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## Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel

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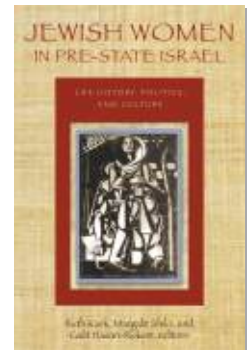
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# Notes

## *Introduction (pages 1–4)*

1. H. Herzog, “*Irgunei Nashim ba-Hugim ha-Ezrahiyyim — Perek Nishkakh be-Historiyyografiyya shel ha-Yishuv*” [Women’s Organizations in Civilian Circles — A Forgotten Chapter in the Historiography of the Yishuv], *Cathedra*, 70 (January 1994): 111–13, and also articles by Deborah Bernstein and Yossi Ben-Artzi in this collection.

2. From the article by Hannan Hever in the Hebrew edition of this volume, p. 393.

3. Y. Atzmon, ed. and intro., *Eshnav le-Hayyehen shel Nashim be-Hevrot Yehudiyot* [A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies], (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 21–23.

4. See the article by Einat Ramon in this volume.

5. Amia Lieblich, “*Zipporah Az ve-Akhshav*” [Zipporah Then and Now], in ed. Ruth Ravitsky, *Kor’ot mi-Bereishit: Nashim Yisra’eliyyot Kotevot al Neshot Seter Bereishit* [(Women) Reading from Genesis: Israeli Women Writing about the Women in Genesis] (Tel Aviv, 1999), p. 406.

6. B. Melman, “*Min ha-shulayim el ha-historiyah shel ha-Yishuv: Migdar ve-eretz yisre’eliyut (1890–1920)*” [From the Periphery to the Center of Yishuv History: Gender and Nationalism in Eretz Israel (1890–1920)], *Zion* 62, no. 3 (1997): 246.

7. *Ibid.*, 243–78.

## *The Study of Women in Israeli Historiography (pages 7–17)*

1. D. Kandiyoti, “Contemporary Feminist Scholarship and Middle East Studies,” in *Gendering the Middle East*, ed. D. Kandiyoti (London, 1996), p. 9.

2. See, for example, Sh. Rowbotham, *Hidden from History* (London, 1977); G. Lerner, *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York, 1979); and many others. J. Wallach Scott, "Women's History and the Rewriting of History," in *The Impact of Feminist Research in the Academy*, ed. Ch. Farnham, pp. 34–50 (Bloomington, Ind., 1987) (hereafter cited as Scott, "Women's"); D. Kandiyoti, ed., *Gendering the Middle East* (London, 1996), p. 9.

3. D. Boyarin, "Neshef ha-Masekhot ha-Koloni'ali: Ziyyonut, Migdar, Hikkui" [The Colonial Masqued Ball: Zionism, Gender, Imitation], *Theory and Criticism* 11 (1997): 123–44 (hereafter cited as Boyarin, "Colonial"); M. Gluzman, "Ha-Kemihah le-heteroseksu'aliyyut: Ziyyonut u-Miniyyut be-Altneuland" [The Yearning for Heterosexuality: Zionism and Sexuality in Altneuland], *Theory and Criticism* 11 (1997): 145–62; D. Biale, *Eros and the Jews* (New York, 1992), chapter 8; Sh. H. Katz, "Adam and Adama, Ird and Ard: En-gendering Political Conflict and identity in Early Jewish and Palestinian Nationalism," in *Gendering the Middle East*, ed. D. Kandiyoti (London, 1996) (hereafter cited as Katz, "Adam"); T. Mayer, ed., *Women and the Israeli Occupation* (London & New York, 1994), mainly in relation to the period of the Israeli occupation since 1967; J. M. Peteet, "Authenticity and Gender, The Presentation of Culture," in *Arab Women, Old Boundaries, New Frontiers*, ed. J. E. Tucker, pp. 49–62 (Bloomington, Ind., 1993).

4. Scott, "Woman's," p. 37.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

6. J. W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), p. 27.

7. J. Bennett, "Feminism and History," *Gender and History* 1, no. 3 (1989): 58.

8. B. Melman, "Min ha-Shulayyim el ha-Historiyyah shel ha-Yishuv: Migdar ve-Eretz Yisra'eliyyut (1890–1920)" [From the Margins to the History of the Yishuv: Gender and Eretz-Israeliness (1890–1920)], *Zion* 62, no. 3 (1997): 245.

9. Boyarin, "Colonial," p. 125.

10. N. Yuval-Davis, "Gender and Nation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16, no. 4 (1993): 621–32.

11. Katz, "Adam."

12. For example, Y. Azmon, ed., *Eshnav le-Hayyehen shel Nashim ve-Hevrot Yehudiyot* [A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies], pp. 325–26 (Jerusalem, 1995); Y. Azmon, ed., *Ha-Tishma Koli? Yitzugim shel Nashim be-Tarbut ha-Yisra'elit* [Will You Listen to My Voice? Representations of Women in Israeli Culture] (Tel Aviv, 2001); T. Elor & T. Rapport, eds., *Women Studies International Forum* (Special issue) 20, nos. 5/6 (1997); Special issues of *Israel Social Science Research on Feminist Theory and Research: Israeli Institutions and Society* 12, nos. 1, 2 (1997).

*Have Gender Studies Changed Our Attitude toward the Historiography of the Aliyah and Settlement Process? (pages 18–32)*

1. We note here the collective publication projects of Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi and the Israel Academy for Sciences and Humanities: M. Eliav, ed., *Sefer ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [The First Aliyah book] (Jerusalem, 1981); Y. Bartal, Z. Tzahor, and Y. Kani'el, eds., *Sefer ha-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah* [The Second Aliyah book] (Jerusalem, 1997); also, I. Kollat et al., eds., *Toledot ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz Yisra'el me'az ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah — ha-Tekufah ha-Othmanit* [History of the Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel since the First Aliyah — the Ottoman period], pt. 1 (Jerusalem, 1990); they contain dozens of articles relating to the study of *aliyah*, settlement, and the formation of *Yishuv* society in Eretz Israel. Also see Y. Ben-Artzi, *Ha-Moshavah ha-Ivrit be-Nof Eretz Yisra'el 1882–1914* [The Hebrew moshavah in Eretz Israel landscape 1882–1914] (Jerusalem, 1988) (hereafter cited as Ben-Artzi, *Ha-Moshavah*); M. Shilo, *Nisyonot be-Hityashevut — ha-Misrad ha-Eretzyisraeli 1908–1914* [Attempts at Settlement — the Palestine Office 1908–1914] (Jerusalem, 1988); Y. Katz, *Ha-Yozma ha-Peratit be-Binyan Eretz Israel bi-Tekufat ha-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah* [Private Initiative in the Building of Eretz Israel during the Period of the Second Aliyah] (Jerusalem, 1989) (hereafter cited as Katz, *Ha-Yozma*); R. Aaronsohn, *Ha-Baron ve-ha-Moshavot* [The Baron and the Moshavot] (Jerusalem, 1990) (hereafter cited as Aaronsohn, *Ha-Baron*); Z. Shiloni, *Ha-Keren ha-Kayemet le-Yisra'el ve-ha-Hityashevut 1903–1914* [The Jewish National Fund and Settlement 1903–1914] (Jerusalem, 1990).

2. Compare the position of the moshavah in the “classic” literature such as A. Bein, *Toldot ha-Hitayashevut ha-Tziyonit me-Herzl ve-ad Yameinu* [History of Zionist Settlement from Herzl until Today] (Tel Aviv, 1954) or H. Gvati, *100 Shenot Hityashevut* [100 Years of Settlement] (Tel Aviv, 1981), to its position in Aaronsohn, *Ha-Baron* and Ben-Artzi, *Ha-Moshavah*.

3. Aaronsohn, *Ha-Baron*; S. Schama, *Bet Rothschild ve-Eretz Yisra'el* [The Rothschild Family and Eretz Israel] (Jerusalem, 1980); M. Naor & D. Giladi, *Rotshild “Avi ha-Yishuv” u-mif'alo be-Eretz Israel* [Rothschild “the Father of the *Yishuv*” and His Endeavors in Eretz Israel] (Jerusalem, 1982).

4. For example, Katz, *Ha-Yozma*; R. Kark, *Yazamim Sefardim be-Eretz Israel* [Sefardi Entrepreneurs in Eretz Israel] (Jerusalem, 1993).

5. M. Shilo, “*Havvat ha-po'ilot be-Kinneret 1911–1917, ke-fitaron le-va'ayat ha-po'ilot ba-aliyyah ha-sheniyyah*” [The Women’s Agricultural Training Farm at Kinneret, 1911–1917, as a Solution to the Women’s Labor Problem in the Second Aliyah], *Cathedra* 14 (1980): 81–112; D. Bernstein, *Isha be-Eretz Yisra'el-ha-She'ifah le-Shivyon bi-Tekufat ha-Yishuv* [A Woman in Eretz Israel — the Aspiration for Equality in the *Yishuv* Period] (Tel Aviv, 1987); D. Izraeli, “*Tenuat ha-Po'ilot be-Eretz Israel me-Reishitah ad 1927*” [The

Women's Labor Movement in Eretz Israel from its Beginnings until 1927], *Cathedra* 32 (1984): 109–40.

6. A. Bar-Adon, "*Ha-Imahot ha-meyassedot u-menat helkan be-tehiyyat ha-ivrit ve-hithavvutah* (1882–1913)" [The Founding Mothers and Their Role in the Revival of Hebrew and its Formation (1882–1914)], *Lashon ve-Ivrit* 3 (1990): 5–26.

7. Note 5 above; see also D. Bernstein, "*Po'alot ve-Halutzot ba-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah — Tikvot ve-Akhzavot*" [Female Workers and Pioneers in the Second Aliyah — Hopes and Disappointments], *Idan* 8 (1985): 145–63.

8. R. Aaronsohn, "*Nashim ve-Hayyei ha-Yom-yom be-Reishit ha-hityashevut ha-yehudit be-eretz yisra'el*" [Women in Daily Life at the Beginning of Jewish Settlement in Eretz Israel], in *Proceedings of the World Congress for Jewish Studies*, 10, B (Jerusalem 1989), pp. 305–11; Y. Ben-Artzi, "*Ha-Ishah be-Reishit ha-Hityashevut be-Eretz Israel* (1882–1914)" [The Woman at the Beginning of Settlement in Eretz Israel (1882–1914)], in *Eshnav le-Hayyehen shel Nashim be-Hevrot Yehudiyot* [A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies: A Collection of Interdisciplinary Studies], ed. Y. Azmon, pp. 309–24 (Jerusalem, 1995).

9. M. Shilo, "*Ha-Ishah — 'Ovedet' o 'Haverah' be-Mifal ha-Tehiyyah? Al Mekomah shel ha-Ishah ba-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* (1882–1903)" [The Woman — "Laborer" or "Member" in the Revival Project? On the Place of the Woman in the First Aliyah (1882–1903)], *Yahadut Zemanenu* 10 (1995): 121–47; see also M. Nevo, "*Ha-Ishah ba-Aliyah ha-Rishonah*" [The Woman in the First Aliyah], M.A. thesis (Haifa University, 1994).

10. Y. Berlovitz, *Sippurei Nashim Benot ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [Stories of Women of the First Aliyah] (Tel Aviv, 1984); idem, *Lehamtzi Eretz Lehamtzi Am — Tashtiyot Sifrut ve-Tarbut bi-Yetzirah shel ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [Inventing a Land, Inventing a People: Cultural and Literary Patterns in the Writings of the First Aliyah] (Tel Aviv, 1996).

11. R. Elboim-Dror, *Ha-Hinukh ha-Ivri be-Eretz Yisra'el* [Hebrew Education in Eretz Israel] (Jerusalem, 1986).

12. Y. Katz and S. Neuman, "Women's Quest for Occupational Equality: The Case of Jewish Female Agriculture Workers in Pre-State Israel," *Rural History* 7 (1996): 33–52.

13. A. Shapira, *Herev ha-Yonah, ha-Tziyonut ve-ha-Ko'ah 1881–1948* [Land and Power, the Zionist Resort to Force, 1881–1948] (Tel Aviv, 1992), p. 94 ff.

14. M. Smilansky, *Mishpahat ha-Adamah* [Family of the Soil] 2, 1942, pp. 132–41; R. Kark and I. Amit, *Yehoshu'a Hankin — Shtei Ahavot* [Yehoshua Hankin — two loves] (Tel Aviv, 1996).

15. Note 8 above.

16. Ben-Artzi, *Ha-Moshavah*.

17. Y. Klausner, *Am ve-Aretz Kamim li-Tehiyyah* [A Nation and a Land Come to Life] (Tel Aviv, 1949), p. 14.
18. N. Druyan, *Be-Ein Marvad Kesamim* [Without a Magic Carpet] (Tel Aviv, 1984); Y. Nini, *He-Hayita o Halanti Halom* [Were You [there] or Did I Dream a Dream] (Tel Aviv, 1996); see also A. Savorai and M. Kaspi-Masuri, *Nahliel* (Hadera, 1998).
19. A study on the topic has been initiated using primary material in the Rehovot Municipality Historical Archive.
20. Fanya Nahumovsky to Va'ad Yishuv ha-Aretz, 3 Av 5635 (1904), CZA A24/61.
21. Ben-Artzi, *Ha-Moshavah*, p. 313.
22. Y. Kollat, "*Ide'ologiyah u-Metzi'ut bi-Tenu'at ha-Avodah ha-Artziyis-ra'elit*" [Ideology and Reality in the Eretz Israel Labor Movement] (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994), served as the basis for understanding the transformation in the ideas of the members of the Second Aliyah in the shift to settlement; on the establishment of *moshavei ha-po'alim* (workers' villages): Y. Ben-Artzi, "*Moshav ha-Po'alim u-Mekomo be-Toledot ha-Hityashevut*" [The Worker's Village and Its Place in the History of Settlement], *Ha-Tziyyonut* 20 (1996): 103–34; on the formation of the kevu'tzah, see the debate by R. Frankel, "*Ha-Meni'im ha-Ide'ologiyim be-Hithavutah shel ha-Kevutzah bi-Ymei ha-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah*" [Ideological Motivation in the Formation of the Kevutzah during the Second Aliyah], *Cathedra* 18 (1981): 111–17; B. Ben-Avram, "*Tzemihata shel ha-Kevutzah mitokh Ma'veihem shel Benei ha-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah la-Avodah Atzmit*" [The Growth of the Kevutzah Out of the Yearnings of the Members of the Second Aliyah for Self-Labor], *ibid.*, pp. 118–23; H. Near, "*Ide'ologiyah ve-Anti Ide'ologiyah*" [Ideology and Anti-Ideology], *ibid.*, pp. 124–29. None of them presents women as any kind of factor in the formation of the kevu'tzah.
23. S. Malkin, *Darki ba-Aretz* [My Way in the Country], in *Sefer ha-Aliyah ha-Sheniyyah* [The Second Aliyah book], ed. Bracha Habas, pp. 488–89 (Tel Aviv, 1947); see also A. Schidlowski, "Hevlei Kelitah" [Absorption Tribulations], in *ibid.*, pp. 554–58; E. Bekker, "*Mi-Hayyei Mishpahat Shomer*" [Of the Life of a Shomer's Family], in *ibid.*, pp. 512–13.
24. A. Maimon, *Hamishim Shenot Tenu'at ha-Po'a lot* [Fifty Years of the Women's Labor Movement] (Tel Aviv, 1957), pp. 7–26; a different view is given by R. Thon, *Ha-Ma'avak li-Zekhuyot ha-Ishah, Sippur Hayyeha shel Sarah Thon* [The Struggle for Women's Rights, the Story of the Life of Sarah Thon] (Private publication: Israel, 1996).
25. Y. Ben-Artzi, "Changes in the Agricultural Sector of the Moshavot 1882–1914," in *Ottoman Palestine 1800–1914*, ed. G. Gilbar, pp. 131–58 (Leiden, 1990).

26. N. Talman, “*Ofyo ve-Hitpathuto shel ha-Meshek ha-Hakla’i ba-Moshavot ha-Germaniyyot ha-Templariyyot be-Eretz Yisra’el*” [The Character and Development of the Agricultural Farm in the German Templar Villages in the Land of Israel] (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991).

27. Y. Wilkansky, “*Siddur ha-Moshavim*” [Arrangement of the Moshavim], *Ba-Derekh* 6 (Jaffa, 1918): 244–45.

28. A. Ruppin, *Ha-Hityashevut ha-Hakla’it shel ha-Histadrut ha-Tziyyonit be-Eretz Yisra’el* [Agricultural Settlement by the Zionist Federation in Eretz Israel] (Tel Aviv, 1925), p. 45.

29. Y. Shavit and D. Giladi, “*Ha-Refet ve-ha-Meshek ha-Artziyisra’eli bi-Tekufat ha-Mandat*” [The Role of the Dairy Farm in the Development of Jewish Settlement during the Mandate Period], *Cathedra* 18 (1981): 178–92.

30. B. Melman, “*Min ha-Shulayyim el ha-Historiyyah shel ha-Yishuv: Migdar ve-Artziyisra’elityut (1890–1920)*” [From the Margins to the History of the Yishuv: Gender and Ertzi-Yisra’elityut] (1890–1920), *Zion* 62, no. 3 (1997): 248; see also an attempt in this direction in R. Aaronsohn, “Through the Eyes of a Settler’s Wife: Letters from the Moshava,” in *Pioneers and Homemakers*, ed. D. Bernstein, pp. 29–47 (Albany, 1992).

#### *Mizrahi Women (pages 33–47)*

1. S. Okin, *Women in Western Political Thought* (Princeton, 1979).

2. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

3. S. Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women’s Lives* (Ithaca, 1991) (hereafter cited as Harding, *Whose*); see also Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledge: The Science Question in Feminism as a Site of Discourse on the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 575–99 (hereafter cited as Haraway, “Situated”).

4. Harding, *Whose*, 143; Haraway, “Situated,” 577.

5. G. Ch. Spivak, *The Post-Colonial Critic* (New York, 1990).

6. Most of the women’s organizations are situated in the Israeli political center and left, and they are based on activity of members of the middle class, mostly veteran Israelis or women of Anglo-Saxon origin.

7. In S. L. Kirshenbaum, *Toledot Yisra’el ba-Zeman he-Hadash* [History of Israel in Modern Times] (Tel Aviv, 1969), the Mizrahi merit nine pages out of four hundred.

8. The history of women in Israel is also absent in social research, and of late a number of sources have been found that became the subject of studies on the topic that were carried out recently: books by women such as Ada Maimon, Sarah Azaryahu, and sources from *Davar ha-Po’elet*. These works and

those that will follow deal with women in Israel without any internal distinction, so that they appear to represent the history of women in Israel, the same way that the narrative of the patriarchal history seems to narrate also women's story at the same time it is unfolding male Israeli history.

9. E. Shohat, *Ha-Kolno'a ha-Yisra'eli: Historiyyah ve-Ide'ologiyyah* [Israeli Cinema History and Ideology] (Tel Aviv, 1989) (hereafter cited as Shohat, *Ha-Kolno'a*); V. Shiran, "Feminist Identity vs. Mizrahi Identity," in *Calling the Equality Bluff*, ed. B. Swirski and M. Safir, pp. 303–11 (New York, 1991) (hereafter cited as Shiran, "Feminist"); D. Bernstein, "Mizrahi and Ashkenazi Jewish Women in the Labor Market," in *ibid.*, pp. 192–200.

10. Y. Shenhav and Y. Haberfeld, "Megamot be-Aflayah bi-Sekhar shel Nashim ve-shel Benei Edot ha-Mizrah ba-Universita'ot, be-Ma'abadot, M[e]hkar] u-P[it]u'ah], u-be-Batei Holim be-Shanim 1972–1983" [Trends in Salary Discrimination of Women and Mizrahi Jews in Universities, R & D Laboratories, and Hospitals 1972–1983], *Megamot* 33 (1990): 77–99.

11. See E. Meir-Glitzstein, "Ethnic and Gender Identity of Iraqi Women Immigrants in the Kibbutz in the 1940s" in this volume.

12. Harding, *Whose*; Haraway, "Situated"; L. H. Nelson, *Who Knows — From Quine to a Feminist Empiricism* (Philadelphia, 1990).

13. This political development is doubly misleading, since it not only creates an illusion of taking care of the problem of the representation of Palestinian women who are citizens of Israel but also lays the foundation for the idea that there is representation and even a chance for representation of other weak sectors in Israel.

14. Bracha Seri, *Shiv'im Shirei Shotetut* [Seventy Poems of Wandering], (self-published by Bracha Seri, Jerusalem, 1983) (hereafter cited as Seri, *Shiv'im*); Atalyia, *Migrashim Harusim* [Destroyed Lots] (Tel Aviv, 1993); Tikva Levy, "At the Bus Station," in *After Jews and Arabs*, ed. Ammiel Alcalay, pp. 267–72 (Minneapolis, 1993).

15. Yael Azmon and Dafna Izraeli, eds., *Women in Israel* (New Brunswick, 1993); Doron Gideon and Daniella Shenkar, *Mehakot le-Yitzug* [Waiting for Representation] (Tel Aviv, 1998).

16. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York, 1990) (hereafter cited as Butler, *Gender*); Sh. Benhabib, *Situating the Self* (New York, 1992) (hereafter cited as Benhabib, *Situating*); Since Hegel was not an outstanding feminist, the dialectic approach is blind to the gender perspective, says Susan Okin in her work on women in Western political thought. What was needed was to genderize Hegel. Yet, even concentrating on the history of women in Israel as a gender category leaves the Mizrahi women invisible and misses out on their rich, unique experience as Israelis nurtured from Arab sources and from countries of Muslim culture.

17. Butler, *Gender*, pp. 149, 213–18; Benhabib, *Situating*, p. 16.



18. G. M. Breakwell, "Women: Group and Identity?" *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 2 (1979): 9–10.

19. A. Weir, *Sacrificial Logics: Feminist Theory and the Critique of Identity* (New York, 1996), pp. 1–13.

20. I propose interpreting the search for the existence of a sense of self, in the feminist context, as the search for sources of the self.

21. Butler, *Gender*, p. 149.

22. I. Gur-Zev, *Hinukh be-Idan ha-Si'ah ha-Postmodernisti* [Education in the Era of Postmodernist discourse] (Jerusalem, 1999); U. Ram, "Hevrah u-Mada ha-Hevrah" [Society and Sociology], in *Ha-Hevrah ha-Yisra'elit: Hebetim Bikortiyyim* [Israeli Society: Critical Aspects], ed. U. Ram (Tel Aviv, 1993) (hereafter Ram, "Hevrah"); E. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979).

23. Seri, *Shiv'im*; Atalya, *Migrashim*; and Levy, "At the Bus Station."

24. Ram, "Hevrah"; Karl Fuerstein and M. Richel, *The Children of the Melah — The Cultural Retardation among Moroccan Children and Its Meaning in Education*, (published by the Henrietta Szold Institute and the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1953), p. 17 [Hebrew]; Karl Frankenstein, "On Ethnic Differences," *Megamot* B3 (1951), pp. 261–76 [Hebrew]; Karl Frankenstein, "On the Concept of Primitivity," *Megamot* B4 (1951), p. 342, 344, 347 [Hebrew]; Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *Israel, A Society in the Making* (Jerusalem, 1967) [Hebrew]; Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, "Leadership Problems among the 'Olim,'" *Megamot* 32 (1953) 182–91 [Hebrew]; Rivka Bar Yossef, The Moroccans: "The Background of the Problem, 1960–1961," *MOLAD*, pp. 249–59.

25. *Hila News Bulletins*, 6 (in Hebrew); for further elaboration on the topic see Henriette Dahan-Kalev, "Tensions in Israeli Feminism: The Mizrahi Ashkenazi Rift," in *Women's Studies International Forum* 24 (2001): 1–16. Z. Zameret, *Melting Pot in Israel: The Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Immigrant Camp during the Early Years of the State* (State University of New York Press, 2002); Lotte Salzberger et al., *Patterns of Contraceptive Behavior among Jerusalem Women Seeking Pregnancy Counseling 1980–1989* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University School of Social Work, 1991).

26. Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 1–3, 11–12.

27. See note 8.

28. Rivka Bar-Yosef, "Ha-Maroka'im — Reka ha-Be'ayah" [Moroccans: The Roots of the Problem], (*Molad*, 1960–1961), 249–59; S. N. Eisenstadt, ed., *Social Stratification in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1968).

29. I. Troen, "Europe and America in the Education of Israelis," in *Judaism and Education: Essays in Honor of W. I. Ackerman*, ed. H. Marantz, pp. 181–206 (Beersheba, 1998).

30. D. Noy, series of three collections entitled *Shiv'im Sippurim ve-Sippur mi-Pi Yehudei Tunisiyya, Luv, Maroko* [Seventy and One Tales from Jews of Tunisia, Lybia, Morocco] (Jerusalem, 1967–1968).

31. Seri, *Shiv'im*; Shiran, "Feminist"; Shohat, *Ha-Kolno'a*.
32. See note 25.
33. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (New York, 1967); Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark* (New York, 1992), p. 222.
34. The rifts and conflicts among the different groups in Israel deter research into these topics. The tendency is to refrain from "poking about" in what is perceived as deepening the rifts and disintegrating the ethos of national unity.

