between March and September, 1922, all N.E.R. orphans, from Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Maraş and Harput, were brought out. The total number of orphans moved in this way to Syria and Palestine and established there at the end of 1922 was 10,017,[14] the bulk being settled on the Lebanese coast. The migration overlapped with the more spontaneous flight from the same areas of interior Turkey which began in the latter months of 1922. It is therefore impossible to tell how many, if any, of these orphans were counted into the official estimates concerning the refugees of 1922-1924.

The influx of refugees between 1922 and 1924 was simpler in pattern than the previous migration, the refugees from Anatolia converging by land on Aleppo. The grouping in the Adana region near the coast had effectively disappeared in 1921, and the refugees now came from further east, overland to Aleppo like the earlier refugees from Gaziantep rather than by sea to Beirut[15] (Fig 3.2). Not all these refugees reached as far as Aleppo, however, as a number stopped at the Syrian border towns en route. One convoy of Armenian Apostolic refugees, for example, left Urfa on February 20, 1924, for Aleppo via Sürüc and Djerablous. At Djerablous several families remained while others left for Raqqa. The remainder made their way to Aleppo.[16] In 1929-30, the refugees came from still further east than in

Fig. 3.2

ORIGIN OF ARMENIAN MIGRANTS TO SYRIA 1922-24 & 1929-30

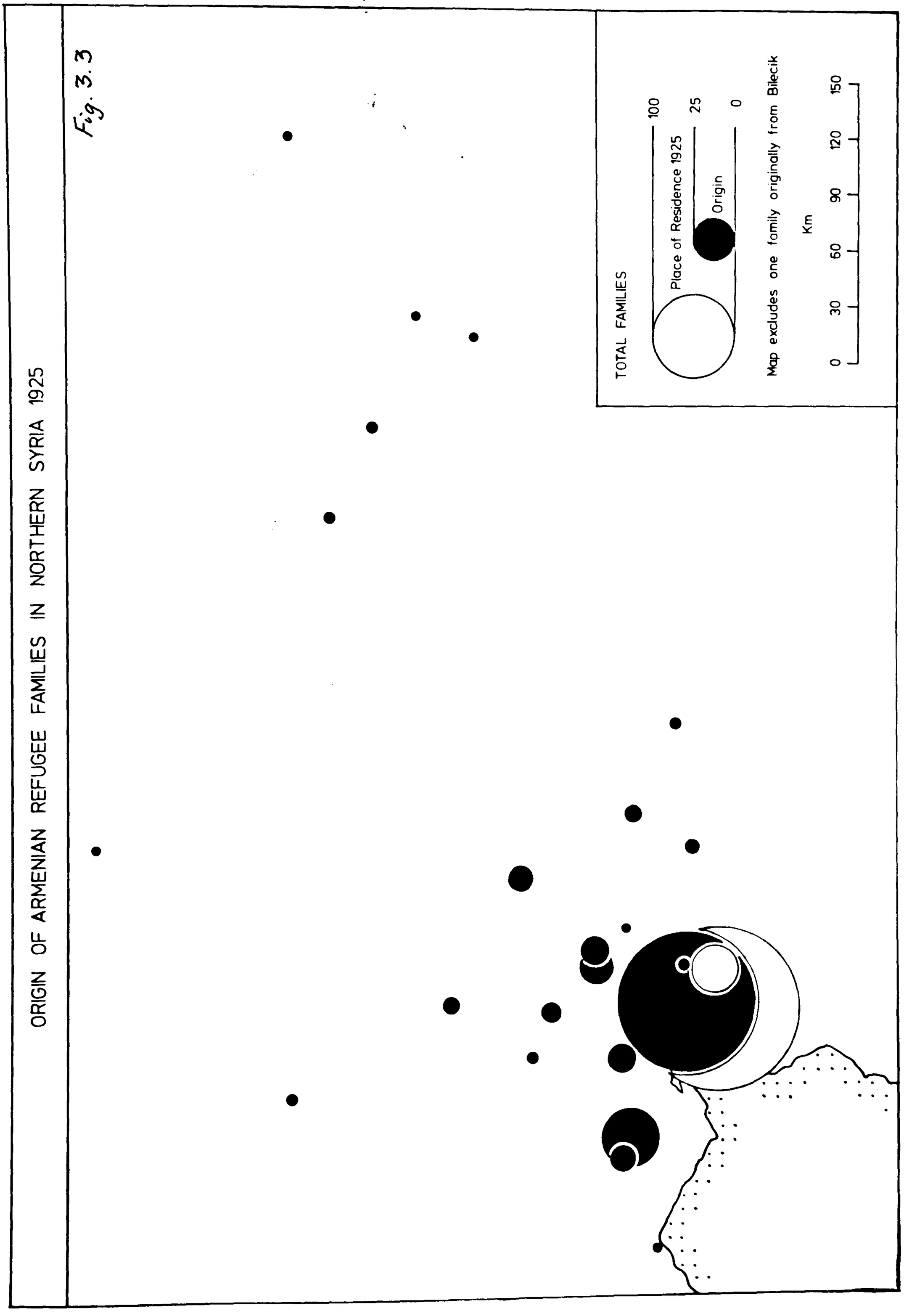


1922-24. (Fig. 3.2) Consequently not all made for Aleppo, but, instead, a considerable number crossed the border directly into north-east Syria. Estimates of the number of arrivals vary somewhat, but, according to the A.G.B.U., out of 800 families arriving during this migration, 200 reached Aleppo, while 600 reached the Kamichliye-Hassetché district. [17]

Two sets of figures concerning the origin of Armenian migrants provide some confirmation of the migration history described. These are first, a set of figures from 1925 derived from files concerning economic losses suffered by Armenians emigrating from Cilicia and resident in northern Syria,[18] and second, figures derived from a list of Armenian refugees in Lebanon requesting naturalisation in 1932.[19] Both sets therefore concern only part of the migrants and their usefulness is diminished accordingly (Figs. 3.3, 3.4). The migrants in the 1925 list came especially from Dortyol, with Adana, Bahçe and Hassan-Beyli providing important contingents. This is as expected for Alexandretta given that the list concerns predominantly those migrants who reached Syria in 1921. The few exceptions to this picture may be accounted for by the small number of arrivals at other times. A large proportion of refugees in the 1932 list (for whom no arrival dates are available) also originated from Cilicia, especially from Maraş, Adana, Sis, and Kayseri. Again, this is as expected, the bulk of migrants who came directly to Lebanon arriving from Cilicia in 1921. However, a more substantial proportion of refugees in the 1932 than in the 1925 list originated from further afield in Anatolia, in particular from Yozgat, outside Cilicia proper. These refugees would not have arrived directly

Fig. 3.3

ORIGIN OF ARMENIAN REFUGEE FAMILIES IN NORTHERN SYRIA 1925



N

ORIGIN OF ARMENIAN REFUGEES IN LEBANON REQUESTING NATURALISATION, FEBRUARY, 1932

TOTAL PERSONS

400

100

0

Km

0 30 60 90 120 150

Fig. 3.4

in Lebanon (unless, perhaps, orphans) according to the migration history sketched. Their presence in the Lebaonon may therefore be indicative of internal migration from their points of arrival in the north.

The flight from the Sanjak of Alexandretta in 1938-1939 took place in several stages.[20] The fist phase, in June, 1938, involved refugees from Alexandretta town and from the Amouk plain, including the settlements of Kirik Khane, Rihaniye and Soouk Sou. Although the total number of these refugees is in dispute, the figures obtained by Vice-Consul Catoni (Table 3.3) may reflect the proportional distribution of these refugees by origin. They fled above all to Beirut and Aleppo, while a few sought refuge in the long-established Armenian villages of the Jebel Moussa. Afterwards there was certainly some reconsideration and returning, but the migration resumed again in October, 1938, and by June, 1939, as many as 8,000 Armenians may have left the Sanjak, again principally for Beirut and Aleppo. The final migration was part spontaneous, part organised. On their own initiative, many Armenians from the Jebel Moussa made their way to Qassab, the only district of the Sanjak to remain in French Territory, and which, like the Jebel Moussa itself, was a centre of Armenian population. Others were reported sailing to Alexandretta and Beirut. The parallel evacuation organised by the French authorities was on a much larger scale, and brought the refugees initially to three centres; Badroussié (north of Latakia and just south of the new border), Tartouss and Aleppo (Fig. 3.5).

ARMENIAN MIGRATION FROM THE SANJAK OF ALEXANDRETTA, JUNE - JULY, 1939

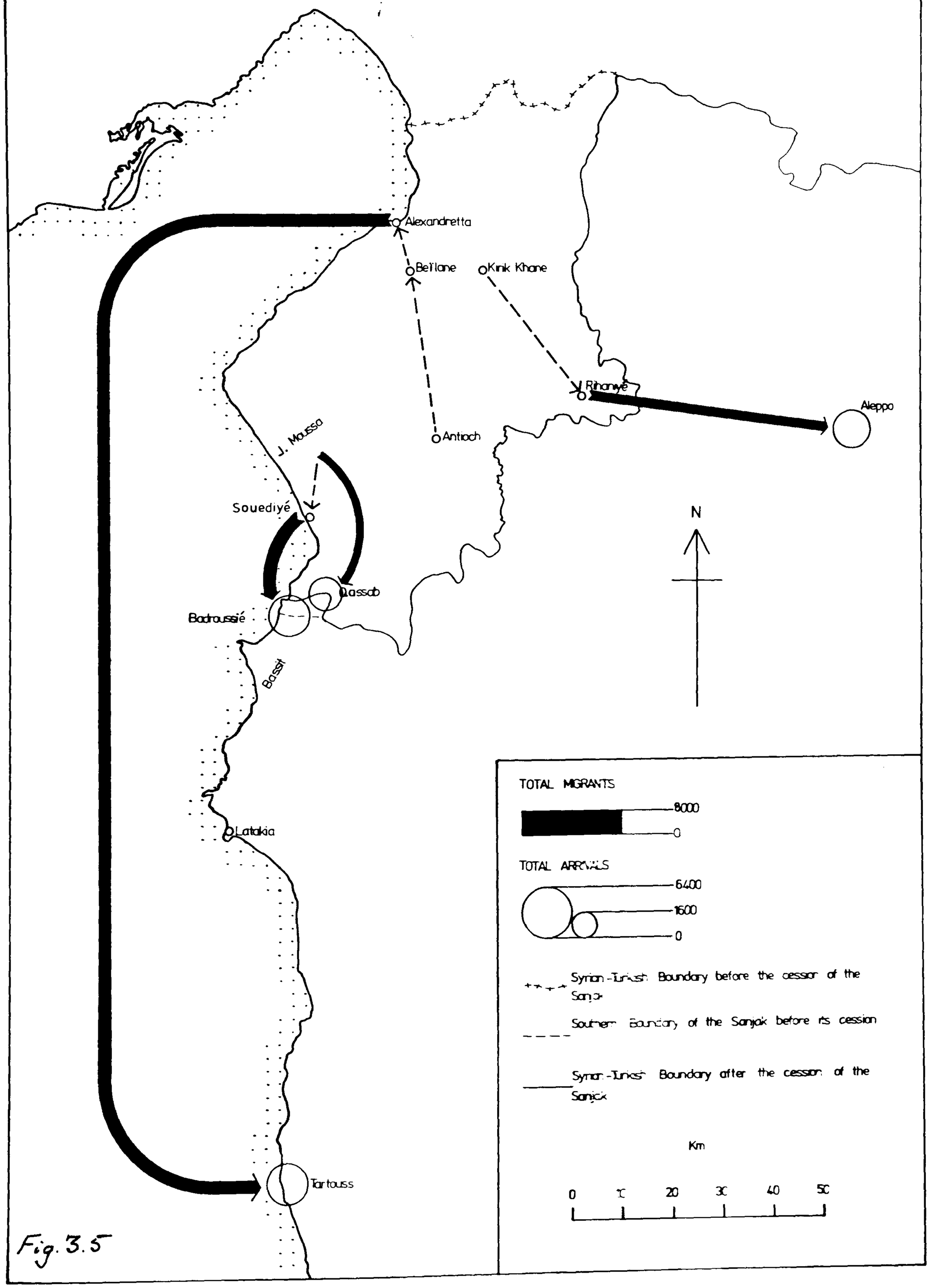


Fig. 3.5

Table 3.3

Refugees leaving the Sanjak of Alexandretta, June-August, 1938.

From	Families
Alexandretta	342
Kirik Khane	313
Rihaniye	63
Soouk Sou	18
Antioch, Qassab, Bitias	12
Total	748

Source: Information gathered by Vice-Consul Catoni from Armenian notables (FO 371/21915)

Distribution

A discussion of Armenian population distribution must begin with a consideration of official estimates. Before beginning, however, it will be appropriate to outline the principal administrative divisions of the country, which were somewhat complex and subject to change.[21] Initially the territory was divided into five States, i.e. Greater Lebanon, Aleppo, Damascus, the State of the Alawis and the Jebel ed Drouz. Within the State of Aleppo, the Sanjak of Alexandretta was given a measure of administrative separateness. Efforts were made to incorporate the States of Aleppo, Damascus and the Alawis into a Federation from which the Lebanon and Jebel ed Drouz were omitted. However, the arrangement was

unsatisfactory, and on January 1, 1925 a unitary State of Syria was created out of the two former States of Aleppo and Damascus. The State of the Alawis was excluded from this arrangement, thus in place of five States there were now four (Syria, the Alawis, Lebanon and the Jebel ed Drouz). Alexandretta Sanjak, with its special regime now came nominally under the State of Syria. The situation at this time is represented in Fig. 3.6. Within Syria a new Sanjak of the Jezira was formed in the north-east in 1932, and within Lebanon administrative units were completely rearranged in 1930. At the beginning of 1937 the States of the Alawis and the Jebel ed Drouz were reattached to the State of Syria, within which they were to enjoy a special administrative regime. Lebanon, however, remained a separate entity. Thus the number of states was reduced to two. Alexandretta Sanjak was subsequently ultimately ceded to Turkey in 1939, while in the same year fuller autonomy was restored to the Alawis and the Jebel and a special regime for the Jezira was created, with direct French control. The administrative divisions at the end of the period are shown in Fig. 3.7.

French Official Estimates

Official French estimates available are the 1922 Census, the Civil Register, the 1932 Census of Lebanon, the O.C.P. Census of Lebanon (1942), and a number of other estimates, the most important of which are those of Duguet (1927) and those in the reports of the Mandatory Power.

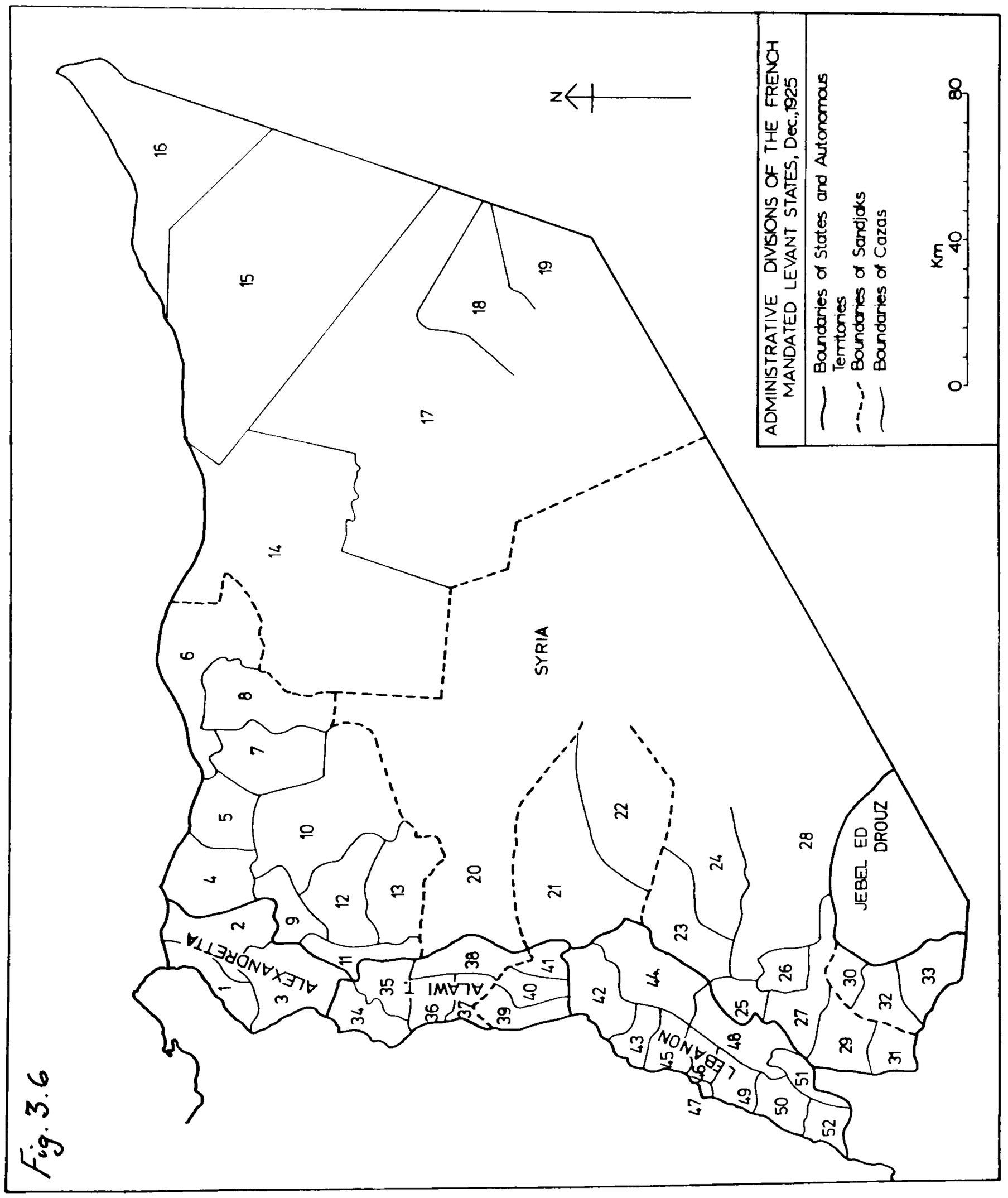
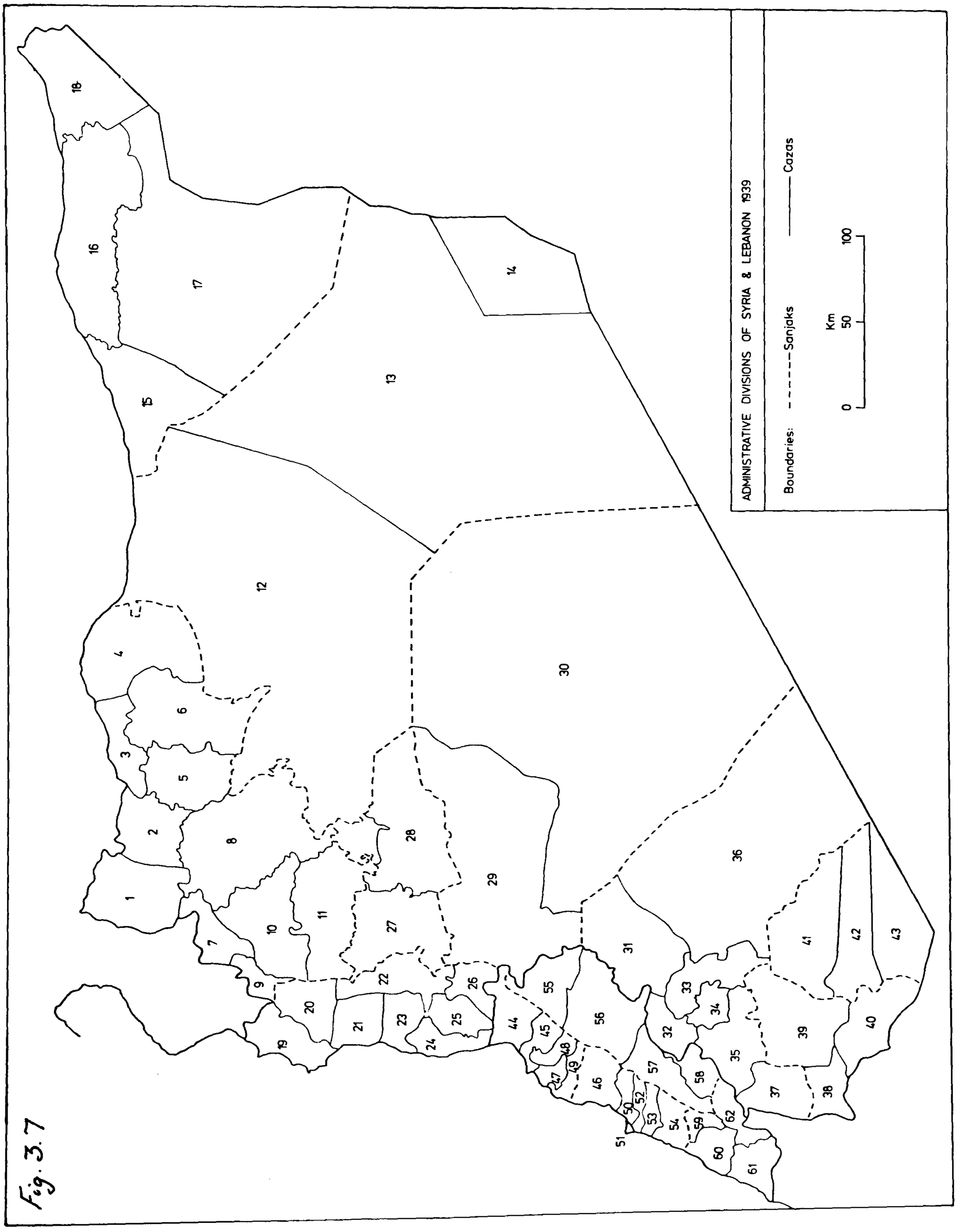

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE FRENCH MANDATED LEVANT STATES, Dec., 1925
Boundaries of States and Autonomous Territories
Boundaries of Sandjaks
Boundaries of Cazas
Km
0
40
80
N
SYRIA
LEBANON
ALEXANDRETTA
ALAWI
JEBEL ED DROUZ

Fig. 3.6

Cazas of Syria and Lebanon 1925 (to accompany Fig 3.6)

1. Alexandretta
2. Kirik Khane
3. Antioch
4. Kurd Darh
5. Azaz
6. Djerablous
7. Bab
8. Menbidj
9. Harim
10. Jebel es Smaâne
11. Djisr ech Choghour
12. Idlib
13. Maarret en Nomane
14. Raqqa
15. Hassetché
16. Tell Cholek
17. Deir ez Zor
18. Meyadine
19. Abou Kemal
20. Hama
21. Homs
22. Qariatene
23. Nebek
24. Jeroud
25. Zebdani
26. Damascus
27. Ouadi el Aajam
28. Douma
29. Qouneitra
30. Mesmiye
31. Zaouiyé
32. Ezraa
33. Deraâ
34. Latakia
35. Haffé
36. Djeblé
37. Banias
38. Massiaf
39. Tartouss
40. Sâfîta
41. Tell Kalakh
42. Tripoli
43. Batroune
44. Baalbek
45. Kesrouane
46. Meten
47. Beirut
48. Zahlé
49. Chouf
50. Saida
51. Merdjayoun
52. Tyr


ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF SYRIA & LEBANON 1939
Boundaries: ------ Sanjaks —— Cazas
Km
0 50 100
Fig. 3.7

Cazas of Syria & Lebanon 1939 (to accompany Fig. 3.7)

1. Kurd Darh
2. Azaz
3. Djerablous
4. Aîn el Aarab
5. Bab
6. Menbidj
7. Harim
8. Jebel es Smaâne
9. Djisr ech Choghour
10. Idlib
11. Maarret en Nomane
12. Raqqa
13. Deir ez Zor
14. Abou Kemal
15. Ras el Ain
16. Kamichliyé
17. Hassetché
18. Tigre
19. Latakia
20. Haffé
21. Djebleé
22. Massiaf
23. Banias
24. Tartouss
25. Sâfîta
26. Tell Kalakh
27. Hama
28. Selemiyé
29. Homs
30. Palmyra
31. Nebek
32. Zebdani
33. Douma
34. Damascus
35. Ouadi el Aajam
36. Qalamoun
37. Qouneitra
38. Zaouiyé
39. Ezraa
40. Deraâ
41. Chahba
42. Soueida
43. Salkhad
44. Akkar
45. Tripoli
46. Kesrouane
47. Koura
48. Zghorte
49. Batroune
50. Meten
51. Beirut
52. Baabda
53. Aley
54. Chouf
55. Hermel
56. Baalbek
57. Zahlé
58. Rachaya
59. Jezzine
60. Saida
61. Tyr
62. Merdjayoun

1922 Census Totals available at provincial level exclude recent immigrants from Turkey (Table 3.4). They also omit from consideration the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the census of this province being still in operation at the time of publication. Figures for the Sanjak provided elsewhere to caza level include immigrants and are not directly comparable with the provincial figures (Table 3.5). Figures which include a breakdown between indigenous and immigrant Armenians are available for the State of Damascus also to caza level. (Tables 3.6 - 3.8) These totals are comparable with those for the Sanjak, and the two sets of figures are presented cartographically. (Fig. 3.8).

The Damascus figures yield an Index of Dissimilarity of 61.1 between Armenians and others, but this was surprisingly lower for immigrants (refugees) (61.1) than for indigenous Armenians (70.3). This unexpected result is due to the overwhelming concentration of indigenous Armenians in Damascus town, while the immigrants were concentrated not only in Damascus but also in Homs. The I.D. between indigenous and immigrant Armenians was only 21.8, a function of the concentration of both groups in Damascus, but outside the capital there was little correspondence in distribution. In particular, the concentration of immigrant Armenians at Homs was a new feature of Armenian population distribution. Homs was a centre of proportionally high Christian representation so that the immigrant Armenians were less segregated from non-Armenian Christians (I.D. = 55.7) than from non-Christians (I.D. = 64.4). The presence of immigrant Armenians in the

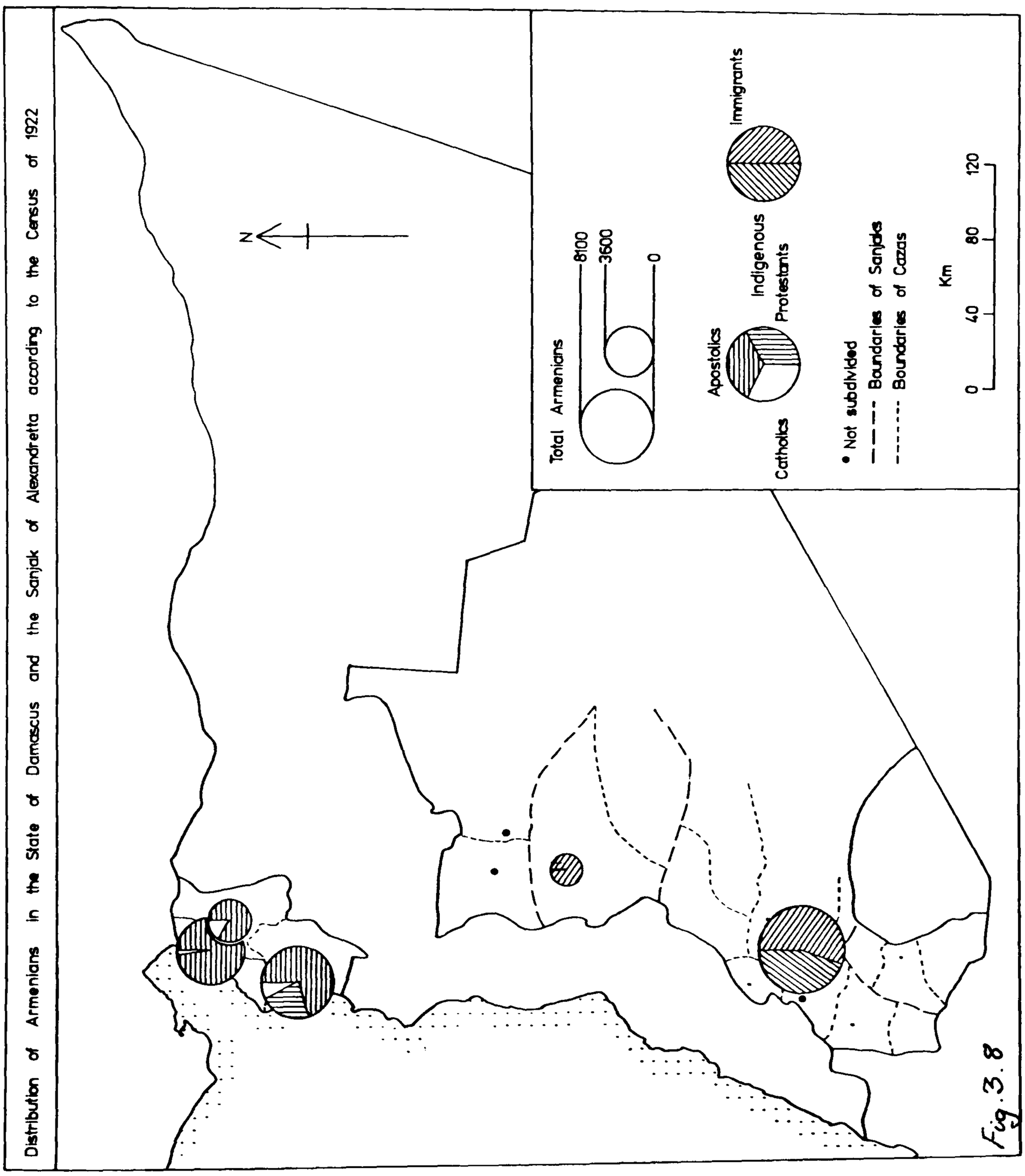

Total Armenians
8100
3600
0
Apostolics
Catholics
Indigenous Protestants
Immigrants
• Not subdivided
Boundaries of Sanjaks
Boundaries of Cazas
Km
0
40
80
120
N
Distribution of Armenians in the State of Damascus and the Sanjak of Alexandretta according to the Census of 1922
Fig. 3.8

Table 3.4

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon according to the Census of 1922.

