

# Notes

## PREFACE

1. Ali Behdad describes this moment from his own life in the preface to *Be-  
lated Travelers*, vii.
2. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," 595.

## INTRODUCTION

1. Amy Kaplan, "Left Alone with America," 11.
2. Michael Shapiro, "Moral Geographies and the Ethics of Post-Sover-  
eignty," 482. Edward Said, in *Orientalism*, uses the phrase "imaginative geog-  
raphy" to a similar effect.
3. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 3.
4. Both Edward Soja, in *Postmodern Geographies*, and David Harvey, in *The  
Condition of Postmodernity*, have argued persuasively that critical social the-  
ory has prioritized a theorization of time to the near exclusion of space.
5. David Campbell, *Writing Security*, 12. See also Richard Ashley, "Foreign  
Policy as Political Performance."
6. Pierre Bourdieu, *Field of Cultural Production*, 32.
7. These two examples are not ones Bourdieu specifically uses; for his ex-  
amples, see *ibid.*, 180–181.
8. *Ibid.*, 57.
9. More general discussions of the images of Arabs in the news media in-  
clude Edward Said, *Covering Islam*; Michael Suleiman, *The Arabs in the Mind  
of America*; Edmund Ghareeb, *Split Vision*; and Janice Belkaoui, "Images of  
Arabs and Israelis in the Prestige Press." Studies of stereotypes of Arabs in pop-  
ular culture include Jack Shaheen, *The TV Arab* and "The Hollywood Arab";  
and Kathleen Christison, "The Arab in Recent Popular Fiction." See also three  
pamphlets published by the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee:



Laurence Michalak, *Cruel and Unusual*; Suha Sabbagh, *Sex, Lies, and Stereotypes*; and Dan Georgakas and Miriam Rosen, eds., *The Arab Image in American Film and Television*.

10. Some of the book-length studies that draw on Said include Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers*; Rana Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient*; Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains*; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*; Christopher Miller, *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*; and Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturalism*. Writers who do not explicitly draw on Said's model but who nonetheless have written studies that clearly are a product of the extraordinary interest in the cultural politics of imperialism that has followed upon Said's work include Malek Alloula, *Colonial Harem*; Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: Portrayal of Women and Photography in the Middle East, 1860–1950*; and Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient*.

11. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 12.

12. Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Empire*, 57. See also Michael Doyle, *Empires*, 141–146, 251–253.

13. Etienne Balibar, "Racism and Nationalism," 62.

14. On Islam, see, for example, Said, *Orientalism*, 65–72.

15. Lisa Lowe, *Critical Terrains*, 12. See also Ali Behdad, *Belated Travelers*, 10–17. One study that productively attends to the complexities of sexuality in Orientalist discourse is Robert Lee, *Orientalists*.

16. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 230. This argument about Said's humanism is made, in a slightly different way, by James Clifford, "On Orientalism," in *Predicament of Culture*.

17. In the last third of his book, Said also discusses the United States as the twentieth-century heir to nineteenth-century European Orientalism. His argument assumes that Orientalism operated in much the same way in the United States as it had in Europe.

18. See Homi Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," 301.

19. On the gendering of the political subject, see Nancy Fraser, *Unruly Practices*; Jean Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman*. This argument is complicated by Mary Ryan, *Women in Public*; Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism*; and Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*.

20. Lauren Berlant discusses this dynamic in *The Queen of America Goes to Washington, D.C.* This is not, of course, unique to the United States. Two very useful books on the social history of the family and the state in France are Roddy Reid, *Families in Jeopardy*; and Jacques Donzelot, *Policing of Families*.

21. From John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*.

22. Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, 4–5.

23. Lester Vogel, *To See a Promised Land*, 59.

24. Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, 21–24.

25. John Davis, *Landscape of Belief*, 16–17.

26. Lester Vogel, *To See a Promised Land*, 59.



27. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 40. For a fascinating and evocative discussion of the modern uses of the Holy Land, see W. J. T. Mitchell, "Holy Landscape."

28. Lester Vogel, *To See a Promised Land*, 105; John Davis, *Landscape of Belief*, 45–48

29. Mark Twain, *Innocents Abroad*, 342. Also quoted by John Davis, *Landscape of Belief*, 46. As Davis explains, Twain refers to Prime as "Grimes" throughout.

30. Moody's teaching was based on the teachings of the Irish minister John Darby, who had begun preaching in the 1830s. After the Civil War, it was taken up enthusiastically by large numbers of American evangelicals. On Darby, see Paul Merkley, *Politics of Christian Zionism*, 62–63; and Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 183–186.

