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Immigrants in Richmond, Virginia : Lebanese, Armenians and Greeks, 1900-1925

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IMMIGRANTS IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA:
LEBANESE, ARMENIANS AND GREEKS, 1900-1925

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter

I.	Introduction.	1
II.	The Lebanese.	10
III.	The Armenians	66
IV.	The Greeks.	117
V.	Comparisons	170
	Bibliography	180

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In most of the published histories and memoirs of the city of Richmond there is little or no mention of its post Civil War immigrant population. If any ethnic group is referred to, it is almost invariably either the Germans, the Irish or the Jews, in spite of the fact that it is evident from even the most casual perusal of the Richmond city directory or the telephone directory that there are many city residents whose ancestors were not the traditional Anglo-Saxons, their slaves, or members of the three above mentioned groups.

Although the great migrations from Asia and Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not have as great an effect on Richmond as some other cities, a number of these people came to the capital of Virginia. Of these immigrants three nationality groups, Armenians, Greeks, and Lebanese, stand out because of their similarity. They arrived in Richmond at approximately the same time, lived in the same areas, had similar occupations and religious preferences, a degree of cohesiveness, and a

common background of previous residence within the Ottoman Empire. There are also interesting differences between the three groups in all of those areas. Because these immigrants have been overlooked by local historians, and because they have been successful in establishing roots in this portion of "the land of opportunity," an investigation of their history in connection with the city of Richmond merits study. The time chosen for this research begins with the census year of 1900, although there were a few of these immigrants here before then, and ends with 1925, one year after passage of the Immigration Act of 1924.

Today each of these groups has its own religious body: Saint James Armenian Church, Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, and Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church. For each of these groups, brief histories have been written, but there are virtually no church records documenting the early years of the immigrants' lives in Richmond. There are still communicants, however, who either immigrated from the old country or were born shortly after their parents arrived. Many of these people have been extremely helpful in providing information about themselves, their families and acquaintances, and in answering innumerable questions that cannot be answered by the census, tax books, city directories

or newspapers.¹

Although little has been written about Richmond's immigrants from 1900 to 1925, there is an abundance of data about other aspects of the city at that time and on immigration in general. There were three great waves of migrations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first was from 1815 to 1860, when approximately five million people entered the United States, mainly from western Europe (the British Isles, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Holland). The second period, from 1860 to 1890, accounts for the influx of approximately ten million immigrants, again predominantly from western Europe. Those included in the first two migrations are known as Old Immigrants and were considered by many in the early twentieth century to have been more desirable than the New Immigrants. These were the majority of the group who came in the last great wave of migration, from 1890 to 1914. They came mainly from southern and eastern Europe (Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia,

¹There were a few individuals who declined to be interviewed because they felt their English was not good enough to communicate. There were also several Armenian women who said they could not discuss their memories of the past because it was too painful to recall the experiences in Armenia which led to their emigration.

Greece, Rumania, and Turkey). The crest of the last wave came in 1907 when 1,285,000 entered the United States from abroad.²

In 1900 the city of Richmond had a population of 85,050, 2,865 of whom were foreign-born whites. By 1910 the city had grown in population, with a little help from annexation, to 127,628, with 4,085 foreign-born whites. In 1920 the total population of Richmond, again with the help of annexation, was 171,667, with 4,637 foreign-born whites. Thus in the ten year period from 1910 to 1920 the immigrant population of Richmond had only increased by 552, while during the same period 5,725,811 immigrants had arrived in the United States.³

The Richmond to which the immigrants came in 1900 has been described in differing terms. W. Asbury

²Maldwyn Allen Jones, American Immigration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 178-79.

³U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Census Reports, Vol. 1, Population, Part 1, p. cxxi; U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Statistics for Virginia, p. 620; U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Bulletin, Population: Virginia, Composition and Characteristics of the Population, p. 24; Bernard, American Immigration Policy, p. 8, citing U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Report 1946.

Christian and John A. Cutchins see it in glowing colors, and Virginius Dabney only slightly dimmer, but Michael B. Chesson's descriptions are dreary. Christian, from the perspective of 1912, depicts the city on the threshold of the new century "with a brilliant future beckoning her on to the conquests of a great city. The material prosperity of the past year was phenomenal." In describing the year 1910, he says "the dream of years was now realized, and Richmond was a city of great proportions."⁴

Cutchins, a young man of twenty-four in 1905, fondly remembers the Richmond of his boyhood and later years. He describes in genteel tones a place where family traditions were important even as the city grew and prospered. He saw great opportunity for young gentlemen to succeed in the law and public service especially. He affectionately and courteously remembers blacks but he probably had no immigrant acquaintances.⁵

In describing the decade from 1900 to 1920 Dabney, giving credit to a boasting Chamber of

⁴W. Asbury Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present (Richmond: L. H. Jenkins, 1912), pp. 469, 523.

⁵John A. Cutchins, Memories of Old Richmond, 1881-1944 (Verona, Virginia: McClure Press, 1973), pp. 41-43, 120, 124-25, 136, 197-98.

Commerce, portrays Richmond as a center of banking and manufacturing including tobacco products, fertilizer, furniture, baking powder and blotting paper.⁶ But, Chesson in describing Richmond in the 1890's gives this dismal prediction of the future.

By the 1890's, tradition, sentimentality, racism, and the collective weight of the past had eclipsed the progressive visions and the decline was complete. As the city's war with itself finally ended, Richmond became what it remained for decades: the old city of the New South

The readiness to sentimentalize the past impeded development in the arts as surely as it retarded economic, social, and political growth. With the exception of the automobile, a white or black Richmonder of the 1890's would not have felt himself a stranger in Richmond during the Progressive Era, the 1920s or even the 1930s. Changes were of degree not kind.⁷

Whatever view is taken of the city, its physical description is indisputable. In 1900 Richmond was divided into six wards: Clay, Jackson, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, and Monroe. Clay had the largest population with 22,133 people; Jackson had the second

⁶Virginus Dabney, Richmond, the Story of a City (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1976), p. 292.

⁷Michael B. Chesson, Richmond After the War, 1865-1890 (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981), pp. 171-72, 206.

largest, mostly black, population, with 18,713.⁸ In 1903 Jackson Ward was "gerrymandered out of existence."⁹ In 1906 the city annexed Fulton Hill and Fairmount, gaining 3,000 acres and 12,000 people.¹⁰ In 1910 Manchester was annexed, and in 1914 another 12.21 square miles was annexed adding land to all sides of the city.¹¹

In 1911 the redistricting of the city created four wards, Jefferson, Madison, Clay and Lee.¹² By 1920 Lee Ward had the largest population (49,081 people), including the largest foreign-born white population (1,305), and the largest black population (20,601). Jefferson had a population of 41,946 people, including 1,107 foreign-born whites and 13,009 blacks. Madison had 40,758 people with 1,194 foreign-born whites and 15,097 blacks; and Clay had 39,882 people, 1,031 of whom were foreign-born whites

⁸U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Census Reports, Vol. 1, Population, Part 1, p. lxxix.

⁹Chesson, Richmond After the War, p. 193.

¹⁰Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, p. 497.

¹¹Dabney, Richmond, p. 292.

¹²Christian, Richmond, Her Past and Present, p. 537.

and 5,334 blacks.¹³

Throughout the period from 1900 to 1925, the downtown business section's most important streets were Broad and Main. Broad Street was the retail shopping area, and Main was known as the financial district although it was also important as a location for legal offices as well as factories. Cutchins gives a fascinating almost business by business and house by house description of the area bound by 4th, Broad, Main and 14th Streets in 1905.¹⁴

Grace and Franklin were the most prestigious residential streets although they gradually were taken over by businesses as new residential areas were developed in the west end and on the north side. When Manchester was annexed, the city gained both business and residential areas populated mainly by the "working class."¹⁵

The immigrant who came to Richmond at any time from 1900 to 1925 probably did not know for several

¹³U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Bulletin, Population: Virginia, p. 24.

¹⁴Cutchins, Memories, pp. 111-119.

¹⁵Ibid; Chesson, Richmond After the War, pp. 122-23, 174-76; Robert Beverley Munford, Jr., Richmond Homes and Memories (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1936), p. 69.

years, at best, that the finest shops were on Broad Street and the bankers and lawyers were on Main Street. The immigrant would arrive at Elba Station at Broad and Pine, the train station at Byrd and 7th, or, after it was built in 1901, Main Street Station at 15th and Main. He would then proceed to the residence or business of earlier immigrants, from which he would find himself a new home and occupation. One Lebanese who immigrated in 1920 recalls that he lived in Richmond for the first three years without ever leaving a three block area in which he lived and worked.¹⁶

¹⁶Interview with Samuel G. Shahda, 8115 Jefferson Davis Highway, Richmond, Virginia, 12 October 1982.

CHAPTER II

THE LEBANESE

The Lebanese were the first of the three immigrant groups to appear in Richmond in significant numbers. They began to arrive in 1895. By 1900 there were at least thirty-one Lebanese,¹ or Syrians

¹Table 1, pp. 43-45. All of the tables used in this paper were compiled from information found in the 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1925 Richmond city directories, Richmond city land tax and personal property tax books for the same years and the 1900 census. The 1910 census records did not become available until after the research was completed and individual census records after that year are closed. Occasionally an interview is listed as a source of information in one of the tables when an individual was known to have lived in Richmond during a specific year but no record exists to verify that fact. Limited space in the tables restricted sources of information to the above mentioned records although many of the individuals listed in the tables are mentioned in their respective church histories and in the interviews listed in the bibliography.

The tables were designed to facilitate citing and locating source materials, and to give some specific information on each immigrant researched which was not mentioned in the main body of the paper except in general terms. For example, according to Table 3, page 50, George S. Abraham was a confectioner who lived in Jefferson Ward at 3834 Williamsburg Avenue. He owned that property and also another parcel at the southeast corner of Cary and Lady Streets in Clay Ward. He is listed in the Richmond city land books for Jefferson and Clay Wards, in the Richmond city personal property book for Jefferson Ward, and in the Richmond city directory. All of the information about this individual can readily be obtained from Table 3, while in the body of the paper he is not

as they were called at that time,² who were listed either in the Richmond city directory, or the tax rolls, or by the census.³ By 1902, according to their local church history, there were probably between

mentioned specifically and is only referred to as a member of a group. In 1920 he was one of thirty-seven Lebanese living in Jefferson Ward (page 19), one of twenty-four who owned land (p. 27), one of twenty-three who paid personal property taxes (p. 27), and one of thirty-four who was a confectioner (p. 32). By consulting Table 1, it can be determined that he did not live in Richmond in 1900, although other Lebanese with the same surname did. According to Table 2, in 1910 there was a George Abraham, without the middle initial, who was a confectioner living on East Main Street in Jefferson Ward. By 1925, in Table 4, it can be seen that George S. Abraham had moved to 1308 Louisiana Street, which was owned by George Abraham, a barber. George S. Abraham had disposed of the property he owned in 1920, and acquired four new parcels by 1925, but he was still employed as a confectioner. Once again he can be located in the land and personal property tax books and in the city directory.

²In census statistics through 1920 Lebanese were considered Syrians, although, actually, Mount Lebanon (mainly Maronite Christian), having been stripped of Beirut, Sidon, Wadi al-Taym and Eastern al-Biqa, was an autonomous province within the Ottoman Empire from 1861 to 1920. Philip K. Hitti, History of Syria, Including Lebanon and Palestine (New York: Macmillan Co., 1951), pp. 694-95.

From 1920 to 1943 the State of Lebanon was a French mandate, and since 1943 it has been an independent nation. Elie Adib Salem, Modernization Without Revolution, Lebanon's Experience (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1973), pp. 10-11.

³In researching and compiling information about the three immigrant groups I have consulted records from the years 1900, 1910, 1920 and 1925. My inquiry was limited to men and women who either paid taxes, or were listed in the census, or the Richmond city directory as adult males or employed females. This obviously narrowed the group down to mainly single men and women

fifteen and twenty Lebanese families in the city. A list of their surnames includes Abraham, Faid (Fahed), Kouri, Moses, Saniel (Sanyour), and Simon.⁴ Members of these families were still in Richmond twenty-five years later,⁵ and many of their progeny remain today.⁶

In 1910 there were at least thirty-seven Lebanese on record in Richmond. New surnames which appear include Baroody, Cahraman, Diab (Dib or Deeb), and Shulleeta.⁷ The Bureau of the Census lists 142 foreign-born whites, men and women, from Turkey in Asia, but does not break down this classification specifically

or heads of households. Unemployed married women and children were eliminated because they were not listed in the city directories, a major source of information. Married women were not listed with any consistency in the tax records, and young children were never included.

With the exception of those individuals found in the 1900 census, it is impossible to tell from information available if the people researched were born in the old country, were children of immigrants, or were naturalized citizens of the United States. Naturalization records for Richmond from 1900 to 1925 are in existence but not available to the public; and Richmond voter registration records for the time period have been destroyed.

⁴Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church, Dedication: the History of a Community (Richmond: Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church, 1979), p. 1.

⁵Table 4, pp. 57-65.

⁶Interview with Salem T. Sanyour, 4625 Park Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 29 October 1981.

⁷Table 2, pp. 46-49.

into Turks, Armenians, Syrians or whatever.⁸ In 1920 the group was almost half again as large with seventy Lebanese in the city. Counted among the newcomers were such names as Haboush, Mutter, Oley, and Saady.⁹ The census cites 143 whites, males and females, of Syrian birth residing in Richmond, but does not indicate how many of these were Lebanese.¹⁰ By 1925 when immigration had slowed to a trickle, the number of Lebanese had increased only slightly to seventy-five. New surnames include Massad, Sarkis, Toney and Zohab.¹¹

Although no one knows why a group of Lebanese immigrants initially came to Richmond, it is known that the Lebanese, in general, immigrated to the United States mainly for economic reasons. They first learned of American financial opportunities when delegations came to the United States bringing items to be displayed at the Centennial Exposition in Chicago¹² and the

⁸U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Statistics for Virginia, p. 620.

⁹Table 3, pp. 50-56.

¹⁰U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Bulletin, Population: Virginia, Composition and Characteristics of the Population, p. 5.

¹¹Table 4, pp. 57-65.

¹²Louise Seymour Houghton, "The Syrians in the United States," Survey 26 (July 1911): 486.

Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876. Within a few years a typical chain migration began with agents in the United States encouraging immigrants to come to work in American industries and financial agents in Lebanon doing the same. Once the early immigrants became established they urged friends and relations to join them.¹³

These immigrants were mainly mountain villagers who were "poor but not destitute." Seventy-five percent were between the ages of fifteen and forty-five. Forty-four percent were illiterate in 1910, but that figure decreased to twenty-one percent by the 1920's. There were fewer women (forty-seven percent) than men before 1915, but more than half of the Syrian immigrants in the 1920's were females.¹⁴

Unlike the Armenian and Greek parts of the Ottoman Empire, Lebanon (or Mount Lebanon) was a prosperous, well-governed autonomous district, administered by Christians.¹⁵ The overwhelming majority of its emigrants were Christians, so there was neither

¹³Alix Naff, "Arabs," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 130.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Hitti, History of Syria, pp. 695-96.

religious nor political oppression driving them away from their homeland. After 1908, however, some young men emigrated to avoid service in the Turkish army which the revolutionary government began to require of Christians as well as Muslims, from whom the army had been exclusively composed previously. Muslims rarely immigrated to the United States at this time, fearing the complications of minority status in a western nation.¹⁶

Essentially the Lebanese immigrant had two major goals when he came to the United States: to get rich quickly, and then return to his homeland. Those who came to Richmond were no exception. Although they did not gain immediate wealth, or even a semblance of it, they did find "a better way of living," and most of them made it their permanent home, abandoning their second goal of returning to Lebanon. One local second generation Lebanese-American, who was born in 1899, recalls that few of his father's compatriots returned to the old country to do anything more than meet their brides.¹⁷ Another Lebanese relates that he returned to Lebanon in 1923, after being in Richmond three years,

¹⁶Naff, "Arabs," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 130.

¹⁷Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981.

to marry the girl to whom he was engaged before he emigrated. His original intention, typically, had been to stay in the United States a few years and then go home to Lebanon to enjoy his newly acquired fortune. He never returned to his homeland permanently, however, because of investments in Richmond and also because he became "spoiled by the luxuries of good sanitation, law and order, and public transportation."¹⁸

The first Lebanese immigrants in Richmond tended to live near each other in an area with boundaries approximately between 19th, East Main, East Franklin, and 23rd Streets, near Saint Patrick's Catholic Church. Of the thirty-one individuals researched in 1900, eleven lived on 19th; thirteen on East Main in the 1900, 2000 or 2100 blocks; one lived on 18th; and two are listed with two addresses: George Nemi resided at both 14 North 18th and 1900 East Main, while Assaid Haddad was located at 1902 East Main and also on 19th Street.¹⁹ Only four of this first group of Lebanese lived outside of the neighborhood. The Azars, Emile and Joseph, lived at 113 East Broad, presumably, since their home and business address are the same, in a

¹⁸Interview with Samuel G. Shahda, 8115 Jefferson Davis Highway, Richmond, Virginia, 12 October 1982.

¹⁹Table 1, pp. 43-45.

flat over or in the rear of their shop, which offered "Turkish goods" for sale.²⁰

The other two who did not live in proximity to the rest were Mrs. Hester Joseph and Ellis Assaid. Mrs. Joseph was a forty-four year old widow who immigrated in 1892. She spoke English and was employed as a fruit merchant. She lived in the home of the William Garrett family, obviously not Lebanese, at 1212 1/2 East Broad.²¹ Ellis Assaid also lived in the 1200 block of East Broad Street. He was a thirty year old grocer, who immigrated in 1894. He spoke English and had a wife and step-daughter, both of whom were born in North Carolina of American-born parents.²² It was unusual for an immigrant man to marry outside of his ethnic group, and it was not common for an immigrant woman to be involved in business as Mrs. Joseph was. Perhaps these differences from the norm explain why they lived away from the other Lebanese.

Why the Lebanese chose the housing location that they did is unknown. One probable explanation is that they wanted to live within walking distance of a

²⁰Ibid., p. 43.

²¹Ibid.; and Directory of Richmond and Manchester, Virginia, 1900 (Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Co., 1900), p. 520.

²²Table 1, p. 43.

Catholic church, and Saint Patrick's, on 25th Street was located in an area with available low cost housing. Saint Peter's Catholic Cathedral, at 8th and Grace, was closer to the train station at 7th and Byrd Streets from which the first immigrants probably disembarked, but it was located in an exclusive residential neighborhood.²³

In 1900 all of the Lebanese, with the exception of the Azars, lived in Jefferson Ward. By 1910 they still were heavily congregated in Jefferson. East Main Street continued to be the most popular location for housing with seventeen of the thirty-seven researched living between the 1700 and 2400 blocks. Others were scattered throughout the ward in a northeasterly direction into the Fairmount area on Venable, Carrington, and Q Streets, and further into Church Hill on East Broad and North 25th Streets. Four Lebanese lived in Clay Ward in 1910, two on West Main in the 1700 and 1500 blocks, and two on Beverly Street which is now known as Idlewood Avenue. Two lived in Monroe Ward on West Broad near Belvidere Street. One lived nearby at 500 West Broad in Lee Ward, and one lived in Madison Ward at 318 North C

²³Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981.

Street.²⁴ It is impossible to speculate with the limited information available why these last eight Lebanese were moving westward from the main group, although it was the beginning of a trend which increased slightly throughout the period. It should be remembered that the city was growing in this direction.

In 1920 most of the Lebanese were still living in Jefferson Ward with thirty-seven of the seventy individuals researched dwelling there,²⁵ however, they were no longer concentrated on any particular street. Only seven lived on East Main, and of those only one, B. B. Baroody, had lived there in 1910. One had ventured as far east as Williamsburg Avenue, another over to 33rd Street, and two to 29th Street. Six Lebanese lived on Q Street although none of these was among the original three members of the Shulleeta family who were living on Q in 1910. The rest of the Lebanese in Jefferson Ward were scattered throughout Church Hill and Fairmount.²⁶

²⁴Table 2, pp. 46-49.

²⁵Census statistics show that one hundred forty-three Syrian immigrants lived in Richmond in 1920, with twenty-two residing in Clay Ward, seventy-eight in Jefferson, fourteen in Lee, and twenty-nine in Madison. U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1920 Bulletin, Population: Virginia, p. 24.

²⁶Table 3, pp. 50-56.

Eight Lebanese lived in Lee Ward in 1920, but they did not live particularly near each other, and only two had the same family names, so no generalizations can be made about why they chose these housing locations. There were ten Lebanese in Madison Ward in 1920. They were fairly evenly scattered on six different streets from North 3rd to North 12th Streets and from East Main to East Marshall Streets. Clay Ward is a bit more noteworthy than Lee or Madison in 1920 since it shows the continuation of the westward movement. There were fifteen Lebanese living in Clay with twelve on either West Main or West Cary Streets. Two lived on the 1000 block, one on the 1300 block and two on the 2000 block of West Main, while on West Cary they were spread from 920 to 1903. One Lebanese lived on South Laurel, one on Ashland, and Abraham Simon continued to live on Beverly Street although he had moved from 2518 to 2508. He did remain on the same side of the street.²⁷

By 1925 Clay Ward was clearly gaining in popularity with twenty-two of the seventy-five Lebanese researched living there. Eight lived on West Main from the 400 block to the 3200 block of Ellwood Avenue which is West Main Street extended.

²⁷Ibid.