#### Women's Aliyah (pages 51–62)

1. In addition to this volume, see for example, Deborah S. Bernstein, ed., *Pioneers and Homemakers: Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel* (Albany, 1992) (hereafter cited as Bernstein, *Pioneers*) as well as numerous articles since published in various journals and collections.

2. Groundbreaking work on these non-pioneering women has been done by Margalit Shilo, *Princess or Prisoner? Jewish Women in Jerusalem, 1840–1914* (Hanover, N.H., 2005). In the area of religious education for girls at the beginning of the twentieth century, see also Deborah Weissman, "Chana Spitzer — An Educational Leader," in *A Woman in Jerusalem: Gender, Society and Religion* [in Hebrew], eds. T. Cohen and J. Schwartz, pp. 79–89 (Ramat-Gan, 2002).

3. One short diary, written by a Moroccan Jew, describes his pilgrimage visit to Eretz Israel in 1903, see Henry Toledano, "The Diary of R. Isaac Nissim Toledano's Journey to Eretz Israel" [in Hebrew] (1903), in *East and Maghreb, Researches in the History of the Jews in the Orient and North Africa* 3, ed. S. Schwarzfuchs, pp. 141–58 (Jerusalem, 1981) (hereafter cited as Toledano, "Diary"). See also short references in letters published in Ya'akov Moshe Toledano, *Otzar Genazim* (Jerusalem, 1960) (hereafter cited as Toledano, *Otzar*).

4. See, for example, R. Yosef Messas, *Collections of Letters* [in Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1968), 1:16 (hereafter cited as Messas, *Collections*).

5. For a discussion of these censuses, see Michal Ben Ya'akov, "The Montefiore Census: The First Modern Census of Jews in Eretz Israel," in *Papers in Jewish Demography*, 1997, ed. S. DellaPergola and J. Even, pp. 79–87 (Jerusalem, 2001); idem, "The Montefiore Census as a Source for the History of North African Jews in the Nineteenth Century" [in Hebrew], *Pe'amim, Studies in Oriental Jewry* 107 (2006): 117–149. The original census lists are found in the Montefiore Collection, London School of Jewish Studies (formerly Jews College) Library, ms 528–557 (hereafter cited as Montefiore Collection), and on microfilm in the Institute of Microfilmed Jewish manuscripts, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, reels 35115, 6151–6179.

6. For Eretz Israel, see Uziel O. Schmelz, "Some Demographic Peculiarities of the Jews of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century," in *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, ed. M. Ma'oz, pp. 126–30 (Jerusalem, 1975) (hereafter cited as Schmelz, "Some Demographic"); for Morocco, see Doris Bensimon-Donath, *Evolution du Judaïsme Marocain sous le Protectorat Français, 1912–1956* (Paris, 1968), p. 99.

7. Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times* (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 201; idem, "The Sefrou Remnant," *Jewish Social Studies* 35, nos. 3–4 (1973): 263.

8. Kertzer claims, "the overwhelming predominance of women at older ages in the West today is certainly a recent phenomenon." However, he does add, "the sex ratio disparities at older ages is still not well known." David I. Kertzer, "Toward a Historical Demography of Aging," in *Aging in the Past: Demography, Society and Old Age*, eds. D. I. Kertzer and P. Laslett, p. 374 (Berkeley, 1995) (hereafter cited as Kertzer and Laslett, *Aging*). My statistical analysis of nineteenth-century censuses points to continuity, and not change, in the significant majority of older women. See also Schmelz, "Some Demographic," pp. 131–32.

9. On the economic activities of Jewish males in Morocco, see Shlomo Dshen, *The Mellah Society: Jewish Community Life in Sherifian Nineteenth-Century Morocco* (Chicago, 1989), pp. 30–45 (hereafter cited as Dshen, *Mellah*). For a discussion of occupations in nineteenth-century Palestine, see Svi Karagila, *The Jewish Community in Palestine ("Yishuv") during the Egyptian Rule (1831–1840)* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1990), pp. 133–40. On women's economic activities in Palestine, see *ibid.*, p. 140; on their activities in the Maghreb, see Eliezer Bashan, "The Role of the Jewish Woman in the Economic Life of North African Jewry" [in Hebrew], *Miqqedem Umiyyam: Studies in the Jewry of Islamic Countries* 1 (1981): 67–84.

10. Among some two thousand North African immigrant men enumerated as heads of households in the nineteenth-century censuses in the Holy Land, less than 3 percent were divorced or widowed at the time of the census. Although polygamy did exist, its occurrence was relatively uncommon in the nineteenth century, both in North Africa and in Eretz Israel. Less than ten examples of polygamy were noted in the cases studied. On the low incidence of polygamy in Morocco, see Dshen, *Mellah*, p. 30.

11. Michal Ben Ya'akov, "The Immigration and Settlement of North African Jews in Nineteenth-Century Jerusalem," [in Hebrew] including English abstract (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2001), pp. 307–12 (hereafter cited as Ben Ya'akov, "Immigration").

12. Sergio DellaPergola, "Aliyah and Other Jewish Migrations: Toward an Integrated Perspective," in *Studies in the Population of Israel in Honor of Roberto Bachi (Scripta Hierosolymitana, 30)*, ed. U. O. Schmelz and G. Nathan,

pp. 172–209 (Jerusalem, 1986) (hereafter cited as DellaPergola, “Aliyah”); Reginald G. Colledge, “A Behavioral View of Mobility and Migration Research,” *Professional Geographer* 32, no. 1 (1980): 14–21.

13. Mirjana Morokvašić, “Birds of Passage are also Women . . .,” *International Migration Review* 18, no. 4 (1984): 886–907 (hereafter cited as Morokvašić, “Birds”); Lin Lean Lim, “Effects of Women’s Position on Their Migration,” in *Women’s Position and Demographic Change*, ed. N. Federici, K. Oppenheim Mason, and S. Sogner, pp. 225–42 (Oxford, 1993). For a discussion of Jewish women migrating within an historical context, see Paula Hyman, “Culture and Gender: Women in the Immigrant Jewish Community,” in *The Legacy of Jewish Migration*, ed. D. Berger, pp. 157–68 (New York, 1983).

14. Everett S. Lee, “A Theory of Migration,” *Demography* 3, no. 1 (1966): 51.

15. For a discussion of these qualities within the context of North African *aliyah*, see Michal Ben Ya’akov, “Aliyah from North Africa to Eretz Israel in the Nineteenth Century: Myth and Reality” [in Hebrew], in *Zion and Zionism among Sephardi and Oriental Jews*, ed. W. Z. Harvey et al., pp. 297–303 (Jerusalem, 2002); Tobi and Hasan-Rokem, in Harvey, *ibid*.

16. For a broader discussion, see Zvi Zohar, “The Meaning of Life in the Holy Land in the Writings of Sephardic Rabbis, 1777–1849” [in Hebrew], in *Eretz Yisrael be-Hagut ha-Yehudit ba-Et ha-Hadashah* [The Land of Israel in Modern Jewish Thought], ed. A. Ravitsky, pp. 326–58 (Jerusalem, 1998).

17. Compare with the case of Yemenite women who arrived in Eretz Israel in the same period: Nitza Druyan, “Yemenite Jewish Women — Between Tradition and Change,” in Bernstein, *Pioneers*, p. 79.

18. Issachar Ben-Ami, “Folk-Veneration of Saints among the Moroccan Jews,” in *Studies in Judaism and Islam, Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein*, ed. S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami, and N. A. Stillman, pp. 282–344 (Jerusalem, 1981).

19. Deshen, *Mellah*, p. 83, 134 n. 15; Harvey Goldberg, “The Zohar in Southern Morocco: A Study in the Ethnography of Texts,” *History of Religions* 29, no. 3 (1990): 233–58. See also the pioneering work of Chava Weissler on Ashkenazi women in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in “The Religion of Traditional Ashkenazic Women: Some Methodological Issues,” *AJS Review* 12, no. 1 (1987): 73–94.

20. Ben-Ami, “Folk-Veneration,” p. 344.

21. Messas, *Collections*, p. 11; Toledano, “Diary,” pp. 145, 156–57; *idem*, “Moroccan Jewry and the Settlement of Eretz Israel: A History of the Various Aliyot of Moroccan Jews from the Sixteenth Century until the Beginning of the Twentieth Century” [in Hebrew], in *Hagut Ivrit be-Artzot ha-Islam*, ed. M. Zohari et al., pp. 228–52 (Jerusalem, 1982).

22. In her discussion of medieval and early modern Jewish women in

Spain, for example, Melammed notes, “[R]eligious devotion . . . most certainly provided an opportunity for self-expression in a society that rarely allowed female voices to be heard.” Renée Levine Melammed, “Sephardi Women in Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. J. R. Baskin, p. 127 (Detroit, 1991) (hereafter cited as Melammed, “Sephardi”). See also various works by Chava Weissler (above, note 19, and others).

23. This characteristic is not particular to Jewish migration to Eretz Israel, but to Jewish migrations in general. See DellaPergola, “*Aliyah*,” pp. 172–209.

24. *The Jewish Expositor* 14 (1829): 111.

25. Ben Ya’akov, “Immigration,” pp. 65–66.

26. On the functions of an extended family, especially in regard to migration, see Kevin Schurer, “The Role of the Family in the Process of Migration,” in *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants, a Social History of Migration*, ed. C. G. Pooley and I. D. Whyte, pp. 106–42 (London, 1991); and Frederick W. Boal, “Ethical Residential Segregation,” in *Social Areas in Cities, Processes, Patterns and Problems*, ed. D. T. Herbert and R. J. Johnston, pp. 61–72 (Chichester, 1978).

27. Messas, *Otzar*, p. 14.

28. Edmondo de Amicis, *Morocco: Its People and Places* (transl. from Italian by C. Rollin-Tilton), p. 264 (London, 1882); Charles de Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc, 1883–1884*, p. 394 (Paris, 1939 [1888]); Joseph Thomson, *Travels in the Atlas and Southern Morocco, a Narrative of Exploration*, p. 252 (London, 1889).

29. Heinrich von Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika, Reisen in Algerien und Marokko*, p. 198 (Leipzig, 1863). See also William Shaler, *Sketches of Algiers*, p. 68 (Boston, 1826) (hereafter cited as Shaler, *Sketches*); and Ferdinand C. Ewald, “Tunis, Journal of the Rev. F. C. Ewald,” *Monthly Intelligence* (April 1834), p. 63 (hereafter cited as Ewald, “Tunis”).

30. J. E. Budgett Meakin, “The Jews of Morocco,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 4 (1892): 381.

31. Raphael Moshe Elbaz, *Halakhah le-Moshe, Even ha-Ezer* [Law unto Moses, Even ha-Ezer] section 7, p. 12b; section 8, p. 13a (Jerusalem, 1911). For a brief discussion, see Eliezer Bashan, “On the Attitudes of Moroccan Sages in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries towards the Obligation of *Aliyah* to Eretz Israel” [in Hebrew], in *Vatikin*, ed. H. Z. Hirschberg and Y. Kaniel, pp. 37–41 (Ramat Gan, 1975) (hereafter cited as Bashan, “On Attitudes”).

32. Haim Zafrani, *Pédagogie Juive en Terre d’Islam*, p. 114 (Paris, 1969). See also Bashan, “On Attitudes,” pp. 40–41.

33. Shaler, *Sketches*, p. 68. See also Ewald, “Tunis,” p. 63.

34. Montefiore Collection, ms 531/microfilm 6153.

35. Messas, *Collections*, p. 14.

36. Montefiore Collection, ms 532/microfilm 6154. The same census list enumerates only five married men arriving from Jerba during this period.
37. Compare with David Kertzer and Nancy Karweit, "The Impact of Widowhood in Nineteenth-Century Italy," in Kertzer and Laslett, *Aging*, pp. 244–46.
38. For further examples, see *ibid.*, pp. 137–38; Rachel Simon, "Mores and Chores as Determinants of the Status of Jewish Women in Libya," in *From Iberia to Diaspora*, ed. Y. K. Stillman and N. A. Stillman, pp. 114–20 (Leiden, 1999), and also works noted above, note 13.
39. Morokvašić, "Birds," pp. 896–98. On positive and negative selection, see Harley L. Browning and Waltraut Feindt, "Selectivity of Migrants to a Metropolis in a Developing Country: A Mexican Case Study," *Demography* 6, no. 4 (1969): 347–57.
40. On the status of widowed matriarchs in Jewish families, see Ruth Lamdan, *A Separate People: Jewish Women in Palestine, Syria and Egypt in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden, 2000), pp. 196–201 (hereafter cited as Lamdan, *A Separate People*); Deshen, *Mellah*, p. 115.
41. Michal Ben Ya'akov, "Aliyah in the Lives of North African Widows: The Realization of a Dream or a Solution to a Problem?" *Nashim* 8 (2004): 5–24; Susan Sered, *Women as Ritual Experts* (New York, 1992), pp. 106–14; Lamdan, *A Separate People*, pp. 196–201; Melammed, "Sephardi," pp. 122–26. On the status of widows in nineteenth-century Morocco, see Shlomo Deshen, "Women in the Jewish Family in Pre-Colonial Morocco," *Anthropological Quarterly* 56, no. 3 (1983): 138–40.

*American Jewish Women and Palestine (pages 63–82)*

1. For an expanded discussion, see Joseph B. Glass, *From New Zion to Old Zion: American Jewish Immigration and Settlement in Palestine* (Detroit, 2002).
2. Caroline B. Brettell and Rita James Simon, "Immigrant Women: An Introduction," in *International Migration: The Female Experience*, ed. Rita James Simon and Caroline B. Brettell, pp. 4–6 (Totowa, N.J., 1986).
3. Mark Wischnitzer, *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800* (Philadelphia, 1948), pp. 141–223.
4. William A. Scott and Ruth Scott, *Adaptation of Immigrants: Individual Differences and Determinants* (Oxford, 1989), p. 4.
5. *Shabbosdige Post* (St. Paul), 1, no. 5 (21 October 1921): 242 (in Yiddish); Mordechai Naor, ed., *Sefer Rishonei Herzliya 1924–1934* [The Pioneers of Herzliya, the Story of the First Settlers, 1924–1934], vol. 2 (Herzlia, 1990).
6. Dorothy Ruth Kahn, *Spring Up, O Well* (London, 1936), pp. 83–84.

(hereafter cited as Kahn, *Spring Up*). Born in Philadelphia in 1907, she migrated to Palestine in 1933.

7. Shabtei Teveth, *Ben-Gurion: The Burning Ground, 1886–1948* (Boston, 1987), pp. 119–28.

8. Ze'ev Safrai, "Ha-Talmud ha-Bavli ke-Tashtit Ra'yonot le-Aliyah la-Aretz" [The Influence of the Babylonian Talmud on the Attitude to *Aliyah*], in *Kibbutz Galuyot, Aliyah le-Eretz Yisrael—Mitos u-Metzi'ut* [Ingathering of Exiles, *Aliyah* to the Land of Israel, Myth and Reality], ed. Dvora Hacoheh, p. 38 (Jerusalem, 1998).

9. Simcha Fishbane, "The Founding of Kollel America Tifereth Yerushalayim," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (December–June 1974): 129–35.

10. *Agunah* is a halakhic term for a Jewish woman who is chained to her marriage because her husband's whereabouts are unknown. The term is also used for a woman whose husband refuses or is unable to grant her a *get* (official bill of divorce).

11. Interview with Abraham Zelig, Tel Aviv, 16 September 1998.

12. Palestine Service and Information Bureau, "Statistical Report on Applicants and Registrants for Immigration to Palestine from America," 31 May 1920, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter cited as CZA), F25/33.

13. Marie Syrkin, ed., *Golda Meir Speaks Out* (London, 1973), p. 31.

14. Herztl Fishman, "A Zionist Childhood in St. Albans, VT," *Kfari* (February 1989): 5; interview with Hertztl Fishman, Jerusalem, 13 February 1994.

15. Kahn, *Spring Up*, p. 82.

16. Government of Palestine, Immigration Ordinances 1925–1926 and Regulations, Orders, etc., Made Thereunder (Jerusalem, April 1926); David Gurevich, Aaron Gretz, and Roberto Bachi, *Ha-Aliyah, ha-Yishuv ve-ha-Tenu'ah ha-Tiv'it shel ha-Ukhlusiyyah be-Eretz Yisrael* [The Jewish Population of Palestine, Immigration, Demographic Structure and Natural Growth] (Jerusalem, 1944), Table 12.

17. Bertha Schoolman, "Three American Pioneers in Israel," *Hadassah Newsletter* 36, no. 5 (January 1956): 15 (hereafter cited as Schoolman, "Three American").

18. Nili Fox, "Balfouriya: An American Zionist Failure or Secret Success?" *American Jewish History* 78, no. 4 (June 1989): 501; Joseph B. Glass, "Balfouria: An American Zionist Colony," *Studies in Zionism* 14, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 53–72.

19. Mordechai Seletsky letters, CZA J33/95; Solomon J. Weinstein, New York, to Avraham Silverstein, Haifa, 18 March 1924, CZA L65/386.

20. Aaron David Gordon, *Selected Essays* (New York, 1938), pp. 138–39.

21. Mimeographed letter from Tziporah Greenspan, Highstown, New Jersey, 1 February 1944, Givat Haviva Archives, RG Taf-Vav, box 19, file 11.

22. Circular from 13 January 1941, GHARG Taf-1, box 7, file 1.
23. Irving Howe, *World of Our Fathers: the Journey of the Eastern European Jews to America and the Life They Found and Made* (New York, 1976), pp. 266–67.
24. Rachel Katznelson Shazar, ed., *The Plough Woman: Memoirs of the Pioneer Women of Palestine*, trans. Maurice Samuel (New York, 1975), p. vii.
25. Marlin Levin, *Balm in Gilead: The Story of Hadassah* (New York, 1971), pp. 81–84; Sylvia M. Gelber, *No Balm in Gilead: A Personal Retrospective of Mandate Days in Palestine* (Ottawa, 1989), pp. 104–105.
26. Jessie Sampter, Jerusalem, to Lotta Levensohn, New York, 28 December 1920, CAHJP, P3/851.
27. Schoolman, “Three American,” 15.
28. Lotta Levensohn, New York, to Hannah Meisel-Schochat, Nahalal, 5 April 1925, Archives of the Women’s Agricultural Training School, Nahalal, file 1.90.06. Graciously furnished by Esther Hakim-Rokem.
29. Shulamith Schwartz, “Americans in Palestine,” *Jewish Frontier Anthology*, 1934–1944 (New York, 1945), pp. 44–45.
30. Jessie Sampter, Jerusalem, to Sister, n.p., 1 June 1920, CZA A219/2/1.
31. Irma L. Lindheim to Stephan S. Wise, n.p., 21 May 1929, AJHSA, P-134 Wise Papers, 113;3; Irma L. Lindheim, *Parallel Quest: A Search of a Person and a People* (New York, 1962), pp. ix–x, 356–72, 381–84.
32. Arthur A. Goren, ed., *Dissenter in Zion: From the Writings of Judah L. Magnes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), diary entry for 6 August 1923, p. 218. See also pp. 207, 214–18.
33. Interview with Ben-Ami Fish, Tel Aviv, 6 September 1998.
34. Myriam Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine* (London, 1924), p. 51.
35. Ben Halpern, *The American Jew: A Zionist Analysis* (New York, 1983), p. 16.
36. P. E. Lapide, *Century of U.S. Aliya* (Jerusalem, 1961), p. 127, arrived at 31–32 per hundred by piecing together unspecified sources; Ralph G. Martin, *Golda: A Biography* (New York, 1988), p. 118, mentions one in three.
37. Addison E. Southard, American Consul in Charge, Jerusalem, to Secretary of State, Washington, D.C., 18 October 1921, United States National Archives, Washington, D.C. RG 84 353/86, p. 64.
38. Jessie Sampter, Jerusalem, to Elvie, Edgars and little Jessie, n.p., 3 January 1921, CZA A219/21.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Menachem Mendel Freidman, “Memoirs,” Tel Aviv University Archives T-11/263, p. 124.
41. Kahn, *Spring Up*, p. 192. See pp. 191–202 for a full account.
42. For details of the settlement of American Jewish women in Palestine, see Joseph B. Glass, “Settling the Old-New Homeland: The Decisions of



American Jewish Women during the Interwar Years,” in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*, ed. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider, pp. 192–215 (Waltham, Mass., 2005).

*Ethnic and Gender Identity of Iraqi Women Immigrants in the Kibbutz in the 1940s (pages 83–99)*

1. On Iraqi immigrants in the cooperative settlement movement, see S. Sehayik, *Be-Netivei ha-Hagshamah: No'ar Tziyyoni Halutzi me-Iraq ba-Yishuv ha-Yehudi* [On the Path of Fulfillment, Integration of Iraqi Zionist Pioneering Youth into Eretz Yisrael Settlement] (Or Yehuda, 1997), p. 102 (hereafter cited as Sehayik, *Be-Netivei*).

2. D. Hacohen, *Olim be-Sa'arah: Ha-Aliyyah ha-Gedolah u-Kelitatah be-Yisra'el, 1948–1953* [Immigrants in the Tempest: The Mass Immigration and Its Absorption in Israel, 1948–1953] (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 138–39.

3. About the Zionist movement members, see Esther Meir-Glitzenstein, *Zionism in an Arab Country: Jews in Iraq in the 1940s* (London, 2004), esp. chapters 3–4.

4. On the undermining of their status and security, see E. Meir, “*Ha-Sikhsukh al Eretz Yisra'el ve-Yahasei Yehudim-Muslemim be-Iraq*” [The Palestinian Dispute and Jewish-Muslim Relations in Iraq in the 1940s], *Pe'amim* 62 (1995): 111–31; N. Kazaz, *Ha-Yehudim be-Iraq ba-Me'ah ha-Esrim* [The Jews in Iraq in the Twentieth Century] (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 189–209.

5. For an extensive discussion of this topic, see E. Meir, “*Sinderellot Yehudiyot be-Bagdad — Ma'avakan shel Ne'arot Tziyyoniyot be-Iraq al Shivyon Zekhuyot ve-al Aliyya le-Eretz Yisra'el*” [Jewish Cinderellas in Baghdad — The Struggle for Women's Liberation among Zionists in Iraq in the 1940s] (hereafter cited as Meir, “*Sindarellot*”), in *Ha-Tishma Koli, Yitzugam shel Nashim be-Tarbut ha-Yisra'elit* [Will you Listen to my Voice?], ed. Y. Azmon, pp. 365–90 (Tel Aviv, 2001).

6. S. Sehayik, “*Temurot be-Ma'amad ha-Yehudiyot ha-Ironiyot be-Bavel mi-Sof ha-Me'ah ha-19*” [Changes in the Status of Urban Jewish Women in Iraq since the End of the Nineteenth Century], *Pe'amim* 36 (1988): 64–88.

7. A. Rodrigue, *Hinukh, Hevrah ve-Historiyah, 'Kol Yisra'el Haverim' vi-Yhudei Agan ha-Yam ha-Tikhon, 1860–1929* [Education, Society, and History, “Alliance Israelite Universelle” and the Jews of the Mediterranean Basin, 1860–1929] (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 87–88.

8. H. Cohen, *Ha-Yehudim be-Artzot ha-Mizrah ha-Tikhon be-Yameinu* [The Jews in the Middle Eastern Countries] (Tel Aviv, 1993), pp. 115, 121 (hereafter cited as Cohen, *Ha-Yehudim*).

9. Lower-class women could work at service jobs, as maids, laundresses,

seamstresses, or embroiderers, on the one hand, or — with a world of difference between them — in prostitution. The middle-class women customarily did not go out to work even if they had a profession — as teachers, nurses, and office workers — while those that had to work stopped doing so once they married. At the same time, in the 1940s there were women who worked by choice, mainly in education. Among the 35,000 female immigrants above the age of fifteen who arrived in Israel in the period 1949 to 1951, 2,300 (6.5 percent) had worked, and of them, 60 percent in sewing and 20 percent in office work, teaching, and medicine. See Cohen, *Ha-Yehudim*, p. 166.

10. On the women's activity in the Zionist movement, see Meir, "Sindarellot."

11. See Sehayik, *Be-Netivei*. This article is based mainly on sources written by the *olot* during their stay in the kibbutz: essays that appeared in *hakhsharah* newsletters, personal letters, and diaries. Added to these were memoirs, among them the book by Shoshana Arbelli Almoslino, *Me-ha-Mahteret be-Bavel le-Memshelet Yisra'el* [From the Bavli Underground to the Government of Israel] (Tel Aviv, 1999); and interviews and conversations with former *haverot*, including Aliza Biron, Ruth Karagila, Shulamit Ginnosar, Arella Balbul, and Tikva Shohat. Methodologically, the newsletters, a main component of the source material, are problematic; all articles are "colored" by Zionist ideology, because of the nature of the framework as well as, apparently, the guiding hand of the *madrikhim*. This means that the newsletters must be given a careful, critical reading, while cross-checking them with material from other sources and taking into consideration interviews that shed light on the atmosphere of that period and help with the critical examination.

12. Hadassah Hamina, *Alon mi-Garin 4 mi-Babel* [Newsletter of Gar'in 4 from Bavel], Giv'at ha-Sheloshah, 10 December 1948, pp. 2–3.

