Between Arab and White: Syrians and the Naturalization Law

[Work in Progress]

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- **Legal institutions play a key role in reshaping group classifications:**
  - Political and legal changes can affect and redraw such classifications (Lopez, *White by Law*)

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- Ongoing:
  - Text analysis on collected historical Arab-American newspapers & American newspapers
  - Novel Arabic Name Americanization Index using the bilingual: *Syrian Business Directory* (1908-1909)

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- Arabs from Greater Syria:

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  - Migrated due to: sectarian tensions, economic hardship, conscription into the Ottoman Army

▸ Concept of Whiteness ▸ Timeline of Immigration Laws

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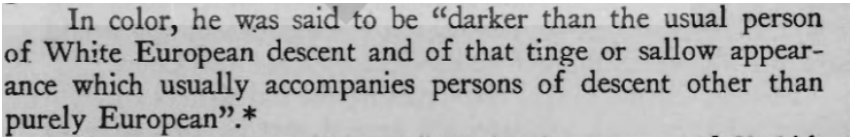

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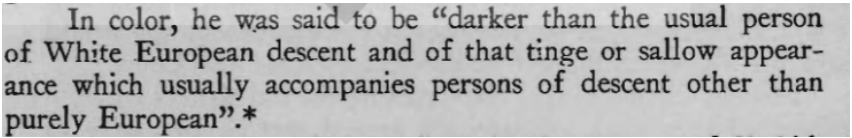
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Finally led to the naturalization of Dow based on:

> *"the generally received opinion...that inhabitants of a portion of Asia, including Syria,[are] to be classed as white persons."*
>
> — *Circuit Judge Charles Albert Woods (September 15, 1915)*

This resulted in an extension of the privilege of being an American citizen to Arab Christians, (95% of the immigrants from the Arab world)

Historical US Census Data (1900-1930)

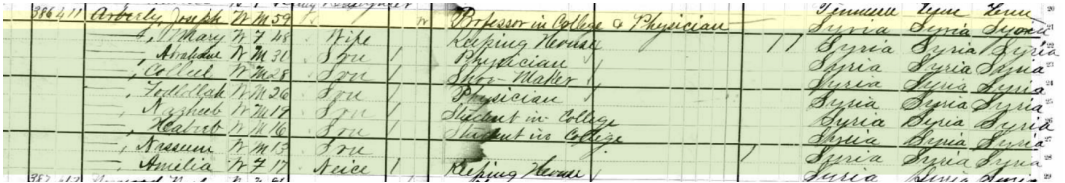

Figure: *Youssef Arbeely's census record. His sons founded Kawkab America, the first Arab-American newspaper in the US.*

- **400,000+** individuals identified from Greater Syria (1880-1930) ▸ Arab Population in 1930
- US Census provides extensive demographic, family, and geographic data

▸ Occupations

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- Stable benchmark of *foreignness* before the ruling
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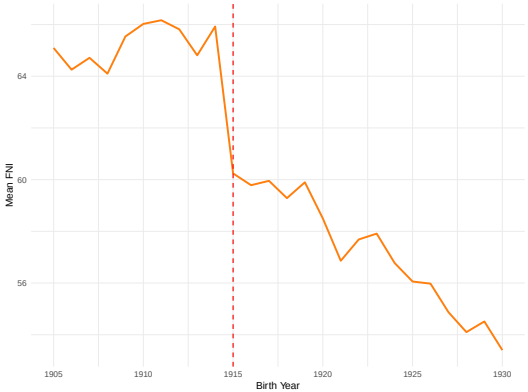
- Measuring how the distribution of naming choices evolves relative to a consistent reference

Descriptives: shift towards less Arab names

Around 64 in the pre-period, falls strongly post 1914



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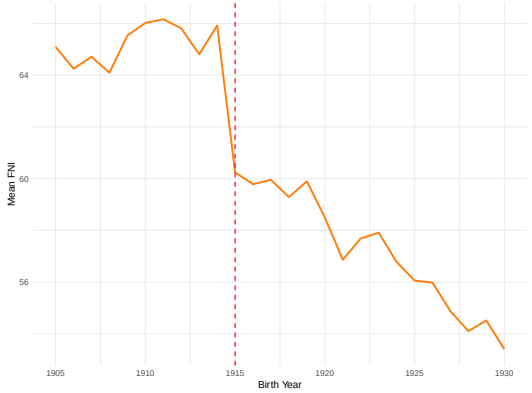
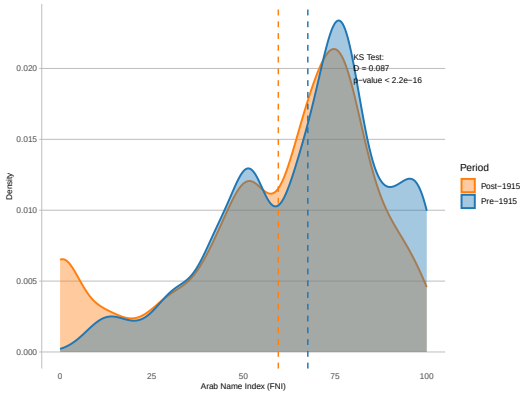


FNI distributions (pre and post) significantly different from each other. E.g. Shafik/Nassif $\approx \mathrm{FNI} = 100$, Wesley/Marvin $\approx \mathrm{FNI} = 0$



Most Common Names

Pre-Period	FNI	Post-Period	FNI
George	77.89	George	77.89
Joseph	72.45	Joseph	72.45
John	49.93	John	49.93
Edward	65.45	Edward	65.45
Fareed	100.00	Albert	64.64
Abraham	93.18	Louis	69.08
Michael	86.27	James	50.89

Within-family analysis

Using the 1920 US census

$$\text{FNI}_{ijsco} = \beta_1 \textbf{PostDow}_i + \alpha_j + \lambda_s + \gamma_c + \delta_o + \varepsilon_{ijsco}$$

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where:

- FNI_{ijsco}: Foreign Name Index of child i in family j, born in state s, living in county c, and has birth order o
- $\textbf{PostDow}_i$: 1 if born in or after 1915, 0 otherwise
- Fixed effects: α_j: household (or mother), λ_s: state of birth, γ_c: county of residenceδ_o: birth order
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- Sample: all men born in the US to an Arab father, who live in the same household as their father and at least one male sibling, and who were 15 years old or younger at census time
- 1920 census: to abstract from bias that (much) older siblings in the same household could mean a lower assimilation profile of this family Co-habitation Co-habitation: women

Event Study

After Dow, Arab children received less foreign/Arab names, even within the same family

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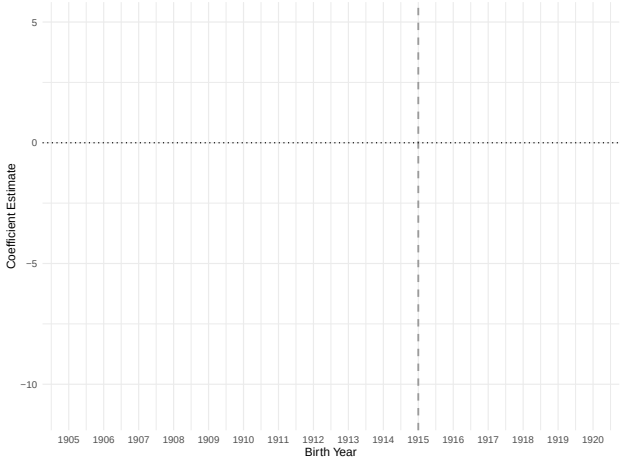

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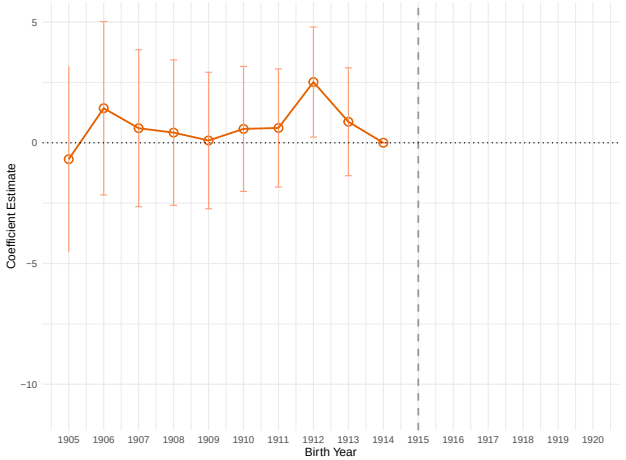

