Girls of Liberty
Shilo, Margalit

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Notes

1. Feminism and Its Zionist and Hebrew Roots


2. Gaber and Selisnik, “Slovene Women’s Suffrage Movement in a Comparative Perspective,” 219; Evans, *The Feminists*.


7. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States reads: “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.”

8. Markoff, “Margins, Center and Democracy.”


16. Alberti, “A Symbol and a Key.”


22. Shilo, *Princess or Prisoner?*


Notes to Chapter 1

29. Elboim-Dror, “Ha’Ishah haTsiyonit ha’Idelit.”
33. Shilo, “Women as Victims of War.”
34. Tidhar, Entsiklopedyah leHalutsey haYishuv uBonav, Dmuyot uTmunot, 1:243.
35. Shilo, Etgar haMigdar, 148–49.
36. Quoted in ibid., 197.
37. Rafi Thon, HaMa’avak leShivyon Zekhuyot ha’Ishah, 28–36.
40. Ibid., 209.
41. Grayzel, Women and the First World War, 4; Walby, Patriarchy at Work, 156; Shilo, “The First World War.”
42. Melman, introduction.
43. Klapper, Ballots, Babies, and Banners of Peace, 54.
44. Shmelz, “Hitma’atut Ukhlusyat Eretz Yisra’el beMilhemet ha’Olam haRisho-nah.”
45. Shilo, “The First World War.”
46. Auerbach, MeHalberstadt ad Petah Tikvah, 47, 52, 57.
47. Efrati, MiMashber leTikvah.
50. Shilo, “Women as Victims of War.”
52. Herbert Samuel to Mogras, May 1, 1925, Herbert Samuel Archives, 649/12/p, Israel State Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter ISA).
55. Women’s Volunteer Committee to General Edmond Allenby, July 17, 1918, Rachel Yana’it Archive 2061/35, ISA.
56. Melman, “The Legend of Sarah.”
Notes to Chapter 2


2. The Women’s Struggle Begins


4. See chapter 1.


8. Berlovitz, “Ha’Ishah beSifrut haNashim shel ha’Aliyah haRishonah.”


14. Ibid.


16. Berlovitz, “Kol haMelankolyah keKol haMeha’ah.”


19. The status quo was not exceptional—restricting the vote, both for local and
national bodies, to the propertied class was accepted practice throughout the world at the time.


21. The facts do not support Puhachevsky’s claim. German women did not gain the vote until November 1918, and that same year English women were given the vote—but only those who had reached the age of thirty.

22. Quoted in minutes of the General Assembly, Rishon LeTzion, December 2, 1917, 1/16–17, RLA.


24. Ibid.

25. In Tel Aviv women were barred from voting because they were not landowners.

26. Adinah Kahanski, “Yesodey Histadrut Nashim beRishon LeTzion,” no date, A192/663, CZA.


29. Rishon LeTzion Women to the Preparatory Committee, February 13, 1918, in Zikhronot Va’ad Ha’ir Yaffo, 17–18.


31. Hagemann, “To Become a Political Subject.”

32. For a number of reasons, the elections originally scheduled for 1918 were postponed until December 1919.

33. Minutes of the General Assembly, Rishon LeTzion, December 6, 1919, 211–13, 1/1/16–17, RLA.

34. Yaniv Azmon (Puhachevsky) to the Rishon LeTzion Archive, 20/c, RLA.

35. Weis, Reshitah shel Tel Aviv.

36. Shavit and Biger, HaHistoryah shel Tel Aviv, 157–62.


38. The Palestine Office represented the Zionist Organization in Ottoman Palestine, 1908–17.


40. Shehori, Halom sheHafakh leKrakh, 117–38.

41. Fishman, El ha’Ishah ha’Ivriyah, 5.

42. Tel Aviv bylaws, in Zikhronot Va’ad Ha’ir Yaffo, 10.

43. HaCohen, Milhemet he’Amim, 2:754.

44. Ha’aretz Veha’avodah, March 14, 1918, 107.
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45. Bat-Yehuda, HaRav Maimon beDorotav.
47. Fishman, “Morah beVeit haSefer ha’Ivri haRishon beTsefat”
49. Fishman, El ha’Ishah ha’Ivriyah, 18–22.
51. Quoted in Katzenelson-Shazar, Adam kmo sheHu, 115.
54. Ada Fishman to Hitahdut Nashim, October 30, 1925, Tel Aviv Historical Archives, Tel Aviv (hereafter TAHA).
55. HaCohen, Milhemet he’Amim, 2:859.
56. Agudat Nashim, “Petition,” March 13, 1918, 01–165, TAHA.
57. Ha’aretz, August 9, 1918; HaCohen, Milhemet he’Amim, 2:859.
58. Nashim, “Petition.”
60. Fishman, El ha’Ishah ha’Ivriyah, 6.
61. S. Viloni-Hovav, “MeHayei haMoshavot,” Do’ar Hayom, June 1, 1921.
63. HaCohen, Milhemet he’Amim 2:890.
64. Likhovski, “Shfahot, Kalot vePo’alot.”
65. “El Neshet Tel Aviv,” no date, Sarah Azaryahu Collection, 1, 3, Hakibbutz Hame’uhad Archives, Yad Tabenkin (hereafter AHH).
67. Haifa was captured by the British army on September 23, 1918.
68. At the end of World War I, Haifa’s population was estimated at 15,000–22,000.
70. ibid., 159.
73. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 161.
74. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShiuy Zekhuyot be’EretzYisra’el, 10–12.
75. Mrs. Zlatopovsky [Hannah Zlatopovsky], “Asefah Klalit,” January 25, 1919, 2.3/
6, Petach Tikvah City Archives, Petach-Tikvah (hereafter PTA).
76. Ha’aretz, December 13, 1918.
77. HaPo’el HaTza’ir, February 7, 1919.
Notes to Chapter 3

