

# THE ECONOMY OF ARMENIAN MUSA DAGH IN THE 19<sup>TH</sup> AND EARLY 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

VAHRAM L. SHEMMASSIAN  
vahram.shemmassian@csun.edu

Armenian Musa Dagh in Ottoman northwest Syria - consisting of six main villages, namely, Bitias, Haji Habibli, Yoghunoluk, Kheder Beg, Vakef, and Kabusiye - during the nineteenth and early twentieth century underwent a number of changes, particularly in the religious, educational, and political domains. The economic sector, however, remained by and large captive to traditional forces such as the ruinous competition among landlords, usurer manipulations, high interest loans, the government's heavy-handedness in taxation and other matters, the lack of advanced agricultural technology, and so on - impediments that blighted especially the rural landscape of Aleppo province. As a result of political-economic insecurity, a number of youth sought more stable pastures abroad. But despite the hardships, Musa Dagh's economy did show some progress. It started with an outsider by the name of John Barker.

## JOHN BARKER'S CONTRIBUTION

John Barker's association with Musa Dagh is pivotal in understanding that community's economy during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Who was he? His biography reads in part:

BARKER, JOHN (1771-1849), British consul-general in Egypt, was born in Smyrna, 9 March 1771. He was son of William Barker, youngest son of Thomas Barker, of "The Hall," near Bakewell, in Derbyshire, and the descendent of an old county family... John Barker was educated in England... About 1797 he left London as private secretary to John Spencer Smith, British ambassador to the Porte... In 1799 Barker was commissioned by patent, bearing date 9 April, to proceed to Aleppo as pro-consul, and to act as agent ad interim for the Levant and East India Companies... He became full consul for the Levant Company 18 Nov. 1803, which was the year in which he introduced vaccination into Syria... In the autumn of 1825 Barker was appointed British consul at Alexandria... In March 1829 he was made consul-general in Egypt... He retained the consul-generalship for about four years, when he left Egypt, 31 May 1833, for his villa at Suedieh... He died of apoplexy 5 Oct. 1849, aged 78... at a summer-house at Betias, on a commanding eminence of Mount Rhosus. He was buried close to the wall of the Armenian church of the village, where a handsome marble monument, procured from Genoa, was erected in his memory.<sup>1</sup>

Described by one of his numerous guests as "a perfect gentleman, an accomplished scholar, a sagacious thinker, a philosopher, and philanthropist,"<sup>2</sup> Barker possessed two "modern country seats" in Musa Dagh, one at Bitias and another at Kheder Beg.<sup>3</sup> The Bitias house was originally used as a summer retreat from the excessive heat at Svedia; in his final months, perhaps years, Barker

established permanent residency there.<sup>4</sup> The house was “built at the fountain-head of the very best spring, and the water is conducted into and through the house itself. Close to the door of the entrance, are three handsome marble basins let into the wall...” Moreover, “there is a flight of steps leading up to the spring... These steps come out amidst a labyrinth of sweetly-scented roses...”<sup>5</sup> The house included a reception hall, two bedrooms, a storage room, a common room, a corridor, and a kitchen. More important, many botanical books and brochures published by the Royal Horticultural Society of London filled a cupboard transformed into a library, thereby attesting to Barker’s genuine interest and expertise in gardening.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, there existed in the front yard a large pool in which “a beautiful jet of water rises nearly thirty feet, and has such force that it sustains high up in the air the gaily-painted figure of a dancing Dervish”<sup>7</sup> made in Paris.<sup>8</sup> “The fame of the ‘extraordinary Dervish’ being thus spread far and near, people came from afar to see it,” including the chief of the dervishes in Aleppo, Abd el Ghani Effendi, better known as the Dada.<sup>9</sup> And sometimes village children rowed about in the pool in a small boat observing the gold and silver fish.<sup>10</sup> Barker’s estate in Kheder Beg consisted of an orchard, “a pretty little cottage in the centre... and a birky or reservoir of water in front of it.”<sup>11</sup> In both villages Barker entertained visitors from around the world, one of whom, a prince and celebrated botanist by the name of Pucklar Muskau, wrote to him in a farewell letter on October 10, 1838: ‘I should be very glad if I could be of any little use to you... in return for the kindness with which you and your amiable family have received me in Suedia and Betias. The souvenir of these delightful days is very deeply engraved in my memory.’<sup>12</sup> In short, Barker’s presence in Musa Dagh was in large part responsible for its exposure to the outside world. Indeed, the travel accounts authored by some of his guests constitute the main published primary sources on pre-1850 Musa Dagh (see the pertinent sources in notes 2-29).

Besides being a catalyst in opening up Musa Dagh to foreigners, Barker actually contributed to the amelioration of the local economy in two particular domains - sericulture and horticulture/agriculture. Beginning in the 1820s he replenished and thus improved the degenerating silkworm eggs by procuring regular supplies of fresh, superior ones from France and Italy, especially Piedmont.<sup>13</sup> The eggs were distributed among the cocoon and silk cultivators in northwest Syria, including “the districts of his neighbourhoods, Antioch, and Svedia, and of all the mountains near Latakia and Tripoli.”<sup>14</sup> As a result, there was a reverse the trend from an annual loss of a minimum of one-third of the eggs to a one-third increase in the annual silk production.<sup>15</sup> Not only did local proprietors profit more, but they also enriched the state’s coffers “by millions of piasters.”<sup>16</sup> Barker and his sons likewise established a small factory in Svedia to reel silk in the advanced European method. Two other Englishmen and a Belgian engineer eventually joined the venture, French and Italian machinery was purchased,<sup>17</sup> and “the establishment commenced well, the first year’s [1847-1848] profits being about forty per cent, when some unfortunate disputes among the proprietors caused the works to be suspended.”<sup>18</sup> According to another version, “the disease in the silkworms compelled them [the owners] to abandon the speculation.”<sup>19</sup>

Whatever the cause, had the enterprise lasted longer, it would have provided additional benefits to the indigenous populations.

Barker's second major contribution was in horticulture/agriculture, more precisely, in the introduction of previously unknown fruits, vegetables, and plants, and the improvement of existing ones. He pursued two goals: "To introduce among the grandees of Antioch, Aleppo, and most of the principal towns of Syria, a taste for horticulture, of which, till now, they have not had the slightest idea; while at the same time, he is anxiously endeavoring to give Europe the benefit of such of the fruits of Asia Minor and Syria, as he thinks will prove superior to those they already possess."<sup>20</sup> But his "main object in life was to confer benefits upon his suffering neighbours."<sup>21</sup> He secured his seeds and grafts from many parts of the world, including the Philippines, China, Japan, India, and Persia in the East; Angora, Gurun, Behesni, Malatia, Armenia, Beylan, Latakia, and Damascus in Asia Minor and Syria; Egypt in north Africa; the island of Malta in the Mediterranean; and Italy, France, England, and Spain in Europe. From these places he acquired mulberries, strawberries, gooseberries, currants, raspberries, and burberries; the tropical guava, kaki, loquat, and quince; plums such as greengage, Reine Claude, and Reineth du Canada; many kinds of sweet-kernelled apricots; citrus fruits like orange, mandarin, lemon, lime, and bergamot; chestnuts, nuts, and filberts; ten kinds of cherries; and apples, peaches, and pears. He similarly introduced, for the first time, the potato, tomato, zucchini, artichoke, and numerous other European vegetables. A variety of ornamental trees, odoriferous shrubs, and flowers including magnolias, camelias, acacias, firs, mimosas, passifloras, gardenias, agaves, lavenders, and a hundred kinds of roses completed the list.<sup>22</sup>

Many of the above were planted in Musa Dagh. "Here are [in Barker's Kheder Beg estate] China quinces, double the size of an ostrich egg, and teeming with rich and delightful perfume. The loquat succeeds best here, and so do certain sorts of nectarine and plums..." Furthermore, "there are many rare fruits to be found in this garden, and amongst other curious things, a bamboo bush, brought all the way from India."<sup>23</sup> Also in Kheder Beg, "the citrus trees brave the winter..., whereas the winter kills them at Suedia."<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, when Barker visited London in the spring of 1844 to attend, among other functions, a Royal Horticultural Society lecture, he presided over "a fruit and flower show; there were two plates, one with nine ripe peaches, and the other very fine cherries of one of Mr. Barker's sorts in Huder Beg."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the president of the Society "was very anxious to procure all the acorns of Caramania and Syria, and particularly the beautiful oak of Betias, of which Mr. Barker had sent him some acorns three years before."<sup>26</sup> In the final analysis, whereas Barker's input in sericulture appears to have yielded short-term benefits, the gains accrued in farming and gardening left a more lasting impact.

## SERICULTURE

Sericulture constituted the main source of livelihood in pre-World War I Musa Dagh, as in the entire district of Antioch. Referring to the first years of the nineteenth century, the traveler Robert Walpole reported that "the staple

commodity of Antioch is well known to be silk... The average quantity produced by Suedea, and the neighbourhood of Antakie... is about 200 cantars [56 non-metric tons]. The silk in this district is divided into four kinds; that of Antioch, of Suedea, of the mountains, and of Beilan.”<sup>27</sup> Another sojourner, named Frederick Arthur Neale, speaking of the thirteen richest notables of Antioch in the 1840s, maintained that “amongst them is divided the whole of the territorial possessions, from Jesseril Hadid [the Iron Bridge] on the one side, to the villages of Suedia, Bitias and Cassab on the other - all land in a high state of cultivation, producing wheat, barley, and other grain, or laid out in mulberry plantations for the rearing of the silk-worms.”<sup>28</sup> During the 1860s a tourist by the name of Lycklama a Nijeholt likewise noted that the Armenians of Musa Dagh “occupy themselves in the rearing of silkworms, because nearly the entire countryside is planted with mulberry trees.”<sup>29</sup>

The cocoon was produced during the course of two months falling between April and June.<sup>30</sup> Commenting on the importance of this period in Bitias, an American Protestant missionary wrote: “As everyone in the village must work during the silk-worm season, the school year conforms to the village industry, and opening about the first of July, closes the first of April.”<sup>31</sup> The rearing of the silk moth caterpillar or silkworm took place either in a special cottage called *keokh*, usually located in outlying farms, or an anteroom known as *madkhan*. Their interior walls were cleaned and whitewashed with *khavura* (limestone) for disinfection, windows were covered with linen or fine net to keep harmful insects at bay, and sulfur was burned in one corner to keep parasites and mice away.<sup>32</sup> As soon as mulberry leaves sprouted in late March or early April, the silkworm eggs were placed in the designated room at a certain temperature to be “awakened.” After a few days the eggs hatched very tiny *jijas* (worms) which climbed on the leaves placed above them. The leaves were then transferred into containers called *kor* or *chershefe*. The *kor* was made of dried cow manure whose odor kept harmful insects at a distance, whereas the *chershefe*, a wooden tray covered with linen at the base, was used mainly by the more advanced cultivators.<sup>33</sup> In either case, the caterpillars were fed fresh, shredded mulberry leaves for several weeks as they underwent four molting stages known as *maghsem* (infant), *kuyruk* (tail), *nakesh* (decor), and *kasel* (stretched or muscular).<sup>34</sup>

During the last phase of growth the caterpillars were carried over onto *bateurs* (woven bamboo mat trays) especially made to hold *avils* (brushwood brooms). The *bateurs*, in turn, were placed on *semitis*, that is, five- to six-storey high scaffolds made of beam-like timber called *arutu*. Once in place, the mature caterpillars spun their *sherneke* (cocoon) on the *avils*. Collectively known as *kertak*, the slower worms that stayed behind in the *messeur* (space between brooms) were gathered and given special care until they, too, spun their cocoons. The cocoons were then picked to be sold as such, for breeding new eggs, or for silk extraction.<sup>35</sup> In the first instance, Antioch merchants who had warehouses and/or spinning factories in Suedia and nearby Zeytuniye went to Musa Dagh, weighed the cocoons, and with the help of local muleteers transported them to their stores. Most of those merchants were Greek Orthodox Christians, among them Jabra Khuri, Mitri Khuri, Zaki Sukyas, and a certain Antonios.<sup>36</sup>

According to the Trade Report of the British Vice-Consulate of Antioch and Svedia, dated April 10, 1900, "it has been estimated that 120 tons of dry cocoons were exported from Swedia to Marseilles during the past year, value £40,000, while the export for the previous year was estimated at 100 tons, value £35,000. The quantity of raw silk sent to Aleppo from Antioch was estimated at 20 tons valued at £22,000."<sup>37</sup> Although comparable figures are lacking regarding the amount of cocoons produced in Musa Dagh, estimates provided for 1911 demonstrate its importance in the region's sericulture output. The Bitias inhabitants obtained 40-45 *kashes* (lift/pull) of cocoons or 51-58 kilograms (112-128 pounds) from 28.35 grams (1 ounce) of eggs, for a total of 20,000 *kashes* (25.64 metric tons).<sup>38</sup> Musa Dagh, as a whole, yielded 80,000 *okes* (102 tons) of cocoons.<sup>39</sup> Two conclusions can be drawn from these givens: first, that Bitias generated at least 25 percent of all cocoons produced in Musa Dagh,<sup>40</sup> and second, that cocoons cultivated in Musa Dagh constituted a high percentage of the annual exports from the Antioch-Svedia district.