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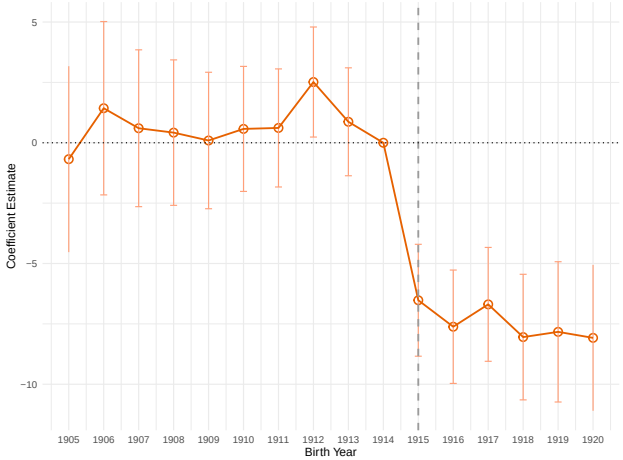

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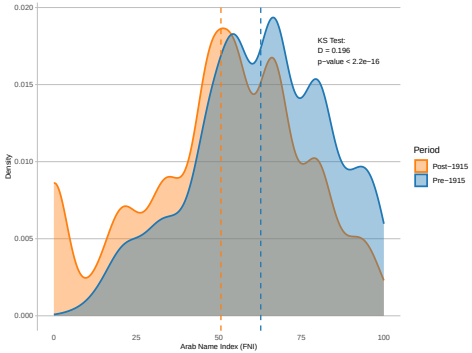

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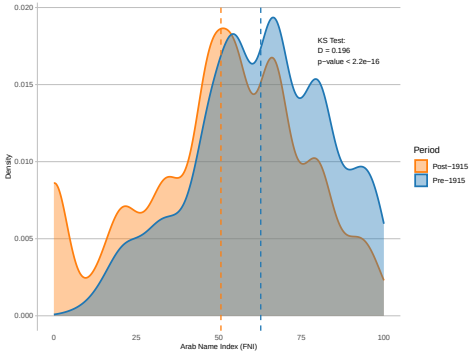

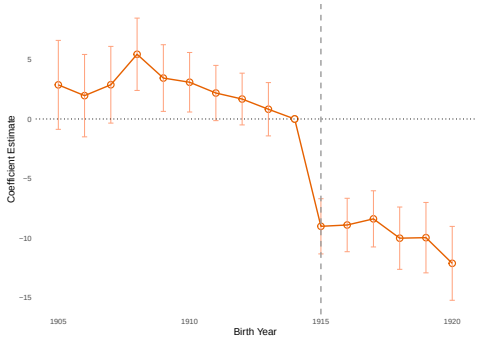

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Across Groups

Similar pattern when comparing across different control groups

Cohort Diff-in Diff:

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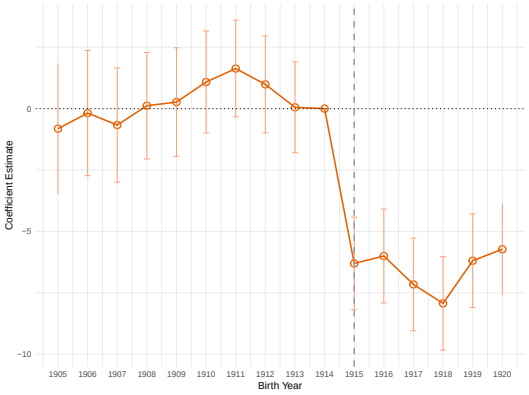
- Poles: generally perceived as white → clear contrast (preferred specification)
- Other minority immigrant groups with varying levels of legal ambiguity
- Figure's control group: US born men to Polish fathers



▸ Table: Arabs vs Poles ▸ Other Minorities Results

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- Residential choices:
  - Enumeration occurring door-to-door until 1960 → infer neighbours
  - At the household head level to avoid double counting
  - $= 1$ if Arab/Pole (immigrant) head of the household had at least one native white neighbour of native parentage

Mixed Results

Pre-1920 intermarriage rate: 5%

Table: Intermarriage and Residential Integration

	Intermarriage	Residential Integration
	(1)	(2)
Arab	2.504***	1.471***
	(0.306)	(0.277)
Post-Dow x Arab	3.017***	-0.728*
	(0.339)	(0.295)
Observations	939,481	975,843
Adj. R^2	0.119	0.053
Individual controls	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes
FE: State-Year	Yes	Yes
FE: County	Yes	Yes

▸ Shares: Arab men and women

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- We know from the work of Abramitzky and Boustan that immigrants assimilate → quantify the *differential* rate of assimilation due to *Dow v US*

Appendix

Within Family: results

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Dep Var: Foreign Name Index (Pre-Treatment Mean = 65.66)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post-Dow	-8.048***	-8.570***	-8.396***	-7.815***	-7.852***
	(0.3238)	(0.5997)	(0.3775)	(0.9319)	(0.7434)
Linear trend		X			
State of Birth			X	X	X
Household ID				X	
Birth Order				X	X
County				X	X
Mother ID					X
Observations	22,806	22,806	16,464	16,464	16,464
R^2	0.0264	0.0264	0.0373	0.4920	0.5019

*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

◂ Back

▸ Heterogenous responses: Regression ▸ Father's literacy ▸ Father's occupation score ▸ Father's years in the US

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  - *Ozawa v. U.S.* (1922) – Japanese denied whiteness

How was Whiteness Defined and Legalized?

- Whiteness was both a legal and social category tied to rights and citizenship (Lopez, 1996)
- Defined through:
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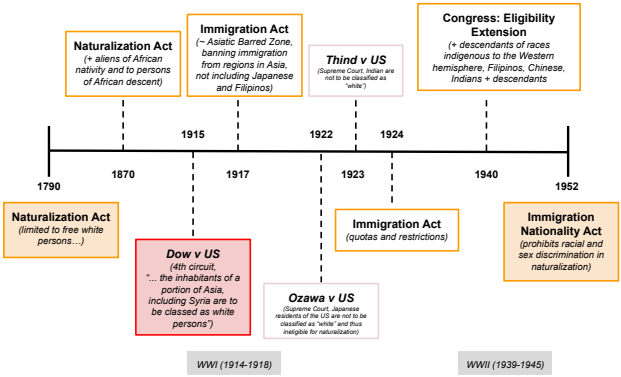
  - *Dow v. U.S.* (1915) – Arabs classified as white

How did Groups Gain Whiteness?

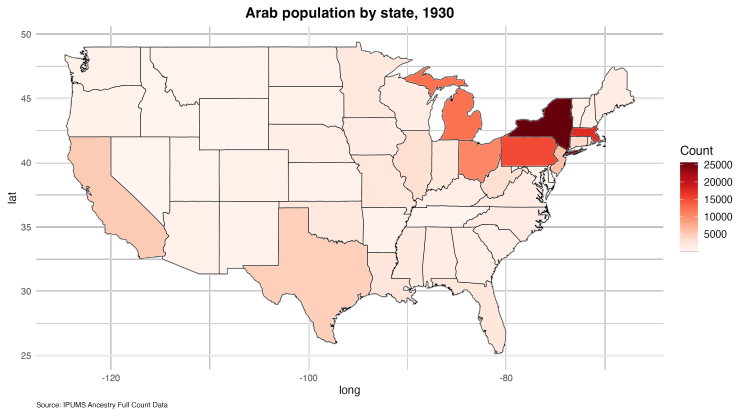
Group	Initially White?	Path to Whiteness
Irish	No	Political power, distancing from Black Americans (Roediger, 1991)
Italians	No	Cultural assimilation, socioeconomic mobility, distancing from other r
Jews	No	Economic mobility, post-WWII integration, suburbanization (Brodkin, 19
Mexicans	Mixed	Legal ambiguity, partial inclusion (Foley, 1999)
Asians	No	Explicit court rejection (Ngai, 2004)
Arabs	No	Legal victory in *Dow v. U.S.* (Gualtieri, 2009)

