The Establishment of the

LEBANESE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN NEWFOUNDLAND



WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY LORRAINE MICHAEL

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY LORRAINE MICHAEL AND CONTRIBUTIONS BY ELLEN POWER, JOE BOULOS, MARYSSA BARRAS, MICHAEL PHILPOTT, THE GAULTOIS FAMILY, TERRA BARRETT, DALE GILBERT JARVIS, MARINA OWENS, GAIL WEIR, TERRI ANDREWS, WYATT HIRSCHFELD SHIBLEY, AND LORRAINE MICHAEL.

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Lorraine Michael seated on the floor with her father in the midst of some of the Lebanese community she grew up with. All the women were powerful matriarchs. Lorraine's mother is seated third from the left. Source: Lorraine Michael.



The beginning of the tearing down of homes on New Gower Street, St. John's. May 1964. Source: Carol Reade.

Introduction LORRAINE MICHAEL

I was born and raised in the heart of St. John's – the centre of the city which many of the readers of this book will know. I was also raised in the heart of a wonderful immigrant community that I suspect most of you will not know – the community of the Lebanese who migrated and stayed here in the late 1800s to early 1900s. I say "community" in every sense of the word. Not only were they a group of people with so much in common – most of them came from the same part of Mount Lebanon and knew each other before coming here – they were also a group of people who in St. John's lived in the same part of the west end close enough to be able to walk to each other's homes in minutes, the part of the city where City Hall, Mary Brown's Centre, the Convention Centre, Federal Offices, and the Delta Hotel now stand.

That geographic community came to an end in the 1960s when the City expropriated most of the north side of New Gower Street in order to build the current City Hall and to develop Pitts Memorial Drive, which connects with New Gower Street. Not only did the Lebanese live in this area, for the most part they lived over their businesses, or their businesses were very close by. The chapters in this book will talk about everything from grocery and smaller corner stores, jewellery and clothing stores, to services such as barber shops, movie theatres, restaurants, and hotels – all owned and operated by Lebanese individuals.

From some beginnings on the East Coast with St. John's and Bell Island, and others on the West Coast with Stephenville and Corner Brook, these industrious people moved around the province, following the growth in the development of natural resources on the Island.

So, I was thrilled when Heritage NL said they were interested in recommending the recognition of the role the Lebanese played in the economic development, not just of St. John's, but of Newfoundland. And I thank Jerry Dick, the former Executive Director of Heritage NL, and the current Executive Director, Dale Jarvis, and staff for their commitment to the project and for the resources they have dedicated to making it happen.

This book grew from the research and storytelling that has been part of the preparation for the commemoration of the Lebanese community and its part in the heritage of our province. It represents a very small part of the story and of the people who lived it. There is so much more that can and should be told.

It is my hope that it is but the seed of what will become a huge "family" tree – a tree with hundreds of branches that will represent all of the Lebanese who came here at the end of the 19th and turn of the 20th centuries, as well as the hundreds of descendants who still inhabit this province.

I am quite excited about the potential for much greater documentation of the Lebanese story in this province. We have been telling our stories internally for generations. It is more than time for those stories to become an essential part of the public discourse.

CHAPTER 1

An Overview of the Establishment of the Lebanese Business Community in Newfoundland

ELLEN POWER

Newfoundland and Labrador is home to a diversity of cultures and ethnicities. Much has been written about how British and Irish immigration influenced Newfoundland society, but little attention has been given to how other non-European identities have contributed to the culture and economy of this province. Beginning with their arrival in the late 19th century, Lebanese immigrants established a successful business community despite the prejudices of Newfoundland society. The experience of the Lebanese diaspora shows how one group of immigrants and their descendants built a unique sense of place in Newfoundland, while also retaining family and cultural ties to their ancestral homeland.

The first Lebanese immigrants likely came to Newfoundland in the 1880s. At the time, Lebanon was not an independent country, but part of a larger Syrian province under the control of the Ottoman Empire. Most immigrants to North America were Maronite Christians from the Mount Lebanon region, who fled Lebanon to escape army conscription and religious persecution. A great number came from within a very specific locale, near the mountain town of Hadath el Jebbeh¹ (Dignam 2020). Extended families settled on the eastern seaboard of the United States and up into the Maritimes. From there, a few moved on to establish livelihoods in Newfoundland (Sullivan 1991). Family networks helped establish trade, travel, and social connection for Lebanese immigrants throughout this vast region.

In Newfoundland, Lebanese immigration began with peddlers – often based in Nova Scotia – who travelled around the island selling clothing and household goods. Their journeys took them to even the most remote outports of Newfoundland; one early 20th century school inspector described rural and remote Newfoundland as "parts of the country over which only an occasional missionary or [M]aronite...has passed" (Blackall 1912). Documents from the

^{1.} Hadath el Jebbeh is also sometimes written as Hadath El Jebbeh, Hadeth el Jebbeh, Hadeth-El-Jibeth, Hadeth el Joebbe, Hadeth-el-Joubbe, Hadeth-el-Joubbeh, and Hadeth.



Lebanese elders Bowring Park picnics, St. John's. Source: Terri Andrews.



Card games in the kitchen on New Gower Street, St. John's. Source: Terri Andrews.

late 19th century mention a Maronite peddler traversing the Codroy region as early as 1884 and another in Green Bay in 1889 (Howley 2009; *Daily Colonist* 1889). By the 1890s, a small Lebanese community was living in St. John's. Some still worked as peddlers, but by the middle of the decade several people were operating shops from fixed premises. Dry goods, grocers', and jewellers' shops were among the early businesses.

In 1920, Lebanon became its own country independent of Turkish rule. Before that, immigrants from the region were referred to in Newfoundland as Syrians, Assyrians, Maronites, or even in the census as Turks (Higgins and Callanan 2008). By this point, the Lebanese business community in Newfoundland was already thriving. It now extended across the island, with business people establishing new enterprises in the growing resource towns of central and western Newfoundland. St. John's, Bell Island, Botwood, Windsor, Corner Brook, and Stephenville (among others) were all home to multiple Lebanese-owned businesses. Business people ran the usual general stores and dry goods stores, but also restaurants, a dance hall, confectioneries, a photography studio, a theatre, and at least two hotels. Michael Basha, the son of Lebanese immigrants, was the owner and operator of Bay of Islands Light and Power. There was also still travel and business conducted with the Lebanese community outside of Newfoundland's borders. Some people returned to Lebanon to visit family or find a spouse; the links between Lebanon and the Lebanese diaspora remained strong throughout the 20th century. But much of the exchange was with the large Lebanese community in Nova Scotia, as the Newfoundland government's strict immigration policy severely limited immigration from Lebanon from the early 1900s until 1949.

Many Lebanese business owners chose to go by anglicised versions of their Arabic surnames. Some went by an English-language surname that sounded similar to theirs (ex: Khalil to Kelly) or simplified their surnames (ex: Tootonji to Tooton). Several chose to use their middle name instead. For example, well-known businessman Kaleem Noah believed Noah would be "easier" and more familiar for English speakers than his actual surname, Bacile. Families did not always approve of this change. One of Noah's daughters remembered a relative who "erased the name Noah from above her father's store on Water Street and replaced it with the original Arabic family name" (Ashton 1999). Some common surnames in Newfoundland's Lebanese community include Abbass, Alteen, Andrews, Basha, Boulos, Dominic, Faour, Gosine, Michael, and Tuma – among at least a dozen others (Sullivan 1991). These names represent family networks reaching back to Lebanon and out across the North American diaspora.

In some ways, Lebanese families settled with ease in Newfoundland. Early immigrants quickly established themselves in the business community and, being mostly Christians, acclimatised with relative ease to the prevailing culture. Maronite clergy occasionally visited St. John's from Nova Scotia or the United States to conduct services (Westcott 2019). Maronite Catholics otherwise attended the local Roman Catholic churches, as did the few Druze who immigrated. Lebanese immigrants often married into Newfoundland families. Like many merchants, they contributed time and money to charitable causes for the larger Newfoundland community. They were important players in local commerce and politics.

As an ethnic minority in a predominantly white Irish and English culture, the Lebanese community were not safe from discrimination. As previously mentioned, they were targeted by Newfoundland's restrictive immigration policies. The established merchant class felt threatened by the success of Lebanese (and other non-white) business people and some were quick to whip up xenophobia in the guise of economic policy.

This happened most notably during a Legislative Council meeting in 1906. Newfoundland's Legislative Council proposed a bill to exclude Chinese immigrants from settling in the country for fear that they would



Standing, L-R: Martha (Noah) Boulos, Ella (Elia) Andrews, Marina Joseph, Leo Boulos, Adla ("Annie") Ellis—spouse of Joseph, Theresa (Boulos) Lear. Seated, L-R: Cecelia Noah, Nisema Abbass (daughter of Dominic Richards Sphire), Bedra Michael, Almosa (Sphire) Corey—spouse of Peter, and Fred Louis Boulos, circa 1946. Source: J. Boulos.

take jobs away from Newfoundlanders. The bill also took aim at the "equally objectionable" Lebanese "whose habits and manner of life and business called for legislation," according to one Council member. He believed " [t] hey were a class of people who gave very little profit to the revenue. They travelled all over the country...and in many cases victimised unsuspecting purchasers" (*Evening Herald* 1906).

Lebanese business owners across the island refused to take these insults lying down. Several wrote editorials to their local papers to complain. Antonio Joseph, a shop owner in Bay of Islands (see Chapter 6), wrote to *The Western Star*:

I am compelled to defend myself and family and my fellow countrymen...Some of us have been in this country seventeen years, and our own pluck and perseverance placed us in the positions we occupy to-day...It seems strange why Mr. Angel [the Council member], who poses as a fair-spoken, truthful man, should have given utterance to such untruthful and slanderous expressions as those now used towards the Syrians; and it is now up to him to withdraw his assertions and apologize to those upon whom he has heaped calumny (Joseph 1906).

No apology was forthcoming and the 1906 "Aliens Act" was passed. Additional anti-immigrant legislation was passed in 1926, with the result that immigrants from Lebanon – and, in fact, most non-white or non-English-speaking immigrants – faced barriers entering the country until Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada in 1949.

Societal prejudices sometimes affected where Lebanese families settled and conducted business. In Corner Brook, Bowater's hiring practices were severely limited according to class, religion (Bowater did not employ Catholics), and ethnicity. The company would not give jobs to Lebanese or Jewish immigrants, said one Lebanese business owner:

Lebanese people – like, I'm a Lebanese – they couldn't get a job. And here I fought for my king and country and all that, b'y, couldn't get a job! ... I opened up this little candy shop and I did all right...I told my nephew and my grandnephew, "B'y, if you live by that [factory] whistle...you're going to find it hard to get a job because of who you are" (Noah 1980).

Without mill jobs, they were unable to live in Townsite. Many of the Lebanese-owned businesses in early 20th century Corner Brook were closer to Humbermouth and Bay of Islands. The shop of Antonio Joseph, who wrote the 1906 editorial in *The Western Star*, was almost literally on the 'wrong side of the tracks' by the railway station. But Lebanese and Jewish communities were also instrumental in the development of the Broadway business district, a historic neighbourhood now recognized as the commercial heart of the city. A similar situation occurred in Windsor, where popular Lebanese-owned businesses flourished after being excluded from the AND Company town of Grand Falls.

As in much of Canada, ethnically diverse neighbourhoods in Newfoundland were often the ones most deeply affected by urban renewal initiatives. Much of the Lebanese community in St. John's owned property within a few blocks of New Gower Street. The close-knit ties of the St. John's Lebanese community were forever changed when all the buildings on this part of New Gower Street were expropriated and demolished by the City in the mid-1960s to make room for new municipal buildings and a harbour arterial route. Families who had been established in the neighbourhood for decades were forced to move their homes and businesses elsewhere (Knott and Phyne 2018).

Despite facing historical prejudices, the story of the Lebanese business community in Newfoundland is one of resilience and success. Many of the family businesses that started in the 1910s and 1920s continued for decades. Some still operate today, and several of the buildings built for Lebanese business owners are still standing. The descendants of early Lebanese immigrants became prominent business people, community leaders, politicians, artists, and musicians. Of course, Newfoundland's Lebanese community is not limited to those whose ancestors came to Newfoundland in the late 19th and early 20th century. Since 1949, new immigrants from Lebanon have been welcomed into the thriving cultural community and have left their own mark on the business community, healthcare system, and civil service among others. Over 800 people of Lebanese descent live in the province today (Cadogan 2012). Third and fourth generation Lebanese Newfoundlanders remain proud of their cultural heritage and history in the province. They hold tight to cultural traditions and foodways passed down from their grandparents. Many still visit extended family members in Lebanon or have family connections across the North American Lebanese diaspora. Theirs is a unique diasporic identity, rooted in Newfoundland but still connected to their ancestral homeland.

CHAPTER 2

Sketches of Several Early Lebanese Immigrants in Newfoundland J. BOULOS

There are limited source materials available to trace the circumstances of many of Newfoundland's earliest Syrian-Lebanese immigrants. The details of some of those individuals who were still living in Newfoundland at the time of the 1921 census, are often clearer, including year and place of birth, and year of arrival in Newfoundland. Nonetheless, the newsprint and vital statistic records of the day, and some city and town directories from 1898 to the 1910s, help, at least, to identify some of these first visitors and settlers and shed some light on their lives and occupations during the time they were here. Many of these individuals are referenced elsewhere in this work, including Michael Joseph Sharlette (June 5, 1893, Evening Herald death notice and June 7, 1893, Evening Telegram funeral description), Mansour Joseph Sharlette (November 27, 1905, Evening Herald references to his Clarke's Beach and St. John's businesses dating back to the 1890s), Antonio Joseph, Mary and Michael Sweet (Swaid), Julia George and Michael Daniels, and family members represented within the surnames: Abbas, Alteen, Ahee/Ahey, Andrews, Basha, Boulos, Carbage/Corbage, Daniels, Dominic, Faour, Farris, Gaultois, George, Gosine, Herro, Joseph, Kawaja, Kelly, Michael, Nikosey, Noah, Sapp/Sabb/Saab, Shaheen/ Sheehan, Solo, Sphire, Tooton, Tuma and White.

What follows are brief profiles respecting several other early Lebanese immigrants.

NORMEY/NORMANIE/NOMANIM

There is reference to two Syrian peddlers – believed to be brothers – bearing the surname "Normey", in the King's Cove, Bonavista, area, as of April 2, 1902 (*James Ryan Ltd. Diaries*, Bonavista), and, again, referenced as "Normanie" and "Normey", in the Pilley's Island (northern Newfoundland) area, as of 1906 (*Evening Herald*, June 28 and July 13, 1906). An Antonio Nomanim is also referred to in a January 17, 1908, *Evening Telegram* article. No further references could be found after 1908.



John (Johnny) Joseph Simon (1918-2006): Jeweler, Businessman. Source: Mario Simon.



Helen L. Carbage (1926-1969). She was born on Bell Island in 1926 to Regina (née Basha, 1882-1956) and Michael Carbage (1874-1937), a General Dealer. They had emigrated from Syria in 1896. John and Helen married on August 1, 1951. Source: historic.wabana.com



David Sophia, Grocer, 17 New Gower. Mr. Sophia, shown here with his daughter. Source: Fred Adams.



Peter and Almosa (née Sphire) Corey wedding picture, May 20, 1922. Source: Carol Reade.

CHARLES CHIBLEY

Charles Chibley was a Syrian-Lebanese peddler who worked and lived in Newfoundland in the early 1900s. As of 1905, he was based in Seal Cove, White Bay, and then, in 1906, in nearby Twillingate, when, during insolvency proceedings, a judge imposed upon him a very harsh six-month, hard labour, term of incarceration, based on one creditor's complaint that Mr. Chibley had given preferential treatment to one of his creditors during his insolvency, instead of treating all of his creditors equally. He was still in Newfoundland as of November, 1907. It appears likely – and understandable – that he left Newfoundland thereafter, as no further references could be found (*Evening Telegram*, August 2, 1905, September 28, 1906, and *Evening Herald*, October 10 and 15 and November 30, 1906).

MAURICE MICHAEL AND EDWARD MICHAEL

Maurice Michael was a Syrian-Lebanese peddler and businessman who operated a store in Clarke's Beach in 1906, and thereafter a store in Norris Arm, as of 1908. Both businesses appear to have failed, in light of two reported insolvency hearings (*Evening Herald*, February 10, 1906 and May 26, 1908, and *Evening Telegram*, June 13, 1906).

Sadly, in early March, 1913, while working as a peddler in the Woods Island area, with his brother, Edward Michael, both men were presumed to have fallen in the ice and perished, between Woods Island and York Harbour, with only their packs being recovered on the ice (*Evening Telegram*, March 24 and April 5, 1913).

Maurice and Edwards were the brothers-in-law of Antoni Michael (of St. John's at the time, and later of Corner Brook). At the time of their death Michael was about 30 years of age (~1883-1913) and married, and Edward was unmarried. They were the younger brothers of Antoni Michael's wife, Maroon Torbey (Tarabay) (1877-1966), who all hailed from Tannourine, Mount Lebanon.

MICHAEL NOAH

There is a very early published Lebanese wedding ceremony announcement, from May, 1902 (*Evening Telegram*, "Maronite Wedding", May 7, 1902), between a Michael Noah and a Marie Michaels, whose wedding took place at St. Patrick's Church, St. John's. The article stated that the couple were going to Glenwood, "where Mr. Noah has been residing for some time past and where he is doing business." No further references could be found for these individuals and it is not understood in what manner, if at all, either of them may have been related to the Noah and Michael families of Newfoundland at the time, given the known members of each family.

CHARLIE JOSEPH FERRER/CHARLES JOSEPH

It is not known whether the published references respecting these two names – Charlie Joseph Ferrer and Charles Joseph – represent one individual, or two separate individuals.

In November 19, 1903, an *Evening Telegram* article spotlights an "Assyrian", Charlie Joseph Ferrer, who had then just received a letter from his long-lost brother, Jose Ferrer, in Mexico, who he had not heard from in six years, when they both had emigrated from Lebanon together, and who Charlie had, until that moment, assumed to be dead.

A Charles Joseph, peddler, is listed in the *McAlpine's 1898 Directory for St. John's*, residing at 48 ½ George Street, with two other peddlers, Mark Joseph and Michael Joseph. In March 26, 1907, an *Evening Telegram* article stated that Charles Joseph, a Syrian peddler, was then dying at the Salvation Army Food Shelter, and that he "was well known to the outport trade, during the spring and fall time among the fishermen to whom he sold necklets, rings, brooches, etc." Subsequent articles confirmed that he died from tuberculosis on June 18, 1907, and that he was to be buried at Mount Carmel Cemetery (*Evening Herald*, March 22, 1907, and *Evening Telegram*, May 24, 1907, June 12 and 19, 1907).

JOHN JOSEPH

In the 1915 *City Directory*, a John Joseph is listed at 99 New Gower Street. On December 26, 1916, the *Evening Telegram* reported that three youths burglarized "the store of John Joseph, a Syrian…and a quantity of cigarettes, oranges, apples" and the like, was stolen. Nothing else is known of John Joseph.

RICHARD JOSEPH

Richard Joseph was born in 1881 (Rashid Shedro) in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, and emigrated from there to Columbia, South America, in the early 1900s where his son, Dufie, was born in 1904. His spouse, Kaufa Elia, from the same town, was a sister of Albert ("Habib") Michael of St. John's and of Antonio ("Tanous") Michael, of St. John's and, later, of Corner Brook. Richard and his family came to St. John's in 1906. He and his family ran a confectionery store on New Gower Street in the 1920s and 1930s, before moving back to South America thereafter (1921 Census, 1932 City Directory and *Evening Telegram*, April 23, 1919).

ABRAHAM JOSEPH

Abraham Joseph, born in 1872, and Josephine Joseph (1880-1954), also travelled from Mount Lebanon to St. John's, and operated a confectionery store on New Gower Street. Abraham is listed in the 1904 and the 1913 *City*

Directories for St. John's as a peddler, and he is also recorded in the 1915 and 1924 City Directories (1921 census and 1935 census; Daily Globe, April 3, 1926, store advertisement; Daily News, January 4, 1954, obituary for Josephine Joseph).

MICHAEL JOSEPH

Michael Joseph (-1886-1956) was born in Mount Lebanon. He is listed with his spouse, Hannah (-1903-1944), and their children, in the 1935 census. Their first child was apparently born around 1926. He had a confectionery and fruit store in Corner Brook at least throughout the 1930s and 1940s (*Newfoundland Business Directory*, 1938 and 1941 editions). It is believed that he first worked as a peddler in the St. John's area, where a Michael Joseph is listed in the 1898 *City of St. John's Directory*, before moving to the West Coast. It is not known if Michael Joseph was related in any manner to Antonio Joseph, late of Humbermouth.

MRS. FRANCIS HOWARD AND SON, SAMUEL HOWARD

In November 28, 1905, an *Evening Herald* article stated that Mrs. Francis Howard, "the oldest of the Maronite people here, who arrived over 20 years ago, leaves for New York by this evening's express. She will be accompanied by her son, Mr. Samuel Howard, who will return. Mrs. Howard goes to Lebanon to visit friends and being in ill health may not return here again." Not much else is known about Mrs. Howard. Her son, Samuel Howard, was listed in the 1904 *McAlpine City Directory* as a peddler boarding at 78 New Gower Street.

JOHN HOWLEY

There was a Lebanese businessman, John Howley, who married Maggie Brennan, of St. John's, on April 22, 1909, at St. Patrick's Church (*Evening Telegram*, April 22, 1909). What his actual surname was is unknown, however, it is possible that it may have been the same, or similar to, the actual Lebanese surname of Mrs. Francis Howard. Kalleem Noah acted as the best man at the 1909 wedding. In the 1913 *City Directory*, Mr. Howley is listed as the proprietor of a variety store at 80 New Gower Street. He apparently left Newfoundland in August, 1913 (*Evening Telegram*, August 9, 1913).

MICHAEL G. ANTHONY

In April 11, 1906, an *Evening Telegram* article advised that a "Michael G.Anthony, the well-known Maronite, died at Old Perlican last week. He was 28 years of age, and was there doing business. He caught a severe cold, and died after a few days' illness." He was buried at Bay de Verde, which suggests that he resided and worked there at the time of his passing.

SALEH MESOOD

On July 27, 1914, the Evening Telegram reported that "S. Mesood, a Syrian, who recently arrived in the city... is bemoaning the loss of \$200.00, which he thinks must have gone through the pocket of a new coat purchased at a Water Street store on Saturday last." Not much is known about this individual, however, there is a later reference to an S. Masood and an F. Masood, as passengers on a coastal boat travelling to Channel-Port-aux-Basques (*Evening Telegram*, October 2, 1919). Also, in the October 19, 1921, edition of the Western Star, it stated that "... a beautiful store has been filled out at St. Andrews with dry goods, jewellery, footwear and all kinds of refreshments by J. Masood, of Channel, where he has Allan A. McIsaac as a clerk, doing a wonderful business in buying farm produce and rabbits." It is not known if "J. Masood" is the "S. Masood" who was in St. John's in 1914. A June 7, 1923, Evening Telegram insolvency legal notice refers to a "Saleh Masood, of Channel, General Dealer", and in 1924 an S. Masood is again noted as being a passenger on the S.S. Kyle, with a destination of Port-aux-Basques (Evening Telegram, April 5, 1924).

SOLO WYDETTI/WYDETTE

The Evening Herald and Evening Telegram (September 18, 1914) make reference to a Syrian peddler, Solo Wydetti, respecting a misappropriation allegation by his Lebanese principal, the accuracy of which allegation is unknown. Two months later, however, a November 14, 1914, Evening Telegram article stated that "Solo Wydette, a 30-year-old Turk, was arrested and will be held as a prisoner of war. This is the first Turk to be arrested since Turkey took sides with Germany in the European conflict. The police detectives are now endeavouring to round up all the Turks they can as well as the Germans." It is not known if Mr. Wydette hailed from Syria/Lebanon, or from Turkey, given the conflicting references in these two articles, however, it is not believed that any other Syrian-Lebanese individuals in Newfoundland were similarly treated as was this unfortunate individual. His name turns up again as a donor to the Syrian Patriotic Fund (St. John's Daily Star and Evening Telegram, October 19, 1916), as "Salah Wydette, Trout River".

THE MURPHY AND SIMON SURNAMES

In the early 1900s, three brothers from Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, Mirshid Bascile, Latouf Bascile, and Mifleh Bascile, resided and worked in the St. John's area. Their father's name was Yusef Bascile, and they were cousins of the Noah (Bascile) family in Newfoundland. Mifleh took his father's first name, Joseph, as his own first name in Newfoundland, and modified his

own actual first name to "Murphy," thus becoming Joseph Murphy. Similarly, Mirshid Bascile became Richard Murphy, and Latouf Bascile became Walter Murphy. Their sister, Akleh Bascile, was the mother of Martha (née Noah/Bascile) Boulos of St. John's and of Joseph J. Noah of Corner Brook. Walter applied for citizenship papers in 1909 (*Evening Telegram*, April 26, 1909). Walter and Richard Murphy eventually returned to Lebanon. As of 1902, at least, Joseph Murphy (1872-1934) was associated with Kalleem Noah's firm. As of 1905, he was managing a store for Mr. Noah in Harbour Grace and he appears to have continued to be affiliated with Mr. Noah's businesses for another ten years thereafter (*Evening Herald*, November 8, 1902 and November 29, 1905). He was the Vice-President of the "Newfoundland Fisherman's Star of the Sea Association" from 1924-1934. The 1932 *City Directory* of St. John's lists a Joseph Murphy, "wholesale dry goods," at 54 New Gower Street, and this is likely the same individual. He is buried at Belvedere Cemetery.

As of 1914-1915, there was also a Michael Murphy who had a store in Trepassey (he was noted as a donor to the Syrian Patriotic Fund during this time period). He was born at Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, around 1885 and died in Trepassey in April, 1915, from tuberculosis, at 31 years of age. In January 5, 1917, an *Evening Telegram* Estate notice indicates that he was also known as Michael Rafael. He was also a cousin to the Noah (Bascile) family in Newfoundland. Family tree information for this family indicates that his birth name was Maklouf Rafael Bascile, and that his spouse's Arabic first name was Zahia. Letters of Administration filed for his Estate disclose that his spouse's name was Rose Murphy and that they had four young sons: Ralph, Joseph, Simon, and Benedict, born between 1908 to 1914, who were apparently left orphaned in 1916. Benedict passed away in January, 1917, and the remaining children were residing at Mount Cashel Orphanage as of the date of the 1921 Census (*Evening Telegram*, January 5, 1917).

Karum Simon ("Bascile") (1871-1938) and Rose Simon (born in 1874) came to Newfoundland from Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon. Karum was also a cousin to the Noah (Bascile) family in Newfoundland. He and his spouse first came to St. John's in the late 1890s (their son, Sam, having been born in St. John's in 1904), and then moved to Botwood a few years later. A June 13, 1917, death notice in the *Evening Telegram* for another son, Joseph Simon, age 23, stated that there were then five surviving sons. At least two of these surviving sons had remained in Hadath el Jebbeh. Another son was John Simon (1918-2006). He and his spouse, Helen (née Carbage), had a jewellery store on Bell Island in the 1950s and 1960s, before relocating to St. John's, where John opened a jewellery store on Duckworth Street – called House of Simon – which he operated into the 1980s. He would sometimes remark that he had brothers in Lebanon that he had never met.

JOSEPH ELLIS

Joseph Ellis (1870-1955) was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon. The 1921 census indicates that he emigrated in 1890. His January 8 and 26, 1955, *Daily News* death notices stated that he first came to Newfoundland in 1895. He was said to have operated a very successful business on Bell Island – likely from 1895 to 1902 – then another in Witless Bay for 20 years and, finally, a long-established dry goods business on New Gower Street, St. John's, before retiring in 1947. He was first married to Veronica Harrington, of Witless Bay, in January, 1903 (*Evening Telegram*, January 19, 1903), until her death in June, 1906. He then married the former Ida Maulouff ("Annie Ellis"), of Boston. He was buried in Witless Bay. His two children, Eliza and George, died in 1924 and 1956, respectively.

MELIN THOMAS

There was another dry goods store owner from Mount Lebanon, working in St. John's as of the time of the 1915 *City Directory* and the 1921 census. Melin Thomas was a widower and was born in 1870. He had resided in Vermont, U.S.A., as of 1907, before coming to Newfoundland. He had three children residing with him as of 1921, and he appears to have left Newfoundland around 1923 (*Evening Telegram*, June 30, 1923).

DAVID SOPHIA

Another Syrian-Lebanese immigrant, David Sophia, is believed to have arrived in Newfoundland from Lebanon in either the late-1800s or early-1900s. He operated a grocery store at 17 New Gower Street, St. John's, as noted in the 1913 City Directory. He is believed to have returned to Lebanon sometime after that.

GEORGE ANDREWS

As of March 2, 1907, George Andrews and his family were living in Harbour Grace, where George was "keeping shop" for Antonio Michael of St. John's (*Evening Telegram*, March 2, 1907). George Andrews is most likely Albert (Ablain) G. Andrews, later of St. John's, who apparently was first known as "George" Andrews when he first arrived in Newfoundland via Lebanon and New Glasgow, Nova Scotia (see Chapter 15).

PETER COREY AND THE SPHIRE FAMILY

Peter Corey was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, around 1890. He first settled in New York before coming to St. John's, where he married Elizabeth Sphire (born in the same Lebanese town in 1894) in 1922. They then operated a confectionery store on New Gower Street (first, with

Elizabeth's mother, Mary Sphire, until the latter's death in 1927 and, thereafter, as "Corey's Confectionery Store") until retiring, likely in the late 1950s, when they returned to Hadath el Jebbeh. Mr. Corey unfortunately succumbed to injuries he sustained in a fall while repairing his roof.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Mary Sphire's brother, Dominic Richards (Sphire), born in Hadath el Jebbeh (~1868-1955), and his spouse (Amelia Richards, 1875-1949) and family, also operated a confectionery store on New Gower Street (1921 census and 1932 *City Directory*). He had lived and worked in Norris Arm prior to that. Mary Sphire's son, Albert Sphire (1895-1919), also had a store on New Gower Street prior to his death.

On May 11, 1906, a Thomas N. Sphire wrote a letter to the editor of The Evening Herald, wherein he stated that he had been in Newfoundland for seven years, during the past five of which he had "carried on an extensive business at Glenwood, dealing in general merchandise". He stated that he had been married in Newfoundland and had two children born in Newfoundland, that he was a naturalized citizen and that he had "purchased land, cultivated it, erected buildings thereon and [was the] owner of cattle." In January, 1907, an Evening Telegram notice stated that he had bought land in Botwood with Karum Simon, from which they intended to carry on business later that year. As of February 19, 1908, an Evening Telegram notice stated that Thomas N. Sphire, of Norris Arm, had opened a hotel there, called Jubilee Hotel. The last known reference to him was in a May 24, 1909, Evening Telegram article advising of the tragic accidental death of his six-year-old son, Thomas, in Norris Arm. It is not known how exactly he may have been related to the St. John's Sphires, however, Dominic Richards (Sphire) had formerly resided and worked in Norris Arm during the same time period.

JAMES SUFFIDY

The published names of the donors to the Syrian Patriotic Fund, from 1914 and 1916, noted earlier herein, reference donations by a "K. Saffety" (of Carbonear) in 1914, and a "K. Soffelly" (of Bell Island) in 1916. This is likely a reference to the Syrian surname "Suffidy". Beyond the inference that this individual – assuming it was one person and not two separate individuals – obviously had some sort of business in each of these two towns in those respective years, not much more is known about him.

It is possible that this is the James Suffidy (~1892-1978) who is listed in the 1921 census for Burin. He was born in Damascus, Syria, and found his way to Burin in the 1910s. In 1919, he married Mary Ann Jarvis (the widow of Captain John Jarvis, lost at sea in 1917 with 22 others in the sinking of Burin schooner, Mina Swim). Mary Ann had five children from her first

marriage, and she and James Suffidy had five more children during their marriage. One of these children, George Suffidy, was born in Burin in 1922 and served in the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) during World War Two and also later served overseas in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). James and Mary Ann relocated to Cape Breton in the early 1920s (1921 census; online marriage records and online obituary for George Joseph Suffidy, 1922-2011).

Lebanese-born, Captain Abraham Carbage (1890-1936) and his Lebanese-born brother-in-law, Simon Herro (1891-1959), were also Burin contemporaries of James Suffidy (1921 census) (see Chapter 13).

ISAAC KESSOP

Near the Burin Peninsula, there was one other Lebanese merchant who operated a successful business from the town of St. Jacques, within Hermitage Bay, in the late 1800s to 1911, the year of his sudden passing in that town, from bronchitis, at age 52. Isaac Kessop (~1859-1911), sometimes "Kassop", was apparently born in Beirut and immigrated to America around 1886. From Sydney, Nova Scotia, he first went to St. John's, and then settled at St. Jacques, where his death notice stated that "he carried on a prosperous business and made a good deal of money" (*Evening Telegram*, December 4, 1911, and online death record). He is listed in the 1904 *McAlpine's Newfoundland Directory* as a trader in St. Jacques. In 1899 the *Mercantile Navy List* stated that he was then the owner of a 30-ton schooner, "Gowan Gem", which he apparently used in his merchant business. He appeared to have made frequent trips to and lengthy stays in St. John's for his business (*Evening Herald*, September 5, 1905; *Evening Telegram*, March 6, 1906 and June 13, 1911).

