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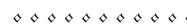


Shakir among them — were lifelong textile workers, and they taught new members of the Syrian immigrant community how to stitch, weave, and sew garments. Money earned from the laces flowed back into SLAS coffers, where it was channeled into welfare relief works, a supper club, evening classes, and a boardinghouse for unemployed or transient immigrant workers. Running on the volunteer philanthropy of women workers, the society represented a pillar of working-class life in the Syrian communities of New England. Its services met the needs of Syrian migrants often marginalized as surplus labor within the textile industry.

Despite the club's proletarian preoccupations, what is usually remembered about the Syrian Ladies Aid Society (renamed the Lebanese Syrian Ladies Aid Society in 1962) is that it was a women's organization engaged in a gendered style of private philanthropy, hosting charity galas and other polite social gatherings to raise money for homeland relief or the needy. A gendered politics of benevolence is evident in SLAS club records, which document its works on behalf of young Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian women in matters of education, employment, divorce, and bereavement. What distinguishes the SLAS from other women's welfare organizations, however, was that its founders were themselves workers, laboring in textiles and volunteering after hours. Thus this article revisits "ladies aid" as a project steeped thoroughly in class politics. It queries the relationship between SLAS relief work and the maintenance of the Arab immigrant working classes in New England. Sabbagh Shakir and her contemporaries understood their mission as overcoming the systemic precarities built into the global capitalist labor system through mutual aid and self-help. In this corner of the Syrian mahjar (diaspora), I argue that "ladies aid" was simultaneously a feminist politics and a project in working-class formation.

### **Rethinking Class Formation: Ladies Aid as Labor History**

To this point, studies of class formation among Syrians in the United States have focused primarily on the development of a transnational bourgeoisie. Several factors inform this historiographical emphasis, including availability of archives and hegemonic framing narratives that presuppose migration as driver of upward social mobility. The mahjar's documentary footprint is vast and variegated, especially in what it offers to women's histories. Overall, available archives grant a vision of the Arab Atlantic world as it was experienced by its urban, intellectual, and professional classes. The Syrian American working classes, however, remain underremarked in this diaspora's archives and the historiography arising from them. In US history, an early tendency to narrate the Arab American story as moving seamlessly from peddlers to proprietors long presided, a teleologic framing of upward social mobility that scholars now identify as reductive (Gualtieri 2009: 48–49; 2019; Khater 2001: 82–83; Naff 1987: 128–61; Shakir 1997: 38–41). The peddler stands at the center of this narrative arc, a romantic figure whose appeal derived from his (he is usually represented as male despite peddling also being women's work) untethering



from both the rootedness of peasant life and imposed precarity of wage labor (Gualtieri 2004: 71–74; Jacobs 2015: 283–90). Peddling was a common trade in the US mahjar, as common as factory work according to Evelyn Shakir (1997: 46–47) (see also *Social Survey* 1914: 40–41). In both popular memory and early scholarly studies, the peddler looms large, an exaggerated emblem of mahjari success, even as scholars critique his singular hegemony as the product of Orientalism (Albrecht 2016; Karam 2007: 10–13). When taken in context with the material meanness of Syrian, Lebanese, and Palestinian livelihoods in the heavy industries, the romance that follows the peddler suggests he represented an alternative destiny, a totem of economic freedom in a diaspora where living from paycheck to paycheck was often the norm.

In addition to the archival issues at play in retrieving workers' histories, a theoretical focus on class as a structural *location* rather than as a social *relation* also drifts into the historiography of immigrant communities (Camfield 2005). Definitions of class traditionally begin with an economic relationship to the means of production: proletarians are, for instance, "working class" if their labor is exploited for wages. Structural analyses therefore examine workplaces as central to defining who belongs to a class, but they do so at the expense of other spheres of activity that also uphold, maintain, and facilitate waged work: households, religious institutions, mutual aid societies, welfare organizations, and other sites of unpaid labor (Livingstone and Luxton 1996). Put another way, class formations extend far beyond the shop floor and should be analyzed as such. Often it is the spaces outside the factory that are most generative of class cultures. This is especially the case as it relates to women workers because in addition to their factory labor, they took on economic roles in their communities, households, and mutual aid societies. As textile workers, social workers, landlords, and wives, Syrian women's work was simultaneously waged and unwaged.