Timeline of Naturalization and Immigration Laws

Back



Arab population by state



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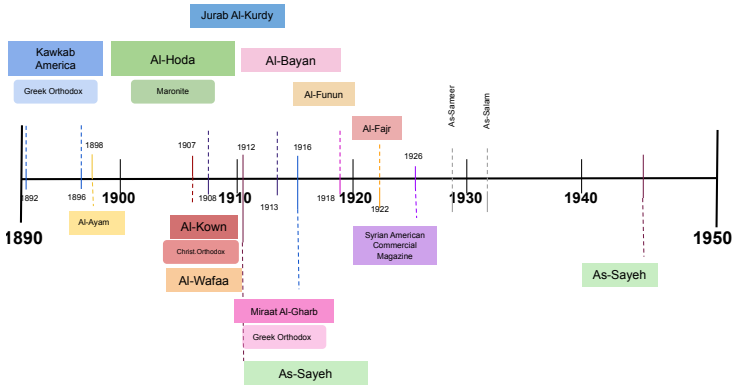
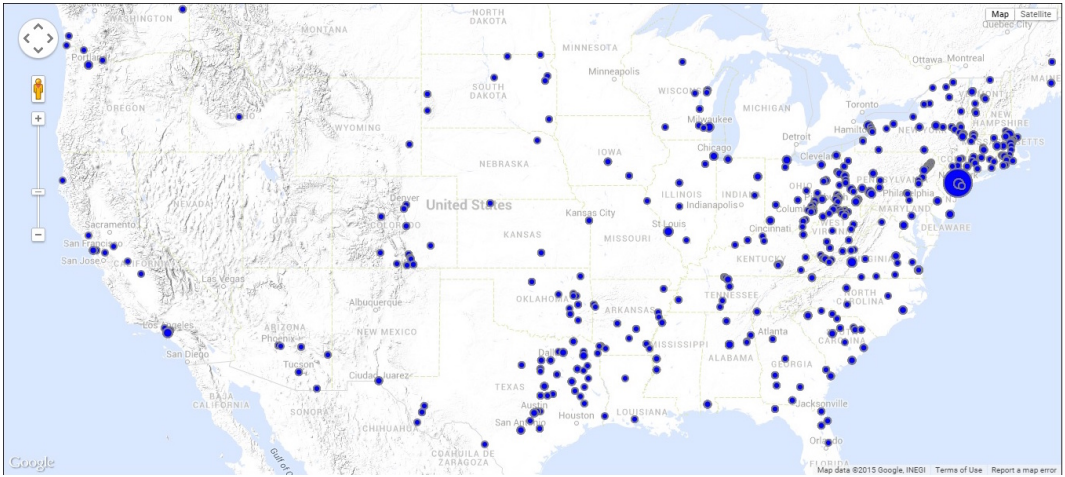

Jurab Al-Kurdy
Kawkab America
Al-Hoda
Al-Bayan
Greek Orthodox
Maronite
Al-Funun
Al-Fajr
As-Sameer
As-Salam
1898
1907
1912
1916
1926
1892
1896
1900
1908
1910
1913
1918
1920
1922
1930
1940
1890
1950
Al-Ayam
Al-Kown
Christ Orthodox
Al-Wafaa
Syrian American Commercial Magazine
As-Sayeh
Miraat Al-Gharb
Greek Orthodox
As-Sayeh

Map: Syrian American Businesses (1908-1909)



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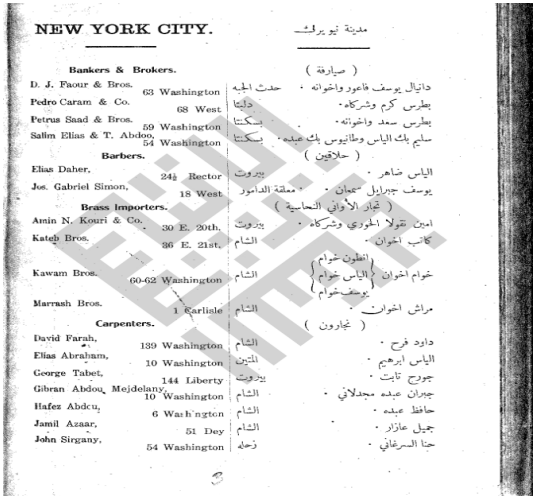
NYC Arab-American Businesses



NEW YORK CITY.

مدينة نيويرك

Bankers & Brokers.

(صيارفة)

D. J. Faour & Bros.	63 Washington	حدث الجبه	دانيال يوسف فاعور واخوانه ·
Pedro Caram & Co.	68 West	دابنا	بطرس كرم وشركاه ·
Petrus Saad & Bros.	59 Washington	بكنتا	بطرس سعد واخوانه ·
Salim Elias & T. Abdoo,	54 Washington	بكنتا	سليم بك الياس وطانيوس بك عبده ·

Barbers.

(حلاقين)

Elias Daher,	24½ Rector	بيروت	الياس ضاهر ·
Jos. Gabriel Simon,	18 West	معلقة الدامور	يوسف جبرايل سمعان ·

Brass Importers.

(تجار الاواني النحاسية)

Amin N. Kouri & Co.	30 E. 20th,	بيروت	امين نقولا الخوري وشركاه ·
Kateb Bros.	36 E. 21st,	الشام	كاتب اخوان ·
Kawam Bros.	60-62 Washington	الشام	خوام اخوان (نقولا خوام / الياس خوام / يوسف خوام)
Marrash Bros.	1 Carlisle	الشام	مراش اخوان ·

Carpenters.

(نجارون)

David Farah,	139 Washington	الشام	داود فرح ·
Elias Abraham,	10 Washington	المتين	الياس ابرهيم ·
George Tabet,	144 Liberty	بيروت	جورج تابت ·
Gibran Abdou Mejdelany,	10 Washington	الشام	جبران عبده مجدلاني ·
Hafez Abdou,	6 Washington	الشام	حافظ عبده ·
Jamil Azaar,	51 Dey	الشام	جميل عازار ·
John Sirgany,	54 Washington	زحله	حنا السرغاني ·

New Names

	New Name		P(Name is American)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Post-Dow	4.406***	4.551***	-3.460***	-3.142***
	(0.300)	(0.364)	(0.428)	(0.543)
Observations	42,081	42,081	42,081	42,081
R^2	0.016	0.449	0.023	0.453
Linear trend	X	X	X	X
State of Birth	X	X	X	X
County		X		X
Mother ID		X		X
Birth Order		X		X

+ $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors in parentheses. Clustered at county level in (2) and (4).

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Top Names

Table: Top 10 Names That Became More Common Post-Treatment

First Name	Count Pre	FNI	Count Post	Freq Change
GEORGE	1099	77.14	3346	2247
JOSEPH	676	70.33	2336	1660
JOHN	620	47.67	2073	1453
EDWARD	519	67.40	1533	1014
ALBERT	282	67.10	1129	847
JAMES	395	51.81	1067	672
CHARLES	295	53.32	917	622
WILLIAM	342	40.66	964	622
ROBERT	64	17.05	603	539
LOUIS	222	70.40	748	526

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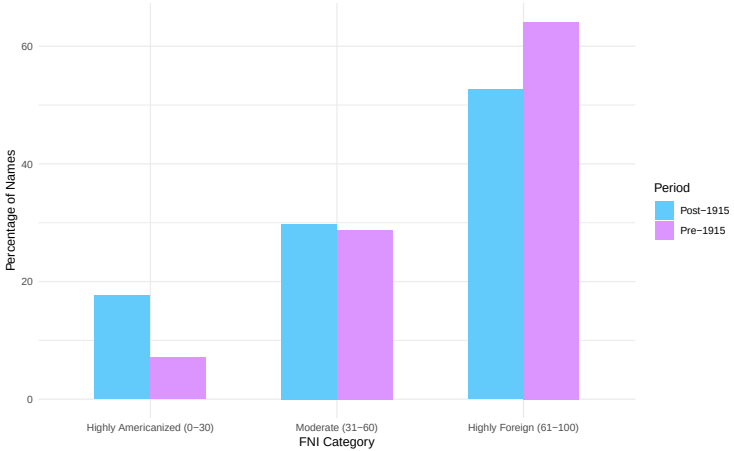
Top Names