13. For example, the essay by Aryeh Ezra (Mu'allem) in the newsletter *Bi-Netiv ha-Hagshamah* [On the path to realization], Ashdot Ya'akov, Heshvan 5708 (1948).

14. A. Shapira, *Yehudim Hadashim Yehudim Yeshanim* (New Jews Old Jews) (Tel Aviv, 1997), pp. 167–71.

15. From Shoshana to Amnon, 4 July 1947, personal file of Shoshana Mu'allem, Archives of Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center (hereafter cited as BJHC).

16. Ruth Iliya, *Bi-Netiv ha-Hagshamah*, Ashdot Ya'akov, Heshvan 5708 (1948), p. 11.

17. Avner Sha'ashu'a, *Bi-Netiv ha-Hagshamah*, Heshvan 5708 (1948).

18. Yoel Shohat, *Alon Ashdot Ya'akov* [Ashdot Ya'akov Newsletter], No. 1058, 23 April 1948.

19. See above, n. 16.

20. "Im Bo'einu li-Sdeh Nahum" [Upon our arrival at Sdeh Nahum], drafts of essays written by members of the Bavli *gar'in* (settlement nucleus) (BJHC).

21. Sylvia Fogel-Bijaoui, “*Immahot u-Mahapeikha, ha-Mikreh shel Nashim ba-Kibbutz, 1910–1948*” [Mothers and Revolution, the Case of Women in the Kibbutz, 1910–1948], *Shorashim* 6 (1991): 49 (hereafter cited as Fogel-Bijaoui, “*Immahot*”).

22. *Alon Hevrat ha-No’ar ha-Oleh* 1 [The Immigrant Youth Group Newsletter 1], Oranim 4, Yad Tabenkin Archives.

23. “It was difficult to change from a life of leisure to one of labor, especially for a girl who had been pampered in her parents home,” writes Tamar R. in the newsletter prepared for the end of the Bavli *gar’in hakhsharah* at Ma’oz Haim, 19 October 1950, Yad Tabenkin Archives, Section 2 foreign, container 3 file 4.

24. The group’s newsletter in Bet ha-Shitah.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Shlomo Artzi, “*Divrei Bikkoret* [Some Criticism], *Alonenu* [Our Newsletter] No. 2, the Bavli *gar’in* in Afkim, 16 June 1950, Yad Tabenkin Archives.

27. One of the girls, Rina T., expressed her inner struggles writing: “I am a young woman who happily breathed city air for years, she never saw a village, she never tasted the life of labor and creativity, in this I was no different than thousands of women and young ladies in the east who never had to worry about supporting themselves. The father, brothers, or husband were charged with this duty. What captured my heart and what power brought me this far?” (“*Im Bo’einu li-Sdeh Nahum*”), drafts, see n. 20 above.

28. On women’s work in the kibbutz during the 1930s and 1940s, see Fogel-Bijaoui, “*Immahot*,” pp. 154–60.

29. Yehoshua, “*Ha-Olim mi-Bavel Mevate’im et Atzmam*” [The Bavli Immigrants Express Themselves], from *Alon ha-Giv’ah* [Giv’at ha-Sheloshah], no. 1105. Emphasis mine, E. M-G.

30. Report by Tzviyah, *madrikhah* at Kvutzat Keisariyyah, “*Im No’ar Oleh mi-Babel*” [With the Immigrant Youth from Iraq], *Devar ha-Po’elet*, Sivan 5710 (1950), issue 5, p. 142.

31. Ruth Yosef, “*Ba-Ma’avak*” [In the Battle], newsletter of the Bavli *gar’in* at Yagur, 6 December 1950, Yad Tabenkin Archives, Section 2 foreign, container 3, file 4.

32. Naomi Kashi, *Me-Irak le’Yisrael, Pirkei Yoman ve-Zihronot* [From Iraq to Israel, Diary Selections and Memoirs], personal diary (unpublished), p. 25 (hereafter cited as Kashi, *Me-Irak*).

33. “The style of dress, too, is a problem. It was mainly the young women who suffered the most from this. All the clothes they had brought with from Iraq were out of place here. The clothing made in the kibbutz was not enough, so there were complications in the clothing storehouse and lots of problems,” writes Pesya, who assisted in absorbing the Bavli *gar’in* at Giv’at ha-Sheloshah, Newsletter of *Gar’in* 4 from Babylonia [in Hebrew], Giv’at ha-Sheloshah, 10 December 1948, Yad Tabenkin Archives.

34. Kashi, *Me-Irak*, p. 40.
35. A letter to her brother in Basra, 4 July 1944, Shoshana Mu'alleem file, CHIJ.
36. Letter from Yoel in Ashdot to Gideon [Golani] in Be'eri, 20 June 1947, Shoshana Mu'alleem File, BJHC Archives.
37. Report by Shimshon ben Yehuda, at the fourth convention of the Bavli *aliyah* held at Nahbir [Be'eri], 25 July 1947, *Tzeror Yedi'ot* [A Bundle of News], No. 4, Hehalutz Movement Archives.
38. Rozka, Ein ha-Horesh, "*Ha-Gar'inim ha-Bavli'im be-Kibbutzeinu*" [The Bavli *gar'inim* in Our Kibbutz], *Devar ha-Po'elet*, Pamphlets 1–2, 5711 [1951], p. 21.
39. Protocol of a meeting of the members of the El Al *hakhsharah*, 2 September 1948, Hehalutz Movement in Bavel Archives, BJHC. Not all *gar'in* members had come through the pioneering underground.
40. Shimshon S., "Upon Our Arrival," p. 15 (see n. 20 above).
41. Letter from Aryeh Mu'alleem to Shoshan Murad [Mu'alleem], Ashdot Ya'akov, 13 November 1947, Shoshana Mu'alleem File, CHIJ Archives. Shulamit Ginossar, who was a member of kibbutz Palmahim, related in a conversation that took place on 12 March 1999 that among the members there were even couples who had intimate relations, or in her language "they did not refrain." She explained it by the revolutionary nature of Zionism.
42. From Aryeh Mu'alleem to Shoshana, 13 November 1947, Shoshana Mu'allam File, BJHC Archives.
43. See Cohen, *Ha-Yehudim*, pp. 153–54. On secularization processes in Eretz Israel, see T. Benski et al., *Yehudei Iraq be-Yisra'el ba-Hevrah u-va-Kalkalah* [Iraqi Jews in Israel in Society and Economics] (Tel Aviv, 1991), pp. 218–35.
44. From Aryeh to Shoshana, 9 December 1947, Shoshana Mu'alleem File, BJHC Archives; from Shoshana to her brother Nadji [Amnon], 4 August 1947, translated by Dr. Saul Sehayik, *ibid.* On the complexity of the attitude to religion in the labor movement, see Shapira, "*Ha-Motiviyyim ha-Datiyyim shel Tenu'at ha-Avodah*" [The Religious Motifs of the Labor Movement], in Shapira, *New Jews*. On intentional contempt for the mourning on Tisha b'Av, see Shapira, *New Jews*, pp. 269–70. We must point out that the Bavli members could not have been aware of the complexity of the attitude toward religion since they were strangers and new to the kibbutz, and they related only to the practical aspects of this issue.
45. Decisions of the Labor Committee, 12 January 1948, Hehalutz Movement Archives, CHIJ Archives.
46. Naomi, n. 32 above, p. 36. At the second meeting of the National Center of the Zionist Movement in Iraq, 8–9 September 1945, it was reported that kibbutz Ma'oz Haim had forced members to light a fire on the Sabbath. The spokesperson warned that reports on antireligious education were liable to de-

stroy the movement. Section 2 foreign, Container 2 File 5, Yad Tabenkin Archives.

47. Tzivyah Nahum, *Oranim B*, the newsletter of the immigrant youth group at Bet Oren (Bavlim and Syrians), Yad Tabenkin Archives.

48. See n. 26.

49. An exception is Naomi Kashi's memoirs.

50. Sehayik, *Be-Netivei*, p. 102. From the protocol of the Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad Secretariat, Section 2 Container 8 Book 35, p. 96, Yad Tabenkin Archives. At the second meeting of the National Center of the Zionist Movement in Baghdad, it was reported: "There is a suspicion of exploitation after they have taken away the day for studies. The *haverim* have begun to despair. They have begun to evade work. The determination of the work schedule opposed the day for studies," 8–9 September 1945, Section 2 foreign, Container 2 File 5, Yad Tabenkin Archives.

51. H. Jablonka, *Ahim Zarim: Nitzolei ha-Sho'ah bi-Medinat Yisra'el, 1948–1952* [Foreign Brothers: Holocaust Survivors in the State of Israel, 1948–1952] (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 159–64, 207–208, 223–24.

52. Sehayik, *Be-Netivei*, pp. 100, 114.

53. Emanuel, Protocol of the Seventh Convention of Bavli Immigration in Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad, 21 May 1950, He-Halutz Movement Archives, CHIJ; Sehayik, *Be-Netivei*, p. 100.

54. Naomi, n. 32 above, p. 30.

55. See Arbelli Almoslino, *Me-ha-Mahteret*, n. 11 above.

### *Social Networks of Immigrant Women in the Early 1950s in Israel (pages 100–108)*

1. Several studies dealt with women as part of the overall population investigated, but they did not focus on their role or their unique contribution to the absorption process. See D. Weintraub, "Hashpa'at ha-Herkev ha-Demografi shel Mishpahot Olim al Histaglut la-Moshav" [The Influence of the Demographic Composition of Immigrant Families on Adaptation to the Moshav], *Megamot* 10, no. 4 (March 1960); idem, "Defusei Shinnui Hevratim shel Kevutzot Adatiyyot be-Moshavei Olim" [Patterns of Social Change of Ethnic Groups in Immigrant Settlements], *Shenaton ha-Histadrut* 2 (1966); H. Weil, "Be'ayot Kehilatiyyot be-Yishuv Olim" [Community Problems in Immigrant Settlements], *Mehkarim be-Sotziologiyyah* 2 (1957); A. Winograd, "Yahadut Maroko be-Ma'avar" [Moroccan Jewry in Transition], *Megamot* 10, no. 3 (January 1960); S. Deshen and M. Shoked, eds., "Dor ha-Temurah" [The Generation of Transformation], (Jerusalem 1977). The countries from which they immigrated were Iraq, Yemen, Aden, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Bulgaria, Turkey,

Libya, Iran, Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Germany, Austria, Egypt, the USSR, and Yugoslavia; M. Sicron, "*Ha-Aliyah ha-Hamonit — Memadeha, Me'afyeneha, ve-Hashpa'ata al Mivneh Ukhlusiyyat Yisra'el*" ['Mass Immigration' — Its Dimensions, Characteristics, and Influence on the Population Structure of Israel], in *Olim u-Ma'abarot 1948–1952*, ed. M. Naor, p. 34 (Jerusalem, 1986) (hereafter cited as Sicron, "*Ha-Aliyah*").

2. S. N. Eisenstadt, *Kelitat Aliyah: Mehkar Sotziologi* [Absorption of Immigration: A Sociological Study], (Jerusalem, 1952).

3. Data from 1948 to 1954 indicate that among women who immigrated from Asian-African countries, 57.8 percent never attended school versus 6.3 percent from European countries; 26.2 percent of women from Asian-African countries did not complete elementary school versus 31.9 percent from European countries; Sicron, "*Ha-Aliyah*," p. 40.

4. J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, 1934); J. L. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish," *Human Relations* 7 (1954): 39–58; E. Bott, *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms, and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families* (London, 1957); D. Crane, *Invisible Colleges* (Chicago, 1972); L. C. Freeman, *Bibliography on Social Networks* (Monticello, Ill., 1976); K. Wendt, "Electronic Mail and Scientific Communication: A Study of the SOAR Extended Research Group," *Knowledge* 12 (1991): 406–40.

5. The teacher Rina Shapiro and her pupils in the Talpiot *ma'abara*: a symposium of the "ma'abara children" thirty years later, *Olim u-Ma'abarot* (n. 2 above), p. 161.

#### A "Woman-Human" (pages 111–121)

1. I have dealt with various aspects of this issue in my doctoral thesis: E. Ramon, "God, the Mother: A Critique of Domination in the Religious Zionist Thought of A. D. Gordon (1856–1922)," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1999. I wish to thank all the foundations and bodies that assisted while I wrote the dissertation: Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, American Association for University Women, and The Shalom Hartman Institute.

2. A. D. Gordon, *Mivhar Ketavim* [Selected Writings] (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 306 (hereafter cited as Gordon, *Mivhar*).

3. A. Fishman, "*Li-She'elat ha-Ovedet*" [Concerning the Question of the Woman Laborer], *Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir* 15, nos. 1–2 (1921): 14.

4. *Kitvei A. D. Gordon* [Writings of A. D. Gordon], ed. Y. Aharonowitz, 2:28 (Tel Aviv, 1925–1929) (hereafter cited as *Kitvei*).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

6. Y. Aharonowitz, "*Reshimot le-Toledot Hayyav shel A. D. Gordon*" [Biographical Notes on the Life of A. D. Gordon], *Kitvei*, 1, p. vi.

7. Labor and He-Halutz Archives–Lavon Institute, file 104–13; see also “*Resisei Zikhronot al A. D. Gordon she-He’elta Bitto Yael*” [Bits of Memory on A. D. Gordon Presented by his Daughter Yael], in *Ro’enu Morenu* (Our Leader, Our Teacher) (Deganya Alef, 1962), p. 11.
8. Y. Midrashi, *Yosef Ahronovich* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1965), pp. 220–22.
9. B. Schochetman, “*Yedi’ot Bi’ografiyyot Nosafot al A. D. Gordon*” [Additional Biographical Information on A. D. Gordon], *Ha-Po’el ha-Tza’ir* 33, nos. 16–17 (1940), pp. 12–13.
10. Memoirs that Yael wrote at the behest of Y. Palmoni, January–April 1947, Gordon Archives, Gordon’s Corner, Deganya Alef, pp. 23–24.
11. E. Schweid, *Ha-Yahid: Olamo shel A. D. Gordon* [The Only One: The World of A. D. Gordon] (Tel Aviv, 1970), p. 35.
12. H. Rutenberg, “*Aharon David Gordon u-bitto Yael*” [Aharon David Gordon and His Daughter Yael], *Be-Givatayim* 9–10 (Tishri 5727 [1966]): 35.
13. Letter written Kislev 1925, located in Pinat Gordon, Bet Gordon, Deganya Alef.
14. Y. Gordon, “*Ha-Ve’idah ha-Rishonah le-Po’alot*” [The First Women Laborers’ Convention], ed. E. Shohat and H. Sorer, *Pirkei Ha-Poel ha-Tza’ir* 3 (Tel Aviv, 1935): 215–16.
15. Gordon, *Mivhar*, p. 392.
16. M. Tzur, “*At Einekh Bodedah — Mikhtavim me-A. D. Gordon ve-Elav*” [You Are Not Alone — Letters to and from A. D. Gordon] (Tel Aviv, 1998), p. 59.
17. “*Mitokh Keri’ah*” [While Reading], in *Kitvei*, pp. 232–33.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
19. “*Pitaron Ratziiyonali*” [Rational Solution], in *Kitvei*, 1, p. 13.
20. Fourth letter to *Der Jude*, published in 1917, in *Kitvei*, 2, p. 277.
21. “*Universitah Ivrit*” [Hebrew University], in *Kitvei*, 1, p. 117; “*Me’at Hitbonenut*” [A Little Observation] (1911), in *ibid.*, 1, p. 86.
22. H. Chizik, “*Im A. D. Gordon*” [With A. D. Gordon], *Davar ha-Po’elet* 13, nos. 2/3 (1947): 50.
23. *Ibid.*
24. “*Mah Hayah Gordon*” [What Was Gordon?], *Davar ha-Po’elet* 22, no. 6 (1957): 170.
25. B. Israeli, *Ketavim u-Devarim* [Writings and Notions] (Tel Aviv and Kevutzat Kinneret, 1957), pp. 75–76.
26. A. Shapira, *Berl* [in Hebrew] (Tel Aviv, 1980), 1:105.
27. R. Katznelson-Shazar, *Masot u-Reshimot* [Essays and Articles] (Tel Aviv, 1946), p. 247.
28. A. Maimon (Fishman), *Hamishim Shenot Tenu’at ha-Po’alot, 1904–54* [Fifty Years of the Women Laborers’ Movement] (Tel Aviv and Ayanot, 1955), p. 50.

29. A. Maimon, *Le-Orekh ha-Derekh* [Along the Way], collected and edited by Yehuda Erez (Tel Aviv, 1972), p. 45.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., pp. 42–43.

*What Troubled Them?* (pages 122–130)

1. Meir Ya'ari, "Ba-Derekh le-Shivyon" [On the Way to Equality], *Hedim* (April 1936): p. 2.
2. L. Bassevitz, "Ha-Haverah ba-Kibbutz" [The Woman in the Kibbutz], *Mibifnim* 11, no. 3 (January 1946): 351, 357 (hereafter Bassevitz, "Ha-Haverah").
3. Ibid., p. 351.
4. For instance, see L. Bassevitz, "Ha-Haverah ba-Meshek ha-Kibbutzi" [The Woman in the Kibbutz Economy], *Mibifnim* 52 (23 November 1931): 656, 657; S. Frankel, "Le-Tikkun ha-Me'uvvat" [To Correct the Injustice], *Hedim* (April 1947): 63–64.
5. On agricultural work, see Bassevitz, "Ha-Haverah," p. 348; on the "rule of the third," see Lilia [Bassevitz], "Hishtattefut ha-Haverah ba-Hayyim ba-Kibbutz" [Women's Participation in the Public Life of the Kibbutz], *Mibifnim* 52 (23 November 1931): 665–68; on women on guard duty, see Y. Bat-Rachel and others, series of articles in *Mi-Bifnim*, June 1936.
6. Niv Hakvutza (Iyar–Sivan 1947), 48–49.
7. M. Poznansky and M. Shehori, eds.; material collected by L. Bassevitz and Y. Bat-Rachel, *Haverot ba-Kibbutz* [Women in the Kibbutz] (Ein Harod, 1944; repr. 1947, 1949).
8. For instance, the famous speech by Sojourner Truth ("I plow and plant and reap and bring to the barn . . . And ain't I a woman" — Seneca Falls, 1851), quoted by S. Rowbotham, *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (London, 1972), p. 100.
9. *Mi-Bifnim* 11, no. 3 (January 1946): 344–63.
10. Bassevitz, "Ha-Haverah," p. 345.
11. Ibid., pp. 356–57.
12. S. Goldman, "He'arot li-She'elat ha-Haverah ba-Kibbutz" [Comments on the Question of the Woman in the Kibbutz], *Hedim* (September 1947): 85.
13. Letter from Hania Shulami, who was killed in 1939. *Sikkumim* (Kfar Yehoshu'a, 1939).
14. T. Lieberson, *Pirkei Hayyim* [Chapters in a Life] (Tel-Aviv, 1970).
15. A. Maimon, *Hamishim Shenot Ten'uat ha-Po'alot* [Fifty Years of the Women Workers' Movement] (Tel-Aviv, 1955), pp. 158–59.
16. S. Kaplan, "Ha-Haverah ba-Moshav" [The Woman in the Moshav], *T'lamim* (Adar–Nissan 1942): 14–17; A. Assaf, "Ha-Moshav u-Ba'ayotav" [The Moshav and its Problems], *T'lamim* (Tishrei–Kislev 1948): 4–5.



17. Quoted in M. Tsur, T. Zevulun, and H. Porat, eds., *Kan al pnei ha-Adamah* [The Beginning of the Kibbutz] (Tel-Aviv, 1981), p. 90.

*Forging the Image of Pioneering Women (pages 131–140)*

1. See D. Biale, *Eros and the Jews* (Berkeley, 1997); M. Gluzman, “*Ha-Kemihah le-Heteroseksu’aliyyut: Tziyyonut u-Miniyyut be-Altneuland*” [The Yearning for Heterosexuality: Zionism and Sexuality in Altneuland], *Theory and Criticism* 11 (Winter 1997): 145–62; D. Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct* (Berkeley, 1997).

2. D. Miron, *Immahot Meyassedot, Ahayot Horgot, al Shetei Hathalot be-Shirah ha-Erziyisra’elit* [Founding Mothers, Stepsisters, the Emergence of the First Hebrew Poetesses and Other Essays] (Tel Aviv, 1991), p. 137.

3. D. Miron, *Mul ha-Ah ha-Shotek: Iyyunim be-Shirat Milhemet ha-Atzma’ut* [Facing the Silent Brother: Studies in the Poetry of the War of Independence] (Tel Aviv, 1992), p. 48.

4. G. Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit 1880–1980* [Hebrew Fiction 1880–1980], vol. 4, *Be-Havlei ha-Zeman* [In the Throes of Time] (Tel Aviv, 1993), p. 15 (hereafter cited as Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet*).

5. N. Shaham, *Kirot Ets Dakim* (Tel Aviv, 1977), pp. 81–149. The book appeared in English translated by Leonard Gold, *The Other Side of the Wall* (Philadelphia, 1983) (hereafter cited as Shaham, *Kirot*).

6. Of course, *My Michael* by Amos Oz was published in 1968, but it is difficult to see Hannah Gonen as a powerful feminine figure, who goes beyond the stereotypes of “femininity.” She fits in rather well with the masculine stereotypes of women (weak, hysterical, and unpractical: a princess estranged and isolated in her ivory tower, prey to her imaginings and dreams).

7. O. Almog, *Ha-Tzabar: Deyukan* [The Sabra: A Portrait] (Tel Aviv, 1997).

8. As to Nathan Shaham’s socio-cultural status and cultural affiliation, see the chapter devoted to him in G. Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet*, “*Tamid Anahnu Guf Rishon Rabbim?*” [Are We Always First-Person Plural?] (Tel Aviv, 1993), pp. 317–47.

9. S. Lapid, *Gei Oni* (Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1982). I shall discuss this novel later on in this article.

10. Shaham, *Kirot*, p. 87 (Gold translation, p. 109).

11. *Ibid.*, p. 98 (Gold translation, p. 125).

12. *Ibid.*, p. 90 (Gold translation, p. 113).

13. *Ibid.*, p. 118 (Gold translation, p. 151).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 117 (Gold translation, p. 149).

15. *Ibid.*, p. 119 (Gold translation, p. 152).

16. *Ibid.* (Gold translation, p. 160, emphasis mine — S.S.)

17. Quoted in M. Rozner, *Temurot bi-Tefisah al Shivyon ha-Ishah ba-Kibbutz* [Changes in the Perception of the Equality of the Woman in the Kibbutz] (Givat Havivah, 1969), p. 3.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 147–48 (Gold translation, p. 189).

20. Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet*, p. 317.

21. On the exclusion of women from the hegemonic center in the *Yishuv* in Eretz Israel, see, for example, Y. Berlovits, *Lehamtzi Eretz Lehantzi Am* [Inventing a Land, Inventing a People] (Tel Aviv, 1996); D. Bernstein, *Ishah be-Eretz Yisra'el* [A Woman in Eretz Israel] (Tel Aviv, 1987); B. Melman, “*Historiyyah shel Nashim, Historiyyah u-Politikah*” [History of Women, History and Politics 1880–1993], *Zemanim* 46–47 (1993): 19–33. Bernstein explains, “The inequality was expressed in the re-creation of traditional, patriarchal elements . . . the majority of [the women] did not have a chance at productive physical labor, which was considered the liberating work, which creates the new human being” (Bernstein, p. 11), and this “despite the aspiration of many women toward equal relations, despite the commitment of the laborers’ movement to social equality, including equality between women and men” (*ibid.*, p. 140).

22. I would like to mention here Yael Feldman’s pioneering work on this novel and this subject. See Y. Feldman, “*Roman Histori o Autobiografia be-Masecha*” [A Historical Novel or a Masked Autobiography], *Siman Kri’a* 19 (1986): 208–213; see also *idem*, *No Room of Their Own* (New York, 1999).

23. Lapid, *Gei Oni*, p. 68.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 236 (emphasis mine — S.S.).

26. *Ibid.*, p. 251.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 266. One could, of course, argue that the inability of a single woman burdened with four children to support herself in Rosh Pina at the beginning of the twentieth century is a “realistic” fact, but if this woman can conduct business by herself in the Galilee teeming with robbers, it should have been possible to let her somehow support herself, even without being saved by a new man.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

31. Within the limited framework of this article, I will not try to present a general analysis of Shaham’s work, but perhaps it is worth mentioning his novel *The Rosendorf Quartet*, which convincingly and impressively presents a-Zionist or even anti-Zionist positions: N. Shaham, *The Rosendorf Quartet* (Tel Aviv, 1987).

*A Woman's Life Story as a Foundation Legend  
of Local Identity (pages 141–163)*

1. In a previous study we focused on the women's embroidery group. See H. Salamon and G. Hasan-Rokem, "Rokemot et Atzman: Rikmah ve-Nashiyut bi-Kevutzah Yerushalmit" [Embroidering Themselves: Embroidery and Femininity in a Jerusalem Group], *Theory and Criticism* 10 (1997): 55–68.

2. The life story of Zohar Wilbush was told to this article's writer and to another listener, Sharon Agur, who assisted in the field work.

3. On the colonial characteristics of the Oriental, see E. W. Said, "Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Victims," in *Anatomy of Racism*, ed. D. T. Goldberg, pp. 210–46 (Minneapolis, 1990).

