World War I and the Jews

Conflict and Transformation in Europe, the Middle East, and America

Edited by

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CHAPTER 10

Women and the War

The Social and Economic Impact of World War I on Jewish Women in the Traditional Holy Cities of Palestine

Michal Ben Ya'akov

The Jews in Ottoman Palestine were caught up in the conflict of World War I, beginning with its outbreak in the summer of 1914 until well after its cessation in November 1918, and they suffered greatly, as did Jews worldwide, albeit with differences specific to their location and the distinct characteristics of communal demographics and organization.[1] Furthermore, the Great War in late Ottoman Palestine highlights the intersection of natural disasters and man-made upheaval wrought by war and the blurred division between "home front" and "battlefield," as this war involved civilians in general, and Jews in particular, in ways that had not previously occurred.[2] The traditional Holy Cities of Jerusalem, Tiberias, and Safed may be defined as the "home front," as little or no direct fighting occurred within these cities, with Jerusalem and Tiberias serving as rear bases for the Ottoman and German armies. Nevertheless urban civilians experienced the war intimately, and they battled it in many ways. Zionist circles tried many creative solutions to deal with the rising crises, and their efforts to meet wartime problems have been well studied. The more religious Jews in the traditional communities of the Holy Cities, however, have been virtually ignored in studies of wartime Palestine. The diverse and divided religious communities relied on their existing social and economic frameworks to cope, and individuals struggled with various

personal strategies, but unfortunately these were inadequate to address the increasing exigencies during the war years.

Those on the economic and social fringes of civilian society, especially the women, bore the brunt of daily survival in Palestine as in Europe, fighting battles on many fronts: poverty, starvation, disease and epidemics, locust plagues, exile, and expulsion. In addition, a combination of international and local conditions converged and accentuated the loneliness and isolation of the Jewish population, as will be described below. From organizational reports and personal diaries, much has been revealed regarding these battles on the home front, but little on how women coped during the war. Based on fragmentary documentation and work on women's strategies for coping with poverty, loneliness, and the exigencies of life in Palestine before the war,[3] this chapter will examine the implications of World War I for Jewish women in the traditional urban communities, with special emphasis on North African and Sephardic Jews, to the extent that sources allow. Norms based on gender distinctions dictated that these women, for the most part, did not have the economic or social resources available to the more affluent Sephardic elite or the Ashkenazic Zionist leadership in the various cities, towns, and newly established agricultural settlements, nor did they participate in the deliberations regarding communal decisions on the allocation of funds. Furthermore, most of those women were living alone: widowed, divorced, or those whose husbands had been drafted into the Ottoman army, or exiled from the country as foreign citizens, or separated from their families by circumstance, abroad when the war broke out and travel became impossible. Some had children to care for; only a few had extended family in Palestine. They did, however, constitute a considerable proportion of the Jewish population in urban centers, and it is these women who battled on the home front for their daily survival and for that of their children.

Home-Front Battles

The most severe problem for the population at large was food—or the lack of it. With the British and French naval blockade of the coast, all supply lines were cut, and the Turkish army and government requisitioned nearly all available foodstuffs. Supplies were soon depleted, particularly in the cities and towns. Already in late August 1914 the newspaper *HaPo'el HaTza'ir* reported, "In Jerusalem, where much of the population is unproductive and sunk in poverty in normal times, the distress is felt most, and the number of those hungry for bread is increasing from day to day."[4] The price of flour began to climb. In November 1915, over a year into the war, Dr. Otis Glazebrook, the American consul in Jerusalem, reported to

the State Department that during the previous year the price of rice had increased nearly 600 percent, the price of sugar over 850 percent, and the price of potatoes nearly 430 percent.[5]

Finally the government was forced into action. In Jerusalem, as well as in other provinces in Greater Syria, the Ottoman authorities formed a grain syndicate, which was supposed to purchase grain in Karak, East Jordan, deliver it to the cities, sell the grain at fixed prices, and distribute it among the population,[6] based on vouchers distributed by the various communities.[7] The price of grain that ultimately made it to the market, however, continued to soar, and a black market developed, not to mention the fact that many officials and agents along the way took a share for themselves.[8]

Not only man created havoc in Palestine during the war. At the end of March 1915 and throughout the summer and fall, the situation became even more desperate as swarms of locusts invaded the entire country and devastated what was left of the crops, trees, and greenery, intensifying the shortages already caused by the war.[9] The locusts demolished fields, orchards, and gardens, leaving neither blade nor leaf. A. M. Luntz, in his yearly almanac *Luah Eretz Yisrael* for 1915–16, reported, "The Rabbinical Courts decreed ... that there should be a *Ta'anit Tzibbur,* a public fast day, and the whole day should be one of prayer and petition. After a few days the locusts left. ... However the locusts soon replenished themselves with new larvae."[10] Finally, army orders, government regulations, and citywide communal efforts united under the Central Commission to Fight the Locusts. Every male residing in the cities aged fifteen to sixty was required to collect twenty kilos of locusts and their larvae or pay a fee. Within three days ninety thousand kilo of locusts were collected in Jerusalem alone.[11] Gradually the plague subsided, but barely a home was spared from death by starvation.

Poverty, famine, and abysmal living conditions left the population open to disease. Epidemics of cholera, epidemic typhus or spotted fever, typhoid, dysentery, malaria, and fevers followed in the wake of the locusts and recognized no distinctions between Jews, Muslims, and Christians. The few existing health facilities had no medical supplies, and most of the professional medical staff were alien subjects who had been exiled. Tens were dying by the day, hundreds by the month. A cholera epidemic came in the wake of the Ottoman army, beginning in the north of the country, and continuing south to Jerusalem.[12]

Although wartime shortages, natural disasters, severe poverty, and suffering cut across religious and ethnic divisions, the Jews in Palestine, most of whom lived in the urban centers, suffered in additional ways due to the distinctive characteristics of their communities and personal circumstances.[13] The Jews of Palestine were strongly linked to their brethren

abroad, by familial and communal ties as well as by economic dependence.[14] With the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, direct contact with the outside world ceased almost immediately, with the breakdown in international post and civilian sea transportation.[15] In October 1914 the Austrian, German, French, and British post offices in Palestinian cities stopped functioning altogether, and only the Ottoman postal service continued operating. The sense of isolation from the world was intensified during the first year of the war with the closure of most Palestinian newspapers, both in Hebrew and in Arabic. Hebrew newspapers, such as *Ha'Ahdut* and *HaPo'el HaTza'ir,* were shut down, accused of publishing Zionist propaganda and anti-Ottoman articles. Only the *Herut* newspaper, affiliated with the Sephardic community in Jerusalem, continued to function until 1917, and it was the only source of information that the Jewish community had about the outside world. However, the newspaper was strictly censored by the government, which necessitated a very patriotic and loyal Ottoman tone in its reporting.[16] With no mail and no newspapers, there was a feeling of almost complete isolation from the outside world, which was further amplified by the subsequent cessation of foreign shipping into Palestinian harbors.

