

NOTES



General note: Books and articles are cited only in short form here. Please see the Bibliography for complete citations.

INTRODUCTION

1. For an overview of current debates on liberal models of citizenship, see Shafir, *Citizenship Debates*. Feminist, communitarian and multicultural critiques of liberalism's universal ideals of equal and autonomous citizens resonate with recent attempts to delineate the alternative forms of citizenship in colonial settings. See Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*; Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*; Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society*, passim; Botman, *Engendering Citizenship in Egypt*; Freitag, *Collective Action and Community*; Chatterjee, *Nation and its Fragments* (esp. ch. 11); Mehta, "Liberal Strategies of Exclusion"; Irschick, *Dialogue and History* (esp. conclusion) and Wildenthal, "Race, Gender and Citizenship." Charles Tilly offers a useful and succinct discussion of the current flux in definitions of citizenship in his introduction to his edited volume, *Citizenship, Identity, and Social History*, pp. 1–17. A host of other recent studies on civil society, on the construction of states and nations and on the various forms of subaltern power in colonial societies— too numerous to list here— have laid the groundwork for, and contributed indirectly to, emergent concepts of colonial citizenship.
2. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*; Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon and Lebanon's Quest*; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*.
3. For example, Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*; Boustany, *Introduction à . . . Liban moderne*; Shu'ayb, *Tarikh lubnan*; Hakim, *Suriya wa al-intidab*; Qarqut, *Tatawwur al-haraka al-wataniya*; al-Maliki, *Min maysalun ila al-jala'* (memoir); and Sharaf, *al-Gharaq . . . fi al-dhakira* (novel). While there have recently been some specialized studies of the period by French scholars, the

only recent comprehensive treatment is a beautiful photographic chronology: Fournié and Riccioli, *France et le Proche-Orient*.

4. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*; Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*.
5. See Hunt, *Family Romance*; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches*; Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*. Scott was, of course, not solely responsible for the methodological transformation in gender history, but her book is widely credited with inspiring broad interest in the project in the 1990s. I was, for example, also inspired by use of gender to explain how the middle class crystallized in early 19th century England in Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's *Family Fortunes*, published in 1987.
6. The only apparent exception is the 1925–27 Syrian Revolt, where, however, peasants were mobilized mainly by tribal and landed elites, and where the outcome was only to force peasants more firmly under the repressive hand of these elites. See the discussion in chapter two.
7. Influential at an early stage were British and Indian studies of gender and imperialism; for example, Anna Davin's "Imperialism and Motherhood," Margaret Strobel's *European Women and the Second British Empire*, Lata Mani's "Contentious Traditions," and Partha Chatterjee's *Nation and Its Fragments*. More recent studies have offered quite interesting perspectives on the gendered motivations and impact of colonial rule. See, for example, Clancy-Smith and Gouda, eds., *Domesticating Empire*; McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*; and Stoler, "Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers."
8. See, for example, Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam*; Baron, *Women's Awakening in Egypt*; Göle, *Forbidden Modern*; Kandiyoti, "Women, Islam, and the State"; Lazreg, "Gender and Politics in Algeria"; Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil*; Milani, *Veils and Words*; and Paidar, *Women and the Political Process*.
9. See, for example, Badran, *Feminists, Islam and the Nation*; Fleischmann, "Nation and its 'New' Women"; Keddie and Baron, *Women in Middle Eastern History*; Peirce, *Imperial Harem*; Quataert, "Ottoman Women, Households and Textile Manufacturing"; Sonbol, *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws*; and Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*.
10. See Andreas Tietze, *Mustafa 'Ali's Description of Cairo of 1599* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975) pp. 40–43.
11. I owe a special thanks to Atina Grossmann, whose course on gender and the European welfare state gave birth to this project. Of particular help in my conceptualization were Koven and Michel, "Womanly Duties"; Cohen and Hanagan, "Politics of Gender and Making of the Welfare State"; and Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers*. On revisionist histories of welfare states, see Baldwin, "Welfare State for Historians."
12. See, for example, Salzmann, "Citizens in Search of a State"; al-Azmeh, *Islams*

and *Modernities*; Goldberg, "Smashing Idols and the State"; Kandiyoti, "Women, Islam and the State"; Mamdani, *Subject and Citizen*; Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*; Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony"; Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*; Crisp and Edmondson, *Civil Rights in Imperial Russia*; Shafir, *Citizenship Debates* (entire volume); Taylor, *Multiculturalism*; Paterman, *Disorder of Women*; Fraser, *Justice Interruptus*.

PART 1 INTRODUCTION

1. I have borrowed the term civic order, with modifications, from Isser Woloch, who used it to describe the reorganization of civic life under Napoleon's post-revolutionary regime in his *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789–1820s*.

CHAPTER 1

1. Furayha, *Qabl an ansa*, p. 48.
2. Furayha, *Qabl an ansa*, p. 49; MAE-Paris/2, vol. 871, "Situation au Liban," Dec. 8, 1915; vol. 872, "Details sur la tournée de l'agent Koueri au Mont Liban," March 21, 1916; vol. 873, Defrance to Briand, May 23, 1916 and Lansing to Jusserand, June 26, 1916. Before the war, a train trip between Beirut and Damascus took 10 hours; Zahla lay less than half the way along the rail line. Rail service extended to the Hawran, from which a trip to Beirut likely took no more than 30 hours.
3. Edib, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, p. 451.
4. Quoted in Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, p. 203.
5. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, "Trade and Commerce at Beirut, Syria," May 26, 1916.
6. "La Syrie martyre," *La Croix*, March 10, 1917.
7. USNA, RG 84—Damascus, vol. 34, "Annual Report on Commerce and Industry for 1916."
8. al-Shallah, *Li al-tarikh wa al-dhikra*, pp. 13–14; "La Famine à Alep," *Le Réveil*, Oct. 25, 1920; Russell, *First Modern Arab State*, p. 142.
9. Quoted in Dahir, *Tarikh lubnan al-ijtima'i*, p. 26. Other estimates from MAE-Paris/2, vol. 879, report by Comité Central Syrien, Oct. 1917; "An bayrut," *Lisan al-hal*, Oct. 30, 1918; Kurd 'Ali, *Khitat al-Sham*, 3:133.
10. Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, p. 241.
11. Schilcher, "Famine of 1915–1918," pp. 229–258.
12. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 875, Trabaud to Vice-Amiral, Dec. 3, 1916.

13. Schilcher, "Famine of 1915–1918," pp. 249–50.
14. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 873, message from British embassy-Paris, June 2, 1916 and internal memo (illegible signature: Leandon?), June 4, 1916.
15. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 879, French translation of Shakib Arslan Bey, "Hypocrisy of the Entente Unveiled," *Lloyd Ottoman*, Aug. 13–14, 1917.
16. Schilcher, "Famine of 1915–1918," p. 235.
17. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 873, "1916 1–15 juin, Renseignements généraux et particuliers," and vol. 875, Morier to Ministère de la Guerre, Dec. 31, 1916 and Defrance to Briand, Feb. 28, 1917; Young, *Marshall Cavendish Encyclopedia*, pp. 3055, 3546; Gray, *Chronicle of the First World War*, p. 288; Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, pp. 136, 188, 231; Yapp, *Making of Modern Near East*, p. 269. Conscriptio rates were estimated by the author according to the empire's prewar population of 18.1 million, assuming half of that total was male, of whom half again were aged 17 to 55.
18. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 875, Defrance to Briand, Dec. 23, 1916 and vol. 876, Defrance to Ribot, March 27 and April 10, 1917; Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, pp. 136–37, 226–27; Young, *Marshall Cavendish Encyclopedia*, p. 3055.
19. Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, p. 241.
20. S. Tucker, *European Powers in the First World War*, p. 173; Small and Singer, *Resort to Arms*, p. 88.
21. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 872, Defrance to Briand, March 26, 1916; Antonius, *Arab Awakening*, pp. 185–90, 201–03, 227–28.
22. al-Jundi, *Lahu al-ayyam*, pp. 16–25.
23. Jihan Musulli, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 20, 1992; transcript of interview with Hawa Salameh in Roumieh village, Mount Lebanon, Feb. 1965, in Ajay, "Mount Lebanon and the Wilayah of Beirut," Appendix I, pp. 101–106; al-Ghazzi, *Shirwal barhum*, p. 17. Al-Ghazzi's book, based on interviews with men and women who lived during the war, collects their memories in a fictional story told by a teen-aged girl.
24. As quoted in Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, p. 256. See also MAE-Paris/2, vol. 877, letter from a Lazarist father in Syria, May 24, 1917 and vol. 872, "Details sur la tournée de l'agent Koueri au Mont Liban," March 21, 1916; "al-Ju' wa al-maja'a," *Lisan al-hal*, Nov. 20, 1918, pp. 1–2; Kan'an, *Lubnan fi al-harb al-kubra*, pp. 163–169.
25. Interview with "M.B." transcribed and translated from Arabic to French in Dubar and Nasr, *Classes sociales*, p. 205.
26. "al-Maja'a fi suriya wa lubnan wa bilad al-suriya," *Tarikh al-harb al-'uzma* 24 (1938) pp. 3–13.
27. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 877, "Bulletin politique et militaire no. 1," May 20, 1917; Karame, "Le Tissage à Homs," p. 76.
28. Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, pp. 196–97.

29. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 873, press clip from *al-Ahram*, June 23, 1916; see chapter five on women's wartime relief organizations.
30. Interview with Yusuf Rufayil, Aug. 1964, in Ajay, "Mount Lebanon and the Wilayah of Beirut," Appendix I, pp. 56–70.
31. Adib al-Taqi, "Of the Dangers of War," *Al-Shu'la* 9 (Oct. 1935) pp. 551–57. See also 'Udwan, "Safar Barlik," a play based on poems written by Syrian soldiers during the war.
32. Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, pp. 186–87. See pp. 218–249 of the original Arabic version of this popular memoir, *Ya Mal al-Sham* (Damascus: Matabi' Alif Ba, 1990) 3rd printing.
33. See chapter 13.
34. Ajay, "Mount Lebanon and the Wilayah of Beirut," Appendix I. Ajay printed transcripts of 19 interviews with elderly Lebanese men and women conducted in 1964 and 1965.
35. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 872, undated letter from Antoine Eddé and "Details sur la tournée de l'Agent Koueri au Mont Liban," March 21, 1916.
36. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 877, père Lazarite to Cazot, May 24, 1917.
37. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 874, Akl to Darian, Oct. 24, 1916.
38. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 874, "Visite du Mgr Pharès," Aug. 4, 1916.
39. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 872, Defrance to Briand, April 1, 1916.
40. "La Récision des ventes de guerre au Liban," *L'Asie française* 22 (Jan. 1922) p. 17.
41. Schilcher, "Famine of 1915–1918," p. 233.
42. Gilsenan, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches*, pp. 113–56.
43. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 88; see also, Ismael and Ismael, *Communist Movement*, pp. 4–5.
44. "Mat min al-ju'," *al-Ikha'*, Jan. 6, 1920, p. 1.
45. Rafeq, "Arabism, Society and Economy," pp. 11–12.
46. For an overview of recent debates, see "AHR Forum: History and Memory," *The American Historical Review* 102 (Dec. 1997) pp. 1371–1412.
47. Owen, *Middle East in the World Economy*, pp. 244–264; Issawi, *Fertile Crescent*, pp. 9–39; Thobie, *Intérêts et impérialisme français*; Vatter, "Journymen Textile Weavers"; P. Khoury, *Urban Notables and Arab Nationalism*, passim; Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*, pp. 85–102. Population growth estimated from a population of 2.2. million in 1878 and 3.5 million in 1914. See Issawi, p. 16 and Owen, p. 244.
48. Samman, *Population de la Syrie*, pp. 103–110; Chamie, *Religion and Fertility*, p. 25.
49. S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, pp. 75–88.
50. McCarthy, *Arab World, Turkey and the Balkans*, pp. 71, 77; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 567, "Population de l'état de Damas," and "Evaluation de la population des

- états du Levant sous mandat français en 1928"; USNA, RG 84— Syria, microfilm LM128/roll 7, Alexander Gibb & Co., "Economic Development of Syria," (1947), p. 3; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 11; Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs*, pp. 84–86.
51. "La Famine au Liban et l'assistance française . . .," *L'Asie française* 22 (Jan. 1922) p. 12.
 52. USNA, RG 84—Damascus, vol. 33, consul to charge d'affaires, Constantinople, Feb. 26, 1916; AIU, Archives Liban—dossier I.C.1, Picciotto to AIU, March 10, 1929; Menicucci, "Radical Politics," p. 2; Rouyer, *Femmes d'outre mer*, pp. 13–17.
 53. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1474, "Distribution de blé aux pauvres," Oct. 14, 1943.
 54. "Hadith al-'adad," *al-Ikha'*, April 15, 1920, pp. 4–5.
 55. MWT, al-Mahakim al-Mukhtalita— Criminal Section, Damascus, case J-61, Aug. 17, 1926.
 56. USNA, RG 84— Beirut, vol. 365, "Near East Foundation in Syria," Dec. 12, 1935.
 57. Edib, *Memoirs*, pp. 442, 454–55; MAE-Paris/2, vol. 879, French translation of "Hypocrisy of the Entente Unveiled," *Lloyd Ottoman*, Aug. 13–14, 1917.
 58. MAE-Nantes/2, carton 174, HC to MAE/Section écoles, report on French hospitals and orphanages, March 25, 1932; carton 206, "Franciscaines à Alep— Orphelinat," Jan. 1931; carton 373, HC to MAE/Section écoles, Feb. 19, 1935.
 59. Dubar and Nasr, *Classes sociales*, p. 195.
 60. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, microfilm 31222/roll 5, "Present Status of Armenians in the French Mandated Territory," Feb. 6, 1933; Menicucci, "Radical Politics"; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 286.
 61. Mina, *Fragments of Memory*. Mina's portrayal his family's life mirrors the findings of an early 1930s study of 'Alawi peasants in Dodd, *Controlled Experiment*.
 62. Dubar and Nasr, *Classes sociales*, p. 217.
 63. MAE-Paris/2, vol. 878, Defrance to Ribot, July 7, 1917; USNA, RG 84— Damascus, vol. 33, consul to Harrington, Jan. 20, 1916 and vol. 34, "Annual Report on Commerce and Industries for 1916"; RG 84— Beirut, Hollis to Boston Chamber of Commerce, Nov. 3, 1915.
 64. USNA, RG 59, microfilm M1221, Research and Analysis report no. 731, "Strategic Survey Sections III, IV, V — Levant States," p. 14; MAE-Rapport (1937) pp. 22–28, 218–19; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 212–17; S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, pp. 171–72.
 65. Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, pp. 166–69, 193–95.
 66. Reilly, "Women, Property and Production," pp. 15–18.
 67. Stevens, *Cedars, Saints and Sinners*, p. 86; Ducuosso, *L'Industrie de la soie*, pp. 155–71; Khater, "She Married Silk," pp. 76–99.
 68. SHAT, carton 2N-70, "Enquête dans les Etats du Levant sur la situation de principales branches de l'agriculture, 1932," p. 6.

69. S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, p. 154–55.
70. MWT, al-Mahakim al-Mukhtalita, sijill 161, cases 1, 2, 4, 6, 22–26, 28, 38, 67, 73, 90, 149, 153, 168, 170, Jan.–April, 1935.
71. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 58; Latron, *Vie rurale en Syrie*, pp. 112–30, 225–239.
72. Seale, *Asad*, pp. 22–23.
73. AIU, Archives Liban—dossier I.C.1., Picciotto to AIU, Dec. 4, 1928; MWT, al-Mahakim al-Mukhtalita, sijill 22, cases 1050–51, 1090, 1540, June–Oct. 1925; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 58, undated lists of hotel ownership.
74. Daghestani, *Famille musulmane*, pp. 60–61, 82–84, 139, 184–88; Dahir, *Tarikh lubnan al-ijtima'i*, pp. 231–234. On the decline of patriarchal family structures from the late 19th century, see Schilcher, “Lore and Reality of Middle Eastern Patriarchy.”
75. Daghestani, *Famille musulmane*, p. 101. Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, p. 285–86; USNA, RG-84—Beirut, vol. 329, letter on the stigma attached to sales of condoms to Stardant Rubber Co., March 8, 1932.
76. “al-Mar’a wa al-mar’a al-suriya,” *al-‘Irfan* 16 (Nov. 1928) pp. 393–397; “Intikhab mar’a wa tasarrufha” *al-Fajr* 3 (Jan. 1921) p. 83; “al-Bayt,” *Dawhat al-mimas* 1 (June 1928) p. 8; “Bayn al-rajul wa al-mar’a,” *Jubtir* 1 (Feb. 1930) pp. 10–11; “al-Hubb wa al-zawaj,” *al-Amani* 1 (Jan. 1, 1931) pp. 194–95; and “al-Sa’ada al-zawjiya,” *al-Sha’b*, July 10, 1936. See also chapter 13.
77. Kandiyoti, “Bargaining with Patriarchy,” esp. pp. 281–84.

CHAPTER 2

1. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 61–68.
2. “La Proclamation du Grand Liban,” *Le Réveil*, Aug. 5, 1920, p. 1. The paper printed the full text of the speech on Aug. 7, 1920, in which the quote was modified as follows: “After having spilled their blood for four years, would they give it here again if France were not a mother to them?” Further quotes are from the Aug. 5 article.
3. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 97; Tauber, *Formation of Modern Syria*, pp. 36, 212–18.
4. Akarli, *Long Peace*, pp. 161–83; Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 66–69; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 90–92.
5. Russell, *First Modern Arab State*, p. 141.
6. Gelvin, “Social Origins of Popular Nationalism,” pp. 652–54; Tauber, *Formation of Modern Syria*, pp. 11–78. Gelvin’s *Divided Loyalties*, published after this book went to press, provides copious detail on the opposition to Faysal.

7. Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," *passim*; Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," *passim*. I use republicanism and democracy in overlapping ways in this book. While both signify a political regime based on a popular sovereignty and elected representation, democracy here emphasizes an equality of rights not necessarily present in a republic. We might therefore distinguish democratic republicanism from paternal republicanism.
8. "Le Général Gouraud à Damas," *Le Réveil*, Aug. 10, 1920, p. 2 and "Entrée du Général Gouraud à Damas . . .," *Le Réveil*, Aug. 11, 1920, p. 2; Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, pp. 291–92.
9. Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, p. 372.
10. Velud, "Syrie: Etat mandataire," pp. 53–59, 61–65.
11. Schaebler, "State(s) Power and the Druzes," pp. 345–52; Bokova, *Confrontation franco-syrienne*, pp. 95–105, 120–28; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 153–57, 168–71; Catroux, *Deux Missions*, pp. 30–55.
12. Burke, "Comparative View of French Native Policy," pp. 175–86.
13. Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 142–46; Catroux, *Deux Missions*, pp. 68–94, 135–37.
14. Chevallier, "Comment l'Etat a-t-il été compris," pp. 216–17; Agulhon, *French Republic*, pp. 183–203.
15. Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, pp. 1–10, 174–211.
16. SHAT, carton 7N 4186, dossier 6, "Lettre du Général Weygand au sujet de la politique française au Proche-Orient," Nov. 10, 1924; Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 148–53; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 126–30, 144–46; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 51, 54, 129.
17. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 271, Sarraïl to MAE, Jan. 26, 1925, press clip from *Victoire*, Jan. 26, 1925, and telegram from 13 Beirut notables to prime minister-Paris, undated.
18. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 450, Sarraïl to MAE, Feb. 15 and March 28, 1925.
19. MAE-Rapport (1925) pp. 89–94.
20. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 279, Doulcet to Briand, May 18, 1925.
21. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 271, Giannini to Gasparri, Feb. 13, 1926, L.C./MAE to Secrétaire général, Feb. 20, 1926, Doulcet to Briand, Nov. 18, 1925.
22. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 271, Doulcet to Briand, Oct. 15, 1926.
23. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 165–66.
24. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 160–64, 172; Bokova, *Confrontation franco-syrienne*, pp. 198–206.
25. Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 181–88.
26. SHAT, carton 7N-4171, press clip from the *Westminster Gazette*, May 21, 1926.
27. Bokova, *Confrontation franco-syrienne*, p. 256.
28. Poem by Ahmad Shakir al-Karami quoted from *al-'Asima*, May 13, 1920, in Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," p. 265; and Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, p. 188.

29. SHAT, carton 7N3216-1, "Rapport d'ensemble sur la Syrie et le Levant, 27 février 1922."
30. "Nouvelles d'intérieur—Damas," *Le Réveil*, Aug. 5, 1920, p. 2.
31. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1593, translation of a tract signed Shaykh Ahmad Muhiyaddin Shaaban, May 10, 1926.
32. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 192.
33. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1593, "Avis du Comité arabe à la Commission française," Feb. 22, 1926.
34. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1593, poem distributed in Lebanese provinces, Feb. 1, 1926, and tract signed by Abu Muhiyaddin Shaaban, April 26, 1926.
35. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1593, undated leaflets signed Henry de Jouvenel and Sultan al-Atrash.
36. Sakakini, *Insaf al-mar'a*, pp. 10-14; al-Razzaz, *Musharakat al-mar'a*, pp. 151-53; Poulleau, *A Damas sous les Bombes*, passim.
37. Qurtas, *Dhikrayat 1917-1977*, p. 45.
38. Shaaban, *Both Right and Left Handed*, p. 42.
39. Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, p. 21, and personal interviews in Damascus in 1992: Umm Ahmad, Oct. 16, and Umm Rima, Aug. 28.
40. Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.
41. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 176.
42. SHAT, carton 7N 4186, "L'Effort militaire français au Levant," April 7, 1922; Bou-Nacklie, "Troupes Spéciales," pp. 645-60; P. Khoury *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 203; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 137-38.
43. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 136, "Officiers des services spéciaux détachés comme agents du mandat dans les territoires du Levant," Aug. 20, 1936; SHAT, carton 7N 4190, "Notice sur les états du Levant sous Mandat français," 1933; Fournié, "L'Administration française," pp. 94-95, annex p. 88.
44. Sluglett, "Urban Dissidence in Mandatory Syria," p. 301.
45. Atiyah, "Attitude of the Lebanese Sunnis," pp. 106-25; Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 169-79.
46. Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, pp. 384-409; Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 202-215; Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 43-55.
47. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 264-66.
48. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 197-202, 331-48; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 182-88; USNA, Internal Affairs of Syria 1930-44, microfilm T1177/roll 4, Steger to Connolly, Oct. 27, 1937, translation of Constitution of the State of Syria, May 14, 1930.
49. See, for example, "al-Yawm yartafi' sawt suriya bil-ihitijaj 'ala al-dustur," *al-Sha'b*, June 11, 1930, p. 1.
50. Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," pp. 238-44; Elias, *Tatawwur al-sihafa al-suriya*, pp. 45-55.

51. Kayali, "Elections and the Electoral Process"; Khalidi, "1912 Election Campaign."
52. Gerber, *Social Origins*, pp. 95–101; Velud, "Syrie: Etat mandataire," pp. 66–67; Gilsenan, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches*, pp. 79–94.
53. Zakarya, "Syria," pp. 250–51; al-Siba'i, *Adwa' 'ala al-ra'smal*, pp. 224–35.
54. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, pp. 90–115; Keilany, "Land Reform in Syria"; War-riner, *Land Reform and Development*, pp. 71–101.
55. Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, pp. 2–8, 18–26, 82–83; Gilsenan, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches*, pp. 79–94.
56. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 274, HC to MAE, July 15, 1926.
57. Seale, *Asad*, p. 21.
58. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 117–18, 130, 268–70, 333–35.
59. Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, pp. 1–26, 45–81, 110–111; Khalaf, *Lebanon's Predicament*, pp. 80–88; Salibi, *Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 167–75.
60. USNA, RG 84—Syria, vol. 84, letter from Sultan Pasha Atrash, Nov. 27, 1925.
61. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1593, leaflet signed Le Comité de libération de Pays Syrien, undated.
62. Bokova, "La Révolution française"; see also Deguilhem-Schoem, "Idées françaises et enseignement ottoman."

CHAPTER 3

1. "L'Oeuvre des Français en Syrie," *Le Réveil*, Oct. 25, 1919.
2. Article 1, Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, July 24, 1922, reprinted in Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 376. See also articles six, eight, and 13.
3. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 3, Picot to MAE, Nov. 14, 1918.
4. S. Tucker, *European Powers in the First World War*, p. 173; Gray, *Chronicle of the First World War*, p. 292.
5. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 390, "L'Enseignement en Syrie pendant la période d'organisation 1919–1921," p. 9.
6. "La Famine au Liban" *L'Asie française* 198 (Jan. 1922), supplement.
7. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 2, Wick to Gout, Oct. 8, 1918.
8. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 110, MAE to Pontalis, Oct. 3, 1918.
9. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 104, MAE to HC, Dec. 17, 1920, and Chevalley, "Notes sur l'enseignement en Syrie 1919–1920," Oct. 10, 1920.
10. USNA, RG 84—Damascus, vol. 43, Consul to Secretary of State, Oct. 24, 1922.
11. SHAT, carton 7N 4180, "Organisation du service de santé, 1918–1919"; MAE-Paris/1, vol. 107, Berthelot to Coulondre, Nov. 3, 1918 and "Hygiène générale à Beyrouth," June 16, 1920.

12. SHAT, carton 7N 4180, "Organisation du service du génie," Gamelin to MAE, March 31, 1919.
13. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 78, Syndicat des marchands de soie de Lyon to MAE, Nov. 14, 1918 and Ferrand-Guintrand to MAE, Nov. 6, 1918; vol. 81, Ministry of War to MAE, Nov. 27, 1918; vol. 75, Ferrand-Guintrand to MAE, April 14, 1919.
14. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 75, André to Gout, Jan. 29, 1919.
15. "Mission en Syrie: Réception du Général Gouraud," *Comptes rendus des travaux de la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon—Année 1919*, pp. 400–55; Seurat, "Le rôle de Lyon dans l'installation du mandat."
16. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 76, "Agriculture 1921–22"; vol. 80, de Caix to Millerand, March 25, 1920; Dahir, *Tarikh lubnan al-ijtima'i*, pp. 119–157.
17. CCL, Fonds Receptions, dossier 134, "Gen. Weygand, 26 mai 1924," pp. 32–34.
18. Fournié, "L'Administration française," pp. 32–48. Gouraud was not succeeded by Weygand, however, until April 1923.
19. Weber, *Hollow Years*, pp. 11–15, 26–27.
20. Fournié, "L'Administration française," annex, p. 81; O'Zoux, *Etats du Levant*, pp. 65–70; Dahir, *Tarikh lubnan al-ijtima'i*, pp. 66–70; Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, pp. 355–357.
21. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 156–57, 164–67.
22. Fournié, "L'Administration française," annex, p. 81; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 260. There were 662 British bureaucrats employed in Egypt in 1906; British "advisors" occupied 42 percent of all higher government posts. See Yapp, *Making of the Modern Near East*, p. 230.
23. MAE-Rapport (1938) p. 165.
24. Dankwart Rustow estimated that the Turkish Republic inherited 85 percent of Ottoman bureaucrats, leaving 15 percent behind in the provinces outside of Anatolia. See Ward and Rustow, *Political Modernization in Japan and Turkey*, p. 388.
25. MAE-Rapport (1931) pp. 156–57.
26. Ritsher, *Municipal Government*, pp. 42–45.
27. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 259–83; Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 174–77.
28. "Intizamhum wa Intizamuna," *al-Muqtabas*, Oct. 4, 1910; "Il faut nettoyer Beyrouth," *Le Réveil*, Aug. 28, 1925; "Propos et Pontins: Damas, ville ou village?" *Les Echos*, Jan. 27, 1929; "Tarqi bayrut wa ittisa' tijaratha," *al-Masarra* 19 (Feb. 1933) pp. 80–82; "Tanzim madinat Dimashq," *Dimashq* 1 (Aug. 1940) pp. 27–35.
29. Ghorayeb, "Au croisement des cultures urbaines"; Wright, *Politics of Design*; Prochaska, *Making Algeria French*.
30. Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs*, pp. 71–82.

31. USNA, RG 84—Damascus, vol. 84, Report no. 22, Dec. 15, 1925; Danger, "L'Urbanisme en Syrie"; Kallaa, "L'Enchainement ville islamique—urbanisme moderne."
32. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, "L'Affaire du Dr. Kayyali;" MWT, al-Mukhabarat al-faransiya, vol. 32, Aleppo 1930.
33. My definition of paternalism here is my own; however, its formulation was influenced by discussions in the following: Kandiyoti, "Women, Islam and the State"; Khater, "She Married Silk," pp. 76–99; Joseph, "Gender and Civil Society" and "Elite Strategies for Statebuilding"; Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam*, passim; Chatterjee, "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonized Women"; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches*, pp. 4–5, 322, passim; Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution*, pp. 1–15, 193–204, passim; Pateman, *Sexual Contract*, pp. 19–38 and *Disorder of Women*, pp. 33–57; Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, pp. 28–50; Tilly, "Where Do Rights Come From?"
34. Reynolds, *France Between the Wars*, p. 95.
35. Arreté 3633 (Syria), Oct. 15, 1931, articles 54, 90 and 102.
36. "Qanun al-jinsiya al-suriya," *al-Muqtabas*, Jan. 30, 1925; USNA, RG 84—Syria, microfilm T1171/roll 4, "Nationality Laws in Syria and the Lebanese Republic," Feb. 20, 1930; Chamas, *Nationalité syrienne*, pp. 60–94, 239–42.
37. Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*; Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks*, esp. ch 4–6.
38. Zamir, *Formation of Modern Lebanon*, pp. 216–23.
39. Jamil Mardam Bey, "The Legacy of Equivocation" (1939), reprinted and translated in Mardam Bey, *Syria's Quest*, pp. x, xvi, xviii.
40. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 397–433, passim; Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," pp. 290–98, 378–81; Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 28–83 passim. For a comparative study of masculine gender crisis in the Indian bureaucracy, see Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity*.

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

1. This definition of subaltern is my own. For an overview of other uses of the term, see Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism."

CHAPTER 4

1. Marcus, "Poverty and Poor Relief," pp. 171–79; Faroqhi et. al., *Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, passim.
2. McCarthy, *Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans*, pp. 108, 124–27; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 112–13, 216–220, 231, 243, 249–51, 306–308;

- Tabakoglu, "Ottoman Social Security System"; Tibawi, *Modern History of Syria*, pp. 179–198; Shamir, "Modernization of Syria"; Salzmann, "Citizens in Search of a State," pp. 18–24.
3. Gerber, *Social Origins*, pp. 67–118; P. Khoury, *Urban Notables*, passim; Salzmann, "Citizens in Search of a State"; Keyder, *State and Class in Turkey*, pp. 25–69.
 4. Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, pp. 112–34; Tibawi, *Modern History of Syria*, pp. 148–178.
 5. Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, p. 93; see also Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, p. 276.
 6. al-Murabit, *al-Nur wa al-nar fi maktab 'anbar*, pp. 20–28; Deguilhem-Schoem, "Idées françaises et enseignement ottoman," pp. 199–206.
 7. Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks*, pp. 75–80, 91–94; Commins, *Islamic Reform*, pp. 95–98; Kurd 'Ali, *Khitat al-sham* 3: 125–28 and 4: 72–76.
 8. Schilcher, "Famine of 1915–1918," pp. 237, 240–41, 248; Edib, *Memoirs*, pp. 436–71; Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman*, pp. 190–97.
 9. Rafeq, "Arabism, Society, and Economy,"; Russell, *First Modern Arab State*, pp. 42–52; Kedourie, *England and the Middle East*, pp. 142–174; Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," pp. 25–41; P. Khoury, *Urban Notables*, pp. 82–84.
 10. MAE-Nantes/2, carton 374, "Affaires diverses."
 11. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 108, "Rapport sur l'organisation et le fonctionnement des services de l'hygiène et de l'assistance publique en Syrie," July 9, 1921; Etat de Damas, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1923) pp. 7–67 and (1927) p. 146.
 12. "L'Oeuvre sociale de la France mandataire au Levant," *Le Réveil*, Dec. 13, 1928, p. 1.
 13. USNA, RG 84—Damascus, vol. 43, despatch 298 to secretary of state, Oct. 24, 1922.
 14. "Les droits de l'Hygiène," "Notre eau à tous," and "Il faut nettoyer Beyrouth," *Le Réveil*, Aug. 21 and 28, and Oct. 30, 1925; "al-'Asima amam 'ilm al-sihha," *al-Bashir*, July 17, 1924; "Sihhat al-sha'b bayn al-ihmal wa al-shuhh," *al-Muqtabas*, July 31, 1927.
 15. MAE-Rapport (1928) p. 147; (1930) p. 158.
 16. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 108, "Rapport sur l'organisation et le fonctionnement des services de l'hygiène et de l'assistance publique en Syrie," July 9, 1921; MAE-Rapport (1928) p. 147; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2682, "Subventions et secours aux établissements d'Assistance et d'Hygiène."
 17. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 194–95.
 18. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 79, "Note sur l'instruction publique dans l'Etat de Syrie," March 26, 1930.
 19. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 390, "L'Enseignement," 1922; MAE-Rapport (1930) pp.

- 83, 87–88, 113–14, 136, 139, 143, 193, 211; McCarthy, *Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans*, pp. 124–31.
20. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 567, “Recensement de la population libanaise” (1932) and “Population sédentaire de la République syrienne” (1937). Proportions based on the 1932 Lebanese and 1937 Syrian censuses, showing 50.1% of 786,000 Lebanese as Christians and 13.5% of 2,368,000 Syrians as Christians, and on 1930 school enrollments of 99,000 in Lebanon and 180,000 in Syria. Figures exclude the territory of Alexandretta.
 21. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 83, reports by Mlle Saule, May 7 and June 26, 1931, and list of schools, May 7, 1931.
 22. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 48–51, 193; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 390, décret no. 2257 on subsidies to private schools, 1935, and carton 587, “Oeuvre d’Orient—Bulletin Avril 1934.” In 1935, 9,475 LLS out of a total of 25,000 LLS in foreign ministry subsidies to private schools was paid to ten Maronite monsigneurs in Cyprus, Syria, and Lebanon; an additional 4,350 LLS was paid to Syrian and Armenian Catholic patriarchs and 3,800 LLS to Orthodox patriarchs. Only 1,900 LLS was allocated to Muslim educational foundations.
 23. MAE-Rapport (1928) p. 147; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2682, “Subventions et Bourses.”
 24. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 508, Ponsot to MAE, April 29, 1930; l’Attaché libanais to MAE, March 25, 1931; Ponsot to MAE, Jan. 11, 1932.
 25. “Su’al,” and “al-Madrasa al-thaniya,” *al-Muqtabas*, July 11 and 23, 1924.
 26. “L’Instruction publique au Grand-Liban,” *Le Réveil*, Oct. 13, 1925, p. 1.
 27. USNA, RG 84—Aleppo, vol. 68, “Manufacturing,” April 21, 1920.
 28. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 314, “Ravitaillement de la Syrie 1922–26”; USNA, RG 84—Damascus, vol. 44, “Agriculture,” Feb. 27, 1922; Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, pp. 76–78; Tibawi, *Modern History of Syria*, pp. 279–80.
 29. USNA, RG 84—Aleppo, vol. 68, “Manufacturing,” despatches of April 21, Sept. 11 and Sept. 19, 1920; RG 84—Beirut, vol. 256, “General Report on Automobiles,” March 31 and June 1, 1927; RG 84—Damascus, vol. 72, memo on gas stations, May 11, 1927. Gasoline was carried from Beirut to Damascus in 5-gallon cans.
 30. Fawaz, “Changing Balance of Forces”; Buheiry, “Beirut’s Role in the Political Economy”; Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, pp. 229–30.
 31. Dahir, *Tarikh lubnan al-ijtima’i*, pp. 93–117, 143–57; Owen, “Political Economy of Grand Liban”; Gates, “Formation of Political Economy,” pp. 28–36, 189–92.
 32. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, pp. 75–88; International Bank, *Economic Development of Syria*, pp. 323–24; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 279–82.
 33. Gates, “Formation of Political Economy,” pp. 45–50.

34. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 959, Chatti to HC, Dec. 14, 1933; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 136, 215.
35. Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs*, pp. 75–77; Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 36–37.
36. Traboulsi, "Etude Economique et Sociale de Saïda."
37. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 567, "Recensement général de la population libanaise (1932)."
38. MAE-Rapport (1925) pp. 89–90, 103, 106; (1930) pp. 93, 97; Bou-Nacklie, "Troupes Spéciales," pp. 649–53.
39. Dodd, *Controlled Experiment*; Seale, *Asad*, pp. 3–21; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 520–25.
40. MAE-Paris, Ponsot to MAE, Aug. 6, 1930 and Jan. 23, 1931, and Fontenay to MAE, March 14, 1931; Université Saint-Joseph, *Jesuites en Syrie*, 10: 7–42; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 210, 213, 285–86.
41. Bou-Nacklie, "Troupes Spéciales," pp. 649–52. Bou-Nacklie found, however, that Sunni representation increased after 1925.
42. *Compte-rendu des travaux de la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon*, (1920) pp. 48–49, 482, (1924) pp. 508–14, (1925) pp. 20–22 and 595–86, (1926) pp. 16–25 and 625–27, (1927) pp. 667–69, (1929) pp. 381 and 583–85.
43. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2921, "Travail des enfants et des femmes dans l'industrie," May 24, 1941.
44. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2921, "Législation du travail" and "Organisation du travail," 1933; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 138.
45. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 270, workers to director of la Société Anonyme de Tramways et de l'Electricité de Beyrouth, Aug. 7, 1922; Director to Gouraud, Aug. 29, 1922; Gouraud to Director, Sept. 2, 1922.
46. MAE-Rapport (1924) pp. 12, 44–49; (1925) pp. 89–94; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2921, Thomas to "Mandates," Feb. 17, 1921, addendum, p. 4.
47. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 138–40.
48. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 107, Ashekar to MAE, May 17, 1919, and Perry to MAE, July 19, 1919; "Jam'iyat al-salib al-ahmar," *Lisan al-hal*, June 1, 1921, p. 2.
49. Etat de Damas, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1923) p. 79.
50. "Qu'est ce que l'Oeuvre de la Goutte de Lait?" *Les Echos*, Feb. 7, 1929, p. 2; Etat de Syrie, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1927) p. 175; MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 89, 124, 145; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 85, "Réponse au Questionnaire établi par le Conseil national des Femmes françaises"; Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 322–23.
51. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 140, 142; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 79, "Rapports des Universités et établissements d'enseignement supérieurs," p. 66; Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 322–26.

52. Etat de Syrie, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1927) pp. 159–70, 177–79.
53. Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 297, 326; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 85, “Réponse au Questionnaire établi par le Conseil national des Femmes françaises.”
54. Etat de Syrie, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1927) pp. 159–70, 177–79; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 174, HC to MAE, April 7, 1930.
55. Daghestani, *Famille musulmane*, pp. 101–10; Chatila, *Mariage chez les Musulmans*, pp. 26–27; Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, p. 285.
56. MAE-Rapport (1936) pp. 75, 120, 137; Samman, *Population de la Syrie*, p. 137. Samman notes that the Syrian birth rate dipped during World War II to 18.1 per thousand, and rebounded by 1970 to 28.2 per thousand.
57. Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, p. 322.
58. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 140, 142; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 79, “Rapports des Universités et établissements d’enseignement supérieurs,” p. 66; Etat de Damas, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1923) pp. 96–97 and (1927), appendix; Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, p. 284; Dodd, *Controlled Experiment*, p. 97.
59. “La Famine au Liban,” *L’Asie française*, p. 12.
60. Etat de Damas/Syrie, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1923) pp. 87–89; (1925) pp. 57–60; (1927) pp. 130–132; MWT, al-Mahakim al-mukhtalita—Criminal section, Damascus, case J84, Oct. 26, 1926; Jousselin, *Enquêtes sur la jeunesse délinquante*, p. 27. A separate Lebanese law of Feb. 6, 1931 contained the same provisions as outlined here, MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2891, “Prostitution/Moeurs.”
61. Thébaud, *Quand nos grand-mères*; Harsin, *Policing Prostitution*; Corbin, *Les Filles de noce*.
62. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 103, “Voeux adoptés par la section de l’enseignement, et ratifiés par l’assemblée générale du Congrès français de la Syrie (Marseille, 5 janvier 1919);” Gabriel Buonoure, “Education française et culture arabe,” *Bulletin de l’enseignement* 3 (Dec. 1933) pp. 131–139.
63. Faris, *al-Najwa ila nisa’ suriya*; “Education is the Basis of Success,” *al-Nibras* 1 (March 1909) pp. 87–91; “Halat al-nisa’ al-ijtima’iya,” *al-Muqtabas*, Sept. 14, 1910, p. 1; Seikaly, “Shukri al-‘Asali.”
64. “Hawl ta’lim al-mar’a,” and “al-Mar’a wa al-‘ilm,” *al-Muqtabas*, Aug. 3, 1924, p. 1 and March 25, 1925, p. 1.
65. McCarthy, *Arab World, Turkey and the Balkans*, pp. 117–19; MAE-Rapport (1938) pp. 91, 11, 122, 153.
66. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 83–84, 87, 104, 113–14, 121, 137–39; Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa’iya*, pp. 144–45.
67. Da’d Hakim and Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, personal interviews, Damascus, Oct. 1992.

68. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 83, 87, 137, 139; McCarthy, *Arab World, Turkey, and the Balkans*, p. 117.
69. MAE-Rapport (1924) pp. 96–97; (1930) pp. 83–84, 87, 103, 113, 121, 123, 136, 139.
70. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 91, “Bourses scolaires 1932/33,” and “Communautés et oeuvres (1932).”
71. MAE-Rapport (1929) pp. 15–16; (1930) pp. 22–23, 93.
72. MAE-Rapport (1937) p. 22, also pp. 23–28, 218–19.
73. MAE-Rapport (1930) pp. 85, 139, 140, 142; (1936) p. 85; (1938) pp. 89, 91, 153.
74. Hasan, *Hadith dimashqi*, pp. 264–65.

CHAPTER 5

1. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 89, file 843, list of associations received by the American legation, Feb. 22, 1943.
2. “Adab al-ijtima’,” *al-Bashir*, March 1, 1928; “Nahda al-mar’a,” “Dimashq al-sham,” and “Jam’iyat muqawamat al-sill fi suriya,” *Lisan al-hal*, Oct. 21 and 27, and Nov. 20, 1920.
3. Commins, *Islamic Reform*, pp. 65–78, 89–103, 124–40; Khalidi, “Society and Ideology in Late Ottoman Syria”; Schatkowski, “Islamic Maqased of Beirut.”
4. Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, pp. 222–44; Cleveland, *Islam Against the West*, pp. 1–44. Arslan was mentioned in chapter one for building orphanages and criticizing the Entente blockade.
5. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 40–62; Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing*, p. 78 and “Ottoman Workers”; Vatter, “Militant Journeymen.”
6. “al-Mar’a al-‘arabiya wa yazqat al-wa’y al-qawmi,” *al-Tariq* 1 (Feb. 6, 1942) p. 17.
7. al-Khalidi, *Jawla fi dhikrayat*, pp. 108–13.
8. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa’iya*, p. 22; Amal al-Jaza’iri, “‘Adila Bayhum al-Jaza’iri,” typewritten press release, 1975; Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-‘asr*, pp. 62, 122. I supply vital dates about these women because basic biographical information about them, in contrast to most of the male personalities of the era, are not available in English-language sources.
9. “Jam’iyat al-sayyidat,” *al-Mar’a al-jadida* 1 (April 1921) p. 7; Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-‘asr*, p. 66. While Ibrahim gives Dimashqiya’s birthdate as 1883 (*Adibat lubnaniyat*, p. 81), I have generally followed dates given by Sakakini.
10. “Khitab sahibat al-majalla fi haflat al-muntadi al-nisa’i,” *al-Arus* 5 (May 1919) pp. 112–14.
11. “al-Hawadith al-shahriya li-jami’iyat nur al-fayha,” and “Tarikh jam’iyat nur

- al-fayha'” *Nur al-fayha'* 1 (Feb. 1920) pp. 24–29; Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, pp. 118–19; Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, pp. 22–25.
12. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 39, Sûreté report 531, Damascus, May 10, 1944.
 13. Bushra Shaykh al-Ard, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.
 14. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 89, file 843, list of associations received by the American legation, Feb. 22, 1943.
 15. In 1954 Lebanon, two-thirds of women's organizations were still religious charities: Woodsmall, *Role of Women*, p. 19.
 16. “Jami'iyat al-shafaqa al-urthuduksiya lil-sayyidat,” *Lisan al-hal*, Feb. 14, 1921.
 17. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 116.
 18. “Yazqat al-mar'a al-shamiya,” *Sawt al-mar'a* 44 (Nov. 1946) p. 40; “al-Jam'iyat al-nisa'iya fi dimashq,” *Majallat al-mar'a* 1 (April 1947) p. 18; Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, pp. 122–23; Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, pp. 118–19.
 19. Hafiz, *al-Hafiziyyat*, pp. 108–9; al-Masri, *al-Katibat al-suriyat*, pp. 37, 66. Masri misdates the founding of the group as 1938 instead of 1928, see “Jam'iyat al-nisa'iya fi dimashq,” *Majallat al-mar'a* 1 (April 1947) p. 18 and al-Razzaz, *Musharakat al-mar'a*, p. 126.
 20. Woodsmall, *Role of Women*, pp. 72–75; “Taqrir 'an al-nahda al-nisa'iya bi-suriya,” *Bulletin de l'Enseignement* 10 (May 1933) pp. 445–51.
 21. Amal al-Jaza'iri (Adila's daughter who now runs the Dawhat al-adab school), personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 28, 1992.
 22. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 23–25.
 23. al-Masri, *al-Katibat al-suriyat*, pp. 32–34.
 24. Jihan Musulli (current president of the club), personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 20, 1992.
 25. Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, pp. 132–33.
 26. Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.
 27. Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 31–35; al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 117–19.
 28. Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 31–33, 92–94.
 29. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 115–16, 135; Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, p. 62.
 30. Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 94.
 31. This is a rough estimate. The Women's Literary Club in Damascus claimed 70 members in 1929, which is likely much larger than most groups. A conservative estimate of average membership may be put at 25. With about 40 groups in all cities of Syria and Lebanon, this gives a total of about 1,000 active members. But since membership in various groups overlapped tremendously, the actual number of activists might have been as low as 500.
 32. Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, pp. 30, 32, 48, 61–67.
 33. al-Razzaz, *Musharakat al-mar'a*, p. 103.

34. For comparison, see Baron, *Women's Awakening*; Edib, *Memoirs*; Baykan, "The Turkish Woman"; Blair, *Clubwoman as Feminist*; Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*.
35. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 77–125; Batatu, *Old Social Classes*, pp. 382–86; Ismael and Ismael, *Communist Movement*, pp. 3–24.
36. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 415, "Relevé chronologique des grèves survenues depuis l'occupation française jusqu'à fin 1929" and "Le Mouvement gréviste en 1930"; Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*, pp. 382–416; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 136, 145–55, 251–54.
37. Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," pp. 47, 49; MAE-Rapport (1937) pp. 218–19.
38. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 959, "Etat de Syrie— Compression des depenses du personnel," Sûreté report 2971, Beirut, June 29, 1933; Chatti and Hicheimi to HC, translation, Dec. 14, 1933; fired civil servants of Aleppo to HC, Dec. 15, 1933.
39. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 155–65; Ismael and Ismael, *Communist Movement*, pp. 11, 18.
40. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 415, "Relevé chronologique des grèves survenues" and "Mouvement gréviste en 1930"; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 139, 169–201, 217–26.
41. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2921, "Régime du travail dans les Etats du Levant sous mandat français," Oct. 2, 1933, p. 1.
42. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 737, "Parti communiste," Sûreté reports and Communist policy statement, 1939; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 206–8; Ismael and Ismael, *Communist Movement*, pp. 25–31; Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism*, pp. 137–47.
43. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 488, "Influence anti-coloniale en Syrie," pp. 147–53.
44. Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*, pp. 420–21.
45. Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 82–85.
46. Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 85–96; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 120, 602, 607–09; Khalidi, "Society and Ideology in Late Ottoman Syria," pp. 128–29.
47. Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," pp. 368–73.
48. Commins, *Islamic Reform*, pp. 116–23, 128–33.
49. Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," pp. 98–121; Gelvin, "Social Origins of Popular Nationalism."
50. Russell, *First Modern Arab State*, p. 201.
51. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 103, Feer to Picot, March 28, 1919.
52. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 923, report by Tommy Martin, March 8, 1924.
53. "A'mal al-birr al-islamiya," *al-Muqtabas*, Feb. 24, 1925, p. 2; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 179; Bou-Nacklie, "Tumult in Syria's Hama," p. 7.

54. "Nouvelle secte à Damas" and "Des Ulemas se plaignent!" *Les Echos*, May 19 and June 6, 1934; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, Sûreté reports on al-Sabuni, Aleppo, June 24 and 26, 1935; FO 226-233-31-236-42, "Political Parties," Oct. 7, 1942; Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 85-87, 424, 427, 429; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 602; Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, pp. 115-16.
55. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 728, al-Hidaya to League of Nations, Aug. 31, 1933.
56. Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 88-91, 95.
57. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, "L'Appel à la Vérité."
58. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 390, Sûreté reports 2580, 3652, 3915, and weekly bulletin, Nov. 28, 1931.
59. FO 371-40306-6824, weekly political summary, Oct. 17, 1944.
60. *Lisan al-Talaba* 1 (Aug. 1931). The front cover says it is a religious, moral, cultural, and scientific journal published by a group of students at the Tajhiz school in Damascus. Articles concerned women's veiling, the Prophet's birth-day, almsgiving in Islam, the Qur'an, and mankind's need for religion.
61. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 3, "Association des Frères musulmans," May 27, 1944; carton 67, "Les Jeunes de Mohamed," Sûreté reports, Damascus, Beirut, Homs and Tripoli, 1943-44 and "Jeunesse musulmane," Sûreté report, Beirut, July 22, 1944; carton 728, al-Hidaya to League of Nations, Aug. 31, 1933; FO 226-233-31-236-42, "Political Parties," Oct. 7, 1942; Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 88-96, 99-100, 421, 427; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 608.
62. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, "Musulmans extrémistes," Jan. 5, 1935.
63. AIU, Archives Syrie— dossier I.C.5 Damas, Silver to president, Feb. 11, 1936.
64. Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, p. 91.
65. AIU, Archives Syrie— dossier I.C.5. Damas, Bénozilto to president, April 3, 1936; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 458-59.
66. "La répercussion des événements de Palestine en Syrie," *Paix et Droit* 16 (May 1936) p. 8. The journal was published by the Alliance Israélite.
67. Reprinted in Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 407-409.
68. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 509, HC to MAE, Aug. 12, 1932; vol. 274, "Reform du Statut Personnel," 1928. The latter report interestingly distinguished between "old Muslims" who didn't accept a division between state and religion, and "new Muslims" who sought to build organizations autonomous from the state. Both, however, felt the Muslim community had been weakened with the French occupation because the state was no longer the organizing apparatus for Muslim affairs that it had been under the Ottomans.
69. al-Azmeh, *Islams and Modernities*, pp. 62-66.
70. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 606, "Politiques musulmanes," Dec. 7, 1937.
71. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, "Conseil de la communauté musulmane," Nov. 22,

- 1928; FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, Dec. 14, 1941; Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 92-93.
72. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 274, "Réforme du statut personnel," 1928.
73. Sakakini, *Khatarat*, pp. 159-62; personal interviews in Damascus in 1992: Umm Rima, Aug. 28; Da'd Hakim, Oct. 3; Khaldoun Alamy, Oct. 8; Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, Oct. 9.
74. Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," pp. 247, 289-90.
75. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, Sûreté report 194, Nov. 5, 1934, translation of telegram to HC, Nov. 2, 1934.
76. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 729, de Martel to MAE, Nov. 22, 1934.

PART THREE INTRODUCTION.

1. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*, pp. 65-122.
2. Assaf, *Compétence des tribunaux*, pp. 105-8, 136-38, 225-28; Akarli, *Long Peace*, pp. 163-83.
3. Articles 6, 8, 9, and 10 of the Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, July 24, 1922, reprinted in Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 376-80.

CHAPTER 6

1. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 41; Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," pp. 196-97.
2. Harry, "La Syrienne de Jérusalem à Bagdad."
3. "Al-Mar'a wa al-wataniya," *al-'Arus* 6 (Feb. 1920) pp. 9-10; Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, pp. 74-77.
4. Reprinted in: "Jawab 'ala Iqtirah," *al-Ikha'*, Oct. 13, 1919.
5. Rafeq, "Arabism, Society and Economy," pp. 12-14.
6. The suffrage debate quoted here is from Zu'aytar, "Shaykh min ghazza," pp. 69-72; the debate is also reprinted in al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 193-205. On the militias see Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, pp. 191-92, 213-15.
7. Tauber, *Formation of Modern Syria*, pp. 29-30.
8. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 42.
9. Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, pp. 25-26; Bayhum, *Fatat al-Sharq*, p. 117; Charara, *Image de la femme*, p. 4; al-Razzaz, *Musharakat al-mar'a*, p. 151.
10. "al-Nahda al-nisa'iya al-haditha fi suriya wa lubnan," *al-Mar'a* 5-7 (July 31, 1932) p. 186.

11. "Muqaddima" and "Fatat lubnan," *Fatat Lubnan* 1 (Jan. 1914) pp. 2–5.
12. "al-Muqaddima," *al-Arus* 1 (Dec. 1910) p. 2.
13. "al-Mar'a wa al-musawa," *al-Arus* 6 (Aug. 1920) pp. 198–201.
14. Sakakini, *al-Khatarat*, p. 137.
15. "al-Nahda al-nisa'iya fi al-'alam," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* 1 (April 1921) p. 4.
16. "Fi Matla' al-sana al-thalitha," and "Naghma lam ta'tuq ba'du," *al-Fajr* 3 (Jan. 1921) pp. 2, 3.
17. Untitled introduction, *Nur al-fayha'* 1 (Feb. 1, 1920) p. 3.
18. "Muqaddima," *al-Khidr*, 5 (July-Aug. 1923) p. 4.
19. USNA, RG 84— Damascus, consul to secretary of state, May 29, 1922; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 122–26.
20. "al-Majlis al-niyabi al-lubnani: qarar khatir yuhimm al-mar'a," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* 3 (April 1, 1923) p. 132.
21. Ibid. None of the censuses taken in the early 1920s was considered reliable, even by the French government; however, no census I have seen even remotely suggested such an imbalance in the population between men and women.
22. "al-Mar'a al-lubnaniya: fi nazar nuwab al-balad," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* 4 (1924) pp. 296–98.
23. "Li al-huquq jadida natlubuha," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* 4 (1924) pp. 229–32.
24. Tresse, "Manifestations féminines," pp. 118–20.
25. "Haquq al-mar'a al-'arabiya qabl al-islam wa ba'dihi," *Nur al-Fayha'* 1 (Feb. 1920) pp. 4–8; "al-Mar'a al-jadida wa al-mar'a al-qadima," *al-Mar'a* 2 (Feb. 1932) pp. 65–66.
26. Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," pp. 290–91.
27. "Muhammad wa al-mar'a," *al-Haris* 5 (Feb. 1928) pp. 353–61; "Khadija," *al-Hadith* 2 (Jan. 1928) pp. 28–31.
28. "Haquq al-mar'a al-'arabiya qabl al-islam wa ba'dihi," *Nur al-fayha'* 1 (Feb. 1, 1920) pp. 4–8; "Al-Mar'a fi waq'a Karbala," *al-Irfan* 16 (Nov. 1928) pp. 361–68.
29. Stowasser, "Women and Citizenship in the Qur'an"; Spellberg, "Political Action and Public Example."
30. Najib Salim Jabr, "Nahdat al-mar'a," *Lisan al-hal*, Oct. 21, 1920, p. 3; Bulus al-Khuli, "Naghma lam ta'tuq ba'du," *al-Fajr* 3 (Jan. 1921) pp. 6–7; Rufa'il, *A'mal al-mar'a fi al-harb al-kubra*, pp. 7–8.
31. Gelvin, "Popular Mobilization," p. 290–91; "Introduction," and "Double Helix," in Higgonet, *Behind the Lines*, pp. 1–17, 31–47.
32. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, p. 134; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, pp. 238–39.
33. "A'du makanan li al-mar'a," *al-Arus* 10 (May 1924) pp. 171–77.
34. Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes*, p. 4.
35. Hause and Kenney, *Women's Suffrage*, pp. 235–47.