4. See particularly P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977); idem, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford, 1990) (hereafter cited as Bourdieu, *Logic*).

5. On Geertz's interpretation of culture as an exegetical system, see C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York, 1973) (Hebrew edition: *Parshanut shel Tarbut* [Jerusalem, 1990], pp. 15–39). For the development of the idea of the habitus, see Bourdieu, *Logic*, pp. 52–65.

6. Bourdieu, *Logic*, pp. 66–79.

7. E. W. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth, 1978).

8. On the connection between ethnography, Orientalism, and power, see, for example, J. Clifford, "On Orientalism," in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988); on power, resistance, colonialism, and women, see, for example, J. Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirits of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South-African People* (Chicago, 1985).

9. On mutuality, see, for example, H. K. Bhabha, "She'elat ha-Aher: Hevdel, Aflayah ve-Si'ah Post-Kolonyali" [The Question of the Other: Difference, Discrimination, and Post-Colonial Discourse], *Theory and Criticism* 5 (1994), 145–57; G. Ch. Spivak, "Three Women's Texts and a Critique of Imperialism," in 'Race', *Writing, and Difference*, ed. H. L. Gates (Chicago, 1986) (hereafter cited as Spivak, "Three Women's"); J. C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990). On deconstruction, see J. Derrida, "Deconstruction and the Other: An Interview with Richard Kearney," in *Dialogues with Contemporary Continental Thinkers: The Phenomenological Heritage*, ed. R. Kearney (Manchester, 1984); G. Ch. Spivak, "Displacement and the Discourse of Woman," in *Displacement: Derrida and After*, ed. M. Krupnick, pp. 169–95 (Bloomington, Ind., 1987); Spivak, "Three Women's"; R. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London & New York, 1995). On Lacanian thinking, see J. Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York, 1993) (hereafter cited as Butler, *Bodies*).

10. E. W. Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered," *Cultural Critique* 1 (1985); R. Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity," in *Nationalism and Sexualities*, ed. Andrew Parker et al. (New York, 1992); Butler, *Bodies*; M. Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge, 1998) (hereafter cited as Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial*). See also R. Kabbani, *Europe's Myths of Orient* (Bloomington, 1986).

11. In this context, Young's discussion is of interest (*Colonial Desire*, pp. 173–75), which addresses in a new manner the concept of hybridity in the colonialist context in Bhabha, "*She'elat ha-Aher*"; and also in Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial*, p. 35.

12. On the political aspect of Palestinian representation by means of embroidery and other feminine crafts, see, for example, G. Frank, "Crafts Production and Resistance to Domination in the Late 20th Century," *Journal of Occupational Science* 3, no. 2 (1996): 56–64. For a fresh perspective on the connection between personal biography and objects, see J. Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of People's Lives* (New York & London, 1998).

13. In this context, Yoram Bilu writes: "There are many ways, all of them partial, to analyze and understand life histories. The portrait of the Other crystallizes only through the process of its construction, during the course of the interaction between the researcher and the object of the study. The design of the portrait is guided, inter alia, by the researcher's prior knowledge (such as of social conventions, cultural traditions, theoretical paradigms, and so on). This system is likely to be such a useful framework for sorting through, organizing, and processing the raw data that in some cases it might be possible to accept the blunt claim that ethnography and biography, more than they create a 'narrative' are created by it." Y. Bilu, "*Historyat Hayyim ke-Tekst*" [Life History as Text], *Megamot: Behavioral Sciences Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (1985/1986): 350. On the rhetoric of biography and the importance of the literary aspects through which the narrative is fashioned, see also A. Lieblich, T. Zilber, and R. Tuvel-Mashiach, "*Mehappesim u-Motze'im: Hakhlalah ve-Avhanah be-Sippurei Hayyim*" [Seeking and Finding: Generalization and Distinction in Life Stories], *Psychology* 5 (1995): 84–95. For another discussion of these aspects, see, for example, V. Crapanzano, *Hermes' Dilemma and Hamlet's Desire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

14. This text is characterized by the repeated use of Arabic terms, undoubtedly intended to reinforce the local impression that Zohar wants to present. To each term a "translation" is usually appended. I wish to thank Ruth Kark who drew my attention to the Arabic name Buzaburah used by Zohar, which is Mikhmoret today.

15. For a discussion of the construction of Otherness and the concept of a different kind of temporality, see J. Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Objects* (New York, 1983).

16. On the women's embroidery group, see Salamon and Hasan-Rokem, "*Rokemot et Atzman*," n. 1 above.

17. For an important discussion of memory and its narrative, see J. Bahloul, *The Architecture of Memory* (Cambridge, 1996), particularly chapter five. Ethnographic and theoretical material that deals with life stories and their narrative design is a broad, expanding field in the research of culture that treats it only by allusion.

*A Cross-Cultural Message (pages 167–179)*

1. *Hazevi*, no. 7, 29 Tevet [5]648 [= 13 January 1888]. For a wider discussion of this topic, see Margalit Shilo, *Princess or Prisoner? Jewish Women in Jerusalem, 1840–1914* (Hanover, N.H., 2005), chapter 5.

2. Yosef Salmon, “*Ha-Hinukh ha-Ashkenazi be-Eretz Yisra’el bein ‘Yashan’ le-‘Hadash’*” [Ashkenazi Education in Eretz Israel between the “Old” and the “New” (1840–1906)], *Shalem* 6 (1992): 281–301.

3. Eliakim Ellinson, *Ha-Ishah ve-ha-Mitzvot; Mekorot Hilkhatiyyim Mevo’arim* [The Woman and the Commandments: A Collection of Teachings of Our Sages and Halakhic Decisions] (Jerusalem, 1974), pp. 160–71; Deborah Weissman, “*Hinnukh Banot bi-Yrushalayim bi-Tekufat ha-Shilton ha-Beriti*” [Girls’ Education in Jerusalem during the Mandate Period] (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994), p. 113; Iris Parush, *Nashim Kor’ot* [Women Reading] (Tel Aviv, 2001), pp. 14–17.

4. Mordechai Eliav, *Ha-Hinnukh ha-Yehudi be-Germanya bi-Ymei ha-Haskalah ve-ha-Imantzipatziyyah* [Jewish Education in Germany in the Period of the Haskalah and Emancipation] (Jerusalem, 1961), pp. 271–79; Thomas Woody, *A History of Women’s Education in the U.S.*, vols. 1–2 (New York, 1966 [1929]); Zosa Szajkowski, *Jewish Education in France 1789–1938* (Jewish Social Sciences Monograph Series 2; New York, 1980), pp. 4–9; James C. Albisetti, “The Feminization of Teaching: A Comparative Perspective,” *History of Education* 22, nos. 1–4 (1993): 253–63.

5. Sh. P. Zolty, “And All Your Children Shall Be Learned,” *Woman and the Study of Tora in Jewish Law and History* (New Jersey, 1992), pp. 238–41.

6. In the years 1831 to 1840, Palestine was ruled by Mohamed Ali, the Egyptian ruler, who introduced modernity into the country. His innovations were followed by the Ottoman rulers who recaptured the country.

7. Mordechai Eliav, *Eretz Yisra’el ve-Yishuvah ba-Me’ah ha-Tesha Esreh, 1777–1914* [The Land of Israel and Its Settlement in the Nineteenth Century, 1777–1914] (Jerusalem, 1978), p. 498; Yehoshua ben-Arieh, *Jerusalem in the 19th Century: Emergence of the New City* (Jerusalem, 1986), p. 466.

8. Josephine Kamm, *Hope Deferred: Girls’ Education in English History* (London, 1965), pp. 152–65; Jane Martin, *Women and the Politics of Schooling in Victorian and Edwardian England* (London, 1998), pp. 75–84.

9. The school was sponsored by the French Rothschilds until 1868, when it came under the protection of the English branch of the family. On the Montefiore school, see A. M. Luncz, *Yerushalayim* 2 (1887): 121–22.

10. M. Eliav, *Be-Hasut Mamlekhet Ostriyah* [Under Imperial Austrian Protection] (Jerusalem, 1985), p. 98 (hereafter cited as Eliav, *Be-Hasut*). The reference is to Charlotte, daughter of James (Jacob) Rothschild of Paris and wife of Nathaniel Rothschild of the London branch.

11. Daniel Carpi and Moshe Rinot, “*Yoman Mas’oteha shel Morah Yehudiyyah mi-Triest li-Yrushalayim*” [Diary of the Journey of a [Female] Jewish Teacher from Trieste to Jerusalem], in *Kevatzim le-heker toledot ha-hinnukh ha-yehudi be-Yisra’el u-va-tefuzot* [Anthologies for Research on the History of Jewish Education in Israel and the Dispersion], 1982, p. 126; Eliezer Mannenberg, “Modernization and Educational Change: A Case Study in the Transition of a Jewish Community Antedating the Israeli Society,” *Jewish Social Studies* 40 (1978): 293–302.

12. Letter from Albert Cohn to the Austrian Emperor, 28 July 1854; Eliav, *Be-Hasut*, p. 298; Rachel Elboim-Dror, *Hahinnukh ha-Ivri be-Eretz Israel* [Jewish Education in the Land of Israel], 1 (Jerusalem, 1986), pp. 80–82, 86–89.

13. Hagai Erlich, *No’ar u-Politikah* [Youth and Politics] (Tel Aviv, 1998), p. 25.

14. Mary Eliza Rogers, *Domestic Life in Palestine* (London, 1862), p. 336.

15. Rogers, *Domestic Life*.

16. *Havazelet*, no. 39, 27 Tamuz [5]635 [= 30 July 1875].

17. In 1868, the school was named after Evelina, the youngest daughter of Lionel Rothschild, who died while giving birth. Tehiya Sapir, “*Ma’arekhet Simanim ve-Heksheram ha-Tarbuti be-Khartisei Hazmanah la-Hatunah be-Erez Yisra’el mi-Tehilat ha-Me’ah ve-ad Yameinu*” [System of Symbols and Their Cultural Acceptance in Wedding Invitations in Eretz Israel from the Beginning of the Century until Today] (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997), pp. 169–172.

18. *Halevanon*, no. 20, 14 Sivan [5]629 [= 23 May 1969].

19. *Havazelet*, no. 42, 28 Elul [5]641 [= 22 September 1881].

20. Supplement to *Hazevi*, no. 17, 1890; see also *Anglo-Jewish Association (AJA) 13th Annual Report*, 1883–1884, p. 28.

21. *AJA 14th Annual Report*, 1884–1885, Appendix e, p. 74.

22. Yaakov Kellner, *Le-Ma’an Tziyyon* [For Zion’s Sake] (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 179, 208; *Havazelet*, no. 27, 21 Iyar [5]641 [= 20 May 1881].

23. David Tidhar, *Enziklopediyah le-Halutsei ha-Yishuv u-Vonav* [Encyclopedia of Pioneers of the *Yishuv* and Personages], 1 (Tel Aviv, 1947), pp. 75a–76, s.v. “Nissim Behar” (entirely ignoring Fortuna’s achievements!) (hereafter Tidhar, *Enziklopediyah*).

24. Supplement to *Hazevi*, no. 17, 26 Adar II [5]6499 [= 29 March 1889]; *Hazevi*, no. 29, 19 Av [5]648 [= 27 July 1888].

25. *Havazelet*, no. 2, 30 Tishri [5]636 [= 29 October 1875].
26. *Hazevi*, no 38, 9 Tamuz [5]653 [= 23 June 1893].
27. *Havazelet*, no. 21, 2 Nisan [5]638 [= 5 April 1878].
28. *Havazelet*, no. 43, 26 Av [5]646 [= 27 August 1886].
29. The school came under AJA management on 1 July 1894; see AJA, *24th Annual Report*, 1894–1895, p. 24; see also Sapir, “*Gishatah ve-’Ofi Terumatah . . .*” [Her Approach and the Nature of Her Contribution . . .], pp. 182–186; AJA, *23rd Annual Report*, 1893–1894, p. 32.
30. AJA, *35th Annual Report*, 1905–1906, p. 50
31. AJA, *1st Annual Report*, 1871–1872, Appendix a, p. 21.
32. Southampton Archives, AJ95/ADD/2.
33. Carol Devens, “‘If We Get the Girls, We Get the Race’: Missionary Education of Native American Girls,” *Journal of World History* 3, no. 2 (1992): 218.
34. AJA, *43rd Annual Report*, 1913–1914, p. 47.
35. AJA, *30th Annual Report*, 1900–1901, p. 47
36. AJA, *31st Annual Report*, 1902–1903, p. 51.
37. M. A. Scherer, “A Cross Cultural Conflict Reexamined: Annette Akroyd and Keshub Chunder Sen,” *Journal of World History* 7, no. 2 (1996): 231–57.
38. Billie Melman, “*Re’alot Shekufot: Kolonializm ve-Dzender—Likrat Diyyun Histori Mehudash*” [Transparent Veils: Colonialism and Gender—Towards a Renewed Historical Discussion], *Zemanim* 62 (1998): 96; see also Nancy B. Sinkoff, “Educating for ‘Proper’ Jewish Womanhood: A Case Study in Domesticity and Vocational Training, 1987–1926,” *American Jewish History* 77 (1987): 572–99.
39. AJA, *23rd Annual Report*, 1893–1894, pp. 49–51.
40. AJA, *30th Annual Report*, 1900–1901, p. 47.
41. AJA, *25th Annual Report*, 1895–1896, p. 34.
42. AJA, *30th Annual Report*, 1900–1901, p. 47.
43. Barbara Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour* (New York, 1956).
44. AJA, *3rd Annual Report*, 1873–1874, p. 21.
45. D. Yellin, *Ketavim* [Collected Writings], 1: 6–7; Alex Carmel, “*Le-Toldotav shel Johannes Frutiger, bankai biYrushalaym*” [On the History of Johannes Frutiger, a Banker in Jerusalem], *Cathedra* 48 (1988): 49–72.
46. *Hazevi*, no. 35, 1 Tamuz [5]656 [= 12 June 1896].
47. *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 October 1912, pp. 20–21.
48. Adela Goodrich-Freer, *Inner Jerusalem* (London, 1904), p. viii; Nathan Schur, *Sefer ha-Nose'im le-Eretz Yisra'el be-Me'ah ha-19* [Book of Travelers to the Land of Israel in the Nineteenth Century] (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 216–17.
49. Figures for the total number of students in the school, as supplied by the annual AJA Reports for 1900–1914, are as follows: 1900: 292 in the school,

225 in the kindergarten; total: 517; 1902: total 606; 1903: total 600; 1905: total 620; 1912: total 530; 1913: 426 in the school, 250 in the kindergarten: total 676.

50. Resolutions of the AJA Committee, Southampton Archives, 13 March 1900, AJ95/ADD/3.

51. AJA, *33rd Annual Report*, 1903–1904, p. 59.

52. Resolution of the London Women's Committee, 3 December 1899, Southampton Archives AJ95/ADD/3 (decision to dismiss Behar). Annie Landau first came to Palestine in March 1898; see Albert M. Hyamson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem in Relation to the Jews of Palestine 1838–1914* (London, 1941), 2:548.

53. Southampton Archives, February 1900, AJ95/ADD/3; Yellin, *Ketavim*, 4:150.

54. Yehudit Harari, *Bein ha-Keramim* [Between the Vineyards] (Tel Aviv, 1947), 1:83–84 (hereafter Harari, *Bein ha-Keramim*).

55. Yehudit Harari, *Ishah va-Em be-Yisra'el: Mi-Tekufat ha-Tanakh ad Shenat he-Asor li-Mdinat Yisra'el* [Woman and Mother among the Jewish People from Biblical Times to the First Decade of the State of Israel] (Tel Aviv, 1959), pp. 271–72; Tidhar, *Enziklopediyah*, 1:802–803; AJA, *44th Annual Report*, 1914–1915, p. 16.

56. AJA, *34th Annual Report*, 1904–1905, p. 28.

57. *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 June 1911, p. 20

58. Esther Benbassa, "Education for Jewish Girls in the East: A Portrait of the Galata School in Istanbul, 1879–1912," *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 9 (1993): 163–73.

59. School Regulations, para. 5, Gaster Papers, 14/274.

60. *Jewish Chronicle*, 21 April 1911, p. 10.

61. AJA, *31st Annual Report*, 1901–1902, p. 29; *Hazevi*, no. 10, 6 Tvet [5]661 [= 28 December 1900]; AJA, *34th Annual Report*, 1904–1905, p. 28.

62. *Hashkafah*, no. 55, 21 Adar II [5]665 [= 28 March 1905]; *Hashkafah*, no. 38, 5 Adar [5]666 [= 2 March 1906].

63. *Havazelet*, 10 Heshvan [5]658 [= 5 November 1897]; Hannah Yellin, letter to the Russian-Jewish children's weekly *Olam Katan* 2 (1902): 36; Harari, *Bein ha-Keramim*, 1:107.

64. AJA, *41st Annual Report*, 1911–1912, p. 29.

65. *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 June 1911, p. 17.

66. *Jewish Chronicle*, 11 November 1910, pp. 1–2.

67. AJA, *30th Annual Report*, 1900–1901, p. 34.

68. *Jewish Chronicle*, 28 June 1901, p. 8.

69. AJA, *42nd Annual Report*, 1912–1913, p. 26.

70. AJA, *32nd Annual Report*, 1902–1903, p. 36.

71. *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1907, p. 21.



72. *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 March 1903, p. 21. See also *Jewish Chronicle*, 30 October 1903.
73. *AJA*, 42nd Annual Report, 1912–1913, p. 41.
74. *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 June 1911, p. 18.
75. *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 June 1911, p. 17.
76. *AJA*, 37th Annual Report, 1907–1908, p. 48; *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 May 1911, p. 20.
77. *Jewish Chronicle*, 19 May 1911, p. 20.
78. *AJA*, 37th Annual Report, 1907–1908, p. 54.
79. *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1907, p. 21.
80. *Jewish Chronicle*, 12 May 1911, p. 18.
81. *Jewish Chronicle*, 7 June 1907, p. 21.
82. Harari, *Bein ha-Keramim*, 1:84.
83. *Jewish Chronicle*, 8 November 1907, p. 17.
84. Joseph Meyuhas, *Bat Hayil o Torat Em, Sefer Mikra li-Venot Yisrael* [Daughter of Valor or Mother's Teachings, a Reader of Jewish Young Women], vol. 1 (Warsaw, 1902), p. 2.
85. *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 June 1911, p. 18.
86. *AJA*, 33rd Annual Report, 1903–1904, p. 49.

*On Behalf of Mothers and Children in Eretz Israel (pages 180–192)*

1. Constitution of Hadassah, Central Zionist Archives (CZA), J113/1661; A. Gal, "Medinat Yisra'el ha-Ide'alit be-Einei 'Hadassah,' 1945–1955" [The Ideal State of Israel in the Eyes of "Hadassah," 1945–1955], *Yahadut Zemanenu* 4 (1988): 157.
2. Z. Shilony, "Ha-Sherut ha-Refu'i u-Batei Holim bi-Tkufat ha-Milhamah" [Medical Services and Hospitals in Jerusalem during the War], in *Be-Matzor u-be-Matzok* [Siege and Distress], ed. M. Eliav (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 62, 75–76.
3. Turkestan-born Dr. Helena Kagan (1889–1978), completed her medical studies in Geneva and immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1914. She was the first pediatrician in the country; in 1916, she established a clinic for women and children alongside the Straus Health Center in Jerusalem. From 1933, she worked as a pediatrician in Jerusalem's Bikkur Cholim Hospital. In 1975, she was awarded the Israel Prize. See Z. Shehory-Rubin, "Dr. Helena Kagan — The Doctor Who became a Legend," *Cathedra* 118 (January 2006): 89–114.
4. Dr. Isaac Max Rubinow, a Russian-born physician, studied medicine in New York and worked as a doctor in the slums there. From 1915 to 1917, he was active within the American Association for Labor Legislation (AALL) in calling for the legislation of a compulsory health insurance law in the United States. After the British conquest of Palestine, Henrietta Szold asked Rubinow

to head the medical unit that was sent there, and he served as its general director until 1923. Upon completing this task, Rubinow returned to the United States and for many years was active there in B'nai B'rith. J. L. Kreader, "Isaac Max Rubinow: Pioneering Specialist in Social Insurance," *Social Service Review* 9 (1976): 405–11. Henrietta Szold was the chairman of the board and was in charge of the unit's outside connections and of fundraising in the United States, while Dr. Rubinow served as the unit's general director and was responsible for its medical work. See S. Shvarts, "Mi Yetappel be-Anshei Eretz Yisra'el? Pe'ilutah shel ha-Yehidah ha-Tziyyonit Refu'it Amerika'it le-Hakamatah shel Ma'arekhet Beri'ut Tzibburit be-Reishit Tekufat ha-Mandat 1918–1921" [Who Will Treat the People of Eretz Israel? The Activity of the American Zionist Medical Unit toward the Establishment of the Public Health System in the Early Mandate Period, 1918–1921], *Iyunim* 8 (1998).

5. O. Greenberg and H. Herzog, *Terumatah shel Vitzo be-Hevrah Mithavah* [WIZO's Contribution to a Society in the Making] (Tel Aviv, 1978), p. 14 (hereafter cited as Greenberg and Herzog, *Terumatah*).

6. By-laws of the Federation of Hebrew Women, Jerusalem, 1920.

7. Founding assembly of the Federation of Hebrew Women, 14 July 1920, CZA, J35/7.

8. Greenberg and Herzog, *Terumatah*, p. 14.

9. Dr. Rubinow to Henrietta Szold, Federation of Hebrew Women, 12 May 1921, CZA, J113/1346; L. Kleinman, "Gevulot ha-Avodah shel ha-Ahot ha-Tzibburit ve-ha-Ovedet ha-Sotzi'alit [Limits of the Work of Public Health Nurses and Social Workers], *Ha-Ahot* 4 (Tevet-Iyyar 5703 [1943]): 63.

10. Bertha Landsman, chief nurse in the mother and child welfare centers in the country to the Federation of Hebrew Women on the subject of recruiting volunteers to help in the centers, 26 May 1923, CZA, J113/1346.

11. B. Greenfield, "Emunot Shav u-Minhagim Tefeilim be-Tippul be-Yonkim be-Gil ha-Yaldut" [Fallacies and Superstitious Customs in Caring for Infants in Early Childhood], *Ha-Ishah* 3 (1928): 23–26; A. Stahl, "Hitpatehut Minhag Hittul ha-Tinokot be-Edot Shonot u-vi-meyuhad etzel Yehudim: Sekirat Mekorot" [The Development of the Custom of Swaddling Infants among Ethnic Groups and Especially among the Jews: A Review of Sources], *Korot*, nos. 7–8 (Elul 5743 [1983]): 247–51.

12. A review of Infant Welfare and Prenatal Work in Palestine, 1921–1926, Hadassah Archive, New York, RG/72/1.

13. Bertha Landsman, Infant Welfare Work done by Hadassah Medical Organization in Jerusalem, July 1923, for H.M.O. Report to XIII Congress, Carlsbad, August 1923, Hadassah Archive, New York, RG/72/1.

14. Infant Welfare and Milk Distribution Work in Palestine, Hadassah Archive, New York, RG/72/1; "The Milk Problem before the League," *Palestine Weekly*, 30 October 1925.

15. Greenberg and Herzog, *Terumatah*, p. 22.
16. “*Ha-Avodah ha-Meshufetef shel Hadassah ve-Histadrut ha-Nashim ha-Ivriyyot ba-Aretz*” [The Joint Effort by Hadassah and the Federation of Hebrew Women in Eretz Israel], *Ha-Ishah* 2 [second year] (1927): 29.
17. The First National Convention of the Federation of Hebrew Women, 24 March 1923–24, CZA, J35/7.
18. Greenberg and Herzog, *Terumatah*, p. 27; “*Ha-Massa u-Mattan bein Histadrut Nashim Ivriyyot u-vein Histadrut Olamit le-Nashim Tziyyoniyyot*” [The Negotiations between the Federation of Hebrew Women and WIZO], *Ha-Ishah* 8 (1927): 32–33 (hereafter “*Ha-Massa*”).
19. On the activity of the school hygiene department, see for details Z. Shehory-Rubin, “Hadassah’s Educational Enterprises and Health Activities during Mandatory Times” (Ph.D. diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 1998).
20. Zelda Goldman, Minutes of the Public Health Nurses Meeting in Haifa, 21 March 1930, CZA, J113/1402; Bertha Landsman to Dr. Isaac Glicker, Kupat Holim Haifa, 15.4.1928, CZA, J113/1401.
21. H. Yassky, “*Al Be’ayot Ahdut shel ha-Refu’ah ha-Mona’at* [On Some Problems in Preventive Medicine], *Yedi’ot al ha-Avodah ha-Sozialit be-Erez Yisra’el* 3–4 [third year] (Tevet-Shevat 5698/1938): 85.
22. Bertha Landsman to Zelda Goldman, nurse supervisor, Hadassah Haifa, 20 March 1931, CZA, J113/1402; B. Ostrovsky, “*Toledot Mahleket ha-Yeladim shel Beit ha-Holim “Rotshild” be-Haifa, 1929–1957*” [The History of the Children’s Department of the Rothschild Hospital in Haifa, 1929–1957], *Korot* 10 (5753–5754 [1993–1994]): 22.
23. Greenberg and Herzog, *Terumatah*, pp. 18–27; H. Thon, “*Likrat Ve’idat Vitzo ha-Ba’a*” [Towards the Coming WIZO Convention], *Ha-Ishah* 2 [second year] (5687 [1927]): 6–8; “*Ha-Massa*.”
24. The “Plunkett System” espoused three principles: (1) propaganda for breastfeeding of infants; (2) enriching infants’ nutrition with dairy cream; (3) massaging the breasts to obtain a richer milk supply. The Hadassah doctors opposed this system, claiming that it did not fit the climate and nature of the country. According to the Hadassah, most of the mothers in Eretz Israel nursed their babies and did not need “propaganda for nursing,” and in the long summer months, infants should not be given food rich in fat. The Hadassah physicians also considered massaging the breasts important, whenever it was necessary, but they vehemently protested against this treatment being carried out by the nurses, arguing that this was an invasion into the area of medical treatment. Dr. Benno Gruenfelder, chief physician for childrens diseases for Hadassah in Eretz Israel, to the Hadassah Medical Organization for Dr. Yassky, 27 April 1930, CZA, J113/1405.
25. German-born Dr. Theodor Zlocisti studied medicine in Berlin. He

headed the German Red Cross delegation to Turkey during World War I. In 1921, he immigrated to Eretz Israel and directed the Tipat Halav centers and the WIZO's children's home. In addition to his medical activity, he wrote volumes of poetry.

