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# Orientalism in American Popular Culture

Naomi Rosenblatt

*University of Pennsylvania*, [rosenblatt@upenn.edu](mailto:rosenblatt@upenn.edu)

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The Midway Plaisance at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago said it all. The titillating displays of Middle Eastern scenes drew the largest, most enthusiastic crowds in the entire Exhibition. For some reason, ordinarily staid Victorians were drawn to the displays of belly dancers, mysterious Bedouins, and sumptuous bazaars. This was a moment of transformation – the 1893 Exposition epitomized the ushering-in of a new consumer-based society in the United States. Over the course of a few short decades, America had transformed from a society of small farms and businesses to a major urban, industrialized economy. According to film studies professor Gaylyn Studlar,

the stylistic convergence of Orientalist iconography with consumer trends has been well documented as part of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century marketing in department store displays and consumer packaging design that served as an exotic appeal to the fantasies of women and as a means of selling middle-class consumer goods.<sup>1</sup>

By the late nineteenth century, as American consumer culture first began to develop, Americans had relatively limited experience with the Middle East. Thanks to the memory of the Tripolitan wars, the popularization of travelogues, and popular contemporary Christian attitudes about Arabs, the “Orient” became synonymous with romance, mystery, and barbarism. Orientalism thus took on a distinctive aesthetic in Victorian American popular culture. In this age of burgeoning consumerism, American vendors and businessmen took advantage of the aesthetics of Orientalism in order to encourage consumer spending and indulgence.

For the purposes of this paper, I will be using Edward Said's pioneering definition of Orientalism: “Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed

as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient... as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient.”<sup>2</sup> This definition is in contrast with the conventional meaning of the phrase, which traditionally referred to a type of area studies, encompassing anthropologists, historians, and philologists all engaged in the study of “the East.” Said’s conception of the Orient provides a broad understanding of the logic behind the idea that “the East” should be a particular subject of study in the first place. According to Said, Orientalism operates within a binary mindset. It is “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and... ‘the Occident.’”<sup>3</sup> This basic perception of an inherent division between the East and the West is then used by scholars (such as those historians and philologists mentioned earlier) as “the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts.”<sup>4</sup> Orientalism, however, is not simply a theoretical concept that influences only those involved in academia. It is a mindset with far-reaching implications. At certain moments in history, Orientalism constitutes the underpinnings of Western culture, popular opinion, and even foreign policy. During the years of imperial expansion, Said argues, “European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self.”<sup>5</sup> The binary logic does not set the East and the West on equal footing, but instead pits the two against one another in order to highlight the colonial (and, therefore, cultural) superiority of the Occident over the Orient.

A critical distinction must now be outlined between European and American traditions of Orientalism. Said argues that while the French and the British had a long tradition of Orientalism, Americans only began to explore Orientalist thinking during their period of political ascendancy immediately following World War II. Because Britain and France established deep colonial ties with the Middle and Far East, “to speak of Orientalism therefore is to speak mainly, although not exclusively, of a British and French cultural enterprise.”<sup>6</sup> While Said is correct in his observations that the United States was not as deeply involved in the Middle East as Britain and France, it is inaccurate to assume that the United States was completely removed from all involvement with the Middle East, and that it was untouched by Orientalist thinking. The United States had long been militarily, diplomatically, and economically involved with the Far East. During this early period, “European forms of orientalism were adapted,” creating a culture of “patrician orientalism... [which was] primarily social, conferring status on those who

possessed Chinese things and ideas.”<sup>77</sup> In America, Orientalism, as an expression of cultural superiority by means of material possession, had already taken root at a very early stage. This material Orientalism was primarily linked to the Far East until approximately the mid-nineteenth century. At that point, a material Orientalism, primarily concerned with the Arab lands of the Middle East, began to emerge as a distinct aesthetic as American “retail strategy... exploited Orientalist images of exotic lands associated with luxury and sensuality, if not debauchery.”<sup>78</sup> This is the American Orientalism that Said fails to appreciate. While Americans did not always represent the Middle East in a manner that “engage[ed] in the particular logic of Orientalism,” Said’s binary understanding of Orientalism “nonetheless does describe one important version of that encounter... [as] a way of comprehending and ultimately domesticating the Middle East for American consumption.”<sup>79</sup> While Said argues that “the Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture,”<sup>80</sup> it must also be stressed that during the growth of consumerism in Victorian America, the aesthetics of the Orient became an integral part of American material culture as well.