78. “Assefat haMoshvah,” January 22, 1919, 2.3/6, PTA.
79. Ibid. The speaker quoted is Elisheva Gissin.
80. Ibid. The speaker quoted is Hannah Zlatopovsky.
81. Ibid. The speaker quoted is Baruch Raab.
83. “Assefat HaMoshavah,” January 26, 1919, 2.3/6, PTA.
84. Ha’arets, January 12, 1919.
87. Ha’arets, April 4, 1918.
88. Fishman, “HaTse’adim haRishonim,” 85.
89. Cohen-Hatav, “Hashpa’at Va’ad HaKehilah al Hitpathut Ha’Ir beTkufat HaShilton HaBriti (1917–1948).”
90. “HaHahlatot shel Va’ad ha’Ir leYehudey Y erushalayim,” May 11–13, 1918, L3/58IV, CZA.
91. “Va’ad ha’Ir,” Jerusalem, January 22, 1919, J2/4014, Historical Archives of the City of Jerusalem, Jerusalem (hereafter HACJ).
92. Ha’arets, February 20, 1919.
93. Ha’arets, February 18, 1919.
94. “Agudat HaNashim,” February 9, 1919, J2/4397, HACJ.
95. Ya’akov Thon in “Va’ad ha’Ir Proceedings,” March 18, 1918, L3/58IV, CZA.
96. Rafi Thon, HaMa’avak leShivyon Zekhuyot ha’Ishah.
98. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra’el, 43. The elections in Jerusalem took place on February 2, 1932.
99. The first two delegates in Jerusalem were Hasyah Feinsud-Sukenik and Dr. Git-tel Dorfman.
101. Quoted in Feinsud-Sukenik, Pirkey Gan, 165.

3. The National Campaign Commences

Epigraph: Parnas-Hodesh [pseud.], “Ma meHodesh,” HaShilo’ah, September–March 1924, 188.


4. Unsigned and undated circular, A46/18/16, CZA.


8. Minutes of the First Constituent Assembly, J16/313, CZA.


10. Yana’it in minutes of the First Constituent Assembly, J1/6313, CZA.

11. Minutes of the Provisional Committee of the Jewish Community in Palestine, J1/8820, CZA.


13. Minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, March 7, 1918, 15, J1/8766, CZA.

14. Ya’akov Thon in ibid., 16.

15. Ya’akov Thon in minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, June 17, 1918, J1/6313, CZA.


18. Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uzi’el in minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, J1/8763, CZA.

19. Moshe Smilansky, in minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, 93, ibid.

20. Yoseph Sprinzak, in minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, ibid.


26. Ada Fishman, in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, J1/8766, CZA.

27. Ibid.

28. Minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, 106, J1/8763, CZA.


30. Minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, J1/1/8763, CZA.


Notes to Chapter 3

33. Minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, first session, 2–3, J1/8763, CZA.
34. *Ha’aretz*, December 13, 1918.
35. For a list of all the participants, see J1/8766, CZA.
36. Shehory-Rubin, “Dr. Bat Sheva Yunis-Guttman.”
40. Ya’akov Thon in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 63, J1/8766, CZA.
41. Shlomo Shiler in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, ibid.
42. David Remez in ibid.
43. David Blumenfeld in minutes of the Provisional Council Executive and the Zionist Commission, April, 17, 1919, J1/8801, CZA.
44. Rabbi Yehi’el Mikhal Tokachinski, in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 26, J1/8766, CZA.
45. Ada Fishman, in ibid., 58.
46. Minutes of the Provisional Committee, July 2–3, 1919, J1/8779, CZA.
47. Minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 15, J1/8766, CZA.
48. Ibid., 20.
50. Minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 81, J1/8766, CZA.
52. Sarah Thon in minutes of the Meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Provisional Council Executive, April 17, 1919, 36, J1/8801, CZA.
53. Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel to the Provisional Council, November 29, 1918, J1/8806, CZA.
54. Shmelz, “Hitma’atut Ukhlusyat Eretz Yisra’el beMilhemet ha’Olam haRishonah.”
55. Zalman HaCohen Rubin to Ya’akov Thon, J1/8865, CZA.
57. Rabbi Yoseph Gershon Horovitz and Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel to the Provisional Committee, November 29, 1918, J1/8806, CZA.
58. “Ha’Asefah HaMekhonenet,” *Ha’aretz*, July 26, 1918.
60. Bo’az, “HaStatus Quo,” 126.
61. Rabbi Yoseph Gershon Horovitz and Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel to the Provisional Committee, November 29, 1918, J1/8806, CZA.
62. Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel, in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 26, J1/8766, CZA.
63. Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel, in minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, December 12, 1918, 37, J1/8789, CZA; Avraham Lev in minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 10, 1919, 1, L4/433, CZA.
64. Most of the Haredi population lived in Jerusalem; the rest resided mainly in Tiberias, Safed, and Hebron.
65. Minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 17, 1919, J1/8801, CZA.
66. Dov Ariel Leibovitz agreed with Ya’akov Thon’s proposal to let each local committee decide whether women could vote. See minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 102, J1/8766, CZA.
67. Rabbi Yehiel Mikhal Tokachinski, in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 26, J1/8766, CZA.
68. Committee of the Jerusalem Rabbis to the Zionist Commission, June 16, 1918, J1/8806, CZA.
69. Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel to the Provisional Committee, March 23, 1919, in minutes of the Provisional Committee, March 23, 1919, J1/8773, CZA.
70. “Hatenu’ah be’Yerushalayim likrat haBehirot,” no date, elections file, J1/8824, CZA.
71. The first meeting of the Mizrahi after the war took place in Jerusalem in March 1918. See S. Rubinstein, Hitargenutah meHadash shel “HaMizrahi” be’Eretz Yisra’el biTkufat haMa’avar mehaShilton haTurki laBriti, 6.
72. Ostrovski, Toldot haMizrahi be’Eretz Yisra’el, 35–36.
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81. “HaMizrahi be’Eretz Yisra’el,” Do’ar Hayom, January 20, 1924.

