

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Shadid, *Crusading Doctor*.
2. “The Peddler of Rugs,” *Vici (OK) Beacon*, July 4, 1940.
3. Shadid, *Doctors of Today and Tomorrow*. This is especially remarkable considering that there were seven candidates in the first election and ten in the second.
4. Bald, *Bengali Harlem*; Hoganson, *Consumers’ Imperium*.
5. Stockton, “Ethnic Archetypes and the Arab Image,” 135.
6. Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*; Somerville, “Queer,” 199.
7. Section 2169 of the *Revised Statutes* (1878) stipulated that any immigrant seeking naturalization must be considered either a “free white person” or a person “of African nativity or African descent.” Only one petitioner claimed naturalization rights through African heritage. See *In re Cruz*, 23 F. Supp. 774 (1938). The case that ultimately determined naturalization rights for Syrians was *Dow v. United States*, 226 Fed. 147 (1915).
8. See Haney López, *White by Law*; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*; Jacobsen, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; Maghbouleh, *The Limits of Whiteness*.
9. Armenians were also granted naturalization rights. While there were no Iranian petitioners in this period, Iranians appeared in court arguments as a hinge on which others’ arguments for whiteness turned. See Craver, “On the Boundary of White”; and Maghbouleh, *The Limits of Whiteness*, 17–24.
10. Furumoto and Goldberg, “Boundaries of the Racial State,” 85.
11. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 130.
12. Halaby, “Dr. Michael Shadid and the Debate over Identity in ‘The Syrian World.’”
13. Unless otherwise stated, I use “American” throughout this book to refer to hegemonic articulations of who was suited for US citizenship and belonging, most notably through the interrelated logics of whiteness, upward class mobility, and cisgender heteronormativity.

This usage is not to erase the multiple claims to Americanness throughout this history, including those of Syrian migrants, but to underscore that the category of “American” itself was mobilized by marshaling structures of power and oppression that were foundational to the US state.

14. Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 2.
15. Jarmakani, *Imagining Arab Womanhood*, 64.
16. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*.
17. Important examples of feminist analyses and scholarship on women in Arab American history include Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*; Naff, *Becoming American*; Shakir, *Bint Arab*; and Saylor, “Subversive Sisterhood.” Most contemporary studies in Arab American scholarship largely ignore sexuality; exceptions include Cable, “An Uprising at the Perfect Moment”; Jarmakani, *An Imperialist Love Story*; Naber, *Arab America*; Shomali, “Scheherazade”; and Shomali, *Between Banat*.
18. Fay, “Old Roots—New Soil,” in Zogby, *Taking Root, Bearing Fruit*, 1:21.
19. On the associations between transience and sexual nonnormativity, see Canaday, *The Straight State*; and Shah, *Stranger Intimacies*. Another instance in which Arabness has been understood in both racialized and sexualized terms is through the figure of the sheikh. Alternately racialized by his queer gender or sexuality or sexualized by his racial difference, the sheikh character has been both racially and sexually ambiguous in film and literature since the 1920s. See Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 149–56; and Jarmakani, *An Imperialist Love Story*, 155–88.
20. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*; Samhan, “Not Quite White”; Maghbouleh, *The Limits of Whiteness*, 5; and Tehranian, *Whitewashed*, 37.
21. Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, 20.
22. Lowe, “History Hesitant,” 90–91.
23. Karem Albrecht, “Why Arab American History Needs Queer of Color Critique.”
24. See Jasbir Puar’s concept of homonationalism in *Terrorist Assemblages*.
25. Naber, *Arab America*, 6.
26. Abdulhadi, “Sexualities and the Social Order in Arab and Muslim Communities,” 470.
27. Jarmakani, *Imagining Arab Womanhood*, 3.
28. Jarmakani, 7.
29. The categorization “Arab migration” is fraught and complicated by a number of factors, including the self-identification of Arab as a culturally, historically, and politically contingent practice; the anti-Blackness in non-Black Arab communities; and the exclusion from Arab migration history of the forced migration of enslaved West African Muslims who spoke Arabic. See Hassoun, “Class and Color among Arab Americans.”
30. Gualtieri, *Arab Routes*; Cainkar, “Palestinian Women in the United States.”
31. For a fuller discussion of these discrepancies, see Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 45–46.
32. Majaj, “Arab Americans and the Meanings of Race,” 321.
33. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 24–29.
34. Gualtieri, 28.
35. Gualtieri, 29.
36. Naff, *Becoming American*, 150–51.
37. Bald, *Bengali Harlem*.

38. Naff, *Becoming American*, 130.

39. Naff.

40. Naff, 178. Like their male counterparts, the vast majority of Syrian women peddlers were Christians. This is in part proportional to the overall demographics of the Syrian immigrant community in the first half of the twentieth century. Naff suggests that the absence of Muslim and Druze women peddlers reflects the timing of their migration during the decline of Syrian peddlers' heyday toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, and to the conservatism regarding women in those religious traditions. However, two things should be taken into account regarding this assertion. First, there is documentation of at least one Syrian Muslim woman peddler, who lived in the sizable Syrian Muslim community in North Dakota in the early 1900s. Second, Syrian Christian women peddlers were far from universally sanctioned, as discussed in chapters 2 and 3. Some Syrian Jews from this period were also peddlers, but it is unclear if women were among their ranks.

41. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 143–45.

42. Berman, *American Arabesque*, 180.

43. Kayal and Kayal, *The Syrian-Lebanese in America*, 91.

44. Canaday, *The Straight State*.

45. Fahrenthold, "Ladies Aid as Labor History"; Shakir, *Bint Arab*; Stiffler, "A Brief History of Arab Immigrant Textile Production."

46. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 137.

47. Naff, *Becoming American*, 233; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 137.

48. Naff, *Becoming American*, 233.

49. Canaday, *The Straight State*; Shah, "Between 'Oriental Depravity' and 'Natural Degenerates'"; Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*. While Canaday's work elucidates how these concerns of sexual deviance centered on same-sex sexuality among white men, homosexual acts between white and nonwhite men also triggered disciplinary actions. Nayan Shah's work documents the sexual encounters between South Asian migrant workers and white men during this period—encounters that did not surface in community collections but were recorded in the arrest records of many of these men.

