From EMPIRE to EMPIRE

Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule

ABIGAIL JACOBSON

Contents

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS • *ix*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS • *xi*

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION • *xv*

Introduction • *1*

1. **Jerusalem During World War I**
A Multiethnic City in Time of an Acute Crisis • *22*

2. **Identities in Transition**
Contested Space and Identities in Jerusalem • *53*

3. **Between Ottomanism and Zionism**
The Case of the Sephardi Community • *82*

4. **When a City Changes Hands**
Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule • *117*

5. **Between the Muslim-Christian Associations and the Muslim National Associations**
The Rise of Intercommunal Tension • *148*

Concluding Remarks • *178*

NOTES • *185*

BIBLIOGRAPHY • *219*

INDEX • *249*

2

Identities in Transition

Contested Space and Identities in Jerusalem

THIS CHAPTER WILL EXPLORE the process by which Ottoman identity and affiliation to the Ottoman collective were negotiated and thought of in Jerusalem during World War I, by examining changes in both the public and private spheres. Focusing first on the public domain, I will investigate the ways the urban public space was utilized, changed, and negotiated during the war years. Moving to the private sphere, I will then closely examine the ways by which the war affected people's identities and senses of affiliation to the empire. The public and private domains are related, as will be demonstrated in the following. Changes in public space and its uses also affected the ways people thought of the city, its authorities, their own position in it, and their own affiliation to various collectives. Space and place are considered here to be intimately bound with the constitution of social identities, and are deeply embedded in historical conflicts and processes, such as the war. Urban space is viewed not as a passive, fixed, or abstract arena where things simply "happen," but rather as a site of political action that involves conflicts over the meanings and interpretations of public space. History of people, then, is integrated here with history of place.[1]

Treating Jerusalem as a mixed urban locale, the first section of this chapter focuses on the uses of public spaces in the city, and on how the war affected these spaces and their usage. Places receive new meanings in wartime than they do in times of peace, writes Jay Winter; he gives as an example the way railway stations become a site in which identities are exchanged during wartime, when civilians wear uniform and turn into soldiers as they are sent to war.[2] In the case investigated here, some of the questions that will be addressed have to do with the use of public space in Jerusalem. Who used different circles, gardens, and public

buildings in Jerusalem before the war and for what purpose? How did the function and use of these places change following the outbreak of war? How did the presence of soldiers in the city change the urban environment? These questions will be explored by focusing on three such spaces: Jaffa Road, Jaffa Gate, and the public municipal garden.

The second section of this chapter will discuss the ways the war affected people's views of themselves in the context of the Ottoman collective. By a close reading and comparison of two diaries, those of Ihsan Tourjman and Khalil al-Sakakini, I will analyze in a micro level how the war, as well as local and regional developments, influenced these two individuals. Mainly I will focus on the ways Tourjman and Sakakini articulated and struggled over their location within the city and the empire. The diaries reveal the negotiation over multiple levels of identification, such as Arabism, Ottomanism, and local identities, and the ways they played out at this time of crisis. They also emphasize the connection between the very private feelings and contemplations and the external developments taking place at the time in Jerusalem and Palestine.

CONTESTED SPACE: PUBLIC SPACE AND ITS USES

As with other cities around the world, the city of Jerusalem had certain areas within it that can be described as political public spaces. What is public space and how can it be defined? The origins of the concept of public space can be first located in relation to Greek democracy and to the notion of the place where citizenship was practiced and debated, a meeting place that enabled citizens to interact and exchange ideas. In recent years, a growing theoretical debate has focused on the fundamental related questions of what are the meanings of "public," what makes a space "public," and what formulates "the public." Two of the questions that are being asked in this context are what a public realm is and what the relations between the public and government are.[3]