The peasants kept their best cocoons for future egg supplies. A few weeks after cocooning themselves in, the caterpillars pierced their shells and emerged as butterflies. The females were then separated and inserted into tiny bags strung like a necklace called *khamiuts*, where they laid their eggs and died. The dried butterflies were wetted one by one, crushed in *havuns* (mortars), and put between *lamers* (slides) for microscopic inspection. Infected butterfly eggs were discarded, and the healthy ones were washed, dried, and kept in round carton boxes the size of a "The Laughing Cow" cheese box.<sup>41</sup> Local licensed specialists sealed and signed the boxes earmarked for exportation to authenticate the high quality of their merchandise.<sup>42</sup>

Because the cultivation of eggs required meticulous work and extra manpower, even little children were employed for a small remuneration.<sup>43</sup> Girls, in particular, seem to have demonstrated exceptional skills on the microscope. When in 1907 the Public Debt Administration organized a nationwide sericulture contest, most prizes in Aleppo province reportedly went to participants from Bitias,<sup>44</sup> among them at least two females. One of them, Meren Filian Ikarian, received a monetary gift, a microscope, and an official permit for egg inspection,<sup>45</sup> and the other, a ten-year-old girl by the name of Marta Gevorg Sherpetjian (known as Azizints Matushe), was awarded a medal.<sup>46</sup>

The number of cocoons obtained from one *quto* (box) of eggs enabled an average family to lead a frugal existence. Households with a four-box output, on the other hand, were considered well-to-do.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, a few individuals reaped exceptional harvests. A case in point was Gevorg Paljian, the richest man in Kabusiye, just one of whose mulberry plantations "fed" twenty-two boxes, securing him 100 Ottoman liras annually.<sup>48</sup> Be that as it may, as shall be seen below, up until the last years of the 1900s the Armenians of Musa Dagh were compelled to purchase most of their egg supplies from usurers.

For some of the poorer villagers, who worked as mere laborers, the sericulture season and with it the entire year's income came to an end upon the acquisition of cocoons and eggs. Consequently, with no supplementary income to make ends meet, many a peasant faced serious hardships. As a visitor reported, the yearly

income of a certain Ibrahim of Chevlik near Kabusiye “amounted to no more than 400 piastres, under £2 English money. From this he proposed to save enough to bribe the Turkish officials at the port that they might wink at his escape in an open boat to Cyprus: for, said he, ‘there is no industry here but the silkworms, and they give me work for two months in the year, and for the other ten I have nothing to do and no way of earning money’.”<sup>49</sup> Be that as it may, more enterprising compatriots continued to occupy themselves throughout the year in other sericulture activities such as spinning, weaving, and selling silk manufactures. The *hallals* (spinners) extracted the thin fiber from the cocoon by way of a wooden turbine called *dulub* (wheel). The cocoons were placed in *liughs* (troughs) filled with water and heated until the filaments came undone. The spinners then pulled the silk threads gently, attached them to the *dulub*’s four spindles, and spun.<sup>50</sup> The period immediately following the acquisition of *birisem* (raw silk) was called *bazidulub*, literally meaning, after the wheel and signifying the season’s end. People now dismantled their shelves, put away the trays and tools, and cleaned and whitewashed (again) their workplaces. Significantly, most shopping, baptisms, engagements, and weddings took place “after the wheel” as people got cash in hand.<sup>51</sup> Not all silk-related ventures came to a standstill “after the wheel,” however. During the latter part of summer and in fall and winter quite a few villagers, particularly in Bitias, Haji Habibli, and Yoghunoluk, worked in a special corner of their house called *hiur* (well) to weave textiles on *tazgeahs* (looms).<sup>52</sup> Numbering between seventy and eighty in Haji Habibli, and between thirty and forty in Bitias, on the eve of World War I those machines produced a variety of white and colorful articles such as handkerchiefs, towels, “Tosya” and “Tripoli” belts, headgears, shawls, linen, bed covers, draperies, neckties, men’s suits and women’s dresses.<sup>53</sup> “Famous for the[ir] superior quality and beauty,”<sup>54</sup> these necessities were sold in neighboring Turkmen villages, Antioch, the plain around Lake Amuk, Alexandretta, Aleppo, Aintab, other parts of Syria and Cilicia, and Egypt.<sup>55</sup>

Although the majority of local sericulture experts was self-made, some attended technical school to acquire the most advanced scientific knowledge of the time - the Louis Pasteur method that utilized microscopes. One such renowned establishment was the Sericulture Institute of Bursa, modeled after that of Montpellier, France. From its inception in 1888 by the Ottoman Public Debt Administration until 1914, the Institute graduated 1251 experts under the direction of an Armenian, Professor Gevorg Torgomian, himself a student of Pasteur.<sup>56</sup> During his inspection tours across the silk-producing regions of the Ottoman Empire, Torgomian, accompanied by a Turkish assistant named Nuri, visited Musa Dagh as well, and in the process recruited local youths - usually from among relatively well-to-do families who could afford tuition and other expenses - to study at Bursa.<sup>57</sup> The program entailed up to three years of course work covering “the agricultural, biological and technical aspects of the production of silk and raising of silkworms.”<sup>58</sup> To be able to graduate and obtain a license, the students wrote a thesis and took an exam.<sup>59</sup> The Bursa diplomates hailing from Musa Dagh included Movses Chaparian, Ruben Filian, Yeprem Frankian, Armenak Gayegjian (Biderji Armenak), Abraham Renjilian, and Sargis Renjilian, all from Bitias, and the brothers Iskenter and George Iskenterian from Haji Habibli.<sup>60</sup> These license

holders played an instrumental role in upgrading the quality of local eggs after returning home.

Whether school-educated or self-made, many sericulture experts and helpers from Musa Dagh also supervised the silk *chifliks* (farms) of rich proprietors in the general district. The territory between Antioch and Svedia, consisting of mulberry plantations in the main, belonged to Turkish, Greek Orthodox, European, and some Armenian landlords. Among the Turkish notables of Antioch, Bereket Zade Rifaat Agha possessed a large farm in the village of Kurt Deresi adjacent to Vakef. Abdul Ghani Zade Husni Agha and Koseri Zade Reshid Agha owned groves along the banks of the two Karachay (Black Stream) rivulets adjoining Musa Dagh. The Greek Orthodox Hanna Meren and Hanna Ibrahim had substantial real estate at Magharajik, as did the Lakkani family near the monastery of St. Simeon the Stylite. Among the Europeans mention is made of a certain Italian captain by the name of (Domenico di?)<sup>61</sup> Lupi, owner of a significant plantation located above the spring at Magharajik. The Armenian Martiros Misakian, the vice-consul of Germany in Antioch, reaped harvests from two parcels of land in the area of the Seleucid ruins, as did Kerovbe Aslanian of Constantinople, the maternal uncle of the Armenian satirist Yervand Otian, from his possessions within the peripheries of the Alawite villages of Mishraqiye and Mughayrun.<sup>62</sup> The scope of Aslanian's silk business in the early 1920s may be indicative of his pre-World War I dealings as well. His farms yielded fifty-five boxes of silkworm eggs (with the potential of producing another ten boxes), each grove feeding one box valued at 50 Ottoman gold liras, for a total of more than 3000 liras. The cultivation of eggs took place in seventeen farm houses and one silkworm factory, all inhabited and/or run by Alawite *marabus* (sharecroppers).<sup>63</sup> Aslanian and the other proprietors hired Armenian experts from Musa Dagh to teach their Alawite tenant farmers. One such silk master, Sargis Sherpetjian of Bitias, oversaw all phases of the silk production in two villages belonging to a certain Sabit Efendi.<sup>64</sup> According to some estimates, commuters or seasonal migrants like Sherpetjian numbered 500-600 persons or 8-10 percent of the entire population of Musa Dagh.<sup>65</sup>

Despite the advanced state of sericulture in Musa Dagh, two factors dealt a heavy blow to the local industry and chances of heftier financial gains: nature's wrath and usurer manipulations. In the first case, locusts, and especially severe winters, frequently destroyed the mulberry leaf crops. During the period between 1864 and 1901, for instance, at least nine seasons (24 percent) are known to have proved catastrophic. More specifically, Haji Habibli reeled under depression thanks to four consecutive failed crops during 1864-1867, and the other villages in 1872, 1878, 1897, 1899, and 1901.<sup>66</sup> Fortunately for Bitias, "it is... pleasant to record that their crop of 1902 has been a very good crop. The violent fluctuations of the weather have given so much reason for fear that severe hail would ensue and ruin their crop, that it is a great relief to learn that such is not the case, that on the contrary they have had a fine crop for 1902."<sup>67</sup> But this particular village, it seems, after years of suffering, had learned how to circumvent disaster. An American missionary report for the year ending June 30, 1903 explained: "Bitias is the only place in or around Antioch this year, which has a reasonably good crop of silk. The people of Bitias have so much energy and have studied every phase of

the silk industry so faithfully that they have repeatedly snatched victory out of defeat, or rather succeeded in getting a good crop under very adverse circumstances, where others have simply given up and lost their crop.”<sup>68</sup>

The nature of loan transactions constituted the second detriment to silk profits. Poverty compelled many villagers to borrow money from rich merchants at high interest rates, usually 20-30 percent. What was more, sometimes lenders demanded that they be repaid within five or six months, thus in reality charging double interest for the year. Additionally, the peasants were forced to sell their cocoons below market value to the same usurers, at the same time being urged to replenish the following year's egg supplies with the expensive European brands sold by the merchant-usurers themselves.<sup>69</sup> Exceptionally, in the mid-1890s Capuchin friars posted at the Kheder Beg Catholic mission made an effort to obtain 30 ounces of eggs for their Armenian constituents directly from a certain Luigi dell'Oro Giosue, the proprietor of a silk establishment in Milan, Italy.<sup>70</sup> But speaking of the overall prevalent vicious cycle, British Consul H.Z. Longworth of Aleppo wrote: “Rarely is he [the farmer] out of the hands of the usurer; each tries to defraud the other, and life is spent in wranglings. The money-lender invariably ends by recouping himself amply, and yet the villager shuns the Agricultural Bank. He instinctively prefers to obtain a loan at even more than 30 per cent interest than borrow from the Government. Shrewdness in this may guide him, for he thus avoids in default of payment the certain risk of losing his land.”<sup>71</sup> The situation in Musa Dagh attained tragic proportions in the wake of the 1909 massacres. Moved by what she witnessed in Bitias, an American missionary reported: “The people in this village are silk raisers and prepare eggs for sale and do their work on borrowed capital. The eggs all went for they had been given to be paid for when silk was sold and given in Adana and Alexandretta, so of course they have got nothing and will not be able to get anything, but at the same time they are being put to the utmost for their old debts and are not able to borrow capital to begin again. I was up there...and I came home heart sick. Poor people! Hungry, naked and discouraged.”<sup>72</sup>

This chronic economic malaise notwithstanding, some encouraging signs in the final years before World War I existed. One such welcome change involved the appointment, in 1909, of an Armenian from Constantinople by the name of Onnik Tospat as Director of Silk Control of Aleppo province. Significantly, Tospat established his headquarters not in the provincial capital but in Antioch, whence he introduced new regulations to improve the quality of the local silkworm eggs and related industries. Tospat's programs thus benefited the indigenous growers considerably.<sup>73</sup> But his efforts would not have produced good results had it not been for the expert contribution of the Armenian graduates of Bursa. For, by 1911 the people of Musa Dagh had begun to purchase as much as one-third of their annual egg needs from the much-improved local brands rather than entirely from the more expensive European kinds.<sup>74</sup> There was even talk of establishing a modern silk factory in Musa Dagh that would have the following salutary effects: it would lend money at lower interest rates; sell eggs more cheaply; purchase the cocoons at their true value; and provide employment for widows, girls, and other workers. By some calculations, this mill, even if it only produced raw cocoons,

would enable the natives to cash an astonishing \$1,500,000 annually.<sup>75</sup> But the project, conceived in distant Fresno, California, for some reason did not materialize.

