



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your title - Votre référence

Our title - Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

The Antiochian Orthodox Syrians of Montreal, 1905-1980:
An Historical Study of Cultural and Social Change
Over Three Generations

Norman Marino

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March, 1994

© Norman Marino, 1994



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-90856-4

Name NORMAN MARINO

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

HISTORY (CANADIAN)

SUBJECT TERM

0334

SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture	0729
Art History	0377
Cinema	0900
Dance	0378
Fine Arts	0357
Information Science	0723
Journalism	0391
Library Science	0399
Mass Communications	0708
Music	0413
Speech Communication	0459
Theater	0465

EDUCATION

General	0515
Administration	0514
Adult and Continuing	0516
Agricultural	0517
Art	0273
Bilingual and Multicultural	0282
Business	0688
Community College	0275
Curriculum and Instruction	0727
Early Childhood	0518
Elementary	0524
Finance	0277
Guidance and Counseling	0519
Health	0680
Higher	0745
History of	0520
Home Economics	0278
Industrial	0521
Language and Literature	0279
Mathematics	0280
Music	0522
Philosophy of	0998
Physical	0523

Psychology	0525
Reading	0535
Religious	0527
Sciences	0714
Secondary	0533
Social Sciences	0534
Sociology of	0340
Special	0529
Teacher Training	0530
Technology	0710
Tests and Measurements	0288
Vocational	0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language	
General	0679
Ancient	0289
Linguistics	0290
Modern	0291
Literature	
General	0401
Classical	0294
Comparative	0295
Medieval	0297
Modern	0298
African	0316
American	0591
Asian	0305
Canadian [English]	0352
Canadian [French]	0355
English	0593
Germanic	0311
Latin American	0312
Middle Eastern	0315
Romance	0313
Slavic and East European	0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy	0422
Religion	
General	0318
Biblical Studies	0321
Clergy	0319
History of	0320
Philosophy of	0322
Theology	0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies	0323
Anthropology	
Archaeology	0324
Cultural	0326
Physical	0327
Business Administration	
General	0310
Accounting	0272
Banking	0770
Management	0454
Marketing	0338
Canadian Studies	0385
Economics	
General	0501
Agricultural	0503
Commerce-Business	0505
Finance	0508
History	0509
Labor	0510
Theory	0511
Folklore	0358
Geography	0366
Gerontology	0351
History	
General	0578

Ancient	0579
Medieval	0581
Modern	0582
Black	0328
African	0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania	0332
Canadian	0334
European	0335
Latin American	0336
Middle Eastern	0333
United States	0337
History of Science	0585
Law	0398
Political Science	
General	0615
International Law and Relations	0616
Public Administration	0617
Recreation	0814
Social Work	0452
Sociology	
General	0626
Criminology and Penology	0627
Demography	0938
Ethnic and Racial Studies	0631
Individual and Family Studies	0628
Industrial and Labor Relations	0629
Public and Social Welfare	0630
Social Structure and Development	0700
Theory and Methods	0344
Transportation	0709
Urban and Regional Planning	0999
Women's Studies	0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture	
General	0473
Agronomy	0285
Animal Culture and Nutrition	0475
Animal Pathology	0476
Food Science and Technology	0359
Forestry and Wildlife	0478
Plant Culture	0479
Plant Pathology	0480
Plant Physiology	0817
Range Management	0777
Wood Technology	0746
Biology	
General	0306
Anatomy	0287
Biostatistics	0308
Botany	0309
Cell	0379
Ecology	0329
Entomology	0353
Genetics	0369
Limnology	0793
Microbiology	0410
Molecular	0307
Neuroscience	0317
Oceanography	0416
Physiology	0433
Radiation	0821
Veterinary Science	0778
Zoology	0472
Biophysics	
General	0786
Medical	0760

EARTH SCIENCES

Biogeochemistry	0425
Geochemistry	0996

Geodesy	0370
Geology	0372
Geophysics	0373
Hydrology	0388
Mineralogy	0411
Paleobotany	0345
Paleoecology	0426
Paleontology	0418
Paleozoology	0985
Palyology	0427
Physical Geography	0368
Physical Oceanography	0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences	0768
Health Sciences	
General	0566
Audiology	0300
Chemotherapy	0992
Dentistry	0567
Education	0350
Hospital Management	0769
Human Development	0758
Immunology	0982
Medicine and Surgery	0564
Mental Health	0347
Nursing	0569
Nutrition	0570
Obstetrics and Gynecology	0380
Occupational Health and Therapy	0354
Ophthalmology	0381
Pathology	0571
Pharmacology	0419
Pharmacy	0572
Physical Therapy	0382
Public Health	0573
Radiology	0574
Recreation	0575

Speech Pathology	0460
Toxicology	0383
Home Economics	0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences

Chemistry	
General	0485
Agricultural	0749
Analytical	0486
Biochemistry	0487
Inorganic	0488
Nuclear	0738
Organic	0490
Pharmaceutical	0491
Physical	0494
Polymer	0495
Radiation	0754
Mathematics	0405
Physics	
General	0605
Acoustics	0986
Astronomy and Astrophysics	0606
Atmospheric Science	0608
Atomic	0748
Electronics and Electricity	0607
Elementary Particles and High Energy	0798
Fluid and Plasma	0759
Molecular	0609
Nuclear	0610
Optics	0752
Radiation	0756
Solid State	0611
Statistics	0463

Applied Sciences

Applied Mechanics	0346
Computer Science	0984

Engineering	
General	0537
Aerospace	0538
Agricultural	0539
Automotive	0540
Biomedical	0541
Chemical	0542
Civil	0543
Electronics and Electrical	0544
Heat and Thermodynamics	0348
Hydraulic	0545
Industrial	0546
Marine	0547
Materials Science	0794
Mechanical	0548
Metallurgy	0743
Mining	0551
Nuclear	0552
Packaging	0549
Petroleum	0765
Sanitary and Municipal	0554
System Science	0790
Geotechnology	0428
Operations Research	0796
Plastics Technology	0795
Textile Technology	0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General	0621
Behavioral	0384
Clinical	0622
Developmental	0620
Experimental	0623
Industrial	0624
Personality	0625
Physiological	0989
Psychobiology	0349
Psychometrics	0632
Social	0451



CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

Division of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: **Norman Marino**

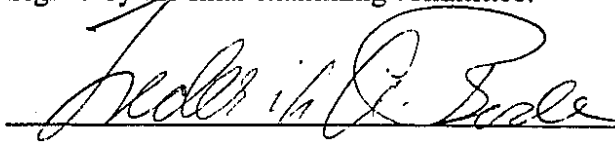
Entitled: **The Antiochian Orthodox Syrians of Montreal, 1905-1980:
An Historical Study of Cultural and Social Change
Over Three Generations**

and submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

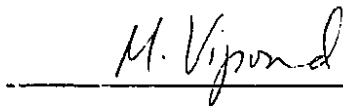
Master of Arts

complies with the regulations of this University and meets the accepted standards with
respect to originality and quality

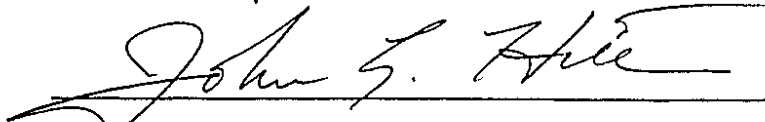
Signed by the final examining committee:



Chair



Examiner

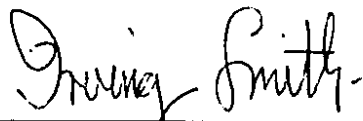


Examiner



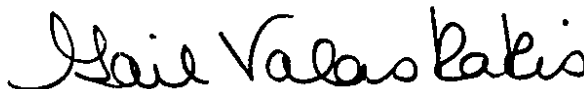
Thesis
Supervisor

Approved by



Chair of Department or Graduate Programme Director

April 21 1994



Dean of Faculty

ABSTRACT

The Antiochian Orthodox Syrians of Montreal, 1905-1980: An Historical Study of Cultural and Social Change Over Three Generations

Norman Marino

Using the marriage registers of Montreal's two Antiochian Orthodox churches as its primary source, this thesis concludes that the Orthodox Syrian community in Montreal has undergone slow but substantial cultural and social change over three generations. The first-generation immigrants were characterized by cultural preservation and continuity. They established a vibrant ethnic community characterized by social and cultural traditions that were heavily influenced by religious, family, and hometown ties. The second generation, having been born in North America, is characterized by cultural and social integration. Although largely still attached to its ethnic cultural roots, a Canadian identity had emerged among the second generation which mitigated against its full identification with Orthodox Syrian culture. However, this new self-consciousness is well integrated and has produced a unique Syrian-Canadian identity. The third generation, in contrast, is characterized by cultural and social assimilation. Forces such as increased access to higher education, occupational diversification, as well as social and residential mobility, facilitated a process of assimilation among a majority of the third generation who by 1980 shared little in common with the pioneers who founded the Montreal community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to a number of people without whose assistance this thesis would not have been possible. First, I would like to thank the Reverend Fathers Antony Gabriel and Joseph Shaheen of St. George and St. Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox churches of Montreal for permission to study the church archives which were necessary for the completion of this work. Sincere thanks are also offered to Diane Moser for providing a computer diskette copy of her database containing the marriage registers of both churches for the years 1905-1950. In addition, the kind and friendly help offered by Father Peter Shportun of St. George Church and the office staffs of both parishes was greatly appreciated. All of these people have made a vital contribution to furthering knowledge about the history of the Orthodox Syrian community.

Heart-felt thanks are also due to Jamie Miller for providing the database programme used in the preparation and manipulation of church archives and for teaching me how to use it in the most effective manner. Moreover, his expertise in accessing, copying, and translating the database archives of St. Nicholas Church was invaluable. I would also like to thank Frank and Denyse Marino for their assistance in printing this document. The contributions of these individuals have been of great importance to the completion of this study.

I would also like to acknowledge the help of my thesis supervisor, Professor Graeme Decarie, whose academic guidance and assistance over two years played an important role in assuring the proper direction and presentation of this thesis. In addition, I owe much to my wife, Suzanne, and to my children, Michael and

Danny, for patiently helping me in whatever ways they could these last few years so that I might complete this work successfully.

Finally, I would like to offer my thanks to the people who made themselves available for interviews used in this study. Iliana Shoofey-Marino, Ruby Courey, Patricia Shoffey, Andre Courey, Darlene Cattini, and Zachary Cattini have each provided fascinating descriptions of their experiences as members of Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community. As a result of their contributions, a case history of their extended family has been assembled to be used in conjunction with information provided by church records. As a tribute to these individuals, I would like to dedicate this thesis to the common root from which grew the Shoofey family tree: Farris Shoofey and Amelia Yared. It is because of the pioneering efforts of Orthodox Syrian immigrants like them that Canada's first and largest Orthodox Syrian community was established.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY.....	4
III. HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	18
IV. THE FIRST GENERATION, 1905-1930.....	27
V. THE SECOND GENERATION, 1931-1960.....	57
VI. THE THIRD GENERATION, 1961-1980.....	77
VII. CASE HISTORY.....	86
VIII. CONCLUSIONS.....	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	108
APPENDICES.....	115

I.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an historical study of the cultural and social changes that have occurred within the Orthodox Syrian community in Montreal over three generations from 1905 until 1980. The study therefore falls into the broad category of social history and more specifically into the areas of cultural and ethnic history. As such it is largely concerned with the processes of integration, acculturation and assimilation. In addition, it examines the extent to which structural forces in the society at large and within the community itself affected these processes.

The primary sources used for this study are the marriage registers of the two Antiochian Orthodox churches which have served Montreal's Syrian Orthodox community since 1905 and which have acted as cultural anchors for their members. The marriage registers of an ethnically homogeneous church can provide valuable insights into the cultural and social patterns of the ethnic group which comprise its membership. Information pertaining to marital traditions, occupational and residential trends, level of education, social status, language, country of origin, and migratory patterns can all be found in this valuable source.

The sheer volume of such a source has until recently rendered the accumulation, examination, and constructive manipulation of data a formidable task for historians doing research in this area. The recent introduction, however, of the computer database as a tool to aid the researcher in this endeavour has eased this laborious undertaking. Once all relevant data has been entered into the database, it becomes a simple matter to sort all the records in a variety of useful

ways and to delete or add records as the need arises. Moreover, the mathematical capabilities of the database facilitates accurate calculations. A computer database has been used in these ways for this study.

Diane Moser's M.A. thesis entitled *Hometown and Family Ties: The Marriage Registers of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox Churches of Montreal, 1905-1950* (McGill University, 1990), until now the only work focusing specifically upon Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community, has functioned as the foundation and springboard for the present study. Whereas Moser focuses on the cultural foundations of the immigrant community, this study examines the cultural and social changes which the community has undergone over three generations. The primary difference between the two works is that the former is concerned with cultural permanence while the latter places an emphasis on cultural and social change.

Because this work uses Moser's study as a theoretical foundation, it accepts two fundamental premises advanced in her work: (1) The Orthodox Syrians of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were members of a distinct ethnic group, both in Syria and abroad, separated from other Syrian and Arab ethnic groups by a unique culture which was founded upon the three "cultural pillars" of religion, family, and hometown, rather than upon any political or national identification; (2) The Orthodox Syrian immigrants in Montreal established their new community upon these three cultural pillars. These premises are reinforced by various studies which have examined Orthodox Syrian immigrant communities in other cities and have reached similar conclusions. It is upon this foundation of previous research that the present work is based.

This thesis is divided into eight chapters. This first chapter outlines the orientation and organization of the thesis. Chapter II provides definitions of key terms used in the work, outlines the sources and methodologies utilized, and discusses their strengths and limitations. Chapter III provides an historiographical overview of secondary source literature. Chapters IV, V, and VI each focus upon one of the three generations under study. Each of these chapters is divided into sub-headings on marriage, occupations, education, social status, language, neighbourhood, and the Syrian (Antiochian) Orthodox Church. However, chapter IV also provides the necessary cultural and historical background of the immigrant group in its homeland and includes sub-headings on emigration and immigration. Chapter VII presents a case history of one family over three generations which was assembled through interviews. The final chapter presents conclusions relating to the various aspects of cultural and social change which the community has undergone over three generations and offers some comparisons with the findings of other studies. It also evaluates the integration, acculturation, and assimilation of community members into the larger society and it discusses the forces which either assisted or resisted these processes.

II.

DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

The following chapter serves three purposes. First, it provides definitions for key terms used in the thesis. Second, it describes the primary historical sources used and it outlines the methods employed by the author in accumulating, manipulating and interpreting data derived from these sources. Third, it provides a discussion of the benefits, problems and limitations inherent in these sources and methods.

Definitions of Key Terms

Key terms used in this study include: *Orthodox Syrian*; *community*; *hometown*; *family*; *ethnic group*; *ethnic neighbourhood*; *endogamy*; and *exogamy*. One of these terms--*Orthodox Syrian*--refers to the same group which Diane Moser defined as *Lebanese-Syrian*.¹ Three of the remaining terms-- *community*, *hometown*, and *family*,--are used with the same meanings previously defined by Moser. The remaining four terms, while used by Moser, are not specifically defined in her work.

The ethnic group herein defined as *Orthodox Syrian* has been defined variously in other studies. Some scholars have referred to this group as Arabs, but

¹ Diane Moser, *Hometown and Family Ties: The Marriage Registers of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox Churches of Montreal, 1905-1950*, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1990, p. 5.

this term is an insufficient generalization. Because the original Orthodox Syrian immigrants viewed themselves as belonging to a distinct ethnic group defined by religion, family, and hometown, the term Arab is not useful for this study. Two terms which have been used in several other studies to define this ethnic group are *Lebanese-Syrian* or *Syrian-Lebanese*. However, these appellations are both historically incorrect and culturally inaccurate.

Before the Proclamation of Greater Lebanon in 1920, only a tiny area along the Mediterranean coastline of Syria had been designated (since 1861) as the Autonomous Province of Lebanon. During this period, Lebanon was an Ottoman province, known as a *sanjak*, which had been granted a certain level of autonomy due largely to its majority Christian population. Following the 1920 proclamation, Lebanon was under French mandate and did not achieve true political independence until 1944. Moreover, sharp differences existed in the religious and cultural identities of its population throughout this period.² It appears that North American immigrants who have arrived from the region have been defined variously as *Syrian*, *Lebanese*, *Lebanese-Syrian*, and *Syrian-Lebanese* as a consequence of these historical and cultural complexities. Some definitions are based on political grounds, others on religious grounds, and still others on cultural grounds.

In this study, the immigrant group is defined as *Orthodox Syrian* primarily because its members identified themselves as such and in part because it was their

² Meir Zamir, *The Formation of Modern Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988) and Walter L. Browne, *The Political History of Lebanon, 1920-1950* (Salisbury: Documentary Publications, 1976) Vols. I and II.

religion which more than any other factor set them apart culturally from other groups in their homeland. It is clear from the marriage registers that members of the original immigrant group in Montreal did not view themselves as Lebanese, but rather as Syrian. The vast majority of registers listing the origins of marriage partners from towns situated within the geographical area in question cite Syria rather than Lebanon as their country of origin. Moreover, because their cultural identity was rooted more firmly in their religion than in a sense of nationality, the Syrian group under study viewed themselves first and foremost as Orthodox. Therefore, since the original immigrants clearly identified themselves as Orthodox Syrians, it is reasonable for the historian to categorize the group and their descendants in the same manner.

There is an additional reason, albeit of lesser importance, why the group should be defined as Orthodox Syrian. Sometimes the inclusion of the hyphenated prefix is unnecessarily cumbersome, particularly when discussing the religion of the group. At such times members of the group must then be identified as Antiochian Orthodox Lebanese-Syrian, a term far too convoluted for repetitive use. Therefore, in addition to being historically accurate and culturally specific, the term Orthodox Syrian is economical.

Orthodox Syrian refers only to members of the Orthodox Christian minority who emigrated to Montreal between the late 19th century and the early 1930s, the majority of whom emigrated from villages in what is today recognized as an area situated partly in southeastern Lebanon and partly in southwestern Syria. Members of this group shared a common religious and cultural background and referred to themselves as Roum-Orthodox. The term *Orthodox Syrian* also extends to the descendants of this group who were born in Canada or the U.S.. Therefore, neither

the members of the Muslim faith nor those of the Eastern Catholic denominations (Maronite and Melkite), either Syrian or Lebanese, who at any time emigrated to Montreal from Syria, nor their descendants, are included in this study. Moreover, those Syrians or Lebanese of the Orthodox faith who emigrated to Canada during the second wave of immigration following World War II are excluded, since their inclusion would interfere with the identification of members of the second and third generations listed in the marriage registers.

Community refers to "...the geographic and social starting point to which these immigrants identified themselves. It was a center around which a group was defined by religious, village, and family affiliations" (Moser, p. 6). For example, an Orthodox Christian family from a hometown in Syria was considered to be part of the community. On the other hand, a Muslim family from the same hometown was not.

Hometown refers to "...the village in...Syria that these immigrants recognized as their own. Hometown, as a place, was of greater significance than country or nation to these immigrants. It is the village or hometown that figures as the immigrant's main point of reference " (Moser, p. 6).

Family refers to "...the extended family. The family includes parents, siblings, grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. The extended family holds greater importance to these immigrants than does the nuclear family in North America " (Moser, p. 6).

Ethnic group refers to an involuntary group of people who share a clearly distinct culture. It may refer to the descendants of such people if the majority of the descendants identify themselves or are identified by others as sharing in the same distinct culture.³

Ethnic neighbourhood refers to the neighbourhood(s) in Montreal in which the majority of the group settled.

Endogamy refers to the marital practice in which both partners in a marriage are members of the same ethnic group. In other studies, the practice is sometimes referred to as *in-marriage*.

Exogamy refers to the marital practice in which partners in a marriage are members of different ethnic groups. In other studies, the practice is sometimes referred to as *out-marriage* or *inter-marriage*.

Methods

Writing the history of an ethnic minority presents the historian with severe obstacles. In some cases, both primary and secondary historical documentation and source materials on Canadian ethnic minorities are scarce. Such is certainly the case with the Orthodox Syrians of Montreal. Many of the original Orthodox Syrian immigrants could neither read nor write adequately in English or French.

³ See Wsevlod W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," in Rita M. Bienvenue and Jay. E. Goldstein, eds., *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Butterworth and Company, 1985), p. 16.

Moreover, some of them were illiterate even in their native tongue, while those who were literate seldom wrote about themselves. Members of the second and third generations, while far more literate than their predecessors, likewise did not display a propensity for documenting the history of their ethnic community. As a result, historians are forced to devise creative methods of accumulating data with which to reconstruct aspects of that group's history.

Moser has demonstrated that the marriage registers of a church which serves a particular ethnic neighbourhood may provide invaluable historical information related to that ethnic group. Writes Moser,

The marriage registers of an ethnic church contain a wealth of information that until recently has often eluded immigration historians. Through the careful use of this valuable and seldom-used source, the immigration historian may uncover a wide gamut of significant facts not otherwise readily available. Such facts may reveal, among other things, occupational and residential trends, and patterns of chain migration...⁴

Faced with a paucity of available source material, Moser found the marriage registers indispensable to her research. The primary focus of her work was upon what she defined as "three cultural pillars" of the Orthodox Syrian immigrant community: religion, family, and hometown. Through the use of a computer database containing the marriage records of the two Antiochian Orthodox parishes in Montreal, Moser was able to draw a composite of the community and to evaluate the importance of the cultural pillars to its members.⁵

⁴ Moser, p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 107.

Because the present work is a continuation of that begun by Moser, both her M.A. thesis and the marriage records of St. George and St. Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox churches are indispensable. The present scholarship is concerned not only with the Orthodox Syrian immigrants in Montreal but also with their children and grandchildren, covering a span of 75 years from 1905-1980. To a certain extent, therefore, the sources of information are necessarily the same as those employed by Moser. Likewise, the use of a computer database to sort and analyze primary data is similar to Moser's approach. However, there are some notable differences between the two approaches, both in source material and methodology. Similarities and differences are discussed below.

Computer Database

Among its many applications, a computer database can be used by historians to access, organize, analyze, and manipulate large quantities of historical primary source data such as church, governmental, and other official records.⁶ The author has used a computer database as such a tool, in much the same manner as Moser has done in her work on Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community. However, the present study differs fundamentally from Moser's in that it focuses on *change* in the Orthodox Syrian community over several generations. In addition to surveying gradual changes which occurred over generations in the social, religious, and cultural fabric of the community described by Moser, the present work also

⁶ Moser, pp. 10-11.

attempts to shed some light on topics such as integration, acculturation, and assimilation.

Through the generosity of Diane Moser and the Reverend Fathers Antony Gabriel and Joseph Shaheen, it was possible for the author to acquire the hard data needed to present an adequate picture of changes within the Syrian community over three generations. The database used by Moser for her thesis contains pertinent information relating to virtually all of the marriages performed at St. George and St. Nicholas Orthodox Churches between 1905 and 1950. A diskette copy of this database was graciously donated by Moser for use in this study. This was then extended by gaining permission from the two churches to access their written registers and database records. Marriage registers for the years 1951 through 1980 were manually copied into a computer database from the St. George Church handwritten registers. Accessing the registers of St. Nicholas Church was a simpler matter. Because this church kept its records on a database, it was possible to copy the entire St. Nicholas Church archives directly from one database to the other. As a result, a more comprehensive database was designed which included all marriage records of both churches from 1905 to 1980. The use of this extended database made it possible to organize and calculate large amounts of statistical information and to arrive at conclusions related to each of the three generations. These conclusions include generational changes in:

- places of origin of the brides, the grooms, and of their parents
- proportions of endogamy and exogamy
- average ages of brides and grooms at the time of marriage
- rates of re-marriage after divorce
- occupations of males (and of some females after 1960)

- levels of education
- social status
- language

In addition to this, the use of a computer database also facilitated mathematical calculations and the construction and presentation of useful graphs and tables.

Oral History

It is true that the historian must always be careful when dealing with the oral method of historical reconstruction. Some respondents might inadvertently embellish, misconstrue, or misrepresent certain aspects of their lives and thereby provide unreliable information in some instances, but the researcher can nonetheless elicit much pertinent information from the interview method. Reliable factual information can be derived through the responses of those interviewed. Moreover, descriptions of home life and of social life, while perhaps somewhat unreliable in detail, nevertheless can provide a necessary overview of certain social and cultural aspects of life in the community. Wherever possible, of course, oral as well as documentary corroboration must be sought for information provided by the respondents. In the present work, such corroboration was sought and considered.

Problems and Limitations

As this thesis shares, to an extent, source data and methodologies employed by Moser, it consequently also shares in certain of the problems and limitations which she encountered in her work. First, this study is limited to the first wave of Orthodox Syrian immigrants and their descendants who married in the two Syrian Orthodox churches between 1905 and 1980. Those married in other churches are not included. Consequently, conclusions are not based on exact numbers. However, given the importance of religion to the first and second generations, "...it is highly unlikely that a significant number married outside the church."⁷ Because the tendency towards exogamy increases among the third generation, a larger proportion of this group may have married in other churches. Therefore, one should bear in mind that levels of exogamy may be slightly higher than those indicated by the data. Levels of endogamy are more accurate because almost all endogamous marriages would have taken place in the Syrian Orthodox church. Second, the inconsistency of information available in some of the marriage registers posed problems, as did the identification of families and kin groups due to spelling variations and errors, and Syrian names which were Anglicized. Nevertheless, these problems and limitations were not insurmountable and they certainly did not preclude the presentation of a fair and reliable historical study. On the contrary, they are minimal when compared to the vast amount of usable and reliable information included in the registers. Moreover, some of the errors have been corrected in Moser's work.⁸

⁷ Moser, p. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-9.

The inconsistency of information available in some of the registers posed the most serious problem. For example, not every marriage register records the ages of the bride and groom. Therefore, when a comparison is made of the average ages of brides and grooms over three generations, one is limited to those registers which include such information. Consequently, exact assessments are not possible in this regard. A similar problem exists with regard to occupations listed. In all such calculations, however, care was taken to ensure that the number of registers recording pertinent information was of a size sufficient to arrive at viable conclusions.

Furthermore, in order to ensure that all conclusions pertain only to members of the Orthodox Syrian community it was necessary to exclude from the data all non-Syrian brides and grooms, except when measuring levels of exogamy. This was particularly true when dealing with marriage records of third-generation Syrians. The high proportion of exogamy among members of the third generation meant that a large percentage of brides and grooms were non-Syrian, leaving a smaller database with which to arrive at conclusions related to occupations, level of education, divorce and remarriage, social status, and other social and cultural changes interpreted from the registers. As well, it was necessary to identify those registers which included spouses of Syrian descent who had non-Syrian surnames due to exogamous marriage occurring in preceding generations. These were identified by checking all non-Syrian surnames against past registers to ascertain whether exogamous marriage among past generations may have resulted in half-Syrian offspring with non-Syrian surnames.

Another problem encountered when examining the second and third generations was the identification of marriage registers of immigrants from Lebanon who arrived during the second wave of immigration after 1945. Those who arrived from Lebanon after the 1930s are not considered in this study. Their exclusion is based solely on the fact that the focus of the present work is limited to those who arrived in Montreal during the first wave of Syrian immigration (1890s-1930s) and to their descendants. In order to ensure generational integrity, the author has excluded from consideration all registers dated later than 1930 in which both partners list a place of origin outside of North America. Between 1931 and 1945, only three such marriages were registered. During the second wave of immigration following 1945, the number of these increased. If one Orthodox Syrian partner listed a place of origin within North America, that register was included. Of the registers which neither included the origins of the bride nor of the groom, an effort was made to include only those whose family names corresponded to those of first-generation Orthodox Syrians. In these ways, the margin for error was kept to a minimum when identifying members of the second and third generations.

In addition, care was taken to ensure that each generation was defined in a manner which would result in a reliable interpretation of data. The first generation is limited to all Orthodox Syrians who arrived in Montreal during the first wave of Syrian immigration in Canada (1890-1930) and who married in the two Syrian Orthodox parish churches between 1905 and 1930. St. Nicholas church was founded in 1905 and this is the earliest year in which marriage records were kept. Therefore, the majority of the registers dated 1905 to 1930 are considered to represent members of the first generation. The second generation is limited to those who were born in North America and who married at the two churches

between 1931 and 1960. They were defined through a combination of factors, including the average ages of brides and grooms, the fact that the first wave of immigration had ceased by 1930, the origins of some brides and grooms listed in the registers, the comparison of some family names, and by the sudden increase in the proportion of exogamous marriages apparent in the registers after 1930. The third generation is limited to the offspring of the second generation. Since the majority of the latter were married between 1931 and 1960, an examination of the average ages of marriage partners concluded that the majority of the third generation are reflected in the registers dated from 1961 to 1990. Unfortunately, time restraints and other obstacles prevented the acquisition of marriage registers dated later than 1980. As a result, only a proportion of the third generation is represented by the marriage registers included in this study. In addition, one should allow for a small percentage of error in the definition of each generation, considering that some members may have married during periods ascribed to an earlier or later generation. Nevertheless, the years 1930 and 1960 were chosen to divide the generations because these divisions allow for a periodization which most reliably includes a majority of each generation considered.

There are also limitations to the oral history method employed. The use of oral history in this work is limited in ways other than those discussed earlier. A lack of resources made it impossible for the author to interview large numbers of people for this thesis. In addition, most Orthodox Syrians of the first generation have died and those who are still living were either unavailable for interviews or untraceable by the author. Consequently, an assessment which reliably reflects the viewpoints and experiences of a large cross-section of the community was not possible through interviews. It was possible, however, to interview second and third-generation members of one large extended family in the Syrian community.

They are useful informants because they are members of a long-established Syrian family in Montreal (c. 1890s) who have witnessed many of the changes in the community during the twentieth century. Most of them are in a general way representative of the cultural background, religious belief, social status, and way of life most commonly prevalent among their Orthodox Syrian contemporaries. Nevertheless, the interviews must be approached in the knowledge that they represent the experiences and viewpoints of one family and that they do not necessarily reflect those of the entire community. However, the responses given were generally in agreement with documentary evidence. These interviews have facilitated the inclusion of a case history of one family over three generations. In the final chapter, the author compares information provided in the case history with conclusions derived from the other sources used throughout the thesis.

III.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, students of history began increasingly to become aware that the roles of Canadian ethnic and immigrant groups were in fact just as important and relevant to Canada's history as were those of the politicians, the clergy, and the other elites whose roles in Canadian history dominated the literature. This awareness led to an upsurge in Canadian social history which included immigration history and ethnic history. The contributions of those historians whose work during the 1970s and early 1980s broke the past cycle of neglect were recognized by Howard Palmer, who emphasized the recent inception of a potentially fruitful dialogue between ethnic history and four other areas of social history: education history, the history of ethnic relations and nativism, working-class history, and urban history. Palmer also suggested possible avenues for future interchanges between ethnic history and other historical perspectives such as women's history, religious history, political history, or literary history.⁹

At the same time there were those in the profession, such as Roberto Perin, who did not share Palmer's enthusiasm for the new ethnic history. Although Perin agreed with the need to write the histories of immigrant groups in Canada, he lamented the fact that such history was being written by what he considered to be "amateur historians" and he disagreed with the terminology being used to

⁹ See Howard Palmer, "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, pp. 35-50.

designate the groups being studied. Perin argued that the concept of an ethnic group in North America was flawed because in most cases "...the culture of the ethnic group and that of the mother country did not coincide."¹⁰ Moreover, Perin objected to the idea of ethnic completeness and persistence, a concept prevalent in some of the historical literature dealing with ethnic groups, because such a notion did not take into account the realities of cultural erosion and assimilation. Furthermore, Perin argued that the term was flawed because scholars were "...not dealing in North America with classical ethnic groups." As he explained,

The notion of a space is basic to ethnicity. Without it, there can be no shared experiences or memories, nor can a sense of autonomy or cohesion emerge. An ethnic culture cannot survive simply on memories of a distant space. To maintain its distinctiveness and to flourish, it must interact with a real, an immanent space. In North America, however, immigrant groups do not have a space they can claim exclusively for themselves. They are dispersed across a continent and must contend with the ever-encroaching presence of the receiving culture. Consequently, their experience is not that of an ethnic group.¹¹

Perin suggested that the terms *immigrant communities* and *immigrant cultures* should be used in place of *ethnicity* and *ethnic cultures*, because they capture the changing character of the immigrant experience through successive generations.

¹⁰ Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History*, Carl Berger, ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman LTD, 1987) pp. 202.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

However, Perin's arguments are not valid in all cases. Members of the second and subsequent generations are not immigrants. They are the descendants of immigrants. At the same time, they are descendants of ethnic group members who were simultaneously members of an immigrant community. The immigrants were certainly members of an ethnic group in their homelands and they did not suddenly lose that identity upon their arrival in Canada. Certainly the language, politics, culture, and in some cases the religions, of the host society slowly encroached upon their lives, but many groups fought dearly, and for a time successfully, in preserving so many of their ethnic characteristics that the processes of integration, acculturation, and assimilation did not have a profound effect on their ethnic identities for many years. Their descendants, by contrast, were born and raised in Canada and their identities were molded by the two opposing cultures from birth. While they experienced the effects of integration and assimilation on a far greater scale than the immigrant group, they nonetheless shared to varying extents in the ethnic cultures of their parents. They were neither fully members of an ethnic group nor of an immigrant group, but they were descendants of both. They were members of a community which was originally immigrant in composition and ethnic in culture. Many indeed did live, work, and congregate in small neighbourhoods which afforded them the opportunity to preserve and protect their cultures. The degree to which each group was successful in this undertaking depended on many factors and some groups fared better in this regard than others. Therefore, each ethnic group must be evaluated on an individual basis, making Perin's sweeping generalizations inappropriate in some cases.

The Orthodox Syrians who arrived in Montreal between the late 19th century and the 1930s were both an ethnic group and an immigrant group. They were

viewed in their homeland as a separate ethnic group and they viewed themselves as such for many years following their arrival in Canada. Moreover, they were fiercely attached to their culture and were quite successful in maintaining cultural identity in Montreal for at least thirty years before any noticeable amount of cultural erosion became evident. At the same time, they were members of a specific immigrant group, the vast majority of whom emigrated from the same hometowns. For these reasons the members of the first generation are variously referred to in this work as an ethnic group and an immigrant group, while their descendants are seen as members of the ethnic group to the degree that they shared its culture and group identity.

Since the 1970s, Canadian and American scholars in various disciplines have produced a growing bibliography of research on Arab groups in general and Syrian and Lebanese communities in particular. Because information relating to Orthodox Syrians is provided to varying degrees in each work, the present study draws upon some of these works more than others. The following discussion is limited to the literature which was most influential to this study.

The Syrians in America (1924), by Philip K. Hitti, has been the cornerstone of almost all research done in the last 70 years which relates to this ethnic group in America. It is a remarkable example of immigration and social history undertaken long before it was fashionable to do so. Hitti's study has three main foci: the ethnicity, ways of life, and history of Syrians before their mass emigration to America in the late 19th century; their experience of immigration and initial settlement in America; and their religious, social, political, institutional, and economic development in America until the 1920s. Hitti's work is a concise and invaluable source of information on the cultural, religious, and political

background of these immigrants. It is also an important source for historians writing on the immigration and settlement of Syrians in North America, as the monograph dates from the mid-1920s and deals in part with the Syrian communities in America as they appeared at that time.¹²

More than sixty years elapsed before the next major historical study of Syrians in America was published. Alixa Naff's *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (1985) focuses on pack peddling, the chosen form of employment among early immigrants from Syria. While she outlines the Syrians' immigration and settlement in America and describes many of the same cultural, religious, social, and political antecedents as Hitti had earlier, Naff concentrates on pack peddling as a factor which helped Syrians to "become Americans." Like Hitti's, Naff's monograph is useful for the purposes of gaining insight into the lives of these early immigrants to North America.¹³

Several American studies have been quite useful to the author because of their focus upon the integration, acculturation, and assimilation of Syrians in the U.S.. *The Arab-Americans: Studies in Assimilation* (1969), edited by Elaine C. Hagopian and Ann Paden contains several enlightening essays by scholars who use a historical perspective in dealing with the assimilation of America's Syrian and Lebanese communities in cities such as Boston, Springfield, Massachusetts,

¹² Philip K. Hitti, *The Syrians in America* (New York: Doran Company, 1924).

¹³ Alixa Naff, *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985).

and Chicago.¹⁴ *The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation* (1975), by Philip M. Kayal and Joseph M. Kayal, places an emphasis on religion, among other factors, as the primary force in the assimilative process of the Syrian-Lebanese in America. This study is valuable for its specific treatment of each of the five main religious affiliations of the Syrians and Lebanese (Maronite, Melkite, Orthodox, Muslim, and Druze), in reality highly factionalized groups in which each faction claims a separate ethnic identity based upon its religion.¹⁵

Only a handful of Canadian studies deal primarily with Arabic-speaking minorities. Baha Abu-Laban's monograph, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada* (1980), remains the largest and most comprehensive.¹⁶ Although useful in that it illuminates some very important aspects of Canada's so-called Arab population--aspects such as national origin, immigration and settlement, institutional development, stereotyping, family life, cultural preservation and identity--the study has been rightly criticized for lumping together a host of diverse ethnic groups under the term *Arabs*. In truth, these immigrants came to Canada from countries that are culturally, religiously, socially, and politically diverse and which share very little in common except the Arabic language, while even in this regard there exist large differences in dialect between

¹⁴ Elaine C. Hagopian and Ann Paden, eds., *The Arab-Americans: Studies in Assimilation* (Wilmette Illinois: The Medina University Press, 1969).

¹⁵ Philip M. Kayal and Joseph M. Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975).

¹⁶ Baha Abu-Laban, *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980).

the various groups. Consequently, researchers of individual Arab groups in Canada must sift through Abu-Laban's monograph for information pertaining to the specific ethno-religious group under study and they must be careful not to apply to their work Abu-Laban's findings for *Arabs* in general. Because of the lack of historical literature on the Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, one is forced to rely heavily on specific sections of Abu Laban's monograph which deal with this group. However, care was taken by the author to ensure that all such information was relevant.

Shifting focus from the general to the more specific, *Voyageurs to a Rocky Shore* (1984), by Nancy and Joseph Jabbra, is an excellent study of the migration, settlement, acculturation, and assimilation of the Syrians and Lebanese in Nova Scotia.¹⁷ Very much like Abu-Laban's monograph in that it attempts to study an immigrant group from its arrival until the present, the work is nevertheless more specific than Abu Laban's in that it focuses upon the Syrians and Lebanese of Nova Scotia rather than upon an amorphous group labeled as *Arabs*. Because the authors recognize the sharp differences between the various Arab groups, and even those between Syrians and Lebanese, the work does not suffer from the same tendency towards generalization as does Abu-Laban's. As well, the historical perspective of their study is balanced and insightful.

Another regional study of a Syrian community in Canada is David Weale's *A Stream Out of Lebanon*, (1988). This is a diminutive but concise treatment of the

¹⁷ Nancy W. Jabbra and Joseph G. Jabbra, *Voyageurs to a Rocky Shore: The Lebanese and Syrians of Nova Scotia*, (Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1984).

arrival and settlement of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants in Prince Edward Island. Weale, an historian, is not as concerned with the sociological development of the community as he is with outlining the arrival and settlement of the immigrant group.¹⁸ Nevertheless, he also provides some useful information on their assimilation. Although Weale moreover provides an acceptable discussion of the distinct cultural traits of the Syrians and Lebanese in Prince Edward Island, he also dwells extensively on their successes and contributions to P.E.I. society. Hence, this aspect of his discussion suffers occasionally from an attempt, however well-meaning, to present his subjects in a favourable light at all times.¹⁹ Such a tendency robs the work of its authenticity at times.

There exists only one study which relates directly to the Antiochian Orthodox Syrian community of Montreal. Diane Moser's *Hometown and Family Ties* (1990), serves not only as the most relevant source for historians interested in Canada's oldest and largest community of Orthodox Christian Syrians, but it is also the springboard for this study. Moser has produced a pioneering historical study of Montreal's Syrians. She has illuminated aspects of a minority immigrant group in Montreal which had languished in the darkness of historical obscurity, despite a presence in Montreal of over 100 years. Using as her primary source the marriage registers of Montreal's two Antiochian Orthodox churches in conjunction with other church and government documents, Diane Moser has painted a revealing

¹⁸ David Weale, *A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian-Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island*, (Charlottetown: Charlottetown Institute of Island Studies, 1988).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18; 28; 31; 44.

social and cultural portrait of an ethnic community which was characterized by chain migration, religious and family cohesion, ethnic endogamy in marriage, and mercantilism.²⁰ Moser has moreover demonstrated that marriage records can reveal much useful information to historians writing the history of ethnic groups and that the use of a computer can be invaluable to this approach.

²⁰ Moser, pp. 36-47; 58-59; 66-71; 74-101.

IV.

THE FIRST GENERATION, 1905-1930

Arriving in Montreal and other Canadian cities during the first wave of Syrian immigration which occurred roughly between 1890 and 1930, Syrian immigrants of the Orthodox Christian faith brought with them a unique cultural heritage upon which they established their new community. In Syria, distinct ethnic identities based on ties to religion, family, and hometown had developed over centuries among Syria's religiously diverse population. Geographic isolation, religious division, and political domination by foreign powers had contributed to strengthening and reinforcing these cultural ties and produced a population which identified far more strongly with cultural ethnicity than with Syrian nationality. The Christian Orthodox Syrians who emigrated to Montreal in the late 19th century founded their immigrant community upon cultural beliefs and traditions which were firmly rooted in the Eastern Orthodox religion and which were tied to specific families and villages in a localized area of Syria that is today in eastern Lebanon. As the present work deals primarily with the cultural and social changes which have occurred within Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community between 1905 and 1980, the reader must first become familiar with the social, religious, and cultural roots of the Syrian immigrants who founded the community.

Historical and Cultural Background

The physical geography of Syria was one factor which influenced the development of religious and cultural differences among Syrians. By the time the first wave of Syrian immigration to Montreal had begun, Syria's many villages and

towns had been isolated from one another for centuries by rugged mountain ranges with few roads. It was partly due to this geographically determined isolation that Syria's population remained sharply divided politically, socially, religiously, and economically for centuries.²¹

Of course, the factors which determined such divisions among the Syrians are not limited to geography. Throughout the ancient land's history, examples abound of historical changes which have influenced the evolution of Syria's divergent racial, cultural and religious groups. As Alixa Naff explains:

...Syria has been, since the dawn of history, a thoroughfare for caravan traders, migrants, and conquering armies. These visitors and intruders not only contributed new ideas and cultural influences, but racial diversity, evident in the Syrian population.²²

Although Syrians have been traditionally thought of as Arabs, this is an oversimplification. In fact, a diversity of peoples have influenced Syria's cultural and racial composition over millennia. According to Philip K. Hitti, modern Syrians are in fact a "mixed Semitic race," the remnant of ancient Phoenician, Canaanite and Israelite tribes, Arab transients, Greek, Turk, Kurdish, and Persian invaders and immigrants, and European conquering peoples. The term *Arab*, when applied to Syrians, is a generalization which does not take into account these racial and cultural influences.²³

²¹ Hitti, pp. 21-22.

²² Naff, p. 21.

²³ Hitti, p. 21.

In the domain of religion, Syria's history is no less diverse and complex. Syrians have been influenced alternately by Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek and Roman paganism, Hebrew and Greek Christianity, and Arabic Islam. The first century A.D. witnessed the introduction of Christianity into Syria and the earliest gentile Christian church established by St. Peter and St. Paul was located in Antioch, Syria. In fact, it was in Antioch that the followers of Jesus were first called Christians. For centuries thereafter, Syria assumed an important position as the center of eastern Christendom and the religion flourished there throughout the Byzantine era. Following six centuries of Christian growth in Syria, Islam overran Byzantium, and Syria was invaded between 634 and 640 A.D.. By this time Christianity had experienced the strains of sectarianism in Syria, leading to the formation of the Catholic sects known as Maronite and Melkite.²⁴

Islam had a profound effect on the religious and cultural development of Syria. The arrival of Islam brought to Syria not only another faith and a different set of social, moral, and legal codes but a new language as well. Where for centuries the dominant languages of Syria had been Syriac, Aramaic and Greek, these were superseded by Arabic following the incursion of Islam, although Syriac and Greek remained the languages used in the Christian liturgy. Nevertheless, it was the Arabic language that eventually became the main cultural link amongst a population of diverse racial, cultural and religious backgrounds. However, the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-24; 37-40; Naff, p.21; Acts 11: 20-26; See also Mortimer Chambers *et al*, *The Western Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1983), pp. 17; 22; 118-119; Donald Attwater, *The Christian Churches of the East* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1969) Vols. I and II; A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) pp. 35-47.

incursion of Islam also served to further divide an already religiously diverse population. Moreover, as Islam became the dominant religion in Syria it too suffered the strains of sectarianism when it was divided into the Sunni and Shi'i sects. This development further complicated the religious composition of the population. Syria's Islamic rulers were generally tolerant of Christianity and Judaism, however, and the adherents of these three religions continued to co-exist, with Christians and Jews assuming a protected, if second-class, status.²⁵

In addition to the divisions outlined above, the Catholic Church was further split by schism in 1054. The main point of contention within the Church was over the nature of the Holy Spirit. Catholicism held that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son. A faction within the Catholic Church in the East argued that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone. The latter faction eventually split from the Catholic Church and founded the Orthodox Church of the Eastern Communion, to which now belong many ethnic groups including Greeks, Russians, and Syrians. At the same time, those in Syria who adhered to the Orthodox Church became members of a religious minority among Christians, who were themselves a minority among Muslims. Within this context a separate Orthodox Syrian identity and culture began to develop.²⁶

Ottoman rule was another factor which acted to split the various Christian communities. Following the occupation of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman

²⁵ Abu-Laban, pp. 31; 36; Hitti, pp. 22-23; Naff, pp. 41-43.

²⁶ Hitti, pp. 36-37. Also see Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967); Nicolas Zernov, *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (London: Shenvall Press, 1961).

Turks devised a system of government, known as the *millet*, which effectively recognized non-Muslim sects as "corporate religious communities which had full legal control in matters pertaining to personal status, including marriage, divorce, inheritance and adoption."²⁷ Consequently, the millet system led to the perpetuation of the religiously-based social distance which had developed between Christian communities: As Abu-Laban puts it,

...religious leaders wielded a high degree of power and influence not only in their specialized domain, but also in secular political affairs--a pattern the remnants of which have survived to the present time. In the past, as at the present time, individual and group vested interests have played an important role in perpetuating social distance among different sects and religious groups.²⁸

All of these factors--geographical, racial, cultural, religious, and political--served over many centuries to separate, isolate, and divide Syrians to such an extent that a unified national and cultural identity never developed amongst them. Rather, the effect was to develop, especially among the minority cultures, a host of ethnic identities which were distinguished by particular religions, families, and hometowns. This form of self-identification among Syrians and Lebanese has been aptly described by Philip and Joseph Kayal:

A Syrian's religious identification is so intense that he is the proverbial "man without a country." His patriotism and group identification is based on love of family and religion. For all practical purposes his family and church take the place of the

²⁷ Abu-Laban, p. 32.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

state for him. In both Syria and Lebanon, religion is the practical equivalent of nationality, with each religious community in and within the structure of the state. All cooperation between individuals, therefore, is limited to their traditional groups--family, village, and religion.²⁹

As Moser has pointed out, religion, family, and hometown were to Orthodox Syrians the three "cultural pillars" in the structure of their community which bound each group in common beliefs that formed the foundation of their approach to life. One's nationality, therefore, assumed only secondary importance by comparison with one's religious affiliation, one's extended family, and one's village or hometown.³⁰ As Moser explains, even one's identification with others of the same hometown was dependent upon one's religion:

...religious affiliation is a prerequisite for identifying with someone of the same village. Orthodox Christians and Muslims of the same village would not identify themselves as being part of the same community. One first has to be of the same religion before one can be seen as being of the same village.³¹

Thus, the majority of Orthodox Syrians who emigrated to Montreal during the first wave saw themselves not so much as Syrians, but as members of extended Orthodox Christian families from specific villages in the Mount Lebanon region of Syria. These religious, hometown and family ties were to continue to play

²⁹ Philip M. Kayal and Joseph M. Kayal, p. 116.

³⁰ Moser, p. 25. See also A.I. Tannous, " Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon, " *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVIII (1942).

³¹ Moser, p. 26

important roles in the formation of the new immigrant community in Montreal. Moreover, because of these strong identifications, Orthodox Syrian immigrants viewed themselves as an ethnic group distinct from other Syrian and Arab groups that entered Canada. According to Moser:

...an Orthodox Christian from Rashaya, Lebanon and a Muslim from Damascus, Syria do not consider themselves any more similar than would a Catholic from Nicaragua and a Protestant from Ontario.³²

Emigration

Beginning in the early 1880s and continuing well into the 20th century, thousands of Christian Syrians emigrated to Africa, Australia, North America, Central America, and South America. Through chain migration, Christian Syrian communities comprised of extended families from towns in Syria were established in various countries, states, provinces, cities, and towns on these continents. Some of these communities were primarily Orthodox, others primarily Maronite or Melkite, and still others primarily Muslim.³³

The reasons given for the initial phases of Christian Syrian emigration are varied. Some historians have cited religious persecution and massacre by Muslims and Druze as the leading cause, or at least a supplementary cause. Others have favoured economic and demographic explanations such as the collapse of the silk

³² Moser, pp. 50-51.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 62-67; Appendix C.

industry accompanied by increasing population. Still others have cited multiple factors, such as problematic political, economic, and religious conditions in Syria combined with the lure of financial success in the host country, as push and pull factors which influenced emigration.³⁴

A closer look has revealed that the push factors affecting Syrian emigration differed on a regional basis. Whereas the 1860 massacres of Christians by the Druze in the southern towns of Hasbaya and Rashaya certainly played a central role in motivating many Christians in this region to emigrate, the collapse of the silk industry influenced emigration in the north.³⁵ Moreover, as Moser explains, the degree to which each factor affected specific groups differed on the basis of hometown and religion:

Factors outlined by historians - namely political, religious and economic oppression, population pressure and crop failure - all contributed in varying degrees to the immigration exodus. However, in each hometown and for each religious group, the degree of importance of each factor differed.³⁶

Yet, the pull factors originating from the potential countries of immigration also played an important role in enticing Syrians to leave their homeland and begin their lives anew in a distant and strange land. The promise of political and

³⁴ See Fuad I. Khuri, "A Comparative Study of Migration Patterns in Two Lebanese Villages," *Human Organization*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Winter, 1967); Marvin W. Mikesell, "Lebanese Emigration," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 53 (1963); Hitti, pp. 47-57; Abu-Laban, pp. 74-75; 79; Moser, pp. 75-76.

³⁵ Moser, pp. 77-78.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

religious freedom and economic opportunity in the new lands of the West was repeatedly conveyed to Syrian Christians by various sources, including missionaries, steamship and immigration agents, and by the first Syrian immigrants to North America. Later, others could travel to these foreign countries secure in the knowledge that family members awaited their arrival.³⁷

Thus, a series of chain-migrations was initiated which resulted in the transplantation of large portions of specific communities within Syria to various points around the world. So marked was this phenomenon that in some cases entire Syrian immigrant communities, Orthodox, Catholic, or Muslim, can be traced to a handful of small hometowns in the mother country. These may be found in Dakar, Senegal; Sierra Leone; Costa Rica; Sydney, Australia; Terre Haute, Indiana; Vicksburg, Mississippi; and Grand Rapids, Michigan. In Canada, the chain migration of Syrian communities has been documented in Quebec, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Alberta. The Montreal community, Canada's first and largest Orthodox Syrian community, was likewise founded and settled through the chain migration of extended families from a handful of villages and towns.³⁸

The vast majority of the first emigrants from Syria originated from the Mount Lebanon region of Syria, a largely mountainous area located in the western

³⁷ Abu-Laban, p. 75; Moser, p. 78; Naff, p. 78; Abdo A. Elkholy, "The Arab Americans: Nationalism and Traditional Preservations," in Elaine C. Hagopian and Anne Paden, eds., p. 4.

³⁸ Moser, pp. 62-66; see also Moser, Appendix C; Weale, pp. 7; 9; Jabbra and Jabbra, p. 6.

region of Syria on the Mediterranean coast and north of present-day Israel.³⁹ Of those who emigrated to Montreal, many claimed as their hometowns only a few small villages within the southeast portion of this region, with the largest percentage (32 % of the grooms and 30% of the brides) hailing from one town, Rachaiya (See Appendix A: Marriage Registers Listing Hometowns, 1906-1930). The populations of these villages were adherents primarily of the Orthodox Christian religion.⁴⁰ As a result of chain migration, the Montreal community was eventually composed of a majority of Christian Orthodox Syrians who shared not only the same hometowns, but also the same extended family ties, religious values, cultural customs, and social tendencies. Because they were vitally important elements of Syrian Orthodox culture, these factors inevitably became the cultural pillars upon which was founded the new immigrant community.

Immigration

Syrian and Lebanese immigration occurred in two main waves, with the first Syrian immigrants arriving in the 1880s. Numbers increased in the 1890s and remained consistent until 1912, when Syrian immigration to Canada was slowed by Canadian immigration restrictions. There was a temporary break in the wave during World War I, but immigration from the region began again in earnest at the end of the war and continued until the start of the Great Depression. After 1930, Syrian immigration was again reduced drastically, coming to a virtual standstill

³⁹ Moser, Appendix D: Map of Lebanon.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

during World War II. Thus, the immigration from Syria during the period 1890-1930 is herein viewed as a single wave which was only briefly interrupted. Those who emigrated to Canada during this period numbered nearly 10,000 by 1931, with the largest percentages settling in Quebec and Ontario. The majority of those who settled in Montreal were Orthodox Christian. The second, and larger wave, began slowly after 1945 and continued to rise until the 1980s, but by this time the geo-political map of Syria had changed considerably, as Lebanon and Syria had assumed independent status as nation states. These later immigrants included large numbers of Muslims, Maronites, and Melkites, while only a minority were Orthodox. This study is concerned solely with the first wave of Orthodox Syrian immigrants and with their descendants.⁴¹

Syrians managed to establish relatively strong and close-knit communities in Montreal and other Canadian cities and towns from Halifax to Vancouver. Yet the Montreal community enjoyed the distinction of being the country's oldest and largest community of Orthodox Syrian immigrants and it became a starting point for most who entered Canada. Some stayed and established themselves in Montreal while others moved on to other Canadian and American communities. As Abu-Laban writes: "Historically, the Arab immigrants' first major destination in Canada was Montreal."⁴²

⁴¹ *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921*, p. 353; *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*, pp. 234-235; Abu-Laban, pp. 54-58; Moser, pp. 84-85; Appendix F: Syrian Immigration to Canada, 1900-1965.

⁴² Abu-Laban, pp. 55; 60; 63;92. Moser, pp. 88-89.

Hometown Chain Migration

Probably as early as the 1890s chain-migrations were underway from certain small Syrian villages to Montreal. However, this cannot be documented for certain as the Syrian Orthodox church was established in Montreal in 1905 and it is only from this year that marriage records are available. Of the records which list places of origin, the proportion of marriages for which the bride and groom shared the same hometown was 48%, according to Moser's findings, and a significant proportion of these (6%) share the same family name.⁴³ Indeed, many of the young Orthodox Syrian men who immigrated to Montreal would initially establish themselves in Canada and return to their hometowns in Syria to choose a bride or to retrieve one previously chosen by his and the bride's parents. In addition, once settled in Montreal, Orthodox Syrian immigrants, both male and female, would send home for extended family members to join them in Canada. That the Montreal community was peopled largely through chain migration from Rachaiya-al-Wadi and other villages nearby is clearly visible in the marriage records (See Appendix A: Marriage Registers Listing Hometowns, 1905-1930). The pattern of hometown chain-migration involving extended family members which is evident in the marriage records reflects the importance attached to family and hometown by these immigrants.

⁴³ Moser, p. 68.

Ethnic Neighbourhood

The early Montreal community was located in a district of *Old Montreal* more or less centered around St. Denis and Craig streets and the area then known as Viger Square. This area constituted the core of the first Syrian ethnic neighbourhood in Montreal. The location was most probably chosen initially because lodgings in this area were relatively inexpensive at the time and few Syrians arrived in Montreal with large sums of money. Another reason may have been because of the area's close proximity to the Port of Montreal. Through it passed most of the immigrants from Syria as did many of the goods which were peddled by enterprising Syrian merchants residing in Montreal. Certainly the first few Syrian immigrants settled near the port for these reasons of convenience. As Syrian immigration increased, extended family members continued to arrive from Syria and they tended to settle near their relatives, given the importance that the group attached to family and hometown. The Viger Square area remained the center of the Syrian ethnic neighbourhood until the 1920s, when members of the community began to relocate to the north end of the city. ⁴⁴

The Establishment of The Syrian-Orthodox Church in Montreal

Among the first tasks for the pioneers of the community was the establishment of a Syrian-Orthodox church. Until 1905, the lack of a Syrian Orthodox church in Montreal forced members of the community to attend

⁴⁴ Moser, pp. 93-94 and Appendix J.

