

San Fernando Valley State College

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF ARMENIANS IN
FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in

Geography

by

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January, 1972

The thesis of Armen Don Minasian is approved:

San Fernando Valley State College

November, 1971

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to extend gratitude to all who contributed unselfishly to the research and preparation of this thesis.

Many people in Fresno gave much time and assistance to me in my endeavor. Thanks goes to Mr. Galen Larson, senior microfilmer of the County Recorder's Office, who aided me in locating the plotting the numerous tract restrictions against Armenians in Fresno. In addition, Mr. Ron Mahoney, librarian of Fresno State College's Woodward Library, made available old maps of Fresno, Polk Directories, and offered helpful suggestions. Both men gave encouragement during the research stage of this thesis.

Members of the college faculty and staff contributed in several ways. Charlotte Oyer, the reference librarian, withstood the constant barrage of my many inter-library loan requests. I am also indebted to the members of my committee who provided me with succor and useful ideas. Special thanks is extended to Dr. Elliot McIntire who survived my innumerable intrusions. It was his warmth both in a personal and academic capacity that made my task a valuable and rewarding experience.

I am appreciative of several people who promptly answered my letters with detailed information. I am also thankful to Greg Poseley who was immensely helpful and patient in assisting me with the preparation of my maps. I acknowledge with warm thanks my fellow graduate students and friends, both here at the college and in Fresno, who took an active interest in this thesis.

Armen Minasian
Chatsworth Lake

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated with admiration and affection to those Armenians who like my father were fortunate enough to escape from the first genocide of the twentieth century.

PREFACE

Throughout this thesis will appear the Armenian word odar, a term for anyone who is not Armenian, more precisely Americans. This paper will also use the word Armenian to denote those persons either born in Armenia or Americans of Armenian descent. The word American will be employed as a generic term for the general culture of the United States as represented in Fresno, California, by the vast majority of the population there. Defining American culture is an onerous task and a burden all its own, not germane to this present study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
DEDICATION	v
PREFACE	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	x
ABSTRACT	xii
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Need for Study Purpose and Approach of Thesis Study Area and Data Sources Methodology </div>	
II. THE CULTURAL HERITAGE	17
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Introduction The Armenian Church The Armenian Language Turkish Oppression and the Armenian Massacres Armenian Immigration to the United States </div>	
III. ARMENIAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN FRESNO . . .	30
<div style="padding-left: 40px;"> Historical Background of Fresno County Armenian Settlement in Fresno Armenians and Fresno County Agriculture Settlement Locations Composition of Armenian Concentrations </div>	

CHAPTER	Page
IV. FACTORS SHAPING ARMENIAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS	61
Introduction	
Influence of the Armenian Family	
The Religions of the Armenians in Fresno	
The Effect of Prejudice Against Armenians	
Prejudice of Armenians Towards Others	
V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	100
Introduction	
Summary of Factors	
Conclusions	
Future Patterns	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	107
APPENDIX	113

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Population of Fresno from Earliest Census to 1960	35
2. Estimated Membership of Armenian Churches in Fresno, ca. 1960	74

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. The Built-Up Residential Areas of Fresno . .	10
2. The Six Armenian Vilayets (Provinces) of the Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century	23
3. Location of Fresno City and County within the San Joaquin Valley	31
4. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1900	41
5. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1910	44
6. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1920	47
7. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1933	49
8. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1940	52
9. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1951/52	54
10. Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1960	57
11. Years of Location of the Major Armenian Churches	67
12. Restrictive Race Covenants Affecting Armenian Settlement	88
13. Black Population in Fresno, 1960	96
14. Mexican Population in Fresno, 1960	98

Plate		Page
I.	Photo of St. Paul's Armenian Apostolic Church	70
II.	Photo of First Armenian Presbyterian Church of Fresno	77
III.	Photo of Pilgrim Armenian Congregational Church	79

ABSTRACT

Armenian Settlement Patterns in Fresno, California

by

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Master of Arts in Geography

January, 1972

An ancient people, Armenians have lived in the general area that is now eastern Turkey and northern Iraq for nearly three thousand years. With their acceptance of Christianity in the fourth century, and more importantly their subsequent religious isolation from other Christian sects, Armenians developed a separate and unique culture.

Due to the Turkish policy of genocide against Armenians in the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Armenians bade farewell to their homeland in large numbers. American missionaries had gone to Turkey in 1831, and from these evangelists Armenians had learned of America. It was to escape the despotism of the Ottomans, attendant with the knowledge of a better life in America, that Armenians migrated to America. In America two large Armenian colonies developed, the largest one in New England around Boston, and the other colony in the San Joaquin Valley centered on Fresno, California.

Armenian settlement in Fresno began in 1881, and by 1920 there were nearly five thousand Armenians living there. Armenians immediately clustered together in an enclave which was located in the blighted residential areas of the city. The institution of the family and the role of the Armenian Churches were two salient forces accounting for their clustered pattern of settlement. The cohesive effect of these two institutions were reinforced appreciably by the prejudice and general suspicion against the Armenians almost immediately encountered upon their arrival to the area. The prejudice against the ethnic group had a spatial character to it, in the numerous restrictive covenants which legally prevented Armenians from living in many localities in Fresno. Hence, the family, the church, and the prejudice against Armenians all helped to shape early Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno.

Second-generation Armenians were faced with the transition from an old culture to a new culture, and to many of them Old World values held little value in the American environment. The dispersal of Armenians away from the enclave in the 1940's was, in part, by the second-generation. This trend away from the ethnic enclave

became significant during the 1950's, in part due to the outlawing of the restrictive racial covenant as a legal tool for segregation in America.

This suburbanization of Armenians in Fresno continued unabated, and by 1960 over one-half of the ethnic group no longer resided in a compact enclave, and many were scattered among the city's general population. Because of the desire to find better housing and an equal, if not stronger desire to escape the progressive encroachment of blacks and Mexicans in Fresno, it is postulated that the trend towards suburbanization among Armenians should continue in the future.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Most American cities and urbanized areas have for years contained large populations with diverse cultural backgrounds. Most of these cultural groups have settled in rather compact and homogeneous sections of a city, distinct from others, and in many cases, such groups continue to inhabit particular areas of a city. These ethnic or cultural enclaves have become a fixture of most urban areas in America (Clark, 1966, p. 205). Not surprisingly, then, students of cultural geography, as well as those in other social sciences, have been keenly interested in the distribution of these peoples, and perhaps more importantly, in the evolution of their settlement patterns.

Fresno, California, is an excellent example of an American city with considerable heterogeneity in its ethnic composition, despite its being a medium-sized city. In fact, it is frequently suggested that Fresno contains a greater diversity of peoples than any city in the United States with the exception of New York (California Crossroads, 1965, p. 62). Among Fresno's many diverse groups

are the Armenians--one of the city's oldest and largest ethnic groups. A white, ethnic minority, the Armenians are estimated to total between ten and twelve thousand in Fresno, and it is their settlement in Fresno which constitutes the heart of this present study.

Need for Study

Ethnic groups such as the Jews, Italians, Puerto Ricans, etc., have been rather carefully and rigorously studied, while other groups have been studied to a small extent. The study of Armenians is a case in point.

Armenians are seldom thought of as a minority group. Indeed, they are seldom thought of at all.

Little has been written about Armenians in comparison to the other ethnic and racial groups in American cities. What has been written at all has been primarily historical in character; geographic studies of Armenians in American cities and urban areas are non-existent. This may be due to the following: (1) a high degree of economic and social success among Armenians in the United States prevails; (2) population for Armenians cannot be measured from census materials; and (3) Armenians are one of the smallest ethnic groups in America. Accurate statistics on the size of the Armenian community in America do not exist;

however, this study estimates the total number of Armenians in the United States in 1960 at around two-hundred thousand.¹

¹All population figures on the number of Armenians living in America are estimates, some more cautious and reliable than others. While there are only a few estimates, the sources differ greatly on the total number. One highly respected student of Armenian population statistics, Vahe Sarafian ("Turkish Armenian and Expatriate Population Statistics" Armenian Review, 1956, 9:3), writes that there are some 329,000 Armenians in America, a figure which this writer views with skepticism. This author's estimate of 200,000 Armenians in the United States is based on the following: Nazarety Barsumian, Stowaway to Heaven (Barrington, Illinois: Armenian Information Bureau, 1960), figures that the number of Armenians in 1960 in America to be some 200,000 (p. 46). Vahan Kurkjian, A History of Armenia (New York: Armenian General Benevolent Union, 1958), estimates the number to be around 150,000 Armenians in the U.S.; H. Boghosian, Highlights of Armenian History and Its Civilization (Pasadena, California: the Author, 1957), places the figure at somewhere between 150,000 and 200,000 Armenians in America. The estimate in this present study is also based, in part, on personal correspondence with G. H. Chopourian, Executive Secretary of the Armenian Missionary Association of America, January 13, 1971, and is further reinforced by the knowledge that the figures given for the number of Armenians in Fresno are likewise subject to exaggeration.

Purpose and Approach of Thesis

The paramount concern of this thesis is to describe the urban settlement patterns of Armenians in Fresno, and to examine the factors which either retarded or contributed to the patterns through time. The period covered is from ca. 1900, when the number of Armenians in Fresno became readily identifiable, to 1960. Further, I intend to show that the changes of Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno were primarily the result of socio-cultural and legal factors. In order to accomplish this objective, the following questions should be examined:

(1) Who are the Armenians, that is, what are the salient features of the Armenian culture, and is there anything within the group's cultural heritage which may shed some light on their settlement in Fresno?

(2) Most importantly, why and where did the ethnic group as a whole reside in Fresno through time, and were the factors which affected their settlement patterns constant through time or were they of varying influence?

Preliminary research has clearly shown that, like many other ethnic groups, there was great diversification of economic activities for Armenians early in their settlement in Fresno. However, Armenians had quickly

built their foundations in business, "having escaped to a great extent from the wage-earning classes" (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, p. 651). In 1915 there were some three hundred Armenian business establishments in Fresno.¹ One report observed about the rapid entrance of Armenians in business:

. . . Armenian business men are far more numerous [in relation to the other ethnic groups in Fresno] . . . their business interests are extensive. (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, p. 651).

While many of these Armenian businesses were small stores, such as groceries, shoe repairing and tailoring, they compared favorably in terms of trade with those of native Fresnoans. As the United States Immigration Commission noted about the development of these small Armenian businesses, "a small establishment is soon developed into a remunerative business" (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, p. 651). Often times, the names of these Armenian businesses were identifiable, reflecting place names in the Old Country. For example, there was as late as 1925 an Ararat Cash Market, located in the center of the Armenian community, whose name was clearly

¹This statement based on perusal of Fresno City and County Directory, 1915 (Sacramento, 1915).

derived from Mount Ararat in the Old Country. In any case, by 1915, Armenians in Fresno had established their foundations in business, and had adapted themselves to the American economy (Mirak, 1965, p. 147).

Armenians entering business in Fresno, however, were perceived as an "intrusion" by other Fresnoans. This perceived "intrusion" was undoubtedly a factor in the prejudice and discriminatory practices, amplified later, levelled at the Armenians by odars. That the hostility of other Fresnoans was rooted in economic competition was noted:

The Armenians are condemned by the business men of Fresno because most of them are business men . . . part of the criticism of the Armenians is no doubt due to the jealousy of an unusually successful class settling in increasing numbers (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, pp. 662, 668).

Generally speaking, the economic structure of the Armenians in Fresno did not have great impact on their settlement patterns. That is, their clustering in an enclave for many years in Fresno was not due to their occupational structure, since as early as 1915 Armenians had established their roots in Fresno businesses and were entering the large economic middle class (Nelson, 1954a, p. 103). This is not to say that there was no influence

whatsoever of their economic structure, but rather that the local Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno appear not to be indicative of their economic structure. While other ethnic groups' limited business opportunities impelled them to settle in areas commensurate with their earnings (i.e., an enclave), Armenian settlement in Fresno was more reflective of socio-cultural and legal factors.

The research into the nature of any immigrant group properly includes an analysis of their culture and its institutions. The organization of the family and institution of religion are indispensable, and often identifiable, elements in most ethnic group's culture. These two institutions--family and religion--are essential to this study. Since ethnic groups do differ markedly in a great many social and psychological attributes, an examination of the traditional aspects of the Armenian family and of their intense attachment to their rather unique religion is imperative. These two institutions, important to the Armenians in the Old Country, were ineluctably called upon to soften the deprivations of settlement in a new, alien cultural environment. Hence, they are also important factors in Armenian settlement in Fresno.

Another significant factor in most ethnic group's settlement in urban areas is the absence or presence of legal regulations on where they may reside. Often these regulations (except for racial zoning) fall under the generic name of restrictive racial covenants. These were legal agreements (and were judicially enforceable) whereby a group viewed as undesirable by the dominant white-native society was legally prohibited from residing in specific sections or localities of a city, invariably the more desired (middle-class) sections of town.

Although this restriction on where one may live is an often-stated factor in such studies as the present one, it is seldom researched in any detail for any ethnic or racial groups, except perhaps for blacks. For example, one very recent study, while acknowledging the patent significance of these covenants on the urban settlement patterns of Los Angeles Koreans, does no more than to say that this factor is "perhaps the most important of all, the lifting of residential restrictions enabling Koreans to rearrange their settlement patterns" (Lee, 1970, p. 4). This present study includes an investigation into the extent and effect of the prevailing discriminatory atmosphere in Fresno against Armenians, but more importantly,

its manifestation in restrictive racial covenants against the ethnic group. The map revealing the spatial extent of covenants against Armenians is constructed from a survey of tract restrictions in the official records of Fresno County, complemented with appropriate plat maps in the Fresno County Hall of Records.

Study Area and Data Sources

An inquiry into the urban settlement patterns of Armenians, this thesis includes that portion of the legal city of Fresno and the contiguous built-up areas of Fresno County, generally corresponding to those areas outlined in Figure 1. Fresno has continually, though erratically, undergone growth, and the built-up area has naturally increased through time. Therefore, the area in which this present study takes place has not remained static through time, and so, the exact area under study cannot be rigorously delineated for any given time. In this thesis, the precise spatial extent of the area is of secondary importance; what is more fundamental are the patterns of Armenian settlement in that portion of urban (built-up) Fresno, as the built-up area increased through time.

Fresno was not divided into census tracts until 1960, and what official data there are for Fresno are somewhat

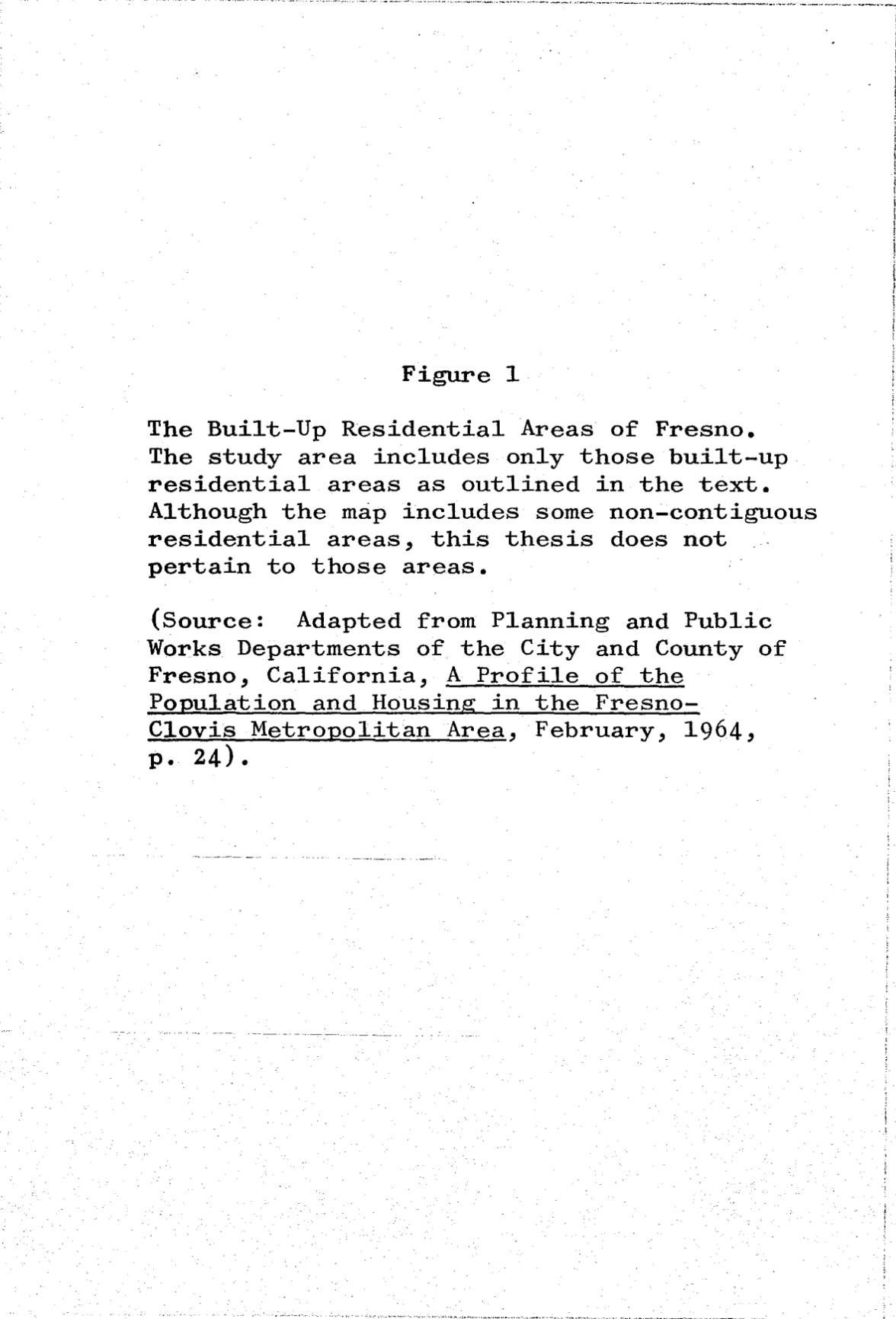


Figure 1

The Built-Up Residential Areas of Fresno.
The study area includes only those built-up residential areas as outlined in the text. Although the map includes some non-contiguous residential areas, this thesis does not pertain to those areas.

(Source: Adapted from Planning and Public Works Departments of the City and County of Fresno, California, A Profile of the Population and Housing in the Fresno-Clovis Metropolitan Area, February, 1964, p. 24).