#### FARMING AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

As a rule, land tenure was characterized by private ownership. With the exception of religious foundations and other public domains like forests, most holdings belonged to individuals. The overwhelming majority owned private houses. Each dwelling had a small yard planted with fruit trees, usually mulberry or fig, and/or with vegetables including green bean, eggplant, squash, cauliflower, lettuce, pepper, radish, spinach, parsley, and mint.<sup>76</sup> The bulk of the population also possessed other real estate. Agricultural properties were divided into two categories: the *bakhchas* or orchards, which fell under the rubric of *chereverk*, that is, near waters and irrigable, and the *khupors* (or *tarlas*), which constituted the cereal fields needing little or no water, hence their characterization as *dashtya* (waterless).<sup>77</sup> The *bakhchas* constituted approximately 90 percent of cultivable land. An average *bakhcha* in Bitias consisted of ten to twelve terraces called *mantul* or *saki*, each measuring about 30 meters by 4 meters (98 feet by 13 feet), for a total area varying between 1200 and 1440 square meters.<sup>78</sup> Naturally, the value of groves depended on size, but location might have played an even greater role in assessing real estate. In the early 1890s, for example, two *bakhchas* and one *tarla* of equal size each belonging to the Sargis Nashalian family of Yoghun Oluk were valued at 50 liras, 225 liras, and 375 liras, respectively.<sup>79</sup>

Musa Dagh produced various kinds of fruit for local consumption and exportation. Both categories included apples, peaches, pears, apricots, prunes, loquats, and pomegranates, as well as oranges, mandarins, lemons, figs, grapes, and olives.<sup>80</sup> Whereas the cultivation of especially citrus fruits for sale became widespread after World War I, figs, grapes, and olives were in great demand also before 1915. There were sixteen kinds of figs, all available during one season or another.<sup>81</sup> They were consumed fresh, dried or in distilled form. Figs were utilized in an alcoholic beverage called *oghi*,<sup>82</sup> comparable to the Arabic *araq*, Greek *ozou*, or Turkish *raki*. According to one observer, “figs grow very plenty in this Moosa Dagh and to distill arrack from them is an art that everybody knows, hence the supply of spirits is generous although the people as a whole are very poor.”<sup>83</sup> This abundance of drinks had had a negative effect on society. “There are many [including priests] who spend their earnings on *oghi* before anything else,” regretted one reporter, adding that such indulgence led to frequent bloodshed.<sup>84</sup> Grapes, some ten kinds, were served on the table, sold, dried as raisins, distilled as vinegar and *oghi*, and/or transformed into molasses called *errop* (*pekmez*).<sup>85</sup> Olives were eaten as such, pressed into oil, used to make soap, or their seeds were burned as fuel. Since meat and poultry were eaten on holidays and special occasions only, olive oil constituted the main dietary fat in cooking.<sup>86</sup>

Because of its steep and limited terrain, Musa Dagh was not suited for the farming of cereals. In addition, locusts and/or persistent fog blanketing the higher elevations often destroyed the wheat, oat, barley, corn, millet, and potato crops.<sup>87</sup> For these reasons hardly 100 families or 10 percent of the total population engaged

themselves in the cultivation of cereals and/or were able to procure their provisions from local yields.<sup>88</sup> This meant 90 per cent dependence on outside markets, mainly that of Antioch, something which proved very costly not only financially but also during political crises/blockades.<sup>89</sup> Notwithstanding, people took good care of their lots. So much so, that an impressed visiting American missionary had this to say: "If some of our American farmers with their broad acres of wheat could only see the tiny patches of land - like a handkerchief on the mountain-side - which are the wheatfields in the region. It was a marvel to me to see the cultivated 'land-kerchiefs,' reaching to the very mountain tops, with terrace after terrace to keep them from disappearing into the valley."<sup>90</sup>

The method of cultivation was very rudimentary. As British consul T.S. Jago commented on farming in Aleppo province in 1890, "agriculture is conducted in the primitive manner of past ages, and no serious attempt is made to encourage... or to introduce a better system. The agricultural classes remain, as ever, the poorest in the land."<sup>91</sup> Seventeen years later conditions had remained the same, as observed by yet another British consul, H.Z. Longworth: "Cultivation is still carried out in the simple primitive manner of the patriarchal ages. No modern machinery has yet been introduced and in this the Aleppo Vilayet [province] is behind that of Adana. All is done by the labor of man and beast with implements of the rudest make and kind. The soil is tilled into shallow furrows with light wooden ploughs, the seed is scattered on the ground broadcast, while the harvest is reaped with sickles, threshed by sledges, and winnowed with forks. The waste is great."<sup>92</sup>

Another occupation related to agriculture involved the extraction of licorice roots. Laborers from Musa Dagh each winter descended to the plain of Amuk to work for the American Tobacco Trust which, conjointly with the Smyrna-headquartered British MacAndrew and Forbes firm, had virtually monopolized the venture since 1902.<sup>93</sup> Some peasants uprooted that plant in Musa Dagh itself, carrying their loads to a designated gathering spot on the coast, where local middlemen like Martir Chaparian of Bitias, armed with exclusive rights, sold them to the above company and made hefty profits.<sup>94</sup> In 1900, the overall export of licorice root from the district of Antioch amounted to 2500 tons valued at £10,000.<sup>95</sup> A similar activity, albeit of a much lesser scale, involved the picking of sumac leaves at a place eponymously called Summaqen near Yoghunoluk; the tanneries of Antioch utilized them for dyeing leather.<sup>96</sup> And from the olive-like laurel berry, which grew plentifully in Musa Dagh, the Armenians distilled and sold *kasletzit* (laurel/bay oil) to the soap manufacturers of Antioch.<sup>97</sup>

Animal husbandry was not developed commensurate with the opportunities that Musa Dagh afforded. According to one survey, the grazing pastures could accommodate forty-five to fifty flocks consisting of 250-300 heads each or a total of 12,000-15,000 animals.<sup>98</sup> But the number of livestock actually raised fell far short of capacity. For instance, in the early 1900s they numbered about 700 goats, sheep, and cows,<sup>99</sup> and in the summer of 1915 over 2000 goats, sheep, cows, oxen, horses, and mules.<sup>100</sup> Young boys in the family herded the cattle or several households from the same neighborhood entrusted their herds to a single person in return for a token remuneration in kind or in cash.<sup>101</sup> In one known instance, a

wealthy Armenian from Haji Habibli provided capital to a Turkmen from Seldiren village in adjoining Kizil Dagh to purchase and look after 100 goats for a shared profit.<sup>102</sup> Western travelers observed flocks in or near Musa Dagh. In the mid-1830s, a sojourner at Bitias reported that “the shepherd and his flock were yet on his pasture, where they often, in this climate [?], remain all night.”<sup>103</sup> A decade later, an American missionary found the trail connecting Seleucia Pieria to Musa Dagh along an ancient tunnel “crowded with cattle, sheep and goats, reposing, during the [hot] day, beneath the cool vault.”<sup>104</sup> At the turn of the century, a female itinerant spotted “flocks of goats that Armenian shepherd boys [from Kabusiye] herded morning and evening along the margin of the sea.”<sup>105</sup>

As a rule, cows, goats, and sheep were kept for milk rather than meat, which was consumed primarily on special occasions. Milking took place twice daily during the three months from April through June - apparently the most abundant season. But in order to secure a regular supply of milk, as many as ten families from the same neighborhood often cooperated by submitting their daily products to a “milk collector,” who weighed and redistributed the milk evenly (or proportionately) among the participants.<sup>106</sup> Milk, as such, was not the only dairy product consumed; several derivatives were prepared from it. Besides butter and ordinary yogurt, one such byproduct was *ipudzmadzeon* (cooked yogurt), a prime item served in lieu of cheese or used as an important ingredient in other foods. Another outgrowth of milk was *chukalik* or *surki*, the rough equivalent of molded, spicy farmer cheese. It was eaten as such or used in baking *panterum huts* (cheese bread), Musa Dagh’s version of vegetarian pizza. Cooked yoghurt was also mixed with crushed wheat and dried for the preparation of *terkhaneshurpo* (a soup).<sup>107</sup> Domestic animals satisfied other needs, too. Each village had several muleteers who commuted daily (except Sundays) between Musa Dagh and Antioch to purchase special orders and cereals or to carry occasional passengers.<sup>108</sup> A European traveler likewise observed numerous donkey caravans conducted by Turks, Nusayris (Alawites), and Armenians trekking the Antioch-Svedia route.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, oxen were used for threshing and turning millstones.<sup>110</sup> Other animals, such as goats and sheep, were sacrificed on national-religious holidays. On Holy Cross Sunday in mid-September 1899, for example, celebrants in Yoghunoluk alone butchered thirty-one animals, excluding poultry.<sup>111</sup>

Extreme weather fluctuations caused much harm to animal husbandry and farming in general. An August 1878 American missionary report spoke of the “loss of animals from the severity of last winter...”<sup>112</sup> In a single day in March 1898 as many as seventy goats froze to death in Yoghunoluk and vicinity.<sup>113</sup> A year later, on May 5, 1899, a severe hailstorm, lasting less than one-half hour, destroyed 75 percent of the cereals, fruits, and vegetables of Yoghunoluk, Haji Habibli, and Bitias. Fortunately, humans, animals, and buildings were not harmed.<sup>114</sup> In February 1911 an unprecedented snowstorm, exacerbated by gusty winds, ripped through the mountain for a month-and-a-half. Snow piles 2-3 meters high prevented many who worked outside the villages, from returning home, and some children remained unaccounted for. The damage to vegetation and animals was extensive. An estimated 3000-3500 Ottoman liras worth of oranges, laurel seeds, loquats, and potato buds were lost, the most crippling blow being felt in the

citrus orchards of Kheder Beg and Vakef. Moreover, 25 percent of the livestock died, and another 50 percent was injured and rendered useless. The soaring price of fuel exacerbated the resultant hunger. A similar situation prevailed in Antioch, where eight children froze to death and some fifty shops were totally ruined.<sup>115</sup> According to another report, that city “was cut off and all business paralysed [sic].” As a result, “no fuel, no food came into the town. People burned their tables, chairs, and wooden floors as firewood, or stayed in bed to keep warm. Many died from cold and privation. Wolves and hyenas came down from the mountains, and eagles and other hungry birds were seen in the [Presbyterian] mission garden.”<sup>116</sup>

The *barinak* or *aghalar* constituted another impediment to a healthier socio-economic life. The term *barin/bariun*, an honorific appellation derived from the medieval-feudal title of baron, was bestowed upon those few who were wealthy by local standards and influential.<sup>117</sup> Thanks to their riches and attendant prestige, some of the *barinak* occupied certain positions in the district government. For instance, Gevorg Paljian of Kabusiye held a seat on the five-member Administrative Council of Svedia sub-district during the 1900s, as did Abraham Shemmasian of Yoghunoluk and Melkon Guyumjian of Kheder Beg.<sup>118</sup> But fortunes could not be amassed nor high rank achieved without the backing of powerful men in Antioch. Hence, there existed between the Turkish notables of Antioch on the one hand and the *barinak* of Musa Dagh on the other a patron-client relationship which proved disastrous for the Armenian peasantry as a whole.<sup>119</sup> In order for the *barinak* to appease their patrons, they raised bribes through usurpation. One category of victims included the *marabus*, a small minority of sharecroppers who managed their landlords’ estates, and some of the *kirajas* (tenant-muleteers).<sup>120</sup> Others were manipulated indirectly or according to circumstance. Hovagim and Sima Maghzanian of Bitias were a case in point. As one of their descendants relates:

Hovagim was the first ancestor to be called ‘Maghzanian’ officially. It derived from his nickname - owner of Maghaza... - based on his wealth, especially in Chaghlaghan [near Bitias] where he had orchards, forest lands and a flour mill where neighboring Tat [Alawaite] villagers used to bring their wheat & corn to be ground. He died young leaving behind his widow, Sima, and five young children... When the village aghalar tried to confiscate the property claiming that the dead husband owed them a huge debt, which of course was a big fat lie, instead of caving in to their demands, she kept the property intact and gradually paid them off.<sup>121</sup>