	All Armenians	Apostolics & Prots	Catholics	Caths as % As	As as % tot pop
Lebanon	974	375	599	67.50	0.16
Alawi Territory	2202	1565	637	28.95	0.84
Aleppo	6657	2953	3704	55.64	1.70
Alexandretta	No totals available				
Damascus	4996	4264	732	14.65	0.84
Jebel ed Drouz	-	-	-	-	-
Total	14,829	9157	5672	38.25	0.77

Source: France, Ministère du Travail (1923) 71-74

Table 3.5

Distribution of Armenians in the Sanjak of Alexandretta according to the Census of 1922

Caza	all Armenians	Apostolics	Catholics	(%)	Prots	(%)	% As in caza	% non As incaza	Loc.qu.
Alexandretta	6,399	6,263	136	2.13	-	-	38.634	19.570	1.974
Antioch	7,713	5,415	576	7.47	1,722	22.33	46.568	66.971	0.695
Kirik Khane	2,451	2,043	408	16.65	-	-	14,798	13.459	1.099
Total	16,563	13,721	1,120	6.76	1,722	10.40	100	100	-

Source: Arch.Dip., Documents in course of classification.

Table 3.6

Distribution of Armenians in the State of Damascus by caza, according to the Census of 1922

Caza	Indigenous As			Immig As	Total As
	Apost	Cath	Tot		
Sanjak of Damascus					
Damascus (town)	4,204	704	4,908	5,997	10,905
Damascus (caza)	-	-	-	8	8
Ouadi el Aajam	-	-	-	51	51
Nebek	-	-	-	-	-
Jaïroud	-	-	-	-	-
Qnaïtra	-	9	9	-	9
Zaouiyé	-	-	-	-	-
Zebedani	11	4	15	-	15
Douma	-	-	-	17	17
Total	4,215	717	4,932	6,073	16,005
Sanjak of Hama					
Hama (town)	39	11	50	5	55
Hama (caza)	-	-	-	-	-
Selemiye	2	-	2	28	30
Total	41	11	52	33	85
Sanjak of Homs					
Homs (town)	8	4	12	1,593	1,605
Homs (caza)	-	-	-	-	-
Palmyra	-	-	-	-	-
Joubb ej Jarrâh	-	-	-	-	-
Qariateïne	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8	4	12	1,593	1,605
Sanjak of Hauran					
Deraâ (town	-	-	-	-	-
Deraâ (caza)	-	-	-	-	-
Ezraa	-	-	-	6	6
Mesmiyé	-	-	-	-	-
Total	-	-	-	6	6
Overall Total	4,264	732	4,996	7,705	12,701

Source: Arch. Dip., S- L., Vol 270

Table 3.7

Percentage Distribution of Selected Population Groups in the State of Damascus, by caza, 1922.

Caza	All Armenians	indig. As.	immig. AS	indig. A. Caths	Non - As	Non - Chrs.	Non - A Chrs.
Damascus (town)	85.859	98.239	77.832	96.175	27.984	26.774	26.189
Damascus (caza)	0.063	-	0.104	-	7.789	9.121	1.446
Ouadi el Aajam	0.402	-	0.662	-	2.372	2.078	3.726
Qnaïtra	0.071	0.180	-	1,230	2.469	2.663	1.370
Zebedani	0.118	0.300	-	0.546	2.397	2.435	2.115
Douma	0.134	-	0.221	-	5.958	6.571	5.274
Hama (town)	0.433	1.001	0.064	1.503	6.026	6.495	4.178
Selemiye	0.236	0.040	0.363	-	2.606	3.042	0.021
Homs (town)	12.637	0.240	20.675	0.546	9.437	7.383	16.962
Ezraa	0.047	-	0.078	-	4.380	4.856	2.786
Other cazas	-	-	-	-	28.582	28.581	35.933
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: as Table 3.6

Table 3.8

Indices of Dissimilarity between the distribution of selected population groups in the State of Damascus, 1922.

	Non-As.	Non-A. Chrs.	Non-Chrs.	immig. As.
Armenians	61.1	59.9	64.3	-
Indigenous As.	70.3	72.1	71.5	21.8
Immigrant As.	61.1	55.7	64.4	-

Source: as table 3.6

interior State of Damascus and their concentration in the two towns of Damascus and Homs reveals migration into the interior from arrival points.

The Alexandretta figures do not sub-classify immigrant and indigenous Armenians. Armenians lived in all three cazas in considerable numbers, but were especially concentrated in Alexandretta caza, largely in Alexandretta town, where a separate tabulation (Table 3.9) reveals that immigrants provided the greater part of the Armenian population. The number of immigrants recorded in the town is however substantially less than it received, suggesting emigration. The Armenians in Antioch caza may be accounted for by the indigenous groups of the Jebel Moussa and Qassab, but it seems that the caza of Kirik Khane must have received some refugees. Armenian Catholics provided but a small proportion of the Armenians in the Sanjak (6.76%), being most highly represented in Kirik Khane (16.65%), least so in Alexandretta (2.13%). One might have expected low Catholic representation in Alexandretta town,

dominated by refugees, although in fact the figures for the town reveal little difference between the Catholic proportions of the indigenous and immigrant Armenian population.

Table 3.9

Armenians in the town of Alexandretta according to the Census of 1922.

	Caths.	(%)	Aposts.	Total
Indigenous As	32	2.66	1,170	1,202
Immigrant As.	114	2.36	4,710	4,824
All Armenians	146	2.40	5,880	6,026

Source: Arch. Dip., S-L., Vol. 268

The relatively high Catholic representation in Kirik Khane caza, which, it has been suggested,also received refugees, is unexpected. Protestant Armenians were concentrated in Antioch caza.

The provincial figures (Table 3.4) should give an approximate picture of the distribution of the indigenous Armenian population after the war. This picture does correspond reasonably well with the pre-war situation, except for the large number of Armenians recorded in the State of Damascus, more particularly (from Table 3.6) in Damascus town. This total is contradicted in a separate tabulation of the Census results (see Table 3.52) which classifies a much

greater proportion of the Damascene Armenians as immigrants. In this case, the Census could be reconciled with the pre-war estimates, but the statistical analysis above would be nullified, and it would also have to be accepted that other totals in the provincial results might include immigrants. As expected, a higher proportion of the Armenians in Table 3.4 were Catholic than in the Sanjak where immigrants were included in the tabulation. Perhaps significantly the Catholic proportion was least in the State of Damascus where it has been suggested that a large number of immigrant Armenians were classified incorrectly as indigenous (though the pre-war Armenian Catholic community at Damascus does not seem to have been large).

The Civil Register, 1926 The inadequacy of the Civil Register has been noted,[22] but it does provide a picture of the distribution of Armenians within the whole region in 1926. (Fig.3.9 , Table 3.10). The picture is grossly distorted by the different size of administrative units involved,by the large administrative units involved in the interior, and by inconsistencies in the population represented. It is evident, comparing the Register with the 1922 Census, that while immigrants were included in the totals for the former State of Damascus and the Lebanon, for the other provinces this is more problematical. It is best therefore to examine these figures province by province.

For Lebanon, (Table 3.11) the Register total is rather higher than expected from migration history, suggesting either inadequacies in the data or internal migration. The figures

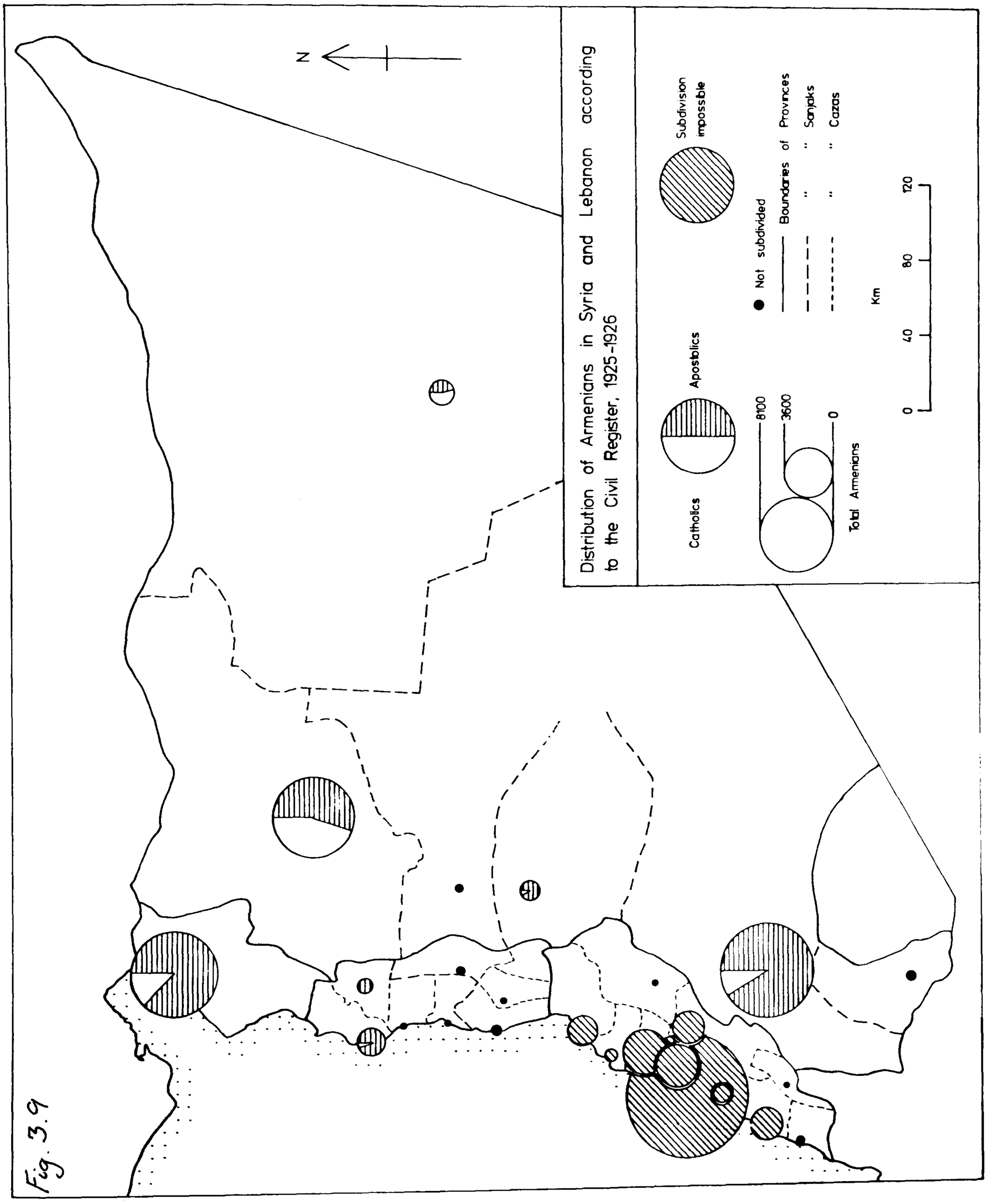

N
Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon according to the Civil Register, 1925-1926
Subdivision impossible
Boundaries of Provinces
" Sanjaks
" Cazas
Not subdivided
Catholics
Apostolics
8100
3600
0
Total Armenians
Km
0
40
80
120

Fig. 3.9

Table 3.10

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon according to the Civil Register, 1926

	Armenians			A.Caths as % tot As	As as % tot.pop.
	Apostolics	Catholics	Total		
Lebanon (Districts)					
Beirut			22,038		18.3
Saida			1,505		3.0
Tyr			89		0.3
Merdjayoun			41		0.2
Meten			2,655		7.1
Chouf			483		0.8
Kesrouane			2,990		7.3
Tripoli			1,335		1.5
Batroun			242		0.6
Zahlé			1,459		2.7
Baalbek			22		0.1
Deir el Qamar			-		-
Total	?	?	32,859	?	5.5
Alawi Territory					
Sanjak of Latakia (Cazas)					
Latakia	985	40	1,025	3.9	2.1
Haffé	299	-	299	-	0.9
Djeblé	24	-	24	-	0.1
Banias	53	-	53	-	0.2
Total	1,361	40	1,401	2.9	0.9
Sanjak of Tartouss (Cazas)					
Massiaf	63	14	77	18.2	0.3
Tartouss	150	-	150	-	0.5
Tell Kalakh	-	-	-	-	-
Safita	30	-	30	-	0.1
Total	243	14	257	5.5	0.2
Total Alawi Territory	1,604	54	1,658	3.3	0.6

State of Syria					
Former State of Aleppo (Sanjaks)					
Aleppo	5,048	4,131	9,179	45.0	2.4
Deir ez Zor	413	488	901	54.2	4.1
Alexandretta	9,128	1,407	10,535	13.4	8.4
Total	14,589	6,026	20,615	29.2	3.8
Former State of Damascus (Sanjaks)					
Damascus	12,026	1,127	13,153	8.6	3.8
Hauran	97	38	135	28.2	0.2
Homs	564	57	621	9.2	0.6
Hama	68	3	71	4.2	0.1
Total	12,755	1,225	13,980	8.8	2.4
Total State of Syria	27,344	7,251	34,595	21.0	3.1
Jebel ed Drouz	-	-	-	-	-
Total Levant States less Lebanon	28,948	7,305	36,253	20.2	
Total Levant States	?	?	69,112	?	3.4

Source: "Rapport" (1926) 190-94. See note 3.22

Table 3.11

Percentage distribution of selected population groups in the State of Lebanon, by caza, 1926.

Caza	(A) % Armenians	(B) % Non-As	(C) % Chrs.	(D) % Non-Chrs.	A/B	A/C	A/D	C/D
Beirut	67.068	17.383	17.188	17.594	3.858	3.902	3.812	0.977
Saida	4.580	8.551	6.059	11.256	0.536	0.756	0.407	0.538
Tyr	0.271	6.106	1.865	10.709	0.044	0.145	0.025	0.174
Merdjayoun	0.125	4.355	2.851	5.988	0.029	0.044	0.021	0.476
Meten	8.080	6.131	9.689	2.269	1.318	0.834	3.561	4.270
Chouf	1.470	10.512	8.924	12.236	0.140	0.165	0.120	0.729
Kesrouane	9.099	6.695	11.797	1.158	1.359	0.771	7.858	10.187
Tripoli	4.063	15.250	12.850	17.855	0.266	0.316	0.228	0.720
Batroun	0.736	7.620	13.971	0.726	0.097	0.053	1.014	19.244
Zahlé	4.440	9.480	10.244	8.652	0.468	0.433	0.513	1.184
Baalbek	0.067	7.272	3.381	11.496	0.009	0.020	0.006	0.294
Deir el Qamar	-	0.643	1.179	0.061	-	-	-	19.328
Total	100	100	100	100	-	-	-	-

Source: as Table 3.10

reveal an I.D. between Armenians and others of 54.0, and a lower I.D. between Armenians and Christians (49.9) than between Armenians and non-Christians (63.2). Outside Beirut, the Armenians were also disproportionally concentrated in Kesrouane and Meten, two districts of the mountain to the north, Meten being adjacent to Beirut, and Kesrouane containing Djounieh, an arrival port. Both Kesrouane and Meten were areas of strong Christian representation. In fact, within the Lebanon as a whole, the Armenians seem to have been largely concentrated in the cazas to which they came initially, those settled elsewhere reflecting either the distribution of orphanages, or internal migration.

The Register figures for the former State of Damascus may be compared with those of the 1922 Census (Table 3.12). Here the Armenian proportion of the population increased slightly from 2.1% to 2.4%. Comparison reveals an absolute and proportional increase of Armenian population in Damascus sanjak and a large absolute and proportional decrease in Homs, suggesting some movement from Homs to Damascus. There also appears to have been a small dispersal of Armenians to the Hauran. Catholics formed only 8.8% of the Armenian population, compared with 14.65% of the indigenous Armenian population in 1922, an expected decrease. Catholic representation seems to have been particularly high among the refugees dispersed to the Hauran.

For the former State of Aleppo (less the Sanjak of Alexandretta) the difference in Armenian population between the 1922 and 1926 estimates is too small to include the majority of

Table 3.12

Comparison between the distribution of Armenians in the former State of Damascus in 1922 and 1926.

Sanjak	Total Armenians		% As in Sanjak		As as % tot. pop.	
	1922	1926	1922	1926	1922	1926
Damascus	11,005	13,153	86.647	94.084	3.09	3.83
Hauran	6	135	0.047	0.966	0.01	0.21
Homs	1,605	621	12.637	4.442	1.50	0.63
Hama	85	71	0.669	0.508	0.11	0.09
Total	12,701	13,980	100	100	2.12	2.40

Sources: Census of 1922 as Table 3.4., Civil Register as Table 3.10

immigrants. Without substantial emigration the Register totals could be explained either as a revision of the 1922 figure for indigenous Armenians, or as including in addition only those refugees formally registered as Syrian citizens following the settlement of the naturalisation issue. The latter explanation would account for the decrease in the proportion of Catholics from 55.6% to 45.8%. The figures reveal a strongly Catholic community in Deir ez Zor sanjak.

In the Sanjak of Alexandretta, compared with the 1922 Census, Armenians registered decreased absolutely and proportionally. Migration may have been responsible, but alternatively immigrants not yet registered as Syrian citizens may have been excluded from the Register. The Catholic proportion of the population increased from 6.8% to 13.4%, tending to confirm this hypothesis.

In Alawi Territory, (Table 3.13) there was also an absolute and proportional decrease in those recorded between 1922 and 1926, surprising as it had been assumed that the 1922 Census counted only indigenous Armenians. This decrease, however, concerned only Catholic Armenians. It might be explained by migration, tabulation error, the inclusion of immigrants in the 1922 Census, or the exclusion of officially unnaturalised Armenians from the Register. The Armenians were largely concentrated in Latakia caza, but were also strongly represented in Haffé caza, where there were several long-established settlements. Otherwise the presence of Armenians outside Latakia caza might indicate some dispersal of refugees. Certainly the Register's total for Latakia caza is substantially less than the number of immigrants who arrived at that port. (see Table 3.2)

Table 3.13

Distribution of Armenians in Alawi Territory, according to the Civil Register, 1926

Caza	Total As	% As in caza (A)	% others in caza (B)	A/B
Latakia	1,025	61.821	17.465	3.540
Haffé	299	18.034	12.074	1.494
Djeblé	24	1.448	15.443	0.094
Banias	53	3.197	7.954	0.402
Massiaf	77	4.644	10.416	0.446
Tartouss	150	9.047	10.980	0.824
Tell Kalakh	-	-	11.057	-
Safîta	30	1.809	14.612	0.124
Total	1,658	100	100	-

Source: as Table 3.10

The Civil Register for Lebanon, 1929 and 1930 Tables drawn up on March 21, 1929 and December 31, 1930, apparently represent the latest state of the Civil Register in Lebanon (Tables 3.14, 3.15). They yield figures for refugees only (not necessarily all Armenian), the indigenous Armenians being entered under the heading, "Diverse". More Armenians are recorded than in 1926, but the order of the earlier total is confirmed. The 1929 figures fortunately give an idea of the total Protestant Armenian refugee population in Lebanon. As regards Catholics, their proportion of the refugee population in 1929 was, as expected, much less than the Catholic proportion of the indigenous Armenian population in 1922.

Table 3.14

The Refugee Population of Lebanon, March 21, 1929

Refugees considered Lebanese citizens ("Refugees A"):

Armenian Apostolics	26,786
Armenian Catholics	5,570
Armenian Protestants	3,368
Total	35,724

Refugees considered without nationality:

Total	1,736

Source: Arch. Dip., Documents in course of classification

Table 3.15

The Refugee Population of Lebanon, Dec. 31, 1930

Refugees "A"	37,878
Refugees without nationality	5,023

Source: as Table 3.14

1932 Census of Lebanon (Fig.3.10, Tables 3.16-3.18) The Census yields an I.D. between Armenians and others of 67.8, but as in 1926, segregation was less between Armenians and Christians (I.D. = 65.3) than between Armenians and non-Christians (I.D. = 73.3). The total number of Armenians (i.e.Apostolics plus Catholics) recorded, which excludes those who had not yet acquired Lebanese nationality, was actually less than in 1926 or 1929. The diminution may be explained by migration, but given the inconsistencies of the figures this cannot be assumed. The Census shows the Armenians to have been disproportionally concentrated only in Beirut and Meten, which to anticipate by then included the growing new Armenian quarter outside Beirut in Bourj-Hammoud. While changes in administrative divisions forbid detailed comparisons with the situation in 1926, there was in 1932 certainly a higher proportion of Armenians in Beirut and Meten,representing together increased concentration in the capital. This was no doubt partly responsible for the apparent increase in segregation since 1926, although this may also reflect the increase in the number of administrative units used in the analysis. Outside Beirut and Meten the Armenians lived in the cazas neighbouring Beirut, with smaller concentrations in Tripoli and Zahlé cazas, and other Armenians scattered over the country. The overall picture was similar to that in 1926, although it is possible to identify a decrease in the Armenian population of Saida region, suggesting continued dispersal from that arrival-port. There was in 1932 very little difference between the distribution of Catholics and Apostolics (I.D. = 3.9), and no apparent relationship between the distribution of Armenian and other Catholics (I.D. = 68.9). Catholics provided 18.4% of the Armenian population, compared with 61.5% of indigenous Armenians in 1922.

Distribution of Armenians in Lebanon, 1932

Fig. 3.10

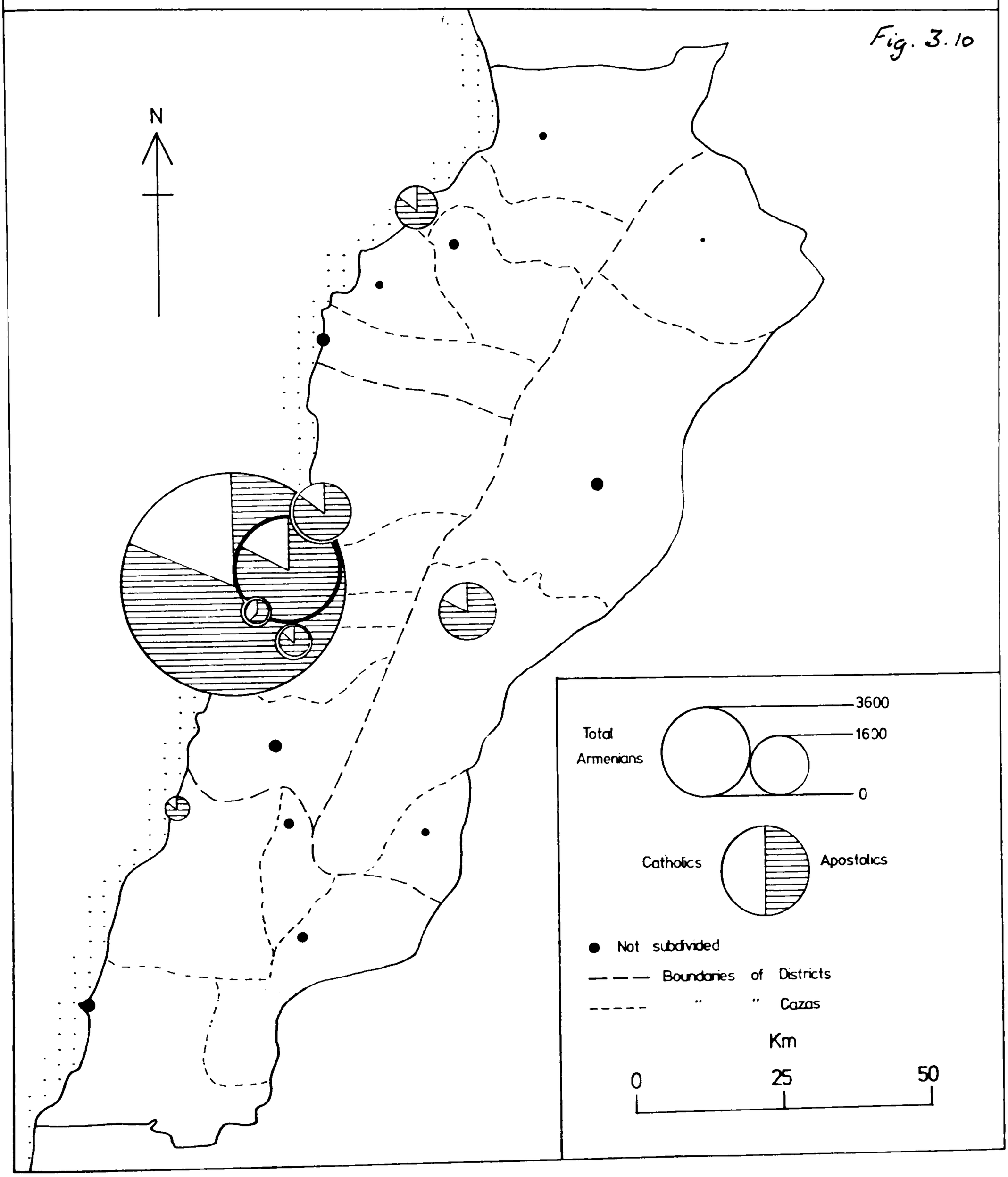


Table 3.16

Distribution of Armenians in Lebanon, according to the Census of 1932

Caza	Aposts	Caths	%	Tot
Beirut				
Total	18,244	4,169	18.60	22,413
N. Lebanon				
Koura	23	-	-	23
Zghorte	13	32	71.11	45
Batroune	52	16	23.53	68
Akkar	5	17	77.27	22
Tripoli	664	121	15.41	785
Total	757	186	19.72	943
S. Lebanon				
Saida	209	34	13.99	243
Tyr	42	16	27.59	58
Merdjayoun	13	14	51.85	27
Jezzine	14	25	64.10	39
Total	278	89	24.25	367
Mt. Lebanon				
Baabda	162	101	38.40	263
Meten	3,847	811	17.41	4,658
Chouf	29	25	46.30	54
Aley	328	49	13.00	377
Kesrouane	1,229	209	14.53	1,438
Total	5,595	1,195	17.60	6,790

Bekaa				
Zahlé	1,159	241	17.21	1,400
Baalbek	56	5	8.20	61
Hermel	6	-	-	6
Rachaya	7	5	41.67	12
Total	1,228	251	16.97	1,479
Overall Total	26,102	5,890	18.41	31,992

Source: Arch. Dip., Documents in course of classification.

Table 3.17 Percentage distribution of selected population groups in Lebanon by caza, 1932

Caza	(A) % Armenians	(B) % Non-As	(C) % Chrs.	(D) % Non-Chrs	% A.Caths	% A.Apost	% Non-A. Caths	A/B	C/D
Beirut	70.058	12.194	10.117	14.105	70.781	69.895	6.722	5.745	0.717
Koura	0.072	2.393	4.490	0.462	-	0.088	1.769	0.030	9.719
Zghorte	0.141	3.902	7.709	0.398	0.543	0.050	9.887	0.036	19.369
Batroune	0.213	2.502	4.984	0.218	0.272	0.199	5.404	0.086	22.862
Akkar	0.069	6.539	5.416	7.573	0.289	0.019	3.215	0.011	0.715
Tripoli	2.454	7.721	2.625	12.412	2.054	2.544	1.278	0.318	0.211
Saida	0.760	7.050	2.567	11.177	0.577	0.801	3.221	0.108	0.230
Tyr	0.181	6.467	1.705	10.852	0.272	0.161	2.129	0.028	0.157
Merdjayoun	0.084	4.313	2.271	6.193	0.238	0.050	1.165	0.019	0.367
Jezzine	0.122	2.194	3.775	0.739	0.424	0.054	4.944	0.056	5.108
Baabda	0.822	5.517	7.351	3.829	1.715	0.621	8.246	0.149	1.920
Meten	14.560	4.593	9.189	0.362	13.769	14.738	9.708	3.170	25.384
Chouf	0.169	6.981	6.339	7.571	0.424	0.111	8.102	0.024	0.837
Aley	1.178	4.921	5.192	4.672	0.832	1.257	4.269	0.239	1.111
Kesrouane	4.495	7.174	13.540	1.314	3.548	4.708	17.345	0.627	10.304
Zahlé	4.376	6.929	8.493	5.490	4.092	4.440	8.553	0.632	1.547
Baalbek	0.191	5.300	2.123	8.224	0.085	0.215	2.416	0.036	0.258
Hermel	0.019	1.774	1.085	2.408	-	0.023	1.424	0.011	0.451
Rachaya	0.038	1.537	1.032	2.001	0.085	0.027	0.204	0.025	0.516
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	-

Source: as Table 3.16

Table 3.18

Indices of Dissimilarity between the distribution of selected population groups in Lebanon, 1932

	Armenians	A.Caths.
Non-Armenians	67.8	-
Non-A.Chrs.	65.3	-
Non-Chrs.	73.3	-
A. Apostolics	-	3.9
Non-A. Caths.	-	68.9

Source: as Table 3.16

The Civil Register for Alexandretta Sanjak, 1936 (Fig.3.11, Tables 3.19-3.21) Figures available for the end of the second quarter of 1936 reveal for the first time the population distribution by nahié. They yield an I.D. between Armenians and others of 82.2, but again this was lower between Armenians and Christians (58.2) than between Armenians and non-Christians (84.7), a function of the much greater concentration of Christians in Alexandretta town. The Armenians were most notably concentrated in the Jebel Moussa, Qassab, Kirik Khane (town), Alexandretta (town) and Beïlane. While all these centres had Armenian populations pre-war, it seems that apart from the Jebel Moussa and Qassab groups, the concentrations in the other centres must be explained partly or wholly by refugee immigration. This seems most true of Alexandretta and Kirik Khane caza, where not only their concentration in Kirik Khane town but also their presence in

Distribution of Armenians in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, 1936