Perhaps half of the Jews of Palestine in 1914 were foreign subjects.[17] On 1 October 1914, a month before officially joining the war on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman government announced a unilateral cancellation of the capitulations, the treaties signed with Western powers that granted privileges to foreign (i.e., non-Ottoman) citizens, protégés, and subjects in the Ottoman Empire. Not only were special rights and privileges abrogated, but foreign post offices and most consular offices were closed, as were foreign banks, resulting in the termination of credit.[18] In April 1915 the *New York Times* reported that "money has ceased to circulate."[19] The combined effects of the uncertain local financial market and the rapid economic deterioration in Europe created an economic crisis. The Zionist Anglo-Palestine Bank, founded in 1902,[20] was closed. Due to the diplomatic intervention of the American ambassador in Turkey, Henry Morgenthau, however, it reopened in various locations and continued to operate on an irregular basis. Thus the distress of the Jewish communities was minimally relieved by paper money and credit.[21]

One of the most drastic results of the first two factors—the break in communications and the abrogation of capitulatory status—was the cessation of monies received from abroad. This devastated the already fragile economic situation existing in the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community of Palestine) and affected both Jews in the religious communities in the Holy Land, for the most part living on the traditional *halukah,* funds collected in the Jewish communities abroad and sent to the Holy Land to maintain them, as well as the Zionist enterprise and the funds contributed

from abroad for the building of a new society. Furthermore, as many of the Jews in Palestine were citizens, subjects, or protégés of countries at war with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and their Ottoman ally, they were expelled under suspicion of espionage and treason, usually with little notice. Hemda Ben Yehuda reported in 1918 that "ten thousand Jews left Jerusalem in one week.... In Jaffa 700 Jews were commanded to leave the country in two hours."[22] Others chose to leave before being expelled. While entire families left, it was the male head of the household who was officially expelled, and many times the rest of the family remained in the country. Ashkenazic Jews, most of whom had European protection, were affected more than Sephardim, who were usually Ottoman subjects, but Sephardim also suffered expulsion, since many North African Jews had French or English protection, and Bukharans and others were Russian subjects. Sephardic leaders, including the Chelouche family in Jaffa, Haim Ben-Atar, editor of the Hebrew daily *Herut,* and Avraham Elmaliach in Jerusalem and others were similarly expelled from the cities or elsewhere on charges of Zionist activities or other suspicious actions.

The lack of funds acerbated the famine. Both Arabs and Jews were affected by the hardships, albeit differently.[23] The Jews were hit the hardest, as most were urban residents and thus totally dependent on crops and supplies brought to the city from the surrounding countryside. Arab peasants, while also suffering from shortages due to government regulations and the requisitioning of crops for the Ottoman army, as well as from depleted manpower due to the draft, were usually in a better position to obtain food and exploit the growing black market than the urban Jews. Rural areas were farther from law enforcement agencies, and those living there were often able to escape the draft, enforced labor, and other regulations. On the other hand, however, the civilian population in the urban centers benefited from aid committees and other forms of assistance generally available only in the cities, and the Jews more than others often had access to limited aid and assistance from family and Jewish organizations abroad.

The Immediate Impact of the War on the Jewish Family

Famine, disease, military draft, and deportations had a drastic effect on the demographic composition of the population in general, the Jewish population in particular, and the status of Jewish women.[24] After a meticulous analysis of existing statistics, demographer Uziel O. Schmelz concluded that prior to the war there were approximately 85,000 Jews (with the emphasis on approximately), but at the end of the war only about 50,000 remained alive in Ottoman Palesine,[25] an astounding 59 percent

of the original population. For the same period, Schmelz estimated that the overall population of Palestine declined from 800,000 to 700,000.[26]

During the war years a census was undertaken in each of the Jewish communities by the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, primarily to coordinate the allocation of aid from American Jews.[27] These statistical records, together with a detailed report by Eliezer Siegfried Hoofien, a Dutch-born banker in Jerusalem who served as representative for the Joint Distribution Committee in Palestine during the later part of the war,[28] and various memoirs, all point to the overall conclusion that not only did the Jewish communities suffer much more than the general population of Palestine, but the mortality rates of the Sephardic population were higher than for other Jews. In his comprehensive report, Hoofien included detailed mortality statistics for Sephardic Jews in Jerusalem during the war years, collected from the communal burial societies (*hevrot kadisha*).[29]

The state of Sephardic communal organizations was especially grave, not only due to limited financial resources but also because they lacked the flexibility needed to deal effectively with the ongoing crisis and because of the large number of splits and divisions within each group and between the different groups. Although the varying definitions and categories in the sources render it difficult to consistently differentiate between subgroups of Sephardic and Oriental (Mizrachi) Jews,[30] the Yemenite and Moroccan Jews seem to have suffered the most. In spite of enormous efforts to unify the community to deal with the situation in a most efficient manner, tensions continued between groups.