THE KELLY FAMILY

This Syrian-Lebanese surname apparently originated from the Christian first name "Khalil" (Ashton, 1999). An *Evening Telegram* article on January 19, 1909, also refers to a civil court proceeding involving a "Kaled Jaked Kaley," which may provide a further clue as to this surname's origin in Newfoundland. There were at least four separate, likely related, Syrian-Lebanese families who settled in the Central and/or Western regions of Newfoundland from the early 1900s to the 1930s who bore and assumed this surname, and who were each involved in some form of business enterprise.

Charles Kelly (born in Syria/Lebanon about 1875) married Harriet Dumaresque in L'Anse-au-Clair, Labrador, Newfoundland, in 1906. The accessible online marriage record states that he was a trader by occupation and that he was a widower. He and Harriet lived in L'Anse-au-Clair from,

at least, 1906-1914, and then moved to the present-day Corner Brook area (first in Bay of Islands, then in Petries) as of, at least, 1918 (1921 census).

Abraham Kelly (born in Beirut around 1856, according to census records) was living and working in St. John's from at least 1903-1907, and then in Bishop's Falls as of the 1916 and 1921 census.

Albert Kelly (born about 1883 in Beirut, also according to census records) was living and working in Gambo as of 1907, then in Bishop's Falls as of 1916, and in Grand Falls as of the 1921 census.

David Kelly (born about 1869, in Beirut) was residing and working in Woody Island as of 1916 and as of the 1921 census. David, Abraham and Albert Kelly are all listed as contributors to the Syrian Patriotic Fund as of October 19, 1916, in the *St. John's Daily Star*, and in other similar newspaper publications from that date.

THE SOLO FAMILY

Joseph Solo (1882-1952) was born Sulieman Yousif Saleh, at Majdal, Golan Heights, Syria, and came to Newfoundland in 1912. He and his



Joe Solo (Sulieman Yousif Saleh). Source: Robert C. Parsons.

spouse, Agnes (1890-1974), married in 1917 and they resided in Branch, St. Mary's Bay, where they operated two stores. Joseph was also sometimes referred to as Simon Solo at one point, in media references. They had 12 children during their marriage, and they relocated to Humber, Corner Brook, in the mid-1920s, where they and their family operated a general store until Joseph's death (Telegram, May 23, 1999, "How Joe Solo Got His Name," by Robert C. Parsons, and 1921 census). Joe Solo's later store in Corner Brook West was erected on Broadway in 1934 (Western Star, August 15, 1934).

SULIMAN SHEEHAN

Suliman Sheehan (perhaps a derivation of "Shaheen") was born in 1879 in Rachaya, in



Suliman Sheehan. Source: Who's Who in and from Newfoundland 1930, page 221.

Bekka Valley, Lebanon. He was an accountant and a merchant. He attended high school in Grand Rapids, Michigan, U.S.A., resided in Montreal from 1907-1912, and came to Newfoundland sometime thereafter, perhaps in the 1910s or 1920s. He had been a private business owner since 1912 (Who's Who in and from Newfoundland, 1930 and 1937 editions). He was the principal of a corporation in the 1920s-1930s called "S. Sheehan & Co.", that lost a building in a November, 1921 fire in Deer Lake (Newfoundland Weekly, November, 1931). He also carried on a wholesale grocery business in Corner Brook in the 1930s. A May 16, 1934, Western Star notice declared that the company

had then decided to enter into a 20 percent profit-sharing arrangement with its employees. He resided in Corner Brook West at the time of the 1935 census.

CHAPTER 3

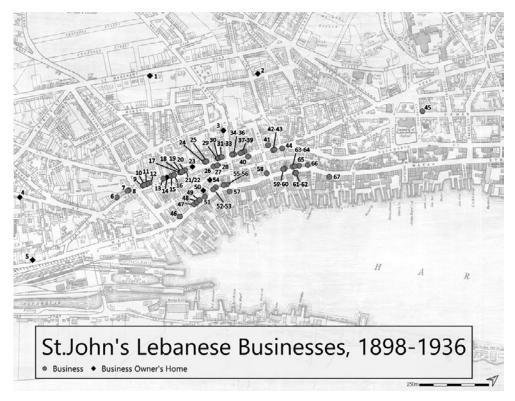
Mapping the Lebanese Business Community in St. John's, 1898-1936 MARYSSA BARRAS

At the start of 2021, HeritageNL began to research the Lebanese business community across Newfoundland as part of its Provincial Historic Commemorations Program. The original commemorations application, submitted by Lorraine Michael with the help of several other Lebanese Newfoundlanders, already included some substantial information on historic business owners across the province, including the years and historic addresses of their operations. Inspired by this initial collection of data, HeritageNL decided to launch a mapping initiative, focusing on St. John's, to help visualize where the historic Lebanese community was located and how it has changed over time.

Using this data, and additional information collected using 10 Newfoundland directories from 1898-1936, this report describes the research and mapping process – including a geographic analysis of the early history of the Lebanese business community in St. John's.

DATA COLLECTION

When collecting mapping data it is important to keep clear goals in mind. The database we initially received, for example, includes information on Lebanese businesses from across the province from the late 19th to late 20th centuries. On such a large scale, the geographic and temporal scopes of the information collected would have made it impossible to create a single map that was able to show the nuances of the Lebanese community's presence across the province. Given this, to help direct and manage goals, we decided that our initial geographic analysis would need to be focused on a single community over a limited span of time, with plans for future research to do the same for different regions. Ultimately, due to the accessibility of archival and mapping resources and the large size of the Lebanese population within its limits, we decided that our first geographic analysis should focus on the city of St. John's.



1898-1936 St. John's Lebanese Businesses. This is not a complete list of Lebanese businesses across the province. See Appendix 8 for the list of St. John's businesses. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.

Temporally, visualising all of the Lebanese businesses to have existed in St. John's for the entirety of the community's 150 years on the island is a complicated task. Showing hundreds of businesses and home addresses on a single map would overcrowd the city and make it hard to distinguish what is old versus what is new, and even make it difficult to depict the exact locations of places. Given this, we narrowed our time frame for this research to the earliest phase of Lebanese settlement in Newfoundland beginning around the 1880s and ending in 1936 (see Chapter 1). The 1936 end date for this first phase does not mark a significant event in the Lebanese community, but instead reflects an arbitrary end year based on the last city directory available for this research. While 1936 is an arbitrary year, it coincidentally also lines up nicely with the end of an initial period of growth for the Lebanese community and immediately precedes a period of social change caused by the expropriation of many Lebanese businesses and homes along New Gower Street, as discussed later in this article.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE LEBANESE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN ST. JOHN'S

The arrival of Lebanese immigrants to St. John's was gradual, as was their introduction into the business community, with the earliest records of Lebanese businesses occuring circa 1890. Of course, there is evidence both through immigration records and family histories which reliably dates the earliest arrivals to the city to the 1880s, but I found no reliable sources with the addresses of Lebanese-owned businesses for the period prior to 1890. As such, it is possible for there to have been a few small businesses established before this time – but no recognizable business community on a large scale.

The business community in the 1890s was very small. I was only able to find a total of three businesses at this time through my research, including one peddler. Nonetheless, this steadily grew so that by 1904 there were six businesses in the city. From 1904 until about 1919 the growth of the Lebanese business community remained somewhat slow, but following 1919, and the end of World War One, businesses began to pop up at a faster pace.

While there were a smaller number of businesses in the first half of this period, this is not a reflection of a small Lebanese population, nor failed businesses, but instead it is a reflection of the migration of Lebanese people through St. John's to other communities. Families like the Kawajas, for example, were only in St. John's briefly before moving to the West Coast of the Island (see Chapter 8).

Spatially, it is quite clear to see that the Lebanese business community in St. John's was overwhelmingly located in the west end of the downtown area throughout the 1898-1936 period, mostly along New Gower Street and Water Street. Temporally, however, we can see that the first Lebanese businesses were mostly located along the north side of Water Street, with fewer businesses along New Gower. Between 1919 and 1928, a collective move happened in the community when many businesses on Water Street either closed or moved to New Gower Street. From 1928 until 1936 the growth of the Lebanese business community stayed centrally located along New Gower, in the area today occupied by the St. John's Convention Centre, City Hall, and other large buildings.

NEW GOWER STREET

Historically, the west end of New Gower abutted a neighbourhood then known as the 'Central Slum,' which has since been demolished. Primarily

populated by poor Catholics of Irish descent, this area was underdeveloped compared to surrounding neighbourhoods, lacking sewer and water lines, with a large proportion of houses evaluated as unfit for habitation (Baker 1983). The poor condition of these houses was primarily the fault of a number of absentee landlords who failed to maintain their properties appropriately, renting their homes at cheap rates to poor individuals who were unable to afford anything better (Lorraine Michael, personal communication with author, 2021). Initially, prior to Confederation, discussion by the City of St. John's about the slum did not result in much tangible action. While the living conditions in the slum were a concern for city officials they lacked the funds to be able to address the area to any real effect (Phyne 2014). This began to change as discussion intensified in the few years prior to Confederation in 1949, but actionable planning and slum management initiatives were not undertaken until after Confederation.

Crucially, despite the indiscriminate definition of the Central Slum as impoverished, this was not an accurate portrayal of everyone living and working in the area. All of the homes and shops on New Gower, for example, were connected to City water lines and occupied by middle class merchants,



The Andrews Range, New Gower Street, St. John's. Source: The Rooms, St. John's, Collection, Item B 5-30, 1915 2.



Mary Cromwell's shop, 102 New Gower Street, St. John's, circa 1960s. Source: City of St. John's Archives #11-03-270.

distinctly separating them from the buildings behind the street (Higgins and Callanan 2008; Phyne 2014). The distinction between New Gower Street and the Central Slum was also identity based. While the area north of New Gower was overwhelmingly Irish Catholic, New Gower Street included a significant racialized community of recent immigrants, composed primarily of Lebanese people and some Chinese people (Ashton 1999).

By the end of the 1920s, New Gower Street had become a recognizable and distinctly Lebanese part of town. Recalling her youth on New Gower Street in the mid-20th century Lorraine Michael noted that:

I knew I was part of a community that they didn't know... stand with your back to the Majestic and look westward on

New Gower Street. That whole street was stores, shops, and families living over them. A large majority of those were Lebanese and Chinese as well...The whole street all the way up you would find the Lebanese community, and stores down on Water Street as well...The whole community was there (personal communication with author, 2021).

Despite this strong sense of community, and the overall prosperity of the Lebanese business community throughout the early 20th century, this period of growth was eventually cut short by changing city policy.

By the late 1950s, slum management approaches took a turn as city officials determined that a policy of urban renewal and relocation would be the most efficient means of improving the conditions of the central slums (Phyne 2014). An outgrowth of this planning was the expropriation, demolition, and removal of hundreds of homes in the Central Slum in order to make space for City Hall, which was followed decades later by the Mary Brown's Centre (formerly Mile One Centre) and other buildings there today (Phyne 2014). Despite the business community on New Gower Street being distinct from the neighbourhood behind them and having access to water and sewer connections, the largely racialized community of immigrants on New Gower were not spared from forced relocation.

On New Gower Street they were all together...when the City made the decision to expropriate basically the north side of New Gower, and eventually it was all the north side was expropriated, it was a very terrible thing that happened because not only was it something that affected the Lebanese community because *geographically* people were no longer going to be living as neighbours with each other...and that meant taking away people's livelihoods...everything on the bottom floor [was] a store...for us as a community it was heartbreaking (Lorraine Michael, personal communication with author, 2021).

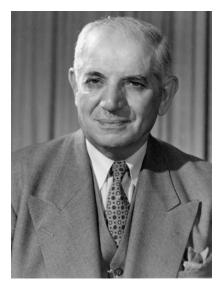
From the 1960s onwards then, the Lebanese community in St. John's became much more dispersed. While further research is required to accurately outline the roles which prejudice, racism, and xenophobia played in the decision to expropriate a successful, tight-knit, middle class community of immigrant business owners alongside the Central Slum, they likely played a role in the decision to demolish the north side of New Gower (Ashton 1999; Phyne 2014).

DEMOGRAPHY OF THE LEBANESE BUSINESS COMMUNITY IN ST. JOHN'S

In the end, addresses for a total of 43 unique businesses and the addresses for 23 business owners' homes were collected over the course of this research. The vast majority of these businesses were unfortunately destroyed, as noted, in the late mid-20th century to make room for new construction projects. Notably, despite the wide range and large number of businesses over the 62 year period, only a small number of surnames are represented including: Tooton, Noah, Corey, Andrews, Kawaja, Boulos, Faour, Nikosey, Michael, Basha, Ellis, Murphy, Sweet, and Joseph (Ashton 1999).

In this early period of Lebanese-Newfoundlander history businesses were somewhat limited in scope, with the majority of people working as peddlers or running grocery, dry goods, and confectionery stores. As the community grew throughout the 1900s, the diversity of businesses also expanded, with new Lebanese-run interests in hardware, jewellery, and clothing. By 1932 there was even a bowling alley and billiard hall owned by Anthony K. Noah. One business venture that stands out among others though is the photography business empire operated by the Tooton family throughout the 20th century.

Upon arrival in Newfoundland brothers Simon and Anthony Tooton quickly established themselves as photographers. Simon Tooton immigrated by 1902 as a mineral prospector (*Western Star* 1902; Tooton 2018), and



Anthony Tooton. Source: City of St. John's Archives #14-01-06.

was initially active on the West Coast and across the province (Western Star 1903) before moving to St. John's where he married Frances Peddle in 1909 (Newfoundland Vital Statistics Division). By 1908 Simon was listed as the proprietor of a photography studio in St. John's at 310 Water Street, with his brother Anthony also opening a photography studio at 406 Water Street around the same time. While Simon's business was initially more prolific, Anthony was the primary photographer for the brothers' enterprise and quickly overtook the operations after he bartered a deal with the Kodak company which granted him exclusive licensing on



Portrait of men of the extended family of Habib and Bedra Michael. Standing L-R: Leo Michael (Sheffi), Fred Michael (Ferdoun), Gus Duffy (family friend), Chris Andrews (nephew). Seated L-R: Mickey Michael (Mikhail) Albert Michael (Habib, the father) Father Joe Michael, O.M.I. (nephew) Albert Andrews (nephew), Frankie Cromwell (nephew). Source: City of St. John's Archives #01-67-001.

Kodak Announcement!

I wish to announce to all my friends and the public in general that I HAVE OPENED MY NEW KODAK STORE, No. 320 WATER STREET (opposite A. Goodridge & Sons). This store will be devoted absolutely to the

EASTMAN KODAK PRODUCTS,

and a full line of amateur and professional photo supplies will be carried, featuring the new

AUTOGRAPHIC KODAK,

and films to fit every known Camera. Purchasers of Camera; will have the benefit of my long photographic experience, and every detail will be thoroughly explained in such a manner that before leaving the store amateurs may rest assured that they will be able to begin 'KODAKING' with best possible results right from the start. Outport patrons will have their wants promptly attended to, and free catalogue will be sent upon request. If you need anything in the photo supply line see our stock first. All our goods represent the latest production of the EASTMAN KODAK COMPANY.

"If it's a Kodak "-"It's at Tooton's."

THE KODAK SUPPLY STORE, Water Street.

Ad for Tooton's shop on Water Street, St. John's. Source: Evening Telegram, June 10, 1915.

Kodak products in all of Newfoundland (Tooton 2018). Over the years, Anthony successfully opened several camera stores and studios as a result of this deal, eventually expanding into other provinces and setting up a business which would remain successful long after his death.

While the vast majority of business owners in St. John's were unsurprisingly men, in this early period of Lebanese history in Newfoundland some women were listed as business owners, and many more were listed as employees of these businesses. Mrs E. Faour (born Mary Noah 1902-1973 and known as Mamie), for example, ran a shop in 1928 in St. John's after the death of her husband Edward Faour (1896-1927) before later moving to Corner Brook with her two young children (Andrews 1928; *Newfoundland Dept. of Public Health and Welfare* 1937). From the 1940s onwards, even



Albert Michael's storefront, 74 New Gower Street, St. John's, circa 1960s. Source: City of St. John's Archives, #11-03-270

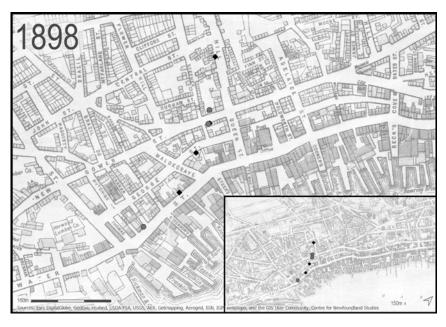
more women became business proprietors - including Mary Cromwell, born Mary (Khaltoum) Michael in 1909, a single mother of seven children who ran a corner confectionery for many years before the historic New Gower Street was demolished.

While each business supported and employed immediate, and sometimes extended, family members, the actual owners of businesses and storefronts were limited to a handful of people. For example, Kalleem Noah, who is perhaps the most renowned individual of this period, employed several members of his family at a time and incorporated other family members' businesses under his name (see Chapter 5). Albert Michael, and Edward and Joseph Boulos similarly ran impressive enterprises, operating longstanding businesses which employed their family members.

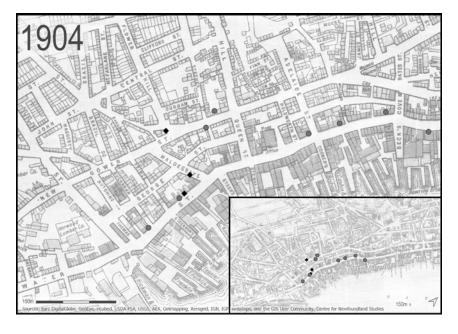
Overall, regardless of who ran the shop, the Lebanese business community as a whole can be defined by its success (Higgins and Callanan 2008). Recent immigrants in any time period have faced issues of discrimination which negatively impact their abilities to thrive, but early Lebanese businesspeople were well equiped to establish and sustain properous business enterprises despite the prejudices they faced (Joseph 1906; Phyne 2014).

CONCLUSION

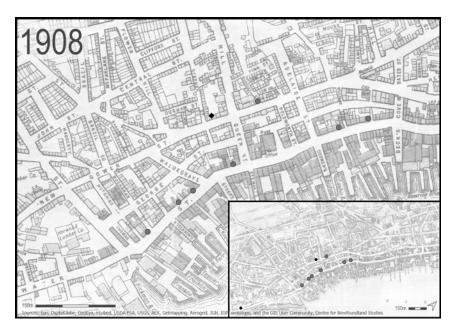
The Lebanese business community in Newfoundland has had a longstanding presence in St. John's with roots extending back to the 1890s. The earliest immigrants to the city created a strong and prosperous sense of community in the west end that would last until the 1960s, when most people were forcibly removed from their homes on New Gower Street. The following destruction of the historic buildings on New Gower Street has irreversibly erased a great deal of the historic Lebanese business built landscape, highlighted by the modern maps in this report. Nonetheless, regardless of the challenges the community faced, the closely connected collection of families were able to use the success of their community and business network to overcome the challenges they faced during the 1960s, and today remain important members of the city of St. John's.



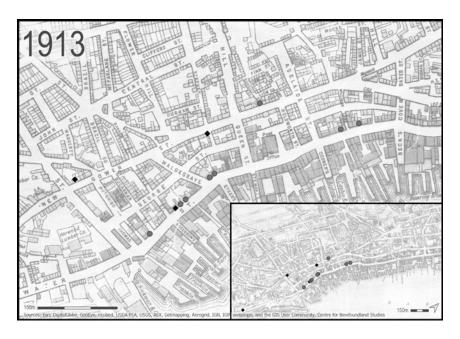
 $1898\,\textsc{-}$ Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



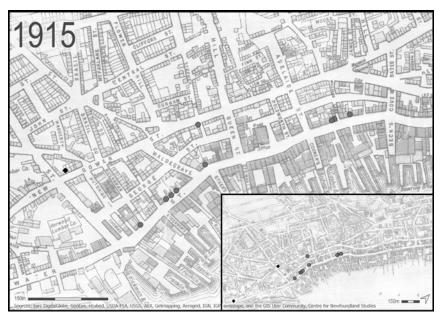
1904 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



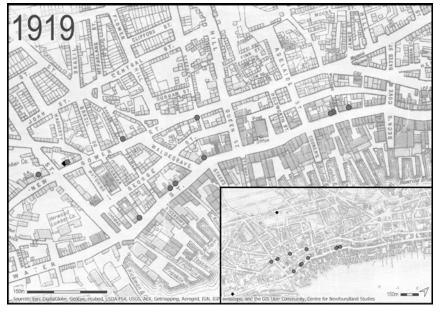
 $1908\,$ - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



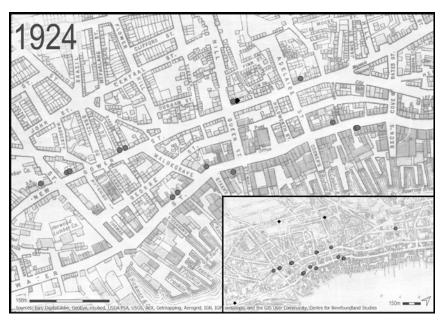
1913 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



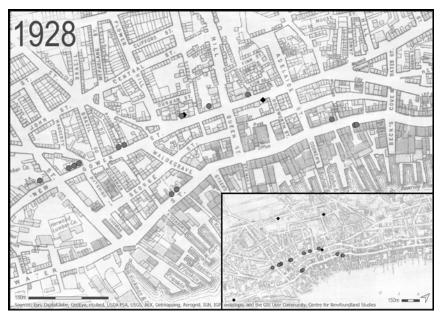
1015 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



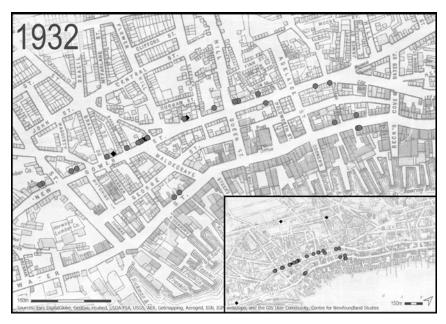
1919 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



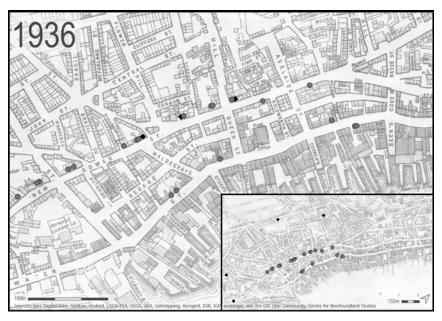
1924 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



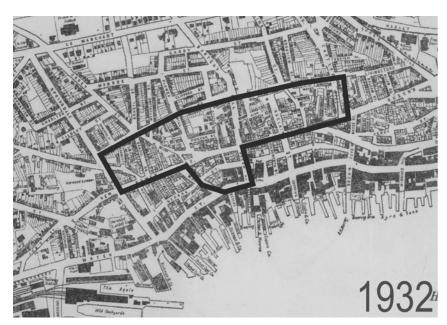
1928 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



1932 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



1936 - Locations of Lebanese-owned businesses and residences by year. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL.



wayfinder-1932 - Source (above): Ryan, W.P. Map of Saint John's Newfoundland from official plans and actual surveys. S. Condon; St. John's. https://collections.mun.ca/digital/collection/maproom/id/13/rec/3.



2020 - Source (below): Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, i-cubed, USDA FSA, USGS, AEX, Getmapping, Aerogrid, IGN, IGP, swisstopo, and the GIS User Community.

CHAPTER 4

Mary and Michael Sweet (Swaid): Early Lebanese Peddlers in St. John's

Many of the early Lebanese immigrants who came to Newfoundland in the late 19th century established themselves as peddlers. Mary and Michael Swaid were two such people. They came to St. John's around 1891, likely arriving from the United States. Using the modified surname "Sweet," the middle-aged married couple quickly became well-known in the city. Michael Sweet set himself up as a jeweller and his wife Mary travelled around the city to sell their merchandise. Theirs was a common profession among Lebanese immigrants at the time. One writer commented that there was "[n]ot a cove in the West-end but has a representative posted there, with pack and trays full of tempting trinkets" (*Evening Herald* 1892).

Peddling was not an easy business. The hard work was made more difficult by stereotypes that characterized peddlers as dishonest, especially when compared to shop owners. Peddlers were sometimes accused of cheating their customers. Michael Sweet was brought up before the police court in 1897 on the charge of stealing a watch. The plaintiff claimed he had only pawned the watch to Sweet, but Michael insisted the transaction had been a sale. The charge was dropped soon afterwards when Sweet returned the watch, with the judge cautioning the plaintiff to be more careful with his belongings (*Evening Herald* 1897).

Peddlers were also common targets of harassment on the street. Passing children would hurl rocks and insults at Mrs. Sweet while she was selling door-to-door. They even threw rocks through the window of her home or business on several occasions. Mary Sweet was a lively character who seems to have been able to hold her own. Once, she chased down one such "city tough" herself (*Evening Telegram* 1898, 4). Another time, she received a head injury and the incident was reported to the police (*Evening Telegram* 1903, 4). The boy who threw the rock was arrested and held for over a week. Mary could certainly make her grievances heard; one day, when a customer broke a piece of merchandise, she berated the woman so loudly that a police officer was called to the scene (*Evening Telegram* 1901, 4).

By 1898, Mary Sweet and her husband also operated a downtown storefront. The exact location is unknown, but it was probably on what is now the west end of Water Street. Michael Sweet died in 1902 at the age of 61 and was buried in Mount Carmel cemetery. At the time the couple had been married for approximately 30 years and had no children. His funeral was well-attended by the Lebanese business community. According to the *Evening Telegram*, "[a]ll the Maronites in the city followed the remains to the grave and buried the deceased with the rites [of] the Maronite people" (*Evening Telegram* 1902).

Mary continued to operate a peddling business in St. John's by herself until at least late 1905 (*Evening Telegram* 1905, 4). After this, there is little documentation about her life. It is possible that she went to live with a brother in New York (*Evening Telegram* 1904, 3). Though Mary and Michael Sweet made only a small mark in the St. John's economy, other Lebanese peddlers from the same period went on to establish long-standing businesses in the province.

CHAPTER 5 Kalleem Noah MICHAEL PHILPOTT

I first heard the Noah name while investigating the building formerly located at 426 Water Street, St. John's, in advance of its demolition in 2019. The sign band in turn-of-the-century photos advertised three businesses, those of T. Fitzgibbon, W. Aylward, and Kalleem Noah. Noah, I learned, was the same Noah whose name is inscribed in the cornice of 310 Water Street. For the All Hands edit-a-thon I put together a brief article on Kalleem Noah for Wikipedia, and for this project I revisited the archives to find an even richer history of Kalleem Noah and his family. An interview with Robert Noah, Kalleem's grandson, by folklorist Terra Barrett rounded out the following brief biography. Additional information was provided by Kalleem's granddaughter, Diane Noah Walsh.

Kalleem Noah¹ was born Kaleem Noah Bacile in Hadath el Jebbeh.² Bsharri District, North Governorate, Lebanon, on October 4th, 1868.³ He immigrated to the United States with a brother, likely Yusef, in 1887.⁴ In New York, Kalleem met up with friend Ferris Coritem of Zahlé, Lebanon, brother to Cecelia Coritem, Noah's wife-to-be. According to descendents, Noah found his first break as the successful bidder on the inventory of a bankrupt New York dry goods dealer with which he multiplied his investment. He subsequently bought and sold land on Staten Island (Diane Walsh, personal communication with J. Boulos, 2021). Kalleem and Cecilia married in May, 1891, and around this time relocated to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia,

^{1.} The names of Noah and his family are often misspelled or rearranged in print. Kalleem is also Kaleem (I have used the name he traded and was buried under), Bacile also Bacille and Bascille. Craitem is also Koritem. Melin is also Malin and Milan.

^{2.} As noted by Diane Noah Walsh, George K. Noah traced the Noah family genealogy back to the year 1213. Kalleem Noah and family are the descendants of the Maronite Patriarch monk, Simaan Bascile, and his wife. They were the first settlers in Hadath el Jebbeh.

^{3.} This is noted as 1864 by Diane Noah Walsh.

^{4.} Diane Noah Walsh noted that Kalleem was born to Anna Nader Shalala. Anna had six sons who left Lebanon together. The six sons were Kalleem, Dominic, Yusef, Milan, Naim, and Salim. When the sons left Lebanon their mother had them sign a document promising to look out for one another.



Portrait of Kalleem Noah. Source: Benjamin Noah.



The 1920 Noah Building, 310 Water Street, St. John's, as it appeared in 2021. According to Robert Noah, this building once boasted a rooftop badminton court. Source: Heritage NL.

where Kalleem's brother, Doumit, had set roots. There Kalleem established a dry goods business (Winter 1993) and acquired more property. The Noahs moved permanently to Newfoundland by 1898, where Kalleem reestablished himself selling dry goods, clothing, and other items under the trade name Kalleem Noah Ltd.

Noah opened the American Bargain Store at 426 Water Street, at the corner of Buchanan Street, soon after his arrival and traded there for the next four to six years. At some point during his tenure he purchased the building, marking the start of what would become a minor real estate empire. By 1902-04 Noah had moved east on Water Street to a building owned by Hon. John Baird. From 322 Water Street Noah operated primarily as a wholesaler and commercial dealer. Part of his customer base included Lebanese pack peddlers who resold goods across Newfoundland, leaving from the capital by train and returning by coastal boat (Phyne and Knott 2016, 173). By 1919 Noah had purchased Baird's building and in 1920 rebuilt and expanded it. The Noah Building on Water Street survives today.

In addition to his buildings on Water Street, Noah owned and built up several other properties on and around New Gower Street - the Bacile Building on the southwest corner of New Gower and Springdale Street, another "Noah Building" a few doors down, the Radio Building, and a block of houses bounded by New Gower Street, Brazil Square, Casey Street, and Barron Street he intended in 1920 to replace with "the largest movie Theatre in Newfoundland and possibly the finest in the Maritime Provinces" (*Evening Advocate* 1920, 6). While these plans did not come to pass, Noah did demonstrate innovation elsewhere. The Radio Building⁵ (demolished, formerly 152-58 New Gower Street) housed the first modern billiards rooms and bowling alleys in the city, and the Noah building at 310 Water Street boasted a rooftop badminton court. As Robert recalls:

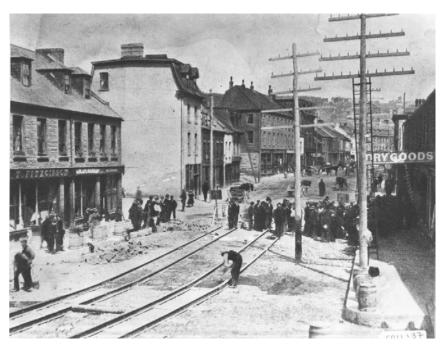
[My grandfather Kalleem] started up a few businesses here anyway, you know [he had] a few buildings in St. John's, had the first bowling alleys here, first billiards [too]. He had a dry goods business. My sister would know more about this than I would because I am the baby of the family. My father [George] went to school in Beirut, Lebanon when he was about [10] years old and came back in his early 20s. He was going to study dentistry I think and his father wanted him to come back home to help with the business so he gave that up and came back home. He used to do a lot of the buying for the business so he would do a bit of travelling to, you know, Montreal and New York, Boston and these places. They had a [badminton] court on top of the Noah building downtown.⁶ It was on the roof, you had to go through the building (Robert Noah, interview by Terra Barrett, 2014).

By the 1930s it seems Noah and his family owned a significant number of those properties demolished during the mid-20th century "urban renewal" and now occupied by the Delta hotel and its parking lot.

The Noah's lived at 122 New Gower Street after their arrival until 1907 when they purchased Weston Cottage, a substantial house on the north side of Water Street west previously owned by merchant-politician Hon. Peter G. Tessier and Anne Catherine Weston, and before that by Dr. Edward Kielley (O'Neill 2003, 658). The house was set back on a well-treed lot between the former Railway Station and Victoria Park, and in 1935 was valued at £5,000. Robert recalls that the house included a

^{5.} Diane Noah Walsh noted that Kalleem Noah had the agency for and sold Midwest Radios and Bentwood furniture from this building.

^{6.} Diane Noah Walsh noted that there was an elevator in the Noah building, and her mother and father, Mamie and George Noah, would play badminton on the roof.