BUILT-UP RESIDENTIAL AREAS OF FRESNO

BY ISABODES *

1937

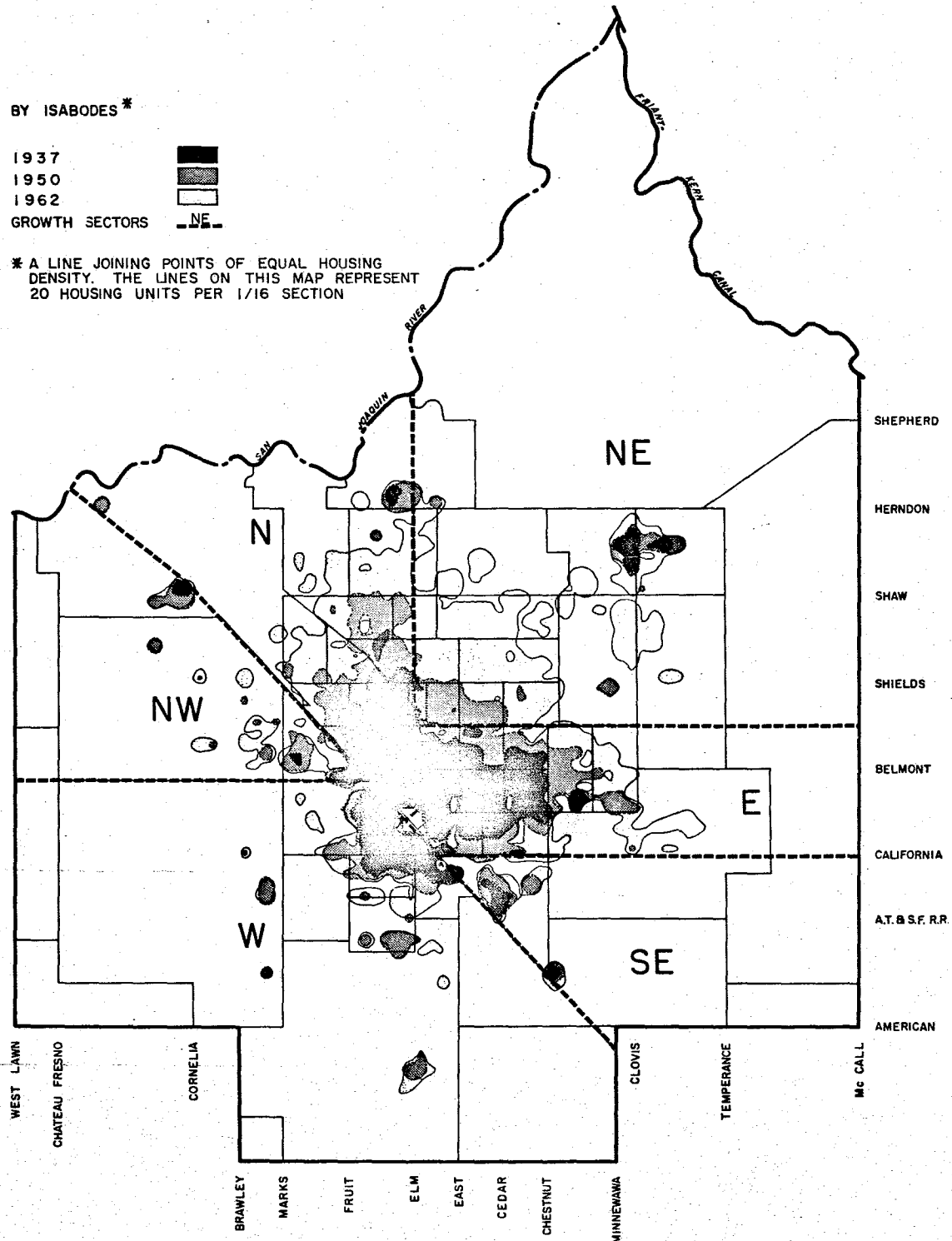
1950

1962

GROWTH SECTORS



* A LINE JOINING POINTS OF EQUAL HOUSING DENSITY. THE LINES ON THIS MAP REPRESENT 20 HOUSING UNITS PER 1/16 SECTION



Based on a map prepared by the Fresno County Planning Dept.

misleading. Surrounded by the corporate limits of the City of Fresno there were and still are some tracts of developed land belonging to the County of Fresno. There also existed some small areas of agriculture within the municipal limits and were included under the category of Fresno City in the official data. While this study sometimes encompasses more than the corporate limits of the City of Fresno, there is, for the purposes of this present study, no other entity which can be utilized for purposes of obtaining data, and so we are resolved to employ data for the legal entity of the City of Fresno.

Since Armenians are not distinguished as a group, population statistics for the ethnic group cannot be measured from census materials. Thus, it was necessary for this researcher to turn to the community itself for data. It has been for this reason that local city directories, augmented with some census material for Fresno, were used as principal sources of data for this thesis.

Although city directories have shortcomings, they are remarkably valuable sources of information for studies such as the present one. Since 1881 a city directory has been published of persons living in Fresno and surrounding areas. These very early directories were published at

irregular intervals, randomly selected by the publishers. It was not until 1906 that R. L. Polk and Company published its first city directory of Fresno, and have done so every year (R. Gibbons, Manager-Pacific Coast District R. L. Polk and Company, personal correspondence, December 22, 1970). With the exception of the 1900 city directory,¹ all city directories employed in this thesis were published by R. L. Polk and Company. Since some Polk directories of Fresno were missing in local libraries in which they were deposited, it was necessary to consult one additional source and to use one city directory which deviated from the normal decennial pattern used throughout this study, in order to show cartographically the distribution of Armenian householders in Fresno.

A substantial part of the population data as well as other information came from the many personal interviews and letters with Armenian religious leaders and realtors in the area. Personal observation at the principal Armenian churches was another source of material for this study. This author's attendance on various, non-festive

¹The directory referred to was published by the Fresno Directory Company (Fresno, California: Franklin Printing House, 1900).

Sundays supplied some material on the general size and relative age of those who attended the churches' sermons.

Methodology

The methodology employed to map the distribution of Armenian householders in Fresno was that of Distinctive Armenian names listed in the Polk directories, and in one instance, the Armenian Directory for the State of California, 1933.¹ Armenian last names are easy to discern and quite identifiable, invariably ending in "ian" or "yan"--Saroyan, Davidian, Manoogian, Simonian, etc. In the few cases where the last names have been changed (an absence of the "ian"), the first name of the individual householder often stands out as clearly Armenian--Aram, Armen, Arshag, Haig, Dickran, Kevork, etc. Therefore, by using distinctive Armenian last names and first names, an accurate portrayal of their settlement patterns in Fresno is possible. Because of discrepant population estimates, this method of Armenian last name of householders, in conjunction with a "family factor," is used

¹The use of distinctive names as a methodology in such studies as the present one is well established. See Richard Gerston, "Jewish Population Patterns in Cities of the United States" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Geography, San Fernando Valley State College, 1970).

in the present study to substantiate Armenian population figures for Fresno given by other sources.

One apparent flaw, however, in the above method would be wholesale intermarriage among Fresno Armenians. Research has indicated that intermarriage among first-generation Fresno Armenians was very rare, and still does not yet represent significant choices to the second- and third- generation Armenians (Treudley, 1946, p. 717).

While intermarriage among Armenians in Fresno has risen since their settlement in Fresno, it has not been significant enough to prevent the accurate mapping of Armenian settlement patterns. The intermarriage rate for both first- and second- generation Armenians in Fresno was only eighteen percent, "a very low figure compared to most ethnic groups"¹ (Nelson, 1954a, p. 45). In addition, the majority of intermarriage among Armenians in Fresno has been by Armenian males rather than females.

Included in the present study's methodology was a prior and first-hand knowledge of Fresno, California, though more important was the personal, intuitive knowledge of the Armenian culture. Innumerable field trips

¹Nelson writes that "there are too few third-generation individuals [Armenians] who have married to be counted."

into the area as well as interviews and correspondence supplied some necessary background. Much information, especially the history of Armenians in the area, and primary data from the Polk directories and the Official Records in the Hall of Records for Fresno County, was obtained from local libraries and governmental agencies there.

CHAPTER II

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Introduction

From the sixth century B.C. until the dissolution of the ephemeral republic in 1922, when Armenia became a Soviet Republic, the Armenian people have seldom been free from foreign domination. During its three thousand years of history, Armenia has been conquered repeatedly. Situated athwart the natural passageway between the Iranian Plateau and the verdant lands of central Asia Minor, it has been Armenia's dubious distinction to have sporadically served as a pawn of the world's great powers (Nelson, 1954b, p. 8). The Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Seljuk Turks, the Mongols, and most recent, the Ottoman Turks have conquered the country. There were exceptions, to be sure, notably the reigns of the great Tigranes (95-54 B.C.) and Tiridates (ca. 265-315 A.D.). However, when Sultan Muhammad II overran Constantinople in 1453, the Armenians became subjects of the Islamic Turks, never attaining their independence except for a few years following World War I. These incessant

invasions have profoundly affected the Armenian people and their institutions.

Throughout this long history of subjugation to outside powers, however, Armenia managed to develop a considerable amount of national autonomy. The kingdom of Armenia could be rather easily defeated, but not occupied. While under the dominion of the great rulers of the times, her immediate rulers were, with few exceptions, Armenian, for topography made the creation of a central political power capable of maintaining an independent state a very arduous task. Attendant to geographical isolation were two other powerful factors that fostered and perpetuated the Armenian culture and nationality--an Armenian Christian religion and an Armenian alphabet.

The Armenian Church

No other aspect of Armenian history and culture has been as important to the Armenians as their acceptance of Christianity (La Piere, 1930, p. 36). The Armenian Church has played a principal role in the spiritual and day-to-day lives of the people. It has also been the most important unifying force keeping the Armenian people together as a distinct nationality. With the acceptance

of Christianity, the ethnic unification of Armenia was achieved, for this new religion prohibited mixture with non-Christians, especially later the Turks. Marriage of an Armenian with a Turk was not only explicitly forbidden by the Armenian Church, but was loathed by Armenians who believed that such a fate was worse than death (Nelson, 1954a, p. 43). Preferring death to apostasy, the Armenian people have unswervingly adhered to Christianity, more particularly to their venerable Church. Moreover, the Armenian Church contributed to an intense, common awareness of their historical destiny as Armenians (Mirak, 1965, p. 44).

The Armenian Church dates back to the beginning of the fourth century when by royal edict Christianity was proclaimed the state religion--the world's first state religion. Before this time, an Irano-Greek paganism prevailed in Armenia (Der Nersessian, 1970, p. 74). Though it is frequently reported that the conversion of the Armenian King Tiridates by Saint Gregory the Illuminator in 301 A.D. was responsible for this momentous event, it is highly probable that the new faith had seeped into the area at least a hundred years before.

It should be pointed out, however, that the Armenian Church is independent and not connected with any other

Christian churches. This phenomenon occurred at Chalcedon in 451 A.D. (the fourth ecumenical council) when the nature of the relationship between Christ and God was officially formulated. While the Roman and Greek Churches had accepted the Chalcedon decision, the Armenians denounced it, and were consequently isolated from the churches of Constantinople and Rome. Thereafter the Church of Armenia¹ was founded and maintained its independence under its own autocephalous hierarchy. This religious isolation, quite similar to the Jews, became a significant factor in the development of Armenian culture which was founded primarily on religion. It is axiomatic that had the Armenian Church remained a part of the other churches, Armenian national consciousness would have been immeasurably weakened (La Piere, 1930, p. 39).

The Armenian Language

A significant, though less pervasive unifying force was the Armenian language. This Indo-European language, whose alphabet was devised in 414 A.D. by the Armenian monk, St. Mesrop, contributed to ethnic unification of the

¹It is also known as the Armenian Apostolic Church or the Holy Apostolic Church of Armenia.

Armenian people by strengthening the national character and the influence of the Church. The alphabet provided the Church with a vernacular for its rites and ritual all its own. Moreover, this creation led the way for the golden age of Armenian literature, which, in union with the Church, further molded the identity of the Armenian people. Williams writes:

Their mother tongue became the language of the sanctuary, and exerted an immense and enduring influence in sustaining the national life and consciousness under conditions likely to have been fatal to both. Religion, language, and literature were the binding force which kept solid the national life. So firm a grip did these take on the people as a whole that the national life survived these political changes which slowly deprived them of any separate political existence (Williams, 1916, p. 67).

Turkish Oppression and the Armenian Massacres

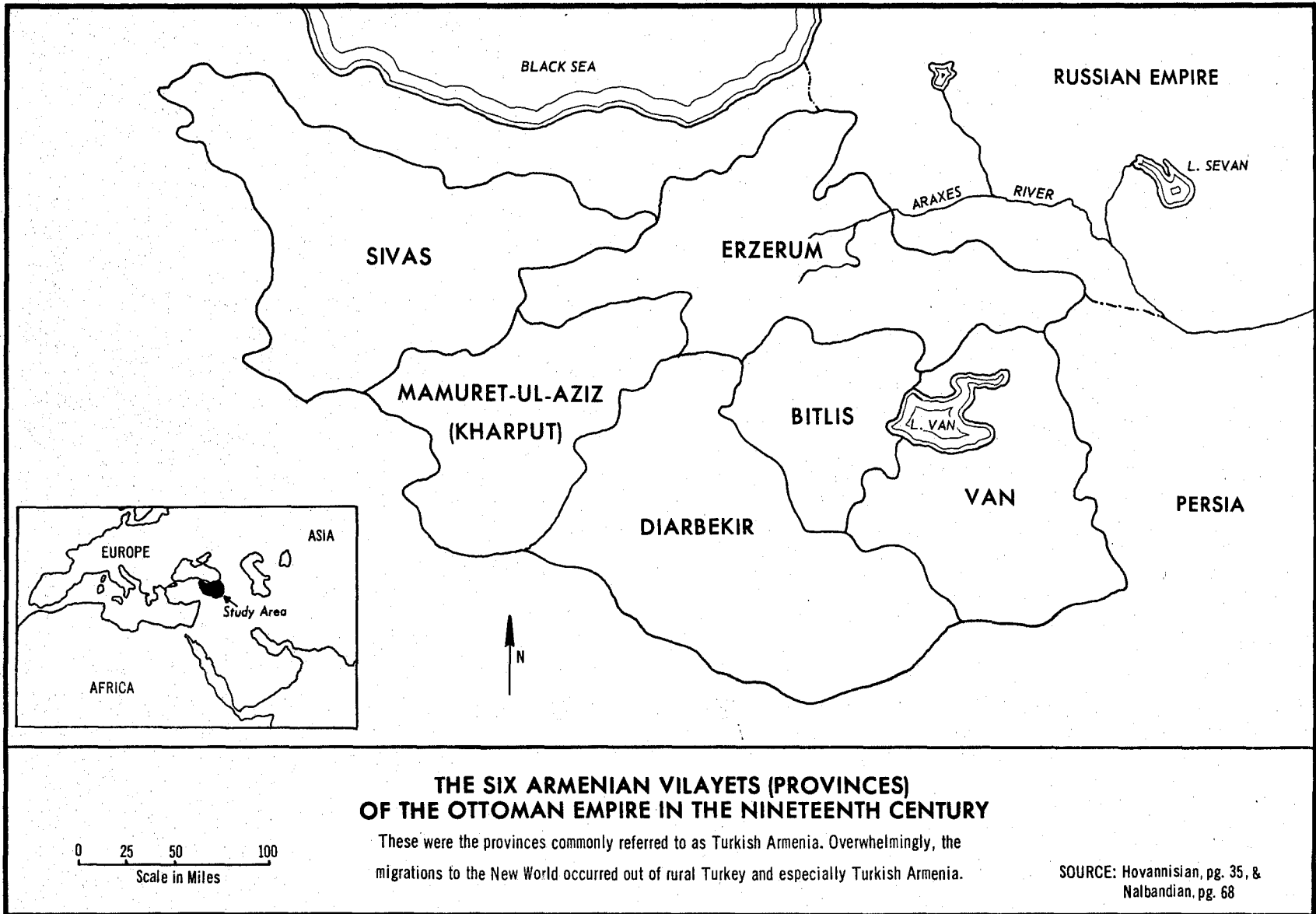
None of the pre-Turkish powers which vanquished Armenia ever occupied the country. However, when the Turks overran Asia Minor in the fifteenth century, the ancient homeland of the Armenians subsequently became the home of the Turks and later also of the nomadic Kurds. Relations between Moslems and Christians were tepid at best, but through time a mutual adjustment did develop. This social equilibrium was severely shaken in the nineteenth century when Czarist Russia extended her sphere

of influence into the Transcaucasus by implanting the parturient seeds of Armenian political autonomy. The Western powers, in the true spirit of the times, feared the Russian encroachment into an area where they themselves eagerly sought influence. They set out to thwart Russian influence in the area by bringing about negotiations with the Turks. The Armenian people became quarry between Russia and the West, principally Great Britain. Both sides clamored for the Sultan to enact sorely-needed social and economic reforms in the traditionally Armenian provinces of Eastern Turkey (See Figure 2). These solicitous reforms demanded by the great powers were not for humanitarian purposes, but rather were for whatever political gain that could be wrought. Presenting a plea for autonomy in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin, the Armenians thereby became a painful thorn in the side of the angered Sultan who aimed to reduce the causes for Russian interference by wiping out the Christian minority in Turkey (Arpee, 1946, p. 293). Upon whatever pretext that could be fabricated, carefully planned pogroms occurred in the thirty years following 1890.¹ While the

¹It is interesting to note that the French government coined the phrase "crimes against humanity" during the first World War to describe the Turkish acts against the Armenians.

Figure 2: The Six Armenian Vilayets (Provinces) of the Ottoman Empire in the Nineteenth Century

It was here, in these six provinces, where the majority of the Armenian Population in Ottoman Turkey lived.



**THE SIX ARMENIAN VILAYETS (PROVINCES)
OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

These were the provinces commonly referred to as Turkish Armenia. Overwhelmingly, the migrations to the New World occurred out of rural Turkey and especially Turkish Armenia.

SOURCE: Hovannisian, pg. 35, &
Nalbandian, pg. 68

United States and Great Britain pursued courses of vacillation and meek diplomacy, and Germany gave her tacit encouragement to the Turkish policy of genocide, one and a half-million Armenians perished from these atrocities diligently carried out by the official Turkish government.¹

Though difficult to weigh precisely, some of the reasons behind the deliberate policy of extermination are rather easy to discern. One of the more patent explanations lay in the religious schism between the Turks and the Armenians. For centuries the Armenians had proudly maintained a Christian island in a Moslem sea. In fact, the terms Christian and Armenian were used synonymously for centuries in Turkey. As Christians, however, the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire were severely discriminated against. Armenians were taxed more heavily than the Moslems, prohibited from possessing arms, and their testimony was unacceptable in the courts (Sarkissian, 1956, pp. 17-19).