Catholic, Anglican, or Russian Orthodox services. However, this situation was intolerable for many in the community who identified with the Syrian Orthodox tradition. By 1898, the Montreal community had grown to such a size that the Syro-Arab Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church, established in Brooklyn, New York in 1892, had granted a petition from the Montreal community for a Syrian priest. By 1905, St. Nicholas Church of Montreal (later to be renamed St. George Church) was founded in a renovated factory at 270 Vitre St. East. Though culturally a Syrian church with a Syrian priest and flock, St. Nicholas Church was still under the bishopric of the Russian Orthodox Church in North America.⁴⁵

As with other immigrant groups, there existed a concerted effort among the laity of Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community to aid in the development of their church and other institutions in their community. Writes Abu-Laban, "...as early as 1908, an Arabic-language newspaper, *Al-Shehab*, was started in Montreal by Michael Zarbatany, who was later ordained to the priesthood of the Syrian Orthodox Church."⁴⁶ Even earlier, on May 10, 1905, two important lay initiatives were established: the Syrian Orthodox Benevolent Society of Montreal and the Syrian Ladies Benevolent Society of Montreal. As Moser explains, these lay organizations served a dual purpose:

The purpose of these two new societies in Montreal was twofold:
 1. "to look after the welfare of the Orthodox of Middle Eastern origin, to see to their physical needs by assisting one another and to pool their resources for the mutual good of all" and 2. "to work towards fulfillment of their desire to have their own place

⁴⁵ Moser, pp. 32-37 and Appendix A.

⁴⁶ Abu-Laban, p. 132.

of worship and a resident clergyman to celebrate the services for them." ⁴⁷

However, arguments between rival factions soon led to divisions within the church. The origin of the dispute revolved around a disagreement over the choice of a priest, the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church in the local Syrian Orthodox church affairs, and family and village loyalties. These disagreements resulted in a split of the church membership, and when St. Nicholas Church was founded in 1905 by a majority faction in the dispute, another church of the same name was founded by the minority.⁴⁸

The schism threatened the peace and unity of the community itself. The appointment of Aftimios Ofeish as pastor of the first St. Nicholas church in 1906 and his intervention in the dispute led to a temporary return of peace within the community, but "...the root of the division, namely disagreement over the Russian church's involvement in North America, was simply repressed and not removed as a point of contention." Moreover, disagreement over the right to use the name St. Nicholas increased over this period. On June 4, 1910, both churches were granted separate official charters, one as St. Nicholas Church of Montreal (later to be renamed St. George Church) and the other as St. Nicholas Church of Canada (still named St. Nicholas Church at this writing). Although this proved to be a temporary respite, it was not until 1939-40 that the dispute over the name St. Nicholas Church was finally resolved by a legal battle which decided that the

⁴⁷ Moser, p. 36.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37; Abu-Laban, p. 131.

original Vitre Street church would be henceforth called St. George Church, named after the patron saint of Syria.⁴⁹

The reasons are threefold that the author has included the preceding description of the split within the community: (1) to familiarize the reader with the origins of the two Syrian Orthodox parishes in Montreal; (2) to further highlight the importance of religion, hometown and family ties to community members; and (3) to illustrate the influence that these cultural characteristics exerted on the development of the Montreal community and its central institution, the Orthodox Church.

Partly as a result of hometown family loyalties, the community had been separated over the dispute which in turn necessitated the establishment of two parishes even though numbers warranted only one.⁵⁰ Thus, both the community as a whole and its church were effectively split along family lines, continuing in their new home patterns of family-centered loyalties which had originated in the mother country. However, the scope of the split should not be exaggerated. It did not lead to acrimony on the part of most community members in their everyday dealings with one another, and a careful investigation of church registers will reveal that some families held marriages and baptisms at either of the two church parishes.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Abu-Laban, pp. 131-132; Moser, pp. 37; 39.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37; 39.

⁵¹ Baptismal records are not included here, but the author had access to these registers.

The debate which was at the heart of the division, whether Montreal's Syrian-Orthodox parishes should continue ties with the Russian Church, or forge new ties with the Church of Antioch, or form an independent North American Orthodox Church, plagued the Montreal church for decades. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the Russian Orthodox Church could no longer provide funds or religious guidance to its foreign churches. This precarious position eventually led to the Fourth All-American Council in 1924 which "...provided the impetus for non-Russian groups to form their own ecclesiastical organization." By 1925, both de facto autocephaly and the formation of an Independent Syrian Antiochian jurisdiction had been realized in North America.⁵² However, these developments did not put an end to local disagreements, as the "Russy-Antacky debate," as it came to be known, was in fact a dispute between those who favoured the independence offered by the Russian Church and those who favoured ethnic ties to Syria as represented by the Church of Antioch. This dispute was not limited to the Montreal community but involved other North American communities as well.⁵³ As Moser explains it,

There seems to have been two camps of thought in North America regarding the ties to either the Russian Church or the Church of Antioch. "Russys", as they were known, were not loyal to the Russian Church, due to its total lack of power after 1917. They did feel however that ties to the Russian Church

⁵² Moser, pp. 42-43.

⁵³ Elaine C. Hagopian, "The Institutional Development of the Arab-American Community of Boston," in Hagopian and Paden, eds., p. 70.

were their means of independence. Belonging to the Russian Church meant they could control their own destiny without interference from any foreign power. "Antackys", on the other hand, longed to belong to the Church that had named an Arab patriarch in 1899. The tie to the Church of Antioch was an ethnic one that bound the immigrants to their community in both Lebanon and Syria, and abroad.⁵⁴

The fervour surrounding the debate reached a climax during the 1930s but serious divisions in the Montreal community were avoided soon afterward when parishioners at St. George Church pledged allegiance to the Church of Antioch as St. Nicholas Church had done earlier. However, both parishes continued to function as separate entities even though they served the same community.⁵⁵

Marriage

As were the communities in Syria, the Montreal community was founded upon what Moser has termed "three cultural pillars" of religion, family and hometown. For example, the vast majority of the immigrant families hailed from one village, Rachaiya-al-Wadi. Others came in significant numbers from the nearby villages of Kfar-Mechki, Zahle, Chebaa, and Ain-Hircha, and from the city of Damascus. (See Appendix A: Marriage Registers Listing Hometowns, 1905-1930). Many groups of Orthodox families had clustered in these villages in Syria. As it had been in these Syrian hometowns, the Orthodox Church was the central and most important community institution in the immigrant community. Family

⁵⁴ Moser, p. 43.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 45-47.

and hometown cohesion and culture were rooted in and nourished by the Eastern Orthodox tradition. As a means of ensuring religious and cultural homogeneity and longevity, endogamous marriage was strictly observed in their homeland and marriages which were pre-arranged between related members of extended families, or kin groups, were common.⁵⁶ Likewise in the early Montreal community, a high percentage of marriages among the Orthodox Syrian immigrants were endogamous and many were pre-arranged, often including brides and grooms from the same extended families. Although marriage between first cousins, common among Syrian Muslims, was forbidden by the Orthodox Church, it was nevertheless practiced occasionally by Orthodox Syrians. Certainly, marriage between Orthodox Syrian brides and grooms from the same hometown or kin group was strongly encouraged while exogamous marriage was discouraged and in many cases considered unacceptable.⁵⁷

Moser has calculated that 84.6% of marriages among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal were endogamous.⁵⁸ This figure alone clearly demonstrates that endogamy was the preferred form of marriage among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal. However, it is actually a low estimate when applied only to first-generation immigrants. Moser calculated her estimate from a database of marriage

⁵⁶ Moser, pp. 52; 66-67.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-56; Weale, p. 9; See also John Gulick, "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction," *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953) pp. 367-372; Fuad I. Khuri, "Parallel Cousin Marriage Reconsidered: A Middle Eastern Practice that Nullifies the Effects of Marriage on the Intensity of Family Relationships," *Man* 7 (1970) pp. 597-618; Raphael Petai, "The Structure of Endogamous Unilineal Descent Groups," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 21.4 (1965) pp. 325-350.

⁵⁸ Moser, p. 90.

records spanning 45 years from 1905 to 1950 and covering almost two full generations of community members. It is therefore an average that does not reflect generational changes in endogamy. When one calculates the proportion of endogamy within the community from 1905-1930, thus limiting oneself to the majority of the first generation immigrants in Montreal, the proportion climbs to 95.4% (See Appendix B1: Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, 1905-1930.). Thus, there remains no doubt that the importance attached to endogamy in their homeland was continued and firmly entrenched in the Montreal community by the generation which came to Canada from Syria. The primary motivation for this marital practice was a strong concern to protect ethnic identity and continuity. As David Weale has observed in Prince Edward Island,

The most fundamental means of protecting the identity and continuity of the group is enforced endogamy; that is, marriage within the tribe or clan. The willingness of a group to disregard this custom is perhaps the surest sign that it is prepared to accept change.⁵⁹

With endogamy at 95%, it is obvious that the Orthodox Syrian immigrants were not willing to accept change but were, rather, committed to ethnic homogeneity and the perpetuation of their culture.

First-generation Orthodox Syrian brides tended to marry at a young age (See Appendix C1: Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1905-1930). While the average age of marriage among first-generation brides was 22, a full 57% were younger. As many as 11.6% of brides

⁵⁹ Weale, p. 42.

were younger than 18 years old, some as young as 14 years old. Those who married at ages ranging from 22 to 25 years old accounted for 27%, while only 11% were 26 to 35 years old when they married.

Orthodox Syrian grooms were considerably older than their brides. The average age for first-generation grooms was 30 (See Appendix C1). Only 19% were younger than 25, while a large majority (64%) were 25 to 35 years old when they married. Moreover, as many as 16.4% of grooms were older than 35 years old when they married. It is possible that grooms delayed marriage until they were financially secure. In many cases, single men would establish themselves financially before returning to Syria to seek brides or arranging for the immigration of pre-arranged marital partners. Moreover, it appears that Orthodox Syrian brides traditionally married men many years their seniors, perhaps for the same financial reasons. At the same time, it is apparent that Orthodox Syrian grooms of the first generation preferred brides who were substantially their juniors. This phenomenon is most likely related to perceptions of female fertility.

Although listings of divorces are not included in the materials made available to the author, marriage registers provide at least a glimpse into the group's attitude toward divorce and re-marriage. The practice was almost unknown among first generation Orthodox Syrians. From 1905 to 1930, only 3 marriage partners claim to have been previously divorced. This should not be surprising if one considers that re-marriage after divorce was discouraged by the Orthodox Church.⁶⁰ Those

⁶⁰ St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church, *Marriage in the Orthodox Church*, n.p., n.d..

who were single at the time of marriage have been calculated at 90% among grooms and 95% among brides. Those who were widowed previous to re-marriage constituted 9% of grooms and 4% of brides. Those previously divorced accounted for less than 1% of either brides or grooms (See Appendix C1: Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1905-1930).

Occupations

Initially, pack peddling was the most common form of employment among Orthodox Syrian immigrant males in Montreal, as it was in most Syrian communities in Canada and the U.S.. Commonly, the peddler would fill large packs or suitcases with all manner of utensils, scissors, sewing needles, buttons, threads, fabrics, and linens, and would travel around the city and countryside selling his wares. Eventually, he could save enough money to purchase an automobile to aid him in his business, but initially his work was done with a horse-drawn buggy or even on foot. Successful peddlers eventually became store owners, import/export merchants, or even garment manufacturers. These more fortunate immigrants would in turn provide newly-arrived Syrian immigrant peddlers with merchandise at wholesale prices. In fact, the Montreal community became a trade center for a complex network of peddlers, American and Canadian, operating throughout the northeast region of North America.⁶¹

⁶¹ Naff, pp. 150-151; Moser, 95-100;

That Syrian males in many of the immigrant communities around the world became successful merchant traders is not surprising, given the long history of Syrians involved in such endeavours in the Middle-East. Syrians of all religious affiliations had since the early eighteenth century become renowned throughout the Middle-East as successful merchant traders. Many of those who settled in neighbouring countries such as Egypt became involved in importing silks, cotton, and other textiles from Syria and Lebanon as well as from India by way of Aleppo and Damascus. Eventually, their trade routes were expanded to include European countries where many durable business contacts were made between Syrians and highly successful European merchant trading houses. Involvement in the merchant trades, and in particular the importation and sale of silks, cotton, and other textiles, thus became traditional for many Syrian families throughout the nineteenth century.⁶² Considering the groundwork that had been laid in the Middle-East and in Europe, it is not surprising that many Syrians who emigrated to North America chose to establish themselves in the textile merchant trades after they had amassed some savings through an initial phase as peddlers.

Church registers provide no information on the occupations of brides during this period. According to interview respondents, however, Syrian wives often assisted their husbands in the operation of their businesses. Some even traveled with their husbands and helped them in their peddling enterprises. Others worked in family stores and later in family-owned factories. Some offered their services as maids and char-women. However, in the absence of any primary documentation

⁶² Albert Hourani, *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) pp. 103-123.

regarding patterns of employment among the women of the Montreal community during this period, one must rely on the information offered through interviews. Yet the pattern of employment for men and women of the Syrian community in Boston is suggestive. Elaine C. Hagopian writes,

The early immigrants primarily were peddlers...They traveled in a wide radius to sell their goods. When more of the women began to come at the turn of the century, the men began to open up dry goods stores, groceries, importing companies, restaurants, and garment factories. Their women often assisted them in their businesses or took up peddling themselves...Many women went to work in the garment factories...⁶³

Such references to the tendency of Syrian immigrant women to be employed is common in the literature. The main reason for this was not any liberal viewpoint among Syrian men, but rather because it was the traditional view among Syrians that a wife should do whatever was necessary to help her family succeed. Child rearing, cooking, and running the home shared importance with working outside the home. Careers for the women were, however, out of the question. Nevertheless, Orthodox Syrian women played a vital role in their family's economic success. Safia F. Haddad correctly points this out when she writes: "Sacrifices in the present and commitments to the future could not have been carried out without the woman's participation in the family endeavor."⁶⁴

⁶³ Elaine C. Hagopian, in Hagopian and Paden eds. (1969), p. 69.

⁶⁴ Safia F. Haddad, "The Woman's Role in Socialization of Syrian-Americans in Chicago," in Hagopian and Paden, eds., (1969), p. 100.

Education

Due to lack of primary sources, the level of education of Orthodox Syrian immigrants is difficult to document. Judging by the occupations which many of the men entered upon, a high level of education seems unlikely for most. It is common to read in studies of other Syrian communities that the average Syrian immigrant possessed little, if any, education. At the same time, a few of these studies maintain that a small number of young men had been well educated before their arrival in North America. Interviews for this study have likewise indicated that the majority of the immigrant generation were poorly educated but that at least a few had received an extensive education in Beirut. It is said that these few performed an invaluable function for the community in that they were often called upon to act as translators and liasons between Syrian immigrants and Canadian immigration officials.⁶⁵

Social Status

From what is known about the traditional forms of employment undertaken by Orthodox Syrian males during this period as well as from the community's relocation to the north end of the city, a plausible scenario may be constructed of

⁶⁵ Interviews #1, #2, and #3.

the community's social status in general. Considering the occupations of most Orthodox Syrian males when they first arrived in Canada, many of their families would have been initially part of the lower class. However, considering that many peddlers eventually became prosperous merchants or manufacturers, such a condition was probably only temporary for many of the group. Certainly by the 1920s, middle-class or even upper middle-class Orthodox Syrian families were not uncommon in Montreal. Many others, however, such as factory workers or those who worked in stores, probably remained among the working-class or the lower middle-class. Nevertheless, that the entire community moved to the city's north-end, where lodgings were more costly, suggests that the general social status of community members was somewhat improved by the 1920s.

Language

The linguistic capabilities and preferences of the first-generation are likewise difficult to document and inferences must be culled from a number of sources. Interviews have determined that most Orthodox Syrians could speak only Arabic upon their arrival in Canada. Some knew a little English or even a little French, especially those few who had been educated in Beirut, but in the main Arabic was the language most felt comfortable with in their everyday affairs. This situation of course soon proved to be a handicap, especially for the men whose work outside the home placed them in daily contact with local businessmen and consumers, most of whom spoke English or French. In addition, members of both sexes often had to deal with local institutions, such as Government agencies and hospitals. It must have quickly become apparent to group members that they would have to learn these languages if they were to get ahead. Probably because the language of

most business in Montreal at that time was English, many of those who were employed learned English as a second language. Of course, many native Montrealers were French-speaking and that was also true of the neighbourhoods where the majority of Syrians lived. Consequently, some immigrants must have learned French through contacts with consumers and with the local populations of their neighbourhoods. However, Arabic continued to be the primary language spoken at home and among community members. This is fairly certain because the language formed an integral part of the culture they sought to preserve. Strictly observed endogamy and a strong identification with the Syrian Orthodox religion suggest a concerted effort among community members to perpetuate their culture in Canada. Moreover, church services were at the time performed in Arabic rather than English or French and determined efforts were made to ensure that the parishes were always served by a Syrian priest. Any suggestion that the Orthodox Syrian immigrants may have discarded Arabic in favour of English or French is an assumption that is not supported by the evidence. On the contrary, all of the available evidence suggests that Arabic remained an important part of the immigrants' culture.

The Preservation of Syrian Culture And Identity

Despite its split into two parishes and the debate which followed, the Syrian-Orthodox Church in Montreal was a powerful cultural force which fostered ethnic unity and cohesion within the community. Because they identified with the Orthodox faith so strongly, Montreal's Orthodox Syrian immigrants were bound together by it. Whatever side of the debate they favoured, they regarded

themselves first as Syrian Orthodox, and it was their religion as much as their families and hometowns which contributed to their ethno-cultural identity.

In addition to fostering unity, the Orthodox Church played a role in slowing the group's integration into the Canadian mainstream. The rites of the Syrian Orthodox Church, performed in Arabic and steeped as they were in the religious and cultural traditions of the Middle-East, maintained the cultural identity of the immigrant group after its arrival in Canada. As Moser explains, the Orthodox Syrian immigrants "...continued ties to their homeland through rites performed in their local church." The community's religious and social life revolved around its church, which provided the immigrants with avenues in which to maintain and celebrate many aspects of their culture. Community dances, bake sales, picnics, and other such social gatherings and outings were held regularly and provided community members with opportunities to dance Syrian dances, sing Syrian songs, eat Syrian food, and speak their dialect of the Arabic language. In addition to slowing the process of integration through maintaining these cultural norms and traditions, such church-centered social gatherings also provided some of the immigrants with the opportunity of finding potential spouses, thereby contributing to the high proportion of hometown endogamy. Thus, the Orthodox Church stands out as the central place in Montreal where Orthodox Syrians could feel completely Syrian as a homogeneous group and celebrate that difference together.⁶⁶ In that it provided these avenues for the preservation of Orthodox Syrian culture and identity, it can be argued that the Syrian Orthodox Church helped to slow the process of integration among Montreal's Syrians during this period.

⁶⁶ Moser, pp. 29-30; Interviews #1, #2, #3.

Yet it must be borne in mind that the Church as an institution was not the cause of ethnic solidarity nor of Syrian cultural retention. It is people who comprise a church, and if the Orthodox Church worked towards uniting its members and helping them to hold onto their ethnic cultural traditions it was because the people of the church must have desired it to be so. The Church, being the single most important institution in the community, inevitably became a focal point through which the Orthodox Syrian people maintained their cultural ties to the old world and preserved them. The Orthodox Church aided the community members in maintaining unity and in retaining their culture, but it did not force them to do so. It is important to understand that it was the people themselves who desired to retain their culture and it was their church which offered the best avenue for doing so.

The Syrian Orthodox Church in Montreal was the hub around which revolved most interaction between Syrian communities in northeastern Canada and the United States. Thus, the church not only helped to foster unity and to preserve Syrian culture within Montreal, but it also served the same functions for other communities in Canada and it facilitated cultural unity and continuity between those communities and the Montreal community. In addition to being the center through which flowed most of the Orthodox Syrian immigrants as well as resident Syrians traveling to and from communities in other parts of eastern Canada and the United States, the Montreal church found itself as the official custodian of the Syrian Orthodox faith for much of eastern Canada and parts of the northeastern U.S.. The lack of Orthodox churches in these areas meant that the Syrian Orthodox churches in Montreal served communities which were spread over a large portion of northeastern North America. In these ways, the Montreal community and its

church were a vital center which linked Syrian communities in Canada and the U.S. There was good reason for Abu-Laban to claim: "The center of gravity for the Syrian Orthodox community in Canada was Montreal."⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Abu-Laban, pp. 131-132.

V.

THE SECOND GENERATION, 1931 - 1960

During the years 1931-1960, Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community was undergoing noticeable social and cultural integration with the host society. Alterations to established cultural traditions in the areas of marriage, occupation, and language were becoming evident as members of the second generation were influenced by Canadian forces. Having been born and educated in Canada, they identified to a great extent with Canadian culture and were open to many of its influences. On the other hand, Syrian cultural ties of family and religion remained fairly intact for the majority of the second generation. Thus, they were caught between two worlds. All the sources available to the author indicate that the years 1931-1960 were a time of social and cultural integration for the community.

Marriage

Because a large percentage of marriage registers dated between 1930 and 1950 do not list a place of origin, it is impossible to state with certainty how many of the brides and grooms who married between 1931 and 1960 were not born in Syria or other parts of the Middle East. However, it has been ascertained through an examination of the ages of brides and grooms that most of the Orthodox Syrians who married at either of the two Orthodox Syrian parishes between 1931 and 1960 were born between 1900 and 1930. It is likely that the majority of these were born in Canada. Certainly, a small percentage may have arrived from Syria before 1930, but all the available evidence suggests that this group would have been minimal.

First, many of the male Orthodox Syrian immigrants arrived as young men who sought first to establish themselves financially before arranging to be married to single, childless Orthodox Syrian women. Many of these women came to Canada from Syria for the explicit purpose of marriage. The children of these matrimonial partners were likely born in Canada. As well, there is significance in the fact that the few registers which do list a place of origin between 1930 and 1950 include only foreign countries or North American cities outside Quebec. This phenomenon in the registers coincides with the severe curtailment in Syrian immigration levels during the same period. Figures in the 1931 Census of Canada reveal that approximately 60% of Syrians in Canada were native born at this time, an indication that further bolsters the likelihood that the majority of Orthodox Syrian marriages after 1930 involved second-generation members.⁶⁸ Yet, the strongest indicator that members of the second generation were increasingly appearing in the marriage registers at this time can be found in the increasing proportion of exogamy among those married between 1931 and 1960. It is unlikely that in the years following 1930 members of the first generation suddenly decided to change a cultural practice which until then had been common in 95% of marriages. It is more likely that those few immigrants who appear in the registers between 1931 and 1960 account for a small percentage of the endogamous marriages during the period. The increase in the proportion of exogamous marriages during this period most likely reflects the large number of second-generation members entering upon marriage.

⁶⁸ *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931*, Vol. I: Racial Origins Showing Birthplace.

Records from 1931 to 1960 reveal that proportions of endogamy among Orthodox Syrians fell significantly during this period. Whereas the proportion of endogamy among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal had been 95% during the years 1905 to 1930--a period of high levels of immigration from Syria--it declined to 70.5 % during the years when immigration was drastically curtailed and the majority of the community's second-generation were of an age to be married. Exogamous marriages during the same period increased to 29.5 %. (See Appendix B2: Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, 1931-1960).

Comparing these findings with those for members of the first generation, one is able to elaborate upon the single measurement of endogamy which Moser had calculated for the community as a whole between 1905 and 1950. One may thereby get a glimpse into changes which occurred within the cultural fabric of Orthodox Syrian life in Montreal over time. It is clear that immigrants arriving from Syria until 1930 exhibited a strong attachment to practicing endogamy in marriage. However, as Orthodox Syrian immigrants continued to arrive and to marry, those of the second-generation were being born and growing up, the majority of them reaching the average age of marriage sometime between 1930 and 1960. It is therefore not surprising that registers dated 1931 to 1960 reveal a significantly different picture than those dated 1930 and earlier. It is clear that the Orthodox Syrian tradition of ethno-religious endogamy, strictly observed by the first-generation, did not maintain as strong a hold upon members of the second generation. While endogamy was still the preferred form of marriage for the majority after 1931, a significantly large minority had opted for exogamous marriage. Almost 30% of second-generation Orthodox Syrians in Montreal chose to marry Canadians of other ethnic backgrounds--predominantly English, French,

and Italian--who like themselves were born and raised in Montreal and other North American cities.

The tendency toward endogamy was differentiated along gender lines. Males were certainly more prone to marry outside the ethnic group. Of the exogamous marriages occurring between 1931 and 1960, 70% were between Syrian males and non-Syrian females. The reason for this is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps it is related to Syrian cultural traditions which attached importance to patrilineage. While matrilineal descent certainly was not unimportant among Syrians, one's patriliney was generally of more significance.⁶⁹ It is therefore reasonable to conclude that when faced with a potential exogamous marriage, parents were more apt to allow the practice among males and to discourage it among females.

It is also important to bear in mind that of all the Orthodox Syrians who married at the two parish churches during this period, 70% had followed the tradition of endogamy. Using the proportion of inter-marriage as a measure of the ethnic group's integration and socialization into Quebec society between 1931 and 1960, it becomes apparent that members of the second-generation were becoming increasingly socialized and integrated into Quebec society even though the majority were still at this time committed to religious and ethno-cultural homogeneity. It is evident that a substantial change was occurring in the group's attachment to an important cultural tradition.

⁶⁹ Gulick, p. 371; Moser, pp. 54-56; Petai, p. 335.

Second-generation brides generally married at an older age than had those of the first-generation. From 1931 to 1960, the average age for brides rose to 26 years old. 26% of the brides during this period married before the age of 22 and only 1.5 % were under 18 years old, a marked contrast with brides of the first generation. In addition to this, almost 36% married between the ages of 26 and 35, more than three times the proportion of those whose did so earlier. (See Appendix C2: Marriage Records Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1931-1960 and compare with Appendix C1). It is possible that the outbreak of the Second World War played a role in delaying marriage for many second-generation brides. Marriage registers may reflect a tendency among brides to put off marriage until the war had ended. However, this cannot be documented with certainty. In any case, it is certain that the majority of marriages included brides and grooms who were much closer in age than were those of the first generation.

The average ages of the grooms remained relatively constant throughout the first and second generations. The average age for second-generation grooms rose almost imperceptibly to 31 from the previous average of 30. Similarly, the percentage of grooms who married at an age younger than 25 was 21% for this generation, changing but little from that of the previous generation. However, those older than 35 increased to 24.6% among the second generation from 16.5% among the first (Compare Appendices C1 and C2). This may be due in part to a continuance of the first-generation tradition of delaying marriage for males until financial security had been achieved.

Although at first glance there appears to be a substantial increase in the number of previously divorced marriage partners in church registers, in fact the

percentage of single partners remained unchanged. While the number of second-generation marriage partners previously divorced rose to 25, the percentage of those who were single remained exactly as it was previously at 90% among grooms and 95% among brides (See Appendix C2: Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1931-1960). This was because more marriages were performed in the latter period than in the former. Yet the percentage of those previously divorced rose to 4.7% among grooms and 1.5% among brides, owing to a decrease in the number of those who were widowed. It is clear, however, that re-marriage following divorce was not a widespread practice among members of both the first and second generations as a group. This is not surprising since the practice was still discouraged, although not forbidden, by the church.⁷⁰

Occupations

It is only from 1937 onward that registers list the occupations of grooms and not until 1962 that those of brides are included. Moreover, such information is supplied with varying degrees of frequency over the years. Yet regardless of these limitations, it is still possible to sketch a fairly reliable portrait of significant occupational changes which occurred among Montreal's Orthodox Syrians.

⁷⁰ The Reverend Stanley Harakas, *Guidelines for Marriage in the Orthodox Church* (Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, n.d.) p. 11.

As Moser has shown, the majority of the grooms from 1937 to 1950 who listed their occupations in the marriage registers were merchants. The second highest number of listings were those of jobs that were in some way connected with the textile industry. Writes Moser,

Most of the occupations listed in the Montreal church registers were that of merchant...It is likely that most of these merchants were former peddlers. Whether or not they were performing the same job is unclear, but likely some of the merchants were storekeepers, others retailers, wholesalers, and salesmen, and yet others traditional peddlers. Other occupations included clerk, cutter, (clothing) designer, inspector, manager, manufacturer, restauranter, salesman, shipper, and tailor; most of which relate to the textile industry which employed many of these men from the twenties up and until this day.⁷¹

Before 1951, a maximum of 45% of the Orthodox Syrian grooms' occupations listed can be classified among the mercantile professions, which included merchant, exporter, salesman, peddler, clerk, and grocer. In addition to this, 19% of occupations listed were those which can be associated with textile manufacturing, including manufacturer, manager, designer, dress cutter, dress presser, clothing cutter, tailor, shipper, packer, and labourer (See Appendix D1: Marriage Registers Listing Groom's Occupation, 1937-1950). From 1951 to 1960, the proportion of those engaged in the mercantile professions declined slightly to 40% while the proportion of those employed in fields associated with the textile industry rose to 29% (See Appendix D2: Marriage Registers Listing Groom's Occupation, 1951-1960).

⁷¹ Moser, p. 100.

However, since most Orthodox Syrian merchants were involved in the textile trade there was considerable overlapping between the merchant occupations and those in textile manufacturing. It is therefore more precise to consider the proportion of workers in the two fields combined. From 1937 to 1950 it was 64% (See Appendix D1). From 1951 to 1960 this rose slightly to 69% (See Appendix D2). Therefore, two-thirds of Orthodox Syrian males who listed their occupations in the marriage registers during each period were employed either as merchants, in manufacturing, or in jobs related to these two fields. Church marriage records dated 1951 to 1960 indicate that little had changed in the decade after 1950, the year in which Moser's study ends.

Indeed, Hagopian found that the first generation's involvement with textiles in the merchant trades and manufacturing led to similarly extensive employment in textile and garment manufacturing among Boston's community members. Writing of the employment patterns among the second generation, Hagopian writes:

The Boston community had become engaged in commercial and industrial work, particularly in the garment industry as designers, cutters, and manufacturers. They and the Jewish population, in effect, control the garment industry in Boston.⁷²

From these observations, the historian may piece together the evolution and growth of an industry initiated by members of the first generation and handed down to the second. Beginning as simple peddlers, first-generation Orthodox

⁷² Elaine C. Hagopian, in Hagopian and Paden eds., (1969), p. 71.

Syrian males expanded their merchant trades, concentrating on the importation and sale of linens, cloths, and other textiles. Slowly, some of these pioneers used business connections and accumulated wealth to begin textile and clothing manufacturing operations. By the time most of the second generation were entering upon marriage, a complex network of merchants and manufacturers had been developed, most of whom were connected to the textile and garment trades. The first generation's emphasis on family tradition ensured that many of their children were employed in these businesses. Eventually, members of the second generation would themselves own and operate these older established businesses or they would begin similar businesses of their own.

Unfortunately, occupations of brides are not included in the registers before 1960. This may be in part due to lingering first-generation cultural traditions which discouraged employment among females entering upon marriage. Perhaps priests did not think to note the brides' occupations since it was still expected that a woman remain in the home and raise a family after marriage. Whatever the case, priests neglected to include occupations of brides until the 1960s. Nevertheless, it has been ascertained from interviews that a number of young Orthodox Syrian women were employed during the war years and afterward, and that some of these were undoubtedly married. According to respondents, some of these women were employed in factories, others in retail stores, and yet others in nursing.

Education

Sources which provide information on the levels of education of this ethnic group are few. The Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal has declined to

offer records which include the ethnicity or religion of former students. Hence, information for this part of the study is limited to three sources: relevant secondary literature, personal interviews, and the listings of occupations within the marriage registers. Relying on these sources it is possible to assemble a general picture of the levels of education available to succeeding generations.

Evidence suggests that many second-generation Orthodox Syrians born before the 1920s did not receive as much education as those born later. Until at least 1915, most Orthodox Syrian children probably received only a token education, if at all. This was in large part due to the denominational structure of the Quebec education system, which at the time did not accommodate Orthodox Christian children. According to Terry Copp:

A study of the educational facilities available to the "foreign element" in Montreal, prepared in 1915, concluded that there were as many as 3,600 Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Ruthenian, Greek, and Syrian children of school age in the city who as members of the Greek or Russian Orthodox Church had no legal right to attend school. The Report concluded that "practically none of them are in school" and suggested that "the total number of foreign children in Montreal without regular school facilities would be about 5,000."⁷³

Whereas those of the second generation born before 1920 in Montreal rarely completed primary school, those born later fared better. Interviews have determined that a large number of second-generation Orthodox Syrians educated

⁷³ Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 67.

after 1925 received their primary education at either Peace Centennial School or Earl Gray School, both located within the boundaries of the Orthodox Syrian neighbourhood. The arrival of many immigrant groups in Montreal had forced Quebec to restructure its educational system to accommodate those who did not conform to its existing linguistic and confessional peculiarities, particularly Irish and Italian Catholic immigrants and Jews from central Europe.⁷⁴ In the 1920s, arrangements were made for Orthodox Christian children to attend schools within the jurisdiction of the Protestant School Board. A small percentage of children were enrolled in private schools, and some had even managed to become enrolled in Catholic schools, but for the most part Orthodox Syrian children attended Peace Centennial or Earl Gray, the two Protestant primary schools in their neighbourhood.

By the 1930s, secondary education was more available to all children in Montreal, and some Orthodox Syrians availed themselves of this opportunity, although the exact number who did so is uncertain. Many were forced to abandon high school because of financial obligations within their families. Some of those who did receive a secondary education attended Montreal High School. In addition, an unknown number of second-generation Orthodox Syrians went on to university studies.

Occupations listed in the marriage records for the years 1937 to 1960 support information acquired in the interviews, at least where males are concerned.

⁷⁴ Norman Henchey and Donald Burgess, *Between Past and Future: Quebec Education in Transition* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1987) pp. 26-27.

Although the majority of occupations listed are in the merchant trades and textile industry--occupations for which secondary schooling or a university degree were not prerequisites--some would have required a high-school diploma or a university degree. Lawyer, doctor, draughtsman, druggist, electrician, and engineer, are examples of such occupations listed (See Appendices D1 and D2). Although these categories constitute less than 10% of occupations listed between 1937 and 1960, it is clear that some second-generation males were the recipients of a higher level of education than the majority. So far as the males are concerned, information gathered from the marriage registers concurs with that gleaned from the personal interviews. As occupations of females are not listed in the marriage records during this period, such a comparison is not possible. Nevertheless, interview respondents were unanimous in their contention that some second-generation females received a secondary education and a few continued on to university.

Ethnic Neighbourhood

By the 1920s, the Orthodox Syrian community was growing rapidly. Immigration, which had tapered off considerably during World War I, resumed its pre-war levels. Meanwhile, some of the established resident families were becoming quite prosperous. A number of former peddlers had become merchants and store owners by this time. Some families had even managed to amass considerable wealth. Montreal had been expanding and new areas had been

constructed in the city's north end.⁷⁵ The textile industry was expanding and factories were being built in these areas, providing jobs for many skilled and unskilled Orthodox Syrians. Moreover, some of the textile companies were owned and operated by members of the group. The street car line was similarly expanded to accommodate those who chose to work and reside in this area. The combination of the community's relative prosperity and the city's expansion and modernization in the north-end enticed many Orthodox Syrian families to begin changing residence to the newer area.⁷⁶ Slowly over the 1920s, an increasing number of Orthodox Syrian families moved northward to the new district which can be roughly described as being bordered by Villeray Street on the north, Beaubien Street on the south, St. Denis Street on the west, and Christophe Colombe Street on the east. By 1930, virtually the entire community had been transplanted there from Old Montreal.⁷⁷

It was during the 1950s that the new ethnic neighbourhood began to dissipate as an identifiable and centralized area where community members lived. Some Orthodox Syrians families were moving into the suburban areas of Montreal and the South Shore--suburbs such as Town of Mount Royal, Outremont, Ville Saint-Laurent, and St. Lambert. Others moved to nearby towns such as Hudson, L'Assomption, Joliette, and St-Hyacinthe, while others moved farther away in the

⁷⁵ John Irwin Cooper, *Montreal: A Brief History*. (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969) pp. 125-127; 151.

⁷⁶ Abu-Laban, pp. 227-228; Moser, pp. 94; 100; Personal Interviews.

⁷⁷ Moser, p. 93-94; Personal Interviews.

province to Trois-Rivers or Shawinigan Falls, where Orthodox Syrian communities had been growing for some time. Still others left the province and settled in Toronto or in other towns and cities in Ontario or the U.S.. Marriage registers and interviews confirm that an exodus from the ethnic neighbourhood began in the 1950s and continued through the following decades.

Social Status

As indicated by occupations, education levels, and residential mobility, second-generation Orthodox Syrians enjoyed a certain amount of upward social mobility. Doubtless, those who were owners of textile manufacturing companies fared quite well financially. So also did those merchants who had taken over the larger mercantile operations of their fathers. In addition, those few who had received a university education--for instance, doctors, lawyers, engineers, and dentists--surely had incomes which placed them in the upper levels of the social strata. On the other end of the scale, there were those within the community who did not share in this social improvement--those who were unemployed or those who had not received a good education and who were trapped in low-paying occupations. In addition, the 1930s were economically disastrous for millions of Canadians. There is every reason to believe that Orthodox Syrians were affected by it as much as were other groups in the Canadian population. Yet as church records indicate, some Orthodox Syrians managed to keep afloat their merchant enterprises and textile manufacturing operations during the Great Depression. Others managed to acquire high levels of education during the same period or immediately afterward, which placed them in a position to enter well-paying professions. It seems, then, that community members, on average, enjoyed a

general trend of upward social mobility during the period 1931-1960, as indicated by improvement in the status of the occupations they entered, the increased levels of education available to them, and the growth of Syrian-run merchant enterprises and textile manufacturing operations which their predecessors had founded and in which a sizable percentage of second-generation males had found secure employment. In addition, the increasing movement of community members towards suburban areas after World War II also suggests a general improvement in social status.

Language

Primarily because their education had been in Protestant schools and in English colleges and universities, the majority of the second generation spoke English. Indeed for many, English took precedence over Arabic as a first language. Of course, most learned to speak Arabic at home in their early childhood years and continued to do so sporadically in later years when speaking to their parents or even among themselves, but this group had been educated in English and it felt comfortable in that language. Indeed, many learned to speak French also. Some Orthodox Syrians were educated in French schools and at the same time most who were not had continual contact with their French-speaking peers, an experience which led them to learn the language. The result was that many among the second-generation became tri-lingual, often able during a conversation to switch at random between English, Arabic, and French. However, it can be said that second-generation Orthodox Syrians were, and still are, primarily English-speaking. Besides such information coming through resoundingly in the interviews, there are

other reasons to believe this was so. The Arabic Liturgy had been translated into English rather than into French (see below) and most Orthodox Syrian children were educated in English schools. These facts combined with the responses of those interviewed indicate that English took primacy as the language of choice among second-generation community members.

The Antiochian Orthodox Church

It was during the years 1931-1960 that the Syrian Orthodox Church in Montreal was expanded and altered in ways which helped it to adapt to the changing needs of a community which was itself growing at a rapid pace and adapting to Canadian society. Most obviously, the language of worship had to be changed, as those of the second-generation were increasingly speaking English. Archmandrite Emmanuel Abo-Hatab had translated the Liturgy from Arabic into English during the 1920s when he was parish priest of St. George Church, and Archbishop Antony Bashir introduced the new language into Orthodox worship across North America during the 1930s. In addition, the construction of a new and larger church building was made imperative by the growth of the community and by its relocation to the city's north-end. Construction began in 1936, and by the end of 1939 the new church was completed in the heart of the new neighbourhood at 555 Jean-Talon Street East between Chateaubriand and Lajeunesse Streets. On September 29, 1940, the new church, now named St. George Church, was inaugurated. Ten years later, construction of a new parish house was begun next to the church and it was blessed and dedicated in 1951. The parish house was later

converted into church offices and boardrooms. Both the church and its offices remain at the same location today.⁷⁸

Soon after the new church was built, St. George parish began to display other signs of the community's growth and expansion. The St. George Choir, today reputed to be one of the finest choirs in the Archdiocese, was founded in 1947. In addition, three large bells were installed in the church's spires in 1948 and the St. George Church School, which has since played an important role in the spiritual education of parish children, was founded in 1952.⁷⁹

Meanwhile, St. Nicholas Church of Canada was undergoing similar changes. The church building at Notre Dame Street East had been gutted by fire in 1931. A new church was erected by 1950 at the intersection of de Castelnau and St. Dominique streets close to the new neighbourhood. In the interim, many parishioners attended St. George Church for the Liturgy, while sacramental services such as weddings, baptisms, and funerals, were often held in the homes of various parishioners or of the priest.⁸⁰ Like St. George Church, St. Nicholas Church also began to function in English during this period. It also remains at the same location today.

⁷⁸ Archpriest Antony Gabriel et al, eds., *1905-1980: Seventy Five Years* (Montreal: n.p., n.d.).

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Moser, pp. 93-94; Saint Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox Church, *Souvenir Program commemorating the Burning of the Mortgage on the feast of St. Nicholas*. Montreal: n.p., n.d..

Expansion and change within the church and its community were also reflected in its young people. In 1939, the Sons of St. George was formed, a lay organization which was intended to address the needs and wishes of the parish's youth, but its activities were soon curtailed by the outbreak of World War II. During the war years, Bishop Antony Bashir envisioned the creation of a North American Syrian Orthodox youth movement.⁸¹ In 1946, contact was made with the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox Youth Federation of New England, an existing regional Orthodox Syrian youth organization which had formed in 1938 and which had grown to include the youth from six parishes in Boston, Lawrence, Norwood, Pautucket, and Worcester. Meetings were also held with numerous leaders of the midwest regions and by 1947 the first Syrian Orthodox Youth Organization (SOYO) had been formed in the midwest U.S.. Originally restricted to the midwest, SOYO soon included all the regions of the U.S. and Canada in which Syrian-Orthodox communities were located. The Canadian Region of SOYO was organized in 1953 and included chapters at both Montreal parishes, as well as others in Toronto and Ottawa. In 1954, all of the regional organizations were united under the North American Council of the Syrian Orthodox Youth Organization. Among its purposes, which included various commitments to foster devotion to the Syrian Orthodox faith among its youth, to promote support for the clergy, and to sponsor inter-church athletic activities, the Canadian Region of SOYO was intended to "...mediate to the Canadian way of life the rich heritage of Syrian Orthodox culture brought to this country by the generations of Syrian

⁸¹ *Twenty-Ninth Convention of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of New York and All North America*, n.p., n.d..

pioneers."⁸² This latter aim is indicative of the growing concern of the church and its community to guide--in a way which would nurture Orthodox Syrian culture--the inevitable integration of that culture with Canadian influences which were by then having a visible effect on the second generation.

Another important development which worked towards cultivating the Syrian Orthodox traditions among community members was the decision by St. George parishioners to join their church with the Church of Antioch. In 1934, a vote was held which resulted in a unanimous decision to "pledge allegiance to His Holiness, Patriarch Alexander III of Antioch."⁸³ This development had two effects. First, it brought the two Montreal parishes closer together on the fractious debate over jurisdiction which had seen St. Nicholas Church support the Church of Antioch in 1925. Although complete autocephaly would not be granted until 1970, community members of both parishes henceforth considered themselves to be members of the Antiochian Orthodox Church even though each parish would continue to function as a separate entity. Second, both parishes were now assured that strong cultural ties to the mother country would continue.

The assimilation of second-generation Orthodox Syrians was inhibited by the efforts of the immigrant community members and their churches to instill in the younger generation a sense of being Orthodox Syrian and to provide for them various avenues of cultural continuity and self-expression in the face of an

⁸² *Midwest SOYO 31st Annual Parish Life Conference, June 20-25, 1978*, n.p., n.d., p. 62-64.

⁸³ Archpriest Antony Gabriel et al.

encroaching Canadian national identity. Second-generation community members generally accepted and nurtured their cultural heritage while at the same time developing a Canadian identity which was being molded by education and the cultural and social influences which surrounded them. In accepting both cultures, whether consciously or unconsciously, they developed a new Syrian-Canadian identity which integrated the one with the other.

VI.

THE THIRD GENERATION, 1961-1980

During the period 1961-1980, the process of assimilation was clearly proceeding amongst members of the third generation. The social and cultural foundations of the original Orthodox Syrian community were altered drastically. Two of the community's cultural pillars suffered serious erosion. Family ties beyond those of the immediate family were no longer of great importance in binding the community together and in creating a group identity. The importance of the Syrian hometown had long ago faded even among the second generation. Now, for the first time in the history of the community, levels of exogamous marriage far surpassed those of endogamy. By marrying spouses of cultural and religious backgrounds different from their own, increasing numbers of young Orthodox men and women were displaying an openness to non-Syrian Orthodox culture and a disregard for the cultural and religious taboos of the first generation. Higher education, occupational diversification, social and residential mobility, and other structural factors in Canadian society no doubt worked toward ensuring the social assimilation of the third-generation. With the possible exceptions of Syrian food and a lingering attachment to the Antiochian Orthodox Church, the grandchildren of the first-generation immigrants have few remaining cultural ties which bind them together as a community. So profound is the cultural change between the first and third generations that it is to be wondered whether the latter may be correctly identified as members of a distinct ethnic community.

Marriage

It was in the 1960s that a dramatic change in the proportion of endogamy among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal became evident (See Appendix B3: Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, 1961-1980). Of all the marriages involving Orthodox Syrians which were registered at the two churches between 1961 and 1980, only 39% were endogamous. Exogamy among group members had risen to 61%. These figures present a picture of a community which had suddenly undergone a radical transformation in what had been one of its cultural pillars for two generations. For the first time in the community's history, inter-marriage had become the choice of the majority of Montreal's Orthodox Syrians.

Yet while the proportion of exogamous marriages had increased dramatically, the majority of these were between Orthodox Syrian males and non-Syrian females, as they were in the previous generation. From 1961 to 1980, 65% of exogamous marriages included Orthodox Syrian males. On the other hand, exogamy among Orthodox Syrian females rose five percentage points over the previous generation.

The average age of third-generation brides declined from the previous generation (See Appendix C3: Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1961-1980). During this period, the average age for brides was just over 24. In addition, 40% of this group married before the age of 22 years old, a higher percentage than that of the previous generation. Unchanged from the previous generation, however, was the percentage of brides who were

younger than 18 years old, again accounting for only 1%. The largest percentage (51 %) married between the ages of 22 and 35, but again this represents a decline from the previous generation among this age group.

As with grooms of the first and second generations, those of the third generation tended to marry around the age of 30. In addition, most married at ages between 25 and 35 (See Appendix C3). It seems that the tradition of postponing marriage until the groom was financially secure may have continued even into the third generation.

With regard to those who were single at the time of marriage, the picture changes only slightly from that presented by the marriage registers of earlier generations (See Appendix C3). The proportion of Orthodox Syrian marital partners who were single at the time of marriage was 86% among grooms and 89% among brides during this period. However the proportion of those previously divorced rose significantly as a result of the small percentage of widowed partners, primarily because many of the third generation were still relatively young. Previously divorced grooms accounted for 11% of the total Orthodox Syrian grooms listed during this period--more than twice the proportion among the previous generation and more than fifteen times the proportion among the first generation. The proportion of brides previously divorced rose to 8%, or more than 5 times the previous proportion and more than 20 times that of first-generation brides. Yet although there was a marked increase in those previously divorced among the third generation, the practice was still not very common, given that close to 90% of both partners were single at the time of marriage.

It is interesting to compare third-generation Orthodox Syrian rates of divorce and re-marriage with those for members of the other ethnic groups listed in the registers during the same period. The proportion for the latter groups climbs to 26% for grooms and 12% for brides. These figures represent a combined rate of 19% among non-Syrian spouses who had divorced and re-married. It is almost twice as high as the combined rate among Orthodox Syrians (10%).

Occupations

In employment as in marriage, a break with cultural traditions is clearly visible among the third generation. It is the rapid increase after 1961 of professions other than those traditionally held by members of the first and second generations which is most germane to a discussion of occupational assimilation (See Appendix D3: Marriage Registers Listing the Groom's Occupation, 1961-1980). A sizable percentage (32 %) of occupations listed in the registers between 1961 and 1980 were white-collar or skilled professions uncommon among the earlier generations (See Appendix F: Graph #2). These professions included a sudden and rapid increase in listings of doctors, engineers, accountants and technicians. For example, over the 23 years from 1937 to 1960 only one doctor is listed in the marriage registers, but in the twenty year period 1961 to 1980 eleven doctors are listed. A rise is apparent in listings of engineers, accountants, and technicians as well. Moreover, professions such as dental surgeon, pharmacist, technician, production analyst, production engineer, professor, teacher, auditor, planning consultant, seminarian, newswriter, and television producer, occupations which appeared not at all in the registers before 1960, afterward accounted for almost

14% of the occupations listed. Unlike the first and second generations whose occupations tended towards merchant or manufacturing enterprises, members of the third generation are characterized by a spectrum of highly-skilled occupations. Certainly, by the 1960s young educated Orthodox Syrian males were forsaking types of employment traditionally held by their predecessors for professions more in line with those of many other Canadian groups, strongly suggesting a higher level of education and an increasing assimilation into Canadian society.

Yet, mercantile professions and textile manufacturing positions continued to account for a sizable percentage of occupations between 1961 and 1980. However, the proportion of Orthodox Syrian males working in these two fields combined fell markedly to 40 %. Merely 3% of listings refer specifically to merchants, and when mercantile occupations such as salesman, clientsman, wholesaler, and retailer are added, a total of only 15% can be assumed to be merchants. The remaining 25% were in some way associated with textile or garment manufacturing. Nevertheless, it is clear that by the third generation the tradition of working in the merchant/textile manufacturing professions was being abandoned by a large portion of young men within the community who had turned instead to skilled professions (See Graph # 2: Occupations Held by Grooms, 1937-1980).

The inclusion in church registers after 1960 of brides' occupations is a welcome change for the researcher, though in the two decades from 1961 to 1980 only 54 such listings appear. Additionally frustrating is the fact that of those brides who were Orthodox Syrian, the number of occupations listed falls to 22 (See Appendix D4: Marriage Registers Listing the Bride's Occupation, 1961-1980). In addition, such listings ceased altogether after the early 1970s. Nevertheless, the

inclusion of this information makes it possible to gauge the types of employment engaged in by some third-generation Orthodox Syrian brides. However, one should bear in mind that these occupations are not being presented here as indicative of the majority of third-generation brides. Too few listings are available for a reliable conclusion in this regard.

In contrast to the grooms, the majority of occupations cited by brides during the 1960s and early 1970s were of a non-professional nature. Secretaries, typists, receptionists, bookkeepers, store clerks, hairdressers, salesladies, waitresses, and telephone operators together accounted for 62% of the occupations listed. The single occupation most often cited was that of secretary, appearing in 25% of all cases. On the other hand, 15.5% of brides claimed higher-income professions or those requiring a higher level of education. Such occupations included registered nurse, supervisor, technician, assistant manager, and buyer. Moreover, "student" is cited in 12.5% of listings, suggesting that these brides were probably preparing for careers in the future.

Education

The education level of third-generation Orthodox Syrian males was improved from that of previous generations. The appearance of highly-skilled professionals in 32% of marriage registers after 1961 attests to this fact (See Appendix D3). In addition to such professions as are listed, an additional 4.7% of listings cite "student" as an occupation at the time of marriage. Clearly the registers indicate that a sizable percentage of third-generation males received a university-level

education before marriage. Moreover, interviews with members of the third generation support these conclusions. Because listings of occupations of brides are few in number, they do not necessarily reflect the education levels attained by Orthodox Syrian females. An examination of the occupations listed indicates that some of those brides had completed high-school and others university when they married. Unfortunately, the small number of such listings makes a generalization for the entire group unreliable. On the other hand, interviews have determined that perhaps as many third-generation females as males completed high-school and university.

Social Status

The occupations and the increased levels of education among members of the third generation indicate a substantial increase in social status for this group. Combined with these indications, the fact that many third-generation Orthodox Syrians grew up in suburban areas suggests that they probably would have wanted to maintain, at least, the social status to which they had become accustomed. The proportion of those who in fact succeeded in this is not measurable, but when one considers certain factors, such as the percentage of high-income occupations listed in church registers, the increased levels of education apparent in those registers, the social milieu in which most of the third generation came of age, and the fact most parents would have encouraged their children, it is likely that the average third-generation Orthodox Syrian enjoyed a social status higher than that of the previous generations.

Language

According to the interviews that were conducted with members of the third-generation, it appears that proficiency in the Arabic language was not common among them. This is probably due to a combination of factors. Because so many of the second generation had spoken English as a first language, their children probably learned English first at home. In addition, the relative infrequency with which members of the third generation came into extended contact with those of the first-generation mitigated against their learning Arabic to the same extent as had their parents. Moreover, many third-generation Orthodox Syrians continued to attend Protestant schools and English universities as had their parents, making English the first language for many of this group as well. Furthermore, the higher level of education which the third generation received probably resulted in increased proficiency in the language.

However, it is among the third generation that proficiency in French has also increased. An English education, although common, was not universal among the third generation. Rules governing the denominational eligibility of schoolchildren were relaxed since the 1960s and attendance at Catholic French schools was made more possible for some of the group. As well, some second-generation Orthodox Syrians married French Catholics, which would have permitted their children to learn the language at home. In addition to this, the political and social climate in Quebec since the 1960s has encouraged many English-speaking Quebecers to learn French. This suggests that English-speaking members of the third generation, like other groups in Quebec society, probably sought to acquire a level of proficiency

in French, especially when one considers that the occupations which many had entered upon required French proficiency.

The Antiochian Orthodox Church

The period 1961 to the present has been a time of growth for the Antiochian Orthodox Church in Montreal. During this time, the Ladies' Benevolent Society, the church choirs, the church schools, and SOYO have all prospered. Moreover, many new committees and organizations were established, such as the Antiochian Women's Association, the Men's Club, the Senior Men's Club, Senior and Teen SOYO, the St. George Hospital (Beirut) and Orthodox Charities, the Children's Relief Fund, the Cedars Home for the Aged, the Cedars Cancer Fund, and many others.⁸⁴ In addition, church attendance at both parishes has grown due to massive immigration from Lebanon during the 1970s and 1980s.

Judging by the responses of those interviewed, religion may not be as esteemed among the third generation as it was among previous generations. While respondents described themselves as Orthodox Christians, most said they were not given to overt religiosity and all were clearly more secularized than were their parents. Yet, most admitted to a lingering attachment to the Orthodox religion.

⁸⁴ St. George Antiochian Orthodox Church, *What You Should Know About Your Church*, Montreal: n.p., n.d., p.11.

VII.

A CASE HISTORY

At some point in the 1890s--the actual date is not certain--Farris Shoofey arrived in Montreal. He had come from Rachaiya-Al-Wadi, a small village in Lebanon, Syria. His exact age upon arrival is not certain, but it is known that he was born in 1881. He was among a handful of Orthodox Christian Syrians who had come to Canada in search of freedom and prosperity. Farris found both, although the streets of Montreal were not paved in gold as he had been misled to believe.

By the turn of the century, Farris was traveling the roads of Quebec, a self-employed peddler. His work took him to a number of rural communities where he acquired regular customers to whom he sold all manner of inexpensive articles which he carried in large valises. The farmers and other rural folk who were his clients eagerly anticipated his arrival, as the large selection of inexpensive articles which he sold at that time were not easily available in rural villages. In those early years, Farris traveled by railway, by boat, or by horse-drawn buggy. Sometimes he walked great distances. When he had sold all of his merchandise, he returned to Montreal, replenished his stock, and was soon off again to make his rounds.

After several years of this type of work, Farris decided to change the merchandise he was selling. Having saved a little capital, and having acquired some business connections in Montreal and abroad, Farris decided to import high-quality lace and embroidered linens and other expensive textiles from Syria, Ireland, England, France, and Italy. These articles, which were hard to come by for

many in Canada and quite expensive, Farris sold to some of the country's wealthiest families. He soon acquired an automobile and expanded his sales territory. Within a short time, Farris had customers across much of Canada. The profits that he earned from his business eventually made Farris a wealthy man.

In 1913, Farris married Amelia Yared, a young Orthodox Christian woman from Damascus, Syria. The city of Damascus was not far from Rachaiya and Farris knew many Orthodox families who lived there. In the years before 1913 he had returned to Syria a few times, mostly to arrange matters dealing with his trade, and on one occasion Amelia's parent's had promised Farris their daughter's hand in marriage. When they married in 1913, Farris was thirty-two years old and Amelia was twenty-two.

Farris and Amelia lived in a large home near the corner of Viger and Craig streets in the Old City. By this time, there were quite a few Syrian families, both Orthodox and Catholic, living in this neighbourhood. Stores and shops operated by Syrians were appearing in the area. Two Orthodox Churches, each with a Syrian priest also had been established, one on Vitre Street and the other on Notre Dame Street East. The area had thus become a thriving community largely consisting of extended families from Raichaya, Zahle, Ain-Hircha, Damascus, and other nearby Syrian villages and towns. It was while living in this neighbourhood that Amelia gave birth to three children, two boys and one girl.

In the early 1920s, the Shoofey family moved to the north-end of the city. The city had recently been expanding into this area and many new shops, manufacturing companies, and other business concerns were being established

there, offering new employment opportunities to members of the Orthodox Syrian community. As well, this expansion provided new markets to the many Syrian merchants living in Montreal. Because Farris Shoofey was faring quite well financially during this period, his family was among the first to relocate. Soon after, many families followed, and eventually the entire Orthodox Syrian community had relocated within an area bounded by Bellechasse Street on the south, Villeray Street on the north, St. Denis Street on the west, and Christophe-Colombe Street on the east. In this neighbourhood, six more children were born to Farris and Amelia, two boys and four girls. It was in this neighbourhood that all of their children would attend school and come of age.

