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WOMEN AS VICTIMS OF WAR: THE BRITISH CONQUEST (1917) AND THE BLIGHT OF PROSTITUTION IN THE HOLY CITY

Margalit Shilo

Dr. Weizmann informs us of the sad fact that due to the difficult conditions in the Land of Israel, prostitution and drunkenness have become widespread in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem alone there are five hundred Jewish prostitutes who are not willing to work in workshops, [preferring] to earn their wage easily.¹

This passage was published in a manifesto in Hebrew and Yiddish disseminated in Jerusalem in November 1918 by the Municipal Committee of the Ashkenazi Community. According to the memoirs of Moshe Blau and the biography of Yosef Haim Zonnenfeld, both of them leaders of the Jerusalem ultraorthodox community, this manifesto was promulgated at a demonstration that took place in the ultraorthodox neighborhood of Mea Shearim in protest “against this fabrication”²—namely, the charge of prostitution—and against the Zionist leader who “defames the daughters of Jerusalem.”³ The tactic of the Ashkenazi Municipal Committee⁴ seems to have been based on the premise that denying a reality will obliterate it. In other words, in the opinion of the Committee prostitution did not exist in Jerusalem; the women’s bodies were not exploited, and their cry went unheard. The female body, which is both the subject and the object of prostitution, was blotted out as though it had never existed. In this denial there is a sort of reproduction of Catherine Mackinnon’s definition: “Prostitution is a social institution which grants men personality, but denies it to women.”⁵

There was nothing new about the phenomenon of prostitution in the Holy City,⁶ yet its scope after the British army’s entry into the city in December 1917 was exceptional, evoking considerable attention and anxiety.⁷ Over 26,000 British soldiers were stationed in Jerusalem after the city’s conquest.⁸

The military government's recognition that prostitutes were a vital necessity for the soldiers⁹ took the form of regulations on the subject issued by Major General Money, "chief administrator of conquered enemy territory."¹⁰ The content of these regulations, published on June 27, 1918, but made known earlier, were based on the Ottoman penal code.¹¹ Demarcating the neighborhoods of Nahalat Shiv'ah and the Milner Houses as areas in which brothels were legally permitted to operate in Jerusalem, their primary objective was to guarantee the soldiers' health and good conduct.¹²

The British army brought with it not only new methods of government but also an impressive economic presence, as the soldiers were endowed with "a fat salary, which [they] did not save but squandered."¹³ In contradistinction to the British army, which was portrayed by Mordechai ben Hillel Hacoen, a chronicler of the period, as "sating itself with delicacies,"¹⁴ the Jewish community resembled "a sick person in the process of healing himself from a critical and protracted illness."¹⁵ World War I had dealt heavily with the city. The Jewish community had lost approximately half its population,¹⁶ partly to starvation and epidemics and partly to emigration and Turkish deportations, leaving approximately 26,000 souls¹⁷ by the time the British conquest was completed—roughly the same as the number of British soldiers stationed in the city. These included over 3,000 orphans, approximately half of them girls, with no means of support.¹⁸ A considerable proportion of them, estimated at a third, turned to "the world's oldest profession."¹⁹ A comparison of prostitution in Jerusalem with the prostitution that surfaced in other parts of the Jewish world in the same years confirms the assessment that legal sanction accompanied by severe economic distress sparked a sharp escalation in the phenomenon, and that its scope was especially worrisome in sectors in which the status of women was particularly low.²⁰ The resort of young people to the forbidden occupations of crime and prostitution escalated in other regions of the world as well in time of war.²¹ Prostitution was particularly widespread among girls devoid of support or professional training.²²

In the following pages I will attempt to trace the principal aspects of this phenomenon, which has heretofore gone almost unmentioned in the scholarly literature, and to discern and define its singularity. I will also look at the attitude of the Holy City's inhabitants toward the moral breach that it had experienced and particularly at the difference between men and women in their approach to the subject. Taking all this into account, I will also endeavor to point to the connection between the community's aforementioned denial

of the existence of Jewish prostitutes in its midst and the institutionalization of prostitution by the British military government.