¹This figure is perhaps conservative, for Leon Arpee in History of Armenian Christianity (Princeton: University Press, 1946), states that "the atrocities . . . reduced the Armenian population of Turkey . . . by approximately 1,850,000, by over two-thirds" (p. 292). Another source, The Fresno Bee (April 24, 1965), places the figure of Armenians who perished from the massacres at two million.

Less obvious, though no less significant, was Turkish economic jealousy of the Armenians, for their concentration in highly "visible" commercial and shopkeeping pursuits antagonized many Moslems. There is general agreement among scholars that the Armenian people were an invaluable economic asset of Turkey and that the Armenian people were generally far more prosperous than their Turkish neighbors, who despised such economic pursuits, work "foreign to their dignified nature" (Hodgetts, 1923, p. 392).¹ While the Armenian population was clearly a numerical minority in all of the provinces of Turkish Armenia except for Van, where they formed an absolute majority, the Armenians were the principal economic force in the provinces. Lynch, in his travels through the area, notes:

In every trade and in every profession, in business and in Government service the Armenian was without a rival and in full possession of the field (Lynch, 1901, p. 90).

With the historic adjustment between Moslem and Christian destroyed, the future of the Armenians in Turkey

¹On the causes of the Armenian massacres, Pears states that "a more powerful stimulus than even religion helped to promote all the fanatical outbursts which I have seen. Both the Moslem atrocities in Bulgaria and the much greater ones in Armenia . . . were mainly due to sordid motives of obtaining possession of other people's property" (Pears, n.d., p. 42).

seemed bleak. Commencing in the 1880's, though especially after the massacre of 1894, there was an exodus of Armenians to other parts of the world. The emigration, slow at first, increased rapidly as the Turks waged genocide on the Armenian people. Just as important in swelling the numbers of the hegira, though more insidious, was the severe economic depression which preceded and followed the various massacres. Combined with the fear of a violent death, powerful economic forces were expelling Armenians from their ancient homeland of nearly three thousand years.

Armenian Immigration to the United States

American Protestant missionaries began working in Turkey early in the nineteenth century, and from them the Armenian people had learned of the United States and the prizes which its economic system offered. While they did not directly encourage immigration, the missionaries, through their personal influence as well as their educational activities, inadvertently brought to the Armenian people a hopeful new vista of the future, and subsequently diverted a movement of Armenians to the United States. Two large Armenian colonies developed in this country.

The largest Armenian colony is in New England, the home base of the American missionaries. This area is the center of Armenian culture in the United States, and one of the largest concentrations of Armenians in their New World diaspora. The other large Armenian colony in America is in the rich agricultural area of the San Joaquin Valley of California, near Fresno.

In all, slightly less than ninety thousand Armenians emigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1932. The emigration was primarily composed of young men, since they felt there was no future for Armenians in Islamic Turkey. While the migration came generally from the lower-middle classes and poorer classes, the non-agricultural classes, particularly the skilled hand laborers and artisans comprised a respectable share of the Armenian immigrants to America. During this period of the "new" immigration Armenian immigrants exhibited the highest proportion of non-agricultural backgrounds, aside from the Jews of Eastern Europe (See United States Immigration Commission, Reports, IV, p. 96). Not surprisingly then, the Immigration Commission noted:

The Armenians about Fresno differ from other immigrants found there in that they have not been drawn from the agricultural classes to any great extent, nor have they been drawn

from the classes of common laborers. These classes have been unable to emigrate. . . . The emigrants have been for the greater part merchants, commission men, craftsmen, and small shopkeepers. Shoemakers, silk weavers, dyers, coppersmiths . . . have been the most numerous (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, p. 633).

Their background as an oppressed Old World minority, familiarity with a money economy, and a high literacy rate compared to the total immigration from southern Europe, permitted many Armenians to adapt to the cultural environment of America. Inured to a minority status at home, the Armenians were perhaps better adjusted as a minority in Fresno. The abundance of Old World skills, and especially a middle-class ethos enabled many Armenians to succeed in their adjustment more rapidly than others.

CHAPTER III

ARMENIAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN FRESNO

Introduction

While this thesis is concerned with the urban settlement patterns of Armenians in Fresno, a short historical background of Fresno County and of Armenian endeavors in the agriculture of Fresno County should be given (Figure 3). Armenians have contributed considerably to the agricultural pursuits of this nation, and nowhere has their influence in agriculture been as great as in Fresno County.

Historical Background of Fresno County

With the demise of gold mining in 1864, Fresno County became an agricultural area of major proportions. Today, it is the nation's leading county in terms of agricultural production, a title held for over a decade (Security First National Bank, 1961, p. 5). Agriculture began with the advent of railway service in the 1870's, but only through the establishment of ambitious irrigation projects in the late 70's and early 80's on the San Joaquin and Kings

Figure 3

**Location of Fresno City and County
within the San Joaquin Valley.**

**The city of Fresno is the largest
city within this Valley.**



Rivers did agriculture of any significance take root, for the area is basically too arid for the development of agriculture on any intensive scale. Coupled with the steady infusion of San Francisco capital, the development of irrigation engendered enormous opportunities on the virgin land which were chiefly responsible for initiating a great movement of people (native-whites and immigrants) to settle in the area, giving Fresno a great degree of ethnic heterogeneity, completely unlike most American cities of such size.

Grapes and raisins have been traditionally the most important agricultural crops in the County, having only relinquished the top spot in 1958 in favor of cotton (Security First National Bank, 1961, p. 5). Early in its history, Fresno County assumed the position of the leading United States raisin-producing district, reflecting this crop's significance in the County's economy. Before this time, grazing and wheat farming (dry farming) were the main economic operations in the area. The grazing period lasted until 1874, although sheep-raising on a large scale continued somewhat longer (Meyers, 1931, p. 58). Grain production was at its peak in the 1880's, but with the continuing development of irrigation systems and the

construction of the railroads through the San Joaquin Valley, viticulture and horticulture were becoming of signal importance in the county's mushrooming economy.

Raisin grape culture was introduced in the county in 1872 with the planting of a two hundred and forty acre vineyard near Fresno, when the surrounding area was scarcely more than a desert. With irrigation an established fact, raisin-growing developed quickly between 1880 and 1890, and this accounted for the rapid growth of the city of Fresno's population (see Table 1). In 1890, Fresno County had become the leading raisin district in the United States, and by 1892 the Fresno grape crop equalled that of Spain, whose market Fresno was competing for. In 1911, it was estimated that some one hundred thousand acres were devoted to the growing of grapes with raisins accounting for sixty thousand of these acres. The remainder of the acreage was allocated to wine and table grapes respectively. By 1921, over eighty percent of the entire United States raisin production was concentrated in Fresno (Colby, 1923, p. 59). Until the Depression and the nascence of a more diversified agricultural economy, the history of Fresno County has revolved around the marketing of the grape crop. In spite of this early move towards

TABLE 1

POPULATION OF FRESNO FROM EARLIEST CENSUS TO 1960

1880	. . . . .	1,112
1890	. . . . .	10,818
1900	. . . . .	12,470
1910	. . . . .	24,892
1920	. . . . .	45,086
1930	. . . . .	52,513
1940	. . . . .	60,685
1950	. . . . .	91,669
1960	. . . . .	133,929

(Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, Number of Inhabitants,
Table 5, 6-19).

agricultural diversification, grapes were, in 1960, second only to cotton in being the County's most important crop; raisins accounted for approximately fifty percent of the county's total grape output. The economic function of Fresno has changed since its early history, that is gradually from an agricultural service center to a metropolitan community by 1950. Still, today its economic base is still principally dependent upon agriculture.

Armenian Settlement in Fresno

When Armenian settlement began in Fresno in 1881, with the two Seropian brothers from Worcester, Massachusetts, arriving for health reasons, Fresno was a train depot in the San Joaquin Valley. Induced by the Seropians' letters praising the salubrious climate and the abundance of land, a party of forty-five Armenians migrated to Fresno in the fall of 1883 from Marsovan, Turkey (Davidian, 1965, pp. 2-3). From this meager beginning, Fresno became the focal point for Armenian settlement in California.

Although conclusive evidence is missing, it was probably due to the labors of San Francisco promoters that the first Armenian settled in Fresno (Walker, 1941,

p. 44).¹ Many Armenians, dissatisfied with their situation in Eastern factories, moved to Fresno to become their own bosses. Several went to Fresno because it reminded them of the Old Country, comparing it to Amak Ovas, a plain in Cilicia (Gotchnag, July 1, 1901). Moreover, the relative economic success of the Armenians in Fresno, attributable to the rapid development which the county was experiencing, made the area very attractive (La Piere, 1930, p. 159).²

Armenians and Fresno County Agriculture

Overwhelmingly, the majority of Armenian farmers in the United States have settled in Fresno County, for it was the opportunities in agriculture that attracted many Armenians to Fresno. As a consequence, the Armenians' role in Fresno's agricultural history has been truly significant. Though Armenians were engaged in agriculture

¹The Literary Digest, January 4, 1919, stated that it had been an early Armenian merchant who was responsible for attracting Armenians to settle in Fresno. This is highly unlikely.

²In 1900 about eight percent of the Armenians in the United States were located in Fresno County while ten years later the number there had soared to over twelve percent of the total.

elsewhere in America, such as Florida and Texas, there was no agricultural community to rival Fresno (Mirak, 1965, p. 136).

The development of horticulture in Fresno County owes much to the arrival of the Armenians. They have introduced several crops into the area--the Persian melon, the kassaba melon, the Diarbekir melon, the Turkish melon, and the Armenian cucumber. Armenian growers dominated the melon crop in Fresno County; Armenian melon growers accounted for ten percent of the country's total melon production (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, p. 297). The first fig-packing plant in the San Joaquin Valley was established by Armenians, the Seropian brothers, at Fresno. Furthermore, it was an Armenian whose method of distancing fig trees thirty feet apart has become the accepted way of setting out fig trees.

While their impact on horticulture has been great, the Armenians' influence in viticulture has been no less spectacular. According to a county directory, Armenians farmed only some two hundred acres of county land in 1894, the preponderance of which was planted in raisin grapes. In 1900, Armenian farmers controlled some sixteen to twenty thousand acres of land good for viticulture. When

Fresno County was the number-one county in terms of raisin production. Armenians possessed some sixty thousand acres of farmland devoted to this crop. One study revealed that in 1930, twenty-five percent of Fresno County's raisin growers were Armenians (Meyers, 1931, p. 59).

Although the availability of land compelled many Armenians to settle in Fresno, Armenians were historically more urban than rural. That is to say, except for 1920, when some fifty-five percent of the Armenians lived outside the city limits of Fresno, the majority of Armenians in Fresno County resided in the City of Fresno. This high level of urbanization among Armenians in Fresno County was greater than that of the native population (La Piere, 1930, pp. 148-165).

Where these people lived in Fresno through time, and the factors involved in their settlement patterns in Fresno is the story with which we are now concerned.

Settlement Locations

From the very beginning, Armenians in Fresno settled together in an enclave, brothers in a strange and alien cultural environment. The immigrants found their initial homes in neighborhoods earlier occupants no longer desired,

an area of minimum residential competition. In 1900, the center of Fresno's Armenian community, comprising some eight percent of the city's total population, was in the 300 block of "G" Street (Figure 4). This area of Armenian occupance was situated in the extreme southeast portion of the original city of Fresno incorporated in 1885. Located in the general area west of the Southern Pacific tracks, the ethnic enclave was in a rapidly deteriorating neighborhood, an area which had served as the residential section of the 1880's boom town. The earlier Fresnoans had vacated this section entirely, moving northward for better residences, leaving behind homes which were quickly transformed into multi-unit dwellings. This section west of the tracks became the foreign quarter of Fresno, consisting primarily of old weather-beaten houses and shacks. Not only the Armenians but Orientals and German-Russians as well were concentrated in the same area. West Fresno, as this entire area is popularly known, has witnessed clustering of minority groups until they have gradually integrated with the community. Thus, blacks and Mexicans are currently concentrated in this part of Fresno, thereby perpetuating the area's old social stigma of its being "the other side of town." It was the progressive encroachment of blacks and Mexicans

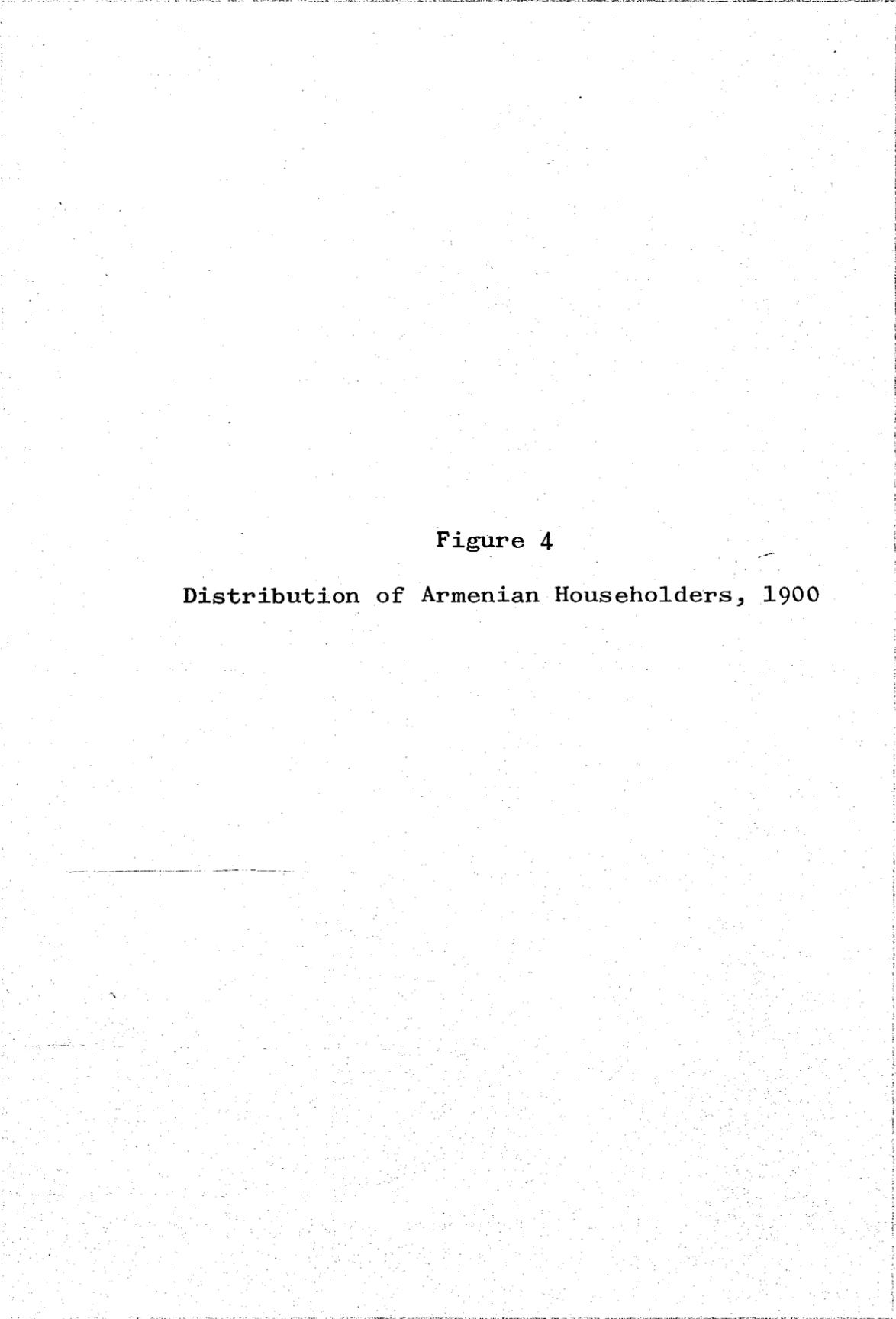
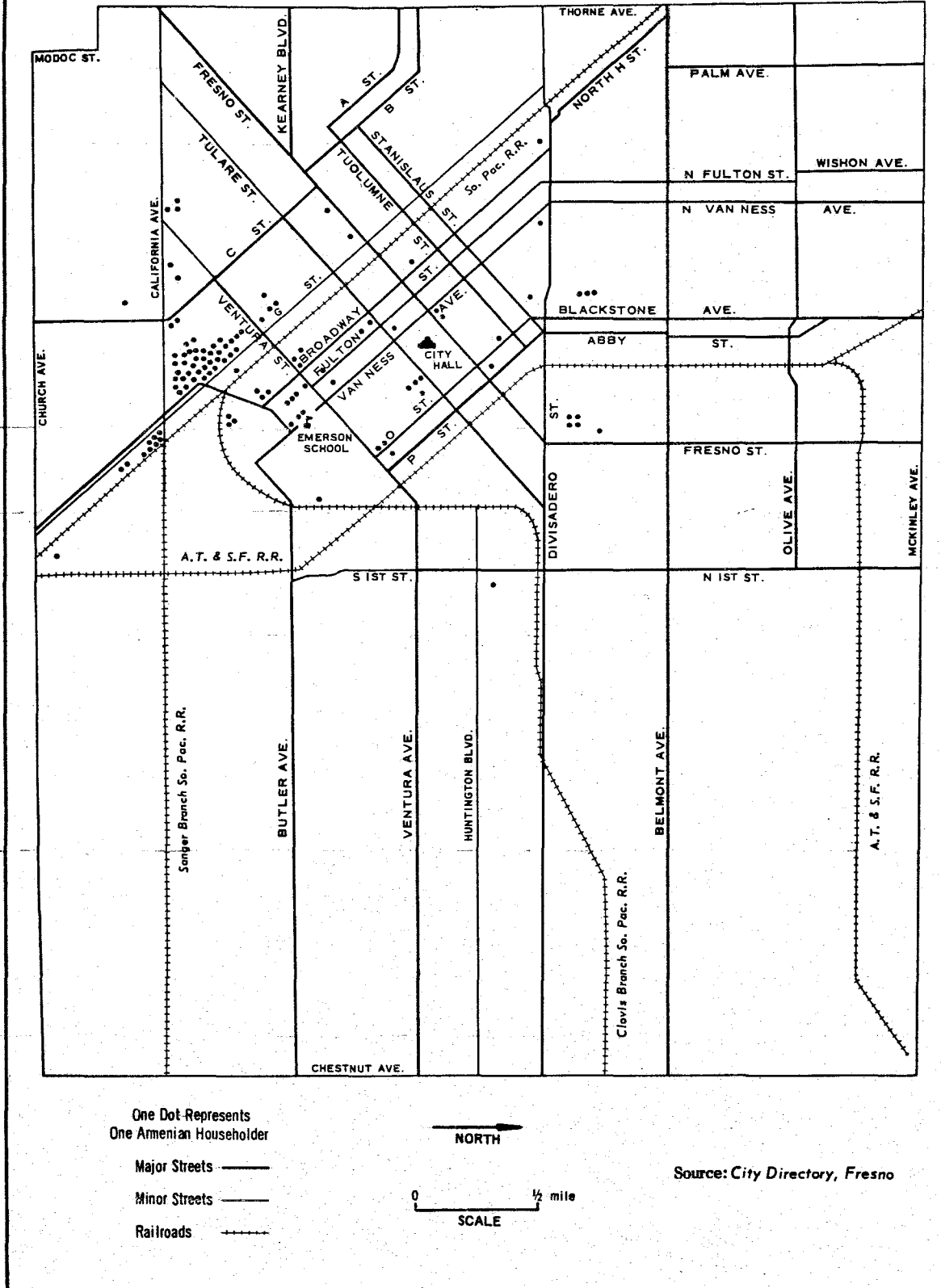


Figure 4

Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1900

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDERS, 1900



into former areas of Armenian clustering in subsequent years which has accelerated the movement of Armenians northeasterly from their original settlement area.