Fig. 3.11

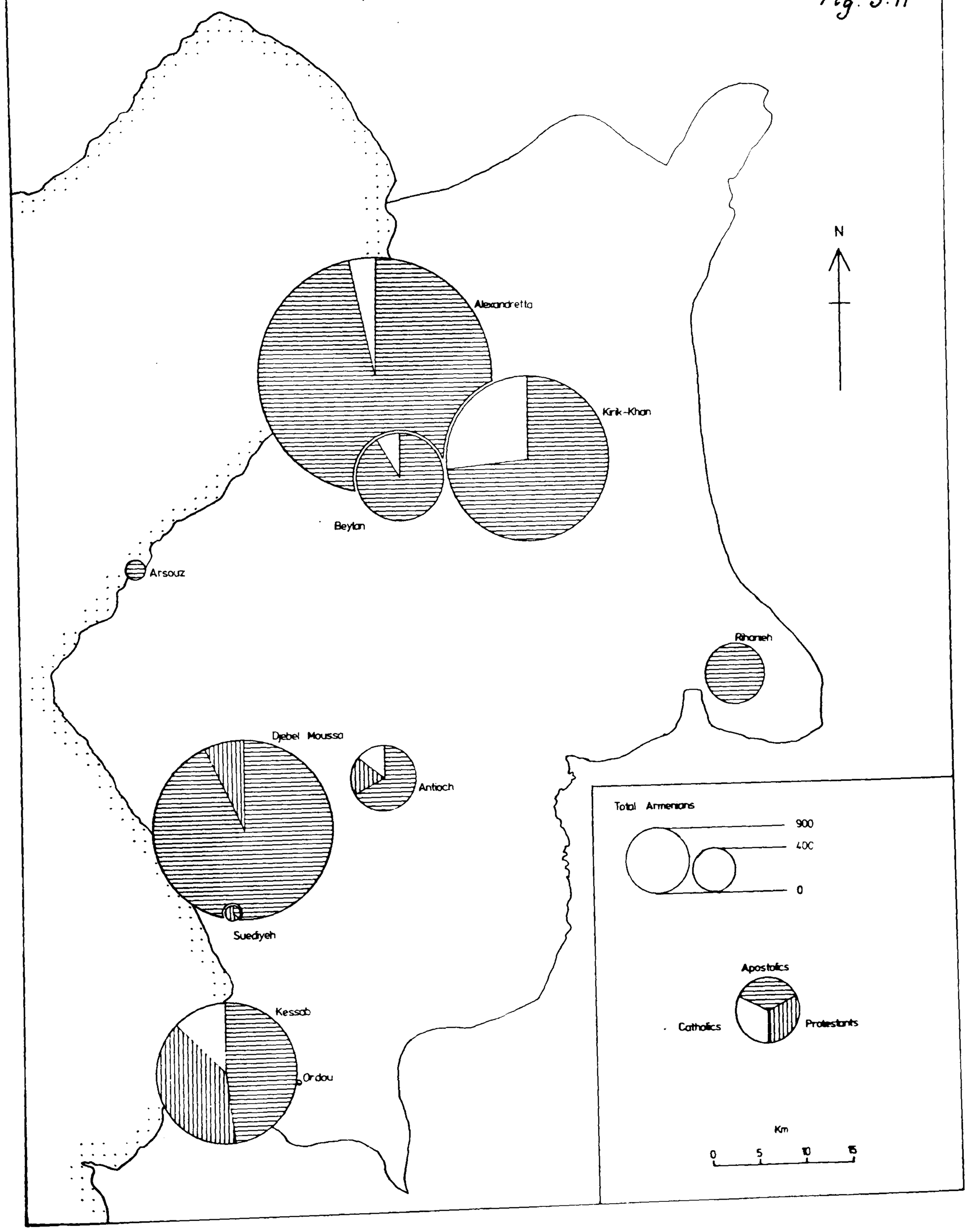


Table 3.19

Distribution of Armenians in the Sanjak of Alexandretta by nahié according to the Civil Register of 1936

Nahié	A.Apost	A.Caths	(%)	A.Prots	(%)	Tot.As
Alexandretta caza						
Alexandretta (town)	7,923	304	3.5	-	-	8,227
Dependent villages	320	-		-	-	320
Arsouz	8	-	-	-	-	83
Total	8,326	304	3.5	-	-	8,630
Antioch Caza						
Antioch town	597	129	14.5	167	18.7	893
Soueidiyé	17	-	-	31	64.6	48
Jebel Moussa	6,115	-	-	468	7.1	6,583
Karamout	9	-	-	-	-	9
Qassab	1,985	530	12.8	1,643	39.5	4.158
El Ourdou	4	-	-	-	-	4
Harbiyé	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle-Kousseir	-	-	-	-	-	-
Upper-Kousseir	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lower-Kousseir	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8,727	659	5.6	2,309	19.7	11,695
KirikKhane caza						
Kirik Khane town	3,171	1,217	27.1	-	-	4,388
Central nahié	108	1		-	-	109
Ak Tépé	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rihaniyé	806	-	-	-	-	806
Beïlane	1,452	140	8.8	-	-	1,592
Total	5,537	1,358	19.7	-	-	6,895
Overall Total	22,590	2,321	8.5	2,309	8.5	27,220

Source: Arch. Dip., Documents in course of classification

Table 3.20

Percentage distribution of selected population groups in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, 1936

Nahié	(A) Armenians	(B) Non-As	Non-A Chrs.	Non-Chrs.	A/B
Alexandretta	30.224	5.538	30.219	3.332	5.458
Dependent Villages	1.176	5.890	1.912	6.246	0.197
Arsouz	0.305	5.556	3.837	5.710	0.055
Antioch town	3.281	18.868	33.776	17.536	0.174
Soueidiyé	0.176	8.791	12.241	8.483	0.020
Jebel Moussa	24.184	0.141	1.715	-	171.518
Karamout	0.033	8.513	0.006	9.273	0.004
Qassab	15.276	0.262	2.007	0.106	58.305
El Ourdou	0.015	5.935	1.855	6.300	0.003
Harbiyé	-	4.590	-	5.000	-
Middle-Kousseir	-	5.767	3.576	5.963	-
Upper-Kousseir	-	4.948	-	5.390	-
Lower-Kousseir	-	6.920	5.933	7.008	-
Kirik Khane town	16.120	1.247	2.338	1.150	12.927
Central nahié	0.400	5.684	0.019	6.190	0.070
Ak Tépé	-	3.786	-	4.124	-
Rihaniyé	2.961	5.320	0.019	5.793	0.557
Beïlane	5.849	2.245	0.546	2.397	2.605
Total	100	100	100	100	-

Source: as Table 3.19

Table 3.21

Comparison between the distribution of Armenians in the Sanjak of Alexandretta in 1922 and 1936

Caza	% Armenians (A)		% non-As (B)		A/B		%incrAs	% incr. non As	% incr. A. Cs.	% incr. A.Ap
	1922	1936	1922	1936	1922	1936	1922-36	1922-36	1922-36	1922-36
Alexandretta	38.634	31.704	19.570	16.985	1.974	1.867	34.86	54.76	123.53	32.94
Antioch	46.568	42.965	66.971	64.734	0.695	0.664	51.63	70.94	14.41	61.16
Kirik Khane	14.798	25.331	13.459	18.281	1.099	1.386	181.31	140.22	232.84	171.02
Total	100	100	100	100	-	-	64.34	76.85	107.23	64.64

Source : as Tables 3.5 and 3.19

Rihaniye were post-war features. Interestingly, Catholics were particularly strongly represented in Kirik Khane, while Protestants were overwhelmingly concentrated in the Qassab grouping.[23]

Comparison with the 1922 Census shows that the Armenian population increased less rapidly than the rest of the population (Comparison with the 1926 Register yields the opposite result!). An increased proportion of the Armenian population inhabited Kirik Khane caza, and a decreased proportion the other two cazas. Although the same development was true of the rest of the population, the Armenian population of Kirik Khane did in fact increase in percentage terms more than the rest of the population of that caza. These calculations are, of course, grossly unreliable, but it does seem that there was a continuing influx of refugees into Kirik Khane caza between 1922 and 1936. There was little change during this time in the distribution of Catholics and Protestants, but the percentage increase of the Catholics was higher than that of the Apostolics in Kirik Khane and Alexandretta cazas, and lower in Antioch.

<u>The Civil Register, 1938</u>(Fig. 3.12, Tables 3.22-3.24) Totals available at caza level for the Syrian Republic (now excluding Lebanon and the Sanjak) at Dec. 31., 1938 share the inadequacies of all Civil Register figures. Indeed, there is specific mention in official sources that the Armenian total presented for Damascus is too high.[24]

Analysis yields an I.D. between the Armenians and the rest of the population of 62.7, with little difference in segregation

Fig. 3.12

Distribution of Armenians in the Syrian Republic at December 31st, 1936

Total Armenians
6400
1600
0

Catholics

Apostolics

● Not subdivided
— — — Boundaries of Mohafazats
- - - - - " " Cazas

Km
0
50
100

N

Table 3.22

Distribution of Armenians in Syria according to the Civil Register, 1938

Caza	Armenians	A.Apost	A.Caths	(%)
Mohafazat of Damascus				
Damascus	18,309	16,450	1,859	10.18
Damascus suburbs	8	2	6	
Douma	-	-	-	-
Zebdani	5	5	-	-
Ouadi el Aajam	14	6	8	57.14
Qouneïtra	68	18	50	73.53
Nebek	28	5	23	82.14
Total	18,432	16,486	1,946	10.56
Mohafazat of Aleppo				
Aleppo	58,291	50,954	7,337	14.40
Idlib	295	295	-	-
Maarret en Nomane	171	170	1	0. 58
Harim	21	12	9	42.86
Kurd Darh	587	538	49	8.35
Azaz	1,825	1,811	14	0.68
Jebel es Smaâne	-	-	-	-
Bab	838	823	15	1.79
Menbidj	358	358	-	-
Djerablous & Aïn elAarab	2,934	2,624	310	10.57
Djisr ech Choghour	334	334	-	-
Total	65,654	57,919	7,735	11.78
Mohafazat of Homs				
Homs	850	721	129	15.18
Total	850	721	129	15.18

Mohafazat of Hama				
Hama	324	301	23	7.10
Selemiyé	183	164	19	10.38
Total	507	465	42	8.28
Mohafazat of Hauran				
Deraâ	116	13	103	88.79
Ezraa	106	106	-	-
Zaouiyé	2	-	2	100
Total	224	119	105	46.88
Moh. of the Euphrates				
Deir ez Zor	1,005	592	413	41.09
Meyadine	11	-	11	100
Abou Kemal	37	7	30	81.08
Raqqa	1,688	1,473	215	12.74
Total	2,741	2,072	669	24.41
Moh. of the Jezira				
Hassetché	1,405	743	662	47.12
Kamichliyé	5,941	5,353	588	10.07
Total	7,346	6,096	1,250	17.02
Moh. of the Jebel ed Drouz				
Soueida	278	220	58	20.86
Salkhad	84	25	59	70.24
Chahba	27	27	-	-
Total	389	272	117	30.08
Mohafazat of Latakia				
Latakia	2,026	1,923	103	5.08
Haffé	324	324	-	-
Djeblé	21	19	2	9.52
Banias	63	63	-	-
Massiaf	216	185	32	14.81
Tartouss	56	56	-	-
Rouâd	-	-	-	-
Sâfîta	30	23	7	23.33
Tell Kalakh	-	-	-	-
Total	2,737	2,593	144	5.26
Overall Total	98,880	86,743	12,137	12.27

Source: "Rapport" (1938) 220-221

Percentage distribution of selected population groups in Syria by caza, 1938. **Table 3.23**

Source as Table 3.22

	(A) % Armenians	(B) % Non As	% Non-A.Chrs	% Non-Chrs.	(C) % A.Caths	(D) % A.Apost	% Non-A.Caths	% Non-A Non-Cath Chrs.	A/B	C/D
Damascus	18.516	10.224	10.334	10.213	15.317	18.964	16.884	7.146	1.811	0.808
Damas. subs	0.008	2.899	0.693	3.129	0.049	0.002	0.074	0.994	0.003	24.5
Douma	-	2.467	2.166	2.498	-	-	4.010	1.269	0	-
Zebdani	0.005	0.859	0.967	0.848	-	0.006	0.230	1.325	0.006	0
Ouadi el Aajam	0.014	0.995	2.409	0.847	0.066	0.007	1.452	2.875	0.014	9.429
Qouneïtra	0.069	1.256	0.718	1.313	0.412	0.021	0.908	0.625	0.055	19.619
Nebek	0.028	2.662	3.510	2.573	0.190	0.006	7.958	1.345	0.011	31.667
Aleppo	58.951	9.002	15.582	8.317	60.452	58.741	29.998	8.566	6.549	1.029
Idlib	0.298	2.879	0.425	3.134	-	0.340	0.023	0.621	0.104	0
Maarret en Nomane	0.173	1.424	0.015	1.571	0.008	0.196	0.004	0.020	0.121	0.041
Harim	0.021	1.478	0.005	1.631	0.074	0.014	-	0.007	0.014	5.286
Kurd Darh	0.594	2.431	0.043	2.680	0.404	0.620	0.052	0.039	0.244	0.652
Azaz	1.846	2.072	0.077	2.279	0.115	2.088	0.071	0.080	0.891	0.055
Jebel es Smaâne	-	2.917	-	3.221	-	-	-	-	0	-
Bab	0.847	1.701	0.012	1.877	0.124	0.949	0.001	0.017	0.498	0.131
Menbidj	0.362	1.953	0.015	2.155	-	0.413	0.027	0.009	0.185	0
Djerablous	2.967	1.877	0.159	2.056	2.554	3.025	0.200	0.140	1.581	0.844
Djisr ech Choghour	0.338	1.241	1.170	1.248	-	0.385	1.370	1.072	0.272	0
Homs	0.860	8.334	18.179	7.309	1.063	0.831	9.738	22.287	0.103	1.279
Hama	0.328	4.625	7.184	4.358	0.190	0.347	0.401	10.485	0.071	0.548

Selemiyé	0.185	1.173	0.007	1.295	0.157	0.189	0.004	0.009	0.158	0.831
Deraâ	0.117	1.893	0.988	1.987	0.849	0.015	0.660	1.148	0.062	56.6
Ezraa	0.107	2.147	2.648	2.095	-	0.122	6.316	0.863	0.050	0
Zaouiyé	0.002	0.534	0.063	0.583	0.016	-	0.037	0.076	0.004	?
Deir ez Zor	1.016	4.037	0.632	4.392	3.403	0.682	0.864	0.519	0.252	4.990
Meyadine	0.011	1.571	0.002	1.734	0.091	-	-	0.003	0.007	?
Abou Kemal	0.037	1.345	0.009	1.484	0.247	0.008	0.003	0.011	0.028	30.875
Raqqa	1.707	2.161	0.149	2.370	1.771	1.698	0.092	0.178	0.790	1.043
Hassetché	1.421	1.422	2.008	1.361	5.454	0.857	0.831	2.581	0.999	6.364
Kamichliyé	6.008	2.637	5.061	2.384	4.845	6.171	1.971	6.565	2.278	0.785
Soueida	0.281	1.274	1.812	1.218	0.478	0.254	1.617	1.907	0.221	1.882
Salkhad	0.085	1.001	0.775	1.024	0.486	0.029	0.440	0.938	0.085	16.759
Chahba	0.027	0.608	0.505	0.619	-	0.031	1.292	0.122	0.044	ϕ
Latakia	2.049	2.320	2.977	2.252	0.849	2.217	1.556	3.669	0.883	0.383
Haffé	0.328	1.831	1.046	1.913	-	0.374	0.081	1.515	0.179	0
Djeblé	0.021	2.249	0.175	2.465	0.016	0.022	0.018	0.251	0.009	0.727
Banias	0.064	1.385	1.576	1.365	-	0.073	2.266	1.241	0.046	0
Massiaf	0.219	1.664	1.600	1.671	0.264	0.213	0.966	1.908	0.132	1.233
Tartouss	0.057	1.539	2.865	1.401	-	0.065	1.059	3.744	0.037	0
Rouâd	-	0.179	0.009	0.197	-	-	-	0.013	0	-
Sâfîta	0.030	2.299	5.813	1.933	0.058	0.027	3.636	6.873	0.013	2.144
Tell Kalakh	-	1.434	5.619	0.998	-	-	2.891	6.946	0	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	-	-

Table 3.24

Indices of Dissimilarity between the distribution of selected population groups in Syria, 1938

	Non-As	Non-A Chrs.	Non-Chrs.	A.Apost	Non-A Caths.	Non-A,non Cath Chrs.
Armenians	62.7	61.1	63.5	-	-	-
Arm.Apost.	63.2	61.7	63.9	-	45.1	70.8
Arm.Caths.	63.4	61.1	64.3	12.0	45.8	70.9

Source: as Table 3.22

between Armenians and Christians (I.D. = 61.1) and non-Christians (I.D. = 63.5). Segregation was due especially to the outstanding concentration of Armenians in Aleppo. Elsewhere they were over-represented in Kamichliyé, Damascus, and Djerablous, and fairly strongly represented in Hassetché, Azaz, Latakia and Raqqa. They were therefore most concentrated in cazas containing large towns (Aleppo, Damascus, Latakia), in the north-east (Kamichliyé, Hassetché, Raqqa), and in the northern cazas of Aleppo Mohafazat (Djerablous, Azaz). The large number of Armenians in the North-East cannot be accounted for by the direct migration of 1929-30. The figures suggest some internal migration. The figures revealing also the distribution of Armenians within the northern cazas of Aleppo Mohafazat for the first time, it is not known for how long they had been established there. Certainly, however, there was, as already observed, some migration direct to Djerablous. There was little difference between the distribution of Armenian Catholics and Apostolics (I.D. = 12.0), due especially to the concentration of both groups in Damascus and Aleppo. The most striking distinguishing feature of Armenian Catholic distribution was their contribution to the Armenian population of the north-east provinces, in particular to the cazas of Deir ez Zor and Hassetché. There was less segregation between Armenians and non-Armenian Catholics than between them and non-Catholic Christians, due largely to the lesser concentration of Catholics in Homs and their greater concentration in Damascus and Aleppo. Further comment and comparison may be made at the provincial level.

For the former State of Damascus, comparison may be made with the situation in 1926 and in 1922. Compared with the situation in 1926, the figures show the Armenians to have provided a slightly reduced percentage of the area's population, having increased proportionally less than the non-Armenian population. (Table 3.25) The Armenians were still largely concentrated in Damascus Mohafazat, the new feature of the distribution being their greater representation in Hama Mohafazat. Comparing percentage increases of Armenian and non-Armenian population, the Armenians increased less than non-Armenians in Damascus and notably at Homs, at about the same rate in the Hauran, and considerably more in Hama. Armenian Catholics increased proportionally more than the Apostolics, most noticeably in the Hauran, suggesting either differential rates of natural increase, or differential accuracy in registration.

Direct comparison at caza level with the 1922 Census results for Damascus State is not possible, because of changes in administrative boundaries. It is however possible to compare I.D.'s. (Table 3.26) These reveal that segregation between Armenians and others increased slightly between 1922 and 1938, essentially due to the much reduced percentage of Armenians recorded in Homs, and the increased percentage in Damascus. In 1938, the I.D. between Armenians and Christians was higher than that between them and non-Christians, the reverse of the 1922 situation. Again, this appears due to the decreased proportion of Armenians in Homs and the increased proportion of Christians recorded there in 1938. In fact, the absolute decrease in the Armenian population of Homs is

Table 3.25

Comparison between the distribution of Armenians in the former State of Damascus in 1926 and 1938

Sanjak (Mohafazat)	% A's in Sanjak		A's as % tot pop		A.Caths as % A's		% incr. A.s 1926-38	% incr. non-As 1926-38	% incr. A.Caths 1926-38	% incr. A.Ap. 1926-38
	1926	1938	1926	1938	1926	1938				
Damascus	94.084	92.100	3.83	3.51	8.57	10.56	40.14	53.35	72.67	37.09
Hauran	0.966	1.119	0.21	0.21	28.15	46.88	65.93	102.77	176.32	22.68
Homs	4.442	4.247	0.63	0.43	9.18	15.18	36.88	80.42	126.32	27.84
Hama	0.508	2.533	0.09	0.37	4.23	8.28	614.08	66.36	1300.00	583.82
Total	100	100	2.40	2.07	8.8	11.10	43.16	66.93	81.39	39.48

Sources: as Tables 3.10 and 3.22

Table 3.26

Comparison between Indices of Dissimilarity between selected population groups in the former State of Damascus in 1922 & 1938

	Armenians	
	1922	1938
Non-Armenians	61.1	66.0
Non-A. Chrs.	59.9	71.7
Non-Christians	64.3	65.3

Source: as Tables 3.4 and 3.22

the most striking point of comparison between the 1922 and 1938 figures.

Comparison at caza level is possible for Latakia Mohafazat (Alawi Territory) at 1926 and 1938. (Tables 3.27, 3.10, 3.13, 3.22). Between these dates the Armenians increased in numbers proportionally more than non-Armenians'(65.08% vs 28.74%). But this proportional increase was locally confined to Latakia and Massiaf cazas where the Armenians increased their concentration. In all other cazas the concentration of Armenians decreased, two of them actually recording absolute decreases in Armenian population while in the others the Armenian population remained static or increased only slightly. There seems here to be evidence of increasing concentration in Latakia, accompanied by the desertion of outlying centres, except for Massiaf. Catholic Armenians increased proportionally more than Apostolics,

Table 3.27

Comparison between the distribution of Armenians in Latakia Mohafazat (former Alawi Territory), 1926 and 1938

Caza	% AS (A) 1938	% others (B) 1938	A/B 1938	A/B 1926	% increase of As 1926-38	% increase A.Caths 1926-38	% increase A.Apost 1926-38
Latakia	74.023	15.571	4.754	3.540	+97.66	+127.50	+95.23
Haffé	11.838	12.289	0.963	1.494	+8.36	-	+8.36
Djeblé	0.767	15.096	0.051	0.094	-12.50	?	-20.83
Banias	2.302	9.292	0.248	0.402	+18.87	-	+18.87
Massiaf	7.928	11.169	0.710	0.446	+181.82	+128.57	+193.65
Tartouss	2.046	11.529	0.177	0.824	-62.67	-	-62.67
Tell Kalakh	-	9.625	-	-	-	-	-
Sâfîta	1.096	15.430	0.071	0.124	-	?	-23.33
Total	100	100	-	-	+65.08	+166.67	+61.66

Sources: as Tables 3.10, 3.22

increasing their percentage of the Armenian population in all their centres of settlement except Massiaf. Surprisingly the Catholic population actually increased in two cazas where the Apostolic population decreased. This might reflect better registration of Catholics, or it may reveal more significant changes in population distribution disguised by the aggregate caza totals.

In the Jebel ed Drouz, Armenians were recorded for the first time in 1938, suggesting a small migration to that province since 1926. Immigrant Armenians may, however, have been un-recorded on the 1926 Register.

In Aleppo Mohafazat and the north-eastern provinces, the registration for the first time of the whole refugee population dramatically diminished the proportion of Catholics.

O.C. P. Census of Lebanon (Figs. 3.13, 3.14, Table 3.28) The revised 1943 results of this Census are used as they are available for individual settlements as well as for cazas. The figures yield an I.D. between the Armenians and the rest of the population of 62.4, i.e. less than in 1932, but this decrease, rather than representing any trend towards desegregation undoubtedly reflects the concentration in Zahlé caza of new Armenian immigrants from the Sanjak. Armenians were thus over-represented not only in Beirut and Meten, but also in Zahlé caza. Excluding this new influx from consideration, however, analysis of percentage changes indicates that the trend was towards increasing concentration in the capital. Thus outside Beirut and Meten a large number of cazas actually registered decreases in population. While the Armenian population of

Distribution of Armenians in Lebanon, 31st December, 1943

Fig. 3.13

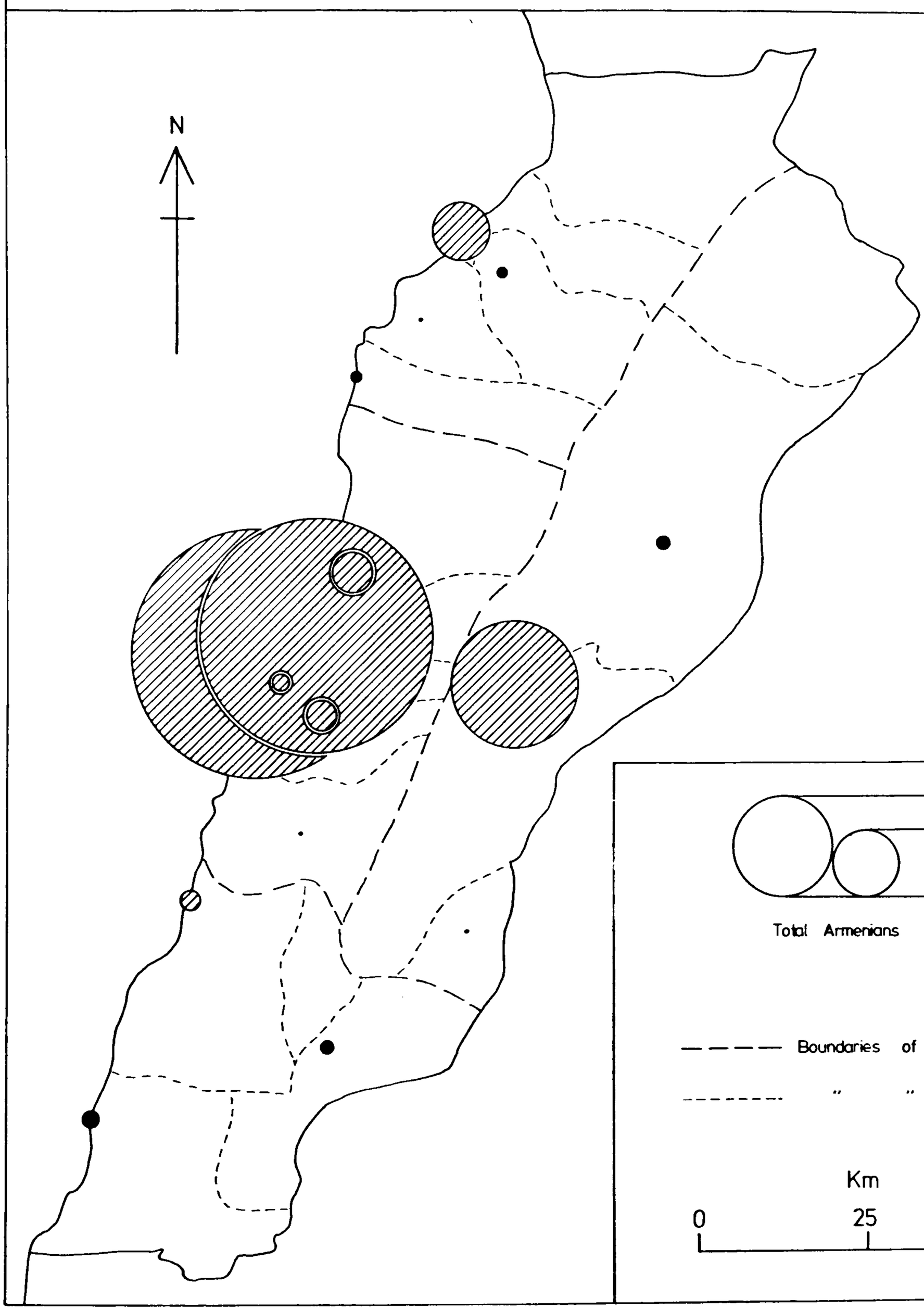


Fig. 3.14

Distribution of Armenians in Lebanon, 1943 by settlement
10,000
1,600
0
Total Armenians
Boundaries of Cazas
Km
0
10
20

Table 3.28 Distribution of Armenians in Lebanon, by caza, 1943, and comparison with the situation in 1932.

Caza	Armenians 1943	% Armenians 1943 (A)	% Non-As 1943 (B)	A/B 1943	A/B 1932	abs.incr.in A.pop 1932 - 43	% increase in As 1932 - 43.
Beirut	22,485	44.610	21.205	2.104	5.745	+ 72	+0.32
Koura	4	0.008	2.409	0.003	0.030	- 19	-82.61
Zghorte	28	0.056	3.147	0.018	0.036	- 17	-37.78
Batroune	25	0.050	2.121	0.024	0.086	- 43	-63.24
Akkar	-	-	5.335	-	0.011	- 22	-100
Tripoli	1,188	2.357	9.529	0.247	0.318	+ 403	+51.34
Saida	147	0.292	6.126	0.048	0.108	- 96	-39.51
Tyr	91	0.181	5.444	0.033	0.028	+ 33	+56.90
Merdjayoun	67	0.133	3.672	0.036	0.019	+ 40	+148.15
Jezzine	-	-	1.498	-	0.056	- 39	-100
Baabda	102	0.202	5.741	0.035	0.149	- 241	-91.63
Meten	19,589	38,865	4.320	8.997	3.170	+14,931	+320.55
Chouf	5	0.010	5.126	0.002	0.024	-49	-90.74
Aley	324	0.643	3.874	0.166	0.239	-53	-14.06
Kesrouane	560	1.111	5.384	0.206	0.627	-878	-61.06
Zahle	5,709	11,327	6.879	1.647	0.632	+4309	+307.79
Baälbek	72	0.143	5.323	0.027	0.036	+11	+18.03
Hermel	-	-	1.470	-	0.011	-6	-100
Rachaya	7	0.014	1.395	0.010	0.025	-5	-41.67
Total	50,403	100	100	-	-	+18,411	+57.55

Sources: Revised O.C.P. Census results, in Balita (n.d.), and 1932 Census, as Table 3.16

Beirut city itself remained almost static, that of Meten increased dramatically due, it is revealed, to the development of Bourj-Hammoud, the Beirut suburb. The settlement figures also reveal for the first time that the Armenians in the mountain outside Beirut were scattered amongst many towns and villages. This was less true of the rest of the country where they tended to be concentrated in the administrative centres of cazas, notably in Tripoli.