Henry Lefebvre's works on everyday practices of life and the social production of space are essential for any discussion on urban public space, the spaces in cities in which day-to-day activities are performed. Although the discussion on public space takes different directions and forms, Lefebvre emphasizes the dialectical relationship between identity and urban space, and provides a conceptual framework for understanding spatial practices of everyday life as being

central to the production and maintenance of physical space. Lefebvre's distinction between *representational space* (lived space, space in use, but also symbolic and imagined spaces) and *representations of space* (planned, ordered, and controlled space) is especially useful. Public space, according to Don Mitchell, often falls into the category of representation of space, but as people use these spaces they also become representational spaces. However, public spaces are also "spaces for representation," spaces in which a political movement can use the space that allows it to be seen and to represent itself to larger publics and audiences. Different social groups can also become public and represent and expose themselves through their use of public space.[4]

Public spaces gain symbolic, as well as practical, meaning throughout the years through a process of negotiation between different groups that try to utilize the space for their own purposes. Central to this process is the dynamic of inclusion and exclusion of different groups from the urban space. On the one hand, these groups can be those who challenge the state's authorities, including marginalized groups that use public space in order to represent themselves. On the other hand, it can be the state itself that uses the space for its own manifestation of power and authority. The practical and symbolic usage of a space, then, can be negotiated and changed.[5]

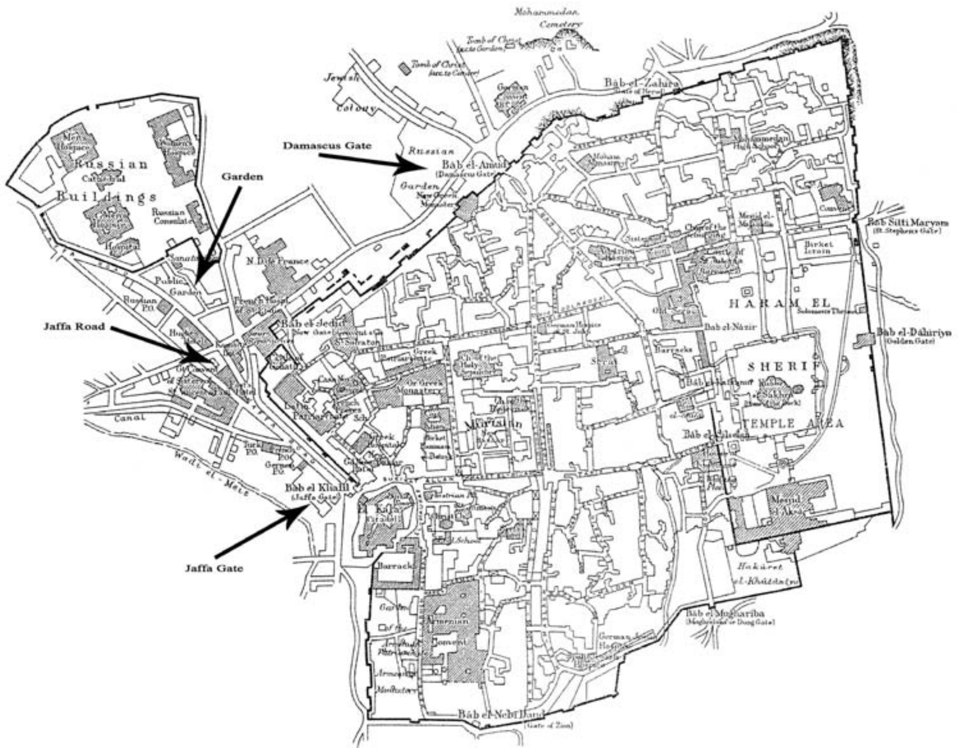
In an attempt to create a typology of public space, Fran Tonkiss suggests three ideal types of such spaces in the city. The first is the square, pubic parks, or green areas as sites of collective belonging, places that are provided or protected by the state and that offer equal and free access to all users. The second public space is represented by the café as a place representing social exchange and encounter, mainly among the bourgeois. The third locale is the street, which represents the basic unit of public life in the city, a shared public space that allows individuals to interact, on different levels, with others. The streets represent spaces that, theoretically at least, are equally accessible to everyone.[6]

Following this suggested typology, I would like to focus the analysis on several secular sites in Jerusalem (as opposed to religious spaces) within the city center just outside the walls, which stretch between the municipality, Jaffa Gate, and Damascus Gate and include the Russian Compound and the city park (see map 2). How were these spaces, Jaffa Road, Jaffa Gate, and the garden, utilized in the process of war? What were their different functions? Who were the people seen in the streets of Jerusalem at this period? What were the activities taking place in

the streets and the gardens? Who were the people participating in them, and how did these activities affect life in the city at this time of crisis? To use Lefebvre's terminology, these three sites can be viewed as both *representational spaces* and *representations of space,* as they were both controlled by the Ottoman authorities, but at the same time were also contested spaces that were claimed and used by different groups for different purposes.