The British conquest served as a catalyst for the formation of diverse Jewish organizations. In March 1918, the Jews established the Municipal Committee of All the Jews of Jerusalem,²³ from which a group of Ashkenazi ultraorthodox members dissociated themselves and formed their own committee. The June 1918 session of the Municipal Committee was devoted to a discussion of prostitution, whose existence not a single member of the committee disputed.²⁴ Scrutiny of the protocol preserved in the archives of the City of Jerusalem indicates that the various speakers' statements addressed the cardinal issues relating to the phenomenon of prostitution: What are its causes? Is it a normal facet of human behavior, or the product of rare distress? Dr. Aryeh Shimoni Mackler, a physician acquainted with all sectors of the population, argued that the affliction that had befallen the Holy City was excessive by any accepted global standard. In his opinion, this was due not so much to economic distress as to the indifference of the city's rabbis.²⁵ Pointing to a well-known brothel whose owner was "specifically from among the ultra-orthodox," he claimed that the attitude of Jerusalem's rabbis both to prostitution and to missionizing differed from that of rabbis everywhere else; they simply denied reality. Yosef Meyuhas, a teacher, also acknowledged that a general indifference had permeated the public as a whole: "It's possible that we are to blame for the community's remaining aloof." While members of the Jewish Municipal Committee did not deny the reality of prostitution in the city, they largely refrained from considering the plight of the women who engaged in it, focusing instead on what they deemed to be its possible impact upon them—an offense to their honor.

Meyuhas and many of the city's Jews took the presence of pimps and prostitutes in the Holy City as a slur on their reputation.²⁶ A detailed letter from members of the Municipal Committee to Colonel Ronald Storrs, the city's British governor, depicted the blight of prostitution first as an economic loss to householders living adjacent to the brothels and a moral injury to the neighborhood's children who observed the goings-on, but above all as damaging to the Jewish community:

The Jewish Community of Jerusalem is very insulted by the fact that the British Administration has discovered no better center in the whole city

for the keeping of these Disorderly Houses than in Jewish Quarters and sees it as the heaviest blow against its moral feelings.²⁷

In letters from neighborhood committees to the Municipal Committee requesting assistance in solving the problem, the focus is also on the losses sustained by the writers themselves, namely, the decline in the value of their homes, the prevalence of noise and commotion in their quarter, the advent of “knife-bearing” criminal elements who frighten their children, and so on.²⁸ The municipal and neighborhood committees were concerned first and foremost for “clean” society, lest it be contaminated by this “impurity.”²⁹ They related little if at all to the meaning of prostitution to those who were paid for this act to be performed on their bodies. They sought to distance themselves as much as possible from the fate of the distressed women, who were of no concern to them.

The long discussion among members of the Municipal Committee makes almost no reference to questions like: Who are the prostitutes? What is their ethnic origin? How old are they? Where do they live? What is their family status?³⁰ Did everyone presume to know the answers to these questions, or was this disregard a further expression of a basic lack of interest in the girls and women who plied the trade? In only one letter by an “assembly of the committee for the war on immorality”³¹ did I find specific mention of girls who helped procure customers:

It seems that there is a brothel in the Shlomo Milner Houses quarter where young girls of some seven or eight years old are serving as procurers.

The source of this testimony indicates that it is reliable. From these and other statements it transpires that many of the prostitutes were very young girls, who almost certainly numbered among the thousands of homeless orphans wandering the streets. Does this help to explain the denial of the phenomenon on the one hand, and the unwillingness to delve too deeply into it on the other? After all, these were only children.

Does the term “prostitution” refer exclusively to the selling of the female body for money, or might it at times, in Jerusalem religious society, have been used to designate romantic relationships as well? Was it really only

distress that impelled girls into prostitution, or were they perhaps drawn to the soldiers for romantic-erotic reasons as well?³² Mordechai ben Hillel Hacohen makes a somewhat enigmatic reference to this possibility in his description of the girls of Jerusalem:

Means of subsistence were abundant then in the City of Jerusalem, and the girls of the Jewish community, particularly the pupils of Mrs. Landau's school who knew how to chat in English, went out all pinned up, wearing silk stockings up to their knees.³³

Hacohen evidently was alluding to flirtations that might well have been characterized as prostitution by the residents of Jerusalem. The depiction of the girls from the Evelina de Rothschild School speaks for itself. For girls to expose their legs and wear silk stockings was daring behavior in those days, and they sent a clear signal to the male sex by pinning up and tightening their clothes in order to accentuate the curves of their bodies. Mention of their ability to chat in English also suggests a wish to initiate amorous ties with men. While the preponderance of the evidence at our disposal indicates that the chief motive for engaging in prostitution was economic, the possibility that longings for a brave new world were also stirring should not entirely be dismissed.³⁴ In wartime, when the emancipation of women gathers steam, their participation in forbidden activities also intensifies.³⁵