The Antioch notables, on the other hand, in their eternal rivalries pitted one *barin* against the other, who, in turn, polarized society or inflamed existing feuds. Reports from 1858 on make ample reference to “disputes and alienations,”<sup>122</sup> “families at variance,”<sup>123</sup> “quarrel[s] of long standing,”<sup>124</sup> and “seriously afflicted” communities.<sup>125</sup> In the mid-1890s, a visiting Armenian revolutionary leader by the name of Aghasi observed that the villages of Musa Dagh were divided into antagonistic camps, each wreaking havoc under the protective wings of leading Turkish personalities from Antioch. In Kabusiye, the line of scrimmage was drawn between the Paljians and Yusuf Agha, on the one hand, and the Karikians, on the

other; in Kheder Beg, between the Izmirlians, Taslakians, and Shishmanians, on the one hand, and Panos Kehya, on the other; in Yoghunoluk, between the Ter Petrosians and the Gazanjians, on the one hand, and Gabriel (Jabra/Jemil) Shemmasian, on the other; and in Haji Habibli, between Martir Iskenterian and Gevorg Vertanesian.<sup>126</sup> Slanders, accusations, counter-accusations, and false testimonies sent many of the protagonists or their cohorts to prison, thereby leaving the arena in their absence open for adversaries to abuse the villagers.<sup>127</sup> Reported the missionary John Merrill in 1907:

At Yoghunoluk the situation is very bad. The two most prominent men in the Protestant church are leaders in a feud which has taken the chief contestant on one side to prison and summoned to the government thirteen men whose names he gave, and which resulted in daily fear and in deeds of violence when we were there in May. The preacher's life was threatened in case he told the truth about a certain matter, when he was questioned by the government. Of course this feud has interfered with all religious work. Mr. [C.S.] Sanders tried to settle it before his death, the Beytias [sic] pastor has tried to assist, and Mr. Merrill gave a little time in May, but nothing has been of much avail.<sup>128</sup>

#### ARTISANSHIP AND TRADES

Artisanship was by and large neglected, except for comb and spoon making. Most combs were manufactured in Yoghunoluk, where, according to various estimates, from one-third to the overwhelming majority of the population was engaged in it.<sup>129</sup> "Even very little fellows can make money by doing certain parts of the manufacture of...combs,"<sup>130</sup> and hence "the people want to put their boys into the comb trade when they are about ten years old, and are not willing to make the sacrifice necessary for allowing them to go to school."<sup>131</sup> Combs were made of wood, the best kinds being *katlapa* (arbute) and *tosakh* (boxwood); bone, especially from camel legs; bull horn; and ivory, which was the least manufactured yet the finest and most expensive.<sup>132</sup> In 1898, a bunch of 100 wooden combs sold for 7-8 piasters, and a bunch of 100 bone combs sold for 50-60 piasters.<sup>133</sup> In the early twentieth century the annual output was estimated at 1,000,000-1,500,000 combs, mostly exported to Egypt and some to Aleppo, Hama, Damascus, Beirut, and elsewhere.<sup>134</sup> By the end of the first quarter of 1903, for example, 300,000 combs had already been shipped to Egypt, where new merchants were being sought to expand the market.<sup>135</sup> And in 1910, an American missionary staying at a house in Yoghunoluk observed that "the floor of the large room was covered at one end with combs, wooden ones, ready to be packed in bunches of ten, and shipped to Egypt and elsewhere. Those put up for the Arabs were gaily painted."<sup>136</sup>

A related trade involved spoon making, primarily in Yoghunoluk, Haji Habibli, and Bitias. The villagers prepared their own spoons, ladles, and forks. Mass production also satisfied the demand for utensils in the region.<sup>137</sup> The spoon makers engaged in wood cutting and charcoal making during the summer months. Both wood and charcoal were used locally as well as exported to Antioch, Beirut, Haifa, and other destinations.<sup>138</sup> Another skilled profession dealing with wood and stone was masonry. Construction workers in Haji Habibli excelled in that profession. Most workers, however, constrained by limited opportunities, migrated

to the larger cities of north Syria and Cilicia, visiting their families a few times during the year.<sup>139</sup>

A small number of goldsmiths, ironsmiths, tinkers, pewterers, and gunsmiths, as well as cobblers, tailors, and barbers exhausted the catalog of artisans and traders.<sup>140</sup> A few itinerant peddlers roamed the streets to sell sundries alongside modest grocery-novelty items in some of the villages. Bitias had three shops, owned by Martir Chaparian & Sons in the neighborhood of Qaberlek (sold edibles such as sugar, coffee, and a sweet called *helva*); by Hetum Filian in the same quarter; and by Haji Ashkar Chempetian in the Sherpetjian neighborhood. In Haji Habibli, there were two stores, those of Martir Iskenterian & Sons and Panos Feslian. Kheder Beg, too, possessed two shops, one run by Rezqalla Guyumjian (better known as Melkunenk) and the other by Yesayi Abrahamian (nicknamed Sallan). And there existed in Yoghunoluk at least three stores, operated by Poghos Shemmasian (sold chintz, embroidery hoops, and other sewing materials), Petros Herkelian, and the Serekhians.<sup>141</sup> In fact, Yoghunoluk was the only village in Musa Dagh which had an actual marketplace, called *Charshen*. Situated on the main thoroughfare below the Apostolic church, not only did this center accommodate stores and workshops, but it also served as a public square where people gathered to exchange news, gossip, and chitchat, and where transient wrestlers, dervishes, story tellers, gypsies, and magicians demonstrated their skills.<sup>142</sup> Lastly, among the professionals only the Bursa-trained sericulture experts rendered their services in Musa Dagh (and the general vicinity). Attorneys Sargis Sherpetjian of Bitias and his son, Armenak, practiced law in Alexandretta and Antioch, respectively, whereas some members of the Gayegjian clan, also from Bitias, worked as medical doctors in Svedia, Tarsus, Antioch, Kilis, and Kirik Khan.<sup>143</sup>

#### TAXATION

The Armenians of Musa Dagh and elsewhere in the region paid several kinds of legal taxes. These included the *ashar* (tithe); the *temettu* on business profits (1-3 percent); the *turabya* or *emlakrusumu* on property (1 percent of value); the *aghamparasi* on livestock (10 piasters per head); the *ariparasi* on bees; the *yolparasi* or *tarikbedelnakdisi* on roads collected from adult males (14 mejidiyes or 5 piasters per person); the *bedeliaskeri* on adult males for exemption from military service (2 mejidiyes or 40 piasters per person per year); and the *duyunuumumiye* or public debts on such items as silk, tobacco, spirits, gun powder, and salt mines (where and if applicable).<sup>144</sup> In addition to these revenues, there was “illegal collection of taxes,”<sup>145</sup> including the *dish kirasi* (tooth rent), that is, the collector’s personal share.<sup>146</sup>

Unfortunately, there are no known figures as to the total amount of revenues going from Musa Dagh to the state’s coffers annually. Even so, that the above levies were heavy and the methods of collection harsh were almost unanimously agreed on. An 1872 American missionary report stated that, among other factors, “the heavy taxes of the government... present great obstacles in the way of a Christian life.”<sup>147</sup> Similarly, “how can they [the Armenians] bear the entire expense [of education] in these hard times of heavy taxation in all parts...?” asked

another evangelist in 1878,<sup>148</sup> for “just here came swooping down upon them the tax-gatherers, and to pay these demands they were obliged to leave [Bitias], and go somewhere to earn money.”<sup>149</sup> The evidence suggests that the government at times, if not often, resorted to perfidious methods to accomplish its goals. During the Hnchakian revolutionary episode in the 1890s, for instance, “the Auth[orities]... are reported to demand heavy arrears of taxes from [the Armenian] villagers presumably as a pretext for precipitating matters violently.”<sup>150</sup> Only Henry D. Barnham, the British consul at Aleppo, begged to differ as he wrote in 1895: “It can not be denied that in the matter of taxes they [the Armenians of Musa Dagh] have been treated mildly and in the collection of taxes have suffered less than their non-Christian neighbours.”<sup>151</sup> It is true that by February 1897 “the Sultan has granted a delay of two years for the collection of arrears of Vergu and Soldier tax in the case of Armenians in places where massacres have occurred” and that “this favor will be greatly appreciated in the vilayet of Aleppo, where the Armenians have suffered so severely.”<sup>152</sup> Still, as British vice-consul David Douek (Dowek) of Antioch and Svedia reported three years later, “the extreme oppression practiced in taxation has reduced [all] the people to very trying and straitened circumstances, so that it is only by employing military force that the taxes can any longer be collected.”<sup>153</sup>

Despite the worsening situation, the government continued to act arbitrarily and in an unbridled manner. In January 1900, with no specific reason cited, Turkish gendarmes harassed one Bairamian family, killed poultry, ate food, and unlawfully demanded 2 mejidiyes before leaving. When the Capuchin friars at Kheder Beg asked the French agent (vice-consul Albert Potton) at Antioch to intervene, the latter regretted that nothing could be done, exhorted patience, and reminded the supplicants that they ought to “be glad that they were not massacred, as it seems to be the intention of all good Turks.” Even if the French consul in Aleppo were to remonstrate at the provincial governorship, it would not make any difference.<sup>154</sup> Similarly, the tax collector, other officials, and gendarmes on August 1, 1900 arrived in Yoghunoluk to collect taxes from the three religious denominations (Apostolic, Catholic, and Protestant). On the following day, when the Latin (Catholic) mukhtar, Der Bedros Bedrossian (Petros Ter Petrosian), submitted 100 mejidiyes to the chief of gendarmerie, the latter refused to accept that amount, beat the mukhtar, and asked for more. This humiliation prompted the mukhtar to resign by relinquishing his seal, the gathered sum, and the tax book to the Capuchin friars, who in turn hid him. But he was discovered, incarcerated, and released only after acceding to an ultimatum, whereby he would raise the extra revenues newly imposed on his Catholic constituency within ten days.<sup>155</sup> At the same time, “a bad temper” prevailed in Bitias due to the vexations of a Turkish official and the collection of *vergi* (tribute).<sup>156</sup>

Even government business unrelated to taxation presented opportunities for usurpation. A case in point was Gabriel Kasangian (Gazanjan), a fugitive brigand sought by the authorities. In November 1900 about fifty regular troops and gendarmes, led by officers Hasan Efendi and Kiamil Efendi, respectively, went to Vakef, Kheder Beg, and Yoghunoluk, demanding that the mukhtars deliver the fugitive dead or alive. During their stay, which lasted several days, the government

forces fed themselves at the expense of the mukhtars and the general populace without compensation.<sup>157</sup> In January 1901, the troops returned to resume their search. As Kasangian succeeded in killing a certain Ohannes Sakaian, who had tried to assassinate him (Kasangian) to collect a 40-lira bounty, as well as in buying a Martini rifle with many bullets from certain Turkish guards seeking personal gains, the government troops asked the mukhtars and 100 Armenians to take part in the search in the general vicinity, with permission to carry their own guns. Because those arms were to be kept with Turkish soldiers at night, it was feared that the government's real intention was political rather than law enforcement, that is, to initiate the massacre of unarmed Armenians similar to the ones that had occurred at Urfa and elsewhere.<sup>158</sup> Although this did not materialize, some eleven innocent peasants from Kabusiye, Vakef, and Yoghunoluk were sent to jail in Antioch under the pretext of being Kasangian's accomplices in Sakaian's murder. But the actual purpose of their imprisonment was to extract money from them for their release; unfortunately, one even lost his life while behind bars. The whole episode came to an end on February 1, when Kasangian was killed at Ikiz Kopru near Bitias.<sup>159</sup>

Tax-related aggravations reaching the boiling point at times led to physical friction and even bloodshed. In late June 1901, having witnessed an altercation between the mukhtar of Haji Habibli and the tax collector, a peasant killed a soldier, fatally wounded another, and ran away. As before, government troops went from village to another to find the murderer, oppressing the innocent along the way.<sup>160</sup> Similarly, in October tax collectors, soldiers, and gendarmes "stormed" into Kheder Beg to settle arrears of seventeen years. Interrogations, arguments, confiscation of livestock, beatings, and imprisonment marked this "critical moment," which reflected "the Ottoman mercy after so many massacres and irreparable damages done to the Armenian Christians!"<sup>161</sup> Last but not least, writing to a colleague in the United States on April 18, 1902, the missionary C.S. Sanders intimated the following development that once again underscored the government's deceptive tactics:

I was at *Yoghoonolook* only a very short time, and most all that time they talked about their taxes.