Water Street, St. John's, circa 1898 with Kalleem Noah's American Bargain Store, 426 Water Street, on the left. Source: MUN Archives and Special Collections, Geography Collection. 31.01.025.

ballroom which was later converted into an apartment for one of Noah's sons. Around this time Noah also purchased a schooner, the *Lotus* of Trinity, TB – which participated in the Labrador fishery and was likely also used for trade.

The Noah family appears to have been both close-knit and compulsively entrepreneurial. Kalleem's brother, Melin, immigrated to Newfoundland soon after him in 1900. Melin was a neighbour of Kalleem on New Gower Street and established several of his own businesses including general, clothing, and jewellery stores in a number of locations on New Gower Street and Water Street. He later moved



The Radio Building on New Gower Street, St. John's, that once housed billiards rooms and bowling alleys. Source: City of St. John's Archives. # 26-01-077.



Melin and Marion Noah and family in the doorway of their New Gower Street grocery, street number 93, St. John's, mid-1910s. Believed by family to be behind L-R: Marion Noah, Melin Noah, unknown woman; and front L-R: Sadie, Daniel, Genevieve, Isabel, and Mary (Mamie) Noah. Source: City of St. John's Archives, #01-23-005.



Mamie Noah on the roof of the Noah Building, St. John's, 1932. Source: Diane Noah Walsh.



George Kaleem Noah on the roof of the Noah Building, St. John's, 1932. Source: Diane Noah Walsh.



(Left) Mary Noah in the garden of the family home. Weston Cottage is in the background, and grape vines are in the foreground.

(Below) Noah family in their home, Weston Cottage, St. John's. Standing L-R: Anthony, Ceel, Mary, Munt, Mamie, John, and George. Seated L-R: Cecilia Noah (née Koritem) and Kalleem Noah. Circa 1930s. Source: Diane Noah Walsh.



to Corner Brook and opened a store on Broadway. A half-brother, Basil, of Burlington, Vermont, USA, opened a dry goods business in St. John's in 1907 but died just five weeks after arriving. Kalleem's sons took on various senior roles with Kalleem Noah Ltd. and other firms. In 1925 Anthony was vice president, John was secretary, and George was director with Kalleem acting as president and managing director. His son, Michael, managed bowling alleys in one of the Noah buildings. Kalleem's nephew, Joseph, arrived in Newfoundland in 1914 and opened several shops of his own in Corner Brook.

Throughout his life Noah demonstrated a strong affinity for his country people and a commitment to his faith such that he became something of a "spokesman and father figure" for the local Lebanese community (Ashton 1999, 67). After vacating 426 Water Street he rented the premises to other Lebanese business people including the Boulos Brothers firm (see Chapter 7) and Anthony Michael, and from his new premises he was known to sponsor immigrants working as pack peddlers. In 1906 one of Noah's men was reported to have helped a boatload of "Assyrian immigrants" find lodging at no cost after a hotelier tried to rent them rooms (*Evening Telegram* 1906, 6). In 1920 Noah was among a small group of Lebanese residents to welcome the Archbishop of Syria to Newfoundland. Noah toured the city and countryside with the man before welcoming His Grace and other local figures to his residence for a meal and series of addresses. Noah family weddings were also something of a spectacle for local reporters unfamiliar with Maronite Catholic practices.

These facts alone establish Kalleem Noah and his family as notable local figures, yet they comprise just a fraction of the business carried on by the extended Noah family and the stories that surround them. What is clear, from a built heritage standpoint, is the need to better understand the social and physical place of immigrant communities so that sites of significance can be recognized and, where appropriate, conserved.

In all, Kalleem and Cecilia Noah had nine children: John, Anthony (died at age three), George, Anthony, Mary, Joseph, Angela, Winifred, and Michael. Kalleem died in St. John's on November 25, 1952.⁷

saving a boy's life in a swimming rescue.

^{7.} Notes from Diane Noah Walsh about the Noah children: John K. Noah, B. Com., American University of Beirut. Joseph Noah, M.D. in U.S.A. Received medical degree. Heidelberg University. George K. Noah, B.A. and Commerce, American University of Beirut. George worked as an interpreter during the war, and also translated Arabic into

English for the Lebanese community in Newfoundland. He spoke Arabic, and French. John and George were captured by the Turks during the war. Their parents, Kaleem and Cecelia, as well as their siblings, didn't know their whereabouts for some time. George K. Noah also took the first commercial flight in Newfoundland, and received a medal for

CHAPTER 6 Antonio Joseph

J. BOULOS

For the past 110 years, the building at 338 Water Street has stood remarkably unchanged. It is located at the gateway to the current entertainment district of St. John's, at the corner of Water and Adelaide Streets. It is a three-storey concrete structure, proudly bearing at its cornice the inscription "A. Joseph & Son, erected 1912." After over a century, very few people today would have any idea or clue as to the identity of the builder and owner, assuming they were even to give it any thought. Fewer would have guessed that he was a Lebanese immigrant to Newfoundland, at a time when there were also many other Lebanese among the successful business people of this Island. Thus, whether it was intended or not,



The A. Joseph & Son building, 338 Water Street, St. John's, as it appeared in 2021. Source: Heritage NL.

this building, as well as a few others in St. John's, still stands as a living but somewhat silent monument and witness to the memory of an all but forgotten era and history.

His name in this, his adopted country of Newfoundland, was Antonio Joseph (1859-1913). He and his spouse, Marie Gaultois, were among the very first of the Lebanese to come to Newfoundland, likely during the mid-to-late-1880s. The 1892 St. John's Birth Register and the 1892 Basilica Baptismal Records confirm that their only child, Dufie Joseph (1892-1965), was born in February of that year, just five months before the Great Fire, and that Antonio's actual surname phonetically resembled "Chalate," to the record

BUILDING ON WATER STREET.

Mr. Antonio Joseph will begin the erection of a large three story building on Water Street, corner of Adelaide Street, on freehold land owned there by him, in a few days.

Announcing the erection of the A. Joseph & Son building. Source: Evening Telegram, September 17, 1908.

taker at least. It is believed that he originated from the fertile Bekaa Valley region of eastern Lebanon. At one time he had a brother who also resided here according to newspaper entries, and his brother-in-law was the Lebanese businessman in St. George's, Joseph A. Gaultois.

Antonio's first business advertisements for his 87 New Gower Street store (selling "full lines of Jewellery and Fancy French Goods") can be found from at least March 3, 1890 (*Colonist* 1890; *Evening Telegram* 1890). Newspaper entries, advertisements, and articles over the course of the 1890s and 1910s confirm that he travelled frequently and regularly throughout, and also outside, the Island in pursuit of his business ventures, that he was a driven and confident businessman, and also a colourful personality within the Newfoundland Lebanese business community of that period. In a May 16, 1906, letter to the editor of *The Western Star*, written in the defence of the Lebanese business immigrants and the Lebanese community in general, he stated:

Some of us have been in this country seventeen years, and our own pluck and perseverance placed us in the positions we occupy today. It is true we have earned money here; but we have not kept it in the "stocking." We have made investments in mining properties, oil wells, the fisheries, lumbering concerns, and many other colonial enterprises (Joseph 1906).

He moved his primary business operations to western Newfoundland, at Humbermouth/Riverhead/Bay of Islands, around 1899 (*Evening Herald* 1899,



Marie, Dufie, and Antonio Joseph, circa 1894. Source: Joseph family.



Dufie Joseph at the Humbermouth railway station, Newfoundland, mid 1900s. Source: Joseph family.



Joseph's British North American Hotel, Humbermouth, Newfoundland. Source: Joseph family.

4). However, he also opened a new store at the corner of Water and Adelaide Streets in St. John's in September of 1903 (Evening Telegram 1903, 4), and he eventually would commence construction of the present-day building on that site in late 1908 (Evening Telegram 1908, 4). In Humbermouth, where the Newfoundland Railway line had been completed in 1895, he had built a large and successful hotel, called the "British North American Hotel," and a store, both of which he operated with his wife and son until his premature death due to a series of medical complications on May 31, 1913, at the age of 55 years. His wife and son continued the Humbermouth businesses thereafter.

Both the Western Star and the Evening Telegram reported on his passing, with the latter stating that "he was the pioneer of the Syrian Colony in Newfoundland and was a man widely known and highly respected" (Evening Telegram 1913). One of his last reported public actions, just two months before his death and despite his failing health, was to sound the alarm to the Prime Minister's office requesting that a search party be instituted for two missing Lebanese peddlers from Humbermouth, brothers Maurice and Edward Michael, who were then last seen two weeks earlier and feared (and later confirmed) drowned travelling over the ice between Woody Island and Lark Harbour during a snowstorm (Evening



Antonio Joseph single shot. Source: Joseph family.



Dufie Joseph. Source: Joseph family.

Telegram 1913). His request did result in such a formal search.

Sadly, as the inscription on the 338 Water Street building attests, construction had only been completed in the year prior to Antonio Joseph's death. But the building still stands as a lasting legacy to his name and now perhaps, and hopefully, his true identity.

The Boulos Family J. BOULOS

The very first Lebanese immigrants to the former British Colony of Newfoundland, likely arrived during the early to mid-1880s. In February 1893 – seven months after the St. John's Great Fire of July 8, 1892 – a visiting Maronite priest estimated the St. John's Lebanese population was about 200 in number (*Daily Tribune* 1893, 4). Brothers Michael Boulos Chedraoui, Joseph Boulos Chedraoui, Dominic Boulos Chedraoui, and Edward Boulos Chedraoui, were among these and arrived in the 1890s.

They were four of the seven children of Boulos "Paul" Chedraoui, of the Christian village Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, in North Lebanon. Like the majority of their Lebanese emigrant compatriots, these four brothers became successful business people in their new home – despite possessing an agricultural background, little to no formal education in their native Arabic, limited to no English – language knowledge or facility, only modest finances, and limited social and familial supports, among other obstacles. In their common favour was their intangible Phoenician heritage.

Michael Boulos (1868-1938) was the first of his siblings to travel to somewhere in the United States or in Canada, likely in the very early 1890s, to seek out a better livelihood and future for himself. After a couple of years working in the peddling trade and saving some money, it is believed that he returned to Lebanon where he married Jamila Seide (1872-1955) and the pair then left Lebanon around August 1894.⁴ They arrived and stayed in the United States for a short while and then eventually moved to

^{1.} Present-day Lebanon was then a part of Greater Syria.

^{2. [}Daily Tribune, February 22, 1893.] Regular Maronite priest visits to Newfoundland took place from 1893 to the 1920s, at least.

^{3.} A large number of the Lebanese immigrants to Newfoundland originated from this town: Andrews (Andrea), Daniels, Faour, Gosine (Ghousein), some of the Joseph families, Michael (Elia), Noah (Bascile), Richards (Sfeir), Saab, Simon (Bascile), Sphire (Sfeir), among others. The Dominic (Seide or Sahadi) family originated from Knaiwer, North Lebanon, the Basha and Carbage families from Baalbek, East Lebanon, in the Bekaa Valley, the Alteen (al Teen) family from Ryshya, Lebanon, etc.

^{4.} Sister of Lebanese-Botwood businessman, Saliba Dominic (Seide).



Edward and Martha Boulos and their family. Children L-R: Marie, Peter, Doris, Fred Louis, Leo, and Adele. Photo by Elsie Holloway, circa 1926. Source: J. Boulos.

Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, where a first child was born in 1896.⁵ He engaged in the peddling trade throughout this whole period, until moving to St. John's around 1897, where he continued to pursue this livelihood.

Joseph Boulos (1871-1941) and Dominic Boulos (1877-1963) left Lebanon together and arrived at Ellis Island, New York on May 16, 1894. The ship manifest cited the occupation of each as "merchant." They both worked as peddlers in New York for a number of months up to a year, then moved to Halifax in 1895 and traversed large parts of Nova Scotia, selling items from their packs door-to-door. Joseph married Annie Labba (1878-1950) in Halifax in July 1895,⁶ and Dominic married Jalili Nichols (1886-1942), also in Halifax, in August 1901.⁷ Both of their spouses were also originally from Mount Lebanon, North Lebanon.

Edward Boulos (1881-1946) left Lebanon and arrived at Ellis Island on December 17, 1897, at the age of fifteen years. The ship's manifest

^{5.} They would have 13 children, with 8 surviving into adulthood: Lionel, Susie, Mary, George, Jacob, Rose, Paul and Barbara.

^{6.} They would have 6 children: Mary, Emma, Margaret, Anne, Mercedes, and Helen.

^{7.} They would have a total of 11 children, with 10 surviving into adulthood: Mary, Genevieve, Charles, Daniel, Lillian, Diamond, Madeline, Margaret, Albert, and Joseph.

reflected his occupation as "farmer," indicated that he had \$20.00 in personal funds, that he could not read or write, and that his final destination was Halifax.

Edward joined and lived with his older brothers Joseph and Dominic in Halifax for about two years, where they all worked as peddlers, before all three relocated to St. John's by the very early 1900s, following their older brother, Michael, who had moved there approximately two to three years earlier.

By March 1903, at age 23, Edward Boulos was operating a dry goods store, "Edward Boulos & Brother," at 426 Water Street with Joseph. The 1904 *St. John's*



Edward Boulos. Source: J. Boulos.

City Directory records Michael Boulos and Dominic Boulos as peddlers, and Edward and Joseph as "Boulos Brothers," operating at 426 Water Street. In August 1906, the 426 Water Street store was relocated to 366 Water Street (later renumbered 368 Water Street).

Edward married Martha Noah (Bascile) (1891-1990) in St. John's in March 1908.⁸ She was from the same Lebanese village and had immigrated in her father's company to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in 1904, also through Ellis Island.

In 1909-1910, Edward Boulos, his spouse, and their first-born daughter moved to Grand Falls, following the establishment of a paper mill there, and opened and operated a dry goods store in that new town until October 1924, when his business premises were destroyed by fire. He then returned with his family to St. John's in July 1925 and opened a general dry goods store (clothing, shoes, watches, jewellery, etc.) in his building at 118-120 New Gower Street and, eventually, also a fruit, confectionery, tobacco/cigarette store (the "Princess Store") in his building at 368 Water Street. During the 1940s he also acquired the Crescent Theatre on Water Street,

^{8.} They would have a total of 12 children, with 9 surviving into adulthood: Adele, Peter, Marie, Leo, Doris, Fred (Louis), Theresa, Freida, and Edward.



L-R: Lionel, Julia, Suzie, and Michael Boulos. Circa 1901. Source: J. Boulos.

which he and his children operated until his death in 1946. He and his family had moved into a large home at 90 LeMarchant Road in the late 1930s (present-day Katherine House).

From 1946 until the late 1960s, his son, Leo, continued to operate the 368 Water Street store. Another son, Peter, operated his own store, "Pierre's Jewellery," at 372 Water Street from the 1960s to the late 1970s. A third son, Fred (Louis), moved with his wife to Carbonear in late 1962 and opened and operated a successful jewellery store there until the early 1980s. Edward's daughter, Freida, and her

spouse, Daniel Faour, also owned and operated a successful jewellery store in Corner Brook, from 1950, for over 40 years (see Chapter 8).

Michael Boulos continued working as a peddler in the St. John's area in the early 1900s. In 1904 he and his family relocated from St. John's to Clarke's Beach, Conception Bay, then the site of developing lumber and sawmill businesses. When those businesses wound down, he moved with his family in 1910-1911 to Millertown Junction, near Badger and Grand Falls. This was where the Buchans railway line connected with the main Newfoundland Railway line. It was the connecting point for both Buchans and Millertown, and the work forces associated with the mining and logging industries, respectively, then flourishing in these communities. He built a home and general store and ran a successful business in Millertown Junction for years into the 1950s, later assisted, primarily, by his two older sons, Lionel and Jacob.

Most of the business derived from the railway passengers and the Millertown logging workers. At the time he built his house and store, there was apparently only one other family living at Millertown Junction. He



Michael Boulos' Water Street store in the 1930s, then numbered 194, and likely changed in the 1950s to its current number, 590 Water Street, St. John's. The store existed and was operated from the early 1920s until the late 1970s, by Michael, his spouse, and some of their children.

went back to St. John's in the early 1920s to 590 Water Street, where he and his spouse also owned and operated a small general and confectionery store, entrusting the Millertown Junction business to their two older sons.

Their daughters, Barbara and Rose, continued to operate the Water Street store for a number of years after Michael's death in 1938 into the late 1970s. By the late 1920s, Michael's George (1906son, 1980), operated a grocery store at Millertown Iunction, then a store in Grand Falls in the early 1930s, and then moved to Stephenville in the early 1940s and opened and operated a

store there with his younger brother, Paul (1911-1957), which Paul continued to operate into the late 1940s and 1950s. George moved back to St. John's in the mid-1940s and opened a store on Water Street, "B & C Dress Shop," which he ran with his sister, Rose Ellis (1909-2010), until the late 1950s. Thereafter he became a fishmonger, particularly at Beck's Cove, selling a variety of fish products from the mid-1960s, approximately, until his death in February 1980. Paul Boulos' son, Joseph Boulos (1945-1995), became a successful businessman in Stephenville throughout the 1970s into the mid-1990s, operating a music store there and owning and operating a drilling company there in his later years.9

^{9.} Much of the information pertaining to Michael Boulos' family history was obtained from written materials prepared by his daughter, Barbara, in the 1990s, with thanks hereby acknowledged.



The Boulos' Bargain Store belonging to Michael Boulos or his sons, likely at Millertown Junction, Newfoundland, circa 1930s-40s. Source: J. Boulos.



Michael and Jamila Boulos's storefront at 590 Water Street (formerly 194), St. John's, 1973. Source: J. Boulos.





Edward and Martha's children, Marie (left), Peter, and Doris (right) in front of the Princess Store, Water Street, St. John's, circa 1940s. Source: J. Boulos.

In 1908-1909, Joseph Boulos operated a general store at 390 Water Street West, St. John's. By 1910-1911, he and his family were living and conducting a general store business in Glenwood, about 28 kilometres west of Gander. In the early 1900s, Glenwood had a railway station and a major sawmill. When fortunes declined there, he and his family made their final move, just a few miles west, to Badger, where he established a general store in 1912-1913 and operated it until his death in 1941. It is likely that two or three of his six daughters continued to operate the store for a number of years thereafter. His daughter, Margaret, opened and operated a substantial restaurant and store in Stephenville in the early 1940s, known as the "Boulos Restaurant," while her spouse, George Basha, operated a theatre in Stephenville (at first with Paul Boulos, the son of Michael Boulos).

As of 1904, Dominic Boulos and his spouse were operating a dry goods business on New Gower Street, St. John's, then moved to Glenwood around 1905 for approximately four years, building a home and general store there and also keeping cattle and farming. He then moved to Clarke's

Beach, operating a small business there for about six months, until moving to Bell Island in 1908 where he built another home and store and operated a dry goods business there over the following four or five years. In 1911 he moved with his family to Grand Falls, where his brother, Edward, was already established in business. He built another house and store in Windsor, acquired and kept livestock, acquired some 30 acres of land from the Crown, proceeded to farm it and to sell much of the resulting product and produce through his store. In 1921 he also started a concurrent dry goods store in Badger, approximately 32 kilometres away, where his brother, Joseph, then carried on business. His Windsor home and store were destroyed by fire in early 1922. In 1923 he also built a dry goods store in Deer Lake, and operated both that and the Badger store with the assistance of his children. He later closed his Badger store and opened a second store in Deer Lake, relocating his family there later in the 1920s, and continuing a large private farming enterprise in Deer Lake. One of his Deer Lake stores was also destroyed by fire in September, 1927. In the mid-1940s Dominic passed over the dry goods store to his son, Albert (1919-2008). Dominic subsequently ran a pool room for a number of years before his full retirement, and before his eventual passing in 1963.

Upon returning from wartime service, Albert, and his wife, Maisie, ran the family business on Main Street, Deer Lake, until the early 1960s. During the 1950s, Albert also entered into business with his cousin, Dan Joseph. They opened the successful Ambassador Club on Main Street. After this partnership dissolved, Albert continued to work in beer distribution and retail. In 1982 he sold his business, Veteran Sales, to his daughter, Julia, and her husband, Bill Byrne. Albert also served as deputy mayor and then mayor of Deer Lake.

Dominic's daughters, Mary (spouse Ford Basha) and Diamond, owned and operated the very popular and successful "Cozy Chat" restaurant in Windsor for a number of years throughout the 1940s to the 1970s (see Chapter 10). Dominic's daughter, Margaret, and her spouse, Jim Basha, also operated the Vogue Theatre in Windsor during the 1950s and 1960s (see Chapter 10). Dominic's youngest child, Joseph (1922-2007), became a well-known gynaecologist, practising in St. John's from the 1950s to the 1990s.¹⁰

Like many of the other pioneer Lebanese immigrants to Newfoundland during the late 1800s to early 1900s who all started with nothing, thriving

^{10.} Much of the information pertaining to Dominic Boulos' family history was obtained from a Family Tree University Paper prepared by his granddaughter, Celeste Boulos, in the 1980s, with thanks hereby acknowledged.

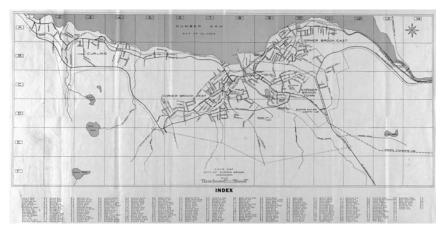
livelihoods were also achieved for these particular Newfoundland-Lebanese families through self-determined employment, wise financial decisions, diligence, resilience, assistance and support from family members, and some good fortune mixed in with the bad. All of the Lebanese immigrants, and other ethnic immigrants as a whole, contributed positively to the variety and fabric of the business life and culture in Newfoundland throughout the past century and beyond, as new immigrants continue to do today.

CHAPTER 8

The Early Arrival of Lebanese Families in Corner Brook

At the end of the 19th century Lebanese people began to leave the area on a large scale in response to increasing political instability and tension between communities. While the number of Lebanese people who ended up moving to Newfoundland is only a small proportion of the total number of Lebanese people who emigrated at the time, those who did arrive had a profound impact on the island's communities. While a large number of Lebanese immigrants unsurprisingly chose to settle and establish businesses in St. John's, many also chose to settle on the sparsely populated west coast. In fact, the earliest Lebanese immigrants on the West Coast had arrived by the 1890s, and a strong Lebanese community quickly rooted itself in Curling and Humbermouth prior to Corner Brook's amalgamation.

The small number of Lebanese people who settled in Corner Brook prior to the development of the pulp and paper industry in the 1920s made up a notable percentage of the few families who lived nearby. As the



Road map, City of Corner Brook, circa 1960s, showing the layout of the town post-amalgamation and the completed Trans Canada Highway. Source: Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland.



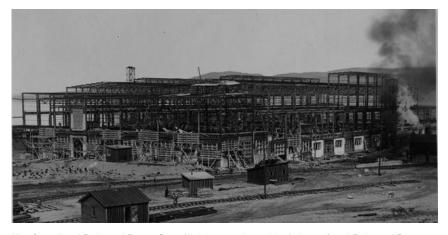
The inside of Tuma's jewelry store, Corner Brook, 1989. Source: Decks Awash 18, no. 1.

owners of large fishing operations employing dozens of people, of grocery and dry goods stores providing people with provisions, and even as political representatives for the region, the early arrival of Lebanese migrants established a network in which later migrants could seamlessly integrate their businesses and thrive.

Seeing the impact of the Lebanese community on the development of Corner Brook, I have defined two main goals for this article: to identify and describe the arrival of different Lebanese families to the Corner Brook area, and to contextualise the arrival and impact of Lebanese immigrants in the area. Ultimately, in achieving these goals, I hope to provide readers here with a useful reference and resource they can use to understand who these people were, why and when they came to Corner Brook, and, broadly, the role Lebanese people played in its development.

WEST COAST HISTORIC CONTEXT

The West Coast of Newfoundland has a different, and more recent, European settlement history than the East Coast as a result of hotly disputed fishing rights between the French and English which prohibited English settlement in the area. Broadly, this meant that the West Coast was only very sparsely populated with Acadians and few winter caretakers of French fishing stages until the mid-1800s, when the French fishery started to decline. While negotiations throughout the 1800s allowed English Newfoundlanders to slowly establish small permanent settlements beginning in the 1860s, large-scale



Newfoundland Pulp and Paper Co. mill, later purchased by International Pulp and Paper (IPP) in 1923 and by Bowaters in 1936. Circa April 1924. Source: The Rooms, Bert Taylor collection, Item VA 28-59.



Bay of Islands railway station, circa 1900. Source: Decks Awash, 18.1.

development was stunted until 1904 when the rights to the French Shore were finally fully granted to the British following negotiations (Hiller 2001).

When Lebanese immigrants began to arrive in Newfoundland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, most of them settled in or near St. John's, but some keen immigrants spent time searching the province for business opportunities elsewhere before settling. The Bay of Islands, including Corner Brook, presented a unique opportunity for business people as an up and coming area with great potential. Leading up to 1904, and following the construction of the railway on the West Coast, companies, people, and businesses began to spring up to capitalize on its untapped potential. During this early period of development Curling was "the central hub of the West Coast," acting as a trade centre for the south arm of the Humber river (Daniels 1980).

Despite a growing interest in moving to the West Coast among Newfoundlanders and immigrants alike, large scale commercial enterprises were not able to establish themselves in the Corner Brook area until after World War One, when resources and the labour force could be redirected from the war effort to development. Indeed, prior to World War One, Corner Brook was very small, with some people recalling there were only about 200 residents total at the time (Daniels 1980). It was not until the early 1920s, when the Newfoundland Power and Paper Company (NP&P) planned both a massive paper mill and accompanying village, now the

Townsite neighbourhood, for the mill's workers, that the region really experienced a boom in population with over 1300 residents now in the area (Daniels 1980; White 2012; Symonds 2001). In fact, one 1924 newspaper article reported that over 40 businesses had emerged over the span of a single year – reflecting the need for new services to support the exponentially growing population in the Corner Brook area (White 2004, 64).

By 1935 the population in Corner Brook and the surrounding area had shot up to 15,166 which, in spite of the ongoing depression cutting wages and jobs from the mill, continued to grow (White 2004).

THE ARRIVAL OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNITY

Despite making up a sizable portion of Corner Brook at the time, only a few families actually made up the earliest members of the Lebanese community. The earliest Lebanese family names to appear in the area are: Joseph, Kawaja, and Basha, with the names Daniels, Faour, Tuma, Alteen, Noah, Michael, White, and Farris arriving a decade or more afterwards.

The early arrival of Lebanese people in the Corner Brook area can be, by and large, divided into two waves which reflect the historic development of the city. The first wave of Lebanese arrivals is defined by the arrival of the Joseph, Kawaja, and Basha families from 1890-1905. During this period these three families moved to the Bay of Islands, including the Corner Brook area, prior to the proposal or construction of Townsite and the mill. This means that the motivations these families had for moving to the West Coast were different from later arrivals, which is reflected in the type of work they took up and the businesses they founded. These early arrivals founded businesses broadly focused around participating in or servicing participants in the fishing industry, unlike later arrivals in the 1920s, who serviced the pulp and paper mill workers.

While the name Daniels did not emerge in the area until the second wave of Lebanese arrivals in the area, the Daniels family is actually related to the Basha family. The name was introduced by a Lebanese Nova Scotian who married a Basha, as is described later in this paper. For this reason, despite the name's late introduction to the area, the Daniels family is included in the first wave of arrivals rather than the second.

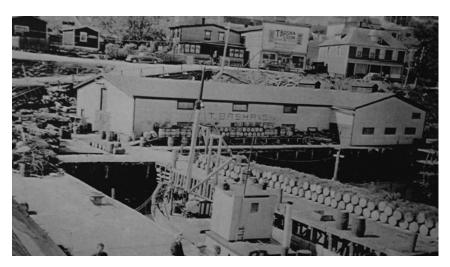
During the second early wave of Lebanese migrants to the area the Faour, Noah, Tuma, Alteen, Michael, Farris, and White families arrived as part of Corner Brook's 'boom' from the 1920s and into the 1930s. In addition to arriving in Corner Brook during a period of economic change, by the time these families arrived to the West Coast almost all of them had already been

living in Newfoundland for decades with well-developed roots in St. John's and Bell Island. By the 1920s, when members of the Noah family came to Corner Brook, the Noah name was already one of high profile among Newfoundland business people – in large part due to the success of Kalleem Noah in St. John's. In essence, this means that when they settled on the West Coast, most of these later arrivals were not new to the country, unlike the Basha, Kawaja, and Joseph families who moved to the area shortly after arriving in Newfoundland.

THE FIRST WAVE OF ARRIVALS

THE BASHA FAMILY

One of the more visible Lebanese families on the West Coast are the Bashas. There are several early businesses in and around Corner Brook established by different members of the Bashas during this period. The earliest business established by the Bashas was that of the family patriarch Tanius (sometimes Tannius, Thomas, or Tom) Basha, who established the Tanius Basha and Sons company specialising in fishing supplies around 1896. Records detailing the exact date of Tanius Basha's (1841-1936) immigration are sparse and unclear, although his obituary from 1936 in the *Western Star* details that he spent several years travelling across Newfoundland before settling on the West coast. George Basha, Tanius's grandson, later recalled that he arrived



T. Basha and Son. Tannius Basha's fishing business on Water Street in Curling. Circa 1920s. At the top of photo is Tannius' store with his home on the left. Source: Thomas Daniels. Thomas grew up in the home and his father had a business in the store in the 1950s.



Basha Building, Corner Brook. Source: François LeBlanc, "Corner Brook, Newfoundland," 1989.

in 1889 – although I could not find documentation to support this exact date (Basha 1980).

It is unclear whether or not Tanius and his children immigrated to Newfoundland at the same time, or he arrived first and waited for his sons to join him later – but his adult sons Simon and Elias certainly joined him around the time that he founded his company as the 'sons' in his company 'Basha & Sons'. While, again, there are few early details on Simon and Elias's involvement with the company, we do know that they were titular in helping run and expand the business. This successful business quickly became important to several communities in the Bay of Islands area, conducting business worth tens of thousands of dollars annually. When the Basha's warehouse in Benoit's Cove (managed by Tanius' sons) burnt in 1917, for example, the total financial loss of the warehouse and its contents were estimated to reach approximately \$25,000 (Western Star 1917).

Another notable early businessperson in the Basha family was Michael Basha (b.1896), Tanius' third and youngest son. Initially, Michael was active in the family fishing business alongside his father and brothers, but eventually he expanded his horizons and from 1927-1951 he also served on the board of the Bay of Islands Light and Power Company. Following his success with the power and light company he also joined a hospital board of directors. Through his success in these roles, Michael Basha became involved in political affairs, and made history as the first Lebanese senator in Canada from the West Coast from 1951-1976.

It is worth noting as well that Joseph Basha, a relative of the Corner Brook family who had been living on Bell Island for many years, moved with his family to the West Coast to Benoit's Cove around 1924. Shortly



Basha theatre owned by Joseph A. Basha. Joseph was born May 1888 to Ameen and Malikey Basha. His children were Fred and Marie. He was a theatre owner and landlord in Corner Brook. Source: Wayne Basha

thereafter he settled in Corner Brook, meaning that some Bashas actually arrived as part of the second wave of Lebanese migrants to the area rather than the first. After settling in Corner Brook, Joseph became a landlord as well as the owner-operator of Palace Theatre (*Newfoundland Who's Who*).

THE DANIELS FAMILY

The Corner Brook Daniels family is related to the Basha family by marriage. The name joined the Lebanese diaspora in the early 1900s when Howa (Eva) al-Ghossain married Michael Daniels (Mekhal Danial) of Nova Scotia and the couple settled in St. John's (see Chapter 12). The Daniels' son, Peter, moved to Corner Brook following World War One where he married Tanius Basha's daughter, Sofia.

THE JOSEPH FAMILY

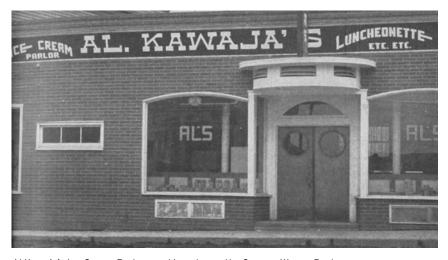
In the early 1900s Antonio Joseph turned his attention westward from St. John's, opening two businesses in Riverhead by 1901 as one of the very first Lebanese business people in the area. By 1904 Antonio Joseph had moved to Corner Brook with his wife Mary Gaultois, although he was still listed

as the proprietor of a shop in St. John's at that time. According to family histories, Antonio intended to maintain his cross-provincial business interests, even building a new store at 338 Water street in St. John's in 1912. In addition to their shop, the Josephs were the proprietors of the British North American Hotel in Humbermouth (see Chapter 6).

THE KAWAJA FAMILY

Known as Assah, Assab, or Assad, A. Kawaja was another Lebanese businessperson with an early presence on the West Coast after leaving his St. John's business behind sometime after 1904. Shortly after arriving on the West Coast, he established himself as a merchant importing goods between the Corner Brook area and North Sydney, Nova Scotia – as indicated by a series of immigration records and the 1911 Canadian census, where several of his children were listed as residents of either Newfoundland or Nova Scotia. Assad Kawaja continued to operate as a merchant between Nova Scotia and Corner Brook for many years.