Duguet (1927) A map prepared by Dr.Duguet of the Health Service shows the distribution of all refugees in Syria in May, 1927 (Fig. 3.15, Table 3.29). Unfortunately, there are inconsistencies in his figures, the most important of which is that, whereas those for the provinces of Syria, the Jebel ed Drouz and the Sanjak of Alexandretta represent families, those for Lebanon and the Alawi Territory represent individuals.[25] On the redrawn map presented, the totals for families have been multiplied by a factor of 3.8, the most probable estimate of average Armenian family-size at the time. The map depicts all refugees, not just Armenians, and at least 4,750 Syrian Catholic refugees (958 families) noted in Duguet's text should be deducted from the total. Moreover, the total of 480 families in the Jebel Moussa refers to indigenous Armenians, not refugees, raising doubt as to the map's reliability. The source of Duguet's figures is not specified, but those for the Alawi Territory are closely related to the 1926 Register, and it seems, again, that they must concern all Armenians, not just refugees. By contrast, Duguet's figures for Lebanon seem to bear no direct relation to the 1926 Register, while a similar comparison is not possible for the other provinces where his

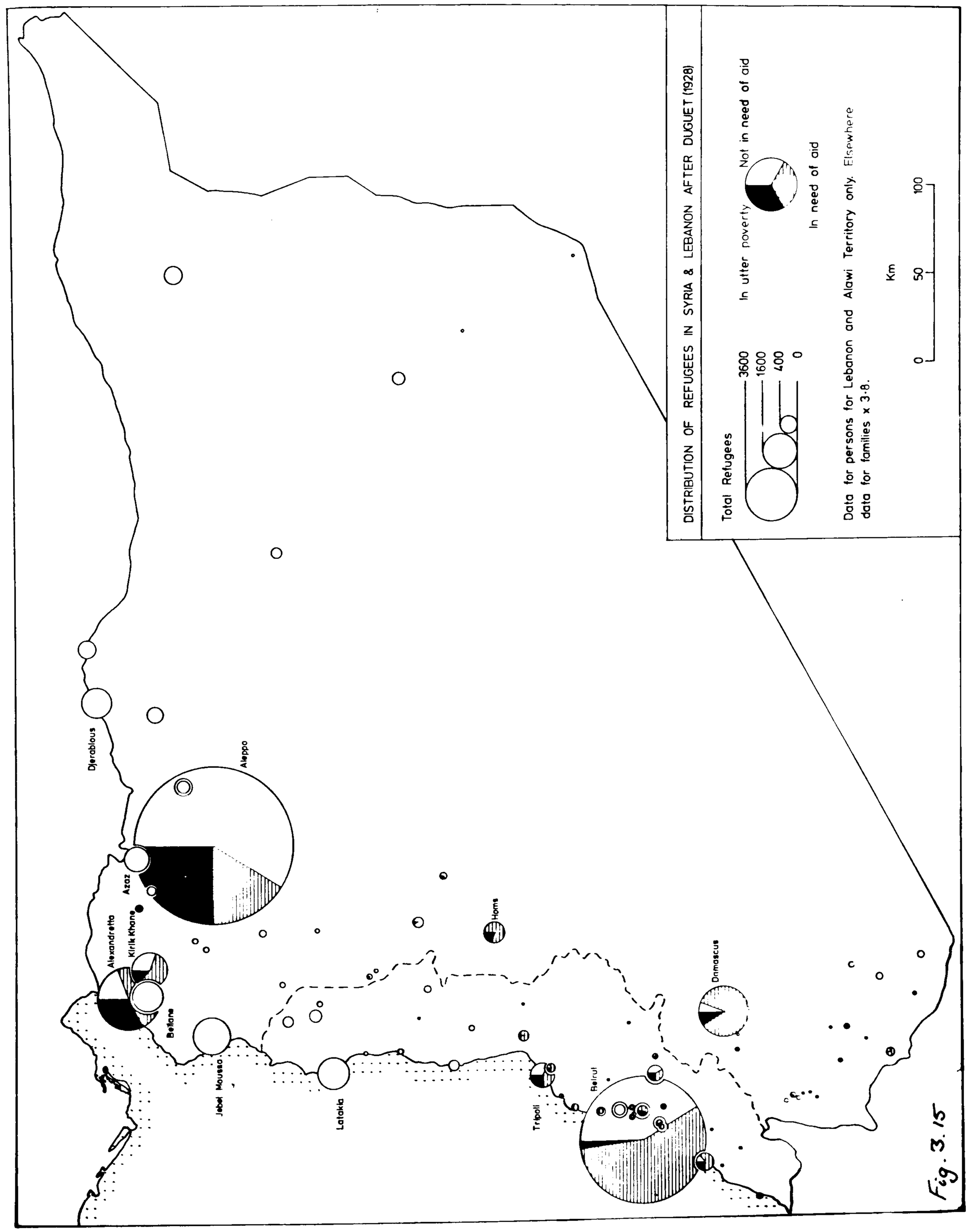

DISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEES IN SYRIA & LEBANON AFTER DUGUET (1928)
Total Refugees
3600
1600
400
0
In utter poverty
Not in need of aid
In need of aid
Data for persons for Lebanon and Alawi Territory only. Elsewhere data for families x 3·8.
Km
0
50
100
Djerablous
Aleppo
Azaz
Alexandretta
Kirik Khane
Bellana
Jebel Mousa
Lataka
Homs
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus

Fig. 3.15

Table 3.29

Distribution of Refugees in Syria and Lebanon; May, 1927
after Duguet (1928)

	Families		Families
Hassetché	110	Ain Zioune	3
Abou Kemal	2	Khochniyé	1
Meyadine	1	Joueizé	1
Deir ez Zor	47	Tibné	1
Raqqa	42	Ezraa	12
Ain el Aarab	110	Naoua	6
Djerablous	310	Rhazalé	2
Menbidj	98	Deraâ	29
Bab	53	Bosra	3
Aleppo	8,642	Chahba	7
Azaz	194	Soueida	13
Afrine	24	Salkhad	15
Mabatli	15		
Harim	12		Persons
Idlib	20	Ghnémié	137
Djsr ech Choghour	10	Aramo	207
Maarret en Nomane	3	Ain Ceutach	31
Sqalbiyé	10	Latakia	1,353
Hayaline	5	Djeblé	24
Alexandretta	1,350	Massiaf	78
Beïlane	295	Qadmous	6
Kirik Khane	440	Banias	47
Rihaniyé	12	Tartouss	150
Jebel Moussa	480	Sâfîta	30
Hama	34	Halba	123
Selemiye	15	Qoubaïyate	4
Homs	148	Tripoli	750
Damascus	909	Zghorte	115
Jdaidet Aartouz	2	Chekka	9
Katana	2	Batroune	59
Mansourah	5	Jbaïl	47
Qouneitra	12	Qartaba	2
Moumsiyé	1	Baalbek	4

	Persons
Zouk	2
Rhazir	125
Antoura	1
Bhannes	145
Ajeltoun	1
Zahlé	289
Rayak	36
Beirut	21,242
Aley	68
Sofar	4
Souk el Gharb	
"Asile Americaine"	312
Saïda	375
Jezzine	8
El Djarieh	4
Nabatiyé	8
Tyr	29

Source: Duguet (1928)

figures concern families, not individuals. Duguet appears to have derived his figures from a number of different sources.

At the national level the refugees were concentrated especially in the two centres of Beirut and Aleppo, but they also occurred notably in Damascus, the Sanjak of Alexandretta, the coastal towns of Alawi Territory and Lebanon, the towns in the north of Aleppo Vilayet and in Deir ez Zor Sanjak, and scattered in the cazas around Beirut and Aleppo. While this distribution reflected the arrival points of the refugees, there had clearly been considerable internal migration, notably to Damascus, Homs and the north-east.

At the provincial level, Duguet's figures for Alawi Territory are, as noted, practically identical with the 1926 Register, (Table 3.30) the principal difference being Duguet's higher figure for Latakia caza, which might be explained by immigrant Armenians unregistered in 1926 (a possibility already suggested).

Table 3.30

Comparison between the distribution of Armenians in Alawi Territory according to Duguet (1928) and the Civil Register, 1926

Caza	C.R. 1926[1]	Duguet[2]
Latakia	1,025	1,353
Haffé	299	375
Djeblé	24	24
Banias	53	53
Massiaf	77	78
Tartouss	150	150
Tell Kalakh	-	-
Sâfîta	30	30
Total	1,658	2,063

Notes: 1 Armenians
2 Refugees

Sources: Duguet (1928) and as Table 3.10

In Lebanon, by contrast, (Table 3.31) compared with the 1926 Register, Duguet's figures are lower in every administrative unit. The overall difference (9,097 persons) is too great to be explained solely by the omission of indigenous Armenians by Duguet. It seems necessary to invoke in addition either emigration, over-registration in 1926, or inaccuracies in Duguet's figures. The differences between the Register and Duguet are most marked in Kesrouane, Meten, Zahlé and Saida cazas. In view of the inconsistencies of Duguet's figures they certainly cannot be taken in preference, even though a reduced total c.1926-27 would correspond better with migration history and would eliminate the apparent decline in Lebanese

Table 3.31

Comparison between the figures of Duguet (1928) and of the Civil Register (1926) concerning the distribution of Armenians in Lebanon

Caza	1926 Register [2]	Duguet [3]
Beirut	22,038	21,242
Saida	1,505	395
Tyr	89	29
Merdjayoun	41	-
Meten	2,655	147
Chouf	483	99
Kesrouane	2,990	176
Tripoli	1,335	992
Batroune	242	68
Zahlé	1,459	325
Baalbek	22	4
Deir el Qamar	-	-
Unidentified [1]	-	285
Total	32,859	23,762

Notes: 1 "Asile americaine" (possibly in the caza of Chouf).
2 Armenians
3 Refugees

Sources: as Table 3.30

population between 1926 and 1932 which is difficult to explain. Moreover, wide divergences with respect to Kesrouane, Meten and Zahlé also exist between the totals of Duguet and the 1932 Census.(Table 3.32) In this case, the 1932 Census must be taken in preference, but these important regional divergences in Duguet's figures remain to be explained. By contrast Duguet and the 1932 Census agree in recording a decrease of the Armenian population of Saida since 1926. A further comparison between the figures concerning individual settlements presented by Duguet and the revised O.C.P Census (1943) indicates such wide variation of population distribution within cazas that the value of comparison at the aggregate caza-level is anyway called into question.

For Aleppo Vilayet, Duguet's figures show that the dispersal of Armenians outside Aleppo, observed from the 1938 Register, was already established in 1927. Although no statistical comparison between the figures of Duguet and the 1938 Register is thought desirable (given the use of a family-size ratio in compiling the 1927 totals, and the probable inaccuracies of the register), the similarity of pattern in Aleppo Mohafazat at these dates is notable. The concentration in the northern towns of Aleppo Vilayet by 1927 suggests settlement directly in these towns during the 1922-24 migration, as already observed for those Armenians from Urfa who settled in Djerablous. Early dispersal in the north-east is also apparent from Duguet, though here the picture is confused by the addition of other Christian refugees to his totals.

Duguet's totals for the Sanjak of Alexandretta include the indigenous Armenians of the Jebel Moussa, but clearly exclude

Table 3.32

Comparison between the distribution of Armenians in Lebanon according to Duguet (1928) and the 1932 Census

Caza	Duguet	1932	Caza	Duguet	1932
Beirut	21,242	22,413	Baabda	-	263
Koura	-	23	Meten	147	4,658
Zghorte	115	45	Chouf	-	54
Batroune	68	68	Aley	384	377
Akkar	127	22	Kesrouane	176	1,438
Tripoli	750	785	Zahlé	325	1,400
Saida	387	243	Baalbek	4	61
Tyr	29	58	Hermel	-	6
Merdjayoun	-	27	Rachaya	-	12
Jezzine	8	39	Total	23,762	31,992

Sources: Duguet (1928) and as Table 3.16

those of the Jebel Aqra (in Antioch caza). Their interpretation is thus made difficult and they cannot be directly compared with other totals. Nevertheless, excluding Antioch caza, totals for the town and caza of Alexandretta and for the caza of Kirik Khane are at least of the same order as those of 1922.

For the former State of Damascus (Sanjaks of Damascus, Hauran, Homs and Hama), Duguet's totals can be compared roughly with both the 1922 Census and 1926 Register. In Damascus Sanjak, Duguet's totals are markedly lower than those of the earlier tables, a deficiency which cannot be explained in terms of indigenous Armenians and might be evidence of emigration. By contrast, his figures for Hama Sanjak confirm the distribution

of Armenians in the two centres of Hama town and Selemiyé. Likewise, in Homs Sanjak, Duguet confirms the significant decrease in Armenian population in the town between 1922 and 1926. In the Hauran Duguet suggests increasing Armenian population, 1922-27, but since he does not refer to any Armenians in this area in his text, those refugees marked on his map may not be Armenian. The same is true of the Jebel ed Drouz, where no Armenians were recorded in 1922 or 1926 (although Armenians were recorded there in 1938).

The annual reports of the Mandatory Power A series of estimates concerning Armenian refugees in Syria occur in the annual reports of the mandatory power. The first set, representing the distribution of Armenian refugees at January 1, 1925, is clearly related to a table presented in a publication of the Deuxième Bureau representing their distribution in April, 1925, which seems to be merely a revised version of the former (Table 3.33). If the 2e Bureau table is compared with the 1926 Register, the close correspondence between the totals for Lebanon (32,640 c.f. 32,859) suggests that the 2e Bureau estimate may have been derived directly from the Register, in which case it would include not only refugees but also indigenous Armenians. In other provinces, there is no apparent relationship between the 2e Bureau table and the 1922 Census, 1926 Register or Duguet, despite the similarity in overall total with this last source. (Similar conclusions hold for the January, 1925 table) In view of the possible derivation of the Lebanese total, care is necessary in the interpretation of all these figures. The total of 10,000 Armenian refugees for the State of Damascus offers confirmation of the large number of refugees there suggested by

Table 3.33

Distribution of Armenian Refugees in Syria & Lebanon, 1925

Former State	Jan.1925	April 1925
Lebanon	33,700	32,640
Damascus	10,000	10,000
Alawi Territory	1,450	1,430
Jebel ed Drouz	100	-
Aleppo		
Aleppo Vilayet	37,300	37,400
Sanjak of Alexandretta	6,250	6,240
Sanjak of Deir ez Zor	1,200	1,200
Total	90,000	88,910

Sources: Jan. 1:- "Rapport" (1924) 50
April :- Deuxième Bureau (1932)10

Note: The figure of 33,700 refugees in Lebanon in Jan., 1925 is unexpectedly higher than the April figure. The difference may be explained by a tabulating error. The substitution of 32,700 for 33,700 would practically reconcile the two figures. and would reduce the January overall total from 90,000 (the writer's summation of the individual estimates presented in the original text) to 89,000 (the total actually presented in the original).

one tabulation of the 1922 Census results. The figure is rather less than that recorded for all Armenians in the region in the 1926 Register, but confirms the picture of a relatively high refugee population at Damascus before the substantial diminution apparent from Duguet. The total for Aleppo Vilayet corresponds closely with Duguet. That for Deir ez Zor Sanjak (1,200 refugees) is the highest estimate given for that region at this time. It confirms the early dispersal to this region

apparent from Duguet, but there is no basis on which to choose between the different estimates. The estimate for the Sanjak of Alexandretta certainly concerns refugees alone, and for this reason must be preferred to Duguet, who is inconsistent here. It confirms the earlier conclusion concerning emigration of refugees from the Sanjak. The estimate for Alawi Territory is lower than any of the comparable totals so far considered, possibly reflecting the difference between all Armenians and refugees alone. Even in this case, emigration from Latakia, where there were over 2,000 arrivals at the end of 1921, would still have been considerable. Finally, these 1925 estimates give conflicting information about the Jebel ed Drouz, 100 refugees being recorded there in January and none in April. The difference may well be due to a tabulating error, but the situation in the Jebel remains obscure.

The 1926 "Rapport" contains estimates of Armenian refugees in the Vilayet of Aleppo which must be discarded as unreliable. More useful are those concerning the Sanjak of Alexandretta. Roughly equivalent to the 1925 estimates, they also share some common features with Duguet, but contradict him in other details (Table 3.34). The "Rapport" figures are more acceptable, given Duguet's inconsistencies.

The 1927 "Rapport" contains estimates concerning all refugees, most of whom were Armenian. (Table 3.35) They should accordingly be treated with reserve. They do not appear to be directly related to the figures in earlier reports. In general, they are higher than other contemporary estimates, but the overall total is reduced by an anomalously low figure for Damascus town, and a reduced total for Lebanon. The total for Aleppo (probably

Table 3.34

Comparison between the figures of Duguet and the 1926 "Rapport" concerning the distribution of Armenian refugees in the Sanjak of Alexandretta

	Duguet	1926 "Rapport"
Alexandretta	1,350 F	4,200 P, less 100-120 Assyro - Chaldeans
Kirik Khane	440 F	1,800 P (i.e. 5 x 440)
Rihaniyé	12 F	60 P (i.e. 5 x 12)
Antioch	-	400 P
Beïlane	295 F	-
Jebel Moussa	480 F	several dozen families of refugees
Qassab	-	

Sources: Duguet (1928) and "Rapport" (1926) 102-6

Explanation : F = families, P = persons.

Table 3.35

Distribution of Refugees in Syria & Lebanon, after "Rapport" (1927)

Aleppo	40,000	Latakia	2,300
Alexandretta	6,000	Euphrates Region	2,500
Caza of Antioch	2,000	Beirut	20,000
Caza of Kirik Khane	3,000	Other centres of Lebanon	2,000
Homs-Hama	2,000	Town of Damascus	200
		Total	80,000

Source: "Rapport" (1927) 66

for the Vilayet) is of the same order as earlier estimates. Those for Alexandretta Sanjak are rather higher, but even the relatively high estimate of 6,000 refugees at Alexandretta town would still require considerable emigration after 1921. The estimates for "Homs-Hama" (i.e. presumably the two Sanjaks), Latakia (i.e. probably for Alawi Territory) and the Euphrates are all relatively high, and on balance more weight should be given to Duguet's lower figures. The anomalously low figure for Damascus may be discarded. As regards Lebanon, the total for Beirut town is similar to that given by Duguet and the 1926 Register. However, only 2,000 refugees are recorded in Lebanon outside Beirut, a low figure comparable in order with that of Duguet. The difference between these low estimates and those of the 1926 Register and 1932 Census remains to be explained.

Other official estimates For the State of Syria (i.e. excluding Lebanon, the Jebel ed Drouz and Alawi Territory) a table of estimates concerning the ethnic groups of the State is available, compiled in January, 1927, after information provided by the Intelligence Service. (Table 3.36). It appears to have been derived independently of the other figures so far considered. The total for the town of Alexandretta (5,800 Armenians) is consistent with other contemporary estimates, and suggests that the relatively high total of 6,000 refugees at Alexandretta presented in the 1927 Report should be reduced, given the 1,202 indigenous Armenians registered in that town in 1922. The total for Antioch town (360 Armenians) compares with the 400 refugees there cited in the 1926 Report (although no refugees are marked at Antioch by Duguet). The estimates for Aleppo Vilayet and town are far higher than those

Table 3.36

Distribution of Armenians in the State of Syria according to Intelligence Service estimates, Jan., 1927

A. By Sanjak	Apost.	Cath.
Alexandretta	15,808	-
Aleppo	46,760	10,938
Deir ez Zor	802	-
Homs	1,100	-
Hama	416	(5,546)
Damascus	3,900	1,236
Deraâ	242	-
Total	69,028	12,174

B. In princ.towns	Apost.	Cath.
Alexandretta	5,800	-
Antioch	300	-
Aleppo	46,458	9,600
Deir ez Zor	133	-
Homs	1,100	-
Hama	366	-
Damascus	3,900	1,140
Qouneitra	-	-
Deraâ	-	-

Source: Arch.Dip., Documents in course of classification.

Note: Protestants included under "Apostolics". With the exceptions of Aleppo Vilayet and town, and Damascus Sanjak and town, the figures for Catholics and Apostolics would appear to have been transposed in the original table, and this error has been revised in the writer's tabulation. The extraordinary total of 5,546 Apostolics (Catholics in the original) in the Sanjak of Hama appears to be a straight-forward error in tabulation.

recorded elsewhere while the number of Armenians recorded in the Vilayet outside Aleppo town is lower than that derived from Duguet (1,640 c.f. 3,225). In this latter case Duguet's estimates should be taken in preference. The estimates for Deir ez Zor Sanjak are of a similar order to those presented elsewhere (with the exception of the anomalously high total in the 1927 "Rapport"). Those for Homs and Hama are rather higher than those recorded elsewhere, but still less than the 2,000 refugees recorded in the 1927 Report. The total for Homs is still, however, low enough to allow considerable emigration

after 1922. The "Tableau" confirms the large decrease of Armenian population in Damascus Sanjak, due to the decrease in Damascus town indicated by Duguet. It also confirms the order of Duguet's figures for the Hauran, such that it may be assumed with more certainty that they do refer to Armenians, thus reinstating the idea of increasing dispersal to the Hauran.

Figures presented by the Deuxième Bureau represent the distribution of Armenians at February, 1931 (Table 3.37). They appear to relate to all Armenians, as they include 5,000 Armenians of the Jebel Moussa. They cannot be directly connected with any of the sources so far described, not even with the 2e Bureau's own totals of 1925 (Table 3.33). However, the total for Lebanon is similar to that presented for "Réfugiés A" in the Lebanese Civil Register for December 31, 1930 (Table 3.15), and may therefore have been based on the Civil Register. This derivation would appear all the more likely as it is consistent with that suggested for the 2e Bureau's own figures for 1925. The same derivation cannot be assumed for the other 1931 figures, especially in view of the differing precision with which these figures are presented. Indeed, in view of this variable precision, and the doubt as to their origin, the 2e Bureau figures cannot be accepted as giving an accurate picture of the situation in 1931. In particular, the total for Damascus would appear to contradict Duguet's (admittedly earlier) total. However, these figures do tend to confirm the small dispersal of Armenians to the Hauran.

The "Rapport" for 1937 lists the principal industrial centres inhabited by the Armenian immigrants (Table 3.38). All these estimates are lower than their equivalents on the 1937

Table 3.37

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon, February,1931, according to estimates of the Deuxième Bureau.

Lebanese Republic 39,936 of which 30,000 at Beirut.

State of Syria

Damascus: about 13,000
In the Hauran: 53 families (sic)
Sanjak of Homs: about 700 persons
Sanjak of Hauran: about 195 persons (sic)
Vilayet of Aleppo: 45,000 of whom 42,000 at Aleppo and 2,500 at Djerablous.

Sanjak of Alexandretta

Caza of Alexandretta: about 4,000 refugees of whom 3,800 live in Alexandretta.
Caza of Antioch : about 5,000 persons in the Jebel Moussa grouping
Caza of Kirik Khane: 2,700 Armenians in the grouping of Kirik Khane.
1,000 in the grouping of Bellane
600 others distributed in the villages.

Sanjak of Euphrates & Jezira: about 2,500 Armenians distributed in a dozen villages.

Province of Latakia: about 2,500 refugees, of whom 1,700 at Latakia.

Jebel ed Drouz: a few isolated persons.

Source: Deuxième Bureau (1932) 11-13.

Table 3.38

Principal industrial centres inhabited by Armenian immigrants, 1937

Town	Armenians		Town	Armenians
Aleppo	43,000		Homs	500
Beirut	32,000		Hama	110
Tripoli	1,000		Saida	240
Damascus	8,000			

Source: "Rapport" (1937) 26-27

Registers, an observation which can only be partly explained by the inclusion of indigenous Armenians on the Register. Thus, if the 1937 Report's estimates are accurate, the Registers are again seen to be substantially bloated, casting doubt on the value of all comparisons made on the basis of the Registers. The totals for Lebanon, by contrast, can be reconciled with the more accurate Censuses of 1932 and 1943. That for Beirut (32,000) is substantially greater than the 1932 figure, but this need not imply any incongruency as the former total probably includes Armenians settled in the neighbouring suburb of Bourj-Hammoud.

Non-French estimates

Non-French estimates of Armenian population distribution, including those made by the Nansen Office, are not necessarily all independent of the French official figures, nor are they necessarily less accurate.

The Catholicossate , 1924. Three sets of figures[26] presented in 1924 and 1925, by the Armenian Catholicossate of Cilicia, M. Carle, delegate of the League Refugees Office, and Khanzadian appear to be intimately related, and the original source would appear to be the Catholicossate (Table 3.39). The estimates concern all Armenians, but even allowing for the inclusion of indigenous Armenians, their overall total is higher than other estimates, mainly due to the high estimates for Aleppo Vilayet and Lebanon. The anomalously high total for Aleppo Vilayet in fact agrees only with the high total presented by the Intelligence Service. Of the Lebanese estimates that for Beirut is of the same order as official estimates, while the relatively high totals for other settlements could result from differential inclusion of orphans. Estimates for other provinces correspond rather better with the official figures. The revised summation for the Sanjak of Alexandretta yields 18,000 persons, a total rather greater than in the 1922 Census, but of the same order. Those for Alawi Territory and the region of Damascus correspond roughly with the 1926 Register. For Hama-Homs, the total is rather higher than the 1926 Register, but less than the 1922 Census, seemingly consistent with the decrease in population observed.

Nansen Office estimates In 1926 M.Burnier presented two tables to the Nansen Office showing the distribution of Armenian refugees in Syria and Lebanon. The second table was clearly intended to be more precise than the first, whose estimates are rejected. The second table (Table 3.40) was essentially reproduced by Johnson who, in his report of December, 1926,

Table 3.39

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon, according to figures contained in the archives of the Armenian Catholicossate of Cilicia (n.d., c.1924)

State of Aleppo	
Aleppo & district	55,000
Alexandretta	6,000
Total	61,000
Alawi Territory	
Latakia & district	1,500
Antioch, Soueïdiyé, Qassab [1]	12,000
Total	13,500
State of Damascus	
Damascus & district	13,000
Hama & Homs	1,500
Total	14,500
Greater Lebanon	
Beirut and district	22,500
Djounieh	2,400
Orphans	7,500
Saïda & Tyr	1,200
Zahlé and district	1,500
Tripoli	1,300
Total	36,400
Overall Total	125,400

Note 1 : This total should be transferred to the Sanjak of Alexandretta.

Table 3.40

Distribution of Armenian Refugees in Syria, according to Burnier, August, 1926

Aleppo (refugees)	50,000
Aleppo (previous residents)	8,000
Antioch, Qassab, Alexandretta, Soueïdiyé	15,000
Latakia	2,500
Homs & Hama	1,000
Tripoli	2,000
Beirut & surroundings	30,000
Tyr & Saida	1,000
Villages of Lebanon	5,000
Damascus & the Hauran	10,000
Total	124,500

Source: N.A., C1429, Burnier to Johnson, Aug.18, 1926

presented a breakdown of the figures concerning the Sanjak of Alexandretta (Table 3.41) from which it is clear not only that these figures are related to those of Duguet, but also that, although entitled "Armenian refugees", Burnier's table included some indigenous Armenians additional to those specified at Aleppo. His total of 10,000 refugees in Damascus and the Hauran may possibly have been derived from the 2e Bureau figures of 1925?[27] Otherwise his estimates appear to be independent. The high total for Aleppo (probably for Aleppo Vilayet) is more related to the estimates of the Catholicossate than to the lower figures derived from Duguet. The high estimate for Lebanon (38,000) with its relatively high total

Table 3.41

Distribution of Armenians in the Sanjak of Alexandretta, according to Johnson Report, Dec., 1926

Alexandretta camp	5,350	i.e. 1350 families = Duguet
Beïlane & district	1,350	Locals. Possibly a tabulating error. Compare 1,350 families in Alexandretta
Kirik Khane	1,800	i.e. 440 families = Duguet & 1926 "Rapport".
Rihaniyé	60	= 1926 "Rapport", & 5 x Duguet
Qassab	2,627	} local Armenians
Jebel Moussa	3,843	
Total	15,030	= Burnier, Table 3.40

Source: N.A. C1429, Johnson Report, Dec.18, 1926

for Armenians in Lebanon outside Beirut, also seems, with the exception of the anomalously high total for Beirut, to be more in accordance with the 1926 Register and the Catholicossate than with Duguet. Burnier's totals are reproduced again by Ross, Fry and Sibley,[28] with minor differences, the most important being a substantially reduced total of refugees (36,000) in Aleppo town. All these tables (Burnier, Johnson & Ross, Fry and Sibley) exclude those refugees (noted in other sources) in the north-east and the northern towns of Aleppo Vilayet.

Other estimates Estimates apparently independent, presented by Mécérian in 1928 (Table 3.42) represent the Armenian population within the limits of the "Délégation Apostolique de Syrie."

Table 3.42

Armenian Population within the limits of the "Délégation Apostolique de Syrie," according to Mécérian, 1928

Region	
Beirut	34,070
Damascus	6,300
Alawi Territory	2,197
Alexandretta	22,320
Aleppo	63,440
Total	128,327

Note: of these, 20,000 were Catholics, of whom 9,000 at Aleppo, 3,000 at Beirut and 1,200 at Damascus. These figures exclude those Armenians of the north-east dependent on Baghdād.

Source: Mécérian (1928) (1) 144

The distribution resembles that so far established, but the overall total is inflated by the relatively high estimate for the Aleppo region. Figures presented to H. M. Consul-General in Beirut by Burnier in 1938 (Table 3.43) do not appear to be related to the Civil Registers as, for example, only 3,500 Armenians are recorded at Damascus. They are useful in differentiating between indigenous and refugee Armenians, but the basis of their collection is unknown. Other figures from the Nansen Office for 1938 (Table 3.44) may more likely be related to the Register.

Table 3.43

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon according to figures supplied to H.M. Consul-General, Beirut, by Burnier, 1938

		Tot.Arms.	A.Refs.
Lebanon			
Beirut & district		30,000	
Rest of Lebanon		13,000	
	Total	43,000	31,000
Latakia province			
	Total	4,000	4,000
Syria			
Aleppo & district		55,000	41,000
Damascus "		3,500	7,000
Homs "		1,500	
Hama "		1,000	
Jezira & N.Syria		5,000	
	Total	66,000	48,000
Sanjak of Alexandretta			
	Total	22,000	10,000
Overall total		135,000	95,000

Source: FO371/21915

Table 3.44

Distribution of Armenians in Syria and Lebanon according to Nansen Office estimates, 1938

Lebanon	44,066
Sanjak of Alexandretta	27,000
Aleppo	61,200
Remainder of Syrian territory	18,000
Total	150,266

Source: N.A., C1524

Estimates for Particular Regions and Towns

The picture which emerges of Armenian population distribution from the overall estimates, both official and unofficial, is highly confusing, as there is no reliable set of figures to serve as a base against which to measure the others. The main rudiments of the distribution emerge from the maps, but the detail is obscured by conflicting totals. Again, it is necessary to sharpen the focus of enquiry and consider developments in each particular district and town. To the totals available from the tables discussed are then added the additional estimates for individual locations.

Aleppo Vilayet The 1922 Census, 1926 Register and Burnier, 1938 provide indications of the size of the indigenous Armenian population of Aleppo Vilayet. (Table 3.45) As regards refugees, the estimates of Duguet and the "Rapports" (1925, 1927) roughly correspond, but it is necessary to invoke a very high indigenous population to reconcile these figures with those

Table 3.45

Estimates of the Armenian population of Aleppo Vilayet

Date	Estimate	Source
1923	6,657 A.	Census of 1922, loc.cit, Table 3.4
c.1924	55,000 A.	Catholicossate, loc.cit. Table 3.39
1925	37,300 A.R.	"Rapport" (1924), loc.cit. Table 3.33
1925	37,400 A.R.	Deuxième Bureau (1932)
1926	9,179 A.	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.10
1927	40,000 R.	"Rapport" (1927), loc.cit. Table 3.35
1927	36,065 R.	Duguet (1928) (x 3.8)
1927	57,698 A.	Intelligence Service, loc.cit. Table 3.36
1928	63,440 A	In Aleppo "region". Mécérian (1928) (1) 144
1931	45,000 A.	2e Bureau (1932)
1938	65,654 A.	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22
1938	55,000 A.	Of whom 41,000 refugees. Burnier (1938), loc.cit. Table 3.43.
1938	61,200 A.R.	Probably includes indigenous Armenians. Nansen Office (1938), loc.cit. Table 3.44

Explanation:
A: Armenians
A.R.: Armenian Refugees
R.: Refugees (including non-Armenians)

of the Intelligence Service (1927), Catholicossate (1924) and Mécérian (1928). Given this insecure base it is difficult to comment on the subsequent increase in Armenian population, especially in view of the inaccuracy of the 1938 Register. More information may come from the figures for individual locations.