The area of Jaffa Gate and Jaffa Road that connected the Old City with some of the new neighborhoods served as one of the major centers of the city during the last years of Ottoman rule. Jaffa Road is still central in today's Jerusalem as well. In 1914, before the war broke out, the area served as a lively commercial and social center, in which one could find many stores, banks, coffee shops, and a large public garden. In 1896, the municipality moved to its new building at the corners of Mamila *(Ma'mun Allah)* and Jaffa Road, and turned this area into an administrative center as well. In his memoir, Ya'akov Yehoshua described this area, between the municipality and Jaffa Gate, as *the City* of Jerusalem. The big merchant houses; the foreign banks and post offices, including the Anglo-Palestine Company Bank; the hotels; the consulates; and the coffeehouses were all located in this area, near the municipality. The shops, which belonged to Arab, Armenian, Greek, German, and some Jewish merchants, sold imported textile products and appliances and offered to exchange different mercantile products. The customers of these shops were both the local population and tourists. This is also where the first three photography stores in Jerusalem were opened. These stores, the hotels (Du-Park, which was later known as Hotel Fast, Lloyd or Jerusalem-Kaminitz Hotel, and Hughes Hotel), as well as the travel agencies, which had offices in the streets, all served the tourists who frequented this street.[7] This area was a mixed urban locale that served social, economic, and administrative functions for all of the city's inhabitants, as well as for its visitors. It was where people interacted and communicated.

The city park *(al-muntaza al-baladi)*, Al-Manshiya, was located nearby as well. Established near the Russian Compound in 1892, it served as an important site in the city's life during the last years of the Ottoman Empire and during the war, as will be examined later. First and foremost, it was a social space, a place of leisure, in which Jerusalemites as well as governmental officials and military personnel walked around while enjoying the music that was played there every afternoon on Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays. In the café, which was located in one of



Map 2. Jerusalem: Old City, City Center, and Jaffa Road, ca. 1917. Jerusalem, 1:5,000 (reproduced), Survey of Egypt, ca. 1917. *Source:* Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Jer 334, NLI.

the garden's corners, people could drink coffee or cold beverages and smoke the *Nargilah*. But the garden also served as a political site. During the late Ottoman period, it served as a gathering place for government celebrations or announcements, as well as for demonstrations of all kinds. During special celebrations for the empire, a military band played in the garden as well.[8]

Jerusalem turned into a "front line" in the war and as an area of actual fighting only in December 1917, during the British occupation of the city. During most of the war Jerusalem served as a rear base for Ottoman, German, and Austrian forces that were sent to fight mainly on the southern front. The number of soldiers that were present in Jerusalem varied, according to the developments in the front lines. However, the presence of military forces was felt in the city throughout the

war and affected the dynamic within its public spaces. In the first stages of the war the Ottoman authorities in Jerusalem confiscated many buildings and properties that belonged to enemy countries, such as hospitals, convents, and various buildings that belonged to different missions. Most of the confiscated property was located in the area around the Russian Compound, close to the municipality and the Jaffa Road. The Notre Dame compound, for example, located across the street from the New Gate, became the main headquarters of the Ottoman forces. Many of the Ottoman forces were also located nearby in the Russian Compound, which included the military police and a military hospital (located in the building of the Russian hospital). The Ratisbon convent was confiscated and served as a military hospital as well. By focusing their forces around the Russian Compound, Jaffa Road, and the western gates of the city, the Ottoman forces created a kind of "territorial continuity" of their military headquarters and hospitals.[9] The condensed military presence in these areas, coupled with the centrality of this district in the administrative, mercantile, and social life of the city just before the war broke out, contributed to its importance as a political space during the war years as well.