The Shoofey children attended Peace Centennial and Earl Gray schools, English-Protestant primary schools located near their home in the neighbourhood. At these schools they studied with children of many ethnicities, including Irish, Italian, Ukrainian, and Orthodox Syrian. It was in these primary schools that the Orthodox Syrian children, and those of other immigrant groups, received the education which formed the foundation of their Canadian identities.

Of Farris Shoofey's nine children, only 2 completed high-school. Both were female. One attended a private French secondary academy and the younger daughter attended the High School for Girls. Only the younger one continued, completing a university education. She pursued studies at various times at McGill and Sir George Williams and began a career as a registered nurse. Another daughter studied at Ecole des Beaux Arts but did not complete the programme.

With the exceptions of two sons, one of whom died at a young age and another who was hospitalized with a chronic illness, the remaining children entered the work force without having completed high school. The eldest son went to work in his father's linen trade and another worked in factories. The second-eldest daughter worked as the chief secretary to the President of Continental Can Company and the two youngest girls worked in factories, offices, and stores.

The second-generation family members acquired an identity as Canadians. At school, at their jobs, and in their social lives, they interacted with their Canadian peers of all languages and ethnicities. They considered themselves every bit as Canadian as anyone else born in Canada. The daughters dated both Syrian and non-Syrian men and the sons dated both Syrian and non-Syrian women and none was opposed to someday marrying a non-Syrian or non-Orthodox spouse, should they so desire. Much of their social lives consisted of attending parties, viewing movies, and dancing at large Montreal dance halls such as the Roseland Ballroom along with their friends of all national and ethnic backgrounds. They wore the latest styles in clothing and listened to the popular music of the time. In all of these ways they considered themselves to be just like everyone else.

At the same time, however, they were aware of their unique cultural heritage and they were very proud of it. All had been deeply affected by the Orthodox Syrian culture which their parents and their community had fostered amongst them since birth. They had been raised as Orthodox Syrian Christians and in this regard they were quite different from their Canadian friends, the majority of whom had been raised in the Catholic and Protestant religious traditions. At their church they became familiar with religious rites that had not changed for centuries and which

were quite alien to most inhabitants of North America. Moreover they were generally adept at speaking "Syrian," as they referred to the particular dialect of Arabic which their parents spoke, although some were not fluent. Amongst themselves and with other community members, they ate Syrian food, listened to Syrian music and danced Syrian dances. In addition, they had been taught, and they were expected to follow, a strict moral code which was rooted in their ancient religion and culture. In all of these things they were conscious that they were different from the majority of the city's inhabitants.

Yet they were rarely ill at ease because of this difference. Nor did they feel inferior to their Canadian peers because of it. During childhood, some had been teased by other neighbourhood children on account of their religion or ethnicity and as adults most had experienced incidents of slight prejudice, but serious overt religious and racial prejudice and discrimination was not encountered. They thought of themselves as Canadians like everyone else, but they dearly loved their own cultural heritage and were generally proud of it.

Of the seven second-generation family members who married, four (one male and three females) married Orthodox Syrians and three (one male and two females) married spouses of other ethnicities (Italian-Canadian, French-Canadian, and Lithuanian). Translated into percentages, 57% of the marriages were endogamous and 43% were exogamous. In addition, four were married at St. George Church and three in churches of other denominations, one Roman Catholic, one Eastern-Rite Catholic, and one Anglican. One of the two males was over 30 years of age when he married while the females married at ages ranging from 17 to 40 years old. Two (one male and one female) were eventually divorced

from their spouses but only one, the eldest male, ever re-married. His first wife had been an Orthodox Syrian but his second wife was Protestant.

Following marriage, all of the second-generation family members moved out of the neighbourhood. The eldest son left his father's linen business and moved to Toronto where he married his second wife and established a factory which manufactured a textile which he had invented. The eldest daughter moved to Trois-Rivieres, Quebec, her husband's hometown. The second-eldest daughter settled in Town of Mount Royal with her husband. The two youngest daughters initially moved to Park Extension, but as their economic situations improved they eventually joined their sister in Town of Mount Royal. Soon afterward the remaining family members, including those in Trois-Rivieres, had joined them there. In the interim, Farris Shoofey had passed away at the age of seventy-six.

Although he did not live to see them all, Farris was survived by 20 grandchildren. Of Farris's seven children who married, five had produced children of their own. This generation grew to maturity in a world far removed from that of their grandparents. They lived in modern suburban areas and many studied at specialized schools. All were influenced by a host of cultural and social forces in a city which had modernized.

Of all the third-generation family members, most received their primary and secondary education in English-language Protestant and Catholic schools in suburban areas of Montreal and Trois-Rivieres, Quebec. Most completed high school and most hold university degrees in either economics, education, psychology, communications, political science, English, or history. Some have the

Quebec equivalent of a college-level education (CEGEP). A few have not completed secondary school, but family members of the third-generation are generally well-educated.

Of the 14 third-generation family members who married only 3 have married Orthodox Syrians. Exogamy is therefore close to 80%. The average age for marriage among this group is in the middle to late twenties among both sexes and the divorce rate is high (42%), but none have re-married.

The grandchildren of Farris Shoofey have chosen professions far removed from the merchant trades and textile manufacturing professions common to the early Orthodox Syrian community of which he and his children were members. Today, family members are involved in highly-skilled and diverse professions such as teaching, broadcasting and communications, insurance and investment counseling, marketing and management, music, and business administration. None is involved in the mercantile trades or in the textile industry. Thus, the level of education received by these family members of both sexes has resulted in professions which are unconnected to those which were held by the majority of first and second generation community members.

Third-generation family members all stress that they view themselves as Canadian, and that this identity outweighs their attachment to Orthodox Syrian culture, although an awareness of the latter is present in their minds and hearts. Most had been culturally and socially distanced from the original community through many factors in their lives. All were raised in suburban areas and all enjoyed middle-class life in a more diversified city. Only a handful had been born

in the ethnic neighbourhood and these few had moved to the suburbs when they were very young. As a result, most did not have extensive contact with their grandparents and other members of the original community. In addition, most had been profoundly influenced by the education which they had received as well as by television and other media. Moreover, their parents had not attempted to foster in them the same cultural traditions which had been an important part of the original community. Arabic was not heard as often at home and languages such as English and French were commonly used between all family members. Hitherto vital cultural traditions such as endogamy and employment in the family business were no longer encouraged in most families. Furthermore, some of the second-generation family members had married non-Syrian spouses and their children were not exposed to cultural homogeneity at home. As an additional consequence of their parents' exogamous marriages, these children viewed themselves as only partly Orthodox Syrian. Considering all of these factors it is no wonder that third-generation family members no longer identify strongly with their Orthodox Syrian heritage. Assimilation is in fact proceeding at a rapid pace among this group.

However, the process of assimilation is not proceeding as rapidly in the domain of religion. Although generally not as devoutly religious as either their parents or grandparents had been, most third-generation family members continue to profess the Antiochian Orthodox faith. Although some were baptized Catholic due to their parents' exogamy, some of these converted to the Antiochian Syrian faith in later years and remain so today. Few, if any, of those who were baptized Orthodox have converted to other denominations or faiths. The real threat to their common faith is not religious conversion but rather secularism. Like their Canadian contemporaries of other denominations and faiths, they are profoundly

influenced by secular forces. Religion is not of paramount importance amongst them as it had been amongst their parents and grandparents. Besides Syrian food, however, the Orthodox religion is the only remnant of the immigrants' culture which is shared in by the majority of third-generation family members.

Considering that the Orthodox Syrian community was defined by its culture, one must wonder whether the majority of third-generation members of this family can indeed be considered as full members of that ethnic community. Certainly they feel an attachment to their heritage and would therefore like to consider themselves as belonging to the community. Again, they are certainly members of the Shoofey family tree and to this extent they share in its heritage. Yet using Moser's criteria in defining the cultural foundations of the Orthodox Syrian community (i.e. attachment to the three cultural pillars of hometown, family and religion), it is doubtful whether third generation members of this family can be thought of as members of a distinct Orthodox Syrian ethnic community. Although there remains a lingering attachment to the Antiochian Orthodox church, third-generation family members have relinquished most of the cultural traditions which bound the former generations into an ethnically distinct community. It appears that the ethnic community of which Farris and Amelia Shoofey were members is as far-removed culturally from their grandchildren as it is distant from them in time.

VIII.

CONCLUSIONS

The earliest Orthodox Syrian immigrants to arrive in Montreal were concerned with immediate survival. These pioneers were probably too preoccupied with finding employment and adjusting themselves to the political, cultural, and social realities of Canada to be concerned with thoughts of establishing an Orthodox Syrian community in Montreal. Yet before long some of these men had begun to realize that they could make their way in Montreal with far more freedom and success than was possible in Syria. They soon began sending for members of their extended families to join them in Montreal. At first a few families were transplanted to Montreal, followed by a few more, and before long hundreds of Orthodox Syrians were emigrating to Montreal on a regular yearly basis. Although Syrian immigration was on a much smaller scale than that of other ethnic groups during the same period--notably Italians and Jews--it nevertheless happened that a community which was Syrian, and primarily Orthodox, was taking shape in Montreal.

The result of this chain migration was to heighten the immigrants' desire to establish a community which would be culturally modeled, as closely as possible, on a life which they had left behind in Syria. To do this, they needed to establish the one institution which more than any other had united their families and had for centuries defined their ethnic heritage within the handful of Syrian villages from which they had come: the Syrian Orthodox Church. It was the establishment of a relatively autonomous, culturally Syrian, Orthodox church which more than any

other factor ensured that an identifiable Orthodox Syrian ethnic community could be at least temporarily maintained in the immigrants' adoptive home. Without the establishment of this institution, the maintenance of ethnic group identity and of common cultural traditions, all of which were primarily shaped by Syrian Christian Orthodoxy, might not have been possible.

The Syrian-Orthodox Church in Montreal remained a powerful cultural force which fostered ethnic cohesion and which facilitated the preservation of an Orthodox Syrian culture. It appears the Orthodox Church, besides initially offering the community a means to establishing a centralized ethnic community, later played a role in slowing, at least temporarily, the group's integration into Canadian society. Yet the Church was not the cause of ethnic preservation in the Montreal community, but simply a useful and convenient vehicle through which community members could attain cultural preservation.

In fact, it is the strict maintenance of cultural traditions and of a sense of Orthodox Syrian ethnicity which more than any other aspect defines the first generation and sets it apart from later generations. Marriage registers indicate that the old hometown tradition of ethno-religious endogamy was observed by the immigrant group. This clearly illustrates the group's continued identification with hometown and family ties and its desire to perpetuate a second generation which would be ethno-religiously homogeneous. Moreover, the determined effort on the part of the majority of the group to establish a Syrian Orthodox church in Montreal rather than to simply join Catholic, Protestant, or Russian Orthodox parishes indicates an effort to resist assimilation, as does the group's steady, if fractious, movement towards establishing close ties to the Church of Antioch. In addition,

the continued use in the home and in church of the Arabic language, and particularly of a dialect peculiar to the region from which they came, served to reinforce the group's separate ethnic identity. Furthermore, the continued influx of Orthodox Syrian immigrants until 1930, many of whom were members of extended families of those who had preceded them, helped to ensure the maintenance of cultural integrity. Finally, the tendency to employ extended family members in the family enterprise further indicates a desire to maintain close hometown and family ties, while at the same time lessening the assimilative effects which would have been produced through daily interaction in enterprises which employed a majority of non-Syrian workers. Although Orthodox Syrian immigrants were not immune to Canadian influences, it is clear that they were devoted to maintaining Orthodox Syrian culture.

While the first generation was characterized by cultural preservation and ethnic self-identity, the second generation was characterized by cultural integration and a new *Syrian-Canadian* identity. By the time the majority of its second-generation members were entering upon marriage, Montreal's Orthodox Syrian community was undergoing palpable change--cultural, social, educational, economic, and residential. Established cultural traditions in the areas of marriage, occupational endeavour, and language were beginning to be altered and replaced by elements of Canadian culture which had influenced members of the second generation since birth. Education certainly played a key role in bringing this about. So too did the fact that second-generation Orthodox Syrians were born in Canada, a factor in their lives and in the development of their identities which differed greatly from that of their parents. Although they had adjusted themselves to Canada's realities when necessary, the first-generation immigrants had felt

alienated by Canada's culture and had attempted to safeguard and preserve their ethnic identities. The second generation, by contrast, identified to a great extent with Canadian culture and was open to many of its influences. On the other hand, marriage registers also indicate that ties to ethnic culture were still strong enough to ensure that 70% of Montreal's second-generation Orthodox Syrian marriages were endogamous and that the majority of males sought occupations in traditional family enterprises. Second-generation Orthodox Syrians were, in effect, caught between two worlds, all the while attempting to integrate the one with the other. In fact, the integration of a Canadian identity with the Orthodox Syrian culture in which they were raised seems to be a recurring theme in the lives of the second generation, as indicated by many sources including marriage registers, church publications, secondary literature, and interviews with members of the second generation.

Other significant changes were underway in the community as a whole. As the educational, occupational, and economic situations of Orthodox Syrians improved so did their social status. In addition to these developments, the entire community had relocated during the 1920s and the 1930s to a new neighbourhood in Montreal's north-end. Meanwhile, the Syrian Orthodox Church in Montreal was undergoing rapid expansion and structural change and it too had relocated to the heart of the new neighbourhood.

It was largely due to community expansion and cultural change among the second generation that the Syrian Orthodox Church in Montreal was forced to expand and to change the language of worship from Arabic to English. Moreover, certain steps were taken by the Church which helped to preserve and strengthen

Orthodox Syrian culture, such as the forging of stronger ties to the Church of Antioch and the formation of SOYO. In some ways the Syrian Orthodox Church mirrored the general atmosphere of expansion and change within the community while in other respects it attempted to prevent a radical departure from the Orthodox faith and Syrian culture among community members.

It is by the third generation that one witnesses radical transformations in the social and cultural fabric of the Orthodox Syrian community which suggest that the process of assimilation was well-advanced. Endogamy, a tradition practiced by the majority of Orthodox Syrians over two generations, was by the third generation practiced by a minority (See Appendix E: Graph #1). Marriage registers for the years 1961-1980 indicate that ethnic ties of family, religion, language, and other traditional aspects of Syrian culture no longer played an important role in the choice of a spouse among the majority of third-generation members. This development reveals not only an aloofness from previously entrenched traditions of Orthodox Syrian culture but also an openness to the myriad of cultural traditions which together comprise the Canadian mosaic. That a large majority of the third generation identified with other Canadians is certainly evident in the marriage registers.

Similarly, assimilation is evident in the levels of education received by members of the third generation and in the types of employment in which they engaged. Occupations of grooms listed in marriage registers between 1961 and 1980 reveal two important facts: (1) the majority of those who married during this period were employed in a wide range of occupations of which a sizable percentage were of a highly-skilled or professional nature; (2) this development in

the area of occupations indicates that most had received fairly high levels of education. Both of these developments suggest a strong movement towards assimilation into Quebec society. In the years that young Quebecers in general became better educated and entered the professions and other tertiary sector occupations in increasing numbers, so too did Orthodox Syrians (See Graph # 2). In fact, the diversification of Quebec's economy, which saw the province develop from a society based on the primary and secondary sectors to one based on the tertiary sector, must have played a key role in the assimilation of third-generation Orthodox Syrians.⁸⁵

Education was a key factor in the process of assimilation in that it reinforced a Canadian identity among community members over the second and third generations and it trained and prepared the latter group for highly-skilled professions which were becoming more common among Quebecers in general. The social and pedagogical influences that the third generation experienced in Canadian public schools and institutions of higher learning no doubt acted upon their social and cultural development in a way which simultaneously strengthened their Canadian identities and minimized their identification with an already declining ethnic consciousness. Meanwhile, the educational system was preparing these individuals for diverse professional careers. This factor resulted in a lessening of the occupational ghettoization which had characterized former generations. In addition, such higher-income professions provided the third generation with an increased social status.

⁸⁵ See Kenneth McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988) pp. 65; 76-77; 131-132.

The residential dispersal of Orthodox Syrians since the 1950s and 1960s was also a key factor in the assimilation of the third generation. Many of those born during this period did not experience life in an ethnic neighbourhood. Their parents and grandparents had shared a strong sense of ethnic inclusivity which was partly engendered through living in close proximity to most other community members, but those of the third generation were dispersed throughout the city, the suburbs, and the province. They had grown surrounded by members of all social and cultural groups, particularly those groups which formed the majority in the city and province--the French and the English. Considering their places of residence, members of the third generation were in closer daily contact with the social and cultural milieu of other Canadians than they were with those of the Orthodox Syrian community. That this was so throughout their lives was certainly a key factor in their assimilation.

Because all of these factors--high levels of exogamous marriage, occupational mobility and diversity, higher education, social mobility, dissolution of the ethnic neighbourhood, a general dispersal of the ethnic group throughout the society at large, lessening of familiarity with the mother tongue and other cultural traditions of the ethnic group, and a strong sense of Canadian identity--normally lend themselves to social and cultural assimilation, it is therefore reasonable to conclude that by the time the third generation was entering upon marriage the process of assimilation was well underway within the Orthodox Syrian community.

Yet in the domain of religion the process of assimilation is not as apparent as it is in other areas. This is not surprising considering the nature of their religion. Although they are Christians, religious assimilation has been hampered by their Antiochian Orthodox faith which renders them a small minority in Canada. As well, marriage in the Orthodox Church remained an aspect of their parents' and grandparents' culture with which many of the third generation still identified as late as 1980. The marriage ceremony of the Antiochian Orthodox Church, a highly symbolic and elaborate ritual which includes the crowning of the bride and the groom, had always been a vital element of Orthodox Syrian culture and an important event whereby family members could celebrate their religious heritage.⁸⁵ The fact that many among the third generation continued to marry within the church despite a substantial increase in the number of exogamous marriages demonstrates that while cultural ties of ethnicity and family no longer play central roles in their choice of a mate, marriage within the Orthodox Church remains fairly common. While it is impossible to ascertain how many have married in other churches, the marriage registers of the two Syrian parishes do not present any evidence of a reduction in the number of marriages performed during this period. In fact, more marriages were performed in the 20 year period 1961-1980 than in the previous 30 year period. It appears that in the domain of religion those of the third generation are in general not experiencing assimilation on a large scale. That is, there is no evidence they are joining Catholic or Protestant churches in large numbers. While it may be argued many are becoming secularized, assimilation into the majority religious traditions of Canada is not evident.

⁸⁵ Moser, pp. 12-13; 29-30.

Considering that it has taken the community more than 75 years to arrive at the present level of assimilation, the process has been a slow one. The second generation did not quickly discard the most vital aspects of its culture, but rather simply lessened its attachment to some of them while it acquired some Canadian social and cultural characteristics. Their case can be described more correctly as integration rather than assimilation. It is only by the third generation that assimilation becomes apparent, and only since the 1960s that it appears to be progressing at a rapid pace. By 1980, there still lingered an identification with Syrian Orthodox religion on the part of some. Assimilation was not yet complete 90 years after the first families arrived and established themselves in Montreal, and 75 years after the Syrian Orthodox Church was established.

The experience of the family from which the case history was assembled for this thesis is generally in accord with findings for the community derived from documentary evidence. Levels of exogamy among second and third-generation family members were higher than those found in the registers but there are reasons for this anomaly. Among both the second and third generations not all family members were married. Two of nine second generation members were not included due to tragedies early in their lives. Even so, a larger percentage of marriages were endogamous than were exogamous. Among the third generation, seven of the twenty-one family members had not yet married. That probably explains the large discrepancy in this case. However, the general tendencies toward endogamy among the second generation and toward exogamy among the third generation was evident. Moreover, the tendencies of family members of all three generations in average marrying age, re-marriage, religion, occupations,

education, social status, language, and residence, largely parallel those findings for the community arrived at through the marriage registers and other documentary and secondary sources used in this thesis.

Various studies of Orthodox Syrian communities in other North American cities have reached conclusions similar to those presented in this thesis. In Jabbra's study of the Lebanese and Syrians of Nova Scotia, findings for members of the first, second, and third generations in marriage, social status, education, language, and religion almost mirror those found here. Among the findings of the authors are the following:

First-generation immigrants, particularly women, are likely to marry other Lebanese, preferably from the same denomination, and frequently relatives. In fact, their marriages may have been arranged. Second-generation Lebanese are more likely to marry Canadians, and there are few arranged marriages in this group...

Few Lebanese are rich or poor, with the majority of them somewhere in the middle class...

There is a strong tendency for the first-generation men to go into small business of some sort...The second-generation are occupationally more diverse, although even with them small business is significant...

In terms of education, the Canadian-born Lebanese and Syrians have shown considerable upward mobility compared to the poorly educated immigrant generations...Most of the Canadian-born finish high school, and many go on to university...

Not much Arabic survives when the third generation is reached. Most of this group do not even understand Arabic...

The Antiochian Orthodox Church in North America as a whole has been concerned to preserve traditional Orthodoxy, and so

religious practices in Halifax have remained fairly unacculturated.⁸⁶

That the Orthodox religion has mitigated against the quick assimilation of community members has been documented in other studies. Generally, the findings indicate that Melkites and Syrian Protestants, being fully Catholic or Protestant, integrate and assimilate rather quickly in North America, while Maronites, being a break-away Catholic sect, are a little slower to do so. Slower still are the Orthodox, whose religion while Christian is closely connected to neither Catholicism nor Protestantism. The slowest group of Syrians to assimilate into North American society are the Muslims. Researchers seem to agree that religion has been a strong mitigating factor in the slow rate of assimilation among the Orthodox.⁸⁷

The connection between the low proportions of endogamy and the almost fully assimilated Canadian identity of the third generation has also been documented in P.E.I.. Explains Weale,

For most Lebanese young people of the third generation growing up in Charlottetown today, intermarriage is scarcely an issue. It would not even occur to many of them that they ought to marry a girl or boy with a Lebanese background. They simply do not have strong feelings of being Lebanese. That aspect of their identity has been superseded by their new identity as Canadians...⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Jabbra and Jabbra, pp. 115; 158-160.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-112; Kayal and Kayal, pp. 20; 198-200; Naseer Aruri, "The Arab-American Community of Springfield Massachusetts," in Hagopian and Paden eds., pp. 50-66.

⁸⁸ Weale, p. 43.

When the first-generation immigrants established their ethnic church in 1905, they laid the foundation of their community upon the three pillars of Orthodox Syrian culture, namely religion, family, and hometown. Before long, they had established a vibrant ethnic community which was characterized by social and cultural traditions which were influenced by powerful religious and family ties. As the second generation reached maturity, cracks within the pillars had begun to appear. During the years 1931 to 1960, the pillars of family and religion, while still very strong, had begun to show signs of wear. Moreover, the pillar of hometown identity had become largely irrelevant to a generation which had been born in Montreal and which had practically no contact with the mother country. In addition, a new Canadian identity had emerged among them, but rather than having a destructive effect upon the cultural pillars of the community this new self-consciousness was carefully engraved upon them, producing a new and unique Syrian-Canadian identity. By the third generation, however, the community's pillars suffered serious erosion. Structural forces in Canadian society, such as increased access to higher education, occupational and economic diversification, social and residential mobility, and the country's multi-cultural nature had by the 1960s occasioned a rapid process of assimilation among the third generation and by 1980 had produced a community almost unidentifiable socially and culturally with that which was established by the Orthodox Syrian pioneers. Only one pillar of the community--the Antiochian Orthodox Church--remained a cultural link for some. On the other hand, the third generation had become secularized and religion was not of paramount importance to them. As assimilation and secularization continue to affect the third and subsequent generations, all three cultural pillars may be buried so deep within a new, Canadian, social and cultural identity that they will become all but invisible.

Suggestions for Further Research

Many aspects in the history of the Orthodox Syrian community in Montreal remain to be studied. Registers of births, baptisms, and deaths have not yet been examined and these records contain additional information on the community, most notably that related to family size and demographics. In addition, an institutional history of the Antiochian Orthodox Church in Montreal is feasible, given the documentation available. Similarly, a history of Syrian-owned textile manufacturing enterprises and other business concerns in Montreal would be a valuable contribution to Canadian institutional history. Finally, a comparative study of Canada's Syrian and Lebanese communities would offer a much-needed synthesis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Government Documents

Archives Municipales. *Les quartiers municipaux de Montreal depuis 1832*.
Montreal: les archives municipales, 1973.

Canada. Bureau of Statistics. *Fifth census of Canada, 1911*. vol. 2.

_____. Bureau of Statistics. *Sixth census of Canada, 1921*. vols. 1 and 2.

_____. Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh census of Canada, 1931*. vol. 1.

_____. Bureau of Statistics. *Population of the Municipal Wards of Montreal City by Quinquennial Age Groups, Conjugal Condition, Birthplace, Racial Origin, Religion, School Attendance and Literacy, By Sex, census 1931*. Bulletin 38. 1934.

_____. Bureau of Statistics. *Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People*. Census Monograph 4. 1937.

_____. *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*.
4 vols. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969. vol. 4.

Church Records

Saint George Antiochian Orthodox Church. *Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Funerals, 1906-1980*. Montreal: Saint George Antiochian Orthodox Church Archives.

Saint Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox Church. *Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Funerals, 1906-1980*. Montreal: Saint Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox Church Archives.

Pamphlets, Newspapers, and Journals

Harakas, Reverend Stanley. *Guidelines for Marriage in the Orthodox Church*. Minneapolis: Light and Life Publishing, n.d..

Twenty-Ninth Convention of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of New York and All North America, n.p., n.d..

Midwest SOYO 31st Annual Parish Life Conference, June 20-25, 1978, n.p., n.d..

Saint George Antiochian Orthodox Church. *1905-1980: Seventy Five Years*. Archpriest Antony Gabriel et al, eds.. Montreal: n.p., n.d..

_____. *What You Should Know About Your Church*. Montreal: n.p., n.d..

_____. *Antiochian Holy Year 1985*. Montreal: n.p., 1985.

Saint Nicholas Antiochian Orthodox Church. *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Tribute 1910-1985*, n.p., 1985.

_____. *Souvenir Program commemorating the Burning of the Mortgage on the feast of St. Nicholas*. Montreal: n.p., n.d..

Interviews

- # 1. Ruby Courey. Montreal: March 29, 1993.
- # 2. Patricia Shoffey. Montreal: April 7, 1993.
- # 3. Iliana Shoofey-Marino. Montreal: August 29, 1993.
- # 4. Darlene Cattini. Montreal: September 13, 1993.
- # 5. Andre Courey. Montreal: September 20, 1993.
- # 6. Zachary Cattini. Montreal: September 30, 1993.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Unpublished Theses

Moser, Diane. *Hometown and Family Ties: The Marriage Registers of the Lebanese-Syrian Orthodox Churches of Montreal, 1905-1950*. M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1990

Articles

Abernathy, Thomas J. "Status Integration and Ethnic Intermarriage." *Racial Minorities in Multicultural Canada*. Eds. Peter S. Li and B. Singh Bolaria. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1983, pp. 97-102.

Abu-Laban, Baha. "The Arab-Canadian Community." Hagopian and Paden, pp. 18-36.

- Aruri, Naseer. " The Arab-American Community of Springfield Massachusetts." Hagopian and Paden, pp. 50-66.
- Bugleski, B.R. " Assimilation Through Intermarriage." *Social Forces* 40 (1961) pp. 148-153.
- Conzen, Kathleen Neils. " Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods, and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues. *The Journal of American History* 66 (1979) pp. 603-615.
- Elkholy, Abdo A.. " The Arab Americans: Nationalism and Traditional Preservations." Hagopian and Paden, pp. 3-17.
- Gulick, John. " The Lebanese Village: An Introduction, " *American Anthropologist* 55 (1953) pp. 367-372.
- Haddad, Safia F. " The Woman's Role in Socialization of Syrian-Americans in Chicago. " Hagopian and Paden, pp. 84-101.
- Hagopian, Elaine C.. " The Institutional Development of the Arab-American Community of Boston. " Hagopian and Paden, pp. 67-83.
- Isajiw, Wsevlod W. " Definitions of Ethnicity." Bienvenue and Goldstein, pp. 3-17.
- Jabbara, Nancy W. " Assimilation and Acculturation of Lebanese Extended Families in Nova Scotia." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 15.1 (1983) pp. 54-72.
- Khuri, Fuad I.. " A Comparative Study of Migration Patterns in Two Lebanese Villages." *Human Organization*, Vol. 26, No. 4, Winter, 1967, pp. 206-213.
- _____. " Parallel Cousin Marriage Reconsidered: A Middle Eastern Practice that Nullifies the Effects of Marriage on the Intensity of Family Relationships, " *Man* 7 (1970) pp. 597-618.
- Mikesell, Marvin W.. " Lebanese Emigration." *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 53 (1963) pp. 600-602.

- Palmer, Howard. " Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s." *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 17, No.1, 1982, pp. 35-50.
- Perin, Roberto. "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography." *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History*. Carl Berger, ed. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman LTD, 1987, pp. 201-221.
- Petai, Raphael. " The Structure of Endogamous Unilineal Descent Groups, " *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 21.4 (1965) pp. 325-350.
- Price, C.A. and J. Zubrzycki. " The Use of Inter-Marriage Statistics as an Index of Assimilation. " *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography* 16 (July 1962) pp. 58-69.
- Salem, Norma. " The Arabophone Community of Quebec. " *Forces* 73 (1986) pp. 70-72.
- Tannous, A.I.. " Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon, " *American Journal of Sociology*, 48 (1942) pp. 231-239.
- _____. " The Arab Village Community of the Middle East, " *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1943* (Washington, D.C. 1944) pp. 524-543..

Monographs

- Abu-Laban, Baha. *An Olive Branch on the Family Tree: The Arabs in Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980.
- Attwater, Donald. *The Christian Churches of the East*. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing, 1969. Vols. I and II. pp. 35-47.
- Bienvenue Rita M. and Jay. E. Goldstein, eds.. *Ethnicity and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Butterworth and Company, 1985.

- Brown, Robert Craig and Ramsay Cook. *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. The Canadian Centenary Series 14. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1983.
- Browne, Walter L. *The Political History of Lebanon, 1920-1950*. Salisbury: Documentary Publications, 1976), Vols. I and II.
- Chambers, Mortimer et al. *The Western Experience*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1983, pp. 17; 22; 118-119.
- Cooper, John Irwin. *Montreal: A Brief History*. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969.
- Copp, Terry. *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- Hagopian, Elaine C. and Anne Paden, eds.. *The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation*. Willmette Illinois: The Median University Press, 1969.
- Henchey, Norman and Donald Burgess, *Between Past and Future: Quebec Education in Transition*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1987.
- Hitti, Philip K. *The Syrians in America*. New York: Doran Company, 1924.
- Hourani, Albert. *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- Hutchinson, E.P.. *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950*. Census Monograph Series. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc., 1956.
- Jabbara, Nancy W. and Joseph G. Jabbara. *Voyageurs to a Rocky Shore: The Lebanese and Syrians of Nova Scotia*. Halifax: Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, 1984.
- Jones, A.H.M.. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
- Kayal, Philip M. and Joseph M. Kayal. *The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975.

- McRoberts, Kenneth. *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. 3rd ed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988.
- Meyendorff, John. *The Orthodox Church*. 3rd ed. Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1981.
- Naff, Alixa. *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience*. Middle East Research Institute Special Studies. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985.
- Thompson, John Herd, with Allen Seager. *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord*. The Canadian Centenary Series 15. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1986.
- Wakin, Edward. *The Lebanese and Syrians in America*. Chicago: Claretian Publications, 1974.
- Ware, Timothy. *The Orthodox Church*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967.
- Weale, David. *A Stream Out of Lebanon: An Introduction to the Coming of Syrian-Lebanese Emigrants to Prince Edward Island*. Charlottetown: Charlottetown Institute of Island Studies, 1988.
- Zamir, Meir. *The Formation of Modern Lebanon*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Zernov, Nicolas. *Eastern Christendom: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Eastern Orthodox Church*. London: Shenval Press, 1961.

APPENDICES

- A - Marriage Registers Listing Hometowns, 1905-1930
- B1 - Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, 1905-1930
- B2 - Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, 1931-1960
- B3 - Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians in Montreal, 1961-1980
- C1 - Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1905-1930
- C2 - Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1931-1960
- C3 - Marriage Registers Listing the Ages and Marital Status of Brides and Grooms, 1961-1980
- D1 - Marriage Registers Listing Groom's Occupation, 1937-1950
- D2 - Marriage Registers Listing Groom's Occupation, 1951-1960
- D3 - Marriage Registers Listing Groom's Occupation, 1961-1980
- D4 - Marriage Registers Listing Bride's Occupation, 1961-1980
- E - Graph 1: Endogamy Among Orthodox Syrians Over 3 Generations
- F - Graph 2: Occupations Held By Grooms, 1937-1980

APPENDIX A:
MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
HOMETOWNS, 1905-1930

APPENDIX A:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING HOMETOWNS, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	GROOM'S HOME TOWN	BRIDE'S HOME TOWN
G	5/18/24	SHAR	JOSEPH S.	HADDAD	RAMZIE S.		AIN-AATA,S.
G	9/15/16	SHUFI	SALEM E.	ROSHU	VALARY G.		AUSTRIA
G	4/30/11	HABIB	FARRIS	SHAR	MASADDY		CHEBAA,S.
N	10/06/29	MARHIJ	ANISE S.	KURI	HADEYA R.		DAHRNE AHMAS,S.
G	6/25/22	BARDAWIL	JOSEPH S.	DIRATANI	ROSE G.		DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	12/12/11	ABDALLAH	GEORGE T.	TABBA	MELIA S.		KFAR HATA,S.
G	10/03/20	RASI	TOM E.	RASI	ANGELINE S.		NEW YORK
G	1/29/11	YARID	ESPER A.	YARID	JAMILE N.		RACHAIYA,S.
N	11/19/20	WAHBI	ELIAS H.	KURI	NABEEHA A.		RACHAIYA,S.
N	7/24/26	BATAH	THOMAS E.	JAZZAR	SKYEE M.		RACHAIYA,S.
G	1/29/11	SHUFI	FARRIS A.	LAWAND	ZAKIEY N.		ZAHLE,S.
G	2/26/11	TABBA	NABIB D.	TABBA	MATILDA A.		ZAHLE,S.
G	6/08/11	WAKIN	GEORGE R.	ABBUD	ADAL-HAGE A.		ZAHLE,S.
N	1/27/29	SHATILLAH	FAHD F.	DIRANI	LINDA G.		ZAHLE,S.
G	7/29/06	SAYFI	ELIAS R.	ZUGHAYB	AKABE E.	AAIHA,S.	
N	6/13/23	SAYFY	JOSEPH M.	AMMAR	MAHEEBA A.	AAIHA,S.	MAJDEL CHAMS,S.
G	9/30/06	ILYAS	EASSA A.	ID	SADA E.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	
G	7/22/23	MIKHAIL	MICHEL M.	MIKHAIL	MARY N.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	AIN HIRCHA,S.
G	8/05/28	BAWSHI	THEOPHILE E.	KURI	ALICE J.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	AIN HIRCHA,S.
G	9/15/29	ILYAS	JOHN N.	EUGENE	AKABAR W.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	AIN HIRCHA,S.
G	9/02/28	MAKARIUS	AZAR	HANNA	MARY F.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	1/23/10	MAKARIUS	JOSEPH	NIMAH	JALILE	AIN HIRCHA,S.	KFAR MECHKI,S.
G	7/08/28	MIKHAIL	JOSEPH H.	ZUGHAYB	ADELE D.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	6/24/28	BAWSHI	GEORGE M.	HADDAD	DORA N.	AIN HIRCHA,S.	TRABLOUS,S.
G	6/21/25	ASALI	NICHOLAS S.	SAD	PEATRICE J.	AITA EL F,S.	QATANA,S.
N	6/20/20	QASSIS	ANDREW	SALHANI	SAIDY A.	AITA EL F,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	1/26/13	AZIZ	GEORGE M.	HILAL	FAREDEH A.	AITA EL F,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	7/03/27	AZIZ	ELIAS M.	GHANTUS	SALMA N.	AITA EL F,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	2/26/24	LUTFI	NOURALLA L.	AZZUR	CATHERINE M.	AMOUN,S.	AMOUN,S.
G	6/21/25	KURI	JOHN E.	DIB	LILY E.	BEIR-EL-ZEIT,P.	KFAR HATA,S.
G	2/04/12	HADDAD	SALEEM F.	GHIZ	EPRIZA K.	BEYROUTH,S.	
G	6/22/13	ABU-ISA	HANNA M.	EL-AYA	HELANY N.	BISEK,S.	TRABLOUS,S.
N	6/30/29	NASIF	EID A.	DAUD	NABEEHA S.	CHEBAA,S.	
G	1/23/10	SHAR	JOSEPH E.	JUBRAN	JOFIA	CHEBAA,S.	BERVEDA,S.
G	4/18/09	TURKI	FARIS	ABDALLAH	SALIME N.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	6/17/23	ABBUD	CAMILLE C.	HANNA	FADWA J.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	1/27/24	SHAR	GEDEON C.	HANNA	FRANCINE S.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	3/07/26	SHAR	HAMID S.	ABBUD	CECILE A.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	10/24/26	NASIF	MICHEL M.	HANNA	FARIDE N.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	6/03/27	AZIZ	ALBERT E.	NASIF	NIMRIE F.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	6/24/28	HANNA	JAMES J.	MIKHAIL	EMELINE N.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	8/05/28	KURI	HABIB J.	HABIB	EFFIE K.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	1/20/29	NIMR	ELIAS A.	NASIF	LUCIENNE M.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	1/26/30	AWADA	SOLOMON M.	HANNA	KHALAYK F.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
N	6/04/22	ASSAF	NIME G.	ABBUD	SALEEME A.	CHEBAA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	9/25/27	NASIF	NANIEY M.	KURI	WEDDAD N.	CHEBAA,S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
N	4/15/23	ABU-RADAH	NAJEEB M.	ANQAH	NOUR A.	CHEBAA,S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	7/24/21	NASIF	THOMAS M.	ABU-QALAM	FADWA P.	CHEBAA,S.	HASBAIYA,S.
G	10/13/24	HANNA	JOHN A.	SHUWAYRI	ZAINE E.	CHEBAA,S.	JOUBBATA EZ ZAIT,

APPENDIX A:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING HOMETOWNS, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	GROOM'S HOME TOWN	BRIDE'S HOME TOWN
N	11/14/29	ABU-RADA	ABDALLAH	NAKHLAH	MARY M.	CHEBAA,S.	QATTANA,S.
G	2/11/23	HABIB	KARALLAH H.	ASSAL	WAIDA K.	CHEBAA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	10/31/26	HANNA	SALIM S.	SALHANI	NORA M.	CHEBAA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	4/28/23	AZIZ	ESSA N.	SHAQRAH	AGIA T.	CHEBAA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	11/13/21	JIBARAH	MOSES J.	GOUTIN	LUCIE A.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	
N	9/09/23	LAHHAM	MICHEL F.	LATUF	NOUR J.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	
N	9/21/20	YARID	ABRAHAM	KHALIFAH	AFEEFE	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	BEYROUTH,S.
N	9/09/28	DAHIR	NICHOLAS J.	SABA	ALEXANDRIE S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	BEYROUTH,S.
G	1/13/27	SHALHUB	ELIE A.	LE CORNU	JEANNE E.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	CANN,FRANCE
G	5/19/13	SHADID	SALEEM E.	HANNA	KARIMEH S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	CHEBAA,S.
G	6/19/09	SAD	DIB H.	ABYAD	VASSIL K.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
N	11/01/19	ZARBATANI	JOHN D.	AJAR	MARY	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
N	6/19/27	SALHANI	ASSAD T.	SALHANI	NAHEED M.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
N	2/17/29	MUAQQAD	KALIL P.	ADUB	OLGA N.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	10/08/16	ZARBATANI	JOHN N.	KURI	WADEEHA G.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	RACHAIYA,S.
N	2/17/18	YARID	FARRIS N.	MAKIR	FOUMYA	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	RACHAIYA,S.
N	7/22/23	SALHANI	NASSIF M.	SALHANI	SAIYEDA A.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	RACHAIYA,S.
N	11/02/24	SAMARAH	GEORGE K.	NADDAF	MUNEERA G.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	RACHAIYA,S.
N	6/26/27	MUFARRIJ	FOUAD	MUFARRIJ	ZAKEYA G.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA	RACHAIYA,S.
G	10/22/27	MAYZUD	FAYEZ A.	NIMAH	NORA S.	DEIR ATIEH,S.	DEIR ATIEH,S.
G	5/31/08	ILYAS	GATTAS M.	RASI	FAREEDA S.	DEIR-MIMAS, S.	RACHAIYA EL F,S.
N	7/17/27	ATHANAS	NAOUM J.	BUYAJI	LUCIA J.	DIAR BAKR,T.	DIAR BAKR,T.
G	6/12/24	ASSADOORIAN	DOUIG A.	MELKONIAN	SATERIG P.	GALOO,A.M.	KHARBANT,A.M.
G	6/12/24	SAHAGIAN	SITRAG S.	MORDIAN	HAIGOOKI A.	GALOO,A.M.	SIREASS,A.M.
N	10/23/25	MIKHAIL	NASSIF	SABBAGH	MARY	HASBAIYA,S.	JUB JANNIN,S.
G	5/24/20	AL-LAY	MICHAEL I.	HILAL	NELLIE A.	HAVELOCK,O.	TORONTO,O.
G	9/02/28	MATAR	ABDO	MIKHAIL	SALMA H.	HOUMOS,S.	AIN HIRCHA,S.
N	12/13/25	NASSAR	FAND	MANSUR	LUTFAYA K.	JABBATH LAYT,S.	
N	9/09/23	JIBARAH	TOOFEEK S.	ABU-TARAH	LUTFEYA J.	JABBATHA,S.	
N	6/22/23	RAHAL	MOSES J.	RAHAL	MARY S.	JABBATHA,S.	JABBATHA,S.
N	10/09/27	RAHAL	JOSEPH S.	NASIF	ALEXANDRA M.	JABBDEHA ZAIB,S.	MAJDEL CHAMS,S.
G	5/10/08	BISHARAH	SALEM K.	SAQI	ZAHDA A.	JDAIDAT AARTOUS,S	RACHAIYA,S.
N	3/15/21	KURI	ALBERT A.	LAHHAM	MARY F.	JDEIDE,S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	6/26/27	ABBUD	SALEM C.	BISHARAH	NAZHA S.	JDEIDE,S.	JDEIDE,S.
G	11/28/26	ABBUD	KALEEL C.	SAYIR	SUKAR E.	JDEIDE,S.	RACHAIYA EL F,S.
G	11/21/20	NASSAR	ASSAD N.	SHAR	MILIA N.	JOUBATTA EZ ZAIT	CHEBAA,S.
G	7/22/23	MIKHAIL	CAMILLE M.	SHALHUL	WADAD A.	JOUBBATA EZ ZAIT,	
G	6/08/24	RAHAL	FADLO S.	HANNA	SALEEME A.	JOUBBATA EZ ZAIT,	CHEBAA,S.
G	1/17/09	SHUWAYRI	SALIM M.	SHUWAYRI	ZAINEH M.	JOUBBATA EZ ZAIT,	MAJDEL,S.
N	6/30/26	SHAHIN	MITCHEL	KHALIL	JEANNIE G.	KAFR MECHKI,S.	
N	6/27/27	SHAHIN	WADEEH G.	BARBARI	AGEYA M.	KAFR MECHKI,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	5/03/08	RUMAYH	ABRAHAM M.	SABA	MALAKY F.	KFAIR,S.	KFAIR,S.
G	2/28/25	MAKARIUS	CHARLES M.	GHIZ	SADIE N.	KFAIR,S.	KFAIR,S.
G	5/03/10	GHIZ	AYOUB	ZUGHAYB	SALMA	KFAIR,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	8/28/21	SAD	MAJEEB M.	YARID	MARY	KFAIR,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	2/12/11	JIRADAH	SHAHEEN R.	JIRJIS	KATHERINE M.	KFAR CHOUBA,S.	CHEBAA,S.
G	8/11/12	GHUSN	DEED E.	IBRAHIM	SARA G.	KFAR HATA,S.	
G	6/09/27	AYYUB	FARRIS N.	KURI	MILADY N.	KFAR MECHKI,S.	
N	11/21/20	SAYKALI	SALIM M.	AYYAMI	ROSE A.	KFAR MECHKI,S.	

APPENDIX A:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING HOMETOWNS, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	GROOM'S HOME TOWN	BRIDE'S HOME TOWN
N	6/08/28	SAD	ALBERT E.	ABU-SAD	ROSY B.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	
N	10/20/29	ASSAF	SALIM E.	ABU-SAD	EVA M.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	
G	10/30/10	SALHANI	ABRAHAM	GHUSN	FAHIME	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR HATA, S.
G	9/12/26	ANBAR	JOSEPH B.	ANBAR	ROSIE F.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	12/08/18	DAUD	JOSEPH A.	ZAHALAN	ANNIE A.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	1/23/22	ABD AL-MASIH	ELIA M.	ABDALLAH	MARIA M.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	5/05/22	HAJJI	ELIAS K.	NIMAH	FADWA M.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	1/27/24	SAYKALI	MICHAEL E.	SAYKALI	MARIA E.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	6/08/24	KHALIL	MASSAD	LAHHAM	YAMNA E.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	2/04/30	ANBAR	SHEHADY F.	AYYUB	SALMA J.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	9/24/26	KARAM	ESSA A.	AYYUB	KABEL F.	KFAR MECHKI, S.	MAJDEL CHAMS, S.
N	7/17/27	SHAMMAS	LATEEF M.	ABU-MURAD	MUNEERA	KHEYAAM MARJAYOUN	JDEIDE, S.
G	3/06/21	ILYAS	JOSEPH G.	BISHARAH	SAHDA K.	KHIAM, S.	CHEBAA, S.
N	6/01/19	ABU-SAD	TOUFIK	ABU-SAMRAH	LUTFIE	KHRAIBE, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
N	2/23/30	HADDAD	HENRY A.	HADDAD	HELEN S.	KORBAT KANNAFAR, S.	NEEHA, S.
G	6/10/13	DIB	NASSIM E.	FRANKLIN	NORA AGNES C.	LIBAN, S.	
N	9/25/28	RAHAL	NAGIB N.	SUKKARI	MARY A.	MAJDEL CHAMS, S.	JDEIDE, S.
G	5/23/29	CAROGLENIAN	NAZARET A.	KOUDRACHIAN	ZAHRAH T.	MALATIA, A.M.	DEIR BEKIR, A.M.
G	7/02/16	QUMAYRI	ABDEL E.	ABDALLAH	SOUSSAN G.	MARDIN, A.M.	
G	6/18/24	ADB AL-MASIH	JOSEPH B.	ABD AL-KARIM	EFFET P.	MARDIN, A.M.	AYNTAB, S.
G	1/24/25	MALIKI	ELIE G.	KUNDARJI	ZAHRAH T.	MARDIN, A.M.	DEIR-BEKIR, A.M.
G	3/06/21	ABDALLAH	MICHAEL G.	AUTO	EMALIE J.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	7/02/22	BADLIS	MIKE D.	HARUN	MALAKEH M.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	11/03/22	BAQQARI	ADELARD A.	BADIR	ABDALLA G.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	1/21/23	ZAKO	ALBERT D.	AUTO	SOPHIE J.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	5/14/24	HARUN	ABRAHAM M.	JARJUR	AFIFE C.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	7/28/24	QASSAR	NAOUM M.	KANO	JEANETTE J.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	6/12/25	QASSAR	GEORGE N.	JARJUR	MABLE F.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	8/13/25	QUMAYRI	RUZKALLAH E.	DIBS	MALAKIE N.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
G	5/01/27	NAKKASH	AZIZ G.	JARJUR	FLORENCE G.	MARDIN, A.M.	MARDIN, A.M.
N	10/13/29	KURI	JOHN E.	SHURBAJI	WADIEHA	MARDINE, M.	MARDINE, M.
G	6/01/25	RAZZUQ	FOUZY R.	SHALHUB	ROSE A.	MARJAYOUN, S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
N	7/25/25	ABU-SAHDAH	ASSAD A.	NASIF	NAEEMA A.	MOHAIDATHAT, S.	MOHAIDATHAT, S.
G	6/12/27	KAHIL	KAHIL G.	KURI	ROSE D.	MOHAYSHITHAT-A-B,	RACHAIYA, S.
N	8/21/27	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE S.	MAJDAL	ROSANA J.	QATANA, S.	
G	9/19/08	DAUD	FARIS	NAKHLI	SAADA M.	QATANA, S.	QATANA, S.
N	1/31/26	DAUD	MICHAEL E.	ABU-ASALI	NAZLEE D.	QATANA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	1/26/08	JUBRAIL	GEORGE K.	YUAKIM	KALAEK K.	RACHAIYA EL F, S.	RACHAIYA EL F, S.
G	3/01/08	ABU-JADI	NICOLA J.	SHAMI	SALMA D.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	6/30/07	KUSAYAH	HABIB A.	ZARBATANI	BYKY E.	RACHAIYA, S.	
G	8/30/08	GHANNAJI	MICHEL M.	DUMAS	COEUR DE LION	RACHAIYA, S.	
G	11/22/08	ABU-SAMRAH	SHAKRI, S.	CONTANT	LOUISE Z.	RACHAIYA, S.	
G	1/31/15	SHAMI	DERKAM D.	MAHFUZ	HELEN G.	RACHAIYA, S.	
G	7/30/16	SHATILLAH	HABIB K.	BARAKAT	FAHDA P.	RACHAIYA, S.	
G	6/28/22	ABU-RIZQ	THOMAS E.	SHAMANDI	NABEHA S.	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	11/28/20	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH A.	ZUGHAYB	ONADEEHA A.	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	8/30/22	SALHANI	ASSAD	MC DUFF	NELLY J.	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	7/29/23	SUKKARI	FARRIS	KURI	HASSEEBE A.	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	8/07/23	LUBBUS	SALIM E.	HARKIN	MARY	RACHAIYA, S.	

APPENDIX A:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING HOMETOWNS, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	GROOM'S HOME TOWN	BRIDE'S HOME TOWN
N	9/09/23	ZAYN	KALIL L.	KURI	KATHLEENA A.	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	11/03/24	SUKKARI	ESSA T.	ABU-SAD	NABEEHA	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	6/17/28	ZARBATANI	TANNOUS E.	MATAR	MARY N.	RACHAIYA, S.	
N	6/01/30	NIMAH	JOSEPH M.	KUSAYAH	ADELE H.	RACHAIYA, S.	
G	6/08/13	SABA	GEORGE H.	MATAR	AMALINE K.	RACHAIYA, S.	BEYROUT, S.
G	2/17/24	SHAMI	JOSEPH E.	SABA	EVA E.	RACHAIYA, S.	BISKINTA, S.
G	1/21/13	SHAHIN	FAHED B.	CHOSKALOS	MARY F.	RACHAIYA, S.	BUKOVYNA
N	6/06/20	ABU-SAMRAH	ALEXANDER G.	SABBAGH	EFFY M.	RACHAIYA, S.	CAIRO, E.
N	8/08/21	MAKIR	NICHOLAS	SUBAYH	SARA G.	RACHAIYA, S.	CHEBAA, S.
G	6/26/21	ASALI	NICHOLAS R.	MARHIJ	WADIA S.	RACHAIYA, S.	CHOUAIR, S.
N	11/27/21	SAD	MICHAEL R.	DENTON	ALICE	RACHAIYA, S.	CROYDON, ENG.
G	7/16/13	ZARBATANI	JOSEPH F.	SALHANI	SAIDEN T.	RACHAIYA, S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	4/27/30	KHALIFAH	JOHN N.	ILYAN	EVONE F.	RACHAIYA, S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	7/01/13	ABU-ASALI	ELIAS H.	ILYAS	ZAHRA J.	RACHAIYA, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
N	1/14/30	KURI	PETER	TANNUS	JAMEELE M.	RACHAIYA, S.	KFAR MECHKI, S.
G	12/22/21	SHAMANDI	GEORGE G.	ANSARAH	MARY K.	RACHAIYA, S.	KHIAM, S.
G	5/13/17	KUSAYAH	ABDALLA	AMMAR	RAHMY	RACHAIYA, S.	MAJDEL CHAMS, S.
G	7/04/26	SUAYD	JOSEPH E.	HADDAD	HAFFEEZA A.	RACHAIYA, S.	MAJDEL CHAMS, S.
N	5/13/17	KUSAYAH	ABDALLA	AMMAR	RAHMY	RACHAIYA, S.	MAJDEL CHAMS, S.
N	5/17/19	SALHANI	ABDALLA	QURBAN	AMEENA	RACHAIYA, S.	MARJAYOUN, S.
G	4/23/22	RASI	PHILIP R.	KURI	EDMA S.	RACHAIYA, S.	MOUALLAKAT-A-D, S.
G	2/16/08	KUSHFI	ABDALLA D.	JAZZAR	MALAKY H.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	2/09/08	SABA	RAJEE H.	MALIK	MALECKY N.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	2/17/08	SHUFI	FARIS E.	HADDAD	ZAKEEA A.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	2/23/08	SHAMI	SALIM D.	NIMR	WADEEA F.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	5/10/08	KHURI	HABIB A.	SHATILLAH	NAZEERA S.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	9/29/08	NAHL	MICKEL K.	ZUGHAYB	MARY G.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	2/07/09	DAUD	ABRAHAM T.	DAUD	CAMILEH A.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	12/31/09	AZIZ	ELIAS T.	YARID	MAHIBA	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	6/02/10	ZARBATANI	GEORGES	GHANIMAH	CATHERINE	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	12/11/10	ESKEN	SALIM	DAUD	NASSIBEH	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	5/25/13	MUSAYRAM	ELIAS E.	ABU-ASALI	SALIMA T.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	7/31/13	AZIZ	MILHEM G.	AZIZ	SHAFICKA A.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	10/21/13	SHOOFY	FARRIS	YARED	AMELIA	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	6/12/21	KURI	SHAKIR G.	MALIK	HASEEJI N.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	2/24/22	ZARBATANI	ASSAD A.	GHANTUS	WADEA M.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	6/18/22	RASI	FERRIS M.	HAID	FAIZEH E.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	7/01/23	AYYUB	ALEXANDER G.	ZARBATANI	FUTIMA T.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	7/11/26	BARAKAT	ADELARD M.	ABU-MUNIR	ALICE A.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	7/18/26	ZUGHAYB	MICHAEL A.	ABU-MUNIR	VICTORIA A.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	9/17/28	BARAKAT	GEORGE	RASI	ZAKIEH	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	10/07/28	HAJJI	ABRAHAM	SHAMI	SALMA	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	9/29/29	AYYUB	GEORGES J.	AYYUB	SOPHIE A.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	6/29/30	MALULI	WADEH M.	ABU-ASALI	ZAKIEH F.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	6/29/30	MALULI	MICHAEL J.	SAD	MATILDA H.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	10/24/30	MALULI	ASPER S.	ABU-ASALI	LATIFA F.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
G	10/26/30	YARID	GEORGE N.	YARID	CATHERINE S.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
N	2/16/15	ZUGHAYB	SALIM A.	MELIK	NAZHA H.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.
N	2/27/16	MAKIR	MIKE G.	YARID	NOURO B.	RACHAIYA, S.	RACHAIYA, S.