Assad's brother, Saleem, was another business owner and operator. He was born in Lebanon and immigrated to North Sydney, Nova Scotia in 1888. Saleem married Afife Balah (also given as Afifie Yousef Ballah) in 1901 and the pair had eight children: George, Elias (Al), John, Annie, Joseph, Rose, Michael, Gabriel, and Mary. After Afife's death he remarried Catherine Mattar and they had another five children: Najala, Alexandria, Frederick, Alma, and Genevieve. Saleem moved to Corner Brook in 1928 where he opened Green Lantern Wholesalers. As Saleem's granddaughter, Mary Catherine Kawaja, noted:



Al Kawaja's Ice Cream Parlour and Luncheonette. Source: Wayne Basha



Fred and Eileen Kawaja wedding. L-R: Saleem Kawaja, Catherine (Mattar) Kawaja, Fred Kawaja, Eileen (Meaney) Kawaja, Mary (Lambe) Meaney, and Fr. Francis Meaney. Source: Mary Catherine Kawaja.



Saleem and Catherine Kawaja family. L-R: Al, Najala, Fred, Alexandria, Saleem, Alma, Genevieve, Catherine. Source: Mary Catherine Kawaja.



Family picture in North Sydney. L-R: Genieve Kawaja Orrell, Saleem Kawaja, Catherine Mattar Kawaja, Wm. Bill Head, Ryan child, Jim Ryan, Najala Kawaja Head Ryan, Ernie Hanna, Alma Kawaja Hanna, Unknown Ryan, Alexandria Kawaja Shebib, Albert Shebib, Mary Catherine Kawaja, Sheppard child, Eileen Meaney Kawaja. Source: Mary Catherine Kawaja.



Catherine (Mattar) Kawaja. Source: Mary Catherine Kawaja.



Green Lantern truck. Green Lantern Wholesalers was opened by Saleem Kawaja. Source: Mary Catherine Kawaja.

When they started out they had a soda bar, and they sold confectionary, they sold grocery items, they sold furniture, hardware. That kind of thing. That evolved from wholesaleretail to just wholesale.

Mary Catherine's father, Fred, took over the family business after his father, Saleem, returned to Nova Scotia. Fred's son, Ted, then continued the business until its closure in the mid-2010s.

One of Saleem's other sons, Elias (Al) Kawaja, owned several businesses in Corner Brook including Al's Ice Cream Parlour and Luncheonette, a successful ice cream parlour and diner on Broadway, and



Saleem and Al Kawaja, 1938. Source: Jonathan Kawaja.

Al's Tourist Lodge on O'Connell Drive. Al was also known for his volunteer work and was the first deputy mayor of Corner Brook following the amalgamation of several town councils. There is a hill in Corner Brook named after him, Al's Hill, as well as Kawaja Drive for the family.

THE SECOND WAVE OF ARRIVALS

THE TUMA AND ALTEEN FAMILIES

After initially having settled on Bell Island, members of the Tuma family moved to Corner Brook in 1922 after Simon Tuma applied to open a shop in service of employees of the new paper mill as a watch repairman. He later opened his jewellery store in Corner Brook, which his son Elias continued to run until the 1990s (Alteen 1980; Burrows and Stone 1989).

The name Alteen is connected with the Tuma family in a similar way to the Basha and Daniel families, having been brought to the West Coast via Nick Alteen. Unlike the Tuma family, when Nick Alteen's family came to North America they initially settled in Amherst, Nova Scotia. Throughout the decades, however, they maintained ties with the Tuma family who they had known in Lebanon (Alteen 1980). As a result of these long-standing



Doug Alteen. Source: *Telegram* obituary.

connections, the Tuma and Alteen families conducted business with one another, leading Nora Tuma to eventually meet Nick Alteen in Canada. They married a year after meeting and shortly thereafter moved to the Corner Brook area, eventually opening a shoe store called National Shoe Limited (Alteen 1980). While Nick's brother, Louis Alteen, started a jewellery company in Nova Scotia in 1944, it was their brother, Doug Alteen, who moved to Grand Falls in 1949 and opened the first Alteen's Jewellers in Newfoundland. Lawrence, another Alteen brother, joined Doug shortly after and opened a branch in Corner Brook (Alteen Brothers Limited). Alteen's Jewellery expanded in western and

central Newfoundland, at one point having a chain of 10 stores across Newfoundland and Nova Scotia.

THE MICHAEL FAMILY

Antoni Michael moved to the West Coast sometime after 1924, when he is still recorded as running a shop in St. John's, but before 1932, he is recorded as living in Humbermouth, where he operated a grocery store (*Western Star* 1932). There are few records on the Michael family in Corner Brook digitally available unlike members of the Noah, Basha, and Tuma families. Family histories recount that after Antoni's grocery store shut down in the



Alteen's National Shoe, Corner Brook. Source: François LeBlanc, "Corner Brook, Newfoundland," 1989.



Elias Tuma in his Corner Brook shop, 1989. Source: Decks Awash vol 18, no. 01.

early 1950s, Mary Michael, his wife, continued to operate a small candy store in the original building which they still owned and partially rented.

THE NOAH FAMILY

The Noah family was very prolific throughout the early 1900s after Kalleem Noah came to the province and established a very successful business empire. Part of Kalleem's widespread success came from his experience as a businessperson in Lebanon, and the support of his family members – like his brother Melin Noah – who initially immigrated to Cuba, but later joined Kalleem in Newfoundland (see Chapter 5; Noah 1980).

The first Noah to come to Corner Brook was the business savvy son of Melin, John Noah. In an oral history interview from 1980, John recounted that, after fighting for Newfoundland in World War One, he struggled to find work due to prejudices against Lebanese people. As a result, he decided to invest all of his money, \$220 total, into opening a small candy store in St. John's. Over the next few years, he managed to grow his business and accrue a small fortune.

Sometime in 1923, John heard that there was a paper mill being built in the Corner Brook area, and with the cheap land prices, which he said was 30 cents an acre, he saw an opportunity to establish lucrative businesses in the area. When he initially arrived in Corner Brook in 1923, his store was the only store along his stretch of road, with most shops being concentrated



M. Noah Vanity Store, E. Swirsky and G.and H. Ltd. on Broadway, Corner Brook, Newfoundland. Source: Maritime History Archive, PF-333.090.



Joseph Noah by one of his stores, circa 1920. Source: J. Boulos.

in Curling – it would take two years before another shop would open near his (Noah 1980).

John ran his first shop rather successfully until just before confederation, around 1945. At that time, he gave up his shop in anticipation of changing prices and importing regulations that would come after confederation. He changed his focus to purchasing and leasing land at that time, eventually growing his fortune and influence by purchasing and leasing a number of significant buildings across the town (Noah 1980; White 2004: 63).

In 1927, John's father, Melin Noah, followed him to Corner Brook with his wife and younger children to open up a dry goods business (*Western Star* 1950).

Joseph Noah, John's cousin and Melin's nephew, arrived in Newfoundland from Nova Scotia in the late 1910s and owned at least two stores selling clothing and dry goods. He married in Corner Brook before relocating to Ontario in the 1950s.

THE FAOUR FAMILY

The very first members of the Faour family to arrive in Newfoundland were a pair of brothers who first lived in St. John's (see Chapter 12). There, the Faours ran several businesses for a time, got married, and started young families, including Edward Faour who married Mary Noah, daughter of Melin Noah.



Faour's store on the left, 1970. Source: Virtual Museum.



Faour's Jewellery advertisement. Source: Western Star, September 8, 1950.

Tragedy struck this branch of the Faours when Edward unexpectedly passed away, leaving Mary a widow and single mother with two children, Margaret and Daniel Faour. Following Edward's Mary continued to run a small business on New Gower Street in St. John's for a few years. Mary had family connections to members of the Noah family both in St. John's and Corner Brook through which to support her family. Eventually, in the early 1930s, Mary elected to close her business in St.

John's and move her family to Corner Brook, bringing the Faour name to the area.

Mary's brother, the previously mentioned John Noah, took particular care of her son Daniel. With his uncle's help, Daniel Faour learned some important business skills, learned to fix watches, and opened a successful jewellery and watch repair store in one of his uncle's properties in Corner Brook around 1950 (Noah 1980).

After opening his shop, Daniel married Freida Boulos, a Lebanese woman from St. John's who moved to Corner Brook to start a family with Daniel. Freida was an active member of the Corner Brook community from the moment she arrived in the 1950s, going on to serve on different boards for municipal governance in the Humber region, and eventually receiving the "Order of Newfoundland" for her monumental volunteering contributions (Crocker 2012).

Daniel and Freida's son, Alphonsus (Fonse) Faour, was elected Member of Parliament for Humber-Port au Port-St. Barbe (previously Humber-St. George's-St. Barbe) in the late 1970s. He was the first member of the New Democratic Party (NDP) elected in the province and later led the provincial NDP (Janes 1984). In 2003 he was appointed to the Supreme Court of Newfoundland and Labrador.

THE WHITE FAMILY

The name 'White' is an anglicised version of the Druze family name Awaidat, which first appears on the West Coast in Norris Arm in the 1921 census (Ashton 1999). At this time Peter White (b. 1882 or 1886) is listed as a resident alongside his wife, Mary, who is 20 years his junior, and their newborn child. By 1935, the family, including seven young children, are recorded in the census as living in Corner Brook.

It is likely that Peter White had been a fisherman in the Bay of Islands area for a time prior to his listing in 1921. Confirming this with any certainty would, however, require a great deal of research given that there was at least one other, non-Lebanese, Peter White operating on the West Coast at the time, and potentially two others in central and eastern Newfoundland as well.

More archival and family historical research is required to understand the arrival of the White family on the West Coast.

THE FARRIS FAMILY

The Farris family was first recorded in Port aux Basques in the census of 1921. Garrity Farris was born in August 1895 and operated a business in the area for close to 15 years. Garrity and Esther Farris likely moved to Corner Brook very shortly after 1935, because a 1934 news article reporting he was considering selling his business in Port aux Basques supports this timeline (*Western Star* 1934). Garrity died in the Stephenville Crossing area on December 7th, 1962.

To better understand the Farris family legacy, community research would be needed.

LEBANESE LEGACIES IN CORNER BROOK

All in all, from the very first Lebanese immigrants to settle in the area, to the present-day, Corner Brook's Lebanese community holds over 130 years of heritage and history. Walking through Corner Brook today, businesses like Alteen's Jewellery, street names like Kawaja Drive, Basha Place, and Tuma Avenue, and community places like the Fred Basha Softball Pitch, all continue to commemorate and engrain the longstanding legacy of the Lebanese community in Corner Brook. While the population of Corner Brook has since grown to well over 30,000 people – making the Lebanese community a smaller minority than they were historically – the influence of the Lebanese community in Corner Brook persists and continues to make up an important part of the city's early history.

CHAPTER 9

The Gaultois Family in Stephenville THE GAULTOIS FAMILY

As told to Lorraine Michael by Amanda and Philip Gaultois, grandchildren of Joseph and Rose Gaultois. Expanded with information from the research document "Descendents of Anthony Ghattas (Gaultois)" April 22 and 24, 2021.

Having left Lebanon initially in 1899, Joseph Gaultois eventually ended up in St. George's, Newfoundland. First on his own and then with his wife, Rose Brighter, Joseph spent several years moving about Europe, Michigan, St. John's, Gambo, and Humbermouth before finally settling in Sandy Point, St. George's, Newfoundland in 1911 where they opened a grocery business. In Lebanon the Brighter family owned a vineyard, maybe in the Beqaa Valley since they were very close to the Syrian border, but the main home of both Joseph and Rose's families was Hasroun, a village in Mount Lebanon. Joseph and Rose changed their Arabic name, Ghattas, to a Newfoundland name that they thought sounded most like the Arabic – Gaultois.



View of the Gaultois Bros. store. Property of Francis Anthony Gaultois, George and Michael and Richard J. McIsaac, Stephenville, 1942. Source: The Rooms, Department of Public Works, Item A 65-123.



Gaultois Bros. store with a car parked in front. Property of Gaultois Bros. and Richard McIsaac, Stephenville. Circa 1941-44. Source: The Rooms, Department of Public Works, Item A 65-125.



Tenement building with six units. Property of Gaultois Bros. and Richard McIsaac, Stephenville. Circa 1941-44. Source: The Rooms, Department of Public Works, Item A 65-127.

Joseph and Rose raised a family of 13 in St. George's, though the children all moved eventually to Stephenville Crossing and Stephenville where they operated businesses. The grocery store was the main business of Joseph and Rose, though they also owned rental properties. Because of two fires, their business had three different locations over the years. The final building is still standing in St. George's.

Their progeny became a significant business force in the area. Two sons, Mike and George, formed the Gaultois Brothers Company in the 1930s and moved initially to Stephenville Crossing where they had a large dry goods and clothing store, warehouse, lumber business, taxi service and rental properties. They eventually spread out to Stephenville where one of the sons, Leo, had a movie theatre and later a small convenience store next to his house. One of the daughters, Marie (Gaultois) Byrne, had a shoe store in Stephenville. Another son, Francis, and another daughter, Annie, had stores for a period of time in St. David's. There may have also been one for a time in St. Fintan's.

The opening of Harmon Air Base in Stephenville as part of World War Two brought new business opportunities when the Gaultois enterprise owned a block of duplex homes which they rented to the American personnel from the base.

Joseph died in 1947 and Rose eventually moved to Stephenville Crossing to be with her children and their families, where she died in 1980.

CHAPTER 10

Lebanese Businesses of Windsor TERRA BARRETT

In 2016, Heritage NL partnered with the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society to put a book together called: *A Little Montréal: Merchants & Memories of Main Street, Windsor.* This project focused on the merchants of Main Street, and as the Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society noted:

While researching the names of Windsor's business people, an exciting fact jumped out: from the earliest times, Windsor welcomed immigrants from outside North America, people who had travelled to find safety for their families and opportunity for their children. Their names have become part of who we are in this town: Riff, Cohen, Münch, Becker, Boulos, Basha, Chow, and so many many more (Barrett 2017, 5).

As Corey Sharpe remembered, "[Main Street] was like a little Montréal. A lot of different cultures and sights and sounds" (Barrett 2017, 90). The business owners came from all parts of the world and were from different backgrounds but worked side by side and supported one another.

One of the places these families and merchants came from was Lebanon. Several Lebanese families including the Alteens, Bashas, Bouloses, and Tumas, set up stores in Grand Falls-Windsor including a shoe shop, a restaurant, jewellery stores, and a movie theatre.

A COZY CHAT WITH THE BASHA AND BOULOS FAMILIES

The Bashas I do believe operated the Cozy Chat and that was like a jukebox diner back in the day. I was sad to see that go. But that was a popular spot. I'd say a lot of people met their significant others on Main Street in those places (Barrett 2017, 36).

As Corey Sharpe remembers, sisters Mary (née Boulos) Basha and Di (Diamond) Boulos owned the "Cozy Chat" (see Chapter 7). The Basha and Boulos families were both of Lebanese descent and owned and operated



Main Street, Windsor, looking east, circa 1960s. Stores L-R: Great Eastern Oil, E. Becker, Vogue Theatre, Connolly's, Tuma Jeweller's, and Cozy Chat. Source: Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society.



Main Street, Windsor, looking east. Vogue Theatre on the left, 1965. Source: Grand Falls-Windsor Heritage Society.

other businesses on Main Street including the Vogue Theatre and Connolly's Shoe Store.

The Vogue Theatre was run by Mr. Jim Basha and I remember going there. Both sides and up the middle there were seats and up top you could go up there and have a smoke – the crowd that were old enough to smoke. You'd go to the theatre and you'd get a bar, a bag of chips and a bottle of drink, and you'd get into the theatre for a quarter. I remember that and you had a little booth there. You would just get your ticket there and then you had your drink machine where you put in the money and you haul your drink down through the slot and haul it up (Barrett 2017, 78).

These are the recollections of Frank Beson – one of many Windsor residents who grew up heading to the Vogue Theatre, which was operated by Jim Basha and Margaret (née Boulos) Basha. It was well known for its Saturday matinees, weekly serials, and as the spot for kids to trade comic books.

Jim's sister Margaret (née Basha) Connolly (1916-2006) ran Connolly's Shoe Store on Main Street. As Roy Oldford remembers:



Exterior view of Cozy Chat, Main Street, Windsor, 1952. This photo was taken by Jean Bellows who grew up in Windsor. She took the photo after school in 1952 on her sister's box camera. Source: Georgina Bellows.

Connolly's was a typical shoe store except that they had seats with little stools that were on an angle and you put your shoe on. They had shoe horns and little mirrors in front of you so you could see your shoes and this sort of thing. The Connolly's were related to the Bashas or Boulos and they ran that for years. It was a nice spot to go and while a lot of the shoppers got their shoes at Riff's or Cohen's because they ran that as well, Connolly's was a place where you specialized in shoes (Barrett 2017, 32).



Wedding of Florence Hollett and Jack Maloney inside the Cozy Chat, circa 1940s. Weddings were not a common occurrence at the Cozy Chat, however, Florence (or Floss) was working at the Cozy Chat at the time she married Jack Maloney and their reception took place at the restaurant. Source: Anne Warr.

Two doors down from the Vogue Theatre was Tuma Jewellers which was opened by Lebanese businessman Elias Tuma in 1963. Elias' father Simon started a jewellery shop in Carbonear before moving to Bell Island and on to Corner Brook in 1911. Simon established S.E. Tuma Jewellers in Corner Brook in the mid 1920s. Elias had his own shop first on Bell Island in 1937 and then in Stephenville in the late 1930s and early 1940s. When his father died in 1944 he moved to Corner Brook and took over the family business. The business expanded outside of Corner Brook and there was a branch of Tuma Jewellers in Gander that closed in 1961 just before the Windsor branch opened in 1963. Both S.E. and Elias Tuma were very involved in their local communities donating to various causes and establishing the S.E. Tuma Memorial Trophy for NL senior hockey.

OTHER MEMORIES FROM A LITTLE MONTREAL: MERCHANTS AND MEMORIES OF MAIN STREET, WINDSOR

There were a lot of different cultures. Lebanese people owned businesses on Main Street, Jewish people owned businesses



Lawrence "Laurie" Alteen established LJ Alteen Jewellers in Windsor in 1949 before moving to High Street, Grand Falls, circa 1960. Alteen's brother, Nick, owned a shoe store in Corner Brook (see Chapter 8).Source: Decks Awash 17, no. 2, 1988.

on Main Street, P.F. Kearney, Kearney came Ireland. He used to have this Irish accent and we used to enjoy listening to him. He loved Irish whisky. They were all accepted into the community of Windsor but the AND Company didn't open their doors for any of these people. Like Alteens, they started out in the town of Windsor and moved into Grand Falls after. The shoe store there, Si Boulos, he was Lebanese. The Bashas were Lebanese. They all had businesses there for years and years. They had a restaurant there called the "Cozy Chat." There were a lot of different ethnic groups that lived in the town of Windsor. - JOHN **CONNORS**

They were all real personal friends. My father was really close with the Lebanese. He used to bring them to the house and get them to cook Lebanese meals. I remember one was cabbage rolls. We used to love them. Myself and my brother would have a competition to see who could eat the most cabbage rolls. – JOHN CONNORS

The first movie theatre in Windsor was built in the 1930s and was called King Edward theatre and for some reason that closed down or was destroyed in the fire of 1942, I think. Destroyed the whole of Main Street the fire did. Mr. Basha came to town, Jim Basha and he built a theatre. It was called the Vogue Theatre and that was the place to meet. I mean there were matinees on Saturdays at 2:00 and you saw Roy Rogers and Gene Autry and Allan Rocky Lane. The Vogue theatre had shows at 2:00, 5:00, 7:00 and 9:00 and they were usually filled. I mean it was a good spot. – ROY OLDFORD

The Vogue Theatre, Basha's, now that was a fabulous place. We used to go there for the movies and it was an awful place. The kids would get the bags of Adams chips and you would eat your chips and inevitably at some point in the movie somebody would be throwing chip bags at the screen and somebody would have to come down and say, "You know you've got to stop." But we saw plenty of good movies in the Vogue Theatre. – ELIZABETH MÜNCH POWER

CHAPTER 11

Saliba Dominic: Founder of S. Dominic & Sons Ltd.

DALE GILBERT JARVIS

Like many other Lebanese merchants in Newfoundland, Saliba Dominic started out as a peddler. One of Saliba's sons explained the evolution of the family name to folklorist John Ashton as follows:

When my father came to Newfoundland he translated his middle name Domit to the English Dominic and dropped the family name Saadeh. He then went by the name of Saliba Dominic. (Ashton 1999, 71).

As he raised capital, he opened a store and hired ships to carry his goods from Spaniard's Bay to outports in Labrador. In the 1908-09 *McAlpine's St. John's Directory*, "Saleba" Dominic is listed as having a dry goods shop in Bay Roberts. Circa 1910, Saliba married Sadie Allen, who was born May 1893 in Lebanon.

Eventually, Saliba would go on to found S. Dominic & Sons Ltd. and establish stores in both Corner Brook and Botwood. In 1932, the firm opened the "Wayside Inn" dining room in Botwood in addition to their retail store (*Western Star* 1932, 2). Their store in Corner Brook sold a variety of goods, as shown by this advertisement in the *Western Star* in 1942:

S. Dominic & Sons on Humbermouth Road are well-known for their made-to-measure clothing. There are 400 samples of material from which you can choose, among them a variety of gabardines, for sportswear. This is the time to think about having a Harris Tweed suit or jacket made for the cooler weather, orders are promptly attended to, and satisfaction is assured.

In 1951, the S. Dominic Botwood premises were destroyed in a fire. They quickly began work to construct a new store on the site of the old one. The *Newfoundland Journal of Commerce* noted:

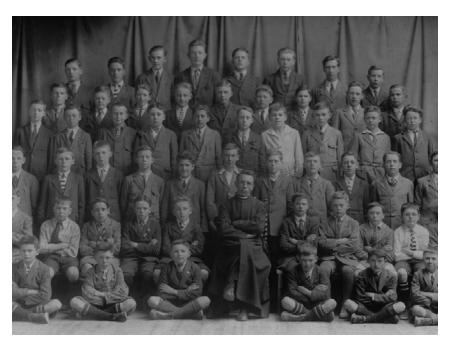


Wedding photo of Saliba Dominic and Sadie Allen, Botwood, circa 1910. Source: Newfoundland's Grand Banks / Margaret Dominic.

The new store will measure some 50 by 70 feet, will have a full basement and will be two storeys high. The firm has been doing business in Botwood for more than thirty years and carries well-known lines of general merchandise. At present S. Dominic and Sons are continuing their business in a small store nearby (1951, 33).

Saliba and Sadie had six sons: Rufus Gerard, George, Joseph, Murdoch, David, and Leo, and three daughters: Helen, Margaret Saab, and Molly. Many of the children started working in the family business, and went on to a variety of careers. Rufus grew up in Botwood and Corner Brook, and as a young adult worked in the family general store before going on to become a Doctor of paediatrics with a subspecialty in Haematology Oncology (NLMA 2013). Joseph Dominic became a Town Councillor in Bishop's Falls, and a manager for Harvey and Company's chainsaw division (*Daily News* 1956, 3).

Saliba and Sadie's granddaughter, Sharon Dominic, has coordinated cultural gatherings of Lebanese Canadians in St. John's (Cadogan 2012).



St. Bon's College Class Photo, St. John's, Newfoundland, circa 1924. George Dominic, Saliba Dominic's oldest son, is in the 3rd row from the top, 5th from the left. George is Margaret Dominic's father. Source: Margaret Dominic.



Helen and Margaret Dominic, daughters of Saliba and Sadie Dominic, circa late 1930s. Source: Margaret Dominic.



Margaret Dominic (of Botwood) and Albert Sapp's wedding, July 27, 1939. Wedding may have been in Nova Scotia. L-R: Helen Dominic, Marilyn Abbass, Albert Sapp (groom), Margaret Dominic (bride), Tony Andrews, and Joe Sapp. Source: Margaret Dominic.

S. Dominic & Sons Building at Botwood

(Special to The Journal)

S. Dominic and Sons, whose business was totally destroyed in a fire early in the new year, are building a new store on the site of the old one.

The new store will measure some 50 by 70 feet, will have a full basement and will be two storeys high.

The firm has been doing business in Botwood for more than thirty years and carries well-known lines of general merchandise.

At present S. Dominic and Sons are continuing their business in a small store nearby.

S. Dominic & Sons Building at Botwood. Source: *Newfoundland Journal of Commerce* 18, no. 5, 1951.



Mollie Dominic, circa 1942. She passed away shortly after this picture was taken. Source: Margaret Dominic.



Joseph Dominic building a boat in the family basement in Botwood. Source: Margaret Dominic.



Wedding photo of George Dominic and Elizabeth Fisher. George is in the dark suit in the front, Elizabeth is to his left. George had a business in Corner Brook at the time of this photo near Humber Road. 1943. George and Elizabeth are Margaret's parents. Source: Margaret Dominic.



Saliba Dominic with his brother who is visiting from Detroit, and his sister and her two daughters Suzie and Rose Boulos.

CHAPTER 12

Julia al-Ghossain and Her Descendants: Independent, Immigrant Lebanese Businesswomen in NL from the Early 1900s

The al-Ghossain lineage in Newfoundland and Labrador has many branches, with present generations widely dispersed across the province, country, and beyond. With certainty though, as with many of the Lebanese immigrants arriving here in the late 1890s, the first generation to live in this province were Maronite Christians, born in the town of Hadath el Jebbeh, which is located in the area known as Mount Lebanon, in the north of Lebanon. Why they traded the majesty of the Cedars of Lebanon for the pine clad hills of Newfoundland and Labrador is uncertain. Family stories, passed orally through generations, seem to be an amalgamation of truths, with their inherent gaps, mistakes, and conflicting themes. It is agreed they left behind religious or cultural persecution, overpopulation, and poor economic prospects, and



Julia Al-Ghossain. Source: Marina Owens.

sought the promise of stability and prosperity that migration would bring. Successive generations have benefited from that dream - and applaud their inspiring courage and dedicated work ethic.

The following material focuses on the matriarchal line of Julia Younis al-Ghossain (1847-1918). Julia's father was Younis (2) al-Ghossain. Many of his progeny are spread throughout the world, including branches in South Africa and the United States. She was the widow of George al-Ghossain: George and his brother, Michael Joseph (1856-1938), were the sons of

Joseph Michael al-Ghossain. Along with her brother-in-law, Michael, Julia was the first generation to arrive in the province sometime in the 1890s. The English spelling, "Gosine" or "Gossine," is carried in this province through the patriarchal line of her brother-in-law, Michael Joseph Gosine. Third and fourth generation surnames of Julia's descendants include Daniels, Ringman, Saab/Sabb, Sorensen, and Williams.

Julia had three daughters: Howa, Marina, and Annie, and two sons, Andrew and George. Some of them travelled here with her. Different oral versions speculate on the route – either via Ellis Island or England – and the why: to become planters, labourers or merchants. What is certain is that until Julia's death in 1918, she ran a boarding house at 402 Water Street, St. John's. Julia is listed there in the 1904 MacAlpine's Directory as Ludiah Cousens - indicative of an obvious communication/translation error on the part of the census taker. It was then common practice for Lebanese people to identify themselves by their spouse's or father's first name; hence the occurrence of the last name, "George," in numerous documents. Although literate in their native Arabic, and relatively fluent in spoken English, many of the first wave of immigrant Lebanese women were not able to read or write English. Regardless, they were undaunted by the challenge of conducting business and negotiating with their English-speaking customers. Shrewd and industrious, and supported by extended family, they successfully created a comfortable life in their new homeland.

The boarding house at 402 was a lively spot and a gathering place for lodgers and the Lebanese community. Many of the lodgers were seamen, including those injured or sick and in need of a place to recuperate before their next voyage. Original crew lists from the era note that address as home for many seamen, depicting a microcosm of nationalities residing there – Swedish, Norwegian, American, and Danish – to name a few.

The flavour of the happenings at 402 was captured in a newsprint article from 1908. While the focus of the article is about an altercation and unfortunate shooting during a game of cards, the descriptive passages, nonetheless, evoke a sense of the otherwise convivial atmosphere that existed there. The condemnation by the community of the assailant and his manners is apparent. A courageous Annie George chased the assailant, and "grabbed him by the collar and it was only when the shirt was torn that he got free from her grasp." She continued to follow him until she located a police officer. Interestingly, comments in the article place them as being in the city for twenty years, inferring an arrival sometime in 1888; likely a general reference to the established Lebanese community.

Julia's sons, George and Andrew, eventually left the province and, unfortunately, contact with them was lost. One is believed to have moved to



Annie (née Gossine) Ringman. Source: Marina Owens.

Africa and another one to the USA. Julia's matriarchal line continued in Newfoundland and Labrador through her three daughters. A common theme emerges for many of these women – juggling widowhood, single parenthood, running a small business venture – all, no doubt, with the unwavering love and support of each other, and of close extended family.

Julia's oldest daughter was Howa (Eva) (1868-1948/50). Her first husband, Michael Daniels (Mekhal Danial), died in 1905. They had two

children, Peter, who was born in Halifax (1891-1969) on route to the province, and Mary (1900-1960), who was born in Harbour Grace.

By 1913 Peter was operating the confectionery shop at 402. He was a member of the Blue Puttees – one of the first 500 to serve for the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in World War One. Post war, he moved to Corner Brook and was an accountant. There he married Sophie (Sofia) Basha (1902-1982). Her father, Tanius, ran a prosperous fish plant in Curling. Her brother was the late Senator Michael Basha. Peter and Sophie had three sons: Peter (a project manager), George (operated a car dealership), and Thomas (a professor at Grenfell Campus) and a daughter, Marie (relocated to Calgary). Many of their descendants continue to live there and prosper there.

Mary married Axel Sorensen (1897-1958), of Danish origin. They had eleven children. In 1919, Axel was a seaman and also a lodger at 402 as noted on crew lists. Axel worked as a longshoreman until his tragic death in a house fire in 1958. Many of their family left the province, although there are still Sorensen's that remain here, including their son Axel (1939-unknown), retired from civil service, and the latter's son, Kent, a dentist, and daughter, Kimberly, owner of Sorensen School of Dance.

Howa's second marriage was in 1908 to Stephen Fitzpatrick, a fisherman from Spaniard's Bay. They had a daughter, Elizabeth (Lizzie). Howa separated from Stephen and subsequently lived with her daughter. Lizzie married a Williams, a farmer in the Goulds. They had eight children, including Eric, the father of Sheila Williams, a familiar local entertainer. One of her other

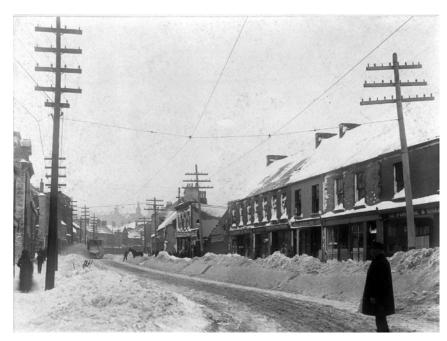
sons is John, the owner/operator of Modern Paving Ltd. Other children include: Billie, Sharon, Pat, Ruth, Alan, and Ray.

Julia's daughter, Marina Joseph (1880-1958), was married to Mansour Joseph (Sharlette) from Hasroun, Mount Lebanon. There is uncertainty about whether they were married before or after she arrived, or if they met in St. John's. He had resided in the province since 1893, operating a flourishing business in Clarke's Beach and a groceries and provisions importing business on 398 Water Street in St. John's, located next door to Julia's shop and boarding home. They returned to Lebanon in 1905 due to his ill health. By 1925, Marina returned, widowed, and she subsequently operated a confectionery store on 184 Gower St. They had no children and she never remarried. Mansour Joseph is believed to be the brother of Antonio Joseph. Antonio's son, Dufie (1892-1965), is noted as a nephew in her obituary. They both originally began peddling in the St. John's area. Antonio eventually ran extensive business operations throughout the province until his untimely death in 1913. His son, Dufie, continued to run his business operations in the Bay of Islands area of the province, including the British North America Hotel (see Chapter 6).

Annie George was Julia's third daughter (1886-1964). She travelled from Lebanon, accompanied by an uncle (unknown), when she was approximately eight years old. Annie helped in her mother's shop and boarding house. She also began as a peddler, taking a pack, boarding the train and travelling outside the city, selling items. The concept of a peddler is unheard of these days, but is akin to a travelling salesperson. In some cases, they set up in various locations throughout the city – not unlike the "pop up" shops of today. It was common for merchants of that era to begin as peddlers, then, as the business prospered, a permanent location was found.

Annie was a natural musician and played the "Jew's harp" and various stringed instruments at Lebanese gatherings and parties. She likely met her future husband at 402, Axel Ringman, where he is also listed as a lodger in crew lists. He was a Swedish seaman and they married in 1920. Subsequent to Julia's death in 1918, she continued to operate the novelty shop and boarding house.

