LEBANESE EMIGRANTS IN WEST AFRICA

THEIR EFFECT ON

LEBANON AND WEST AFRICA

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by

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ABSTRACT

Throughout history the inhabitants of what is now Lebanon and Syria have been roving the seas and establishing trading colonies all over the known world. A distinctive feature of modern Lebanese and Syrian emigration, therefore, is the fact that it is a part of an age-long movement, a chapter in a long series of migrations, and not an independent episode by itself. On the other hand, it differs from the preceding waves in that whereas much has been written about the previous migration movements from the Lebanese shores, practically nothing has been written about this last wave. Even the few published accounts seem to concentrate mainly on one angle of this movement, namely emigration to the United States of America, ignoring the more recent, and in certain ways more important emigration to West Africa.

In the following pages, therefore, the writer endeavours to record the history and characteristics of this Lebanese migration to the West African shores. He believes that it is an urgent necessity, in view of the modern Lebanese and West African development, that more should be known about the Lebanese elements in West Africa and their effects on Lebanon and West Africa.

This work is divided into three main parts. The first gives a general background of the Lebanese migratory movement, the second deals with the immigrants as they are in West Africa, and the third gives a short account of the effects of emigration on Lebanon, West Africa and the emigrants themselves.

Part I is divided into three chapter, the first of which is devoted to providing a concise yet comprehensive description of the nature of the land that bred this people who were to scatter to the far corners of the earth. It is an accepted principle that the physical surroundings of a human being greatly affect and influence his behaviour and way of life. How and why people move from one place to another, where they go and whether they return to their original place or not, how strong are the ties and relationships to the land they leave and the land they come to, are all questions, the answers to which are largely affected by the human and natural resources of the homeland. It is with a view to answering such questions that Chapter One gives a brief description of the geographican location of Lebanon, its peoples and their origin, its religious, social, economic and cultural conditions, together with a glance into its future possibilities as a nation. Though most of the information contained in this

chapter might seem self-evident facts to anyone who is interested in the Middle East and Lebanese affairs, yet it acquires a special significance when focussed mainly on the question of emigration.

Chapter Two gives an account of the history, nature, and causes of modern Lebanese emigration in general. How and when it started, and how it was diverted from the United States of America to the West African shores. It discusses the nature of this emigration, and its special characteristics which differentiate it from other migratory movements. An examination of the possible causes of this migration is undertaken in the light of existing conditions in Lebanon and Syria in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In theory the problems produced by Lebanese migration should not differ basically from those created by other similar movements, the common feature in all being the change of habitat and the processes of adaptation which stem from it. Lebanese emigrants, however, seem to have, in addition to the problems of emigrants everywhere, certain problems peculiar to themselves. In Chapter Three, therefore, the writer undertakes an examination of these problems, and the special reasons which make them more acute in West Africa than in other parts of the world where Lebanese emigrants aggregate.

Having presented the background of Lebanese migration to West Africa the writer proceeds, in Part II, to trace the activity of the immigrants in West Africa from the time they first landed to the present day. In Chapter Four the controversial and uncertain question of the number and distribution of the Lebanese in West Africa is faced and solved in the light of existing information. Many of the conflicting sources are examined and analysed in order to obtain the most accurate figures. A detailed description of the distribution of the immigrants in each West African territory is given, together with the reasons affecting such distribution.

In any society the study of a minority group can be best undertaken by examining its existing political, economic, social and cultural conditions. The patters of behaviour revealed by such examination illustrate three important facts: the general manner in which the society reacts to the existance of the minority, the way the minority group adjusts itself to the society, and lastly the way individuals of the minority group react towards each other. In Chapters Five and Six, the position of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa, who are by far the largest non-African minority group, not considering the British or French is examined from these four angles.

Chapter Five describes in detail their political and economic conditions. It establishes the degree of their participation in local politics, and the extent to which the Africans and Europeans are ready to accept them in the political life of West Africa. A detailed account is given of the economic development of the immigrants and how these "Coralmen", as the early Lebanese immigrants were called, became West Africa's most prosperous business men. Like all minorities in a foreign country the Lebanese have earned during the 65 years of their stay in West Africa some praise, coupled with severe criticisms. It is criticism more than praise which is the cause of anxiety in West Africa, and in this chapter a detailed analysis of the causes of criticism and their possible remedies is undertaken.

In Chapter Six, the second two angles, social and cultural conditions, are examined. The impact of the African society on the Lebanese community and the degree of integration between the three main groups in West Africa - Africans, Lebanese and Europeans - is investigated. It is shown that unlike Lebanese immigrants elsewhere, those in West Africa do not seem to be assimilated into the African society. Reasons for this fact are given together with suggestions as to the steps which might be taken by the African authorities

and the immigrants to further the integration of the Lebanese communities into West African society. A detailed examination of the Lebanese social and cultural life is also carried out in this chapter, and the inter-group relations of the immigrants are exposed.

Part III is devoted to a discussion of the effect of Lebanese emigration to West Africa. Such a discussion falls of its own accord into three parts, the effect on the immigrants, the effects on Lebanon, and the effects on West Africa. In Chapter Seven dealing with the effects on the immigrants, the impact of immigration on the social, economic and cultural conditions of the immigrants is illustrated with comparisons drawn between the immigrants' status in the Lebanese society and their modes of behaviour before and after emigration.

Chapter Eight examines the advantages and disadvantages of Lebanese immigration, particularly the economic aspects, looked at from the point of view of the African. The role played by the immigrants in the development of retail trade and the opening of the interior of the countries is specifically emphasised, together with an estimate of the probability of their having displaced the indigenous African trader.

The last chapter, Chapter Nine, deals with the effects of emigration on Lebanon. The most important of these effects, namely, money remittances, is examined, in the light of available

information, in order to indicate the amount sent yearly by emigrants. Though the role the emigrants play in Lebanese political life has been examined in an earlier chapter, the effect of their presence in West Africa on the relations between Lebanon and the United Kingdom and France, the metropolitan powers, is explored here. The considerable effect of emigration on Lebanon, in the fields of economic, social and cultural development is brought out. Though in general Lebanon has benefited substantially from emigration, it has, however, suffered some losses, which are pointed out in the last part of this chapter.

A word on the future of the Lebanese relationship with West Africa, especially with the independent or self-governing African States, is added at the end as a fitting and logical method of rounding off this study which is concerned essentially with an examination of the past and present. Some key questions such as: What is to become of the Lebanese immigratnts and their fortunes in West Africa? What policy should the present Lebanese Government adopt towards emigration to West Africa? Should they attempt to stop it completely or leave it to continue unchecked? These urgent questions and some others are pointed out and examined briefly in this concluding chapter.

For further clarification of certain important points in this work six appendices are added. Two maps, one of West Africa and one of Lebanon, indicating the centres of Lebanese immigrants' concentrations are also appended, and a bibliography.

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PREFACE

One of the least appreciated factors in the modern development of West Africa is the contribution of the Lebanese minority element of the population. Though they have been there since the late 1880's, practically nothing, until now, has been written directly about them, save for a few magazine articles and two or three travel books in Arabic, which, though interesting are helpful for little more than incidental reference. As to English and French works on West Africa few make more than the very barest mention of the Lebanese community.

In recent years the Lebanese presence in West Africa became much more recognized, especially since Africa has made rapid strides towards independence, and since the cry "Africa for the Africans" with a militant policy of Africanization has become the demand of nationalist politicians. Their position and the real value of their contribution to West Africa has recently been the subject of great controversy. Some Africans freely accuse Lebanese of numerous harmful practices such as the rapacious exploitation of the indigenous people and large-scale smuggling of diamonds and gold. There are, on the other hand, Africans who attribute a great deal of West Africa's prosperity and her all-round economic and commercial development

to the hard work and vigorous enterprise of the Lebanese trader. In Lebanon itself, the position of the Lebanese emigrants in West Africa is not appreciated, nor have their political and economic rights been clearly defined in Lebanese society.

The writer wishes to make it clear that he was born in Sierra Leone of Lebanese parentage. Though he returned to Lebanon at the age of two years, and did not go back to Sierra Leone until 1957, when he was engaged on research for this thesis, he nevertheless feels a sense of personal involvement in Lebanese emigrant and West African affairs. He has, however, done his utmost to retain a real sense of detachment when examining the problems which are discussed in these pages.

Because the writer is personally best acquainted with Sierra Leone, he has based many of his general observations upon that territory. Documentary evidence on Lebanese conditions in the other West African territories suggests that no major error should result from this emphasis.

The writer has made use of a wide range of hitherto untapped sources on the Lebanese migrants in West Africa and the Lebanon, but since the scope and nature of his enquiries made it essential for him to rely a good deal on secret documents and confidential information supplied in the course of personal interviews, he wishes to emphasize that he has

taken the utmost care in evaluating such data. He is aware that confidential sources often contain inaccuracies which are not open to challenge, but he has taken pains to make n no positive statement unless he was reasonably satisfied as to its truth.

In some cases the writer has been obliged to conceal the identity of his informants either because they have specifically requested that he do so or because the nature of the information has suggested that this procedure is desirable. He is, however, prepared to divulge in confidence all such information on his informants as may be required.

During the preparation of this work, the writer has put himself under obligation to a very large number of people in England, Lebanon and West Africa, who have put their time and their information freely at his disposal. To try to acknowledge even a few of these debts individually is out of the question. Nevertheless, the writer, briefly but sincerely, expresses his deep gratitude to everyone of the many by whose kind consideration the prosecution of this work was made possible.

The writer cannot forbear, however, to mention the names of a small number whose connection with the work has been such as to render his obligation to them quite distinct. Foremost

among these is Professor Kenneth Kirkwood of St. Antony's College, under whose personal guidance this work was carried on. In ways too numerous to describe, he has shown his interest in the undertaking and his advice and encouragement have been invaluable. The officers of the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, the staff of the Colonial Office Library and Archive Department of the Ministere de la France D'outre-Mer, and the Government Secretariat in Sierra Leone, command his deepest gratitude. Without the archives, unpublished reports and documents which they helpfully permitted the writer to examine, this work could not possibly have been carried out. Mr. Abdullah Husheymi has willingly put all his unpublished notes on his extensive trips in Africa, the United States, and South America at the writer's disposal. To him and to Mr. David Williams, editor of West Africa whose help was also most valuable, the writer is much indebted.

The writer's father privately financed his extensive travels to Africa and the Lebanon, and the warmest acknowledgement is made of this generosity, and of the constant paternal encouragement which has been received.

Oxford, March 6th, 1959. Marwan I. Hanna

PART ONE

BACKGROUND

CHAPTER ONE

LAND AND PEOPLE

'God gave all men all earth to love
But, since our hearts are small,
Ordained for each one spot should prove
Beloved over all!

The sentiments of the adventurous, Empire-loving and world-travelled Kipling for Sussex succinctly reflect the feelings of each migrant Lebanese for his native land and such emotions serve sufficiently no doubt to explain the strong homing habits of the diaspora Lebanese. Yet to understand the complex process of Lebanese migration, the strength of the 'push' as well as the power of the 'pull' factors, it is essential to grasp something of the physical, historical, social economic and political background of the Lebanon. True there is lacking for Lebanon, bodies of evidence such as are available in the reports of the Crofters' Commissions on Scotland, but, in the pages which follow, an attempt is made to give a concise yet comprehensive description of the nature, resources and problems of the land which bred a people who were to scatter to the far corners of the earth.

Though it was only in the year 1920 that the 'Republic of Lebanon' or 'Greater Lebanon' was proclaimed by the French Mandatory Authorities, Lebanon and the Lebanese have been known to history from 3,000 B.C. At the mouth of the Dog River,

fifteen miles north of Beirut, where the mountain towers over the sea, the bare face of the limestone rock bears nineteen inscriptions in eight languages, beginning with inscriptions by Ramese II, continuing through Assyrian, Babylonian, Greek, Latin and ending in French, English and Arabic. These "Cartes de visite" left by conquerors through the ages reflect the chequered history of Lebanon, and the heterogeneous mixture of races, cultures and religions that moulded the Lebanese people.

The Semitic Canaanites, later called Phoenicians by the Greeks, were the earliest of the historical inhabitants of Lebanon. They also populated the neighbouring part of Syria and most of Palestine, making of themselves a bridge over which the material and intellectual products of Egypt and Babylonia, in the third and second pre-Christian millennia, flowed freely in both directions.[1] It was these Phoenicians who gave the world man's greatest invention, the alphabet, and made possible the recording of the vast treasures of the Greek and Roman civilizations. In ships built with the Cedar of Lebanon they roved the seas, and planted colonies all over the known world. They established Carthage, produced Hannibal, and sailed their vessels between the Pillars of Hercules thus unveiling the Atlantic Ocean, unknown to the geographers of that age.

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1. Philip K. Hitti, Lebanon in History, (London, Macmillan & Co., 1957), p. 5.

Though with the present fever of Arab nationalism flaring in the Arab world, including Lebanon, many Lebanese describe themselves as Arabs, there are still many who think of themselves as the descendants of these Phoenicians.[1]

The physical structure of the Lebanon is essentially an alternation of lowland and highland, running parallel from north to south. Four such longitudinal strips comprise what is now the Republic of Lebanon as constituted in 1920. The first is now a narrow coastal plain, starting as a projection of the Plain of Akkar in the north and running south along the Mediterranean until it reaches Palestine. Beirut, the capital, Tripoli and some of the other most important cities of Lebanon are in this narrow strip.

Next comes the range of mountains known as the Western Lebanon, with peaks as high as 11,027 feet, at al-Qurnat al Sawda and Dahral-Qadib, where the largest surviving grove of cedars is found. This range of mountains is the one known to history as Mount Lebanon. The name is derived from a Semitic word which means 'white as milk', referring to its snow-capped peaks which look white usually for about six months in the year and, at times, the whole year round.[2] It is in these mountains that the Lebanese have preserved throughout history either independence

1. The 'Kataeb' party and the "Kutlah al-watania" for example.

2. Philip K. Hitti, op.cit., p. 13.

or semi-independence. The high peaks and rough land have always made it difficult for any conqueror to maintain his authority long. Even the mighty Ottoman Empire fell short of achieving complete authority over Lebanon and had to content itself with a loose suzerainty.[1]

In between the two longitudinal mountain ranges runs a fertile plateau about one hundred miles long and ten miles wide, with an average elevation of 2,500 feet. The Bigua, as this is called, is a well-cultivated, well-irrigated, undulating but, on the whole, level plain, watered by two rich streams having their sources near the famous city of Baalbeck where the Romans built the famous temple of Jupiter whose ruins now form a major tourist attraction. On the east of this plateau rises the range known as the Anti-Lebanon (Lubnan-al-sharki). It is almost equal in length and height to the western range, but not as fertile or as much populated. The top of this range forms the eastern boundary of the Republic of Lebanon. It may be help-ful to mention here that practically all the coastal plain, most of the Bigua, and all the Anti Lebanon were not parts of Lebanon when modern Lebanese emigration started; hence one still finds that many of the now Lebanese emigrants in Africa and elsewhere are known and referred to in books as Syrians and not

1. A.H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon, (Oxford University Press, London, 1946), p. 130.

Lebanese.

This mountainous surrounding had a great effect on the nature and character of the Lebanese. First, it cut them off from the eastern hinterland and made them look west to the Mediterranean and what lay beyond it. In fact, practically every Lebanese city and town, except one (Zahle in Bigua) is either on the shore or on the western slopes of the mountain facing the sea.[1] From Phoenician times the people of these mountains found it easier and more profitable to seek their fortunes by way of the Mediterranean than to go east beyond the mountains to the Syrian and Arabian deserts. More than that, the mountains impart their rugged character to their people, and their ranges tend to divide them from each other. On the other hand the narrow plain has served, from earliest recorded days, as a corridor linking several of the major parts of the globe, while the mountains were always a shelter to the persecuted and isolated communities. Thousands of immigrants and refugees have found peace and security in its hills, and the sight of strangers is neither unfamiliar nor unacceptable to the Lebanese villager. In fact the role played by their country as host has been inherited by its citizens who are extremely generous and hospitable, even to people they may never

1. Nicola Ziadeh, Syria and Lebanon, (Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1957), p. 239.

have seen before.

A further effect of the mountain is to make the Lebanese a self-dependent, self-reliant, hard worker, who is always aware that if he does not work hard constantly on his small piece of land, he and his family will find it difficult to survive. It is probably this capacity for hard work, and the ever present fear of hunger, more than anything else, that enabled Lebanese emigrants to amass fortunes in a comparatively short time.

Lebanon is only 35 miles wide and 120 miles long, with a population of about a million and a half.[1] During the last quarter of a century the population has increased by the odd half million. Beirut, the capital, which had about 46,000 inhabitants in 1861, grew to about 130,000 in 1914,[2] and is now estimated to have slightly more than half a million. This is not all natural increase, as many Armenians, and a few hundred Assyrians, and Syrians seeking refuge, have lived in the country since the early thirties of this century. Nevertheless, the natural increase alone is considerable, being a little over twenty per thousand per year.[3] It has been estimated, accordingly, that the population will double itself in thirty-five

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1. Owing to political and religious reasons no census has been taken in Lebanon since 1932, therefore only estimates can be given of its present population.

2. August Adib, Lubnan Ba'ad Al Harb (Lebanon after the War), Trans. Farid Hubeish (Al Maaref Press, Cairo, 1919), Ch. 8, In Arabic.

3. Ziadeh, op.cit., p. 241.

to forty years. With the agricultural potentialities approaching exhaustion, and industrial growth lagging, this alarming increase produces a serious problem. So far this has been partially solved by emigration; in fact, it was one of the basic causes of it. But this is not enough, and emigration cannot be counted on to last; hence other devices should be formulated. Birth control cannot be regarded as a very probable development in the near future as it will be unacceptable to the Muslim, Sunnis and the Catholic Church; yet with the continuous drift from rural areas to the cities and with the spread of education, a tendency towards smaller families can be observed. Smaller families in the cities are, however, more than counter-balanced in the mountain villages, where families of ten and twelve are quite common.

The urban population consists of industrial labourers, artisans and craftsmen, and the professional and commercial groups. Lebanon, with its free exchange market and no currency restrictions, and providing, as throughout history, a link between East and West is developing and expanding economy, based on transit trade, triangular operations and banking services. Labour has been growing with the development of industry, and trade unions are already in existence. But with the continuous flow of labour from rural areas into industrial centres,

unemployment is

increasing. In 1950 there were about 40,000 unemployed; in 1953 there were 57,000 and the figure rose to 60,000 in 1955.[1]

Most of the villagers are engaged in agriculture in one form or another. Agricultural methods are still primitive, and the majority of farmers produce cereals. There is, however, a small group of villagers who are not engaged in agriculture but kepp small shops and provide certain necessary services. A third group of villagers which is increasing in an alarming manner is composed of those who do nothing for a living, but depend on the remittances sent by their emigrant brother, father, or other relative. They sit in coffee houses, justifying their idleness by the fact that they are preparing themselves to emigrate to where their relatives are. Years may pass before they do so, if they ever do.

The average population per square mile in Lebanon is 378.5, but this figure doesnnot give a satisfactory idea of the distribution of population which varies greatly from one region to another. In the irrigated areas the figure becomes as high as 1,779 per square mile, while the unirrigated areas of "Jabal Amel" and the western slopes of the eastern range are sparsely populated

In religion it is probably true to say that Lebanon is one of the most diverse and confusing countries in the world. It

1. Ziadeh, op.cit., p. 241. These figures are only estimates as there is no statistical information available.

should be remembered that in Lebanon Christianity found some of its earliest followers, among whom differences sprang up before they did anywhere else. Their differences were basic ones, as they touched on the nature of Christ and other issues, and the official attitude of the Byzantine State-Church led to the labelling of some as orthodox and others as heretical.

The situation was further complicated from the twelfth century onwards by the contacts with the West, which created new allegiances, and, more recently, by the arrival of missionaries, who added, by their own converts, to existing divisions. Most of these missionaries have been Roman Catholics and American Presbyterians, but other groups are also establishes, such as Southern Baptists and Jehovah's Witnesses. The activities of the Catholic missionaries have resulted in the establishment of a separate group of churches, the Uniate Churches. These are in communion with Rome but have their own rites; there is a Uniate Armenian Church, a Syrian, and a Greek, each separated from the older bodies now called Orthodox. Even though the main objective of these missions was and still is to convert Muslims to Christianity, the fact is that very few conversions of this nature have been achieved.[1] Instead, all these newer churches have grown up amidst the rather dismaying spectacle of Christians deserting one Christian allegiance for another. The

1. Hitti, Syrians in America, (C.H. Doran & Co., N.Y., 1924), p. 17.

American Presbyterians, for example, drew most of their converts from the Greek Orthodox community, whose members, eager to get free education at the Syrian Protestant mission school, now the American University of Beirut, readily joined the newly organized Presbyterian Church.[1] It may well be true that it is often the most enterprising persons who desert their ancient church, which is sadly in need of their guidance, for a new sect which may be quite inappropriate in Lebanese surroundings.

The numbers of each sect are highly controversial, and only estimates can be given, as no census has been taken in Lebanon since 1932.[2] The following table is an estimate of their numbers at present.

Table 1

Religious Sects in Lebanon

Sect	Number (in thousands)
Muslims	
1. Sunnis	286
2. Shi'is	250
3. Druzes	88
Total	624
Christians	
1. Maronites	424
2. Greek Orthodox	149
3. Greek Catholics (Melkites)	91
4. Armenian Orthodox	64
5. Armenian Catholics	15
6. Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites)	5
7. Syrian Catholics	6
8. Chaldean Catholics	1
9. Protestants	14
10. Roman Catholics	4
Total	773
11. Jews	7
12. Others	7
Grand Total	1,411

1. Ibid.

2. Royal Institute of International Affairs; The Middle East, 3rd edition, edited by Sir Reader Bullard, Oxford University Press, 1958.

To give an idea of the approximate increase of each sect the following table gives the numbers according to the 1932 census.

Table 2.

Religious Sects in Lebanon 1932[1]

Sect		Number
Muslims		
1. Sunnis		175,925
2. Shi'is		154,208
3. Druzes		53,047
	Total	383,180
Christians		
1. Maronites		226,378
2. Greek Orthodox		76,522
3. Greek Catholics		45,999
4. Armenian Orthodox		25,462
5. Armenian Catholics		5,694
6. Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites)		2,574
7. Syrian Catholics		2,675
8. Assyrians and Chaldean Catholics		528
9. Protestants		6,712
10. Roman Catholics		-
	Total	392,544
Jews		3,518
Miscellaneous		6,301
	Grand Total	785,343

1. Table taken from Hourani, op.cit., p. 121, who took it from the census of 1932.

As appears from the two tables, Christians are more numerous than Muslims; a fact of great importance in shaping the political institutions of Lebanon. This Christian majority, however, has been seriously challenged in recent years by the Muslims, who claim they have become a majority since the 1932 census, and press for a new census. The Christians retort by bringing up the question of the nationality of Lebanese emigrants abroad, who are largely Christians. For this reason and others which will be discussed later[1] the problem of emigranta' nationality is one of the most pressing and controversial issues in Lebanese politics at present.

Disregarding the Muslim's claim, the Maronites constitute the largest and most compact Christian body. Their influence is considerable, for they are united under a single patriarch, who lives in Lebanon, and has always been a temporal as well as a spiritual power.[2] The church is the unifying element in their community; their clergy, like those of other uniate churches, are more highly educated than those of the independent Eastern churches. They are mainly an agricultural people, with the exception of a bourgeoisie in Beirut, and are quite prosperous; though many have emigrated.

The next Christian community is the Greek Orthodox. These too are farming people, with the exception of a very wealthy

1. See chapter three.

2. Hourani, op.cit., p. 130.

trading community in Beirut and Tripoli. They are less dominated than most in Lebanon by remnants of feudalism and by great landowners. The church is a part of the Eastern Communion to which the Greeks and the Russians belong, and dates back to the great schism of 1057. The Protestant missionaries have recruited most of the converts from this church; but there has recently been some attempt to renew its vitality. A youth organization has been formed for this purpose.

The remaining Christian groups are not so large as to play any important part in Lebanese life. Special reference is necessary, of course, to the important role which Catholic and Protestant missions are playing in education, but that will be discussed later. Another religious group who also play an important role in Lebanes life as a separate community, are the Armenians. They came to Lebanon, fleeing from Turkish rule and the massacres of the first world war. Another wave came in 1939, fleeing from Alexandretta. They came penniless, and some of them are still living in conditions of extreme poverty on the outskirts of Beirut, but the majority are now comfortably established. "Foreign in language[1] and appearance, and socially half isolated, they have not always been popular with the

1. Armenians still speak their own language, though many are learning Arabic as their second. But in their community they rarely speak any language but Armenian.

inhabitants"[1] The Arab nationalists, seeking to include Lebanon within a greater Arab state, were reluctant to acquire another minority. The Muslims, hoping to become a majority and thus control the government, resented them as an unexpected reinforcement of Christian numbers. Jealousy prompted some to complain that the Armenians had come in poverty and were now rich, at the expense of the original Lebanese. This same complaint, it must be noted, is raised by the Africans against Lebanese immigrants. It is a complaint not without foundation, but not wholly true.[2] Other nationalists accuse them of owing their allegiance not to Lebanon but to their mother country, Armenia,[3] and that Armenians consider their residence in Lebanon as only temporary and are therefore unwilling to be assimilated. This again is an accusation not wholly incorrect, which is made against Lebanese immigrants in Africa. But the Armenians' high standards of morality and culture, their energy and persistence, make them a good element in the community and their qualities should in time remove the prejudice against them. They have their own political parties, three in number, and are represented in the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies by three deputies,

1. Hourani, op.cit., p. 136.

2. See Chapter Three.

3. Now the Republic of Armenia in the U.S.S.R.

out of a total of sixty-six. This representation, however, is religious, following the system established in Lebanon. With their reputation as good fighters, their presence in religion-conscious Lebanon is welcomed by the Christians, who look for their assistance in any conflict of interest between Christians and Muslims.

The largest Muslim sect are the Sunnis, or Orthodox Muslims. After the Maronites they form the largest religious body in Lebanon, and at present claim to have out-numbered the Maronites. They are mainly an urban proletariat, with some much richer members. Being of the same religious beliefs as the Ottoman Turks they did not suffer any religious persecutions and, unlike the Maronites and other Christian sects, they did not find it necessary to resort to emigration or to seek refuge in the mountainous areas. Thus they are mainly clustered in the coastal cities such as Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon. Perhaps because they were so privileged during the Turkish rule, they are now much less compact than are the Maronites, but recent events show an attempt on their part to solidify and unite themselves.

The second Muslim group are the Shi'ites. Generally they are less advanced and developed than the other Lebanese communities but they have considerable cohesion. In redent years however, they have made great strides forward owing mainly to the influence of returned emigrants belonging to their faith. Their religion

traces its descent from Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet Mohammed and fourth Caliph after his death. They are chiefly agricultural, and are found mainly in the Bigua and the Southern Lebanon.

The third group are the Druzes. They claim to be Muslim, although Islam constitutes only a thin veneer over their strange and esoteric religion. The Turkish Government, however, always classified them as Muslims.[1] In Lebanon they number about eighty-eight thousand, mainly engaged in agriculture. The structure of their society is very elaborately interwoven, largely feudal; but the new generations are striving to revise this and to modernize their religion and community life.

It is very difficult to say with certainty what is the racial origin of the Lebanese people, since historians, and the Lebanese themselves are divided as to what race they belong. There are some Lebanese who say they are Arabs, while others claim they are the descendants of the Phoenicians who inhabited the Lebanese shores long before the Arabs conquered Syria. Moreover, having lived for four hundred years under Turkish suzerainty the Lebanese and Syrians were taken for Turks by almost all those among whom they settled in their lands of immigration; all through the United States and South America they were called Turcos.[1]

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1. Hitti, op.cit., p.1. He reports that a Syrian in California once spent a long dreary night before thanksgiving day in a race for his life, as he imagined, because he had overheard the farmer who employed him to tell his daughter of his intention to "kill the Turkey".

The modern Lebanese are in fact the remnant of the ancient Phoenician-Canaanite tribes who entered Syria and Lebanon during the third millennium B.C., the Aramian-Israelite hordes who arrived about 1500 B.C., and the Arabs who have drifted and are still drifting in from the desert, and pass gradually from a nomadic to an agricultural way of life.[1] Added to this racial mixture are the various invaders; Egyptians, Assyrians, Hittites, Persians, Greeks, Romans, the Crusaders, Mongols and Ottoman Turks.

Racial origin, however, has little influence upon popular judgement. A large portion of the population call themselves Arabs, either out of sentiment, or meaning that they possess the Arab heritage of language, modern history, literature and customs. There are, however, many Lebanese[2] who are aware of their mixed origin and are not affected by the current fever of Arab nationalism. Some Christians, associating Arab nationalism with Islam, tend to stress their Phoenician Canaanite origin; while Muslims, for the same reasons, strive to assert their Arab blood. It is worth noting, however, that during the Turkish rule, the Lebanese Christians joined secret Arab societies which were

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1. Ibid., p. 3.

2. The "Kataeb Party", a wholly Christian party, stresses the Phoenician origin of the Lebanese, while the Syrian Nationalist Party claims that the Lebanese belong to the Syrian race that inhabited geographical Syria, and which is quite distinct from the Arabs.

striving to expel the Turks and to establish a united greater Syria, in which they would no doubt form a very small minority, and when, during the first World War, Jamel Pasha, the Turkish Commander-in-Chief in the region, executed some forty Arabs for their nationalist ideas, and conspiracy against Turkish rule, more than a quarter of them were Lebanese Christians.[1]

Though differing in opinion as to their origin, the Lebanese form at present a single entity. There are, however, a few other communities, such as the Turks, the Armenians, the Jews and, of recent arrival, the Westerners. The Jews, numbering probably about six thousand,[2] have long been established in Lebanon. Their life has always been a detached one, though most of them speak Arabic as their native tongue. They are a closely-knit community and always ready and willing to help one another. Naturally their position is extremely difficult to-day, though many of them are not Zionists and some are even anti-Zionist. But the creation of Israel by the Zionist Jews has prejudiced their position and, consequently, some of them have chosen to go there. Some necessary measures have been adopted, limiting the freedom of the Jews, such as denying them permission to buy land in Southern Lebanon, but there has been no outright persecution, and they still enjoy their substantial rights of

1. George Antonious, Arab Awakening, Trans. Ali H. Al-Rakabi (Damascus, 1946), pp. 78 and 312-214. In Arabic.

2. See table 1 above.

citizenship.

The Armenians have been discussed under religion. It will suffice to add that they number about seventy-two thousand[1] and that practically all of them have acquired Lebanese nationality.

The Kurds are Muslim Sunni in religion, but they speak their own language which is different from Arabic. They are mostly very poor, earning their living by doing all sorts of menial jobs such as day-labourers, porters, garbage-collectors, etc. During the 1930's some of them, after emigrating from Palestine, were accepted as Lebanese citizens. There are however, some ten thousand more who have crossed from Northern Syria, Iraq and Turkey, now remaining in the country without being naturalized. Many of them have fulfilled some of the requirements, such as the five years' residence, but there is considerable doubt whether their original entry was legal, as no one can tell how they entered the country. Christian politicians tend to oppose their naturalization, for that would disturb the religo-political balance in the country, while Muslim leaders, on the other hand, are in favour of their being naturalized. It is assumed in Lebanon that most of those who obtained Lebanese nationality in the 1940's were able to do so through the influence of the late Prime Minister, Riad Al Sulli,

1. See table 1 above.

himself a Muslim Sunni.

Finally, there are the Westerners, not, strictly speaking, residents of Lebanon at all, but nonetheless very important as the fashioners of links between the Arab world and the West. They are mainly officers of diplomatic missions, teachers in the foreign schools, and the staffs of Western institutions and companies. The basic fact of their position seems to be that as individuals they are always given a friendly reception, though neither the institution they are serving nor their country of origin may be very popular. It is very difficult to say how much they are integrated with the Lebanese community; for that depends on the type of community in which they are living. In Ras Beirut, for instance, the area surrounding the American University of Beirut and inhabited mainly by its graduates, the Westerners live in complete harmony and integration with the Lebanese. In most areas of Lebanon, however, the Westerners, like most foreigners in any country, tend to keep to themselves, while maintaining fairly good relations with the people. Their number is estimated to be about twenty thousands.

In 1946 Lebanon became an independent democratic republic. All through its history, Lebanon had enjoyed various degrees of semi-independence and at times full sovereignty, but never until 1943 did it enjoy full independence in all

its internal and external affairs, within its present enlarged boundaries. With all the religious sects and entities found in the country, independence was a challenge that required the Lebanese to work together if they wanted it to last. To achieve this unity the 1926 constitution embodies two basic principles which dominate Lebanese political and constitutional institutions, and ensure the cohesion and co-operation of all the citizens. Articles 7 to 12 lay down the principle that all citizens are equal before the law, possess the same rights and duties and are equally admissible to all public offices, without any distinction. Article 95, in which the second principle is set out, states that, at least provisionally, the communities should be equitably represented in public offices and in the ministry in so far as this does not detract from the welfare of the state. Out of this second principle the convention gradually developed where the president of the Republic is a Maronite Christian, the Prime Minister a Muslim Sunni, his deputy a Greek Orthodox, and the Speaker of the House of Parliament a Muslim Shiite. Similar equitable and proportionate distribution is observed in all ministerial offices, government departments and even in the Foreign Service. But this is only a convention, not embodied in any legislative or constitutional enactment,

except in its general form as mentioned in Article 95, and there have been instances where the Speaker of the House was Greek Orthodox. It is due to this convention, which gives the presidency to the largest religious community, that the Muslim Sunnis are pressing for a census to prove their claim to majority, while the Maronites retaliate by asking that emigrants be given the right to vote. As will be seen later, the majority of the emigrants are Maronites, followed by Shiites and Greek Orthodox; with very few Sunnis. Giving them the right to vote would greatly increase the Maronite numbers and enable them to keep the presidency.

The Chamber of Deputies was so constituted as to represent the various communities roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; the ratio between the Christian and the Muslim deputies being always that of six to five. Thus the number of seats in the Lebanese Parliaments was always such as to be divisible by 11 without a remainder, and past parliaments, since independence, have been composed of 55, 77, 44 and 66 seats. Every electoral district elects a number of deputies belonging to the different communities living in it, but every deputy is elected not only by his co-religionists, but by the whole electorate of the district.

Political parties in Lebanon are numerous but ineffective. Most of them are either the political expression of the religious, racial and linguistic groups, or the followers of influential individuals. Reasons for this chaos are numerous. First of all the Lebanese, up to 1943 had one main common objective, independence. Once this had been achieved politicians found themselves without a major issue and started grouping according to regional and individual interests. Secondly, the 25 years of French Mandate did not succeed in breaking down the feudal hierarchy created by the Turks, not that the French Authorities ever made this a goal of policy. Those feudal lords formed their own political parties which their followers, vassals, and farmers joined instantly.[1] Thirdly, the mountains divide the country into several self-contained communities, with the result that the Lebanese have become more interested in the affairs and welfare of their own regions than in the state as a whole.

As an exception to this general rule, there are now in Lebanon two political parties in the real sense, the Syrian Nationalist Party and the Communist Party. The former was founded by Antoun Saadeh, a Lebanese Christian brought up in

1. It is interesting to note here that Lebanon's only Socialist Party was founded by one of Lebanon's greatest feudal lords, Kamal Jewblat, and oddly enough his feudal rights and attitudes are still maintained.

South America, where his parents had emigrated. It started as a secret society, and came into the open in 1935, when the French authorities discovered it and imprisoned many of its members. Its main objective is the unification in a single state of the ancient geographical Syria, which they interpret to include present-day Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Palestine, part of Iraq, Kuwait and the island of Cyprus. With these objectives, the Syrian Nationalist Party has formulated a specifically Syrian, as distinct from Arab nationalism, admitting at the same time that their Syria is but one of the other Arab states. The strength of its convictions may be seen, for example, in its predominantly Christian membership, a membership advocating a political realignment which would reduce them from a numerical majority in Lebanon to the position of a tiny minority in the proposed greater Syria. This they do in all sincerity, believing that religion can be made a private affair, quite apart from politics. In 1949 the Lebanese Government prosecuted the party and condemned to death its leader Saadeh and six of his followers; but at present they are still actively functioning in Lebanon though this is not legally recognized. During the revolution in Lebanon, May-September 1958, the Syrian Nationalist Party was legally recognized by the then existing Lebanese Government. This recognition

was not withdrawn up till the present by the new Government.

The Communist Party is the most disciplined and organised party not only in Lebanon, but in the whole Middle East. Its membership is still rather small, but it works systematically and patiently, taking advantage of every local discontent, or international tension. In Lebanon it is the only party, besides the Syrian Nationalists, that has a specific platform. It is outlawed by the Government but, like the Syrian Nationalists, it is still functioning underground. Nowadays it has aligned itself with the Arab Nationalist movement, in the hope of dominating it from behind the scenes and directing it in an anti-West policy.

Two other groupings who are developing themselves along the lines of disciplined and effective political parties are the Falangists (Kataeb) and the Progressive Socialist Party (Al-Hizb al-Takadumi al-Ishtiraki). The Kataeb founded in the mid-thirties, originally concentrated its efforts on social and sporting activities, but recently became increasingly militant. Its membership is recruited mainly from the Christian Maronite Community; its main objective is the preservation of an independent Lebanon, having cordial relations with her neighbouring Arab states, and at the same time maintaining her traditional friendly ties with the West and especially France. Although the party is labelled by

many as nothing more than a Maronite association, it has recently matured into a well-organized and disciplined party with a definite national platform.

Paradoxically, the Progressive Socialist Party was founded in the early fifties by Kamal Jumblat, a ypung Druze Landowner-Politician of noble birth, whose intellectual interests have skirted doctrinaire Marxism to rest on the evolutionary socialism of Britain and France, and on the idealism of Ghandian socialism. At its birth the party received the support of an important number of the educated middle class in addition to Jumblat's hereditary Druze followers and tenants in the southern part of Mount Lebanon. The Party was greatly weakened, however, by the schism which occurred in September, 1957, over its relations with the Pan Arab Ba'ath Party and several of the more educated and enterprising members of the party defected, leaving Jumblat mainly with his own personal followers. The political platform of the party regarding the future of Lebanon is not very clear, but until now the party has been working for and within the framework of an independent Lebanon.

In its short history as an independent country Lebanon has developed into the Middle East's most democratic state. Individual liberties are guarded with care and are enjoyed by all. Political freedom and freedom of speech are

guaranteed and the rule of law is applicable to everyone. In its foreign policy Lebanon has taken a definine pro-Western stand, which has brought upon itself the anger of its neighbours, Syria and Egypt. But the moral, cultural, and economic interests of Lebanon are so much attached to the Western democracies that it cannot detach itself from the West without completely changing the basic nature of Lebanon. By the recent Compromise reached to end Lebanon's civil strife, Lebanon is to maintain a foreign policy more in harmony with that of his neighbouring Arab States. This, however, should not necessarily mean that this should change Lebanon's Western face. In a speech on November 20th, 1955, Dr. Charles Malik, then Lebanese Ambassador to Washington and at present[1] president of the United Nations Assembly illustrated this Lebanese nature when he said:

> "...We Lebanese have been able to understand the Holy of Holies of the West with love, patience and depth not as the East understands it but as best appreciated by the West itself .... Lebanon is independent not solely because her people want that, and not only because the world has recognized that, but first and foremost because it is to the good of the East, the Arabs, the world, and Lebanon that in the East there should exist an open country called Lebanon, within which responsible freedom roams ... Although Lebanese existance is always precarious, and almost always ready to crumble, yet it is always there, standing solidly as if an unseen holy hand protected it....."

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1. January, 1959. See Ziadeh, op.cit.

The Lebanese economy if generally that of an under-developed country. Its per capita income is estimated at around 300 dollars (£107) per annum.[1] Such a figure, however, is very encouraging when compared with similar rates in other Middle Eastern states.

Although about half the population derives its income, directly, or indirectly, from agriculture, the share of Lebanese agriculture in the national income amounts to only 19%.[2] Industry is even less important, accounting for about 13% of the national income. The most important feature of the economy is that it is predominantly mercantile. It is estimated that domestic and foreign trade account for about 35% of the total national income; foreign trade alone for about 25%. For the last five years for which information is available, Lebanon has recorded a continuous and increasing deficit in the balance of merchandised trade, with at the same time a continuous balance of payments surplus. The explanation is that surpluses in the services and capital accounts more than balanced the deficit in merchandise trade. Such surpluses are a reflection of the position which Lebanon enjoys as a financial and trade centre in the Middle East. Lebanon receives large payments on the services accounts

1. Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, National Income of Lebanon, an unpublished study.

2. Ibid.

such as international grants, capital transfers, and emigrant remittances.

In the field of education Lebanon is rated among the most advanced countries in the Middle East. Illiteracy is less than 25%; a figure very encouraging by Middle East standards. Modern educational institutions found their way to Lebanon earlier than into any other territory and have been increasing considerably ever since. One unique feature of the Lebanese educational system is the fact that on the university level and to a lesser extent on the secondary level it is mostly carried on by foreign institutions. These were mainly established by foreign missions who started operating in Lebanon during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Most important among these missions are the French Catholics and the American Presbyterians, followed by the English Quakers and the Italian Catholics. During the French Mandate the French educators gained the upper hand and their influence is still tremendous. Legal education is up till now monopolized by the Universite Saint Joseph, and the curriculum is taught in French. This influence is mainly due to the fact that French Governments, of whatever political hue, have always supported French religious missions in their social and educational work. French education stresses the French language at the expense of Arabic, and some of the

products of this education have abandoned Arabic for French as their everyday language.

The second main element of foreign education is provided by the American Presbyterians. They founded the American University of Beirut in 1866 and built it to such a high standard that it is reputed to be the best university in the Near East, possessing by American standards the only Grade A school of Medicine outside the United States. Unlike the Jesuits' Universite Saint Joseph, the American University of Beirut is now non-sectarian and almost secular. Many of the Middle East's leading politicians received their education, and formulated their political theories on its campus. English is the language of instruction, but it is not very much stressed, and many courses of philosophy, history and literature are given in Arabic. The American Presbyterians are also credited with establishing Lebanon's first and only women's college of university standard, the Beirut College for Women.

In 1952 the Lebanese Government founded a national university, which so far has interested itself primarily in teachers' training. Plans are well on the way for its expansion, but the authorities are not anxious to execute any expansion before ample and careful study.

Another national private institution for higher

learning, which is developing very quickly, is the Academy. Originally it was a centre for music and fine arts, but has recently expanded into the fields of literature, history, political science, economy and law. Unfortunately, the Lebanese Government refuses to recognize its law degree, with its courses of instruction given in Arabic, and prefers the French "licence" given by the Universite Sainte Joseph.

In the sphere of secondary education, the foreign elements also play an important, though by no means dominating role. The British Quakers run a secondary boys' school of excellent reputation. The Italian Catholics have boys' and girls' schools, and the French and Americans have several schools all over the country. But besides these there are in Lebanon a much larger number of national secondary schools of an excellent standard. These are mainly operated either by the various religious sects or by private, non-sectarian organizations. The Maronites and Sunnis operate many secondary schools, while the Greek Orthodox and Shiites have a smaller number, but of equally good standard. The Maronite school of Al-Hikmat, the Sunnis' school of Al-Makkassed, and the Greek Orthodox school of Thalathat Akkmar are old and very reputable institutions. The newly founded Shii school Al Kulliyah Al-Ameliyah is also of a very good standard. Other communities like the Armenians and Jews also

operate private schools of their own. In addition there are many privately owned boarding schools where courses of instruction are given all the year through, thus enabling the emigrants to send their children to Lebanon for education and care throughout the period of their absence.

Government schools are fairly widespread over the country, but they are mainly at an elementary level. The shortage of facilities, the lack of transport between villages with schools and villages with no schools, the demands of farm or domestic work, the prejudice in conservative communities against education, and the extreme poverty of some people, stand in the way of universal education. Though the schooling itself is free, some children are kept away because they cannot afford the necessary equipment.

Education of such a variety, though it provides Lebanon with a richness of experience and methods difficult to parallel in any other small country, may accentuate divisive tendencies. The Muslims, for instance, were reluctant to send their children to the mission schools which, in the Muslims' view, had been established for the sole purpose of converting them to Christianity. Instead, they send them to semi-religious Muslim schools of a much lower standard, where it is only natural for them to develop a sort of distrust and detachment towards fellow-countrymen educated at the foreign

missions' institutions.

This short sketch of the Lebanon may indicate some of the unique difficulties which confront such a tiny nation. A basic problem, of course, is whether in fact Lebanon constitutes a true nation, and if so, what should be its proper course of action. The range of possible answers extends from that of the most fervent Arabs, who envisage a greater Arab state in which Lebanon would be a province among many other provinces, to that of the more conservative Lebanese, who would like to preserve an independent Lebanon as the eastward frontiers of Europe, maintaining at the same time cordial relations with its Arab Muslim neighbours.

It is surely in Lebanon's self-interest to remain independent, for the country is the freest andmost prosperous of the Arab states. But beyond this Lebanon has the peculiar responsibility of working out a positive modus vivendi between Muslim and Christian, between the Oriental and Occidental, between modern and traditional. This is an urgent problem not for Lebanon alone but for the whole world, and success on the small stage of the Lebanese mountains would carry much wider significance. It is a human problem which will not be resolved by any mechanical adjustment of national structure, but depends rather upon the good-will, patience and temperance of the human heart.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY, NATURE AND CAUSES OF LEBANESE EMIGRATION

What this chapter attempts to provide is the historical background of modern Lebanese and Syrian emigration, a description of how and when it started and a discussion of whether it is a new phenomenon or a continuation of an old and well-established trend. The author will discuss the nature of this emigration and its special characteristics which differentiate it from any other migratory movement. An examination of the possible causes of this emigration will be attempted in the light of existing conditions in Lebanon and Syria in the middle of the nineteenth century. It must be pointed out that these causes of emigration, discussed below, were valid and applicable only at the early start of the emigration movement in the second half of the the last century. Political, social and economic conditions in Lebanon and Syria have changed tremendously from what they were a century ago and an emigrant at the present day is not necessarily influenced by the same causes that influenced the emigrant of the 1870's.

Historical Background

A distinctive feature of the Lebanese and Syrian emigration is the fact that it is a part of an age-long movement,

a chapter in a long series of migrations and not an independent episode by itself. The Phoenician colonists were the first Syrian[1] emigrants. In the Hellenic period, the Syrians had become established in the commercial centres of Greece, notably at Delos. With the founding of the Roman Empire, the 'Syri Negotiatores' undertook a veritable colonization of the Latin provinces and concentrated in their hands the entire traffic of the Levant.[2] "They populated with their colonies not only the shores of the Mediterranean, the Danube, the Rhone and the Gironde, but the distant interior of Panonia, Dacia, Spain and Gaul, which last province they did much to develop commercially."[3] Even later invasions of the Barbarians proved unsuccessful in weakening their spirit of enterprise. Under the Merovingians they monopolized the importing of valuable Levantine commodities and articles of luxury. Syrian merchants in Genoa, and other Italian city states, were the leading traders between the Orient and the Occident through the latter part of the twelfth century.[4]

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1. Until Lebanon became a completely independent state the word 'Syrian' was taken to include Lebanese. Throughout this work the word when used is taken to mean Lebanese also.

2. Franz Cumont, The Mysteries of Mithra, p.61 (Open Court Co., 1903)

3. E.S. Bouchier, Syria as a Roman Province, Chapter VII.

4. Hitti, op.cit., p, 41.

Profiting by the special aptitudes of their race and prompted by the wanderlust and desire for profitable trade, the modern Syrians have carried their mercantile activity into almost all the maritime cities of the five continents. "Business is their speciality and in pursuit of it they never hesitate to penetrate the most remote parts of the Globe." In the time of St. Jerome as well as in our own day 'their ambition and love for lucrative trade carry them to the ends of the world'."[1]

It is very difficult to assert with certainty the date at which this last wave of Syrian and Lebanese emigration started, nor to which country it was first directed. The Turks who were ruling Syria and Lebanon have kept no useful archives or documents, and there were no newspapers or similar means interested in recording such events. Added to this, was the fact that early emigrants left the country in complete secrecy hiding their departure from the Turkish Authorities who generally were in pursuit of them, either for political reasons or to draft them into the Army. Most authorities on the subject, however, seem to agree that the modern Lebanese and Syrian emigration must have started around the middle of the nineteenth century and that it was at first mainly directed towards Egypt and the United States.

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1. Ibid.

Personal interviews with early emigrants or their descendants in Lebanon corroborate this theory, and many a surviving son, grandson or relative has assured the author that his grandfather or relative had emigrated to the "Na Werk" (New York, city in the United States, as the villagers call nearly all lands beyond the Mediterranean) a few years before the war[1] or a few years later.

Egypt offered the first attraction. The Lebanese and Syrians came into contact with the modern Egyptians when Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhamad Ali, occupied Syria and part of Lebanon in 1831-2 and lifted for a while the terror of the Turkish rule. Emir Beshir Shehabi, ruler of Mount Lebanon, allied himself with Ibrahim against the Turks and kept faithful to him until he was forced to abdicate through the intervention of the European powers.

This short encounter with the Egyptian was not easily forgotten by the Lebanese and from then onwards Egypt became the shelter for every nationalist Syrian of Lebanese fleeing Turkish persecution. Nor were the Lebanese and Syrians easily forgotten by the Egyptians. When the Khedive Ismail (1863-79), embarked upon a plan of modernizing his administration he found only one near-by group to whom he could turn, namely the graduates of European Universities at Beirut.

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1. The religious civil war between the Christians and the Druzes and Muslims in 1860.

When the British occupied Egypt in 1882, they found those Syrians trained at the American University of Beirut a "Godsend".[1] Such was the essential service rendered by them as physicians, pharmacists, clerks and officials in the civil and military services of the administration of Egypt and the Sudan that many British officials could repeatedly say: "We could have occupied the land but not held it without the Syrians and Lebanese". It seems, therefore, that by 1865 the Syrians and Lebanese were definitely well entrenched in Egypt. One apparent fact is that emigration to Egypt was mainly the privelege of he intellectuals; and the well to do middle class merchants. Egypt was trying to modernize itself and the educated Lebanese found themselves very much in demand.

While the better class of Lebanese and Syrians have been attracted by Egypt, those who were not fortunate enough to have an adequate education or were completely illiterate, had to find elbow room in another place. The Lebanese as an individual succeeds best either in countries where he is superior in business capacity and culture to the native inhabitants, or in a highly developed industrial country where he can work himself into some unoccupied corner of the commercial edifice, and build up a small but lucrative trade.

1. Earl of Cromer, Modern Egypt, (New York, 1909), Vol.II, p. 216.

To the former class belonged Egypt, West Africa, and recently the oil-rich Arab states. Of the latter, America, specifically the United States, offered just the conditions which those illiterate Lebanese village farmers were looking for.[1] It was a highly developed country with plenty of money and people were ready to pay well for the gratification of their minor wants. It is ironic, however, that the first Lebanese to enter the United States was neither a farmer nor illiterate. He was a young man of twenty-seven called Antonius Al-Bishallany, who was sent to the United States with the help of the American Presbyterian mission in Lebanon to prepare for missionary labour.[2] He landed in Boston in 1854 and died in New York two years later. The thrilling story of this Lebanese youth which has been written by Charles Whitehead, sounds more like a drama, than a real story. On his tombstone still standing in Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, the following epitaph occurs under the figures of a lion, a serpent and a lamb, "designed to represent his fearlessness, wisdom and blamelessness":[3]

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1. Even as late as 1910 Reports of Immigration Commission of the United States, Vol.I., p. 99 show that 53.3% of Syrians admitted into the United States between 1899 and 1910 were illiterate.

2. Hitti, Syrians in the United States, op.cit., p. 32.

3. Ibid.

ANTONIO BISHALANY
BORN NEAR BEIRUT, SYRIA,
AUGUST 22, 1827,
DIED IN NEW YORK, AUGUST 22, 1856

EDUCATED A MARONITE CATHOLIC, HE FOUND AFTER
LONG AND EARNEST EXAMINATION AMID TRIALS AND
DANGERS, THAT THE SCRIPTURES HAVE THE WORDS
OF ETERNAL LIFE.
OBEDIENT TO THE COMMAND OFTEN UPON HIS LIPS,
'FREELY YE HAVE RECEIVED, FREELY GIVE', HE
CAME TO AMERICA TO PREPARE FOR MISSIONARY
LABOUR, AND STUDIED WITH UNABATED ZEAL. BUT
GOD SENT DISEASE TO CALL HIM HOME.
HIS MANY FRIENDS REGARD HIM AS A MAN WHO KNEW
NO FEAR, BLAMELESS BEYOND REPROACH, AND
SINGULARLY WISE TO OVERTHROW ERROR AND UPHOLD
TRUTH.
READER, WILL YOU MEET HIM IN HEAVEN?

In commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of his entry into the United States, the Lebanese Government proclaimed 1955 a homecoming year and scheduled monthly events for the entertainment and education of visitors and returning emigrants.

Even though Antonious Al-Bishalany landed in Boston in 1854, no considerable Lebanese and Syrian emigration to the United States took place until the 1870's. The earliest known emigrant was a man from Northern Lebanon called Fahim Bassil who came to Philadelphia in 1872 and was followed later by his brother Youssef.[1] To Youssef a son was born in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1885 and is now living in Brooklyn.

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1. Abdula Husheymi and Joseph Hayyek, Nisaef Lubnan "Half Lebanon," Beirut, 1955, p. 137. In Arabic.

Though he has never been to Lebanon he can read and write very good Arabic and is very well versed in Lebanese history and development. By the early eighties a considerable emigration occurred with the town of Sahle in Bigua as its source, and between 1885 and the Chicago Exposition the flow of emigration increased to such an extent that Syrians spread all over the North Eastern part of he country and found their way to the Pacific coast.

The flow of emigration to the United States has cohtinued ever since 1872, increasing and decreasing in accordance with the internal conditions of Lebanon and Syria and the international situation. One could not give the exact number of Syrians who entered the United States between the year 1872 and 1899, since before the year 1899 the United States Immigration Authorities did not recognize the Syrians as a separate group, but classified them with Armenians, Greeks, Arabs and Turks as "Turkey in Asia"; and officially to the Turkish Government emigration to the United States did not exist, since it was strictly prohibited and all emigrants either departed secretly or pretended that Egypt was their destination.[1]

From the reports of the Commissioner-General for Im-

1. Hitti, Syrians in the United States, op.cit., p. 44.

migration, it appears that 89,971 Syrian immigrants entered the United States between 1899 and 1919 as follows.[1]

Table 1

Number of Lebanese Entrants into the United States

1899	3,708
1900	2,920
1901	4,064
1902	4,982
1903	5,551
1904	3,653
1905	4,822
1906	5,824
1907	5,880
1908	5,520
1909	3,668
1910	6,317
1911	5,444
1912	5,525
1913	9,210
1914	9,023
1915	1,767
1916	676
1917	976
1918	210
1919	231
Total	89,971

Two significant points emerge from a study of the above table. The first is the great increase in the number of immigrants in the years 1913 and 1914. This is mainly due

1. Annual reports, Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1919, p. 168.

to the fact that Turkey was then fighting the Balkan War and asking for more soldiers from the Lebanon and Syria. In 1909 the new Turkish Constitution made the Christians liable for military service, from which they were previously exempted. Moreover, many might have felt the imminent threat of World War I and decided to leave the country before they were shut inside.

The second significant point is the great decrease in the number of immigrants in the two years immediately following the end of the War. This is mainly due to the fact that after the war and the collapse of Turkish rule, Syrians and Lebanese thought that their conditions would be greatly improved. They began to think of freedom and independence, and the possibility of living prosperously and peacefully in their own country. In fact many immigrants in the Unites States and elsewhere began thinking of going back to their newly resurrected land.[1] Coupled with this and adding to the comfort of the people was the great flow of remittances sent by immigrants who, unable to send sufficient amounts of money during the four years of the war, were now sending more frequent and generous sums.[2]

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1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 40.