82. Rabbi Binyamin [Yehoshua Radler Feldman], “Mi Doresh Referandum?,” Ha’aretz, February 1, 1924.


84. Ostrovski, Toldot haMizrahi be’Eretz Yisra’el, 16.

85. Rabbi Moshe Ostrovski, Third Session of the First Assembly of Representatives, June 15, 1925, J1/7205 CZA.


89. Avraham Lev in minutes of the Meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 17, 1919, 36, J1/8801, CZA.

90. Y. Maimon, Igrot haRav Yehuda Leib Maimon, 241.

91. Rabbi Binyamin [Yehoshua Radler Feldman], in minutes of the Provisional Committee, July 2–3, 1919, 16, J1/8779, CZA.


93. Dov Natan Brinker to the Va’ad HaTza’ir Ha’Eretz Yisra’eli, March 18, 1918, GZD.

94. Avraham Lev in minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 10, 1919, L4/433, CZA.


96. Rosenberg-Friedman, Mahaphaniyot be’al Korkhan, 56–57.

97. Minutes of the meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 17, 1919, 35, J1/8801, CZA.

98. Ya’akov Thon in ibid., 33.


100. Berl Katznelson, in minutes of the Provisional Committee Executive, April 10, 1919, L4/433, CZA.
Notes to Chapter 4

101. Berl Katznelson in minutes of the meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Provisional Committee Executive, April 17, 1919, J1/8801, CZA.
102. David Ben-Gurion in minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, June 26, 1919, J1/8791, CZA.
103. Minutes of the Provisional Committee, March 18, 1919, 39, J1/8773, CZA.
104. Shaul Gordon in minutes of the meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 17, 1919, 34, J1/8801, CZA.
105. Yehoshua Radler Feldman, secretary of the Mizrahi's Palestinian branch, to Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uzi’el, March 18, 1919, 08–700, Tel Aviv Historical Archives, Tel Aviv.
106. Rabbi Menahem Mordechai Te’omim-Frankel to the Provisional Committee, April 23, 1919, L4/647, CZA.
107. Minutes of the Meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Executive of the Provisional Committee, April 17, 1919, 34, J1/8801, CZA.
108. Women’s Association of Jaffa to the Provisional Committee, April 23, 1919, in minutes of the Executive Provisional Committee, April 23, 1919, J1/87761, CZA.
109. “HaTnu’ah biYerushalayim lekrat haBehirot la’Asefah haMeyasedet,” no date, J1/8824, CZA.
110. Menashe Me’irovitz in minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, June 26, 1919, J1/8791 CZA.
111. Minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, June 6, 1919, J1/8791, CZA.
112. Ya’akov Thon in minutes of the Provisional Committee, July 2–3, 1919, J1/8779, CZA.

4. From Associations to Political Party

Epigraph: [Sarah Azryahu?], “Madua’ Holekhet haHitahdut leShivyon Zekhuyot el haBehirot le’Asefat haNivharim biReshimat Nashim?,” August 1944, J75/25, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem
3. Rosenberg-Friedman, Mahaphaniyot be’al Korkhan yes, 56–60.
6. Fleischmann, Jerusalem Women’s Organizations during the British Mandate.
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9. Hitahdut Nashim to the Executive Committee of the Provisional Council, June 26, 1919, J1/8791, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA).
10. *Ha’aretz*, July 4, 1919. The following quotes from the manifesto are from this source.
11. See chapter 1.
22. *Do’ar Hayom*, August 20, 1919. For the charter, see a six-page undated booklet from an unknown publisher titled “Takanot shel Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisrael,” J75/24, CZA.
24. *Hitahdut Nashim*, no. 1, 2.
26. For details, see chapter 7.
27. Hasyah Feinsud-Sukenik, “LiDmutah shel Sarah Azaryahu z’l,” *Shloshim le-Petiratah*, 5/121/26, Archive for Jewish Education in Israel and the Diaspora, Tel Aviv University, Tel Aviv (hereafter AJEI).
33. Ibid., 14–15.
34. Ibid., 10–11.
35. Ibid., 9.
36. Ibid., 13.
37. P. Cohen, “Nationalism and Suffrage,” 713; Hoff, Law, Gender, and Injustice, 12.
38. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 12.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 42.
42. Ibid., 56.
43. Ibid., 12.
44. See chapter 6.
46. Ibid., 69.
47. Tidhar, Enziklopedyah leHalutsey haYishuv uBonav, 3:1190–91.
48. Ibid., 3:1191.
49. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’EretzYisra’el.
53. Friedenreich, Female, Jewish, Educated, 8.
55. Krogmann, “The First Austrian-Born Female Eye Doctor.”
56. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’EretzYisra’el, 16.
57. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 170.
59. The sister was Gurfein Welt, a medical doctor and an active member of the Women’s International Zionist Organization.
61. Nellie Straus-Mochenson to Alice Seligsberg, February 22, 1922, A375/238, CZA.
63. Glass, From New Zion to Old Zion, 74.
64. Nellie Straus-Mochenson to Alice Seligsberg, 1919, A375/238, CZA.
67. Quoted in Straus-Mochenson, Our Palestine, 47.
68. Nellie Straus-Mochenson to Alice Seligsberg, November 1923, A325/238, CZA.
Notes to Chapter 4

71. Rosa Welt Straus to Alice Seligsberg, November 11, 1932, A375/303, CZA.
76. Dr. Welt Straus, “Hevrat Nashim Yehudiyyot leShivuy Zekhuyot” (a letter to the editor), *Ha’aretz*, September 29, 1919.
77. Ibid.
78. “Asefat Evel leZikhrah shel Dr. Rosa Welt Straus,” no date, J75/3, CZA.
80. “Asefat Evel leZikhrah shel Dr. Rosa Welt Straus,” J75/3, CZA.
81. Ada Geller, untitled and undated item, J75/3, CZA.
82. Sarah Azaryahu, untitled and undated item, J75/2, CZA.
88. Ryan, “Traditions and Double Moral Standards.”
90. “Takanot shel haHitahdut,” J75/24, CZA.
92. “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot,” a memorandum to the IWSA Rome Congress, 1923, J75/3, CZA.
94. “Women’s Suffrage Victories since the War,” *IWSN* 13 (no. 6): 70.
98. Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, 258.
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100. Ibid.


104. Shilo, “Paradoxim shel Migdar.”


108. Sarah Azaryahu, “Tafkidey ha’Ishah beAsefat haNivharim,” March 16, 1936, Azaryahu Archive, 3:6, AJEI.


112. “Ve’idat HaPo’el HaTza’ir beNahalal (Divrey Haverim),” 78.