While the United States did not necessarily have an imperial presence in the Middle East by the Victorian period – or even a particularly strong diplomatic presence – it nonetheless encountered the Middle East in a number of ways that would later have a distinct influence on the aesthetic expression of American Orientalism. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, American travelers to the Middle East were primarily missionaries, merchants, and tourists on religious pilgrimages. During the early nineteenth century, frequent naval encounters with Barbary pirates led to the engraining of an image in the public imagination of Middle Easterners as barbaric, brutal, and uncivilized. These “three decades of sporadic maritime warfare with the Barbary pirates helped spread these orientalist images to the public at large.”<sup>81</sup> With the outbreak of the Greek rebellion against the Ottoman Empire in 1821, the highly popular literary journal, the *North American Review*, “labeled the ensuing struggle ‘a war of the crescent against the cross’ and claimed that ‘wherever the arms of the Sultan prevail, the village churches are leveled with the dust or polluted with the abominations of mahometanism.’”<sup>82</sup> This illustration furthered the binary logic of Orientalism, painting the divide as not only a distinction between the Occident and the Orient, but as an historic crusade of a heroic Christian civilization against a repressive, authoritarian Islamic civilization. Only a few decades later, in 1858, Washington dispatched its “consul in Alexandria, Edwin De Leon, to

proceed to Jaffa... and lodge a protest with the governor” about the Arab assault on the Dickson farm in Palestine, which had gone unpunished by Ottoman authorities.<sup>13</sup> De Leon not only managed to pressure the governor of Jaffa to concede to his demands, but he also managed to break through a Bedouin siege on the city, earning for himself the nickname “*majnum*” (madman).<sup>14</sup> The event represented a diplomatic and military triumph of the West over its “barbaric” neighbors in the East. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, newspapers, sermons, and lectures encouraging these degrading stereotypes of the populace of the Middle East proliferated: “Turks were thought to be unspeakable, irredeemable barbarians and general impediments to civilization; Arabs were ‘fanatical, biologically violent, mendacious and larcenous’; and Armenians were ‘servile, ignorant, bigoted, cunning, and mercenary.’”<sup>15</sup> There was little domestic reaction against these stereotypes, however, as few Americans had actually traveled to the Middle East. In other words, they lacked the personal experiences necessary to combat these cultural generalizations. The first generation of Arab immigrants, moreover, only arrived in the United States “between 1890 and the beginning of World War I, [and] were generally Christians from Lebanon and Syria”<sup>16</sup> who themselves did not meet the stereotypical cultural criteria of barbaric Bedouins from remote corners of the desert.

The perception of the clash of civilizations, nevertheless, did not prevent the United States from pursuing an economic relationship with the Middle East: “by the 1870s American entrepreneurs were buying nearly one-half of Turkey’s opium crop for resale in China while providing the Ottoman Empire with everything from warships to kerosene.”<sup>17</sup> The association of opium with the Ottoman Empire certainly played a significant role in the popular association of the East with luxury and opulence in American Orientalist aesthetics (most particularly, this association was exploited in cigarette advertising, as will be discussed later in this paper). Seemingly contradictory stereotypes of the Middle East, therefore, (as mysterious, alluring, and sumptuous, as well as barbaric, irrational, and “inclined toward despotism”<sup>18</sup>), which were created and developed by American economic and military interactions with the Orient, existed side-by-side in the American popular imagination.