2. Kamel Muraueh, Nahnu Fi Afrikia, "We in Africa", (Beirut, 1939), p. 188. In Arabic.

But within the period of two years the people began to realise that their hopes were not to be fulfilled. Syria and Lebanon were put under French mandate and minor armed revolutions and conflicts were already taking place between the Syrians and the French troops; thus shattering all hopes of peace and security. Moreover, it was soon discovered that for a country whose resources had been almost exhausted by four years of famine and warfare, and whose manhood had been depleted, many more years would be needed before it could revert to its normal condition. Immigrant remittances also became less and immigrants found it easier and more economical to bring their relatives to join them than to keep sending them money. Thus, after this two year recession in emigration the number of emigrants once again began to increase.

The number of Lebanese immigrants in the United States plus those of Lebanese parentage are estimated by the Emigration Department of the Lebanese Foreign Ministry and Emigrants' Affairs to be 400,000 persons.[1] No information is available at all as to the number of nationals of the Syrian Republic.

One could not ascertain how and when the Lebanese and Syrians came to South America. Personal interviews however,

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1. Official estimates from the Department of Emigration in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants in June, 1955. (Unpublished.)

As to West Africa, there seems to be no authoritative date set as to when the Syrian and Lebanese emigrants started arriving in the West African Colonies. Police and immigration authorities records in the West African countries do not go far enough back to cover the period when Syrian and Lebanese emigrants first came. Several theories have been developed as to how and when they did reach West Africa; but none of these theories can be said to be wholly authenticated and valid. All authorities, however, agree that Marseilles was the port where all Syrians and Lebanese emigrants to all parts of the world assembled to arrange their travel documents and book their passages to their destinations.[1] It is very much doubted whether emigrants leaving Beirut had any pre-determined intention of going to West Africa. Many of them had practically never heard of the continent,[2] and the few who had, were not encouraged by what they heard. Africa to them was a jungle and a place where death hung very near over a man's life.

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1. Since the Turkish Authorities had forbidden emigration, emigrants usually left the country secretly without any travel documents, and so they had to stay in Marseilles for a while to arrange the documents required by the country of destination.
2. Until the present time, villagers in Lebanon and Syria are not able to distinguish clearly between Africa as a whole and America; and they speak of their relative as being in America when he could be in the Ivory Coast or other African territories. See also Hitti, op.cit., p. 34.

with aged early immigrants or their descendents seem to indicate that many of them in the various South American States have arrived in the year 1882.[1] There are two possibilities as to how they might have come. Some Lebanese and Syrian immigrants in the United States might have migrated southward from California to Mexico and from there distributed themselves among various states. The second possibility, which is the more likely, and to which most of the interviewed immigrants subscribed, is that during that year, 1882, a shipload of emigrants who were waiting in vain to be carried to the United States came to South America directly via Dakar in French West Africa, and distributed themselves in the various ports.[2] The present number of Lebanese emigrants in the various South American States is given in the following table.[3]

Table 2

Number of Lebanese Emigrants in South America

Brazil	200,000
Argentina	150,000
Mexico	20,000
Cuba	2,000
Uruguay	8,000
Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador	40,000
Chile and Paraguay	10,000
Others	2,000
Total	432,000

1. Quotations and notes of interviews with some immigrants in Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Colombia and Chile taken by Abdulla Husheymi in 1947. (Unpublished.)
2. A. Husheymi. Unpublished notes on interviews with Lebanese immigrants in several South American States.
3. Department of Emigration in the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, op.cit.

It follows therefore that the emigrants first became aware of the possibility of going to West Africa, while they were at Marseilles. It was mainly through this port that the French carried on trade with their West African Colonies, and shipping lines made regular journeys between Dakar, St. Louis and Marseilles. Dakar in the Senegal was also a transit port for the lines connecting France and the South American countries. It is also probable that the emigrants ignorant of travel formalities and methods, relied on the advice of shipping agents, and may have heard from them of West Africa and the possibility of going there.

Another factor which might have diverted some early emigrants to West Africa was the strict immigration regulations of the United States regarding the health of prospective immigrants. The number of those who sought entry to the United States and were debarred for failing to satisfy the health regulations, mainly because of trachoma, was considerable.[1] Those who were thus denied permission to emigrate to the United States had few choices left. They either had to return to the Lebanon, bringing disgrace to themselves and their families, or to go to some other country which would admit them. Their choice was also affected by

1. Hitti, Syrians in the United States, op.cit., p. 46.

their financial position. Almost all of these emigrants were members of large, poor families. Each of them, in raising the necessary money for his voyage, had exhausted all the family's savings, and had even sold some personal belongings and borrowed money.[1] All the family sacrificed in the hope that the one member emigrating would be able to make a fortune and send them remittances which would allow them an easier and better life. An emigrant contemplating return from Marseilles had to think of all these facts and the disillusionment and disappointment that he would cause to all his family. Thus his choice was practically limited to one possibility and that was to emigrate to some place other than the United States.

A third factor was the fact that some emigrants could not get passages to the United States easily and had to spend weeks and months in Marseilles drawing on the small amount of money they had; and when one of them finally succeeded in getting a passage the amount of money left with him might not be enough to pay for the trip to America.[2] Ship agents, though very active in encouraging and persuading the Lebanese and

1. More than a hundred emigrants of those interviewed by the author in Lebanon and West Africa have stressed this point in explaining how they got the money for the trip and why they did not return.

2. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 191.

Syrians to emigrate, did not go to the extent of lending them money for their fares. Moreover, it was only in Marseilles that the emigrants first realized how costly it was to travel to America, and travel agents there were foreigners to them, being mostly French, Italians or Greeks.

Faced with this situation, the hard-pressed emigrant found West Africa the best way out. Travel fares were cheap in cargo boats and the emigrants did not have to acquire complicated travel documents or to pass any general medical examination.[1] The only thing they feared was what they had heard about Africa as being the white man's grave, but they decided it was easier for them to face death in Africa than their hungry families, and to be disgraced by society in their home country.

Owing to the fact that no strict and exact registration of immigrants was applied in the West African Colonies during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was very difficult to give the year in which the first group[2] of these voluntary emigrants began to arrive, or which colony was the

1. An aged immigrant in Sierra Leone, Sassin Aboud, who arrived with five others in 1902, assured the author that when they landed in Sierra Leone they had with them no personal documents at all. They did not even register with the police authorities, until months later.

2. It seems from interviews with early immigrants that they got themselves together in Marseilles and sailed to Africa in small groups.

first to receive them. One theory suggest that in the year 1892 there arrived on the coast of Senegal four or five Lebanese men between the ages o 20 and 22, who settled themselves somewhere between Saint Louis and Conakry.[1] They were wearing 'oriental dress' and had with them small quantities of corals and other similar goods which they peddled in the public squares.

It might have been expected that emigrants who had gathered in Marseilles and were travelling in French ships bound for the French colonies should disembark in the French ports, the most important of which were Dakar, St. Louis and Conakry; this does not seem to have been the case, if the Sierra Leone theory is accepted. According to this theory there is conclusive evidence pointing out that in 1890 a Lebanese emigrant called Elias El-Khoury, originally from a village in the northern part of Lebanon, arrived in Nigeria, coming from Sierra Leone.[2] This indicates that immigration to Sierra Leone must have taken place in the later years of the 1880's; but Elias El-Khoury does not seem to have mentioned anything about other fellow Lebanese in Sierra Leone.

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1. See Jean-Gabriel Desbordes, L'immigration Libano-Syrienne en Afrique Occidentale française, Universite de Poitiers, 1938.

2. Husheymi & Hayyek, op.cit., p. 148. Also unpublished notes by the same author of an interview with the man in question, in 1930.

Furthermore, old emigrants in the Guinea relate the story of a man called Jacop Bitar who in 1893, while sailing in a small boat from Sierra Leone to the Gambia, encountered rough seas and drifted to the shores of Guinea, where he sold his goods at very high profits. He returned to Sierra Leone to tell his story to his fellow-countrymentwho did not believe him; but on his next trip a few of them accompanied him to verify his story and found it profitable to stay in Guinea.[1] All this would establish, this theory concludes, that Sierra Leone was the first country to receive the Lebanese emigrants, even if it is unlikely that the emigrants coming in French commercial ships would pass the French ports and travel on to Sierra Leone. Even if they wanted to do that, they would have had to change ship, which meant a wait in French West Africa.

Another theory attempting to explain how the Lebanese came to West Africa, and why they reached the British Colonies first, suggests that the early emigrants came to British West Africa from Manchester in the United Kingdom, where a large Lebanese merchant community has been established since 1870. It was though that certain of the Lebanese commercial houses in Manchester might have sent representatives to West Africa to buy the produce locally and ship it to

1. Abdulla Husheymi, Fi Bilad Al Zunuj, "In the lands of the Blacks", (Beirut, 1931), p. 187. In Arabic.

Manchester. An investigation of this theory among Lebanese merchants in Manchester ruled it out as a possibility. Up to 1927 the Lebanese merchants in Manchester had not heard of any one of their number doing business in West Africa, their main activity being confined to the Middles East, with a very few exporting to the South American states and the West Indies.[1] In 1927 a Lebanese merchant in Manchester, Mr. Fadlow Hourani, got in touch accidentally with a Lebanese trader from Lagos, Nigeria, and started doing business with him and other traders in British West Africa.

If this Manchester theory is therefore dismissed, there remain three possible explanations of how the Lebanese could have arrived in British before French West Africa. First, some emigrants might have found a British ship in Marseilles or a ship of any other nationality, bound for British West Africa and boarded it. The second possibility is that some of the emigrants coming aboard French ships chose to move southward by land or sea, after calling on the main French ports and deciding not to stay there.[2] Finally, a third

1. Information privately secured from Mr. Fadlow Hourani, Honorary Consul of Lebanon in Manchester, who came to Manchester in 1891, and has been carrying on his business there ever since. See Appendix B.

2. It seems difficult to explain why they chose British West Africa unless we believe what a few early immigrants told the author about their choice of British West Africa, that they had a much higher opinion of British justice and administration; and in a country like Africa they thought peace and order were essential for a man's safety.

possibility could be that the early Lebanese emigrants did come to French West Africa first, but the French authorities and researchers on the subject were unable to trace them prior to 1892, while those in British West Africa were traced more easily back to the later part of the 1880's.

The number and distribution of the Lebanese in West Africa will be discussed later.[1] The following table, however, gives the approximate number of Lebanese immigrants in Both British and French West Africa and the idea of the rate of their increase.

Table 1

Estimated Number of Lebanese in West Africa in Certain Years[2]

1901	289
1911	1,832
1921	2,943
1931	6,982
1955	24,110

These figures, though compiled from authoritative census reports and government estimates, are not absolutely correct, and should be taken as only representative of the general trend and the rate of increase in immigration. For the

1. See chapter four below.

2. Figures compiled from Desbordes, L'Immigration Libano-Syrienne en Afrique Occidentale Française, Poitiers, 1938. Census Reports for Sierra Leone, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931. Census Reports for Nigeria and Gold Coast, 1911, 1921, 1931. Census Reports for Gambia, 1921, 1931. Estimates of the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, Department of Emigration, 1955; unpublished.

census reports are themselves not wholly reliable and a study of them reveals many loopholes and deficiencies.[1] One significant fact is the great increase in the 1921-31 period which is due mainly to the great upsurge in emigration from Lebanon and Syria after the few relatively prosperous and hopeful years that followed the first World War.[2] The last figure is compiled by adding the total number of emigrants in each of the West African territories as estimated by the Lebanese Government, but it also is not very reliable, as the Lebanese Government did inherit any records or archives from the Turks or the French, pertaining to emigration, and its figures are the estimates of the various Lebanese Consuls in the West African Territories.

Nature of Lebanese Immigration

Three distinguishing features of Lebanese emigration are its temporary character, the important role played in it by the woman, and the fact that it is a family or locality movement. The first of these characteristics becomes apparent when one examines the age, marital status, and social standing of the early emigrants. They were males, usually bachelors in the prime of youth and representing the lower

1. See R.R. Kuczynski, Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, Vol.I, West Africa, Oxford University Press, 1948. p. 191 et seq. Also, Sir C.P. Lucas, A Historical Geography of the British Colonies, Oxford, 1913.

2. Above.

class of Lebanese society.[1] The ideal of the first immigrants was to collect all the wealth possible in the shortest time and return to Lebanon and Syria to enjoy it in peace and to be able to marry and settle down. In a poverty stricken country such as Lebanon then was, a rich emigrant of about 30 years could very easily marry the 16 or 17 year old daughter of the noblest family. Such a marriage would have been nothing more than a dream, had it not been for the money that the formerly poor farmer had collected in his years abroad.[2] In most of these marriages, however, the emigrant bridegroom did not settle in his village as he had planned originally; instead he would build a conspicuous red-roofed house, buy some land and return once again to the country to which he had emigrated. In the early years of the emigration movement the emigrant usually left his bride at home with his family; but in later years, the majority of the newly-married emigrants took their brides with them. In time, and with the expansion of his business, the emigrant's original plan of staying only long enough to collect a fortune was substituted by his plan to carry on with his business

1. Hitti, Syrians in the United States, op.cit., p. 41.

2. A study of the 112 marriages that took place after World War I in a little village (population 2,000) in northern Lebanon, called Baino, revealed that 98 of the bridegrooms were returning emigrants; the average age of the men being 34 and the women 18.

until he reached the age at which he felt he should retire. He would then hand over either to his sons or relatives, or wind up his business and return to the Lebanon.[1] Thus every emigrant's life abroad had in it two returns to Lebanon. A return at about the age of 30 to get married, and a final return at the age of 50-60 to retire.[2]

With the increase of the emigrants' wealth and the development of fast means of travel, emigrants, mainly those in Africa, have developed the custom of spending the three summer months of July, August and September in Lebanon. This they could do without having to close their business, because most of the emigrants' businesses are family concerns and thus one member could return to Lebanon in summer while the other carried on the work. This temporary nature of Lebanese emigration is becoming more true of immigrants in West Africa than of immigrants elsewhere, especially those in North and South America. In the latter countries the majority of the second and third generations of immigrants of Lebanese origin are fully assimilated nationals of the state in which they live. They go into politics, join the armed forces and hold public office.[3] Most of them, nevertheless, are aware of

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 288.

2. For an illustration of this, see Appendix A.

3. Husheymi, Nissef Lubnan (Half Lebanon), Beirut, 1955, p. 91, 116 et seq.

their Lebanese origin and recent efforts by the Lebanese government to strengthen their ties with the Lebanon have shown good results.[1]

That the Lebanese immigrants in the Americas have become completely assimilated while those in West Africa have not, is a striking example of the different ways by which members of the same social class and racial origin react towards different social surroundings. It is generally true that an individual of a lower cultural standard than found amongst a society of a higher culture tends to adapt himself to this higher culture and strives to get assimilated in it, while a person of a higher culture found in a lower one tends to keep aloof and strives to guard his superior culture against the encroachment of members of the lower society. Another natural phenomenon of human behaviour is that a person enjoying his present life and looking toward yet a brighter future tends to sever his ties with an unpleasant past. On the other hand a man with a good past but dissatisfied with his present, always speaks of his past and tries to revive its memory. The Lebanese in the Americas found themselves

1. Some of the Lebanese Government's efforts to attract its emigrants are: "The homecoming year 1955"; Inviting each year a number of immigrants of Lebanese origin to visit Lebanon as guests of the Government; Special efforts by the diplomatic and Consular services to introduce Lebanon to the immigrants and, finally, the as yet unsuccessful attempt of some Lebanese politicians to extend Lebanese nationality to the emigrants.

living among a society whose culture was certainly much higher than theirs. In fact many of the Lebanese emigrants in the second part of the nineteenth century left Lebanon to escape living in a society dominated by the Ottoman Turks who dictated and enforced a social order which was incompatible with what they had come to know at the American, French and English missionary schools. Those early emigrants, therefore, came to America with a desire to acquire and assimilate the culture of the new society. Because the Lebanese were few in number among a much superior culture, the people of the American States did not resist their assimilation.

On the other hand the Lebanese in West Africa found themselves living in a society already distinctly divided into two cultures; the Europeans and the native Africans. They felt that they were higher than the natives, but their effort to integrate with the European community was resisted by the Europeans who, being of a superior culture, refused to associate with the Lebanese.[1] To make things worse the Governments of some West African territories, instead of attempting to bring the three classes together, are by

1. The Golf Club in Freetown is till the present day a strictly European concern. Lebanese born in Sierra Leone, holding British passports and educated in the United Kingdom and the United States, have been denied membership. See also Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 277-281.

certain laws making the distinction between them more apparent and more permanent, thus aggravating the obstacles facing Lebanese integration.[1]

Several other factors besides the difference in cultural surroundings are operative in making the Lebanese emigrants' stay in West Africa of a temporary nature. The lack of good educational institutions especially on the primary level, in most parts of West Africa forces the emigrants to send their children to Lebanon for their education.[2] Many of these children stay in Lebanon after finishing their education, and their parents make an effort to retire to the Lebanon to join them.[3] Even those children who return to West Africa would have acquired, during their stay in Lebanon, an attachment

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1. Article 4 (1) of the Sierra Leone Ordinance to Regulate the Prospecting for, Mining of, Dealing in and Exporting of Alluvial Diamonds, 1956, provides that an alluvial diamond mining licence is only given to a native of Sierra Leone or a native firm. A native of Sierra Leone for the purposes of the Ordinance is described in Article (2) as a) A British subject or a British protected person, and b) a member of a race, tribe, or community which is not of European or Asiatic origin. Thus a Lebanese even though born in Sierra Leone could never become a full citizen enjoying all the rights and duties of his citizenship.

2. In Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone, there are some good educational institutions, but facilities in these are not taken up by the Lebanese.

3. W.K. Hancock, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, Vol.II part 2, p. 223, footnote 2. (Oxford University Press, 1942).

for their original country. Such an attachment would not develop had it not been for their going to Lebanon. It is therefore natural that they should like to return to Lebanon rather than to retire in Africa.

Marriage and the colour problem is another very effective factor. Marriages between whites and blacks are not as yet a common and acceptable practice among, not only the Lebanese, but most of the white communities. The Lebanese immigrant in West Africa, whether man or woman, including those born there, has to go back to Lebanon to get married.[1] The already existing ties between the immigrant and Lebanon are thus strengthened by the fresh strong ties between his wife and Lebanon. A Lebanese emigrant in the Americas does not face the same colour problem and he can marry locally without having to return to Lebanon.

Distance and climate play an important role also. The route between West Africa and Lebanon is definitely much shorter than that between Lebanon and the Americas, and travel fares are cheaper; immigrants in West Africa should therefore, find it easier to return to Lebanon than immigrants in America. The severity of the climate forces the immigrant to leave at his first chance and no immigrant of good means ever thinks of

1. Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 288-289.

staying in West Africa after he retires.

Another feature of Lebanese immigration is the great role played in it by the woman, not only as a wife and mother, but as an assistant in the business, who at times carries on independent commercial activities. In its early history, Lebanese emigration was entirely a male movement, but before long the economic value of the woman was discovered. The nature of the work in which the early immigrants engaged, such as selling miscellaneous wares, laces and undergarments lent itself more easily to the woman than the man trader. Moreover, a woman generally finds it easier to deal with another woman, and in West Africa this is especially true as the African woman seems to enjoy being attended to by a white woman, and usually seeks and values her advice. At the present time, most of the retail trade shops are looked after by the woman assisted by a son or daughter, while the husband devotes his time to buying produce and catering for larger scale transactions.[1]

This economic value of the woman was not, however, the only reason why the Lebanese brought their wives along. Other factors played their part. Soon after the early immigrants

1. While the author was visiting a man in his shop in Bonthe, Sierra Leone, two native women came to buy some cotton material, but they refused to accept the man's services and insisted that he call his wife, as they were accustomed to buy from her, and take her advice.

arrived in West Africa, they realized that their original plan of amassing a fortune in a short time and returning to Lebanon was nothing more than a dream. Certainly there were trading possibilities, but like all other enterprises, it required time, hard work and perseverance. Later, when their businesses flourished, the immigrants found it unbeneficial to leave and return to Lebanon. Instead of returning, therefore, or spending their entire life away from their wives, the immigrants sent money to their wives to pay for their fare to come and join them.

It is impossible to tell exactly when the first woman came to West Africa, but the Sierra Leone census report for 1901 shows that among 41 Syrians present in the Colony there were 3 women.[1]

The following table shows the number of Lebanese women in the various years at which a census was taken in Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Ghana, and their ratio to men.

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1. Sierra Leone Census Report, 1901, p.6.

Table 4

Lebanese and Syrians by Sex[1]

	Sierra Leone		Nigeria		Ghana		Senegal	
Year	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1901	38	3	-[2]	-[2]	-[2]	-[2]	-[2]	-[2]
1911	217	49	-	-	31	15	127	21
1921	415	148	77	66	144	88	745	257
1931	843	323	283	136	780	360	1856	781
1948	-	-	-	-	800	570	2582	1531
1952	-	-	952	555	-	-	-	-

It might be of interest to compare the number of Lebanese females in West Africa with females of a few of the more important nationalities. Tables 5 and 5a respectively the number of American, British, French, Lebanese, Syrians and Swiss females in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Gold Coast in 1921 and 1931 censuses, and in French West Africa for the year 1951.

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1. Compiled from Kuczynski, Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, op.cit., pp. 194, 440-441, 615; Gold Coast Census Report 1948, and Census Report Nigeria, 1952-53. Ministere de la France d'Autre-Mer, Supplements au Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique d'Autre-Mer; Desbroide, op.cit.

2. Where no figure is given it is because either no census was taken with the Lebanese as a separate identity or no figuresfor women alone is available.

Table 5

Nationality of Non-native Women in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Gold Coast 1921, 1931[1]

	1921			1931		
	Sierra Leone	Nigeria	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone	Nigeria	Gold Coast
American	42	31	3	30	59	8
British	71	296	148	89	604	641
French	8	13	6	7	20	35
Lebanese & Syrians	148	66	44	323	136	360
Swiss	9	1	2	5	13	32

In 1921 the number of Lebanese females resident in Sierra Leone was 7 more than the total number of European females and 2 less than the total number of non-native females.[2] In 1931 the number of Lebanese females was 323 compared with 170 European females.[3] This ratio is not the same in Ghana and Nigeria where the British females outnumber the Lebanese as the largest non-native group. The reason is that most European and specifically British females are the wives of British Government Officers or company employees. Nigeria and Ghana are larger than Sierra Leone in area, and their governments

1. Compiled from Kuczynski, op.cit., pp. 194, 441, 613.

2. Census Report, 1921, p. 24.

3. Census Report, 1931, pp. 59, 63.

need more officials and administrators. Moreover, the business of the European trading houses is on a much larger scale in the former two countries than in Sierra Leone, and hence their personnel is much larger. As for French West Africa the following table indicates a similar trend.

Table 5a

Nationality of Non-native Women in French West Africa 1951[1]

American	131	Italian	118
British	72	Portuguese	86
French	18,470	Swiss	54
Lebanese and Syrians	4,127		

It will be noticed that in French West Africa the number of Lebanese women is much smaller than that of the French; the reason being that the several French administrators and businessmen reside permanently in the large urban cities of French West Africa like Dakar and St. Louis. In fact 11,164 French women out of the total in West Africa lived in Dakar.[2] Furthermore, the figure includes the whole of nationals of Metropolitan France and naturalized women. In the latter

1. Compiled from: Ministere de la France D'Outre-Mer, Inventaire Social et Economique des Territoired D'Outre-Mer, 1950 a 1955, and

2. Haut Commissariat de la Republique en Afrique Occidentale Française, Recensement demographique de Dakkar, 1955.

category several are of Lebanese origin or parentage.

One characteristic which differentiates the Lebanese woman in West Africa from other non-native women except the French in French West Africa, is the fact that she is the only one who takes an active part in business. In this respect she compares more with the native woman who is more and more undertaking business activities of a small scale, and at times on quite a large scale.[1] It is possible that the native woman was encouraged to undertake more sophisticated trading activities after seeing how well the Lebanese woman was doing.

The social value of the woman is by no means less important than her economic value. By the nature of things a woman is more talented in undertaking social activities than a man. The Lebanese women in West Africa are doing their job in this field in a very good way. They bring the Lebanese community together by exchanging social calls and invitations which draw the various families together in a way not possible to bachelors or married men living alone. They also participate in the activities of the society as a whole and many of them are members of the Red Cross and

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1. P.T. Bauer, West African Trade, (Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 26.

other similar institutions.[1]

It is regrettable, however, that the presence of women does not help in bringing the Lebanese community any closer to the Europeans, whose women, like their men, rarely associate with Asians. It must be admitted that in earlier times such an association was not possible because of the wide difference in educational and cultural background between Lebanese and European women. The former, like their husbands, were very poorly educated and the majority were illiterate. But this is no longer true. The new generation of Lebanese women in West Africa, whether daughters of immigrants, or wives of immigrants' sons, are, in the majority, well educated in Lebanon and by no means very much inferior in cultural standards to the European women. The possibility of associating is definitely present, but the European women are still keeping aloof.

The Lebanese community also have their share of blame. The majority of the Lebanese immigrants in British West Africa are Muslim Shiites, who still do not approve of their wives

1. While in Freetown in April 1957, the author witnessed many of the Lebanese women, led by the Lebanese Consul's wife, collecting money for the Red Cross, not only from the Lebanese community but also from others. See also Muruwah, op.cit., p. 299, indicating similar activities in other parts of West Africa.

undertaking any social activity. Many of them still use the veil as do Muslim women in the remote Lebanese villages.[1] A European woman could hardly establish social relations with this sort of Lebanese. It is very unfortunate however, that other more advanced Lebanese women in West Africa, mainly the Christian ones who do not have the same social habits as their fellow compatriots, are included in the eyes of the Europeans with the less advanced Lebanese women, and are also avoided. A detailed study of this problem must, however, be postponed until later stages of this work when the general social life of the Lebanese immigrant is examined.[2]

The third feature of Lebanese immigration is that it is a family or "locality" movement. Early immigrants returning home made a great impression on their fellow villagers who, in their effort to achieve what those emigrants had attained, emigrated to the same country that had given the emigrant all his evident wealth.[3] It has been mentioned above how the early immigrants, once they succeeded in establishing themselves in the country, used to send money to other members of

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 199. It is difficult to co-ordinate this behaviour with the facts that most Shiites allow their wives to transact business in their shops, unveiled.

2. See post chapter six.

3. Hitti, Syrians in the United States, op.cit., p. 36.

their family to pay for their travel fare to join them. This is well substantiated by the fact that of the 9,188 Syrian immigrants admitted to the United States in the fiscal years 1907 and 1909, 8,725 or 95% declared that they were coming to join relatives and friends.[1] In West Africa family and locality groups are even more concentrated than in the Americas. Of 839 Lebanese living in Freetown in 1952 more than half, 452, belonged to ten families. Many of these ten families are, furthermore, either related to each other directly or through intermarriage.[3] Of the 254 immigrants in Bamalso, 31 belong to the Azzar family and 42 to the Aslbar family.[4] In French West Africa the concentration of locality is even greater. The following tables show the place of origin in Lebanon of the 839 Lebanese immigrants in Freetown, and the 254 in Bamalso, 1952.

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1. Ibid. See also Reports of the Immigration Commission, Senate Documents, Vol. 12, p. 59.

2. E.K. Saadeh, Lubnan Hawel Al-Allam, ("Lebanon around the World"). Beirut, 1952, pp. 281-292.

3. Figures compiled from Saadeh, Ibid.

Table 6

Lebanese Immigrants in Freetown by Village[1] of Origin in Lebanon

Village	District	Number
Sur	Southern Lebanon	149
Juweya	" "	100
Ain Beal	" "	92
Nabatyyah	" "	78
Harriss	" "	56
Hadatha	" "	45
Al Burj	Northern Lebanon	74
Rahbeh	" "	48
Talayl	" "	45
Tripoli	" "	34
Baino	" "	14
Other villages in	Mount Lebanon	104
	Total	839

Table 6a

Lebanese Immigrants in Bamako

By village of origin in Lebanon.

Village	District	Number
Beit Shebab	Mount Lebanon	91
Bikfeya	" "	23
Ain Tourra	" "	31
Baino	Northern Lebanon	24
Basbina	" "	6
Rahbe	" "	5
Kaferhana	Southern Lebanon	13
Sur	" "	15
Others		46
	Total	254

Not only is it that most of the immigrants are from

1. Figures compiled from Saadeh, ibid. For further figures for each territory in West Africa, see Appendix F.

about ten villages, but those villages themselves are very near to each other. All the villages in Southern Lebanon fall within a circle of less than ten miles radius. The villages of Northern Lebanon and Mount Lebanon are even closer together, falling within a radius of less than five miles. An examination of a smaller community in a small Sierra Leone town[1] may give a clearer picture. The 36 Lebanese immigrants living there come from three villages in Northern Lebanon not more than 7 miles apart, and belong to only three families.[2]

This concentration of families and localities had a great effect on the social life of the Lebanese in West Africa. The immigrants from one village represented a cross-section of that village in Lebanon, and their behaviour and relationship with each other are very much determined by events that would happen in their home village. A quarrel between two families in one village in Lebanon automatically affects the relations between their respective relatives in Africa.[3]

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1. The town of Bonthe, in Sherbro Island.

2. The villages are :- Baino, Jebrail and Sheik Mohamed. The families are:- Tannus, Georges and Rahhal. Figures obtained by the author on a visit to the town in April, 1957.

3. A quarrel between the Saghyeh family and the Attieh family in the village of Baino caused a severance of relations between members of the two families in Freetown, Bonthe, Kenema, Dakar, Conakry, Bamako, and Abidjan.

Owing to the tighter immigration regulations, this concentration of the families and localities is even on the increase. Since no newcomers are admitted unless through a long process by which - to sum it up briefly, a resident immigrant, on declaring a certain amount of taxable capital is allowed to get one new immigrant to work with him, - it is understandable that the resident immigrant should attempt to bring one of his relatives or some one from his home village.

Another indication of this family concentration, or maybe a result of it, is the fact that the large majority of the Lebanese businesses are joint family concerns.[1] It is very rare to find brothers, or even cousins, carrying on separate businesses. This situation, however, is to be expected. As the business of the early immigrant expanded he used to send for his brothers and relatives to come and work with him. It is also self-evident that an expanding business needs more men to look after it and develop it. The Lebanese is by his nature individualistic. He does not like to associate with other people, especially in financial matters. Companies and partnerships which are the ultimate end for a growing enterprise could, therefore, only be formed by closely

1. Big firms such as Milhin's and Yazbek in Sierra Leone, the Maddis in Gambia, the Arabs, and Faris George in Nigeria, the Abdos and Nassar in Ghana, the Filfili in Senegal, and the Sahyoun in Ivory Coast, are a few examples of the many family concerns.

related members of the same family, and very rarely between unrelated immigrants. This reluctance to associate and combine on a basis other than the family was, and still is, a major factor in retarding the development of Lebanese enterprise in West Africa.

Causes of Emigration

It is a well known principle of all emigration movements that there must be some active dissatisfaction or discomfort in the homeland to cause large bodies of people to leave.[1] Every migratory movement is motivated by the migrant's feeling of some kind of insecurity or inadequacy in his original setting, although this insecurity may not apply to every sphere of social life.[2] The assumption is that the large majority of mankind tend to remain in the land where they were born unless some strong motive impels them to leave. To induce people to sever their family and neighbourhood relations, to give up a known situation, for an unknown one, to leave their home country and seek some far-off one, there must be in general some national, local, or personal disability to over-

1. A.H. Richmond, "Motivation for Migration", Journal of Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2, June, 1956. Also Fairchild, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

2. S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

balance the bonds of home attachment.[1] The difficulty may be economic, political, religious or social. In seeking the causes of modern Lebanese emigration all these factors have to be examined and classified, according to their importance in affecting the emigration movement.

Causes affecting Lebanese emigration fall into two main groups. The original causes were the basic elements of dissatisfaction which caused the early emigrants to leave the country; and the auxiliary or incidental causes which, once emigration had started, helped in increasing and perpetuating it. In analysing the original causes, it may be easier to discuss them under four headings, namely economic, political, religious, and social.

The economic condition of Lebanon in the middle of the nineteenth century was by far the main cause of dissatisfaction. Lebanon has always been primarily agricultural and pastoral, and secondarily a mercantile country. The mountains and valleys as previously observed divide it into a series of small habitation districts, with the great majority of its people living in small towns and villages which were self-supporting, but only at the level of mere subsistence. Agricultural methods and implements were very primitive. Cultivation was done either by means of heavy iron hoes, wielded by

1. Henry P. Fairchild, Greek Immigration to the United States, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1911), pp. 58-59.

hand, or by wooden ploughs drawn by oxen. Simple irrigation systems were used, and harvesting was done by hand, after which the grain was trodden out by ponies and oxen on a circular stone-paved threshing floor. Despite the encouragement by the Turks of the feudal system in Lebanon, peasant proprietorship prevailed; but the holdings were usually so small and the taxes so high that even in productive years the struggle for physical existence was a hard one.[1] A temporary drought or occasional failure of crops caused great hardships, and in an over-populated country such as Lebanon is in comparison to its resources, was enough to force the surplus people to seek elbow room in another land. This economic background prevailed for years before Lebanese emigration started, and thus one must seek the particular event which made the situation unbearable and forced the farmers to leave.

The two particular events were the development of new trade routes and the failure of the silk industry. The first of these affected the Lebanese town dweller trader, and the second the Lebanese farmer. With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, world traffic was diverted from Lebanon and the Lebanese traders certainly felt the effect. After the opening of this short cut to the Far East, silk - the staple product of Lebanese export - began to feel, in Japanese silk,

1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 32.

a strong competitor for the French market, and its price began to fall. The effect of this on the Lebanese farmers is more appreciated when one knows that silk was the only product which the Lebanese farmer could sell for cash, which he needed badly. In 1889 the American Consul in Beirut reported a defisit of 25% on the average amount of cocoons produced.[1] Added to these two causes of hardship was the institution by the Turks of the onerous method of 'Takhmis' which practicelly doubled the tithe system of taxation. In the early nineties phylloxera started invading the vineyards, thus adding its share to the misery of the farmer. Before this and other evils that ordinarily beset the animals and plants, the farmers, with no knowledge of applied science, stood helpless.

The coincidence of these events affecting the silk and wine industries with the fact that at about this time the Lebanese exodus began to assume significant proportions leaves little doubt as to the existence of a cause and effect relationship.

Though Lebanese emigration may be attributed primarily to economic causes, it cannot be wholly explained on that ground.

1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 32.

2. Ibid

The political situation in Lebanon in the middle of the nineteenth century played an important role. Under Turkish rule, the Lebanese were subjected to numerous restrictions and often active measures of persecution.[1] It seems that four centuries of Turkish oppression were not enough to obliterate the love of freedom of the Lebanese. Failing to enjoy it at home many of them sought it abroad when they found the opportunity to do so. The photograph of the first Syrian family in the United States, that of Arbeely, was taken with a placard on which was written in Arabic, "The children and I have happily found liberty".[2] In fact the bulk of the early emigrants who, in the early years of the movement mainly went to the United States, look upon this political factor as the chief cause of their emigration. The overwhelming majority of Lebanese and Syrian writers in English or Arabic, in discussing emigration, refer to this desire of the Syrian and Lebanse, for a life free from political restrainst, as the chief motive for their emigration to the United States.[3]

Owing to the lack of Arabic newspapers in West Africa, it is not possible to trace this feeling there, but a glance

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1. Ibid, p. 34.

2. Louise Seymour Houghton, in The Survey, July 1, 1911.

3. Cf. Norman Duncan, "A people from the East", in Harpers' Monthly, March, 1903, and Hitti, "Syrians in the United States" in the Literary Digest, May 3, 1919.

at the files of most of the Syrian and Lebanese papers in the United States reveals their unanimous adherence to an anti-Turkish policy. These newspapers, in fact, laid more emphasis on the political than on the economic factor as the cause of emigration.[1] At times twenty or more Syrians and Lebanese living in New York City alone, were under the death sentence by Turkish Courts.

Closely allied with this political factor was the desire to evade military service in the Turkish Army. Until 1909 the Lebanses Christians were exempted from this duty, but by the new Turkish Constitution of that year they were made liable to military service. The effect of this law can best be illustrated by comparing the number of emigrants who entered the United States in the years 1909 and 1910. While their number was 3,668 in 1909 it rose to 6,317 in 1910.[2] Though the increase over one year cannot be given in the case of West Africa, a comparison of the number of Lebanses in 1901, (289) with their number in 1911 (1,832) indicates, nevertheless, a similar trend.[3]

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1. Hitti op.cit.
2. See table 1 above, p.42.
3. See table 3 above, p. 53.

> "In some provinces of the Turkish Empire conflicts as regards nationality and the introduction of compulsory military service for Christians also caused members of the juvenile age-groups to emigrate; especially did the minorities in the Balkans and the Lebanon lose thousands of young people every year."[1]

A Haifa Correspondent of the New York Sun wrote on March 9, 1913: "Every steamer bound for North or South America has been crowded, mostly with Christians anxious to evade military draft." Many Muslims have also emigrated for this reason.

The fact that the large majority of Lebanese immigrants in the Americas are Christians and that practically all the Muslim immigrants in West Africa are Shiites, seems to indicate that the religious situation has been a factor in their emigration.[2] The Ottoman Turks were Sunni Muslims, like the majority of the population of the Middle East territories. They greatly restricted and oppressed the religious freedom of the Christians and even that of the Shiite Muslims.[3] This religious intolerance reached its climax in 1860, when a religious civil war broke out in which thousands of Christians

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1. Alfred Bonne, State and Economics in the Middle East, (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., Second Edition, London, 1955), p. 263.

2. See Hourani, op.cit., p. 34. Also Hitti, op.cit., p. 35.

3. Ibid.

were killed. After this war large numbers of Christians emigrated to Egypt and America. Many Lebanese writers in the United States give this religious factor precedence over the economic factor as a cause of emigration.[1]

The psychological factor also contributed its share in stimulating emigration. To the oppressed Christian Lebanese, emigration gave him a sense of self-assertion. It made him feel that he was the master of himself, able and free to go where he wanted and to do what he desired. Emigration also served as the best way to hide failure at home. In a small, over-populated country like Lebanon, with its inhospitable soil and scarcity of mineral wealth, and with no industrial development, opportunities for the individual were very limited. Most of the young men were unable to get even primary education, and the cultivated land was not large enough to accommodate all of them as farmers. The concept of the coffee-house where able men spend all their days playing cards and "trik trak", is mainly known to Middle Eastern countries because of this accumulation of man-power with no working opportunities. Those men out of work had nothing to do but idle around in coffee-houses or to join the army. Almost all of them chose the first solution. Such

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1. Hitti, op.cit.

a situation, however, was very humiliating to the aspiring young men, and in time they began to feel inferior to and dependent on the other working members of the family. To overcome this inferiority and to hide their failure they resorted to emigration.

An examination of the kind of work and sort of jobs that the early immigrants undertook illuminates another aspect of this psycho-social factor. As will be seen later[1] the early immigrants arrived on the West African Coast practically penniless. They had, therefore, to resort to any kind of work by which they could sustain themselves. Many of them slept in the streets, and many spent months sleeping on the counter in another man's shop. They served as porters, crop collectors and cleaners and at other sorts of manual labour. Such a life would be very humiliating to the Lebanese in his own society. The large majority of these idle, jobless men in Lebanon belonged to the very large and fluctuating middle class. By the standards of their society they felt it was below their dignity and prestige to undertake certain kinds of menial work. They preferred to remain idle rather than to resort to what was regarded as humiliating employment. The fact that most of the immigrants undertook work of a kind which they

1. Post chapter five.

would refuse at home indicates the influence of the norms of the home society. Once away from the Lebanon they did not feel ashamed to take any kind of work.

In conjunction with these general economic, political, religious, psychological and socialogical causes, many other factors of an auxiliary nature were present. In fact in the latter part of the emigration movement, some of these subsidiary causes were more effective than the original. At present emigration from Lebanon can scarcely be traced to political or religious causes while it is very easily linked with the subsidiary cause of the influence of returning emigrants. First among these subsidiary causes was the advice and financial assistance from earlier emigrants totheir relatives or friends through the medium of the letter or directly when they returned to Lebanon. "Once Syrian migration started, the pen of the emigrant became mightier than the sword of the prosecutor in swelling the tide."[1] The fabulous accounts of the volume of wealth found in their new place of immigration, mainly the United States in the first twenty-five years, and the facility with which it could be acquired, spread like wild fire among the Lebanese villagers. The small sums of money sent by the emigrants to their families appeared

1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 34.

munificent to their poverty-stricken relatives and friends in the father-land.

Compared with the increasingly difficult situation in Lebanon such communication naturally made a great impression on the Lebanese villagers, who wanted to emigrate and attain the same wealth and prestige achieved by the early emigrants. Each emigrant thus became the nucleus of a rapidly increasing group of relatives, friends and neighbours from Lebaonon. More effective than letters and remittances was the sight of the returned emigrants themselves. To the villagers and farmers the sight of the well-dressed, tidy and rich friend, who a few years ago was exactly like themselves, wearing their cloth and sharing their humble life, seemed more like a story of Cinderella than true life. The sight of a neat Lebanese dressed in European fashion in the interior of the country was often enough to label him as a returned emigrant.[1]

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1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 37. Hitti relates the story when in the summer of 1911 he travelled on foot with a number of college mates from the American University of Beirut, through Southern Lebanon, and in almost every village they became the centre of a circle of enquirers whose first question was, whether they were from "Nayurk" (meaning New York, in the natives' dialect), and if so whether they had met their relatives in San Francisco or in Buenos Aires.

> "While I was at school," writes the Rev. Abraham M. Rihbani, "I heard much about America. I studied its geography, heard of its liberator, Washington ..... But more exciting tales about America came to me through returning Syrian emigrants. Most of them being common labourers, knew, of course, very little of the real life of America. They spoke of its wealth and how accessible it was, and told how they themselves secured more money in America in a few years than could be earned in Syria in two generations."[1]

The first act of a returned emigrant was to buy land and build a large conspicuous red-roofed house, which served as a mute and perpetual advertisement for emigration.[2]

Another factor which could hardly be said to have caused emigration, but which was very effective in stimulating and facilitating it, was the role of the money lenders and steamship agents.[3] After the early emigrants proved the adventure to be profitable, money-lenders eased their conditions and prospective emigrants became their best customers. They secured their debt either by asking for a pawn, or for the co-signature of one or more of the emigrants' family remaining at home. The great effect of the money-lenders in perpetuating and facilitating emigration is more appreciated in the light of the fact that the overwhelming majority of the

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1. Abraham M. Rihbani, A Far Journey, pp. 143-144. (Typewritten copy.)

2. Republique Francaise, Minister des Affaires Etrangeres; Rapport a la Societe de Nations sur La Situation de La Syrie et du Liban, 1928.

3. Ibid.

prospective emigrants had no cash to pay for the travel fares, and the only possible source of cash was to pawn their few belongings to a money-lender.

The influence of the steamship agents and interested employers in the country of destination was not as significant in Syria and Lebanon when compared with other Mediterranean countries. The contract labour system, closely related to the "padrone" system introduced by the Italians in connection with railroad labour in the United States and utilized by the Greeks in the shoe-shining industry, is unknown among the Lebanese. Nor is the "peonage" system in which the immigrant is practically in a status of compulsory service based upon his indebtedness, as a peon, to the master who advanced his fare. It was the common practice, however, for a new arrival to work with the person who advanced his fare, but this was considered to be a favour extended by the employer to a new immigrant who is not yet well established. There was no contractual obligation forcing the new immigrant to do that and the large majority of new immigrants left their employer even before completing payment to him of their fare.[1]

1. Almost all of the immigrants in West African territories interviewed by the author revealed that they started their career in Africa working for another fellow Lebanese who, when they decided to leave him and work on their own, used even to extend money for them to start their independent business.

Nevertheless, the steamship agents did a lot to encourage the Lebanese to emigrate by explaining to them travel facilities,[1] and that all that the prospective emigrant needed were the money and the ship. They very gallantly offered to supply the ship if the emigrants supplied the money. These agents roved all over the country recruiting passengers, and "The sight of a well-groomed agent on donkey-back visiting one village after the other has been more or less a familiar sight in the interior of the country".[2]

The role played by the American, English and French missionaries should not be ignored. Their effect was, however, indirect, and unintended, for missionaries never had as their aim the encouragement of people to depart from their country. By teaching English and French at their schools, and acquainting people with the history, geography, and methods of life in their respective countries, they made it easier for the emigrants to go to these countries than anywhere else. They also sent a few of the bright students on scholarships mainly to France and the United States, thus planting a nucleus around which many other relatives and friends clustered in the course of time. It has been mentioned above how the

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1. In the nineteenth century there were practically no travel documents required.

2. Hitti, op.cit., p. 37.

earliest Lebanese to reach the United States was a young student of theology sent by the Presbyterian mission in Beirut. Many others went to France and Italy to study Catholic theology. Also by educating the people in their schools, the missionaries assisted them to see and feel the Turkish oppression, thus in a sense paving the way for the political unrest which was, as discussed above, a major cause of emigration. They revealed to them the civilization that people of other parts of the World were enjoying, which when compared with the primitive miserable life of the students, created in them the urge to leave and seek the better life.

As a final auxiliary factor the effect of tourists might be mentioned. With their manifestations of munificent wealth, the hundreds of Americans and European travellers and tourists who annually poured into the Holy Land acted as an illustration demonstrating the riches and life in other parts of the world. Many of these tourists became friends of the Lebanese through their contact with them and many of them helped in getting some Lebanese out of Lebanon to their own country. Immediately after landing in Boston, Antonio Al-Bishalany, the first Lebanese emigrant to reach the United States, hastened to New York where he had many friends "with whom he had formed an acquaintance in Syria"[1] in his capacity as a tourist dragoman.

1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 42.

In conclusion it must be admitted that all the original economic, political, religious and social factors were present in Lebanon for more than two centuries before the start of modern Lebanese emigration in the middle of the nineteenth century. It seems undeniable, therefore, that there must have been some moving cause, some epochal development about the middle of the nineteenth century to have started the wheel of emigration turning with such velocity. Having examined all the possible causes above, it is submitted that the three factors initiating the emigration of the dissatisfied Lebanese were the activities of the missionaries, the outbreak and result of the religious war of 1860, and the opening of the Suez Canal. These causes were the coup de grace to an increasingly deteriorating situation, and caused the people to re-evaluate their whole predicament. Once the Lebanese had done so it was inevitable that they should seek emigration as a solution to their problems.

CHAPTER THREE

PROBLEMS OF LEBANESE MIGRATION

The author is aware of the existence of a body of general sociological theory which seeks to emphasize similarities in the processes and problems of migration throughout the world.[1] It is, however, his intention in this present work to examine with particular care the peculiar and distinctive problems of Lebanese migration, with special reference to West Africa, rather than to attempt to fit the Lebanese movement into any wider framework of generalization. There are certain problems which the Lebanese migrant faces in particular, of a kind which is not common to all other movements. For special reasons, applicable mainly to West Africa, these problems take a more acute form there than in other parts of the world in which Lebanese immigrants are found. This chapter, therefore, is intended to expose some of these particular problems facing the Lebanese immigrants in general and the reasons and factors which make them more acute in West Africa than elsewhere.

It is possible to discuss these problems under three

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1. See A.H. Richmond, "Social Structure accompanying the Migration Process", Journal of Social and Economic Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2, June 1956.

main headings. There are first, problems of entry to the receiving country and problems created by the coming into force of immigration restriction laws. Secondly, there are certain problems of nationality, created by the transition of the Lebanese from Ottoman Turk subjects to French protected persons, then to full independence. Thirdly, there are problems of conflict of laws arising from the different systems of law applicable in Lebanon and the receiving countries, especially those with English legal institutions.

I. Problems of Entry

The right of any person to move from one country to another has been widely regarded as indispensable to personal liberty. With the exception of Russia and to an extent its satellites, all civilised states admit the right to emigrate as the absolute and imprescriptible right of every individual. This right was re-asserted in the Treaty of Paris at the end of the First World War and was stressed again in the draft Covenant on Human Rights.[1] While the right of emigration is not disputed, it carries little meaning or benefit to the emigrant if the receiving country of his choice restricts or prohibits his entry. It is a recognized right of each state to restrict within wide or narrow limits, according to its

1. Article 12 (1) b.

discretion, the entry of aliens into its territory. It can, if it wishes, even prohibit it completely. States differ widely in exercising the right, and usually by international comity and etiquette a state does not exercise this right except when its legitimate interests are affected. In fact, modern states are divided into two classes: those which, because of over-population or other economic and political reasons, are the source of supply of emigrants; and those which, because of under-population or other economic or political factors, are prepared to accept immigrants. It is, therefore, natural to find the first class advocating an "open door" policy without any immigration restrictions, while the second defend the right of each state to formulate its own immigration laws in accordance with its own interests. But even though this right is well preserved and recognized, a state could not exercise it with undue severity without subjecting itself to strong criticism from states and individuals alike, and in applying it a state cannot forget that other states may retaliate. The whole question is very delicate and the right should not be exercised without careful consideration.

Most of the receiving states have promulgated their immigration restriction laws with varying severity, and when these laws are applied impartially, the Lebanese immigrant has no ground for complaint. In West Africa, however, the

Lebanese suffer special hardships under the wide discretionary powers given to the Principal Immigration Officer. By the use of such powers, more severe laws and restrictions are applied to the Lebanese whereas, on the face of it, the legislation seems to be applicable to all.[1] Immigration restriction laws did not come into operation in West Africa until the late twenties of this century; and a brief survey of the conditions and factors leading to their promulgation is, therefore, imperative to give a clearer understanding of the situation.

Until the year 1910 no immigration regulations were enforced along the whole coast of West Africa. Lebanese immigrants had full freedom of entry and movement. The production of their identity card or passport was normally required, although many of the early emigrants had originally entered having no documents at all.[2] French West Africa became the first territory to start the promulgation of immigration restriction laws when, in 1910, under pressure from the French Chamber of Commerce,[3] the Governor General issued a

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1. A detailed discussion proving this point will follow later in this chapter.

2. Abdullah Husheymi, Notes on Interviews with Immigrants in West Africa, conducted in 1930. Unpublished.

3. As early as the year 1898, the French merchants in French Guinea began complaining of Lebanese competition, and in that year presented to the Governor of Guinea a petition requesting the imposition of restrictions on the Lebanese traders. For text of merchants' petition see Appendix C.

decree[1] especially applicable to Guinea requesting every immigrant to present documents to establish his identity, good character and physical fitness in addition to depositing with the authorities an amount of money sufficient to pay his return fare.[2] On May 1, 1911, a new decree was issued enlarging the application of the first one and extending it to the whole of French West Africa. It was apparent, then, that the new laws were especially designed to affect the Lebanese immigrants; but these they took comfortably in their stride and most Lebanese were able to submit the required documents and deposit.[3] When, after the First World War, Syria and Lebanon were placed under the French mandate, a new immigration law, promulgated on August 1, 1921, repealed all previous legislation, and enacted, instead, much easier requirements. The deposit was abolished, and all that was required from the new immigrant was a passport and a permit of residence. This new law, which was issued at that time mainly to win the favour of the Syrian and Lebanese now under French mandate, increased the flow of immigrants tremendously.

1. Decree of December 7, 1910.

2. At that time, circa 1910, the deposit was usually 600 francs.

3. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 236. The Chamber of Commerce asked the Governor to legislate against all alien immigration, but since most of the new immigrants taking part in trade were Lebanese, the Chamber asked that more severe measures should be applied to the Lebanese. See also Appendix C.

By 1923, however, it became apparent that the law should be altered so as to restore the deposit, in order to curb the influx of very poor immigrants with no resources whatsoever who came to the country in the hope of finding work and who often had to be returned home at the expense of the governments of the Colonies. A decree of April 28, 1923, later repealed and replaced by the decree of January 24, 1925, restored and increased the deposit and imposed stricter conditions for accepting new immigrants. From then on the French authorities issued several new immigration laws, all of which were devoted to increasing the deposit and making stricter regulations, until today the admission of a new immigrant is practically impossible, unless he is either a native of French West Africa, an infant joining his parents, a wife joining her husband, or a partner, assistant or employee of an established firm, in which case admission is granted under very strict rules.[1]

The immediate causes for the promulgation of immigration restriction laws in British West Africa were not very different from those in French West Africa; they were due mainly to the pressure of Foreign Commercial interests which feared the

1. For a detailed discussion on the immigration law in French West Africa, see Desbordes, op.cit., pp. 60-80. Also Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 235-242.

increasing competition of the Lebanese.[1] One difference, however, is worth noting. In British West Africa the big European firms did not come out openly against the Lebanese as was the case in the French African territories, but chose to press the issue under the guise of protecting the interests of the native African population. They did in fact do much to incite the natives against the Lebanese traders by accusing these latter of hoarding essential food stuffs and of displacing the small African traders.[2] In 1919, the natives in the Colony of Sierra Leone rioted and looted the Lebanese shops on the pretext that the Lebanese were hoarding rice, which was

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1. W. Addison, "The Syrians in British West Africa", The African World West African Monthly Supplement, June 27, 1925, p. v. "Europeans have said to me, 'Look here, these Syrians are a perfect nuisance, they go out into the country and trade in a mud hut and take our trade away from us!. I answer, 'Leaving out the question of trade and competition do these people hinder the country in any way?'. 'No' has been the reply, 'but they interfere with our business by taking it away. Instead of the natives coming to us to trade they trade with the Syrians'." Addison was District Commissioner in Sierra Leone from 1907-1922.

2. Ibid. See also below chapter five.

scarce in that year.[1] In 1924 an agitation was started in the papers of the Gold Coast accusing the Lebanese and Syrians of growing prosperous at the expense of the natives, of accumulating money which was not spent in the country, and of acquiring freehold property from the Africans, thus turning them out of their homes.[2] Many voices were raised in defence of the Lebanese[3] but this agitation seems to have had its effect on the Government so that between 1924 and 1926, immigration restriction ordinances were promulgated in the four West African territories.[4] Whatever effects the influx of Lebanese immigration may have had in displacing the natives from their trade, it is very doubtful whether in those early years, 1924-1926, the natives were so much aware of

1. There is still some controversy about the real cause of the riot, and whether the Lebanese were the real hoarders of rice, or the only ones. Police reports for that year refer to the matter in exactly a line and a half. An examination by the author of the yet unarranged and classified Government Archives in Sierra Leone revealed no additional information, because the Government reports for the years, 1919 and 1920 were missing, while the reports for later years, starting with the year 1921, were there. Also for the exchange of allegations between the Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce and the Government about who was really to blame for the scarcity of rice, see H. Solomon, Sierra Leone Chamber of Commerce and the Syrians, a letter to the Editor of West Africa, November 27, 1920.
2. The Gold Coast Leader as quoted by the African World February 14, 1925.
3. See W. Addison, opcit., also Bulletin Mensuel de L'Agence Economique de L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, No. 56, August 1925, p. 194.
4. Gambia and Sierra Leone had their first immigration restriction ordinances in 1924. Nigeria and the Gold Coast in 1926.

this fact and so articulate as to be able to start an agitation in the papers.