50. Naff, *Becoming American*, 164.

51. Jacobs, *Strangers in the West*, 15–25.

52. Naff, *Becoming American*; Shakir, *Bint Arab*. While it is important to note that both Alixa Naff and Evelyn Shakir wrote women into the histories of the early Arab American community, these significant scholarly contributions are still predicated on the compulsory heterosexuality and binary cisnormativity of Arab American women and girls.

53. Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary*, 6–7.

54. Arondekar, *For the Record*, 7. See also Arondekar, "In the Absence of Reliable Ghosts."

55. Lowe, "History Hesitant," 93.

56. Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," 2, 11.

57. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments*, xiv.

58. Hartman, xv.

59. Kunzel, "The Power of Queer History," 1560–61.

60. Kunzel, 1563–67.

61. Kunzel, 1580.

62. Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 22; Manalansan, "The 'Stuff' of Archives."

63. Arondekar et al., “Queering Archives,” 219.
64. Al-Kassim, “Psychoanalysis and the Postcolonial Genealogy of Queer Theory,” 345.
65. Jacob, “The Middle East,” 347.
66. Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*, 4.
67. Manalansan, “Messing Up Sex,” 1287.
68. Tompkins, “Intersections of Race, Gender, and Sexuality,” 173.
69. Shah, “Queer of Color Estrangement and Belonging,” 262.
70. Here I’m indebted to Cathy Cohen’s foundational critique that white queer theory failed to fully account for the normalizing forces of hegemonic sexuality. See Cohen, “Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens.”
71. In the context of Middle Eastern and North African sexual genealogies, see Abu-Khalil, “A Note on the Study of Homosexuality”; Amer, “Medieval Arab Lesbians and Lesbian-Like Women”; Babayan and Najmabadi, *Islamicate Sexualities*; Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*; and El-Rouayheb, “Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World.” See also the special issues of *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 7, no. 3 (2011); and *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 45, no. 2 (2013).
72. Macharia, “belated: interruption,” 561; Macharia, “On Being Area-Studied.”
73. Macharia, “On Being Area-Studied,” 186.
74. Arondekar and Patel, “Area Impossible,” 152.
75. Amin, “Haunted by the 1990s,” 289.
76. Mikdashi and Puar, “Queer Theory and Permanent War,” 216.
77. On diasporic connections that do not trace the route of diaspora back to a nation, see Alfaro-Velcamp, *So Far from Allah, So Close to Mexico*; and Gualtieri, *Arab Routes*.
78. See Bawardi, *The Making of Arab Americans*.
79. Gopinath, *Unruly Visions*, 5.
80. On queer theory and diaspora, see, among others, Eng, “Out Here and Over There”; and Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*.
81. Gopinath, *Unruly Visions*, 29.
82. Shomali, “Dancing Queens,” 137.
83. Steet, *Veils and Daggers*, 57.
84. Regina Kunzel, quoted in Arondekar et al., “Queering Archives,” 230.
85. Amin, *Disturbing Attachments*, 5–8.
86. Amin, “Haunted by the 1990s,” 290 (emphasis in the original).

## 1. TRAVELER, PEDDLER, STRANGER, SYRIAN: QUEER PROVOCATIONS AND SEXUAL THREATS

*Epigraph:* Dresbach, “The Syrian Peddler,” 314–15.

1. I am indebted to Sarah Ensor for her generative meditation on this aspect of my research.
2. Amin, “Haunted by the 1990s.”
3. Moloney, *National Insecurities*, 132.
4. Louis L. Interview Notes, Faris and Yamna Naff Arab American Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution (hereafter Naff Collection), accessed May 23, 2022, at Arab American National Museum, <https://aanm.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16806coll10/id/103/rec/3>.

5. Louis L. Interview Notes, Naff Collection.
6. For instance, in Naff's interview notes, she asks the sister of the person she was interviewing if she found things difficult living in the United States. Naff writes: "She was also reluctant to speak. Her husband, brother, nephew, and his wife were present. She was also reluctant to say anything that might appear derogatory about her country or the US and asked to turn tape recorder off so she could rehearse her statements." In a set of notes regarding a different interlocutor, Naff writes, "She was very conscious of being taped and put the best coloring on everything." Such hesitancy could also stem from a desire not to speak disparagingly about one's situation in front of family or to avoid saying something that could be perceived as critical of the state. See Essa and Mary M. Interview Notes and Alice A. Interview Notes, Naff Collection.
7. Essa and Mary M. Interview Notes, Naff Collection, accessed May 23, 2022, at Arab American National Museum, <https://aanm.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16806coll10/id/106/rec/3>.
8. Alice A. Interview Notes, Naff Collection.
9. Aryain and Pate, *From Syria to Seminole*, 54–55.
10. "It Looks like Murder: A Missing Peddler's Pack and Blood Stains Found near Plymouth," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 10, 1891.
11. "Syrian Peddler Disappears," *Baltimore Sun*, May 24, 1903.
12. "Peddler Murdered," *Nashville American*, July 27, 1906, 7.
13. "Death Sentence," *Highland Recorder* (Monterey, VA), January 26, 1906.
14. "Believe Nadir Was Murdered: Further Mystery Surrounds the Death of the Syrian Peddler," *Morning Olympian-Tribune* (Olympia, WA), November 15, 1893, 1.
15. "Head Severed by Ax: Syrian Peddler Killed by Negroes—Motive Robbery," *Tensas Gazette* (St. Joseph, LA), November 5, 1909.
16. "Masters of Mendicants: Syrian Arabs Infesting the Cities," *New York Times*, February 21, 1888; "Sanctified' Arab Tramps: Wretched Maronite Beggars Infesting This Country," *New York Times*, May 25, 1890, 17.
17. "New Arrivals from Syria," *New York Times*, August 8, 1885, 8.
18. "With Fear: People of South Louisville Look on Syrians," *Louisville (KY) Courier-Journal*, December 5, 1902, 6.
19. "The Definition of a Peddler," *Fort Worth Gazette*, April 26, 1890, 5.
20. "Retail Merchants Aroused," *Oklahoma Leader* (Guthrie), February 27, 1908.
21. Naff, *Becoming American*, 174.
22. "Syrians Grabbing the Business of El Paso," *El Paso Herald*, July 22, 1912, 5.
23. Editorial, *Beaver (OK) Herald*, March 18, 1909.
24. Tompkins, "You Make Me Feel Right Quare," 54. Tompkins builds upon Cheryl Harris's concept of "whiteness as property." See Harris, "Whiteness as Property."
25. Birla, *Stages of Capital*, 3. See pages 2–12 for an extended discussion of vernacular capitalism. I use this framework provisionally, understanding that Syrians were not indigenous capitalists in the context of the United States.
26. Abu-Laban and Suleiman, *Arab Americans*, 2; Haddad, "The Woman's Role in the Socialization of Syrian-Americans in Chicago," 90; Naff, *Becoming American*.
27. Hooglund, "Introduction," in Hoogland, *Taking Root*, 2:4.
28. Naff, *Becoming American*, 46.
29. Naff, 130.