Barely three years married and with two children, Amelia (1921-1994) and Edward (1922-2000), Annie was widowed in 1923. Axel, by then a captain of the schooner, Herbert Warren, which was owned by James Baird Ltd., was lost at sea in 1923 on a return voyage from Cadiz. She never remarried and continued to operate at 402 Water Street as late as 1936, before relocating to live and operate a shop at 23 New Gower Street. She, along with many of her family and the Lebanese community and shopkeepers in the area, was displaced in the mid-1960s when New Gower Street properties



Water Street West circa 1904. The al-Ghossain shop and boarding house, street number 402, St. John's, is the two-storey building to the right of the pole in the foreground. Source: James Vey, City of St. John's Archives #13-01-014.

were expropriated as part of the city's urban-renewal scheme.

Annie's daughter, Amelia, married Richard Sabb/Saab (1924-1990). Richard was from the Halifax area and was also of Lebanese heritage. Richard and Amelia ran a fruit and confectionery shop at 120 Duckworth Street in St. John's throughout most of the 1950s to 1980s. Richard was a World War Two veteran, serving as a gunner with the Royal Canadian Airforce. He is buried in the Field of Honour at Mount Pleasant Cemetery.

Edward (Eddie), Annie's son, served in World War Two, a veteran of the Royal Artillery, 59th Regiment. He is buried in the Field of Honour at Mount Pleasant. He was trained as a professional photographer in New York, benefitting from the programs offered to returning soldiers. He worked as a newspaper photographer until he joined Tooton's Studio in 1954 in St. John's (Tooton being another familiar name in the Lebanese community). Eddie was self-employed, operating as Ringman Photography Ltd., for approximately ten years before retiring in the late 1980s. His professional wedding, family, and business photography portraits are on display in countless locations throughout St. John's. He is listed in the 1977 publication, "The Face of Newfoundland," by Joseph R. Smallwood and is also acknowledged as a contributor.

Both Amelia and Edward have descendants that continue to live and work in the St. John's area, the fourth and fifth generations of Julia's matriarchal line.

A close connection and great support to Julia and her daughters was her niece, Ellen (Ella) Sapp (née Gossine) (1882-1955), the daughter of her brother-in-law, Michael. Ellen's husband, Joseph (Joe) Charles Sapp (1879-1969), operated the dry goods shop at 398 Water Street after Mansour Joseph left in 1905. Joseph and Ellen relocated in 1947 to Bell Island and ran shops there. His brother, Albert, (~1885-1956), and his wife, Rose (1896-1986), also operated businesses on Bell Island. Neither of the Sapp brothers had surviving children. Descendants of Ellen's brothers, Joseph and Elias, continue to live and flourish in St. John's, Bell Island and in surrounding areas.

Another widowed relative of Julia, Bedra (Bertha) Faour (née Elgosine) (1870-1941), arrived with her younger son Edward (1895-1927), around 1916 to join her other son, Simon Faour (1889-1948). Bertha assisted with Simon's operations. Simon had various businesses during the period he lived in St. John's, including a tobacco store and a cigarette plant. He travelled extensively to the United States, often with Joe Sapp, likely for trade and also to connect with relatives residing in the area of Vermont. In 1919 it is noted that he rented space in Newman's Vault on Water St. He relocated to the United States and eventually became a US citizen in 1938.

Bedra's son, Edward, served in World War One and was one of the few that survived the slaughter at Beaumont Hamel. Subsequent to his death in 1927, his widow, Mary (known as Mamie; née Noah), moved to Corner Brook. Their son, Daniel Faour, ran a successful jewellery business in Corner Brook for over 40 years. After Edward's death, his mother continued to run a small fruit and confectionery shop at 58 New Gower Street.

These women are icons of the Lebanese immigrant legacy in our province. Julia's independent, entrepreneurial voice continues to send a powerful message, echoing through time and through her descendants. Because of her inspiring example, these women were able to forge ahead with unwavering bravery, despite adversity, tragic loss, and regardless of language, cultural or other barriers. One imagines that she dared to dream that by changing her circumstances, her children and her descendants would have the prospect of a better life and a more promising future than the one she left behind.

Julia – be proud, your dream has become reality.

CHAPTER 13

Notes on the Early Lebanese Business People on Bell Island J. Boulos

The first Lebanese immigrants to Newfoundland, and their offspring, constituted a notable proportion of the new and successful business operators on Bell Island during the first half of the 1900s, just when Bell Island's economic boom period and population explosion was taking hold as a result of its massive iron ore deposits. At the peak of that period, in the mid-1900s, Bell Island's population would swell to upwards of 12,000 inhabitants, and earn the distinction of being, for a time, the second-most populous community in Newfoundland, after St. John's.

The surnames of some of the Lebanese business people which became familiar to other Bell Islanders at different points within that time period, included: Ahee, Andrews, Basha, Boulos, Carbage, Ellis, Gosine, Herro, Nikosey, Sapp, Shaheen, Simon and Tuma, among others.

BOULOS

This family name only briefly existed on Bell Island, albeit with a relatively early entry. Dominic Boulos (see Chapter 7) operated a dry goods business on Bell Island between 1908-1911. His sons, Charles and Daniel, were born there during that period.

CARBAGE/CORBAGE AND HERRO

Charles Sapp (see Chapter 14) and Michael Carbage are each noted as general dealers on Bell Island in the 1904 *McAlpine's Newfoundland Directory* (the latter name being spelt "Gabrege" in that Directory, however, the actual surname was variously spelt "Karbaj", "Kurbaj" or "Kerbage"). Michael Carbage (~1869-1937) is also listed as a general dealer in the 1913 (St. John's), Newfoundland Directory, for the community of Bell Island, as the proprietor of a general store in the similar 1915 and 1919 directories, and as a merchant in the similar 1936 directory, for Bell Island (hereinafter, "Directory" or "Directories"). An Abraham Carbage (1890-1936) – later a schooner captain – is listed as a shopkeeper in the 1913 Directory, a general store proprietor in the 1915 directory (as "Alex"), and as a mechanic in the 1919 directory.



Abraham and Sophia Carbage. Source: Joan Larocque.

Abraham Carbage was the nephew of Michael Carbage (Abraham's late father, Joseph Carbage, was Michael's brother). A December 21, 1932, Western Star death notice for Corner Brook businessman, George Corbage (a different spelling of the same surname), indicated that Michael and George were first cousins, that George was born in Baalbek. Lebanon, and came to Newfoundland around

1887. (Captain) Abraham J. Carbage relocated to Burin North around 1918-1919 and he is listed with his family in the 1921 Newfoundland Census records for that town. He was in business there, for some period, with his brother-in-law, Simon Herro (also spelt "Hero"; 1891-1959), under the name "Herro and Carbage". An October 17, 1934, Western Star notice advised that

Abraham "was lost overboard from his schooner, the [MV] Yale, during a storm when off Elliston, bound to Northwest River, Labrador." He left a spouse, Sophie (née Herro), two sons Joseph and Louis, and six daughters: Mary, Margaret, Kathleen, Agnes, Theresa and Rita. Abraham's granddaughter, Joan Larocque, of Ontario, relates (May, 2022) that Sophie/Sophia Carbage (1896-1963) emigrated from Baalbek, Lebanon, to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, U.S.A., as a young girl of maybe 11 years, with her brother, Simon Herro (actual first name, Samuel), and her half-brother, William, and that Sophie was related to the Basha family on Bell Island in some manner. She would have arrived



Sophia Carbage and daughters, Kathleen and Madeline. Source: Joan Larocque.



Sophia Carbage and her daughter, Agnes. Source: Joan Larocque.



John Basha's store in background. From L to R: Annie Basha, Vicki Basha Carbage, and Lillian Basha George. Source: Joan Larocque.

at Bell Island with her older brother, Simon, approximately three years later, in 1910, when he was about 20 years of age. Following her spouse's 1934 death, Sophie who could not speak, read or write English – left Burin with her eight children and her brother, Simon, returned to Bell Island and built a home there next to the home of her mother-in-law, Diamond Basha. She then opened and operated a grocery store, eventually purchased properties, and became a residential landlord. The grocery store would survive her death in 1963 and her eldest child, Joseph Carbage, then continued this business until his own death in 1976.

Captain Abraham Carbage was born at Mount Lebanon (likely around Baalbek), the son of Joseph Carbage and Diamond Carbage (née Shaeen; ~1871-1957). Joan Larocque advises that Abraham's parents had at least two other children, also born at Mount Lebanon, Victoria (Peters) and Sister Joseph. Joseph and Diamond emigrated from Lebanon to Australia, where Joseph later passed away from yellow fever. Following Joseph's death, Diamond then immigrated to Newfoundland with her then 16-year-old son, Abraham Carbage (around 1906), and she eventually married (in 1911) widower, Ameen Basha (~1855-1943), then of Grand Falls, and they then made Bell Island their home. The wedding announcement was published in the May 3, 1911, edition of the *Evening Telegram*. When Diamond Carbage came to Newfoundland, her other two children remained in Australia, but eventually travelled to Canada. Ameen and Diamond had one child together, George Basha, who for years operated a vending machine business and a pool hall on Bell Island.

A 1959 death announcement for Simon Herro (Hero) stated that he was born in "Aumbur-day" (more frequently spelt "Ain Bourday", and located adjacent to, and directly south of, Baalbek), Lebanon, emigrated from Lebanon to the United States [Milwaukee, Wisconsin, as noted above] ¹ in 1907 at 17 years of age, and stayed there for three years. In 1910 he moved to Bell Island and went into business there until moving to Burin North in 1918. He returned to Bell Island in 1938, then moved to St. John's to accept an employment position there. "In the early 1940s he took up residence [in Bell Island] permanently and up to the time of his death carried on a very successful grocery store on Main Street" (*Daily News*, September 24, 1959). Following his death, his nephew, Louis Carbage, inherited this business and continued operating it for a number of years prior to starting a taxi service on Bell Island and also acquiring and renting properties there.

BASHA AND SHAHEEN

The above-noted Michael Carbage married Regina Basha (of Baalbek, Lebanon; 1881-1956) in January, 1898, in St. John's. The marriage record stated that Michael, at 26, was a peddler, and that Regina was 18. Tanius Basha acted as one of the two witnesses to the wedding. Regina was the daughter of Joseph Basha (1853-1929) and Zadie Haddad. Michael and Regina would have a total of 22 children, according to the 2013 obituary of their daughter, Sister Mary Regina Carbage. The August 25, 1956, *Daily News* report on Regina Carbage's passing stated that she and her late spouse went into business together very successfully for years, and that she also operated a hotel for years, in addition to other enterprises in the heart of Town Square, Bell Island.² Regina was also heavily involved in what was called the "Syrian Benevolent Association of Bell Island" during the early to mid-1910s,

^{1.} At page 398 of the 2019 book, *Strangers No More: Syrians in the United States 1880-1900*, author, Linda K. Jacobs (Kalimah Press), noted that the Herro family from "Ayn Bardee (Baalbek) came to dominate Wisconsin commerce in the first decade of the twentieth century" and that "there were no fewer than eighteen Herro-owned businesses in Wisconsin, eleven of them in Milwaukee."

^{2.} Michael and Regina's son, George Carbage, married Vicki Basha (1911-2012), daughter of John (brother of Joseph) and Marion Basha (née Salamy), and they (George and Vicki) later operated a supermarket on Town Square for over 30 years. George and Vicki's daughter, Nancy Carbage, for years also owned and operated the only dress shop on Bell Island.

which organized socials, dinners, dances and fairs, to raise funds for the relief of the poor (*Evening Telegram*, April 2, 1912 and December 3, 1912). Her spouse, Michael, was the President of the "St. Joseph's Syrian Society" during this same period, one of the aims of which was to erect a large building to be used as a night school for miners and also as a temporary lodging place (the upstairs portion of the building) for upwards of 50 indigent individuals seeking work on Bell Island (*Evening Telegram*, April 24, 1913) (see Appendix 6).

Joseph Basha's January 18, 1929, *Daily News* obituary stated that he was born at Mount Lebanon³ around 1853 "and [was] later of Baalbek", Lebanon, that he came to Newfoundland around 1896, that he travelled extensively in the United States and Canada, and then went to Bell Island in 1900. He is noted in the 1913, 1915 and 1919 Directories under the business name "Joseph Basha & Son(s)", general dealers/merchants. Joseph's sons were Elias and Edward. A June 29, 1957, *Daily News* article regarding Elias Basha (~1882-1972) stated that he was a successful Wabana businessman for many years, that he was born in Lebanon and came to Bell Island in 1895 with his parents at the age of 13 and that his father, Joseph, was one of the pioneer businessmen of Wabana. The article also stated that prior to coming to Wabana, Elias had lived in New York for five years where he attended school. Elias also had a hotel on Town Square, Bell Island, for a number of years.

Some or all of the 1913, 1915 and 1919 Directories reference the aforementioned Joseph Basha (of Joseph Basha & Son(s), general merchant), his son, Elias Basha, and Joseph Basha's four brothers: Abraham Basha (a grocer), Ameen Basha ("billiards, cigars, etc."), Benjamin Basha (a photographer – later a travelling projectionist around Newfoundland), and John Basha (a general store proprietor/grocer), and also referenced an Edward Basha (a clerk with John Basha). ⁴ Joseph, Abraham, Ameen, Benjamin, and John Basha were all brothers, and they also had a sister who lived on Bell Island, Mary E. Tuma. ⁵

^{3.} The Mount Lebanon range runs along the full length of the north-to-south expanse of Lebanon. Thus, there are mountains in the north, in the centre and in the south of Lebanon. In the 1860s until the end of World War One, the term "Mount Lebanon" also referenced a separate geographical region within present-day Lebanon (primarily Christian in religious denomination) that was politically separate or distinct from the balance of Syria, although both Mount Lebanon and Syria as a whole were then within the ultimate control and domain of the Ottoman Empire.

^{4.} McAlpine's Newfoundland Directory, 1904, notes an "A. Basham, jewellery and fancy goods, Water St.," Carbonear—a likely reference to either Abraham or Ameen Basha—and another newspaper source notes that Benjamin Basha also had a store in Harbour Grace in 1908.

^{5.} This fact and related genealogical information stated herein regarding the Basha family was extracted from basic "family tree" notes prepared by George Basha, Jr., the grandson of Ameen and Diamond Basha.



Lebanese party on Bell Island. Standing back left cover L-R: Martha (née Carbage) Basha, Johnny Simon, Francis Gosine. Seating back row L-R: Joe Basha, Elizabeth Bahsa, Nance Basha, Philomena Cantwell, Annie Gosine, Helen Neary, unknown, Eleanor Dominic, Fred Michael, Rufus Dominic, Vicki Carbage. Seated front row L-R: Kathleen Gosine (Harold Gosine's wife), Lillian (née Basha) Moakler, George Carbage, Brian Murphy, Harold Gosine, Helen (née Carbage) Simon, Sadie Gosine, Cyril Moakler, Mercedes Gosine. Photo taken at the home of Harold and Kathleen Gosine, circa 1960s. Source: Joan Larocque.

All of the Bashas are understood to have emigrated from Baalbek, Lebanon, through New York, to Newfoundland, most likely after first spending some time in New York or in Canada, as in the case of Joseph Basha, as noted above. The 1898 *City of St. John's Directory* lists Abraham "Basher", Aman [Ameen] "Basher", John "Basher" and Thomas [Tanius] "Basher" as traders, residing at 29 Barter's Hill, St. John's, and Joseph "Basher" as a peddler, residing at 36 Barter's Hill. Abraham, Ameen, John and Joseph Basha, it seems, all found their way to Bell Island, and Thomas Basha is likely the Tanius Basha – their cousin – (1841-1936) of the West Coast (see Chapter 8). (The January 21, 1955, *Western Star* death notice for one of Tanius Basha's sons, Elias Basha, of Corner Brook, stated that Tanius Basha came to Newfoundland in 1886 and after a few years the family moved to Halifax and then, in 1902, moved back to Newfoundland to settle in Curling, then known as Birchy Cove.)

Abraham Basha was accidentally killed by a streetcar in St. John's on April 6, 1928, at 53 years of age (*Twillingate Sun*, April 7, 1928). His widow, Sarah (1880-1940), was the proprietress of "Basha Hotel", 4 Queen Street, St. John's, as of 1915 (St. John's *Daily Star*, November 26, 1915), and then of

the Belmont Hotel, 117-121 New Gower Street, St. John's (*Evening Telegram*, August 25, 1921).

A February 15, 1957, article in the *Daily News* regarding the passing of 86-year-old, Mrs. Ameen Basha – Diamond/Zmurud, née Shaeen – indicated that Ameen Basha died in 1943 (his first spouse, Malahoe/Malikey, née Tooton, from Damascus, having died at Norris Arm on September 15, 1906, at the age of 40) and that he had been one of the pioneer businessmen on Bell Island. The article noted that (the second) Mrs. Ameen Basha (Diamond Shaeen) left surviving her one son [George Basha], two daughters, and a brother, Joseph Sheehan [Shaheen/Shaeen], then in Ottawa, Ontario.

There is a file concerning Joseph Shaheen (1891-1959) within the Military Service Database of The Rooms Provincial Archives, Art Gallery, and Museum (under the surname spelling "Shaeen") which discloses a wealth of information concerning this emigrant Veteran's personal circumstances and life's journey up to about 1920.

Joseph was born in 1891 in the Maronite Christian village of Lehfed, Byblos District, Lebanon, located about 55 kilometres north of Beirut, to Jacob and Annie Shaheen. He married Angeline Joseph Gairus in 1908 in Lehfed and they had two sons together, born in 1908 and 1910. His original occupation was as a butcher. He had, as noted, a sister, "Zmurud" (Mrs. Ameen) Basha, of Bell Island, as well as three brothers, David ("Deeb"), Jacob, and Elias Shaheen. David Shaheen, born around 1883, was also married with three children. At some point between 1910-1911 (Joseph was in attendance at his sister's May 3, 1911, Bell Island wedding), Joseph and David decided to temporarily leave behind their young families in Lebanon and to immigrate to Bell Island, Newfoundland, where their sister had settled, in the obvious hope of earning a better livelihood for their families and most likely with the goal of bringing them over to Newfoundland at some point, if life was better there than in Lebanon.

In the 1913 Bell Island Directory, Joseph and David Shaheen (sometimes also spelt "Sheehan", "Shaeen", "Shean" and "Sheen") are listed as shopkeeper and salesman, respectively. Business stationery for David in 1915, describes him as "David Shaeen, General Dealer, Dry and Fancy Goods, Ready-Made Clothing, Jewellery, etc., Bell Island, C.B.." Joseph enlisted in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, registration number 712, on December 10, 1914, his occupation being noted as "merchant." He saw active service as an infantry soldier over a period of four years, including three months in Gallipoli, five in France, and three in Egypt, and sustained serious shrapnel wounds and nerve damage injuries to his left leg on June 19, 1916, at Beaumont-Hamel, France, which would result in the amputation of that leg. He was discharged, as a Private, on January 10, 1919.



David Shaheen (seated) and Joseph Shaheen, circa 1911. Source: Joan Larocque.



David Shaheen's 1915 business stationery. Source: Joan Larocque.

World War One greatly impacted the lives of Lebanon's inhabitants, with at least 200,000 (sources indicate) dying as a result of what became known as the Great Famine of Mount Lebanon. Lebanese immigrants were typically unable to receive information regarding their relatives for as long as two-to-four years within the period 1914-1919.⁶ As late as June, 1919, Joseph and David were also in this predicament. They learned from late-arriving letters (translated, in part, for the benefit of Newfoundland Regiment officials, by George Noah on November 22, 1919), that their parents and their brother, Jacob, Joseph's spouse and two children, and David's three children, all perished during the war years. George Noah offered up the following descriptive picture of the dire situation that existed at the time:

Having spent the whole of the war period in Beirut, Syria, I can assure you that the conditions of the majority of people was nothing less than starvation. I have seen people die in the streets daily, averaging between thirty and fifty each day, all of whom die either from lack of shelter or hunger.

Joseph and David later appeared in the 1921 census as boarders in Pouch Cove, and Joseph later appeared within the 1928 Pouch Cove Voter's List, although it is likely he left Newfoundland in the early 1920s. Joseph remarried in Ottawa, Ontario, in 1925, and he died on November 19, 1959 (*Daily News*, March 7, 1959, and Military Service Database, generally). He and his second wife, Alice, had one child, Albert Shaheen.

AHEE AND NIKOSEY

Charles Ahee (sometimes spelt "Ahey", and pronounced "eye") is listed in the 1913, 1915 and 1919 Bell Island Directories as a dealer in dry goods/grocer/confectioner, and he is also listed in the 1921 Newfoundland Census under the community of Bell Island. The 1921 census information indicated that he and his spouse, Ellie (née Tuma), were born in Syria in 1883 and 1891, and emigrated in 1901 and 1905, respectively. The pair had seven children (the eldest two of whom having been born in 1909 and 1912 in North Sydney, and the youngest five having been born in Bell Island between 1913 to 1920). The census also noted that Charles' widowed mother, Annie ("Anita") Ahee, also resided with the family. The April 15, 1924, Evening Telegram obituary

^{6.} See St. John's Daily Star, December 7, 1918, in respect to Kalleem Noah–receiving long-awaited news after 3 years' wait regarding the well-being of his sons, John and George, studying there, and of the death of his mother and brother; and Evening Telegram, April 23, 1919, in respect to St. John's businessman, Albert G. Andrews–learning after 4 years of the death of his mother, 2 brothers and 15 other relatives.

for Anita Ahey (65 years) stated that she had been living periodically in Newfoundland and in Canada for the prior 32 years and that she had been a prominent resident of Bell Island for the 12 years preceding her passing. The obituary also stated that she left one other child, a daughter, Mrs. M. (Michael) Nikosey, of St. John's. Marriage records confirm that Charles (a 22-year-old miner) and "Ellen" Tuma, then 18, married at Bell Island on October 24, 1909, and the two witnesses were Michael Nikosey and Mary Basha. The young couple, therefore, apparently had left Bell Island shortly after their wedding and resided in North Sydney for four-to-five years before returning to Bell Island. As of 1932, the family had relocated to St. John's, and Ellie Ahee was then operating Ahee's Confectionery Store on New Gower Street. Charles Ahee passed away around January 27, 1942.

In the 1913, 1915, and 1919 Bell Island Directories, there are entries for Michael "Nickosey" (more frequently spelt "Nikosey"), wherein he is listed as a shopkeeper, grocer, and general storekeeper, respectively. By the time of the 1921 census, he and his family were residing in St. John's. He and his spouse, Mary (née Ahee), were apparently both born in Beirut and immigrated to Sydney, Nova Scotia, around 1898, before moving to Bell Island. By the mid-1920s, *City Directories* confirm that Michael, Mary, and their family were operating a confectionery store on New Gower Street, and also an auction store on the same street, into the 1930s. Michael continued to be listed as an auctioneer in the 1936 *Bell Island Directory*.

GOSINE AND SAPP

Entries are noted in the 1913, 1915, 1919 and 1936 Bell Island Directories fairly consistently for Michael J. Gosine, as merchant, commission merchant, general store (M. J. Gosine & Sons), and merchant, respectively (see Chapter 12 and Appendix 1), and for Albert C. Sapp, as general dealer/dry goods in the 1913, 1915, and 1919 directories (see Chapter 14). Abraham M. Sapp (dry goods, etc.) is also referenced in the 1915 directory (see Chapter 14).

Elias Gosine (1890-1949) is noted in the 1913 directory as a merchant, and in the 1919 directory as being associated with M.J. Gosine & Sons. In the 1936 directory he is listed as "manager, sport rooms." He was a son of Michael J. Gosine (1856-1938), and is the grandfather of long-time, and current (2022), Wabana Mayor, Gary Gosine. The 1921 census indicated that he emigrated from Syria with his father in 1898, at eight years of age. The particular town was the mountain village of Hadath el Jebbeh, in the Qadisha Valley, North Lebanon. The November 10, 1910, edition of the Evening Telegram posted an article about his wedding on Bell Island at that time. It stated, in part, that he was the "son of M. J. Gosine, the 'Assyrian King' of the Island [Bell Island]" and that he married a lady [Annie] from

Lebanon who was residing in Sydney, Cape Breton. A special Mass was also held at St. Michael's Church on the following day, Sunday, by a Syrian Priest. On August 26, 1949, a *Daily News* article advised that Elias, 61, had died the prior day after suffering a fall while repairing his roof, and stated that he had operated a dry goods store on Bell Island and was favourably known by the members of that community.

TUMA

Simon E. Tuma was born in Baalbek, Lebanon, around 1881. His May 27, 1944, *Western Star* death notice advised that he came to Newfoundland in 1894 and had carried on a successful jewellery and watchmaking business since that time. His spouse's name was Rose (née Basha, daughter of Tanius Basha), and she was born in New York around 1889. Simon is listed in the 1913, 1915, 1919, and 1936 Bell Island Directories as a jeweller/watchmaker/engraver. He eventually moved to Corner Brook in the 1930s (see Chapter 8).

Mrs. Mary E. Tuma (née Basha) was listed in the 1913 *Bell Island Directory* as a general retail dealer and confectioner, and in the 1915 and 1919 directories as a general dealer. The 1921 *Newfoundland Census* indicated that she was then a 64-year-old widow who resided alone on Bell Island, was born in Syria in 1857 and immigrated to Newfoundland or Canada in 1905. Ellie (Ellen) Ahee (née Tuma), as noted, also immigrated to Newfoundland or Canada in 1905. Both Ellen Ahee and Simon E. Tuma were the children of Mary E. Tuma, who passed away on October 6, 1937. As noted earlier, Mary E. Tuma was a sister of John, Ameen, Benjamin, Abraham, and Joseph Basha. A February 19, 1909, *Evening Telegram* article referenced Mary's children, Ellen Tuma (several months prior to her marriage) and Alexander Tuma, as being "Syrian shopkeepers at Bell Island" during that period.

ANDREWS

The 1921 census recorded a John T. Andrews, born in 1890, in Syria, and his spouse, Martha, with an indication that they emigrated from there in 1919. They had three young children as of 1921, and it is assumed that Mr. Andrews was carrying on some sort of business on Bell Island at that time. He was possibly a cousin of Albert (Ablan) G. Andrews (Andrea) (1883-1949), St. John's/Lebanese businessman (father of Albert Andrews, former St. John's City Councillor, of Chrissie Andrews, musician, and of well-known classically-trained singer, Julie (Andrews) Alam). A February 17, 1937, Western Star article recorded that the couple were then celebrating their 25th wedding anniversary (referring to him as "J.T. Andrews") and stated that the wedding had taken place in Mount Lebanon. The 1935 census for Corner Brook recorded his first name as "Joseph" instead of "John," as it appeared in

the 1921 census records for Bell Island, and it is thought that Joseph was his correct and actual first name. Finally, a notice in the September 18, 1940, edition of the *Western Star* stated that J.T. Andrews of Broadway, West Corner Brook, would soon be relocating to Windsor, Ontario, as soon as he disposed of his property and stock.

There were, of course, many other individuals from these particular, and other, Lebanese families that successfully conducted business on Bell Island beyond the 1930s, to the present day, confirming the full integration of the offspring of the early Lebanese immigrants over that time period, into the Bell Island business community and community life. At the beginning of that period, so successful were these early business immigrants that an exasperated letter contributor to the September 27, 1910, edition of the *Evening Herald*, under the heading "Bell Island Notes", wrote:

We have a colony of Assyrians here, but up to this time we never hear of one of them working in the mines. They all have their little stores, or their packs on their backs. They are fairly good people but not any better than our own. Some of them had very little but a pack when they first came to this island; now they have mansions, large and expensive, stocks, horses and wagons, etc., and it is said that they do two-thirds of the business of this island. It's hard to understand how those people thrive so well here, while our own people, who do the same business, can just manage to rub along; but when one sees in the papers that one of those people in a nearby town, swore in court that he made \$150.00 profit on goods valued at \$500.00, it is not to be wondered at. Alas, for us, miners, what do we get for a dollar; 33 percent first charge; 30 percent profit besides transportation expenses, so that we get very little for a dollar.

No doubt, many of these early immigrants developed into shrewd business people as time progressed. The perplexed and frustrated 1910 letter writer failed to acknowledge or see, however, that hard work and sacrifice on the part of these immigrants accounted largely in the relative success they often achieved – despite humble and disadvantaged beginnings – in the foreign land that they had come to make and call their new and permanent home.

CHAPTER 14

The Sapp Family on Bell Island BY GAIL WEIR

Reprinted in part with permission from the website www.historic-wabana.com, the "People of Bell Island" web pages, which feature mini-biographies of some of the people who have lived and worked on Bell Island, or who have had an impact on its history in some way. Much of the information comes from historical records and newspaper or magazine articles, census records, and from anecdotal accounts by people interviewed by Gail Weir.

SAPP NAME ON BELL ISLAND, C.1898 TO C.1969

As far as I can determine, Joseph Charles Sapp (1879-1969), known sometimes as Joe and other times as Charlie, was the first of the Lebanese-born Sapps to live and work on Bell Island and, with some gaps over the years, maintained his business there for a total of about 30 years until he died at the age of 90 in January 1969. His wife, Ellen (1882-1955), was the daughter of Michael J. Gosine (1856-1938), another long-time Lebanese businessman of Bell Island. Joseph C. and Ellen Sapp (née Gosine) immigrated to Newfoundland, first to Bell Island, then St. John's, before returning in 1947 to spend the rest of their lives on Bell Island. They and their only child, Rosie, who died in infancy, are buried in St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Bell Island.

Joseph's brother, Albert C. Sapp (c.1885-1956), and his wife, Rose (1896-1986), first had their business on Bell Island during the years of World War One before moving to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, where others of their family had put down roots. After five years there, they went back to Syria for four years before returning in 1929 to Bell Island, where Albert maintained his business until his death in 1956, a total of 34 years. Rose continued in business there for a total of 48 years, until her brother-in-law, Joseph, died in 1969. She then moved to Halifax where her brother, Abraham Leo Saab, was living. She died in 1986 at the age of 90. She and Albert are buried in St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Bell Island.

Rose Sapp's brother was known as Abraham Leo Sapp (c.1897-1983) when he was a shopkeeper on Bell Island around the time of World War One . He gave his hometown as Bell Island when he signed up for military service in May 1918 and he was discharged from duty in July 1919. Meanwhile,

their cousin, Raymond Melan Sapp (c.1875-1957), was also a merchant on Bell Island from around 1915-1918 before he and his wife, Rose Andrea Joseph (1882-1956), moved their family back to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, where they had lived for a few years before coming to Newfoundland. In June 1920, Abraham Leo Sapp left Bell Island for Yarmouth to live with his cousin, Raymond and family. A year later, Abraham married Raymond's

ALBERT C. SAPP

General Dealer

Dry and Fancy Goods (Ready-made), Jewelery, etc. Groceries, Fruit and Confectionery, Tobacco, Cigars and Cigarettes, Temperance Drinks.

East Bell Island. Mines

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL

GENERAL IMPORTER AND JOBBER IN

General Dry Goods

READY-MADE CLOTHING A SPECIALTY

. . ALWAYS ON HAND . .

FANCY GOODS, Latest Styles, BOOTS AND SHOES. HATS AND CAPS, NOTIONS, ACCORDEONS, JEWELLERY, WATCHES, ETC., ETC., ETC.

Latest Fashions in Ladies' Coats, Capes and Waterproofs

Prices Right. Plompt and Careful Attention to Mail Orders.

OUTPORT ORDERS SOLICITED

398 Water Street West, - St. John's, Nfld.

Ads for Sapp businesses in St. John's and on Bell Island. Source: Newfoundland Directory Co., St. John's Newfoundland Directory 1913.

eldest daughter, Mamie (c.1900-1978), and they moved to Halifax, where they reverted to the Saab spelling of his name. Mamie died there in 1978 and Abraham in 1983. Raymond and family had remained in Yarmouth, where his wife Rose died in 1956 and he died in 1957.

ABRAHAM LEO SAPP/SAAB (1896-1983)

Abraham was born Abraham Leo (Elias) Saab in Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon, on January 15, 1896 to Marion (Mary, née Anthony) and Leo (Elias) Brohiem Saab. Marion and Leo remained in Lebanon (Aljure 2013). It is not known when Abraham came to Newfoundland or Bell Island, but his sister, Rosie, and brother-in-law, Albert Sapp, were General Dealers on Bell Island from about 1912 through 1919. As well, his cousin, and future father-in-law, Raymond Melan Sapp (see below), was listed as a General Merchant on Bell Island in the 1915 directory. Abraham Leo enlisted to serve in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment in WWI on May 6, 1918. His service number was 4909. He served for 1 year, 86 days, and was discharged July 30, 1919. On June 21, 1920 "A. Sapp," an unmarried businessman, age 24, born in Syria, arrived in North Sydney on his way to Halifax, Nova Scotia. Also in June 1920, Albert and Rosie Sapp immigrated to Nova Scotia (they spent the first half of the 1920s in Yarmouth).