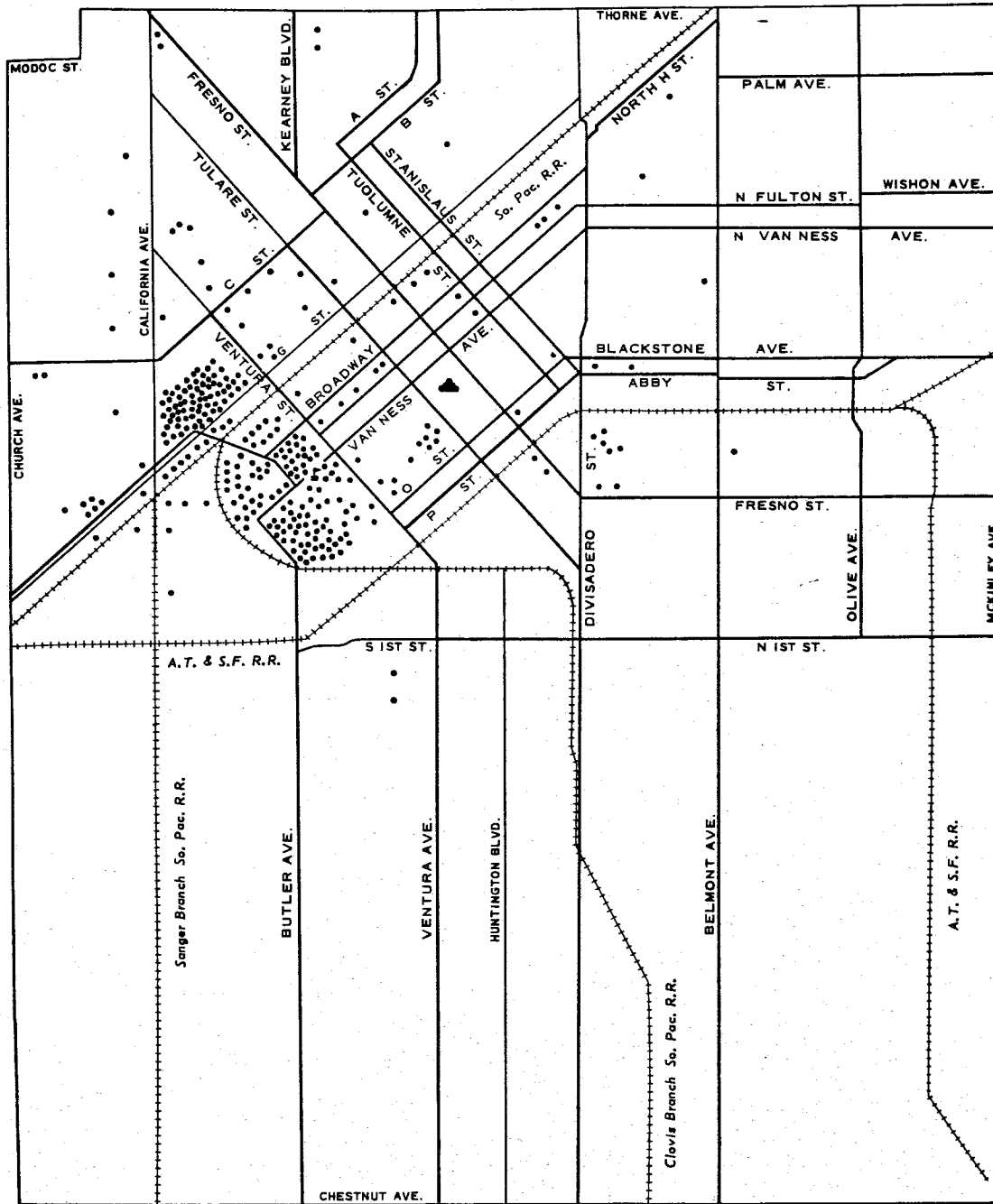
Between 1885 and 1900, the city of Fresno underwent intensive residential development due to heavy promotional activity and capital from Los Angeles and San Francisco. Practically all of the new developments were to the north and east of the original city of 1885. Between 1900 and 1910, the Fresno Traction Railway was completed, providing streetcar service to the rapidly growing area. The railway lines were constructed to service the existing areas with extensions in anticipation of future growth. Because of the vastly improved transportation facilities, the native-born moved further out to the north and east of the "Old Town", closely following the general alignment of the railway.¹ The northward migration resulted in left-over housing, allowing the Armenian community to settle east of the tracks and south of Ventura Street in 1910 (Figure 5).

¹A peculiarity of Fresno's growth has been an almost total absence of development to the west and south of the city, due initially to the alignment of the Fresno Traction Railway. As a result, residential growth in Fresno has been away from the original city and toward the more desired living areas in the north and to a lesser degree, to the east.

Figure 5

Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1910

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDERS, 1910



One Dot Represents
One Armenian Householder

Major Streets ———

Minor Streets ———

Railroads ———

NORTH

0 1/2 mile
SCALE

Source: Polk City Directory, Fresno

By 1920, the Armenian community, estimated at four and a half thousand, was preponderately situated east of the tracks, and near the Emerson Grade School (Figure 6). Since rents and land values were higher east of the tracks, the poorest immigrants remained west of the tracks. The great mass of Armenians had moved east into lower-middle class homes vacated by the native Fresnans.

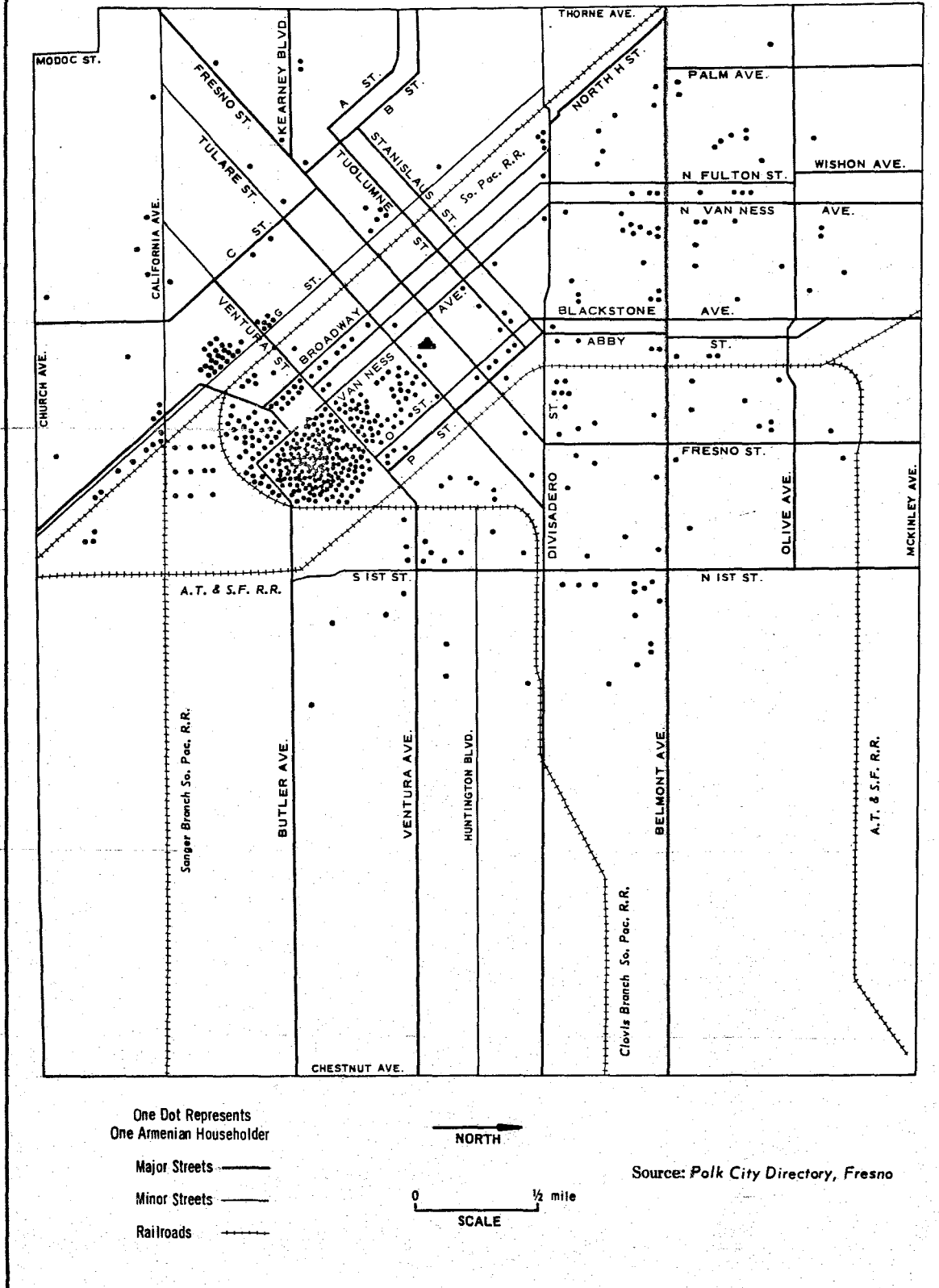
It was during the early 1930's that the Depression, in addition to the prejudice against the Armenian community, forced many Armenians to leave the Fresno area and move to other urban areas of greater socio-economic potential such as Los Angeles and San Francisco.¹ However, during this time, the Armenian enclave in Fresno shifted a bit more northeasterly, and was still definitely south of the County Courthouse on the southern edge of the city's expanding central business district (Figure 7). The number of Armenians within the enclave increased due to in-migration, with the vast majority of the ethnic group residing south of Ventura Avenue in "Old Town." A few Armenians were scattered to the north of the "Old Town" as far north as McKinley Avenue, though most of these

¹In 1930 Los Angeles County surpassed Fresno County in having the largest number of Armenians on the West Coast. This situation is still true today.

Figure 6

Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1920

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDERS, 1920



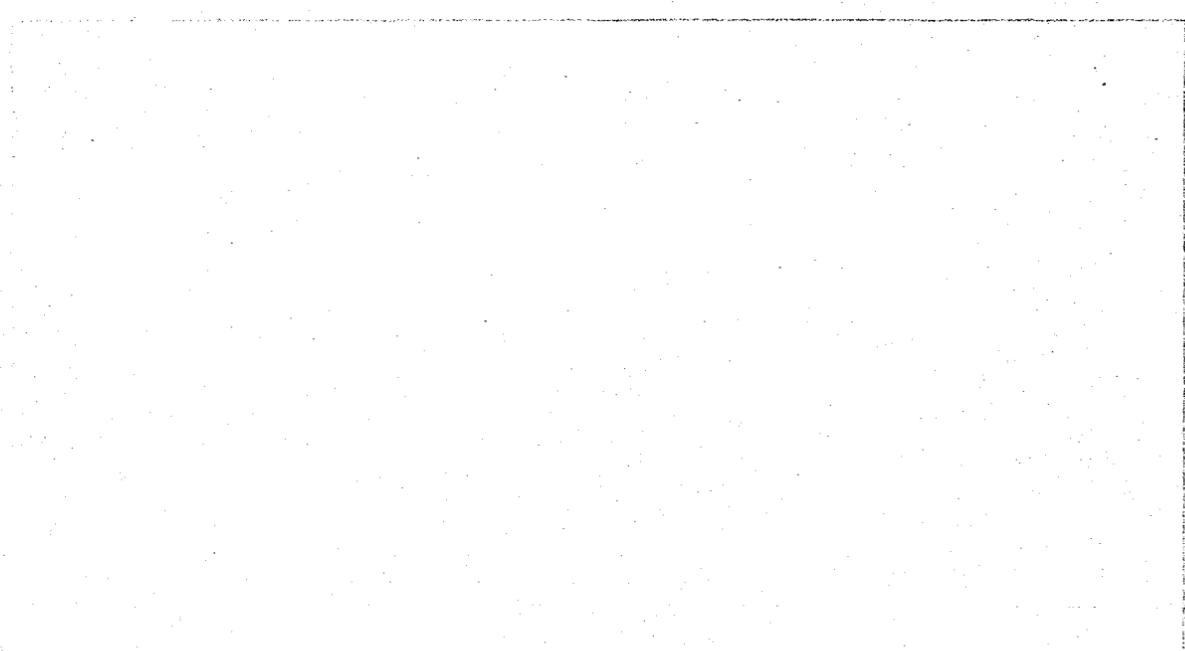


Figure 7

Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1933

Armenian families were south of Olive Avenue. It was also during this time that some Armenians moved into the area of South First and Ventura Avenues (the Hazelwood area), immediately east of the Armenian enclave and south of Huntington Boulevard.

This pattern, that of the majority of Armenians concentrated in the southeast part of "Old Town", continued throughout the 1930 decade. The bulk of the Armenian enclave was still south of Ventura Avenue (Figure 8). However, some wealthier and second-generation Armenians were now scattered to the north of the enclave and as far north as Shields Avenue. The number of Armenians decreased proceeding north from the enclave. Also, the movement of Armenian families into the Hazelwood area increased in number, while along Huntington Boulevard, prestigious (Non-Armenian) subdivisions thwarted residence in that area.

In 1950, the bulk of the Armenians in Fresno were still located in the southeast section of the original city of Fresno. The movement of Armenians into the Hazelwood area rose sharply by that time (Figure 9). Also, the dispersal of many Armenians to the north of previous areal concentrations, alongside the native population was clearly