113. Sarah Azaryahu, untitled and undated item, *J75/2*, CZA.


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131. Fleischmann, *Jerusalem Women’s Organizations during the British Mandate*.
133. Ibid., 21.
137. Evans, *The Feminists*, 89.
139. P. Cohen, “Nationalism and Suffrage.”
140. “Hartsa’at Geveret Fawcett,” *Do’ar Hayom*, April, 3, 1921; *Do’ar Hayom*, April 6, 1921.
144. Gelblum, “Nashim biZman Milhamah veShalom.”
146. Rosa Welt Straus to Carrie Chapman Catt, April 26, 1920, in *IWSN* 14 (July 1920): 163. On the literacy of Palestinian women during the Mandate period, see Ayalon, *Reading Palestine*.
147. “Palestine Women’s Council,” A255/475, CZA.
148. [Sarah Azaryahu?] to Helen Bentwich, February 28, 1921, Azaryahu Archive, 1:1, Hakibbutz Hame’uhad Archives, Yad Tabenkin (hereafter AHH).
150. [Sarah Azaryahu?], untitled and undated item, J75/14, CZA.
154. Quoted in Gro Hagemann, “To Become a Political Subject,” 129.
155. *Jewish League for Woman Suffrage*.
158. *Ha’aretz*, October 8, October 20, and November 4, 1919, and January 1, 1920.
Notes to Chapter 5

163. Minutes of the Committee to found the Women’s Council, June 18, 1925, J35/7, CZA.
165. Minutes of the Committee to establish the Women’s Council, June 18, 1925, J35/7, CZA.
166. Azaryahu Archive, 1:4, AHH.

5. One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

Epigraph: Minutes of the first session of the Assembly of Representatives, October 7, 1920, J1/7203, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.
1. Minutes of the meeting of the Zionist Commission and the Provisional Committee Executive, April 17, 1919, 35, J1/8801, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA).
2. Bo’az, “HaStatus Quo”; Don Yehiyeh, HaPolitikah shel haHasdarah.
5. Tokachinski, Ha’Ishah al pi Torat Yisra’el, 20, 21, 59.
7. Uzi’el, Mishpatei Uzi’el, Hoshen Mishpat, 4:34.
9. Ibid., 2:181.
11. Ibid. 21. See also Kark, ‘‘Not a Suffragist?’’
14. Uzi’el, Mishpatei Uzi’el, Hoshen Mishpat, 4:34.
15. Levinsohn, Shivyon haNashim miNekudat haHalakhah, 7.
18. Tokachinski, Ha’Ishah al pi Torat Yisra’el, 93.
21. Rabbi Yehi’el Mikhail Tokachinski, in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 26, J1/8861, CZA.
22. Zalman HaCohen Rubin to Ya’akov Thon, no date, J1/8865, CZA.
25. Ibid., 207.
26. “Giluy Da’at,” in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, 165, J1/8820, CZA.
34. Cott, “The National Women’s Party.”
39. Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uzi’el, in minutes of the Second Constituent Assembly, 105, J1/8763, CZA.
40. Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Hai Uzi’el, in minutes of the Third Constituent Assembly, J1/87661, CZA.
43. Uzi’el, *Mishpatei Uzi’el, Hoshen Mishpat*, 4:44.
46. Ibid., 9.
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50. Ibid., 250.
51. Quoted in Kehat, “Mahut ha’Ishah veYi’udah beMishnat haRav Kook.”
53. Kehat, “Mahut ha’Ishah veYi’udah beMishnat haRav Kook,” 43.
58. Ibid.
60. Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak HaCohen Kook to the Provisional Committee, April 16, 1920, J1/8811, CZA.
62. Provisional Committee to the workers’ parties, October 10, 1919, J1/8808, CZA.
65. Decisions of the Eighth Meeting of the Provisional Committee, October 15, 1919, J1/8782, CZA.
68. Yoseph Sprinzak, in minutes of the Provisional Committee Executive and the Zionist Council, April 17, 1919, J1/8801, CZA.
69. David Ben-Gurion, in minutes of the Provisional Committee, June 10, 1919, J1/8778II, CZA.
70. Ze’ev Jabotinsky, in minutes of the Provisional Committee, June 10, 1919, J1/8778II, CZA.
71. “Va’ad haTa’amulah ‘al Devar Asefat haNivharim el haVa’ad haZemani,” October 12, 1919, J1/8809, CZA.
73. Yehoshua Radler Feldman, in minutes of the Provisional Committee Executive and the Zionist Council,” April 17, 1919, 35, J1/8801, CZA.
74. *Ha’aretz*, June 25, 1919.
75. Avraham Lev, in minutes of the Provisional Committee Executive, June 26, 1919, J1/8791, CZA.
76. David Blumenfeld, in minutes of the Provisional Committee, July 3, 1919, 19, J1/8779, CZA.
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77. “Be’Eretz Yisra’el,” Ha’ivri, November 21, 1919.
79. Minutes of the Provisional Committee Executive, November 21, 1919, J1/8799, CZA.
84. Riots started there in December 1919. Tel-Hai was destroyed on March 1, 1920, and Kfar Gil’adi was evacuated the same day. The northern city of Kiryat Shemonah was named after the eight Jews who were killed.
85. Attias, Sefer HaT e’udot shel haV a’ad haLe’umi liKnesset Yisra’el be’Eretz Yisra’el, 1918–1948, 14–15.
87. Ha’aretz, February 27, 1920.
88. HaMizrahi, “Giluy Da’at,” March 23, 1920, J1/8799, CZA.
90. Quoted in the Provosopnal Committee’s broadside in minutes of the Provisional Committee Executive, April 15, 1920, J1/8799, CZA.
93. Va’ad haTa’amulah to the Provisional Committee, October 12, 1920, J1/8809, CZA.
95. Kook, Igrot HaRa’ayah, 4:50–53.
97. Quoted in Morgenstern, HaRabanut haRashit leEretz Yisra’el, 121–22.
98. “Me’et haMizrahi el haKahal ha’Ivri,” Ha’aretz, April 22, 1920.
100. “Agudat haNashim beYaffo; Lifney Asefat haNivharim,” Ha’aretz, April 20, 1920.
101. R. Thon, HaMa’avak leShivyon Zekhuyot ha’Ishah, 278.
102. Ibid., 105.
103. Ibid., 10.
104. Quoted in ibid., 121.
106. R. Thon, HaMa’avak leShivyon Zekhuyot ha’Ishah, 235.
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108. Berlovitz, “Al Tsomtey Mifgashim bein Nashim beReshit haYishuv (1878–1918).”
110. *Alim*.
111. Ada Fishman to Ada Twerski, May 16, 1920, Pinhas Lavon Institute for Labour Movement Research, Tel Aviv.
118. Avigur, “Reshitah shel haHaganah.”
131. Delegates from twenty parties participated in the first Assembly of Representatives.
133. “Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot,” a memorandum to the IWSA Rome Congress, 1923, J75/3, CZA.
136. Yizhak Ben-Zvi in minutes of the Executive of the Provisional Committee, July 6, 1920, J1/140/1, CZA.
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138. Minutes of the Provisional Committee, September 29, 1920, J1/8787, CZA.
139. Minutes of the first session of the Assembly of Representatives, October 7, 1920, J1/7203, CZA.
141. Ya’akov Thon in minutes of the first session of the Assembly of Representatives, October 7, 1920, J1/7203, CZA.
143. Quoted in Ha’aretz, October 10, 1920.
147. Ya’akov Thon in minutes of the first session of the Assembly of Representatives, October 7, 1920, J1/7203, CZA.
148. Ibid.
149. Quoted in “Asefat haNivharim,” Ha’aretz, October 10, 1920.
150. Ambur, Sefer Shushelet Mishpahat Yunis, 17.
152. Quoted in ibid.
153. Ya’akov Thon in minutes of the first session of the Assembly of Representatives, October 7, 1920, J1/7203, CZA.
154. Minutes of the first session of the Assembly of Representatives, October 7, 1920, J1/7203, CZA.
159. Jacobs, Memories, 57–58.
160. See chapter 4.
162. “Mo’etset Ba’ot Ko’ah Hitahdut haNashim ha’Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisr’ael,” no date, J75/2, CZA.