APPENDIX A:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING HOMETOWNS, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	GROOM'S HOME TOWN	BRIDE'S HOME TOWN
N	2/17/18	HAJALI	SALIM	ASALI	LUTFIE	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	2/18/18	MUFARRIJ	MICHEL	MUFARRIJ	SADA	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	6/15/18	ABU-TARAH	HABEEB	ZUGHAYB	DEEBE	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	12/02/21	JAZZAR	GEORGE	KURI	NAJLA G.	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	2/17/22	ID	THEOPHILE F.	MANSUR	ROSE	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	8/03/24	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE A.	SHATILLAH	NAIFY A.	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	9/13/25	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH E.	ZUGHAYB	WAZNA A.	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	6/23/26	BARAKAT	WILLIAM A.	KUSAYAH	CATHERINE	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
N	6/22/30	SHAMIE	MICHEL M.	SALHANI	ADEEBE E.	RACHAIYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	11/26/22	DARWISH	MICHEL M.	ILYAS	ANNIE T.	RACHAIYA,S.	SYRIA
G	9/21/08	ABU-SAMRAH	SELIM G.	ABBUD	EMILIA C.	RACHAIYA,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	2/06/10	ABU-JADI	BOUTROS Y.	YUAKIM	NAHID	RACHAIYA,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	7/24/10	SAGHIR	NICHOLAS	ABBUD	MOUNTAHA N.	RACHAIYA,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	6/01/13	DARWISH	JOSEPH M.	TABBA	SAYDEH A.	RACHAIYA,S.	ZAHLE,S.
N	5/12/19	ALLAN	GEORGE	GOLPO	AURILIA	SAIDNAYA,S.	
G	2/06/22	SHAHADI	ABRAHAM A.	SAD	SAIDY J.	SEHNAYA,S.	RACHAIYA,S.
G	8/04/23	MIMARI	NASSIB K.	BANDELET	SIMONE A.	SHOUFAT,S.	JUMET,BELGIUM
N	2/02/13	SAYDAWI	HABIB N.	ABU-SAMRAH	FADWA J.	SYRIA	
N	5/30/15	ZUGHAYB	MELHEM A.	KURI	WADDIA B.	SYRIA	
N	7/18/15	RASI	TOM S.	ABU-SAMRAH	RAMZIEH J.	SYRIA	
N	8/11/15	ASSAF	FARES M.	CHAMPAGNE	SELINO E.	SYRIA	
G	1/22/17	THUN	SHAHIN A.	BREEN	NELLIE J.	SYRIA	LIVERPOOL,E.
N	2/09/13	SHAMI	FARESS N.	NAUF	NAZHA F.	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	2/09/13	SHAKIR	HABIB	SHAKIR	FADWA	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	3/05/13	SHADID	FARES S.	ABU-SAD	SHAFIKA M.	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	5/04/13	SAD	TANCUS G.	DAUD	LATIFEH K.	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	1/25/14	ILYAS	SELIM J.	ZUGHAYB	BAGKY E.	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	6/07/14	TAWIL	NICOLAS H.	LAHHAM	ZAKIEB R.	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	4/11/15	MALULI	NICHOLAS N.	MUFARRIJ	SOURIA K.	SYRIA	SYRIA
N	11/20/15	QASATLI	ABRAHAM H.	ZURAYQ	HADIEH J.	SYRIA	SYRIA
G	6/20/20	KURI	RACHEDE J.	NASIF	GHALIEH M.	THREE RIVERS,Q.	THREE RIVERS,Q.
N	7/01/29	KHLAT	NICHOLAS C.	BERTHEAUME	RITA N.	TRIPOLI,S.	
G	5/24/20	SALLUM	GEORGE E.	HILAL	IDA A.	TWEED,O.	TORONTO,O.
N	2/16/24	TABBA	SAID	KURI	MARY A.	ZAHLE,S.	BEYROUTH,S.
G	10/28/28	LUTFI	MICHEL D.	SHAMI	VICTORIA A.	ZAHLE,S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
N	2/04/23	TABBA	ELAIS N.	QASSAB	EMILIE A.	ZAHLE,S.	DAMASCUS, SYRIA
G	9/20/08	TABBA	NASSIF	BARDAWIL	REGINA	ZAHLE,S.	MARJAYOUN,S.
G	5/03/08	ABU-ZAYYAN	JACOB G.	ABU-BUTROS	AFEEFY K.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	9/07/13	ABBUD	AKEL N.	ABBUD	ROSA S.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	6/24/28	GHANTUS	SALIM N.	ABBUD	SALWA S.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	7/08/28	LAWAND	AMEEN N.	ABBUD	ELOISE K.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	1/20/29	MANSUR	SALIM J.	ABU-MANSUR	ADELE E.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	7/28/29	HAJJAR	GEORGE J.	TABBA	ANNIE A.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
N	8/13/20	AYYUB	WILLIE	QASSIS	NAZLY	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
N	2/22/25	ABU-SAFI	GEORGE N.	QADRI	WADEEHA J.	ZAHLE,S.	ZAHLE,S.
G	2/24/10	NASSAR	SALIM	SHAMANDI	MALAKE	ZET,S.	DEIR-ATIEH,S.

**APPENDIX A:
MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING HOMETOWNS,
1905-1930
(Calculations)**

HOMETOWNS	GROOM		BRIDE	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	228	100.00	204	100.00
Rachaiya - Al-Wadi	75	32.89	62	30.39
Chebaa	21	9.21	19	9.31
Damascus	15	6.58	13	6.37
Zahle	12	5.26	18	8.82
Kfar-Mechki	13	5.70	10	4.90
Ain-Hircha	8	3.51	4	1.96

APPENDIX B1:

ENDO GAMY
AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS,
1905-1930

APPENDIX B1:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	7/29/06	SAYFI	ELIAS R.	ZUGHAYB	AKABE E.	1
G	9/30/06	ILYAS	EASSA A.	ID	SADA E.	1
G	10/04/06	KURI	GEORGE A.	SAGHIR	NOURE J.	1
G	10/18/06	ABU-SAD	SHAKER F.	BARAKAT	SIDY A.	1
G	12/09/06	HADDAD	DAVID S.	YAQUB	NAIFI A.	1
G	1/05/07	ABU-ASALI	ACKL J.	ZAKI	AMISI A.	1
G	1/20/07	SHATILLAH	SHAHIN	SALHANI	MALAKI K.	1
G	6/30/07	KUSAYAH	HABIB A.	ZARBATANI	BYKY E.	1
G	8/14/07	ABU-SAMRAH	HADID Y.	SALHANI	KARIM B.	1
G	9/22/07	NASSAR	NICOLA	AYA	HANI N.	1
G	11/16/07	JAZZAR	TANOUS J.	ABBUD	TACKLA N.	1
G	11/27/07	ZUGHAYB	ABRAHAM F.	ZUGHAYB	SACKRA F.	1
G	1/26/08	JUBRAIL	GEORGE K	YUAKIM	KALAEK K.	1
G	2/09/08	SABA	RAJEE H.	MALIK	MALECKY N.	1
G	2/16/08	KUSHFI	ABDALLA D.	JAZZAR	MALAKY H.	1
G	2/17/08	SHUFI	FARIS E.	HADDAD	ZAKEEA A.	1
G	2/23/08	SHAMI	SALIM D.	NIMR	WADEEA F.	1
G	3/01/08	ABU-JADI	NICOLA J.	SHAMI	SALMA D.	1
G	5/03/08	ABU-ZAYYAN	JACOB G.	ABU-BUTROS	AFEEFY K.	1
G	5/03/08	RUMAYH	ABRAHAM M.	SABA	MALAKY F.	1
G	5/10/08	BISHARAH	SALEM K.	SAQI	ZAHDA A.	1
G	5/10/08	KHURI	HABIB A.	SHATILLAH	NAZEERA S.	1
G	5/31/08	ILYAS	GATTAS M.	RASI	FAREEDA S.	1
G	8/30/08	GHANNAJI	MICHEL M.	DUMAS	COEUR DE LION	0
G	9/19/08	DAUD	FARIS	NAKHLI	SAADA M.	1
G	9/20/08	TABBA	NASSIF	BARDAWIL	REGINA	1
G	9/21/08	ABU-SAMRAH	SELIM G.	ABBUD	EMILIA C.	1
G	9/29/08	NAHL	MICKEL K.	ZUGHAYB	MARY G.	1
G	11/22/08	ABU-SAMRAH	SHAKRI, S.	CONTANT	LOUISE Z.	0
G	1/17/09	SHUWAYRI	SALIM M.	SHUWAYRI	ZAINEH M.	1
G	2/07/09	DAUD	ABRAHAM T.	DAUD	CAMILEH A.	1
G	4/18/09	TURKI	FARIS	ABDALLAH	SALIME N.	1
G	6/19/09	SAD	DIB H.	ABYAD	VASSIL K.	1
G	12/31/09	AZIZ	ELIAS T.	YARID	MAHIBA	1
G	1/23/10	SHAR	JOSEPH E.	JUBRAN	JOFIA	1
G	1/23/10	MAKARIUS	JOSEPH	NIMAH	JALILE	1
G	2/06/10	ABU-JADI	BOUTROS Y.	YUAKIM	NAHID	1
G	2/24/10	NASSAR	SALIM	SHAMANDI	MALAKE	1
G	5/08/10	GHIZ	AYOUB	ZUGHAYB	SALMA	1
G	6/02/10	ZARBATANI	GEORGES	GHANIMAH	CATHERINE	1
G	7/08/10	TANNUS	GEORGES	ANBAR	MARIAM	1
G	7/24/10	SAGHIR	NICHOLAS	ABBUD	MOUNTAHA N.	1
G	10/30/10	SALHANI	ABRAHAM	GHUSN	FAHIME	1
G	12/11/10	ESKEN	SALIM	DAUD	NASSIBEH	1
G	1/29/11	SHUFI	FARRIS A.	LAWAND	ZAKIEY N.	1
G	1/29/11	YARID	ESPER A.	YARID	JAMILE N.	1
G	2/12/11	JIRADAH	SHAHEEN R.	JIRJIS	KATHERINE M.	1

APPENDIX B1:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	2/26/11	TABBA	NABIB D.	TABBA	MATILDA A.	1
G	4/30/11	HABIB	FARRIS	SHAR	MASADDY	1
G	6/08/11	WAKIN	GEORGE R.	ABBUD	ADAL-HAGE A.	1
G	8/03/11	ARAB	GEORGE M.	ABBUD	TAKLA N.	1
G	12/12/11	ABDALLAH	GEORGE T.	TABBA	MELIA S.	1
G	2/04/12	HADDAD	SALEEM F.	GHIZ	EPRIZA K.	1
G	2/11/12	SHUWAYRI	ESSA H.	ABBUD	TACKLA K.	1
G	5/12/12	ILYAS	ELIA M.	AWADA	ANICA K.	1
G	6/23/12	HAJALI	NASSIF M.	DAUD	ZAKIEH E.	1
G	7/23/12	ADI	ASSAD K.	BARAKAT	ZAKIEH A.	1
G	8/11/12	GHUSN	DEED E.	IBRAHIM	SARA G.	1
G	10/28/12	JIRJIS	MICHAEL M.	GHULMIEH	JAZALEH N.	1
G	12/21/12	DARWISH	SALEEM M.	ZUGHAYB	NEDE E.	1
G	1/21/13	SHAHIN	FAHED B.	CHOSKALOS	MARY F.	0
G	1/26/13	AZIZ	GEORGE M.	HILAL	FAREEDEH A.	1
G	5/19/13	SHADID	SALEEM E.	HANNA	KARIMEH S.	1
G	5/25/13	HUSAYRAM	ELIAS E.	ABU-ASALI	SALIMA T.	1
G	6/01/13	DARWISH	JOSEPH M.	TABBA	SAYDEH A.	1
G	6/08/13	SABA	GEORGE H.	MATAR	AMALINE K.	1
G	6/10/13	DIB	NASSIM E.	FRANKLIN	NORA AGNES C.	0
G	6/22/13	ABU-ISA	HANNA M.	EL-AYA	HELANY N.	1
G	7/01/13	ABU-ASALI	ELIAS H.	ILYAS	ZAHRA J.	1
G	7/16/13	ZARBATANI	JOSEPH F.	SALHANI	SAIDEH T.	1
G	7/31/13	AZIZ	MILHEM G.	AZIZ	SHAFICKA A.	1
G	9/07/13	ABBUD	AKEL N.	ABBUD	ROSA S.	1
G	10/21/13	SHOOFEY	FARES E.	YARED	AMELIA	1
G	5/10/14	MARQUS	ELIAS E.	ZARBATANI	HANNY A.	1
G	5/31/14	RASI	MASSAD E.	SHATILLAH	WADIEH A.	1
G	6/02/14	ILYAS	ELIAS M.	HANNA	SAAYDY A.	1
G	7/19/14	KURI	GHOUTAS D.	MANSUR	ROSA E.	1
G	9/20/14	ABBUD	SALEEM K.	HANNA	NEMREH M.	1
G	9/21/14	SHUWAYRI	MOUSSA A.	NIMR	LAYA E.	1
G	10/11/14	HAJJI	ABRAHAM N.	LIYAN	SOURIAYA H.	1
G	11/26/14	MUSA	MOUSSA M.	SHAR	MARY S.	1
G	1/24/15	SAYIGH	GEORGE A.	NASIF	NAJEEBE H.	1
G	1/31/15	SHAMI	DERKAM D.	MAHFUZ	HELEN G.	1
G	2/07/15	SAYIR	JABRAN J.	SHATILLAH	ANGELINA S.	1
G	4/11/15	THUN	NAJEEB A.	JIRJIS	MOUNTAHA M.	1
G	4/12/15	SHAGHURI	CAISSAR D.	SAD	JAMILE H.	1
G	5/10/15	SHAYIK	ASSAD K.	ABBUD	LAMIA	1
G	5/13/15	ABBUD	ADELARD C.	ABU-RADAH	NAJEEBEH M.	1
G	7/18/15	HANNA	JOHN N.	LAHAM	MARY F.	1
G	8/08/15	JUBRAN	ABRAHAM S.	ID	SALEEMAH F.	1
G	8/08/15	ILYAS	NASSIFF M.	SHADID	RASMIEH E.	1
G	9/05/15	AYYUB	NICHOLAS F.	AYYUB	MARY G.	1
G	9/06/15	HAJJI	ASSAD F.	BARAKAT	AFIFEH A.	1
G	11/01/15	GHIZ	GHUTTAS G.	HABIB	ADLA A.	1
G	1/21/16	ID	AYOUB B.	HADDAD	MARY S.	1

APPENDIX B1:

ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	1/23/16	BISHARAH	KALIL N.	HANNA	HASSIBE F.	1
G	2/06/16	HANNA	ELIAS A.	HADDAD	KATHRINA J.	1
G	5/28/16	QANDALAFI	HABIB A.	HAJJI	WARDEH N.	1
G	7/02/16	QUMAYRI	ABDEL E.	ABDALLAH	SOUSSAN G.	1
G	7/11/16	DUMANI	GEORGE C.	DUMANI	HELEN M.	1
G	7/16/16	ZAHALAN	ALBERT M.	ZUGHAYB	WARDEH A.	1
G	7/30/16	SHATILLAH	HABIB K.	BARAKAT	FANDA P.	1
G	7/31/16	AL-AMIR	WEHBEH E.	BOUCHER	BLANCH A.	0
G	8/10/16	KURI	THOMAS G.	ABU-ASALI	NAUREAN D.	1
G	8/13/16	SHATILLAH	ASSAD P.	ABU-MARUF	MALAKEH S.	1
G	8/13/16	KUSBARA	SOLOMON A.	RIZQ	JENNEY S.	1
G	8/29/16	BARBARI	MICHAEL N.	ROUSSEAU	ALICE R.	0
G	9/10/16	ZUGHAYB	ELIAS A.	GHUSN	ALIA J.	1
G	9/15/16	SHUFI	SALEM E.	ROSHU	VALARY G.	1
G	9/24/16	ZUGHAYB	NASSIFF M.	HAJJI	HASSIBEH K.	1
G	9/24/16	ASALI	THOMAS R.	MATAR	JOULIA M.	1
G	10/01/16	SATIL	STELLO N.	ID	ALIA E.	1
G	10/08/16	ZARBATANI	JOHN N.	KURI	WADEEHA G.	1
G	10/15/16	ILYAS	JOSEPH M.	HANNA	KAREEMEH K.	1
G	1/22/17	THUN	SHAHIN A.	BREEN	NELLIE J.	0
G	2/11/17	ZARBATANI	ELIAS D.	ABU-TARA	GAMALE J.	1
G	2/11/17	ZUGHAYB	ABDALLA E.	MAHFUZ	FOUTEEN G.	1
G	2/18/17	SAYFI	JOSEPH H.	MAKIR	MAGGIE J.	1
G	5/13/17	KUSAYAH	ABDALLA	AMMAR	RAHMY	1
G	4/14/18	KHURI	NICHOLAS A.	CHAILLE	CLAUDIA A.	0
G	5/12/18	MUFARRIJ	JOSEPH K.	RIZQ	SALMA S.	1
G	6/17/18	ABU-SAFI	DEEB N.	ABU-SAFI	HELEN N.	1
G	8/04/18	ISKANDAR	AZIZ A.	DAUD	KHAOULA P.	1
G	5/29/19	SIMON	AZIZ R.	IBRAHIM	AFFIFE S.	1
G	10/19/19	TABBA	AZIZ A.	TABBA	MABLE A.	1
G	11/02/19	FARIS	ALEX F.	SHAR	NABELLA N.	1
G	5/24/20	SALLUM	GEORGE E.	HILAL	IDA A.	1
G	5/24/20	AL-LAY	MICHAEL I.	HILAL	NELLIE A.	1
G	6/13/20	SALHANI	SALIM A.	ABU-JADI	ADMA J.	1
G	6/20/20	KURI	RACHEDE J.	NASIF	GHALIEH M.	1
G	7/12/20	JARJUR	ELLIS J.	GHUNIMAH	FEDWA J.	1
G	8/29/20	ANBAR	MICHAEL N.	ABU-HATAB	SADY G.	1
G	8/29/20	ABU-JADI	MICHAEL G.	SHAMANDI	HELEN S.	1
G	10/03/20	RASI	TOM E.	RASI	ANGELINE S.	1
G	10/20/20	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE J.	AWAD	LILIAN K.	1
G	11/21/20	NASSAR	ASSAD N.	SHAR	MILIA N.	1
G	3/06/21	ABDALLAH	MICHAEL G.	AUTO	EMALIE J.	1
G	3/06/21	ILYAS	JOSEPH G.	BISHARAH	SAHDA K.	1
G	6/12/21	KURI	SHAKIR G.	MALIK	HASEEBI N.	1
G	6/26/21	ASALI	NICHOLAS R.	MARHIJ	WADIA S.	1
G	7/24/21	NASIF	THOMAS M.	ABU-QALAM	FADWA P.	1
G	12/22/21	SHAMANDI	GEORGE G.	ANSARAH	MARY K.	1
G	2/06/22	SHAHADI	ABRAHAM A.	SAD	SAIDY J.	1

APPENDIX B1:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	2/24/22	ZARBATANI	ASSAD A.	GHANTUS	WADEA M.	1
G	4/23/22	RASI	PHILIP R.	KURI	EDMA S.	1
G	6/18/22	RASI	FERRIS M.	HAID	FAIZEH E.	1
G	6/25/22	BARDAWIL	JOSEPH S.	DIRATANI	ROSE G.	1
G	6/28/22	ABU-RIZQ	THOMAS E.	SHAMANDI	NABEHA S.	1
G	7/02/22	BADLIS	MIKE D.	HARUN	MALAKEH M.	1
G	11/03/22	BAQQARI	ADELARD A.	BADIR	ABDALLA G.	1
G	11/26/22	DARWISH	MICHEL M.	ILYAS	ANNIE T.	1
G	1/21/23	ZAKO	ALBERT D.	AUTO	SOPHIE J.	1
G	2/11/23	HABIB	KARALLAH H.	ASSAL	WAIDA K.	1
G	6/17/23	ABBUD	CAMILLE C.	HANNA	FADWA J.	1
G	7/01/23	AYYUB	ALEXANDER G.	ZARBATANI	FUTIMA T.	1
G	7/22/23	MIKHAIL	MICHEL M.	MIKHAIL	MARY N.	1
G	7/22/23	MIKHAIL	CAMILLE M.	SHALHUL	WADAD A.	1
G	8/04/23	MIMARI	NASSIB K.	BANDELET	SIMONE A.	0
G	1/27/24	SHAR	GEDEON C.	HANNA	FRANCINE S.	1
G	2/17/24	SHAMI	JOSEPH E.	SABA	EVA E.	1
G	2/26/24	LUTFI	NOURALLA L.	AZZUR	CATHERINE M.	1
G	5/14/24	HARUN	ABRAHAM M.	JARJUR	AFIFE C.	1
G	5/18/24	SHAR	JOSEPH S.	HADDAD	RAMZIE S.	1
G	6/08/24	RAHAL	FADLO S.	HANNA	SALEEME A.	1
G	6/12/24	ASSADOORIAN	DOUG A.	MELKONIAN	SATERIG P.	1
G	6/12/24	SAHAGIAN	SITRAG S.	MORDIAN	HAIGOOKI A.	1
G	6/18/24	ADB AL-MASIH	JOSEPH B.	ABD AL-KARIM	EFFET P.	1
G	7/28/24	QASSAR	NAOUM M.	KANO	JEANETTE J.	1
G	10/13/24	HANNA	JOHN A.	SHUWAYRI	ZAINE E.	1
G	12/13/24	LAWAND	ELIAS N.	MEYERS	LILY J.	0
G	1/24/25	MALIKI	ELIE G.	KUNDARJI	ZAHKAN T.	1
G	2/28/25	MAKARIUS	CHARLES M.	GHIZ	SADIE N.	1
G	6/01/25	RAZZUQ	FOUZY R.	SHALHUB	ROSE A.	1
G	6/12/25	QASSAR	GEORGE N.	JARJUR	MABLE F.	1
G	6/21/25	KURI	JOHN E.	DIB	LILY E.	1
G	6/21/25	ASALI	NICHOLAS S.	SAD	BEATRICE J.	1
G	7/05/25	KURI	MASSAD M.	HANNA	SADA A.	1
G	7/19/25	HAMMA	WAKID N.	HANNA	ALICE A.	1
G	8/13/25	QUMAYRI	RUZKALLAH E.	DIBS	MALAKIE N.	1
G	11/01/25	BISHARAH	AYOUB K.	DARWISH	MARY E.	1
G	11/02/25	GHIZ	ELIAS N.	JIRJIS	IDA E.	1
G	11/29/25	BAWSHI	SHAHEEN J.	SHUFI	SKYEE E.	1
G	3/07/26	SHAR	HAMID S.	ABBUD	CECILE A.	1
G	4/19/26	AUTO	MICHEL E.	BAHDI	ATYI E.	1
G	5/31/26	AYYUB	MIKE N.	DIRATANI	ADELE G.	1
G	7/04/26	SUAYD	JOSEPH E.	HADDAD	HAFAEEZA A.	1
G	7/11/26	BARAKAT	ADELARD M.	ABU-MUNIR	ALICE A.	1
G	7/18/26	ZUGHAYB	MICHAEL A.	ABU-MUNIR	VICTORIA A.	1
G	9/12/26	ANBAR	JOSEPH B.	ANBAR	ROSIE F.	1
G	10/24/26	NASIF	MICHEL M.	HANNA	FARIDE N.	1
G	10/31/26	HANNA	SALIM S.	SALHANI	NORA M.	1

APPENDIX B1:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	11/28/26	ABBUD	KALEEL C.	SAYIR	SUKAR E.	1
G	1/13/27	SHALHUB	ELIE A.	LE CORNU	JEANNE E.	0
G	5/01/27	NAKKASH	AZIZ G.	JARJUR	FLORENCE G.	1
G	6/03/27	AZIZ	ALBERT E.	NASIF	NIMRIE F.	1
G	6/09/27	AYYUB	FARRIS N.	KURI	MILADY N.	1
G	6/12/27	KAHIL	KAHIL G.	KURI	ROSE D.	1
G	6/26/27	ABBUD	SALEM C.	BISHARAH	NAZHA S.	1
G	7/03/27	AZIZ	ELIAS M.	GHANTUS	SALMA N.	1
G	9/25/27	NASIF	NANIEY M.	KURI	WEDDAD N.	1
G	10/22/27	MAYZUD	FAYEZ A.	NIMAH	NORA S.	1
G	6/24/28	GHANTUS	SALIM N.	ABBUD	SALWA S.	1
G	6/24/28	BAWSHI	GEORGE M.	HADDAD	DORA N.	1
G	6/24/28	HANNA	JAMES J.	MIKHAIL	EMELINE N.	1
G	7/08/28	LAWAND	AMEEN N.	ABBUD	ELOISE K.	1
G	7/08/28	MIKHAIL	JOSEPH H.	ZUGHAYB	ADELE D.	1
G	8/05/28	KURI	HABIB J.	HABIB	EFFIE K.	1
G	8/05/28	BAWSHI	THEOPHILE E.	KURI	ALICE J.	1
G	9/02/28	MAKARIUS	AZAR	HANNA	MARY F.	1
G	9/02/28	MATAR	ABDO	MIKHAIL	SALMA H.	1
G	9/17/28	BARAKAT	GEORGE	RASI	ZAKIEH	1
G	10/07/28	HAJJI	ABRAHAM	SHAMI	SALMA	1
G	10/28/28	LUTFI	MICHEL D.	SHAMI	VICTORIA A.	1
G	1/20/29	MANSUR	SALIM J.	ABU-MANSUR	ADELE E.	1
G	1/20/29	NIMR	ELIAS A.	NASIF	LUCIENNE M.	1
G	5/23/29	CAROGLENIAN	NAZARET A.	KOUDRACHIAN	ZAHARAN T.	1
G	7/28/29	HAJJAR	GEORGE J.	TABBA	ANNIE A.	1
G	9/15/29	ILYAS	JOHN N.	EUGENE	AKABAR W.	1
G	9/29/29	AYYUB	GEORGES J.	AYYUB	SOPHIE A.	1
G	1/26/30	AWADA	SOLOMON M.	HANNA	KHALAYK F.	1
G	4/27/30	KHALIFAH	JOHN N.	ILIYAN	EVONE F.	1
G	6/29/30	MALULI	WADEH M.	ABU-ASALI	ZAKIEH F.	1
G	6/29/30	MALULI	MICHAEL J.	SAD	MATILDA H.	1
G	10/24/30	MALULI	ASPER S.	ABU-ASALI	LATIFA F.	1
G	10/26/30	YARID	GEORGE N.	YARID	CATHERINE S.	1
N	2/02/13	SAYDAWI	HABIB N.	ABU-SAMRAH	FADWA J.	1
N	2/09/13	SHAMI	FARESS N.	NAUF	NAZHA F.	1
N	2/09/13	SHAKIR	HABIB	SHAKIR	FADWA	1
N	3/05/13	SHADID	FARES S.	ABU-SAD	SHAFIKA M.	1
N	5/04/13	SAD	TANOUS G.	DAUD	LATIFEH K.	1
N	1/25/14	ILYAS	SELIM J.	ZUGHAYB	BAGKY E.	1
N	6/07/14	TAWIL	NICOLAS H.	LAHHAM	ZAKIEB R.	1
N	2/16/15	ZUGHAYB	SALIM A.	MELIK	NAZHA H.	1
N	4/11/15	MALULI	NICHOLAS N.	MUFARRIJ	SOURIA K.	1
N	5/30/15	ZUGHAYB	MELHEM A.	KURI	WADDIA B.	1
N	7/18/15	RASI	TOM S.	ABU-SAMRAH	RAMZIEH J.	1
N	8/11/15	ASSAF	FARES M.	CHAMPAGNE	SELINO E.	0
N	11/20/15	QASATLI	ABRAHAM H.	ZURAYQ	HADIEH J.	1
N	2/27/16	MAKIR	MIKE G.	YARID	NOURO B.	1

APPENDIX B1:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	5/13/17	KUSAYAH	ABDALLA	AMMAR	RAHMY	1
N	2/17/18	HAJALI	SALIM	ASALI	LUTFIE	1
N	2/17/18	YARID	FARRIS N.	MAKIR	FOUMYA	1
N	2/18/18	MUFARRIJ	MICHEL	MUFARRIJ	SADA	1
N	6/15/18	ABU-TARAH	HABEEB	ZUGHAYB	DEEBE	1
N	12/08/18	DAUD	JOSEPH A.	ZAHALAN	ANNIE A.	1
N	5/12/19	ALLAN	GEORGE	GOURD	AURILIA	0
N	5/17/19	SALHANI	ABDALLA	QURBAN	AMEENA	1
N	6/01/19	ABU-SAD	TOUFIK	ABU-SAMRAH	LUTFIE	1
N	11/01/19	ZARBATANI	JOHN D.	AJAR	MARY	1
N	6/06/20	ABU-SAMRAH	ALEXANDER G.	SABBAGH	EFFY M.	1
N	6/20/20	QASSIS	ANDREW	SALHANI	SAIDY A.	1
N	8/13/20	AYYUB	WILLIE	QASSIS	NAZLY	1
N	9/21/20	YARID	ABRAHAM	KHALIFAH	AFEEFE	1
N	11/19/20	WAHBI	ELIAS H.	KURI	NABEEHA A.	1
N	11/21/20	SAYKALI	SALIM M.	AYYAMI	ROSE A.	1
N	11/28/20	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH A.	ZUGHAYB	ONADEEHA A.	1
N	3/15/21	KURI	ALBERT A.	LAHAM	MARY F.	1
N	8/08/21	MAKIR	NICHOLAS	SUBAYH	SARA G.	1
N	8/28/21	SAD	MAJEEB M.	YARID	MARY	1
N	11/13/21	JIBARAH	MOSES J.	GOUIN	LUCIE A.	0
N	11/27/21	SAD	MICHAEL R.	DENTON	ALICE	1
N	12/02/21	JAZZAR	GEORGE	KURI	NAJLA G.	1
N	1/23/22	ABD AL-MASIH	ELIA M.	ABDALLAH	MARIA M.	1
N	2/17/22	ID	THEOPHILE F.	MANSUR	ROSE	1
N	5/05/22	HAJJI	ELIAS K.	NIMAH	FADWA M.	1
N	6/04/22	ASSAF	NIME G.	ABBUD	SALEEME A.	1
N	8/30/22	SALHANI	ASSAD	MC DUFF	NELLY J.	0
N	2/04/23	TABBA	ELAIS N.	QASSAB	EMILIE A.	1
N	4/15/23	ABU-RADAH	NAJEEB M.	ANQAH	NOUR A.	1
N	4/28/23	AZIZ	ESSA N.	SHAQRAH	AGIA T.	1
N	6/13/23	SAYFY	JOSEPH M.	AMMAR	MAHEEBA A.	1
N	6/22/23	RAHAL	MOSES J.	RAHAL	MARY S.	1
N	7/22/23	SALHANI	NASSIF M.	SALHANI	SAIYEDA A.	1
N	7/29/23	SUKKARI	FARRIS	KURI	HASSEEBE A.	1
N	8/07/23	LUBBUS	SALIM E.	HARKIN	MARY	1
N	9/09/23	JIBARAH	TOOFEK S.	ABU-TARAH	LUTFEYA J.	1
N	9/09/23	ZAYN	KALIL L.	KURI	KATHLEENA A.	1
N	9/09/23	LAHAM	MICHEL F.	LATUF	NOUR J.	1
N	1/27/24	SAYKALI	MICHAEL E.	SAYKALI	MARIA E.	1
N	2/16/24	TABBA	SAID	KURI	MARY A.	1
N	6/08/24	KHALIL	MASSAD	LAHAM	YAMNA E.	1
N	8/03/24	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE A.	SHATILLAH	NAIFY A.	1
N	11/02/24	SAMARAH	GEORGE K.	NADDAF	MUNEERA G.	1
N	11/03/24	SUKKARI	ESSA T.	ABU-SAD	NABEEHA	1
N	2/22/25	ABU-SAFI	GEORGE N.	QADRI	WADEEHA J.	1
N	7/25/25	ABU-SAHDAH	ASSAD A.	NASIF	NAEEMA A.	1
N	9/13/25	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH E.	ZUGHAYB	WAZNA A.	1

APPENDIX B1:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	10/23/25	MIKHAIL	NASSIF	SABBAGH	MARY	1
N	12/13/25	NASSAR	FAHD	MANSUR	LUTFAYA K.	1
N	1/31/26	DAUD	MICHAEL E.	ABU-ASALI	NAZLEE D.	1
N	6/23/26	BARAKAT	WILLIAM A.	KUSAYAH	CATHERINE	1
N	6/30/26	SHAHIN	MITCHEL	KHALIL	JEANNIE G.	1
N	7/24/26	BATAH	THOMAS E.	JAZZAR	SKYEE M.	1
N	7/24/26	KARAM	ESSA A.	AYYUB	AKABEL F.	1
N	6/19/27	SALHANI	ASSAD T.	SALHANI	NAHEED M.	1
N	6/26/27	MUFARRIJ	FOUAD	MUFARRIJ	ZAKEYA G.	1
N	6/27/27	SHAHIN	WADEEH G.	BARBARI	AGEYA M.	1
N	7/17/27	SHAMMAS	LATEEF M.	ABU-MURAD	MUNEERA	1
N	7/17/27	ATHANAS	NAOUM J.	BUYAJI	LUCIA J.	1
N	8/21/27	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE S.	MAJDAL	ROSANA J.	1
N	10/09/27	RAHAL	JOSEPH S.	NASIF	ALEXANDRA M.	1
N	4/22/28	NASR-ALLAH	THEOPHILE M.	ABU-ASALI	MARY	1
N	6/08/28	SAD	ALBERT E.	ABU-SAD	ROSY B.	1
N	6/08/28	SHAMMAS	ELIAS A.	MAJDAL	MARY	1
N	6/17/28	ZARBATANI	TANNOUS E.	MATAR	MARY N.	1
N	6/24/28	KURI	KALIL A.	THUN	LINDA A.	1
N	9/09/28	DAHIR	NICHOLAS J.	SABA	ALEXANDRIE S.	1
N	9/09/28	ILYAS	GEORGE N.	SAD	MARY H.	1
N	9/25/28	RAHAL	NAGIB N.	SUKKARI	MARY A.	1
N	1/27/29	SHATILLAH	FAHD F.	DIRANI	LINDA G.	1
N	2/17/29	MUAQQAD	KALIL P.	ADUB	OLGA N.	1
N	6/30/29	NASIF	EID A.	DAUD	NABEEHA S.	1
N	7/01/29	KHLAT	NICHOLAS C.	BERTHEAUME	RITA N.	1
N	10/06/29	MARHIJ	ANISE S.	KURI	HADEYA R.	1
N	10/13/29	KURI	JOHN E.	SHURBAJI	WADIEHA	1
N	10/20/29	ASSAF	SALIM E.	ABU-SAD	EVA M.	1
N	11/14/29	ABU-RADA	ABDALLAH	NAKHLAH	MARY M.	1
N	1/14/30	KURI	PETER	TANNUS	JAMEELE M.	1
N	1/26/30	SALHANI	THEOPHILE T.	KUSAYAH	ZAHEYA F.	1
N	2/04/30	ANBAR	SHEHADY F.	AYYUB	SALMA J.	1
N	2/23/30	HADDAD	HENRY A.	HADDAD	HELEN S.	1
N	6/01/30	NIMAH	JOSEPH M.	KUSAYAH	ADELE H.	1
N	6/01/30	FARAH	SOLOMON F.	SHATILLAH	NAHAYA	1
N	6/02/30	SHAR	NAIF	DAUD	KARIME	1
N	6/22/30	SHAMIE	MICHEL M.	SALHANI	ADEEBE E.	1
N	9/21/30	ILYAS	GEORGE E.	DAUD	RITA G.	1
N	10/05/30	SHAHIN	NAJEEB F.	JIRJIS	NELLIE S.	1
N	10/12/30	KURI	JOSEPH H.	JAZZAR	MARY	1

APPENDIX B1:
ENDOGENY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS
IN MONTREAL, 1905-1930
(Calculations)

MARRIAGES	NUMBER	PERCENT
TOTAL	328	100.00
ENDOGENOUS	313	95.43
EXOGENOUS	15	4.57

APPENDIX B2:

ENDO GAMY
AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS,
1931-1960

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS

0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	9/06/31	GHANIMAH	JOHN N.	MAKHUL	FREDA	1
G	1/20/32	YARID	ESPER	GHANIMAH	HALIEW	1
G	1/24/32	SHAMI	ALFRED N.	BASHAWATI	ADELE M.	1
G	6/10/32	BARAKAT	TANIUS	BOOTH	ELLEN	0
G	7/24/32	KHALIL	CAMILLE A.	GENEST	MARGARET N.	0
G	9/25/32	MIKHAIL	MAURICE	ILYAS	RACHEL	1
G	7/09/33	MARSIS	THOMAS	HANNA	NORMA	1
G	9/03/33	BAWSHI	ELIAS A.	HUSAYRAM	AMILIA	1
G	9/03/33	HAJJI	FRANK	KOMRETSKY	ALGA	0
G	9/26/33	SALHANI	JOHN	KURI	ALICE	1
G	8/12/34	NADIF	SAM	SHAMI	MANIRA	1
G	9/20/34	KURI	SOLOMON	GHIZ	REGINA	1
G	7/21/35	KURI	JOHN J.	DIB	EVELYN	1
G	8/18/35	HABIB	ALEXANDER	BISHARAH	WADIA	1
G	1/19/36	SUMAH	THEO	SAD	NABIHA	1
G	1/26/36	BOUDREAU	ALEXANDER J.	SALHANI	LATIFEE	0
G	6/07/36	SHAR	ALFRED	ZAYN	CECILE	1
G	6/28/36	ASSAL	JAMES	DIB	CAMILIA	1
G	8/09/36	MIKHAIL	MICHEL	KURI	EDNA	1
G	11/30/36	JIRJIS	KALIL	SHUFI	FAHDA	1
G	7/11/37	IBRAHIM	JEAN-BAPT. K.	KHALIL	AMALEEN S.	1
G	8/08/37	BUTRUS	GEORGE J.	SHATILLAH	ADAL N.	1
G	10/03/37	KURI	ELIA C.	HADDAD	VIOLETTE N.	1
G	10/10/37	BARAKAT	ELLYA N.	ZARBARTANI	ROSE T.	1
G	1/23/38	ABU-MANSOUR	GEORGE E.	ABU-JADI	LORRAINE P.	1
G	2/21/38	HAYIK	ARMAND M.	DUBOIS	MARIE J.	0
G	5/01/38	RASI	MICHAEL M.	SCISCENTE	CAROLINE G.	0
G	5/15/38	QASSAB	ANTOINE A.	BANNUT	YOLANDE S.	1
G	5/29/38	HANNA	CONSTANTINE M	SAYKALI	MARGARITTE T.	1
G	8/10/38	ASSAF	HENRY A.	ILYAS	DOROTHY E.	1
G	1/22/39	RASI	NICHOLAS M.	SAGHIR	ALICE N.	1
G	2/05/39	SHAR	YARID G.	ILYAS	LIDIA E.	1
G	6/11/39	JARJUR	NICHOLAS G.	SAYFI	ALEXANDRA E.	1
G	6/18/39	ZARBATANY	EMILE G.	ZENGA	ARMINELA O.	0
G	6/18/39	ABU-SAMRAH	ALBERT S.	SAYKALI	AMELIA M.	1
G	6/21/39	SHALHUB	GEORGE A.	ABBUD	ALINE C.	1
G	6/24/39	GHANIMAH	CLIFFORD S.	SCISCENTE	PHILOMENA G.	0
G	7/16/39	KURI	LEON N.	KURI	LAURIE G.	1
G	7/30/39	HANNA	JOSEPH P.	NASIF	AMELIA N.	1
G	9/17/39	SHAHIN	FRANCISCOS W.	BOUZIANE	ROSE J.	0
G	10/01/39	ASSAF	EDDIE G.	DI CAPRIE	FILOMENA A.	0
G	11/09/39	LOVELUCK	PETER D.	ABU-SAFI	ROSE C.	0
G	12/03/39	AL-AMIR	JOHN E.	HANNA	SOFHY C.	1
G	2/08/40	SHAMANDI	ABRAHAM K.	SEGAIN	ADELE A.	1
G	5/05/40	BARAKAT	ESSA H.	DRAGANOS	HELEN P.	0
G	5/11/40	TRUDEAU	JACQUES U.	HANNA	MARGUERITE Z.	0
G	6/23/40	ZUGHBI	ALIE M.	ABU-SAD	FREDA B.	1

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	6/26/40	TABBA	JAMIE A.	AZIZ	ANNIE M.	1
G	6/27/40	SHAGHURI	HART H.	SAD	JULIA A.	1
G	7/14/40	ASSAL	PHILIP K.	JAMES	EILEEN M.	0
G	7/14/40	KURI	NASSIF M.	SIMON	FLORIDA A.	1
G	7/14/40	SIMON	GEORGE A.	MAKARUS	ANNIE M.	1
G	7/14/40	SAYDAWI	FRED I.	SAGHIR	EVELYN N.	1
G	7/15/40	YARID	LOUIS S.	SHAMI	LILY	1
G	8/04/40	TARRABI	ELIAS S.	ABBUD	LINDA E.	1
G	8/11/40	HANNA	BERNARD G.	HINDI	JEANNE A.	1
G	9/22/40	RASI	GEORGE S.	ASALI	DIANA T.	1
G	11/16/40	TABBA	NACKLIE A.	SPIDALIENI	LETIZIA J.	0
G	11/24/40	KABBASH	SIMON G.	KABBASH	ALICE T.	1
G	6/01/41	QATTINI	ALBERT N.	SHATILLAH	RUBY A.	1
G	9/07/41	ABU-SAFI	JOSEPH C.	VILLEMARIE	BLANCHE W.	0
G	9/21/41	RASI	THEODORE S.	LUTFI	JAMILY N.	1
G	10/21/41	MOORE	EDWARD M.	MIKHAIL	LILY N.	1
G	2/08/42	CARAKAT	GEORGES T.	SALHANI	ALICE S.	1
G	4/12/42	BARAKAT	PHILIP E.	HAJALI	OLGA N.	1
G	7/12/42	TABBA	GEORGE N.	CHRISTESCU	OLYMPIA T.	0
G	9/04/42	LEVAC	GEORGE E.	ABBUD	MATILDA K.	1
G	9/06/42	ABU-MANSUR	GEORGE E.	BARAKAT	LILY A.	1
G	9/06/42	SABA	CHEADE E.	NIMR	MARY A.	1
G	5/02/43	DEEB	GEORGE N.	ABU-ISA	MARY A.	1
G	5/08/43	HAYIK	HENRY L.	ABU-QALAM	EDNA J.	1
G	6/27/43	SEWARD	GORDON E.	SHAHIN	GEORGETTE	0
G	7/04/43	SABA	DANIEL R.	KARSHIVSKI	OLGA J.	0
G	9/26/43	HANNA	ARTHUR Z.	SHATILLAH	LILLIAN N.	1
G	1/16/44	ZUGHAYB	ADRIEN J.	GIRARD	ADELA T.	0
G	2/06/44	HABIB	JOHN K.	KURI	JEANETTE R.	1
G	5/06/44	AYYUB	KEZMA	KENNEY	ADELE	0
G	5/07/44	HUSN	GEORGE M.	SALHANI	GEORGETTE	1
G	8/24/44	KURI	WILLIAM	AYYUB	ADLA H.	1
G	9/10/44	TUMA	ELIAS S.	KURI	WADEA	1
G	2/17/45	SALHANI	HABIB	DARWISH	MARY B.	1
G	4/22/45	HAJJI	GEORGE	KUSAYAH	OLGA M.	1
G	5/09/45	HANNA	CAMILLE	KUSBARA	ANNETTE	1
G	6/10/45	KURI	NASSAR M.	SINODINOS	AMELIA N.	0
G	6/17/45	BATAH	NASIB M.	TUMA	EDNA R.	1
G	6/24/45	SHAMANDI	EDWARD A.	SHATILLAH	VIVIANNE	1
G	7/03/45	LEDDY	JOHN E.	MIKHAIL	ADELE	0
G	7/21/45	JARJUR	MICHEL	HOGAN	GLADYS	0
G	8/18/45	PAQUETTE	ROGER	ASSAF	MARY	0
G	8/23/45	SAYKALI	MAURICE N.	SHAMI	DORIS E.	1
G	10/28/45	ABU-ZAYYAN	ALPHONSE	ABU-HAMID	FRANCES	1
G	11/11/45	GHATTAS	LOUIS	SABA	ELSIE	1
G	2/05/46	WILLIAM	FARIS	ABBUD	MARY	1
G	4/06/46	TABBA	EDWARD J.	STILES	PAULINE S.	0
G	5/04/46	TABBA	WILLIAM	BARAKAT	ELIZABETH G.	1

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	5/12/46	SHATILLAH	GEORGE	DAVID	MADELENE	1
G	5/19/46	ANBAR	GEORGE	SUAYD	MARY E.	1
G	5/28/46	QUENEAN	PETER	THUN	KISHFEY	0
G	6/24/46	BARAKAT	SALEM J.	SAGHIR	VIOLET	1
G	6/29/46	RIVARD	PAUL E.	ZARBATANI	MARTHA	0
G	6/30/46	SAB	EDMUND N.	SUAYD	EVELYN M.	1
G	9/28/46	JARJUR	JOHN G.	KURI	ALINE G.	1
G	9/29/46	RAHAL	RICHARD W.	NASSAR	CLAIRE	1
G	11/27/46	LAWAND	NORMAN	LEBLANC	THERESE	0
G	1/21/47	ILYAS	MICHAEL	KURI	JEANETTE	1
G	2/08/47	HAYIK	HENRY	JARJUR	ROSE	1
G	2/09/47	MONIER	EDWARD	HADDAD	ROSE	0
G	4/20/47	SHAR	PHILIPPE	SHURI	SADIE M.	1
G	4/21/47	ISA	ELIE	SALHANI	JEANETTE	1
G	5/03/47	MIKHAIL	DAVID	BUGHUS	LILY	1
G	5/18/47	MIKHAIL	VICTOR E.	GRANT	MARY A.	0
G	5/25/47	DABUS	ALBERT	ABU-SAMRAH	GLORIA	1
G	6/19/47	QUTRA	NICHOLAS	NASSIF	ETHEL	1
G	6/24/47	HANNA	EMILE	RADWAN	JACKLYN	1
G	6/29/47	FADDUL	RAYMOND T.	MIKHAIL	MARY	1
G	6/29/47	HADDAD	GEORGE	ABU-JADI	OPHELIA	1
G	7/06/47	BUGHUS	CAMILLE A.	KHADUM	MARIANGE	1
G	7/17/47	ABU-SAFI	FAHAIDE	SHUWAYRI	MATHILDE	1
G	7/20/47	MAKARUS	LOUIS	BISHARAH	ALINE	1
G	7/20/47	ILYAS	PAUL A.	SHATILLAH	LATIFFA A.	1
G	8/15/47	LALANDE	ADRIEN	HANNA	JENNIE	0
G	9/06/47	ABU-JADI	THEO P.	SAGHIR	ANNETTE	1
G	9/10/47	HANASH	JOHN	LAWAND	JULIA	1
G	9/14/47	HANNA	GEORGE T.	SHADID	JEANETTE	1
G	9/21/47	ABU-JADI	RAYMOND J.	SUAYD	LAURICE	1
G	10/12/47	RASI	JOSEPH M.	ANQAH	PAULINE	1
G	10/19/47	BROX	NAIF	ABU-MANSUR	ALICE	1
G	10/26/47	RASI	WALTER	SALHANI	ALEXANDRA	1
G	11/14/47	SALHANI	MICHEL	SHAMI	ELEANOR	1
G	12/09/47	ZARBATANI	EDDY	LAFRANCHISE	LEONA	0
G	12/13/47	ASSAL	THEODORE	IBRAHIM	JULINANNE	1
G	12/14/47	KURI	WADDEH	BISHARAH	GEORGETTE	1
G	1/18/48	NASSAR	FOUAD	MIKHAIL	MADELEINE	1
G	1/22/48	SIMON	JOHN	KUSAYAH	IDA	1
G	2/01/48	GHIZ	EDWARD	SHAQURAH	NELLIE	1
G	2/15/48	GHANIMAH	MICHEL	KUSAYAH	VERA	1
G	5/08/48	SUAYD	ELIAS G.	ABBUD	HELEN	1
G	5/19/48	PHILLIP	ELIAS	ZAHALAN	MARY	1
G	6/12/48	TAQLI	MITCHELL C.	KURI	LILLIAN	1
G	7/04/48	HAJJI	CHARLES K.	MIKHAIL	HAZEL	1
G	7/25/48	KABBASH	WILLIAM	AZIZ	JULIETTE	1
G	8/01/48	HADDAD	PHILLIP M.	KURI	LAURICE	1
G	12/12/48	GHALI	JOHN A.	BOUDREAU	VIOLA	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
G	5/21/49	HABIB	ALBERT	AZIZ	LAURICE	1
G	6/16/49	GENEST	ELIE	BAWSHI	MARIE	0
G	7/03/49	SAD	EDWARD	MUDARI	MARIE	1
G	7/10/49	NIMR	KALIL	KURI	PAULINE	1
G	7/10/49	LEWIS	ELAIS	SHAGHURI	LINDA	1
G	7/10/49	DAUCSACK	THEODOR	SHAHIN	JEANETTE	0
G	7/17/49	KUSBARA	JIMMY	HANNA	CLAIRE	1
G	7/17/49	MIKHAIL	EMILE	SARAH	BETTY	1
G	7/17/49	ZARBATANI	MICHEL	KUSBARA	SADIE	1
G	7/24/49	GHTTAS	MICHEL	RIHA	ISABEL	1
G	9/12/49	SAMARAH	JOHN	VERMETTE	REJANE	0
G	9/14/49	TABBA	SADE S.	VAN TOLEDO	HENDRIKA B.	0
G	9/25/49	NAKAD	CHARLES	HOSQUET	JEANETTE	0
G	10/02/49	IBRAHIM	NICHOLAS	KURI	GENEVIEVE	1
G	11/27/49	SHAR	WALTER	IBRAHIM	REGINA	1
G	12/28/49	ANBAR	ZAWZI	ERICKSON	BEATRICE	0
G	1/14/50	PETERSON	FREDDY	HANNA	EDNA	0
G	2/19/50	BISHARAH	JAMES	SHAQRAH	MARY	1
G	5/14/50	MELKONIAN	JOSEPH A.	SHAR	JACQUELINE G.	1
G	5/21/50	RAHAL	ALEXANDER K.	GHAUTUS	SARA A.	1
G	9/10/50	MAKARUS	TOM F.	FARHAH	ANGELINE E.	1
G	10/29/50	STAURO	GEORGE C.	ABU-ISA	ROSELINE J.	1
G	11/12/50	AZIZ	FUAD E.	SHAMI	GLADYS J.	1
G	12/02/50	SHUWAYRI	NICHOLAS E.	ABDALLAH	ADELE H.	1
G	12/10/50	SIMON	JOSEPH A.	ZARBATANI	MARLENE J.	1
G	12/19/50	BARAKAT	THEODORE G.	GOODFELLOW	WILMA W.	0
G	1/06/51	MOTTER	NORMAN	ASSALY	NORMA	1
G	5/14/51	BOOKALAM	NORMAN	MALOLEY	SHIRLEY	1
G	6/03/51	MATTA	RONALD	MAKARIOS	MADALEINE	0
G	7/29/51	ELIAS	NICHOLAS	MCCOOL	GEORGETTE	1
G	7/30/51	ABURAY	JOSEPH	MICHEL-HABIB	ADEEBE	1
G	7/31/51	MALKY	GORDON	GAUTHIER	JUDITH	0
G	8/21/51	BARAKETT	ELIAS C. J.	MALIK	MARY	1
G	9/13/51	CATTINY	ZAKEY J.	SHOOFEY	EDNA H.	1
G	9/19/51	WAKEEM	JAMES J.	ABOUD	LYDIA	1
G	9/23/51	AYOUB	NICHOLAS	LEONARD	IONA	0
G	10/13/51	GHIZ	GEORGE	SAULNIER-CYR	RITA	0
G	10/21/51	ROSSY	EDWARD	BEAUCHAMP	GLADYS	1
G	10/28/51	ABRAHAM	MICHEL	BEAUCHAMP	PEARL	1
G	12/25/51	CHARLES	FRED J.	ABRAHAM	BETTY LOU	1
G	2/02/52	ZGEB	JOSEPH	ASTLES	MARJORIE L.	0
G	3/06/52	ABOUD	EMILE A.	SHANNON	VIRGINIA B.	0
G	5/04/52	KABBASH	ALEX	SHAAR	EDNA	1
G	6/15/52	ASSAF	EARNEST G.	RAHAL	NORMA	1
G	8/13/52	EID	LEO J.	TOMY	ATHEANA	1
G	8/31/52	ABOUSSAFY	WILFRED	GRENIER	SIMON	0
G	9/11/52	MICHEL	ROGER	COCOLICCHIO	GRACE	0
G	9/27/52	SAAD	ROBERT A.	FIorentino	CATERINA F.	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	4/12/53	HADDAD	FRANK	ZIGAYER	ALICE	1
G	7/03/53	MICHAEL	MORRIS	MAROUA	NICKY	1
G	7/29/53	DARWISH	ALAN J.	GHANTOUS	NAJLA M.	1
G	8/15/53	AUGER	MAURICE	MCLENNAN	DOREEN	0
G	8/16/53	HADDAD	WADI	AYOUB	GLORIA	1
G	8/29/53	ARREY	KELLY J.	ZAKAIB	DENISE C.	0
G	8/30/53	ABOUD	NICHOLAS	HANNA	FLORENCE	1
G	9/06/53	MACKAROUS	JOHN	HABIB	ANGELINE	1
G	11/15/53	SAIKALY	ELIAS	BOUSKY	JACQUELINE S.	1
G	12/19/53	KHOURI	MICHAEL	NASSIF	ADELIN	1
G	1/23/54	COUREY	EMILE	TABAH	ADELE	1
G	1/24/54	KAYATTA	MICHAEL	FARHA	ROSE E.	1
G	3/20/54	SHATILLA	JOHN	THIVIERGE	LUCILLE	0
G	5/02/54	HABIB	ALBERT K.	SQUAID	BERNADETTE Z.	1
G	5/24/54	ASTPHAN	ABRAHAM	HABIB	ANNIE	1
G	7/11/54	FARHA	JOSEPH	MALACKET	EVELYN	1
G	7/17/54	ZAKAIB	HECTOR P.	ZAKAIB	HELEN H.	1
G	8/24/54	SHAAR	MORRIS	KASHBARA	YVONNE	1
G	1/02/55	SEITEL	NORMAN I.	AYOUB	GENEVIEVE	0
G	1/09/55	VIEIRA DA LUZ	ANTONIO	JANNA	GLADYS M.	0
G	6/12/55	AYOUB	CHARLES N.	ASSALY	JOYCE B.	1
G	6/19/55	ROSSY	MAURICE	HARTMANN	HELGA M.	0
G	6/26/55	MICHEL	FRED E.	MAILLOUX	IRENE T.	0
G	7/09/55	SHATILLA	THOMAS	PULLWITT	HELGA R.	0
G	8/14/55	SAWYER	GEORGE W.C.	NASSAR	MARY A.	0
G	8/14/55	BURTON	WILLIAM D.	NASSAR	ROSE MARIE	0
G	9/18/55	BARAKETT	VICTOR	FERRIS	VENICE	1
G	10/16/55	HALAWE	JOSEPH	MARRACHE	GEORGETTE	1
G	11/05/55	ANBER	ALFRED J. A.	DUPRAS	GISELE M.T.	0
G	1/14/56	FERRIS	EDWARD	PEPIN	YOLANDE G.H.	0
G	3/04/56	AYA	MIKE	BOOSAMRA	RASMIEH	1
G	5/27/56	ABOUD	RAYMOND	MALIEK	PAULINE	1
G	6/09/56	ROSSY	RAYMOND P.	CHAMANDY	JACQUELINE	1
G	6/10/56	BOUJADY	ESSA	DEEB	FAHIMA	1
G	6/10/56	MICHAEL	HERBERT	ANBER	BEVERLY ANN	1
G	6/23/56	BOOSAMRA	ALBERT	SUPRENANT	JOYCE M.	0
G	7/01/56	SABA	GORDON	BARAKETT	CLAUDETTE	1
G	1/13/57	MICHEL	NICHOLAS	HORTH	ANGELINE	0
G	6/02/57	KENEMY	WILLIAM	ABOUD	LAURICE	1
G	6/23/57	CHAHINE	ADIB	GENEST	MARY	0
G	6/23/57	SAAD	JOSEPH	SHALHOUB	MAY ANTOINETT	1
G	9/08/57	MICHEL	THEO	LUTFY	VIOLET	1
G	9/14/57	CHAMANDY	HARLEY J.	COOK	SHIRLEY M.	0
G	12/29/57	BEAUCHAMP	JOSEPH	HELAL	SONIA	1
G	2/15/58	SAYEGH	GIBRAN	POULIN	DENISE	0
G	2/16/58	MAKDESSY	MICHEL	GENEST	PAULINE	0
G	2/23/58	TOMY	GEORGE	TABAH	JOYCE	1
G	6/08/58	KOUSSAYA	WILFRED A.	HAINS	JOAN E.	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	6/21/58	KOURI	LLOYD J.	GOLD	MAXINE	0
G	6/28/58	TAWA	JOHN E.	ATTALA	DOLLY M.	1
G	7/15/58	SHOOFY	EDWARD	SPRINGELIEU	ELEANOR	0
G	8/09/58	COOK	GORDON N.	WRIGHT	JANET	0
G	8/24/58	HABIB	ERNEST	JANNA	LORRAINE	1
G	9/05/58	ASSAF	MICHAEL H.	GAUTHIER	CLAUDETTE	0
G	9/28/58	GABRIEL	PHILLIP	AYOUP	EVELYN	1
G	10/26/58	SHAHEEN	GEORGE	ABRAHAM	MARIE	1
G	1/24/59	AYOUB	DONALD G.	SHONFIELD	SHIRLEY	0
G	3/15/59	SABA	SALEM	EDWARDS	ELLA	0
G	5/24/59	NADIF	GEORGE	ZAKAIB	THERESE	1
G	6/07/59	KOURI	EMILE	BEAUCHAMP	THERESE	1
G	7/18/59	ROSSI	NORMAN	AZAKI	ALIA	1
G	7/18/59	CURY	FRED	PLANTE	CLAUDETTE	0
G	7/26/59	MARRACHE	EDWARD	RAHAL	MARY	1
G	7/31/59	KAWAJA	REGINALD	TABAH	LILIAN	1
G	9/19/59	NASSAR	RICHARD	NORTHROP	GAIL P.	0
G	10/04/59	HANNA	RONALD	HANNA	WIDAD	1
G	11/15/59	SHAHEEN	FRED	SHAHEEN	MARGUERITE	1
G	2/20/60	ABOUD	DANIEL	HOENIGES	MARY	0
G	5/08/60	ANBER	RAYMOND	HADDAD	LEILA	1
G	5/15/60	NASSIF	HARRY	COUREY	PAULINE	1
G	5/21/60	NAJAR	DEMITRI	WY SOCKI	HENRIETTE	0
G	5/29/60	MANSOUR	DOUGLAS J.	ROSSY	ANDREA M.	1
G	6/05/60	ABRAHAM	NAJEEB J.	CHARLES	PAULINE	1
G	6/26/60	LUTFY	EDWARD	ZAKAIB	LOANA	1
G	8/21/60	ABOUD	FREDERICK	HABIB	DENISE	1
G	8/31/60	ABDALLA	RACHID	ABDALLA	BANDAR	1
G	10/09/60	MAZIADE	EDOUARD	SOUAID	PAULINE	1
G	10/30/60	DARWISH	GEORGE	COLLINS	MARIE G.	0
G	11/04/60	ZIGAYER	HECTOR	CULLEN	URSULA	0
N	2/13/31	KUSAYAH	TANNOUS F.	ZAKIM	WAZNA A.	1
N	2/17/31	LOGUISTO	FRANK B.	ILYAS	EVA B.	0
N	2/21/31	KARAM	NORMAN J.	MIKHAIL	SADIE	1
N	4/19/31	DAUD	GEORGE F.	HABIB	MARY A.	1
N	4/26/31	ZARBATANI	WADEEH D.	ZARBATANI	NAGIBE T.	1
N	5/03/31	AUSTIN	JOSEPH B.	LUBBUS	DOLLY E.	0
N	6/28/31	SAYKALI	AKEL J.	ABU-ASALI	ALICE N.	1
N	7/05/31	KURI	WILLIAM G.	ASAD	SOPHIA K.	1
N	7/26/31	KURI	ALEXANDER G.	IBRAHIM	MAREENA K.	1
N	9/26/31	ABBUD	NASSIB S.	GHTTAS	NUZEERA S.	1
N	9/27/31	BATAH	NICHOLAS G.	SAYKALI	OLGA M.	1
N	10/04/31	ADUB	JOHN N.	HANNA	NAZLI N.	1
N	12/28/31	SHAMMAS	JOSEPH M.	SHAMMAS	ANNE M.	1
N	2/21/32	LAHHAM	SHUKRY	DAUD	LILY D.	1
N	3/01/32	ABBUD	ABDUL A.	AKHU	NAZLY G.	1
N	5/08/32	MASUD	ABDO M.	ABU-ASALI	EVELYN N.	1
N	6/01/32	HINDI	FARJO S.	BUGHUS	AFEEFY A.	1