Figure 8**Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1940**

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDERS, 1940

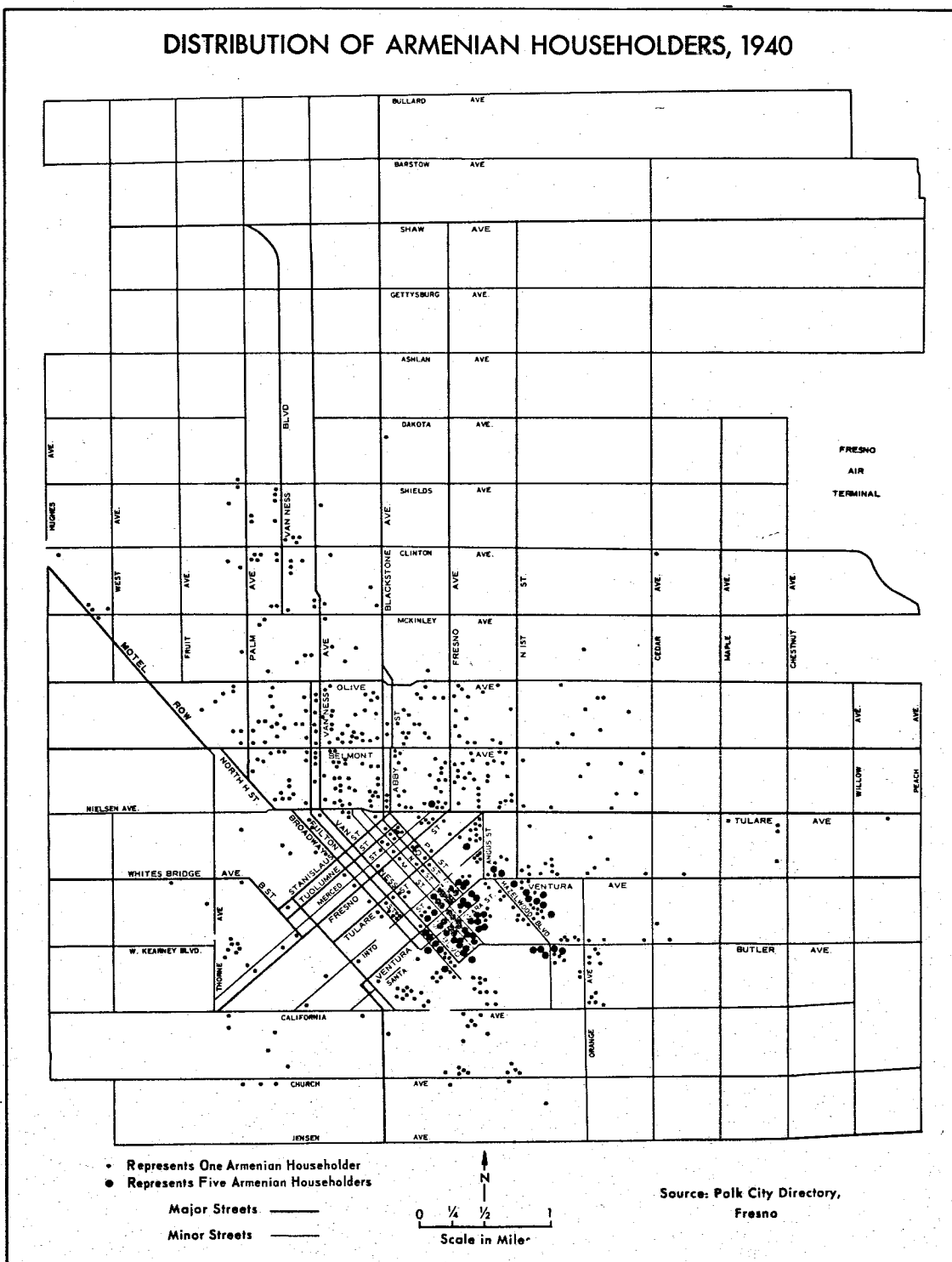
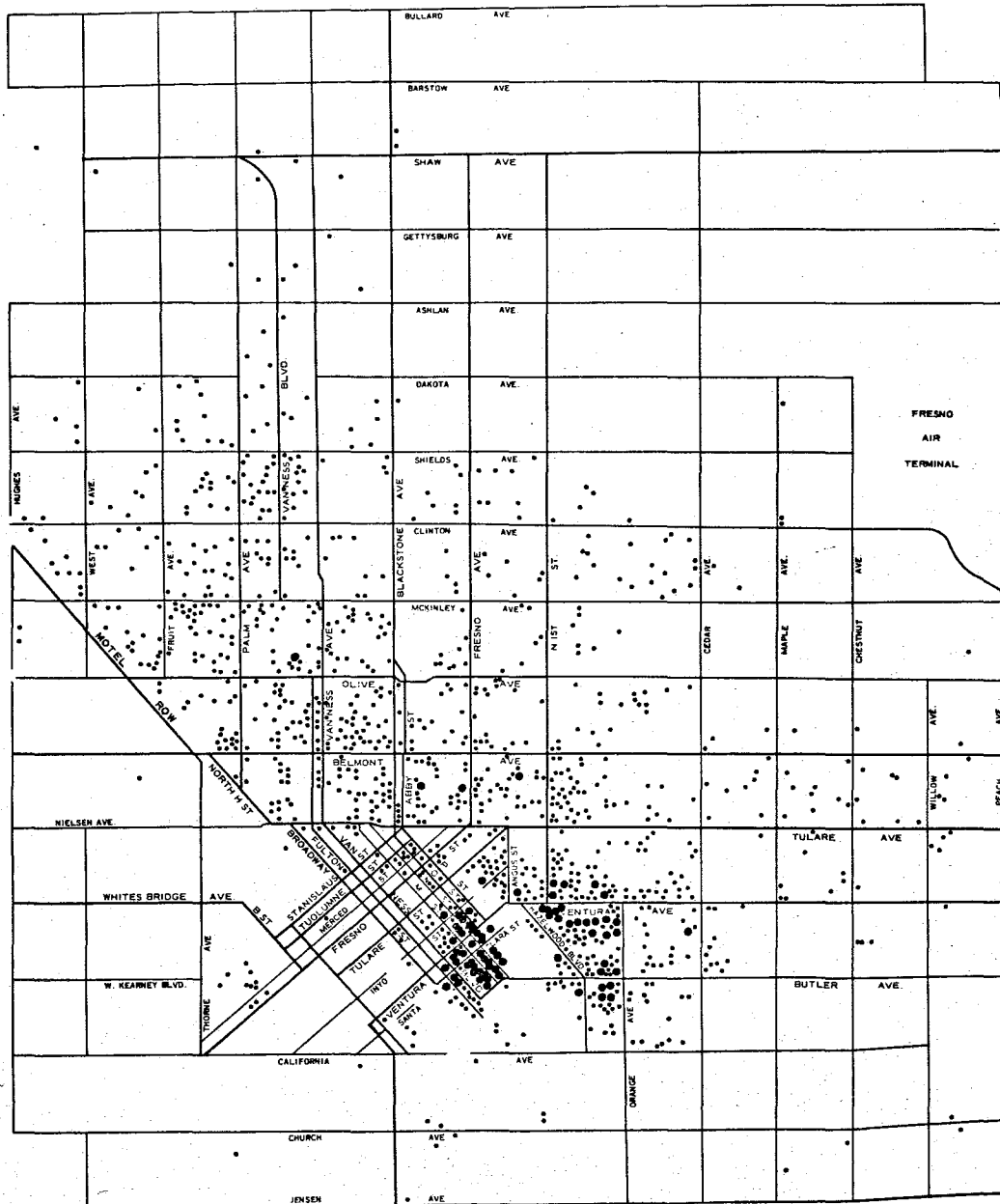


Figure 9

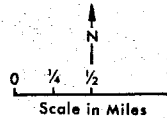
Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1951/52

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDERS, 1951/52



- Represents One Armenian Householder
- Represents Five Armenian Householders

Major Streets ———
Minor Streets ———



Source: Polk City Directory,
Fresno

evident, primarily due to the outlawing of the restrictive race covenant in 1948 as a legal tool for segregation in the United States.

This dispersed pattern of many Armenians to the north enlarged greatly in 1960. With the continuing movement of Armenians eastward into the Hazelwood area, the bulk of the ethnic enclave was now located out of the "Old Town" (Figure 10), and attendantly, the concentration of Armenians in the original city of Fresno decreased somewhat. This new areal concentration of Armenians in Fresno was less than two miles from their initial settlement area in 1900.

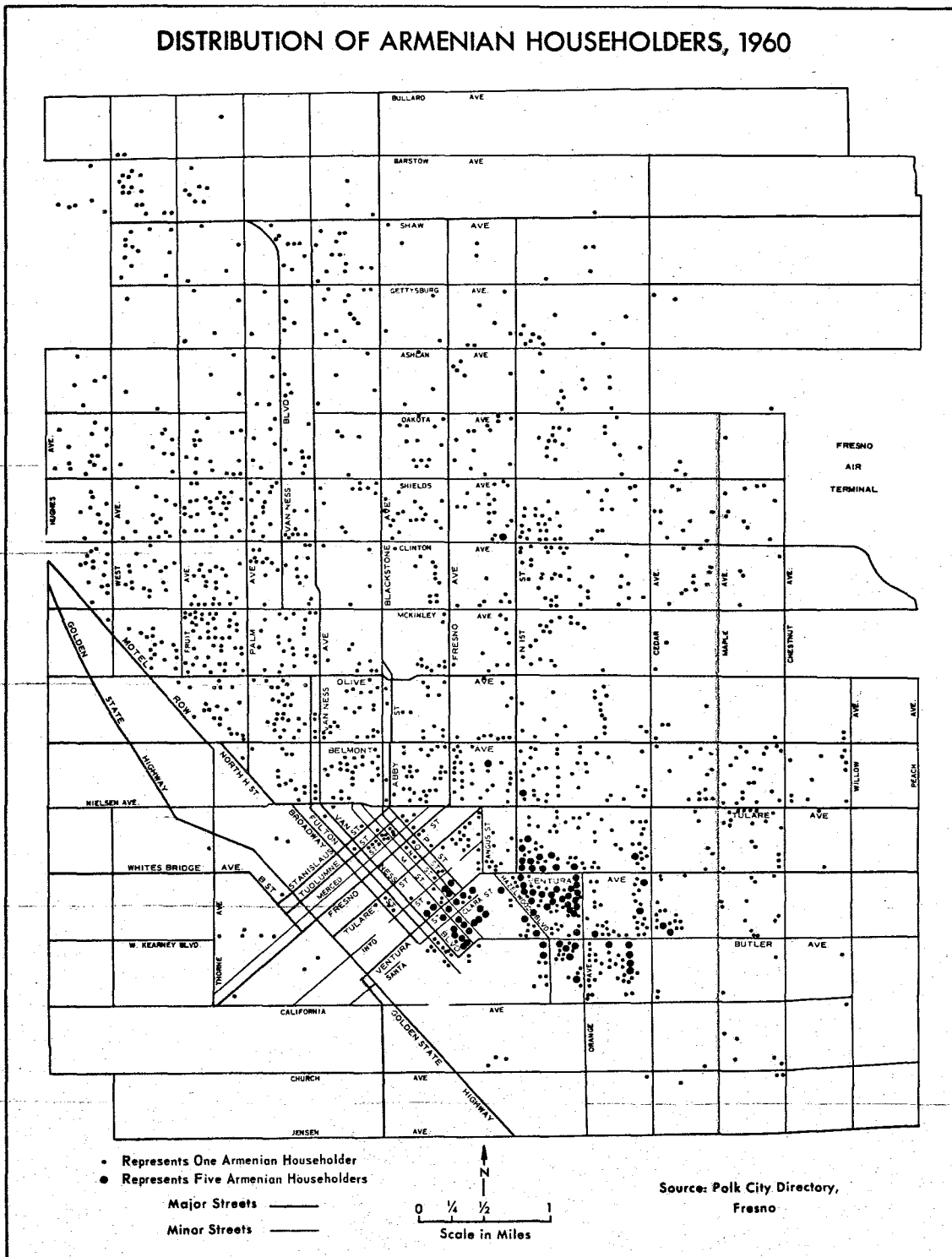
Composition of Armenian Concentrations

The identifiable concentrations of Armenians after World War II and especially by 1960 were comprised principally of elderly Armenians, invariably the old Armenian migrants and recent immigrants to Fresno. Second- and third- generation Armenians have generally vacated these old areas of settlement and are integrated residentially with Fresno's general population (A Profile of the Population and Housing in the Fresno-Clovis Metropolitan

Figure 10

Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1960

DISTRIBUTION OF ARMENIAN HOUSEHOLDERS, 1960



Area, 1964, p. 110). William Saroyan,¹ the widely acclaimed novelist who was born and raised in the heart of the Fresno Armenian enclave, describes the old areas of Armenian settlement:

You notice, though, that there are no longer children in the yards or banging the doors of the houses as they go in or come out. The whole neighborhood belongs to the old now. The children have grown up and moved to better neighborhoods and brought up children of their own. . . it has become an unlicensed home for old people. . . and it's so quiet one can hear a person walking on the sidewalk (Fresno County Almanac, 1956, p. 99).

In the early days of settlement, the movements of the Armenian community as a whole were greatly restricted in many directions. To the north of the enclave was the city's central business district, while to the south settlement by Armenians was not sought because of the intense dislike of Armenians by the German-Russians who resided in this section of town. Those Armenians who desired to break away from the ethnic enclave and live in the middle-class neighborhoods in the north or the east were frequently prevented in doing so by discriminatory

¹William Saroyan was born in Fresno, California, in 1908, of Armenian parentage. He received the Pulitzer Prize for Drama in 1940 for The Time of Your Life and has written many short stories, plays, and novels including The Daring Young Man on the Flying Trapeze (1934) and The Human Comedy (1943), among others.

covenants against them and other ethnic groups. Only a general northeasterly movement was practical for the Armenian community in Fresno, California.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS SHAPING ARMENIAN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the factors involved in affecting Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno. These socio-cultural and legal factors which shaped their settlement patterns will accordingly be analyzed in detail.

Influence of the Armenian Family

In the Old Country, the family was the cornerstone of Armenian social and economic life.¹ The Armenian family was of the extended or joint type, patrilineal and patrilocal: its head was the patriarch who commanded enormous respect, commensurate with his authority; and he, his sons, and their families lived in the same house. In Armenia it was not uncommon to have forty to fifty people residing together under the same roof (La Piere, 1930, p. 61).

¹ A good introduction to the Armenian family in the English language is R. T. La Piere, "The Armenian Colony in Fresno County, California . . ." (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1930).

Moreover, all economic activities were communal in character, labor cooperative. Every significant social and religious event was an occasion for communal action. No one could live except as a member of a family unit; in an environment where poverty was ubiquitous and persecution ever-present, the Armenian family commanded allegiance. The Armenian family enabled otherwise helpless individuals to ward off danger more effectively, and was bound together in mutual fear of their oppressors. A noted human ecologist, Hawley, writes that this type of familial unit:

. . . is an effective, if not the most efficient way of maintaining the discipline required to deal with a precarious life situation (Hawley, 1950, p. 224).

Among few Old World societies was this background so important as for Armenians, and it played a large part in their early settlement patterns in Fresno.

Family ties were strengthened by the fact that family and traditional Armenian village life were inseparably bound together. A basic characteristic of the Armenian village was the close interrelationship and constant face-to-face interchange that existed among the people. Indeed, as the medium for holding and transmitting land, the family was an indispensable element in the life of the Armenian village. The stability of the traditional Armenian family

was essential to social order, and its perpetuation a requisite for survival in a hostile environment.

Armenians who migrated from the Old Country to Fresno generally did so as entire extended family units, transplanting the cultural milieu attendant with such structure. This family structure contrasted with the American pattern of the isolated conjugal (nuclear) family unit, much more mobile in terms of settlement. The traditional Armenian family unit was reinforced in Fresno due to ethnic prejudice and discrimination against them and other ethnic groups almost immediately encountered on their arrival in Fresno. Neighborliness was a strong source of cohesion in the traditional Armenian village, and subsequently proved to be so in Fresno. In an attempt to transplant the Old World village, the Armenians' settlement patterns (1900-1940) reflect, in part, the desire to maintain this connection. Hence, the ethnic group was not randomly distributed in Fresno, but instead was in compact groups. While the ethnic group moved from previous areas of inhabitation, they did so as a whole, carrying the enclave with them.

In vivid contrast with the American family, family loyalty among Armenians was quite pronounced in the early

days of their settlement in Fresno due to the "derision and execration in which the Armenians in general are being held by the local Americans"¹ (Fresno Morning Republican, August 23, 1907). In several cases such ethnic hostility intensified the Armenians' existing pride in his family, and not surprisingly, it was common to find whole groups of Armenian families moving to the same neighborhood. Generally discriminated against in every conceivable way and manner, the Armenian family unit that severed itself from a circle of close relatives was understandably rare. In fact, the Armenian family in Fresno is extremely close-knit even today, although inevitably changes have taken place. As one researcher states about the Armenian family unit in Fresno:

Reviewing the history of Armenian parental control, one cannot help but remark about the durability of many of the Old World Armenian family values. Despite the long period of acculturation in a rapidly growing community, they have attempted to maintain, with considerable success, many Old Country family traditions (Nelson, 1954b, p. 138).

¹For a discussion of the Armenian's family contact with the American social system in Fresno, see Harold Nelson, "The Armenian Family: Changing Patterns of Family Life in a California Community" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1954).

The Religions of the Armenians in Fresno

Just as the Armenian immigrants relied upon family solidarity to ease their burdens, they also turned to their religious institutions. Inveterate Christians, Armenians had no intention of abandoning their religion. On the contrary, they eagerly sought to reconstruct familiar ways of worship in Fresno. Even though Armenians often shared identical religious affiliations with others, as was the case with Armenian Protestants, Armenians were not allowed to share religious institutions with non-Armenians.

Foremost in the minds and hearts of the Armenian immigrants was the strong desire to construct a church of their own, a veritable refuge in the strange and often times hostile environment in Fresno.

Almost all Armenians in Fresno fall into two religious categories. Approximately seventy-five to eighty percent adhered to the Apostolic Church (Church of Armenia), of which there are two in the community.¹ The Armenian Protestant or Evangelical Churches comprise a respectable

¹This percentage has remained fairly constant from their early days of settlement. This percentage is similar for Armenians within the United States as a whole (G. H. Chopourian, January 1, 1971, personal correspondence).

share of the Fresno Armenians--practically all of the remaining twenty to twenty-five percent.

ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCHES IN FRESNO

The first Armenian Apostolic Church to be built in California was the Holy Trinity Armenian Church of Fresno. Services commenced in 1894, but because there was no building, services were conducted whenever a building or picnic ground could be obtained (Mahakian, 1933, p. 46). In 1900 the church building was located on the corner of "F" and Monterey Streets (Figure 11). At that time about half of the Armenians residing in the city of Fresno were located in what may be properly called a neighborhood around this church. The church was destroyed by fire on July 9, 1913, and with the movement of the ethnic group east of the Southern Pacific Tracks well under way, the new Holy Trinity Church was begun on June 4, 1914, at the corner of Ventura and "M" Streets, near the new center of the Armenian enclave. The new church, a smaller replica of the medieval mother church at Etchmiadzin, Russian Armenia, has remained in use to the present time. Holy Trinity Church has been the most influential of all the Armenian Churches in Fresno. Not only is it the focus