26. Greenberg and Herzog, *Terumatah*, p. 35.

27. T. Ladizinsky [Chairman of the Department of Child Welfare in 1946–1951], *Yedi'ot Vizo be-Yisra'el* [Bulletin of WIZO in Israel] 37 (August 1951): 28.

28. H. Palti, “*Hashlakhot al Sheirutei Beri'ut Meni'atiyyim la-Em ve-la-Yeled — 'Hok Bittu'ah Beri'ut Mamlakhti*” [‘The National Health Insurance Law — Ramifications for the Preventive Health Services for Mother and Child’], *Bitahon Sozi'ali* 47 (1997): 81.

*Establishment of a Nursing School in Jerusalem by the American Zionist Medical Unit, 1918 (pages 193–201)*

1. E. Rubinstein, “*Ha-Yishuv ke-Ma'arekhet Otonomit: Hinukh Beri'ut u-Mishpat*” [The Yishuv as an Autonomous System: Education, Health, and Law], in *Ha-Yishuv bi-Ymei ha-Bayit ha-Le'ummi* [The Yishuv during the Period of the National Home], ed. B. Eliav (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 223–26; J. Reuveny, *Mimshal ha-Mandat be-Eretz Israel 1920–1948* [The Administration of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920–1948] (Ramat Gan, 1993), pp. 178–91; D. Niederland, “*Hashpa'at ha-Rofe'im ha-Olim mi-Germanyah al hitpatehut ha-Refu'ah be-Eretz Yisrael, 1933–1948*” [Influence of German-Jewish Immigrant Doctors on Medicine in Eretz-Israel, 1933–1948], *Cathedra* 30 (1983): 111–60; S. Shvarts, *Kuppat ha-Holim ha-Kellalit 1911–1937* [Kupat Holim Haclalit, The General Health Fund, 1911–1937] (Beersheba, 1997) (hereafter cited as Shvarts, *Kuppat*); B. Hurwich, “*Kol ha-Am Hazit: Ha-Sherut ha-Refu'i ha-Tzeva'i be-Eretz Yisrael, 1911–1947*” [“We Are All on the Front Line”: Military Medicine in Israel, 1911–1947] (Tel Aviv, 1997); N. Levy, *Perakim be-Toledot ha-Refu'ah be-Eretz Yisra'el 1799–1948* [The History of Medicine in the Holy Land: 1799–1948] (Haifa, 1998).

2. L. Zwanger, “Preparation of Graduate Nurses in Israel, 1918–1965” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1968) (hereafter cited as Zwanger, “Preparation”); R. Adams-Stockler, “Development of Public Health Nursing Practice as Related to the Health Needs of the Jewish Population in Palestine, 1913–1948” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975) (hereafter cited as Adams-Stockler, “Development”); D. Weiss, “*Ha-Sie'ud ke-Helek mi-Sherutei ha-Beri'ut ha-Yehudiyim bi-Keravot Yeurshalayim bi-Tekufat Milhemet ha-Atzma'ut*” [Nursing as Part of Jewish Health Services around Jerusalem during the War of Independence 1947–1949] (Master's thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1993); D. Weiss, “Nursing's Role in Jewish Health Services in the Mauritius, Aden, Cyprus and

Atlit Refugee Camps, 1940–1948” (Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 2002); R. Adams-Stockler and R. Sharon, eds. *Tziyyunel Derekh be-Si’ud: Kovetz Mehkarim Historiyyim be-Se’ud she-Nikhtevu be-Yisrael* [Landmarks in Nursing: Historical Research Studies in Nursing Written in Israel] (Tel Aviv, 1996).

3. For example, J. Ben-David, “*Ha-Mivneh ha-Hevratit shel ha-Miktzo’ot ha-Hofshiyim be-Yisra’el*” [The Social Structure of the Free Professions in Israel] (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1956); D. H. Miller, “A History of Hadassah 1912–1935” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1968); M. Levin, *Balm in Gilead: The Story of Hadassah* (New York, 1974); A. Gal, “*Medinat Yisra’el ha-Ide’alit be-Einei ‘Hadassah’*” [The Ideal Israel in the Eyes of “Hadassah,” 1945–1955], *Yahadut Zemanenu* 4 (1988): 157–70 (hereafter cited as Gal, “Ideal”); M. Katzburg-Yungman, “*‘Hadassah’ — Asiyyah ve-Ide’ologyah, 1948–1956*” [“Hadassah” — Action and Ideology, 1948–1956] (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997) (hereafter cited as Katzburg-Yungman, “Hadassah”); J. Dash, *Summoned to Jerusalem: The Life of Henrietta Szold* (New York, 1979).

4. B. Melosh, *The Physician’s Hand: Work Culture and Conflict in American Nursing* (Philadelphia, 1982); M. Reverby, *Ordered to Care: The Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); P. A. Kalisch and B. J. Kalisch, *The Advance of American Nursing* (Philadelphia, 1995); See Zwanger, “Preparation,” and Adams-Stockler, “Development.”

5. Archives of the Hadassah Medical Organization J113, Central Zionist Archives (CZA), Jerusalem. The school archives, now located in the CZA as section number J117 (hereafter Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah), has been catalogued and is currently accessible to researchers; when the current study was written, however, the material had not yet been handed over to the CZA for cataloguing, so this article does not contain precise references to its documents.

6. B. Melman, “*Min ha-Shulayyim el ha-Historiyyah shel ha-Yishuv: Migdar ve-Eretz Yisra’eliyyut* [From the Periphery to the Center of History: Gender and National Identity in the Yishuv (1890–1920)], *Zion* 62, no. 3 (1997): 243–78. The profession is defined by means of criteria, as for example by E. Freidson, *Professionalism Reborn: Theory, Prophecy, and Policy* (Chicago, 1994).

7. The nursing school was founded by the American Zionist Medical Unit organized by the Women’s Zionist Organization of America as part of its health services’ project, beginning in 1918. The name of the unit was changed in 1921 to “Hadassah Medical Organization.” For the sake of brevity, the nursing school and the activity of the “Unit” are referred to in this article by the name “Hadassah” also for the years 1918 to 1921.

8. Y. Ben-Artzi, “*Bein ha-Ikkarim la-Po’alim: Ha-Ishah be-Reishit ha-Hityashvut be-Erez Yisra’el (1882–1912)*” [Between Farmers and Laborers: The Woman at the Beginning of Settlement in Eretz Israel (1882–1912)], in *Eshnav*

*le-Hayyehen shel Nashim be-Hevrot Yehuddiyot: Kovez Mehkarim Bein-Tehumi* [A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies: A Collection of Interdisciplinary Studies], ed. Y. Azmon, pp. 309–24 (Jerusalem, 1996).

9. B. C. Kutscher, “The Early Years of Hadassah, 1912–1921” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1976), pp. 41–42; E. W. Slaff, “Palestine Nurses’ School, Marks Twentieth Anniversary, 1938,” pp. 1–5, in the Archives of Hadassah New York, Hadassah Medical Organization section, Series 2, box 45, file 2; M. M. Shilo, “*Havvat ha-Po’alot be-Kinneret, 1911–1917, ke-Pitron le-Be’ayat ha-Po’alot ba-Aliyyah ha-Sheniyyah*” [The Women’s Agricultural Training Farm at Kinneret, 1911–1917], *Cathedra* 14 (January 1980): 81–112, esp. p. 92; R. Elboim-Dror, *Ha-Hinukh ha-Ivri be-Erez Yisra’el, 1914–1920* [Hebrew Education in Eretz Israel, 1914–1920], vol. 2, pp. 61–84 (Jerusalem, 1990); S. Sitton, “*Bein Feminizm la-Ziyyonut: Ma’avakan shel ha-Gannanot ha-Ivriyot le-Hakkara Mikzo’it*” [Between Feminism and Zionism: The Hebrew-Language Kindergarten Teachers’ Struggle for Professional Recognition], *Zemanim* 61 (1997/8): 26–37, esp. p. 34.

10. S. L. Cantor, “A Nursing School in Palestine,” *American Journal of Nursing* 40, no. 8 (1940): 880–84; the extract is from page 882.

11. H. Kagan, *Reishit Darki bi-Yrushalayim* [My First Steps in Jerusalem] (Tel Yitzhak, 1983), p. 53.

12. Gal, “The Ideal,” p. 159.

13. M. Wasserman, “Henrietta Szold: American Progressivism, Zionism, and Modern Public Health,” in *Health and Disease in the Holy Land*, ed. M. Wasserman and S. S. Kottke (Lewiston, 1996), pp. 263–99, esp. 267–73 (hereafter cited as Wasserman, “Henrietta”); M. Brown, *The Israeli-American Connection: Its Roots in the Yishuv 1914–45* (Detroit, 1996), esp. p. 134.

14. Wasserman, “Henrietta,” p. 272.

15. Katzburg-Yungman, “Hadassah,” pp. 57–61.

16. A. Seligsberg, “A Modern Training School for Nurses in Jerusalem,” *American Journal of Nursing* 21 (July 1921): 721–23; the extract is from page 722.

17. Wasserman, “Henrietta,” p. 293.

18. The English term “profession” was translated at the beginning of the twentieth century by the Hebrew term “profesia” even though this translation was likely to change the meaning of the concept to some extent.

19. “*Ne’um ha-Geveret Sold*” [Miss Szold’s Speech], *Do’ar ha-Yom*, 9 December 1921, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah.

20. Bertha Landsman was one of the founders of the field of community nursing in the early 1920s in Eretz Israel.

21. A. Kaplan, “The First Nine Years . . .,” *Hadassah News Letter*, April 1938, pp. 127–29, 138.

22. The school committee, 24 December 1920, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah.

23. Shvarts, *Kuppat*, p. 117.
24. Hadassah Schedrovitzky-Sapir, "Hadassah Nursing School, Its Founding and Years 1918–1932," documents I received from Ms. Judith Steiner-Freud.
25. One must keep in mind that in its early years, the Hebrew University was a research institute and not an instructional institution, a situation that constituted another delaying factor in the process of academization of nursing.
26. Correspondence between Kaplan and Szold and the Hadassah women in New York at the beginning of the 1920s, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah; A. C. Maxwell and A. E. Pope, *Practical Points in Nursing* (New York-London; the date of the edition is not indicated but the reference was apparently to the third edition, 1914).
27. Letter from Bertha Landsman to Dr. J. E. Robbons, American Women's Hospital in Athens, 2 December 1928, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah.
28. Slaff, "Palestine Nurses' School."
29. K. Buhler-Wilkerson, "False Dawn: The Rise and Decline of Public Health Nursing, 1900–1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1984), p. 111.
30. K. Buhler-Wilkerson, "The Call to the Nurse, 1893–1943," in *Healing at Home: Visiting Nurses Service of New York 1893–1933*, ed. E. P. Denker, pp. 8–15 (New York, 1993); Adams-Stockler, "Development," pp. 34–35, on "Henry Street Settlement."
31. M. Waserman, "For Mother and Child: Hadassah in the Holy Land, 1913 through 1993," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* (Winter 1993): 251–74, esp. 255–56; E. R. Benson, "Public Health Nursing and the Jewish Contribution," *Public Health Nursing* 10, no. 1 (1993): 55–57, esp. 56.
32. C. A. Estabrooks, "Lavinia Lloyd Dock, The Henry Street Years," *Nursing History Review* 3 (1995): 143–72.
33. Letter from Bertha Landsman to Dr. A. Salkind, acting director of Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, 16 September 1925, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah.
34. P. D. Nuttall, "Nursing in England and Wales," *The Canadian Nurse* 62, no. 4 (April 1966): 32–36; S. Murphy, "The United Kingdom," in *Nursing—The European Dimension*, ed. D. S. Quinn and S. Russel (Middlesex, England, 1994), pp. 211–33, esp. p. 231.
35. P. D. Nuttall, "Nursing Education in Britain Today," *International Nursing Review* 12, no. 6 (November/December, 1965): 6–12.
36. A. W. Money (Major General Chief Administrator), Occupied Enemy Territory, *Public Notice, Public Health Regulation*, 16 May 1918, reprinted 12 January 1922, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah.
37. Department of Health, Government of Palestine, *Regulations Govern-*

ing the Training of Nurses in Palestine, 26 February 1923, Jerusalem, Circular No. 127, Archives of the Nursing School of Hadassah.

38. Zwanger, "Preparation," pp. 56–64.

*"They Have Wings But No Strength to Fly" (pages 202–216)*

1. Class is defined by men as they experience their history, and ultimately this is its only definition, claimed Thompson, a researcher of the English working class, while completely ignoring the issue of gender. E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York, 1966), p. 11. The cry to grant women a separate research category was heard more than a decade ago in historiography devoted to study of the labor movements. Take, for example, Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), pp. 53–67.

2. Ada Fishman carried the banner of protest when she objected to the meager representation of women at the founding conference. Even those women attending were guests at the convention and not delegates on behalf of women workers. She demanded that women should have direct representation, threatening an "election war" if her request was not met. "*Milhemet Behirot' Im Mevukashah lo Yinaten*" ["War of the Elections" — If She Doesn't Get What She Wants] (Events at the founding convention of the Histadrut), *Asufot* 1, no. 14 (December 1974): 60–61.

3. Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot was elected at the general women workers' convention, officially held every four years. In reality, the council served for much longer periods. Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot elected the secretariat, the executive arm of the movement apparatus; the number of secretariat members changed over the years. In the 1920s, the women elected representatives from the two large parties in the Histadrut, Ahdut ha-Avodah and Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir, according to a method called "the pairing system." After the Third Women Workers' Convention (1926), it was decided to set up another limited body that was called the "Active Secretariat" on which served two members, one from each party. The Active Secretariat was the most important executive body of the women workers' movement apparatus. For further information, see Bat-Sheva Margalit-Stern, "*Tenu'at ha-Po'alot be-Eretz Yisra'el: Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot 1921–1939*" [The Women Workers' Movement in Eretz Israel: Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot 1921–1939] (Ph.D. diss., University of Haifa, 1997), pp. 45–60 (hereafter cited as Margalit-Stern, "*Tenu'at ha-Po'alot*").

4. On the establishment of Mapai and its becoming the leading power in the *Yishuv*, see Y. Goldstein, *Be-Derekh le-Hegemonyyyah — Mapai, Hitgabeshut Medinyyyutah* [On the Way to Hegemony — Mapai, the Crystallization of its Policy (1930–1936)] (Tel Aviv, 1980), p. 18; idem, *Miflegat Po'alei*



*Eretz Yisra'el—Ha-Gormim le-Hakamatah* [Miffliget Po'alei Eretz Yisra'el—The Factors Behind Its Establishment] (Tel Aviv, 1975), chapters 1–2; A. Shapira, *Halikhah al Kav ha-Ofek* (Walking on the Horizon) (Tel Aviv, 1989), pp. 355–72.

5. These changes occurred in various labor movement institutions and organizations and were not specific to the working women. Thus, Gedud ha-Avodah was abolished, the communists were expelled from the Histadrut, and so on. Of course, one should not automatically apply these trends to the changes of the women workers' institutions that we will consider in the continuation of this article. See, for example, Elkanah Margalit, *Anatomyiyah shel Semol: Po'ale Tziyyon Semol be-Eretz Yisra'el 1919–1946* [Anatomy of the Left: Po'alei Zion Left in Eretz Israel 1919–1946] (Jerusalem, 1976), pp. 95–119; Shemuel Dotan, “*Reishito shel Komunizm Le'ummi Yehudi be-Eretz Yisra'el*” [The Beginning of National Jewish Communism in Eretz Israel], *Hazonut 2* (1971): 208–36.

6. She later changed her surname to Maimon, together with her brother Rabbi Maimon. A member of the Second Aliyah, Maimon was one of the forceful figures in the women workers' movement. She held a number of pivotal functions at the top of the Histadrut. In 1921, she became a member of the Aliyah Center, from which she resigned over internal conflicts in 1925. In 1930, she was elected to serve on the Histadrut's Va'ad ha-Po'el (executive council); she resigned three years later, claiming that she would not relinquish freedom of thought. Toward the end of the 1930s, she was a member of the Histadrut Council, belonged to the Va'ad ha-Po'el's Guarding Committee, and held other positions. She was one of the initiators of connections between Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot and WIZO and succeeded in implementing them in the early 1930s. In 1931, she was even elected to WIZO's Executive. With the formation of Mapai, she also became active in the party. In 1934, she took over management of the women workers' farm at Ayanot, the last large women workers' farm to be established. At the same time, she continued to serve in central positions in the women workers' movement apparatus. Upon the establishment of the state, she became a Knesset member representing Mapai. Her book, *Hamishim Shenot Tenu'at ha-Po'alot* [Fifty Years of the Women Workers' Movement], which first appeared in the 1930s, was the first of its kind devoted to the topic and stirred controversy in the movement apparatus.

7. On the attitudes of the various parties in the Histadrut, see J. Gorni, *Ahdut ha-Avodah 1919–1930: Ha-Yesodot ha-Ra'ayoniyyim ve-ha-Shitah ha-Meditit* [Ahdut ha-Avodah 1919–1930: The Ideological Foundations and the Political System] (Tel Aviv, 1973), pp. 209–61; Z. Tzahor, “*Ahdut ha-Avodah' and 'Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir'—Dinamika shel Kera* [‘Ahdut ha-Avodah’ and ‘Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir’—Dynamics of Rift], in *Me'asef le-Heker Tenu'at ha-Avodah ha-Tziyyonit ve-ha-Sotzi'alizm 10* (1978): 81–96; idem, *Ba-Derekh le-Hanhatgat*

*ha-Yishuv—Ha-Histadrut be-Reishitah* [On the Way to Leadership of the Yishuv—The Early Histadrut] (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 78. On the women workers' movement, see D. Izraeli, "Tenu'at ha-Po'alot be-Eretz Yisra'el ad 1927" [The Women Workers' Movement in Eretz Israel until 1927], *Cathedra* 32 (Tammuz 5744 [1984]): 109–40 (hereafter cited as Izraeli, "Tenu'at").

8. The dissolution of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot came from repeated squabbles in the executive between member of Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir and members of Ahdut ha-Avodah over the members' representation in delegations to Zionist organizations abroad. Ada Fishman, as noted, represented Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot in its WIZO links, while Rahel Yanait Ben-Zvi made the connection with the "Women's League for the Halutza in Eretz Israel." The "Women's League," founded by the Po'alei Zion Party in America, was affiliated with Ahdut ha-Avoda. As a result of the resignation, the Va'ad ha-Poel appointed a temporary Women Workers' Committee on its behalf that functioned until the Third General Women Workers' Convention held about a year and a half later, in April 1926. Margalit-Stern, "Tenu'at ha-Po'alot."

9. There is evidence of this from other sources; for example, Berl Katznelson in his letter to Lily Tzedek in the book by A. Shapira, *Berl* (Tel Aviv, 1980), 2: 705–706 n (in Hebrew); also the testimony of Golda Meir in the article by M. Gilboa, "Prolog: Tze'adim Rishonim" [Prologue: First Steps, in *Golda—Tzemihatah shel Manhigah* [Golda—The Growth of a Leader (1921–1956)], ed. M. Avizohar et al. (Tel Aviv, 1994), p. 32. In her autobiography, too, Golda Meir did not make any mention of her activity on Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot in this period. *Golda Meir, My Life* (Tel Aviv, 1975), pp. 70–71.

10. Meir, *My Life*, p. 87. David Remez's diaries from this period, full of all kinds of slips of paper with notes on them, do not have the slightest mention of this; Labor Archive, IV 104-13-14, IV-20-113-104, and others. Even in the minutes of the meetings of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat in the period under discussion, this subject is not noted.

11. Golda Myerson was paired with Elisheva Kaplan (later Eshkol) from Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir; they served together on the Secretariat of Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot.

12. Chana Chizik, a member of Ahdut ha-Avodah and of Mapai from its founding, directed the women laborers' farm in north Tel Aviv and was active in different institutions of the women workers' movement, such as the Working Mothers Organization in Tel Aviv, and in the Histadrut. Leah Maron immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1909 after training herself as a seamstress; she moved to Galilee and worked on the Migdal farm on the Kinneret shore, at Sejera, and at Kinneret. She was active in the women workers' movement from its outset. In 1919, she joined Berl Katznelson in Jaffa and she stayed there on and off from 1919 to 1921. After she left Kinneret, she moved for a time to Ein Harod. In 1922, she took part in the establishment of the women workers' farm in the

Borochov neighborhood, and from that time on she lived in Tel Aviv. In the 1930s, she drew away from activity in the main institutions of the women workers' movement, apparently owing to family circumstances. Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi (1886–1979) immigrated to Eretz Israel in 1908 and was one of the first women in the women workers' movement. In the 1920s, she was a central active figure in the movement institutions while at the same time directing the women workers' plant nursery in Jerusalem. In addition to her functions in the women workers' movement, she held central positions in the Histadrut, she was party to the establishment of the Haganah, was sent on many missions abroad, on which she helped found the Women's League in America, and more.

13. Golda Myerson actually served from January 1928 to January 1929; then the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot's expanded secretariat elected Chana Chizik of Ahdut ha-Avodah and Zipporah Bat Ami from Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir to the Active Secretariat. In September 1929, upon her return from America, Golda was elected to serve on the Active Secretariat until her resignation, a total of five months. Golda Myerson went on to serve from time to time on the expanded secretariat of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot, on Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot, and even in the Working Mothers Organization; see evidence of that from various official letters, for example, Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot to the Jewish Agency, 10 February 1938, Labor Archive, IV-230-6-38b.

14. Between 1928 and 1930, the subject came up for discussion at six meetings of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat and once at the Histadrut Council—a uncommonly high concentration for discussion of issues related to women in the Histadrut (on the dates 10 September 1928; 20 September 1928; 3 June 1929; 11 October 1929; 18 November 1929; 16 December 1929). Labor Archive, Minutes Books of meetings of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat.

15. The Pioneer Women's Organization was established in 1926 by women of Po'alei Zion in America, the mother party of Ahdut ha-Avodah. The organization's aim was to assist *halutzot* in Eretz Israel, mainly through financial support of the Histadrut and the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot.

16. Ada Fishman declared her opposition at meetings of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat on 18 June 1928 and 20 September 1928, Labor Archives, Minutes Book, 1928. At the meeting of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat in September 1928, it was decided in favor of Golda Myerson making the trip by herself.

17. The ongoing conflict was nurtured by the undecided battle between members of Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir (Ada Fishman and her supporters) and members of Ahdut ha-Avodah (mainly Golda Myerson). Intervention by the Va'ad ha-Po'el, dominated by Ahdut ha-Avodah, exacerbated the situation. There were many manifestations of this main issue; among the most prominent were the appointment of Golda Myerson to the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat; her going abroad to reinforce the connection between her party and Pioneer

Women, and the dispute over the links between Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot and WIZO. See Margalit-Stern, "*Tenu'at ha-Po'alot*," pp. 95–98.

18. The tense relations in the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat were clear and obvious to the Va'ad ha-Po'el. Elisheva Kaplan, a member of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat, brought a short version of the chain of events to the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat. Ben-Gurion was furious over the threat of a "putsch" by Ada Fishman's supporters and called it: "a criminal act in the Histadrut." Ada Fishman was not fazed and audaciously answered: "No one should think me less Histadrut-oriented than you, and I will do it if the Va'ad ha-Po'el does not come to a decision"; statements at the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat meeting, 16 December 1929, Labor Archive, Minutes Book of the Va'ad ha-Po'el secretariat meetings, 1929.

19. Meeting of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat, 9 January 1930, Labor Archive, IV-230-5-17.

20. In that period, Golda already was separated from her husband and the responsibility for childrearing fell on her. See statements to this effect: Ben-Gurion, March 1930, Labor Archive, IV-208-1-174.

21. *Ben-Gurion Diary*, 25 March (no year given), Labor Archive, IV-208-1-174.