The situation in Safed was particularly devastating, with recurrent typhus and cholera epidemics, as well as large numbers of Jews who had left the country. The Palestine Office noted that at the onset of the war 7,000 Jews resided in the city; at its conclusion barely 2,688 Jews remained,[31] a loss of more than 60 percent. This enumeration, conducted in Safed in the month of Adar (February–March) 1919, after the war had officially ended, reveals the full extent of its demographic impact: some 248 women were widows (25.8 percent of the households, which, together with their de-

Table 10.1. *Number of Deaths in Jerusalem among the Sephardic and Mizrachi Communities*

Year	Approx. population	Number of deaths	Mortality rate (per 1000)
1913/1914	16,000	442	27.6
1914/1915	14,600	450	30.9
1915/1916	13,700	1,319	96.3
1916/1917	13,000	936	72.0

Source: Hoofien, *Report to the Joint Distribution Committee,* p. 34.

pendent children and other family members, comprised 558 individuals), 113 women were cut off from their husbands abroad or in the army (11.8 percent of the households, comprising 339 individuals), 91 men were widowers (9.5 percent of the households, comprising 226 individuals), 80 were orphans with neither parent, and only a third of the households included married couples (326 couples, comprising 1,359 individuals, or 50 percent of the community).[32] At the end of the war the situation in Tiberias was less drastic, but nonetheless tragic: 22.6 percent of the households were headed by widows (234 women, of whom 149 were Sephardic and Mizrachi, totaling 556 individuals, including dependent family members), and 5.1 percent by widowers (53 men, 119 individuals). There were 51 orphans, and only 51.5 percent of the households included married couples (534 of the 1,036 households, comprising 2,090 individuals).[33]

High mortality rates for adults and especially for infants and young children due to famine, disease, and appalling living conditions, as well as the draft and the deportation of males, left an enormous number of orphans, of one or both parents. "Everywhere little Jewish children laid down and died in the streets, little families of two, three and four huddled together under the parental guidance of some ten-year-old older brother or sister," Hoofien reported.[34] In April 1918 in Jerusalem alone, there were some 3,000 Jewish orphans, of whom only 420 were in four orphanages.[35] Another demographic distortion affecting women was the small size of the nuclear family—averaging three persons or less, with few young children.[36] This finding reinforces data on high rates of infant mortality and low fertility rates due to famine and poor health and the absence of many men from the country.[37]

Under the dire circumstances created by the effects of the war, how did the Jews of Palestine in general, and in particular, the women living alone, cope with the extreme deprivations, terrible living conditions, and natural calamities, including drought and a locust plague, during the war years?

Coping with the War

In early 1919, only months after the official end of the war and the beginning of British military rule in Palestine, Zvi Hirschfeld, a member of the citywide Jerusalem Food Committee for the Jews, wrote a most heart-rending description of the city:

> During the war the situation of Jerusalem's Jewish residents was most grim, as was the work of those aiding them. ... The elderly, women and babies, their bodies bloated by starvation, lay on the sides of the roads day and night, wailing their cries of hunger. ... Jerusalem residents sold all their valuables to the Circassians for a pittance in order to quiet their hunger. Ritual objects were also passed on to the hands of outsiders, and Talmudic pages and other holy books were sold to Arab shopkeepers who used them to wrap halva and salted fish. ... Whole families were wiped out. ... One woman who lived with her three children, told [me], "For two months we have lived on charity—and now even that no longer exists; there is nothing to buy, everything has been used up." When I passed by her house a week later, not one of them was alive—all had died.[38]

At the beginning of the war, the Jewish community in Jerusalem organized independently and tried to support itself. Normally each of the Jewish communities in Jerusalem organized welfare assistance, but in this time of dire need they began to work together. Both religious Jews in the traditional Ashkenazic Old *Yishuv* and the Zionist New *Yishuv* cooperated (more or less) in trying to relieve the suffering. They established or enlarged soup and bread kitchens. Over nine hundred Jews in Jerusalem alone were fed from funds collected in the city in the so-called Bread and Tea Houses (*Batei HaLehem veHaTea*). Those institutions, in which people could receive tea and bread free of charge on a daily basis, grew rapidly and eventually started serving hot meals. It was reported that around three to four hundred people used the services of these houses each day.[39] Mem-

Figure 10.1. *Food Distribution at the Central Soup Kitchen, Jerusalem, World War I. Courtesy of the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Zadok Basan Collection, photo GNZB 401450.*

bers of the new Zionist organizations and younger members of the elite Sephardic leadership established a Sustenance Committee, which collected food and money for the Bread and Tea Houses.[40] Various communal and individual initiatives also helped alleviate some of the suffering, including the work of Swiss-born Sarah Thérèse Dreyfuss, who established three large soup kitchens in Jerusalem during the war years, feeding some three thousand Jerusalem children daily.[41]

With the deteriorating economic situation, many Jews looked for work of any kind, but little was to be found. Shopkeepers and itinerant peddlers had little or nothing to sell, and as money was scarce or nonexistent, there were no customers. With no money circulating, those who offered their services—craftsmen and artisans, and women who cleaned, prepared food, or sewed—had no one to serve. The Jerusalem Merchants Association (*Agudat HaSoharim*), established in August 1914, was the first institution that purported to unite all Jews living in Jerusalem. The association, composed of the elite of the Sephardic community and Zionist circles in Jerusalem, tried to create as many jobs as possible and to develop a more productive atmosphere among the Jews. The Merchants Association, however, fell apart after a short time.[42] At the onset of the war the Ottoman authorities began drafting men into government labor battalions, and at first many Jews perceived these as an opportunity for paid employment, but the degradation and discrimination they encountered in the battalions quickly dashed their hopes.