From the 1890s through the 1930s Arabic-speaking immigrants in the United States worked in a variety of manufacturing industries, particularly in textiles, leatherwork, and in the heavy industries (automotive and machining). In New York and New England, textiles formed the pillar of mahjar's economy through the Great Depression, employing both men and women in weaving, piecework, garment construction, and laces. Workers in this industry shared a common experience defined by three core challenges: the proletarian rhythms of industrial work; the political obstacles of being foreign-born; and systemic economic precarity. Although workers spent their days in textile mills, the true locus of Syrian working-class life was in associational culture. Dozens of Syrian American clubs established themselves in Boston, representing the community in everything from legal advocacy and naturalization to homeland nationalisms, literary pursuits, or spiritual affairs. The Syrian Ladies Aid Society was one of Boston's most successful associations, and it blended a class-conscious ethic of insuring workers against poverty with the gendered expectation of caretaking as uniquely women's work.



example of the class mobility that Arab Americans enjoyed in metropolitan New England, a vision rooted in the affluence her generation experienced in the radically different economic conditions of the postwar era. In the 1920s and 1930s, by contrast, Sabbagh's subjectivity, work, and welfare activism reflected the mutualist, cooperative strategies of the class she was a part of: immigrant textile workers of industrial New England.

Sabbagh's wages, like those of most young women workers, belonged first to her family, providing an economic cushion and enabling her brothers' commercial ventures.<sup>6</sup> In 1910 virtually every unwed Syrian woman in Fall River worked in the city's cotton factory (Cadinot and Burkholder 2013: 177). In time Sabbagh acquired some machines and opened a smaller specialized apron firm in east Boston, employing "the neighbors, six or seven women; we taught them how to sew."<sup>7</sup> Her early experiences of work convinced her that technical training provided Syrian immigrants with a meaningful income source in an otherwise unpredictable commercial economy. Syrian traders, merchants, bankers, and peddlers came to America seeking their fortunes, but usually they quietly relied on the wages of women working in factories. Indeed, the peddling economy was itself densely linked with the textile industry, as peddlers sold sewing notions, lace yardage, and other materials to seamstresses and textile homeworkers across New England and the Midwest.<sup>8</sup>

At the same moment in 1907, a group of Syrian women in New York established the Syrian Ladies Aid Society of New York, the Boston SLAS's immediate predecessor. A mutual aid society that responded to the needs of working women and their families, the New York SLAS helped arriving immigrant women find housing, employment, and credit in the city's "little Syria" neighborhood on Washington Street.<sup>9</sup> The SLAS joined mutual aid strategies then popular among Italian workers that Syrian women worked alongside in New York City with the principles of scientific self-help (Guglielmo 2010: 35–41). Emerging from a radical tradition focused on worker liberation through education, self-help philosophies animated Arabophone liberal discourse and arrived in America by way of the prolific printing houses of Cairo, Beirut, and their mahjari syndicates in New York, São Paulo, and Buenos Aires (Khuri-Makdisi 2010: 30–36). In addition to mutual aid and self-help ideas, the New York SLAS also worked with US social workers, especially those linked to the settlement houses, a liberal poverty alleviation experiment where young immigrant women lived and worked closely with middle-class social workers (Albrecht 2016; Deutsch 1992). All three ideological wellsprings—mutual aid, self-help, and social work— influenced the SLAS's work. But in New York City, the organization's core functions were to provide direct assistance, job training, and language instruction to unemployed Arab workers, especially to women. When its sister organization opened in Boston in 1917, their club offered meals, childcare, and a boardinghouse, deepening the SLAS's commitment to self-help as a means of worker empowerment.







“No more than twenty-five percent goes to assist Syrians and Lebanese,” claimed Muhammad Muhaisen on a 1918 visit sponsored by the Syrian American Club of Boston (Bawardi 2014: 95–98). “The rest will build the committee’s statues in dedication to martyrs.”<sup>14</sup>

During the war, then, the SLAS functioned as primarily as a homeland relief organization sending cash, clothing, bedding, and medical supplies to Syria, Mount Lebanon, and Palestine through US channels. In 1920, however, Sabbagh introduced a resolution to revise the SLAS’s mission toward help for Syrian workers in America: “those daughters of Syria, especially those far away from their families and who know no one in this place.”<sup>15</sup> Reclaiming the organization and its self-help mission, Sabbagh oversaw the opening of a SLAS clubhouse on Tyler Street, in Boston’s South End.<sup>16</sup> The clubhouse gave every Arab immigrant a place to call their own. It institutionalized the local ethos of care for the Syrian working poor in general, and women workers in particular, that guided SLAS relief work through the interwar period.