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Cohort Difference in Differences

Using the 1930 census

$$FNI_{in} = \alpha + \beta_1 Arab_i + \beta_2 PostDow_i + \beta_3 (Arab_i \times PostDow_{it}) + \gamma_n + \delta_c + \phi_s + \epsilon_{it}$$

where:

- i: (male) individuals, n: nationalities, c: birth cohorts (1905-1930), s: state of birth
- $Arab_i$ indicator equal to 1 if the US-born child has an Arab father
- $PostDow_i$: indicator equal to 1 if individual i was born on or after 1915, and 0 otherwise
- β_3: captures the differential effect of the Dow ruling on second-generation Arabs relative to the control group
- Fixed effects: δ_c (birth year), ϕ_s(state of birth), γ_n (nationality, for some specifications)
- Heteroskedasticity robust standard errors
- FNI_{in}: Pre-defined FNI ◂ Back

DiD results: Arabs vs Poles

Dependent Variable: Foreign Name Index (Mean: 65.66)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Arab	0.750***	0.779***	0.771***	2.465***	2.894***
	(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.215)	(0.229)	(0.264)
Post-Dow x Arab	-7.314***	-7.337***	-7.322***	-7.545***	-6.934***
	(0.329)	(0.329)	(0.329)	(0.330)	(0.391)
Observations	460,503	460,503	460,503	460,503	460,498
Adj. R^2	0.002	0.002	0.002	0.008	0.020
Linear Trend		X			
Birth Year			X	X	X
State of Birth				X	X
County-Year					X

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses are heteroskedasticity-robust. Significance levels: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1. Dependent variable: Foreign Name Index (FNI).

Back

FNI results: different minority groups

Same overall pattern, post-Dow, Arabs named their children less foreign/Arab names

Col 1, control group: US-born children to a Chinese/Japanese/Filipino father. Col 2, same + Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Ricans, Indians, Cubans and Greek. Col 3, only Greeks.

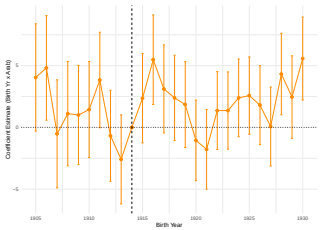
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Arab	5.826***	-0.106	-6.301***
	(0.613)	(0.257)	(0.355)
Post-Dow x Arab	-0.013	-6.034***	-2.506***
	(0.568)	(0.279)	(0.393)
Observations	79,927	355,468	111,184
Adj. R-squared	0.0376	0.0840	0.0349
FE: Birth year	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: State of birth	Yes	Yes	Yes

Heteroscedasticity-robust standard errors in parentheses.
*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

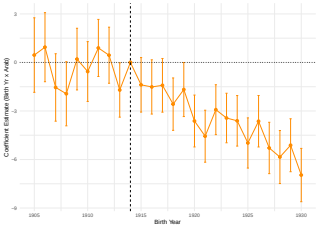
▸ More FEs ▸ Event Studies ◂ Back

Event studies: other minorities

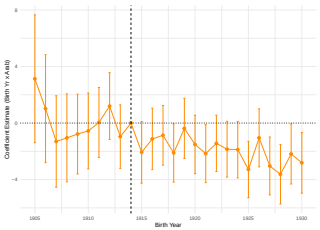
Some show pre-trends, mixed results



(a) Control: Asian father



(b) Control: Asian + other minorities' fathers



(c) Control: Greek father

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Table: Effects of Dow Ruling on Foreign Name Index (FNI)

	FNI		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Arab	3.503***	-1.763***	-6.421***
	(0.982)	(0.390)	(0.464)
Post-Dow x Arab	0.744	-3.865***	-1.988***
	(1.093)	(0.435)	(0.513)
Observations	79,927	355,468	111,184
Adj. R^2	0.0370	0.1257	0.0551
FE: Birth Year	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: State of Birth	Yes	Yes	Yes
FE: County-Year	Yes	Yes	Yes

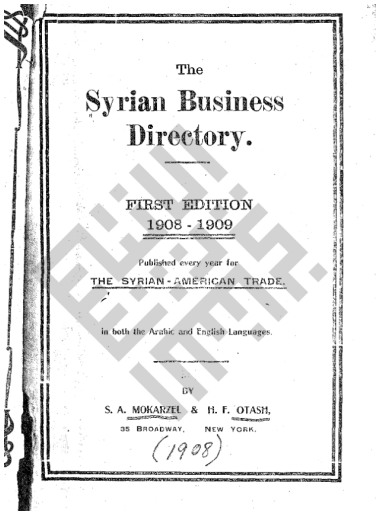
Back

Syrian Business Directory (1908-1909)

Digitized and geo-located

Overview:

- Voluntary registry of Arab-American business owners
- 3000+ entries with info on: names of owners in Arabic and the Americanized English names, business type, industry, and address, the address where they came from in the Middle East ▸ Map ▸ NYC ▸ Arabic Name Americanization Index ◂ Back


The
Syrian Business
Directory.

FIRST EDITION
1908 - 1909

Published every year for
THE SYRIAN-AMERICAN TRADE,
in both the Arabic and English Languages.

BY
S. A. MOKARZEL & H. F. OTASH,
35 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.
(1908)

Name Americanization

- Americanization indices better capture conformity to American naming norms

Back

Name Americanization

- Americanization indices better capture conformity to American naming norms
- Beyond the use of Naturalization Records (Biavaschi, 2017; Fouka, 2019) → bilingual record Syrian Business Directory

Back

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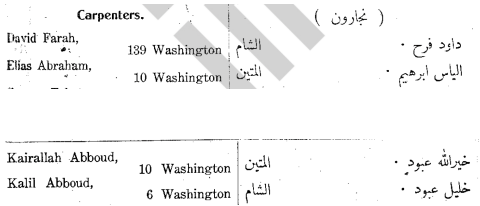
- Americanization indices better capture conformity to American naming norms
- Beyond the use of Naturalization Records (Biavaschi, 2017; Fouka, 2019) → bilingual record Syrian Business Directory
- *Mapping* of names is the basis for potential and common **Name Americanization Paths**



Carpenters.			(نجارون)
David Farah,	139 Washington	الشام	داود فرح ·
Elias Abraham,	10 Washington	المتين	الياس ابرهيم ·
Kairallah Abboud,	10 Washington	المتين	خيرالله عبود ·
Kalil Abboud,	6 Washington	الشام	خليل عبود ·

Back

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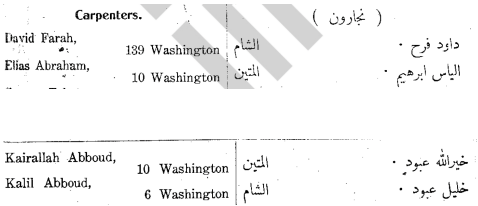
- Beyond the use of Naturalization Records (Biavaschi, 2017; Fouka, 2019) → bilingual record Syrian Business Directory
- *Mapping* of names is the basis for potential and common **Name Americanization Paths**
- After processing, a **dictionary** of: Arabic name - transliteration - English name



Carpenters.			(نجارون)
David Farah,	139 Washington	الشام	داود فرح ·
Elias Abraham,	10 Washington	المتين	الياس ابرهيم ·
Kairallah Abboud,	10 Washington	المتين	خيرالله عبود ·
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Name Americanization

- Americanization indices better capture conformity to American naming norms
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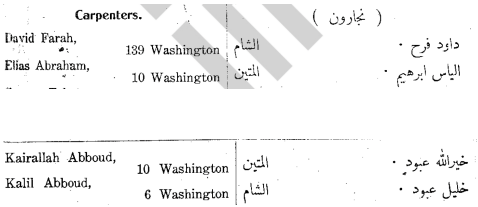
- *Mapping* of names is the basis for potential and common **Name Americanization Paths**
- After processing, a **dictionary** of: Arabic name - transliteration - English name
- Composite index: normalized Levenshtein distance & phonetic distance, weighting deviations from Arabic specific sounds more

  e.g. "kh", "gh", "h", "dh", "th"