36. "Notes sociales: La fausse guerrière," *Le Réveil*, Jan. 3, 1930.
37. Article eight, in Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 377.

CHAPTER 7

1. Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 113–114; Nahid, *Nisa' min baladi*, pp. 94–99. Nazira's father was Sa'id Zayn al-Din.
2. "Kitab al-sufur wa al-hijab," *al-Bashir*, May 5, 1928.
3. "al-Anisa Nazira Zayn al-Din," *al-Haris* 5 (May 1928) p. 641.
4. According to historian Abdul-Karim Rafeq, who grew up in Idlib in this period, Christian women in northern Syria wore thin black veils when going to the market, but were discouraged from wearing them at church.
5. Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, pp. 18–23, 52; Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 49–51.
6. Nahid, *Nisa' min baladi*, pp. 74–77. Nazira Janbalat did, however, pose unveiled for a regal studio photograph in the 1930s. See Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, p. 16.
7. Zayn al-Din, *al-Sufur wa al-hijab*, p. 22.
8. Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, p. 22–26; Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, pp. 117–18; Howard, *King-Crane Commission*, p. 111.
9. Interview with Sara Shahbandar by Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, p. 237.
10. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, p. 93.
11. Göle, *Forbidden Modern*, pp. 57–73.
12. Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society."
13. Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," p. 31.
14. USNA, Internal Affairs related to Asia, microfilm series M722/roll 8, Allen to secretary of state, Nov. 16, 1922.
15. "al-Mar'a al-turkiya al-jadida," *al-Mar'a al-jadida* 4 (1924) pp. 489–96.
16. Tresse, "Manifestations féminines," p. 119.
17. "Nahda al-turkiya al-'asriya," *al'Arus* 10 (April 1924) pp. 69–73; "Nisa' suriya wa nisa' turkiya," *al'Arus* 10 (Oct. 1924) pp. 427–32.
18. "Bint al-hijab: bayn al-'illa wa al-tabib," *al-Khidr* 5 (May 1924) pp. 557–60. See also the satirical poem on veiling in *al-Rabi'* 1 (March 1925) pp. 20–25.
19. Elias, *Tatawwur al-sihafa al-suriya*, pp. 252–53.
20. *al-Muqtabas*: "al-Sufur wa al-hijab," Nov. 13, 1924; "La Sufur wa la hijab," Dec. 4, 1924; "al-Hijab," Nov. 11, 1925.
21. Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, pp. 110–11; see also Tarcici above.

22. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, pp. 124–41.
23. Zayn al-Din, *al-Sufur wa al-hijab*, pp. 16–22.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
25. Reprinted in *Le Réveil*, May 3, 1928, pp. 1–2.
26. Translated and reprinted in Zayn al-Din, *al-Fatat wa al-shuyukh*, part II, p. 3.
27. Abdullah Rizqallah Khayr, “al-Sufur wa al-hijab,” *Minirva* 6 (1928) p. 495.
28. Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, p. 103; “Kitab al-sufur wa al-hijab,” *Majallat al-majma‘ al-‘ilmi al-‘arabi* 8 (July-Aug. 1928) pp. 501–08.
29. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, p. 93, note 20, p. 275.
30. Shaykh Maghribi, “Kitab al-sufur wa al-hijab,” *Majallat al-majma‘ al-‘ilmi al-‘arabi* 8 (July-Aug. 1928) p. 505.
31. al-Jabi, *Kashf al-niqab*, front cover.
32. Naja, *Bayan mashru‘iyat al-hijab*, pp. 1, 10–11.
33. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, “Conseil communal musulman,” memo on election, Nov. 22, 1928 and “Candidature de Mustapha Ghélaini,” report 329 by Rizkallah, May 17, 1933; Commins, *Islamic Reform*, p. 135; Sakakini, *al-Khatarat*, page “ba” of Ghalayini’s introduction to the book. See also *al-Nibras*, a religious journal founded by Ghalayini in 1909.
34. Ghalayini, *Nazarat fi kitab*, pp. 5–6, 14, 21–25, 32. Qassim Amin’s book was rumored to have been written at the urging of Lord Cromer, the British ruler in Egypt; see Ahmed, *Women and Gender*, p. 159.
35. Zayn al-Din, *al-Fatat wa al-shuyukh*, p. 12.
36. “Hadith ma‘ al-anisa Nazira Zayn al-Din,” *Minirva* 6 (1929) pp. 618–24.
37. Ghalayini, *Nazarat fi kitab*, p. 30.
38. “Al-Din al-islami huwa al-din al-rasmi li al-hukuma suriya,” *al-Istiqlal*, July 6, 1928, as quoted in Elias, *Tatawwur al-sihafa al-suriya*, p. 253.
39. Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, p. 102; letter from Raghib Jabri, *Les Echos*, Feb. 3, 1929, p. 3.
40. Woodsmall, *Muslim Women Enter*, p. 50; “al-Sufur wa al-hijab,” *Minirva* 6 (1928) p. 499.
41. Tresse, “Manifestations féminines,” p. 120.
42. Salam, *Jawla fi dhikrayat*, pp. 148–51.
43. I owe my thoughts here to Milani, *Veils and Words*, pp. 46–73.
44. On roots in medieval Islamic thought, see Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil*, pp. 27–45.
45. “al-Kalima al-ula,” *al-Mar’a* 1 (Oct. 1930) pp. 1–4.
46. “al-Maslaha al-kabira,” *Minirva* 7 (1930) pp. 585–86.
47. “Ihda za‘imat al-nahda al-nisa’iya,” *al-Naqid* 3 (May 22, 1930) p. 4.
48. Khalidi, *Jawla fi dhikrayat*, pp. 151–52.

49. Elias, *Tatawwur al-sihafa al-suriya*, p. 254.
50. USNA, RG 84— Syria, microfilm T1177/roll 3, excerpt from *L'Orient*, Nov. 21, 1933.
51. "Qu'en disent les garçonnnes?," "Les Cheveux coupés devant l'histoire," and "La Fausse guerrière," *Le Réveil*, Nov. 19 and Dec. 7, 1925 and Jan. 3, 1930; Lecerf, "La Crise vestimentaire," pp. 80–87.
52. Harry, "La Syrienne de Jerusalem à Bagdad."
53. Massé, *Deuxième Congrès musulman*, p. 96.
54. "La Femme orientale et occidentale," *Les Echos*, Feb. 8, 1935.
55. "La Journée du féminisme syrien," *Les Echos*, Feb. 9, 1935, pp. 1, 4.
56. "L'Abolition du 'voile' de la femme en Syrie" (part II) and "La Vertu offensée," *Les Echos*, April 12, 1935, p. 1 and Aug. 24, 1935, p. 1.
57. "L'Abolition du 'voile' de la femme en Syrie" (part III), *Les Echos*, April 13, 1935, p. 6; Amal al-Jaza'iri, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 28, 1992.
58. "Les Féministes damascaines se rendraient à Istanbul . . .," *Les Echos*, April 13, 1935, p. 3.
59. "Des Jeunes gens de Damas demandent l'abolition du voile," *Les Echos*, April 27, 1935, p. 3.
60. Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," pp. 22–47.
61. Baron, "Unveiling in Early Twentieth-Century Egypt."
62. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, p. 93.

CHAPTER 8

1. There had been two previous meetings, in 1919 and in 1927, the latter founding the union.
2. "Le Congrès féminin à Beyrouth," *Le Réveil*, June 30, 1928; al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwar al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 111, 136; Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, p. 120.
3. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, pp. 124–41; Kumar, *History of Doing*, pp. 32–52; Koven and Michel, *Mothers of a New World*.
4. "al-Mu'tamar al-nisa'i," *al-Khidr* 8 (May 1927) pp. 300–6.
5. "al-Umuma wazifati," *al-Amali* 1 (Jan. 27, 1939) pp. 4–7.
6. "Majlis al-ittihad al-a'la li al-mu'tamar al-nisa'i al-sharqi al-'amm," *al-Mar'a* 1 (Jan. 1931) pp. 126–27; "L'Union générale des femmes de l'Orient," *Bulletin de l'Enseignement* 10 (May 1933) pp. 441–44.
7. Massé, *Deuxième Congrès musulman*, p. 57.
8. "al-Nahda al-nisa'iya fi suriya wa lubnan," *al-Thaqafa*, 1 (April 5, 1933), pp. 64–66.
9. "Ihda za'imat al-nahda al-nisa'iya," *al-Naqid* 1 (May 22, 1930), p. 3.

10. "Femmes et féminisme," *Les Echos*, Nov. 25, 1928, p. 3.
11. "Ihda za'imat al-nahda al-nisa'iya," *al-Naqid* 1 (May 22, 1930) p. 4.
12. "Ayyatuha al-ukht al-'aziza," *al-Mar'a* 1 (Dec. 1930) p. 69.
13. On support for the 1930 Eastern Women's Conference see *al-Sha'b*, June 22, 1930, p. 1; June 29, 1930, p. 1, June 30, 1930, p. 2. The paper's articles on the 1935 conferences also supported women's rights, including the vote: Feb. 11, 1935 and Dec. 25, 1935, p. 10.
14. Amal al-Jaza'iri, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 28, 1992.
15. Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, Bushra Shaykh al-Ard, and Amal al-Husseini, personal interviews, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.
16. "Et le Féminisme en Syrie," *Les Echos*, March 3, 1929, p. 1.
17. "Ila shaiqati al-mar'a," *Minirva* 6 (1929) pp. 640–642.
18. "Tatawwur al-qadiya al-nisa'iya fi suriya," *al-Thaqafa* 1 (July 5, 1933) pp. 361–365.
19. Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," pp. 228–29.
20. "Les Féministes libanaises veulent être juges et maires," *Les Echos*, Feb. 23, 1935, p. 4.
21. Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 98; al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 46–47.
22. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, pp. 227–30.
23. Amal al-Jaza'iri, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 28, 1992.
24. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 390, Sûreté report 4718, Oct. 21, 1932.
25. Dahir, *Tarikh lubnan al-ijtima'i*, p. 241.
26. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, "Conseil communal musulman," reports 1928–33, and "Chiïtes du Liban," 1930s reports.
27. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 274, "Réforme du Statut personnel," Gennardi to HC, 1928, p. 13.
28. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 511, Helleu to MAE, Sept. 15, 1933; see, for example, *al-Bashir*: Aug. 5, 1924; Feb. 16, 1928; April 28, 1928; *Le Réveil*, May 10, 1928.
29. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 596, "Maronites," letters and speeches of the patriarch, 1935–37; USNA, RG 84— Syria, microfilm T1178/roll 3, "The Jesuits and Lebanon after the Great War," May 25, 1942.
30. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, "Note sur les questions relatives au statut personnel," May 24, 1934.
31. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 274, "Réforme du Statut personnel," Gennardi to HC, 1928, p. 27.
32. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 163–71.
33. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 340.
34. Solh, "Attitude of Arab Nationalists," p. 158.
35. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2920, "Loi sur le droit de famille"; Tucker, "Revisiting Reform: Women and the Ottoman Law of Family Rights."

36. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 607, HC to Lebanese délégué, June 19, 1930.
37. Assaf, *Compétence des tribunaux*, pp. 143–49; articles on Eddé's proposal and patriarchs' reaction, *al-Bashir*, April 26 and 28, 1928.
38. Based on a survey of the following dossiers: MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592 and carton 2920; MAE-Paris/1, vols. 274, 510, 511.
39. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 274, "Réforme du Statut personnel," Gennardi to HC, 1928, p. 35; vol. 510, de Martel to MAE, March 10, 1933; vol. 511, de Martel to MAE, Dec. 29, 1933.
40. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, dossier on background to personal status law. The conference included the Maronite, Greek Catholic, and Syrian Catholic churches.
41. "La Défense de la Race," *Les Echos*, Feb. 23, 1935, p. 4.
42. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, "Statut personnel—dossier général," government editorial printed in *al-Bashir*, March 24, 1939.
43. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, "Statut des communautés religieuses," Arrêté 146/LR, Nov. 18, 1938 and Arrêté 60/LR, March 13, 1936; USNA, Lebanon 1930–44, microfilm 31222/roll 5, "Status of Religious Communities in Syria and the Lebanon," despatch 181, Palmer to Washington, Jan. 17, 1939, enclosures.
44. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, "Protestation-Statut communautés," telegram from Qassab, March 16, 1939 and other telegrams dated Feb. and March 1939; al-Hakim, *Suriya wa al-intidab*, pp. 286–90. Qassab was a veteran of the Faysal-era populist militias, see Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, pp. 91–96.
45. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, "Statut des communautés religieuses," Arrêté 53/LR, March 30, 1939; Puaux, *Deux Années au Levant*, pp. 31–39; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 490–91, 575–78.
46. "Ajlwiba al-iqtirah— ma huwa ra'yik bi-zawaj al-madani?" *al-'Arus* 6 (April 1920) p. 95.
47. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 592, "Statut personnel—dossier général," Puaux to MAE, March 22, 1939 and memo, Feb. 15, 1939.
48. Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, pp. 54–55.

CHAPTER 9

1. Jovelet, "L'Evolution sociale et politique," pp. 615–16; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 360.
2. MAE-Rapport (1934) pp. 28–31; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 216.
3. See chapters one and five. In 1933 and 1937 reports, the French dismissed reports of artisans' unemployment as inconsequential: MAE-Nantes/1, carton

- 2921, "Note sur la décadence de l'artisanat, le chômage et les moyens d'y remédier" and MAE-Rapport (1938), pp. 22–23. Hanna argues that the French routinely underestimated the number of unemployed: Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*, pp. 385–86.
4. Longuenesse, "Classe ouvrière en Syrie," pp. 26, 49.
 5. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 959, Sûreté report 2971, June 29, 1933 and "Requête adressée à Son Excellence le Haut Commissaire, Dec. 14, 1933; carton 2921, "Note sur la décadence de l'artisanat . . ." (1933), pp. 4, 9.
 6. Longuenesse, "Travail et rapports de production," p. 167.
 7. "al-Mar'a wa wajibatuha," *al-Mawrid al-safi* 14 (Feb. 1929) pp. 160–62; Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 36; Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, p. 52.
 8. *Majallat al-mu'allimin wa al-mu'allimat* 4 (Oct. 1934) pp. 25–26.
 9. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2921, "Travail des enfants . . .," Arrêté 6/T, April 16, 1935, report on Egyptian labor law and "Accidents du Travail," various reports, 1921–36; MAE-Rapport (1935), Lebanese law of April 17, 1935 on children's and women's work in industry, pp. 211–15; MAE-Rapport (1936) description of Syrian law, DL 32, June 14, 1936, p. 94.
 10. The 1934 Lebanese law (DL 294) and the 1935 Syrian law (DL 152) revised the 1912 Ottoman corporation law that required unions to include both employers and workers in each industry, subjected them to tight state supervision, and banned federations among workers of differing industries. See Sanadiki, "Mouvement syndical en Syrie," pp. 55–70; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 221–33.
 11. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 237.
 12. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, "L'Affaire Dr. Kayali," 1934.
 13. Longuenesse, "Classe ouvrière en Syrie," p. 49. For workers' nationalist sympathies, see a typesetters' union pamphlet proclaiming Arab solidarity and the need to build a national economy: "Bayan al-mu'tamar al-ta'sisi li-'usbat al-'amal al-qawmi al-matba'a al-'asriya" (Qarnil, Lebanon, 1933) 27 pp.
 14. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 222–30; Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 160–70, 173–77.
 15. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 268, 457–64.
 16. al-Malla, *Safahat min tarikh al-hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 77–79, 99–100; Jazmati, *al-Hizb al-shiyu'i al-suri*, p. 106.
 17. Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*, pp. 442–70; Longuenesse, "Classe ouvrière en Syrie" pp. 53–59; Sanadiki, "Mouvement syndical en Syrie," pp. 70–77; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 237–50.
 18. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 737, "Parti communiste," Rafik Rida to League of Nations, March 1939.
 19. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 173.

