NEW YORK'S LITTLE SYRIA, 1880-1935

by

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis argues that, from 1880 to 1935, Syrian immigrants, who comprised an enclave on the Lower West Side of Manhattan in New York City, sought to control the pace and extent of their assimilation into mainstream American society, by distancing themselves from their ethnicity, or by using their ethnicity to their advantage, or by combining both approaches to varying degrees, as they determined individually, rather than monolithically.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Joseph D. Shibley (1930-1988), a man who had real courage, and who taught me the meaning of sacrifice.

NEW YORK'S LITTLE SYRIA, 1880-1935

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I. INTRODUCTION

On April 30, 1903, *The Independent* carried an interview of an unidentified Syrian immigrant in New York City whom the Sultan of Turkey had sentenced to death for publishing treasonous articles. The man recalled that, years earlier, within ten hours of arriving at Ellis Island, he and his mother and uncle had taken rooms in a brick tenement on "Washington Street, only three blocks away from Battery Park." Washington Street was "the center of our quarter," the locus of New York's Syrian Arabic-speaking community. He had no difficulty finding work "as a clerk in an Oriental goods store," while his uncle secured employment in jewelry manufacturing and his mother supplemented their "joint income by embroidering slippers after the Lebanon fashion." In time, he became a newspaper reporter and thereafter a publisher—the role in which he offended the Sultan. He proudly observed that "[t]he little Syrian city which we have established within the big city of New York has its distinctive advantages and its distinctive institutions," including multiple churches, Arabic-language newspapers, restaurants, drug stores, and dry goods shops, as well as firms manufacturing garments, silk items, rugs, tobacco, and myriad other products. He had hoped to visit Syria in 1897 but aborted his plan upon learning that the Ottomans intended to arrest him, and in 1902, the Ottoman governor in Beirut issued the formal death proclamation. Like many of his fellow immigrants, the man had become a naturalized citizen of the United States. "When we first came we expected to return to Syria, but this country is very attractive

and we have stayed until we have put out roots." Indeed, "[t]wo-thirds of our men now are American citizens," with more to follow. Yet these immigrants yearned for the welfare of their former countrymen, who lacked the opportunities and freedoms enjoyed in America.[1]

This interview revealed immigrants who were also emigrants. Duality inhered in their daily lives. Originally expecting to visit America temporarily, they found freedom, remunerative work, and an intangible sense of community that led many of them to change their minds and stay permanently. While most had become naturalized citizens, they still felt an understandable attachment to their native land and the families and friends left behind. They did not, however, leave their culture behind. These "Orientals," in the parlance of the day, brought their distinctive habits and customs, their vital, if fractious, religious sects, and, above all, their foreign language, Arabic, to Manhattan's Lower West Side. There they created and nurtured a thriving ethnic enclave, a mini-city within a mega-city, where each immigrant in his or her own way adapted to the new environment, negotiating daily between assimilation and ethnicity.

The scholarly consensus holds that New York's Little Syria, also known as the Syrian colony and the Syrian quarter, served as the model for virtually all other Syrian communities in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sources describe the unique importance of the New York colony with such evocative terms as "cradle," "principal," and, above all, "mother."[2]

Yet no scholarly monograph on New York's Little Syria, covering the period from 1880 to 1935, has been published to date. A concise demographic study published

in 1904 addressed three Syrian enclaves in New York City: the Lower Manhattan neighborhood at issue here, plus two sections of Brooklyn. In 1911, a philanthropic journal published a detailed, four-part series on Syrian immigrants nationwide, without focusing on New York City. A few pages of the seminal history of Syrian immigration to the United States, published in 1924, referred to the Syrian colony in Manhattan. Sundry scholarly works on early Syrian immigration, published from 1975 onward, have given cursory treatment to New York's Syrian quarter. The standard volume on the role peddling played in facilitating Syrian assimilation, published in 1985, discussed, but did not elaborate on, various aspects of the New York settlement. An encyclopedia on New York City, published in 1995, contained entries that made brief reference to the neighborhood. A 2002 anthology of essays, some scholarly and some not, dealt generally with Arabic-speaking immigrants in New York, including one essay, eight pages long, lacking footnotes or endnotes, on Little Syria. A book of archival photographs, published in 2004, depicted the neighborhood before and after its demise, but contained virtually no text, other than captions. A few pages of a 2009 study of Arab American experiences from the mid-1960s forward discussed Little Syria's history. In 2013, a volume of interdisciplinary essays on multicultural studies contained a chapter on Syrian American identity construction, of which several pages discussed New York's Syrian colony in its heyday and decline.[3]

A couple of books intended for a popular audience in the early twentieth century included illustrated scenes, or anecdotal textual treatment, of New York's Little Syria. Neither volume made any pretense of scholarship. This historically significant

community simply has not received sufficient study, much less an analysis of evidence extending well into the twentieth century.[4]

Consequently, a historiographical lacuna exists that this thesis aims to fill. The goal here is to make an original, if modest, contribution by writing a scholarly history of New York's Little Syria, beginning with the influx of immigrants starting around 1880, and ending in 1935, with the demise of both the first Syrian-owned bank, D. J. Faour and Bros., and the leading English-language periodical published in the neighborhood, the *Syrian World*. The narrative seeks to demonstrate how the first wave of Syrian immigrants in New York City sought to control their assimilation into the mainstream, sometimes distancing themselves from their ethnicity, sometimes using ethnicity to their advantage, sometimes both. This does mean that they succeeded in gaining control, but that, consciously or subconsciously, they tried. Incessant tensions between ethnicity and assimilation, and between individuals grappling to resolve those tensions, dominated the public and private lives of Syrian immigrants. Some took more readily to assimilation than others. Some valued ethnicity more highly than others. Some had greater resources or resourcefulness than others. Yet all strove to harness and monitor the pace and extent of their assimilation, and they did so as independent individuals, not as a monolithic bloc.

Some historical background on this immigrant group should inform our analysis and interpretation. Let us begin with nomenclature. Contemporaries referred to them, variously, as "Assyrians," "Syrian-Lebanese," "Lebanese," "Arabs," "Arabians," and "Turks," but most often as "Syrians." Indeed, these people typically referred to themselves, during the era under study, as "Syrians." Of Semitic heritage, they came

from a vast geographic area comprising the nations known today as Syria, Lebanon, Israel, and Jordan, plus the territories inhabited by the Palestinians. From the time of the Arab conquests in the seventh century, this part of the world had been ruled by Muslims, believers in Islam, a monotheistic religion based on the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. In the early sixteenth century, the Ottomans—Muslims who ruled an empire based in Turkey—conquered the entire region, called Greater Syria. This region included the province of Mount Lebanon (*Jabal Lubnan*). Roughly bounded by Tripoli in the north, Sidon in the south, mountains bordering the desert in the east, and the Mediterranean Sea in the west, Mount Lebanon supplied the vast majority of Syrian emigrants throughout the world during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Therefore, most first-wave Syrian immigrants were actually Lebanese. Mount Lebanon lay *within* Syria; to be Lebanese was to be Syrian. For a few hundred years, Syria consisted, administratively, of four districts—Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Sidon—each with its own governor, appointed by the Ottoman Sultan. In 1861, however, the Ottomans created the special administrative district (*mutasarrifiyya*) of Mount Lebanon, granting it political autonomy in the limited sense that its provincial governor was a Christian, who received advice from a committee of elected representatives of local religious communities. Whereas Mount Lebanon now had a Christian governor, the rest of the area that we know today as Lebanon, including the great port city of Beirut, was ruled by the Ottoman governor in Damascus, until 1888, when the Ottomans made Beirut a separate province, as part of another administrative reorganization of Syria. From inception, Mount Lebanon's governor, though Christian, remained an officer of the

Ottoman Empire, answerable to the Sublime Porte. The *mutasarrifiyya* in Mount Lebanon came to an end, as did the Ottoman Empire, during World War I. Only then, after having experienced a (mild) form of political autonomy, did many Lebanese began to differentiate themselves from Syrians. In 1920, under the postwar Mandate system, France's High Commissioner in Syria proclaimed the creation of Greater Lebanon, which covered a substantially larger area than Mount Lebanon, as a French protectorate, separate and distinct from Syria. The League of Nations subsequently gave its approval. A constitution was established in 1926, but the Lebanese Republic, as it was thereafter known, did not gain genuine political independence as a sovereign nation until well into the 1940s.[5]

Christianity overwhelmingly predominated in this immigrant group. The sources generally agree that roughly ninety percent of Syrian immigrants in the first wave to the United States were Christians. Only about ten percent were Muslims.[6] By the early 1890s, virtually every village in Mount Lebanon had lost at least one male to emigration.[7] In his 1904 study of the New York Syrian community, demographer Lucius H. Miller observed, "It must be remembered that it is almost wholly the Christian population of Syria that is emigrating."[8] For the most part, then, we are talking about Lebanese Christians.

Over centuries of Ottoman rule, religion created identity. Arabic-speaking people identified themselves by confession, "a situation fostered by the Ottoman practice of governing subject people according to their membership in a religious community."[9] Each religious community (*millet*) had its own arrangements with the Ottomans, who

sought primarily to maintain order and collect revenue.[10] Religion supplied a set of dogmas for the community to believe as well as a hierarchical structure entrusting political authority, at the basic level, to the local ecclesiastical chieftain.

This does not mean that religion constituted the only line of demarcation within the *millet* system. Factions also sprouted from class differences, regional considerations, clan politics, and patronage networks.[11] Significantly, however, *millet*, a term originally signifying a religious community, "in the nineteenth century came to mean nation."[12] Put another way, a *millet* "was really a church organized into a nationality as well as a nationality organized into a church."[13] Polity and religiosity were linked under the nebulous concept of nationhood. A hodgepodge of *millets* evolved by the time of the modernizing reforms (*Tanzimat*) enacted by the Ottomans in 1839. If one analogized *millets* to apartments (flats), "the walls of the flats had crumbled," in historian Kemal H. Karpat's words, "leaving the *millets* in a large hall exposed to each other's curious looks."[14] Curiosity fostered distrust and dissension. Despite good intentions, the *Tanzimat* produced negative consequences for Syria, serving "in effect to aggravate and further polarize the intercommunal relationships particularly between Muslims and Christians as well as between Christians and Jews."[15] By the middle of the nineteenth century, friction between religious sects developed to a degree not previously experienced under Ottoman rule.

Such developments spawned religious sectarianism in Syria's Mount Lebanon. The residents there and elsewhere in Syria had suffered under Egyptian occupation since 1831. Locals revolted against the occupiers in 1840, and the Ottomans, with help from

Great Britain and Austria, launched a military campaign that drove the Egyptians from Syria later that year. Its rule restored, the Ottoman Empire implemented *Tanzimat* in Mount Lebanon. The process of European intervention allowed for considerable participation by French Jesuit and American Protestant missionaries in the operation of schools within Syria. Over the course of twenty years, sectarianism "was actively produced," as historian Ussama Makdisi argued, with entire communities of politicized co-religionists replacing local notables as lynchpins of power. Unfortunately, competing power-brokers in Mount Lebanon could not agree on how to meld reform under a sectarian order with time-honored traditions involving rival elites. Meanwhile, long-festering hostilities between Christians and their inveterate enemies in Mount Lebanon, the Druze—a Shi'ite Muslim offshoot sect that we shall discuss later—worsened considerably. Sectarian violence erupted in 1841, and again in 1860 with the infamous Druze slaughters of Christians. The Druze massacred between 12,000 and 15,000 Christians in Mount Lebanon and Damascus during the spring of 1860. The specific trigger for this violent eruption, sometimes called the civil war of 1860, remains unclear. But thousands of Christians—homeless, fearful, and lacking any alternative—fled Mount Lebanon. The Ottoman authorities did not immediately put a stop to, and may have encouraged, the massacres of Christians, restoring order only after pressured to do so by European powers. The French even landed troops in Mount Lebanon. In 1861, the Ottomans finally reacted by creating the *mutasarrifiyya* of Mount Lebanon.[16]

By then, the sectarian die had been cast. In addition to deaths, injuries, dislocations, and property damage, the massacres of 1860 marked "a birth of a new

culture that singled out religious affiliation as the defining public and political characteristic of a modern subject and citizen," while causing a "legacy of confessional bitterness and suspicion" that would burden future generations of Syrians.[17] Early immigrants to the United States would not forget that "almost all they had known under Ottoman rule was oppression and fear."[18] In particular, members of a Christian sect known as the Maronites, to be discussed in Chapter IV, cited the 1860 debacle as the main cause of their departure from Mount Lebanon.[19] Renown immigrant scholar Philip K. Hitti, himself a Maronite, observed that most Syrians designated Ottoman persecution, "the alien yoke of the Turks," as "the chief cause of their emigration," even though economic considerations actually were the primary motivations.[20] Gregory Orfalea's grandmother, who immigrated to the United States from Mount Lebanon in 1894, remembered the Druze as thieves. Orfalea thought that her memories may have reflected the influence of stories she had heard about Druze atrocities in 1860, before she was even born.[21] The memoir of another Syrian Christian immigrant, Salom Rizk, spoke of "the unpredictable volcano of hate which inspired the relations between the Druses and Christians."[22] Historian Akram Fouad Khater dismissed such persecution narratives as mythological. But evidence of this sort illuminates the importance of historical memory. How people recall past events, or how they believe past events happened, is a complication that historians must take into account. Moreover, negative memories of the Druze appear consistent with the fact that Christians dominated the early Syrian emigration.[23]

These Christian immigrants had largely rural origins. Syrians in New York came most often from mountain villages, where farming and silk production were the major sources of livelihoods. According to historian Leila Tarazi Fawaz, Mount Lebanon produced raw silk for export from the late sixteenth century, and "[b]y the nineteenth century, it was the main crop of the Mountain."[24] The world-famous trading center of Beirut, on the eastern edge of the Mediterranean Sea, would not have flourished without support from the village dwellers of Mount Lebanon. As sociologist Afif I. Tannous pointed out, "The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant class has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain." Those backers were Mount Lebanon's farmers, who, for centuries, scratched out livings by "blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains."[25] Faced with notoriously "inhospitable soil," they often supplemented agricultural income by selling craftwork.[26] Historian Samir Khalaf referred to the mountain folk as "exploited peasantry" living under "feudal authority."[27] Gualtieri used the term "Syrian peasantry," Khater discussed the "peasants" of Mount Lebanon, and Hitti described these people as dominated by "the Maronite feudal aristocracy," and "in the grip of a feudal system" until the cataclysmic events of 1860.[28] Though poor and unsophisticated, these family farmers possessed fortitude and resilience—existential necessities on Mount Lebanon. It is accurate, and not sentimental, to think of them as having developed strong instincts of survival. When they arrived in

New York, they entered an urban setting where trade and commerce provided subsistence and eventually prosperity. But their roots were mainly rural and agricultural.

The exodus of Mount Lebanon's refugees abated after the restoration of peace in 1861, but migration within the Ottoman Empire continued. Over the next few decades, the internal migration of Christians, often to Beirut, gradually developed into an external migration, frequently illicit, to North and South America. Widespread circumvention of legal restrictions on external travel resulted from misuse of internal travel permits. The ongoing outflow of Christians from Mount Lebanon did not augur well for the Ottoman Empire. Even some Muslim emigration, though legally forbidden, took place in the late nineteenth century. Years of debate within imperial offices over the emigration problem led to a policy change. Rather than crack down on Christian emigration, the Sultan decided in the second half of the 1890s to liberalize it, generate revenue from associated fees, and repopulate abandoned areas with Muslims who were then flowing into Syria from the Balkans. The Sultan did nothing, however, to address the root causes of Syrian emigration. Above all, demographic pressures from unrelenting population growth, and unfavorable developments in the region's dominant industry, silk production, including new competition from the Far East and related price deflation in the late nineteenth century, caused people to leave Mount Lebanon and its weakened economy. So, too, did remittances from emigrants, and stories told in letters or in person by returnees, who had earned income in the United States, often through peddling. Success by countrymen abroad fed on itself, generating further emigration, as others on the mountain wanted to experience success. Motivations for emigration, by the late nineteenth century, were thus

primarily economic, though religious persecution and political grievances also appear to have played significant roles.[29]

Against this historical backdrop, the present study argues that early Syrian immigrants in New York sought to control their assimilation, asserting or minimizing their ethnicity as they individually chose. The evidence in support of this argument addresses three distinct contexts: business, religion, and arts and letters. Primary sources include, without limitation, contemporary newspapers, magazines, directories, census compilations, memoirs, journals, government reports, hearings, statutes, and court cases, as well as a play whose story took place in New York's Little Syria. Additionally, the papers of historian Adele L. Younis, which are part of the Syrian American Archival Collection housed at the Center for Migration Studies (CMS) on Staten Island, enhance our understanding of the importance of New York's Syrian community. To a lesser extent, so does a brief manuscript written in the late 1920s by a member of that community, obtained from the Faris and Yamna Naff Arab American Collection of the Smithsonian Institution. Consistent with the availability of sources, the present study devotes greater attention to the twentieth century than the nineteenth, but the latter receives its due. Perhaps unsurprisingly, more primary materials are available for the later part of the period.

The need to gather and preserve such materials lay at the heart of Marcus Lee Hansen's landmark address on immigration history and historiography, delivered to the Augustana Historical Society in 1937. Hansen offered the novel prediction that interest in the immigrants' past would wane among the second generation—the sons and

daughters of immigrants—and revivify in the third generation—the immigrants' grandchildren. He made an urgent call for efforts to prevent the loss of historical evidence when the immigrants themselves passed away. Historians need to salvage such evidence, for the primary benefit of descendants of immigrants who wanted to learn about their own heritage. The impetus for the present study derives, indirectly at least, from Hansen's original thought. As he cogently pronounced, "Immigration not only has its history, it has its historiography."[30]

A plethora of secondary literature weaves its way into the present analysis. Not only do secondary sources help to orient this study historiographically, they offer the benefit of insights of others who have researched and written in the field, illuminating evidentiary and analytical nuances that might otherwise be missed. Accordingly, Chapter II provides a firm scholarly foundation by elucidating the relevant historiographical writings. It discusses key themes and developments in the scholarship of immigration and ethnicity generally, and of early Syrian immigration in particular, helping to situate the latter in relation to the former.

Chapter III takes up the matter of business, so dear to Americans and Syrians alike. It examines Little Syria's evolution into the American hub of Oriental trade and commerce, emphasizing the Arabic-speaking immigrants' marketing of goods and services associated with their ethnicity. Such commodities included all manner of dry goods and notions, sold by pack-carrying peddlers, as well as silks, laces and linens manufactured by Syrian labor in Syrian shops, plus Arabic tobacco and numerous other items considered exotic in that time and place. Of course, many Syrian restaurants served

tasty Arabic food and coffee that most New Yorkers had never before experienced. In such ways, Syrians made their livings by selling to the public products of their ethnicity. Popular perceptions of the Levantine immigrants as beggars and peddlers, the demographic changes that impacted Little Syria, the roles played in business by Syrian women, and Syrian business directories, also find their way into the interpretive mix, as does a story that scholars have heretofore ignored: the insolvency of the Faour Bank, a mainstay of Little Syria until well into the Great Depression.

Chapter IV shifts the focus to religion. It identifies and explains the four major Christian sects to which the vast majority of early Syrian immigrants belonged, as well as the attendant factionalism to which they tenaciously clung, even as it devolved into public hostility and physical violence. To varying degrees, Maronites (French-influenced Syrian Catholics), Melkites (Greek-influenced Syrian Catholics), and Orthodox Christians brought Eastern rites from the Levant to New York, joined by a tiny number of Syrian Protestants. As we will see, Maronite immigrants veered sharply toward assimilation; Melkites evinced the same tendency, but with less enthusiasm; Orthodox remained locked into ethnic patterns; and Protestants, by dint of their Western religion's predominance in the United States, retained the fewest traces of ethnicity. In New York, Orthodox fought Maronites, and Orthodox even antagonized other Orthodox. Religious sectarianism in New York's Syrian immigrant community graphically pushed conflicts between assimilation and ethnicity to the fore, with historically contingent results. Sectarianism had only one major exception: annual reunions among Syrian Christians,

commencing in 1930. In addition to Christians, this chapter addresses Syrian Muslims (especially the Druze), as well as Syrian Jews, in the Lower West Side colony.

Chapter V discusses arts and letters. It summarizes contributions to the discourse on assimilation and ethnicity made by New York's Syrian *literati*, including Kahlil Gibran, Mikhail Naimy, and Ameen Rihani, and it devotes attention to Little Syria's culturally significant but ill-fated English-language publication, the *Syrian World*. That periodical not only published works by Gibran, Naimy, and Rihani, but also Arabic tales and proverbs, and historical pieces on Near Eastern cities, leaders, and religions. It educated readers on their claimed Phoenician heritage and Arabic traditions, reported on Levantine politics and the activities of Syrian emigrants internationally, and provided a forum for Syrian immigrants to exchange views on matters of common interest. Its serialization of a play featuring a Syrian immigrant heroine, *Anna Ascends*, several years after the play's successful run on Broadway, evinced ethnic pride in the dramatic portrayal of Syrian qualities, particularly in the lead character.

The *Syrian World* played an essential role in the construction of Syrian immigrant identity. Consequently, it is cited as a primary source, with appropriate content analysis, in Chapters III, IV, and V. Discussion of its doomed business enterprise—a topic virtually untouched in the published scholarship—appears in Chapter V. The *Syrian World*'s business model never really made sense, as the publication's own words tend to prove. Its failure, under two publishers, provides a fascinating window into efforts by a key institution in Little Syria to straddle the line between assimilation and ethnicity.

Chapter VI, the conclusion, brings the narrative to a close and summarizes the central argument: that Syrians in the first wave of immigration tried, in various ways, to control their assimilation, proceeding, not as a collectivity, but as independent individuals.[31]

Certain terms require definition *ab initio*. "First wave" and "early" denote the Syrian immigration that began in earnest during the 1880s, and continued until the imposition of immigration restrictions by the National Origins Act, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, of 1924. The sources generally agree that the early Arabic-speaking diaspora (*mahjar*) began about 1880, with only sporadic immigration to the United States before then. There is no scholarly consensus, however, on when the diaspora ended. Ernest McKarus claimed that World War I marked the termination of the first wave. Eric J. Hooglund, Gregory Orfalea, and Paula Hajar suggested that it ceased in 1924. Evelyn Shakir put the conclusion at 1925, as did Hooglund in an apparent (slight) modification of his prior view. Michael W. Suleiman and Sarah M. A. Gualtieri believed the first wave lasted until World War II. Eschewing the term "wave," Alixa Naff observed that Syrian immigration—peaking in 1913, dropping with the advent of World War I—increased anew when the prospect of restrictive legislation loomed in 1924, and then underwent a precipitous reduction between 1925 and 1948. Since all these scholars produced essential works of historiography, their divergent views surely deserve respect. With that caveat, the author of the present study, like Hooglund (originally), Orfalea, and Hajar, finds the sharp diminution of Syrian immigration after 1924, directly resulting

from new legal restrictions, to be the most logical determinant of first-wave periodization.[32]

"Assimilation" means the processes by which immigrants blend into a more homogeneous society and shed attributes that foster heterogeneity. Such processes may involve multiple stages and varying degrees of pressure, but homogeneity always remains the goal. The purest idealization of assimilation derived from Israel Zangwill's 1909 play, *The Melting-Pot*, promulgating the notion that all distinguishing races, traits, and habits of immigrants should disintegrate in a boiling crucible, then recombine to produce new, homogeneous Americans.[33] The antithesis of assimilation, *a fortiori*, is cultural pluralism or ethnic diversity.[34]

"Ethnicity" refers to a culturally distinguishable group of people of common heritage. Deriving from the Greek *ethnos*, meaning race or nation, and its adjectival form, *ethnikos*, ethnicity embraces race and national origin, but also language, dialect, and other determinants of cultural distinctiveness. Ethnicity has always included an inherent self-contradiction, labeled a "double sense" by Werner Sollors, since it connotes "otherness"—differences from the mainstream—as well as the polar opposite, "general peoplehood"—commonalities with the mainstream. Other ways of conceptualizing ethnicity are as a culturally distinguishable "sub-set" of the nation's population, or as a group of people who would formerly have been viewed as one of the "foreign minorities."[35]

With the foregoing definitions in mind, it now behooves us to survey the salient scholarly writings on American immigration and ethnicity, including Syrians in the first

wave. Such writings laid the intellectual foundations on which the present study humbly seeks to build.

II: THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

In the late nineteenth century, leaders of immigrant groups began to historicize their own experiences in an evolving process of self-identification as ethnicities. They insisted on recognition of the particular benefits their ethnicities contributed to mainstream culture, adding depth and complexity to the story of assimilation. Professional historians augmented the discourse by demonstrating that ethnic-mainstream interactions helped to shape American society. Immigrants were not merely recipients of cultural influence; they actively influenced the culture, too. Cultural exchanges became quotidian affairs, as immigrants grew in numbers and confidence, and started to behave in more participatory ways than their predecessors had. Historians had to account for the element of human agency among immigrants and the dynamic nature of a growing and evolving society.[36]

Beginning in the 1880s and increasing in the 1890s, so-called "new" immigrants, principally from southern and eastern Europe as well as parts of Asia, transformed the United States. Once a land of Protestants of basically northern and western European descent, America developed into a far more polyglot society. Often darker in pigmentation than "old" immigrants and their American-born progeny, new immigrants brought unfamiliar cultural practices, plus Catholicism, Judaism, Islam, and other religions, to our shores. A scholarship anchored in racist assumptions, ignominious in retrospect, soon emerged. In 1899, William Z. Ripley published a sociological study of

foreign races, distinguishing national and regional types on the basis of physical characteristics, including head formation, facial features, and physical stature. The chapter entitled, "The Jews and Semites," placed Syrians within the family of speakers of Semitic languages whose origins were uncertain. Beyond that, he offered no insight, linguistic or otherwise, into the Syrian people.[37] Edward Alsworth Ross' sociological study of immigration in 1914 demonstrated disdain for new immigrants. A section on "the Levantines" gave them high marks for certain attributes but accused them of seeking monetary gain without working for it, and characterized them as dishonest: "the lustrous-eyed peddlers from the Levant bring in again the odious haggling trade with its deceit and trickery." Such immigrants, whose "feeling that truth is a luxury not to be brought out on common occasions gives them an advantage in a commercial system which takes for granted a good deal of Anglo-Saxon straightforwardness." Syrians' business chicanery posed a threat to citizens of the old stock, in Ross' alarmist view.[38] Two years later, Madison Grant bemoaned the decline of the Nordic race, which he deemed genetically superior to others. Anglo-Saxons, he feared, would not reproduce in sufficient numbers to compete successfully against the influx of new immigrants—"the Slovak, the Italian, the Syrian, and the Jew."[39] Tying race to pigmentation in 1920, Lothrop Stoddard warned of the imminent demise of white supremacy. He divided humanity into five skin colors—white, yellow, brown, black, and red—and assigned Syrians to the world's brown peoples. The United States, he lamented, had suffered invasions "by hordes of immigrant Alpines and Mediterraneans, not to mention Asiatic elements like Levantines and Jews." New immigrants were remaking America society not by blending in but by

displacing Nordics. "Above all," he proclaimed, "there is no more absurd fallacy than the shibboleth of the 'melting-pot.' As a matter of fact, the melting-pot may mix but it does not melt."[40] Stoddard's nativist view sharply contrasted with the judgment of journalist Herbert Casson, who ascribed to "interbreeding of many nations" the emergence in America of "practically a new race."[41]

But Casson's was a dissenting opinion. The melting-pot concept that Stoddard rejected on nativist grounds proved similarly unpersuasive to scholars of a more progressive bent. In 1910 and 1912, Peter Roberts wrote two books on new immigrants—one providing basic facts about their native languages, religions, and governments, the other offering argument and analysis in support of immigration, particularly as a means of supplying the labor force needed for America's expanding economy. In his first book, the second edition of which appeared in 1912, Roberts called Syrians "a mixed people, being the descendants of Jews, Phoenicians, etc."[42] In his second book, Roberts related the story of an Anglo-Saxon American whose house a female Syrian peddler entered, without first knocking, as was customary "in her country," meaning in her land of origin. The peddler meant no harm, but neither did she blend in.[43] Horace M. Kallen's two-part article in *The Nation*, published in 1915, argued that democracy promoted legitimate variations in opinions and outlooks—the opposite of homogeneity. Kallen injected into the debate a number of new and provocative terms, including "ethnic diversity" and "cooperative harmonies," that couched the idea of difference in a positive light.[44] Randolph Bourne extended the discourse in 1919, declaring that the conflicted nationalistic feelings of immigrants demonstrated the

melting-pot's failure. He advocated conceptualizing the United States as a "cosmopolitan federation of national colonies, of foreign cultures," in which immigrants' "trans-nationalities" gave rise to internal dynamism and external engagement.[45] In the same vein, Kallen returned in print five years later, rejecting the melting-pot paradigm and coining the term "cultural pluralism" to describe the amalgam of ethnicities that promoted creativity and freedom of thought.[46]

The raging immigration debate was thus joined as of 1924, when Congress passed the National Origins Act, popularly known as the Johnson-Reed Act, arguably "the most racist" immigration law in U. S. history.[47] The law did not materialize overnight; it represented the culmination of four decades of public discourse and hand-wringing over new immigration. As early as the 1880s, nativists joined in opposition, seeking legislative restrictions of immigration. The politically active Immigration Restriction League (IRL) was founded for this purpose in 1884. More generally, the religions, modes of dress, and socially awkward habits of new immigrants became sources of bitterness and even fear to nativists, many of whom perceived aliens as existentially threatening, throughout the 1880s and 1890s.[48]

By 1899, the federal government began to act in response to the influx of new immigrants. The Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Commerce and Labor adopted a new policy of identification for statistical compilations, classifying immigrants by "race" in addition to country of origin.[49] Complicating the issue, "race" was used interchangeably with an even more nebulous term, "race or people," of which "Syrian" was one of nearly forty.[50] Moreover, the naturalization statute, in force since 1790, with

multiple subsequent amendments, limited eligibility to aliens who were either "free white persons" or, from 1870 forward, of African nativity or descent. This meant that Levantine immigrants, including Syrians, could legally apply to become naturalized Americans citizens if and only if they constituted "free white persons." This question was not free from doubt in the early twentieth century, as the statute, frequently referred to as "Section 2169," contained a crucial flaw: it failed to define "free white persons." This statutory omission, coupled with ambiguities in the new regulatory scheme of immigrant categorization, guaranteed opacity and uncertainty.[51]

As if vague administrative classifications and a gaping hole in federal law were insufficiently vexing, immigrants themselves created additional problems. A report of Secretary of State John Hay, transmitted to Congress by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, described instances of forgery, fraud, and other improprieties committed by aliens seeking to game the naturalization system. Consequently, the federal government took further action. Congress passed legislation in 1906 that expanded the Bureau of Immigration into the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization (BIN), placed the BIN in charge of all naturalization matters, and established uniform procedural and substantive standards for naturalization. Unfortunately, the 1906 law did not remedy the absence of a statutory definition of "free white persons." Hence, the BIN could decide which aliens qualified as white, but such determinations were administrative only. The agency still had to defer to the courts for legal determinations of the identical question in litigated cases. Further, under the 1906 statute, the federal government had a duty to oppose the petitions of applicants whom it deemed legally unqualified for naturalization. Such a

duty lacked all precedent.[52] Additional governmental action came in the form of the federal Immigration Commission, originally created in 1907, which sent a report to Congress in 1911 that struck "a moderately restrictionist position," as historian John Higham put it, further influencing public discourse on immigration law and policy.[53]

Petitioning immigrants denied naturalization by adverse BIN determinations on the issue of whiteness could resort to court. But courts rendered inconsistent rulings, undermining Congress' desire for uniformity. In fact, the chief of the BIN's Division of Naturalization testified before a House subcommittee that judges differed so radically on the meaning of "white" that one had held a Japanese immigrant to be white. This testimony prompted a congressman to ask, incredulously, "You say Judge Swayne held that the Jap was a white man?" The derogatory reference to the prevailing applicant as "the Jap" elicited no admonition, reflecting contemporary racist, especially anti-Asian, norms.[54] A federal judge did not exaggerate, then, in characterizing the "free white persons" statute as "most uncertain, ambiguous and difficult both of construction and application," allowing "no place for the consideration of intellectual or moral qualifications or past achievements in a nation or people."[55]

World War I heightened nativist fears of aliens. In 1921, only a few years after the signing of the armistice, Congress enacted legislation that inaugurated the era of immigration quotas based on national origins. Although a temporary measure, the 1921 law constituted perhaps "the most important turning-point in American immigration policy," since it tied "national origins" quotas to "the pre-existing composition of the American population": specifically, three per cent of all persons of each national origin,

as determined by the 1910 census.[56] Unsatisfied, nativist forces pushed for more restrictive legislation, prevailing in 1924, when the Johnson-Reed Act reduced quotas from three per cent to two per cent and, more importantly, changed the baseline, turning the clock back to the 1890 census, instead of the 1910 census.[57] As of 1890, far fewer American residents had national origins in southern and eastern Europe or in the Near East. Hence, the national origins test, as modified in 1924, favored "old" immigrants, closest "in racial heritage to the original settlers of the United States."[58] That Congress consciously intended to reduce the number of new immigrants is borne out by charts in a February 1923 committee report that compared the number of each nationality, computed as two per cent of the 1890 census, with the correlative number computed as three per cent of the 1910 census. One chart in the report, for example, showed that 928 Syrians could be admitted each year under then-existing law, whereas the contemplated law would reduce the number to a paltry thirteen.[59] As enacted in May 1924, the Johnson-Reed Act set a minimum annual quota of one hundred for any nationality and contained an unambiguous sub-heading, "Numerical Limitations."[60] With President Calvin Coolidge's signature on the Act, the IRL had triumphed after forty years of anti-immigration lobbying, though, according to historian Desmond King, it would have preferred even more draconian restrictions.[61]

American law thus limited the number of Syrian immigrants after 1924 to approximately one hundred per year.[62] Yet the sharp numerical reduction in Syrian immigration was not the only lasting effect of the immigration debates. The issue of racial identity persisted as well. The question of whether Syrians constituted "free white

persons" for naturalization purposes had been hotly contested in naturalization cases from 1909 to 1915, with the active involvement of leaders of New York's Syrian community. Naturalization litigation became the subject of articles in the *Syrian World* in the late 1920s, while public contestation of the Johnson-Reed Act, whose effective date was legislatively postponed twice, continued. The Act formally took effect in 1929, under the administration of President Herbert Hoover.[63]

During the maelstrom of immigration debates, Philip K. Hitti, himself an immigrant from Mount Lebanon, authored the first scholarly book on Syrian immigrants, published in 1924. This pioneering work by "the father of studies about the Arabic-speaking immigration" epitomized assimilationist history.[64] In order to allay popular misconceptions, Hitti began by explaining what Syrians were not. They were not Turks, though they hailed from a region ruled by the Sultan and were classified as Turks in census reports until 1920. Perhaps surprisingly, Hitti also claimed that Syrians were not Arabs, despite their use of the Arabic language and Arabic heritage. If Hitti's claim seems strained and outmoded to today's reader, it nonetheless conformed to contemporary usage by Syrians themselves, especially Christians, who made up the vast majority of this immigrant population: they did not ordinarily call themselves Arabs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A mixed race of Semitic heritages, Syrians comprised a collection of kin groups, born to their religions and overwhelmingly Christian. Hitti discussed multiple causes of emigration but, throughout his text, emphasized the importance of Christianity, going so far as to list all the Syrian churches throughout the United States, by denomination, name of priest or pastor, and street

address. Additionally, he cited Louise S. Houghton's four-part series, "Syrians in the United States," published in *The Survey* in 1911, for her findings, aimed at skeptics, that Syrian immigrants appreciated liberty, kept clean homes, and obeyed the law. Tellingly, he downplayed evidence of anti-Syrian prejudice and ignored unfavorable government findings, as, for instance, the suggestion in the Industrial Commission's 1901 report that Syrians lacked a strong worth ethic. In short, he deliberately portrayed Syrian immigrants in a positive light, seeking to facilitate their acceptance and assimilation, in the face of contemporary trends of nativism.[65]

Hitti's work remained the standard account, and his assimilationist model the guide, for decades of historical writings on the early Syrian immigration. Tannous conducted field studies of Syrian immigrants in the Deep South during the early 1940s, finding that these former farmers from Mount Lebanon villages readily adapted to American practices and attitudes. In an article published in 1943, he used the term "acculturation" to describe such shifts, pointing out, for instance, that the immigrants "have also adopted in the main the attitude of the southern whites towards the Negroes," noting that they referred to their Negro servants as *abeed*, the Arabic term for slaves.[66] In 1946, the Institute of Arab American Affairs issued a booklet, written by Habib I. Katibah and Farhat Jacob Ziadeh, extolling the accomplishments and contributions of Arabic-speaking immigrants as they moved upward, socially and economically, making loyal and productive Americans. The booklet depicted Syrian immigrants as good citizens who blended into, while helping to shape, American society. This brand of

historiography, to paraphrase a popular song, accentuated the positive and eliminated the negative.[67]

An anthology of essays, *One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of our Racial and National Minorities*, published in 1945, was the second edition of a work published under a different title in the 1930s. As evidenced by its new title, *One America*, the book celebrated assimilation. In the Preface to the third edition, published in 1952, the co-editors quoted a portion of their Preface to the second edition, written in 1945, that "we are moving toward a cultural democracy. We have become and will remain One America."[68] The book's brief section on Syrian immigrants, authored by Katibah, identified three stages of their assimilation: (1) peddling, from the late nineteenth century to the mid-1900s, (2) orientation, from the mid-1900s through World War I, and (3) diversification, following World War I, in which they became fully ingrained in American society. Linear progress prevailed.[69]

Similarly, a 1958 article in *Commentary* centered Syrian immigration within the assimilationist tradition. "America's Syrian Community: Pattern of a Minority," by Morroe Berger, described an immigrant population marked by significant business success, strong family ties, and a general lack of interest in politics. Finding that English had gradually replaced Arabic as the language used in many Syrian churches, and that American mass culture had permeated Syrian life, Berger concluded that Syrians had assimilated in a manner typical of other ethnicities.[70]

The assimilationist paradigm reflected in these scholarly writings reached its apogee during the 1950s and early 1960s. In 1951, Oscar Handlin famously observed

that "the immigrants *were* American history," making "unexpected adjustments" to adapt to new surroundings.[71] Milton M. Gordon produced a classic study in 1964, putting "assimilation" not just in the book title but in half the chapter titles, too. While generally respectful of immigrant groups, he warned that "ethnic separation" should not be permitted to threaten or disrupt communal relations.[72] But scholarship focusing on assimilation and its natural concomitant, conformity, drew strong opposition in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, the works of sociologists Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan in 1963, and historian Rudolph J. Vecoli in 1964, rejected assimilationism as a facile paradigm, arguing that ethnic immigrants often did not conform to mainstream expectations. These authors stressed the distinctiveness, tenacity, and perceived advantages of specific ethnic identities. Such writings took immigration scholarship in a new, ethnically-oriented direction.[73]

The historiography of first-wave Syrian immigration, however, lagged behind this new trend. In 1966, a book comparing the Arab Muslim communities of Detroit, Michigan and Toledo, Ohio, linked Islamic religiosity with assimilation into American society. While such a link may seem counterintuitive in light of the terrorist acts committed by radical Islamists on September 11, 2001, and again during the 2013 Boston Marathon, it proves just how ingrained the assimilationist model remained through the mid-1960s. In 1969, a thin anthology of essays by Arab-American scholars, based on papers presented at the first convention of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates in the preceding year, contributed valuable ethnographic research of a contemporary nature. Edited by Elaine G. Hagopian and Ann Paden, the studies

anchored themselves in the present, not the past. The one truly historical work, a chapter by Younis, surveyed early Syrian immigration, with an assimilationist emphasis on upward mobility, noting that many prominent Syrian merchants in New York City relocated from Little Syria to Fifth Avenue by 1900. Thus, works published during the 1960s on Syrian immigrants in the first wave did little, if anything, to move the historiography in a new direction. The scholarly needle did not move, except that book titles finally acknowledged, contrary to Hitti's claim in 1924, that Syrian immigrants were indeed Arabs, at least in some sense.[74]

During the 1970s, the historiography of early Syrian immigration still failed to catch up with the broader scholarly trend stressing ethnicity over assimilation. In 1973, Philip M. Kayal argued that Syrian Catholics altered their religious practices throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in order to conform to those commonly used in Roman Catholic churches in America. He called this process "Latinizing." Melkites, for example, introduced the sermon, the collection plate, genuflecting, blessing themselves as Latins, putting Latin vestments on their priests, tolerating statues in their churches, and building churches without domes over altars, consistent with Catholic norms in American churches. Kayal offered modified versions of his argument both in a chapter of a 1974 anthology on Arab-Americans and in a 1975 work of synthesis, co-authored by his brother, Joseph M. Kayal, demonstrating that religious accommodation played an integral role in the assimilation of Syrian Catholics into the mainstream culture.[75] The anthology, edited by Barbara C. Aswad, was the second book published with support from the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, and, like its

predecessor in 1969, contained essays that analyzed recent data and trends, offering only cursory review of immigration during the first wave. The contributions reflected increased levels of ethnic self-identification but were not, in the main, historical. Thus, the 1970s saw a major increase in field research on Syrian immigrants and their descendants, yet published historical works about this population did not evolve paradigmatically until the decade following Hitti's death in 1978.[76]

The 1980s witnessed continued scholarly developments in the study of immigration and ethnicity. One the one hand, scholars still portrayed ethnicity as influential. On the other hand, ethnicity no longer seemed to crowd out assimilationism; "since the early 1980s," in Russell A. Kazal's words, "historians have edged back toward questions of assimilation."[77] A good illustration of the renewed interest in assimilationism was an encyclopedia contribution by Philip Gleason in 1980, suggesting that national identity trumped ethnic identity, as certain American ideals held a widespread unifying appeal, irrespective of ancestry or heritage. In 1981, Higham wrote of assimilation's contradictions but also of its fundamental success in allowing ethnic identities to flourish beneath an umbrella of national identity and ideology. The next year, Alan M. Kraut addressed Americanization—assimilation with manifestly patriotic overtones—as a struggle for reconciliation between old and new. Olivier Zunz criticized the field in 1985 for neglecting assimilation, arguing that immigrants and their progeny always faced assimilationist pressures. John Bodnar's contribution of the same year placed immigration history in the context of a capitalist economy and rejected a monolithic view of assimilation, finding class stratification within ethnic groups. The

assimilationist model thus reappeared, albeit with unprecedented nuances, during the 1980s.[78]

That decade marked a point of departure for the historiography of first-wave Syrian immigration. Papers presented at a 1983 symposium held in honor of Hitti at the University of Minnesota's Immigration History Research Center, led to publication of *Crossing the Waters: Arabic-Speaking Immigrants to the United States before 1940*, edited by Eric J. Hooglund. Lamenting the dearth of scholarship on early Syrian immigrants, Hooglund presented a wide variety of essays, ranging from paeans to more critical works that examined previously unexplored topics or offered fresh insights into familiar topics, based on new archival research and oral histories. Some of the contributions—for instance, on the reasons for Syrian immigration, charitable work by Syrian female immigrants in Boston, and the establishment of Syrian immigrant communities in Maine and Texas—portrayed Arabic-speaking immigrants assimilating into the mainstream while managing to retain their ethnic identity. Other narratives described obstacles to assimilation that Syrian immigrants had to overcome, circumvent, or otherwise negotiate, such as violence, prejudice, threats, and social ostracism. By penetrating into the darker side of immigration history, the analysis became more complex; the interpretation, less anodyne.[79]

Other writings on Arabic-speaking immigrants issued forth in the 1980s. An anthology edited by Sameer Y. Abraham and Nabeel Abraham, published in 1983, presented studies on Arab Muslim communities in metropolitan Detroit, and, more importantly for our purposes, a bibliographical essay on Arab-American immigration, a

historical essay on adaptation to American culture by Arab Muslims, a preview of Alixa Naff's book-length manuscript (as yet unpublished) on the significance of peddling in the story of Syrian assimilation, plus an updated iteration of Kayal's views on Syrian Catholic accommodation.[80] Kayal took this opportunity to explain, as Hitti had not done in 1924, that Syrian Christian immigrants in the first wave considered the appellation "Arab" to be an insult; "they did not want the public to see them as 'hostile' outsiders or as Muslims, so they resisted this identification."[81] In 1984, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) published a booklet of essays on Americans of Arabic descent, intended for a popular readership. Only one essay dealt with the Syrian first wave *per se*. The next year, the ADC produced a second set of essays, this time edited by Hooglund, that were decidedly more substantive than the contributions in the first volume. Hooglund's introduction diverged from conventional wisdom by calling the "Syrian peddler" an ethnic stereotype, and discounting its importance as part of the narrative of Syrian assimilation.[82]

If the output of anthologies reflected the emergence of ethnicization as a suitable historiographical model for early Arabic-speaking immigration, Naff's *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience*, published in 1985, harkened back to the assimilationist model established by Hitti. She interpreted the immigrant experience as essentially one of smooth, upward mobility. Unlike Hitti, however, her methodology involved extensive reliance on oral histories, in addition to traditional archival research. She tape recorded approximately three hundred hours of interviews with immigrants and their descendants across the country. While peddling had always figured in Syrian

immigration history, Naff's main contribution was to highlight, in contrast to Hooglund, the critical role played by peddling in creating a path for Syrian assimilation. Peddling required no education and little training; it gave self-motivated but poor rural folk the opportunity to work for themselves; and it was lucrative. In rural as well as urban areas, peddlers carrying clothes, laces, buttons, and other dry goods in packs worn on their backs, made door-to-door sales, and learned to speak serviceable English. A network of peddlers and wholesale distributors gradually developed, leading to the formation of Syrian communities throughout America, as well as a few thousand Syrian businesses, prior to World War I.[83] Consistent with her narrative of a relatively unfettered road to assimilation, Naff dealt gingerly with the issue of prejudice. Like Hitti, she acknowledged the problems inherent in the "free white persons" naturalization law and the court cases that took years to resolve the question of Syrian whiteness. But Naff contended that the crisis over whiteness "hardly dented the spirit or self-esteem of the Syrians despite the fact that nothing had so threatened their admission and acceptance into American society."[84] She overlooked or downplayed the long-term damage done. Only at the end of her book did Naff temper her assimilationist thrust. Making an observation worthy of Marcus Hansen, she found that the relatively smooth track to assimilation for Syrian immigrants led to a dearth of ethnic pride in their children; had it not been for the interest taken by their grandchildren in their own history, "Syrian-Americans might have assimilated themselves out of existence."[85]

Toward the end of the 1980s, Orfalea authored a volume on the entire history of immigration by Arabic-speaking peoples, from start to present. In his analysis of the first

wave's experiences, he offered an insight into the double-edged message of a 1919 New York theater production, *Anna Ascends*, featuring a Syrian immigrant as the heroine. On the one hand, Syrian assimilation had succeeded to the point that a Broadway play whose central, sympathetically drawn character was Syrian, enjoyed commercial success. On the other hand, the price of that character's assimilation, according to Orfalea, was the deliberate concealment of her ethnicity. Or was it? We shall closely examine this play, and its relation to assimilation and ethnicity, in Chapter V.[86]

In the field of immigration history generally, the 1990s saw further scholarly efforts to reconcile assimilation with ethnicity. Perhaps the clearest example was Ewa Morawska's 1994 article on historicizing the assimilationist model. She advocated making that model "time-and-place specific and embedded in multidimensional contexts. Rather than a universally applicable proposition, assimilation theory would become one of a number of possible explanatory frameworks in which the immigrants' adaptation to the host (American) society can be accounted for." Just as ethnicization could serve as a reasonable paradigm, so could assimilation. The superiority of one model over the other, she argued, depended on "concrete historical circumstances."[87] Rudolph J. Vecoli applauded the heightened historiographical fidelity to experiences actually undergone by immigrants, including their own contributions to such experiences. Real life involved a dialectical process, termed "syncretism," in which ethnicities played active roles. In a separate but related development, scholars began to embrace the concept of ethnicity as an invention, a cultural construction, as Werner Sollors first posited in 1989. Immigrant groups, proud of their ethnic backgrounds, represented themselves in public. To do so,

they had to decide what to exhibit, what to display, as emblematic of their ethnicity. Acts of exhibition or display constituted social or cultural creations of ethnicity by the immigrants themselves. Sollors' more provocative suggestion that ethnicity amounted to a "collective fiction" encountered opposition, however, when a number of leading historians replied in 1992 that ethnicity, though invented, grew from empirical evidence and actual experiences of real people.[88]

This more ethnically-focused approach became pronounced in the historiography of early Arabic-speaking immigrants during the 1990s. Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi edited a thick anthology of essays on the Levantine emigration, published in 1992. According to one essay, by Charles Issawi, an estimated 350,000 persons emigrated from Syria by 1914, two-thirds to the United States and the rest mainly to South America, with over 100,000 of these emigrants from Lebanon (still, at the time, a province of Greater Syria), as much as half the population in some districts. In the first scholarly journal article elucidating trends in research on Arab-Americans, published in 1993, Theodore Pulcini delivered a workmanlike survey of scholarship from the 1920s through the 1980s. In 1994, Ernest McCarus contributed an edited collection of essays on Arab-Americans. Although several essays focused on current matters, McCarus' introduction, Eva Veronika Huseby-Darva's essay on new immigrants' identity issues from the 1880s to World War I, Alixa Naff's condensed presentation of points previously elaborated in *Becoming American*, and Suleiman's analysis of the development of political attitudes among Arab-Americans, provided historical insights. A book by Younis, published posthumously in 1995, addressed the first wave of Syrian immigration.