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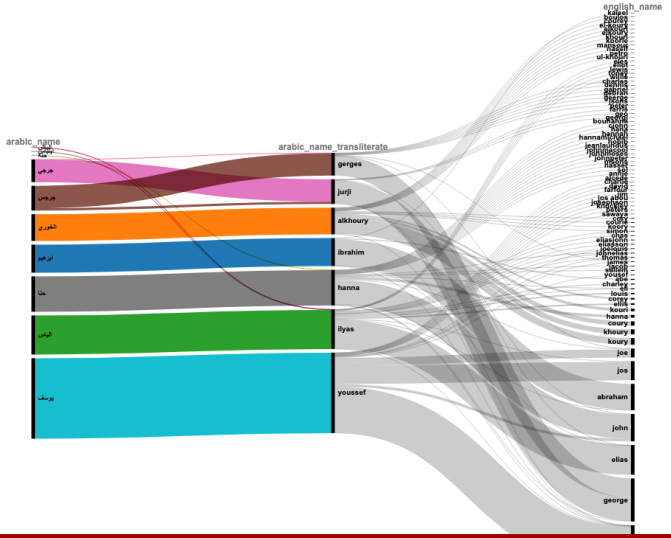

arabic_name
arabic_name_transliterate
english_name
جرجس
جرجس
الخوري
ابراهيم
حنا
الياس
يوسف
gerges
jurji
alkhoury
ibrahim
hanna
ilyas
youssef
joe
joe
abraham
john
elias
george

Transliteration methodology

General rules

1. **Consonants**: Each Arabic consonant is mapped to its closest English equivalent
2. **Vowels**: Arabic vowels, which can sometimes be implied, are represented based on common pronunciation
3. **Special Characters**: Arabic letters that don't have direct English equivalents are approximated using combinations of English letters

Consonants examples

- ا (Alif): Often represented as 'A' or omitted if it starts a word (e.g., 'إلياس' -> 'Ilyas')
- ث (Tha): 'th'
- ح (Ha): 'h'
- خ (Kha): 'kh'
- ع (Ayn): Often represented as an apostrophe (') or omitted (e.g., 'عبدالله' -> 'Abdullah')
- غ (Ghayn): 'gh'

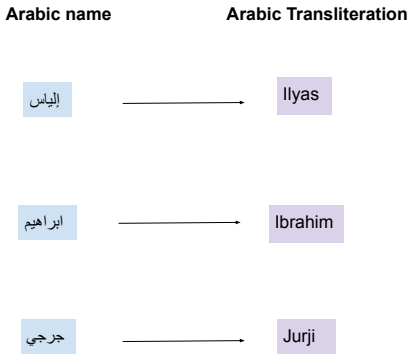
Vowels

- **Short Vowels**: Not always written in Arabic but implied in transliteration
  - ◌َ (Fatha): 'a'
  - ◌ِ (Kasra): 'i'
  - ◌ُ (Damma): 'u'
- **Long Vowels**:
  - ا (Alif): 'a'
  - و (Waw): 'u'
  - ي (Ya): 'i'

Special Considerations

- **Double Letters**: Sometimes, Arabic has doubled letters for emphasis, which are maintained in transliteration (e.g., 'عبدالله' -> 'Abdullah')
- **Ayn ('ع') and Hamza ('ء')**: These can be tricky. 'ع' is often left out or represented as an apostrophe ('), while 'ء' is usually omitted unless it's necessary to indicate a glottal stop

Transliteration example



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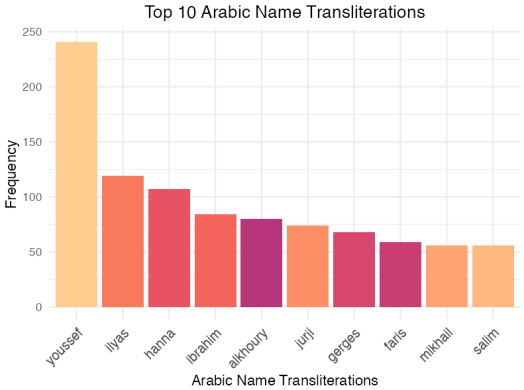
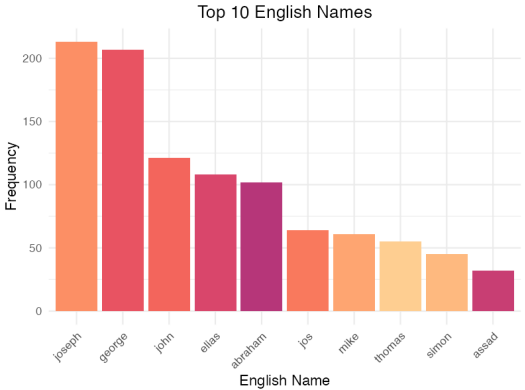
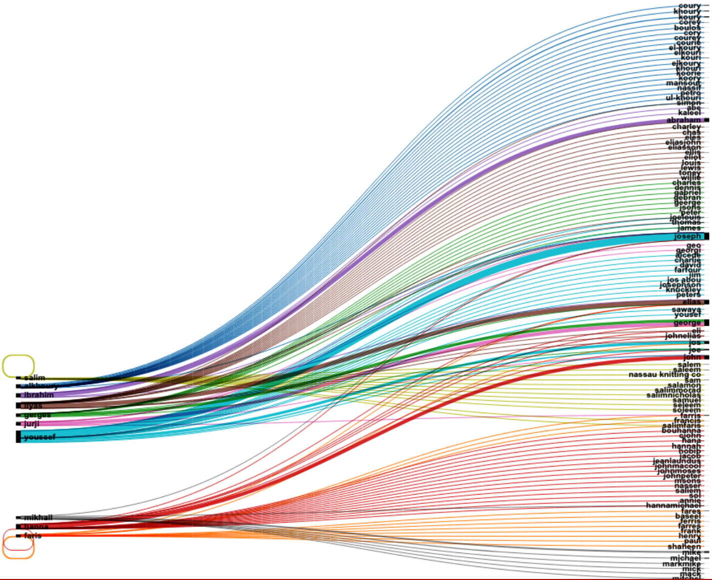
Top names



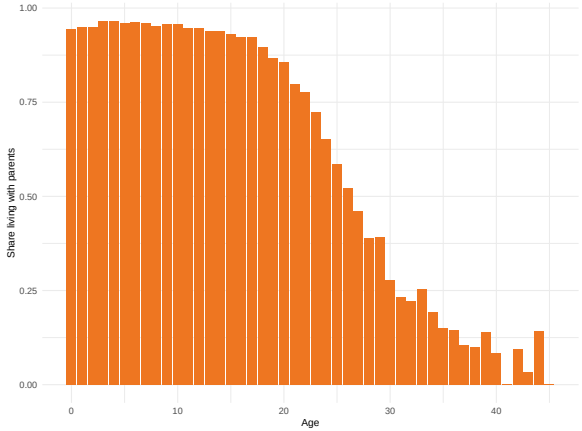


Back


salim
alkhoury
ibrahim
ilyas
gerges
jurji
youssef
mikhail
hanna
faris
coury
khoury
koury
corey
boulos
cory
courey
courie
el-koury
elkouri
kouri
elkoury
khouri
koorie
koory
mansour
nassif
petro
ul-khouri
simon
abe
kaleel
abraham
charley
chas
eles
eliasjohn
eliasson
ellis
eliot
louis
lewis
toney
willie
charles
dennis
gabriel
gebran
george
jsons
peter
joelouis
thomas
james
joseph
geo
georgi
alcede
charlie
david
farfour
jim
jos abou
josephson
knuckley
peters
elias
sawaya
yousef
george
eli
johnelias
jos
joe
john
salem
saleem
nassau knitting co
sam
salamon
salimmorad
salimnicholas
samuel
seleem
soleem
farris
francis
salimfaris
bouhanna
cjohn
hana
hannah
bobip
jacob
jeanlaundus
johnmacool
johnmoses
johnpeter
msons
nasser
saliem
sol
annie
hannamichael
fares
baseel
ferris
farres
frank
henry
paul
shaheen
mike
michael
markmike
mick
mack