31. On Moody and early evangelical views of the Holy Land, see James Hunter, *American Evangelicalism* and "Evangelical Worldview since 1890"; William Martin, *With God on Our Side*, 7–8; Paul Boyer, *When Time Shall Be No More*, 86–100; Steve Brouwer, Paul Gifford, and Susan Rose, *Exporting the American Gospel*, 33–40; and George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*.

32. Pratt discusses the "monarch" genre in *Imperial Eyes*, 201–208.

33. Angela Miller, "The Panorama, the Cinema, and the Emergence of the Spectacular"; John Davis, *Landscape of Belief*, 55, 65–72.

34. Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 4, 13. The Cairo Street viewed at the European exhibition described by Mitchell was mobile. It came to the Chicago world's fair in 1893 and the St. Louis world's fair in 1904. See Zeynep Celik, *Displaying the Orient*.

35. The phrase "the certainty of representation" is Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 7, quoting Heidegger, "The Age of the World Picture," in *The Question Concerning Technology and Other Essays*, 127.

36. Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*, 97–136. Angela Miller's discussion of Crary in "The Panorama, the Cinema, and the Emergence of the Spectator," is particularly useful.

37. Jonathan Crary, "Modernizing Vision," 34.

38. Although both Crary and Mitchell use Foucault to talk about a modern preoccupation with spectacle and visibility, they have somewhat different interests. They both point out the ways in which the nineteenth century made knowledge into that which could be *seen*, but Mitchell is far better at delineating the direct political consequences of the move, while Crary is better at pointing out the contradictions and complexities within it.

39. John Davis, *Landscape of Belief*, 73–74.

40. *Ibid.*, 89–94.

41. Lester Vogel, *To See a Promised Land*, 71.

42. "Regression and decrepitude" is from Charles Elliott, *Remarkable Characters and Places of the Holy Land*, 1867; "Ottoman rule" and "Mussulman character" are from Jacob Freese, *The Old World*, 1869; both quoted in Lester Vogel, *To See a Promised Land*, 75.



43. Lee Scott Theisen, "General Lew Wallace and *Ben-Hur*," 36. The stage production of *Ben-Hur* ran in New York in 1899; Bruce Babington and Peter William Evans, *Biblical Epics*, 5.

44. Lew Wallace, *Ben-Hur*.

45. Matthew Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, and Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*. Both discuss the political resonance of this concern with markets. On the general climate of the time, see James Livingston, *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution*; and Martin Sklar, *Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism*; and Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice*.

46. Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, 33.

47. Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, 227–254.

48. Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture*, 89–90. On department stores and Orientalism, see also Mari Yoshihara, "Women's Asia"; and Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures*.

49. William Leach, *Land of Desire*, 111.

50. *Ibid.*, 105.

51. John Kasson, *Amusing the Million*, 50–53.

52. See Patricia Hanson and Alan Gevinson, eds., *The American Film Institute Catalog of Motion Pictures*, listings under "Arabia" and "Arabs."

53. Gaylyn Studlar, "Out-Salomeing Salome," 116–117. On the anagram of "Arab Death," see Antonia Lant, "Curse of the Pharaoh," 91.

54. Joel C. Hodson, *Lawrence of Arabia and American Culture*, 11–82.

55. Gaylyn Studlar, *This Mad Masquerade*: "woman-made man," 151; "full torrent," 101. "When an Arab sees a woman he wants, he takes her": Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 256. See Hansen's discussion of women fans as sexual agents, 259–262.

56. Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon*, 261.

57. *Ibid.*, 257, 260.

58. Richard Carrott, *Egyptian Revival*. James Stevens Curl focuses more on architecture and design in Europe in *Egyptomania*.

59. Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon*, 19; Brian Fagan, *Rape of the Nile*; John Wilson, *Signs and Wonders upon Pharaoh*.

60. Antonia Lant, "Curse of the Pharaoh," 85.

61. Ronny Cohen, "Tut and the '20s," 87.

62. Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture*, 182–183. See also Bruce Babington and Peter William Evans, *Biblical Epics*, 44–46.

63. William Appleman Williams, *Tragedy of American Diplomacy*.

64. Stuart Creighton Miller, "Benevolent Assimilation," 88. See also Kristen Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood*.

65. Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 29. On missionaries, see Jane Hunter, *Gospel of Gentility*. Oscar Campomanes's work on the cultural production of U.S. imperialism in representations of the Philippines has significantly influenced my own. See "American Orientalism at the Turn of the Century and Filipino Postcoloniality" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, forthcoming). See also Vicente Rafael, "White Love."



66. Stuart Creighton Miller highlights the rhetoric of “benevolence” in the imperialism debates in *Benevolent Assimilation*.