A District Commissioner who held office in Sierra Leone from 1907 to 1922 wrote:

> "This agitation does not emanate from the bosoms of the vast majority of the people of the country, most of whom are illiterate. A great mass of illiterate people, may, it is possible, in time of stress or trouble or some great agitation, be fertile soil for carpet-baggers and unscrupulous persons, leading to very unpleasant consequences for them - the people."[1]

In such circumstances it is very easy for an articulate vocal minority to influence the Government and create in the minds of the people the feeling that the whole country shares its views. Added to this is the fact that the displacement of some African traders by the Lebanese traders would be obvious to them and to the public generally, whereas the benefits which the overwhelming majority receives from the activities of the Lebanese traders would be widely diffused, and some, such as the benefits resulting from the growth of the economy, would have only a gradual and barely noticeable effect.

The first immigration ordinances proved ineffective in checking the tide of Lebanese immigrants and more stringent regulations have been imposed steadily since 1924. As in French West Africa, the rules in the British territories have

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1. W. Addison, op.cit.

grown so strict that, save in a few exceptional cases, immigration of Lebanese is completely prohibited at present. Though on the face of it the rules seem to apply to all, it is obvious from the practice that the Principal Immigration Officer uses his wide discretionary powers under the ordinances to prevent specifically the entry of Lebanese and Syrians.[1] In Gambia and Sierra Leone the rules are being applied so strictly against the Lebanese that not even visiting passes are issued to bona fide visitors. It is the practice of immigration authorities to turn down the application without giving causes whenever the word Lebanese appears on it.[2]

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1. See also P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 160. He writes, "The general administration of immigration policy is directed with special severity against Levantines and Indians, and especially the former who are probably most numerous among the Applicants for Immigration."
2. In March 1957 the writer experienced considerable difficulties before he was permitted to enter Sierra Leone, which is incidentally the country of his birth, in connection with research for this thesis. Although his application for a visitor's visa contained full details of his University status and the purpose of his visit it was promptly turned down by the Principal Immigration Officer in Freetown. In his letter of 19th March 1957 the High Commissioner in London merely stated: "I am sorry to tell you that I received a telegram today regretting that the authorities in Sierra Leone were unable to grant you an Entry Permit. I am afraid I can give no reasons for this decision nor can the Authorities in Sierra Leone be asked to explain it." When the Permit was later granted, following the intervention of Professor Kirkwood and the Colonial Office, the Governor of Sierra Leone explained to the writer in Freetown that the application was probably turned down without examination simply because the applicant was Lebanese. The Governor thought that the Principal Immigration Officer had probably assumed that Lebanese would resort to all sorts of tricks and misrepresentations, including registration at Oxford and professed research interests, in order to obtain an entry permit.

This strict application of the rules can be understood in the case of Sierra Leone because certain Lebanese immigrants have undoubtedly been prominent in the illicit diamond business, but such strictness is less warranted in the other territories.

The immigration ordinances in the four British West African territories are practically identical in substance, and Government policy is alike in aim and emphasis.[1] It is thus possible to discuss the motives and aims of policy, as followed in the various territories, in one argument.

In "A Statement on Immigration Procedure" issued by the Gold Coast Government in February 1949, the principal objectives of the immigration policy were set forth as follows:

> "It has long been the policy of the Gold Coast Government to prevent non-African settlement in the Gold Coast. The purpose of this is to ensure that the indigenous population should be allowed to progress without the eventual complications of pressure from powerful and strongly entrenched non-African interests, not only in the political sphere but also in the commercial and economic spheres."[2]

It appears from this statement that the two main aims of the immigration policy are to avoid the creation of a multi-racial society or, more specifically, a society of whites and

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1. See Immigration Ordinances of 1947 for Gold Coast and Nigeria and Immigration Ordinance 1946 for Sierra Leone.

2. Gold Coast Gazette, special number, February 1947.

blacks, which in Africa seems to entail endless problems, and secondly, to guard the economic and commercial interests of the native population and their progress. The points worth examining here are whether the Africans' interests which the immigigration policy seeks to guard are really in such danger as to warrant so severe a policy and secondly, whether the present immigration policy, as now applied, is capable of achieving these aims.

The fear that an unrestrictive immigration policy will lead to the creation of a multi-racial or white-black society is unreasonable at the present stage of West African development; still more is the assumption that a Lebanese influx would create it. West Africa, unlike some parts of the African Continent, is not a very favourable place to live in. The climate is not good, and the soil is not very suitable for plantations. In the whole period between the creation of the West African colonies to the time when immigration was restricted, no white settlement of any significance took place.[1] This is even more true in the case of the Lebanese, who invariably returned to Lebanon or at least always cherished the intention of returning.[2] The stay of the individual

1. A.C. Burns, History of Nigeria, (Allen & Unwin, London, 1942), p. 71.

2. See chapter two above.

Lebanese in West Africa, as apart from his business, is certainly temporary.

Moreover, the Lebanese do not feel superior to the native Africans. Most of those born in West Africa of Lebanese parents[1] complain that even though they are nationals of this or that territory, they are not of equal ststus to the native Africans. If any class distinction exists today in official circles, it is certainly the Africans not the Lebanese, who are the privileged class. All that the Lebanese want is equality before the law and not any priveleges guarded by the law.

Two other factors are of importance. The Lebanese in West Africa are a very small community in relation to the whole population. The whole population of Lebanon is a million and a half, and if we assume for argument's sake that all its inhabitants decided to emigrate, their apportionment, according to their present distribution in various countries, would not give the whole of West Africa more than 40,000 new immigrants. Even this number is so insignificant in proportion to the native population that it could never be able to form a powerful class.

Furthermore, the Lebanese have arrived in West Africa,

1. Referred to sometimes as native foreigners.

and if immigration regulations are abolished, will be arriving at a time in which the political, social and cultural institutions of the country have reached the stage at which no group or class of people dare promote contradictory institutions, or seek to influence existing ones in its own interest. The laws are already settled and the Lebanese immigrants have to take them and, in fact, do take them as they are. A minority group can only take to itself the special privileges which might create a divided community when it is in a politically dominant position or when a foreign governing power gives it special privileges. But where the institutions of the state are already determined in a manner favourable to the majority of indigenous people it is simply impossible for a small minority to effect any changes in these institutions, either by constitutional means or by force. No influx of white people, of whatever magnitude can effect, for example, any change in the present institutions of Liberia, so long as the black Liberians are still the majority and object to such a change.

This reasoning holds not only in relation to the Lebanese, but to any white immigration. Notwithstanding whether it holds or not in the case of other white people, it is a noticeable fact that the immigration regulations are applied

in the strictest form against the Lebanese; when as it is submitted that they are the last of the white population groups whose acceptance into Africa could lead to a multi-racial society with all its problems. To exclude them because of this fear is to insist on an unnecessary and unwarranted precaution.

Concerning the second objective of the immigration policy aiming at the protection of the economic interests of the natives and the preservation for them of as much commercial activity as possible, it seems that the Government has been largely influenced by three assumptions. The first of these is that the volume of trade available is broadly fixed, so that an increase in the number of non-Africans in trade reduces the opportunities available to Africans. The second is that an increase in the number of non-African enterprises would strengthen their monopoly in the external and internal trade.[1] The third is that the wealth of the non-Africans has been taken or extracted from the African population, and that usually those non-Africans send a large part of their earnings abroad, thus diminishing the national wealth of the country.

As to the first of these assumptions, it is worth noting the important and obvious role played by the non-African, especially the Lebanese immigrant, in opening up for trading

1. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 159.

and economic development large areas of Africa, thus promoting the economic growth of the country.[1] This is, however, past history, and it should not command anything but a sense of gratitude to those early entrepreneurs. An answer to the official assumption, in the light of present-day conditions, is provided by a well-known economist, a student of West African affairs, who writes:[2]

> "The assumptions underlying West African immigration policy are incorrect in the form in which they are usually stated. The volume of trade is not fixed: restrictions on the activity of expatriate firms do not increase but diminish the economic activity of Africans, retard the growth of the volume of trade, and tend to strengthen the elements of monopoly in West African trade and to reduce the alternatives open to the customers of the traders."

A detailed analysis of the whole situation would involve a detailed economic survey outside the scope of this study.[3] A few general observations, however, are essential. It can be agreed that if no immigration restriction existed, some African traders would be displaced; but against these losses to some there would be a much larger gain to the majority of the population as consumers and as producers, if the services

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1. Hancock, op.cit., Part II, Vol.II, Ch. II. See also The Times review of the British Colonies, March 1957.

2. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 167.

3. For a detailed and excellent analysis of the economic effects of the immigration policy see P.T. Bauer, op.cit., Ch. 12, pp. 156-171.

of the non-African intermediaries were retained. If the Lebanese traders displace the Africans by taking away their customers, it must be because they offer merchandise to the public on better terms, and give better prices for their produce. Otherwise why should a Lebanese immigrant who is a stranger in the country, illiterate, with no knowledge of the language and little capital, be able to take away the customers of a native African trader, well established in business and with no language difficulties?

It might be argued that in fact the Lebanese did not displace the African traders in the past, but that they established themselves when the African population were not yet interested in trade and commerce, and that now they are interested they find the way blocked by well-established non-African interests. Even if we admit this argument, still there will be nothing in it to justify the present immigration policy, for the established enterprises are already there and will stay there unless they are forcibly removed - a course not yet prescribed by the immigration laws.

It may be assumed, therefore, that the laws are meant to apply against future immigrants. These new immigrants could be of two kinds. They might be large-scale capitalists who would create strong and extensive businesses, or they

might be poor persons coming to seek their fortunes by starting from the beginning and making their way up by hard work and perseverance. If they were of the former kind, then their admittance should be, and in fact normally is, encouraged by the immigration authorities, for they bring capital to the country and create labour opportunities for native Africans. On the other hand, if they were of the second class, how could such immigrants, without capital and knowledge, displace the native Africans?

In short, on strictly economic grounds, there is certain gain for the overwhelming majority of the African population from activities of the expatriate traders, and if a few African traders are displaced, it is either because they have been offering unfavourable terms to the general public, who leave them when they find better prices, or because they are in business not suited to their ability and experience. In the latter case they usually adjust themselves by going into a business for which they are better suited.

Nor is the second assumption of the immigration policy better founded. An increase in the number of expatriate enterprises would not strengthen their monopoly in trade; on the contrary, it would help to reduce it. In a highly concentrated economy such as that of West Africa, a restriction

on newcomers would certainly tend to promote monopoly by maintaining the present degree of concentration.[1] It is true that a restriction on the activities of the expatriate persons tends to give the African trader a larger share of the small volume of trade left to him by the big firms in certain stages of distribution, but this does not mean a reduction in the degree of monopoly or concentration from the point of view of the customers of the traders, who are by far the overwhelming majority of the population, and whose interests should be given precedence over those of the minority traders. P.T. Bauer points out the effect of immigration policy on monopoly by saying:

> "As a result of the restrictive control of immigration, the protected firms, both expatriate and African, operate in a less competitive environment in which profit margins tend to be higher and more secure, and in which the possibilities of formal or informal price-fixing and market-sharing arrangements are increased. The rest of the African Community - producers, consumers and other traders - tend to receive their services on less favourable terms. The fact that some of the beneficiaries are African traders does not alleviate the impact of reduced competition and higher profit margins. Moreover, those African traders who owe their existence as traders to the immigration restrictions are not as effective or efficient competitors as the excluded expatriates; therefore, the real dependence of the population on the large and established expatriate firms is increased."[2]

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1. P.T. Bauer, op.cit.

2. Ibid, p. 165.

In fact the Lebanese immigrants are the most important competitors of the big firms and they have been to an extent which has aroused the anger of these influential firms against them. Not only Lebanese immigrants, but many authorities on African affairs attribute the immigration laws to the influence upon the Government of such firms.[1] The larger European firms, especially those members of the Merchandise Agreement Group, usually agree among themselves to fix the price of the selling and buying of a certain commodity, but where there is Lebanese competition, these agreements do not always succeed in establishing the desired monopoly.[2] In many instances the competition of the Lebanese has forced a big company to reduce its selling prices of a certain commodity by more than 20%[3] Had the Lebanese not been in West Africa the concentration of trade

1. See W. Addison, op.cit. Also Muruwah, op.cit., also Report of the Lebanese Consul in Nigeria, No. 232. Files of the Emigration Department, Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (unpublished).

2. Report of the Commission on the Marketing of West African Cocoa, p. 271 states that there is also evidence of agreements between firms to establish monopolies on a national scale. It adds further: "The agreements for palm oil and ground nuts do not appear to have been fully effective owing to the competition from outside buyers including Syrians." See also Hancock, op.cit., pp. 210-217.

3. Mr. Fawzi Mukarim, Lebanese owner of A.B.C. Stores in Ibadan, Nigeria, had told the author how competition between his stores and the Kingsway Stores facing him have caused them both to bring down the prices of several commodities by 20 to 30%. This was made possible by the A.B.C. Stores importing certain commodities of different makers and putting them on the market at a lower price than the fixed price by the Kingsway Stores when they were the sole importers of the commodity.

in the hands of the big firms would have been much larger than it is now, thus making it practically for the small African merchant to compete. This is well illustrated in the table below, which shows that any drop in the Lebanes share of trade will be picked up by the big firms and not by the African traders.[1]

Table 1

Total Tonnages in all Products Handled in Sierra Leone

Group	1953	%	1954	%
European	57,644	77.0.	59,451	81.4
Syrian Lebanese	10,547	14.1	8,589	11.7
Indian	1,003	1.3	583	0.8
African	4,979	6.6	4,430	6.1
S.L.P.M.B.	706	0.9	-	-
Total	74,879	100	73,053	100

It appears from the table that where, in 1954, the total tonnage fell by 1,826 tons, the tonnage of the European increased by 1,807 tons, thus increasing its share by 4.4%. The Lebanese share dropped by 2.4% and their total tonnage by 1,958 tons. The Africans did not pick up what was lost by the Lebanese, but instead they themselves lost to the big firms. Their share dropped by 0.5% and their total

1. N.A. Cox-George, Report on African Participation in the Commerce of Sierra Leone, Government Printing Department, Freetown, 1958.

tonnage by 549 tons. On this showing an increase in the number of Lebanese would, therefore, increase their competing power against the big European firms, and thus prevent these firms from controlling among themselves most of the trade activities. It is true that such an increase would also work against some native African traders who would be affected by the severe Lebanese competition,[1] but in the final result the general public and, to an extent, the African traders themselves should benefit.

The third assumption that the Lebanese extract their wealth from the natives only to send it abroad, is the most popular with the ordinary masses of the African population, though it is not so prevalent among those Africans who know something about economics and capital formation. This assumption among the masses is strengthened by the fact that most of the Lebanese arrived poor and later grew rich. It ignores the fact that trade is productive and that capital can be formed by spending less than one earns and re-investing what is saved. The wealth of the Lebanese was in fact created by their trading activities, and was not extracted from the Africans. It was not there before they came, and it is completely false to assume

1. N.A. Cox-George, ibid., reports that in some places in Sierra Leone it is alleged that the competition is so severe that the Africans sell only at night when the Syrian shops have closed.

that the money the Lebanese immigrants have earned would have been apportioned among the native Africans had the Lebanese not been there. Income can only be created by the use of capital, skill and hard work, and when these three factors are present, income will generate, irrespective of the race or nationality of the investor. If any factor were lacking, neither immigration restriction laws, nor racial antagonism would generate income to the natives. In the words of P.T. Bauer, describing how the immigrants acquired their wealth:

> "Wealth has been brought into being by the application of effort and skill and by the accumulation and use of capital. These activities have played a major part in the economic development and growth of West Africa, and they have been of great economic benefit to the African population."[1]

The criticism, however, is likely to persist since the benefits which the African public derives from the activities of the Lebanese are numberous, dispersed, and widely but thinly spread over a period of time, thus likely to escape notice, while the rewards of the immigrants have been in a concentrated form and easily identifiable.

The second point of the assumption dealing with sending the money abroad, thus reducing the national wealth, though

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1. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 32.

not directly connected with immigration policy, is, however, true in substance, for the immigrants do send remittances to their families in Lebanon. Indeed, to be able to send money to support their families was the basic reason for their emigration. It should be noted, however, that in recent years, the Lebanese immigrants have been sending money to Lebanon in much larger quantities than is necessary to support their families. This movement of capital, if carried on on a large scale and for a long period, would, of course, be detrimental to the West African economy but laws have been enacted which restrict the movement of capital from the West African territories and, except in certain specified cases, the sending of money from West Africa is strictly forbidden.[1]

It is submitted that these laws are reasonable enough but the Lebanese immigrants are still finding many legal means and in some cases illegal ones, for getting their money out of

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1. Article 16 (2) of the currency agreement between Lebanon and France, January 24, 1948 permits the sending out of money from the French union only in the five following cases: 1. For the maintenance of the immigrant's family. 2. For the education of children. 3. Incomes from assets or real estate. 4. Insurance premiums, and costs of litigation. 5. When an immigrant has sold his business, and has declared his intention of returning to Lebanon for good, he may take all his money. Very similar laws are applicable in British West Africa. The amount sent under each of the first four headings must be reasonable and its need must be proved.

West Africa.[1] The main reason for the immigrant's desire to get the bulk of his money out of the country, instead of investing it there, is his feeling of insecurity. Such a feeling is strengthened by the periodic agitation for the deportation of the Lebanese and the confiscation of their wealth.[2] If the Lebanese immigrants could be assured of the security of their fortunes, they would probably invest more of it in Africa. Recently the Lebanese have been doing so, in fact, by investing in real estate and other similar projects. Family concerns and firms, dating back to the beginning of the century are also an indication that the Lebanese do not tend to move their capital out of the country when it is secure and they are allowed free and full investment opportunities.

An examination of whether the immigration policy, as now followed by the authorities, is capable of achieving the aims for which it was formulated, is, in essence, an examination of the effects of this policy. A few of these effects have come out in discussing the aims of the policy, for example, the fact

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1. Diamond smuggling in Sierra Leone, and the smuggling of gold currency from French West Africa are among the many illegal ways. Sending money to U.K. for fellow Lebanese to spend there, on education, commerce or other means, on condition it is paid back in Lebanon is one of the many legal or extra-legal ways.

2. Ghana, Parliamentary Debates, Friday 28 June, 1957, pp. 1485-93; Wednesday, 3 July, 1957, pp. 1673. Also the various attacks launched very often in the French West African Press. See also, Jean Paillard, La Fin des Francais en Afrique Noire, Les Oeuvres Francaises, Paris, 1935.

that immigration restriction strengthens the power of the big European firms, and their monopoly, instead of decreasing it.[1] It is also clear that the present immigration policy, although it has succeeded in preserving the interest of a few African traders, is detrimental to the interests of the general public. Besides these economic effects, the existing immigration policy has a great bearing on the social and cultural life of West Africa. Its effects in these fields are in the long run more important than the economic ones, and it is regrettable that these seem to have been overlooked by the authorities in formulating the immigration policy.

The existing immigration regulations in fact help to consolidate the present Lebanese immigrant community in West Africa. This community, it must be remembered, arrived in West Africa at the beginning of the century, when Lebanon and Syria were parts of the Ottoman Empire, and education there was poorly developed. Besides their being illiterate, the early Lebanese immigrants in the nature of things belonged to the poorer section of Lebanese society. They arrived in West Africa at a time when the cultural and social standards there were no better than in Lebanon. They, therefore, did not gain anything from the new society to help them raise their standards, as their countrymen did in other countries such

1. See above.

the United States of America, and some South American States. Since then, cultural and social standards in Lebanon and Syria have been greatly improved; Lebanon has become the country with the highest percentage of educated people in the Middle East, and certainly of a standard comparable with many Western countries. The present immigration policy prevents this new Lebanese blood from entering West Africa to help put an end to the stagnant Lebanese community, and be of benefit to the whole West African society. Lebanese doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers and other professional men are emigrating into all the neighbouring Arab states, rendering invaluable services. Had it not been for the strict immigration laws, there would have been nothing to prevent them from emigrating to West Africa, where their services are and will be greatly needed. West Africa is an under-developed territory; the new independent states emerging there are in great need of professional persons and technicians. By relaxing the immigration restriction laws and inviting these highly trained Lebanese elements to the country, the authorities will achieve a twofold result. They will first inject into the stagnant, conservative Lebanese merchant community in the country, new blood, which will make it a healthier component of the West African Society; and secondly they will supply the country

with a most needed element. The present immigration decrees provide for the entry of technically qualified personnel but it seems that the authorities interpret these decrees more on the economic and industrial than the social and cultural sides. Doctors, lawyers, teachers and members of other professions are still subject to the general restrictions. It is true that the entry of Lebanese is not completey blocked and that each year a few newcomers arrive,[1] but these are admitted on a quota basis through established immigrants and firms, and are usually relatives or friends who, having no professional qualification to enable them to work in Lebanon or anywhere else, are brought to Africa to help in established businesses. Generally, therefore, these new entrants are not much more advanced, socially and culturally, than their predecessors. No immigrant, for example, will use his quota to bring a doctor, or a teacher, or a lawyer, since his need is for somebody to help him in his business. It is submitted that only through a relaxation in the immigration law, can better and more beneficial Lebanese elements enter, otherwise the stagnation of the existing Lebanese community will be worsened in a way which will be detrimental to the whole West African community.

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1. See police reports for Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Ghana for the years 1945-1955.

An effect corollary to that of the above bears on native West Africans who are the children of Lebanese immigrants. Generally these children acquire the nationality of the West African territory they are born in and naturally obtain the right to enter it, even though they are still referred to as "native foreigners". As the educational facilities in West Africa are not yet very adequate, the immigrants usually send their children to schools in Lebanon, the United Kingdom or France. By the time these children reach their late 'teens and are ready to start their professional or university training, their parents call them back to Africa. The reasons for this are provided by the immigration laws. The early and older immigrants are illiterate, and they usually depend for the conduct of their commercial correspondence and the keeping of their accounts on local clubs who are not always very honest and reliable. Thus the immigrants feel the need to have a relative in whom they trust to handle the correspondence and accounts of their expanding business. Though the existing laws provide a quota for each trader, most of the Lebanese traders do not command the necessary financial and commercial means to permit them to benefit from the quota system. Faced with the pressing need for a trustworthy clerk, and unable to get one from Lebanon, where they may have many,

many educated relatives among the new generation, they find themselves forced by the immigration restrictions to cut short their children's education and call them home as soon as they have acquired just that minimum of secondary education which gives them a working knowledge of English or French. If it were not for the immigration laws these children, nationals of West Africa, would have had the opportunity to complete a professional university education, and to return to West Africa qualified to fill the gap of badly needed professionals in West African society.

With the development of this custom of calling back the children during their secondary education, a reactionary concept has arisen in the minds of all Lebanese immigrants. They have a fixed idea that the immigrants' children who are in West Africa are those who have not had the opportunity to finish their education, and they conclude, therefore, that those who have had the chance to get higher education should not return to Africa, so as not to be associated in the minds of the people with the other immigrants' children of a lower educational standard.[1] Those children, therefore, go and

1. A petroleum engineer, and another B.A. graduate from the American University of Beirut, where very much shunned by some and blamed by others for returning to Sierra Leone. This is also true of three other professional men who returned to the Gold Coast, lawyers and a dentist in Senegal, and a lawyer in Ivory Coast.

seek their fortune anywhere but in Africa.[1] Thus, to the Lebanese immigrants Africa has become the place for the uneducated. An influx of educated Lebanese will certainly change this idea and encourage the educated immigrants' children to return and work in the African society.

In conclusion it seems that a relaxation of the immigration laws in West African countries, at this stage of their development, is a necessary step for the benefit of the country as a whole. It is true that some Africans might be displaced, or that the national pride of some others might not be satisfied by seeing every aspect of life Africanised, but this must be overlooked at the present stage for the general welfare of the whole country. The Lebanese immigrant in particular, for the special reasons discussed above, should have better treatment and easier access to the country.

It may be desirable to add a few words about problems of entry and the immigration laws which face the Lebanese in countries other than West Africa. There is no other state which applies its immigration law in a special way to the Lebanese. The United States have regulated immigration on a quota basis. The law allows three per cent of those who

1. There is one Lebanese doctor and one lawyer from Sierra Leone in England, and another doctor in Dublin. They do not return there precisely for this reason.

were born in Syria and who were in the United States in 1910[1] to be admitted each year into the country. The quota is distributed over five months beginning in July and ending in November. Special preference is given to applicants whose immediate relatives are naturalised citizens of the United States. In some South American countries there are not yet very strict restrictions on Lebanese immigration, though there are certain formalities and several conditions which have to be met before a Lebanese is admitted.

II. Problems of Nationality.

The problems of nationality which face the Lebanese immigrant can be divided into three groups. The first is the set of problems created by the fact that many of the immigrants have emigrated as Turkish subjects, and passed through a state where they were French protected persons before becoming potential citizens of independent Lebanon. The second set is problems of dual nationality which particularly face the children of immigrants who were born in the land to which their parents emigrated. Problems of the third set are those which the immigrants face in their original country, Lebanon, as to their rights and duties as Lebanese citizens.

1. G. Manassah, Al-Tasmim al Inshaii Lial - Iktissad Alibnani was Islah al Dawlat (Development Planning for the Lebanese Economy and Reconstruction of State), Beirut, 1948. In Arabic.

Many Lebanese immigrants left Lebanon when it was part of the Turkish Empire. They were, for nationality purposes, Turks, and were received as such by the governments and peoples of the receiving countries.[1] On the other hand, it seems that the receiving states recognized them as an entity separate from true Turks, in all matters not connected with legal nationality.[2] During the First World War they were not regarded as enemy aliens, and though some unsuccessful efforts were made in Africa to intern them, the Lebanese kept their freedom, and many of them in fact voluntarily joined the allied army which fought the Turks and the Germans.[3] After the war, the status of these immigrants was regulated by provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of July 24, 1923. Article 30 of this

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1. See chapter one above. Also Husheymi, Report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants (Beirut, 1950), p. 36. In Arabic.

2. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 300.

3. Addison, op.cit., relates the following incident: "When the great war fell, several Syrians came to me to volunteer for service against our enemy. One of them was an old man many years over the military age. He came to me when I was holding court to submit his application. He said, 'The Germans are fighting the English. The English protect me and I want to fight for them'. I said, 'What about your business?'. The reply was, 'I will sell it and come back when the war is over'." Many other immigrants in the U.S. also joined the armed forces. Michael Nuaimi, the famous Americanized Lebanese philosopher and writer has given the author a vivid description of the battles he fought with the U.S. army in France.

treaty provides:

> "Turkish subjects habitually resident in territory which in accordance with the provisions of the present treaty is detached from Turkey[1] will become ipso facto in the conditions laid down by local law nationals of the state to which such territory is transferred."[2]

This article extended Lebanese nationality to all those habitually resident in such territory, thus including immigrants abroad, who could still be regarded as residents of Lebanon. Article 34, however, went further and provided specifically for the immigrants who had been abroad at the time the treaty came into force:

> "Subject to any agreements which it may be necessary to conclude between the governments exercising authority in the countries detached from Turkey and the governments of the countries where the persons concerned are resident, Turkish nationals of over eighteen years of age who are natives of a territory detached from Turkey under the present treaty and who on its coming into force are habitually resident abroad, may opt for the nationality of the territory of which they are natives, if they belong by race to the majority of the population of that territory, and subject to the consent of the government exercising authority therein. This right of option must be exercised within two years from the coming into force of the present treaty."[3]

Article 36 went on to provide for the status of married women, and children under 18 years. The wives' status was governed

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1. Syria and Lebanon were such territories.

2. Lausanne Treaty, July 24, 1923. Treaty series No. 16, 1923. Cmd.1929.

3. Ibid.

by that of their husbands and the children's by that of their parents.

On the governmental level there were no difficulties in implementing the provisions of this treaty. The Lebanese Government was ready and willing to accept all those of Lebanese origin who wished to opt for its nationality, and the receiving states did not raise any objections. Nor was there any difficulty in determining who were the persons to whom the treaty applied. Owing to the distinct identity accorded to the Lebanese immigrants from the time of their arrival,[1] no difficulties were faced in deciding who were natives of Lebanon, nor whether "they belong by race to the majority of the population" of Lebanon.

The real difficulties that faced the implementation of the terms of the treaty were in registering the Lebanese within the specified time limit. At that time neither Lebanon nor Syria had any diplomatic or consular representation. France, the mandatory state, was looking after their interests and even though its consular section in certain countries, mainly the U.S. and the South American States were instructed to register all those who wanted to opt for Lebanese nationality,[2]

1. See above.
2. Republique Francaise, Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Rapport a La Societé des Nations sur la Situation de las Syrie et du Liban, 1924, p. 54, states that such instructions were sent to six Consular sections in Buenos Aires Rio de Janiero, Sao Paulo, New York, Mexico and Cairo.

no real effort was made to circulate the terms of the treaty over the wide areas in which the Lebanese immigrants were scattered.[1] A large number of the Lebanese immigrants in Africa and elsewhere are usually found in the interior of the country, not merely in its capital or its big cities. Many, therefore, never had the opportunity to hear about the provisions of the treaty. Others knew, but either did not care to register as Lebanese because they did not feel any pressing need to do so, or lacked the proof of their Lebanese origin.[2] Most consular services complained of the fact that immigrants came to opt for Lebanese nationality only when they wanted to leave the country or were in trouble of a kind which could be avoided by opting for Lebanese nationality.[3] Even then they usually failed to produce the necessary documents. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that only 18,207 immigrants all over the world opted for Lebanese in the years 1924-26.[4]

This means that at the end of the two year period all those who did not opt were considered either as Turkish subjects

1. Lebanese Consul in Dakar, Report to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants, August 6, 1956. (Unpublished).

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Department of Census, Lebanese Government.

or stateless persons according to how the general provisions of the Lausanne Treaty are interpreted. Accordingly, the French authorities reached an agreement with the Turkish Government in 1937 which allowed another period of two years, during which those entitled to Lebanese nationality by the provisions of the Lausanne Treaty could opt for it. The response of the immigrant in this second call was much better than the previous one and 159,571 immigrants were registered.[1] This number, however, is equivalent to slightly more than one tenth of the total Lebanese emigrants.

The Lebanese Government of Independent Lebanon reached an agreement with Turkey, signed in December 1946, by which the terms of the Lausanne Treaty were extended for yet another two years.[2] Not many were registered under this last extension for several reasons. Many of the old emigrants to whom such provisions applied had returned to Lebanon by this time, or had died. The second generation had acquired the nationality of the places where they had been born, and though by Lebanese law dual nationality was and still is allowed, there did not seem to be a great eagerness among the majority of the second generation emigrants to acquire it, either

1. Ibid.

2. It was further extended till October 31, 1954.

because the laws of their second nationality did not permit this, or because they did not feel any pressing need to acquire Lebanese nationality. Thus, of the total number of Lebanese emigrants estimated by the Government at about 1,120,000, only 309,781 were holding Lebanese nationality by 1948. The following table shows how this number was reached.

Table 2

Number of Emigrants holding Lebanese Nationality by the year 1948.1

Persons who opted for Lebanese nationality between 1924 and 1926	18,207
Persons who opted for Lebanese nationality between 1937 and 1939	159,571
Persons who emigrated from Lebanon as Lebanese between August 31, 1924 and January 31, 1932 (date of last Lebanese census)	68,003
Persons who emigrated from Lebanon as Lebanese between February 1st, 1932 and December 31, 1942	64,000[2]
TOTAL	309,781

For political and religious reasons which will be touched upon later, members of the first two groups are not

1. Department of Census, Lebanese Government.

2. The Department of Census reached this figure by estimating emigration from Lebanon at an average of 4,000 persons a year including the war years. But a Report made jointly by the head of the Lebanese Department of Emigration, and the Chief of Police and presented to the Lebanese Foreign Ministry estimated them at 10,000 a year. Information privately secured from the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration. Report No3/400/20. June 3, 1957. (Unpublished.)

registered as full Lebanese, and they, unlike the remaining two groups, do not enjoy their full citizenship privileges if and when they come to Lebanon.

In West Africa, where the immigrant's stay is of a more temporary nature than that in other parts, and where the immigrants were in territories either under the French rule, or very near them, such as British West Africa and Liberia, one would expect their registration to be more complete than in other parts. Despite that, however, and the fact that they are fewer here than elsewhere, their registration in West Africa is by no means complete, and is proportionately less than registration elsewhere. The reason for this is not very difficult to find. After independence in 1943, the Lebanese Government did not care to appoint any representative in the West African territories, but resorted to the appointment of honorary Consuls, from among the community, who, through political influence in the Lebanon, secured their appointment to the post only to use it for their private commercial and social interests. Up to the present day, only two consulates in Dakar and Lagos have the consul appointed from the staff of the Foreign Office in Beirut.[1]

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1. Very recently a legation has been established in Ghana; and there is none as yet in Guinea.

These consuls usually have extensive areas to look after, making it practically impossible for them to reach and contact the immigrants in these widely scattered areas.[1] Nor would an immigrant, unless in really pressing need, travel a distance of 1,000 miles just to register as Lebanese. Moreover, the single consul finds himself so much pressed for time spent between his official duties and private business, that he rarely has time to go around the area within his sphere of responsibility. All that the consul usually does is to publish a few notices in English and Arabic and have them posted up in post offices or other places in the capital and some of the big cities, forgetting that the majority of the Lebanese most concerned with such regulations are illiterate and therefore cannot read the notices.[2] Many immigrants have reported to the consul after the specified period has passed, declaring that they have never read any notices to this effect.[3]

Up till now the immigrants have not suffered any hardships throughtheir failure to exercise the option. This is

1. Consular Report from Dakar, op.cit. Distances between Dakar and Bamako are 1,100 kilometers by plane, between Dakar and Abidjan 2,200 kilometers by plane. The two are within the domain of the Dakar Consulate.

2. Information secured in a personal interview with Mr.A.Yazbeck, Honorary Consul in Freetown, and Mr. Murir Ghandour, Lebanese Consul in Dakar, 1951-1953, describing the methods they used to circulate the last call for registration made under the Lebanese Turkish agreement of 1946. Also, Consular Report from Dakar, op.cit.

3. Ibid.

due mainly to the leniency of all governments concerned. The Turkish Government is not keen on acquiring them, and so is always ready to extend the terms of the treaty. The Lebanese Government, on the other hand, eager to accept them, is lenient in issuing them nationality certificates, even on the most meagre documentary evidence, whenever they ask for it. The governments of the receiving states, who even when the immigrants were under Turkish domination extended to them a special status, find no reason at present to change this attitude, and, as a result, acquire them as yet another minority of Turkish nationality. Only when an immigrant wants to leave the country or transact any actions based on nationality does he face the problem of what he is and how he can change his nationality.

A more acute problem is faced by those born in the land of immigration of Lebanese parents and who are, therefore, subject to two laws of nationality. Where, as in the United States and South America, the children are brought up with the intention of staying there all their lives, no problem arises, as the children naturally acquire the nationality of the receiving state and become full citizens. They are, from the Lebanese point of view, nationals of the receiving state of Lebanese origin, and though, by Lebanese Government policy,

they have a standing offer of Lebanese nationality, very few make use of it. The case is different in West Africa, where the temporary nature of Lebanese immigration and the government's policy of trying to avoid the creation of a multi-racial society, involves endless problems for the Lebanese children born there.

By the United Kingdom nationality law which is extended to the colonies, British subjects are allowed to hold another nationality.[1] Clearly, therefore, children of Lebanese immigrants born in British West Africa are entitled to obtain both Lebanese and British nationalities. This, however, does not seem to be the case, and Lebanese face difficulties in availing themselves of this right. In Sierra Leone, for example, the immigration authorities are refusing to issue British passports to Lebanese unless they sign an affidavit

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1. The relevant article published on the back cover of all British passports provides: "Persons born in foreign countries of British father or born in the United Kingdom or Colonies of foreign parents, women married to aliens, women who acquire British nationality on marriage, or by registration, and naturalised persons, may possess a foreign nationality in addition to British nationality. When in the country of their second nationality such persons cannot avail themselves of the protection of Her Majesty's representative against the authorities of the foreign country, and are not exempted by reason of possessing British nationality from any obligation (such as military service) to which they may be liable under the foreign law."

that they will not claim their Lebanese nationality.[1] The authorities' explanation is that they do not want the Lebanese in Sierra Leone to take advantage of their British nationality and be able at the same time to raise their Lebanese nationality as a defence to any prosecution instituted against them.[2] This is done mainly because of the diamond smuggling in which the Lebanese are said to be involved. Clearly the excuse of the authorities is not wholly valid, for by British law as well as Lebanese law, the rule of international law that a person cannot raise his second nationality as a defence in the country of his other nationality is incorporated. The immigrants cannot therefore plead their Lebanese nationality to prevent legal action being taken against them. Furthermore, an offence is generally punishable in the place it is committed irrespective of the nationality of the offender.

This policy, however, seems to be more relevant to cases where an immigrant with dual nationality commits an offence in an African territory of which he is national and is found

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1. In Sierra Leone, the Principal Immigration Officer had refused to issue British passports to three young children of Lebanese parents, unless their guardian signed an affidavit on their behalf that they would not claim their Lebanese nationality.

2. This was declared to the author by the Principal Immigration Officer in Freetown in May, 1957, when they were discussing the case of these three children.

later in a third state. According to international law the third state has an option to choose to which of the two countries of his nationality it hands the man, and usually it hands him to the state with which he is more involved.[1] When only one of the states of his two nationalities is claiming him, a third state is not entitled to contest the claim by referring to his second nationality, but has to hand him to the claiming state.[2] Accordingly, the fear of the authorities that Lebanese nationality might hinder their application of English law against the immigrant is unfounded, and it is submitted that such measures will achieve no purpose except to make more difficult the immigrant's life in West Africa.

Even those immigrants who acquire their British nationality as natives of a British colony, at the expense of giving up their Lebanese nationality, find out that they are in fact not considered by the law as full citizens, enjoying all the rights and performing all the obligations of their nationality. The definition of a native West African, whether Ghanaian, Nigerian or Sierra Leonian, "as a person who is a British

1. See Nottebohm Case (1955) in International Court of Justice Reports 1955, p. 21.

2. See Salem Arbitration (1932) in United Nations Reports of International Arbital Awards, p. 1161.

subject or British protected person and is a member of a race, tribe or community settled in the territory other than a race, tribe or community of European or Asiatic origin," is generally a common form in most laws and ordinances in which rights and duties are declared in relation to the native of a certain territory.[1] The legislator might have used this definition to exclude members of certain ethnic groups from the benefits or obligations of the law, for some particular reason applicable in special cases, or to avoid the creation of a multi-racial society; but no matter how good the intention of the legislators were, such legislation could not but create a feeling of insecurity and of not belonging in the minds of the Lebanese.

In French West Africa a further problem is faced. By extending the application of the French nationality law to French West Africa, a person born in French West Africa of foreign parents remains a foreigner until he reaches his majority, when he is entitled to choose, within one year, whether he wants to retain his foreign nationality or become a French citizen. If within a year of his majority he does not opt either way, he is deemed to have opted for French nationality, and is liable henceforth to all its rights and

1. See chapter two.
See also N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p. 3.

duties - including the duty of national service. This legislation has brought untold hardships on the Lebanese immigrants, many of whom have become French nationals against their will. A person might have wanted to opt for Lebanese nationality, but with the confused situation of the Lebanese files and records at home and in French West Africa, the year might pass without his being able to present the documents showing that he had opted for Lebanese nationality.

Problems arising from the Lebanese immigrants possessing dual nationality, when it is permitted, are not different from the kind of problems that ususally arise in this connection. A description of such problems would fall more properly under a discussion of international law than under a work of this nature. It will suffice here to have pointed out a few of the difficulties that face these immigrants who want to facilitate their affairs by acquiring the nationality of the receiving state, and yet keep their Lebanese nationality. It is apparent from the above discussion that they find great difficulty in achieving both aims.

It must be pointed out in this connection that the Lebanese Government can do much to ease the problems of its emigrants. It is clearly in the interest of the immigrant to acquire the nationality of the state where he lives most of

his life or all of it, and where he carries on his business. He must not be restrained, therefore, from acquiring such a nationality whenever he can, whether by birth or naturalisation. Nationality regulations are a matter governed by the internal law of the state and not by international law; and even though some of the receiving states may not naturalise a Lebanese until he repudiates his previous nationality, or may require a child born on their soil to opt for either nationality, they cannot ask the Lebanese Government to recognise such regulations. If the Lebanese Government, therefore, does not wish to lose its emigrants, and still wants to facilitate their commercial and social activities in their land of immigration, it can make laws which would offer to an emigrant, once he returned to Lebanon, all the rights and duties of a full Lebanese citizen just as if he had never acquired another nationality, or had been born in Lebanon.

It is true that such regulations might become more difficult to enforce after the third or fourth generation, and its enforcement would involve the doctrine of pure race, in that no matter what nationality a person holds now, or for how many generations his ancestors have not been Lebanese, yet, if he can prove his Lebanese origin he will be considered as Lebanese. But still, to a small country like Lebanon, eager to acquire nationals of good means and standing, there

can be no harm in applying such a liberal nationality law.

Accordingly, a Lebanese immigrant or his descendents will have what can be termed a "dormant Lebanese nationality" which will not come into effect except when he comes to Lebanon, or repudiates his later acquired nationality. When such a policy is followed, the emigrants can invest more in Lebanon, for then they would not be liable to the restrictions put on foreign investments, and they could play a more active role in shaping the political and social institutions of Lebanon.[1]

This leads us to a discussion of the third set of problems arising under the nationality issue; namely, the status of the emigrants when they return to Lebanon. Economically and socially the returning emigrants are an asset to the Lebanese society. Their position is other-wise when examined from the political angle. Lebanese political institutions, as shown earlier,[2] are based on a delicate balance between Christians and Muslims, and their various sects. As religious intolerance during Turkish rule was one of the main causes of emigration, the overwhelming majority of those who

1. In fact the Lebanese Government is applying this policy in certain fields. Recently, it has exempted persons of Lebanese origin from submitting to the law requiring all foreigners who want to own land and real estate in Lebanon to obtain special permission from the authorities.

2. Above, chapter one.

emigrated between the years 1855 and 1918 were Christians. Now that the Muslims are claiming that they have become a majority in Lebanon, and are asking to re-arrange the distribution of government offices, the issue of whether or not to extend nationality to the Lebanese emigrants is of primary importance. Though there is no doubt about the nationality of those who emigrated after August 31, 1924, and they are considered, for all purposes, as full Lebanese citizens, much difficulty centres around the earlier emigrants. The following table shows the religion and sect of the 159,571 emigrants registered in 1937-39, and who up till now are not considered full Lebanese citizens.

Table 3.

Emigrants registered in 1937-39[1] by religion and sect

Muslims	
Sunni's	4,913
Shiites	9,367
Druzes	4,863
Total Muslims	19,143
Christian	
Maronites	91,276
Catholics	13,272
Greek Orthodox	33,655
Protestants	710
Latin	42
Armenian Orthodox	66
SSyrian Catholics	91
Total Christians	139,112
Jews	1,316
Grand Total	159,571

1. Census Department of the Lebanese Government.

A glance at the table will show why the Muslims are opposed so strongly to the idea of giving the emigrants political rights, and why the Christians support the idea. The total number given in the table is but a small fraction of the number of Lebanese emigrants still unregistered; and there is no reason to expect that the religious division of the unregistered emigrants will be any different from that of those registered in 1937-39. If the rest of the emigrants are, therefore, registered and political rights extended to them, the Christian numbers will be greatly enhanced, and the Muslim hopes of a redistribution of government offices will fade away. If they were not registered, then the Christians fear that ultimately they may have to give in to Muslim pressure for a census, the result of which might very well support the Muslim claims.

Owing to this conflict, the problem which started in 1923 is not yet settled, and those emigrants who were registered during the periods 1924-1926, 1937-1939, and 1946-1954, find themselves in the awkward position of being considered as Lebanese for certain purposes, and not so for others. One cannot but sympathise with these emigrants, who are facing this problem of being second class citizens in both their country of origin and their country of domicile. Much agitation has

been going on in Lebanon about this problem and many theories have been advanced for its solution. The soundest of these theories is the one advocating the addition to the House of Parliament of a certain number of deputies elected by the Lebanese emigrant communities abroad who have registered as Lebanese.[1] On the other hand, there is another group who advocate the extension to the Lebanese emigrants of the right to participate in all elections and political issues on an equal footing with Lebanese residents at home. In the traditional spirit of compromise which dominates Lebanese politics, one may expect a solution somewhere in between, soon to be found, now that the issue is becoming so acute.

For all practical purposes the first of these two theories is better, and its implication would not involve much re-arrangement and re-organisation in the political institutions of Lebanon. On the other hand, if Lebanon is seeking to secure the assistance of its emigrants in its economic and social development, as in fact it is trying very hard to do, then it will find it necessary to give them full and equal rights. The emigrants are aware of this situation[2] and they

1. Manasah, op.cit., p. 430.

2. Resolutions of the emigrants' Congress in Zahle, Lebanon, August 29-September 4, 1955. For text see Appendix D.

demand nothing less than full and complete citizenship. Lebanon is called upon, therefore, to choose between the economic and social benefits which devolve upon it From giving the emigrants full citizenship, or the maintenance of its deligate religious-political balance.

III. Problems of Conflict of Laws.

It is not proposed ho offer here a legal discussion on the theories of conflict of laws, and their application. Problems of this nature arise at all times and places in relation to immigrants or resident groups, It is essential, however, to point out a few peculiar problems which face the Lebanese emigrant and which arise directly from the fact that he is an emigrant.

In the British colonies and other states, whose legal systems are based on the common law, the most important problem that faces the Lebanese immigrant is the conflict between the doctrines of domicile applied by English law, and the doctrine of nationality adopted by the continental legal syste, of which Lebanon is one. Thus, matters of personal status, such as marriage, divorce, inheritance and succession, are governed, according to English law, by the law of domicile, while according to continental law, nationality

is the decisive factor. A Lebanese immigrant in British West Africa finds himself in great confusion as to which law is applicable to him.

Not only that, but an immigrant is not even able to tell whether, according to English law, the nature of his stay in West Africa is considered as residence only or as domicile. If residence, the law of his nationality would still be applicable to him in matters of personal status, but if domicile, the law of the relevant West African territory would be applied. When an immigrant dies intestate in British West Africa, his personal representative may find himself faced with the problem of which law would govern the distribution of his assets. The Muslim or Christian laws of inheritance which are applicable to Lebanese nationals, according to their religious beliefs, differ radically from those applied by common law. To overcome this difficulty, the personal representatives usually divide the assets according to an agreement reached by the beneficiaries, and only in the case of disagreement among them, does the problem arise of which law is to be applied in the administration of assets. The problem is made more complicated by the fact that in most cases the deceased usually possesses assets, movable and immovable, in both Lebanon and West Africa.

More difficult problems may arise in the cases of marriage and divorce, especially in the case of a Muslim immigrant who is entitled by his personal status law in Lebanon to marry four wives. By English law the essential validity of a marrigge is governed either by the matrimonial domicile or domicile of both parties contracting a marriage,[1] while in Lebanese law it is governed by the nationality of the parties, or of the husband when they happen to be different. Divorce also has different rules in England and Lebanon. Polygamous marriages are not recognised in England, and cases may arise when a Muslim who already has a wife in Lebanon may wish to marry another in West Africa.

In theory, all such problems are capable of arising, and any attempt to clarify them or deal with them in any way will necessarily involve a detailed discussion of the theories and practices of the rules of conflict of laws in the Lebanon, British West Africa and French West Africa.[2] It will suffice

1. The rules are not yet definitely settled in the English conflict of laws. See, Graveson, Conflict of Laws, 3rd edition, 1955. Cheshire, Private International Law, 4th edition, 1952. Dicey Conflict of Laws, 6th edition, 1949.

2. In French West Africa many of the daughters of Lebanese immigrants who acquired French nationality by birth, face serious problems from the conflict between the French law, which requires its nationals to contract a civil marriage also, and forbids the marriage of a girl under sixteen, and the Lebanese law, which Lebanese immigrants are still accustomed to apply in their community. See Muruwah, op. cit., p. 293.

here to reveal the existence of such problems and it must be left to jurists to find solutions for them. Fortunately the Lebanese immigrant usually returns to Lebanon to marry[1] and, therefore, many of the marriage complications are avoided. The matter, however, deserves attention from the governments concerned, and an agreement which might be reached between Lebanon and some receiving states, clarifying the law relating to the personal status of the immigrants would certainly be a great help in reducing the confusion and problems facing the immigrants.

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1. See chapter two.

PART TWO

IN WEST AFRICA

CHAPTER FOUR

NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION

In order to understand the immigrants' commercial and social status, and their role in the development of West Africa, it is necessary to have in mind a clear picture of their number and distribution in each one of the West African territories. This chapter, therefore, will give a description of the immigration waves which came to the shores of West Africa, the pattern of the increase and decrease in the number of new immigrants, and the causes of their movement. The number of Lebanese immigrants in British and French West Africa as well as in Ghana, Liberia, Guinea and Portuguese Guinea will be examined in the light of available data, together with an evaluation of the authenticity of the relevant sources. The distribution of the immigrants is pointed out and the influence of such spread on the commercial and social life of the country is assessed. A map illustrating distribution is appended.

Waves of Immigration

Not until the late 1880's did the waves of Lebanese migration change their course towards the West African areas.[1]

1. See chapter two above.

Since then their nature and scope had varied in accordance with the internal situation in Lebanon or West Africa, and international events. In general, Lebanese migration to West Africa can be divided into four periods. First, the period between 1880 and 1914; secondly the post World War I period of 1920 - 1930; thirdly the period between 1934 and 1940; and lastly the post war period, from 1945 until the present day.

By the 1880's migration to the United States was well under way, and the emigrants who were crowded in Marseilles, were trying desperately to secure entry permits to the U.S.A. as well as travel facilities. It was then that the news of the arrival in West Africa of some of their fellow-countrymen first reached them, and many a hard-pressed emigrant gave up hope of going to America and chose to divert his course to West Africa,[1] but emigration to West Africa remained comparatively insignificant. Owing to the lack of any comprehensive archives for this period, the exact number of these early immigrants cannot be given, but the number cannot have been large, as only hard-pressed immigrants who had been denied entry to the United States went there. No emigration from Lebanon was directed specifically towards West Africa, because

1. See chapter two above.

people were still awaiting the pioneers' reports on how they were faring. Towards the end of this period, however, emigration from Lebanon increased tremendously, owing to the extension of military service duty to the Christians of Lebanon, and the threat of the first World War,[1] and consequently a proportion of this increase reached West Africa. The immigrants in Dakar increased from 159 in 1910 to 668 in 1913.[2] In Sierra Leone the number rose from 47 in the 1901 census to 266 in the 1911 census.[3] The number of the immigrants in Freetown illustrates this more precisely. Their number increased from 145 in 1911 to 212 in 1913.[4] This increase was halted by the outbreak of World War I, which completely stopped Lebanese emigration.

It has been pointed out above why emigration from Syria and Lebanon did not resume its pre-war rate immediately after hostilities ended.[5] The second period, therefore, did not start until 1921, but then it was at a much higher rate.[6] In the early twenties the United States tightened its immi-

1. See chapter two above.
2. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 197.
3. Census Reports, 1901, p. 6, 1911, p. 10, 24.
4. Medical report for Sierra Leone, 1913, p. 75.
5. Chapter two.
6. Kuczynski, op.cit., p. 191.

gration restriction laws and introduced its quota system, as a result of which many immigrants were denied entry to the United States and had therefore to go somewhere else.[1] Whereas in the pre-war period the annual increase in the number of immigrants to West Africa could be stated in multiples of ten, the increase in the second period was by the hundreds. The following table shows the number of Lebanese who entered into Senegal during this period.

Table 1

Number of Lebanese Immigrants to West Africa 1923 - 1931 [2]

1923	Senegal	Guinea	Port-Guinea	Br. West Africa
1923	664	72	-	67
1924	764	77	7	71
1926[3]	906	112	4	52
1927	123	1333	103	37
1928	268	50	12	283
1929	252	52	67	353
1930	420	41	14	187
1931	150	10	3	199

It became apparent to the author while compiling this table from official emigration records that most emigrants

1. Republique Francaise, Ministere des Affaire Etrangeres; Rapport a la Societe des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban, 1928, p. 93.

2. Compiled from Rapport a la Societe des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban, for the years given in the table, op.cit.

3. Detailed figures for the year 1945 did not appear in the records.

to West Africa gave Senegal or British West Africa generally as their destination, with a few giving French or Portuguese Guinea. This illustrates the fact that when leaving Lebanon the early emigrants did not know their exact destination in West Arica. Dakar in Senegal served as the clearing house for the rest of the territory. When immigration laws were not as strict as they later became, many of the earlier immigrants readily migrated from one African territory to another as - and when - better opportunities seemed to offer. For example, it will be recalled that the first immigrants to reach Nigeria and Guinea came from Sierra Leone,[1] while most of the early immigrants to the Ivory Coast came from Senegal.[2] Today, owing to the strict immigration laws, this mobility has lessened considerably, and an immigrant to one territory wishing to transfer to another, is subjected to as many regulations as would be applied if he were an applicant from outside Africa.[3]

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1. Chapter two above.

2. An old Lebanese in Dakar has told the author that in the early days the Ivory Coast was nicknamed the "Battle Front" by Lebanese, because most of the new arrivals in Senegal and those who were unable to succeed in their businesses were sent there.

3. Unless he is a British or French subject in British or French Africa respectively, in which case he would be subjected to special regulations applicable to him because of his nationality and not because of his having been in another African territory.

This tremendous increase in immigration was slowed down by the world depression of the early thirties, during which many of the immigrants who were not yet well established suffered serious loss.[1] Many who had not started businesses by then, found themselves unable to start, and they either had to be idle or to take lower paid employment with an established immigrant. The immigrants, therefore, had not the means to send passage money to their relatives nor was there any special need to get them to Africa; few dared to come on their own in such difficult times. The depression slowed Lebanese emigration not only to West Africa but to all other parts of the world. The decrease is well illustrated in the following table giving the total number of those who emigrated between 1923 and 1932.

Table 2

Number of emigrants leaving Lebanon, 1923 - 1932[2].

1923	16,000	1928	14,288
1924	13,500	1929	7,941
1925	11,000	1930	7,346
1926	16,000	1931	2,426
1927	9,700	1932	1,646

1. G. Manassah, op.cit., p. 422. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 189.

2. Compiled from "Rapport a La Societe des Nations Sur La Situation de la Syrie et du Liban, op.cit.

After the World Depression, West African trade had a tremendous upsurge, especially during the 1936-37 season, and many Lebanese made great profits.[1] In the summer of that year about 50 of them returned to Lebanon, whose economy, especially in the agricultural sphere, was still suffering desperately. No sooner had the poor farmers seen their fellow-countrymen's wealth than they abandoned their fields by the hundreds and made their way to West Africa. This third wave recruited most of its elements from the farmers of rural Lebanon, thus dealing another blow to ailing Lebanese agriculture, a setback from which it was to suffer for a long time.[2] Practically every territory in West Africa received a part of this substantial increase. The number of immigrants in Senegal rose from 3,829 in 1936 to 4,400 in 1938. In Guinea and the Ivory Coast the number of immigrants increased as shown in the table below.

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1. Annual Reports of Nigeria Police Force 1937.

2. Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 189-190.

Table 3

Increase in Number of Lebanese Immigrants in Guinea and Ivory Coast[1]

Year	Guinea	Ivory Coast
1930	909	243
1931	1,011	148
1936	1,367	454
1938	1,600	700

Though the accuracy of these figures is not to be taken as absolute, they seem to indicate the large increase in the number of immigrants in the years 1936-1938. More reliable data is that furnished by the police authorities of Sierra Leone which reveals the number of Lebanese who entered the country in the years 1931-1938.

Table 4.

Number of Entrants to Sierra Leone 1931-1939[2]

1931	32	1936	67
1932	45	1937	198
1933	24	1938	114
1934	25	1939	35
1935	45		

1. Figures taken from Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 211, 219, who obtained them from official sources.