Co-habitation

Co-habitation by age was quite high among Arab men



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Co-habitation: women

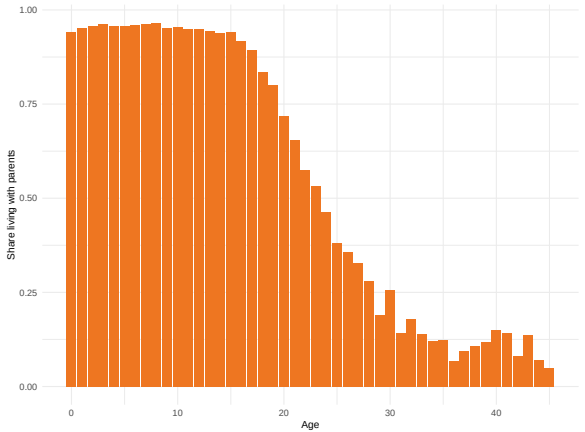

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Table: Number of US-born Males by Father's Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Pre-Dow Count	Post-Dow Count
Arab	12,288	41,291
Polish	176,043	408,094
Japanese	5,080	29,543
Chinese	1,861	4,952
Filipino	126	1,625
Indian	341	927
Mexican	39,252	189,572
Puerto Rican	554	5,398
Cuban	1,810	3,372
Greek	7,229	55,489

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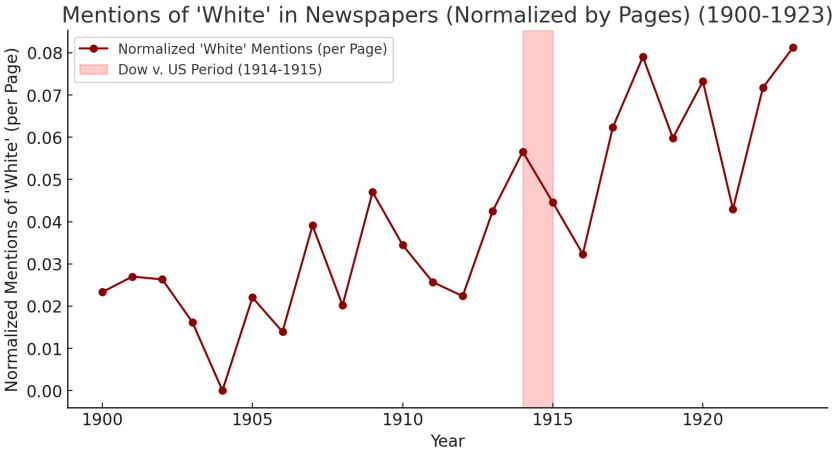
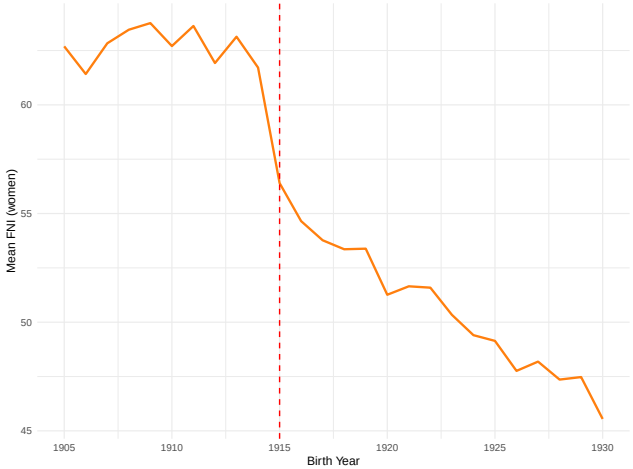
Keyword search in Arabic-American Newspapers



Mean FNI for women



Within family: female

Greater effects for women

From $\approx$ *Nellie* $\rightarrow$ or *Lucie*

Dep Var: Foreign Name Index (Mean = 64.02)					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Post-Dow	-10.97***	-8.518***	-11.17***	-9.648***	-9.547***
	(0.3782)	(0.6544)	(0.3804)	(0.7463)	(0.7542)
Linear trend		X			
State of Birth			X	X	X
Household ID				X	
Birth Order				X	X
County				X	X
Mother ID					X
Observations	15,861	15,861	15,861	15,861	15,861
R^2	0.05089	0.05203	0.05950	0.48149	0.49144

*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

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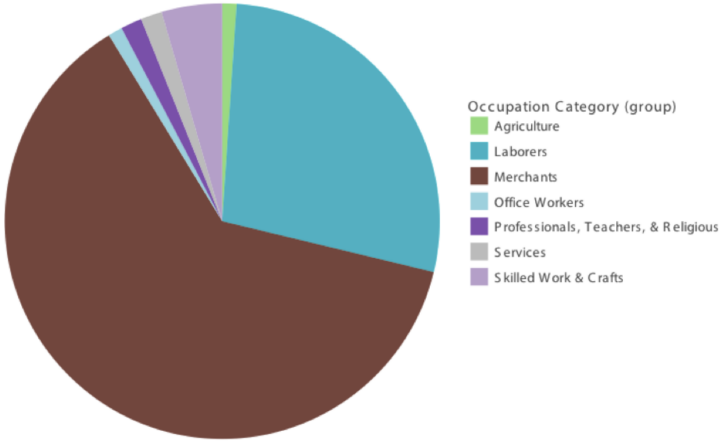
Occupations: 1900

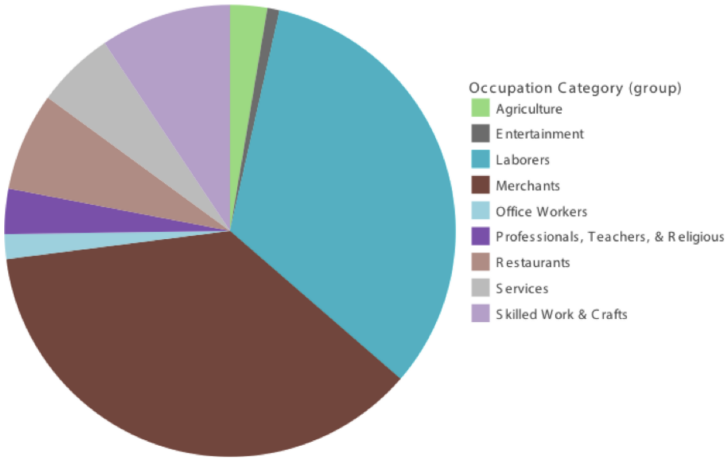
Source: Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Studies