Six lived on West Cary from the 1300 block to 3101 Westhampton Avenue which was at that time an extension of West Cary. The rest of the Lebanese were scattered throughout Clay Ward on Ashland, Floyd, Sheppard, and Idlewood.²⁸ It should be noted that while nearly a third of the group was moving west from the original Lebanese community, they were not buying or renting property in what was considered the fashionable west end. From the appearance of the buildings that are still standing today the parts of Clay Ward where the Lebanese lived were probably lower middle class/working class neighborhoods with duplex apartments, small row houses and flats above stores. There is no question however that their living standards had significantly improved from boarding houses on East Main Street where so many of the original group first lived in 1900.

East Main, in Jefferson Ward, continued to be a popular place of residence for the Lebanese in 1925. Twelve lived between the 2700 block and the 2000 block. This compares with thirteen who lived between 1529 and 2104 East Main in 1900. As in all the years since 1900, Jefferson Ward remained the home of the largest percent of the Lebanese immigrants. There were twenty-

²⁸Table 4, pp. 57-65.

one others, besides the ten on East Main, who lived throughout Church Hill and Fairmount on East Broad, Louisiana, Q, East Marshall, and from 19th to 33rd Streets. Lee Ward was the home of twelve of the Lebanese in 1925. As in 1920, there was no particular pattern in settlement here. Three lived on West Broad, two on Griffin Avenue, three on West Grace, and one each on Sheppard, Addison, Adams and Monroe. Five of those living in Lee at this time had lived there in 1920, two of whom remained in the same dwellings. Madison Ward had the smallest number of Lebanese, only eight, in 1925, down from eleven in 1920. The Toney family lived at 117 1/2 North 5th and accounted for five of the group. Two others lived on East Clay and one on East Marshall. There were no Lebanese in Madison Ward on the south side as of 1925.²⁹

In reviewing the housing locations of the Lebanese throughout the period from 1900 to 1925, it is startling to see how transient they were. Of the original thirty-one in 1900, only six were still listed in the city directory or on the tax rolls. None stayed in the location in which he initially settled. During the specific years researched only eighteen Lebanese lived in the same place from one

²⁹Ibid.

period to the next. From 1900 to 1910 Tom Joo (Joe) stayed in the same home, 2025 East Main. From 1910 to 1920 three remained at the same addresses, all of which were in Jefferson Ward. From 1920 to 1925 fourteen Lebanese stayed at the same locations, eight of which were in Jefferson Ward, two in Clay, and four in Lee. Of this total of eighteen individuals who were more reluctant to move than their compatriots, six were landowners.³⁰

Charles and Abraham Sanyour are examples of the Lebanese immigrant who moved from place to place throughout the city. The Sanyour brothers came to Richmond by way of New York City. Charles immigrated in 1896, and Abraham came two years later on his brother's recommendation.³¹ In 1900 Abraham Sanyour lived at 1900 East Main, Jefferson Ward, in the same house as two other Lebanese, George Nemi (Nehmi) and Abraham Simon. Charles Sanyour, with his wife and two children, lived across the street at 1905, in what was probably a boarding house with fellow countrymen Charles Hasaf, John Monsour, Resi Karam and John Joseph.³²

³⁰Tables 1-4, pp. 43-65.

³¹Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 1, p. 45.

³²Table 1, pp. 43-45.

By 1910 (actually 1903 according to his son Salem), Abraham Sanyour and his family were living at 2001 Venable Street in a flat over his confectionery. He owned the property which was valued at \$400 for the building and \$1,300 for the land. He owned \$500 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and \$250 worth of other personal property necessary for his business.³³ By 1920 he had bought a house where he and his family lived at 1321 East Main. The building was valued at \$280 and the land at \$1,000. His place of business remained on Venable Street. He had accumulated \$150 worth of household and kitchen furnishings, a \$35 musical instrument, and a \$10 watch.³⁴ By 1925 he had broken his ties with Jefferson Ward, bought a new house on South Sheppard Street and set up a new business at 2913 Westhampton Avenue in Clay Ward. The house was valued at \$5,000 while the land had a value of \$450.³⁵ Obviously Abraham had prospered.

Charles Sanyour's story is much the same. In 1910 he and his family were living in a flat above his confectionery at 501 North 25th Street, which he

³³Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 2, p. 49.

³⁴Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 3, p. 55.

³⁵Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 4, p. 62.

owned. It was valued at \$500 for the building and \$1,000 for the lot, with \$100 worth of household and kitchen furnishings, and a \$300 capital investment.³⁶ Charles Sanyour was one of the few who remained in the same location after ten years,³⁷ but by 1925 he had left Jefferson Ward and moved to the north side in Lee Ward. He had bought a house on Griffin Avenue, valued at \$3,080, on land worth \$140, and had moved his confectionery business to Brookland Park Boulevard. His household and kitchen furnishings had increased in value to \$500 and he also had \$1,000 invested in other tangible personal property.³⁸ Like his brother, Charles had prospered.

Quite a few others in the Lebanese community experienced similar success. In 1910 there were ten Lebanese property holders in Richmond with half of them, predictably, being in Jefferson Ward. It is surprising, however, that of the twenty Lebanese living on East Main, the most popular location in Jefferson, only one, Abraham Simon, owned property there. George J. Saady owned two parcels in Jefferson, and along

³⁶Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 2, p. 49.

³⁷Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 3, p. 55.

³⁸Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Table 4, p. 63.

John J. Saady and John E. Fahed owned four more there. Fahed, with George E. Fahed, owned another parcel on West Broad in Monroe Ward, and still another in Clay Ward. Although no one else had an interest in as many pieces of property as John Fahed, John Joseph owned the northwest corner of Beverly and Robinson in Clay Ward, and Abraham Simon owned property on Beverly Street and on Stuart Avenue in Clay Ward.³⁹

By 1920 twenty-four Lebanese owned land in Richmond. Twelve in Jefferson Ward, six in Lee, and six in Clay. Only Charles Sanyour and Abraham Simon continued to own the land they had held in 1910, but four of the other original ten landowners continued to own property, albeit different from what they held in 1910. Of the remaining four who were property owners in 1910 there is no record of two of them still living in Richmond, and the other two apparently relinquished their holdings by 1920. Only two parcels were jointly owned in 1920, these being 1317 West Cary owned by R. S. and Sep Fahed, and 2523 Q Street shared by George and Annie Mehroud. Three other Lebanese ladies owned property: Latefa Joseph and Mattie Shulleeta in Jefferson, and Mary Shulleeta in Lee.⁴⁰

³⁹Table 2, pp. 46-49.

⁴⁰Table 3, pp. 50-56.

By 1925 only twenty-two Lebanese owned land, but they held a total of thirty-four parcels: four in Madison Ward, nine in Clay, fifteen in Jefferson, and six in Lee. The Abrahams, George S. and his son George, had the distinction of being the largest property holders in the Lebanese community in 1925. Between them, they held ten parcels: five in Jefferson, one in Clay, one in Lee, two in Madison, and one in Madison South Side, this being the only Lebanese property owned on the south side of the James River. It should be mentioned, however, that three of these parcels were undeveloped land with very low values.⁴¹

While less than one third of the Lebanese were prosperous enough to own land by 1925, many of the Lebanese enjoyed an increase in material possessions as exemplified by their personal property taxes. In 1900 only eleven of the thirty-one Lebanese researched could be found in the city's personal property tax books. Of these, four owned \$25 worth of household and kitchen furnishings, three owned \$50 worth, and one had \$100 worth. Three of the Lebanese owned no household and kitchen furnishings but had \$50 worth of marketable personal property and one had the distinction of owning both \$25 worth of household and

⁴¹Table 4, pp. 57-65.

kitchen furnishings and \$25 worth of marketable personal property. It is not surprising to learn that these last four men were peddlers.⁴²

By 1910 eighteen of the thirty-seven Lebanese researched were recorded as owning some personal property. Only one had as little as \$25 worth of household and kitchen furnishings, another had \$30 worth, six had \$50 worth, and the other ten owned between \$80 and \$400 worth of household and kitchen furnishings or other tangible personal property.⁴³

By 1920 an occasional Lebanese, out of the twenty-three who paid personal property taxes, not only listed the value of household and kitchen furnishings and other tangible personal property, but also acknowledged that he owned a watch, a clock, a musical instrument and in one instance even an auto valued at \$150. No one listed personal property worth less than \$50, six listed possessions worth between \$250 and \$500, and four between \$600 and \$850.⁴⁴ In 1925 ten Lebanese owned automobiles valued from \$80 to \$400. There were twenty-six other Lebanese who also paid personal

⁴²Table 1, pp. 43-45.

⁴³Table 2, pp. 46-49.

⁴⁴Table 3, pp. 50-56.

property taxes that year. Only two, both in Jefferson Ward, had items valued at as little as \$80; fifteen between \$100 and \$260; eight between \$300 and \$500; seven between \$500 and \$1,000; and four over \$1,000, all of whom were confectioners living in Madison, Lee or Clay Wards.⁴⁵

Approximately ninety percent of the Lebanese immigrants who came to the United States had as their first occupation peddling. They had not usually been employed as such in their homeland, but it was the choice of most Lebanese when they settled in this country regardless of the location. It was work in which practically the whole family could take part, with some women staying at home making lace and other handwork to be sold, and other women, older children, and men going out with wares to be peddled. A network of suppliers developed, first in New York City and then throughout the country, and only a small outlay of capital was required for a person to begin in business. There was always room for a new arrival to be incorporated into the system, little English was required, and anyone could easily move on to other employment when better opportunities arose, without upsetting the system. It was hard work, but to the

⁴⁵Table 4, pp. 57-65.

Lebanese at least, it was preferable to other occupations available to immigrants.⁴⁶ In Richmond, in 1900, of the thirty-one Lebanese researched, nineteen were peddlers; three were either unemployed or their occupations were not recorded; one was a laborer; and the rest were involved in small businesses of some kind such as fruit stands, confectioneries or groceries.⁴⁷

It is possible to investigate the peddlers closely since most of them can be found in the census records. They all lived in Jefferson Ward on the same block of 19th Street or on the 1900 block of East Main, probably in boarding houses since many of the addresses are the same. They range in age from fifteen to forty-eight. Keeping in mind that those researched were taxpayers or individuals listed in the census or city directory as employed, there were sixteen men and three women. At least seven were married; eleven could speak English; seven could also write and read English; only two came to this country before 1896; and three were naturalized citizens.⁴⁸ There was only

⁴⁶Houghton, "The Syrians in the United States," Survey, pp. 650-60; and Naff, "Arabs," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 131.

⁴⁷Table 1, pp. 43-45.

⁴⁸Ibid.

one family, that of Jobod Faïd (Jacob Fahed), with daughters in their teens or older, and in this family every one engaged in peddling. Jacob, age forty-eight, and his wife Anna, forty-five, came with their family to the United States in 1896. They spoke no English, but daughters Carltoona, twenty-one, and Lockinia, fifteen, could read, write and speak English. They lived in a boarding house on 19th Street.⁴⁹ Probably with families in mind such as the Faheds, Louise Seymour Houghton discusses peddling in one of a series of articles on Syrian immigrants in Survey magazine. She explains that "in general it is the women who peddle, because women can more easily find entrance into houses than men."⁵⁰ This did not seem to be the case in Richmond.

By 1910 only one of the Lebanese, George Moses, remained a peddler. He was acknowledged the most successful peddler of the group and continued to sell his wares for many years.⁵¹ Most of the other thirty-six Lebanese researched went into small businesses. Twenty-one were confectioners; one sold dry goods;

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 43.

⁵⁰Houston, "The Syrians in the United States," Survey, p. 650.

⁵¹Sanyour interview, 4 May 1982.

three were grocers; nine were either unemployed or did not have their occupations recorded; and two of the Baroody men, Arthur and Nesieb, worked for a company called Dixie Toast,⁵² which the city directory does not identify and which no one seems to remember.⁵³

In 1920 thirty-four Lebanese were confectioners; two worked in general merchandise stores, there was one dry goods merchant, one clerk helper, one restaurateur, one laborer, one barber, four grocers, one insurance salesman, one shoemaker, two students, one salesman for Virginia Dairy, one hauling contractor, one bottler, one plumber, and one employee at the mysterious Dixie Toast Company. There were also sixteen Lebanese who were either unemployed or otherwise unaccounted for in city records.⁵⁴ In 1925 only nine Lebanese were of unknown employ. The numbers remained the same for plumbers, barbers, grocers, insurance salesmen, dry goods merchants, and students. There were thirty-three confectioners, two in the restaurant business, one in general merchandise, three clerk helpers, two shoemakers, one salesman, four fruit merchants, two bottlers, one cigar manufacturer, two postal clerks, one lithographer,

⁵²Table 2, pp. 46-49.

⁵³Sanyour interview, 23 June 1982; and Shahda interview, 12 October 1982.

⁵⁴Table 3, pp. 50-56.

one peddler, one priest, and two who ran pool parlors.⁵⁵ One can see that the Lebanese in Richmond, like their counterparts throughout the nation, initially chose peddling and then small businesses for their means of employment.

Operating a confectionery was the business that approximately half of the Lebanese had selected by 1910. The confectionery was an institution of Richmond in days gone by. Basically it was a candy store, but it could range in size from a tiny establishment in Shockhoe Bottom, to the fashionable Pizzini's on the 800 block of East Broad Street where John A. Cutchins and William B. Munford remember going for ice cream as boys. Virginius Dabney further emphasizes its pleasures. "There, under handsome chandeliers and on marble floors, one could enjoy cooling ices or munch candies and fruit. Pizzini's furnished the sweets for Richmond's fashionable suppers."⁵⁶

It is probably safe to assume that none of the Lebanese confectioneries were quite as "in" as Pizzini's, but Abraham Sanyour and Son, Confectioners,

⁵⁵Table 4, pp. 57-65.

⁵⁶Cutchins, Memories of Old Richmond, p. 180; Munford, Richmond Homes and Memories, pp. 217-18; and Dabney, Richmond, p. 265.

at 2913 Westhampton Avenue, was certainly a thriving business in 1925. It had an ice cream parlor in the rear of the store, a concession on the boardwalk in Byrd Park, and three wagons which delivered their ice cream to the north side, the west end, and Church Hill.⁵⁷

While the Lebanese in Richmond were striving to establish themselves in business and to acquire possessions and property, they were also marrying, raising families and taking their places within the Lebanese community and within the greater Richmond community. It is difficult to acquire much information on the family life of these people since few of the original group are still alive, but bits and pieces of data can be obtained from government records and the recollections of Salem Sanyour, who is a second generation Lebanese-American born in 1899, and Sam Shahda, who immigrated in 1920.

In 1900, of the thirty-one Lebanese researched, thirteen were single and eighteen years old or older. The average age was approximately twenty-seven, with more than half in their early thirties. Nine were recorded as married, and all but one of these were

⁵⁷Sanyour interview, 23 June 1982.

married to Lebanese or Syrians.⁵⁸ Using the Sanyour family again as an example, Charles Sanyour was married to a Lebanese girl before coming to the United States; however, his younger brother Abraham emigrated and then returned to Lebanon to marry Rosa Ardetti. His mother had chosen the bride and made arrangements for the wedding. Sam Shahda had a similar experience except that his bride had been picked for him even before he emigrated. Lebanese were expected to marry within the ethnic group, and for the period covered by this research usually did, although there was no stigma attached to the few who broke with this tradition.⁵⁹

The children of the Lebanese immigrants led rather sheltered lives. More often than not they lived in flats above the family store, attended Catholic schools, helped with the family business until they were grown, and attended social events centered mainly around family gatherings, and church or religious activities. Lebanese men from the earliest days congregated in the backs of stores to socialize. There were no coffee houses or public gathering places frequented particularly by the Lebanese. Women, aside from the early peddlers, usually stayed at home, but

⁵⁸Table 1, pp. 43-45.

⁵⁹Sanyour interview, 4 May 1982; and Shahda interview, 12 October 1982.

they often helped with the family business when domestic duties were not pressing.⁶⁰

Since much of Lebanese family and social life was centered around religious activities, establishing a church was one of the primary objectives of the first Lebanese immigrants. Lebanon was and is, a nation of both Christians and Muslims, but most of the Lebanese who immigrated to the United States were Christians. They belonged to one of three eastern-rite sects: Melkite Catholic, Maronite Catholic or Eastern Orthodox. Almost all of the Lebanese immigrants in Richmond were Maronite Catholic. The word Catholic denotes their allegiance to Rome, but rather than following the Latin rite of the Roman Catholic Church, they observe the Antiochene rite using the Arabic, Syriac or English languages. Until 1962, when they were given a bishop of their own, Maronites in the United States were governed by local Roman Catholic bishops.⁶¹

There were a few Eastern Orthodox Lebanese immigrants in Richmond. They attended the Greek Orthodox church as soon as it was established in 1917. There was obviously a language problem for the Lebanese, who

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Naff, "Arabs," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 132; and Paul Robert Magocsi, "Eastern Catholics," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 302.

were accustomed to services in Arabic, when they listened to a priest speaking in Greek. Sam Shahda laughingly admits to sleeping a great deal at the Greek church. He also recalls that although they did not belong to the same church as the majority, the Orthodox Lebanese were considered a part of the Lebanese community and as such were asked to contribute to the Maronite church on occasion, since it was such an important part of the group life.⁶²

The first Lebanese in Richmond usually went to the Roman Catholic church in the neighborhood in which they lived. For most this meant Saint Patrick's at 213 North 25th Street on Church Hill. Occasionally a Maronite priest would travel to Richmond and say mass, in Arabic, in a private home, but this was a less than satisfactory arrangement, so in 1902 a group of thirteen Lebanese men met and formed the Star of the East Syrian Society. Its primary objective was to found a Maronite church, but since this was a difficult, long range project for a group of immigrants struggling to establish themselves in a new country, the society was actually a benevolent organization concerned with the general welfare of the Lebanese community.⁶³

⁶²Shahda interview, 12 October 1982.

⁶³Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church, Dedication, pp. 1-2.

One of the first tasks undertaken by the society was to obtain a burial plot in Mount Calvary, the Catholic cemetery, in 1903. They approached Roman Catholic Bishop Van de Vyvor, who declined to sell them a section in the cemetery proper, although he allowed them to purchase an area on the outskirts of the grounds. His reason for this decision was that the Lebanese were not "white," and consequently could not be buried in the white section of the cemetery. The Lebanese were aghast at the bishop's act of discrimination and some even withdrew their children from Catholic schools in protest, placing them in Richmond public schools. There they met with no such prejudice, nor did they find it elsewhere apparently.⁶⁴ The bishop's decision was an ironic example of American nativism practiced by the Roman Catholic Church which was itself often a victim of nativism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nativism in the South was usually racial and not anti-Catholic,⁶⁵ so the bishop in this instance was playing the role of a typical Southern bigot.

In 1912 the Star of the East Syrian Society sent

⁶⁴Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church, Dedication, p. 2; Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Shahda interview, 12 October 1982.

⁶⁵John Higham, Strangers in the Land, Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925 (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 175.

a committee to Bishop Dennis J. O'Connell to report on the activities of the group and to request help in finding a place in which visiting priests could say mass that would be large enough to accommodate the growing number of Lebanese. The bishop provided Saint Patrick's, on Sundays between ten and ten fifty a.m., a time period between regular nine and eleven o'clock services. This system was used for the next two years and then the society rented a hall on North 24th Street above a candy factory. One of the visiting priests who came to Richmond shortly after this arrangement had been made was Father Abdalla Tarabay (Terby). Salem Sanyour describes him as a "traveling priest." Whether or not he had the official sanction of the church is unclear, but in any case he apparently liked Richmond, and for the next twenty-one years was the leader of the Lebanese flock.⁶⁶

On October, 1916, the society bought a building at 505 North 33rd Street and converted it into a church which they named Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church. The Star of the East Syrian Society then changed its name to Saint Anthony's Society. The Lebanese women began Saint Anthony's Ladies Auxiliary and the Lebanese Social Club was eventually organized

⁶⁶Richmond News Leader, 8 January 1926, p. 6; Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church, Dedication, pp. 2-3; and Sanyour interview, 4 May 1982.

for youths. Father Tarabay was not a dynamic leader, so the organizations continued to be responsible for the maintenance and stability of the church. He did, however, establish and operate an Arabic school for the Lebanese children for a few years.⁶⁷ This was a typical effort of immigrant churches to teach the mother tongue to second generation children. These schools were usually set up in the churches with classes held in the afternoon after regular school.⁶⁸

Aside from activities within their church it is difficult to know how much the Lebanese had entered into the mainstream of community life within the city of Richmond by 1925. They may have taken an interest in politics although naturalization and voter registration records are not available, thereby making it impossible to know how many were qualified to vote. There was a political group which was active in the 1930's, the Syrian Democrats Club, but there is no record of its existence in the '20's or earlier.⁶⁹ Sam Shahda suggests that the immigrants took no part

⁶⁷Sanyour interview, 29 October 1981; and Saint Anthony's Maronite Catholic Church, Dedication, p. 3.

⁶⁸Maxine Seller, To Seek America, a History of Ethnic Life in the United States (n. p.: Jerome S. Ozer, Publisher, Inc., 1977), pp. 161-64.

⁶⁹Sanyour interview, 23 June 1982.

in politics in the early days because "politics and religion ruin your business."⁷⁰

According to Saint Anthony's Church history the two early leaders of the Lebanese community were Mansour John Kouri and Abraham Sanyour. One of Sanyour's nephews and one of his sons were two of the Lebanese from Richmond who joined others from the city to serve in World War I. Anthony Sanyour, son of Charles, was a private serving as a cook in the infantry in France. He was killed one day before the armistice.⁷¹ His cousin Salem Sanyour, son of Abraham, was a private in the locally famous Richmond Blues.⁷²

⁷⁰Shahda interview, 12 October 1982.

⁷¹Sanyour interview, 23 June 1982.