The popularization of Middle East and Holy Land travel narratives played a critical role in the development of these stereotypes. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Americans increasingly “expressed a fascination with travel in their enthusiasm for museum and world’s fair ex-

hibits, postal cards, magic lantern slides, stereographs, panoramas and dioramas, Hale's Tours, actuality footage, and so forth."<sup>19</sup> While the aesthetics of material representation of the Orient will be discussed later on in this paper, I am primarily concerned here with the role that travel itself – and the hundreds of travelogues that were consequently produced – played in the development of Orientalist aesthetics. “Travelogues from the Holy Land trips were extremely popular in the United States from the 1830s onward,”<sup>20</sup> contributing to public awareness about the Middle East. Travelogues ranged in style and authority from the “miscellaneous exploits, and testimonial portentousness of individual pilgrims in the East” to the “authoritative reports of scholarly travelers, missionaries, governmental functionaries, and other expert witnesses.”<sup>21</sup> What was common among these various accounts was a kind of exposé, reporting on the decrepit streets and “degenerate state of the local population,”<sup>22</sup> while at the same time presenting overly romantic illustrations about the beauty and mystery of the land and its peoples. Contemporary readers were often shocked that the Middle East was not necessarily a Biblical paradise.

Edward Said observes that one of the typical Western responses to the East is ‘disappointment that the modern Orient is not at all like the texts.’ This sense of ‘the betrayed dream’ resulting from the direct experience with the mundane Orient was very much ‘a common topic of Romanticism,’ as expressed by Goethe, Hugo, and others, a tradition against which Samuel Clemens took pains to define himself.<sup>23</sup>

Yet even Clemens, who uses his musings in *The Innocents Abroad* to criticize the superiority with which Western tourists approached the Middle East and who feels that he has been “swindled by books of Oriental travel”<sup>24</sup>, occasionally falls prey to the Orientalist mindset himself:

To see a camel train laden with the spices of Arabia and the rare fabrics of Persia come marching through the narrow alleys of the bazaar... and the crowds drifting to and fro in the fanciful costumes of the East, is a genuine revelation of the Orient. The picture lacks nothing. It casts you back into your forgotten boyhood, and again you dream over the won-

ders of *The Arabian Nights*; again your companions are princes, your lord is the Caliph Haroun Al Raschid, and your servants are terrific giants and genii that come with smoke and lightning and thunder, and go as a storm when they depart!<sup>25</sup>

Even *The Innocents Abroad*, the great example of the travelogue that sought to dispel popular stereotypes about the Orient, somehow managed to simultaneously perpetuate those stereotypes.

Before turning to the manifestations of Orientalist aesthetics and how those aesthetics manifested themselves in American consumer culture, I would first like to discuss the actual development of consumer culture and why its development during this particular time period is relevant to the overall discussion of Orientalism. With the rise of mass production of consumer goods during the second Industrial Revolution, producers began to face an increasingly worrisome quandary. Particularly during the 1890s, it appeared that industrial production might surpass consumer demand. In light of the threat of overproduction where there were “more goods to sell, and the limits of imperialism made conquering new markets less certain, then increases in the average consumption per person would, in time, become a favored answer to the overproduction dilemma.”<sup>26</sup> The growth of urban department stores presented a solution to the problem, as they turned increasingly to new methods of marketing in order to increase customer spending. Faced with a culture unfamiliar with copious materialism and extravagant spending, “department store designers sought to lower people’s resistance to purchasing, and advertising sought to trigger buying on impulse, aiming for the emotions rather than rational thought and calculation.”<sup>27</sup> This new attitude towards marketing led to

the rapid emergence of the advertising industry and a corresponding explosion of visually assertive invitations to purchase mass-produced consumer products... [and] a shift toward making the product seem desirable by visual rather than verbal means, conjuring an enticing aura or setting for the item that the buyer would find appealing.<sup>28</sup>

One of the earliest manifestations of visual enticement took on the form of Orientalist aesthetics. For the sake of increasing consumption, ordinary

American department stores were transformed into “emporiums laden with enticing Orientalist displays of merchandise.”<sup>29</sup>