6. The Union Comes of Age

Epigraph: Sasonah Cohen to the committee of the Union, August 8, 1923, 1, Azaryahu Archive 1, Hakibbutz Hame’uhad Archives, Yad Tabenkin.
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3. A. Friedman, “Imahut biRe’i haTe’oryah.”
6. Union to the Va’ad lehaGdalat haYeludah she’al yad haVa’ad haLe’umi, J75/3, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA).
8. Razi, “Re’uyah haMishpatah sheYivnuha meHadash.”
9. Razi, Yaldey haHefker, 68–94.
11. Fogiel-Bijaoui, Demokratyah veFeminism, Migdar veZekhuyot Adam, 65.
12. “Skirah Al Pe’ulot Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra’el,” 3, 3, AHH.
15. Friedenreich, Female, Jewish, Educated, 148–52.
23. Kuzmack, Women’s Cause, 139.
25. Shilo, “Femenism veDatiyut.”
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30. Rupp, Worlds of Women, 189–90, 199.
32. “Hartsa’at Welt Straus baKongress ha’Asiri shel haBrit, Paris,” Second Circular, September 8, 1926, J75/3, CZA.
33. Fowler, Carrie Catt, 122.
34. Ibid.
35. Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt.
36. International Alliance of Women, “Principles.”
41. Miller, “Lobbying the League,” 47.
42. Ibid., 1–2.
44. Miller, “Lobbying the League,” 2.
45. “Hozer 2: Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot,” September 8, 1926, J75/3, CZA.
46. Fay, “International Feminism and the Women’s Movement in Egypt, 1904–1923.”
49. Ibid., 194–98.
51. Ibid., 120–22.
52. IWSN 14 (March 1920): 81.
56. “Hozer 2: Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot,” September 8, 1926, J75/3, CZA.
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58. Jacobs, Memories, 156.
59. Shilo, Princess or Prisoner?, 38.
60. Carrie Chapman Catt’s private diaries, 11, LCAW.
61. Jacobs, Memories, p. 156.
75. Unsigned memorandum, [1926?], J75/2, CZA.
76. Memorandum no. 194, from the Mandatory Government to the Foreign Office, June 30, 1921, C0733/4, the National Archives, Kew, United Kingdom (hereafter TNA).
77. Report on the Union’s Activities, 1923–26, J75/4, CZA.
80. Hasyah Feinsud-Sukenik, “Asefat Evel,” J75/3, CZA. The item is what Feinsud-Sukenik said at the memorial gathering for Rosa Welt Straus.
81. IWSN 13 (March 1919): 72.
82. League of Nations, “Covenant of the League of Nations.”
84. Rupp, Worlds of Women, 222.
85. Berkovitch, From Motherhood to Citizenship, 20 and 60.
Notes to Chapter 6

86. IWSN 13 (May 1919): 105.
87. Letter from the Union to the League of Nations, July 25, 1925, 1, AHH.
88. On the British Empire’s attitude to the suffrage struggle in colonial India, see Sinha, “Refashioning Mother India.”
90. “MePe‘ulot Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra’el uMatroteha,” no date, J75/9, CZA.
91. Herbert Samuel to the Foreign Office, December 6, 1920, Co7333/68, TNA.
92. Herbert Samuel to the Foreign Office, January 5, 1921, Co7333/68, TNA.
94. “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot,” a memorandum to the IWSA Rome Congress, 1923, J75/3, CZA.
95. Union to Herbert Samuel, July 25, 1921, 1, 1, AHH.
96. Morgenstern, HaRabanut haRashit le’Eretz Yisra‘el, 60–62.
100. Sarah Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra‘el, 60–63.
103. Quoted in ibid.
104. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 201–2.
105. Quoted in “Asefat Am beVet ha’Am, Sidur Mishpat haMishpahah veZkhut ha’Ishah,” Do‘ar Hayom, February 21, 1921.
106. “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot,” a memorandum to the IWSA Rome Congress, 1923, J75/3, CZA.
107. The clash between the Union’s wish to adhere to the Jewish tradition on the one hand and the principal of gender equality on the other hand, was debated again at the Second Assembly of Representatives. See “Asefat haNivharim,” Davar, January 14, 1926.
108. “Hartsa‘at Welt Straus baKongress ha’Asiri shel haBrit, Paris,” Second Circular, September 8, 1926, J75/3, CZA.
110. “Hitahdut Nashim leShivuy Zekhuyot,” memorandum, [1929?], J75/14, CZA.
111. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra‘el, 63.
Notes to Chapter 6