30. Naff, 169, 145–46.
31. Naff, 15–16.
32. Schechla, “The Mohammeds in Mississippi,” in Hooglund, *Taking Root*, 2:43–44.
33. Conklin and Faires, “‘Colored’ and Catholic,” 78.
34. John, “Arabic-Speaking Immigration to the El Paso Area,” 108.
35. “Congress to Tackle the Immigration Problem,” *Los Angeles Herald*, January 9, 1898, 18.
36. Zirbel, “Amulets, Fortune-Telling, and Magic.”
37. “‘Syrian Prophet’ Pays \$50 Fine on Assault Charge,” *Washington Times*, February 20, 1918, 16.
38. “Burned Her Home to Get Even with Her,” *Herald-Republican* (Salt Lake City), August 21, 1910, 3.
39. “Lone Irishman Tries Lynching,” *Okeene (OK) Eagle*, April 28, 1905, 6; “Lone Irishman Tries Lynching,” *Jonesboro (AR) Weekly Sun*, April 12, 1905, 2.
40. Tompkins, “You Make Me Feel Right Quare,” 54.
41. “Special to Daily Leader,” *Guthrie (OK) Daily Leader*, August 6, 1903, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86063952/1903-08-06/ed-1/seq-6/>.
42. Ting, “Bachelor Society.”
43. Naff Collection, Series 2, Box 68.
44. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 137.
45. This experience could easily have been a white supremacist response that simply assumed a relationality among all Arabs.
46. The alternate transliterated spelling of an Arabic name here could indicate that this was a different family, but not necessarily.
47. Jacobs, *Strangers No More*, 158–61.
48. Hartman, “Venus in Two Acts,” 8.
49. Indian Territory was a US-defined region inside the Louisiana Purchase territory, but the region shifted and decreased in size every time a new state was created. It ceased to exist altogether after Oklahoma became a state in 1907.
50. Carter, *Oklahoma!*
51. Carter, 85.
52. Carter, 189.
53. Carter, 189.
54. See Carter, *Oklahoma!*; Kirle, “Reconciliation, Resolution, and the Political Role of *Oklahoma!*”; Most, “We Know We Belong to the Land”; and Most, *Making Americans*.
55. Kollin, *Captivating Westerns*, 136.
56. On the historical interrelation of anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim racial concepts, as well as articulations of Jews and Arabs, see Rana, “The Story of Islamophobia.”
57. The assumption of the Europeaness of Jewry is intended here. Neither Rodgers and Hammerstein nor scholars who have studied Ali Hakim consider the existence of Persian or other Southwest Asian Jews, despite evidence of peddlers among the small populations of Syrian and Yemeni Jews in the United States. Because the peddler is never allowed to have been both Jewish and Persian, or Jewish and Syrian, this analysis reiterates the ontological privileging of Ashkenazi Jews within Jewish studies. It also sets Jewish legibility against Arab and Southwest Asian legibility, as if the two cannot exist simultaneously.
58. To say that Arab Jews have a right to belong in the Middle East and North Africa outside Israel should not discount the documented histories of anti-Semitism that Arab

and other Middle Eastern Jews have faced. The Israeli state also fomented anti-Semitism in some places in the Middle East and North Africa in order to encourage Jewish immigration to the newly formed territory. See Shohat, "Dislocated Identities."

59. Canaday, *The Straight State*.
60. Chang, *The Color of the Land*, 129.
61. Chang, 189.
62. See, for example, Miranda, "Extermination of the 'Joyas'"; Driskill et al., "Introduction," in *Queer Indigenous Studies*; Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*.
63. Brown, *Stoking the Fire*, 121.
64. Cited in Rich, "Oklahoma Was Never Really O.K."
65. Brown, *Stoking the Fire*, 16.
66. Riggs, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, in *The Cherokee Night and Other Plays*, 2–105.
67. Riggs, 33.
68. Riggs, 33.
69. Riggs, 34.
70. Riggs, 34.
71. Riggs, 36.
72. Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium*.
73. Hoganson, 52–53.
74. Hoganson, 14.
75. Bald, *Bengali Harlem*, 46.
76. Riggs, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, 34.
77. Riggs, *Knives from Syria*.
78. One could also argue that, in light of their small role and the characters' anonymity, Syrians are not primarily those to whom Riggs wanted to give voice. Perhaps both assessments are true.
79. Caldwell, "The Syrian-Lebanese in Oklahoma," 39, 33.
80. Braunlich, *Haunted by Home*, 16; Hakim et al., "Annie Abdo." At least three other families claim that their ancestor was the basis for the Syrian peddler character in Riggs's plays (phone interview with Kristin Shamas, scholar of Syrian and Lebanese history of Oklahoma, October 17, 2019).
81. "Play of Prairies Is Given at Ford's by Theater Guild," *Baltimore Sun*, January 13, 1931, 9.
82. Katherine T. Von Blon, "Guild Play Primitive in Power: Wild Enthusiasm Greets 'Green Grow the Lilacs' at Pasadena Community," *Los Angeles Times*, July 1, 1932, A11.
83. "And Now Lynn Riggs: After Several Ventures in the Theatre, He Arrives with 'Green Grow the Lilacs,'" *New York Times*, February 1, 1931, 109.
84. Chang, *The Color of the Land*, 6.
85. Chang, 76.
86. Weaver, *That the People Might Live*, 99.
87. Weaver, 99.
88. Chang, *The Color of the Land*, 191.
89. Carter, *Oklahoma!*; Most, "'We Know We Belong to the Land"'; Kirle, "Reconciliation, Resolution, and the Political Role of *Oklahoma!*"
90. Aikin, "Was Jud Jewish?"; Most, "'We Know We Belong to the Land.'"
91. Riggs, *Green Grow the Lilacs*, 34.
92. Carter, *Oklahoma!* 100.