At Aleppo town, the indigenous population enjoyed immunity from deportation during the war,[29] but thousands of other deportees passed through Aleppo on their way south or before being sent eastwards towards Deir ez Zor. A number of these deportees managed to find refuge in the city, outwitting the Turkish authorities.[30] Many orphans were gathered in by Aharon Shirajian. During the subsequent repatriation, Aleppo again formed an important transit-point, this time for the journey home. It appears that the last deportees were repatriated from Aleppo in October and November, 1919, but some orphans clearly remained, under Shirajian.[31] Refugees began to arrive again in 1920, from Zeytun, Gaziantep and Hadjin,[32] but it is difficult to estimate their number, which was not large. The 1921 immigration also affected Aleppo to a relatively small extent, most of the refugees in the north heading for Alexandretta. Those who did head for Aleppo came for the most part from Gaziantep via Kilis, and their number was officially estimated at 4,500.[33] By contrast, the 1922-24 migration was directed overwhelmingly at Aleppo, where the most reasonable estimate of refugee arrivals would appear to be about 25,500.[34] About 5,600 of these refugees were subsequently aided in their departure southwards to Damascus and Beirut.[35] Another mass

emigration concerned the orphans who, c.1924, were removed in large numbers to other N.E.R. orphanages in Syria.[36] In September, 1921, they had numbered 1,135.[37] However, Aleppo gained again by the arrival of about 200 families in 1929 - 30,[38] and through the flight of Armenians from the Sanjak in 1938-39.[39] Aleppo also gained Armenian population as the centre of the work of rescue of Armenian women and children taken into Arab and Kurdish homes during the deportations. At least 450 children were brought into Aleppo after the Armistice by N.E.R. while, between 1921 and 1930, Karen Jeppe brought in about 1900 women and children.[40] While data on these population movements is of variable quality, there is virtually none on demography or on population movements other than the principal migrations. Consequently it is impossible to judge conflicting population totals (Table 3.46) on the basis of knowledge of population dynamics. It is only possible to single out those estimates whose base seems most reliable, notably that of Duguet, with which the estimates of Shirajian (1925,1926), the 2e Bureau (1925) and the "Rapports" (1924, 1927) seem roughly in agreement. If Duguet's figures are reliable, then some of the other totals presented would appear to be gross over-estimates even allowing for the addition of the indigenous Armenian population. The evolution of the Armenian population after 1927 is obscure, but some weight should be given to the 2e Bureau estimate of 42,000 Armenians in Aleppo in February, 1931.

The pattern of refugee settlement in the north of Aleppo Vilayet in 1927 is illustrated on Duguet's map. It is uncertain whether these Armenians came directly to the northern

Table 3.46

Estimates of the Armenian population of Aleppo town

Date	Estimate		Source
1922	20,000	A.R.	i.e. before Nov.1, 1922. Consul Smart, Aleppo, Jan,6, 1923 (FO 371/9091)
1922	25,000	C.R.	i.e. 7,000 after the Ankara agreement and 18,000 recently arrived. Bulletin de Renseignements, 399, Nov.29, 1922 (Arch. Dip., Turquie, Vol.57)
1923	50,000	A	Of whom 40,000 refugees. Hekimian, Near East Relief, Aleppo , June 26, 1923 (FO 371/9098)
1923	c.50,000	A.	Most of whom refugees. St. John Ward, American Red Cross, Beirut, Nov, 29, 1923 (Arch. A.R.C.)
1923	35-40,000	R.	Of whom 95% Armenian. Consul Vaughan-Russell, Aleppo, Dec.14, 1923 (FO 371/10195)
1924	30,000	C.R.	Weygand, French High Commissioner, March 6, 1924 (Arch. Dip., Turquie, Vol. 258)
1924	c.50,000	R.	Shirajian Report, April 10, 1925 (F.A., 97, 4Q, 1925, pp.15-16) Shirajian was a Protestant Armenian philanthropist involved in relief work.
1924	40,000	A.	Possibly refers to refugees only. Mécérian (1924) 222. Mécérian was a Jesuit priest involved in relief work.
1925	40,000	R.	Including 3,000 Syrians. Shirajian Report, loc.cit.
1925	25,000	A.R.	Carle Report (1925) 6

1926	50-60,000	A.	including c.40,000 refugees. H.M. Consul at Aleppo, quoted by Consul-General Satow, Beirut, May 11, 1926 (FO 371/11550)
1926	58,000	A.	including 50,000 refugees. Burnier, Aug. 18, 1926 (N.A., C1429)
1926	35,000	A.R.	plus 2,500 Syrian refugees. Shirajian, Sept.3, 1926 (F.A, 102, 19, 1927, p.3.)
1926	c.40,000	A.R.	Mécérian (1926) 536-37
1927	32,080	A.R.	Duguet (1928) (i.e. 3.8 x 8442 families)
1927	44,000	A.	Ross, Fry & Sibley (1929). Includes 36,000 refugees. Total indigenous Armenians (8,000) derived from Burnier, loc.cit. above.
1927	56,058	A.	Intelligence Service, loc.cit. Table 3.36
1931	42,000	A	2e Bureau (1932)
1933	40,000	A.	Paul Berron, Le Levant, 10e Ann. nos.6-7, août, 1933 p.3. Berron was director of "Action Chrétienne en Orient."
1934	52,000	A.	of whom 42,000 refugees. Jalabert (1934) 119. Jalabert a Jesuit priest. "42,000 refugees" possibly derived from 2e Bureau, above.
1937	43,000	A.	"Rapport" (1937) 26-27
1938	58,291	A.	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22
1939	55,000	A.	LeLevant, 16e Ann., no.6, avril-mai, 1939, p.2.
1939	61,000	A.	Armenian bishop of Aleppo, May 20, 1939 (FO 371/23302)

planation: as Table 3.45. Also, C.R.: Christian Refugees.

towns in the course of immigration, or whether they moved there after an initial stay in Aleppo. The nuclei of the colonies were, however, established very early (Table 3.47), and there is certainly evidence of some direct settlement. On the other hand, Armenians were described moving to these towns from the urban camps,[41] and it seems likely that both processes were at work. The picture after 1927 is obscure. A comparison between Duguet and the 1938 Register shows large increases in Armenian population in all the cazas concerned, with the exception of Menbidj where the Armenian population appears to have remained static. Such a comparison is dangerous, however, given the inadequacy of data, and a further comparison with other estimates for Bab, Menbidj and Djerablous suggests that, while in each town Armenian population increased until about 1928, there was a subsequent decline in Bab and Menbidj, while only at Djerablous did the population continue to grow or sustain its previous level. (Table 3.48) Insufficient evidence exists to enable similar comparisons to be made for the other settlements. Evidence is even more scanty concerning the Armenians in the south of the Vilayet. Duguet and the 1938 Register suggest some scattering of Armenians in the area, which included the long-established Armenians in Qénayé and Yacoubié.[42]

Table 3.47

Armenian settlement in the northern towns of Aleppo Vilayet, according to Hekimian, 1923

Azaz	1,200 persons	from Kilis
Djerablous	400 "	" Birecik
Menbidj	40 families	" Gaziantep
Bab	40 "	" ? (probably also Gaziantep)

Source: Report by Mr. Hekimian, Aleppo representative of Near East Relief, June 26, 1923 (F O 371/9098)

Table 3.48

Estimates of the Armenian population of the northern towns of Aleppo Vilayet

1. Bab

Date	Estimate	Source
1923	40 F	Hekimian, N.E.R., June 26, 1923 (FO 371/9098)
1927	53 F	Duguet (1928)
1928	45 F	(i.e. 225P) Manoogian to Gracey, March 1, 1928 (N.A., C1431). Manoogian was a Protestant Armenian pastor involved in relief work.
1928	50 F	Burnier to Johnson, April 10, 1928 (N.A., C1431)
1928	50 F	Burnier to Johnson, June 5, 1928 (N.A., C1429)
1937	17F	Nerses Khachadourian, a Protestant Armenian pastor, April 20, 1937 (Levant, 14e Ann., no. 6-7, juin-aout, 1937, p.3)
1938	838 P	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22. Refers to population of caza.

2. Menbidj

Date	Estimate	Source
1923	40 F	Hekimian, loc.cit. above
1925	250 P	Burtt Report, 1925 (N.A., C1425). Joseph Burtt of the Society of Friends visited Syria to examine the problem.
1925	250 P	Hedurige Bull of A.C.O., who visited Menbidj, March 14, 1925 (Levant, 2e Ann., no.5, juin, 1925, p.7)
1927	c.400 P	Bull, who revisited Menbidj, May 12, 1927 (Levant, 4e Ann., no.6, juin, 1927, p.3)
1927	98 F	Duguet (1928)
1928	72 F	(i.e. 370P). Manoogian, loc.cit. above
1928	75 F	Burnier, June 5, 1928, loc.cit. above
1932	30 F	Bull, Levant, 9e Ann., no.7, juillet, 1932, p.2.
1933	c.40 F	Berron, Levant, 10e Ann., no. 6-7, avril-août, 1933, pp.3-4.
1938	358 P	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22. Refers to population of caza.

3. Djerablous

Date	Estimate	Source
1923	400 P	Hekimian, loc.cit. above
1925	750 P	Manoogian, FA, 97, 4Q, 1925, p.5.
1927	310 F	Duguet (1928)
1927	c.1,500 P	Bull, Levant, 4e Ann., no.6, juin, 1927, p.3
1928	c.1,600 P	Manoogian, loc.cit. above
1931	2,500 P	2e Bureau (1932)
1933	1,500 P	Manoogian, FA, 125. Feb., 1933, p.7.
1938	500 F	Chadavérian (1938) 101
1938	(2,934 P)	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22. Refers to the two cazas of Djerablous and Ain el Aarab.

Explanation: F: Families, P: Persons

The North-East In the north-east, it is not known how many of the indigenous Armenian inhabitants of Deir ez Zor and Raqqa caza survived the war. The 1926 Register may include some immigrant Armenians, but the high proportion of Catholics (54%) recorded in the district suggests the survival of an indigenous, largely Catholic, population. However, according to the 2e Bureau figures of 1925 there were already then 1200 refugees in the district, in addition to the indigenous population, although Duguet suggests a lower figure. According to the

Register the Armenian population had grown to 10,087 by 1938, with the Catholic proportion now reduced to 18%, still relatively high in comparison with other areas, but a diminution expected given the addition of a large dominantly non-Catholic immigrant population. (In the newly populated caza of Hassetché however, 47% of Armenians were Catholics in 1938, suggesting a relatively high Catholic component in the migration).

The migrants came most noticeably in 1929-30, but there was migration direct to the area at other times, including, for example, the Armenians from Urfa who made their way via Djerablous to Raqqa. Others came from Aleppo, notably those involved in Karen Jeppe's colonisation scheme, while the numbers may have been further swelled by surviving deportees, and escapees from Arab and Kurdish tribes.[43] Accurate figures concerning these population movements are not available, so it is impossible to judge the accuracy of the 1938 Register total against Burnier's estimate of the same year. Nor do the various unreliable totals for individual settlements[44] contribute much to an understanding of the processes at work. It appears, however, that early migration was to the western half of the district, including the influx of migrants to Raqqa already noted, and the establishment of several colonies by Karen Jeppe in the valley of the Nahr el Belkh (Balikh), between Raqqa and Tell Abiad. However, Hassetché was already receiving Armenians by 1925,[45] though whether direct or via Aleppo is uncertain, and it was the far north-east, especially Kamichliye, which benefitted most from the influx of 1929-30, so that the centre of gravity of Armenian population in the Euphrates and Jezira regions was now found in this town. A remarkable feature of Armenian population distribution in the area was

their concentration in towns along the Turkish-Syrian boundary. This feature, also observable in the north of Aleppo Vilayet, was associated with the formation of twinned settlements, i.e. Turkish border settlements with newly added twins across the border in Syria.[46]

Sanjak of Alexandretta. Alexandretta town had a substantial indigenous Armenian population and the 1922 Census gives the best estimates of its size after the war (c.1,200) (Table 3.49). It subsequently received refugees in 1920 (c.1,300 - 2,500) and in 1921 (c.9,200). Estimates of its Armenian refugee population after these migrations are as high as 20,000, but De Caix found only about 10,000 there in April, 1922, a figure which seems more in accordance with estimates of incoming migrants. There followed an official dispersal of refugees from Alexandretta,[47] and population totals fell accordingly. Thus the 1922 Census and Armenian Catholicossate are agreed on the order of 6,000 Armenians (total) in Alexandretta. Duguet's total of 1350 refugee families (c.5130 persons) is the best indication of the situation by 1927. After this there is little information available on the evolution of the population, the impression of growth indicated by the 1936 Register being offset by the reduced total presented by the 2e Bureau for 1931.

There was also a large indigenous population in the Sanjak outside the centre (see Fig.1.4), concentrated in the Jebel Moussa, the Jebel Aqra (around Qassab), and Antioch town, all in the caza of Antioch, and scattered in some villages in the Amanus in the caza of Alexandretta and the nahié of Beïlane. They do not appear to have benefitted to any large extent by the

Table 3.49

Estimates of the Armenian population of Alexandretta town

Date	Estimate		Source
c.1920	1,690	C.R.	Du Véou (1937) 259
1920	1,500	R	Eliz. S.Webb, Presbyterian Mission, c.Oct., F.A, 79, Jan., 1921, p.10
1921	2,500	C.R.	Vincent Paskès, April 16 (Arch.Laz.) Paskès a Lazarist missionary who followed his refugee flock from Ekbes to Alexandretta.
1921	10,000	A.R.	Annie Davies, of Friends of Armenia , Dec. 14, F.A., 83, 20, 1922, p.9
1922	20,000	A.R.	Davies, Feb.18 (FO 371/7873)
1922	20,000	A.R.	W.Lytle, Irish Mission, Feb.18 (FO 371/7874)
1922	20,000	C.R.	Paskès, March 1, loc.cit.
1922	10,000	R.	De Caix, Sec.Gen., French High Commission, April 1 (Arch.Dip., S-L-C., Vol.143)
1922	15,000	A.R.	Manoogian, April 27 (FO 371/7874)
1922	c.20,000	A.R.	Agent of the "Messageries Maritimes," May 1 (Arch.Dip. S-L, Vol 190).
1922	8-10,000	R.	Davies, July 14, F A, 85, 30, 1922, p.11
1924	6,026	A.	Of whom 4,824 immigrants. Census of 1922, loc.cit. Table 3.9
1924	6,000	A.	Catholicossate, loc.cit. Table 3.39
1925	5,000	A.R.	Burtt Report (1925), loc.cit. Table 3.48
1926	4,200	R.	All Armenians, less 100-120 Assyro-Chaldeans, "Rapport" (1926)

1926	1,350	R.F.	Johnson Report, loc.cit. Table 3.41 and Duguet (1928)
1927	6,000	R.	"Rapport" (1927)
1927	5,800	A.	Intelligence Service, loc.cit. Table 3.36
1931	6,275	A.	of whom 4,710 immigrants. Jacquot (1931) 60
1931	3,800	A.R.	2e Bureau (1932)
1936	8,630	A.	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.19

Explanation: as Table 3.46, Also R.F. Refugee families.

influx of refugees.[48] By contrast, the caza of Kirik Khane owed its rapid growth between 1924 and 1936 to the influx of refugees, especially to the town itself (Table 3.50), where the first migrants arrived in 1922, according to Jalabert.[49] It is not clear whether they came direct from Turkey, or if they reached Kirik Khane via another port of entry, like those Catholic Armenians who were installed with the Lazarists' mission in 1923,[50] and those settled by the Nansen Office. Elsewhere in the caza, the increase in population is attributable to the establishement of a number of colonies by the Nansen Office. (See Chapter 5).

Homs & Hama Within the districts of Homs and Hama, it would appear that the only Armenian settlement was in the towns of Homs and Hama themselves and in Selemiye. Population estimates are rather contradictory. By 1923 according to the Census,

Table 3.50

Estimates of the Armenian population of Kirik Khane

Date	Estimate		Source
1925	1,160 2,144	A.R. I.A.	Sarrail, French High Commissioner, Jan.27 1925 (Arch.Dip. S-L, Vol.177) Such a high estimate of indigenous Armenians is contradicted by other sources.
1925	c.1,700	A.	including 200 Protestants. Manoogian, June 4, 1925 (FA, 98, 1Q, 1926,p.21)
1926	440	A.R.F.	Johnson Report, loc.cit. Table 3.41, Duguet (1928) and "Rapport" (1926)
1928	2,500	A.	M.W. Frearson of Friends of Armenia, FA, 109, 4Q, 1928, p.12. This total apparently excludes those Armenians in the Nansen settlement
1931	3,000	A.	i.e. 2,000 Apost., 500 Cath., 300 Prot. Jacquot (1931) 173
1931	2,700	A.	2e Bureau (1932)
1932	c.4,000	A.	i.e. 2,500 Apost., 1,000 Cath., 3-400 Prot. Tallon (1932) 224,227. Tallon a Jesuit priest.
1933	3,878	A.	Bazantay (1933) 14
1934	>3,500	A.	i.e. >3,000 Apost., c.500 Caths., Jalabert (1934) 113
1936	4,388	A.	i.e. 3,171 Apost., 1,217 Cath. Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.19

Explanation : as Table 3.49. Also I.A.:Indigenous Armenians

there had been considerable immigration to Homs,[51] and a small movement to Selemiye, while the Armenian population of Hama was largely indigenous.[52] After this, while the written sources suggest continuous emigration, the figures become contradictory.[53] Using Duguet and the 1938 Register, there appears a rapid decrease in the population at Homs, 1923-27, with a small increase at Hama and Selemiye, followed by a steady increase in all three towns, 1927-1938. However, if the 1937 "Rapport" estimates are regarded as more accurate than the 1938 Register, then this latter increase becomes negligible, Armenian population remaining static in the towns of Homs and Hama. Other evidence[54] suggests a small absolute (but relatively high percentage) increase in the Armenian population at Selemiye up to 1936. This is the best picture which can be presented, by rather arbitrary selection of population estimates. The large immigration to Homs and subsequent dispersal are, however, clearly established.

Alawi Territory In Alawi Territory, indigenous Armenian communities existed in Latakia and the villages of Aramo and Ghnémié. In 1921, 2,226 refugee arrivals were recorded at Latakia town, and more refugees were transferred there from Alexandretta in 1922.[55] It is then surprising that the totals for Armenians recorded in the Territory by the 1922 Census, and in Latakia caza by the 1926 Register, are substantially less than the number of arrivals at Latakia town. It seems that either there was an error in the number of refugees recorded, or considerable emigration should be invoked. Estimates of the Armenian population of Latakia in 1925-27 are anyway inconsistent, though most emphasis should probably be put on

Duguet (Table 3.5). After 1927, there are insufficient reliable estimates available to enable any assessment of Armenian population growth in Latakia and the growth suggested by a comparison of Duguet and the 1938 Register may be illusory given the inaccuracies of the latter. Information on the growth of the Armenian population outside Latakia town is similarly lacking. The 1926-38 comparison above would suggest a movement away from the smaller centres, in which some refugees were reported as settling,[56] while the disproportionate increase in the Armenian population of Massiaf caza should be explained by the creation of the colony of Mouchachène Arménе by the Nansen Office.[57]

Damascus and southern Syria Damascus contained a small Armenian community before the war, and the reduced 1922 Census total of 1,280 seems the more realistic of the two Census totals for indigenous Armenians after the war, if rather high compared with pre-war estimates. Subsequently, Damascus received immigrants from both Beirut and the north. Of the refugees evacuated from Cilicia by sea by the French authorities, Damascus received 4,500. More may have reached the city from Alexandretta, and another substantial group, comprising at least 3,000 refugees, arrived from Aleppo in 1923?[58] Thus by the close of 1923, at least 7,500 Armenian refugees had arrived in Damascus. Subsequently there was a mass exodus as a result of the events accompanying the extension of the Druse Revolt to Damascus in 1925. There are no reliable estimates of the number of refugees who fled from Damascus to Beirut at this time,[59] but the total was clearly of the order of thousands: Duguet, for example, notes 4,000. This migration history makes

Table 3.51

Estimates of the Armenian population of Latakia town

Date	Estimate		Source
1922	2,226	C.R.	Arch.Dip., loc.cit. Table 3.2
1923	1,500	R.	Eliz. W.Webb, Presbyterian Mission, FA, 89, 4Q, 1923, p.15
1924	1,500	A.	In Latakia & district. Catholicossate, loc.cit. Table 3.39
1925	1,430	A.R.	In Alawi Territory. 2e Bureau (1932)
1926	1,025	A.	In Latakia caza. Civil Register, loc.cit. Table. 3.10
1926	2,500	A.R.	Burnier, Aug.18, 1926, loc.cit. Table 3.40
1927	1,353	A.	Duguet (1928)
1927	2,300	R.	"Rapport" (1927). Uncertain if this estimate relates to town or region.
1929	1,046	A.	Jacquot (1929) 160
1931	1,700	A.R.	2e Bureau (1932)
1933	>1,300	A.	i.e. c.1,250 Apost & c.80 Prot.Manoogian, FA, 127, Oct., 1933, p.6
1935	>1,000	A.	FA, 134, Feb., 1936, p.5
1938	1,700	A.	Weulersse (1938) 56
1938	2,026	A.	In Latakia caza. Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22

Explanation: as Table 3.49

it possible to understand the inconsistencies regarding Damascus already observed. Before the events of 1925 the estimates (Table 3.52) suggest a total Armenian population, the bulk of which were refugees, of between 10,000 and 15,000, a total retained in a few post-1925 estimates. Other sources are unanimous in presenting totals after the events reduced by the order of thousands to between 3,500 and 5,000: Duguet's total of about 829 families is probably the most accurate. Subsequently the Armenian population appears to have risen to about 8,000 by 1937, although there are contradictory estimates. Certainly by 1938 the total was much less than that cited by the Civil Register, by now totally divorced from reality as regards Damascus.

Apart from the material already presented, there is practically no information available regarding the Armenian population of the rest of Damascus Sanjak, the Hauran and the Jebel ed Drouz, beyond one letter[60] which confirms the small dispersal of refugees to these areas.

Lebanon At Beirut, it is not known how many indigenous Armenians survived the war. The first refugees, however, arrived in 1920, from Gaziantep, and included the N.E.R. orphans. As many as 2,000 were reported.[61] The great influx to Beirut, however, was at the end of 1921, when about a thousand refugees arrived using their own resources, and 10,466 were transported to Beirut by the French. Of these latter, however, only 4,562 were still in Beirut by January 21, 1922,[62] about 6,000 having been dispersed elsewhere, notably to Damascus. More refugees arrived in 1922, before the next large immigration,

Table 3.52

Estimates of the Armenian population of Damascus

Date	Estimate		Source
1923	10,905	A.	of whom 5,997 immigrants. Census of 1922, loc.cit. Table 3.6. This breakdown contradicted by another tabulation (Arch.Dip., Documents in course of classification) which notes 1,280 indigenous Armenians & 11,565 refugees.
1923	>12,000	A.R.	Consul Palmer, Damascus, Sept.8, 1923 (FO 371/9057)
1923	13-14,000	R.	St. John Ward, American Red Cross, Nov.9, 1923 (Arch.A.R.C.)
1924	13,000	A.	In Damascus & district. Catholicossate, loc.cit. Table 3.39.
1924	15,000	A.	Mécérian (1924) 222
1924	11,548	A.R.	Keeling to St.John Ward, American Red Cross, March 20, 1924 (Arch.A.R.C.)
1925	13,000	A.R.	Burtt Report (1925), loc.cit. Table 3.48
c.1925	c.14,000	A.	Ross, Fry & Sibley (1929) 266
c.1925	13,000	A.	of whom 500 indigenous. Acting-Consul Vaughan-Russell, Damascus, May 31, 1926 (FO 371/11550)
1925	10,000	A.	In State of Damascus. 2e Bureau (1932)
1926	13,153	A.	In Damascus Sanjak. Civil Register, loc. cit. Table 3.10
1926	10,000	A.R.	In Damascus & Hauran. Burnier, Aug.18, 1926, loc.cit. Table 3.40

1926	3,500	A.R.	Consul Vaughan-Russell, Damascus, loc. cit. above.
1927	3,150	A.R.	Duguet (1928) (x 3.8)
1927	200	A.R.	"Rapport" (1927)
1927	5,040	A.	Intelligence Service, loc.cit. Table 3.36
c.1927	6-7,000	A.	Ross, Fry & Sibley (1929)266
1928	5,000	A.	Mécérian (1928) (1) 147
1928	5-6,000	A.R.	Rept. by Dorothy Redgrave, Friends of Armenia, Nov., 1928 (N.A., C1431)
1931	13,000	A.	2e Bureau (1932)
1931	10,634	A.	including 9,668 immigrants. Besnard (1931) 247, citing Civil Register figures
1935	6,500 - 7,000	A.R.	Consul Mackereth, March 7, 1935 (FO 371/ 19676)
1937	8,000	A.	"Rapport" (1937)
1938	18,309	A.	Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.22. But the true figure was substantially less than this. See note 3.24
1938	3,500	A.	in Damascus & district. Burnier (1938), loc.cit. Table 3.43
1938	6,000	A.	Berron, Levant, 15e Ann., no.5-6, mai-juillet, 1938, p.2.

Explanation: as Table 3.49

including a number of Maraş orphans and refugees, and a number of refugees dispersed from Alexandretta.[63] There are no figures available. Later, between 1922 and 1924, at least 1,000 refugees, sent southwards from Aleppo, reached Beirut.[64] The total was swelled further by those Armenians who fled to Beirut as a result of the Damascus troubles, 4,000 according to Duguet. Finally, Beirut benefitted from the flight from the Sanjak, receiving refugees in 1938 and 1939, although none were evacuated to Beirut directly. Interpretation of the various estimates of Armenian population in Beirut (Table 3.53) is difficult because while some estimates refer to Armenians in Beirut and surroundings, others only count refugees within the city-limits. At the same time, information concerning immigration is inadequate. Nevertheless, it does seem difficult to reconcile the early estimates of Armenian population with migration history, and, in these circumstances, the first estimate which can be treated with respect is the 1932 Census total. This may be compared with that for 1943, but in so doing it is apparent that the real increase in the Armenian population is disguised by the growth of the suburb of Bourj-Hammoud, outside the city limits. Clearly the population estimates for Beirut can only be understood after examination of the distribution of the Armenians within the city.

Outside Beirut, there is little to add from supplementary sources to the picture of population distribution in Lebanon already described. There is some confirmation of an initial dispersal from arrival points, followed by a decrease of Armenian population in outlying towns and villages.[65] In any case, the number of orphans who were transferred to Lebanon

Table 3.53

Estimates of the Armenian population of Beirut

Date	Estimate		Source
1922	c.30,000	A.R.	The Friends of Armenia, Jan.31,1922 (FO371/7789)
1923	20-25,000	A.	Delore (1923) 113
1924	20,000	A.	Mécérian (1924)
1924	22,500	A.	in Beirut & district. Catholicossate, loc. cit. Table 3.39
1924	25,000	A.	of whom 17,000 within city limits. Marshall Fox (S.F. MS Vol.216). Fox, of the Society of Friends, involved himself in the prcblem.
1925	25,000	A.R.	Burtt Report (1925), loc.cit. Table 3.48
1926	22,000	A.R.	Poidebard (1926) 16. Poidebard was a Jesuit priest.
1926	c.20,000	A.R.	Burnier to Johnson, Aug.7, 1926 (N.A., C1429)
1926	30,000	A.R.	in Beirut & environs. Burnier, Aug.18,1926 loc.cit. Table 3.40
1926	22,038	A.	In city limits. Civil Register, loc.cit. Table 3.10
1927	21,242	R.	Duguet (1928)
1927	20,000	R.	"Rapport" (1927)
1931	30,000	A.	2e Bureau (1932)
1932	20,000	A.R.	Jude, Burnier & Lubet (1932) 173
1932	22,413	A.	of whom 18,244 Apost., 4,169 Cath. Census of 1932, loc.cit. Table 3.16. i.e. in city limits
1937	32,000	A.	"Rapport" (1937)
1938	30,000	A.	in Beirut & district. Burnier, 1938, loc. cit. Table 3.43
1943	22,485	A.	in city limits. Revised O.C.P. Census. loc. cit. Table 3.28

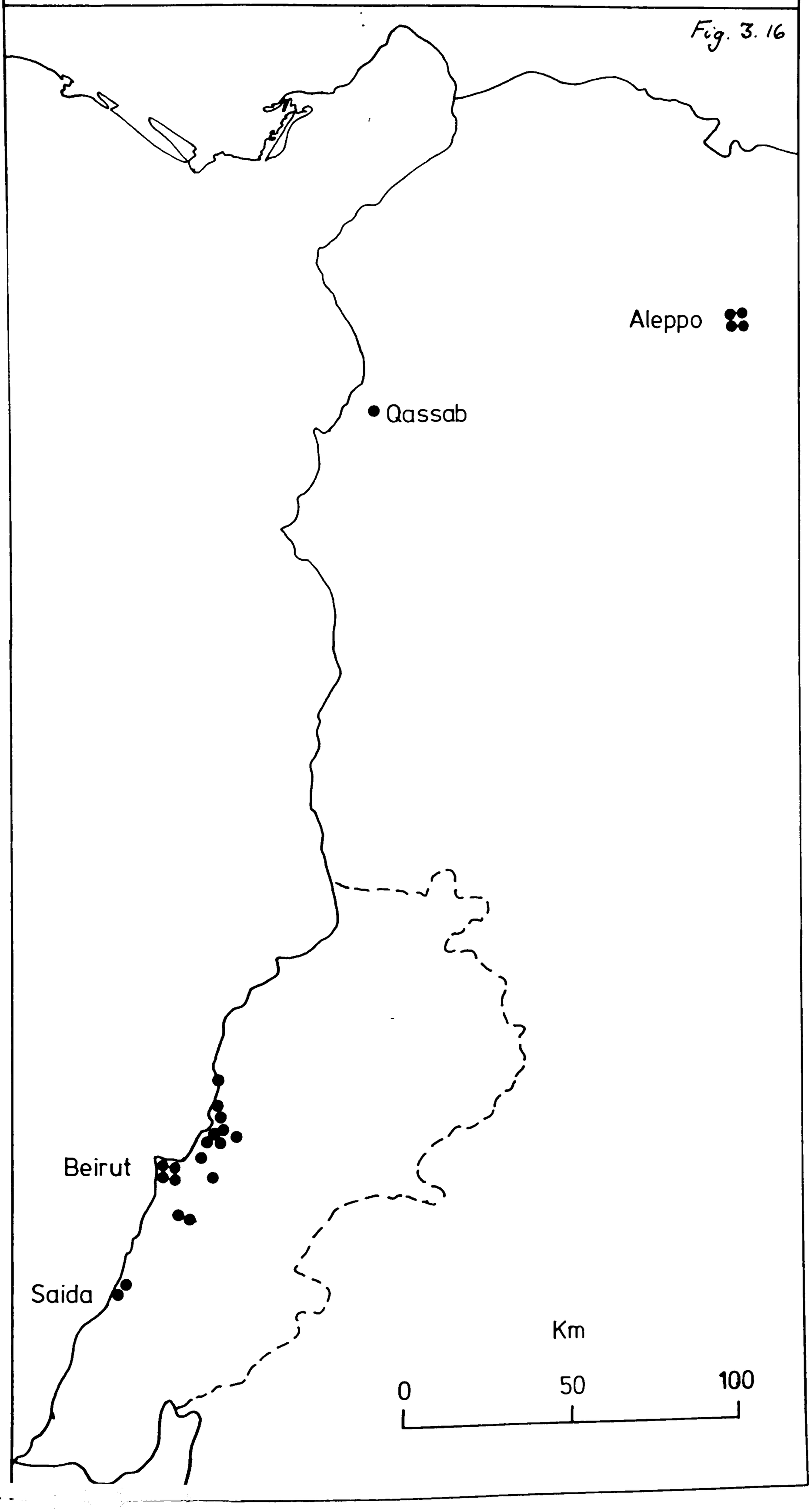
Explanation : as Table 3.49

(especially in 1922) was so great that it is difficult to understand the changing population distribution of the Lebanon before the distribution of orphanages has been examined.