The 1921 census for Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, shows "Leo Sapp," merchant, age 25, living with his cousin Raymond Sapp's family. On August 21, 1921, Abraham Leo Sapp, shopkeeper, whose age is given as 27, married Raymond Sapp's eldest daughter, Mary (Mamie). Following their marriage, they moved to Halifax where they went by the surname "Saab." Mamie died Nov. 27, 1978 in Halifax. Abraham died April 16, 1983 in Halifax. They are buried in Gate of Heaven Cemetery, Sackville, Nova Scotia.

ABRAHAM M. SAPP

Abraham M. Sapp appears in the 1915 directory for Bell Island selling "dry goods, etc. Bell Island Mines." Other than this listing, I could not find any other reference to Abraham M. Sapp on Bell Island. There was an Abram Melan Sapp (1884-1957) in Carbonear in 1913 according to the death record of his son, Joseph Abraham Sapp, who was born there in 1913 and who died in Shelburne, Nova Scotia, in 1953. The family seems to have moved to Nova Scotia sometime before 1921 and remained there. It is possible that Abram Melan Sapp was doing business on Bell Island in 1915. See Raymond Melan Sapp's bio below for similarities of movement. Another possibility is that the 1915 directory got the middle initial wrong and that the listing should have been for Abraham "L." Sapp, whose bio is above.



Joseph Charles Sapp stands in the back. Source: Marina Owens.

ALBERT (ABBLA) CHARLES SAPP (C.1885-1956) AND HANA ROSE (ROSIE) SAAB (1896-1986)

Abbla (Albert) Charles Sapp was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, Syria, c.1885 to Ann and Charles Saab. Hana Rose Saab was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon, 1896 to Marion (Mary) and Leo Brohiem Saab. Marion and Leo remained in Lebanon (Aljure 2013). Albert is listed in the 1908-09 *McAlpine's St. John's Directory* as a clerk in his brother J. Charlie Sapp's dry goods business at 398 Water Street. Albert's middle initial is given as J in that listing. On February 22, 1909, Albert Sapp, shopkeeper, 23, born Syria, arrived in North Sydney, Nova Scotia, aboard the *Bruce*, from Port aux Basques, Newfoundland, destination Halifax, Nova Scotia. Two months later, on April 20th, Albert and Rose married in Halifax, where she had been living since 1904. They moved to Bell Island in 1912. He appears in the 1913, 1915, and 1919 directories for Bell Island as a general dealer selling "dry and fancy goods (ready-made), jewellery, etc., groceries, fruit and confectionery, tobacco, cigars and cigarettes, temperance drinks. Prices [are] right. East Bell Island, Mines."

They moved to St. John's for a short time, where they were storekeepers on Water Street before leaving for Nova Scotia in June 1920. During the 1920s, they were living in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. In 1925, they returned to their homeland of Syria for four years before moving back to Bell Island in 1929. It was reported in the Bell Island news section of *The Daily News* in the summer of 1932 that Albert Charles Sapp was rebuilding his store that had been destroyed by fire. The shop was on the north side of Bennett Street, two doors east of the East Track. Some of the merchandise they sold in their dry-goods store included dishes, wallpaper, hair ribbons, knitting wool, embroidery silk, and school supplies. Albert also cut panes of glass. It was said that whenever he was cutting glass for a customer, he would repeat the phrase, "In God we trust." At the annual Fall Agricultural Exhibition held in October 1938 at the Arena, where businesses donated prizes for best livestock, vegetables, flowers and fancy work, Albert Charles Sapp donated a prize of a set of dishes.

The February 22, 1941 edition of *The Daily News* stated that the grocery department of the Royal Stores (Water Street, St. John's) had on display in their window two lemons, one of which weighed 1 and 1/4 pounds, grown by Mrs. Albert Charles Sapp on Bell Island. They are listed in the 1945 Census and the 1949 and 1953 Voters' Lists for Bell Island. The July 6, 1955 edition of *The Daily News* featured an item entitled, "Visiting Syria":

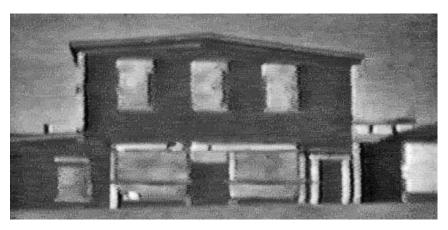
On Sunday, July 3rd, Mrs. A.C. Sapp of Bell Island left for her home in Lebanon, Hadath el Jebbeh. After 26 years since she saw her mother and father, it will be a reunion with her brothers, one of whom she hasn't seen in 52 years. He is coming from Columbia, South America. Her father is 88 and her mother is 84, and both are hale and hearty. Mrs. Sapp will be gone for five or six months.

The March 21, 1956 edition of *The Daily News* noted on its "News From Bell Island" page that Mr. Albert Sapp, who had been "on the sick list for some time," was now a patient at St. Clare's Hospital. He died of a heart condition less than a month later, on April 10, 1956, at age 71 years. "A Tribute of Late C. Sapp" appeared in the April 14, 1956, *Daily News*. In it, his birthplace is given as Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon. The article stated that he was the brother of Joseph C. Sapp, also a merchant of Bell Island (see his bio below).

As late as 1969, the Telephone Directory for Bell Island lists "Mrs. Albert Sapp, Bennett Street." Her brother-in-law, Joseph Charles Sapp, died in 1969, at which time she was the only remaining Sapp on Bell Island. (She and Albert had no children.) Her brother, Abraham Leo Saab, was living in Halifax, which may be why she moved there. Rose Sapp died April 21, 1986, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, at the age of 90 years; she and Albert are buried in St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Bell Island.

JOSEPH CHARLES SAPP (CHARLIE, JOE) (1879-1969) AND ELLEN GOSINE SAPP (C.1882-1955)

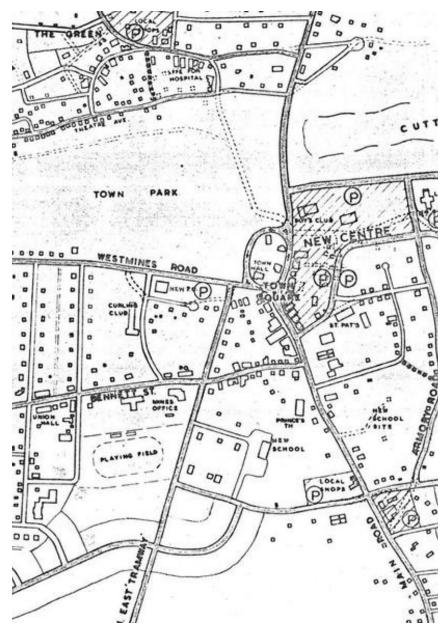
Joseph Charles Sapp was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, Syria, February 15, 1879 to Ann and Charles Saab. Ellen Gosine was born in Mount Lebanon in c.1882 to Mary Solomon (c.1861-1917) and Michael J. Gosine (1856-1938). In 1894, the Gosine family left Lebanon for Ashland, Kentucky, an industrial growth area that had been attracting Middle Eastern immigrants for several decades. About four years later, Joseph C. Sapp and Ellen Gosine married in Ashland before immigrating to Newfoundland in 1898. Ellen Sapp's 1956 obituary states that they spent "a short time on the Iron Isle prior to taking up residence in St. John's, where Mr. Sapp carried on a flourishing business for 40 years." This was at 398 Water Street in the building formerly owned by Mansour Joseph, who had returned to Lebanon due to ill health in 1905. The 1904 directory for Bell Island lists "Charles Sapp, General Dealer." It seems that this is the name that Joseph Charles Sapp was known by at the time. He is listed in the 1908-09 McAlpine's St. John's Directory as a "General Importer and Dealer in General Dry Goods. Ready-made clothing is a specialty." (His brother, listed as Albert J. Sapp, was a clerk in his business). In the 1913 directory for St. John's, he is listed



This image of the Joseph C. Sapp shop on No. 2 Road was captured from a 1968 video. Source: Gord Johnson.

as "J. Charlie Sapp, importer and jobber in General Dry Goods, Clothing, etc. at 398 Water Street." He is listed in the 1921 census for Water Street, St. John's, as Charles, although, in later years, he was known as Joe Sapp on Bell Island. In 1921, Ellen Sapp and her sister, Sadie Gosine, travelled to Halifax, Nova Scotia, aboard the *Rosalind*, enroute to Yarmouth for a four-week visit, which suggests that, like other Bell Island Sapps, there was a connection to the Sapp-Saab family of Yarmouth. An unfortunate event was recorded in The Daily News of Nov. 5th 1941, stating that a former resident of Grand Falls had been arrested the previous week "on a charge of holding up Mrs. Joseph Charles Sapp in her store on Water Street and attempting to rifle the cash register. He was sentenced to six months for assault and attempting to steal." In 1947, when Joseph was about 68 and Ellen was about 65, the Sapps moved to Town Square, Bell Island, where they carried on their business enterprise, and where Ellen's sister, Sadie Gosine, was also in business. At this time, he was known as "Joe." They are listed in the 1949 and 1953 Voters' Lists for Bell Island. Ellen Gosine Sapp died December 29, 1955 at age 73. Joseph Charles Sapp advertised his houses and business on No. 2 Road for sale in 1958 (see below), however, he appears in the 1962 and 1963 Voters' Lists for Bell Island as a storekeeper. He died January 29, 1969 at age 90. Joseph, Ellen and their only child, Rosie, who died in infancy, are buried in St. Michael's Roman Catholic Cemetery, Bell Island. Joseph was the brother of Albert C. Sapp, also a merchant of Bell Island. (See his bio above.) Source: The Daily News, Jan. 7, 1956, p. 5.

In the March 26, 1958 edition of *The Daily News*, the following advertisement appeared on page 14:



In 1958, a new Municipal Plan was prepared for the Wabana Town Council. This was at the height of mining activity when the future of Bell Island was looking rosy and only a year before things started to go downhill for Wabana Mines. A feature of the new Town Plan was a municipal park on the land where the hospital and the Seniors' Home are now located. Sapp's property was right in the middle of this map, located around the corner from Town Square on No. 2 Road (shown as West Mines Road on the map). Source: "Wabana Bell Island Report on the Municipal Plan, January 1958," Canadian-British Engineering Consultants, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

For Sale at Bell Island, Dry Goods and Novelty Business. Nice size store and large property. 15 room house, heated, hot and cold water, bathroom, sewerage. Ideal place for hotel. About 150 feet from Town Square, Bell Island, opposite new park [see map below], short distance from new Post Office. Good size yard and two other houses rented, one of the houses [eight] rooms, and the other [four] rooms. Ready for inspection any time. Interested parties apply to J.C. Sapp, Bell Island.

RAYMOND MELAN SAPP (C.1875-1957) AND ROSE ANDREA JOSEPH SAPP (1882-1956)

Raymond Melan Sapp was born in Mount Lebanon, Syria, c.1875; Rose Andrea Joseph Sapp was born there in 1882. It is unclear how they came to North America and Newfoundland, but they may have followed the same route as Joseph Charles and Ellen Gosine Sapp and many others from their homeland who came through Ashland, Kentucky, United States, in the late 1800s. As well, some of the few records available for them indicate that they had strong ties to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, as did another Bell Island couple, Albert Charles and Rosie Sapp. Indeed, Rosie Sapp was Raymond's cousin. Raymond and Rose's eldest child, Mary (Mamie), was born c.1900 in Yarmouth. Their next child, a son, "D," was born in Canada in 1904. Their third child, Sadie, was born in St. John's in 1907, so it seems they came to Newfoundland sometime between 1904 and 1907. The 1908-09 McAlpine's St. John's Directory and the 1913 St. John's Newfoundland Directory for Carbonear lists Raymond Melan Sapp dealing in Dry Goods, Notions, and Confectionery on Water Street, Carbonear. Their fourth child, Martha, was born in 1911 in Newfoundland, presumably Carbonear, where their fifth child, Julia, was born in 1914.

The only record found linking Raymond Melan Sapp to Bell Island comes from the Bell Island Directory for 1915 in which he is listed as "General Merchant." The family moved to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, in the Spring of 1918. Information given on the Passenger List for the *Kyle* arriving in North Sydney, Nova Scotia, from Port aux Basques, Newfoundland, on May 18, 1918, states that Raymond Melan Sapp, then 42, was a businessman born in Syria, had previously been in Canada (then a separate country from Newfoundland) in 1909, and was a "Returned Canadian." His destination was Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. Travelling with him was his wife, Mrs. Raymond Melan Sapp, 37, born in Syria; daughter Mary (known as Mamie), 18, born in Canada (known to be from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, from her marriage certificate); son 'D,' 14, born in Canada; Sadie, (age

given as nine, but actually 11 according to her birth record), born in St. John's, NL; Martha, seven, born in Newfoundland; Julia, four, born in Carbonear (according to her 2003 obituary); and Josephine, three, born in Newfoundland (probably Bell Island). Raymond and Rose's eldest daughter, Mamie, married Raymond's cousin, Abraham Leo Saab, who was a brother of Albert C. Sapp's wife, Rosie, in Yarmouth in 1921. Raymond M. Sapp died March 20, 1957; his wife, Rose, died April 19, 1956; they are buried in Our Lady of Calvary Roman Catholic Cemetery, in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER 15

The Andrews Family TERRI ANDREWS

George Andrews arrived in 1887 with William Michael and Kallem Bacile Noah at Ellis Island, NY, from their village of Hadath el Jebbeh in northern Lebanon in 1887. As was the practice in those days, their names were anglicized. George (later known as Albert) Andrews was Ablain Andrea.

Reportedly, the three then travelled by train to Halifax. George Andrews peddled trinkets and established a store in New Glasgow for a short period of time, before following Michael to Newfoundland. Andrews moved to Harbour Grace and for a while sailed with the Noels to Labrador as a peddler. He established a store in Harbour Grace for a period of time and then moved to St. John's where he and his wife, Ella Andrews (Autley Elia) established a store at 208 New Gower Street.

Autley was the daughter of Mikha'el Elia. Her brothers were Antoni (Tanous) Michael, Willie Michael, Habib Michael, Samuel Elia. Her sisters were Koffa Elia, Nesima Elia, Marine Elia, Khaftoum Elia, Saffa Elia. The Michael family of St. John's are the offspring of Autley's brother Habib, and the relatives of the Andrews'.

Albert and Ella's was a large and boisterous family: Albert Jr. – became a St. John's City Councillor and ran AEAndrew store on "Andrews Range" on New Gower Street a block up from his father's residence. When the City of St. John's expropriated New Gower Street, he lost his business, his home and several rental properties, as did many other Lebanese families and merchants.

Peter - Died in his 20s from Leukemia.

John (Jackie) – who moved to Detroit, ran a gym, and returned many years later to retire and live with his mother and Sister Joan.

Philip – a well renowned rower. Terri has a collection of his medals from early regattas.

Chris – a popular musician whose bands and orchestras played in venues all around the province. Perhaps best known for his big band which regularly performed at the American Base in Pepperell. Chris shared the stage with Frank Sinatra during that time and was invited to travel to the states, an offer he declined. He was also "the man" to buy your appliances from in the 60s and 70s at Simpsons Sears.



Albert (Ablain, George) and Ella (Autley) Andrews outside their store at 208 New Gower Street, St. John's. Circa 1940s. Source: Terri Andrews.

Daughters, Sally, Seville, Mercedes met and married American servicemen during WW2 and moved to the USA. Daughter Julie was known as "the songbird of the playground" and studied at Juliard. She later settled in New Jersey.

Daughter Joan, as the youngest, did what the youngest female in the family was expected to do: she stayed at home and cared for her mother after the death of her father.

Family records demonstrate the determination of the Lebanese woman and the depth of Albert's reliance and respect for his wife. A transfer of ownership shows that Albert sold his interest in family property in Lebanon to his wife in exchange for a sum of money she loaned him. At that time, this may have been a way to circumvent the patriarchal system in Lebanon which favoured leaving property to male heirs. In any event, the transfer documents still exist and Ella later willed the property to some of her sons.

Also, the original store on New Gower Street was also the premises for the family home on the floors above. When Albert died, Ella was left to fend for her children. Records exist of her letters to the "landlord" in England requesting accommodations on the lease of the land. At that time, the land was leasehold and while she owned the building, the land itself was leased and



Albert Andrews Store on Andrews range. Source: Terri Andrews.

the rents were in arrears. Ella not only paid the arrears, but eventually bought the land.

When Chris married Nora Ryan, they lived for a year or so with his mother on New Gower Street. Nora learned to cook Lebanese food, a skill she passed down to her family. It was well known that Chris LOVED kibbeh - as reflected in an early entry into his sister Joan's diary. Chris and Nora moved to Topsail Road a couple of years after they married, but their elder kids spent a rich early childhood at the house on New Gower Street where they visited their Lebanese relatives. played with the 25 lb cat which lounged on a salt beef barrel at their Uncle Albert's store, got weighed on the meat scales at Casey's Meat Market, visited the many O'Keefe's grocery stores in the areas for candies and Lars for candy apples. It was a rich legacy.

Interesting note: Terri Andrews and her husband Wayne Pardy, and Jeannie Andrews and her husband Max Harding bought the oldest existing row house in Harbour Grace several years ago. The building is a large "duplex" – one side having been a mercantile premises and the other the adjoining



Peter Andrews, son of Ablain and Autley, who died of leukemia in his 20s. Source: Terri Andrews.



Chris Andrews and Ella Andrews with family members. Source: Terri Andrews.



Joan, Koffa, Ella, Ablain, July 1959. Source: Terri Andrews.



Joan Andrews in the doorway of the store on New Gower, St. John's. Source: Terri Andrews.



L-R: Sally, unknown, Madeline, and Julie in front of The Little Prince at 208 New Gower Street, St. John's, at Madeline's wedding to Albert Jr. Source: Terri Andrews



Andrews sisters L-R: Mercedes, Sally, Julie, Seville, and Joan. Five daughters of Ella (Autley) and Albert (Ablain). Source: Terri Andrews.



ANNOUNCEMENT

In announcing my candidacy for the office of Municipal Councillor in the forthcoming munipal elections, I do so with one thought in mind, to give the TAX PAXPES of our city, "SOUND BASIC and CONSTRUCTIVE" representation for the general good of all Tax Payers and citizens concerned.

Among other civic improvements which I intend to promote and implement, "if elected" are as follows:

- WORKINGMEN'S HOMES. Be given first consideration, and all necessary help extended in procurement of same, (as outlined under the NATIONAL HOUSING act—1954, and amended sections of act—1969).
- The PARKING SITUATION which today is worthy of utmost consideration, (I feel the solution I have to offer, will meet with general approval, by both citizens and business alike, in our community) later during the campaign, I shall enlarge on this statement;
- The creation of small industries, and the protection, of those now in operation, will have my fullest support and consideration, so as our work force, will be increased and utilized to the full;
- The protection and rights, of home and land owners, should at all times be given our utmost consideration, and respect;
- The setting up, and improvement of additional parks and playgrounds, together with, "A NEW LOOK".
 as to sport and athletics, within our jurisdiction;
- The important matter, Re residential Standards, outlined in supplement No.-5 of the NATIONAL BUILDING CODE—1965:
- A further review of taxes and sources of income, as presently adopted under St. John's Municipal Acts— 1952-1959.
- I have gone into the matter of A PUBLIC FISH MAR-KET very thoroughly, and I offer a solution to this very important problem, (which I shall submit to the tax-payers and fishermen, by means of Radlo and Press, in the not too distant future).

rress, in the not too distant tuture).

LADIES and GENTLEMEN, I offer you this programme, as part of what I have in mind, for the general good of all tax-payers and elitzens of our city; and I most respectfully solicit your vote and support, November 18th., by marking your X for AL ANDREWS, candidate for Councillor,

Announcement of Al Andrews' candidacy for the office of Municipal Councillor. Source: Terri Andrews.

residence. In researching the property after they had bought it, they found that Albert Andrews had resided there and operated a store there or in the lot next door which they also own. He subsequently moved to St. John's and opened the store on New Gower Street. The previous owner discovered an old bottle which contained a copy of their grandfather's early will.

Chrissie's love of music and theatre has been passed on to his children: Terri is a performer, producer and director (TaDa! Events, Our Divas), Patricia has operated an acting school for two decades and Johnny, "the singing Mountie", is a singer/actor.

Terri visited Lebanon in 2018 and made her way to Hadath el Jebbeh to find her family. She showed up at the door of her grandmother's nephew, Daniel Elia, who was at the time 93 years old. He cried "I knew one of Autley's would come to visit me someday!" and explained that as a teacher learning English decades earlier, he would write letters to Auntie Autley in English to practise. Terri explained that Autley could speak several languages, but could only read and write in Arabic. So she would have her little granddaughter read Daniel's letters to her. That granddaughter, she explained, "was me".

At the airport entering Lebanon, it is required to purchase an entry visa. When Terri explained that the purpose of her visit was to find her family, the attendant refused her money saying "you are a daughter of Lebanon."

CHAPTER 16

Lebanese-Newfoundland Musicians WYATT HIRSCHFELD SHIBLEY

Between 2018 and 2019 I had the pleasure of interviewing 16 descendants of Newfoundland's early Lebanese immigrants as part of my MA thesis in Folklore. While Newfoundland's Lebanese community is diverse, many with whom I spoke made it clear that music has long been an important aspect of the Lebanese identity in Newfoundland. Indeed, seven of those I interviewed are musicians, and of those seven, four have formed at least part of their living by performing or teaching music. However, many were quick to point out that much of the music performed by Lebanese-Newfoundlanders is not identifiably "Lebanese." Nor does much of it fit neatly into what is today commonly thought of as "Newfoundland music." Rather, Lebanese-Newfoundlanders have primarily favoured popular genres, and, relative to their numbers, have made small yet significant contributions to the music culture of the province.

While my interviews primarily featured recollections of the music performed and enjoyed by members of the second generation, they also made clear that there were musicians among the first. Indeed, some Lebanese musical traditions persisted for at least two generations in Newfoundland. Both Lorraine Michael and Terri Andrews, for example, recalled learning to dance the dabke, a Lebanese folk dance, during their childhoods. While this was typically danced to recorded music, Lorraine informed me that her father, as well as her uncles Leo and Mickey, were able to perform the music for dabke; albeit on western instruments. As well, during our interview, Terri sang the first few lines of the Lebanese folk song "Al Rozana," which she recalled learning from her aunt as a child. As with other aspects of Lebanese ethnic expression in Newfoundland, performance of Lebanese music and dance generally occurred in private, and among others of Lebanese descent.

The second-generation's whole-hearted embrace of western popular music was, however, much more public. More than a preferred style of music for listening and dancing, for some it was also a medium of self-expression. In 1932, at the age of 18, Lebanese-Newfoundlander Peter Boulos published a song entitled "Desert Night." Its melancholic lyrics, relating a feeling of longing for a distant love, draw on Middle Eastern imagery.



Leo Michael's Orchestra playing on Bell Island, New Year's Eve. Source: Lorraine Michael.



Mickey Michael and Leo Michael. Source: Lorraine Michael.

However, beneath its swaying palm trees and Eastern sky, the music - also written by Boulos, is a waltz. Published by Tin Pan Alley music publisher Frank Harding, "Desert Night" fits neatly into the style popularised by New York's music industry at the time.

During the time around World War Two, Newfoundland's American military bases hosted dances that featured bands led by Leo Michael and Chrissie While Andrews. both included members from outside of the Lebanese community, these were, to a certain extent, family bands. Saxophonist Leo Michael, for example, was joined by his brothers Mickey on double bass, Fred on vocals, and in later years, nephew Frank Cromwell on drums. Performing and composing music in the style of Jazz and Big Band, both ensembles were regular performers at Fort Pepperell in St. John's, where their music was received warmly by homesick American servicemen. Leo Michael's original compositions, "What Chance Have I" and "Christmas in My Heart," became locally popular, while the band led by Chrissie Andrews was



Leo Michael's orchestra, St. John's. Front row L-R: Wince Lewis, Freddy Michael, Leo Michael, Ralph Walker. Back row L-R: Mickey Michael, Frank Cromwell. Source: Lorraine Michael.



Chris Andrews' small band. Source: Terri Andrews.

well-known and well-regarded enough to have opened for Frank Sinatra when he performed in Newfoundland.

In addition to performing and composing popular music, Lebanese-Newfoundlanders have at times found themselves on its cutting-edge. In 1964, when the Ducats made history by recording Newfoundland's first rock 'n roll 45, they did so with Lebanese-Newfoundlander Joe Boulos behind the drums. The 45, consisting of the tracks "Hey Woman" and "Stay Awhile" holds the distinction of being the first recording made by a Newfoundland rock band – a major milestone in a province celebrated for its music culture. Joe Boulos was still with the Ducats when they released their full-length album - the second of its kind recorded by a rock band from Newfoundland. Both records are rare today and sought after by collectors.

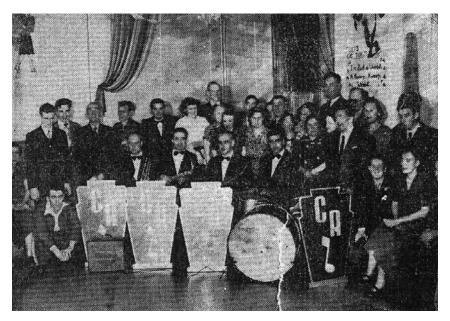
However, rock 'n roll history-making aside, no single instrument featured more prominently in the recollections of those I interviewed than the piano. For those who grew up with one in the home, the piano occupies a central place in childhood memory. For many of the second generation, and ergo their third-generation children, the piano was a focal point during social gatherings, house visits, holidays, and other celebrations. During these occasions it was typical for family and friends to gather around the piano to enjoy some music and sing together. Accordingly, the Lebanese community has produced talented pianists. The best-known of whom outside the community would likely be Mickey Michael (Junior), whose song "My Newfoundland," a love song to the province in the wake of the cod moratorium, found local popularity in the 1990s.

Lebanese-Newfoundlanders have also been involved with classical music. During the 1940s, Julie Andrews (not of The Sound of Music fame) was a locally well-known opera singer. Known as the "Songbird of the Playground," in reference to Bowring Park, she was a regular feature on local radio before eventually moving to the United States to attend Julliard. The Lebanese community's involvement in classical music has continued to this day – Dominic Greene is a violinist in the Saltwater Strings duo, as well as the Newfoundland Symphony Orchestra, of which he is also Assistant Concertmaster, while Lorraine Michael, Fonse Faour, and Joanne Faour are all members of the Philharmonic Choir of the Newfoundland Symphony Orchestra.

During their roughly 120-year history, Lebanese-Newfoundlanders have left their mark on the province's music culture. From Tin Pan Alley, to jazz and rock 'n roll, they have played a role in the establishment and propagation of popular music genres in this province. These musical contributions are emblematic of the community's acculturative arc, and



Chris Andrews' band, the Jive Bombers, 1945. Source: Terri Andrews.



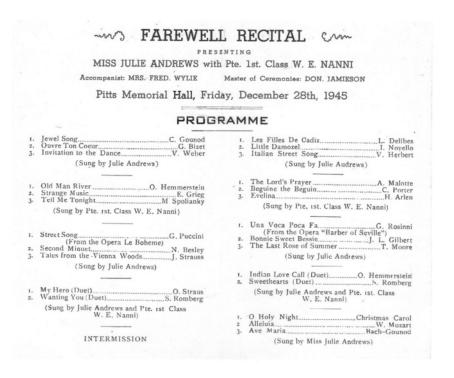
Chrissie Andrews Band. Source: Terri Andrews.





Julie Andrews. Source: J. Boulos.

Telegraph notes of congratulations. Source: Terri Andrews.





testament to its adaptability. In much the same way that Lebanese business owners were adept at identifying gaps in the market in order to sell products the public wanted to buy, Lebanese musicians seem to have been equally as adept at identifying what the public wants to hear and playing it for them.

While it is difficult to determine exactly how many Newfoundlanders of Lebanese descent are currently active in the province's music scene, they include the likes of John Boulos – bassist and one of the principal songwriters of perennially popular rock and soul band Billy and the Bruisers; singersongwriter Maria White; drummer Ed Sutherby; guitarist, singer, and songwriter Peter Lannon of indie rock band Soap Opera; and award-winning singersongwriter Chris Picco, who has returned to a solo career following several years fronting The Long Distance Runners.

Julie Andrews Concert, December, 1945. Source: Terri Andrews.

The dimunitive star comes back its own star-Julie Andrews.

CHAPTER 17

Michael (Elia ibn Mika'el) Family and their Business History LORRAINE MICHAEL

In 1909 Habib (Albert) Elia ibn Mika'el and Bedra (Bertha; née Chaar) arrived in St. John's. Their journey, like most of the Lebanese immigrants, had many stops along the way - Italy, Spain, France, the USA, and Canada.

Like other immigrants, they left behind their first child, three-year old Mershid (Richard), with his grandparents. Bedra was pregnant with her second child, Khaltoum (Mary), when she and Habib left Lebanon. Their eldest was 16 before he joined his parents and six siblings in St. John's.

The young couple joined Habib's brothers, Tanous (Antoni/Antonio), Wehbe (Willie) (now with the surname Michael), and sister Otlie, wife of Ablain (Albert) Andrews, who had landed in Newfoundland several years before. It appears that Willie was the first to have arrived, at least as early as 1894.

The change of name to Michael by the three men was an Anglicization of the meaning of their name – Elia being the actual family name and the second part being the name of the father of the family. These three siblings were members of the Elia family that was headed by Mika'el, Michael in English. This particular practice of changing immigrants' names was quite common. Hence, the prevalence of men's surnames as the surname of many Arabic immigrants going back to that time. Two other examples are Joseph and Daniels.

The Michaels were among several other families from the same village of Hadath el Jebbeh in North Lebanon who had immigrated to Newfoundland at the turn of the 20th century. This group made up the majority of the Lebanese immigrants of the day in the new country. This phenomenon explains the tight knit nature of the Lebanese community that developed and the great support they gave each other as they built their lives in the "new world." Siblings, cousins, and neighbours all helped each other as they would have done in the community they left behind.

These new immigrants to Newfoundland made themselves known through the many businesses they began in the retail sector and beyond. Records show that the first Lebanese businesses were established in St. John's as early as 1890. By the 1920s, many of these families spread beyond the Avalon Peninsula and



Bedra and Habib Michael, St. John's, Circa 1915. Source: Lorraine Michael.



Family of Habib and Bedra Michael. Standing L-R: Mary, Mickey, Habib, Dick. Seated L-R: Leo, Bedra with infant, Freddie. Mid 1920s. Source: Lorraine Michael.

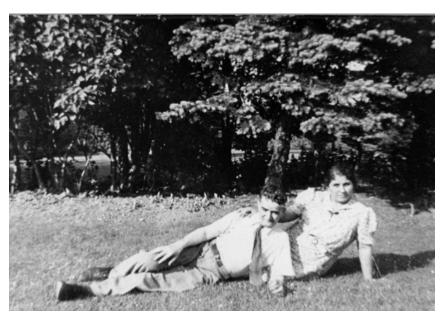
could be found right across the island to the Corner Brook, St. George's, and Stephenville areas.

Albert and Bedra Michael settled in St. John's, as did Otlee and Ablain Andrews. Antoni Michael and his family eventually moved to Corner Brook, while brother Willie further migrated to Nova Scotia, Canada, after a short period in the St. George's area.

The first recorded reference of a Michael store is found in the 1908-1909 St. John's City Directory. It was a grocery and dry goods store owned by Antoni Michael at 426 Water Street. Sometime during this period Antoni moved his business to 194 New Gower Street where the family also lived above the store. This was his last business in St. John's before moving west where he and his wife, Maroon (née Torbey), raised their family of seven and ran a business in Humbermouth.

Antoni died in 1954 and his son, Frank, stepped in with his mother and managed the store until its closure in the late 1960s, a few years after Maroon's death in 1966 – an end of a business that was almost 40 years old and very well known in the area. At one point the original business downsized but the building was renovated to create rental apartments.

Like so many of the Lebanese business people, Antoni constantly looked for and generated new opportunities including



Habib and Bedra Michael in Bowring Park, St. John's, Mid 1950s. Source: Lorraine Michael.

investment in rental properties. He branched out while still living in St. John's before the move to Corner Brook. There's a record of his having owned a store in Harbour Grace in 1907 which was managed by a George Andrews. It most likely was a dry goods store of the same nature as his business in St. John's.

New Gower Street became the major commercial street in the west end of St. John's. By 1938 there were dozens of stores on New Gower Street (and the parallel section of Water Street) owned by Lebanese families. Albert and Bedra Michael operated their first store at 204 New Gower Street – very close to Antoni. Sometime between 1924 and 1932 they moved east along the street to number 74, which they acquired from Melin Noah. Michael's Confectionery continued at this location until 1964 when the City of St. John's expropriated a major slice of New Gower Street.

At the point when the two Michael brothers had stores close to each other on New Gower Street, their sister, Otlee Andrews, owned Andrews' Confectionery at number 192, just a few buildings away.