Another important political public space in Jerusalem was Bab al-Khalil, Jaffa Gate, and the area just in front of it. Jaffa Gate serves as a good example of a contested space and demonstrates the flexibility of a political public space. It was a site for demonstrations and public hangings and became a symbolic gate for the city of Jerusalem, as seen in Allenby's well-documented ceremony in December 1917, which took place near the gate. Again, this area served different functions during the war years. Before the war broke out, this compound was crowded with people who were entering the Old City or going out of it toward Jaffa Road and the municipality. The area in front of the gate served as the "central station" of Jerusalem; this is where carriages and wagons collected passengers from. In the building outside the gate were workshops, shops that sold different merchandise, a bakery, restaurants, and cafés. Some of them were owned and managed by Germans.[10]

The most apparent building in Jaffa Gate was the clock tower. The Ottomans built the tower in 1906 as a present for Sultan Abdülhamid II, and, as other clock towers that were built in different locations around the empire, this tower too was conceived as a symbol of Ottoman loyalty, as well as of the spirit of change in the empire. The clock on top of it was considered the most reliable clock in town, and the Jerusalemites used to set their clocks according to it. Another symbol for Ottoman presence in the area was the *sabeel,* the public water fountain, which

was built near the Jaffa Gate in 1900 to celebrate twenty-five years of the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II and that served the passersby. Both the *sabeel* and the clock tower were removed by the British governor of Jerusalem, Sir Ronald Storrs, in 1921 and 1922, respectively.[11]

The area around Jaffa Gate was used for different purposes altogether during the war. In Cemal Paşa's time, this area became a site for demonstrations, parades, as well as public executions. When Cemal Paşa ordered the hanging of people suspected as Arab nationalists, such as the mufti of Gaza, Ahmed 'Aref al-Husayni, the hangings took place at the entrance to Bab al-Khalil. Defectors from the Ottoman army were also hanged in Jaffa Gate. On June 30, 1916, for example, two Jews, two Christians, and one Muslim, all accused of defecting from the army, were hanged there.[12] The hangings were indeed public: in the photos that document them, one can see the hanged men dressed in white clothes, surrounded by Ottoman officers and soldiers. Behind them there are spectators who observe the scene. These hangings of political activists in the city gate served as a demonstration of Ottoman authority in the city, but also turned into very powerful symbols for Cemal Paşa's cruelty and abuse of the residents of Jerusalem, as well as other areas in Palestine and Greater Syria.

Jaffa Gate served as a place for other forms of political manifestations as well. During the war, several pro-Ottoman parades ended up or passed through the gate on the way from the Old City to the municipality area. Khalil al-Sakakini mentions several of them in his diary. He also describes a parade of soldiers who were recently drafted into the army that passed near the Jaffa Gate. The area before the gate was crowded with people who were waiting for the soldiers. He too was looking for some of his friends, to whom he wanted to say good-bye just before they left the city. For Sakakini and others, this area became a site for a collective farewell from the drafted soldiers.[13]

Another big event took place near the Jaffa Gate on December 1914. When the news came that Ottoman troops would pass through Jerusalem on their way to the Egyptian front, the Jewish Ottomanization Committee decided to organize a reception for those troops at the entrance of the Jaffa Gate. The committee decided that a special "gate of honor" would be built at Jaffa Gate, by Jewish carpenters and under the supervision of Professor Boris Shatz, the director of the Bezalel art school. The leaders of the Jewish communities and the heads of the schools in Jerusalem stood under two tents near the gate and greeted the soldiers

with special gifts. Muslim, Jewish, and Christian school students stood along the way that led to Jaffa Gate, waving Ottoman flags. Once the Ottoman troops, headed by the commander of the army, arrived at the gate, they were introduced to the representatives of the municipality and the different communities of Jerusalem, who greeted them warmly. The gate served here as a place of celebration and political support of the Ottoman forces.[14]