An Orientalist aesthetic highlighted the mystery and alluring sensuality of the Orient, through the use of deep, warm colors, exotic patterns, and depictions of oases, harems, mosques, and bazaars. “The rich details of Middle Eastern art... evoked Orientalist fantasies about traveling to distant exotic places and indulging sensual appetites.”<sup>30</sup> The pleasing aesthetic associated with shopping increased the likelihood that upper and middle-class Americans would find the new consumerist trend acceptable. For the typically bluenose Victorians, Oriental aesthetic presented a welcome “counter to vulgar materialism so that the changing middle class might be assured that they still retained traditional genteel values”<sup>31</sup> in the face of a changing economy. Orientalism even took on a certain aesthetic beyond consumer culture, in the form of depictions of the Holy Land. Holy Land panoramas, “just one dimension of an emerging nineteenth-century fascination with vision and spectacle,”<sup>32</sup> became extremely popular in the nineteenth century, along with other unique styles of Holy Land depictions, such as the “Palestine Park” at Chautauqua Lake in upstate New York.<sup>33</sup>

A telling example of how the Orientalist aesthetic became intimately linked with Victorian consumerism was the installation of the Ottoman Pavilion at the 1893 Columbian World Exposition in Chicago. This particular installation in the Midway Plaisance was one of the most popular attractions at the Exposition,<sup>34</sup> and featured romanticized elements from supposed “everyday” Middle Eastern life: “belly dancers, Bedouins, camels, and donkeys... This was the Orient brought home for the delectation of privileged American audiences.”<sup>35</sup> Additionally, the Midway Plaisance featured a reproduction of a “typical” street in Cairo, complete with “a lively array of shops and houses, a café, the ‘solemn spectacle’ of a mosque, two obelisks, a ‘Temple of Luxor,’ and a much talked-about theater where the belly dance was performed.”<sup>36</sup> The fantastical Orient was thus displayed in all its romanticized splendor for the titillation and viewing pleasure of the Victorian public. In the public imagination, the Orient became linked with the sexualized belly dancers, luxurious temples and obelisks, and the fantastical and exciting horse races at the Ottoman Hippodrome. By the end of the nineteenth century, “the Orient was remodeled for new consumers... this Orient was belittled and demeaned by anthropologists, fair organizers, and ultimately, the American public.”<sup>37</sup> The Orientalist representation of the Middle East did not depict its subject with any accuracy or with any eye to-

wards respecting its unique cultures. Instead, it sought to satisfy the tactile and visual desires of its Victorian public.

Department stores and catalogues present the most telling, overt examples of Orientalist aesthetics. Women – in particular the financially liberated “New Woman” of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries – became the targets of department store and catalogue marketing tactics. This New Woman was “symbolic of the accelerating dissolution of separate spheres based on gender,”<sup>38</sup> and was encouraged to exercise her newfound financial liberty through her spending power. The new popular emphasis on consumption served to underscore the blending of gender roles by equating “an expensive boutique in the public sphere with the privacy of a woman’s boudoir.”<sup>39</sup> The Orientalist aesthetic was the catalyst that ultimately put shoppers at ease, allowing them to comfortably break from old norms. In the typical Victorian-era department store, seeking to instill in their customers an impulsive, consumerist desire,

carefully staged orchestrations of seductive sights greeted crowds of enthralled shoppers... Spectacular displays based on the color, texture, and shape of commodities engulfed sets featuring the domes and minarets of the Middle East. A sheer accumulation of goods labeled ‘chaotic exotic’ by Rosalind H. Williams, such exhibits broke down consumer reserve by appealing to fantasies of a luxurious, sensuous, and effeminate Orient.<sup>40</sup>