The Municipal Committee's paltry attempts to address the problem were unsuccessful. During a General Assembly held on July 12, 1918, Yosef Meyuhas admitted, "To tell the truth, we haven't done very much."³⁶ This conclusion is corroborated by the Municipal Committee's letter to Storrs, according to which Meyuhas had accompanied government representatives on a tour of the city with a view to choosing a different neighborhood for the brothels, with a view to removing them from the quarters of Nahalat Shiv'ah and the Milner houses. The neighborhoods proposed by Meyuhas were on the city's seam: Beit Yosef³⁷ and Nahalat Shim'on.³⁸ For reasons they kept to themselves, the authorities declined to cooperate with Meyuhas.³⁹ The wish to deny the existence of the brothels by distancing them from public view, rather than tackle the underlying distress, typifies the male approach to the subject⁴⁰ and points to the root of the problem: Prostitutes were not considered human beings and so were doubly victimized by being treated as criminals who must be removed from society.⁴¹

The female approach to the problem was quite the opposite: Prostitutes were viewed as human beings in distress. Amita Pinchover, principal of the Jerusalem School for Girls, did not hesitate to describe the city's affliction openly in her address on the occasion of the reopening of the school following the British conquest:

A state of moral and material degradation . . . that shocks the soul, a condition of unsurpassed evil. . . . Look out into the street and see and be persuaded of what has become of the daughters of Israel in our city. They have fallen into a dreadful moral state, dedicating themselves by the hundreds to shame.⁴²

Pinchover exposed her pupils to the disgrace of Jerusalem society, but she also proposed a solution: the acquisition of crafts that would enable young women to support themselves. Asserting that individuals are incapable of coping with such difficult problems on their own, she suggested founding "a general association of all Jewish women in Eretz Israel for the purpose of elevating the material, moral and spiritual condition of the daughters of Israel."⁴³ She was convinced that female cooperation would lead to female empowerment and that prostitution was a social epidemic amenable to cure.

The methods of action advocated by the various women's organizations were diverse: opening craft workshops, organizing a women's agricultural labor corps to be called "the Jerusalem Pioneer," founding a shelter for adolescent girls, and pressuring Colonel Storrs to prohibit the operation of brothels in the city.⁴⁴ When Storrs in fact did so, Herbert Samuel, the first British High Commissioner, expressed in a letter his belief that the phenomenon had ultimately been routed on account of the activity of the women's organizations:

It was at the instance of the Social Service Association of Jerusalem, which is composed of women concerned in philanthropic work, that it was decided to abolish that system [of permitting the operation of brothels].⁴⁵

Along with Storrs' decision, the removal of the British army from Jerusalem in 1919⁴⁶ undoubtedly played a significant role in substantially reducing the demand for sexual services.⁴⁷

The victory of the foes of prostitution was not celebrated in the streets, but the elimination of the topic from the deliberations of the Jewish Municipal Committee and the women's organizations indicates that their efforts were crowned with success. Visiting the Land of Israel in 1924, Miss Baker, secretary of the League of Nations committee concerned with the "white slave trade," wrote in a letter that "Every effort is being made to deal effectively with the evil of prostitution in Jerusalem."⁴⁸

Alongside the familiar practice of the world's oldest profession, "epidemics" of prostitution can be distinguished in the wake of exceptional events: the emigration of millions of Jews from Eastern Europe to the New World,⁴⁹ or war, or the orphaning of young people (or both together). The phenomenon of prostitution that transpired in Jerusalem during the years 1918–1919 constituted an "epidemic" of this sort. As noted, there is no consensus among scholars as to whether prostitution is chosen by women or forced upon them,⁵⁰ but the story of this epidemic suggests that the distinction is fine and perhaps moot. The documentation I have adduced suggests that most adolescent girls fell into prostitution as a means of survival, and many turned their backs on it when presented with another option.