Back: Data

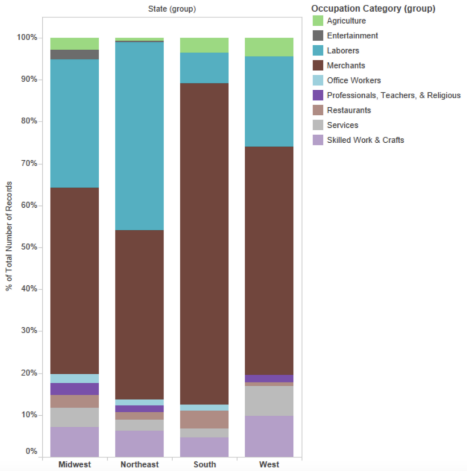
Occupations: 1940

Source: Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Studies



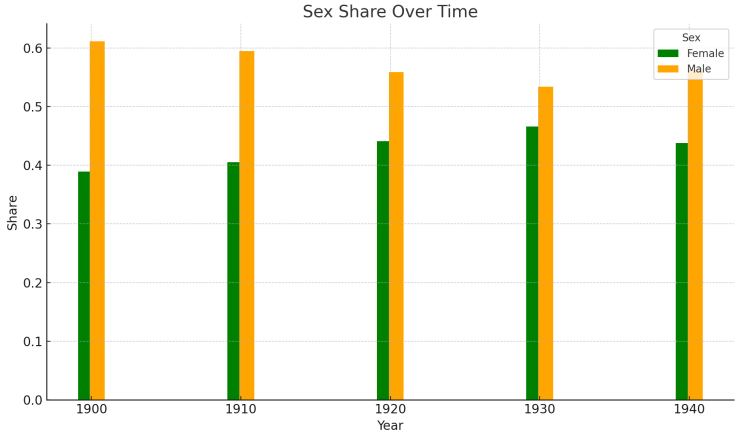
Occupations by region

Source: Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Studies



Back: Data

Shares of Arab Men and Women



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Regression: heterogeneity

Table: Regression Results by Father Characteristics

Dependent Variable:	FNI									
Model:	Occ Score		Share of diaspora in state		Father's years in the US		Father's literacy		Father's class of work	
	Below Median	Above Median	Below Median	Above Median	Below Median	Above Median	Illiterate	Literate	Employed	Self-employed
Post-Dow	-9.67***	-9.25***	-11.6***	-7.67***	-9.53***	-9.17***	-7.45***	-9.64***	-9.08***	-10.0***
	(1.28)	(1.22)	(1.23)	(0.921)	(1.35)	(1.18)	(1.48)	(0.901)	(1.26)	(1.23)
Fixed Effects										
Household ID	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State of Birth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Birth Order	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
County	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	6,066	6,695	7,049	9,886	7,420	8,726	4,168	11,978	5,928	6,833
R^2	0.49609	0.48929	0.48480	0.48785	0.59795	0.57797	0.46262	0.49911	0.50768	0.47859
Median	25		0.13%		11		-		-	

Clustered (household) standard-errors in parentheses
*Signif. Codes: ***: 0.01, **: 0.05, *: 0.1*

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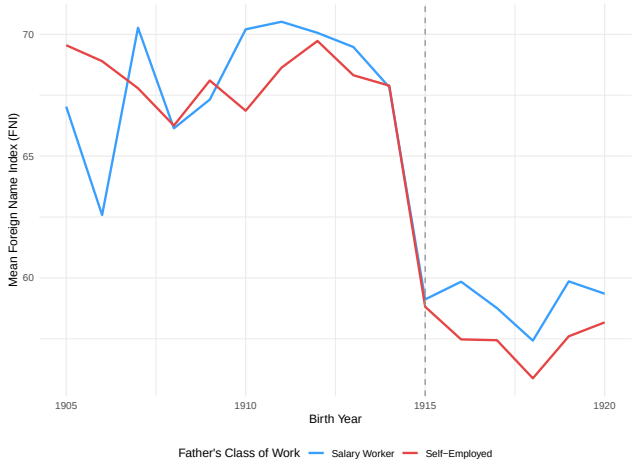
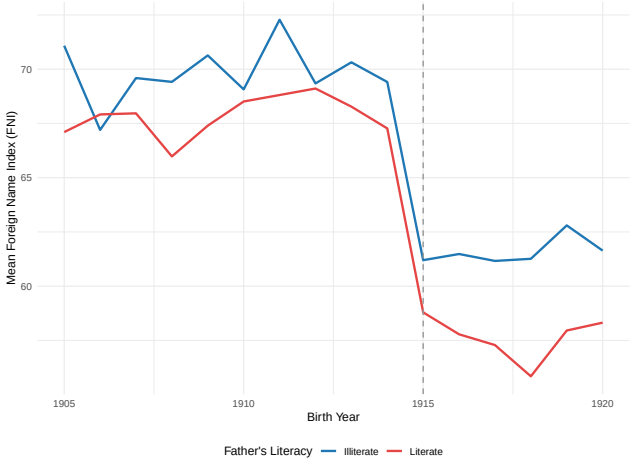
Father's class of work



Labor Force Status Back

Father's literacy



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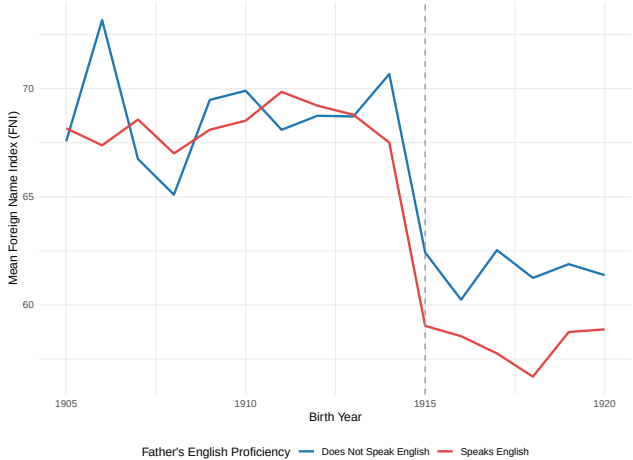
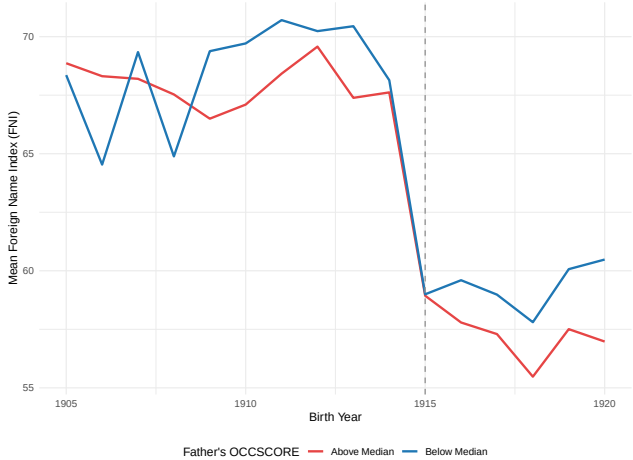
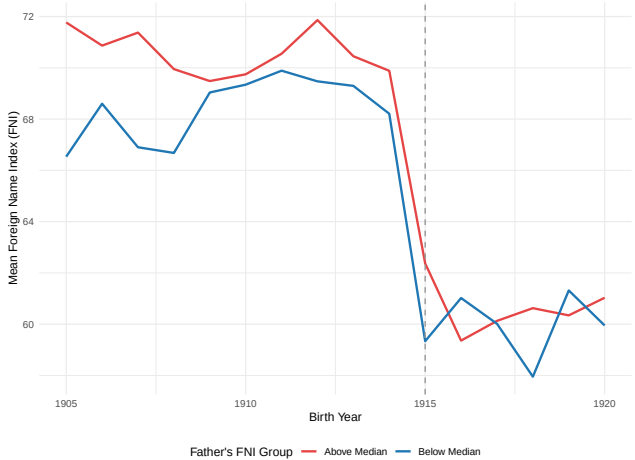
Father speaking English



Father's occupation score

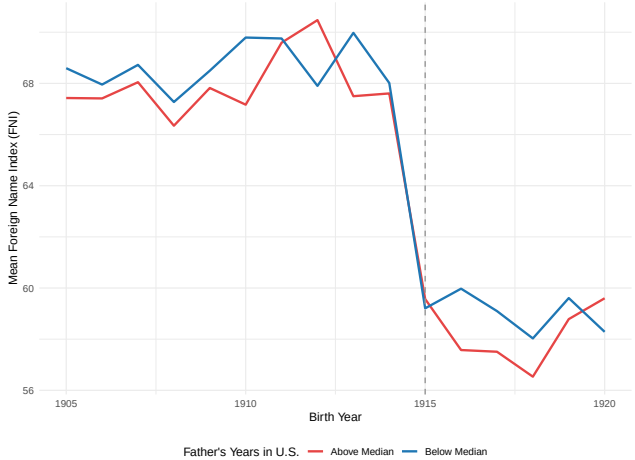


Father's FNI

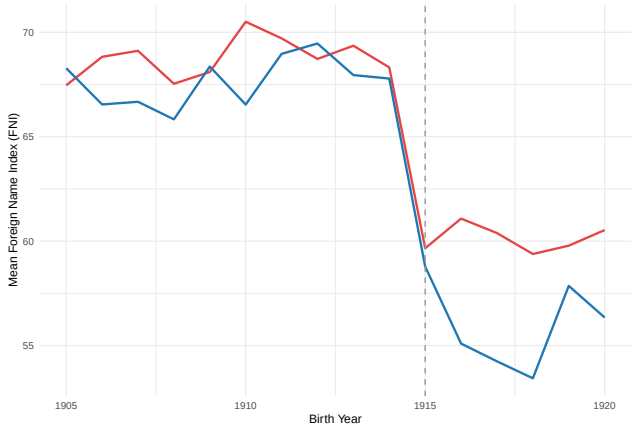


▸ Father FNI distribution ◂ Back

Father's years in the US

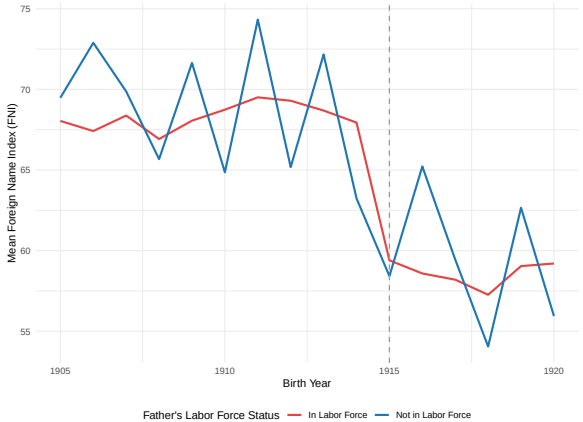


Share of the Arab diaspora in state (1920)