Utilized for both social and political functions, one of the intriguing and interesting ways in which public space, and mainly the public garden, in Jerusalem was used during the war years was for parties and celebrations. Some of these celebrations were to mark Ottoman victories (or claimed victories) on the battlefield, some to collect money for charity, and some to promote the government authority. These celebrations are mentioned and discussed quite frequently in Jawhariyyeh's memoir and Tourjman's diary, though from different perspectives. Jawhariyyeh, as a musician who played at many of these events, mentioned them mainly as part of his lively and vivid account of music and art life in late Ottoman Jerusalem.[15] Tourjman, on the other hand, described these celebrations much more critically, as decadent and immoral, and points to them to demonstrate the extent of Ottoman corruption and immorality. They raise Tourjman's ire and reinforce his growing frustration and antagonism toward the government, as will be discussed in detail in the following.

The analysis of public sites in Jerusalem serves to demonstrate how public space was contested and negotiated during this time of crisis. In the words of Henry Lefebvre, "Space is permeated by social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations."[16] In Jerusalem, streets, gardens, and squares served multiple purposes, sometimes simultaneously, during this period of wartime and conflict. Hence, the city garden served as a place for leisure and celebration, as well as a site for political protest, and is described and remembered differently by people who used it. Jaffa Gate was used as both a political site for demonstrations (and hangings) and as a vibrant urban space for commerce and daily interaction between the city's residents. Indeed, spaces manifest in the broad social and political processes and serve to influence and shape social identities.[17] A close examination of Ihsan Tourjman and Khalil Sakakini's diaries, analyzed here, further demonstrates this connection between public space and the processes of negotiating one's identity and, in this case, detachment from the Ottoman Empire.

4. Scene inside the Jaffa Gate looking east. A postcard from the beginning of the century. Note the mixed style of clothes and the means of transportation. The hotel in the distance is Central Hotel. *Source:* World War I Jerusalem photographs, the Jacob Wahrman Collection.

CONTESTED IDENTITIES AND AFFILIATIONS: IHSAN TOURJMAN AND KHALIL AL-SAKAKINI COMPARED

Considering his service in the Ottoman army and the meaning of his being a soldier and fighting for the Ottoman cause, Ihsan Tourjman wrote in his diary:

> Will I go to protect my country (*watani*)? I am not an Ottoman, only in name, but a citizen of the world *(muwatani al-ʿalam)* . . . Had the state *(dawla)* treated me as part of it, it would have been worthwhile for me to give my life to it. However, since the country does not treat me in such way, it is not worthwhile for me to give my blood to the Turkish state *(al-dawla al-turkiyya).* I will happily go [to fight in Egypt?] but not as an Ottoman soldier.[18]

Tourjman expresses here his profound frustration and anger at the way the Ottoman Empire, which he perceived to be *his* state, treated him. This entry reflects a deep sense of dislocation and alienation, and even betrayal from the collective to which he belongs, the Ottoman Empire.

Through the reading of Ihsan Tourjman's diary and its comparison to Khalil al-Sakakini's diary, and mainly by exploring Tourjman's depiction of local and regional developments, this section examines how Ottoman identity and affiliation to the Ottoman collective were negotiated and conceptualized in Jerusalem during World War I. The case of Jerusalem demonstrates what Jay Winter argues in the context of other cities: that identities on all levels—individual, local, national—overlap in times of war and become more significant than in peace times. The division between "us" and "them" is necessarily being made, but, as we will see in the case here, this division may also create much confusion and ambivalence.[19] The analysis of autobiographical sources illuminates and demonstrates the multilayered levels of people's identities and the ways they played out during the time of war.

The question of multiplicity of identities and the processes surrounding the negotiation among Ottomanism, Arabism, and local national identities at the end of the empire have been widely discussed in the literature.[20] As demonstrated by Rashid Khalidi, Ottomanism and Arabism lived side by side and allowed a wide and flexible range of identifications in the Ottoman context. Before 1914, Arabism in general did not imply Arab separatism and did not conflict with loyalty to the Ottoman state. Arabs saw themselves as belonging to the empire, and the differences between Ottomanists and Arabists were issue specific rather than ideological. Arabism at that time did not stand for Arab nationalism, and both Arabists and Ottomanists perceived themselves as Ottoman patriots.[21]