93. This joke was not original to *Oklahoma!* A similar joke about Filipino Muslims figured in a political cartoon more than four decades earlier, during the Philippine-American War. See Mendoza, *Metroimperial Intimacies*, 132.

94. Rodgers and Hammerstein, *Oklahoma!* 26.

95. Rodgers and Hammerstein, 32.

96. Carter, *Oklahoma!* 201.

97. See the discussion of these fears and discourses in Jarmakani, *An Imperialist Love Story*, 167–74. Jarmakani cites Garber, *Vested Interests*, 304–10; and Studlar, “Discourses of Gender and Ethnicity.”

98. Berman, *American Arabesque*, 179–84; Karem Albrecht, “An Archive of Difference,” 134–35.

99. Caton, “The Sheik,” 113–14.

100. Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 62.

101. Kirle, “Reconciliation, Resolution, and the Political Role of *Oklahoma!*” 265.

102. Most, “We Know We Belong to the Land,” 77.

103. Most, 81.

104. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 134.

105. Canaday, 137–38.

106. Pollack-Pelzner, “The Hidden History of ‘Oklahoma!’”

107. Kollin, *Captivating Westerns*, 127.

108. Rodgers and Hammerstein, *Oklahoma!* 78.

109. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 98.

110. Toth, “Birmingham,” 34; Peterson, “Houston,” 62; Toth, “Jacksonville,” 68.

## 2. “A WOMAN WITHOUT LIMITS”: SYRIAN WOMEN IN THE PEDDLING ECONOMY

1. Haddad, “Timthal al-Huriyya.”

2. Haddad, 180.

3. Haddad, 181.

4. Saylor, “Subversive Sisterhood,” 9.

5. The threat or fear of gossip comes in the form of *kalam al-nas*, loosely translated as “what will the people say,” in which “the people” refers to other Arabs. For a contemporary understanding of how “what will the people say” functions to police the behaviors and bodies of women and girls, see Naber, *Arab America*, 1–9.

6. Traub, *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns*, 17. Traub goes on to assert that maintaining an analysis of gender alongside sexuality “also stems from a historical sense that queer studies misrecognizes its own conditions of emergence when it categorically rejects affiliation with feminism in the name of analytically separating sexuality from gender” (18).

7. Khater, *Inventing Home*.

8. Khater, 32.

9. Afif Tannous Interview Notes, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 83, Folder 20. Regarding her 1980 interview with Afif Tannous, Naff noted: “In commenting about the Damascenes in the US who were proud to say they didn’t peddle, informant states that the reason for this is that the ‘majority of the farmers [in Syria] were serfs until 1960s when internal revolution took place and land reform was established.’ Syria,’ he added, ‘was a landlord country.’

Therefore, especially during the time of Greater Syria, the Damascenes were proud of saying that they were from Damascus, because Damascus was the center of power. To be a Damascene is to belong to a city of a country where the farmers are serfs. Therefore being a farmer is embarrassing for some families. The only people who were proud of being farmers were the Lebanese villagers because they were independent.”

10. Naber, *Arab America*, 71–73.
11. Tannous, “Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community,” 270.
12. Tannous, 266–67.
13. Tannous, 267.
14. Tannous, 271 (emphasis in original).
15. Haddad, “Timthal al-Huriyya,” 180.
16. Hitti, *The Syrians in America*, 58.
17. Hagopian, “Institutional Development of the Arab-American Community of Boston,” 69.
18. Haddad, “The Woman’s Role in the Socialization of Syrian-Americans in Chicago,” 90–91.
19. Ong, *Buddha Is Hiding*, 11.
20. Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women*, 112.
21. Naff, *Becoming American*, 144. Naff notes that an absence of six months to a year, as well as longer trips back to Greater Syria, was not uncommon for long-distance peddlers, who were mostly men.
22. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 87.
23. International Institutes were originally founded in the 1920s through the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) specifically to address the needs of new immigrant populations. They often had “nationality secretaries”—a first- or second-generation American from an immigrant community who was bilingual and acted as both social worker and community liaison. International Institutes could be found throughout urban areas in the United States, and they eventually formed their own federation separate from the YWCA. International Institutes frequently held galas and pageants that celebrated the different national cultures of the immigrants they served, but they remained at their core organizations that sought to normalize and assimilate immigrants. These sites of celebration became sites of consumption for white, native-born Americans and sites of discipline, rather than liberation, for immigrants.
24. “A Precious Syrian Sister,” *New York Sun*, May 23, 1888.
25. For instance, one Syrian American woman peddled as a child with her father because her presence enabled him more easily to find lodging at night (Interview with Elizabeth Beshara, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 79, Folder 6). See also Younis and Kayal, *The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People to the United States*, 169.
26. “Syrian Peddlers: Eastern Women Trained from Childhood to Carry Heavy Weights,” *Detroit Free Press*, September 10, 1911.
27. “Syrian Peddlers.”
28. Louise Seymour Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Sources and Settlement,” *The Survey* (New York), July 1, 1911; Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Business Activities,” *The Survey*, August 5, 1911; Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status,” *The Survey*, September 2, 1911; Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: The Syrian as an American Citizen,” *The Survey*, October 7, 1911.