20. MAE-Rapport (1937) p. 164 and (1938), p. 98; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 238–39; Nasr and Dubar, *Classes sociales*, p. 232.
21. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 606, Sûreté report 4128, July 26, 1938.
22. MAE-Nantes/1, “Parti communiste,” Rafik Rida to League of Nations, March 1939; Ismael and Ismael, *Communist Movement*, p. 18.
23. Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.
24. MAE-Rapport (1938) p. 157.
25. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 737, “Rapport annuel de la Société pour le relèvement de l’artisanat libanais,” p. 1.
26. MAE-Rapport (1938) pp. 164–65. Civil servant figures exclude Alexandretta, which was ceded to Turkey in 1939.
27. Budgets cited here and in the rest of this chapter are drawn from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ annual reports on Syria and Lebanon to the League of Nations, 1929–1938.
28. Gaulmier, “Notes sur le mouvement syndicaliste,” pp. 113–14.
29. MAE-Rapport (1938) pp. 92–93, 155; “Les fêtes jubilaires du R. P. Chanteur,” *La Croix*, May 24, 1938.
30. MAE-Rapport (1938) pp. 92–93, 155; (1937) pp. 94, 160–62; (1936) pp. 91–92, 152–53; (1930) pp. 89–91, 144–45, 194–95.
31. MAE-Rapport (1937) pp. 54–55, 94, 160–61; (1938) pp. 92–93, 155.
32. “Les droits de l’Hygiène,” *Le Réveil*, Oct. 30, 1925; “Sihhat al-sha‘b bayn al-ihmal wa al-shuhh,” *al-Muqtabas*, July 31, 1927, and “Fi sabil al-sihha al-‘amma: suq al-ghanam,” *al-Muqtabas*, Nov. 17, 1927.
33. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, petition dated Dec. 17, 1934, p. 2.
34. “al-Mudiriya al-‘amma li al-sihha wa al-is‘af al-‘amm fi suriya,” *Dimashq* (Sept. 1, 1940) p. 3.
35. Zamir, *Lebanon’s Quest*, pp. 76–83; Atiyah, “Attitude of the Lebanese Sunnis,” pp. 136–37; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 202.
36. “4000 Enfants éliminés des écoles de l’Etat,” *Les Echos*, Oct. 16, 1929, p. 1.
37. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 735, “Musulmans de Tripoli: subventions scolaires,” Nov. 25, 1937; carton 736, petition dated Oct. 12, 1935.
38. “al-Ta‘lim al-ajjabi wa siyasatu,” *al-Sha‘b*, March 20, 1930; “Ra’y anisa suriya fi al-mar’a wa al-ta‘lim,” *al-Naqid* 13 (July 31, 1930) p. 14; J.A. Babikian, “Civilization and Education in Syria and Lebanon,” (Beirut, 1936) manuscript housed at the French Institute, Damascus, pp. 75, 243–45.
39. Sanadiki, “Mouvement syndical en Syrie,” pp. 175–77.
40. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 596, translation of speech by Maronite Patriarch ‘Arida, Dec. 1937; Deuxième Semaine Sociale, *L’Ecole et l’éducation nationale*, p. 67–68.
41. MAE-Rapport (1933) p. 79. The argument was repeated in other 1930s

- annual reports. The French, for their own purposes here, hid behind the requirement of the mandate charter that they respect local laws.
42. MAE-Rapport (1938) pp. 139–41.
 43. MAE-Rapport (1930) p. 198 and (1938) p. 215.
 44. Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*, pp. 422–23. On women's use of French and American models, see articles on conferences with French feminists in *Les Echos*, Feb. 9 and 12, 1935, and the repeated references to American women's movements in *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (*The New Woman*) in the 1920s.
 45. In a typical year, 1936, the joint Syrian-Lebanese waqf administration spent 25,500 LLS (510,000 francs) on these areas of social services, compared to the more than 1.5 million LLS (30 million francs) that the states spent on education alone. MAE-Rapport (1936) pp. 62, 182.
 46. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 596, "Discours prononcé par S.B. Mgr. Antoine Pierre Arida . . . Décembre 1937," (translation from Arabic).

PART 4 INTRODUCTION

1. "Le Monde renversé—ou chacun son tour!" *Les Echos*, March 24, 1929, p. 1.
2. "Li-yasfuru al-rajil qabl al-mar'a: hal fi lubnan sha'b kamil al-rujula yaghdabu li-karama," *al-Sha'b*, March 21, 1930, p. 1.
3. "al-Mar'a fi al-sinama wa 'ala al-trutwar wa fi al-'uzla . . . fi kull makan," *al-Dabbur*, June 14, 1943, p. 8.
4. I am indebted to Benedict Anderson for my initial conceptualization of the virtual public; however, my understanding of nationalism in Syria and Lebanon departs from his explanation of colonial nationalism, which tends to privilege the nationalism of elites who accepted the boundaries set by colonizers, and to de-emphasize the rival nationalisms of competing groups within colonial society. See his *Imagined Communities*, esp. pp. 9–36, 113–40.
5. See introduction to Part One. My thinking on these issues has been inspired partly by recent critiques of Habermas and by historical scholarship on the public sphere and the French Revolution: Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*; Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*; Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life"; and in the forum entitled "The Public Sphere in the Eighteenth Century" in *French Historical Studies*. Also useful was Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*.

CHAPTER 10

1. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve*, pp. 277–328.
2. Deguilhem, “Le Café à Damas,”; al-Jarrah, *Ayyami kanat ghaniya*, pp. 8–9, 25, 29; Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve*, p. 285; P. Khoury, “Syrian Urban Politics”; Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, pp. 82–83.
3. Raymond, *Grandes villes*, passim; Rafeq, “City and Countryside”; Rafeq, “Craft Organization”; Davie, “L’Espace communautaire orthodoxe”; David, “L’Espace des chrétiens à Alep.”
4. Hasan, *Hadith dimashqi*, pp. 233–35; al-Jarrah, *Ayyami kanat ghaniya*, pp. 49–51; Tarcici, *L’Education actuelle*, pp. 35–36.
5. Beyhum and David, “Les Espaces du public.”
6. Marcus, *Middle East on the Eve*, pp. 230–31; Rafeq, “Public Morality,” p. 189.
7. David, “Les Paysages urbaines d’Alep,” pp. 209–53
8. al-Shihabi, *Dimashq*, pp. 31–35, 227–33; Lecerf, “Littérature dialectale.”
9. Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*, pp. 61–102; Debbas, *Beirut, Our Memory*, pp. 31–95.
10. Daghestani, *Famille musulmane*, p. 84; “Damas, la Verte,” *Le Réveil*, April 14, 1928.
11. “Fi Sahat al-ittihad,” *al-Naqid* 1 (July 10, 1930), back cover.
12. Gilsenan, *Recognizing Islam*, pp. 192–214; Wright, “Tradition in the Service of Modernity”; Danger, “Urbanisme en Syrie.”
13. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 305; MAE-Nantes/1, “Organisation du mouled chez Hadj Mohamed Kabsoueh,” Aleppo, July 4, 1935, “De la Cérémonie du mouled,” Damascus, Sept. 14, 1937 and “Fête du mouled à Damas,” April 10, 1941.
14. Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*, p. 52.
15. Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs*, pp. 72–98.
16. Hasan, *Hadith dimashqi*, pp. 125–30.
17. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, vol. 368, letters to Case Electric Corp., Oct 23, 1935 and to National Silver Co., Sept. 13, 1935; vol. 367, “Electric Power Development 1934,” March 12, 1935 and letter to United Electrical Mfg. Co., May 21, 1935; vol. 330, letters to Syracuse Washing Machine Co., July 12, 1932, and to General Kontrolar Co., May 6, 1932; vol. 256, “Plumbing Supply Market,” March 20, 1927, “Brushes,” Nov. 9, 1927 and “Market for Aluminum Kitchen Utensils,” Nov. 14, 1927.
18. Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 25–26.
19. Daher, “Some Remarks on the Growth of Beirut,” p. 493.
20. “Echos mondains,” *Les Echos*, Jan. 27, 1929.

21. Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, p. 25; "al-Mar'a fi al-sinama wa 'ala al-trutwar wa fi al-'uzla . . . wa fi kull makan!" *al-Dabbur* 21 (June 14, 1943) p. 8.
22. Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 74–75.
23. Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 50–52; Daghestani, *Famille musulmane*, pp. 126–131; Shaaban, *Both Right and Left Handed*, pp. 43, 50.
24. AIU, Archives Liban—dossier I.C.1, Picciotto to AIU, Dec. 4, 1928.
25. Daghestani, *Famille musulmane*, pp. 80–83, 131–32.
26. al-Kuzbari, 'Anbar wa ramad, passim; Tergeman, *Daughter of Damascus*, pp. 110–111; Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, pp. 32–35.
27. MWT, Awraq Fakhri al-Barudi, dossiers 84 and 85 on the "Commission syrienne de récupération des biens pillés," Sept. 1945; Stevens, *Cedars, Saints and Sinners*, p. 57.
28. Qurtas, *Dhikrayat*, pp. 32, 56–57.
29. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 54, annual report, Sept. 18, 1939; Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, p. 186.
30. Guides Bleus, *Syrie-Palestine* (1932), pp. 2–3.
31. Syria, *Recueil des statistiques . . .* (1928–1968), p. 112; Faris, *Electric Power in Syria*, pp. 73–137, 145–150, 270–271.
32. USNA, RG 59—Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Report 731, pp. 24, 39; Woodsmall, *Moslem Women Enter*, pp. 22–26.
33. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, p. 194.
34. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 54, various reports, 1939.
35. Etat de Syrie, *Bulletin médical annuel* (1925) p. 77.
36. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 361, "Service Automobile—Circulation routière," Arrete 15/LR, Jan. 18, 1934 and memo on contrôle routier, Jan. 22, 1935.
37. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 732, Sami Sleem to League of Nations, Dec. 3, 1934, and HC response, Jan. 17, 1935.
38. "Si Vous le savez," *Les Echos*, Nov. 25, 1928.
39. "Ayna timshi al-mar'a," *al-Haris* 5 (Feb. 1928) p. 366.

CHAPTER 11

1. "Accostement des femmes," *Les Echos*, May 31, 1934.
2. USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Lebanon 1930–44, microfilm T1177/roll 1, Goold to secretary of state, June 23, 1931.
3. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 179–83.
4. USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Lebanon, microfilm T1177/roll 1, Barakat to HC, Jan. 22, 1936 (translation by embassy).

5. USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Lebanon, microfilm T1177/roll 1, Goold to secretary of state, Oct. 19, 1931 (translation by embassy).
6. USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Syria 1930–44, microfilm T1177/roll 4, “Constitution of the State of Syria,” Steger to Senator Connelly, Oct. 27, 1937, enclosure no. 1. Similar language was included in the 1926 Lebanese constitution, found in the same file.
7. “Et le Féminisme en Syrie,” *Les Echos*, March 3, 1929; Tresse, “Manifestations féminines,” pp. 115–18, 124.
8. AIU, Archives Syrie—dossier I.C.5 Damas, Silberstein to president, Dec. 23, 1931.
9. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 959, “Requête de M. Toufic a/s de la mort de sa femme,” Nov. 1933–Jan. 1934; MWT, Awraq Nazih Mu’ayyad al-‘Azm, dossier 48/document 7, 1964 speech to the Lawyers’ Club entitled “al-Jala,” pp. 6–7; Tresse, “Manifestations féminines,” p. 121. Jabiri’s nephew was Nasib al-Jabiri: see Méouchy, “Formes de conscience,” p. 229.
10. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, de Martel to MAE, Nov. 30, 1934. The various documents relating to this incident are collected in the dossier “1934–35: Petitions to the League of Nations.”
11. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, de Martel to MAE, Nov. 30, 1934, and Manset to de Martel, Nov. 26, 1934. For similar tactics by Palestinian women, see Fleischmann, “Nation and its ‘New’ Women,” pp. 224–27, 267–72, 281–86.
12. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, telegram no. 729, Nov. 23, 1934.
13. Ibid., telegram, Nov. 20, 1934.
14. Ibid., telegram, Nov. 23, 1934.
15. Ibid., Syndicat des Savetiers à Hama to de Martel, Nov. 20, 1934.
16. Ibid., de Martel to MAE, Dec. 14, 1934.
17. Ibid., undated letter signed by Barudi, sent by the deputy HC for Syria to de Martel, Nov. 24, 1934 (translated from French by author).
18. AHCJ, Fonds Jalabert—chemise L, “L’Oeuvre française en Syrie et au Liban,” transcript of radio interview, Oct. 16, 1934.
19. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 730, Manset to Syrian deputy HC, Nov. 26, 1934, emphasis added.
20. Ibid., de Martel to MAE, Nov. 30, 1934.
21. Ibid., de Martel to MAE, Dec. 14, 1934.
22. French documents named only six of the eleven arrested, those who had been fined but not jailed: Farida Mazhar Bey Kubursi, Ni’amat Bint Kamal Arzrumli, Maymuna Bint Ahmad Sirmayati, Zaynab Bint ‘Abdu al-Kurdi, Fawziya Bint Ahmad al-Fakhani, and Badriya Bint Shukri Mahasin.
23. On workers’ participation, see chapter nine.
24. AIU, Archives Syrie—dossier I.C.5 Damas, Silberstein to president, Feb. 11,

- 1936 and Mamane to president, March 15, 1936; Tresse, "Manifestations féminines," p. 122; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 457–61.
25. AIU, Archives Liban—dossier I.C.1 Beyrouth, Penso to president, Nov. 20, 1936; Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 190, 196, 207–10; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 221–22.
 26. Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," p. 229.
 27. Tresse, "Manifestations féminines," pp. 122–24; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 136, petition, June 6, 1938.
 28. al-Hafiz, *al-Hafiziyyat*, pp. 75–80.
 29. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 737, petitions from Ihsan Cherif, March 30, lawyers of Homs, April 1, Communist Party, April 3, and Lycée Maaret al-Noman, April 3, 1939.
 30. "Heil Hitler dans les souks de Damas," *Les Echos*, April 4, 1935, p. 2.
 31. Yamak, *Syrian Social Nationalist Party*, pp. 54–56, 89–91; Mendel and Müller, "Fascist Tendencies," pp. 3–4; CHEAM, report no. 6 bis, "Chemises de Fer," pp. 15–18; Wild, "National Socialism," p. 132. The CHEAM report claims the SNP had 6,000 members in the 1930s.
 32. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 401–27; Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," pp. 225–28.
 33. "Les Jeunesses Patriotes forment les 'Chemises de Fer,'" *Les Echos*, April 8, 1936; "Un Quart d'heure avec Dr. Seifeddine Maamoun," *Les Echos*, Aug. 16, 1936; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, "Note concernant les formations de 'Jeunesses nationalistes' ou 'Extremistes' para-militaires dans les Etats du Levant sous mandat français," July 15, 1936.
 34. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, "A/S Manifestation des Chemises de fer," Sept. 21, 1936; "Note documentaire sur les formations paramilitaires de la Syrie et du Liban," Aug. 14, 1937; various Sûreté reports on the Chemise de fer and l'Insigne blanc, July 1936–Aug. 1937; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 474.
 35. Entelis, *Pluralism and Party Formation*, pp. 44–54; Salibi, *Modern History of Lebanon*, p. 182; Petran, *Struggle Over Lebanon*, pp. 42–43.
 36. Mendel and Müller, "Fascist Tendencies," pp. 1–17; Wild, "National Socialism," pp. 126–73; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 406–409, 434–441, 468–476. Mendel and Müller agree with Wild that European fascists' economic ideas appealed to the anti-bourgeois sentiment among youth. Khoury sees the origin of the groups mainly in local social formations, like boy scout troops, and local conditions, particularly the 1936 general strike.
 37. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, "A/S Manifestation des Chemises de Fer," Sept. 21, 1936.

38. "Quwat almanya al-haqiqiya bi shababihi al-waththab," *al-Sha'b*, Aug. 7, 1935, pp. 1, 4 (*al-Sha'b* had also published Hitler's speech at the Reichstag on May 20–21, 1933); "La hayat li-suriya illa idha nahdat fiha al-zira'a," *al-Sadan al-iqtisadi* 1 (March 16, 1936) pp. 1–2; Wild, "National Socialism," pp. 147–49.
39. See *Bayrut*: Inaugural editorial, July 27, 1936, p. 1, "Hitler ma'bud al-alman," Aug. 16–17, 1936, p. 1 and "Hitler's Views on Women," Jan. 18, 1940, p. 1.
40. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, Sûreté reports, Damascus, Aug. 29, 1936 and Aleppo, July 23, 1936 and Meyrier to MAE, July 3 and Aug. 28, 1936; CHEAM, report no. 6 bis, p. 3; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 401; Haddad, *Phalanges libanaises*, pp. 136–37; Davie, *Beyrouth et ses faubourgs*, pp. 96–97.
41. "al-Hizb al-suri al-qawmi," *al-Sha'b*, Dec. 8, 1935, pp. 1, 4.
42. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, "Foire," June 15, 1936; Sûreté reports, Homs, Sept. 9, 1936, Hama, Dec. 16, 1936 and Damascus, June 29, Sept. 4 and Oct. 4, 1936; "Les forgerons de Damas préparent deux milles sabres . . ." undated press clip.
43. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 735, Phalanges to League of Nations, Nov. 23, 1937; Entelis, *Pluralism and Party Formation*, pp. 53–54, 104; Haddad, *Phalanges libanaises*, pp. 136–37.
44. Yamak, *Syrian Nationalist Party*, p. 58; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 734, brochure submitted to League of Nations, Aug. 12, 1936.
45. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, Sûreté report 527/s, Damascus, Sept. 16, 1936, de Martel to MAE, Oct. 11, 1936, Sûreté report 8584, Aleppo, Oct. 12, 1936; Leneveu to Mohafez/Alep, Oct. 26, 1936, Sûreté reports 323, Hama, Jan. 21, 1937, Homs, Jan. 28 and March 5, 1938, 1230 and 3133, Damascus, March 16 and April 27, 1938, 1386, Hama, March 23, 1938, 2625 and 4823, Aleppo, May 14 and Sept. 3, 1938; carton 734, petition from l'Insigne Blanc; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 470.
46. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, Sûreté reports 492, 2463 and 3591, Damascus, Jan. 30, May 13 and July 23, 1937.
47. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, Sûreté report, Damascus, Oct. 4, 1936; "Les Jeunesses Patriotes forment les 'Chemises de Fer,'" *Les Echos*, April 8, 1936.
48. *Bayrut*, front-page editorials July 27 and 28, 1936.
49. De Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women*, pp. 147–65; Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*, pp. 175–219.
50. SHAT, carton 7N-4190, "Italian Propaganda (1938)."
51. "Harakat al-shabab al-almani," *al-Amali* 1 (Feb. 10, 1939) pp. 752–753; "Hitler's Views on Women," *Bayrut*, Jan. 18, 1940, p. 1.
52. "Turkish Women Preferred in Army," *Bayrut*, Nov. 9, 1936, p. 2; photo of Spanish women soldiers, *Bayrut*, Aug. 7, 1936, p. 1; "100 alf imra'a tuharib fi finlanda," *Bayrut*, Jan. 16, 1940, p. 1.