Numerous aid and assistance committees (*Va'ad Ha'Siyua*) were organized in the various cities and communities, all attempting to find solutions to the myriad problems.[43] A subcommittee for public works made plans to employ workers, as no one could pay them any longer for their labor. Zvi Leibowitz, a member of the Jerusalem Committee for Public Works, reported that after much discussion, the group forged guidelines, outlining the amount to be paid and the number of days of labor permitted, with the work rotated among the unemployed.[44] Most of the work, however, seemed to have been distributed to men, placing women at a disadvantage, in spite of their numbers in the community. In Hoofien's report to the Joint Distribution Committee on food distribution to schools for August 1917, he noted two workshops for women ("Beth Melacha" and "Schoschannah"), offering them work.[45]

Jerusalem's American Colony[46] initiated efforts to provide employment specifically and exclusively for women whose husbands and fathers were in the army or labor battalions. Their assistance was offered to Jews, Muslims, and Christians alike. In the fall of 1915 Bertha Spafford Vester, leader of the American Colony during the war years, began her Industrial Relief Work project and opened workshops with the assistance of her husband, Fredrick. They made "native" embroidery and lace, which "we felt could

be improved and made attractive to Western purchasers,"[47] but they were unable to export the goods. At its height the American Colony employed more than three hundred Muslim, Christian, and Jewish women. Nevertheless, eventually Bertha Vester had to report, "The industry was kept up ... until they [the women] got too hungry and emaciated to work,"[48] and then the workshops ceased to operate. Vester and the American Colony extended additional relief to all residents of the city, regardless of religion, including a soup kitchen, opened with contributions collected in the United States and funneled via the State Department to the American consul, Dr. Glazebrook.[49] By 1917 the kitchen served over a thousand people daily. "It would be impossible to carry on an industrial relief work now. The people are not in a condition to work. It is now simply keeping soul and body together. In some cases our assistance helps; in other cases it is too late,"[50] wrote Vester to her American contributors. In one letter she wrote specifically of the Jews and their deteriorating situation:

> The Gadite or Yemenite Jews and the Morocco and Aleppo Jews are the worst cared for among that class. ...
>
> It shows the increase in poverty, when last year the Jews would not take our cooked soup, but asked for the uncooked cereals, while this year [1917] they are eager and grateful to get it.[51]

As the fighting got nearer, however, the German officers in the city closed the American Colony soup kitchen, and the death rate soared.

Prostitution, an ever-present source of earnings for young girls and women especially during wartime, became prominent among Jews as others, as many women sold themselves to German and Turkish troops just to ensure food for themselves and their families.[52] Some prostitutes seemingly worked as agents collecting information from government officials and army officers,[53] enabling them and their families to survive. However hushed, the problem came to the forefront after the British conquest in late 1917, and individual women and women's organizations sought to offer alternative vocational opportunities for those women to earn a living and regain their dignity.[54]

Jews in Palestine desperately needed outside assistance. As reports arrived in the neutral United States, American Jews began collecting contributions, organized by the newly established Jewish Joint Distribution Committee of America Funds for Jewish War Sufferers. After much organizational wrangling, negotiations, international diplomacy, and bureaucracy, the Joint managed to send money and food supplies to Palestine through the intervention of Henry Morgenthau in Istanbul and Dr. Glazebrook in Jerusalem. Food and supplies finally arrived in Palestine in the spring of 1915 and its allocation began at Passover. The JDC remained active in Palestine, engaging in lifesaving activities during and after the war.[55]

The committees organizing the distribution of the American aid consisted of men, who prepared the guidelines for work, made the decisions, wrote the reports, and signed the correspondence. Nevertheless, it seems that it was mostly women who carried out the actual work.[56] It was women who went into the homes, huddles, and cellars to distribute the food and aid to those who did not have the strength or will to come themselves. Rachel Atia, for example, granddaughter of the esteemed Rabbi David Ben Shimon, the founding leader of the North African Jewish community, visited homes on behalf of the American Joint Distribution Committee, not only distributing food, but also collecting information on the needs of the poor.[57] Pinchas Ben-Zvi Grayevsky, in his fascinating and unique sketches of women, mostly from the religious communities of Jerusalem, published in some ten booklets in the late 1920s and 1930s, *Bnot Zion veYerushalayim* (Daughters of Zion and Jerusalem), noted some twenty women who assisted in the distribution of aid, privately or under the auspices of one organization or another.[58] These women would otherwise have remained nameless or gone unknown, including Mathilde Cohen, who distributed Sabbath meals to the famished on Friday afternoons and found it painful to see the starving recipients eat as soon as she brought the food, not waiting for the Sabbath.[59]

Long lists of widows and orphans in need of assistance in the various communities and cities testify to the sad story and memorialize their names and existence. According to the wartime census of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization in Jaffa, women constituted approximately 55 percent of the urban population in the traditional Jewish centers of Jerusalem, Safed, Tiberias, and Hebron, and 35.8 percent of the adult population were widows (36.9 percent in Jerusalem).[60] This disproportion had been a feature of the traditional urban Jewish communities in Palestine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with over a third of the urban households headed by widows.[61] The war had introduced a new social and statistical category—those whose husbands were out of the country due to the war—either exiled or abroad prior to August 1914 as traditional emissaries or for work and prevented from returning or even sending monies.[62] In the North African *Ma'aravi* community of Jerusalem, which numbered just under 2,000 Jews in the spring of 1916, an undated report listed over 375 poor widows in need of sustenance, some with dependent children, and many living in communal housing (*batei mehase*).[63] As the situation in the country worsened, Jewish widows and women without husbands in the city were especially hard hit and their situations deteriorated considerably.[64]

Traditional assistance offered by individual women and by the wartime efforts of women's organizations like Ezer Yoldot and Agudat Nashim all worked to reinforce the traditional family unit and thus contribute to the

stability and rehabilitation of the community. Simultaneously, through social networking and individual initiatives, many women developed unique strategies for coping with the dire physical circumstances and emotional stress of the continued crisis. Lists for distributing aid show that poor widows often shared living quarters, either in communal almshouses or in private accommodations. Many "adopted" families and assisted them,[65] at the same time receiving moral support and sociability. Others lived with various family members or friends and tried to use their homemaking skills to earn money. Describing the Sephardic neighborhood of Ohel Moshe in Jerusalem, Ya'akov Yehoshua noted the warm relationship between such women.[66] As Helena Znaniecka Lopata has shown in her work on mid-twentieth-century widows in the United States, these women learned to take advantage of a variety of resources, as well as create them, in order to cope with their emotional and physical needs. Personal and social resources, both formal and especially informal, provided the main support outside a normative family.[67] Since many Jewish widows had no family residing in the Holy Cities able to give them support or housing, they created an alternative subculture among themselves. These forms of mutual assistance are much more difficult to document than those of formal organizations or committees, but they are no less "real" and no less important in helping people cope.[68]

Volunteerism and philanthropy have traditionally been spheres of activity for women, associated with their customary home-oriented activities of caring for and nursing the needy. As shown in recent research, as well as in this case study, men generally performed in a more public manner, as a civic duty, organizing aid, while women functioned in a more private, individual manner, assisting the poor and sick.[69] Women in the traditional Jewish communities in Palestine were already deeply involved in the evolving women's organizations prior to the war,[70] and the war gave them greater urgency and afforded them a route into the public sphere, which continued after the war in the traditional communities, as well as in Zionist circles.