29. Interview with Nicola Shamiyyi, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 88, Folder 5.
30. Naff, *Becoming American*, 178.
31. Hourani, “Aqlah Brice Al Shidyaq,” 52–55.
32. Al Shidyaq, “Sitta ‘Aqlah.”
33. Naff, *Becoming American*, 178, 230.
34. Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Business Activities,” 648.
35. Associated Charities of Boston, *Annual Report*, 1899, 57.
36. Associated Charities of Boston (1899), 57.
37. Associated Charities of Boston (1899), 60; Associated Charities of Boston, *Annual Report*, 1905, 41. Akram Khater argues that Syrian men were not as keen as some other immigrants to work in factories, because their identities were closely tied to working the land. In this light, peddling may have been something that approximated or kept them closer to their desired vocations. See Khater, *Inventing Home*, 33.
38. Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Business Activities,” 650.
39. Schweik, *The Ugly Laws*.
40. Schweik, 3.
41. Schweik, 144.
42. Schweik, 145.
43. Schweik, 193.
44. Schweik, 146.
45. Naff, *Becoming American*, 166.
46. Schweik, *The Ugly Laws*, 178.
47. Schweik, 212.
48. Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status,” 799.
49. Y. M. Karekin, “Armenians Not Peddlers” (letter to the editor), *The Survey*, September 9, 1911, 841 (emphasis added).
50. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 26.
51. Fraser and Gordon, “A Genealogy of Dependency,” 320.
52. Fraser and Gordon, 319.
53. Associated Charities of Boston, *Annual Report*, 1899, 58.
54. C., “Syrians in Boston” (letter to the editor), *The Survey*, October 29, 1911, 1088.
55. C., “Syrians in Boston.”
56. Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women*, 111; Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*, 58.
57. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 127; Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*; Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women*.
58. Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 38; Khater, “Like Pure Gold,” 66–67.
59. Dina Dahbany-Miraglia, “Random Thoughts on the Position of Women among Early Arab Immigrants” (unpublished manuscript, Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, NY, n.d.), Group II, Box 5, Folder 149, Syrian American Archival Collection; Khater, “Like Pure Gold,” 92–93.
60. Houghton, “Syrians in the United States: Intellectual and Social Status,” 799.
61. Tinsley, *Thieving Sugar*, 9.
62. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 12.
63. Interview with Mary Agemy, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 88, Folder 5.

64. Naff, *Becoming American*, 174.
65. "Syrian Woman Arrested; Told Hard Luck Story," *Atlanta Constitution* (1881–1945), May 16, 1910.
66. "Infant in a Cesspool," *Scranton (PA) Tribune*, September 6, 1900 (morning edition), 5.
67. "Mrs. Mary Tamar Is under Arrest," *Scranton (PA) Tribune*, September 7, 1900 (morning edition), 5.
68. Adele Linda Younis, "The Coming of the Arabic-Speaking People to the United States," PhD diss., Boston University, 1961, cited in Cory, "The Women from the Levant," 21–31.
69. "Nursery for Syrian Babies: It Is to Be Founded in Lower New York by the Syrian Woman's Union, a Charitable Society," *New York Times*, March 19, 1899.
70. Litia Namoura, "The Dances of the Exotic East," Naff Collection, cited in Cory, "The Women from the Levant," 130.
71. US House of Representatives, *Reports of the Industrial Commission on Immigration . . . and on Education*, vol. 15 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 443.
72. Schechla, "Dabkeh in the Delta," 32.
73. Schechla, "Dabkeh in the Delta," 33; Interview with Abe Abraham, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box, 88, Folder 5.
74. Moloney, *National Insecurities; Luibhéid, Entry Denied*.
75. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls*; Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp"; Tice, *Tales of Wayward Girls and Immoral Women*.
76. Mink, "The Lady and the Tramp," 93–94.
77. Mink, 103.
78. National Conference of Social Work, *Proceedings* (1915), 594.
79. National Conference of Social Work, 54, 55.
80. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 80; Khater, "Like Pure Gold," 92.
81. International Institutes sometimes had a first- or second-generation American from an immigrant community who was bilingual and acted as both social worker and community liaison. For more information on International Institutes, see Mohl, "Cultural Pluralism in Immigrant Education."
82. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, General/Multiethnic Collection, Immigration History Research Center Archives, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (hereafter cited as G/MC IHRCA). According to the IHRCA's use guidelines, the names of International Institute clients have been changed to protect privacy. Victoria Karam (later Victoria Abboud) is the real name of the social worker.
83. The case file notes do not say how she was financially able to do this.
84. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, G/MC IHRCA.
85. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 315, G/MC IHRCA.
86. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 14, Folder 398, G/MC IHRCA.
87. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 15, Folder 579, G/MC IHRCA.

88. Spivak, “Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography,” in *In Other Worlds*, 211, 214.

89. Potter, “Queer Hoover,” 360.

90. Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 41.

91. Interview with Elizabeth Beshara Notes, Series 3, Box 79, Folder 6, Naff Collection.

92. Canaday, *The Straight State*, 12.

93. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, G/MC IHRCA.

94. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, G/MC IHRCA.

95. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, G/MC IHRCA.

96. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, G/MC IHRCA.

97. Cory, “The Women from the Levant,” 111.

98. Amy E. Nevala, “Victoria Karam Abboud, 98; Social Worker Aided Children, Immigrants,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 2001; Cynthia Scheider, “Victoria Karem Abboud,” *William G. Abdallah Memorial Library Newsletter* (September 1990).

99. International Institute of Boston, Massachusetts Records, Box 13, Folder 256, G/MC IHRCA.

100. Naff, *Becoming American*, 178.

101. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 144 (citing Ferguson, *Aberrations in Black*, 14–16; and Shah, *Contagious Divides*, 13–15).

102. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 144. Original “Reports of the Industrial Commission,” vol. 15 (1901), p. 444.