2. Computed from Annual Reports of the Sierra Leon Police Force, 1930-1939.

Though some of these were returning immigrants, the increase is nevertheless so substantial that it illustrates clearly the general trend. No figures are given for the new entrants in the Nigerian and Gold Coast police reports, and no census was taken either in Nigeria between 1931 and 1952, or in Ghana between 1931 and 1948, but it is reliably reported that they too received their share of the increase.[1]

It is possible that a few individuals might have been able to travel, but the outbreak of World War II put an effective end to the third period of Lebanese immigration. No data is available for the years 1940-1945,[2] but the great reduction in the number of entrants between the year 1938 and 1939 shown in table 4 above, indicated this trend. The decrease in the number from 114 in 1938 to 35 in 1939, which saw war only in its last quarter, is an indication of an even sharper decrease which ought to follow during the war years.

After the war immigration was not as extensive as it had been in the 1920's, mainly because of the stricter immigration laws, and the economic prosperity of Lebanon. The movement

1. Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 222, 226. Also Annual Reports of Nigeria Police Force, 1937, which states "The confidence in the general trade prosperity of the country during 1937 resulted in an increase of alien immigrants amounting to 96.6%. A combination of Syrian and Lebanese immigrants shows an increase of 283 persons over the number admitted during 1936; an increase of nearly 100%."
2. There were no police reports during the war period.

of people between Lebanon and West Africa, however, was by no means ended. Immigrants after the war seemed to have developed the custom of returning to Lebanon for a few months holiday every one or two years. The traffic between Lebanon and West Africa was no more a single line of new immigrants entering West Africa, but became a two way traffic of home-going and returning immigrants. This last period of Lebanese immigration is in essence, therefore, more of a migratory period in which Lebanese migrated between Lebanon and West Africa in numbers which, oddly enough, seem to be almost equal.

Table 5

Number of Lebanese Immigrants who entered and those who left Sierra Leone and Nigeria, 1947 - 1955[1]

Year	Sierra Leone		Nigeria	
	Entered	Left	Entered	Left
1947	108	41	275	157
1948	207	93	180	144
1949	238	160	353	334
1950	205	194	337	345
1951	143	141	457	446
1952	220	193	-	-
1953	227	185	612	556
1954	252	252	540	563
1955	358	355	628	696

1. Computed from The Annual Reports of the Police Forces of Sierra Leone and Nigeria, 1947-1955.

It is clear from the table that, whereas during the first few years after the war the number of entrants exceeded the number of those who left, the movement reached approximate equilibrium in the early fifties, and has kept to this ever since. No doubt a small number of the entrants each year were newcomers,[1] but even these, if not British subjects by birth, usually entered on the condition that they took the place of a departing immigrant who had no intention of returning.

This substitution of one immigrant for another developed into a practice known as "place selling". An immigrant can ask, under existing immigration laws, for a person to carry on his work for him if he is leaving the country. Whenever one immigrant decides to retire or leave the country permanently he therefore offers his place for sale either to fellow immigrants wishing to get a relative or friend to Africa, or to a prospective immigrant at home. The sale, however, must take place in Africa, before the immigrant leaves, and the newcomer usually has to carry on the business, for some time at least, in the departing immigrant's name.[2]

The immigrant who desires to bring another person from

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1. Ibid.

2. The author knows of many transactions of this kind. Prices range from £1,00 to £2,000.

Lebanon finds this way of buying a place easier and cheaper than the legal process by which he has to fulfil many formalities, and declare a working capital of about £25,00 sterling, with the natural consequence that he has to pay income-tax on the declared amount. Besides the children born in the territory and entitled to enter it, and the very few who are brought on the quota basis the majority of the one or two hundred new immigrants who enter Africa each year secure their entry permit by buying places from departing immigrants.[1]

Many of the unsuccessful immigrants, in this way, collect much more money than they have saved during their entire stay in Africa. This wealth enables them to return to Lebanon to buy a small piece of land or to start some other humble enterprise. The opening of the oil industry in the Arab States, such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, diverted many would-be immigrants from West Africa. This movement helps to explain why the fourth and last period of Lebanese immigration to West Africa became one of saturation and stability, with immigration to and emigration from West Africa being of equal

1. Information obtained from the files of the Department of Emigration in the Lebanese Mininstry of Foreign Affairs. A prospective emigrant is required to state in his application for an exit permit the method by which he obtained his entry permit.

magnitude.

Number of Immigrants

The researcher finds no reliable sources from which to ascertain the number of Syrians and Lebanese in the various West African territories; the three main sources are census reports in the British and French West African Colonies, Lebanese Government estimates of the emigrants in 1955, and the estimates given by various Lebanese writers and journalists who have visited some or all of the countries of West Africa. The census reports are not very reliable, because they rarely cover the whole territory, and in some areas they are based on estimation, not actual enumeration.[1] Added to this is the fact that, until recent censuses, Syrians and Lebanese were merged in a larger group, either as Europeans, Natives, or Asiatics.[2]

Lebanese immigrants, moreover, like any other insecure and fearful minority, wished for obscurity or anonymity, and many wanted as little attention as possible directed to their presence. Accordingly, many avoided registering with the authorities and, because the census taking system was far

1. See Census Reports for Sierra Leone, 1901, 1911, 1921, 1931. Census Reports for Nigeria, 1921, 1931, 1952. Census Reports for Gold Coast, 1921, 1931, 1948. Also Kuczynski, op.cit., and Sir C.P. Lucas, op.cit.

2. Ibid.

from efficient, some escaped enumeration. In recent years the police have taken over the registration of aliens, but the accuracy of their figures is also very doubtful. Even the various agencies of the same government do not give identical figures about Lebanese immigrants in their territory. Whereas the Principal Immigration Officer gives the number of Lebanese immigrants in Sierra Leone in 1957 as 2,612[1], a high official in the Sierra Leone police force estimated the actual number to be as high as 6,000[2]. On the other hand, a Report from the Government Secretariat, Sierra Leone,[3] gave the number in 1952 as only 1,204.[4] Moreover, the census only records

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1. Information obtained in a letter received by the author from the Principal Immigration Officer which states: "With reference to our recent conversation, I have to inform you that there are 2,612 Lebanese permanently resident in Sierra Leone. At the moment 1,284 of these are not in the country. I would point out that this number does not include British subjects of Lebanese parents nor does it include any who are merely on a visit to Sierra Leone."

2. Information obtained during an interview with a high ranking officer of the Sierra Leone Police Force, who specifically requested the author not to give his name.

3. Report from Government Secretariat, Sierra Leone to the Colonial Secretary's Office, 20th March 1953, entitled: Number and Position of Syrians in Sierra Leone.

4. Though the figure 1,204 was given in 1952, it could not be expected that the number of Lebanese would increase under existing immigration laws from 1,204 to 2,612 between 1952 and 1957, when by the estimation of the same source giving the figure, the immigrants only increased from 1,070 in 1947 to 1,204 in 1952.

those resident at the time it was taken, and many Lebanese might have been out of the country.

The Lebanese Government estimates are even less reliable than the census reports. The Department of Emigration in the Lebanese Foreign Ministry does not describe the method by which it obtained its figures. It certainly did not inherit any archives relating to emigration from the Turkish authorities, and the French left little information of a general character.[1] Its estimates were therefore based only on the reports of the various Lebanese consuls, and on the number of immigrants registered under the terms of the Lausanne Treaty. The question arises as to what validity may be attributed to these consular reports. Consuls seem to obtain their figures by putting together bits and pieces of information received from immigrants in different districts of the country.[2] Certainly such a system could not give an absolutely accurate figure.

As to the registering of immigrants as a source of

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1. Extensive research in the Archives of the Department of Emigration in the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration revealed to the author how little was the information inherited by the Lebanese Government.

2. This was the system used by at least the Consul in Sierra Leone, and by the former Consul in Lagos, (Information secured by personal interviews with the two Consuls.) Also Consular Reports from Dakar, August 6, 1956.

ascertaining their number, something has been said above concerning the defects of this system, whose figures are far less accurate than any other source.[1] With the aid of information from these sources, the Lebanese Government issued in 1955 what it called a census of the Lebanese immigrants, and this became the official record accepted by the authorities.[2]

A third source of information as to the number of immigrants in West Africa is provided by the various writers and journalists, mostly Lebanese who have travelled in West Africa and mixed with the immigrant communities. Undoubtedly the figures of such authors are also estimates, though a few of them visited almost all the main towns and villages of the country they have been to, and have given the name, marital status, and number of children of each immigrant in each district.[3] Yet one cannot fail to observe the defects in this system. First of all these writers cannot possibly have met all the immigrants in the big cities, though they might have secured figures from the police more easily than in rural areas. A more serious source of error arises

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1. Chapter two above.

2. Al-Amal Newspaper, June 12, 1955, in Arabic.

3. Most important of these writers is Edmund K. Saadeh, op. cit., who made an extensive tour in West Africa, and published a catalogue of immigrants there.

from the fact that most of these writers either came to collect money from the immigrants under the guise of writing a book about them or were religiously or politically minded persons who for private reasons would want to see the number of immigrants either higher or lower to fit their own purposes.[1] Moreover, these writers get most of their figures from the estimates of other immigrants or nationals of the territory, and people have a tendency to exaggerate.[2]

In these conditions it would be misleading to claim that a certain figure represents the exact number of the Lebanese and Syrian immigrants. However, the situation is not hopeless, and approximate figures with a very narrow margin of error could be obtained from a comparison and analysis of the different numbers given by the various sources. In certain territories, the figures given by the three main sources are so close to one another that they suggest reasonable accuracy. The figures given by the Lebanese census, 1955, the West African censuses when taken, and a writer's estimates for 1952 are given in the following table. Where no figure is given it

1. Several of the immigrants interviewed in Sierra Leone and Lebanon told the author that they feared that he too would ask them for money like the rest of those who came purporting to be writing books on immigration.

2. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., Note 1, p. 157, comments on the number of Syrian immigrants: "Popular estimates put the number of the Lebanese and Syrians in the Gold Coast in the tens of thousands, while in fact they do not exceed two thousand."

is because no census was taken or no figures are available. It should be noted that even though the three sources do not give their figures for the same year, one can, in view of the fact that, after the war, migration became almost static,[1] derive certain conclusions from the table, by allowing for a small increase each year.

Table 6

Number of Lebanese Immigrants in the West African Territories

Country	Lebanese Government Census 1955	Saadeh's estimates 1952	W. African Censuses[2]
Nigeria	1,650	1,893	1,895 (1952)
Gold Coast	2,200	1,797	1,370 (1948)
Sierra Leone	2,900	2,770	2,612 (1957)
Gambia	650	435	201 (1951)
Guinea	3,000	2,870	1,524 (1946)
Senegal	10,000	7,545	5,923 (1946)
Soudan & Upper Volta	1,200	1,099	476 (1946)
Ivory Coast	1,850	1,590	745 (1946)
Togo	165	165	63 (1946)
Niger	150	133	18 (1946)
Dahomey	95	95	35 (1946)
Liberia	550	550	-
Portuguese Guinea	1,050	695	-

1. See first section of this chapter.
2. Year of census in brackets.

The Lebanese Government, as the table indicates, seems to be the most generous in numbers. With the exception of Nigeria, its figures are higher than either of the other two sources. Saadeh's estimates seem to fall in between the high Lebanese figures and the low census figures. When the census figures are the highest, as in Nigeria, they must be accepted in preference to the other two, for the deficiency in a census is that it might not count everyone, but it cannot be assumed to count non-existent immigrants. Where it is lower than the other two sources, it cannot be taken without further comparisons. The three figures for Nigeria are, however, far below popular estimates, and even writers of reputation have estimated them in 1951 at about 2,600,[1] but it is submitted that the census figures should be upheld.

The census figures for the Gold Coast are certainly too low, owing mainly to the fact that immigrants who were outside the country when the census was taken were not counted, and in the post war period this number was considerable. For Sierra Leone all the three figures can be correct, for the Lebanese Government might consider a person, who had both Lebanese and British nationality, as a Lebanese and include him in its figure, while the Principal Immigration Officer

1. Buchanan and Pugh, Land and People of Nigeria, p. 99.

would not.[1] The Immigration Officer's figures seem, therefore, reasonable and in accordance with the Lebanese Government's estimates, for there are certainly more than two hundred Lebanese with dual nationality. Before May 1957 the Lebanese Consul in Sierra Leone had registered 2,452 Lebanese immigrants, but he estimates their number to be around 4,000.[2]

As for French West Africa, the census figures are generally too low. The number of emigrants in all territories is far lower than popular estimates and even high ranking officials in the French Colonial Service tend to prefer Saadeh's figures, especially in the case of Senegal, Ivory Coast, Niger, Togo and Dahomey.[3] In the case of Niger, Togo and Dahomey, Saadeh has given the names, and addresses of nearly all the Lebanese emigrants, and one therefore cannot but accept his figures, and dismiss the census figures as incomplete.[4]

The differences between the government's figures and those of Saadeh do not, except in one case,[5] exceed two or three

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1. See footnote 1, page 156 above.

2. Information obtained in an interview with the Lebanese Consul in Freetown, Mr. Asraad Yazbek, on May 3, 1957.

3. Information privately obtained by the author at an interview with M.George Gayet, Inspecteur General de la France D'Outre-Mer, and several other African and French officials in October 1958.

4. Saadeh, op.cit., pp. 239-240; 363-367.

5. Figures for the Senegal.

hundred. Since the numbers given by the Lebanese Government seem to be round figures, it can be taken that the rounding off process might have caused some increase in the total number. Consequently, Saadeh's figures should be accepted in preference to the Government's figures. It might be worth while noting the total number of Lebanese immigrants in the whole of West Africa as estimated by the Government and Saadeh. Their number according to the Government is 25,810, of whom 16,460 are in French West Africa, 7,750 in British West Africa, 550 in Liberia, and the remaining 1,050 in Portuguese Guinea. Saadeh estimates them at 21,537 divided into 13,495 in French West Africa, 6,797 in British West Africa, 550 in Liberia and 695 in Portuguese Guinea. These figures are certainly far lower than the estimates of the people in Lebanon, the immigrants themselves, and the Africans and officials in West Africa.

In certain ways, the over-estimation of immigrants is easy to understand. In Africa the degree of control they exercise over wholesale and retail trade, the large number of buildings and shops with Lebanese names on them, the fact that a Lebanese is apt to be found in almost every corner of the country, combine to give the Africans and officials an exaggerated impression. Their activity in the country is

definitely much more than an ordinary 25,000 persons usually generate.

In Lebanon the large sums of money sent by the emigrants, the large number of beautiful houses and buildings owned by Lebanese from West Africa, the vast number of "holidaying" emigrants one meets in Lebanon, together with the importance given to them in Lebanese politics, creates the impression that they must be at least two or three times their actual number.

The immigrants themselves, for reasons similar to the above, are also under the same illusion. They also have their own special reason for increasing their number so as to have more weight in pressing their cause on the Government. Added to all this confusion is the fact that no reliable statistics are available to check their estimates, and many reasons could be found for suspecting that existing official figures are not invariably correct. In such circumstances the only possible conclusion on the number of immigrants in West Africa, is that it ranges between Saadeh's figures as a minimum and a figure 5,000 higher as a maximum. The maximum could be raised a few thousands more if persons of Lebanese parentage having British or French nationality or dual nationality were considered as Lebanese.

Distribution of Immigrants.

Scotsmen are given to boast that a Scot is to be found in every remote outpost of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and they often assert that it is the Scot who most often has acted as the pioneer in exploration, evangelism, trade and settlement. It is tempting to draw analogies between the homeland conditions of the Scots and Lebanese and also to compare their activities overseas, but certainly one can say of West Africa that there are few remote corners to which the Lebanese have not penetrated, often to initiate commercial enterprises of the kind which have won the admiration of the imaginative British economic historian,[1] as well as to indulge in the more humble if still useful occupation of itinerant hawker.[2]

Since so little is known of the Lebanese in West Africa, the following section is devoted to drawing together such information as is available on the distribution of the Lebanese immigrants. Although the sources are not wholly satisfactory, and although it is recognized that simple geographical and numerical desriptions can be tedious, the

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1. Hancock, op.cit., Part II, Vol.II, Chapter II.

2. They are perhaps not unlike Ali, in the musical "Oklahoma"

writer believes that the following information represents in itself a contribution to knowledge which is essential for the purposes not only of this study, but of subsequent enquiries.

The map appended to this thesis indicates the centres in which Lebanese are found. An immediate impression gained from a study of the map is one of wide dispersal of Lebanese throughout West Africa. This is undoubtedly the most striking aspect of the Lebanese presence in British and French territories, but if one moves from a broad geographical to a detailed numerical examination, one is at once made aware of the fact that the Lebanese are in another sense highly localized. This is particularly true of certain regions. In Nigeria, for example, as the geographers Pugh and Buchanan have shown, more than half the Lebanese immigrants are clustered in a few cities or districts.[1] This situation, however, was forced upon the immigrants by several factors. The conditions of West Africa when the early Lebanese arrived were such as to force them to aggregate in cities along the coast. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth, not even the whole of what now forms an integral part of West Africa was under the effective control of the colonizing powers.[2] Moreover, foreign

1. Buchanan and Pugh, op.cit., p. 99.
2. William N.M. Geary, Nigeria under British Rule, Methuen & Company Ltd., London, 1927, p. 4.

merchant houses on whom the early immigrants depended to obtain their goods were confined to the coast and no adequate railway system was in operation.[1]

It is proposed to deal with the distribution of Lebanese immigrants in the British and French territories, as well as Portuguese Guinea and the three independent states of Ghana, Guinea, and Liberia, from both the geographical and numerical point of view to illustrate how far the immigrants are scattered over the country. The number of immigrants in each locality will be given in families composed generally of a husband, with in most cases a wife and one or two children. For the purpose of finding the number of immigrants in West Africa it is suggested that the number of families should be multiplied by three, this being taken as the average size of that part of the immigrant's family resident in West Africa.

Nigeria

In Nigeria the Lebanese immigrants seem to be concentrated in the Western and Northern regions with very few in the Eastern Region.[2] In 1952 there were 513 male and 262 female Lebanese and Syrians in Western Nigeria, 379 males and 251

1. Ibid.

2. See appended map.

females in Northern Nigeria, while there were only 60 males and 42 females in Eastern Nigeria.[1] The Lagos census of 1950 gave the number of Lebanese in the Lagos area as 388.

Their geographical dispersion is not, however, very marked and , unlike other West African territories, Nigeria is a country where the Lebanese immigrants are concentrated in a few big cities. The pattern of distribution which can be noticed in other West African territories, where one or two Lebanese immigrants can be found in most villages, is not followed in Nigeria. One explanation is the fact that in the early years the Lebanese immigrants were specifically forbidden by the authorities from wandering around freely in the hinterland. Michael Ehias, the earliest immigrant in Nigeria, tells how the authorities issued an order requiring all Lebanese Syrians to stop their activity in the interior and to confine their trade to a five mile limit around the coast. The Lebanese immigrants, it is reported, filed a suit against the order in London and obtained judgement to invalidate the order, on the ground that the Lebanese were in the hinterland before British rule was extended to it.[2]

1. Nigeria Census Reports (Northern Region, July 1952), (Western Region, December 1952), (Eastern Region, June 1953).

2. The truth of this story is very doubtful, as research has failed to show that any such case was filed. Moreover, investigation suggests that it was not legally possible for a case of this kind to be filed in London.

Another reason for the immigrants' concentration is the fact that Nigeria has several large cities with populations exceeding 50,000, in which a larger number of immigrants could live and trade without being driven by competition to move out to smaller localities. Thirdly, the size of the immigrant community is itself smaller than in any other major West African territory, hence when the cities possible capacity for immigrants is filled, not many are left to disperse themselves over the hinterland. Their geographical and numerical distribution is illustrated by the following table which shows the number of Lebanese families in the main localities.

Table 7

Number and Distribution of Lebanese in Nigeria[1] in families.

Western Nigeria	Number	Northern Nigeria	Number
Lagos	192	Kano	134
Ibadan	63	Jos	39
Abeokuta	8	Zaria	20
		Kaduna	7
Eastern Nigeria		Nguru	5
Port Harcourt	21	Katsina	4
Calabar	18	Maiduguri	4

1. Data computed from Saadeh, op.cit., pp. 367-391; M.Hayyek, Fi Majahel Ifrikia (Inside Africa), Beirut, 1952, pp. 387-422. (In Arabic.) Immigrants given in each city were given by their names as known to the authors of these two works.

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone was the first territory in West Africa to receive Lebanese immigrants, and several of the earliest immigrants in Nigeria, Gold Coast, Guinea and Ivory Coast have migrated from it.[1] Its area is about 80,400 square kilometers (31,000 miles) over which the Lebanese seem to be well distributed except in the north-eastern parts, where their entry is forbidden by the authorities. As is to be expected, a large number of the immigrants aggregate in the capital, Freetown; but more than two thirds of the community are nevertheless dispersed throughout the territory. In 1931 there were 282 males and 131 females in the colony, 334 males and 149 females in the Southern Province, and 227 males and 43 females in the Northern Province.[2]

One special feature of the distribution in Sierra Leone is that, apart from Freetown, there is no great numerical difference between the centres; up to twenty families being found in many places.[3] One reason for this may be the fact that Sierra Leone has no cities large enough to support more than twenty Lebanese traders. Because the country is

1. See above chapter two.

2. Census Report, 1931.

3. See map.

comparatively small in comparison with other West African territories, and its towns and villages are not very far apart, Lebanese immigrants chose to settle in 'unoccupied' villages where they thus avoided the competition of fellow immigrants while at the same time being able to maintain trading and social connections with their fellows in nearby towns and villages. In the Southern Province there is hardly a village of any significance without its Lebanese trader.[1] This may seem odd, in view of the fact that riots against the Lebanese have occurred several times in Sierra Leone since 1919. These riots, however, have been confined mainly to the capital, Freetown and, on the whole, immigrants in Sierra Leone report that they feel a great degree of order and security even in the loneliest places. The table below serves to indicate the wide distribution of immigrants in Sierra Leone.[2]

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1. During a tour in the Southern Province, the author was able to find isolated Lebanese traders in nearly every village. Many of the villages were only recently connected by motor roads.

2. See Map.

Table 8

Number of Immigrants in a few Sierra Leone Towns and Villages in 1952[1].

Town	Number of families	Town	Number of families
Freetown	263	Zimi	9
Makeni	22	Rokupor	7
Lunsar	21	Kambia	7
Bo	21	Ngofo	6
Bonthe	17	Daru	6
Magburaka	16	Kangahun	6
Rotifurma	13	Tiama	5
Kassirie	12	Ngama	5
Port Loko	12	Kaylahun	5
Waterloo	11	Matru	4
Hamacouva	10	Pujehum	4
Boajibu	10	Yoni	4
Manke Bore	10	Mambolo	3
Kenema	10	Koribundo	3
Mano	9	Pandajuma	3
Blama	9	Sefadu	2

It must be pointed out that the list is not completely exhaustive, yet it contains the localities with the largest number of immigrants. Lebanese individuals in the rural areas of Sierra Leone are neither very rich nor are they attached to any one place by means of land or estate holdings. They tend, therefore, to migrate from one village to another, and it is not surprising that one town which had 10 Lebanese in 1952 had only 2 in 1957.[2]

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1. Figures computed from Saadeh, op.cit., pp. 281-316; Hayyek, op.cit., pp. 207-262, and personal computations by the author.

2. Manke Bore.

Gambia

Geographically the Lebanese seem to be well distributed over this small and narrow territory, 4,100 square miles in area. Their distribution, however, is more localized as to numbers, about half of them living in the capital, Bathurst. Considering its small area and its severe immigration laws, Gambia has a good proportion of Lebanese immigrants. The Bathurst community is 'well-to-do,' and is influential in economic and social life. They are also on quite good terms with the authorities.[1] In the interior the immigrants concentrate more on dealing with produce than with retail trade which only occupies 15% of them. This difference is due to the fact that Gambia's main river, dissecting it from east to west, furnishes a good means of transportation for the produce collected from the interior and neighbouring Senegal. The following table illustrates this distribution.

1. Information obtained in interviews with Henry Maddi, the leading Lebanese trader in the territory and David Williams, editor of West Africa.

Table 9

Distribution of the Lebanese in Gambia, 1952[1]

Locality	Number	Locality	Number
Bathurst	58	Bansang	2
Najawara[2]	8	Kulou	2
Basse	5	Banchan	1
Kussimar	5	Camaconda	1
Gunjur	4	Wolicana	1
McCarthy	4	Sibanoe	1
Fattato	3		

Dahomey

The number of Lebanese in Dahomey is smaller than in any other West African territory. It is only 95 persons.[3] The main reason for this is the fact that the Dahomey African took to retail trade before the Lebanese arrived, and the immigrants find it difficult to compete with him.[4] They are concentrated mainly in two towns, Porto-Novo, which has 27

1. Compiled from Sa'adeh, op.cit., p. 218-224, and personal investigation.

2. Owing to the smallness of the territory, not all the localities given in the table appear on the appended map.

3. Sa'adeh, op.cit., p. 78, also Lebanese Government Estimates, 1955.

4. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 230. Also interviews with immigrants from Dahomey, who were on holiday in Lebanon in the summer of 1956.

families, and Cotonou, which has two families. There are no reports of immigrants in other parts of Dahomey.

Togo[1]

Geographically the Lebanese are concentrated in two cities; Lome on the coast and Atakpame, 103 miles to the north. No significant number of immigrants is found beyond this town. The total number varies greatly, because many Lebanese from Dahomey and Ghana enter the territory for short term seasonal trade and currency transactions. This fact is well illustrated in the following table showing the immigration and emigration of Lebanese in the years 1939 - 1945.

Table 10

Lebanese Migration in French Togo 1939-45[2]

Year	Entered	Left
1939	83	44
1940	30	29
1941	3	-
1942	34	17
1943	13	22
1944	8	2
1945	3	2

1. This discussion relates to French Togo only. British Togo is included in the discussion on Ghana.

2. Compiled from Ministere de la France D'Outre-Mer. Bulletin Mensuel de Statistique Colonials. Supplement Serie Etudes No. 12.

The census of 1946 gave the number of Lebanese in Togo to be only 63. The Lebanese Government and Saadeh agree on estimating them at 165, of whom 25 families are in Lome and 14 in Atakpame.[1]

Niger

The small Lebanese community in this territory is geographically and numerically localized. Most of the 133 immigrants are found in four towns in the southern part of the territory, bordering on Nigeria, Dahomey and Upper Volta. Niamey, the capital, has eight families, Dori has four, Zinder seven and Goure two.[2] This localized distribution is to be expected however, owing to the fact that the southern part of Niger is the one most suited for stable produce dealing.

Ivory Coast

The number of immigrants in the Ivory Coast is somewhere between 1,600 and 1,800. The numerical and geographical distribution of the immigrants over the 469,038 square kilometres which form this French colony is more dispersed than in either Ghana or Nigeria. Though the capital Abidjan has larger number of immigrants than any other city in the colony, it has by no means a majority or even one fourth of the total

1. Department of Emigration Census, 1955, op.cit., Saadeh also, op.cit., pp. 363 - 364.

2. Saadeh, op.cit., p. 239. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 102.

number. There are about ten cities with 20 to 80 families, extending from Grand Bassam in the south to Bondoukou, 225 miles to the north, and from Danene in the east, to Aboise 400 miles to the west. In this area a Lebanese could be found in almost every town and village. The main body, however, is distributed in the towns shown in the following table.

Table 11

Number and Distribution of Lebanese Immigrants in the Ivory Coast, 1952 [1]

City	Number of Families	City	Number of Families
Abidjan	81	Oume	7
Grand Bassam	64	Duekoue	7
Agboville	44	Dimbokro	7
Daloa	40	Toumodi	5
Gagnoe	30	Aboisso	4
Lakota	26	Anoumabo	4
Bouake	25	Sassandra	4
Divo	21	Abengouro	3
Dabou	19	Soulire	2
Issia	9	Danene	2
Man	9	Bouafle	2
Adzope	9	Bondoukou	2
Tiassale	77	Yamoussoukra	1

1. Figures computed from Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp
Husheymi, op.cit., pp.
Hayyek, op.cit., pp.

It can be noted that the immigrants seem to concentrate numerically in the Western part of the country though some are found in all parts. The reason for this is easy to find. The Ivory Coast was the last of the French West African territories to be opened to foreign immigration.[1] Substantial immigration only started after the First World War. In 1908 there were only three immigrants; in 1909 only four. In 1923, 48 newcomers arrived and by 1930 the total number rose to 343 persons. The majority of the immigrants came from neighbouring Guinea, Liberia, French Sudan and Sierra Leone travelling over-land or by sea. Since all these countries lie to the west of the Ivory Coast, it was natural for the newcomers to settle in those parts which they reached first, and which were nearer to their compatriots in other territories. It is not reported that any immigration came from the Gold Coast or Nigeria. In these days, these territories were not yet well developed as Lebanese immigration centres.

Senegal

Since the beginning of Lebanese emigration, Senegal, and more specifically Dakar, has been the door through which most immigrants to French West Africa, and some to British West Africa, have entered. The numbers of immigrants in

1. Desborde, op.cit.; Muruwah, op.cit.; Husheymi, op.cit.

Dakar have always been much larger than the number of actual immigrants permanently resident there, owing to the presence of many newly arrived immigrants who have used Dakar as a transit camp before continuing to their ultimate destination. Lebanese from neighbouring towns also come to Dakar on business for longer or shorter periods. Senegal as a whole has the largest number of Lebanese immigrants of any West African territory,[1] and certainly Dakar surpasses by far any other West African capital in the number of resident Lebanese immigrants. As in all French West African territories, the numerical distribution of the immigrants does not coincide with the geographical distribution, and the immigrants seem either to aggregate in large numbers in big cities or to disperse thinly throughout the rural areas of the territory, which totals about 201,375 square kilometres.

It is interesting to note that whereas Senegal is among the smallest of the West African territories under discussion, it has about three times as many Lebanese immigrants as any other territory. Various reasons suggest themselves to explain this concentration. First, it was one of the first territories entered by the Lebanese. Secondly, it is the nearest of the West African territories to France and the

1. See table 6 above.

Middle East, and thirdly, Dakar has served as a convenient port of call for most of the shipping lines which connect Europe with South America. It would seem that many Lebanese migrating to Latin American countries chose to discontinue their journey in Dakar and to remain there. Another factor is the importance of Dakar as the capital of French West Africa, and the presence in Senegal of a number of large, prosperous and highly westernized cities, which furnish, from both the economic and social angles good places of residence for immigrants.

Dakar, the capital, houses more than half the number of Lebanese in Senegal. In 1955 it had 3,591 Lebanese out of whom 1,984 were males and 1,607 females; 1,968 of them were children under the age of 20 years ~~old~~.[1] The following table gives the number of Lebanese immigrants in certain Senegal cities, towns and villages in 1952.

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1. Haut Commissariat de la Republique en Afrique Occidentale Française. Recensement demographique de Dakar, 1955. Paris, July 1958, p. 105.

Table 12

Number of Lebanese Families in certain Senegal Localities 1952[1]

Locality	Number	Locality	Number	Locality	Number
Dakar	744	Kaffrine	20	Tamba Counda	7
Kaolack	187	Kuki	20	Dahra	6
Diourbel	103	Colda	19	Kaiel	6
Mbake	81	Sokone	19	Khodery	6
Thies	73	Bignona	17	Coudiry	5
Rufisque	53	Ndofan	13	Mbadan	5
Mbour	50	Yomaba	11	Linguere	4
Louga	49	Tiadiay	10	Kuksandi	4
Saint-Louis	47	Pont	10	Bassi-Mbalo	3
Khombole	44	Tiradouane	10	Maka Kalamanda	3
Bambey	36	Koungueul	10	Nioro	3
Kayjay	34	Djaguinieou	9	Koupmantoum	3
Guinguineo	32	Passy	9	Sarneu-Balant	2
Fatick	31	Keur-Madiabel	8	Bakel	2
Darou-Mousty	26	Nguenien	7	Pemba	2
Ziguinchor	26	Toukar	7	Marssassoun	1
Gossas	23	Sedhiou	7	Bala	1
Diakhao	23	Tanaf	7	Kebemer	1
Birklane	22	Joal	7		

1. Ibid., pp. 97-206 and pp. 35-92.

The Soudan

Though the Soudan is among the largest of ~~all~~ the West African territories - 1,464,000 square kilometres - it has a comparatively small number of Lebanese immigrants - 1,097. The numerical distribution is highly concentrated, Bamako and Mopti having more than half the number of immigrants. On the other hand, despite the vastness of the territory, the geographical distribution seems to be more even and to cover most of the area[1] that is outside Bamako and Mopti.

The Soudan furnishes one of the worst living media in West Africa; a fact which makes the ability of the Lebanese to live and to establish businesses there, more appreciated. Most of the early immigrants, however, spent only part of their time in the Soudan, collecting the seasonal crop, before they returned to their established headquarters in Senegal or Guinea. Not until the number of immigrants in these two territories had become very large, with restrictions upon entry, did immigrant traders settle permanently in the Soudan. Nevertheless, many of the Soudan traders still keep either a member of their immediate families or a relative in Senegal or Guinea in order to retain a base at the coast. The following table shows the numerical and geographical distribution of the immigrants in the Soudan.

1. See appended map.

Table 13

Distribution of Lebanese Immigrants in certain Localities in the Soudan 1952[1]

Locality	Number	Locality	Number
Bamako	125	Gao	3
Mopti	37	Kariansi	3
Segon	19	Koutiala	3
San	12	Kati	2
Kayes	11	Nioro	1
Kouliboro	5	Balamba	1
Bougourni	5	Sessandi	1
Sikasso	5	Tananin	1

Guinea

This newly independent state starts as a small projection of coastal land between Sierra Leone and the Portuguese Guinea, but its hinterland extends to cover the area between Sierra Leone, Liberia and Portuguese Guinea on the coast, and the French Soudan. It has a total area of 251,000 square kilometres, and the 2,870 Lebanese immigrants in this colony are distributed throughout the territory. One might have expected to find them concentrated in the coastal strip; yet with the exception of Conakry and nearby Kindia, all the towns

1. Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp. 224-237; Hayyek, op.cit., pp. 127-146

with large immigrant colonies lie in the interior.

The numerical distribution, however, is not as even as the geographical, with a number of towns having more than 20 families, while there are many with as few as one or two families. This pattern can be seen in most of the French West African territories, where the French seem to prefer the establishment of large towns and settlements. The immigrants, therefore, either aggregate in large numbers in towns or disperse among the very small villages in ones and twos. The following table illustrates this pattern though it must again be pointed out that it is not exhaustive of all the towns and villages in French Guinea which have Lebanese immigrants.

Table 14

Number of Lebanese Families in certain Guinea Localities 1952[1]

Town	Number	Town	Number
Conakry	221	Kissidogou	6
Kankan	65	Pitta	6
Kindia	60	Farmoria-Meangori	6
Mamou	42	Wassaw	6
Labe	38	Youkounkoun	5
Siguiri	34	Tondon	4
Boke	32	Doumia	3
Coyah	13	Badi	2
Kouroussa	13	Konfoujay	2
Bissikrima	11	Correrah	2
Touguifili	8	Benty	2
Bintimodia	8	Gounton	1
Dabola	8	Keninde	1
Faranah	8	Baccoro	1
Dubreka	7	Colo	1
Nzerekore	7	Boffa	1
Victoria	6	Marramka	1

1. Computed from Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp. 240-270; Hayyek, op.cit., pp. 132-205.

Ghana

The number of Lebanese in Ghana was given as 1,370 in 1948, which, for reasons mentioned earlier, should be considered as lower than their actual number. Their numerical distribution is concentrated mainly in two cities, Accra and Kumasi, which together house about two thirds of them. The geographical distribution is a little wider but it by no means covers the whole territory. The 1931 census in Ghana shows 90 males and 180 females in the Accra area, 282 males and 114 females in the colony, and 100 males and 66 females in Ashanti, with only eight males in the North. The immigrants seem to be concentrated in the coastal cities and on the railway between Accra and Kumasi. The whole northern region between Kumasi and Tamale in the extreme north seems to be devoid of any Lebanese activity. Only in Tamale and the neighbouring Daboya are there a few Lebanese immigrants.[1] The following table shows the number of immigrant families in their main centres of concentration in Ghana, computed in 1952.

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1. See appended map.

Table 15

Number and Distribution of Lebanese Immigrants in Ghana 1952[1]

City	Number	City	Number
Accra	278	Tamale	8
Kumasi	117	Takoradi	7
Sekondi	31	Koforidua	7
Nsawam	14	Dunkwa	6
Swedru	12	Adaiso	4
Cape Coast	8	Daboya	2

Enquiry reveals that Lebanese immigrants are also to be found in several other towns and villages, such as Axim and Nkawkaw, but they are very few in number.

Liberia.

In Liberia the Lebanese are numerically and geographically localised. More than half of them are in Monrovia and the rest are in a few coastal towns and along the road from Monrovia to Ganta.[2] This localisation was forced on the Lebanese in February 1928 when the Liberian Government, on the pretext of preventing the spread of cholera, issued a decree forbidding nationals of countries having no treaties with Liberia from

1. Figures computed from Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp. 430-462; Husheymi, op.cit., pp. 302-345; Hayyek, op.cit., pp.336-370

2. See appended map.

trading in the interior.[1] Lebanese, then under French mandate, came under this ban, and had to leave their established businesses in the interior and go to the coastal towns. The French Government as the mandatory power took the matter to the League of Nations[2] on behalf of the Lebanese whom she considered entitled to benefit from the treaty between Liberia and France, because they were French protected persons. As a result Liberia conceded the right of trading in the interior to the Lebanese on condition that they obtain a permit which required to be renewed every six months. Because of this inconvenience, and having settled in the coastal towns, the Lebanese preferred to stay there, though some moved to towns along the main road to Ganta, which were within easy reach from the capital. Their general distribution is shown in the table below.

Table 16

Distribution of Lebanese in Liberia

Locality	Number	Locality	Number
Monrovia	97	Cap Palmas	11
Kakata	27	River Cess	7
Grd. Bassa	19	Robertsport	5
Gbarnga	17	Balm	3
Ganta	11	Tappita	2

1. Decree of February 16, 1928.

2. In the League's session of September 1928.

Portuguese Guinea

Here the immigrants' distribution is widely numerically and geographically. There is no one town which has a large proportion of the immigrants who are divided almost evenly among several towns on the coast and in the interior[1] There is no railway, but the territory has a good road network which facilitates the movement of the Lebanese from one area to another. How the Lebanese are distributed is shown in the table below.

Table 17

Distribution of Lebanese in Portuguese Guinea, 1952[2]

Locality	Number	Locality	Number
Farim	23	Cacine	4
Bofata	19	Cacheu	3
Nova Lamengo	14	Mansaba	3
Sonaco	14	Contuboel	3
Bissau	9	Bambadinca	3
Bohama	9	Bula	3
Bissora	7	Catio	2
Mansoa	6	Bubaque	1
Pitche	6	Tixeira Pinto	1
Bijene	5		

It will be noticed that even in Bubaque in the Bissagos islands, there is one Lebanese family.

1. See appended map.
2. Computed from Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp. 271-280.

Having presented this detailed description of the distribution of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa, one is tempted to draw certain conclusions, and to discover the possible reasons which brought it about. Immigration Laws, natural wealth, distance from Marseille, certainly affected the number of immigrants who entered each territory. On the other hand, the distribution of the Lebanese within the territories themselves need to be explained. Research suggests that climatic factors have not played an important role. The abundance or lack of agricultural produce in an area would certainly be taken into consideration by any produce dealer but this factor would not be so important to the ordinary retailer and shop-keeper, whose relative absence from areas as vast as Northern Ivory Coast, Central Ghana, Nigeria, and Northern Dahomey, is very noticeable. The climatic conditions and transport facilities in these areas are as good as those in Soudan and Niger where a larger number of Lebanese congregate.

A possible explanation for this distribution may be that the Lebanese spread over West Africa in two directions, using Senegal as their base. Though many came directly by sea, it seems that a large part of the immigrants moved southwards from Senegal along the coast and spread among the coastal towns of Gambia, Portuguese Guinea, Guinea, Sierra Leone,

Liberia, and the rest of the territories. When, however, the immigration laws in these territories, coupled with the large number of Lebanese carrying on business there, made it difficult for newcomers to enter the coastal areas, an eastward push from Senegal and Guinea was started towards Soudan, Upper Volta and the Niger. It may not be a mere coincidence that nearly all the towns with Lebanese elements in these territories fall within a lane having St. Louis as its northern limit and Conakry as the southern end. The desert in Northern Senegal which limited expansion within Senegal itself may have made this eastward movement even more imperative.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Political Conditions

The chief object of this section is to examine the political activities of the Lebanese minority in West Africa, and their relations with the Governing Authorities and the indigenous political organizations. In the present era, when nearly all colonial Africa is in political turmoil, a researcher may find it difficult to discuss the political conditions of a single minority group, without having to examine the whole complex and constantly changing political structures of the area in general. Nevertheless, the nature and scope of this work necessitate the limitation of the discussion mainly to that part which concerns the Lebanese immigrant minority only, leaving the analysis of African politics as such to specific works on that subject.[1]

As to their political activity generally, it may be true to say that the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa do not

1. Some specialist studies of African politics which have proved helpful are: J.S. Coleman, "Nationalism in Tropical Africa;" P.C. Lloyd, "A Sociological Analysis of West African political Parties;" T.L. Hodgkin, "Nationalism in Colonial Africa;" G. Balandier, "Messianismes et Nationalismes en Afrique Noire;" J.P. Alduy, " La Naissance du Nationalisme d'Outre-Mer," and several others.

take any significant part in the political life of the territory. Prima facie, one may justify this attitude as the normal behaviour of any minority conscious of its precarious status. It may be argued further that not until such a minority is completely assimilated or fully integrated into the indegenous society, or at least until it has been accepted as possessing political rights and duties even while retaining its distinctive position, can its members engage themselves in the dangerous play of politics.

Without going into the merits and demerits of this argument, it is evidently clear that the Lebanese minorities in other areas of the world such as the United States, Southern America, and Australia, do take an active part in the political life of the countries they are in despite their minority status.[1]

1. In the United States there were in 1955, 26 representatives in various State legislative houses, and several judges, mayors etc., of Lebanese origin, some of whom visited Lebanon in 1955. In August, 1955, Ehias Risha, president of the League of Lebanese Associations in Argentina assured the author that there were 12 members of parliament and 7 members in the Argentine Senate of Lebanese origin. In Chile there are 5 Members of Parliament. In Brazil there are 12 Members of Parliament, and several officers in the army and the Governor of San Paolo and Rio de Janeiro who are of Lebanese origin. In Columbia, Gibrail Tarbiya was the Speaker of the House of Parliament and the Minister of Justice. He was also the Colombian Ambassador to Washington during the war years, and the leader of the Liberal Party which offered him as its candidate for the Presidency of the Republic; but he died during the election campaign. In Australia, Rashid Arida was the Chief Justice of Sydney for thirty years, and at present Iskander Al-Alam is a member of the Senate for Melbourne, and chairman of the Judicial Committee.

It follows therefore, that the Lebanese in West Africa must be facing special circumstances which are preventing them from following the example of their Compatriots elsewhere, and rendering them politically impotent.

The main factors causing the general political inactivity of the Lebanese in West Africa, can be traced back to three origins. The political structures and issues involved in the West African territories under direct French, English, or Portuguese rule - but not the independent states, each of which should be treated separately as a special case -; secondly, the race issue; and thirdly, the composition of the Lebanese minority itself.

In the years preceding world war II, the authority of the colonial powers over their colonies in Africa was so strong that political issues were practically non-existent and centered - when and if they existed - mainly on socio-political problems such as the relative merits of "direct" and "indirect" rule, the problems raised by introducing European administrative and legal systems into the colonies, and by the planting of European and Asian settler communities.[1] In such conditions no political activity existed and the Lebanese as well as all other non-African communities and the Africans themselves had no major

1. See Thomas Hodgkin; Nationalism in Colonial Africa; (Frederick Muller Ltd., London, 1956), p. 9.

national issues at hand other than administrative reforms and special grievances which were well handled by the colonial authorities.

After the war the whole situation was radically changed by the emergence of the new force of "African Nationalism." This new force, however interpreted, has as a final aim, the establishment of an independent Africa free of European authority and dominance. To achieve this aim, Africans found it imperative to associate on a level higher and different from the old nativistic movements, or the usual religious, regional, or economic "interest groups" Political activity in the West African Colonies became dominated by the nationalist political parties led by a new African leadership which takes itself and expects to be taken seriously, and aiming at the achievement of independence or self-government for their territory.[1]

Since the Colonial powers were not expected to grant the Africans their independence whenever they asked for it, these new nationalistic parties found it expedient at times to resort to a certain degree of violence. The succession of political explosions which took place in territories such as Nigeria,

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1. P.C, Lloyd; A Sociological Analysis of West African Political Parties, (West African Institute of Social and Economic Research; Fourth Annual Meeting, 1955) University College, Ibadan.

the Gold Coast, Ivory Coast, and in other parts of Africa, served to illustrate only too well the magnitude of the forthcoming clash of interests. In retaliation, the colonial authorities in several cases outlawed these parties and imprisoned some of its leaders and members.

In such an atmosphere, the Lebanese immigrant trader who is considering going into active politics in West Africa, is faced with a harder choice than his compatriot in the America's who functions under a stable national government. If he sides with the Africans, he could easily be imprisoned, or deported from the territory, while if he sides with the Europeans, he offends the African Nationalists, possibly his future rulers. He finds it safest to refrain from any political activity, since as a foreigner and a trader he is in a very sensitive position.

In observing this strict neutrality between the Africans and the Colonial Authorities, the Lebanese minority has failed to win the appreciation of either side. The African nationalists accuse the Lebanese of collaborating with the French and British Authorities in the suppression of the nationalist movement. They support their argument by citing several instances in which the Lebanese collaborated with the authorities, the most notorious of which was during the disturbances

in the Gold Coast. In his book Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah reflects on this incident:

> "In the streets of Accra, Syrians, Lebanese and British nationals were appointed as special Constables and given truncheons to help them restore order. Some of these people took the law into their own hands and seemed to take pleasure in beating up anybody who happened to be walking anywhere near them."[1]

Investigation reveals that certain Lebanese elements did collaborate with the authorities in that particular instance and they admit it.[2] Some of them justify it, however, on the grounds that they were asked to help by the authorities, and thought it was their duty to demonstrate their loyalty and allegiance to the Government.[3] It may be possible that owing to this unfortunate experience, Lebanese immigrants elsewhere in Africa are following an even more stringent neutrality in politics.

The Colonial authorities on their part accuse the Lebanese immigrants of financing the nationalist movements in the various territories, thereby enabling them to maintain and strengthen their struggle for independence.[4] The writer is satisfied that

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1. K.Nkrumah, Ghana, (Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London, 1957), p. 120.

2. Ehia Shukri, HALABI; Why are our immigrants ill-treated in Ghana. In Al-NAHAR Newspaper, Beirut, July 17th, 1957. (In Arabic.)

3. Michael Ma'ahouly; open letter to the Lebanese Minister of Foreign Affairs in Al-NAHAR Newspaper, Beirut, August 17th, 1957. (In Arabic.)

4. This point was revealed to the author by more than one official in the Sierra Leone Government, and the French

there is a substantial grain of truth in this allegation, though it seems plain that help is not given primarily to assist nationalists to oust the British or French. Money is contributed to the existing nationalist parties only after demand, and it is given chiefly by the "more fearful members" of the community, in the hope of safeguarding themselves from antagonizing their future rulers.

Another cause for the political inactivity of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa, is the fact that they are "left out" in the shaping of the future political structures of West Africa. It has been remarked in the course of a preceding discussion,[1] that one of the principles underlying the strict immigration policy is the authorities' desire to "ensure that the indigenous population should be allowed to progress without the eventual complications of pressure from powerful and strongly entrenched non-African interests."[2] It will be recalled that for the purposes of several regulations, including the one in question, a Lebanese is still a non-African,

Footnote continued from previous page:
Ministere de la France D'Outre-Mer. An Ex-Governor of Guinea claimed that he had documentary evidence of the amounts paid and the identity of the payer and the payee, but declined to produce the documents when the author asked to see them.

1. Chapter three above.

2. Gold Coast Government; A Statement on Immigration Procedure, Gold Coast Gazette, Special number, February, 1947.

even though he was born in Africa. In British West Africa, the new constitutions introduced in 1950-51 in Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone all stressed the political rights and duties of the Africans, without granting any specific political rights to non-African minorities. Also in French West Africa by the legislations introduced in 1946-47 and 1951-52, no political rights were guaranteed to the Lebanese minority as an entity. Individuals, belonging to a non-assimilated minority, not recognised as such officially, can hardly reach anywhere in politics, especially in a territory moving towards independence. In this respect it is worth noting that the Lebanese do not enjoy the same advantage possessed by their fellow Asians in East Africa whose political rights are safeguarded by legislation.[1]

The Africans on their part seem to refuse to accept Lebanese in their ranks, because they associate them with the colonizing Europeans. Thus, when a Lebanese immigrant in Nigeria applied to join one African political party, he was rejected as "a crippling imperialist agent."[2] Thomas Hodgkin may be right when he attributes this African distrust

1. Asians in Kenya, Tanganyika, and until recently in Nyasaland, are recognised as a minority, and elect separately their representatives to assemblies.

2. S.A. Aluko; Letter to the Editor of West Africa, June 14, 1958.

of all Europeans to:

> "the need of the young national movements, of colonial Africa, like all political movements, to justify themselves ..... They have to build up new loyalties; and to achieve this, they have to break down the feelings of impotence, dependence and irresponsibility among Africans which it is in the nature of colonial rule to produce..... Much nationalist propaganda (in the press especially) which Europeans often deplore as 'crude,' 'virulent,' or 'distorted' is concerned with this simple function - of restoring the confidence of the Africans in their capacity for political action; in their power, if they so choose to affect the course of history."[1]

In order to achieve this aim the African Nationalists have to isolate their movement from all foreign elements, and make it appear as purely African as possible. Understandably, therefore, the Lebanese have to be excluded, especially at a time when all Africa is witnessing with much discomfort what white minorities are doing in other parts of the Continent.

The third major factor is the composition of the Lebanese Community itself, and the temporary nature of its stay in West Africa. It has been mentioned earlier how the better educated second and later generations do not return to West Africa. Consequently, the Lebanese Community does not possess the kind of member who can become a successful politician. It is almost wholly a trading community, whose numbers are not numerically strong enough to take care of its

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1. Hodgkin, op.cit., p. 167.

expanding enterprises. Thus one does not find the educated partner of a prosperous firm, or the well-informed lawyer, who can spare the time and money to take part in active public life.

The temporary nature of their stay in West Africa also affects the attitude of the Lebanese. Knowing that in any case they will ultimately return to Lebanon, they do not feel the need to indulge in African politics, or to attempt to secure minority political rights. As a matter of fact, the Lebanese immigrants, even while in West Africa, take more interest in Lebanon's political affairs than in those of West Africa.[1]

Other aspects of the immigrants' political conditions, such as nationality, status, and right of movement, have been examined earlier.[2] But their relations with the governing authorities warrants some further discussion. In French and British West Africa alike the Lebanese are disliked and distrusted by officials.[3] Because of the greater involvement of France in Lebanese and Middle Eastern Affairs, the relations between the authorities and the immigrants often depend very

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1. See below, chapters seven and nine.

2. Above, chapter three.

3. P.T.Bauer, op.cit., p. 148-149. Also Consular Reports from Dakar, May 3, 1955.

much upon events taking place in these countries. The French Government in West Africa tends to look at the Lebanese immigrant as being in some degree responsible for the actions of every Arab state in addition to those of the Government of Lebanon.[1] "If the Iraqi delegate in the United Nations votes against France, or if the Egyptians back the North African Arabs, the anger of the French in West Africa descends on the Lebanese immigrant."[2]

The authorities at once become more severe in their treatment of the immigrants, and use administrative procedures to delay or completely block their interests.[3] In certain political struggles the French police authorities have compelled Lebanese immigrants to sign and dispatch telegrams to the Lebanese Government, the United Nations or similar bodies, expressing either their objection against particular policies pursued by Lebanon, or their support for the French Government actions.[4]

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1. During the Suez Crisis, the French civilians rioted in Abidjan, Ivory Coast, burning down some of the Lebanese shops and causing losses which were estimated at several million francs. Lebanese Newspapers, November 1956.

2. Consular Reports, June, 6th, 1956.

3. Ibid.

4. Interviews with immigrants who have been coerced to sign the telegrams. Also Ibid.

The relation between the government and Lebanese in British West Africa does not seem to be greatly affected by political events involving Great Britain in the Middle East or elsewhere.[1] Nor is the official dislike of the Lebanese as apparent as in the French territories. In general, however, the Lebanese immigrant in both territories is not favoured by the authorities, and immigrants report that only by bribing officials with money and presents are they able to further their interests with the Government.

This question of bribery has been the source of much criticism against the Lebanese, who in turn complain that it is corruption in the Civil Service which makes them easy victims for avaricious civil servants. The writer believes that both sides are, in some measure, to blame. Lebanese immigrants brought up under the Ottoman Turk regime undoubtedly accept without question that bribery is the most convenient means of facilitating official negotiations and transactions. On the other hand Government officials in West Africa very frequently have not shown any marked aversion to corrupt practice. Had the Civil Service been more strict in its

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1 Interview with many immigrants in West Africa revealed the fact that during the Suez crisis the Lebanese in the British territories did not feel any change in official attitudes towards them, whereas in the French territories, almost every immigrant reported a hardening of attitude on the part of both the authorities and the civilians.

dealings, it could undoubtedly have put an end to bribery and corruption, but civil servants, sensing the traditional fear and respect which Lebanese hold toward their government officials, and taking advantage of the dislike in the higher official circles for the Lebanese, have exploited the situation. Some officials have gone to the extent of blackmailing the Lebanese immigrant by threatening to divulge certain of his previous bribery offences, or to cease giving him their support and protection.[1]

In Ghana, the Government strongly condemns the Lebanese for corrupting its Civil Service, but Lebanese allege that officials and politicians alike contact them privately to extort sums of money under threat of punitive legislation.[2] There would, in fact, seem to be a good deal of suggestive evidence to support this Lebanese allegation. At any one time, there is in the Ghana Parliament a draft law which threatens in one or more of its provisions, directly or indirectly, to affect Lebanese interests. Often these Bills do not find their way to the Statute Book and during the course of debates references are made to the Lebanese as a community

1. Interviews with immigrants.

2. Interviews with immigrants in Ghana. Most of them assured the author that they were contributing to a communal fund to be used for meeting the demands of politicians.

or as individuals, which indicates a degree of covert pressure upon the immigrant.

Certainly it is true that members of the Ghana Parliament frequently adopt the unusual course of openly denying rumours to the effect that they have received bribes or other considerations from Lebanese.[1] So far as officials are concerned, many Lebanese have alleged that recently, that is since Ghana achieved independence, officials have extended their demands to secure an actual percentage of trade profits.[2] These demands have been met in order to ensure preferential treatment with particular projects and deals. Thus far Lebanese readiness to meet the demands of those in positions of political power and influence has preserved to them their status, rights and assets and it would seem that they are able to adapt themselves to changing conditions.

A word must be said now about the political conditions of the Lebanese in the independent states of West Africa, namely Guinea, Liberia, and Ghana. As pointed out earlier the position of the Lebanese in each of these states should

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1. Ghana Parliamentary Debates, 28 June 1957, p. 1491-92.

2. One of the most open accusations of corruption in Ghana to-day concerns two Cabinet Ministers and certain Lebanese traders. It is publicly alleged that the Ministers granted special concessions to these large-scale cocoa traders in return for a share of the profits of the enterprise. (Information privately secured. Details will be supplied.)

be better considered as a special case affected by certain causes pertaining to that territory in particular, rather than as an indication of a general trend to be followed necessarily in other territories of Africa once they became independent.