Religious women in the Sephardic communities chose these routes as well, simultaneously continuing their traditional way of life and deep compassion for fellow Jews and the Jewish community, while developing new strategies that were neither "modern" nor "traditional," neither "Eastern" nor "Western." They developed new forms of independent resilience, and after the war they were thrust into the public sphere in ways unique to their experiences and their status in the Holy Land. Of course their opportunities for self-expression were always limited by financial resources, exacerbated during the difficult war years, but they combined "modernity" and tradition to suit their particular needs and circumstances. Some acted independently, privately, others in women's organizations. Often it

was women who molded the actions decided upon by the men directing communal affairs—as noted by the portraits of women Grayevsky published—and women who ventured out to receive assistance, as testified to by photos of long lines of women at the soup kitchens. Women's resilience can be seen in Hirschfeld's graphic accounts. Women worked to keep their families alive or at least attempted to do so by not submitting to circumstances. The female experience of the devastation may add to our understanding of the war—and responses to it—at a most individual and personal level.

Michal Ben Ya'akov is an associate professor of history at the Efrata School of Education in Jerusalem and director of its graduate program "Memory, Heritage, and Education." Her research focuses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Eretz Israel, with emphasis on North African and Sephardic Jewry, especially women. She is the author of "Space and Place: North African Women in 19th Century Jerusalem," *HAWWA: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 10 (2012): 37–58; and "Hélène Cazès Ben-Attar et ses activités en faveur des réfugiés juifs au Maroc, 1940–1943," in *Les Juifs d'Afrique du Nord et l'Allemagne Nazie: Nouveax regards,* ed. D. Michman and H. Saadoun (forthcoming).

Notes

1. Much scholarly research has been published on the Jews of Palestine during World War I. See, for example, Mordechai Eliav, ed., *Siege and Distress, Eretz Israel during the First World War* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1991); Nathan Efrati, *The Jewish Community in Eretz Israel during World War I* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1991); Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2011); and a series of booklets published almost annually by the Society for the Heritage of World War I in Israel (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing, 2004–15). For the centennial of World War I, many academic conferences have been held and articles published. Special issues of journals have focused on the Jewish experience during World War I and its aftermath in Palestine/Eretz Israel, including *Zmanim* 126 (2014), *The Jerusalem Quarterly* 56–57 (2014), and *Cathedra* (forthcoming).
2. On this aspect of the European experience of World War I, see, for example, Susan Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 11–49, 245. See also Billie Melman, ed., *Borderlines, Genders, and Identities in War and Peace, 1870–1930* (New York and London: Routledge, 1998); on the Jews in Palestine specifically: Billie Melman, "Re-Generation: Nation and the Construction of Gender in Peace and War—Palestine Jews, 1900–1918," pp. 130–37. For the home front in general, see Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 152–72.
3. Michal Ben Ya'akov, "Space and Place: North African Women in 19th Century Jerusalem," *HAWWA: Journal of Women of the Middle East and the Islamic World* 10 (2012): 37–58; Ben Ya'akov, "Triple Marginalization: Widow, Immigrant and North African Women: On the Fringes of Jewish Society in 19th Century Eretz-Israel," in *Immigrant Women in Israel* [Hebrew], ed. Pnina Morag Talmon and Yael Atzmon (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2012), pp. 9–42.
4. "Within the Country" [Hebrew], *HaPo'el HaTza'ir* 7, no. 42 (27 August 1914): 10. All translations from the Hebrew are my own.
5. Otis Glazebrook to the State Department, "Increase in Cost of Living Caused by War," 3 November 1915, Consular correspondence, American Consulate in Jerusalem, Record Group 84, Vol. 72, National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD, as cited in Abigail Jacobson, "American 'Welfare Politics': American Involvement in Jerusalem during World War I," *Israel Studies* 18, no. 1 (2013): 63, 73n28.
6. *Herut,* 26 October 1916, p. 4, reported that twenty-five thousand kilo of grain was brought to Jerusalem every day from Karak and Salt across the Jordan and distributed to the residents of Jerusalem by the municipality. See also *Herut,* 3 December 1916.
7. Shimon Rubenstein and Zvi Shiloni, *Activities of the General Wheat Committee of Jerusalem during World War I* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: typewritten in ten copies, 2007), pp. 3a, 4a, 40a.
8. Ronald Storrs, *Orientations* (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1937), p. 297; Sami Hadawi, "Sodomy, Locust and Cholera: A Jerusalem Witness," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 53 (2013): 24; Bertha Spafford Vester, *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881–1949* (Jerusalem: American Colony and Ariel Publishing, 1988, orig. 1950), pp. 201–2; Linda Schatkowski Schilcher, "The Famine of 1915–1918 in Greater Syria," in *Problems of the Modern Middle East in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honour of Albert Hourani,* ed. John P. Spagnolo (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1992), pp. 229–58.
9. Much documentation exists on the locust plague. See, for example, "Remarkable Details from American Consul on Palestine Locust Plague," *New York Times,* 21 November 1915; Avraham Elmaliach, *Eretz Yisrael Ve'Suriyah Biymey Milhemet Ha-Olam* [Eretz Israel and Syria during the World War] (Jerusalem: Ha'Solel, 1928), vol. 2, pp. 139–44; Salim Tamari, *Year of the Locust: A Soldier's Diary and the Erasure of Palestine's Ottoman Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), pp. 107–8 for 23 April 1915. Lars Larson, an American Colony photographer, together with John Whiting, took photographs of the devastation, and these hand-tinted images are archived in the Library of Congress and available on its website, https://www.loc.gov/collections/american-colony-in-jerusalem/articles-and-essays/the-locust-plague-of-1915-photograph-album. Recent scholarship has also examined the locust invasion and its consequences: Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* pp. 35–38; Stefanie Wichhart, "The 1915 Locust Plague in Palestine," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 56–57 (2013–14): 29–39; Zachary J. Foster, "The 1915 Locust Attack in Syria and Palestine and Its Role in the Famine during the First World War," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51, no. 3 (2015): 370–94.
10. Abraham Moshe Luntz, *Luah Eretz Yisrael* [Eretz Israel Almanac] 21 (1915–16): 247–48.
11. Elmaliach, *Eretz Yisrael ve-Suriyah,* vol. 2, pp. 139–44. The sources noted here and in note 9 above all cite the rampant corruption of city officials in carrying out the regulations.