### 3. WANDERING IN DIASPORA: THE SYRIAN AMERICAN ELITE AND SEXUAL NORMATIVITY

1. Naff, *Becoming American*, 234.
2. Not all elite Syrian Americans agreed completely about the idealized identity in relation to Syrianness and Americanness. These conversations overlapped with conversations about modernity taking place in Ottoman Syria. But even in disagreement, they were united by a concerted push for gendered and sexual respectability.
3. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 20–33.
4. The Nahda centered primarily on Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. Khater, *Inventing Home*; Zachs and Halevi, *Gendering Culture in Greater Syria*.
5. Naff, *Becoming American*, 235–36; Khater, *Inventing Home*, 64–65; Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 139.
6. Zachs and Halevi, *Gendering Culture in Greater Syria*; Ze’evi, *Producing Desire*.
7. Naff, “The Arabic-Language Press,” 6. Population estimates for Syrians in the United States are not entirely accurate given the US government’s divergent naming practices. This ratio of literate population to numbers of publications likely also explains why many of these periodicals did not survive for long.
8. Naff, 4.
9. See Bawardi, *The Making of Arab Americans*; Fahrendhold, “Transnational Modes and Media”; Fahrendhold, *Between the Ottomans and the Entente*, 15; Gualtieri, *Between Arab*

and White; Sawaie, “Arabic in the Melting Pot,” 83–86; and Womack, “Syrian Christians and Arab-Islamic Identity.”

10. Jacobs, *Strangers in the West*, 268–72.
11. Jacobs, 261–78.
12. Naff, “The Arabic-Language Press,” 5.
13. Jacobs, *Strangers in the West*, 278.
14. Khater, *Inventing Home*.
15. Shabal Nasif Damus, “Hal al-Suriyyin fi Dar Hajartuhum” (The State of the Syrians in the Land of Their Migration), *Al-Jami'a*, September 21, 1907, 1.
16. Salloum Mokarzel, “Qara‘ al-Bab” (Knocking on the Door), *Al-Hoda*, March 22, 1898, 9, Moise A. Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies Archive, North Carolina State University, Raleigh (hereafter cited as Khayrallah Center Archive).
17. Khalil Sam‘an, “Al-Ma‘na” (The Meaning), *Al-Hoda*, May 10, 1898, 15–18, Michael W. Suleiman Collection, Arab American National Museum, Dearborn, MI.
18. Ibrahim Arbeely, “Fi al-Mawduwa‘ aladhi Iftarahahu al-Khawajat Batrakiyyan Akharan ‘an ‘Sabab T‘akhar al-Suriyyin al-Muhajirin wa-Dawa‘uhu” (Decision as to the Best Essay on “The Causes and Remedies of the Backwardness of Syrians”), *Al-Hoda*, November 16, 1904, Khayrallah Center Archive.
19. Najeeb Arbeely, “Al-Muhajarat al-Suriyat” (The Syrian Immigrant Women), *Kawkab America* (June 1895): 4, Khayrallah Center Archive.
20. Luibhéid, *Entry Denied*, xii.
21. Moloney, “Women, Sexual Morality, and Economic Dependency,” 111.
22. Najib Tannous Abdou, letter to the editor, *Kawkab America*, March 31, 1893, 2–3, Khayrallah Center Archive.
23. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 99.
24. Ilyas Nasif, “Al-Mar‘a al-Suriyya wa-l-Kasha” (The Syrian Woman and Peddling), *Al-Hoda*, May 26, 1903, 2, Khayrallah Center Archive.
25. Nasif.
26. Yusuf Shihadeh, “Al-Ba‘a al-Qalilu al-Adab” (Some Ill-Mannered Peddlers), *Al-Ayyam* 2, no. 67 (August 25, 1898): 5–6.
27. “Al-Suriyya al-Ba‘i‘a” (The Female Syrian Seller), *Al-Wafa‘* 2, no. 131 (1908): 2, Khayrallah Center Archive.
28. “Al-Suriyya al-Ba‘i‘a,” 4.
29. For more context on the genealogies and circulation of “honor” with regard to gender-based violence, see Abu-Lughod, “Seductions of the ‘Honor Crime’”; and Olwan, *Gender Violence and the Transnational Politics of the Honor Crime*.
30. Gualtieri, “From Lebanon to Louisiana”; Saylor, “Subversive Sisterhood.”
31. ‘Afifa Karam, “La Tarsilu Nisa‘kum ila al-Harb bi-Ghayyir Silah” (Do Not Send Your Women to War without Any Armor), *Al-Hoda*, October 17, 1906, 1, Khayrallah Center Archive.
32. Karam, “La Tarsilu,” 1.
33. Layyah Barakat, “The Eastern Woman in the West,” *Al-Hoda*, n.d., 1911, 19, cited in Shakir, *Bint Arab*, 41.
34. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 98.
35. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 69.
36. Moloney, *National Insecurities*, 139. Antipolygamy measures coalesced around opposition to Mormonism but also drew on anti-Muslim racism.

37. Majaj, “Arab Americans and the Meaning of Race”; Naber, *Arab America*.

38. The majority of Muslims turned away were Turkish or South Asian, but some Syrian Muslims were also denied entry. See Moloney, *National Insecurities*, 144.

39. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*.

40. Gualtieri, 67.

41. Gualtieri, 71. Gualtieri notes that this same language was also reflected in *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, which also covered Dow’s case.

42. Gualtieri, 53, 69.

43. Gualtieri, 67–68. The interweaving of Ashkenazi and Syrian Christian processes of racialization in the United States is also evident here. European Jews, like other European petitioners, were granted naturalization rights without those petitions going to the courts. Successful Syrian petitioners thus used these links of proximity to Ashkenazim (ethnological, religious, historical-geographic, etc.) to build a case for whiteness. It would be illuminating to know where Syrian Jews fell on this grid of racial testing: Were they counted as Hebrews, as European Jews were often labeled, and thus given naturalization rights without question? Was their geographic origin in Asia enough to include them with their conationals? Unfortunately, none of these naturalization cases concerned a Syrian Jewish petitioner. This line of inquiry can also be followed through extralegal routes. In immigration scholarship, Syrian Jews are often studied with Ashkenazim in pan-Jewish work and are separated from Syrian Christians and Muslims. Conversely, many studies on the Syrian immigrant population give little attention to the Syrian Jewish community. Some instances of anti-Syrian racialization depended heavily on anti-Semitic (more specifically, anti-Ashkenazi) tropes as well.

44. Beydoun, “Between Muslim and White,” 29.

45. Beydoun, 51.

46. Rana, “The Story of Islamophobia,” 148.

47. Dyer, *White*, 20.

48. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 145–46. Gualtieri’s work also shows evidence of anti-Muslim sentiment within the Christian Syrian American press, which linked the mistreatment of women explicitly with Muslims and the practice of polygamy.