⁷²John A. Cutchins, A Famous Command: The Richmond Light Infantry Blues (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1934), pp. 347 and 351.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR ALL TABLES

Cen.	<u>12th Census of the United States, 1900:</u> <u>Population, City of Richmond, Positive Roll</u> 306
RCD	Richmond City Directory
RCLB	Richmond City Land Book with ward designated
RCPPB	Richmond City Personal Property Book with ward designated
CW	Clay Ward
HW	Henry Ward
JW	Jefferson Ward
MW	Madison Ward
MarW	Marshall Ward
MonW	Monroe Ward
LW	Lee Ward
SS	South Side
*	Denotes property ownership. Home address is always listed first.

TABLE 1
LEBANESE IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1900

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Abraham, Issac	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Abraham, Jacob	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Abraham, Salim	unknown	1902 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 1.
Assaid, Ellis	grocer	1229 E. Broad	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8372B; RCD, p. 66; RCPFB, JW, p. 2.
Azar, Emile	Turkish goods	113 E. Broad	Monroe	RCD, p. 71.
Azar, Joseph D.	Turkish goods	113 E. Broad	Monroe	RCD, p. 71.
Corlie (Kouri), Joseph	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Faid (Fahed), Anna	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Faid, Carltoona	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Faid, Jobod (Jacob)	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Faid, Lockinia	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.

TABLE 1--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Haddea, Assor (Haddad, Assaid)	peddler	19th St., 1902 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 88891B; RCPFB, JW, p. 28.
Isca (Issac), John	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Joe, Tom (Joo, Thomas)	confectioner	2025 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 9438B; RCD, p. 570.
Joseph, Hester	fruit merchant	1212 1/2 E. Broad	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8334B; RCPFB, JW, p. 34.
Joseph, John	unknown	1905 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 33.
Joseph, Thomas	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Karam, Resi	peddler	1905 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 35.
Kodey (Kouri), C.	peddler	19th St.	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8891B.
Monsoe (Monsour), John	dry goods mer.	1905 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 9071B.
Moses, Frederick	laborer	103 N. 18th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 42; RCD, p. 634.
Moses, George	confectioner	2104 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 2909B.
Moses, George	peddler	2104 E. Main, 1902 E. Main	Jefferson Jefferson	Cen., p. 2909B; RCPFB, JW, p. 41.

TABLE 1--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Moses, Jacob	unknown	1529 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 41.
Moses, Joseph	salesman	2104 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 2909B.
Nasaf (Hasaf), Chas.	peddler	1905 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 47.
Nemi (Nemre, Nehmi), Geo.	peddler	1900 E. Main 14 N. 18th	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8962B; RCPFB, JW, p. 47; RCD, p. 647.
Saniel (Sanyour), Abr.	peddler	1900 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 8962B.
Sennon (Sanyour), Chas.	peddler	1905 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 9071A.
Simon, Abraham	peddler	1900 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 9071A.
Simon, Joseph	peddler	1900 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 9072B.

TABLE 2

LEBANESE IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1910

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Abraham, George	confectioner	2104 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 142.
Abraham, Salem	unknown	*2224 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 1.
Abraham, Solomon	confectioner	2104 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 142.
Atiek, Asad D.	confectioner	1705 W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, p. 2; RCD, p. 61.
Barody, Arthur M.	Dixie Toast Co.	202 N. 21st St.	Jefferson	RCD, p. 182.
Barody, B. B.	confectioner	2427 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 182.
Barody, Elias	confectioner	1502 W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, p. 10; RCD, p. 182.
Barody, Joseph	unknown	2225 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 10.
Barody, Nesieb B.	Dixie Toast Co.	202 N. 21st St.	Jefferson	RCD, p. 182.
Barody, O. J.	unknown	1800 Venable	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 10.
Cahraman, Peter	confectioner	1804 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 262.

TABLE 2--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Cahraman, Thomas	confectioner	1804 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 262.
Diab (Dib, Deeb), Assad K.	unknown	1909 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 28.
Diab (Dib, Deeb), John	unknown	1909 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 29.
Fahed, George	fruit & confec.	*522 W. Broad, *NEC Floyd & Rob. with John E. Fahed	Monroe Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 33; RCLB, MonW, p. 20.
Fahed, John E.	fruit & confec.	*522 W. Broad with Geo. Fahed, * NEC Floyd & Rob.	Monroe Clay	RCLB, MonW, p. 20; RCLB, CW, p. 33.
Fahed, Peter D. (J.)	clerk/grocer	2200 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 36; RCD, p. 386.
Francis, Dib (Deeb)	grocer	2224 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 410.
Haddad, Assaid	grocer	2216 Carrington	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 55; RCD, p. 464.
Joo, Thomas	confectioner	2025 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, Jw, p. 56; RCD, p. 570.

TABLE 2--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Joseph, John	unknown	*nw cor. Bev. & Rob.	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 58.
Kouri, Mansour J.	confectioner	2503 E. Broad, *N. Beverly	Jefferson Clay	RCPFB, JW, p. 60; RCD, p. 589; RCLB, CW, p. 61.
Mansur, Joseph	unknown	1723 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 68.
Moses, Charles	unknown	318 N. C	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 54.
Moses, George	peddler	1720 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 693.
Moses, Joseph	unknown	1720 E. Main, 1901 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 693; RCPFB, JW, p. 68.
Saady, George J.	confectioner	*2322 Venable, *se cor. Cargtn. & Pink.	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 102; RCD, p. 816; RCLB, JW, p. 55.
Saady, John J.	dry goods	*2023 E. Main, *sw cor. E. Main & 21, *21st betw D & E, *Main betw 20 & 21	Jefferson	RCD, p. 816; four par- cels owned jointly by John J. Saady, George J. Saady, and John E. Fahed, RCLB, JW, p. 55.

TABLE 2--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Sanyour, Abraham	confectioner	*2001 Venable	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 55; RCPFB, JW, p. 102; RCD, p. 820.
Sanyour, Anthony	confectioner	501 N. 25th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 820.
Sanyour, Charles	confectioner	*501 N. 25th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 100; RCLB, JW, p. 55; RCD, p. 820.
Shulleeta, Jack	confectioner	2500 Q	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 99; RCD, p. 845.
Shulleeta, Joseph	confectioner	2500 Q	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 99; RCD, p. 845.
Shulleeta, Louis	confectioner	2500 Q	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 99; RCD, p. 845.
Shulleeta, Michael	confectioner	500 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, p. 63; RCD, p. 845.
Simon, Abraham	confectioner	*2508 Beverly, *Stuart betw Park & Meadow	Clay	RCPFB, CW, p. 136; RCLB, CW, pp. 97 & 123; RCD, p. 847.
Simon, Mary	confectioner	2200 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 95; RCD, p. 847.

TABLE 3

LEBANESE IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1920

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Abdallah, Micheal	unknown	*1903 West Cary	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 757.
Abraham, Frank	confectioner	117 N. 3rd	Madison	RCD, p. 242.
Abraham, George	barber	*1800 Elm	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 385.
Abraham, George S.	confectioner	*3834 Williams- bg Ave., *se cor. Cary & Lady	Jefferson Clay	RCLB, JW, p. 1; RCLB, CW, p. 757; RCPFB, JW, p. 3; RCD, p. 242.
Abraham, William	laborer	205 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 242.
Amory, Samuel	grocer	1212 E. Mar- shall	Madison	RCD, p. 256.
Azoruy, George J.	confectioner	501 N. 12th	Madison	RCD, p. 276.
Baroody, Alex	unknown	*Newberry betw Wdclf & MB Rd.	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 401.
Baroody, Arthur M.	Dixie Toast Co.	202 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCD, p. 290.

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Baroody, B. B.	confectioner	2427 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 290.
Baroody, Eli (Elias)	unknown	230 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 11.
Baroody, R. J.	unknown	207 N. Monroe	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B & C p. 3.
Baroody, Solomon	unknown	230 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 11.
Baroody, T. A.	insurance agt.	318 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 12; RCD, p. 290.
Cahraman, Peter	unknown	1404 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 379.
Essid, Samuel	confectioner	2309 E. Frank- lin	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 32; RCD, p. 519.
Fahed, George	confectioner	1317 W. Cary	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 35; RCD, p. 523.
Fahed, Jacob B.	gen. merch.	*2027 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 62; RCD, p. 523.
Fahed, John	confectioner	*602 W. Broad	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 477; RCPFB, LW, B & C p. 15; RCD, p. 523.

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Fahed, Joseph	confectioner	*1401 Ashland	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 875; RCPFB, CW, B p. 37; RCD, p. 523.
Fahed, R. S.	unknown	*1317 W. Cary	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 821.
Fahed, Sep	unknown	*1317 W. Cary with R. S. Fahed	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 821.
Fahed, Stephen N.	shoemaker	19 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCD, p. 523.
George, Alex	unknown	1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 41.
Haboush, Abraham	confectioner	510-A N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 523.
Haboush, Faris (Ferris)	restaurant clk.	510-A N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 523.
Haboush, Louis	confectioner	1003-A W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 523.
Joseph, Albert E.	sales. Rich. Dairy	1013 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 740.
Joseph, Latefa	unknown	500 N. 33rd	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 106.

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Josephs, John	confectioner	1301 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 571.
Kouri, Charles S.	confectioner	2829 Q	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 57; RCD, p. 761.
Kouri, Dick	confectioner	2829 Q	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 57.
Kouri, Joseph	confectioner	701 W. Cary	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 61; RCD, p. 761.
Kouri, Josephine G.	unknown	*1012 N. 29th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 11.
Kouri, Mansour J.	confectioner	1002 N. 29th and *sw cor Q & N. 29th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 111; RCPFB, JW, A p. 57; RCD, p. 761.
Massad, Abraham	clerk	911 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 836.
Mehfoud, George	grocer	*2104 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 130; RCD, p. 836.
Milton, Abraham	confectioner	117 N. 3rd	Madison	RCD, p. 858.
Moses, E.	unknown	2311 E. Frank- lin	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 72.

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Moses, William	gen. mdse.	2305 E. Frank- lin	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 72; RCD, p. 881.
Moses, Joseph	gen. mdse.	2212 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 72; RCD, p. 881.
Mutter, George M.	confectioner	3300 E. Mar- shall	Jefferson	RCD, p. 887.
Mutter, Joseph M.	fireman	524 N. 8th	Madison	RCD, p. 887.
Nadell (Nadder), Jos.	confectioner	719 N. 25th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 889.
Nehmi, Joseph	confectioner	1831 W. Cary	Clay	RCD, p. 892.
Norsieff (Norseffe), Jos.	confectioner	*2823 Q	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 145; RCD, p. 902.
Oley, George	confectioner	2523 Q	Jefferson	RCD, p. 909.
Oley, Murray A.	confectioner	2523 Q	Jefferson	RCD, p. 909.
Saady, George J.	hauling contctr.	241 S. Laurel and *Wallace betw West & Tabb	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 925; RCPFB, CW, B p. 103; RCD, p. 1025.

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Saady, John J.	bottler	1400 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 84; RCD, p. 1025.
Saady, Raphael J.	confectioner	920 W. Cary	Clay	RCD, p. 1025.
Sanyour, Abraham	confectioner	*1321 N. 23rd, *2001 Mosby	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 175; RCPFB, JW, B p. 104; RCD, p. 1031.
Sanyour, Charles	confectioner	*501 N. 25th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW p. 175; RCPFB, JW, B p. 103; RCD, p. 1031.
Sanyour, David	plumber	501 N. 25th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1031.
Sanyour, Edward J.	student	1321 N. 23rd	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1031.
Sanyour, Salem	student	1321 N. 23rd	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 104; RCD, p. 1031.
Sarkis, John H.	confectioner	316 N. 12th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1031.
Shulleeta, Jack	confectioner	2420 E. Broad	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 99.
Shulleets, Joseph	confectioner	1327 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 1060.
Shulleeta, Louis	confectioner	325 N. 27th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 89; RCD, p. 1060.

TABLE 3--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Shulleeta, Mary	unknown	*Addison St.	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 691.
Shulleeta, Mattie	unknown	*325 N. 27th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 181.
Shulleeta, Michael	confectioner	*712 W. Marshall, *sw cor Park & Comm, *se cor 27th & Mar.	Lee Lee Jefferson	RCLB, LW, p. 654; RCLB, JW, p. 181; RCD, p. 1060.
Simon, Abraham	confectioner	*2508 Beverly	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 932; RCD, p. 1063.
Simon, George	confectioner	2017 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 1063.
Simon, John	confectioner	202 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 102; RCD, p. 1063.
Simon, Joseph	grocer	2300 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1063.
Simon, Thomas	unknown	202 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1063.
Tahere, George	unknown	1712 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 107.
Toney, Joseph H.	confectioner	210 N. Adams	Lee	RCD, p. 1148.

TABLE 4

LEBANESE IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1925

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Abraham, Frank	confectioner	500 Louisiana	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 6; RCD, p. 270.
Abraham, George	barber	*1308 Louisiana, *State betw Malone & Taylor, *11 29th, *401 Hull, *2701 Grove, *2124 Stuart	Jefferson Mad. SS Clay Lee	RCLB, JW, p. 1; RCLB, MW (SS), p. 1075; RCLB, CW, p. 805; RCLB, LW, p. 393.
Abraham, George S.	confectioner	1308 Louisiana, *sw cor Nic. & Gil., *La. betw. Tay. & Mal., *508 Clay, *117 5th	Jefferson Madison	RCLB, JW, p. 1; RCLB, MW, p. 263; RCPFB, JW, A p. 6; RCD, p. 270.
Amory, Samuel	grocer	*1216 E. Marshall	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 264; RCD, p. 288.
Azar, Mrs. Mary	confectioner	2427 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 310.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Azouruy, George J.	confectioner	711 E. Clay	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 2; RCD, p. 310.
Baroody, Benjamin J.	confectioner	417 W. Grace	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 4.
Baroody, Eli J.	grocer	3403 E. Marshall	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 19; RCD, p. 327.
Baroody, Rachel J.	confectioner	417 W. Grace	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 4; RCD, p. 327.
Baroody, Sherley	confectioner	221 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 18; RCD, p. 327.
Baroody, Solomon	clerk	3403 E. Marshall	Jefferson	RCD, p. 327.
Baroody, Thomas	grocer	3403 E. Marshall	Jefferson	RCD, p. 327.
Baroody, Toufig	insurance sales.	2504 E. Broad	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 12; RCD, p. 327.
Fahed, George	confectioner	*1317 W. Cary	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 875; RCPFB, CW, B p. 80.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Fahed, Jacob B.	dry goods	*2027 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. RCPFB, JW, B p. 64; RCD, p. 601.
Fahed, John E.	confectioner	*602 W. Broad	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 499; RCPFB, LW, B p. 13; RCD, p. 601.
Fahed; Joseph	confectioner	*1401 Ashland	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 875; RCPFB, CW, B p. 85; RCD, p. 601.
Fahed, Nusra (Nusraf)	unknown	*11 W. Grace	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 499.
Fahed, R. S.	unknown	*1317 W. Cary with George E. Fahed	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 875.
Fahed, Stephen N.	shoe repair	19 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 67.
Haboush, Edward	student	1003-A W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 703.
Haboush, Ferris	restaurant	1003-A W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 128; RCD, p. 703.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Haboush, Louis	restaurant	1003-A W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 128; RCD, p. 703.
Haboush, Norman	confectioner	1003-A W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 703.
Kouri, Charles S.	fruit mer- chant	*29th betw P & Q	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 125.
Kouri, Josephine G.	unknown	*1012 N. 29th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 125.
Kouri, Peter	fruit mer- chant	2200 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 875.
Kouri, Ruby	fruit mer- chant	2200 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 111; RCD, p. 875.
Kouri, R.	fruit mer- chant	2200 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 111.
Kouri, Thomas J.	confectioner	2827 Q, *2829 Q	Jefferson	RCD, p. 875; RCLB, JW, p. 125.
Massad, Abraham	confectioner	3131 Floyd	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 189; RCD, p. 967.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Massad, Camile	confectioner	3131 Floyd	Clay	RCD, p. 967.
Moses, Mrs. Catherine	unknown	2025 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 127.
Moses, Mrs. Elizabeth	unknown	2401 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 127.
Moses, George	propr. pool room	2000 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1018.
Moses, Michael	propr. pool parlor	212 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1018.
Moses, William	salesman	*2035 E. Franklin	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 127; RCLB, JW, p. 152; RCD, p. 1018.
Nakouzi, Joseph	confectioner	320 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1028.
Nehmi, Joseph	confectioner	1831 W. Cary, *Blmt. betw. Main & Floyd	Clay	RCLB, CW, B p. 177; RCPFB, CW, p. 969; RCD, p. 1032.
Norseffe, Joseph (Geo.)	confectioner	*2823 Q, *2821 Q, *2825 Q	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 158; RCD, p. 1043.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Oley, George	confectioner	427 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 1051.
Oley, Joseph	student	427 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 1051.
Ramey, Antone	shoemaker	1507 1/2 W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 227.
Saady, George J.	bottler	1529-A W. Cary, *1523/5/7 W. Cary, *Wallace betw. West & Tabb *1645 W. Broad	Clay Lee	RCLB, CW, p. 1005; RCLB, LW, p. 685; RCD, p. 1188.
Saady, John J.	cigar mfr.	1400 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 151; RCD, p. 1188.
Saady, Raphael J.	gen. mdse.	*3103 West-hampton	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 1005; RCPFB, CW, B p. 221; RCD, p. 1188.
Saady, Thomas G.	bkpr/bottler	1529-A W. Cary	Clay	RCD, p. 1188.
Sanyour, Abraham	confectioner	*422 S. Shep-pard	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 1006; RCPFB, CW, B p. 234; RCD, p. 1196.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Sanyour, Charles	confectioner	*2724 Griffin	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 686; RCPFB, LW, C p. 254; RCD, p. 1196.
Sanyour, David	plumber	2724 Griffin	Lee	RCD, p. 1196.
Sanyour, Edward J.	postal clerk	3203-C Ellwood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 255; RCD, p. 1196.
Sanyour, M. L.	lithographer	422 S. Shep- pard	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 234.
Sanyour, Najieb J.	confectioner	422 S. Shep- pard *Whmptn. betw. Col. & Shep.	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 1006; RCPFB, CW, B p. 234; RCD, p. 1196.
Sanyour, Salem (Saml.)	postal clerk	422 S. Shep- pard	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 234; RCD, p. 1196.
Sarkis, John H.	confectioner	919 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 1196.
Shaar, Joseph	confectioner	406 W. Broad, 7 S. Belvidere	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 35; RCD, p. 1219.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Shaheen, Philip	confectioner	702 N. Shepard	Lee	RCD, p. 1220.
Shulleeta, Louis	confectioner	325 N. 27th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 153; RCD, p. 1230.
Shulleeta, Mary	unknown	*Addison betw Park & Stuart	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 691.
Shulleeta, Mattie	unknown	*se cor. Mar. . & 27	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 195.
Shulleeta, Michael	confectioner	208 N. Monroe, *2418 & 2420 E. Broad, 2115 Idlewood	Lee Jefferson Clay	RCLB, JW, p. 195; RCPFB, CW, B p. 229; RCD, p. 1230.
Simon, George	grocer	2711 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1234.
Simon, Joseph	peddler	2717 E. Frank- lin	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1234.
Simon, John	confectioner	202 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1234.
Simon, Mrs. Mary	unknown	2508 Idlewood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 226.

TABLE 4--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Toney, Antonio	confectioner	117 1/2 N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 1334.
Toney, Edward	confectioner	117 1/2 N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 1334.
Toney, Joseph H.	confectioner	210 N. Adams	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 36; RCD, p. 1334.
Toney, Mrs. Kate	unknown	117 1/2 N. 5th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 75; RCD, p. 1334.
Toney, Louis	confectioner	117 1/2 N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 1334.
Toney, Mike	confectioner	117 1/2 N. 5th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 75; RCD, p. 1334.
Turley (Tarabay), Rev. Anthony	priest	505 N. 33rd	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1190.
Zehab, Mrs. Mary	confectioner	2709 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1478.
Zohab, Anton	helper	2706 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1479.
Zohab, John	clerk	2706 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1479.

CHAPTER III

THE ARMENIANS

Often accounts of Armenian immigrants in the United States begin with the fact that among the early settlers in the Virginia colony at Jamestown was Martin, the Armenian.¹ He was no trendsetter, however, as it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that a few Armenians began to settle in Richmond. It is difficult to determine exactly when the first came since early dates are imprecise, but by 1900 there were at least three adult Armenian males living in the city.² By 1910 the group had increased to thirty. There were seven Darhanians on record, along with two Dervishians, three Mugridichians, three Zartarians and assorted others.³

In 1920 there were fifty-three Armenians identified in Richmond. New names during the past decade

¹Robert Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 138.

²Table 5, p. 97.

³Table 6, pp. 98-100.

included Barbarian, Bedrosian, Dedeian, Dervishian, Euksusian, Jamgochian, Kambourian, Papazian, and Vranian.⁴ By 1925 the group numbered at least eighty-three and the names of recent arrivals included Aprohamian, Baronian, Bogosian, DerKrikorian, Eretzian, Garabedian, Shahinian, and Sarafian.⁵

The Armenians came to the United States initially to look for educational and economic opportunities; later they emigrated to escape political and religious oppression in their homeland. By 1894 there were approximately 3,000 Armenians in the United States, most of whom came at the urging of American Protestant missionaries.⁶ From this year the number of immigrants from Armenia began to increase significantly because of the political situation within the Ottoman Empire. In 1910 a survey by the United States Immigration Commission showed that the Armenian immigrants were mainly unmarried young men, outnumbering

⁴Table 7, pp. 101-106.