Guinea's independence is so recent that no final judgement could as yet be passed on the relationship between its Government and the Lebanese. There are no reports, however, of any Lebanese element being active in the political field prior to independence.[1] It is, therefore, surprising to find that the first cabinet of independent Guinea has a second generation Lebanese as the Minister of Health.[2] This is certainly anencouraging sign for the future, and the many friendships reported between some Lebanese and political leaders of Guinea should help to creat an atmosphere in which it may be possible for the Lebanese community to be completely assimilated.

In Liberia also the Lebanese at present enjoy a harmonious relationship with the authorities. Earlier, however, during the 1920's, they were the subject of x special regulations

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1. Information personally obtained from Mr. Munir Ghandour, Lebanese Consul General in French West Africa, 1951-1953.

2. He is Roger Akkar, son of Naguib Akkar, who is one of the early Lebanese emigrants to Guinea.

limiting their freedom of movement and imposing on them the observance of certain sanitary conditions.[1] These regulations have since been repealed, and relationships greatly improved, especially in the last ten years. It is certainly a sign of confidence in the Lebanese that the Liberian Minister Plenipotentiary in Beirut is a first generation Lebanese immigrant.[2]

In Ghana, however, the relationship between the Lebanese and authorities have worsened since independence. Some Ghanaians and Lebanese[3] maintain that this may be the repercussion of the Lebanese attitude during the British administration.[4] Their view is substantiated by the fact that members of parliament and even the Prime Minister himself, have put on record, on several occasions, their disapproval of the way in which the Lebanese and Syrians have helped the British authorities to maintain order and security in Accra and elsewhere.[5]

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1. See above, chapter four. The reason for these regulations were stated by the Lebanese Government to be the unhealthy conditions of the Lebanese which may have caused the spread of the cholera epidemic in 1928.

2. He is Mr. Henri Jumayel, who first held the office of Honorary Consul of Liberia in Beirut, then five years ago became the head of its legation.

3. See Ehia Shukai Habaky, op.cit.

4. See above.

5. K.Nkrumah, op.cit., p.120. See also Ghana Parliamentary debates, June 28, 1957, where Mr.W.K.Aduhene, member for for Sefuvi Wiawso, is quoted to have said:"I hope that the honourable members have not forgotten the evil treatment given us by rhe Syrians during our political struggle."

On the other hand, many Lebanese in Ghana attribute the severe treatment which they are receiving from the Government authorities to the instigations of Israel, which has a well-staffed Embassy in Ghana. It is alleged by them that the Israeli Embassy is doing its best to force the Lebanese and Syrians out of Ghana.[1] This allegation, however, seems to be unfounded. True, Ghana and Israel have quickly developed close commercial and cultural ties, but it is hard to believe that the Israeli Embassy staff could influence the minds of Ghana's national leaders to such an extent in so short a period of time. It seems more logical to accept the first view as the real cause underlying the present tension.

It may be true, however, that the Israeli Embassy is taking advantage of nationalist bitterness against the Lebanese to force them out of their dominant position in internal and external trade. In such a case it becomes incumbent upon the Lebanese Government to counter the Israeli propaganda by establishing a well-staffed Embassy, which would explain to the Ghanaians the special circumstances in which the Lebanese, as a minority, found themselves obliged to help the established political and legal authority when called upon to do so. But it is up to the Lebanese immigrants themselves, in the last

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1. Michael Ma'ahouly, Open Letter to the Lebanese Minister of Foreign Affairs in Al-Nahar Newspaper, Beirut, July 13, 1957. (In Arabic).

resort, to prove to the Ghanaians that they are as loyal to independent Ghana as they were to the Gold Coast Government.

It is worth pointing out in conclusion that the above discussion is descriptive of the political conditions of the Lebanese in West Africa generally. It does not exclude, therefore, special cases where a Lebanese immigrant does take part in active public and political life; the case of the Guinea Minister of Health is certainly one of these. Moreover, there are a few Lebanese, born in West Africa, who are either elected or appointed members of local councils, chambers of Commerce, and other quasi-official bodies. But besides these special cases, it is submitted that the above discussion holds true in most parts of Colonial Africa.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

By his nature the Lebanese is a trader wherever and whenever he can be, and a labourer only where he must be. The environment of the Levant has helped through the ages to develop in the Lebanese an astute business sense, rivalled by very few other peoples.[1] Since Phoenician times, the inhabitants of Lebanon and Syria have wandered all over the known world in pursuit of trade and commerce, and the modern

Lebanese immigrants are no exception. This is even more true in West Africa than in other countries because of the absence of those educated and professional elements which are found among Lebanese communities elsewhere. Immigrants engaged in any activity other than trade or related fields are so few in number that they can be completely neglected as a vocational group.[1]

This being so, it is essential to gain as accurate and full a picture as is possible of the Lebanese traders in West Africa. The Sierra Leone Census Report for 1931 contains the following description of Lebanese activity:

> "All male Syrians in the colony are engaged in produce, general merchandise, cotton goods or petty trading. Some are thriving merchants and are astute business men. A considerable number have been residents in the colony for some years and have places of business, both in the colony and protectorate."[2]

This description of the immigrants' prosperity was true in 1931, and is even truer now; but the immigrants have had by no means an easy time establishing themselves in West Africa. Before embarking on a description of their present economic conditions it is essential, therefore, to describe briefly how the Lebanese starting from very humble beginnings have

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1. There are not more than three doctors in any one West African territory. There are fewer lawyers and engineers. See also, table 3, chapter six below.

2. Sierra Leone Census Report 1931, p. 59½

managed to become "the most prosperous of the non-European traders in the West Coast of Africa."[1]

It will be recalled[2] that one of the reasons which diverted the Lebanese towards West Africa was the fact that they lacked the passage money to the United States. In these circumstances one would hardly expect the Lebanese immigrant to have had enough money to set himself up in a fixed business. Many of the earlier immigrants had so little money left upon reaching West Africa that they were unable to afford lodgings, and had to sleep on the pavements in front of European shops.[3] The name "Coral Men", as the natives called them, reveals the sort of business the early immigrants undertook when they first arrived.

With what little money he had left, the early immigrant bought a push-cart, or even a small tray to hang over his shoulders, on which he displayed the imitation coral beads, cigarettes, and the other cheap articles which he sold from a street corner station. Almost every immigrant of the 1880's and 1890's started his business career in West Africa in this manner. Naturally many of the later immigrants were spared

1. Report from Government Secretariat, Sierra Leone, to the Colonial Secretary, March 20th, 1953.

2. Chapter two above.

3. This point was revealed in interviews with many immigrants.

this first stage through entering the businesses of established immigrants where they saved enough to enable them to start on their own.

From this first stage the immigrant graduated into the second where, after saving some money, he gained control of a small pavement space and put up a little stand where he kept a larger and more varied stock, and thus had himself installed in a permanent location. Marteroy, in an article "Freetown 1899-1938, thus described these early stages:

> "This eastern part of the town is almost a counterpart of Beyrouth or any other Syrian town. In 1899 very few Syrians were trading here, you could see them round the corners of the trade 'stream line' streets sitting on small boxes in front of a larger box, not too large - where they were selling imitation coral beads - they used to be called for years 'Corals' .... "[1]

From this stage, the immigrants fell into two groups; those who were prospering in the coastal cities and those who thought they could do better in the interior, and moved there, often to places which perhaps no non-African had reached before.[2] "But being Arabs and Muslims" says one of the early immigrants in Nigeria,[3] "was a great help to us with the African, who,

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1. P.H. Marteroy, "Freetown 1899-1939," Sierra Leone Studies, No.XXI, January 1939, pp. 84-85.

2. W. Addison, op.cit.

3. Michael Mlias, who incidentally was a Christian. Most Lebanese immigrants in West Africa, found, and still find it more beneficial to tell the Muslim Africans that they are Muslims.

once they knew who we were, took us as their brothers, at a time when the white man was still practically unknowns to the natives of the African hinterland.

In time the Lebanese began to sell his goods to the people in return for local produce, which he took to the city and sold to the European firms, but this 'coming and going' was dangerous, tiresome, and time-consuming. The immigrants, therefore, started to set up humble shops, mainly small round mud huts, in which they displayed goods which would appeal to the local people, and collected the produce they brought from them. In the cities fellow immigrants undertook the business of supplying these shops with goods and bought the produce from the. From this stage, Lebanese advancement became a matter of time and ability, and before long most were able to establish themselves in neat two storied houses, of which the lower was used as the store, the upper as the dwelling house.

The success of the Lebanese in West Africa at least from the pecuniary point of view, is due mainly to their native business ability, their thrifty and abstemious habits of life, and the physical and commercial characteristics of West Africa. The first of these is by far the most important. Anybody who knows the Lebanese in West Africa is struck by

their great skill and astute business sense. These traits of theirrace become more appreciated when it is remembered that practically all the immigrants come from a purely pastoral or agricultural life, few perhaps ever having been in a city of 10,000 inhabitants, or ever having engaged in any larger mercantile transaction than the sale of a few pounds worth of farm produce.

These farmers, however, came to Africa to support themselves and their families in Lebanon. They had to work, and to work hard. They would travel miles on foot to any place if they knew a profit could be earned there. Their honesty and integrity won them the confidence of the European firms and banks who extended to them credit facilities. European merchants have rarely had any trouble with Lebanese in the matter of bad debts.[1] To the Africans, the Lebanese were friendly and patient and were prepared to extend credit to them until the harvesting season. This practice helped the Lebanese to compete with the big firms in buying produce. They are also notable for their readiness to work at any hour of the day and night. In West Africa the Lebanese generally lives over his shop and from the early morning to late at

1. W. Addison, op.cit.; personal interviews with managers of leading European firms in West Africa confirmed this point.

night the shop is the place where the husband, wife, and children, shave, cook, eat while carrying on their selling and buying to and from people of various tribes.

One handicap which the Lebanese have actually transformed into an advantage is the language difficulty. Upon arrival in West Africa the Lebanese is usually able to speak nothing but Arabic, and he therefore finds it necessary to learn at least one other language, which is invariably one of the native tongues. The English or French trader who knows the official language does not feel that he faces any language disability, and normally does not bother to learn any native tongue on the ground that the Africans are the party that should try to learn his language. In competing for the Africans' produce, and in retail trade, the Lebanese uses his skill in the native language to win the African customer. This fact played a decisive role in forcing the big companies out of the produce buying business, which is now mainly in the hands of Lebanese at the intermediate stage when produce is bought from the native and sold to the exporting houses.[1]

It is the consensus of opinion among those who know them, that the Lebanese and Syrians are a thrifty people.[2]

1. Hancock, op.cit., chapter II, section III.
2. See Hitti, op.cit., p. 28.

However, small the yearly receipts may be, the Lebanese almost invariably manages to save part of them, usually half. Part of this money is put back into his business, and a good share is sent to his relations in Lebanon. With the expansion of their business, the thrift of the Lebanese is no longer so obvious, and many lead a very luxurious life. Their thriftiness during their early years in Africa might possibly be explained by the economic hardships which the Lebanese have suffered during their four centuries of Ottoman rule, when the ghosts of hunger and poverty were ever present.

Conditions in West Africa have also contributed to the Lebanese economic success. The Lebanese found in West Africa two commercial societies, that of the large wholesale European firms, operating mainly in the coastal cities and along the railway lines, and that of the African petty trader. There was no significant commercial middle class. The Lebanese entered this field and soon secured to themselves a near monopoly of it.[1] In the hinterland, where the big European companies had not entered, they found a vast new market which they have virtually made their own.[2] The quick success of

1. The Times, Review of British Colonies, March 1957.

2. See N.A. Cox-George, Report, p. 24.

the Lebanese as middlemen in West Africa's commercial structure, is in itself a refutal of the allegation that the Lebanese have displaced the African traders, for it shows that there was no considerable African activity in this field.[1]

There are widely differing views about the present economic conditions of the Lebanese in West Africa. In Lebanon there is a widespread belief that every emigrant is very rich, if not a millionaire, a belief which the emigrants themselves like to encourage in order to win the prestige which is accorded the wealthy in the Middle East. It must be remembered that most of the immigrants return to Lebanon to marry, and for this reason they have to make a big financial display in order to gain a bride of good social standing. Some, indeed, borrow money from their fellows in West Africa in order to indulge in the "conspicuous expenditure" required to secure a "high-society" bride.[2]

There are in fact many rich immigrants and some millionaires, but the large majority of immigrants are nothing more than a well-to-do middle class commercial society with incomes sufficient to supply their basic needs and to enable them to save moderate sums. The Lebanese Consul in Dakar summarises

1. This point will be discussed further later in this chapter.

2. In the author's home town, Baino, three of the returning bachelor emigrants who married in 1956, and were assumed to all to be millionaires, were declared bankrupt after their return to West Africa.

the immigrants economic conditions as follows:

> "There is great illusionment about the communities' financial conditions, and millions are only a creation of the imagination of those immigrants who want to get married, and of their relatives and friends. The majority of the Lebanese lead an ordinary life, and the very rich persons are few in comparison to the whole number of immigrants, and certainly fewer than estimated in Lebanon. The fortunes that appeared after the war are disintegrating under the burden of heavy taxes, European competition, and the dishonesty of some Africans who take advantage of the continuing agitation agains the Lebanese, and the latters' desire to avoid trouble, to refuse to pay their debts to the immigrants. The economic crisis of the past four years has caused great losses to the Lebanese and forced many of them to return to small scale retail trading."[1]

Though not all the Lebanese in West Africa are millionaires, yet they are not poor. There are a few Lebanese firms in West Africa whose capital amounts to hundreds of thousands, and there are many Lebanese who are making the barest living. But practically every immigrant in the territory is self-supporting.

In their commercial activity, the Lebanese immigrants fall into two categories, the importers-exporters with branches over large areas of the hinterland, and an office, or at least an agent in the United Kingdom or France, and retail traders in the big cities, together with a large number of smaller retail traders and produce buyers scattered in many villages in the deep hinterland.

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1. Consular Reports, Dakar, August 6th, 1956, unpublished. In Arabic.

The first category though very much smaller in number than the second plays a predominant role in the development of the external trade of West Africa. The Lebanese exporter-importer is practically the only major competitor with the big European firms, who have vainly tried by various ways to check his growth and to destroy him.[1] Though various factors are in play against the Lebanese importer-exporter, such as the limitation of the number of his personnel by immigration laws, and the quota system of export and import licences for certain goods, which, being based on pre-war practice, can only be of benefit to the big firms;[2] this class is prospering continuously, and an increasing number of immigrants are going into the export-import business.

Though handicapped by various kinds of restriction the Lebanese importer-exporter enjoys certain advantages over the European firms. Among the strongest of these advantages is his individuality. The Lebanese importer-exporter has the final authority in his business, and can take decisions on the spot, without having to await cabled instructions from the head office about "buying limits" and prices.[3] He does not

1. W. Addison, op.cit. Also Bauer, op.cit., p. 164.

2. For an excellent discussion on import controls, see Bauer, op.cit., pp. 150-155.

3. Hancock, op.cit., Chapter II, Sec. III, p. 217.

have to carry the burden of numerous buying stations; as he is content, for the most part, to attract produce through the middleman channel, usually fellow Lebanese, by offering higher prices. This he is able to do because he operates at lower overhead costs, has fewer salaried personnel,[1] and works for longer hours. Added to all this is the personal element. The Lebanese is working for himself while the European manager of the big firm is a salaried employee, whose main concern is to administer the company and to carry on the instructions of the head office. He therefore lacks the enthusiasm and activity of the Lebanese and is unwilling to take risks.[2]

Though, in value, the Lebanese import more than they export, their dominance is stronger in the export trade than in importation. In West Africa the export sector of commerce is dominated by various statutory and other monopolies. The Produce marketing Boards in the British West African territories for example, control the exports of all oil seeds such as palm kernels, ground nuts, cocoa, and henniseed. External transport is also a monopoly of the conference of West African

1. Hancock, op.cit., Chapter II, Sec. III, p. 217.

2. Most of the Lebanese import-export houses are family concerns, and employ no additional personnel, except a few African clerks.

Shipping Lines.[1] The rest of the domestic exports of each territory outside the control of these monopolies are largely in the hands of the Lebanese. The Department of Commerce and Industry in Sierra Leone carried out in 1955 a survey of the relative share of the different groups in the export of certain products in 1954. The table below sets out its findings.

Table 1

Export Trade in Certain Selected Products in Sierra Leone, 1954[2]

Value of exports in Pounds Sterling.

Product	Europeans	Africans	Lebanese	Indians	Total
Piassava	138,553	19,731	136,191	39,736	334,211
	41.0%	6.0%	41.0%	12.0%	-
Ginger	12,383	9,328	137,767	2,773	162,206
	7%	6%	85%	2%	-
Kolanuts	-	62,251	213,294	-	275,545
	-	22.5%	77.5%	-	-
Chillies	-	851	90	-	941
	-	90.4%	9.6%		-
Coconuts	1,333	1,112	-	-	2,455
	54.5%	45.5%	-	-	-
Bananas	13,791	599	1,779	-	16,169
	85.3%	3.7%	11%	-	-
Beeswax	-	-	8,392	-	8,392
	-	-	100%	-	-
Total	166,060	93,872	497,513	42,509	799,909
Per cent	20.8%	11.7%	62.2%	5.3%	100%

1. N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p.10.

2. Information obtained from the Department of Commerce and Industry, Freetown, in April, 1957.

Since these figures exclude the Director of Commerce and Industry's exports, which are quasi-official, and those of the Sierra Leone Produce Marketing Board and the Mining Companies, it is a good basis of comparison of the export of various groups in activities outside the sphere of these monopolies. To a certain extent the figures relating to banana exports show how in a certain product the share of the Lebanese appears to be less than it really is. Bananas, like other fresh vegetables are in fact exports of Lebanese and African traders; but since this item constitutes "ships' stores", it is entered on the records as being exported by the European Shipping Companies, who in reality are only the recipients of the bananas from the Lebanese and Africans.[1] "On the whole, for those products in which comparison is possible, the Syrian/Lebanese is the most successful competitor in the field, outpacing his European and African rivals all along the line."[2]

In the import trade the Lebanese are superseded by the Europeans, and reduced to a poor second. This is mainly due to the partial distribution of import licences, and to the strongly entrenched and monopolistic interests of the big firms.[3]

1. N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p. 13.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

The European firms have exclusive distributing rights for practically every commodity in West Arica, and the Lebanese and African traders who enter the distributive business have to search diligently for a new commodity which falls outside these exclusive rights.[1] They are thus forced to undertake the costly procedure of introducing a new commodity into the market.

In several cases, after the Lebanese or African trader has spent much in establishing a commodity in the market, he finds that the big firms, by exerting their influence with the manufacturer, or by manipulationg their exclusive distributing rights, acquire the agency of the commodity, depriving the Lebanese or African trader of the benefits of his work and investment.[2]

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1. In their search for uncontrolled commodities, the Lebanese have found it necessary to look outside the British home market which is already "engrossed", and they have chosen the continental area of Europe, and even Japan, as their spheres of operation.

2. The case of the Melodisc records is a good illustration. Early in 1951 Mr. Andre A. Kponou, the proprietor and managing director of the small business "A.K.'s Stores" in Freetown, discovered from the Music Trade Review the emergence of a new brand of gramophone records, the Melodisc. He ordered a sample, and advertised it in his store, thus introducing them into the local market. Finding them to be selling well, he placed a large order, and obtained their exclusive agency in the market for a trial period of six months. Within two months of the granting of the agency the agreement was infringed by the Melodisc Records Limited, and the agency was transferred to an expatriate firm. The reason given was that "the agreement was subsequently discovered to be a breach of the existing and long standing agreement with Decca Distributing Organisation in West Africa whereby all records processed by Decca whether under the Decca label or not must be sold by the appointed official distributors in the territories of West Africa." See Cox-George, op.cit

Despite all these retarding factors, the Lebanese have a substantial share of the African import trade as the following table, showing the share of each group in the importation of the various commodities into the Sierra Leone market indicates:

TABLE 2

Group Imports (value) into Sierra Leone 1955[1].

Group	Section 0	Sect. 1	Sect. 2	Sect. 3	Sect. 4	Sect. 5	Sect. 6	Sect. 7	Sect. 8	Total
European	1,159,395	1,186,826	117,645	654,162	49,761	386,366	3,222,994	1,776,530	912,256	9,465,935
%	51.62%	71.02%	75.77%	99.85%	76.69%	71.63%	62.98%	91.73%	52.16%	67.11%
Lebanese	599,599	132,315	23,493	422	5,162	63,838	1,389,412	101,436	424,639	2,740,318
%	26.6%	8.13%	15.13%	0.06%	7.95%	11.83%	27.15%	5.23%	24.27%	19.42%
Indian	405,861	319,923	12,096	96	8,084	72,118	376,356	25,346	363,578	1,583,457
%	18.07%	20.72%	7.79%	0.01%	12.45%	13.37%	7.35%	1.3%	20.78%	11.22%
African	81,108	2,192	2,026	427	1,878	16,446	125,322	33,114	37,280	299,790
%	3.61%	0.11%	1.3%	0.06%	2.88%	3.04%	2.44%	1.7%	2.13%	2.12%
Unclassified	-	-	-	-	-	595	3,215	166	11,199	15,175
%	-	-	-	-	-	0.11%	0.06%	0.01%	0.64%	0.01%
Total	2,245,963	1,641,256	155,260	655,109	64,882	539,363	5,117,298	1,936,592	1,748,952	14,104,675

Note: The classification is in terms of the current international classification adopted by Customs authorities viz:

Sect. 0 - Food

Sect. 1 - Drink & Tobacco

Sect. 2 - Crude materials, mainly inedible, except fuels.

Sect. 3 - Mineral fuels, lubricants and related materials.

Sect. 4 - Animal & vegetable oils and fats.

Sect. 5 - Chemicals

Sect. 6 - Manufactured goods classified chiefly by materials.

Sect. 7 - Machinery and transport equipment.

Sect. 8 - Miscellaneous manufactured articles.

= - Relate to parcel post imports which cannot be more minutely analysed from the Records as they stand.

1. N.A. Cox George Report, op.cit., p. 7.

The degree of the European predominance in the import trade is apparent; there is no class of imports in which the major share does not fall into their hands. The value of the European imports is about two-thirds of the total. The Lebanese share is about one-fifth. The Lebanese seem to be most active in the importation of articles included in sections "0", "6" and "8". A large proportion of their food share is imported from home in the form of Lebanese food and ingredients for preparing Lebanese dishes.[1] That their share is highest in the importation of manufactured materials and other goods, follows from the nature of their trade. The Lebanese importer's best customer is his fellow Lebanese in the interior, whose main trade is in goods such as those under sections "6", and "8".

The second category of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa consists of smaller-scale traders, middlemen, and small shop-keepers who comprise the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese. A large part of this group live in the big cities where they usually cluster in two or three main streets, occupying the sites best suited for trade.[2]

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1. F.M.Mlouf - an exporting firm in Lebanon - which does not keep exact figures of its exports to the different areas - assured the author that practically all exports to West Africa comprised Lebanese food stuffs.

2. Buchanan and Pugh, op.cit., pp. 70, 72, 73. Also Marteroy, op.cit.

As early as 1935 the number of stores owned by the Lebanese in Dakar was more than twice the number owned by French and Africans combined. The following table reported to be personally compiled by an inhabitant of Dakar, M.Albaret,[1] shows tge number of shops owned by the French, Africans, and Lebanese in all the main streets of Dakar in 1935.

Table 3

Street	Africans	French	Lebanese	Others
Bouhart Pinet-Laprade	-	10	2	10
Avenue Faidherbe	1	8	9	1
Route de Bel-air	1	3	11	-
Avenue Clemenceau	2	4	69	1
Avenue Roume	-	4	2	-
Avenue de la Republique	-	-	9	-
Avenue Maginot	1	3	27	-
Avenue Gambetha	2	4	30	-
Rue escarfait	1	2	6	-
Rue Grasland	-	-	2	-
Rue de Thies	1	3	31	-
Rue de Grammont	4	3	23	-
Rue Paul-Holle	-	1	-	1
Rue de Essarts	-	11	9	2
Rue Dagorne	-	4	5	-
Rue Sandiniery	-	2	15	-
Rue de Thiong	-	1	3	-
Avenue Garraat et Ponty	-	24	35	-
Rue Thiers	1	-	20	-
Rue Carnot	1	3	32	-
Rue Felix-Faure	5	-	6	-
Rue Jules-Ferry	4	1	7	-
Rue Victor Hugo	2	-	-	-
Rue Khebel	-	-	1	-
Rue Zola	-	-	-	-
Rue du Docteur Theze	1	3	5	-
Rue de Thalmath	1	2	4	-
Rue Vincens	-	5	27	18
Rue Bhanchet	7	2	18	-
Rue Raffenol	4	5	25	-
Route de l'Abattoir	5	-	12	-
Rue Canard	-	4	-	-
Total	44	102	455	33

1. Jean Paillard, op.cit., p. 59.

If one examines the contemporary situation in a less cosmopolitan city, the same degree of concentration is revealed. In Ibadan, for example, 45.8% of the city's main shopping area between Onireke Street, Lebanon Street and New Court Road, is owned by Lebanese, while only 28.8% is owned by Indians and others.[1] These calculations are based on the shopping area and not the actual number of shops. Since the European firms usually have much larger shops than either the Africans or Lebanese, it can be safely assumed that the percentage of Lebanese shops in the area will be even higher than the above figure. In the hinterland, where a large number of Lebanese are distributed, they strongly dominate the market.[2] They are found in remote areas operating stores crammed with lengths of coloured cotton, hurricane lamps, felt hats, umbrellas and a whole assortment of goods which appeal to the tastes and wants of the indegenous people. The Lebanese predominance in the hinterland is illustrated in the table below giving the number of shops or booths owned by the three groups in certain Sierra Leone towns.

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1. Computed by the authors from diagrams by Buchanan and Pugh, op.cit., p. 70.

2. Buchanan and Pugh, op.cit., pp.70, 72, 73. Also Marteroy op.cit.

Table 4.

Number of Shops and Booths owned by the three Groups in certain Sierra Leone towns[1]

Town	Lebanese	Europeans	Africans
Blama	27	4	19
Bo	69	9	43
Boajibu	14	-	17
Bonthe	13	3	5
Kenema	28	2	18
Mano	10	4	4
Moyamba	14	3	15
Panguma	12	-	40
Port Loko	15	3	12

Of all the places listed, only in Boajibu, Moyamba and Panguma are the Lebanese outnumbered by Africans. These, however, are alluvial diamond mining areas, and the Lebanese activity and movements are closely watched by the authorities and at times forbidden. Lebanese, therefore, avoid these areas if possible. Moreover, most of the African establishments are small booths, not shops. Out of 483 business

1. Compiled from N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p. 24, and personal counting by the author.

establishments registered in Sierra Leone under the "Business Names Registration Ordinance," 407 were Lebanese, 57 African, 10 European, 6 Indian, and 3 other groups.[1] Though these numbers are not absolutely conclusive, they show the degree of Lebanese predominance in the retail trade. In the opinion of the Times, "The Lebanese have a near monopoly of the internal trade at the stage between the wholesale level on which the European commercial firms operate and the petty trading in cigarettes and the like of the village trade."[2]

The activity of these retailers is closely connected with that of the Lebanese exporters-importers in the cities, and together they form a complete and tight commercial network. Many of the articles found in the retailers' shops come through Lebanese hands either exclusively or in two of the three stages of distribution. When the article is originally imported, not by a Lebanese, but by the big European firms, it is usually bought by a Lebanese middleman-wholesaler who sends it to his Lebanese customers in the hinterland. Even when the big companies might have a branch in a certain inland town, the Lebanese retailers very rarely buy their goods directly from the company, preferring to buy them from other Lebanese, who in turn may have bought them from a third.

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1. Ibid.

2. The Times Review of the British Colonies, op.cit.

This "ethnic patronage" derives not from racial or patriotic feeling, but springs from commercial interest. By and large the Lebanese trader is more lenient with his fellows in credit facilities and more ready to give extra time for payment. Also, surprisingly enough, in many cases, the prices of the Lebanese trader are lower than those of the big firm from which he buys. This could be explained by the practice of "Gold-Coasting"[1] and by the fact that some Lebanese traders have such good connections with the managers of the big firms that they get large stocks at prices lower than the retail price fixed by the firm.[2] By contenting themselves with a smaller profit margin they are able to sell these stocks at prices lower than those of the large firms.

This preference by the Lebanese retailers for Lebanese wholesalers, and middlement, has created a class of Lebanese traders whose only assets are their good relations with the managers of big firms. They get orders from their customers

1. This is a practice by which a customer of an importing firm buys certain goods on credit for a month or other fixed period, and then promptly sells them to other retailers, at a loss if necessary, in order to raise short-term funds which he needs to invest elsewhere. See also Bauer, op.cit., p. 17.

2. The author is aware of a good example of this in the export trade, where the manager of a company in Bonthe refused to buy piassava directly from Lebanese traders, but asked them sell it to a certain Lebanese. The same Lebanese always bought whisky at a much cheaper rate than the retail price fixed by the firm, and was able to sell it more cheaply to other retailers.

in the hinterland, go to the company, buy cheaply on credit, and then transport the goods to their customers, generally in their own trucks, thus making an additional handsome profit on the transport service. The big companies, to-day, do not seem to be very much opposed to this practice, and many of them, in view of the benefit they derive from it, seem even to encourage it.[1]

It will be recalled that, because of the vigour, integrity, and astute business sense of the Lebanese, the European commercial firms and the banks have trusted and extended to them credit facilities.[2] At first the big firms did so simply to extend their trade in the interior; nowadays, when they seek to curb the activity and competition of the Lebanese, they continue only because the Lebanese have become so dominant in retail trade that they are able to dictate their own terms. The help afforded Lebanese by the big firms has aroused many criticisms among the African traders, who allege that these firms and banks discriminate in credit facilities between Africans and Lebanese. Recently the criticism became so strong that the Sierra Leone Government commissioned Dr. N.A. Cox-George to examine inter alia the part played by African

1. This was the opinion which the author gathered from discussions with middlemen and company managers in Freetown.

2. B.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 149. See also above.

in the commerce of Sierra Leone, with reference to the provision of trading capital and credit facilities,[1] and some of the big firms began to attempt to extend credit and trade to the Africans, even where this caused them certain losses.[2]

There is good reason for this discrimination, which exists in fact even when the big firms openly deny it,[3] and it is purely commercial in origin. The Lebanese are good and honest debtors, and cause no trouble to the companies in the matter of bad debts,[4] while the Africans have not as yet proved themselves reliable and honest in their commercial dealings.[5] The trend of political developments, and the blurred distinction between his business aspirations and nationalist pride, may make the African trader less responsible in his credit dealings as the European and other expatriate firms grow more and more lenient. Unless the African

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1. N.A.Cox-George, Report, op.cit., p.1.

2. Information furnished by the managers of two European firms in Sierra Leone, who requested that their identity should not be disclosed.

3. But in private admit it. Ibid.

4. W. Addison, op.cit.

5. All European personnel and company managers in Sierra Leone have emphasised this fact of the irresponsibility of the African trader. Also Lebanese Consular Reports from Dakar, April 23, 1956. Unpublished.

nationalists become aware of the true objects of those African would-be monopolists who are trying to create an exclusive sphere of influence for themselves under the guise of nationalism, and unless they check them in time to maintain the confidence of the expatriate merchants, the whole structure of the African trading system may suffer serious setbacks.

In their relations with the indigenous Africans, the Lebanese traders are on even better terms than they are with European firms. While the European firms' contact with the Africans is growing less owing to their gradual withdrawal from retail trade, and their continual abandonment of outpost buying station, the Lebanese traders and middlemen are increasing their contact with them. In the remote villages of the interior the Lebanese shop serves as department store, bank, post office, and produce buyer. If Africans need goods or even cash, the Lebanese trader lends it to them and is ready to wait till the harvest season when he will accept payment either in produce or in cash. This practice is discouraged by the government authorities, but it is still followed by many, especially in the rice trade.[1]

In return for this help the Lebanese gets his rewards in hiw own way. To him, price-fixing is unknown and the price

1. See Report from Government Secretariat, Sierra Leone, to Colonial Secretary, March 1953.

of an article depends on how good the African is at bargaining. The first price a Lebanese puts on an article in demand is usually three or four times its cost value, but he is not a stubborn merchant, and bargaining may bring him down to a few shillings over cost price.[1] This practice, however, is possible to-day only in the deep hinterland, since on the whole, the African is becoming aware of the pricing methods of the Lebanese is learning how to play one Lebanese trader against another.

The important role that the Lebanese women play in trade on this level has been discussed above.[2] More and more women are taking to shopkeeping, and some now have their own shops which rival those of their husbands and children. Where in the past a widow usually had to return to Lebanon, she now, in most cases, carries on her deceased husband's business, often with great success.[3]

This commercial ingenuity of the Lebanese and their willingness to take risks have helped very much in initiating and developing many industrial and construction programmes

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1. While sitting in a Lebanese shop in Matru, the author observed the sale of three umbrellas, the cost price of each being seven shillings. The first was sold for fifteen shillings, the second for twenty-seven, the third for ten.

2. Chapter two above.

3. The author inspected a number of trading establishments conducted by widows and also interviewed their male neighbours.

in West Africa. In the unstable and chaotic conditions which prevailed in Lebanon under the Ottoman Turks the Lebanese developed the tradition of investing their money in land and real estate. This explains why the immigrants in West Africa have turned their attention to real estate, and whenever allowed by law, they have bought land and freeholds from the Africans.[1] To-day, practically every immigrant owns his own house and shop or rents it from another immigrant.

In industry, the Lebanese have been important pioneers. The ground oil industry in Nigeria may well serve as an example to demonstrate how the immigrants' enterprise preceded government action in the same field. Throughout Nigeria ground nut oil has long been produced by crude but effective hand methods; the oil and cake being used by the producer's household or sold locally. Experiments with hand pressed extraction were made in 1935 by Katsina Native Administration, but were not followed up owing to the greater cost of production as compared with the traditional method.

In 1942, a Lebanese industrialist entered the field, and

1. In Dakar, Bamako, Conakry, Freetown, Abidjan, Accra, Ibadan, Kano, and Lagos, some streets are lined on both sides by Lebanese-owned buildings and stores. In some of these cities the street itself is called Lebanon Street. See also Marteroy, op.cit., Muruweh, Ch. XXII. Also, Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigrants, Consular Reports, Unpublished.

established a mill at Kano which started large scale mechanised production. It has been enlarge several times since, and three otheps have been constructed, also by Lebanese enterprise. When in full operation, these Lebanese owned mills gave a combined production of 6,000 tons of oil, and 15,000 tons of cake. Not until 1949, did the Government enter the field, announcing that a scheme for ground nut production, along the lines of the pioneer palm oil mills scheme, had been approved and that orders had been given for the purchase of six mills and a central workship.[1] Biscuit, confectionery, and shoe factories have also been started by Lebanese in Senegal and Nigeria.

Besides real estate and industry, the Lebanese have also been pioneers in road transport services, and they still dominate this field to-day, though Africans are catching up with them as shown by the table below.

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1. Buchanan and Pugh, op.cit., pp. 135, 140, 202.

Table 5

Registered Commercial Vehicles - Sierra Leone[1]

Type of Vehicle	Africans	Europeans	Syrians Lebanese	Indians	Total
1949					
Lorries	41	16	67	-	124
Vans	12	18	14	1	35
1954					
Lorries	113	55	167	-	335
Vans	15	22	20	1	58
1955					
Lorries	164	26	172	4	366
Vans	21	42	26	1	90
1956					
Lorries	328	27	240	13	608
Vans	69	95	58	3	225

It will be noticed that the Africans took the lead only in 1956, and though they own the larger number of vehicles in the territory, in the Northern Province they are still superceded by the Lebanese and equalled by them in the south-

1. Compiled from N.A. Cox-George, op.cit.

eastern province.[1] In French West Africa, where the Lebanese deal more with produce than merchandise, and where the areas are larger and not as well connected by railways, and in Nigeria, the Lebanese dominance is still greater.[2]

Since most of the Lebanese immigrants in Africa go there with the intention of amassing large fortunes in the shortest possible time,[3] they usually do not take much interest in agriculture, which requires large capital investment over a longer period of time than commerce. Another reason might be that most of the immigrants who were originally farmers in Lebanon, wanted to try their hand in forms of activity other than the ones which they had attempted in Lebanon, usually with very limited success.

This general situation has some exceptions, notably in French West Africa. In Guinea, Soudan and Upper Volta, some Lebanese have gone profitably into agriculture, especially in Guinea where more than fifty immigrants have cultivated large banana plantations. Others in Upper Volta have vineyards, and several others in Soudan and Ivory Coast have orange groves and mango plantations.[4] The total number of those engaged

1. Ibid.
2. The first public transport system in Freetown was initiated by a Lebanese, Mr. Bamin, in 1925. The Government took it over from him in 1928.
3. See above, chapter two.
4. Sa'adeh, op.cit., p. 72; Muruwah, op.cit., p. 262.

in agriculture, however, is less than 1% of the Lebanese immigrant community.[1]

The trading methods of the Lebanese are a continual subject of criticism by Europeans and Africans. Upon their price-fixing methods noted earlier, and their long working hours, the European trader looks with marked disfavour.[2] Repeated allegations of exploitation and hoarding are also made by Europeans and Africans alike, while more recently, the smuggling of currency and diamonds have been added to the list of charges.

Certainly, as traders, the Lebanese are not among the unrecognised saints; the most successful of them are excellent representatives of "economic man". They can exploit the advantages of a remote situation and a shortage as well as any. In West Africa the exact nature of business morality isnnot yet well-established. A European who criticises a Lebanese trader for keeping his shop open later than the conventional closing time, may yet find it perfectly justifiable to displace a rising native trader, and to deprive him of the agency which he has acquired by hard work.[3] Selling at high prices is criticised by the European, while monopolie-

1. Ibid.

2. See Appendix C. For other petitions and protests submitted by the Chambers of Commerce in Dakar, Kadack and St.-Louis, see Jean Paillard, op.cit., pp. 93-135.

3. For example, see the case of Mr. Andre A. Kponou, above p. 188.

tic price fixing and market dividing agreements among big firms a are accepted as normal trading methods.

The big European firms have skilfully diverted the attention of the African population away from themselves and have focussed it on the Lebanese as the source of all their troubles. They have been aided in this by the few African traders who, for the time being, do not feel competition from the big firms in the retail trade, while they are not yet strong enough economically to go into the import-export trade where the big firms' domination would be felt. On top of this there is the dislike and distrust which the official administration expresses towards t he Lebanese, and the way it ignores them as an important component of West African society.[1] The authorities seem to have formed a fixed idea about the Lebanese traders' integrity. Whenever a smuggling operation is discovered, the first assumption is that somehow the Lebanese are involved, even though the actual smuggler turns out to be of a different nationality.[2]

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1. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 149. Also Consular Reports from Dakar, June 6th, 1956. Unpublished.

2. Consular Reports, ibid. The Governor of Sierra Leone expressed this to the author when he told him: "I am convinced that in almost every diamond smuggling operation there is a Lebanese involved, either at the beginning, or the middle or the end." In a recent case in Ghana involving bribery, the accused was believed by many to be a Lebanese, while in fact he was an Armenian of Persian nationality. See also Greene, Graham, The Heart of the Matter. In this novel, set in War-time Sierra Leone, the official stereotype of the Lebanese is well brought out.

This official attitude has its effect on the Lebanese trader, making him hostile to the administration and less willing to abide by its laws. Since, in any case, his reputation in the eyes of the administration is low, it seems to him stupid to bear the consequences of such a stigma without benefiting from it. A trader will forego a doubtful profit for the sake of his name, but if this is already lost, the doubtful enterprise is apt to regain its attraction.

These combined efforts of the European firms, African trader and official administration, have made of the Lebanese the symbol of corruption in the eyes of not only the Africans, but also of outside observers and even, surprisingly enough, to some Lebanese Government officials.[1] It is undeniable that every minority has its bad elements, and the Lebanese community in West Africa has its full share. But to condemn a whole community for the actions of its bad section would be most unwise. The good elements in the Lebanese community are aware of the faults of their compatriots and are ready and willing to do anything within their means to put an end to corruption.[2]

1. Reports of the Consul in Nigeria echo as absolute truth some of the allegations which are made against the Lebanese. July 24th, 1956.

2. Files of the Department of Emigration in the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration. Many petitions from immigrants in West Africa have been sent to the Government in Beirut asking for the deportation of certain persons. Also Sierra Leone Consular Report, 1957. Unpublished.

It was in response to their continued appeals that the Lebanese Government decided to set up in June 1957 the Emigration Supervision Office, which has among its main functions to ensure that the new emigrant is worthy, capable, and of good character.[1]

As to diamond, currency and gold smuggling, the Lebanese do indeed take part in it, but they are by no means the only group responsible. Court and police records show that many other groups and nationalities are involved. It is true that in Sierra Leone and French West Africa, the Lebanese were the pioneer dealers in illicit diamonds and gold, but the art of smuggling was certainly not their invention. The reason why the Lebanese earned for themselves the reputation of being responsible for much of the smuggling operation is two-fold. First they are the largest foreign community - not counting the British and French - and are in continual movement between Lebanon and West Africa. This movement, coupled with the discovery on some of them of smuggled diamonds, gold, or currency, was enough to make the authorities suspicious of every Lebanese. Secondly, the Lebanese operate individually, each one buying diamonds and gold by himself

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1. Decree No. 74/1 of June 6th, 1957. For the provisions of this decree, see Appendix E.

and attempting to get them out of the country, usually in small quantities. Thus more Lebanese than any other group are caught in possession.[1] Added to this is jealousy among the Lebanese community, some of them being willing to volunteer information, which is not always correct, against a fellow Lebanese.[2] The authorities make full use of this readiness to inform and are successfully playing one Lebanese off against the other. They have even employed Lebanese in their secret service; including some who had been deported earlier, only to be brought back as official agents by the authorities.[3] The hard fact is that the trade in gold and diamonds is so profitable that it corrupts not only the Lebanese but many

1. See Ian Fleming, The Diamond Smugglers, Jonathan Cape (London, 1957).

2. Information obtained from the Lebanese Consul in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Also Consular Reports from Dakar, June 6th, 1956. Unpublished.

3. In the Lebanese Consul's office in Freetown the author met two of these agents. They had been deported earlier and their passports confiscated, but in April 1957 they were seen in Sierra Leone, and they came one day to the Consul claiming that they had entered the country legally, but had somehow lost their passports and asked that new passports be issued to them. On cross examination by the Consul, it became clear to him and to the author that they were lying. Further investigation showed that they had been permitted by the authorities to enter Sierra Leone on condition that they helped in spying on other Lebanese. The Consul wrote to the authorities pointing out that the two men were again illegally in Sierra Leone and asked for their deportation, but no action was taken.

officials, police inspectors, and European company personnel, and unless more effective control can be imposed, smuggling will continue and the Lebanese will receive most of the blame, though little of the profits.[1]

Another major criticism against the commercial methods of the Lebanese immigrants, relates to income tax payments. The authorities complain that very few Lebanese immigrants submit correct and honest profit returns, and even those who do, try to avoid or defer payment by bribing the officials or by other means. Research among the immigrants tends to confirm the truth of this complaint, but in many instances the real reason is lack of knowledge of income tax procedure and book-keeping rather than a definite desire to defraud.[2] It is hardly to be expected that the illiterate immigrant will keep well-arranged books, and he distrusts his clerk to such an extent that he is unwilling to assign this job to him.

1. The author was given first hand information by one Lebanese smuggler, conclusively establishing his partnership with a company manager and a police inspector in the smuggling operations. Neither is holding office at present. (Details will be supplied if required.) Here it is convenient to recall again Graham Greene's The Heart of the Matter, the central character being a senior police officer who had dealings with the Lebanese.

2. In Freetown, for example, the immigrants' ignorance in preparing income tax returns was so great that one of them, a university graduate, gave up his trade, and took up the business of preparing income tax returns for fellow immigrants. His job is made more difficult by having to prepare the returns from pieces of paper and the trader's memory.

Most of the immigrants either trust to memory, or rely on jottings on the walls of their store or on odd scraps of paper.[1] Clearly they may deceive the government by this method, but in most cases it seems highly probable that they themselves incur losses. Memories must often fail; particularly during the heavy "commercial season" when many daily transactions are made. Yet most immigrants persist in following this practice. The larger Lebanese firms, naturally keep proper books, and their income tax returns are as correct as need be. Owing to Lebanese indifidualism, however, Lebanese companies are very few.

Arbitrary methods have been devised by the authorities in several African territories to assess Lebanese incomes. The method most used is to examine the changes that have occurred in the traders stock, house furniture, car, standard of living and other possible detectable factors in the course of a year, and from this to deduce the amount of tax due. Though this method may seem arbitrary and unfair by European trading standards, yet in the circumstances it is probably excusable.

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1. Five black scratches on the wall of an immigrant's shop in Freetown were explained to the author to represent five hundred pounds loaned to another trader. In almost all the stores which he later visited the author looked for and discovered such scratches.

Most of the efforts made to induce the Lebanese to keep well-arranged books have failed, and any other method open to the Government, such as cancelling his licence to trade, or deportation, is certainly more detrimental to the Lebanese than that described above.

Another method used to encourage or compel the Lebanese to submit correct figures, is the immigration regulation which grants permission to any trader who shows a certain amount of trading capital,[1] to introduce one Lebanese to the territory. Owing to their pressing need to get a relative or an employee from Lebanon, some immigrants have taken advantage of this regulation and have presented returns declaring themselves to posses the specified figure even when some of them have not in fact earned as much.

The advantages and disadvantages of the Lebanese trading activities in West Africa have been touched upon lightly earlier and will be discussed more fully at a later stage.[2] One advantage, however, often overlooked by many, is the fact that the trading methods of the immigrants, whether good or bad, have created a very active commercial field. They have opened the eyes of the native Africans to the benefits of

1. Usually £25,000.

2. Chapter three above and chapter eight below.

retail trade, and they have set an example in perseverance and hard work. The imitation of others is a marked human characteristic and a study of the African trader's activities and methods of business reveals the great degree to which he has been influenced by the Lebanese immigrant. The kind of business he enters into, his working hours, and even the way he arranges goods in his shop are often very close copies of the Lebanese model.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS

Social Conditions

The social conditions of the Lebanese in West Africa defy many of the well established rules of sociology and social psychology. In a normal migratory movement the process which the immigrants usually undergo is summarized thus by A.H. Richmond:[1]

> "Once the physical process of migration has taken place the process of resocialization and absorption begins. ..... By this is meant the establishment (by the immigrant) of a satisfactory social relationship with other immigrants and with the indigenous population as a result of which the immigrant's expectations become compatible with the roles defined in the new society and capable of realization in it. This may involve learning new skills, discovering new norms and standards and internalizing or accepting the appropriate cultural and sub-cultural values of his new society."

Although this rule holds true in most migratory movements including the Lebanese immigration into the United States, South America and other parts of the world, it does not apply to the Lebanese in West Africa. After sixty-five years in a new society, the process of absorption has not yet begun to affect the Lebanese. They have not established satisfactory social relationships either with the Africans or the Europeans, and generally the immigrants' standards and norms are not

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1. A.H. Richmond, op.cit.

affected by those of the new society.[1]

Some of the many reasons for this have been discussed already,[2] the temporary nature of the migratory movement being among the most important of them. Sociologists stress the fact that the process of migration always involves a manoeuvring of the sphere of social participation; a severing of the formal and informal ties with the old society before new ties can be established.[3] In this sense Lebanese immigration to West Africa is not a true migratory movement, to which the normal sociological rules of assimilation and adaptation can be applied. Its temporary nature does not force the immigrant to sever his ties with his society in Lebanon, which is a condition precedent to the strengthening of his ties with the African society.

Another important reason is the absence in West Africa of a single homogeneous society into which all newcomers can merge. The territory contains several different societies, some of them with a structure socially less developed than that of the Lebanese. In the absence of a supreme and dominant society, the Lebanese as well as the Europeans find it very easy, in fact almost unavoidable, to retain their own separate social

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1. Eyo Ndem, Letter to the Editor, West Africa Magazine, June 21, 1958. See also Muruwah, op.cit.
2. Above, chapter two.
3. S.N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

status. This is very much criticised by the educated Africans, who put the blame wholly on the Lebanese and European, ignoring the important fact that they lack a unified strong society of their own.[1]

Very recently, Africans in different West African territories have begun to aspire to the achievement of a unified society, the impulse being primarily political. Although such a unified national society may be able to absorb other smaller communities in the future, including the Lebanese and Europeans, its immediate results have been to separate the communities even more, as the Africans under the drive of their nationalistic feelings reject the Lebanese and Europeans as possible associates. To all these factors the colour problem adds its weight; and though many sociologists attempt to reduce the importance of this factor, it is submitted that in Africa it still plays a dominant role.[2] The combination of these factors resulted in the isolation of the immigrants in West Africa, and made of them a self-contained community, the basic features of which are identical to those of their parent communities in Lebanon; with one major difference. Although the Lebanese society has undergone radical changes in the last sixty years,

1. See West Africa, June 21, 1958, where Mr. Eyo Ndem in a letter to the editor commenting on a series of articles by the author on the Lebanese in West Africa, stresses the point that the Lebanese do not react to the African society in the same way as immigrants usually do.

2. S.A. Aluko, West Africa, June 14, 1958.

that of the immigrants in West Africa has not followed its example.[1] The national struggles in Lebanon since the turn of this century, have brought closer the separate communities and led to the conclusion of the National pact which settled several disputed points between Christians and Muslims. In West Africa, however, the immigrants were not influenced by such unifying factors, and their society has remained more or less a transplantation of the various Lebanese groups of the late nineteenth century with all its dissensions and problems. The family, locality and religious ties are still stronger among the immigrants in West Africa than the fact of being Lebanese. Jealousy between members of different families, villages, or religions, is still one of the prominent factors which retards the development of the Lebanese community, and this is very cleverly exploited by the authorities, European firms, and Africans, in playing off one group against another to the detriment of both.[2]

In the following pages a description of the social life of the immigrants will be given, and their relationships with the African and European communities will be examined. It must be stressed, however, that here again, the observations

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p, 282.

2. Examples of this is the Government use of Lebanese informants in the detection of Lebanese diamond smugglers, and the natives and firms manipulation of this jealousy to bring down the prices fixed by the Lebanese.

are general, and certain exceptions are to be found which will be pointed out during the course of the discussion. On the whole, these exceptions are not numerous since the majority of the immigrants in West Africa originally belong to the same social class.

Within the immigrants' communities, harmonious social relations are not always the rule. An examination of the various attempts made in several territories to organize a society or a club for the immigrants reveals the degree to which the Lebanese are divided. In Dakar a "Lebanese Syrian Society" was formed in 1926, but it lasted only till 1932 and then collapsed through disputes about the presidency. Each of the two conflicting groups founded its own society and a third group started another, all three thus helping to widen the breach between members of the Lebanese community. In Guinea a "Lebanese Society" was formed in July 1930 but this too collapsed over the question of who was to become president. It was handed over to the younger elements of the community in 1934 in the hope that they would revitalize it; but they encountered the same obstacles and the society collapsed again.

Similar was the fate of the societies formed in Sierra Leone. The first was started in 1925, but came to an end quickly, religious differences among its members being the cause. A second, founded in 1938, with the name "Lebanese Syrian Society" was also short-lived. In 1955 the younger

generation tried once more to organize a new society and a sporting club. The initial reaction was encouraging, and enough money was collected to build a small house and to lay out a playing field. Recently, however, the whole thing collapsed through religious and political divergences between members. Politics also play an important role in furthering dissension within the society.

Although the Lebanese take no interest in African politics, they are greatly involved in the internal politics of Lebanon. Many are fanatical supporters of one or other of the Lebanese political parties, and quarrels and misunderstandings are very frequent among them.[1] Not only political affiliations, but even family antagonisms in Lebanon, are well preserved and even magnified in West Africa. This would seem to be contrary to the usual reaction of immigrants to a new and strange society. Certainly one would expect from them a tendency to forget previous differences at home and to draw together, but the frequent visits which the immigrant makes to his family in Lebanon help to preserve and to strengthen his feud with a rival family, and he returns to Africa ready to continue the quarrel.[2]

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1. When a delegation from the "Kataeb" party in Lebanon visited Abidjan, one of its speakers in a rally, was interrupted and slapped by a member of the opposing Syrian National Socialist party. Needless to say, a battle in the Lebanese style ensued.
2. Two persons from different families were great friends in Sierra Leone when their two families quarrelled in their home village "Baino" in Lebanon. They continued as friends until they decided to return together to Lebanon to try to reconcile their families. After a few months stay in the village they stopped talking to each other, and returned separately to Sierra Leone where they are at present bitter opponents.

In discussing the immigrants' social life, it is essential to examine their religious affiliations, for in West Africa as in Lebanon, religion still plays an important role in the social and political life of the Lebanese community. Most Lebanese emigrants to other countries have been Christians,[1] but to West Africa the majority have been Muslims. In 1937, for example, out of the 2,165 immigrants who entered West Africa, 957 were Christians and 1,108 Muslims. In the same year out of 316 immigrants to Brazil, 292 were Christians and only 24 were Muslims. Immigrants to the United States and Argentina were divided into Christians and Muslims in nearly the same proportions as Brazil.[2]

The majority of the immigrants belonged to the Shii' sect which is one of the least developed of Lebanese communities.[3] Of the 9,367 Shiite immigrants who opted for Lebanese nationality in the period 1937 to 1939, 7,847 were from Southern Lebanon, and of these 6,498 were from the Sour area.[4] They began emigrating later than the Christians, mainly just before and after the First World War at the time when the United States had introduced the quota system, which greatly lowered the number of Lebanese emigrants, and Shiites, therefore, had to go to West Africa.

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1. See chapter three, table 3.
2. République Francaise, Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, Rapport à la Societé des Nations sur La Situation de La Syrie et du Liban for the year 1937.
3. See above, chapter one.
4. Manassah, op.cit., p. 426.

It is very difficult to give authentic figures to establish conclusively the religious affiliations of the immigrants in the whole of West Africa, but the figures of the Lagos Census of 1950 shed some light on the subject. The 388 Lebanese were classified as follows:

Table 1

Lebanese Immigrants in Lagos according to their Religious Beliefs[1]

Christians	Males	Females	Total
Anglicans	4	3	7
Methodists	1	-	1
Roman Catholics	87	56	143
Others	8	4	12
Total Christians	100	63	163
Muslims	131	83	214
Others	7	2	9
Not Stated	2	-	2
Grand Total	240	148	388

Lagos, to which immigration started later than other West African territories, might have been expected to receive more Shiites, but from an analysis of the immigrants in other parts it seems that the proportion in Lagos is much the same as in the rest of the world.[2]

1. Lagos Census Report, 1950, p. 94.

2. Analysis done personally from list of immigrants' names and origins supplied by Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp. 97-391. See Appendix F.

The table shows that religion makes no difference as to whether an immigrant takes his wife to Africa, for it is apparent that both Muslim and Christian have much the same percentage of women. The social value of the Christian women is more marked than the Muslim women since on the whole they are better educated and have a higher standard of living.[1] While the Christian woman takes an active part in social life, the Muslim woman is mostly reserved and in several areas a few still use the veil, as was the practice in Lebanon until recently.

Though the Lebanese immigrants hold tenaciously to their religious beliefs, very few of them are concerned with religious activities. To them religious affiliation is more a matter of birth and tradition than of conviction. They seldom establish their own churches or mosques in Africa. In French West Africa the Maronites lead a more active religious life because of the presence of a large Catholic French community, with its own established churches. In British West Africa religious activity is almost at a standstill, except in cases when there is a religious feast or other similar activities. In that event the immigrants, especially in Northern Nigeria and Senegal, participate in the festivities with the Africans mainly in the hope of cultivating better business relationships.