A comparison of the Ashkenazi Jewish establishment's attitude toward prostitution with that of the British military government in Jerusalem brings into vivid relief the manner in which these women were viewed by male patriarchal society. The army's use of prostitutes, the great majority of whom were evidently minors orphaned in the war, bears blatant witness to a failure to relate to adolescent girls as minors in need of care. To be sure, the British Army looks relatively enlightened in comparison with cases like that of the Japanese army, which, in World War II, incarcerated tens of thousands of young women in military barracks and compelled them to provide sexual services twenty-four hours a day.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the prostitutes in Jerusalem's brothels, sanctioned by the occupying force, were seen as creatures devoid of personality. To quote Catherine Mackinnon's definition, "it makes sense to understand prostitution as consisting in the denial of woman's humanity"⁵²—a perception shared by the military community and the Jewish establishment of the Holy City.

Notes

1. From a manifesto entitled “*Die Zeit*: A Copy,” signed by “The Municipal Committee of the Ashkenazi Community” in Jerusalem; Archive of the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL), Jerusalem, no. V2472/5. See also Menachem Getz (ed.), *Lesha’ah veledorot: Osef keruzim vemoda’ot (For the Moment and for Generations to Come: A Collection of Manifestos and Placards)*; Jerusalem, 1971), p. 17. The manifesto quotes the London Yiddish daily *Die Zeit* of November 6, 1918, and includes a translation of the passage into Hebrew. For a brief mention of the topic see Menachem Friedman, *Hevrah vedat: Ha’ortodoksiah halo tziyonit be’eretz Yisrael, 1918–1936* (Society and religion: The non-Zionist Orthodox in Eretz Israel 1918–1936; Jerusalem, 1978), p. 35, note 10.
2. Moshe Blau, *Al homotayikh Yerushalayim–Pirkei hayyai* (On thy walls, Jerusalem—My life; Benei Berak, 1967), pp. 70–71.
3. Shlomo Zalman Sonnenfeld, *Ha’ish al hahomah—Masekhet hayyav, po’alav, manhiguto vedivrei yemei hatekufah shel Maran Yosef Haim Sonnenfeld* (A chronicle of the life, deeds, and leadership of Rabbi Yosef Haim Sonnenfeld and his times; Jerusalem, 1975), pp. 105–106.
4. The Ashkenazi Municipal Committee was organized in Jerusalem in late March 1918. See Kobi Cohen-Hattab, “Me’uravut va’ad hakehilah birushalayim behitpathutah shel ha’ir, 1917–1948” (Jerusalem’s ‘Va’ad Hakehilla’ and the development of Jerusalem, 1917–1948), *Cathedra*, 82 (1996).
5. Catherine A. Mackinnon, “Prostitution and Civil Rights,” in D. Kelly Weisberg (ed.), *Applications of Feminist Legal Theory to Women’s Lives—Sex, Violence, Work and Reproduction* (Philadelphia, 1996), p. 223.
6. Margalit Shilo, *Nesikhah o shevuyah? Hahavayah hanashit shel hayishuv hayashan birushalayim 1840–1914* (Princess or captive? Jewish women in Jerusalem 1840–1914; Haifa University Press, 2001). In a letter in English to the military governor of the city dated July 26, 1918 (Jerusalem City Archives, Box 1412, no. 15), the rabbis of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi religious high courts mention their appeal two years earlier to the Turkish authorities on the subject of prostitution. A letter from Sarah Thon and others to Ya’akov Thon about prostitution in Jerusalem during World War I, received on August 22, 1917, is in the Central Zionist Archives (CZA), S2/745. In *Ad Yerushalayim: Roman mimei milhemet ha’olam harishonah* (To Jerusalem: A novel of the First World War; Jerusalem, 1987, book 3: *Shemot*), Aharon Reuveni recounts the tale of a young girl who turned to prostitution both to make her living and as an act of defiance; see particularly pp. 289–290, 346, and 386. Yigal Schwartz, in his Afterword to Reuveni’s text, refers to the book as a “period novel” (*ibid.*, p. 414). I am grateful to Hava Diner for referring me to this source.