⁵Table 8, pp. 107-116.

⁶Randall Miller and Thomas Marzik, eds., Immigrants and Religion in Urban America (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977), p. 140; and Carl Wittke, We Who Built America, the Saga of the Immigrant, revised ed. (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1967), p. 460.

women four to one. Thirty-five percent of them were skilled workers; the majority were literate; and forty percent of them were from towns rather than rural areas. After World War I the Armenian immigrants were mainly women (fifty-two percent) and children (twenty-one percent). By 1924 almost 100,000 Armenians had immigrated to the United States.⁷

The Turks gave the Armenians reason to leave their native land. The Ottoman Turks conquered Armenia in the sixteenth century and it remained mainly in Turkish hands, although there were parts held by Russia and Persia, until World War I.⁸ Carl Wittke says, "The history of this ancient kingdom is one of the most tragic in all human experience."⁹ The Armenians were Christians and, unlike the Christian Lebanese, they suffered under the domination of the Muslim Turks. In 1894 there was an uprising by a group of Armenian nationalists which resulted in the eventual massacre of more than 100,000 Armenians by the Turks in retaliation. In 1909 another massacre claimed the lives of at least 15,000 to 20,000. This was also the year

⁷Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 136.

⁸Ibid., p. 139.

⁹Wittke, We Who Built America, p. 460.

when non-Muslims within the Empire became eligible, or liable, for compulsory military service, meaning that Armenians would conceivably have to become Turkish soldiers responsible for killing Armenians. In 1915 more than one million Armenians were massacred or died as a result of deportation to the Syrian desert. In 1918 the ill-fated Republic of Armenia was organized, but the Turks and the Russians invaded and once again absorbed Armenia in 1920.¹⁰

Probably all of the Armenians in Richmond were victims of political oppression in one way or another. Those first immigrants who came seeking their fortune, although not victims of the Turks, usually had relatives at home who suffered or were killed later. An example is Krikor DerKrikorian who came to the United States in 1909, anticipating political trouble at home, the draft, or both. He hoped to make money here and then return to Armenia when political conditions improved. He never returned, and eventually settled in Richmond at the request of an uncle in 1912. Many of his less fortunate relatives and friends were

¹⁰Vladimir Wertsman, The Armenians in America, 1618-1976 (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1978), pp. 4-9; and Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 137-39.

killed in the massacres.¹¹

Harutun Vranian, his son Manuel, Harutun Darhanian, Khatchik Mazmanian, and his wife and two daughters were the first Armenians to arrive in Richmond. They immigrated hoping for economic opportunities and lived in New York City briefly in 1887 and '88. They disliked the climate however, and finding no jobs to their liking, decided to move.

The burden of deciding where to go was placed on young Manuel Vranian who was the best schooled of the group. His elders set down certain requisites; they wanted a location south of New York with more temperate weather, but not too distant to make the cost of travel prohibitive. In later years Manuel Vranian explained it this way: "I took a map of the United States. There was a large area south of New York but the name "Virginia" appealed to me. So I chose Richmond since it was the capital and the largest city in the state."¹²

Many of the Richmond Armenians, particularly after 1909, were orphans brought to the United States by relatives already living here, or young women sent for by established bachelors to be brides. Mrs. Grace Keshishian Soghoian recalls that her mother was living

¹¹Interview with Anna Moogalian DerKrikorian, 3342 Parkwood Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 4 November 1981.

¹²Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, Silver Anniversary Commemorative Booklet, 1956-1981 (Richmond: Saint James Armenian Church, 1981), pp. 7-8.

in Cyprus in 1920 when an Armenian friend in Binghamton, New York, sent for her and five other marriageable Armenian orphan girls to come to the United States.¹³ Margaret Dedeian's parents were both killed and she was taken in by a Turkish family (not an uncommon occurrence for girls apparently). Her brother John, who had immigrated in 1913, sent for her in 1920. She lived with him in Richmond for eight or nine months and then married.¹⁴

Mrs. Elizabeth Jeghelian Baronian, a particularly articulate Armenian immigrant, relates the story of her early life in Armenia and her reasons for immigrating which are typical for many in the Richmond Armenian community. She was born in Gurin, Turkey (Armenia), the oldest of three children. Her father and mother were weavers. She remembers the day in 1915, when Turkish soldiers marched into the town and arrested all of the Armenian men. She and her mother visited her father in prison before he was executed. Later all of the Armenian women and children in the town were stripped of their possessions, marched to a

¹³Interview with Grace Keshishian Soghoian, 3211 Hanover Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 20 October 1981.

¹⁴Interview with Margaret D. Dedeian, 4608 Cutshaw Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 12 November 1981.

railhead and taken by cattle car to the Syrian desert not far from Damascus. There they lived in caves and begged for their food. When a cholera epidemic struck, both of her brothers died. For the next few years she and her mother went from one refugee accommodation to another. Mrs. Baronian counts herself lucky because she was usually able to go to school, and her mother, as a weaver, was able to find employment. In 1923, an aunt who had immigrated to Detroit, and married, sent \$100 for passage for Mrs. Baronian and her mother. They gladly embarked, anticipating a better life in the United States. Both were married to Armenian men within a year.¹⁵

The goals of Mrs. Baronian and her mother when they arrived in the United States were to begin a new life as permanent residents. Mrs. Baronian wanted to continue her schooling and her mother looked for economic opportunities. She was disappointed to find that women did not often work outside of the home in the community in which she lived.¹⁶ Many of the earlier Armenian immigrants in Richmond had different

¹⁵ Interview with Elizabeth Jeghelian Baronian, 409 Westham Parkway, Richmond, Virginia, 8 October 1981; for a description of "The System of Extermination" see Christopher J. Walker, Armenia: the Survival of a Nation (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp. 202-03.

¹⁶ Ibid.

goals. They wanted economic advancement and then they hoped to return to Armenia.¹⁷ Some like Harutun Vranian and his family returned to their native village to find brides for bachelors in the family, and to bring back to the United States the remaining members of their family. Others, mainly bachelors, returned permanently after a reform government gained power in Turkey in 1908. Some of these were killed in the massacre of 1915.¹⁸ After the fall of the Armenian Republic in 1920, Armenians in Richmond and elsewhere in the United States probably no longer considered returning to their homeland, their new goal being to establish homes in a new land where they would not risk government reprisals and confiscations.

The first Armenians in Richmond came from New York by way of "a boat of the Old Dominion Line and first set foot on Virginia soil at Old Point Comfort." They then took a train to Richmond and "took lodgings on lower Main Street near the station."¹⁹ By 1900,

¹⁷Between 1900 and 1910 thirty-eight out of every one hundred immigrants to the United States returned to their native land. These short term immigrants, usually young, single men seeking their fortune, were known as "Birds of Passage." Maxine Seller, To Seek America, A History of Ethnic Life in the United States (n. p.: Jerome S. Ozer, Publisher, Inc., 1977), p. 106.

¹⁸Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, pp. 9-13.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 8.

the three Armenians on record lived in three different wards widely separated from each other. Kapriel Darhanian occupied a rented house at 19 West Broad, in Monroe Ward, with his wife, son, and a boarder. His cousin, Nishan Darhanian, lived in Jefferson Ward at 1718 East Main, but he ran a confectionery at 800 East Broad in Madison Ward where his nephew, Mardig lived and probably worked.²⁰

By 1910, when the number of Armenians had risen to thirty, their housing locations were scattered in five of the city's eight wards. One Armenian lived in Henry Ward near Shockoe Cemetery. Five lived in Jefferson Ward, the Lebanese stronghold, on the 1700, 1800 and 1900 blocks of East Main. Seven lived in Lee Ward, two on North Adams, three on West Marshall, one on East Clay, and one on North 4th. Three lived in Monroe Ward at 118 East Broad. Fourteen lived in Madison Ward, but not in a concentrated area. Five lived along East Broad between the 800 block and the 1400 block, two on the 1400 block of East Main, two at 715 1/2 East Clay, one on East Marshall, one on East Franklin, one on North 7th, and two on North

²⁰Table 5, p. 97.

9th.²¹

Again in 1920 a considerable number of Armenians lived in Madison Ward. Census statistics for that year list ninety-two Armenians as residents of Richmond but give no breakdown as to the distribution in each of the four wards. Of the fifty-three Armenians researched, twenty-one lived in Madison, ten on the 100 block of East Broad, seven of whom were in one location which must have been a boarding house. The rest were scattered on 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 12th, East Leigh, and East Marshall. The remaining Armenians were fairly evenly divided among the other three wards of the city. Twelve lived in Lee: three on West Marshall and one at 15 East Marshall; one on 1st Avenue; one on Bowe; one on North Avenue; one on West Grace; one on Meadow Bridge Road; two on Monroe; and one at 1621-A West Broad. Nine Armenians lived in Jefferson Ward, still confined to the three block area of the 1700, 1800, and 1900 blocks of East Main. Eleven Armenians resided in Clay Ward: two on the 2600 block of West Cary; three on Mulberry; three on West Main;

²¹Table 6, pp. 98-100. Census statistics for 1910 do not list Armenians separately from other immigrants born in Turkey or Russia. U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Statistics for Virginia, p. 620.

and one each on Beverly, Sheppard, and Grove.²²

By 1925 the Richmond Armenians had changed their preference in housing locations, with more living in Lee Ward than in the previous favorite, Madison. Of the eighty-three Armenians researched, twenty-eight lived in Lee although there was no particular concentration in any part of that ward. Four lived on 1st Avenue, and four lived on West Marshall with another holding land there. Three lived on West Grace, and four on West Broad, with two each on Noble, Monroe, Meadow Bridge, and Brook, and one each on North Belmont, North Meadow, North Lombardy, North Harrison, and North Robinson.

Madison Ward was a close second in popularity in 1925 with two Armenians living in Madison Ward South Side on West 12th, and twenty-eight on the northern, more populous, side of the James River. Again as in years past, no one street seemed to be particularly fashionable with the Armenians. Nine lived on Leigh, four on East Marshall, three on 7th, two each on 1st, 3rd, and Clay, and one each on East Main, 5th, 8th, 9th, 11th, and East Cary. In stark contrast, of those

²²Table 7, pp. 101-106; and U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 Bulletin, Population: Virginia, p. 24.

who lived in Jefferson Ward (only seven), all were concentrated on the 1700 and 1800 blocks of East Main. There were eighteen Armenians in Clay Ward in 1925. Five lived on West Main, three on Idlewood, and two on Ellwood. The rest were scattered on Meadow, Floyd, Parkwood, Stuart, Grayland, Grove, Mulberry and Cleveland.²³

The Armenians, even more than the Lebanese, were prone to change their housing locations often. From 1900 to 1910 one of the three Armenians remained at the same residence, one moved next door and Kabril Darhanian moved from 19 West Broad to 120 West Marshall, a stone's throw away. He later moved to California.²⁴ From 1910 to 1920 not one of the Armenians researched continued to live in the same location; but from 1920 to 1925, eight maintained the same residence, and one, Jake Aprahamian, moved next door. These nine were fairly evenly divided with two each in Jefferson, Clay, and Lee Wards, and three in Madison. Seven of them owned the property on which they lived.²⁵

²³Table 8, pp. 107-116.

²⁴Table 5, p. 97 ; Table 6, p. 98 ; and interview with Harry B. Darhanian, 2221 Buckingham Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 26 October 1981.

²⁵Table 7, pp. 101-106; and Table 8, pp. 107-116.

None of the three Armenians in Richmond in 1900 owned real estate, but by 1910 two did: one in Henry Ward and one in Jefferson.²⁶ By 1920 sixteen of the fifty-three Armenians researched owned real property, five of them holding more than one parcel. Eight Armenians owned a total of fifteen properties, eight of which were undeveloped, in Lee Ward. Five owned parcels in Clay, three in Madison, and one in Jefferson.²⁷ By 1925 thirty-three Armenian men and one woman owned real estate. Twelve of them owned at least two parcels, occasionally in more than one ward. Twenty-three Armenians are recorded in the city land tax books in Lee Ward, fifteen in Clay, fourteen in Madison, one in Madison South Side, and one in Jefferson.²⁸

Often one of these people would own both his home and his place of business. An example is Manuel Kambourian. In 1920 he owned 15 West Grace, with the building being valued at \$5,290 and the lot at \$5,750. He had an oriental rug business at 15-B West Grace and his home was 15-A West Grace, a flat above the

²⁶Table 6, p. 98.

²⁷Table 7, pp. 101-106.

²⁸Table 8, pp. 107-116.

store.²⁹ In 1925 he still owned 15 West Grace and had his business there, but he had bought a home for himself and his family on Noble Avenue in Ginter Park, a well-to-do residential section on the north side of Richmond.³⁰

Kricor DerKrikorian is another example of an Armenian property owner. In 1925 he was the proprietor of the Belmont Market, located at 115 Rothesay Road, which he rented; but, he owned his home on Parkwood Avenue which was valued at \$3,500, on a lot worth \$490. He also owned 209 Davis Avenue, valued at \$5,500, on a lot worth \$2,130, and 923 East Marshall with a total worth of \$9,180, the building valued at \$5,250 and the lot at \$3,930.³¹

The Zartarians, Andre and Avedis, were the only Armenians who owned much undeveloped land. Between them, in 1925, they held ten parcels in the area of Meadow Bridge Road, only two of which had buildings on them.³²

While not all Armenians in Richmond were as

²⁹Table 7, p. 104.

³⁰Table 8, p. 111.

³¹Table 8, p. 109.

³²Ibid., p. 116.

prosperous as the ones mentioned above, an examination of personal property tax books from 1900 to 1925 shows that most of them were succeeding in accomplishing their goal of economic advancement. Of the three Armenians recorded in 1900, one had \$50 worth of household and kitchen furnishings; one had \$25 worth; and one is listed as having no personal property.³³

The one with \$25 in household and kitchen furnishings was Nishan Darhanian, and he is an example of how the Armenians prospered. In 1910 he had \$50 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and \$50 invested in other tangible personal property, plus one parcel of real property. By 1920, he had \$150 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and \$500 worth of other tangible personal property, plus two parcels of real property. In 1925 he is not listed in the personal property tax book, but in the land book he is recorded as having owned a parcel on Meadow Bridge Road with land valued at \$1,250 and a building worth \$8,500.³⁴

Clearly not all of the Armenians were as successful as Nishan Darhanian, but there is a definite indication of increased wealth for the group as a whole

³³Table 5, p. 97.

³⁴Table 6, p. 98 ; Table 7, p. 102; and Table 8, p. 108.

throughout the period. In 1910, of the thirty Armenians researched, twelve were recorded as having personal property. Four had \$50 or less of household and kitchen furnishings. Three had \$100 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and/or other tangible personal property; one had \$150 worth; three had \$200 worth; and Manuel Vranian, who had chosen the Richmond location in 1888, had amassed \$50 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and \$450 worth of other tangible personal property.³⁵

By 1920, of the fifty-three Armenians researched, fifteen paid personal property taxes. Only five had \$150 or less of household and kitchen furnishings; two had \$300 worth of household and kitchen and/or other tangible personal property; five between \$400 and \$500 worth; and three between \$1,000 and \$1,250 worth. Only one owned an automobile.³⁶ In 1925, fifty-one of the eighty-three Armenians researched paid taxes on personal property. Only three had as little as \$100 worth of household and kitchen furnishings. Eighteen owned between \$160 and \$300 worth of household and kitchen, other tangible personal property and/or automobiles; twenty between \$400 and

³⁵Table 6, pp. 98-100.

³⁶Table 7, pp. 101-106.

\$650; seven between \$700 and \$950; two owned \$1,100 worth; and one \$1,800 worth. Fifteen Armenians owned automobiles, but only four of them were owned by men with personal property valued at \$700 or over. The man with the most valuable personal property, Krikor DerKrikorian, was head of a "two car" family, and he was also the only one who still had a horse.³⁷

DerKrikorian, who made his fortune in the grocery business and real estate, took his first job in Richmond with the city, laying sidewalks,³⁸ but this was an unusual occupation for an Armenian immigrant in the United States. Most of them settled in the urban northeast or mid-Atlantic states and worked first in factories, and then as quickly as possible switched to small retail businesses such as grocery stores, tailor shops or oriental rug shops. One well known exception to this general rule was the large Armenian agricultural community in Fresno County, California.³⁹

The first Armenian immigrants who came to Richmond were not employed in any of the occupations

³⁷Table 8, pp. 107-116.

³⁸DerKrikorian interview.

³⁹Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 141-42.

chosen by their fellow countrymen in other parts of the United States; instead they chose a typically Lebanese means of making a living, pack peddling. Probably because one of them was married to a Syrian (Lebanese) they, upon arrival, "almost immediately made contact with the Syrian community which was already established in the city. The Syrians were very helpful in getting the new arrivals started in business."⁴⁰ By 1900 the Armenians had taken on more traditional forms of employment. Two of the three on record were confectioners and the third probably was one as well, since his address was that of a confectionery.⁴¹ From 1900 to 1925 the confectionery business was the great favorite with Richmond Armenians.

In 1910 fifteen of the thirty Armenians were confectioners. Five were either unemployed or their occupations were not recorded in available sources; one was a traveling salesman; two were tailors; and five were fruit merchants.⁴² Nichen Darhanian, who had been a confectioner in 1900 and would be again in

⁴⁰ Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, p. 8; and Richmond Times Dispatch, 15 April 1973, p. B1.

⁴¹Table 5, p. 97.

⁴²Table 6, pp. 98-100.

1920, was one of these fruit merchants and apparently something of a celebrity, at least within the Armenian community. He operated a wholesale fruit business at 1718 East Main where he was known as the Banana King because of the great quantity of that fruit which he sold. He often gave jobs to new Armenian arrivals, such as his brother Baghdassar, until they were able to go into business for themselves.⁴³

Another business venture, incorporated in 1908, and in which Nishan Darhanian and other Armenians were involved, was less than successful. He was president and treasurer of the Lyric Movie House located at 1720 East Main, and Manuel Vranian was the proprietor or manager. According to the city directory the theater was no longer in business by 1911. Its demise was attributed to lack of experience on the part of the management and also to the withdrawal of funds by two of the backers who decided to return to Armenia.⁴⁴

One other occupation in 1910 merits attention, that of Manuel Kambourian, oriental rug merchant. This was a traditional means of employment for

⁴³Ibid., p. 98 ; Darhanian interview; and Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁴Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, pp. 11-12.

Armenians, both in the old world and the new. Kambourian first worked for Charles G. Jurgens' Son, selling furniture and carpets, but by 1920 he was successfully running his own shop on West Grace Street. This was the only Armenian oriental rug business in Richmond during these years. The other well-known company, now and then, was Yonan's, owned by a Persian family.⁴⁵

By 1920, of the fifty-three Armenians in Richmond, there were eighteen whose occupations cannot be determined. Twenty-five were confectioners (up from fifteen); two were listed as clerks or helpers in undisclosed businesses; only two were fruit merchants (down from five); two were barbers; one a tailor; and two operated dry cleaning establishments.⁴⁶ There were a staggering thirty-four Armenians in 1925 who listed themselves as confectioners. Twelve of the eighty-three Armenians researched for that year were either unemployed or had no recorded occupation. There were four fruit merchants, one rug merchant, three barbers, one tailor, and four dry cleaners. Quite a few Armenians had taken up new occupations: one had a

⁴⁵Table 6, p. 99; Table 7, p. 104; and interview with Rufus M. Yonan, Deltaville, Virginia, 21 August 1982.

⁴⁶Table 7, pp. 101-106.

general merchandise store; three had opened restaurants; thirteen ran or worked in grocery stores; four were candy manufacturers; one operated a service station; and two were students.⁴⁷

Peter Sarafian is an example of the group of confectioners. He was an orphan who came to Richmond in 1924, via Istanbul and New York City, to work for his uncle Mike Hagopian, who owned two confectioneries, one on Idlewood Avenue and another on Main Street. Sarafian helped at the Main Street store and lived in the flat above. In 1928, at the age of twenty-seven, he opened his own confectionery at 12th and Broad Streets.⁴⁸

Often Armenian women assisted in the family confectionery or grocery store. Margaret Dedeian helped her husband Alex in his store on Main Street when she had time to leave her household duties and care of their three children in the flat above. In 1925 Nick Baronian ran a fruit stand and confectionery at 722 West Broad with the help of his sister Nevart and his wife Elizabeth. Having no children at the time, this gave both women something to do and also a chance

⁴⁷Table 8, pp. 107-116.

⁴⁸Interview with Peter Sarafian, 3140 Floyd Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 5 November 1981.

to improve their English.⁴⁹ Although women working was no disgrace for Armenians, there is only one Armenian woman listed in the city directory during this time as being employed. This was Mrs. Rose Mazmanian who is identified as a confectioner along with her husband George. Mary Darhanian was the only woman to own property in her name alone; and Mrs. Asser Mugridichian and Rosa Vranian were the only ones to pay personal property taxes.⁵⁰

One occupation missing from the choices of Richmond Armenians is the military service. There was one member of the Richmond Blues from this group: Kasper B. Bedrosian, a corporal as of March 31, 1919.⁵¹ Probably Harry B. Darhanian's recollection explains why there were not more Armenians in the Armed Forces during World War I. He would have been glad to serve and did in fact have to register, but was ineligible because he had not yet been naturalized and was still a Turkish citizen. Turkey, of course, was not an ally of the United States.⁵²

⁴⁹Dedeian interview; and Baronian interview.

⁵⁰Table 6, p. 99; and Table 8, pp. 108, 113, 116.

⁵¹Cutchins, A Famous Command, p. 351.

⁵²Darhanian interview.