112. Quoted in “Hitahdut Nashim leShivuy Zekhuyot, Memorandum,” [1929?], J75/14, CZA.


115. Tobler, Terumah laTopraphyah haRefu’it shelYerushalayim.

116. Shilo, Princess or Prisoner?, 162.


119. Hitahdut to the Chief Rabbinate, June 18, 1922, 2,1,15, AHH.

120. Rosa Welt Straus memorandum to the IWSA Paris Congress, 1926, Palestine, WLA.

121. Ibid.


123. Hasyah Feinsud-Sukenik to the Chief Rabbinate, January 1, 1923, 1,2, AHH.


125. Sarah Azaryahu in the name of the Union to the Chief Rabbinate, June 6, 1923, 1, 2, AHH.

126. Chief Rabbinate to the Union, June 17, 1923, 1, 2, AHH.

127. Yishayahu Press to the Union, June 21, 1923, 1, 1, AHH.

128. “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot,” a memorandum to the IWSA Rome Congress, 1923, J75/3, CZA.

129. Report on the Union’s activities, 1923–1926, J75/4, CZA.

130. Radzyner, “Milhamot haYehudim.”

131. Report on the Union’s activities, 1923–1926, J75/4, CZA.

132. Welt Straus to Herbert Samuel, November 12, 1924, 1,3, AHH.

133. Minutes of the Union’s meeting, February 10, 1925, J75/4, CZA.

134. “Hozer 2: Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot,” September 8, 1926, J75/3, CZA.


136. Ibid, 392.

137. Sasonah Cohen to the committee of the Union, August 8, 1923, 1,1, AHH.


139. Hitahdut Nashim leShivuy Zekhuyot,” memorandum [1929?], J75/14, CZA.

140. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra’el, 58.


142. Ajzenstadt, “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra’el uMa’avakan leKhinun Tafkid ‘Em haMishpahah.”

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144. Azaryahu, “BaLishkah haMishpatit shel Hitahdut Nashim leShivuy Zekhuyot,” no date, 1, 6, AHH.
146. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 198.
147. “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’Eretz Yisra’el,” no date, J75/9, CZA.
149. Rabbi Yosef Panigel, the Rabbinate secretary, to Yosef Meyuhas, the head of the Jerusalem Jewish Committee, July 16, 1923, 3, 2, AHH.
151. Yoseph, introduction.
152. Quoted in “Hitahdut Nashim ‘Ivriyot leShivyon Zekhuyot,” a memorandum to the IWSA Rome Congress, 1923, J75/3, CZA.
156. Sarah Nisinboym in the name of Agudat Nashim beYavne’el to the Union, January 9, 1924, J75/95, CZA.
157. Ibid.
161. Quoted in Armoni, Haver ve’Ish Sod, 22.
163. Ibid., 56.
164. Ibid.
165. Yosef Azaryahu’s will, February 6, 1928, Kibbutz Afikim Archive, Afikim.
166. Quoted in Armoni, Haver ve’Ish Sod, 24 and 31.
168. Ibid., 48.
169. Sarah Glicklich to Menachem Ussishkin, August 7, 1924, A24/189, CZA.
170. Nellie Straus-Mochenson to Alice Seligsberg, November 10, 1922, A375/238, CZA.
Notes to Chapter 7

175. For more details, see various documents at A 375/303, CZA; Palestine Post, January 17, 1934.

7. Five Years of Struggle and a Victory

Epigraph: Y. A. Navon, “BeSikvhey haVa‘ad haLe’umi,” Ha’aretz, May 27, 1925.
1. In 1918, 56,000 Jews lived in Palestine; in 1926, the number was nearly 140,000.
2. Attias, Knesset Yisra’el be’Eretz Yisra’el, 66–69; M. Friedman, Hevrah veDat, 185–213.
5. Minutes of the Meeting of the Provisional Committee Executive and the representatives of the Haredi Community, April 8, 1922, J 1/137, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA).
7. For example, David Yellin proposed holding a referendum. See minutes of the meeting of the Presidium of the National Council, December 12, 1921, J 1/137, CZA.
10. Ya’akov Thon, in minutes of the National Council Executive, October 20, 1921, J 1/137, CZA.
11. Yitzhak Ben-Zvi in minutes of the National Council Executive, October 20, 1921, J 1/137, CZA.
12. “Hatsa’at Hukey haBehirah le’Asefat haNivharim shel Yehudey Eretz Yisra’el,” Ha’aretz, January 30, 1922.
13. Haredim representatives to the National Council, February 13, 1922, J 1/321, CZA.
15. Sykes, Cross Roads to Israel, 92.
18. Quoted in “Asefat haVa‘ad haMerkazi shel Histadrut haMizrahi be’Eretz Yisrael,” Hator, February 13, 1922.
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21. “Asefat Va’ad ha’Ir leYchudey Yaffo beShe’elat haMisim,” Ha’aretz, March 5, 1922.

22. “Protokol shel Yeshivat haHaredim ‘im Havrey haNesiut shel haVa’ad haLe’umi biYerushalayim,” Ha’aretz, March 5, 1922.


24. Contract between the Zion Theater and the National Council, February 27, 1922, J1/321, CZA.


26. David Yellin in minutes of the Second Session of the Assembly of Representatives, March 9, 1922, J1/7204, CZA.

27. Rosenthal, Khronologyah leToldot haYishuv haYehudi beEretz Yisra’el, 1918–1935, 68.


29. Attias, Knesset Yisra’el beEretz Yisra’el, 77–82.

30. The Communities Ordinance was not ratified until 1927–28.

31. David Yellin in minutes of the National Council Executive, October 29, 1923, J1/99II, CZA.


34. National Council to Rabbi Yehuda Leib Fishman, March 29, 1922, J1/224, CZA.


36. Committee of the Haredi delegates to the secretary of the National Council, May 9, 1922, J1/137, CZA.

37. Quoted in “El Aheinu ha’Askenazim haHaredim,” KolYisra’el, April 4, 1924.

38. Ashkenazi Committee of Jerusalem to the Colonial Office, July 1, 1924, CO/733/71, the National Archives, Kew, UK (hereafter TNA).