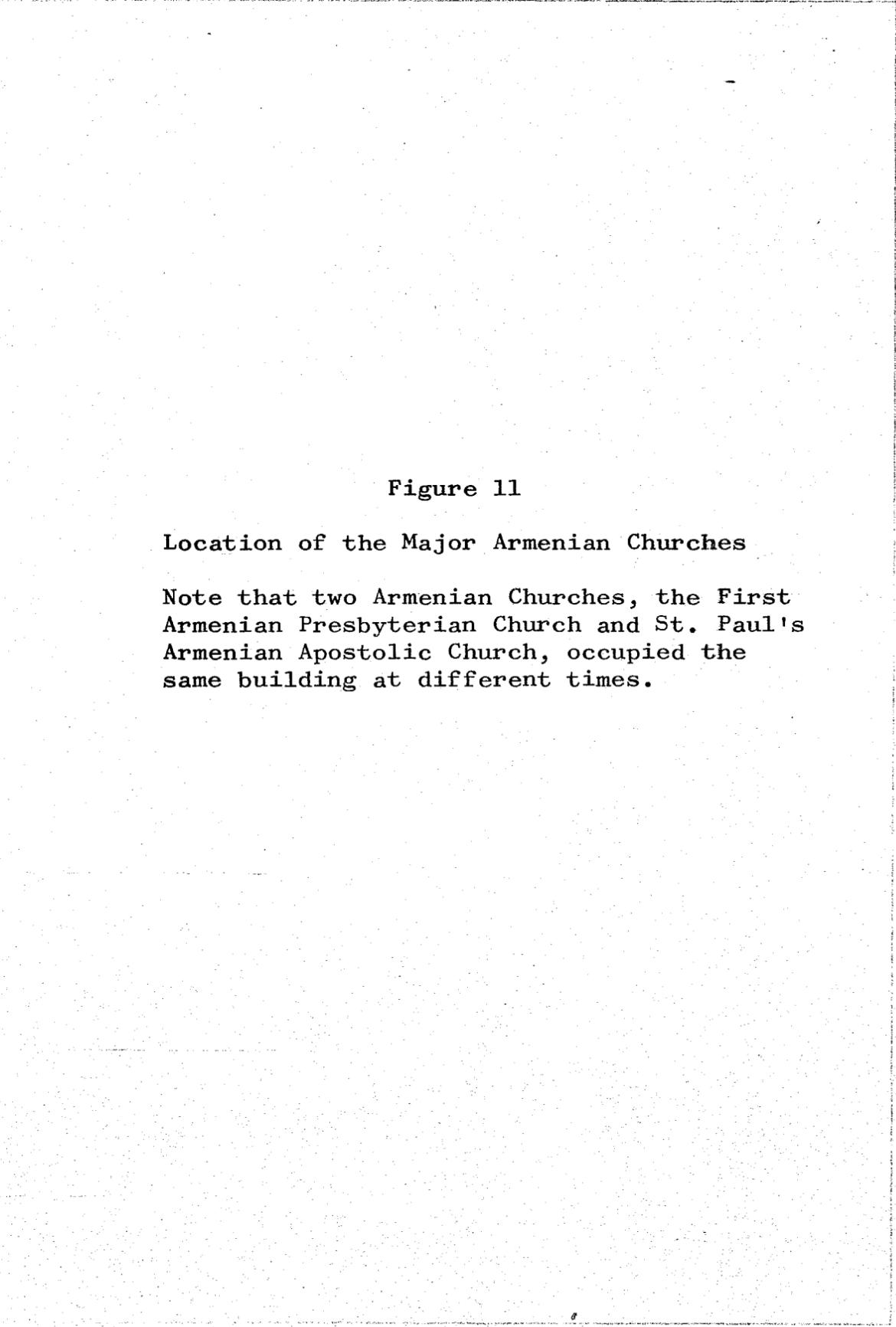
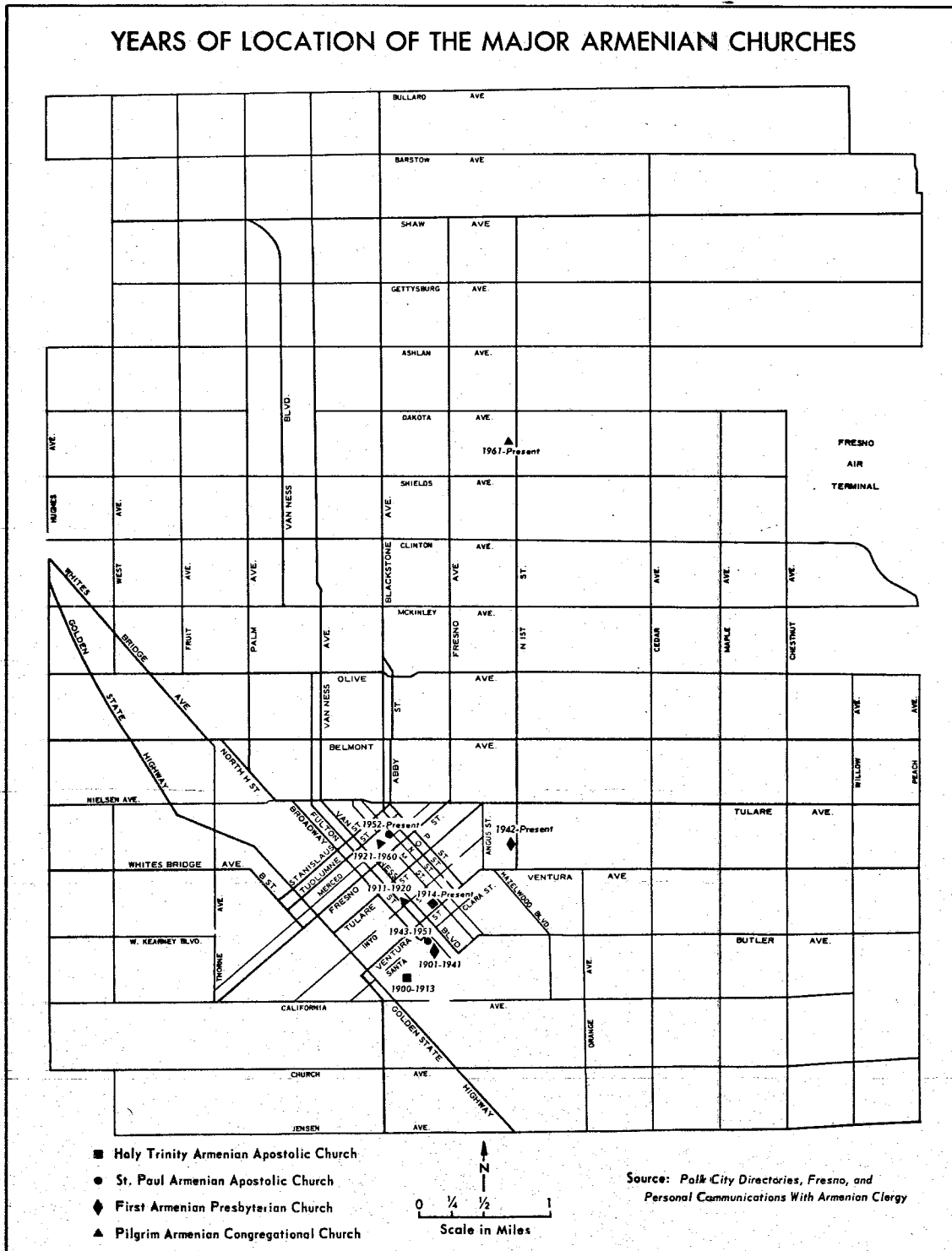


Figure 11

Location of the Major Armenian Churches

Note that two Armenian Churches, the First Armenian Presbyterian Church and St. Paul's Armenian Apostolic Church, occupied the same building at different times.

YEARS OF LOCATION OF THE MAJOR ARMENIAN CHURCHES



for most Armenian religious events, but even Armenians of other denominations consider Holy Trinity Church symbolic of the national unity of the Armenian People.

Beginning with the departure of the pastor of the Holy Trinity Church in May 1938, the church was split in two. Armenian political parties became dominant in the administration of the church, and in March 1940, a division within the church took place. At this time, the dissident group petitioned for individual recognition from diocesan headquarters as a separate church. It was granted, but the group had no structure for religious services until 1943 (Father Altounian, March 23, 1971, personal correspondence). At that time a building owned by the Armenian Presbyterian Church on the corner of Fulton and Santa Clara Avenues was purchased by the new group. The church was consecrated as St. Paul's Armenian Apostolic Church. In October 1952, the First Baptist Church, situated at the corner of Merced and "N" Streets, was obtained by St. Paul's Armenian Church (Plate I). The structure has remained in use to the present day, but because of the continually increasing northward dispersal of Armenians in Fresno, a new church lot was purchased in 1967 at

Plate I

St. Paul's Armenian Apostolic Church

A former Baptist Church, situated at
the corner of Merced and "N" Streets
in Fresno.



Dakota and N. First Avenues, some four miles due north of the current edifice.¹

The schism between the two Apostolic Churches is founded exclusively on political issues and not religious disparities. The Dashnags, or the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (those who attend the Holy Trinity Church), aggressively demand and accept nothing less than a free and independent country of Armenia. Their political counterparts, the Ramgavars, or the Armenian Democratic Liberal Committee of St. Paul's Armenian Church, feel that such a demand is incongruent with the verities of contemporary world politics and accept the Soviet Socialist Republic of Armenia as the best solution under the circumstances. The schism, though felt vehemently by the Armenian immigrants, has had little impact among second- and third- generation Armenians, and has been a reason for the Apostolic Churches' declining influence to these generation Armenians in Fresno.

The membership of Holy Trinity Armenian Church is far greater than any other single Armenian Church in

¹In an interview with Fr. Altounian, September 19, 1970, he stated that he desired two St. Paul Armenian Churches; one, the current church site, to serve the elderly Armenians who reside near downtown, and the other, the future site, to attract the second- and third- generation Armenians in suburban Fresno.

Fresno, reflecting its position in the Armenian community as a whole (See Table 2). St. Paul's Armenian Apostolic Church is sizeable, larger than all the Armenian Protestant Churches' memberships combined. Although the membership of the Armenian Apostolic Churches is much greater than that of all the other Armenian Churches combined, attendance is usually greater at the Protestant Churches (Mahakian, 1933, pp. 58-59). This may be due to the fact that both Apostolic Churches still use the Armenian language in their sermons which is seldom understood by the second- and third- generation Armenians, whereas the Armenian Protestants employ English in their sermons. It is apparent that the Armenian Apostolic Churches are reluctant to make concessions to the American environment in Fresno, but may have to if they are to remain influential in Fresno's Armenian community.

ARMENIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES IN FRESNO

As a result of American Congregational Church missionary activity in Armenia, many Congregationalists were among the first Armenian settlers in Fresno. During the mid-1880's Armenian Protestants and a few Americans secured funds for a Congregational Church in Fresno, and

TABLE 2
ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP OF ARMENIAN CHURCHES IN FRESNO, ca. 1960

ARMENIAN APOSTOLIC CHURCHES

Holy Trinity	4,500
St. Paul's	4,000

ARMENIAN PROTESTANT CHURCHES

Pilgrim Armenian Congregational	700
First Armenian Presbyterian	400
Armenian Evangelical Brotherhood	} 150- 200
Armenian Full Gospel	
Armenian Church of God	

Based on Personal Correspondence with Armenian Clergy

for a time, the two groups shared religious services. Soon, however, the Armenian Protestants were in the minority and relations between the natives and Armenians quickly soured. Forced to sit on the right hand side of the church in 1894, and then deprived of Bibles by the Reverend J. H. Collins, the Armenians were eventually ejected altogether from the church (Mirak, 1965, pp. 252-3). Thus, the Armenian Protestants were blatantly denied the rights of religious worship in that church, and forced early in their settlement to establish their own churches in Fresno.

Resentful, these Armenians changed their affiliation to the Presbyterian Church, and in 1897, with a membership of forty, organized the First Armenian Presbyterian Church of Fresno. This was the first Armenian church of any denomination to be built in Fresno (Wallis, 1919, p. 65).

A minority of expelled Armenians, however, remained faithful Congregationalists, and in 1901, organized their own church, the Pilgrim Armenian Congregational Church (Father Missirlian, February 8, 1971, personal correspondence).

In 1901 the Armenian Presbyterians moved into their first building on the corner of Fulton and Santa Clara Streets near Emerson Grade School, in the heart of the ethnic community. In 1941, the Armenian Presbyterians

relocated their church at 430 South First Avenue, because "Armenians were moving out into the Hazelwood area more and more" (Reverend Kassouni, First Armenian Presbyterian Church, March 22, 1971) (Plate II).

Although the Armenian Congregationalists, the other principal Armenian Protestant Church in Fresno, were organized in 1901, they had no building of their own in early years, and rented various public halls in the area until 1911, when they purchased a building from the First Congregational Church at Inyo and Van Ness Avenues, slightly north of the ethnic enclave. As the Armenian community moved, another shift in location occurred when the Armenian Congregationalists moved to the corner of "M" and Merced Streets. Again, the dispersal of second- and third- generation Armenians in subsequent years led the Pilgrim Armenian Church to purchase a tract of land on the north end of town in 1959, where a large, three-unit church complex was constructed and occupied in 1961 (Plate III).

Though a small congregation, the Pilgrim Armenian Church is considered one of the most successful Armenian Churches in Fresno, owing in great part to the capable leadership of its clergy and the church's attempts to

Plate II

First Armenian Presbyterian Church of Fresno

Mr. Krikor Arakelian pledged \$5,000 for the construction of this church. Mr. Arakelian is known popularly as the "melon king". He is the owner of one of the largest cantelope fields in America, and introduced the honey-dew melon in the United States.

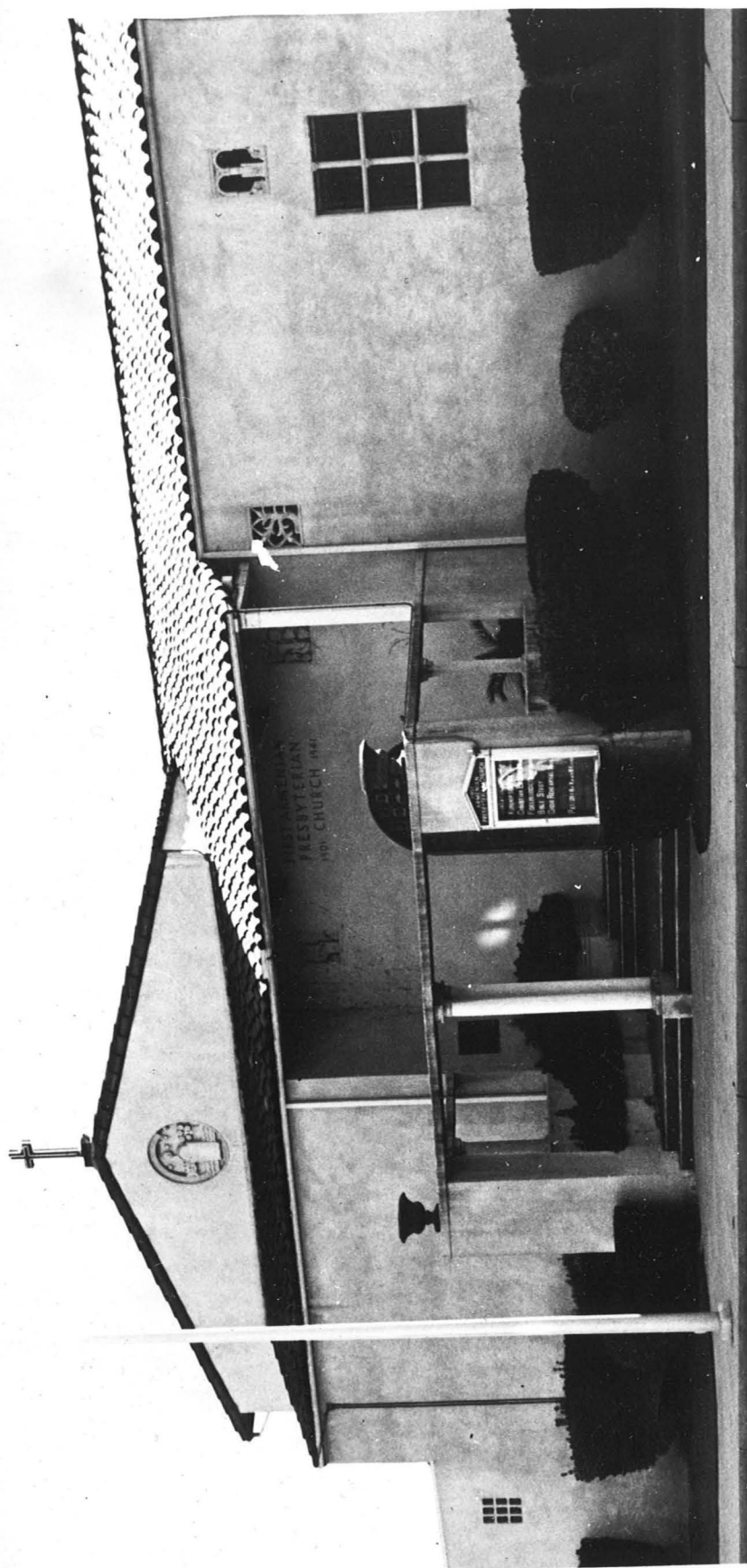
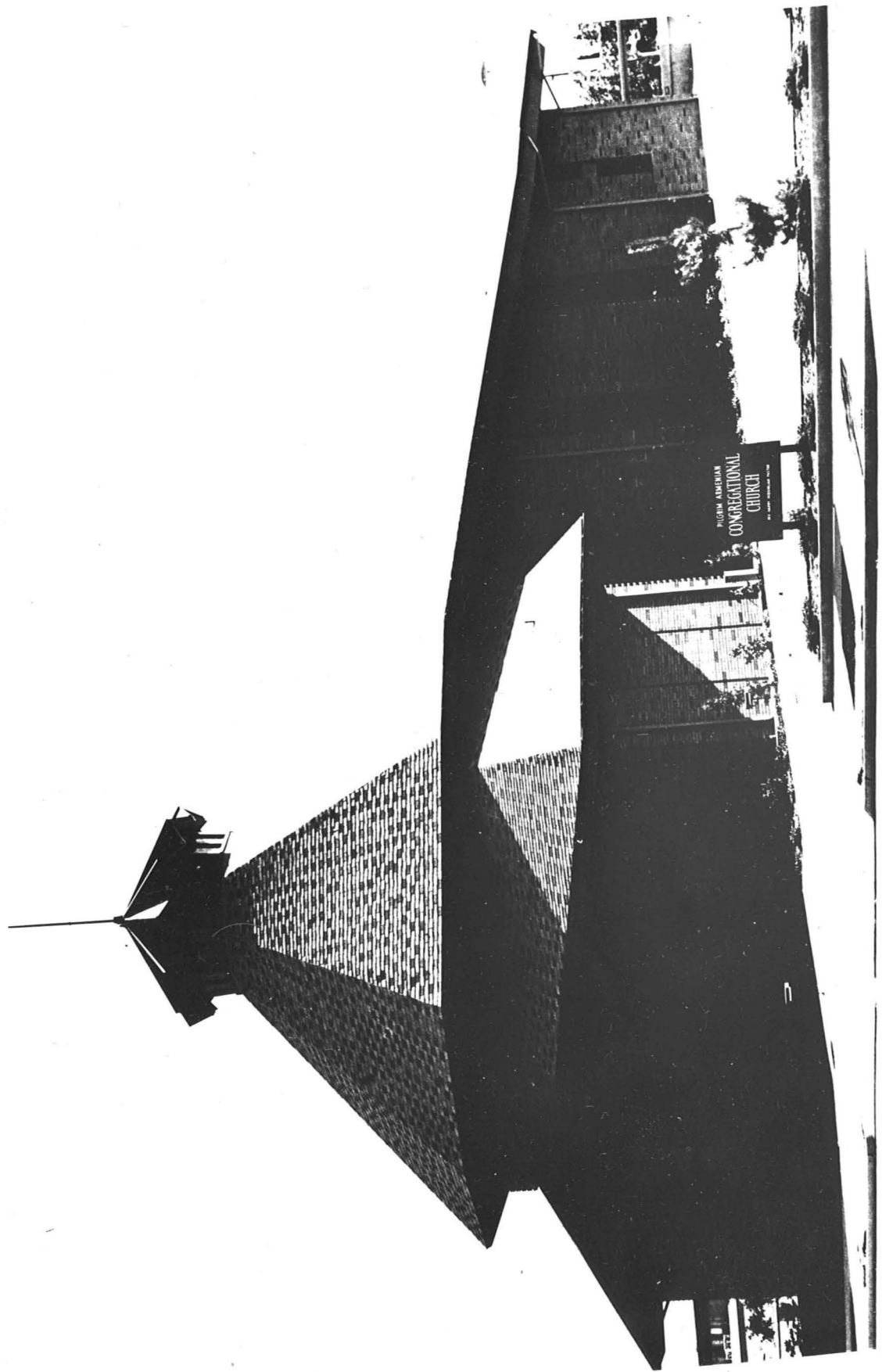


Plate III

Pilgrim Armenian Congregational Church

Located at 3673 North First Street in Fresno, this is the sanctuary built in 1970. Services previously were conducted in Fellowship Hall, one of three buildings situated on the eight and a half acre site.



ameliorate the friction between native Fresnans and Armenians. For example, some religious services were delivered in English as early as 1919, and English has been used principally in the church's sermons since 1930.