Faced with the unknown, alluring sights and senses of the Orient, Victorian shoppers allowed their luxurious surroundings to instill in them a willingness to lavishly open their wallets. Objects purchased in department stores and catalogues steadily allowed readers to bring that feeling of lavishness into their own homes: “import firms made it possible to furnish homes with exotic touches or dress with an oriental flair without having to visit the Orient personally.”<sup>41</sup> In the absence of a widespread ability to travel with ease, everyday Victorian Americans could simply open the illustrated catalogue, *Products From the Orient*, to easily recreate the harems, bazaars, and palaces that they read about in travelogues and saw on display at fairs. Those catalogues offered items such as “‘embroidered slippers as worn by Turkish ladies in Harems’ or lanterns that gave off a glow that was ‘most suggestive of Arabian Night and Oriental life,’” allowing buyers to purchase

their own piece of the Orient.<sup>42</sup>

Orientalist aesthetics also had a significant influence on Victorian fashion. The looser fit of Orientalist attire was one of the first culturally permissible methods for women to break away from the traditional rigidly corseted Victorian figure, and presented an opportunity for women to reasonably bare more skin. The rigidly defined “spheres” separating men’s roles from women’s roles were also bent by the aesthetics of Orientalist fashion: “part of the allure of Orientalized attire was its blurring of gender boundaries. Men in fancy dress draped themselves in pearl necklaces; women in harem pants revealed that they had two legs.”<sup>43</sup> Whereas traditional Victorian dress had enforced rigidity in form while at the same time modestly concealing most parts of the body, Orientalist aesthetics allowed men and women to explore sensuality through dress. The looser form of Orientalist dress became a particular favorite of the New Woman, and later became an important influence on Flapper fashion.

During the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, a number of specific luxury items became intrinsically associated with the Orient – most particularly the cigarette. Producers saw the Orientalist aesthetic as the ideal forum for advertising their products, and launched the tobacco industry into “the most sustained campaign to capitalize on oriental motifs.”<sup>44</sup> Before the mechanization of cigarette-rolling, cigarettes were “typically hand-rolled from Turkish leaf, [and] were seen as a foreign luxury, combining European sophistication and oriental panache.”<sup>45</sup> These items were in actuality rather lavish – most middle-class Americans did not regularly indulge in them. During the early years of the twentieth century, however, “when technological advances made the mass production of cigarettes the norm, the association of smoking and Oriental was used to sell new brands, ranging from Mecca, Medina, and Omar to the very successful Fatima.”<sup>46</sup> As luxury items became more affordable – and therefore less luxurious – producers took advantage of the associations developed earlier by department stores and catalogues equating the Orient with luxury. They named their cigarette brands after famous Middle Eastern cities and well-known Oriental figures, used Oriental-style fonts in their advertising, and printed images of camels and harem girls onto their cigarette boxes. “This association between smoking and the Orient, evident in nineteenth-century painting and interior design, was used to market tobacco products by means of cigar store sultans and sultanas.”<sup>47</sup> Camel cigarettes, which enjoyed the most longevity of the original brands, is still a successful company today, although it no longer em-

ploys overt Orientalist tactics in its advertising.

The final manifestation of Orientalist aesthetic in American consumer culture that I would like to explore is in the film industry. As the United States eased into the twentieth century, film became the newest art form, as well as the newest medium for the proliferation of culture and information. Film in the early twentieth century presented the perfect medium for artists, producers, actors, and directors to pursue new avenues of exploration. Film had the novel capacity to show audiences what they would otherwise not be able to see, including exotic lands, peoples, and events. “In its Orientalist mode, [Hollywood] was a site of representing the world abroad to US audiences.”<sup>48</sup> Films by directors such as Cecil B. DeMille (*The Sheik*, *The Ten Commandments*) and David Lean (*Lawrence of Arabia*) presented audiences with a Middle East heavily steeped in traditional Orientalist aesthetics. These films typified all of the Orientalist stereotypes about the Middle East: the lands and cultures were depicted as beautiful, mysterious, and sexually alluring, while the inhabitants were barbaric, savage, and tyrannical. DeMille’s grand epics, in particular, “continued to reinforce consumer values by representing history in Orientalist terms as a magnificent spectacle for visual appropriation. Such a representational strategy proved to be especially apt at a time when the United States emerged as a superpower... and as a model of consumer capitalism.”<sup>49</sup>