7. David Biale, *Eros and the Jews: From Biblical Israel to Contemporary America* (Berkeley, Ca., 1992), p. 163, cites statistics published in 1906 by the Bureau of Jewish Statistics in Berlin according to which in 1897 there were 44 Jewish prostitutes to every 100,000 people in Russia. The number of Jewish streetwalkers exceeded that of any other ethnic group.
8. Brian Gardner, *Allenby* (London 1965), pp. 160–161; Tom Segev, *Yemei hakalanyot: Eretz yisrael bitkufat hamandat* (Palestine under the British Mandate; Jerusalem, 1999), p. 51.
9. On the importance attributed to prostitution in promoting soldiers' health and morale and discouraging them from raping local women see Laura Hein, "Savage Irony: The Imaginative Power of the 'Military Comfort Women' in the 1990s," *Gender and History*, 11/2 (1999); Chunghee Sarah Soe, "Uncovering the Truth About the 'Comfort Women,'" *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21/4 (1998). See also E.M. Sigsworth and T.J. Wyke, "A Study of Victorian Prostitution and Venereal Disease," in: Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington, Ind., 1973), p. 90; and see the manuscript version of the memoirs of Helen Bentwich, CZA, A255/470, p. 22.
10. These regulations were published a number of times. See the proclamation issued by General Money on November 14, 1918, in *Proclamations, Ordinances and Notices issued by O.E.T.A. (South), August 1919* (Cairo 1920), pp. 39–40; and *Hadashot meha'aretz* (News from Israel), No. 5, August 1, 1918. Also quoted by B.Z. Kedar, *Mabat ve'od mabat al Eretz Yisrael: Tatzlumei avir mimei milhemet ha'olam harishonah mul tatzlumim benei zemaninu* (Looking twice at the Land of Israel: Aerial photographs of 1917–18 and 1987–91; Jerusalem, 1992), p. 145.
11. Letter of May 1, 1925, by Herbert Samuel to Sir Maugras, Herbert Samuel Archive, Israel State Archives, P/12/649.
12. Sir Wingate's telegram of March 15, 1918, to the Foreign Ministry reports on the soldiers' proper conduct in Jerusalem. Israel State Archives, FO 371, microfilm 628.
13. Mordechai ben Hillel Hacohen, *Athalta* (The beginning; Jerusalem, 1931), I, p. 117.
14. *Ibid.*
15. "Israel Saba: Mihayei Yerushalayim" ("Life in Jerusalem"), *Hadashot meha'aretz*, no. 7, May 24, 1918.
16. Uziel Shmelz, "Hitma'atut okhlusiyat Eretz Yisrael bemilhemet ha'olam harishonah" ("The Decline in the Population of Palestine during World War I"), in Mordechai Eliav (ed.), *Bematzor uvematzok: Eretz Yisrael bemilhemet ha'olam harishonah* (Siege and Distress: Eretz Israel during the First World War; Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 17–47.

17. Nathan Efrati, *Mimashber letikvah: Hayishuv hayehudi bemilhemet ha'olam harishonah* (The Jewish community in Eretz Israel during World War I [1914–1918]; Jerusalem, 1991), p. 345.
18. In 1917 there were 2,500 orphans in the city; in 1919, 3,000 children orphaned of both parents were counted, along with 1,200 who had lost only their mothers. See S.Z. Rivlin, “Hayetomim mirushalayim” (“The orphans of Jerusalem”), *Hadashot meha'aretz*, no. 45, Feb. 20, 1919. For an additional estimate that the number of orphans was far in excess of 3,000, see *Hadashot meha'aretz*, March 15, 1919.
19. The assorted statistics in my possession draw a comparison, for instance, between the percentages of prostitutes in Jewish and non-Jewish communities; see Yehuda Rimerman, *Hazenut vehana'arah hasotah* (Prostitution and the deviant girl; Israel, 1977), pp. 43–45. However, this is not useful with regard to Jerusalem society, as the number of non-Jewish prostitutes is unknown. The various estimates regarding prostitution in New York in the nineteenth century (see Fernando Henrique, *Prostitution in Europe and the New World* [London, 1997], pp. 268–271, according to which there was one prostitute to every 117 residents of the city), are not helpful in understanding the situation in Jerusalem, where statistics regarding the number of Jewish prostitutes were never compiled, and where, in addition to a total population numbering some 45,000 after the war, there were also tens of thousands of soldiers.
20. Lloyd Gartner, “Anglo-Jewry and the Jewish International Traffic in Prostitution 1885–1914,” *Journal of the Association for Jewish Studies*, 78 (1983); Edward Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery 1870–1939* (New York, 1983).
21. Walter Reckless, “The Impact of War on Crime, Delinquency, and Prostitution,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 48/3 (1942), p. 383.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 386.
23. Eliezer Hoofien, a Zionist banker, was the committee chairman and Yosef Meyuhas, a teacher, was the vice-chairman. Meyuhas managed the meetings in Hoofien's absence.
24. Undated protocol of the meeting of the General Assembly, Jerusalem City Archives, J2/4000.
25. On the unwillingness of most Eastern European rabbis to address the problem of prostitution in their regions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries see Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice* (above, note 20).
26. See the letter of the Sephardi and Ashkenazi rabbis cited in note 6, and the letter to the Municipal Committee from the Nahalat Shiv'ah quarter dated the 19th of Av, 5768 (July 28, 1918), also in the Jerusalem City Archives, container 1412, no. 15.