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	6/26/32	FARIS	GEORGE F.	NASR-ALLAH	CATEHRINE A.	1
N	10/02/32	BISHARAH	ABDALLAH A.	KHALIFAH	CAMILLIA N.	1
N	10/16/32	ABDALLAH	MIKE S.	KASHFI	HELEN E.	1
N	11/21/32	AZKUL	JOSEPH M.	ADUB	ASMA N.	1
N	2/19/33	SAYKALI	GEORGE M.	ABU-SAD	LILY	1
N	4/24/33	ZARBATANY	JOHN D.	QASSAB	EUGENIE A.	1
N	4/27/33	FINLAY	GEORGE J.	DAUD	MARY N.	0
N	5/28/33	ZARBATANI	NICHOLAS T.	EMOND	LEA	0
N	6/25/33	DIB	CAREY A.	SAD	YVONNE G.	1
N	8/08/33	IBRAHIM	ABRAHAM D.	SHADID	LYDIA F.	1
N	8/10/33	AYYUB	MICHAEL T.	RASI	JAMEELY M.	1
N	8/27/33	BATAH	GEORGE J.	LUTFI	VICTORIA S.	1
N	11/27/33	BARBARI	ELIAS	SAYKALI	AFEEFE M.	1
N	1/28/34	HADDAD	WILLIAM S.	HABIB	SALIME A.	1
N	4/27/34	SHAR	PHILIP K.	SAYKALI	SAIDE J.	1
N	8/05/34	BAWSHI	JAMES F.	KHALIL	NAZIMA A.	1
N	9/10/34	BATAH	PHILIP J.	SAWAYAH	ROSA S.	1
N	9/13/34	ABU-SAMRAH	SAMUEL J.	JAZZAR	NIBBY F.	1
N	11/11/34	SAD	WILLIAM G.	NAKHLI	FLORIDA F.	1
N	12/28/34	KUSAYAH	ELIAS F.	KUSAYAH	GEORGETTE A.	1
N	6/09/35	ID	DAVID E.	DAUD	WADAD F.	1
N	6/21/35	ASSAF	ADEEB G.	SHAQRAH	ANGELINE E.	1
N	6/27/35	ABU-ASALI	ELIAS N.	BARBARI	HAFFEEZA M.	1
N	7/01/35	LUTFI	JOHN N.	CONDON	DORICE W.	0
N	8/11/35	HUMSI	FRED A.	ABU-HAMID	MARY A.	1
N	8/11/35	KHALIL	NASH A.	ABU-SAMRAH	DOLLY J.	1
N	10/27/35	BARAKAT	SALIM B.	AL-TUN	LOTTIE J.	1
N	5/14/36	SAYKALI	EDWARD M.	RASI	VIOLA T.	1
N	5/18/36	SAD	JOSEPH B.	BARAKAT	ZAHEYA B.	1
N	6/07/36	MANSUR	NICHOLAS E.	ABU-HAMID	JOSEPHINE A.	1
N	6/11/36	YARID	ELIAS	YARID	RASHEEDY B.	1
N	9/06/36	DAUD	MICHAEL F.	JIRJIS	SADIE S.	1
N	9/12/36	GHIZ	SAD N.	SHADI	JULIA N.	1
N	10/18/36	ILYAS	WILLIAM H.	MAKARIUS	SADIE	1
N	11/22/36	ID	DAHER E.	SHAHIN	MASSOUDY G.	1
N	10/03/37	IBRAHIM	JOSEPH T.	GHANNAJI	ADEEBE E.	1
N	10/12/37	SALHANI	ABRAHAM M.	JAZZAR	MINERVA F.	1
N	2/12/38	ZARBATANI	SHAFEEK M.	ABU-QALAM	ADELINE F.	1
N	5/22/38	SHATILLAH	PETER A.	DAUD	CECILE D.	1
N	9/25/38	JAZZAR	MIKE G.	GHANIMAH	ALICE G.	1
N	10/30/38	KURI	MICHAEL J.	GHANIMAH	EVELYN S.	1
N	6/25/39	SALHANI	JOHN J.	AZIZ	ALICE W.	1
N	7/04/39	KARAM	GEORGE J.	BHAMDUMI	EUGENIE A.	1
N	9/03/39	HAYIK	BENDALY J.	BRETON	GERTRUDE U.	0
N	9/10/39	ZUGHAYB	NADRA D.	SALHANI	LINDA S.	1
N	10/22/39	SAYIGH	ALEXIS M.	LUTFI	MARGUERITE N.	1
N	12/10/39	NASIF	ASSAD M.	BISHARAH	SADA	1
N	12/31/39	RADWAN	SHAFF S.	SAUVE	MARIE G.	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	2/17/40	ABU-QALAM	EDDY F.	LAHAIE	ISABEL P.	0
N	5/12/40	SALHANI	EMILE G.	ABBUD	DEEBY E.	1
N	6/09/40	GHANIMAH	FRED S.	ZUGHAYB	VIOLETTE J.	1
N	8/22/40	KURI	WILLIAM A.	MIKHAIL	OLGA N.	1
N	9/02/40	HOLD	JACOB	ABU-QALAM	OLGA F.	0
N	9/28/40	KURI	SAM A.	DELOKME	GEORGETTE A.	0
N	1/16/41	MALULI	ARTHUR E.	MALULI	MINERVA N.	1
N	2/19/41	NASSAR	JOHN A.	SAWAYAH	JENNIE W.	1
N	6/09/41	GHANIMAH	FRED C.	ZUGHAYB	VIOLETTE G.	1
N	7/06/41	ZARBATANI	ERNEST J.	HONDRAS	GEORGETTE G.	0
N	7/13/41	TANNUS	GEORGE M.	ZARBATANI	PATRICIA M.	1
N	10/12/41	FARHAH	WILLIE E.	AZAR	AFIFE J.	1
N	10/26/41	LUTFI	FRED N.	BARAKAT	VIOLET A.	1
N	1/25/42	JIRJIS	JOHN E.	CUSSON	PAULINE A.	0
N	4/14/42	SABA	JOHN N.	GRONDIN	JULIETTE H.	0
N	4/19/42	KURI	MASSAD M.	HANNA	MARIELLA A.	1
N	4/19/42	SALHANI	LOUIS B.	KURI	MARY M.	1
N	5/23/42	THUN	DAVID A.	MAKHUL	MARY S.	1
N	5/31/42	KURI	GABRIEL G.	AWN	ADIBI S.	1
N	6/14/42	KURI	ELIE A.	BOUCHER	MARIE A.	0
N	7/01/42	JIBARAH	GEORGE J.	MUFARRIJ	EMILIA K.	1
N	8/30/42	SAD	NICHOLAS J.	ASSAF	ALICE G.	1
N	10/04/42	SHATILLAH	EDWARD C.	ABU-SAMRAH	MARGUERITE S.	1
N	10/09/42	KHALIL	NICHOLA G.	DAVIES	MARGARET A.	0
N	10/25/42	KUSAYAH	NICHOLAS F.	KURI	MARY H.	1
N	11/06/42	SHAR	ASSAF N.	SYLKA	MARY P.	0
N	11/15/42	LIYAN	ALBERT F.	SHATILLAH	EVELYN F.	1
N	3/07/43	YARID	GEORGE B.	ASSAF	GLADYS G.	1
N	5/07/43	DIB	THEODORE T.	BARAKAT	ROSE R.	1
N	5/23/43	SALHANI	THEODORE M.	SAD	NELLIE S.	1
N	6/18/43	NASSAR	PHILLIP	JAZZAR	MARGUERITE M.	1
N	7/16/43	MILLARD	LEMUEL L.	ZARBATANI	LOUISE J.	0
N	7/25/43	ZAYN	JOSEPH M.	RIZQ	WINIFRED	1
N	1/16/44	SHAQRAH	MIGUEL E.	MAKIR	MARGUERITE M.	1
N	2/06/44	SHAHIN	JAMES F.	AZIZ	WODIE A.	1
N	4/24/44	DAUD	CHARLES S.	GREENE	MARIE A.	0
N	5/25/44	ANSARAH	NASER M.	HIGGINS	MARGARET T.	0
N	7/07/44	JAZZAR	FREDERICK G.	HANNA	VENICE F.	1
N	9/10/44	AYYUB	NAJEEB M.	TABBA	NAJLA E.	1
N	9/24/44	QASSIS	NICHOLAS L.	SALHANI	ALEXANDRA M.	1
N	10/22/44	NIMAH	THEOPHILE S.	MANSUR	SKYEE E.	1
N	11/12/44	JIRJIS	ALBERT E.	CHARLEBOIS	ANTOINETTE E.	0
N	11/19/44	AL-TUN	JOSEPH T.	CASAGRANDE	MARGUERITE	0
N	12/09/44	RIO	GEORGE F.	ZARBATANI	MAVELDA E.	0
N	5/13/45	DHAKAR	GEORGE E.	KURI	EVELYN T.	1
N	5/20/45	BATAH	GEORGE J.	SAYFI	ADEEBI E.	1
N	5/27/45	SAD	MICHAEL S.	JAZZAR	JOYCE G.	1
N	5/27/45	MANSUR	ASSAD	LUBBUS	CECILE E.	1

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	6/03/45	AYYUB	FRANK G.	ZUGHAYB	JULIETTE A.	1
N	6/10/45	HAJALY	NAIF S.	SAYKALI	JULIA T.	1
N	7/20/45	MIKHAIL	RICHARD K.	AL-TUN	EDNA T.	1
N	8/30/45	SAHYUN	SAMUEL J.	MANSUR	EDNA R.	1
N	10/04/45	LAWAND	DAVID G.	SALHANI	SALWA S.	1
N	10/28/45	GHANTUS	ASSAD K.	BAWSHI	JENNIE F.	1
N	11/11/45	DAUD	EDMOND D.	DAUD	MINERVA T.	1
N	12/16/45	QUDSI	AZIZ S.	BEAULIEU	SIMONNE R.	0
N	2/17/46	ZARBATANI	FRED M.	CHARBONNEAU	MARIE E.	0
N	2/17/46	ZARBATANI	ANVER M.	DE CARLO	DOMENICA T.	0
N	2/24/46	ARI	HENRY M.	ZARBATANI	GLORIA M.	1
N	2/25/46	KASHFI	TOM E.	DEZIEL	MARGUERITE T.	0
N	4/28/46	DAUD	THEODORE F.	MALIK	GEORGETTE S.	1
N	5/01/46	SALHANI	NICHOLAS M.	AL-TUN	VIOLA E.	1
N	5/05/46	ASALI	GEORGE T.	HABIB	LEONA K.	1
N	5/26/46	SHATILLAH	EMILE A.	SHATILLAH	ROSINE H.	1
N	6/01/46	ILYAS	EDWARD S.	SIMON	THERESE A.	1
N	6/02/46	SHATILLAH	ANTHONY F.	MIKHAIL	LAURICE C.	1
N	6/16/46	ABU-ASALI	EDMOND N.	LAHHAM	HELEN S.	1
N	6/23/46	AYYUB	PETER G.	LUKER	WINIFRED J.	0
N	6/25/46	ZUGHAYB	ALCIE A.	GHTTAS	SKIEE T.	1
N	7/01/46	ANQAH	MICHAEL E.	MAKHUL	LAURA M.	1
N	7/15/46	YARID	NICHOLAS F.	ILYAS	AGNES	1
N	9/04/46	KUSAYAH	ROMEO A.	SHATILLAH	VIOLET H.	1
N	9/25/46	SAD	EDWARD E.	SHAQRAH	NORMA E.	1
N	9/29/46	DAUD	PHILIP F.	BIANKI	MARGUERITE J.	0
N	10/20/46	DAUD	ELIAS C.	ZUGHAYB	GLADYS J.	1
N	10/27/46	BADRAN	JAMIL R.	LABONTE	BLANCHE E.	0
N	11/03/46	ABU-SAMRAH	JOHN J.	SHADID	MADLINE F.	1
N	11/04/46	KURI	KABIB J.	ABU-TARAH	LILY J.	1
N	1/26/47	FARHUD	GEORGE A.	BAWSHI	MARY S.	1
N	2/02/47	KISBIR	ALEXANDER J.	MAKIR	ALICE M.	1
N	2/02/47	ABBUD	EDDIE N.	SAYFI	GEORGETTE E.	1
N	2/09/47	SAHYUN	ABRAHAM J.	BARAKAT	ALICE E.	1
N	2/16/47	KASHFI	NICHOLAS E.	SHAQRAH	GLORIA E.	1
N	2/27/47	SAD	CHARLES H.	QUELLETTE	MARGUERITE A.	0
N	4/20/47	DIB	LOUIS A.	ABBUD	MARGARET S.	1
N	4/20/47	KHURI	THEODORE E.	KUSBARA	MARY S.	1
N	4/25/47	ADUB	MIKE N.	AMIN	MARY K.	1
N	5/14/47	SHAHIN	MASSAD J.	BARBARI	EVA M.	1
N	5/21/47	KURI	PHILIP A.	DIB	EVELYN D.	1
N	6/08/47	KURI	MAURICE A.	SHAR	EVELYN G.	1
N	6/10/47	KUSAYAH	EDMOND A.	ADAMAKOS	CATHERINE P.	0
N	6/14/47	WEATHERBY	GEORGE A.	MAKHUL	VICTORIA S.	0
N	7/04/47	DHAKAR	JOSEPH E.	LAXTON	LILLIAN J.	0
N	8/30/47	ISBIR	NORMAN S.	DITTMAR	KATRYN J.	0
N	9/04/47	SHQRAH	ROMEO E.	SHATILLAH	JEAN A.	1
N	9/17/47	JUBRAIL	WADIE S.	QADI	LODIE A.	1

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	9/27/47	LATREILLE	ALBERT E.	ZARBATANI	ROSE J.	0
N	9/28/47	NEHMY	THEODORE M.	ASSAL	ADILE J.	1
N	9/28/47	RAHBAN	DOMINIQUE R.	BAGARIE	JULIETTE A.	1
N	9/29/47	ZARBATANI	JIMMY J.	DE GREGORIA	MARIA C.	0
N	9/29/47	GENEST	ADELARD	ZUGHAYB	EVELYN W.	0
N	10/12/47	KUSAYAH	EDDY A.	RAHAL	NABIHA K.	1
N	10/19/47	NIQULA	GEORGE A.	JIBARAH	GOLIA G.	1
N	11/02/47	HAJALI	MICHAEL N.	BARAKAT	LORRAINE M.	1
N	11/23/47	MALULI	WADDY M.	ABU-ASALI	SHAFICA B.	1
N	3/07/48	DESJARDINS	JOSEPH A.	ASSAF	GLADYS G.	0
N	3/07/48	SAD	JAMES	KABBASH	MARY T.	1
N	3/17/48	SHAQRAH	EMILE E.	RASI	GEORGETTE S.	1
N	3/30/48	NASR-ALLAH	NESRALLAH M.	NASR-ALLAH	SALWA E.	1
N	5/08/48	MORRISON	FREDERICK C.	LUTFI	VICTORIA N.	0
N	5/08/48	ABU-SAMRAH	RUSSEL A.	ABU-QALAM	YVONNE J.	1
N	6/05/48	ABU-SAMRAH	ARTHUR A.	TABBA	LORRAINE T.	1
N	6/06/48	AYYUB	LUCIEN G.	BARAKAT	MARY E.	1
N	6/08/48	JIBARAH	JIMMY T.	LOISELLE	JACQUELINE W.	1
N	6/13/48	ZARBATANI	VICTOR M.	GHIZ	LOUISE A.	1
N	7/04/48	GHANIMAH	JACK J.	SALHANI	LAURETTE F.	1
N	7/14/48	NASIF	LOUIS F.	JAZZAR	BAHEYA F.	1
N	9/05/48	HINDI	SHAFF A.	AZIZ	ANGELINE W.	1
N	9/05/48	SHAMMAS	LOUIS M.	ABU-MURAD	RASMIA M.	1
N	9/18/48	FOOTH	PAUL P.	RIFQAH	NELLIE W.	0
N	9/19/48	AZIZ	EDWARD M.	ZUGHAYB	DIANA G.	1
N	9/20/48	SAYKALI	ERNEST M.	NAKKASH	VIVIAN A.	1
N	10/16/48	MYRSAL	WALTER J.	RIFQAH	JACQUELINE W.	1
N	11/07/48	YARID	MICHEL R.	SAGHIR	MARY T.	1
N	5/15/49	TAWIL	FARIS N.	TUMA	FLORENCE R.	1
N	5/28/49	KISBIR	JACK Z.	DEMERS	MAUREEN E.	0
N	5/29/49	KREISCH	WILLIAM L.	ID	LINDA E.	0
N	7/12/49	ISTIFAN	MICHAEL T.	SAMAN	AGNES S.	1
N	10/02/49	PAUKSZTA	CZESLAW V.	JIBARAH	VIVIAN T.	0
N	10/16/49	YUSUF	VICTOR J.	ABBUD	LAURETTE A.	1
N	11/20/49	NASR-ALLAH	LAURENCE T.	ABU-SAFI	RAYMONDE J.	1
N	1/15/50	SARAY	JOSEPH M.	ASSAF	BEATRICE G.	1
N	2/04/50	SAYFI	NICHOLAS E.	KITE	IRMA F.	0
N	2/13/50	KURI	LOUIS A.	MORISSETTE	CORONA C.	0
N	4/10/50	ANBAR	ALLAN C.	VIGEANT	ELISA L.	0
N	4/15/50	GALLANT	RENE A.	KURI	RITA S.	0
N	4/23/50	ABJI	SAM A.	ZUGHAYB	LILY N.	1
N	5/09/50	YARID	EDWARD K.	YARID	SAIDE S.	1
N	5/21/50	KURI	JAMES T.	KUSAYAH	LILLIAN H.	1
N	6/01/50	GHANIMAH	MICHAEL E.	FILION	MARTHA J.	0
N	6/02/50	BALL	PAUL V.	FARHUD	GENEVA A.	0
N	6/25/50	BATAH	NORMAN J.	BATAH	AGNIE D.	1
N	7/02/50	SULAYMAN	NORMAN A.	QASSIS	BAHIE C.	1
N	7/16/50	BATTY	GRAHAM C.	RAHAL	CECILE F.	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	7/28/50	CRAWFORD	HENRY N.	BANDAR	SKYEE J.	0
N	8/19/50	LAWAND	ELIAS T.	REID	ELIZABETH V.	0
N	8/20/50	HUMSI	GEORGE P.	ZARRATANI	EVELYN M.	1
N	8/22/50	ZARBARTANI	NASRY M.	SALHANI	DOLORES C.	1
N	8/27/50	QASSIS	JOSEPH C.	ABBUD	SALMA A.	1
N	9/03/50	ABD AL-HANI	ROBERT A.	ASALI	PAULINE N.	1
N	1/16/51	HALLAL	GEORGE	SACKALL	GEORGETTE	1
N	1/26/51	BENDEKGEY	FRED	HADDAD	ALICE	0
N	2/10/51	ZAKAIB	VICTOR	SHADEED	LORRAINE	1
N	3/01/51	SALHANI	ALCIDE ASSAF	SAIKALY	MARTHA	1
N	5/13/51	ARIE	NORMAN	JOHANSON	JOAN MARGARET	0
N	5/19/51	CASSIS	ANDREW	SAAD	JEANNETTE	0
N	6/10/51	DECARLO	RODOLPHE	HATTEM	LORETTA	0
N	6/24/51	LAPLANTE	JOSEPH	ZARBATANY	LAURA	0
N	8/26/51	ZAKAIB	MICHAEL	SALHANY	DIANA	1
N	10/28/51	ABDOW	EDWARD	NASSIF	ELEANOR	1
N	1/20/52	POLISENA	FRANCOIS	DIAB	ROSELINA	0
N	2/03/52	KOURY	HALIM	DAHER	DIANA	1
N	6/01/52	AZIZ	ALBERT	CURY	FLORENCE	1
N	6/01/52	TURNER	GEORGE	DIAB	GLADYS	0
N	6/29/52	REFFCA	MICHAEL	LEONARD	JOAN	0
N	8/31/52	BOUESSA	TEDDY	KOURI	PAULINE	1
N	9/28/52	ASSALY	RAYMOND	HAJALY	NANCY	1
N	10/20/52	JAZZAR	GEORGE	SAAD	EVA	1
N	1/11/53	AZIZ	OMAR	BARAKETT	CONSTANCE	1
N	1/31/53	SABA	RASHID	SAYKALY	JULIA	1
N	6/14/53	ZACARD	MICHAEL	CHACRA	JUNE	1
N	7/30/53	DUBE	ROGER	HAJALY	VENICE	0
N	8/16/53	ABOUD	MAURICE	KOURI MAHFOUZ	SUSAN	1
N	9/12/53	LEAN	GEORGE	SAAD	EMILIA MILLIE	0
N	9/27/53	HAROON	MICHAEL	SAAD	VIRGINIA	1
N	11/06/53	KOURI	NICHOLAS	MOROZOVOSKY	ANNIE	0
N	2/28/54	ASSAD	JOHN	BARBIER	ROLLANDE	0
N	6/27/54	ASSALY	NORMAN	BOLDUC	ALICE	0
N	7/18/54	ZACARD	JOHN	TOMY	JEANNETTE	1
N	7/24/54	BUSKO	EDMUND	MAJDELL	GEORGETTE	0
N	9/19/54	SAAD	GEORGE	LABAD	BEATRICE	1
N	10/20/54	KAYS	GABRIEL	MOORE	VIOLET	0
N	10/31/54	NESSRALLAH	GEORGE	BESHRO	JULIETTE	1
N	11/05/54	ZARBATANY	RUSSELL	SHATILLA	ELLEN	1
N	11/20/54	AWERBUG	CLEMENT	MICHEL	HILDA	0
N	1/30/55	SHATILLA	EDMOND	KOURI	VIRGINIA	1
N	2/06/55	ZARBATAMY	NABEEH NED	ABDO	JULIE	1
N	6/06/55	KOURI	GABRIEL	GHAREEB	SAIDE	1
N	6/18/55	AZIZ	NICHOLAS	YARED	YVONNE	1
N	6/25/55	DAVID	RICHARD	BARAKETT	DIANE	1
N	7/31/55	SAIKALY	VICTOR	BARAKETT	JACQUELINE	1
N	9/04/55	HAJALY	NAIF	LABRANCHE	THERESE	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	9/11/55	MASSAD	VICTOR	AZIZ	JOSEPHINE	1
N	9/18/55	KOUSSAYA	NICHOLAS	LAWAND	VIOLET	1
N	9/25/55	HATTEM	MARCEL	LUTFY	JOAN	1
N	10/02/55	KARAM	MICHAEL	MASSE	JACQUELINE	0
N	10/09/55	MAKARIOS	ROGER	SAYFIE	DOROTHY	1
N	11/06/55	ANBER	GORDON	HELAL	CAROLE	1
N	5/19/56	SAYFY	GEORGE	MAKER	KATHLEEN	1
N	5/26/56	ZARBATANY	LAWRENCE	ROY	MARIE PAULE	0
N	5/28/56	KALIL	JOHN	LANGSTAFF	ELIZABETH	0
N	6/10/56	MAZIAD	MARCEL	KOURY	LILLIAN	1
N	6/30/56	ZION	ABRAHAM	SHAMIE	MARY	0
N	7/01/56	FLORINO	ANTONIO	AZIZ	GEORGETTE	0
N	7/01/56	MASSAD	DONALD	RODRIGUE	DIANE	0
N	7/19/56	SHATILLA	NORMAN	ATTA	JACQUELINE	1
N	7/29/56	HENDY	EDWARD	JOULIEN	NOUHA	1
N	8/26/56	LUTFY	LUTFALLAH	BARAKETT	MADELEINE	1
N	9/01/56	COWIE	GERALD	CUMAS *	MARIE PENELOP	0
N	9/16/56	DAVID	GEORGE	NIHMEY	ELEANOR	1
N	10/20/56	MAKER	LOUIS	DESBOIS	LISE	0
N	11/03/56	MAKAD	ALBERT	MEFRIGE	SYLVIA	1
N	1/12/57	SAYEGH	VICTOR	SHATILLA	FLORENCE	1
N	4/27/57	DAVID	NICHOLAS	ZAKAIB	CAROLE	1
N	4/28/57	SABA	LESTER	GHARIB	RENEE	1
N	5/25/57	DAVID	RAYMOND	CHAMANDY	DIANA	1
N	6/16/57	SHALEESH	JAMES JUNIOR	MOFAREGE	HILDA	1
N	6/26/57	ASSALY	FRANK	MAGNAN	FRANCOISE	0
N	6/28/57	SILVA	ARMANDO	MOFAREGE	MABLE	0
N	8/03/57	SAAD	MICHAEL	LAMBERT	ISABELLA	0
N	8/25/57	DAVID	VICTOR	LAHAM	JOAN	1
N	9/15/57	SAAD	HALLEM	KOURY	DIANE	1
N	10/06/57	DOWD	CHARLES	BARAKETT	JUANITA	0
N	2/02/58	YARID	EDWARD	BATTAH	JOAN	1
N	4/20/58	MCLAREN	JOHN	ZACARD	MARY	0
N	4/26/58	DAGENAIS	GILLES	TWEEL	RUBY	0
N	6/22/58	RAHAL	MARCEL	HADDAD	JAMILEH	1
N	7/20/58	DAHER	ROGER	MAZIAD	MARY	1
N	7/26/58	GIBARA	RONALD	O'CONNELL	CATHERINE	0
N	7/27/58	BATTAH	GORDON	DAVID	HILDA	1
N	9/06/58	LAWAND	ALBERT	MARACH	FRANCES	1
N	9/21/58	KOURI	ELIE	LEAN	JULIE	0
N	11/23/58	OWEN	VICTOR	KOUSAIE	EVELYN	0
N	1/11/59	SOUAID	JOSEPH	AYOUB	MARY	1
N	1/18/59	SAAD	WALLACE	SAYER	ELSIE	1
N	5/16/59	LABELLE	PETER	TESTA	LILLIAN	0
N	5/30/59	LUTFY	MICHAEL	BOUMANSOUR	NANCY	1
N	7/12/59	GHARIB	HANNA	WINGATE	RITA	0
N	7/26/59	YARED	PAUL	SOUAID	MARIE	1
N	8/16/59	SAYKALY	NICHOLAS	ARPIN	MURIEL	0

APPENDIX B2:

ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	8/30/59	SAAD	JOHN	BOUTARA	SONIA	1
N	9/05/59	HALIKAS	JAMES	REFFCA	DOREEN	1
N	9/20/59	KOURY	GABRIEL	DAHER	LORRAINE	1
N	10/05/59	TWEEL	NORMAN	PETERSEN	INA	0
N	10/11/59	ASSALY	RUDOLPH	SHAMY	ELAINE	1
N	10/25/59	AYOUB	NELSON	SALHANY	DOREEN	1
N	12/06/59	JANNA	MAURICE	RAFIDI	NAJAT	1
N	2/14/60	NASRA	ANWAR	YARED	IRENE	1
N	6/05/60	DAVID	NELSON	STANTON	BARBARA	0
N	7/03/60	FARHAT	MICHAEL	BELANGER	MARY ELIZABET	0
N	7/10/60	MABARDI	EDWARD	MABARDI	ZAHA	1
N	7/17/60	DIRANI	ANTONY	ABOUASSALY	VIOLET	1
N	7/24/60	TABAH	FAYEZ	HADDAD	MONA	1
N	8/06/60	BOOSAMRA	ALLAN	NESSRALLAH	DENISE	1
N	8/10/60	MADY	DAVID	SALHANY	ELEANOR	1
N	9/10/60	DAVID	THEODORE	LAVIGNE	VIOLET	0
N	10/16/60	LUTFY	GERALD	ROSSY	JOYCE	1

APPENDIX B2:
ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS
IN MONTREAL, 1931-1960
(Calculations)

MARRIAGES	NUMBER	PERCENT
TOTAL	592	100.00
ENDO GAMOUS	417	70.44
EXO GAMOUS	175	29.56

APPENDIX B3:

ENDO GAMY
AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS,
1961-1980

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	1/26/61	HADDAD	FRANK	BIRON	LAURETTE	0
G	2/05/61	SHAMIE	EMIL	SHALHOUB	GEORGIA A.	1
G	2/19/61	ROSSY	FRED J.	ADELAIDE	ELIZABETH	0
G	5/06/61	PERKAL	STEPHEN	KOURI	NORMA	0
G	5/14/61	ABOUD	PAUL	SHEITO	HORTENCE M.	0
G	6/11/61	NAJAR	MICHAEL L.	DAHER	MARIA D.	1
G	7/13/61	NAJAR	CONSTANTINE	GIRARD	PAULETTE	0
G	8/27/61	WEATHERBY	ALBERT G.	SQUAID	MARY Y.	0
G	9/09/61	FERRIS	GEORGE	GAMELIN	MONIQUE	0
G	9/16/61	MACKAROUS	LAWRENCE	BIDIGARY	PAULINE	0
G	10/07/61	MICHEL	MICHAEL N.	MALLETTE	LISA L.	0
G	3/02/62	ZAKAIB	GEORGE M.	SALHANY	CONSTANCE A.	1
G	6/17/62	MACKAROUS	GEORGE	IACHASSEUR	GINETTE	0
G	7/01/62	PRINCE	GORDON	ASSAF	MARY	0
G	7/01/62	BISHARA	ROBERT	ABOUD	DIANA	0
G	9/01/62	LAWAND	RENE E.	CASS	MARILYN J.	0
G	9/01/62	FARHA	EDWARD G.	PAGE	LYSE	0
G	9/30/62	AWADA	MICHAEL	ZAKAIB	CHERYL S.	1
G	1/26/63	SHATILLA	GEORGE	CLONSDALE	AGNES	0
G	4/27/63	MARRACHE	ALEX	GIROUX	CONSTANCE	0
G	5/04/63	MATTA	MICHAEL	LAVOIE	CELINE	0
G	5/30/63	JANNA	DANIEL	AYOUB	GENEVIEVE	1
G	6/02/63	MINOTTI	ANTONIO	ABRAHAM	OLIVETTE	0
G	8/25/63	BESHARA	GEORGE	MARCUS	DOROTHY	1
G	9/01/63	MOSER	JOSEPH	KHAIRALLAH	SAWAS	1
G	9/01/63	ASSAF	GEORGE	ZIEDAN	GEORGETTE	1
G	9/06/63	HILTON	PAUL A. B.	SALHANY	CONSTANCE	0
G	9/14/63	GHANTOUS	FRED	MOTTER	JUNE	1
G	10/09/63	MAALOUF	ANWAR	WADE	ELIZABETH	0
G	10/20/63	ZIGAYER	GEORGE	AZIZ	ISOBEL	1
G	11/26/63	BARAKETT	PETER E.	PANNETON	DARLENE E.	0
G	1/25/64	BARAKETT	HENRY P.	GESSNER	ANN MARIE	0
G	5/24/64	AYOUB	RUSSELL	LAROUX	THERESE	0
G	6/20/64	SMITH	KEITH	TARALUY	SUSAN	0
G	7/18/64	AYOUB	STEPHEN	ERVART	MAILA	0
G	7/26/64	BOUSSALY	PHILIP	HADDAD	SQUAD	1
G	9/06/64	MASSAAD	ROBERT	HESEL	SIEGLINDE G.	0
G	9/07/64	HADDAD	IBRAHIM	MARTINIZZI	MARY	0
G	10/11/64	TURK	NORMAN	BEAUCHAMP	JEANINE	1
G	10/31/64	MICHAEL	ROBERT	DIOCHIDAS	CATHERINE	0
G	10/31/64	MACKAROUS	ALLAN	VINCENT	SUZANNE	0
G	11/07/64	HAMASIN	ANTOINE	PAPINEAU	YOLANDE	0
G	3/01/65	AYOUB	GORDON	GAGNON	LUCY	0
G	5/02/65	ABOUD	SOLOMON	ABRAHAM	HELEN A.	1
G	5/16/65	AYOUB	KENNETH	BOOSAMRA	DALE	1
G	5/22/65	LAWAND	WILLIAM J.	MARSOLAIS	CLAUDETTE	0
G	7/11/65	SHOFFEY	STEPHEN	SHOOFEY	PATRICIA	1

APPENDIX B3:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	8/08/65	DAVID	MICHAEL V.	HOEY	KATHLEEN	0
G	9/05/65	ROSSY	MAURICE	MENARD	LORRAINE	0
G	9/19/65	DAVID	ROBERT J.	SALHANY	CAROL ANN	1
G	10/02/65	HANNA	GEORGE	KYRIEKOU	HELENE	0
G	10/10/65	ROSSY	LAWRENCE	SHALHOUB	ODETTE	1
G	12/31/65	HUNTER	DOUGLAS J.	ELIAS	NANCY ANN	0
G	1/15/66	MAZARES	JOSEPH	ABOUD	RACHEL	1
G	2/06/66	HANNA	ROBERT	ROBITAILLE	HELENE	0
G	2/13/66	ASSAF	TOFICK	NAMOURA	ROSE	1
G	4/10/66	CLADIOS	METRI	ZAIDAN	GISELLE	0
G	4/24/66	CHARLES	JOHN	BOOSAMRA	JOY	1
G	5/09/66	ZAKAIB	HENRY	FOURNIADOU	CATHERINA	0
G	5/21/66	WAHAB	GEORGE	ST. PIERRE	KATHLEEN	0
G	6/12/66	LAWAND	CHARLES	BARAKETT	ANN	1
G	6/25/66	TAWA	ROGER H.	DE LOURDES	MARIA	0
G	8/07/66	MAZIADE	PETER E.	SHAHEEN	NICOLE	1
G	8/20/66	MANOLI	NABIL	FONTAINE	MARIE R.	0
G	10/15/66	BARAKETT	ALFRED	COUREY	SONJA	1
G	11/12/66	SAYEGH	NIMER	BARAKETT	FARIDAH	1
G	12/31/66	LYONS	KENNETH T.	SALIBA	EVELYN	0
G	1/15/67	AYOUB	ANIS	AYOUB	NAWAL	1
G	3/16/67	BATRIE	RAYMOND G.R.	HOWICK	SUZANNE M.	0
G	4/30/67	CORDAHI	CHARLES	ZEITOUNI	ODETTE	1
G	6/15/67	HADDAD	ALEX E.	JOHNSON	HELENA	0
G	7/08/67	MEGALAS	MAURICE	TARABULSY	MONA	0
G	7/29/67	EID	FAROUK	PINTUCCI	IRENE	0
G	8/27/67	CHAMANDY	ALLAN J.	DAVID	SANDRA M.	1
G	9/24/67	DIB	SAMI E.	CASTALA	CALIOPE P.	0
G	9/30/67	ABDALLAH	MAGDI A.W.	PARENT	MARIE D.	0
G	10/14/67	MURAD	ANTON	ISA	GEORGETTE M.	1
G	10/28/67	ARIE	MICHAEL	MCNAUGHTON	HELEN L.	0
G	11/05/67	AYOUB	ALLAN	WARONOSKI	ELAINE	0
G	12/17/67	RIZK	ISSAM M.	BAHDIO	CLAUDETTE J.	0
G	1/06/68	NESCI	NICOLA	MOKISEL	ROSE M.	0
G	2/17/68	ROSSY	THOMAS	ROBILLARD	JANNINE	0
G	3/04/68	MAAKAROUN	KAISSAR	SABA	JULIA	1
G	5/04/68	ROBERT	MAURICE	GEORGES	LOUISE	0
G	5/12/68	SHAHEEN	RAYMOND	ELIAS	JACQUELINE A.	1
G	5/25/68	LAPLANTE	JOSEPH C.	ZARBATANY	MARIE-ANN J.	0
G	5/26/68	CORCORAN	BRENDAN M.	JAZZAR	NANCY M.	0
G	6/29/68	WAHAB	GALAL	DIMITRI	MAGGY	0
G	7/07/68	ASSAF	ASSAF Y.	QUIRION	HELENE	0
G	7/13/68	ZAKAIB	DONALD	REPPER	DENISE	0
G	9/08/68	TESSIER	ALBERT B.	SHAHEEN	CLAUDETTE M.	0
G	10/06/68	DEIRY	ADEL	ISSAWI	NADIA	1
G	10/12/68	SALIB	MAGDY	ABOUL-DAHAB	MAGDA	1
G	10/20/68	COUREY	WILLIAM R.	ABOUD	CAROL A.	1
G	11/17/68	BADAQOI	GEORGE	ELIAS	NAZIMA	1

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	11/23/68	SIDHOM	SAMI S.	ARSHOUN	MARIE T.	1
G	12/28/68	ATTALA	NAGUI	SIDARAS	MARY	1
G	12/29/68	RAHAL	JOSEPH	HABIB	DIANE M.	1
G	2/08/69	ROSSY	GRANT J.	KENEMY	DOLLY D.	1
G	2/23/69	SHAMIE	FRED N.	FOURNIER	MARIE-PAUL	0
G	4/19/69	MAKHAMRA	MINA	CACJA	VICTORIA	1
G	5/02/69	SALHANY	GEORGE	COUREY	LEILA	1
G	5/10/69	MICHEL	NICHOLAS	ROY	MARIE G.L.	0
G	5/18/69	MALIK	FARRES	TARDIF	MIREILLE	0
G	5/24/69	COUREY	MAURICE	FAUCHER	CHRISTINE	0
G	6/07/69	ABELA	SHIBLY J.	CONROY	DAPHNE M.	0
G	6/08/69	BISHARA	WILLIAM	HANNA	ROSE	1
G	8/09/69	KINAN	CHARLES	MAKAROUS	ELEANOR	0
G	8/11/69	DERMALKONIAN	DIKRAN	YARED	CATHERINE	0
G	8/16/69	MAALOUF	IBRAHIM	BROX	SANDRA ANN	1
G	8/17/69	HART	RICHARD	ABOUSSAFY	CONSTANCE L.	0
G	9/21/69	MALOLEY	JOHN	CHALIFOUX	NOELLA	0
G	10/26/69	BOUMANSOUR	GEORGE J.	MILLETTE	MARIE M.F.	0
G	12/27/69	DEBBAS	ANDRE	BLOES	ODETTE	0
G	3/07/70	KARBA	YOUSSEF	DOUMMAR	MIREILLE	0
G	5/02/70	HOWICK	JOHN D.	STEIN	LILIAN	0
G	5/16/70	CANT	ALEXANDER	HOWICK	FRANCES M.	0
G	5/30/70	TARABY	RICHARD N.	KOURI	CAROLE ANNE	1
G	5/31/70	SHAMIE	RAYMOND J.	DEMERS	MARIE J.C.	0
G	7/19/70	BOOJADY	MORRIS J.	SAWAYA	MARIE	1
G	7/25/70	BEAUCHAMP	NORMAN	MARQUIS	MARIE L.N.	0
G	7/26/70	WAHBE	ALBERT E.	MORPHET	ANNE	0
G	8/16/70	HABASH	FOUAD	ACHKAR	VIOLETTE	1
G	8/30/70	SHATILLA	ERIK	BOURRET	MICHELINE	0
G	9/06/70	GATTAS	ANTHONY	BOUSHY	VIVIAN A.	1
G	9/27/70	MOUFRAGE	STEPHEN	THOUN	MARLENE G.	1
G	11/14/70	NASRA	NABIL	DEEB	GEORGIANA	1
G	11/21/70	TADROS	NAGUIB A.	HAWKER	JOAN C.	0
G	12/05/70	HAMAWY	NABIL N.	FARES	RAYMONDE E.	1
G	12/05/70	BAYOUK	MICHEL N.	KASSIS	VIVIANNE	1
G	1/12/71	NASSIF	NADIME	COUTURE	DIANE	0
G	1/30/71	SAMAAN	TANIOS	SALIBA	HOUDA	1
G	2/06/71	SOUAID	JEAN-RENE	SAYKALY	NANCY ANNE	1
G	2/14/71	BOUMANSOUR	MAURICE PETER	MILLER	LUCY ANN	0
G	7/03/71	ABOUD	NABIL	GALAT	MAGDA	1
G	7/10/71	DALONGO	PAUL JR.	MACKAROUS	NORMA M.	0
G	7/31/71	ABRAHAM	MAURICE JOHN	ROSSY	MAUREEN	1
G	9/11/71	WARDINI	JOSEPH	MOTTAR	MONTAHA	0
G	10/16/71	SIDAROUS	NABIL	ARMOOS	THERESE	1
G	10/30/71	KENEMY	BRIAN GEORGE	MCQUILLAN	LINDA ANNE	0
G	10/31/71	RAHAL	MOUNZER S.	HADDAD	NADIA MARY	1
G	11/21/71	CHAMANDY	JOSEPH A.	BARAKETT	HORTENCE M.	1
G	11/27/71	COUREY	NORMAN LEON	SILVERMAN	SUSAN RUTH	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	12/05/71	ELIAN	ADEL NAIM	AUGER	DONNA LYNN	1
G	1/02/72	RAHAL	DENNIS KEITH	BERUBE	GINETTE AMAND	0
G	2/12/72	ROSSY	PHILIP ANDREW	COMENDADOR	MARIA LOURDES	0
G	4/15/72	ANDREWS	RICHARD CHARL	ELIAS	CATHERINE MAR	0
G	4/15/72	SARA	EMILE	HOMSI	MARY	1
G	4/16/72	ROSSY	BRIAN PAUL	SAAD	ALIDA MARIA	1
G	5/06/72	GAMEL	PAUL ANTHONY	KATTAS	DARIA	1
G	5/07/72	NASSER	JOSEPH ANTHON	KOURY	LOLA ANN	1
G	5/27/72	MICHEL	EMILE ELIAS	WAUGH TAYLOR	GENEVIEVE DOR	0
G	6/04/72	AWAD	NABIC	ROSSY	DAHAI	1
G	6/08/72	KOURI	ERIC GEORGE	BOURQUE	MONIQUE	0
G	6/25/72	FARHOOD	LEWIS GEORGE	BOOJADY	CHRISTINE ANN	1
G	7/02/72	KABBASH	KENNETH WILLI	COUREY	LINDA SUSAN	1
G	7/08/72	SALHANY	MORRIS HALIM	DE MASI	LEONIL	0
G	7/15/72	KERBA	SAMI	RABBAT	SOLANGE	1
G	7/15/72	RASHED	SHIBL	SAYEGH	AFAT NADIA	1
G	7/22/72	ANSARA	SAMIR SPIRO	CHIDIAC	EDUIGE ANTOIN	0
G	7/23/72	FLEUKY	BENNY	MALICK DAVID	GEORGETTE ANN	0
G	10/22/72	LAHAM	KHALIL GEORGE	HEBERT	LOYOLA CATHER	0
G	10/29/72	DISHARA	GEORGE	KAPPELER	GERTRUDE AGNE	0
G	11/04/72	KERBA	ROBERT	RACKLEY	JILL	0
G	12/31/72	PFEIFFER	BYRON E.	LAWAND	NANCY MARY	0
G	1/09/73	LECLAIR	ALEXANDER	ABOUSSAFY	BLANCHE	0
G	1/28/73	KAROM	PHILLIP	KAYA	SUREYYA	1
G	5/05/73	SARA	ADEB TOUFIQ	DJENANDJI	VERA	0
G	5/06/73	KASSAB	ALBERT ANTOIN	DOULL	CAROLINE ELIZ	0
G	5/12/73	JARJOUR	THOMAS	MCCLURE	BETTY ANNE	0
G	5/20/73	HANNA	GREGORY ERNES	THOUN	NADINE MARY	1
G	5/26/73	ROSSY	ROBERT	LAREAU	THERESE	0
G	5/26/73	VAUCHER	JEAN GEORGES	SQUAID	CLAUDIA MARIE	0
G	5/27/73	COUREY	GERALD JOHN	KATTAS	KATHERINE	1
G	6/03/73	RAHAL	DERIC	MCCULLOCK	VALIDA JOAN	0
G	6/23/73	LALIBERTE	MICHEL P.	MALKY	GLADYS	0
G	6/24/73	AJMO	EDWARD N.	CHARLES	LYDIA M.	1
G	7/01/73	BALANIS	GEORGE	HANNA	CYNTHIA	0
G	7/07/73	BOUTROS	NABIL	MEULENYSER	EVA	0
G	7/14/73	MANOLI	SAMIR NICOLAS	CASORIA	VERONIQUE	0
G	7/14/73	KOURI	NICHOLAS	HEUREUX	DIANE	0
G	10/27/73	MANNEH	VICTOR	AYOUB	JAQUELINE	1
G	10/27/73	PENNANEACH	GUY	CHINIARA	SYLVIE	0
G	11/10/73	ESTEPHAN	PIERRE ALAIN	LAWAND	DYANNE ELOISE	0
G	12/08/73	SAKKAL	JAMIL	GREGOIRE	GINETTE	0
G	12/08/73	HABIB	ANDRAWAS	SOUROUR	THERESE	0
G	1/26/74	VERGA	JAMES	KABBASH	CLAUDIA ANN	0
G	2/16/74	ROSSY	THEODORE GEOR	FITCH	LUCETTE ALINE	0
G	4/20/74	ALLEN	JOHN NORMAN	COUREY	JOYCE MARY	0
G	4/27/74	SAIKALY	EDMOND	AWAD AZZAM	MARCELLE	1
G	5/04/74	HICKS	JONATHAN	YARED	PENELOPE ANN	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	5/19/74	DALY	WILLIAM J.	BOOJADY	SUSAN L.	0
G	5/25/74	ABBQUD	SAMIR	FERLAND	SUZANNE	0
G	6/22/74	HABIB	ERNEST	SABA	MAUREEN	1
G	7/06/74	WIECZAREK	RICHARD FRANC	BOOJADY	JOANNE	0
G	8/03/74	BELL	ERIC	SAAB	SUSAN E.A.	0
G	8/10/74	NEHME	ROBERT	MICHAUD	LYSE	0
G	9/08/74	BLAIS	JEAN-GUY	SAAB	LINDA MARIE	0
G	9/28/74	ZABAIB	KALIL	ZAKEM	MARY OLGA	1
G	10/13/74	BISHARA	EDWARD	RABOUIN	MARIE-FRANCE	0
G	10/26/74	MERCIER	LUCIEN	WARDA	MARIE MADELAN	0
G	3/09/75	PRATT	JOHN ROBERT	FARHOOD	JOANNE MARY	0
G	5/11/75	ABRAHAM	STEPHEN JOHN	CHRETIEN	COLETTE	0
G	5/11/75	ROWLAND	RICHARD EDWAR	MARINO	CAROL CHRISTI	0
G	5/17/75	DENI	ANTHONY MARIO	SOPHIA	MARLENE	0
G	5/24/75	DIAB	IBRAHIM ANTOI	CHAMI	NORMA	1
G	5/31/75	ROSSY	RAYMOND PAUL	YACOB	GERTRUDE	1
G	6/28/75	HANNA	YOUSRI	ASSAL	SOLANGE	1
G	7/05/75	SABA	NABEEL	HADDAD	DENISE	1
G	8/16/75	LOUIS	SAMIR	MARCO	VIVIANE	1
G	8/16/75	NEHME	ALFRED	PALIKKO	KRISTINA ULLA	0
G	8/24/75	HAJJAR	DAVID GEORGE	COUREY	CYNTHIA ANN	1
G	8/30/75	PERIDIS	MICHEL ROGER	DIAB	MONA	0
G	9/04/75	DOUMIT	JEAN-CLAUDE	KORT	APHRODITE	0
G	9/07/75	GILLIES	CHARLES ANTHO	HANNA	VALERIE ANNE	0
G	10/18/75	SHAMIEH	EDMOND	ZIGAYER	EVELYN MARY	1
G	12/06/75	HANNA	CHRISTIAN GEO	GRACIE	DONNA ANN	0
G	12/28/75	SAPADI	JAMAL	SALIB	ODETTE	1
G	5/30/76	LACROIX	ANDRE RENE	ELIAS	BARBARA	0
G	6/26/76	KATTAS	THOMAS	MICHAEL	KAREN ANN	1
G	7/17/76	CHAHINE	SAMIR	EL-ZAWAHERY	HAZIRA	1
G	7/17/76	WAHBE	EDWARD EMIL	MURTANEN	RITVA	0
G	7/24/76	CHAMI	JOHN	CHOUERI	JOANE	1
G	7/24/76	MABRO	ADLEY	PERAKIS		0
G	8/07/76	AYOUB	JAMES P.	CAMPBELL	MARGARET	0
G	8/21/76	MISHRIKY	TALAAT	KHOURY	FADIA	1
G	8/22/76	ALEXANDER	RONALD I.	SADA	LINDA ANN	0
G	9/25/76	MARTIMBEAULT	GERARD	HANNA	DELORES	0
G	11/13/76	CHAHINE	NABIL	CHAMPAGNE	GHISLAINE	0
G	11/13/76	JAMMAL	AZIZ	MAKKOUK	LINDA	1
G	2/24/77	HADDAD	GEORGE	MOUHAWISH	SANAA	1
G	5/08/77	AUGER	ANDREW C.	CHACRA	JANICE A.	1
G	5/14/77	KERBA	SHARIF	DRAPEAU	SUZANNE	0
G	5/22/77	CHAHINE	CAMILLE	COURTY	JEAN MARY	0
G	6/04/77	BADER	NEMER BOTROS	DURAND	HELENE M.	C
G	7/02/77	JARABOULSY	MAGED G.	GABRIEL	MADELEINE	1
G	7/10/77	BATCHOUN	NICOLAS	ROSSY	ELIZABETH	1
G	7/16/77	DARWISH	MICHAEL	ARLESS	DEBRA ANN	0
G	10/08/77	DARROUS	AMINE	LADAN	MARIA	1