39. Ashkenazi Committee of Jerusalem to the Colonial Secretary, July 10, 1924, CO/733/71, TNA.

40. Circular of the Ashkenazi Committee of Jerusalem concerning the opposition to the Communities Ordinance, 1924, CO 733/74, TNA.

41. World Organization of Mahzikey haDat of Palestine to the Colonial Office, August 13, 1923, CO 793/3, TNA.

42. Sir Herbert Samuel, untitled item in the Jewish Chronicle, March 9, 1922; Ash
kenazi City Council to the Colonial Office, December 9, 1924, 549–5m, the Central Archives of the Jewish People, Jerusalem.


44. See, for example, “Sakanat haVa’ad haLe’umi,” KolYisra’el, June 20, 1924.


46. Rabbi Yosef Chaim Sonnenfeld, a circular for a general fast day, A153/152a, CZA.

47. Minutes of the National Council Executive, June 11, 1924, A153/152a, CZA.


49. Foreign Office to the Secretary of State, July 2, 1924, CO 737/70, TNA.

50. Fifty-six referendums on women’s suffrage were held in various states. See Peck, Carrie Chapman Catt, 5–6.


52. Rabbi Yehuda Leib Fishman in minutes of the National Council Executive, October 29, 1923, J1/99II, CZA. See also P. Cohen, “Nationalism and Suffrage,” 721.

53. Grant, “The 1912 Suffrage Referendum.”


55. Benjamin, A History of the Anti-Suffrage Movement in the United States from 1895 to 1920, 211.

56. Minutes of the National Committee Executive, October 29, 1923, J1/99II, CZA.

57. Minutes of the National Council Executive, March 3, 1924, J1/99II, CZA.

58. M. Friedman, Hevrah veDat, 178.


60. Circular to all members of the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights, March 23, 1924, 1, 2, Azaryahu Archives, Hakibbutz Hame’uhad Archives, Yad Tabenkin (hereafter AHH).


62. Yizhak Ben-Zvi in minutes of the National Council Executive, June 11, 1924, A153/152a, CZA.


64. “Asefat Shivuy Zekhuyot Nashim,” Do’ar Hayom, April 3, 1924.

65. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 26–28; a poster calling for the women’s rally, V1986/12, National Library Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter NLI).

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67. Yoseph Klausner, “Ne’um be’Asefat haMeha’ah shel Hitahdut Nashim leShivuy Zekhuyot,” Ha’aretz, April 8, 1924.

68. Women’s rally program, J75/2, CZA; Do’ar Hayom, April 2, 1924.

69. Yoseph Klausner, “Ne’um be’Asefat haMeha’ah shel Hitahdut Nashim leShivuy Zekhuyot,” Ha’aretz, April 8, 1924.

70. Women’s Assembly resolutions, J75/2, CZA. The assembly was a part of the rally.

71. National Council Executive to the Assembly of Representatives, May 24, 1925, J1/317, CZA.

72. Rachel Yana’it in minutes of the National Council, May 13, 1925, J1/7228, CZA.

73. The seven members of the Union’s executive committee were Sarah Azaryahu, Hasyah Feinsud-Sukenik, Nellie Straus-Mochenson, Tzipora Klausner, Margalit Meyuhas, Elka Zeldah Godel, and Hannah Frumkin.

74. Circular from the committee of the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights, Jerusalem, May 22, 1925, J75/4, CZA.


76. Cables from Poland, Germany, Austria, Davar, June 12, 1925, J1/317, CZA.

77. For more cables from various countries, see J1/317, CZA.

78. Henrietta Szold to Rosa Welt Straus, June 15, 1925, RG4/B50/F2, HANY.

79. Delap, Ryan, and Zackodnik, “Self-Determination, Race, and Empire.”

80. Davar, June 10, 1925.

81. Ha’aretz, June 12, 1925.

82. Ha’aretz, June 14, 1925.


86. Minutes of the Third Session of the First Assembly of Representatives, June 15–16, 1925, J1/7205, CZA.


88. Palestine Zionist Executive to the chief secretary of the Mandatory Government, June 14, 1925, 154–5m, Israel State Archives, Jerusalem.

89. Sarah Azaryahu in minutes of the Third Session of the First Assembly of Representatives, June 16, 1925, J1/7205, CZA.

90. Azaryahu, Pirkey Hayim, 218.

91. Ibid., 220.

92. Minutes of the Third Session of the First Assembly of Representatives, June 16, 1925, J1/7205, CZA.
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93. Bylaws of the National Assembly, June 15, 1925, J1/318, CZA.
94. “HaHakanot leAsefat haNivharim haShniyah,” Ha’aretz, June 21, 1925.
95. “HaMoshav haShlishi shel Asefat haNivharim,” HaPo’el HaTza’ir, June 17, 1925.
96. “Asefat Tse’irey haKalfi haHaredit,” Do’ar Hayom, June 19, 1925.
97. “Hahlatot Tse’irey haHaredim leAsefat haNivharim,” Do’ar Hayom, June 17, 1925.
98. “HaHanhalah haTsiyonit Dahatah et Bakashatam,” Ha’aretz, May 19, 1925.
99. Anonymous handwritten memorandum, June 24, 1925, J1/4, CZA.
100. See, for example, a poster promoting a joint gathering with Sarah Azaryahu, the labor parties, and the Sephardi parties, J1/1627, CZA.
102. Minutes of a joint meeting of the Mizrahi World Center and the Mizrahi branches in Palestine, June 26, 1925, Archive of Religious Zionism, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan.
103. “Hoda’ah Gluyah me’et haMizrahi,” Do’ar Hayom, July 1, 1925.
104. “Giluy Da’at shel haTeymanim,” Ha’aretz, June 26, 1925.
105. Minutes of the National Council Executive, September 30, 1925, J1/133, CZA.
108. “LiDhiyat haBehirot le’Asefat haNivharim,” Ha’aretz, July 19, 1925.
109. Minutes of the National Council Executive, September 30, 1925, J1/133, CZA.
111. “El ha’Ishah ha’Ivriyah ba’Aretz,” October 21, 1925, V1986/12, NLI.
112. Rosa Welt Straus, “LeShe’elat haReferendum,” Ha’aretz, October 25, 1925.
113. Feinsud-Sukenik, Pirkey Gan, 282.
114. Maimon, Le’Orekh haDerekh, 27.
117. Quoted in Ada Fishman to the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights, Jerusalem, October 30, 1925, J75/25, CZA.
118. Quoted in Tel Aviv branch of the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights to Sarah Azaryahu, “Agudat Nashim,” November 1, 1925, J75/4, CZA.
119. Tel Aviv branch of the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights, “KeNaged haHishtatfut beMish’al ‘Am,” Davar, November 2, 1925.
120. Yosef M. Cohen, “Aharey haMoshav haShlishi (leShe’elat ha’Ishah),” Do’ar Hayom, June 26, 1925.
Notes to Chapter 7