49. Somerville, “Notes toward a Queer History of Naturalization,” 661–62.

50. Somerville. In discussing the desirable immigrant, Somerville draws on Berlant, *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City*.

51. Yusuf Al-Za’ni Batruni, “Al-Mar’ a al-Suriyya wa-Kashtaha wa-Hiyya Asl Bala’ taha” (The Syrian Woman and Peddling Which Is the Source of Her Affliction), *Al-Hoda*, July 7, 1903, 2, Khayrallah Center Archive.

52. ‘Afifa Karam, “Al-Fadilat Sahibat al-Imda’” (For the Virtuous Woman Who Owns This Signature), *Al-Hoda*, July 14, 1903, Khayrallah Center Archive.

53. Karam, “Al-Fadilat.”

54. Karam.

55. Karam.

56. Amin Silbi, letter to the editor, *Al-Hoda*, July 18, 1903, 2, Khayrallah Center Archive.

57. Silbi.

58. Yusuf Al-Za’ni Batruni, “Al-Mar’ a al-Suriyya wa-Kashtaha wa-Hiyya Asl Bala’ taha” (The Syrian Woman and Peddling Which Is the Source of Her Affliction), *Al-Hoda*, July 28, 1903, 2–3, Khayrallah Center Archive.

59. Yusuf Al-Za'ni Batruni, "Al-Mar'a al-Suriyya wa-Kashtaha: Asl al-Bala' al-Rajl" (The Syrian Woman and Peddling: The Source of Her Affliction Is Men), *Al-Hoda*, August 15, 1903, 2–3.

60. Naff, *Becoming American*, 115.

61. A notable exception is 'Afifa Karam's women's publication *Majallat al-'Alam al-Jadid al-Nisa'iyya*, which catered to women readers.

62. Khater, *Inventing Home*, 67.

63. Naff, *Becoming American*, 230.

64. Interviews with Ollie Okdie (Box 83, Folder 4), Rahmy Francis (Box 80, Folder 7), Peter Solomon (Box 83, Folder 17), Adeby Coury (Box 81, Folder 13), and Zahdi Barsa (Box 81, Folder 2), Naff Collection, Series 3. Druze women in diaspora who wanted to marry might have had only non-Druze suitors to choose from.

65. Karam, "La Tarsilu," 1.

66. "Al-Suriyya al-Ba'i'a" (The Female Syrian Seller), *Al-Wafa'* 2, no. 131 (1908), n.p., Khayrallah Center Archive.

67. "Al-Suriyya al-Ba'i'a."

68. Zubayda Butrus Sa'b, "al-Muhajara Ramnaha wa-Adiraruha" (Advantages and Disadvantages of Emigration), *Al-Hoda*, November 4, 1904, n.p., Khayrallah Center Archive.

69. See also Karem Albrecht, "Narrating Arab American History," 100.

70. Barakat Tannus Adhem, "Qisati bi-'Ashrin Satar imma Akthar Qalilan" (My Story in Twenty Lines, or a Little Bit More), *Al-Sa'iħ*, January 29, 1918, n.p., Michael W. Suleiman Collection.

71. Amin Silbi, letter to the editor, *Al-Hoda*, May 3, 1902, 6, Khayrallah Center Archive.

72. Victoria Tannous, "Al-Fataa al-'Amila" (The Working Girl), *Al-Akhlaq* (June 1920), Khayrallah Center Archive.

73. Tannous, "Al-Fataa al-'Amila."

74. Tannous.

75. Tannous.

76. Naoum Mokarzel, "La Tazlamuhunna" (Do Not Do Them Injustice), *Al-Hoda* (August 1904): 2, Khayrallah Center Archive.

77. Mokarzel, "La Tazlamuhunna."

78. Iskander Atallah, "al-Muhajara" (Emigration), *Al-Kalimat* 5 (1909): 348–50.

79. Naff, *Becoming American*, 90.

80. Amin Abu Isma'il, "Muhajarat al-Mar'a al-Druziyya" (The Emigration of the Druze Woman), *Al-Bayan*, March 10, 1914.

81. As'ad Husayn Abu 'Ali, "Muhajarat al-Mar'a al-Druziyya" (The Emigration of the Druze Woman), *Al-Bayan*, March 31, 1914.

82. "Al-Mar'a al-Hayaat al-Umma" (Women Are the Life of the Community), *Al-Bayan*, February 24, 1914.

83. "Al-Mar'a al-Hayaat al-Umma."

84. Abu 'Ali, "Muhajarat al-Mar'a al-Druziyya."

85. "Li-l-Muqbilin 'ala al-Zawaj" (For Those Soon to Be Married), *Al-Akhlaq* 1, no. 7 (July 1920), Khayrallah Center Archive.

86. "Li-l-Muqbilin 'ala al-Zawaj."

87. "Li-l-Muqbilin 'ala al-Zawaj."

88. "Li-l-Muqbilin 'ala al-Zawaj."

89. “Li-l-Muqbilin ‘ala al-Zawaj.”

90. Lowe, “History Hesitant,” 89.

#### 4. THE POSSIBILITIES OF PEDDLING: IMAGINING HOMOSOCIAL AND HOMOEROTIC PLEASURE IN ARAB AMERICA

*Epigraph:* Pérez, “Queering the Borderlands,” 124.