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 279. See also above chapter two.

Generally, the immigrants justify their indifferent religious practices by declaring that religion is always present in their hearts, and that the nature of their stay in Africa makes the observance of all rites difficult.

The immigrant's respect for, and support of, his religion is marked, however, by generous contributions. There have been religious men in Lebanon who have made a good deal from tours in Africa during which they have collected money for quite imaginary philanthropic projects.[1] One great philanthropic project, nevertheless, has been achieved with money collected by an eminent Shiite leader during three consecutive trips to West Africa, namely the establishment of the "Amilyyali College" for poor Shiite students. An infirmary was also built. It is interesting to note that Christian immigrants have contributed generously to this project though they knew it was a strictly Shiite philanthropic enterprise.[2]

The role that religion plays in the social life of the community has been referred to earlier in giving the reasons for the failure of most immigrant clubs and societies. Like their fellow countrymen at home, recognizing the delicate religious balance of Lebanon, the immigrants rarely show any

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1. The priests of two villages, Rahbe and Bazbina in the Akkar area, have each made trips on which they collected sums of money for philanthropic projects which did not materialize.

2. Information secured by the author in an interview with Rashid Baydown, the Shiite leader who started and is still administering the project.

open religious antagonism towards each other, though many of their decisions and relations are influenced by their internal feeling of religious alignment. They so tactfully hide their religious feelings, that it might take a Christian for example a long time to realize that he has not yet seen the face of the wife of a Shii friend.[1]

In marital status the Lebanese community is divided as shown in the table below.

Table 2

Marital Status of Lebanese Immigrants, 1952[1]

Country	Total	Married Men	Bachelors Men	Married Women	Children of both sexes
Senegal	7,545	1,385	745	1,455	3,960
Soudan	1,099	185	130	202	582
Guinée Française	2,870	460	240	470	1,700
Ivory Coast	1,590	281	239	265	805
Gambia	435	70	55	75	235
Sierra Leone	2,770	435	295	250	1,790
Ghana	1,797	345	232	355	865
Nigeria	1,893	310	245	325	1,013
Total	19,999	3,471	2,181	3,397	10,950

The large number of children include all unmarried girls of whatever age and boys up to the age of twenty-one. Since most of the children of school age are sent to Lebanon for

1. This happened to the author while in Freetown, where, though his Shii friend was very close to him, the author never had the chance to see or meet the wife, since this is against Shii religious tradition.

2. Computed from data from Sa'adeh, op.cit., pp. 74-82.

their education,[1] it may be taken that the larger part of this number are either under seven or over eighteen. One significant fact is the large number of married women accompanying their husbands which shows that the woman is taking a full part in the immigration movement. These figures, however, are to be taken only as indicating a general trend, rather than as precise statistics. The difference between married men and married women, for example, should be more than 74 (3,471 - 3,387), even after considering that some of the married women are widows carrying on their husbands' business; for though many immigrants take their wives with them to Africa, still a considerable number leave their wives in Lebanon, or send them back after a few years.[2] Those who leave their wives in Lebanon, in spite of their usefulness in Africa, do so mainly for two reasons, to be near the children while being educated, and to serve as a purchasing agent for the family. As the immigrant is not allowed to take his money out of the country when he may decide to leave, he finds it necessary to send it in small instalments over the period of his stay in Africa. The wife in Lebanon acts, therefore, as the trusted receiver of the remittances from her husband, and usually invests it in

1. See Appendix A, and Hancock, Vol.II, part II, footnote 2 on page 223.

2. To illustrate this point and prove that the above figures are not absolutely correct, the author in the summer of 1957, undertook a survey of some Lebanese villages which have a large number of immigrants in West Africa to see how many wives of absent immigrants were there. In the six villages surveyed, Baino, Al Burj in North Lebanon, Beit Shehab and Bikkfaya in Mount Lebanon, and Kafarhouna and Al-Zaraya in southern Lebanon, the author was able to count 223 wives whose husbands were in Africa; 84 of these had never been to Africa.

land or real estate.

The concept of family life as something sacred has not yet been divorced from the Lebanese minds whether in Africa or at home. The father is still, in fact as in word, the head of the family, and is treated with the utmost reverence. In West Africa the authority of the father extends to the economic sphere and though his children may be in their thirties or more, and married, they almost invariably carry on the business under the supervision of the father. Even in choosing his wife, the Lebanese, and especially the immigrant in West Africa, is still expected to take his parents' advice which in most cases takes the form of actually choosing the girl, and arranging all the marriage details without undue regard for the wishes of the son.[1] This is even more so in the case of girls. Marriage deals by which a girl becomes engaged to an immigrant in West Africa, and goes there to get married without having seen him, are still very frequent.[2]

The family life of the immigrant in West Africa is faced with several problems, among the most acure of which is the education of their children. Owing to the lack of good educational facilities in several of the West African territories, and to the desire of the immigrants to teach their children the Arabic language, the immigrants usually send their children to

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 289.
2. Ibid.

Lebanon for their education. They are usually sent between the age of seven and ten years, at which time the child most needs the guidance and care of his parents. When in Lebanon they are either enrolled in private boarding schools, some being primarily places to which immigrants may send their children for the whole year,[1] or they are left under the control of their fond, lenient and, generally, illiterate grandparents. In some cases the mother is sent with the children to Lebanon. Whatever method is adopted there has to be division and separation of the family, which has its repercussions on all the members.

The result for the children is that many of them do not succeed in school and fail to attain any professional qualifications, partly because the academic standard of the boarding schools is not high enough to prepare them for higher education, and partly because these schools are mainly founded as places where the children can be looked after all the year through rather than as centres of education. Nor can these schools maintain a high standard, since many of the children have had no previous school training, and have no knowledge of proper Arabic or English or French.[2] The better educational

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1. Many of these immigrants schools have been established in Lebanon in the past twenty years. Some of them even indicate their nature in their title, e.g. "Madrassat dik al Mihhdi Li Awlad Al Mughtaribin" Dik Al-Mihhdi School for Emigrants' Children.

2. The French and English which these children pick up during their early years in Africa is what is called "broken English and French" and it is no help to them in learning proper English or French.

institutions in Lebanon have no courses for children in this special position, nor do they offer residence and care during vacation.

Another reason for the children's failure is the large amount of pocket money they receive from their parents. Thirdly, the children tend to think wistfully of their parents in Africa and of the easy way in which they could make money by going to the family business; so at the first setback at school they give up, and are content to be able to read and write English or French or both. Their parents, who are badly in need of a trustworthy son to take charge of the business correspondence, instead of a costly local clerk and who are hampered by the strict immigration laws, are too often willing "to accept God's will" and bring their child back instead of pressing him to try again at school. The emotional desire of the parents to see their children and to live with them again, has also its effect in softening their resistance to their children's desire to join them in Africa.

The immigrants are aware of the difficulties and hindrances facing their children, and in their "General Congress" at Zahli in Lebanon in September 1955 stressed, in the cultural resolutions, the need for establishing schools of good standards in Lebanon and the host countries, and urged the Lebanese Government to seek agreements with the host countries by which Arabic would be added to the curriculum of the national schools as an

optional course.[1]

It may be suggested that a secondary school of good standard should be established in the capital of each of the West African territories which could be financed at the start by the Lebanese community. If there is the usual lack of unity for such communal projects, a management committee could be set up under the chairmanship of the Lebanese Consul, with two or three members of the immigrant community, together with a representative of the education department of the territory. This suggestion naturally presupposes the presence of a Lebanese Consul in each territory. So far this is not the case, but promises are being made by the Lebanese Government to establish permanent, not honorary Consulates, in all the West African territories.[2] Arabic could be taught in these schools by Lebanese teachers who would also be a welcome addition to the otherwise wholly commercial Lebanese community. Thus the children would not have to be separated from their parents for long periods, and they could have a good secondary education which would enable them to take up university training in Africa

1. See Appendix B. This Congress was held in 1955 under the auspices of the Kataeb Party, to discuss the problems facing the Lebanese emigrant in Lebanon and in his lands of immigration. Representatives of Lebanese immigrant communities from a large number of countries attended, and the Lebanese Government recognized the Congress as representing the wishes of the Lebanese emigrants.

2. Promises made by the Department of Emigration to the Emigration Congress. See Lebanese Newspapers, Aug. 29 to Sept. 4, 1955. The same promises have been repeated to the author in Aug.1957, by Mr. Naguib Sadakka, then Permanent Secretary to the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration. So far, however, these promises have not been wholly fulfilled.

or elsewhere. It will also make it easier for them to assimilate into the African society. At present the immigrants are not taking advantage of the higher education facilities found in West Africa though some institutions have good standards.[1] An exception to this is the case of Dakar where some immigrants send their children to the French Catholic Mission schools.[2]

In the case of husband and wife, the separation certainly causes some hardships. The husband in Africa normally acquires an African mistress,[3] while the wife in Lebanon is also not always safe from rumours about her behaviour and possible relationship with other men.[4] There have been a number of divorce cases arising from these causes.

Another problem of family life in West Africa is the care and nursing of children. It will be recalled that most Lebanese women in West Africa spend most of the daytime in the shop, leaving the duty of caring for their children to the servants, of whom there are usually two or more in every immigrant's household.[5] If these were trained nurses, it might

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1. The Records of Fourah Bay College and the University College at Ibadan show that these colleges had never had a Lebanese student. These Colleges have good standards and are linked to universities in the United Kingdom. In Dakar, however, two Lebanese are registered in the "Institut des Hautes Etudes de Dakar", and many

2. Consular Report from Dakar, 17 July 1957.
3. Ibid.
4. Muruwah, op.cit.
5. Ibid.

be acceptable; but to hand the child to an untrained African servant, usually with the most primitive notions of cleanliness, is certainly harmful to the health and character of the child. Some of the Africans, of course, are quite civilized, but unfortunately those who work as household servants in the hinterland are not of this calibre. Often these servants take the children to play with African children in the most insanitary conditions.[1] Though the mortality rate of Lebanese children is comparatively low, the effect of this type of nursing is reflected in the general health of the children, who are often weak, anaemic, and fall easy victims to illness.[2] Besides education, another reason for sending the children to Lebanon is concern for their health, and they hope that the climate of Lebanon will suit them better than that of Africa. Even when this is only partly true, the immigrants might reflect that the main reason for their children's weakness is the unhealthy method of their upbringing.

Most of the immigrants now have their grown up children to help them, which makes the woman less needed in the shop, with more to do in the house. Such social life as there is in West Africa demands from the Lebanese woman nowadays greater

1. The author does not wish it to be thought that he is against the association of African and Lebanese children; in fact he advocates it in societies where the two communities are of equal or nearly equal standards. But to advocate it unconditionally would be to bring down the conditions of the Lebanese children to those of the natives in the hinterland. This will not help in raising the standards of the natives while it lowers those of the Lebanese.

2. Consular Reports from Dakar, August 6, 1956.

attention to domestic life than to commerce. In the early stages of Lebanese immigration her help in the store was invaluable,[1] but in today's conditions she is as indispensable as a housewife, mother, and hostess, as she was as a trader.

In the scramble for money the earlier immigrants had neither the time nor the capacity for recreation. In Lebanon, sitting in the "coffee-houses" sipping Turkish coffee and smoking long tubed water pipes (nargilah) was the only form of recreation they knew. This institution of coffee-houses was not found in West Africa, nor did the early immigrants have the time to create it. By the time the immigrants had enough money not to need to worry about food, lodging, and family at home, they had forgotten about the coffee-houses and had to find some other form of recreation. They resorted to gambling, and "poker" became the most fashionable game among the older generation. The overwhelming majority of the immigrants play the game frequently and the number of those who play it constantly for high stakes is considerable.[2] Many indeed leave their businesses to other members of the family and become professional gamblers.[3]

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1. See above, chapter two.
2. Muruwah, op.cit.
3. Sa'adeh, op.cit., p. 86.

The other form of recreation followed by the older generation is horse racing. In Accra, Lagos and Dakar, they own most of the horses and win a considerable proportion of the prizes.[1] This is the only outdoor activity that interests the older generation apart from short drives and picnics on the sea shore, or visits to beauty spots in the interior.

The younger generation has taken more to athletic activities such as tennis, football, basket ball and swimming. They face, however, many difficulties of the kind mentioned above, in forming sporting clubs and societies. Some clubs have succeeded, especially in Ghana, Senegal, and Nigeria. The basket ball teams have played other Lebanese teams in West Africa, and occasionally African and European teams.[2]

Though the moral standards of the Lebanese in their commercial dealings are much criticised by the Europeans and Africans, and although the men associate with African women, it is rare for anyone to question their morality in other spheres of life. The chastity of the Lebanese women is taken for granted, as is their religious devotion, and authentic reports make it clear that there is no such thing as a Lebanese prostitute in West Africa.[3] The married men who have their

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 225.
2. Ibid.
3. Information obtained from Lebanese immigrants, mainly bachelors, in several West African territories, and from interviews with police authorities in Freetown and Dakar.

wives with them are generally faithful husbands, though bachelors and those whose wives are away usually have relations with other women.

Some bachelors have mistresses by whom they get children, but for reasons given above they rarely marry them or recognise the children. For this the Lebanese are rightly criticised by many Europeans and educated Africans, but on the whole the African society does not despise the practice as a vice. In fact many regard it as a source of income and praise the Lebanese for being more generous in this field than either the European or the small Indian communities.[1]

The Lebanese community in West Africa do not take much to alcohol since more than half are Muslims whose religion forbids them to drink. A large percentage observe this prohibition.[2] The Christians, and those Muslims who do drink, usually do so at social gatherings but they rarely proceed to the point of intoxication. Lebanese by and large, have a remarkably good record as far as crimes of violence or drunkenness are concerned

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1. Even an African barrister has pointed out to the author in Freetown that the Africans like the Lebanese to have relations with their women. He emphasized the fact that African moral standards do not despise such behaviour. To test the truth of this the author witnessed several immigrants in various towns in Sierra Leone negotiating freely with native Africans who undertook to procure for them their sister, wife, or other female relations. In his novel No Joy of Africa, set in Ghana, W.R. Loader indicates the easy attitude of many African women to sex relations with European and other immigrants.

2. Husheymi, op.cit.

and the police readily testify to their good behaviour in this regard.[1]

It is now essential to examine the social relations existing between the Lebanese immigrants and the European and African communities. One basic feature, which has only one exception, is the fact that although divided among themselves, the Lebanese are considered as one unit by the Europeans and Africans. In Senegal, however, and particularly in Dakar, the French community tend to differentiate between Christian and Muslim immigrants, and the French colons seem to concentrate their attacks on the Muslim Shiites.[2] Because of the traditional ties between the French and the Maronites of Lebanon, who constitute the major part of the Christian Lebanese in West Africa, such favouritism is to be expected. It remains to be seen whether this favouritism will have its counter effect on the Muslim Africans and help to draw them closer to the Muslim immigrants.[3]

Before the arrival of the Lebanese, two main communities existed in West Africa, the Europeans and the indigenous

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1. The author has succeeded in tracing only two murder cases; in the Ivory Coast in 1958, in which one Lebanese killed another for assaulting his wife, and the second in Sierra Leone in which a Lebanese shot and killed an African in self defence.
2. Information personally obtained from the Lebanese Consul in Dakar.
3. The effect of religion on African-Lebanese relations will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Africans.[1] At that time members of the European community which was mainly composed of Colonial Administrators and traders, were more inclined to emphasize their colonial administrators' behaviour than the traders, and though they were not segregation-minded, they did not show much eagerness to establish strong social relations with the Africans. In the existing social-culture and economic conditions of the vast majority of the African population stronger social ties could hardly have been achieved were if the Europeans were willing to do so. A combination of all these factors helped the Europeans to develop a sense of superiority and aloofness which, though having its basis in the social and cultural differences, could not be dissociated completely in the minds of both from the ancient problem of whites and blacks.

The Africans, at that stage of their development, had no choice but to accept this social division. As pointed out earlier, national feelings, which later became the most important single factor in speeding up African development, were still in embryonic form. The sudden impact of the European's social life, caused the African to hesitate for a while before he decided on any further adjustments.

Into this social structure came the white Lebanese immigrants. They had a different, and by European norms, higher standard than the indigenous Africans, yet not high

1. It is difficult to say whether Creoles should be considered as indigenous Africans or foreigners. The author believes they should be considered as Africans.

enough to make them on an equal footing with the Europeans. Those Lebanese newcomers, however, had not developed within them the same feeling of superiority and aloofness. They tried to associate with the Africans more freely and in the early stages, their standard of living was nearer to that of the African than to that of the European. Moreover, they had come to Africa to trade with the Africans in their deepest hinterlands, and had therefore to maintain a close link with them, in order to win them as customers. The natural reaction of the Europeans was to dissociate themselves from these white Lebanese whom they regarded as a disgrace to the white race because of their moral and social standards, and their association with the blacks.[1] The Lebanese on their part thought that if they improve their social standards they would be able to qualify for the white men's privileges and become accepted by the Europeans. Their success in this field varied considerably in the various West African territories and even in different parts of the same territory. In Accra, Lagos and Dakar, the Lebanese are close to the Europeans in their standard of living and social practices and live in the same residential quarters, but those in Sierra Leone, Soudan, Guinea and Ivory Coast are still far from being accepted by the Europeans.

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1. Muruwah, op.cit., pp. 278, 279. In the United States and South Africa, efforts were made by the Europeans to declare the Lebanese coloured, but the courts in both countries decided against this. See also Hitti, Syrians in the United States, op.cit., p. 39, and Maasoud Khalil, "How the Lebanese Opposed their being considered 'Yellow' in South Africa", Al-Amal Newspaper, Beirut, June 12, 1955.

Two factors play an important role in shaping African-Lebanese relations: the inter-marriage problem, and the religious affiliations of the immigrants. The former has been a cause of bitterness to many Africans and may have handicapped better Lebanese-African understanding, while the latter has helped to create more cordial relationships between the two communities in several parts of West Africa.

The Africans maintain that the Lebanese should make the initial move towards closer links with the African community, and urge that they must make a sincere effort to win the confidence of the people.[1] As a sign of the Lebanese good-will, the Africans suggest more inter-marriages between the two communities. They argue that whereas the majority of the Lebanese immigrants have sexual relations with black women resulting in the birth of children who are usually black, practically no immigrant ever unites in marriage with these women. Moreover, the illegitimate children of such relationships are usually ignored by the parents and left to be brought up by the mothers in the African way, rather than as a mixed generation bridging the two communities.[2] They conclude that, whereas the continuous migration of the Lebanese from one place

1. S.A. Aluko, letter to the Editor in West Africa, op.cit.

2. These arguments of the Africans have been revealed to the author in discussions with various African leaders and scholars from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana, and French West Africa.

to another in the early stages of his stay in West Africa made it easier for him to leave behind his black mistress and her offspring,[1] in his present urbanized state this fact is not an excuse any more.

On the surface, it might seem that the encouragement of mixed marriages might be a solution, but closer examination reveals its inadequacy. Even if the Lebanese were willing to marry African women, forgetting the usual problems mixed marriages create in any society, there are special reasons why this practice should not be encouraged in West Africa. Here again the temporary nature of the immigrants' stay in Africa is of over-riding importance. Since the ultimate aim of the Lebanese is to return to Lebanon, the taking of a coloured wife and children with him would create for him in Lebanon many more problems than those which he faces in Africa through not getting married. In other words, mixed marriages would solve the problems temporarily in West Africa only to give rise to permanent difficulties in Lebanon.

It may be argued, however, that by marrying in Africa the temporary stay of the immigrants would be made permanent, and that these problems therefore would not have to be carried over to Lebanon, but there are few answers to this. First, the Lebanese are not willing to exchange Lebanon for West

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1. George Gayet, "Les Libanais et les Syriens dans l'Ouest Africain", article in the Report of the XXX meeting of INCIDI, Brussels, 1957.

Africa permanently, nor are the Africans or the colonial authorities willing to accept a Lebanese white settlement.[1] Secondly, the two cultures are so different, yet each so strong that in the case of marriage no one culture could subordinate the other. Children would be torn between the two and family life would suffer. Unless one of the cultures is accepted as the stronger, and in case of conflict allowed to dominate, no stable family life can be achieved, and the number of broken marriages would simply help to widen the breach between African and Lebanese rather than to close it.

It seems, therefore, that the advocating of mixed marriages as a solution at the present stage of cultural development of both Lebanese and African society is not likely to produce the desired results. On the contrary, it might further complicate relationships. Moreover, inter-marriage is not in fact essential for the creation of a homogeneous society. The Lebanese society itself, in Lebanon as well as in its land of immigration, is divided in this field and Christians and Muslims rarely inter-marry. The most practical solution seems to be the cultivation of a feeling of trust between the Africans and the Lebanese, and a sense of belonging among the immigrants.

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1. As mentioned above, the immigration laws have as one of their purposes the prevention of white settlement in West Africa.

In some parts of West Africa, especially in Northern Nigeria, and Ashanti in Ghana, the Muslim religion has a marked effect on African-Lebanese relationship. It is reported by early immigrants in Nigeria that the Africans of Northern Nigeria accepted them with great warmth because they knew they were Arabs, and believed that all Arabs were their brothers in the Muslim faith.[1] Today Lebanese immigrants in Kumasi, and Kano, have very cordial relations with the Muslim Africans, some of whom, the Hausa, claim that they are of Arab descent. In 1930 the Hausa king in Kumasi, in a speech given in honour of a visiting Lebanese journalist,[2] summarized the Muslim Africans' feelings towards the Arabs as follows:[3]

> "I am very happy to welcome here an Arab journalist; so are all my people. We are all happy because we are welcoming an Arab who came from the lands of our Prophet. We are always happy to see an Arab for three reasons: first because the Prophet was an Arab. Second because the Holy Koraan descended in the Arabic language, and thirdly because Arabic is the language of the day of judgement. I am also specially happy because our Arab friend came here to write a book about this country. We wish him to say when he mentions us in his book, that we are Arabs and we have always maintained close links with the Arabs. We are Muslims and still observe all its traditions. We teach our children the classical Arabic language, and the Holy Koraan. We have one wish to make, and that is that our Arab brothers in the East should send us from time to time Muslim sheiks to teach us more about our religion and to help spread Islam in Africa, just as the Christians send missionaries to thesd ountries."

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1. Unpublished notes by Abdullah Husheymi on his trip to West Africa. See below chapter eight for a first hand description of a trip taken to Northern Nigeria in 1898.

2. Mr. Abdullah Husheymi.

3. Husheymi, op.cit., p. 212.

Similar sentiments towards the Arabs were recently expressed by several leaders of Northern Nigeria, and the Emir of Ilorin has expressed his desire to invite more Lebanese to come and trade in his area.[1] It is worth noting here that the Muslims of Nigeria and Ghana do not differentiate between Christian immigrants and Muslim immigrants, but accord both sects the same treatment.[2] It seems that the fact that the majority of the immigrants are Muslims, and that all Lebanese are considered as Arabs, combine to make the Africans overlook investigating the religious affiliations of each immigrant they know. This is unlike the situation in Dakar, where, it will be recalled, the French community differentiate between Christian and Muslim Lebanese, and accord the former more cordial treatment.

This close religious tie has brought the Africans and Lebanese into closer social connections. During the fasting month of Ramadan immigrants and Africans exchange invitations for the Ramadan dinner parties and celebrate the festivities, which the Christian immigrants also attend, with complete harmony.[3]

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1. During the Nigeria Constitution Conference in London in 1958, several leading Muslims from Northern Nigeria assured the author that very cordial relations are maintained between Africans and Lebanese in Northern Nigeria, because of the bond of Islam.
2. It is interesting to observe that Mr. Abdullah Husheymi and Mr. Micheal Elias who reported receiving cordial treatment from the Muslim Africans, were both Lebanese Christians.
3. Consular Reports from Nigeria, July 24, 1956.

The effect which this common religion has on African-Lebanese relations is well illustrated by the fact that immigrants in Kumasi, which has large numbers of Muslims, still report the continuance of harmonious associations with the local Africans at a time when the relations between the Lebanese and the Ghana Government in Accra are quite strained.[1] It is regrettable, however, to note that the social association between Africans and Lebanese is among the men only, and no social activity such as exchanging visits, or dinner invitations is undertaken by the women of the two sects.[2]

Some of the social habits of the Lebanese in West Africa are criticised by the Europeans and Africans alike. The immigrants are usually blamed for living at a lower standard than their income and resources permit. In several cases this criticism is quite justified, but in others it requires further examination, since the definition of a good standard of living is not the same for everybody. Generally the standard of living of a community is mainly the result of two factors: the desires and appetites of the people, and the amount of income available for the gratification of these desires.

There is no doubt that the early Lebanese had barely enough money to satisfy their basic desires such as food and

1. Elias S. Halabi, op.cit.
2. Consular Reports, op.cit.

and lodging, and their low standard of living could be justified at that time on this ground. Nowadays their financial position has greatly improved, so have their desires and appetites. What they desire, however, is not always the same as an African or European of equal means would desire, and this leads the latter groups to judge the immigrants according to their own standards. It may be illuminating to examine here some of the basic needs and desires and the way the immigrants fulfil them.

The Lebanese as a rule desire good and wholesome food, and their dishes follow them wherever they go.[1] To most conditions they can readily adapt themselves, but in matters that pertain to the menu they are always Lebanese, and their family usually spends a higher percentage of its income for gastronomic pleasures than a European or African family of equal means.[2] Several of the immigrants in the capital cities of West Africa have built prosperous businesses which deal exclusively in Lebanese and oriental foodstuffs.[3] The trade reports for Ghana show that nearly all imports from Lebanon are foodstuffs in one form or another.[4]

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1. Hitti, op.cit., p. 27.
2. Ibid. In this the Lebanese are perhaps more akin to the French than the English.
3. Muruwah, op.cit. Even foods which are considered luxurious in Lebanon, such as pistachios, are imported by Lebanese in West Africa and readily sold at prices twice as high as those in Lebanon.
4. Ghana Trade Reports, 1956; see also chapter five.

The Lebanese also like to keep up appearances in dress, and they probably spend as much on clothes as any people. In matters of expensive purchases they also exceed both Europeans and Africans. For this also they are criticised by the Europeans, another example of the lack of objectivity which arises when one sect criticises another. It is gratifying, however, to find some Europeans aware of this lack of objectivity on the part of their compatriots. In the words of The Times:

> "It is firmly believed by Europeans, at least in Sierra Leone, that the Syrian is given to naive ostentation. As proof it is said that when a Syrian buys a wireless set he always buys the biggest and most expensive, the implication being that there is something not quite right about this, although the biggest and most expensive sets often give the best results."[1]

The criticisms of the Europeans, however, are not wholly unfounded, since the Lebanese are certainly given to a desire for showing off. This is, however, to be expected of poor and ill-educated people who have become rich through hard work.

Inside, however, Lebanese homes and furniture lag behind their opulent external appearance. Furniture is generally simple, old, and lacking in taste, though there are many

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1. The Times Review of the British Colonies, March 1957. The correspondent goes on to give another example: "When I was in Sierra Leone, it was held that two-coloured cars were typically the sort of thing a Syrian would buy, and the Englishmen who bought a car of this sort were twitted for their Syrian tastes. It was odd to come home to find the most staid of Englishmen driving these ostentatious vehicles without unflattering conclusions being drawn on their character."

well-to-do immigrants, especially in Dakar, Accra and Lagos, who have excellent and beautifully furnished houses.[1] The majority of the immigrants still live in ordinary houses usually bought from the native freeholders.[2] These houses are mainly double-storied, the lower being used as the shop and the upper as the home, with a wide balcony on which the family gathers in the cool of the tropical evenings. The immigrants excuse the shabbiness of their houses by declaring that they are making only a temporary stay in Africa, though the more sincere admit frankly that they prefer to have a big new car which everyone in the street can see than an elaborately decorated house, which only their few friends, whose houses usually are no better, would see.[3]

Here the social rift between the European and Lebanese has its effects. The Lebanese is always aspiring to be equal to the European, and his buying of new cars and other items of outward appearance are but one means by which the Lebanese thinks he can rise in the estimation of the European. Had there been more social contact between the two communities, such as the exchange of social calls and other activities, the immigrant would have had the opportunity to see and may be to follow the example of the European in some modes of life.

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1. Muruwah, op.cit.; also Buchanan and Pugh, op.cit.
2. Marteroy, op.cit. Also Report from Government Secretariat, Sierra Leone, March 1953.
3. This explanation was given to the author by almost all the immigrants asked about it in Sierra Leone, Dakar and Lebanon, they said "You have to excuse our humble house here, but 'God willing' when we return to Lebanon we shall have a better one."

Today, now that the Africans are drawing nearer to the European and Lebanese standards, the unification of the three communities into one society is becoming more possible. This should not be difficult, especially in the case of the African and the Lebanese communities. Members of both communities have expressed their desire for closer social ties, and the Lebanese maintain that, given the proper atmosphere they are prepared to assimilate.[1]

The core of the problem seems to be who is to make the start. The Africans urge that the Lebanese should make the initial move towards closer links with the African community, and should show their sincere attachment to Africa in order to win the Africans' confidence.[2] The Lebanese, on the other hand, argue that not until the African authorities show their desire to recognise them as equal citizens, will they regard West Africa as their home.

In view of these two arguments it is suggested that the African authorities should take the initiative. It is a fact that even Lebanese born in West Africa are seldom, if ever, treated as full citizens.[3] Until now no steps towards the recognition of the immigrants as full Africans seem to be contemplated by the Governments of West Africa, on the contrary, the Ghana Government looks to be inclined by legislation to

1. M. Ma'alouly, op.cit.
2. S.A. Aluko, letter to the editor in West Africa, op.cit.
3. Above chapter two.

increase further the alienation of the Lebanese community. It is hoped, however, that the problem will be solved, in time, by the efforts and faith of enlightened elements in both communities, who can see and point out to others, the advantages of having a unified integrated society.

Cultural Conditions

Those who know the Lebanese in Africa say they are an under-educated community, and to a certain extent this is true. The early immigrants, many of whom are still living, went to West Africa when Lebanon and the Middle East were under Turkish rule and education was a luxury enjoyed by the very few rich people, and certain religious sects. Naturally, therefore, most of these early immigrants are either illiterate or had no vocational or professional education.

Yet the immigrants, sensing what they lack, are great admirers of education, and there is rarely an immigrant of good means who does not do his utmost to afford good education for his children. Owing to reasons touched upon earlier, a large number of these children, however, fail to obtain professional education, and return to West Africa satisfied with a secondary education. The Lebanese, however, have a great capacity to learn, and many of the immigrants learn how to read and write even after they come to Africa. This is well illustrated in the fact that whereas the Lagos Census of

1950 listed 77.8% of the Lebanese community, the Dakar Census of 1955 listed 79.8% as without any diploma.[1] The following tables elaborate this point further.

Table 3

Literacy among the British, French and Lebanese Communities in Lagos, 1950[2]

Nationality	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Not Stated	Per Cent
British Commonwealth	5,440	4,370	1,020	50	80.3%
French	4,660	1,800	2,820	40	38.6%
Lebanese	340	260	70	10	77.8%
Others	1,030	620	410	-	60.3%

On the face of it the table establishes the high degree of literacy among the Lebanese community; but literacy may have more than one meaning. In the instructions to the enumerators of the census of 1950, the meaning and scope of the literacy inquiry were thus explained:

> "Literacy implies the ability to write a short letter and to read a letter or newspaper or other written or printed document. No actual test of literacy can be given by the enumerators but careful inquiry must be made before entry is made."[3]

This definition of literacy is very easy to satisfy, as most immigrants have had a preliminary training in writing and reading Arabic, and some have learned to write or at least read a native African language. The literacy of the 338 Lebanese

1. See Lagos Census Report 1950, p. 16, and Recensement Démographique de Dakar, 1955, p. 107.
2. See Lagos Census Report 1950, p. 16, numbers are for those of five years of age and over.
3. Ibid., p. 14.

immigrants in Lagos in the various languages is given below. In this case the sexes are specified.

Table 4

Literacy among Lebanese over five years in Lagos by Sex, 1950[1]

	Males	Females	Total
Literate in Non-African language	107	53	160
Literate in African and Non-African language	61	25	86
Literate in African language only	11	6	17
Illiterate	26	43	69
Literacy not stated	2	4	6
Total	207	131	338

It is clear from the preceding two tables that according to the Lagos Census definition of literacy the Lebanese compare favourably with other expatriate elements. Their percentage is only 3 points lower than the British and twice as high as that of the French. It must be noted, however, that there is included under French the Africans who come to Lagos from neighbouring French possessions, and who are largely responsible for the low percentage of literates among the French. Though more than three-quarters of the Lebanese immigrants are considered literate, this proportion would lessen considerably if a higher definition of literacy were used, as most of them

1. Lagos Census Report 1950, p. 70.

have not even had secondary education.[1] This becomes apparent from an examination of the following table which indicates the degree of instruction among the Lebanese community in Dakar.

Table 5

Lebanese Immigrants in Dakar above 14 years of age according to their degree of instruction[2]

Diploma	Male	Female	Total
Certificat d'Etudes Primaires	181	141	321
Brevet Elementaire (BE. et B.E.P.S.)	49	26	75
Brevet Supérieur	4	1	5
Baccalauriat	41	7	48
Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures	9	1	10
Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle	5	2	7
Diplôme Technique	-	-	-
Autre Diplôme	6	3	9
Sans Diplôme	1,034	848	1,882
Ensemble	1,329	1,028	2,357

It becomes apparent from the above tables that the Lebanese community could not be expected to have many persons with professional training, and those when found usually practise trade in preference to their profession.[3] The following two

1. Hussheymi, op.cit.
2. Recensement Démographique de Dakar, 1955, op.cit., p. 107.
3. Muruwah, op.cit. There are two lawyers in French West Africa who are practising as traders, not lawyers. The same is true of a dentist in Dakar, and of an engineer in Sierra Leone.

tables give the occupation of the Lebanese in Lagos and in Dakar.

Table 6

Occupation of Lebanese (five years and over) in Lagos, 1950[1]

Total	338
Gainfully occupied	179
Managerial work (owners and managers)	9
Office clerks	1
Petty traders and hawkers	32
Shop traders	125
Craftsmen, such as tailors, repairers, etc.	11
Service workers	1
Not gainfully occupied	28
Students	19
No work	9
Retired	None
Disabled	None

1. Lagos Census, 1950, p. 79.

Table 7

Lebanese Immigrants in Dakar over 14 years old, according to sex and principal occupation[1]

Occupation	Males	Females	Total
Without occupations	209	865	1,074
Agriculture	2	-	2
General Household maintenance	2	-	2
Metal Workers	1	-	1
Machinists-Welders-Watch Repairers	10	2	12
Electricians (General and Radio)	1	-	1
Photographers	4	-	4
Chemists - Chemical Workers Bleaching and Dyers	1	-	1
Provisioners	19	1	20
Clothiers Shoe Makers	18	6	24
Woodworkers	1	-	1
Engine Drivers Lorry Drivers	13	-	13
Other Categories of Workers	2	-	2
Administrative Workers	11	1	12
Office Workers	23	4	27
Employed in Commercial Activities	153	9	162
Industrialists and Merchants	732	45	777
Academic and Legal	1	1	2
Guards	1	-	1
Personal Attendants	4	-	4
Health and Social Services	3	-	3
Army	1	-	1
Other Professions	1	-	1
Not Declared	1	-	1
Total	980	68	1,048

1. Recensement Démographique de Dakar, 1955, op. cit., p. 103.

These two tables show that the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese in Lagos and Dakar - about 90% - who are gainfully occupied, are either in trade or related fields. It will be recalled that young Lebanese who proceed to a professional training rarely return to West Africa.[1] Unless something is done to change their attitudes it is to be expected that the community will remain exclusively and wholly a trading one.

The Lebanese in West Africa are not much given to literary pursuits; the best talent among them seems to be invested in commercial activities leaving the art of writing to their compatriots elsewhere. This is in strong contrast to Lebanese in the United States of America. The Lebanese community in the United States is credited with having produced a world famous philosopher and artist,[2] and of having kept alight the torch of Lebanese literature at a time when it was guttering under Turkish oppression in the Middle East.[3] The Lebanese community in West Africa is not credited with a single writer of any calibre. This is easy to explain when it is remembered that several of the early emigrants to the United States were educated people and political figures fleeing Turkish oppression, while those who went to Africa were poor farmers seeking trade and commerce.

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1. Chapter three above.
2. The well known Jubran Khalil Jubran, author of "The Prophet" and other books.
3. The famous Al Rabitata Al-Kalamiya (The Literary Society), formed of immigrants in the United States in the first half of this century is credited with having produced some of the best writers of the Arabic language in this modern era.

Moreover, the Lebanese in the United States and South America have possessed and still possess several good newspapers,[1] but the Lebanese in West Africa have had only one which survived intermittently from 1930 to 1935 when it was discontinued.[2] Since there are several newspapers for the Africans, it seems difficult for the Lebanese to explain their lack of newspapers simply on the ground of unfavourable medium. The real explanation seems to be the lack of interest in what is happening in Africa, and the religious and political divisions of the community which would make it impossible for any newspaper to please all its readers with their various attachments and affiliations.[3] This may be proved easily by the fact that the Lebanese import a large number of newspapers from Lebanon, each of them subscribing to the paper that most suits his religious beliefs or political affiliations, in fact the amount of Lebanese newspapers sold in West Africa in several cases accounts for about 20% of the newspaper circulation.[4] The following table shows the circulation of some

1. Most famous among them the Al-Hoda, Sout al Arab and Miraat al-Sharque.
2. The Newspaper was called Afrikia al-Tijaria (Commercial Africa), started in 1930 by Naguib Murkkarzel in Dakar, and later sold to Ibrahin Tsham who operated it at a loss till 1935 when he stopped issuing it. See Muruwah, op.cit., p. 201, Husheymi, op.cit., and Husheymi and Hayyek, op.cit., p. 150.
3. In fact this is what happened to the ill-fated Afrikia al-Tijaria (Commercial Africa) which was very well received when it first came out, but soon began to lose its readers since it could not please them all.
4. Information obtained from Rashdi Ma'ahouf, editor of the Beirut daily Al-Jarida "The Newspaper".

leading Lebanese newspapers and magazines in British and French West Africa, together with their general political and religious affiliations.

Table 8

Circulation of Lebanese Newspapers in British and French West Africa, 1958[1]

Newspaper & Magazine	Basic Character	British W.A.[2]	French W.Africa[3]
Al-Bayrak (Daily)	Pro-Maronite	30	41
Al-Bena' (Daily)	Non-sectarian organ of the Syrian Nationalist Party	330	470
Al-Dabbour (Weekly)	Pro-Maronite for an Independent Lebanon	800	1,000
Al-Hayyat (Daily)	Pro-Shiite-Pan Arab	1,100	Banned
Al-Jarida (Daily)	Non-Sectarian - Independent	272	311
Al-Kifah (Daily)	Non-Sectarian, Pan Arab	160	Banned
Al-Sayyad Weekly	Non-Sectarian Pan Arab	130	Banned
Revue du Liban	Non-Sectarian - Lebanese	50	100
Total		2,872	1,922

Several interesting points emerge from the above table. Foremost in importance is the large circulation of Al-Hayyat. This daily was founded in 1945 by Kamil Muruweh a Shiite Muslim

1. Figures collected from the editors of the papers concerned.
2. Including Ghana.
3. Including Guinea.

who has close connections with many emigrants.[1] In its first years the newspaper nearly thrived on its emigrant readers only, who were predominantly Shiites, and strongly supported the paper because it was then the only paper owned by a Shiite.[2] Its large circulation in British West Africa is an indication of the religious consciousness of the Lebanese immigrants in West African. This point is also substantiated by the fact that the magazine with the second largest circulation is a strongly Maronite Weekly, Al-Dabbour, while moderate non-sectarian newspapers such as Al-Jarida has a much lower circulation, though it has the highest in Lebanon.

The second important point is the fact that some newspapers are banned from entering French West Africa. The reason is certainly political. These newspapers maintain a strong Pan-Arab policy, and support the Algerian revolt. The reason they are banned may well be that the French authorities do not wish the ideas put forward by these newspapers to circulate among the Lebanese and via them to other Muslim Africans. It may be speculative to assess the influence of the Algerian revolt on the Africans especially the Muslims, but it is certainly not too far fetched to expect Arab and Muslim newspapers, in carrying their propaganda to the Africans, to play on their religious sentiments and arouse them to the

1. He is the author of the book frequently referred to in this work.

2. Information personally obtained from Mr. Muruwah.

help of their fellow Muslims in Algeria. It may be significant to add that these same newspapers carried on an intensive campaign against Britain during the Suez crisis and they still attack her policy in the Persian Gulf Sheikhdoms, but none were banned from entering British West Africa.

The third point that emerges from the table is the fact that the immigrants in West Africa are inveterate newspaper readers, with a great interest in Lebanon's affairs. Whereas in Lebanon the newspaper readership is estimated at 100 persons per 1,000, in West Africa it amounts to around 200 per 1,000.[1] This is a good percentage when compared with the educational standard of the emigrant.

Although the immigrants have great interest in Lebanese political newspapers, their reading enthusiasm does not extend to books and similar literary publications. In most of their homes the bookcase is not considered a necessary piece of furniture, and if any books at all are found these would be ordinary light story books and second grade mysteries, generally in Arabic.[2]

The fate which has overtaken most attempts for form clubs and societies has robbed the communities of these as a medium

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1. Figures for Lebanon are estimates of several newspaper editors, those for West Africa were obtained by comparing the total number of immigrants - about 2,500 with the total average circulation of newspapers - about 5,000.

2. Husheymi, op.cit. Also unpublished notes during his two years tour in West Africa. In Dakar there are three bookshops owned by Lebanese and selling Arabic books, and one in Accra. The author is not aware of any other Lebanese bookshops in other parts of West Africa.

of literary and cultural exchange. In Ghana and Senegal, however, there are several flourishing clubs, but these are organised mainly by branches of Lebanese political parties.[1] Cinemas are very much liked by the Lebanese and some of them own cinema houses in which they occasionally display Arabic films, mainly from Egypt.

The peak of cultural activity is reached when a writer, journalist, or a delegate of a Lebanese political party arrives, and many of these have visited West Africa in recent years. Meetings and social gatherings are held in which the guest gives a speech, usually on political matters, during which he generally enlarges on the importance and achievements of the immigrants. Since these persons normally end by asking for immigrants to contribute money to this or that cause, fewer and fewer persons attend this form of cultural activity.[2]

Summing up, it may be said that the social and cultural life of the immigrants in West Africa is far behind that of Lebanon and of Lebanese in other parts of the world. This is partly because of the complex socio-political structures of the West African territories, which makes the assimilation of the Lebanese difficult, and partly because of the standards of the Lebanese immigrants themselves, the majority of whom come

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1. Mainly the Syrian National Socialist Party, whose club in Accra is the most flourishing as a centre of cultural activity.

2. Husheymi, op.cit. Report to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, 1950, p. 37.

from Lebanon's most backward areas. The second and now the third generation of Lebanese in West Africa are becoming more and more educated and their social and cultural standards are certainly rising far higher than those of their parents and grandparents. Unfortunately, however, many of these younger individuals were unable, for reasons mainly connected with immigration laws, to continue their education and to attain a professional qualification; whereas those who have done so, return to West Africa only if unable to make a living elsewhere.

The governments, and people of West Africa, should seek to make easier the raising of the standards of the Lebanese, and should further the possibility of their complete assimilation, while the immigrants for their part should show more loyalty and attachment to the country which afforded sanctuary during their time of desperation.

PART THREE

EFFECTS OF EMIGRATION

CHAPTER SEVEN

EFFECTS ON THE EMIGRANT

The discussion of the effects of Lebanese emigration to West Africa falls of its own accord into three parts - the effects on the emigrant, the effect on West Africa and the effects on Lebanon. Though in describing the economic and social conditions of the Lebanese in West Africa,[1] some of these effects were unavoidably touched upon, it is imperative to examine here more fully the general effects on the emigrant, and to draw together certain comparisons and conclusions.

Financially, practically every one of the early immigrants finds his life an improvement over the one he left. He earns more money and is able to save more; a few save enough in a few years to assure them a comfortable life if they want to go home. This is, however, no longer true in the case of the later immigrants, especially those who arrived in the last two periods of emigration from Lebanon.[2] Many of those who left Lebanon without having previously arranged for work have found it increasingly difficult to establish themselves in a self-supporting business.[3] With the increased severity of immigration

1. Chapters five and six above.
2. The two periods are from 1930-1939 and from 1945 to the present day. See chapter four above.
3. Faris Dabaghy, "Lebanese beware, lands of immigration are no more the same", Al Amal Newspaper, Beirut, April 17, 1955. (In Arabic, originally in Portuguese). Also Muruwah, op.cit., p. 314.

laws in West Africa and emigration laws in Lebanon, very few persons are now able to emigrate without having previously arranged for their work and support in the place to which they intend to emigrate.[1]

As far as actual comforts of life are concerned, however, the situation of a large body of Lebanese immigrants in West Africa is decidedly inferior to that from which they came. Instead of the clear, pure invigorating atmosphere of their native hills, they breathe the vitiated air of a crammed small shop or wander in the strong heat of the African sun. The immigrant thus exchanged Lebanon, the summer resort, for West Africa, the "White man's grave", and to the early Lebanese it was such a grave. The change of environment coupled with the unhealthy and unhygienic life which the early immigrants had to live made them more susceptible than other white men to the diseases of West Africa, mainly cholera and malaria.[2] In 1900, 45 immigrants out of a total of a hundred resident in Senegal died of cholera, while in the epidemic of 1926-27, out of 184 cholera cases the immigrants' share was 41, of whom 30 died.[3] In ten years between 1928 and 1938, 418 Lebanese died in West Africa, of whom 220 were resident in French territories.[4]

1. See Appendix E.
2. In 1927 the Lebanese were accused by the authorities in Senegal of having been the cause of the spread of cholera owing to their unhygienic life and their constant movement from one place to another. Special sanitary requirements were imposed on them. See Muruwah, op.cit., p. 297.
3. Husheymi, op.cit., p. 107, and unpublished notes by the same author.
4. Desbordes, op.cit., p. 152.

Immigrants in the hinterland have still to use a crude hand-made filtering system to purify their drinking water, in comparison with the abundant fresh streams of their homeland.

With the development of more hygienic means of living and better medicines, the death rate among all the inhabitants of West Africa including the Lebanese has fallen,[1] but the African climate still has its effect on the general health of the immigrant. In the opinion of many immigrants who return to Lebanon for short visits, a major reason for their return is their poor health and the hope that the better climate will improve it.[2]

The willingness of the Lebanese immigrant to risk his health in Africa indicates the strong appeal of money to him. Wealth, however, does not serve to meet the immigrant's basic needs only, such as food, clothing, and shelter. In Lebanon it is still considered a determining factor in a person's social standing. A wealthy returning emigrant finds a great change in his social standing. He finds that he is admitted as a member of the high society to which his old landlord belonged before he emigrated. But even admittance to the high society of his village is no longer the emigrant's goal. His stay in Africa, though it might have been in a smaller village than his own, has opened his eyes to the inadequacies of life

1. Kuczynski, op.cit., sections on Mortality in Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast and Nigeria.
2. Interviews with emigrants in Lebanon and Sierra Leone.

in his village. His constant activity in Africa becomes a habit and he now finds it boring to idle in his village without really having anything to do.

Most of the returning emigrants solve this conflict by moving to cities where they can participate in trading and commercial activities, or at least enjoy the busy life of the city.[1] By doing so, they are able also to mix with a new society which does not know their humble origin, and the emigrant can, in time, suppress in his own mind the feeling which presses on him in his home village; that he is accepted in the higher society only because of his money, and that in reality the old village "aristocracy" still looks down on him.

Whether he stays in his village or moves to the city, the standard of living of the emigrant greatly improves. This is not only due to the fact that he now possesses more money to gratify his desires, nor is it the direct result of the standards he has acquired in West Africa, because, as will be recalled, in West Africa the standard of living of the Lebanese was not based very much on that of either the European or African community. The basic factor is the strong instinctive desire in a person who leaves his community to exhibit, once he returns, the marked degree of change in his life. The returning

1. Out of 27 emigrants who returned permanently from Africa to a village in Northern Lebanon, Baino, 9 have taken permanent residence in Beirut, 13 moved to Tripoli, and only 5 remained in Baino. (Information obtained personally.)

emigrant tries to dissociate himself from his humble past, and to do that he endeavours to change his social standards, even though during his stay in Africa he might not have acquired any new standards. Nevertheless he uses the fact that he had emigrated to excuse his new social habits.

The effect of emigration on the moral standards of the emigrants are even more pronounced. When the emigrants left their humble villages in Northern and Southern Lebanon, the moral standards of most of them, especially the Shiites, were strict, rigid and in modern classification, backward. The women still wore veils, and they were rarely allowed to meet men or take part in any social activity. Their stay in Africa changed this completely. The woman went to the shop where neither she nor her husband disliked the presence of male customers, whether African, European or fellow Lebanese. In their attempts to impress the European community, most of them had to give up the veil and husbands no more forbade their wives to attend mixed social gatherings.

The second generation was even more affected. In rural Lebanon the association between boys and girls was almost completely prohibited. Marriages were in most cases arranged between parents, and the bride was described to the groom, and the groom to the bride by the Khatiba.[1] During their stay in

1. Khatiba, in Arabic, means the woman who proposed to the girl on behalf of the man. Since men were not allowed to see the girls in the village, some woman undertook the job of seeing the eligible girls, and describing them to the males, who then commissioned them to go and ask for their hands. This practice is still used in certain Shiite villages in Southern Lebanon.

Africa, the parents witnessed the behaviour of the European community in this field, and in time had to surrender to the pressing demands of their educated children, for greater liberty in association. Both sexes of the second generation in Africa associate freely together, and certainly it is difficult for one attending their dancing or social parties to tell the child of a conservative Shiite from that of a progressive Maronite from Mount Lebanon, or the daughter of an Akkar farmer from that of a university graduate.[1]

It is possible that even without emigration, the rigid moral standards of the Lebanese villagers would have had to change by the spread of education and civilisation, as they are in fact doing at present. Nevertheless had it not been for emigration which provided the required change of habitat, the change would have been much slower. In fact a comparison between certain villages which had emigrants, and others which had not, in the Quassimiyyah district of Southern Lebanon, established conclusively that the change in the standard of living and moral and social habits took place more quickly and

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1. In Sierra Leone where most of the immigrants are from Northern or Southern Lebanon, and a majority of them are Shiites (see Appendix F), the writer had the chance to attend several of their socials. Had it not been for their names by which, in some cases, one is able to tell a Muslim from a Christian, the writer would not have been able to tell their religion. Nor was he able to tell anything about the origin of their parents.

easily among the former than the latter.[1]

Emigration has also a profound effect on the emigrant's character, making him in general arrogant and domineering. Two factors could be mentioned which helped to change in this way the otherwise timid and easy nature of the original Lebanese farmer. Firstly the financial successes which the immigrant in Africa had attained, despite the many obstacles that faced him, enhanced tremendously his self assertion. Practically every emigrant's favourite subject of conversation is his adventures in Africa, and the magnificent struggle that he fought before he attained his present position. Though a certain degree of boasting is to be expected of most "self-made" persons, in Lebanon many think that the returning emigrant carries it rather too far.

Secondly, during his stay in Africa the immigrant in the hinterland lived almost in complete seclusion from the outside world. He was the sole dominating figure in his family and shop. Moreover, most of his transactions and conversations were with Africans who were either his employees or his customers, and in both cases the immigrant was superior. He got accustomed to giving orders which he was sure would be obeyed.[2] Upon returning to Lebanon he finds difficulty in surrendering this

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1. Information privately secured from the Rural Department, in the Lebanese Ministry of Social Affairs, and from the Department of Rural Development in the United States Operation Mission to Lebanon (point 4), The Quassimiyyah Rural Development Project, 1954, 1955, unpublished reports. (The author was attached to the project for six months between September 1954 and March 1955.)

2. This commanding tone could be sensed in any conversation with an immigrant. The word "please" is very rarely used by the immigrant when asking for something.

dominance.

In Lebanon this dominant and arrogant nature creates many problems for the returning emigrant. The new society to which he graduates is composed of persons who, though willing to accept the returning emigrant, are not ready to tolerate his authority and arrogance. Faced with this resistance one is led to expect that the emigrant would in time change his nature in a way which would harmonize with his new society, but this does not seem to be the case, for there exists another factor which helps to lessen the influence of the society's pressure on the emigrant, and tends to perpetuate his authoritarian behaviour. This factor is the emigrant's family, relatives, and the poor society of his native village. All these will be either living on what the emigrant donates to them or are hopeful of receiving some help from him. They therefore take every opportunity to flatter and praise him, so as to win his favours and assistance.

The question which suggests itself here is why should the emigrant who, upon returning to Lebanon, takes up residence in the city, keep his connections with his native village and its society? The answer to this is land. Practically every immigrant in the early stages of his stay in West Africa, sends money to his family to repair the family house, or build a new one, and to buy land.[1] This is to be expected from the

1. It will be recalled that the early emigrants had to sell most of the family's property and belongings in order to raise the money for their travel fares. The first remittances the emigrant sent were invariably used to buy again, or redeem the family's land, and later sums are used to buy more land.

emigrant who at that stage did not envisage the possibility of his leaving his village and moving to the city. His most cherished hopes were to be able to amass enough money to buy him some land on which he could carry on a decent village life. Nor did he have then, a large sum of money, enough to meet the expenses which life and investment in the city required. When he returns to Lebanon therefore and decides to move to the city, the land property which he owns in the village remains as the connecting link between him and his native village.

Another of the important effects of emigration is the increasing political consciousness of the emigrant. Though many of the Lebanese who emigrated to the United States during the Turkish rule did so for political reasons,[1] emigrants to West Africa, who mainly came from the farming areas, did not have the same degree of political consciousness. In the conditions then existing in Lebanon, the peasant had little if anything to do with politics, but followed the will of his landlord in elections and similar public events.[2]

In Africa, relieved from the control of the landlord, and viewing Lebanon from the outside, they began to take an active interest in the political development of Lebanon. In later years this interest has grown to such an extent as to make the emigrant among the most politically conscious Lebanese. Two

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1. See chapter two above, section III "causes of emigration".
2. Hourani, op.cit., pp. 66-67, 91-92.

main causes exist for this rapid development:-

The first is the African independence movements. Immigrants witnesses how the native Africans are striving for independence and exhibiting a large degree of political interest in their country. This aroused similar feelings among the immigrants in regard to their native Lebanon, and prompted them to take a more active interest in political affairs. They began to join political parties, and in recent years have expressed themselves on practically every issue of Lebanese politics.[1]

The second cause came from Lebanon. Lebanese politicians and political parties in their search for supporters found the emigrants a rich new source. Besides the numerical value of the emigrant, there is also his financial and moral value. The emigrants part with money much more easily than the resident Lebanese do, and in this respect they form a good source of revenue for the treasuries of the political parties. Since each emigrant has also a family in Lebanon, which in most cases depends on his financial assistance, the politicians, whether individuals or parties, realise that winning the emigrant to their side, should bring pressure to bear on the rest of his family in Lebanon to follow his example.

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1. This is well illustrated in the disturbances which recently broke out in Lebanon over the question of the presidency. The Lebanese Broadcasting station, and the newspapers publish daily a large number of telegrams sent by Lebanese immigrants - mainly in West Africa, voicing their views on the crisis.