CHAPTER 12

1. Aliksan, *Tarikh al-sinema al-suriya*, pp. 14–16; Suwayd, *Ya Fu'adi*, pp. 30–38; Arabi, “History of Lebanese Cinema,” p. 38. Cinema’s origins are still debated: Arabi dates the first Beirut theater to show films to 1909, while Aliksan dates the first regular film programs in the region to Damascus in 1912.
2. Hasan, *Hadith dimashqi*, p. 213; Yusuf Wehbeh, personal correspondence, March 28, 1994.
3. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, vol. 329, “U.S. Survey of Cinemas in Syria and Lebanon,” April 29, 1932.
4. Yusuf Wehbeh, personal interview, Oct. 29, 1992; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, HC to MAE, Sept. 30, 1931 and Pila/MAE, directive to promote French films, June 23, 1931.
5. Abu Riyad Hamdi, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 8, 1992.
6. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 53, “Motion Picture Conditions—Syria,” Oct. 9, 1939; box 89, “Motion Pictures (Syria and Lebanon),” March 9, 1943.
7. Suwayd, *Ya Fu'adi*, pp. 32–38.
8. Two films were made in Lebanon, “Mughamarat Ilyas Mabruk” (1929) and “Mughamarat Abu ‘Abid” (1930) by Italian-born Jordano Pidutti, and two in Syria, “al-Muttaham al-bari” (1928) and “Taht sama’ Dimashq” (1932), by local filmmakers: Dehni, “History of the Syrian Cinema,” pp. 98–101; L. Khoury, “History of the Lebanese Cinema,” pp. 120–21; Aliksan, *Tarikh al-sinema al-suriya*, pp. 22–33; Arabi, “History of Lebanese Cinema,” pp. 40–46.
9. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, vol. 255, consul to United Pictures Corporation, Sept. 15, 1927. Wage equivalences based on a 1930 exchange rate of 25 francs per dollar (Leisner, *One Hundred Years of Economic Statistics*, pp. 56–57) and average wages of Damascene artisans of 7–12 francs for men and 4–6 francs for women: MAE-Rapport (1933) p. 29.
10. Umm Ahmad, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 16, 1992.
11. Aliksan, *Tarikh al-sinema al-suriya*, p. 20; Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties*, p. 252, n. 62. Gelvin notes that live theater was also highly politicized in the Faysal era (pp. 256–57).
12. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 109, HC to Pichon, Feb. 6, 1919.
13. Yusuf Wehbeh, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 29, 1992.
14. Hasan, *Hadith dimashqi*, p. 213. The film was made in Germany by the Russian director Dimitri Buchowetzki: Katz, *Film Encyclopedia*, p. 189.
15. MAE-Nantes/2, carton 467, “Cinéma au Levant,” HC to MAE, May 12, 1933, addendum.
16. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 74, “Cinéma,” ministre plénipotentiaire-Damas to HC,

- June 3, 1930; HC to délégué-Damas, May 24, 1930; Instruction publique to Chanteur, March 26, 1930.
17. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 53, "Rapports du Service d'Information et de Radiodiffusion," reports from Damascus region, July 2–31, 1943 and from Zouk, Mount Lebanon, Nov. 19, 1945.
 18. Suwayd, *Ya Fu'adi*, pp. 42–43.
 19. USNA, RG 84—Beirut, vol. 369, "Review of the Press," quoting an article in *Le Jour*, Oct. 22, 1935; SHAT, carton 7N-4190, "Italian Propaganda (1938)"; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 492, report on Chemises de fer, Damascus, Oct. 4, 1936.
 20. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 270, "Grève 1922 Etc.," memo on Nov. 1935 events; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 203.
 21. Arrêté no. 2684, July 17, 1929.
 22. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, Pila/MAE to all embassies, June 23, 1931.
 23. Dehni, "History of the Syrian Cinema," pp. 99–101; MWT, Awraq Fakhri al-Barudi, dossier 84, letter from Sharikat al-konsirwa al-suriya, Nov. 9, 1930.
 24. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, Sarraïl to Lebanese governor, Sept. 30, 1925 and text of Arrêté no. 243/L.R., Oct. 18, 1934.
 25. USNA, Internal Affairs of Lebanon 1930–44, microfilm 312272/roll 5, Brandt to secretary of state, May 13, 1929. The film, originally titled "Fazel," was written by Pierre Frondaï and produced by the American Fox Film corporation.
 26. MAE-Nantes/2, carton 467, "Cinéma au Levant," HC to MAE, May 12, 1933, addendum; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, délégué-Syrie to HC, March 6, 1933. The film was entitled "Awlad al-dhawāt" ("Sons of the Notables," in French "Les fils à papa").
 27. L. Khoury, "History of Lebanese Cinema," p. 121; Arabi, "History of Lebanese Cinema," pp. 47–48.
 28. Aliksan, *Tarikh al-sinema al-suriya*, pp. 23–29; Dehni, "History of the Syrian Cinema," p. 99.
 29. Commins, *Islamic Reform*, p. 122.
 30. "Le Théâtre," *Le Réveil*, Oct. 7, 1919; Daghestani, 'Ashaha kullaha, pp. 118–19.
 31. AHCJ, Série Mission du Proche Orient, RPO 81—Action Catholique, "Les Mousquetaires au couvent" et la Jeunesse Catholique de Beyrouth, 1921, and Fonds Jalabert—paquet II/chemise O, untitled reports, Jan. 1921.
 32. "al-Mushakhkhisat," *al-Bashir*, Feb. 16, 1928.
 33. "Cinéma," *Bulletin du Cercle de la jeunesse catholique*, (1928–29) p. 76.
 34. "Qararat al-mu'tamar al-nisa'i," *al-Naqid* 1 (July 10, 1930) p. 4.
 35. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, conseiller/HC to president of Lebanon, May 9, 1933.
 36. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 842, "1933 Sûreté générale," mufti to president of Lebanon, April 9, 1932 (translation).

37. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 842, "1932 Sûreté générale," mufti (Mohamed Toufic Khaled) to president of Lebanon, April 19, 1932 (translation) and report on "La Quarantième Porte," April 1932; "1933 Sûreté générale," report on "Les Rois des Rois," Jan. 1933.
38. MAE-Paris/1, vol. 511, HC to MAE, June 8, 1934; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, "Cinéma."
39. Arrêté no. 165/LR, July 30, 1934.
40. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, "Censure cinématographique 1933–38," report by Cabinet Politique, March 11, 1935.
41. AHCJ, Fonds Jalabert—paquet 26/chemise L, Sautier to Jalabert, April 25, 1935.
42. "Bientôt, devant la Cour d'Appel Correctionnelle," *L'Ecran* 6 (Jan. 22–28, 1940) p. 1; AHCJ, Mission Proche Orient, RPO 82, Congrès de la Jeunesse Catholique, *Pour La Famille* (1935) pp. 39–44.
43. Bowser, *Transformation of Cinema*, pp. 37–39; Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, pp. 114–25.
44. AHCJ, Mission Proche Orient, RPO 82, Congrès de la Jeunesse Catholique, *Pour la Famille* (1935), p. 43.
45. "al-Zawaj min al-ajnabiyat," *Bayrut*, Aug. 15, 1936.
46. Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, pp. 145–152.
47. Prothro and Diab, *Changing Family Patterns*, tables VI-15 and VI-16; Tarcici, *L'Education actuelle*, p. 17.
48. Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.
49. *Le Réveil*, June 20, 23, 26, 1928.
50. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 606, "Politiques musulmanes," Sûreté report, Tripoli, April 2, 1932.
51. MAE-Nantes/2, carton 467, "Cinéma au Levant," HC to MAE, May 12, 1933.
52. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 543, Sûreté report 652, Latakia, Feb. 23, 1935.
53. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 543, Sûreté report 70, Hama, July 25, 1934; de Martel to MAE, Aug. 3, 1934.
54. "al-Sayyidat fi al-sinima," *Bayrut*, Oct. 29, 1936, p. 3.
55. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 606, Sûreté report 1025, Hama, March 4, 1938.
56. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, "Cinéma dans les pays du Levant sous Mandat français."
57. "Des Ulemas se plaignent!" *Les Echos*, June 6, 1934.
58. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 440, Ostrorog to Syrian prime minister, July 20, 1938.
59. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 53, Helleu to Damascus deputy, 1943.
60. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 606, Sûreté report 133, Damascus, Jan. 6, 1939.
61. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 606, Sûreté report 163K, Damascus, Jan. 6, 1939.
62. Rafeq, "Public Morality."

63. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 53, "Censure cinématographique 1941–42," Couton to Sûreté director on "Yamilé sous les cèdres," April 8, 1941.
64. Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass*, p. 105.
65. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 53, "Censure cinématographique 1941–42," Couton to secrétaire général on "Victoire de la Jeunesse," March 14, 1942, and secrétaire général to Cinema Empire, March 17, 1942; al-Bindari, *Mawsu'at al-aflam al-'arabiya*, p. 51.
66. Zuhur, "An Arab Diva"; Spears, *Fulfilment of a Mission*, pp. 170–72.
67. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 92–93.
68. Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, personal interview, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992.

CHAPTER 13

1. I use the term print community in the spirit of Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, wherein print-capitalism fostered communities of readers bound by a common language and the limits of the local publishing market, see esp. pp. 37–46.
2. al-Mashut, *Tarikh al-sihafa al-suriya*, pp. 156–87; Elias, *Tatawwur al-sihafa al-suriya*, pp. 450–90, 552–71.
3. For more detail on publishing in the late Ottoman and mandate periods, see my dissertation, "Engendering the Nation," ch. 5.
4. Moussalem, *Presse libanaise*, pp. 98–107.
5. MAE-Rapport (1931) p. 79; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 79, "Statistique des Illettrés 1930," Dec. 3, 1930 and ministre/Instruction publique to délégué/HC, Nov. 20, 1930; carton 567, "Recensement général de la population libanaise" (1932); Ayalon, *Press in the Arab Middle East*, pp. 141–44. Perhaps because of the post-World War II rural population boom, literacy rates appear to have remained fairly stable since the 1930s. Alternatively and more likely, the French may have overestimated literacy.
6. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 79, "Statistique des Illettrés," Dec. 3, 1930. Surveys of the period generally undercounted the total population, and women in particular. The 1932 census, for example, showed nearly 59,000 literate men and women in Beirut, compared to the 39,000 counted in 1930, a rather unbelievable jump.
7. MAE-Rapport (1930), p. 11.
8. Ayalon, *Press in the Arab Middle East*, p. 158.
9. Elias, *Tatawwur al-sihafa al-suriya*, p. 347; USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 89, "Motion Pictures," March 9, 1943, enclosure no. 4, list of leading newspapers and magazines; USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Syria 1945–49, microfilm LM 128/roll 7, "Report on the Press," Oct. 19, 1945.

10. UNESCO estimated that by 1950 newspapers regularly published more than 150,000 issues in both countries, with Lebanon's proportion slightly larger (Ayalon, *Press in the Arab Middle East*, p. 153). This suggests potential consumption by a maximum of 750,000 people, and a likely print community of 300–350,000.
11. Méouchy, "Formes de conscience," p. 366; USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 89, "Motion Pictures," enclosure no. 4; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1106, "Les Journaux libanais de langue arabe à travers leurs tendances électorales," Aug. 27, 1943; Ayalon, *Press in the Arab Middle East*, pp. 85–86, 89–90.
12. Content analysis was based on a survey of the 16 Arabic- and French-language newspapers listed in the bibliography.
13. On the roots of women's literary revival, see Jurji Nicola Baz, "al-Nahda al-nisa'iya fi suriya," *al-Mawrid al-safi* 7 (June 1922) pp. 363–66.
14. "al-Mar'a wa al-wataniya," "al-Ra'is al-amirki al-ghayad wa al-nisa''," and "al-Ijtihad, al-duta wa al-taswit fi faransa," *al-Arus* 6 (Feb. 1920) pp. 9–10, (July 1920) p. 168, and (Nov. 1920) p. 283; "Li-hunna wa 'alayhunna," *al-Arus* 9 (May 1923) pp. 161–68.
15. "Ila al-Arwah," *Dawhat al-mimas* 1 (April 1928) p. 3.
16. "Ayyuha al-'amil" and "al-Adab al-nisa'i," *Dawhat al-mimas* 1 (July 1928) pp. 1, 12.
17. The journal was begun in Tripoli in 1938 and became a daily newspaper in 1943; Y. Khoury, *Mudawwanat al-sihafa al-'arabiya*, p. 291. See Latuf's essay in Sa'ada, *al-Nahda al-sihafiya fi lubnan*, pp. 326–27.
18. Sakakini, *Sabiqat al-'asr*, pp. 41, 66, 129, 142; Sakakini, *al-Khatarat*, pp. 137–39; Ghurayyib, *al-Sihafa al-lubnaniya*, p. 96.
19. 'Uthman, *al-Sihafa al-suriya*, pp. 108–9.
20. Sakakini, "Evolution of Syrian Women," p. 532; "al-Nahda al-nisa'iya fi suriya wa lubnan," *al-Thaqafa* 1 (April 5, 1933) pp. 64–66.
21. "Bayna al-suhuf wa al-majallat," *al-Duhur* 1 (April 1931) pp. 860–66.3
22. "al-Majalla bayna madiha wa hadirha," *Majallat al-Mar'a* 1 (April 1947) p. 5.
23. "Page de la femme et de la famille," *Les Echos*, March 14, 1934, p. 3.
24. "Min ajlik ya sayyida," *Bayrut*, Aug. 25, 1936, p. 2.
25. "al-Umuma wazifati," *al-Amali* 1 (Jan. 27, 1939) pp. 4–9.
26. "Min abtal al-harb," *Dimashq* 1 (Nov. 1940) pp. 26–29, and "Min dhikrayat al-ta'lim," *Dimashq* 2 (June 1941) pp. 404–7.
27. This study of women's images in the press draws on a survey of 51 Arabic-language newspapers and magazines published by men in Syria and Lebanon, listed in the appendix.
28. "al-Hijab: al-mar'a wa ma yajibu 'alayha," *Lisan al-talaba* 3 (Aug. 1931) p. 3.

29. "Sab' jara'im tartakibuha al-ummahat nahwa atfalhunna," *Lisan al-hikmah* 9 (Feb. 1–15, 1937) pp. 85–88 and "al-Mar'a al-haditha," *al-Amali* 1 (Oct. 21, 1938) pp. 251–52.
30. "Zawaj al-mu'allimat," *Majallat al-mu'allimin wa al-mu'allimat* 4 (1934) pp. 25–26.
31. "Shahadat al-mar'a," and "Kayfa yanbaghi al-bayt al-qawmi al-'arabi," *Majallat al-tarbiya wa al-ta'lim* 1 (Dec. 1936–Jan. 1937) pp. 144–47, and 2 (April–May 1938) pp. 455–73.
32. "Muhammad wa al-mar'a," *al-'Uyun* 1 (Jan. 1928) pp. 387–408, reprinted in *Majallat al-majma' al-'ilmi al-'arabi* 8 (April 1928) pp. 193–206; "Khadija," *al-Hadith* 2 (Jan. 1928) pp. 28–31; "Hadith imra'at sulayman al-hakim," *al-Haris* 1 (July 1, 1923) pp. 186–87; "Zawjat mussolini," *al-Haris* 5 (June 1928) pp. 687–93; "Mussolini bayna zawjatihi wa awladihi," *al-Mawrid al-safi* 16 (Nov. 1931) pp. 167–71.
33. "al-Zawaj bi al-taqsit," *al-Dabbur* 11 (Jan. 20, 1933) p. 13.
34. "Ya Latif . . . ala al-madaris," *al-Dabbur* 11 (Oct. 2, 1933) p. 9; and "Limadha ana a'zab," *al-Dabbur* 11 (July 24, 1933) p. 13.
35. *al-Naqid* 1 (June 27, 1930) back cover.
36. "Marthu mashghula!" *al-Dabbur* 6 (June 18, 1928) p. 6.
37. "Hiya tuzahim huwa . . .," *al-Dabbur* 6 (June 4, 1928) p. 15. *al-Naqid* of Damascus and *al-Dabbur* of Beirut were prominent in this regard. On May 29, 1930, *al-Naqid* printed a full-length drawing of a nude woman on its cover. The highbrow Damascus journal *al-Thaqafa* published at least two pictures of unclothed women in 1933. *Les Echos* defended its printing of beauty queens' photos against objections from its fellow Damascene paper, *Alif-Ba'*, because it considered the practice modern (Aug. 24, 1935).
38. *Les Echos*, April 26, 1935, and Aug. 8 and 24, 1935.
39. The list of articles depicting public places as dangerous for women is long; see, for example, articles in *al-Bashir*, Feb. 16, 1928; *al-Naqid*, Sept. 13, 1930; *Bayrut*, July 28, 1936; July 30 and Aug. 4, 10–11, 1936; *al-Nahar*, May 17, 1940; *al-Kifah*, Oct. 3, 1944.
40. *Bayrut*, July 28 and 30, Aug. 4, 10–11, 14, 19, and 25, 1936.
42. "Akh yaqtulu shaiqa," *al-Sha'b*, May 4, 1930, p. 2.
42. "Rajul yaqtulu zawja," *Bayrut*, Aug. 10–11, 1936, p. 3.
43. "al-Zawaj min al-ajnabiyat," *Bayrut*, Aug. 15, 1936, pp. 1, 8.
44. "Mughamarat imra'a," *al-Sha'b*, May 19, 1933.
45. Hunt, *Family Romance*, pp. 114, 116.
46. Pateman, *Disorder of Women*, pp. 33–57.
47. Roberts, *Civilization Without Sexes*. French newspapers in the Levant routinely reprinted articles from Paris about "garçonnes" and their taste for

short hair and men's clothes; see also chapter two's discussion of Abel Moreau's 1930 novel, *La Nuit syrienne*.

48. Ryan, *Women in Public*, pp. 69, 72, 74.
49. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, pp. 41–80, 191–228.
50. Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*, pp. 116–57.

PART FIVE INTRODUCTION

1. Kurtas, *Dhikrayat 1917–1977*, p. 139.
2. Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 200–201. De Gaulle had seized French Equatorial Africa, but failed to capture West Africa the previous year. For rivalry over the empire see Paxton, *Vichy France*, pp. 51–135, *passim*, and Catroux *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 11–14, 29–31.