A brief section, entitled, "Washington Street: The Foremost 'Little Syria,'" offered a celebrationist account of New York's Syrian colony in the 1890s, the immigrants' success in business, the interest taken in their exoticism by the local press, the educational role played by the Women's Syrian Union, and their affinity for political freedom. In 1997, Evelyn Shakir's scholarly volume, *Bint Arab*, meaning "Arab daughter," focused solely on women of Arabic descent in the United States. Previously, other scholars had recognized women's economic contributions to Syrian immigrant families, sometimes as peddlers but more often in supportive roles. While supplementing the peddling discourse, Shakir made an original contribution by delving deeper into the evidence, demonstrating that Syrian women labored as millworkers, factory hands, entrepreneurs, and educators, that they joined voluntary associations, and that they actively sought marriageable mates, all within an ethnicity laden with patriarchal traditions. Also in 1997, Oswaldo M. S. Truzzi applied a comparative methodology in an article on Arabic-speaking immigrants in the United States and Brazil. Suleiman edited a collection of essays, *Arabs in America: Building a New Future*, published in 1999, which, as suggested by its sub-title, looked to the future. Suleiman's introduction, however, established the historical context and evoked the sense of alienation that the Levantine newcomers experienced, while Helen Hatab Samhan's essay on Syrians as not fully white addressed the prickly issue of racial identity during the first wave. Separately, Suleiman penned a journal article describing the influence wielded by two Syrian immigrant brothers, the Mokarzels, who published periodicals in New York's Little Syria, and who shall be discussed in Chapter V.[89]

Thus far in the twenty-first century, the field of immigration and ethnicity has tended to depart from narratives of migrations in one direction in favor of narratives of migrations back and forth between native and foreign lands. Dirk Hoerder argued in a 2006 journal article that concepts of "trans-regionalism" and "transculturalism" came closest to explaining the history of migrating peoples, acknowledging his intellectual debt to Bourne, the promulgator of "trans-nationalism" decades earlier.[90] In the same journal issue, Hasia R. Diner decried the use of jargon on the ground that words of art explained little about "what immigrants and their children in actuality said and did."[91] Yet two years later, with no apparent sense of irony, Diner wrote that immigrants "negotiated" the new society to which they migrated, reconciling traditional customs with changed circumstances, resulting in the "invention" of ethnic cultures that were continually "constructed."[92] That a scholar of Diner's eminence employed such terms proved how solidly they had ensconced themselves in the discourse.

Akram Fouad Khater's 2001 volume on first-wave Syrian immigrants took the concept of "invention" further, marrying it to the concept of "home." Although earlier scholars had observed that pioneering immigrants did not originally intend to stay permanently in the West, hoping to return to the Levant after amassing wealth, Khater traced the two-way migration, and, in an original contribution to scholarship, demonstrated how the native society evolved under the influence of returnees. Formerly poor farmers—"peasants" from "mountainous villages"—the returnees now possessed financial assets, as well as new ideas about gender and class, and other accoutrements of modernity. They invented a home for themselves in the West, by contributing habits and

attitudes brought from the Near East, and, upon repatriation in the Levant, by contributing habits and attitudes brought from the West.[93] Khater sharply criticized the assimilationist narrative of Naff's *Becoming American*. Despite its value as the first book to document the historical experiences of Arabic-speaking immigrants, it failed "to note the struggles by these emigrants to retain a distinct identity and the coercive elements which forced them ultimately to give up so much of their distinctiveness."[94]

Sarah M. A. Gualtieri also made original contributions to the historiography of first-wave Syrian immigration. A scholar of race and ethnicity, Gualtieri authored a 2001 journal article, carefully analyzing the Syrian naturalization cases of 1909 through 1915. Distancing herself from prior historians, including Naff, the Kayals, and to some extent Samhan, Gualtieri interpreted the naturalization crisis, not as a glitch in an assimilationist trajectory, but as a historically contingent process in which Syrians chose to claim whiteness, thereby constructing their own racial identity. In 2009, Gualtieri produced an important book that addressed, in addition to the naturalization crisis, other tensions and conflicts that assimilationists had ignored or minimized, including *Anna Ascends* and, most poignantly, the 1909 lynching of a Syrian immigrant from a jail cell in Florida. Gualtieri contended that ethnicization provided a better paradigm than assimilation for understanding the lives of early Syrian immigrants, for they held an ambiguous, "in between" racial status, even if courts deemed them white.[95] She, too, rejected the celebratory approach of Naff (and others), for its "uncritical acceptance of whiteness within Arab American studies." Implicit in Gualtieri's writings was an unspoken

attribution of racism to Syrians in the first wave, and a failure of historians to address this problem unsentimentally.[96]

The early twenty-first century saw additional works on Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States. The publication in 2002 of *A Community of Many Worlds*, a collection of elementary essays intended for a popular readership, coincided with a museum exhibition on Arab-Americans in New York. A 2003 work by Elizabeth Boosahda dealt specifically with immigrants in the first wave, focusing on Worcester, Massachusetts. Like Naff's *Becoming American*, Boosahda's volume was based largely on oral histories, as well as archival research. Assimilationist in interpretation, anecdotal in presentation, Boosahda's contribution included a chapter on "Americanization" that explained the documentation required in the naturalization process and an appendix setting forth a timeline of developments in the Eastern Orthodox Church. In 2011, sociologist Dalia Abdelhady produced a book, based on more than eighty interviews of Lebanese immigrants in New York, Paris, and Montreal, addressing their cosmopolitanism—that is, their ability to traverse multiple cultures. To the limited extent that she dealt with the historiography of early Syrian immigration to the United States, Abdelhady argued that assimilation, cultural pluralism, and transnationalism lacked the power of "diaspora" as a paradigm to explain immigrant experiences globally. Attempting to distinguish her perspective from Gaultieri's, Abdelhady did not address Gualtieri's explicit treatment of diaspora, offering no explanation for this apparent omission. Abdelhady did, however, cite Gualtieri on the history of Arabic racial identity in the United States.[97]

This literature review brings the reader up to date on the published historiography of the first wave of Syrian immigration. A recent work of historical synthesis that does not discuss Syrians nevertheless deserves mention because it coined the term "contributionism" to define the predominant ideology that evolved between the imposition of immigration restrictions in 1924 and the removal of such restrictions in 1965. Robert L. Fleegler's *Ellis Island Nation*, published in 2013, illuminated the process by which mainstream thought gradually accepted new immigrants as sources of improvement to America's culture, economy, and society. Southern and eastern Europe immigrants came to be seen as contributors. The present study demonstrates that much the same was true of early Arabic-speaking immigrants. Originally conceptualized as beggars and liars, they eventually earned appreciation for the contributions they made to New York's burgeoning cosmopolitanism. Beyond that, they told themselves, repeatedly, that they had valuable traditions, talents, and ideas to contribute to the betterment of American life. Ethnic contributions served as vehicles by which Syrian immigrants could plausibly strive for a modicum of control over the ineluctable forces of assimilation.[98]

III. MAKING MONEY

Edward Corsi, a former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization in New York, wrote in his 1935 memoir: "About 1880 our country was deluged with numbers of fakers belonging to a group called 'Maronites,' followers of Maron, a supposed saint who lived in the fifth century. These people spoke Arabic and came here from Lebanon, in Syria." After immigration authorities processed them, "they would at once go out into the streets to ply their trade. At the end of his first day in America the whining Maronite would have added five dollars to his hoard, while the Irish or German immigrant would be bustling around trying to find work to enable him to earn a dollar."[99] Corsi's prejudice is more than a little off-putting to a modern reader. But it vividly demonstrates the nativist mindset that Syrian immigrants faced upon setting foot in New York. They were seen, by many, as beggars. Of course, begging in New York was preferable to starving in the homeland. In 1880, a Syrian archbishop wrote to the American *chargé d'affaires* in Constantinople (now Istanbul), about the human consequences of famine: "Finding no cereals at all, some are eating corpses and become ill in consequence."[100] Unsurprisingly, some of the earliest Syrian immigrants did indeed beg to survive.

Throughout the 1880s, the *New York Times* reported on Arabic-speaking beggars in the vicinity of Castle Garden, the immigration entry point at the time.[101] A story in May 1882 began, "Three pitiful-looking Syrian Arabs were landed at Castle Garden yesterday." These individuals sought asylum in the United States and funds from the

reporter.[102] An article in April 1884 described a young Syrian male who claimed to be searching for his brother-in-law while "stranded on this shore without money and without friends," adding that he "applied to the authorities at Castle Garden for relief."[103] Twelve days later, two newly-arrived Syrian families told the young man that they had seen his brother-in-law in France, accompanied by "two Syrian tramps."[104] Soon thereafter, a religious order of nuns and a man affiliated with a Christian publication gave the young Syrian five dollars to pay for his passage to France, en route home to the Levant.[105] In August 1885, the newspaper described "[s]ix dirty Arabs from Mount Lebanon, in Syria," who arrived with religious objects to sell, enough for a few days' sustenance, after which they "would trust to God's providence and to the charity of kind-hearted people." Speaking only Arabic, they indicated "that they would like to start on a begging tour." The article further noted that, about ten days earlier, other Arabs had entered Castle Garden, assured the authorities they would not engage in begging, and then, "tramped up Broadway and solicited alms from passers-by." They were arrested and repatriated "as paupers."[106] In January 1888, a story about two separate incidents involving Arabic-speaking immigrants implied that they were not just beggars, but also thieves. In the more recent episode, two dozen immigrants had been denied entry since the commissioner lacked assurance "that the Arabs would not become a charge upon the State." The prior instance involved thirty-five Arabs who had claimed they had no means of support until, discovering this was the wrong thing to say if they wanted to gain admittance, "they proved that they had ample means." The article cited comments by an immigration official that Arabs "were educated to steal" and that he had been obligated,

at times, "to permit the landing of thieving Arabs who had money enough to keep themselves out of the poorhouse."[107] One month later, an article lamented that "[t]he Syrian Arabs from the Lebanon range have undertaken to invade the United States," and asserted that one of these, a woman holding a baby, solicited handouts at Castle Garden. The article invidiously compared Swedes to Arabs:

> There was a perfect contrast in the appearance of the two classes of immigrants. The Swedes, dressed in their best clothes, with earnest, honest faces, impatient to start for their destinations in the West and begin making capital for themselves by honest toil, and the dirty, ragged, shiftless Arabs without stockings, their hands in their pockets, and puffing away at cigarettes, which they roll up themselves from tobacco they managed to beg from their fellow-immigrants.[108]

The journalist's palpable contempt for the Levantines was sadly typical. A story in 1889 reported that Arabic-speaking immigrants with "a large supply of cheap trinkets and jewelry" to peddle nationwide were detained by authorities and would probably not be granted entry, "as their poverty and nomadic intentions seem likely to reduce them to the condition of paupers."[109] By the end of the 1880s, then, Arabic-speaking immigrants had developed an unenviable public image.

Begging, and the negative publicity it drew, carried over into 1890. In May, the *New York Times* ran a story under the headline, "'Sanctified' Arab Tramps," with the sub-heading, "Wretched Maronite Beggars Infesting This Country." It described the Syrian immigrants as resembling in "clannishness and outlandish manners" both "the Chinese and what are called the Dago Italians," although "in many respects they are inferior to the Chinese and Italians," who at least worked hard and honestly. The Christians from Lebanon, however, were notorious beggars: "No sooner had these people passed through the gates of Castle Garden and emerged into the city than they at once

began to ply their trade of begging." Packing "rosaries and knickknacks," the immigrants undertook daily tours of "begging and peddling." Thus, popular media reportage drew a link between peddling, a legitimate means of earning a living that would figure prominently in the narrative of early Syrian immigration, and the parasitic practice of begging for alms.[110]

A handful of favorable *New York Times* articles in the 1880s helped to offset negative impressions. In January 1884, five Syrian immigrants reportedly "expressed themselves as willing to work if they could find any one to employ them." Conversant in Arabic only, they were "anxious to get work," but would travel to Mexico if they could not find jobs in New York.[111] The next day found these five men "in tears" at Castle Garden, "convulsively clutching" their throats, because a missionary, who previously had been disciplined for charging a crippled Italian immigrant money for a Bible, "threatened to cut their throats."[112] In September 1889, an article cited a commissioner's belief that, contrary to popular suspicions that Syrians came here under "a system similar to the padrone system," such immigrants pursued various livelihoods and were "among the most thrifty and profitable to the country who arrive here."[113] In the same month, another story helped to assuage fears of Syrians' using a padrone-like system, whereby a patriarchal figure sponsored immigrants from his homeland who, upon arrival in New York, became economically beholden to him. A form of indentured servitude, it had previously caused the detention of Italian immigrants. The Syrians insisted that "the one or two persons on Washington-street to whose addresses they said they were bound had nothing whatever to do with inducing them to come to this country." Finding their

assertions credible, the authorities granted entry, resulting in "manifestations of joy" by the immigrants.[114]

Once admitted to New York, Syrian immigrants typically made their way to the southern end of Washington Street, just north of Battery Park, where they found others who spoke Arabic and could help them meet immediate needs, such as food and shelter. It is neither apocryphal nor condescending to refer to these immigrants as just off the boat. That is what they were, in a manner of speaking. Little Syria was the first neighborhood to which they could walk; it was literally the closest enclave to Castle Garden.

Ascertaining its precise geographic borders presents a challenge. Sources disagree, reflecting the fact that the colony expanded over time, but raising questions of when, where, and how much. In October 1892, a *New-York Tribune* article described the "young but growing community with some queer customs" found on Washington Street. Located within the city's First Ward, the Syrian quarter was "bounded by Rector, Greenwich, Morris and Washington sts.," which meant that it had not yet grown beyond Rector Street to the north, Morris Street to the south, Greenwich Street to the east, or Washington Street to the west.[115] (See figure 1.)

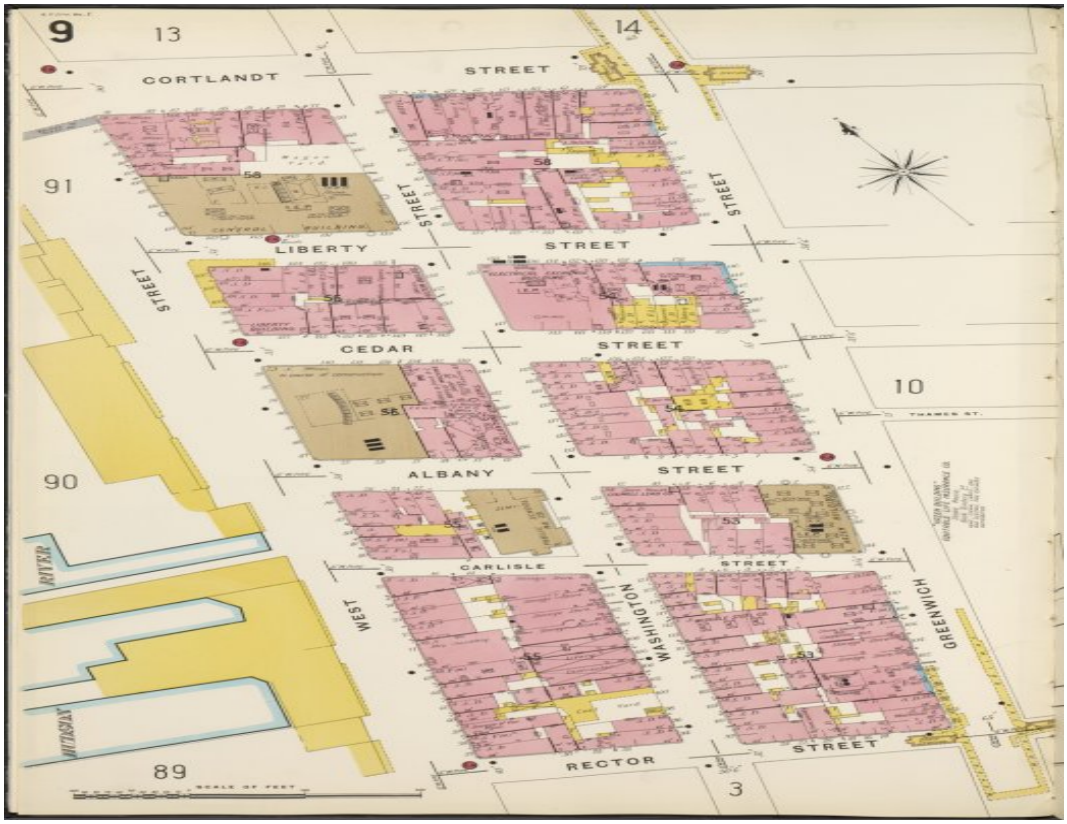

Figure 1. Map of a large portion of Little Syria, from Rector Street north to Cortlandt Street, with Washington Street running through the heart of the district (1905). Observe the Hudson River's close proximity to the west. Little Syria was established near the docks. Today, the heavily-visited National September 11 Memorial and the planned Liberty Park are located just north of Albany Street. Source: Map Division, The New York Public Library.

Later sources agree on Battery Place, rather than Morris Street, as the southern boundary, and West Street, rather than Washington Street, as the western border, with Washington Street as the central artery. Hence the neighborhood unquestionably expanded one block southward, toward Battery Park, and westward, toward the Hudson River. Sources remain in conflict, however, as to the northern and eastern borders, and thus on the extent of expansion in those directions. The *New York Times* stated in

December 1901 that "[t]he Syrian quarter, in Lower Washington Street and thereabout, seems to be spreading," though it did not say where or how far.[116] A 1903 story in *The Independent* referred to a Syrian restaurant on Cortlandt Street, indicating a northern boundary several blocks north of Rector Street, the northern boundary in 1892. The story also mentioned Greenwich Street as the eastern boundary, one block east of Washington. Based on this source, it would appear that Little Syria had grown in all four directions by 1903.[117] Miller's 1904 study complicated the issue by putting the northern boundary at Cedar Street—two blocks south of Cortlandt Street, improbably suggesting early shrinkage in the northern end—and describing the eastern boundary as Trinity Place and Greenwich Street. Miller neglected to account for the fact that Trinity Place and Greenwich Street diverged north of Morris Street, as shown on a map housed in the New York Public Library's archives of atlases.[118] (See figure 2.) Diverging streets could not both serve simultaneously as the eastern border. A 1915 article in the *New-York Tribune* gave Cortlandt Street as the northern border and Greenwich Street as the eastern border, matching *The Independent* of 1903.[119] A 1920 *New York Times* story indicated Cedar Street as the northern border, consistent with Miller's 1904 study, but identified Greenwich Street as the eastern edge, making no reference to Trinity Place.[120] The caption beneath a 1930s' map named Liberty Street, between Cedar Street to the south and Cortlandt Street to the north, as the northern boundary. It also placed the eastern boundary at Broadway, rather than Greenwich Street, indicating added growth eastward.[121] Muddying the issue further, the mid-1970s' book of Kayal and Kayal stated that, "[a]t its height, the colony was contained in approximately seven city blocks,"

identifying the same borders as Miller had determined seventy years earlier.[122] Finally, and perhaps indicative of the unresolved nature of the geographic boundaries, entries in the *Encyclopedia of New York City* vaguely described Little Syria historically as the area "around Rector and Washington Streets," without committing to specific borders.[123]

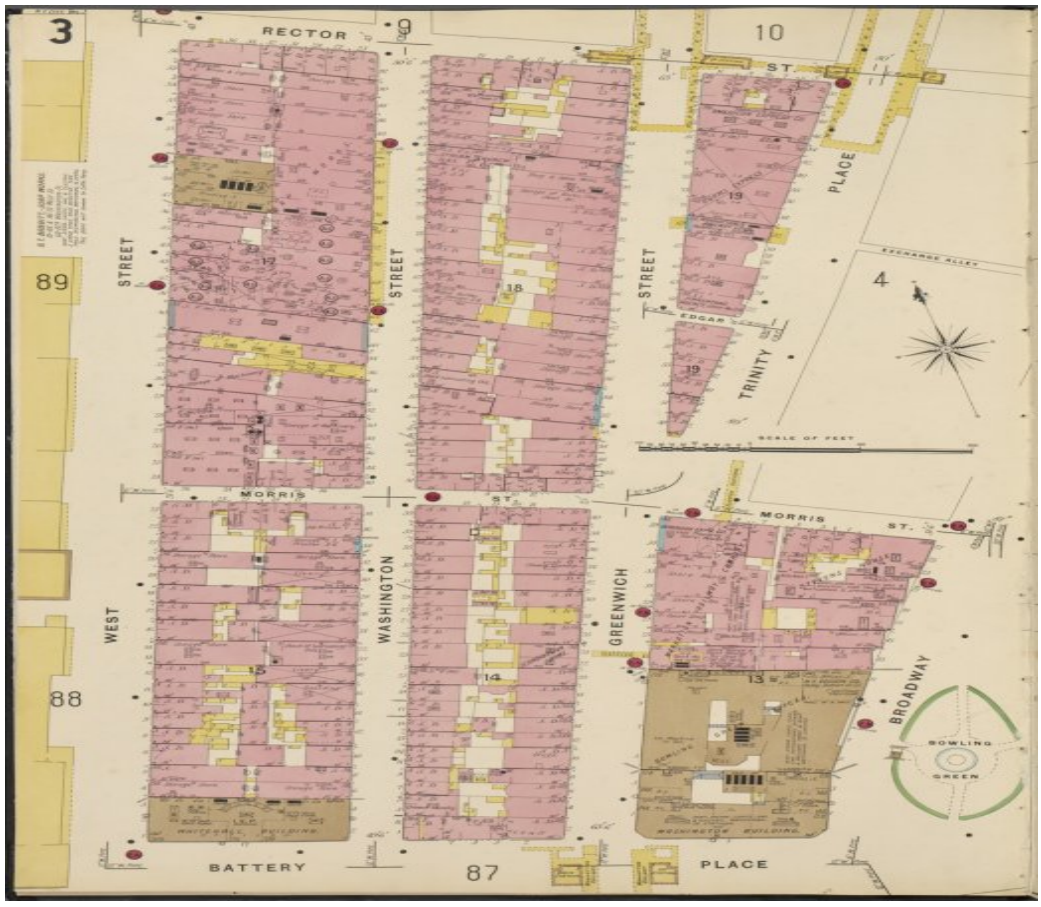

Figure 2. Map of the lower portion of Little Syria, from Battery Place north to Morris Street, showing the divergence of Greenwich Street and Trinity Place to the east (1905). Broadway lay a block further east. To the south of Little Syria, directly across Battery Place, stood Battery Park. Today, the small triangle at the vortex of Greenwich Street and Trinity Place comprises Edgar Park. Source: Map Division, The New York Public Library.

If the sources conflict on boundary issues, they concur that Washington Street constituted the neighborhood's commercial and residential nucleus. Interestingly, the street and its surroundings once housed New York's White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) elite. WASPs retained ownership of many properties there during its Syrian heyday. As the *New York Times* reported in 1920, "Among the present owners are still found the estates or individuals of the families of the Astors, Schermerhorn, Van Cortland, Livingstone, Edgar, Bell, Whitney, Floyd, Potter, Goelet, Gerry and Carow."[124] Over the course of the nineteenth century, Dutch families predominated before giving way to the Irish and a variety of other ethnic immigrants, many of whom continued to reside in the neighborhood when the Levantines, speaking Arabic, began to arrive.[125]

Arabic-speaking immigrants were ubiquitous when Abraham Mitrie Rihbany (1869-1944), at age twenty-two, first ventured onto Washington Street in October 1891.[126] He found food and lodging in squalid Syrian-owned establishments, carrying his bedding with him, as he subsequently recounted in the *Atlantic Monthly*. In one such rooming-house, Rihbany suffered sundry indignities—no soap, no towel, and no privacy—plus lots of noise daily from Syrian peddlers bargaining for inventory in the supply store downstairs. Peddlers proliferated in the Syrian quarter at this time. Rihbany detested them: "The mere sight of those crude, greasy peddlers nauseated me." He secured employment as a bookkeeper for a Syrian merchant. Much to his chagrin, however, the merchant's customers were peddlers. As time passed, Rihbany made connections with other Arabic-speaking immigrants, including the Syrian inspector of immigrants at the newly-opened Ellis Island. The two men established the Syrian

Scientific and Ethical Society, basically a discussion group that met in a Syrian restaurant. Topics of discussion included the greatness of the United States and "the superiority of the Syrian to the Irish population of Washington Street," in Rihbany's haughty phrase. When the Society's president started to publish the first Arabic-language newspaper in the United States, *Kawkab America* (*Star of America*), Rihbany accepted an offer to become its editor. Unfortunately, a clash ensued as soon as Rihbany discovered that the publisher demanded editorial loyalty to the Turkish Sultan. "The hand of the Turk was still upon me," Rihbany wrote, even in New York. After eighteen months in Little Syria, Rihbany decided to leave the city, seeking to divorce himself from a thoroughly ethnic environment, which he saw as a hindrance to the assimilation he desired: "The Syrian colony in New York seemed to me to be simply Syria on a smaller scale." The immigrants "ate the same dishes, spoke the same language, told the same stories, indulged in the same pleasures, and were torn by the same feuds," as in the old country. He found it "most difficult, if not impossible, for a foreigner to become really Americanized while living in a colony of his own kinsmen." Hence, he chose to take control by accelerating the pace, and broadening the extent, of his own assimilation. Given his disdain for peddlers, it is ironic that, in order to support himself while travelling, at least initially, Rihbany peddled silk.[127]

During the period of Rihbany's stay in Little Syria, immigrants there appeared culturally alien to mainstream observers. The best evidence of this is the previously-mentioned October 1892 *New-York Tribune* article, which began with a physical description of Syrians that differentiated them from Westerners: "With their brown

complexions, medium stature, lithe, wiry and muscular forms, keen dark, restless eyes, the people composing this group plainly show their Eastern origin." Multiple drawings depicted figures wearing headdresses—a veiled woman, a man wearing a fez, and other men wearing cloths wrapped around their heads—and males in baggy pants, with pointed shoes or sandals. Clearly, this was not American garb. The story described a relaxed atmosphere in which men played, or watched other men play, backgammon, while casually smoking water pipes (hookahs)—"hubble-bubbles," in the vernacular—manipulating rosaries of "brilliantly colored beads," and speaking langorously in a foreign tongue. The slow-paced milieu "seems strangely out of place in busy New York."[128] Gualtieri decried the newspaper's portrayal as "an attempt to classify the Syrians using a mix of phenotypical and behavioral traits," and Naff suggested that journalistic curiosity here crossed into derision.[129] Such an environment of ethnic "otherness"—not to mention the dwellings, "old, weather-beaten, dingy and sometimes dirty," whose cellars teemed with inventory for boisterous peddlers—was exactly what Rihbany sought to escape.[130]

Another Syrian immigrant, Costa George Najour, related a story to Younis about Ameen Slyby, a man who came to New York from Mount Lebanon in 1888. According to Najour, Slyby had a friend in the city named Constantine El Biskinta, who sold goods "to our people," and they "would carry these materials on their backs," peddling them from town to town. If they found a locale "that suited them, they would stay."[131] This tended to substantiate Naff's thesis that peddling functioned as an economic engine for many immigrants in the first wave, underscoring the importance of Syrian wholesalers in

New York and the process of dispersal and resettlement of Syrian peddlers throughout the country. New York's Little Syria was "brimming with" success, in Naff's phrase, owing to its preeminence as the source of wholesale supplies to peddlers.[132] The essential accuracy of Slyby's story would appear to be confirmed by a contemporary directory that listed "Constantine Biskinty," at 60-62 Washington Street, under "Dry Goods."[133]

Additionally, in the mid-1890s, Frank Moss found first-hand on Washington Street "many stores here containing notions, which the Syrians industriously peddle upon the streets."[134] This observation lent further credence to the theme of peddling as central to Syrian life on the Lower West Side, and served as a reminder that, unlike some of Biskinta's customers, many peddlers chose not to venture into the countryside, where mainstream customs reigned, but rather to stay in or near the ethnic enclave, where they could return to their rooming-houses at night to eat the familiar foods, tell the tall tales, and otherwise commune in Arabic, as Rihbany recalled. Different Syrians made different choices, thereby attempting to control the mix of assimilation and ethnicity in their respective lives.

By the turn of the twentieth century, women added nuance to the peddlers' narrative. Syrian immigrant society was strongly patriarchal, but peddling constituted an exception to contemporary gender norms. Syrian immigrant women often peddled in the United States, as necessity had sometimes required them to do in Mount Lebanon. They shared with men the status of breadwinners.[135] So many Syrian women peddled that, in March 1899, the Syrian Women's Union, a charitable organization established in Little

Syria three years earlier, decided to open a nursery for the children of such women. A day care facility, probably to be located on Washington Street, "somewhere that a cheerful room can be found," would obviate the necessity of Syrian mothers taking their children with them on peddling forays.[136] The *New York Times* observed in a May 1902 story on "the queer little Asiatic colony" that the typical Syrian man "doesn't like his women to be seen in public unless they are peddling." Because women peddlers generated significant profits, "the Syrian's commercial instinct overcomes his notions of female propriety."[137] In 1901, the Industrial Commission reported that Syrian peddlers relied on assistance from females in their families. A few years later, Miller found that women comprised over thirty-six percent of peddlers in the Lower Manhattan colony. This meant that more than one out of every three Syrian peddlers in the neighborhood was female. In 1911, Houghton discussed the prevalence of women peddlers, though she thought it somewhat overstated, given the widespread inability of Syrian women to speak English. She did not, however, provide independent research to substantiate her belief that estimates of female peddling were exaggerated. Miller's evidence has not been rebutted to date. Morawska once observed that assimilationist history often excluded gender from the narrative. No such oversight occurred here. Hitti, the quintessential assimilationist historian, explained that Syrians recognized "the economic value of the woman," and consequently accepted female peddling. Other historians, male and female, offered basically the same assessment. It is reasonable to conclude that female peddling contributed directly and substantially to the economic success of Syrians in New York during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[138]

Women contributed economically through other employment as well. According to Miller, ninety-eight percent of those employed in sewing, and forty-two percent of factory workers, in Little Syria were female. Slightly more than thirty-eight percent of all females over the age of fourteen in the Syrian quarter earned wages. The endemic problem of female illiteracy—in Arabic as well as English—did not prevent Syrian immigrant women from earning pay through work, often outside the home.[139] Indeed, one of the most successful Syrian business owners in New York during the early twentieth century was a female jewelry designer, Marie Azeez El-Khoury (1882-1957). Born in Mount Lebanon, she immigrated with her family as a five-year-old in 1887. Her father owned and operated a jewelry store on the boardwalk in Atlantic City, New Jersey, until his death. She inherited the business and relocated it to Manhattan, first to Fifth Avenue, then to Park Avenue, and finally to East Fifty-Seventh Street. Her jewelry offerings at the Little Shop of T. Azeez met with commercial success, and she became a society maven and patron of the arts. She had not always intended to take over the family jewelry business, however. Before her father died, El-Khoury had worked as a freelance newspaper writer. Perhaps unsurprisingly, therefore, she evinced a particular interest in Syrian immigrant writers. She became especially close to, and perhaps intimate with, Kahlil Gibran.[140]

In addition to many women, some Syrian children participated in the workforce. Miller found twenty instances of children who lived on the Lower West Side and labored there in stores and factories, or as peddlers. At times, employment apparently took precedence over education. Over eighty-two percent of families in Little Syria had

children in school, but only about seventy-five percent of all Syrian children of school age were actually enrolled. Therefore, one out of four Syrian children who could have attended school did not do so, according to Miller's data. Roughly thirty-six percent of Syrian enrollees went to public schools, while the majority attended private schools operated by religious denominations.[141]

Tensions between early Syrian immigrants should not escape notice. Many appeared content with their lot as Syrian peddlers, using English by day and Arabic by night, resisting or at least not actively seeking assimilation. Others, like Rihbany, sought unapologetically to distance themselves from ethnicity, to engage more deeply with the English language, and, withal, to absorb American attributes in a faster, more comprehensive manner than life in Little Syria allowed. Further, the fact that Syrian women engaged in peddling led to complaints from some Syrians, who regarded such conduct as inconsistent with patriarchal norms of female "honor and modesty," or who "denied or devalued the contribution of women."[142] Other Syrians argued that female peddling damaged the ethnicity's reputation by failing to conform to the modern trend favoring a domestic role for women in the American middle class, "into whose ranks they were trying to gain entry."[143] Even male peddling raised concerns among Syrian traditionalists that exposure, while on the road, to non-Syrian women, would lead to marriage outside the ethnicity. By contrast, *Al-Hoda* sought to persuade readers in 1899 and 1900 that marriage was a prerequisite to Syrian success in the United States, implying that the selection of a suitable mate took precedence over the selection of a Syrian mate. The Maronite Young Men's Society of New York held a meeting in 1903 at

which the issue of marriage between Syrians and Americans was debated. Some speakers favored so-called mixed marriage (inter-marriage), while others advocated intra-ethnic marriage only.[144] Conflicts also arose over attitudes toward the Ottomans, exemplified by the dispute between Rihbany, who resented Turkish censorship, and the *Kawkab* publisher, who believed he owed a duty of loyalty to the Sultan. These examples show that opinions were by no means monolithic. As with other ethnicities, so with Syrians: "the newcomers were not all alike."[145]

Indeed, their different motivations for coming to the United States found expression in contemporary writings. In 1914, Rihbany recalled not only the positive impression made on him by American teachers at the Protestant missionary school he had attended as a youth, but also the "more exciting tales about America" related "through returning Syrian emigrants," mostly "common laborers," who "told how they themselves secured more money in America in a very few years than could be earned in Syria in two generations."[146] Similarly, a Syrian cleric, Bishop Emmanuel Abouhatab, related in his unpublished manuscript on New York's Syrian community, probably penned in the late 1920s, that "simple people" had "worked diligently and in a short time they found financial security." They sent funds and supplies back home, and "[w]ord of their success in America spread," as a result of which "the number of immigrants increased." Syrian immigrants "began as peddlers," purchasing their stock from Syrian shops, and "[s]hops led to factories," resulting in "lives which were much better than their brothers in the Old Country."[147] The evidence from Abouhatab and Rihbany points to economic reasons for emigration. But not all evidence possessed such clarity. For instance, a

March 1913 manifesto, signed by Syrian Christians and delivered to French authorities in Syria, expressed concerns about "increase of taxation," "Mohammedan fanaticism," and "a new impulse towards immigration on the part of the Syrian Christians." The increasing numbers of Muslims entering Syria, having been displaced from the Balkans because of military hostilities there, generated fears among Christians of heightened religious and political oppression: "The Christians of Syria are greatly agitated at this prospect, and in consequence many of them have emigrated to America."[148] Such evidence suggests that Syrians sought religious and political freedom, as well as prosperity, in the United States.

The actual number of Syrian immigrants in the first wave cannot be stated with certitude. As other scholars have noted, with a collective sigh of frustration, an intractable evidentiary problem exists because of the lack of specificity in immigration data compiled by the federal government.[149] Consider the transformation in census classifications between 1880 and 1920. The 1880 census continued the practice, instituted in 1850, of reporting statistics on persons of foreign parentage. It specified only those with a mother or father born on Great Britain, British America, the German Empire, Ireland, and Scandinavia. The rest of the world, excluding the United States, was subsumed under "other countries," rendering no count of the number of immigrants from any unspecified country. In recognition of the influx of immigrants from hitherto unspecified nations, the 1890 census adopted a policy of listing all immigrants' countries of origin. Turkey was now identified, for the first time, as a country of origin. But the census failed to distinguish between (a) Turks born in Turkey, and (b) Syrians classified

as Turks simply because they were Turkish subjects. The 1900 census continued the practice of classifying Syrians as Turks, leaving them fungible, statistically, with Turks from Turkey. The 1910 census initiated an innovation, dividing Turkey into two sub-categories, "Turkey in Asia" and "Turkey in Europe." Syrians, still lacking a country of their own, fell under the former. Not until 1920 did the census recognize Syria as a separate country of origin. Until the 1920 census, therefore, reliable numerical estimates of Syrian immigrants to the United States remain elusive.[150]

With these limitations in mind, let us glean the numbers available in the sources. Contemporary estimates of Syrian immigrants in New York City between 1890 and 1894 varied from a few hundred to a thousand, and, by 1898, to a few thousand. The 1900 census counted 9,949 foreign-born residents from Turkey, of which 1,915, or nineteen percent, lived in the State of New York, and 1,401, fourteen percent of the national total and seventy-three percent of the state's total, lived in the City of New York. A 1901 Industrial Commission report estimated that 25,000 Syrians lived in the United States, with 6,000 in New York City. That estimate can perhaps be reconciled with the 1900 census figures by recognizing that many immigrants likely returned to their native land or were simply not counted by census takers. Still, the confusing nature of government records was nowhere better illustrated: the 1901 Industrial Commission spoke of Syrians, while the 1900 census spoke of persons born in Turkey, some of whom no doubt were Syrians but were not classified as such. In 1904, Miller estimated that between 5,000 and 10,000 Syrians lived in Greater New York City—an estimate that would seem somewhat generous, given his admission that 1,661 individuals and 454 families were "actually

seen," "located," or otherwise accounted for within the Lower Manhattan neighborhood, with much smaller numbers observed in the Brooklyn enclaves of South Ferry and South Brooklyn. A book of composite stories purporting to reflect the lives of ordinary people in ethnic communities, published in 1906, estimated that 5,000 Syrians resided in New York City. Meanwhile, Mount Lebanon continued to produce migrants. From 1899 to 1907, over 41,000 Syrian immigrants entered the United States, according to Houghton, and if one extends the period to 1909, that figure exceeded 50,000, as reported by the Immigration Commission in 1911. In 1900, approximately 3,000 Syrians immigrated to the United States, and the number sharply rose after 1908, reaching its apogee in 1913. By the end of 1914, an estimated 110,000 Arabic-speaking immigrants had arrived in the United States since 1881. According to a newspaper article in 1915, New York's Syrian colony consisted of twenty thousand persons. World War I caused immigration to decline; only a few thousand additional Syrians immigrated here through the end of the decade. The Ottoman Empire, hanging by a thread, abolished the *mutasarrifiyya* in 1915, and the next year, publicly executed political activists in Beirut, ratcheting up the level of repression while wartime famine raged on Mount Lebanon. When peace came, emigration resumed. The 1920 census reported that 51,701 foreign-born persons from Syria arrived in the United States, and 8,127 of them, or sixteen percent, lived in the State of New York. A French census, cited by Kohei Hashimoto, stated that 7,760 of these Syrians resided in the City of New York. Approximately 12,000 new Syrian arrivals took place between 1920 and 1924. Taken together, these figures would suggest that the entire first wave brought about 135,000 Syrian immigrants to America. Khalaf, however, put

the total number of such immigrants by 1924 at approximately 123,000. Rough numerical parameters may be the most we can realistically hope for, given the deficiencies in historical documentation of the first wave.[151]

Clearly, however, this ethnicity was small in number. For a perspective on just how small, Miller observed that the number of Syrians who disembarked in New York in a *year* often matched the number of Italians who did so in a single *day*. Kayal and Kayal added that early Syrian immigration did not exceed one percent of total immigration to the United States. Calling the Washington Street colony "small," *Harper's Weekly* estimated that the Syrians "number in all only about one thousand," in August 1895.

This small population, tucked away in a corner of Lower Manhattan, where "there are many squalid homes, many vile saloons, and there is much dirt and ignorance," fell easy prey to stereotyping.[152] In 1895, *Harper's Weekly*, like the *New-York Tribune* three years before, promoted an image of exoticism, noting "a queer mingling of American and Syrian costumes," suggesting that some immigrants assimilated more readily than others. Those in Syrian attire chose to manifest their ethnicity in public.[153] An August 1898 article in *The Outlook* reported on a lunch party at a restaurant in "the Arab quarter of New York," observing that "[t]he district might well be called New Phoenicia, as most of the Syrian emigrants came from the narrow seaboard at the foot of the Lebanon, and from the mountains themselves." The proprietor initially told the reporter to pay whatever price he wanted for the meal, and had to be coaxed into naming a price, "which, by the way, was a good fair price."[154] The reporter apparently did not realize that, since no prices were posted, a Syrian patron might well have been charged less.

Let us pause to consider the ethnic foods consumed at this meal. The main dish consisted of fresh mutton pounded with a pestle, then combined with cracked wheat, creating a paste, to which onions, pine nuts, and mincemeat were added. This mixture was fried, marked on top with lines forming diamonds, adorned with a generous portion of melted butter, and then baked "to a delicious brown." Called *kibby*, this entrée was unlike any menu items in mainstream restaurants. Side dishes included tart grape leaves stuffed with rice and mutton, yogurt in liquid form (*leben*), and an item known colloquially as "'Its Mother's Milk', consisting of paste-balls filled with meat and swimming in thickened *leben*," accompanied by bread shaped like discs and thick coffee, served black. The reporter clearly enjoyed the Syrian cuisine.[155]

In August 1899, the *New York Times* ran a feature story by Cromwell Childe on Little Syria, with photographs of shops, a restaurant, and a fruit and ice cream vendor, among other subjects. In a clumsy attempt to praise Syrian liqueur, arac, the writer called it "a glorified absinthe, beady, yet divine to the taste." He noted the fezzes worn by males, the dark headdresses worn by females, and the eclectic collections of swords, lamps, bracelets, and water pipes for sale. Childe continued the journalistic practice of painting the Syrians as Orientals who "do not leave all their quaint customs, garments, ways of thinking at home," and who do not "become ordinary American citizens directly after landing." In perhaps the most patronizing passage, he contrasted the majority of Washington Street business owners with one merchant who possessed excellent English-language skills, and who, "save for his olive skin and his cast of features, scarcely seems

a Syrian at all."[156] This implied that one Syrian merchant readily assimilated, as evidenced by his English proficiency, while most others resisted it.

A September 1900 article in *Harper's Weekly* on New York's ethnic colonies and their respective cuisines employed multiple adjectives to describe the immigrants found on Washington Street: "industrious, timid, conservative, frugal, and in a small way prosperous," as well as "intensely patriotic and impulsive."[157] If making sense of this concatenation of traits posed a challenge, perhaps that was the journalist's objective: let readers interpret the descriptors as they see fit. Even more simplistically, *Harper's Monthly Magazine* subsequently reported on "these swarthy fellows," emphasizing "the Mohammedan oppression" they endured as Christians, and asserting that they were "interested more in freedom than in the dollar of the land."[158] Here, stereotyping clearly got the better of the journalist, for the available evidence does not support the claim.

In 1901, the Industrial Commission estimated a maximum of "300 fully naturalized Syrian-Americans in New York City." It attributed this small number of naturalizations to "the colony's youth," rather than to "any disinclination for the privileges of citizenship upon the Syrian's part."[159] The conclusion seems inescapable that, for the majority of Arabic-speaking immigrants at the dawn of the twentieth century, American citizenship did not rank supreme among their priorities, though this would change in time, as we shall see in connection with the naturalization crisis.

Most Syrians in the first wave appear to have concentrated, first and foremost, on making money. Syrian immigrants were described as "almost wholly commercial" and "as 'ready made Yankees.'"[160] In 1897, Moss found Arabic-named businesses operating

at 16, 19, 25, 27, 31, 59, 63, 69, 73, 81, 89, 91, and 95 Washington Street, in addition to two "Turkish" coffee rooms, plus two churches for Syrians.[161] Numerous businesses bearing Little Syria addresses marketed their goods and services regularly in the Arabic-language press, as evidenced by advertisements in *Al-Hoda* (The Guidance) between November 15, 1898 and January 2, 1901.[162] The August 1898 article in *The Outlook*, previously discussed, mentioned the temporary nature of many Syrians' residence here: "For while some do settle permanently in America, yet all leave their country in the full hope of return, after they shall have accumulated a fortune. Many do thus return, and return with the desired fortune."[163] This illustrated the two-way migration—the process of coming to America to accumulate wealth, and then returning to the Levant—discussed by various scholars.[164] Yet many Syrian immigrants changed their minds and planted roots in the United States, transforming themselves "from sojourner to permanent settler," in Suleiman's felicitous phrase.[165] Pragmatism no doubt played a major role. It was one thing for a peddler to return to the Levant; it was quite a different proposition for a shopkeeper, restaurant owner, or wholesale supplier to do so. By the end of the nineteenth century, in Little Syria, "an industry of manufacturers, importers and wholesalers had mushroomed."[166] Quite aside from religious and political freedom, then, New York City offered steady work, which meant remuneration, survival, and, potentially, prosperity. With only slight exaggeration, Kayal commented that "the Syrians' first view of New York was as an entrepreneur's paradise."[167]

Syrian immigrants of all socioeconomic classes owed their daily bread, directly or indirectly, to "the stores, factories and large business houses" located on the Lower West

Side. Little Syria became "the workshop" of nearly the entire New York Syrian community. Miller reported that "all the Syrian business in New York is done within the bounds of the Manhattan community," with a few exceptions. Peddling remained the source of many livelihoods in Little Syria—about thirty-four percent of all employment there in the early 1900s—but the colony also housed numerous factories and shops.[168] Syrian factory labor was plentiful and cheap in Little Syria, as the Industrial Commission found, and, in a salute to ethnicity, "none but Syrians are employed by Syrians."[169]

The import-export trade, and numerous other commercial enterprises, flourished in the Syrian quarter. More than sixty businesses engaged in the manufacture or sale of laces, embroideries, linens, and the like. Over forty dry goods stores, thirty grocers, twenty-four makers of kimonos and other garments, nearly twenty restaurants, as well as multiple hotels, drug stores, candy stores, cigarette makers, and tobacco shops operated along Washington Street and its cross streets. Several Arabic-language newspapers and magazines were printed there. Real estate agents, jewelers, tailors, and a small number of professionals maintained offices, too. Literally scores of businesses on the Lower West Side generated livelihoods for thousands of Arabic-speaking immigrants.[170] Syrians in New York would come to dominate the lace and linen industry by the late 1920s, if not sooner. Taken in combination, Syrian manufacturers, importers-exporters, wholesalers, and retailers generated millions of dollars in annual revenues.[171]

The *New York Times* provided a sense of the variety of occupations in Little Syria, remarking that "bankers, court interpreters, money changers, and peddlers live cheek by jowl," in March 1903. A local tourist trade developed as well, with "society

ladies" and journalists "prone to indulge in bohemian excursions" venturing to the Syrian quarter to sample delicious pastry in a coffee shop, for example, while listening to musicians play Arabic music on mandolins, lutes, and violins and observing local men engage in the custom of smoking water pipes. Female visitors could feel safe in Syrian establishments, for the Syrian men did not stare at women and opened doors for them "with Chesterfieldian politeness."[172]

Not every Syrian business was wholly legitimate, however. In August 1894, three Syrian operators of a cigarette factory on Washington Street were arrested and charged with tax fraud for selling cigarettes in pre-used packaging that contained internal revenue stamps. Federal inspectors seized two thousand packages of cigarettes. In January 1906, federal customs official raided the premises of a Syrian importer of wholesale lace at 17 Broadway, seizing an allegedly smuggled trunk full of fancy laces worth $10,000. In May 1912, the police raided and made arrests at three separate locations, two on Rector Street, and one on Morris Street, for the unlicensed sale of liquor and, in two of the three, for maintaining a gambling establishment.[173]

Even legitimate businesses sometimes engaged in deceptive practices, such as selling as "imports" certain goods actually manufactured in New York. Some businesses failed, of course, but the majority of shopkeepers and wholesalers ran profitable firms, and the neighborhood enjoyed international renown as a marketplace for Oriental goods. In the early 1900s, some of Little Syria's most successful merchants began to relocate their businesses to more fashionable addresses uptown.[174]

Meanwhile, real estate development took place downtown, surrounding the Syrian quarter. In December 1909, the *Wall Street Journal* reported on the construction of a thirty-one-story addition to the Whitehall Building, on the corner of Washington Street and Battery Place, facing Battery Park. Upon completion, it towered over Little Syria's structures, typically only a few stories in height. World War I caused a multi-year hiatus in construction, but large projects resumed after hostilities ceased, and were in full swing by 1920.[175] Skyscrapers were in vogue. Local residents could not stop the onslaught of commercial development, with new high-rise office buildings blocking the sunlight and hemming in the neighborhood.[176] In March 1931, the *Sun* reported that "lower Manhattan rattles and bangs" with construction projects, "and the shriek of the riveter marks the rise of another trim, towering skyscraper." Noise from large equipment must have been commonplace, if not incessant. Syrians who could afford to move usually found homes in Brooklyn enclaves, continuing a "wholesale migration" that had begun years earlier. Yet "Washington Street," the article insisted, "is still undeniably Syrian." Ethnicity remained on display and its wares for sale—for the most part, legally—in Little Syria.[177]

It is important not to romanticize the history of Washington Street and its environs. Certainly Syrians in the first wave did not do so. Syrian flight to neighborhoods in Brooklyn represented a rejection of Little Syria's residential suitability and created separate ethnic venues for home and work. "Their stay in the district, therefore, is a means to an end," according to a Trinity Church committee report, "and while here, they make a business of taking fellow countrymen as lodgers to help them

themselves the more quickly to leave this section."[178] The poor, who were stuck in Little Syria, had to endure cramped rooms in decrepit buildings on filthy streets. In 1897, Moss observed that, despite the valuable property on Broadway and to its east, the Lower West Side stood "overlooked and neglected." [179] A photograph captioned, "Syrian Quarter in Lower Manhattan," stared at readers underneath the headline of a *New York Times* article on New York's poor in August 1911.[180] The next month, *Harper's Weekly* carried a story about pure-milk stations that had been established to ameliorate the problem of poor health among young children of immigrants. The story displayed a photograph, captioned, "Syrian children outside a pure-milk station in a New York slum."[181] The Trinity Church report in 1914 contained photographs of yard toilets, rotting stairs, deteriorating walls, leaky hallway plumbing, and other unsanitary conditions. It also pinpointed the Syrian colony as a locus of infant mortality, tuberculosis, and contagious diseases.[182] A book based on first-hand observations, published in 1924, remarked upon Washington Street's "[s]qualid, dark hallways" that led into "still more squalid rear houses where the sun never penetrates." The district's "swarthy men" and "large negroid women" combed the shops for goods displayed in windows whose signs—still, in 1924—were mostly in Arabic. On side streets, tenements "lean[ed] on one another as if they were ready to crumble down and fall;" crooked steps and broken pavement were commonplace.[183] The author of a 1927 book on New York likewise observed that "[t]he Syrian rank and file continued to crowd the tenements," while the more prosperous had moved "across the East River" to Brooklyn, leaving the Lower West Side behind each

night.[184] It is not too harsh to adjudge the Washington Street neighborhood an ethnic ghetto in the early twentieth century.