Albert Michael was quite the business person, like his brother. Besides the store that he and Bedra ran together, and which son Leo joined his father in running after Bedra's death, he owned rental properties on New Gower Street.

But their connections were not just in St. John's. Prior to setting up permanently in St. John's, Habib and Bedra moved to McIvers Cove, Bay of Islands, sometime after the birth of their first daughter, Mary. Newspaper records show



Dinner party at Bedra and Habib's home. The party is welcoming Father Joe Michael, OMI (Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate) who was the son of Antonio Michael in Corner Brook. Father Joe entered the Oblates in Western Canada. Circa 1950s. Source: Lorraine Michael.



Gathering of the community at Bedra and Habib's to welcome a visitor from Lebanon, brother of Martha Boulos. He's fifth from the right in the back row. Circa late 1940s. Source: Lorraine Michael.

in 1913 a sale of Albert Michael's properties, a business and house, in McIvers. Albert was also a fish merchant and owned a store in Fleur de Lys on the Baie Verte Peninsula which was managed by a local resident.

Three of Albert and Bedra's children opened stores at various times on New Gower Street as well. Richard and their second son, Mickey, had confectioneries in the 1930s and maybe up to the early 40s. The retail business did not become a permanent life for either of them.

Their first daughter, Mary Cromwell, owned a store just a block away from her parents at number 102, which she operated until the 1964 City of St. John's expropriation of New Gower Street. She was a fixture of the community of small-confectionery store owners owned mainly by Lebanese immigrants along the west end of New Gower Street.

Though he never owned a store on the same street, the third son, Freddy, began in the retail business in the late 1940s. He and his wife, Ann Rockwood, opened their first business at 47 Harvey Road across from the Paramount Theatre. It was a sit-down snack bar/restaurant which was very popular with movie goers. Freddy was one of the developers/owners of the Piccadilly Club on Topsail Road in the 1950s. The Royalton Club (known familiarly as Freddy's) on Cochrane Street was ultimately the business venture for which he became very well known in St. John's. This business was his and Ann's last venture, which they retired from and sold in 1980.

Over the years the Michael name became known on both the east and west coasts of Newfoundland because of the successful businesses of the two brothers



Mickey Michael with three children L-R: Marcheta, Mickey, Raymond. Circa 1939. Photograph taken in front of Bedra and Habib's establishment or a business just east of theirs. Source: Lorraine Michael.



Richard Michael. First born of Habib and Bedra Michael. Circa 1940s. Source: Carol Reade.

and their families. The Michael name became well known also because of the musical enterprises of three of Albert and Bedra's sons: Mickey, Leo, and Fred. The Leo Michael's Orchestra was very popular in the 40s, 50s and 60s all over the island and became a household name.

Third and fourth generation Michaels still live on the West Coast and on the Avalon Peninsula, the offspring of the children of Albert and Bedra and of Antoni and Maroon.

Writer's Note: Information for this brief history of the Michael business enterprises has come from census records, newspaper articles, and family oral history.

APPENDIX 1

Newfoundland Headstones with Arabic Inscriptions

J. BOULOS; translations by ISAM BITAR

In Newfoundland, anyone visiting a cemetery will infrequently encounter a headstone inscribed in both English and Arabic. There are several known examples in St. John's and in Wabana, Bell Island, however, dating from between 1902 to 1939, relating to Lebanese immigrants and their descendants. In most cases, the transcription of these several Arabic inscriptions suggests that the information being communicated in Arabic is generally more personal and intimate than the English counterpart, and generally provides more information concerning the full identity and actual Arabic name of the particular deceased, versus merely his or her adopted or adapted Newfoundland name. Such inscriptions likely had the primary purpose of commemorating the deceased's Arabic heritage and/or legacy. The targeted recipients and beneficiaries of these inscriptions included anyone who could read Arabic, particularly the deceased's family and friends, as well as future gravesite visitors with Arabic language knowledge.

ALBERT SPHIRE

Near the northern entrance to Belvedere Cemetery, on Empire Avenue, St. John's, there is one such headstone, with the added, rare feature of also displaying a photograph of the deceased. This photograph is still mostly intact, despite the passage of 103 years. The English inscription reads, in part:

In loving memory of my beloved son, Albert Sphire, born at Mt. Lebanon Dec. 25, 1895, died Oct. 1, 1919, aged 24 years.

Although rapidly fading from decipherability due to the elements, the Arabic inscription is mostly readable, but only with the assistance of a seven-year-old photograph of the headstone, with only about four of the 47 Arabic words still being indiscernible. It reads:

The blessed deceased man ["Almrhmom"], Wakim Dones Munir Adry [or Adre], who moved from the earth, to God. He



Albert and Lilly Sphire wedding photo. Source: Carol Reade.

died prematurely in St. John's, with hopes for doomsday, at 24 years of age. He completed his religious responsibilities. He died on October 1, 1919. He was born December 25, 1895...I wish for his soul peace with God.

The effect that the century-old headstone photograph could have upon a visitor otherwise unconnected to the deceased, might be to seemingly bridge decades in time, to stir feelings of identity towards the deceased young man, and to pique one's curiosity as to his story.

Albert's/Wakim's mother, Mary Sphire (1869-1927), operated a confectionery store at 12 New Gower Street, St. John's, for many years. Her spouse was David Sphire and, according to Albert's death notice, David was residing in Mount Lebanon as of 1919. Mary's father, Richard Sphire, died at Mount Lebanon on April 5, 1909, at 95 years of age. She had one brother in St. John's, Dominic Richards (Sphire), who died April 7, 1955. She had one other child, Elizabeth "Elmosa" Sphire, who married a Lebanese gentleman from New York, Peter Corey, in 1922. Elizabeth and Peter then



Headstone of Albert Sphire. Source: J. Boulos.

both operated a confectionery store on New Gower Street for a number of years. In her wedding announcement, Elizabeth was described as the niece of Kalleem Noah. Elizabeth and Peter Corey would later retire to Lebanon after decades of carrying on business in St. John's. Mary and her two children were all born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon. It appears that Mary's spouse never came to Newfoundland, or, if he did, he ultimately returned to Mount Lebanon after only a short time here. His Arabic name was Dones Adre (or Adry), hence the confirmation in the Arabic headstone inscription of Albert Sphire's actual name (Wakim, the son of Dones Adry; and,

likewise, Wakim's grandfather's name would have been Munir Adry). Albert married Lillian Peters Shalala of Campbellton, New Brunswick, in February, 1917, who was a niece of Antoni Michael, Albert Michael and of Mrs. Albert (Ella) Andrews, all of St. John's. He first worked in his mother's store on New Gower Street and he had just opened his own store at 344 Duckworth Street on December 21, 1918, when his health deteriorated shortly afterwards. His October 1, 1919, obituary stated that he had been in poor health for the prior eight months. His cause of death was miliary tuberculosis. His mother died just eight years after his passing.

DANIEL AND DUFIE NOAH

A portion of the granite tombstone for Melin Noah (1862-1959) and his family, also at Belvedere Cemetery, sets out Arabic inscriptions respecting his two sons, Daniel and Dufie, who died prematurely in St. John's in 1924 and 1925, respectively. Melin Noah, a brother of Kalleem Noah, was a general store owner/operator in St. John's (and later in Corner Brook) at the time. The English inscriptions confirm Daniel's and Dufie's dates of birth and death (August 29, 1909 to June 13, 1924, and May 29, 1894 to May 10, 1925, respectively). The Arabic writing adds the complete Lebanese names of the two deceased, as follows:



Headstone on Bell Island with an Arabic inscription. Source: Wyatt Hirschfeld Shibley.

God bless him, Toufic Melin Noah Basel. He was born May 29, 1894. After he completed all of his religious responsibilities he died May 10, 1925. Daniel Melin Noah Basel, born August 29, 1909. He died June 13, 1924.

The Arabic inscriptions, again, confirm the deceased individual's actual surname ("Bacile", "Bascile" or "Bassil") and, in the case of Dufie, his actual Lebanese first name, Toufic. It also confirms their father's first name, Melin, and their grandfather's first name, Noah.

Daniel Noah had suffered from kidney trouble for some time, and that was the ultimate cause of his early demise. He was a young student at St. Bonaventure's College at the time of his death.

According to his obituary, Dufie Noah, the eldest son of Melin and Marion Noah, died as a result of some medical condition that required his hospitalisation over a two-month period, or so, before his death. He carried on business in White Bay, Newfoundland, for several years, and also had an extensive business at Deer Lake. He received his high school education in Beirut, Lebanon, over a five-year period. It is likely that his father sent him back to their home of origin for this purpose, as had Kalleem Noah in the case of two of his sons, John Noah and George Noah. On a point of further interest, Melin's second son, John (Johnny) Noah (1895-1982/3), served with the Newfoundland Regiment in World War One, and later became a successful businessman in Corner Brook, and Melin's youngest son, Alphonsus (1916-1944), served with the West Nova Scotia Regiment with the Central Mediterranean Forces, where he was killed in Italy on September 29, 1944, when he stepped on a landmine.

MICHAEL JOSEPH GOSINE, HIS SON, JOSEPH, AND GRANDDAUGHTER, ROSIE SAPP

There are three headstones in the Wabana, Bell Island, Roman Catholic cemetery, all connected to the same Lebanese family, and all of which bear Arabic inscriptions, as well as English.

Michael Joseph Gosine was the patriarch of the Gosine family in Newfoundland. The English inscription on his headstone reads, "In memory of Michael Joseph Gosine. Died Dec. 24, 1938, aged 83 years. Erected by his children." The Arabic inscription reads as follows:

Mikhael son of Yusef Algossin, from Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon, who moved to God age 83 years. He died December 24, 1938. Whoever passes on my grave, if you remember my will, don't cry for me. From the Arabic words, we learn where exactly Michael was born and we learn his actual surname, "Algossin." He was born in 1856 in Mount Lebanon and was married to Mary Solomon, who died in 1917. They had four children: Joseph, Elias, Sadie and Ellen (Sapp), all of whom were also born in Lebanon. The family likely emigrated in 1898. He was a general store owner and operator on Bell Island for many years.

His son, Joseph Gosine, and the latter's wife and children, were living in St. John's as of the 1921 and the 1935 census reports. The English inscription on his tombstone reads, "In memory of Joseph Michael Gosine. Died April 29, 1939, aged 57 years. Erected by his wife and children." The Arabic inscription reads:

Wafic, son of Mikhael Algossin, who passed to God, 57 years old. He died in 1939, April 29. Whoever is on my grave now, think about what has happened for (with) me. Don't leave like me, but live for me [sic].

We learn his true name from this inscription, Wafic Algossin, as well as a personal message in Arabic, directed to his family and friends, somewhat similar to the personal message left in Arabic on his father's tombstone some four months earlier.

The third headstone is for the infant daughter of Ellen (Gosine) Sapp and Joseph Charlie Sapp, Rosie Sapp, their only child. The English words state that the monument was erected by Joseph and Ellen Charlie Sapp, in memory of their darling child, Rosie, born December 1, 1901 and died July 4, 1902. The Arabic, in this case, is fundamentally identical, and adds no further information or sentiment.

The January 7, 1956, *Daily News* report of Ellen's passing (on December 29, 1955) states that she was born in Mount Lebanon 72 years earlier, left for the United States in 1894, married Joseph Sapp in Kentucky four years after that, and came to Newfoundland in 1898. The article then states that they spent a short time on Bell Island before taking up residence in St. John's, where Mr. Sapp "carried on a flourishing business for 40 years", before relocating to Bell Island in 1947, where they both were still carrying on business as of Ellen's death in 1955. Mr. Sapp subsequently passed away on January 29, 1969, at the age of 90. His brother, Albert C. Sapp, was also a long-time and prominent Bell Island businessman, who died at Bell Island on April 10, 1956, at the age of 71.

APPENDIX 2

Oral History Transcripts

INTERVIEW WITH TERRI ANDREWS

Terri Andrews was interviewed by folklorist Terra Barrett on August 18, 2022.

I am Terri Andrews and I am one of eight children of Chris Andrews. Chris is the son of Lebanese immigrants who came from Hadath el Jebbeh and [he] married a woman from Newfoundland of Irish descent from St. Joseph's so we're kind of a hybrid family. My grandparents were Ella Andrews and that was an Anglicised version of her name because they all Anglicised their names when they moved here. She was Autley Elia, and Elia being Michael so the Michaels of St. John's and Corner Brook and throughout the island are relatives. My grandfather was Ableen Andrea, and on his entry documents became George Andrew and [then] he became Albert Andrews here. So he was Albert Andrews and she was Ella Andrews and they had subsequently a large family and there was Albert (Jr) who was a councillor and so on. Both of them came from the Hadath which is a small village in Northern Lebanon near the Syrian border.

When my grandfather first came here I thought he had come directly to Newfoundland but when we started looking at the records, the records are showing that he and his two cousins or a cousin and a friend came through Ellis Island up through Nova Scotia and then to Newfoundland. What my grandfather apparently did was then go to Harbour Grace, because they dispersed. They came to the province and to the Eastern provinces and one or two would set up a location and the others would go out as tinkers. That is how the island got populated with Lebanese because they would go out to different places or the brothers or the sons would go out and go to some community and then set up a store there and so on so that is the way the business community filtered out. From what I can see my grandfather went to Harbour Grace and he worked for a while with a family called the Noels and went by ship at least one or two seasons to Labrador as a tinker, selling goods and so on and then set up his own store in Harbour Grace and my grandmother joined him there. So our verbal history is that they lived on one side and had the store on the other for a couple of years. Then moved to St. John's for whatever



Albert (Ablain, George) and Ella (Autley) Andrews (Andrea). Source: Terri Andrews.



Loretta Joan Andrews, the youngest daughter of Albert Sr. and Ella Andrews, at the home on New Gower Street. The floors have just been waxed and the newspapers are down to protect them. Source: Terri Andrews.



Ella Andrews with Rita Cromwell, Frankie Cromwell and Freddie Michael. Source: Terri Andrews.



Christmas on New Gower Street, St. John's, 1958. Ella Andrews, son Albert Andrews, and granddaughter Joan Andrews. Source: Terri Andrews.



Chris Andrews and Albert Andrews. Source: Terri Andrews.



The wedding of Nora and Chris. Source: Terri Andrews.

reason. He came to St. John's and opened up a store on New Gower Street and operated out of there and subsequent to that his eldest son Albert opened up a store actually a block up called AE Andrews groceries. So they had grocery stores. That is what they did, and Albert owned other properties there and that is what became known as Andrews Range. My grandmother's house and the store that my grandfather established was a block down on the other side of Springdale across from Casey's Meat Market. They were part of a larger community; there was a fairly heavy Lebanese contingent in that area and they all had stores. That is what they did. I used to go visit all the auntie's stores. I would go see Auntie Eda and Auntie Teresa and go see all the aunties. So they had those stores there and then in the 70s the city expropriated and essentially killed the community. I think we're all still kind of vexed about that. In my uncle's stuff when we were clearing his estate and in my grandmother's stuff there were records about how hard they fought to keep those properties and get those properties.

10 of them grew up in that house on New Gower Street, and what a house. Just about my first year I was there. So the very early pictures of me are all on New Gower Street. There was a big old wood stove or oil stove in the kitchen and grandmother - siti - would be sitting at her rocking chair. It seemed like she was old forever but now I realise she wasn't. And my aunt Joan every Saturday she would wax those floors, and then to keep you from dirtying up her wax floors she would put newspapers all over them. So I have memories of that, and a telephone, a party line, coming up over the stairs which was great and the cold cellars to go downstairs and there was a barber shop operating where the store used to be. I also remember my grandmother, it was a real community and that is part of the reason why it was so heartbreaking, not just that everybody's way of life and their livelihoods were basically taken from them like that (finger snap). [My grandmother] would after supper open up the window in the front room looking out over New Gower Street and she would sit in the window and talk to the people in the windows. They would talk to the windows at each other and sometimes I would go sit on her lap. Not just the Lebanese but everybody in the area was a community. It was really something.

Dad was amongst his generation - very well known. He had a band and an orchestra from the time he was very young. He was a drummer and a singer and when I was a kid he would play at the old colony or at the knights of columbus or various places. I have the recollection of going to get his drums, mom and I would go get his drums because he would be working at Sears and he would've played a gig the night before at some

place and then need his drums for the next night so we would go out with the station wagon and put the drums in the back. On a couple of occasions when it was early enough I was hidden behind the drums while he was playing. I wasn't supposed to be in those rooms but they were great memories. So he had big bands when big bands were the thing. And he had smaller bands. And my cousin's relatives Leo and Freddy and Mickey Michael - they also had bands and sometimes they would play together. So they were really really great musicians as well. All of those crowds, it seemed to me that the Lebanese had some great bands during the second world war down at the base. They had a lot of work down there. They had a lot of work at the officer's club and so on. I have photos of him on stage with Frank Sinatra and Gene Krupa got sick one time and they got Dad to come in and drum for him in his place. So music is a big part of our soul.

INTERVIEW WITH MIKE BASHA

Mike Basha was interviewed by folklorist Terra Barrett on February 17, 2022.

So the story goes that Tanius, my great grandfather and his brother Eddie came over. I'm not sure what year they initially came over, but they were actually headed towards the US to New York to do the Ellis Island thing. Apparently the ship on its way to New York stopped in Curling and picked up fish, pickled herring or barrels of herring or something. Both my great grandfather and his brother were going to start a new life. Anyway they ended up going to the US, just themselves, and then eventually they went back to Lebanon to get their families. When they did, my great-grandfather came back and decided to stay in Curling. He made the connection between the fish business and the market in the US and so he decided to go back to Curling and establish himself there. He started out like a lot of the Lebanese immigrants as a peddler with a backpack on his back selling shoelaces and pencils and stuff like that. Then eventually he established this fish business which my grandfather then expanded substantially in the ensuing years. My grandfather left the fish business in 1951 when he was appointed to the Senate. So I only knew him as a Senator growing up.

Incidentally my great grandfather's brother Eddie ended up in Arizona and established a chain of grocery stores there which are called Basha grocery store and delicatessen and they are still there today. There is a big Lebanese community there in Arizona. It is kind of interesting.



Benjamin Basha, Newfoundland. Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.



Benjamin Basha standing at the microphone. To the left of Benjamin is Elias Tuma standing, and Rosy Tuma and Winnie Tuma seated. Corner Brook, Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.



Group of men. Front row L-R: John Basha, Charlie Ahee (Simon Tuma's brother in law), Simon Tuma. Back row L-R: J. T. Andrews, Amen Basha, Joe Basha, Abram Basha. Missing: Benjamin Basha. Priest unknown. Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.

INTERVIEW WITH LILLIAN BASHA GEORGE

Lillian Basha George was born in Curling in the 1940s. On November 9, 2021, she was interviewed by Andrea O'Brien.

George: My father's family, and his brothers, they lived in Curling, and he had two brothers in Curling, Elias Basha and Mike Basha.

O'Brien: Is that the Elias Basha Building?

George: Yeah.

O'Brien: Okay. So that was your uncle?

George: That was my uncle. He had married, and after his wife died my uncle Elias, he had a business on Broadway, he had a building, a business, he built a big building on Broadway and after his wife died he remarried and I think he had seven children with his second wife. He lived in a beautiful stately home in Curling all his life and then the kids eventually lived there, some of them lived there, and they were in the fish business.

O'Brien: So this would have been your uncle and cousins?

George: My uncle and them, and my cousins. Then my uncle Mike, my father's brother, also lived in Curling and he had a big business on the waterfront in Curling.

O'Brien: Did your father have a business?

George: My father had a pool room and a little confection shop ... but they were all involved with the fisheries also. They would do the shipping, shipping fish off to Boston, places like that. And then when my brothers got older they got involved.

O'Brien: How long did the business keep going? Is there anyone now, say, in younger generations?

George: Yeah, no, but my brother, older brothers did eventually have businesses also. They had a bar, a tavern, and a nightclub, and they were distributors for beer, Newfoundland Brewery from St. John's. And they were distributors for India Beer and Molson Beer out on the West Coast.



Lillian Basha George, age 6, and unknown man, at a wedding on Bell Island. Circa 1940. Source: Lillian Basha George.



Lillian Basha George and sister Veronica (lived on Bell Island) at a wedding on Bell Island. Circa 1940. Source: Lillian Basha George.



Basha Fisheries. Wooden barrel with stenciling from Basha Fisheries, Curling. Source: Lillian Basha George.



Basha family visit to Bell Island. L-R: Lilly Basha Zend, Vicky Basha Carbage, Annie Basha Basha (Lillian's mom), Lillian Basha George. Circa 1940. Source: Lillian Basha George.



Lillian Basha George's parents Simon and Annie Basha. Source: Lillian Basha George.

O'Brien: And your Basha family is from Bell Island, they were also business people?

George: Yeah they had business on Bell Island, over on The Green as they call it, and then that was carried on by my uncle Joe.

O'Brien: His father would have been your?

George: Grandfather. My mother's father. Yeah, that's right, my mother's father.

O'Brien: There's a few businesses still around here like a jewellery store I guess is Lebanese?

George: Alteens.

O'Brien: Yeah but there's - so there's no Bashas that are left?

George: No, no, and you know like you say they were all entrepreneurs, and they all had a knack for business. My brother Tony who's a year older than me, he had business – Tony's No Frills, and it was known all over. Before that, they were involved with the beer business.

O'Brien: And the Basha's on Bell Island, they were also kinda in the grocery?

George: Yep.

O'Brien: Dry goods businesses?

George: The other side of the family had the theater, and then my uncle Mike, who I said became a senator, he started theater in Humbermouth and he was the first Canadian Tire business started here on the West Coast. And his son had the Canadian Tire franchise.

Then again, an offspring, my brother's grandson, Alex, he started his own business here, a coffee shop - Harbour Grounds, so it's still engraved in him, the entrepreneurship.

INTERVIEW WITH DOT GRIFFITHS-CROCKER

Dot Griffiths-Crocker was interviewed by folklorist Terra Barrett on November 29, 2021 at her home in Paradise.

So my grandfather was Benjamin Basha and he came over from Baalbek, Lebanon. I understand it to be around 1892. There were five brothers. He was Benjamin Basha, my mother's father, and he was a professional photographer. He also showed silent movies around rural communities in Newfoundland. They would usually, as I understand, walk on the railroad tracks to get to all the little communities. My mother, Mary Basha (later Griffths), used to play the piano for silent movies. I think, and I spoke to Andy Jones about it and he thought that it could be the start of the film industry in Newfoundland. It could be.

So my grandfather, Benjamin Basha, his first wife was Elizabeth Foley from Carbonear. She died at 36 years old and then he remarried. His second wife was Elizabeth Duggan and she was from Grates Cove. Benjamin had ten children, five with his first wife Elizabeth Foley: Jack, Eileen, Ann, Mary, and Leo and five children with Elizabeth Duggan: Elizabeth, Mike, Francis, Sarah, and Madeline

[My grandfather and his brothers] got on a boat and they stopped in New York and then they came on to Newfoundland [and] Harbour Grace was their first stop. They asked around the community what prosperous places to go to and at that time the Bell Island mines were really popular and thriving so they went to Bell Island. That is where they started.

My mother played the piano for the silent movies. She travelled with my grandfather. Elizabeth, Sarah, and Madeline had beauty parlours. I know for sure they had a beauty parlour on Gower Street or New Gower Street - I'm not sure. Those three also travelled to the Newfoundland communities with their father and they used to do perms and manicures. And the boys when they travelled with him they sold jewellery and watches.

My grandfather, Benjamin died of a heart attack and apparently he died walking in Harbour Breton in 1953. Then his brother, Joseph Basha, married Zaria and the pair had Regina, Ned, Elias, Joseph, and Mark. Then the next brother was John Basha, who owned a supermarket in St. John's called John Basha & Son(s), and operated a supermarket on Bell Island. [John's] children were: Annie, Lillian, Sarah, Sophie, Angela, Vicki, George, and Joseph and one died at child birth. The third brother was Ameen Basha and he married Anthony Tooton's sister and his children were: Ja, Lewis, and Ford. Those three are from his first wife and from his second wife he had George. George sold pinball machines. He used to come visit us years ago. I remember as a child he would pull up in a big white convertible. And that's



Mary (née Basha) Griffiths. Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.



Orcan Theatre, Placenta. Benjamin would show films at this theatre. Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.



Mary (née Basha) Griffiths. Circa mid 1930s. Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.



Front row L-R: Benjamin Basha, Tanius Basha, unknown. Back row: unknown. The group were known to be all cousins of each other. Source: Dot Griffiths-Crocker.

what he did. That stands out in my mind. Then there was Abraham Basha and he was killed by streetcar number 53 in St. John's. He had no children himself but he had an adopted daughter and her name was Sadie and her married name was Gosine. Sadie Gosine. Abraham ran the Queen's Hotel on Queen's Street in St. John's. So that's the five of them. Somebody said there was a sister as well, Marion, but I don't know anything about her. I don't know if that is fact or not.

Then when my mother married my father, they had a business. Their business was Griffith's Brothers. It was a service station and convenience store on Topsail Road there in Paradise. She operated the convenience store. So she carried on a business as well.

INTERVIEW WITH ANGELINA GOSINE

Angelina Gosine was born in Cambridge, Ontario in 1998 and grew up in Newfoundland. She was interviewed by folklorist Terra Barrett on January 28, 2022.

My dad's grandfather, his name was Joseph Gosine, he had a business in Portugal Cove. I'm pretty sure that business was a general store. There is not too much information on it because he died in the 1930s. It pretty well shut down after he passed away. His father, Michael Joseph Gosine, the one that came over, had two businesses or a couple on Bell Island. From what I've gathered they were general stores. They had one on the front of Bell Island and the other one was around town square area. My pop didn't get into that business when his father passed away because a quote from my mom said, "How could I take money from people when I know that they don't have any?" So there was no businessman in him. But my pop's uncles had a lot of businesses and their children had businesses. My pop worked for them but he wasn't interested in having them on his own.

INTERVIEW WITH LILLIAN BASHA MOAKLER

Lillian Basha Moakler was born on Bell Island in 1923. On 25 January, 2021, she was interviewed by folklorist Dale Jarvis at her home in St. John's.

Jarvis: Your mother had owned the hotel.

Moakler: Yes, Basha's hotel. In 1939 or something [1937] there was a big fire on Town Square. All the houses were burned, and we went to live with my grandmother, my father's mother, she was from Lebanon. When they



Gosine family in the rose garden. L-R: Michael Joseph Gosine, Ellen (Aulie) Gosine, Sadie Gosine and William Gosine (born 1923; son of Joseph Michael Gosine). Circa 1926-1927. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Joseph Michael Gosine born 1882 Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon. Catherine's grandfather. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Gosine family in horse and carriage. L-R: Joseph Michael Gosine, his wife Eileen (Hanlon) Gosine, and child Michael Joseph Gosine (born 1919). Circa 1919-1920. Catherine's grandparents and uncle. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Sadie Gosine (born 1883) on a horse. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Sadie Gosine with a mandolin. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Mary Gosine (daughter of Joseph Michael Gosine) and Sadie Gosine in the rose garden. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Joseph Michael Gosine (born 1882) with four of his children: Mary, born 1924; Gitta, born 1933; Raymond, born 1935 and Rosemarie, born 1937. Source: Catherine Ryan.



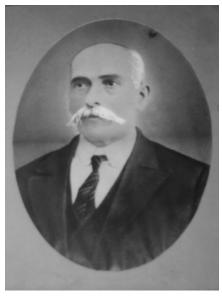
Aunt Rosie and Uncle Elias standing in a garden. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Gathering of the Gosine family in a garden. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Michael Joseph Gosine, Catherine's great grandfather, born 1856 in Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon. Source: Catherine Ryan.



Michael Joseph Gosine, born March, 1856 in Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon (Mount Lebanon). Died, April 24, 1938 (83 years old) on Bell Island, Newfoundland. Occupation: merchant. Source: Angelina Gosine.



Mary Gosine (née Solomon), born 1861 in Lebanon, died August 28, 1917 on Bell Island, Newfoundland. Married to Michael Joseph Gosine. Source: Angelina Gosine.



Joseph Michael Gosine, born 1883 in Mount Lebanon, died April 29, 1939 on Bell Island, Newfoundland. Occupation: merchant. Source: Angelina Gosine.



Eileen Gosine (née Hanlon), born December 2, 1894 in Portugal Cove, NL, died April, 1978, St. John's, NL. Married to Joseph Michael Gosine (October 20, 1918). Occupation: teacher. Source: Angelina Gosine.



Michael Joseph Gosine, born September 5, 1919 in Portugal Cove, NL, died April 2, 2005 on Bell Island. Occupation: truck driver. Source: Angelina Gosine.



Sheila Patricia Gosine (née Parsley), born March 8, 1932 on Bell Island, NL, died September 14, 2020 on Bell Island, NL. Married to Michael Joseph Gosine (Feb 27, 1954). Source: Angelina Gosine.



Joseph Michael Gosine with his two sons, Michael Joseph Gosine (left), William Gosine (right). Circa 1924-1925. Source: Angelina Gosine.

started to build, they had a little small house built, and Monsignor Bartlett, who was the parish priest over there, said to my mother:

"You know, we have no place to put anyone for boarding or hockey teams," because hockey was really big on Bell Island.

So he talked them into adding a house to have a hotel. Now, I mean, this house was built for a family. We had about eight or nine rooms, and people even, probably two in a room and one bathroom. And that was for our family as well.

My mother was a great cook and a very nice person.

Jarvis: Where was she from? What was her maiden name?

Moakler: She was a Moore from Avondale. She went to Bell island to do telegraphy; she was a telegrapher. She went and met my father. Now, you'd have to meet my father! If my father said run, you ran!

Jarvis: What was his name?

Moakler: Elias Basha. He was living over there with his family, grand-mother, and all the rest.

Jarvis: Was he born in Lebanon?

Moakler: Yes. And he came to Bell Island with his family. I didn't meet his father. But he came there and when he grew up. I don't know if he had any education, but he had his own butcher store. And I loved black pudding and stuff like that. We used to help them on a Saturday night or Friday night, to make [the puddings] because people were phoning in their order. And then we delivered it on the Saturday, my brother and I. One Saturday, one night he said he needs some help. So we went up to help him make the black puddings, and I saw this blood. Now, I wouldn't look at it if you paid me.

Jarvis: But up till that moment, you thought it was great?

Moakler: I mean, I ate everything!

INTERVIEW WITH CATHERINE RYAN

Catherine Ryan grew up in Rabbittown in St. John's in a family of nine. She was interviewed by folklorist Terra Barrett on February 21, 2022.

My great grandfather was Michael Joseph Gosine. He came from a little village called Hadath el Jebbeh in Lebanon/Syria. It was part of Syria at one point and then the borders changed. So he came over and settled in Kentucky. I guess he secured a place to live, went back to Lebanon and collected his wife and children and then came back again. I think it was Ashland, Kentucky. One of his children, Ellen, which my mother affectionately called Aunt Ollie. She actually married a person from that area in Kentucky from the old country and then they moved to Portugal Cove, Bell Island area. So as far as I know they did come to Kentucky and then settle there for a little while.

My auntie Mary, my mother's sister, told me a story that the Spanish War had broken out at that time and some of the relatives wanted to join the war effort and my great grandfather didn't want that. That's why they left Lebanon so he I think had been in touch with one of the priests of the Maronite faith that would travel up and down the coast. Would I guess bring greetings and keep families in touch. This priest I think knew there were people from their village, Hadath el Jebbeh, that had settled in the Bell Island area, Portugal Cove area and some went to the West Coast and central Newfoundland. Anyway this is where my great grandfather ended up taking his family. This priest I think of the Maronite faith would go up and down the coast and go to these communities that were under that faith and would maybe bless the graves or bless marriages, baptise and kind of keep in touch.

So then my great grandfather came [to Newfoundland] and settled there and then raised his family. He was a peddler, and my grandfather, Joseph Michael Gosine, was a peddler as well and would peddle his wares right up to the Great Northern Peninsula. My grandmother would be left with the seven children to kind of run the store in Portugal Cove and he would go off peddling his wares and then bring things back. He was a good businessman apparently and had built a big, big home for them in Portugal Cove, it was one of the biggest homes on top of Hardings Hill. I think he built that and wanted to prove to Mr. Hanlon, my great grandfather, that he could take care of his daughter. She was quite younger than him, she was 12 years younger, my grandmother. He kind of built this house and made this business for himself to prove that he could look after her. Anyway she did eventually marry him. He waited for her, I think. She was a one room school teacher in the cove, and they ended up marrying.

I think he built this big home and this house also had a store attached to it. I know my mom even described the store. She said that there was a sitting room off the store and then off the sitting room was the parlour and then there was a big kitchen. In this store they also had this little place where people could sit and eat. If people had come in off the boats, sailors and what not and wanted to have something to eat they would actually have a little table and stools there and people could actually sit. That was almost just another entity of the store I guess to sit and eat dinner. So when [my grandfather] went away my grandmother, Eileen, would have to run that store and look after the seven children. She would be pretty busy that way but then he would be off doing trade. I think it was a dry good store but then it was also a place where people could come and eat a meal.