They are however in great trouble [in Bitias] as well as *Yoghoonolook* over tax-matters. The government made a proclamation to the effect that if any of the non-registered Christians would voluntarily send in their names, the fines, (which are very heavy) would be remitted and the govt. would do no more than take its just taxes year by year. The Protestants of *Yoghoonolook* and Bitias were the only ones to accept the proposition, but the non-registered names once in hand the Government demands the fines also which are very heavy. Naturally they feel that they have been tricked. I did what I could for them and hope I succeeded in creating an influence for them... Naturally you will not publish anything about this note respecting the Government's duplicity. It would not greatly tend to facilitate my future operations in the Antioch field.<sup>162</sup>

It appears that two kinds of tax collectors visited Musa Dagh. The first, a government functionary called *katib* (secretary/scribe), went to the villages

accompanied by *zaptiyes* (gendarmes) and sometimes soldiers and lodged at the mukhtar's house until all revenues were gathered, counted, and handed over.<sup>163</sup> The *multezim* (tax farmer), on the other hand, literally bought that position by outbidding others in a state-run auction held each spring in Antioch and other district centers. Since implicit in the deal was his right to make a profit on the tithe, the *multezim* extorted payment from the populace without regard to its economic status and was hence dreaded and despised. As a rule, he did not show up in the fields but rather sent his *shahna* (deputy) to supervise the threshing floors. The villagers felt relieved only after the *shahna* left.<sup>164</sup> Sometimes, if not often, the Armenian *barinak* bought the right to tax farming from the Antioch notables and tyrannized their fellow peasants with arbitrary conduct.<sup>165</sup> Church and school trustees, too, acquired that right in order to raise funds for their institutions, although on occasion they failed to collect the tithe in a timely fashion.<sup>166</sup>

In his capacity as the official village headman, the *mukhtar* served as an intermediary between the tax collectors and the public, occasionally applying harsh measures in his zeal to fulfill assigned duties. Speaking of his uncle and namesake, (Rev.) Garabed Tilkian wrote: "Garabed...was the headman... of Bitias for several years. He was a tough ruler. Sometimes he collected the government taxes by intimidation. He even used 'falaka,' bastinado - a contraption which bound a person's feet together so that the soles might be caned."<sup>167</sup> In local parlance the *mukhtar* was also referred to as *kehya*, meaning, steward and/or officious meddler,<sup>168</sup> or as *kiuratiur*, perhaps derived from the word "curator" denoting caretaker or overseer.<sup>169</sup> The qualifications for mukhtarship rested not so much in material wealth, but rather in functional literacy, shrewdness, and the ability to accommodate the visiting tax collectors and the gendarmes. Most *barinak* shunned the office as unworthy of their stature, instead wielding influence to install their preferred or hand-picked candidates.<sup>170</sup> The *mukhtar* was elected for a one-year term with the possibility of reelection. When elections approached, parish priests notified adult males from church altars as to the time and place of voting. The district governor of Antioch would have to approve the *mukhtar's* election upon the receipt of a *mazbata* (report).<sup>171</sup> Also chosen with the headman was an advisory council of elders known as *heyetimukhtariye* or sometimes *onikiler* (the twelve), whose constituent members were called *aza*.<sup>172</sup> The *mukhtar* then appointed his deputy, secretary, and *havut*. Usually a humble peasant, the latter ran errands, entertained guests, served as messenger, and performed the duties of town-crier by going from one neighborhood to another to notify the populace of the tax collector's arrival and other important matters.<sup>173</sup> The *mukhtar*, in turn, provided quarters for the tax collector and his retinue, supervised the gathering of the levies, and delivered the accounts. Moreover, he and his council settled local disputes, referring the more serious cases to Antioch.<sup>174</sup>

As is customary with certain officeholders, sometimes the *mukhtars* abused their power. A case in point was Gabriel Shemmasian of Yoghunoluk. In 1899, after serving two consecutive terms, Shemmasian was ousted due to a scandal. His successor, Hakob Adamian, discovered a 70,000- piaster fraud. Part of this discrepancy was blamed on Shemmasian, who had issued fraudulent receipts, and

part on his accomplice, the *katib*. Even so, the village notables interceded on Shemmasian's behalf to save him from certain imprisonment. In return, he agreed to pay a relatively mild fine of 11,000 piasters. Once off the hook, however, he ignored the deal and instigated further trouble.<sup>175</sup> Because the crisis hurt the Apostolic community, the priest Armenak Tonatosian of Antioch tried to mediate, but failed. In early 1899 Shemmasian used force to collect rent from one of the church foundations, refused to pay tax to his successor, and instead urged his followers to elect a rival *mukhtar* - Khacher Guyumjian. It was feared that the dissident group, estimated at twenty-five families, might join a different denomination and further disrupt community life.<sup>176</sup>

#### MIGRATION

Rampant impoverishment, coupled with unsettling social-political factors, compelled many Musa Daghians to seek better living conditions elsewhere. The first known migratory wave took place during the 1860s, when a group of forty-five persons from Bitias relocated to Antioch.<sup>177</sup> One such settler, a certain Filian, became "a banker and merchant...Millions of dollars passed through his hands, and he was considered one of the wealthiest men in the city. A common saying was, 'If you can drain the Mediterranean dry, you can drain Filian's money dry'." But the inconceivable happened, as he ultimately "lost all his money through the failure of others, became hopelessly bankrupt, and was too old to regain his position, and sank into a poor and broken-hearted old man: his Mediterranean was not inexhaustible."<sup>178</sup> Other tiny Musa Daghian colonies took root in Alexandretta, Payas, Urfa, Aleppo, Ethiopia, and elsewhere.<sup>179</sup>

Interestingly, between 1909 and 1912 the Capuchin missionaries sent some twenty-four young girls from their Kheder Beg, Yoghunoluk, and Vakef congregations to Lebanon to work as domestics or helpers in Arab Christian and European families/businesses, and some to become nuns. The age of these girls in 1911 varied between eight and twenty, averaging 13.8, and in 1912 between eight and thirteen, averaging 10.8.<sup>180</sup> Only a few girls reportedly returned home before the outbreak of World War I in 1914, one escaped from the host family, and the fate of the majority remains unknown.<sup>181</sup> The following cases give an idea about the amount and method of payment that these girls received. Elmaz (Almast) earned from a certain Miss Douget 1.5 mejidiye per month during 1911-1912, and 2 mejidiyes per month from 1912 through February 1913, for a total of 56 mejidiyes (237.70 French francs).<sup>182</sup> Iranouhi (Yeranuhi), who worked for Ibrahim and Emilie Yared for thirty-one-and-a-half months, from October 24, 1911 till her departure on June 15, 1914, obtained 50 francs directly at leaving her job, while an additional 220 francs was deposited in her name at St. Anne (an unspecified religious institution).<sup>183</sup> And a man from Kheder Beg on August 21, 1914 asked that he be paid 25 liras ("livres") urgently against his sister Iscoui's (Iskuhi) services rendered to a certain Mr. Croizat, but Iscoui declined to comply with her brother's demand heeding her employer's counsel.<sup>184</sup>

Emigration to the Americas before the 1900s was very sporadic. It is true that even this tiny drop of "Armenian blood in America" was "distasteful" to a certain missionary; nevertheless, "I cannot *blame* them for going. There is no money, no

business, no liberty, no honesty, no law, no honor, no purity in this Turkish empire.”<sup>185</sup> The migration across the Atlantic increased sharply in the wake of the April 1909 massacres and the mandatory conscription of non-Muslims in the Ottoman army beginning in September. For many a poor young man, who could not afford the military exemption fee of 50 liras (\$220), the new decree became a nightmare.<sup>186</sup> Aside from financial considerations, the Christians were skeptical of their fair treatment in an army dominated by Muslim Turks, some of the very people who had participated in the recent butcheries. The British consul in Aleppo explained the situation:

The Christians dread service in Turkish regiments, where they will be scattered few among a great majority of Moslem troops. Were the formation of separate companies or battalions of Christians contemplated, the Christian aversion to military service would be far less marked, but at present that aversion amounts almost to loathing. A Turkish officer here has expressed to me his opinion that [the] scheme of obligatory service for the Christians is likely to prove a failure. It would seem premature, in view of the recent massacres in the Adana vilayet and in Antioch region, and the extreme fear under which the Christians of Aleppo, Marash, Aintab, Alexandretta, and other towns were labouring but a few months back to enforce, at the present time, Christian military service in these provinces. Were public security thoroughly established, and had sufficient time elapsed to efface, in some measure, the memory of those events, such service would doubtless appear less intolerable to the native Christians.<sup>187</sup>

But public trust was far from being reestablished, and hence a veritable exodus of Armenians in particular ensued. According to the government bureau issuing *tezkeres* (travel permits) in Aleppo, during the year preceding November 1909 as many as 5100 Armenians and 2250 Jews left the province for Europe and America, mostly never to return. Those figures did not include people who departed without regular passports.<sup>188</sup>

Although the exact number of emigrants from Musa Dagh cannot be determined, it is safe to assume that a few hundred went to the United States.<sup>189</sup> Relatives, friends, and neighbors customarily accompanied their loved ones well beyond the village boundaries, while mothers cursed Christopher Columbus for discovering America and stealing their offspring away.<sup>190</sup>

Exciting as it was, leaving home for a distant land proved a traumatic experience for many an emigrant. Interestingly, some used the pen to allay their inner torment, as was the case with the teenager Armenak Sherpetjian, who expressed his sentiments in a thirteen-verse poem covering the various legs of his eight-week journey (October 17-December 10, 1913) from Bitias to Antioch, Alexandretta, Tripoli, Beirut, Haifa, Port Said, Alexandria, Patras, and finally Ellis Island.<sup>191</sup> This route seems to be the general direction in which most Musa Daghians sailed, one such trip costing \$57.15 per passenger in late 1913.<sup>192</sup> A dozen or so youths from Yoghunoluk and Kheder Beg, who had emigrated to Argentina in 1911, relocated to the United States in 1916.<sup>193</sup> Naturally, the direction and duration of their journey differed, as the Inspection Card of a certain Missak Arahamian indicates: port of departure, Buenos Aires; name of ship,

*Vasari*; date of departure, July 27, 1916; date of arrival at Ellis Island, August 20, 1916 (the trip thus lasted three-and-a-half weeks).<sup>194</sup> The emigrants from Musa Dagh often traveled in groups for safety and support, but sometimes failed to reach their destination intact; in 1911, for example, half of a twenty-one member party was shipped back from Marseilles for having an eye disease called trachoma.<sup>195</sup>

A background check of thirty-two other Musa Dagh passengers arriving in New York between 1909 and 1913 reveals additional details. The newcomers were young, averaging twenty-two years of age. About two-thirds were male, single, and literate. Eleven were laborers, eight were farmers, six were housewives, two were servants, one was a seamstress, one was a shoemaker, two were children, and the occupation of one cannot be determined. Twenty-two immigrants intended to reside in Pennsylvania (thirteen in New Castle, eight in the Pittsburgh area, and one in Monessen); four in New York City; four in Union Hill, New Jersey; and one in each of Hartford, Connecticut, and Youngstown, Ohio.<sup>196</sup> Other arrivals settled in Erie and Williamsport, Pennsylvania; New Britain and South Manchester, Connecticut; Paterson, New Jersey; Fort Myers, Florida; and Fresno, California.<sup>197</sup> The immigrants carried little or no money. The majority worked in silk mills, such as that of the Cheney Brothers in South Manchester. Others ran small businesses including grocery stores, restaurants, and shoe repair shops.<sup>198</sup> One of the earliest settlers, Abraham Seklemian of Bitias, cofounded and edited (1908-1913) the *Asparez* (Arena) newspaper in Fresno; it continues to be published in Los Angeles, California, as the official mouthpiece of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation on the West Coast.<sup>199</sup> Despite the difficult socio-economic adjustments that the Musa Daghians had to make in the New World, at least some of them managed to send part of their meager earnings home to pay their travel debts, for various expenses incurred due to relatives looking after their affairs, and/or as outright monetary assistance. A case in point was Movses Egarian (Ikarian) of Bitias, who during the course of three years (February 1908-January 1911) sent his brothers Vanes and Hagop (Hakob) \$404.48 and \$74.00, respectively.<sup>200</sup> Once established, many immigrants sent for their spouses, children, fiancés, and other relatives and friends. Most would not see Musa Dagh again.

## ENDNOTES

---

<sup>1</sup> Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., *The Dictionary of National Biographies*, vol. I, London: Oxford University Press, 1921, p. 1, 124. For negotiations concerning the restoration of Barker's tomb in Bitias in 1935, see Great Britain, Public Record Office, Kew, Foreign Office (FO) 861: Embassy and Consular Archives, Turkey: Aleppo, General Correspondence (Outgoing and Incoming), File 112.