This political consciousness manifests itself in several ways other than joining political parties and financing them. Many of the emigrants upon returning to Lebanon take an active part in Lebanese political life and some of them become members of parliament, leaders of political parties, and even cabinet ministers.[1] In the present stage of Lebanese political institutions it is hard to find a reason for the quick political successes of these returning emigrants, other than their financial position, since money is still extensively used in Lebanese parliamentary elections.

Though they reach office with the aid of their money, the returning emigrants are proving themselves to be good elements among the politicians. Their contact with foreign political institutions and administrations broadens their political vision, especially in territories under British rule where the immigrants watch with admiration the political maturity of the administration, and wish that Lebanon could attain such a degree of political advancement. Not only in the political field is the immigrant's contact with the British, and to an extent with the French, administration effective. In all other fields the returning emigrant shows a greater respect for law and order,

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1. In the existing Lebanese Parliament there are three Members who are returned emigrants. Elia Abu-Jawdeh, who returned in 1952 from Brazil and was twice elected to the Lebanese parliament and for some months was minister of national economy. Asad Ashkar who returned from the Gold Coast in 1948 and who is now leader of the Syrian National Socialist Party, and Micheal Abboud, who returned from Sierra Leone in 1953.

and is more submissive to the authority of the Government than the resident Lebanese, whose only knowledge of government-individual relationship is what he had acquired under Turkish rule and French mandate. The returning emigrant complains of these conditions prevailing in Lebanon, and many an emigrant has suffered financial losses in his transactions in Lebanon, owing to the fact that he is not aware of the many tricky and extra-legal means which the resident Lebanese is still accustomed to use.[1]

The effects of emigration on the family life, and the education and bringing up of children, have been discussed earlier.[2] There is, however, one additional effect worth mentioning here, and which is connected with the marriage age of the emigrant. Normally the Lebanese emigrates at the prime of his youth, between the age of 18 and 28. He then has to spend some years in establishing himself in business. By the time he is well established, and is in the position of being able to support a wife and family, he is in his late thirties or early forties. In Lebanon, he is rarely satisfied with marrying a girl who has passed her teens. Since, to the people every emigrant is taken to be rich, and as young, eligible bachelors are quite rare in Lebanon, the girls usually agree to

1. One of the practices which causes most of the losses is that of lending money without obtaining an I.O.U. from the debtor. In Africa the immigrants rarely ask for I.O.Us, but there, unlike Lebanon, the debtor seldom declines payment.

2. Chapter four above.

marry the emigrants despite the great differences in age. Though this work is not a study of the most suitable age of marriage, it is essential that this point be further clarified, as the situation is becoming increasingly alarming. Needless to say, many of these marriages are of convenience, in which money, not love, plays the predominant role.[1] The many differences between the older, mature, and more experienced husband, and the young, immature schoolgirl, rarely fail to emerge soon after the honeymoon is over.

Moreover, the educational standard of many of these brides is higher than that of their husbands. This creates a sense of inferiority among the husbands who try to overcome it by being more dominant in their behaviour. The general physical conditions of the bachelor immigrants are also affected by their relations with different kinds of African mistresses and many of them develop certain diseases and physical disabilities.[2]

With the increase in the number of educated second generation immigrants and the growth of the Lebanese community in West Africa, one would expect this problem to become less acute, as Lebanese youths come to marry the daughters of Lebanese immigrants while in West Africa. This practice, wise as it may be, does not seem to be followed by the immigrants. Usually

1. In such marriages, before the girl accepts, conditions as to the amount of jewellery, money and clothes which the bridegroom should present to the bride upon marriage, are usually imposed and agreed upon.

2. Consular reports from Dakar, July 6, 1956; the same point also emphasized in a Consular Report from Lagos, April 3, 1956.

the parents of the girls who are financially well-to-do are not very eager to give their daughter in marriage to a younger trader whose education does not go beyond the secondary level and who will be spending all his life in Africa. Instead, they give her a good dowry, and send her to Lebanon, where they hope she will get married to an educated resident Lebanese, with a profession other than trade. The parents' main argument is that they have lived in Africa and suffered many hardships in order to enable their children to have an easy life in Lebanon if possible.[1]

A natural consequence of this policy, followed by the girls' parents, is that young immigrants in West Africa find very few brides among the Lebanese community. Even if they did find some, they in turn have their own reasons for declining to marry a girl in Africa. Their main objection emanates from their belief that the health and general physical conditions of a girl born and brought up in Africa are inferior to those of a normal girl brought up in Lebanon, and, for the sake of their children, they argue, a mother with better health should be selected.[2] Moreover, the men prefer to go and select a bride from Lebanon, who would be younger, and they hope more beautiful. Finally, the immigrant feels that it gives him more prestige to marry a girl from Lebanon and to bring her over to Africa.[3]

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1. Information obtained from Husheymi's unpublished notes, which was corroborated by personal interviews undertaken by the author in Lebanon and West Africa.
2. Ibid.
3. Consular Reports from Dakar, June 6, 1956.

The fact that, with the money made in Africa, the immigrants were able to provide their children with better educational and cultural facilities, hardly needs any discussion. Though most of these children succeed in attaining secondary education only,[1] yet it is very doubtful whether, without the money their parents made in Africa, they would have been able to have education at all. The educational system in Lebanon is still mainly in private hands,[2] and though primary government schools provide free education, they are not numerous enough to provide it for all children in all parts of Lebanon.

It may be said in conclusion, that save in connection with his health, and matrimonial relations, the Lebanese benefited greatly from his emigration. His status in Lebanon, and certainly that of his family, has been greatly enhanced and elevated, and it is very doubtful whether the returning emigrant, now a member of the capital's best social club, or a prominent figure in his village, would not have remained the obscure, barely self-sufficient peasant that he was in the semi-feudal northern and southern areas of Lebanon if he had not emigrated. Certainly the conditions of many of his fellow peasants who have not emigrated have not been improved to the same degree, and many of them are still living in the same conditions that he left some twenty-five years earlier.

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1. See chapter six above.
2. See chapter one above.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EFFECTS ON WEST AFRICA

The all-round effects of Lebanese immigration to West Africa are not yet clear enough to justify final appraisal, since the patterns of West African society - or societies - are not themselves sufficiently established and defined. In the still developing and constantly changing social and political structures of West Africa, it is hard to point out any apparent single effect caused by the presence of the Lebanese or, for that matter, of other non-African minorities. Nevertheless, in an underdeveloped society like that of West Africa the presence of an alien white minority cannot fail to influence in one way or another certain patterns of behaviour, if not the basic objectives of the society. As Thomas Hodgkin points out,[1] "The presence in particular territories (in Africa) of resident non-African minorities, does not materially affect the nationalist objective, though it may have important consequences for nationalist strategy."

In the more developed economic field, however, the effects of the Lebanese on West Africa are more profound and less difficult to trace. Generally, but not exclusively, their effects could be grouped into three main divisions: their

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1. See Thomas Hodgkin, Nationalism in Colonial Africa, (Muller, London, 1956), p. 187.

effects on the development of West African trade in general and internal trade in particular; their role in opening up the African hinterland to trade and consequently social and cultural progress, and lastly their effects on the native African trader whom they seem to have displaced from a certain role in internal trade. Though in discussing the effects of the immigration laws on West Africa,[1] certain aspects of the contributions of the Lebanese towards the development of West African trade have been touched upon, it is essential here to examine more fully the advantages and disadvantages that West Africa derived from the presence of the Lebanese.

In the development of trade, particularly on the internal level, the role of the Lebanese has been undoubtedly of leading importance. They began arriving in West Africa in the 1880's at the time when the great growth and expansion of the West African trade was about to start, and their presence has without doubt had a great effect in speeding it. The Statistical and Economic Review,[2] gives a vivid description of the conditions of trade in the later part of the nineteenth century when the first Lebanese emigrants began to arrive. Describing the establishment of resident trading posts the Review says:[3]

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1. Chapter three above, section on problems of entry.
2. The United Africa Company Ltd., Statistical and Economic Review, No. 5, March 1950.
3. Ibid., p. 4.

> "By what means was this growth of trade in the nineteenth century made possible? As we have already shown, early trading ventures consisted of a single voyage; the trade in those days must have been spasmodic. Apart from the coastal forts erected by the rival trading nations in the Gold Coast in and after the seventeenth century, there were few permanent trading points. Friendly relations with the African had not yet been established. Means had to be found, nevertheless, for establishing resident traders, to enable the trade to be conducted continuously. The first step was the system of working pairs of sailing vessels in relays; the second was the system of trading from hulks moored in the rivers and creeks of Nigeria. As the confidence of the African was gained these hulks were replaced by permanent shore establishments, and by the 1870's with few exceptions, the trade was being conducted from shore stations. Thus by the time the West African trade began its great expansion - i.e. in the 1890's - the means and machinery for supporting a continuous flow of trade in both directions were already in existence."

It is apparent from this description that not until the 1890's were the European firms able to settle permanently in West Africa, and in doing so they concentrated mainly on the seashores. Their trading activities with West Africa, though originally concentrated on selling the Africans European merchandise, developed later on to include the buying of African produce. The European traders had to buy the produce if they wanted to sell their merchandise, because if West African produce was not bought and resold in the world's produce markets, West Africa would have little purchasing power available for buying the world's merchandise. Thus, although the merchandise trade in West Africa stems from the trading voyages of the merchant adventurers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, its

evolution on modern lines dates only from the development of produce export a little over fifty years ago.[1]

Ever since the beginning of this organized West African trade, the need was felt for the Middleman Class who would buy the merchandise from the big firms and supply them with the African produce. Owing to the recurrent disturbances in the interior, and the heavy overhead expenses, the European firms at the beginning refrained from carrying their activities into the hinterland.[2] Even in later years when the European firms, encouraged by the pacification of the interior, and the opening of river, rail, and road transport, did establish buying stations in the hinterland, they found that such stations were not enough to bring them in touch with the great mass of producers.[3] There were scores of thousands of sellers, and for that matter prospective buyers, who were unable or unwilling to bring their produce to the buying stations. The firms were therefore compelled to buy their produce from the chain of middlmen who became indispensable to the development of West African trade. Mary Kingsley recognized the middleman's hut up-river as "the first stage of the export trade," and declared herself willing to "sing a paean to a very unpopular class - the middleman as he exists on the West Coast."[4]

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1. Statistical and Economic Review, op.cit., p. 2.
2. W.K. Hancock, op.cit., p. 204.
3. Ibid.
4. Mary Kingsley, Travels in West Africa, (Macmillan, 1904 ed.), p. 247.

Though undoubtedly many Africans participated in trading and middleman transactions, it is the Lebanese who are mainly accredited with developing and extending this field.[1] In the opinion of The Times "They (the Lebanese) not only dominate retail internal trade - to a large extent they created it."[2] The coincidence of their arrival on the West African Coast with the fact that at about that time West African trade began its rapid development leaves little doubt as to the important role which they must have played in this development.

To appreciate the importance of this role it is essential to describe briefly the special features of West African trade. West African agricultural exports are produced by tens of thousands of Africans operating on a very small scale and often widely dispersed.[3] These farmers almost entirely lack suitable storage facilities, and they have very small cash reserves. At times they have their produce ready for sale at places several hundred miles from the nearest buying station. To make the trip to the buying station each time they had for sale a small amount of produce, would be physically almost impossible, and economically unprofitable. Moreover, even those producers who may be near to a European buying station may be unwilling to sell to them, for some private reasons.[4] The importance of the

1. See Hancock, op.cit.; Bauer, op.cit.; Buchanan & Pugh, op.cit; Report of the Sierra Leone Secretariat to the Colonial Secretary, op.cit.; also Desbordes, op.cit., and Jean Paillard, La Fin des Français en Afrique Noire, op.cit., pp. 30-31.
2. The Times, Review of the British Colonies, op.cit., March 1957.
3. Bauer, op.cit., p. 23; also Hancock, op.cit., p. 204.
4. Hancock, Ibid.

Lebanese shopkeepers who are widely scattered in the most remote areas of the hinterland is certainly easily appreciated in such circumstances.

In the field of distribution of imported merchandise their role is not any less important. Imported merchandise arrives in West Africa in very large consignments, and needs to be distributed over large areas to the final consumer who has to buy in extremely small quantities because of his poverty.[1] Had it not been for the intermediaries, who are in this field predominantly Lebanese, who buy the commodity in bulk from the wholesalers, and break it into smaller units, the African consumers, and even the small African traders and petty traders, would have had to buy the commodity themselves in large quantities. They, however, had neither the financial resources nor the storage facilities to do so. The important role played by the intermediaries is well described by P.T. Bauer as follows:[2]

> "The activities of the intermediaries thus enable consumers to enjoy commodities which would otherwise be outside their reach. They also save working capital by bringing about a more effective geographical distribution of merchandise stocks than would be the case if consumers or small retailers had to deal directly with the importing firms. Their operations result in a faster turnover of total stocks and therefore in a more intensive utilisation of both the foreign and African-owned working capital sustaining the local economy. They also assist the importing firms by maintaining contact with the consumers and petty traders and ascertaining their requirements; their knowledge of local conditions equips them for these tasks. Thus their labour and activities replace both capital and salaried

1. Bauer, op.cit., p. 24.
2. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

> personnel and expensive European supervisors. They reduce the cost of imported merchandise to the consumer and serve to bring it within the reach of a wider section of the population."

Concurrent with their important role as middlemen, semi-wholesalers, and retail traders, is their role in opening up the vast West African hinterland not only to trade and commerce, but also to the social progress which usually accompanies if it does not emanate from such activities. It is certainly a fact that the Lebanese immigrants have been seen trading "in all kinds of out of the way places where neither Europeans nor African was trading."[1] In Nigeria, it is reported that the British authorities found it necessary to seek the help of one early Lebanese immigrant, Micheal Elias, in getting acquainted with the hinterland.[2] His knowledge of the people and their tribal associations and the products and natural resources of the interior, was accepted as being superior to that of any government official. In recognition of his services the government and the people of Nigeria observed, with great respect and official appreciation, his death two years ago.[3]

The Lebanese travels in the deep interior often first brought the Africans into contact with white man.[4] This contact

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1. W. Addison, op.cit.; also Consular Report from Nigeria, July 24, 1956.
2. Consular Report, Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. In 1930 the above mentioned Micheal Elias gave Mr. Abdullah Husheymi a vivid description of a trip he had taken in Nigeria as early as 1898. The following quotation was taken from the unpublished notes of Mr. Husheymi. Micheal Elias said: "In 1898 the British had not yet penetrated into the interior of Nigeria. I was then a young man full of courage and activity.

continued on next page

meant the progress which invariably followed the Lebanese traders. This change which Lebanese activity created in the West African hinterland is well described by one of the Lebanese traders who spent around 40 years in a bush township in Sierra Leone. He recalled that

> "When he first came it was a small and primitive place, and a great many of the people could not even afford to buy cotton clothes. The place was still ramshackle enough, with its full share of dilapidated mud-huts, corrugated iron erections and uneven earth roads, but now there was not only a market for cotton but for copies of the current issue of the leading Freetown newspapers which were lying on the counter, and the children, now schoolchildren, were able to come and buy sweets, though not by the ounce but by the one."[1]

It is undeniable that the presence of the Lebanese trader was not solely responsible for all this progress which has been described, but it is equally undeniable that his penetration into the deep hinterland has paved the way for the Government and other white man's agencies, such as Missions or companies, to follow his steps, and bring security, education, and prosperity to the African hinterland.

Footnote 4 continued from previous page

> With two other fellow Lebanese I decided to take a trading caravan to Chad area. We left Lagos with a large amount of merchandise which was carried by many native Africans, who accompanied us, and passed by Kano, and Bornu. From there we entered the Cameroons, and returned to Lagos by way of Dwalla. During this trip which took us 15 months, we came in contact with many different African tribes who have never seen a white man before. Some of them used to run away from us, and many had started to attack us. But we used to explain to them through our African carriers, that we are Arabs and not British, after which they used to welcome us as brothers because they thought every Arab is a Muslim, and all Muslims are their brothers."

1. The Times Review of the British Colonies, op.cit.

Though on the social level the contact between the Lebanese traders and the Africans barely had any effect on either of them, in the commercial and economic field the African native profited heavily from his association with the Lebanese trader. Each Lebanese trader invariably employs in his store at least one African assistant, mainly to act as an interpreter with the African customers, and to carry the trader's messages and to deliver or collect any business orders, thus saving the Lebanese the trouble of having to go out in the strong heat. In this association the African learns from the Lebanese many of the "secrets of the business". He gets acquainted with the various kinds of goods, their value, and their market demand. He observes his employer's perseverance and his dedication to his business. He gets an insight into the price fixing methods and the various bargaining techniques.

These effects are apparent from the fact that almost all the Africans who serve with a Lebanese trader for a few years, graduate from his shop to start their own business, or to manage one of the other shops that may belong to the Lebanese trader.[1] Whichever course they may take, they are usually backed by their previous employer, who supplies their stores with commodities on a revolving credit basis, and who usually buys whatever

1. The system of establishing several small stores commonly called by the Lebanese "factories", is very widely used by prospering Lebanese traders. They usually hand the management of the store to a trusted African, who is either given a fixed salary or a percentage of the trade. Usually the Lebanese prefers to give him a percentage to induce him to work harder.

produce they may buy themselves.[1] Several Africans realize this beneficial effect on their fellow countrymen, as the mayor of Freetown, Mr. A. Taylor, said in 1952.

> "It is God's providence which sent this Asian Community into Sierra Leone to teach the citizens of this country, how to be self-reliant, always eager to help, and constantly ready to penetrate into the far interior in pursuit of profitable trade activity."[2]

Besides the training which an African has in the Lebanese trader's shop, there is the domestic and social training which he and several others receive during their work in the Lebanese household. Practically every Lebanese household has at least one or two daily domestic helpers. They, especially the less advanced Africans in the hinterland, are apt to acquire in time, sometimes perhaps from a mere desire to imitate, or curiosity, certain Lebanese habits and modes of living, such as having baths, cleaning dishes, using bed sheets, etc. Most of the female Africans learn from the Lebanese women sewing, embroidery, and other domestic handicrafts for which the Lebanese women of the villages are famous.

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1. N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p. 25. In the Bonthe township the author counted 4 African shops and a small booth. Two of the shops were managed for a Lebanese on a fifty-fifty division of profits, and the other two and the booth were supplied by a Lebanese trader on a revolving credit basis. The same pattern was noticed by the author in Matru, Yoni, Sumbya, and reported by N.A. Cox-George to exist in Mano.

2. Mr. A. Taylor pronounced this opinion to Mr. Sa'adeh in 1952. See Sa'adeh, op.cit., p. 94. In several discussions between the writer and some educated and responsible Africans from Ivory Coast, Senegal, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Portuguese Guinea the benefit of the Lebanese in this field seemed to be well realized and appreciated.

The benefits of this domestic employment to the African come not only from the acquiring of new skills and standards; certainly they are even more important on the economic side. During the harvest seasons practically every African engages in one way or another in the resultant activity. However, the produce season does not cover the whole year, and in some areas the season is no more than one month or even less. Thus the African who is able to make his living during the season finds himself without employment for a large part of the year.

Here the importance of domestic employment by the Lebanese becomes great. In his house, store, and factories, it is safe to assume that a Lebanese employs at least some five or six native Africans.[1] A simple illustration will show the net effects. If the number of Lebanese in Guinea for example, (i.e. 2,870)[2] is assumed to be composed of households of three, then the number of Lebanese households would be about 970. Each of these employs an average of six Africans in his trade - including produce buying and cleaning - and in his home, which amounts to a total of 5,810 Africans. This number is about three to four times as great as the total number of the African

1. There are certain jobs for which every Lebanese, whatever his means, would employ an African, such as clerk, watchman to guard the store during the night, assistant in the shop, at least one domestic helper to carry water from far away sources, and clean the house, and wash etc., and, usually, for kitchen maid.

2. See Table 5, chapter four above.

clerical staff and labour force employed by the United Africa Company in Sierra Leone in any of the years 1946-1949.[1] This is also a conservative estimate, for it considers only the minimum employed by the Lebanese households alone, excluding the large number of Africans employed by big Lebanese firms and trading houses, in Conakry and other large commercial centres.

A more specific example may clarify this important fact even further. In the Bo township in Sierra Leone the Lebanese have 69 stores,[2] which on the assumed average of six employees should employ a total of 414 persons. The Bo township which covers an area of 175 square miles has 4,811 inhabitants.[3] It is thus apparent that about 10% of the population of this vast area is directly employed by the Lebanese, at various salaries.[4]

Obviously this employment not only affords income to the Africans, but it creates activity in the hinterland villages. The African's use of his salary prompts several other enterprises. It is not a coincidence that on the pavement outside many of the Lebanese shops in towns like Ibadan, Mopti, Kankan and Bonthe, one can find an African tailor in front of his sewing machine,

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1. The figures for these years were 1,144 in 1946; 1,383 in 1947; 1,702 in 1948, and 1,314 in 1949. See Statistical and Economic Review, No. 5, March 1950, p. 43.
2. See Table four, chapter five above.
3. N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p. 25.
4. Similar computations were done by the writer for other townships in Sierra Leone, such as Kenema, Blama, Bonthe, Mano, etc. The percentage of Africans directly employed by the Lebanese varied between 5% and 12% of the total population of the area.

waiting to attend to his fellow African as soon as he emerges from the Lebanese store with his piece of cotton cloth.[1] These tailors depend for their activity on the Lebanese trader, to an extent that they do not carry on their business on the days during which the Lebanese store, for one reason or another, is closed to business.

At least one other important result of this activity could be pointed out. It tends to hold the native African to his land and village, which he would otherwise have had to leave in search of income elsewhere. To the African, settled life becomes less hazardous, with the help of a steady salary instead of the uncertain and intermittent income obtained only during the produce season. In other words, a form of urbanized life in the modern sense is usually started in the small villages around the nucleus of the Lebanese shop.

Turning now to the unfavourable economic effects of the presence in West Africa of the Lebanese immigrant, one is directly faced with the question of the displacement of the native African trader.[2] It is believed by most Africans and in some cases by government officials that the Lebanese have displaced the African traders, especially the Creoles, in Sierra Leone, Ghana and elsewhere. Critics observe that in the

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1. Information obtained personally.
2. This point was touched upon earlier when discussing the purposes of the immigration laws, chapter three above.

nineteenth century there were many substantial African traders in both the export and import trades, and they argue that their position was jeopardized and later taken over, following aggressive tactics by the European and Lebanese trader - especially the latter, since his field of activity is closer to that of the African than is that of the European. This position is adequately summarized by the Acting Governor of Sierra Leone, H. Evelyn, in his despatch to the Secretary of State on the Syrian riot in 1919. In it the Governor mentioned that:

> "Prior to the advent of the Syrians here, practically the whole of the petty trade of the Colony was in the hands of the Creoles. Whether it is due to their superior business capacity I do not know, but it is a fact that the Syrians have completely ousted the Creole and they now control the whole of the trade in Freetown and in the Protectorate."[1]

In French West Africa, the French traders joined the indigenous Africans in their complaint that the Lebanese are replacing them. In 1935 an intensive campaign in the newspapers accompanied by petitions to the Governors of the various territories was carried out to press this point.[2] Nearly all the petitions and articles stressed the point that "The massive reduction in the share of the French and Africans in Commerce is due mainly to the Lebanese who, year after year, are replacing the indigenous traders."[3]

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1. Governor's Despatch M.P. C104/1919, No. 357 of 31st July 1919, on the Syrian riot.
2. See Jean Paillard, La fin de Français en Afrique Noire, Oeuvres Françaises, Paris, 1935.
3. Opening of Le Conseil Colonial du Senegal, op.cit., p. 404.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of this century there were indeed many Africans engaged in the external trade of West Africa. The Governor of Sierra Leone pointed this out in his annual report for the year 1851 when he wrote:

> "Whether (the commerce of the Colony) will remain in the hands of the European merchants ..... is, I think, very problematical. Many of the wealthier liberated Africans resident in Freetown have already become large importers, and it will not be long before they turn exporters on their own account ..... One thing certain is that the number of liberated Africans engaged in commerce is annually on the increase ..... and as their trade expenses and their mode of living is considerably under those of the European merchants, they will necessarily, being a thrifty race, and in a comparatively short time, amass wealth and eventually and at no very distant period become the real merchants of the Colony."[1]

It is thus authoritatively established that the African traders were playing an important part in trade as early as the middle of the nineteenth century, and that after the advent of the Syrians their role was diminished greatly and in some areas became almost negligible. Whether this is due only to the Syrian competition, as the majority of the people and Government officials hold, or to other reasons, it is hard to say. Since, however, the arguments against the Lebanese have been given, it might be helpful to give one or two arguments which attribute the decline of the African traders to factors other and more important than the presence of the Lebanese trader.

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1. Blue Book of the Colony of Sierra Leone for the year 1851.

The first of these relates to West Africa in general. Admittedly there were African traders in the export and import trade, but, in the aggregate, their activities were on a very much smaller scale compared with the totality of trade today. In Nigeria, for example, fifty years ago, there were either only negligible exports or none at all, of groundnuts, cocoa, cotton, hides and skins, or timber, and exports of palm produce were less than one eighth of their present volume.[1] Exports of cocoa from the Gold Coast had barely begun; and similarly the import trade was also on a very small scale. By present-day standards, therefore, the operations of these early African traders formed a very small fraction of the trade handled by Africans today in the wholesale and retail trade and in produce buying.[2]

Moreover, most reports of early African trading activity describe it as concentrating mainly on import trade. Since the European firms were not well established in West Africa until the 1890's, the whole vast field of middlemen and of the semi-wholesale and retail trade was not yet explored, and the African traders cannot be said to have controlled it prior to the advent of the Lebanese and Syrians, as the arrival of these more or less coincided with the beginning of expansion in this field of activity. The field was therefore new, and both Africans and Lebanese had the full opportunity of entering it

1. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 118.
2. Ibid.

on an equal basis, since at that time the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese did not enjoy the advantage of possessing large capital.

It seems, however, that during this period in which the general patternsof retail trade were being formed the balance was tilted in favour of the Lebanese, by the actions of the big European firms and the absence of protective trading policies such as those which exist today. The European firms seem to have come to trust the Lebanese trader more than the African in honouring commercial contracts. The African trader whether importer or middleman was not always meticulous in carrying out his deals with the European firms, and the capital which the big firms used to advance to the middleman was not always recovered from the African.[1] This caused the firms to give stronger financial backing to the Lebanese, thus enabling them to establish their dominance in the field.

From an economist's point of view, P.T. Bauer summarizes the causes for the decline of African traders as follows:

> "The African share in direct foreign trade declined primarily as a combined result of the increased capital requirements of a rapidly growing trade and of a money economy, and of the losses sustained in trade fluctuations. Moreover, the growing complexity and diversification of external trade called for a variety of technical, administrative and financial abilities which the majority of African traders were unable to command. In these circumstances there has been a pronounced tendency for weakly financed firms to disappear in times of adverse fluctuations. A number of African traders who had survived previous vicissitudes succumbed to the abrupt depression of 1920-1, especially as a result of losses suffered on unsold stocks of palm products."[2]

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1. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., p. 10, also Hancock, op.cit., p. 204.
2. P.T. Bauer, op.cit., pp. 118-119.

A second argument relates specifically to the position of the Creoles, who seem in fact to have dominated the Sierra Leone trade in the late nineteenth century. An extensive investigation of the problem by the writer while in Sierra Leone indicated, however, the possibility of another reason for the decline of the Creoles not connected with the presence of the Lebanese. It became evident that by the turn of the century the number of Creoles in the colony had begun to decline, owing to several factors, the most important of which was the fact that the Creoles themselves seemed to give up trade in order to migrate to other parts of West Africa. The Compiler of the Sierra Leone Census of 1911 made the following comment:

> "The two districts of Kissy and Kissy (Regent) show heavy decreases in population amounting to over 11 per cent, and 17 per cent respectively. These two districts consist entirely of villages that were founded in the early days of the Colony for the settlement of liberated Africans, and although they have been invaded by aboriginal natives of Protectorate origin, yet they are still chiefly inhabited by Creoles and there can be no doubt that the depopulation of these villages is to be attributed to the decrease in the Creole population."[1]

The Compiler of the Census goes on giving examples of this decrease in Creole population, pointing out that the total Creole population in 1911 was shown to be 31,282 (including 204 Mulattoes) as compared with 33,402 in 1901, "a decrease of 2,120 persons amounting to about 6.3 per cent."[2] He thought, however, that a number of Creoles had been returned in 1901 as

1. Sierra Leone Census Report 1911, p. 7.
2. Ibid.

natives "and the conclusion to be arrived at is that the real decrease in the Creole population is probably something like 3,000 persons, or a decrease nearer to 10 per cent, than 6 per cent."[1]

This decrease in the Creole population could itself be explained by the adverse economic conditions which the Creoles faced at the hands of the Lebanese, as in fact the Compiler of the Census tries to explain, or it may be due to some other factors not related to economic conditions.

The Compiler of the Census had noted in explaining this decrease:

> "Assuming that the race is not dying out, but that its reduced numbers are due to emigration elsewhere, one thing is certain, viz., that although the Colony has progressed commercially in the last 10 years, economic circumstances appear to be against the Creoles, and many are compelled to go elsewhere to earn a livelihood, and as the general population has not declined, it is clear that their places are being filled by others."[2]

Two points should be made concerning this remark by the Compiler of the Census. If the places of the Creoles were filled by others (meaning the Lebanese) it is not necessary that this involved an actual act of displacement. Since the Colony was progressing commercially, it is only natural that persons should step in and fill the gap left open in the trade by the departure of other traders, in this case the Creoles. Moreover,

1. Ibid., p. 11.
2. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

it is established that the decrease in the Creole population amounted to about 3,000 in the inter-censal period 1901-1911, at which same period the number of Lebanese in the Colony had increased from 47 to 175 only.[1] Certainly it is hard to believe that this small number of newly arrived immigrants with scarcely any capital should be able to displace 3,000 Creoles, many of whom are described as well established and thriving traders.

One is thus made to inquire further into some other possible explanation for this decrease in Creole numbers. Some truth may be found in the suggestion that the Creole emigrated to the Protectorate and to other parts of West Africa for reasons other than their economic difficulties. In his report the Compiler of the Census himself hints at this possibility when he said:

> "Judging from the notices in the local papers from time to time advertising for native clerks from other West African Colonies, there is no doubt that there is a certain amount of emigration beyond the limits of the Colony and Protectorate, but it is impossible to say in what numbers Creoles emigrated elsewhere."[2]

It is the pride of the Creole, and a distinctive feature of their group, that they possessed a higher degree of education and all round knowledge than the native African. The services of such people therefore would be expected to be in great demand by the European firms, and also by the Lebanese newcomers. Moreover it seems that the educated African, in this case the

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1. Ibid., pp. 8, 10, 24, and Census Report 1901, p. 6.
2. Census Report, Sierra Leone, 1911, pp. 12-12.

Creole, is more inclined towards "white-collar" employment than towards trade. In his report on African participation in the Commerce of Sierra Leone, Dr. N.A. Cox-George points out that one of the reasons for the lagging of African trading activity is the lack of accumulated knowledge, or wisdom in the hands of the Africans themselves. This is well illustrated, he indicates, "by the lack of self-recruitment or inheritance in business."[1] He asserts that besides A.C. Jones and Sons of Freetown and W.C. Coker of Bo there is hardly any African business in the country that has gone on in the hands of the same line for more than a generation. "The sons of businessmen do not enter into business but migrate into professions or to the civil service or some other 'white-collared' employment."[2] In the African psychology this implies that these other employments have greater prestige value than the profession of their parents.[3]

This may well be a good reason for the decrease in the Creole share in the African trade. Another reason might be that many Creoles have emigrated to the Protectorate to avoid the Hut-tax imposed on them in the Colony. There seem to be many well informed authorities in Sierra Leone who attribute

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1. N.A. Cox-George, op.cit., p. 56.
2. Ibid.
3. A current investigation of the role of Creoles in late 19th century Nigeria being undertaken by Miss Jean Herskovits of St. Hilda's College, is anticipated to furnish more definite information about Creoles in West Africa.

more importance to this reason than to Lebanese competition.[1]

Concluding this point, it seems, therefore, that to assert that the Lebanese displaced the African traders in West Africa is misleading and unjustified. Certainly the activity of the Lebanese must have affected other traders in West Africa, in the same way that any injection of new participants into a market must affect, either beneficially or detrimentally, the interests of the others taking part. It can hardly be said, however, that the advent of the Lebanese was the only or the main cause for the decline of African trade.

Another unfavourable effect of Lebanese immigration upon West Africa is the fact that they send money out of the country, thus diminishing its national wealth. This point, however, together with the allegations levied against the Lebanese by some Africans and Europeans alike, as to their trade practices, dealings in illicit diamonds and bribery has been discussed in an earlier chapter.[2]

In conclusion it may be said that the effects of the Lebanese emigrants on the political and social institutions of West Africa are not yet clear, and seem at present to be negligible. On the other hand there is certainly much truth

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1. This opinion was gathered by the author from interviews with managers of the leading European firms, and high officials in the Secretariat. One manager of a European firm who has been in Sierra Leone for 22 years emphasized the point that the Lebanese took the place of the Creoles only after the latter had left the Colony for the Protectorate and elsewhere, to avoid the Hut tax. (He requested the writer not to mention his name.)

2. See chapters three, five and six above.

in the statement expressed by the Governor of Portuguese Guinea in 1952: "We are all aware that the Lebanese immigrant community is the corner stone in the development of the economy, trade and agriculture not only in this colony, but in the whole of West Africa. If we had not had this community, we would have had to create a similar one. In that I am sure we would have failed."[1]

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1. Statement by Signor A.R. Sarao, Governor of Portuguese Guinea, to Mr. Sa'adeh in 1952. Other statements similar in effect were expressed to the author by Lamine Gueye, Member of the French Parliament in 1948 and mayor of Dakar, and Mr. Birch, manager of the United Africa Company in Sierra Leone.

CHAPTER NINE

EFFECTS ON LEBANON

It is very difficult to isolate the specific effects which the Lebanese in West Africa have had upon their homeland from the general effects which have been brought about by the activities of all the Lebanese overseas, in the several continents and countries to which they have gone. In some respects, therefore, the general observations which are made in this chapter must reflect the overall result of emigration. Nevertheless, since Lebanese emigrants to West Africa have maintained a closer attachment to their homeland than emigrants elsewhere, especially in that they generally return to the Lebanon with their families and with their capital, it is reasonably safe to assume that their contributions to the total effects discussed below have been substantially greater than those of their fellow-migrants in other parts of the world. Naturally, whenever possible, the effects of the specific West African migration are distinguished from the others and are elaborated.

The effects of emigration on Lebanon can most conveniently be discussed under four main headings: economic, social, poltical, and cultural. By far the most important of these is the economic effect, which is manifested in several forms ranging from direct remittances and capital movement into Lebanon, to the decline of agriculture owing to the exodus of

able manpower.

Remittances sent by the emigrants to their families, relatives, and other individuals and institutions in the Lebanon are the most important form of the economic effects. These remittances started to flow soon after the first emigrants settled in their lands of immigration and they have continued ever since. Various attempts have been made to estimate the money that passes in this way from Africa and elsewhere to Lebanon each year. This is a difficult task to achieve, however, owing to the fact that remittances are made in many different forms such as postal orders, cheques, drafts and paper money, material and clothing, and recently large sums have been sent as diamond jewellery and gold.[1] Added to this is the absence in Lebanon of adequate banking statistics, which are usually the best source on such matters.

Various private estimates have been made but these cannot be relied upon as most of them are no more than mere guesses.[2] Several methods of indirect approach to the problem are, however, possible, and some have been tried for the purpose of throwing light on the issue in general and of explaining the alternative types of studies which might be carried out in the future.[3]

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1. Information privately secured from the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, An Unpublished Study of the National Income of Lebanon, Beirut, 1956.
2. Ibid.
3. Most of these studies have been undertaken by the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, or by research students attached to it.

One of these methods was an attempt to estimate the remittances from the remitters' side. The inadequacies of this method are well illustrated in the report of the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, who thought of adopting it:[1]

> "This attempt - to estimate remittances from the remitters' side - had, however, to be given up as very little information is at present[2] available on the remitters. Lebanese emigrants live practically all over the world, in very scattered places. Their number is reportedly larger than that of Lebanese nationals still in the homeland. The little information that is available at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pertains only to those emigrants who have retained their Lebanese nationality or who are known to the Lebanese consulates abroad."

Since many Lebanese who have given up their Lebanese nationality and taken permanent residence in the country where they now are still send remittances to their relations in Lebanon, it is obvious that any attempt to rely on the information supplied by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be open to many inaccuracies.

The Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration has adopted its own method. It arrived at its estimates by multiplying a given percentage of all registered mail coming into the country - which is assumed to represent the mail containing emigrants' cheques - by the value of an "assumed average" cheque.[3] The margin of possible error of such a method

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1. Report on the National Income of Lebanon, 1956, by the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut.
2. In 1956.
3. Information privately obtained from the Department of Emigration in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration in July 1957.

is obviously so considerable that the figures are practically of no academic value. On the one hand there is no way of knowing even approximately the percentage of registered mail containing cheques and as this mail runs into millions, a very small mistake in the estimation of this percentage would make a very large difference in results. Moreover, an interview with a few banks which usually deal with remittances revealed that the notion of an "average cheque" is illusory.[1] Another defect in this method is that it accounts only for the remittances received in cheque form, and therefore does not provide for the large sums received in other forms, such as bank drafts, materials, and diamonds and gold.

An alternative method of estimating remittances is to make a sample survey of the people who receive them. Such a survey, however, to be accurate must be carried out on a sound and large statistical basis and is therefore time-consuming and costly for the purposes of this individual study. Up till now the Lebanese Government has not attempted to carry out such a survey. An attempt, however, on a smaller scale, has been made by the Economic Research Institute in 1953.[2] Four villages in the Mount Lebanon and Southern district were chosen

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1. The Banks were: "The Federal Bank of Lebanon", Banks of Beirut and the Arab countries, and "Banque du Liban et d'Outre-mer."

2. Information privately secured by the courtesy of the Institute, Unpublished.

and enumerators were directed to them armed with a short questionnaire. The questions asked related mainly to the number of emigrants from the village, their present residence, whether they sent any assistance to their families or to their village, in money or in kind; and if so how much and how was the assistance sent. Finally whether any money was sent from Lebanon to the emigrants.

The results that have been obtained following a door to door investigation carried out with the help of local Mukhtars (village aldermen) cannot, of course, be considered representative of all Lebanon, as the sample chosen was too small, and people tend to exaggerate the amount of money they receive. Such results can help, however, to show local differences between districts, and the source of remittances, together with an idea of the amount of money sent to Lebanon. Table one shows the amount of these remittances in money and in kind and their source, in the years 1951 and 1952.

Table 1

Emigrants' Remittances in Money and Kind in Selected Villages, 1951, 1952[1]

(in Lebanese pounds)

		1951		1952		Total	
Village	Source	In Money	In Kind	In Money	In Kind	1951	1952
Ras-Al-Matten in Mount Lebanon	Brazil	20,248	-	25,561	-	20,248	25,561
	Australia	6,475	525	7,350	175	7,000	7,525
	Columbia	1,400	-	1,750	-	1,400	1,750
	Venezuela	5,250	613	3,763	-	5,863	3,763
	W.Africa	18,025	-	11,550	-	18,025	11,550
	U.S.A.	7,525	1,400	4,725	1,050	8,925	5,775
	Saudi Arabia	35,000	-	96,950	3,763	35,000	100,713
	To Village					1,750	2,275
	Total					98,211	158,912
Ghabet Maskeh Ayoun in Mount Lebanon	U.S.A.	5,260	575	4,775	-	5,835	4,775
	W.Africa	3,500	150	2,800	-	3,650	2,800
	S.America	975	-	500	-	975	500
	Total					10,460	8,075
Ain Ibl in South Lebanon	U.S.A.	1,000	125	1,220	-	1,125	1,220
	Brazil	2,000	-	1,800	-	2,000	1,800
	Argentine	400	-	380	-	400	380
	W.Africa	1,650	-	1,870	-	1,650	1,870
	Total					5,175	5,270
Bint Jubeil in Southern Lebanon	U.S.A.	13,600	2,230	15,200	2,100	15,830	17,300
	Cuba	2,100	-	2,150	-	2,100	2,150
	W.Africa	27,900	620	31,400	-	28,520	31,400
	To Village					30,000	
	Total					76,450	50,850

1. Information privately secured from the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut.

Total amounts (in money and in kind) received by the four villages were reported at 190,296 in 1951 and 223,107 in 1952 making an average per village of 47,574 Lebanese pounds and 55,776 Lebanese pounds respectively. However, individual differences between villages were great. These variations were caused mainly by the size of the village and by the overseas country from which remittances came. In respect of West Africa, the villages of the South showed a larger amount of remittance received than villages in Mount Lebanon, which is another illustration of the fact that Lebanese in West Africa came mainly from Southern Lebanon.

This survey indicated clearly that in all villages remittances were sent regularly; that most of them were made by cheque, and that they included a good many capital transfers. Finally, it was shown that assistance in kind, in the form of cars, used clothes, etc., was far from negligible, being about one fifth of money remittances.[1]

Several similar surveys have been made by various groups covering selected regions of Lebanon. Mr. S.M. Sawaya, in an income study of Al-Kura district in Northern Lebanon,[2] estimated the annual remittances received from abroad at 185 Lebanese pounds per household. This would indicate total remittances

1. Report of the E.R.I. of the American University of Beirut op.cit.

2. S.M. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, Lebanon, (M.A. Thesis submitted to the department of economics in the American University of Beirut, 1953, unpublished.)

of 11,683 Lebanese pounds per village and of 657,048 Lebanese pounds for the whole district of Al-Kura.[1]

The Rural Agricultural Survey Office of the United States Operation Mission to Lebanon (Point IV) made a similar, although more detailed and complete study of the "Begua" district and estimated emigrants' remittances in that region at 3.98 million Lebanese pounds, or 18,700 Lebanese pounds per village.[2] Finally, figures collected for the Urban Survey of Beirut show that the city receives from its emigrants abroad approximately 2.5 million Lebanese pounds annually.[3]

In the absence of a better basis of estimation, a few assumptions must be made in order to arrive at an approximate figure representing the amount of remittances sent to Lebanon. The results obtained for Al-Kura could also be applicable to the neighbouring Zgouta and Tripoli districts. Those for the Begua could be applicable to the culturally, religiously, and economically similar districts of Akkar, Nabatiah, Sour, and Saida. The figures obtained for the two villages in the Metn Area of Mount Lebanon may be taken to apply to the rest of the districts in Mount Lebanon and to Al-Batroun area. An extension of the sample figures on the basis of the number of villages in each district would indicate emigrants' remittances of 53.4

1. Ibid.
2. Report of the E.R.I., op.cit.
3. Ibid.

million Lebanese pounds in 1951 and 66.7 million Lebanese pounds in 1952.[1] To this should be added remittances received in the cities. For an estimate of these, the figures obtained for Beirut (2.5 million Lebanese pounds) were doubled on the assumption that all other cities get an amount equal to that of Beirut.[2] Thus emigrant remittances would roughly amount to 58.4 million Lebanese pounds in 1951 and 71.7 millions in 1952.[3]

It must be pointed out that the above method adopted by the Economic Research Institute in preparing its report on the balance of payments of Lebanon is highly arbitrary. Especially in estimating remittances to cities are the inadequacies of this system apparent. The figure for Beirut should not have been doubled in order to arrive at the remittances to all cities for all the other cities in Lebanon such as Tripoli, Saida, Sout, etc., have been included in the estimates for their separate districts. Under the circumstances, however, as no

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1. Report of the E.R.I., op.cit.
2. Ibid.
3. Edward Fei and Paul Klat, The Balance of Payments of Lebanon, 1951 and 1952. Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, 1954.
   Writer's Note: The relative increase between the two years can be easily explained by the emergence of a new type of remitter. Since the end of the war, and especially in the early fifties when the Oil Companies in Saudi Arabia started large-scale production, the Lebanese have been emigrating more and more to the neighbouring Arab states, not to take up permanent business or residence, but as temporary salaried personnel. They therefore send to Lebanon all their savings, and not only assistance money to their relatives. In other words, the 1952 figure includes a good deal of concealed capital imports. See also table 1 of this chapter for remittances from Saudi Arabia.

extensive study of the problem was possible because of the time and expenditure it would have required, this method is the best available. It may be suggested in this connection that the Department of Emigration in the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs should undertake a sample survey of the villages in Lebanon, which would make possible a better estimation of remittances in future years.

A final method of estimating remittances is through the banks. In a survey adopting this method[1] all the major banks in Lebanon were asked to supply the information they could regarding foreign transfers which might reasonably be considered as remittances. All but three of the banks declined to answer, mainly on the ground that in their normal business they do not usually try to identify remittances. The three banks that did co-operate reported annual remittances of about 2.5 million Lebanese pounds. An extension of this figure to cover all existing banks totalling some fifty, would indicate total money remittances of about 42 million Lebanese pounds. If assistance in kind, which is estimated at one fifth of the money remittances were added, total remittances would be around 50 million pounds.

This figure is lower than that reached by the previous method. It is submitted, however, that it is less accurate, as some remittances are made in cash through intermediaries and not

1. Undertaken by the E.R.I. Information privately obtained from E.R.I., op.cit.

by cheques through banks. By the exchange laws in their countries of immigration, Lebanese are allowed to send out of the country, small sums of money only and under specified conditions. To avoid this limitation, the immigrants usually request a third person who may be going to Lebanon, or is doing business with Lebanon to deliver a given sum to their relatives in cash. Such payments naturally are not reflected in bank accounts.

Even if all these methods fail to give an exact figure for emigrants' remittances they certainly give a fair idea of their extent, and in some cases though the figure may be incorrect, the error would in in underestimating not overestimating the remittance.[1]

The marked effect of this money in the upkeep of individual families, and in raising the standard of living in large areas of Lebanon is self evident. During the six war years between 1938 and 1945 it is estimated that 120 million Lebanese pounds were sent to the emigrants' families and relatives in Lebanon.[2] Most of the new houses in Lebanese villages were built by returning emigrants.[3] In the cities building construction and similar real estate undertakings were greatly increased through

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1. An example of this is the method of asking banks which gives a very conservative estimate.
2. G. Manasseh, op.cit., p. 33.
3. In a survey undertaken by the writer in three villages in the Akkar area, Baino, Rahbé and Besbina, it was shown that out of 18 new stone houses built after the war in Baino 15 were owned by returned emigrants. In Rahbé where only three were built, they were all owned by emigrants, and out of 7 in Besbina, 5 were owned by emigrants.

the activity of emigrants, mainly those from West Africa and the Arab states.[1]

Besides these individual effects, emigrant remittances are important to the general welfare of the country and its financial and trading position. In 1951 the balance of payments of Lebanon showed a surplus of 18.9 million Lebanese pounds and in 1952 a surplus of 26.3 million was reflected.[2] The credit balance for 1951 was 519.1 millions, and for 1952 567.1 millions.[3] The debit balance was 500.2 millions in 1951 and 540.8 millions in 1952. It is apparent that if we subtract the emigrant remittances received in 1951 and 1952 - 58.4 millions and 71.7 millions respectively - from the credit balances of 1951 and 1952, the net result would be a deficit in the balance of payments of 39.5 millions in 1951 and 45.4 millions in 1952. The effect of such a balance of payments on the financial and trading conditions of a country is obvious.

These figures are not all that Lebanon receives from her emigrants abroad. Large sums are also received from movements of capital and in the form of gold and diamonds.[4] As for capital movement, it is very difficult to assess the exact amount which is brought into Lebanon annually by returning emigrants, nor is it easy to establish from which country abroad

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1. Information privately obtained from the Construction Departments, Municipalities of Beirut and Tripoli, 1957.
2. E. Fei and P. Klat, op.cit., pp. 5, 6.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

it originated. The balance of payments of Lebanon in 1951 and 1952 gives the figures 14.7 millions and 43.7 millions respectively. An estimate based on a proportionate comparison between these figures and those relating to the remittances received in 1951 and 1952 makes it possible, however, to get an idea of the amount received annually from West Africa.

Since the large differences between the figure for 1951, (14.7 millions) and that for 1952 (43.7 millions) can be attributed mainly to the large capital inflow from Saudi Arabia and Egypt - particularly from the latter where the unsettled political situation is reported to have caused a sizeable capital flight[1] - it can be safely assumed that in the endeavour to establish the capital received in normal years, the 1952 increase should be disregarded and the figure for 1951 should be taken as a basis.

Moreover, it is obvious that emigrants who have settled permanently in the countries to which they have gone, such as the United States and to a large extent the South American states, would not move their capital into Lebanon. It is only emigrants whose stay in the land of immigration is temporary who would be expected to move their capital to Lebanon where they intend to establish their permanent home. Before the start of the emigration movement to Saudi Arabia, this kind of

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1. Ibid., p. 51.

emigrant was concentrated mainly in West Africa, and it is therefore suggested that a considerable part of the 14.7 million moved into Lebanon in 1951 was sent by Lebanese immigrants in West Africa.

Owing to the exchange laws enforced in the West African territories, the emigrants find themselves unable to send to Lebanon the sums they may want to send.[1] This fact, more than the pecuniary profit involved, is what prompts the Lebanese to resort to the smuggling out of West Africa of diamonds, gold, and paper currency, especially metropolitan French francs.[2] Though by the provisions of the Lebanese-French Monetary Agreement,[3] a Lebanese can take out his capital from the French Union if he liquidates all his business and assets and declares his intention not to resume business in any French territory,[4] very few Lebanese are willing to take advantage of this provision, which prevents them from ever returning to French West Africa.

It was pointed out earlier that though the stay of individual

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1. For a brief list of the conditions upon which an immigrant in French West Africa can send money out of the country, see chapter three, footnote 1, p.
2. Consular Reports from Dakar April 3, 1956, and from Sierra Leone, March 10, 1957. This fact was also pointed out to the writer by Naguib Sadakah, Secretary General of the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, in an interview in July 1957. He emphasized that the Lebanese Government will bring up this point in the forthcoming negotiations with the French Government for the extension of the period of the Lebanese-French Monetary Agreement of 1948.
3. The Lebanese-French Monetary Agreement of January 24, 1948.
4. Ibid., article 19, chapter four.

Lebanese in West Africa is temporary, they conduct their businesses on a permanent basis - with one member of the family taking over from the one who retires. The Lebanese emigrants, therefore endeavour to keep their business going in West Africa, and try at the same time to bring part of their accumulated income to Lebanon. Their main reason for doing so is the fear of possible political upheavals in West Africa. They are afraid that the future nationalist government of West Africa, or even a French or British Government unfriendly towards Lebanon, might confiscate their property and deport them from the country, as penniless as when they first arrived.[1] Moreover, the emigrant also wants to invest part of his money in Lebanon, so that when he retires he is assured of a steady income not dependent on the whims of the exchange laws of the West African territories.

In support of the reason for smuggling suggested above, is the fact that many well organized groups of Lebanese smugglers now operate in West Africa and offer to contract on a commission basis, to remove from the country whatever amount of money a fellow immigrant may desire to send into

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1. Consular Reports from Dakar, April 3, 1956, This was also confirmed in a private interview with Mr. Naguib Sadakah, op.cit.

Lebanon.[1] Since they are ready to bear all risks themselves, and usually secure their client by giving him a note to their agent in Lebanon to pay the sum immediately from the funds which they have accumulated in Lebanon from previous smuggling operations, the smugglers' business is expanding and more and more immigrants are doing business with them.

It seems hard to see how the immigrant traders can be expected to stop resorting to this method, as long as the exchange laws in West Africa remain as they are. On the other hand it is equally difficult to see how the West African territories can be expected to alter their exchange laws in such a way as to permit the outflow of capital from their

1. The writer has obtained this information from his own experience. While he was in Sierra Leone in April and May 1957 for research connected with this work, he was given a warm reception by the authorities. The Governor received him several times, and he had ready access to the Secretariat. Even the broadcasting station published a note on him and his work, together with a word of welcome. Two days before he was due to leave, a friend of the writer, together with another Lebanese immigrant approached the writer with the proposition that he carried with him a large amount of diamonds to England in return for a substantial reward. They argued that the author's good reception by the authorities, and the fact that he was returning to England and not to Lebanon, made it unlikely that he would be subjected by the customs authorities to the same severe searching methods applied to departing Lebanese. In England he was told a person would call for the diamonds. To pacify the writer's fears they explained to him some details of their closely knit security system. It might seem strange that they divulged their secret so easily, but in Sierra Leone practically every Lebanese is suspected of dealing with diamonds, and discussions concerning diamond transactions are carried on freely, since no offence is committed unless the diamonds are found on the person.

countries. A possible solution may be found through negotiations between the Lebanese Government and the authorities in West Africa, aiming at allowing the immigrant to take out of the country a certain percentage of his accumulated income, and counterbalancing these by imports and trade transactions from the African territories. The Lebanese Government on its part seems to be considering this possibility and has plans to discuss it with the French authorities when the Monetary Agreement comes up for revision in 1958.[1]

It will be obvious from the above discussion that any estimates of the amounts of money transferred to Lebanon from West Africa can be little more than mere guesswork. Estimates of capital transfers are no less hazardous. Thus the one million Lebanese pounds, for example, which an emigrant might receive in Lebanon from the agent of a diamond smuggler might not be considered as received capital, but a definite capital transfer occurs when the million pounds worth of illicit diamonds is safely imported, normally to Beirut.[2]

In preparing the balance of payments for Lebanon in 1951 and 1952 an attempt was made to assess the value of smuggled

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1. In the letters exchanged between the Lebanese and the French Government concerning the Monetary Agreement, the French Government agreed to allow immigrants to take out their capital or part of it to Lebanon provided that they use it in industrial projects agreed to by the French Government, and that all machinery and equipment for such industries is bought from France. Information privately secured.

2. Beirut is considered one of the important centres for dealings in smuggled diamonds and gold. See Ian Fleming, The Diamond Smugglers, op.cit., pp. 34, 38, 138.

gold coming into Lebanon. Though the system of estimation followed is open to several inaccuracies, it may be helpful to quote a relevant section from it.[1]

> "Revalued Customs figures show gold imports of L.L. 37.6 million in 1951 and L.L. 51.7 million in 1952. To these should be added the gold that is smuggled in. This gold comes mainly from French Africa where gold exports are forbidden. To estimate the value of smuggled gold use has been made as in the case of goods and narcotics contraband, of the Customs contravention files. These files show that L.L. 65,000 worth of smuggled gold was caught in 1951 and L.L. 26,660 in 1952. Both these values are calculated at the official rate of exchange; if adjusted to reflect free market quotations, they would be L.L. 111,900 and L.L. 44,286. Assuming, as before, that only one fifth of all import smuggling was actually detected, total gold smuggling would be about L.L. 560,000 in 1951 and L.L. 222,000 in 1952."

One important deficiency in this system is its adoption of the value of smuggled gold caught as a basis for valuation. As gold imports are duty free,[2] the customs authorities do not usually take great effort in evaluating the importer's declarations as to the value of his gold, nor do they take very active measures to suppress contraband and smuggling in of gold. They rather reserve their severe checking measures for the attempts to smuggle it out again.

No estimates are available of the value of smuggled diamonds that enter the country, but personal investigation among returned emigrants from West Africa showed that many of

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1. E. Fei and P. Klat, op.cit., p. 18.

2. Ibid.

them brought their money into the Lebanon in the form of diamonds.[1] The large real estate and land holdings of these emigrants, amounting in some cases to over a million Lebanese pounds each, indicate the large amounts of money brought to the country in the form of diamonds.