Orphans. The orphans, as has been observed, arrived in 1920, 1921 and especially in 1922 when the Near East Relief brought its orphans from interior Turkey to safety in Lebanon. At the end of 1922, the number of Armenian orphans in Syria and Lebanon may well have been over 10,000, so that they formed a significant percentage of the Armenian population. The orphans were progressively outplaced throughout the period, a number finding their way abroad. Thus the number of orphanages was progressively reduced, the N.E.R. closing all its own orphanages or transferring their management to other hands by 1930[66] Fig.3.16 shows the distribution of these orphanages, based on the information reproduced in Appendix 1. The great majority of the orphanages were located in the Lebanon, and in the absence of reliable informationm it seems likely that this reflected the security offered by the Christian population, and possibly also the availability of Mission buildings for orphanages. The existence of these orphanages clearly accounts partly for the apparent dispersal of refugees in Lebanon noted in the discussion above. Thus the presence of orphans may help to explain the concentration of Armenian population in Kesrouane, Meten and Saida observed from the 1926 Civil Register. The subsequent decrease in the Armenian population in the regions of Saida and Kesrouane between 1926 and 1932, sustained to 1943, may similarly be explained by outplacing of orphans. There was no parallel decline in Meten, of course, due to the rise of Bourj-Hammoud. The 1943 figures

Distribution of Orphanages for Armenians in Syria and Lebanon 1920-1939

Fig. 3.16



in fact reveal the persistence of former orphanage sites as minor nodes of Armenian population. Duguet's figures offer no confirmation of this picture, as they appear to exclude orphans, and this may possibly explain the inconsistencies between Duguet and the 1926 Register noted above.

Rural-urban distribution

Estimates of the rural-urban distribution of the Armenians may be made using the figures of Duguet and the O.C.P. Census of Lebanon (revised to 1943) relating to individual settlements. The overall Armenian population total (or refugee population total in the case of Duguet) may be compared with the total number of Armenians (or refugees) in the administrative centres of cazas, producing an estimate of rural-urban distribution based on an administrative definition of "urban" status. Duguet's figures (to which a population/family multiplier of 3.8 has been applied where appropriate, and from which the indigenous population of the Jebel Moussa has been excluded) reveal a refugee population 93.5% urban, due especially to their concentration in the cities of Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus and Alexandretta. The O.C.P. Census of Lebanon yields a corresponding value of only 49.3%. The discrepancy between the figures is explained by the exclusion of Bourj-Hammoud from the "urban" population in compiling the 1943 figure. If Bourj-Hammoud (a suburb of Beirut) is classed as "urban" then the urban percentage of the Armenian population rises to 88.2%, a figure which rises again to 95.2% if the recent Armenian arrivals from the Sanjak of Alexandretta are excluded from consideration. This percentage urban (95.2%) then compares

well with that of Duguet for Lebanon alone (96.3%). These urban percentages are very high and may be compared with that of the population as a whole. No contemporary estimates of the urban population of Syria and Lebanon together are available, but the urban proportion of the Syrian population was only 37% in 1960[67] and had been increasing during the century. That of Lebanon was 37.9% in 1943, defined as above according to the O.C.P. Census. If Bourj-Hammoud were classed as "urban" this figure would still rise only to about 40%. In other words, in both Syria and Lebanon, the urban proportion of the total population was substantially less than that of the Armenian population, which was overwhelmingly concentrated in the towns. This concentration was also marked in comparison with the situation of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire before their migration to Syria and Lebanon. Although this situation is rather obscure, the migrations would appear to have been accompanied by a substantial rural-urban shift.

Conclusions

The available evidence concerning the distribution of the Armenians has now been described. The figures are inadequate and the resulting picture admittedly confusing. It is particularly unfortunate that no single set of figures concerning the distribution of the Armenians is entirely satisfactory: all must be examined in the light of developments in particular locations. Moreover, the basis of compilation of the figures is in most cases either unknown or known to be unreliable, so that to conduct statistical analysis using these figures is to invite error. Nevertheless, some conclusions must be attempted. Analysis of segregation on the basis of

the available Census and Civil Register material (with the exception of the later Lebanese Censuses statistically highly suspect) did suggest that the Armenians maintained a distinctive ethnic settlement pattern, though segregation appears to have been higher between the Armenians and the non-Christian population than between the Armenians and other Christians. At this regional level there appears to have been very little difference between the distribution of Apostolics and Catholics, and no apparent significant relationship between the distribution of Armenian and non-Armenian Catholics. There remained at the end of the study-period a persistent relationship between initial migration history and population distribution, implying considerable inertia in the settlement process. Thus Beirut, Aleppo and Alexandretta, which served as the principal arrival points for the refugees, all retained considerable Armenian populations throughout the period. There was nevertheless considerable dispersal, notably to Damascus, but also for example to Homs, to the villages of Lebanon, to Kirik Khane and possibly to the north-east, which also requires explanation. The refugees were overwhelmingly concentrated in the towns, especially in the four centres of Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus and Alexandretta, and this concentration seems to have been increasing during the study period, with secondary centres being deserted in favour of the principal cities. There was also some relationship between the pre-war pattern of Armenian population and the pattern of refugee settlement, notably the great concentration at Aleppo, though no causal connection need be implied. It is evidently impossible, in fact, to use the population data to infer a great deal about the processes in operation, or as the base for a quantitative analysis of

locational decisions. The figures merely enable a few tentative conclusions to be drawn, and some interesting points of detail to be identified. They do enable the population totals presented in Chapter 2 to be assessed more critically, but the picture remains obscure: in some cases it is as difficult to assess estimates for particular locations as it is to assess the overall total, and to combine uncertain and approximate individual estimates to provide an overall total would be to invite compound error. It would not therefore be a worthwhile exercise. As far as both population totals and distribution are concerned it is best to allow the inadequate and confusing statistics to speak for themselves.

Chapter 4

Economic Constraints on Settlement

Introduction

The refugees who arrived in Syria and Lebanon were in many cases deprived not only of their homes, but of their possessions as well. There was, of course, some variation in the amount of possessions they managed to bring out with them. Thus the migration from Cilicia at the end of 1921, which had been anticipated as early as March of that year, was for the most part on a more orderly basis than the later migration of 1922-24 from interior Turkey, when the Armenians left precipitately and had little or no time to prepare. Likewise, while the earlier arrivals in 1929 sometimes got through with their animals, others were robbed of everything. To a large extent, the Armenians began their new life in Syria and Lebanon as impoverished refugees. The economic constraints on settlement might therefore be expected to have been severe.

This chapter examines the extent to which Armenian settlement was restricted by economic constraints or channelled by economic opportunities. Paradoxically, however, while the constraints involved might be expected to have been severe, little or no relevant information is available on the decision-making process, except with regard to settlement schemes, considered in the next chapter. The lack of data on economic constraints is ironic in view of the fact that the assumption behind the settlement schemes was precisely that without

intervention the Armenians would be unable to resettle themselves (See Chapter 5). However, while this assumption was basic to the settlement schemes, it was not supported by any detailed study of the economic forces involved. The Nansen Office settlement scheme was indeed pursued on a somewhat ad hoc basis, and the next chapter will reveal some of the contradictory assumptions made regarding, for example, the number of "agricultural" families among the refugees. Moreover, once the settlement scheme began, discussion of why action was necessary in the first place became secondary to discussion of practical solutions (i.e. to an essentially ill-defined problem), and this situation is reflected in the record of the decision-making process.

An examination of the relationship between Armenian settlement and economic opportunities and economic constraints is therefore necessary to test the assumptions behind the settlement schemes. Given that information on the decision-making process is lacking, one is confined to a somewhat dangerous comparison of occupational structure and economic status with observed settlement preferences. It is of course precisely such structural comparison which the study in principle tries to avoid. There is no methodological inconsistency here, however, for the necessity to search for explanations outside the record of the decision-making process was acknowledged in the Introduction. The chapter begins with an analysis of occupational structure, which is related to the settlement pattern, and some tentative conclusions are drawn regarding the locational attraction of assumed occupations. This analysis also serves as an introduction

to a discussion of the economic status of the Armenians, which is also related to the settlement pattern in order to assess the nature and extent of economic constraints on settlement. In the conclusion the results of the analysis of occupational structure and economic status are related to each other. It must be stressed that these conclusions, while of considerable import, are based on structural comparisons rather than the preferred analysis of the decision-making process. They should therefore be treated with reserve.

Before examining how the Armenians fitted into the economic system of Syria and Lebanon, it will be helpful to outline the main developments within that system during the period of Armenian settlement.[1] The economy of the Levant states remained throughout this period, according to Longrigg, "humbly and sometimes precariously viable".[2] The base of the economy was of course agriculture. In this period the region witnessed the expansion of the cultivated area following the establishment of security, the improvement of crops and produce, progress in irrigation, the establishment of a cadastral survey with accompanying land-reform and fiscal reform, and the beginning of the replacement of the old share-cropping and "mush'a" methods by private-holdings and the capitalist farm-system. Cereals were the most important crops grown, but the importance of industrial raw materials increased during the period. Alongside this agricultural expansion industry, itself based mainly on agricultural raw materials, witnessed a decay of the traditional industries, characterised by primitive methods of production, and the development of new industries, that is industries involving factory production, sometimes through the modernisation of the

old. The decay of the traditional industries resulted from foreign competition, the closure of traditional markets following the establishment of new trade barriers, and changes in fashion. The development of the modern industries could not offset the loss of employment due to the decay of the traditional sector, and serious unemployment resulted. Alternative employment opportunities were offered by the continuous improvement of the infrastructure of the country through public works and the concessionary companies. Notable was the development of the road-system and parallel development of motor-traffic. But even these opportunities were limited by the reduction of government expenditure on public works during the depression. Thus the opportunities offered to the Armenians were limited. While the land offered possibilities for settlement, the industrial outlook was bleak, unless they could capture a disproportionate share of employment in the modern sector. Public works offered a promising but unstable alternative. How did the Armenians respond to this situation? And how did their response influence their settlement?

Occupational Structure & Settlement

Occupational Structure : overall estimates

No single source is available to give an overall assessment of the occupational structure of the refugees. Two sources, 'L'Indicateur Syrien' and the 'Annuaire Commercial industrial touristique,' published by Alphonse Ghanem in 1935-6 provide information on the principal towns but not on the smaller towns and villages. Since, however, the Armenian

population was overwhelmingly urban and concentrated especially in the four cities of Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus and Alexandretta, the conclusions derived from the directories may have some general application.

The Indicateurs contain for each of the principal towns of Syria and Lebanon nominal lists of those involved in each trade or profession from which it is possible to abstract Armenian names for analysis.[3] Ideally one would wish to apply to this data the International Standard Classification of Occupations,[4] but the Indicateur lists are not in a state to permit this; in particular they do not differentiate, in listing many products, between sales and production. Moreover the Indicateurs are highly selective, registering employers or the self-employed but not employees. Thus the results of the analysis will not be representative of the Armenian population as a whole. Granted these difficulties, however, it is still possible to use the Indicateurs to compare the occupational structure of the Armenians with that of the rest of the population. The classification adopted in this analysis distinguishes between Services, Professions and the sale and manufacture of specific Products. No distinction between sales and manufacture is possible, nor any analysis of the mode of production.

Using the Indicateurs, Table 4.1 compares the entries of Armenians in occupational groups with entries of the rest of the population in 1924.[5] It also compares entries of Armenian names recorded in 1928-9 but not in 1924 with entries of the rest of the population in 1928-9. While the 1924 entries might be expected to reflect the occupations[6] of

Table 4.1

Occupational Structure of Armenians in the principal towns of Syria & Lebanon (from L'Indicateur Syrien)

	1924							1928 - 9						
	Armenians					Others		New Armenian entries					Others	
	Aleppo	Beirut	Other [1]	Total	%	Total	%	Aleppo	Beirut	Other[1]	Total	%	Total	%
Agricultural and manufactured products	23	62	6	91	38.889	7150	77.633	14	167	4	185	58.917	7,434	75.718
Financial services	8	9	6	23	9.829	731	7.937	4	2	12	18	5.732	733	7.466
Other Services	-	1	-	1	0.427	114	1.238	2	1	-	3	0.955	162	1.650
Professions	42	50	27	119	50.854	1215	13.192	70	28	10	108	34.395	1,489	15.166
Total	73	122	39	234	99.999	9210	100.000	90	198	26	314	99.999	9,818	100.00

Note1: i.e. Damascus, Alexandretta, Antioch, Baalbek, Zahlé, Tyr, Saida, Tripoli, Djounieh, Latakia, Djeblé, Tartouss, Banias, Homs, Hama.

the indigenous Armenians, the new Armenian entries in 1928-9 might reflect the preferred occupations[6] of the immigrant refugee Armenians. The table shows in 1924 a marked preference compared with the non-Armenian population for the Professions. Amongst new entries in 1928-9 this preference was reduced in favour of Agricultural and Manufactured Products, as one would expect, but there was still over-representation in the Professions. Possibly the Armenians who succeeded in re-establishing themselves in the Professions found it easier to do so than those who endeavoured to re-establish themselves in industry. As regards preferred product-classes, data from the Indicateurs concern almost exclusively Beirut and Aleppo, and will be considered when the Armenians' occupational structure in those two cities is considered below.

Table 4.2 shows the occupational structure of the Armenians in the principal towns of Syria (excluding Lebanon) using the data of Ghanem, classified on the same basis. The data, concerning all Armenians, not just refugees, again reveal an overwhelming concentration in the Professions, and corresponding under-representation in Agricultural and Manufactured Products. Again the results are not representative of the Armenian refugee population as a whole. More interesting is the distribution of the Armenians by product-classes (Table 4.3). Here comparison with the distribution of the rest of the population yields an Index of Dissimilarity of 39.1, not particularly high, with the Armenians over-represented in five classes; Paper, Printing & Related, Machinery & Precision Instruments, Furniture, Leather & shoes, and Metals. These results are devalued, however, by the small size of some

Table 4.2

Occupational Structure of Armenians in the principal towns of Syria,[1] from Ghanem, 1935-6.

	Armenians	%	Other	%
Agricultural and manufactured products	37	23.270	1644	75.551
Financial Services	20	12.579	160	7.353
Other Services	-	-	11	0.506
Professions	102	64.151	361	16.590
Total	159	100.000	2176	100.000

Note 1: i.e. Aleppo, Alexandretta, Antioch, Latakia, Soueida, Damascus, Homs, Hama.

Table 4.3

Occupational Structure (by product[1]) of Armenians in the principal towns of Syria, from Ghanem, 1935-6

	Armenians	Others	% AS	% other	Difference in %	% As/% others
Agriculture	-	83	-	6.019	6.019	-
Food & Drink	5	310	14.706	22.480	7.774	0.654
Oils, soap and perfume	-	32	-	2.321	2.321	-
Metals	4	134	11.765	9.717	2.048	1.211
Textiles	7	525	20.588	38.071	17.483	0.541
Leather & shoes	3	69	8.824	5.004	3.820	1.763
Construction	1	83	2.941	6.019	3.078	0.489
Machinery & precision instruments	5	31	14.706	2.248	12.458	6.542
Glass & porcelain	-	34	-	2.466	2.466	-
Paper, printing & related	4	10	11.765	0.725	11.040	16.228
Furniture	2	43	5.882	3.118	2.764	1.886
Products not elsewhere classified	3	25	8.824	1.813	7.011	4.867
Total	34	1379	100.001	100.001	78.282	

1 less "Products unclassifiable"

classes, and the small population of Armenians on which they are based.

It might be expected that the Armenians, lacking an inherited role in the regional economy, and with their life-style disturbed by the migrations, would be flexible in their approach to occupational selection, i.e. more prepared than the indigenous population to participate in the modern industrial sector, and that they would gravitate to those centres offering opportunities in this sector, (acting thereby incidentally as agents of innovation and modernisation). An Industrial Census, taken by the French authorities in 1937[7] differentiates between indigenous and immigrant labour in "new" and "old" industries, and thus enables some appreciation of the contribution of the Armenians (who formed the bulk of the immigrants) to the modern sector (Table 4.4). The immigrant workers were mainly concentrated in Aleppo (45.73%), Beirut (35.64%), Damascus (9.13%) and the Concessionary Companies (7.26%), a distribution which reflects the distribution of the Armenians in the country, and provides confidence in the use of "immigrants" as a surrogate for Armenians. They provided 10.10% of the industrial workforce (as against about 4% of the country's population). 30.45% of the immigrants were employed in "new" industries, 69.55% in the "old", but their distribution between "old" and "new" industries was not uniform over the country, their concentration in "new" industries being greatest at Beirut and in the Concessionary Companies. A much greater percentage of the immigrants (30.45%) than of the rest of the working population (14.66%) was employed in "new" industries. However, this situation

Table 4.4

Artisans and Workmen in the Principal Industries of Syria and Lebanon, 1937

	Immigs.	% Immigs in town	Immigs in New Inds.	%	Others	Others in New Inds.	%
Beirut	7,342	35.64	3,012	41.02	19,371	13,741	70.94
Damascus	1,881	9.13	220	11.70	29,398	5,655	19.24
Aleppo	9,421	45.73	2,143	22.75	35,249	4,522	12.83
Tripoli	183	0.88	14	7.65	12,703	340	2.68
Saida	24	0.12	2	8.33	1,463	58	3.96
Homs	212	1.03	-	-	6,663	375	5.63
Hama	-	-	-	-	1,915	-	-
Concessionary Companies	1,495	7.26	869	58.13	5,633	1,284	22.79
Diverse	43	0.21	13	30.23	70,931	901	1.27
Total	20,601	100	6,273	30.45	183,326	26,876	14.66

Source: "Rapport" (1937) 218-19

varied greatly between individual settlements. Thus in Aleppo and the Concessionary Companies a greater percentage of immigrants than of others was employed in the new industries, while this situation was reversed at Beirut and Damascus. In fact, in these four classes as a whole, where the immigrants were largely concentrated, there was little difference between the percentage of immigrants (31.00%) and others (28.11%) in "new" industries. The difference between the overall percentages of immigrants and others in "new" industries is to be accounted for by the small percentages employed in the "new" industries in the smaller towns (grouped under Diverse) where the Armenians did not settle. In other words, the Armenians settled in the cities which contained most "new" industry, but within those cities as a whole they did not provide a disproportionally large percentage of the workforce in the "new" industries.

No breakdown is given in the 1937 "Rapport" of the results of this Census by industry. However, an anonymous report based on the Census lists the principal trades in which the immigrants engaged, without a numerical breakdown (Table 4.5).

Apart from these tables, a number of individual references in the literature suggest a broad outline of Armenian occupational structure. While a number of Armenians found work as retailers in the camps,[8] it seems that the bulk of them found work either as skilled artisans,[9] especially, according to one source, in the mechanical trades, or as unskilled labourers. The sources insist on the contribution made by Armenian labour to public works and to construction, both public and private.[10] The tendency to participate in modern

Table 4.5

Principal trades in which immigrants engage in Syria and Lebanon, 1937

Men	Women
tailors	embroidery
bootmakers	rug making
mechanics	weaving
turners	domestic work
fitters	
plumbers	
bricklayers and masons	
carpenters	
concrete-workers	
cabinet-makers	
boiler-makers	
hairdressers	
bakers	
chauffeurs	
soldiers	

Source: Anon, I.L.R. (1939) 522-23. Based on the Industrial Census of 1937

industry, suggested inconclusively by the 1937 Industrial Census, is stressed,[11] their innovations in iron-founding being noted in particular. The participation of the women in the fabrication of woollen carpets, in the fine linen trade, and in embroidery is noted[12] and the importance of the Armenians in the textile industry is stressed.[13] Female participation in the textile industry is confirmed by Table 4.5. It undoubtedly contributed greatly to the apparently large

proportion of Armenians in the textile industry as a whole. Moussalli[14] draws attention to the trade in lace and Persian carpets, both, he claims, introduced by Armenians after the war. By contrast, while some Armenians undoubtedly managed to establish themselves in commerce or the liberal professions,[15] most were not so privileged, while government service and the law were effectively closed to non-Arabic-speakers.[16] Very few became agricultural workers;[17] their settlement principally in urban centres has already been observed. The picture which emerges from these sources is, in fact, very different from that derived from the directories, with their emphasis on the Professions. More light may be shed on the true situation by an examination of the evidence at the local level.

Aleppo

The Indicateur figures (Table 4.6) reveal for 1924 an Armenian occupational structure similar to that of the country as a whole, while new entries in 1928-9 by contrast exhibited a continued and exaggerated preference for the Professions, with a very small percentage in Agricultural and Manufactured Products. With regard to product-classes entries of Armenians in 1924 were too few to permit meaningful analysis (Table 4.7). For the record the figures yield an I.D. between Armenians and others of 49.9, with the Armenians over-represented in Metals, Textiles, Leather & Shoes, and Construction. Entries of newly-recorded Armenians in 1928-9 were also too few to permit meaningful analysis (Table 4.8). They yield an I.D. between new Armenian entries and others of 72.9, considerably higher than the 1924 figure, indicative of greater ethnic specialisation.

Table 4.6

Occupational Structure of Armenians in Aleppo (from l'Indicateur Syrien).

	1924				1928-9			
	Armenians		Others		New Armenian entries		Others	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Agricultural and manufactured products	23	31.507	783	76.093	14	15.556	852	70.882
Financial Services	8	10.959	128	12.439	4	4.444	131	10.899
Other Services	-	-	5	0.486	2	2.222	13	1.082
Professions	42	57.534	113	10.982	70	77.778	206	17.138
Total	73	100.000	1029	100.000	90	100.000	1202	100.001

Table 4.7

Occupational Structure (by product) of Armenians in Aleppo, 1924.(from l'Indicateur Syrien)

	Armenians	Others	% As	% Others	Difference in %s	% As/% other
Agriculture	-	80	-	12.177	12.177	-
Food & drink	2	266	11.111	40.487	29.376	0.274
Oils, Soap & perfume	-	15	-	2.283	2.283	-
Metal-work	5	39	27.778	5.936	21.842	4.680
Textiles & clothing	6	160	33.333	24.353	8.980	1.369
Leather & shoes	3	32	16.667	4.871	11.796	3.422
Construction	2	25	11.111	3.805	7.306	2.920
Machinery & precision instruments	-	6	-	0.913	0.913	-
Glass & porcelain	-	3	-	0.457	0.457	-
Paper,printing & related	-	14	-	2.131	2.131	-
Furniture	-	5	-	0.761	0.761	-
Products not elsewhere classified	-	12	-	1.826	1.826	-
Total	18	657	100.000	100.000	99.848	1.000

Table 4.8 Occupational Structure (by product) of new Armenian entries in l'Indicateur Syrien, 1928-9, for Aleppo

	Armenians New Entries 1928-9	Others 1928-9	% New A. entries 1928-9	% Others 1928-9	Difference in %s of new A. entries & others 1928-9	% new A. entries / % other 1928-9	% Armenians 1924	Difference in % of As 1924 & % new A. entries 1928-9	% new A entries 1928/9 / % As 1924
Agriculture	-	108	-	14.958	14.958	-	-	-	-
Food & Drink	-	294	-	40.720	40.720	-	11.111	11.111	-
Oils, soap & perfume	-	14	-	1.939	1.939	-	-	-	-
Metal-work	3	45	21.429	6.233	15.016	3.438	27.778	6.349	0.771
Textiles & clothing	2	143	14.286	19.806	5.520	0.721	33.333	19.047	0.429
Leather & shoes	-	33	-	4.571	4.571	-	16.667	16.667	-
Construction	-	21	-	2.909	2.909	-	11.111	11.111	-
Machinery & precision instruments	7	12	50.000	1.662	48.338	30.084	-	50,000	?
Glass & porcelain	-	4	-	0.554	0.554	-	-	-	-
Paper, printing & related	-	13	-	1.801	1.801	-	-	-	-
Furniture	1	9	7.143	1.247	5.896	5.728	-	7.143	?
Products not elsewhere classified	1	26	7.143	3.601	3.542	1.984	-	7.143	?
Total	14	722	100.001	100.001	145.764	1.000	100.000	128.571	1.000

New Armenian entries were in fact over-represented in Metals, Furniture, and Machinery & Precision Instruments. Most notable was their concentration in Machinery, accounted for by clock-making. Between new entries and 1924 Armenians, the I.D. was 64.3, suggesting little correspondence in preferred occupations except, the figures reveal, for Metal-work.

Ghanem lists only nine Armenians by Product, the majority entered being those in the professions. (Table 4.9) There is some correspondence with the Indicateur data, but no statistical comparisons are desirable. Similarly no statistical comparisons are desirable with the entries of Armenian names in the nominal lists contained in the bulletin of the Aleppo Chamber of Commerce which, although in principle excluding the Professions, bear some resemblance to the data of Ghanem and the Indicateur. (Table 4.10)

More helpful is a nominal list of those employed in the various industries of Aleppo in 1932-33, also contained in the Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce d'Alep (Table 4.11) This list is not directly comparable with the previous lists, as it excludes not only Professions but also salesmen as distinct from industrial workers. The industries listed are "celles qui sont les plus en vue et strictement liées avec le marché local." The figures yield an I.D. between Armenians and others of only 24.1, essentially a function of the concentration of both in Metal-work and Textiles (Table 4.12) While the preference for Metal-work did emerge from the Indicateurs this is not true of Textiles, where the importance of the Armenian contribution is revealed. Within these two classes, the

Table 4.9

Occupational Structure of Armenians in Aleppo, from Ghanem, 1935 - 6

Occupation	Entries
Metal Work:	
Iron & ironmongery	3
Total	3
Textiles & clothing	
Tailors	1
Carpets	2
Total	3
Machinery & precision instruments	
Clock-makers	2
Total	2
Furniture	1
Total	1
Financial Services.	
Insurance-agents	1
Commission-agents	1
Total	2
Professions	
Lawyers	7
Doctors	30
Dentists	25
Chemists	6
Total	68
Overall Total	79

Table 4.10

Occupational Structure of Armenians registered at the Aleppo Chamber of Commerce, 1932-3 and 1938-9

Occupation		Entries 1932-3	Entries 1938-9
Agricultural & manufactured products			
Food & Drink		-	2
Iron & ironmongery		2	3
Gold - & silver-smiths		1	2
Threads		2	-
Kilims / Carpets		?	1
Fabrics		1	-
Clothing		-	1
Garages		1	3
Electrical equipment		-	1
Wood & coal		-	2
Novelties		-	1
"Produits du pays"		-	2
	Total	9	18
Financial Services			
Commission agents, Contractors etc.		6	6
Exchange		2	-
	Total	8	6
Professions			
Druggists		1	3
Photographers		-	1
	Total	1	4
Overall	Total	18	28

Sources: Bull.Ec.Ch.Com.Alep. (1932-3) 3-12,(1938-9) 5-16.

Table 4.11

Armenian participation in the industries of Aleppo, 1932-3

Occupation		Armenians	Others
Food & Drink			
Milling		-	5
Cigarette-papers		-	5
Confectionery		2	11
Cheese		-	4
	Total	2	25
Oils, soap & perfume			
Soap		-	6
	Total	-	6
Metal-Work			
Gold - & silversmiths		10	26
Iron		3	3
Copper		1	7
	Total	14	36
Textiles & clothing			
Weaving; mechanical looms		1	9
Weaving; hand looms		2	16
Carpets		9	1
Embroidery		7	3
Mechanical hosiery industry		-	3
Clothing ; menswear		3	6
Clothing ; womenswear		1	4
Printed handkerchiefs		1	3
Dyeing		-	14
Ropes & string		-	6
	Total	24	65

Leather & shoes			
Hides & skins		-	10
	Total	-	10
Construction			
Cement		-	4
Joiners		2	6
	Total	2	10
	Overall Total	42	152

Source: Bull. Ec.Ch.Comm.Alep (1932-33) 73-84

Table 4.12 Armenian participation in the industries of Aleppo, 1932-3

	Armenians	Others	% As	% others	Difference in %s	% As / % others
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food & Drink	2	25	4.762	16.447	11.685	0.290
Oils, soap & perfume	-	6	-	3.947	3.947	-
Metal-work	14	36	33.333	23.684	9.649	1.407
Textiles & clothing	24	65	57.143	42.763	14.470	1.336
Leather & shoes	-	10	-	6.579	6.579	-
Construction	2	10	4.762	6.579	1.817	0.724
Machinery & precision instruments	-	-	-	-	-	-
Glass & porcelain	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paper, printing & related	-	-	-	-	-	-
Furniture	-	-	-	-	-	-
Products not elsewhere classified	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	42	152	100.000	99.999	48.147	1.000

Source: Bull.Ec.Ch.Comm.Alep. (1932-33) 73-84

Armenians were heavily concentrated in particular occupations, especially as "silver-smiths", and in embroidery and carpet-making, where they exercised a virtual monopoly. From the comments in the Bulletin accompanying these tables, it is learned that both the carpet and embroidery industries developed after the war, the latter being actually referred to as "Aintab (Gaziantep) embroidery". Here there seems to be clear evidence of refugee activity, and this is confirmed, in the case of carpet-making, by the fact that, alone of the various industries indicated, this industry was almost completely localised in the new Armenian quarters of Aleppo (Meidan). The importance of these industries to the Armenians in Syria and Lebanon as a whole has already received comment.