121. Y. Y. Yellin, “HaMish’al ‘im Tani [?],” Hed Ha’am, October 21, 1925.
123. “Asefat Rabbanim neged Mish’al Am,” Do’ar Hayom, October 26, 1925.
124. Chief Rabbinate, Do’ar Hayom, October 23, 1925; Kol Yisra’el, October 23, 1925.
125. “Azharah Hamurah,” Kol Yisra’el, November 11, 1925.
126. Manifesto of the Mizrahi Eretz Yisra’el Branch, J1/8811, CZA.
128. David Yellin in minutes of the Second Assembly of Representatives, January 1926, A153/151, CZA.
129. Quoted in “Mo’etset haNashim leShivuy Zekhuyot beTel Aviv,” Do’ar Hayom, November 15, 1925.
130. Quoted in “Mo’etset haNashim leShivuy Zekhuyot beTel Aviv,” Ha’aretz, November 17, 1925.
131. R. Binyamin [pseud.], “Tse’u veHitkonenu laBehirot,” Ha’aretz, November 24, 1925.
133. Gurevich, Sefer Statisti le’Eretz Yisra’el, 33.
134. Posters in honor of the Second Assembly of Representatives, J1/1627, CZA.
136. The Union’s branch in Tel Aviv had spilt. A small faction of its members headed by Le’a Kook, a sister-in-law of the Ashkenazi chief rabbi, founded a party called Nashim Amamiyot and led its slate in the elections. Le’a Kook was the only member of her tiny party who won a seat in the Second Assembly of Representatives. See J1/63/1, CZA.
137. The Union’s candidates in the second elections were Sarah Azaryahu, Hasyah Feinsud-Sukenik, Dr. Helena Kagan, Tzipora Klausner, Margalit Meyuhas, Jessie Sampter, and Dr. Hannah Borokhov (Hebraized as Berakhyahu). See elections file, J1/1633, CZA.
138. Rosa Welt Straus to members of the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights, November 16, 1925, J35/14, CZA.
139. “Al Devar Isur Behirat Nashim,” Kol Yisra’el, December 11, 1925; Hator, November 27, 1925.
140. “HaShavua’ be’Eretz Yisra’el,” Kol Yisra’el, December 4, 1925.
141. Ish Yerushalayim, “Renanat ha’Agudah,” Ha’aretz, December 8, 1925.
143. “Azharah Hamurah,” Kol Yisra’el, December 4, 1925.
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144. Unsigned and undated report of the Election Commission, A24/175, CZA.
147. R. Binyamin [pseud.], “Tse’u veHitkonenu laBehirot,” Ha’aretz, November 24, 1925.
149. A. Shaharay, “Aharey haBehirot,” Ha’aretz, December 17, 1925.
150. Report of the Election Commission, January 8, 1926, J1/318, CZA.
151. A. Shaharay, “Aharey haBehirot,” Ha’aretz, December 17, 1925.
159. “Asefat haNivharim haShniyah,” Ha’aretz, January 3, 1926.
164. Attias, KnessetYisra’el be’EretzYisra’el, 201.
166. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’EretzYisra’el, 38.
167. Second Assembly of Representatives, Session 1, January 15, 1926, J1/7206, CZA.
171. Quoted in Hitahdut Nashim, no. 1, 4.
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172. “A Brief History of the Jewish Women’s Movement in Palestine, 1945,” J75/32, CZA.


175. Minutes of the National Council’s Executive, August 14, 1927, L1/132, CZA.

176. Minutes of the Third Meeting of the National Council, March 11, 1928, J1/7231, CZA.


178. Sarah Azaryahu, “Ad Eimatay?,” February 14, 1928, 1, 6, AHH.

179. Quoted in ibid.

180. Sarah Azaryahu, “Tafkidey ha’Ishah be’Asefat haNivharim,” March 16, 1936, 3, 6, AHH.

181. Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, no date, J75/35, CZA.

8. Victory and Defeat

Epigraph: Yoseph Klausner, “Zekhuyot Ha’Ishah,” Ha’aretz, April 8, 1924.


2. Azaryahu, Hitahdut Nashim Ivriyot leShivuy Zekhuyot be’EretzYisra’el, 36.


5. Sarah Azaryahu, untitled and undated item, J75/14, Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem (hereafter CZA).

6. Ibid.


Notes to Chapter 8

19. Fogiel-Bijaoui, “HaMa’avak al haMuvan me’Elav.”
20. Turluic and Turluic, “The Struggle for Women’s Political Rights in Modern Romania.”
23. See chapter 4.
27. Hitahdut Nashim, no. 1, 3.
33. Hoff, Law, Gender, and Injustice, 15.
34. Macdonald, “Suffrage, Gender and Sovereignty in New Zealand.”
35. Welt Straus passed away in Geneva on December 16, 1938.
37. Attias, Knesset Yisra’el be’EretzYisra’el, p. 201.
38. There are 120 seats in the Israeli Knesset. In December 2014, 27 of them were held by women.
39. Fogiel-Bijaoui, Demokratyah veFeminism, Migdar veZekhuyot Adam, 63.
41. Kuzmack, Women’s Cause, 154.
43. [Sarah Azaryahu?], Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights, memorandum, [1929?], J75/14, CZA.
44. Sarah Azaryahu, “Madua’ Holekhet haHitahdut leShivyon Zekhuyot el haBehirot le’Asefat haNivharim beReshimat Nashim?,” August 1944, J75/25, CZA.
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46. Hitahdut Nashim, no. 2, 2.
47. Quoted in Berkovitch, From Motherhood to Citizenship, 229–30.