Although statistics abound concerning land ownership, personal property and occupations, no records are available concerning Armenian family life during the early years of settlement in Richmond. However, there are a number of Armenians still living, especially women, who immigrated to the United States and lived in Richmond prior to 1925. They have been kind enough to share memories about their marriages, children and experiences in the Richmond Armenian community and in the city as a whole.

Armenian marriages in Richmond, and elsewhere, were almost always arranged either by parents, grandparents, or after the massacres when there was a preponderance of orphans, by older brothers, sisters, or other relatives. Some of the earliest immigrants, like Manuel Vranian, went back to native villages to have weddings arranged.⁵³ Mrs. Grace Keshishian Soghoian's stepfather made the plans for her to marry his nephew who was twelve years older. She immigrated to the United States in 1924 from an orphanage in Lebanon where she had lived after being separated from her mother following the end of World War I.⁵⁴

⁵³Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, p. 10.

⁵⁴Soghoian interview.

Margaret Dedeian's marriage was arranged by her brother John. He chose Alex Dedeian, no relation, who lived in Richmond and had come from the same village in Armenia. Margaret was fifteen at the time.⁵⁵

Elizabeth Baronian recalls that when she immigrated in 1923, there was a scarcity of Armenian women. She lived in her aunt's home and she remembers that the living room always seemed to be full of single men looking for brides. Although she had met her husband-to-be, her marriage was arranged without her knowledge by her uncle and an uncle of her husband's. She was sixteen at the time. Her husband was nine years older.⁵⁶

Peter Sarafian parted with Armenian tradition and married a local Richmond girl. Perhaps the fact that he was an orphan, thirty years old, with his own confectionery, gave him the courage to break from cultural custom. When questioned about such a marriage fifty years later, he thought nothing of it, but his wife admitted that as a bride she felt some animosity from Armenian wives.⁵⁷

⁵⁵Dedeian interview.

⁵⁶Baronian interview.

⁵⁷Sarafian interview.

Although no figures are available on the size of the Richmond Armenian families, in the above mentioned families there were no fewer than three children, and one had seven. All of the Armenian children attended Richmond public schools, and since there was no Armenian language school established in Richmond until the 1930's, they learned Armenian from relatives at home, or, as in the case of the DerKrikorians, from a private tutor.⁵⁸

From 1900 to 1925 social life was fairly restricted. Women and children were expected to stay at home while men congregated, as Harry Darhanian recalls, in such places as the back of his uncle Nishan's store.⁵⁹ Although the Armenians, as a whole, joined together for festive occasions like weddings, or for infrequent religious services, there does not seem to have been much cohesiveness within the group. There is no consensus on who the leaders of the Armenian community were, if there were, in fact, any. Some were educated, some were not, and there seems to have been snobbishness and competition among members of the group. The

⁵⁸Interview with Zarouhi DerKrikorian Deloian, 3342 Parkwood Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 4 November 1981.

⁵⁹Darhanian interview.

most successful like the DerKrikorians soon began to consider themselves Americans, although they were, and remain today, fiercely proud of their Armenian heritage, and as such wanted to be part of the Richmond community and not just the small Armenian group.⁶⁰

The most striking example of the lack of unity within the Armenian community in Richmond was the fact that they did not have a church until 1956. This excerpt from their church history seems strangely lackadaisical considering the courage and determination exhibited by the Armenians in overcoming obstacles in their homeland and in establishing themselves economically in their new homes.

It is known that there was a parish group in Richmond about the year 1912, and it is recorded that eight members of the Armenian community attended Divine Liturgy service at the historic Saint Paul's Episcopal Church on May 16, 1915.

Religious life in the Richmond Armenian community has progressed continuously since then, until what was only a dream in the minds of many, became a reality in a little over forty years. This community throughout the years has always been a stable one, its spirit never broken by wars nor depression. Having a church structure of its own has always been foremost in the minds of its people and this desire became more prevalent each time visiting priests or the Diocesan Primate journeyed to Richmond to celebrate the Divine Sacrament.⁶¹

⁶⁰Deloian interview.

⁶¹Saint James Armenian Church, Church Consecration, p. 1.

In the old country a vast majority of the Armenians belonged to the Armenian Apostolic Church, which is what was eventually established in Richmond. According to church doctrine it was begun by the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew who converted the Armenians to Christianity between 43 and 68 A.D. In the year 506 the church divested itself from both Rome and Constantinople and continues a separate entity today. Its head is the Catholicos in Echmiadzin, Russian Armenia. By 1916 there were ten Armenian Apostolic churches and seventeen priests in the United States. They were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople at that time although today there are two dioceses in this country with headquarters in New York and in California.⁶²

The Richmond Armenians attended a variety of local Protestant churches from 1900 to 1925, although there was a particular connection with Saint Paul's Episcopal Church at 9th and Grace. It was there that Armenian services were held by visiting priests, and a number of Armenian families were members. Harry Darhanian remembers with gratitude that Saint

⁶²Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 146-147.

Paul's refused payment for the use of its facilities by the Armenians.⁶³

Although traditionally Armenians affiliated with the Episcopal church until they established churches of their own,⁶⁴ there do not seem to be any records or recollections of why many of the Armenians happened to affiliate with Saint Paul's. Possibly it was chosen because it was located in Madison Ward where a number of Armenians lived, and possibly the Protestant Episcopal service reminded the immigrants of part of the Armenian Apostolic liturgy;⁶⁵ however, Saint Paul's still seems an odd choice. It was and is one of the city's most fashionable churches, attended by many of the socially prominent and well-to-do. In a history written by one of its members, it is described as

a sort of Westminster Abbey of the Commonwealth and the South while not the oldest church building in Richmond, the congregation of Saint Paul's Church is in a very real sense the oldest congregation,

⁶³Darhanian interview.

⁶⁴Miller and Marzik, Immigrants and Religion in Urban America, p. 142.

⁶⁵Deloian interview.

and indeed the original congregation of the Episcopal church in the city.⁶⁶

When one of Saint Paul's oldest parishioners was asked if she remembered the Armenian immigrants, she replied that she did, and with affection recalled teaching many of the children in Sunday school. When asked how her fellow communicants felt about having a group of immigrants in their midst, she laughed and said that her friend Mrs. _____ "would probably have had an apoplectic fit if one of those children had sat on her lap." Happily the Armenians were unaware of this disdain, which certainly must not have been the predominant opinion.⁶⁷

In spite of the connection with Saint Paul's, church membership was a matter of individual choice and not a group decision, as was the matter of burial. It was typical of Armenians throughout the country, though not of other immigrant groups, that graveyard accommodations were strictly a family responsibility. There was no ethnic society as there was for the Lebanese to make provisions, although most of the

⁶⁶Elizabeth Wright Weddell, Saint Paul's Church, Richmond, Virginia, Its Historic Years and Memorials (Richmond: William Byrd Press, Inc., 1931), pp. ix, xiii.

⁶⁷Interview with Mary Wingfield Scott, 6420 Roselawn Road, Richmond, Virginia, 12 October 1982.

Armenians are buried together in River View Cemetery.⁶⁸

Unlike the Lebanese, the individual Armenians did not meet with any discrimination when seeking a burial place, but some of them did feel discrimination in other instances. None felt that this was directed specifically at Armenians but rather at those foreigners or immigrants in general who were "different," new, had strange customs, or did not speak English, or speak English well. Harry Darhanian recalls that in the early days (he immigrated in 1903) people in Richmond were not friendly; but he hastens to add that when his family went to Saint Paul's Church, "people were friendly there." The DerKrikorians felt there was an attitude of discrimination in Richmond that was not felt by their compatriots in the north-eastern states.⁶⁹

Grace Soghoian did not feel that there was any discrimination or prejudice in Richmond against the Armenians; however, she felt, and still feels today, that the world in general forgot about the plight of the Armenians very quickly after World War I. The genocide of the Jews in World War II is often remembered and regretted today, while the genocide of the

⁶⁸Deloian interview.

⁶⁹Darhanian interview; and Deloian interview.

Armenians is recalled by only a few. The "starving Armenians" are now the forgotten Armenians.⁷⁰

Perhaps the plight of the Armenians before they came to this country, and to Richmond in particular, might help explain why some felt discrimination when none was intended. Probably all Armenians in one way or another were adversely affected as members of a minority group within the Ottoman Empire and later Turkey. Discrimination is hardly the word for the treatment they received in their native land, so a few may possibly have been hypersensitive to conditions in their new home. Perhaps the traits and abilities which enabled the Armenians to survive the Turkish holocaust are the attributes which account for their success in adapting to life in a new country.⁷¹

⁷⁰Soghoian interview.

⁷¹Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 141.

TABLE 5
ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1900

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Darhanian, Kabril (Kapriel)	confectioner	19 W. Broad	Monroe	Cen., p. 5721B; RCPFB, MonW, p. 17.
Darhanian, Nechen (Nishan)	confectioner	1718 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 251; RCPFB, JW, p. 17.
Darhurman, M. (Darhanian, Madiras)	unknown	800 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 13.

Abbreviations for source materials are listed on page 42.

TABLE 6
ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1910

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Bostanjian, Dickran	confectioner	1404 E. Main	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 4; RCD, p. 215.
Darhanian, Bagadas	confectioner	309 N. Adams	Lee	RCD, p. 336.
Darhanian, Charles	confectioner	802 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 22; RCD, p. 336.
Darhanian, Garabed	unknown	*se cor St. Paul & Baker, *Baker betw St. Paul & St. John	Henry	RCLB, HW, p. 11.
Darhanian, Kapriel	confectioner	120 W. Marshall	Lee	RCD, p. 336.
Darhanian, Madiras	fruits	118 E. Broad	Monroe	RCD, p. 336.
Darhanian, Madiras	confectioner	802 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 23.
Darhanian, Nichen E.	fruits	*1718 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 18; RCPFB, JW, p. 28.
Dervishian, Garabed	confectioner	715 1/2 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 348.

TABLE 6--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Dervishian, Hagop A.	tailor	715 1/2 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 348.
Euksuzian, Simon	confectioner	920 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 26; RCD, p. 383.
Garufidian, Zakar	unknown	1229 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 34.
Gordoian, Garobed	confectioner	609 E. Marshall	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 32; RCD, p. 444.
Kambourian, Manuel	rugs	214 W. Marshall	Lee	RCD, p. 573.
Karagulian, Philip	confectioner	309 N. Adams	Lee	Darhanian interview.
Kebabjian, Vahan	confectioner	7 E. Clay	Lee	RCD, p. 575.
Mugrdichian, Arakel	fruit	807 E. Franklin	Madison	RCD, p. 695.
Mugrdichian, Mrs. Asser	unknown	108 N. 9th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 56.
Mugrdichian, Aretera	unknown	108 N. 9th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 57.
Ohanian, Havanas M.	confectioner	120 W. Marshall	Lee	Darhanian interview.

TABLE 6--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Panossion (Pannossian), Martin	tailor	531 N. 4th	Lee	RCD, p. 727.
Parseklian, Hagop D.	confectioner	1900 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 730.
Saharin, Charles	trav. sales- man	1418 1/2 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 816.
Stephanian, Henry	confectioner	1434 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 877.
Tokatlian, Zero	confectioner	1900 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 104; RCD, p. 920.
Vranian, Manuel	propr. Lyric Theater	1720 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 111; RCD, p. 948.
Zartarian, Avedes	fruits	118 E. Broad	Monroe	RCPFB, MonW, p. 67; RCD, p. 1024.
Zartarian, Cross	fruits	118 E. Broad	Monroe	RCD, p. 1024.
Zartarian, George	confectioner	1808 E. Mar- shall, 614 Bragg	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 121; RCD, p. 1024.
Zaskalian, H.	unknown	210 N. 7th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 92.

TABLE 7

ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1920

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Antikagian, K.	unknown	2610 W. Cary	Clay	RCPFB, CW, p. 4.
Aprahamian, Jacob	confectioner	1830 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 762.
Arasian, Arshay	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 265.
Arasian, Dick	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 265.
Aznavorian, Diran	clerk	1718 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 276.
Bahadorian, Kricor	confectioner	1-A S. Mulberry	Clay	RCPFB, CW, p. 17; RCD, p. 277.
Barberian, Vahram	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 286.
Baronian, Michael	confectioner	2600 Beverly	Clay	RCPFB, CW, p. 6; RCD, p. 290.
Bedrosian, Actrag B.	confectioner	1701 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 300.
Bedrosian, Kasper B.	confectioner	2113 Floyd, 325 Bowe	Clay Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 14; RCD, p. 300.
Berberian (Barbarian), Mike	barber	501 N. 12th	Madison	RCD, p. 304.

TABLE 7--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Berberian (Barbarian), Sarkis	barber	501 N. 12th	Madison	RCD, p. 304.
Caragian, Michael	unknown	312 N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 384.
Darderian, M.	unknown	902 W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 35.
Darhanian, Benjamin	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 466.
Darhanian, Christo- pher	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 466.
Darhanian, Edward	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 466.
Darhanian, Harry	confectioner	100 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 466.
Darhanian, Madiras	confectioner	*400 N. 7th	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 275; RCD, p. 466.
Darhanian, Nishan E.	confectioner	*1400 1st Ave., *Magnolia	Lee	RCLB, LW, pp. 409 & 458; RCD, p. 466.
Dedeian (Dedian), Alex	confectioner	106 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 477.
Dedeian (Dedian), Charles	confectioner	106 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 477.

TABLE 7--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Dedeian (Dedian), John	confectioner	722 North Ave.	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 23; RCD, p. 477.
Dedeian, John	clerk	1705 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 477.
Derderian (Derdevian), Manuel	dry cleaner	902 W. Main, *610 North Ave.	Clay Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 462; RCD, p. 480.
Dervishian, Hazop (Hagop) A.	confectioner	421 N. 7th, *Main betw Floyd & Davis with Mary H. Dervishian	Madison Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 808; RCD, p. 480.
Dervishian, M. G.	unknown	*701 E. Cary	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 276.
Euksuzian, Simon	confectioner	427 N. 6th, *Stu. betw Fend. & Miller	Madison Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 475; RCD, p. 1063.
Hovivian, Shavarsh	unknown	1718 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 49; RCD, p. 679.
Jamgochian, Hachadoor	unknown	1718 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 59; RCD, p. 704.

TABLE 7--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Jamgochian, John A.	unknown	*Shep. betw Main & Cary	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 857.
Kambourian, Manuel	rugs	*15-A W. Grace	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 555; RCPFB, LW, B & C p. 27; RCD, p. 742.
Karebein (Karebian), Michael	confectioner	2631 W. Cary	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 61; RCD, p. 743.
Kassabian, Ohannes B.	dry cleaner	*3125 Grove, *105 N. Robinson, *sw cor Pat. & Commwlth. with Jm. Papazian	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 863; RCPFB, CW, A p. 843; RCD, p. 743.
Krecorian, Jake	confectioner	1830 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 63.
Kricorian, Abram	confectioner	106 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, JW, B p. 63; RCD, p. 762.
Magarian, George	unknown	11 N. 4th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 45; RCD, p. 822.
Mangigian, Bartos	fruits	1904-A E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 825.

TABLE 7--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Misakian, Dick	confectioner	1106 W. Marshall	Lee	RCPPB, LW, A p. 67; RCD, p. 861.
Moonedigean (Moonedigian), George	fruits	312 Monroe	Lee	RCD, p. 868.
Moughamian, Simon	unknown	120 Mulberry	Clay	RCPPB, CW, A p. 103; RCD, p. 882.
Nicolian, Karekin	unknown	101 E. Leigh	Madison	RCD, p. 899.
Panossian, Martin	tailor	15 E. Marshall	Lee	RCPPB, LW, B & C p. 38; RCD, p. 919.
Papazian, Dick	confectioner	*1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 151; RCPPB, JW, B p. 86; RCD, p. 919.
Papazian, J. M.	unknown	*sw cor Pat. & Commwlth. with O. B. Kassabian	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 863.
Pappasian, Charles	unknown	300 W. Marshall	Lee	RCPPB, LW, B & C p. 39.

TABLE 7--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Poladian, George S.	unknown	2400 W. Main	Clay	RCPPB, CW, A p. 113.
Stephanian, Henry	confectioner	*1306 E. Marshall	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 341; RCD, p. 1098.
Talalian, George	unknown	312 Monroe	Lee	RCPPB, LW, B & C p. 341.
Vranian, Manuel	unknown	*708 N. 9th, *Belle View	Madison Clay	RCLB, MW, p. 355; RCLB, CW, p. 960.
Zartarian, Andre	unknown	*3 parcels on Meadow Bridge Rd.	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 727.
Zartarian, Avedis	unknown	*1621-A W. Broad, 7 parcels on or near Meadow Bridge Rd.	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 727; RCPPB, LW, A p. 111.

TABLE 8

ARMENIAN IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1925

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Antikaijian, Kazaroas	grocer	601 N. 9th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 2; RCD, p. 296.
Aprahamian, Jake	confectioner	*1828 E. Main, *1826-30 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 6; RCPFB, JW, B p. 1; RCD, p. 297.
Aprohamian, Alex	confectioner	1828 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 297.
Aprohamian, Alex	confectioner	408-A N. 1st	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 2; RCD, p. 297.
Barbarian, Michael	barber	2004 1st Ave., *2916-18 Westhampton	Lee Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 814; RCPFB, LW, B & C p. 14; RCD, p. 322.
Barbarian, Sarkis	barber	308 N. 7th	Madison	RCD, p. 322.
Barberian, Vahram	grocer	*709 E. Leigh	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 268; RCPFB, MW, B p. 4; RCD, p. 322.
Baronian, Harry (Nick)	confectioner	722 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 5; RCD, p. 327.
Baronian, Michael	confectioner	2600 Idlewood Ave	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 25; RCD, p. 327.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Bedrasian, Kaspar B.	dry cleaner	2300-A W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 38; RCD, p. 339.
Boghosian, Albert	confectioner	300 W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 32; RCD, p. 364.
Boghosian, Avadis	confectioner	*300 W. Main	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 419; RCPFB, CW, A p. 32.
Boyagian, Yessip S. (Boyagin, Sam)	barber	923 E. Mar- shall	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 7; RCD, p. 378.
Darhanian, Charles	gas station	cor Brook & Norwd.	Lee	RCD, p. 532.
Darhanian, Harry B.	confectioner	1130 W. Mar- shall	Lee	RCD, p. 532
Darhanian, Martin (Madiras)	confectioner	400 N. 7th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 13; RCD, p. 532.
Darhanian, Mary	unknown	420 N. 7th	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 287.
Darhanian, Michael N.	confectioner	3000 1st Ave.	Lee	RCD, p. 532.
Darhanian, Nishan	confectioner	3000 1st Ave. *3021 Meadow Bridge	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 489; RCD, p. 532.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Dedeian, Alex	confectioner	*100-A E. Marshall	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 546; RCD, p. 546.
Dedeian, John	grocer	*206 S. Meadow	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 860; RCD, p. 546.
Derderian (Derdevian), Manuel	dry cleaner	§1602 Floyd	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 861; RCPFB, CW, A p. 74; RCD, p. 549.
Der Krikorian, Krikor	grocer	*3342 Parkwood, *209 Davis, *923 E. Marshall	Clay Madison	RCLB, CW, p. 937; RCLB, MW, p. 861; RCPFB, CW, B p. 136.
Dervishian, Hagop A.	unknown	*2602 W. Grace, *nw cor Gr & Robsn	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 481; RCPFB, LW, A p. 45; RCD, p. 549.
Dervishian, M. G.	unknown	*701 E. Cary	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 288.
Diradourian, Harry	fruits	1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 555.
Emerzian, Mihran	fruits	301 N. 1st	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 14.
Eretzian, Arshag	grocer	1821-A E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, MW, B p. 14; RCD, p. 595.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Eretzian, Dick	gen. merchandise	300 W. 12th, *nw cor Porter & 10th	Madison SS	RCLB, MW, SS p. 1197; RCD, p. 595.
Eretzian, Takoohé	grocer	519 E. Leigh	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 14; RCD, p. 595.
Euksuzian, Simon	delicatessen	929 W. Grace, *800 W. Broad, *se cor. 6th & Clay	Lee Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 292; RCLB, LW, p. 497; RCPFB, LW, A p. 50; RCD, p. 595.
Garabadian, Gasper (Garebedian, Gaspar)	confectioner	*523 N. 11th	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 295; RCPFB, MW, B p. 19; RCD, p. 646.
Garabedian, John	confectioner	2527 Stuart	Clay	RCD, p. 446.
Garabedian, Marderos	unknown	*sw cor 10th & Clay	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 295.
Giragosian (Girgasian), Manoog	confectioner	*604-A N. Belmont, *602-04 N. Belmont	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 520; RCPFB, LW, A p. 72; RCD, p. 667.
Gregorian (Gregorin), George	candy maker	1404 E. Main	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 27; RCD, p. 696.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Hagopian, Mike	confectioner	2204 1/2 Idlewood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 115; RCD, p. 705.
Jamgochian, Hachadoor	confectioner	1800 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 103; RCD, p. 809.
Jamgochian, John	confectioner	427 E. Leigh	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 24.
Jamgochian, John A. (J. M.)	confectioner	528 N. 5th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 24; RCD, p. 810.
Kalajian, John	confectioner	112 N. Meadow	Lee	RCD, p. 852 & 976.
Kambourian, John E.	student	3603 Noble	Lee	RCD, p. 853.
Kambourian, Manuel	rugs	*3603 Noble, *15 W. Grace	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 577; RCPFB, LW, 3-C p. 154; RCD, p. 853.
Karabian, D.	unknown	*sw cor 1st & Front	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 577.
Karabian (Karabin, Karebein), Mike	confectioner	2316-B Gray- land, 2327 Parkwood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 137; RCD, p. 853.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Karabin, John	unknown	2933-A W. Marshall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 100.
Karabin, Richard M.	dry cleaner	2933-A W. Marshall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 100; RCD, p. 853.
Karain, Enock (Karian, Enoch)	confectioner	*2001 W. Main	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 931; RCPFB, CW, A p. 147; RCD, p. 853.
Karogagian, H. G.	unknown	*ne cor 7th & Leigh, *se cor Stu & Rbsn	Madison Clay	RCLB, MW, p. 315; RCLB, CW, p. 931.
Kassabian, Channes B.	tailor	*3125 Grove, * 1/2 sw cor Pat. & Commn- wlth, *105-07 Robsn.	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 931; RCPFB, CW, A p. 143; RCD, p. 853.
Koltuckian, K. G.	unknown	3203-D Ellwood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 148.
Kricorian, Abram	grocer	1707 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 111; RCD, p. 875.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Kricorian, Kricor	grocer	420 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 22; RCD, p. 875.
Maragrarian, Kriko H.	confectioner	*1-A S. Mulberry	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 953; RCD, p. 949.
Mandelian, John	confectioner	111-A N. Lombardy	Lee	RCD, p. 953.
Mangigian, William	confectioner	3159-A Ellwood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 188; RCD, p. 953.
Mazmanian, George R.	confectioner	113-A N. 3rd	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 49; RCD, p. 975.
Mazmanian, Mrs. Rose	confectioner	113 N. 3rd	Madison	RCD, p. 975.
Mirakian, Richard	confectioner	411 N. Harrison	Lee	RCD, p. 996.
Misakian, Dick	confectioner	1621-A W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 109; RCD, p. 996.
Moonedigian (Moonadgans), Charles	fruits	411 N. Monroe	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 27; RCD, p. 1004.
Moonedigian, George	fruits	411 N. Monroe	Lee	RCD, p. 1004.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Moughamian, Simon	confectioner	*401 N. Robinson	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 616; RCD, p. 1020.
Onanian, Hann	unknown	3023 Meadow Bridge	Lee	RCPFB, LW, 3-C p. 202.
Pannossian, Martin	dry cleaner	*2601 W. Grace, *15 E. Marshall	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 648; RCPFB, LW, A p. 134; RCD, p. 1063.
Papazian, Dick (Papazia, Richard)	restaurant	*1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 165; RCPFB, JW, B p. 155; RCD, p. 1063.
Parseghin, Georges (George)	grocer	2939 W. Marshall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 138; RCD, p. 1069.
Safarian, Z. C.	grocer	300 W. 12th, *nw cor Porter & 10	Madison SS	RCLB, MW, SS p. 1197; RCD, p. 1189.
Sarafian, Peter	confectioner	2204 1/2 Idlewood	Clay	Sarafian interview.
Sarajian, Michael	confectioner	301 W. Main	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 250; RCD, p. 1196.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Seropian, Khorn Y.	confectioner	408 Cleveland	Clay	RCD, p. 1218.
Shahinian, Abraham B.	wholesale candy	625 N. 8th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 45; RCD, p. 1210.
Shahinian, Hachadour B.	wholesale candy	*714 E. Leigh	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 352; RCPFB, MW, B p. 43; RCD, p. 1220.
Shaninian, Nashan B.	wholesale candy	*813 E. Leigh	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 352; RCPFB, MW, B p. 43; RCD, p. 1220.
Shaninian, Peter	grocer	519 E. Leigh	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 43; RCD, p. 1220.
Stepanian, Antranig S.	student	1306 E. Mar- shall	Madison	RCD, p. 1277.
Stepanian, Henry	confectioner	*1306 E. Marshall	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 356; RCPFB, MW, B p. 42; RCD, p. 1277.
Vranian, Joseph M.	grocer	900 E. Leigh	Madison	RCD, p. 1375.