<sup>2</sup> F.A. Neale, *Eight Years in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor, from 1842 to 1850*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. II, London: Colburn and Co., Publishers, 1852, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78. According to Eusebe de Salle, *Pérégrinations en Orient ou Voyage Pittoresque et Politique en Egypte, Nubie, Syrie, Turquie, Grèce Pendant les Années 1837-38-39*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. I, Paris: Pagnerre and L. Curmer, 1840, p. 168, Barker's residences at Bitias and Kheder Beg surpassed in beauty that of Svedia.

- 
- <sup>4</sup> John Barker, *Syria and Egypt under the Last Five Sultans of Turkey; Being Experiences, during Fifty Years, of Mr. Consul-General Barker*, Edward B.B. Barker, ed., vol. II, London: Samuel Tinsley, 1876, p. 213.
- <sup>5</sup> Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, p. 80. For a sketch of Barker's home at Bitias, see William Burckhardt Barker, *Lares and Penates: Or, Cilicia and Its Governors*, William Francis Ainsworth, ed., London: Ingram, Coake, and Co., 1853, p. 300.
- <sup>6</sup> Great Britain, FO 861, File 37, "Objet trouvés à l'habitation de Bitias," an inventory of Barker's house prepared on November 14, 1849 upon his death and signed by Joseph Bellier, Frederick Arthur Neale, Joseph Bennett, and Edward B.B. Barker, in the presence of Louise Barker Washington, John Barker's daughter, who inherited his possessions.
- <sup>7</sup> Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, p. 79.
- <sup>8</sup> Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, p. 269.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 270-71, 280; Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, p. 80.
- <sup>11</sup> Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, p. 78.
- <sup>12</sup> Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, pp. 231-32, 244.
- <sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2; Charles Fiott Barker, *Memoir on Syria*, London: Publisher unknown, 1845, p. 36.
- <sup>14</sup> Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, p. 255.
- <sup>15</sup> Barker, *Memoir on Syria*, p. 36.
- <sup>16</sup> Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, p. 2.
- <sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.
- <sup>18</sup> William Francis Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, vol. II, London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co., 1888, p. 403.
- <sup>19</sup> Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, p. 272.
- <sup>20</sup> Barker, *Memoir on Syria*, p. 37.
- <sup>21</sup> Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, p. 60.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61; Ainsworth, *Personal Narrative*, II, p. 403; Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, pp. 2-5; Barker, *Memoir on Syria*, pp. 37-38.
- <sup>23</sup> Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, 78-79.
- <sup>24</sup> De Salle, *Pérégrinations en Orient*, I, p. 168.
- <sup>25</sup> Barker, *Syria and Egypt*, II, pp. 258-60.
- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60.
- <sup>27</sup> Robert Walpole, ed., *Travels in Various Countries of the East; Being a Continuation of Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820, p. 133.
- <sup>28</sup> Neale, *Eight Years in Syria*, II, p. 31.
- <sup>29</sup> Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase, et en Perse dans la Mésopotamie, le Kurdistan, la Syrie, la Palestine et la Turquie exécuté pendant les années 1865, 1866, 1867 et 1868*, vol. IV, Paris and Amsterdam: Arthus Bertrand and C.L. Van Langenhuysen, 1875, p. 328.
- <sup>30</sup> The commencement of the sericulture season actually depended on the climate and varied from one place to another. From a letter written after WWI, for example, we learn that mulberry leaves sprouted a month late if eastern cold air struck Musa Dagh in February-March and that the leaves at Chevlik by the sea usually appeared a month earlier than those in cooler Bitias. Victoria Renjilian Sarafian, private papers, Fresno, California, Movses Renjilian, letter to "My Dear Children" (Grigor and Victoria Sarafian), May 2, 1923.

- <sup>31</sup> American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, ABC: 16.9.6, Central Turkey Mission (CTM), vol. 1, Lucile Foreman to Miss Lamson, July 28, 1913.
- <sup>32</sup> Interview with Victoria Renjilian Sarafian, March 30, 1988, Fresno, California; interview with Hovhannes Hajian, January 8, 1990, Hollywood, California; Sona Zeytlian, *Musa Leran Joghovrdakan Hekiatner* (Folk tales of Musa Dagh) (Beirut: Hamazgayin Wahe Sethian Press), pp. 681-682; Grigor Gyoalyan (Geghuni), *Musa Leran Azgagrutyune* (The Ethnography of Musa Dagh), Yerevan: Republic of Armenia National Academy of Sciences "Gitutyun" Publication, pp. 70-72, 77.
- <sup>33</sup> Interview with Sarafian. The *chershefe* measured approximately 1x 5x ½ meters.
- <sup>34</sup> Suren Filhannesian, letter to the author, not dated (1989); Khacher Maturian, "Mer Hatse" (Our Bread), in Martiros Gushagjian and Poghos Maturian, eds., *Hushamatian Musa Leran* (Memorial book of Musa Dagh), Beirut: Atlas Press, 1970, p. 155; Gyoalyan, *Musa Leran*, pp. 72-75.
- <sup>35</sup> Filhannesian, letter; Zeytlian, *Musa Leran*, p. 708; Gyoalyan, *Musa Leran*, pp. 76-77.
- <sup>36</sup> Interview with Marta Sherpetjian Shemmassian, December 28, 1983, Los Angeles, California; interview with Sarafian, March 4, 1988.
- <sup>37</sup> Great Britain, FO 861, File 35, David Dowek to Henry D. Barnham, Trade Report of British Vice-Consulate Antioch and Swedea, April 10, 1900.
- <sup>38</sup> *Biuzandion* (Byzantium) (Constantinople), April 26, 1911.
- <sup>39</sup> *Asparez* (Fresno), August 18, 1911.
- <sup>40</sup> Income generated from cocoons in Bitias surpassed the income in Yoghunoluk, Kheder Beg, and Vakef combined. Similarly, the Bitias cocoons, by virtue of their superior quality, sold for 25 percent more than those produced elsewhere in the Ottoman province of Aleppo. See *Biuzandion*, April 27, 1911; Abr[aham] H. Renjilian, "Antakyada Ipekjilik (Ipek Beojeyi Bendinin Sonu)" (Sericulture in Antioch [The End of the silkworm season]), *Nor Avetaber* (New Herald) 6: 17 (November, 10, 1933): 327.
- <sup>41</sup> Interview with Florence Ikarian Harutiunian, March 4, 1989, Glendale, California; interview with Sarafian, March 4, 1988; Filhannesian, letter.
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with Sarafian, March 4, 1988.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>44</sup> *Biuzandion*, April 26, 1911.
- <sup>45</sup> Florence Ikarian Harutiunian, private papers, Glendale, California, untitled written statement made by Sargis Filian in 1962 on the occasion of donating Meren Ikarian's microscope to a museum in Yerevan, Soviet Armenia.
- <sup>46</sup> Interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>47</sup> Interview with Sarafian, March 4, 1988.
- <sup>48</sup> *Biuzandion*, September 8, 1910.
- <sup>49</sup> Gertrude Lowthian Bell, *The Desert and the Sown*, London: William Henemann, 1907, p. 329.
- <sup>50</sup> Interview with Harutiunian; Filhannesian, letter. The *kajas* (stripped cocoons) were not discarded, but rather used to make fake hair and/or ropes. See Tovmas Hapeshian, *Musa-Taghi Papenakan Ardzagangner* (Ancestral Echoes of Musa Dagh), Beirut: Yerebuni Printing, 1986, p. 88.
- <sup>51</sup> Filhannesian, letter.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*; Haroutune P. Boyadjian, *Musa Dagh and My Personal Memoirs* (N.p.: Rosekeer Press, 1981), p. 2.
- <sup>53</sup> Zora Iskenterian, *Husher Patmutian Hamar* (Memoirs for History), Beirut: Sevan Printing House, 1974, p. 45; *idem*, "Haji Hapipli," in Gushagjian and Maturian, p. 76; Renjilian, "Antakyada Ipekjilik," p. 327.

- <sup>54</sup> Vital Quinet, *La Turquie d'Asie. Géographie Administrative Statistique, Descriptive et Raisonnée de Chaque Province de l'Asie-Mineure*, vol. II, Paris: E. Leroux, 1891, p. 198.
- <sup>55</sup> Iskenterian, *Husher*, p. 45; idem, "Haji Hapipli," p. 76; Renjilian, "Antakyada Ipekjilik," p. 327; interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>56</sup> Jacques Thobie, *Intérêts et Impérialism Français dans l'Empire Ottoman (1895-1914)*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1977, pp. 105, 491-92.
- <sup>57</sup> Interview with Shemmassian; Renjilian, "Antakyada," p. 327.
- <sup>58</sup> Elizabeth Frankian Standen, letter to the author, September 12, 1988.
- <sup>59</sup> Interview with Sarafian, March 4, 1988.
- <sup>60</sup> Ibid.; interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>61</sup> There was such a person in Alexandretta, but I am not so sure that it was the same Lupi working in the Antioch region.
- <sup>62</sup> Serob Sherpetjian, *Patmutiun Svetahayeru* (History of Svedia Armenians), Beirut: Hamazgayin Wahe Sethian Press, 2010, p. 30. Sometime before World War I, Yervand Otian traveled to Antioch together with his grandmother for her to sell several orchards found within one of her farms in the district. Their sojourn lasted an entire year, during which Otian visited Musa Dagh, Kesab, and Aleppo. When he returned to Constantinople, he published a brief geographical study on Antioch in the *Arevelk* paper. See Yervand Otyan, *Yerkeri Joghovatzu* (Collection of Oeuvres), vol. IV, Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1962, pp. 19-20.
- <sup>63</sup> Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia Archives, Antlias, Lebanon, File 22/1, *Jepel Musa-Svetia, 1920-1940* (Musa Dagh-Svedia, 1920-1940), Fr. Abraham Ter Galustian to Catholicos Sahak II Khapayian, October 12, 1926.
- <sup>64</sup> Interview with Shemmassian. One of the villages was Minet Kerbi, also known as Asi Kira. The other village could not be identified.
- <sup>65</sup> R.P. Jérôme, "Au pays des massacres," *Les Missions Catholiques* 41: 2,091 (July 2, 1909): 315; Paul Jacquot, *Antioche, Centre de Tourisme*, vol. III, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1931, p. 507; *Asparez*, June 18, 1909.
- <sup>66</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 4, P.O. Powers to N.G. Clark, March 19, 1872; Corinna Shattuck to N.G. Clark, August 14, 1878; idem, vol. 14, C.S. Sanders to Judson Smith, August 30, 1899; idem, vol. 16, Annual Report - Aintab Station, July 1901-June 1902; Davit Ter Davtians, "Storagrutiun Aytsetutian...Berio Nahangin Gughoreyits" (Description of a visit to the Armenian villages of Aleppo Province) *Arshaluys Araratian*, no. 808 (June 24, 1867): 3; *Punj* (Constantinople), June 12, 1899.
- <sup>67</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 16, Annual Report - Aintab Station, July 1901-June 1902.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., General Report of Aintab Station, July 1902-June 30, 1903.
- <sup>69</sup> *Biuzandion*, September 8, 1910; *Asparez*, August 11, 1911, August 18, 1911; *Arev* (Alexandria, Egypt), October 8, 1915; "Jepeli Musayi Hayabnak Gughere" (The Armenian-inhabited villages of Musa Dagh), *Avetaber* 63:39 (September 24, 1910): 914-15.
- <sup>70</sup> Curia Generale dei Frati Minori Cappuccini, Istituto Storico, Archivio Generale dei Cappuccini (ASC), Via Piomonte 70, Rome, Italy, H 93, cartella V, Marcellino da Vallarsa to Excellency, August 1, 1895; da Vallarsa to Rev. Father General, August 5, 1895; da Vallarsa to Rev. Father, January 3, 1896.
- <sup>71</sup> Great Britain, FO 424: Correspondence Respecting the Affaires of Asiatic Turkey and Arabia, 1878-1913, File 212, H.Z. Longworth to N. O'Conor, April 15, 1903.
- <sup>72</sup> *Friend of Armenia* (London), no. 44 (Winter 1911): 52.
- <sup>73</sup> Renjilian, "Antakyada Ipekjilik," p. 328.
- <sup>74</sup> *Biuzandion*, April 26, 1911.
- <sup>75</sup> *Asparez*, August 11, 1911, August 18, 1911.