### **Workers Helping Workers: SLAS in the Interwar Period**

Though they helped virtually any immigrant who requested it, the SLAS mostly targeted its relief projects at young women and men working in New England textile factories. Work in US textile production was highly variegated, and though Middle Eastern migrant workers filled every sector of the industry they encountered different levels of risk, wages, and job security. In New England, Syrian workers worked mostly in the manufacture of silks (stockings, laces, collars, and lingerie), cotton (weaving and garment making), and leathers (boots and shoes). These three materials — silk, cotton, leather — introduced a hierarchy within the migrant community based on wage scales and perceptions of prestige. Of the three industries, silk demanded a specific set of skills, and Syrian silk workers commanded the highest wages and best prospects for job security. Sought after by US employers, fully two-thirds of them had come to America after working in the silk factories of Mount Lebanon.<sup>17</sup>

Cotton weaving and garment making employed a much wider cross section of the Syrian working classes. Whereas silk workers came primarily from Mount Lebanon, those working in cotton came from all parts of Syria, Mount Lebanon, and Palestine. Cotton workers also came overwhelmingly from agricultural backgrounds; the US Immigration Commission recorded that a scant 6 percent of them had any prior experience in textiles (or any proletarian work).<sup>18</sup> If cotton represented a middling working class, leatherworkers occupied the bottom of this hierarchy. Leatherworkers performed the most dangerous work; they were paid the least and were most vulnerable to summary employment interruptions. They, too, were nearly all first-time proletarians: 90.9 percent of Ottoman leatherworkers (Syrians and Turks together) had been landless tenant farmers in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>19</sup>

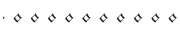


In all three types of factory labor, Syrian workers joined other Ottoman subjects—Turks, Armenians, and ethnic Greeks—as well as the Italians and Greek nationals whose neighborhoods they shared (Garrett and Purpura 2007: 14; Guglielmo 2010: 76). Among Ottoman immigrant working classes, Syrians were comparatively privileged, earning higher average wages than did their Turkish counterparts. Most Syrian men worked in silk or cotton, earning from \$400 to \$500 annually, compared to the paltry \$260 average wage for Turkish leatherworkers.<sup>20</sup> Participation in trade unions may have bolstered Syrian wages: even in leatherworking, Syrian workers commanded higher wages as a result of union membership rates of 59 percent, compared to 10 percent of Turkish workers.<sup>21</sup>

US textile firms tended to hire Middle Eastern immigrants as needed, treating them as surplus labor and laying them off in times of recession. This practice created vulnerabilities for immigrant working communities and disproportionately affected unskilled labor. Because they were likelier to work in skilled sectors, 85.5 percent of Syrian workers achieved full employment (working twelve months a year) by 1910, compared to 36.6 percent for Turkish leatherworkers.<sup>22</sup> In other words, in a good year the textile industry contained systemic inequalities; it depended on a ready supply of underemployed workers who could be disabled or laid off without repercussion. The threat of a recession concerned everyone, but in an actual economic downturn, the suffering was unevenly distributed, usually concentrated to those already at the bottom of the labor market. Taken together, these tensions created urban Syrian immigrant communities governed by fluctuating phases of boom and bust, generating local migrations of migrants seeking work, and creating a permanent underclass of the unemployed.

The desire to insure families against these risks led Syrian immigrant households to expand in working-class neighborhoods. In a typical New England Syrian household, all adult members worked, as did older children. Though popular narratives about female factory work describe it as something done before a woman weds, the data reveal something different: married or unmarried, old or young, Syrian women of this class worked in factories at rates comparable to their male relatives (Shakir 1997: 48–49).<sup>23</sup> The household was also itself a space of economic production: Syrian women worked as seamstresses, in piecework or lace production at home in addition to working outside the home. Sabbagh, for instance, worked both in the gingham factory and at home, and she also sold her garments through the Sabbagh Brothers company. Blending economic strategies like this was common in Syrian families, and was done to meet the needs of young children or aging relatives.

Notions of kinship also flexed to interwar economic realities. In contrast to the nuclear households that typified this diaspora's emerging middle classes, Arab American workers maintained larger households defined by employment networks and the shared sense of proletarian precarity. "We lived in an extended family





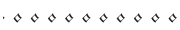




spooling, sewing, needlepoint, and lacework. A work committee created the curriculum, privileging skills sought by employers in area textile firms, contracting with instructors to come teach on Tyler Street, and hosting the courses free of charge.<sup>36</sup> Workshop attendance varied, but as many as two dozen women attended regularly, where they worked with materials secured through SLAS funds. Sometimes Sabbagh sold the finished pieces on consignment to fund relief projects.<sup>37</sup> The self-help orientation of these courses places them firmly in the settlement house tradition, and the SLAS promoted the idea that self-sufficiency should be the goal of the proper Syrian American household (Deutsch 1992: 398–400).