1. Interview with Elias Lebos, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 79, Folder 18.
2. Interview with Francis Slay, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 80, Folder 14.
3. Naber, *Arab America*, 64.
4. *La Crosse Chronicle*, July 6, 1902, 1, quoted in “From *Mahatta* to ‘Little Assyria’: The Beginnings of a Permanent Syrian Presence in La Crosse,” *Past, Present, and Future: The Magazine of the La Crosse County Historical Society* 24, no. 3 (June 2002): 5–6.
5. “From *Mahatta* to ‘Little Assyria’,” 6.
6. Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 2.
7. Interview notes with Budelia Malooley, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 88, Folder 5.
8. Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 25. See also Aghdasifar, “Rhythms of the Banal.”
9. Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 25.
10. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 60.
11. Zengin and Sehlikoglu, “Everyday Intimacies of the Middle East”; Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*; Zeevi, *Producing Desire*.
12. Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*, 17–21.
13. Lowe, 195.
14. Lorde, “Uses of the Erotic,” 57.
15. Lorde, 53.
16. Naff, *Becoming American*, 213–14.
17. Naff, 212 (emphases added).
18. Gopinath, *Impossible Desires*, 103.
19. Jarmakani, *Imagining Arab Womanhood*, 64.
20. On studies of sexuality and queerness in the Middle East and North Africa, see, among others, Abu-Khalil, “A Note on the Study of Homosexuality”; Amer, “Medieval Arab Lesbians and Lesbian-Like Women”; Babayan and Najmabadi, *Islamicate Sexualities*; El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World*; Habib, *Islam and Homosexuality*; and Massad, *Desiring Arabs*.
21. Howard, *Men Like That*.
22. Shah, “Policing Privacy,” 281.
23. Naff, *Becoming American*, 206.
24. Naff, 207.
25. Edwards and Hart, *Photographs Objects Histories*, 2.
26. Kara Keeling, “Looking for M—,” 567.
27. Hirsch, *Family Photographs*, xi.
28. For more on respectability and the volatile nature of showing Arab and Asian women at work, see Howell, “Picturing Women, Class, and Community in Arab Detroit”; and Kozol, “Relocating Citizenship,” 231.
29. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 87; Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 1, citing Barthes.

30. Jarmakani, *Imagining Arab Womanhood*, 88–91.
31. Cadava, *Words of Light*, xviii.
32. Sekula, “The Body and the Archive,” 345.
33. Smith, *American Archives*, 4.
34. Smith, *American Archives*; Sekula, “The Body and the Archive.”
35. Smith, *American Archives*, 5.
36. Steet, *Veils and Daggers*, 57.
37. Graham-Brown, *Images of Women*, 118.
38. Betts, “Wanted Women, Woman’s Wants.”
39. Djebbar, “A Forbidden Glimpse.”
40. Alloula, *The Colonial Harem*. Alloula’s classic work on postcards made of such photographs intricately details how this sexual fantasy was central to Orientalism and colonialism.
41. Jarmakani, *Imagining Arab Womanhood*, 64. For Jarmakani’s full discussion of these photographs and the context that produced them, see pages 63–101.
42. Because of Brownie cameras’ widespread popularity in middle-class and aspiring middle-class US culture, some Syrian peddlers likely carried the cameras for sale.
43. Sheehi, “A Social History of Early Arab Photography.”
44. Sheehi, 191.
45. Sheehi, 179. Sheehi writes specifically about Lebanese national identity. The articulation of a national identity (whether “Arab” or nation-state specific) would have varied throughout the Arab regions of the Ottoman Empire.
46. hooks, “In Our Glory,” 389.
47. Kozol, “Relocating Citizenship,” 231.
48. Although images of Syrian women in factory settings can be found in other archival collections, few of them appear in the Naff Collection.
49. On the palimpsest as a concept through which to trace multiple historical processes in Arab American life, including racial exclusion and national affiliation, see Gualtieri, *Arab Routes*.
50. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*, 37.
51. This is the plural form of “tarboosh,” the word for the flat-topped brimless hat worn especially by men in the region.
52. Hirsch, *Family Photographs*, 32.
53. Sheehi, “A Social History of Early Arab Photography,” 193.
54. Sheehi, 192.
55. Hirsch, *Family Photographs*, 15.
56. Hirsch, 15.
57. “Review of Special Reports,” in US House of Representatives, *Reports of the Industrial Commission*, xli.
58. Interview with Francis Slay, Naff Collection, Series 3, Box 80, Folder 14.
59. Joseph, “Introduction: Family in the Arab Region,” 3; and Zaatari, “Lebanon,” 193, citing Zuhair Hatab, *Al-Rajul wa Tanziyym al-Usra fi Lubnan* (Beirut: Jam’iyat Tanzym al-Usra, 1988).
60. Joseph, “Introduction: Theories and Dynamics,” 1–12.

61. Pegler-Gordon, “Chinese Exclusion, Photography, and the Development of U.S. Immigration Policy”; Pegler-Gordon, *In Sight of America*.
62. Munshi, “You Will See My Family Became So American,” 660.
63. Phu, *Picturing Model Citizens*.
64. Brown and Phu, *Feeling Photography*. See also Gopinath, *Unruly Visions*; and Camp, *Image Matters*.
65. Gopinath, *Unruly Visions*, 12.
66. Barthes, *Camera Lucida*, 59.
67. Barthes, 55.
68. Camp, *Image Matters*, 43.
69. Pérez, “Queering the Borderlands,” 124.
70. Halberstam, “Queer Faces: Photography and Subcultural Lives,” 98.
71. Mimura, “A Dying West?” 708.
72. I am indebted to Retika Adhikari for this latter reading of the photograph.
73. Ibson, *Picturing Men*, 125.
74. Gualtieri, *Between Arab and White*, 169.
75. Hirsch, *Family Photographs*, 51.
76. Rogerson, “Without Words You Spoke,” 13.
77. Vicinus, “Lesbian History,” 59.
78. Holland, “Introduction,” 10.
79. Holland, 13–14.

#### CONCLUSION: ALIXA NAFF AND THE PARENTHETICAL SYRIAN AMERICAN LESBIAN

1. “In Memoriam: Alixa Naff”; Samhan, “Farewell to the Grande Dame of Arab American Social History”
2. “In Memoriam: Alixa Naff,” 341.
3. Samhan, “Farewell to the Grande Dame of Arab American Social History,” 96.
4. Wedad F. Interview Notes, Oral Histories from the Faris and Yamna Naff Arab American Collection, Arab American National Museum, accessed June 7, 2022, <http://cdm16806.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16806coll10/id/90/rec/93>.
5. Interview with Wedad F. (summer 1962), Oral Histories from the Faris and Yamna Naff Arab American Collection, Arab American National Museum, accessed June 7, 2022, <https://aanm.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16806coll10/id/75/rec/1>.
6. Georgis, *The Better Story*, 1.
7. Georgis, 10.
8. Georgis, 11.