CHAPTER 14

1. "Nahariyat: al-malabis al-'atiqa," *al-Nahar*, Feb. 23, 1940, p. 1; articles on paper and wheat, *al-Nahar*, May 23, 1940, p. 2 and May 28, 1940, p. 2.
2. "Sayyidat al-ittihad al-nisa'i . . .," *Bayrut*, May 5–6, 1940, p. 2.
3. Puaux, *Deux Années au Levant*, p. 118.
4. See short, heavily censored items in *Bayrut*, Nov. 22, p. 2, Dec. 5, p. 3 and Dec. 6, 1940, p. 1; AHCJ-Vanves, Fonds Jalabert, paquet V/chemise Q, "Rapport du HC (Gabriel Puaux) au Gouvernement de Vichy sur la situation au Levant," Nov. 8, 1940.
5. Puaux, *Deux Années au Levant*, pp. 159–60, 231–34.
6. FO 371–27291–2840, Gardener to FO, April 10, 1941; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1074, Sûreté reports, Dec. 1940, March and April, 1941; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 266–67.
7. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 302–03; articles on bread riots and Eddé's resignation, *al-Nahar*, April 3, 4, 5, 1941, all p. 1; Entelis, *Pluralism and Party Transformation*, p. 56.
8. See, for example, the article on Gen. Arlabosse's press conference, *al-Nahar*, Feb. 6, 1941, p. 2.
9. "al-Mar'a wa al-intisab li al-muhama," *al-Nahar*, March 13, 1941, p. 1, and follow-up story (headline and part of text censored), March 16, 1941, p. 2.
10. "Renouveau," "Le cinéma et les jeunes filles," and "Pour un statut du cinéma au Liban," *L'Ecran*, 7 (Oct. 14–21, 1940) pp. 1, 4; 7 (Nov. 25–Dec. 1, 1940) pp. 1, 4; and 7 (March 17–23, 1941), pp. 1, 4.

11. Decree 145/N of June 23, 1941; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 53, Couton to Bonneau, Nov. 3, 1941.
12. Hirszowicz, *Third Reich and the Arab East*, pp. 173–81; Paxton, *Vichy France*, pp. 116–20; Catroux, *Dans la bataille*, pp. 102–14.
13. For the wars over France's essential identity, see Lebovics, *True France*, esp. pp. 135–88.
14. Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 137–38.
15. Speech reprinted in *Le Matin*, Aug. 29, 1942, pp. 1–2. See also Catroux's proclamation to the Lebanese in November 1941: *Dans la Bataille*, p. 236.
16. Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 217–18 and de Gaulle, *Complete Memoirs*, pp. 201–05.
17. Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 200–03; USNA, Internal Affairs of Syria, 1930–44, microfilm T1178/roll 3, "Ins and Outs of Jesuit Policy in Lebanon," May 25, 1942.
18. Conseil supérieur, *Receuil de statistiques*, 2 (1944), pp. 158, 176–83; Lloyd, *Food and Inflation*, p. 363.
19. Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," p. 102; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 303; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 189, 259.
20. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 20, "La crise du blé a pris des proportions considérables," Sept. 9, 1941.
21. Lloyd, *Food and Inflation*, pp. 87–89, 144, 151–52; Wilmington, *Middle East Supply Centre*, p. 47.
22. USNA, RG 84—Lebanon, box 89, "Annual Economic and Financial Review (Syria-Lebanon) 1942," p. 3; RG-59—Office of Strategic Services, microfilm M1221, Research & Analysis report no. 731, p. 11; "Where are Fruits and Vegetables?" *al-Nahar*, Feb. 4, 1942, p. 2; "Macaroni," *Le Matin*, 31, 1942; "al-Burtuqal mada hayawiya li al-fuqara," *Bayrut*, April 6, 1943, p. 2.
23. Conseil Supérieur, *Receuil de statistiques* 2 (1944) p. 158; Jean Godard, "Etude statistique de la situation économique en Syrie et au Liban," *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (April-May 1943) p. 383.
24. Lloyd, *Food and Inflation*, p. 328; *Le Matin*, July 28, 1942, p. 2.
25. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 20, Sûreté report, June 7, 1942; carton 70, dossier 3/"Manifestations publiques," Sûreté reports, June 2 and July 15, 1942, May 21, 1943; "Fi dimashq al-'arabiya," *al-Tariq* 1 (July 31, 1942) p. 22.
26. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 76, "Ouvriers 1942–44," Sûreté reports from Damascus, Homs, Aleppo, Beirut, Zahle and Latakia; carton 1074, "Syndicats et Grèves des Ouvriers, 1941"; carton 1107, "Employés et ouvriers divers."
27. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 283–95, 301–05; Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism*, p. 149.

28. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 20, "Communistes arméniens" and "Communistes, Informations 1941-43."
29. FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, July 25, 1942.
30. FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, May 22, 1943; al-Malla, *Safahat min tarikh al-hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 137-42; Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism*, pp. 140-53.
31. Abd-Allah, *Islamic Struggle in Syria*, pp. 98-99.
32. FO 371-35206, E5063, "Personalities Report from Lebanon," Aug. 26, 1943; Nantet, *Pierre Gemayel*, pp. 53-54; Entelis, *Pluralism and Party Transformation*, pp. 56-61, 74, 102-05, 114; USNA, RG 59—Office of Strategic Services, microfilm M1221, "Position and Influence of the Catholic Church in Lebanon," Nov. 15, 1944, p. 10.
33. Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, p. 175.
34. FO 371-27291-2840, Gardener to FO, April 10, 1941; Yamak, *Syrian Social Nationalist Party*, pp. 60-62.
35. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2922, "Section sociale et des oeuvres de jeunesse," and "Accidents de travail," Sept. 1941, reports on minimum wages, Sept. 15 and Oct. 27, 1941, memo on family wages, Sept. 16, 1941; Godard, "L'Oeuvre politique, économique et sociale," pp. 183-84.
36. Arrêté 229/FL, April 21, 1942. On Catroux's explicit desire to revive de Martel's strategies, see his *Deux Missions*, p. 145.
37. FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, May 17 and 24, and June 21, 1942.
38. The story is told from differing points of view in: Spears, *Fulfilment of a Mission*, pp. 173-202; Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 268-82; and Lloyd, *Food and Inflation*, pp. 115-16, 144-56.
39. "La crise du pain est résolue," *Le Matin*, March 26, 1942, p. 2.
40. FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, Oct. 2, Dec. 14 and 28, 1941, and March 1, June 14 and Nov. 28, 1942; Godard, "L'Oeuvre politique, économique et sociale," p. 133; Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, p. 256-57.
41. Syrian government notice, reprinted in *Le Jour*, Feb. 11, 1943, and Godard, "L'Oeuvre politique, économique et sociale," p. 134; USNA, RG 84—Beirut, box 90, weekly press review, Feb. 11, 1943; FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, Feb. 6 and 13, 1943; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 599.
42. Al-Hakim, *Suriya fi al-intidab*, pp. 324-28; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 70, Sûreté reports, March 20 and 23, 1943; FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, March 20 and 27, 1943.
43. FO 226-233-31-140, Note for H.M. Minister, July 22, 1942; 226-233-31-141 Part III, Mikkawi to Catroux, July 23, 1942, Furlonge memo, July 24, 1942 and Part IV, Furlonge to Spears Mission, July 31, 1942; 226-233-31-142, legation to FO, July 24, 1942.
44. Arrêté 405/FL, Nov. 19, 1941.

45. DL 231/NI of Oct. 19, 1942; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 290.
46. DL 2031/NI of Jan. 26, 1943; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 290.
47. "Qarar bi-insha' al-makhazin al-ta'awuniya," *Bayrut*, March 24, 1943, p. 2.
48. DL 29/ET of May 12, 1943, typescript copy in MAE-Nantes/1, carton 2922.
49. DL 25/ET of May 4, 1943; Arrêté 104/FC, March 3, 1943.
50. DL 67, on severance and protections against worker layoffs, and DL 68 on minimum wages, both Nov. 7, 1942; Hanna, *al-Haraka al-'ummaliya*, pp. 479–84.
51. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 600.
52. Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," p. 161; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 336.
53. Advertisement for a female typist, *Le Matin*, Dec. 4, 1941, p. 2; al-Masri and Wa'lani, *al-Katibat al-suriyat*, p. 156.
54. "Association féminine . . .," *Les Echos*, Feb. 7, 1942, p. 2; "Activité intellectuelle et artisanale à Damas," *Le Jour*, Aug. 1, 1942.
55. DL 29/ET, May 7, 1943, article 3.
56. "Les Femmes libanaises et l'effort de guerre," *Le Jour*, May 22, 1943, p. 1.
57. "Travail des femmes," *La Syrie et l'Orient*, July 1, 1943, p. 2; "Cinq Questions sur l'Italie" and "Le Destin de la femme arabe," *Les Echos*, May 26, 1943, p. 1 and June 29, 1943, p. 2.
58. *Le Jour*, April 14, 1943, p. 1.
59. "La Famille et le droit," *Le Jour*, May 16–17, 1943, p. 1; on the conference see also April 30, May 8, 12–15, 1943.
60. Khalaf, *Lebanon's Predicament*, p. 195.
61. Godard, "L'Oeuvre politique, économique et sociale," p. 186.
62. "Visite à Mme la Présidente Naccache," *La Revue du Liban*, Dec. 1, 1941, p. 8.
63. "La Journée des mères," *Le Matin*, May 18, 1942, p. 2.
64. "'Id al-ummahat," *Bayrut*, May 8, 1943, p. 1.
65. "al-Dunya umm!" *al-Dabbur* 21 (May 10, 1943) p. 4.
66. "La Ligue Sociale démocratique féminine," (Beirut, 1944), privately published pamphlet found at the Marguerite Durand library, Paris, p. 20.
67. FO 226–240–9, "Elections 1943," Bakdash's program, July 7, 1943.
68. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 20, "Communistes arméniens," report on "La Voix du Peuple," Feb. 27, 1943; "Wajib al-mar'a al-'arabiya . . .," *al-Tariq* 1 (Aug. 15, 1942) pp. 17–19; al-'Akkari, *al-Sihafa al-thawriya*, pp. 135–38.
69. al-'Akkari, *al-Sihafa al-thawriya*, p. 157; al-Khatib, *Tarikh al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 139–40.
70. Shaaban, *Both Right and Left Handed*, p. 43; al-Masri and Wa'lani, *al-Katibat al-suriyat*, pp. 117, 122.

71. "al-Mar'a al-'arabiya," *al-Tariq* 1 (Feb. 6, 1942) pp. 16–17 and 1 (March 26, 1942) pp. 20–21; "Wajib al-mar'a al-'arabiya," *al-Tariq* 1 (Aug. 15, 1942) pp. 17–19.
72. "al-Mar'a wa al-bayt wa al-tifl," and "al-Mar'a wa al-tatawwur," *al-Tariq* 1 (March 26, 1942) pp. 11–12 and 1 (Aug. 31, 1942) pp. 12–14.
73. "Le Problème féminin en Orient," *Le Matin*, June 28, 1943, p. 1; "Le Destin de la femme arabe," *Les Echos*, June 29, 1943, p. 2.
74. FO 226–233–42, memo on political parties, Oct. 7, 1942.
75. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 13, "al-Gharra"; carton 120, Sûreté report, Damascus, June 7, 1943.
76. "Pour et contre l'évolution féminine," *Les Echos*, June 30, 1943, p. 2.
77. al-Hafiz, *al-Hafiziyat*, pp. 86–87; Shaaban, *Both Right and Left Handed*, p. 50.
78. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 20, "Communistes, Informations 1941–43."
79. Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, p. 201.
80. Arrêté 56/FC, Feb. 1, 1943.
81. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 302, Edel to director of Section sociale, Jan. 4, 1943; "L'Indemnité pour charges de famille," *Le Jour*, Oct. 17, 1942.
82. MAE-Rapport (1938) p. 215; Matthews and Akrawi, *Education in the Arab Countries*, pp. 351, 357, 407, 422.
83. Budget data in this paragraph are drawn from: Conseil supérieur, *Recueil de statistiques*, 2 (1944) pp. 168, 176–83, and 3 (1945–47) pp. 170–77; Lloyd, *Food and Inflation*, p. 363.
84. Lloyd, *Food and Inflation*, pp. 189, 363. The raw figure on Allied spending, \$307 million, was adjusted for inflation using Lloyd's own cost-of-living indexes for the period. Equivalency in Syrian-Lebanese pounds was calculated according to the following exchange rates during World War II: 4.03£ sterling/dollar and 8.83LLS/£ sterling, producing a LLS-dollar rate of 35.6. Source of rates: Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 338 and Bidwell, *Currency Conversion Tables*, p. 2.
85. Editorial on labor legislation, *Le Matin*, June 17, 1943, p. 2.
86. "al-Thawra al-ijtima'iya," *Bayrut*, March 17, 1943, p. 1.
87. Movie listings, *Le Matin*, July 18, 1942, p. 2.
88. FO 684–14–30, Gardener Diary, July 3, 1943.
89. Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," pp. 153–69, 189–92; USNA, RG 84—Lebanon, box 89, "Annual Economic and Financial Review (Syria-Lebanon) 1942," p. 5; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 280–82; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, p. 338.
90. In Lebanon, DL 245 NI of Nov. 6, 1942 and DL 257/NI of Nov. 24, 1942 established a war profits tax, which was never implemented (Godard, "L'Oeuvre politique, économique et sociale," p. 156) and was flatly rejected by mer-

chants (FO 684-15, "Review of the Year 1943 in the Lebanon," Jan. 28, 1944). In Syria, DL 153/AS of June 21, 1942 set an income tax that also drew dispute (FO 226-233-31-134, Prodrôme/Beirut to FO, July 16, 1942 and FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, Nov. 28, 1942, May 8 and 29, 1943).

91. de Gaulle, *Complete Memoirs*, p. 202.

CHAPTER 15

1. *al-Dabbur* 21 (Dec. 6, 1943), front cover; Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, p. 494.
2. *al-Dabbur* 21 (April 26, 1943) p. 19; on the many faces of Marianne in French political discourse, see Agulhon and Bonte, *Marianne*.
3. "Pour et contre l'évolution féminine," *Les Echos*, June 30, 1943, p. 2.
4. FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, July 31, 1943; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 97, "Electeurs"; USNA, RG 84—Damascus, Confidential File 1943/vol. 1, "July 1943 Elections—Aleppo," July 7, 1943, "July 1943 Elections—Damascus," July 13, 1943; Beirut election results, *La Syrie et l'Orient*, Aug. 31, 1943; Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," p. 105; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 329-30; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 188, 333; Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, p. 231; Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, pp. 222-23.
5. Spears, *Fulfillment of a Mission*, p. 222; American observers of the 1934 Lebanese elections blamed the 33 percent turnout in Beirut on perceptions that the elections were rigged, as well as a heavy snow: USNA, RG 84—Syria, microfilm T1178/roll 1, Beirut consulate to Washington, Jan. 25, 1934.
6. FO 684-14-30, Gardener Diary, June 19 and 26, July 3, 10, 24, and 31, 1943; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 601-602.
7. Party platform summaries, *La Syrie et l'Orient*, Aug. 14 and 19, 1943; FO 226-240-9, Bakdash's program, July 7, 1943; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 292-93. 'Ammun, editor of *Le Jour*, had split from Khuri's party.
8. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 1106, Sûreté report, Aug. 25, 1943; Salibi, *Modern History of Lebanon*, p. 187-88; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 328-30; Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, pp. 476-77; Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 400-402.
9. al-Malla, *Safahat min tarikh al-hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 142-43; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 275, 293; Jazmati, *al-Hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 161, 248. The Lebanese percentage was calculated on the basis of 15,000 votes cast for Communists among an electorate estimated at 54 percent of the 236,793 eligible voters, or 127,868 actual voters. Couland, in apparent error, estimated the total number of Lebanese voters at 80,000, or 25 percent of the electorate. See MAE-Nantes/1, carton 97, "Electeurs."

10. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 605; Batatu, *Old Social Classes*, pp. 728–29.
11. Khalaf, *Lebanon's Predicament*, pp. 121, 132–38; Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, pp. 212–15, 242, 246–47; Winder, “Syrian Deputies,” Part I, p. 424, and Part II, pp. 38, 50.
12. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 281–82, 602–03, 626; Sadow-ski, “Political Power and Economic Organization,” pp. 115–35, 152–66.
13. Zamir, *Lebanon's Quest*, pp. 36–37, 111; Gates, “Formation of Political Economy,” pp. 193–95, 324–32; USNA, Lebanon/Central files 1945–49, microfilm LM 124/roll 2, report on Lebanese business leaders, Dec. 1945; Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, pp. 57–60, 120–22.
14. As recalled by Yosr al-Sulh, personal correspondence with her son, Raghid al-Sulh, Sept. 4, 1993.
15. FO 226–241–27–226, Arabic text of Oct. 7, 1943 speech, pp. 8–9; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 294–95.
16. See Sulh's speech, Oct. 7, 1943, pp. 3–4, in FO 226–241–226; Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, pp. 478–81; Na'mani, “Confessionalism in Balance,” p. 376.
17. FO 684–14–30, Gardener Diary, July 24, 1943.
18. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 67, “Les Jeunes de Mohamed.”
19. FO 226–240–9, translation of Aug. 2, 1943 speech; FO 226–241–27–242 and–246, dismissal of Damascus governor, Oct. 21, 1943.
20. FO 684–15–1–1, speech by Quwwatli to parliament, Jan. 24, 1944 (translation); P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 604.
21. FO 684–14–30, Gardener Diary, Oct. 23, 1943.
22. FO 226–241–27–242, political officer/Damascus to chancery, Oct. 18, 1943,–27–317, Spears to FO, Nov. 8, 1943,–27–365, Belgrave to Lascelles, Nov. 10, 1943 and–27–340, Spears to FO, Nov. 11, 1943.
23. FO 226–241–27–343,–27–530 and–27–471, personal statements of Khuri's wife and son and report on Mme Riyad al-Sulh; Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, pp. 482–89; “Nisa' al-istiqlal,” *al-Hawadith* 732 (Nov. 20, 1970) pp. 38–40.
24. FO 226–241–27–415,–27–357 and–27–363, reports to Spears, Nov. 11–12; Spears, *Fulfilment of a Mission*, pp. 247, 252, 258. Most reports of the General Security police are unavailable due to the French state archives' 60-year privacy rule.
25. FO 226–242–27, reports dated Nov. 10–23, 1943; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 70, dossier 31/“General,” Sûreté reports, Damascus, Nov. 13 and 15, 1943; Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 331–32; Spears, *Fulfilment of a Mission*, pp. 228–77.