I know my aunt Sadie also had a variety store. She ran that herself. That was on Bell Island and that was almost in the hub of Bell Island. There was an area there where there was a lot of the community, a really busy, busy section of the island. That's where her store was. So I think that was a thriving little business with a mix of things available.

APPENDIX 3

Tooton's Photo Business

Daily News, May 5, 1945

40 YEARS SUCCESS IN PHOTO BUSINESS OWNER OF TOOTON'S THE KODAK STORE RECALLS START AND GENEROUS SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE PUBLIC

Just forty years ago today, May 5th, a young man of sixteen years of age opened the Parisian Photographic Studio on the opposite side of Water Street to what was then Knowling's West End Store, where the Canadian docks and buildings now stand.

We often read of Newfoundlanders who have made a success in other lands. It is less usual to read of someone from another country who has made a success of his business in this country. But so it happened in the case of Anothony Tooton, educated and trained in the photographic business in France and at the time with a somewhat limited knowledge of the English language. It was no light undertaking.

NEW METHODS

But Mr. Tooton was not perturbed by any such difficulties. He brought with him new ideas. Previously photographers here had used only P.O.P. printing paper which depended upon sunlight for printing and therefore a slow method. Mr. Tooton introduced gaslight printing paper, so that his work was not limited by daylight.

His photographic studio did a big business, having as many as twenty to thirty sittings a day. Besides portraits he produced photographs on silk handkerchiefs, china, and other material.

He continued to operate at the original premises from 1905 to 1908. In the latter year an additional studio, called the American Studio, was owned opposite his present premises. He kept both premises going until 1910 when the West End Studio was abandoned and Mr. Tooton decided to get into commercial photography and supplying.



The 1921 Tooton Building, 307-309 Water Street, St. John's, as it appeared in 2022. Source: Heritage NL.

EASTMAN KODAK REPRESENTATIVE

In 1912 he opened a photo store next to what is now Garneau Ltd. premises. At that time he secured the dealership for Eastman Kodak Company's products and brought in new ideas for developing and printing of films and prints. The same year he abandoned the second studio and devoted his attention exclusively to commercial photography – development of negatives, printing, and enlarging and supplying. With this he produced a 48-hour service between receipt of films and the production of prints. This time he later succeeded in reducing to a 24-hour service.

ESTABLISHED KODAK STORE

In 1920 Mr. Tooton gave up this store on the north side of Water Street and moved to the present premises. Those who remember it at the time can visualize the tremendous changes accomplished by a process of reconstruction from the original store as it was when Mr. Tooton took it over. Here he at once in conjunction with elaborate reconstruction of the whole building, established the very latest in automatic photographic methods. He trained many girls to handle the operation of this automatic machinery so successfully that the fame of Tooton's The Kodak Store spread all over the Island and it became necessary to increase the staff and add to the premises by additional storeys.

KEPT UP TO DATE

During all these years, from 1910 onwards, Mr. Tooton regularly visited headquarters of the Eastman Kodak Company at Rochester, N.Y., and then the Canadian Kodak Company at Toronto. His efforts in making known the quality of Kodak Productions to the people of this country was recognized in 1934 when the Eastman Kodak Company named him as exclusive distributors in Newfoundland for their products. Thus the cameras and photographic materials of one of the greatest photographic companies in the world were made available to people all over the Island.

Today The Kodak Store employs thirty-one people. It is one of the finest photo stores on this side of the Atlantic. Its equipment is entirely automatic thus eliminating any possibility of errors. There are eight electric-automatic printers in which the production of prints is a matter of regulated seconds only, two automatic dryers and an elaborate automatic developing, fixing and washing system for negatives. The mailing system assures prompt and correct distribution of films and prints to all parts of the country. The Kodak Store also supplies dealers and photographers all over the Island.

HOSPITALS SUPPLIED

In addition Mr. Tooton supplies all the hospitals with their requirements in X-Ray films, and other photographic material, a large store room being devoted exclusively to this line.

All this success is due to hard work, integrity and honesty and a burning desire to give the public courteous and efficient service. At the same time the anniversary marks an equal appreciation by Mr. Tooton of the confidence reposed in him by the public, best shown in the tremendous volume of business handled.

Once established Mr. Tooton devoted a large measure of attention to doing something for the people of his adopted country. As an active member of Rotary, and the St. John's Playground's Association he is best remembered by his gift of the Victoria Park pool and his gift to the playgrounds at Rennie's Swimming pool. He has other plans which he hopes to put into effect later to benefit the people amongst whom he has won success.

Tooton's Pool

Evening Telegram August 19, 1930

PLAYGROUND EXECUTIVE AND TOOTON POOL COMMITTEE MEET PLAYGROUNDS TO KEEP OPEN TILL CLOSE OF HOLIDAYS

A well attended meeting of the Executive of the Children's Playground Association with the members of the special Committee in connection with Tooton's Pool, was held yesterday when several important decisions were arrived at.

The President of the Association, Mr. Will Herder, who has been in England most of the summer attending the Imperial Press Conference received a very hearty welcome home from all present.

POOL NEARING COMPLETION

The Subject of the opening of the Tooton Pool was the main object of the meeting. The Pool is now nearing completion and the City Council employees, who built the pool, at Mr. Tooton's expense, have certainly made a splendid job of it. The work has been under the direct supervision of the genial Deputy Mayor, who is also a member of the Playground Executive and he, in the capacity of Chairman of Parks and Open Spaces Committees of the Council, has given special attention to the beautifying of Victoria Park in the vicinity of the Tooton Pool.

FORMAL OPENING NEXT SEASON

Intended first as a Paddling Pool for little children only, it has now been found possible to utilize the pool for swimming and, in fact, during the week when the water was turned on for experimental purposes only, many West End children availed themselves of the opportunity of a swim. As there is still quite a little work to be done before the Pool is entirely completed, yesterday's meeting decided that the formal opening of the Pool will not take place till next season. Then it is in the intention of the Association

to place a swimming instructor at the Pool and, with the Council's permission, erect a couple of changing rooms at the Park. The Association intends that the Pool shall be used as a Paddling Pool up to 4 o'clock daily; after that, sufficient water will be turned on to permit the pool being utilized for swimming. For the balance of the present holiday season, children will be permitted to use the pool at such times as the water may be in it, under the supervision of Mr. Canning and the Victoria Park officials. Messrs Tooton's generous gift to the West End City children is already appreciated by them and next year, we venture to say the Tooton's Pool will be as popular an adjunct to the West End as the Rotary Playground Swimming Pool at Rennie's River is to the East End.

Lebanese and Syrian Newfoundlanders in Military Service in the 1900s (partial list) J. BOULOS

WORLD WAR ONE

In the mid-1910s, there were a total of seven known residents of Newfoundland, of Lebanese birth or heritage, who volunteered and served in the Royal Newfoundland Regiment during The Great War and who saw active service. Five of these young men were born in Lebanon (then part of Syria which, in turn, was part of the Ottoman Empire/Turkey, one of the enemy Central Powers) and they had only recently immigrated to Newfoundland before their dates of enlistment. Whatever their individual motivations for enlistment in their new country of residence may have been, their obvious contempt for the Turkish regime that then ruled their homeland and exercised dominion over their extended families still in Lebanon, must have factored significantly. Their enlistment also provided a clear statement to the Newfoundland war authorities, and population as a whole, as to the true nature of their political and patriotic allegiances.

Company Sergeant-Major Peter Daniels (1891-1969) was one of the first 500 men in Newfoundland to volunteer for service—the Blue Puttees. His registration number was 318. He was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and was raised in St. John's, Newfoundland, where he worked as a shopkeeper in his family's Water Street store at the time of his enlistment. He was the son of Lebanese emigrants, his late father, Michael Daniels (via Halifax), and his mother, Howa (Eva) Daniels (née George/Al-Ghossain), from Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon (See Chapter 12). He moved to Corner Brook after the war and then worked as an accountant.

Private Joseph Sheen/Shaeen (1891-1959) was volunteer 712 and he was born in Lehfed, Lebanon, to Jacob and Annie Shaheen. His surname was also spelled "Shaheen" and "Sheehan". He had only recently immigrated to Newfoundland before his enlistment. He was originally a butcher by



Company Sergeant-Major Peter Daniels.



Private Joseph Sheen/ Shaeen.



Private Charles Magammam



Private Edward Faour.



Private John Melin Noah.



Private Alphonsus Francis Noah.

trade, but was living in and employed as a shopkeeper and auctioneer on Bell Island, Newfoundland, when he enlisted. He was seriously wounded on June 19, 1916, at Beaumont-Hamel, which necessitated the amputation of his left leg. He moved to Ottawa, Ontario, a few years after his discharge (See Chapter 13).

Private Charles Magammam (1895-unknown) was volunteer 713, directly after Private Shaheen. He was a very recent immigrant at the time of his enlistment, having been born somewhere in Mount Lebanon, and he was then residing at Annie George's Boarding House at 402 Water Street, St. John's. His occupation was stated to be a peddler. His father's name was Abad Magammam. Nothing further is known of his life after his service period ended.

Private Edward Faour (1895-1927) was volunteer 1075. He was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, and immigrated to St. John's with his mother, Bedra (Bertha) Faour, between 1910-1914, after his father, George Faour, died suddenly in Lebanon. Before his enlistment, he worked as a tobacconist/store clerk. His older brother, Simon Faour, had already immigrated to St. John's some years earlier. He was wounded at Beaumont-Hamel on July 1, 1916. After his war service, he returned to St. John's, married and operated a store, but died from pneumonia at age 32. His premature death was attributed by his family to a compromised immune system which resulted from mustard gas poisoning during his war service. His son, Daniel Faour, was only one year of age at the time of his father's death (See Chapters 7, 8 and 12).

Private John Melin Noah (1895-1982/3), registration number 3296, was the son of Melin Noah (Bacile) and Marion Noah (née Chedraoui), emmigrants from Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, who lived in St. John's during World War One and had stores in St. John's and Renews, and later in Corner Brook, Newfoundland. He was born in Havana, Cuba, and came to St. John's, Newfoundland, with his parents not long afterwards, where he worked in one of their stores prior to enlisting. After his discharge, he moved to Corner Brook, where he carried on business (See Chapters 5, 8 and Appendix 1).

Private Esau Jacob (1891-unknown), registration number 3758, was born, according to his enlistment papers, at Mount "Siven" (likely a misspelling for Liban/Lebanon), Syria. His mother's name was Sadie (Sarah) Eude. He appears to have been a very recent immigrant. He was residing at Curling

when he enlisted and his occupation was as a baker. Directly after his discharge he was residing in Channel, Newfoundland, but there is no record of his history after that.

Private Abraham Sapp (1896-1983), registration number 4909, was born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, to parents, Leo (Elias) Sapp and Marion Sapp. He resided in Bell Island at the time of his enlistment, where he worked as a shopkeeper, and he subsequently moved to Nova Scotia after his discharge (See Chapter 14).

WORLD WAR TWO

Private Alphonsus Francis Noah (1916-1944) was born in St. John's and he was the youngest son of Melin and Marion Noah. He and his parents were living in Corner Brook from the late 1920s (see above entry for his brother, Private John Noah). He was serving in the Canadian Regiment with the Central Mediterranean Forces and was killed in action in Italy when he stepped on a landmine (See Chapters 5 and 8 and Appendix 1).

Staff Sergeant Edward (Theodore) Patrick Tooton (1917-1943) (Royal Artillery 166th, Newfoundland, First Contingent Africa) was born in Montreal to parents, Simon (Salem) M. Tooton and Frances Tooton (née Peddle). He was their only son. Simon Tooton emigrated from Damascus, Syria, to St. John's in the early 1900s, about a year or so before his younger brother, Anthony Tooton (see Chapter 3 and Appendix 3 and 4). Their father, Moses Tooton, and their mother also subsequently lived in St. John's for several years until about 1910. Simon, Frances and their young family later moved to Montreal in the 1910s. Following their separation, Frances, and their children returned to St. John's in the early to mid-1920s, where Edward/Theodore attended St. Bonaventure's College for nine years. *The Adelphian* (1944, Volume 34) records that he performed many air flights over enemy territory and that he met his death in such action in North Africa during the last days of the war.

Patrick Joseph Michael (1914-1990) (Royal Artillery, Newfoundland), of Corner Brook, was born in Newfoundland to parents, Antoni and Mary Michael, who immigrated to Newfoundland in 1896 from Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon. He returned to Corner Brook after the war, where he worked as the manager of a building supplies company in that city (See Chapters 3, 8 and 17).

Sergeant Albert Dominic Boulos (1919-2008) (59th Heavy Artillery Regiment), of Deer Lake, was born in Newfoundland to parents Dominic and Jalili Boulos, from Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon, who both immigrated to Newfoundland, via Halifax, in the very early 1900s. He worked as a businessman after the war and also served as Councillor, Deputy Mayor and Mayor of Deer Lake at various times over several years thereafter (See Chapter 7).

Edward Francis Ringman (1922-2000) (Royal Artillery, 59th Regiment) was born in St. John's to parents Axel Ringman (from Sweden) and Annie George Al-Ghossain, born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon. He settled in St. John's after the war where he worked as a photographer (See Chapter 12).

Frederick Louis Alteen (1923-2018), of Corner Brook, was the son of Lebanese immigrants, Louis and Sophie Alteen, of Nova Scotia. He served as a radio operator and technician with the Royal Canadian Air Force. He moved to Newfoundland in 1949 and became a successful businessman (See Chapters 8 and 10).

Austin Joseph Solo (1918-2007), of Corner Brook, was the son of Syrian immigrant Joseph Solo (Sulieman Yousif Saleh), and of Newfoundlander Agnes Solo (née Foley), who carried on business in Corner Brook. His obituary states that he served in the British Royal Navy during World War Two.

Richard Joseph Sabb/Saab (1924-1990) was from Nova Scotia, but of Lebanese heritage. He served as a gunner in the Royal Canadian Artillery. He married Amelia Ringman, of St. John's (sister of Edward Ringman), and they ran a store on Duckworth Street, St. John's, throughout the 1950s-1980s. He was buried in St. John's (See Chapter 14).

Raymond John Joseph (1922-2009) was the son of Saliba Joseph (Chedraoui) (1882-1971) and Diamond Joseph (née Nichols) (1897-1945), Lebanese emigrants (first living in Nova Scotia) who moved to and settled and raised their family in Deer Lake, Newfoundland. Raymond joined the Royal Air Force in Gander, Newfoundland. After the war, he worked in Deer Lake at his family's business, Joseph's Credit Jewelry Limited, before moving to Halifax in 1964.

OTHER CONFLICTS

Private Michael Joseph (1931-unknown) served with the Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry in the Korean War during the early 1950s. He was the grandson of Lebanese emigrants Antonio Joseph and Mary Joseph (Gaultois), and the son of Dufie Joseph and Josephine Joseph, of Humbermouth (See Chapter 6).

Bernard Joseph (1934-2009) was raised in Corner Brook by Lebanese parents, Michael Joseph (1880-1956) and Rose Hannah Joseph (1903-1944). Bernard's father is likely the Michael Joseph listed in the 1898 City of St. John's Directory as a peddler, then residing on George Street. Bernard was a Warrant Officer in the Canadian Air Force and he later moved to Kingston, Ontario.

Syrian Charitable Society of St. Joseph

Evening Telegram, 1910-09-222.

HE THAT GIVETH TO THE POOR LENDETH TO THE LORD

Editor Evening Telegram.

Mr. Editor,--This beautiful motto was delightfully illustrated last night when the Rev. Fr. Sapp called together the Assyrian Colony to consider some means whereby they could assuage the sorrows, and lend a helping hand to those of their country and others who were in distress. The rev. gentleman, who is an exquisite speaker, in well chosen words delivered an address that touched the hearts of those simple and pure minded sons of Assyria. He took them back to their native fertile fields clustered around Mount Lebanon. He told them that though they sought refuge under the shield of Britain they should not forget their own beautiful homes, and the way to show their love of their homeland was to practice the most sublime of the cardinal virtues; and to show the love of their race was to hold out the hand of charity toward their not so fortunate fellow countrymen. His burning words seemed to infuse new life into his flock, for there and then the meeting resolved itself into what in future will be known as the "Syrian Charitable Society of St. Joseph." Telling speeches were made by Messrs. M. Carbage, President; M. J. Gosine, Treasurer; M. Nikosey, Secretary; B. Basha and Jos. Murphy. Each gentleman seemed to be impressed with the spirit of the Rev. Fr. Sapp. There was also formed a ladies' branch with Mrs. Thos. Basha, President; and Mrs. M. Carbage, Secretary, and a goodly sum was collected. No nation, perhaps, have suffered so much for their faith as these courteous sons of Assyria, sweating under the iron yoke of the Turk. They have been baptised in blood, and rather than give up the faith of their fathers they have left the fruitful hills of their beloved country and sought refuge under the flags of more hospitable nations; but they brought with them that attribute that is indigenous to the Far East, a courteous hospitality apart from their business. To know them is to admire them, for removed from us Northernmen in custom, manner and dialect, when once they come amongst us they change into exemplary citizens; they have also

brought with them their religious ritual, and it is beautiful and decidedly soul-stirring, inasmuch as their Mass is celebrated in the same tongue as the Divine Master spoke. How must their thoughts sometimes travel back to home when their priests entone the Mass; again, in fancy are they walking in the olive gardens that encircle the sea of Galilee, and travelling the same roads that the Redeemer once trod. Truly can they sing with bursting hearts:

"I have lost for that faith more than thou canst bestow, As the God who permits us to prosper doth know; In His hand is my heart, and my hope in thine The land and the life which for Him I resign."

These people have a peculiar interest for us, and in this particular they have showed us an object lesson, clear of any lodge, society or any other motive. They are only following in the advice of the Divine Master, who told us to "LOVE ONE ANOTHER."
Bell Island, Sept. 20, 1910.

Sapp Family Timelines

ABRAHAM LEO SAPP (1896-1983)

- 1896 Born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Lebanon, Syria.
- 1912-19 Abraham Leo Sapp's sister Rosie and her husband, Albert Sapp were General Dealers on Bell Island.
- 1915 Abraham Leo Sapp's cousin, Raymond Melan Sapp, was a General Merchant on Bell Island.
- 1915 Abraham "M" Sapp listed in 1915 Directory for Bell Island as selling "dry goods, etc. Bell Island Mines."
- 1918 Abraham Sapp enlisted on May 6 for military service in World War One. hometown Bell Island. occupation storekeeper.
- c.1918 Raymond Melan Sapp left Bell Island to live in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.
- 1919 Abraham Sapp discharged from military service July 30.
- On June 21, "A. Sapp," unmarried businessman, age 24, born Syria, arrived in Nova Scotia from Newfoundland, on way to Halifax. Also in June 1920, Abraham Leo Sapp's sister Rosie and her husband, Albert Sapp, left Bell Island to live in Yarmouth, N.S.
- 1921 Census for Nova Scotia lists "Leo Sapp, merchant, age 25" living with his cousin Raymond Sapp's family in Yarmouth.
- On August 21, Abraham Leo Sapp, shopkeeper, age 27, married Mary (AKA Mamie) Sapp, eldest daughter of Raymond Sapp. Abraham and Mamie moved to Halifax and went by the surname "Saab," the spelling of the family surname in Lebanon.
- 1956 Abraham "Sabb" visited Bell Island in April for the funeral of his brother-in-law, Albert C. Sapp.

- 1978 Mamie Saab died Nov. 27 in Halifax.
- 1983 Abraham died Apr. 16 in Halifax.

TIME ON BELL ISLAND AND KNOWN RELATIONSHIPS

Abraham Leo Sapp appears to have lived and worked on Bell Island for a few years only, possibly from about 1912, but maybe not until around 1915, until 1918, when he signed up for military service. He may have then lived there for a year before moving to Nova Scotia, where he remained. Abraham Leo Sapp's sister, Rosie, and her husband, Albert Sapp, were General Dealers on Bell Island. Abraham Leo Sapp's cousin, Raymond Melan Sapp, was a General Merchant on Bell Island in 1915. Abraham Leo Sapp married Mary (Mamie) Sapp, eldest daughter of Raymond Sapp.

ALBERT CHARLES (1885-1956) AND ROSE (ROSIE) SAPP (1896-1986)

- c.1885 Albert Charles born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, Syria.
- 1886 Rose Sapp born in Hadath el Jebbeh, Mount Lebanon, Syria.
- 1904 Rose Saab living in Halifax.
- 1908 Albert worked as a clerk in his brother Charlie Sapp's dry goods business in St. John's.
- 1909 Albert travelled to Nova Scotia from Newfoundland.
- 1909 Albert and Rose married in Halifax, Nova Scotia.
- 1912 Moved to Bell Island.
- 1913-19 Directories for Bell Island list Albert Sapp as a general dealer on Bell Island.
- 1920 Shopkeepers on Water Street, St. John's. moved to Nova Scotia in June.
- 1920-25 Living in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.
- 1925-29 Visited homeland in Syria.
- 1929 Returned to Bell Island to live.
- 1932 Rebuilding store on Bell Island that had been destroyed by fire.
- 1955 Rose visited family in Syria.
- 1956 Albert died on Bell Island, age 71.

- 1969 Mrs. Albert Sapp was still in business on Bennett St., but probably moved to Nova Scotia that year.
- 1986 Rose died in Halifax, Nova Scotia, age 90.

TIME ON BELL ISLAND AND KNOWN RELATIONSHIPS

Albert and Rose Sapp lived and worked on Bell Island from 1912-1919 and then from 1929-1956 (for Albert, a total of 34 years) and 1929 to about 1969 (for Rose, a total of 48 years). Rose's brother, Abraham Leo Sapp, lived and worked on Bell Island from about 1912 until 1918, when he signed up for military service, then from 1919-1920.

Rose's cousin, Raymond Melan Sapp, was a merchant on Bell Island in 1915. Albert's brother, Joseph C. Sapp, was a merchant on Bell Island from about 1898 to about 1907, and from about 1947 to 1969.

JOSEPH CHARLES (1879-1969) AND ELLEN (GOSINE) SAPP (1882-1955)

- c.1879 Joseph Charles born in Syria.
- 1882 Ellen Sapp born in Syria.
- 1894 Michael J. Gosine (Ellen's) family left Lebanon for Ashland, Kentucky.
- c.1898 Joseph Sapp and Ellen Gosine married in Ashland, Kentucky.
- 1898 Immigrated to Newfoundland, possibly to Bell Island.
- 1904 Directory for Bell Island Charles (believed to be Joseph Charles) Sapp is a General Dealer on Bell Island.
- c.1907 Moved business to 398 Water Street, St. John's, where they operated for 40 years.
- 1908-09 McAlpine's City Directory J. Charlie Sapp is a General Importer & Dealer, 398 Water Street, St. John's.
- 1913 Directory for St. John's J. Charlie Sapp Importer & Jobber in General Dry Goods, Clothing, etc., 398 Water St..
- 1921 Census shopkeepers on Water St., St. John's.
- 1921 Ellen Sapp & her sister, Sadie Gosine, travelled to Halifax en route to Yarmouth for 4 weeks.

- 1941 Mrs. J.C. Sapp was the victim of a hold-up in her store on Water Street.
- Moved their business to Town Square (No. 2 Road), Bell Island, where Sadie Gosine was also in business.

1949

- & 1953 Listed in the Voters' Lists for Bell Island.
- 1955 Ellen died on Bell Island.
- 1958 Joseph Sapp advertised his houses and business on No. 2 Road for sale.
- 1962-63 Joseph listed as a storekeeper on Voters' Lists.
- 1969 Joseph died.

TIME ON BELL ISLAND AND KNOWN RELATIONSHIPS

Joseph Charles and Ellen Sapp lived and worked on Bell Island from c.1898 to c.1907, and from 1947 to 1955 (for Ellen, a total of about 17 years), and from 1947 to 1969 (for Joseph Charles, a total of about 30 years).

Joseph Charles' brother, Albert C. Sapp, was a merchant on Bell Island from 1912-1919, and from 1929-1956.

Ellen Sapp was the daughter of Michael J. Gosine, merchant of Bell Island.

RAYMOND MELAN (1875-1957) AND ROSE SAPP (1882-1956)

- c.1875 Raymond Melan born in Mount Lebanon, Syria (probably Hadath el Jebbeh).
- Rose Sapp born in Mount Lebanon, Syria (probably Hadath el Jebbeh).
- 1900-04 In Yarmouth, where first 2 children born.
- In St. John's, NL, where third child born (where registered, so may actually have been born in Carbonear).
- 1908-09 McAlpine's Directory for Carbonear lists R.M. Sapp, "Dry Goods and Notions," Water St. Carbonear.
- 1911 In Newfoundland (probably Carbonear), where fourth child was born.

- 1913 McAlpine's Directory for Carbonear lists R.M. Sapp, "Dry Goods and Confectionery," Water St. Carbonear.
- 1914 In Carbonear, where fifth child was born.
- 1915 On Bell Island, where R. M. Sapp shows up in the Bell Island Directory listed as "General Merchants". and where their sixth child was likely born.
- 1918 Moved to Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, where they remained.
- 1921 Eldest daughter, Mamie, married Abraham Leo Saab, who was a brother of Albert C. Sapp's wife, Rosie, in Yarmouth. Abraham & Rose Sapp were witnesses (this may or may not have been the Abraham M. Sapp who was a businessman on Bell Island in 1915).
- 1956 Rose Sapp, wife of Raymond M. Sapp, born Mount Lebanon, died, buried in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.
- 1957 Raymond M. Sapp, born Mount Lebanon, died, buried in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia.

TIME ON BELL ISLAND AND KNOWN RELATIONSHIPS

Raymond Melan Sapp and Rose Andrea Joseph Sapp lived and worked on Bell Island for about three years from 1915-1918. Raymond was a cousin of Abraham Leo Sapp/Saab and his sister, Hana Rose (Mrs. Albert C. Sapp). Abraham Leo Sapp/Saab married Raymond's daughter, Mary/Mamie.

1898-1936 St. John's Lebanese Businesses

This list corresponds to the map on page 29. Source: Maryssa Barras, Heritage NL. This is not a complete list of Lebanese businesses across the province.

	YEARS	ADDRESS	BUSINESS NAME	PERSON
1	1919 - 1936	107 LeMarchant	N/A – House	Anthony Tooton
2	1924 - 1936	23 Cabot	N/A – House	Michael Nikosey
3	1898	29 Barter's Hill	N/A - House	Basha Family
4	1936	101 Hamilton	N/A – House	Anthony Noah
5	1908 - 1924	150 Water West	N/A – House	Kalleem Noah
	1928 - 1932	138 Water West	ш	u
	1936	"	ш	Michael Noah
6	1936	242 New Gower	Michael's Confectionary	Michael Michael
7	1932 - 1936	226 New Gower	Soranson's Confectionary	A. Soranson
1	1919 - 1924	204 New Gower	Michael's Confectionary	Albert (Habib) Michael
	1928 - 1932	224 New Gower	ш	u
9	1913 - 1924	194 New Gower	N/A – House	Antoni Michael
	1924	"	Dry Goods Store	«
10	1919 - 1924	192 New Gower	Andrew's Confectionary	A. E. Andrews, Mrs. A. E. Andrews
	1928	208 New Gower	N/A	Mrs. A. E. Andrews
	1932	ш	Fruit and Confectionary Store	Albert E. Andrews
	1936	"	Crockerware Store	"

11	1928 - 1936	202 New Gower	Corey's Confectionary Store	Peter Corey
12	1928 184 New Gower Confectionary (same building as 182 New Gower)		Confectionary	Michael Nikosey
	ш	182 New Gower (same building as 184 New Gower)	Hardware and Paper	ш
13	1932	192 New Gower	Richard's Confectionary Store	D. Richards
14	1932	184 New Gower	N/A - House	Mrs. Joseph
15	1924	172-174 New Gower	Newfoundland Auction Store	Michael Nikosey
	1928	152 New Gower	ш	«
16	1919 - 1924	150 New Gower	Joseph Ellis Dry Goods	Joseph Ellis
	1928 - 1936	168 New Gower	«	u
17	1932	158 New Gower	Noah's Economy Store	Anthony K. Noah
18	1932	156 New Gower	Noah's Confectionary Store	Anthony K. Noah
	1936	ű	Noah's Economy Store	· ·
19	1932	154 New Gower	Radio Bowling Alley & Billiard Parlour & Canteen	Anthony K. Noah
	1936	ш	Noah's Confectionary Store	Michael Noah
20	1932	152 New Gower	N/A – House	Anthony K. Noah
21	1932 - 1936	148 New Gower	N/A	
22	1932	146 New Gower	Wholesale Warehouse	Anthony K. Noah
23	1904	122 New Gower	N/A – House	Kalleem Noah
24	1928 - 1932	120 New Gower	Dry Goods	E.J. Boulos
	1936	ш	N/A – House	«
25	1928 - 1932	118 New Gower	N/A – House	E.J. Boulos
	1936	ш	N/A Not Listed	ш

26	1898	87 New Gower	Pedlar	Monsole Joseph
27	1904	93 New Gower	General Store Trader	Melin Noah
	1904 - 1919	«	N/A – House	«
	1915 - 1919	и	Dry Goods and Groceries	ш
28	1898	85 New Gower	N/A – House	Michael Sweet
29	1908	80 New Gower	N/A – House	Antoni Michael
30	1898	78 New Gower	N/A Not Listed	Antonio Joseph
31	1928	92-94 New Gower	N/A Not Listed	Mrs. E. Faour
32	1932 - 1936	90 New Gower	Andrew's Grocery Store	F. Andrews
33	1936	88 New Gower	N/A Not Listed	Charles Ahey
34	1924	76 New Gower	Noah Melin Dry Goods	Melin Noah
	1932 - 1936	"	Newfoundland Auction Store	Michael Nikosey
35	1932	74 New Gower	Michael's Confectionary	Michael Michael
	1932 - 1936	ш	N/A – House	ш
36	1924	72 New Gower	N/A – House	J.A. Basha
37	1928	58 New Gower	N/A	Bedra Faour
38	1908	48 New Gower	Clothing and Jewelry	Melin Noah
	"	«	N/A – House	«
	1913	«	Grocery	«
39	1932	54 New Gower	Wholesale Dry Goods	Jos Murphy
40	1928	49 New Gower	N/A – House	Mrs. E. Faour
	1932 - 1926	«	Faour Confectional Store	Mrs. G. Faour
	1932 - 1936	ш	N/A – House	ш
41	1924	26-28 New Gower	J. Basha Dry Goods and Confectionary	John Basha
	ш	ш	N/A – House	ч
42	1936	23 New Gower	N/A - Shop	Annie Ringman
43	1932	19 New Gower	Ahey's Confectionary Store	Ellie Ahey

44	1932	5 New Gower	Andrews Confectionary Store	J.F. Andrews
45	1924	184 Gower	N/A	Marina Joseph
46	1898	426 Water	Kalleem Noah American Bargain Store	Kalleem Noah
	1904	ш	Boulos Brothers Dry Goods	Edward Boulos
	1908 - 1919	ш	Groceries and Dry Goods Store	Antoni Michael
47	1913	406 Water	N/A – House	Anthony Tooton
	1915	ш	The Kodak Store	ш
48	1904 - 1913	402 Water	N/A	Julia George
	1915	u	N/A	Peter Daniels
	1919 - 1936	ш	N/A	Annie Ringman
49	1898 - 1904	398 Water	N/A - House	Mansour Joseph
	1913 - 1936	ű	N/A	Joseph C. Sapp
50	1904	3 Waldegrave	N/A – House	Edward Boulos
51	1908	390 Water	General Store	Joseph Boulos
52	1913	382 Water	Grocery	Melin Noah
53	1913 - 1924	378 Water	MFGR Tobbaconist, Confectionary	Simon G. Faour
	1913 - 1924	ш	N/A – House	ш
54	1898	73 George	N/A - House	Joseph Noah
55	1936	368 Water	The Princess Store	Edward Boulos
56	1908	366 Water	Dry Goods	Edward Boulos
57	1924	367 Water	J.A. Basha Dry Goods	J.A. Basha
58	1904	340 Water	Dry Goods, Wholesale, Retail	Antonio Joseph
59	1904	320-322 Water, Noah Building	Kalleem Noah, Dry Goods and Jobber	Kalleem Noah
	1908 - 1932	"	Kalleem Noah, Limited	ű
	1936	322 Water, Noah Building	α	«

60	1915 - 1919	320 Water	The Kodak Store	Anthony Tooton
61	1924 - 1936	309 Water	The Kodak Store	Anthony Tooton
62	1924 - 1936	307 Water	The Kodak Store	Anthony Tooton
63	1913 - 1919	310 Water	The Kodak Store	Anthony Tooton
64	1932	308 Water	The Kodak Store	Anthony Tooton
65	1908	302 Water	Clothing and Jewelry	Melin Noah
66	1904	292 Water	Assah Kawaja & Son Dry Goods	Assah Kawaja
67	1904	265 Water	N/A	Joseph Ellis

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