67. See Walter Benn Michaels, “Anti-imperial Americanism”; and Matthew Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 220–259. On the earlier debate about absorbing Mexicans, see Richard White, *New History of the American West*; and Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*.

68. Lisa Lowe’s *Immigrant Acts* charts this tension as it developed in the twentieth century.

69. Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 23–58.

70. *Ibid.*, 100.

71. Richard Maltby, *Hollywood Cinema*, 69; Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 216.

72. Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America*, 224–225; and John Izod, *Hollywood and the Box Office*, 114–118.

73. On the complicated history of Zionism, for example, see Bernard Avishai, *Tragedy of Zionism*; and Mark A. Raider, *Emergence of American Zionism*. On anti-Zionism among Jews, see Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews against Zionism*.

74. William Quandt, *Decade of Decisions*, identifies these (minus religious attachment) as the three primary pillars of U.S. policy in the region. This analysis is supported, variously by Alan R. Taylor, *The Superpowers and the Middle East*; and Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*.

75. Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 123–128.

76. Joe Stork, *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis*, 27; Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace*, 179–180.

77. Quoted by Emily Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream*, 197. As President Truman explained in a letter to King Ibn Saud in 1950, “The United States is interested in the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of Saudi Arabia. No threat to your Kingdom could occur which would not be a matter of immediate concern to the United States.” Daniel Yergin, *The Prize*, 427–428. See also David Painter, *Oil and the American Century*.

78. For discussions of the coup in Iran, see Richard Cottam, *Iran and the United States*, 95–109; and Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War*, 157–158.

79. George Lenczowski, *American Presidents and the Middle East*, 57–66.

80. Joe Stork, *Middle East Oil and the Energy Crisis*, 82.

81. Thomas McCormick, *America’s Half-Century*, 186–190, calls this policy “subimperialism” and argues that between 1967 and 1985, the policy was carried out by both the United States and the Soviet Union, which turned to Iraq and Syria. See also Alan Taylor, *The Superpowers and the Middle East*, esp. 112–120.

82. Timothy Mitchell, “Middle East Studies.”

83. Vincente Rafael, “Cultures of Area Studies in the United States”; Timothy Mitchell, “Middle East Studies.”

84. Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 6.



85. Timothy Mitchell, "Middle East Studies."

86. Gregory Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 60-78.

87. *Ibid.*, 78.

88. The Naturalization Act of 1790 allowed naturalization only for "free white persons." It was amended and reauthorized several times in the nineteenth century. In 1870, the law was revised to include "persons of African nativity and descent," in order to accommodate the naturalization of former slaves, though this also had the effect of allowing naturalization of immigrants from Africa, while disallowing naturalization of any other "nonwhite" persons. Chinese were specifically disallowed from naturalization by the 1882 Exclusion Act. Later, various Supreme Court rulings declared that Japanese and Indians were ineligible for citizenship. See *Ozawa v. United States* (1922); *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923); and the summaries in Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore*, 111-114, 207, 299; and Matthew Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 15-38; 223-275. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 nullified the racial restrictions on naturalization.

89. On the history of racial science, see William Stanton, *Leopard's Spots*; Stephen Jay Gould, *Mismeasure of Man*; Richard Lewontin, Steven Rose, and Leon J. Kamin, *Not in Our Genes*; and Daniel Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics*.

90. Matthew Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 230-233; quotations on 233.

91. *Dow v. United States et al.*, Circuit Court of Appeals, Fourth Circuit, September 14, 1915. See also Matthew Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 239.

92. Joseph Massad, "Palestinians and the Limits of Racialized Discourse"; and Therese Saliba, "Another 'Other': Ambivalent Constructions of Arab Americans" (paper presented at the meeting of the American Studies Association, Boston, November 1993).

93. Gregory Orfalea, *Before the Flames*, 60.

94. Sameer Y. Abraham, "Detroit's Arab-American Community," 90-91.

95. Hamid Naficy, *Making of Exile Cultures*.

96. See Matthew Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 171-200. On the history of U.S. anti-Semitism, see Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America*, especially 58-77 on ideas about race.

## 1. "BENEVOLENT SUPREMACY"

1. "The Ten Commandments," *Time*, November 12, 1956, 122. See also "In the Grand Tradition," *Newsweek*, November 5, 1956, 112.

2. Bosley Crowther, "The Ten Commandments," *New York Times*, November 9, 1956, 35.

3. William Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew*, 102. By 1960, 63 percent of Americans claimed some affiliation with a religious denomination, compared with 48 percent in 1940. James Patterson, *America in the Twentieth Century*, 344.