TABLE 8--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Vranian, Manuel H.	grocer	*900 E. Leigh	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 367; RCD, p. 1375.
Vranian, Rosa	unknown	900 E. Clay	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 49.
Yanikian, Hovannes	restaurant	318 Brook	Lee	RCD, p. 1473.
Zartarian, Andre	unknown	*3 parcels on Meadow Bridge	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 781.
Zartarian, Avedis	unknown	*1621 W. Broad, 8 parcels on or near Meadow Bridge	Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 781.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREEKS

According to the history of the Greeks in Richmond published by Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, the first Greek to settle in Richmond was a man named George Yanios, who arrived in 1896.¹ The 1880 census, however, lists one Andrew Ross, a widower, fifty years old, born in Greece, who lived in the home of Julius Nelson and his wife, at 2016 West Main Street. In 1890 Andrew Rosser is listed in the city directory as a candy-maker living at 1701 East Main. By 1900 he had moved up the street to 1709 East Main and was employed as a laborer. Having immigrated to the United States in 1870, he was still single, unnaturalized, able to speak English but could neither read nor write. He remained at that address until 1904, but there are

¹Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Sixtieth Anniversary Commemorative Album (Richmond: Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 1977), p. 15.

no records of him after that date.²

Ross (Rosser) is the forgotten Greek. No Greeks in Richmond today have ever heard of him, but they do remember George Yanios (Giannios), the name if not the man, and look to him as the founder of the Greek community. He was born in 1866, in Greece, immigrated to the United States in 1891, and came to Richmond in 1896. By 1900 he lived at 403 East Broad, where he ran a confectionery shop which must have been profitable, unless he was independently wealthy, since the personal property tax book for Monroe Ward indicates that he had \$50 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and a \$700 capital investment. Although he was not then a naturalized citizen, he could read, write and speak English.³

In 1910 census statistics show that ninety-nine Greeks, including women and children, resided in Richmond. At least forty-eight men and one woman were listed in the city directory or on the tax rolls. New

²U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Tenth Census of the United States, 1880: Population, City of Richmond; Reel 199, p. 24,3,89; Directory of Richmond and Manchester, Virginia, 1890 (Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Co., 1890), p. 572; and Table 9, p. 146.

³Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Sixtieth Anniversary, p. 15; and Table 9, p. 146.

surnames include Carus, Chacos, Papas, Rupas, Sotos, Shantiles, Travlos, and Zapantes.⁴ In 1920 census statistics show that two hundred eight Greek men, women and children lived in Richmond. Of these there were seventy-five men and one woman researched. New names include Bambacus, Bazacos, Calafatis, Condyles, Papapavlos, Stamateades, Theofanos, and Zorbas.⁵ By 1925 there were four Greek women, two of whom were in business and two who owned personal property, as well as one hundred sixteen men located in the city directory and the tax records. New surnames appeared such as Ahladas, Dial, Djounes, Matzantias, Papachristos, and Subley.⁶

Although no one knows specifically why Andrew Rosser and George Yanios chose to settle in Richmond after immigrating to the United States, it is well-known that most Greeks emigrated for either economic

⁴Table 10, pp. 147-150; and U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Statistics for Virginia, p. 620.

⁵Table 11, pp. 151-157; and U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Bulletin, Population: Virginia, Composition and Characteristics of the Population, p. 24.

⁶Table 12, pp. 158-169.

or political reasons. Since the end of the nineteenth century Greece has not been able to provide adequate foodstuffs or employment to support its population, so many Greeks, particularly young, unmarried men emigrated hoping to make their fortunes elsewhere and then return to their homeland. A number of other Greeks in Macedonia and Thrace, which were part of the Ottoman Empire, emigrated to escape the Turkish draft after 1908. Still other Greeks from Eastern Thrace, where many Richmond Greeks originated, were forced to relocate or were unable to return home after the population exchange following the Greco-Turkish war in 1923.⁷ Some Greeks also immigrated because they lost their homes in the earthquakes of 1912, and coming to the United States seemed a better option than relocating or rebuilding in Greece.⁸

Mrs. Suitana Bibos recalls that her husband, who had already come to the United States, went back to

⁷ Charles C. Moskis, Jr., Greek Americans, Struggle and Success (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980), pp. 9-10; Theodore Saloutos, "Greeks," in Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, Stephan Thernstrom, ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 431-32; Theodore Saloutos, Greeks in the United States (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 30-34; and Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1 July 1973, pp. B1 and 4.

⁸ Interview with Diamond Erminy, Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 30 Malvern Avenue, Richmond, Virginia, 3 November 1981.

their native village in Macedonia to marry her in 1912. Unfortunately during his visit he was drafted and forced to serve in the Turkish army for five months. He immediately thereafter returned to the United States. She followed him in 1920.⁹

Mrs. Alexander Brown was one of those Turkish Greeks involved in the population exchange after World War I. Her family was forced to leave their village of Pracen, Turkey, for Istanbul, and two years later was expelled from Turkey, being sent to Athens.¹⁰ Louis Junes' (Djounes) family moved to Istanbul because an earthquake destroyed much of their native town of Ganos, on the Sea of Mamara. He soon left to join friends in the United States and seek his fortune.¹¹ Mrs. Athena Subley's home near

⁹Interview with Suitana Bibos, Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 30 Malvern Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 26 September 1981. Dr. Biddle, assistant professor of history at Virginia Commonwealth University, is doing research for an oral history of the Richmond Greeks: her tapes and transcripts are in her possession.

¹⁰Interview with Mrs. Alexander Brown, Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 30 Malvern Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 25 September 1981.

¹¹Interview with Louis Junes, 4105 Cambridge Road, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 16 October 1981.

Istanbul was also destroyed by the 1912 earthquake although her family rebuilt and remained in the village. She emigrated in 1923 when Greeks in Turkey were being relocated.¹² Mrs. Moska Constantino's home was damaged by the same earthquake. Unfortunately this happened after her father had already emigrated, so her mother had to move to her parents' home until enough money could be saved to move the family to the United States.¹³

Whatever their reasons for coming to the United States, and to Richmond in particular, the Greeks considered economic advancement as their major goal. This was a means to an end: either to amass enough money to return to Greece and live there in comfort, or to establish permanent homes here.¹⁴ Nicholas Galanes, who came to Richmond in 1918, remembers the desire of many Greeks to save \$2,000 and return to Greece to buy an apartment house in a city and live

¹²Interview with Athena Subley, 37 Willway Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 14 November 1981.

¹³Interview with Moska Constantino, 3208 Monument Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 19 March 1982.

¹⁴Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1 July 1973, pp. B1 and 4.

on the rents.¹⁵ Mrs. Alexander Brown did in fact return to Greece with her two children for a year, but decided that she liked the United States better and came back to Richmond.¹⁶ It is impossible to determine how many Greeks in Richmond went back to their homeland, but it is known that almost half of those who came to the United States before World War I were birds of passage and did return to Greece.¹⁷

Those Greek immigrants who chose to settle in Richmond tended to live near each other although there was no one section of the city that ever became a predominantly Greek neighborhood. The two Greeks who lived in Richmond in 1900 resided on streets that many other Greeks would choose as the years went by. Andrew Rosser lived at 1709 East Main in Jefferson Ward, and George Yanios lived at 403 East Broad in what was then Monroe Ward although it became Madison Ward by 1911. Yanios probably lived in a room behind or a flat above his confectionery since his home and

¹⁵Interview with Nicholas Galanes, Saints Constantine and Helen Orthodox Cathedral, 30 Malvern Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 15 October 1981.

¹⁶Brown interview.

¹⁷Saloutos, "Greeks," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 432.

business address were the same.¹⁸

Twenty-five Greeks, of the forty-nine researched in 1910, lived in Madison Ward, all except two on either East Broad or East Main. One lived at 412 North 6th, one at 416 North C Street, twelve on East Broad mostly on the 700 block, and eleven on East Main between the 800 block and the 1400 block. Nineteen Greeks lived in Jefferson Ward either at 7 North 21st or on East Main, eight in the 1700 block, four at 1501, and two at 2217. Three Greeks lived at 16 1/2 East Broad in Henry Ward across the street from Greeks in Madison Ward at 7 East Broad. Finally, one Greek lived in Clay Ward at 1309 West Main, and another owned undeveloped land in that ward.¹⁹

By 1920, of the seventy-six Greeks researched, thirty-one lived in Madison Ward. They had branched out from East Broad although fourteen continued to live there, from the 100 block to the 800 block.

¹⁸Table 9, p. 146.

¹⁹Table 10, pp. 147-150.

Census statistics show that a total of ninety-nine Greeks lived in Richmond in 1910. One lived in Clay Ward, eight in Henry, forty-six in Jefferson, thirty-eight in Madison, four in Marshall, two in Monroe, and none in Washington or Lee Wards. These numbers differ significantly from the ones used in the research for this paper since the census included children and unemployed women. U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910: Statistics for Virginia, p. 620.

Others were scattered throughout the ward: four on East Marshall between the 100 and 800 blocks; two at 620 East Cary; two on East Main at 102 and 702; three on North 2nd, two on the 600 block and one on the 300 block; and one each on Adams, East Clay, South 1st, North 8th, and North 9th. Finally two brave souls in Madison Ward moved to the 1100 block of Hull Street and began what was to become a sizeable group of Greeks on the south side of the James.²⁰

Jefferson Ward, with twenty-one, had the second largest number of Greeks in 1920. Here they were still congregated on East Main Street with eight living on the 1700 and 1800 blocks. There were nine on the first block of North 17th and one at 1319 North 17th, and one each at 217 North 20th, 320 North 19th, and 927 North 29th. In Lee Ward there were twenty Greeks in 1920. One lived at 309 North Adams, one at 607 West Grace, and three on West Marshall, two at 1011 and one at 403. The rest lived on West Broad: seven on the first block at numbers 4, 6, and 7; three lived in the 700 block; and five between the 1500 block and the

²⁰Table 11, pp. 151-157.

By 1920 two hundred eight Greeks lived in Richmond according to the census. Three lived in Clay Ward, sixty-eight in Jefferson, thirty-five in Lee, and one hundred two in Madison. U. S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920 Bulletin, Population: Virginia, p. 24.

2000 block. Only four Greeks lived out in Clay Ward: one at 2015 Hanover; one at 2403 Grove; and two at 2514 Beverly.²¹

In 1925 there were one hundred twenty Greeks researched. Thirteen lived in Clay Ward, scattered throughout the area in the Fan District, Oregon Hill, around Byrd Park and as far west as the 2900 block of Ellwood, with no more than one family living on any one street. There were fifteen Greeks living in Lee Ward and they lived a little closer together. There were eight on West Broad from the 700 block to the 1600 block. There were four on West Marshall, one on the 700 block and three on the 3000 block, and three on West Grace on the 1100 block and at 415. Twenty-two Greeks lived in Jefferson Ward in 1925. There were seven on East Main on the 1700 and 1900 blocks, and six on North 17th, five on the first block and one at 1617. Others were scattered: one on North 18th; three on North 19th; three on North 29th; one at 2500 Q; and one far out on Williamsburg Avenue.²²

In 1925 the majority of the Greeks, seventy, lived in Madison Ward. There was what must have been a thriving community of them on the south side, with

²¹Table 11, pp. 151-157.

²²Table 12, pp. 158-169.

Hull Street having eighteen, which was the largest number of Greeks on any one street in Richmond. They ranged from the 700 block to the 2500 block, and one lived just a few blocks away on Porter Street. On the north side of the river in Madison Ward there were fifty-one Greeks researched who lived on Broad, North 2nd, North 3rd, North and South 4th, North 5th, North 6th, North 7th, North 8th, Brook Avenue, East Leigh, East Clay, and East Marshall, with more on the latter two streets than any other.²³

In considering Greek housing locations and patterns two observations are noted: the Greeks rarely remained in the same location for an extended time, and few owned the property on which they lived or had their places of business. Neither of the two Greeks in Richmond in 1900 were in the same locations in 1910. George Yanios had moved down East Broad Street from 403 to 821, and Andrew Rosser, who would have been eighty years old, cannot be located in any available records including the city's vital statistics. Neither of these Greeks owned real property in 1900 and only one of the forty-nine Greeks researched in 1910 owned real estate. Mary E. Giannios held a parcel of undeveloped land on the southwest corner of

²³Ibid.

Floyd and Robinson in Clay Ward which was valued at \$530.²⁴

Not a single Greek of those researched remained in the same living quarters from 1910 to 1920, and only two individuals held real property in that year. Mary E. Giannios owned 2403 Grove Avenue in Clay Ward, with the house valued at \$2,160 and the lot at \$4,000. Thomas Sotos owned a building valued at \$7,100 on a lot worth \$2,400, on the northwest corner of Broad and Gilmer which must have been investment property since he neither lived nor worked there.²⁵

In spite of the fact that hardly any Greeks owned real property in 1920, they did own a church. The Hellenic Orthodox Community Treasurers bought an apartment building in that year at 515 North 6th Street between Clay and Leigh, and converted it into a church. The building was worth \$3,100 and the lot \$3,700.²⁶

By 1925, of the one hundred twenty Greeks researched, five remained in the same location where they had been in 1920, and three of these owned the

²⁴Table 9, p. 146 ; and Table 10, pp. 147-150.

²⁵Table 10, pp. 147-150 ; and Table 11, pp. 151-157.

²⁶Richmond City Land Book, Madison Ward, 1920, p. 291.

property. Sam Bambacus stayed at 29 North 17th, and Tom Pappas stayed just up the block at 11 North 17th. Charles Yavroglou remained at 927 North 29th. These three parcels were all in Jefferson Ward and had been rental property presumably in 1920 and then later purchased by the tenants. John Damaras remained at 734 West Broad in Lee Ward. There was a total of twelve Greek landowners in 1925. Aside from the three previously mentioned in Jefferson Ward, six owned real property in Clay Ward on Ellwood Avenue, East Cary, Claiborne, South Addison, West Main and Gilbert Streets. One owned undeveloped land on Nottoway in Lee Ward; and ironically, in Madison Ward with the largest concentration of Greeks in the city, only one parcel was owned by Greeks. This was 609 East Marshall which was shared by George Chacos and John Rubis.²⁷

As the Greeks were slow to acquire real property so were they in accumulating personal property as well. Of the two Greeks located in 1900 only one is recorded in the tax rolls.²⁸ In 1910, of the forty-nine Greeks

²⁷Table 11, pp. 151-157 ; and Table 12, pp. 158-169.

²⁸Table 9, p. 146.

researched, only five paid personal property taxes. One of these had \$50 worth of household and kitchen furnishings; two had \$100 worth; one had \$30 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and a \$100 capital investment; and one had \$50 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and \$300 worth of other tangible personal property.²⁹

In 1920 there were seventy-seven Greeks researched and only fourteen individuals were listed in the city tax books as owning personal property. Six had as little as \$100 or less of household and kitchen furnishings. Three owned between \$200 and \$300 worth of household and kitchen furnishings and other tangible personal property, and two owned between \$500 and \$700 worth. One declared a \$300 capital investment, another a \$1,000 capital investment, and another a \$500 capital investment and \$100 worth of household and kitchen furnishings.³⁰ One Greek company, Bazacos Grocery, owned an auto valued at \$500 along with \$120 worth of other tangible personal property; and another, the Thomas Sotos Company, a shoeshine parlor, listed a \$1,600 capital investment.³¹

²⁹Table 10, pp. 147-150.

³⁰Table 11, pp. 151-157.

³¹Richmond City Personal Property Book, Madison Ward, A and B, 1920, pp. 9 and 60.

By 1925, of the one hundred twenty Greeks researched, a much greater number, fifty-eight men and two women, paid personal property taxes, as well as four businesses. Nine Greeks owned automobiles and two owned musical instruments. Fourteen owned \$100 or less worth of household and kitchen furnishings or other tangible personal property. Twenty-three owned personal property worth between \$100 and \$300; ten owned between \$300 and \$500 worth; and nine between \$600 and \$800 worth. One owned personal property valued at \$950; one at \$1,000; and one at \$1,360. Finally, Gus Bambacus not only owned personal property worth \$1,960, including an auto and a musical instrument, but he also had \$7,500 on deposit in a bank account, and he also owned a building valued at \$2,250 on a lot worth \$600 at 2920 Ellwood Avenue.³² This is all the more incredible when consulting the tax records of 1920 which indicate that at that time he only paid the \$1.50 poll tax since he owned no personal or real property.³³

Gus Bambacus was unusual in that he amassed more possessions than any other Greek but his choice of employment was not unusual. He was a confectioner

³²Table 12, pp. 158-169.

³³Table 11, p. 151.

as were a number of other Greeks in Richmond and elsewhere. Nationwide Greek immigrants, although they may have first been employed as laborers in textile mills, coal mines, or on railroad lines, tended to establish small businesses such as confectioneries, florist shops, shoeshine parlors, and restaurants, whenever possible. Many immigrants from the Greek islands settled in Florida to be fishermen or to dive for sponges.³⁴

No Greeks in Richmond chose to be fishermen but the great majority did find employment doing what their compatriots were doing in other parts of the United States. In 1900 George Yanios was a confectioner and Andrew Rosser was a laborer. He had been a candy maker in 1890.³⁵ By 1910, of the forty-nine Greeks researched, twenty-two were either unemployed or their occupations were not recorded in the city directory. One Greek was a confectioner, one a candy manufacturer, two were waiters, two were shoemakers, and two were laborers. Eight Greeks

³⁴Moskos, Greek Americans, pp. 25-26; and Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, pp. 46-47.