- <sup>76</sup> Interview with Hajian. For the kinds of vegetables produced in Musa Dagh, consult “Musa Leran Busakanutiune” (The Vegetation in Musa Dagh), in Gushagian and Maturian, pp. 131-32; Hapeshian, *Musa-Taghi*, pp. 142-48.
- <sup>77</sup> Interview with Hajian.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>79</sup> Iskenter Nashalian, private papers, Glendale, California, family property deeds titled “Imperial Documents” (in Ottoman Turkish), numbers 78, 639, and 640, from *Defter* (registry) 305, dated 1307 Hijri (1889/90).
- <sup>80</sup> For the various kinds of fruits in Musa Dagh, consult “Musa Leran Busakanutiune,” pp. 132-33.
- <sup>81</sup> The various kinds of figs are listed in Hapeshian, *Musa-Taghi*, pp. 152-53.
- <sup>82</sup> Ibid.; Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” p. 156.
- <sup>83</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 16, C.S. Sanders, Report of Aintab Station, CTM (Central Turkey Mission), July 1905-April 15, 1906. According to a 1900 report, “the produce of figs [in Antioch district] was estimated at 1200 tons value for about £7000. The greater part of this was exported to Egypt and part was sent to Anadol.” See Great Britain, FO 861, File 35, David Doweck to Henry D. Barnham, Trade Report of British Vice-Consulate Antioch and Swedea, April 10, 1900.
- <sup>84</sup> *Asparez*, August 18, 1911.
- <sup>85</sup> Hapeshian, *Musa-Taghi*, pp. 151-52; “Musa Leran Busakanutiune,” pp. 132.
- <sup>86</sup> Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” pp. 156-57.
- <sup>87</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 4, Corinna Shattuck to N.G. Clark, August 14, 1878. N.M. Paghtoyian, “Jepel Musa yev Hay Lernakannere” (Musa Dagh and the Armenian highlanders), *Hayrenik Amsagir*, XV: 4 (February, 1935): 74-76; *Punj*, February 14, 1898; *Biuzandion*, April 26, 1911.
- <sup>88</sup> Hov[Hannes] Eskijian, “Jebel-I Musaya Bir Ziyaret” (A Visit to Musa Dagh), *Avetaber* LXIII (May 14, 1910): 474; *Biuzandion*, April 26, 1911.
- <sup>89</sup> Armenian Revolutionary Federation (ARF) Archives, Boston (now in Watertown), Massachusetts, File 945/8, *Kilikio Kam Lernavayri K. Komite 1903 t.* (Central Committee of Cilicia or Lernavayr, 1903) [Holan or Hoshan] to Varazdat, January 3, 1903; (Rev.) Tigran Andreasian, “Svetahayere” (The Svedia Armenians), in M. Salbi, ed., *Aleakner Yev Kheleakner. Hay Vranakaghakin Taregirke* (Little waves and wrecks: The Almanac of the Armenian tent city), Alexandria, Egypt: A. Gasparian Press, 1920, p. 17.
- <sup>90</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 1, Foreman to Lamson, October 20, 1910.
- <sup>91</sup> Great Britain, FO 195: Embassy and Consular Archives. Turkey: Correspondence, File 1690, [T.S.] Jago, Report of the Vilayet of Aleppo, June, 1890.
- <sup>92</sup> Great Britain, FO 424, File 212, H.Z. Longworth to N. O’Conor, April 15, 1907.
- <sup>93</sup> Ibid.; Aghasi, “Husher” (Memoirs), in Mihran Seferian, ed., *Drvagner Svetio Antsealen (1893-95 Hephapokhakan Shrjanen)* (Episodes from Svedia’s past [from the 1893-95 revolutionary period]), Beirut: Ararat Press, 1957, pp. 48, 68.
- <sup>94</sup> Interview with Arakel Izanian, December 28, 1991, Sunland, California. See also Compatriotic Union of Musa Dagh, *Hishatakaran-Alpom Musa Leran 1961-1967* (Colophon-Album of Musa Dagh 1961-1967), Beirut: Sevan Press, 1967, p. 45.
- <sup>95</sup> Great Britain, FO 861, File 35, Doweck to Barnham, Trade Report, April 10, 1900.
- <sup>96</sup> Interview with Hajian.
- <sup>97</sup> “Musa Leran Gughatsinerun Zbaghumnern Oo Arhestnere” (The Occupations and artisanship of the Musa Dagh villagers), in Gushagian and Maturian, p. 118; Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” p. 157.
- <sup>98</sup> Paghtoyian, “Jepel Musa,” pp. 74-76.
- <sup>99</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

- <sup>100</sup> *Arev*, October 4, 1915, November 1, 1915.
- <sup>101</sup> Interview with Manase Maghznian, July 20, 1988, Fresno, California; Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” pp. 152-53.
- <sup>102</sup> Paghtoyian, “Jepel Musa,” p. 75.
- <sup>103</sup> W.H. Bartlett and John Crane, *Syria, the Holy Land, and Asia Minor, etc., Illustrated, in a Series of Views Drawn from Nature*, vol. III, London: Fisher and Son, 1838, p. 74.
- <sup>104</sup> William M. Thomson, “Travels in Northern Syria: Description of Seleucia, Antioch, Aleppo, etc.,” *Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review* 5 (1848): 451.
- <sup>105</sup> Bell, *The Desert*, p. 334.
- <sup>106</sup> Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” pp. 152-54.
- <sup>107</sup> Ibid. For the Musa Dagh cuisine, see Alberta, Anna and Louisa Magznian, *The Recipes of Musa Dagh: An Armenian Cookbook in a Dialect of Its Own*, N.p.: Lulu.com, 2008; Jack Hachigian, *Secrets from an Armenian Kitchen*, N.p.: n.p., 2006; Women’s Auxiliary of St. Paul Church of Anjar, *Musa Leran Yev Aynjari Tohmik Tjasher* (Ethnic foods of Musa Dagh and Anjar), Beirut: Hamazgayin Wahe Sethian Press, 2001; Gyozyalyan, *Musa Leran*, pp. 128-40.
- <sup>108</sup> M. Lerntsi (Hakob Apajian), *Echer Keankis Grken (Inknakensagrutium)* (Pages from the book of my life [autobiography]), Beirut: Altapress Printing, 1986, p. 47.
- <sup>109</sup> Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie*, IV, p. 325.
- <sup>110</sup> Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” p. 147.
- <sup>111</sup> *Punj*, October 30, 1899.
- <sup>112</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 4, Shattuck to Clark, August 14, 1878.
- <sup>113</sup> *Punj*, March 28, 1898.
- <sup>114</sup> Ibid., June 12, 1899; ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 14, Sanders to Judson Smith, August 30, 1899.
- <sup>115</sup> *Biuzandion*, April 26, 1911; *Yeritasard Hayastan*, (Providence, Rhode Island), May 3, 1911; *Pahak*, (Boston), June 22, 1911; *Asparez*, August 18, 1911.
- <sup>116</sup> Isobel Lytle, *James Martin: Pioneer Medical Missionary in Antioch: A Thrilling Account of Faith and Courage*, Belfast: Cameron Press, 2003, pp. 61-62.
- <sup>117</sup> Sima Aprahamian, “The Inhabitants of Haouch Moussa: From Stratified Society through Classlessness to the Re-Appearance of Social Classes,” Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, Canada, 1989, pp. 62-92 passim; interview with Hajian.
- <sup>118</sup> *Salname-I Vilayet-I Haleb* (Yearbook of Aleppo Province), Aleppo: Government Publication, 1324/1906, p. 288. See also Compatriotic Union of Musa Dagh, *Hishatakaran-Alpom*, p. 45.
- <sup>119</sup> Fr. Khachatur Poghikian, “Husher”, unpublished memoirs, Beirut, Lebanon, pp. 32-33; Fr. Nerses Tavugjian, *Tarapanki Oragir* (Diary of Suffering), Toros Toranian, ed., Beirut: High Type Compugraph - Technopresse S.A.L., 1991, pp. 46-53 passim; Aghasi, “Husher,” pp. 44-45, 72-75; Sherpetjian, *Patmutium Svetahayeru*, pp. 25-26.
- <sup>120</sup> Aprahamian, “The Inhabitants of Haouch Moussa,” pp. 88-89.
- <sup>121</sup> Alberta Magznian, letter to the author, n.d.(1989).
- <sup>122</sup> *The Missionary Herald* LV: 2 (February 1859): 59.
- <sup>123</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 4, Powers to Clark, March 19, 1972.
- <sup>124</sup> Ibid., Shattuck to Clark, October 17, 1876.
- <sup>125</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, L.H. Adams, Report of the Antioch Field, 1890-1891.
- <sup>126</sup> Aghasi, “Husher,” pp. 44-45, 72-75.
- <sup>127</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>128</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 16, John Merrill, Report of Aintab Station for the Year 1906-1907. See also idem, vol. 19, Merrill to Enoch F. Bell, May 21, 1907.

- <sup>129</sup> “Jepeli Musayi Hayabnak Gughere,” p. 915; Eskijian, “Jebel-I Musaya,” p. 474; *Punj*, March 28, 1898.
- <sup>130</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 16, Isabel Merrill, Report of the Woman’s Work in Aintab Station, 1907-1908 (Ourfa and Kessab excepted).
- <sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, John Merrill, Report of Aintab Station for the Year 1906-1907. See also *idem*, Isabel J. Merrill, Report of Women’s Work in Aintab Station (Oorfa and Kessab not being included), 1906-1907.
- <sup>132</sup> Hapeshian, *Musa-Taghi*, pp. 148-50; “Musa Leran Arhestnere,” pp. 121-22; *Biuzandion*, September 8, 1910; *Arev*, December 1, 1915.
- <sup>133</sup> *Punj*, March 28, 1898.
- <sup>134</sup> *Biuzandion*, December 18, 1909; *Husaber*, (Cairo), November 20, 1915.
- <sup>135</sup> Armenian Revolutionary Federation Bureau, *Niuter H.H. Dashnaksutian Patmutian Hamar* (Materials for the history of the A.R. Federation), HrachTasnapietian, ed., vol. I, Beirut: Hamazgayin Wahe Sethian Press, n.d., pp. 96, 102.
- <sup>136</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 1, Foreman to Lamson, October 20, 1910.
- <sup>137</sup> “Musa Leran Arhestnere,” p. 123; Andreasian, “Svetahayere,” pp. 17-18.
- <sup>138</sup> Yeznik Poyajian, *Patkerner Musa Taghi Dutzaznergutene* (Scenes from the heroic epic of Musa Dag), Beirut: Atlas Press, 1973, pp. 22, 46; “Musa Leran Arhestnere,” p. 123.
- <sup>139</sup> “Musa Leran Arhestnere,” pp. 122-23; Andreasian, “Svetahayere,” p. 18.
- <sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*; “Jepeli Musayi Hayabnak Gughere,” p. 915. For a list of other artisans, see Hapeshian, *Musa-Taghi*, pp. 156-59.
- <sup>141</sup> Armen Hanisian, letter to the author, February 7, 1989, mentions five grocery stores in Yoghunoluk; Yeznik Poyajian, letter to the author, March 5, 1990; interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>142</sup> Interview with Hajian. For the description of businesses and the market place in post-World War I Yoghunoluk, see Poghos Armenak Lagisian, *Musa Leran Voghchuy* (Greeting to Musa Dag), Yerevan: Orenk and Irakanutyun Publishing, 2005, pp. 178-222 *passim*.
- <sup>143</sup> Tigran J. Khrlonian, *Voskematian. Patmutiun Mertz[avor] Arevelki Hay Avet[aranakan] Miutian* (History of the Armenian Evangelical Union of the Near East), vol. I, Beirut: Shnorhokian Printing/A. Ter Sahakian Press, 1950, p. 338, note; Gushagjian and Maturian, pp. 588, 592.
- <sup>144</sup> Avetis Injejikian, “Kesap Yev Ir Barbare” (Kesab and its dialect), in Hakob Cholakian, compiler and editor, *Kesap*, vol. III, Aleppo: Arevelk Press, 2004, pp. 78-79; H. Kh. Topuzyan, “Siriayi Hay Gughatsiutyan Vijake XIX d. Keserin-XX d. Skzbnerin” (The Status of the Armenian peasantry of Syria from the mid-nineteenth century - early twentieth century), in G. Kh. Sargsyan et al., eds., *Mertzavor Yev Mijin Arevelki Yerkirner Yev Joghovurdner* (Countries and peoples of the Near and Middle East), vol. IX, Yerevan: Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR, 1978, pp. 198-99; Sherpetjian, *Patmutiun Svetahayeru*, p. 25; Aprahamian, “The Inhabitants,” pp. 85-86; *Salname-I Vilayet-I Haleb*, (1312/1894), pp. 308-09; interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>145</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 16, C.S. Sanders, Annual Report - Aintab Station, July 1901-June 1902.
- <sup>146</sup> Grigor Geghuni (Gyozalyan), “Im Kyanki Husherits” (From the Memoirs of my life), unpublished memoirs, Panorama City, California, notebook I, p. 9b (sic).
- <sup>147</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 4, Powers to Clark, March 19, 1872.
- <sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, Shattuck to Clark, August 14, 1878.
- <sup>149</sup> *The Missionary Herald* LXXIV: 7 (August 1878): 258.
- <sup>150</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 1932, Catoni telegram no. 44, April 9, (1896).
- <sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, File 1883, Barnham to Currie, June 1, 1895.