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	10/22/77	MAKKOUK	WALID	GROULX	DANIELLE	0
G	11/19/77	ELIAS	KENNETH G.	WILDING	PATRICIA	0
G	11/26/77	HAWA	GEORGE M.	KOUREY	FARIDEH	1
G	11/27/77	KOUSSAYE	ISCANDAR	KARAM	MARCELLE	1
G	12/04/77	HANNA	SHAMOUN P.	SHAAR	JANE M.	1
G	1/28/78	DOUCET	LIONEL EDWARD	MALOUF	LINA	0
G	3/15/78	ROSSY	RICHARD PAUL	GABRIEL	SHARON ANN	1
G	5/06/78	DAOUD	MICHEL	KING	ANN PATRICA	0
G	5/13/78	KARDOUCHE	MICHEL	MICHEL	SIMONE	1
G	6/03/78	KHEIR	JOSEPH	ST. CROIX	LOUISE	0
G	6/17/78	BISHARA	STEPHEN	CARMOSINO	ANTOINETTA	0
G	7/01/78	ABOUD	JOSEPH	JUNGMEISTERIS	NIJOLE	0
G	7/16/78	MOUSSA	BUDIE HANNA	BICHA1	MERVAT	1
G	8/19/78	SAMAAN	ADIB	DUNN	GAIL LYNN	0
G	8/20/78	SALLALEH	IBRAHIM Y.	SAYEGH	RUBY R.	1
G	9/09/78	SALEH	TOUBEC	LAPIERRE	SUZANNE	0
G	9/10/78	WILSON	JOHN W.	SEITEL	KARIN MAE	0
G	10/08/78	MACKAROUS	JEFFREY	EVAGELIDES	HELEN	0
G	11/18/78	MAVRIDIS	JOHN	KENEMY	SHARON ANNE	0
G	12/03/78	TUBBEH	RUDOLPH M.	DAUDELIN	CAROLE GIZELL	0
G	12/26/78	MOUAIKEL	ELIE	EID	ESSINE	1
G	12/30/78	SIMON	KENNETH R.	SPJELKAVIK	KIRSTEN SEVA	0
G	2/16/79	BEAUCHAMP	EDDY	NEUMANN	JUTTA ILSE	0
G	2/25/79	BOU-NICOLAS	SIMON	EL-NAJJAR	LAURICE	1
G	3/11/79	SOURI	MICHEL	NESHEIWAT	MONA	1
G	4/28/79	BESHARA	SANDALLAH	BAGHDASSARIAN	LUCY	0
G	4/28/79	FAWAHERY	NABIL	GHALEB	CHRISTIANE M.	1
G	5/12/79	ORPHALI	WILLIAM	MELLUS	SAMIRA	1
G	5/19/79	KORT	JOSEPH	KAHALE	SADIA	1
G	6/03/79	GREGOIRE	PIERRE D.	BOOSAMRA	SUSAN S.	0
G	6/09/79	RAYES	GEORGE	PACE	FLORINA	0
G	6/10/79	AUGER	PETER ANTHONY	MASSAD	SUSAN B.	1
G	6/30/79	NORTON	KENNETH R.	SHATILLA	GERALDINE M.	0
G	7/07/79	ARIDA	BOTROS	FARAH	NADINE	1
G	7/14/79	NEHME	ELIE	SAYEGH	NIHAD	1
G	7/15/79	DAWALIBI	NORBERT	SABA	LINDA	1
G	7/20/79	HABIB	DONALD	FORBES	VALERIE P.	0
G	8/18/79	GLASGOW	KEVIN A.	ELIAS	ELIZABETH M.	0
G	9/05/79	SABBAGH	MOLHEM	FARES	OLGA	1
G	9/15/79	PINTO	OSCAR L.	SIMEON	DARLENE MARY	0
G	9/15/79	ISSA	ANDRE	VERGE	VALERIE M.	0
G	10/06/79	BEAULIEU	CHARLES A.	KASHBARD	HAFIZA	0
G	10/07/79	VANDEBANCK	ALAIN A.	MACKAROUS	LINDA K.	0
G	12/08/79	FAHMEY	MAGDI F.	FARES	LABIBA	1
G	1/12/80	FOULKI	NABIL	ABINADER	MARY	1
G	2/09/80	HOWICK	ARMAND MICHEL	SAAD	MARY	1
G	4/12/80	HOWICK	PETER DOUGLAS	KARAMANYUJIAN	ARMENOUHI	0
G	5/17/80	GENEST	JOHN PHILIP	MCCUDDEN	ELIZABETH	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
G	6/14/80	SALIBA	GEORGES	CARRASSCO	MARIE CARMEN	0
G	6/14/80	POWELL	ANTHONY J.	ELIAS	SUSAN PAULA	0
G	6/29/80	MACKAROUS	PHILIP	SHATILLA	JOANNE	1
G	7/12/80	MEDAWAR	GEORGES	AZOUZ	MARIE	1
G	7/12/80	BAYOUK	WAGIH	SAMAAN	ANGELE	1
G	7/13/80	AYOUB	JACK Y.	UNG	ALICE	0
G	7/19/80	HADDAD	ALBERT A.	ISSAUR	WEDAD	1
G	8/23/80	CHARLEY	EDDY	COUSSA	MONA D.	1
G	8/24/80	RASSI	EDDY	SLEIMAN	SASILIA	0
G	8/31/80	KHOURY	DOUGLAS P.	PERENNE	SYLVANA	0
G	9/07/80	COUREY	STEPHEN P.	BEAUCHAMP	KAREN M.	1
G	9/27/80	ZGEB	PETER	BOURGEOIS	ANNETTE MARIE	0
G	12/27/80	ARON	STEPHEN P.	COUREY	CAROLINE GRAC	0
G	12/28/80	ABOU LAHAF	BISHARA	CHAMAS	JOSEPHINE	1
N	2/05/61	FARAH	FRED	HOIRCH	ELAINE	0
N	5/06/61	DIAB	WARNER	TAYLOR	JOAN	0
N	5/28/61	DAVID	RAYMOND	BEAUCHAMP	CAROL	1
N	6/04/61	KINGSBURY	FRANKLIN	MAKAD	WANDA	0
N	7/16/61	ABDALLA	WILLIAM	MANSOUR	VIRGINIA	1
N	9/16/61	ASSALY	NICHOLAS JR.	ASSAF	DOREEN	1
N	10/15/61	RAHAL	WALTER	MOURANI	RENE	1
N	10/29/61	MAJDELL	RONALD	TABAH	DIANE	1
N	11/12/61	DIRANI	ABRAHAM	KAYS	GLADYS	1
N	2/04/62	KOURY	KARIM	TRACY	PATRICIA	0
N	6/01/62	MALIK	SAMUEL	RAFIDI	WAIJHA	1
N	6/03/62	JABARA	JOHN	KOUSAIE	MAE	1
N	8/19/62	SAAD	FRED	VALENTI	LILLIAN	0
N	9/15/62	LUTFY	GEORGE	CHAMANDY	NADINE	1
N	10/14/62	ABOUD	GORDON	RASSI	NAHIA	1
N	4/17/63	MAKAD	ALBERT	GAGNON	ROSELLE	0
N	5/05/63	MAKARIOS	MICHAEL	MALOUF	FOWZIA	1
N	6/23/63	MASSAD	RALPH	HANNA	CAROL	1
N	6/30/63	KELLY	SAIDE	DAVID	LAURICE	1
N	7/07/63	SAYKALY	GEORGE	MEMARY	ELIZABETH	0
N	8/28/63	SAYKALY	EDWARD	TROLLE	ELSA	0
N	10/13/63	HABIB	DICK	SALHANY	JOYCE	1
N	11/17/63	BOUTARA	GORDON	JONES	MIREILLE	0
N	5/17/64	KALIL	EDWARD	GRAHAM	MARGARET	0
N	5/31/64	SHAHEEN	ELIAS	SHAMY	VIRGINIA	1
N	6/06/64	MEFRIGE	GEORGE	ANBER	RENEE	1
N	6/14/64	AZIZ	PHILIP	SHAHEEN	ELAINE	1
N	6/28/64	MASSAD	RAYMOND	BARBARA	CAROLE B.	1
N	7/26/64	SOUHAH	GILBERT	JONCAS	FRANCYNE	0
N	8/16/64	HABER	GEORGE	SALHANY	JOANNE	1
N	9/13/64	BESHARA	WILLIAM	BADR	MARIE	1
N	9/26/64	FARHOOD	WAYNE	BILTON	JOANNE	0
N	9/26/64	CELTORIUS	JOHN	ZARBATANY	JANE	0
N	11/07/64	MASSAD	RONALD	ECKERSLEY	GLENDA	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	11/18/64	SAYKALY	NICHOLAS	FINKEL	JACQUELINE	0
N	1/10/65	ABOUD	RICHARD	DAVID	TANYA	1
N	2/21/65	ATALLAH	MICHAEL	ZAKAIB	NORMA	1
N	2/28/65	BERNESHAWI	GEORGE	BACHARIAN	MELINEE	0
N	2/28/65	ACKEL	THOMAS, JR.	ZOGBI	DIANA	0
N	5/01/65	KOURI	GARY	YARED	BEVERLEY	1
N	7/18/65	SAYER	FREDRICK	PLOUFFE	MARIE THERESE	0
N	7/25/65	LAJOIE	EMIL	KABBABE	SELMA	1
N	9/04/65	MICHEL	GEORGE	POIRIER	RAYMONDE	0
N	9/25/65	ABRAHAM	RICHARD	ZARBATANY	JOAN	1
N	10/16/65	ZAFER	NAJM	WUYCKENS	MONIQUE	0
N	11/14/65	MARDINY	FOUAD	FADEL	SAMIRA	1
N	1/22/66	AZIZ	JOHN	EIDE	HYND	1
N	4/17/66	SAAD	VICTOR	GRENIER	PIERRETTE	0
N	4/23/66	TABAH	GEORGE	BOULET	FRANCOISE	0
N	7/02/66	REFFCA	FRED	BRODEUR	SUZANNE	0
N	7/03/66	MARCUS	GEORGE	DIEFFENBACHER	HELGA	0
N	7/22/66	ZAIEN	GEORGE	BLONDEAU	MONIQUE	0
N	7/24/66	GHAREEB	GEORGE	KHOURY	ODETTE	1
N	7/24/66	MILLER	MALCOLM	ZAKAIB	HAIFA	0
N	8/14/66	SALHANY	ALBERT	ROY	LUCIENNE	0
N	9/03/66	STOLL, JR.	GUSTAV	BEAUCHAMP	SUSAN	0
N	9/04/66	MAZIAD	AMABLE	SABA	NICOLE	1
N	9/17/66	DAVID	DOUGLAS	JAZZAR	LYNNE	1
N	9/18/66	ZAKAIB	GORDON	MARTINEAU	MARIE EMMA	0
N	10/02/66	SKAFF	ELIE	SAADEH	DUNIA	1
N	10/09/66	JAZZAR	RUSSELL	SAUNDERS	DIANNE	0
N	10/29/66	SHATILLA	RICHARD	BARAKETT	LINDA	1
N	11/06/66	GIBARA	ALFRED	AYOUB	LAURICE	1
N	11/20/66	MAYA	JOSE	MICHEL	LAURICE	0
N	1/14/67	KALIL	ALEXANDER	SHATILLA	FRANCES	1
N	3/11/67	WILLS	JAMES	KOURI	JOAN	0
N	5/06/67	LUTFY	GEORGE	BOUCHER	MARIETTE	1
N	6/25/67	ABBOUD	ELIE	CHIARALUNA	RITA	0
N	6/25/67	HABASHI	GEORGE	HANNA	YVETTE W.	1
N	7/08/67	SHATILLA	EDWARD	CLARKIN	ELIZABETH	0
N	9/23/67	HADDAD	JOHN	BOUSHY BEAUCHAM	PATRICIA	1
N	10/14/67	KHOURY	CAMILLE	FINDLAY LOWE	ANNA	0
N	10/15/67	KERSHEH	TOUFIC	TABAH	YOLANDE	1
N	11/04/67	HABIB	FAYEK	HUNT	CHRISTIANE	0
N	12/30/67	KOURI	NICHOLAS	BROCK	DIANA	0
N	12/30/67	SALHANY	GORDON	MCCOMB	FRANCES	0
N	1/18/68	JAMIESON	FRASER	KOURY	ALICE	0
N	1/21/68	CHACRA	ALAN	VIDA	AGNES	0
N	2/10/68	SALHANY	TOUFIC	BARRY	MARILYN	0
N	3/01/68	ABDELHAY	PHILIP	SALHANY	SANDRA	1
N	3/16/68	ROUFAIL	BOULOS	MAKER	FADILA	1
N	5/19/68	SOUHA (SAOUMAA)	RAMEZ	MANESSIS	ADRIANA	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	6/02/68	ABBOUD	TONY	DE KONENCK	LOUISE	0
N	6/16/68	MOUFRAGE	WAYNE	BATAH	DIANA	1
N	6/29/68	KENEMY	KEITH	SANCHEZ	NANCY	0
N	6/30/68	SALHANY	RONALD	TABAH	JUDITH	1
N	7/05/68	HABIB	NABIL	HUNT	ROSITA	0
N	7/07/68	ZAKAIB	MICHAEL	AYOUB	HELEN	1
N	7/07/68	ADUB	MIKE	GOYER	FRANCINE	0
N	8/24/68	DRAGONI	*	SCHAMI	PAULETTE	0
N	8/25/68	ASSAF	RONALD	CROTEAU	MARIE REJEANN	0
N	8/29/68	LEMIEUX	NICHOLAS	KOURI	SANDRA	0
N	8/31/68	ATTIA	RAMSIS	MACARTHUR	SALLY	0
N	10/05/68	PAYETTE, JR.	ROSS	ZACARD	JANICE	0
N	10/06/68	AZIZ	JOSEPH	KAYA	SUHEYLA	1
N	10/12/68	NASSER	NASSIM	TABAR	SUMAYA	1
N	10/20/68	GUILBEAULT	PAUL	DERO	HELEN	0
N	11/03/68	SIDAWI	GEORGE	DADA	SAMIA	1
N	11/16/68	MAJDELL	BRIAN	DAVIES	ELIZABETH	0
N	2/22/69	ZAKAIB	DOUGLAS	NASSAR	LOUISE	1
N	2/23/69	ALTEEN	RONALD	TAYLOR	SANDRA	0
N	3/30/69	TABAH	JOSEPH	JOLIDON	MONIQUE	0
N	4/10/69	KARAM	KENNETH	LEGACE	MONIQUE	0
N	5/10/69	GREGORY	WILLIAM	SAYEGH	GLORIA	0
N	6/02/69	MOUBAYED	REMY	AYOUB	FARIDA	1
N	6/29/69	ADUB	RICKY	YAWAWI	ANNA	1
N	8/17/69	LAHAM	AFIF	ASSALY	LORRAINE	1
N	10/18/69	SHATILLA	PETER	CONFRONTATI	GRACE	0
N	10/18/69	WALKER	WINSTON	MANSOUR	CHRISTINE	0
N	11/16/69	ABOUASSALY	ADEL	HAYEK	JEHANE	1
N	11/24/69	LAHAM	ARTHUR	CHAMANDY	JACQUELINE AN	1
N	11/30/69	MOURANI	GEORGES	CHOUINARD	MARIE	0
N	12/27/69	SAARDI	GEORGE	BOUILLON	MARIE-LISE	1
N	12/30/69	MEFRIGE	HASSIB	GAUTHIER	HUGUETTE	0
N	1/24/70	EMERY	REGINAID	SHATILLA	CHRISTINE	0
N	2/03/70	SABA	ADNAN	TERZIAN	ANKINE	0
N	2/14/70	BROWN	PATRICK	ZACARD	GEORGETTE	0
N	2/15/70	SALHANI	FHAD	SHATILLA	RONDA	0
N	5/10/70	KASSIS	ASSAD	KAPLANDJIAN	ANIE	0
N	6/27/70	HOOD	STEPHEN	KOURI	CHRISTINA	0
N	7/05/70	ROPER	VINCENT	DAVID	GERALDINE	0
N	9/12/70	KOUSSAYA	RONALD	MALOUF	NANETTE	1
N	9/26/70	NESSRALLAH	MICHAEL	CHEVALIER	ANNE	0
N	11/21/70	TABAH	RICHARD	STIEGLER	VESNA	0
N	5/29/71	ABRAHAM	RICHARD	DELORME	MARIE	0
N	6/26/71	GAUDARD	ROBERT	ZACARD	GAIL	0
N	8/01/71	KOURI	GEORGE	ZAKAIB	MARLENE	1
N	8/07/71	GEORGE	ALLEN M.	KALIL	SUSAN M.	1
N	10/23/71	SHOOFY	ROBERT	KING	SANDRA	0
N	11/12/71	ASFOUR	RAYMOND	JONES	MONICA	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDO GAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	11/20/71	ZARBATANY	LAWRENCE	LEFEBVRE	PAULETTE	0
N	12/26/71	KOURI	RONALD	HANNA	SUSAN	1
N	4/15/72	WHITTON	DAVID	SHATILLA	DIANE	0
N	5/14/72	KOURI	RONALD	KAZAZIAN	AIDA	1
N	5/27/72	DE RUI	TULLIO	ASSAF	BONNIE	0
N	6/04/72	MOUFRAGE	JOHN	DEVANTRO	MARY ANN	0
N	7/01/72	JARRY	DENYS	SALIB	SOHAIR	0
N	7/20/72	ZAKAIB	RICHARD	HARPES	LOUISE	0
N	8/26/72	MAKAD	CHARLES	KOLOGY	EMILY	1
N	9/02/72	SAAD	RICHARD	STEFANI	ULRIKE	0
N	9/14/72	TURBIDE	JOSEPH	JAZZAR	DARLENE JANIC	0
N	9/24/72	MYRSETH	ARNE	THOUN	BEVERLY	1
N	10/14/72	SALHANY	ROBERT	LAPLANTE	HUGETTE MARY	0
N	12/23/72	KHOURI	MICHEL	AYOUB	FRANCINE	1
N	3/11/73	KEZBER	ZICKY	GROSCHER SCHWAR	ANNA	0
N	5/12/73	ZAKAIB	JOHN	SALHANY	LILY	1
N	5/13/73	ESTIMA	MANUAL	ZARBATANY	JOAN	0
N	5/22/73	WEATHERBY	LONNIE	SAAD	KAREN	0
N	5/26/73	KOURI	STEVEN	KIRADY	GHISLAINE	1
N	6/09/73	GIBARA	RAYMOND	FERRIS	CHRISTINE	1
N	6/10/73	MONTESANO	FRANK	KOURI	DELAL	0
N	6/16/73	WATERS	ROBERT	ZAKAIB	DIANA	0
N	7/15/73	HATTEM	RAYMOND	HABIB	MARLENE	1
N	7/22/73	NOEL	CLAUDE	ASSAF	CLAUDETTE	0
N	8/04/73	SAAD	GORDON	DIVERGILIO	MARGARET	0
N	8/18/73	HANCK	ROGER	DAVID	JOANNE	0
N	8/18/73	ZAKAIB	KENNETH	GALLANT	LORRAINE	0
N	9/29/73	BYRON	GERALD	BATTAH	VIVIAN	0
N	11/25/73	SALHANY	GARY	GALLANT	MARY EVELYN	0
N	1/06/74	LAHAM	GHASSAN	SALHANY	SHERRY ANN	1
N	4/20/74	MARROOF	ROBERT	LAWAND	BARBARA	1
N	4/27/74	TETRAULT	GERALD	BEAUCHAMP	JOYCE	0
N	6/08/74	LEBLANC	DONALD	AYOUB	VIRGINIA	0
N	11/12/74	ASSALY	PETER	SIMPSON	JANIS	0
N	12/14/74	NESSRALLAH	GEORGE	REEVES-CATHRALL	NANCY	0
N	1/25/75	DONALO	STEPHEN	SHADEED	MAUREEN	0
N	5/24/75	KTEILY	TOUFIC	GARRETT	LYNDA	0
N	5/24/75	RUSSELL	DONALD	SALHANY	CAROLYN	0
N	6/01/75	ABDELHAY	GORDON	FITZSIMONS	DEIRDRE	0
N	6/21/75	DUMONT	LEO	MALOLEY	DIANE	0
N	6/22/75	SHAMY	FRANK	TOMIUK	TANIA	1
N	6/28/75	KOURY	GERALD	HECTOR	JANE	0
N	7/20/75	LAWAND	ROBERT	SABA	NANCY	1
N	8/17/75	GUERRERA	MARIO	KOURI	CHRISTINE	0
N	12/07/75	SALLUSTIO	ELVIO	ALTEEN	SANDRA	0
N	1/04/76	LONGPRE	RICHARD	SARAY	GAIL	0
N	1/24/76	KOURY	DENNIS	CHARTRAND	MARIE-JOSEE	0
N	2/07/76	SAAD	FRED	DUBOIS	MADELEINE	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	5/01/76	BATAH	ROBERT	LOWELL	BETTY	0
N	5/02/76	MELDRUM	REGINALD	ASSALY	ELAINE	0
N	5/23/76	HENDY	DONALD	COUREY	PAMELA	1
N	5/29/76	LUTFY	JOHN	BERNARD	LOUISE	0
N	6/05/76	SAAD	WALLACE	CHAMANDY DAVID	DIANA	1
N	6/12/76	SHADEED	BRUCE	LABELLE	SUZANNE	0
N	6/26/76	NABILSI	TOUFIC	SAAD	HELENE	1
N	7/24/76	JAZZAR, JR.	LOUIS	TREMBLAY	SUZANNE	0
N	8/29/76	CHACRA	ROBERT	EINNOLF	LIANE	0
N	10/16/76	ZARBATANY	RUSSELL	MORRISSETTE	GISELE	0
N	11/13/76	ZAKAIB	MICHAEL	VANTASSEL	ROMA	0
N	1/08/77	CHACRA	ALAN	DESJARDINS	CHRISTIANE	0
N	1/15/77	FARR, JR.	FRANKLIN	SALHANY	ELAYN	1
N	2/09/77	DUBEC	ROBERT RODOLP	KOURI	DIANA	0
N	6/04/77	HAMELIN	ANDRE	SALHANI	SANDRA	0
N	6/12/77	CHACRA	STEVEN	HANNA	COREEN	1
N	6/25/77	BOOSAMRA	ALLAN	HARPER	ANNE-MARGARET	0
N	9/15/77	SIROIS	JEAN PAUL	DAVID	JOCELYN	0
N	10/02/77	HAJALY	STEPHEN	ROSSY	SUSAN	1
N	10/22/77	BARBARA	RONALD	DEL PAPA	YOLANDA	0
N	12/28/77	COURTEMANCHE	ALFRED	YAZBECK	SAMIRA	0
N	1/14/78	DOBSON	GEORGE	ZAKAIB	GLORIA	0
N	2/11/78	WEISS	BRIAN	BOOKALAM	SHARON	0
N	2/19/78	BATTAH	KENNETH	DESROCHERS	MICHELINE	0
N	4/30/78	RASSI	BECHRA	DAVID	VIVIAN	1
N	5/06/78	KHOURY	NABIL	BEDIRIAN	MARIE	1
N	5/28/78	KISHFY	RICHARD	BOOJADY	DIANE	1
N	6/10/78	TONEY	MICHAEL	TWEEL	LINDA	0
N	6/11/78	DELATOLLA	GEORGE	SHOIRY	DARLENE	0
N	7/16/78	SHAMY	SALIM	BENOIT	MARIE GINETTE	0
N	8/06/78	JOHNSON	MIDFORD	SARAY	JOY	0
N	9/16/78	MULDOON	JAMES	SALHANY	ANDREA	0
N	11/11/78	PIZZI	DOMENICO	MAKAD	CINDY	0
N	4/21/79	JARJOUR	ANTOINE	ZAIDAN	MICHELINE	1
N	5/05/79	BENSALAH	ABDALLAH	TANNOUS	VIVIANNE	1
N	5/19/79	ASLAN	KARAM	DARGIS	SUZIE	1
N	6/17/79	SHATILLA	ALBERT	DES GROSEILLIER	ALINE	0
N	6/17/79	LUTFY	GEORGE	HALTON	JANICE	0
N	7/14/79	KOUSSAYA	ROBERT	MAJOR	PAULETTE	0
N	9/22/79	WIHBEY	RICHARD	KOUSAIE	VENISE	0
N	10/27/79	BESHRO	RAYMOND	SIAM	DIANA	1
N	10/27/79	JAZZAR	GEORGE	SHOFFEY	LINDA	1
N	11/18/79	STABLER	GARRY	SHOOFEY	ELIZABETH	0
N	12/08/79	ARLESS	STEVEN	SIMARD	LINA MARIE	0
N	2/23/80	KEZBER	THEODORE	BEAUMIER	GHISLAINE	0
N	4/27/80	SHAHEEN	NICHOLAS	KOUSAIE	DAWN	1
N	5/25/80	SALHANY	ISSA	TABAH	DORIS	1
N	5/31/80	ANDERSON	BRADLEY	AZIZ	DONNA	0

APPENDIX B3:

ENDOGAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

1= ENDOGAMOUS
0= EXOGAMOUS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	ETHNIC
N	6/08/80	AZIZ	MARK	CATTINY	CANOACE	1
N	6/28/80	DYER	RONALD	ZARBATANY	HELEN	0
N	7/19/80	SHATILLA	ERIC	RYAN	NANCY-LOU	0
N	8/16/80	SANDELOWSKY	MARK	MAKER	DIANE	0
N	8/17/80	ARAISH	EDGAR	SIDAWI	NARIMAN	1
N	8/30/80	WHITNEY	FORREST	RIVAS	BEATRICE	0
N	8/31/80	MATTA	STEVEN	LEVESQUE	SYLVIE	0
N	9/20/80	COTTER	DONALD	KOURY	DONNA	0
N	9/29/80	SAYER	EDWARD	SENEZ	MICHELINE	0
N	10/25/80	KOURI	STEVEN	STREET	MARY	0
N	11/16/80	NESSRALLAH	ROBERT	BATTAH	LINDA	1
N	12/27/80	KOURY	THOMAS	MALOUF	NANETTE	1

**APPENDIX B3:
ENDOAMY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS
IN MONTREAL, 1961-1980
(Calculations)**

MARRIAGES	NUMBER	PERCENT
TOTAL	539	100.00
ENDOAMOUS	210	38.96
EXOAMOUS	329	61.04

APPENDIX C1:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS,
1905-1930**

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	7/29/06	SAYFI	ELIAS R.	23	S	ZUGHAYB	AKABE E.	18	S
G	9/30/06	ILYAS	EASSA A.	23	S	ID	SADA E.	18	S
G	10/04/06	KURI	GEORGE A.	22	S	SAGHIR	NOURE J.	18	S
G	10/18/06	ABU-SAD	SHAKER F.	36	S	BARAKAT	SIDY A.	20	S
G	12/09/06	HADDAD	DAVID S.	25	S	YAQUB	NAIFI A.	22	S
G	1/05/07	ABU-ASALI	ACKL J.	25	S	ZAKI	AMISI A.		
G	1/20/07	SHATILLAH	SHAHIN	30	S	SALHANI	MALAKI K.	22	S
G	6/30/07	KUSAYAH	HABIB A.	24	S	ZARBATANI	BYKY E.	19	S
G	8/14/07	ABU-SAMRAH	HADID Y.	26	S	SALHANI	KARIM B.	23	S
G	9/22/07	NASSAR	NICOLA	26	S	AYA	HANI N.	18	S
G	11/16/07	JAZZAR	TANOUS J.	25	S	ABBUD	TACKLA N.	22	S
G	11/27/07	ZUGHAYB	ABRAHAM F.	25	S	ZUGHAYB	SACKRA F.	18	S
G	1/26/08	JUBRAIL	GEORGE K.	50	S	YUAKIM	KALAEK K.	30	S
G	2/09/08	SABA	RAJEE H.	30	S	MALIK	MALECKY N.	17	S
G	2/16/08	KUSHFI	ABDALLA D.	22	S	JAZZAR	MALAKY H.	20	S
G	2/17/08	SHUFI	FARIS E.	23	S	HADDAD	ZAKEEA A.	16	S
G	2/23/08	SHAMI	SALIM D.	28	S	NIMR	WADEEA F.	20	S
G	3/01/08	ABU-JADI	NICOLA J.	27	S	SHAMI	SALMA D.	24	S
G	5/03/08	ABU-ZAYYAN	JACOB G.	28	S	ABU-BUTROS	AFFEEFY K.	22	S
G	5/03/08	RUMAYH	ABRAHAM M.	29	S	SABA	MALAKY F.		
G	5/10/08	BISHARAH	SALEM K.	22	S	SAQI	ZAHDA A.	18	S
G	5/10/08	KHURI	HABIB A.	27	S	SHATILLAH	NAZEERA S.	22	S
G	5/31/08	ILYAS	GATTAS M.	24	S	RASI	FAREEDA S.	23	S
G	8/30/08	GHANNAJI	MICHEL M.	27	S	DUMAS	COEUR DE LION	22	S
G	9/19/08	DAUD	FARIS	33	S	NAKHLI	SAADA M.	17	S
G	9/20/08	TABBA	NASSIF	51	W	BARDAWIL	REGINA	37	S
G	9/21/08	ABU-SAMRAH	SELIM G.	25	S	ABBUD	EMILIA C.	17	S
G	9/29/08	NAHL	MICKEL K.	22	S	ZUGHAYB	MARY G.	15	S
G	11/22/08	ABU-SAMRAH	SHAKRI, S.	27	S	CONTANT	LOUISE Z.	22	S
G	1/17/09	SHUWAYRI	SALIM M.	20	S	SHUWAYRI	ZAINEH M.	20	S
G	2/07/09	DAUD	ABRAHAM T.	28	S	DAUD	CAMILEH A.	16	S
G	4/18/09	TURKI	FARIS	33	S	ABDALLAH	SALIME N.	21	S
G	6/19/09	SAD	DIB H.	32	S	ABYAD	VASSIL K.	19	S
G	12/31/09	AZIZ	ELIAS T.	22	S	YARID	MAHIBA	24	S
G	1/23/10	SHAR	JOSEPH E.	20	S	JUBRAN	JOFIA	20	S
G	1/23/10	MAKARIUS	JOSEPH	20	S	NIMAH	JALILE	20	S
G	2/06/10	ABU-JADI	BOUTROS Y.	25	S	YUAKIM	NAHID	20	S
G	2/24/10	NASSAR	SALIM	23	S	SHAMANDI	MALAKE	19	S
G	5/08/10	GHIZ	AYOUB	25	S	ZUGHAYB	SALMA	17	S
G	6/02/10	ZARBATANI	GEORGES	28	S	GHANIMAH	CATHERINE	15	S
G	7/08/10	TANNUS	GEORGES	23	S	ANBAR	MARIAM	19	S
G	7/24/10	SAGHIR	NICHOLAS	27	S	ABBUD	MOUNTAHA N.	17	S

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
G	10/30/10	SALHANI	ABRAHAM	36 S	GHUSN	FAHIME	17 S
G	12/11/10	ESKEN	SALIM	25 S	DAUD	NASSIBEH	20 S
G	2/04/12	HADDAD	SALEEM F.	27 S	GHIZ	EPRIZA K.	23 S
G	2/11/12	SHUWAYRI	ESSA H.	35 S	ABBUD	TACKLA K.	
G	5/12/12	ILYAS	ELIA M.	27 S	AWADA	ANICA K.	
G	6/23/12	HAJALI	NASSIF M.	28 S	DAUD	ZAKIEH E.	17 S
G	7/23/12	ADI	ASSAD K.	30 S	BARAKAT	ZAKIEH A.	22 S
G	8/11/12	GHUSN	DEED E.	22 S	IBRAHIM	SARA G.	15 S
G	10/28/12	JIRJIS	MICHAEL M.	26 S	GHULMIEH	JAZALEH N.	25 S
G	12/21/12	DARWISH	SALEEM M.	22 S	ZUGHAYB	NEDE E.	18 S
G	1/21/13	SHAHIN	FAHED B.	23 S	CHOSKALOS	MARY F.	18 S
G	1/26/13	AZIZ	GEORGE M.	26 S	HILAL	FAREEDAH A.	18 S
G	5/19/13	SHADID	SALEEM E.	23 S	HANNA	KARIMEH S.	19 S
G	5/25/13	HUSAYRAM	ELIAS E.	22 S	ABU-ASALI	SALIMA T.	
G	6/08/13	SABA	GEORGE H.	30 S	MATAR	AMALINE K.	19 S
G	6/10/13	DIB	NASSIM E.	26 S	FRANKLIN	NORA AGNES C.	22 S
G	6/22/13	ABU-ISA	HANNA M.	29 S	EL-AYA	HELANY N.	22 S
G	7/01/13	ABU-ASALI	ELIAS H.	24 S	ILYAS	ZAHRA J.	18 S
G	7/16/13	ZARBATANI	JOSEPH F.	25 S	SALHANI	SAIDEH T.	16 S
G	7/31/13	AZIZ	MILHEM G.	28 S	AZIZ	SHAFICKA A.	17 S
G	9/07/13	ABBUD	AKEL N.	25 S	ABBUD	ROSA S.	19 S
G	10/21/13	SHOOFEY	FARRIS	30 S	YARED	AMELIA	22 S
G	5/10/14	MARQUS	ELIAS E.	26 S	ZARBATANI	HANNY A.	22 S
G	5/31/14	RASI	MASSAD E.	25 S	SHATILLAH	WADIEH A.	19 S
G	6/02/14	ILYAS	ELIAS M.	23 S	HANNA	SAADY A.	18 S
G	7/19/14	KURI	GHOUTAS D.	24 S	MANSUR	ROSA E.	
G	9/20/14	ABBUD	SALEEM K.	23 S	HANNA	NEMREH M.	21 S
G	9/21/14	SHUWAYRI	MOUSSA A.	55 S	NIMR	LAYA E.	35 S
G	10/11/14	HAJJI	ABRAHAM N.	38 S	LIYAN	SOURIAYA H.	19 S
G	11/26/14	MUSA	MOUSSA M.	22 S	SHAR	MARY S.	20 S
G	1/24/15	SAYIGH	GEORGE A.	23 S	NASIF	NAJEEBE H.	18 S
G	1/31/15	SHAMI	DERKAM D.	29 S	MAHFUZ	HELEN G.	18 S
G	2/07/15	SAYIR	JABRAN J.	33 S	SHATILLAH	ANGELINA S.	27 S
G	4/11/15	THUN	NAJEEB A.	37 S	JIRJIS	MOUNTAHA M.	23 S
G	4/12/15	SHAGHURI	CAISSAR D.	42 S	SAD	JAMILE H.	33 W
G	5/10/15	SHAYIK	ASSAD K.	26 S	ABBUD	LAMIA	16 S
G	5/13/15	ABBUD	ADELARD C.	26 S	ABU-RADAH	NAJEEBEH M.	21 S
G	7/18/15	HANNA	JOHN N.	22 S	LAHAM	MARY F.	19 S
G	8/08/15	JUBRAN	ABRAHAM S.	30 S	ID	SALEEMAH F.	21 S
G	8/08/15	ILYAS	NASSIFF M.	24 S	SHADID	RASMIEH E.	18 S
G	9/05/15	AYYUB	NICHOLAS F.	23 S	AYYUB	MARY G.	18 S
G	9/06/15	HAJJI	ASSAD F.	23 S	BARAKAT	AFIFEH A.	19 S

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	11/01/15	GHIZ	GHUTTAS G.	27	S	HABIB	ADLA A.	25	S
G	1/21/16	ID	AYOUB B.	33	S	HADDAD	MARY S.	37	S
G	1/23/16	BISHARAH	KALIL N.	30	S	HANNA	HASSIBE F.	20	S
G	2/06/16	HANNA	ELIAS A.	25	S	HADDAD	KATHRINA J.	17	S
G	5/28/16	QANDALAFT	HABIB A.	30	S	HAJJI	WARDEH N.	25	S
G	7/02/16	QUMAYRI	ABDEL E.	28	S	ABDALLAH	SOUSSAN G.	16	S
G	7/11/16	DUMANI	GEORGE C.	30	S	DUMANI	HELEN M.	22	S
G	7/16/16	ZAHALAN	ALBERT M.	45	S	ZUGHAYB	WARDEH A.	35	S
G	7/30/16	SHATILLAH	HABIB K.	30	S	BARAKAT	FAHDA P.	18	S
G	7/31/16	AL-AMIR	WEHBEH E.	28	S	BOUCHER	BLANCH A.	20	S
G	8/10/16	KURI	THOMAS G.	28	S	ABU-ASALI	NAUREAN D.	18	S
G	8/13/16	SHATILLAH	ASSAD P.	48	S	ABU-MARUF	MALAKEH S.	45	S
G	8/13/16	KUSBARA	SOLOMON A.	29	S	RIZQ	JENNEY S.	19	S
G	8/29/16	BARBARI	MICHAEL N.	27	S	ROUSSEAU	ALICE R.	26	S
G	9/10/16	ZUGHAYB	ELIAS A.	36	S	GHUSN	ALIA J.	25	S
G	9/15/16	SHUFI	SALEM E.	21	S	ROSHU	VALARY G.	22	S
G	9/24/16	ZUGHAYB	NASSIFF M.	27	S	HAJJI	HASSIBEH K.	32	S
G	9/24/16	ASALI	THOMAS N.	24	S	MATAR	JOULIA M.	20	S
G	10/01/16	SATIL	STELLO N.	22	S	ID	ALIA E.	16	S
G	10/08/16	ZARBATANI	JOHN N.	24	S	KURI	WADEEHA G.	19	S
G	10/15/16	ILYAS	JOSEPH M.	22	S	HANNA	KAREEMEH K.	23	S
G	1/22/17	THUN	SHAHIN A.	40	S	GREEN	NELLIE J.	21	S
G	2/11/17	ZARBATANI	ELIAS D.	29	S	ABU-TARA	GAMALE J.	22	S
G	2/11/17	ZUGHAYB	ABDALLA E.	31	S	MAHFUZ	FOUTEEN G.	24	S
G	2/18/17	SAYFI	JOSEPH H.	29	S	MAKIR	MAGGIE J.	19	S
G	5/13/17	KUSAYAH	ABDALLA	25	S	AMMAR	RAHMY	16	S
G	4/14/18	KHURI	NICHOLAS A.	30	S	CHAILLE	CLAUDIA A.	30	S
G	1/12/18	MUFARRIJ	JOSEPH K.	25	S	RIZQ	SALMA S.	22	S
G	5/29/19	SIMON	AZIZ R.	25	S	IBRAHIM	AFFIFE S.	22	S
G	10/19/19	TABBA	AZIZ A.	29	S	TABBA	MABLE A.	17	S
G	11/02/19	FARIS	ALEX F.	26	S	SHAR	NABELLA N.	17	S
G	5/24/20	SALLUM	GEORGE E.	24	S	HILAL	IDA A.	20	S
G	5/24/20	AL-LAY	MICHAEL I.	28	S	HILAL	NELLIE A.		
G	6/13/20	SALHANI	SALIM A.	28	S	ABU-JADI	ADMA J.	20	S
G	6/20/20	KURI	RACHEDE J.	26	S	NASIF	GHALIEH M.	21	S
G	7/12/20	JARJUR	ELLIS J.	28	S	GHUNIMAH	FEDWA J.	17	S
G	8/29/20	ANBAR	MICHAEL N.	34	S	ABU-HATAB	SADY G.	25	S
G	10/03/20	RASI	TOM E.	26	S	RASI	ANGELINE S.	21	S
G	10/20/20	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE J.	28	S	AWAD	LILIAN K.	22	S
G	11/21/20	NASSAR	ASSAD N.	31	S	SHAR	MILIA N.	20	S
G	3/06/21	ABDALLAH	MICHAEL G.	31	S	AUTO	EMALIE J.	18	S
G	3/06/21	ILYAS	JOSEPH G.	35	S	BISHARAH	SAHDA K.		

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
G	6/12/21	KURI	SHAKIR G.	35 S	MALIK	HASEEBI N.	23 S
G	6/26/21	ASALI	NICHOLAS R.	27 S	MARHIJ	WADIA S.	21 S
G	7/24/21	NASIF	THOMAS M.	23 S	ABU-QALAM	FADWA P.	18 S
G	12/22/21	SHAMANDI	GEORGE G.	23 S	ANSARAH	MARY K.	21 S
G	2/06/22	SHAHADI	ABRAHAM A.	40 D	SAD	SAIDY J.	35 W
G	2/24/22	ZARBATANI	ASSAD A.	27 S	GHANTUS	WADEA M.	21 S
G	4/23/22	RASI	PHILIP R.	27 S	KURI	EDMA S.	27 S
G	6/18/22	RASI	FERRIS M.	26 S	HAID	FAIZEH E.	21 S
G	6/25/22	BARDAWIL	JOSEPH S.	26 S	DIRATANI	ROSE G.	23 S
G	6/28/22	ABU-RIZQ	THOMAS E.	45 W	SHAMANDI	NABEHA S.	30 W
G	7/02/22	BADLIS	MIKE D.	48 W	HARUN	MALAKEH M.	30 W
G	11/03/22	BAQQARI	ADELARD A.	50 W	BADIR	ABDALLA G.	40 W
G	11/26/22	DARWISH	MICHEL M.	27 S	ILYAS	ANNIE T.	15 S
G	1/21/23	ZAKO	ALBERT D.	25 S	AUTO	SOPHIE J.	17 S
G	2/11/23	HABIB	KARALLAH H.	30 W	ASSAL	WAIDA K.	21 S
G	6/17/23	ABBUD	CAMILLE C.	20 S	HANNA	FADWA J.	19 S
G	7/01/23	AYYUB	ALEXANDER G.	30 S	ZARBATANI	FUTIMA T.	18 S
G	7/22/23	MIKHAIL	MICHEL M.	33 S	MIKHAIL	MARY N.	19 S
G	7/22/23	MIKHAIL	CAMILLE M.	35 S	SHALHUL	WADAD A.	23 S
G	8/04/23	MIMARI	NASSIB K.	31 S	BANDELET	SIMONE A.	23 S
G	1/27/24	SHAR	GEDEON C.	24 S	HANNA	FRANCINE S.	22 S
G	2/17/24	SHAMI	JOSEPH E.	30 S	SABA	EVA E.	21 S
G	2/26/24	LUTFI	NOURALLA L.	36 W	AZZUR	CATHERINE M.	21 S
G	5/14/24	HARUN	ABRAHAM M.	30 S	JARJUR	AFIFE C.	21 S
G	5/18/24	SHAR	JOSEPH S.	43 W	HADDAD	RAMZIE S.	36 S
G	6/08/24	RAHAL	FADLO S.	35 S	HANNA	SALEEME A.	25 S
G	6/12/24	ASSADOORIAN	DOUG A.	30 S	MELKONIAN	SATERIG P.	21 S
G	6/12/24	SAHAGIAN	SITRAG S.	34 S	MORDIAN	HAIGOOKI A.	23 S
G	6/18/24	ADB AL-MASIH	JOSEPH B.	28 S	ABD AL-KARIM	EFFET P.	18 S
G	7/28/24	QASSAR	NAOUM M.	31 S	KANO	JEANETTE J.	
G	10/13/24	HANNA	JOHN A.	29 S	SHUWAYRI	ZAINE E.	22 S
G	12/13/24	LAWAND	ELIAS N.	44 S	MEYERS	LILY J.	32 S
G	1/24/25	KALIKI	ELIE G.	29 S	KUNDARJI	ZAHRAH T.	21 S
G	2/28/25	MAKARIUS	CHARLES M.	35 S	GHIZ	SADIE N.	21 S
G	6/01/25	RAZZUQ	FOUZY R.	30 S	SHALHUB	ROSE A.	26 S
G	6/12/25	QASSAR	GEORGE N.	31 S	JARJUR	MABLE F.	21 S
G	6/21/25	KURI	JOHN E.	30 S	DIB	LILY E.	19 S
G	6/21/25	ASALI	NICHOLAS S.	27 S	SAD	BEATRICE J.	21 S
G	7/05/25	KURI	MASSAD M.	34 S	HANNA	SADA A.	27 S
G	7/19/25	HANNA	WAKID N.	28 S	HANNA	AL'CE A.	20 S
G	8/13/25	QUMAYRI	RUZKALLAH E.	34 S	DIBS	MALAKIE N.	21 S
G	11/01/25	BISHARAH	AYOUB K.	37 S	DARWISH	MARY E.	26 S

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	11/02/25	GHIZ	ELIAS N.	30	S	JIRJIS	IDA E.	18	S
G	11/29/25	BAWSHI	SHAHEEN J.	21	S	SHUFI	SKYEE E.	17	S
G	3/07/26	SHAR	HAMID S.	27	S	ABBUD	CECILE A.	17	S
G	4/19/26	AUTO	MICHEL E.	29	S	BAHDI	ATIY E.	19	S
G	5/31/26	AYYUB	MIKE N.	37	D	DIRATANI	ADELE G.	26	S
G	7/04/26	SUAYD	JOSEPH E.	31	S	HADDAD	HAFAZZA A.	21	S
G	7/11/26	BARAKAT	ADELARD M.	30	S	ABU-MUNIR	ALICE A.	17	S
G	7/18/26	ZUGHAYB	MICHAEL A.	37	S	ABU-MUNIR	VICTORIA A.	19	S
G	9/12/26	ANBAR	JOSEPH B.	35	S	ANBAR	ROSIE F.	19	S
G	10/24/26	NASIF	MICHEL M.	28	S	HANNA	FARIDE N.	25	S
G	10/31/26	HANNA	SALIM S.	22	S	SALHANI	NORA M.	18	S
G	11/28/26	ABBUD	KALEEL C.	29	W	SAYIR	SUKAR E.	24	S
G	1/13/27	SHALHUB	ELIE A.	25	S	LE CORNU	JEANNE E.	25	S
G	5/01/27	NAKKASH	AZIZ G.	34	S	JARJUR	FLORENCE G.	20	S
G	6/03/27	AZIZ	ALBERT E.	37	S	NASIF	NIMRIE F.	24	S
G	6/09/27	AYYUB	FARRIS N.	50	W	KURI	MILADY N.	42	W
G	6/12/27	KAHIL	KAHIL G.	33	S	KURI	ROSE D.	23	S
G	6/26/27	ABBUD	SALEM C.	22	S	BISHARAH	NAZHA S.	18	S
G	7/03/27	AZIZ	ELIAS M.	33	W	GHANTUS	SALMA N.	22	S
G	6/24/28	GHANTUS	SALIM N.	27	S	ABBUD	SALWA S.	21	S
G	6/24/28	BAWSHI	GEORGE M.	23	S	HADDAD	DORA N.	19	S
G	6/24/28	HANNA	JAMES J.	32	S	MIKHAIL	EMELINE N.	19	S
G	7/08/28	LAWAND	AMEEN N.	31	S	ABBUD	ELOISE K.	18	S
G	7/08/28	MIKHAIL	JOSEPH H.	24	S	ZUGHAYB	ADELE D.	17	S
G	8/05/28	KURI	HABIB J.	26	S	HABIB	EFFIE K.	26	S
G	8/05/28	BAWSHI	THEOPHILE E.	25	S	KURI	ALICE J.	22	S
G	9/02/28	MAKARIUS	AZAR	36	S	HANNA	MARY F.	20	S
G	9/02/28	MATAR	ABDO	28	S	MIKHAIL	SALMA H.	21	S
G	9/17/28	BARAKAT	GEORGE	35	W	RASI	ZAKIEH	26	S
G	10/07/28	HAJJI	ABRAHAM	49	W	SHAMI	SALMA	42	W
G	10/28/28	LUTFI	MICHEL D.	30	S	SHAMI	VICTORIA A.	22	S
G	1/20/29	MANSUR	SALIM J.	30	S	ABU-MANSUR	ADELE E.	18	S
G	1/20/29	NIMR	ELIAS A.	25	S	NASIF	LUCIENNE M.		
G	5/23/29	CAROGLENIAN	NAZARET A.	41	W	KOUDRACHIAN	ZAHARAN T.	24	D
G	7/28/29	HAJJAR	GEORGE J.	34	S	TABBA	ANNIE A.	21	S
G	9/15/29	ILYAS	JOHN N.	25	S	EUGENE	AKABAR W.	19	S
G	9/29/29	AYYUB	GEORGES J.	33	S	AYYUB	SOPHIE A.	23	S
G	1/26/30	AWADA	SOLOMON M.	38	S	HANNA	KHALAYK F.	28	S
G	4/27/30	KHALIFAH	JOHN N.	29	S	ILIYAN	EVONE F.	20	S
G	6/29/30	MALULI	WADEH M.	35	S	ABU-ASALI	ZAKIEH F.	24	S
G	6/29/30	MALULI	MICHAEL J.	24	S	SAD	MATILDA H.	23	S
G	10/24/30	MALULI	ASPER S.	50	W	ABU-ASALI	LATIFA F.	21	S

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	10/26/30	YARID	GEORGE N.	28	S	YARID	CATHERINE S.	21	S
N	5/13/17	KUSAYAH	ABDALLA	25	S	AMMAR	RAHMY	16	S
N	6/15/18	ABU-TARAH	HABEEB	36	S	ZUGHAYB	DEEBE	26	S
N	5/12/19	ALLAN	GEORGE	36	S	GOURD	AURILIA	25	S
N	5/17/19	SALHANI	ABDALLA	54	S	QURBAN	AMEENA	38	S
N	6/06/20	ABU-SAMRAH	ALEXANDER G.	32	S	SABBAGH	EFFY M.	24	S
N	8/13/20	AYYUB	WILLIE	47	S	QASSIS	NAZLY	30	S
N	9/21/20	YARID	ABRAHAM	35	W	KHALIFAH	AFEEFE	23	W
N	11/19/20	WAHBI	ELIAS H.	28	S	KURI	NABEEHA A.		
N	11/21/20	SAYKALI	SALIM M.	35	S	AYYAMI	ROSE A.	20	S
N	11/28/20	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH A.	35	S	ZUGHAYB	ONADEEHA A.	24	S
N	3/15/21	KURI	ALBERT A.	33	S	LAHAM	MARY F.		W
N	8/28/21	SAD	MAJEEB M.	28	S	YARID	MARY		
N	11/13/21	JIBARAH	MOSES J.	27	S	GOUIN	LUCIE A.	21	S
N	11/27/21	SAD	MICHAEL R.	32	S	DENTON	ALICE	26	S
N	12/02/21	JAZZAR	GEORGE	22	S	KURI	NAJLA G.	18	S
N	1/23/22	ABD AL-MASIH	ELIA M.	30	S	ABDALLAH	MARIA M.	26	W
N	2/17/22	ID	THEOPHILE F.	24	S	MANSUR	ROSE	23	S
N	5/05/22	HAJJI	ELIAS K.	25	S	NIMAH	FADWA M.		
N	6/04/22	ASSAF	NIME G.	24	S	ABBUD	SALEEME A.	21	S
N	8/30/22	SALHANI	ASSAD	27	S	MC DUFF	NELLY J.	22	S
N	2/04/23	TABBA	ELAIS N.	34	S	QASSAB	EMILIE A.	21	S
N	4/15/23	ABU-RADAH	NAJEEB M.	31	S	ANQAH	NOUR A.	18	S
N	4/28/23	AZIZ	ESSA N.	33	S	SHAQRAH	AGIA T.	21	S
N	6/13/23	SAYFY	JOSEPH M.	37	W	AMMAR	MAHEEBA A.	24	S
N	6/22/23	RAHAL	MOSES J.	38	S	RAHAL	MARY S.	17	S
N	7/22/23	SALHANI	NASSIF M.	25	S	SALHANI	SAIYEDA A.	21	S
N	7/29/23	SUKKARI	FARRIS	29	S	KURI	HASSEEBE A.		
N	8/07/23	LUBBUS	SALIM E.	25	S	HARKIN	MARY	26	S
N	9/09/23	JIBARAH	TOOFEEK S.	24	S	ABU-TARAH	LUTFEYA J.	21	S
N	9/09/23	ZAYN	KALIL L.	30	S	KURI	KATHLEENA A.	20	S
N	9/09/23	LAHAM	MICHEL F.	28	S	LATUF	NOUR J.	18	S
N	1/27/24	SAYKALI	MICHAEL E.	28	S	SAYKALI	MARIA E.	19	S
N	2/16/24	TABBA	SAID	40	W	KURI	MARY A.	26	S
N	6/08/24	KHALIL	MASSAD	35	S	LAHAM	YAMNA E.	22	S
N	8/03/24	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE A.	29	S	SHATILLAH	NAIFY A.	18	S
N	11/02/24	SAMARAH	GEORGE K.	30	S	NADDAF	MUNEERA G.	21	S
N	11/03/24	SUKKARI	ESSA T.	31	S	ABU-SAD	NABEEHA	18	S
N	2/22/25	ABU-SAFI	GEORGE N.	38	W	QADRI	WADEEHA J.	27	S
N	7/25/25	ABU-SAHDAH	ASSAD A.	24	S	NASIF	NAEEMA A.	23	S
N	9/13/25	ZUGHAYB	JOSEPH E.	35	S	ZUGHAYB	WAZNA A.	25	S
N	10/23/25	MIKHAIL	NASSIF	50	W	SABBAGH	MARY	45	S

APPENDIX C1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1905-1930GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
N	12/13/25	NASSAR	FAHD	31 S	MANSUR	LUTFAYA K.	22 S
N	1/31/26	DAUD	MICHAEL E.	27 S	ABU-ASALI	NAZLEE D.	20 S
N	6/23/26	BARAKAT	WILLIAM A.	37 S	KUSAYAH	CATHERINE	40 S
N	6/30/26	SHAHIN	MITCHEL	35 S	KHALIL	JEANNIE G.	21 S
N	7/24/26	BATAH	THOMAS E.	23 S	JAZZAR	SKYEE M.	18 S
N	9/24/26	KARAM	ESSA A.	46 W	AYYUB	AKABEL F.	32 W
N	6/19/27	SALHANI	ASSAD T.	34 S	SALHANI	NAHEED M.	24 S
N	6/26/27	MUFARRIJ	FOUAD	28 S	MUFARRIJ	ZAKEYA G.	21 S
N	6/27/27	SHAHIN	WADEEH G.	34 S	BARBARI	AGEYA M.	24 S
N	7/17/27	SHAMMAS	LATEEF M.	27 S	ABU-MURAD	MUNEERA	17 S
N	7/17/27	ATHANAS	NAOUM J.	36 W	BUYAJI	LUCIA J.	28 S
N	8/21/27	ZUGHAYB	GEORGE S.	25 S	MAJDAL	ROSANA J.	18 S
N	10/09/27	RAHAL	JOSEPH S.	31 W	NASIF	ALEXANDRA M.	24 S
N	6/08/28	SAD	ALBERT E.	24 S	ABU-SAD	ROSY B.	17 S
N	6/08/28	SHAMMAS	ELIAS A.	26 S	MAJDAL	MARY	22 S
N	6/17/28	ZARBATANI	TANNOUS E.	34 S	MATAR	MARY N.	25 S
N	6/24/28	KURI	KALIL A.	28 S	THUN	LINDA A.	21 S
N	9/09/28	DAHIR	NICHOLAS J.	35 S	SABA	ALEXANDRIE S.	21 S
N	9/09/28	ILYAS	GEORGE N.	24 S	SAD	MARY H.	19 S
N	9/25/28	RAHAL	NAGIB N.	44 S	SUKKARI	MARY A.	22 S
N	1/27/29	SHATILLAH	FAHD F.	24 S	DIRANI	LINDA G.	23 S
N	2/17/29	MUAQQAD	KALIL P.	30 S	ADUB	OLGA N.	18 S
N	6/30/29	NASIF	EID A.	30 S	DAUD	NABEEHA S.	24 S
N	7/01/29	KHLAT	NICHOLAS C.	26 S	BERTHEAUME	RYTA N.	18 S
N	10/06/29	MARHIJ	ANISE S.	28 S	KURI	HADEYA R.	22 S
N	10/13/29	KURI	JOHN E.	57 S	SHURBAJI	WADIEHA	28 S
N	10/20/29	ASSAF	SALIM E.	35 S	ABU-SAD	EVA M.	25 S
N	11/14/29	ABU-RADA	ABDALLAH	48 W	NAKHLAH	MARY M.	W
N	1/14/30	KURI	PETER	39 W	TANNUS	JAMEELE M.	21 S
N	1/26/30	SALHANI	THEOPHILE T.	35 W	KUSAYAH	ZAHEYA F.	23 S
N	2/04/30	ANBAR	SHEHADY F.	38 S	AYYUB	SALMA J.	22 S
N	2/23/30	HADDAD	HENRY A.	33 S	HADDAD	HELEN S.	23 S
N	6/01/30	NIMAH	JOSEPH M.	28 S	KUSAYAH	ADELE H.	20 S
N	6/01/30	FARAH	SOLOMON F.	42 W	SHATILLAH	NAHAYA	27 S
N	6/02/30	SHAR	NAIF	51 W	DAUD	KARIME	36 S
N	6/22/30	SHAMIE	MICHEL M.	32 S	SALHANI	ADEEBE E.	18 S
N	9/21/30	ILYAS	GEORGE E.	28 S	DAUD	RYTA G.	19 S
N	10/05/30	SHAHIN	NAJEEB F.	29 S	JIRJIS	NELLIE S.	20 S
N	10/12/30	KURI	JOSEPH H.	24 S	JAZZAR	MARY	21 S

**APPENDIX C1:
MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES
AND MARITAL STATUS OF BRIDES AND GROOMS,
1905-1930**

GROOM			BRIDE		
AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT	AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	291	100.00	Total Listed	275	100.00
Under 25	56	19.24	Under 18	32	11.64
25 to 35	187	64.26	18 to 21	126	45.82
Over 35	48	16.49	22 to 25	75	27.27
			26 to 35	31	11.27
			Over 35	11	4.33
Average Age	30.2		Average Age	22	
STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT	STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	291	100.00	Total Listed	277	100.00
Single	262	90.03	Single	264	95.31
Divorced	2	0.69	Divorced	1	0.36
Widowed	27	9.28	Widowed	12	4.33

APPENDIX C2:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS,
1931-1960**

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
G	7/12/42	TABBA	GEORGE N.		CHRISTESCU	OLYMPIA T.	20 S
G	5/02/43	DEEB	GEORGE N.	26 S	ABU-ISA	MARY A.	20 S
G	5/08/43	HAYIK	HENRY L.	32 S	ABU-QALAM	EDNA J.	27 S
G	5/06/44	AYYUB	KEZMA	34 S	KENNEY	ADELE	35 S
G	5/07/44	HUSN	GEORGE M.	36 S	SALHANI	GEORGETTE	26 S
G	8/24/44	KURI	WILLIAM	60 W	AYYUB	ADLA H.	45 W
G	2/17/45	SALHANI	HABIB	58 W	DARWISH	MARY B.	44 W
G	4/22/45	HAJJI	GEORGE	28 S	KUSAYAH	OLGA M.	26 S
G	5/09/45	HANNA	CAMILLE	31 S	KUSBARA	ANNETTE	24 S
G	6/10/45	KURI	NASSAR M.	33 S	SINODINOS	AMELIA N.	23 S
G	6/17/45	BATAH	NASIB M.	24 S	TUMA	EDNA R.	21 S
G	6/24/45	SHAMANDI	EDWARD A.	20 S	SHATILLAH	VIVIANNE	19 S
G	7/03/45	LEDDY	JOHN E.	35 D	MIKHAIL	ADELE	30 S
G	7/21/45	JARJUR	MICHEL	38 S	HOGAN	GLADYS	28 S
G	8/18/45	PAQUETTE	ROGER	23 S	ASSAF	MARY	27 S
G	8/23/45	SAYKALI	MAURICE N.	22 S	SHAMI	DORIS E.	18 S
G	10/28/45	ABU-ZAYYAN	ALPHONSE	26 S	ABU-HAMID	FRANCES	26 S
G	11/11/45	GHATTAS	LOUIS	30 S	SABA	ELSIE	28 S
G	2/05/46	WILLIAM	FARIS	53 WD	ABBUD	MARY	31 S
G	4/06/46	TABBA	EDWARD J.	28 S	STILES	PAULINE S.	26 S
G	5/04/46	TABBA	WILLIAM	26 S	BARAKAT	ELIZABETH G.	20 S
G	5/12/46	SHATILLAH	GEORGE	23 S	DAVID	MADELENE	23 S
G	5/19/46	ANBAR	GEORGE	24 S	SUAYD	MARY E.	20 S
G	5/28/46	QUENEAN	PETER	27 S	THUN	KISHFEY	28 S
G	6/24/46	BARAKAT	SALEM J.	35 S	SAGHIR	VIOLET	30 S
G	6/29/46	RIVARD	PAUL E.	22 S	ZARBATANI	MARTHA	22 S
G	6/30/46	SAB	EDMUND N.	31 S	SUAYD	EVELYN M.	25 S
G	9/28/46	JARJUR	JOHN G.	35 S	KURI	ALINE G.	28 S
G	9/29/46	RAHAL	RICHARD W.	32 S	NASSAR	CLAIRE	22 S
G	11/27/46	LAWAND	NORMAN	21 S	LEBLANC	THERESE	19 S
G	1/21/47	ILYAS	MICHAEL	31 S	KURI	JEANETTE	25 S
G	2/08/47	HAYIK	HENRY	36 D	JARJUR	ROSE	38 S
G	2/09/47	MONIER	EDWARD	39 S	HADDAD	ROSE	38 S
G	4/20/47	SHAR	PHILIPPE	41 S	SHURI	SADIE M.	33 S
G	4/21/47	ISA	ELIE	40 S	SALHANI	JEANETTE	25 S
G	5/03/47	MIKHAIL	DAVID	33 S	BUGHUS	LILY	30 S
G	5/18/47	MIKHAIL	VICTOR E.	25 S	GRANT	MARY A.	23 S
G	5/25/47	DABUS	ALBERT	25 S	ABU-SAMRAH	GLORIA	24 S
G	6/19/47	QUTRA	NICHOLAS	25 S	NASSIF	ETHEL	22 S
G	6/24/47	HANNA	EMILE	29 S	RADWAN	JACKLYN	21 S
G	6/29/47	FADDUL	RAYMOND T.	26 S	MIKHAIL	MARY	21 S
G	6/29/47	HADDAD	GEORGE	27 S	ABU-JADI	OPHELIA	26 S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960