27. The Municipal Committee to Col. Storrs, Sept. 2, 1918, Jerusalem City Archives, J2/3984. The Hebrew version of the letter is in the Dov Genachovsky Archives in Jerusalem.
28. Letter of the 15th of Tamuz, 5768 (June 25, 1918), from the Mazkeret Moshe neighborhood committee to the Municipal Committee, Dov Genachovsky Archives.
29. In their letter of the 19th of Av, 5678 (above, note 26)), the heads of the Nahalat Shiv'ah quarter wrote: "We discern in this a great evil for us, which threatens to lead our daughters, sons, and wives to transgress the laws of morality and modesty."
30. Precisely because these issues were not discussed in contemporary sources, I was unable to find sociological data on the prostitutes.
31. Undated letter in the Genachovsky Archives.
32. Prostitution with the soldiers of the liberating army could be viewed as patriotic; see Marilyn E. Hegarty, "Patriot or Prostitute? Sexual Discourses, Print Media, and American Women during World War II," *Journal of Women's History*, 10/2, 1998.
33. Hachohen, *Athalta* (above, note 13), p. 117.
34. See also Reuveni, *Ad Yerushalayim* (above, note 6), *loc cit.*
35. Reckless, "The Impact of War," (above, note 21), p. 379.
36. Protocol of the General Assembly meeting held on the 12th of Av, 5678 (July 21, 1918), Jerusalem City Archives, J2/4000.
37. Y. Ben-Arieh, *Ir bir'i tekufah: Yerushalayim hahadashah bereshitah* (A city reflected in its times: New Jerusalem—The beginnings; Jerusalem, 1979), pp. 228–229.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 253–259.
39. Letter of the 27th of Elul, 5768 (September 4, 1918), from the Municipal Committee to Col. Storrs, Dov Genachovsky Archive.
40. The wish to deny the existence of prostitution is also expressed in the absence of any discussion of the men who employ the women's services.
41. Mackinnon, "Prostitution and Civil Rights" (above, note 5), p. 225.
42. Undated, CZA J35/12.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Memoirs of Helen Bentwich (above, note 9), p. 22. For more on women's organizations and social work activity in relation to this issue see M. Shilo, "Prostitution in Jerusalem: Male and Female Approaches" (Hebrew), in *Yerushalayim ve'eret Yisra'el* (Rennert Center, Bar-Ilan University, forthcoming).
45. Samuel to Maugras (above, note 11).
46. Biger, "Ha'irgun haminhali shel eretz Yisrael bitkufat hashilton hatzeva'i,

1917–1920” (“The administrative organization of the British military regime, 1917–1920”), in Eliav, *Bematzor uvematzok* (above, note 16), p. 256.

47. Memoirs of Helen Bentwich (above, note 9), p. 51; Ronald Storrs, *Orientations* (London 1939), p. 451. In an article entitled “The Spreading Scourge,” published in *Ha’aretz* on January 29, 1928, in the wake of a new rise in prostitution in the Holy City, the writer, “Y.S.,” commented: “In the days of the Storrs government in Jerusalem, in a period when in other cities of Israel prostitution was entirely legal, we were witness to a successful war upon all of its manifestations and upon every outbreak of this scourge in Jerusalem.”

48. Samuel to Maugras (above, note 11).

49. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice* (above, note 20), pp. 85–108.

50. Mary Murphy, “The Private Lives of Public Women: Prostitution in Butte, Montana, 1878–1917,” in Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (eds.), *Writing the Range: Race, Class, & Culture in the Women’s West* ([Norman, Okla., and London, 1987), pp. 197–198.

51. Hein, “Savage Irony”; Soe, “Uncovering the Truth” (both above, note 9).

52. Mackinnon, “Prostitution and Civil Rights” (above, note 5), p. 222.