26. FO 226-241-27-568, telegram from Lebanon Medical Corps, Nov. 15, 1943.
27. FO 226-241-27-490, letter to Spears, Nov. 13, 1943. The Atlantic Charter, declared by the Allies on August 14, 1941, condemned territorial aggrandizement as a war aim, and vowed restoration of sovereignty after the war.
28. FO 226-241-27-631, Hélou to Catroux/Spears, Nov. 16, 1943.
29. FO 226-241-27-485, Phalanges to Lavalade (n.d.) and-27-626, Naqib al-muhamin to Spears, Nov. 18, 1943.
30. Abouchdid, *Thirty Years of Lebanon*, pp. 143-46; al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 49.
31. FO 226-241-27-676, Spears to London, Nov. 19, 1943, -27-601 and-27-603 on Christian support; Salibi, *House of Many Mansions*, p. 184.
32. FO 226-241-682, memo to Spears, Nov. 20, 1943; Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, pp. 416, 419-24.
33. Catroux, *Dans la Bataille*, p. 415.
34. Abouchdid, *Thirty Years of Lebanon*, pp. 159-62.
35. For alternate accounts see Rabbath, *Formation historique du Liban*, p. 490 n. 26; Salibi, *House of Many Mansions*, p. 169.
36. FO 226-242-27-842, "Beirut Welcomes Karamé"; Entelis, *Pluralism and Party Transformation*, pp. 57-62, 68-74, 80; Nantet, *Pierre Gemayel*, pp. 55-63; Haddad, *Phalanges libanaises*, pp. 190-207; Abouchdid, *Thirty Years of Lebanon*, pp. 160-61. For 1943 photos of Jumayyil showing a resemblance to the cartoon, see Nantet.
37. FO 226-252-27-95, Furlonge to H. M. Minister, June 17, 1944 and-27-45, "Syrian Popular Party," March 15, 1944 and-27-64, memo on Phalanges and Najjada, April 4, 1944; Haddad, *Phalanges libanaises*, pp. 184-89; Yamak, *Syrian Social Nationalist Party*, pp. 61-63.
38. USNA, RG 59—Office of Strategic Services, microfilm M1221, Research & Analysis report no. 1930, "Position and Influence of the Catholic Church in Lebanon," Nov. 15, 1944; FO 226-252-27-96, "Political Situation in Lebanon, May 1944"; Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, pp. 128-29.
39. Salibi argues that secularism later became a "confidence game" cynically played by fundamentally sectarian politicians: *House of Many Mansions*, p. 196.
40. Abouchdid, *Thirty Years of Lebanon*, pp. 133-66 passim; Ibrahim, *al-Haraka al-nisa'iya*, pp. 42-43, 149; al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 48. Information is scarce on the Lebanese Women's Association. It may, in fact, be an alternate name for the Lebanese Women's Union.
41. For a discussion of sexuality as the realm of the most secret and so the most sacred and dangerous, and of the gender anxieties accompanying the transformation of public space in the Lebanon of the 1960s and 1970s, see Gilsenan,

- "Sheikhs and the Inner Secrets" and "Forming and Transforming Space" in his *Recognizing Islam*, pp. 116–41, 164–91.
42. FO 226–241–27–422, Ladies of Lebanon to prime minister, Nov. 12, 1943.
 43. FO 226–241–27–419, translated notes taken by a British official during Mubarak's speech at Collège de la Sagesse, Nov. 12, 1943.
 44. FO 226–241–27–548, report on Tripoli, Nov. 15, 1943.
 45. Spears, *Fulfilment of a Mission*, pp. 236–37.
 46. FO 226–241–27–397, memo by W.W., Nov. 12, 1943.
 47. "Nisa' al-istiqlal," *al-Hawadith* 732 (Nov. 20, 1970) pp. 36–37; Bustros, *Romans et écrits divers*, preface. Another version of the story placed the incident on November 16, near the mufti's residence, as repeated in al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 49. November 12 is the more likely version, as Bustros was mentioned as leading that demonstration by several witnesses, but not specifically mentioned, to my knowledge, in the November 16 protest.
 48. Abouchdid, *Thirty Years of Lebanon*, p. 143.
 49. FO 226–241–27–660, translated texts of Nov. 17 speeches provided by the women's delegation.
 50. "Haquq jadida," *al-Tariq* 2 (Dec. 29, 1943) p. 16.
 51. al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 50.
 52. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 68, "L'Eveil de la Femme," Sûreté reports, March 28, April 1 and 4, 1944; USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Syria 1930–44, microfilm T1178/roll 3, "Monthly Political Review," March 17, 1944.
 53. USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Syria 1930–44, microfilm T1178/roll 3, "Monthly Political Review—August 1944."
 54. Longrigg, *Syria and Lebanon*, pp. 340–41; USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Syria 1930–44, microfilm T1187/roll 3, airgram A-60, Dec. 22, 1944.
 55. "Goutte de Lait," *Les Echos*, Jan. 15 and March 14, 1943, p. 2.
 56. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 70, "Damas," Sûreté report, Homs, May 22, 1944.
 57. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 70, "Damas," Sûreté report, Maydan, May 24, 1944.
 58. FO 684–15–1, Beaumont memorandum, May 26, 1944, paraphrase of a report by a Maydan resident.
 59. The preceding account was compiled from the following sources, unless noted otherwise: FO 684–15–1–1, British security mission/Damascus to political officer/Damascus, May 21, 23 and 26, 1944, "Demonstrations in Damascus," May 21, 23 and 25, 1944, and Beaumont memorandum, May 26, 1944; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 163, 203, 547, 557, 517–18, 610–12; Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 87, 90–91, 429.
 60. FO-684–15–1–1, Beaumont memorandum, May 26, 1944.
 61. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 54, "Femmes musulmanes," Sûreté report, Hama, Feb. 1,

- 1944; carton 53, "Censure cinématographique," reports on "Ahlam el-Chebab," Aug. 6, Sept. 1 and Sept. 21, 1943.
62. Schilcher, *Families in Politics*, pp. 27–59.
63. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 570–74, 587–89; Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik*, pp. 90, 93; FO 684–15–1, Beaumont memorandum, May 26, 1944.
64. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 39, "Club Fayçal," Sûreté reports, April 4 and 27 and May 5, 1944; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 605–06; Batatu, *Old Social Classes*, pp. 724–27, 730–41.
65. FO 684–15–1–2, "Extracts from the Speech of President Quwatli at the Serail on 22nd June 1944."
66. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 3, "Association des Frères musulmans," Sûreté report on intercepted letter addressed to l'Association de la Vertu islamique, Aleppo, May 27, 1944.
67. FO 684–15–1–1, Beaumont memorandum, May 26, 1944.
68. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 68, "Dévoilement en Syrie," May 23, 1944.
69. All quotes from Jabiri's May 22 speech to parliament are from a French translation published in *Les Echos*, May 24, 1944, p. 1.
70. FO 684–15–1–2, "Extracts from the Speech of President Quwatli at the Serail on 22nd June 1944."
71. FO 684–15–1–1, British security mission to political officer/Damascus, May 23 and 26, 1944.
72. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 39, "Congrès féminin arabe," Sûreté report, Damascus, Jan. 12, 1945.
73. FO 684–15–1–1, "Demonstrations in Damascus," May 25, 1944.
74. al-Kuzbari, *'Anbar wa ramad*, pp. 23–24, 30–31, 78–79.
75. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 54, "Femmes musulmanes," Sûreté reports, Homs, Aug. 4, 1944 and Latakia, Sept. 30, 1944.

CHAPTER 16

1. FO 371–40308–E4292, "Situation in Damascus," July 14, 1944.
2. Khalid Bakdash, address to Communist Party congress, Dec. 31, 1943–Jan. 2, 1944, reprinted in Jazmati, *al-Hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 154–96; Imilie Faris Ibrahim, "Ittisa' afaq al-'amal amama al-mar'a al-lubnaniya," *al-Tariq* (Dec. 24, 1946) reprinted in al-'Akkari, *al-Sihafa al-thawriya*, pp. 159–61.
3. "al-Ittihad al-nisa'i al-'arabi fi dimashq," *al-Qabas*, July 4, 1944, pp. 1–2; MAE-Nantes/1, "L'Union féminine arabe," Feb. 25, 1944.

4. Personal interview, Amal al-Jaza'iri, Damascus, Oct. 28, 1992.
5. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 39, "Congrès féminin arabe," Sha'rawi to Mme Adela, June 3, 1944 (translation).
6. As paraphrased in *Les Echos*, Dec. 14, 1944, p. 2.
7. All quotes from the Cairo press conference are from "Le Congrès féministe du Caire," *Les Echos*, Dec. 13, 1944, p. 1.
8. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, pp. 239–44; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 778, Lescuyer to Bidault, Dec. 22, 1944.
9. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 39, "Congrès féminin arabe," paraphrased and translated in Sûreté report, Aleppo, Dec. 20, 1944.
10. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 39, "Congrès féminin arabe," Sûreté reports, Damascus, Jan. 1 and 12, 1945.
11. "Litiges de la sexe faible," *Les Echos*, Jan. 11, 1945, p. 2.
12. "La thèse de Souheil El-Khoury," *L'Orient*, Feb. 13, 1945, p. 1.
13. Quoted in Badran, *Feminists, Islam and Nation*, p. 246.
14. "Mme la Président El-Khoury," *Les Echos*, Jan. 25, 1945.
15. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 70, "Manifestations publiques-I, Damas," Sûreté report, May 24, 1945 and "III-Général," Sûreté reports, Latakia, Jan. 15, 1945 and Damascus, Jan. 30, Feb. 1, and March 19, 1945.
16. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 68, "La Ligue féminine libanaise," Sûreté report 1994, May 24, 1945.
17. Personal interview, Nadida Shaykh al-Ard, Damascus, Oct. 9, 1992; Sakakini, *Insaf al-mar'a*, pp. 10–16; al-Razzaz, *Musharakat al-mar'a*, pp. 155–56; al-Khatib, *Tarikh tatawwur al-haraka al-nisa'iya*, p. 159.
18. Jamal al-Din and al-Khuri, *Hawl al-mar'a*, pp. 33–45; Zakaria Sibahi, "al-Mar'a wa haqq al-intikhab," *Sawt al-mar'a al-hurr* 3 (1946) pp. 37–38.
19. "'Atf wa ta'yid," *Majallat al-mar'a* 4 (April 1947) p. 4.
20. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 76, "Ouvriers 1944," Sûreté reports, Damascus, Aug. 9 and Nov. 7, 1944 and Aug. 17, 1945; carton 3, "Association des Frères Musulmans," Sûreté reports, Hama, Sept. 30, 1944 and Damascus, March 23, 1945; carton 67, "Les Jeunes de Mohamed," Sûreté reports, Homs, Sept. 11, 1944 and Damascus, Sept.-Dec. 1944.
21. FO 371–40306–6824, "Shebab Muhammad—Homs," Oct. 17, 1944 and weekly summary no. 136, Nov. 8, 1944; al-Malla, *Safahat min tarikh al-hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 150, 174.
22. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 67, Sûreté report, Damascus, Oct. 25, 1944; carton 3, "Association des Frères musulmans," Sûreté reports, Hama, Sept. 9, 1944 and Damascus, Feb. 22, 1946; Abd-Allah, *Islamic Struggle in Syria*, pp. 91–93, 96; Farzat, *al-Hayat al-hizbiya*, p. 247.
23. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 296–304.

24. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 274–76; Jazmati, *al-Hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 161, 192–94, 206–07.
25. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 76, “Ouvriers,” Sûreté reports, March 1944, April 28, 1944; Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism*, p. 152; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 305.
26. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 76, “Ouvriers,” Sûreté reports, Damascus, April 1944 and Jan. 9, 1945 and Aleppo, Jan. 5, 1945, Tartus postal control report on the Jan. 1945 Communist national charter, April 1945; carton 70, dossier 3/”Général,” Sûreté reports, Aleppo, Nov. 1944 and Dec. 26, 1944 and Homs, Nov. 18, 1944; Sanadiki, “Mouvement syndical,” p. 79; Hanna, *al-Haraka al-‘ummaliya*, p. 486; Communist charter reprinted in Jazmati, *al-Hizb al-shiyu'i*, pp. 197–98, and translated in Ismael and Ismael, *Communist Movement*, pp. 35–36.
27. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 70, dossier 2/”Lebanon,” Sûreté report, Beirut, Dec. 11, 1945; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 276, 335.
28. Sadowski, “Political Power and Economic Organization,” pp. 115–35, 152–66; P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, pp. 283, 625–26; FO 684–15–1–2, Faris al-Khuri’s program of Oct. 26, 1944.
29. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 53, “Censure cinématographique 1941–42,” report on “L’Ouvrier,” Jan. 17, 1945; “al-‘Amil,” in Bandari, *Mawsu’at al-aflam al-‘arabiya*, p. 225.
30. Gates, “Formation of Political Economy,” pp. 124–25, 193–95, 324–32; USNA, Lebanon/Central files 1945–49, microfilm LM 124/roll 2, report on Lebanese business leaders, Dec. 1945; Zamir, *Lebanon’s Quest*, pp. 36–37; Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, pp. 25, 57–60, 69, 120–22.
31. Sadowski, “Political Power and Economic Organization,” p. 136; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 348–49.
32. MAE-Nantes/1, carton 76, “Ouvriers,” Sûreté reports, Beirut, July 5 and 24, 1945; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 313, 317, 351–57, 363; “Wool Workers’ Strike,” *L’Orient*, Aug. 8, 1945.
33. P. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate*, p. 282.
34. al-Jarrah, *Ayyami kanat ghaniya*, pp. 92–99.
35. al-‘Akkari, *al-Sihafa al-thawriya*, p. 158.
36. Syrian law no. 279 of June 11, 1946 and Lebanese Labor Law, Sept. 23, 1946.
37. Sanadiki, “Mouvement syndical,” pp. 132–33; Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, pp. 375–76.
38. Hanna, *al-Haraka al-‘ummaliya*, pp. 486–506; Sanadiki, “Mouvement syndical,” pp. 175–85; Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, pp. 323–24.
39. Sadowski, “Political Power and Economic Organization,” pp. 124–25, 136–38; Hanna, *al-Haraka al-‘ummaliya*, pp. 489–91.
40. Sanadiki, “Mouvement syndical,” p. 83.

41. Kamal Bohsali, "Contribution à l'étude de la situation de la classe ouvrière au Liban" (Thèse droit, Paris, 1951) as cited in Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 373.
42. Couland, *Mouvement syndical*, p. 373.
43. Matthews and Akrawi, *Education in the Arab Countries*, pp. 351, 422; al-Husri, *Taqrir 'an ahwal al-ma'arif*, p. 65.
44. Cleveland, *Making of an Arab Nationalist*, pp. 47–67; Simon, *Iraq Between the Two World Wars*, pp. 75–114 passim.
45. USNA, RG 84—Internal Affairs of Syria 1945–49, microfilm LM 128/roll 7, Syrian law on education, Feb. 21, 1945 and embassy translation of law no. 121, Dec. 21, 1944; see al-Husri, *Taqrir 'an ahwal al-ma'arif* for discussion of policy and goals.
46. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, pp. 303–38. The same goals had informed Ottoman educational policy, also influenced by French models. See chapter 4 and Shaw, *History of Ottoman Empire*, 2, pp. 107–08.
47. AHCI, "L'Ecole et l'éducation nationale," booklet summarizing discussions of the Deuxième Semaine Sociale de Beyrouth (April 27–May 3, 1941), p. 70; MAE-Nantes/1, carton 40, "Mouvements culturels," Sûreté report on La Ligue de l'enseignement libre, Sept. 13, 1945.
48. Conseil Supérieur, *Recueil de Statistiques*, 3 (1945–47) pp. 40, 43, 47; Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, p. 322.
49. For a more detailed discussion, see my forthcoming article, "The Climax and Crisis of the Colonial Welfare State in Syria and Lebanon during the Second World War" in Steven Heydemann, ed., *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
50. Himadeh, *Fiscal Policy of Lebanon*, pp. 12–13, 96–98, 111; Syria, *Recueil des statistiques . . . (1928–1968)*, pp. 116–18; Sadowski, "Political Power and Economic Organization," pp. 184–90; Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," pp. 121–25, 199–201; Hudson, *Precarious Republic*, pp. 310–11, 319, 321.
51. Himadeh, *Fiscal Policy of Lebanon*, pp. 35, 89–91, 106–7.
52. Editorial and "Les organisations . . . protestent contre l'impôt sur le revenu," *L'Orient*, Jan. 18, 1945, pp. 1–2; "Daribat al-dakhl al-jadida," *al-Tariq* 4 (Feb. 5, 1945) pp. 9–11; Jazmati, *al-Hizb al-shiyu'i*, p. 198.
53. Woodsmall, *Role of Women in Lebanon*, pp. 8–9, 15–17, 70–72, 88, 94; Syria, *Recueil des statistiques . . . (1928–1968)*, p. 213; Joseph, "Elite Strategies for State Building," pp. 188–94; Sharara, "Women and Politics in Lebanon," pp. 157–60.
54. See, for example, Chatterjee, *Nation and Its Fragments*; Malley, *Call from Algeria*; Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement*; Abdel-Malek, *Egypt: Military Society*; Batatu, *Old Social Classes*.
55. See, for example, Stoler and Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony," and

- Cooper, "Dialectics of Decolonization," in Stoler and Cooper, eds., *Tensions of Empire*, pp. 1–56, 406–35; Conklin, *Mission to Civilize*, pp. 142–72; Berque, *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution*, pp. 304–24, 363–87; Berque, *French North Africa*, passim.
56. For discussions of heterogeneous citizenship in the post-1946 period, see Johnson, *Class and Client in Beirut*, pp. 216–27; Khalaf, *Lebanon's Predicament*, pp. 102–20; Sadowski, "Ba'athist Ethics." For recent debates on the values of heterogeneous and group citizenship, against universalist and individualist liberal models, see Shafir, *Citizenship Debates*, ch. 1, 4, 5, 9, 12–14.
57. See, for example, Tilly, "Where Do Rights Come From?"; Boris, "Racialized Gendered State"; Rogin, "Political Repression in the United States"; Shafir and Peled, "Dynamics of Citizenship in Israel."
58. See Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy."
59. Cohen and Hanagan, "Politics of Gender"; Koven and Michel, "Womanly Duties."
60. Seale, *Struggle for Syria*, pp. 32–36, 42–45, 58; Salibi, *Modern History of Lebanon*, pp. 192–96; Gates, "Formation of Political Economy," pp. 195–211.
61. Kandiyoti, "End of Empire," p. 41.
62. Bayhum, *Fatat al-sharq*, p. 117.
63. Joseph, "Elite Strategies for State Building"; Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam*, pp. 144–248.