GA= GROOM'S AGE

BA= BRIDE'S AGE

GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUS

BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUS

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	7/06/47	BUGHUS	CAMILLE A.	41	S	KHADUM	MARIANGE	25	S
G	7/17/47	ABU-SAFI	FAHAIDE	32	S	SHUWAYRI	MATHILDE	43	S
G	7/20/47	MAKARUS	LOUIS	31	S	BISHARAH	ALINE	27	S
G	7/20/47	ILYAS	PAUL A.	26	S	SHATILLAH	LATIFFA A.	27	S
G	8/15/47	LALANDE	ADRIEN	44	S	HANNA	JENNIE	44	S
G	9/06/47	ABU-JADI	THEO P.	28	S	SAGHIR	ANNETTE	21	S
G	9/10/47	HANASH	JOHN	31	S	LAWAND	JULIA	28	S
G	9/14/47	HANNA	GEORGE T.	46	S	SHADID	JEANETTE	29	S
G	9/21/47	ABU-JADI	RAYMOND J.	29	S	SUAYD	LAURICE	20	S
G	10/12/47	RASI	JOSEPH M.	26	S	ANQAH	PAULINE	25	S
G	10/19/47	BROX	NAIF	35	S	ABU-MANSUR	ALICE	34	S
G	10/26/47	RASI	WALTER	33	S	SALHANI	ALEXANDRA	28	S
G	11/14/47	SALHANI	MICHEL	33	S	SHAMI	ELEANOR	30	S
G	12/09/47	ZARBATANI	EDDY	20	S	LAFRANCHISE	LEONA	22	S
G	12/13/47	ASSAL	THEODORE	34	S	IBRAHIM	JULINANNE	30	S
G	12/14/47	KURI	WADDEH	30	S	BISHARAH	GEORGETTE	25	S
G	1/18/48	NASSAR	FOUAD	36	S	MIKHAIL	MADELEINE	27	S
G	1/22/48	SIMON	JOHN	27	S	KUSAYAH	IDA	22	S
G	2/01/48	GHIZ	EDWARD	35	S	SHAQURAH	NELLIE	32	S
G	2/15/48	GHANIMAH	NICHEL	32	S	KUSAYAH	VERA	25	S
G	5/08/48	SUAYD	ELIAS G.	49	S	ABBUD	HELEN	32	S
G	5/19/48	PHILLIP	ELIAS	74	W	ZAHALAN	MARY	61	W
G	6/12/48	TAQLI	MITCHELL C.	35	S	KURI	LILLIAN	27	S
G	7/04/48	HAJJI	CHARLES K.	32	S	MIKHAIL	HAZEL	28	S
G	7/25/48	KABBASH	WILLIAM	35	S	AZIZ	JULLIETTE	19	S
G	8/01/48	HADDAD	PHILLIP M.	35	S	KURI	LAURICE	33	W
G	12/12/48	GHALI	JOHN A.	39	S	BOUDREAU	VIOLA	34	S
G	5/21/49	HABIB	ALBERT	25	S	AZIZ	LAURICE	24	S
G	6/16/49	GENEST	ELIE	58	W	BAWSHI	MARIE	43	W
G	7/03/49	SAD	EDWARD	38	S	MUDARI	MARIE	22	S
G	7/10/49	NIMR	KALIL	32	S	KURI	PAULINE	26	S
G	7/10/49	LEWIS	ELAIS	32	S	SHAGHURI	LINDA	30	S
G	7/10/49	DAUCSACK	THEODOR	27	S	SHAHIN	JEANETTE	23	S
G	7/17/49	KUSBARA	JIMMY	30	S	HANNA	CLAIRE	22	S
G	7/17/49	MIKHAIL	EMILE	24	S	SARAH	BETTY	34	S
G	7/17/49	ZARBATANI	MICHEL	42	S	KUSBARA	SADIE	41	S
G	7/24/49	GHTTAS	MICHEL	35	D	RIHA	ISABEL	27	S
G	9/12/49	SAMARAH	JOHN	40	D	VERMETTE	REJANE	28	S
G	9/14/49	TABBA	SADE S.	24	S	VAN TOLEDO	HENDRIKA B.	25	S
G	9/25/49	NAKAD	CHARLES	19	S	HOSQUET	JEANETTE	21	S
G	10/02/49	IBRAHIM	NICHOLAS	23	S	KURI	GENEVIEVE	23	S
G	11/27/49	SHAR	WALTER	40	S	IBRAHIM	REGINA	32	S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
G	12/28/49	ANBAR	ZAWZI	36 D	ERICKSON	BEATRICE	33 S
G	1/14/50	PETERSON	FREDDY	24 S	HANNA	EDNA	26 S
G	2/19/50	BISHARAH	JAMES	39 S	SHAQRAH	MARY	25 S
G	5/14/51	BOOKALAM	NORMAN	23 S	MALOLEY	SHIRLEY	20 S
G	6/03/51	MATTA	RONALD	21 S	MAKARIOS	MADALEINE	S
G	9/13/51	CATTINY	ZAKEY J.	S	SHOOFY	EDNA H.	30 S
G	9/19/51	WAKEEM	JAMES J.	S	ABOUD	LYDIA	28 S
G	9/23/51	AYOUB	NICHOLAS	25 S	LEONARD	IONA	S
G	10/21/51	ROSSY	EDWARD	26 S	BEAUCHAMP	GLADYS	S
G	10/28/51	ABRAHAM	MICHEL	S	BEAUCHAMP	PEARL	21 S
G	12/25/51	CHARLES	FRED J.	23 S	ABRAHAM	BETTY LOU	S
G	3/06/52	ABOUD	EMILE A.	28 S	SHANNON	VIRGINIA B.	S
G	8/13/52	EID	LEO J.	S	TOMY	ATHEANA	30 S
G	9/27/52	SAAD	ROBERT A.	20 S	FIorentino	CATERINA F.	S
G	7/29/53	DARWISH	ALAN J.	23 S	GHANTOUS	NAJLA M.	21 S
G	8/15/53	AUGER	MAURICE	30 S	MCLENNAN	DOREEN	S
G	8/16/53	HADDAD	WADI	S	AYOUB	GLORIA	29 S
G	8/30/53	ABOUD	NICHOLAS	S	HANNA	FLORENCE	24 S
G	1/23/54	COUREY	EMILE	28 S	TABAH	ADELE	18 S
G	1/24/54	KAYATTA	MICHAEL	S	FARHA	ROSE E.	30 S
G	5/02/54	HABIB	ALBERT K.	27 S	SQUAID	BERNADETTE Z.	S
G	1/02/55	SEITEL	NORMAN I.	S	AYOUB	GENEVIEVE	32 S
G	1/09/55	VIEIRA DA LUZ	ANTONIO	S	JANNA	GLADYS M.	32 S
G	6/12/55	AYOUB	CHARLES N.	22 S	ASSALY	JOYCE B.	S
G	6/26/55	MICHEL	FRED E.	30 S	MAILLOUX	IRENE T.	S
G	8/14/55	BURTON	WILLIAM D.	S	NASSAR	ROSE MARIE	30 S
G	9/18/55	BARAKETT	VICTOR	22 S	FERRIS	VENICE	21 S
G	6/09/56	ROSSY	RAYMOND P.	28 S	CHAMANDY	JACQUELINE	S
G	6/10/56	MICHAEL	HERBERT	26 S	ANBER	BEVERLY ANN	S
G	7/01/56	SABA	GORDON	S	BARAKETT	CLAUDETTE	20 S
G	1/13/57	MICHEL	NICHOLAS	23 S	HORTH	ANGELINE	S
G	6/02/57	KENEMY	WILLIAM	29 S	ABOUD	LAURICE	24 S
G	6/23/57	SAAD	JOSEPH	24 S	SHALHOUB	MAY ANTOINETTE	S
G	9/14/57	CHAMANDY	HARLEY J.	S	COOK	SHIRLEY M.	19 S
G	2/23/58	TOMY	GEORGE	31 S	TABAH	JOYCE	34 S
G	6/28/58	TAWA	JOHN E.	S	ATTALA	DOLLY M.	29 S
G	7/15/58	SHOOFY	EDWARD	35 S	SPRINGELIEUE	ELEANOR	D
G	1/24/59	AYOUB	DONALD G.	27 S	SHONFIELD	SHIRLEY	S
G	5/24/59	NADIF	GEORGE	24 S	ZAKAIB	THERESE	S
G	9/19/59	NASSAR	RICHARD	23 S	NORTHROP	GAIL P.	S
G	10/04/59	HANNA	RONALD	28 S	HANNA	WIDAD	S
G	5/08/60	ANBER	RAYMOND	35 S	HADDAD	LEILA	S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
G	5/21/60	NAJAR	DEMTRI	28 S	WY SOCKI	HENRIETTE	S
G	5/29/60	MANSOUR	DOUGLAS J.	30 S	ROSSY	ANDREA M.	21 S
G	6/05/60	ABRAHAM	NAJEEB J.	S	CHARLES	PAULINE	27 S
G	6/26/60	LUTFY	EDWARD	31 S	ZAKAIB	LOANA	S
G	10/30/60	DARWISH	GEORGE	23 S	COLLINS	MARIE G.	S
G	11/04/60	ZIGAYER	HECTOR	38 S	CULLEN	URSULA	S
N	2/13/31	KUSAYAH	TANNOUS F.	36 S	ZAKIM	WAZNA A.	21 S
N	2/17/31	LOGUISTO	FRANK B.	20 S	ILYAS	EVA B.	18 S
N	2/21/31	KARAM	NORMAN J.	25 S	MIKHAIL	SADIE	19 S
N	4/19/31	DAUD	GEORGE F.	28 S	HABIB	MARY A.	26 S
N	4/26/31	ZARBATANI	WADEEH D.	28 S	ZARBATANI	NAGIBE T.	22 S
N	5/03/31	AUSTIN	JOSEPH B.	28 S	LUBBUS	DOLLY E.	20 S
N	6/28/31	SAYKALI	AKEL J.	23 S	ABU-ASALI	ALICE N.	19 S
N	7/05/31	KURI	WILLIAM G.	27 S	ASAD	SOPHIA K.	18 S
N	7/26/31	KURI	ALEXANDER G.	26 S	IBRAHIM	MAREENA K.	22 S
N	9/26/31	ABBUD	NASSIB S.	28 S	GHTTAS	NUZEERA S.	20 S
N	9/27/31	BATAH	NICHOLAS G.	35 S	SAYKALI	OLGA M.	25 W
N	10/04/31	ADUB	JOHN N.	23 S	HANNA	NAZLI N.	23 S
N	12/28/31	SHAMMAS	JOSEPH M.	25 S	SHAMMAS	ANNE M.	17 S
N	2/21/32	LAHHAM	SHUKRY	28 S	DAUD	LILY D.	25 S
N	5/08/32	MASUD	ABDO M.	28 S	ABU-ASALI	EVELYN N.	
N	6/26/32	FARIS	GEORGE F.	45 W	NASR-ALLAH	CATEHRINE A.	38 S
N	10/02/32	BISHARAH	ABDALLAH A.	35 S	KHALIFAH	CAMILLIA N.	25 S
N	10/16/32	ABDALLAH	MIKE S.	42 D	KASHFI	HELEN E.	28 S
N	11/21/32	AZKUL	JOSEPH M.	34 S	ADUB	ASMA N.	W
N	2/19/33	SAYKALI	GEORGE M.	35 S	ABU-SAD	LILY	19 S
N	4/24/33	ZARBATANY	JOHN D.	37 W	QASSAB	EUGENIE A.	29 S
N	4/27/33	FINLAY	GEORGE J.	62 W	DAUD	MARY N.	51 W
N	5/28/33	ZARBATANI	NICHOLAS T.	20 S	EMOND	LEA	19 S
N	6/25/33	DIB	CAREY A.	22 S	SAD	YVONNE G.	20 S
N	8/08/33	IBRAHIM	ABRAHAM D.	27 S	SHADID	LYDIA F.	20 S
N	8/10/33	AYYUB	MICHAEL T.	38 S	RASI	JAMEELY M.	28 S
N	8/27/33	BATAH	GEORGE J.	34 S	LUTFI	VICTORIA S.	19 S
N	11/27/33	BARBARI	ELIAS	36 S	SAYKALI	AFEEFE M.	30 S
N	1/28/34	HADDAD	WILLIAM S.	33 S	HABIB	SALIME A.	24 S
N	4/27/34	SHAR	PHILIP K.	27 S	SAYKALI	SAIDE J.	20 S
N	8/05/34	BAWSHI	JAMES F.	22 S	KHALIL	NAZIMA A.	21 S
N	9/10/34	BATAH	PHILIP J.	24 S	SAWAYAH	ROSA S.	25 S
N	9/13/34	ABU-SAMRAH	SAMUEL J.	30 S	JAZZAR	NIBBY F.	24 S
N	11/11/34	SAD	WILLIAM G.	27 S	NAKHLI	FLORIDA F.	21 S
N	12/28/34	KUSAYAH	ELIAS F.	26 S	KUSAYAH	GEORGETTE A.	16 S
N	6/09/35	ID	DAVID E.	25 S	DAUD	WADAD F.	20 S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
N	6/21/35	ASSAF	ADEEB G.	21	S	SHAQRAH	ANGELINE E.	22	S
N	6/27/35	ABU-ASALI	ELIAS N.	35	S	BARBARI	HAFFEEZA M.	28	S
N	7/01/35	LUTFI	JOHN N.	23	S	CONDON	DORICE W.		
N	8/11/35	HUMSI	FRED A.	26	S	ABU-HAMID	MARY A.	20	S
N	8/11/35	KHALIL	NASH A.	37	S	ABU-SAMRAH	DOLLY J.	23	S
N	10/27/35	BARAKAT	SALIM B.	42	S	AL-TUN	LOTTIE J.	29	S
N	5/14/36	SAYKALI	EDWARD M.	26	S	RASI	VIOLA T.	20	S
N	5/18/36	SAD	JOSEPH B.	48	W	BARAKAT	ZAHEYA B.	44	S
N	6/07/36	MANSUR	NICHOLAS E.	25	S	ABU-HAMID	JOSEPHINE A.	23	S
N	6/11/36	YARID	ELIAS	49	S	YARID	RASHEEDY B.	32	S
N	9/06/36	DAUD	MICHAEL F.	25	S	JIRJIS	SADIE S.		
N	9/12/36	GHIZ	SAD N.	33	S	SHADI	JULIA N.	21	S
N	10/18/36	ILYAS	WILLIAM H.	23	S	MAKARIUS	SADIE	25	S
N	11/22/36	ID	DAHER E.	32	S	SHAHIN	MASSOUDY G.	37	S
N	10/03/37	IBRAHIM	JOSEPH T.	43	S	GHANNAJI	ADEEBE E.	25	S
N	10/12/37	SALHANI	ABRAHAM M.	32	S	JAZZAR	MINERVA F.	22	S
N	2/12/38	ZARBATANI	SHAFEEK M.	24	S	ABU-QALAM	ADELINE F.	20	S
N	5/22/38	SHATILLAH	PETER A.	27	S	DAUD	CECILE D.	24	S
N	9/25/38	JAZZAR	MIKE G.	26	S	GHANIMAH	ALICE G.	26	S
N	10/30/38	KURI	MICHAEL J.	20	S	GHANIMAH	EVELYN S.	20	S
N	6/25/39	SALHANI	JOHN J.	22	S	AZIZ	ALICE W.	17	S
N	7/04/39	KARAM	GEORGE J.	45	S	BHAMDUMI	EUGENIE A.	28	S
N	9/03/39	HAYIK	BENDALY J.	50	S	BRETON	GERTRUDE U.	32	S
N	9/10/39	ZUGHAYB	NADRA D.	34	S	SALHANI	LINDA S.	24	S
N	10/22/39	SAYIGH	ALEXIS M.	39	S	LUTFI	MARGUERITE N.	29	S
N	12/10/39	NASIF	ASSAD M.	48	A	BISHARAH	SADA	40	W
N	12/31/39	RADWAN	SHAFF S.	20	S	SAUVE	MARIE G.	20	S
N	2/17/40	ABU-QALAM	EDDY F.	28	S	LAHAIE	ISABEL P.	23	S
N	9/02/40	HOLD	JACOB	38	S	ABU-QALAM	OLGA F.	30	S
N	9/28/40	KURI	SAM A.	44	S	DELORME	GEORGETTE A.	23	S
N	1/16/41	MALULI	ARTHUR E.	31	S	MALULI	MINERVA N.	25	S
N	2/19/41	NASSAR	JOHN A.	23	S	SAWAYAH	JENNIE W.	22	S
N	6/09/41	GHANIMAH	FRED C.	28	S	ZUGHAYB	VIOLETTE G.	26	S
N	7/06/41	ZARBATANI	ERNEST J.	25	S	HONDRAS	GEORGETTE G.	23	S
N	7/13/41	TANNUS	GEORGE M.	29	S	ZARBATANI	PATRICIA M.	23	S
N	10/12/41	FARHAH	WILLIE E.	35	S	AZAR	AFIFE J.	31	S
N	10/26/41	LUTFI	FRED N.	28	S	BARAKAT	VIOLET A.	22	S
N	1/25/42	JIRJIS	JOHN E.	25	S	CUSSON	PAULINE A.	22	S
N	4/14/42	SABA	JOHN N.	35	S	GRONDIN	JULIETTE H.	26	S
N	4/19/42	KURI	MASSAD M.	49	W	HANNA	MARIELLA A.	30	S
N	4/19/42	SALHANI	LOUIS B.	42	S	KURI	MARY M.	28	S
N	5/23/42	THUN	DAVID A.	30	S	MAKHUL	MARY S.	27	S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
N	5/31/42	KURI	GABRIEL G.	34	S	AWN	ADIBI S.	28	S
N	6/14/42	KURI	ELIE A.	36	D	BOUCHER	MARIE A.	26	S
N	7/01/42	JIBARAH	GEORGE J.	29	S	MUFARRIJ	EMILIA K.	18	S
N	8/30/42	SAD	NICHOLAS J.	39	S	ASSAF	ALICE G.	32	S
N	10/04/42	SHATILLAH	EDWARD C.	27	S	ABU-SAMRAH	MARGUERITE S.	21	S
N	10/09/42	KHALIL	NICHOLA G.	60	S	DAVIES	MARGARET A.	33	S
N	10/25/42	KUSAYAH	NICHOLAS F.	41	S	KURI	MARY H.	28	S
N	11/06/42	SHAR	ASSAF N.	37	S	SYLKA	MARY P.	23	D
N	11/15/42	LIYAN	ALBERT F.	30	S	SHATILLAH	EVELYN F.	26	S
N	3/07/43	YARID	GEORGE B.	38	S	ASSAF	GLADYS G.	21	S
N	5/07/43	DIB	THEODORE T.	42	S	BARAKAT	ROSE R.	37	S
N	5/23/43	SALHANI	THEODORE M.	40	W	SAD	NELLIE S.	31	S
N	6/18/43	NASSAR	PHILLIP	29	S	JAZZAR	MARGUERITE M.	20	S
N	7/16/43	MILLARD	LEMUEL L.	21	S	ZARBATANI	LOUISE J.	21	S
N	7/25/43	ZAYN	JOSEPH M.	23	S	RIZQ	WINIFRED	23	S
N	1/16/44	SHAQRAH	MIGUEL E.	33	S	MAKIR	MARGUERITE M.	22	S
N	2/06/44	SHAHIN	JAMES F.	45	S	AZIZ	WODIE A.	36	S
N	4/24/44	DAUD	CHARLES S.	38	S	GREENE	MARIE A.	25	S
N	5/25/44	ANSARAH	NASER M.	25	S	HIGGINS	MARGARET T.	23	S
N	7/07/44	JAZZAR	FREDERICK G.	33	S	HANNA	VENICE F.	20	S
N	9/10/44	AYYUB	NAJEEB M.	34	S	TABBA	NAJLA E.	21	S
N	9/24/44	QASSIS	NICHOLAS L.	33	S	SALHANI	ALEXANDRA M.	24	S
N	10/22/44	NIMAH	THEOPHILE S.	37	S	MANSUR	SKYEE E.	32	S
N	11/12/44	JIRJIS	ALBERT F.	30	S	CHARLEBOIS	ANTOINETTE E.	28	S
N	11/19/44	AL-TUN	JOSEPH J.	32	S	CASAGRANDE	MARGUERITE	23	S
N	12/09/44	RIO	GEORGE F.	23	S	ZARBATANI	MAVELDA E.	19	S
N	5/13/45	DHAKAR	GEORGE E.	34	S	KURI	EVELYN T.	24	S
N	5/20/45	BATAH	GEORGE J.	47	D	SAYFI	ADEEBI E.	33	S
N	5/27/45	SAD	MICHAEL S.	30	S	JAZZAR	JOYCE G.	18	S
N	5/27/45	MANSUR	ASSAD	38	S	LUBBUS	CECILE E.	28	S
N	6/03/45	AYYUB	FRANK G.	26	S	ZUGHAYB	JULIETTE A.	23	S
N	6/10/45	HAJALY	NAIF S.	26	S	SAYKALI	JULIA T.	25	S
N	7/20/45	MIKHAIL	RICHARD K.	43	S	AL-TUN	EDNA T.	25	S
N	8/30/45	SAHYUN	SAMUEL J.	33	S	MANSUR	EDNA R.	28	S
N	10/04/45	LAWAND	DAVID G.	40	S	SALHANI	SALWA S.		
N	10/28/45	GHANTUS	ASSAD K.	45	S	BAWSHI	JENNIE F.	36	S
N	11/11/45	DAUD	EDMOND D.	27	S	DAUD	MINERVA T.	21	S
N	12/16/45	QUDSI	AZIZ S.	46	D	BEAULIEU	SIMONNE R.	30	S
N	2/17/46	ZARBATANI	FRED M.	31	S	CHARBONNEAU	MARIE E.	25	S
N	2/17/46	ZARBATANI	ANVER M.	35	S	DE CARLO	DOMENICA T.	35	S
N	2/24/46	ARI	HENRY M.	23	S	ZARBATANI	GLORIA M.	24	S
N	2/25/46	KASHFI	TOM E.	43	S	DEZIEL	MARGUERITE T.	34	S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA BMS
N	4/28/46	DAUD	THEODORE F.	26 S	MALIK	GEORGETTE S.	24 S
N	5/01/46	SALHANI	NICHOLAS M.	40 S	AL-TUN	VIOLA E.	33 S
N	5/05/46	ASALI	GEORGE T.	25 S	HABIB	LEONA K.	20 S
N	5/26/46	SHATILLAH	EMILE A.	32 S	SHATILLAH	ROSINE H.	28 S
N	6/01/46	ILYAS	EDWARD S.	22 S	SIMON	THERESE A.	22 S
N	6/02/46	SHATILLAH	ANTHONY F.	29 S	MIKHAIL	LAURICE C.	22 S
N	6/16/46	ABU-ASALI	EDMOND H.	27 S	LAHHAM	HELEN S.	19 S
N	6/23/46	AYYUB	PETER G.	26 S	LUKER	WINIFRED J.	27 S
N	6/25/46	ZUGHAYB	ALCIE A.	25 S	GHATTAS	SKIEE T.	22 S
N	7/01/46	ANQAH	MICHAEL E.	29 S	MAKHUL	LAURA M.	22 S
N	7/15/46	YARID	NICHOLAS F.	24 S	ILYAS	AGNES	22 S
N	9/04/46	KUSAYAH	ROMEO A.	24 S	SHATILLAH	VIOLET H.	23 S
N	9/25/46	SAD	EDWARD E.	32 S	SHAQRAH	NORMA E.	22 S
N	9/29/46	DAUD	PHILIP F.		BIANKI	MARGUERITE J.	25 S
N	10/20/46	DAUD	ELIAS C.	34 S	ZUGHAYB	GLADYS J.	25 S
N	10/27/46	BADRAN	JAMIL R.	33 S	LABONTE	BLANCHE E.	20 S
N	11/03/46	ABU-SAMRAH	JOHN J.	39 D	SHADID	MADELINE F.	30 S
N	11/04/46	KURI	KABIB J.	55 D	ABU-TARAH	LILY J.	39 S
N	1/26/47	FARHUD	GEORGE A.	27 S	BAWSHI	MARY S.	19 S
N	2/02/47	KISBIR	ALEXANDER J.	24 S	MAKIR	ALICE M.	27 S
N	2/02/47	ABBUD	EDDIE N.	35 D	SAYFI	GEORGETTE E.	28 S
N	2/09/47	SAHYUN	ABRAHAM J.	29 S	BARAKAT	ALICE E.	30 S
N	2/16/47	KASHFI	NICHOLAS E.	34 S	SHAQRAH	GLORIA E.	25 S
N	2/27/47	SAD	CHARLES H.	25 S	OUELLETTE	MARGUERITE A.	23 S
N	4/20/47	DIB	LOUIS A.	26 S	ABBUD	MARGARET S.	23 S
N	4/20/47	KHURI	THEODORE E.	22 S	KUSBARA	MARY S.	21 S
N	4/25/47	ADUB	MIKE N.	47 S	AMIN	MARY K.	25 S
N	5/14/47	SHAHIN	MASSAD J.	47 W	BARBARI	EVA M.	38 S
N	5/21/47	KURI	PHILIP A.	40 S	DIB	EVELYN D.	D
N	6/08/47	KURI	MAURICE A.	23 S	SHAR	EVELYN G.	20 S
N	6/10/47	KUSAYAH	EDMOND A.	26 S	ADAMAKOS	CATHERINE P.	21 S
N	6/14/47	WEATHERBY	GEORGE A.	33 S	MAKHUL	VICTORIA S.	29 S
N	7/04/47	DHAKAR	JOSEPH E.	26 S	LAXTON	LILLIAN J.	24 S
N	8/30/47	ISBIR	NORMAN S.	25 S	DITTMAR	KATTRYN J.	23 W
N	9/04/47	SHQRAH	ROMEO E.	27 S	SHATILLAH	JEAN A.	26 S
N	9/17/47	JUBRAIL	WADIE S.	45 S	QADI	LODIE A.	27 S
N	9/27/47	LATREILLE	ALBERT E.	25 S	ZARBATANI	ROSE J.	29 S
N	9/28/47	NEHMY	THEODORE M.	35 S	ASSAL	ADILE J.	33 S
N	9/28/47	RAHBAN	DOMINIQUE R.	26 S	BAGARIE	JULIETTE A.	22 S
N	9/29/47	ZARBATANI	JIMMY J.	32 S	DE GREGORIA	MARIA C.	19 S
N	9/29/47	GENEST	ADELARD	31 S	ZUGHAYB	EVELYN W.	28 S
N	10/12/47	KUSAYAH	EDDY A.	23 S	RAHAL	NABIHA K.	20 S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
N	10/19/47	NIQUA	GEORGE A.	26	S	JIBARAH	GOLIA G.	32	S
N	11/02/47	HAJALI	MICHAEL N.	26	S	BARAKAT	LORRAINE M.	20	S
N	11/23/47	MALULI	WADDY M.	50	W	ABU-ASALI	SHAFICA B.	44	S
N	3/07/48	DESJARDINS	JOSEPH A.	29	S	ASSAF	GLADYS G.	26	S
N	3/07/48	SAD	JAMES	23	S	KABBASH	MARY T.	24	S
N	3/17/48	SHAQRAH	EMILE E.	34	S	RASI	GEORGETTE S.	26	S
N	3/30/48	NASR-ALLAH	NESRALLAH M.	40	S	NASR-ALLAH	SALWA E.	20	S
N	5/08/48	MORRISON	FREDERICK C.	34	S	LUTFI	VICTORIA N.	33	D
N	5/08/48	ABU-SAMRAH	RUSSEL A.	24	S	ABU-QALAM	YVONNE J.	25	S
N	6/05/48	ABU-SAMRAH	ARTHUR A.	27	S	TABBA	LORRAINE T.	22	S
N	6/06/48	AYYUB	LUCIEN G.	27	S	BARAKAT	MARY E.	23	S
N	6/08/48	JIBARAH	JIMMY T.	21	S	LOISELLE	JACQUELINE W.	20	S
N	6/13/48	ZARBATANI	VICTOR M.	25	S	GHIZ	LOUISE A.	25	S
N	7/04/48	GHANIMAH	JACK J.	23	S	SALHANI	LAURETTE F.	23	S
N	7/14/48	NASIF	LOUIS F.	36	S	JAZZAR	BAHEYA F.	32	S
N	9/05/48	HINDI	SHAFF A.	27	S	AZIZ	ANGELINE W.	25	S
N	9/05/48	SHAMMAS	LOUIS M.	48	W	ABU-MURAD	RASMIA M.	28	S
N	9/18/48	FOOTH	PAUL P.	22	S	RIFQAH	NELLIE W.	23	S
N	9/19/48	AZIZ	EDWARD M.	20	S	ZUGHAYB	DIANA G.	22	S
N	9/20/48	SAYKALI	ERNEST M.	20	S	NAKKASH	VIVIAN A.	20	S
N	10/16/48	MYRSAL	WALTER J.	25	S	RIFQAH	JACQUELINE W.	25	S
N	11/07/48	YARID	MICHEL R.	44	S	SAGHIR	MARY T.	35	S
N	5/15/49	TAWIL	FARIS N.	29	S	TUMA	FLORENCE R.	22	S
N	5/23/49	KISBIR	JACK Z.	23	S	DEMERS	MAUREEN E.	18	S
N	5/29/49	KREISCH	WILLIAM L.	39	A	ID	LINDA E.	36	S
N	7/12/49	ISTIFAN	MICHAEL T.	45	S	SAMAN	AGNES S.	30	S
N	10/02/49	PAUKSZTA	CZESLAW V.	26	S	JIBARAH	VIVIAN T.	25	S
N	10/16/49	YUSUF	VICTOR J.	27	S	ABBUD	LAURETTE A.	27	S
N	11/20/49	NASR-ALLAH	LAURENCE T.	20	S	ABU-SAFI	RAYMONDE J.	20	S
N	1/15/50	SARAY	JOSEPH M.	29	S	ASSAF	BEATRICE G.	20	S
N	2/04/50	SAYFI	NICHOLAS E.	34	S	KITE	IRMA F.	26	S
N	2/13/50	KURI	LOUIS A.	46	S	MORISSETTE	CORONA C.	37	S
N	4/15/50	GALLANT	RENE A.	25	S	KURI	RITA S.	14	S
N	4/23/50	ABJI	SAM A.	28	S	ZUGHAYB	LILY N.	26	S
N	5/09/50	YARID	EDWARD K.	48	D	YARID	SAIDE S.	33	S
N	5/21/50	KURI	JAMES T.	33	S	KUSAYAH	LILLIAN H.	29	S
N	6/01/50	GHANIMAH	MICHAEL E.	35	A	FILION	MARTHA J.	22	S
N	6/02/50	BALL	PAUL V.	25	S	FARHUD	GENEVA A.	22	S
N	6/25/50	BATAH	NORMAN J.	23	S	BATAH	AGNIE D.	29	S
N	7/02/50	SULAYMAN	NORMAN A.	34	S	QASSIS	BAHIE C.	32	S
N	7/16/50	BATTY	GRAHAM C.	28	S	RAHAL	CECILE F.	25	S
N	7/28/50	CRAWFORD	HENRY N.	30	S	BANDAR	SKYEE J.	37	S

APPENDIX C2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1931-1960GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
N	8/19/50	LAWAND	ELIAS T.	25	S	REID	ELIZABETH V.	23	S
N	8/20/50	HUMSI	GEORGE P.	42	S	ZARBATANI	EVELYN M.	30	S
N	8/22/50	ZARBARTANI	NASRY M.	23	S	SALHANI	DOLORES C.	18	S
N	8/27/50	QASSIS	JOSEPH C.	56	D	ABBUD	SALMA A.	39	S
N	9/03/50	ABD AL-HANI	ROBERT A.	19	S	ASALI	PAULINE N.	20	S
N	10/20/52	JAZZAR	GEORGE	67		SAAD	EVA		
N	10/06/57	DOWD	CHARLES	MIC	24	BARAKETT	JUANITA	NIT	
N	6/22/58	RAHAL	MARCEL		26	HADDAD	JAMILEH	SHA	18
N	7/20/58	DAHER	ROGER	JOS	28	MAZIAD	MARY		28
N	7/26/58	GIBARA	RONALD	MIC	24	O'CONNELL	CATHERINE	ELI	25
N	7/27/58	BATTAH	GORDON	GEO	35	DAVID	HILDA	GRA	21
N	9/06/58	LAWAND	ALBERT	NIC	37	MARACH	FRANCES		24
N	9/21/58	KOURI	ELIE		52 D	LEAN	JULIE		42
N	1/11/59	SOUAID	JOSEPH	GEO	32	AYOUB	MARY		26
N	1/18/59	SAAD	WALLACE	JOH	33	SAYER	ELSIE	EST	40
N	5/16/59	LABELLE	PETER		21	TESTA	LILLIAN		
N	5/30/59	LUTFY	MICHAEL		22	BOUMANSOUR	NANCY	MAR	20
N	7/12/59	GHAIB	HANNA		35	WINGATE	RITA	OLI	23
N	7/26/59	YARED	PAUL	EMI	39	SOUAID	MARIE	GEM	30
N	8/16/59	SAYKALY	NICHOLAS		35	ARPIN	MURIEL		21
N	8/30/59	SAAD	JOHN		20	BOUTARA	SONIA	MAR	20
N	9/05/59	HALIKAS	JAMES		36	REFFCA	DOREEN		30
N	9/20/59	KOURY	GABRIEL		21	DAHER	LORRAINE	MAR	21
N	10/05/59	TWEEL	NORMAN	NEM	22	PETERSEN	INA	CHR	17
N	10/11/59	ASSALY	RUDOLPH		32	SHAMY	ELAINE	HEL	21
N	10/25/59	AYOUB	NELSON	ELI	25	SALHANY	DOREEN		24
N	12/06/59	JANNA	MAURICE	JOS	32	RAFIDI	NAJAT	THE	23
N	2/14/60	NASRA	ANWAR	EDD	28	YARED	IRENE	MAR	30
N	6/05/60	DAVID	NELSON	JOH	21	STANTON	BARBARA	ANN	20
N	7/03/60	FACHAT	MICHAEL		40	BELANGER	MARY ELIZABETH	JEA	42 D
N	7/10/60	MABARDI	EDWARD		28	MABARDI	ZAHIA	MAR	21
N	7/17/60	DIRANI	ANTONY		26	ABOUASSALY	VIOLET		26
N	7/24/60	TABAH	FAYEZ		20	HADDAD	MONA		20
N	8/06/60	BOOSAMRA	ALLAN	JOS	24	NESSRALLAH	DENISE	BAR	23
N	8/10/60	MADY	DAVID	C.	42	SALHANY	ELEANOR	ANN	30
N	9/10/60	DAVID	THEODORE		41 D	LAVIGNE	VIOLET		41 W
N	10/16/60	LUTFY	GERALD	PET	21	ROSSY	JOYCE	VIR	19

**APPENDIX C2:
MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES
AND MARITAL STATUS OF BRIDES AND GROOMS,
1931-1960**

GROOM			BRIDE		
AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT	AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	357	100.00	Total Listed	340	100.00
Under 25	75	21.01	Under 18	5	1.47
25 to 35	194	54.34	18 to 21	83	24.41
Over 35	88	24.65	22 to 25	103	30.29
			26 to 35	121	35.59
			Over 35	28	8.24
Average Age	31.5		Average Age	26	
STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT	STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	341	100.00	Total Listed	339	100.00
Single	308	90.32	Single	323	95.28
Divorced	16	4.69	Divorced	5	1.47
Widowed	13	3.81	Widowed	11	3.24

APPENDIX C3:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS,
1961-1980**

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980

GA= GROOM'S AGE

BA= BRIDE'S AGE

GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUS

BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUS

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	1/26/61	HADDAD	FRANK	35	S	BIRON	LAURETTE	37	O
G	2/05/61	SHAMIE	EMIL	26	S	SHALHOUB	GEORGIA A.	20	S
G	2/19/61	ROSSY	FRED J.	31	S	ADELAIDE	ELIZABETH		S
G	5/06/61	PERKAL	STEPHEN		S	KOURI	NORMA	37	S
G	5/14/61	ABOUD	PAUL		S	SHEITO	HORTENCE M.		S
G	6/11/61	NAJAR	MICHAEL L.	36	S	DAHER	MARIA D.		S
G	7/13/61	NAJAR	CONSTANTINE	38	S	GIRARD	PAULETTE		S
G	8/27/61	WEATHERBY	ALBERT G.		S	SQUAID	MARY Y.		S
G	9/09/61	FERRIS	GEORGE	28	S	GAMELIN	MONIQUE		S
G	9/16/61	MACKAROUS	LAWRENCE	30	S	BIDIGARY	PAULINE		S
G	10/07/61	MICHEL	MICHAEL N.	25	S	MALLETTE	LISA L.		S
G	3/02/62	ZAKAIB	GEORGE M.		S	SALHANY	CONSTANCE A.		S
G	6/17/62	MACKAROUS	GEORGE	33	S	LACHASSEUR	GINETTE		S
G	7/01/62	PRINCE	GORDON		S	ASSAF	MARY		S
G	7/01/62	BISHARA	ROBERT		S	ABOUD	DIANA	24	S
G	9/01/62	LAWAND	RENE E.	28	S	CASS	MARILYN J.		S
G	9/01/62	FARHA	EDWARD G.		S	PAGE	LYSE		S
G	9/30/62	AWADA	MICHAEL	32	S	ZAKAIB	CHERYL S.		S
G	1/26/63	SHATILLA	GEORGE		S	CLONSDALE	AGNES		S
G	4/27/63	MARRACHE	ALEX		S	GIROUX	CONSTANCE		S
G	5/04/63	MATTA	MICHAEL		S	LAVOIE	CELINE		S
G	5/30/63	JANNA	DANIEL		S	AYOUB	GENEVIEVE		S
G	6/02/63	MINOTTI	ANTONIO		S	ABRAHAM	OLIVETTE		S
G	8/25/63	BESHARA	GEORGE		S	MARCUS	DOROTHY		S
G	9/01/63	MOSE	JOSEPH		S	KHAIRALLAH	SAWAS		S
G	9/01/63	ASSAF	GEORGE		S	ZIEDAN	GEORGETTE		S
G	9/06/63	HILTON	PAUL A. B.		S	SALHANY	CONSTANCE		S
G	9/14/63	GHANTOUS	FRED		S	MOTTER	JUNE		S
G	10/09/63	MAALOUF	ANWAR		S	WADE	ELIZABETH		S
G	10/20/63	ZIGAYER	GEORGE		S	AZIZ	ISOBEL		S
G	11/26/63	BARAKETT	PETER E.		S	PANNETON	DARLENE E.		S
G	1/25/64	BARAKETT	HENRY P.		S	GESSNER	ANN MARIE		S
G	7/26/64	BOUSSALY	PHILIP		S	HADDAD	SQUAD		S
G	9/06/64	MASSAAD	ROBERT		S	HESEL	SIEGLINDE G.		W
G	9/07/64	HADDAD	IBRAHIM		S	MARTINIZZI	MARY		D
G	10/11/64	TURK	NORMAN		S	BEAUCHAMP	JEANINE		S
G	10/31/64	MICHAEL	ROBERT		S	DIOCHIDAS	CATHERINE		D
G	10/31/64	MACKAROUS	ALLAN		S	VINCENT	SUZANNE		S
G	11/07/64	HAMASIN	ANTOINE		S	PAPINEAU	YOLANDE		S
G	3/07/65	AYOUB	GORDON		S	GAGNON	LUCY		S
G	5/02/65	ABOUD	SOLOMON		S	ABRAHAM	HELEN A.		S
G	5/16/65	AYOUB	KENNETH		S	BOOSAMRA	DALE		S

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980

GA= GROOM'S AGE

BA= BRIDE'S AGE

GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUS

BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUS

G= ST. GEORGE

S= SINGLE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

D= DIVORCED

W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	5/22/65	LAWAND	WILLIAM J.	S		MARSOLAIS	CLAUDETTE	S	
G	7/11/65	SHOFFEY	STEPHEN	S		SHOFFEY	PATRICIA	S	
G	8/08/65	DAVID	MICHAEL V.	S		HOEY	KATHLEEN	S	
G	9/05/65	ROSSY	MAURICE	S		MENARD	LORRAINE	S	
G	9/19/65	DAVID	ROBERT J.	S		SALHANY	CAROL ANN	S	
G	10/02/65	HANNA	GEORGE	S		KYRIEKOU	HELENE	S	
G	10/10/65	ROSSY	LAWRENCE	S		SHALHOUB	ODETTE	S	
G	12/31/65	HUNTER	DOUGLAS J.	S		ELIAS	NANCY ANN	S	
G	1/15/66	MAZARES	JOSEPH	S		ABOUD	RACHEL	S	
G	2/06/66	HANNA	ROBERT	S		ROBITAILLE	HELENE	S	
G	2/13/66	ASSAF	TOFICK	W		NAMOURA	ROSE	S	
G	4/10/66	CLADIOS	METRI	S		ZAIDAN	GISELLE	S	
G	4/24/66	CHARLES	JOHN	S		BOOSAMRA	JOY	S	
G	5/09/66	ZAKAIB	HENRY	S		FOURNIADOU	CATHERINA	S	
G	5/21/66	WAHAB	GEORGE	S		ST. PIERRE	KATHLEEN	S	
G	6/12/66	LAWAND	CHARLES	S		BARAKETT	ANN	S	
G	6/25/66	TAWA	ROGER H.	S		DE LOURDES	MARIA	D	
G	8/07/66	MAZIADÉ	PETER E.	S		SHAHEEN	NICOLE	S	
G	8/20/66	MANOLI	NABIL	S		FONTAINE	MARIE R.	S	
G	10/15/66	BARAKETT	ALFRED	D		COUREY	SONJA	S	
G	11/12/66	SAYEGH	NIMER	S		BARAKETT	FARIDAH	S	
G	12/31/66	LYONS	KENNETH T.	S		SALIBA	EVELYN	D	
G	1/15/67	AYOUB	ANIS	S		AYOUB	NAWAL	S	
G	3/16/67	BATRIE	RAYMOND G.R.	S		HOWICK	SUZANNE M.	S	
G	4/30/67	CORDAHI	CHARLES	S		ZEITOUNI	ODETTE	S	
G	6/15/67	HADDAD	ALEX E.	S		JOHNSON	HELENA	S	
G	7/08/67	MEGALAS	MAURICE	S		TARABULSY	MONA	S	
G	7/29/67	EID	FAROUK	S		PINTUCCI	IRENE	S	
G	8/27/67	CHAMANDY	ALLAN J.	S		DAVID	SANDRA M.	S	
G	9/24/67	DIB	SAMI E.	S		CASTALA	CALIOPE P.	S	
G	9/30/67	ABDALLAH	MAGDI A.W.	S		PARENT	MARIE D.	S	
G	10/14/67	MURAD	ANTON	S		ISA	GEORGETTE M.	S	
G	10/28/67	ARIE	MICHAEL	W		MCNAUGHTON	HELEN L.	S	
G	11/05/67	AYOUB	ALLAN	S		WARONOSKI	ELAINE	S	
G	12/17/67	RIZK	ISSAM M.	S		BAHDIO	CLAUDETTE J.	S	
G	1/06/68	NESCI	NICOLA	D		MOKISEL	ROSE M.	S	
G	2/17/68	ROSSY	THOMAS	S		ROBILLARD	JANNINE	S	
G	3/04/68	MAAKAROUN	KAISSAR	S		SABA	JULIA	W	
G	5/04/68	ROBERT	MAURICE	S		GEORGES	LOUISE	S	
G	5/12/68	SHAHEEN	RAYMOND	S		ELIAS	JACQUELINE A.	S	
G	5/25/68	LAPLANTE	JOSEPH C.	S		ZARBATANY	MARIE-ANN J.	D	
G	5/26/68	CORCORAN	BRENDAN M.	D		JAZZAR	NANCY M.	S	

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	6/29/68	WAHAB	GALAL		S	DIMITRI	MAGGY		S
G	7/07/68	ASSAF	ASSAF Y.		S	QUIRION	HELENE		S
G	7/13/68	ZAKAIB	DONALD		S	REPPER	DENISE		S
G	9/08/68	TESSIER	ALBERT B.		D	SHAHEEN	CLAUDETTE M.		S
G	10/06/68	DEIRY	ADEL		S	ISSAWI	NADIA		S
G	10/12/68	SALIB	MAGDY		S	ABOUL-DAHAB	MAGDA		S
G	10/20/68	COUREY	WILLIAM R.		S	ABOUD	CAROL A.		S
G	11/17/68	BADAQUI	GEORGE		W	ELIAS	NAZIMA		S
G	11/23/68	SIDHOM	SAMI S.		S	ARSHOUN	MARIE T.		S
G	12/28/68	ATTALA	NAGUI		S	SIDARAS	MARY		S
G	12/29/68	RAHAL	JOSEPH		S	HABIB	DIANE M.		S
G	2/08/69	ROSSY	GRANT J.		S	KENEMY	DOLLY D.		S
G	2/23/69	SHAMIE	FRED N.		S	FOURNIER	MARIE-PAUL		D
G	4/19/69	MAKHAMRA	MINA		S	CACJA	VICTORIA		S
G	5/02/69	SALHANV	GEORGE		S	COUREY	LEILA		S
G	5/10/69	MICHEL	NICHOLAS		D	ROY	MARIE G.L.		S
G	5/18/69	MALIK	FARRES		S	TARDIF	MIREILLE		S
G	5/24/69	COUREY	MAURICE		S	FAUCHER	CHRISTINE		S
G	6/07/69	ABELA	SHIBLY J.		S	CONROY	DAPHNE M.		D
G	6/08/69	BISHARA	WILLIAM		W	HANNA	ROSE		S
G	8/09/69	KINAN	CHARLES		S	MACKFROUS	ELEANOR		S
G	8/11/69	DERMALKONIAN	DIXRAN		S	YARED	CATHERINE		S
G	8/16/69	MAALOUF	IBRAHIM		S	BROX	SANDRA ANN		S
G	8/17/69	RICHARD	HART		S	ABOUSSAFY	CONSTANCE L.		S
G	9/21/69	MALOLEY	JOHN		S	CHALIFOUX	NOELLA		S
G	10/26/69	BOUMANSOUR	GEORGE J.		D	MILLETTE	MARIE M.F.		S
G	12/27/69	DEBBAS	ANDRE		S	BLOES	ODETTE		W
G	3/07/70	KARBA	YOUSSEF		S	DOUMMAR	MIREILLE		S
G	5/02/70	HOWICK	JOHN D.		S	STEIN	LILIAN		S
G	5/16/70	CANT	ALEXANDER		S	HOWICK	FRANCES M.		S
G	5/30/70	TARABY	RICHARD N.		S	KOURI	CAROLE ANNE		S
G	5/31/70	SHAMIE	RAYMOND J.		S	DEMERS	MARIE J.C.		S
G	7/19/70	BOOJADY	MORRIS J.		S	SAWAYA	MARIE		S
G	7/25/70	BEAUCHAMP	NORMAN		S	MARQUIS	MARIE L.N.		S
G	7/26/70	WAHBE	ALBERT E.		S	MORPHET	ANNE		S
G	8/16/70	HABASH	FOUAD		S	ACHKAR	VIOLETTE		S
G	8/30/70	SHATILLA	ERIK		S	BOURRET	MICHELINE		S
G	9/06/70	GATTAS	ANTHONY		S	BOUSHY	VIVIAN A.		S
G	9/27/70	MOUFRAGE	STEPHEN		S	THOUN	MARLENE G.		S
G	11/14/70	NASRA	NABIL		S	DEEB	GEORGIANA		S
G	11/21/70	TADROS	NAGUIB A.		D	HAWKER	JOAN C.		D
G	12/05/70	HAMAWY	NABIL N.		S	FARES	RAYMONDE E.		S

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	12/05/70	BAYOUK	MICHEL N.		S	KASSIS	VIVIANNE		S
G	1/12/71	NASSIF	NADIME		S	COUTURE	DIANE		S
G	1/30/71	SAMAAN	TANIOS		S	SALIBA	HOUDA		S
G	2/06/71	SOUAID	JEAN-RENE		S	SAYKALY	NANCY ANNE		S
G	2/14/71	BOUMANSOUR	MAURICE PETER		S	MILLER	LUCY ANN		S
G	7/03/71	ABOUD	NABIL		S	GALAT	MAGDA		S
G	7/10/71	DALONGO	PAUL JR.		S	MACKAROUS	NORMA M.		S
G	7/31/71	ABRAHAM	MAURICE JOHN		S	ROSSY	MAUREEN		S
G	9/11/71	WARDINI	JOSEPH		S	MOTTAR	MONTAHA		S
G	10/16/71	SIDAROUS	NABIL		D	ARMOOS	THERESE		S
G	10/30/71	KENEMY	BRIAN GEORGE		S	MCQUILLAN	LINDA ANNE		S
G	10/31/71	RAHAL	MOUNZER S.		S	HADDAD	NADIA MARY		S
G	11/21/71	CHAMANDY	JOSEPH A.		W	BARAKETT	HORTENCE M.		S
G	11/27/71	COUREY	NORMAN LEON		S	SILVERMAN	SUSAN RUTH		S
G	12/05/71	ELIAN	ADEL NAIM		S	AUGER	DONNA LYNN		S
G	1/02/72	RAHAL	DENNIS KEITH		S	BERUBE	GINETTE AMANDA		S
G	2/12/72	ROSSY	PHILIP ANDREW		S	COMENDADOR	MARIA LOURDES		S
G	4/15/72	ANDREWS	RICHARD CHARLES		S	ELIAS	CATHERINE MARY		S
G	4/15/72	SARA	EMILE		S	HOMSI	MARY		S
G	4/16/72	ROSSY	BRIAN PAUL		S	SAAD	ALIDA MARIA		S
G	5/06/72	GAMEL	PAUL ANTHONY		S	KATTAS	DARIA		S
G	5/07/72	NASSER	JOSEPH ANTHONY		S	KOURY	LOLA ANN		S
G	5/27/72	MICHEL	EMILE ELIAS		W	WAUGH TAYLOR	GENEVIEVE DOROTHY		D
G	6/04/72	AWAD	NABIC		S	ROSSY	DAHAL		S
G	6/08/72	KOURI	ERIC GEORGE		S	BOURQUE	MONIQUE		S
G	6/25/72	FARHOOD	LEWIS GEORGE		S	BOOJADY	CHRISTINE ANN		S
G	7/02/72	KABBASH	KENNETH WILLIAM		S	COUREY	LINDA SUSAN		S
G	7/08/72	SALHANY	MORRIS HALIM		S	DE MASI	LEONIL		S
G	7/15/72	KERBA	SAMI		S	RABBAT	SOLANGE		S
G	7/15/72	RASHED	SHIBL		S	SAYEGH	AFAF NADIA		S
G	7/22/72	ANSARA	SAMIR SPIRO		S	CHIDIAC	EDUIGE ANTOINE		S
G	7/23/72	FLEUKY	BENNY		S	MALICK DAVID	GEORGETTE ANN		D
G	10/22/72	LAHAM	KHALIL GEORGE		S	HEBERT	LOYOLA CATHERINE		S
G	10/29/72	BISHARA	GEORGE		S	KAPPELER	GERTRUDE AGNES		S
G	11/04/72	KERBA	ROBERT		S	RACKLEY	JILL		S
G	12/31/72	PFEIFFER	BYRON E.		S	LAWAND	NANCY MARY		S
G	1/09/73	LECLAIR	ALEXANDER		W	ABOUSSAFY	BLANCHE		W
G	1/28/73	KAROM	PHILLIP		S	KAYA	SUREYYA		S
G	5/05/73	SARA	ADEB TOUFIC		S	DJENANDJI	VERA		S
G	5/06/73	KASSAB	ALBERT ANTOINE		S	DOULL	CAROLINE ELIZABETH		S
G	5/12/73	JARJOUR	THOMAS		S	MCCLURE	BETTY ANNE		S
G	5/20/73	HANNA	GREGORY ERNEST		S	THOUN	NADINE MARY		S

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	5/26/73	ROSSY	ROBERT		S	LAREAU	THERESE		S
G	5/26/73	VAUCHER	JEAN GEORGES		S	SOUAID	CLAUDIA MARIE		S
G	5/27/73	COUREY	GERALD JOHN		S	KATTAS	KATHERINE		S
G	6/03/73	RAHAL	DERIC		S	MCCULLOCK	VALIDA JOAN		S
G	6/23/73	LALIBERTE	MICHEL P.		D	MALKY	GLADYS		S
G	6/24/73	AJMO	EDWARD N.		D	CHARLES	LYDIA M.		S
G	7/01/73	BALANIS	GEORGE		S	HANNA	CYNTHIA		S
G	7/07/73	BOUTROS	NABIL		S	MEULENYSER	EVA		S
G	7/14/73	MANOLI	SAMIR NICOLAS		S	CASORIA	VERONIQUE		S
G	7/14/73	KOURI	NICHOLAS		S	HEUREUX	DIANE		S
G	10/27/73	MANNEH	VICTOR		S	AYOUB	JAQUELINE		S
G	10/27/73	PENNANEACH	GUY		D	CHINIARA	SYLVIE		S
G	11/10/73	ESTEPHAN	PIERRE ALAIN		S	LAWAND	DYANNE ELOISE		S
G	12/08/73	SAKKAL	JAMIL		D	GREGOIRE	GINETTE		S
G	12/08/73	HABIB	ANDRAWAS		S	SOUROUR	THERESE		S
G	1/26/74	VERGA	JAMES		S	KABBASH	CLAUDIA ANN		S
G	2/16/74	ROSSY	THEODORE GEORGE		W	FITCH	LUCETTE ALINE		W
G	4/20/74	ALLEN	JOHN NORMAN		S	COUREY	JOYCE MARY		S
G	4/27/74	SAIKALY	EDMOND		S	AWAD AZZAM	MARCELLE		D
G	5/04/74	HICKS	JONATHAN		D	YARED	PENELOPE ANN		S
G	5/19/74	DALY	WILLIAM J.		D	BOOJADY	SUSAN L.		S
G	5/25/74	ABBOUD	SAMIR		S	FERLAND	SUZANNE		S
G	6/22/74	HABIB	ERNEST		D	SABA	MAUREEN		S
G	7/06/74	WIECZAREK	RICHARD FRANCIS		S	BOOJADY	JOANNE		S
G	8/03/74	BELL	ERIC		S	SAAB	SUSAN E.A.		S
G	8/10/74	NEHME	ROBERT		S	MICHAUD	LYSE		S
G	9/08/74	BLAIS	JEAN-GUY		S	SAAB	LINDA MARIE		S
G	9/28/74	ZABAIB	KALIL		S	ZAKEM	MARY OLGA		S
G	10/13/74	BISHARA	EDWARD		S	RABOUIN	MARIE-FRANCE		S
G	10/26/74	MERCIER	LUCIEN		D	WARDA	MARIE MADELANE		S
G	3/09/75	PRATT	JOHN ROBERT		S	FARHOOD	JOANNE MARY		S
G	5/11/75	ABRAHAM	STEPHEN JOHN		S	CHRETEN	COLETTE		S
G	5/11/75	ROWLAND	RICHARD EDWARD		S	MARINO	CAROL CHRISTINE		S
G	5/17/75	DENI	ANTHONY MARIO		S	SOPHIA	MARLENE		S
G	5/24/75	DIAB	IBRAHIM ANTOINE		S	CHAMI	NORMA		S
G	5/31/75	ROSSY	RAYMOND PAUL		D	YACCOUB	GERTRUDE		S
G	6/28/75	HANNA	YOUSRI		S	ASSAL	SOLANGE		S
G	7/05/75	SABA	NABEEL		S	HADDAD	DENISE		S
G	8/16/75	LOUIS	SAMIR		S	MARCO	VIVIANE		S
G	8/16/75	NEHME	ALFRED		S	PALIKKO	KRISTINA ULLA		S
G	8/24/75	HAJJAR	DAVID GEORGE		S	COUREY	CYNTHIA ANN		S
G	8/30/75	PERIDIS	MICHEL ROGER		S	DIAB	MONA		S