22. As was mentioned above, one of these challenges had been the picking of the people for the delegation to America in 1928. Ada Fishman and her supporters were against this mission, which they considered political and not a general Histadrut mission, since Pioneer Women in America was under the auspices of Po'alei Zion, the mother party of Ahdut ha-Avodah. Ada Fishman argued that just as they had added Golda Myerson to her trip to the WIZO convention a few months earlier, the Va'ad ha-Po'el should apply the same standard to Golda's trip to America and have a member of Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir accompany Golda. The Va'ad ha-Po'el rejected the suggestion, claiming that the strained relations of Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot might adversely affect the Pioneer Women in America. So Golda went by herself on the mission, which would yield nice economic rewards for her party in the Histadrut; see the record of the meetings of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat, 20 September 1928 and 5 November 1928. Labor Archive, the Minutes Book of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat meetings.

23. Among these steps, one may list the establishment of the last large women's farm at Ayanot in 1932, and the signing of the contract with WIZO in summer 1931. Setting up the contract with WIZO was especially important, since it paved the way for a central element outside the labor movement to fashion the aims and directions of work within it.

24. Beba Idelson is an outstanding example of this. She began her career with local activity in Petah Tikva and afterwards, in the early 1930s, on the Women's Workers Committee in Tel Aviv. In 1933, she was elected to the

Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat and served for many years with no turnover. See Izraeli, "Tenu'at."

25. On the meager reference to women workers' issues at the beginning of pioneering settlement, see S. Shmueli, "Mamashi" ("Real"), I, no. 4 (1911); B-S. Stern, "Hinukh Nashim bi-Tenu'at ha-Po'a lot ha-Eretz Yisra'elit: Bein Masoret le-Kidmah" [Women's Education in the Eretz Israel Women's Labor Movement: Between Tradition and Progress], in *Hinukh ve-Historia: Heksherim Tarbutiyim u-Politiyyim*, ed. E. Etkes and R. Feldhay, pp. 391–404 (Jerusalem, 1999).

26. For a similar debate, also see C. A. Hyman, "Labor Organizing and Female Institution-Building: The Chicago Women's Trade Union League, 1904–24," in *Women, Work and Protest*, ed. R. Milkman, pp. 22–41 (London 1985); P. Graves, "An Experiment in Women-Centered Socialism, Labour Women in Britain," in *Women and Socialism, Socialism and Women*, ed. P. Garuber and P. Graves, pp. 180–214 (New York, 1998); Sh. Lewenhak, *Women and Trade Unions: An Outline History of Women in the British Trade Union Movement* (New York, 1977), pp. 221–43; R. M. Jacoby, *The British and American Women's Trade Union Leagues, 1890–1925: A Case-Study of Feminism and Class* (New York, 1994), pp. 1–18.

27. For the elections of the Women Workers' Committees in the cities and *moshavot*, two proposals were made. One recommended that the committees would be elected by the Mo'etzot ha-Po'alim. An imperative condition for the establishment of fitting Women Workers' Committees was incorporating the women workers into the Labor Councils by a number that matched their number in every location. The other suggestion determined that the committees would be chosen by general assemblies of the women workers in a given location. The committees' functions included participating in the distribution of work through the Employment Office, organizing the women members into trade unions, and finding new jobs for the women. Since the issue of the committees' composition had not been fully clarified, it was decided to hand the issue over for decision to the Histadrut's Va'ad ha-Po'el, in conjunction with Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot; see Report of the Third Convention of the General Labor Federation, Va'ad ha-Po'el of the Histadrut, p. 224; minutes of the Third Women Workers' Convention (1926), Labor Archive IV-230-2-3.

28. At the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot session in 1925, the Third Women Workers' Convention in April 1926, the meeting of the Va'ad ha-Po'el Secretariat on 28 November 1926, and the Histadrut Council session in February 1927. At the meeting of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat on 1 January 1927, Fishman again pushed for dealing with this issue.

29. Decisions of the Third Histadrut Convention 1927, Va'ad ha-Po'el of the Histadrut, p. 260.

30. Decisions of the Fourth Session of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot, Labor Archive, IV-230-5-16b.

31. The debate over the issues of the woman worker in the city and the *moshavah*, Fourth Women Workers' Convention, Labor Archive, 230-5-9d-IV, as well as statements made around the time of the convention: Ada Fishman, "On the Fourth Women Workers' Convention," *Davar*, 2 October 1932, p. 9.

32. Statements at the National Council of Ahdut ha-Avodah, 1 July 1926, Labor Archive, IV-404-1-11.

33. Minutes of the meeting of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat and the Mo'etzot ha-Po'alim secretaries, 20 August 1934, Labor Archive, IV-404-1-11.

34. Ziama (Zalman) Aharonowitz (Aranne), later secretary of Mapai and Minister of Education in the government of Israel. A member of the Third Aliyah and one of the leading members of the Histadrut apparatus, in the 1920s he was one of the leading opponents to Yosef Kitzis' control over the Tel Aviv Labor Council. See below, n. 38.

35. Minutes of a meeting of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot Secretariat and Mo'etzot ha-Po'alim secretaries, 20 August 1934, Labor Archive, IV-230-5-24b.

36. The controversies broke out at the Third Women Workers' Convention (1926) and continued at the Fourth Convention (1932) in Tel Aviv, and at the fifteenth session of Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot (December 1932). See, for example, Judith Mazan from Nes Ziona, Labor Archive, IV-230-5-24b.

37. Labor Archive, IV-250-72-1-1980. Pesya Gorelick, from kibbutz Givat ha-Sheloshah, was a member of Ahdut ha-Avodah and demonstrated excessive loyalty to her party's positions. She took part in Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot activity beginning in 1926, and she was a member of the Women Workers' Committee in Tel Aviv. She consistently negated the institutional reservation of positions for women workers in the kibbutzim, too, even though there she held a minority opinion.

38. Lilia Bassewitz (one of the activists on Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot), statements at the Third Women Workers' Convention, Labor Archive, IV-230-2-3. Tzipora Laskov or Penina Sternfeld supported the establishment of separate institutions. See also the 15th session of the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot, above n. 36.

39. So it was that Pesya Gorelick, mentioned previously, omitted the fact that Yosef Kitzis from her own party initiated publication of the letter negating the establishment of local women workers' institutions. Gorelick was certainly aware of Kitzis' motives. These were closely connected to the power struggles within the Mo'etzet ha-Po'alim (the local general workers' council) and to his weak status on the council, and not necessarily from caring for the special interests of the women workers. In that same period, there popped up in the Tel Aviv Labor Council the first opposition to what was called "Kitzis' autocratic rule." This was the backdrop to the development of his fear of the founding of a possibly competitive institution that was liable to chip away at his authority. On Kitzis' standing on the Tel Aviv Workers' Council, see Z. Sternhell, *Binyan*

*Ummah o Tikkun Hevrah* [Building a Nation or Correcting a Society] (Tel Aviv 1995), p. 347 (hereafter cited as Sternhell, *Binyan*).

40. Manya Starkman of the Women Workers Committee in Tel Aviv, Minutes of the Women Workers' Committee meeting, 5 June 1928. Tzipora Baran, also from Tel Aviv, complained about the decrease in the Women Workers' Committee's freedom of action owing to party motives, and see Meeting of the Women Workers' Committee in Tel Aviv, 2 July 1928, Labor Archive, IV-2367-1-72-250b. Women from other parts of the country aired the same kind of opinions.

41. Bat-Sheva Chaikin of Ahdut ha-Avodah pointed out the lack of consensus among the women members of her party; see Bat-Sheva Chaikin at the Fifth Ahdut ha-Avodah Convention, Tel Aviv (Heshvan 5687/1927), p. 162. Also in the rival party, Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir, opinions were not uniform; see, for example, the statements by Tova Yaffe at the meeting of the Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir Secretariat, 24 October 1926, Labor Archive, IV-402-1-24.

42. A clear example of that is Golda Meir's statement in which she expressed her doubts about "feminism . . . that leads to bra burning," and pointed out that she had never encountered any special difficulty on the basis of her sex; see Meir, *My Life*, p. 84. This quotation is used in the title on p. 5 of her book.

43. Statements at the Fourth Women Workers' Convention (1932), such as by Clara Madar, Tzipora Baran, and others, Labor Archive, IV-230-5-9d.

44. According to the data from Tel Aviv, meetings were not held at their appointed times nor as they should be; see, for example, Hanna Lamdan, 18 October 1937, Labor Archive, IV-250-72-1-401; and idem, meeting of the Women Workers' Department in Tel Aviv, 21 May 1938, Labor Archive, IV-250-72-1-2367a.

45. The number of members on the Urban Council for Women Workers was supposed to change according to the size of the group of women in each location. In Tel Aviv, for example, the number of members was supposed to be about one hundred. The principles of operation indicated above were determined in the course of work and changed from time to time. See Beba Idelson in the discussion in Mo'etzet ha-Po'alot about the structure of the council, September 1937, Labor Archive, IV-250-77; idem, "Al ha-Perek — She'elot Irgun" [On the Agenda of the Women's Labor Movement — Questions of Organization], *Davar ha-Po'elet* 5, nos. 7–8 (25 October 1938): 161–63.

46. Complaints of this nature were aired by members of Mo'etzet ha-Po'alim in Tel Aviv. Even the women members did not refrain from criticizing the low level of activity by the female representatives — see statements from a meeting of the Department of Women Workers' in Tel Aviv, 19 November 1938, Labor Archive, IV-230-6-65.

47. A. Dickenstein, a member of the Tel Aviv Mo'etzet ha-Po'alim, clari-

fied the appointment system customary in the women workers' institutions: "The Women Workers Committee was chosen by the Jaffa Workers Council. After it had been operating for a few months, it found it necessary to add another two women: they propose Bluma [Wichotz, an Ahdut ha-Avodah member]," Women Workers' Committee meeting, 2 August 1926. Labor Archive, IV-2367-1-72-250b. Tova Yaffe of Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir opposed this appointment, arguing that Bluma Wichotz was not known by the wider women workers' public. The Mo'etzet ha-Po'alim members did not accept her objections. See *ibid.* and also Sternhell, *Binyan*, pp. 341–66.

*International Struggle, Local Victory (pages 217–228)*

1. H. Trager, *Pioneers in Palestine: Stories of the First Settlers in Petach Tikva* (New York, 1923), p. 71.

2. Since this paper is focused on Jewish women only, the terms Eretz Israel and Palestine are being used here interchangeably.

3. *Jus Suffragii* 4, no. 9 (July 1920).

4. In this article, I use the term "feminism" for the activity on behalf of equal rights for women at the beginning of the twentieth century. Use of this concept in English began at the end of the nineteenth century, and it has become common since the 1970s. On the complexity in the use of feminism as a definition for a group or a single idea, see K. Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," *Signs* 14, no. 1 (1988): 119–57.

5. C. E. Dubois, "Woman Suffrage Around the World: Three Phases of Suffragist Internationalism," in *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. C. Daley and M. Nolan, pp. 252–74 (New York, 1994).

6. Sarah Azaryahu (1873–1962), a teacher and public activist, was involved in issues for the advancement of women and peace, and one of the founders and leaders of the "Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights in Eretz Israel." She was elected to the first Asefat ha-Nivharim (the Representative Assembly) as the representative of the "Progressive Party" and also to the second Asefat ha-Nivharim on the Union's list. S. Azaryahu, "*Hit'ahdut Nashim Ivriyyot le-Shivvui Zekhuyot be-Eretz Yisra'el*" [Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights in Eretz Israel] (Haifa, 1977) (hereafter cited as Azaryahu, *Hit'ahdut*).

7. M. Shilo, "*Havvat ha-Po'alot be-Kinneret, 1911–1977*" [The Women's Agricultural Training Farm at Kinneret, 1911–1917], *Cathedra* 14 (1980): 81–112; D. Izraeli, "*Tenu'at ha-Po'alot be-Eretz Israel mi-Reishitah ve-ad 1927*" [The Socialist Zionist Women's Movement in Eretz Israel 1927], *Cathedra* 32 (1985): 128–30; D. Bernstein, *Ishah be-Eretz Yisra'el* [A Woman in Eretz Israel] (Tel Aviv, 1987).

8. M. Shilo, "*Ha-Ishah — 'Ovedet' o Haverah be-Mifal ha-Tehiyyah? Al*



*Mekomah shel ha-Ishah ba-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [The Woman — ‘Laborer’ or a Member of the Revival Project? On the Place of the Woman in the First Aliyah (1882–1903)], *Yahadut Zemanenu* 9 (1995): 121–47; S. Bijaoui-Fogiel, “*Ha-Omnam be-Derekh le-Shivyon? Ma’avakan shel ha-Nashim li-Zekhut ha-Behirah ba-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz Yisra’el*” [Really on the Way to Equality? The Women’s Battle for the Right to Vote in the Jewish *Yishuv* in Eretz Israel: 1917–1926)], *Megamot* 34, no. 2 (January 1992): 262–84; R. Elboim-Dror, “*Nashim ba-Utopiyyah ha-Tziyyonit*” [Women in the Zionist Utopia], *Cathedra* 66 (1993): 111–43; N. Kahana, “*Hishtattefut Nashim be-Politikah, ha-Mikreh shel ha-Ma’avak al Zekhut Hatzba’ah le-Nashim bi-Tekufat ha-Yishuv 1919–1926*” [Women’s Participation in Politics, the Case of the Struggle for the Women’s Right to Vote in the *Yishuv* Period 1919–1926] (Master’s thesis, Haifa University, 1984).

9. Z. Bozich-Hertzog, “*Ha-Pulmus al Zekhut Behirah le-Nashim le-Mosedot ha-Yishuv be-Reishit Tekufat ha-Mandat*” [The Controversy over Women’s Right to Vote for *Yishuv* Institutions during the Mandate Period] (Master’s thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 1990) (hereafter cited as Bozich-Hertzog, “*Ha-Pulmus*”); H. Herzog, “*Irgunei Nashim be-Hugim Ezrahiyyim — Perek Nishkah be-Historiyyografia shel ha-Yishuv*” [Women’s Organizations in Civilian Circles — a Forgotten Chapter in the Historiography of the *Yishuv*], *Cathedra* 70 (1994): 111–33.

10. In many places in the world, the growth of modern nationalism was connected closely to the place of the woman and the perception of her as part of the underlying myth. K. Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London, 1986).

11. D. S. Bernstein, “Daughters of the Nation,” in *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. J. R. Baskin, pp. 287–311 (Detroit, 1998).

12. A. Maimon, *Hamishim Shenot Tenu’at ha-Po’a lot* [Fifty Years of the Women’s Labor Movement] (Tel Aviv, 1955).

13. M. H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism* (Lexington, Ky., 1999).

14. C. Chapman Catt, “The Holy Land,” *Jus Suffragii* 6, no. 6 (February 1912).

15. M. Fawcett, “A Glimpse of Egypt and a Journey through Palestine,” *Jus Suffragii* 15, no. 6 (June 1921).

16. L. G. Kuzmack, *Women’s Cause: The Jewish Women’s Movement in England and the United States, 1881–1933* (Columbus, Ohio, 1990).

17. R. Abrams, “Jewish Women in the International Woman Suffrage Alliance 1899–1926” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1997).

18. R. Kohut, *My Portion* (New York, 1925).

19. Minutes of the Eretz Israel Council, Central Zionist Archives (CZA), J1/8766.

20. Bozich-Hertzog, “*Ha-Pulmus*,” pp. 100–107.

21. “The International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Report of the Ninth

Congress, Rome, Italy, May 12–19, 1923, submitted by Rosa Welt Straus,” copy in the National Library of Women, London Guildhall University.

22. Azaryahu, *Hit'ahdut*, pp. 52–53.
23. M. Friedman, *Hevrah ve-Dat: Ha-Ortodoksiyyah ha-Lo Tziyyonit be-Eretz Yisra'el 1918–1936* [Society and Religion: The Non-Zionist Orthodoxy in Eretz Israel 1918–1936] (Jerusalem, 1977), p. 148.
24. Bozich-Hertzig, “*Ha-Pulmus*,” pp. 136–65.
25. Azaryahu, *Hit'ahdut*, p. 27.
26. *Ha-Ishah* 2, no. 6 (1928).
27. Sarah Azaryahu Archive, Yad Tabenkin, Ramat Efal, 15/1/7.
28. *Haaretz*, 16 June 1925; *Do'ar ha-Yom*, 16 June 1925.
29. Minutes of the Third Session, CZA, J1/7205.
30. *Hit'ahdut Nashim Ivriyyot le-Shivvui Zekhuyyot be-Eretz Yisra'el*, condensed review (n.d.), Sarah Azaryahu Archive, Yad Tabenkin, 15/3/3.
31. S. Shvarts, “*Histadrut Nashim lema'an Imahot be-Eretz Yisra'el: Pe'ilutan shel 'Hadassah', 'Histadrut Nashim Ivriyyot', u-'Vitzo' le-Hakamat Tahanot Em ve-Yeled be-Eretz Yisra'el be-Shanim 1918–1948*” [A Women's Union for Mothers in Eretz Israel: The Activity of “Hadassah,” “The Women's Zionist Federation,” and “WIZO” for the Establishment of Mother and Child Care Stations in the Years 1918–1948], *Bittahon Sotziali* 51 (March 1998): 57–81.
32. R. Thon, *Ha-Ma'avak le-Shivyon bein ha-Minim: Sippur Hayyeha shel Sara Thon* [The Struggle for Equality of the Sexes: The Life Story of Sarah Thon] (Israel, 1996), Sarah Azaryahu Archive, Yad Tabenkin, Ramat Efal, 15/1/4.
33. Azaryahu, *Hit'ahdut*.
34. Azaryahu, *Pirkei Hayyim* [Biography] (Tel Aviv, 1957), p. 171.
35. *Jus Suffragii* 33, no. 5 (February 1939); for more about this organization and the connection it had with the Union of Hebrew Women owing to Welt Straus's connections, see Azaryahu, *Hit'ahdut*, n. 6.
36. Minutes of the WIZO Founding Convention, 11 July 1920, CZA, F49/2778.
37. *Ha-Ishah* 3, no. 3 (Jerusalem, 1929).
38. In 1922, the World League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) refused to accept as members a group of Jewish women from Eretz Israel; see also L. J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), p. 59. In 1930, Sarah Azaryahu again applied to the World League, and the group was accepted in 1933. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Collection, Microfilm 78:799.
39. S. Kussey, *Newark Evening News*, 25 January 1923; Hadassah Archives, New York, RG = 4, Box = 2, Folder = 20.
40. J. Antler, *The Journey Home* (New York, 1997).
41. M. Brown, *Henrietta Szold's Progressive American Vision of the Yishuv: Envisioning Israel* (Jerusalem, 1996), p. 61.

42. M. Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914–1933* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); M. Brown, *The Israeli-American Connection: Its Roots in the Yishuv, 1914–1948* (Detroit, 1996).

*Nehama Puhachewsky (pages 231–243)*

1. Although the family spelling of the name is Pohatcevsky, references in English sources are usually to Puhachewsky (Pukhachewsky is also found), so that spelling was retained throughout this article.

2. Yaffa Berlovitz, *Lehamtzi Eretz, Lehamtzi Am: Tashtiyot Sifrut ve-Tarbut bi-Yetzirah shel ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [Inventing a Land, Inventing a People: Literary and Cultural Patterns in the Writings of the First Aliyah] (Tel Aviv, 1996); Nurit Govrin, *Devash mi-Sela* [Honey from a Stone: Studies in Eretz Israel Literature] (Tel Aviv, 1989).

3. Gershon Shaked, *Ha-Sipporet ha-Ivrit 1880–1980* [Hebrew Narrative Fiction 1880–1980], vol. 2: *Ba-Aretz u-ba-Tefutzah* [In the Land of Israel and the Dispersion] (Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, 1983), p. 47.

4. Nehama Puhachewsky, *Bi'adeah* (1913), p. 58. Page numbers in this text refer to a later edition: Yaffa Berlovitz (editor), 1984.

5. Govrin, *Devash mi-Sela*, p. 149.

6. Yaffa Berlovitz, “*Kol ha-Melankholiyyah ke-Kol ha-Meha’ah: Iyyun bi-Yziratah shel Nehama Puhatshevski*” [The Voice of Melancholy as the Voice of Protest: A Study of the Works of Nehama Puhachewsky], in *Eshnav le-Hayyeihen shel Nashim be-Hevrot Yehudiyyot* [A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies], ed. Y. Atzmon, p. 333 (Jerusalem: 1995).

7. *Ibid.*, 328.

8. There is here an irresistible invitation to construct a sexual analogy between Yehudit and the flowers that will not bloom, and between Weinholz and the missing pipes, without which the flowers cannot be watered. The question “Why don’t they have children?” is never answered in the story, despite the centrality of this lack in Weinholz’s existence. Even if the answer may be self-evident—they might be too young, or Yehudit’s illness may keep her from conceiving—the description of the flowers and the absence of the necessary watering pipes invite a reading based on Freudian symbolism, which compares the lack of pipes with a lack of procreating ability on Weinholz’s part.

*The Growing Silence of the Poetess Rachel (pages 244–256)*

1. D. Miron, *Imahot Meyassedot, Ahayot Horgot* [Founding Mothers, Stepsisters] (Tel Aviv, 1991), pp. 160–77.

2. J. Krammer, "The Art of Silence and the Forms of Women's Poetry," in *Shakespeare's Sisters*, ed. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (Bloomington, Ind., 1979), p. 153.

3. Rachel is portrayed as one of the figures representing the Second Aliyah. She put the ideological principles of this Aliyah into practice by joining a communal group and working in agriculture, but in reality the process of her spiritual-artistic crystallization occurred against the backdrop of the Third Aliyah (Meron, *Imahot Meyassedot*, p. 15). Rachel became infused with an intellectual-literary charge in the years of her absence from Eretz Israel, and it was this cultural exposure that filled the depths from which she drew poetically after her return. While studying agronomy in Toulouse, Rachel was exposed to French culture and literature, and later she was influenced by Russian Modernism and its members. B. Hakhlili, *Lakh ve-Alayikh* [To You and About You] (Tel Aviv, 1987), p. 100.

4. The Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin dealt with the link between time and space, and termed this association "chronotope," borrowed from physics. When the chronotype is applied as part of structural analysis of a single textual unit, then it is a means for understanding specific revelations of a combination of time and space in narrative forms, as a compositional element in a literary text. Bakhtin focused on the functioning of the chronotype as an essential part in the genre morphology of the novel in its various types and along its developmental continuum. In the study of historical poetics, the chronotype may serve as a means for understanding the relations between any text and its period. M. Holquist, *Dialogism, Bakhtin and His World* (London, 1990), pp. 109, 110, 113.

5. L. Sela, "Resisim" (Shards), in *Rahel ve-Shiratah* [Rachel and Her Poetry] (Tel Aviv, 1971), p. 64.

6. Ilana Pardes, "Le-Damyen et ha-Eretz ha-Muvtahat" [To Imagine the Promised Land], *Theory and Criticism* 6–7 (1995): 113.

7. Rachel was involved in the publication of her poetry collections and made sure that they looked simple and minimalist—in total contrast to the luxurious printing of recent years. Her first book of poetry was indeed white and small.

8. M. Bakhtin, *Ha-Dibber ba-Roman* [Discourse in the Novel] (Tel Aviv, 1989), p. 134.

9. J. Kammer, "The Art of Silence and the Forms of Women's Poetry," in *Shakespeare's Sisters*, p. 154.

10. Milstein, *Rahel—Shirim*, pp. 325–26.

11. M. Buber, *Moses* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1946), p. 47.

12. R. Kritz, *Al Shirat Rahel* [On Rachel's Poetry] (Tel Aviv, 1987), p. 23.

13. Y. Lichtenbaum, in *Rahel ve-Shiratah* (Tel Aviv, 1971), pp. 240–41.

14. Rachel's drawing on the biblical source charmed readers and was depicted as the linchpin that would stabilize the people's hold on their heritage:

"Rachel . . . lived the Bible. . . . The images and metaphors with which she expressed her spirit are ancient, Hebrew images and metaphors that she saw through the eyes of contemporary Hebrew man. . . . The thread of the generations was not cut off." Habas, *Rahel ve-Shiratah* (Tel Aviv, 1971), 161. Rachel served to reinforce the connection between the people and its land in the period during which her poems were published as well as for years after her death. Simultaneously with the strengthening of the pioneering mythos, stress was placed on the link one feels in her poems to the world of the Patriarchs and the situating of figures from the biblical past in contexts of time and place taken from present reality: "Rachel's life became for her the tragic experience of the fate of Nebo. But now that the poetess has reached her pinnacle, the height of sorrow and suffering, she has extricated herself from them through recourse to the army of old—namely, the Book of books. . . . From the way of the righteous, suffering, tormented forefathers she learned 'to accept the bad as one accepts the good.'" (Y. Tolkes, "*Shiratah shel Rahel*," in *Rahel ve-Shiratah*, p. 119). The feeling was that Rachel's poetry served to renew the connection with the world of the Patriarchs and that this link was capable of providing strength and willingness to the young settlers in their Zionist endeavor." "The nature, labor, and love poems were for us like an internal echo, like turning a tune into the voices of the Judean shepherds from the Song of Songs while they merge with the song of our lives." Z. Katznelson, "*Ve-Yom Yagi'a ve-Hayyinu Mishbatz Zahav*" [The Day Will Come and We Will Be a Setting of Gold], in *Rahel ve-Shiratah*, p. 110.