12. Dan Barel, *An Ill Wind: Cholera Epidemics and Medical Development in Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2011), pp. 187–268. On the 1916 cholera epidemic, see Barel, "Disease in Times of War: Cholera Epidemics in Palestine during WWI," *Korot* 21 (2011–12): 55–74; Dan Barel and Zalman Greenberg, "Illness and Cholera in Tiberias during the First World War," [Hebrew] *Cathedra* 120 (2016): 161–82; Zvi Shilony, "Health Services in Jerusalem," in Eliav, *Siege and Distress* [Hebrew], pp. 61–83; Eran Dolev, "Medical Assistance in World War I," *Ariel* 167, *Eretz-Israel during World War I: The Campaign in the Negev and Sinai* [Hebrew], ed. Ezra Pimental and Eli Schiller (2004): 52–57.
13. For an alternative perspective, see Samir Seikaly, "Unequal Fortunes: the Arabs of Palestine and the Jews during World War I," in *Studia Arabica et Islamica,* ed. Wadad al-Qadi (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981), pp. 399–405. He notes, "In fact, and rather paradoxically, the condition of the Jewish minority during the war appears, in retrospect, to have been both less perilous and less difficult than that of the Palestinian Arab majority. For, unprotected by the solicitous care of neutral powers, the Arabs stoically tolerated the harshness of Ottoman rule and the miseries of war. By contrast the Jewish population, neither for the first nor the last time, was sustained by foreign support that went a long way to preserve, very much intact, the existence of a miniscule minority in an empire not over-anxious for the well-being of its minorities" (p. 403). Seikaly also notes that "many Jews refused the offer of Ottoman citizenship. Suffering by choice" (p. 403). Not only do the population statistics noted above refute this claim, but the discussion below addresses this stance.
14. For examples of wartime contacts between the Jews of Palestine and Austria-Hungary, see Mordecai Eliav, *Under Imperial Austrian Protection: Selected Documents from the Archives of the Austrian Consulate in Jerusalem, 1849–1917* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1985), pp. 415–68; and I. Klausner, "The Assistance Committee in Vienna for the Yishuv in Eretz Israel during World War I" [Hebrew], *Shalem* 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1974), pp. 501–523. On the activities of American Jews, see below.
15. "Within the Country" [Hebrew], *HaPo'el HaTza'ir* 7, no. 42, 27 August 1914, p. 10.
16. On Haim Ben-'Attar and the *Herut* newspaper, see Yitzhak Betzalel, "On the Journal 'Ha'Herut' (1909–1917) and on Haim Ben-Atar as Its Editor" [Hebrew], *Pe'amim* 40 (1989): 121–47; on the closure of the newspaper, p. 145; Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* pp. 24–25, 87–89. Some short-term Hebrew publications appeared, including *Bayn Hametzarim* in 1915, but these publications appeared very irregularly and did not serve as a replacement for a daily newspaper. See also Mordecai Ben Hillel Ha-Cohen, *Milhemet ha'Amim* [War of the Nations] (Jerusalem: HaSefer Printers, 1929–30), p. 243; Zvi Shiloni, "The Crisis of World War I and Its Effects on the Urban Environment in Jerusalem and Its Jewish Community" [Hebrew] (master's thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 119–21.
17. The exact numbers of Jewish foreign citizens and subjects are not known. Approximation based on Uziel O. Schmelz, "The Decline in the Population of Palestine during World War I," in Eliav, *Siege and Distress* [Hebrew], pp. 17–47, esp. p. 22.
18. "Within the Country" [Hebrew], *HaPo'el HaTza'ir* 7, no. 42, 27 August 1914, p. 10; Elmaliach, *Eretz Yisrael Ve'Suriyah,* vol. 1, pp. 118–19; Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* p. 247.
19. " Distress in Jerusalem," *New York Times,* 23 April 1915.
20. The bank was the main financial institution of the Zionist movement in Palestine and functioned under the protection of England. On the history of the Anglo-Palestine Company, see *A Story of a Bank: 75th Anniversary to Bank Leumi Le-Israel, 1902–1977* (Tel Aviv: Bank Leumi, 1977).