Father's labour force status

Only 2.5% unemployed in 1920, 6.28% missing info, and 91% employed



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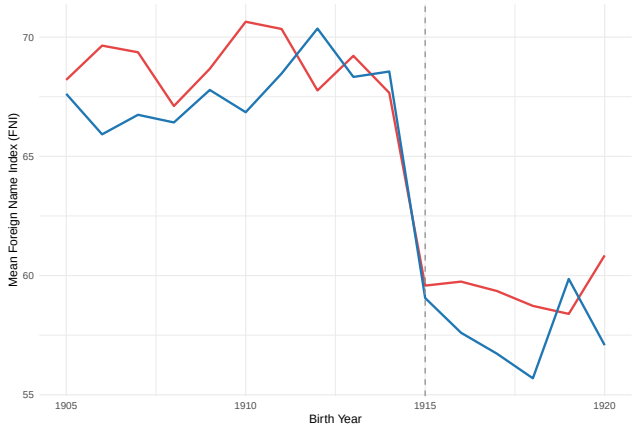
Share of the Arab diaspora in state of birth (1910)



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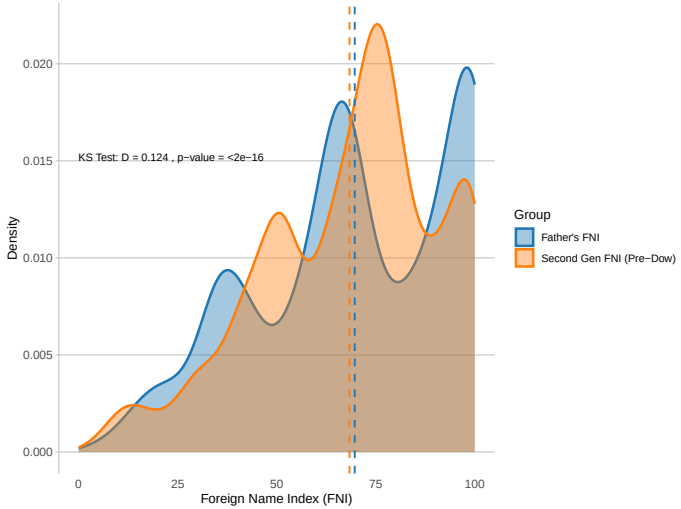
Father's FNI distribution



Historical Arab-American Newspapers

- Scraped from the *Khayrallah Center for Lebanese Diaspora Studies* + manual collection
- Created by the Arab diaspora, printed in the US


KAWKAB AMERICA

"THE STAR OF AMERICA."

New York, Friday, August 19, 1892.

Vol. 1. No. 19.

"Kawkab America"

Did the Arabs Discover America?

A Letter From Boston.

Oriental Items of Interest.

Insulted Russia's Minister.

Anglo-Saxon Will Submit.

Cossacks Ll Quad.

The Cholera Still Spreading.

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- OCR-processed, layout detected, articles extracted


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- OCR-processed, layout detected, articles extracted
- **Next Steps:** Topic modeling, sentiment analysis, identity duality, assimilation + expand collection


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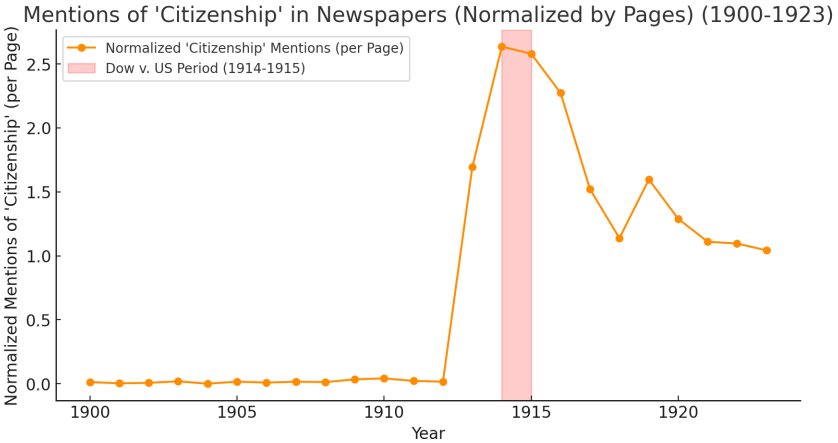
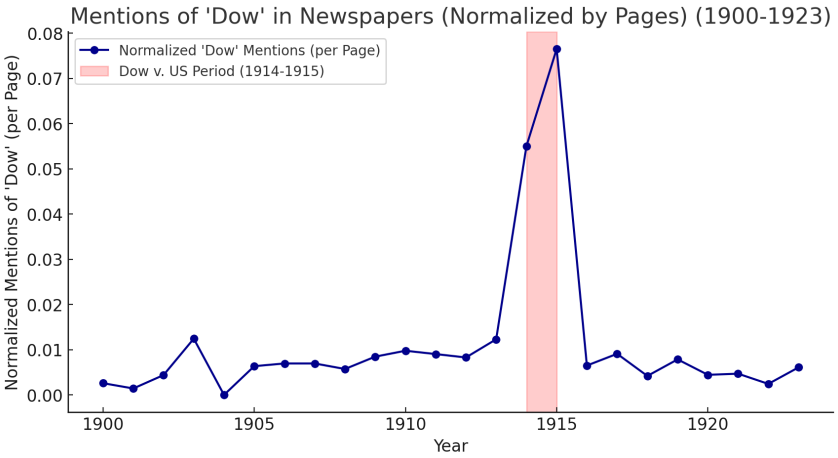
▸ Timeline ◂ Back

Salience of the case 1/2



Salience of the case 2/2



Historical American Newspapers

- ***American Stories*** dataset (1780–1960)

OCTOBER 14, 1893. THE ILLUSTRATED AMERICAN. 453

A PLAGUE OF MEN.

SOME strange elements have insinuated themselves into the immigration problem. It is not the most obvious factors in the question that are the most interesting, even though they be the ones of paramount importance. To the superficial observer it would seem absurd to consider seriously the part played in the corruption of our national life by Syrians. And yet the student of the situation who sets out to examine the subject in all its phases and aspects, may not disregard even such an obscure and apparently insignificant detail as is suggested by the steadily increasing colony of dusky Orientals who have planted a patch of the

of his own country. Ingenious cabinets of olivewood, rude jewelry not unlike that of Benares, bits of sandstone said to have come from the ruins of King Solomon's temple and accompanied by printed slips in "English as she is spoke," attesting that fact, gimcracks for feminine adornment made of amber and silver, fans of musky sandalwood, long, gilded flasks of rose attar, and boxes of figs make up the outlandish stock in trade with which these white-teethed, black-bearded, and suave spoken aliens hope to coax a competence from the rich Occidentals. In the winter, the peripatetic merchants, still following the course of wealth and fashion, betake them-

SOME RECENT ARRIVALS FROM DAMASCUS.

Back

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- **Next Steps:** Text analysis of media sentiment toward Arabs & immigrants

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