OTHER ARMENIAN CHURCHES IN FRESNO

Besides the four large Armenian churches there existed a number of other factional religious groups in the community, all Protestant. Proliferating in the 1920's, these groups started because of internal conflicts with Armenian Protestant Churches. There are three such splinter Protestant groups in Fresno, and all are located near the ethnic community: (1) Church of God is a very small group with three or four families of elderly people. They have no minister, although a layman conducts occasional meetings; (2) Armenian Full Gospel Church is composed of approximately ten families, all over sixty-five years of age; and (3) the Armenian Evangelical Brotherhood Church has a very small membership, approximately twenty families, "practically all women over sixty-five" (Father Missirlilian, March 1, 1971, and May 7, 1971, personal correspondence).

SUMMARY

The church, whatever its denomination, had been an important part of Armenian settlement, particularly to the first generation. While not playing the part in communal life which it did in the old country, the Armenian Churches provided moral and spiritual sustenance to their congregations and were a source of general unity in Fresno. Armenians in Fresno created their own churches in the middle of the community, and thus, the Armenian Churches were intimately involved with the life of the ethnic community. As an institution, the church ranks with the family as an important element of the group's early settlement patterns.

Second- and third- generation Armenians, however, are decidedly less attached to their churches than their parents. The Apostolic Churches' disagreement over how Armenians should be represented have little appeal to generations whose lives are not as occupied with religion in general. Moreover, the use of the Armenian language in the Apostolic Churches' sermons tends to discourage the second- and third- generation Armenians who are usually insufficiently versed in the language to follow

them. It is significant to note that those people who attended the Apostolic Churches were generally elderly, while this author observed that most Armenian Protestant Churches were usually attended largely by younger people, though some elderly Armenians were in attendance. The Armenian churches in Fresno, regardless of denomination, were and still remain symbolically important to the Armenians, but they have been of declining importance in the ethnic group's post-World War II settlement patterns in Fresno.

The Effect of Prejudice Against Armenians

The Armenians in Fresno have been subjected to a long history of persecution which was expressed in open ways by both native Fresnans and other foreign-born persons in Fresno. In fact, some of the more intense prejudice against Armenians emanated from other ethnic groups in the community. Though experience had little part in this attitude, the feeling of hostility and hatred towards the Armenians was widespread (La Piere, 1930, pp. 329-30). A newspaper editorial in 1919, attempting to slight the groundless arrogance of many native Fresnans, attests to the openness of the discrimination against Armenians in Fresno:

[A] large class of our native Americans think themselves called to look down on the Armenians. It is no secret that they do so. In fact, a sense of scornful superiority to the Armenians is perhaps the commonest prejudice of that part of our American population whose personal qualifications least entitle them to it (Fresno Morning Republican, July 14, 1919).

INFORMAL PREJUDICE

Many Fresnans considered the Armenians to be non-white, presumably Oriental. Most odars felt that Armenians were generally to be avoided and refused to consider them as prospective neighbors (La Piere, 1930, pp. 352-3). A popular story among native Fresnans of the time, for example, was that the city needed a few thousand Turks to extirpate the local Armenians (Hairenik, April 4, 1911). Armenians were excluded from numerous social activities, as well as barred from joining country clubs and the Masons.

This hostility directed against the Armenian community was also directed at their children; Armenian children were ridiculed and forced to stay apart from odars. Armenian youths were often derided by constantly hearing the epithet "Fresno Indian". While there were some Armenians in the Y.M.C.A., their membership in that organization was not encouraged (U.S. Immigration

Commission, 1911, p. 659). Restricted in social activities, five Armenian youths drew together and formed in 1919 the Triple X Fraternity because they were refused admittance to local high school fraternities. This organization is still active today in the Armenian community (The Fresno Bee, June 3, 1962).

That the prejudice against Armenians was severe cannot be denied. Prejudice against Armenians did not develop in large cities or small towns, wherever the Armenians were few in number and not a really concentrated as in Fresno. Since Armenians were the most numerical of foreign-born peoples and were concentrated in such large numbers relative to the total population in Fresno, this high degree of prejudice against the ethnic group developed. Prejudice against Armenians in general was very intense during the nineteen-twenties, and it was in the early thirties that some Armenians in the community decided to fight it. To this end, the Armenian-American Citizen's Club was established in 1931. Its original purpose was to ameliorate relations between Armenians and odars and "to promote Armenian citizenship" (Fresno Bee, June 3, 1962). Whether or not this organization was successful is not important, but that the situation which

existed between Armenians and odars was grave enough to warrant such an organization is significant.

The effect of this prejudice in Fresno was felt differently by the Armenian immigrants than by their descendants. Aided by the indelible memory of their childhood, some of the second- generation attempted to break from Armenian connections in general as much as possible. Preferring American ways and institutions due to pressures from the community at large, the second- generation Armenians often, in an effort to escape the intense prejudice shown them, felt forced to root out all traces of their cultural background. This process has been true for nearly all ethnic groups who have been discriminated against. This attitude was reflected in their settlement; for upon marriage, many second- generation Armenians often made their homes outside the ethnic enclave in Fresno, quite unlike the practice in the old country (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911, p. 668). However, the prejudice against Armenians also worked in a different way by making many of them, especially the first- generation, more ethnically conscious than would have normally been the case and forced a closer bond between them in Fresno. This prevailing attitude towards the Armenian community in

general affected their settlement in a formal and more significant way--the restrictive racial covenant.¹

THE RESTRICTIVE RACIAL COVENANT IN FRESNO

The racial covenant originated from the restrictive covenant, a device which attempted to exclude any obnoxious intrusions (e.g. factories) upon the stature of a neighborhood. Until 1948, these covenants had been the principal method used by the real estate industry to maintain residentially segregated areas in American cities (Helper, 1969, p. 232). Hence, the animosity shown Armenians in Fresno formally manifested itself in this legal device. Discriminatory in nature, these legal covenants prohibited Armenians or "natives of the Turkish Empire" from living in many localities in Fresno except as servants (Figure 12). It should be pointed out that restrictive covenants were aimed at many minority groups in Fresno. That is, restrictive covenants were not limited to just excluding Armenians, but also listed Negroes, Orientals, Mexicans, and usually many other 'undesirables'.

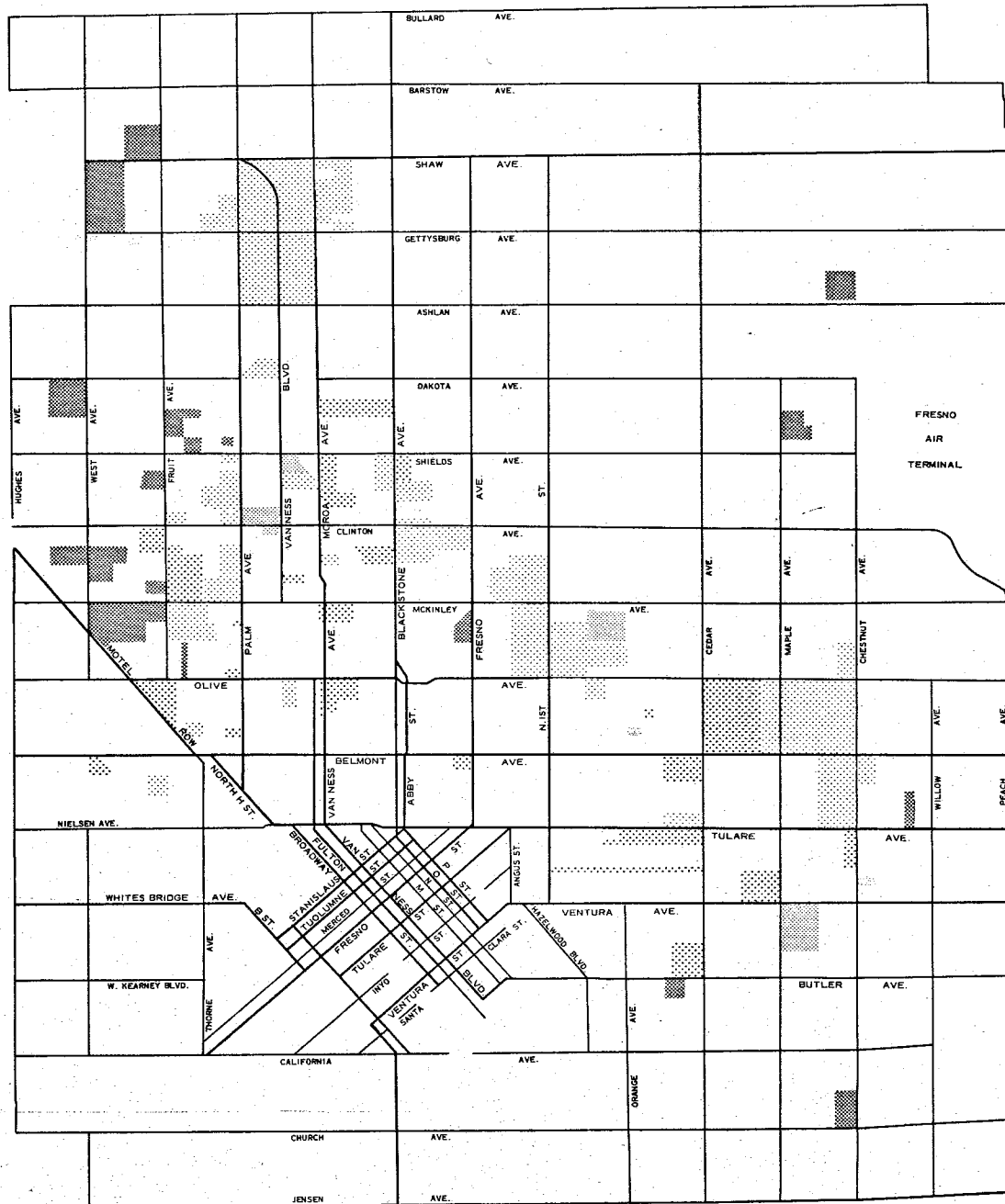
¹The restrictive racial covenant is of rather recent origin, and came into vogue after the United States Supreme Court had invalidated racial zoning in Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917). No instance of racial zoning was discovered in Fresno.

Figure 12

**Restrictive Race Covenants
Affecting Armenian Settlement**

**(Source; Fresno County Official
Records, Office of the County
Clerk).**

RESTRICTIVE RACE COVENANTS AFFECTING ARMENIAN SETTLEMENT



YEARS OF RECORDED COVENANT RESTRICTIONS

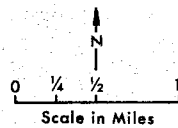
1912-26

1935-40

1947-53

1927-34

1941-46



SOURCE: Fresno County Official Records,
Office of the County Clerk

Based on covenants barring Armenians or
"natives of the Turkish Empire"

The map and discussion which follow pertain only to agreements which specifically excluded Armenians or "natives of the Turkish Empire".¹

Varied in their language, the restrictive covenants' paramount objective had been to make areas in Fresno "desirable residential neighborhoods." These covenants were excellent selling points for the developers, stressed heavily in advertisements. As one full-page spread vaunted:

. . . Normal Villa, Fresno's choicest suburban property will be sold under rigid restrictions-- this is a point we cannot emphasize too strongly. Those who buy in Normal Villa will be fully protected from re-sale of the property to undesirables (Fresno Morning Republican, April 25, 1925).

Under the rubric of restrictive racial covenants were all devices to limit the sale, renting, use or occupancy of property to Armenians as well as other "undesirables." Restrictions were sometimes inserted in the property deeds or were written quite apart from the actual property titles. Deed covenants were often drawn up by businesses or persons having a continuing interest in Fresno real estate (e.g. banks). In Fresno, as in other rapidly growing urban centers, racial covenants were created as part of real estate developments. Although it was far

¹See Appendix for actual wording of a typical covenant.

more common for real estate interests to subject property to these covenants, it was not unusual for individuals who were not engaged in real estate to restrict property to Caucasians. For example, restrictive covenants which included Armenians were also embodied in written agreements between a group of neighborhood land owners who agreed with each other and mutually bound themselves, "their heirs, successors and assigns", to maintain and observe restrictions against the occupancy or sale of their property to "non-Caucasians."

These restrictive covenants went into effect when recorded in the office of the Fresno County Clerk and commonly covered a duration of twenty-five years. There was, however, considerable variation in the time that Armenians and others were prevented from occupying property covered by these agreements--between fifteen and fifty years. There were a few covenants which would have kept them from entering or using certain property for ninety-nine years. Those covenants which ran for a shorter time could be renewed if so desired by the majority of parcel owners for another specified time period. Invariably renewed, they served as an effective barrier to the dispersal of the Armenian community in Fresno.

The restrictive racial covenant as a method for segregation in the United States was declared unconstitutional on May 3, 1948, by the Supreme Court.¹ The Court's decision was not accepted with alacrity; on the contrary, it appears that the Supreme Court's decision was taken with considerable regret, for covenants against Armenians were recorded in the County Records after this landmark decision and others.² Nevertheless, the Supreme Court's action resulted in more mobility for Armenians throughout Fresno, evidenced in the map showing "Distribution of Armenian Householders, 1951/52" (p. 54), although after Shelly v. Kraemer Armenians still faced extra-legal obstructions in acquiring homes of their choice. Techniques for residential exclusion were usually in the form of private agreements among brokers. Suggestions for circumventing the outlawed restrictive racial covenant

¹Shelly v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1 (1948). In its decision the Supreme Court ruled that enforcement of racial covenants by state courts violated the Fourteenth Amendment and withdrew the power from the state courts to enforce racial restrictions on real estate.

²McGhee v. Sipes, 334 U.S. 1 (1948); Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24 (1948). In Barrows v. Jackson, 346 U.S. 249 (1953), the issue of damages was in question. The Supreme Court held that a restrictive covenant could not be enforced at law by a suit for damages against a co-covenanter who broke the covenant.

were continually put forth. For example, in a leading book for real estate personnel, McMichael offers other devices by which the exclusion could be accomplished and stresses that "the court specified that the clause in question 'erects no shield against merely private conduct, however discriminatory or wrongful'" (McMichael, 1949, p. 321). Thus, while the Supreme Court has prohibited enforcement of written racial covenants by the state courts, it did not invalidate racial covenants per se and did not make covenants illegal so long as they are executed voluntarily.

So, although restrictive racial covenants were legally null and void after 1948, it was not until the early 1950's that Armenians had the relative freedom to live where they desired in Fresno. This is not surprising, for it was not until 1951 that the National Association of Real Estate Boards in America published its revised Code of Ethics which deleted its reference to "race or nationality" from Article 34 which had formerly read:

A realtor should not be instrumental in introducing into any neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will be clearly detrimental to property values in the neighborhood (As quoted in McGraw and Nesbitt, 1953, p. 285).

Realtors seldom violated the Code of Ethics; those who did were usually expelled by local real estate boards.

After the Shelly v. Kraemer case, a realty board in Southern California ousted one of its members in 1948 for violating Article 34 of the industry's Code of Ethics-- the realtor had sold a house to a Mexican (Helper, 1969, p. 232). It seems likely that even though restrictive racial covenants were judicially unenforceable after 1948, the real estate industry in Fresno did not make active strides to sell houses to Armenians. It was only after the revised Code of Ethics was published that Armenians in Fresno were somewhat free to select the homes of their own choice.

Prejudice of Armenians Towards Others

A known, though seldom-stated factor in the north-easterly movement of the Armenian enclave and the ethnic group's subsequent suburbanization was the continual advancement of Mexicans and blacks in the southwest section (West Fresno) and surrounding areas in central Fresno. Armenians were slowly leaving these areas of former occupants to avoid these "undesirables" (blacks and Mexicans), just as native-Fresnans had done years earlier. This movement reflected a rise in the standard of living among Armenians in general, coupled with a desire to find better housing in Fresno. In 1960, with

nineteen out of every twenty blacks living in or near the West Side and with the city's Mexican population geographically concentrated there as well, it can be stated unequivocally that former areas of Armenian clustering are now associated with lower-income groups, especially blacks and Mexicans (Figures 13 and 14). Indeed, it was this trend--the arrival in vast numbers of Mexicans and especially blacks after World War II--which helped to integrate residentially the Armenians in Fresno, for these two groups had taken over the minority group role.

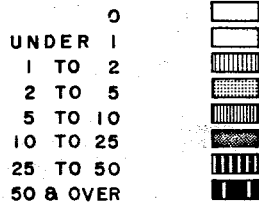
Figure 13: Black Population in Fresno 1960

(Source: Adapted from Planning and Public Works Departments of the City and County of Fresno, California, A Profile of the Population and Housing in the Fresno-Clovis Metropolitan Area, February, 1964, p. 95).