21. Yosef Eliahu Chelouche, *Parashat Hai* [Reminiscences of My Life] (Tel Aviv: Strod and Brothers, 1931), p. 261; Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* pp. 44–45.
22. Hemda Ben Yehuda, "Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem: Its Redemption and Future, The Great Drama of Deliverance Described by Eyewitnesses,* ed. Hemda Ben Yehuda, Kemper Fullerton, and Edgar J. Banks (New York: Christian Herald, 1918), pp. 30–31.
23. Seikaly, "Unequal Fortunes," pp. 399–405; Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* pp. 257–58, 263–64; Schatkowski Schilcher, "The Famine," pp. 229–58.
24. The issue of the overall demographic effect on the Jewish population has been dealt with in depth elsewhere and is beyond the scope of this article. See Schmelz, "The Decline in the Population," pp. 17–47; Zvi Shiloni, "HaDildul ba'Uchlusiya ha'Yehudit bi'Yerushalayim biTkufat Milhemet ha'Olam ha'Rishona" [The Decline of the Jewish Population in Jerusalem during World War I], in *Mehkarim Bi'Geografiyah Historit-Yishuvit shel Eretz-Israel,* ed. Yehoshua Ben Arieh, Yossi Ben Arzi and Haim Goren (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1988), pp. 128–51.
25. Schmelz, "The Decline in the Population," pp. 30–39.
26. Ibid., pp. 26, 30.
27. Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, *Sfirat Yehudei Eretz Yisrael* [A Count of the Jews of Palestine], 2 vols. (Jaffa: Zionist Organization, 1918–19).
28. Eliezer Siegfried Hoofien, *Report of Mr. S. Hoofien to the Joint Distribution Committee of the American Funds for Jewish War Sufferers, New York, concerning Relief Work in Palestine from August 1st, 1917 to May 31st, 1918* (New York, 1918; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1977).
29. Ibid., pp. 34–35; using these statistics, see Shiloni, "HaDildul ba'Uchlusiya," pp. 128–51; and a comprehensive discussion in Schmelz, "The Decline of the Population," pp. 43–46, esp. table 7, p. 44.
30. Nitza Druyan and Michal Ben Ya'akov, "Jews from Islamic Countries in Jerusalem at the End of the Ottoman Era," in *The History of the Jewish Community in Eretz Israel since 1882: The Ottoman Period* [Hebrew], ed. Israel Kolatt (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2002), part 2, pp. 211–78, esp. p. 272; Uziel O. Schmelz, "Bayaiot Musagiot b'Mehkar al Edot Yisrael" [Problems in Terminology in Research on Jewish Communities], *Pe'amim* 56 (1993): 125–39.
31. Palestine Office, *Sfirat Yehudei Eretz Yisrael,* vol. 2, p. 20.
32. Ibid., p. 21.
33. Ibid., p. 13.
34. Hoofien, *Report,* p. 35. On the orphans in Jerusalem and the women "visitors" organized to try and deal with the situation, see Ela Ayalon, "'Visitors of Orphans' in Jerusalem" [Hebrew] *Zmanim* 126 (2014): 72-83; Ayalon, "Orphans in the Jewish Community in Jerusalem at the End of the First World War and After: The Story of the 'Palestine Orphan Committee'" [Hebrew], *Historia* 33 (2014): 95–116.
35. Hoofien, *Report,* orphans, pp. 35, 50; Schmelz, "The Decline in the Population," pp. 44–45.
36. Palestine Office, *Sfirat Yehudei Eretz Yisrael,* vols. 1–2, tables for each of the individual cities and communities; vol. 1, p. 7, for Jerusalem; vol. 2, p. 13, for Tiberias; vol. 2, p. 21, for Safed.
37. For a comprehensive analysis, see Schmelz, "The Decline in Population," pp. 39–43.
38. Zvi Hirshfeld, "Jerusalem," *Ha'Aretz Veha'Avoda* [The Land and the Work], Shvat 1919, pp. 80–81.
39. *Herut,* 6 September 1914.