It is obvious what such a great inflow of money into Lebanon can do in raising the standard of living of the country and in developing its economic, cultural and social institutions. On the other hand emigration had some retarding effects on the Lebanese economy. Especially in the field of agriculture are these effects pronounced and even at the present time Lebanon is still mainly an agricultural country, with more than half the population deriving their income, directly or indirectly, from agriculture.[2]

Though at the beginning of the modern emigration period in the middle of the nineteenth century the conditions of the Lebanese peasant under the semi-feudal land-owning system of Lebanon were miserably low by modern standards, about two thirds of the population still lived in villages and were dependent upon agricultural occupations.[3] Then the first few of the dissatisfied peasants began to emigrate, and the sight of some who returned wealthy to Lebanon made thousands of others

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1. Information privately secured.
2. See chapter one above.
3. A.H. Hourani, op.cit., p. 85.

leave their fields to make for foreign shores. It is estimated that about 80% of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa came from rural areas in Northern and Southern Lebanon.[1]

Certainly at that time there were no immediate replacements for these peasants, and consequently several fields were left uncultivated.[2] The effect of this on the rural life in general and agriculture in particular is illustrated by the fact that there are today several villages in Lebanon whose population has not increased in comparison with its original population and in some of them it has, in fact, decreased.[3] Moreover, despite the increase in the area of irrigated land, the share of agriculture in the national income of Lebanon amounts at present to only 19%.[4]

Not only did emigration deplete the villages of their able bodied youth, but it even encouraged the old, and those whose health would not sustain the hardships of emigration. The latter were encouraged to move into the cities where they sought various kinds of manual labour, many of them living in far worse conditions than in their fields.[5] As early as 1939 there were in Beirut alone no less than 50,000 villagers who

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1. See Appendix F and Appended Map of Lebanon.
2. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 304.
3. Villages like Jeweya, and Al-Zarariya in Southern Lebanon, Mizyara in Northern Lebanon and Beit-Shebab in Mount Lebanon have in fact a population lower than that of forty years ago. See Muruwah, op.cit., p. 304.
4. Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, National Income of Lebanon. An unpublished study.
5. The Rural Agriculture Survey Office (U.S.O.M.L.) - Point Four - A Study of the Bigua Rural District, an unpublished report - 1952.

who had left their fields permanently and taken residence in Beirut.[1]

Added to this was the fact that most of the returned emigrants took residence in Beirut, though many of them built conspicuous houses in their home villages where they also bought land.[2] Nevertheless very few of them used their village homes as more than country houses in which to pass a weekend or perhaps a month in the summer season. Even though this practice has helped to build up the villages the residence of emigrants in the cities and their lack of personal interest in their land holdings in the villages, lead to the degeneration of the land, and to its misuse. Usually the emigrant gives his land to a farmer on a fifty-fifty share of produce basis; but the farmer, sensing the lack of interest on the part of the owner in the land, and encouraged in some cases by his previous friendship with the owner, when the latter was also a farmer, uses the land for his own benefit, giving to the owner as little as he can.

On the other hand, the emigrant through his business deals in the city, begins to realize the inadequacy of the income he is getting from investment in land, and decides to sell it and to invest instead in the city. This experience of earlier emigrants in land holding is preventing those who returned later

1. Muruwah, op.cit., p. 304.
2. See chapter seven above.

on from doing the same, and the desire of many of these emigrant-landowners to sell is helping to bring down the price of land comparatively far below what it was twenty years earlier.

However detrimental the effects of emigration on agriculture, and on the Lebanese village may be, they by no means counterbalance the great benefits which Lebanon as a whole enjoys. Moreover, the emigrants in the cities, who have concentrated their investment in real estate holding, are beginning to feel the competition in this field, of the rich Saudi and Kuwaiti Emirs and Sheiks, who have recently been bringing their money to Lebanon and securing it in real estate. As a result some emigrants are returning to land investment, this time with better methods of cultivation, and with plans for more varied products.[1]

It is interesting to note that the majority of those recently returning to agriculture and land investment are returned emigrants from West Africa. Though it is difficult to give exact information on how returned emigrants from West Africa invest their money in comparison to emigrants from elsewhere, yet certain observations can be made from an examination of recent trends in investment. Such examination reveals that returned emigrants from the United States and South America are more interested in industry and banking than in agriculture;

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1. It is worth noting that in the past three or four years, the good income derived from fruit plantations, especially apples and citrus fruits, is restoring the interest of the emigrants, and even city dwellers, in land, the price of which has recently shown marked improvement. Since this swing to land is still in its initial stages, it is yet too early to pass a judgment on its effects on Lebanese agriculture.

as several of Lebanon's newly founded banks and industries have returned emigrants from the Americas either as sole owners or substantial shareholders.[1]

On the other hand, some of the most modern farms in Northern and Southern Lebanon are owned by returned emigrants from West Africa, especially from Guinea and Senegal, together with a very large number of new apartment houses in cities like Beirut and Tripoli.[2]

The reason for this preference to real estate and agriculture can be easily found. It will be recalled that the larger number of emigrants to West Africa are originally farmers from North and Southern Lebanon, while those who emigrated to the United States and South America came largely from Mount Lebanon and the cities, generally with no farming background. Again, in their lands of immigration the former lived in an area with a mainly agrarian economy while the latter had the experience of doing business in a highly industrialized society. It is to be expected therefore that when they return to Lebanon emigrants invest in the field with which they are best acquainted.

The role which the emigrants play in Lebanese political life has been examined and the problem of their nationality has been dealt with earlier. One other aspect remains to be discussed here, namely the political inclinations and ideologies

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1. Examples of these investments are: The Pepsi-Cola Bottling Co. of Lebanon; The Federal Bank of Lebanon; Bank of Lebanon and Overseas; Lebanese Bank for Commerce and Industry; all of which are controlled by returned emigrants from South America.

2. Information personally obtained.

of the returned emigrants. It will be recalled that the majority of emigrants, especially those who went to West Africa, came from the poor farming class.[1] When they return to take part in Lebanese political life, they usually tend to be more liberal in their political views than the traditional politicians of Lebanon who are mainly large land-owners, and whose political status is based mainly on family heritage. Though no returned emigrant related to any of the land-owning politicians has as yet come out in open revolt against him, on the contrary he usually helps him financially and morally to maintain his position,[2] the general trend among those who have no family ties with politicians is definitely liberal. The returned emigrant willing to take part in politics has to be opposed to the traditional landowning politician, since in most cases it is the seat of the latter which the emigrant attempts to win.[3]

On the external level, the presence of emigrants in foreign states plays an important role in shaping Lebanese relations with those states. The Prime Minister of Lebanon, Mr. Sami Sulh, described this effect in his address to the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies upon his investiture in office in August 29, 1957.

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1. See chapters three and seven above.
2. More than one of the members of parliament from Southern and Northern Lebanon have been helped financially by their emigrant relatives in their election campaigns..
3. At least two of the three returned emigrants who were elected to the Lebanese Parliament in 1953 won their seats by defeating the traditional landowner politician.

> "In formulating and shaping its foreign policy, Lebanon cannot forget for a single second, its emigrant half. These dear children of Lebanon scattered all over the world form one of the strong pillars of our independence. Lebanese can never forget their assistance and help."

In an interview with the Lebanese Under Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this point was further elucidated in connection with Lebanese relations with England and France. The Under Secretary made it clear when he said:

> "I can safely say that in shaping our policy and relations with England and France we take into consideration the presence of the Lebanese emigrants in their African possessions. Lebanon has certain major problems in foreign policy, such as the Palestine problem and Arab solidarity, and it never compromises in those no matter how much the interests of the Lebanese were at stake. But when such major lines of foreign policy are not involved, the presence of Lebanese emigrants in the British and French Colonies helps a great deal in creating friendly relations between Lebanon and these two countries."[1]

Events have proved, however, that Lebanon is even ready to overlook Arab solidarity, when its interests are involved, and among them the interests of the emigrants. In the report prepared by the Special Technical Committee to study the prospects of severing diplomatic relations with France during the Suez campaign, the following analysis of the status of the emigrants in French West Africa is given as one of the economic reasons why Lebanon should not sever diplomatic relations with France:[2]

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1. Information obtained by the author in an interview with Mr. Naguib Sadakah in September 1957.
2. Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Report of the Special Technical Committee to study the prospects of severing Diplomatic Relations with France and Boycotting her, unpublished. (The writer has in his possession a copy in Arabic.)

"There live in the French possessions, especially in West Africa a large number of Lebanese estimated at 30,000. Their fortunes are estimated at at least 1,000 million Lebanese pounds. They own 30% of the buildings of Dakar and 90% of the buildings in the interior. They control the trade in Dakar because they own about 80% of the retail trade shops and about 20% of the wholesale establishments. Some have also monopolised certain commodities such as tea and tobacco. Most of the internal commercial transport is in their hands, and they own a large number of factories, hotels, cinemas, and other production and distribution establishments, in addition to owning about 20% of the land suitable for the plantation of fruits.[1]

These emigrants annually send to Lebanon about 30 million Lebanese pounds, and a number of them liquidate their business, and bring their capital to Lebanon in accordance with the terms of the monetary agreement with France of 1948. A large number of the emigrants' children are at present being educated in Lebanese schools, from funds sent to them from their parents in French Africa.

The French Colons in West Africa have been undertaking, since the end of the mandate, a violent campaign against the Lebanese emigrants demanding their expulsion, and the confiscation of their property. There is no doubt that this campaign will be intensified, in case Lebanon breaks its relations with France, and is apt to meet with approval from the French Government which until now have been ignoring their campaign.

The Lebanese Government should give special attention to the interests of Lebanese in French West Africa, because they have kept their Lebanese nationality, and have a strong patriotic attachment to Lebanon, and because a large number of them return permanently to Lebanon each year, and because the remittances they send each year meet the great deficit in our balance of payments."

This long paragraph was quoted to illustrate mainly the awareness of the Lebanese Government of the position of the

1. There is no indication in the Commission's report as to the source of its figures which, in the author's opinion, are a little exaggerated.

emigrant in West Africa, and the benefits Lebanon derived from them, which make it incumbent on Lebanon to keep friendly relationships with France. Certainly similar treatment is accorded to England. The fact that Lebanon did not sever relations with France or England, indicates that it had acted on the recommendations of this report, which stressed inter alia the presence of the Lebanese in West Africa as a reason for maintaining cordial relations with France.

In the international organisations the Lebanese emigrants also play an important role. Lebanese diplomats in foreign countries attribute their cordial reception in foreign countries to the efforts of the Lebanese immigrant communities there. The Lebanese delegates in the United Nations use the Lebanese immigrants in certain states to influence their governments to vote on the Lebanese or Arab side, and on more than one occasion the Lebanese emigrants have succeeded in influencing their host government to change from a position previously opposed to Lebanese interests.[1]

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1. Information privately obtained from Dr. Karim Azkoul, Lebanese Permanent Representative at the United Nations. He assured the writer that at least on two occasions, during the Palestine Crisis, and once during Lebanon's candidacy for the Security Council, he got in touch with leading Lebanese in Brazil, Argentina, and Columbia, and asked them to contact their respective governments whose delegates at the U.N. had previously voted against Lebanon, and to ask them to change their attitude. On both occasions the delegates of the three countries voted later for Lebanon, after specifically explaining to him that their governments had changed their attitude after having been approached by the Lebanese immigrants.

For a small country like Lebanon, with its special geographic location, its continued political and economic independence may well depend on how much support it can receive from other friendly states. In recruiting this support, and introducing Lebanon to the world, the emigrants are certainly best suited to play the leading role.

Another very important effect of emigration on Lebanon is the impact it has had on the social structure. It will be recalled that in Syria and Lebanon the dominant social class was that of the land-owners who possessed a semi-feudal status.[1] No other effective social class was in existence to stand against them, and their authority, even as late as the 1930's and 1940's was still dominant in rural Lebanon.[2] Through the decline of agriculture during and after the first world war, and owing to the higher cost of living, these semi-feudal land-owners found themselves obliged to sell some of their land holdings, when they could find a buyer. By that time Lebanese emigrants, especially in West Africa, were beginning to send remittances to their families, who in those days of currency fluctuation found land the safest means of investing money. They began, therefore, to buy small pieces of land from the landlord and to farm it themselves, thus founding the nucleus of the independent smallholders, a small farming class which was to increase tremendously in future years.

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1. A.H. Hourani, op.cit., p. 91.
2. Ibid.

At first, the areas of land which they bought were comparatively so small that they did not form a serious challenge to the land-owner class; but after the second world war when more emigrants began to return permanently to Lebanon, or started to move a substantial part of their capital into it, the areas of land which they bought became considerable enough to threaten the dominance of the feudal class.

Besides changing the land-ownership system of Lebanon emigration helped to develop educational and social standards. Though many of the emigrants' children return to Africa after attaining their high school education, almost all of those who get professional training remain in Lebanon.[1] Most of them being financially backed by their families in West Africa, do not have to leave Lebanon to seek employment elsewhere. Other Lebanese, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., whose parents are resident in Lebanon, are usually compelled by financial circumstances to seek employment as soon as they have qualified and, since opportunities are very limited in Lebanon, they usually accept employment in the neighbouring and rapidly developing Arab states. A psychological reason may lie behind the emigrant parents' willingness to help their children to establish themselves in Lebanon. It gives them social prestige and personal satisfaction. Having themselves been denied the opportunity of education, the emigrants take pride in their

1. See above chapters three and six.

educated children, and this pride is heightened by their children's success in their original society.

A further effect arises from the direct impact of the returned emigrants. Through their travels abroad, and contacts with European ideas, the emigrants return to their village communities not only as the richest but as a more enlightened element. In the battle for Westernization which is still taking place in certain areas of Lebanon, especially in the South and North, they therefore play a leading role.

Turning now to the injurious results of emigration, one would note first of all the demoralizing effect which the flow of remittances had and still has upon the industry of the Lebanese individual. The Lebanese loves both the appearance and the fact of leisure, and he is all too ready to give up labour and to spend his days in the coffee-houses, smoking, gambling, and talking politics for as long as the opportunity to do so is present. This opportunity is offered to him by the flow of remittances which he receives from his emigrant relatives.[1]

Rarely do any of those who receive remittances use the money to expand their businesses or to enter other businesses. Some of them argue that the amounts they receive are not large enough to allow them to start businesses and that it is only

1. Several farmers, barbers and shoemakers, known to the writer in the Baino-Akkar area, have given up their work as soon as remittances started to reach them.

meant to meet their basic needs and to relieve them of the necessity to work. Certainly the fallacy of this argument is apparent, for had they continued to work, the income they would derive from their employment when added to the remittances they receive would be enough to enable a farmer for example to buy modern farming machinery, or a small shoemaker to expand his business.

Recently, however, this class has been decreasing. There are several reasons for this. Some of its members have emigrated to join their relatives, while others, bored with village life, have migrated to the cities, where they have attempted to make their own living. On the other hand, the emigrants themselves have come to realize the bad effect which their remittances are having on their relatives, and have ceased to send them unless they are assured that they will be used beneficially by the receiver. Nevertheless, there are still a large number of Lebanese who cannot at times adjust themselves to this inflow of remittances without first wasting a year or two in idleness.

Another injurious effect of emigration might be the disintegration of the labour force of the country through the loss of its active youthful elements. It will be recalled that the majority of the emigrants are away from Lebanon between the age of sixteen and forty five,[1] the age of prime activity. Since

1. See chapter two above, and Appendix A.

most of the emigrants came from the farming class, industry and commerce do not seem to have been seriously affected. Agriculture, however, as mentioned above, has suffered an initial setback, but recently the improved farming techniques and machinery are counterbalancing this effect and agriculture seems to be recovering.

A last injurious result, related to the previous one, is the effect of the absence of youth on Lebanese village life. Besides the few idlers in coffee-houses a visitor to most of the villages in Northern and Southern Lebanon is struck by the stagnant and inactive life of its inhabitants. It is authoritatively reported that the social and cultural life of five villages in the Akkar area has degenerated from that known fifteen years earlier.[1] It is submitted, however, that this is not mainly due to emigration to Africa and elsewhere, but is caused largely by internal migration from village to city.

Whatever the cause there can be no doubt, however, that the Lebanese village, and with it the Lebanese indigenous rural culture is fading out very rapidly.[2] Authorities in Lebanon are very alarmed by this fact, and a combined effort between

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1. Dr. N. Alter, The Jibrail Rural Fellowship Centre, an unpublished report, 1955. In the village of Baino, there was formed in 1943 a cultural and sporting club, which had a library and tennis courts and football grounds. Today the club is still running, but one can hardly find a member below the age of fifty. The tennis courts and football grounds are now an apple orchard, and the Encyclopaedia Britannica and other volumes of the library were sold recently to meet the constant budget deficit.

2. Munir Khoury, Jibrail, A Study of a Lebanese Village, (M.A. thesis, Cornell University, U.S.A.) Unpublished.

the Government, the United States Operation Mission to Lebanon (Point IV), and certain voluntary and philanthropic organizations, is being made presently to reverse this migration trend and to revive the economic and cultural life of the Lebanese village.

In the face of the negative as well as the positive effects of Lebanese migration which have been enumerated above it is as difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion on the overall advantages and disadvantages of the whole historical process as it is to make any definite assessment of the separate contribution of the Lebanese immigrant in West Africa. But while it is the author's view that the overall effect has been advantageous, especially in relation to emigration to West Africa, it is most certainly a fact that a possibility exists for diminishing further the negative effects of emigration by concerted efforts of the Lebanese Government, and the emigrants. It is encouraging to note that in recent years the Lebanese Government has been giving this problem much attention, and its co-operation with the emigrants' association is beginning to give fruitful results.[1]

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1. A permanent Committee on Emigration was set up by the Lebanese Government in 1957, to co-operate with the various emigrants' societies, in exploring the possibilities of improving relations between the emigrants and their mother country, and to make recommendations on how the emigration and immigration process can be best utilized for the benefit of the country.

CONCLUSION

LOOKING AHEAD

It is not proposed to attempt a general conclusion because this would necessitate a good deal of repetition. A word on the future relationship with West Africa, especially with the independent or self-governing African states, does however suggest itself to be a fitting and logical method of rounding off a study which is concerned essentially with an examination of the past and present.

Speculation may well be out of place but certain urgent questions demand consideration, and even the tentative answers to these questions might have some value. Some of the key questions seem to be: What is to become of the Lebanese immigrants and their families in West Africa? What is to be done with their money and other investments? What policy should the present Lebanese Government adopt towards emigration to West Africa? Should they attempt to stop it completely? Should they try to persuade all Lebanese in West Africa to return permanently to their homeland? Or should they allow migration to and from West Africa to continue unchecked?

Satisfactory answers to these questions are impossible in that they demand detailed information, which is simply not available, on West African politics, Lebanese politics, and

international relations. Nevertheless, certain broad assessments of possibly desirable policies and actions, in the light of current trends and developments are offered in the hope that they might stimulate interest and further discussion.

Today, now that the West African states are getting their independence one after the other, an adjustment in Lebanon's foreign policy should follow this evolution. In the past the immigrants in French West Africa were secure because of the traditional friendship between France and Lebanon, and to a certain extent the same was true of British West Africa. This security is not available any more or if it is, then it will not last long. The future in West Africa belongs to the independent West African states, and Lebanon should strive to keep cordial and friendly relations with each of them. Since it is very possible that some of the West African territories may clash with the colonial powers in their struggle for independence, Lebanon should not hesitate to give them as much support as possible in the light of international relations, and should certainly use her traditional friendship with the colonial powers in offering her good offices to bring a settlement of the pending differences.

In independent West Africa, what is to become of the Lebanese immigrants and their families? In answering this question an examination of the legal status of the Lebanese

community is helpful. The Lebanese community in West Africa is composed of three categories. First there are the original immigrants, and those few who entered in recent years under the various immigration Laws. These are still Lebanese nationals or to put it in a negative form they do not possess the nationality of either the African territory they are in or that of the Colonial powers. Their position in West Africa will be that of an alien minority and they might be subjected to any regulations relating to foreigners. The number of this group is not very large, however, since a large number of the early immigrants has either died or returned to Lebanon, and the number of those who entered recently is very small because of the strict immigration Laws.

The second category is composed of the second generation Lebanese immigrants the majority of whom were born in West Africa. Generally these possess the nationality of the Colonial state and in the case of an African territory becoming independent, they can either retain the nationality of the Colonial state or apply, and by law usually get the nationality of the African state in which they were born.[1] This group therefore, looked upon legally, is West African and unless special laws are enacted by the new African state, its members have all the duties and privileges of an African citizen.

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1. This has been the case in Ghana where many Lebanese have obtained their Ghanian nationality under the new constitution.

It is worth noting that the majority of the Lebanese immigrants in West Africa belong to this group.

The third category is composed of the children of immigrants born in Lebanon, and brought later to join their parents in West Africa. The legal status of these depends on whether their parents possess the nationality of the African state or not and on the laws regarding nationality in each African territory.[1] This group, however, is small in number and its legal status, when classified in accordance with the nationality laws, usually falls under one of the first two categories.

This is the legal position of the immigrants in an independent West Africa. Their social position, however, is much more difficult to determine, since it will be highly speculative to assess how much the Lebanese can integrate in an independent unified African society. A possible suggestion for furthering the integration of the Lebanese element may be that the African Governments grant the Lebanese community minority status, and a number of seats - one may be enough - in the state legislatures. This action will demonstrate to the Lebanese the intentions of the African Governments to accord to them full citizenship rights and will certainly make them take a more active part in African affairs. It may be argued

1. This is a detailed legal question, since some states still follow the parentage theory, others follow the place of birth theory, and a third group follows a combination of both theories.

by those who oppose such a suggestion that this action will divide rather than unify the African society, by granting minority status. The experience of other states, however, may be given as an answer to this argument. Lebanon, for example, has one seat in parliament allocated for minorities, over and above the seats allocated to the Armenian minority. Israel, also grants the Arab minority a specific number of seats, and in Africa itself the practice is followed in several states.

The second major question about the future of the Lebanese in West Africa is what is to be done with their money and other investments. Briefly and generally the answer to this seems to be that if the Lebanese are to continue to do business in West Africa they must make a sincere and earnest effort to "Africanize" themselves and their businesses. True, many will want to send remittances to their families in Lebanon, and this is being done and could continue, but the immigrants should become aware that the bulk of their fortune is to remain in Africa. Their original idea of amassing a fortune and carrying it back to Lebanon should be abandoned for ever. Moreover, it is natural to expect the Africans to demand that the Lebanese near-monopoly of retail trade should be ended, and the Lebanese will be wise to co-operate in satisfying this demand. All the new African states are economically under-developed countries, and they usually encourage new enterprises and investments.

Some Lebanese have large capital which they can easily use in developing other fields of the countries' economy. Since the African states usually create favourable investment conditions to encourage the inflow of foreign capital, the immigrants' capital invested in new development programmes will be more secure than if it remains only in commerce. By loosening their control of commerce and also of real estate ownership, the Lebanese will do away with a major cause of complaint against them, and will establish their position on more solid economic and social grounds.

Finally a word must be said about the last two key questions, namely the position which the Lebanese Government should take regarding future emigration, and whether or not they should encourage the emigrants to return to their homeland. Since the Lebanese Government's policy regarding emigration is generally the same irrespective of the destination of the emigrant, the following discussion cannot be limited to West Africa exclusively, but where possible emphasis is placed on emigration to West Africa.

There is now in Lebanon much controversy about emigration and the emigrants. Most writers, journalists, and politicians are asking the Government to check emigration and to prevent the outflow of Lebanese youth to foreign countries. Many are also demanding the return of those who have already emigrated, mainly on the ground that they will help to develop the country. The Government response to these demands has been to set up a

committee to study the subject. The committee submitted its report on June 3, 1957, in which it recommended, after examining briefly the advantages and disadvantages of emigration, the following three points:[1]

"1. That emigration be effectively checked and controlled.

2. That only 2,500 persons be allowed to emigrate permanently each year. This number should be apportioned over the countries where there are established Lebanese colonies, with preference given to those going to West Africa, as these usually return home with their capital.

3. That in addition to this number, persons who have been allowed to emigrate to the U.S.A. through the 'Lebanese Quota' should be permitted to leave. These are very few ....."

From this report and the recommendations, one is not clear whether the Government really wants to check emigration or simply to organize and direct it. When the number of those who emigrate to the U.S.A. each year, together with the large number who emigrate to the Arab states temporarily under a work contract (which incidentally might be renewed constantly till their stay outside Lebanon may be longer than that of emigrants to West Africa), is added to the recommended number of 2,500, it will be realized that in fact the new Government action does not act as a check on emigration. This can be more fully substantiated by examining the official emigration figures for

1. Report of the Committee on Emigration, Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 3, 1957. Unpublished. The report was adopted and acted upon as from July 1, 1957. (The writer has in his possession a copy in Arabic.)

the four years preceding the 1957 report. In 1953 the number of emigrants was 2,016; in 1954, 2,248; in 1955, 2,033; and in 1956, only 1,714.[1] It will be noted that in none of these years did the number of emigrants reach 2,500, a fact which may well support the belief that the Government, in fixing its number, even allowed for a possible slight increase in the number of prospective emigrants.

The writer believes that the Government was right in not preventing emigration completely and in fixing a generous number of 2,500 persons annually. Lebanon is a small, mainly mountainous country whose population rose from about 785,543 in 1932[2] to about 1,126,601 in 1944,[3] and to an estimated total of 1,411,000 in 1957.[4] Such an increase in population, despite the intensive emigration which took place in the 1930's, refutes the argument that the labour force is diminishing in the country as a whole, or that the society is becoming stagnant. The physical capacity of Lebanon is approaching exhaustion. Employment opportunities are not yet enough to absorb all those seeking work.[5] If emigration is prevented, how is Lebanon

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1. Figures obtained from the Department of Emigration, Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, in July 1957. (It is worth noting that these figures do not seem to be absolutely correct, and do not agree even with figures given by another organ of the Lebanese Government. The Lebanese Ministry of National Economy for example estimates the number of emigrants in 1955 to be 4,555.) See its Bulletin Statistique Trimestriel Vol.7, No.4, 1956, p.30.
2. Hourani, op.cit., p. 121.
3. Ibid., Appendix B, p. 385.
4. R.I.I.A., The Middle East, op.cit., p. 453.
5. The large number of Lebanese seeking employment in the neighbouring Arab States is a conclusive indication of this fact.

going to provide for those obliged to stay? At the present stage of its development Lebanon cannot provide opportunities of work for all its able citizens. Emigration therefore is a needed outlet which ought to be channelled and supervised but not completely checked.

This discussion leads to the second point, namely the return of the emigrants. Many in Lebanon demand that the Government should make an effort to induce as many Lebanese emigrants as possible to return to Lebanon. They argue that the capital and skill of the emigrants will help to develop Lebanese economic and social institutions. From the social point of view, they also emphasize that many Lebanese families will be happily united in the mother country.

It is certainly true that the capital which the emigrants bring into the country will help its industrial and agricultural development, but this is not all that it involves. It would involve, further, the absorption of a million and a half newcomers, which is the current estimate of Lebanese emigrants. It would mean too, a sudden influx of strange and foreign ideas brought by the emigrants from their various societies all over the world, into the gradually developing yet tradition-observing Lebanese society. It also involves the pouring into Lebanon of large sums of money which may lead to economic inflation. In brief, it may involve the dislocation of practically all the existing political, social, religious, cultural, and

economic institutions of Lebanon.

Moreover, how can the emigrants bring out their money from the host countries? Would these countries allow such a sudden and large exodus of capital? Certainly not. It was mentioned earlier that the emigrants are finding it difficult to get even small sums of money out of the host countries, and the trend is towards more financial restrictions, especially in the West African territories. Continuous attempts by large numbers of emigrants to smuggle their capital out of the country may lead the host countries to confiscate their property, or at least to introduce measures to reduce its mobility.

It is true that the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese emigrants (with the exception of those in West Africa) have now become fully assimilated in their host society, and it is most unlikely that they will return. Nevertheless, the number of those who emigrated recently and those who are in West Africa, whose bringing back to Lebanon could be easily achieved by a concerted effort on the part of the Lebanese Government and the host countries, many of which, like the West African territories, are only too glad to render their help in such a cause, is itself large enough to cause all the above dislocations in Lebanese life.

It is therefore in the interest of all, and especially of the emigrants themselves, that the Government should not press

for the emigrants' return. The emigrants, particularly those in West Africa, are already facing the charge of the indigenous people, that they do not integrate and are only interested in exploiting the country before returning home. The Lebanese Government and the emigrants should, therefore, attempt to pacify the fears of the host countries by showing more interest and attachment to their land of immigration rather than to talk of a mass exodus of men and capital. It may be true that the blame for not integrating with the indigenous community does not fall on them alone, but since it is they whose interests are at stake, they and the Lebanese Government should at least refrain from antagonizing the host countries, by such home-coming programmes.

But while it is the author's view that the emigrants should not be encouraged to return en masse, it is most certainly a fact that many emigrants are returning permanently each year (particularly from West Africa)[1] while many more are sending large sums to be invested in Lebanon with a view to eventual settlement at home. This process is both gradual and beneficial and causes little dislocation of the existing institutions, nor does it lead to economic inflation. It would seem, therefore, that the Government's effort might best be directed chiefly to supervising and assisting the gradual

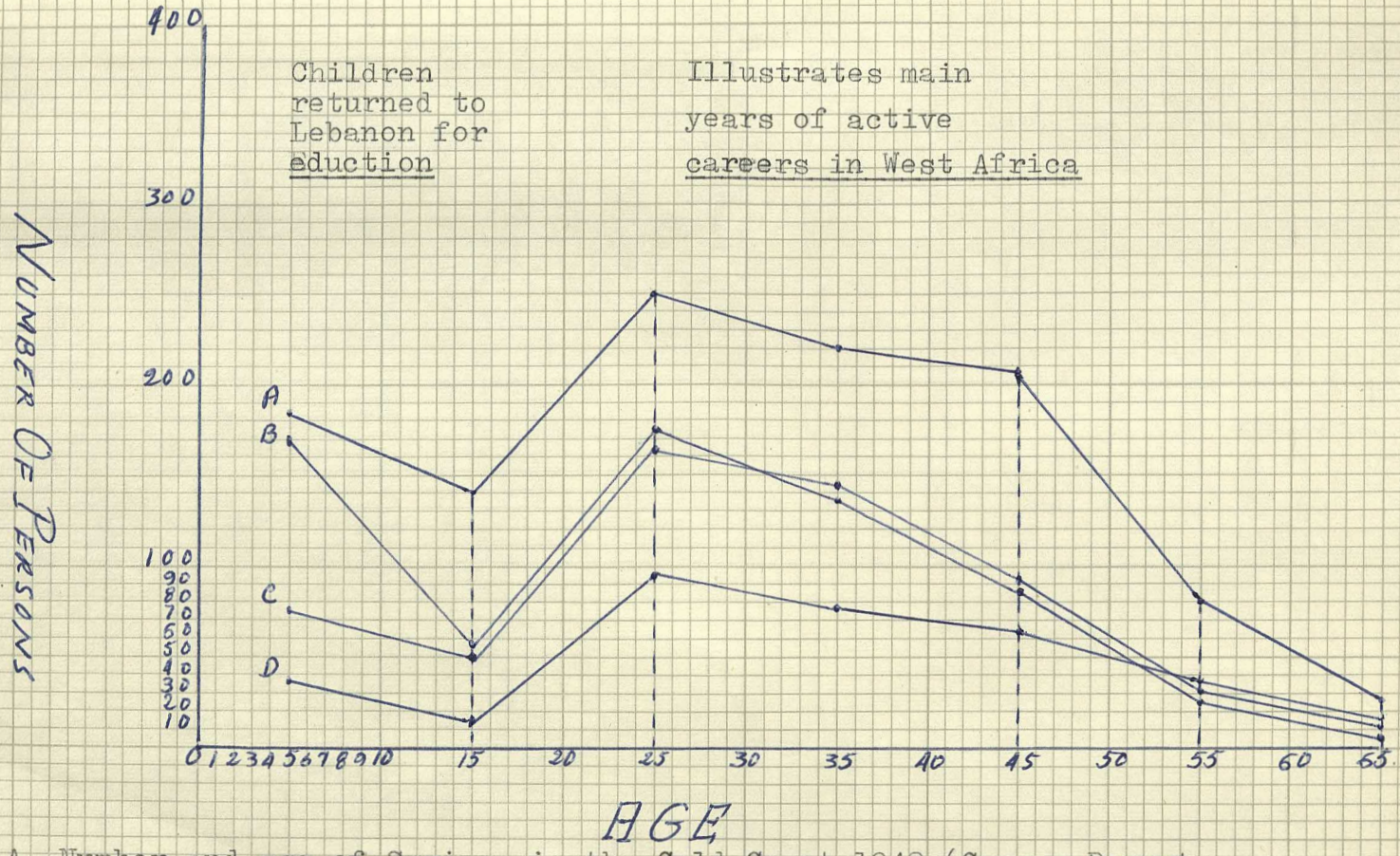
1. See above quotation from the Report of the Special Technical Committee for investigating the prospects of severing relations with France.

return of such emigrants, with their capital, who desire to do so, rather than to attempt to encourage any large-scale permanent home-coming within a short period of time.

Summing up, it would seem that the ideal solution for all these problems is certainly the possible assimilation of the Lebanese into the African economic and social community. The difference in colour, however, especially with the results it is giving in other territories in South, East and Central Africa, make such a possibility rather remote in present conditions; but the idea should not be given up as hopeless. In Africa things are changing very quickly, so that what is true now may no longer be so in a few years time. Given time and the right conditions assimilation may become a reality beneficial to all concerned.

A P P E N D I C E S

Lebanese and Syrians in West Africa according to Age



A--Number and age of Syrians in the Gold Coast 1948 (Census Report Gold Coast, 1948, pp.)

B--Number and age of Syrians in Sierra Leone 1931 (Census Report Sierra Leone, 1931, p. 32, 194).

C--Number and age of Syrians in the Gold Coast 1931 (Census Report for Gold Coast, 1931, Vol.II, pp. 25, 30.)

D--Number and age of Syrians in Lagos 1950 (Census Report for Lagos, 1950, pp.)

APPENDIX B

"Letter received from Mr. Fadlou Hourani, Honorary Consul for the Lebanon in Manchester, giving his opinion of the theory which suggests that the Syrians in West Africa came from the large Syrian community in Manchester."

As appears from the text, Mr. Hourani has had wide experience in Manchester and in dealings with West African traders, which gives great weight to his valuable opinion.

HONORARY CONSULATE OF LEBANON
MANCHESTER

Gresham House,
21 Chorlton Street,
Manchester 1.

Feb. 1st. 1957.

Mr. M.I. Hanna,
St. Catherines Society,
Oxford.

Dear Mr. Hanna,

In reply to your enquiry "How the Syrians came to West Africa", I would say that "the theory which suggests that the first Syrian to get to West Africa came from the large Syrian Community in Manchester" is entirely beside the mark.

I came to Manchester in 1891 and found about 20 Lebanese shipping houses here. Up to 1927 I had not heard nor known of any of them doing business in West Africa, their main activity being confined to the Middle East, and very few exporting to South America and the West Indies. In 1927 I got in touch, accidentally, with a Lebanese merchant from Lagos, Nigeria, and have continued to do business with all the British West African Colonies ever since. For your information I would add that the history of the community here goes back to 1870 when representatives of business houses in Beirut came over here to ship cotton goods to that, and other Middle East markets. In time some of them, like myself, got in touch with emigrants from Lebanon in other parts of the world, and have done business with them ever since. It is after the emigrants had established themselves in the various countries abroad that touch was established between them and the merchant community was

established, and not the reverse.

As for emigrants to British and French West Africa, like all early emigrants, they came from Northern Lebanon and I recall a friend called Micheal Elias from Mizyara telling me then, (that is 50 or 60 years ago), that he went to Nigeria before the British were there.

I hope I have given you the information you require, but if you care to come to Manchester some time I shall be glad to see you at any time after next week, when I shall be engaged elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,

F. Hourani.

APPENDIX C

The petition presented by the French traders in French Guinea on December 29, 1898 to the Governor General asking him to limit the activities of the Syrian (Lebanese) traders in French Guinea.

Unofficial translation from the exact text published in Aspe Fleuriment's, Conseiller du Commerce exterieur, La Guinée Française, Conakry et les Rivières du Sud, 1900, p. 319.

> "We the undersigned merchants, have the honour to expose to the Governor of Guinea, the real dangers which threaten the local trade, because of the Syrian merchants whose number is constantly increasing, and who are invading the principal trading centres in the colony. These merchants do not own any property or fixed commercial institutions, and yet they no more accept to content themselves with peddling in the streets as before, but have started to buy the rubber from the natives, and pay them cash prices higher than we can pay due to the various types of taxes imposed on us.
>
> "We carried on certain investigations which showed that the Syrian traders divert the caravans from their original courses and buy the rubber from them at an average of 800-900 kilograms each day, thus their daily purchases amount to 5,000 francs in cash.
>
> "What do the Syrians pay for this large trade? They pay nothing except for the small tax imposed on pedlars, while we have to pay various high expenses and duties such as the high rent fees, and the salaries of European employees, and the tax and duties on items like alcohol, tobacco, salt, etc.
>
> "We therefore ask that rapid measures be taken to counterbalance this disadvantage facing those who built in this colony vast commercial institutions, and helped increase its prosperity, at the hands of those newcomers who do not even own fixed places of business, but carry on trade in the public squares, and yet they keep buying

rubber from sunrise to sunset, thus competing destructively with local trade. To reach the desired ends we suggest taking the following measures:

First - Raise the tax imposed on foreigners to 600 francs on condition it is paid in cash and in advance, because these foreigners are constantly moving from one place to another and can easily escape payment if they were allowed to pay the tax by instalments.

Second - Prevent dealing with rubber in the public squares.

Third - Require every merchant to carry on his trade in a shop unless he is a petty trader, and in all events to observe closing his shop at noon each day.

Fourth - Impose a tax of 1,000 francs on any foreigner who owns a shop and at the same time deals with rubber in the public squares.

Fifth - Impose a residence tax of 500 francs on any foreign merchant who has been paying tax of the first degree for less than one year."

AUTHOR'S NOTE: For similar petitions presented by the Chambers of Commerce in the various French West African territories, see Jean Paillard, "La Fin des Français en Afrique Noire," Les Oeuvres Française, Paris, 1935.

APPENDIX D

Resolutions taken at the emigrants' congress held at Zahle, Lebanon between August 29 and September 4, 1955. (Unofficial translation from the original Arabic text.) Source: Department of Emigration, Beirut.

Note: Certain resolutions are not clear in their meaning, for example, the first resolution does not indicate whether the schools should be established in Lebanon or in the host countries. In this Appendix however an exact translation is presented without attempting to clarify the meaning.

A - Cultural Resolutions

1) The establishment of schools to teach the Arabic language to the emigrants' children.

2) To seek the adoption of Arabic as an optional language in the curriculum of the national schools of the host countries.

3) To establish in Lebanon a government run elementary and secondary school to teach the Spanish and Portuguese languages.

4) To publish a comprehensive history of Lebanon in various languages, and distribute it to all immigrants.

5) To publicize Lebanon in the host countries, by means of well staffed diplomatic missions, and by lecturers sent from Lebanon on tours in the various countries.

6) To establish clubs, libraries, publishing houses, news agencies, and a periodical about Lebanon in the various languages spoken in the host countries.

7) To organize broadcasting programmes designed specially for emigrants in Lebanon and abroad.

8) To exchange tours between Lebanon and the host countries, and encourage athletic competitions.

9) The production of films illustrating the Lebanese life at home and abroad.

10) To exchange cultural and art exhibitions between Lebanon and the host countries.

11) To hold joint conferences between Lebanese and emigrants of the same profession or vocation.

B - Economic Resolutions

12) To encourage, whenever the laws of the host countries permit, the formation of Chambers of Commerce and other similar agencies, to establish contacts with their counterparts in Lebanon, for the exchange of economic and commercial information.

13) To commission a national bank to study the economic projects in which the emigrants could invest.

14) To invest in the existing public utility projects whether Government owned or private.

15) To exert all necessary efforts to facilitate the movement of the immigrants' capital to Lebanon.

16) To prepare projects endeavouring to encourage the indigenous products and arts and to propagate it in the markets of the host countries.

17) To carry on the work started this year for enhancing the homecoming movement.

C - Political and Administrative Resolutions

18) To recognize as Lebanese all those who emigrated after August 1924, if they have kept their Lebanese nationality, and to take measures for their careful registration.

19) To recognize as full Lebanese citizens those who emigrated before August 1924, and who have opted for Lebanese nationality.

20) To issue a special decree extending the right to opt for Lebanese nationality to all those who have not done so before September 1956.

21) To amend the existing electoral laws in a way which will enable the emigrants to be represented in the Lebanese Parliament.

22) To enlarge the Emigration Department and entrust it with sufficient powers, and assign to it the task of executing these resolutions.

APPENDIX E-1

Lebanese Emigration Regulations establishing the Emigration Supervision Office to inquire into the means and prospects of every person applying to emigrate.

The contents of this Appendix have been secured from the files of the Department of Emigration, by special permission from the Director.

Unofficial translation from the original Arabic text.

No. 29442/13

Provisions to regulate emigration

To the Director of the Emigration Department.

In accordance with this Ministry's letter no. 1011/3 dated the 17th of January 1952 which was sent to the Prime Minister's office, concerning measures which should be taken to cut down the flow of Lebanese emigrants to foreign countries, please take the following measures;

1) Do not issue a passport to any applicant wishing to emigrate and settle permanently in a foreign country without consulting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration.

2) An applicant for an emigration permit should present to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration an application together with a certified statement of his financial means or a certified guarantee from a relative or friend already established in the country the applicant intends to emigrate to, assuring the applicant a permanent job with means enough to

provide for him and his family, and a guarantee that the established emigrant will pay for the travel expenses required to return the emigrant and his family to Lebanon in case the assured job is discontinued.

3) The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration shall then undertake the necessary investigations (especially concerning the financial means of the established emigrant - the guarantor) through the local authorities and through the Lebanese Missions, and in the light of these investigations the Ministry takes its final decision whether to grant the permission to emigrate or not.

4) Certain exceptional cases, such as when a wife wishes to join her emigrant husband, or children wishing to join their parents, or well-known Lebanese wishing to emigrate temporarily to do a specified work with established emigrants of reputed financial standing, shall be exempted from submitting to the above requirements.

5) A special office connected with the Department of Emigration shall be established in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, to execute these regulations. The office shall have a staff of two, under the direct control of the Director of Emigration.

Beirut, December 28, 1956.

Minister of Foreign Affairs
and Emigration.

Signed: Charles Malik.

Note: In a later decree the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration have decided to limit the number of emigration permits issued each year to 2,500, giving priority to applicants intending to go to West Africa as these keep their ties with Lebanon more than emigrants to the U.S. and South America.
Decree No. 4547/3/400/20/91, dated July 1, 1957.
(A copy in Arabic is in the author's possession).

APPENDIX B-2

Functions of the Department of Emigration of the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration.

Translated from the original text in Arabic contained in the Decree laying down the duties of the Director:

Article One:- The duties of the Director of the Department of Emigration shall be the direction and carrying out of the following functions of the Department of Emigration:

First - To establish contacts with returning or visiting emigrants and to deal with their problems.

Second - To enumerate the number of persons who emigrate each year from Lebanon and the number of emigrants who return permanently to Lebanon in the same period.

Three - To prepare and supervise, in co-operation with the Protocol Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, the receptions and parties given in honour of the returning and visiting emigrants, but the Department should not deal with matters relating to the costs of such receptions and parties.

Four - To study the conditions of needy Lebanese emigrants in foreign countries, who should be brought to Lebanon at Government expense, and to submit a report concerning each case to the Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration, who is the authorized

person to take final decisions.

Five - To compile and collect information which the emigrants ask for, concerning the conditions of their property in Lebanon and the best ways for exploiting and administering such property. The Department should also pursue on behalf of the emigrant any suit concerning such property, provided the Department had started it.

Six - To investigate the complaints which the emigrants present against the maritime, land transport, and aviation companies, and transfer them, in co-operation with the Ministry of Public Works, to the assigned agencies.

Seven - To sign the documents concerning the emigrants opting for Lebanese nationality, and to examine the evidence and documents presented and to decide on them.

Eight - To undertake the necessary measures required for the registration and counting of Lebanese emigrants.

On behalf of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Emigration

Signed: The Director General

Beirut, March 26, 1952.

APPENDIX F

Number of Lebanese families in Senegal, Soudan, Guinée Française, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria, by their origin in Lebanon. It should be noted that Southern Lebanon is mainly inhabited by Muslims of the Shiite sect, while in Mount Lebanon the majority are Christian Maronites. In the North the population is almost evenly divided into Christians and Muslims.

Southern Lebanon

Village	Senegal	Soudan	Guinee Française	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone	Ghana	Nigeria
Abassaya	50	0	0	7	0	0	2
Ainball	26	0	2	1	50	0	13
Aintruaf	2	16	4	0	2	4	0
Al-Chawyi	29	2	0	4	3	0	0
Al-Ramadya	6	1	1	1	4	0	0
Al-Ramayli	3	0	3	0	0	0	0
Al-Zarariya	49	0	1	20	o	0	6
Baarachit	18	2	0	1	0	0	0
Bintgoubail	11	0	0	0	22	0	0
Chakkra	58	2	1	1	0	0	2
Chama	11	0	0	0	1	0	1
Deir-Koubel	7	0	0	2	4	0	0
El-Bazouriyeh	20	5	21	0	5	0	0
Ghour	6	0	1	1	1	0	0
Hadasa	6	1	0	0	11	0	1
Hannawye	0	0	0	4	14	0	0
Hariz	3	1	0	0	45	2	0
Harouf	7	2	0	4	10	0	0

Village	Senegal	Soudan	Guinee Française	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone	Ghana	Nigeria
Jaj	1	-	1	-	-	12	-
Jezzin	17	-	-	2	-	2	-
Jwaya	2	5	74	15	6	-	177
Kana	82	-	31	17	4	-	-
Kub-Elias	129	1	1	11	-	-	-
Ita-elzutt	3	-	7	-	7	-	-
Kafarhuna	48	-	-	-	4	-	-
Nabattiyah	36	-	3	23	36	1	3
Nakurah	25	-	-	-	6	-	-
Ras-Kifa	2	-	-	-	-	2	6
Salima	9	4	1	-	-	-	-
Sayda	29	1	1	6	2	-	-
Sur	145	5	55	27	53	3	28
Mount Lebanon							
Al-Zalka	1	1	-	-	7	2	-
Amarit Chalhoub	6	-	-	1	7	-	-
Ba'abda	4	-	1	1	1	-	-
Bchamun	-	-	1	1	1	3	-
Beit Chabab	46	68	172	25	9	21	-
Beit el-cha'ar	25	1	-	-	3	30	-
Beit Meri	-	-	14	-	-	3	-
Bikfaya	9	-	35	15	-	13	-
Broumana	2	1	5	-	-	2	2
Dbaye	5	1	-	1	-	4	-
Deir el-Kamar	21	4	4	7	1	1	-
Dik el-mehdi	-	-	-	-	-	19	-
El-Khinchara	4	-	-	1	2	-	-
Hammana	1	1	1	2	-	-	-
Intilias	7	-	2	1	-	2	13
Jal el-dib	1	-	-	4	5	31	6
Jounie	4	12	-	-	-	-	1
Kurnayel	1	-	10	-	2	-	2

Village	Senegal	Soudan	Guinée Française	Ivory Coast	Sierra Leone	Ghana	Nigeria
Ras al-maten	4	-	5	4	14	3	10
Shweyfat	26	-	1	2	-	5	4
Souk al-gharb	1	2	1	-	-	-	2
Northern Lebanon							
Ainyakoub	27	-	-	-	-	-	-
Akkar al-atika	6	2	1	1	8	-	-
Bayno	1	23	4	16	27	-	-
Bazbina	15	3	-	1	-	-	-
Bishari	2	-	-	-	-	6	1
Beit millat	2	2	-	-	6	-	-
Bkarzala	3	1	-	2	2	8	6
Bourj akkar	15	3	4	-	15	-	2
Deir jnin	4	2	-	1	-	-	-
Hadas el-jibah	-	-	5	-	-	27	4
Halba	3	3	-	-	4	-	-
Jibrayel	-	2	4	2	7	-	-
Khirbet eljindi	-	2	-	-	2	-	1
Mizyara	3	-	-	-	6	4	136
Rahbe	-	1	-	-	69	-	2
Sabe'el	-	-	-	-	7	-	-
Tanourin	2	2	2	-	2	-	-
Tlelel	2	-	-	-	18	-	8
Zgorta	7	-	2	-	2	2	6
Cities							
Beirut	56	5	2	-	7	27	14
Tripoli	-	-	-	2	2	137	15
Zahle	10	-	4	2	-	2	-
Damascus	21	-	-	1	-	-	-
Homs	16	1	-	3	-	-	-

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This bibliography is an index of the most important sources relied on, rather than an exhaustive list. Many important general works on Africa and Lebanon have given valuable help in this study; they are so many, however, that only those specifically mentioned in the text are included here. The purpose of this list is to direct attention mainly though not exclusively, to certain primary sources in West Africa and Lebanon, some of them hitherto untapped.

Many of the primary unpublished sources are from official papers only made available by the Lebanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Emigration in token of its appreciation of the subject's importance. At its behest, specific mention has been made only of such papers as those cited in support of particular submissions; and these are the only sources included in the bibliography. The archives of the Ministère de la France d'Outre Mer, and the Government of Sierra Leone were similarly put at the author's disposal. But as the latter are not yet classified and indexed, accurate reference to them presents difficulties at the time of writing.

Unpublished information was secured in Lebanon and West Africa from private persons and institutions, most important of which were the voluminous notes of Mr. Abdullah Husheymi on his trips to North and South America, and West Africa. They not only contained illuminating descriptions of the immigrants'

conditions, and their relations with their new land and its people, but gave detailed statistics as to their numbers and distribution, and accounts of interesting interviews with many immigrants.

Magazine articles and newspapers mentioned in the text are also included in the bibliography. The author's interviews with many Africans, Europeans and Lebanese are not listed specifically, since they would elaborate this bibliography beyond effective brevity.

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M A P S

MAURITANIA

ST. LOUIS

LOUGA

SELIBABY

MBAKE

DAKAR

THIES

DIOURBEL

KHOMBOLE

KAYES

BAMBEY

M'BOUR

FATICK

SENEGAL

GUINQUINED

KAOLACK

SEG

GAMBIA

BATHURST

BAMAKO

FARIM

PORTUGUESE

GUINEA

BISSAU

BOLAMA

LABE

SIGUIRI

BUBAQUE

GUINEA

BOKE

MAMOU

KANKAN

KINDIA

CONAKRY

SIERRA

MAKENI

FREETOWN

LEONE

BONTHE

GANTA

GBARNGA

LIBERIA

DAOLA

ROBERTSPORT

MONROVIA

GRAND BASSA

CAP PALMAS

DISTRIBUTION OF LEBANESE IN WEST AFRICA

LOCALITIES	WITH	UNDER 10	LEBANESE	FAMILIES
"	"	10 - 30	"	"
"	"	30 - 100	"	"
"	"	OVER 100	"	"

GAO

MOPTI

S O U D A N

DORI

SEGOU

SAN

U P P E R

BAMAKO

OUAGADOUGOU

V O L T A

SIGUIRI

BOBO - DIOULASSO

A

KANKAN

D A H O M E

G O L D

C O A S T

I V O R Y

T O G O

BOUAKE

ATAKPAME

GANTA

GBARNGA

C O A S T

(G H A N A)

DAOLA

KUMASI

PORTO-NOVO

LOME

GAGNOE

AGBOVILLE

ACCRA

ABIDJAN

DABOU

GRAND BASSAH

SECONDI

CAP PALMAS

GAO

N I G E R

DORI

NIAMEY

ZINDER

P E R

AGADOUGOU

T A

KANO

ZARIA

D A H O M E Y

N I G E R I A

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IBADAN

N A)

PORTO-NOVO

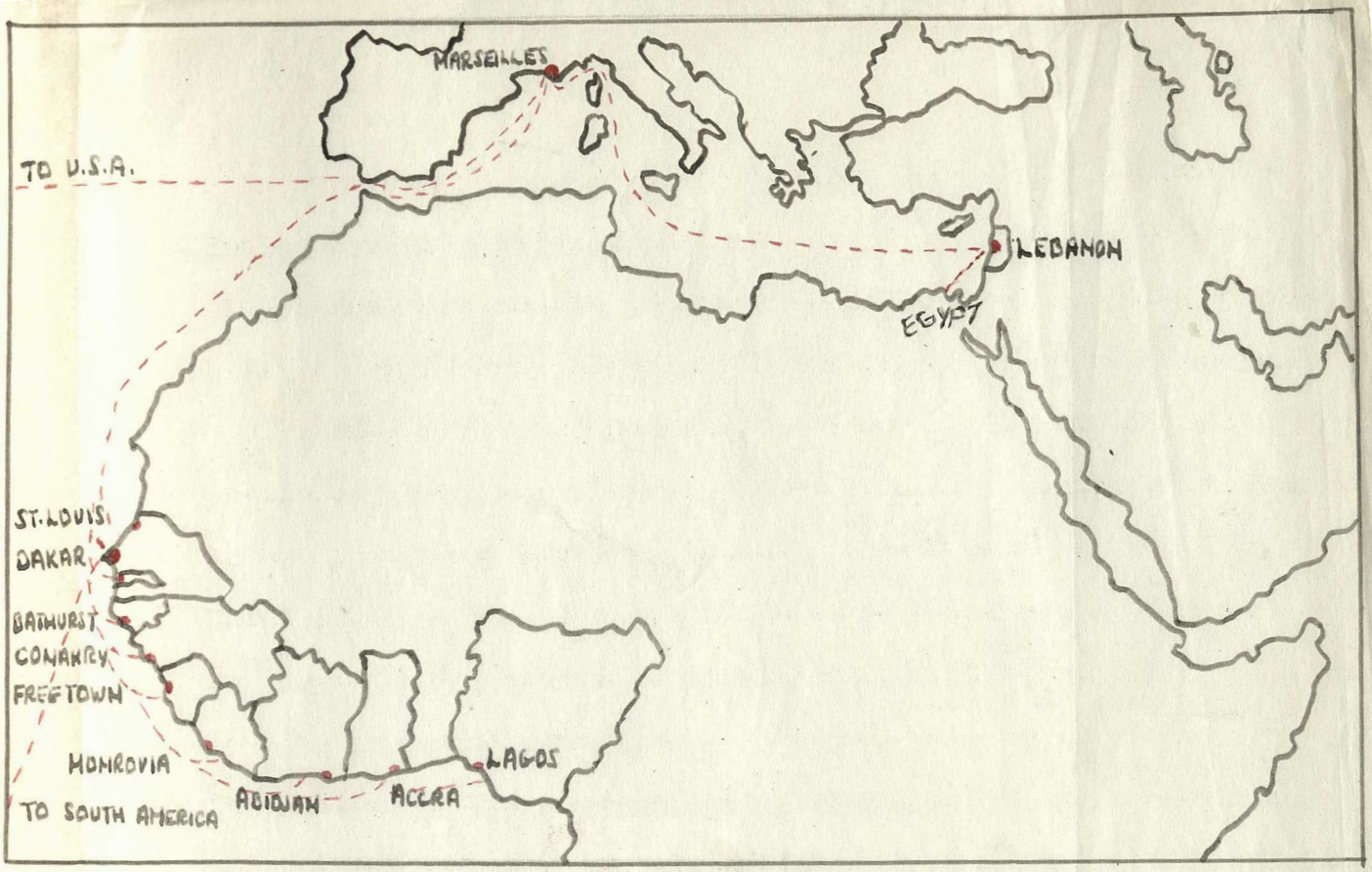
LAGOS

LOME

ACCRA

CALABAR

PORT HARCOURT



LEBANESE EMIGRATION ROUTES TO EGYPT,

UNITED STATES, SOUTH AMERICA AND WEST AFRICA.