A further picture of Armenian occupational structure at Aleppo comes from a table presented by Shirajian in a report dated April 10, 1925 (Tables 4.13 - 4.15). This table, unlike those previously considered, is stated to concern only refugees, but it seems likely from the text that indigenous Armenians were included too, (at least in the group Professions) as well as some Syriac refugees. The basis of compilation is not known, but in view of the fact that Shirajian states that "of the 20,000 men and women capable of working only about half can get work, and...even this proportion is greatly reduced at present", it is not certain if his table refers to their former or present occupations. The table should therefore be treated with reserve. The total of about 20,000 (20,370) working refugees was made up, according to Shirajian, of 13,000 men and 7,000 women. Shirajian's figures set the proportion of the refugees in the Professions in perspective.

Table 4.13

Occupational Structure of Armenian Refugees in Aleppo, from a table prepared by Rev.A.A. Shirajian, April 10, 1925.

	Total	%
Industry	12,190	59.843
Sales	760	3,731
Financial services	225	1.105
Other services	320	1.571
Professions	623	3.059
Day labourers, porters & domestic servants	6,252	30,692
Total	20,370	100.001

Source: FA, 97, 4Q, 1925, p.15

Table 4.14

Armenian Refugee participation in the industries of Aleppo, 1925

	Total
Metal-work	
Black-smiths	280
Goldsmiths	50
Brass-workers, tinsmiths, re-tinners, comb-makers etc.	150
Total	480
Textiles & Clothing	
Tailors	280
Weavers	830
Needle-workers & rug-makers	8,000
Total	9,110
Leather & shoes	
Shoe-makers	650
Total	650
Construction	
Masons, etc.	1500
Carpenters	450
Total	1950
Overall Total	12,190

Source: as Table 4.13

Table 4.15

Armenian Refugee Participation in the Industries of Aleppo, 1925

	Armenians	%
Food & Drink	-	-
Oils, soap & perfume	-	-
Metal-work	480	3.938
Textiles & Clothing	9110	74.733
Leather & shoes	650	5.332
Construction	1950	15.997
Machinery & precision instruments	-	-
Glass & porcelain	-	-
Paper, printing & related	-	-
Furniture	-	-
Not elsewhere classified	-	-
Total	12,190	100.000

Source: as Table 4.13

They show a population in which the great majority was employed in either industry or as day labourers, porters, or domestic servants. (Unlike the Directories, Shirajian's figures do enable a distinction to be made between Industry and sales, although no doubt many of those listed under Industry, e.g. the tailors, would also have exercised some sales function). The day labourers, porters and domestic-servants are excluded in tables previously considered, but their importance in the country as a whole has been observed from the literature, as has the importance of female labour in domestic service. Shirajian's tabulation of industrial occupations may be compared on a product basis with that in the Bulletin. There is some similarity, in particular the great concentration in Textiles & Clothing. It is apparent, however, that the situation differs somewhat through the inclusion in Shirajian's classification of menial workers excluded from the Bulletin, notably needle-workers and rug-makers. Shirajian notes too that an important industry, quite new to Aleppo, and entirely in the hands of the Armenians, was that of cleaning and repairing second-hand clothes imported from Europe and America. In this some 2,500 women were employed, who do not appear to have been included in his table. In fact, Shirajian's figures suggest that, rather than being distributed evenly throughout industry and the small-trades, the bulk of the Armenians were dependent on a few basic occupations; needle-working, rug-making, labouring and domestic service. It is evident that female employment in the sectors of needle-work, rug-making and domestic service provided a vital ingredient of the occupational structure, while the menfolk worked principally either as artisans, as retailers,

or as simple labourers. This is a much different picture from that derived from the Indicateurs.

It is, however, substantially confirmed by a report on the Armenian refugees settled in the new Armenian quarter of Aleppo by 1930. Here there were in November, 1930, 39 shops (Table 4.16) providing basic services for the Armenians of the quarter. In addition, there were several workshops where carpets, kilims and woven fabrics were made, where 106 looms were used, and where about 200 workmen and workwomen were employed. In view of the earlier discussion of the participation of the Armenians in the "modern" sector of industry, the organisation of workshops in the quarter is particularly interesting. About 200 women and girls did embroidery work at home for employers with businesses in town. The rest of the inhabitants worked outside the quarter (Table 4.17), and here the overwhelming importance of Labouring is shown (presumably the "workwomen" were employed either in domestic service or in factories), while in the skilled sector the greatest number were employed in Construction. If the information concerning the industrial occupations of the Armenians both inside and outside the quarter is combined (Table 4.18), the situation which emerges is comparable to that presented by Shirajian for the refugees in 1925, with the great dominance of Textiles (which emerged also from the Bulletin figures), and the notable concentration in Construction. As with Shirajian of course these percentages might be changed by the inclusion of labourers etc.

This was still the picture in 1933, according to the comparable report for that year. Then, there still existed

Table 4.16

Shops in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo,1930

Bakeries	2
Grocers	25
Butchers	3
Hairdressers	5
Cafes	2
Tailors	1
Gold & silversmith	1
TOTAL	39

Source: N.A. C1583

Table 4.17

Occupations of Armenians from the Meidan quarter of Aleppo,1930

Occupation		Pop.	%
Food & drink			
Bakers		5	
	Total	5	1.09
Metal-Work			
Founders		4	
Tinsmiths		4	
Blacksmiths		15	
Coppersmiths		6	
Gold - & silver-smiths		2	
	Total	31	6.75
Textiles & clothing			
Tailors		5	
	Total	5	1.09
Construction			
Stone-cutters		25	
Masons		35	
Carpenters		20	
	Total	80	17.43
Sales			
Hawkers		5	
	Total	5	1.09
Financial Services			
Brokers		2	
	Total	2	0.44

Other Services		
Chauffeurs	7	
Coachmen	15	
Hairdressers	6	
Total	28	6.10
Professions		
Teachers	1	
Photographers	2	
Total	3	0.65
Labourers etc.		
Jobbing-workmen	200	
Workwomen	100	
Total	300	65.36
Overall Total	459	100.00

Source: as Table 4.16

Table 4.18

Industrial Occupations of Armenians living in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo, 1930

	Armenians	%
Food & drink	5	1.558
Oil, soap & perfume	-	-
Metal-work	31	9.657
Textiles & clothing	205	63.863
Leather & shoes	-	-
Construction	80	24.922
Machinery & precision instruments	-	-
Glass & porcelain	-	-
Paper, printing & related	-	-
Furniture	-	-
Not elsewhere classified	-	-
Total	321	100.00

Source: as Table 4.16

Table 4.19

Service Provision in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo, 1933

Butchers' shops	13
Bakeries	7
Hairdressers	13
Shops of grocers, and for cereals, clothing, hardware & ironmongery	210
Chemist	1
Clinics	2
Dentists	2
Total	248

Source: N.A., C1584

in the quarter basic service provision (Table 4.19). In addition, (Table 4.20) there were in the quarter two weaving sheds (with mechanical looms), as well as 205 hand-looms and 32 looms for carpets. There were also 800 female embroiderers, while the great majority of the remaining work-force within the quarter found employment in the construction industry. Several hundred workers still worked in the town, but their occupations are not stated. This situation was essentially the same the following year as well (Tables 4.21, 4.22).

Figures of dubious reliability presented in the Report of the Mandatory Power for 1926, classifying the Armenians in the camps of Aleppo by occupation (Table 4.23), fail to differentiate between skilled and non-skilled workers, and add nothing to our understanding.

The occupational structure evident from the analysis of the figures of the Nänsen Office and of Shirajian is, however, confirmed by individual references to Armenian occupations at Aleppo. These confirm the establishment of basic service provision in the camps,[18] the participation of Armenians in industry and the small trades[19] (where the importance of their imported skills is stressed), and their employment as labourers,[20] notably on public-works, but especially their dependence on such trades as weaving, embroidery, carpet-making and the second-hand clothes industry.[21] It was in particular the concentration in textiles and clothing which characterised the Armenian economy in Aleppo. In December, 1926, Duguet noted 2,000 looms being worked among the 8671 refugee families at Aleppo.[22] It is significant that in pursuing weaving the refugees from Maraş and Gaziantep were apparently continuing

Table 4.20

Industry in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo, 1933

Metal-work	
Copper-smiths	9
Smiths	3
Textiles & clothing	
Hand-looms	205
Looms for carpets	32
Weaving-sheds (mechanical looms)	2
Female embroiderers	800
Construction	
Masons	70
Joiners	50
Stone-cutters	180
Quarry-men	35
Plasterers	20
Miscellaneous	
Mattress-makers	4
Electrical joinery	2

Source: as Table 4.19

Table 4.21

Service Provision in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo, 1934.

Clinics	3
Chemists	1
Butchers	12
Ironmongery	5
Building materials	4
Fuel-merchants	3
Cafes	4
Restaurants	1
Grocers & Diverse	80
Total	109

Source: "Illustrated Report of the Refugee Housing Scheme carried out in Syria & Lebanon through the Nansen Office, Geneva, Beyrout, 1934." (S.F., MS Vol 216).

Table 4.22

"Industry" in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo, 1934.

Food & drink	
Distillery	1
Pastry-shops	3
Bakeries	15
Electrically-powered mills	1
Metal-work	
Copper-smiths	9
Smiths	8
Textiles & clothing	
Female embroiderers	850
Weaving-looms	200
Looms for carpets	20
Weaving-sheds (electrically powered)	3
Tailors	4
Couturières	10
Leather & shoes	
Shoemakers	9
Construction	
Masons, stone-cutters, quarry-men	200
Joiners	12
Services	
Oriental bath	1
Hairdressers	16
Miscellaneous	
Mattress-makers	1
Electrical joinery	1

Source: as Table 4.21

Table 4.23

Occupations of the Armenians in the camps of Aleppo

	Families	%
Artisans	3345	88.0%
Shopkeepers ("commerçants")	251	6.6%
Agricultural workers	203	5.3%
Liberal professions	-	-
Total	3799	99.9

Source: "Rapport" (1926) 103

their old trades in a new setting,[23] while, as observed, their embroidery was known as "Aintab embroidery". The question of whether the Armenians imported their occupations or assumed new ones will be resumed later.

Beirut

For Beirut, the Indicateur figures reveal for the Armenians in 1924 an occupational structure similar to that at Aleppo, i.e. a disproportionate concentration in Professions (Tables 4.24 - 4.27). However, the figures for new Armenian entries, 1928-9, reveal an altogether different picture from that at Aleppo, the bulk of these new entries in Beirut concentrating in Agricultural and Manufactured Products. This result was more expected, and probably reflects the higher number of entries of Armenians at Beirut, reducing distortion. Regarding product-classes, the Beirut figures for 1924 yield

Table 4.24

Occupational Structure of Armenians in Beirut (from l'Indicateur Syrien)

	1924				1928-9			
	Armenians		Others		New Armenian entries		Others	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Agricultural & manufactured products	62	50.859	3795	79.574	167	84.344	3414	76.772
Financial services	9	7.337	376	7.884	2	1.010	366	8.230
Other services	1	0.820	60	1.258	1	0.505	94	2.114
Professions	50	40.984	538	11.281	28	14.141	573	12.885
Total	122	100.000	4769	99.997	198	100.000	4447	100.001

Table 4.25

Occupational structure (by product) of Armenians in Beirut in 1924 (from l'Indicateur Syrien)

	Armenians	Others	% As	% Others	Difference in %s	% As/% other
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food & Drink	8	808	15.686	24.337	8.651	0.645
Oils, soap & perfume	-	80	-	2.410	2.410	-
Metal-work	12	247	23.529	7.440	16.089	3.163
Textiles & clothing	19	1142	37.255	34.398	2.857	1.083
Leather & shoes	2	206	3.922	6.205	2.283	0.632
Construction	-	152	-	4.578	4.578	-
Machinery & precision instruments	2	250	3.922	7.530	3.608	0.521
Glass & porcelain	1	67	1.961	2.018	0.057	0.972
Paper, printing & related	4	63	7.843	1.898	5.945	4.132
Furniture	-	92	-	2.771	2.771	-
Products not elsewhere classified	3	21 3	5.882	6.416	0.534	0.917
Total	51	3320	100.000	100.001	49.783	

Table 4.26

Occupational structure (by product) of new Armenian entries in l'Indicateur Syrien, 1928-9, for Beirut

	Armenians New Entries 1928-9	Others 1928-9	% New A entries 1928-9	% Others 1928-9	Difference in %	% new entries Armenians over % others	% Armenians 1924	Difference in % As 1924 & % new As 1928-9	% new As 1928-9 over % As 1924
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food & drink	13	746	8.725	24.499	15.774	0.356	15.686	6.961	0.556
Oils, soap & perfume	-	66	-	2.167	2.167	0	-	-	-
Metal-work	21	259	14.094	8.506	5.588	1.657	23.529	9.435	0.599
Textiles & clothing	61	975	40.940	32.020	8.920	1.279	37.255	3.685	1.099
Leather & shoes	13	190	8.725	6.240	2.485	1.398	3.922	4.803	2.225
Construction	13	154	8.725	5.057	3.668	1.725	-	8.725	?
Machinery & precision instruments	13	233	8.725	7.652	1.073	1.140	3.922	4.803	2.225
Glass & Porcelain	1	36	0.671	1.182	0.511	0.568	1.961	1.290	0.342
Paper, printing & related	5	73	3.356	2.397	0.959	1.400	7.843	4.487	0.428
Furniture	-	97	-	3.186	3.186	0	-	-	-
Products not elsewhere classified	9	216	6.040	7.094	1.054	0.851	5.882	0.158	1.027
Total	149	3045	100.001	100.000	45.385		100.000	44.347	

Table 4.27

Changes in the Occupational Structure of Armenians in Beirut, based on l'Indicateur Syrien, 1924 and 1928-29

Occupation	1924	%	1928 - 9	%	Names added	%
Agriculture	0	0	0	0	0	0
Food & Drink						
Groceries (Denrées Col.)	1		2		1	
Foodstuffs	1		-		-	
Arak, wine & drinks	1		-		-	
Bakeries	4		6		5	
Yeast for beer	1		-		-	
Groceries (Epiceries)	-		4		4	
Sales of Cigarettes	-		1		1	
Drinks	-		1		1	
Wheat & flour	-		1		1	
Total	8	6.6	15	6.2	13	6.6
"Chemical" & Related						
Photographic goods	1		2		1	
Chemical & pharm'l prod.	1		-		-	
Total	2	1.6	2	0.8	1	0.5
Metal-Work						
Jeweller-goldsmith	1		8		8	
Tinner	2		-		-	
Electro-matallurgy	-		1		1	
Hardware & Ironmongery	3		7		5	
Hot-water Dishes	6		-		-	
Iron-workers & smiths	-		7		7	
Total	12	9.8	23	9.5	21	10.6

Textiles & Clothing						
Spinning & thread	-		1		1	
Used Clothing	-		12		12	
Haberdashery	5		2		2	
Ladies' Dress-makers & tailors	-		3		3	
Drapery	-		4		4	
Shirt-making	-		6		6	
Ready-made clothes	-		1		1	
Hosiery	3		9		7	
Embroidery	-		2		2	
Mandils	2		1		-	
Carpets & Oriental rugs	6		4		3	
Tailors & merchant tailors	2		17		17	
Fabrics & cotton goods	1		2		1	
Dealers in rope/string	-		1		1	
Tapestry-workers, upholsterers	-		1		1	
Total	19	156	66	27.3	61	30.8
Leather & shoes						
Shoe-makers	1		11		11	
Saddlery etc.	1		-		-	
Boot & shoe trade	-		1		1	
Items for shoemakers	-		1		1	
Total	2	1.6	13	5.4	13	6.6
Construction						
Timber-merchants	-		2		2	
Joiners	-		7		7	
Mechanical saw-works	-		1		1	
Placarding	-		1		1	
Painters & decorators	-		2		2	
Total	-	0	13	5.4	13	6.6
Machinery & Precision Instr.						
Phonographs & discs	-		3		3	
Clock-making	2		4		4	
Lamps	-		1		1	
Electrical appliances	-		1		1	
Gunsmiths	-		1		1	

Mechanics' workshops	-		2		2	
Typewriters	-		1		1	
Total	2	1.6	13	5.4	13	6.6
Glass & Porcelain						
Glassworks	1		1		1	
Total	1	0.8	1	0.4	1	0.5
Paper, Printing & Related						
Stationery & office supplies	2		3		2	
Zincography	-		1		1	
Music	1		1		-	
Book-shops	1		2		2	
Total	4	3.3	7	2.9	5	2.5
Products not elsewhere classified						
Musical Instruments	1		-		-	
Toys & knick-knacks	-		1		1	
Piano-tuners	-		2		2	
Spectacles	-		2		2	
Vulcanisation	-		1		1	
Tyres	-		1		1	
Charcoal	-		1		1	
Total	1	0.8	8	3.3	8	4.0
Unclassifiable products						
Travel goods	-		2		2	
Novelties	-		1		1	
Manufactures	11		15		12	
Household goods	-		2		2	
Bedding	-		1		1	
Total	11	9.0	21	8.7	18	9.1
Financial Services						
Insurance-Agents	3		1		2	
Commission-Agents	6		-		-	
Exchange-Agents	-		7		-	
Total	9	7.4	8	3.3	2	1.0

Other Services						
Hairdressers	1		1		1	
Total	1	0.8	1	0.4	1	0.5
Professions						
Doctors	25		30		16	
Dentists	20		11		5	
Architects-Engineers	-		2		2	
Lawyers	-		1		1	
Chemists	-		4		4	
Druggists	2		2		-	
Dealers in drugs	1		-		-	
Photographers	2		1		1	
Total	50	41.0	51	21.1	28	14.1
Overall Total	122	100	242	100	198	100

an I.D. between Armenians and others of only 24.9 (again in contrast with Aleppo). Preferred occupations of the Armenians were Metal-work, Paper, Printing & Related, and Textiles. The preference for Textiles was very slight, that for Paper etc. involved very small numbers, so that Metal-work seems definitely to have been the preferred sector for Armenians in 1924. With regard to new Armenian entries, 1928-9, compared with the rest of the population their I.D. was 22.7, i.e. slightly reduced compared with the 1924 situation. Between new entries and 1924 Armenian entries, the I.D. was 22.2, i.e. slightly lower still (Again the Aleppo figures seem suspect in comparison), but hardly indicating a significantly greater correspondence. With respect to product-classes, while new Armenian entries were still over-represented compared with the rest of the population in Metal-work, Paper etc., and Textiles, they were

also over-represented in other fields, i.e. in Construction, Leather and Shoes, and Machinery and Precision Instruments. Their greatest over-concentration was in Construction, while Metal-work was popular with new entries as with the 1924 Armenian entries. Compared with the 1924 Armenians, however, new entries were under-represented in all three previously preferred classes except Textiles, though still over-represented in these classes compared with the rest of the population in 1928-9. Their under-concentration in these classes compared with the 1924 Armenians is, in fact, a measure of their diversification throughout the product-classes. However, not too much emphasis should be placed on the figures at the product-class level. Figures for classes disguise more specific occupational trends. Thus, while the percentage of Armenians employed in Textiles and Clothing did not change significantly, there was, amongst the new entries, a greatly increased number of tailors, and the establishment of new branches of shirt-making and, significantly, the used-clothing industry. Also, while the percentage of new entries in Metal-work was less than that of 1924, it was much higher regarding goldsmiths and iron-workers and smiths. The figures for new entries show little correspondence with the Aleppo findings, apart from the continued over-concentration in Metal-work. Like Aleppo there was an over-concentration in Machinery and Precision Instruments and, perhaps significantly, the largest contribution to the total of new entries in this class was made in Beirut as at Aleppo by clock-makers.

The only other table recording the occupational structure of the Armenians in Beirut, the Nansen Office Report for 1930, (Tables 4.28, 4.29) concerns one of the new Armenian quarters

Table 4.28

Shops in the "Gebeili" Quarter of Beirut, 1930

Bakeries	2	Also listed	
Grocers	9	Stores	35
Butchers	1	Factories	4
Jewellers	2	Mineral-water Factories	2
Cutlers	2		
Carpet-makers	9		
Tailors	1		
Building-materials	2		
Shoe-shops	3		
Hairdressers	3		

Source: as Table 4.16

Table 4.29

Occupations of the Inhabitants of the "Gebeili" Quarter of Beirut, 1930

Occupation	Pop	%
Metal-work		
Blacksmiths	9	
Tinsmiths	3	
Total	12	8.63
Textiles & clothing		
Tailors	7	
Total	7	5.04
Leather & shoes		
Shoe-makers	13	
Cobblers	8	
Total	21	15.11

Construction		
Masons	11	
Plasterers	4	
Sawyer	1	
Carpenters	22	
Total	38	27.34
Sales		
Tinkers	2	
Total	2	1.44
Services		
Chauffeurs	5	
Coachmen	1	
Knife-grinders	2	
Boot-blacks	4	
Total	12	8.63
Professions		
Engineer	1	
Teachers	4	
Total	5	3.60
Office-workers		
Clerks	5	
Total	5	3.60
Labourers		
Jobbing workmen	37	
Total	37	26.62
Overall Total	139	100.01

Source: as Table 4.16

("Gebeili"). Table 4.28 lists the shops and workshops in the quarter where, apart from basic service provision and the existence of a number of artisans, the most notable feature was the existence of 9 carpet-makers. Table 4.29 classifies the Armenians by occupation (apparently excluding those involved in Table 4.28). Here the significant features were the large proportion of labourers (26.6%), the relatively high number employed in Construction (with two shops devoted to building materials in Table 4.28), and the relatively high number employed in the Boot & shoe trade (with three shoe-shops also listed in Table 4.28). When the industrial occupations of the Armenians in the quarter are classsified alone (Table 4.30), the situation is similar to that in the Meidan quarter of Aleppo, but without the heavy concentration in Textiles and Clothing.

Table 4.30

Industrial occupations of Armenians living in the Gebeili Quarter of Beirut, 1930

	Armenians	%
Food & drink	-	-
Oils, soap & perfume	-	-
Metal-work	12	15.385
Textiles & clothing	7	8.974
Leather & shoes	21	26.923
Construction	38	48.718
Machinery & precision instruments	-	-
Glass & porcelain	-	-
Paper, printing & related	-	-
Furniture	-	-
Not elsewhere classified	-	-
Total	78	100.000

Source: as Table 4.16

Individual references confirm the involvement of the Armenians in industry and the small trades at Beirut.[24] In particular, the way in which the Armenians found slots for themselves in the lowest rungs of the economy is apparent, for example, from the occupations of some Armenians who were lent money by the "Friends of Armenia " in 1927[25] (a barber, a vegetable-stall owner, a hawker of calico, etc., and a lemonade vendor), and from the occupations of the children described by Mécérian in 1924;[26] boot-blacks, and sellers of lace, envelopes, chocolate, combs,etc. Two aspects of Armenian employment emerge more strongly from the literature than from the tables; the importance of the construction industry[27] (it being often stated that the new Beirut was reconstructed by Armenian labour), and the employment of women and girls as domestic servants,[28] or in silk-weaving, carpet-making and embroidery.[29] In the final analysis, the occupational structure of the Armenians at Beirut seems to have been similar to that at Aleppo, despite the evidence of the Indicateurs.

Damascus

At Damascus, the Indicateurs reveal nothing regarding the occupational preferences of the immigrant Armenians, representing such a small percentage of all Armenians, while Ghanem provides even less information, listing only two doctors. The Guide Annuaire of 1933 is scarcely of more use. The only really useful indication of the occupational structure of the immigrant Armenians is contained in the Nansen Office Report of 1930 (Tables 4.31, 4.32), on the new Bab Charki quarter. Table 4.31 shows basic service provision within the quarter, as well as participation in the small-trades, notably that of shoemaker.

Table 4.31

"Shops" in the Armenian quarter of Bab Charki, Damascus,1930

Grocers	4
Tailors	2
Butcher	1
Baker	1
Shoemakers (slippers)	5
Shoemaker's apprentice	1
Hairdresser	1
Tinkers	3
Weaver	1
Joiner	1
TOTAL	20

"There is also a carpet-making shop which is not yet opened by the owner, who finds it pays better to have carpets woven in private houses."

Source: as Table 4.16

Table 4.32

Occupations of the Armenians of the Bab Charki quarter, Damascus, 1930

Occupation	Tot	%
Fisherman (?)	1	0.88
Tailors	2	1.77
Joiners	4	3.54
Hawkers & tinkers	20	17.70
Money-changer	1	0.88
Hairdressers	2	1.77
Priest	1	0.88
Workmen	80	70.80
Soldiers	2	1.77
Total	113	99.99

Source: as Table 4.16

The bulk of the refugees found employment outside the quarter, however, and their occupations are shown in Table 4.32. The dominance of labourers (70.8%), and the importance of tinkers and hawkers (17.7%) is immediately apparent. It is also noted that a number of the womenfolk worked in the tobacco and wool-factories, but these are not included in the table. This picture of occupational distribution at Damascus seems confirmed by the few other references available to shop-keeping, labouring, and to wandering salesmen.[30] In short, the occupational structure of the Armenian refugees at Damascus seems to have been similar to that at Aleppo and Beirut, though without the dominance of textiles.

Alexandretta

At Alexandretta, entries of Armenians in the Indicateur for 1924, and also of new entries for 1928-9 relate only to the Professions and Financial Services, and clearly reveal nothing about the occupational structure of the refugees. Ghanem is possibly more instructive. Here, again, most entries of Armenians relate to the Professions and Financial Services, but some evidence is available concerning the occupations of Armenians outside these classes (Table 4.33). Entries are few, however, and no statistical analysis is thought desirable. The entries of Armenians under Motor cars and Garages are perhaps significant. The Armenians appear from other tables too to have had an interest in the driving and servicing of motor-vehicles, a developing sector in Syria and Lebanon at this time.

Figures submitted by Burnier to Geneva in 1927 concern refugees only.(Table 4.34-4.36) Notable is their concentration

Table 4.33

Occupations of Armenians in Alexandretta, from Ghanem,1935-6

Occupation	Entries
Food & drink	
Foodstuffs	1
Flour	1
Cereals	1
Total	3
Textiles & Clothing	
Embroidery	1
Tailors	1
Total	2
Construction	
Bricks	1
Total	1
Machinery & precision instruments	
Motor-cars	2
Garages	4
Phonographs & radios	1
Total	7
Paper, printing & related	
Bookshops	2
Total	2
Furniture	1
Total	1
Products not elsewhere classified	
Photographic equipment	1
Total	1
Products unclassifiable	
Novelties	2
Total	2

Financial Services	
Exchange	2
Contractors	5
Businessmen ("Negociants")	10
"Transitaires"	2
Total	19
Professions	
Engineers	1
Chemists	2
Lawyers	2
Doctors	3
Midwives	2
Dentists	2
Photographers	1
Total	13
Overall Total	51

Table 4.34

Occupational Structure of Armenian refugees in Alexandretta,1927

	TOTAL	%
Agriculture & indistry	401	35.05
Sales	214	18.71
Financial Services	-	0
Other Services	107	9.35
Professions	16	1.40
Labourers etc.	358	31.29
Office-workers	48	4.20
Total	1144	100.00

Source: Figures submitted by Burnier to Geneva, May 2, 1927 (N.A., C1431).

Table 4.35

Occupational Structure of the Armenian refugees in Alexandretta, 1927

Occupation	Armenians	%
Agriculture		
Agricultural workers	1	
Total	1	0.09
Food & drink		
Butchers	31	
Bakers	27	
Confectionery	8	
Cooks	7	
Millers	7	
Pork-butchers	4	
Total	84	7.34
Metal-work		
Smiths	26	
Tinners, silverers	10	
Bronze-workers	5	
Goldsmiths	5	
Farriers	3	
Tinmen	3	
Grinders	1	
Total	53	4.63
Textiles & clothing		
Tailors	43	
Tapestry-workers, upholstery	12	
Dyers	2	
Total	57	4.98

Leather & Shoes		
Shoemakers	108	
Makers of pack-saddles	8	
Curriers	8	
Total	124	10.84
Construction		
Masons	19	
Wood-sawyers	7	
Joiners & Carpenters	36	
Marble cutters or polishers	1	
Total	63	5.51
Machinery & precision intruments		
Mechanics	9	
Clock-makers	1	
Gunsmiths	6	
Total	16	1.40
Glass & porcelain		
Potters	3	
Total	3	0.26
Sales		
Shopkeepers	214	
Total	214	18.71
Services		
Cabbies	47	
Car-drivers	34	
Hairdressers	24	
Chauffeurs	2	
Total	107	9.35

Professions		
Chemists & druggists	6	
Doctors	1	
Vaccinator	1	
Photographers	8	
Total	16	1.40
Labourers etc.		
Labourers	290	
Workmen	68	
Total	358	31.29
Office-workers		
Clerks	48	
Total	48	4.20
Overall Total	1144	100·00

Note: The total above (1144) represents the real total of Burnier's figures less two printers. Burnier's total is 1156 and is incorrect.

Source: as Table 4.34

Table 4.36

Occupational Structure (by product) of Armenian refugees in Alexandretta, 1927

	Armenians	%
Agriculture	1	0.249
Food & drink	84	20.948
Oils, soap & perfume	-	-
Metals	53	13.217
Textiles	57	14.214
Leather & shoes	124	30.923
Construction	63	15.711
Machinery & precision Instruments	16	3.990
Glass & porcelain	3	0.748
Paper, printing & related	-	-
Furniture	-	-
Products not elsewhere classified	-	-
Total	401	100.000

Source: as Table 4.34

as Labourers, etc., as shopkeepers (i.e. in basic services) and in Services, especially as cabbies, car-drivers and chauffeurs. Very few were in the Professions of Financial Services. 35% were employed in industry (excluding labourers), with notable concentrations in Leather & shoes, and also Food & Drink (basic services), Construction, Textiles and Metal-work. The occupational structure was in fact basically similar to that in the other main cities. Notable within industry was the lesser concentration in Textiles, but the high proportion in Leather & shoes is also worthy of note, having been observed in the Gebeili quarter of Beirut.