BLACK POPULATION IN FRESNO

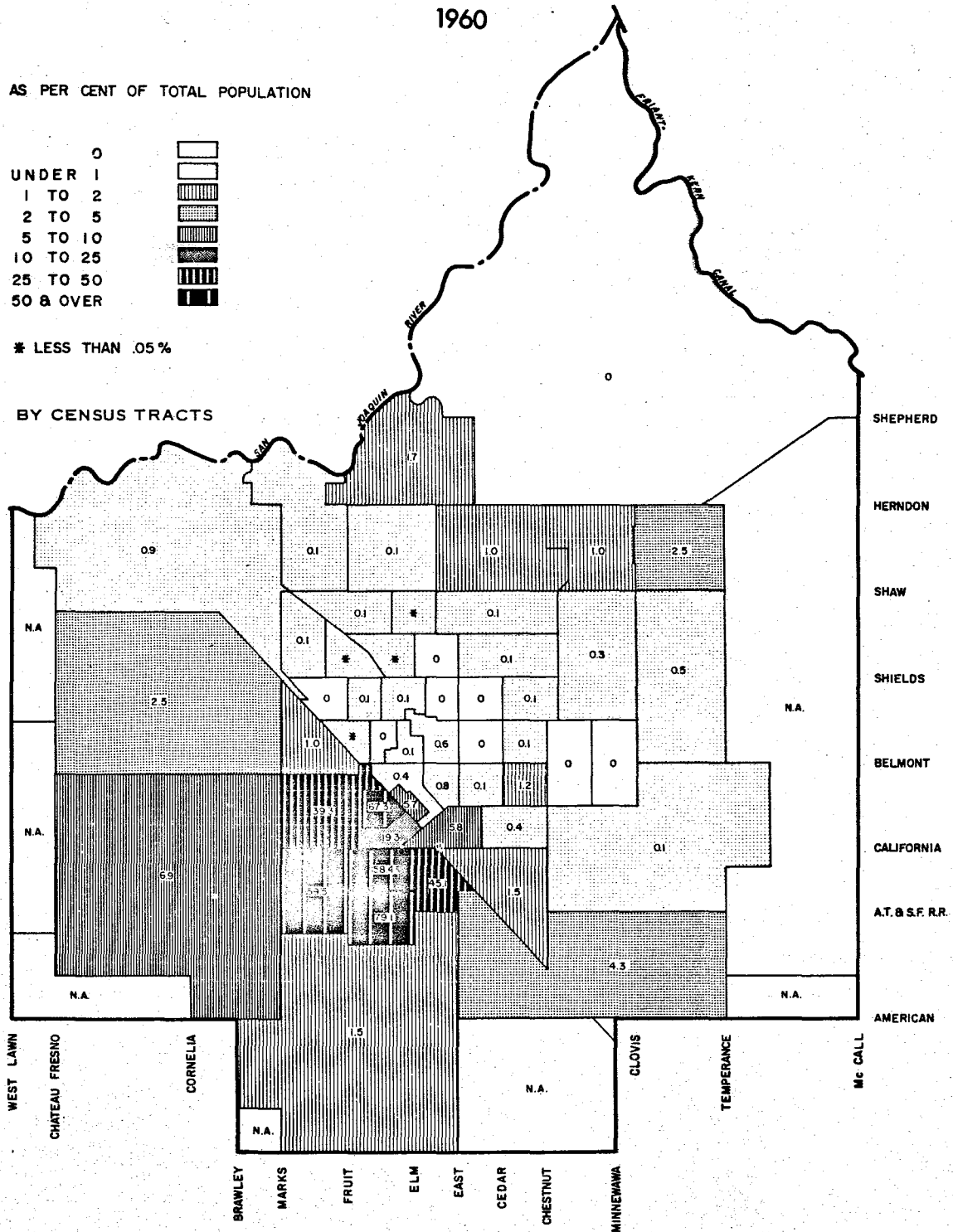
1960

AS PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION



* LESS THAN .05%

BY CENSUS TRACTS



Based on a map prepared by the Fresno County Planning Dept.

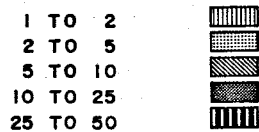
Figure 14: Mexican Population in Fresno 1960

(Source: Adapted from Planning and Public Works Departments of the City and County of Fresno, California, A Profile of the Population and Housing in the Fresno-Clovis Metropolitan Area, February 1964, p. 105).

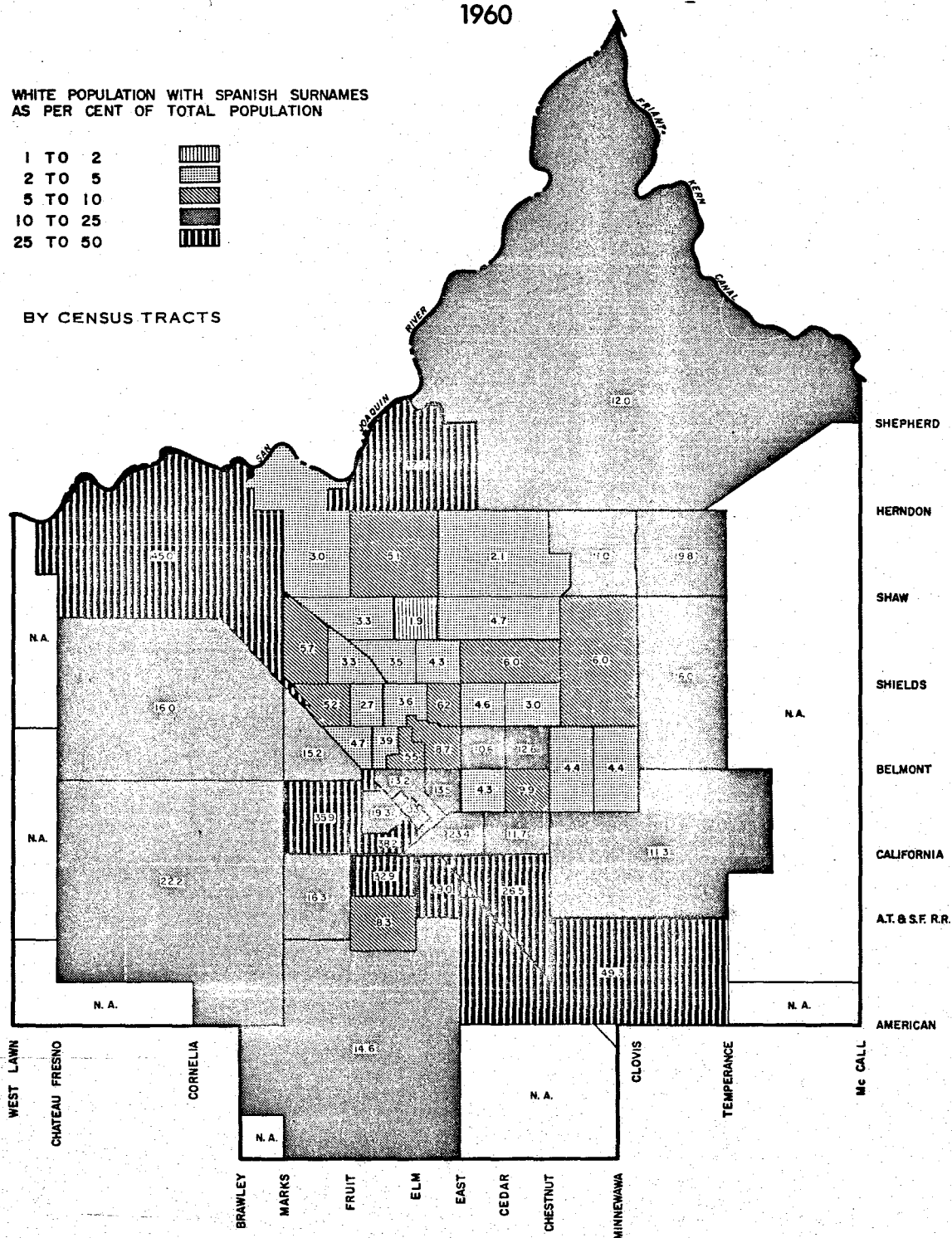
MEXICAN POPULATION IN FRESNO

1960

WHITE POPULATION WITH SPANISH SURNAMES
AS PER CENT OF TOTAL POPULATION



BY CENSUS TRACTS



Based on a map prepared by the Fresno County Planning Dept.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As immigrants groups go, the Armenians had certain advantages in their adjustment to the new cultural environment of the United States as represented in Fresno. Most of them had had some previous exposure to urbanized culture and society, and had some urban skills before emigrating. Armenians were familiar with a money economy and quite accustomed to a minority status. They were used to strangers and people who differed from themselves in culture. Combined with the multiplicity of Old World skills and particularly a middle-class ethos, the qualities valuable for survival under Ottoman rule proved highly useful in the American system.

Summary of Factors

Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno were basically those of extreme clustering, decreasing through time to one of a more dispersed or integrated pattern. Although clustering was most prominent from 1900 to about 1940, Armenian settlement in Fresno was, even in 1960, still geographically concentrated. Furthermore, not only were

Armenians segregated sharply from the native white population in Fresno, but they were residentially segregated from other minorities as well.

Factors explaining Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno varied in influence. That is, one factor was not constant or uniform in affecting their settlement in Fresno. Thus, while the traditional Armenian family was quite important in early Armenian settlement patterns, it began declining in significance around 1940 and was relatively unimportant in the ethnic group's settlement patterns by 1960.

It was the institution of the Armenian family and the Armenian Churches which were primarily responsible for the group's early settlement patterns in Fresno. The first-generation Armenians who settled in Fresno tended to hold tenaciously to these two cultural institutions. Constructing their own churches and finding comfort in living near persons of the same ethnic origin, Armenians were highly gregarious, and this cohesiveness was reflected in their early settlement patterns in Fresno. The cohesive effect of the Armenian family and the role of the Armenian Churches were reinforced appreciably by the intense prejudice against the ethnic group. Playing an integral role

in their lives in the Old Country, the Armenian immigrants' two cultural institutions--the family and religion--were major voluntary factors responsible for the clustered pattern of Armenian settlement in Fresno.

That the discrimination and prejudice displayed towards Armenians played a substantial role in their settlement patterns cannot be denied. This negative attitude by odars against the Armenians has been treated in this thesis in two ways: (1) informal prejudice, and (2) the restrictive racial covenant against the ethnic group. It should be noted that not only did the native prejudice help to shape Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno, but also hostility from other ethnic minorities, though to a lesser degree. For example, it was the dislike of Armenians by the Volga Germans who resided in the south part of town that prevented Armenian settlement there in early years.

Informal prejudice against Armenians was important in their settlement patterns to no small degree. The first-generation often bristled with rage from the hostility openly shown them. Ridiculed and discriminated against, the first-generation drew together, just as they and their ancestors had done under years of Turkish dominion, and

sought solace in their cultural institutions. However, many second- generation Armenians left the ethnic enclave, partly because of the animosity shown them and the community. From the Americanizing process of public schools, many second- generation Armenians were confronted with the transition from old to a new culture. Increasingly for them, the Old World culture held little of the meaning it did for the first- generation, and often, the young people willingly adopted American standards and left the Armenian enclave in Fresno. Although in spite of this general endeavor to become Americanized and leave the enclave, some of the second- generation remained there where they presumably felt more secure. The strong tendency to reside together by first- generation Armenians in Fresno, a proclivity undoubtedly nurtured by outside pressures from the community, was not great in the second- and third- generations' settlement in Fresno.

The affect of the spatial extent of the formal prejudice (restrictive racial covenant) against Armenians in Fresno can be more readily ascertained than that of the informal prejudice against the ethnic group. Restrictive covenants against Armenians stemmed from the unwillingness of the dominant white-native population in Fresno to

associate with Armenians. Restrictive covenants against Armenians were quite numerous--over one-hundred. The number of agreements legally forbidding Armenian residence in Fresno was only surpassed by agreements excluding blacks, Mexicans, and Orientals. These covenants against Armenians were the most significant involuntary factor in maintaining the areal concentration of the ethnic group in Fresno. Conversely, it was the lifting of these residential restrictions against Armenians that was the most important factor in their suburbanization from previous areal concentrations.

Conclusions

Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno were, in many respects, quite similar to those of other ethnic groups who settled in urban and metropolitan areas of the United States with respect to "location in space, the economy, and society" (Hauser, 1960, p. 121). Furthermore, Armenian settlement closely parallels the general high degree of urbanization among most immigrants in America (Lieberson, 1963, pp. 64-65).

The location of concentrations of ethnic groups in older, less desirable areas near the central business

district were and still are normal fixtures of most American cities, quite characteristic of American urban growth from 1840 to 1920 (Ward, 1968, p. 343). Typically, Armenians made their initial entrance into the West Side of Fresno in an older rather blighted residential area of the city, on the southern edge of the city's central business district.

Generally speaking, the longer the duration of settlement, the further out was the median location of the ethnic group, and concomitantly, the more integrated (dispersed) was its settlement pattern. Conversely, the shorter the period of settlement, the closer was the median location point, which is to say more clustered (Hauser, 1960, pp. 121-124). Again, Armenian settlement patterns in Fresno correspond to this generalization of other immigrant groups' settlement patterns. The outward movement of Armenians in Fresno can be seen by comparing the various maps of Armenian householder distribution. From the foregoing statements, postulations concerning future Armenian settlement in Fresno can be made.

Future Patterns

To accurately predict the future of any human behavior is difficult and extremely risky. However, it appears that with what information has been put forth in this thesis, some of the more salient trends in Armenian settlement in Fresno may be surmised. Influenced by a variety of socio-economic and other factors interrelated to human ecology, Armenians will continue in their current endeavor to disperse into the suburbs of Fresno, and with the passage of time, little residential concentration among Armenians should be discernible. What has already developed from this continuing residential integration among Armenians in Fresno is a pattern of living which is neither strictly old world nor American, but a modification of both cultural traits which fit into their value system (Nelson, 1954, p. 154). This trend in the development of a new culture will continue to be so as long as Armenians maintain their ethnic consciousness, even though they cease living together and perhaps in spite of it.

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APPENDIX

A TYPICAL RESTRICTIVE RACIAL COVENANT

Below is a typical grant deed making numerous restrictions on urban property in Fresno. Note that it is restriction number five which is relevant to the discussion of agreements legally prohibiting Armenians and other "undesirables" from residing in certain localities in the city.

GRANT DEED

SECURITY-FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF LOS ANGELES, a National Banking Association, having its principal place of business in the City of Los Angeles, County of Los Angeles, State of California, in consideration of Ten and No/100 Dollars does hereby grant to Vernon L. Underwood and Osie C. Underwood, his wife, as Joint Tenants all that real property situated in the County of Fresno, State of California, described as follows:

The Northeasterly one-half of Lot 135, in Forkner, Giffen Fig Gardens, Subdivision No. 1, according to the map of said Subdivision now on file and of record in the office of the County Recorder of said County.

SUBJECT to taxes, assessments, conditions, restrictions, reservations, rights, rights of way and easements of record, if any.

It is expressly understood and agreed that as a part of the consideration for which this grant is made and for the purpose of increasing the value and desirability of all said property in said Subdivision and of preventing such use as might tend to decrease its value and desirability, this grant is made and this deed is accepted by the grantee upon the following express conditions and subject to the following restrictions, to-wit:

(1) The plot herein described is declared to be residential in character, and no structure shall be erected on said premises other than one detached single family dwelling not to exceed two stories in height, a private garage and other outbuildings incident to the residential use of the plot.

(2) No structure shall be erected on any building plot, which plot has an area of less than 8000 square feet nor a width and frontage of less than 80 feet.

(3) No structure shall be erected on any building plot nearer than 50 feet to the front property line, and not nearer than 15 feet to any side street line. No building, except a garage or other outbuilding located to the rear of a dwelling house and neighboring dwelling houses, shall be erected closer than 5 feet to the side boundary lines of the plot, provided, however, that a garage wholly attached to the side wall of a dwelling house may be placed not closer than 3 feet to an interior side boundary line.

(4) No commercial or manufacturing enterprise shall be carried on upon said premises, nor shall anything be done which may be or become an annoyance or nuisance to the neighborhood.

(5) That neither said premises, nor any part thereof, shall be used in any manner whatsoever or occupied by any Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Armenian, Asiatic or native of the Turkish Empire, or descendant of above named persons, or anyone not of the white or Caucasian race, provided, however, that such a person may be employed by a resident upon said property as a servant for such resident.

(6) No trailer, tent, shack, garage or other outbuildings shall at any time be used as a residence temporarily or permanently, nor shall any residence of a temporary character be permitted.

(7) No structure shall be moved on to said premises unless it shall conform to and be in harmony with existing structures in the tract.

(8) No dwelling house shall be erected or placed upon said premises having a ground floor area, exclusive of garages, open porches, terraces, and other appurtenances, of less than 1200 square feet in the case of one-story structure, nor less than 1000 square feet in the case of a one and one-half or two story structure, and any such dwelling shall cost and be fairly worth not less than Five Thousand Dollars (\$5,000.00).

(9) No fowl nor animal other than usual and common pets such as birds, cats and dogs in reasonable numbers, shall be kept or bred upon said premises.

(10) Sewage disposal shall be by means of public sewer or individual septic tank, the type, construction and location of such tank on the plot, and the disposal field in connection therewith, shall be approved by the County Health Authority and no cesspools or outside toilets shall be permitted.

(11) Each and all of the foregoing conditions and restrictions contained in Paragraphs numbered (1) to (4), inclusive, and in Paragraphs numbered (6) to (10), inclusive, herein, shall in all respects terminate and end and be of no further effect, either legal or equitable, after January 1, 1966; and the restriction contained in Paragraph (5) herein shall be perpetual and binding forever upon the Grantee, his heirs, devisees, executors, lessees, successors, administrators or assigns.

(12) The foregoing covenants, restrictions, and conditions are to run with the land and shall inure to the benefit of and be enforceable by any person, firm or corporation deriving any right, title or interest in or to any part or parcel of the land shown on the map of said Subdivision.

(13) That the breach of any of the foregoing conditions and restrictions shall not defeat or render invalid the lien of any mortgage or deed of trust on said premises or any part or portion thereof, made in good faith for value, but in case of foreclosure and sale thereunder, the purchaser shall take title subject to all of said restrictions, conditions and limitations.

(14) Invalidation of any one of these covenants by judgment or court order shall in no wise affect any of the other provisions which shall remain the full force and effect.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, said Security First National Bank of Los Angeles, has hereunto affixed its name by its Vice President and Assistant Trust Officer, thereunto duly authorized, this 25th day of April, 1944.

SECURITY-FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF LOS ANGELES

By R. F. CHURCH Vice President

By C. A. MITCHELL, Assistant Trust Officer.

State of California,) ss.
County of Los Angeles)

On this 26th day of April, 1944, before me, Ellen G. Seboldt, a Notary Public in and for said County, residing therein, duly commissioned and sworn, personally appeared R. F. Church known to me to be the Vice President, and G. A. Mitchell known to me to be the Assistant Trust Officer of Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles, the association that executed the within and foregoing instrument, known to me to be the persons who executed the within instrument on behalf of the association therein named, and acknowledged to me that such association executed the same.

Witness my hand and official seal.

My Commission Expires June 4, 1947 (SEAL) ELLEN G. SEBOLDT Notary Public in and for the said County, State of California #5471

(ENDORSED) Trust No. Grant Deed Forkner-Giffen Fig Gardens, Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles to Vernon L. Underwood, and Osie G. Underwood, his wife, as Joint tenants Dated April 25, 1944.

Recorded at Request of San Joaquin Abstract & Title
Company at 44 min. past 10 AM Vol. 2177 Official Records,
pg. 1 et seq May 18, 1944 Fresno County, California
11/1.60 I. E. FARLEY, County Recorder.
20253-T By J. G. COLEMAN Deputy Recorder.