The more prosperous Syrians commuted to work daily from Brooklyn, across the East River. Those residing in Brooklyn's South Ferry section came to Lower Manhattan by ferry and, from 1910, by subway on the Interborough line. In 1920, the BMT line supplemented the Interborough line as a commuter link between Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn.[185] The accessibility of public transportation—provided by state and local government, at taxpayers' expense—contributed to keeping Washington Street "a hive of industry", as *The Interpreter* put it in May 1928, for "thousands" of Syrians, "who seem to find their greatest joy in barter and trade."[186] The less fortunate individuals who still lived in Little Syria managed to garner attention from progressive political and business interests, who established the Downtown Community House as the new home of the Bowling Green Neighborhood Association, at 105-107 Washington Street, in September 1925, with its dedication in May 1926, at a reported cost of $300,000.[187] (See figure 3.) Even the *Wall Street Journal* remembered the local poor on Christmas Eve 1925, sending a holiday greeting to the generic "Johnnie of Washington Street," whom it dubbed "the young knight of the drab tenements that huddle in the shadows of downtown's skyscrapers."[188] This poignantly suggested Little Syria's unappealing environment.

The trend of Syrians moving out of Manhattan to quieter, more pleasant neighborhoods in the 1920s mirrored inter-borough demographic shifts generally. While New York City's population increased from 5,620,048 in 1920 to 6,930,446 in 1930, Manhattan's population declined over eighteen percent, from 2,284,103 in 1920 to

1,867,312 in 1930. By contrast, Brooklyn's population rose nearly twenty-seven percent, from 2,018,356 to 2,560,401, over the decade. The 1930 census found 6,065 Syrians living in New York City, 5,353 in Brooklyn and, strikingly, a mere 508 in Manhattan. The *Syrian World*, published in Little Syria, could be purchased at multiple locations across the river, in Brooklyn, by 1933.[189]

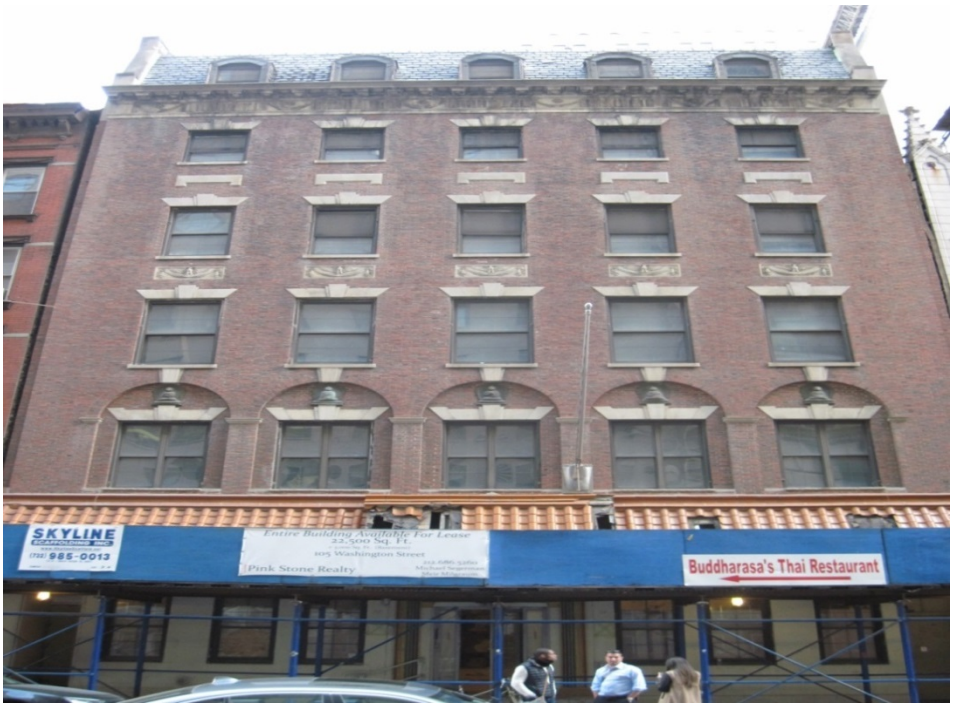

Figure 3. Former Downtown Community House, 105-107 Washington Street (2013). Constructed in the mid-1920s, this facility catered to the personal needs of local immigrant families. Currently vacant, it sits between a tenement house to the north and St. George's Catholic (Melkite) Chapel to the south. Source: Author's collection.

Aside from residential outflow, Syrian business relocations continued apace. The Lebanon National Bank, "a new institution" when it opened in Little Syria in 1922, moved its central office to 319 Fifth Avenue in 1927, "to follow the drift of the more prosperous element among its customers uptown," while maintaining its branch at 59

Washington Street.[190] Bardwil Bros., a prosperous supplier of laces and linens, vacated 90 Washington Street by 1929, reestablishing its business at 153 Fifth Avenue. *Al-Hoda*, a Little Syria stalwart since 1903, left 55 Washington Street for Brooklyn in 1930, as the *Syrian World* noted with regret.[191] Mary Ann Haick Di Napoli wrote that *Al-Hoda*'s "move preceded a relocation back to Manhattan."[192] But the return of *Al-Hoda* to Little Syria resulted more from life's unpredictability than from design. In 1932, *Al-Hoda*'s feisty and esteemed publisher, Naoum Mokarzel (1864-1932), passed away. His much younger brother, Salloum Mokarzel (1881-1952), who had been publishing the *Syrian World* in Little Syria since 1926, eventually took control of *Al-Hoda* in 1933. The *Syrian World* ceased publication between July 1932 and April 1933, resuming in May 1933, now at 55 Washington Street, sharing space with *Al-Hoda*. The shift of *Al-Hoda* back to Little Syria was thus the doing of Salloum Mokarzel. There is no evidence that Naoum Mokarzel intended *Al-Hoda* to return.[193] The *Syrian World* lamented the decline of foot traffic on Washington Street, noting in December 1933 that "[t]he Syrian linen moguls had moved to Fifth Avenue," and that current shopkeepers "stand with folded arms waiting for customers." The Lower West Side merchants had competition from Syrian-owned firms now situated elsewhere.[194]

Business relocations from Little Syria did not relent in the mid-1930s. A *Syrian World* article in May 1934, reflecting on Washington Street's "old-time atmosphere," observed with chagrin, "How many Syrian business men, prominent today, and are now on Fifth Ave. or thereabouts in N. Y. cannot be counted on the fingers of both hands."[195] Actually, over thirty workplaces in the Syrian-dominated negligee industry could be

found, not in Little Syria, but from Thirty-First to Thirty-Sixth Streets, between Fifth and Madison Avenues. A prime example was Simon Kirdahy's popular spot for Arabic cuisine, the Sheik Restaurant, which terminated its long-time presence on Washington Street in 1935, and moved to 241 Fifth Avenue, in the midst of the garment district. The *Syrian World* ran a story under the headline, "History of 'The Sheik' is History of the New York Syrians' Progress," celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the restaurant and portraying its success as emblematic of the progress made by Syrian immigrants in New York. The article noted Kirdahy's fastidiousness in using only fresh vegetables, making "the highest grade pastry," maintaining a "quiet atmosphere," and not permitting gambling on premises. Like other successful Syrian businesspersons, he "outgrew" Washington Street "and moved uptown, to fashionable Fifth Avenue," where "a few thousand Syrians" worked in factories and shops. The narrative in this *Syrian World* article again illustrated the irony of assimilation via the marketing of ethnicity—a means by which immigrants such as Kirdahy tried to assert a degree of control.[196] (See figure 4.)

To penetrate more deeply into the evidence, let us compare two major Syrian business directories. They offer a window into the evolution of Syrian business and its relation to the perpetual dialectic between ethnicity and assimilation. *The Syrian Business Directory (for the United States),* published in 1908, contained listings for more than 3,000 businesses owned or operated by Syrian immigrants throughout the United States. The directory's cover unabashedly announced that listings appeared "in both the Arabic and English languages," and the introduction immodestly declared "Syrians to be the

most ingenious, entreprising [sic] and crafty business men of the emigrant races." Exuding ethnic pride, if not humility, the editors described Syrian immigrants as descendants of the ancient Phoenicians, "undeniably the great founders and masters of maritime commerce," who, like their forbears, "easily shape themselves to fit such new surroundings" as they find themselves in—in this instance, the United States. On each page, listings appeared in English on the left, and in Arabic on the right, with a vertical line separating the two. Advertisements were almost entirely in Arabic, except for names and addresses (and occasional sentences). The bilingualism of this directory showed that Syrian immigrants had not, as of 1908, transformed themselves into English-speakers only. Many clung to Arabic and did not soon let go.[197]

Figure 4. Children looking in the window of The Sheik Restaurant, 87 Washington Street, in the heart of Little Syria (1929). Residential entrances appear on either side of the restaurant, and residential windows appear above it. Notice the open doors. Source: Percy Loomis Sperr/©Milstein Division, The New York Public Library.

The Syrian American Directory Almanac, 1930, published in 1929, continued to straddle the line between old and new, printing all listings in both English and Arabic. The title, however, replaced "Syrian" with "Syrian American," retaining an element of ethnicity (Syrian) while adding an element of assimilation (American), thereby striking a different balance than the previous directory. Further, the 1929 directory limited its focus to New York, itself a reflection of the massive growth of Syrian-owned business in the city. The majority of business listings appeared under "New York City," meaning Manhattan, but most residential listings appeared under "Brooklyn." This showed that Little Syria had transitioned from a combined residential and commercial center to a commercial center only for many Arabic-speaking immigrants. Perhaps the most fascinating feature of the 1929 publication was the unique almanac section that followed the listings. The almanac section contained eighty-five questions and answers about the U. S. and New York governments, with questions in both English and Arabic, answers in Arabic (only some in English), plus a bilingual section on how a bill in Congress becomes a federal law. Questions were set forth in reverse numerical order in English, accommodating the reading of the Arabic entries from right to left and back to front. Thus, the reader of English encountered question number eighty-five first and question number one last, while the reader in Arabic began on the "final" page with question number one, and continued "backwards" to question number eighty-five. This bilingual source epitomized the complex, unresolved nature of Syrian assimilation as of 1929: Arabic still stood side by side with English, and those who could read the answers in Arabic learned American civics lessons. By straddling the fence in this way, the

directory's editors, and the audience it served, attempted to exercise control over the process of assimilation.[198]

Gender identification strengthened over time, as evidenced by the Syrian business directories. Few of the New York City business owners listed in the 1908 directory were identifiably female. A significantly larger, yet still small, percentage of business owners listed in the 1929 directory bore female names, more often in Brooklyn than in Manhattan. One must add the caveat, however, that women's business listings usually indicated marital status, by the use of "Miss" or "Mrs." By contrast, men's business listings never indicated marital status. Furthermore, many business names included a reference to brothers or sons, but none of the business names in the Manhattan listings, and only a handful of the Brooklyn businesses, included a reference to sisters or daughters. And the few Brooklyn listings that did refer to sisters or daughters—Daughters of Syria, Daughters of United Maronite Society, the Syrian Ladies' Aid Society, the Holy Trinity Young Ladies' Club, and Sister Marina Sabbag—did not represent commercial enterprises, but rather charitable organizations, plus a nun. That numerous listings used initials of owners' first names, or gender-neutral names, precludes the drawing of further verifiable conclusions on gender identity.[199]

The business directories, while reflections of Syrian entrepreneurial ambition, could not stem the swirling tide of economic currents. The Great Depression of the 1930s hit New York's Little Syria, as it hit everywhere, and inevitably, many businesses failed. The first Syrian-owned bank in the United States, D. J. Faour & Brothers, was one such failure. Established in 1891, the Faour Bank commenced operations on Morris

Street, and was located for years at 63, and then 85, Washington Street. Although it was not listed under "Banks for Savings," "National Banks," or "State Banks," in *The Manhattan Guide—Greater New York Red Book*, published in 1901, the Faour Bank proudly served the New York Syrian community for well over thirty years. An "immigrant bank," in the parlance of the day, it advertised widely in publications geared for Arabic-speaking immigrants, including *Al-Hoda*, as well as the *Syrian Business Directory*, the *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, and, of course, the *Syrian World*, where it stated the interest rates paid on savings deposits: four per cent per annum in 1927, four-and-a-half per cent per annum in 1930, three-and-a-half per cent per annum in 1932.[200]

The bank faced insolvency in early 1933. At the request of partners George and Dominick Faour, the State of New York Banking Department took over the institution in mid-February. A Special Deputy Superintendent of Banks was promptly appointed to manage the liquidation of the bank's assets. In March, a notice was published, giving depositors and other creditors thirty-one days to file claims.[201]

The failure of this landmark Syrian institution reverberated throughout the ethnic colony. Syrians had sustained concrete losses at the hands of other Syrians. The *Syrian World* devoted an entire page of its May 5, 1933 issue to a "Complete List of Depositors of Faour Bank," setting forth the names of hundreds of depositors, including numerous Syrian individuals and businesses, and the amount owed to each. Claims ranged from as much as $16,588.82 to as little as $2.80. In this instance, the *Syrian World* enabled readers to see exactly who had been hurt economically, and how badly, thereby

eliminating the need for speculation on such issues, while no doubt encouraging comparisons, gossip, and other reactions among the Syrians.[202]

A bitterly contested liquidation process ensued, making front-page news in the *Syrian World*. To begin with, the Faour brothers sought a five-year moratorium on disposition of bank assets, consisting primarily of real estate in Little Syria. A committee representing the bank's major creditors nixed this request in a May 1933 meeting "marked by great excitement and heated discussions."[203] The newspaper's wording would be well-understood by Syrian readers to mean that angry creditors expressed their emotions in voices they did not subdue. Three months later, the *Syrian World* reported, again on page one, that a fifteen per cent distribution would be paid to depositors and creditors, provided that their claims had been duly filed and accepted in the liquidation proceeding. Here the *Syrian World* republished information, first printed in *Al-Hoda*, that addressed the key question on the minds of all to whom funds were owed: how much money would they get?[204]

In late December 1933, D. J. Faour & Bros. resorted to federal court, filing a petition in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York to initiate bankruptcy proceedings, seeking a court-ordered extension of time in which to liquidate assets and settle debts. Beyond a desire for additional time, the Faours were motivated by a perceived misstep by the State of New York Banking Department, which had sold one of the Faour buildings at a price that many believed too low, even in the liquidation context. That sale roiled the Faours, their creditors, and the Syrian community in general.[205]

A *Syrian World* columnist, Anna Bshoof, took advantage of the imprudent transaction to criticize the lack of cohesion among Syrian immigrants. She asserted that "the very unfortunate sale stands conclusively as the great example of the prime weakness of our Syrian community—the lack of unity."[206] But she did not explain her reasoning, and, candidly, it would seem a *non sequitur*. Assuming *arguendo* that disunity was the Syrian community's main deficiency, the bad deal made by the Banking Department did not exemplify it. Quite to the contrary, the poorly negotiated sale actually unified the Syrian community in opposition to the State of New York. The Faours contended that the Banking Department, having failed to secure a sufficiently high price in the prior sale, could not be trusted to maximize the proceeds of future sales. They sought to replace the Banking Department with a private entity, the Irving Trust Co. Toward this end, they petitioned the District Court for appointment of Irving Trust as receiver, to manage the liquidation of all remaining bank assets. At this point, confusion in the evidence arises. The *Syrian World* declared in February 1934 that the Faours' request—that the court order the transfer of bank assets from the State of New York to Irving Trust—"was refused."[207] Six months later, however, the *Syrian World* reported that the Second Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the judgment of the District Court, appointing Irving Trust as receiver, and ordering the State of New York to relinquish ownership of bank assets.[208] The State of New York obviously could not have appealed a decision in favor of Irving Trust unless such a decision had, in fact, been rendered. Therefore, either the *Syrian World* erred in its February 1934 article on the District Court ruling, or the District Court reconsidered and amended its ruling. Following its defeat in

the Second Circuit, the State of New York sought review by the U. S. Supreme Court, which exercised its discretion to decline to hear the case. That declination effectively ended the State of New York's role in the Faour Bank liquidation.[209]

The *Syrian World* reported, again on page one, that the District Court, upon remand, appointed a referee, who held a hearing in December 1934, reportedly attended by two hundred creditors. One of them, expressing disenchantment with the Faours' legal counsel, proposed that liquidation proceeds "should go all to the creditors, and none of it to the Faour lawyers." Readers of the *Syrian World* would have to use imaginations as to the tone and content of other creditors' remarks. Perhaps unsurprisingly, nothing got resolved, and the hearing was rescheduled for January 1935.[210] Months after that, as the *Syrian World* reported in yet another front-page story, certain depositors joined together to form the Bankmer Real Estate Corporation, for the purpose of managing the Faours' real estate. By this time, creditors had received distributions totaling twenty per cent of their claims, five per cent more that the fifteen per cent initially paid. Only about $60,000 in cash was left, to be disbursed "after incidental expenses have been paid."[211]

The bank's saga demonstrated how the Faour brothers—successful until they fell— walked the tightrope between assimilation and ethnicity. They operated a financial institution as American capitalists while serving an Arabic-speaking clientele; they amassed real estate assets in the finest American tradition within an Arabic-oriented neighborhood; they sought relief in an American courtroom while fending off the hostility of Arabic claimants. For more than thirty years, the Faours navigated the cultural waters successfully, but the Great Depression proved an insuperable tidal wave.

By 1935, Little Syria's flagship bank finally sank, a fitting metaphor for the colony's decline.

In summary, the evidence of business activities shows that Syrian immigrants in the first wave, poor and largely illiterate, came here, originally, to take advantage of economic opportunities and return to Syria with the newly-earned wealth. But many changed their minds about returning, or returned to gather family members and then immigrated anew. Most decided to seek American citizenship. The vast majority did not hesitate to move out of slum housing on the Lower West Side to decent homes in Brooklyn. All this meant that Syrians were assimilating by choice, not compulsion. But the evidence also suggests a twist on the theme of control. Syrians prospered in commerce by promoting and trading on their ethnicity. Washington Street gained a reputation as the Oriental marketplace, New York's version of an exotic bazaar. Syrians profited as a result of their cultural differences from the mainstream—differences that the immigrants were cagy enough to display and sell to the consuming public. In Little Syria, they retained much of their ethnicity, and strove to control their assimilation, for pecuniary gain.

IV. FAITH AND FACTION

In May 1902, the *New York Times* wrote of Little Syria's religious groups: "Many of these sects had a standing unpleasantness in their native land. The Druses and the Maronites, for instance, have had civil war since time immemorial in Syria. These little differences they bring along to America with them. The whole colony is split into factions. Each faction has its leaders and newspapers."[212] Though stereotypical, these statements did have a basis in reality. Religion and partisanship inhered in New York's Syrian immigrant community and bore distinct reflection in its Arabic-language newspapers. Nadeem Naimy put it aptly: "Springing up in a community of individuals whose only initial sense of belonging, whether in the old country or in the new, was sectarian, journalists found no better way to make a living, sell and prosper than to air sectarian feelings among their readers and pose as champions of religious solidarity in their own sects."[213] Thus, intra-community cleavages along religious lines were commonplace among Syrian immigrants in the first wave.

To understand the enduring connection between faith and faction, one must begin in the Near East. Syrian Christians, Muslims, and Jews proudly shared a common origin in the Holy Land. For centuries, their houses of worship stood in close proximity to one another.[214] They also shared Arabic culture, communicating in the same language, eating many of the same foods, participating actively in trade and commerce, accepting patriarchy, stressing female chastity, valuing well-told tales, quoting proverbs, and

enjoying similar musical patterns, among other customs. Common culture coexisted with religious differences.[215]

The Near East also served as the junction of Eastern and Western Christianity. The Great Schism of Christianity in 1054 resulted in a Western church and an Eastern church, each with its own set of rituals and traditions, called rites. The Western Christian church, based in Rome, observed the so-called Latin rite. The Eastern Christian church, centered in Byzantium (Constantinople), adhered to the so-called Byzantine rite. Over time, the Christian church of the Latin rite took the name "Catholic;" the Christian church of the Byzantine rite, "Orthodox."[216]

The Eastern Orthodox Church (also known as the Greek, Russian, Syrian or Antiochian Orthodox Church, depending on the specific context) held firmly to its Byzantine orientation for centuries. Major doctrinal differences between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches could not be reconciled. First, Rome altered the content of the Nicene Creed, adding a substantive phrase with which Constantinople disagreed. The Orthodox viewed the Nicene Creed as belonging to all Christians, immune from unilateral modification by any sect. Second, Catholics advocated papal infallibility, while the Orthodox believed that the Pope, as Bishop of Rome, was merely "*first among equals*," in the words of Orthodox Bishop Timothy Ware. Third, Rome created the concept of purgatory, which conflicted with the idea of divine grace accepted by the Orthodox. Fourth, Catholics instituted the requirement of priestly celibacy. By contrast, Orthodox priests could marry, if they did so prior to ordination. Aside from doctrinal differences, the Orthodox differed from Catholics in the ritual performance of certain

special services, followed by feasts, the grandest of which took place on Easter. Twelve other major feasts (e.g., the Nativity of Christ, the Entry of the Lord into Jerusalem, Pentecost), plus several minor feasts, were celebrated throughout the ecclesiastical year. Additionally, a more rigorous fasting regimen, including four extended periods of fasting each year, as well as every Wednesday and Friday (with minor exceptions), marked the Orthodox faith. Finally, and perhaps most indicative of their fundamental aversion to Western influence, the Orthodox continued to adhere to the Julian Calendar, as opposed to the Gregorian Calendar, until the early 1920s. Calendar differences resulted in conflicts between the dates on which major Christian holidays, including Christmas and Easter, were celebrated by Catholics and Protestants on the one hand, and Orthodox on the other. Even in the 1920s, the Orthodox disagreed with each other about the desirability and propriety of change, with some patriarchates (e.g., Antioch) agreeing to adopt a Revised Julian Calendar, roughly matching the Gregorian Calendar, while others (e.g., Russia) rejected this innovation. Hence, the Syrian Orthodox began to observe Christmas on December 25, like Western Christians, but the Russian Orthodox continued to observe it on January 7. On one issue, however, almost all Orthodox patriarchates agreed: they refused to adopt the Revised Julian Calendar's method of computing the date on which Easter fell. Consequently, Orthodox Easter in most years occurred on a different date than Easter for Catholics and Protestants. Finally, it should be noted that, until the middle of the twentieth century, the Orthodox in the United States conducted liturgical services in Arabic, with chanters but no choirs, and using Byzantine melodic

patterns instead of Western harmonies. For decades, they worshipped here just as they did in the Near East.[217]

Historically, the Orthodox Church did not always succeed in retaining its faithful. In one instance, internal dissension spawned a Catholic sect. Certain Orthodox in Syria, while devoted to the Eastern rite, grew disenchanted with their ecclesiastical hierarchy by the late seventeenth century. In 1724, these disaffected Christians decided to align themselves with Rome, rather than Byzantium. Formally splitting from the Orthodox Church, this group identified itself as the Melkite Catholic Church. The word "Melkite" means king's men, deriving from the Syriac word for king, *melko*. Eventually, the Melkites became popularly known as Greek Catholics. They melded Byzantine origins and Eastern proclivities with allegiance to the Pope, thereby constituting a unique, hybrid Catholic sect. In Syria, the Melkites maintained the same rite as the Orthodox, despite having affiliated jurisdictionally with the Roman Catholics. Rev. Allen Maloof, a Melkite priest, displayed the Eastward-facing orientation of this singular Catholic sect when he wrote with evident pride that Byzantium's "whole culture of language, philosophy, theology, and art, was eclectic."[218] The Melkites brought their Byzantine traditions and customs with them to the United States, where, as we shall see, they yielded to pressures to conform to prevailing Roman Catholic expectations.

The Maronites comprised a third group of Eastern Christians, and a second group of Eastern Catholics. The conventional wisdom is that they took their name from St. Maron (Marun) (d. 410), a Christian ascetic monk in northern Syria, near Aleppo, in the late fourth and early fifth centuries.[219] That St. Maron truly existed is not free from

doubt. Historian Benjamin Braude referred to him as "a semilegendary figure," but Maron's followers believed in his existence and sainthood.[220] As Maronite expert Matti Moosa explained, evidence exists of two different Marons—the aforementioned monk who became a saint, and a different monk, from the late seventh century, who became the sect's first Patriarch. Consequently, it is uncertain which of the two Marons deserves credit as the source of the name.[221] In any event, a monastery of St. Maron evolved into a locus of Christian teaching by the sixth century. Arcane theological differences arose over time between the Maronites and other Eastern Christians (the Orthodox and the Melkites). Feeling persecuted, the Maronites relocated from northern Syria to Mount Lebanon near the end of the seventh century. In the twelfth century, they affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church, while retaining the Eastern rite. Crucially, French Jesuit missionaries operated schools for, and exerted a great deal of influence on, the Maronites. A Catholic country with imperial interests, France protected Mount Lebanon's Maronites—politically, diplomatically, even militarily—throughout the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries.[222] The Western cultural and theological orientation of this Eastern sect cannot be overemphasized. The Maronites' "strict adherence to Catholicism" and "intrinsic obedience to the Roman church" amounted to a "basic deviation from their Eastern Orthodox Christian neighbors," not to mention the surrounding Ottoman milieu, that "enhanced group consciousness and ethnic identity."[223] The Maronites' battles against the Orthodox in New York, to which we will turn shortly, become more comprehensible with this background in mind.

In addition to Christian sects of the Eastern rite, Protestantism found its way into Syria, owing principally to the work of American missionaries, beginning in the eighteenth century. They, too, operated schools, resulting in some conversions from Eastern Christianity to Protestantism. Rihbany, for instance, was born to Orthodoxy but converted to Protestantism while a student at a Presbyterian missionary school, before deciding to emigrate. But Protestant missionaries did not have an easy time of it in Syria, as they faced opposition from both the Orthodox and the Eastern Catholic sects, especially the Maronites. In general, the Eastern Christian clergy and notables feared the disruptions to traditional practices and privileges that the intrusion of new, Protestant values and dogmas would necessarily entail.[224]

Syrian Christian immigrants transported their four main denominations—Orthodox, Melkite, Maronite, and Protestant—when they took up residence in New York's Little Syria. Maronites comprised a majority of the population in Mount Lebanon during the late nineteenth century, even allowing for emigration, and their priests enjoyed prominence and power there, presenting ceaseless challenges to the Ottoman-appointed governor, until abolition of the *mutasarrifiyya*, and the imposition of military rule, during World War I. In Little Syria, however, Melkites outnumbered Maronites, with a population of approximately 700 Melkites, compared to 500 Maronites, while the Orthodox totaled 385, and the Protestants (grouped generically) a mere sixty-eight, as of the early 1900s, according to Miller. In 1898, the Orthodox priest in New York claimed 575 congregants in his parish, substantially more than Miller reported in 1904. Miller

would seem the more credible source, however, since the Orthodox prelate no doubt had a natural bias in favor of leading a larger, rather than smaller, flock.[225]

Within the Syrian quarter, Maronites worshiped at various sites over time. During the 1880s, they shared space with Melkites, at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church, 22 Barclay Street, whose pastor was the Rev. James H. McGean, apparently of Irish ancestry. In 1890, the Maronites decided to seek worship space of their own and obtained the services of a priest, Rev. Peter Korkema, from Mount Lebanon. Maronites held religious services at a facility called St. Leo's Home, until the congregation, which became known as St. Joseph's, acquired sufficient funds to rent a room at 127 Washington Street.[226] St. Joseph's subsequently moved down the block—to 81, 82, 83, or 89 Washington Street, depending on the source.[227] It evidently did not publicize its location to non-Syrians. A government inspector discovered the congregation's location by mere chance. Having received a tip about "a sweat-shop in the attic" of the building at 83 Washington Street, she "found about fifty Syrians working on coats and vests in a room on the top floor, at one end of which were a rough altar, a crucifix, and a picture of the Virgin." These Syrians "worked in the room on week days and worshiped there on Sundays."[228] In 1910, the congregation again moved, this time to 57 Washington Street, a building with a street-level entrance and public visibility. The Maronites of St. Joseph's gathered to pray in that spot for more than thirty years. The Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel project forced them to relocate in the mid-1940s. St. Joseph's moved to 157 Cedar Street, where it stood until its destruction during the terrorist attack of September 11, 2001.[229]

The Melkites left St. Peter's nine years after the Maronites, obtaining their first priest from the old country, Fr. Abraham Bachewate, around 1899. He saw to the establishment in 1916 of St. George's Chapel, using rented facilities at 98 Washington Street. Upon Fr. Abraham's death in 1923, Rev. Archimandrite Taophilos Khalaf (Kaliff), presided over St. George's for a brief period, until the parish received its second permanent priest, Fr. Bernard Goshn. Under his leadership, St. George's purchased the church at 103 Washington Street in 1924, a transaction apparently underwritten in large part by the Bardwil family.[230] As shown in Chapter III, the Bardwils achieved commercial success and moved their business from Washington Street to Fifth Avenue.[231] The Melkites continued to worship at that site for over three decades. In 1957, the Roman Catholic Cardinal of New York determined that "there were no more Melkites living in the area," and turned over the church to Latin priests.[232] St. George's eventually won designation as an official landmark, for historic preservation.[233] (See figure 5.)

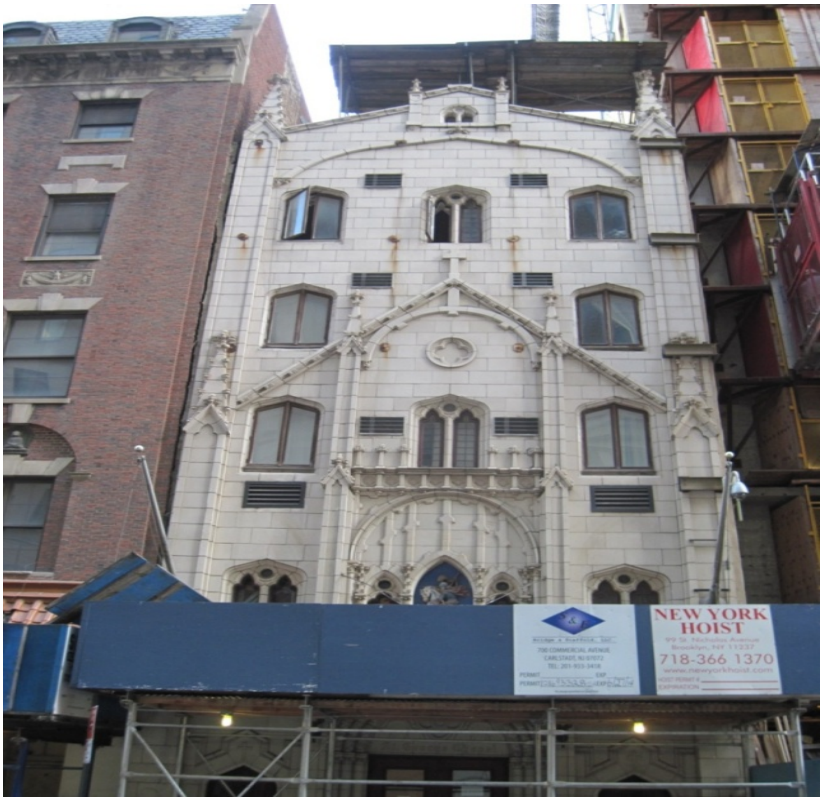

Figure 5. St. George's Catholic (Melkite) Chapel. 103 Washington Street (2013). This is the sole structure in Little Syria officially landmarked for historic preservation. To its immediate north is the building that formerly housed the Downtown Community House. To its immediate south is a far taller building, currently under construction. Source: Author's collection.

The transformation in reportage on Eastern Catholic customs between 1881 and 1899 showed that Maronites and Melkites in New York readily assimilated into mainstream Catholicism. In January 1881, the *New York Times* gave a detailed account of a Mass celebrated by Eastern Catholics, comparing and contrasting the ceremony with a Latin Mass. The priest spoke not in Latin but in Syriac, except for the reading of the Gospel, which he read in Arabic; he wore different robes from Latin priests; he offered the bread and wine before, rather than after, the uttering of the Creed; he omitted part of the Mass, and amended it, by holding a lit candle while blessing the people at the

conclusion of the service. Differences in languages and other rituals stood out.[234] In 1898, however, the *New-York Tribune Illustrated Supplement* reported that "the visitor would see little difference" between the Maronite chapel and an ordinary Roman Catholic chapel, although the Maronites chanted more and used "the Syrian Language" in place of Latin. Whether "the Syrian Language" meant solely Arabic or a combination of Arabic and Syriac was unclear. It is likely that the reporter could not distinguish between the two.[235] A year later, the *New York Times* described the "two distinct rites" of the Eastern Catholics—the "Syro-Greeks" (meaning the Melkites) and the Maronites—in an article reporting that 200 "swarthy-faced, black-haired, and black-eyed Syrians" attended the dedication of the first Maronite chapel. The dedication ceremony was performed by Rev. McGean of St. Peter's, and the congregation uttered their oral responses to him in Latin during the Mass. Afterward, he addressed the people in English, while the Maronite priest, newly-arrived from Syria, did so in Arabic.[236] Differences from the Latin Mass still existed, but far less prominently. By August 1899, a reporter who attended Mass at St. Joseph's, wrote, "Aside from the chanting the visitor might have imagined himself in a regular Roman Catholic Church." Chanting was the only "irregularity" observed.[237] Thus, by the end of the 1890s, the Maronites of Little Syria conducted religious services much as other Roman Catholics did in New York. A Maronite Mass closely resembled a Latin Mass. It is no surprise, therefore, that the Maronites have been "described as one of the most successfully assimilated Middle Eastern immigrant groups in the United States."[238]

The Melkites in New York also adopted elements of Western Catholicism, although less enthusiastically than the Maronites. Despite their rich history of devotion to Byzantine rituals, the Melkite immigrants "wanted to be 'American' in all aspects of the word," as Rev. Maloof, St. George's final Melkite pastor, later complained. The Melkite laity and clergy favored conformity to Catholic rites as practiced in American churches. Maloof understood the virtue of "mutual borrowing and adaptation (not mere adoption)," but disapproved of a process he acerbically characterized as "mutilation and latinization."[239] Kayal shared Maloof's displeasure, remarking that Eastern Catholics, not least the Melkites, "allowed themselves to become a latinized Catholic ethnic group rather than force American Catholics to be legitimately pluralistic in terms of rite, language and liturgy."[240]

Let us consider some of the specific changes made by Melkites. They introduced the preaching of sermons and the passing of collection plates—practices learned from Catholics in American churches—and overcame the lack of punctuality so characteristic of Arabic culture. They began to mimic Latin customs in the design of clerical vestments, the use of wafers for the Communion host, the construction of churches without domes or partitions displaying icons, the placement of statues in church interiors, and the practice of genuflection. Some Melkite parishes even adopted the Latin rite of giving the Communion host by the priest, who stated, "Corpus Christi," to kneeling communicants, who in turn replied, "Amen." None of these changes squared with Byzantine canonical tenets. Melkites did retain the use of Greek throughout their services, just as Maronites continued to celebrate Mass in Syriac while reading the

Gospel in Arabic. In the main, however, the Melkites, like the Maronites, modified their habits to satisfy Catholic norms, and expectations of Catholic clergy and laity, in the United States. Unlike the Maronites, however, the Melkites appear to have felt compulsion to Latinize because the sheer distinctiveness of their hybrid rite—essentially mirroring Orthodox rituals in a Catholic house of worship—led uninformed observers to believe, erroneously, that the Melkites were Orthodox (or even Muslims, according to Kayal and Kayal). To avoid being confused with one or more other religious sects, the Melkites deemed it best to move in the same assimilationist direction as the Maronites.[241]

The evidence on early Syrian Catholics in New York may be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, the conformity to Western (Latin) Catholicism lamented by Maloof and, to some extent, the Kayals would suggest willful distancing from Syrian ethnicity. On the other hand, the paucity of Eastern Catholics in New York at the time, coupled with their duty of fealty to the Vatican and its American representatives, points to conformity borne of pragmatism. Even if the Maronites and Melkites in New York had wanted to resist assimilation—and one should not necessarily assume any such predilection, at least on the part of the Maronites—they held few, if any, bargaining chips vis-à-vis Rome. The power, and the ability to exert pressure, rested with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Moreover, the Eastern Catholics in New York did import priests from Syria, and continued to make liturgical use of foreign languages, thereby retaining certain ethnic distinctions. Under the circumstances, they would seem to have exhibited a reasonable degree of agency. They controlled what they could.

Their Orthodox Christian brethren were not Roman Catholic and, therefore, had no reason to adopt mainstream Catholic practices. They adhered rigorously to their Eastern traditions and conducted services in Arabic, opening the first Syrian Orthodox church in the United States on the second floor of a building at 77 Washington Street in 1895. Chanting and somber, if not downright sad, musical strains punctuated the ceremony held on the day the church was consecrated, with over 200 persons in attendance. The Bishop's chanting and the congregations' responses "in music of a slow and wailing type," reportedly "had a weird and melancholic affect upon strangers." The Bishop spoke in Russian, and the first pastor of the church, Archimandrite Raphael Hawaweeny (Hawawiny), a native Syrian educated in Russia, translated the Russian into Arabic. Thus, the Orthodox service employed two foreign languages but no English.[242]

Two years later, the customs of a Syrian Orthodox wedding provided the subject of a detailed newspaper review. The groom had "a flourishing trade of his own in dry goods and notions," and desiring to marry the woman he "fancied," sought and won the permission of her mother, the sole parent with whom she resided. The betrothed couple then obtained the consent of the Orthodox priest. On the wedding day, in accordance with Syrian customs, the bride's face, neck, hands, and feet "were rubbed thoroughly with henna, her nails were polished and tinged, and the natural brilliancy of her big, black eyes was increased by methods and touches known to Syrian matrons." Following such pampering, the bride had to stand for one to two hours "on high wooden shoes and kiss the hands of all who went to see her," most of whom gave her gifts of cash. After completion of this laborious if remunerative process, and while the groom waited at the

altar, the bride proceeded by foot down the street to the church, led by her sponsor, "a big man in the Syrian colony," and accompanied by a coterie of others. She wore "a skirt of heavy shimmering yellow silk and a bodice of blue silk," with her head covered by a lace veil, and white kid gloves, her one "concession to America custom" in otherwise traditional apparel for a Syrian bride. The wedding service was conducted "entirely in Arabic," in keeping with Syrian Orthodox practice. To a greater extent than in Melkite and (especially) Maronite churches, ethnicity stood proudly on display in this Orthodox marriage ceremony.[243]

If ethnicity contributed to diverse religious customs, it also arrived here intertwined with religious factionalism. That such factionalism existed in New York's Little Syria should surprise no one. It existed in Syria, not just between Christians and Druze, but between Christians *inter se*. Observe Rihbany's disapproving tone toward the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in Syria: "As usual, they lived at war with one another and united as 'Christians' only when attacked by the Druses. The clannish feuds also existed within the various sects."[244] Hitti argued that factionalism stemmed from self-identification by religious sect, and concluded that "[c]lannishness or factionalism is therefore the most pronounced feature of Syrian character."[245] Although Gualtieri did not fully share Hitti's judgment that religious factionalism was endemic to Syrians generally, she did agree that Syrian immigrants in the first wave exhibited such divisiveness.[246]

Factionalism manifested itself most vividly in the Arabic-language press.[247] Thus, the Industrial Commission ascertained in 1901 that "[r]elatively the quarter has a large number of journals, it being the ambition of every faction to be so represented."[248]

The *New York Times* added in 1902 that "[t]he whole colony is split into factions. Each faction has its leaders and newspapers."[249] Sects publicize their opinions in journalism that lacked any appreciable objectivity. Immigrants manifested "their old-country factionalism" well into the 1930s, according to the *Syrian World*.[250] Rival Syrian factions pilloried each other in print.

The first reported episode, in August 1894, pitted A. J. Arbeely and Najeeb J. Arbeely, proprietors of the *Kawkab*, at 45 Pearl Street, against Najili Maloof and Naoum Mokarzel, both of Washington Street. The *Kawkab* represented the viewpoint of the Orthodox faction. Maloof and Mokarzel allegedly libeled the Arbeely brothers and their father in the newspaper, *Al-Ast*, prior to its demise in December 1893, and subsequently in personal communications. Mokarzel, a Maronite, would go on to publish *Al-Hoda* (The Guardian), advancing the Maronite faction's perspective. It is reasonable to infer, therefore, that *Al-Ast* was a predecessor Maronite mouthpiece. In March 1898, a mainstream newspaper article on Little Syria ran photographs of the Orthodox priest, Hawaweeny, of 7 Battery Place, and the Maronite priest, Korkemas, of 27 Rector Street, on the same page, each in their clerical garb, pointing up, *sub silentio*, the simmering factional rivalry. The dueling sects would make a lot of news in the coming years.[251]

In 1899, Hawaweeny stepped into the secular limelight as the complainant in a libel suit against *Al-Ayam* (The Chronicle), published by Joseph N. Maloof, described by the *New York Times* as "liberal and pro-American." Hawaweeny had written a letter to a pro-Ottoman newspaper, *Al-Alam* (The World), "thanking it as 'the responsible representative of the adherents to my faith in North America and on their behalf,' for its

patriotic attitude and devotion to 'the Serene Ottoman Government, of mighty power, whose days will be everlasting.'" Hawaweeny's letter referred to *Al-Alam*'s admonitions to readers that, as Ottomans, they should return to Syria, apparently implying that they should not seek citizenship in the United States. *Al-Ayam* denounced *Al-Alam*'s pro-Ottoman appeals as thinly veiled threats against pro-American Syrians. *Al-Ayam*'s proponents also wrote letters to *Al-Alam*, objecting to Hawaweeny's arrogation to himself of the putative right to express "the political views of all his co-religionists, and making charges against him upon which the suit for libel is based."[252] Soon thereafter, *Al-Alam*'s publisher, George Jabour, clarified that he never meant to deter immigrants from applying for American citizenship. Jabour was himself a naturalized citizen and a co-founder of the Syrian-American Club (SAC), located at 63 Greenwich Street. The SAC promoted naturalization of Syrian immigrants. Indeed, naturalization, or the declaration of intention to become an American citizen, was a requirement of SAC membership.[253]

The internecine battles in New York's Syrian Christian community turned violent in 1905. Charismatic, if truculent, Hawaweeny stood at the center of the action. He oversaw impressive growth of his Orthodox congregation and the purchase in 1902 of a church building in Brooklyn. As pastor of this church, named for St. Nicholas, Hawaweeny garnered a promotion from Archimandrite to Bishop in 1904.[254] In September 1905, at the apex of his influence, Hawaweeny and his disciples became embroiled in armed battles against the Syrian Maronite faction. During that month, a brawl between the sects broke out, with knives drawn, in front of 49 Washington Street. The police made arrests. Some Maronite adherents accused Hawaweeny of inciting

violence and bestowing a priestly blessing on the knives of his followers. Hawaweeny countered that such allegations lacked foundation, and that "he forgave his enemies for their attacks" in the local Syrian press.[255] Within a few days, however, Hawaweeny and his defenders, still seething over unflattering remarks in *Al-Hoda*, ventured to the home of its publisher, Mokarzel, in Brooklyn. They physically attacked Mokarzel, who was entertaining guests at the time. The fight bled into the street. One of Mokarzel's supporters, a resident of Greenwich Street in Little Syria, caught a bullet in the leg. The police arrested Hawaweeny and his loyalists. Several women tried, without success, to bail the Orthodox Bishop out of jail, prior to his arraignment. He was, according to the *New York Times*, "naturally credited with much of the leadership in the factional fight that for many months has been waged between" the Syrian Orthodox and the Syrian Catholics (Maronites).[256] Another report surfaced that some of Hawaweeny's band had their knives consecrated on the Orthodox Church altar.[257] Further, a police officer insisted that Hawaweeny had "snapped" a gun at the officer and "actually fired it at others." Hawaweeny denied this, claiming that he remained unarmed, despite having received death threats.[258]

Several days later, trial in the Tombs Police Court commenced on a criminal libel charge that Hawaweeny had previously initiated against Mokarzel and four other Syrians. Those defendants sought police protection, alleging that "Bishop Hawaweeny, in open church, threatened their lives." Hawaweeny appeared in court, wearing his liturgical robes, and denied the charges under oath. Charles Le Barbier, the attorney for Mokarzel's cohort, argued that "his clients were not safe on account of the mob of hostile

Syrians gathered outside." A police escort thereupon accompanied the defendants out of the courtroom.[259] When the trial resumed the next day, the magistrate groused that he could not stand it any longer and adjourned the case until October. At least a thousand Syrians had gathered in the courtroom and the street. Now they dispersed under police escort. The police led the Orthodox (Hawaweeny) contingent to the Brooklyn Bridge, and, separately, the Maronite (Mokarzel) contingent to Washington Street.[260]

More violence ensued within a few weeks. Laced with stereotypical imagery, a *New York Times* story in October 1905 ran the lead: "Wild-eyed Syrians battled fiercely for a quarter of an hour in the lower west side last night." Police arrived on Washington Street *en masse*, arresting those who had not fled. Religion was the source of the melee: "A difference in religious views is at the beginning of it." Hawaweeny and the editor of the *Meraat-ul-Gharb* (Mirror of the West) had reportedly joined in opposition to Najeeb Maloof, a Little Syria merchant, who had assaulted another Syrian editor named Najeeb Diab. With hundreds of Syrians milling about the Tombs Courthouse, Maloof told the magistrate that he feared for his life, and, elevating the drama, "that the Bishop [Hawaweeny] had put a price of $5,000 on his head." The accusation that Hawaweeny had contracted for Maloof's murder apparently did not faze the magistrate; he volunteered a room at his own house—facetiously, no doubt—for Maloof to use. That evening, while returning to the Lower West Side from the Tombs Court, two Syrians had an altercation, with one accusing the other of carrying a weapon. The police arrested the man so accused but promptly released him. "Then the fight began," reported the *New York Times*. "When the men appeared on the street it was a signal for nearly every Syrian

between Church Street and the [Hudson] river to get out his dirk or revolver and yell. None of them missed the opportunity." The free-for-all caused multiple injuries and arrests.[261] "The Syrian colony in lower Washington Street," ran a story in the next day's *New York Times*, "never particularly peaceful, is now, according to Magistrate Wahle, who knows it, in a really alarming state." The "the warring clans in Little Syria" were keeping visitors away out of fear, despite more than five million dollars in annual trade.[262] The following day, the *New York Times* printed a letter to the editor written by none other than Hawaweeny, who expressly denied the accusation that he "had offered $5,000 for a man's death."[263] Near the end of October, an article claimed that "Syrians carry their war habits with them wherever they go," that it was inevitable the Lower West Side had erupted in violence, and that future violence would occur unless "these picturesque Biblical exiles," like "other turbulent tribes" of immigrants, could somehow be tamed.[264] The pending charges against Bishop Hawaweeny were dismissed in December 1905. Nonetheless, the Orthodox Bishop's penchant for divisiveness and incitement, and his apparent independence from meaningful oversight by the Orthodox hierarchy, were jarring. Hitti referred to "the riots of 1905" as providing fodder for those who wanted to keep "religious strifes alive."[265] Alive they were.