40. Elmaliach, *Eretz Yisrael veSuriyah,* vol. 1, pp. 123–24; Zvi Leibowitz, "The Bread and Tea House: Reminiscences from the Days of the First World War" [Hebrew], in *B'Aliya u'Bivniya: Zichronot u'Masot* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1953), pp. 114–16; Efrati, *The Jewish Community,* p. 54.
41. Margalit Shilo, "The First World War: An Arena for the Empowerment of Women in the Jewish Community in Palestine," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 1, no. 7 (2008): 3, 10–11. Elmaliach notes some thirty-five institutions that received assistance from the Joint Distribution Committee in 1915 in order to enable some twenty-three thousand to continue their work (Elmaliach, *Eretz Yisrael Ve'Suriyah,* pp. 194–95).
42. *Herut,* 18 January 1916; Efrati, *The Jewish Community,* pp. 54–55, 59–60.
43. Elimaliah, *Eretz Yisrael Ve'Suriyah,* pp. 110–13; Efrati, *The Jewish Community,* pp. 44–51; Zvi Shiloni, "Changes in the Jewish Leadership of Jerusalem during World War I" [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 35 (1985): 64–90; Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* pp. 43–44.
44. Zvi Leibowitz, "Jerusalem in the First World War, the Committee for Public Works" [Hebrew], in *B'Aliya u'Bivniya: Zichronot u'Masot* (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1953), pp. 116–18.
45. Hoofien, *Report,* p. 31.
46. The "American Colony" in Jerusalem was established in 1881 by a group of evangelical, utopian Christians from Chicago, led by Anna and Horatio Spafford, and later joined by others from Sweden as well as the United States. They came to help the residents in the Holy Land, regardless of religion. During World War I they were particularly active with philanthropic work, supported by donations from their supporters in the United States. See Vester, *Our Jerusalem*; Helga Dudman and Ruth Kark, *The American Colony: Scenes from a Jerusalem Saga* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1998).
47. Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* p. 252. For a photograph of such a lace embroiderer, see Nirit Shalev-Khalifa and Migdal David, *Jerusalem: A Medical Diagnosis; The History of Jerusalem Reflected in Medicine and Beliefs* [Hebrew and English] (Jerusalem: Tower of David and Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2014), p. 167.
48. Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* p. 252; see also p. 256.
49. On Glazebrook's efforts, see Jacobson, "American Welfare Politics," pp. 56–76.
50. Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* pp. 257.
51. Ibid., pp. 257–58.
52. Vester, *Our Jerusalem,* deals with the severe situation in one sentence only, p. 264. On the presence of prostitutes at parties and their contacts with government and army officials, see Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* pp. 71–73; Salim Tamari, "The Short Life of Private Ihsan, Jerusalem 1915," *Jerusalem Quarterly* 30 (Spring 2007): 48. After the British conquest of Jerusalem in December 1917, the situation grew to epidemic proportions; see Margalit Shilo, "The Blight of Prostitution in the Holy City, 1917–1919: Male and Female Perspectives" [Hebrew], *Jerusalem and Eretz Israel* 1 (2003): 173–97; Shilo, "The First World War," pp. 5–8; Shilo, "Women as Victims of War: The British Conquest (1917) and the Blight of Prostitution in the Holy City," *Nashim* 6 (2003): 72–83. On prostitutes in Jerusalem during the prewar period, see Margalit Shilo, *Princess or Prisoner: Jewish Women in Jerusalem, 1840–1914* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England / Brandeis University Press, 2005), pp. 197–201; Gur Alroey, "Prostitution and Trafficking in Women in Eretz Israel at the Beginning of the 20th Century" [Hebrew], in *Blood Money, Prostitution, Trafficking in Women and Pornography in Israel,* ed. Esther Hertzog and Erella Shadmi (Haifa: Pardes, 2013), pp. 73–88. On prostitution as an expression of the marginality of women in the modern city, see Deborah Bernstein, *Women on the Margins: Gender and Nationalism in Mandate Tel Aviv* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2008), pp. 17–19 and numerous references there. On prostitution as a component of the immigrant experience, see Gur Alroey, "Journey to Early Twentieth-Century Palestine as a Jewish Immigrant Experience," *Jewish Social Studies,* n.s. 9, no. 2 (2003): 28–64; on Jaffa, pp. 55–59.
53. A striking example is Alther Levine, who seemingly paid Jewish prostitutes who, in return, provided him with information that they gathered from Turkish, German, and Austrian clients; see Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire,* pp. 72–73.
54. Not only was the subject of prostitution hushed at the time, but also in subsequent research on the effect of the war on the civilian population. This lacuna is now being filled. See, for example, Shilo, "The Blight of Prostitution"; Shilo, "The First World War," pp. 5–8.
55. On American Jewish relief in Palestine, see Elmaliach, *Eretz Yisrael Ve'Suriyah,* pp. 185–96; Alexandra Lee Levin, *Dare to Be Different: A Biography of Louis H. Levin of Baltimore, a Pioneer in Jewish Social Service* (New York: Bloch, 1972), pp. 145–94; Efrati, *The Jewish Community*; Jacobson, "American 'Welfare Politics,'" pp. 56–76; Jaclyn Granick, "Waging Relief: The Politics and Logistics of American Jewish War Relief in Europe and the Near East (1914–1918)," *First World War Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 55–68.
56. See, for example, Shilo, "The First World War: An Arena for the Empowerment of Women," pp. 1–15; Ayalon, "'Visitors of Orphans' in Jerusalem"; pp. 72–77; Ayalon, "Orphans in the Jewish Community", pp. 95–116; as well as works on Jewish women in the United States, including Mary McCune, *"The Whole Wide World, without Limits": International Relief, Gender Politics, and American Jewish Women, 1893–1930* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2005), esp. pp. 43–78.
57. David Tidhar, *Encylopedia le'Halutse Ha'Yishuv u'Vonav* [Encyclopedia of the Founders and Builders of Israel] (Tel Aviv: self-published, 1958), vol. 13, p. 4232.
58. Pinhas Ben Zvi Grayevksy, *Bnot Zion veYerushalayim* [Daughters of Zion and Jerusalem], 10 vols. (Jerusalem: Zuckerman Printers, 1929–33; reprint, Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2000, with all ten issues in one volume with index).
59. Ibid., vol. 6, p. 176.
60. According to Schmelz's computations of the Zionist Organization census (Schmelz, "The Decline in the Population," p. 41, table 6).
61. According to the nineteenth-century census of the Jews initiated by Sir Moses Montefiore, for example, women constituted over 65 percent of the population. Factors of differential ages of marriage and mortality rates between Jewish men and women, particularly among Sephardim, and the rather common phenomenon of widows immigrating to the Holy Land created a situation in which there were large numbers of widows. For a detailed discussion, see Michal Ben Ya'akov, *"Aliyah* in the Lives of North African Jewish Widows: The Realization of a Dream or a Solution to a Problem?," *Nashim* 8 (2004): 5–24.
62. The problem of "abandoned" or "deserted" women, however, was not a new problem and had grown in proportion prior to the war, during the mass waves of migration in the late nineteenth century. However during the war the numbers grew. See Gur Alroey, "Deserted Women in Palestine at the End of the Ottoman Period and the Beginning of the Mandate Period" [Hebrew], *Israel* 15 (2009): 93–116; Shilo, *Princess or Prisoner,* pp. 190–97.
63. Widows in the North African Jewish community, Jerusalem Historical Archives (JHA), Old Yishuv collection, *Edat HaMaaravim,* 274/60. The lists are divided by categories, according to the types of assistance received.

64. Tragically, the arrival of the British did *not* immediately ameliorate the situation, but that, too, is beyond the scope of this study.
65. Ya'akov Yehoshua, *The Story of the Sephardi House in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1976), pp. 149–50.
66. Ya'akov Yehoshua, *Childhood in Old Jerusalem,* part 4, *Neighborhoods in Old Jerusalem* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1971), pp. 92–95.
67. Helena Znaniecka Lopata, *Current Widowhood: Myths and Realities* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), pp. 166–69; Lopata, "Widowhood: World Perspectives on Support Systems," in *Widows,* vol. 1, *The Middle East, Asia and the Pacific* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987), pp. 1–9; Lopata, *Women as Widows: Support Systems* (New York: Elsevier, 1979), pp. 3–7, 17–18, 255-269.
68. For a discussion of living arrangements for poor widows in nineteenth-century Jerusalem, see Ben Ya'akov, "Space and Place," pp. 42–44. Shilo, "The First World War," p. 11, also mentions such arrangements within the context of Zionist circles.
69. M. Liborakina, "Women's Voluntarism and Philanthropy in Pre-Revolutionary Russia: Building Civil Society," *Voluntas* 7, no. 4 (1996): 367–411; Liborakina, "Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland," *Voluntas* 7, no. 4 (1996): 350–64, as cited in Lilach Rosenberg-Freidman, *Revolutionaries Despite Themselves* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2005), p. 85.
70. On Jewish women in nineteenth-century Jerusalem, see Grayevksy, *Bnot Zion veYerushalayim*; Shilo, *Princess or Prisoner,* pp. 122–42; on the war years, see Shilo, "The First World War," pp. 1–15; Ayalon, "'Visitors of Orphans' in Jerusalem," pp. 72–77.

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