David Lean’s wildly popular *Lawrence of Arabia* has a fascinating history of its own. The film was based on the military role of Lieutenant-Colonel T.E. Lawrence in the Arab Revolt of 1916-1918. Lawrence’s exploits became the object of intense fascination in Europe and the United States, especially following the publication of his colorful and dramatized autobiography, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. Lawrence’s fame was even more pronounced in the United States following Lowell Thomas’ popular lecture circuit.<sup>50</sup> “By the middle 1960s, the Lawrence of Arabia story had become a small commercial industry. The biggest investment and the largest profit were made by Columbia Pictures Corporation of Hollywood, the financing studio for the 1962 film *Lawrence of Arabia*.”<sup>51</sup> The film itself enjoyed immense success and popularity, eventually winning seven Academy Awards – including Best Picture – in 1963, and came to represent “America’s enduring romance with the unencumbered nomad”<sup>52</sup> and with the mysterious, alluring, and barbaric Orient.

While the British and French expressions of Orientalism were primarily limited to the academic and intellectual, American Orientalism found ex-

pression in the burgeoning consumer culture of the Victorian era. American capitalists exploited and encouraged popular assumptions about the Orient as a means of encouraging impulsive consumer spending, which served as a precursor to modern marketing methods. Even the film industry exploited the Orient, transforming it into a commodity available for widespread visual consumption. As the United States has engaged in more intimate diplomatic and cultural contact with the Middle East over the past century, however, the traditional Orientalist aesthetic has slowly begun to fade. The tragedy of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 has shed light on the necessity of a genuine cultural understanding. If the growing popularity of college majors such as Arabic and Middle East Studies are any indication, over the past few years, Americans have increasingly sought to understand the culture and history of the Middle East on its own terms.

<sup>1</sup> Gaylyn Studlar, "'Out-Salomeing Salome': Dance, the New Woman, and Fan Magazine Orientalism," *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film*, eds. Matthew Bernstein and Gaylyn Studlar, 99-129 (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 103.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>7</sup> John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York Before Chinatown: Orientalism and the Shaping of American Culture 1776-1882*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), xx.

<sup>8</sup> Sumiko Higashi, *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture: The Silent Era*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 90.

<sup>9</sup> Melani McAlister, *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and US Interests in the Middle East since 1945*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 12.

<sup>10</sup> Said, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Douglas Little, *American Orientalism: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945*, (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 12.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to Present*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007), 166-168.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

<sup>15</sup> Holly Edwards, "A Million and One Nights: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930," *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures*, ed. Holly Edwards, 11-57 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 19.

<sup>16</sup> McAlister, 37.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>19</sup> Higashi, 90.

<sup>20</sup> McAlister, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Said, 192.

<sup>22</sup> McAlister, 15.

<sup>23</sup> Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 178.

<sup>24</sup> Mark Twain, *The Innocents Abroad; or, the New Pilgrims Progress*, (New York: Signet Classic, 1966), 278.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 305.

<sup>26</sup> McAlister, 21.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Holly Edwards, "Sold American!" *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures*, ed. Holly Edwards, 200-206 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 200.

<sup>29</sup> Higashi, 154.

<sup>30</sup> Holly Edwards, "The Magic City," *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* ed. Holly Edwards, 192-199 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 192.

<sup>31</sup> Studlar, 103.

<sup>32</sup> McAlister, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>34</sup> Little, 13.

<sup>35</sup> Edwards, "A Million and One Nights," 37.

<sup>36</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 83.

<sup>37</sup> Edwards "A Million and One Nights," 17.

<sup>38</sup> Higashi, 154.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 91.

<sup>41</sup> Edwards "A Million and One Nights," 31.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>43</sup> Holly Edwards, "Orientalism in Fashion" *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures* ed. Holly Edwards, 227-232 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 228.

<sup>44</sup> Edwards, "A Million and One Nights," 42.

<sup>45</sup> Edwards, "Sold American!" 202.

<sup>46</sup> Edwards "A Million and One Nights," 43.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> McAlister, 31.

<sup>49</sup> Higashi, 201-202.

<sup>50</sup> Joel Hodson, *Lawrence of Arabia and American Culture: The Making of a Transatlantic Legend*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995.)

<sup>51</sup> Hodson, 107.

<sup>52</sup> Oren, 520.