³⁵Table 9, p.146 ; and Directory of Richmond and Manchester, 1890, p. 572.

either owned or were employed in restaurants, and eleven were bootblacks.³⁶ This latter occupation, like peddling for the Lebanese, was a wise choice for an enterprising immigrant without much capital or a good command of the English language. It required little skill and was a traditional choice for many Greeks when they first arrived.³⁷

By 1920 there were only five Greek bootblacks. There were eight confectioners, two candy makers, three waiters, five clerks, and two who either made or repaired shoes. There was one grocer, one barber, one salesman, one priest, one hat maker, one florist, two who made pies, and one who ran a coffee house. There were eleven with unknown occupations and thirty-one who either owned or worked in restaurants.³⁸ This latter occupation was obviously the most popular occupation for Greeks in Richmond and for Greek immigrants throughout the United States, although no one seems to know why this happened.³⁹

³⁶Table 10, pp. 147-150.

³⁷Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, pp. 259-60.

³⁸Table 11, pp. 151-157.

³⁹Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, pp. 265-69.

In 1925 there were forty-four Greeks in the restaurant business; twenty-one were confectioners; and fourteen were either unemployed or their occupations were not recorded in the city directory. The other forty-one Greeks researched had a wide variety of occupations. There were four bootblacks, four clerks, and four hat makers and/or cleaners. There were six in the candy manufacturing business, three waiters and three grocers. There were two shoemakers or repairers, two barbers, two priests, two photographers, and two helpers in an unspecified business. Two were associated with a pie manufacturing company, and two with a bottling company. There was also one machine operator, one steamfitter, and one butcher.⁴⁰

Of all the Greeks in Richmond in 1925, Emanuel M. Subley stands out as probably the most interesting businessman. He emigrated from Crete and came to Richmond in the early 1920's, having first lived in New York City and Memphis, Tennessee. When he came to Richmond he opened the NuGrape Bottling Company, a franchise business, with the help of a silent partner, his uncle George August, who lived in Birmingham, Alabama. In 1925 the company had a capital investment of \$26,250 at its location at 1311 West Broad. Mrs.

⁴⁰Table 12, pp. 158-169.

Subley recalls that her husband took a correspondence course in commercial art and was therefore able to design his own signs.⁴¹

Louis Junes (Djounes) is a typical example of a Richmond Greek in the restaurant business. He was born in Ganos, a seaport town in Thrace, on the Sea of Marmara. His father made wine and owned two sailing ships which transported the wine to France. His family moved to Istanbul after the devastation of the earthquake in 1912. Junes immigrated to the United States in 1914 and came to Richmond. He then went to South Bend, Indiana, before returning permanently to settle in Richmond in 1928. His first job was washing dishes for \$14 per week, twelve hours a day, seven days each week. He eventually bought a hot dog restaurant on 17th Street and has maintained it continuously although its location was changed in 1980 to Thalhimers department store at 6th and Broad Streets.⁴²

Diamond Erminy relates that his father had a similar experience. Anagnostis Erminy immigrated to the United States in 1910 or 1912. He had been a

⁴¹Richmond City Personal Property Book, Lee Ward, A, 1925, p. 125; Subley interview; and Table 12, p. 168.

⁴²Junes interview.

potter in Hora, a small town in eastern Thrace which was destroyed by the 1912 earthquake. He worked as a bootblack, dishwasher, and waiter among other things until he saved enough money to open his own confectionery. He lived with his wife and three children in a flat above the store and "worked all the time," his son recalls.⁴³

Diamond Erminy also remembers that his mother worked strictly as a housewife and did not help her husband in the store. This was typical of Greek women in Richmond and elsewhere.⁴⁴ Mrs. Suitana Bibos remembers that no Greek women ever worked outside the home, but Nicholas Galanes qualifies this statement somewhat by saying that "no Greek woman ever worked for anyone outside of her own family, except to take in sewing." His mother, as a single parent, worked in her brother's cigar store while Galanes helped run his uncle's poolroom.⁴⁵ Mrs. Moska Constantino, who emigrated in 1913 after the earthquake, recalls working in her husband's restaurant

⁴³Erminy interview, 16 June 1982.

⁴⁴Ibid; Moskos, Greek Americans, p. 87; and Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁵Bibos interview; and Galanes interview.

near 17th Street market. She cooked, served, and did anything that needed to be done in the restaurant which accommodated farmers from the market and stayed open day and night.⁴⁶

Two other Greek women in Richmond remember working as a matter of necessity in the old country although circumstances changed when they emigrated. Mrs. Alexander Brown was never employed after she married and immigrated to the United States, but before that she and her younger sister were obliged to go to work as seamstresses in Athens when their family was expelled from Turkey after World War I. Ironically another sister refused to break with tradition and seek employment despite the family's dire financial situation. Mrs. Katina Matzantias also had to help support her family in Greece. After her father died when she was twelve years old, her mother and all eleven children became menders of fishing nets. Later Mrs. Matzantias worked in a cigarette factory in Greece, but when she married and came to Richmond her husband refused to allow her to help in his restaurant, saying that her job was to take care of the

⁴⁶Constantino interview.

family at home.⁴⁷

Family life was tremendously important to the Greeks as it was to the Lebanese and the Armenians. Like those two groups the early Greek community in Richmond had a number of bachelors who desired brides from their homeland once enough money had been accumulated to provide for a wife and family. Some Richmond Greeks went back to Greece to marry, while others had marriages arranged by family members, friends or matchmakers. Although marriage within the ethnic group was strongly preferred, it was not obligatory, particularly for children born in the United States. Doweries were not required.⁴⁸

Diamond Erminy's parents had their marriage arranged in Greece. Mrs. Erminy came to Richmond in 1920 to marry a young man she had only seen in a photograph. Mrs. Suitana Bibos also had her marriage arranged in the old country but her intended, who had already emigrated, returned to their native village

⁴⁷Brown interview; and interview with Katina Matzantias, 4710 Fitzhugh Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 19 February 1982.

⁴⁸Interview with Diamond Erminy, Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 30 Malvern Avenue, Richmond, Virginia. Interviewed by Dr. Thelma S. Biddle, 23 October 1981; and Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, p. 86.

for the wedding. Mrs. Alexander Brown, who also married a Greek who had emigrated,⁴⁹ had her wedding arranged by her sister, and the groom returned to Athens for the ceremony. Mrs. Katina Matzantias' husband went back to Greece as a bachelor looking for a bride. She was introduced to him, the marriage was arranged the next day by mutual friends, the wedding took place two weeks later, and the happy couple left for the United States immediately.⁵⁰

Louis Junes and George Constantino saved transportation costs by marrying Greek girls in the United States. Junes' wife was born in Petersburg, Virginia, where her parents had come from Istanbul. Constantino's wedding was arranged by a matchmaker. His wife-to-be had come to the United States with her family from Athens in 1913 and lived in Banbrook, New Jersey, when a neighbor's sister, who lived in Richmond, came "looking for a bride" for Constantino.⁵¹

⁴⁹Alexander Brown was one of a number of Greeks in Richmond who changed his surname because his Greek name, Yiorgakopoulos, was so difficult to pronounce. His brother George chose, or was given, the name Brown by the judge at his naturalization ceremony. When Alexander Yiorgakopoulos immigrated he was called "Junior Brown" by his brother's friends, hence the name, Alexander Brown.

⁵⁰Erminy interview, 23 October 1981; Bibos interview; Brown interview; and Matzantias interview.

⁵¹Junes interview; and Constantino interview.

Although there are no records available to confirm it, probably all of the children of the Greek immigrants researched went to Richmond public schools and quite a few went on to college in later years. Mrs. Athena Subley recalls that one of the most important goals in life for her and her husband was to send their two daughters to college. Mrs. Matzantias agrees and recounted that she and her husband sold their home to send their son to college and law school.⁵²

As Greek children began to go to Richmond schools they and their parents naturally mingled more and more with their non-Greek neighbors. In fact, Mrs. Constantino recalls that she always had "American" neighbors, but there was, and is today, a strong feeling of cohesion within the Greek community in Richmond. Diamond Erminy remembers, perhaps a bit wistfully, that when his parents were young in the 1920's and early '30's there was "a miniature Greece here in Richmond." He does not feel that the community is the same today, but Mrs. Subley recalls that the Greeks were very close when she immigrated to Richmond in 1923, and have remained so, with Greeks "looking after each other even today." Mrs. Matzantias says that

⁵²Subley interview; and Matzantias interview.

she felt at home in Richmond immediately because there were so many Greeks with whom to establish friendships.⁵³

There is no evidence to suggest that by 1925 the Greeks had begun to take an active role in Richmond community life, either in politics or other endeavors, but they had established organizations of their own. In 1906 the Greek Benevolent Society was formed which was "the foundation of this Greek community" according to information published by the Richmond Greek cathedral. Although there are no records available about the founders or activities of the society, it is known that one of its achievements was the purchase of a plot in Riverview cemetery. In 1910 the group joined the Pan-Hellenic Society, a nationwide Greek organization.⁵⁴

Beginning in 1909 the Greeks in Richmond, like the Lebanese and the Armenians, gathered occasionally at religious services held by a visiting priest at

⁵³Constantino interview; Erminy interview, 23 October 1981; Subley interview; and Matzantias interview.

⁵⁴Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church, Fiftieth Anniversary Commemorative Album (Richmond: Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church, 1967), pp. 19-20; and Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church, The Consecration of Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church (Richmond: Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church, 1962), pp. 18-19.

the Richmond Y.M.C.A. Reverend Basil Avramopoulos from the Greek Orthodox Church Evangelismos in Norfolk performed these duties until a church was established in Richmond in 1917. What is considered the first General Assembly of this church was held on February 19, 1917, when a group of Greeks gathered and voted to notify the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece in Athens of their desire to establish a church and to apply for a priest. Almost immediately a hall was rented on the second floor at 309 North 7th Street and converted into a church which was named for Saints Constantine and Helen. Constantine Liacapoulous, an interim priest probably sent from Norfolk, held the first service on March 30, 1917, and a new full time priest, Paul Papapavlos, took office in August of 1917.⁵⁵

Soon the congregation outgrew this hall on North 7th, and moved on February 29, 1920, to an apartment building at 615 North 6th Street which had

⁵⁵ Papapavlos was succeeded by Simeon Emmanuel, August 1921 to August 1923; Filimon Sevastiades, August 1923 to September 1924; and Gregorios Milonadakis, September 1924 to September 1927. The latter's stay at Saints Constantine and Helen extends beyond the period of this research. Ibid; and Dombalis interview, April 13, 1983.

been purchased for \$9,500 and converted into a church.⁵⁶ This building had facilities for the immigrants' first Greek school where children attended Greek language classes, usually twice a week in the afternoons after regular school hours. In the early years of the school, these classes were taught by the priest rather than by professional teachers. Mrs. Bibos' husband came to Richmond in 1929 to teach at the school. He had been a teacher in a village school in Macedonia, and also in Manchester, New Hampshire, after he immigrated.⁵⁷

Any study of Greek churches in the late teens and 1920's must necessarily include some mention of Greek politics since it was a state church. Contention in Greece between the Royalists and the Venezalists carried over into Greek Orthodox churches in Greece and in other parts of the world. In Richmond for a brief period the Greeks divided along

⁵⁶Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Cathedral, Sixtieth Anniversary, p. 15; and Richmond, Virginia, City Directory, 1925 (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., Inc., 1925), pp. 688 and 1190.

⁵⁷Erminy interview, 3 November 1981; and Bibos interview.

For a good description of the typical Greek language school see Saloutos, Greeks in the United States, pp. 46-47.

political lines, with the Venezalists (Democrats, Republicans, or Liberals as they were variously called) entrenched at Saints Constantine and Helen, and the Royalists at Saint Paraskivi, a new Greek Orthodox church at 1st and Broad Streets. An excerpt from an article in the Richmond Times-Dispatch, from a fifty year perspective, explains the resolution of the schism.

In an official account of the Greeks' time in Richmond, it is said that fortunately, the political situation slowly abated and the (Greek) Community, in Christian love, healed its wounds and reunited Without contradicting that, a member of the immigrant generation remembers that the new unity was based on "common sense: what do we care about Greece? Let's see what we do here."⁵⁸

What the Greeks did here was to establish a happy, thriving Greek community centered around the Greek church and its activities, but within the context of American and Richmond life. Of the eleven Greeks interviewed for this research none felt discrimination because of their immigrant status, and only one mentioned dissatisfaction with life in the United States in general and Richmond in particular. Mrs. Alexander Brown admits with chagrin that she did not like Richmond as a young wife and mother, so she

⁵⁸Richmond Times-Dispatch, 1 July 1973, p. B 1; and Saints Constantine and Helen Greek Orthodox Church, Consecration, p. 20.

returned to Greece with her two children in 1936. Life in the old country was not as attractive as she had remembered and she returned to Richmond after one year. She decided that the United States was a safer and better place in which to raise her children and Richmond has remained her home since that time.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Brown interview.

TABLE 9

GREEK IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1900

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Giannios (Yanios, Giannos), George	confectioner	403 E. Broad	Monroe	Cen., p. 6220B; RCPPB, MonW, p. 26.
Rosser, Andrew	laborer	1709 E. Main	Jefferson	Cen., p. 9071B.

Abbreviations for source materials are listed on page 42.

TABLE 10
GREEK IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1910

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Amargeros, Promusa	unknown	7 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 2.
Caccius, Peter	lunch	1501 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 261.
Caros, Nicholas	restaurant	16 1/2 W. Broad	Henry	RCD, p. 1083.
Carus, Gus	unknown	16 1/2 E. Broad	Henry	RCPFB, HW, p. 7.
Carus, James	unknown	16 1/2 E. Broad	Henry	RCPFB, HW, p. 7.
Chacos, George	unknown	1439 E. Main	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 14.
Constantinides, Christo	restaurant	1712 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 15; RCD, p. 308.
Courcoumelis, Peter	confectioner	1203 E. Main	Madison	RCD, pp. 316 & 909.
Dallas, Gus	restaurant	1210 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 923.
Demetracogolos, Crecor	bootblack	707 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 347.

TABLE 10-- Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Diacos, James	bootblack	1329 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 349.
Dirdevanes, Eracles	bootblack	707 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 353.
Economou, Nicola	lunch	412 N. 6th	Madison	RCD, p. 370.
Fotakos, Frank	restaurant	812 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 408.
Giannios, George	candy manufacturer	821 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, pp. 431 & 522.
Giannios, Mary E.	unknown	*sw cor Floyd & Robsn.	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 40.
Gianos, Peter	unknown	7 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCPP, JW, p. 46.
Gorgas, James	unknown	416 N. C	Madison	RCPPB, MW, p. 32.
Heronius, Tacios	bootblack	1329 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 499.
Kanares, Gus	bootblack	819 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 573.
Kanares, James	bootblack	819 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 573.
Lampros, Frank	bootblack	710 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 594.
Manos, Nick	unknown	1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPPB, JW, p. 68.

TABLE 10--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Papandronas, M.	unknown	708 E. Broad	Madison	RCPPB, MW, p. 63.
Papas, Anthony	unknown	1501 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPPB, JW, p. 82.
Papas, Constantini	unknown	1501 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPPB, JW, p. 82.
Pappalardis, Alex	shoemaker	1309 W. Main	Clay	RCPPB, CW, p. 110; RCD, p. 727.
Peratos, Spiros	unknown	2217 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPPB, JW, p. 82.
Prevalos (Pripovolos), Gus	waiter	708 E. Broad	Madison	RCPPB, MW, p. 63; RCD, p. 763.
Prevalos, James	unknown	708 E. Broad	Madison	RCPPB, MW, p. 63.
Pringos, Theo	unknown	1501 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPPB, JW, p. 82.
Ramas, Gus	unknown	708 E. Broad	Madison	RCPPB, MW, p. 67.
Rasseas, Spiro	unknown	1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPPB, JW, p. 90.
Rupas (Roupas), Nick	bootblack	904 E. Broad	Madison	RCPPB, MW, p. 68; RCD, p. 809.
Sarras, John	shoeshine	1439 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 820.

TABLE 10--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Savas, Tony	unknown	2217 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 94.
Shantiles, Chris	restaurant	812 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 838.
Sotof (Sotos), Thomas	bootblack	707 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, p. 74; RCD, p. 866.
Spiliotis, John	unknown	7 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 102.
Stephenatos, Avis	unknown	1712 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 94.
Sterco, Arris	bootblack	707 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 878.
Travlos, Dickran	restaurant	1210 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 923.
Zapantes, Goas	unknown	1701 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 120.
Zapantes, James	unknown	1701 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 120.
Zapantes, Pericles	shoemaker	1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1024.
Zapantes, Richard	laborer	7 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1024.
Zapantis, Zaharias (Zapantes, Zachary)	laborer	7 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 121; RCD, p. 1024.
Zerpos, Peter	unknown	7 N. 21st	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 121.

TABLE 11

GREEK IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1920

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Angelakos, James	confectioner	1726 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 1.
Aranavis, Theo	clerk	1812 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 265.
Bambacus, Elefterios	unknown	29 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 10.
Bambacus, Gus	clerk	29 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 10; RCD, p. 284.
Bambacus, Sam	clerk	29 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, p. 10; RCD, p. 284.
Bardakas, Louis	waiter	410 N. 8th	Madison	RCD, p. 287.
Bazacos, Constantine	lunch	217 N. 20th	Jefferson	RCPFB, MW, A&B p. 10; RCD, p. 296.
Bazacos, J. George	grocer	117 S. 1st	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A&B p. 9; RCD, p. 296.
Bozaco, Andrew	confectioner	309 N. Adams	Lee	RCD, p. 334.
Brown, Alex	salesman	2015 Hanover	Clay	RCD, p. 352.

TABLE 11-Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Calafati (Calafatis), Theo	restaurant	4 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B&C p. 10.
Calafatis, Xellophan	restaurant	4 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B&C p. 10.
Callas (Stoukalos), James	florist	1011 W. Mar- shall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 23; Erminy interview.
Carrus, Gus	unknown	6 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 10.
Carrus, Jim	unknown	6 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 10.
Carrus, Nicholas	unknown	6 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 10.
Chacos, George	pie company	519 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, pp. 398 & 994.
Christal, Tom	unknown	1011 W. Mar- shall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 23.
Condyles, George N.	pie company	604 E. Mar- shall	Madison	RCD, p. 433.
Constaninos, Peter	restaurant	1704 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 19; RCD, p. 435.
Costas, Alex	clerk	108 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 442.
Cranias, Orestes	restaurant	108 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 449.

TABLE 11--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Cranias, Theros	restaurant	108 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 449.
Damaras (Damoros), John	restaurant	734 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 13; RCD, p. 463.
Derdivanis, William	restaurant	1845 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 480.
Flamouris, Alex	restaurant	1716 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 537.
Flaskas, George	confectioner	602 N. 2nd	Madison	RCD, p. 537.
Flaskas, John	waiter	1319 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 40; RCD, p. 538.
Frankos, George	unknown	1724 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 36.
Garanis, Peter	lunch	620 E. Cary	Madison	RCD, p. 562.
Georges, Theo	shoeshine	1107 Hull	Madison,SS	RCD, p. 573.
Giannos, Mary E.	unknown	*2403 Grove	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 831.
Gregorici, Harralampos	coffee house	23 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 603.
Juranis, James A.	shoe repair	619 N. 9th	Madison	RCD, p. 741.

TABLE 11--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Karas, Peter	unknown	1821-A E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 743.
Lampros, Charles	confectioner	1504-A W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 55; RCD, p. 766.
Lampros, Gus	confectioner	1504 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 766.
Lehakes, Thomas	restaurant	708 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 779.
Lehos, Gus	restaurant	708 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B&C p. 30; RCD, p. 779.
Linardatos, George S.	unknown	320 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 69.
Magianas, George	restaurant	1845 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 60; RCD, p. 822.
Magianas, Jim	restaurant	2051 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 60.
Manos, John	lunch	1817 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 827.
Manos, Harry	waiter	1724 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 827.
Manos, Pete	restaurant	7 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B, p. 75; RCD, p. 827.
Meras, Stargeos	restaurant	108 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 846.

TABLE 11-Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Moutos, Angelos	lunch	7 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 883.
Moutos, Steve	lunch	4 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 883.
Pantazos, Chris	lunch	826 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 919.
Papapavlos, Theo	grocer	13 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 919.
Papapavlos, Theo	grocer	13 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 919.
Pappas, Aristotle	candy maker	208 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 920.
Pappas, Tom	restaurant	11 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 88; RCD, p. 920.
Pappas, William J.	lunch	604 N. 2nd	Madison	RCD, p. 920.
Parros, John	bootblack	710 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p.
Petros, John G.	clerk	403 W. Marshall	Lee	RCD, p. 939.
Poppa, George	barber	2514 Beverly	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 86; RCD, p. 953.
Poppa, James	unknown	2514 Beverly	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 86.

TABLE 11--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Poppos, Bill	restaurant	620 E. Cary	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A&B p. 55.
Poulos, George	shoeshine	1111 Hull	Madison SS	RCD, pp. 955 & 573.
Prinzos, John	lunch	609 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 962.
Priovolos, Constantine	restaurant	702 E. Main	Madison	RCD, p. 962.
Prothromou, Stervios	confectioner	107 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 963.
Roupas, Nick	shoe polisher	412 E. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A&B p. 60; RCD, p. 1016.
Skoolas, James	restaurant	806 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1066.
Sotos, Thomas	shoe polisher	*412 E. Broad	Madison	RCLB, LW, p. 665; RCPFB, MW, A&B p. 60; RCD, p. 1085.
Spilliotas, Joseph	restaurant	816 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1090.
Spilliotas, Samuel P.	restaurant	816 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1090.
Stamateades, Demetrius	confectioner	102 E. Main	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A&B p. 62; RCD, p. 1093.

TABLE 11--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Theofanos, Theo	restaurant	313 N. 2nd	Madison	RCD, p. 1131.
Zambatis, Athanasios	candy manufacturer	29 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 125; RCD, p. 1271.
Zantos, Lewis	unknown	607 W. Grace	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B&C p. 55.
Zapantas, Pericles	shoemaker	803 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 1131.
Zapantes, Zachary	restaurant	708 1/2 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1272.
Zorbas, Thomas	hats	704 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1272.
Yavroglou, Charles	confectionery	927 N. 29th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1268.