There were those who perceived these worker education programs (and the women who engaged with them) as radical elements. Debates over the social implications of women's factory work exploded in the pages of the Arab American press in the 1920s. On one hand, a second-wave Arab feminism emerged in the mahjar, where women elaborated on the "new woman" (*al-mar'a al-jadida*) liberated by enhanced access to education and the right to work. Interwar writers like 'Afifa Karam and Victoria Tannous built on the work of feminists from across the Middle East, taking special interest in Arab American women in industry (Khater 2001: 146–78; Saylor 2019). Their editorials appeared in both the feminist press and its more mainstream counterpart, where they argued that working women provided the mahjar's economic foundations and challenged the patriotism of homeland nationalists who derided women's work as socially corrosive.

Despite ongoing feminist critique, however, the overall tenor of the major Arabic-language press was paternalist and patriarchal. In these uniformly male spaces, editors also represented women's industrial labor as part of a diasporic amalgam of social ills (*al-amrad al-ijtima'iyya*) that, together with divorce and prolonged bachelorhood, produced discontent in the hearts of men and crime on the streets (Rufa'il 1923: 3). The "factory girl" stereotype appeared in newspaper editorials to explain problems suffered in working-class neighborhoods (Khater 2001: 34–38). When New York City's "little Syria" neighborhood experienced dramatic increases in male unemployment, vagrancy, gangs, and violence in the mid-1920s, for instance, *al-Akhlaq* newspaper's editor Ya'cub Rufa'il warned that the tendency to delay marriage among Syrian American women workers was a factor in that violence (*New York Times* 1927a, 1927b). Writing in 1923, Rufa'il relied on the conviction that "marriage has a civilizing effect in the Syrian man" and expressed anxieties over the impact of a factory women's employment on her marriageability as well as her propensity for divorce. Working women, he opined, were comparatively freer to obtain a divorce, a "larger assault on the family" that threatened the respectability the Syrian community otherwise enjoyed in American society.<sup>38</sup> Then secretary for the city's Lebanon League of Progress (*Jam'iyyat al-Nahda al-Lubnaniyya*), Rufa'il echoed a larger nationalist consensus in his remarks about the subversion of patriarchal gender norms: the nation depended on women's unpaid civilizational





backgammon, carousing with male company, smoking narghile, and reciting *zajal*, coming home only to “complain that things in the homeland are not as they ought to be” (12). By locating the wayward husband in the café, Tannous mocked the political fraternities that inhabited these spaces, challenging the nationalist politics as well as the masculinity of their patrons.

Like all things, these discussions about women’s industrial labor were class contingent. Hannah Sabbagh did not have the luxury of holding forth on the moral implications of wage labor: “We had to work—we had no one.”<sup>39</sup> Indeed, records of Syrian working women’s self-reported class consciousness have largely evaded the archives, as have most of the mutual aid societies of the mahjar.<sup>40</sup> What remains are the programs these activists maintained, and the commentary (and silences) that surround them. Though rooted in practicality, for example, the SLAS’s job training courses and educational priorities clashed with the Arab American press’s bourgeois expectations, where they were read as quietly transgressive. Periodicals like *Fatat Boston*, *al-Akhlaq*, *Mirat al-Gharb*, and *al-Huda* regularly lauded SLAS events like ribbon sales, galas, craft bazaars, and artistic performances, but they were less likely to celebrate SLAS’s job training efforts. Worker education represented an important but unsung project, underappreciated in literary circles, which favored the high-society gloss of charity balls, but recorded elliptically in meeting minutes and SLAS account ledgers.