15. In many poems, Rachel intersperses verses from the Song of Songs and clashes with them ("*Ivriyyia*," [Hebrew Woman], "*Sefatayyim Nitzmadot*," [Tight Lips], "*Goral*" [Fate]). In drafts found after her death, a poem was found that relates to Ecclesiastes.

16. For generations, the topic of barrenness recurring as an echo hovered over Rachel's poetry—her depressed soul had a bit of happiness, a feeling of maternal joy: "If I only had a son, a little boy." This natural desire is heart-wrenching in her spare, modest diction. This very intimate, personal poem, with its hidden strong yearning for a child, for the giving of the fruit of life, becomes, therefore, by virtue of its truth, the heritage of many. A. Broides, "*Bi-Mehitzata*" [In Her Presence], in *Rahel ve-Shiratah*, p. 103).

At the same time, it is interesting to see that few poems deal with the issue of barrenness. The most popular poem (its popularity was assisted by its being set to song numerous times) in this context—"Akarah" [Barren Woman]—is the only one that treats the desire for the experience of motherhood directly and powerfully, from both a personal and pan-feminine aspect ("like the matriarch Rachel," "like Hannah at Shiloh"). Another mention of a maternal stance comes as a question in the poem "*Edna*," and another poem in which the experience of a child reverberates is "*Ve-Lu*" ["And If"].

It seems that the woman in Rachel was identified with stereotypical feminine roles: the abandoned lover who here calls the beloved and the woman who aspires to realize her maternal instincts. These elements are, of course, in her poetry, but the female partner that the speaker constitutes in some of the poems is not exactly the submissive one depicted in the criticism, and her yearning for motherhood gained a resonance that bears no straight relation to the place it occupied in her work. These fixations in Rachel's image as a creative person and in characterizing her emotional world tell us more about the readers than the poetess.

17. Intertextuality is a concept referring to the way a given text is related to a previous (or contemporary) text by the same author.

*Anda Amir's Me-Olam, Demuyot mi-Kedem (pages 257–267)*

1. See Dan Miron, *Immahot Meyassedot, Ahayot Horgot, al Shetei Hathalot be-Shirah ha-Artziyisra'elit* [Founding Mothers, Stepsisters, the Emergence of the First Hebrew Poetesses and Other Essays] (Tel Aviv, 1991), pp. 148–50, 163–71.

2. D. Sadan, "Ishah ve-Hi Meshoreret" [A Woman and She Is a Poet], *Hadoar* 36 (1972): 603–604.

3. I. Yaoz-Kest, "Im Anda Monolog bi-Shnayim" [With Anda a Monologue for Two], in *Anda*, a collection of articles, sketches, and other literary items with a bibliographical appendix, ed. Z. Beilin (Tel Aviv, 1977), pp. 131–36.

4. Following the three-stage process of feminism according to Kristeva. See also J. Kristeva, "Women's Time," in *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. T. Moi (London, 1986), pp. 187–211.

5. B. Y. Michali, "Me-Olam" [From Time Immemorial], *Moznayim* 6 (August–September 1942): 326–27; S. Ridnick, "Pulhan ha-Ishah shel Anda Pinkerfeld" [Anda Pinkerfeld's Ritual of the Woman], *Ha-Hevrah* 54 (September 1944): 768–70; N. Govrin, "Keni'ah zorekh kibbush" [Surrender for Purposes of Conquest] (1972), in *Anda* (note 3), pp. 114–15.

6. S. Shahar, *Ha-Ishah be-Hevrat Yemei ha-Beinayim* [The Fourth Order, a History of Women in the Middle Ages] (Tel Aviv, 1983), p. 246.

7. R. Radhakrishnan, "Nationalism, Gender, and the Narrative of Identity," in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed. A. Parker, M. Russo, D. Sommer, and P. Yaeger (New York and London, 1992), pp. 81–82.

8. A. Pinkerfeld-Amir, "Havah" [Eve], in *Gaddish* (Tel Aviv, 1949), p. 11.

9. D. Hershman, ed., *Elilot Mekomiyot: Me-Elot Kadmoniyot ad La-Nashim Ha-Mythologioth shel Ha-Yom* [Local Goddesses: From Ancient Goddesses to Contemporary Mythological Women] (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 6–33,

36–43; see also studies on this topic, such as T. Frymer Kensky, *In the Wake of Goddesses* (New York, 1992); C. Spretnak, ed., *The Politics of Women's Spirituality* (New York, 1982).

10. Pinkerfeld-Amir, “*Ashtoret*,” in *Gaddish*, pp. 82–83.

11. C. Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* [Hebrew edition] (Tel Aviv, 1995), pp. 9, 44, 34.

12. Pinkerfeld-Amir, “*Eshet Lot*” [Lot's Wife], in *Gaddish*, pp. 17–19.

13. *Ibid.*, “*Ya'el*” [Jael], pp. 53, 54.

14. See discussion on establishing mutuality in the Song of Songs in A. Pardes, “*Ani Homah v-Shadai ke-Migdalot*” [“I Am a Wall, My Breasts Are Like Towers”: Song of Songs and the Question of Canonization], in *Ha-Ber'ah lefi Hava, Gishah Sifrutit Feministit la-Mikra* [Countertraditions in the Bible: A Feminist Approach] (Tel Aviv, 1996), p. 93.

15. Pinkerfeld-Amir, “*Yael*” (Jael), “*Ve-Eleh shirei Hagar ad ha-Yom ha-Zeh*” [And These Are the Poems of Hagar to This Very Day], “*Leah*,” “*Delilah*,” “*Avishag*” (all in Hebrew), in *Gaddish*, pp. 48–55, 24–35, 41–47, 59–68, 69–74.

16. L. Ratok, “*Deyukan ha-Ishah ke-Meshoreret Yisra'elit*” [Portrait of the Woman as an Israeli Poet], *Moznayim*, nos. 2–3 (May–June 1988): 59.

17. H. Hever, “*Shirat ha-Guf ha-Le'ummi: Nashim Meshorerot be-Milhemet ha-Shihur*” [Poetry of the National Body: Female Poets in the War of Independence], *Theory and Criticism* 7 (1995): 99–123.

18. J. Olney, *Metaphors of Self* (New Jersey, 1981), pp. 2–50; A. Pinkerfeld-Amir, “*Anahnu ha-Nashim Holkhot ba-Olam*” [We the Women Go Forth in the World], and “*Anahnu ha-Galmudot la-Ad*” [We Who Are Lonely Forever], *Yuval* (1932), pp. 81 and 83.

19. I. Even-Zohar, “*Ha-Tzemihah ve-ha-Hitgabeshut shel Tarbut Ivrit Mekomit ve-Yelidit be-Eretz Yisra'el*” [The Emergence and Crystallization of Local and Native Hebrew Culture in Eretz-Israel], *Cathedra* 17 (July 1980): 165–89; Y. Berlovitz, “*Hatza'ot le-Antropologiyah Tziyyonit*” [Suggestions for Zionist Anthropology], in *Le-Hamtzi Eretz le-Hamtzi Am, Tashtiyyot Tarbut ve-Sifrut ba-Yetzirah shel ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [Inventing a Land, Inventing a People: Cultural and Literary Substructures in the Writings of the Aliyah Rishonah] (Tel Aviv, 1996), pp. 15–46; hereafter cited as *Le-Hamtzi*.

20. B. Even Zohar, “*Tzemihat ha-Degem ha-Sifrutit shel 'Ha-Ivri he-Hadash' be-Sifrut Ivrit 1880–1930*” [The Emergence of the Model of “The New Hebrew” in Modern Hebrew Literature 1880–1930] (Master's thesis, Tel Aviv University, 1988), pp. 103–104.

21. Y. Berlovitz, “*Higi'a Sha'ateinu' – Zehut Nashit, Ketiva Nashit*” [“Our Time Has Come” – Feminine Identity, Feminine Writing], in Berlovitz, *Le-Hamtzi*, n. 18, pp. 47–49; N. Puhachewsky, “*Od al Devar She'elot ha-Banot*” [More about the Girls' Questions], *Ha-Melitz*, no. 21 (23 January 1889): 2–3; H. Trager, “*Zekhut Behirah la-Nashim*” [Votes for Women], in *Sippurei*

*Nashim Benot ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah* [Women's Stories: Members of the First Aliyah], ed. Y. Berlovitz (Tel Aviv, 1984), pp. 132–35; H. Ben-Yehuda, “*Higi'a Sha'ateinu*” [Our Time Has Come], *Do'Ar ha-Yom*, no. 2 (30 September 1919): 2.

22. D. S. Bernstein, ed., *Pioneers and Homemakers, Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel* (New York, 1992).

23. Y. Berlovitz, “*Sifrut ha-Nashim bi-Tkufat ha-Yishuv: Re'organizaziyyah shel Tarbut Muderet*” [Women's Literature in the Yishuv Period: Reorganization of Excluded Culture], in *Harimi be-Ko'ah Kolekh, al Kolot Nashiyyim u-Parshanut Feministit be-Limmudei ha-Yahadut* [Lift Up Your Voice: Women's Voices and Feminist Interpretation in Jewish Studies], ed. R. Levin Melammed (Tel Aviv, 2001), pp. 97–121, 197–99.

#### Poems to the Ghetto (pages 268–276)

1. Dan Miron, “*Kanfot ha-Artetz (He'arot le-Shirat Yocheved Bat-Miryam)*” [Corners of the Earth (Comments on the Poetry of Yocheved Bat-Miriam)], *Gazit* 16, nos. 7–8, 187–88 (1958–1959): 14–17 (hereafter cited as Miron, “*Kanfot*”); R. Kartun-Blum, *Ba-Merhak ha-Ne'elam: Iyyunim be-Shiratah shel Yocheved Bat-Miryam* [In the Hidden Distance: Studies on the Poetry of Yocheved Bat-Miriam] (Ramat Gan, 1977), pp. 33–38, 47–70.

2. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991).

3. Dina Porath, *Hanhagah be-Milkud* [Leadership in a Trap] (Tel Aviv, 1987), pp. 59–100.

4. Hannan Hever, *Pitom Mar'eh ba-Milhamah* [Suddenly, the Sight of War: Nationalism and Violence in Hebrew Poetry of the 1940s] (Tel Aviv, 2001), pp. 64–113.

5. Bat-Miryam, 1943 — *Shirim la-Geto*, p. 15.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

7. Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, tr. John Osborne (London, 1977), p. 166.

8. Dan Miron has indicated the images illustrating the experience of taking off that stand at the center of Bat-Miryam's poetry: “The most legitimate picture, that permeates into every section of the poem with the power of this experience, is the image of the wing, which is obviously both an expression for taking off as well as for falling . . . a comprehensive examination of Bat-Miryam's poems shows, in reality, that the image of the wing serves here as a basic tool for capturing the experience of the landscape wherever it may be.” Yet, in his statements about *Shirim la-Geto* he points out that in them, too, one can discern “that same permanent stance of distance between “I” and “you” (f.) or “you” (m.), but this time under discussion is “my generation,” or more precisely the Jewish ghetto . . . we are again dealing with a poem of the path,



of walking, and of persecution.” Miron, “*Kanfot*,” p. 16. Miron indicates the blurring of the dividing line between (historical) time and (geographic) space and states “that the space through which this path passes is not the geographical space but historical space (‘above us will pass the strength of vision and flow to the *wing of the generations* that is turning blue’).” But with that Miron subjugated space to historical time while stressing Bat-Miryam’s national commitment and suppressing the undermining and plundering of the national order that enables the reverse process — the displacement of the representations of time to representations of space.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 7.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
12. Yitzhak Tabenkin, “*Be-Yom Mifkad*” [On the Day of Assembly], *Mi-Bifnim* 9, no. 2 (June 1943): 227–28.
13. Bat-Miriam, 1943 — *Shirim la-Geto*, p. 29.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
22. R. Radhakrishnan, “Nationalism, Gender and the Narrative of Identity,” *Diasporic Mediation, Between Home and Location* (Minneapolis & London, 1996), pp. 185–202.

#### *Women and Music in Jewish Society (pages 277–282)*

1. The role of women in creative popular music in Israel is significant. Notable, for example, are the contributions by Bracha Zefira, Shoshana Damari, Naomi Shemer, and Zipi Fleischer. A discussion on their unique contribution is beyond the scope of the present study.

2. Many researchers have addressed the characteristics of the developing Israeli society. One of the leading scholars in this area since the 1950s has been S. N. Eisenstadt; see, for example, his book *He’arot le-Ba’ayat ha-Hemshekhuyut shel ha-Defusim ha-Historiyim ha-Yehudiyim ba-Hevrah ha-Yehudit* [On the Problem of Continuity of Jewish Historical Patterns in Jewish Society] (Jerusalem, 1977), pp. 156–58; another book is his *Edot be-Yisr’ael u-Mikuman ha-Hevratit* [Communities in Israel and Their Social Role] (Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 21–24. See also D. Silvera, *Tzomet Mizrah u-Ma’arav* [East and West] (Tel Aviv, 1989), p. 135.

3. Y. Atzmon, ed., *Eshnav le-Hayyehen shel Nashim be-Hevrot Yehudiyot* [A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies] (Jerusalem, 1995), pp. 19–20. On this subject, see also L. Green, *Music, Gender, Education* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), p. 27.

4. M. Shilo, “*Nashim be-Hevrot Yehudiyot — al ha-Sefer Eshnav le-Hayyehen shel Nashim be-Hevrot Yehudiyot*” [Women in Jewish societies — On the Book *A View into the Lives of Women in Jewish Societies*], *Jewish Studies* 36 (1996): 263–66.

5. Studies as early as the 1970s already indicated this change; see, for example, those of A. Abraham and Sh. Tsharni.

6. See also E. Parker, *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York, 1992), p. 7.

7. See, among others, J. Blacking, “Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change,” *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977): 12–14; J. Blacking, “Identifying Processes of Musical Change,” *The World of Music* 28, no. 1 (1986): 5–7; A. P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, Ill., 1964), pp. 32–35; B. Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana, Ill., 1983), pp. 131–46; B. Nettl, “Recent Directions in Ethnomusicology,” in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. H. Myers, pp. 375–79 (New York, 1992).

8. A. Shiloah and E. Cohen, “*Dinamikat ha-Shinui ba-Musikah shel Edot Yisra’el*” [The Dynamics of Change in the Music of the Jewish Communities], *Peamim* 12 (1982): 3–25; A. Shiloah, “*Ha-Shinui ba-Mesorot ha-Musikaliyyot ha-Yehudiyot*” [The Change in the Jewish Musical Traditions], *Duchan* 14 (1996): 24–29; U. Sharvit, “*Ha-Mesorot ha-Musikaliyyot She-Be’al-Peh be-Kerev Kehllot Yisra’el*” [The Oral Musical Traditions of the Jewish Communities], *Peamim* 31 (1987): 132–35; U. Sharvit, “*Al ha-Bitui ha-Musikali shel Yehudei ha-Mizrah ha-Sefardim be-Yisra’el*” [On the Musical Expression of the Eastern Jews in Israel], in *Mahatzit ha-Ummah: Iyyunim be-Tarbut u-ve-Ma’amad shel Yotze’Eretz Israel ha-Mizrah be-Yisra’el* (Half of the Nation: On the Culture and Status of the Eastern Jews in Israel), ed. S. Deshen, pp. 131–42 (Ramat-Gan, 1986).

9. Y. Shai, “*Tahalikhei Shinnui be-Repertu’ar ha-Musikali ha-Masorti shel ha-Hatunah be-Kerev Yehude Haban*” [Processes of Change in the Traditional Musical Repertoire of the Haban Jewish Wedding] (Ph.D. diss., Bar-Ilan University, 1977), pp. 283–84, 168–69, 289–90; N. B. Gamlieli, *Ahavat Teiman: Shirat ha-Nashim* [Yemen Love: Women Singing], third edition (Tel Aviv, 1996), pp. 154, 159.

10. Notable is that the women in both communities have not developed an independent status. Moreover, they have no intention of creating equality between the sexes.

11. The present article briefly surveys the main musical elements, which undoubtedly call for further investigation.

12. Notable are Koskoff's words: "It is not surprising that the majority of existing descriptions of women's musical activities and rationales for their behavior focus on their primary social roles, for these roles are central to women's gender identity in many societies." E. Koskoff, ed., *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), p. 4.

13. See Y. Kazir, "Nashim Yotze'ot Teiman ke-Sokhenot Shinnui ba-Moshav" [Yemen Women as Agents of Change in the Settlement], in *Yehudei ha-Mizrah: Iyyunim Antropologiyyim shel he-Avar ve-ha-Hoveh* (Eastern Jews: Anthropological Studies of Past and Present), ed. S. Deshen and M. Shoked (Jerusalem, 1984), pp. 221–22. The author claims that women show greater inclination toward adopting changes than men.

*The Legend of Sarah* (pages 285–320)

1. The quotation is from Renan's lecture at the Sorbonne, 1 March 1882, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1947–1961), pp. 887–907, translated in *Nation and Narration*, ed. Homi K. Bhabha, p. 11 (London, 1990).

2. Charles S. Maier, "A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial," *History & Memory* 5, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 1993): 136–37.

3. Marcel Proust, *Du côté de chez Swann* (Paris, 1954), p. 57.

4. See, for example, Pierre Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Paris, 1984–92; hereafter Nora, *Lieux de mémoire*); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York, 1989); John R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994) (hereafter cited as Gillis, *Commemorations*); Raphael Samuel, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, vol. 1, *Theatres of Memory* (London, 1994); Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1984, reprint); Jay M. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (London, 1996); George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990); Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, "Introduction," *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), special issue on collective memory and counter-memory.

5. Emmanuel Sivan, *Dor Tashah: Mitos, Dyukan ve-Zikkaron* [The Generation of 1948: Myth, Profile, and Memory] (Tel Aviv, 1991), especially pp. 169–231 (hereafter Sivan, *Dor Tashah*); Yael Zerubavel, "Mot ha-Zikaron ve-Zikkaron ha-Mavet" [The Death of Memory and the Memory of Death], *Alpayim* 10 (1994): 42–68 (hereafter Zerubavel, *Mot ha-Zikaron*); Anita Shapira, "Historiografyah ve-Zikkaron: Mikreh Latrun Tashah" [Historiography and Memory: The Case of Latroun, 1948], *Alpayim* 10 (1994): 9–42; David Ohana and Robert S. Wistrich, *Mitos ve-Zikkaron: Gilguleiha shel ha-Toda'ah ha-Yisre'elit* [Myth and Memory: Transfigurations of Israeli Consciousness] (Jeru-

salem, 1996) (hereafter Ohana and Wistrich, *Mitos ve-Zikkaron*); Yael Zerubavel, *Recovered Roots: Collective Memory and the Making of Israeli National Tradition* (Chicago, 1995); Yael Zerubavel, "The Historic, the Legendary, and the Incredible in Invented Tradition and Collective Memory in Israel," in Gillis, *Commemorations*, pp. 105–25; David N. Myers, *Reinventing the Jewish Past in Israel* (New York, 1995); Nachman Ben Yehuda, *The Masada Myth: Collective Memory and Mythmaking in Israel* (Madison, Wisc., 1995). See also Idith Zertal, "Ha-Me'unim ve-ha-Kedoshim: Kinunah shel Martirologyah Le'ummit" [The Tortured and the Sanctified: Loss and Commemoration, the Creation of National Martyrology], *Zmanim* 48 (1994): 26–45; Eliezer Witztum and Rut Malkinson, "Shekhol ve-Hantzahah: Ha-Panim ha-Kefulot shel ha-Mitos ha-Le'ummi" [Bereavement and Commemoration: The Dual Face of the National Myth], in *Ovdan u-Shekhol ba-Hevrah ha-Yisre'elit* [Loss and Bereavement in Israeli Society], ed. Ruth Malkinson, Shimshon Rubin, and Eliezer Witztum, pp. 231–58 (Tel Aviv, 1993).

6. Conversations with Natalie Zemon Davis, 17–19 March 1998.

7. Zerubavel, "Mot ha-Zikkaron"; Ohana and Wistrich, *Mitos ve-Zikkaron*. On *The Yizkor Book*, see Jonathan Frankel's important study, "The Yizkor Book of 1911—A Note on National Myth in the Second Aliya," in *Religion, Ideology and Nationalism in Europe and America: Essays in Honor of Yehoshua Arieli*, ed. Hedva Ben Israel et al., pp. 355–84 (Jerusalem, 1986).

8. For the state of the research see the Hebrew version of this volume; see Margalit Shilo, Ruth Kark, and Galit Hasan-Rokem, eds., *Nashim ba-Yishuv u-va-Medinah be-Reishit Darkah* [Jewish Women in the Yishuv and Zionism] (Jerusalem, 2001), especially Deborah S. Bernstein, "Heker Nashim ba-Historiografyah ha-Yisre'elit: Nekudot Motza, Kavvanot Hadashot ve-Kavvanot she-ba-Derekh" [The Study of Women in Israeli Historiography: Starting Points, New Directions, and Emerging Insights], pp. 7–25 (in this volume pp. 7–17); Billie Melman, "Min ha-Shulayim el ha-Historiyah shel ha-Yishuv: Migdar ve-Eretz Yisre'eliyut (1890–1920)" [From the Periphery to the Center of Yishuv History: Gender and Nationalism in Eretz Israel (1890–1920)], *Zion* 62, no. 3 (1997), 243–79 (hereafter cited as Melman, "Min ha-Shulayim"). See also Judith T. Baumel, "'In Everlasting Memory': Individual and Communal Holocaust Commemoration in Israel," in *The Shaping of Israeli Identity: Myth, Memory, and Trauma*, ed. Robert Wistrich and David Ohana, pp. 146–70 (London, 1995); Orly Lubin, "Ha-Eemet she-bein Misgerot ha-Emet: Otobiografyah, Edut, Guf ve-Atar" [The Truth between the Frameworks of Truth: Autobiography, Testimony, Body, and Site], in *Aderet le-Vinyamin: Sefer ha-Yovel le-Binyamin Harshav* [Jubilee Book for Binyamin Harshav] (Tel Aviv, 1999), 1:133–49; Hannah Naveh, *Be-Shevi ha-Evel: Ha-Evel bi-Re'i ha-Sifrut ha-Ivrit ha-Hadashah* [In the Thrall of Mourning: Mourning in the Mirror of the New Israeli Literature] (Tel Aviv, 1993). For more on the definition of the

areas of the history of memory, see Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, eds., *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, U.K., 1996), pp. 6–40 (hereafter cited as Winter and Sivan, *War and Remembrance*).

9. Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review* 102, no. 5 (1997): 1386–403.

10. See Confino’s critique of Zerubavel in *ibid.*; see also Emmanuel Sivan, “Private Pain and Public Remembrance in Israel,” in Winter and Sivan, *War and Remembrance*, pp. 177–205.

11. See, for example, Ilan Pappé, “*Seder Yom Hadash le-Historiyah Hadashah*” [A New Agenda for a New History], *Theory and Criticism* 8 (1996): 130–31.

12. See Gillis, *Commemorations*; Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925); English translation with Foreword by L. A. Ciser, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, 1992).

13. On polyphony as the proliferation of independent voices and consciousness, see M. M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky’s Poetics* [1929], trans. R. W. Rotsel (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973); Sivan, *Dor Tashah*, especially p. 138.

14. Avigdor Hameiri, “Sarah Aaronsohn,” *Do’ar ha-Yom*, 10 October 1923 (in Hebrew); “Sarah Aaronsohn,” in *Sarah ve-Aharon Aronson li-Melot 15 Shanah le-Motah Mot Gibborim* [Sarah and Aaron Aaronsohn, in Honor of Fifteen Years since Her Death as a Hero] (Tel Aviv, 1932) (hereafter Hameiri, “Sarah Aaronsohn”). This is the first official commemorative book whose revenues were dedicated to the construction of a memorial for Sarah Aaronsohn. Beit Aaronsohn Archives, Zikhron Yaakov (hereafter BAA), newspaper clippings files, numbering unclear.

15. See Melman, “*Min ha-shulayim*,” pp. 243–79.

16. See *ibid.*, pp. 275–77; Billie Melman, “Introduction,” in *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870–1930*, ed. Billie Melman (London, 1998), pp. 1–25 (hereafter cited as Melman, *Borderlines*); Rajeswari Sunder Rajan, *Real and Imagined Woman: Gender, Culture, and Postcolonialism* (London, 1993); Gayatri C. Spivak, *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (New York, 1988), pp. 241–69; and Beth Baron, “The Politics of Female Notables in Postwar Egypt,” in Melman, *Borderlines*, pp. 329–51.

17. On the immediate impact of the events at Tel Hai on the public memory, see, for example, the works of Zerubavel and others cited in note 5. For references to her death in the 1920s, see Hameiri, “Sarah Aaronsohn”; Peretz Pascal, “Sarah Aaronsohn,” *Do’ar ha-Yom*, 27 October 1920; Zipora Chon, “A Hero of the New Zion,” *Jewish Tribune*, 22 May 1922; Benjamin Yablons, “New Palestine’s Jean d’Arc,” *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 27 January 1925; Yirmiyahu Jaffe, “*Yoman Zikhron Yaakov*, April 1917–April 1918” [Zikhron Yaakov diary, April 1917–April 1918], BAA. See also Aharon Ever-Hadani’s play *Shomerim* [Guards], in which Nili’s espionage is condemned in Act 3, Scenes 4–9. The

play opened in the Habimah Theater on 24 August 1937, but was promptly removed because of strong public protest. See A. Ever-Hadani, *Kitvei ne'urim* [Juvenile Writings] (Tel Aviv, 1944), p. 320.

18. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, U.K., 1983), pp. 1–15.

19. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), especially his analysis of the Balinese cock-fight, pp. 412–55; James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 31–32.

20. "Ha-aliyah el kever Sarah Aaronson zal" [The Pilgrimage to the Grave of Sarah Aaronsohn of Blessed Memory], 10 October 1933, BAA, Sarah, Box 2.

21. Melman, "Min ha-shulayim," pp. 243–79; Rachel Elboim-Dror, "Hu holekh u-va be-kirbenu ha-ivri he-hadash': Al Tarbut ha-No'ar shel ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonot" ["He Is Come, from Amongst Us He Is Come, the First Hebrew": On the Youth Culture of the First Waves of Immigration], *Alpayim* 12 (1996): 104–35 (hereafter cited as Elboim-Dror, "Hu holekh u-Va").

22. Y. Drori, "Reshitam shel Irgunim Kalkaliyyim be-Eretz Yisrael bi-Shnot ha-Esrin" [The Beginning of Economic Organizations in Eretz Yisrael in the 1920s], *Cathedra* 25 (1983): 99–112 (hereafter cited as Drori, "Reshitam shel Irgunim Kalkaliim"); idem, "Ha-Hugim ha-Ezrahiyyim ba-Yishuv ha-Eretzyisre'eli bi-Shnot ha-Esrin" ["Ha-Hugim Ha'ezrahiyyim" in the Jewish "Yishuv" in Eretz Israel, 1920–29] (Ph.D. diss., Tel Aviv University, 1981); see also Amir Ben-Porat, *Heikhan Hem ha-Burganim ha-Hem? Toledot ha-Burganut ha-Yisre'elit* [Where Are Those Bourgeoisie: The History of the Israeli Bourgeoisie] (Jerusalem, 1999), especially pp. 72–80, for the distinction between the urban and rural bourgeoisie (hereafter Ben-Porat, *Heikhan*). See also Yaacov Shavit, "Ha-Roved ha-Tarbuti he-Haser u-Milu'av: Bein 'Tarbut Amamit Rishmit' le-'Tarbut Amamit Lo Rishmit' ba-Tarbut ha-Ivrit ha-Le'ummit be-Eretz Yisrael" [Supplying a Missing System: Between "Official" and "Unofficial Culture" in Hebrew National Culture in Eretz Yisrael], in *Ha-Tarbut ha-Amamit* [Studies in the History of Popular Culture], ed. B. Z. Kedar, pp. 327–45 (Jerusalem, 1996).

23. Sarah ve-Aharon Aaronson, *li-melot 15 shanah* (1932), p. 7.

24. "Ha-aliyah al kever Sarah," BAA, Sarah, Box 2, pp. 3–5; 18th Anniversary Ceremony (1935), BAA, Sarah, Box 2, p. 1.

25. Sarah ve-Aharon Aaronson *li-melot 15 shanah*, first page (unnumbered).

26. Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973).

27. Elboim-Dror, "Hu holekh u-va"; Drori, "Reshitam shel Irgunim Kalkaliyyim."

28. A. Zilber, on behalf of the Bnei Binyamin Federation, description of the 18th Memorial Day, 1935 (no exact date), BAA, Sarah, Box 2 (no pagination).

29. “*Yom ha-aliyah le-kever Sarah, 14.10.41*” [Day of the Pilgrimage to Sarah’s Grave, 14 October 1941], BAA, Sarah, Box 2.

30. On the juvenile press, see Zohar Shavit, ed., *Toledot ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz Yisrael me’az ha-Aliyah ha-Rishonah: Beniyatah shel Tarbut Ivrit be-Eretz Yisrael* [The History of the Jewish Community in Eretz Yisrael since 1882: The Construction of Hebrew Culture in Eretz Israel], Part 1 (Jerusalem, 1989); for the children’s press, see pp. 455–61. For a discussion of Sarah’s depiction and representation in the children’s press, see below, pp. 296–97. For plays and stories, see the play by Moshe Smilansky, *Rohele*, in *Kitvei Moshe Smilansky* [The Writings of Moshe Smilansky], vol. 4, *Sippurim* [Stories] (Tel Aviv, 1934), pp. 155–92 (hereafter Smilansky, *Rohele*); Ever-Hadani’s play *Shomerim* (n. 17 above); Aharon Avraham Kabak, “*Ha-Meraggelet*” [The Spy], in *Bein ha-midbar u-vein ha-yam* [Between the Desert and the Sea] (Tel Aviv, 1959); the prose poem by Y. Cohen, *Megillat Avshalom ve-Sarah* [The Scroll of Avshalom and Sarah], (Tel Aviv, 1948), pp. 29–50; “Sarah Aharonson: *Arba’im shanah le-motah*” [Sarah Aaronsohn: Forty Years since Her Death] was broadcast on Kol Yisrael radio station on Saturday, 26 October 1957, with Hannah Rovina as Sarah.

31. Samuel, *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, vol. 1, *Theatres of Memory*, pp. 1–40.

32. “*Ha-aliyah el kever Sarah Aharonson*,” 10 October 1932, BAA, Sarah, Box 2, pp. 3–5.

33. Itamar Even-Zohar, “*Ha-Tzemihah ve-ha-Hitgabbeshut shel Tarbut Ivrit Mekomit u-Yelidit be-Eretz Yisrael, 1882–1948*” [The Emergence and Formation of Local and Native Hebrew Culture in Eretz Yisrael, 1882–1948], *Cathedra* 16 (July 1980): 165–89.

34. Y. Heller, *Lehi, 1940–1949* (in Hebrew; Jerusalem, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 25–26, 61, 81–88, 99, 101, 121–22, 131, 154–55, 172.

35. *Ha-Boker li-Yeladim* [*Ha-Boker* children’s newspaper], no. 161–62, 9 October 1946, pp. 10–11; see also *ibid.*, no. 107–108, 20 September 1945, p. 27. A sample of elementary school primers between 1950 and 1960 indicates that the story of Nili was not included in the school curriculum or in the organized collective memory. This, of course, is in contrast to the story of Tel Hai. See also Aviezer Yellin Archives of Jewish Education in Israel and the Diaspora, Tel Aviv University; and Keren Kayemet Archives, Tel Aviv, the Leah and Dov Aloni collections.

36. See, for example, n. 14 above, *Sarah ve-Aharon Aaronsohn li-Melot*, p. 30.

37. See n. 4 above.

38. Melman, “*Min ha-Shulayim*,” pp. 255–60; A. Bar-Adon, “*Ha-Imahot*

*ha-Meyassdot' u-Menat Helkan be-Tehiyat ha-Ivrit be-Hithavvutah*, 1882–1914” [“The Founding Mothers” and Their Role in the Hebrew Language Revival, 1882–1914], *Lashon ve-Ivrit* 3 (1990): 5–27.

39. Melman, “*Min ha-Shulayim*,” pp. 255–60.

40. Pat Thane and Gisela Bock, eds., *Maternity and Gender Politics* (London, 1991); Seth Koven and Sonia Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of the Welfare State* (New York, 1993); Melman, “Introduction,” in *Borderlines*; Fatma Müge Göçek, “From Empire to Nation: Images of Women and War in Ottoman Political Cartoons, 1908–1923,” in *Borderlines*, pp. 47–73; Beth Baron, “Mothers, Morality, and Nationalism in Pre-1917 Egypt,” in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, ed. Rashid Khalidi, pp. 271–88 (New York, 1991).

41. Billie Melman, “Re-Generation: Nation and the Construction of Gender in Peace and War—Palestine Jews, 1900–1918,” in *Borderlines*, pp. 121–41.

42. Yaakov Yaari-Polskin, *Nili, Sarah be-Hayeha u-ve-Motah* [Nili, Sarah in Life and Death] (Tel Aviv, 1951), pp. 57–59.

43. Hameiri, “Sarah Aronson.”

44. Melman, “*Min ha-shulayim*,” pp. 260–67, 274–76.

45. Yaari-Polskin, “*Mi-hayei Sarah Aharonson (Biografiyah ve-epizod)*” [From the Life of Sarah Aaronsohn (Biography and Episode)], in *Sarah ve-Aharon Aaronsohn*, p. 18.

46. Joseph Klausner, “Sarah Aharonson: *Ha-giborah ha-le’ummit*” [Sarah Aaronsohn: The National Heroine], *Ha-Mashkif*, September 1942; see also his eulogy on the forty-fifth anniversary of her death in 1962, BAA, Sarah, Box 2, undated and unpaginated.

47. Melman, “*Min ha-shulayim*.”

48. Smilansky, *Rohele*, p. 181.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

50. Moshe Smilansky, “*Ha-ishah: Ner le-Nishmat Sarah Aharonson*” [The Woman: A Candle for the Soul of Sarah Aaronsohn], in *Kitvei Moshe Smilansky*, vol. 8 (Tel Aviv, 1935), p. 22.

51. See below, pp. 306–7. On Aaronsohn as “the Jewish Edith Cavell,” see, for example, “A Tribute to Sarah Aaronsohn,” *Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 27 January 1925.

52. On the images of Joan of Arc and on memory, see M. Winock, “Jeanne d’Arc,” in Nora, *Lieux de mémoire*, vol. 3, *Les France* (Paris, 1997), pp. 4427–73. On evangelicalism and the suffragette movement in Protestant countries, see Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (London, 1985), pp. 20, 266, 270.

53. BAA, Sarah, Box 2, 10 October 1933.

54. BAA, Sarah, Box 2, 14 October 1941; BAA, Sarah, Box 2, 15 October 1946.



55. Ludmila Jordanova, *Sexual Visions: Images of Gender in Science and Medicine between the Eighteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Madison, Wisc., 1989), pp. 81–111.

56. Ceremony, 1935, BAA, Sarah, Box 2.

57. Ceremony, 1941: “Every Betar club is a temple for your teachings, Commander Sarah! We stand at attention before you — our Commander”; Pilgrimage Ceremony, 1942. BAA, Sarah, Box 2.

58. Pilgrimage Ceremony, 1958, “Professor Klausner,” unnumbered, BAA, Sarah, Box 2.

59. Melman, “Introduction,” in *Borderlines*.

60. Reports on the activities of Bnei Binyamin in late 1927 and early 1928 record 1,500 “young men” as members of the organization. The English-language report emphasizes “a fine spirit of brotherhood.” See “*Doh al Pe’ilut Bnei Binyamin be-Palestinah*” [Report on the Activities of Bnei Binyamin in Palestine], BAA, Alexander Aaronsohn Box, Bnei Binyamin 213. According to the Regulations of the Bnei Binyamin Federation, “The purpose of the organization [is] to unite and to organize the youth of the moshavah.” A similar point is made in the 1927 report, in connection with the organization’s athletic activities, whose purpose is to “attract our young men” (*ibid.*).

61. On the organizations, see Rachel Elboim-Dror, *Ha-hinukh ha-Ivri be-Eretz Yisrael* [Hebrew Education in Eretz Israel], vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1986); Melman, “*Min ha-shulayim*,” p. 266.

62. “Essentialism” refers to the perception of femininity — and of gender in general — not in social-historical terms, but as a natural, unchanging essence. On “androgynous” images, see Mary L. Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994); Billie Melman, *Women and the Popular Imagination in the Twenties: Flappers and Nymphs* (London, 1986); Sunder Rajan, *Real and Imagined Women*. It is clear that in cultures like these the worship of women, especially of women leaders as mothers of the nation, can also develop.

63. I am grateful to Sasha Weitman who permitted me to use his data. On the choice of Hebrew national names, see Sasha Weitman, “Prénoms et orientations nationales en Israël, 1882–1890,” *Annales ESC* 42, no. 4 (1987): 879–901; Weitman, “*Shemot Pratiyyim ke-Madadim Hevratyyim: Megamot bi-Zehutam ha-Le’ummit shel Yisre’elim, 1882–1980*” [First Names as Social Indicators: Trends in Israelis’ National Identity, 1882–1980], in *Nekudot Tatzpit al Tarbut ve-Hevrah be-Eretz Yisrael* [Perspectives on Culture and Society in Israel], ed. Nurith Gertz, pp. 141–51 (Tel Aviv, 1988).

64. Conversations with Yaffah Berlovitz and Nili Friedland, June 1998.

65. R. Tkhelet, “*Kapitan Lelo Kokhavim*” [Captain without Stars], *La-Ishah*, 2 October 1947. See also “*She’oteha ha-Aharonot shel Sarah*” [Sarah’s Last Hours], *Olam ha-Ishah*, 16 October 1947, p. 5. For a different version, see

“*Shtei Nesikhot Ra’ah Avshalom be-Neshef ha-Masekhot*” [Avshalom Saw Two Princesses at the Masked Ball], *Shiva Yamim, Yediot Aharonot* weekend supplement, 5 November 1954; “*Ka-Zeh Hayah Sofam shel Sarah ve-Avshalom*” [Such Was the End of Sarah and Avshalom], *ibid.*, 12 November 1954.

66. Ohana and Wistrich, *Mitos ve-Zikkaron*, pp. 21–27. These authors locate the “fracture in the collective Israeli experience” in 1973, and point out that the mythology of the “Sabra” and Israeliness, which had already collapsed at the end of the 1960s, was finally buried. See Ben-Porat, “*Heikhan hem ha-burganim ha-hem?*” pp. 130–31.

67. For this information, I thank the staff of Aaronsohn House, and especially the acting director Esther Cohen, as well as David Shoham.

68. Rahel Katzenelson, “*Giborat Nili: Sarah le-Veit Aharonson*” [Heroine of Nili: Sarah of the Aaronsohn family], *Dvar ha-Po’elet*, 11 November 1967, p. 359 (hereafter Katzenelson, “*Giborat Nili*”).

69. Yehudah Slutsky, “*Nishmatah shel Nili: Hamishim Shanah le-Motah shel Sarah Aharonson*” [The Soul of Nili: Fifty Years since the Death of Sarah Aaronsohn], *Davar*, 27 October 1967.

70. Y. Manor, “*Ha-Aggadah ve-ha-Metzi’ut shel Nili: Ha-Reka Hu ha-Noten Partzuf Emet le-Historiyah*” [The Legend and Reality of Nili: The Background Is What Shows the True Face of History], *Davar*, 1 December 1967.

71. Katzenelson, “*Giborat Nili*,” p. 361.

72. Shimshon Kirshenbaum, *Toledot Yisrael ba-Dorot ha-Aharonim* [History of Israel in Recent Generations] (Tel Aviv, 1968), p. 78. See also Moshe Lifshitz, *Toledot am Yisrael ba-Dorot ha-Aharonim* [History of the People of Israel in Recent Generations], vol. 1, *Ha-Tenu’ah ha-Le’ummit* (The National Movement) (Tel Aviv, 1985), pp. 75–76.

73. Yisrael Pazi, *Me-Emantzipatziyah le-Tziyonut: Migyan Darkhei Hora’ah le-Kitot 10–11* [From Emancipation to Zionism: A Variety of Teaching Methods for the 10th and 11th Grades] (Tel Aviv, 1975), pp. 255–58.

74. I wish to thank Sreberk Publishers, which made its archives available to me; my special thanks go to Ze’ev Namir.

75. Conversation with Devorah Omer, 1 August 1999.

76. *Ibid.*

77. *Ibid.*; conversation with Ze’ev Namir, 1 August 1999.

78. Conversation with Devorah Omer, 1 August 1999.

79. Sreberk Publishers Archives; conversation with Ze’ev Namir, 1 August 1999.

80. BAA; conversations with Esther Cohen, acting director, Aaronsohn House, the Nili Museum, April 1998.

81. Conversation with Devorah Omer, 1 August 1999.

82. Devorah Omer, *Sarah Giborat Nili* (Tel Aviv, 1990), pp. 37–40.

83. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–22.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
87. Joan W. Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), pp. 1–19.
88. *Sarah*, directed by Orna Ben-Dor, produced by Orna Landau.
89. Melman, “*Min ha-shulayim.*”

“*We Were There Too*” (pages 321–337)

1. In the past few years, a number of books and studies on this topic have appeared, but little has been written on the reflection of this connection in Israeli society in general and in the field of commemoration in particular. See N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State* (Houndmills, 1989) (hereafter cited as Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*); C. Nash, “Men Again: Irish Masculinity, Nature, and Nationhood in the Early Twentieth Century,” *Ecumene* 3, no. 4 (1966): 253–427; L. Dowler, “And They Think I’m Just a Nice Old Lady”: Women and War in Belfast, Northern Ireland,” *Gender Place and Culture* 5, no. 2 (1998): 159–76 (hereafter cited as Dowler, “And They Think”); G. Zwerman, “Mothering on the Lam: Politics, Gender Fantasies and Maternal Thinking in Women Associated with Armed, Clandestine Organizations in the United States,” *Feminist Review* 47 (1994): 33–56 (hereafter cited as Zwerman, “Mothering”); J. Elshtain, *Woman and War* (New York, 1987); A. McClintock, “Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family,” *Feminist Review* 44 (1993): 61–80; K. Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London, 1986); D. Kandiyoti, “Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation,” *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 20, no. 3 (1991): 229–43; T. Mayer, ed., *Women and the Israeli Occupation: The Politics of Change* (London, 1994) (hereafter cited as Mayer, *Women*).

2. C. Geertz, ed., *Myth, Symbol and Culture* (New York, 1971).

3. O. Almog, “*Andartot le-Halelei Milhamah be-Yisrael: Nitu’ah Semiyologi*” [Memorials to the Fallen in Battle in Israel: A Semiological Analysis], *Megamot* 34, no. 2 (1991): 182. Three books on this issue, published in the past years (*Andartot la-nofelim be-yisra’el* [Monuments to the Fallen in Israel] by Esther Levinger, *Hantzahah ve-Zikkaron* [Commemoration and Memory], and *Gal’ed: Andartot la-Nofelim be-Ma’arakhot Yisra’el* [Monument: Memorials to the Those Who Fell in Israel’s Battles], both by Ilana Shamir), deal with a listing and partial analysis of some one thousand memorials scattered throughout the country, but they devoted a scant few lines to the image of the

woman in plastic commemoration. E. Levinger, *Andartot la-Nofelim be-Yisra'el* (Tel Aviv, 1993) (hereafter cited as Levinger, *Andartot*); I. Shamir, *Hantzahah ve-Zikkaron* (Tel Aviv, 1996); see also I. Shamir, ed., *Gal'ed: Andartot la-nofelim be-ma'arakhot yisra'el* (Tel Aviv, 1989).

4. I wish to thank the Division for Soldier Commemoration and the statistical department of the Israeli Ministry of Defense, which provided me with the relevant statistical data. Emmanuel Sivan points out in his book *Dor Tashah, Mitos, Deyukan ve-Zikkaron* [The Generation of 1948, Myth, Portrait and Memory] (Tel Aviv, 1991), pp. 35–39, that 108 women in service were killed in 1948 and the number of female victims, soldiers, and civilians, totaled 469 (hereafter Sivan, *Dor*).

5. S. Reinharz, “Manya Wilbushewitz-Shohat and the Winding Road to Sejera,” in *Pioneers and Homemakers: Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel*, ed. D. Bernstein, pp. 69–73 (Albany, 1992).

6. H. Ironi-Avrahami, *Almoniyot bi-Khaki: Sippuran shel Haverot ha-'Haganah' be-Tel Aviv* [Anonymous Women in Khaki: The Story of the Female Members of the Haganah in Tel Aviv] (Tel Aviv, 1989); A. Gozes-Savorai, *Sapperi Li Sapperi Li — Haverot ha-Palmah Mesapperot* [Tell Me, Tell Me — Female Members of the Palmah Tell Their Tale] (Efal: The Center for the History of the Defense Force, 1993); K. Muir, *Arms and the Woman* (London, 1992), pp. 69–73.

7. Regarding the paratroopers mission, see my article “‘Ha-Tzonehim el Amam’ — Mivtza ha-Tzanhanim-Shelihim be-Milhemet ha-Olam ha-Sheniyyah be-Perspektiva Historit” [“Parachuting to Their People” — The Paratroopers-Emissaries’ Campaign in World War II in Historical Perspective,” *Kovetz Yad Vashem* 25 (1996): 103–34.

8. Activities of the Female Member in the Palmah, Report of a symposium held by the Center for the History of the Defense Force — the Haganah, at Yad Tabenkin, 22 December 1986, Tel Aviv, 1988.

9. Women and IDF Service: Reality, Aspiration and Vision, Proceedings of a study-day held on 21 February 1995, Jerusalem, 1995.

10. Zwerman, “Mothering,” p. 42.

11. Dowler, “And They Think,” p. 16.

12. Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Woman-Nation-State*, p. 7.

13. N. Ben-Yehudah, 1948: *Bein ha-Sefirot* [1948: Between Calendars] (Jerusalem, 1981); Ben-Yehudah, *Ke-she-Partza ha-Medinah* [When the State Broke Out] (Jerusalem, 1991); T. Avidar, *Ke-she-ha-Gerev Hayah Kova* [When the Stocking Was a Cap] (Tel Aviv, 1988).

14. Levinger, *Andartot*, p. 29; interview by R. Porat with Eliahu Amitzur, *Kefar Yehoshua*, 22 March 1998; telephone conversation with the director of the kibbutz Tel Yosef archive, 18 March 1998.

15. A. Priver, “Ha-Tavlit al Kir ha-Zikkaron le-yad ‘Beit Trumpeldor’” [The

Relief on the Memorial Wall next to “Bet Trumpeldor”], *Mi-Hayyenu* 1002 (18 April 1952): 1 (hereafter Priver, “*Ha-Tavlit*”; C. McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial* (London, 1990), p. 144.

16. J. B. Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, 1987), p. 11.

17. Memorial to the 44 Slain in the Battle for Negbah and Its Surroundings, Tel Aviv (the Committee for the Commemoration of Those Slain in the Battle for Negbah), n.d.

18. Sivan, *Dor*, pp. 37–39.

19. Telephone conversation of the author with Mordecai Kafri, 30 March 1998.

20. See Sivan, *Dor*, pp. 73–101.

21. I. Eschebach, “Geschlechtsspezifische Symbolisierungen im Gedenken. Zur: Geschichte der Mahn- und Gendenkstaette Ravensbrueck,” *Metis: Zeitschrift für historische Frauenforschung und feministische Praxis* 8 Jf., H. 15 (1999): 12–27.

22. Priver, “*Ha-Tavlit*,” n. 15; “*Hinneh Hi Notzevet*” [Behold It Has Been Placed], *Kol Negbah: Bamah le-Bittu’i ve-Informatziyyah* 5 (103), 20 October 1953.

23. The story of this memorial is presented at length in the Hebrew version of this article.

24. J. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), p. 15.

25. S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York, 1995), p. 61.

26. D. N. Israeli, “The Women Workers’ Movement: First Wave Feminism in Pre-State Israel,” in *Pioneers and Homemakers: Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel*, ed. D. Bernstein, pp. 183–210 (Albany, 1992); S. Fogiel-Bijaoui, “From Revolution to Motherhood: The Case of Women in the Kibbutz, 1910–1948,” in *ibid.*, pp. 211–34.

27. G. Waylen, “Analysing Women in the Politics of the Third World,” in *Women and Politics in the Third World*, ed. H. Afshar (London, 1996), p. 15.

28. Quoted from H. McQueen, *Social Sketches of Australia 1888–1975* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 158.

29. “*Ha-Yeshivah ha-Rishonah shel Mo’etzet ha-Am*” [The First Meeting of the National Council], Tel Aviv Jewish National Fund House, 28 Nisan 5708 (4 May 1948), in D. Ben-Gurion, *Be-Hilahem Yisra’el* [When Israel Fought] (Tel Aviv, 1957), p. 98; “*Al ha-Banim she-Nafu*” [On the Fallen Sons], 25 March 1950, *ibid.*, p. 357 (hereafter Ben-Gurion, “*Al ha-Banim*”).

30. N. Gertz, *Sippur me-ha-Seratim* [A Tale from the Movies: Israeli Narrative and Its Cinematic Adaptations] (Tel Aviv 1993).

31. Ben-Gurion, “*Al ha-Banim*,” pp. 357–58.

32. T. Mayer, *Women*, p. 123.

33. At the time of the writing of these statements, research into the history

of the erection the memorial for the Women's Corps is being carried out as part of an extensive research project on the commemoration of fallen female soldiers. Interview by the author of one of the initiators of the memorial, Itzhak Pundak, Kefar Yonah, 9 May 1999.

34. J. Baumel, "Rachel Laments Her Children: Representation of Women in Israeli Holocaust Memorials," *Israel Studies* 1 (1996): 100–26.

*Aftermath* (pages 338–339)

1. Hannah Trager, *Pioneers in Palestine* (London, 2003).
2. Yehudit Harari, *Bein ha-Keramim* [Between the Vineyards] (Tel Aviv, 1947).
3. Henya M. Pekelman, *Hayyei Po'elet ba-Aretz* [The Life of a Worker in her Homeland], (Or Yehuda, 2007).