Retaliation rang in the new year. In January 1906, Diab, the *Meraat-ul-Gharb* editor and Hawaweeny acolyte, sued six Syrians for monetary damages, alleging that they had conspired to cause the arrest of Diab, Hawaweeny, and others "who sided with the Bishop in the religious warfare which is raging in the Syrian colony," and who ultimately

were discharged. Now it was Diab's turn to see to the arrest (counter-arrest) of the six alleged co-conspirators, including, of course, the Maronite editor, Mokarzel.[266]

Factionalism led to homicide. As a February 1906 story in the *New York Times* began, "The religious factions among the Syrians fought in a restaurant in the Syrian quarter last night with fatal results." Allies of Hawaweeny allegedly murdered the brother of Archbishop Stefan, "the Roman Catholic Syrian Bishop," the Maronite leader in New York. The nefariousness started at the office of *Al-Hoda* in Little Syria, where the Orthodox vigilantes sought out Naoum Mokarzel. Finding only his brother, Salloum, they warned that, because of slanderous articles printed in *Al-Hoda*, they would kill Naoum. Salloum cleverly escaped. The aggressors pursued him, entering a restaurant at 81 Washington Street, where, after an exchange of words, John Stefan, the Maronite Archbishop's brother, fell dead, reportedly from bullets piercing his chest and jaw, and another man lay wounded.[267] The story grew more lurid the next day, when autopsies of John Stefan revealed not that he had been shot, but "that he had been garroted, and that death was due to strangulation." The conclusion seemed unavoidable that Stefan's murder was the latest and most egregious manifestation "of bitter feeling between the members of the Greek Catholic [sic, Orthodox] Church, of which Bishop Hawaweeny is the head, and the Roman Catholic Church, presided over by Bishop Stefan."[268] The other man who had sustained injuries in the fracas, a Hawaweeny proponent, accused Mokarzel of having shot him. The police arrested the alleged attackers of Stefan, plus Mokarzel, the latter of whom spent two days in jail before winning release. The "war of religious sects," as *The Sun* reported, brought significant injuries and even death to Little Syria.[269]

A more blatant display of the faith-faction tie than the disputes between the Orthodox and the Maronites in New York's Syrian community is hard to imagine. Suleiman explained that "partisanship was clearly in evidence during the inter-sectarian (especially Maronite-Orthodox) squabble which, for a short period early in this century, turned violent."[270] Houghton added that "religious dissensions and rivalries" animated the "quarrels and crimes which have given a bad notoriety to the Syrian colony" in Lower Manhattan.[271] In retrospect, the violent episodes between the Orthodox and the Maronites look like nothing so much as gang warfare.

In light of all this evidence, it seems clear that, in the context of religious factionalism, some Syrians chose to assert their ethnicity, openly and defiantly, even at the risk of mainstream disapproval, not to mention criminal penalties. Improvident choices, such as these, arguably represented efforts to exert control over the process of assimilation. When Hawaweeny and his gang stormed Mokarzel's house to start a fistfight, they could hardly have intended to blend into American society. It strains credulity to believe they were doing anything other than taking revenge upon those who had given offense, much as they might have done in Syria. There is no useful purpose in sentimentalizing the historical record. If Hawaweeny supporters marked Mokarzel for death, or murdered the brother of the Catholic cleric, they displayed the dark side of ethnicity. By the same token, Hawaweeny's letter to the editor of the *New York Times* did reveal an assimilationist concern for public opinion. Had he not wanted to justify his position to the mainstream readership, he could have saved his denials for court. By going public, in print, he meant to project the image of a victim of false allegations; he

importuned for support among those who probably were not privy to the details of Syrian Christian factionalism. Both sects, Orthodox and Maronite, resorted to the American judicial system as an alternative or supplement to self-help. Although the Syrians tried the magistrate's patience, their serial litigiousness reflected assimilationist choices. Factionalism thus had disparate consequences.

Factions existed within factions. From 1902 until Hawaweeny's death in 1915, only one officially recognized Syrian Orthodox congregation worshipped in Brooklyn. In 1917, however, the Bolshevik Revolution rocked Russia, and a major schism developed in Orthodoxy. Known within the Orthodox Church as "the 'Russy'/'Antacky' controversy," a fissure developed between parishes and missions that favored the Patriarch in Moscow and those that favored the Patriarch in Antioch. Some Orthodox Christians in New York splintered from the Russian faction and transferred their loyalty to Antioch. A new Orthodox parish thus emerged, St Mary's in Brooklyn, affiliated with the Antiochian, rather than the Russian, Orthodox Church. Jurisdictional haggling lasted into the 1920s. In 1924, the consecration of the first Archbishop of the Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese of North America took place. Thus, the Syrian Orthodox faction devolved into two official sub-factions. The preexisting Orthodox church, St. Nicholas, remained affiliated with the Russian Orthodox Archdiocese and relocated to 155 Cedar Street in Little Syria. Like the Maronite church, St. Joseph's, that would eventually become its next door neighbor, St. Nicholas remained on Cedar Street until it was destroyed on September 11, 2001.[272]

Syrian Orthodox factionalism did not end with its devolution into two official sub-factions. In 1935, a further rift occurred within the Antiochian Archdiocese, involving the purported excommunication of the Patriarch by an Orthodox Bishop. The Patriarch had previously divested the Bishop of power, relegating him to a city in Syria. Not to be outdone, the Bishop retaliated in the form of Patriarchal excommunication. Such a presumptuous act, of course, had no theological, juridical, or administrative validity. Yet the dissident Bishop had lay supporters, and together, they proceeded to form a separate church. Hence, the Antiochian sub-faction of the Orthodox Church suffered the ignominy of spawning a sub-sub-faction.[273]

New York's few remaining Syrian Christians were Protestants. During the early 1900s, Syrian Protestants worshiped on the second story of the building at 93 Washington Street. Preaching took place in Arabic. By the 1920s, the Syrian Protestant congregation moved to Brooklyn. Born and developed in Western countries, Protestantism marked its adherents in Syria as theologically incompatible with virtually all other Christians in Syria, the land of the Eastern rite. In the United States, by contrast, Syrian Protestantism encountered a receptive religious environment. Protestantism, as the mainstream religious affiliation, facilitated assimilation.[274]

The rule of Syrian factionalism had one noteworthy exception: the practice, beginning in 1930, of holding annual reunions of the diasporants, called *mahrajan* (*mahrajhan*). Typically organized by a church, group of churches, or voluntary association, these picnics *cum* festivals took place over two or three summer days, often outdoors, in different locales, where thousands of Syrian immigrants and their families

would enjoy Arabic food, music, dancing, poetry recitals, and speeches by leaders, from morning until night. Historian Stanley Rashid observed that "[t]he *mahrajan* was the one arena in which the Syrian-Lebanese were willing to cross sectarian lines to preserve their collective heritage." And, more prosaically, the *mahrajan* "often functioned as a marriage market." Young Syrians would meet, flirt, "and, in some cases, find a spouse."[275] This is not to suggest that premarital sexual activity was condoned or tolerated; it was not, at least for girls. Female chastity was a fundamental aspect of Syrian culture. As Houghton pointed out, "the chastity of the Syrian woman, by universal testimony, is beyond question."[276] Syrian girls, even if born in the United States, were not only expected to remain chaste until married, but were not allowed to date in the commonly understood sense, "though they might go out with boys in mixed groups or gather at someone's house."[277] Any sexual impropriety by a female dishonored her family as well as herself. Parents monitored their unmarried daughters' conduct. Once married, a Syrian woman was expected to obey her husband, in conformity with traditions brought from Mount Lebanon. More generally, the ideal of sexual morality for women and men had been stressed in the old country—Hitti claimed that venereal diseases did not spread widely there until 1861—and it received no less emphasis in the United States. Furthermore, Syrian Christian immigrants encouraged, at times even pressured, their offspring to marry other Syrian Christians. Indeed, the tradition of arranged marriage still existed, to some degree.[278] In such a sexually restrictive environment, it would seem that single Syrians, especially females, who sought courtship

with potential mates of their own ethnicity, and to their own liking, had virtually no alternative as promising in the 1930s as the *mahjaran*.

The *Syrian World* reported on, and promoted, the *mahjaran* held on a farm in Bridgeport, Connecticut. In September 1930, the magazine ran a story about the first such "Festival-Outing," which took place over the Labor Day Weekend. The mayor of Bridgeport "welcomed the Lebanese to the city in the highest words of praise." Over two thousand Syrians attended the reunion, "conceived and sponsored by the Lebanese League of Progress of New York," founded by Naoum Mokarzel. Attendees enjoyed Syrian folk songs, dances, and other forms of ethnic entertainment. An enormous success, the reunion would become an annual event. Five years later, the *Syrian World* carried a prominent advertisement for "THE SIXTH ANNUAL LEBANESE MAHRAJAN," to be held over the Labor Day Weekend on the same Connecticut farm. The advertisement sought to rouse *Syrian World* readers to "[c]ome and join the Debke [an Arabic dance] Circle," hear "the Troubadours of our people," listen to "the best oriental music, songs and stringed instruments," "know your people better," and "[e]xchange acquaintances in the hospitable Atmosphere of the Mahrajan." With little subtlety, it added, "Sports of all Sorts and other Attractions Are Open to The Second Generation Feasters, WHOSE NUMBER GROWS BIGGER AND BIGGER each year at the Bridgeport Mahrajan." In other words, the reunion served as a meeting ground for members of the second generation—a place to scout for a possible mate. Tickets could be purchased at the Lebanon League of Progress, 55 Washington Street, the same address as the *Syrian World* at that time.[279]

Except for the *mahjaran*, where the sects observed an implicit truce, factionalism pervaded the Syrian Christian community in New York. Yet Syrian Christians held no monopoly on factionalism. Syrian Muslims and Jews also had factions. In Islam, the Sunni and Shi'ite sects were always the largest and most familiar. A study of the first wave of Syrian immigration, however, requires consideration of a little-known sect, the Druze.

Conceptualizing the Druze is not easy. They originated, historically, in the early eleventh century, when Egypt's Fatimid caliph, al-Hakim, the leader of an Isma'ili Shi'ite branch of Islam, approved or acquiesced in the Druze's doctrine, a version of monotheism, whose main advocate was a Persian Isma'ili theologian named Hamza ibn 'Ali ibn Ahmad al-Zuzani. Following the death or disappearance of both the caliph, al-Hakim, and the theologian, Hamza, the Druze decamped from Egypt, eventually spreading to Mount Lebanon, other parts of Syria, and Israel. As Ottoman subjects, they outwardly manifested an acceptance of Sunni Islam, a facade permitted by the Druze principle of dissimulation.[280] But their true beliefs diverged from core Islamic tenets to such an extent "as to be considered semi-Islamic by some Muslims and non-Islamic by others."[281] Throughout history, wrote Nissim Dana, "a string of confrontations" between Druze and Muslims occurred.[282] Robert Brenton Betts asserted "that even in its earliest stages Druzism was not merely a sect of Islam but a new religion, which aimed at establishing a new world order."[283] Hitti referred to "Muhammadans" and "Druzes" separately, and labeled the Druze a "unique and secret sect."[284] Hooglund, on the other hand, identified the Druze as one of the "Muslim sects," noting their competition with

Maronites in Mount Lebanon for power and resources.[285] Truly understanding the faith has remained problematic for the non-Druze, as the Druze neither proselytized nor accepted converts after 1042, preferring to maintain the secrecy of a closed society. Adding to their opacity, the Druze traditionally opposed marriage with non-Druze; still, some outside marriage (inter-marriage) evidently occurred, despite the prohibition.[286]

However one might characterize their connection with Islam, the Druze in Syria held a higher social standing than non-Muslims. But they were "poor and oppressed," according to Suleiman, who drew a parallel to "the 'poor white trash' of the American South," suggesting an inherent contradiction in Druze life: elevated status and, at the same time, poverty.[287] From the mid-nineteenth century, the *Tanzimat* era, the Druze "remained outside the market economy being constructed in the Mountain."[288] Syrian merchants tended to be Christians and Jews.

The Druze began to emigrate in the late nineteenth century, although just how late is unclear. To begin with, numerical estimates of Muslim emigration at the time are necessarily unsatisfactory, because of the illegal, and, therefore, covert, nature of Muslim emigration, as well as the lack of reliable contemporary documentation of immigrants into the United States, as discussed in Chapter III. Elkholy contended that Muslims began leaving Syria just prior to the turn of the century, about twenty years after Christian immigration began. Orfalea concurred with that assessment. Similarly, Houghton stated in 1911 that Muslim immigration was of recent origin. On the other hand, Karpat cited an Ottoman report of 1892 that discussed the problem of Muslims "passing" as Christians in order to circumvent the legal prohibition against Muslim

emigration. The Ottoman authorities thus had knowledge of Syrian Muslim emigration by 1892 at the latest, far less than twenty years after Syrian Christians began to leave in meaningful numbers.[289]

Only a scant number of Muslims were documented as New York residents during the first wave. In his 1897 survey of Little Syria, Moss stated vaguely that "[s]ome of the people of this region are Mohammedans."[290] In 1904, Miller reported a total of three Druze and two Muslims in the Lower Manhattan colony.[291] By 1909, according to Naff, only a few hundred Muslims and Druze had immigrated to the entire United States. Between 1909 and 1914, the height of the first wave, "Muslim and Druze constituted perhaps less than 10 percent of the Syrian total."[292] The Syrian Druze immigrants were, for decades, exclusively, or almost exclusively, male. Many Druze seemed to have antiquated ideas about gender roles, so antiquated that the propriety of female immigration—leaving Syria for America—became a topic of debate, not least in Arabic-language newspapers published in New York.[293] Khater made the striking assertion that "not a single Druze woman left Lebanon before the 1920s."[294] If Khater's statement is even close to being accurate, together with the injunction against outside marriage, then the lack of Druze families in New York until well into the twentieth century can be readily understood.

More generally, little primary evidence of Syrian Muslim life in New York during this era appears extant. A March 1904 newspaper story reported on the acquittal of a Syrian Muslim, Nahaas Hasib, charged with assaulting another Syrian on Washington Street. Charles Le Barbier, the attorney who would subsequently represent Naoum

Mokarzel against Bishop Hawaweeny, defended Hasib. Witnesses who testified for the defense insisted that the oath be administered with the Koran, instead of the Bible, and repeatedly invoked the phrase, "by the Prophet's beard," in affirming the defendant's good character. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty.[295] As late as 1920, an article in the *Moslem World* averred that estimating the number of Muslims in North America was impossible. A 1930 article in the same journal related that 125 active Muslims supposedly lived in New York at an unspecified time in the past. An article in 1935 claimed that approximately 5,000 Muslims lived in Greater New York, but it adduced no documentation to support its assertion. Syrian (and Palestinian) Muslims regularly assembled in the Young Men's Moslem Association, consisting of a single room, at 1179 Broadway. Only one mosque, and one Syrian Muslim newspaper, *Al-Bayan (El-Bayan)* (The Statement), existed in New York as of 1935. Aside from monotheism, the absence of shared beliefs with Christians inevitably marked Muslims as separate and distinct from most other Syrian immigrants, a small minority of a small minority. Muslims had little public presence. Neither the *Syrian Business Directory* nor the *Syrian American Directory Almanac* contained a Manhattan listing as obviously Islamic as "Mohammed" or a variant of that name.[296]

If Islamic organizations appeared "weak and unimportant," as the *Moslem World* indelicately declared in 1935, Muslims (and Arabs generally) nonetheless received respectful treatment in the *Syrian World*. Articles in the *Syrian World* discussed the history and sects of Islam, the special case of the Druze, Muslim leaders, Christian-Muslim marriage and understanding, and other subjects directly or indirectly related to

Islam.[297] From his research of the *Syrian World*, Suleiman found "that the Arab and Islamic cultures are broadly represented and greatly admired."[298] The evenhandedness of such articles—even regarding the Druze, reviled by many Maronites—was a conspicuous rejection of journalistic factionalism.

Moreover, no evidence has been uncovered to demonstrate any significant faith-based clashes between Syrian Christians and Syrian Muslims, including the Druze, in New York's Little Syria. On the contrary, the Benevolent Syrian Orthodox Society, formed in 1895, extended help to fellow immigrants who were Muslims.[299] Such Christian-Muslim comity stood in vivid contrast to the acrimony that marred relations between Syrian Christians in New York. Christian and Muslim immigrants appear somehow to have reached a tacit understanding that what happened in Syria in 1860 stayed in Syria.

If Syrian Christians and the small number of Syrian Muslims managed to get along peacefully with each other in New York, so did Syrian Christians and Syrian Jews. Although concentrated in Syrian cities, especially Aleppo and Damascus, rather than Mount Lebanon, Ottoman Jews shared with Christians the status of religious minorities (*dhimmi*). Christians and Jews alike paid a special tax to the Muslim authorities in exchange for protection and exemption from conscription in the Ottoman military service. When the so-called Young Turk (Committee of Union and Progress) Revolt of 1908 led to the abolition of the *dhimmi* exemption in 1909, both groups sought to avoid Ottoman conscription. Together with a desire for economic advancement (and other factors), draft avoidance became an additional reason to emigrate.[300]

Syrian Jewish immigrants steadily arrived in the United States during the 1890s and early 1900s. By 1913, at least a thousand Arabic-speaking Jews lived in New York, of which an estimated eighty percent hailed from Aleppo.[301] Formerly minorities in Syria, they now were minorities in the United States, a condition that Huseby-Darvas labeled "twice minority," typical of minorities migrating from "polyethnic and polyglot empires," such as the Ottoman Empire.[302] Like Syrian Christians, Eastern European Jews, Italian Catholics, and other new immigrants, Syrian Jews encountered racial prejudice and religious bigotry, as many Americans considered them not fully white or simply inferior. A few examples illustrate this point. The vaunted muckraker Jacob Riis, known to sympathize with New York's poor immigrants, manifested contemporary bias by using the condescending terms "Jewtown" and "street Arab" in his writing.[303] A federal judge reasoned that a Syrian Jew neither born in Europe nor descended from European Jews "would be as equally Asiatic as the present applicant," a Syrian Christian, and, therefore, similarly ineligible for naturalization.[304] Even the relatively progressive scholar Peter Roberts, writing about race, lumped together "Jews" and "Syrians" under the "Chaldean" group.[305] Houghton proffered the more favorable evaluation that "Syrians, like Jews, look after their own poor," in 1911.[306] Facing a native population that deemed them fungible, Christians and Jews in the first wave of Syrian immigration traveled along similar arcs in New York.

Pioneering immigrants from both groups usually took to peddling, especially dry goods and religious objects. Syrian wholesalers supplied stock to Jewish as well as Christian peddlers. Healthy commercial relations between Syrian Christians and Jews,

especially in the import-export trade, generated substantial and long-lasting goodwill, even as suspicion and distrust festered between Syrian (Sephardic) Jews, and Western European (Ashkenazic) Jews. As they advanced occupationally from itinerant peddling to shopkeeping or manufacturing, Syrian Christians and Jews with sufficient means normally migrated from Lower Manhattan to more congenial neighborhoods in Brooklyn, where they reestablished ethnic enclaves. Syrian Christians moved from the Lower West Side; Syrian Jews, from the Lower East Side. The pattern of Manhattan-to-Brooklyn migration bore remarkable similarity, as did the propensity to stick together within Syrian communities.[307] Marianne R. Sanua explained that turn-of-the-century Syrian Jewish immigrants "became tightly knit to the point of clannishness, at the same time developing a hierarchical community structure based on wealth and family prestige. Many of the customs brought with them from the Near East were maintained."[308] As we have seen, much the same was true of their Arabic-speaking Christian counterparts. Surface similarities between Syrian Christians and Syrian Jews went a long way toward explaining the mainstream perception of these groups as basically fungible, religious differences notwithstanding.

The pushcart, however, signified a major difference between the Syrian Christian and Syrian Jewish communities in Manhattan. This is not to say that pushcart peddlers were unknown on the Lower West Side. In 1905, the New York Push-Cart Commission found a few peddlers operating pushcarts on Washington Street and on crossing streets—Morris, Rector, Carlisle, and Liberty—with significantly increased numbers on Cortlandt Street, at the northern edge of Little Syria (or just north of Little Syria, depending on the

source consulted). By contrast, pushcarts abounded on Orchard Street and side streets in the Jewish neighborhood on the Lower East Side. The prevalence of pushcarts created notoriously congested and unsanitary conditions by the early 1900s, leading to the mayor's appointment of the commission. At a public hearing on April 13, 1905, the commission chairman asked if any Syrians were present. His question elicited no reply. The commission reported in 1906 that over ninety-seven percent of peddlers came from three ethnicities: Jews ranked first, Italians, second; Greeks, third. The evidence suggests, therefore, that the shared traits of Syrian Jews and Syrian Christians did not include pushcart peddling.[309]

While many Jewish suppliers on the Lower East Side bought their merchandise from Christian manufacturers on the Lower West Side, some Syrian Jews actually operated businesses in Little Syria. During his field work, Miller heard that there were about one hundred Syrian Jews in New York, yet he found only one "with the Syrians," meaning the Christians on the Lower West Side. He did not identify that person.[310] A decade later, a newspaper reported that "[t]here is only one Jew storekeeper on Washington street," and implied that his customers were Slavs and Poles who lived on Greenwich Street, south of Cedar Street.[311] Ezra Sitt, a maker of suspenders and other garments, would seem to be the Jewish entrepreneur mentioned by these sources. During the 1890s, Sitt advertised his business, located at 60-62 Washington Street, in the Arabic-language *Al-Hoda*.[312] A 1902 New York business directory, published by Trow's, listed him at 60 Washington Street, twice, under "Fancy Goods" and "Suspender Makers."[313] Between late 1900 and the first half of 1903, he underwent the dubiously American rite

of passage: getting sued, filing bankruptcy, and obtaining a discharge of his debts.[314] By 1906, Sitt was conducting business at 80 Greenwich Street, and living on Seventh Avenue, according to a contemporary directory.[315] In 1908, the *Syrian Business Directory* listed "Azra Sitt," in all probability a misspelling of "Ezra Sitt," still at 80 Greenwich Street, under the heading, "Pillows, Shams, Petticoats, & Skirts Mfgs."[316] As of 1909, Sitt continued to operate a skirt factory at the same address. Twenty years later, according to the *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, he had moved to 19 Thomas Street, north of Little Syria. It seems that Sitt not only regained his commercial footing but achieved enough success to relocate to a more upscale address.[317]

A highly regarded chronicler of the Syrian Jewish community in Brooklyn, Joseph A. D. Sutton, related a report that Sitt emigrated from Aleppo to New York, originally in 1891.[318] More recently, Aviva Ben-Ur contended that Sitt came to New York in 1892.[319] In either event, over twenty years later, Sitt characterized early Syrian Jewish immigrants in a manner equally applicable to their Syrian Christian counterparts: "Syrian Jews immigrated as birds of passage, intending to return to the Old Country, with new fortunes, but ended up remaining and sending for their wives and children."[320] In fact, Sitt found his wife in New York, marrying her in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue on the Upper West Side in November 1897.[321] But Sitt's fundamental point rang true. Syrian Jews, like Syrian Christians, ordinarily arrived in New York, thinking they would earn as much money as possible, as quickly as possible, and then return home, but often changed their minds, deciding to settle permanently here.[322]

Another Syrian Jew, Eli (Elias or Eliahou) Hedaya, began peddling upon his arrival in New York in 1905. He purchased supplies, according to the oral history obtained by Sutton, from "Natan Labé, who was then on Washington Street, although Jewish." Hedaya became a merchant and grew "rich" by the time he married. Thereafter he went into business with Ezra Sitt, importing kimonos from Japan. Hedaya called his relationship with Sitt a "partnership."[323] Hedaya's passport application in 1918 attached a supporting affidavit of Sitt, as the secretary of Yokohama Trading Co., 100 Greenwich Street, in whose employ Hedaya supposedly was at the time.[324] It is unclear whether this company was truly a partnership or, alternatively, a corporation that Hedaya merely thought was a partnership. Either way, he lost all the capital he invested in the venture. He blamed his loss on Sitt, peevishly complaining, "Sitt chased me out," and "Sitt put me out, cleaned-out." Sitt "was highly experienced, very clever. Who was I? A 'boy'; and Sitt told me that I was cleaned out. I offered to join other existing businesses and although I was experienced and knew of sources for merchandise I did not succeed in being accepted."[325] It may well be that Sitt took advantage of the younger, less worldly Hedaya. But the latter went on to a successful career in the lace and linen import business, and participated actively in Syrian Jewish organizations in Brooklyn.[326]

No record of Hedaya's original, Jewish supplier, "Natan Labé," has been found, but records of "Martin Labé" indicate that he and other members of the Labé family operated businesses on Washington Street. It seems likely that Hedaya erroneously recalled Labé's first name, or that an error occurred in the transcription of Hedaya's oral statement. Although the 1900 census gave Martin Labé's occupation as cigar maker, the

1908 *Syrian Business Directory* listed him under "Importers," with an address of 109 Washington Street, and another directory listed him as president of Labé Importing Co., located at 98 Washington Street, in 1916. (See figure 6.) The 1915 New York State census similarly identified his occupation as importer-exporter. He was arrested by federal agents in 1909 for allegedly falsifying custom entries for goods imported in 1907. The evidence is in conflict as to his nativity. The 1915 New York State census listed his birthplace as Jerusalem, which, if true, made him a Syrian by birth. In his 1920 passport application, however, Labé stated under oath that he was born in Algiers, in north Africa. His final resting place was the Spanish and Portuguese Cemetery in Brooklyn. One of his sons, Leon Labé, also ran an export business for a time on Washington Street.[327]

Figure 6. Tenement house, 109 Washington Street (2013). Here, federal agents raided a cigarette factory for alleged income tax fraud in 1894, and Martin Labé operated an importing business in 1908. Source: Author's collection.

Jacob Dwek (Dweck), a Syrian Jew, likewise did business in New York's Little Syria. A 1904 directory listed him in association with an importer, Salim Elias, at 69 Washington Street. No evidence has been found to suggest that Elias was Jewish. He imported rosaries, however, which might suggest that he had Christian clientele. Furthermore, Elias reportedly hosted a reception following a Maronite Mass, evidencing his likely Catholicism. It would appear, then, that a Christian and a Jew, Elias and Dwek, were in business together in 1904 on the Lower West Side. Their relationship did not endure, however. Directories published in 1905 and 1909 listed Dwek, individually, as an importer at 345 West Broadway, and 109 Washington Street, respectively. He died in 1910, at only forty-six years of age, and was interred at the Maimonides Cemetery in Brooklyn, a Jewish facility.[328]

Moussa Daoud was a colorful figure in New York's Little Syria, and he may also have been Jewish. Younis, who spelled the man's first name as "Musa" and "Mousa," and his last name as "Daud" and "Daoud," translated "Mousa Daoud" as "Moses David" and identified him as Jewish. She did not, unfortunately, cite a source to support her conclusion as to his religion.[329] A search of Younis' notes in the Syrian American Archival Collection housed at the CMS, as well as the historical *New York Times* database and the Jewish burial registry available via ancestry.com, uncovered no obituary for Daoud or other evidence of religious observance by him. Records of Daoud's naturalization in 1900, held at the National Archives, listed Ralph H. Goldberg, a New York physician, as the witness, but even if one assumes *arguendo* that Goldberg, by virtue of his surname, was Jewish, that does not mean Daoud was; maybe they just knew

each other. The City of New York's index of deaths revealed that "Moses Daoud" died on April 18, 1950, at age seventy-eight. Unfortunately for historians, the State of New York's public records law excludes death certificates from its accessibility provisions, absent proof of a familial relation to the decedent or a legally protected interest in his or her property or estate. If indeed Daoud was Jewish, as Younis asserted, there appears no available evidence that he practiced Judaism, associated with any Jewish organization, or received burial in a Jewish cemetery.[330]

Whether Jewish or not, Daoud thrived for decades in Little Syria. The earliest directory listing found for "Muossa Daoud" gave his business as "notions," and his address as 111½ Washington Street, as of 1893.[331] In June 1894, the *New York Times* proclaimed him "the leader of the Syrian colony," citing a statement by "the little peddler Joseph" in court the previous week. Born in Zahle (Zahleh), Syria, Daoud stated that he was "twenty-five or twenty-six" years of age, and "a graduate of the Catholic College" in Beirut, having immigrated to New York in the late 1880s. He owned a ramshackle building on Rector Street, where he resided and rented rooms to fellow Syrians. Both he and they seemed impervious to a Board of Health notice posted on Daoud's building, promulgating a court order that tenants vacate the premises. Daoud offered multiple services to Arabic-speaking immigrants at Ellis Island. He acted, variously, as an interpreter, an advocate, an employment headhunter, and a money lender. In short, he took new Syrian arrivals under his protective wing.[332] Recounting his first days in New York, Rihbany mentioned an individual named "Moses" as the Syrian owner of a rooming-house, and described him as "very kind and reasonable" and "a man of this

word," who kept his promise of finding Rihbany a job with a Syrian merchant.[333] It seems likely that Daoud was this man, who went by the name, Moses.

But Daoud did have a peccadillo. He apparently became involved in a fracas with a law enforcement officer in October 1897. A story in the *New York Times* reported that Moussa Daoud, "a Syrian shopkeeper of 96 Greenwich Street," was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct, as a result of an disturbance in which a policeman had ordered Syrians congregating on Washington Street to disperse. The article gave Daoud's age as thirty-eight, but twenty-eight would have been more accurate, assuming this was the same person who, in 1894, had given his age as twenty-five or twenty-six.[334]

If Daoud conducted himself imprudently in the police incident, he demonstrated astuteness in business affairs. In 1902, he (and others) formally appealed a customs collector's assessment of duties on imported string beads, and prevailed, obtaining a reduction of the duty rates.[335] He recognized the value in advertising his business in Syrian directories. The *Syrian Business Directory* listed "Moses A. Daoud" under "Real Estate," and "Moussa Daoud" under "Ticket Agents," both at 67 Washington Street, and contained an advertisement for "Mousa A. Daoud, Real Estate & Ticket Agent, 67 Washington Street, New York."[336] He continued to run his real estate business from this office in the heart of Little Syria for over twenty years. The *Syrian American Directory Almanac* listed "Moussa Daoud" and "Muossa Daoud" in the real estate business at the identical address.[337] He made Little Syria his home for most of his adult life. According to the 1940 census, Daoud still lived in the Syrian quarter, now at 30 Greenwich Street, in

the "same place," though not in the "same house," as he had in 1935. Longevity alone made him something of a neighborhood fixture.[338]

The cumulative evidence of early Syrian faith and faction reveals at least a superficial bipolarity. At one end of the spectrum, immigrants in the first wave naturally coalesced into faith-based factions. This had positive effects, such as the growth of worship communities, and negative effects, such as the opprobrious Christian-on-Christian gang violence. At the opposite end of the spectrum, Syrian immigrants overcame their faith-based factionalism in order to engage in mutually beneficial ways with Syrians of other sects, as reflected in the well-oiled commercial relations between Christians and Jews, the non-polemical *Syrian World* articles about Islam, and the annual reunions of Christians.

Upon deeper interrogation, the evidence of faith and faction suggests multilayered struggles by Syrians in the first wave to control their own assimilation. Their decisions were sometimes contradictory. The Maronites, already Latinized to a degree in the Levant, continued along this Western path in New York. The Melkites chose to follow, though with some reservations. Syrians made such choices not just as immigrants, but as members of minority Catholic sects subject to the aegis of Rome. At the same time, they did retain the use of Syriac, Arabic, and Greek in their respective services throughout this period. Their decisions thus seemed to point in opposite directions. The Orthodox maintained a tighter grip over their assimilation, but this was easier for them, for they answered to ecclesiastical hierarchies bent on preserving Eastern rites. The messianic Orthodox cleric, Hawaweeny, often engaged in combative behavior that amounted to a

rejection of assimilation. Yet his self-serving letter to the editor of the *New York Times* constituted a concession to assimilation. Again we see inconsistent decisions. George Jabour's *Al-Alam* favored Ottoman retentions, but he became a naturalized American and co-founded the SAC—yet another contradiction. Syrian Muslims appear to have lived largely out of the public eye, yet they united for religious observance and showed mettle in a New York courtroom, demanding a Koran for the oath and referencing the Prophet while testifying. In these ways, they tried to place limits on their assimilation. Syrian Jews inculcated themselves in Sephardic communities on the Lower East Side, and thereafter in Brooklyn, where they maintained a studied insularity that kept assimilation at bay. Yet they routinely did business with Syrian Christians. Moreover, Sitt and Daoud (whose religious assignation rests upon Younis' unsourced attribution of Judaism), headquartered their operations in Little Syria. And Daoud lived in the Lower West Side colony almost all of his adult life. In brief, some Syrians in the first wave plunged forward with assimilation, while others held back, not wishing to divest themselves of their factions and other ethnic identifiers. Many, if not most, early Syrian immigrants in New York made certain choices that favored assimilation and other choices that favored ethnicity, indicative of individual efforts to remain the captain of one's own assimilation.

V. ARTS AND LETTERS

Senator David A. Reed, co-author of the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, held forth on the floor of the United States Senate on April 29, 1929:

> For a long time before the war broke out in Europe this country was the trash basket of Europe. We were sent thousands of immigrants who were excused from penitentiary sentences on condition that they would emigrate to America. We got the trash of the Mediterranean, all that Levantine stock that churns around through there and does not know what its own ancestry is. It came here in large numbers from Syria and the Turkish Provinces and from different countries of the Balkan peninsula and from all that part of southeastern Europe.

Had Congress not curtailed such immigration, Reed professed, Americans' enjoyment of democracy would have been jeopardized. After all, he continued, "How can anyone expect an Arab, who has lived under some patriarchal government where he did not even dare whisper his views, to come over here and participate intelligently in the American processes of democracy?" The "quality of immigration" after the restrictions imposed in 1921 was, in his judgment, "vastly better" than before, and "very much better" since the sterner restrictions enacted in 1924.[339] Reed's nativist diatribe, so offensive to the modern ear, reflected the views of many in the 1920s. For instance, the *Wall Street Journal* pined for the old English and Irish immigrants, "or Germans at the worst," who supplied "good raw material" for Americanization, before the late nineteenth century's "enormous and largely undesirable immigration." The newspaper pulled no punches in insulting Arabic-speaking immigrants, stating, "The Syrian is a poor substitute for the

Scottish crofter."[340] Such an attitude went beyond racist assumptions; it flew in the face of verifiable facts.

In truth, a series of naturalization cases from 1909 to 1915 demonstrated a firm commitment on the part of Syrian immigrants to becoming American citizens—or, more perspicuously, to attaining the status of "free white persons," required for citizenship. On December 1, 1909, the United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia ruled in favor of Costa George Najour, a Syrian immigrant from Mount Lebanon who petitioned for naturalization, finding that he was a "free white person" within the meaning of Section 2169. Although Najour emerged victorious, his case alarmed the Syrian immigrant community because the federal government challenged his eligibility for citizenship on the ground that, as a subject of the Turkish Sultan, he did not constitute a "free white person."[341] An assistant U. S. attorney apparently had the temerity to inform Najour personally that Turks like him belonged to the "yellow" race.[342]

In New York's Little Syria, Naoum Mokarzel promptly saw to it that his newspaper, *Al-Hoda*, issued a clarion call for all Syrians who had experienced or witnessed problems in the naturalization process to share their stories. Readers responded with numerous letters, many on the *Najour* case. Naoum's brother, Salloum, wrote a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* sympathetic to Syrian immigrants. But the newspaper countered it the very next day by blaming Ottoman subjects for their citizenship plight: "They care nothing for American citizenship in the sense in which it is bestowed upon them. They are not bona fide residents of this country. With their naturalization papers they hurry back to the Ottoman Empire, there to ply their trade

withdrawn from the oppressive Ottoman jurisdiction, and shielded by the American consul."[343] The newspaper subsequently reported that the Bureau of Naturalization's chief, Richard Campbell, believed that the term "free white persons," as used in Section 2169, meant "persons of European birth and descent."[344] On the following day, letters to the editor included a missive from a Syrian New Yorker, who asserted the belief "that the Caucasian race had its origin in Syria," where "Christ, our Saviour," came into the world.[345] Neither this attempt to link Caucasians to Christ nor any other appeal swayed Campbell, who maintained in early November 1909 that "Turkish subjects are yellow, not white, and that they were barred, therefore, from naturalization under" applicable law.[346]

Nettled, motivated, and unusually unified, Syrian leaders devised a legal strategy around the phrase, "free white persons," retaining lawyers to prepare an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief in the 1910 case of a Parsee, born in India. While that case did not involve a Syrian applicant, it gave the Syrians' counsel an opportunity to proffer the argument that "free white persons," for Section 2169 purposes, excluded only slaves and free negroes, and further, that, after enactment of the 1906 law making persons of African nativity or descent eligible, all aliens not expressly excluded (e.g., the Chinese) were necessarily included. The argument of the Syrians' attorneys proved successful in the Indian's case.[347]

Also in 1910, a Syrian applicant in Oregon, Tom Ellis, persuaded the court that he was a "free white person," and thus was eligible for naturalization. The court's reasoning included reference to Ellis' morality, sobriety, industriousness, ability to speak and write

English, favorable disposition toward the U. S. government, and Roman Catholicism, none of which would seem logically relevant. The *Ellis* court appeared to equate, and conflate, whiteness with virtue. On the other hand, a Syrian Christian in South Carolina surnamed Shahid, who did not understand English, lost his 1913 bid for naturalization. In the *Shahid* case, the court, like Richard Campbell, construed "free white persons" to mean Europeans or their descendants. Syrian whiteness remained a contested issue.[348]

In early 1914, another Syrian immigrant in South Carolina, George Dow, faced the same judge who had rendered the niggardly construction of "free white persons" in the *Shahid* case. Like Shahid, Dow lost his bid for whiteness and thus eligibility for U. S. citizenship. He and other irked Syrians filed papers seeking a rehearing, which the court granted. Dow's attorney and one representing Syrian American Associations participated in the oral argument. In a lengthy written opinion, the court acknowledged that Syrians voiced feelings of humiliation at being excluded from whiteness, but reiterated that they did not qualify as "free white persons" since they lacked European birth or heritage. An appeal to the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ensued. The Fourth Circuit reversed, holding that Syrians were generally understood to be "free white persons," within the meaning of Section 2169, because of their close association with Europeans on the western side of the Mediterranean Sea. Implicitly, then, the Fourth Circuit differentiated Syrians from other Asians. The appellate court's 1915 ruling in *Dow* established Syrian whiteness for naturalization purposes.[349]

Having won the legal fight for citizenship eligibility, Syrians further exhibited loyalty to the United States after its entry into World War I. Arabic-language newspapers

in New York advocated the purchase of Liberty Bonds. Syrian relief committees sent humanitarian aid to the Levant, where Ottoman subjects lacked sufficient food. The Ottomans had sided with the Axis, cementing their enemy status. Ameen Rihani and other Syrian leaders encouraged their fellow immigrants to join the American armed forces. Nearly fourteen thousand Syrians were estimated to have enlisted in the U. S. military during the war. The Syrians in New York contributed a float to the Liberty Loan parade in 1918, winning second prize.[350]

Still, New York's Syrian leaders did not take Syrian whiteness for granted, even after the ethnicity's vocal support for, and active participation in, the nation's war effort. The *Syrian World* carried a two-part series, written by New York attorney Joseph W. Ferris, on the naturalization cases. In Part I, Ferris surveyed the judicial opinions that discussed the issue of whether Syrians constituted "free white persons," including "the decisions which settled it once [and] for all."[351] In Part II, he explained, as to the lower court's adverse ruling in *Dow*, that "[t]he Syrians were most anxious" to bring "their appeal" to the Fourth Circuit. Notice Ferris' use of the plural, "Syrians were," meaning Syrians generally, not only George Dow. The Syrian immigrant *community* felt threatened, and called to action, by the ruling against Dow. Ferris effusively described the Fourth Circuit's reversal in favor of Dow as "unassailable," and then discussed subsequent cases, not involving Syrian litigants, where lawyers representing Syrian interests contended that Syria, geographically, lay outside the area that the law intended to exclude from immigration. Concluding Part II by saying that "[i]t is hoped that the question has been settled once [and] for all," Ferris struck a less confident note than he

had in Part I. That the *Syrian World* ran these articles in 1928 demonstrated both that the question of Syrian whiteness still was not beyond dispute, and that New York's Syrian elite knew it.[352]

Indeed, this was just the latest evidence of Syrian contributions to—and, arguably, insecurity over—the whiteness debate. During the immediately preceding decade, Naoum Mokarzel had grown so distressed by governmental opposition to Syrian naturalization eligibility, and the risk of adverse judicial rulings, that he convened a meeting of prominent Arabic-speaking immigrants at *Al-Hoda*'s office, and formed a committee to campaign for Syrian entitlement to American citizenship. In this connection, he persuaded a Syrian scholar and cleric, Kalil A. Bishara, to write a book designed to prove that Syrians were white. Bishara agreed to author such a volume, and Mokarzel's Al-Hoda Publication House, published it in 1914. Bishara characterized the Syrian, without caveat or qualification, as "a high-spirited Semite in particular, and a pure Caucasian in general," plus "a native of the near East, a section of the primitive home of all white peoples. Syria has always been a part of the Caucasian world."[353] Supplementing his coordinated efforts with Bishara, Mokarzel sought to influence the discourse on Syrian racial identity further by citing Bishara's text as an authority on the subject. Mokarzel sent the book to the French Consul in New York as part of his advocacy on behalf of Syrians in Panama, who faced similar challenges to their whiteness. Due in large measure to the work of the indomitable publisher of *Al-Hoda*, New York's Little Syria served as the nerve center of a campaign to lay public claim to Syrian whiteness.[354]

If Naoum Mokarzel's pro-whiteness advocacy reflected an assimilationist bent, it contradicted his strong predilection in favor of preserving and promoting the use of Arabic among Syrian immigrants and their descendants. He valued the daily use of Arabic by common folk. Hence his dedication to publishing an Arabic-language newspaper. He warned that such newspapers would fall into extinction unless they consolidated and economized. In this respect, Mokarzel should be viewed as a proponent of ethnic retention. Devotion to the Arabic language differentiated his perspective from that of his brother, Salloum, publisher of the English-language *Syrian World*.[355]

Naoum Mokarzel fought not just for retaining the Arabic language but for his beliefs generally, as his battles in and out of court against the Syrian Orthodox testified. He offended many Christians in 1903 by publishing, via Al-Hoda Publication House, a book written by Rihani that many interpreted as atheistic and defamatory to Christianity. Clergymen and publishers of Arabic-language newspapers attacked Mokarzel. Yet he stood steadfastly behind Rihani, as a matter of principle as well as profit. Mokarzel also used his newspaper, *Al-Hoda*, to promulgate views that some considered anti-clerical. Mokarzel insisted that he did not oppose all clergymen, just the corrupt ones. His attitude on gender issues was ambivalent. While he promoted a woman to write a column regularly in *Al-Hoda*, and believed women should not allow modesty to prevent them from learning about all body parts, he did not believe in female equality and held traditional, sexist views of women as somehow lesser than men. He burnished his leadership credentials after World War I, taking on the role of a quasi-statesman by joining the Lebanese delegation at the treaty negotiations in Paris, where he lobbied for

an expansion of borders beyond Mount Lebanon, under French protection. Upon Mokarzel's death in 1932, his Maronite funeral service took place at St. Joseph's on Washington Street. A crowd gathered outside to see his casket pass. The *Syrian World* ran several testimonials to him.[356]

If Naoum Mokarzel was Little Syria's leading proponent of the Arabic language, Kahlil Gibran (1883-1931), another Maronite son of Mount Lebanon, reigned as the community's preeminent literary figure in English and Arabic. Gibran immigrated to the United States in 1894 at eleven years of age. He lived initially in Boston and moved to New York in 1912. On April 28, 1920, Gibran and a small number of other Syrian immigrant writers met in his studio apartment, at 51 West Tenth Street, in Greenwich Village, to organize *ar-Rabitatul Qalamyiat*, a group name that sources have translated, variously, as the "Pen Bond," "Pen Society," "Pen Guild," or "Pen League."[357] Membership was limited to a maximum of ten. Not wanting for ambition, the writers declared their goal: "to lift Arabic literature from the quagmire of stagnation and imitation, and to infuse a new life into its veins so as to make of it an active force in the building up of the Arab nations."[358] Led by Gibran, their "chieftain," and nicknaming themselves the "gangsters," these artists sought to revivify Arabic-language literature.[359] The innovations of Pen Bond members—plus Ameen Rihani, author of a work in English, *The Book of Khalid*, published in 1911, whose official inclusion in the Pen Bond remains a matter of scholarly dispute—created "what is perhaps the most renovating, revolutionary and comparatively modern literary movement that Arabic has known in its recent history."[360] They had a major impact on Arabic literature worldwide, but not,

strangely, in the United States as a whole or even in New York, with one exception. Gibran gained influence and celebrity status in the United States with a popular book of aphorisms written in English, *The Prophet*, published in 1923, that painted verbal images with mystical overtones. Inimitably, Gibran conjoined the English language and Arabic poeticism.[361]

Gibran would write, paint, and draw in his tiny apartment, and then find a sense of rejuvenation among the Arabic-speaking immigrants in Little Syria. In G. Kheirallah's lyrical, no doubt hyperbolic, prose, Gibran would stroll along

> Washington Street in lower New York within sight of the skyscrapers, where at every step a greeting in the musical Arabic was directed to him and a hand was extended to welcome him. Here in the atmosphere of his native land he gathered with his fellow poets (the 'Bards' of Washington Street) and sympathetic countrymen, to be transported into another world.[362]

Gibran authored many contributions to the *Syrian World*, including the magazine's first by-lined article, in July 1926, an exhortation to the second generation of Syrians to combine pride in their American citizenship with pride in their Levantine heritage. Gently but frankly, Gibran professed the bridging of mainstream and Syrian cultures. The February 1929 issue of the *Syrian World* carried three tributes to him, one by Hitti, a second by a *mahjar* poet and colleague, Barbara Young, and the third by the publisher, Salloum Mokarzel. When Gibran died in 1931, the *Syrian World* devoted most of an entire issue to him, printing no less than twenty pieces devoted to his memory, including short essays, poems, and a reprint of Gibran's inspirational message of July 1926. His considerable assets at death reflected the fruits of selling his dreamy Arabic aphorisms and parables, couched in the English tongue, to a largely Western audience—another

concrete illustration of assimilation through the marketing of ethnicity. Financial data from his probate estate made front page news in the *Syrian World* in November 1933.[363]

Gibran's biographer and close friend, Mikhail (Michael or Mischa) Naimy (1889-1988), immigrated to the United States in 1911, studied at the University of Washington, and then took up permanent residence in New York, where he began writing for an Arabic-language publication, *Al-Funum* (the Arts). As the Pen Bond's second-in-command, Naimy stood at the heart of the *mahjar* literary movement. When Gibran decided to concentrate on writing in the English language, Naimy focused on publishing major works in Arabic, though he continued to write articles and reviews in English.[364] Like Gibran, Naimy contributed from time to time to the *Syrian World*, including a short story in the magazine's inaugural issue, entitled, "The Grumbler," featuring a rock that complained incessantly about life's burdens until a meteor, vaulting through space, crashed into it and split it apart. From that point on, the rock began to speak in an optimistic voice about life in a new home. Naimy had written a parable, sending a pro-American message to the magazine's Syrian immigrant readership. In private correspondence, however, Naimy decried American materialism and expressed a desire to leave the country. He thus seems to have internalized a conflict, as many immigrants did. Assimilation appeared, at once, attractive and revolting. Wealth accumulation did not necessarily bring psychological fulfillment. Of course, Naimy never experienced anything like Gibran's degree of commercial success. If he had, then Naimy's claimed aversion to American materialism would have been tested.[365]

Unlike Naimy or Gibran, Ameen Rihani (Amin Rehani) (1876-1940) did not simply spend time as an adult in Little Syria; he lived there in his formative, adolescent years. Immigrating to New York in 1888 at age twelve, Rihani worked in the family business, located at 83-85 Washington Street, and cut his literary teeth as a writer for *Al-Hoda* in 1898. His 1911 work, *The Book of Khalid*, illustrated by Gibran, with whom he had yet to fall out, was the first English-language book published by a Syrian immigrant. In this novel, a Syrian immigrant named Khalid becomes wealthy by peddling in the United States, then returns to Mount Lebanon and experiences the Young Turk revolt of 1908. Khalid is racked with alienation and ambivalence.[366] "O America, equally hated and beloved of Khalid," he moans. Yet Khalid harbors no illusions about Syrians, whose ethos, "like that of the Americans, is essentially money-seeking." His conflicted feelings encompass Syrians as well as Americans. And at least in New York, he enjoys freedom of speech, which is not true in a land under Ottoman control. This East-West antagonism, as in many real lives, eludes resolution. The reader, like the character, is left pondering.[367]

Subsequently, Rihani contributed to, and was the subject of articles in, the *Syrian World*. A sketch on Rihani, for example, placed his early life in the context of New York's Little Syria:

> New Yorkers who know Washington Street, with its hawkers, its greengrocers, its sweetmeat-venders, its numerous children, its untidiness, its occasional hubble-bubbles and backgammon boards, and its constant array of handsome black moustachios, are not apt to associate with it the refinement of spirit which gives birth to reflections such as Rihani has set down in The Book of Khalid, or in The Path of Vision.[368]

Another story quoted Rihani's remarks at a New York testimonial dinner in his honor. There he articulated, at bottom, the notion of controlling one's own assimilation: "[O]ne of the characteristics of the Syrians is their power of assimilation, and the American-born among them have become thoroughly, though not altogether desirably, Americanized. I am a firm believer in Americanism; but I also believe in foreign culture." He expressed admiration for the United States but warned against devaluing the contributions of ethnicities to American culture. Hence,

> the foreign-born and their descendants in this their adopted country can not better perform their duties as citizens than by preserving their native culture and keeping alive all that is good in their racial characteristics. That is why I say to the new Syrian generation: Do not sacrifice everything in your racial heritage and do not assimilate everything in your new surroundings.[369]

Duality was not something to be overcome but accepted: assimilate, but not indiscriminately; retain the best attributes of your ethnicity. This exhortation amounted to an argument in favor of control over assimilation, which Rihani regarded as consonant with good citizenship.

The ongoing discourse over Syrian assimilation and ethnicity came to Broadway in 1919 in the form of a play, and thereafter a Hollywood film, entitled, *Anna Ascends*. The *Syrian World* advertised and printed the play, in its entirety, several years after the theatrical production and the movie release. It is reasonable to assume that Salloum Mokarzel believed both that *Anna Ascends* reflected favorably on Syrian immigrants, and that its serialization would generate interest in the *Syrian World*. A full-page advertisement in the magazine's June 1927 issue enticed readers:

? ?

WHAT HAPPENED TO ANNA?

Anna is the Syrian immigrant girl who, upon landing in America, discovered herself in lower Washington Street, New York, but wanted to "ascend".

Read her wonderful story which is to be published serially beginning with the July issue of THE SYRIAN WORLD.

Follow this virtuous, determined and intelligent Syrian girl in her defense of her honor and her struggle for success.

Learn what became of her when she was under the illusion that she was a fugitive from justice for a fancied murder, and what was the climax of her secret love for the wealthy, educated and socially prominent young American who had espoused her cause.

"ANNA ASCENDS", by the well-known American author and playwrite [sic], Harry Chapman Ford, was staged on Broadway and had a successful run of a whole season with the famous stage and screen star Alice Brady appearing in the stellar role. The play was later filmed for the screen. It was never published in book form. Your only chance to read this gripping love story eulogizing the Syrian girl is by following it in THE SYRIAN WORLD.

"ANNA ASCENDS" will be published in its original form to preserve all its color and dramatic interest.

Make sure you get your SYRIAN WORLD from the coming July number.[370]

The detailed advertisement reflected ethnic pride and heralded an important work. Subsequent issues of the *Syrian World* reinforced this message. The August 1927 issue intoned, "'Anna Ascends' is a fiction serial of the highest order and the moral theme it brings out should constitute the strongest inducement for the younger generation to peruse it," while the magazine ran another full-page advertisement for the play.[371] In 1928, Mokarzel bragged of the *Syrian World*'s unprecedented publication of playwright Harry Chapman Ford's script, and praised Ford for promulgating "some of the outstanding facts about the Syrians as he has known them" and portraying "the finer intellectual qualities of the Syrian girl as he has come to understand her, albeit he treats

the subject mainly from the American, Western, point of view."[372] In short, Mokarzel gave the play generally high marks for putting Syrian immigrants in a flattering light.

Separately, Ford explained in the *Syrian World* that, in prior years, he had developed a close relationship with a Syrian family, and had become interested, platonically, in a waitress named Anna whom he met in a Syrian restaurant. Ford rented a room above the restaurant and taught English to Anna, while she managed over time to secure better employment, eventually marrying, and raising a family with, the son of her then-employer.[373]

The fictional story of *Anna Ascends* opens in a Syrian restaurant on New York's Lower West Side. The proprietor, Said Coury, is a naturalized American who feels strongly that all Syrian immigrants should become naturalized citizens. His complexion is dark. The waitress, Anna Ayoub, speaks with an Arabic accent but strives to improve her English by continually consulting a dictionary kept by her side. Anna's complexion is markedly lighter than Said's. Two restaurant patrons—apparently Irish, but in any event not Syrian—barrage Said with ethnic slurs, calling him "whop" and "dago," while bantering vulgarly about the prospect of luring Anna into prostitution. One of the would-be pimps crudely tries to grope Anna. She responds by biting his hand hard. Witnessing the incident is another patron, a well-bred gentleman, aptly named, Gents, who admonishes the uncouth patrons to leave the waitress alone. The two troublemakers leave the premises. In a show of compassion for Anna, Gents, who is obviously not Syrian, advises her to look for a better job in an uptown location and to enroll in an English class at night. Anna has an eye for the main chance. She suggests, tongue in

cheek, that Gents hire her, or, better yet, marry her. He replies that, in order to love each other, people must be in the same social class. Anna understands this to mean that she needs to rise to the strata of society that Gents inhabits. He exits the restaurant, followed by Said, just before closing time. It is Anna's responsibility to lock up for the night. Now, one of the two villains returns, and, finding Anna alone, tries to rape her. She stabs him with a knife in self-defense. He dies. Afraid that she will be accused of committing homicide, Anna flees.[374]

We next see her years later, fluent in English, bearing only a minor accent to betray her ethnicity, and using the appellation, "Anne Adams." She seeks employment as the secretary to a gentleman named Fisk, who has recently published a fictional story, entitled, "Anna Ascends," written by an anonymous author. While interviewing Anne/Anna, Fisk elicits information that essentially mirrors the narrative of the character Anna in the manuscript of "Anna Ascends." Fisk confronts Anne/Anna with his belief that she is the anonymous author. She admits her authorship of the story, whereupon Fisk informs her that she already has earned $22,000 in royalties. He promises to maintain her anonymity until she is prepared to write a sequel in which she would disclose her identity. Enter Fisk's son, Howard, who, it turns out, is the same person as Gents. Anne/Anna remembers Howard/Gents from the harrowing episode in the restaurant years ago. Although he has a vague recollection of meeting her somewhere, he does not recognize Anne as Anna. She does not wish to reveal her past to Howard/Gents, as she knows that she does not belong to his social strata. In time, they fall in love with each other, and he proposes marriage, but she does not accept his offer.[375] "Howard," she

explains, "some years ago I did something, something that, by the laws of man, I would be put in jail for."[376] This is a critical line in the play, because it reveals her primary concern to be, not her ethnicity, but the possibility of incarceration for having killed a man. She fears criminal prosecution.

Publisher Fisk owns real estate downtown, including the building where Said operates his restaurant. Fisk is thus Said's landlord. On behalf of his father, Howard/Gents makes arrangements to visit the restaurant to discuss certain property improvements that Said has requested. Meanwhile, one of the scoundrels from the opening scene burglarizes Fisk's home. Anne/Anna catches him in the act and ingeniously stalls him long enough for Howard/Gents, and then Fisk, to appear on the scene. Sensing that she now has proven her mettle, she concocts a scheme whereby she will return to Said's restaurant and present herself to Howard/Gents as Anna, the Syrian waitress, only thereafter revealing that she also is Anne, to whom he proposed marriage. The question is whether, after this revelation occurs, Howard/Gents will still want to marry her. Anne/Anna enlists Said's complicity in the ruse. When Howard/Gents arrives at the restaurant, he sees the Syrian waitress, who not only speaks with an accent, but also wears a veil, signifying her imminent marriage, according to Syrian tradition. Gradually, Anne/Anna unveils herself, prompting Howard to realize that Anne and Anna are one and the same. He insists that they marry without delay. Anna agrees. The story ends happily.[377]

Anna Ascends surely constituted an assimilationist work of art. Gualtieri and Orfalea observed that Anna's rise into the American mainstream depended on erasing,

losing, or hiding her Syrian identity. Gualtieri added that Anna's pale skin, in contrast to Said's much darker complexion, wove the theme of whiteness into the overarching narrative of Americanization. The *Syrian World*'s serialization of the play reinforced this message.[378]

Yet the key dramatic element in the play was Anna's concealment of her having killed a man, not her ethnicity. Although the audience knows that she was justified in defending herself against a sexual assailant, Anna does not want to risk involvement in the criminal justice system. That is why she hides her identity as the author of "Anna Ascends" and rejects the initial marriage proposal. It is reductionist at best to attribute her actions to embarrassment over her ethnicity. Moreover, her decision to disclose her true identity involved a scheme that she, a Syrian immigrant, conceived, orchestrated, and participated in, with assistance she garnered from another Syrian immigrant, Said, which unfolded in a Syrian immigrant venue, the Washington Street restaurant, using the artifice of a Syrian immigrant façade, the prenuptial veil. All this suggested autonomous decision-making and implementation by the Syrian heroine. Most significantly, she won her man *after* he realized that she was, in fact, a Syrian immigrant. Such plot developments may reasonably be interpreted as Anna's efforts to control the process of her assimilation. If she "sold out" to get her proverbial foot in the door, she returned to authenticity in the end. And she prevailed as a Syrian immigrant, not as a faux WASP.

However one interprets the plot, *Anna Ascends* proved that Syrian immigrants had achieved enough mainstream acceptance and cultural significance by 1919 for one to be conceptualized as the central character in a major dramatic production. Suleiman

referred to Ford's work as "the only sympathetic portrayal of Syrians ever to appear on the Broadway stage."[379] If Syrians had not taken immense pride in such recognition, the *Syrian World* would not have published the script in its entirety, or promoted it so aggressively, years after its public performances. It plainly had a profound and positive effect on the Syrian immigrant population's self-image.

Serializing *Anna Ascends* was one of many ways that the *Syrian World* helped Syrians to form a collective identity in the United States. Located from start to finish in New York's Little Syria, first at 104 Greenwich Street and then at 55 Washington Street, the *Syrian World* defined its mission as catering to the intellectual needs of the second generation of Syrians, those born on American soil. (See figure 7.) The opening paragraph of the inaugural issue in July 1926 declared:

> The idea of this publication was conceived in the spirit of service to the Syrian-American generation. The somewhat anomalous position of the young Syrian in America constitutes a genuine social problem pressing for a solution, and it is both to his own interest and to that of the country under whose flag he was born that the correction of this condition should not be further delayed.[380]

It aimed to educate the immigrants' children by furnishing them accessible and comprehensible information on their claimed Phoenician heritage and Arabic literary selections, as well as current events in the Levant and activities of Syrian emigrants worldwide. Crucially, it published in English, the *lingua Americana*, rather than Arabic.[381] If the older generation disapproved of the magazine's English-only policy, so be it. Salloum Mokarzel explained his decision to target the second generation as follows:

> But with all due respect for the feelings of the older generation, we must make the frank and unequivocal statement that this publication is not intended for them. Rather, it is undertaken for the benefit of their off-springs born and bred on American soil and under the influence of the ideals represented by the Stars and Stripes, and it is under that guiding principle that it shall be carried on.[382]

Figure 7. Original location of the *Syrian World*, 104 Greenwich Street (2013). Publication took place here from July 1926 through June 1932, and resumed in May 1933 at 55 Washington Street, never leaving Little Syria until operations ceased in November 1935. Source: Author's collection.

The *Syrian World* professed noble ambitions. It would distance itself from "deep-rooted, centuries-old feuds that rend people of that unhappy land into a thousand and one factions." The grudges of the fathers who immigrated to American shores would find no space in these non-partisan pages. The *Syrian World* "shall not be the means of perpetuating in this new country the factional strife that has been for ever so long the curse of the old country, and poisoning the minds of our youth in America with virulent

potions of old-world drugs."[383] One who appreciated the wisdom of Levantine ancestors and the richness of Arabic culture would make a more worthy contributor to American society. Salloum Mokarzel thus promulgated his own formula for trying to control assimilation. He looked, simultaneously, forward toward assimilation and backward toward ethnicity: forward, by using English and condemning factionalism; backward, by exploring history, literature, and culture. His vision for a publication that balanced competing assimilationist and ethnic tendencies never wavered. Even after the *Syrian World* converted from a monthly magazine into a weekly newspaper in May 1933, it continued to carry material, according to a self-advertisement, "RELATING TO SYRIA AND SYRIANS, IN AMERICA AND THE MOTHERLAND, TOGETHER WITH HISTORICAL SKETCHES, A CHOICE OF ARABIC LITERARY SELECTIONS, AND OTHER FEATURES."[384] Adhering to this formula, the *Syrian World* not only created a record of events in the Syrian immigrant community, but "was an active participant in creating that community" and "in shaping the way the community looked at itself" in the United States.[385]

The *Syrian World* contributed to identity construction, first and foremost, by teaching Syrians that they descended from the Phoenicians of antiquity. That historical theme commenced in the magazine's inaugural issue, which ran a piece by Hitti, tracing Syrian origins to the Phoenicians: "The ancient Syrians were the carriers and the disseminators of the products of the early Mediterranean culture. The Phoenicians may not have been the originators of the alphabet, but they certainly were the ones who gave it to Europe and the rest of the civilized world."[386] The August 1926 issue carried an article

asserting, "The Cedars of Lebanon were a source of wealth to the Phoenicians," and an editorial linking "[t]he modern Syrian" with "his ancestors the Phoenicians."[387] The November 1927 issue reprinted an article written by Salloum Mokarzel for a mainstream New York newspaper, in which he designated "[r]omance in business," inherited from ancient Phoenicia, as a Syrian contribution to twentieth-century America:

> [T]he men supplying this element of romance in American business are the direct descendants of the Phoenicians of old, and their contributions to their adopted country in the principal role they are now playing, promise to stand forth as their outstanding achievement in the world of today and to win for them the enviable place that was once enjoyed by their forefathers.[388]

The *Syrian World*'s Phoenicianist leitmotif did not abate. An article in May 1929 averred, as Hitti had in 1926, that "[t]he alphabet was given by our forefathers, the Phoenicians, to Europe." The January 1930 issue began with a lengthy piece on Syrian contributions to the world, describing "modern Syrians" as "descendants of the illustrious Phoenicians whose civilizing influences forwarded the progress of mankind," now "rising to claim similar fame by contributing to the progress of humanity." In May 1930, the *Syrian World* reprised a radio talk given by Salloum Mokarzel on Syrian immigrants, in which he asserted that "Old Phoenicia is none other than the Lebanese Republic of today," and that "[t]he descendants of the Phoenicians would vindicate the fame and duplicate the achievements of their ancestors." Consistent with the theme of Phoenicianism, a *Syrian World* editorial posed the provocative question, "Are the Syrians Arabs?" The answer, at bottom, was no. Drawing a strained analogy between Syrians and Americans, Mokarzel's editorial averred that "the Syrians, ethnologically, are the Americans of the old world. English culture and influence transcended in America in the

exact manner that Arabic power established itself in Syria." The Arabic language was "imposed on them in the manner that the tongues of conquerors were forced on other subjugated races." Although Syrians communicated in Arabic, "they themselves are not Arabs." In February 1931, Hitti elaborated on this subject in an article, entitled, "Are the Lebanese Arabs?," which he divided into three sections: "Who Were the First Lebanese?," "Who Were the Phoenicians?," and "Relation of Lebanese to Arabs." Hitti argued, in substance, that the Lebanese derived from the ancient Phoenicians and comprised a Christian, Syriac-speaking people within Syria, who relinquished the Syriac language but preserved their Christian beliefs and practices. He concluded that "[m]ost of the Lebanese are biologically, racially, of native Syrian stock, but their Arabic language and culture are vital bonds that unite them with the other nations of the Arabic-speaking world." In short, the Lebanese were Syrians, not Arabs, yet they were linguistically and culturally Arabic. During the first half of 1932, the magazine ran one piece that limited the claim of "direct descent from the ancient Phoenicians" to Lebanese Maronites, and another that began with an editor's note mentioning "the descendants of the famous Phoenicians, the Syrians and Lebanese of today." In its unflagging commitment to the historical theme of Phoenician heritage, the *Syrian World* was, if nothing else, a true believer.[389]

Unfortunately, the *Syrian World*'s blanket assertions of Phoenicianism suffered from overstatement. The ancient Phoenicians, after all, were coastal residents. Syrian immigrants from the cities of Beirut, Tripoli or Sidon—each of which abutted the Mediterranean—could plausibly claim Phoenician ancestry. But the vast majority, who

hailed from Mount Lebanon, had more tenuous claims; the mountain was far from the sea. Historian Kemal Salibi disposed of the Phoenicianist position without qualification:

> Not a single institution or tradition of medieval or modern Lebanon can be legitimately traced back to ancient Phoenicia. One must bear in mind, above all else, that the history of ancient Phoenicia was set along the coast, while that of modern Lebanon had its small beginnings since early Islamic times in the mountains, where it remained fixed until the creation of the State of Greater Lebanon in 1920.[390]

By promulgating the Phoenicianist line, the *Syrian World* expounded an idealized and oversimplified version of history. Likely reasons suggest themselves. To begin with, Mokarzel found value in analogizing Syrian immigrants to ancient Phoenicians because the latter, according to accepted tradition, managed to thrive wherever their migrations took them. The Phoenicians prefigured modern cosmopolitans. By implication, Syrian diasporants possessed similar gifts of adaptability and worldliness. Extending this point further, Gualtieri accused the *Syrian World* publisher of cynically turning Phoenicianism into "a kind of 'Mayflowerism'—a mythology of noble and ancient immigrant origins and exaggeration of the successes and contributions to the host societies."[391] By way of illustration, an early *Syrian World* editorial on Little Syria smacked of a Chamber of Commerce promotion, extolling "the scores of business establishments teeming with activity of the most constructive kind," and boasting that "this publication is striving to do its share by showing who we are and what we have achieved." Conceptualizing his magazine as a vehicle for parlaying Phoenician ancestry into an assimilationist credential, Mokarzel portrayed Syrian immigrants as having created in New York a dynamic commercial center reminiscent of old Beirut.[392] In addition, Mokarzel, Hitti, Gibran, and others from Mount Lebanon doubtless wanted to distinguish Syrians, who were

predominantly Christians, from Arabs, who were predominantly Muslims—the more Phoenician the ancestry, the less Islamic the image. As Abdelhady argued, "Many Lebanese, mostly Maronites, claim direct ancestry from Phoenicians to negate the Arabness of Lebanon and the Lebanese people."[393] To them, "Arab" was a term of disapprobation.[394]

Yet one must distinguish "Arab" from "Arabic." For despite differentiating Syrians from Arabs, the *Syrian World* inculcated readers in the beauty and appeal of Arabic literature. Throughout the magazine's pages stood a wide variety of Arabic literary selections, including poems, stories, proverbs, and songs, in English translation. Such items, juxtaposed with the Maronite mantra of Phoenicianism, provided a thematic counterweight and lent a distinctly Arabic cast to *Syrian World* content. This balance was struck from the inaugural issue, which printed Arabic proverbs, such as "Patience is the key to deliverance," an Arabic poem expressing grief over the death of a virtuous man who lay buried in "the turf" and "in the verdure of the plain," the first in a series of folktales about "Famous Arab Lovers," as well as an Arabian Nights adventure story involving treasure.[395] Future issues brought additional installments of fiction on Arabic romance and classic tales of Arabian Nights.[396]

Stories like these took readers of the *Syrian World* into an Islamic realm of fantasy. For example, in one tale, a wealthy Baghdad youth named Hassan spends so profligately on his lover-slave girl, Husna, that destitution befalls him. To ameliorate Hassan's financial problem, he and Husna agree that he should auction her off at the slave market. In keeping with their plan, Hassan sells Husna into concubinage to another

man, "a rich Hashemite," who worships at a mosque—in other words, another Muslim. Hassan thereupon descends into emotional desolation, tries unsuccessfully to commit suicide, and joins a ship's crew. One night, a slave girl provides musical entertainment for the crew during a meal on the ship. Hassan recognizes the girl as Husna. Tormented, Hassan gets drunk, falls asleep, and awakens to finds himself no longer aboard the ship, but on land. The vessel has left him behind. Stranded, he witnesses a solemn procession that he does not understand. Someone informs him that the procession signifies "the Palm Sunday of the Christians." Scanning the crowd, he recognizes another man observing the procession. It is the rich Hashemite, Husna's current master. The Hashemite relates that Husna, thinking Hassan had drowned, has become inconsolable. He magnanimously invites Hassan to reunite with Husna on a permanent basis.[397] The lack of realism was a defining feature of such tales. Indeed, Arabic lore included stories featuring a genie or spirit-like creature (*jinn*) who possessed skills unavailable to mere mortals. No less a Syrian luminary than Rihani contributed his rendition of "The Jinn of the Arabian Nights."[398]

Like Arabic fiction, Arabic poetry in the *Syrian World* typically expressed feelings of passion, such as sexual longing or the emotions experienced by lovers who must separate. For example, "The Adieu" depicted a scene in which parting words were too painful to utter:

> With trembling steps to me she came;
> "Farewell", she would have cried,
> But ere the word her lips could frame
> In half-form'd sounds it died.[399]

Poems also frequently conveyed messages about male valor or dominance, as, for example, a soldier claiming that he smiled when faced with gleaming swords in battle, or a brother bragging to his sister that he killed a lion.[400]

The *Syrian World* regularly printed Arabic proverbs. They appeared in list form, usually at the bottom of the page, without annotations, somewhat in the manner of filler. Readers pondered aphorisms like the following: "The misfortunes of some are the blessings of others;" "A man is hidden underneath his tongue;" "If you would keep your secret from your enemies keep it also from your friends;" and "A slap by the beloved carries a double sting."[401]

If the *Syrian World* introduced English-language readers to a panoply of traditional Arabic literary selections, it also printed lyrics of Syrian folk songs, sometimes translated by Gibran and Rihani.[402] Strong emotions often appeared in song lyrics, much as in lines of poetry. For instance, a singer vows to his beloved never to disclose a secret, but rather to withhold it eternally:

> But oh no—no, no, darling! Thy secret I'll cherish
> In my heart though my tears be shed red;
> Nor fear that I speak, though I perish
> And arise when the graves yield their dead.[403]

We do not know what the secret is, but we do know that it forms a silent bond between the lovers, forever.

Substantive content of this sort imbued *Syrian World* readers with a sense of the breadth and depth of Arabic literary culture. Withal, the publication's commitment to arts and letters extended to marketing. It operated as a quasi-bookstore, routinely advertising and selling works written in English by favorite Syrian authors, including

Hitti, Gibran, and Rihani. It also acted as an unofficial booking agent for Syrian musicians and vocalists, offering in an advertisement for the Arabic Music Club to put readers in touch with performers in New York. Whether the *Syrian World* earned commissions from such efforts is unknown. But promoting Syrian artists bolstered ethnic pride while simultaneously burnishing Syrian qualifications for assimilation into the American mainstream.[404]

The *Syrian World* further aided in the building of ethnic identity by providing a forum for Syrian immigrants to share their opinions on prejudice and ostracism in the United States. The best illustration of this was the return-to-Syria controversy that played out in the pages of the magazine. In February 1927, a Syrian immigrant living in Oklahoma, Dr. Michael Shadid, launched a debate with a piece, entitled, "Syria for the Syrians." He argued that Syrians in America faced such widespread bias and exclusion that they should repatriate. In Syria, at least, they would receive equal treatment. Shadid provocatively concluded that "Syria is the proper place, the best country in the world, for the Syrian people."[405] An editorial in the same issue disagreed with Shadid's thesis, attributing prejudice to an ignorant minority of Americans, and contending "that among true Americans, that thinking class that has the welfare of its country at heart, immigrants are not only appreciated but welcomed."[406] Letters to the editor over the next few months responded to Shadid's article and shed additional light on Syrian image formation. For example, one letter challenged Syrians to consider their own insularity as a cause of the social exclusion they faced: "Until we assume our share of all the community responsibilities, we have no right to expect consideration and friendship. Who lives for

himself must live by himself." That letter brought a concurrence from another writer the next month. On the other hand, some letter-writers took Shadid's side, including one who mentioned his own encounters with racial and religious intolerance.[407] Peeved by critics, Shadid sent a sharply worded missive to the *Syrian World* in May 1927, stating that he had lived in New York, St. Louis, and Oklahoma City, and had observed "that a Syrian is discriminated against by reason of his swarthy color and his racial extraction." While denying that he had lost faith in America, Shadid preferred "to live where I do not have to contend with racial prejudice."[408] A year-and-a-half later, Shadid changed his mind about repatriation. In an October 1928 piece, Shadid retracted his recommendation that Syrians move back to Syria, citing a visit there during the summer of 1928, when he observed, to his chagrin, exceedingly poor economic conditions. Consequently, "I am no longer very enthusiastic about my native country since I made this visit."[409] Shadid did not, however, withdraw or recede from his prior complaints of prejudice and ostracism faced by Syrians in the United States. Although the return-to-Syria debate withered, the *Syrian World* performed a vital function as a locus of discourse on this controversial subject, enabling Syrians across the nation to tell each other about obstacles encountered on the road to assimilation.[410]

The *Syrian World* also contributed to Syrian identity formation by holding forth on courtship and marriage. A January 1928 article observed that Syrians, with increasing frequency, were marrying persons of other ethnic backgrounds, causing consternation among the older generation. Young adults had developed greater economic independence and broader intellectual horizons than prior circumstances had allowed:

"Formerly a young woman of eighteen had nothing to do but marry. Now, she thinks of flying across the Atlantic."[411] The article offered no prognosis or recommendation other than obliquely suggesting the importance of understanding the young generation's evolving expectations. A few months later, the *Syrian World* addressed a different marriage problem, namely, the practice of polygamy by Syrian Muslims and its detrimental effect on the reputation of Syrian Christians. The problem originated in the context of inter-faith marriages in Brazil. According to Brazilian press reports, several native Brazilian women alleged that they had married Syrian men in Brazil, and accompanied them to Syria, where they found themselves trapped in polygamous relationships. Mokarzel penned an article, decrying the failure of the Brazilian press to distinguish Syrians of "different classes and varying religious customs." He attributed polygamy to "the Mohammedan" faithful in Syria, specifically "the Shiite sect," in contrast to Christians, who practiced monogamy. He segued into Christian-Muslim matrimony. Limited "almost exclusively to the marriage of Mohammedan men to Christian women," it derived from the gendered difference between Syrian Christian migration, involving males and subsequently females, and that of Syrian Muslims and Druze, "a strictly male migration." Muslim and Druze immigrants, having confined their wives to Syria, saw fit to add wives in the West, where the women were Christians. Christian-Muslim marriages, though quite rare in Syria, ran "into the thousands" in the Western hemisphere. But Mokarzel contended that Syrian immigrants, as a whole, should not bear responsibility for this phenomenon. After all, "most Syrians in all the different countries of America are Christians who observe the same matrimonial customs

and other accepted standards of morality obtaining among Christians anywhere in the world."[412] Blame the Syrian Muslims, not the Syrian Christians, for an alien practice that violated Western norms and presented an obstacle to U. S. naturalization.[413]

Thereafter, the *Syrian World* elaborated its analysis of marriage in three articles, presumably authored by Mokarzel under the moniker, "A. Hakim," presented as interviews conducted by Hakim with an unnamed "Sage of Washington Street."[414] An avowed assimilationist, the Sage scoffed at arranged marriage as an antiquated custom. He nevertheless disapproved of "interracial marriage"—i.e., Syrians marrying non-Syrians—as he felt that "people of the same race and the same generation" should marry each other. He reasoned that they "would both be the son and daughter of first generation immigrants," sharing the same backgrounds, experiences, and affinities, thereby engendering domestic tranquility.[415] The Sage tried to reconcile his opposition to inter-marriage with his desire for Syrian entry into the American mainstream, concluding his peroration as follows: "'I am rather inclined to hold that it is in the interest of better Americanism to effect just those conjugal unions which would promote the spirit of harmony and contentment in the home rather than breed disaffection and discord which would naturally grow out of unsuited unions.'"[416] Female readers wrote letters to the editor, some excoriating outdated Syrian courtship norms that limited women's freedom of choice, others upholding time-honored marital and premarital traditions. Again, the *Syrian World* acted both as an opinion-maker and as an opinion clearinghouse on a sensitive subject that lay in the interstices between ethnicity and assimilation.[417]

Beyond courtship and marriage, the *Syrian World* made a modest but sustained effort to include, from time to time, information specifically about women. Between 1926 and 1929, for example, it advised readers about a Syrian woman who graduated from Columbia University, a Syrian girl with superior typing skills, and an accomplished Syrian college coed. During 1931, the magazine printed a paragraph about a Syrian female artist who planned to exhibit her works, and, in a separate issue, ran a photograph, with caption, of a Syrian woman pianist who performed the first radio broadcast of Arabic music. In such cases, however, the news items were cursory and positioned toward the back of the magazine.[418] Beauty queens received notice, as did Oriental dancers.[419] But major news or feature stories on women seldom appeared, although coverage did improve somewhat in the 1930s. For instance, the September 1930 issue ran a lengthy article by Rihani on the status of women's lives in the Near East. The author had attended the Woman Congress in Damascus, where women from Arabic-speaking countries shared their views on common problems. Participants reached a consensus on the need to improve educational opportunities, especially for girls, as female literacy rates trailed far behind male literacy rates in the Near East. The article included no discussion of literacy rates for Arabic-speaking women in the United States. Nor did the *Syrian World* use Rihani's report as a platform for editorializing about the importance of equal educational opportunities for both genders in the Syrian immigrant community. The October 1933 issue of the publication, by now a newspaper, carried a story on page one about the death of a female circus performer, born and raised on Washington Street, who had toured with Buffalo Bill and Barnum and Bailey, and whose

funeral took place at St. Joseph's Maronite Chapel. In October 1934, a front-page article lavished praise on a Syrian woman, formerly a *Syrian World* columnist, whose writing talents impressed officials of a Boston advertising firm. The next month's issue contained a substantial piece about the charitable work of the Syrian Ladies Society. Such news items reflected honorable intentions on the part of the *Syrian World*, plus a measure of progress in bringing gender into the journalistic conversation. But they constituted steps, more than strides, toward ameliorating the male-centered discourse in the patriarchal Syrian immigrant culture. Sexism, like racism, had deep cultural roots.[420]

Such steps demonstrated, however, that the *Syrian World*'s reportage of current events added another dimension to the shaping of Syrian identity. Throughout its existence, the *Syrian World* chronicled contemporary activities of Syrians around the world. Political developments in the newly constructed countries of post-war Syria and Lebanon received the greatest coverage, enabling readers to keep abreast of the incessant turmoil and power shifts that accompanied nation-building. The latest machinations, pronouncements, and travels of religious leaders commonly appeared in news stories, too. But the *Syrian World* did not restrict its lens to the Syrian elite. It also printed a plethora of items about Syrians who were neither powerful politicians nor prominent clerics nor celebrities of any stripe, yet whose accomplishments, or misfortunes, helped to define the Syrian immigrant experience. For the first five years of publication, each issue of the *Syrian World* contained a section called, "About Syria and Syrians." Here, readers learned, for example, about: the "the first, and, so far, the only Syrian engaged in the manufacture of aeroplanes" in Illinois; a "Syrian artist who is little known among this

own countrymen but who has achieved signal success" in Michigan; a Syrian immigrant couple for whose "brutal murder" a local Florida police chief "and his men are said to be responsible;" a Syrian inventor of "a successful stabilizing device for airplanes" in West Virginia; and a group of Syrian immigrant thespians in Ohio who performed "the Arabic version" of a French play. Material of this sort unquestionably expanded the scope of the discourse to include Syrians who, like most readers, led otherwise unremarkable lives, and who brokered daily their own agreements between ethnicity and assimilation.[421]

Despite lofty aspirations and the distinguished quality of its content, the *Syrian World* never prospered commercially. From day one, it shamelessly asked readers for help. Observe this appeal in the magazine's first issue: "[M]ay we not count on the active support of our subscribers in the way of promoting its [the *Syrian World*'s] circulation among their friends so that it may come nearer to fulfilling its mission in proportion to the extent its voice carries?" It continued, "[W]e would ask each of our subscribers to send us a list of those of his friends who have not subscribed so that we may attempt to arouse their interest."[422] The idea of asking subscribers to a brand new publication, in effect, to do homework for the benefit of that publication would appear presumptuous and, frankly, naive. Mokarzel had only begun to publish his magazine and was already signaling that he lacked sufficient start-up capital for launching a marketing campaign. It is unclear what, if any, pre-publication investigation or research he conducted on basic matters, such as fixed costs, likely circulation, or necessary revenues, before setting of the subscription price of five dollars per year. He had a great head for history, literature, and culture, but not for business. As the official history of *Al-Hoda*

diplomatically recounted, "Salloum went into business, but it was not his milieu."[423] Within a few months, he described the magazine's circulation path as "a healthy, steady, natural growth that holds great promise." But if that were true, he could have demonstrated it by printing the circulation figures. He did not do so. Instead, he admitted "that we never did anticipate a phenomenal circulation from the very beginning." Mokarzel took solace in the fact that the *Syrian World* was "meeting with hearty commendation and approval." Yet he could not resist slinging a barb at those who were "still slow in accepting the new and the untried," adding the publication relied "wholly" on subscription income, "enjoys no subsidy and seeks none," and "solicits advertising only on the merits of its circulation," as if to shift responsibility for its sustainability away from himself and onto others.[424] The logic of beseeching readers of the magazine, who were presumably paid subscribers, rather than trying to convert non-readers into readers, yielding additional paid subscribers, would seem less than compelling.

Salloum Mokarzel performed multiple functions at the *Syrian World*, emulating, if not equaling, his older brother's imperious management of *Al-Hoda*. He served as the magazine's publisher, editor, managing editor, business manager, and proprietor, according to a statement required by law.[425] In April 1927, still within the first year of publication, he admonished readers that the *Syrian World* existed by dint of "pure personal initiative"—in other words, his—and "that only through more effective co-operation on the part of our friends could we introduce those features which entail such expense as can be justified only by increased circulation." Accordingly, it was

incumbent upon "every one of our readers to assist along this line by recruiting new friends to the publication."[426] For Mokarzel, it was not enough for subscribers to pay for their subscriptions; they had to recruit new subscribers to the publication as well. It would seem reasonable to ask whether such appeals to readers amounted to a sophisticated form of begging. In any event, it proved futile.

Nearly a year later, Mokarzel confessed to a disappointing financial return, stating that "we cannot testify truthfully to receiving the hoped for amount of popular support." In a revealing sentence, he hoped that in the future "we shall be able to announce that the business side of the enterprise is proving equal to the appreciation it is now receiving from the educated class."[427] By inference, those who did not appreciate the *Syrian World* were not members of the educated class. Mokarzel's classist condescension garnished his prose. In July 1928, he spread blame for the *Syrian World*'s predicament to the ethnicity in general: "the response of the Syrians so far to the support of the publication does not permit, at this stage, of the material improvements we contemplated." Mokarzel reminded readers that "personal initiative" and "individual effort" kept the *Syrian World* afloat, and that "the only appreciable cooperation" came from "the generous support willingly given by our writers," whom he thanked for (apparently) contributing their work for free.[428]

By June 1929, Mokarzel announced the first of what would become annual suspensions of operations. In a signed editorial, he explained that the *Syrian World* would not be published in the months of July and August 1929, attributing this decision to "cumulative" problems as well as his upcoming trip to Syria and elsewhere in the Near

East. He reiterated to readers that the burdens of producing the periodical rested almost solely upon his shoulders. "Ever since its inception," he wrote, "The Syrian World has been an individual enterprise depending mainly on personal efforts. Only in the literary field has any assistance been forthcoming to a limited degree." In his absence, publication could not proceed. To ameliorate the difficulties inherent in a one-person operation, others "are urging the formation of a corporation" to operate the *Syrian World*, a subject to which he promised to return in the September 1929 issue.[429]

But there was no September 1929 issue. The next issue did not appear until October 1929, essentially elongating the suspension into a three-month interval. This did not bode well. As the months passed, Mokarzel grew increasingly frustrated. In a March 1930 editorial, he sarcastically referenced "the still prevalent Syrian notion that a subscription is synonymous with a gift," and cautioned readers that if the *Syrian World* had to pay writers for their contributions, publication would cease. In a further attempt to enhance circulation, he offered subscribers the opportunity to compete in a drawing for "a free round trip to Syria." He complained petulantly that if "the thinking element," supporters of the *Syrian World*, "meet with such little response, then something must be radically wrong either with us or with the Syrian public for which the publication is intended."[430] Mokarzel did not appear to have considered whether his particular recipe of assimilation mixed with ethnicity could ever appeal to the first generation, which preferred the Arabic language, or the second generation, which preferred not to think of itself as Arabic at all. The periodical of his conception was neither Syrian enough for the immigrants nor American enough for their children. It does not seem to have occurred to

him that the *Syrian World*'s special blend of American acculturation and Syrian retention, in all probability, would never generate a sufficiently broad customer base to achieve sustainability. Hence, at the close of its fourth year, Mokarzel refrained from "making any definite promises" as to the future. He would only confirm, as in 1929, that publication would be suspended in July and August, resuming (hopefully) in September. This meant that he anticipated publishing ten, instead of twelve, issues per year.[431]

Mokarzel led off the fifth year in September 1930 by repeating, editorially, that the *Syrian World* arose from "personal initiative," as a "purely private undertaking although devoted to the service of a public cause." He made vague reference to plans for organizational change, adding the teaser that he hoped "to be able to make an important announcement in the coming issue."[432] The next month's issue announced the *Syrian World*'s incorporation under New York law, and, in a bizarre move, offered to sell shares of its stock to the public. This amounted to a rudimentary precursor of what today might be called an initial public offering, albeit without the research, advice, underwriting, and sales force of an investment bank. Having carped for years about inadequate circulation and insufficient financial support, Mokarzel now sought to induce Syrians to make capital investments in his unprofitable enterprise. To describe this new tactic as the result of wishful thinking is to understate the case. It was nothing short of fanciful.[433] Undaunted, the *Syrian World* Corporation's board of directors held a dinner at the Sheik Restaurant on Washington Street in order to demonstrate support for the magazine in December 1930. Speakers included members of the Syrian immigrant elite, including

Rihani, Hitti, and George A. Ferris (not to be confused with Joseph W. Ferris), a prominent New York lawyer.[434]

Predictably, the raising of capital though stock sales in the *Syrian World* corporation proved a disappointing gambit. The March 1931 issue carried another signed editorial in which Mokarzel warned of the magazine's dire economic condition and hinted at its possible cessation. Aside from "our literary collaborators," who contributed their works gratuitously, public support had not come forth in sufficient quantity to assure survival. The publication "operated at a loss in the first place" and "additional strain" resulted from "present unexpected developments," presumably an allusion to the stock market collapse of October 1929 and the ensuing Great Depression. Mokarzel added, "If the publication of the magazine has been conducted at a loss for all these years, without undermining my optimism in ultimate success, readers may safely accept my present declaration of purpose not to discontinue it before sufficient advance notice *in case such a step becomes inevitable*."[435] It is indeed difficult to envision how this opaque remark could have motivated anyone to buy *Syrian World* stock.

An unattributed article in April 1931, "The Case of the Syrian World," again pointed out that funding came from "private sources of the publisher" and lamented the scant support from others, except writers. For the first time, the *Syrian World* explicitly threatened closure: "The publication will *have* to be discontinued unless sufficient public interest is aroused to stimulate wider interest." The article set forth four questions, soliciting readers' replies: "Is the Magazine Needed [?]" "Should the Name be Retained?" "Is the Content Matter Suitable?" and "Should the Size be Changed?" Given

the disjointed nature of the questions, Mokarzel seemed now to be grasping at straws.[436] The following month's continuation of "The Case of the Syrian World" included a purportedly "fair representation" of opinions on the *Syrian World*'s current condition and future direction. The selections allegedly reflected the views of: (a) "the press," consisting of editorial comments in *Al-Hoda*, written by Naoum Mokarzel; (b) "the clergy," a letter from Rev. W. A. Mansur, a frequent *Syrian World* contributor, who authored a piece carried elsewhere in that issue; (c) "the professions," a letter from a doctor in Alabama; and (d) "the young generation," comprised of two letters, one from a New Yorker, the other from an anonymous writer.[437] In June 1931, the magazine announced that it would continue publication, with no change in the subscription price, but pleaded that subscribers sign up new subscribers or make gifts of subscriptions.[438]

After the summer hiatus, the *Syrian World* resumed publication in September 1931, announcing a change in content. Henceforth, "instead of maintaining the high cultural standard which has been the admiration of the select few we shall strive to provide material of a more popular nature for the masses," transitioning away from literary and scholarly pieces to "entertaining and easy reading." Characteristically, Mokarzel noted his own selflessness: "but for the considerable personal sacrifices on the part of the editor the project would have foundered on the rock of adversity." He also complained of "delinquent subscribers," implying, though not stating, that he would stop serving non-paying customers. The *Syrian World* "will recognize the subscriber's willingness to continue his subscription by his actual payment."[439] The shift to less demanding content resulted from feedback received about the magazine's excessively

"technical" language, "far beyond the understanding of the average youth. And since it was designed to serve this youth, its very standard was defeating its purpose."[440] Mokarzel thus chose to compromise his intellectual standards in the hope of increasing magazine readership among the second generation.

But by early 1932, problems worsened. The February issue did not come out until mid-March, for which Mokarzel apologized, and he openly acknowledged the impact of "the economic depression." Of all those hurt by the nation's economic collapse, "the most pathetic case is that of the small man," who "had felt the security of independence through the individual enterprise he had painstakingly built up." Many, if not most, Syrian business owners fit this description, and the *Syrian World* itself served as an archetypical product of Syrian individualism. Mokarzel vowed that he would "never give up if only we are shown reasonable support." He asked for "prompt remittance" from holders of overdue accounts and invited those "who were shocked at the possibility of discontinuance" to provide financial support. To use a colloquialism, Syrians needed to put their money where their mouths were.[441] By May 1932, Mokarzel appeared to hear the death knell tolling. In a signed letter to readers, he transferred the burden of resolving the magazine's financial difficulties to others. With his vaunted self-regard, Mokarzel averred "that I have gone to the limit of unselfish sacrifice and personal denial. I have my records to prove that never was the magazine self-supporting." It is difficult to imagine anyone requiring proof. Still, he continued, "I have done, personally, most of the literary and physical production of it. Everything unsigned I write, and aside from being editor, news gatherer, proofreader and office manager, I also personally attend to

the actual making up and printing of the magazine, even having at times to do part of the type composition." Not to put too fine a point on it, he wailed, "The work sometimes necessitates my working in these various capacities two consecutive days and nights, 36 to 48 hours, without sleep!" But now he drew the line. The *Syrian World* "must either be made self-supporting or given up." He was "no longer in a position to continue losing money on the venture." He would donate his services or turn over management of the *Syrian World*. He even offered to reduce the subscription rate for paid subscribers who brought in new subscribers, by gifts or solicitations. Ominously, he set a deadline: "This offer is open until September 1, 1932."[442] This Syrian individualist *par excellence* was spent. Miller had written presciently nearly three decades earlier: "To a fault the Syrian is individualistic."[443] On the brink of exhaustion in June 1932, Mokarzel expressed the "hope that between now and September," supporters would produce the assistance needed to continue publication.[444]

Such assistance did not materialize. Consequently, the *Syrian World* lay dormant until May 5, 1933, when it resumed publication, not as a monthly magazine, but as a weekly newspaper, and not as a one-person operation, but as a two-person operation. Hatib I. Katibah, formerly a contributor to the *Syrian World*, assumed the new position of assistant editor, while Mokarzel remained editor and publisher—duties he simultaneously fulfilled at *Al-Hoda* since the death of his brother.[445] Despite its new format and frequency, the *Syrian World*'s primary mission, to educate the second generation of Syrians, remained unaltered. As the lead editorial explained, "[W]e are impelled by the same reasons which first prompted its publication seven years ago, chiefly to afford a

dignified and intelligently informative organ to our younger generation Americans of Syrian descent."[446] An editorial cartoon in the next week's issue depicted Salloum Mokarzel introducing a male figure, representing *Al-Hoda*'s English-language section (an innovation of Salloum's), to a second male figure, labeled, "Younger Generation."[447] Elayyan argued that, as a monthly magazine, the *Syrian World* "targeted both parents and children," and after transforming itself into a weekly newspaper, it "targeted the young generation as its main audience." If the *Syrian World*'s own words are to be credited, however, its main target in *both* configurations was the second generation. That the newspaper may have done a better job than the magazine of hitting that target does not mean that the target changed.[448]

Business practices changed somewhat. Subscribers now supposedly had to pay in advance. The current subscription form bore the following words: "Enclosed please find $3.00 to cover my subscription to the Weekly Syrian World."[449] In addition, the newspaper advertised for agents to solicit subscriptions on its behalf. The advertisement stretched the truth, claiming that "SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE EASY TO SECURE FOR THE OLDEST ENGLISH LANGUAGE PUBLICATION FOR SYRIANS AND THE ONLY ONE ISSUED WEEKLY."[450] If subscriptions were easy to secure, the *Syrian World* would not have needed to devote valuable ink and space to such an advertisement. Having appointed Katibah as his successor, Mokarzel finally stepped down, announcing in a farewell message on page one that his responsibilities at *Al-Hoda* precluded him from continuing on at the helm of the *Syrian World*. He spent the rest of his life publishing *Al-Hoda*. Katibah took over as editor and publisher of the *Syrian World*, and

Mokarzel's daughter, Mary Mokarzel, assumed the duties of business manager. In January 1934, J. M. Abbott joined the staff as associate editor, but he did not last ten months. Abbott's name disappeared from the *Syrian World*'s masthead by October.[451]

Katibah manifested a peculiar attitude toward *Syrian World* readers. He often spoke elliptically. In January 1934, for example, he trumpeted anodyne bromides—"[u]nity through diversity," "[p]reservation of Syrian culture and tradition," "[a]n Americanization that shares the best it has," among others—while applauding the fact that Syrians were "imbued with a strong sense of individualism," on the same page.[452] He did not draw linkages to enhance comprehension; his meaning seemed open to interpretation. He also resorted to antagonistic prose. For instance, he veritably lectured his audience in February 1934 "that we cannot produce the newspaper we have in mind without the thorough cooperation of our readers. We cannot give them a first class publication when they eternally insist and harp on the desire to have a cheap one." Although grateful to supporters, he berated critics:

> Our trouble comes from a small minority of selfish and narrow-minded individuals, who are always anxious to give destructive criticism, mainly because they have nothing else to give. Such individuals are not over-concerned about the preservation of any such thing as Syrian individuality, rather they are ashamed of it, and have no conception of Syrian culture or history.[453]

Nobody could accuse Katibah of engaging in a charm offensive. He made no bones about having detractors, though he did not identify them. This brand of salesmanship, if one can call it that, would seem less than optimal, even counterproductive, especially in the throes of the nationwide Depression.

Katibah's contentious tenure could not end well. In the spring of 1935, the *Syrian World* ran a biting editorial that began: "Against odds that at times seemed insurmountable, and in spite of apathy in many that was baffling, if not discouraging, The SYRIAN WORLD has made its second milestone." By "second milestone," Katibah meant the second year of publication under his tutelage, as if the Mokarzel era had never existed. In proclaiming allegiance to "a high ideal of impersonal journalism," he exuded an elitism that rivaled, or perhaps exceeded, Mokarzel's: "The large majority of our people are not yet sufficiently educated to this sort of journalism." Having once reduced literary and scholarly writings in favor of more pedestrian fare, the *Syrian World* would have to accede to additional "dumbing down." But there had to be a limit to the thinning of the intellectual gruel, or else the newspaper would demean Syrians by its sheer vapidity. "The Syrian people of the United States would stand indicted before the bar of public opinion," Katibah thundered, "if the only incentive they entertain for subscribing to a newspaper is to see their names always plastered on the pages of the paper they read, and to read about the personal doings of others." He resolved not to turn the *Syrian World* into a tabloid filled with gossip, even if that is what his readers wanted; they should observe higher intellectual norms.[454] He also begged subscribers to pay, which would seem incongruous, given the new policy requiring advance payment. Perhaps that requirement was not enforced, or, if it excluded subscription renewals, left a financial shortfall. Either way, Katibah framed his appeal to Syrians as consonant with American norms: "In asking you to pay your subscription in advance we are not making a novel

request. It is the rule in all American periodicals and newspapers."[455] Thus, as a publisher seeking subscribers' payments, Katibah performed in assimilationist mode.

His earnest pleas failed to generate sufficient revenue. In June 1935, twenty members of New York's Syrian elite—curiously not including Salloum Mokarzel—assembled to discuss the fate of the *Syrian World*. The group appointed a ways and means committee to recommend a course of action.[456] Katibah announced in the newspaper that Mary Mokarzel would no longer serve as business manager. As if to soften the blow, he added that she and her sister, Alice Mokarzel, would remain "as partners and shareholders in this enterprise," yet he failed to explicate the inherently contradictory phrase, "partners and shareholders." Partners exist only in partnerships; shareholders exist only in corporations. By definition, the business could not take both forms. If Katibah's announcement lacked clarity, the advertising snippet directly above it did not: "SUBSCRIPTIONS IN THE SYRIAN WORLD PAYABLE IN ADVANCE." Once again, the masthead bore only one name.[457]

In July 1935, the *Syrian World*'s ways and means committee issued recommendations, including the creation of both an advisory board and an editorial committee, to consist of invited members. Katibah ranted editorially that he had taken control of the newspaper against the advice of friends, and that his financial yield "has not anywhere justified the strenuous efforts I put into it." Yet he disclaimed any interest in personal wealth, saying that he only wanted to be a writer. He denied having "a martyr complex," despite ending the piece self-referentially as "this harassed Syrian editor."[458] A few weeks later, he wrote acerbically, "A check or money order on time is more

eloquent than a page of praise." Meanwhile, at least thirty-five Syrians were chosen for an advisory board. How they were supposed to confer with one another, or render advice to Katibah, is unknown. The board would not seem to have accomplished anything of consequence, unless one assigns it the dubious credit of reducing publication frequency to a semi-monthly basis, announced in the October 1, 1935 issue. There is no evidence that an editorial committee ever came into existence.[459] The ways and means committee scheduled a meeting in late October to discuss a new campaign to augment circulation. Katibah announced that subscriptions more than three months past due would be terminated. Like Mokarzel, Katibah had given his best efforts but had demonstrated maladroitness in eliciting financial support. He could no longer make a go of it. If the *Syrian World* was to survive, others would have to rescue it. The end drew nigh.[460]

In the penultimate issue, published on November 1, 1935, the *Syrian World* reported on the Orthodox Bishop's putative excommunication of the Orthodox Patriarch, discussed in Chapter IV. "The long-drawn and rancorous feud between" the Patriarch and dissident Bishops resulted "in a serious and, probably, far-reaching split," such that "a faction of Syrian Orthodox clergy and laity have renounced allegiance to the Patriarch and formed an independent church" under Bishop Epiphanios Zaid. Ironically, the *Syrian World*, dedicated to eradicating or surmounting Syrian factionalism, never ceased reporting on Syrian factionalism. Nor did the publication ever stop pressing Syrians to overcome their chronic individualism and cooperate in a common cause (other than the promotion of Syrian whiteness). The same issue carried a piece by George E. Macksoud, imploring Syrians to cooperate in a joint endeavor, the saving of the *Syrian World*.[461]

But Macksoud and Katibah could not reckon with Syrian individualism. As Hitti had trenchantly commented in 1924, "Intensely individualistic with a history and geography that militate against co-operative effort the modern Syrian has come to look upon organization with suspicion and contempt."[462] The *Syrian World* seems to have deluded itself into thinking it might succeed by hectoring Syrians to unite behind it.

If one issue of the *Syrian World* encapsulated its deficient business model, the final issue, published November 15, 1935, did so. On page one, the newspaper touted its sponsorship of a dance and amateur hour, to be held in December, at which it would award cash prizes. A desperate enterprise such as the *Syrian World* in late 1935 could ill afford to sponsor anything. The time had long since passed when it might profitably have given away cash in order to foment goodwill. Furthermore, on page two, the periodical solicited interest in a proposed *Syrian World* anthology. As part of the pitch, the newspaper assured readers that even those who pledged to buy had no obligation to do so if the book did not meet with their satisfaction. In other words, the pledger had nothing to lose, and the pledgee had nothing to gain, save the mere possibility of selling a book it had already compiled, printed, and delivered.[463]

The *Syrian World*'s demise in late 1935 closed an important chapter in the story of Little Syria. The Depression obviously hurt the journalistic venture, and Katibah's tenure coincided with some of the darkest days in American economic history. But Mokarzel operated for a full three years in the late 1920s, a boom time, when the best prospect existed for a sustainable English-language magazine geared to a Syrian family audience. Mokarzel underestimated the resources he would have to invest, and

overestimated the remuneration he would generate. The Syrian population simply did not respond to the *Syrian World* by parting with enough dollars to make it financially viable, no matter how high its cultural value. Neither Mokarzel nor Katibah conjured a convincing alchemy of assimilation and ethnicity.

To sum up, the evidence of arts and letters shows that the Syrian quarter produced substantial, sustained intellectual output. Not all Syrian immigrants in the first wave were illiterate or uneducated. In 1903, the *New York Times* referred to "the many interesting, cultured men" in the Lower Manhattan colony.[464] The *Syrian World*, the Mokarzels, and the Pen Bond writers, especially Gibran, Naimy, and Rihani, added an element to New York's Little Syria that extended the neighborhood's significance beyond trade and commerce. It "became the cultural base for Syrians throughout the United States," as well as "a potent factor in intellectual progress throughout the Arabic-speaking world."[465]

Much of the early Syrians' intellectual work product dealt, explicitly or implicitly, with the quest to control assimilation. Noam Mokarzel acceded to mainstream norms by demanding recognition of Syrian whiteness, but he refused to accept English as a replacement for Arabic as the dominant linguistic medium within the ethnic community. Salloum Mokarzel acquiesced in Arabic's inevitable decline and stressed the importance of English, but he insisted upon deference for the lessons of Syrian history and the abundance of Arabic culture. Kahlil Gibran urged the children of first-wave Syrian immigrants to suffuse their love for America with reverence for their Phoenician heritage. Mikhail Naimy publicly prodded Syrians to bring positive attitudes to their adopted

home, but he privately groused about coarse American values. Ameen Rihani counseled Syrians to temper their affection for American ways with discretion and discernment, so that immigrants would make thoughtful decisions on whether or not to assimilate in specific contexts. Habib Katibah wanted subscribers to prepay because that was the American way, but he admonished Syrians to hold themselves to high intellectual standards so their ethnicity would be treated with respect. In short, Little Syria's intellectuals made indelible contributions to the ongoing discourse over methods of trying to control assimilation.

VI. CONCLUSION

In his *Letters to Uncle Sam*, Ameen Rihani captured the essence of the early Syrian immigrant's internal conflict by personifying a conflict between written records: "My birth certificate, I confess to you, Uncle, has often quarreled with my Document of Adoption."[466] The quarrel emanated from the need to reconcile competing impulses—to fit into American society while holding onto Arabic culture. By examining evidence of New York's Little Syria from 1880 to 1935, this thesis has endeavored to show that, as part of their struggles to achieve equipoise, Syrian immigrants sought to maintain some degree of control over their assimilation. They had to adapt in order to survive. As Salloum Mokarzel explained:

> When the Syrians first came to New York they had everything against them except their inherent resourcefulness and business ability. Of capital and experience or training they had none, and of any knowledge of the English they were utterly destitute. So they made capital of their native and inherited ability and faced the world with deep courage and high hopes.[467]

But they did not share a common mindset. Rather, they personified individualism, a means of maximizing control over their lives, and thus of the pace and extent of their assimilation, in unfamiliar circumstances and conditions of economic exigency. For some Syrians in the first wave of immigration, control over assimilation meant maximizing the retention of ethnicity. For others, control over assimilation allowed for greater accommodation of mainstream values.

Rihbany exemplified the Syrian immigrant who assimilated readily, unreservedly, with minimal ethnic retention. He exited Washington Street as soon as he could, disgusted by the noisy, uncouth peddlers, and disenchanted by Syrian acquiescence in Ottoman censorship. If Rihbany toted a peddler's pack when he left New York, he did so for lack of alternative. Eventually he became a Protestant minister, maintaining ties to his ethnicity only as an interpreter of the old culture. He wanted to help Americans understand Syrians. For example, he explicated the Syrian propensity for verbal obliqueness: "A Syrian's chief purpose in a conversation is to convey an impression by whatever suitable means, and not to deliver his message in scientifically accurate terms. He expects to be judged not by what he *says*, but by what he *means*."[468] Levantine communication, in other words, should be interpreted allegorically, rather than literally. If this norm were better understood by Americans, Syrians might face fewer accusations of dishonesty. This suggests that Rihbany's assimilation had a saturation point. As enthusiastic and comprehensive as his assimilation was, Rihbany would not abide popular perceptions of Syrian candor. He intended to alter such perceptions by literally teaching Americans a lesson about Levantine ways of communicating. Thus, in a manner of his choosing, Rihbany sought to control his own assimilation.

At the other end of the scale, Hawaweeny and those of his ilk evinced little concern for assimilation. They clung tenaciously to their ethnic identity. They carried on in New York in the manner of vigilantes in the Near East, defending the leader of their clan against the insults of a rival clan leader. The verbal recriminations and physical violence did nothing to foster assimilation. That separate police guards had to escort one

faction from the Tombs to Washington Street, and the other faction to Brooklyn, directly resulted from Syrian resistance to mainstream standards of conduct. Yet Hawaweeny did make concessions to assimilation, not least by using the mainstream press to defend himself in the public eye. Hawaweeny drew his own line on the spectrum between assimilation and ethnicity in a very different place than Rihbany. In this way, Hawaweeny tried to control his assimilation.

Other early Syrian immigrants in New York inhabited a broad middle range between polar extremes. Naoum Mokarzel resembled Hawaweeny in some ways, especially in his feisty secular leadership of the Maronite faction in New York. Publishing *Al-Hoda* for decades in Little Syria, Mokarzel helped to keep the Arabic language alive in the ethnic colony, and accessible to Syrian immigrants who were not themselves members of the elite. At the same time, Mokarzel exhibited assimilationism by moving his residence to Brooklyn and vigorously lobbying on behalf of the cause of Syrian whiteness. He adhered to racist mainstream values in order to facilitate the naturalization of Syrian immigrants. Bishara, whose ethnographic book Mokarzel sponsored, called for Syrians to add their own contributions to American culture. Each Syrian immigrant should, in Bishara's view, "endeavor to make the very best contribution to the general life of the great land of his adoption where he has the fairest opportunities to develop his personality to the highest pitch of efficiency by combining what is best in him with the best of what he should be capable of acquiring in the glorious sphere of progressive human activity."[469] Bishara advocated give and take, blends of assimilation and ethnicity concocted by individual immigrants. Salloum Mokarzel likewise

recommended the mixing and balancing of assimilation and ethnicity. He understood the importance of communicating in the mainstream language, yet gave up the *Syrian World* to carry on his brother's legacy at *Al-Hoda*. There, he introduced an English section but otherwise continued publishing in Arabic. He criticized Syrian clannishness and factionalism but praised Syrian business acumen and instincts for survival. He wanted Syrians to preserve the positive elements of their ethnicity, but only those elements, in order to make America a better, richer nation. For their part, the Pen Bond writers, especially Gibran, Naimy, and Rihani, greatly influenced Arabic literature but also produced significant works in English. Gibran achieved wealth and fame with a book written in English. All three contributed multiple pieces in English to the *Syrian World*. If their art in Arabic ranked as transformative, their art in English had value, too, for it articulated the ambivalence and alienation felt by many Syrian immigrants in New York. Adapting to the cacophony of the metropolis without losing all vestiges of the serenity in Mount Lebanon required a perspective that the *mahjar* writers had a unique capacity to deliver.

Lest we forget, Syrians in the first wave of immigration never fully shed their duality. In 1935, Rihani expressed skepticism of American values, in a poem, "To America," which read in part:

> Voices arise from depths of melting fear,
> Voices that bridge the peaks of bard and seer,
> Winging the words of him who spoke
> For all the people who bear the yoke
> Of centuries. O shall they bear it yet?
> Shall thy remembrance fail? Shall God forget?[470]

Rihani gave voice to Syrians' unrealized aspirations and nagging fears of failure in the United States. Yet this same man once wrote unflinchingly that "the Syrians are a strange and troublesome race."[471] Rihani seemed to be of two minds about his own people. The assimilation in America of "a strange and troublesome race" was bound to involve complications.

Katibah confronted the issue of duality by defining ethnicity as an ingredient of assimilation. For him, the two were inseparable: "my Syrianism is part of my Americanism." In the *Syrian World*, he cautioned Syrians not to become homogenized. "Far from being afraid of assimilation, I welcome it," he declared. "But I warn my people against being absorbed and not being thoroughly digested."[472] Syrians in the United States should remain masters of their own assimilation. Yet Katibah also printed a *Syrian World* piece by Macksoud, arguing that if younger Syrians "are to assimilate American culture and become integral parts of the country of their parents' choice, they must sacrifice a considerable part of their elders' intense nationalism and clannishness."[473] Furthermore, Katibah elevated a woman to the position of business manager of the *Syrian World*, and put her name and title on the masthead. To be sure, she was a Mokarzel, and her tenure was brief, but the step should be seen as moderately progressive, given the staunchly patriarchal Arabic milieu in which it occurred. Through such measures, Katibah modeled a measured, reflective version of assimilation.

Thousands of ordinary Syrians in the first wave of immigration underwent innumerable variations of this dialectical process—weighing the costs and benefits of assimilation against the costs and benefits of ethnicity—on Manhattan's Lower West

Side. Hooglund described the fundamental fact of life for early Arabic-speaking immigrants as "a process that involved sometimes painful choices about values: What customs and beliefs should they try to preserve? How should their American-born children be raised? How should they confront instances of antiforeign bigotry, social ostracism, and injustice?"[474] Such questions required individuals to compose answers for themselves. Perhaps the clearest signs of assimilation were the patterns of residential migration away from Little Syria, which emerged as wealth enabled mobility. A sustainable place of business for decades, the Syrian quarter on the Lower West Side could not, as a rule, hold onto its Syrian residents. True, there were exceptions, such as Moussa Daoud, who continued to live there in 1935 (and beyond), as well as the poorest immigrants, who had no way out. But the vast majority of Syrians gladly found homes in safer, more habitable neighborhoods in Brooklyn. Additionally, the most successful businesses gravitated to more desirable addresses in Manhattan, hoping to attract higher-end clientele, and in Brooklyn, seeking to service the Syrians now residing there. Business relocations may be seen as assimilationist moves made in the context of trading on ethnicity. Syrian culture was a marketable commodity; in a prosaic sense, it was for sale.

Other businesses tended to replace those leaving Little Syria. Hence, the Washington Street district stood the test of time as a locus of Oriental trade and commerce, surviving even through the Depression. Many businesses, including restaurants and shops selling sweets and tobacco products, continued to operate there. For example, visitors sampled Arabic cuisine at the Oasis Restaurant, at 88 Washington

Street, in 1935. Customers included Wall Street workers and high school teachers and students from New Jersey. They underwent experiences similar to that of *The Outlook* reporter in 1898, whom we met in Chapter III, extolling the delights of *kibby*, *leben*, and stuffed grape leaves. Tickets for the *mahrajan*, as we saw in Chapter IV, were on sale at the Lebanon League of Progress, 55 Washington Street, in 1935.[475]

But the 1940s brought notices to vacate, wrecking balls, and ultimately the denouement of Little Syria. Residents found themselves "ousted by the construction of the Brooklyn Tunnel," needing to find new places to live.[476] Without a local Arabic-speaking population, Syrian businesses could no longer sustain themselves, and so left the former ethnic colony. Lower Washington Street now contains a barren stretch of vacant land. (See figure 8.)

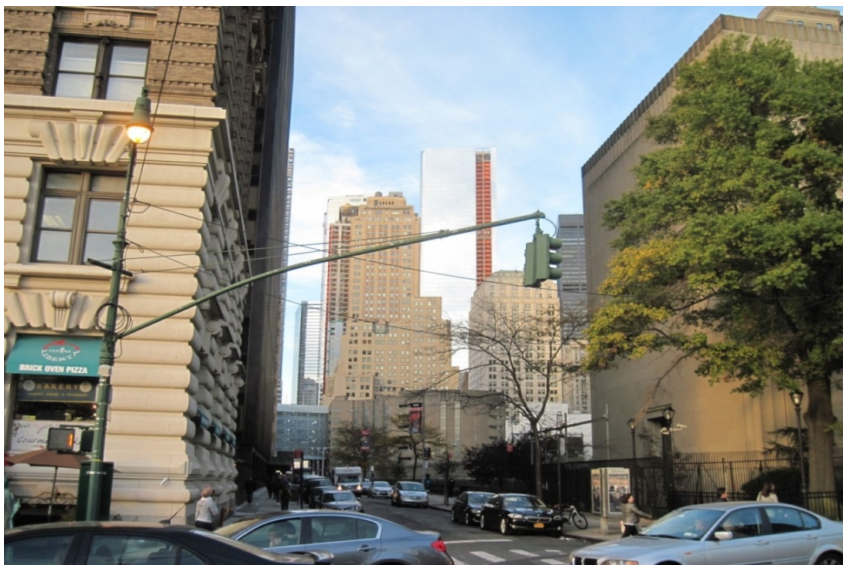

Figure 8. View of Washington Street northward from Battery Place (2013). The large gray building behind the tree on the right is the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel and Triborough Bridge Authority portal. Note the absence of any structures to the north of that building for some distance. All such structures were demolished to construct the tunnel. Source: Author's collection.

In May 2013, the Arab American National Museum held an exhibit, "Little Syria," in space rented on the first floor of the Brooklyn Battery Garage, a structure erected where several tenements and establishments on Washington and Greenwich Streets once stood. (See figure 9.)

Figure 9. Battery Parking Garage, a massive structure comprising a large space between Greenwich and Washington Streets (2013). The view here is of the eastern side of the garage, looking northwestward from Edgar Park, a small triangle of land, with bench plaques commemorating the former Syrian colony and its residents. The triangle also appears on figure 2. Source: Author's collection.

Today, all that remains of the Arabic-speaking enclave are the buildings that housed St. George's Catholic (Melkite) Church, at 103 Washington Street, the Downtown Community House, at 105-107 Washington Street, and the adjacent tenement, at 109 Washington Street, plus, according to one source, a two-story building on the northwest corner of Greenwich and Rector Streets.[477] (See figure 10.) The lifeblood of the ethnic

neighborhood is long gone. As a *Paris Review* writer put it in 2013, "Of Little Syria, there is nothing."[478]

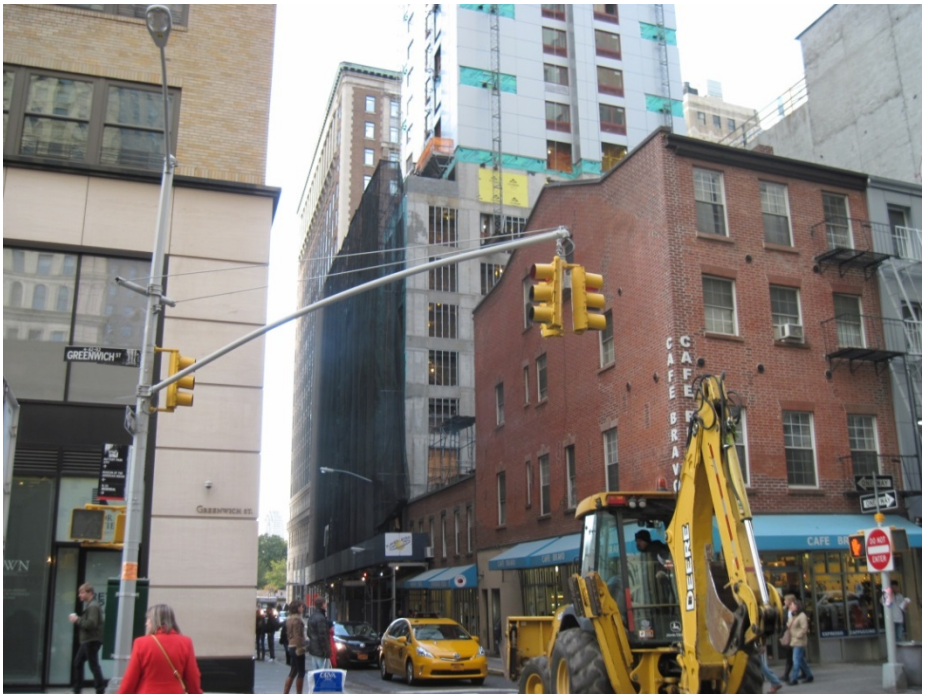

Figure 10. Brick building on the northwest corner of Greenwich and Rector Streets (2013). The much taller building under construction behind it is adjacent to St. George's Catholic (Melkite) Chapel on Washington Street. Source: Author's collection.

Nothing, alas, but history. Little Syria has much to teach us, despite its passing. Consider the matter of language. When immigrants on Washington Street communicated with each other in Arabic, or read Arabic-language newspapers, they manifested agency in retaining their ethnicity. When they advertised their goods and services in English, or read the English-language *Syrian World*, they again manifested agency, but this time in an assimilationist direction. Taken together, such acts may be seen as efforts to control assimilation in a linguistic context.

Or consider housing. When they rented dingy rooms in dank tenements occupied by other poor immigrants in the Syrian quarter, they maintained the insular existence that helped to ensure physical survival. But when they left the darkness and squalor of the ghetto for superior housing in sunlit neighborhoods, they demonstrated the value placed on material comfort, health, privacy, and social mobility. Still, they did not so much disperse as regroup in suburban ethnic enclaves. Taken together, such acts may be seen as efforts to control assimilation in a residential context.

Or consider business locations. When Syrians sold goods and services of a Near Eastern flavor—laces, linens, negligees, strings of colored beads, spicy dishes, pastries, tobacco, water-pipes, and relaxed atmospherics, among countless other examples—they delivered public performances of ethnicity. Yet they made economically rational decisions to move to more profitable sites, when possible, consistent with mainstream expectations and upward mobility. Taken together, such acts may be seen as efforts to control assimilation in a commercial context.

Or consider religious rites. When they attended liturgical services on the Lower West Side, they displayed devotion to rituals transported from the Near East. Yet when Catholic sects decided to discard certain Byzantine practices and adopt Latin alternatives, they exhibited a flexibility borne of pragmatism. At the same time, the Orthodox held steadfastly to tradition, bending only minimally to the pressure of mainstream public opinion. Taken together, such acts may be seen as efforts to control assimilation in a confessional context.

Or consider the *mahjar* writers. When they sought to infuse Arabic literature with new vigor, they consciously spoke in their native language to a non-Western audience. But some of them published works in English in order to display their Arabic sensibilities to a Western, preeminently American, readership; accessibility required use of the mainstream language. Taken together, such acts may be seen as efforts to control assimilation in a literary context.

These examples are illustrative, not exhaustive. New York's Little Syria, from 1880 to 1935, presents a classic case of history as an array of choices made, over a period of time, by Arabic-speaking immigrants who were, above all, independent individuals. Individualism was a double-edged sword. As Kayal and Kayal wrote, "a fundamental weakness" of the Syrians in America was that "[t]hey simply never learned how to cooperate fully with one another for the general good of the whole community."[479] On the other hand, the inability or unwillingness to cooperate reflected a profound belief in individual initiative and personal responsibility—matters of strength, not weakness. For better or worse, the Syrians lived by their own decisions.

Finally, the Syrian colony on the Lower West Side exemplified the concept of change over time and space. When Kirdahy moved the Sheik Restaurant uptown from Washington Street, and the *Syrian World* portrayed his business as an immigrant success story, neither the restaurateur nor the editor could have envisioned the use to which the vacated space would be put someday.[480] Where children once eyed tasty treats in the restaurant window, there now stands a windowless steel door on the west side of the massive Battery Garage. (See figure 11.)

Figure 11. View of 85-87 Washington Street, on western side of Battery Parking Garage (2013). The smaller doorway on the left is the former location of the Sheik Restaurant, 87 Washington Street. For a graphic illustration of change over time and space, contrast this image with that of figure 4. Source: Author's collection.

NOTES

[1] "The Story of a Young Syrian," *The Independent*, April 30, 1903, 1007. The interviewee evidently had assistance from two others in recollecting the events. Ibid. Based on unmistakable similarities, this story appears to have been the unattributed source of the chapter entitled, "The Life Story of a Syrian," in a later book written by a different author. Hamilton Holt, *The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves*, exp. ed., new intro. Werner Sollors (London: Routledge, 2003), 147-58. Holt referred to the Syrian as a composite of different individuals. Ibid., 147.

[2] Habib I. Katibah, "Syrian Immigrants," in *One America: The History, Contributions, and Present Problems of our Racial and National Minorities*, ed. Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, 3rd ed. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1952), 284; Philip M. Kayal and Joseph M. Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America: A Study in Religion and Assimilation*, fore. Michael Novak (Boston: Twayne, 1975), 86; Alixa Naff, "Arabs in America: A Historical Overview," in *Arabs in the New World: Studies on Arab-American Communities*, ed. Sameer Y. Abraham and Nabeel Abraham (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 16; Alixa Naff, *Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985), 182; Gregory Orfalea, *Before the Flames: A Quest for the History of Arab Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 76; Alixa Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States: 1880 to the Present," in *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration*, ed. Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies and I. B. Tauris, 1992), 145; Alixa Naff, "New York: The Mother Colony," in *A Community of Many Worlds: Arab Americans in New York City*, ed. Kathleen Benson and Philip M. Kayal (New York: Museum of the City of New York and Syracuse University Press, 2002), 3-10; Gregory Orfalea, *The Arab Americans: A History* (Northampton, MA: Olive Branch Press, 2006), 81; Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White: Race and Ethnicity in the Early Syrian American Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 46; Emily Regan Wills, "Political Discourse in Motion: Social and Political Contestation in Arab New York" (Ph.D. diss., New School for Social Research, 2011), 76. Remarkably, the date and circumstances of Little Syria's founding are uncertain. Naff, "New York: The Mother Colony," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 4.

[3] Lucius H. Miller, *Our Syrian Population: A Study of the Syrian Communities of Greater New York*, repr. (San Francisco: R and E Research, 1968); Louise S. Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Sources and Settlement," *The Survey: A Journal of Constructive Philanthropy* 26, no. 14 (July 1911): 481-95; Louise S. Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Business Activities," ibid., no. 19 (August 1911): 647-65; Louise S.

Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status," ibid., no. 23 (September 1911): 787-803; Louise S. Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: The Syrian as an American Citizen," ibid. 27, no. 1 (October 1911): 957-88; Philip K. Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, intro. Talcott Williams (New York: Doran, 1924), 20, 84-85, 88; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 86-90; Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 76-80; Adele L. Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People to the United States*, ed. and intro. Philip M. Kayal (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1995), 127, 137-41; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 81-86; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White,* 46, 202n 113; Naff, *Becoming American*, 82, 132-36, 143-44, 170, 172-73, 203, 224-25, 293, 295, 306-7; Kenneth T. Jackson, ed., *The Encyclopedia of New York City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, and New York: New York Historical Society, 1995), s.vv. "Arabs," "Syrians and Lebanese;" Michael W. Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America: Building a New Future*, ed. Michael W. Suleiman (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1999), 8; Naff, "New York: The Mother Colony," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 3-10; Barbara and Martin Rizek, and Joanne Medvecky, *The Financial District's Lost Neighborhood,1900-1970* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2004), 35, 39, 43, 63, 67, 73, 74, 117, 122; Alia Malek, *A Country Called Amreeka: Arab Roots, American Stories* (New York: Free Press, 2009), 233-35; Sarah Kanbar, "Rooted in Our Homeland: The Construction of Syrian American Identity," in *American Multicultural Studies: Diversity of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Sexuality*, ed. Sherrow O. Pinder (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2013), 249-55, 264-66.

[4] New York Edison Company, ed., *Glimpses of New York: An Illustrated Handbook of the City, Together with Notes on the Electric Industry therein and thereabout* (New York: New York Edison Co., 1911), 41, 45; Konrad Bercovici, *Around the World in New York* (New York: Century, 1924), 25-45; 406-11.

[5] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Sources and Settlement," 485; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 19-21; Philip M. Kayal, "Religion and Assimilation: Catholic 'Syrians' in America," *International Migration Review* 7, no. 4 (Winter 1973): 410; Barbara C. Aswad, "Introduction and Overview," in *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities*, ed. Barbara C. Aswad (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1974), 3; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese*, 77; Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World*, 9, 11; Najib E. Saliba, "Emigration from Syria," in ibid., 31; Philip M. Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in ibid., 48; Eric J. Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters: Arabic-Speaking Immigrants to the United States Before 1940*, ed. Eric J. Hooglund (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 5; Kamal Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 183; Engin Deniz Akarli, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 1, 31-32; Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), xiv, xvii; Michael W. Suleiman, "Arab-Americans and the Political Process," in *The*

Development of Arab-American Identity, ed. Ernest McCarus (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 1n1; Evelyn Shakir, *Bint Arab: Arab and Arab American Women in the United States* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1997), 1, 20; Oswaldo M. S. Truzzi, "The Right Place at the Right Time: Syrians and Lebanese in Brazil and the United States, a Comparative Approach," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 16, no. 2 (Winter 1997): 30n1; Linda S. Walbridge, "Lebanese Christians," in *American Immigrant Cultures: Builders of a Nation*, ed. David Levinson and Melvin Ember (New York: Macmillan, 1997), 580; Michael W. Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 2; Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White': Race, Religion and the Foundations of Syrian/Lebanese Ethnicity in the United States," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 52n1; Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon,1870-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 17; Youssef M. Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography: Historical Discourse and the Nation-State*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 125, 163, 177; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 11-12, 14; Delia Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora: The Arab Immigration Experience in Montreal, New York, and Paris* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 201n1; William Harris, *Lebanon: A History, 600-2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 148, 159, 160-61, 182. Three points deserve mention. First, Delia Abdelhady asserted that "Arab immigration to the United States started in 1870," but her categorical statement lacks support in other sources. Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 202n11. Second, Akram Fouad Khater defined *mahjar* as "land of emigration," rather than as "diaspora." Khater, *Inventing Home*, 191n3. Sarah M. A. Gualtieri explicated, however, that *mahjar* is "the noun of place derived from the verb *hajara*, 'to emigrate.' *Al-mahjar* is the 'place of emigration' and in modern usage connotes diaspora." Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 14, 194n44. For purposes of this study, "diaspora" would seem a suitable definition of *mahjar*. Third, Syrians should not be confused with Assyrians. Unlike Syrians, Assyrians did not hail from the Levant (bordering the eastern shore of the Mediterranean) but primarily from Iraq (Mesopotamia), Iran (Persia), and Kurdistan, according to a 1924 source, though also from parts of Turkey, Syria, and Lebanon, according to a 1980 source. Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 20; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom, Ann Orlov, and Oscar Handlin (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), s.v. "Assyrians."

[6] Abdo A. Elkholy, *The Arab Moslems in the United States: Religion and Assimilation* (New Haven, CT: College and University Press, 1966), 14; Abdo A. Elkholy, "The Arab-Americans: Nationalism and Traditional Preservations," in *The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation*, ed. Elaine C. Hagopian and Ann Paden (Wilmette, IL: Medina University Press International, 1969), 14; Kayal, "Religion and Assimilation," 409; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 225; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Arabs;" Saliba, "Emigration from Syria," in *Arabs in the New World*, 34; Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 94; Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 24; Linda S. Walbridge, "Lebanese Muslims," in *American Immigrant Cultures*, 584; Naff,

"New York: The Mother Colony," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 3; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 102; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 46. Oswaldo M. S. Truzzi indicated that Christians comprised approximately ninety percent of the immigrants between 1890 and 1930, which was a marginally later period. Truzzi, "The Right Place at the Right Time," 6. Kemal H. Karpat estimated that Muslims comprised fifteen to twenty percent of overall Ottoman emigration, but his computation embraced all of Syria, not just Mount Lebanon, and all of North and South America, not just the United States. Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914," Kemal H. Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17, no. 2 (1985): 183.

[7] Samir Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of Lebanese/Syrian Immigration to the United States Before World War I," in *Crossing the Waters*, 18.

[8] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 5.

[9] *Encyclopedia of New York City*, s.v. "Arabs."

[10] Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society, Volume I: The Central Lands*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 12-13; Naff, *Becoming American*, 50.

[11] Kemal H. Karpat, "*Millets* and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume I*, 142; Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 6; Philip S. Khoury, "Continuity and Change in Syrian Political Life: The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (December 1991): 1382.

[12] Braude and Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume I,* 12. For a philological exegesis of "millet," see Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System," in ibid., 69-74.

[13] Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 411.

[14] Karpat, "*Millets* and Nationality," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume I,* 162. The number of *millets* representing virtually all non-Muslims grew to nine by the end of the nineteenth century, triple the number from centuries past. Ibid., 165. The Ottomans never created a method of classifying non-Muslim subjects other than equating religious affiliation with quasi-nationality. Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 47.

[15] Moshe Ma'oz, "Communal Conflicts in Ottoman Syria during the Reform Era: The Role Political and Economic Factors," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume II: The Arabic-Speaking Lands*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 91.

[16] Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 52, 67-95, 167-72; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 49; Philip K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History: From the Earliest Times to the Present*, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1967), 477; Samir Khalaf, "Communal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume II*, 128-29; Albert Hourani, "Introduction," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 4; Charles Issawi, "The Historical Background of Lebanese Emigration: 1800-1914," in ibid., 19-21; Akarli, *The Long Peace,* 30; Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 27, 45, 81, 100; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 192n21; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 25-28; Harris, *Lebanon*, 151-59. Unlike Makdisi, Kamal Salibi contended that, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, "mountain tribalism" was "perpetuated by religious and sectarian differences which provided it with confessional labels and fighting banners." Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions*, 165. For Salibi, sectarianism was not created, but exacerbated, during this era. Also diverging from Makdisi, Robert Benton Betts placed the beginning of the Egyptian occupation of Syria in 1833, not 1831, and its termination in 1841, not 1840. Robert Brenton Betts, *The Druze* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 77.

[17] Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*, 174; Khalaf, "Communal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume II,* 129.

[18] Michael W. Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans: The Search for Identity," in *Crossing the Waters*, 47.

[19] Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 3.

[20] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 50-51; Bayly Winder, "Philip Khuri Hitti (1886-1978): An Homage," in *Crossing the Waters*, 156; Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography*, 129. Similarly, Hitti mentioned "the urge to throw off the Ottoman yoke," in a subsequent work. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 477.

[21] Gregory Orfalea, "There's a Wire Brush in My Bones," in *Crossing the Waters*, 174-76.

[22] Salom Rizk, *Syrian Yankee* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1943), 57.

[23] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 49. The Maronites and Druze of Mount Lebanon may have had common cause during World War I. "[A] few of the Maronites and the Druses of the Lebanon were well known to be friendly to the French and the English and under strong suspicion of secretly fomenting disorder," according to the 1922 memoir of Djemal Pasha, a Young Turk who served as Military Governor of Constantinople from January 1913 to February 1914, and thereafter as Ottoman Naval Minister and Commander of the Fourth Army. Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919*, repr. (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 203. On the other hand, Rizk's memoir recounted in a chapter, entitled, "Pigs Will Be Pigs," the "rapacious demands of the Turks" even after World War I, and, in the next chapter, described the Druze as "those unpredictable, exasperating pigs." Rizk, *Syrian Yankee*, 46, 57.

[24] Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 23. Raising silkworms had been a steady part of Mount Lebanon's economy for centuries but increased sharply after 1860, due to the allocation of a much larger segment of arable land to mulberry trees, which produced silk cocoons. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 21-22, 57.

[25] Afif I. Tannous, "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon," *Middle East Journal* 3, no. 2 (April 1949): 152.

[26] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 48; Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 144-45; see also Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 473.

[27] Khalaf, "Communal Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Volume II*, 126.

[28] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 27; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 21, 25; Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 437; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 49. For a description of the peculiar system of contracts between landlords and peasants who planted mulberry trees in Mount Lebanon, see Khater, *Inventing Home*, 199-200n25.

[29] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Sources and Settlement," 482-87; Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status," 795; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 48-53; "Geographical Record," *Geographical Review* 53, no. 4 (October 1963): 600-2; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 62-63; Betts, *The Druze*, 78-79; Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World*, 14; Saliba, "Emigration from Syria," in ibid., 34; Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914," 182, 187-88, 191; Naff, *Becoming American*, 91, 137; Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions,* 16, 138; Hourani, "Introduction," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 5-6; Engin Deniz Akarli, "Ottoman Attitudes towards Lebanese Emigration: 1885-1910," in ibid., 109, 136-38; Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 23, 27; Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 52-58; Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 21-22; Caesar E. Farah, "Syrians," in *American Immigrant Cultures: Builders of a Nation*, ed. David Levinson and Melvin

Ember (New York: Macmillan, 1997), 859; Truzzi, "The Right Place at the Right Time," 30n2; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 46-47, 57-58, 207n120; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 25-28; Harris, *Lebanon*, 147-48, 151, 157, 159, 165-66; Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 201n2. A discrepancy should be noted in the scholarship about the Ottoman decree that initiated liberalization of Christian emigration from Mount Lebanon. Karpat cited a decree of October 1896, whereas Engin Deniz Akarli cited a decree of December 1898. Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America," 191; Akarli, "Ottoman Attitudes towards Lebanese Emigration," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 138. Apropos of the sectarian nature of the cleavage between Christians and Druze, a scholar of the Syrian Jewish diaspora referred to the 1860 massacre of Christians in Damascus as a "pogrom." Walter P. Zenner, *A Global Community*: *The Jews from Aleppo, Syria* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 42. For details of the international negotiations that started in the fall of 1860, and the document (*Règlement*) formally resolving the Christian-Druze dispute in 1861, see John P. Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon, 1861-1914* (London: Ithaca Press, 1977), 33-47. On additional factors that played at least incidental roles in fostering emigration, see Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 3. For the perspective of a man who emigrated from Mount Lebanon to England, see Edward Atiyah, *An Arab Tells His Story: A Study in Loyalties* (London: Murray, 1946).

[30] Marcus Lee Hansen, "The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrant," repr. in *American Immigrants and Their Generations: Studies and Commentaries on the Hansen Thesis After Fifty Years*, ed. Peter Kivisto and Dag Blanck (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 195; William Petersen, "Concepts of Ethnicity," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 239; John Higham, "The Ethnic Historical Society in Changing Times," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1994): 30; Russell A. Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 448-49; Hasia R. Diner, "Immigration and Ethnic Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, ed. Karen Halttunen (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 156. Throughout the present study, by-lined essays in encyclopedias, such as that by William Petersen in this note, are cited as contributions to a multi-author book, whereas alphabetically arranged entries in encyclopedias are cited as items in reference works, as in notes 3, 5, 6, and 9 above. In this regard, the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* listed by-lined contributions under "Thematic Essays," in contrast to alphabetically arranged entries, which it listed under "Groups and Definitions." That difference corresponds to the difference in citation formats used for encyclopedia-based sources in the present work. See generally *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 16th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 14.247-14.248, 755-56.

[31] This study relies upon English-language sources, English-language portions of bilingual sources, and English translations by others of sources in foreign languages (Arabic, French, and Russian).

[32] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 14, 194-95n44; Ernest McCarus, "Introduction," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 3; Eric J. Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Taking Root: Arab-American Community Studies, Volume II,* ed. Eric J. Hooglund (Washington, DC: ADC Research Institute, 1985), [i]; Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 45; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 43; *Encyclopedia of New York City*, s.v. "Arabs;" Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 11; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 10; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 1, 17n2; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 56n55; Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World*, 14. The issue is complicated by the fact that Hooglund's second anthology, *Crossing the Waters*, covered the period up to 1940, yet placed the high and ebb tides of immigration in 1881-1914 and 1915-1925, respectively. Additionally, his second anthology's reference to an immigration wave from 1881 to 1925 implied that 1925 was the end point, one year later than 1924, the end point stated in his first anthology. Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 1-2; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Taking Root, Volume II*, [i-ii]. A more recent scholarly work referred to "the various waves of immigrants" without specifying years. Hani Ismaeal Elayyan, "The *Syrian World* in the New World: The Contextual Beginnings of Arab American Literature and the Part It Played in Identity Formation," in *Arabs in the Americas: Interdisciplinary Essays on the Arab Diaspora*, ed. Darcy A. Zabel (New York: Lang, 2006), 46.

[33] Israel Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot: Drama in Four Acts* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 193, 198-99; Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 38-43; Harold J. Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism," in ibid., 153; Petersen, "Concepts of Ethnicity," in ibid., 237-38.

[34] Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 150; Olivier Zunz, "American History and the Changing Meaning of Assimilation," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1985): 53; Ewa Morawska, "In Defense of the Assimilation Model," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 13, no. 2 (Winter 1994): 77; Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 438; Pyong Gap Min, ed., *Encyclopedia of Racism in the United States*, vol. 1 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), s.v. "Assimilation Theory."

[35] Petersen, "Concepts of Ethnicity," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 234-37; Werner Sollors, "Foreword: Theories of American Ethnicity," in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: New York University Press, 1996), x-xi; Steve Fenton, *Ethnicity* (Cambridge: Polity, and Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 23; Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 151.

[36] Higham, "The Ethnic Historical Society in Changing Times," 31-37; Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 459-61, 466-68; Dirk Hoerder, "Historians and their Data: The Complex Shift from Nation-State Approaches to the Study of People's Transcultural Lives," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25, no. 4 (Summer 2006): 89, 93, 96.

[37] William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study*, repr. (New York: Johnson, 1965), 368-400. A sentence on Jews unmasked Ripley's prejudice: "The European Jews are all undersized; not only this, they are more often absolutely stunted." Ibid., 377.

[38] Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Old World in the New: The Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People*, repr. (New York: Johnson, 1970), 193. For an unpublished work making a similar allegation of Syrian dishonesty, see Ralph A. Felton, "A Sociological Study of the Syrians in Greater New York" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1912), 2.

[39] Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Scribner's, 1916), 80.

[40] Lothrop Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color Against White World-Supremacy*, intro. Madison Grant (New York: Scribner's, 1920), 165.

[41] Herbert Casson, "The Americans in America," *Munsey's Magazine*, January 1907, 433. For other examples of the melting-pot ideal and the nativist reaction, see Zangwill, *The Melting-Pot*, 193, 198-99; John Higham, *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), 39-40, 47, 238-39. For pertinent analyses, see Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 38-43; Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism," in ibid., 153; Petersen, "Concepts of Ethnicity," in ibid., 237-38; Kenneth M. Ludmerer, "Genetics, Eugenics, and the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924," in *Nativism, Discrimination, and Images of Immigrants*, ed. George E. Pozzetta (New York: Garland, 1991), 367-89; David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White—The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 50. For a historical survey of nativist patterns generally, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988). One scholar argued that the melting-pot metaphor actually re-emerged at or near the turn of the twentieth century, having originated with Jean de Crevecour in the eighteenth century. Eva Veronika Huseby-Darvas, "'Coming to America': Dilemmas of Ethnic Groups since the 1880s," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 16.

[42] Peter Roberts, *Immigrant Races in North America*, repr. (San Francisco: R and E Research, 1970), 72.

[43] Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*, repr. (New York: Arno Press and *New York Times*, 1970), 139.

[44] Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot: A Study of American Nationality," pt. I, *The Nation*, February 18, 1915, 194; Horace M. Kallen, "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot: A Study of American Nationality," pt. II, ibid., February 25, 1915, 220.

[45] Randolph Bourne, *The History of a Literary Radical and Other Papers*, intro. Van Wyck Brooks (New York: Russell, 1956), 260, 279, 284.

[46] Horace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States*, repr. (New York: Arno Press and *New York Times*, 1970), 43, 184-85, 229; see also Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 43-45; Abramson, 'Assimilation and Pluralism," in ibid., 153-54; Robert L. Fleegler, *Ellis Island Nation: Immigration Policy and American Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 10-12.

[47] "The National Origins Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act)," in *Encyclopedia of Racism in the United States*, vol. 3, 703. The quoted words are from the editor's introduction to the primary document. For the Act's full text, see ibid., 703-8. For a brief synopsis, see ibid., vol. 2, s.v. "National Origins Act of 1924."

[48] Higham, *Send These to Me*, 39-58, 104-5; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 53, 102, 300; James P. Shenton and Kevin Kenny, *Ethnicity and Immigration*, rev. and exp. ed. (Washington, DC: American Historical Association, 1997), 9; Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 206. For a useful illustration of the nativist view that immigrants were welcome "if they will cease to be foreigners and become Americanized," see Charles H. Parkhurst's remarks, quoted in "America for Americans," *New York Times*, January 9, 1888, 3.

[49] U. S. Congress, House, *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration and on Education*, vol. XV (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), ix; W. Jett Lauck, "The Economic Investigations of the United States Immigration Commission," *Journal of Political Economy* 18, no. 7 (July 1910): 527-28; Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, 15.

[50] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vols. I and II: Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission with Conclusions and Recommendations and Views of the Minority* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 17; Marian L. Smith, "Race, Nationality, and Reality: INS Administration

of Racial Provisions in U. S. Immigration and Nationality Laws Since 1898," 2 pts., *Prologue* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2002) (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration), online at http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-1.html-http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-2.html [accessed July 4, 2013]. "Volume" and "Vol." are italicized when included in a source's title, as in the *Reports of the Immigration Commission* cited in this note.

[51] 1 *Stat*. 103 (1789-1799); Sec. 2169, *Rev. Stat.* (U. S. Comp. St. 1901); U. S. Congress, House, *Citizenship of the United States, Expatriation, and Protection Abroad, Letter from the Secretary of State, Submitting Report on the Subject of Citizenship, Expatriation, and Protection Abroad*, 59th Congr., 2nd sess., H. Doc. No. 326, December 18, 1906 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 99, 168, 180, 182. The amended version of the "free white persons" language in the statute, enacted in 1878 as part of Title XXX (Naturalization) of the U. S. Code, survived intact for decades. For the full text of each of the naturalization statutes from 1790 through 1906, see ibid., app. I, 168-93.

[52] U. S. Congress, Senate, *Naturalization of Aliens, Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting a Report and Recommendations from the Secretary of State on the Subject of the Naturalization of Aliens in the United States***,** December 21, 1904 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1905), 2-3; 34 *Stat.* 596 (1906); U. S. Congress, House, *Reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor, 1908* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1909), 29.

[53] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 189; Lauck, "The Economic Investigations of the United States Immigration Commission," 525.

[54] U. S. Congress, House, *Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Naturalization* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908), 7; see also Luella Gettys, *The Law of Citizenship in the United States*, fore. Quincy Wright (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), 62-66.

[55] *Ex Parte Shahid*, 205 F. 812, 813 (E. D. S. C. 1913).

[56] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 311.

[57] U. S. Congress, House, *Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, Sixty-Eighth Congress, First Session, on H. R. 5, H. R. 101, and H. R. 561* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), 20-21; Shenton and Kenny, *Ethnicity and Immigration*, 10.

[58] Oscar Handlin, ed., *Immigration as a Factor in American History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1959), 192.

[59] House, *Hearings Before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization*, 20.

[60] 43 *Stat.* 153 (1924).

[61] King, *Making Americans*, 206. For a survey of the pseudo-scientific and politically driven shifts in the meaning of "race" in the context of early Syrian immigration, see Nadine Naber, "Introduction: Arab Americans and U. S. Racial Formations," in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*, ed. Amaney Jamal and Nadine Naber (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008), 14-22.

[62] Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 222; Mary Ann Haick Di Napoli, "The Syrian-Lebanese Community of South Ferry from its Origin to 1977," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 19. Naff claimed that, despite the annual quota of one hundred Syrians provided for in the 1924 law, an average of "almost 500 a year" entered the United States between 1924 and 1939. In support of this proposition she cited the *Statistical Review of Immigration*, without stating a volume or page, plus "working sheets provided to the author by the Department of Immigration and Naturalization, Washington, D.C., undated and bearing the notation, 'OPEC.'" Naff, *Becoming American*, 111, 340n68. Such citations lack sufficient specificity to enable historical verification. Shakir contended more plausibly that, according to immigration records, about 120 Syrians per year entered the United States during the 1930s. Official records would not reflect the number of illegal immigrants, if any. Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 25, 202n10. Suffice it to say that, from 1925 until the immigration reforms of 1965, the annual influx of Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States resembled a trickle more than a wave.

[63] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 324.

[64] Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 12.

[65] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 19-21, 24, 34-43, 48-52, 73, 78, 82, 85, 89, 120, 125-34. Kayal and Kayal opined that Hitti "seems to go out of his way to de-Arabize his population—most likely to speed their acceptance and prevent wholesale legal discrimination against them." Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 230. For additional scholarship addressing the point that Syrians in the first wave did not ordinarily identify themselves as Arabs, see Kayal, "Religion and Assimilation," 409-10; Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 48; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 4, 7. For a slightly different assessment, see Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans: The Search for Identity," in *Crossing the Waters*, 51.

[66] Afif I. Tannous, "Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South," *American Sociological Review* 8, no. 3 (June 1943): 269. Tannous also authored a number of other foundational articles in the 1940s that addressed various aspects of communal life in Lebanese villages. Afif I. Tannous, "Social Change in an Arab Village," *American Sociological Review* 6, no. 5 (October 1941): 650-62; Afif I. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 2 (September 1942): 231-39; Afif I. Tannous, "Missionary Education in Lebanon: A Study in Acculturation," *Social Forces* 21, no. 3 (March 1943): 338-43; Tannous, "The Village in the National Life of Lebanon," 151-63.

[67] Habib I. Katibah and Farhat Jacob Ziadeh, *Arabic-Speaking Americans* (New York: Institute of Arab American Affairs, 1946), 7-25, 27-28. Gualtieri deemed this work an inversion of Hitti's assimilationist book by virtue of its emphasis on the part "that Syrians played in making *Americans* American." Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 167. Gualtieri also attributed authorship solely to Katibah. Ibid., 166, 226. The booklet's Preface, however, indicated collaboration between Katibah and Ziadeh, at least as to compilation of material, and used the plural "we" and "us." Gualtieri may be correct that Katibah did the writing, but the Preface did not actually say that.

[68] Brown and Roucek, eds., *One America*, ix.

[69] Habib I. Katibah, "Syrian Immigrants," in ibid., 283-84. As Chapter V will show, Katibah played a key part in the *Syrian World* saga.

[70] Morroe Berger, "America's Syrian Community," *Commentary* 25 (April 1958): 316-23.

[71] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People*, 2nd ed. enl. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 3, 306.

[72] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 263; see also Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 447-52.

[73] Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1970), xxxviii-xxxix, lxxvi-lxxvii, 12-20, 288-91, 310-15; Rudolph J. Vecoli, "*Contadini* in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted,*" *Journal of American History* 51, no. 3 (December 1964): 404-17; see also Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 437-38, 451-53; Diner, "Immigration and Ethnic Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, 156-58.

[74] Elkholy, *The Arab Moslems in the United States*, 149-51; Hagopian and Paden, eds., *The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation*; Ibrahim Abu-Lughod, "Preface," in ibid., v-vi; Adele L. Younis, "The Growth of Arabic-Speaking Settlements in the United States," in ibid., 106. In June 1967, Israel resoundingly defeated Syria, Jordan, and Egypt (United Arab Republic) in the Six Day War. This seems to have raised sensitivity among Arab-American scholars to their Arabic heritage. Sameer Y. Abraham and Nabeel Abraham, "Introduction," in *Arabs in the New World*, 3-4; Barbara Aswad, "Michael Suleiman and Arab American & Middle East Studies: Memories of a Scholar, a Friend, and a Cheerleader," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 270-71. On the other hand, ethnic self-awareness might well have grown, even in the absence of the war. We cannot know for sure. This must remain among history's imponderables.

[75] Kayal, "Religion and Assimilation," 409-25; Philip M. Kayal, "Religion in the Christian 'Syrian-American Community'," in *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities*, 111-36; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 162. Kayal also contributed a modest bibliographical essay to the 1974 anthology. Philip M. Kayal, "An Arab-American Bibliography," in *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities*, 181-91.

[76] Aswad, ed., *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities*, v; Abraham and Abraham, "Introduction," in *Arabs in the New World*, 4; Winder, "Hitti," in *Crossing the Waters*, 147. In October 1973, Syria and Egypt initiated the Yom Kippur War against Israel. The fighting lasted three weeks and ended inconclusively. As with the 1967 conflict, it is impossible to know whether, or to what extent, the historiography of Arabic-speaking immigrants would have continued to grow, anyway, had the latest war not occurred.

[77] Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 441.

[78] Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," 31, 34, 39, 46, 55-57; John Higham, "Integrating America: the Problem of Assimilation in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1981): 9-15, 19-22; Alan M. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses: The Immigrant in American Society, 1880-1921* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1982), 113; Zunz, "American History and the Changing Meaning of Assimilation," 53-54; John E. Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), xv-xvii, xx, 117-20. For a stinging critique of *The Transplanted*, particularly Bodnar's understanding of "assimilation" and "Americanization," see Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 455-58.

[79] Eric J. Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 2; Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of Lebanese/Syrian Immigration to the United States Before World War I," in ibid., 17-37; Winder, "Hitti," in ibid., 147-55; Jean Gibran and Kahlil Gibran, "The Symbolic Quest of Kahlil Gibran: The Arab as Artist in America," in ibid.,

161-71; Orfalea, "There's a Wire Brush in My Bones," in ibid., 173-85; Evelyn Shakir, "Good Works, Good Times: The Syrian Ladies' Aid Society of Boston, 1917-1932," in ibid., 133-143; Eric J. Hooglund, "From the Near East to Down East: Ethnic Arabs in Waterville, Maine," in ibid., 85-103; Sarah E. John, "Arabic-Speaking Immigration to the El Paso Area, 1900-1935," in ibid., 105-17; Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans," in ibid., 37-54; Raouf J. Halaby, "Dr. Michael Shadid and the Debate Over Identity in *The Syrian World,*" in ibid., 55-65; Nancy F. Conklin and Nora Faires, "'Colored' and Catholic: The Lebanese in Birmingham, Alabama," in ibid., 69-77. Interestingly, one essay discussed Yemeni (not Syrian) Jewish immigrants, noting that their tiny number, a mere few hundred in the early twentieth century, helped them "resist America's concerted pressures to assimilate them." Dina Dahbany-Miraglia, "Yemenite Jewish Immigration and Adaptation to the United States, 1905-1941," in ibid., 119. In 1982, five years before the publication of *Crossing the Waters*, Alan Kraut expressed the need for more studies of the early Arabic-speaking immigrant experience. Kraut, *The Huddled Masses*, 191. As late as 1988, scholarly regret surfaced over the paucity of research on Arabic-speaking immigrants, "a visible gap in ethnic studies." Fadwa El Guindi, "From 'Syrian Peddler' to Arab-American: Assimilation vs. Ethnic Consciousness," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 7, no. 2 (Spring 1988): 69; see also Aswad, "Michael Suleiman and Arab American & Middle East Studies," 270.

[80] Abraham and Abraham, eds., *Arabs in the New World*; Mohammed Sawaie, "A Select Bibliography on Arab-American Immigration and Settlement," in ibid., 185-99; Yvonne Haddad, "Arab Muslims and Islamic Institutions in America: Adaptation and Reform," in ibid., 64-81; Alixa Naff, "Arabs in America: A Historical Overview," in ibid., 8-29; Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in ibid., 44-63.

[81] Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 48.

[82] James Zogby, ed., *Taking Root, Bearing Fruit: The Arab-American Experience* (Washington, DC: ADC Research Institute, 1984); Mary Ann Fay, "Old Roots—New Soil," in ibid., 17-23; Eric J. Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Taking Root*, *Volume II*, [iv]. In *Crossing the Waters*, however, Hooglund acknowledged that, prior to 1900, the Arabic-speaking immigrants in Waterville, Maine "had come as peddlers," thereafter establishing their own businesses. Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 11. Although the ADC's 1985 publication of *Taking Root* included "Volume II" in its title, the 1984 publication did not include "Volume I" in its title. The second volume did not explain why. In a review essay, Fadwa El Guindi speculated that the ADC had not planned originally to publish a series. El Guindi, "From 'Syrian Peddler' to Arab-American," 70. Prof. Hooglund graciously supplied one of his personal copies of *Taking Root, Volume II*, to the author of the present work.

[83] Naff, *Becoming American*, 1, 125, 128, 139-40, 202, 269-75, 354n1; see also *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Arabs."

[84] Naff, *Becoming American*, 259.

[85] Ibid., 330.

[86] Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 79-80. Like Naff, Orfalea relied in large part on oral histories he obtained from Arabic-speaking immigrants and their offspring. Unlike Naff, he sided with Hooglund on the "Syrian peddler" as a stereotype. Ibid., 83, 322-23n104. In a later book, Orfalea reaffirmed his concurrence with Hooglund. Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 89, 447n105. Orfalea's second book should not be conflated with the 1969 collection edited by Hagopian and Paden, *The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation*, first cited in note 6 above. For more recent remarks Orfalea made to a journalist who was reporting on the history of Little Syria, see David W. Dunlap, "Recalling the Days When 'Little Syria' Was a Vibrant Part of Downtown's Mix," *New York Times*, August 25, 2010, A16.

[87] Morawska, "In Defense of the Assimilation Model," 76, 85. For an approach to ethnicity at the dawn of the 1990s by a political scientist who built upon works of several historians, see Lawrence H. Fuchs, *The American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, CT: University Press of New England, 1990). Contending that American ethnicity should be understood as ever-changing as a kaleidoscope, Fuchs "fused Americanization with ethnicization," in Kazal's judgment. Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation," 464.

[88] Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Problems in Comparative Studies of International Emigrant Communities," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 718, 720; Werner Sollors, "Introduction: The Invention of Ethnicity," in *The Invention of Ethnicity*, ed. Werner Sollors (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), xi, xv; George E. Pozzetta, "Introduction," in *Nativism, Discrimination, and Images of Immigrants*, vi-vii; Kathleen Neils Conzen, David A. Gerber, Ewa Morawska, George E. Pozzetta, and Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity: A Perspective from the U. S. A.," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1992): 4-5; see also Diner, "Immigration and Ethnic Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, 156-63.

[89] Hourani and Shehadi, eds., *The Lebanese in the World*; Issawi, "The Historical Background of Lebanese Emigration: 1800-1914," in ibid., 31; Theodore Pulcini, "Trends in Research on Arab Americans," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 12, no. 4 (Summer 1993): 39-51; McCarus, "Introduction," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 1-7; Huseby-Darvas, "'Coming to America': Dilemmas of Ethnic Groups since the 1880s," in ibid., 9-21; Alixa Naff, "The Early Arab Immigrant Experience," in ibid., 23-35; Suleiman, "Arab-Americans and the Political Process," in ibid., 37-60; Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 137-41; Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 1-2, 27-76; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 58; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Arabs;" Naff, *Becoming American*, 177-79; Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of

Lebanese/Syrian Immigration to the United States Before World War I," in *Crossing the Waters*, 22; Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans: The Search for Identity," in ibid., 51; Truzzi, "The Right Place at the Right Time," 3-34; Suleiman, ed., *Arabs in America*; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in ibid., 1-21; Helen Hatab Samhan, "Not Quite White: Race Classification and the Arab-American Experience," in ibid., 209-18; Michael W. Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 71-88. Unlike Hooglund, Pulcini affirmed Naff's finding that peddling was "the most significant factor in Arab-American assimilation," although he seemingly presented no original research on the point. Pulcini, "Trends in Research on Arab Americans," 40.

[90] Hoerder, "Historians and their Data," 91-93, 96n31.

[91] Hasia R. Diner, "American Immigration and Ethnic History: Moving the Field Forward, Staying the Course," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25, no. 4 (Summer 2006): 137.

[92] Diner, "Immigration and Ethnic Culture," in *A Companion to American Cultural History*, 158, 160, 163.

[93] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 2; Naff, *Becoming American*, 82-83; Kohei Hashimoto, "Lebanese Population Movement, 1920-1939: Towards a Study," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 66; Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States," in ibid., 145; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 3-6. Prof. Philip S. Khoury of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology kindly offered the present author helpful insight into Khater's book, via e-mail.

[94] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 191n3.

[95] Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 30-32, 38, 46-52, 56n55; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 2-4, 113-34, 141-43, 156-57. For earlier versions of Gualtieri's scholarship on the lynching of a Syrian immigrant in Florida, see Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, "Strange Fruit? Syrian Immigrants, Extralegal Violence, and Racial Formation in the Jim Crow South," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (Summer 2004): 63-85; Sarah M. A. Gualtieri, "Strange Fruit? Syrian Immigrants, Extralegal Violence, and Racial Formation in the United States," in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11: From Invisible Citizens to Visible Subjects*, ed. Amaney Jamal and Nadine Naber, 147-69 (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2008).

[96] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 10, 193-94n31.

[97] Kathleen Benson, "Preface," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, xiii-xv; Elizabeth Boosahda, *Arab-American Faces and Voices: Origins of an Immigrant Community*

(Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 131-33, 211-21; Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 3-6, 10-15, 21, 194-98, 203n17; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 14, 194n44.

[98] Fleegler, *Ellis Island Nation*, 2-3, 10-25, 204. For a binary narrative of American ethnic history, pitting "natives" versus "strangers," see Leonard Dinnerstein, Roger L. Nichols, and David M. Reimers, *Natives and Strangers: A History of Ethnic Americans*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), ix. Only one paragraph of that work dealt specifically with pre-1940 immigrants from Arabic lands. Ibid., 116.

[99] Edward Corsi, *In the Shadow of Liberty*, repr. (New York: Arno Press and *New York Times*, 1969), 265-66. The history of the Maronites will be discussed in Chapter IV.

[100] Archbishop of the Syrians to United States Legation at Constantinople, April 5, 1880, quoted in "Distress in Asiatic Turkey," *New York Times,* May 25, 1880, 1.

[101] Ellis Island replaced Castle Garden as New York's immigration entry point in 1892. Boosahda, *Arab-American Faces and Voices*, 24.

[102] "A Talk with Syrian Beggars," *New York Times*, July 7, 1882, 8.

[103] "Seeking a Scapegrace," ibid., April 2, 1884, 8.

[104] "City and Suburban News," ibid., April 14, 1884, 8.

[105] "Helping a Syrian to Reach Home," ibid., April 19, 1884, 2.

[106] "A Batch of Arabic Beggars," ibid., August 15, 1885, 8.

[107] "Arabs Not Wanted," ibid., January 17, 1888, 3.

[108] "Masters of Mendicants," ibid., February 21, 1888, 3.

[109] "Forty-Two Syrians Detained," ibid., August 23, 1889, 8; see also Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 119-20.

[110] "'Sanctified' Arab Tramps," *New York Times*, May 25, 1890, 17.

[111] "A Band of Syrians at Castle Garden," ibid., January 12, 1884, 8.

[112] "Bad Business for a Missionary," ibid., January 13, 1884, 10.

[113] "Syrians Allowed to Land," ibid., September 1, 1889, 9.

[114] "Joyful Syrians," ibid., September 6, 1889, 2.

[115] "A Picturesque Colony," *New-York Daily Tribune*, October 2, 1892, 2.

[116] "Shifting Foreign Quarters," *New York Times*, December 29, 1901, SM14.

[117] "The Story of a Young Syrian," *The Independent*, 1007. Decades later, Liberty Street would form the southern border of the World Trade Center site.

[118] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 7; "Manhattan, V. 1, Plate No. 3," Digital ID 1997271, Record ID 1934029, New York Public Library Digital Gallery, *Atlases of New York City: Insurance Maps of New York—Manhattan (Atlas 109)* (New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1905), online at http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/dgkeysearchdetail.cfm?trg=1&strucID=1934029 [accessed September 23, 2013].

[119] Thomas M'Veigh, "Syrian Colony in New York is Hard Hit by War in Palestine," *New-York Tribune*, August 15, 1915, 6.

[120] Walter R. Parsons, "Syrian Business Section Changing," *New York Times*, March 21, 1920, RE1.

[121] Reprinted in Rizek, Rizek, and Medvecky, *The Financial District's Lost Neighborhood,* [ii]. This book cited no source for the 1930s-era map. Consequently, the map is not reproduced here.

[122] Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 86.

[123] *Encyclopedia of New York City*, s.vv. "Arabs," "Syrians and Lebanese."

[124] Parsons, "Syrian Business Section Changing," RE1.

[125] Bercovici, *Around the World in New York*, 30.

[126] Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, *A Far Journey* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914), 29, 178, 182; Katibah and Ziadeh, *Arabic-Speaking Americans*, 14.

[127] Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, "In New York with Nine Cents," *Atlantic Monthly*, February 1914, 236-49. An expanded version of Rihbany's article appeared as a chapter in his memoir. Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 183-207. A mainstream New York newspaper mentioned the Arabic-language periodical for which Rihbany worked, without referring to the latter's pro-Ottoman orientation. "A Picturesque Colony," 2. For a scholarly

discussion of pro-Ottoman, anti-Ottoman, and comparatively neutral Arabic-language newspapers during this era, see Suleiman, "Arab-Americans and the Political Process," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 39-41. Although Rihbany spelled "*Kawkab*" as "*Kowkab,*" most sources use the former spelling. This study does likewise. Rihbany would go on to become a Protestant minister. His photograph, captioned, "Rev. A. M. Rihbany, Co-pastor Church of the Disciples, Boston," appeared in the fourth of Houghton's articles in *The Survey*. Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: The Syrian as an American Citizen," 959.

[128] "A Picturesque Colony," 2.

[129] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 7; Naff, *Becoming American*, 14.

[130] "A Picturesque Colony," 2.

[131] Costa George Najour to Adele L. Younis, February 3, 1961, trans. from Arabic, [trans. unidentified], group II, series C, box 8, folder 23, *Papers of Philip M. Kayal, Ph.D., and Adele L. Younis, Ph.D.*, Syrian American Archival Collection, Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, NY. This document, in Younis' handwriting, does not identify the translator. Elsewhere in the same folder is another document, also in Younis' handwriting, stating, "From AL-Hoda Translated Fred Khoury." That document relates to certain *Al-Hoda* articles that were translated into English. It is possible that Mr. Khoury also translated the Najour correspondence to Younis.

[132] Naff, *Becoming American*, 132.

[133] *The Syrian Business Directory (for the United States)* (New York: Mokarzel and Otash, 1908), 7.

[134] Frank Moss, *The American Metropolis, from Knickerbocker Days to the Present Time: New York City Life in All its Various Phases*, intro. Charles H. Parkhurst, vol. 3 (New York: Collier, 1897), 273.

[135] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 82; Naff, *Becoming American*, 167-68. Naff pointed out that only Christian Syrian women peddled; there is no evidence of Muslim or Druze women peddlers. Ibid., 168.

[136] "Nursery for Syrian Babies," *New York Times*, March 19, 1899, 20.

[137] "Syrian Colony of New York and Its Characteristics," *New York Times*, May 25, 1902, SM12.

[138] House, *Reports of the Industrial Commission*, XLI; Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 28; Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Business Activities," 648, 650, 660; Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status," 790; Morawska, "In Defense of the Assimilation Model," 86; Hitti, *The Syrians in America,* 58; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 103-4; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Arabs"; Naff, *Becoming American*, 175-79; Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of Lebanese/Syrian Immigration to the United States Before World War I," in *Crossing the Waters*, 22; Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 146, 158-59, 177-79; Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 35, 38, 45; Younis, The *Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 35-42; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 82-83; Boosahda, *Arab-American Faces and Voices*, 68-70; Naff, "New York: The Mother Colony," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 5. Shakir's *Bint Arab* established a point of departure for gender studies in the field of Arabic-speaking immigration. Khater's *Inventing Home* added significantly to such studies. But more published works on gender-centered archival research would be welcome. The main problem is that written primary sources are overloaded with information about males only. The dynamics and evolution of intra-family decision-making, or of singlehood as a lifestyle, in the early Syrian immigrant community, are beyond the scope of this study.

[139] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 9-10, 28, 35.

[140] Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 46; Kathleen McLaughlin, "Success as Jewelry Designer Crowns a Vocational Detour," *New York Times*, February 18, 1940, D6. Shakir cited an undated obituary for El-Khoury and, for some reason, did not set forth the year of the jewelry designer's death. Ibid. 205n3. A *New York Times* obituary supplied that piece of information. "Marie El-Khoury, Designer, Was 74." *New York Times*, September 28, 1957, 17.

[141] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 10, 32-34.

[142] Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 8; Naff, *Becoming American*, 179. On patriarchal leadership among Syrians, see Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 25.

[143] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 98. Such discourse over gender roles made its way back to Mount Lebanon, via communications from Syrians in the diaspora. Ibid., 155-56.

[144] Naff, *Becoming American*, 233-35, 238-39. Since *Al-Hoda*'s articles were written in Arabic, the author of the present study relies on Naff's interpretation of them.

[145] Huseby-Darvas, "'Coming to America'," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 11.

[146] Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 144-45.

[147] Bishop Emmanuel Abouhatab, "A Brief History of the Syrian Community of Greater New York City," series 1, subseries B, box 2, item 1, n. d., *Faris and Yamna Naff Arab American Collection*, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

[148] Michel Tueni, Josef Hani, Pierre Tarrad, Dr. Eyub Sabit, Rizcullah Arcasch, and Khalil Zeine, [untitled], March 18, 1913, in Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919*, 229-31.

[149] E.g., Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 62-65; Saliba, "Emigration from Syria," in *Arabs in the New World*, 36; Naff, *Becoming American*, 107-12; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 3; Naff, "The Early Arab Immigrant Experience," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 10; Truzzi, "The Right Place at the Right Time," 13, 32n51; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 2; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 53n3; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 45; Felton, "A Sociological Study of the Syrians in Greater New York," 4.

[150] U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the United States at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1882), 674-5; U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, pt. I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), 608-9, 672-73, tables 32, 34; U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900: Population*, pt. I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), clxx, 735, 773, 803, tables LXXIX, 33-35; U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910: Population*, vol. I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 781-84, tables 1, 2; U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920: Population*, vol. II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1921), 699, table 6; see also Felton, "A Sociological Study of the Syrians in Greater New York," 4.

[151] Census Office, *Report on Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890*, 672-73, table 34 ("Turks"); Cromwell Childe, "New York's Syrian Quarter," *New York Times*, August 20, 1889, IMS4; "Syrians of the Maronite Rite," *New York Times*, January 19, 1891, 8; "In Aid of the Syrian Society," ibid., February 24, 1893, 2; "Moussa Daoud Their Leader," ibid., June 4, 1894, 2; "New-York's Syrian Colony," *New–York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, March 13, 1898, 4; U. S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900*, clxx, 772-73, 796-803, tables LXXIX, 33, 35; House, *Reports of the Industrial Commission*, XLI; Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 1, 6; Holt, *The Life Stories of Undistinguished Americans as Told by Themselves*, 148; Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Sources

and Settlement," 488; Harris, *Lebanon*, 173-75; U. S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. IV: Emigration Conditions in Europe* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 23, table 6; ibid., *Vol. II*, chap. VI, 966, table 6; M'Veigh, "Syrian Colony in New York is Hard Hit by War in Palestine," 6; Hashimoto, "Lebanese Population Movement, 1920-1939," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 95, table A.4; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 53; Naff, *Becoming American*, 110-11; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 3; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 45; Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of Lebanese/Syrian Immigration to the United States Before World War I," in *Crossing the Waters*, 19-20; Johanna L. Peterson, "Creating the Syrian-American Generation: Intellectuals, Women, the 'Average Jusef,' and Identity Formation in the Interwar Years" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, June 6, 2011), 18. Boosahda noted that frequent return trips to the Near East took place between 1880 and 1915, and that surviving data was inadequate to determine with confidence which entries into the United States represented initial or subsequent immigrations. Boosahda, *Arab-American Faces and Voices*, 222n2. Hashimoto, citing a French-language source, asserted that 8,725 of 9,188 Syrians entering the United States in 1908 and 1909 returned to the Levant at some point, though the evidence does not tell us whether temporarily or permanently. Hashimoto, "Lebanese Population Movement, 1920-1939," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 66n2. In one of his later works, Hitti averred that emigration caused the population of Mount Lebanon to decline by 100,000 between 1900 and 1914. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, 474.

[152] Moss, *The American Metropolis,* 275.

[153] "The Foreign Element in New York: The Syrian Colony," *Harper's Weekly*, August 10, 1895, 746.

[154] "The Spectator," *The Outlook*, August 13, 1898, 911-12.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Childe, "New York's Syrian Quarter," IMS4. For an analysis of the racial objectification engaged in by Childe and others, see Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 47-48.

[157] John Gilmer Speed, "Food and Foreigners in New York," *Harper's Weekly*, September 8, 1900, 846.

[158] Norman Duncan, "A People from the East," *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, December 1902, 553-54.

[159] House, *Reports of the Industrial Commission*, XLII, 445; see also Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 44; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 80.

[160] Trinity Church's Men's Committee, *A Social Survey of the Washington Street District of New York City*, (New York: n. p., 1914) 19; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 94. Donald M. Reid contended that a history of exclusion from certain careers, which were reserved for Muslims, compelled Christians indigenous to the Levant to "concentrate their energies on banking and trading, shopkeeping and shipping." Over the nineteenth century, Syrian Christians who made their livings in trade and commerce wanted to "convince the public of the importance and respectability of business as a calling," both to challenge the power of local religious leaders and to gain access to influential political and administrative posts. Donald M. Reid, "Syrian Christians, the Rags-to-Riches Story, and Free Enterprise," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1, no. 4 (October 1970): 358-59.

[161] Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 274.

[162] Although advertisements in the pages of *Al-Hoda* contained Arabic text, the advertisers' names and addresses were stated in English. Sometimes a drawing in an advertisement depicted the type of business; sometimes, not. For a succinct, celebratory history of *Al-Hoda* and its founder, Naoum Mokarzel, see *Al-Hoda, 1898-1968: The Story of Lebanon and Its Emigrants as taken from the Newspaper Al-Hoda* (New York: Al-Hoda, 1968). The issues of *Al-Hoda* examined by the author of the present study were published while the newspaper was based in Philadelphia, its original location from 1898 until it moved to New York's Little Syria in 1903. Ibid., 5.

[163] "The Spectator," 912.

[164] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 71-145; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 3-6; Hashimoto, "Lebanese Population Movement, 1920-1939," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 66; Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States," in ibid., 145; Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 24; Naff, *Becoming American*, 82-83. But see Abdelhady's discussion of the "myth of return" in diasporic communities. Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 11-12.

[165] Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 8.

[166] Naff, *Becoming American*, 136.

[167] Philip M. Kayal, "Introduction," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, xxiii.

[168] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 10, 28-30.

[169] House, *Reports of the Industrial Commission*, 445.

[170] *Syrian Business Directory*, 3-29. These listings appeared under "New York City," as distinguished from "Brooklyn, N.Y." A few additional pages contained Brooklyn listings. Ibid., 31-34. Advertisements for businesses with Manhattan and Brooklyn addresses were interspersed throughout the directory. For additional information on businesses in the Lower Manhattan colony, see Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 30-32; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 86-87.

[171] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," *New York American*, October 8, 1927, repr. in *Syrian World*, November 1927, 7-9; "Syrians in America," *The Interpreter* (May 1928): 9. Salloum Mokarzel's contributions to the *Syrian World* in its magazine era carried his by-line, his signature, his name at the end, or, for editorials, headlines with phrases denoting his authorship, such as "Editor's Comment," "Editorial Comment," "Editorial Announcement," and "By the Editor." The present study cites him as the author of all such works. Contributions during his editorship that lack any such identifiers are cited without attribution, consistent with their presentation in the *Syrian World*, although Mokarzel probably authored them, too, as Chapter V will show. In light of the *Syrian World*'s singular importance as a primary source for this thesis, and in conformity with the practice of other scholars in published and unpublished works, unattributed articles and editorials from the *Syrian World* are listed in the bibliography, despite the lack of a technical requirement for same.

[172] "Sights and Characteristics of New York's 'Little Syria," *New York Times*, March 29, 1903, 32.

[173] "Notes From the Courts," *New York Times*, August 21, 1894, 2; "Raid Follows Arrest," *New-York Daily Tribune*, January 6, 1906, 8; "Raid in Syrian Quarter," *New York Times*, May 17, 1912, 7.

[174] Naff, *Becoming American*, 172; "Syrian Firms in Trouble," *New York Times*, July 22, 1909, 8; "Present Conditions of Syrian Trade," *New-York Daily Tribune*, August 15, 1909, 4; "Bankruptgn [sic] Notices," *New York Times*, December 6, 1909, 17; "Business Records," *New York Times*, April 10, 1917, 14; Truzzi, "The Right Place at the Right Time," 9; Younis, "The Growth of Arabic-Speaking Settlements in the United States," in *The Arab Americans: Studies in Assimilation*, 106; Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 129-30, 137, 197. Appealing to popular beliefs about illicit activities in the colony, a contemporary dime novel referred imaginatively to "the hasheesh den in Little Syria." A New-York Detective [pseud.], *The Bradys and the Black Giant; or, The Secrets of "Little Syria"* (New York: Frank Tousey, 1908), 25. For a more sanitized work of fiction, see Norman Duncan, *The Soul of the Street: Correlated Stories of the New York Syrian Quarter* (New York: McClure, Phillips, 1900).

[175] "U. S. Realty & Improvement," *Wall Street Journal*, December 1, 1909, 6; "Holland's Letter," ibid., December 9, 1909, 1; Parsons, "Syrian Business Section Changing," RE1.

[176] Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 87.

[177] Esse V. Hathaway, "A Bit of Syria Between the Skyscrapers," *The [New York] Sun*, March 22, 1931, SM16.

[178] Trinity Church's Men's Committee, *A Social Survey of the Washington Street District*, 19.

[179] Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 275.

[180] "Why People are Poor in This Rich City of New York," *New York Times*, August 20, 1911, SM9. For information on the history of New York tenements, highlighting issues of habitability, such as light, air, and indoor plumbing, see Andrew S. Dolkart, *Biography of a Tenement House in New York City: An Architectural History of 97 Orchard Street* (Santa Fe, NM: Center for American Places, 2006).

[181] Helen H. Hoffman, "To Save the Babies," *Harper's Weekly*, September 30, 1911, 12.

[182] Trinity Church's Men's Committee, *A Social Survey of the Washington Street District*, 2-3, 5-7, 9, 13, 53-59.

[183] Bercovici, *Around the World in New York*, 25, 28, 30, 39-40.

[184] Will Irwin, *Highlights of Manhattan* (New York: Century, 1927), 31.

[185] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 78; Di Napoli, "The Syrian-Lebanese Community of South Ferry," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 12, 16.

[186] "Syrians in America," 5. This exemplified the government's structural role in a local transportation market. For scholarship on governmental creation of frameworks for domestic transportation markets, see Mark H. Rose, Bruce E. Seeley, and Paul F. Barrett, *The Best Transportation System in the World: Railroads, Trucks, Airlines, and American Public Policy in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Mark H. Rose and Raymond A. Mohl, *Interstate: Highway Politics and Policy since 1939*, 3rd ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2012).

[187] "Downtown Community House," *Wall Street Journal*, September 25, 1925, 5; "In and Out of the Banks," ibid., May 4, 1926, 8; "The Wall Street Stroller," ibid., May 20, 1926, 6.

[188] "The Wall Street Journal Straws," ibid., December 24, 1925, 2.

[189] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930: Population*, vol. I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1931), 26, table 12; ibid., vol. II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1933), 250, table 8; see also Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 87; Di Napoli, "The Syrian-Lebanese Community of South Ferry," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 19; "Where the Syrian World Can be Bought," *Syrian World*, October 20, 1933, 6.

[190] "New Bank to Open in Syrian Quarter," *New York Times*, June 15, 1922, 36; "In and Out of the Banks," *Wall Street Journal*, August 10, 1927, 12; Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 9.

[191] *Syrian Business Directory*, 18; *The Syrian American Directory Almanac, 1930* (New York: Arida and Andria, 1929), 10; "Al-Hoda Moves to Brooklyn," *Syrian World*, September 1930, 58.

[192] Di Napoli, "The Syrian-Lebanese Community of South Ferry," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 23&n107-8.

[193] *Al-Hoda, 1898-1968*, 51-53; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Naoum A. Mokarzel," *Syrian World*, April 1932, 67-68; "Another Start," ibid., May 5, 1933, 4. The slight inconsistency here in *Syrian World* citation formats—one stating the month and year, the other stating the date in addition to the month and year—is easily explained. Until the summer of 1932, the *Syrian World* was a monthly magazine. After a hiatus of several months, it resumed publication in May 1933, but as a weekly newspaper, instead of a monthly magazine. Citation formats in this study conform to the nature of the specific *Syrian World* issues relied upon as evidence. For an analysis of the *Syrian World*'s transformation from a monthly magazine to a weekly newspaper, see Elayyan, "The *Syrian World* in the New World," in *Arabs in America*, 53-55.

[194] H. I. Katibah, "From East and West: The Deserted Street," *Syrian World*, December 1, 1933, 4.

[195] "To the Bazaar," ibid., May 18, 1934, 7.

[196] "The American Negligee Industry Largely In Hands of Syrians," ibid., February 23, 1934, 3; "History of the 'The Sheik' is History of the New York Syrians' Progress," ibid., March 28, 1935, 6; "Entertains at Sheik," ibid., August 1, 1935, 3. As of 1929, the

Sheik Restaurant was located at 87 Washington Street, but in January 1930, it advertised its address as 65 Washington Street. *Syrian American Directory Almanac,* 38; Advertisement, *Syrian World*, January 1930, 61. For reasons of economy and efficiency, this study uses the generic term, "Advertisement," in all citations to *Syrian World* and *Al-Hoda* advertisements, as in the present note, except for "Where the Syrian World Can be Bought." See note 189 above.

[197] *Syrian Business Directory*, title pg., [i]. In the early 1920s, Salloum Mokarzel published an Arabic-language history of Syrian trade in the United States. Naff, *Becoming American*, 354n1.

[198] *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, passim.

[199] E.g., *Syrian Business Directory*, 11, 17, 25, 27; *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, 9, 14-15, 20, 31, 40, 63, 69-70, 72, 83, 87, 91, 93, 96-7, 101, 103, 108-12, 116-18, 120, 122-23.

[200] Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 9; Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 274; *The Manhattan Guide—Greater New York Red Book* (New York: Manhattan Guide Co., 1901), 50-52; *Al-Hoda*, July 11, 1899; *Syrian Business Directory*, [i], 3; Lauck, "The Economic Investigations of the United States Immigration Commission," 549; *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, 15, 44; Advertisement, *Syrian World*, October 1927, 66; Advertisement, ibid., January 1930, 65; Advertisement, ibid., June 1932, 64; see also Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 85; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 91-92. In May 1901, one of the Faour brothers was robbed on Washington Street while "going to the Western National Bank," implicitly suggesting the subordinate position of the small, privately-owned Faour Bank relative to the Western National Bank. "Syrian Banker Robbed," *New York Times*, May 7, 1901, 2.

[201] "Faours' Bank Closes," *New York Times*, February 12, 1933, 28; "Private Bank in N. Y. City Closed," *Wall Street Journal*, February 15, 1933, 7; "To Aid Bank Liquidation," *New York Times*, February 18, 1913, C23; "Notice to File Claims," ibid., March 8, 1933, 25; "Complete Official List of Depositors of Faour Bank," *Syrian World*, May 5, 1933, 7.

[202] "Complete Official List of Depositors of Faour Bank," *Syrian World*, May 5, 1933, 7.

[203] "Faour Plea Rejected," ibid., May 19, 1933, 1.

[204] "15 Per Cent Dividend To Be Paid," ibid., August 4, 1933, 1.

[205] "Banking House Asks Time," *New York Times*, December 30, 1933, 14; "Bankruptcy Proceedings," ibid., 26.

[206] Anna Bshoof, "Our New Yorkers," *Syrian World*, December 22, 1933, 5.

[207] "Faour Motion is Refused," ibid., February 9, 1934, 1.

[208] "Appeal Upholds Decision on Faour Liquidation Case," ibid., August 17, 1934, 1.

[209] "Broderick Suit Closed," *New York Times*, November 6, 1934, 2.

[210] "Faour Case Heard," *Syrian World*, December 13, 1934, 1.

[211] "Corporation Formed of Depositors to Take Over Management of Faour Bank Assets," ibid., May 2, 1935, 1. It would be interesting to learn whether, or to what extent, "incidental expenses" included fees for the (typically unpopular) attorneys for the Faours.

[212] "Syrian Colony of New York and Its Characteristics," *New York Times*, May 25, 1902, SM12. "Druse" is also spelled "Druze," typically in more recent sources. Some sources add an "s" for the plural; others do not. The present study employs "Druze" for both singular and plural, except in quoted material.

[213] Nadeem Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York* (Beirut, Lebanon: American University of Beirut, 1985), 14-15; see also Naff, "Arabs in America: A Historical Overview," in *Arabs in the New World*, 19; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 4.

[214] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 22; Braude and Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume I*, 1.

[215] Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions*, 135; Zenner, *A Global Community*, 36-38.

[216] Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 46. For a historical chart detailing schisms in Christianity, see Aswad, *Arabic Speaking Communities in American Cities*, app., 193. "Byzantium" and "Constantinople" are used interchangeably in the present study.

[217] Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, new ed. (London: Penguin, 1993), 28, 47, 51, 298-303; Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 32n1, 349-52; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 36-37; Berger, "America's Syrian Community," 322; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Eastern Orthodox;" Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 4; Paul D. Garrett, "Eastern Christianity," in E*ncyclopedia of the American Religious Experience: Studies of Traditions and Movements*, ed. Charles H. Lippy and

Peter W. Williams, vol. I (New York: Scribner's, 1988), 326. The Eastern Orthodox should not be confused with the Oriental Orthodox, found in lands farther to the east in Asia. *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.vv. "Eastern Orthodox," "Oriental Orthodox;" Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 4.

[218] Allen Maloof, "Catholics of the Byzantine-Melkite Rite in the U.S.A," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 9, no. 5 (Winter 1951): 264n7; Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 32-33n1; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 38-39; *Melkites in America: A Directory and Informative Handbook* (West Newton, MA: Melkite Exarchate, 1971), 11-13; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 30-31, 156; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Eastern Catholics;" Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 46; Naff, *Becoming American*, 236; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 4; Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions*, 42; Garrett, "Eastern Christianity," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, 326; Walbridge, "Lebanese Christians," in *American Immigrant Cultures*, 579. Some sources spell "Melkite" as "Melchite" or "Malkite," and some join "Melkite" to "Greek Catholic," rendering "Melkite Greek Catholic."

[219] *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Eastern Catholics;" May Ahdab-Yehia, "The Lebanese Maronites: Patterns of Continuity and Change," in *Arabs in the New World*, 149; Walbridge, "Lebanese Christians," in *American Immigrant Cultures*, 578-79.

[220] Benjamin Braude, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Volume II*, 3.

[221] Matti Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 11-15.

[222] Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 32n1; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 37-38; Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon*, 1-12, 19-23; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v. "Eastern Catholics;" Braude, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Volume II*, 3-4; Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 103-9; Kayal, "Arab Christians," in *Arabs in the New World*, 46-47; May Ahdab-Yehia, "The Lebanese Maronites: Patterns of Continuity and Change," in ibid., 149-51; Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 4; Walbridge, "Lebanese Christians," in *American Immigrant Cultures*, 578-79; Braude, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Volume II*, 3; Akarli, *The Long Peace*, 188; Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 23; Choueiri, *Modern Arab Historiography*, 125, 177; Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 206n9; Harris, *Lebanon*, 147, 150, 177, 182.

[223] Ahdab-Yehia, "The Lebanese Maronites," 156.

[224] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 28-29, 39-41, 113; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 42-44, 133.

[225] "The Foreign Element in New York: The Syrian Colony," *Harper's Weekly*, 746; Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 11-12, 22-27; Spagnolo, *France and Ottoman Lebanon*, 24n3; Naff, *Becoming American*, 143-44, 295-96; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 35-41, 125-34; Betts, *The Druze*, 79n36; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 56n55. By 1912, according to an unpublished source on local Syrians, the Orthodox in New York had grown in number to 3,000, the Melkites to 1,100, the Maronites to 700, and the Protestants to 120. Felton, "A Sociological Study of the Syrians in Greater New York," 24.

[226] *Directory of Social and Health Agencies of New York City*, vol. 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1890), 332; "Syrians of the Maronite Rite," *New York Times*, January 19, 1891, 8; *Melkites in America*, 85. Contrary to the impression conveyed in the newspaper article cited in this note, that the Maronites entered 127 Washington Street only "yesterday," a different source indicated that services commenced there in 1890. "Syrians of the Maronite Rite," 8; Rizek, Rizek, and Medvecky, *The Financial District's Lost Neighborhood, 1900-1970*, 73.

[227] A newspaper in March 1898 reported the Maronite chapel address as 82 Washington Street, above a store. "New-York's Syrian Colony," *New-York Tribune Illustrated Supplement*, March 13, 1898, 5. A book in 1897 and another newspaper in August 1899 gave 83 Washington Street as the address. Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 272; "Maronites Honor Pastor," *New York Times*, August 7, 1899, 10. A guide to Manhattan, published in 1901, listed St. Joseph's at 81 Washington Street. *The Manhattan Guide—Greater New York Red Book*, 105. Miller stated the address as 89 Washington Street a few years later. Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 12. The most recent book on the subject identified 81 Washington Street as the second address, matching the *Manhattan Guide*. Rizek, Rizek, and Medvecky, *The Financial District's Lost Neighborhood, 1900-1970*, 73. Either the Maronite chapel moved relatively often, or imprecision inhered in one or more of the sources.

[228] Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 272.

[229] For the Maronite chapel's third address, a 1923 city directory stated 57 Washington Street, as did Hitti, whereas Rizek, Rizek, and Medvecky offered the more expansive 57-59 Washington Street. *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Trow General Directory of New York City Embracing the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, 1922-1923*, vol. 133 (New York: R. L. Polk & Co., 1923), 43; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, app. A, 126; Rizek, Rizek, and Medvecky, *The Financial District's Lost Neighborhood, 1900-1970*, 73-74. At this location, St. Joseph's stood next door to *Al-Hoda*, during the years the newspaper operated at 55 Washington Street, and the *Syrian World*, which also published

there from May 1933 to November 1935. See p. 71 above. As to the decimation of St. Joseph's on September 11, 2001, and the subsequent recovery of its cornerstone during the cleanup of debris, see Malek, *A Country Called Amreeka*, 239; David W. Dunlap, "Little Syria (Now Tiny Syria) Finds New Advocates," *New York Times*, January 1, 2012, online at http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/01/01/little-syria-now-tiny-syria-finds-new-advoc... [accessed March 24, 2012].

[230] *Melkites in America*, 85-86; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, app. B, 128. A 1923 directory gave 908 Washington Street as the address of St. George's, undoubtedly a typographical error, as the other sources cited in this note stated an address of 98 Washington Street. *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Trow General Directory of New York City*, 43. In 1927, the Melkite and Maronite churches stood "within one block of each other on lower Washington Street." Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 10-11.

[231] See p. 71 above.

[232] *Melkites in America*, 86.

[233] New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission, [untitled], July 14, 2009, des. list 416, LP-2167; see also David W. Dunlap, "A Brief Encore for Little Syria: Sights, Sounds and Even Smells," *New York Times*, May 22, 2013, online at http://cityroom.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/05/22/a-brief-encore-for-little-syria-sights-sounds... [accessed July 27, 2013].

[234] "Rites from the Orient," *New York Times*, January 7, 1881, 3.

[235] "New-York's Syrian Colony," 5.

[236] "Syrians of the Maronite Rite," *New York Times*, January 19, 1891, 8.

[237] "Maronites Honor Pastor," ibid., August 7, 1899, 10.

[238] Ahdab-Yehia, "The Lebanese Maronites," in *Arabs in the New World*, 157.

[239] Maloof, "Catholics of the Byzantine-Melkite Rite in the U.S.A," 261. Interestingly, Maloof capitalized the "L" in "Latin" but not in "latinization," perhaps reflecting his disdain for the assimilationist trend. Latinization may be a matter of perspective, however. In contrast to the Melkites, the Maronites began Latinizing, to some extent, as far back as the late sixteenth century, gaining reinforcement from the Lebanese Council in 1736. Moosa, *The Maronites in History*, 267-73. The Maronites thus commenced Latinization in the Levant, long before leaving for the West. By comparison, the Melkites began to Latinize much later and in different circumstances, as immigrants in a new land.

[240] Kayal, "Religion and Assimilation," 414; see also Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 50-53.

[241] Kayal, "Religion and Assimilation," 415-19; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 132-33, 152-57; "Syrians in America," *Interpreter*, 11.

[242] "For Syrian Worshippers," *New York Times*, November 18, 1895, 8; "New-York's Syrian Colony," 4; Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 52.

[243] "Wedding in Pure Arabic," *New York Times*, October 18, 1897, 7. Moss also identified Hawaweeny as the pastor of the church at 77 Washington Street in 1897. Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 273. Moss incorrectly referred to the church, however, as "Greek Catholic," confusing it with "Greek Orthodox." Ibid., 272. Apparently, he did not understand that the Greek Catholics—the Melkites—formed a separate sect among the Arabic-speaking Christians. Nor did he acknowledge the existence of Syrian Protestants or Jews, though he did recognize "Mohammedans." Ibid., 274. The *New York Times* article cited in this note gave the church's address as 17 Washington Street—possibly evidence that the church had moved from 77 Washington Street, but probably just a typographical error.

[244] Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 74-75.

[245] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 24.

[246] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 83. She disagreed with Hitti, however, on the question of whether religious factionalism hindered Syrian identification with pan-Arabism. Ibid. 83, 87. That scholarly dispute—which would need to consider, *inter alia*, shifts in any such identification over time—is beyond the purview of this study.

[247] Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World*, 19; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 4.

[248] House, *Reports of the Industrial Commission*, 445. For a list of Arabic-language periodicals in New York as of the early 1920s, see Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, app. F, 135.

[249] "Syrian Colony of New York and Its Characteristics," *New York Times*, May 25, 1902, SM12.

[250] "A New Era," *Syrian World*, May 19, 1933, 4.

[251] "Syrians Against Syrians," *New York Times*, August 5, 1894, 8; Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World*, 19; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 4; "New-York's Syrian Colony," 5. N. J. Arbeely, of the Orthodox-oriented *Kawkab*, boasted of his newspaper's large circulation in 1898, around the time that Rihbany served as its editor. "New York's Syrian Colony," 4. A subsequent Arabic-language publication in New York, *Mirat al-Gharb* (Mirror of the West), also reflected the Orthodox faction's viewpoint. Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World*, 19.

[252] "Lively War Between Syrians," *New York Times*, January 13, 1899, 12.

[253] "Syrian Editor Not Un-American," ibid., January 19, 1899, 12. A few years later, Syrian priests may have instigated a physical attack on a Syrian newspaper editor who had published articles that offended them. "Syrian Editor Attacked," ibid., November 10, 1901, 8.

[254] Archimandrite Serafim, *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America: A History of the Orthodox Church in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Saints Boris and Gleb Press, 1973), 24; William Essey, "Lest We Forget . . . Raphael, Bishop of Brooklyn," *The Word*, May 1976, 12-14.

[255] "Fight in Little Syria," *New-York Daily Tribune*, September 16, 1905, 10.

[256] "Greek Bishop's Party Attacks Syrian Editor," *New York Times*, September 19, 1905, 10.

[257] "Bishop a Prisoner," *New-York Daily Tribune*, September 19, 1905, 10.

[258] "Cop Says Bishop Has a Gun," *The [New York] Sun*, September 20, 1905, 12.

[259] "Syrian Bishop Kisses Supporters in Court," *New York Times*, September 27, 1905, 9.

[260] "Syrian Case Feazes Court," ibid., September 30, 1905, 6. This headline suggested an unraveling.

[261] "Syrians Riot in Street, and Many are Hurt," ibid., October 24, 1905, 5.

[262] "Says Warring Syrians are a Public Danger," ibid., October 25, 1905, 18; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 96.

[263] "Syrian Bishop Says," *New York Times*, October 26, 1905, 8.

[264] "The Syrian Riot," ibid., October 29, 1905, 8.

[265] "Syrian Bishop Cleared in Court," ibid., December 8, 1905, 5; Serafim, *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America*, 25; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 96.

[266] "Syrian Editor Retaliates," *New York Times*, January 18, 1906, 5. Mokarzel's five co-defendants were Najeeb Maloop (likely a misspelling of "Maloof"), Joe Machsoud, Nasrirey Hatin, Anton Lufty, and Anees Shibley (no relation to the author). Ibid.

[267] "Syrian Factions Fight; 1 Dead, Another Dying," ibid., February 1, 1906, 1.

[268] "Syrian Garroted, Not Shot, Autopsies Show," ibid., 2.

[269] "Stefan Garroted, Not Shot," *The [New York] Sun*, February 2, 1906, 2.

[270] Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 84-85n7; see also Tanyss Carol Ludescher, "'The Orient is ill': Kahlil Gibran and the Politics of Nationalism in the New York Syrian Colony, 1908-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 2010), 156.

[271] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status," 803.

[272] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 12, 24; Serafim, *The Quest for Orthodox Church Unity in America*, 28; William Essey, "Lest We Forget . . . The 'Antacky-Russy' Dilemma," *The Word*, September 1976, 7-9; St. Mary's Antiochian Orthodox Church, *The First "Antiochian" Orthodox Church in North America* (Brooklyn, NY: n. p., 2007), 2; Rizek, Rizek, and Medvecky, *The Financial District's Lost Neighborhood, 1900-1970*, 67; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, apps. C-D, 130, 132; Garrett, "Eastern Christianity," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, 334. According to Garrett, St. Mary's began as a parish in the 1920s. Ibid. An unpublished document from St. Mary's, prepared in celebration of its seventieth anniversary in 2007, placed the congregation's inception in 1917, conceding, however, that "[e]cclesiastical jurisdiction in North America remain muddled for years." "The First 'Antiochian' Orthodox Church in North America," 2. Since the fissure opened between Russia and Antioch in 1917, examining its connection, if any, to the Bolshevik Revolution could make a useful scholarly project. It should also be noted that St. Nicholas is presently constructing a new church, replete with a neo-Byzantine dome, on the site of the planned Liberty Park, just south of the National September 11 Memorial in Lower Manhattan. To secure this prime location, St. Nicholas relinquished ownership of its former site on Cedar Street. David W. Dunlap, "Church Near Trade Center To Echo Landmarks of East," *New York Times*, October 31, 2013, A18.

[273] "Orthodox Bishop Excommunicates Patriarch in Bitter Fued [sic] that Split Antiochean See," *Syrian World*, November 1, 1935, 2. The *Syrian World* headline spelled "Antiochian" as "Antiochean."

[274] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 12, 24-25; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, app. E, 134; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 133.

[275] Stanley Rashid, "Cultural Traditions of Early Arab Immigrants to New York," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 78; Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 193; Boosahda, *Arab-American Faces and Voices*, 188; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 150-51.

[276] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status," 799.

[277] Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 71.

[278] Ahdab-Yehia, *The Lebanese Maronites*, 152; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 31; Naff, *Becoming American*, 236; Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 10, 67-70, 72, 134-35, 146-47; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 33, 106, 204n67.

[279] "Lebanese Festival in Bridgeport," *Syrian World*, September 1930, 52; Advertisement, ibid., August 1, 1935, 3.

[280] Betts, *The Druze*, 7-14, 16-17, 71; Nissim Dana, *The Druze in the Middle East: Their Faith, Leadership, Identity and Status* (Brighton, UK: Sussex Academic Press, 2003), 3-4; Lindsay Jones, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), s.v. "Druze."

[281] Naff, *Becoming American*, 25.

[282] Dana, *The Druze in the Middle East*, 109.

[283] Betts, *The Druze*, 11. One of Betts' reviewers called the Druze "this peculiar offshoot of Islam," and thought their penchant for "[s]ecrecy and outward dissimulation are obviously essential," given their disagreements with classical Muslim views. Paul E. Walker, review of *The Druze*, by Robert Brenton Betts, *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 60 (Summer 1992): 327. In recognition of their common Islamic derivation, the present study refers to Druze and Muslims interchangeably. Sources refer variously to believers in Islam as "Muslims," "Moslems," "Muhammadans," and "Mohammedans."

[284] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 108; Philip K. Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion with Extracts from Their Sacred Writings* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 1.

[285] Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 4.

[286] Hitti, *The Origins of the Druze People and Religion*, 54; Naff, *Becoming American*, 46-47; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 213n79.

[287] Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 3.

[288] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 70.

[289] See pp. 58-59 above; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 1-2; Elkholy, *The Arab Moslems in the United States*, 17; Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 94; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 102; Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: The Syrian as an American Citizen," 965; Karpat, "The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860-1914," 182.

[290] Moss, *The American Metropolis*, 274.

[291] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 11.

[292] Naff, *Becoming American*, 84-85.

[293] Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 8; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 139-40.

[294] Khater, *Inventing Home*, 70. Irwin's popular volume in 1927 indicated that only "a small minority among the Syrians" were Muslims, making no mention of the Druze *per se*. Irwin, *Highlights of Manhattan*, 35. This apparent omission may simply have resulted from a lack of knowledge of the Druze.

[295] "By Beard of Prophet Hasib is a Good Man," *New York Times*, March 24, 1904, 7. There was no evidence to indicate that the accused, a Muslim, faced a criminal charge because of his religion.

[296] M. M. Aijian, "The Mohammedans in the United States," *Moslem World* 10 (1920): 30; Andrew T. Hoffert, "The Moslem Movement in America," ibid. 20 (1930): 309; G. H. Bousquet, "Moslem Religious Influences in the United States," ibid. 25 (1935): 40-41; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 4; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, app. F, 135; Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 182. Gualtieri argued that the naturalization cases presented even more

obstacles to Syrian Muslims than to Syrian Christians seeking to prove their whiteness. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 73, 157-61, 226n19.

[297] Bousquet, "Moslem Religious Influences in the United States," 40; "Islam—I," *Syrian World*, August 1926, 6-10; "Islam—II," ibid., September 1926, 25-29; "Islam—III," ibid., October 1926, 41-46; "Sects of Islam," ibid., January 1927, 23-26; "Who are the Druzes," ibid., July 1926, 16-22; "Haroun Al-Rashid and the Opulent Umayyad," ibid., August 1927, 20-25; "Sayings of Ali," ibid., January 1929, 41; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Christian-Moslem Marriages," ibid., April 1928, 9-15; W. A. Mansur, "Christian-Moslem Understanding," ibid., June 1931, 5-13; H. I. Katibah, "A Moslem Saint of Damascus," ibid., November 1931, 26-31; "Cross-Currents in the East," ibid., May 1928, 14-23; H. I. Katibah, "Islam Faces the Challenge of Liberalism," ibid., January 1932, 18-22.

[298] Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 80.

[299] "Minister for Syrians," *New York Times*, September 15, 1895, 16. The Orthodox charity also assisted Maronites. Ibid. But this occurred before the arrival of Archimandrite Raphael Hawaweeny.

[300] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: The Syrian as an American Citizen," 957-59; "Foreword," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 1; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 48-56; Saliba, "Emigration from Syria," in *Arabs in the New World*, 36-39; Khalaf, "The Background and Causes of Lebanese/Syrian Immigration to the United States Before World War I," in *Crossing the Waters*, 17-35; Issawi, "The Historical Background of Lebanese Emigration: 1800-1914," in *The Lebanese in the World*, 29; Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States," in ibid., 145; Joseph A. D. Sutton, *Magic Carpet: Aleppo-in-Flatbush, The Story of a Unique Ethnic Jewish Community*, fore. S. D. Goitein (New York: Thayer-Jacoby, 1979), 6-7; Braude and Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Volume I*, 32; Carter V. Findley, "The Acid Test of Ottomanism: The Acceptance of Non-Muslims in the Late Ottoman Bureaucracy," in ibid., 342; Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 22; Robert Chira, *From Aleppo to America: The Story of Two Families* (New York: Rivercross, 1994), 12, 18-19, 60-69; Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 135; Zenner, *A Global Community*, 24, 39; Boosahda, *Arab-American Faces and Voices*, 5; Aviva Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America: A Diasporic History* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 30. The term "Young Turks" was inherently misleading. A diverse group of Ottomanists, not merely Turks, comprised the Union and Progress Society, also known as the Committee of Unity and Progress. Akarli, *The Long Peace*, 229n51; Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919*, 249-50. The Young Turk revolt nonetheless failed to achieve its principal goals of constitutional reform and the effectuation of Ottomanism. Braude and Lewis, "Introduction," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Volume I*, 33.

Karpat defined Ottomanism as the concept of regarding all people living within the Ottoman Empire as Ottoman subjects, irrespective of their languages or religious beliefs. He traced its origins to the *Tanzimat*. Karpat, "*Millets* and Nationality," in ibid., 162.

[301] Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 135; David deS. Pool, "The Levantine Jews in the United States," *American Jewish Year Book* 15 (1913): 214-15.

[302] Huseby-Darvas, "'Coming to America'," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 11; Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, 165; Higham, *Send These to Me,* 39; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 92; Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 1-2, 103; Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America*, 30; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 29-58; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 11, 52-80, 113-34. Gualtieri contended that Syrians' racial conceptualization as "in between" or "not quite white" distinguished their immigration history from that of Jews, Italians, and Irish. Ibid., 157. Such a position is open to question, particularly with respect to Jewish immigrants, whom Brodkin convincingly showed to have faced similar racialization. Gualtieri did take note of Brodkin's argument. Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 57n88. It would seem that, for immigrants in the first wave, the similarities in experiences of Syrian Christians and Syrian Jews on the issue of racial identity outweighed the dissimilarities.

[303] Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York*, intro. and notes Luc Sante (New York: Penguin, 1997), 82, 92, 147.

[304] *In re Dow*, 213 F. 355, 363 (E. D. S. C. 1914).

[305] Roberts, *Immigrant Races in North America*, 69.

[306] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status," 793.

[307] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: Business Activities," 654; Naff, *Becoming American*, 128-36; Sutton, *Magic Carpet*, 11, 17, 30; Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 67; Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America*, 264n113; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 3-4, 8; Berger, "America's Syrian Community," 319, 323; *Encyclopedia of New York City*, s.vv. "Arabs," "Syrians and Lebanese;" Zenner, *A Global Community*, 128; Marianne R. Sanua, "From the Pages of the *Victory Bulletin*: The Syrian Jews of Brooklyn During World War II," *YIVO Annual* 19 (1990): 286, 326n6; Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 230-31; Chira, *From Aleppo to America*, 68; Mark L. Kligman, *Maqām and Liturgy: Ritual, Music, and Aesthetics of Syrian Jews in Brooklyn* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 2009), 3. Kayal and Kayal agreed that successful Christians tended to leave the Lower West Side, calling Brooklyn "really a 'residence district' for well-to-do Syrians" by the early 1900s, yet oddly suggesting that "they were never socially or involuntarily

confined to any particular occupation or neighborhood as the Jews were on the Lower East Side." Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 87. In fact, the Jews were not so confined, as evidenced by the Brooklyn communities discussed in the works of Sutton, Sanua, Chira, Ben-Ur, and Kligman. By 1916, only about a quarter of New York's Jewish residents remained in the Lower East Side. In the 1920s, the Jewish population migrated to the Bronx in addition to Brooklyn. Deborah Dash Moore, "Social History of American Judaism," in *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, 303.

[308] Sanua, "From the Pages of the *Victory Bulletin*," 286.

[309] Sutton, *Magic Carpet*, 10-15; New York Push-Cart Commission, *Report of the Mayor's Push-Cart Commission* (New York: n. p., 1906), 11, 29, 37, 88, 195, 226.

[310] Sutton, *Magic Carpet*, 11; Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 11n[2].

[311] "All Races Found in City's Foreign Colonies," *The [New York] Sun*, August 24, 1913, 87. Many Slavic immigrants took up residence on the Lowest West Side after the outbreak of World War I, as evidenced by the Trinity Church survey in 1914. Trinity Church's Men's Committee, *A Social Survey of the Washington Street District*, 18, 26.

[312] E.g., *Al-Hoda*, November 29, 1898, and March 14, 1899. No page numbers can be stated here in citations to *Al-Hoda*, because the numbers were not printed legibly in English, as opposed to the names and addresses of advertisers, which were.

[313] *Trow's Business Directory of Greater New York (Five Boroughs Combined), 1902*, vol. V (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Bookbinding Co., 1902), 516, 1240.

[314] "Legal Notes," *New York Times*, November 8, 1900, 14; "Business Troubles," ibid., October 7, 1902, 14; "Referees' Notices," ibid., October 21, 1902, 11; "Bankruptcy Notices," ibid., April 24, 1903, 10; "Business Troubles," ibid., May 19, 1903, 10.

[315] *Trow's General Directory of the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, City of New York, Vol. CXX, for the Year Ending July 1, 1907* (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Bookbinding Co., 1906), 1409.

[316] *Syrian Business Directory*, 24.

[317] *The Trow (Formerly Wilson's) Copartnership and Corporation Directory of the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, City of New York*, vol. LVIII (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Distributing Co., 1909), 714; *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, 38.

[318] Sutton, *Magic Carpet*, 8. Sanua called Sutton's *Magic Carpet* "[t]he leading source for information and documentation on the Syrian Jewish community" in Brooklyn, New York. Sanua, "From the Pages of the *Victory Bulletin*," 325n5. Syrian Jews, like Ezra Sitt, were Sephardic, as opposed to Ashkenazic, Jews. For information on the differences and tensions between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim, see Sutton, *Magic Carpet*, 252; Sanua, "From the Pages of the *Victory Bulletin*," 325n6; Zenner, *A Global Community*, 30; Chira, *From Aleppo to America,* 12; Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America*, 1-6, 10-12, 16-22, 108-49; Kligman, *Maqām and Liturgy*, 31-36, 219n4, 221n5. For a journalistic piece on the continuing insularity and uniqueness of Brooklyn's Syrian Jewish community, see Zev Chavets, "The SY Empire," *New York Times Magazine*, October 14, 2007, 82-88.

[319] Ben-Ur, *Sephardic Jews in America*, 30.

[320] Ezra Sitt to David deS. Pool, April 17, 1913, quoted in ibid., 30, 217n48.

[321] "Turner-Bristol," *New York Times*, November 18, 1897, 7.

[322] Houghton, "Syrians in the United States: The Syrian as an American Citizen," 957-59; "Foreword," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 1; Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 60; Naff, "Lebanese Immigration into the United States," in *The Lebanese in the World,* 145; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 6.

[323] Joseph A. D. Sutton, *Aleppo Chronicles: The Story of the Unique Sephardeem of the Ancient Near East—in Their Own Words*, intro. Raphael Patai (New York: Thayer-Jacoby, 1988), 259, 261, 263.

[324] "Elias Hedaya," *Passport Applications, January 2, 1906-March 31, 1925*, ARC identifier 583830, MLR A1 534, series M1490, reel 647, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC.

[325] Sutton, *Aleppo Chronicles*, 263-64.

[326] Ibid., 271, 279; Zenner, *A Global Community*, 146.

[327] Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900*, "Schedule No. 1: Population," Borough of Manhattan, City of New York, County of New York, June 1, 1900, S. D. 1, E. D. 54, sheet 1, reel 1082, 222A; *Syrian Business Directory*, 21; *R. L. Polk & Co.'s Trow General Directory of New York City Embracing the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, 1916*, vol. 129 (New York: R. L. Polk & Co., 1916), 983; New York State Archives, Albany, NY, *State Population Census Schedules*, *1915*, Block 1, E. D. 2, A. D. 31, City of New York, County of New York, 19; "Treasury Agents Arrest

Importer," *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 7, 1909; "Martin Labé," *Passport Applications, January 2, 1906-March 31, 1925*, ARC Identifier 583830, MLR A1 534, series M1490, reel 1066, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; *New York Times*, September 5, 1926, E5; B. Olney Hough, comp., *American Exporter: Export Trade Directory, 1919-1920*, 6th ed. (New York: Johnston Export Publishing Co., 1919), 146, 499, 513, 531, 539, 556, 565, 610, 626. New York State censuses were taken from 1825 through 1875, at ten-year intervals, and then in 1892, 1905, 1915, and 1925. Marilyn Douglas and Melinda Yates, comps., *New York State Census Records, 1790-1925, Bibliography Bulletin 88* (Albany: New York State Library, 1981), 2.

[328] *The Trow (Formerly Wilson's) Copartnership and Corporation Directory of the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, City of New York*, vol. LII (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Distributing Co., 1904), 180; "Latest Customs Rulings," *New York Times*, August 11, 1912, 16; "In Honor of the Sultan," *The [New York] World*, September 4, 1894, 6; *Trow's General Directory of the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, City of New York, Vol. CXIX, for the Year Ending July 1, 1906* (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Bookbinding Co., 1905), 382; *Trow's General Directory of the Boroughs of Manhattan and Bronx, City of New York, Vol. CXXIII, for the Year Ending August 1, 1910* (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Bookbinding Co., 1909), 387; JewishGen, comp., *JewishGen Online Worldwide Burial Registry* (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2008), online at http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?db=jg_burialregistry&h=917486&ti=0&indiv=tr... [accessed September 30, 2013]. Salim Elias filed bankruptcy in 1909. "Bankruptgn [sic] Notices," *New York Times*, December 6, 1909, 17.

[329] Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 124, 136.

[330] "Muossa Daoud," *Petition for Naturalization*, Southern District of New York, vol. 87B, rec. 476, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC; New York City Department of Health, Office of Vital Records, *Index of Deaths Reported in the City of New York (1949-1951)*, "Deaths Reported in the City of New York—1950," reel 28, 105; New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, *Birth and Death Certificates* (New York: City of New York, 2013), online at http://www.nyc.gov/html/doh/html/services/vr.shtml [accessed October 30, 2013]; *Freedom of Information and Access to Department of Health Records*, New York State Department of Health (Albany: State of New York, 2013), online at http://www.health.ny.gov/regulations/foil/ [accessed October 30, 2013]. The CMS' dedicated archivist, Mary Elizabeth Brown, greatly assisted the author in searching Younis' extensive notes. Prof. Philip M. Kayal, who was Younis' friend and colleague, gave advice to the author, via e-mail.

[331] *Trow's New York City Directory, Vol. CVII, for the Year Ending July 1, 1894* (New York: Trow Directory, Printing and Bookbinding Co., 1893), 307.

[332] "Moussa Daoud Their Leader," *New York Times*, June 4, 1894, 2.

[333] Rihbany, "In New York with Nine Cents," 238-39, 241; Rihbany, *A Far Journey*, 191-95.

[334] "Policeman Splits a Man's Ear," *New York Times*, October 11, 1987, 2.

[335] *In the Matter of the Protests, 53543f-9514, etc., of Moussa Daoud, et al., against the decision of the Collector of Customs at New York, N.Y., as to the rate and amount of duties chargeable on certain merchandise, imported per vessel and entered on dates as per schedule*, June 7, 1902, reprinted in U. S. Department of the Treasury, *Treasury Decisions under Customs and Other Law: Treasury Decisions under Tariff and Navigation Laws, Etc., Vol. 5, January-December, 1902* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903), 484-85.

[336] *Syrian Business Directory*, 26, 29, 32.

[337] *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, 13, 78.

[338] Census Bureau, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, "Population Schedule," April 6, 1940, S. D. 17, E. D. 31-104, sheet 3A. Interestingly, the 1940 census asked where the person lived on April 1, 1935, five years earlier, matching the final year of the period covered in this study. Census Bureau, "History: 1940 (Population)" (Washington, DC: Census History Staff), online at https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1940_population.html [accessed September 28, 2013].

[339] *Cong. Rec.*, 71st Cong., 1st sess., April 29, 1929, 638-39.

[340] "Smiling Can Wait," *Wall Street Journal*, February 8, 1922, 1.

[341] *In re Najour*, 174 F. 735, 736 (N. D. Ga. 1909); Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 33-34, 37, 40, 54n24; Gualtieri., *Between Arab and White*, 1-2, 53, 58, 60-61, 64, 68-70, 74, 76, 78, 157; Naber, "Introduction: Arab Americans and U. S. Racial Formations," in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11*, 20.

[342] C. G. Najour to Younis, January 12, 1961, trans. from Arabic, [trans. unidentified], group II, series C, box 8, folder 203, *Papers of Kayal and Younis*; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 55n41; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 2, 63. Five years later, Najour's son wrote Younis, expressing pride in his father's participation in the naturalization crisis "at a time when bigotry and prejudice were so firmly entrenched even in our higher echelons

of government." G. C. Najour to Younis, July 25, 1966, group II, series C, box 8, folder 20, *Papers of Kayal and Younis*, 3.

[343] "The Ways of Turkish Subjects," *New York Times*, October 5, 1909, 8; Younis notes, [undated], tran. Fred Khoury, group II, series C, box 8, folder 203, *Papers of Kayal and Younis*; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 70.

[344] "What Persons are 'White?,'" *New York Times*, October 14, 1909, 8.

[345] H. E. Halaby, letter to editor, "Syrian Citizenship," ibid., October 15, 1909, 10.

[346] "Is the Turk Yellow?," ibid., November 4, 1909, 4. Contemporary ignorance about Syrians was so widespread that, when a WASP society maven sponsored a charity affair at New York's Plaza Hotel, she dressed as a Syrian woman and posed in front of a backdrop depicting Pyramids, the Great Sphinx, and a desert—none of which existed in Mount Lebanon, the region from which most Syrian immigrants came. "Fashionable New Yorkers in Tableaux," *Harper's Weekly*, April 17, 1909, 24.

[347] *United States v. Balsara*, 180 F. 694 (2nd Cir. 1910).

[348] *In re Ellis*, 179 F. 1002 (D. Ore. 1910); *Ex Parte Shahid*, 205 F. 812 (E. D. S. C. 1913). The court did not give Shahid's first name but did describe his pigmentation: "In color, he is about that of walnut, or somewhat darker than is the usual mulatto of one-half mixed blood between the white and the negro races." Ibid., 813.

[349] *Ex Parte Dow*, 211 F. 486, reh. sub nom., *In re Dow*, 213 F. 355 (E. D. S. C. 1914), rev. sub nom., *Dow v. United States*, 226 F. 148 (4th Cir. 1915); Naber, "Introduction: Arab Americans and U. S. Racial Formations," in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/11*, 21. Gualtieri's book referred to the Syrian American Association in the singular, while her prior article on the naturalization crisis spoke of Syrian American Associations in the plural. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 67; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 42; *Dow*, 213 F. 355. For discussion of the formation of the Syrian Society for National Defense, which raised funds to support Dow's legal position, see Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 44-45; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 66-69, 71-73, 77-78, 84, 160. The *Dow* victory was a watershed event in "establishing a weighty legal precedent in favor of Syrian whiteness," but it did not bring an immediate end to all litigation over the issue of Syrian whiteness. Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 29. Years prior to Gualtieri's writings, Younis claimed that "[t]he Dow cases closed forever further arguments on the subject." That, however, would seem an overstatement. Indeed, Younis herself went on to say that "[b]y 1920," Syrians no longer were denied naturalization on whiteness grounds. Younis, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People*, 301. One may infer from this that Syrian racial identity remained a legally contested issue for five years after the Fourth Circuit's judgment in *Dow*.

[350] Katibah and Ziadeh, *Arabic-Speaking Americans*, 28; Suleiman, "Arab-Americans and the Political Process," in *The Development of Arab-American Identity*, 41-42&n10; Suleiman, "Introduction: The Arab Immigrant Experience," in *Arabs in America*, 5, 18n21-22; Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 10. According to Katibah and Ziadeh, "[o]fficial estimates" put the number of Arabic-speaking enlistees in the Unites States' armed forces during World War I at 13,963. Katibah and Ziadeh, *Arabic-Speaking Americans*, 28. Orfalea claimed that fifteen thousand served. Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 91; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 99.

[351] Joseph W. Ferris, "Syrian Naturalization Question in the United States," pt. I, *Syrian World*, February 1928, 3.

[352] Ibid., pt. II, March 1928, 18, 20, 24; *United States v. Thind*, 261 U. S. 204 (1923); see also *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U. S. 178 (1922). For a separate analysis of post-*Dow* naturalization cases that did not involve Syrian litigants, but applicants from other parts of Asia, with potential implications for Syrians, see Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 49-52; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 74-77. David R. Roediger astutely observed, as to immigrant workers generally, that "the processes of 'becoming white' and 'becoming American' were intertwined at every turn." David R. Roediger, *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 141.

[353] *Al-Hoda, 1898*-1968, 7; Kalil A. Bishara, *The Origin of the Modern Syrian* (New York: Al-Hoda, 1914), 30, 40; Suleiman, "Early Arab-Americans," in *Crossing the Waters*, 44-45; Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 73; Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 45-47; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 72-73; Naber, "Introduction: Arab Americans and U. S. Racial Formations," in *Race and Arab Americans Before and After 9/*11, 21-22; Lisa Suhair Majaj, "Transformative Acts: Arab American Writing/Writing Arab America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2012), 101n 28. The sources do not indicate the date of the meeting held at Naoum Mokarzel's behest at *Al-Hoda*'s office in Little Syria.

[354] Gualtieri, "Becoming 'White'," 47; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 77-78.

[355] "Arabic Newspapers Facing Extinction," *Al-Hoda*, January 11, 1930, repr. in *Syrian World*, December 1929, 47; "Arabic Newspapers," ibid., 44; Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 71, 76, 78. It is unclear how an *Al-Hoda* article dated January 11, 1930 could have been reprinted in the December 1929 issue of *Syrian World*, but that is the documented fact. Logically, it would appear that either the *Al-Hoda* article was postdated or the *Syrian World* issue was backdated, i.e., actually published in January 1930, despite bearing the stated date of December 1929.

[356] Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 74-76; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 216n136; *Al-Hoda, 1898-1968*, 48; "A Great Syrian Leader Passes," *Syrian World*, April 1932, 14-17; "A Notable Career of Achievement," ibid., 18-21; "Tributes to a Leader," ibid., 22-23; W. A. Mansur, "Pioneer and Seer," ibid., 24-25; Alice Mokarzel, "Eternal Guidance: To My Uncle," ibid., 25; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Naoum A. Mokarzel," ibid., 67-68. Following World War I, Mokarzel and Rihani split on the question of a separate Lebanese state, denominated Greater Lebanon, under the protection of France. Mokarzel argued strongly in favor of this form of Lebanese "independence," while Rihani countered that Lebanon should resist the French Mandate and remain formally unified with Syria. Nijmeh Hajjar, "Between Patriotism and Nationalism: Ameen Rihani's Vision for Lebanon and Syria," in *The Origins of Syrian Nationhood: Histories, Pioneers and Identity*, ed. Adel Beshara (New York: Routledge, 2011), 170-76, 178-80.

[357] Mikhail Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran: His Life and Work* (Beirut, Lebanon: Khayats, 1965), v, 155; Jean Gibran and Kahlil Gibran, *Kahlil Gibran, His Life and World* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1974), 9, 325, 398; Gibran and Gibran, "The Symbolic Quest of Kahlil Gibran," in *Crossing the Waters*, 169; Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 8, 37, 46-47; William Catzeflis, "Introduction," in *The Life of Gibran Khalil Gibran and His Procession*, by G. Kheirallah (New York: Arab-American Press, 1947), vii, 11; Naff, *Becoming American*, 322; Aida Imangulieva, *Gibran, Rihani & Naimy: East-West Interactions in Early Twentieth-Century Arab Literature*, trans. Robin Thomson (Oxford: Inner Farne Press, 2009), 39. The present study adopts "Pen Bond," because that translation is attributable, first, to Mikhail Naimy, the group's secretary, who wrote the minutes of the initial meetings and reproduced them in his biography of Gibran, and second, to Jean Gibran and Kahlil Gibran, cousins and biographers of their famous relative. Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran*, 154-56; Gibran and Gibran, *Kahlil Gibran,* 325; Gibran and Gibran, "The Symbolic Quest of Kahlil Gibran," in *Crossing the Waters*, x, 169. Mikhail Naimy, not to be confused with Nadeem Naimy, also informed readers that Gibran's complete name was Gibran Kahlil Gibran. Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran*, 3n1. Kheirallah, however, claimed that Gibran's full name was originally Gibran Khalil Gibran, adding that Gibran shortened it to Kahlil Gibran, implying an inversion of the "h" and "a," rendering "Khalil" as "Kahlil." Kheirallah, *The Life of Gibran Khalil Gibran*, 4, 7.

[358] Minutes of Pen Bond pre-organizational and organizational meetings, April 20 and 28, 1920, quoted in Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran*, 154, 157; Gibran and Gibran, *Kahlil Gibran*, 338-40.

[359] Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran*, 155, 200.

[360] Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 7-8; Ameen Rihani, *The Book of Khalid*, abr. ed. (Beirut, Lebanon: n. p., 1973). As time passed, Rihani's interests diverged from those of the other *mahjar* writers, and by 1920, he no longer enjoyed a close association with Gibran. Something in their relationship evidently went awry. Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*., 31-32; Nadeem Naimy, "Gibran and the Arabic Literary Movement in New York," *Al-Abhath* 47 (1999): 15; Ludescher, "'The Orient is ill'," 4. Mikhail Naimy's itemization of attendees at the meetings on April 20 and 28, 1920 did not include Rihani. Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran*, 155. Nadeem Naimy bluntly asserted that "Rihani was neither invited nor included." Naimy, "Gibran and the Arabic Literary Movement in New York," 14. But Suleiman listed Rihani as a member of the Pen Bond, as did the biography of Gibran written by his cousins, as well as the respected New York encyclopedia edited by Kenneth T. Jackson. Suleiman, "Impressions of New York City by Early Arab Immigrants," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 36; Gibran and Gibran, *Kahlil Gibran*, 340; *Encyclopedia of New York City*, s.v. "Syrians and Lebanese." Rihani undoubtedly was among the *mahjar* writers, but whether he was a Pen Bond member *per se* remains open to question.

[361] Naimy, "Gibran and the Arabic Literary Movement in New York," 7, 16; Naff, "Arabs in America," in *Arabs in the New World* , 20; Ludescher, "'The Orient is ill'," 4; Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet* (New York: Knopf, 1923); Gibran and Gibran, "The Symbolic Quest of Kahlil Gibran," in *Crossing the Waters*, 169; Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 46-47; Harris, *Lebanon*, 176. First published in 1923, *The Prophet* was written in 1918-1919. Gibran and Gibran, *Kahlil Gibran*, 314.

[362] Kheirallah, *The Life of Gibran Khalil Gibran*, 12; Gibran and Gibran, "The Symbolic Quest of Kahlil Gibran," in *Crossing the Waters*, 169.

[363] G. K. Gibran, "To Young Americans of Syrian Origin," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 4-5; "The Last Days of Gibran," ibid., April 1931, 19-13; Barbara Young, "Gibran's Funeral in Boston," ibid., 23-25; "Americans Pay Tribute to Spirit of Gibran," ibid., 27-28; Charles Fleischer, "A Reclamation," 28-29; Claude Bragdon, "Gibran Lives," ibid., 29-30; Syud Hossain, "He Brought Beauty and Truth," ibid., 31-33; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "He Traveled with the Sun," ibid., 33-35; Robert Norwood, "The Voice of the Heights of Lebanon," ibid., 35; Abraham M. Rihbany, "The Prophet Never Dies," ibid., 36; W. A. Mansur, "A Great Syrian of the Ages," ibid., 36; "A Seer Departed," *The [New York] Sun*, April 25, 1931, repr. in *Syrian World*, April 1931, 37; Barbara Young, "Valedictory," *Syrian World*, April 1931, 38; Leonora Speyer, "Conqueror of the Sting," ibid., 39; Estelle Duclo, "Starry Son of Lebanon," ibid., 40; Mischa Naimy, "The Mystic Pact," ibid., 41; Mary Moore, "To One Who Has Passed," ibid., 42; G. K. Gibran, "Gibran's Message to Young Americans of Syrian Origin," ibid., 44-45; Cecil J. Badway, "A Pledge," ibid., 45; Thomas Asa, "To One of Blessed Memory," ibid., 46; Edna K. Saloomey, "Truth Seeker," ibid., 47; Philip C. Sabbagha, "Poet of Our Land," ibid., 47;

Labeebee A. J. Hanna, "He Touched the Stars," ibid., 48; "Gibran's Will Made Public," ibid., November 10, 1933, 1.

[364] Imangulieva, *Gibran, Rihani & Naimy*, 123; Naimy, "Gibran and the Arabic Literary Movement in America," 18, 20-21; Naimy, *Kahlil Gibran*, 128, 131-32.

[365] M. J. Naimy, "The Grumbler," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 23-25; Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 72.

[366] Advertisement, *Al-Hoda*, January 17, 1899; Imangulieva, *Gibran, Rihani & Naimy*, 85; Katibah and Ziadeh, *Arabic-Speaking Americans*, 13; Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 12-13; Naimy, "Gibran and the Arabic Literary Movement in America," 6; Gibran and Gibran, "The Symbolic Quest of Kahlil Gibran," in *Crossing the Waters*, 161; Ludescher, "'The Orient is ill'," 151-53. Gibran earned fifty dollars for illustrating Rihani's book. Gibran and Gibran, *Kahlil Gibran*, 215.

[367] Rihani, *The Book of Khalid*, 148, 152-53, 166. Rihani's work influenced Gibran's. Naimy, "Gibran and the Arabic Literary Movement in America," 10-14.

[368] Elizabeth P. MacCallum, "Rehani—The Man and His Work," *Syrian World*, November 1929, 20-21.

[369] Ameen Rihani, "Americanism and Native Culture," ibid., April 1929, 23-24. For a chronology of literary works by Rihani, Naimy, and Gibran, see Naimy, *The Lebanese Prophets of New York*, 87-103. For a discussion of their major English-language writings, see Tanyss Carol Ludescher, "From Nostalgia to Critique: An Overview of Arab American Literature," *MELUS* 31, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 96-97.

[370] Advertisement, *Syrian World*, June 1927, 60.

[371] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Notes and Comments By the Editor," ibid., August 1927, 52; Advertisement, ibid., 64.

[372] "'Anna Ascends'," ibid., February 1928, 44; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Notes and Comments By the Editor," ibid., March 1928, 41.

[373] Harry Chapman Ford, "Why I Wrote a Syrian Play," ibid., July 1927, 33-34.

[374] Harry Chapman Ford, *Anna Ascends*, repr. in *Syrian World*, July 1927, 35-43; ibid., August 1927, 36-49. The historian cannot fail to note that, years after Ford wrote the play, a man named Said Khoury (who spelled his surname in a more overtly ethnic fashion than Ford's character) actually did operate a restaurant on Washington Street. *Syrian American Directory Almanac*, 24.

[375] Ford, *Anna Ascends*, repr. in *Syrian World*, September 1927, 35-45; ibid., October 1927, 33-44; ibid., November 1927, 31-40.

[376] Ibid., November 1927, 39.

[377] Ibid., December 1927, 34-44; ibid., January 1928, 30-38; ibid., February 1928, 29-40.

[378] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 141-43; Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 80; Orfalea, *The Arab Americans*, 86.

[379] Suleiman, "Impressions of New York City by Early Arab Immigrants," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 30. The contrast in complexion between Anna and Said was readily observable in images reproduced in writings of Suleiman and Gualtieri. Ibid.; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 143.

[380] "Foreword," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 1.

[381] Ibid., 2-3; "What You Shall Read," ibid., 58.

[382] "As to Policy," ibid., 53-54.

[383] Ibid. Historically, language change has represented "a key indicator of the transition" from the first to the second generation in ethnic families. Conzen, Gerber, Morawska, Pozzetta, and Vecoli, "The Invention of Ethnicity," 14.

[384] Advertisement, *Syrian World*, May 5, 1933, 6.

[385] Elayyan, "The *Syrian World* in the New World," in *Arabs in the Americas*, 46; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 88. For additional analysis of Salloum Mokarzel's goals in the *Syrian World*, see Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 76-81.

[386] Philip K. Hitti, "Syria's Place in the History of the World," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 7.

[387] Michael Aboussleman, "The Cedars of Lebanon," ibid., August 1926, 29; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Atavism," ibid., 39.

[388] Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 3.

[389] George A. Ferris, "Syria's Future in America," *Syrian World*, May 1929, 4; W. A. Mansur, "Modern Syrians' Contributions to Civilization," ibid., January 1930, 11; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "The Syrians in America," ibid., May 1930, 37, 40; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Are the Syrians Arabs?," ibid., 41; Philip K. Hitti, "Are the Lebanese Arabs?," ibid., February 1931, 7, 9, 11, 16; Michael Aboussleman, "Who are the Maronites," ibid., January 1932, 27; W. A. Mansur, "The Phoenicians, The Great Pioneers of Civilization," ibid., June 1932, 3 [ed. note].

[390] Salibi, *A House of Many Mansions*, 178.

[391] Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 23.

[392] "'Little Syria'," *Syrian World*, August 1926, 42; see also Kanbar, "Rooted in Our Homeland," in *American Multicultural Studies*, 249-55.

[393] Abdelhady, *The Lebanese Diaspora*, 206n5; see also Harris, *Lebanon*, 176.

[394] Kayal, "Arab Christians in the United States," in *Arabs in the New World*, 48.

[395] "Proverbs," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 3; Hassan Alasady, "The Tomb of Mano," tran. J. D. Carlyle, ibid., 5; "Famous Arab Lovers—'Urwa and 'Afra," ibid., 31-36; "The Treasure of Hassan Taj (A New Arabian Nights' Story)," ibid., 38-43.

[396] "Famous Arab Lovers, II, The Mad Lover of Laila," ibid., August 1926, 25-27; "Famous Arab Lovers, III, Jameel and Buthainah," ibid., September 1926, 30-32; "Famous Arab Lovers, IV, 'Umar the Lady-Killer," ibid., October 1926, 36-40; "Famous Arab Lovers[,V] (Wadah of Yemen)," ibid., November 1926, 33-36; "Famous Arab Lovers, VI, Kais and Lubnah," ibid., December 1926, 60-62; "Famous Arab Lovers, VII, 'Antar and 'Abla," ibid., January 1927, 28-33; "Famous Arab Lovers, VIII, Ibn Zuraik," ibid., February 1927, 37-40; "The Reward of Magnanimity (An Arabian Nights' Story)," ibid., June 1927, 27-30; "The Son of Haroun Al-Rashid, A True Arabian Tale," ibid., October 1927, 20-28; "The Strange Case of Hassan and Husna (An Arabian Nights' Story)," ibid., January 1930, 33-38; "Haroun Al-Rashid and the Two Lovers," ibid., March 1930, 28-32; "The Tragic Love of a Caliph (Short Story, adapted from the Arabic)," ibid., September 1930, 19-24; "The Tragic Love of a Caliph (Short Story) [cont.]," ibid., October 1930, 32-37.

[397] "The Strange Case of Hassan and Husna (An Arabian Nights' Story)," ibid., January 1930, 34, 37.

[398] Ameen Rihani, "The Jinn of the Arabian Nights," ibid., July 1928, 3-8.

[399] "The Adieu," tran. J. D. Carlyle, ibid., October 1927, 28; see also "The Ameer and the Palace Maid," tran. N. A. Katibah, ibid., March 1928, 24-25.

[400] "The Spirit of Antar," tran. N. A. Katibah, ibid., February 1927, 45; "Bushru's Encounter With the Lion," tran. N. A. Katibah, ibid., September 1927, 32-34; see also Elayyan, "The *Syrian World* in the New World," in *Arabs in the Americas*, 46-50.

[401] "Proverbs," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 3; "From the Arabic," ibid., February 1928, 11; "Arab Proverbs," ibid., October 1928, 28; "Sayings of Ali," ibid., April 1931, 16.

[402] "Syrian Folks Songs—'O Mother Mine (Moulaya)'," tran. Kahlil Gibran, ibid., March 1927, 13; "Syrian Folk Songs—'My Day is Bitter (Maramar Zamani)'," tran. Ameen Rihani, ibid., April 1927, 17; "Syrian Folk Songs—'Across the Bridge, O Come'," tran. Ameen Rihani, ibid., July 1927, 13; "Syrian Folk Songs—'Three Maiden Lovers'," tran. Kahlil Gibran, ibid., August 1927, 13; "'Ya Baity' (Syrian Folk Song)," tran. Salim Y. Alkzin, ibid., February 1932, 13. *Ya baity* means "my house." Elayyan, "The *Syrian World* in the New World," in *Arabs in the Americas*, 51.

[403] "Thy Secret I'll Cherish (From the Syrian Folk Song *Abu Zolof*)," tran. N. A. Katibah, *Syrian World*, February 1931, 16.

[404] E.g., Advertisement, ibid., October 1926, 64; Advertisement, ibid., January 1927, 64; Advertisement, ibid., June 1929, 51; Advertisement, ibid., January 1930, 58; Advertisement, ibid., April 1931, 73; Advertisement, ibid., May 2, 1935, 2; Advertisement, ibid., June 29, 1934, 2.

[405] M. Shadid, "Syria for the Syrians," ibid., February 1927, 24.

[406] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "'Syria for the Syrians'," ibid., 46.

[407] "Reader's Forum," ibid., March 1927, 55; "Reader's Forum," ibid., April 1927, 51; "Reader's Forum," ibid., May 1927, 51.

[408] Reader's Forum," ibid., 47, 48.

[409] M. Shadid, "'Syria for the Syrians' Again[:] An Explanation and a Retraction," ibid., October 1928, 28.

[410] As to the basic truth of Shadid's allegations of prejudice, we need only recall the recorded words of Sen. Reed. See p. 122 above. For further details on the return-to-Syria controversy in the *Syrian World*, see Halaby, "Dr. Michael Shadid and the Debate Over Identity in *The Syrian World,*" in *Crossing the Waters*, 55-65; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 105-12.

[411] Paul Deab, "Matrimonial Problems of Our Young Generation," *Syrian World*, January 1928, 22.

[412] Mokarzel, "Christian-Moslem Marriages," ibid., April 1928 , 10, 11, 13, 15.

[413] See 34 Stat. 596 (1906).

[414] A. Hakim [pseud.], "The Sage of Washington Street[:] On the Marriage Problem Among Syrians," ibid., November 1928, 27-32; December 1928, 20-25; January 1929, 12-23. Shakir and Gualtieri both identified Salloum Mokarzel as the true author. Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 71; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 146.

[415] Hakim, "The Sage of Washington Street," *Syrian World*, November 1928, 31; Hakim, "The Sage of Washington Street," ibid., January 1929, 20. Naff and Khater each implied that Hakim was himself the Sage of Washington Street. Naff, *Becoming American*, 241; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 103. In fact, Hakim related to readers the contents of his purported interviews with the Sage, whose remarks Hakim extensively quoted. To clinch the point, observe Hakim's introduction to the third installment: "As on the preceding occasion, my last interview with my friend the Sage was by appointment." Hakim, "The Sage of Washington Street, *Syrian World*, January 1929, 18; see also Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 146.

[416] Hakim, "The Sage of Washington Street, *Syrian World*, January 1929, 23.

[417] "Readers' Forum," ibid., February 1929, 45-47; "Reader's Forum," ibid., March 1929, 47-49; see also Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 147.

[418] "A Syrian Girl Graduates from Columbia," *Syrian World*, August 1926, 55; "Champion Typist is Syrian Girl," ibid.; "Syrian College Girl has many Activities," ibid., May 1929, 53; "Syrian Girl Exhibits at New York Art Show," ibid., March 1931, 53; "Syrian Radio Artist," ibid., November 1931, 56; see also Peterson, "Creating the Syrian-American Generation," 64n25.

[419] E.g., "Miss Lebanon in International Beauty Contest," *Syrian World*, January 1930, 32; "Miss Universe an Egyptian Beauty," ibid., October 15, 1935, 1; "Kurdistan Princess Dances in New York," ibid., March 1931, 52; "Little Salome," ibid., June 1, 1934, 7.

[420] Ameen Rihani, "Woman in the Near East," ibid., September 1930, 5-13; "Lebanese Circus Actress of Washington Street Dies," ibid., October 20, 1933, 1; Najla Sabe, "Girl Astounds Advertising Heads with Writing Ability," ibid., October 12, 1934, 1; "Ladies Aid Society, Completing Drive for Charity Funds, Looks Back Over 27

Years," ibid., November 16, 1934, 2. Sexism pervaded Mount Lebanon to such an extent that, as of 1860, one seldom spoke a woman's name. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 203n57.

[421] "Syrian has Entry in Great Air Derby," *Syrian World*, October 1927, 57; "Syrian Artist Achieves Success," ibid., December 1928, 53; "Syrian and Wife Killed in Florida," ibid., June 1929, 45; "Syrian Invents Successful Helicopter," ibid., September 1930, 57; "Syrians of Cleveland Give Successful Play," ibid., March 1931, 51.

[422] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Will You Help?," *Syrian World*, July 1926, 55-56.

[423] *Al-Hoda, 1898-1968*, 51.

[424] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Report on Condition," *Syrian World*, November 1926, 37-38.

[425] *Al-Hoda, 1898-1968*, 124; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of the Syrian World published monthly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1926," *Syrian World*, December 1926, 73.

[426] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "A Wish," *Syrian World*, April 1927, 46.

[427] Mokarzel, "Notes and Comments By the Editor," ibid., March 1928, 39-40.

[428] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "The Syrian World in its Third Year," ibid., July 1928, 42.

[429] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Changing the Frequency of Issue of the Syrian World," ibid., June 1929, 37- 39.

[430] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Editorial Comment," ibid., March 1930, 44-45.

[431] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Another Milestone," ibid., June 1930, 41; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Publication Dates," ibid., 44.

[432] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Our Fifth Year," ibid., September 1930, 44-45.

[433] "The Syrian World a Corporation," ibid., October 1930, 24-26.

[434] "Syrian World Corporation Launched," ibid., December 1930, 51-54. As to Joseph W. Ferris, also a prominent New York lawyer, see p. 126 above.

[435] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Readers Should Know," *Syrian World*, March 1931, 41-42.

[436] "The Case of the Syrian World," ibid., April 1931, 11-14.

[437] "The Case of the Syrian World [cont.]," ibid., May 1931, 20-28; W. A. Mansur, "Our Pride in Our Syrian Race," ibid., 29-35.

[438] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "The Syrian World to Continue: An Editorial Announcement," ibid., June 1931, 14-15.

[439] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "New Year—New Policy: An Editorial Announcement," ibid., September 1931, 3-4.

[440] "Our Plans for the Future," ibid., 5.

[441] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Apology," ibid., February 1932, 44; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Hard Times," ibid., 44-46; Salloum A. Mokarzel, "And Now Our Case," ibid., 47.

[442] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "An Open Letter to the Subscribers and Friends of the Syrian World," ibid., May 1932, 21-25.

[443] Miller, *Our Syrian Population*, 40.

[444] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "Another Year," *Syrian World*, June 1932, 41-42.

[445] Suleiman pointed out the irony that Salloum Mokarzel, the proponent of English over Arabic, found himself in charge of an Arabic-language publication, *Al-Hoda*, and eventually relinquished control of an English-language publication, the *Syrian World*. Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 79.

[446] "Another Start," *Syrian World*, May 5, 1933, 4. Note that coverage of the Faour Bank liquidation coincided with the *Syrian World*'s resumption of publication. See pp. 76-77 above.

[447] Anuor Azizi, "The Beginning of a Good Friendship," *Syrian World*, May 12, 1933, 8.

[448] Elayyan, "The *Syrian World* in the New World," in *Arabs in the Americas*, 54.

[449] Advertisement, *Syrian World*, May 5, 1933, 6.

[450] Advertisement, ibid., May 19, 1933, 6.

[451] Salloum A. Mokarzel, "The Syrian World Changes Hands," ibid., October 20, 1933, 1; Masthead, ibid., 4; Suleiman, "The Mokarzels' Contributions to the Arabic-Speaking Community in the United States," 84; "J. M. Abbott Joins the Syrian World," *Syrian World*, January 6, 1934, 4; Masthead, ibid., October 5, 1934, 4. Once Katibah replaced Mokarzel at the helm of the *Syrian World*, its editorials, though presumably written by Katibah, were printed without attribution, in keeping with mainstream journalistic practice. Katibah dispensed with Mokarzel's idiosyncratic use of "By the Editor" and similar such phrasing. Accordingly, the present study's citations to the *Syrian World*'s unsigned editorials during the Katibah years do not identify any author(s).

[452] "Objectives of the Syrian World," *Syrian World*, January 12, 1934, 4; "'Thou Art Ever With Me'," ibid.

[453] "Objectives: V," ibid., February 9, 1934, 4.

[454] "The Second Milestone," ibid., May 2, 1935, 4.

[455] H. I. Katibah, "Why Pay In Advance?," ibid., May 30, 1935, 1.

[456] "Public-Spirited Syrians Pledge Support of the Syrian World," ibid., June 20, 1935, 1.

[457] "Our Outgoing Business Manager," ibid., June 29, 1935, 4; Advertisement, ibid.; Masthead, ibid.

[458] "Public Announcement: Ways and Means Committee Makes Recommendations for Strengthening the Syrian World," ibid., August 1, 1935, 1; H. I. Katibah, "From East and West: I Am Not In Business!," ibid., 5. Katibah tended to use exclamation points for emphasis.

[459] "'Do Not Put Off Until Tomorrow'," ibid., August 29, 1935, 4; "Advisory Board of the Syrian World," ibid.; "A Step Forward in the Right Direction," ibid., October 1, 1935, 4.

[460] "Syrian World Will Launch Campaign," ibid., October 15, 1935, 1; H. I. Katibah, "From East and West: What the Syrian World Campaign Signifies," ibid., 5.

[461] See p. 103 above; "Orthodox Bishop Excommunicates Patriarch in Bitter Fued [sic] that Split Antiochean See," *Syrian World*, November 1, 1935, 2; George E. Macksoud, "Cooperation," ibid.

[462] Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 94.

[463] "Syrian World Dance and Amateur Hour," *Syrian World*, November 15, 1935, 1; "IMPORTANT NOTICE Syrian World Anthology," ibid., 2.

[464] "Sights and Characteristics of New York's 'Little Syria," 32.

[465] Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 85; Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 11.

[466] Ameen Rihani, *Letters to Uncle Sam* (Washington, DC: Platform International, 2001), 11.

[467] Mokarzel, "History of the Syrians in New York," 6-7.

[468] Abraham Mitrie Rihbany, *The Syrian Christ* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), 115.

[469] Kalil A. Bishara, "The Contribution of the Syrian Immigrant to America," *Syrian World*, January 1927, 16.

[470] Ameen Rihani, "To America," repr. in ibid., November 1, 1935, 5.

[471] Rihani, *Letters to Uncle Sam*, 43.

[472] H. I. Katibah, "From East and West: Americanism and Syrianism!," *Syrian World*, September 12, 1935, 5.

[473] George E. Macksoud, "What Price Assimilation?," ibid., October 15, 1935, 5.

[474] Hooglund, "Introduction," in *Crossing the Waters*, 8.

[475] Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers' Project, *The WPA Guide to New York City: The Federal Writers' Project Guide to 1930s New York*, intro. William H. Whyte, repr. (New York: New Press, 1992), 76; "The Oasis Becomes a Mecca," *Syrian World*, August 1, 1935, 3; "A Picturesque Colony," 2; Advertisement, *Syrian World*, August 1, 1935, 3; Advertisement, ibid., August 15, 1935, 7. See pp. 62, 105 above.

[476] Caroline Zachary Institute of Human Development, and Common Council for American Unity, *Around the World in New York: A Guide to the City's Nationality Groups* (New York: Common Council for American Unity, 1950), 16; Ruth Karpf, "Street of the Arabs," *New York Times*, August 11, 1946, 112; Rashid, "Cultural Traditions of Early Arab Immigrants to New York," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 74, 76.

[477] Dunlap, "A Brief Encore for Little Syria;" Jonathan Friedlander, "Rare Sights: Images of Early Arab Immigration to New York City," in *A Community of Many Worlds*, 52.

[478] Angela Serratore, "Little Syria," *The Paris Review*, September 17, 2013, online at http://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2013/09/17/little-syria/ [accessed September 24, 2013].

[479] Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 157.

[480] See pp. 72-73 and fig. 4 above.

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