By contrast, the SLAS’s ability to raise homeland relief won it high praise, and the club delivered annual gifts to Syrian, Palestinian, and Lebanese causes each December. A typical grant was between \$150 and \$200, and the relief committee elected recipients, directing funds to nondenominational schools or medical relief.<sup>41</sup> The society also raised extraordinary sums during periods of crisis. During the Great Syrian Revolt from 1925 to 1927, the club remitted thousands of dollars for civilians displaced by conflict. Wary of the partisan, sometimes sectarian character of other homeland relief drives, the SLAS sent equal sums to organizations in Beirut, Damascus, Hawran, Zahle, Marjayoon, Rashaya, and the Bekaa Valley, indicating that they benefited “everyone regardless of religion, and [we] asked them to let us know what they did with it.”<sup>42</sup> Following Palestine’s 1927 earthquake, the SLAS helped rebuild schools and orphanages.<sup>43</sup> The onset of the Great Depression in 1929 forced the SLAS to refocus on New England’s unemployment crisis. At the trough of this catastrophic recession, the ladies aid coordinated the return migration of workers—not remittance of funds—to the Middle East.

### Confronting Economic Recession: Worker Rehabilitation and Repatriation

The Great Depression devastated the New England garment industries. The textile industry had been struggling since the mid-1920s, when mill owners began to divest from New England and open shop in the southern US or in Latin America on a ceaseless search for cheaper labor (Chomsky 2008: 104; Moran 2002: 225–32). Facing sharp rises in the number of young unemployed men seeking rent relief, the





train ticket to New York. The SLAS granted him four dollars cash and paired him with another Syrian headed there.<sup>47</sup> Relief applicants also sought assistance in leaving the United States permanently, usually to return to the Middle East. These applications were always controversial. On the one hand, the men who applied for repatriation assistance usually cited compassionate motivations: a disability, a desire to rejoin children, a merciful end to a struggle with poverty at America's edges. On the other hand, many in the Arab American community feared these cases were actually self-deportations, undermining the community's right to remain in America (Halaby 1987: 55–56). The SLAS weighed each case carefully, assessing under what circumstances migrant repatriation could be considered philanthropic enough to enable their support.

The simplest cases were compassionate ones, where a terminal illness or disability made it unlikely that an individual would ever become self-sufficient. In 1933 the SLAS received a petition from an unemployed worker named Khalil\*, who requested help returning to Lebanon. The relief committee initially denied his request, ruling “it has already been decided that such requests can no longer be considered unless there are very pressing circumstances,” but on learning that Khalil had been disabled, they resolved to help him leave the United States.<sup>48</sup> Getting Khalil home required securing a passport from Boston's French Consulate and purchasing a steamship ticket through the Syrian company in New York City, A. K. Hitti and Sons. The French consulate initially rejected Khalil's repatriation application, requiring the SLAS to petition US immigration authorities and the American Beneficent Society of Boston to reason with French officials. Various Syrian societies across New England pooled cash donations to pay for Khalil's \$85 steamship ticket (a discounted rate SLAS volunteer Emilia Khuri obtained by personally prevailing on Abraham K. Hitti in New York).<sup>49</sup> After four months of securing paperwork, raising funds, and demonstrating Khalil's likelihood of becoming a public charge if he remained in America, Khalil boarded a boat for home in March 1934.

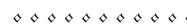
Applications from unemployed Syrians wishing to go back to the Middle East flooded the relief committee in 1933 and 1934. Overwhelmed, the society tried to draw a line between compassionate cases like Khalil's and others who sought repatriation on purely economic grounds. In 1934 an unemployed textile worker named Salih\* asked for help returning to Palestine. Salih had arrived in 1927 to work in the cotton mills; laid off in 1933, he was out of work for over a year. Salih exhausted resources at US agencies and the Salvation Army and then asked the SLAS for help; they granted him a room and a three-dollar weekly stipend for janitorial work.<sup>50</sup> The club secured Salih temporary contracts through Syrian networks, but it became clear that he was an alcoholic and unable to hold a job.<sup>51</sup> His repatriation request was, in essence, an admission of defeat: the mahjar had beaten him, and he wished to go home to his family. The SLAS attempted to find Salih's family in Palestine but were unsuccessful; painful conversations followed about whether

to support Salih's repatriation, a geographic solution for a man marginalized not by circumstance but by addiction. In August 1934 the SLAS secured another discounted ticket through A. K. Hitti, and Salih boarded a steamship for home.<sup>52</sup> Club ledgers record only a dozen repatriation cases in the early 1930s (all of them men), but the tensions surrounding them reveal that repatriation represented the final resort, the most distant extremity of the club's self-help ethic. Abandoning the mahjar was a philanthropic cause if—and only if—there remained no hope for rising above public charge status. At the depths of the Great Depression, the Middle East transformed into a place of comparative economic safety, a chance at extraction from a troubled diasporic milieu. The US mahjar, by contrast, offered bare existence at the knife's edge.