TABLE 12

GREEK IMMIGRANTS, RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1925

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Ahladas, D. John	grocer	415 W. Grace	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 1; RCD, pp. 277 & 688.
Angelakos, James	confectioner	1726 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 295.
Angelakos, Nicholas	confectioner	1726 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 295.
Angelakos, Telesin	confectioner	1726 E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 295.
Athanasios, S.	lunch	307 Brook	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 2; RCD, p. 551.
Athas, Charles	photographer	124 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 25.
Athas, Costos	photographer	300 N. 2nd	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 1; RCD, p. 303.
Bambacus, A.	unknown	1600 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 28.
Bambacus, Elefterios	unknown	1600 1/2 Hull	Madison SS	RCD, p. 319.
Bambacus, Gus	confectioner	1600 1/2 Hull, *2920 Ellwood	Madison SS Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 814; RCPFB, MW, SS p. 28; RCD, p. 320.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Bambacus, Nicholas	confectioner	1600 Hull	Madison SS	RCD, p. 320.
Bambacus, Samuel	candy manufacturer	*29 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 10; RCPFB, JW, B p. 17; RCD, p. 320.
Bardakas, Louis	waiter	1st & Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 28; RCD, p. 323.
Bazacos, Andrew	lunch	318 N. 7th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B pp. 4 & 5; RCD, p. 325.
Bazacos, Carl	restaurant	*2517 W. Main	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 817; RCPFB, CW, A p. 35; RCD, p. 335.
Bazacos, Charles	lunch	2517 W. Main	Clay	RCD, p. 306.
Bazacos, J. George	confectioner	215 S. 4th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 8; RCD, p. 335.
Bazacos, John G.	confectioner	215 S. 4th	Madison	RCD, p. 335.
Bazacos, Mrs. Marie G.	unknown	107 S. 1st	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 8.
Bazoulopolus, Edward	clerk	1905-A E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 335.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Brown, A. J.	restaurant	2603 W. Franklin	Clay	RCPFB, JW, B p. 10; Brown interview.
Callafadias (Kalafats, Kalafatis), Everette	waiter	16 1/2 W. Broad	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 11; RCD, p. 852.
Calafodis (Kalafati), Theo	restaurant	3020 W. Marshall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 100; RCD, pp. 432 & 852.
Carris, Augustus	restaurant	510 N. 7th	Madison	RCD, p. 443.
Carros, Gus	unknown	704 E. Clay	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 8.
Chacos, George	lunch	*609 E. Marshall (with John Rubis)	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 280; RCPFB, MW, B p. 11; RCD, p. 455.
Condyles, Charles N.	pies	609 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 495.
Condyles, George N.	pies	804 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 495.
Condyles, Mrs. G. N.	unknown	804 E. Clay	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 11.
Cranias, Theo H. (Theros)	restaurant	315-A N. 2nd	Madison	RCD, p. 513.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Dacus, J. H.	unknown	2002 Grayland	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 66.
Daramaras, John	restaurant	734 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 11; RCD, p. 532.
Dermalis, John	restaurant	105 N. 18th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 549.
Dial, George K.	lunch	2506 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 64; RCD, p. 551.
Dialettis, Tony	restaurant	307 Brook	Madison	RCD, p. 551.
Dimos, Joseph	hat cleaning	1315 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, B p. 13; RCD, p. 555.
Djounes, Louis	shoeshine	519 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 557.
Djounes, Thomas	candy	29 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 557.
Dracos, Paul	shoeshine & hat works	519 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 564.
Fakos, Alex	confectioner	3936 Williams- burg	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 57; RCD, p. 602.
Farkas, John	unknown	1419 N. 29th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, A p. 57.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Flaskas, Ginanakes	restaurant	1 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 618.
Flaskas, John	restaurant	1 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 67, & MW, B p. 15; RCD, pp. 299 & 618.
Fountas, Theo	lunch	1435-A Hull	Madison SS	RCD, p. 630.
Frankos, George	lunch	900 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, pp. 635 & 302.
Gurganious, R. B.	unknown	715 Porter	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 86.
Harris, Strattas	confectioner	310 N. 7th	Madison	RCD, p. 728.
Janetos, Theo L.	confectioner	700 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 121; RCD, p. 810.
Juranis, James R.	shoe repair	212 S. 4th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 38; RCD, p. 851.
Kalafati, Leo	helper	1018 Randolph	Clay	RCD, p. 852.
Kalafati, Miss Mary	helper	1018 Randolph	Clay	RCD, p. 852.
Konstantine, Kanderes	lunch	16 1/2 W. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 874.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Kranias, Ernest	clerk	1435-A Hull	Madison SS	RCD, p. 875.
Lehos, Gus	lunch	214 N. 4th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, A p. 25; RCD, p. 897.
Lehos, Thomas	machine operator	708 W. Mar-	Lee	RCD, p. 897.
Linardos, Stelios	candy	404 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 908.
Mallas, Mike	hat cleaner	409 N. 7th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 32; RCD, p. 951.
Manos, John	lunch	816 E. Clay	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 33; RCD, p. 955.
Manus, George	restaurant	322 E. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1035.
Maratos (Masottos), John	restaurant	25 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 133; RCD, p. 956.
Margioroulos, Mrs. Magdalene	grocer	514 N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 956.
Margioroulos (Maros), Xanofon	grocer	514 N. 5th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 31; RCD, p. 956 & 951.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Matzanas, James	confectioner	111 N. 2nd	Madison	RCD, p. 970.
Mellos, Pete (Milos, Peter)	butcher	2500 Q	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 131; RCD, p. 993.
Milonadakis, Gregory	priest	512 N. 6th	Madison	RCD, pp. 993 & 1190.
Moshides, Moshos P.	lunch	617 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 1018.
Murattos, Manuel	clerk	318 N. 7th	Madison	RCD, p. 1023.
Mutsos, Angelos	restaurant	14 N. 3rd, *s Gilbert, w of Meadow	Madison Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 968; RCPFB, MW, A p. 49; RCD, p. 1026.
Oddessos, Zims	confectioner	310 N. 7th	Madison	RCD, p. 1049.
Panelas, V. G.	unknown	1308 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 172.
Papachristos, Efthmios	restaurant	615 E. Marshall	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 36; RCD, p. 1063.
Papapavlos, Paul	priest	108 E. Cary	Clay	RCPFB, CW, A p. 207; RCD, p. 1063.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Papapavlos, Theo	unknown	*108 E. Cary	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 978; RCPFB, CW, A p. 207.
Pappas, Aristotle E.	candy/clerk	404 W. Broad	Lee	RCPFB, LW, B p. 30; RCD, p. 1063.
Pappas, Frank D.	restaurant	619 N. 8th	Madison	RCD, pp. 1035 & 1063.
Pappas, George	restaurant	2514 Idlewood	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 193; RCD, p. 1063.
Pappas, Hughie	barber	619 N. 8th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 37; RCD, p. 1063.
Pappas, James	restaurant	2514 Idlewood	Clay	RCD, p. 1063.
Pappas, John	restaurant	117 N. 19th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 158; RCD, p. 1064.
Pappas, John	barber	1904-A E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 154; RCD, p. 1063.
Pappas, Manuel A.	candy/clerk	404 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 1064.
Pappas, Nicholas	lunch	406 E. Mar- shall	Madison	RCD, p. 1064.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Pappas, Sophia	candy	404 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 1064.
Pappas, Tom	restaurant	*7 & 11 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, pp. 166 & 174; RCD, p. 1064.
Pappas, William J.	lunch	14 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, MW, A p. 57; RCD, p. 1064.
Parkaras, James	restaurant	1617 N. 17th	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 158; RCD, p. 1064.
Pehcas, Manuel	unknown	1111 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 165.
Pehcas, Tony	unknown	1111 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 165.
Petros (Peatross), John	restaurant	1833 Claiborne	Clay	RCPFB, CW, B p. 194; RCD, p. 303.
Petsipis, Manuel	shoeshine	1107 Hull	Madison SS	RCD, p. 1036.
Robos, Nicholaas	shoe repair	504 N. 6th	Madison	RCD, p. 1169.
Ropoulos, John	lunch	2408 Hull	Madison SS	RCD, pp. 464 & 1173.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Rubis, Charles	restaurant	410 N. 6th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 40; RCD, p. 1182.
Rubis, John	restaurant	*609 E. Marshall with George Chacos	Madison	RCLB, MW, p. 280; RCD, p. 455.
Rufos, Nick	unknown	504 N. 6th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 40.
Sarras, John	shoeshine	519 E. Clay; *23-24 S. Nottwy.	Madison Lee	RCLB, LW, p. 686; RCD, p. 1196.
Serafin, George	restaurant	900 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 1218.
Sotos, Thomas	unknown	504 N. 6th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 44; RCD, p. 1260.
Spillis, John	confectioner	923 E. Marshall	Madison	RCD, p. 1268.
Spillis, Peter	confectioner	923 E. Marshall	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B pp. 42 & 45; RCD, p. 1268.
Stamateades, Demetrius	confectioner	1627 W. Broad	Lee	RCD, p. 1271.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Stefanow, Petras	lunch	108 N. 4th	Madison	RCD, p. 579.
Subley, Emanuel M.	bottler	1120 W. Grace	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 125; RCD, pp. 307, 1046 & 1291.
Subley, George	bottler	1120 W. Grace	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 154; RCD, p. 1291.
Szorous, James	confectioner	309 Brook (309 N. Adams)	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 41; RCD, p. 1298.
Theofanos (Fanos), Theo	confectioner	*300 S. Addison	Clay	RCLB, CW, p. 1032; RCPFB, MW, B p. 15; RCD, p. 1273.
Vakos, Louis	confectioner	1516 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 223; RCD, p. 1359.
Vanis, Frank	lunch	3 W. Broad	Madison	RCD, p. 1361.
Yavroglou, Charles	confectioner	*927 N. 29th	Jefferson	RCLB, JW, p. 238; RCD, p. 1474.
Yavroglou, Frank	confectioner	927 N. 29th	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1474.
Zacharias (Zaharias), Lampros	restaurant	109 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 247; RCD, p. 1478.

TABLE 12--Continued

Name	Occupation	Address	Ward	Sources
Zacharias (Zaharias), Speros	restaurant	109 Hull	Madison SS	RCPFB, MW, SS p. 247; RCD, p. 1478.
Zafecopoulos, Anton	clerk	1717-A E. Main	Jefferson	RCD, p. 1478.
Zaimis, Andrew	shoeshine	519 E. Clay	Madison	RCD, p. 1478.
Zambetis (Zambatis), Athanasios	restaurant	3018 W. Mar- shall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A p. 196; RCD, p. 1478.
Zambetis, Sabas	restaurant	3018 W. Mar- shall	Lee	RCPFB, LW, A pp. 73 & 196; RCD, pp. 778 & 1478.
Zelus, Joseph P.	steamfitter	913 E. Leigh	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 53; RCD, p. 1479.
Zembelos (Zembilas, Zempilos), Thomas	confectioner	1901 E. Main	Jefferson	RCPFB, JW, B p. 225 & MW, SS p. 247; RCD, p. 508.
Zeno (Zenos), Angelos	restaurant	413 N. 5th	Madison	RCPFB, MW, B p. 53; RCD, p. 1479.
Zorbas, Thomas	hats	321-A N. 5th	Madison	RCD, p. 1152.

CHAPTER V

COMPARISONS

In the beginning of this paper it was noted that the Lebanese, the Armenians, and the Greeks were three immigrant groups in the city of Richmond which attracted the attention of this researcher because of their obvious similarities. They settled at approximately the same time, were of similar numbers, had some of the same reasons for immigrating and common goals to be attained. Their housing patterns were alike, as were their choices of occupations. They were all Christians and many had a common background of previous residence within the Ottoman Empire. But, it soon becomes obvious that there were numerous variations within these similarities.

During the time frame of this research, 1900 to 1925, a Greek was the first one of the three nationalities to appear in Richmond. Andrew Rosser was living in Richmond in 1870, but it was not until 1900 that another Greek was listed in the census. Similarly there were only three Armenians in Richmond in 1900. In contrast there was a large group of Lebanese, thirty-one men and women who were either

listed in the city directory, the census, or the tax rolls.¹ By 1910 there were forty-nine Greeks, thirty-seven Lebanese, and thirty Armenians. The Lebanese had increased only slightly while the other two groups had greatly expanded. In 1920 there were seventy-six Greeks, seventy Lebanese, and fifty-three Armenians. The Greeks had grown by twenty-seven people, the Armenians by twenty-three, and the Lebanese by thirty-three; but in 1925 there were only seventy-five Lebanese, while there were eighty-three Armenians (up by thirty), and one hundred twenty Greeks (up by forty-three).² The figures for Richmond, however, vary from immigration figures for each group entering the United States during these years.³

¹Table 1, pp. 43-45; Table 5, p. 97; Table 9, p. 146.

²Table 2, pp. 46-49; Table 3, pp. 50-56; Table 4, pp. 57-65; Table 6, pp. 98-100; Table 7, pp. 101-106; Table 8, pp. 107-116; Table 10, pp. 147-150; Table 11, pp. 151-157; Table 13, pp. 158-169.

³Mirak, "Armenians," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 136; Naff, "Arabs," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, p. 128; and Saloutos, "Greeks," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 430-31.

The Lebanese, the Armenians and the Greeks all immigrated with a common aim to find economic opportunity in the United States, and in Richmond specifically, that was not available to them in their native lands. Many of the Greeks and most of the Armenians also immigrated to escape political oppression at the hands of the Turks. The Lebanese were different in this respect: although their government functioned under Turkish control until after World War I, the Lebanese were not driven from their homes and forced to relocate.⁴

It is possible to compare each group's achievements in attaining financial success by using tax records as an instrument of measurement to see how members of each group used the funds that they acquired.⁵ By 1925 the Armenians owned the most real estate. In 1910 one Greek, three Armenians, and ten Lebanese had land holdings. By 1920 two Greeks, sixteen Armenians, and twenty-two Lebanese owned real property, and by

⁴See pp. 13-16, 68-70, 119-120.

⁵Table 2, pp. 46-49; Table 3, pp. 50-56; Table 4, pp. 57-65; Table 6, pp. 98-100; Table 7, 101-106; Table 8, pp. 107-116; Table 10, pp. 147-150; Table 11, pp. 151-157; Table 13, pp. 158-169.

1925 twelve Greeks, twenty-seven Lebanese, and thirty-four Armenians owned land. Ironically the Armenians did not own a church until 1956, whereas the Greeks and the Lebanese had achieved this goal by 1920.⁶

Personal property statistics are a bit more complicated but still enlightening in assessing financial achievements of each group. In 1900 two of the three Armenians paid personal property taxes on possessions valued at \$25 and \$50; one of two Greeks paid personal property taxes on possessions valued at \$50 and a capital investment of \$700; and eleven of thirty-one Lebanese paid personal property taxes on possessions valued at \$25 to \$100.⁷ By 1910 twelve of thirty Armenians paid personal property taxes on possessions or other investments valued at \$50 to \$500. Eighteen of thirty-seven Lebanese paid personal property taxes on possessions and other investments valued at \$25 to \$400. Five of forty-nine Greeks paid personal property taxes on possessions and other investments valued at \$50 to \$350.⁸ In 1920 twenty-

⁶See pp. 39, 91, 142-143

⁷Table 1, pp. 43-45; Table 5, p. 97; Table 9, p. 146.

⁸Table 2, pp. 46-49; Table 6, pp. 98-100; Table 10, pp. 147-150.

four Lebanese out of seventy paid personal property taxes on \$50 to \$850 worth of possessions or other investments; fifteen of fifty-three Armenians paid personal property taxes on \$60 to \$1,250 worth; and fourteen of seventy-six Greeks paid personal property taxes on \$50 to \$1,000 worth. There was one automobile owner listed in each group.⁹

By 1925 the Greeks had made great strides in attaining the financial stature of the Armenians and Lebanese. Fifty-eight of one hundred twenty Greeks paid personal property taxes on possessions or other investments valued from \$100 to \$1,360; nine owned automobiles. Fifty-one of eighty-three Armenians paid personal property taxes on \$100 to \$1,800 worth; fifteen owned automobiles. Thirty-five of seventy-five Lebanese paid personal property taxes on \$800 to \$2,260 worth; ten owned automobiles. Obviously by this year about half of each group paid personal property taxes on possessions of somewhat similar value, with the Greeks a bit behind the other two, however there are two great exceptions to the above statistics, both of whom were Greeks and not included in the 1925 figures. Gus Bambacus possessed more personal property (valued at \$9,460) than any other immigrant researched, and

⁹Table 3, pp. 50-56; Table 7, pp. 101-106; Table 11, pp. 151-157.

Emanuel Subley headed the largest business (\$26,250 capital investment) of any other immigrant.¹⁰

The methods by which each immigrant group chose to achieve financial success merits comment. Although they were alike in selecting small retail businesses generally as a means of livelihood, there are variations between the groups. More than half of the Lebanese began as peddlers, but by 1910 approximately half were employed as confectioners. This remained true from 1910 through 1925.¹¹ Two of the three Armenians were confectioners in 1900 and half of them in 1910 were similarly employed. In 1920 approximately forty percent of the Armenians were confectioners, and in 1925 thirty-nine percent, making this kind of employment by far the most popular occupation for Armenians.¹² From 1900 there were also a few Greek confectioners but more Greeks preferred the restaurant business. By 1920 approximately forty percent of the Greeks either owned or were employed in restaurants. In 1925 thirty-eight percent were similarly employed.¹³

¹⁰Table 4, pp. 57-65; Table 8, pp. 107-116; Table 12, pp. 158-169.

¹¹Tables 1-4, pp. 43-65.

¹²Tables 5-8, pp. 97-116.

¹³Tables 9-12, pp. 146-169.

Of all the people interviewed in this research most had family members who were in some type of retain business, craft, or trade in their native lands but none was connected with a candy store or a restaurant before coming to the United States.

Like occupations, housing locations for each of the immigrant groups were similar but with some variations. In 1900 the Lebanese lived almost exclusively in Jefferson Ward particularly on East Main Street and 19th Street. One Greek and one Armenian lived in the same area while the other Greek lived in Monroe Ward on East Broad not far from the other two Armenians.¹⁴ The Lebanese remained mainly in Jefferson Ward through 1925 with thirty out of thirty-seven living there in 1910, thirty-seven of seventy in 1920, and thirty-three of seventy-five in 1925. In the 1920's Clay Ward was the Lebanese's second preference in housing locations.¹⁵ The Armenians chose Madison Ward in 1910 with fourteen of thirty living there, and in 1920 with twenty-one of fifty-three in residence there, however, by 1925 thirty-one of eighty-three Armenians lived in Lee Ward with twenty-eight in Madison.¹⁶

¹⁴Table 1, pp. 43-45; Table 5, p. 97; Table 9, p. 146.

¹⁵Tables 2-4, pp. 46-65.

¹⁶Tables 6-8, pp. 98-116.

From 1910 through 1925 the Greeks preferred Madison Ward with Jefferson as a strong second choice. Twenty-five of forty-nine Greeks lived in Madison in 1910, thirty-four of seventy-seven in 1920, and seventy-one of one hundred twenty in 1925.¹⁷ The Greeks with the exception of one Armenian, were the only ones of the three groups to move to the south side. With almost no exceptions did any of the immigrants live in particularly fashionable or well-to-do areas by 1925.

Family life within each of the immigrant groups was similar. More often than not bachelors came to the city, found employment, and saved enough money for an arranged marriage within the ethnic group either to an immigrant girl or one still in the old country.¹⁸ Greek and Armenian children attended local public schools while Lebanese usually went to Catholic schools. Lebanese and Greek children were taught the language of their parents in church sponsored schools in the late teens and the 1920's. There was no Armenian language school until the 1930's.¹⁹

¹⁷Tables 10-12, pp. 147-169.

¹⁸See pp. 34-35, 88-90, 138-139.

¹⁹See pp. 35, 40, 90, 140-143.

The Greeks and the Lebanese had a penchant for organizing. They each formed benevolent societies, then churches, and then organizations within the churches.²⁰ The Richmond Armenians apparently felt no need for this kind of ethnic organization, although it is strange that they did not since Armenians in other parts of the United States followed a pattern similar to that of the Greeks and Lebanese.²¹

None of the three immigrant groups seems to have taken any organized interest in politics or in any particular part of Richmond community life other than business. As of 1925 the main concerns of the Greeks and the Lebanese seem to have been centered around family, church, and business; and the Armenians' main concerns seem to have been with family and business. Each group was prospering but not significantly affecting the life of the city. There is no evidence of nativism or other type of discrimination (with the exception of the racial problem with Bishop Van de Vyvor and the Lebanese)²² in Richmond concerning these three

²⁰See pp. 37-39, 141-143.

²¹See pp. 90-91; and Oscar Handlin, The American People in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 63-67.

²²See pp. 37-38, 95, 144.

groups of immigrants probably because they were so small in numbers and so obviously anxious to succeed and establish roots in the city. Richmonders from 1900 to 1925 probably were no kinder or more tolerant to immigrants than residents of other comparable cities with ethnic frictions, but the Greeks, Armenians and Lebanese posed no threat to natives of Richmond. They were not strike breakers or a cheap labor force. They found employment, provided goods and services, paid taxes, bought property, and looked after their own. They were hard-working, unobtrusive, and a benefit to the city in that they brought a bit of variety to a population that was little affected by the last of the great migrations to the United States.

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