Other towns and regions

Information on the occupations pursued by the Armenians in the Vilayet of Aleppo outside Aleppo town is very limited. There is only one reference, to the settlement of Armenian artisans in Bab,[31] which would suggest that the Armenians found work as artisans rather than as farmers. Information is also lacking on the situation in the North-East. Later writers[32] stress the employment of Armenians as Artisans, but the accelerated development of the region came during the Second World War, and one should not assume that the ethnic occupational structure operating after this development was the same as that before. Contemporary sources, in fact, seem to stress agricultural employment. Thus, Hedwige Bull of the A.C.O., writing from Kamichliyé in May, 1938,[33] noted that there were a large number of poor Kurdish-speaking Armenians in the town who worked as day-labourers in the fields. At the nearby village of Wout-Wouti, the Kurdish-speaking Armenians

were working as metayers for the rich landowners. Captain Gracey, of the Lord Mayor's (Armenian) Fund, noted in 1930 [34] that the first arrivals in the 1929 migration to the region had arrived in Syria with their animals and in some cases with small flocks of sheep, and had since joined up with Kurdish farmers in the district. Shirajian noted [35] that a drought in the winter and spring of 1931-32 had caused "thousands" of Armenians to leave their villages to search for pasture for their livestock. A number of agricultural colonies were certainly established in this region and will be considered in the next chapter. In short, if a number of Armenians may have found employment in the region as artisans, there was certainly a large agricultural component in the Armenian population. In the Sanjak of Alexandretta, apart from the agricultural colonies established by the Nansen Office, the only large concentration of refugees, outside the town of Alexandretta itself, was at Kirik Khane, where they are described as both agricultural workers and artisans. [36]

In Alawi Territory, where the refugees settled principally in Latakia town, an official report was published in 1935 concerning the competition from immigrant labour.[37] This report noted that the Armenian immigrants occupied a preponderant place in the small-trades, as for example masons, joiners, shoe-makers and jewellers. It stated that there were in the province 400 Armenians who immigrated before the Great War and who were distributed in a dozen villages, and 1,800 who had immigrated since. Amongst this population of 2,200, largely concentrated in Latakia town, 30% were engaged in commerce or the liberal professions, 40% were artisans, and

30% (sic) (those who settled a long time ago) were devoted to agriculture. According to Weulersse,[38] they were generally devoted to the most "western" occupations; chauffeurs, garagemen, mechanics. Local Armenian inhabitants observe how, while originally the refugees had been simple workmen, they later established themselves as skilled artisans. The Nansen Office colony established at Mouchachène Armène will be considered later.

No such report is available for the Lebanon, for Homs and Hama, and for southern Syria, and the occupational structure of the Armenians in these districts remains obscure. It is evident only that a number of Armenians found work in the villages of Lebanon in the fields and vineyards, at least temporarily.[39] Otherwise the only information available comes from the highly selective tables of the Indicateur and Ghanem.

Conclusions

This review of occupational structure is clearly unsatisfactory, for, while adequate information is available concerning occupational structure in the principal centres of Armenian settlement, which attracted most attention, very little exists on the structure in the outlying towns and villages. Nevertheless, a number of tentative conclusions may be drawn; the tendency to continue former occupations, the lack of agricultural workers, the tendency to assume occupations of low economic status, the tendency to find work in the "modern" sector of industry, and the establishment of basic services.

The occupations of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire before 1915 have been described in Chapter 1. There is evidence in Syria and Lebanon, in the concentration of refugees in industry and the small trades in the towns, and as agricultural workers in the north-east, of the continuance of former occupations, with some degree of specialisation, for example in the metal-trades. This is also true of the textile industry and of embroidery, but it is questionable if these crafts ever had in Cilicia the vital importance they assumed for the Armenians in Aleppo. In some cases these industries were encouraged by the philarmenian relief societies in imitation of the earlier work for the Armenians within the Empire.[40] The continuance of former occupations suggests a certain lack of integration of the Armenians into the economic system of Syria and Lebanon, implying that settlement would not be related to those (few) opportunities in thriving occupations offered by the system. This is not necessarily the case, however. Ethnic specialisation of labour may occur in well-integrated economic systems, and it is possible that the Armenians concentrated in those towns which offered the most promising outlets for the exercise of their former talents.

The reduction in the proportion of rural dwellers in the Armenian population, compared with that in the Empire, (observed in the previous chapter) and the small number of agricultural workers amongst them, might imply a shift from agriculture (in the Empire) to "urban" occupations in Syria and Lebanon. However, the formerly "rural" Armenians within the Empire included a proportion of "rural"artisans, who, with their

skills, might have been able to find related employment in the towns of Syria and Lebanon. In fact, the data available on the occupational structure of the Armenians both in the Empire and in Syria is too imprecise to permit clarification of this point. In any case, a rural-urban shift and accompanying abandonment of agricultural pursuits would not in itself be evidence that such a shift was based on the "pull" of "urban" occupations. This indeed seems highly unlikely. Employment opportunities for urban dwellers were limited. Employment in industry in Syria and Lebanon was actually decreasing during the period, so that none of the towns could provide much industrial employment. Real outlets were offered only by emigration or by settlement on the land. It has already been observed that there was considerable Armenian emigration during the period. In the next chapter the mostly unsuccessful official attempts to induce settlement on the land will be described. It is evident, however, that on their own the Armenians were unable or unwilling to achieve this redistribution.

With regard to the concentration of Armenians in occupations of low economic status, the four centres of Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus and Alexandretta all reveal this tendency. In each of these towns large numbers of Armenians were employed as labourers or workmen, or in weaving, carpet-making and embroidery, these latter occupations employing especially the women. This concentration in jobs of low economic status may be partly a reflection of former occupations. Thus migrant Armenians had previously been employed as labourers in Constantinople and the coastal cities, while, as observed, the

participation of the women in the textile industry was characteristic of the Empire. One should also note, however, the demand for construction workers at Beirut, or the opportunities offered to the women of domestic-service in the homes of the wealthy in the principal cities. Once again, however, it is difficult to say whether such opportunities actually stimulated population movement.

The tendency to work in the modern sector of industry was revealed especially by the analysis of the 1937 Industrial Census. However, as regards locational attraction, it is significant that the Census figures suggested that this tendency was mainly a function of the settlement of the Armenians in locations with modern industry, rather than of a disproportional representation in the modern sector in the towns in which they settled. The implication is that the locational attfaction of modern industry was slight.

Finally, there is clear evidence of the establishment of basic services amongst the Armenians themselves which, once established, would, more than any other occupations, tend to create vested interests in inertia, and maintain the initial settlement pattern.

Economic STatus and Settlement

Economic Status : overall estimates

The analysis of occupational structure has already shed much light on the economic status of the Armenians, revealing them as a population of low economic status. Their economic status may now be examined in more depth. As a starting point,

one is fortunate in possessing a set of figures presented by Duguet in 1927 classifying the refugees according to economic status. (Table 4.37, Fig.3.15) Overall, 52% of refugees listed are described as "not in need of aid". Of the principal centres of Armenian concentration, however, only Aleppo (58.7%) reached this total, while Beirut had 41.4%, Alexandretta 19.3% and Damascus only 5.2%, Outside these principal centres, many of the smaller towns recorded 100% "not in need of aid". This was true of the entire Alawi Territory, and most of the settlements in Aleppo Vilayet and the north-east. It was less true of southern Syria (possibly due to the recording of refugees from the Druse Revolt?) and the Lebanon, where the status of the refugees in the smaller centres varied considerably. The distribution of those "in need of aid" and "in utter poverty" was, of course, the reverse of this. However, there were significant locational variations between these two classes of impoverished refugees. Thus while Beirut (56.7%), Damascus(86.9%) and Alexandretta (48.2%) all had higher than average (33%) numbers of refugees "in need of aid", of the principal centres only Alexandretta (32.6%) and Aleppo (25.1%) (which had a higher than average number of refugees "not in need of aid"), had higher than average (15%) numbers of refugees "in utter poverty". The economic status of the refugees was clearly not constant over the country, and there appear to have been significant variations even between the principal centres of Armenian concentration, where it has been suggested that Armenian occupational structure was basically similar.

Figures contained in the annual reports of the Nansen

Table 4.37

Economic Status of Refugees in Syria & Lebanon (after Duguet, 1927)

	Not in need of aid		In need of aid		In utter poverty		Total
Syria (Families)	Tot.	%	Tot.	%	Tot.	%	
Hassetché	110	100	-	-	-	-	100
Abou Kemal	2	100	-	-	-	-	2
Meyadine	1	100	-	-	-	-	1
Deir ez Zor	47	100	-	-	-	-	47
Raqqa	42	100	-	-	-	-	42
Ain el Aarab	110	100	-	-	-	-	110
Djerablous	310	100	-	-	-	-	310
Menbidj	98	100	-	-	-	-	98
Bab	53	100	-	-	-	-	53
Aleppo	5,075	58.7	1,398	16.2	2,169	25.1	8,642
Azaz	194	100	-	-	-	-	194
Afrine	24	100	-	-	-	-	24
Mabatli	-	-	-	-	15	100	15
Harim	12	100	-	-	-	-	12
Idlib	20	100	-	-	-	-	20
Djsir ech Choghour	10	100	-	-	-	-	10
Maarret en Nomane	3	100	-	-	-	-	3
Sqalbiyé	8	80	2	20	-	-	10
Hayaline	5	100	-	-	-	-	5
Alexandretta	260	19.3	650	48.2	440	32.6	1,350
Beïlane	295	100	-	-	-	-	295
Kirik Khane	133	30.2	245	55.7	62	14.1	440
Rihaniyé	12	100	-	-	-	-	12
Jebel Moussa	480	100	-	-	-	-	480
Hama	31	91.2	3	8.8	-	-	34
Selemiye	10	66.7	5	33.3	-	-	15
Homs	-	-	116	784	32	21.6	148
Damascus	47	5.2	790	86.9	72	7.9	909
Jdaidet Aartouz	2	100	-	-	-	-	2
Katana	-	-	2	100	-	-	2
Mansourah	5	100	-	-	-	-	5

Qouneitra	10	83.3	2	16.7	-	-	12
Moumsiyé	1	100	-	-	-	-	1
Ain Ziouane	3	100	-	-	-	-	3
Khochniyé	1	100	-	-	-	-	1
Joueizé	1	100	-	-	-	-	1
Tibné	-	-	1	100	-	-	1
Ezraa	3	25	8	66.7	1	8.3	12
Naoua	3	50	3	50	-	-	6
Rhazalé	1	50	1	50	-	-	2
Deraâ	6	20.7	23	79.3	-	-	29
Bosra	1	33.3	2	66.7	-	-	3
Chahba	7	100	-	-	-	-	7
Soueida	13	100	-	-	-	-	13
Salkhad	15	100	-	-	-	-	15
<u>Alawi Territory (Persons)</u>							
Ghnémié	137	100	-	-	-	-	137
Aramo	205	100	-	-	-	-	205
Ain Ceutach	31	100	-	-	-	-	31
Latakia	1,353	100	-	-	-	-	1,353
Djeblé	24	100	-	-	-	-	24
Massiaf	78	100	-	-	-	-	78
Qadmous	6	100	-	-	-	-	6
Banias	47	100	-	-	-	-	47
Tartouss	150	100	-	-	-	-	150
Sâfîta	30	100	-	-	-	-	30
<u>Lebanon (Persons)</u>							
Halba	-	-	4	3.25	119	96.75	123
Qoubaiyate	-	-	4	100	-	-	4
Tripoli	250	33.3	300	40	200	26.7	750
Zghorte	14	12.2	82	71.3	19	16.5	115
Chekka	-	-	9	100	-	-	9
Batroune	-	-	59	100	-	-	59
Jbail	-	-	47	100	-	-	47
Qartaba	1	50	1	50	-	-	2
Baalbek	4	100	-	-	-	-	4
Zouk	2	100	-	-	-	-	2
Rhazir	125	100	-	-	-	-	125
Antoura	1	100	-	-	-	-	1

Bhannes	-	-	82	56.6	63	43.5	145
Ajeltoun	1	100	-	-	-	-	1
Zahlé	128	44.3	95	32.9	66	22.8	289
Rayak	8	22.2	18	50	10	27.8	36
Beirut	8,795	41.4	12,039	56.7	408	1.9	21,242
Aley	-	-	68	100	-	-	68
Sofar	-	-	4	100	-	-	4
Souk el Gharb	-	-	27	100	-	-	27
"Asile Americaine"	285	100	-	-	-	-	285
Saida	47	12.5	248	66.1	80	21.3	375
Jezzine	-	-	8	100	-	-	8
El Djarieh	-	-	4	100	-	-	4
Nabatiyé	-	-	7	87.5	1	12.5	8
Tyr	-	-	29	100	-	-	29

Source: Duguet (1927). The basis of this classification is unknown.

Office to the Assembly (Table 4.38), whose basis of compilation is again not known, suggest an improving situation between 1926 and 1932, but should be treated with reserve.

Table 4.38

Economic Status of Armenian Refugees in Syria and Lebanon
1926 - 1932

Total Arm. Refs.	Unemployed or employed on casual or temporary work	Source & date
124,500	60,000	L.O.N. Doc. A.44.1926
86,500	20 - 30,000	L.O.N. Doc.A.48.1927 VIII
86,500	32,700	L.O.N. Doc.A.33.1928 VIII
85,842	32,700	L.O.N. Doc.A.23.1929 VIII
120,000	9,000	L.O.N. Doc.A.24.1932

It is clear from Duguet's total of 48% of refugees "in need of aid" or "in utter poverty" that the picture of a low economic status population derived from the analysis of occupational structure is essentially correct. It is confirmed by other sources. It is evident that the arrival of so many refugees flooded the labour market locally and led to a sharp depression of wages,[41] which was, of course, felt by the refugees themselves. Nevertheless, after passing through difficult times during the Druse Revolt, the Armenians appear to have been making ground by 1927-28.[42] This, is appears, was particularly due to the boom in the construction industry at Beirut and Aleppo, itself encouraged by the depression of labour-costs. Such an apparent success was illusory. As an

economically weak population, the Armenians were especially vulnerable to disease and economic crisis,[43] a circumstance not lost on Mécérian nor on Burnier, who wrote in April, 1928:- [44]

> "... les agglomérations urbaines de réfugiés heurtent violemment les intérêts des populations ouvrières locales. Elles ont provoqué des crises de misère profonde au cours des années 1921 à 1924. Depuis cette date une activité formidable de constructions immobilières à BEYROUTH et à ALEP a enrayé la crise. Combien durera cette activité? L'optimisme le plus développé en fixe la durée à encore deux ou trois années. Ensuite nous retomberons surement dans le chomage et l'on en mesurera l'intensité en réfléchissant qu'il n'existe aucune industrie et qu'il n'en peut être crée aucune...."

M.De Caix, French spokesman to the Permanent Mandates Commission had already observed; [45]

> "....the Armenian artisans settled in Syria were very numerous in comparison with the buying power of the country. An unemployment crisis might occur at any time..."

From the annual reports of the Nansen Office Delegate in Beirut,[46] it seems that a prolonged crisis for the refugees began in 1931, as a result of the general economic crisis in the country. The workmen suffered more than the artisans. Construction-workers and other workmen were laid off and wages fell. Shopkeepers and small-traders were obliged to close shop because of their impoverished clientèle. Reimbursements to the Nansen Office from Armenians who had received loans are stated to have fallen. The crisis appears to have been felt more at Beirut than at Aleppo, and this was attributed to the fact that the Armenians of Beirut lacked the industries of Aleppo. Thus, when construction workers and others were laid off in the economic crisis, the Armenian economy at Beirut had not the same backbone as at Aleppo. Burnier's reports bring

out this contrast more strongly than the preceding analysis of occupational structure which, while indicating the central importance of the textile industry to the Armenians of Aleppo, stressed the similarities in Armenian occupational structure between the two cities, rather than this difference. Aleppo benefitted in particular by the measures of protection taken in 1932 for the textile industry, such that the weavers and carpet-makers could set up their looms again and sell their products, although at a low price. According to Pallis,[47] even this situation deteriorated from 1935, as a result of general economic stagnation, and was greatly aggravated by the fall in the value of the French franc, conclusions also reached by the President of the Nansen Office on a visit made in November, 1936,[48] and noted by the General-Secretary of the "Friends of Armenia" in June, 1937: [49]

> "When the French franc was devalued last October we hoped that it might bring some benefit to the poor in Syria, and that the cost of living would go down or, at least, remain stationary. But all prices have soared and the cost of bread and food-stuffs is up by 100 per cent. A rise in wages has not been general, and never covers the extra cost of living. For those who could only just "make ends meet" before, the higher bread bill alone is alarming! A 4d loaf now costs 10d."

The weakness of the Aleppo Armenians' backbone was also exposed by the closing of the Turkish market to Syrian textiles and the competition of cheap Japanese goods. Many factories closed down, and as the personnel employed were mostly refugees, they were the first to feel the effect. Pallis supports his assertion concerning an economic decline between 1935 and 1936 by reference to the reimbursements made by the refugees to the Office, but an analysis of annual reimbursements in the years

for which figures are available (Table 4.39) is not very revealing, being distorted by a false entry and subject to difficulties of interpretation. The written record too may be deceiving. Despite the assertions of economic crisis, a table in the Nansen archives[50] noted at June, 1938, only 1,546 refugees unemployed in Syria and Lebanon, out of a total of 165,648, of which 150,266 Armenian. It is also necessary to bear in mind that, in suffering from these economic crises, the Armenians did not necessarily suffer more than other sections of the population. As M.De Caix reported to the Permanent Mandates Commission in June, 1930:- [51]

> "It was doubtless right to be anxious as to the welfare of this population, but it would be a mistake to regard it as the most wretched population in Syria. Many artisans in the towns of the interior were leading a more arduous life than that of the great majority of the Armenians."

<u>Aleppo</u>

The general picture of an economically weak population highly vulnerable to employment crises is confirmed by the references to the situation at Aleppo. Here, as observed, the textile industry was of especial significance, but while this gave the Armenian economy some backbone, the dependence on one sector was always dangerous in time of economic crisis, and the refugees at Aleppo were highly vulnerable to the various employment crises which affected Mandated Syria. The Kurdish revolt in Turkey cut off Aleppo from its main market for weaving produce in 1925.[52] The Druse Revolt in Syria involved a temporary boycott of the Armenians of Aleppo by the local population.[53] The political uncertainty of the later years of the Mandate brought more instability.[54] Turkish

Table 4.39

Annual reimbursements by Armenian Refugees to the Nansen Office (Urban settlements only).

	Annual Reimbursements (Syrian £)				
	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
Aleppo	10,511.65	32,137.84	13,730.67	-20,489.86[1]	10,769.77
Kirik Khane ("urban")	-	-	-	-	-
Alexandretta	-	-	-	-	-
Beirut	13,844.93	11,735.76	8,732.08	4,997.14	9,704.19
Damascus	1,896.00	1,991.44	1,082.25	301.25	-
TOTAL	26,252.58	45,865.04	23,545.00	-15,191.47[1]	20,473.96

Note 1: "The sum of 27,812.48 Syrian pounds was deducted in 1936 as representing an entry...not to an actual payment."

Sources: L.O.N. Docs, A.19.1933,p.23
A.12.1934,p.28
A.3(a) 1935.X.p.10
A.3(a) 1936.X.,p.12
A.3(d) 1937.X.,p.12
A.3(d) 1938.X.,p.12

customs policies temporarily closed the Turkish market to Aleppo weaving produce in 1925-26.[55] Annual fluctuations in climate also had their effect,[56] in so far as the Armenians in Aleppo depended on the rural population for business, for droughts would lead to the impoverishment of the rural population, who would not come to Aleppo to buy. Poverty in the countryside would, however, induce Arab villagers to migrate to Aleppo to seek work, thus flooding the labour market, and making employment an even more difficult problem for the refugees. Other refugees lost their employment as domestic servants when, as a result of the general crisis provoked by the fall of the franc, numerous families dispensed with their services.[57] The Aleppo textile industry, in which the Armenians had an important stake, came from 1932 under heavy pressure from foreign competition.[58] The Armenians were vulnerable too to rises in the cost of living, particularly that consequent on the fall of the French franc.[59] Crop-failures would also force up the cost of living,[60] while tending to increase the labour-supply available in the city and consequently depress wage-rates. Moreover, by their very presence, as has been seen, the Armenians had flooded the labour-market and kept down wage-rates, so that even when the employment situation improved, their actual earnings were sometimes inadequate to support their families. These crises, of course, operated selectively against particular population classes. The weaving industry, on which the refugee population was heavily dependent, suffered severely in the crises of 1925-6 and after 1932.[61] Former farm-workers found difficulty in securing employment in the new urban environment,[62]

those Armenians who had escaped from the Arabs having particular difficulty. Generally the economically weakest suffered most from the crises in employment and the rise in the cost of living; widows and those with no initial capital.[63]

Beirut

While the economic status of the refugees at Aleppo is relatively well documented, there is less information available for Beirut to substantiate that already cited. Nevertheless the existing references confirm the picture again of an economically weak population exposed to recurrent crises. There are frequent references to unemployment,[64] while it is suggested, as for the country as a whole, that the refugees, by their very presence, brought down wage-levels.[65] As observed the refugees appear to have benefitted initially from the construction boom at Beirut, explaining why Burnier could refer to their material situation, despite their low wages, as relatively satisfactory in May, 1926.[66] When, with the depression, there came a reduction in building activity, the refugees suffered accordingly. With their low wages they were at any time vulnerable to rising costs, and particularly those attendant on the fall of the franc.[67]

Damascus

At Damascus, there is reasonable evidence of the distress resulting from unemployment in the short period before the troubles, exacerbated by the fact that,even before the employment of the Armenian irregulars, Arabs were described as not caring to employ Armenians.[68] As a result the "Friends of

Armenia" were obliged to send aid to the children in Damascus in 1923 and 1924,[69] while a number of the Maraş and Gaziantep Armenians sent free of charge to Damascus from Aleppo in May and June, 1923, returned to Aleppo in November of the same year, because they could not find work in Damascus.[70] They reported that unemployment amongst the refugees was greater at Damascus, and that many would return to Aleppo if they had the money to pay the railway fares. This situation was, of course, exacerbated by the troubles of 1925-26,[71] which not only brought an Arab boycott of the Armenians, but also so depressed commerce that little employment was in any case available. Subsequently conditions appear to have improved by the end of the period,[72] but the refugee population had been reduced substantially by the troubles, and it is likely that those who remained in 1926, or returned, were the more successful Armenians with vested interests in Damascus.

Alexandretta

The situation at Alexandretta is more obscure, at least in the latter half of the period. Initially, the town seems to have been quite unable to provide work for the thousands of refugees who descended on it.[73] The economic absorptive capacity of a smaller town like Alexandretta would have been less than that of the larger cities of Aleppo and Beirut; hence the relatively high percentage of the Armenians in Alexandretta described by Duguet (see Table 4.37) as "in need of aid" or "in utter poverty". Subsequently, though little information is available, conditions do not appear to have greatly improved. Thus, in mid-1938, out of the 64 heads of families in the Nansen Office quarter, 20 were unemployed,[74] (although

by that time the economic situation in the Sanjak had in any case been disturbed by political uncertainty).

Other towns and regions

Information on the economic status of the Armenians in the Vilayet of Aleppo outside Aleppo town is very limited. Burtt noted in 1925 that at Menbidj, the poorest Armenians could not get work, while at Djerablous, though not destitute, many of the Armenians were too poor to pay for the education of their children[75] Duguet's figures, (Table 4.37) by contrast, suggest a satisfactory situation in the Vilayet outside the town, and Consul Hough described the Armenian quarter of Djerablous in May, 1928 as "considerably more prosperous than its Turkish counterpart." [76]

In the North-East, it has already been suggested that the picture of a flourishing Armenian artisanate post-dates the period under consideration. There is evidence, in fact, from the discussion of occupational structure, of the economic capture of Armenian labour, with Armenians working as métayers for local landowners. This is not surprising, as many were already impoverished when they arrived in 1929. Captain Gracey[77] reported in 1930 that the first arrivals had got through comparatively easily. They were comfortably off, and so were able to bribe their way through, arriving in Syria with their animals and in some cases with small flocks of sheep and furniture. These Armenians had since made good by joining up with Kurdish farmers in the district. Those who arrived later, however, were robbed of everything, and reduced to a very

miserable condition. Of these, some had recently travelled 260 km on foot to Deir ez Zor in the hope of finding work on the suspension bridge being built there by the French. Thus, as elsewhere, the economic status of the Armenians appears to have varied, and there apparently still existed an impoverished element in the Armenian population of Kamichliye by the end of the period.[78] Duguet's figures, presenting a satisfactory economic situation among the refugees of the North-East, of course pre-date the principal migration to this area in 1929-30.

At Kirik Khane in the Sanjak of Alexandretta Duguet notes a higher than average number of refugees "in need of aid", which would perhaps explain the emigration from this settlement noted by Jacquot. Jacquot[79] in fact notes an emigration from the Sanjak of 375 emigrants in 1928 and 141 in 1929. He states that the Armenian population of Kirik Khane provided about a third of the emigrants. Later however, he notes that their situation had rapidly improved, but confirmation is lacking.

In Alawi Territory, there is evidence, from the government report already cited, that by 1935 the Armenians had secured a preponderant position as artisans.[80](See Chapter 6) Certainly, Duguet's figures suggest that the material situation of the refugees in this province was satisfactory, as do comments in the reports of Johnson, the Deuxième Bureau, and elsewhere.[81] However, refugees were reported leaving the town of Latakia soon after settlement in face of the initial reluctance of the local inhabitants to allow them to rent either houses or shops.[82] Furthermore, refugees who were transported to Banias in 1922 were reported to be leaving that place for larger towns because of lack of work,[83] so it seems possible that while the

economic situation of the bulk of the refugees in Latakia town, was satisfactory, that of the refugees in outlying centres may have been otherwise.

For the rest of the country, information is again lacking. Duguet's figures suggest an unsatisfactory situation at Homs, with the entire refugee population "in need of aid" or "in utter poverty", and this impression is reinforced by Burnier's comment made in 1926 that at Homs and Hama, the Armenians were only vegetating with difficulty because of a hostile population.[84] Within Lebanon, Duguet suggests considerable variation in the economic status of the refugees in the smaller centres. There is some evidence of economic failure by the Armenians in these villages. Thus, Arthur A. Bacon of the Beirut Chapter, American Red Cross, reported in November, 1922,[85] that the refugees who had passed through Beirut and found work in the villages in the summer had begun to drift back to the Beirut camp when the work in the fields and vineyards stopped. Much later, in 1935, Sisag Manoogian noted[86] in Djounieh a family who could not find work and could not afford to move to Aleppo or Damascus as they wished. "This is only a sample of many families who are imprisoned in the villages."[87] On the other hand, Burnier noted in 1926 the prosperity of the Armenians who had moved to the villages from Saida, and also those in Saida itself who had been able to construct a little church and school at their own expense at the end of 1924. This prosperity, however, seems totally belied by Duguet's figures, which reveal over 87% of refugees at Saida to have been either "in need of aid" or "in utter poverty".

Conclusions

There is clearly a dearth of sound information concerning the economic status of the Armenians in the outlying centres, the bulk of the available data concerning the principal cities. Nevertheless, it may be concluded that in general the Armenians formed a population of relatively low economic status, extremely vulnerable to economic crises. This was true in almost all the towns (with the possible exception of Latakia) and especially in the principal cities of Aleppo, Beirut, Damascus, and Alexandretta where the Armenians were overwhelmingly concentrated. Thus it does not seem that the Armenians were attracted to, or retained in, these towns by economic opportunity.

This picture of economic stagnation seems true, moreover, not only of the Armenians who remained in their arrival points (certainly in the cities of Aleppo, Beirut and Alexandretta), but also of the Armenians who moved elsewhere. Little is known, it is true, of the economic status of those who moved to the north-east, to the outlying towns and villages of Aleppo Vilayet, or to southern Syria. There is, however, evidence of economic malaise at Kirik Khane (in the Sanjak of Alexandretta), in the outlying centres of Alawi Territory and Lebanon, and in interior Syria at Homs and Damascus (at least, before the exodus). The situation in Damascus was similar to that in the other principal centres which were by contrast, also arrival points. It would seem to follow either that the economic attraction involved in these movements was weak or non-existent, or that those responsible for them were guilty of grave errors of judgement.

It also seems difficult to explain the progressive desertion of the secondary centres and concentration in the principal cities in strictly economic terms. At first sight, it seems quite possible that the economic malaise noted in the smaller centres where Armenians settled contributed to their desertion; in particular Homs, Saida and some of the smaller towns of the State of the Alawis and Lebanon all appear to have experienced population decline simultaneously with economic malaise. However, the principal cities of concentration could hardly be considered centres of economic attraction for the refugees as they already contained large stagnating Armenian populations. Thus the desertion of the secondary centres in favour of the principal cities does not appear to have reflected any rational appreciation of the distribution of economic opportunities. In short it does not seem from this analysis of economic status that the distribution of the Armenians is to be explained in terms of the distribution of economic opportunities. It seems more likely, in view of the lowly economic status of the Armenians, that they tended to remain at their arrival points partly at least because they were unable to move and settle elsewhere.

How do these conclusions relate to the analysis of occupational structure? In fact, economic stagnation would appear to have been the counterpart of the fact that, while real outlets in the region lay on the land, the Armenians remained concentrated in the cities. Within the cities the country was simply unable to offer sufficient opportunities to an improverished refugee population to assure its livelihood. Thus, rather than being attracted to particular settlements by

specific employment opportunities it is suggested that for the most part the Armenians assumed their occupational structure in situ, finding precarious footholds where they could in the regional economy. The next chapter will show how the Armenians did consider escaping from this situation by seeking resettlement on the land. But the conditions in which such resettlement was socially desirable, i.e. in large groups, could not be fulfilled without considerable expense. Unable to afford this expense, the Armenians remained concentrated in the cities. This was the fundamental problem which confronted the resettlement planners. It would be perpetuated by the assumption of occupations by the Armenians in the cities and by their establishment of basic service industries, which would tend to reinforce the status quo. In the final analysis, however, it must be stressed that, in the absence of sound data concerning the decision-making process, the conclusions of this chapter are based on inferences made from structural comparisons, that this method is in principle unsatisfactory, and that the strictures made in the introduction on the value of the analysis still apply.