### Conclusion

The rising tides of nativism and racism collided with the textile industry's intensifying fluctuations to change American public attitudes about immigrant labor. Restrictions on immigration ramped up, from quotas in the 1921 Emergency Act to the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which limited new immigration from Syria and Lebanon to one hundred persons a year (Gualtieri 2009: 79). The federal government concurrently expanded its deportation powers, pursuing deportation on economic grounds and targeting persons "likely to become public charges" due to poverty or physical impairment (*Report of Commissioner General* 1920: 338). Lawmakers sought to reverse the flow of migrant workers into US factories, even as more tried to come to America to answer the call of industries demanding—and dependent on—large pools of surplus, exploitable labor. As the SLAS scrambled to secure food, jobs, and housing for Syrian workers, the shifting juridical waters placed this work into sharper, more urgent relief. In taking on a progressively larger share of the costs of labor reproduction neglected by employers, the SLAS fought to preserve the Syrian working class's right to remain in America.

The Syrian Ladies Aid Society of Boston was, then, a productive center for proletarian life in the mahjar. Scholarship on working women in Arab American history rightly illustrates the ties women like Sabbagh Shakir had to the women's movement and the politics of American suffrage, women's rights, and labor organization. But as this article has argued, the SLAS also represented a locus for a working-class politics of welfare that was both conscious of the precarity Syrian working families experienced and responsible for ameliorating ills caused by that precarity. Women's wage work in textiles underpinned the entire Arab American economy, making possible the commercial endeavors traditionally celebrated by the historiography. The SLAS understood that the mahjar's success depended on a well-provisioned Arab American working class. In an era of mounting immigration restriction before the New Deal, that provisioning came from private sources and in networks encoded as women's spaces.



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### Notes

1. Some names have been changed to respect the privacy of SLAS welfare recipients. This is in accordance with the organization's wishes. Pseudonyms are indicated with an asterisk in the first instance.
2. Arab American National Museum, Dearborn, MI, Evelyn Shakir Collection (hereafter AANM/ES), box 1, folder 6, Sabbagh Brothers accounting ledger (ca. 1930s).
3. AANM/ES, box 1, folder 4, Sabbagh family reunion book, 2-3; Kaufman et al. 2006: 47.
4. AANM/ES, box 1, folder 4, Hannah Sabbagh Shakir oral history with Evelyn Shakir, 5.
5. AANM/ES, box 3, personal artifact: two skirts sewn at Parkway Manufacturing.
6. AANM/ES, box 1, folder 4, Hannah Sabbagh Shakir oral history with Evelyn Shakir, 5-6.
7. AANM/ES, box, 1 folder 4, Hannah Sabbagh Shakir oral history with Evelyn Shakir, 7.
8. Charles Shagoury family history, private manuscript, 2. The author thanks Nolan Kane and Hazel Elmendorf for making this manuscript available.
9. "The Syrian Ladies Aid Society Celebrated Its Fiftieth Anniversary," *Caravan Weekly Pictorial*, November 6, 1958, Records of the Syrian Ladies Aid Society (Brooklyn, NY), Immigration History Research Center Archives, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
10. Lebanese Syrian Ladies' Aid Society Records, 1917-2005, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (hereafter LSLAS/SL/RI), meeting minutes, October 23, 1933, MC 574, folder 1.
11. LSLAS/SL/RI, meeting minutes, March 5, 1918, MC 574, folder 1.
12. LSLAS/SL/RI, meeting minutes, March 5, 1918, MC 574, folder 1.
13. AANM/ES, box 1, folder 2, undated petition letter in Sabbagh Shakir's hand to the Lajnat al-Tahrir Suriya wa-Lubnan (Syria-Mount Lebanon League of Liberation) of New York City.
14. LSLAS/SL/RI, meeting minutes, June 18, 1918, MC 574, folder 1.
15. LSLAS/SL/RI, meeting minutes, April 7, 1920, MC 574, folder 1.
16. LSLAS/SL/RI, meeting minutes, May 25, 1920, MC 574, folder 1.
17. "Industrial Conditions of Foreign-Born Male Employees in Each Specified Occupation before Coming to the United States, by Race," *Immigrants in Industries, Parts 3-4*, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., 1909-1910, Senate Documents, vol. 72, 73.
18. "Industrial Conditions before Coming to the United States of Foreign-Born Males Who Were Sixteen Years of Age at Time of Coming, by Race of Individual," *Immigrants in Industries, Parts 5-7*, 61st Cong., 2nd sess., 1909-1910, Senate Documents, vol. 73, 31.