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980

GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUS

BA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUS

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

S= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	9/04/75	DOUMIT	JEAN-CLAUDE	S		KORT	APHRODITE	D	
G	9/07/75	GILLIES	CHARLES ANTHONY	S		HANNA	VALERIE ANNE	S	
G	10/18/75	SHAMIEH	EDMOND	S		ZIGAYER	EVELYN MARY	D	
G	12/06/75	HANNA	CHRISTIAN GEORGE	S		GRACIE	DONNA ANN	S	
G	12/28/75	SAPADI	JAMAL	S		SALIB	ODETTE	S	
G	5/30/76	LACROIX	ANDRE RENE	D		ELIAS	BARBARA	S	
G	6/26/76	KATTAS	THOMAS	S		MICHAEL	KAREN ANN	S	
G	7/17/76	CHAHINE	SAMIR	S		EL-ZAWAHERY	NAZIRA	S	
G	7/17/76	WAHBE	EDWARD EMIL	S		MURTANEN	RITVA	S	
G	7/24/76	CHAMI	JOHN	S		CHOUERI	JOANE	S	
G	7/24/76	MABRO	ADLEY	S		PERAKIS		D	
G	8/07/76	AYOUB	JAMES P.	S		CAMPBELL	MARGARET	S	
G	8/21/76	MISHRIKY	TALAAT	D		KHOURY	FADIA	S	
G	8/22/76	ALEXANDER	RONALD I.	D		SADA	LINDA ANN	S	
G	9/25/76	MARTIMBEAULT	GERARD	S		HANNA	DELORES	S	
G	11/13/76	CHAHINE	NABIL	S		CHAMPAGNE	GHISLAINE	S	
G	11/13/76	JAMMAL	AZIZ	S		MAKKOUK	LINDA	S	
G	2/24/77	HADDAD	GEORGE	S		MOUHAWISH	SANAA	S	
G	5/08/77	AUGER	ANDREW C.	S		CHACRA	JANICE A.	S	
G	5/14/77	KERBA	SHARIF	S		DRAPEAU	SUZANNE	S	
G	5/22/77	CHAHINE	CAMILLE	S		COURTY	JEAN MARY	S	
G	6/04/77	BADER	NEMER BOTROS	S		DURAND	HELENE M.	S	
G	7/02/77	JARABOULSY	MAGED G.	S		GABRIEL	MADELEINE	S	
G	7/10/77	BATCHOUN	NICOLAS	S		ROSSY	ELIZABETH	S	
G	7/16/77	DARWISH	MICHAEL	S		ARLESS	DEBRA ANN	S	
G	10/08/77	DARROUS	AMINE	S		LADAN	MARIA	S	
G	10/22/77	MAKKOUK	WALID	S		GROULX	DANIELLE	S	
G	11/19/77	ELIAS	KENNETH G.	S		WILDING	PATRICIA	S	
G	11/26/77	HAWA	GEORGE M.	D		KOUREY	FARIDEH	S	
G	11/27/77	KOUSSAYE	ISCANDAR	S		KARAM	MARCELLE	S	
G	12/04/77	HANNA	SHAMOUN P.	S		SHAAR	JANE M.	S	
G	1/28/78	DOUCET	LIONEL EDWARD	S		MALOUF	LINA	S	
G	3/15/78	ROSSY	RICHARD PAUL	S		GABRIEL	SHARON ANN	D	
G	5/06/78	DAOUD	MICHEL	S		KING	ANN PATRICA	S	
G	5/13/78	KARDOUCHE	MICHEL	D		MICHEL	SIMONE	W	
G	6/03/78	KHEIR	JOSEPH	S		ST. CROIX	LOUISE	S	
G	6/17/78	BISHARA	STEPHEN	S		CARMOSINO	ANTOINETTA	S	
G	7/01/78	ABOUD	JOSEPH	S		JUNGMEISTERIS	NIJOLE	S	
G	7/16/78	MOUSSA	BUDIE HANNA	S		BICHAH	MERVAT	S	
G	8/19/78	SAMAAN	ADIB	S		DUNN	GAIL LYNN	S	
G	8/20/78	SALLALEH	IBRAHIM Y.	S		SAYEGH	RUBY R.	S	
G	9/09/78	SALEH	TOUBEC	S		LAPIERRE	SUZANNE	S	

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	9/10/78	WILSON	JOHN W.		S	SEITEL	KARIN MAE		S
G	10/08/78	MACKAROUS	JEFFREY		S	EVAGELIDES	HELEN		S
G	11/18/78	MAVRINIS	JOHN		S	KENEMY	SHARON ANNE		S
G	12/03/78	TUBBEH	RUDOLPH M.		S	DAUDELIN	CAROLE GIZELLE		S
G	12/26/78	MOUAIKEL	ELIE		S	EID	ESSINE		S
G	12/30/78	SIMON	KENNETH R.		D	SPJELKAVIK	KIRSTEN SEVA		S
G	2/16/79	BEAUCHAMP	EDDY		S	NEUMANN	JUTTA ILSE		S
G	2/25/79	BOU-NICOLAS	SIMON		S	EL-NAJJAR	LAURICE		W
G	3/11/79	SOURI	MICHEL		S	NESHEIWAT	MONA		S
G	4/28/79	BESHARA	SANDALLAH		S	BAGHDASSARIAN	LUCY		S
G	4/28/79	FAWAHERY	NABIL		S	GHALEB	CHRISTIANE M.		S
G	5/12/79	ORPHALI	WILLIAM		S	MELLUS	SAMIRA		S
G	5/19/79	KORT	JOSEPH		S	KAHALE	SADIA		S
G	6/03/79	GREGOIRE	PIERRE D.		D	BOOSAMRA	SUSAN S.		S
G	6/09/79	RAYES	GEORGE		S	PACE	FLORINA		S
G	6/10/79	AUGER	PETER ANTHONY		S	MASSAD	SUSAN B.		S
G	6/30/79	NORTON	KENNETH R.		S	SHATILLA	GERALDINE M.		S
G	7/07/79	ARIDA	BOTROS		S	FARAH	NADINE		S
G	7/14/79	NEHME	ELIE		S	SAYEGH	NIHAD		S
G	7/15/79	DAWALIBI	NORBERT		S	SABA	LINDA		S
G	7/20/79	HABIB	DONALD		D	FORBES	VALERIE P.		D
G	8/18/79	GLASGOW	KEVIN A.		S	ELIAS	ELIZABETH H.		S
G	9/05/79	SABBAGH	HOLHEM		S	FARES	OLGA		S
G	9/15/79	PINTO	OSCAR L.		S	SIMEON	DARLENE MARY		S
G	9/15/79	ISSA	ANDRE		S	VERGE	VALERIE M.		S
G	10/06/79	BEAULIEU	CHARLES A.		S	KASHBARD	HAFIZA		S
G	10/07/79	VANDEBANCK	ALAIN A.		D	MACKAROUS	LINDA K.		S
G	12/08/79	FAHMEY	MAGDI F.		D	FARES	LABIBA		D
G	1/12/80	FOULKI	NABIL		S	ABINADER	MARY		S
G	2/09/80	HOWICK	ARMAND MICHEL		D	SAAD	MARY		D
G	4/12/80	HOWICK	PETER DOUGLAS		S	KARAMANYUJIAN	ARMENOUHI		S
G	5/17/80	GENEST	JCHN PHILIP		S	MCCUDDEN	ELIZABETH		S
G	6/14/80	SALIBA	GEORGES		S	CARRASSCO	MARIE CARMEN		S
G	6/14/80	POWELL	ANTHONY J.		S	ELIAS	SUSAN PAULA		S
G	6/29/80	MACKAROUS	PHILIP		S	SHATILLA	JOANNE		S
G	7/12/80	MEDAWAR	GEORGES		S	AZOUZ	MARIE		S
G	7/12/80	BAYOUK	WAGIH		S	SAMAAN	ANGELE		S
G	7/13/80	AYOUB	JACK Y.		S	UNG	ALICE		S
G	7/19/80	HADDAD	ALBERT A.		S	ISSAUR	WEDAD		S
G	8/23/80	CHARLEY	EDDY		S	COUSSA	MONA D.		S
G	8/24/80	RASSI	EDDY		S	SLEIMAN	SASILIA		S
G	8/31/80	KHOURY	DOUGLAS P.		S	PERENNE	SYLVANA		S

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
G	9/07/80	COUREY	STEPHEN P.		S	BEAUCHAMP	KAREN M.		S
G	9/27/80	ZGEB	PETER		S	BOURGEOIS	ANNETTE MARIE		S
G	12/27/80	ARON	STEPHEN P.		D	COUREY	CAROLINE GRACE		S
G	12/28/80	ABOU LAHAF	BISHARA		D	CHAMAS	JOSEPHINE		S
N	2/05/61	FARAH	FRED	GEO	27	HOIRCH	ELAINE	DIA	19
N	5/06/61	DIAB	WARNER	GEO	26	TAYLOR	JOAN	LIL	24
N	5/28/61	DAVID	RAYMOND		28	BEAUCHAMP	CAROL		18
N	6/04/61	KINGSBURY	FRANKLIN	CLY	22	MAKAD	WANDA		24
N	7/16/61	ABDALLA	WILLIAM		31	MANSOUR	VIRGINIA	MAR	22
N	9/16/61	ASSALY	NICHOLAS JR.		27	ASSAF	DOREEN	MAR	25
N	10/15/61	RAHAL	WALTER		42 D	MOURANI	RENE		19
N	10/29/61	MAJDELL	RONALD	JOS	24	TABAH	DIANE	MAR	19
N	11/12/61	DIRANI	ABRAHAM	MIL	31	KAYS	GLADYS		28
N	2/04/62	KOURY	KARIM	JOH	25	TRACY	PATRICIA		
N	6/01/62	MALIK	SAMUEL	JOH	33	RAFIDI	WAJIHA	HAY	28
N	6/03/62	JABARA	JOHN	EDW	24	KOUSAIE	MAE	AGE	25
N	8/19/62	SAAD	FRED	MIC	19	VALENTI	LILLIAN	HEL	19
N	10/14/62	ABOUD	GORDON	ABR	34	RASSI	NAHIA		28
N	5/05/63	MAKARIOS	MICHAEL	FRA		MALOUF	FOWZIA		29
N	6/23/63	MASSAD	RALPH		27	HANNA	CAROL		21
N	6/30/63	KELLY	SAIDE		43	DAVID	LAURICE	MAR	29
N	7/07/63	SAYKALY	GEORGE	TAN	46	MEMARY	ELIZABETH		37
N	8/28/63	SAYKALY	EDWARD		43 D	TROLLE	ELSA		33 D
N	10/13/63	HABIB	DICK		22	SALHANY	JOYCE		21
N	11/17/63	BOUTARA	GORDON	JOH	28	JONES	MIREILLE		21
N	5/17/64	KALIL	EDWARD	JOH	29	GRAHAM	MARGARET	ELE	25
N	5/31/64	SHAHEEN	ELIAS	ALF	30	SHAMY	VIRGINIA	MAR	
N	6/06/64	MEFRIGE	GEORGE		35	ANBER	RENEE		
N	6/14/64	AZIZ	PHILIP		38	SHAHEEN	ELAINE		
N	6/28/64	MASSAD	RAYMOND		29	BARBARA	CAROLE B.		22
N	7/26/64	SOUMAH	GILBERT		27	JONCAS	FRANCYNE	EST	21
N	9/26/64	CELTORIUS	JOHN	ALB	25	ZARBATANY	JANE	MAR	20
N	11/18/64	SAYKALY	NICHOLAS		40	FINKEL	JACQUELINE		28
N	1/10/65	ABOUD	RICHARD	GEO	23	DAVID	TANYA	HEL	20
N	2/21/65	ATALLAH	MICHAEL	HANN	32	ZAKAIB	NORMA		35
N	2/28/65	BERNESHAWI	GEORGE		22	BACHARIAN	MELINEE		21
N	2/28/65	ACKEL	THOMAS, JR.	S.	25	ZOGBI	DIANA	I.	22
N	5/01/65	KOURI	GARY			YARED	BEVERLEY	ANN	D
N	7/18/65	SAYER	FREDRICK	JOH	49	PLOUFFE	MARIE THERESE	JEA	37
N	9/04/65	MICHEL	GEORGE		35	POIRIER	RAYMONDE		28
N	9/25/65	ABRAHAM	RICHARD		24	ZARBATANY	JOAN		20
N	10/16/65	ZAFER	NAJM		27	WUYCKENS	MONIQUE		21

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUSBA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUSG= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLASS= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
N	11/14/65	MARDINY	FOUAD	30		FADEL	SAMIRA	27	
N	1/22/66	AZIZ	JOHN	70	W	EIDE	HYND		W
N	4/17/66	SAAD	VICTOR	32		GRENIER	PIERRETTE	33	
N	4/23/66	TABAH	GEORGE	40		BOULET	FRANCOISE	29	
N	7/02/66	REFFCA	FRED	32		BRODEUR	SUZANNE	26	
N	7/03/66	MARCUS	GEORGE	43		DIEFFENBACHER	HELGA	23	
N	7/22/66	ZAIEN	GEORGE	KAL 41		BLONDEAU	MONIQUE	23	
N	7/24/66	GHAREEB	GEORGE	39		KHOURY	ODETTE	28	
N	7/24/66	MILLER	MALCOLM	NEA 26		ZAKAIB	HAIFA	17	
N	8/14/66	SALHANY	ALBERT	25		ROY	LUCIENNE	23	
N	9/03/66	STOLL, JR.	GUSTAV	22		BEAUCHAMP	SUSAN	MAR 20	
N	9/04/66	MAZIAD	AMABLE	29		SABA	NICOLE	24	
N	9/17/66	DAVID	DOUGLAS	25		JAZZAR	LYNNE	21	
N	9/18/66	ZAKAIB	GORDON	ESS 38		MARTINEAU	MARIE EMMA	LOU 30	
N	10/02/66	SKAFF	ELIE	26		SAADEH	DUNIA	21	
N	10/09/66	JAZZAR	RUSSELL	GEO 26		SAUNDERS	DIANNE	IRE 25	
N	10/29/66	SHATILLA	RICHARD	27		BARAKETT	LINDA	21	
N	11/06/66	GIBARA	ALFRED	35		AYOUB	LAURICE	27	
N	11/20/66	MAYA	JOSE	MAR 40		MICHEL	LAURICE	MAR 39	D
N	1/14/67	KALIL	ALEXANDER	EDW 30		SHATILLA	FRANCES	ANN 21	
N	3/11/67	WILLS	JAMES	27		KOURI	JOAN	MAR 26	
N	5/06/67	LUTFY	GEORGE	48		BOUCHER	MARIETTE	32	
N	6/25/67	ABBOUD	ELIE	24		CHIARALUNA	RITA	18	
N	6/25/67	HABASHI	GEORGE	WAG 21		HANNA	YVETTE W.	20	
N	7/08/67	SHATILLA	EDWARD	ROB 23		CLARKIN	ELIZABETH	JOA 21	
N	9/23/67	HADDAD	JOHN	JOS 27		BOUSHY BEAUCHAM	PATRICIA	ANN 24	
N	10/14/67	KHOURY	CAMILLE	39		FINDLAY LOWE	ANNA	44	D
N	10/15/67	KERSHEH	TOUFIC	30		TABAH	YOLANDE	24	
N	11/04/67	HABIB	FAYEK	21		HUNT	CHRISTIANE		
N	12/30/67	KOURI	NICHOLAS	23		BROCK	DIANA	BEV 20	
N	12/30/67	SALHANY	GORDON	E. 40		MCCOMB	FRANCES	D. 21	
N	1/18/68	JAMIESON	FRASER	CLA 50	D	KOURY	ALICE	THE 36	
N	1/21/68	CHACRA	ALAN	22		VIDA	AGNES	20	
N	2/10/68	SALHANY	TOUFIC	28		BARRY	MARILYN	23	
N	3/01/68	ABDELHAY	PHILIP	32		SALHANY	SANDRA	MAR	
N	3/16/68	ROUFAIL	BOULOS	30		MAKER	FADILA	24	
N	5/19/68	SOUHAH (SAOUMA)	RAMEZ	TOU 32		MANESSIS	ADRIANA		
N	6/02/68	ABBOUD	TONY	33		DE KONENCK	LOUISE	22	
N	6/29/68	KENEMY	KEITH	24		SANCHEZ	NANCY	18	
N	6/30/68	SALHANY	RONALD	GEO 25		TABAH	JUDITH	ANN 22	
N	7/05/68	HABIB	NABIL	34		HUNT	ROSITA	22	
N	8/24/68	DRAGONI	*	30		SCHAMI	PAULETTE		

APPENDIX C3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES AND MARITAL STATUS
OF BRIDES AND GROOMS, 1961-1980

GA= GROOM'S AGE
GMS= GROOM'S MARITAL STATUS

BA= BRIDE'S AGE
BMS= BRIDE'S MARITAL STATUS

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

S= SINGLE
D= DIVORCED
W= WIDOWED

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST NAME	GA	GMS	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST NAME	BA	BMS
N	10/12/68	NASSER	NASSIM	22		TABAR	SUMAYA	21	
N	11/03/68	SIDAWI	GEORGE	30		DADA	SAMIA	23	
N	11/16/68	MAJDELL	BRIAN	28		DAVIES	ELIZABETH JEA	24	
N	3/30/69	TABAH	JOSEPH	28		JOLIDON	MONIQUE		D
N	6/02/69	MOUBAYED	REMY	42	D	AYOUB	FARIDA	28	
N	8/17/69	LAHAM	AFIF HAN	28		ASSALY	LORRAINE CAR	28	
N	10/18/69	SHATILLA	PETER AND	23		CONFRONTATI	GRACE BRI	20	
N	10/18/69	WALKER	WINSTON OWE	25		MANSOUR	CHRISTINE HEL	20	
N	11/16/69	ABOUASSALY	ADEL	30		HAYEK	JEHANE	20	
N	11/24/69	LAHAM	ARTHUR JOH	30		CHAMANDY	JACQUELINE ANN	32	D
N	11/30/69	MOURANI	GEORGES	34		CHOUINARD	MARIE THE	21	
N	12/27/69	SAARDI	GEORGE	22		BOUILLON	MARIE-LISE GIL	20	

**APPENDIX C3:
MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING THE AGES
AND MARITAL STATUS OF BRIDES AND GROOMS,
1961-1980**

GROOM			BRIDE		
AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT	AGE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	101	100.00	Total Listed	85	100.00
Under 25	19	18.81	Under 18	1	1.18
25 to 35	61	60.40	18 to 21	33	38.82
Over 35	21	20.79	22 to 25	23	27.06
			26 to 35	21	24.71
			Over 35	7	8.24
Average Age	30.8		Average Age	24.6	

STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT	STATUS	NUMBER	PERCENT
Total Listed	303	100.00	Total Listed	304	100.00
Single	260	85.81	Single	271	89.14
Divorced	34	11.22	Divorced	25	8.22
Widowed	9	2.97	Widowed	8	2.63

APPENDIX D1:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
GROOM'S OCCUPATION,
1937-1950**

APPENDIX D1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1937-1950

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	12/12/48	GHALI	JOHN A.	AUTO MACHINIST
N	7/01/46	ANQAH	MICHAEL E.	BARRISTER
G	11/24/40	KABBASH	SIMON G.	BOOKKEEPER
N	6/02/46	SHATILLAH	ANTHONY F.	BOOKKEEPER
N	10/12/47	KUSAYAH	EDDY A.	CAR DEALER
N	2/24/46	ARI	HENRY M.	CHAUFFEUR
N	9/28/47	NEHMY	THEODORE M.	CIVIL SERVANT
G	5/01/38	RASI	MICHAEL M.	CLERK
G	6/18/39	ZARBATANY	EMILE G.	CLERK
G	7/14/40	ASSAL	PHILIP K.	CLERK
G	7/14/40	KURI	NASSIF M.	CLERK
G	9/07/41	ABU-SAFI	JOSEPH C.	CLERK
G	10/21/41	MOORE	EDWARD M.	CLERK
G	6/17/45	BATAH	NASIB M.	CLERK
G	12/09/47	ZARBATANI	EDDY	CLERK
G	7/10/49	NIMR	KALIL	CLERK
G	7/17/49	KUSBARA	JIMMY	CLERK
N	9/25/46	SAD	EDWARD E.	CLERK
N	7/04/47	DHAKAR	JOSEPH E.	CLERK
N	6/06/48	AYYUB	LUCIEN G.	CLERK
N	8/19/50	LAWAND	ELIAS T.	CLERK
N	7/14/48	NASIF	LOUIS F.	COMMERCIAL TRAVEL
G	1/18/48	NASSAR	FOUAD	COOK
G	6/24/39	GHANIMAH	CLIFFORD S.	CUTTER
G	5/18/47	MIKHAIL	VICTOR E.	CUTTER
N	2/02/47	KISBIR	ALEXANDER J.	CUTTER
N	2/27/47	SAD	CHARLES H.	CUTTER
N	6/08/48	JIBARAH	JIMMY T.	CUTTER
G	8/04/40	TARRABI	ELIAS S.	DESIGNER
G	7/17/49	MIKHAIL	EMILE	DESIGNER
N	2/17/46	ZARBATANI	FRED M.	DESIGNER
N	7/04/48	GHANIMAH	JACK J.	DISPATCHER
G	4/06/46	TABBA	EDWARD J.	DOCTOR
G	11/12/50	AZIZ	FUAD E.	DRAUGHTSMAN
G	9/10/50	MAKARUS	TOM F.	DRESS CUTTER
N	10/16/48	MYRSAL	WALTER J.	DRESS PRESSER
G	7/06/47	BUGHUS	CAMILLE A.	DRUGGIST
G	8/01/48	HADDAD	PHILLIP M.	DRY GOODS MERCHANT
G	6/29/47	FADDUL	RAYMOND T.	ELECTRICIAN
N	7/16/50	BATTY	GRAHAM C.	ENGINEER
N	6/01/46	ILYAS	EDWARD S.	EXPORTER
N	11/04/46	KURI	KABIB J.	FIREMAN
N	2/09/47	SAHYUN	ABRAHAM J.	FLIGHT ENGINEER
N	9/05/48	HINDI	SHAFF A.	GENERAL CONTRACTOR
G	10/01/39	ASSAF	EDDIE G.	GENERAL WORK
N	8/27/50	QASSIS	JOSEPH C.	GROCER
G	12/19/50	BARAKAT	THEODORE G.	INSPECTOR
N	7/02/50	SULAYMAN	NORMAN A.	INSPECTOR

APPENDIX D1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1937-1950

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
N	8/20/50	HUMSI	GEORGE P.	INSPECTOR
G	5/08/48	SUAYD	ELIAS G.	INSURANCE AGENT
G	7/03/49	SAD	EDWARD	INSURANCE AGENT
G	6/30/46	SAB	EDMUND N.	JOBBER
G	7/04/48	HAJJI	CHARLES K.	JOBBER
N	2/04/50	SAYFI	NICHOLAS E.	JOBBER
G	12/03/39	AL-AMIR	JOHN E.	LABOURER
N	4/23/50	ABJI	SAM A.	LABOURER
N	9/03/50	ABD AL-HANI	ROBERT A.	LABOURER
G	6/29/47	HADDAD	GEORGE	MACHINIST
G	7/10/49	LEWIS	ELAIS	MACHINIST
G	8/10/38	ASSAF	HENRY A.	MANAGER
G	7/16/39	KURI	LEON N.	MANAGER
N	6/16/46	ABU-ASALI	EDMOND N.	MANAGER
G	11/27/49	SHAR	WALTER	MANUFACTURER
G	6/18/39	ABU-SAMRAH	ALBERT S.	MANUFACTURING
G	2/08/40	SHAMANDI	ABRAHAM K.	MANUFACTURING
G	5/03/47	MIKHAIL	DAVID	MANUFACTURING
N	10/20/46	DAUD	ELIAS C.	MANUFACTURING
N	5/21/47	KURI	PHILIP A.	MANUFACTURING
N	3/17/48	SHAQRAH	EMILE E.	MANUFACTURING
N	5/08/48	ABU-SAMRAH	RUSSEL A.	MANUFACTURING
N	6/05/48	ABU-SAMRAH	ARTHUR A.	MANUFACTURING
N	9/20/48	SAYKALI	ERNEST M.	MANUFACTURING
N	8/22/50	ZARBARTANI	NASRY M.	MANUFACTURING
N	6/13/48	ZARBATANI	VICTOR M.	MECHANIC
N	1/26/47	FARHUD	GEORGE A.	MECHANICAL ENGINEER
G	7/11/37	IBRAHIM	JEAN-BAPT. K.	MERCHANT
G	10/03/37	KURI	ELIA C.	MERCHANT
G	10/10/37	BARAKAT	ELLYA N.	MERCHANT
G	1/23/38	ABU-MANSOUR	GEORGE E.	MERCHANT
G	5/15/38	QASSAB	ANTOINE A.	MERCHANT
G	5/29/38	HANNA	CONSTANTINE M	MERCHANT
G	1/22/39	RASI	NICHOLAS M.	MERCHANT
G	2/05/39	SHAR	YARID G.	MERCHANT
G	6/21/39	SHALHUB	GEORGE A.	MERCHANT
G	7/30/39	HANNA	JOSEPH P.	MERCHANT
G	9/17/39	SHAHIN	FRANCISCOS W.	MERCHANT
G	6/23/40	ZUGHBI	ALIE M.	MERCHANT
G	6/26/40	TABBA	JAMIE A.	MERCHANT
G	7/14/40	SIMON	GEORGE A.	MERCHANT
G	7/14/40	SAYDAWI	FRED I.	MERCHANT
G	7/15/40	YARID	LOUIS S.	MERCHANT
G	9/22/40	RASI	GEORGE S.	MERCHANT
G	11/16/40	TABBA	NACKLIE A.	MERCHANT
G	6/01/41	QATTINI	ALBERT N.	MERCHANT
G	9/21/41	RASI	THEODORE S.	MERCHANT
G	2/08/42	BARAKAT	GEORGES T.	MERCHANT

APPENDIX D1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1937-1950

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	4/12/42	BARAKAT	PHILIP E.	MERCHANT
G	9/06/42	ABU-MANSUR	GEORGE E.	MERCHANT
G	9/06/42	SABA	CHEADE E.	MERCHANT
G	5/19/46	ANBAR	GEORGE	MERCHANT
G	4/20/47	SHAR	PHILIPPE	MERCHANT
G	4/21/47	ISA	ELIE	MERCHANT
G	5/25/47	DABUS	ALBERT	MERCHANT
G	6/24/47	HANNA	EMILE	MERCHANT
G	12/14/47	KURI	WADDEH	MERCHANT
G	2/15/48	GHANIMAH	MICHEL	MERCHANT
G	7/25/48	KABBASH	WILLIAM	MERCHANT
G	12/28/49	ANBAR	ZAWZI	MERCHANT
G	10/29/50	STAURO	GEORGE C.	MERCHANT
G	12/10/50	SIMON	JOSEPH A.	MERCHANT
N	2/25/46	KASHFI	TOM E.	MERCHANT
N	5/26/46	SHATILLAH	EMILE A.	MERCHANT
N	9/04/46	KUSAYAH	ROMEO A.	MERCHANT
N	11/03/46	ABU-SAMRAH	JOHN J.	MERCHANT
N	2/02/47	ARBUD	EDDIE N.	MERCHANT
N	5/14/47	SHAHIN	MASSAD J.	MERCHANT
N	6/08/47	KURI	MAURICE A.	MERCHANT
N	9/17/47	JUBRAIL	WADIE S.	MERCHANT
N	11/02/47	HAJALI	MICHAEL N.	MERCHANT
N	11/23/47	MALULI	WADDY M.	MERCHANT
N	9/05/48	SHAMMAS	LOUIS M.	MERCHANT
N	9/19/48	AZIZ	EDWARD M.	MERCHANT
N	11/07/48	YARID	MICHEL R.	MERCHANT
N	7/12/49	ISTIFAN	MICHAEL T.	MERCHANT
N	10/16/49	YUSUF	VICTOR J.	MERCHANT
N	1/15/50	SARAY	JOSEPH M.	MERCHANT
N	2/13/50	KURI	LOUIS A.	MERCHANT
N	4/10/50	ANBAR	ALLAN C.	MERCHANT
N	5/09/50	YARID	EDWARD K.	MERCHANT
N	5/21/50	KURI	JAMES T.	MERCHANT
N	6/25/50	BATAH	NORMAN J.	MERCHANT
G	11/14/47	SALHANI	MICHEL	MINER
G	12/13/47	ASSAL	THEODORE	PACKER HELPER
G	7/17/49	ZARBATANI	MICHEL	PACKER HELPER
G	5/19/48	PHILLIP	ELIAS	PEDDLER
N	5/15/49	TAWIL	FARIS N.	PHOTOGRAPHER
G	6/12/48	TAQLI	MITCHELL C.	RADIO ANNOUNCER
G	2/05/46	WILLIAM	FARIS	RAIL WORKER
G	7/12/42	TABBA	GEORGE N.	RCAF
G	8/08/37	BUTRUS	GEORGE J.	RESTAURANT
G	5/21/49	HABIB	ALBERT	RESTAURANT
N	4/25/47	ADUB	MIKE N.	RESTAURANT
N	9/29/47	ZARBATANI	JIMMY J.	RESTAURANT
N	9/29/47	GENEST	ADELARD	RESTAURANT

APPENDIX D1:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1937-1950

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
N	3/30/48	NASR-ALLAH	NESRALLAH M.	RESTAURANT
N	11/20/49	NASR-ALLAH	LAURENCE T.	RESTAURANT
G	5/21/50	RAHAL	ALEXANDER K.	RETIRED
G	9/04/42	LEVAC	GEORGE E.	RIVETTER
G	2/21/38	HAYIK	ARMAND M.	SALESMAN
G	6/27/40	SHAGHURI	HART H.	SALESMAN
G	5/12/46	SHATILLAH	GEORGE	SALESMAN
G	7/24/49	GHATTAS	MICHEL	SALESMAN
G	9/25/49	NAKAD	CHARLES	SALESMAN
N	6/25/46	ZUGHAYB	ALCIE A.	SALESMAN
N	7/15/46	YARID	NICHOLAS F.	SALESMAN
N	4/20/47	DIB	LOUIS A.	SALESMAN
N	4/20/47	KHURI	THEODORE E.	SALESMAN
N	6/10/47	KUSAYAH	EDMOND A.	SALESMAN
N	6/01/50	GHANIMAH	MICHAEL E.	SALESMAN
G	2/19/50	BISHARAH	JAMES	SHIPPER
N	6/23/46	AYYUB	PETER G.	SHIPPER
N	9/29/46	DAUD	PHILIP F.	SHIPPER
G	6/19/47	OUTRA	NICHOLAS	SHOEMAKER
N	10/27/46	BADRAN	JAMIL R.	SHOWMAN
G	1/16/44	ZUGHAYB	ADRIEN J.	SOLDIER
G	2/01/48	GHIZ	EDWARD	STOCK-BROKER
N	3/07/48	SAD	JAMES	STORE CLERK
G	6/24/45	SHAMANDI	EDWARD A.	STUDENT
G	8/23/45	SAYKALI	MAURICE N.	STUDENT
G	6/11/39	JARJUR	NICHOLAS G.	TAILOR
G	8/11/40	HANNA	BERNARD G.	TAILOR
G	1/22/48	SIMON	JOHN	TAILOR
N	9/04/47	SHQRAH	ROMEO E.	TAXI OWNER
G	9/14/49	TABBA	SADE S.	TELEGRAPH OPERATOR
N	2/17/46	ZARBATANI	ANVER M.	TELEPHONE INSPECTOR
G	9/12/49	SAMARAH	JOHN	TOOLMAKER
N	9/28/47	RAHBAN	DOMINIQUE R.	TRUCK DRIVER
N	10/19/47	NIQULA	GEORGE A.	TRUCK DRIVER
N	5/28/49	KISBIR	JACK Z.	WAITER
G	10/02/49	IBRAHIM	NICHOLAS	WOOD CARVER

GROOM'S OCCUPATIONS (CALCULATIONS)
1937-1950

Summary: %COUNT Field: GROOM'S OCCUPATION

Rows: GROOM'S OC Columns:

% Total	ALL

AUTO MACHINIST	0.6
BARRISTER	0.6
BOOKKEEPER	1.1
CAR DEALER	0.6
CHAUFFEUR	0.6
CIVIL SERVANT	0.6
CLERK	7.8
COMMERCIAL TRAVEL	0.6
COOK	0.6
CUTTER	2.8
DESIGNER	1.7
DISPATCHER	0.6
DOCTOR	0.6
DRAUGHTSMAN	0.6
DRESS CUTTER	0.6
DRESS PRESSER	0.6
DRUGGIST	0.6
DRY GOODS MERCHANT	0.6
ELECTRICIAN	0.6
ENGINEER	0.6
EXPORTER	0.6
FIREMAN	0.6
FLIGHT ENGINEER	0.6
GENERAL CONTRACTOR	0.6
GENERAL WORK	0.6
GROCER	0.6
INSPECTOR	1.7
INSURANCE AGENT	1.1
JOBBER	1.7
LABOURER	1.7
MACHINIST	1.1
MANAGER	1.7
MANUFACTURER	0.6
MANUFACTURING	5.6
MECHANIC	0.6
MECHANICAL ENGINEER	0.6
MERCHANT	31
MINER	0.6
PACKER HELPER	1.1
PEDDLER	0.6
PHOTOGRAPHER	0.6
RADIO ANNOUNCER	0.6
RAIL WORKER	0.6
RCAF	0.6
RESTAURANT	3.9
RETIRED	0.6
RIVETTER	0.6
SALESMAN	6.1
SHIPPER	1.7
SHOEMAKER	0.6

SHOWMAN	0.6
SOLDIER	0.6
STOCK-BROKER	0.6
STORE CLERK	0.6
STUDENT	1.1
TAILOR	1.7
TAXI OWNER	0.6
TELEGRAPH OPERATOR	0.6
TELEPHONE INSPECTOR	0.6
TOOLMAKER	0.6
TRUCK DRIVER	1.1
WAITER	0.6
WOOD CARVER	0.6
ALL	100

APPENDIX D2:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
GROOM'S OCCUPATION,
1951-1960**

APPENDIX D2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1951-1960

G= ST. GEORGE

N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	3/04/56	AYA	MIKE	BAKER
G	10/28/51	ABRAHAM	MICHEL	CABINET MAKER
G	11/05/55	ANBER	ALFRED J. A.	CAR DEALER
G	7/29/51	ELIAS	NICHOLAS	CLERK
G	7/30/51	ABURAY	JOSEPH	CLERK
G	12/25/51	CHARLES	FRED J.	CLERK
G	5/04/52	KABBASH	ALEX	CLERK
G	8/30/53	ABOUD	NICHOLAS	CLERK
G	9/28/58	GABRIEL	PHILLIP	COMMERCIAL ARTIST
G	6/03/51	MATTA	RONALD	CUTTER
G	3/20/54	SHATILLA	JOHN	CUTTER
G	6/10/56	MICHAEL	HERBERT	CUTTER
G	7/29/53	DARWISH	ALAN J.	DESIGNER
N	8/10/60	MADY	DAVID	DOCTOR
G	5/24/54	ASTPHAN	ABRAHAM	DRIVER
G	8/29/53	ARREY	KELLY J.	ENGINEER
G	12/19/53	KHOURI	MICHAEL	ENGINEER
G	10/21/51	ROSSY	EDWARD	ENTERTAINMENT MANAGER
G	6/12/55	AYOUB	CHARLES N.	HEAD SHIPPER
G	8/21/51	BARAKETT	ELIAS C. J.	INSPECTOR
G	6/23/56	BOOSAMRA	ALBERT	INSURANCE AGENT
G	4/12/53	HADDAD	FRANK	MACHINIST
G	6/19/55	ROSSY	MAURICE	MANAGER
G	1/06/51	MOTTER	NORMAN	MANUFACTURER
G	5/14/51	BOOKALAM	NORMAN	MANUFACTURER
G	7/31/51	MALKY	GORDON	MANUFACTURER
G	3/06/52	ABOUD	EMILE A.	MANUFACTURER
G	9/27/52	SAAD	ROBERT A.	MANUFACTURER
G	7/03/53	MICHAEL	MORRIS	MANUFACTURER
G	7/11/54	FARHA	JOSEPH	MANUFACTURER
G	12/29/57	BEAUCHAMP	JOSEPH	MANUFACTURER
G	6/21/58	KOURI	LLOYD J.	MANUFACTURER
G	9/13/51	CATTINY	ZAKEY J.	MERCHANT
G	9/19/51	WAKEEM	JAMES J.	MERCHANT
G	9/11/52	MICHEL	ROGER	MERCHANT
G	8/15/53	AUGER	MAURICE	MERCHANT
G	5/02/54	HABIB	ALBERT K.	MERCHANT
G	8/24/54	SHAAR	MORRIS	MERCHANT
G	7/01/56	SABA	GORDON	MERCHANT
G	6/02/57	KENEMY	WILLIAM	MERCHANT
G	7/15/58	SHOOFY	EDWARD	MERCHANT
G	1/24/59	AYOUB	DONALD G.	MERCHANT
G	3/15/59	SABA	SALEM	MERCHANT
G	11/04/60	ZIGAYER	HECTOR	MERCHANT
G	9/23/51	AYOUB	NICHOLAS	MUSICIAN
G	9/06/53	MACKAROUS	JOHN	REFRIGERATION TECH.
G	11/15/53	SAIKALY	ELIAS	RESTAURANT OWNER
G	10/16/55	HALAWE	JOSEPH	RESTAURANT OWNER

APPENDIX D2:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1951-1960

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	6/09/56	ROSSY	RAYMOND P.	RETAILER
G	10/13/51	GHIZ	GEORGE	SALESMAN
G	2/02/52	ZGEB	JOSEPH	SALESMAN
G	8/13/52	EID	LEO J.	SALESMAN
G	8/16/53	HADDAD	WADI	SALESMAN
G	1/24/54	KAYATTA	MICHAEL	SALESMAN
G	6/26/55	MICHEL	FRED E.	SALESMAN
G	6/10/56	BOUJADY	ESSA	SALESMAN
G	8/31/52	ABOUSSAFY	WILFRED	SHIPPER
G	7/17/54	ZAKAIB	HECTOR P.	SUPERVISOR
G	7/09/55	SHATILLA	THOMAS	TAXI OWNER
G	6/08/58	KOUSSAYA	WILFRED A.	TECHNICIAN
G	1/14/56	FERRIS	EDWARD	TOOLMAKER
G	9/18/55	BARAKETT	VICTOR	TRUCK DRIVER
G	1/23/54	COUREY	EMILE	WHOLESALE
63	63	63	63	63

GROOM'S OCCUPATION (CALCULATIONS)
1951-1960

Summary: %ACOUNT Field: GROOM'S OCCUPATION

Rows: GROOM'S OC Columns:

% Total	ALL

BAKER	1.6
CABINET MAKER	1.6
CAR DEALER	1.6
CLERK	7.9
COMMERCIAL ARTIST	1.6
CUTTER	4.8
DESIGNER	1.6
DOCTOR	1.6
DRIVER	1.6
ENGINEER	3.2
ENTERTAINMENT MANAGER	1.6
HEAD SHIPPER	1.6
INSPECTOR	1.6
INSURANCE AGENT	1.6
MACHINIST	1.6
MANAGER	1.6
MANUFACTURER	14
MERCHANT	19
MUSICIAN	1.6
REFRIGERATION TECH.	1.6
RESTAURANT OWNER	3.2
RETAILER	1.6
SALESMAN	11
SHIPPER	1.6
SUPERVISOR	1.6
TAXI OWNER	1.6
TECHNICIAN	1.6
TOOLMAKER	1.6
TRUCK DRIVER	1.6
WHOLESALER	1.6
ALL	100

APPENDIX D3:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
GROOM'S OCCUPATION,
1961-1980**

APPENDIX D3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	10/02/65	HANNA	GEORGE	ACCOUNTANT
G	8/20/66	MANOLI	NABIL	ACCOUNTANT
G	9/24/67	DIB	SAMI E.	ACCOUNTANT
G	11/17/68	BADAQUI	GEORGE	ACCOUNTANT
G	12/05/70	BAYOUK	MICHEL N.	ACCOUNTANT
G	10/29/72	BISHARA	GEORGE	ACCOUNTANT
G	4/27/74	SAIKALY	EDMOND	ACCOUNTANT
G	11/07/64	HAMASIN	ANTOINE	ASST. CONTROLLER
G	6/29/68	WAHAB	GALAL	AUDITOR
G	10/31/64	MICHAEL	ROBERT	BOOKKEEPER
G	5/09/66	ZAKAIB	HENRY	BOOKKEEPER
G	11/12/66	SAYEGH	NIMER	BUSINESSMAN
G	3/07/65	AYOUB	GORDON	BUYER
G	7/07/68	ASSAF	ASSAF Y.	BUYER
G	7/07/73	BOUTROS	NABIL	CARPENTER
G	5/06/73	KASSAB	ALBERT ANTOIN	CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT
G	7/03/71	ABOUD	NABIL	CHEMIST
G	9/06/64	MASSAAD	ROBERT	CLERK
G	10/11/64	TURK	NORMAN	CLERK
G	10/31/64	MACKAROUS	ALLAN	CLERK
G	8/27/67	CHAMANDY	ALLAN J.	CLERK
G	10/28/67	ARIE	MICHAEL	CLERK
G	2/08/69	ROSSY	GRANT J.	CLERK
G	7/25/70	BEAUCHAMP	NORMAN	CLERK
G	8/30/70	SHATILLA	ERIK	CLERK
G	11/14/70	NASRA	NABIL	CLERK
G	5/27/72	MICHEL	EMILE ELIAS	CLERK
G	11/04/72	KERBA	ROBERT	CLERK
G	5/02/65	ABOUD	SOLOMON	CLIENTSMAN
G	9/27/70	MOUFRAGE	STEPHEN	CUTTER
G	9/19/65	DAVID	ROBERT J.	DENTAL SURGEON
G	9/07/64	HADDAD	IBRAHIM	DOCTOR
G	5/21/66	WAHAB	GEORGE	DOCTOR
G	8/07/66	MAZIAD	PETER E.	DOCTOR
G	10/06/68	DEIRY	ADEL	DOCTOR
G	10/12/68	SALIB	MAGDY	DOCTOR
G	10/20/68	COUREY	WILLIAM R.	DOCTOR
G	12/05/70	HAMAWY	NABIL N.	DOCTOR
G	10/31/71	RAHAL	MOUNZER S.	DOCTOR
G	11/27/71	COUREY	NORMAN LEON	DOCTOR
G	7/22/72	ANSARA	SAMIR SPIRO	DOCTOR
G	6/28/75	HANNA	YOUSRI	DOCTOR
G	8/10/74	NEHME	ROBERT	DRAUGHTING SUPERVISOR
G	6/25/66	TAWA	ROGER H.	ENGINEER
G	4/30/67	CORDANI	CHARLES	ENGINEER
G	11/23/68	SIDHOM	SAMI S.	ENGINEER
G	6/07/69	ABELA	SHIBLY J.	ENGINEER
G	6/25/72	FARHOOD	LEWIS GEORGE	ENGINEER

APPENDIX D3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	9/05/65	ROSSY	MAURICE	FOREMAN
G	5/05/73	SARA	ADEB TOUFIC	FOREMAN
G	12/27/69	DEBBAS	ANDRE	FURNITURE SALESMAN
G	12/05/71	ELIAN	ADEL NAIM	HOTELIER
G	10/16/71	SIDAROUS	NABIL	INSPECTOR
G	9/30/67	ABDALLAH	MAGDI A.W.	INSTITUTEUR
G	6/12/66	LAWAND	CHARLES	INSURANCE SALESMAN
G	5/30/70	TARABY	RICHARD N.	MANAGER
G	6/08/72	KOURI	ERIC GEORGE	MANAGER
G	7/08/72	SALHANY	MORRIS HALIM	MANAGER
G	10/22/72	LAHAM	KHALIL GEORGE	MANAGER
G	5/02/70	HOWICK	JOHN D.	MANUFACTURER
G	7/19/70	BOOJADY	MORRIS J.	MANUFACTURER
G	11/21/71	CHAMANDY	JOSEPH A.	MANUFACTURER
G	4/15/72	SARA	EMILE	MANUFACTURER
G	6/24/73	AJMO	EDWARD N.	MANUFACTURER
G	2/16/74	ROSSY	THEODORE GEOR	MANUFACTURER
G	10/14/67	MURAD	ANTON	MECHANIC
G	12/17/67	RIZK	ISSAM M.	MECHANIC
G	4/19/69	MAKHAMRA	MINA	MECHANIC
G	7/15/72	RASHED	SHIBL	MECHANIC
G	10/27/73	MANNEH	VICTOR	MECHANIC
G	3/04/68	MAAKAROUN	KAISSAR	MERCHANT
G	5/24/69	COUREY	MAURICE	MERCHANT
G	10/26/69	BOUMANSOUR	GEORGE J.	MERCHANT
G	2/14/71	BOUMANSOUR	MAURICE PETER	MERCHANT
G	10/30/71	KENEMY	BRIAN GEORGE	NEWSWRITER
G	5/26/73	ROSSY	ROBERT	OFFICE MANAGER
G	5/24/75	DIAB	IBRAHIM ANTOI	OFFICIAL RECEIVER
G	3/07/70	KARBA	YOUSSEF	PHARMACIST
G	10/13/74	BISHARA	EDWARD	PHARMACIST
G	5/27/73	COUREY	GERALD JOHN	PLANNING CONSULTANT
G	5/12/68	SHAHEEN	RAYMOND	POLICE OFFICER
G	5/06/72	GAMEL	PAUL ANTHONY	PRINTER
G	5/02/69	SALHANY	GEORGE	PRODUCER
G	7/13/68	ZAKAIB	DONALD	PRODUCTION ANALYST
G	7/26/70	WAHBE	ALBERT E.	PRODUCTION ASST.
G	7/14/73	KOURI	NICHOLAS	PRODUCTION CONTROLLER
G	1/28/73	KAROM	PHILLIP	PRODUCTION ENGINEER
G	8/16/70	HABASH	FOUAD	PROFESSOR
G	7/15/72	KERBA	SAMI	PROFESSOR
G	5/25/74	ABBOUD	SAMIR	REAL ESTATE CONSULTANT
G	7/11/65	SHOFFEY	STEPHEN	RESTAURANT OWNER
G	9/06/70	GATTAS	ANTHONY	RESTAURANT OWNER
G	10/10/65	ROSSY	LAWRENCE	RETAILER
G	2/23/69	SHAMIE	FRED N.	RETAILER
G	9/21/69	MALOLEY	JOHN	RETAILER
G	5/31/70	SHAMIE	RAYMOND J.	RETAILER

APPENDIX D3:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING GROOM'S OCCUPATION, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	GROOM'S SURNAME	GROOM'S FIRST	GROOM'S OCCUPATION
G	2/06/71	SOUAID	JEAN-RENE	RETAILER
G	4/16/72	ROSSY	BRIAN PAUL	RETAILER
G	9/28/74	ZABAIB	KALIL	RETIRED
G	4/24/66	CHARLES	JOHN	SALESMAN
G	10/15/66	BARAKETT	ALFRED	SALESMAN
G	12/28/68	ATTALA	NAGUI	SALESMAN
G	5/18/69	MALIK	FARRES	SALESMAN
G	11/21/70	TADROS	NAGUIB A.	SALESMAN
G	1/12/71	NASSIF	NADIME	SALESMAN
G	5/12/73	JARJOUR	THOMAS	SALESMAN
G	5/20/73	HANNA	GREGORY ERNES	SALESMAN
G	12/29/68	RAHAL	JOSEPH	SEMINARIAN
G	7/29/67	EID	FAROUK	SHIPPER
G	6/22/74	HABIB	ERNEST	SHIPPER
G	8/08/65	DAVID	MICHAEL V.	STUDENT
G	8/16/69	MAALOUF	IBRAHIM	STUDENT
G	2/12/72	ROSSY	PHILIP ANDREW	STUDENT
G	7/02/72	KABBASH	KENNETH WILLI	STUDENT
G	6/03/73	RAHAL	DERIC	STUDENT
G	12/08/73	HABIB	ANDRAWAS	STUDENT
G	2/13/66	ASSAF	TOFICK	TAILOR
G	7/14/73	MANOLI	SAMIR NICOLAS	TEACHER
G	12/08/73	SAKKAL	JAMIL	TEACHER
G	6/04/72	AWAD	NABIC	TECHNICAL ENGINEER
G	1/15/66	MAZARES	JOSEPH	TECHNICIAN
G	2/06/66	HANNA	ROBERT	TECHNICIAN
G	7/31/71	ABRAHAM	MAURICE JOHN	TELEVISION PRODUCER
G	5/10/69	MICHEL	NICHOLAS	TRUSTEE AGENT
G	6/08/69	BISHARA	WILLIAM	WELFARE AGENT
G	5/07/72	NASSER	JOSEPH ANTHON	WHOLESALE/PLUMBING
G	1/30/71	SAMAAN	TANIOS	WRESTLER
127	127	127	127	127

GROOM'S OCCUPATION (CALCULATIONS)
1961-1980

Summary: %@COUNT Field: GROOM'S OCCUPATION

Rows: GROOM'S OC Columns:

% Total	ALL

ACCOUNTANT	5.5
ASST. CONTROLLER	0.8
AUDITOR	0.8
BOOKKEEPER	1.6
BUSINESSMAN	0.8
BUYER	1.6
CARPENTER	0.8
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANT	0.8
CHEMIST	0.8
CLERK	8.7
CLIENTSMAN	0.8
CUTTER	0.8
DENTAL SURGEON	0.8
DOCTOR	8.7
DRAUGHTING SUPERVISOR	0.8
ENGINEER	3.9
FOREMAN	1.6
FURNITURE SALESMAN	0.8
HOTELIER	0.8
INSPECTOR	0.8
INSTITUTEUR	0.8
INSURANCE SALESMAN	0.8
MANAGER	3.1
MANUFACTURER	4.7
MECHANIC	3.9
MERCHANT	3.1
NEWSPRITER	0.8
OFFICE MANAGER	0.8
OFFICIAL RECEIVER	0.8
PHARMACIST	1.6
PLANNING CONSULTANT	0.8
POLICE OFFICER	0.8
PRINTER	0.8
PRODUCER	0.8
PRODUCTION ANALYST	0.8
PRODUCTION ASST.	0.8
PRODUCTION CONTROLLER	0.8
PRODUCTION ENGINEER	0.8
PROFESSOR	1.6
REAL ESTATE CONSULTANT	0.8
RESTAURANT OWNER	1.6
RETAILER	4.7
RETIRED	0.8
SALESMAN	6.3
SEMINARIAN	0.8
SHIPPER	1.6
STUDENT	4.7
TAILOR	0.8
TEACHER	1.6
TECHNICAL ENGINEER	0.8

TECHNICIAN	1.6
TELEVISION PRODUCER	0.8
TRUSTEE AGENT	0.8
WELFARE AGENT	0.8
WHOLESALE/PLUMBING	0.8
WRESTLER	0.8
ALL	100

APPENDIX D4:

**MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING
BRIDE'S OCCUPATION,
1961-1980**

APPENDIX D4:

MARRIAGE REGISTERS LISTING BRIDE'S OCCUPATION, 1961-1980

G= ST. GEORGE
N= ST. NICHOLAS

CHURCH	DATE	BRIDE'S SURNAME	BRIDE'S FIRST	BRIDE'S OCCUPATION
G	11/17/68	ELIAS	NAZIMA	NURSE'S AID
G	11/12/66	BARAKETT	FARIDAH	TELEPHONE OPERATOR
G	5/04/68	GEORGES	LOUISE	STUDENT
G	10/11/64	BEAUCHAMP	JEANINE	BOOKKEEPER
G	8/27/67	DAVID	SANDRA M.	HAIRDRESSER
G	2/08/69	KENEMY	DOLLY D.	SECRETARY
G	8/17/69	ABOUSSAFY	CONSTANCE L.	SECRETARY
G	1/06/68	MOKISEL	ROSE M.	SUPERVISOR
G	10/12/68	ABOUL-DAHAB	MAGDA	STUDENT
G	10/20/68	ABOUD	CAROL A.	STUDENT
G	8/07/66	SHAHEEN	NICOLE	TECHNICIAN
G	10/06/68	ISSAWI	NADIA	TELEPHONE OPERATOR
G	11/23/68	ARSHOUN	MARIE T.	CLERK
G	6/12/66	BARAKETT	ANN	SECRETARY
G	5/30/70	KOURI	CAROLE ANNE	BUYER
G	7/19/70	SAWAYA	MARIE	RETAILER
G	4/19/69	CACJA	VICTORIA	RECEPTIONIST
G	12/31/65	ELIAS	NANCY ANN	TYPIST
G	5/12/68	ELIAS	JACQUELINE A.	SECRETARY
G	5/02/69	COUREY	LEILA	SALESLADY
G	1/23/73	KAYA	SUREYYA	ASSISTANT MANAGER
G	7/11/65	SHOOFY	PATRICIA	REGISTERED NURSE
G	9/08/68	SHAHEEN	CLAUDETTE M.	SECRETARY
G	12/28/68	SIDARAS	MARY	TELLER
G	8/11/69	YARED	CATHERINE	SALESLADY
G	8/16/69	BROX	SANDRA ANN	SECRETARY
G	5/26/68	JAZZAR	NANCY M.	SECRETARY
G	8/09/69	MACKAROUS	ELEANOR	SECRETARY
G	5/16/70	HOWICK	FRANCES M.	STUDENT
G	5/25/68	ZARBATANY	MARIE-ANN J.	HAIRDRESSER
G	6/08/69	HANNA	ROSE	CLERK

BRIDE'S OCCUPATION (CALCULATIONS)
1961-1980

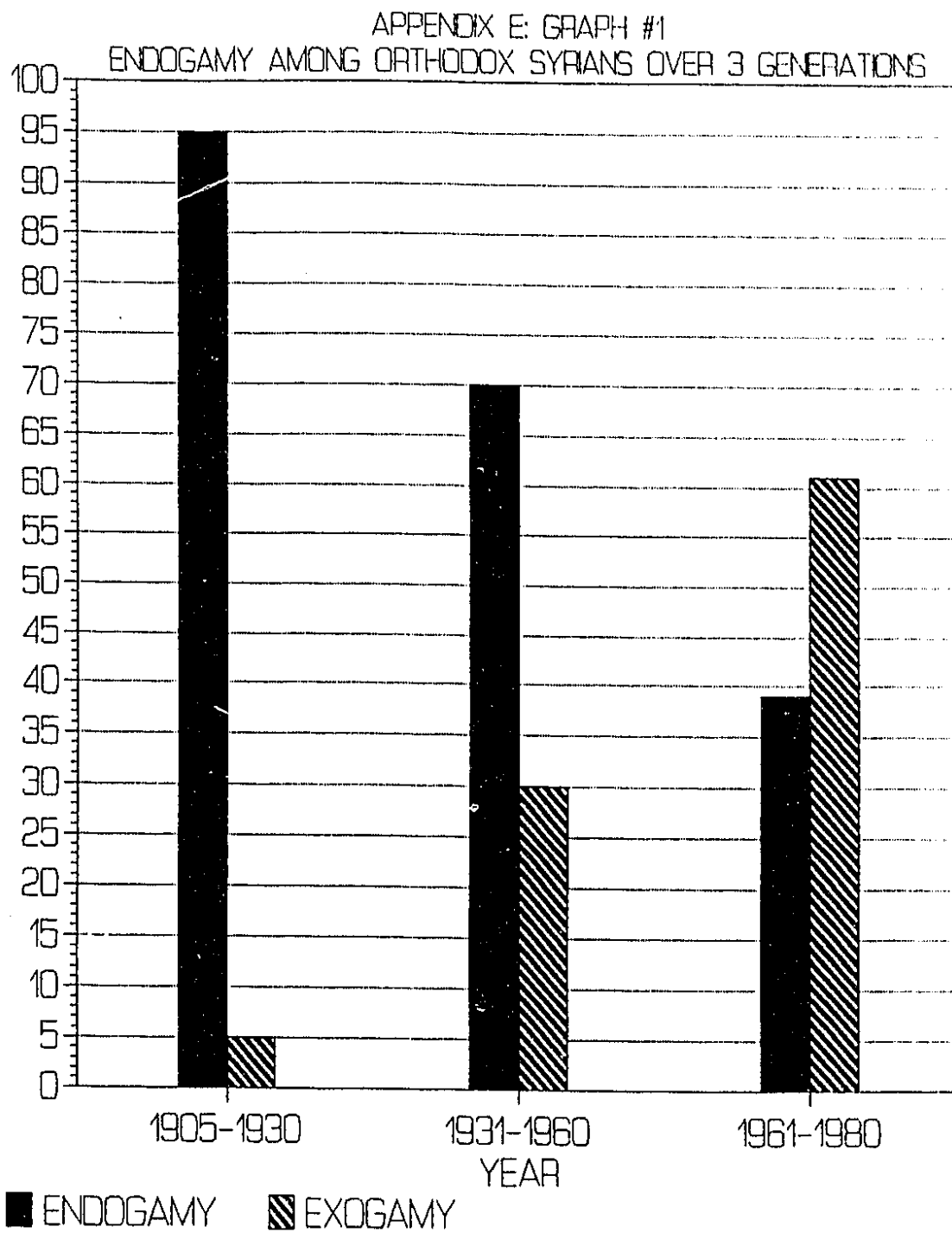
Summary: %ACCOUNT	Field: BRIDE'S OCCUPATION
Rows: BRIDE'S OC	Columns:
% Total	ALL

ASSISTANT MANAGER	3.2
BOOKKEEPER	3.2
BUYER	3.2
CLERK	6.5
HAIRDRESSER	6.5
NURSE'S AID	3.2
RECEPTIONIST	3.2
REGISTERED NURSE	3.2
RETAILER	3.2
SALESLADY	6.5
SECRETARY	26
STUDENT	13
SUPERVISOR	3.2
TECHNICIAN	3.2
TELEPHONE OPERATO	6.5
TELLER	3.2
TYPIST	3.2
ALL	100

APPENDIX E:

GRAPH #1

**ENDOGENY AMONG ORTHODOX SYRIANS
OVER 3 GENERATIONS**



APPENDIX F:

GRAPH #2

**OCCUPATIONS HELD BY GROOMS
1937-1980**