- <sup>152</sup> Ibid., File 1976, Barnham to Currie, February 22, 1897.
- <sup>153</sup> Great Britain, FO 861, File 35, David Douek, Vice Consular General Report upon the Administration and Economic Condition of the District of Antioch and Suedia, March 20, 1900.
- <sup>154</sup> ASC, H 93, cartella V, Fedele da Trieste to Very Rev. Secretary (narrating the history of the Capuchin Mission at Kheder Beg), August 8, 1900, p. 12.
- <sup>155</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>156</sup> Ibid., da Trieste to Very Rev. Secretary for the Very Rev. Father General of the Capuchins, November 10, 1900, enclosure no. I of August 1900, p. 15.
- <sup>157</sup> Ibid., about end of September 1901, enclosure no. II of November 1900, p. 20.
- <sup>158</sup> Ibid., Anno Domini 1901, enclosure no. 1 of January 1901, pp. 21-22, inserted copy of a letter (vouched by da Trieste) from Fr. Apollinare del Fretto to Alberto Poche (“our Procurator in Aleppo”), January 14, 1901.
- <sup>159</sup> Ibid., January 1901, enclosure no. 2, p. 22; inserted copy of a letter from Fr. del Fretto and Fr. da Trieste to Poche, January 30, 1901; enclosure no. 3 of February 1901, p. 23.
- <sup>160</sup> Ibid., da Trieste, continuation of the narration of the Capuchin Mission at Kheder Beg, June 1901, p. 24. See also French vice-consul/agent at Antioch Albert Potton’s June 30, 1901 letter in response to the Haji Habibli incident.
- <sup>161</sup> Ibid., Fr. da Trieste to Very Rev. Secretary General, November 3, 1901.
- <sup>162</sup> ABCFM, ABC: 16.9.5, vol. 20, Sanders to Smith, April 18, 1902. See also idem, vol. 16, Sanders, Annual Report - Aintab Station, July 1901-June 1902. It must be noted that non-Armenians, too, suffered a great deal at the hands of the state. Not only was the crunch felt in the countryside, but also in the very center of the district, Antioch, where people resorted to civil disobedience when “provoked by the severity with which the Authorities enforce the payment of taxes.” Great Britain, FO 195, File 2137, Barnham to O’Conor, April 6, 1903.
- <sup>163</sup> *Punj*, June 19, 1899.
- <sup>164</sup> Injejikian, “Kesap,” p. 78; Topuzyan, “Siriayi,” pp. 198-201; Maturian, “Mer Hatse,” p. 147.
- <sup>165</sup> Sherpetjian, *Patmutiun Svetahayeru*, p. 25.
- <sup>166</sup> Tavugjian, *Tarapanki Oragir*, p. 53.
- <sup>167</sup> (Rev.) Garabed S. Tilkian, *Musa Dagh Boy: Story of Survival and Service* (Los Angeles: Abril Printing, 1992), p. 14.
- <sup>168</sup> *Redhouse Yeni Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlük*, Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1974, p. 582.
- <sup>169</sup> Interview with Hajian. Hajian thinks that the word “kiuratiur” could also mean *giughiter*, that is, village master or custodian.
- <sup>170</sup> Interview with Hajian; interview with Ohannes Ohannesian, May 27, 1974, Sun Valley, California.
- <sup>171</sup> Interview with Grigor Gyozyan (Geghuni), January 29, 1989, North Hollywood, California; Sherpetjian, *Patmutiun Svetahayeru*, p. 32.
- <sup>172</sup> Interview with Geghuni; Compatriotic Union of Musa Dagh, *Hishatakaran-Alpom*, p. 54. Geghuni puts the number of the Council at five members, including the deputy, the secretary, and the three advisors.
- <sup>173</sup> Interview with Hajian; interview with Ohannesian.
- <sup>174</sup> Interview with Hajian; Compatriotic Union of Musa Dagh, *Hishatakaran-Alpom*, p. 54.
- <sup>175</sup> *Punj*, June 19, 1899.
- <sup>176</sup> Ibid., August 7, 1899.
- <sup>177</sup> Khrlobian, *Voskematian*, I, p. 340. See also *The Missionary Herald* LVIII: 8 (August 1862): 248.

- 
- <sup>178</sup> George H. Filian, *Armenia and Her People; Or the Story of Armenia by an Armenian* (Hartford, Connecticut: American Publishing Company, 1896), p. xii.
- <sup>179</sup> Great Britain, FO 195, File 1883, Barnham to Currie, October 16, 1895; FO 424, File 184, Currie to the Marquess of Salisbury, October 17, 1895; interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>180</sup> Capuchin Archives, Maison Saint François, Mtayleb, Lebanon, File *Khoderbeg 7, 1909/1914, 20 à 25 jeunes filles de Khoderbey placées servants ou chez les Soeurs- listes, salaires, informations*, untitled list of sixteen girls from Kheder Beg, Vakef, and Yoghunolouk; Certification sur les enfants envoyées à Beyrouth; Noms des enfants de Khoderbek.
- <sup>181</sup> Ibid, Noms des enfants de Khoderbek.
- <sup>182</sup> Ibid., Compte d'Elmaz, Juillet 1914.
- <sup>183</sup> Ibid., Compte d'Iranouhi (tel qu'il m'a été donné fin de juin par Madame Yared).
- <sup>184</sup> Ibid., anonymous sender from Krey, Lebanon, to Mon Très Révérend Père, August 21, 1914. This letter is written on a "Vve Guérin & Fils, Beyrouth Syrie" letterhead.
- <sup>185</sup> ABCFM, ABC, 16.9.5, vol. 11, Adams to Smith, August 27, 1891.
- <sup>186</sup> France, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (AMAE), Paris (Quai d'Orsay, now in Nantes), Correspondence politique et commerciale 1897 à 1918, Turquie: politique intérieure: Syrie-Liban, File 112, *Dossier général, 1909*, R. Laronce to Pichon, October 3, 1909.
- <sup>187</sup> Great Britain, FO 424, File 221, Raphael A. Fontana to Gerard Lowther, October 25, 1909.
- <sup>188</sup> France, AMAE, Syrie-Liban, File 112, Laronce to Pichon, October 28, 1909.
- <sup>189</sup> I have compiled a list of some 150 emigrants through interviews alone. According to Mik[ael] Natanian, "Gavari Tsaveren. Mus Aghete" (Woes of the provinces: The Other calamity), *Mutian*, no. 19 (July 1913): p. 108, Musa Dagh, Kesab, and other Armenian-inhabited localities in north Syria were being depopulated due to this emigration to the United States.
- <sup>190</sup> Interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>191</sup> Victoria Shirn (Sherpetjian) Harvey, private papers, Essex, Massachusetts, notebook belonging to Armenak Sherpetjian, poem entitled "Bitias, Sweet Fatherland" (in Ottoman Turkish with Armenian script).
- <sup>192</sup> Elizabeth Frankian Standen, private papers, Holyoke, Massachusetts, Austro-Hungarian S.S. Co., Ltd., of Trieste, Purchaser's Receipt for III Class Prepaid Passage Contract, no. P.T. 39130, September 27, 1913. John Boghosian and Moses Sherpetjian purchased the ticket for Armanag (Armenak) Sherpetjian of Bitias.
- <sup>193</sup> Hanisian, letters to the author, September 26, 1977, October 1, 1977, and February 7, 1989. Three Hanisian brothers, J. Chanchanian, M. Serekian, Hovhannes Atajian, a certain Ghukasian, Papaz (nickname) and his son, and two youths from the Amaj neighborhood of Yoghunolouk were some of the Musa Dagh émigrés in Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- <sup>194</sup> Julie Aprahamian, private papers, New York, New York, Inspection (vaccination) Card (Immigrants and Steerage Passengers) of Missak Aprahamian, list or manifest of *Vasari* ship, no. 13, no. on list/manifest, 19.
- <sup>195</sup> Interview with Shemmassian.
- <sup>196</sup> Vahram L. Shemmassian, "The Armenian Villagers of Musa Dagh: A Historical-Ethnographic Study, 1840-1915," Ph. D. dissertation, History Department, University of California, Los Angeles, 1996, Table III: Partial List of Musa Dagh Armenians Arriving at New York in 1909-1913, pp. 65-66.

<sup>197</sup> Interview with Paul Bedrosian (Poghos Ter Petrosian), May 27, 1990, Pismo Beach, California.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> A. Ghukasian, "A.K. Seklemian," *Asparez Hisnamiak, 1908-1958* (Fiftieth Anniversary of Asparez, 1908-1958), Fresno: Asbarez Publishing [1958?], pp. 172-74; A.K. Seklemian, "Asparez'i Tsagume" (The Genesis of Asparez), *Asparez Joghovatsu Tasnamiaki Artiv, 1908-1918* (Asparez anthology on its tenth anniversary, 1908-1918), Fresno: Asbarez Publishing, 1918, pp. 9-15.

<sup>200</sup> Gloria Hachigian Ericson, private papers, Orlando, Florida, twelve bank receipts for money drawn by Vanes and Hagop Egarian on the German American Trust Company, Beirut, and the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Beirut, between February 15, 1908, and January 4, 1911.

ՄՈՒՍԱ ԼԵՌԱՆ ՀԱՅՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ՎԻՃԱԿԸ  
ԺԹ. ԴԱՐՄԵՆ-Ի. ԴԱՐԱՄԱՍԵԱՆ

ՎԱՀՐԱՄ ՇԵՄՄԱՍԵԱՆ  
vahram.shemmassian@csun.edu

Մուսա Լեռան հայերը ժԹ. դարուն եւ Ի. դարասկիզբին ունեցան կրօնական, կրթական եւ քաղաքական զարգացումներ: Այս զարգացումներով յառաջացած նոր պայմանները այս լեռնականները դուրս բերին իրենց կղզիացումէն ու 1915ին հասցուցին մինչեւ հերոսական կեցուածքի Օսմանեան բանակին դէմ:

Տնտեսական կալուածը, սակայն, առհասարակ մնաց ենթակայ աւանդական ուժերուն կապալառուներու եւ հողատերերու չարաշահումներուն, ծանր հարկերուն եւ հողագործութեան հնամենի միջոցներուն: Այդուհանդերձ, որոշ ազգականեր դրական համեստ զարգացում մը խթանեցին: Անոնցմէ էր հանգստեան կոչուած բրիտանացի դիւանագետ մը, որ իր կեանքի մնացեալ տարիները անցուց շրջանին մէջ, նպատակ ունենալով բարելաւել ժողովուրդին վիճակը: Այլ գործօն մըն էր ներկայութիւնը պոլսահայոց մը, որ իր Անտիոքի գրասենեակէն վերահսկեց մետաքսամշակութիւնը Հալէպի նահանգին մէջ: Եղան եւ երիտասարդ մուսալեռցիներ, որոնք արհեստագիտական փորձառութիւն ձեռք բերին Պրուսայի Մետաքսամշակութեան Հիմնարկին մէջ:

Յամենայնդէպս, հողամշակութեան, անասնաբուծութեան եւ առեւտուրի սահմանափակ առիթներն ու կոտորուելու մնայուն սարսափն ու անկայուն քաղաքական պայմանները Մուսա Տաղի բազմահարիւր երիտասարդներ պարտադրեցին գաղթել Մ. Նահանգներ՝ աւելի ապահով ու խոստմնալից ասպարէզներ որոնելով: Ասոնցմէ շատեր այլեւս երբեք չտեսան իրենց ծննդավայրը:

Ուսումնասիրութիւնը հիմնուած է ճանապարհորդական գրականութեան, ականատեսի վկայութիւններու, չիրատարակուած յուշագրութիւններու, ստենի մամուլին վրայ, ինչպէս նաեւ Մ. Նահանգներու, Եւրոպայի ու Միջին Արեւելքի մէջ գտնուող հայ եւ օտար արխիւներու վրայ: Այս աղբիւրներէն շատեր առաջին անգամ է որ կ'օգտագործուին:

