

THE IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE SYRIANS

By

J. M. Ansara

-oOo-

Harvard College
Honor Thesis
1931

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

Although the Syrians in the United States are an insignificant number in comparison with such immigrant races as the Germans, the Italians, the Irish, and the Jews, yet they are present, and it is well that we know who they are, why and how they came, and what they are doing in the United States. The United States is a land of immigrants; some came in time to fight in the Revolutionary War, some arrived early enough to take part in the Civil War, and others, perhaps the last to come in any great numbers, will be known in American history as the heroes of the World War who sacrificed their lives for their "mother country." While those of the first period are known as the Americans who made the United States an independent and a sovereign country, and those of the second period who preserved the Union and made it free, perhaps our last immigrants will be remembered as the people who made possible American greatness in industry, finance, and even culture. Just as in the past so in the present every element in the United States is contributing something to American life, and we can appreciate their contributions only if we know more about them. For this reason no immigrant race is too small, no immigrant race is too late for us to study its origins, its immigration, and its activities.

THE IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE SYRIANS

INTRODUCTION

THEIR BACKGROUND

	Page
Chap. I. <u>The Syrian People</u>	1
A. Original Stocks	1
Predominance of Semitic blood	
B. Later Infusions	2
The conquerors' descendants, resulting in a hybrid people.	
Chap. II. <u>Conditions of Syria During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century</u>	5
A. Political Conditions	5
Long history as a subject people. The Turkish rule; the Massacres of 1860 and the results.	
B. Religious Conditions	10
Religion and its effects in Syria. The sects.	
C. Economic Conditions	13
Backward and undeveloped conditions.	

PART I

THE IMMIGRATION

	Page
Chap. I. <u>Causes of the Syrian Emigration</u>	15
A. The Syrian Awakening	15
Contact with the outside world through missionary schools and tourists; and revival of Arabic literature.	
B. Political and Religious Unrest	19
European intrigue and intervention in Syria. The Druze and Moslem uprising of 1860, resulting in an autonomous Lebanon.	
C. The Wandering Trader	21
The trading instinct of the Syrians, and its manifestation after 1860.	
Chap. II. <u>Early Syrian Immigration</u>	26
A. Knowledge of America	26
The influence of the missionaries and tourists.	
B. Pioneer Immigrants	27
The "father" of the Syrian immigrants, and other early individual pioneers	
C. Family Immigration	31
The first Syrian families; and the early farmer-immigrants from Lebanon.	
Chap. III. <u>Immigration after 1882</u>	34
A. The Coming of the Syrians	34

	The Syrian-Egyptian emigration; and the attraction of the American expositions. Increase of immigration up to 1913.	
B.	Causes	39
	Economic, political and religious unrest after 1890. Influence of first immigrants and of returned emigrants.	
C.	Sources	45
	The Zahleh region and the spread of emigration. Predominance of Christians.	
D.	Character	49
	Effects of the economic motive and of intended temporary stay. The coming of families and women.	
E.	Conditions	52
	Peddling, its reasons, conditions, and effects.	

PART II

THE SYRIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

Chap. I.	<u>Distribution</u>	59
A.	Numbers	59
	Syrian population in the United States conjectural. The various estimates.	
B.	Location	61
	Wide distribution, and high urban percentage. The disintegration of the colonies.	
Chap. II.	<u>Economic Conditions</u>	66
A.	Merchants and Manufacturers	66

	Page
Development of Syrian commerce, and its various branches. Retailing and its wide distribution.	
B. Laborers	80
Mostly skilled; reasons for small number of unskilled laborers. Textile workers and recent changes and migrations. Miners.	
C. Farmers	84
Low percentage of farmers, and reasons. Spread of Syrians into the Middle West, and settlement of farm colonies. Farmers in the East, South, and Far West.	
D. Miscellaneous Occupations	89
Professional men; writers, artists and others	
Chap. III. <u>Institutional Developments</u>	92
A. Societies and Clubs	92
The purposes of these organizations. Syrian American Clubs, special societies for church, charity, politics, and education.	
B. Newspapers and Magazines	97
The influence of the Syrian-American newspapers on immigrants, immigration, and Syria. Recent tendencies. Magazines and publishers.	
Chap. IV. <u>Religious Life</u>	105
A. Syrian Religious Attitude	105
The importance of religion in the Syrian's life; and its influence in America.	

	Page
B. The Sects	106
Their history, churches, and numbers.	
C. Present Condition and Tendencies	112
Their organizations and social importance. Drift- ing away of the younger generation, and steps to prevent it.	
Chap. V. <u>The Syrians in American Life</u>	116
A. Education	116
Reasons for high illiteracy among immigrants in the early years. The rising generation and its education. Educational societies; and women students.	
B. Political Life	120
Political conditions in Syria and their effect upon early immigrants. Conditions in this country which prevented interest in politics. Present political conditions, and affiliations. The work of the Syrian clubs.	
C. Cultural Development	124
The two effects of Syrian contact with Western culture. The work of the contemporary leaders in Syrian-American culture. Their writers, artists and scholars.	
Chap. VI. <u>Assimilation</u>	132
A. Americanization	
The rapid Americanization of the Syrians and its causes.	
B. The New School. The reaction to complete	135
Americanization, and the offered alternative.	
Bibliography	i-ix

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Background

INTRODUCTION

The Background

CHAPTER I.

THE SYRIAN PEOPLE

A. Original Stocks

If the Syrians are to be classified under one of the major divisions of the white race, most likely they would come under the head of Semites. But this only means that the Semitic stock predominates, and not that it is the exclusive stock of the Syrian people. At the dawn of the history of the country, the curtain rises on a land inhabited by diverse, heterogeneous peoples, belonging to two of the three great stocks of the white race. After the flight of the Hebrews from Egypt, and at the time of their entrance into Palestine, lower Syria, the country was inhabited by many tribes, the most important of whom were the Canaanites, the Ammonites, the Phoenicians, the Arameans, the Philistines, and the Hittites; the last two of Hamitic origin, kinsmen of the early Egyptians, and the others like the Hebrews descendants of Shem. About this time these tribes had become well intermixed through conquests and intermarriages, and the country was divided among the Arameans and Phoenicians in the north, and the Canaanites and Philistines in the south, with minor tribes interspersed throughout the country. The

coming of the Hebrews into the "promised land" of Canaan added another element to the racial strains of Syria.¹

B. Later Infusions

These were on the whole the original peoples of the country, but ~~the land was~~ Syria like a ball was being constantly passed from the hands of one conqueror to the hands of another. The Assyrians, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Persians, all at one time or another, subdued the disunited Syrians, and were their rulers for long periods of time. There is no doubt but that these various conquerors were survived by many descendants who sooner or later were assimilated by the older stocks.

The first great ethnic infusion took place after the subjugation of Syria by Alexander the Great in the fourth century B.C. Alexander set out to conquer the East to avenge the West, but it was not long before he began having wider visions, visions of a Hellenistic-Oriental world and culture, "to wed the East to the West." One of the means he took to accomplish this was the planting of numerous Greek colonies throughout the East, and encouraging intermarriages between the colonists and the natives, setting the example himself.² In Syria this policy resulted in the

¹ Charles J. Kent, ^{Hebrew People} Part I, Chap. IV.
Hitti, History of Syrian Commerce, S. Mokanzel,
Introduction, p. 5.

² Plutarch's Life of Alexander. See bibliography.

infusion of a great deal of Aryan blood into a predominately Semitic population.

It was to this type of Syrians that the Roman Empire opened up a wider field of activity. Rome created a new Mediterranean world, in whose seaports and towns intermingled men from all parts of the Empire on an equal footing, living and working side by side and quite often intermarrying. Syria due to its favored location, received its share of hybridized population.

The conquest of Syria by the Arabs in the seventh century replenished the Semitic strain. This flow of Arab blood into the country was not the first of its kind; for centuries Arab tribes had migrated and lived along the eastern fringe of Syria and had filtered into the interior. But the Moslem Arab inroad was on a much greater scale, and of more lasting effects that persist even to today.¹

During the Saracenic rule and before the coming of the Turks, there were other minor contributions to the modern Syrian stock, the most important of which was the European blood at the time of the Crusades. It is ~~well~~ known that besides the warriors who came to "rescue" the Holy Land, many non-fighting "Franks", especially after the setting up of the various Christian states in Syria, immigrated into the country

1. Syrians, both Christian and Moslem, still call themselves Awlad 'Urab, Children of the Arabs.

and lived on the land under a transplanted feudal system. Likewise, to the seacoast towns came European traders, mostly Italians, who carried on an extensive commerce between the interior ^{of Syria} and southern Europe. With the failure of the Crusades and the reconquest of the land by the Saracens, the European colonists had become so deeply rooted to the country that they remained and were gradually assimilated into the body of the population.

Then the Turks came, but their appearance in the country was merely as a very small ruling class, and on the whole of temporary residence. But under their rule Syria did receive small numbers of immigrants from other Turkish provinces, namely from Armenia, Circassia, and the Kurd country; and they are to be found mostly in the northern part of the country. However, these modern immigrants are of so recent a date that there has yet been only a slight assimilation.

It is quite evident, then, that the Syrians are a people of various and diverse stocks, with a very rich background. They are an assimilation, a fused mixture of almost every type of people that ever had access to the Mediterranean from the dark Hamitic Egyptians to the fair Aryan Franks, with a strong substratum of Semites. All these types are found among the modern Syrians, and we can understand it only if we remember their peculiar ethnic history.

CHAPTER II.

CONDITION OF SYRIA DURING THE SECOND

HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER II.CONDITION OF SYRIA DURING THE SECOND
HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURYA. Political Conditions

In the long history of Syria at no time did it form an autonomous state, except when it was under foreign rule, as under the Antiochian Seleucides or the Arab Ommayades. And when it was free of foreign masters, it inevitably split up into small petty states as in the Biblical days and during the last ^{period} days of the Saracenic Empire. It is safe to say that on the whole Syria throughout its history formed a subject province of whatever state happened to be powerful in the Mediterranean. It has never been the good-fortune of the Syrians to be able to unite and form an independent political entity. This lack of national consciousness seems to be one of the outstanding traits of the Syrians.

One of the underlying causes of this divisive tendency of the Syrian people can be found in the physiographical condition of their country. Within a width of not more than an hundred miles two mountain ranges, running down the length of the country, divide ~~the country~~ ^{it} into three distinct areas. Even within these areas, particularly in the mountainous regions, there have been from the beginning of its history isolated districts that have maintained, more or less,

independent existences. ⁽¹⁷⁾ This geographical division has tended to keep the country disunited and open to conquests by its neighbors.

The failure to create ~~a~~ united and free nation may also be explained by the fact that the advanced people of the coast have always been tempted rather to look outside of their country, to the commercial advantages offered by the Mediterranean. From very early times those Syrians who had access to the sea, took to it very early, and their commercial ambitions took precedence ^{over} ~~of~~ all other desires. Those in the interior cut off from the sea by the Lebanon Mountains, in isolated communities, scrapped a living by farming, or those who were located on the trade routes developed into independent trading centers, like Damascus and Aleppo. This early interest in commerce, which necessarily was foreign commerce, made the Syrians tolerant of any foreign rule, especially when it promoted their interests. A people wedded to foreign trade would naturally be more cosmopolitan, and less politically inclined.

One of the strongest bonds of a nation is a homogeneous religion, and this Syria has always lacked. Truly is Syria the home of religions; it has been a prolific producer of faiths. Spiritually this genius for religions may be of great value, but politically it has been its curse. In the Biblical days the Hebrews were constantly waging war against their pagan neighbors, followers of Ammon, Baal,

1. The case of the village that spoke Syriac till recent times.

During the period of

Sin, Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and so forth and so on. Under the Roman Empire Syria was not only well supplied with religions, but produced enough to export to other parts of the Empire. As though this were not enough to prove its fecundity and loyalty to Rome, it had to give to the Empire Christianity. And out of the simple faith of Christ Syria produced half a dozen different sects, but which, fortunately for the rest of the world, were not for export trade. Before the days of Protestantism, this small country could count among its Christian sects Maronites, Melechites, Orthodox, Jacobites, and Nestorians. Then Islam came and with it Sunnis, Shiites, Druzes, and Dervishes. Besides all these are secret, semi-pagan religions of which very little is known. Is it surprising that people *with* such a diversity of religions, and a people who take religion as seriously as they do, have not been able to unite in the past?

The natural division of the country, the heterogeneous racial and religious elements, and the preoccupation of the people with trade and commerce, were conditions which favored successful conquests of Syria, and denied it any great extent of political independence. This long past history as a subject people of one overlord or another, and with conditions within the country itself that prevented any development of national consciousness, had made the Syrians tolerant of their position as a subject people. And when

that political authority began bearing heavily upon their commercial, religious, and cultural pursuits, to an extent that it became unbearable, they did not hesitate to forsake their native land and seek new homes in the farthest corners of the earth. This was what happened in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Syria was conquered by the Turks in 1516 under Selim I, at a time when it formed a part of the Memluke Empire of Egypt. The Turkish bureaucracy was extended over Syria and it became a province of the Empire. But the Turkish Empire at its best was never more than a despotic militarism, with the Sultan as the absolute master and the subjugated peoples governed by slave officials. It was an empire of conquered peoples, obedient and loyal to the Padishah only because of his Janissaries. Not only was there danger of the oppressed Christian rayahs, but it was always a haunting fear of the Sultans that even their own fellow-Moslems of Egypt and Syria would, given the opportunity, revolt against their authority. These fears were verified by Mehemet Ali's uprising in Egypt. It therefore became the policy of the Porte to divert the attention of the Arab Moslems from the oppression of the Turks by inciting their religious intolerance towards their Christian countrymen, just as happened in Syria in 1860. Truly, was it the policy of the Sultans to "divide and rule". In Syria where for centuries before

the coming of the Turks the adherents of the two religions had lived peacefully side by side, now Moslem fanaticism was inflamed and sharp differences were drawn between the two.¹ The Moslem was made to feel that he was superior to the unbelieving Christian, and gradually he tended to become intolerant and oppressive.

Christians were also prohibited from entering the military service, and to support the Moslem armies, they were burdened with the most oppressive taxes.

Then when the European nations began taking an interest in the East in the nineteenth century, this oppression and intolerance began to increase. The Padishah became "The Sick Man of Europe" and the European powers began coveting his territories. Wars followed with the Christian nations, and every war was made a crusade by the Sultans against the infidels, in order to hold the loyalty of their non-Turkish Moslem subjects. When the Russians declared war on the Turks, claiming that the Moslems were persecuting their protegee Christians, naturally the Moslems blamed their Christian neighbors for all the woe and misery which ~~the~~ these wars entailed. And so while the Turkish government,

1. "I was not to gaze curiously at the Mohammedans, whom I knew by their white turbans. They considered us kuffar (infidels) and enemies of the faith; therefore they were ever ready for the slightest provocation to beat or even kill us. In the presence of a Mohammedan I was to assume a most reverential and humble attitude." A.M. Rihbany, A Far Journey (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914). p. 80 f.

when defeated, made diplomatic promises to lift the restrictions upon their Christian subjects and treat all on an equal basis, the Syrian Moslems resented any such equality, saw to it that it never really took place, and actually their intolerance and fanaticism became more offensive.

The climax came in 1860 when the Druze and Moslems, instigated secretly by the Turkish government, rose in arms and massacred about ten thousand Christians in Lebanon and Damascus, and were not quieted until the Western Powers actually interfered. It was as a result of this event that the European nations induced the Sultan to set up the Lebanon district as an autonomous state with its own militia and a Christian governor. The greater part of this semi-independent state was inhabited by Christians, of whom the most numerous belonged to the Maronite sect. Therefore, the political power of Lebanon tended to come into the hands of the Maronite clergy, who in order to insure their ascendancy became just as tyrannical and oppressive as the Turkish authorities before them. Conditions under the new government were no better than formerly, and the population was just as dissatisfied and restive as under the Moslem rule.

B. Religious Conditions

In a country where the political or national ties are to a great extent very loose and sometimes almost absent, people turn to their religion as the main object of their

devotion. Or, perhaps, it is that a people strongly devoted to their religion, in the sense that it dominates their whole field of activity, become less concerned with political institutions as long as political conditions do not interfere with their religious life. Whichever way we look at it, the fact is that in Syria, a country which we have seen lacking in political consciousness and national continuity, the population was split up into a great number of religious groups and these groups, separately, commanded the supreme loyalty of their members. The Syrian at home and abroad, is first a member of this or that religious organization, and then if there are any other loyalties expected of him, they come after. A national bond of union was lacking in Syria, and so the Syrian turned his devotion and interests to the next nearest institution, his organized religion.¹ While in modern times peoples have been concerned with such new movements as nationalism and political developments, the Syrians have been disunited by petty religious differences. In the United States when two men meet they discuss their political party affiliations, but in Syria men were restrained in their conversations until they found out to which religion or sect the other belonged. Among Syrians

1. "In such a scheme, however, there can be no place for national feeling,.... The Syrian is a man without a country par excellence. His patriotism takes the form of love for family and sect, and when expressed in inanimate terms, love for the unexcelled scenery of Syria, with its glorious sunshine and invigorating air. Syrian patriotism has no political aspects." P. Hitti, The Syrians in America (New York, George H. Doran Co., 1924), p.25.

religious differences are exaggerated, and are found to be the cause of most of their disagreements. There are over a dozen sects, each one intolerant of the other; the effects are pitiful, and not very conducive to the progress and welfare of the country.

The two major religions of Syria which claim the allegiance of the greater part of the population are Mohammedanism and Christianity, the Moslems forming almost half the entire population.¹ But each of these two is subdivided into a number of sects, with the Christians distinguished ~~of~~ having the greatest variety. ~~Like the Maronites, the Greek Catholics or Melchites are not Roman Catholics, but with the Maronites form an Uniat Eastern Church.~~ Besides these major sects there are Jews, descendants of the old

1. Population of Syria, from M. Guinet, 1896

Moslems			
Arabs and Syrians	1,381,486)		1,538,492
Others (Turks, Kurds, Circassians etc.	157,006)		
Christians			
Catholics, Maronites	300,740)	541,265)	
Others	240,525)		
Orthodox		293,655)	
Other sects not united		65,934)	
Protestants		11,714)	916,568
Israelites			89,647
Druzes			151,837
Ansariahs			128,720
Diverse religions			11,558
		Total	2,832,822

L. De Contenson, Les Reformes En Turquie D'Asie p.59
(Paris, Plon-Nourait et Cie., 1913)

Hebrews or recent immigrants; Druze and Nusiyriyahs, semi-Moslem, secret sects, descendants of the ancient Lebanon pagan sects; and diverse other small sects which are peculiar to the East.

C. Economic Conditions

In the past ages Syria was the land "flowing with milk and honey", the home of Phoenician glass, "Tyrian blue" cloth, damask, Damascene steel, and Syrian wines, and the mother of commerce and trade. But in modern times many of her sons have left her, because she could not support them.

Syria today is not a productive ^{land} ~~country~~, but as in the past she is primarily an agricultural and a pastoral country. But her agricultural methods are of the most ancient and rudimentary, and her farmers barely scrap the surface of a none too fertile soil. Because of the ignorance of scientific agriculture, her farmers make only a bare living, and never enough to lay aside. Thus lacking knowledge and emergency provision, when the plant diseases and blighting locusts strike the country, the peasants are helpless and are forced to dire poverty or usurious mortgages.

In the days of the Turks, if the farmer did succeed in producing enough to live decently, the government was sure to take it away from him in the form of excessive taxes and illegal exactions. The day of the tax-collector was always a day of woe to the Syrian farmer.

The opportunities for industry are not many in Syria, for it sorely lacks the natural resources and water power necessary. Another important hindrance was the fact that there was not much internal commerce; for each locality produced its limited wants, and was self-sufficing. Moreover, whatever commerce there was, was checked by the difficulties of transportation and travel. All attempts by native capitalists to advance native industries were either strictly opposed by the government, or so highly taxed that it became prohibitive.

Syria is primarily an agricultural and secondarily a mercantile country. Throughout its history its men have been the traders of the Levant. There was not much in Syria for export trade, but whatever there was the Syrians handled ~~it~~ very well, and extended their mercantile enterprises into the more productive neighboring countries, such as Egypt. The Syrian is by nature and inheritance a trader, and he carries that trait with him wherever he goes.

PART I.

THE IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER I

CAUSES OF THE SYRIAN EMIGRATION

CHAPTER ICAUSES OF THE SYRIAN EMIGRATIONA. The Syrian Awakening

In reviewing the condition of Syria in the second half of the nineteenth century, we have noticed how Turkish oppression and corruption denied the Syrians any national consciousness, how the sharp religious divisions led to religious persecutions, and the lack of education and of opportunities checked natural economic development. But this was the age of religious toleration, of political freedom, of economic progress, and of enlightenment, and Syria was inevitably to be touched by these modern movements. Contacts with the outside world, education, and political and economic revolutions were to awaken the Syrians out of their lethargy, resulting first in an attempt to better their condition in their mother-country; ^{then} but, failing to seek their fortunes in foreign lands.

The antecedents of the Syrian Awakening go back to the early years of the nineteenth century, first the coming of the foreign missionaries into the country, and then the

interference of foreign powers in the affairs of Syria. (B)

The missionaries were to bring them knowledge and education, and the powers political and religious unrest.

In American history the opening years of the last century mark the Great Revival, the emotional religious awakening in the United States, that reached its climax in the Pioneer West, and its aftermath the sending out of American missionaries to Christianize the "heathen" parts of the world. One of these missionaries, Levi Parsons, arrived in Jaffa in 1821, and another, Pliny Fish, came to Beirut in 1823. In the following years American missionary schools were set up throughout the country, offering education to the people. No doubt there were other missionaries from other countries, such as the French Jesuits, perhaps even before the American Congregationalists; but the significance of the American missions was that they dotted the whole country with their schools, extending the opportunities of education not far from the homes of the natives. This educational program of the American missionaries culminated in the founding of what is now the American University of Beirut, ^{one of the} the finest university in the Near East.¹

The Americans set the example for other foreign denominations, Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox, and soon

1. A full account of the American missionary activities in Syria will be found in Julius Richter, History of Protestant Missions in the Near East.

French, English, and Russian schools also appeared in the country.

These foreign missionary schools, besides their sectarian religious propaganda, brought elementary and higher education into the Syrian villages with knowledge of the outside world and its achievements. To a Syria that had been living in isolation and darkness of the outside world, were introduced the wonders and ideals of other countries, and it dawned upon its educated few how far behind their country was. These schools produced an enlightened class of leaders who after failing to bring about the badly needed reforms, were to lead their dissatisfied countrymen to foreign lands.

The nineteenth century also saw the beginning of the coming of tourists into Syria and Palestine, who through the medium of guides and dragomans disseminated knowledge of the new world, who invited them to emigrate to the land of opportunity and freedom, and who welcomed the first-comers.

Arabic culture and literature, ever since the downfall of the Saracenic Empire had been on a steady decline and almost passing into oblivion, until about the middle of the nineteenth century when a Syrian group, thanks to the schools of the foreign missionaries, resuscitated it

and blew into it a modern spirit.¹ Since then the Syrians have been the leaders in the Arabic renaissance, and wherever Arabic is written they are found to be in the fore. In Syria, in Egypt, in North America and South America, and in Australia, they are editing the most influential newspapers and magazines, and are writing on the most modern subjects. Poetry, philosophy, history, and science they are writing, and moulding Arabic thought in the modern fashion. Syrian writers and Syrian newspapers in Egypt and America, pointed out Turkish corruption and unprogressiveness, and urged their countrymen to act. They asked their fellows to forget their petty differences and unite in a common cause. Turkey and its rule were compared with the Western world, and the differences were painted in glaring colors. They were a great factor in creating unrest in Syria, and in the emigration movement.

1. "In Syria therefore, and especially at Beirut, the first adjustment towards a synthesis of the ancient traditions and the new thought were made ..."

"...towards the end of the nineteenth century, largely as a result of the continuous immigration of Syrian literati, the center of the literary Arabic movement was transferred to Egypt."

"In the latter half of the century (19th) the field (neo-Arabic prose literature) was occupied chiefly by Syrians, who... began to introduce scientific methods of research into Arabic historiography."

"A very important part in the dissemination of Western ideas has been and still is played by the talented group of Syro-American writers..." H.A.R. Gibb, Arabic Literature (London, Oxford University Press, 1926). pp. 117f.

B. Political and Religious Unrest

The interest of the foreign missionaries in Syria was not all religious; there was a political motive and interest behind every one of the foreign missions, except the American. These were the years when Europe first realized that the Turkish Empire was slowly decaying, and ^{likely} liable to fall apart any day. Most of the European powers, but in particular Britain, France, and Russia, had an interest in the Empire, and saw the possibility of utilizing the mission schools to further their interests. Quite often the home governments subsidized the mission societies, or as in the case of Russia they supported them wholly. Each of these nations had a definite propaganda program, and their missions in Syria by means of the schools did much in propagating those programs. The essence of the work of the mission schools was to win over the loyalty of natives to their various home-governments, ~~so~~ that when the disruption of the Empire came everything would be ready ^{for} ~~so that~~ the European nation ^{to} ~~could~~ take over a portion of the Empire. The educational thirst of the Syrians was exploited by the foreign missionaries, to fill the minds of the students and their parents with the wonders and benevolence of the European countries. The life, freedom, and prosperity of peoples beyond the seas were absorbed by young Syrians, and they began contrasting those conditions with their own.

The interest of European governments in foreign missions was only one of many ways by means of which they extended their influence over Syria. In the nineteenth century the Europeans suddenly remembered that there were fellow-Christians in the East, who were being badly treated by the Turks, and needed their protection. Thus the French became the protectors of the Catholics, the Russians of the Orthodox, and the British of the few Protestants; and they forced the Turkish government to recognize them as such. In this way the Powers now had a direct and praiseworthy interest in the East, and they diligently devoted themselves to it. Time after time the Europeans interfered in Syria, and forced the Sultans to promise all sorts of reforms, but we have seen how really very little of them were ever put in force, and how often it increased the misery of the Christians. But one effect it did have, and that was to awaken the Syrians, to show them how badly off they were, and what they needed. They became restive, and knowing that they had the support of the civilized world they began agitating. The propaganda of the foreign missionaries, the writings of the countrymen who had emigrated to Egypt and America encouraged them to demand reform and amelioration.

The Turkish government became alarmed, and strict censorship and persecution of the leaders followed. But a public opinion had been formed, and the only way to get rid

of them was by wholesale massacre. Thus the government intrigued with the Moslems and Druze of Syria, and the Civil War of 1860 and its Christian massacres followed. Before the European powers could interfere, thousands had been butchered, and hundreds had fled to Egypt and Europe. This was the first large emigration from Syria in modern times.

The result of 1860 was the setting up of the autonomous state of Lebanon, but we have seen how this was only a substitution of one bad government for another. The Turks slowly worked their way back into Lebanon, and though in outward form it remained independent, the old masters were really in control again; and very little reform ever really took place. In the last decade of the century the Christian Syrians began to realize the futility of it all, and turned their faces from East to the West of which they had heard so much. Already there were Syrians in the New World and they sometimes returned to tell dazzling stories of America, and those who did not return home wrote back telling their relatives and friends to emigrate and share their happiness and prosperity.

C. The Wandering Trader

Besides these political and religious causes of the Syrian emigration, there was an economic cause which was ^{if not more} just as important as the others. We have seen how the Syrians

have always played an active part in the economic life of the Mediterranean, and how they had a propensity to take advantage of commercial opportunities wherever offered. We have reviewed the economic conditions of Syria as they existed in the nineteenth century, and they certainly did not look very promising. It was no field for the exercise of the natural tendencies of the Syrian. Then a new world was opened to him, virgin lands overflowing with wealth were beckoning, the eternal trader packed his goods, and like his Phoenician forebears, wandered to the ends of the earth in search of trade, to South Africa, to India, to Australia and the Philippines, to the West Indies and South America, and to the United States.

The Syrian is and always has been a wanderer by nature, and in pursuit of trade and wealth he has sought the four corners of the ^{globe} earth. In the ancient days, we hear of him in Greece, in Rome, in North Africa, in Spain, and even in Britain; in the middle ages, we find him in France, in Italy, and along the Rhine; and today, he is living in the Sudan, in South Africa, in Australia, in the Philippines and in North and South America.¹

1. P. K. Hitti, History of the Syrian migrations and colonies; Tenney Frank, A History of Rome, passim; H. Stuart Jones, The Roman empire, passim; A History of the Franks by Gregory of Tours, passim; M. M. Knight, Economic History of Europe, passim; Evelyn Baring, Lord of Cromer, Modern Egypt, Vol. II, Part IV; A. Ponjol, La question des Syriens en Haiti, pp. 1f.

In the long history and the wide extent of their wanderings, the Syrians and the Jews show similarities, but the causes underlying the migration of the two peoples are quite different. The Jews have been a people without a country, and their wanderings have been forced upon them; but the Syrians have a home and their migrations century after century have had their immediate sources in Syria itself, with one exception.¹ The Syrians migrated not because they had to, but because they chose to. This wanderlust is an inherited, latent trait which when home conditions are adverse is given expression and the Syrians are seen cropping up in all parts of the world.

The Syrians, in the words of Professor Philip K. Hitti, are "a people without a country par excellence" in that the Syrian's appreciation of his country is its scenic beauty, its invigorating air, and its delicious fruits, with very little nationalistic or political sentiment.² The geography of the country has ~~tended to~~ split up its inhabitants into small, almost independent districts, self-sufficient and locally-minded. Besides this geographical division, we have also seen how the people have always been disunited by diverse religions which tended to be intolerant of each other and to claim the people's sole loyalty. Under these conditions the country became the prey of stronger nations and a racial province in conglomerate empires.

1. Cf. infra, p. 25.

2. Cf. supra, p. 11 footnote 1.

The Syrian, his interests and loyalties being of an individualistic and a cosmopolitan character and not limited by any political or nationalistic confines, never hesitated to seek his fortune outside of the land of his birth. In pursuit of trade, wealth, learning, and freedom, "no corner of the globe", as one modern Syrian scholar put it, "is too far for him, from Alaska to Transvaal; no race is strange to him whether white or yellow, or black; no country has he but God's wide world; and no nationality has he, but that which offers him a livelihood.¹ Living in a country whose possibilities have always been limited, with a sea outside his door beckoning, and the blood of his Phoenician forbears urging him on, no sooner are the doors of a new land opened than we find the Syrian knocking at the gates.

The growing interest of Christian Europe in Syria and the demands of the Christian Syrians alarmed the Turks and led to the Massacres of 1860. Before the European powers could intervene and restore order thousands had been slaughtered and hundreds had fled the country. This Massacre of 1860 marks the beginning of the modern Syrian emigration in large numbers, which has continued up to the present day. The "promised land" in those days was not America but Egypt which under enlightened rulers and European influence offered the rising Syrians great opportunities. Here in Egypt the Christian Syrians,

1. P. K. Hitti, Introduction to S. ~~McKerzel~~, History of Syrian Commerce, p. 7

for the Moslem Syrians had not emigrated to any great extent, very soon attained an eminent position in the country as merchants, as educators, as editors and publishers, as government employees and officials, as scholars and financiers. Their positions ~~were~~ still more enhanced with the coming of the British who recognized their ability and usefulness. Lord Cromer saw their worth and declared that "Whether from a moral, social, or intellectual point of view, the Syrian stands on a distinctly high level."¹

Egypt, however, was only the first step or the early stage, in Syrian migrations, for we soon hear of their spreading into other parts of the world. In this period out of a population of 3,000,000, approximately, it is said, a third emigrated between the years 1860 and 1915, mostly in the last twenty-five years. About three-fourths of these emigrants are in the western hemisphere, with about a half a million in South America, mostly in Brazil.² They are also found in the countries of Central America, in almost all islands of the West Indies, and quite a population in Mexico. So numerous and prosperous are they in Haiti, that they incurred the jealousy of the natives and other foreign traders, and in 1903 a law was passed which checked any further immigration and forbade retail commerce by the Syrians already in the country. In North America besides the United States they are settled in Canada and even Alaska.

1. Cromer, op. cit., p. 219

2. A.M. Mac Lean, Modern Immigration, p. 185, and 199; "Syrians and Arabs in America", Review of Reviews, LIV (1916), 533 f.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY SYRIAN IMMIGRATION

CHAPTER II.EARLY SYRIAN IMMIGRATIONA. Knowledge of America

Knowledge of America did not come to the Syrians until after the second decade of the 19th century. The distance between the New World and Syria is over 7000 miles, and about the same time that America was being discovered, Syria had passed under the rule of the Turks and into a lethargy and isolation that lasted almost three centuries. During these years education and books were rare, and newspapers unknown; and trade which had always been Syria's means of knowledge ^{of} ~~with~~ the outside world was no longer in the hands of her sons. Then how did the Syrians ever learn of this new world so far away from their shores?

The apostles of this new land were undoubtedly the American missionaries who made their first appearance in Syria in 1821¹. Travelling up and down the country preaching the gospel, and planting schools here and there in towns and villages, they spread the knowledge of their country, perhaps more than of Protestantism. Even in later years when native

1. Cf. supra, p. 16

schools were established the Syrian received his knowledge of the outside world only from these foreign missionary schools. Thus Abraham Rida^{bany}, who attended one of these schools, in his autobiography relates how "While I was at school I heard much about America. I studied its geography, learned of its liberator, Washington..."¹

The first half of the nineteenth century saw not only the coming of American missionaries to Syria, but also the appearance of American tourists. These tourists landed in the seaports, Beirut, Jaffa, or Haifa, hired ^{dragomans} conveyances and wandered over the country. Many a Syrian immigrant will tell you of the first time he saw an American, years before he ever came to America, in his very land just outside his mountain village or hamlet.

B. Pioneer Immigrants to United States

For a number of years all books and articles, both American and Syrian dealing with the origins of the Syrian immigration were uncertain as to the date of the first Syrian immigrant to the United States. A number of pioneers were mentioned as first-comers, but just when they came and whether any one had come before was still conjectural. But in recent

1. Abraham M. Rida^{bany}, A Far Journey, p. 144.

years Prof. Philip Hitti accidentally discovered in a cemetery¹ the Syrian who as far as we know was the first of his countrymen to seek the new world. This first pioneer was Antonio Bishallany who arrived in Boston in 1854, at the age of 26. The adventure of this "father" of the Syrian immigration was written by a Charles Whitehead². Antonio Bishallany before coming to America had been a dragoman *in* Beirut, had learned much about the outside world, and had made many friends among the American tourists. In 1854 he decided to come to America to improve his lot and prepare himself for missionary work among his fellow countrymen. Landing in Boston, he made his way to New York where he was welcomed and aided by his American friends. He began studying and attended school in Amina, N.Y. But a year after his arrival he was stricken with a disease and died in 1856.³ The following epitaph, on his tombstone, summarizes his life:

1. Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.

2. This fascinating biography was also discovered by Hitti and done into Arabic by him, under the title of "Antonio Bishallany, the first Syrian immigrant to America". See bibliography.

3. Ibid, p. 6b.

ANTONIO BISHALLANY

Born Near Beirut Syria
August 22, 1827

Died in New York,
August 22, 1856

Educated a Maronite Catholic, He found after Long
and Earnest Examination Amid Trials and Dangers
that the Scriptures Have The Words of
Eternal Life

Obedient to The Command Often Open His Lips

"Freely Ye Have Received Freely Give" , He Came to America
to Prepare for Missionary Labor, and Studied With
Unabated Zeal.

But God Sent Disease to Call Him Home. His Many Friends
Regard Him As a Man Who Knew No Fear, Blameless
Beyond Reproach, and Singularly Wise to Overthrow
Error And Uphold Truth.

Reader, Will You Meet Him In Heaven?

The next Syrian of whom anything definite is known
was one Gregory Wortabet, of ^{Armenian} ~~American~~ descent, who had been
connected with the American missionaries in Beirut. He
came to America about 1855, but did not remain long and
returned to Beirut.

Another Syrian who came for a temporary stay was
Sahli Sabringi, brought over by Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck,
a well known missionary, in 1864, to assist in reading proofs
of the new Arabic translation of the Bible to be ^{stereotyped} ~~electrotyped~~.
Louise Houghton also believes that about this time other
Syrians had entered the country as servants of returned

travellers and missionaries. But due to their insignificant numbers they were swallowed up by the population, and ^{have} left no records.¹

A Syrian writer on this early immigration, Rev. Basil M. ^{Kherbawi} ~~Kherbawi~~, claims, although he fails to give any authorities, that in this period, the sixties and the seventies the first Syrian to emigrate to America was one Habib El-Nashby, of Bisher~~eh~~. This writer does not say to which country in America he emigrated, but that in this period there was some emigration to Brazil long before the Syrian discovery of the United States. It therefore will have to be taken for granted that Habib El-Nashby went to Brazil. However Rev. ^{Kherbawi} ~~Khair Sarni~~ gives an account of two Syrian silk brokers who failed in Beirut, sailed to Liverpool and from there to Boston. After spending a short while in the United States, they were able to return to Syria with a small fortune. ^{The discovery of} Their ^{adventure} spread throughout ~~the~~ villages, and talk of emigration became common.

What these two men did in the United States is not known, but we have an account of another Syrian who came to the United States as a trader in holy goods. This man before sailing secured a letter from the Latin ^{patriarch} of Palestine certifying that his goods were genuine. In

1. Haughton, op. cit. pp. 483 ff.

the United States he sold his goods for a high profit, and returned to his home town with a good sum of money.

^{Today}
~~Seven~~ of this man's sons are bankers in New York City.¹

C. The Early Family Immigration

These immigrants were individual pioneers, and stayed only a short while. Their purpose was mostly to make a little money and return home; and as a matter of fact this has been the intention of most Syrian immigrants to this country. But in 1878 the first Syrian family with the intention of settling permanently in the United States landed in New York. This was Prof. Joseph Arbegly who in Syria was an educator and a scholar, taught Arabic to the missionaries and assisted in the translation and revision of the Bible into Arabic. In this country his family attained some prominence, one of his sons published the first Arabic newspaper in the western hemisphere, another became a physician of some note in Washington, and later consul under Cleveland in Jerusalem, and another was for a number of years an immigration official.

A little after the Arbegly family came to the United States, another Syrian family settled in New York, and today is well known in the New York business world,

1. Basil Khebbazi, History of the United States, Vol. II, pp. 769 ff.

, and having amassed a great wealth.

About this same time, between 1870 and 1876, Louise Houghton, who has made a thorough study of the Syrians in this country, states with conviction that a number of Syrian families immigrated not as ~~travelers~~ ^{traders} but as ^{farmers} ~~pioneers~~. These did not remain in the East but pushed westward, and took up land in the young West, and were absorbed into the population. The emigration of these Syrian farmers is anomalous, for at this time Syrian agriculture was prosperous, and the strong economic factor that is so strong in later emigrations had not yet entered.

But in the case of these early farmer-emigrants the conditions were different. They came from B'sherreh in Lebanon, which has been a rather fertile producer of emigrants, and whose location explains the early restlessness of its natives. It is a village situated at a high altitude, on a mountain side, where the soil is poor and agriculture difficult. And while the rest of Lebanon was enjoying, after the setting up of the autonomous government of Lebanon, a brief economic prosperity, this village did not share in the good times. During this period of prosperity the value of land attained unprecedented heights, and the sale and transfer of lands was greatly retarded by the government, so that the only alternative left to the natives of B'sherreh was to emigrate. It so happens that B'sherreh is located in that district from which the few first immigrants came to

America, and returned with money and fabulous tales. Therefore it was quite natural for these farmers to seek improvement in that country they had heard so much about, "New York".¹

132
10
39 / 9820 200
75
0120

1. Because New York was the port of entry for most Syrian immigrants, Syrians coming to the United States said they were coming to New York. Even today, in the villages of Syria, New York and the United States are synonymous.

CHAPTER III.

IMMIGRATION AFTER 1882

CHAPTER IIIIMMIGRATION AFTER 1882A. The Coming of the Syrians

The Syrian immigrants prior to the 80's were not pioneers in the sense of leaders who drew after them their ~~business~~ ^{men} and friends but rather in the sense of early explorers from Syria and heralds of the coming Syrian immigration wave. Such early comers as Bishallany, Wortabet and Sabrinji were independent and isolated visitors to the United States who came only for a very short stay, either for education or trade. These men of the first period cannot be held as directly responsible for the later immigration from Syria. However these pioneers did have some influence in that they were discoverers and explorers of the United States who on their return spread the knowledge of the "glorious land" with their stories and profits, so that when Syrians did begin emigrating in large numbers they already knew of the United States. According to Prof. Lucius Miller, the Syrian discovery of the United States came in 1876 when a few woodworkers from Syria came to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia with articles made of olive wood. These were quickly sold and orders for more were rushed to Palestine, a "rich harvest was reaped and the

United States became the land of golden streets."¹ Since then knowledge of "Amerika" became widespread, and interest in her steadily increased. But it was not until after 1882 that Syrians began seeking the United States.

> In 1882 the Arabi~~X~~ Pasha Revolt broke out in Egypt and one of its phases was an attack against the foreigners. We have seen how Egypt after the Massacres of 1860 had become the "promised land" of the Syrian Christians and how under the enlightened government of Said Pasha the Syrians had attained prominence in commerce, finance, government and journalism.² It was the resentment of this increasing foreign influence that offered a pretext for the uprising, and it resulted in the ^{driving} ~~closing~~ out of Egypt of many Syrians. It was these refugees who led the Syrian immigration to the United States.

In the early eighties began the first considerable immigration from Syria. This emigration of the early eighties had its source in Zahleh, ~~and~~ the largest town of the Lebanon region and a stronghold of Christianity which was destroyed during the Massacres, but greatly grew after the establishment of autonomous Lebanon. These folks, like those of B'sher~~er~~^{eh} of the earlier period, went westward; not to farms, but to the cities where they engaged in trading. Like all Syrians

1. L. Miller, The Syrians in Massachusetts.

2. Cf. supra, pp 24f

, they began^{by} peddling, but today the majority of them are established in business in all the principal cities of the north from Buffalo to Duluth. Of the Syrians in the Lake Cities, Miss Houghton says that "the majority of successful business men of this race in our Lake Cities, including Chicago, date their coming or more usually that of their parents, to the year 1882,..."¹ This first ^{wave} move of Syrian immigration became so considerable between 1882 and 1893, the year of the Chicago Exposition, that it spread all over the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and found its way to California. In 1883 Syrian peddlers were roaming over North Dakota, still a territory, and were coming in through New Orleans directly from Syria as early as 1887. Miss Houghton tells of one who in 1911 lived in Nebraska as a missionary. In the Damascus Massacre of 1860 he ^{had} lost both his parents, and had to flee Egypt where an older sister was a teacher in one of the missionary schools. The two younger brothers and a sister were educated at the American mission, and they like their sister became associated with mission work in Alexandria. Then came the Arabi~~x~~ Revolt and they had to flee to America. One brother and his family settled in Philadelphia, the sister with her family settled in Illinois, and the younger brother who had

1. Houghton, ibid., p. 494.

meanwhile graduated from the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, continued his studies in America, obtained a medical degree, and pursued a year's study of Biblical archeology in the British Museum. He himself spent the rest of his life as a pioneer missionary of the Presbyterian church founding churches in Iowa, Colorado and Idaho.¹

The great Syrian influx into the United States really began with the opening of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. This exposition was the first general bugle call to the United States. The World's Fair brought the United States to the attention of the Syrians, especially through the medium of ^{Traders} ~~travelers~~ from Jerusalem and ^{Ramallah} who had brought olive wood articles and other curios to display at the exposition. The Turkish government had a part in the exposition and to that point the Syrian immigrants came to trade their wares.

Following the close of the exposition came a wide dispersal of the Syrians over the country, some went south down the Mississippi valley, some west to the prairie towns and cities, and some returned east to Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York and New England. However a large number who had made a small fortune at Chicago returned to Syria, most of them only to come back in a few years. So widespread ~~did~~

1. Houghton, ibid, p. 492.

o.4.

did the attraction of the new world become that between the years 1899 and 1910 56,909 Syrians entered the United States, out of a population of no more than 3,000,000 in Syria;¹ and out of this number of immigrants, 6,220 or 16.9 per cent declared that they had been in the United States before; ^{Giving} and gave as their destination every state in the union, including Alaska, Hawaii and Porto Rico.²

The average rate of Syrian immigrants from 1901 to 1912 was approximately 5,000 annually until 1913 and 1914 when it jumped up to 9,000.³ But since the war due to the immigration restrictions it has fallen off considerably, and has been diverted to South America.

-
- > 1. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Senate Documents, Vol. XIX, p. 59.
- > 2. Report of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I, p. 109.
- > 3. Annual Report, Commissioner General Immigration 1919, p. 168.

Syrian Immigration by Years 1899-1919 :

1899 - - - - -	3,708	1911 - - - - -	5,444
1900 - - - - -	2,920	1912 - - - - -	5,525
1901 - - - - -	4,064	1913 - - - - -	9,210
1902 - - - - -	4,982	1914 - - - - -	9,023
1903 - - - - -	5,551	1915 - - - - -	1,767
1904 - - - - -	3,653	1916 - - - - -	676
1905 - - - - -	4,122	1917 - - - - -	976
1906 - - - - -	5,824	1918 - - - - -	210
1907 - - - - -	5,880	1919 - - - - -	231
1908 - - - - -	5,550		
1909 - - - - -	1,668		
1910 - - - - -	6,317		

54,279

54,279

87,361

B. Causes

The underlying causes of this Syrian emigration are the same as those that impelled them to emigrate in the earlier periods.¹ But what were the immediate causes that started their wholesale emigration to the United States between 1885 and 1915? These causes may be classified under three heads: economic, political and religious.

In Syria the period between 1860 and 1890, due to European intervention in 1860, was of great economic expansion as was evident from the increased cultivation and exportation of silk and tobacco, and the great increase in the value of land. This economic expansion was naturally followed by a great increase in population, especially in Lebanon which was the center of this activity. But the amount of productive land, due to backward methods of agriculture was very limited; natural resources were scarce and industry undeveloped. As early as the seventies the pressure of overpopulation, the dearth of land, and the high taxation began causing restlessness in some places as in B'gherreh.² But on the whole the general prosperity of the seventies and eighties was able to support the growing population as long as silk, tobacco, and grapes could be cultivated profitably.

1. Cf. supra, Chapter I.

2. Cf. supra, p. 32

The first blow, the severity of which was not felt until a few years later, came in 1869 when the opening of the Suez Canal diverted traffic away from Syria, and hit hard the newly risen Syrian traders. The Suez Canal opened a short water route to the Far East and ~~began~~ affecting the silk cultivation. Syrian silk began feeling in the ^{French} ~~Japanese~~ market a strong competition in Japanese silk, produced under more modern and cheaper conditions; and the price of silk began falling.¹ In 1889 consul Bissinger of Beirut reported that 5,626,697 pounds of cocoons were produced that year, 25 per cent less than the average production.² About this same time Egypt began competing with Syria in the tobacco cultivation and here also the profits and production greatly fell.

Then in 1893 came the Baring failure causing a world-wide depression which affected Syrian trade, and reduced the demand for Syrian silk, and its price falling to about one-half. Following this in the early nineties phylloxera invaded the vineyards and struck the wine industry a severe blow. At about this time started the Syrian exodus to the United States.

Although the economic conditions might have been the most obvious cause of the Syrian immigration it was not however the only cause as in the case of the many other immigrants.

1. Hitti, Syrians in America, pp. 49 ff.

2. Hitti, quotes Bissinger, loc. cit.

Under the Turks the Syrians were subjected to numerous restrictions and to persecution. Four centuries did not obliterate their desire if not for independence, at least for some political freedom.¹

This political cause is given paramount importance by most Syrian writers and many Syrian immigrants. Prof. Hitti in discussing the causes of the Syrian immigration says that most Syrian immigrants look upon the political factor as the primary cause, the desire "to live his life free and unhampered from political restraints."² In much stronger words, a clergyman wrote that "the causes of the Syrian immigration are many, but the greatest of these causes was the oppressive Turkish rule..."³ Another priest in discussing the conditions that led to emigration goes into great detail giving an account of the persecution by the Moslems, the tyranny and backwardness of the Turkish Government, its restrictions upon education, freedom and commerce.⁴ On the placard which appears in the picture of the Arbeely family is inscribed the following words in Arabic "Here the children and I enjoy liberty."⁵ And when Mr. Ri**h**many arrived in New

1. Cf. supra, pp. 19 ff

2. Hitti, op. cit., p. 51

3. N. N. Qhas, The Mirror of Antioch in North America (privately printed), p. 12.

4. Kherbami, op. cit. pp. 743 ff.

5. This photograph appears in Houghton's article in the Survey, XXVI, 1911.

New York and "proceeded on across Battery Park..." and "a host of questions besieged his mind, he first wondered whether he could utter his "political and religious convictions freely, unafraid of either soldiers or priest?", and then "What were the opportunities of the great New York into which I had just entered?"¹

On the other hand the Syrian newspapers in this country have always laid emphasis on the political and religious causes of the immigration rather than the economic motive. In the years before the World War their pages were full of attacks upon the tyranny of the Turkish Government, and idealized the freedom and liberty of their adopted country.²

In 1913 Ludovic de Contenson, who had made a study of the Syrian Question under the Turkish Regime, declared that the Constitution granted to the Lébanon Province was a camouflage for Turkish misrule and clerical tyranny; and that this unfavorable condition was ^{driving} ~~claiming~~ the best workers and the most educated out of the country to Egypt, Argentine, and the United States.³ This state of affairs was confirmed by an immigrant ^{writer} in an article in the Independent who said that to independent, freedom-loving men Syria was becoming

1. Rihbany, op. cit., p. 183

2. Cf. supra, p. 18

3. Contenson, op. cit. pp. 83 f

unbearable; and because this frankness brought them into trouble they had to emigrate.¹ These political agitators quite often were condemned to death, and a price set upon their heads; and "at times twenty or more Syrians lived in New York City alone who were under the sentence of death by the Turkish Court."²

Another phase of this political cause of Syrian emigration was the desire of many Syrians to escape military duty which was made compulsory in the Turkish Constitution of 1909, not only upon the Moslems but also upon the Christians. According to the New York Sun March 9, 1913, as informed by its Haifa correspondent "Every steamer bound for North or South America has been crowded mostly with Christians anxious to evade military draft."

While the economic, religious and political conditions of the country explain the emigration of the Syrians from Syria, there were other causes that led them to seek the United States. The influence of the American missionaries and the tourists upon Syrian immigration has already been mentioned.³ These Americans disseminated among the Syrians the knowledge of the United States, educated them so that they became dissatisfied with their home conditions and in some cases urged them to improve their lot by emigrating.

1. "The Story of a Young Syrian", the Independent, LV (1903) p.1008.

2. Hitti, op. cit. p. 51

3. Cf. supra, pp. 45f, and 266

Some did emigrate and visited the United States in the seventies and eighties and discovered the "land of the golden streets". Most of these returned with small fortunes and glowing stories of the land of the United States.¹

More Syrians visited the United States between the St. Louis and the Chicago Fairs, and the tales of their success turned the attention of the Syrians to ^{their country} the United States. In the early nineties almost every village and town of every district of Syria was represented in the United States; and these either returned home to bring back more of their townsmen to share the riches of America, or wrote home urging their relatives and friends to join them. The influence of these men who first came in turning the attention of their countrymen to the United States cannot be overestimated, for they not only sent back letters telling of the riches, and prosperity of this country, but also yellow gold to rebuild their homes and support their families. When a sub-committee of the United States Immigration Commission visited Turkey in 1907, it made the following report: "They (Syrian immigrants) send more money per capita than the immigrants of any other nationality. Between Beirut and Damascus one sees more houses built with American money than one sees in a trip in South Italy five times as long."²

1. Cf. supra, pp. 37 ff .

2. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Senate Document Vol. 12, p. 59.

The influence of the Syrians on America can be measured from the fact that of the 9,188 Syrian immigrants who were admitted in the fiscal years 1908-1909, 8,725 or 95%¹ declared that they were coming to join relatives or friends here.

C. Sources

From what part of Syria the first immigrants came is a debatable question, for while Prof. Miller claims that it was from Mount Hermon and Coelo-Lebanon, Louise Houghton believes that B'sherreh in Lebanon sent forth the pioneers to America. However almost all writers on the subject agree that the first considerable immigration had its source in Zahleh, the largest town in Lebanon. They like the farmers of B'gherreh went westward, not to farms but to the Lake cities, from Buffalo to Duluth. Zahleh not only sent the first large immigration but ~~has~~ steadily supplied this outflow so that today its natives are found not only in every state but also in every city where there is a considerable number of Syrians.

In the nineties the emigration fever spread to every village and hamlet of Mount Lebanon especially with the decline of the silk and tobacco industries. Then with the

1. Reports of Immigration Commission, Senate Document, Vol. 12,
p. 59.

commercial crash that followed the Baring failure, and the vineyard plague the fever spread to Beirut, Tripoli and the region of Tyre. In 1893 the opening of the Chicago Exposition was a call to every valley and corner of Syria so that the emigration from Zahleh, Lebanon, Coelo-Lebanon Beirut and Tyre, which also increased, was now joined by natives of northern Syria, Damascus and even Jerusalem and Bethlehem. So general did this emigration become that by the opening of the new century every town and village in Syria was represented in the new world.

In the study made in 1903 by Prof. Miller of the Syrians in ^{Greater New York} ~~Geneter N.Y.~~ an instance of this representation may be seen. Syria was divided into nine districts according to geographical or political boundaries. 1. North Syria, which included Tripoli, Aleppo, Hama, and ~~Hama~~; 2. Beirut and environs, 3. North Lebanon; 4. South Lebanon; 5. Coelo-Syria, Zahleh and the ~~Bixia~~; 6. Damascus and environs; 7. Tyre and its hinterlands; 8. the Mouht Hermon region; and 9. Palestine. Of a popula-

map

1. Miller, op. cit. p. 19.

tion of 2,482 Syrians in Greater New York these districts contributed the following:

<u>per cent</u>	<u>District</u>
14	1. North Syria
21	2. Beirut and environs
17.7	3. North Lebanon
<u>5.2</u>	4. South Lebanon
25.1 ^{22.7}	5. Coelo Syria, Zahleh and Bika ^{Bika}
9.4	6. Damascus and environs
5.2	7. Tyre and its hinterland
1.2	8. Mt. Hermon region
1.2	9. Palestine

The significant feature of the Syrian immigration is that it is almost wholly drawn from ^{the} Christian element of Syria. The significance of this will be appreciated when we realize that Syria is predominantly Moslem with the Christians numbering not more than a third of the total population.¹ According to Prof. Hitti out of a Syrian population of 200,000 in the United States 185,000 belong ^{are} Christians, with the other five thousand divided between the Moslems and ~~Druzes~~^{Druzes}. Of this Christian population the ^{Maronites} ~~Maronites~~ lead with some 90,000, the Greek Orthodox follow

1. cf. supra, p. 12 footnote

with 85,000, while the Greek Catholic number less than 10,000 and the Protector^{est. Am. Ys}ists not more than 5,000.¹ If we take New York of 1905 as representative of the Syrian American communities, although this would be dangerous today, we find that according to Prof. Miller's study the distribution of the various religions and sects according to their Syrian sources, was as follows:

Out of a total population of 2482 in Greater N.Y.

<u>District</u>	<u>Mar.</u> %	<u>Caths.</u>	<u>Grk.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>
N. Syria	8.5	24.3	55.8	11.4
Beirut	33.6	25.	36.5	5.8
N. Lebanon	73.	14.6	5.7	6.7
S. Lebanon	38.5	19.2	11.5	30.8
Coelo-Syria	14.3	71.4	8.8	5.5
Damascus	2.1	51.1	38.3	8.5
Region of Tyre	53.9	34.6	7.7	3.8

Thus, in summary, we may say that the Syrian immigration into the United States was predominately drawn from the Christian elements of the old country. These Christians were mostly of the peasant or small farming classes, later joined by Syrians of better class from Egypt and the com-

1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 104

2. Miller, op. cit. p. 21

mercial cities of Syria. And that although the districts of Zahleh, Coelo-Syria and Mount Hermon headed the stream of immigration and continually fed it, other regions of Syria joined it so that every town and village has its representatives in the new world.

D. Character

The Syrian immigration in its beginning and for a number of years after was mostly of individuals. The reasons for this are easily discernible if one remembers that the majority came of the ^{poorer} ~~farmer~~ classes, and in most cases had to borrow the cost of their passage, or sailed with another man who paid their way over under the condition that they pay him a part of their profits over a number of years. Even as late as 1900 the average amount of money shown per capita in entering the United States was only \$14.31¹ and this was just enough to cover the immigration law. Under these conditions very few Syrians could bring their families with them.

It must also be remembered that the economic motive was the primary motive in the Syrian immigration, as in the others. The first immigrants came not with any intention of settling here, but only to acquire a fortune in the quickest way and in the shortest time. Even before their arrival and

1. U.S. Indust. Comm. Report on Immigration p. 284.

sometimes while still in Syria, they planned the time they would spend in America and how much money they would be ^{satisfied} obliged with. One of the warnings mothers made to their departing sons was not to be too greedy; make a little money and hurry back home. One of the commonest ^{traits} traits of the Syrian immigrants in America not so very long ago was "May you return home be soon" and to which the answer was "In your company."

From the nature of their work, peddling, they were wanderers with no fixed abodes, travelling with their packs over their shoulders from town to town and from farm to farm. In this scheme of things there was no place for families. It is interesting to note the high percentage of Syrian families that are products of marriages in the United States. If a statistical study were made of it, it would perhaps be found that seven out of every ten Syrian-American families are of marriages contracted in America. The only explanation of this is that the early immigration was of individuals, of whom the married men returned home after a few years and the unmarried remained, to later marry in this country.

While in the early period the Syrian immigration was almost of individual men, by the late nineties Syrian families began to make their appearance. ^{After} the first Syrian immigrants

1. Of ten Syrian families living in Lowell, Mass. chosen impartially, eight are of American and only two of Syrian marriages.

arrived and became acquainted with the new country, they began to draw other Syrians. In the beginning the Syrians in the United States were a very small number, with one or two from each Syrian town or village. But these served as scouts for their villages and ~~sent~~ sent back for relatives and friends to join them and ~~draw~~ ^{share} their trade. In many cases those who returned home after a year or two would emigrate again bringing with them a small group.

The nature of the Syrian's trade in this country brought him into the homes of the Americans and he soon realized the economic value of women in this country.

"The nature of the work in which the early Syrians engaged peddling notions, laces, and under garments", Prof. Hitti says "lent itself more easily to women workers who had freer access to homes."¹ Realizing this fact the Syrians began bringing over ^{their} ~~his~~ women-folk. So large did this emigration of Syrian women become that between the years 1897 - 1910 out of a total Syrian immigrants of 56,909, 18,274 were female, or a percentage of 32.² Comparing this percentage with that of other immigrant races, the Armenian 23.5, the Bulgarian and ^{Ser} ~~Arabian~~ 4.3, the Greek 4.9, the Spanish 17.2 and the average female percentage of the total immigrants of all races 30.5, we see to what extent the Syrian immigration

1. Hitti, op. cit. p. 58.

2. Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. 1, p. 97.

became in this later period a family movement. This new development had the effect of making the Syrian immigrants permanent settlers.

E. Conditions

The majority of Syrian immigrants, we have seen, came to this country with the intention of staying only a few years; they wanted to make money in the "shortest time and in the quickest way." Although most of them were uneducated, and at home were farmers or laborers, in this country the first work they were engaged in was itinerant ^{trading} ~~traveling~~, the peddling of dry goods, notions, and jewelry. These facts led to peculiar conditions, under which the Syrian immigrants lived until recent years.

The Syrian arriving in New York -most of them landed there - entered a world for which he was very little equipped. In the early days of the immigration he was perhaps the first of his village or kin to come here, and he had no one to meet him in New York or guide him in this strange world. With his immigrant compatriots he went to one of the few boarding houses "hotels" on Washington St., the center of the Syrians in America. Mr. Rihbany describes one of these "hotels" where the greatest number of persons were crowded into the most limited space, but charging only 5 cents a night, without bedding.¹

1. Rihbany, op. cit. pp. 191 ff.

He had come to this country to make money quickly, and what other way was open to him but the "~~peddler~~" or the peddler's basket. Supplied by one of the peddler's depots, on Washington Street with pins, needles, ~~notion~~ jewelry, thread, thimbles, suspenders, garters, laces, shoe-laces and handkerchiefs, he set out from Manhattan in any direction, ignorant of the country, of its language and customs. Knowing only "Want anytin today, mam?" he ^{knocked} ~~launched~~ from door to door, in one street after another, and ^{town} ~~town~~ after ^{town} ~~town~~, gradually enlarging his areas of activity. As he learned more about the country, the needs of its families, and a few more words of English, he ventured out into unknown areas, being gone for weeks at a time. Because of his ignorance, and perhaps to save money, he walked most of the distances, slept in barns and railroad stations and subsisted on sardines and crackers. The ambitious trader did not remain long in New York for as soon as he was able to find his way around he set out to explore unexploited regions in what was to him, the American wilderness. Going north, west, or south, he established his own depot in a virgin territory and sent home for his relatives or friends. Or having acted as a scout, after making his pile he went back home, spread the news of the fabulous wealth that the ambitious and the industrious could gather in America, ^{and} ~~he~~ returned with a small group. This time ^{came} ~~returned~~ he ~~returned~~ as a trader who knew the country, its resources,

its possibilities, and its ways. At the head of his party he did not stop at New York but struck out to his discovered and explored area, set up a supplying depot for his peddlers, initiated them in the secrets of the trade and sent them off separately in all directions. These new peddlers were gone for months at a time coming back to the depot town often only three times a year, for Easter, for the Fourth of July and for Christmas.

The patrons furnished them with goods by railroad to a fixed sub-depot which ^{was} ~~was~~ a point of supply for a small group in a sub-area. In this way a whole network of peddling was established over the greater part of the United States. An example of these areas, depots, sub areas and ^{sub} ~~net~~ depots was centered in Lowell, Mass. in the late nineties. The Syrian discoverers of Lowell were peddlers who had come originally to a center of peddlers in Fort Wayne, Indiana which was settled after the Chicago Exposition. One peddler in the course of his wanderings from Fort Wayne struck in the middle nineties, Lowell, which was then an unexploited area. Finding here a virgin region, he sent back to Fort Wayne for some of his friends, and for a few years they worked in that area around Lowell. But by the late nineties many of them returned west and some to Syria. One of those who went home returned with a large group not

only from his own village but from neighboring villages. Arriving in Lowell, he rented a whole house, established a peddler's supply station and sent his peddlers north to various points such as to Nashua, Manchester, Suncook and Lebanon N.H.; to Sanford, and Biddeford Maine, and even into Vermont as far north as Montpelier, St. Johnsbury and Lyndonville.

An interesting attempt to establish another area, though it failed in this early period, was in Alabama. One of the peddlers of Lowell, hearing somewhere about Alabama, got some of his friends interested in this "country of the blacks" and organizing a group of about five, they boarded a train for the South. However, for some unknown reason the venture failed and after a few months they returned to Lowell.

This system of trade, namely the establishment of a depot by an ex-peddler and the supplying of goods to newly arrived peddlers, has often been mistaken for the "padrone" system which was common among the Italians and Greeks. Not that the padrone system was totally unknown to the Syrians; but it was rare and where it did occur it was only for a short time. It is quite easy to see how the described system of supply depots, and assigned areas could be mistaken for the pernicious padrone system, as in the testimony of Edward Mc Sweeney in the Industrial Commission Report¹

1. Edward Mc Sweeney, "Special Report on the Syrians", Reprints of the Industrial Commission, p. 83,88. X

that "they have certain distributing agencies all over the country. They are peddlers and go around the country under the control, as I understand it, of certain people interested in notions", and "I think it is established beyond doubt that these people are controlled by a centralized body of notion peddlers, with general headquarters here in New York, and with branches all over the United States and that these people are representatives of some branch of this padrone system." To one who does not understand the character of the Syrians their extreme individualism, their ambition for independence, and their inability, to a fault, to cooperate in any enterprise, the Syrian system of trade would look like the objectionable system of the Italians and the Greeks. But to one who really knows the Syrians such a magnificent system of organization as described by Mc Sweeney is improbable. Prof. Hitti, studying the question, came to the conclusion that "the contract labor system, kin to the "padrone" system is unknown among the Syrians."¹

Therefore, in ~~discussing~~^{dismissing} the question, it may be said that with very few exceptions, and these were mostly in Canada, a compulsory contract system of peddling was unknown among the Syrians, and at the most the relationship between the peddlers and the supplier was that of a newly

1. Hitti, op. cit. p. 54

arrived immigrant with no capital or experience, dependent for a while upon a former peddler who knew the country and its needs, and who assisted his newly-arrived countryman to set up a trade and furnished him with goods on credit or on a percentage basis. However almost inevitably as soon as the new peddler became acclimated ~~to this country~~ he also became independent and ordered his goods from whatever sources he saw best.

Not all the peddlers continued selling dry goods and notions for as some became acquainted with the country and had scraped a little capital it occurred to them that notion peddlers was not the best trade for them, and so they turned to the nearest thing to it, selling "white goods", fancy linens and silks. From the "~~h~~eskey" they turned to the "silk bag". First they sold cheap embroideries and laces, and then imported European and Japanese linens and silks. Even some of the better-class Syrians did not disdain the silk bag, for R~~i~~ch~~a~~rd~~o~~ny says, "for lack of better pursuits, college men often took up silk-selling ..."¹

From peddling the next step was the opening of stores, first to supply the increasing number of peddlers, and later for public trade. The opening of these stores with the coming of their women forced upon the immigrant Syrians the realization that they were here to stay.

Where before he had been leading a wandering, makeshift life, he now settled down to an established business, often alone

¹1. R~~i~~ch~~a~~rd~~o~~ny, op. cit. p. 197

in his town or city miles away from the nearest Syrian,
and became an organic part of his community.

PART II

THE SYRIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

PART IIThe Syrians in the United StatesCHAPTER I.DISTRIBUTIONA. Numbers

Figures of the Syrian population in the United States are, at the most, conjectural, for a number of reasons. Unfortunately, previous to 1899 in the immigration records the Syrians as a separate people did not exist. Along with the Greeks, Turks, Armenians, and Arabs they were indiscriminately included under "Turkey in Asia". On the other hand, the Turkish Government prohibited and did not recognize emigration from Syria to the United States, all emigrants indicating as their destination either "Egypt" or "Malta", and so from that quarter there are no reliable figures. Even after the Syrians entered the United States, the census reports fail to give us their numbers due to the fact that many of them were taken for Turks or Arabs, and that they are dispersed in small numbers, often individually, over wide areas.

Due to these conditions the exact Syrian population in the United States is unknown, and sometimes

estimates given by many writers on Syrian immigration have been absurdly inaccurate. These estimates given at various times are 25,000 by Mr. Forbes¹, 40,000 by the Literary Digest², 60,000 by Dr. Roberts³, 70,000 by Miss Houghton⁴; even the U. S. Census report for 1910 gives the Syrians the low figure of 46,727 in the entire United States.⁵

The absurdity of these estimates, as has been pointed out, may be seen where^A we notice that the report of the Commissioner General of Immigration of 1919 indicates that the total number of Syrian immigrants who entered the country between the years 1899 -- the year when the Syrians were recognized as a separate people -- and 1919 was 89,971.⁶

Then, ^{as} Prof. Hitti ^{suggests} goes on to say "considering those who entered during twenty years previous to that, and those who were born from Syrian parents, and making allowance for those who returned to Syria or died, it is safe to assume

-
1. James Forbes, "Report on the Syrians," Report of the Industrial Commission, pp. 442-46.
 2. "Syrians in the United States," May 1919,
 3. Peter Roberts, Immigrant Races in North America, p. 74.
 4. Louise Houghton, "The Syrians in the United States," Survey, July, 1911.
 5. Thirteenth Census Reports, Vol. I, pp. 1006-15.
 6. Annual Report Commissioner General of Immigration, 1919, p. 168.

that there are about 200,000 Syrians foreign born and born of Syrian parents in the United States.¹ This more accurate estimate of Prof. Hitti is confirmed by other informed writers as Prof. Cole² and the editor of the Syrian World.³

B. Location

This Syrian population is indeed small compared to that of other immigrant peoples, but in proportion to the population of Syria, and in its wide distribution over the country it is quite significant. Although New York has been the port of entry for the majority of Syrian immigrants, they are not today concentrated in the East, but are found in every state of the Union. It is claimed that Syrians are found in almost every town with a population of 5,000 or more throughout the country. A fair indication of this wide distribution is the following table, showing the states and territories which were given by immigrant Syrians between 1899-1910 as their destination.

<u>No. admitted</u>	<u>In U. S. prev.</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Syrians 56,909	6,220	10.9

Destination

Ala. 253; Alaska 11; Ariz. 124; Ark. 50; Calif. 303; Col. 148; Conn. 1,412; Del. 5; D. of C. 127; Fla. 260; Geo. 273;

-
1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 65.
 2. William I. Cole, Immigrant Races in Mass. "The Syrians".
 3. S. Makarzel, "Syrians in New York," Syrian World, Nov. 1927.

Hawaii 1; Id. 27; Ill. 1,302; Md. 1,738; Ind. Terr. 24;
 Iowa 627; Kan. 230; Ky. 361; Louis. 1,152; Maine 641;
 Myd. 198; Mass. 8,652; Mich. 1,332; Minn. 546; Miss. 294;
 Missouri 988; Mont. 74; Neb. 232; Nev. 2; N.H. 381; N.J.
 887; N.M. 51; N.Y. 18,370; N.C. 263; N.D. 135; Ohio 2,780,
 Okla. 159; Ore. 50; Penn. 7,318; Phil. Isl. 0; P. Rico 440;
 R.I. 186; S.C. 187; S.D. 193; Tenn. 139; Tex. 1,051; Utah 55;
 Vt. 198; Va. 398; Wash. 148; W.Va. 833; Wisc. 276; Wyo. 23;
 Tourist 1.

Vol. I, p. 109, R. of I. C.

However, a few of the figures of the above table may be misleading, for undoubtedly many of the immigrants who gave New York or Massachusetts or Pennsylvania as their destination remained there only a short while and soon migrated to other parts. Readjustments inevitably followed as the immigrants became acquainted with the United States most likely for business reasons to avoid competition. An example of this may be seen from the fact that in the above table only two gave Nevada as their destination and Miss Houghton in 1911 believed that that State claimed about 700; likewise, while only 546 Syrians gave Minnesota as their destination, Mr. Kherbawi in 1913 estimated it as having over 2000.

Today the Syrians are most numerous in (1) New York, (2) Massachusetts, (3) Pennsylvania, (4) Michigan, (5) Ohio, (6) New Jersey, (7) Texas, (8) California, (9) Illinois, (10) Connecticut, (11) West Virginia, and (12) Rhode-Island.¹ If we compare the states which today claim the largest number of Syrians with those which were given as the destination of

1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 67.

immigrant Syrians, As shown in the above table, we see that while New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania retain their preeminence, Ohio drops from fourth place to fifth, and its place is taken by Michigan which formerly was ninth; the phenomenal rise of New Jersey and California and the decline of Connecticut and Indiana.

Like most immigrants, the Syrians tended towards the urban centers of the United States. In the census reports on the urban percent of immigrants for the year 1920, the Syrians stand out with the high percentage of 87.3, ranking thirteenth out of fifty races. This high urban percent of the Syrians cannot be wholly explained by the industrial employment offered by cities, as in case of the Irish, the Poles, or the Russians, but is due to the fact that the Syrians are by nature traders. However, there has been since the World War a migration of Syrian laborers towards the industrial centers, which accounts for the increased populations in New Jersey and Michigan.

These cities which claim the largest numbers of Syrians are as follows:¹

- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. New York | 6. Cleveland | 11. Philadelphia |
| 2. Detroit | 7. Pittsburgh | 12. Akron |
| 3. Boston | 8. Paterson, N.J. | 13. San Francisco |
| 4. Chicago | 9. St. Louis | 14. Springfield |
| 5. Worcester | 10. Fall River, Mass. | |

1. Fourteenth Census Report (1920), Vol. II, Chapter X, p. 1009.

This high percentage of urban settlers among the Syrians does not indicate, however, that they tend to aggregate like most recent immigrants into exclusive colonies. "The tendency natural to all immigrants to group themselves in colonies," Miss Houghton noticed, "does not prevail among Syrians to anything like the extent generally supposed."¹ Although Syrians tend to seek the cities and large towns they are widely scattered among the American cities, and except for a few large cities, those already mentioned, colony-life does not hold any attraction for them. An instance of this may be seen in Massachusetts, where they number about 20,000 or about ten percent of all the Syrians in the United States. Here they are found in nearly one hundred cities and towns, with colonies only in a few large cities. In more than a half of these 100 cities the Syrians number less than 12, and in many, only 1 or 2.²

Miss Louise Houghton, in her personal study of the Syrians in the United States, found that their colonies tended to decrease as she went westward. West of the Allegheny Miss Houghton found true colonies, crowded quarters under poor conditions, only in Chicago, St. Paul, and St. Louis. In other western cities where Syrians are

1. Houghton, op. cit., p. 491.

2. See Cole, op. cit.

found in large numbers as in the Lake cities of Cleveland and Toledo, in Minneapolis and Duluth in the North West, in the Pacific cities as San Francisco and Los Angeles, and in the South as New Orleans and Shreveport, La., they are scattered, many of them living in modest ^{residential} ~~industrial~~ districts.

Since the War even in the Eastern cities, the Syrian colonies have been disintegrating and diminishing. With the realization that they were here to stay, and with the change from a haphazard peddling life, the Syrians ~~began~~ ^{they} their colonies and have taken dwellings and in better sections of the city. These colonies served their purpose in the beginning ^{when} for the immigrants were new and still ignorant of the country, as temporary homes of peddlers until the time they made enough money to return home, and as sources of their trade supplies. And recently they have become mere "centers of ^{congeries} ~~companies~~ of Syrians which are breaking off in little branches, like swarming bees, to establish themselves in neighboring or more distant towns.¹ Such centers are Troy, New York, with its surrounding groups in Cohoes and other villages, and especially Pittsburgh with its large number of towns in western Pennsylvania.

1. Houghton, op. cit., p. 494.

CHAP. II

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

CHAPTER II.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The Syrian immigrants in the United States like other immigrants ^{were} ~~are~~ mostly drawn from the farming and laboring classes of Syria, ¹ very few with any capital, and ² still fewer with any education. But the moment they set foot in America, almost all took up trading, at least in the beginning. At an early period some Syrian immigrants did go west and become farmers; and later with the increase of immigration and peddlers many deserted trade for agriculture, especially in the South and West. As laborers and mill-workers their percentage also increased with the growing immigration, but became significant with the great demand ^{for} of laborers and the rise of wages during the World War. Nevertheless ^{Trading} ~~traveling~~, in the early period peddling, was ³ the outstanding occupation of the Syrians.

1. Cf. infra, p. 10181

2. In 1900 immigration the percentage of Syrians who 14 years and over were illiterate was 56.4, and the amount of money shown by them per capita was \$14.31. U. S. Industrial Commission Reports Vol. XV, p. 284.

3. Miller, in 1903, classified the occupations of the Syrians in New York, as follows:

Peddling	30
Factory	26.8
Store	23.6
Sewing	12.5
Clerk	4.8
Professional	2.3

L. Miller, Syrians in Greater New York, p. 28.

A. Merchants and Manufacturing^{ers}

The ~~instinct to trade~~^{trading inclination} is very strong in Syrians, perhaps a heritage of their Phoenician forbears; and in studying the conditions of Syrian immigrants the U. S. Industrial Commission found that "Business is, and in pursuit of it, he penetrates if necessary the most remote parts of ~~the Universe~~^{America}."¹ Prof. Cole also noticed that they are "born-traders . . .", and that " . . . on reaching this country naturally turn to some form of buying and selling, as the readiest means of gaining a livelihood."

This commercial penetration is made in the form of itinerant trading or peddling, of notions, jewelry and dry goods. These were packed in a basket, called a "keshey" and sold from door to door.² With the development of a clientele and the accumulation of a little capital, the "keshey" was exchanged for the "silk-bag." The "silk-bag" was considered a more respectable occupation, because in

1. Report of the Industrial Commission, "Report on the Syrians", p. 447.

2. Kherbawi, writing of immigrants who came to Philadelphia in 1885, tells how they took to peddling: "They remained thus for five months, their money gradually disappearing, and they began worrying. One day one of them saw a woman selling baskets in the street, and he bought one. This he filled with the merchandise he had bought in France, jewelry; and he began peddling it." Later when this immigrant-peddler came to New York he found other peddlers, of "holy goods", numbering about twenty-five in 1885. Kherbawi, op. cit., pp. 774 ff.

this line the trader dealt with a better class of people and made ^{higher} ~~much better~~ profits.¹ This "keskey" and "silk-bag" peddling in most cases represents the Syrian's first venture here in business. In discussing the development of Syrian-American commerce, Sallum Mokarzel believes that there are few successful Syrian merchants in America who were not in the beginning peddlers in the ordinary sense of the word.² The "keshey" meant to a Syrian the quickest way of accumulating a working capital with which to found a business if he decided to remain in this country. In this way he also received his first business training, his acquaintance with American life, language, and needs.

As immigrants increased, the number of peddlers also increased, and stores were established to supply them with goods. In the beginning these stores were one-room affairs, sometimes in a basement, where the goods were merely stored and sent out on order to wherever the peddler happened to be.

These first commercial establishments were limited to Syrian peddlers, supplying them with all their goods all the way from safety pins to fancy laces. But gradually with the growth of the ^{various} ~~revolving~~ branches they began demanding a wider

1. Cf. supra, p. 57.

2. S. Mokarzel, History of Syrian Commerce, p. 19.

market, and with other than Syrians. They had discovered and introduced into the United States the fine linens of Italy, France, and Madeira, the exquisite laces of Venice, Normandy and Switzerland, the silks of Japan, and the rugs of Persia and China. As importers of these foreign goods, they soon became too large for the peddlers, and their goods were sought by all the department stores and shops of America.

The greatest contribution of the Syrian immigrants to the United States is their commercial activity. ^{Many of them} Beginning as itinerant traders of notions and dry goods they have today become merchant princes, important factors in the American commercial world, in fields that hitherto had been unknown to Americans. They have introduced and today largely control products which have become indispensable to a large number of Americans. What was limited to the very few, they made possible to the many, and thus have played a unique part in raising the American standard of living. Like their forbears, the Syrians today are bringing the luxuries and artistic articles of the world to a new world. They are helping culture a youthful nation.

As importers they today control about 80% of the fancy linens, laces and embroideries that come into the country.¹ Discovering these goods, between 1895 and 1915

1. S. Mokarzel, "History of Syrians in New York", Syrian World, Nov. 1927, pp. 3 ff.

small importing houses sprang up along Washington Street in lower Manhattan. They have gradually developed, so that today they have show-rooms on Fifth Avenue with branch offices in most of the larger cities of America, and ~~with~~ agents in France, Italy, the Madeira and Philippine Islands and China. They are supplying the American market with French Cluny, Belgian linen, Italian filet and cut-work, Philippine underwear and negligees, Japanese silks and drawn work. In Oriental rugs alone they have twenty five large importing houses, mostly on Fifth Avenue.

The Syrian-Americans have also gone into manufacturing, and today are recognized leaders in various branches. Seventy-five per cent of the kimono^s manufactured in the United States are made in Syrian factories and their products are known in every American city. These factories, about 35, are located in New York City and its vicinity. In certain lines of knit goods they are national leaders, of whom one family controlled a chain of factories in New York. A few years ago when sweaters were in vogue this one family who was styled "king" of knit goods, manufactured one out of every three sweaters worn in New York.¹ To a lesser degree, Syrians own silk factories in Paterson, and West Hoboken,

1. Ibid., p. 8.

N. J., cigarette and playing card factories in New York, and women's apron factories in Boston.

Syrian manufacturers have not restricted their activities to the United States but have extended their control into foreign fields. Where formerly Syrian merchants imported embroideries from native manufacturers in Madeira, they now own their own factories in those islands, employing thousands. Consul Jenkins in Funchal, Madeira reported in 1919 that as a result of the War the embroidery industry in the Madeiras has practically passed from German to Syrian American hands. Syrian-American factories are also to be found today in the Philippines, China, and Japan.¹

Another field of commerce in which the Syrian-Americans are playing a leading part and of which to a large degree they are the pioneers, is the dry goods export trade to the West Indies, Central, and South America. In Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina and Columbia there are large numbers of Syrians² who are mostly engaged in trade; and in some part almost control the business.

1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 70

2. Between 1820 and 1919, 54,120 Syrians arrived in Brazil; and the Syrian immigration into Argentina for February 1922 was 136. A. MacLean, Modern Immigration, pp. 185 and 199.

A Syrian-Argentine newspaper, Al-Etehad Al-Lubnani, published in Buenos Aires, June 6, 1926, made the statement that in some states of Argentine about "90% of the business is controlled by Syrians."¹ The New York Times in a news item dated September 28, 1919 quotes an American Consular report from Columbia "that one of the most powerful factors in the business done in the Cartegena district of Columbia is a group of Syrian merchants." These Syrian merchants in Latin-America prior to the World War imported their goods from Europe. But during the war this importation from Europe became difficult, and commercial ^{contacts} ~~relations~~ were made with the United States. The Syrians in New York took advantage of this situation and in a few years developed an important export trade with their fellow Syrians in Latin America. There is one exporting firm in New York that sends an agent every year to Chile and has developed in a few years into one of the largest exporting houses in New York. These exporting houses number about ten and export American goods to almost every island of the West Indies, every country of Central and South America, and today even to Egypt and the Sudd~~n~~.

>1. According to the Review of Reviews, about a half a million Syrians in South America, mostly in Brazil; and large numbers in Cuba and Mexico. Rev. of Rev., Nov. 1916, p. 535.

While importing, exporting, and manufacturing are the most successful and outstanding of Syrian commercial enterprises in the United States, they are restricted to a minority and are not widely distributed. It is in the retail selling of all varieties that the majority of Syrians are found in every state and most of the cities and towns of the country. Miss Houghton in her travels among the Syrians in 1911 noticed this extensive retail commercial activity of the majority of the Syrians everywhere in the country, such as in Albany where all the Syrians have stores and shops, in Providence 25% of the Syrians run stores, in Buffalo about 10%, in New Orleans 10%, in Toledo and Minneapolis about 75%, in St. Paul 80%, and in Boston 50%.¹ The Syrian peddlers have greatly decreased in the last twenty years for most of them have abandoned peddling for established businesses. In the larger cities they are engaged in the silk and linen business, and in the smaller towns own dry goods and clothing stores; while their grocery, confectionery and fruit stores are found everywhere.

Washington Street in lower Manhattan, which once was the rendezvous and supply center of the Syrian peddlers has in the last few years been gradually transformed into

1. Houghton, op. cit., pp. 652 ff.

a street of little linen shops, and is today the center of the trade in New York. In the shadow of Wall Street runs this specialized street, reminiscent of the Damascene ^{bazaars} bayous, where the American lady rides in her chauffeured car, and where the swarthy, courteous Syrians lay before her the handiwork of France, Italy, Madeira or China. These same shops are found in Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco, Los Angeles and every other large city of the American continent, and many of them in various cities are run by the same man. These shops have also invaded the American resorts in the White Mountains, along the New England seacoast, Long Island and New Jersey, and Florida. There are many Syrians who during the summer run linen and rug stores in Bethlehem, New Hampshire, Bar Harbor, Maine, Hyannis, Massachusetts, and Newport, Rhode Island, in the winter migrate to their shops in Palm Beach, Miami, and Jacksonville, Florida.

The dry goods and clothing stores of the Syrians are likewise dispersed throughout the country, except that most of them are found in the smaller cities and towns. It has been said that there is not a city of five thousand or more inhabitants that does not have its Syrian merchant. In the towns of textile New England, mining Pennsylvania and West Virginia, cotton and tobacco South, and prairie Middle West, the Syrian is catering to the clothing needs of the American people. The Syrian peddler has abandoned his "keeskey" for

a store, although sometimes he combines the two. In Portland, Maine, there are fifteen dry goods stores, all of high standing. Most of these stores are each owned by two partners, one of whom runs the store and the other goes about the surrounding country supplying the farmers. This same system is pursued in the prairie states of Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas, and Nebraska. In many cases where one man owns the store he and his wife divide the work.

The Syrians in grocery, confectionery, and fruit are as numerous and widely dispersed as those in the linen and dry goods. The grocery business among the Syrians dates back to the early years of their immigration, when with the increasing numbers of Syrians in the Eastern centers, Syrian groceries began to be imported for sale among the immigrants. As the Syrians spread out over the country, and where they collected in communities, Syrian grocery stores sprang up to meet their needs. From supplying limited Syrian colonies to wider American communities was a natural step. So profitable was this business found that it began attracting many who had been peddlers with a capital to invest. These early grocery stores were more in the nature of general stores, selling groceries, meats, vegetables, fruit, candies, tobacco, and sometimes even dry goods and notions. But in time the advantage of specialization was noticed and breaking away from the colony into various parts of the city, they began opening specialized grocery stores, meat markets, tobacco

shops, and confectionery and fruit stores. But it is in groceries that they have been most successful.

The largest number of Syrian grocers are found in Detroit which is second to New York, with 11,000 Syrians. It is said that there are about 2000 groceries distributed in every section of the city. Their grocery and meat stores are considered of high standing and have been very successful. Recently there has been a movement on foot to consolidate them on a cooperative basis, and already there are over 400 in the organization. Other centers of Syrian groceries, fruiterers, and confectioners are New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Lawrence, Pittsburgh, Charleston, West Virginia, Cleveland, Toledo, and Grand Rapids.

In these trans-Allegheny cities the Syrians have also become interested in the wholesale fruit business and have built up large firms with connections in California, and Florida, and other fruit growing states. Most of these fruit wholesalers are located in Ohio, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, particularly in Toledo, Cleveland, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Pittsburgh and Charleston, West Virginia. One of the firms in Pittsburg has branches in Charleston, Detroit, Toledo, and California, and is considered one of the largest distributors in the country. Another outstanding wholesaler is in Grand Rapids, ^{who} ~~and~~ is a distributor for the whole surrounding area, having a yearly turnover of more than a million dollars.

Another form of business that the Syrians have gone into is the buying of real estate for rental profits. Real estate ^{owners are} ~~answers~~ one of two types, men who combine it with another form of business, such as grocery, dry goods, or linen; and men who devote all their time to their property. The former becomes a landlord first by buying the property to house his business, and gradually adding to it; while the latter desiring to retire from business entirely, finds real estate the safest and easiest investment for their ^{his} accumulated capital. It is also known that there are many peddlers and mill-workers who also own property, with the intention of some day devoting all their time to real estate.

Syrian real estate as a specialized business is mostly to be found in New England, particularly in Massachusetts. A few years ago, before the recent real estate decline, ^{in some Mass. city} ~~in Lowell~~, out of about 100 who were in business, ten did not own real estate, 40 combined it with another form of business, and about fifty specialized in property, with an aggregate valuation of Syrian real estate at about two million dollars. Many of these large property owners started as peddlers, ^{the city} ~~Lowell~~ having been a peddling center because of its large French-Canadian colony, first investing their profits in one building, usually a tenement house. In a few years their holdings so increased that they were able to forsake peddling and devote themselves entirely

This town to real estate. Lowell became unique among Syrian, *inhabited* cities in its high percentage of Syrians who specialized in real estate. Other cities in New England where Syrians own a large amount of property are Lawrence, Worcester, Springfield and Manchester, New Hampshire, but usually in these cities it is combined with some other form of business.

Of other Syrian miscellaneous industries and occupations in a number of cities, are found Syrian restaurants, and theaters. New York also has two successful firms of Syrian bankers, real estate brokers, a travel bureau, and a steamship agency. Besides these there are two well-known firms manufacturing suspenders and mirrors, and a phonograph record manufactory.¹ Indianapolis has a Syrian factory of

1. A Classification of Syrian Ads in Meraat El-Gharb, a New York Syrian daily, *examples* this diversification of Syrian occupations.

1. 1 Grocer
2. 2 Confectioners
- > 3. 1 Directory, ~~Alumnae~~ *A/mande*
- > 4. 2 Rug dealer and importers
- > 5. 2 Grocery importers
6. 1 Jeweler
7. 1 hotel
8. 3 doctors
- > 9. California Sun-Dry *Boulgour (a cereal)*
10. 1 tapestry dealer
11. 1 silk underwear and Spanish shawls dealer
12. The Marvels of Dreams - A scientific and phil. analysis of dreams (by an Egyptian)
- 13.
14. Ticket-seller, and travelling agent
15. Cigarette manufacture
16. A monthly magazine
- > 17. Carpenters
18. A book on Spiritualism by Dr. Abr. Arbeely
18. Phonograph records
19. Books

> Nov. 15, 1930

high grade picture frames; in Gloversville, New York, two brothers own a large glove factory; and in Norfolk, Va., a Syrian runs an ice-factory. There is in Lomax, Illinois, a National Airways System, which is the only manufactory of commercial airplanes in Illinois, whose president and largest shareholder is a Syrian who ^{also} publishes the "Lomax Searchlight", a weekly paper. The Syrian World in its December, 1927, issue reports the death of a Syrian in Bristow, ~~Philadelphia~~ ^{Oklahoma}, who from a peddler with only \$10.90, and unable to read or write, became one of the wealthiest men in Oklahoma, mostly from cotton and oil lands. And to make the list of the occupations and industries of an immigrant people of not more than 35 years old still more bewildering, there has been formed in Los Angeles "The Pan-Arabian Picture Corp., Ltd.", to produce sound motion pictures in Arabic to be distributed to countries where Arabic is spoken.

Although the majority of the Syrians in this country, as well as in other lands are engaged in the commercial field, they have not restricted themselves to any one corner of industry, but have struck out in all the various phases of commerce from the pins and needles to artistic linens and rugs. The few outstanding manufacturing and importing firms of New York are liable to blind us to the fact that thousands of other Syrians throughout the country are

engaged in other forms of commerce, most of them perhaps small but ^{filling} ~~fitting~~ a need in their communities, and contributing in their own way to American life.

B. Laborers

While the Syrians in the United States are pre-^{traders} dominantly merchants and ~~travelers~~, and their greatest success has been in the commercial field, yet hundreds of Syrians are found working as laborers. The Immigration Commission reported that between the years 1899 and 1910 out of 36,722 Syrian immigrants giving their employment in this country, 1.2% were professional men, 22.7% skilled workers, 29% farm laborers, 21.1% ordinary laborers, and 25.3 others.¹ Miller in his New York survey found in 1903 that 26.8% of the Syrians there were factory workers.

The majority of Syrian laborers belong to the skilled-laborers class; very few are found in construction work or mining. Miss Houghton says of the Syrian laborers that they "do not swell the ranks of unskilled labor in such proportions as other immigrant races - - "² The reason for this is that as emigrants they do not, to any large extent, come from a crude laboring class, and it must be remembered that

1. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I,
p. 101.
2. Houghton, op. cit., p. 658.

factories, mills, or mines are very few in Syria.¹ Moreover, it must be remembered that the Syrian who was back home a common laborer, coming to America found his compatriots engaged in peddling as the easiest and quickest way to make money, adopted trading as his occupation.

With the increase of immigration the supply of peddlers increased and their profits lessened. The ambitious pushed out away from the colonies, peddled for a few years more until they had a working capital and then opened up businesses. Those who remained behind, finding trading steadily becoming less profitable, or being unsuited for business, turned to the factories and mills. It is significant that the majority of the Syrian workers are found in the East, in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, although in recent years their numbers

1. Occupations of Emigrants, 1899-1909 Inclusive.

50,592 Syrians. 8, 213,034 total immigration.

Prof.	Skilled lab.	Farm lab.	Farmers	Common lab.	Servants	Misc.	No occupation
.8	14.5	19.3	3.5	13.4	7.0	6.4	35.0
1.0	15.2	15.7	1.0	27.8	10.8	2.1	26.4

Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. I, p. 96.

2. ~~cf. supra, p. 11 f.~~

have increased in Ohio and Michigan with the industrialization of these states in the last two decades. The Syrian laborers prefer employment in mills and factories, and it is for this reason we find so large a number of them in the textile mills of New England and New Jersey, and in the iron shops and foundries of Pennsylvania. Sixty per cent of all the Syrians in Connecticut are in mills,¹ and ~~large~~ colonies of textile workers were found in Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, and Manchester, mills before the recent slump in the New England textile industry. In New Jersey they are engaged in the silk mills of Paterson and Hoboken. As weavers in these New Jersey mills, the Industrial Com. Report quotes one silk-mill proprietor as saying that they have "an instinct for weaving", and are preferred to the ~~Armenians and Italians.~~ ^{other immigrant workers,}² Eighty per cent of the Syrians of West Hoboken and Paterson are silk weavers.³ The Syrian manufacturers of New York and New Jersey employ large numbers of their compatriots along with other races. In Pittsburgh and Canton, Ohio, some are found in the steel foundries, although a manager of

1. Houghton, op. cit., p. 658

2. Report, Vol. XV, p. 446

3. Hitti, op. cit., p.

one of the foundries in Pittsburgh thought them too light
 for ~~the~~^{that} heavy labor. The Moslem Syrians of New York,
 oddly enough, seem to seek the bakeries of that city, and
 are employed in large numbers.

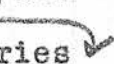
The high wages offered during the War attracted a
 large number of Syrians to the factories and mills, especially
 those for munitions. These laborers were particularly con-
 centrated in New England, increasing the population of the
 Syrian colonies ~~three~~^{three many folds} ~~manifolds~~, such as Lowell which in
 this period increased from two hundred to about five or six
 hundred. At about this same time the Syrian workers in-
 creased in Detroit, Toledo and Cleveland with the development
 of the automobile industry. This industrial population in
 Ohio and Michigan has recently been greatly augmented with
 the decline of the textile manufactures in New England. In
 the last few years there has been an exodus from such cities
 as Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, Fall River and New Bedford
 to Detroit, Flint, Toledo, Cleveland and Akron. The Syrians
 in Connecticut have not suffered so much because of their
 employment in varied, non-textile industries; and moreover
 their numbers have been increased by workers from Massachusetts.
 The Lawrence workers have gone in ~~large~~^{large} numbers to Danbury,
 where they are ~~largely~~^{mostly} employed in the hat mills.

As a rule the Syrians avoid underground work and
 therefore there are not very many miners among them. But

there are some in the coal and oil fields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma and Texas; they are also found in the mines of Montana and Colorado. In Slaterville, Pennsylvania there is an interesting Syrian colony whose members are employed mostly in the slate quarries of that town. Around Altoona, Pennsylvania, there are a number of coal miners who have been employed for many years, some since 1910.

C. Farmers

Although the majority of Syrian immigrants came from the rural and agricultural classes, the number of Syrian farmers in the United States is small. They came to this country ignorant of the language and its agricultural opportunities, so that the commercial and industrial opportunities in the East which were the first they met on arriving in this country, quickly absorbed them. Perhaps a more fundamental reason is to be found in the character of the American farm-life itself, which differs so much from that of Syria. The Syrian is ^{an extremely} ~~a very~~ sociable being, and this trait he manifests in his agricultural life back home. Unlike the American farmer the Syrian does not live on an isolated large farm, but in a compact community with his small holdings scattered around the village. In the mornings he goes out to his fields, and returns home at sundown to spend

the evening with his neighbors and friends or in the village coffee-house. He comes to America in the first place with no intention of going into farming, and if after getting here he for once considers agriculture, the fact that he has no money, that he is ignorant of country and its language, that he must live on a lonesome farm far from his friends and his church, forces him to abandon the idea. Then there is again the consideration that very few came ^{here} ~~there~~ with the intention of settling down permanently, and that more money could be quickly made in other industries  than agriculture.

Nevertheless, some of the earliest Syrian immigrants, in the 1870's, pushed out West and took up free lands and cultivated them for a livelihood. But these in time were absorbed into the American population and have left no traces.

There are today west of the Alleghanies, in the corn belt, ~~and~~ in the cotton belt, ^{Minnesota} in ~~Mexico~~, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Washington, Syrian farmers living either in colonies or dispersed over the country on individual farms.¹ In North Dakota, ~~back~~ in 1911, it was estimated that there were about 800 Syrian farmers, and in the neighborhood of Williston alone some 100. Most of these farmers entered the

1. Very good accounts of the Syrian farmers in the Middle West are found in Houghton, and especially in Kherbawi, from which most of my facts have been taken.

United States through the eastern ports and like most of their compatriots took up for their first occupation peddling. They pushed out into the west, some stopped for a while in the Lake cities, and others continued to the upper Mississippi and settled mostly in Minnesota. From the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth they spread over the rest of the state and westward, first going about as peddlers, supplying the farmers of ^{the} surrounding country with their varied needs. Soon they began taking up land and combined farming with peddling, but later giving up the latter and devoting all their work to agriculture. Thus Minnesota became the distributing point of the Syrian farmers in the West.

The Syrians first appeared in Minnesota in 1880. In the following years their number increased and they spread over the whole state with centers in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Mankato, and Crookston. In 1913 they numbered about 2000, and except for the few store owners, and itinerant peddlers they were mostly engaged in farming. In spite of the fact that they started with only a small capital they are today quite successful.

From Minnesota the Syrians pushed out into North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and states further west. The most successful of the Syrian farmers are found in North Dakota, especially in the vicinities of ^{Fargo} Tioga, Rugby, and

Williston. The first settlers in North Dakota came to Fargo from Minnesota in 1893 to open stores and trade. But in 1900 one peddler who was well acquainted with the surrounding country led a group from St. Paul to establish a farming colony not far from Fargo. In the same way the farming-colony of Rugby was settled in 1897 by only two families; and in a few years increased to 40 families. Another farming colony was established in Williston in 1900 and it soon had over 50 families. Some of the farmers started with a fair capital, either earnings made in this country or from proceeds of the sale of property in Syria. These in about two years became self-supporting. But there were others who had no capital and had to borrow money from loan companies and gradually paid it back. It usually took these four or five years before they became self-supporting. There were also some who were unable to meet their debts and were sold out by the loan companies. However, many of these farms were purchased by Syrian businessmen of the northwestern cities and Syrian farm laborers employed.

It is known that many of these western Syrian farmers are educated men with a few graduates of the American University of ^{Beirut} ~~Bancit~~. On the whole they have been successful and have carved a place for themselves in their communities. Although they suffered the first few years, due to their ignorance of modern farming and others because of their debt

burdens, in a few years they were able to operate their farms profitably, improve them considerably and share in the agricultural and political life of their communities. The Syrians of Dakota attained such a high position, that in 1903 one of them was elected president of the North Dakota Agricultural Society, and later secretary to the newly organized Socialist Party of the state.

Although the most successful and most numerous farmers among the Syrian immigrants are found in the Middle West, some are found in other parts of the country. There are a few farmers in New England, especially in Maine and Massachusetts, who grow potatoes and fruits, or are in dairying. In the environs of Lawrence there are a few truck-farmers who supply the local market. In Burlington, Vermont, one of the largest apple orchards of that district is owned by a Syrian farmer. About one-fourth of the seasonal agricultural laborers about Oneida, New York, are Syrians. The large number of Syrian restaurants, fruit and grocery stores of New York and Brooklyn are supplied by New Jersey Syrian truck farmers. Vegetable farmers are also found around Detroit and other places in Michigan.

Second in importance to the farmers of the Middle West are the farmers of the South and the Far West. There are a number of cotton planters in the South, the most prosperous of whom are in North Carolina and Texas. In

Virginia many Syrians, who have had experience back in their mother-country, are growing large quantities of tobacco. The largest and most modern butter-factory of Ozark, Arkansas, is owned by a Syrian. In the Far West the Syrian farmers are mostly found in California and Washington as fruit growers. They have been particularly successful in California where they are cultivating large orchards, and introducing Syrian varieties of fruits. One of the recent and popular melon products of California has been the Kassaba melon, which is said to have been first cultivated by a Syrian Californian, Kassab.

A few years ago there was some land lying idle in Central California which was considered unfit for the plow, because it ~~was~~ "desert" This waste land was purchased by a Syrian, and with the help of his sons turned it into one of the most productive vineyards of California.

D. Miscellaneous Occupations

As for other occupations, no one of them is unknown to the Syrians. Since a large proportion of young men, and even younger women, are now beginning to pursue higher learning, it is expected that in the near future they will have a large number of men and women in the various professions. Even today in almost every Syrian center there are found lawyers and doctors, and in the large cities teachers, nurses,

7 clergymen, and dentists. They have already appeared
 engineers and chemists among the rising generation, and
 their number is steadily increasing. Professor Hitti
 classified the vocations of the twenty-four members of the
 Syrian Educational Society of New York, giving an idea of
 their diversity, as follows:¹

Merchants.....	6	Pharmacist.....	1
Physicians.....	3	Lawyer.....	1
Dentists.....	3	Exports Comm.....	1
Engineers.....	2	Minister.....	1
Clerks.....	2	Life Ins. Agent.....	1
Students.....	2	Teacher.....	1

12 vocations
 24 men

7 In the letters and art they also have their
 7 representations. There are a number of journalists,
 authors and poets among them, and at least two have attained
 international fame. Their love of music is producing
 singers, players, and a composer-pianist who is said to be
 "coming to the front as a pioneer in the introduction of
 Oriental music."² A Syrian music teacher in Shreveport,

1. Hitti, op. cit. p. 74

2. Ibid., p. 73

Louisiana, has become a recognized leader in her field and contributes to the periodical "L'Etude". A Syrian poet-artist a few years ago attracted national attention and has been given a special place in American art and poetic prose writing.¹

Even in the less gentler arts of boxing, the Syrians have turned out quite a sturdy group, among whom one in particular, a Southerner, has attained ^{sectional} ~~national~~ distinction. And in the more recent art of flying the Syrians distinguish themselves as having a number of aviators, and two aviatrixes ~~one~~ in Virginia and the others in California.

Thus we see that these immigrants, who mostly come from the rural classes of Syria and began in this country as peddlers, have branched out into many fields, and it is to be expected that they will become even more diversified in the coming years with the education of their children.

1. Cf. infra, pp. 127 ff.

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

A. Societies and Clubs

If an immigrant people is small in number and thinly spread over the country, it soon loses its identity and is completely absorbed by the population. We have seen how the two hundred thousand Syrians, a small number compared to other immigrants, have distributed themselves over every state of the Union, sometimes with only one or two families in a town. This is particularly so west of the Alleghanies where they are fast taking on American traits and habits, and many, as those on the prairies, have already lost their Syrian identity. It is only in the larger towns and cities where Syrians have aggregated that we find the typical Syrian still tenaciously holding on to his old world heritage. No doubt the presence of large numbers in these centers largely accounts for their preservation. But there are other factors which have saved them from being swallowed up by the all-absorbing forces of American life.

Today there is not a Syrian community in the United States that has not at least one Syrian club or society, some of which date back to the early years of the century.

The number of these associations has greatly increased since the World War when the average Syrian fully realized he was here to stay, and as the second generation of Syrians came into its own. They saw that they were a small minority among teeming thousands, and that their only hope of securing a recognized place in American life was by organizing societies. They are a people little understood by the Americans, and the only way they could bring themselves to the attention of their neighbors most advantageously was by united action. These clubs and societies throughout the country were organized to aid their fellow Syrians under strange conditions, to encourage education and naturalization, and to protect themselves from any infringement of their rights. We therefore have the phenomenal development of Syrian clubs, charitable organizations, educational and literary societies, and citizens and political associations.

Perhaps the most widespread and influential of these organizations are those clubs which usually go under the name of "Syrian American Club". The first of these clubs appeared in New York in 1908 as the Syrian-American Club; which ^{or} ~~Abu~~ Khaybari says was organized "to strengthen the brotherly and harmonious bonds among the Syrians; to aid them in the courts and immigration customs, to encourage American naturalization; to protect their rights, and to

do everything that would enhance the Syrian name in their new home."¹ This movement has spread rapidly throughout the country, first to the large cities as Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco, then into every city and town where Syrians are found in large numbers. They have been doing great work in adapting the Syrians to their new country, and presenting themselves favorably before the American public. So widespread and so important in Syrian-American life have these clubs become that a movement for federation has been started. It first began in New York City when the two Syrian-American Clubs in 1925 united ^{into} with the American-Syrian Federation. Then in 1928 a New England Syrian-American Federation was organized at a convention in Pittsfield, Mass., and issued a call to all the Syrian clubs in the country to unite into a national federation. The lead has been taken by the 'Syrian World' which has sent out circulars to all the clubs in the country to consider such a federation. The movement has also won the favor of the Syrian newspapers for they feel that the Syrians "urgently need to work for a Syrian-American federation of all our clubs and societies to direct our national affairs..." As soon as enough clubs express their approval of such a federation a convention will be called which will consolidate

1. Kh~~ar~~bat~~ti~~, op. cit. p. 814.

the now disunited Syrian clubs of America.

In the larger Syrian communities besides these general Syrian American clubs there are also found other organizations for special purposes. Every religious body where there is a church, has its sectarian and charity societies, usually for the men and women separately, which take upon themselves "to administer relief to the needy members of that church and to bury the friendless dead."¹ There are also non-sectarian societies in some cities, such as the Syrian Ladies Aid Society of New York and the Society for the Burial of the Dead of Worcester, Mass. Where there are Syrians who come from various localities of Syria there are also found societies whose membership is based on geographical origin such as the Damascus Fraternity, the Beyrouth Young Men's Society, the Schewire Welfare League, the United Djezzine Society, and the Aitha Union. This latter organization draws its members from immigrants who come from a small town in the Coelo-Lebanon and are particularly found in Toledo, Grand Rapids, Charleston, West Virginia, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and who effected a union of the Aitha clubs of these cities. In addition to social and charitable clubs, purely educational and literary societies have appeared in some of the cities. In New York

1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 90.

engaged in other forms of commerce, most of them perhaps small but ^{filling} ~~fitting~~ a need in their communities, and contributing in their own way to American life.

B. Laborers

While the Syrians in the United States are pre-dominantly merchants and ~~travelers~~ ^{traders}, and their greatest success has been in the commercial field, yet hundreds of Syrians are found working as laborers. The Immigration Commission reported that between the years 1899 and 1910 out of 36,722 Syrian immigrants giving their employment in this country, 1.2% were professional men, 22.7% skilled workers, 29% farm laborers, 21.1% ordinary laborers, and 25.3 others.¹ Miller in his New York survey found in 1903 that 26.8% of the Syrians there were factory workers.

The majority of Syrian laborers belong to the skilled-laborers class; very few are found in construction work or mining. Miss Houghton says of the Syrian laborers that they "do not swell the ranks of unskilled labor in such proportions as other immigrant races - - "² The reason for this is that as emigrants they do not, to any large extent, come from a crude laboring class, and it must be remembered that

1. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I,
p. 101.
2. Houghton, op. cit., p. 658.

factories, mills, or mines are very few in Syria.¹ Moreover, it must be remembered that the Syrian who was back home a common laborer, coming to America found his compatriots engaged in peddling as the easiest and quickest way to make money, adopted trading as his occupation.

With the increase of immigration the supply of peddlers increased and their profits lessened. The ambitious pushed out away from the colonies, peddled for a few years more until they had a working capital and then opened up businesses. Those who remained behind, finding trading steadily becoming less profitable, or being unsuited for business, turned to the factories and mills. It is significant that the majority of the Syrian workers are found in the East, in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, although in recent years their numbers

1. Occupations of Emigrants, 1899-1909 Inclusive.

50,592 Syrians. 8, 213,034 total immigration.

Prof.	Skilled lab.	Farm lab.	Farmers	Common lab.	Servants	Miss.	No occupation
.8	14.5	19.3	3.5	13.4	7.0	6.4	35.0
1.0	15.2	15.7	1.0	27.8	10.8	2.1	26.4

Reports of Immigration Commission, Vol. I, p. 96.

2. ~~cf. supra, p. 11 f.~~

have increased in Ohio and Michigan with the industrialization of these states in the last two decades. The Syrian laborers prefer employment in mills and factories, and it is for this reason we find so large a number of them in the textile mills of New England and New Jersey, and in the iron shops and foundries of Pennsylvania. Sixty per cent of all the Syrians in Connecticut are in mills,¹ and ~~large~~ colonies of textile workers were found in Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, and Manchester, mills before the recent slump in the New England textile industry. In New Jersey they are engaged in the silk mills of Paterson and Hoboken. As weavers in these New Jersey mills, the Industrial Com. Report quotes one silk-mill proprietor as saying that they have "an instinct for weaving", and are preferred to the ~~Armenians and Italians.~~ ^{other immigrant workers.}² Eighty per cent of the Syrians of West Hoboken and Paterson are silk weavers.³ The Syrian manufacturers of New York and New Jersey employ large numbers of their compatriots along with other races. In Pittsburgh and Canton, Ohio, some are found in the steel foundries, although a manager of

1. Houghton, op. cit., p. 658

2. Report, Vol. XV, p. 446

3. Hitti, op. cit., p.

one of the foundries in Pittsburgh thought them too light for the ~~the~~ heavy labor. The Moslem Syrians of New York, oddly enough, seem to seek the bakeries of that city, and are employed in large numbers.


The high wages offered during the War attracted a large number of Syrians to the factories and mills, especially those for munitions. These laborers were particularly concentrated in New England, increasing the population of the Syrian colonies ^{three many folds} ~~three manifold~~, such as Lowell which in this period increased from two hundred to about five or six hundred. At about this same time the Syrian workers increased in Detroit, Toledo and Cleveland with the development of the automobile industry. This industrial population in Ohio and Michigan has recently been greatly augmented with the decline of the textile manufactures in New England. In the last few years there has been an exodus from such cities as Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, Fall River and New Bedford to Detroit, Flint, Toledo, Cleveland and Akron. The Syrians in Connecticut have not suffered so much because of their employment in varied, non-textile industries; and moreover their numbers have been increased by workers from Massachusetts. The Lawrence workers have gone in ^{large} ~~huge~~ numbers to Danbury, where they are ^{mostly} ~~largely~~ employed in the hat mills.

As a rule the Syrians avoid underground work and therefore there are not very many miners among them. But

there are some in the coal and oil fields of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma and Texas; they are also found in the mines of Montana and Colorado. In Slaterville, Pennsylvania there is an interesting Syrian colony whose members are employed mostly in the slate quarries of that town. Around Altoona, Pennsylvania, there are a number of coal miners who have been employed for many years, some since 1910.

C. Farmers

Although the majority of Syrian immigrants came from the rural and agricultural classes, the number of Syrian farmers in the United States is small. They came to this country ignorant of the language and its agricultural opportunities, so that the commercial and industrial opportunities in the East which were the first they met on arriving in this country, quickly absorbed them. Perhaps a more fundamental reason is to be found in the character of the American farm-life itself, which differs so much from that of Syria. The Syrian is ^{an extremely} ~~a~~ very sociable being, and this trait he manifests in his agricultural life back home. Unlike the American farmer the Syrian does not live on an isolated large farm, but in a compact community with his small holdings scattered around the village. In the mornings he goes out to his fields, and returns home at sundown to spend

the evening with his neighbors and friends or in the village coffee-house. He comes to America in the first place with no intention of going into farming, and if after getting here he for once considers agriculture, the fact that he has no money, that he is ignorant of country and its language, that he must live on a lonesome farm far from his friends and his church, forces him to abandon the idea. Then there is again the consideration that very few came ^{here} there with the intention of settling down permanently, and that more money could be quickly made in other industries  than agriculture.

Nevertheless, some of the earliest Syrian immigrants, in the 1870's, pushed out West and took up free lands and cultivated them for a livelihood. But these in time were absorbed into the American population and have left no traces.

There are today west of the Alleghanies, in the corn belt, ~~and~~ in the cotton belt, in ^{Minnesota} ~~Mexico~~, Iowa, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Washington, Syrian farmers living either in colonies or dispersed over the country on individual farms.¹ In North Dakota, ~~back~~ in 1911, it was estimated that there were about 800 Syrian farmers, and in the neighborhood of Williston alone some 100. Most of these farmers entered the

1. Very good accounts of the Syrian farmers in the Middle West are found in Houghton, and especially in Kherbawi, from which most of my facts have been taken.

United States through the eastern ports and like most of their compatriots took up for their first occupation peddling. They pushed out into the west, some stopped for a while in the Lake cities, and others continued to the upper Mississippi and settled mostly in Minnesota. From the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth they spread over the rest of the state and westward, first going about as peddlers, supplying the farmers of ^{the} surrounding country with their varied needs. Soon they began taking up land and combined farming with peddling, but later giving up the latter and devoting all their work to agriculture. Thus Minnesota became the distributing point of the Syrian farmers in the West.

The Syrians first appeared in Minnesota in 1880. In the following years their number increased and they spread over the whole state with centers in Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Mankato, and Crookston. In 1913 they numbered about 2000, and except for the few store owners, and itinerant peddlers they were mostly engaged in farming. In spite of the fact that they started with only a small capital they are today quite successful.

From Minnesota the Syrians pushed out into North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and states further west. The most successful of the Syrian farmers are found in North Dakota, especially in the vicinities of ^{Fargo} ~~Sioux~~, Rugby, and

Williston. The first settlers in North Dakota came to Fargo from Minnesota in 1893 to open stores and trade. But in 1900 one peddler who was well acquainted with the surrounding country led a group from St. Paul to establish a farming colony not far from Fargo. In the same way the farming-colony of Rugby was settled in 1897 by only two families; and in a few years increased to 40 families. Another farming colony was established in Williston in 1900 and it soon had over 50 families. Some of the farmers started with a fair capital, either earnings made in this country or from proceeds of the sale of property in Syria. These in about two years became self-supporting. But there were others who had no capital and had to borrow money from loan companies and gradually paid it back. It usually took these four or five years before they became self-supporting. There were also some who were unable to meet their debts and were sold out by the loan companies. However, many of these farms were purchased by Syrian businessmen of the northwestern cities and Syrian farm laborers employed.

It is known that many of these western Syrian farmers are educated men with a few graduates of the American University of ^{Beirut} ~~Beneit~~. On the whole they have been successful and have carved a place for themselves in their communities. Although they suffered the first few years, due to their ignorance of modern farming and others because of their debt

burdens, in a few years they were able to operate their farms profitably, improve them considerably and share in the agricultural and political life of their communities. The Syrians of Dakota attained such a high position, that in 1903 one of them was elected president of the North Dakota Agricultural Society, and later secretary to the newly organized Socialist Party of the state.

Although the most successful and most numerous farmers among the Syrian immigrants are found in the Middle West, some are found in other parts of the country. There are a few farmers in New England, especially in Maine and Massachusetts, who grow potatoes and fruits, or are in dairying. In the environs of Lawrence there are a few truck-farmers who supply the local market. In Burlington, Vermont, one of the largest apple orchards of that district is owned by a Syrian farmer. About one-fourth of the seasonal agricultural laborers about Oneida, New York, are Syrians. The large number of Syrian restaurants, fruit and grocery stores of New York and Brooklyn are supplied by New Jersey Syrian truck farmers. Vegetable farmers are also found around Detroit and other places in Michigan.

Second in importance to the farmers of the Middle West are the farmers of the South and the Far West. There are a number of cotton planters in the South, the most prosperous of whom are in North Carolina and Texas. In

Virginia many Syrians, who have had experience back in their mother-country, are growing large quantities of tobacco. The largest and most modern butter-factory of Ozark, Arkansas, is owned by a Syrian. In the Far West the Syrian farmers are mostly found in California and Washington as fruit growers. They have been particularly successful in California where they are cultivating large orchards, and introducing Syrian varieties of fruits. One of the recent and popular melon products of California has been the Kassaba melon, which is said to have been first cultivated by a Syrian Californian, Kassab.

A few years ago there was some land lying idle in Central California which was considered unfit for the plow, because it was "desert" This waste land was purchased by a Syrian, and with the help of his sons turned it into one of the most productive vineyards of California.

D. Miscellaneous Occupations

As for other occupations, no one of them is unknown to the Syrians. Since a large proportion of young men, and even young~~x~~ women, are now beginning to pursue higher learning, it is expected that in the near future they will have a large number of men and women in the various professions. Even today in almost every Syrian center there are found lawyers and doctors, and in the large cities teachers, nurses,

7 clergymen, and dentists. They have already appeared
 engineers and chemists among the rising generation, and
 their number is steadily increasing. Professor Hitti
 classified the vocations of the twenty-four members of the
 Syrian Educational Society of New York, giving an idea of
 their diversity, as follows:¹

Merchants.....	6	Pharmacist.....	1
Physicians.....	3	Lawyer.....	1
Dentists.....	3	Exports Comm.....	1
Engineers.....	2	Minister.....	1
Clerks.....	2	Life Ins. Agent.....	1
Students.....	2	Teacher.....	1

12 vocations
 24 men

7 In the letters and art they also have their
 7 representatives. There are a number of journalists,
 authors and poets among them, and at least two have attained
 international fame. Their love of music is producing
 singers, players, and a composer-pianist who is said to be
 "coming to the front as a pioneer in the introduction of
 Oriental music."² A Syrian music teacher in Shreveport,

> 1. Hitti, op. cit. p. 74

> 2. Ibid., p. 73

Louisiana, has become a recognized leader in her field and contributes to the periodical "L'Etude". A Syrian poet-artist a few years ago attracted national attention and has been given a special place in American art and poetic prose writing.¹

Even in the less gentler arts of boxing, the Syrians have turned out quite a sturdy group, among whom one in particular, a Southerner, has attained ^{sectional} ~~national~~ distinction. And in the more recent art of flying the Syrians distinguish themselves as having a number of aviators, and two aviatrixes ~~one~~ in Virginia and the others in California.

Thus we see that these immigrants, who mostly come from the rural classes of Syria and began in this country as peddlers, have branched out into many fields, and it is to be expected that they will become even more diversified in the coming years with the education of their children.

1. Cf. infra, pp. 127 ff.

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

CHAPTER III.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

A. Societies and Clubs

If an immigrant people is small in number and thinly spread over the country, it soon loses its identity and is completely absorbed by the population. We have seen how the two hundred thousand Syrians, a small number compared to other immigrants, have distributed themselves over every state of the Union, sometimes with only one or two families in a town. This is particularly so west of the Alleghanies where they are fast taking on American traits and habits, and many, as those on the prairies, have already lost their Syrian identity. It is only in the larger towns and cities where Syrians have aggregated that we find the typical Syrian still tenaciously holding on to his old world heritage. No doubt the presence of large numbers in these centers largely accounts for their preservation. But there are other factors which have saved them from being swallowed up by the all-absorbing forces of American life.

Today there is not a Syrian community in the United States that has not at least one Syrian club or society, some of which date back to the early years of the century.

The number of these associations has greatly increased since the World War when the average Syrian fully realized he was here to stay, and as the second generation of Syrians came into its own, they saw that they were a small minority among teeming thousands, and that their only hope of securing a recognized place in American life was by organizing societies. They are a people little understood by the Americans, and the only way they could bring themselves to the attention of their neighbors most advantageously was by united action. These clubs and societies throughout the country were organized to aid their fellow Syrians under strange conditions, to encourage education and naturalization, and to protect themselves from any infringement of their rights. We therefore have the phenomenal development of Syrian clubs, charitable organizations, educational and literary societies, and citizens and political associations.

Perhaps the most widespread and influential of these organizations are those clubs which usually go under the name of "Syrian American Club". The first of these clubs appeared in New York in 1908 as the Syrian-American Club; which ~~Abu~~ ^{Abu} ~~Khan~~ ^{Khan} ~~Barri~~ ^{Barri} says was organized "to strengthen the brotherly and harmonious bonds among the Syrians; to aid them in the courts and immigration customs, to encourage American naturalization; to protect their rights, and to

do everything that would enhance the Syrian name in their new home."¹ This movement has spread rapidly throughout the country, first to the large cities as Boston, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco, then into every city and town where Syrians are found in large numbers. They have been doing great work in adapting the Syrians to their new country, and presenting themselves favorably before the American public. So widespread and so important in Syrian-American life have these clubs become that a movement for federation has been started. It first began in New York City when the two Syrian-American Clubs in 1925 united ^{into} with the American-Syrian Federation. Then in 1928 a New England Syrian-American Federation was organized at a convention in Pittsfield, Mass., and issued a call to all the Syrian clubs in the country to unite into a national federation. The lead has been taken by the Syrian World which has sent out circulars to all the clubs in the country to consider such a federation. The movement has also won the favor of the Syrian newspapers for they feel that the Syrians "urgently need to work for a Syrian-American federation of all our clubs and societies to direct our national affairs..." As soon as enough clubs express their approval of such a federation a convention will be called which will consolidate

1. ~~Kherbati~~, op. cit. p. 814.

the now disunited Syrian clubs of America.

In the larger Syrian communities besides these general Syrian American clubs there are also found other organizations for special purposes. Every religious body where there is a church, has its sectarian and charity societies, usually for the men and women separately, which take upon themselves "to administer relief to the needy members of that church and to bury the friendless dead."¹ There are also non-sectarian societies in some cities, such as the Syrian Ladies Aid Society of New York and the Society for the Burial of the Dead of Worcester, Mass. Where there are Syrians who come from various localities of Syria there are also found societies whose membership is based on geographical origin such as the Damascus Fraternity, the Beyrouth Young Men's Society, the Schewire Welfare League, the United Djezzine Society, and the Aitha Union. This latter organization draws its members from immigrants who come from a small town in the Coelo-Lebanon and are particularly found in Toledo, Grand Rapids, Charleston, West Virginia, and Lowell, Massachusetts, and who effected a union of the Aitha clubs of these cities. In addition to social and charitable clubs, purely educational and literary societies have appeared in some of the cities. In New York

1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 90.

and Boston are found Syrian Educational Societies whose purpose is to unite all Syrian college graduates in order to encourage education, and to aid financially those who are seeking higher education. In New York there are a Book Club and an ^{Arrabitah} ~~Arrabitah~~, exclusive literary clubs.

There are also a number of political and citizen organizations which take a part in the political and civic activity of their communities, and are highly regarded by their fellow citizens.

An organization that ~~has~~ appeared in the last ~~five~~ ^{eight} years, called forth by the recent Druze Rebellion in Syria, is the New Syria Society. It quickly spread and today claims fifty branches with its center in New York, where it first began. Its purpose is the liberation of Syria from foreign control, but it has found favor only among a limited number of the older generation who still feel a tie to the homeland.

Thus we see a growth of interest among the Syrians ^{to carve} ~~to~~ ~~cause~~ a place for themselves in American life by cooperative association. Cooperation is one of the things they are just beginning to learn in this country, and so strong an appeal has it made and so widespread has it become, that a Syrian physician has termed it Syrian "Societitis".

B. Newspapers and Magazines

Another influential factor in Syrian-American life has been Syrian journalism and magazines. Wherever the Syrians have gone they have established newspapers and journals, which have had a tremendous influence upon the Arabic-speaking people. There can be no doubt but that Syrian journalism in this country has done much to improve the lot of the immigrant Syrians. To many who could read only Arabic¹, news and affairs of the world, its progress, inventions and explorations for the first time became accessible. These newspapers for the thousands distributed over the country became the connecting link between them and their home-land and the rest of the world, and the interpreter of the strange country of their adoption. But their greatest importance lay in the fact that they became the educators of large numbers of unlettered men. The degree of illiteracy was unusually high among the immigrant Syrians of the early years. Of the 47,834 Syrian immigrants, fourteen years or over, admitted between 1899 and 1910, 53.3% were illiterate, placing the Syrians among the six highest illiterate immigrant races.² While still in Syria the facilities for education were not very

1. Arabic has displaced Syria^c in Syria, since the Arab conquest of the country in the seventh century.

2. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. I, p. 99.

> many and their absence was not greatly felt, education there was one of the luxuries of life. But with their coming to America, their separation from the mother-country, their pursuit of trade, and the isolation of many of them brought home to them the great need, at least of reading and writing. In the early days Arabic books were rare in this country and the Syrian's only means of educating himself was the newspapers which could be sent out from New York to any part of the country. Since their interests in this early period were still in things Syrian, and their business only peddling the Syrians did not feel the need of learning English. They ordered their goods from Syrian dealers, they had to write to their families in Syria, and their friends in other parts of America in Arabic; and so the study of Arabic was more important to them. The newspapers thus served him first as his teachers, and then as informers of his old country, the outside world, and his adopted country. For these reasons ^{there was} ~~we~~ have an unusual development of Syrian journalism in America much out of proportion to the Syrian population.

Besides being indispensable to the Syrian immigrants these newspapers became important links between East and West, the transmitters of Western ideas and conditions to the old world, and keeping the emigrants informed of Syrian developments. While in Syria, writers were restrained from voicing freely their opinions and disapproval of home con-

ditions. But coming to America, many as refugees, found the Syrian newspapers invaluable means of agitating their countrymen back home, by attacking the Turkish government, comparing its despotism and backwardness to the freedom and enlightenment of the western countries, and urging their fellow Syrians to shake off the Turkish yoke. So dangerous did these attacks become that the Turkish Government prohibited the entrance of Syrian-American newspapers into the country, and placed a death sentence on the writers and editors. Nevertheless these papers found their way into Syria and did much to arouse the nationalism that appeared in Syria between 1900 and 1905. A writer in the Independent of April 1903 tells of how when a boy he was told by a friend that if he searched under the roots of a certain huge tree outside the village he would find something good. What he discovered was a bundle of Arabic newspapers from New York which attacked the Government, and started him on his career as an ^{agitator} discontent. He was later forced to leave the country because of his attacks, came to this country, like many others, and continued his agitation through the Syrian-American newspapers.¹

If the American newspapers made some of the Syrians dissatisfied with their government, they made them even more

1. Independent, "Story of a Young Syrian" April 30, 1903.

dissatisfied with their conditions in general, and influenced
 > them to emigrate. ^{Along} ~~Always~~ with the letters sent back by the
 immigrants, the newspapers printed in glaring colors the
 opportunities and freedom of the new world, the progress of
 immigrant business men, and the comforts and lavishness of
 some of the successful immigrants, enough to make the poor
 > Syrian~~s~~ leave his home and emigrate to this land of wealth
 and happiness.

The first Syrian newspaper in the western hemisphere
 appeared in New York in 1892 as "Kowkab Amerika", (the
 > "^{Ar}Stere of America"), owned and edited by Najib Arbe^ely, the
 > son of Dr. Arbe^ely and whose first literary editor was
 > Abraham ^{Rihbany} ~~Nichbony~~. It was first a weekly and then a daily.
 Since then a great many newspapers have been started at va-
 rious times and in different places, but only to die out
 after one or two years. The small number of Syrians in this
 country could not support them all. Most of these newspapers
 appeared in New York and a few in Boston, Lawrence and
 Detroit. But New York is the Syrian newspaper center of
 America. In 1913: 2 dailies, 1 thrice-weekly, 4 semi-
 weekly, 1 weekly, and 1 monthly were being published in the
 United States, all of which but the monthly of Boston
 appeared in New York. In 1920 there were ten newspapers in
 the country, of which six were in New York and one in Boston,
 one in Lawrence, and two in Detroit. By 1930 one more was

added to those of New York and the one in Boston disappeared. Of these only four in New York, are now dailies. Thus we see that there has not been much growth of Syrian journalism in the last twenty years, and it is claimed that even a few of those still in existence owe their life only to religious or tribal feuds.

Al-Hoda of New York, ^{Na Youm} owned and published by ~~Mayeria~~ ~~Wolmarzel~~, is the largest and most progressive of the Syrian papers, having a circulation of about 5,000. Its publisher is a Maronite and so it claims most of the Maronite readers. Meraat-Ul-Gharb and El-Nisr cater to most of the Greek Orthodox, while Al-Bayan which is edited by a Druze circulates among the Mohammedans and Druze of this country. Although the dailies are located in New York, they depend on the interior for their support where 80% of their subscribers are distributed, and 10% in foreign countries.¹

In recent years the Syrian newspapers are beginning to realize that their span of life is greatly limited and that in about ten or fifteen years Syrian Arabic journalism will come to an end. The reasons for this are quite evident. Immigration from Syria has been greatly restricted, the immigrants are dying away and the younger Americanized generation do not read Arabic, "all make the position of the Arabic press in the United States precarious." The Syrian

1. Syrian World, "Arabic Newspapers in America", May 1928.

> World, a monthly magazine that appears in English, says on this subject: "Although the oldest Arabic language newspaper in the United States barely exceeds the age of thirty years, a serious discussion has now developed as to whether the Syrian press has not reached the end of its usefulness."¹ A few of the Syrian editors have tried to meet this danger, by including an English page in their papers, but in each case failed, and discarded the attempt. A few years ago a Syrian monthly newspaper entirely in English appeared in Boston, but its life was also a short one. In the last few years an attempt is being made to persuade the Syrian newspapers of New York, the four dailies, to merge and edit one strong paper which with the decreasing number of readers would be able to publish one paper on a much more economical and efficient system, thus prolonging the life of the Arabic press and meeting the needs of the remaining readers. But due to the factional differences of the editors, it is doubtful whether such a consolidation will ever take place.

Although the Syrian newspapers dominate the Syrian literary field of America, a few magazines have been able to keep alive. Like the newspapers many Syrian magazines have come in for a short while and gone never to appear again.

1. ~~Ibid.~~ Loc. cit.

The first magazine was a religious monthly that was edited by ^{the} Greek Orthodox archbishop, Raphael ^{Hawawing} ~~Hunawing~~, but it died with him in 1912. Today there are six Syrian magazines published in the United States of which three are in New York. It is significant to note that the most widespread and important of these magazines is the Syrian-American Commercial Magazine. But the magazine that has been steadily growing and is destined for an important place in future Syrian life in this country is the Syrian World which first began to be published in 1926 in New York. The aim~~ing~~ of this publication is to "serve as a forum for the discussion of existing problems among Syrians in America .. while striving, on the other hand, to give a judicious and adequate presentation of conditions of life as they exist in Syria; a comprehensive analysis of Syrian political and economic affairs, and of Syrians' achievements in the fields of art, science and literature; an account of their commercial activities ...; all this to the end that our Syrian American generation will come to ^{understand} ~~industrially~~ better the country of their parents and appreciate more fully their racial endowments which constitute a valuable contribution to the country of their birth.¹ Thus the Syrian World is attempting to fill the gap that the dying newspapers will leave, by catering to the coming generations. This magazine counts among its con-

1. Syrian World, "Foreword", July, 1926 (1st number)

tributors the most outstanding Syrians of the country, engaged in every field; thus it not only benefits the readers but offers an opportunity for the expression of any Syrian talent in this country.

Besides these newspapers and magazines are numerous Syrian publishers in the United States, located in New York, Boston, Lawrence, and Detroit. The majority of them combine commercial printing with publishing, but the others are supplying the demand for Arabic books, pamphlets, tracts, and magazines, some of which are even exporting^{ed} to the Arabic-speaking countries of the East. The most important of these is the Syrian-American Press of New York which publishes both Arabic and English.

*The appearance of Syrian-American
papers, weeklies & monthlies, in English,*

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

A. Syrian Religious Life

In Syria religion took the place of the state in the people's life. With the absence of any national unity, the religious or church bonds tended to be overemphasized and the various sects claimed the complete loyalty of their followers. But perhaps the great importance of religion in Syrian life goes much deeper than a mere loyalty, and can be explained only by the deeply religious mind of the Semites. Syria is the mother of two of the great monotheistic religions of the world, Christianity and Judaism, and the nurse of the third, Mohammedanism. The country has always been a prolific producer of religious sects, which can be explained only by the deep religious feeling of its inhabitants. Religion is an integral part of the Syrian's life, and perhaps unconsciously, dominates it.¹ The Syrian mind, in spite of its keen commercial bent, is peculiarly imaginative, idealistic, and mystic. In its purest form his religion is simple and mystic, he sees

1. "The religious consciousness, everywhere and at all times is consciousness of the individual to God, whatever the idea of God may be. Apart from the quality of the conception, I assert that the idea of God is present to the common consciousness in Syria and Palestine with a vividness lacking to the common consciousness in Western Protestant lands at the present time." J.J.Bliss, The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine, p. 4.

spirits and God everywhere. It is not a matter of reason, but of conviction and utter faith which has been his greatest contribution to humanity. And yet this mysticism has paradoxically been successfully blended with a very practical pursuit of life, as expressed in his business genius. So it is not an abject attitude but an outlook upon life that is energetic and idealistic.

This attitude ^{the} ~~like~~ Syrians have carried with them wherever they have gone. Where you find Syrians in any large numbers who seem to be given over entirely to commercial pursuits, there also you find a church, and if they have not one of their own, they attend foreign churches. Today in America they have their own churches and their own clergymen. They have transplanted to a new soil their religious beliefs and prejudices, their church festivities and quarrels, little changed from what they were in the home country. These churches, even more than their clubs, societies or periodicals, have been very influential in preserving their identity in America.

B. Sects

The Syrian emigration to the United States ^{was} ~~has been~~ predominately an exodus of Christians from a country where they ^{were} ~~are~~ a minority. Religious persecution no doubt ~~had~~ its place among the causes of the emigration of the Christian Syrians. However, the non-Christian sects, such as the

Moslems, the Druze and the Nusayriyyah and Metawailis have their representatives in the United States, though only in small numbers.

The Syrian Christian sects are all represented in this country, and are all well organized with their own churches and clergymen. The most numerous are the Maronites, who derive their name ~~supposedly~~ from Maron, a Syrian monk of the fifth century who founded a monastery on the banks of the Orontes. The Maronite Church was originally an independent Syrian church, and it still claims to be the national church of Syria. In Syria it is the predominate Christian sect, and it draws its followers mostly from the Lebanon region. Although it submitted to the Papacy in 1182 and has since been adapting itself to Roman usage, it still uses the ancient Syriac in its masses, its own ritual and has its own patriarch.

To this country their pioneer missionary was Rev. Betrus Karkemoz who arrived in August 1891 and established himself in New York. Before Rev. Karkemoz, between 1875 and 1889, two or three Maronite priests had come to America, but only for a short while. Since then the Maronite Church has steadily grown until today it has 90,000 communicants and 34 churches throughout the country, and as far west as Minneapolis and St. Paul. In their own churches the clergymen are of their own race and most of them have been sent over from Syria. When the Maronites do not have their own churches, they attend the Roman Catholic churches.

Of these Maronite churches 7 are in New York state, 6 in Massachusetts, 5 in Pennsylvania, 3 in Ohio, 2 in Virginia, 2 in Missouri, 2 in Minnesota, 1 in Alabama, 1 in Georgia, 1 in Connecticut, 1 in Rhode Island and one in West Virginia, one in Maryland; and in both Wilkes-Barre and St. Louis have two churches each.

The Syrian Greek Orthodox in the United States number about 85,000. This church is a part of the Eastern Orthodox Church to which also the Russians, Greeks, Roumanians and the Balkans belong, and which separated from the Western Roman Church in 1054. The first Syrian Orthodox clergyman to come to America was Rev. Constantine Tirezi who arrived in 1892, authorized by the Antiochian patriarch~~s~~ to organize a church. But he found the number of Greek Orthodox too small for a church and shortly returned. Therefore up to the year 1904 the Syrian Orthodox in America were under the jurisdiction of the Russian Church of America whose seat then was in San Francisco. During these years the Orthodox had increased~~y~~ in New York, especially after the Chicago Exposition, and the need for a church of their own was keenly felt. Therefore in 1895 the Syrian Orthodox Charitable Society was organized in New York and

Archmandrite ^{Hawawiny}
 Archmandrite Raphael ~~Kerwawini~~ who was then teaching Arabic

Kazan

in the Theological Academy of ~~Kharzan~~, Russia, was invited to come to New York.

~~Archmandrite~~ *Hawawiny*
~~Archmandrite~~ ~~Huwanini~~ first set up a church in New York, and then toured the United States three times organizing the diocese. In 1904 he was ordained archbishop of Brooklyn and a number of churches were established throughout the country. But with the death of the archbishop in 1915 a dissension took place within the church over the question whether the church in America was under the Russian or ~~Australian~~ *Antiochian* jurisdiction. Two factions resulted and two separate archbishops were set up. This schism still exists, except that the Russian faction after the renunciation of Russia of any jurisdiction over the Syrians in America declared itself in 1928 an American Orthodox church with an independent archbishop.

The total number of Syrian Orthodox churches in the United States is 50, which are as far west as California. This large number is due to the fact that in many cities there are two churches, belonging to the two factions. These churches are distributed as follows: 12 in Pennsylvania, 7 in Massachusetts, 5 in New York, 4 in Ohio, 2 in Washington, D.C., 2 in Oklahoma, 4 in Michigan, 2 in Mississippi, 2 in Texas, 2 in Iowa, 1 in Nebraska, in Wisconsin, New Jersey, West Virginia, Indiana, Kansas, Rhode Island, California and Connecticut.

The Greek Catholic, or the Melchite Church as it is sometimes called, is an offshoot of the Greek Orthodox, and in its church organization, service, and language, it still retains a Greek Orthodox character. As a result of a dispute with the Orthodox patriarch and due to the zealous efforts of the Jesuits it separated from the Orthodox church in 1724 and recognized the primacy of the Pope. Like the Maronites, the Greek Catholics are not Roman Catholics but ^{an unit} ~~a direct~~ eastern church. However in this country they with the Maronites, though they still retain their own ritual and clergymen, recognize the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops of America.

The first Greek Catholic priest who ^{was also} the first permanent Syrian priest in the United States, was Rev. Abraham Beshawate who arrived in New York in 1890. For a few years he conducted services in the basement of a Catholic church on Barclay St. until his congregation was able to purchase a church of its own on Washington St.

The number of Greek Catholics in the United States is about 10,000, and their churches total 20, which are distributed as follows: New York 4, Pennsylvania 3, Massachusetts 2, Ohio 2, Wisconsin 2, and 1 in Illinois, Michigan, Connecticut, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Nebraska, and Colorado.

The Syrian Protestants in the United States do not exceed 5,000 and they maintain only three churches in Brooklyn,

Fall River and Pittsburgh with pastors of their own race. In other places such as West Hoboken, Paterson, Jacksonville, and Wheeling they conduct services either in hired halls or in American church buildings. These Syrians belong to the Evangelical Church of Syria which is a Syrian Protestant sect, and has no connection with any American denominations. But there are a few Syrian Protestants found in every large community who attend American churches, as do also many isolated families who are among the smaller towns of the United States. While on the other hand it is known that there are at least six Syrian pastors leading American congregations of Unitarians, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

Besides these Christian sects there are about 8000 Syrian Moslems and about a thousand Druze in the country. The former are mostly found in Cleveland, Detroit, Akron, and New York where they have their meeting places. Prof. Hitti reports that a mosque was established in Detroit in 1921 but for some reason it is now closed, and another erected in Gary, Indiana.¹

The Druze in this country are led by a business man of St. Joseph, Mo. and a Druze young men's organization has branches in Cleveland, Detroit, Butte, Akron, and Norfolk, Va. The Druze in this country according to their newspaper > Al-Bayan which is published in New York, are all men with

1. Hitti, op. cit., p. 108

only 80 women of whom 17 are unmarried. There is a strong feeling against bringing their women over "lest it should mean the permanent settlement of the Druzes in America and the consequent loss of their religious and racial identity."¹

7 The Druze with the Nusdyriyyah in this
7 country are representative of mysterious religious sects
about whom very little is known, except that they are off-
y shoots of Islam. The Nusdyriyyah number about 5000 and are
found mostly around Newcastle, Pa. where they are employed
in factories and mines. They have an itinerant sheikh
who attends them and other Nusdyriyyah in Connecticut,
West Virginia, and Indiana.

C. Present Conditions and Tendencies

Thus to this new land the Syrians have transplanted their churches and church loyalties which still, at least
7 with the older generation, ~~are~~ ^{are} their absorbing interests. These
7 churches are the centers of their religious and social life.
"The attachment to the church of one's birth", says Johnson,
"is with the Syrians a matter both of religion and deep-
rooted social tradition."² Every church, of whatever sect,
has affiliated with it besides its administrative board, a

1. Quoted in the Syrian World, June 1927.

2. The Interpreter, "Syrians in America", May 1928, p. 24

number of societies and organizations which tend to the various social needs of the congregation. In the larger congregations there are usually found a society for the men, a society for the women, a society for the young people, and sometimes even a burial association. These organizations usually take care of the poor and needy, comfort the sick and unfortunate, run bazaars and plays, and give picnics and dances to the younger people. A number of churches in recent years are beginning to take more interest in the younger people as is evidenced from the increase of Sunday Schools, parochial schools, church athletics, and young people's societies. The Sunday School is an acquired institution from the Americans. The parochial schools are usually more to perpetuate the Arabic language than purely for religious teaching. These schools are most prevalent among the Greek Orthodox, are only part time after the sessions of the public > schools, and headed either by the clergyman or a layman. What little Arabic is known by the Syrian younger people in this country owes itself to the efforts of the churches. Thus as a social force that has kept the Syrians in close contact with each other and protected them from inundation and bewilderment in their new environment the Syrian churches have been a potent factor.

While the older generation of Syrian has been kept within the folds of their native churches, the tendency of the

younger people, the men and women of tomorrow, to drift away has caused much thought and consternation. Up to recent years the Syrian churches have been churches for the older people, whose fidelity due to their earlier environment and upbringing has been unquestioned. But their sons and daughters have been growing up in a different environment, under conditions that are not conducive to strong church attachments. The majority can understand neither the language nor the symbolism of their parents' churches, due to the neglect of the churches in the earlier period to educate them. To the Americanized young Syrian the attraction of the American churches, especially the Protestant which have always been ready to receive them, has been very strong, and a large percentage of Syrian young people today attend either Protestant or Catholic churches while their parents still go to the Syrian churches. In one church alone, an important Protestant Episcopal Church of Boston, according to Professor Cole, about one-third of its Sunday School students are Syrian children. It has been predicted by many that within the next generation the native Syrian churches will have disappeared, the Maronites and Greek Catholics being absorbed by the Roman Catholic Church, the Greek Orthodox by the Protestant Episcopal

Church, and the Syrian Protestants by the various American denominations.¹

However, the Syrian churches have already taken steps to prevent such a dissolution. We have seen how a movement to organize young people's societies, clubs and sports has been started. The futility of attempting to perpetuate Arabic among the children has been recognized, and attempts are now being made to introduce English into the church services. Already the Independent Orthodox Church has translated the whole liturgy into English, and its use in Syrian churches is steadily increasing. A movement has also been started, especially in the Orthodox Church where it is most needed, to raise the educational quality of the clergyman, and insisting that they know English as well as Arabic. The preservation of these Syrian churches, which with their picturesque rituals, and mystic piety would be a contribution to American life, will depend on the degree of interest with which they take in the growing present generation.

1. "If the process of evolution takes its natural course, the Maronite and Greek Catholic children will, in due time, become American Catholics, the Greek Orthodox children will be identified with the Protestant Episcopalians, and the Protestant children will affiliate themselves with the Presbyterians, Methodists or other evangelical communities." Hitti, op. cit. p. 119.

CHAPTER V.

THE SYRIANS IN AMERICAN LIFE

CHAPTER V.

THE SYRIANS IN AMERICAN LIFE

A. Education

Twenty-five or thirty years ago the majority of Syrians in this country were peddlers, travelling from place to place without any fixed habitation or any family, and living scantily. Most of them, as the immigration reports show, were illiterate and came from the poorer classes of Syria.¹ But they came from the hardest, and most ambitious class of Syrians, women as well as men who dared enter a new country. Though unlettered and sometimes unwanted, they persisted, bore and suffered hardships, loneliness and even intolerance, to carve out finally for themselves and their successors a place in the community. They were men and women who were self-dependent and who believed in work as a virtue. > Their early years in America was ^{a welding} ~~an unending~~ process; those who failed returned home, as did those who were satisfied with only a little; while those who were hardier and more ambitious remained, labored, and succeeded. These are the fathers and mothers of our present generation of Syrians. It is fitting

1. Cf. supra, p. 97

that a statue of an early Syrian peddler, bending under a heavy "Keshay" but face turned up looking ahead into the future, symbolizing the spirit of the Syrian immigrants, be erected.

Our Syrian business men, merchants and traders, today are mostly men of the first generation of immigrants in this country. They have been preoccupied with attaining independence, and a place, in most cases not for themselves but for their children. The statement of Dr. Leary in regard to the Syrians in Egypt may be paraphrased to apply to the Syrians in the United States: "The son of any peddler may for all we know, become a high official, a wealthy merchant, a poet or a pastor of an American church. Your linen provider may be the proud father of a boy whose learned works in the choicest English you hope some time to read, or whose surgical skill may be called upon to carry you through a critical operation."¹ The Syrian immigrant has established himself, and he has for the last fifteen years been sending his children to schools so that their latent abilities in all fields may be stimulated; and today we have cropping the Syrians who will add to the commercial contributions of their fathers and cousins, a cultural and intellectual enrichment of American life. The Syrians have an educational

1. L. G. Leary, Syria the Land of Lebanon, p. 281

thirst, for which to satisfy they would sacrifice everything. It is true that about half of the immigrants who entered this country were illiterate. But it was through no fault of theirs; schools in those days were rather the exception than the rule. The only schools in Syria at the time of the emigration were foreign missionary schools. To these the Syrians did not hesitate to send their children in spite of their strong ^{sectarianism} ~~victorianism~~. In the villages where only one sect maintained a school, the people of the other sects allowed their children to attend them. For example Abraham ^{Rihbany} ~~Niebhany~~ who was born a Greek Orthodox was sent to a Protestant school in one village, and to a Maronite school in another. Almost all the Syrian Protestants were first children of other sects who were sent to the ^{American or} ~~area or~~ English mission schools to be educated.

In this country during the early years of their immigration the percentage of school children was rather low due to their poverty and the unsettled character of their sojourns. But in recent years, as the Reports of the Immigration Commission show, a high percentage of Syrian children are now attending the public schools. ¹ Until about ten years ago the number of Syrian young people attending college was quite low, the majority being satisfied with a primary

1. Vols. I, p. 763 and II, pp. 140-45.

or secondary education. But since then the percentage of students attending college and universities has been steadily increasing until today there is not a Syrian community that has not its college and university students. They are found attending colleges and universities in all parts of the United States and engaged in all fields of study. It is known that at least two hundred of them are attending institutions in and around Boston. Boston University alone has about fifty of them while Harvard last year claimed > about ten. An article in the Syrian World of February 1928 stated that there are about ten Syrians enrolled in the University of Oklahoma attending its various departments. > The Syrians attending the universities of New York City are known to reach a high figure, although the exact number is not known. In Lowell, Massachusetts, where there are about twenty-five young men ten of them are attending colleges and universities. So many are now enrolled in institutions of higher learning that in some of the larger cities they have formed student societies such as the > Caravaneers and the Educational Society of New York, and > the Caravaneers of Boston. In recent years large numbers of doctors, lawyers, engineers, chemists and teachers have graduated and are working everywhere in the United States.

On the other hand, the higher education of Syrian girls has been badly neglected, due to the survival of an old world prejudice against liberally educating girls. The

majority of girls today are sent only through high school after which they go to work, or stay at home. To the majority of Syrians the only use they have for a college education is merely as a stepping stone to some profession and since only boys are expected to enter professional life girls have been denied higher education. But within the last few years a strong movement has been started in favor of educating girls and already some beginning has been made. In New York today there is a large number of school teachers, nurses, and even a physician and a lawyer. In New York and Boston, and in the Middle West ^{girls} are beginning to enroll in colleges and universities, and their number doubtlessly will steadily increase. A great increase has been noticed in the women membership of the Syrian educational societies of New York and Boston, which indicate a larger college enrollment of Syrian young women.

B. Political Life

The Syrian people as yet have taken little part in American politics, and the number of those directly connected with the government is small. The reasons for this are quite obvious. The Syrians emigrated from a country where such things as representative government, democracy, voting, and party politics were not a part of the people's life. Then since their coming to this country the mass of

Syrians have been concerned with making a living and establishing themselves in their new homes. Now that they are settled their leaders are turning not to politics but to intellectual and cultural pursuits. It must be remembered that the Syrian is not by nature politically minded, but has devoted his energy and talents to commerce, art, literature, philosophy and religion, leaving the reins of government in other hands.

Nevertheless the residence of forty years in the United States is beginning to have its effect upon the ~~Syrians~~ Syrians. From a passive attitude towards government there are individuals and groups among them that are beginning to take an active interest in the political issues of the day. Every so often the Syrian World and the Syrian newspapers report the activity of this Syrian, or that group in politics; a Syrian doctor in Oklahoma sent as that state's delegate to the Socialist National Convention in New York; a Syrian resident of a New Jersey town elected councilman; a Syrian lawyer in a Texas city ^{appointed} ~~a familiar~~ city attorney; and the nominations of Syrians here and there in the United States for state and national legislators.

The Syrian voters are everywhere increasing since the rise of the present generation and the number of naturalized citizens, which was formerly low, has been steadily

rising. An example of this increase in the number of naturalized Syrians may be seen in New York where the percentage of naturalized immigrants is usually less than in the interior of the country. In 1910 the Reports of the Industrial Commission stated that there were no more than 300 fully naturalized Syrians in New York,¹ while in 1919 the Syrian-American Club in New York, ~~Prof. Hitti writes,~~ "filled out 485 applications for first, and 112 for second, papers."² Everywhere in the country there is a movement, led by the various Syrian-American clubs and societies, to increase the number of naturalized Syrians, and to get the Syrian voters directly interested in the political affairs of the nation. Almost every one of these social and educational societies is intended not only to unite the Syrians in the various communities but also to bring them into closer contact with American life which includes interest in the American government. Thus a few years ago the Syrian-American Confraternity was organized in Grand Rapids, Michigan for the purpose, among others, of inculcating and impressing "the doctrines of Americanism upon , and of making better citizens of, the Syrian people." These clubs while not affiliating themselves with any political parties, during political campaigns invite party men to political meetings

Forbes

7 1. ~~Fowler~~, "Report on the Syrians", pp. 442-46.

2. op. cit. p. 100.

which are called to inform the Syrians of the issues.

Candidates of all parties in many cities where these clubs are located see their usefulness and eagerly seek them, and at the same time politically educate the voting Syrians.

> The Syrians in this country perhaps mostly vote the Republican ticket as being "the business man's ticket." The Democratic Party on the other hand has always been popular with the Catholics and Maronites, and in 1928 many other Syrians were won over. This change has been attributed by many to the feeling that Alfred Smith in the last campaign was being religiously persecuted. One of the main causes of the Syrian emigration was this religious persecution by the Turks, so it is quite natural for them to be prejudiced against anybody

> who appears intolerant. Al-Huda^d, the leading Syrian newspaper, in an editorial October 20, 1928, declared itself "for the Democratic Party ... to uphold the Constitution of the United States which recognizes no state religion."

> Likewise Al-Ash-Shaab, October 4, 1928, wrote "The Republican Party denies that it is opposing Governor Smith on religious grounds but anyone following the trend of political events in the American press can readily perceive that many Republican leaders are seeking to make the most capital out of a religious issue." In that same year a Syrian Democratic National Committee and a "Smith for President" club were formed in New York doing much to win many Syrians over to the Democratic Party.

In the Middle West, especially in Oklahoma, there seem to be a number of Socialists as is evident from the prominence of one of them in the Socialist Party of that state. In the northern states of Iowa, Dakotas, and Nebraska the Syrian farmers have identified themselves with the agrarian movements of that section, and in 1912 the Socialist representative in the North Dakota legislature was a prominent Syrian physician. But in recent years with the decline of these populist and agrarian parties, the Syrian in these prairie states have affiliated themselves with other parties.

C. Cultural Development

The effects of the Syrian emigration has two phases the first which dominates the first period of their settlement in America up to about 1910, and the second phase that which is evident at the present time and which will become much more important in coming years. The first contact of the Syrians with the western world as immigrants to America brought to their attention the progress of the Europeans which they undertook to impart to the Easterners that they might improve their lot. The second phase appears with the permanent settlement and establishment of the Syrians in America, the diverting of their attention from the old world to the new, and their beginning to translate the Eastern culture,

and spirit for their adopted countrymen. While the East has been in a stupor during the last five centuries, the West has been going on, progressing in science, economics, and government; it has progressed enormously in comforting men physically. For almost five centuries Syria had been cut off from this progress of Europe, and it was only with the emigration of its sons in the second half of the 19th century that it came in contact with it. After 1860 the Syrians began emigrating to Egypt which was then the Eastern outpost of Western culture, and there the Syrians realized the tremendous strides that the West had made. This western civilization and progress they undertook to disseminate over the East through the medium of the newspapers, magazines and books that they published.¹

But the real work of these Egyptian Syrians was the regeneration of Arabic literature stimulated by their constant contact with the French literature as imported by the Syrian scholars who had studied in European universities. So it was not until their immigration to America that the political, economic, and social unrest of Syria became pronounced. Although the vast majority of Syrian immigrants were uneducated, there were a few educated and enlightened Syrians in this country, concentrated in New

1. Cf. H. Gibb, Arabic Literature, pp. 117 ff.

York, who had a tremendous influence upon Syrian affairs. These men were writers, editors, business men, and officials who were driven out of Egypt by the Arabi~~X~~ Rebellion of 1882, and Syrian agitators and reformers who were exiled from Syria by the Turkish Government. Forming an intellectual and literati group in New York there they undertook to enlighten their countrymen back in Syria through the New York Syrian newspapers. They attacked the evils of the Turkish Government, the backwardness of their own people, and urged the Syrians to demand reforms. By means of the written word they disseminated first-hand knowledge of western life, institutions, and government. H. A. R. Hibb in his Arabic Literature says that "A very important part in the dissemination of Western ideas has been and still is played by the talented group of Syro-American writers."¹ But since the World War a new set of Syrian thinkers and writers has arisen in America whose interest is to interpret Eastern culture, literature and art to the New World. They are mostly men of the newer generation who though born in Syria came to this country quite young and have been educated in America. Thus they are products of two civilizations which they believe are neither separate nor opposed, but

1. Ibid, p. 119

but complimentary to each other. In American life these men see much that is admirable, but their Eastern cultural and mystic inheritance finds a spiritual and cultural void in America. This feeling Ameen Rihani, one of their outstanding writers and thinkers expresses as follows: "After ten years in America I found myself admiring the vigour of the American people and their freedom in thought, word, and action, but afraid of the effect of their crusade of materialism."

These Syrian Americans, like many others, see American life as one-sided, over-emphasizing the material, and it is their ambition that the Syrians contribute from their cultural wealth to help make it more balanced. They have faith in a ~~growing~~ ^{coming} American culture, which is today in its formative stage and to which the Syrians in America can contribute "by adhering, in principle and practice, to what is of abiding worth in their heritage and thus encourage the talented among them to contribute to the art and culture of the country of their adoption..."¹

It is the fostering, stimulating, and interpreting of this heritage that constitutes the work of the Syrian writers, artists and thinkers of America. For the last ten years these leaders have been laboring to bring to the attention of the rising Syrian-Americans the richness of their

1. Rihani, Syrian World, "Syrians in American Art" Nov. 1930.

heritage and the duty to develop their talents to contribute to the life of their country. They have already made a beginning and are leading the way. By means of their poetry, prose, art and music, adopting Western mediums of expression, they are bringing to the attention of the American people the spirit and wealth of Eastern culture and art. Their productions embody the Eastern spirit expressed through Western mediums, and thus a harmonious blending of the two. But besides their own original creations they have studiously undertaken to translate Oriental poetry, prose, philosophy and religion into English to make it available for study by Americans.

Of the Syrian Americans who constitute this movement only the leading figures can be mentioned. It must be remembered that this cultural and intellectual movement of the Syrians really only began expressing itself in the last ten years and has been recognized only by a few. But in late years it has been receiving more attention and with the rise of the present generation is destined for greater achievement.

Perhaps the best known Syrian writer today in America is Ameen Rihani. His works on Arabia have received not only American but world-wide recognition. He is also a contributor to a number of periodicals, especially the Asia, and a lecturer in great demand in all parts of the country. His has been the role to disseminate knowledge of the world in

which he was born, and among a people who know little of the actual life and spirit of the East. But besides being a travel-writer he has produced inspirational works in poetry and prose which interpret the true soul and mind of the East.

7 Kahlil Gibran rose to prominence in American letters when the publication in 1924 of his "The Madman" created a literary sensation. Following this came "The Foreman", "The Prophet", and "Jesus the Man", all of which have been translated into almost every civilized language of the world. His works in poetic prose are pervaded with a mysticism and a subtlety of thought that make him unique among American writers. Not only is he a poet and writer but also an artist of distinction, whose works according to Rodin bear the stamp of genius. Of his art, ^{Bercovici} ~~Siniani~~ said: "His works have a quality so much their own one can neither compare nor classify them. They are so subtle and pervading as the ^{most} ~~violet~~ perfumes, religious oriental perfumes. The colors are so delicately shaded they are but suggestions of hues. And yet it is vigorous of its own vigor and strong of its strength."¹ Besides his literary and artistic works, Gibran is editing a Syrian magazine Al Fanon (The Arts) which serves as the

^K Bercovici
1. ~~Oh! Reverend~~, "Around New York; In the Syrian Quarter", Century, (July, 1924), p. 354.

medium of expression for the Syrian-American literati.

In the scholastic field the Syrians are today led by Prof. Philip Hitti who formerly was a lecturer at Columbia and today holds a professorship of Oriental History at Princeton. He is a member of the American Oriental Society and the American Historical Society and enjoys a high distinction as an Oriental historian. In the last few years he has been turning out distinctive works on Eastern history, and which have given him a high place in our group.^P In art there are Mr. Nicholas Macsoud whose canvases and miniatures are the prize of connoisseurs;ⁿ E. J. Halow who "in his mysticism and symbolism as well as in the depth and texture of his colors, ... is making a distinct contribution to American art."¹ Likewise in the musical world are a few ~~of the~~ Syrian-Americans attaining recognition. Alexander Maloof is today writing music and songs which are known in many American homes, and his national anthem "For Thee America" has been officially adopted by the New York and other Boards of Education. Thirteen years ago Anis Fuleihan made his first appearance in the Town Hall, and his piano renditions of Bach and Liszt have been described as possessing "the subtlety and fervor of an Oriental esthete as well as the skill and power of an

1. Rihani, op. cit.

occidental technician." And then the singing of Madhut Sarbiji who has been coupled with Caruso, and Fedora Corban who is fast attaining national recognition as a soprano coloratura are showing the Americans what can be achieved by the blending of Oriental and Western music. The artistic and literary works of these Syrian-Americans are evidences of the Syrian power of assimilative and creative expression. In their hands the Western forms are made to yield to the Orientalism of their spirit. Their sense of beauty is a deeply mystical appreciation of art, in physical and material beauty they see the expression of man's quest for spirituality. This injection of mysticism into American material achievements is best seen in Habib Katibah's description of the New York skyscrapers. Looking at the skyscrapers, this Syrian-American writer suggests:

"Could it be possible ... that these buildings are symbols of a material civilization as some claim? Is there not in the subdued beauty of these towers, bathed in the soft light of electricity, something of the religious, of the spiritual, yea, even of the mystical that characterizes the pagodas of India, or the cathedrals of France and Italy?"¹

1. Habib I. Katibah "Pagodas and Skyscrapers", Syrian World, Aug. 1926.

CHAPTER VI

ASSIMILATION

CHAPTER VIASSIMILATIONA. Americanization

Kherbawi, in writing of the condition of the Syrian immigrants, had this to say about them: "As to habits and family life, some have become thoroughly Americanized, and some have chosen from American life and Syrian customs what are believed to be the best, while others have preserved the old in every respect."¹ This was in 1913, but ^{what} which is the condition today? The three types still remain, but with the increase in the proportions of the first two classes; and if we mean by Americanization the adoption in a wholesale manner of the language, customs, and ideals of the Americans it may be said that the number of Americanized Syrians has increased greatly since 1913. The total Syrian population of the United States is comparatively an insignificant number, and it is inevitable that it will be almost completely absorbed within a century by the American population.

As a people they are highly adaptive as their long history of migrations shows. By inheritance and instinct they are a commercial people and thus cosmopolitan. Since

1. Kherbawi, op. cit., p. 793.

they have always been a subject people, until after the War, they have no Syrian political or nationalistic ideals, and therefore can accept the political ideals of whatever country they settle in. And their tendency to give up, quite readily, their own language, customs and even culture for those of their adopted country has greatly alarmed the Syrian American literati. Professor Miller in studying the Syrians of New York came to the conclusion that: "The tendency of the Syrian is to learn English and to neglect Arabic. This means that he will become less and less Syrian and more and more American as the generations go by. It is remarkable how visible this process is already, in view of the fact that the oldest American-born Syrian children are less than twenty years of age."¹ N. A. Mekarzel,^{late} editor of Al-Hoda, came to the same conclusion about the Syrians in other parts of the country: "In all of the cities I visited during my travels in the United States I made special efforts to inquire about our younger generation. I must confess that I was seized with grief upon being told that not only is our younger generation ignorant of Arabic but that it has a decided apathy to it." The educating of the Syrian children in the American public schools and the lack of Syrian schools are causing a marked decline of the Arabic language

1. Miller, op. cit., p. 35.

among the Syrians, to an extent that the Arabic newspapers in this country are forced to take a pessimistic attitude for the future.¹

A factor that is hastening this process of assimilation is the fact that the Syrians are widely and sparsely distributed over the United States so that in many cases isolated individual families are found in towns cut off from all contact with other Syrians. Under such conditions although the parents may tenaciously hold on to their native language and customs, the children born and growing in a purely American environment are bound to lose the outward forms of their Syrian heritage. Moreover, the Syrian population in America is no longer being replenished by new immigrants as in the early days. Since the enforcement of the immigration restrictions the influx of Syrians has been greatly diminished, so that today their quota is only 120 a year. And now the Syrian emigration is being diverted to South America. Thus we have a younger generation growing up that is ~~just~~^{fast} losing contact with things Syrian, due to their wide and sparse distribution, to the restriction of the immigration of new Syrians, and their education in American schools. The most logical conclusion is that within a few decades the majority of Syrians will have lost

1. Cf. supra, pp. 101 f.

their identity except for their swarthy complexion and their outlandish names.¹

B. The New School

This tendency of the younger generation to adopt everything American at the sacrifice of their Syrian heritage has caused unrest among the older people, especially in the East. Thus we have the movement of Syrian societies and clubs, especially advocated for the young people of Syrian element, in order that Syrian ideals and culture may be preserved. The movement is led by the Syrian-American literati of New York, Boston, and Detroit, mostly men who were not born in America but immigrated as boys and young men. Their propaganda is not that Americanization be hampered but that there is something in the Syrian heritage that is worth preserving. They ask that certain cultural ideals and traits which are the products of thousands of years of cultural development be retained by the Syrians in the United States. These men believe that an American culture is in the process of formation, a culture which is destined to be universal in its appeal and to which the Syrians can contribute. Taking art as a phase of this

1. But even the complexion and name will not identify Syrian descent, for many of the Syrians have fair complexion, and already many have so Anglicized their names that their Syrian origin is not recognizable. Examples of this anglicizing of Syrian names are: Ellis for Ilyas; Corey for Khaury; Howard for 'Awad; Corban for Kurban; Hanna for Hunnah; Campbell for Kamil; and Scoff from Skoff.

→ American culture, ^{Rihani} ~~Rihani~~ Ameen ~~Rihani~~ says, "A national art, no matter how distinct in vigor and manner, is seldom free from foreign influences; and when these develop in harmony with native elements, it begins to have a universal appeal ----. With an Oriental heritage of no mere significance - a heritage that is neither too racial nor too exotic - they [the Syrian artists] are destined to a place of eminence in the American art of the future."¹ This Syrian American group, which is steadily enlarging its audience of young Syrians, believes that those Syrians who adhere "in principle and practice, to what is of abiding worth in that heritage and thus encourage the talented among them" are better Americans than those who entirely discard their heritage under the impression that they are being Americanized. These Syrianists say to the young ^{people} ~~sons~~ "Most ~~women~~ certainly adopt the worthy ideals of the Americans, but remember that you also have worthy ideals which you can contribute to the life of your adopted country."

No doubt in the face of the strong absorbing forces of American life, only a small minority of the young Syrians will be converted to this school, but it is considered ^{even through} this minority, if it conscientiously carries out its program, the Syrian debt to America will be paid. The character of this Syrian heritage which may be contributed to American life

1. "Syrians in American Art". S. World, Nov. 1930.

can not better be symbolically expressed than in this suggestion of Abraham Richbany:

"There ought to be in every American community a building or a temple reared and dedicated to humanitarian culture. It should be whenever possible a marble palace of great beauty and sublimity fit to represent a nation's cultural, civic, and philanthropic ideals: a temple to which the citizens, regardless of party or creed, should come at short and stated intervals, not for the purpose of listening to the "ticker" of the stock exchange, nor to read the market quotations, nor to discuss foreign credits but to commune with the great poets and romancers of all the ages, to receive the inspiration of art and music, to discuss civic interests which have no bearing on party politics, but are human concerns, to discover the spiritual side of citizenship - - -."¹

1. Wise Men from the East, Richbany, p. 156.

1-138

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Introduction -- Background

1. Ameer Ali, S.....A Short History of the Saracens
(London, Macmillan & Co., 1924)
 2. Baring, Evelyn,.....Modern Egypt (London, Macmillan
Earl of Cromer & Co., 1908) Vol. II. In part
IV of volume II, a discussion
of Syrian activities in modern
Egypt.
 - 7 3. Bliss, F. J.....The Religions of Modern Syria
and Palestine (New York, C.
Scribner's Sons, 1913)
 4. Byrne, E. H....."Easterners in Genoa", Journal
American Oriental Society,
> (June, 1918) Syrian commerce
in the Middle Ages.
 5. Cumont, F.....The Oriental Religions in Roman
Paganism (Chicago, Open Court
Pub. Co., 1911)
 - 7 6. Davis, W.S.....A Short History of the Near
East (New York, The Macmillan
Co., 1922)
 7. De Contenson, L.....Les Réformes En Turquie D'Asie
Part II, "La Question Syrian"
(Paris, Plon-Nourait et Cie.,
1913) A study of the political
conditions of Syria and
Lebanon after 1860; a pro French
writer.
 8. Denton, W.....The Christians in Turkey (London,
Bell and Daldy, 1867)
 - > 9. Encyclopaedia of Islam.. (Edited by M. ^{Houtsman} Huntsman and M.
^{Seligsohn} Seligsohn) 4 bound volumes.
Leyden, E.J. Brill, 1913-30)
 10. Fortnightly....."Politics in Lebanon", 40:305
(1882).
- John

- 11. Frank, T.....A History of Rome (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1928) For Syrian activities under the Romans.
- 12. Gibb, H. A. R.....Arabic Literature (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1926) The epilogue gives an account of the modern movement in Arabic literature in which the Syrians are playing an important part.
- 13. Gregory of Tours.....A History of the Franks, (transl. by O. M. Dalton, Vol. II.) (Oxford University, 1927). The Syrians in Frankish Gaul.
- > 14. Hitti, P. K.....~~Suriyya w-al-Suriyyan~~ - - (Syria and the Syrians) (New York, The Syrian-American Press, 1926). A sketch of the Syrians in history.
- > 15. Hitti, P. K.....Mahajarut al-Surriyyan wa-Istamarahim (Syrian Migrations and Colonies) (New York, The Syrian-American Press, 1919).
- > 16. Hitti, P. K.....Introduction to Tarikh Tajarit al-Suriyyan. (History of Syrian Commerce) by S. Hehesead (New York, Syr.-Amer. Press, 1920-21) His analysis of the Syrian instinct for trade is instructive. Mokarzel
- 17. Independent, The....."Story of a Young Syrian" 55:1007, 1903. An anonymous Syrian immigrant's description of the political conditions of Syria which led to his emigration.
- 18. Jones, H. Stuart.....The Roman Empire, B.C. 24 -- A.D. 476. (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1927) Glimpses of Syrian activities under the Roman Empire.

- > 19. ^{er} Khairbawi, B. M.....Tarikh Alwalayat Almutihidat
(History of the U.S.) Vol. II,
(Brooklyn, Printing and Pub-
lishing House, 1913)
Volume II deals with the Syrian
emigration, and a detailed
account of the causes of this
emigration is given in the
first chapter of this volume.
20. Knight, M. M.....The Economic History of Europe
in the Middle Ages (Boston
and New York, Houghton Mifflin,
1928).
21. De Lamartine, Alph.....A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land
(N.Y.D. Appleton & Co., 1848)
2 vol. For a traveler's
description of conditions in
Syria in the early 19th cen-
tury.
22. Leary, L. G.....Syria, the Land of Lebanon
(New York, McBride, Nast &
Co., 1913)
23. Living Age, The....."Political Conditions of
Syria", 159:67 (1882).
24. Michaud, J. F.....The History of the Crusades
(Philadelphia, G. Barrie;
1896). 3 vol.
25. Plutarch's Lives.....The Life of Alexander, ed. by
A. H. Clough. (Boston, Little,
Brown & Co., 1854) The Greek
invasion of Syria.
- > 26. ^{Richter} ~~Riditer~~, J.....History of Protestant Missions
in the East
27. Ribbany, A. M.....A Far Journey (Boston and New
York, Houghton Mifflin Co.,
1913) The first three chap-
ters give a good description
of Syrian life in the 80's and
90's.
- > 28. ^v Rostoytzeff, M.....A History of the Ancient World
Trans. by J. D. Duff. (Oxford,
Clarendon Press, 1926) 2 vol.

29. Tarn, W. W.....Hellenistic Civilization
 (London, Edward Arnold & Co., 1927) Chap. IV "Asia" discusses the fusion of the Greeks and Syrians under the Seleucids.

B. Parts I and II.--The Syrian immigration and settlement

> 1. Al-Etehad Al-Lubnani.....(Buenos Aires), June 6, 1926.

2. Al-Hoda.....(New York), Oct. 20, 1928

3. Arida, N. and Andria, A.....The Syrian-Amer. Directory
 (New York, The Syr.-Amer. Press, 1930). A directory of the Syrians in Greater New York, their businesses, organizations and churches.

4. Ash-Shaab.....(New York), Apr. 9, 1928 and Nov. 6, 1929.

5. Bercon^v~~x~~ici, K....."Around the World in New York, II, the Syrian Quarters".
The Century, July, 1924.

6. Catholic Encyclopedia, The."Maronites" (New York, Robert Appleton Co., 1910)

7. Bingham, T. A....."Foreign Criminals in New York", North American Review, 188:383 (1908).

8. Cole, W. I.....Immigrant Races in Mass., The Syrians. (A pamphlet published by the State of Mass., 1913?)

9. Commons, J. R.....Races and Immigrants in America (N.Y. and London, The Macmillan Co., 1911).

7 10. Commissioner General of Immigration.....Annual Reports, (Gov't Printing Office, Washington.)

- 11. David, W. D.....Bulletin of the Minneapolis Council of Americanization, May, 1920. Gives an account of the conditions of the Syrians in Minneapolis.
- > 12. Denison House, The.....Annual Reports (Boston) This house is located in the heart of the Syrian colony of Boston, and has been doing admirable work for many years.
- > 13. Duncan, N....."A People from the East" Harper's, March, 1903, p. 553. "Syrians in the U.S." Literary Digest, May 1919, p. 43.
- 14. Fairchild, H. F.....Greek Immigration (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1911)
- 15. Gibb, H. A. R.....Arabic Literature (London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1926) In his epilogue, Gibb gives an account of the work of the Syrian-Americans in modernizing Arabic literature.
- 16. Hall, P. F.....Immigration (New York, H. Holt & Co., 1907)
- > 17. Haskin, F.J.....The Immigrant (New York, Fleming H. Russell Co., 1913)
Ravell
- > 18. Hitti, P. K.....Antonio al Bishallony, Arab Muhajir Surriy (Antonio Bishallony, the First Syrian Immigrant) (N.Y., Syrian-Amer. Press, 1919). This is an abridged translation of Charles Whitehead's biography of Bishallony. *Arwal Bishallony*
- > 19. Hitti, P. K.....The Syrians in America (New York, George H. Doran Co., 1924) This account of the Syrian immigration is the best that has yet appeared, but it is sketchy and some of the most interesting phases of the Syrian immigration are but slightly mentioned. His chapter "Social and Educational Conditions," to which I am

indebted, is very well treated as well as instructive. The last two chapters deal with the conditions and future of Syrian religion, and though this phase is slightly over-emphasized it is the best yet written.

20. Houghton, L. S....."The Syrians in the U. S." The Survey, (July, August, September, and October, 1911) Miss Houghton, under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute, spent eight months in Syria, and visited all the important centers of settlement in America. Her findings were published in four articles in the Survey, and are the first complete study of the Syrians in the U. S. Miss Houghton's work has formed the basis for all later writers, but it is now out of date, for since 1911 great changes have come over the Syrian-Americans.
21. Immigration Commission...Reports (Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 42 vols. 1911).
22. Johnson, J. Roy....."Syrians in America" The Interpreter, May 1928.
23. Katibah, H. I....."Pagodas and Skyscrapers", The Syrian World, August 1926, p. 15. In this article, Katibah gives the Syrian-American attitude towards American material progress.
24. Mac Leon, A. M.....Modern Immigration (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott, 1925)
25. McClure, A.....Leadership in New America (New York, George Doran Co., 1916)
26. Merant El-Gharb.....Nov. 15, 1930, p. 8.
27. Miller, L. H.....A Study of the Syrian Communities of Greater New York. (New York, 1903?) A detailed study of the three colonies of Greater New York in 1903.
28. Marzel, N. A....."Arabic as an Asset" Syrian World, June, 1928.

- > 29. Makarzel, S....."Arabic Newspapers in America"
Syr. World, May, 1928, p. 36.
- > 30. Makarzel, S....."The Syrians in New York"
Syrian World, Nov., 1927, p. 3.
Has a very good discussion of
Syrian business in New York
city.
- > 31. Makarzel, S.....Tarikh Al Tajarut al Surriyyat
(History of Syrian Commerce)
(New York, Syrian-American
Press, 1920-21) Vol. I.
An account of the development
of Syrian commerce in the U.S.
by studying the various Syrian
firms in New York and environs.
32. Nahas, N. A.....Al-Muraut Al-Antakiat fi Amerika
al Shamaliyyat (The Mirror of
Antioch in North America)
> A history of the growth of the
Syrian Orthodox Antiochian
Diocese in North America, by one
of its clergymen. -- Published
by the author. (Beaumont, Texas,
1927?)
33. New York Evening Post, The, Feb. 23, 1906.
34. New York Times, Sept. 29, 1919.
- > 35. Ponjol, A.....La Question Des Syriens En Haiti
(Paris, A. Pedone, Ed., 1905.)
36. Review of Reviews, The...."Syrians and Arabians in America",
Nov. 1916, p. 533.
"Syrians in America", Aug. 1911,
p. 235.
37. Rihani, A....."The Syrians in American Art"
Syrian World, Nov. 1930.
38. Rihbany, A. M.....A Far Journey (Boston and New
York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914)
An autobiography of a Syrian
immigrant. In his chapter "In
New York" we get a good picture
of the Syrians in New York dur-
ing the 90's.

- 39. Rihbany, A. M.....Wise Men from the East, and from the West. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922). In this book Rihbany compares the East with the West, criticizes and appraises both in a very appreciative manner, showing what the East has to offer the American.

- 40. Roberts, P.....Immigrant Races in North America (New York, The Y. M. C. A. Press, 1910).

- 41. Ross, E. A.....The Old World in the New (New York, The Century Co., 1914)

- 42. Siefried, A.....America Comes of Age. Transl by H. & D. Hemming (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927) Part I, chapter X is a very helpful discussion of the aliens in general, their relations with the native Americans, their problems and the future.

- > 43. Syrian Society of New York, The...1st Annual Report (New York, 1893). A society of Americans and Syrians in New York, organized to aid the immigrants. This report discusses the conditions and problems of immigrant Syrians.

- 44. Syrian World, The.....Edited by Sallum Makarzel. (New York.)
 A Syrian English monthly that has been appearing since July, 1926, devoted entirely to things Syrian. Its "Readers Forum", "Spirit of the Syrian Press", and "About Syria and the Syrians" as special departments, are particularly interesting for the first-hand information they give about the Syrians in America.

146

- > 45. ^uTripper, G.W.....Foreign-born Neighbors
(Boston, The Taylor Press, 1914)
- 46. United States Industrial Commission...Reports
(Washington, Gov't Printing Office, 1902). Vol. XV, Reports on Immigration
In Volume XV, there is a "Report on the Syrians", which, in spite of its many inaccuracies, is of some help.
- 47. U. S. Bureau of the Census.....Census Reports of 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th Census.
" " " " " " " A Century of Population Growth Religious Bodies 1906, 1916
" " " " " " " (Washington, Gov't Printing Office)