How did the war affect this complex identity? Several studies have discussed the effects of World War I on the consciousness of local inhabitants in Syria,

Lebanon, and Palestine, and on their sense of belonging to the empire. Tarif Khalidi, for example, suggests that the public hangings of Arab nationalists in Beirut and Damascus caused people to start questioning their affiliation to, and identification with, the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman wartime policies provoked sentiments of anger, resentment, and horror directed at Cemal Paşa. In this, Khalidi echoes George Antonius who, in *The Arab Awakening,* points to Cemal Paşa's acts against the Arabs—in particular the trials and executions of Arab nationalists—and considers them as the immediate reason for Sherif Hussein's declaration of the Arab revolt. Khalidi also identifies widespread feelings of apathy among the populations of Syria and Lebanon, which he attributes to the physical vulnerability of people subjected to famine and disease, as well as to a decline in religious belief.[22]

In his discussion on the formation of Palestinian identity, Rashid Khalidi credits the war as well. He attributes the collapse of Ottomanism as transnational ideology (and as a focus of identity) both to the defeat of the Ottoman army and to the withdrawal of Ottoman forces from the Arab-speaking lands in 1918. Regarding the war years, Khalidi further argues that the attitudes and identities of the local population in Palestine were transformed rapidly, but he does not develop this argument further.[23]

The case of Jerusalem during the war, as discussed on a micro level here, integrates as well as demonstrates the arguments of all of these scholars; but it also complicates them. The process described in the diaries is one of negotiation between possible conceptions and foci of identity and affiliation, just before the demise of the Ottoman Empire. It portrays the confusion, disorientation, and loss that some people experienced at this time of change and crisis. Part of this disorientation, I argue, derived from the replacement of local Ottoman administrators in Jerusalem, who were familiar with the city's sensitivities and its inhabitants, with "external" administrators in the first stages of the war. The external Ottoman officials were represented first and foremost by Cemal Paşa, who arrived in Jerusalem as the commander of the Fourth Army in January 1915. Despite Cemal Paşa's investment in the reshaping of the civil and military infrastructure of Greater Syria through the construction of roads, buildings, and the creation of educational and cultural institutions, he was known as a cruel leader who was behind the hangings of suspected national activists—Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Beirut, Damascus, and Jerusalem—as well as the deportations of foreign subjects or those believed to be a risk to the Ottoman cause. His arrival

and activities signaled for some Jerusalemites the beginning of this process of alienation from the Ottoman collective.[24]

The process of confusion and alienation analyzed here had several dimensions. Wartime economic and social crises, which were exacerbated by atrocities against the local population and changes in the Ottoman administrators of the city, intensified resentment toward the Ottoman government and its representatives. In some cases this increasing criticism of the government led to a growing feeling of detachment from the Ottoman collective, as seen here. This feeling signaled what Rashid Khalidi refers to as the decline of Ottomanism as a uniting transnational ideology.

Before the close analysis of the two diaries, it is necessary to discuss the value of a diary as a historical source, and especially the special nature of Ihsan Tourjman's diary, which is used extensively here. The 192-page handwritten diary was written in Jerusalem over a period of two years, from 1915 to 1916, when Tourjman was in his early twenties. Records indicate that Tourjman died in 1917, before he reached the age of twenty-five. Upon the discovery of the diary, the identity of its writer was somewhat mysterious, as the cover of the diary identified "Muhammad 'Adil al-Salih, from Jerusalem" as the writer, a man who appears to have left no other record of his life in that city under this name. However, repeated attempts to locate any trace of the writer leads to the belief that the writer was actually Ihsan Tourjman, the son of a clerical family who served in the Ottoman civil service and as translator in the Islamic court of Jerusalem. Tourjman served as a soldier in the Ottoman army under the command of Rüşhen Bey, and was based in the Jerusalem headquarters in the Notre Dame compound.[25]

Defining Tourjman's social group, I borrow Ehud Toledano's idea of "Arab-Ottoman elite," suggested in relation to Egypt. This concept highlights the links between the local (Arab) and the larger (Ottoman) context of the period under discussion. In the case of Egypt, Toledano describes a process of transition from an Ottoman-Egyptian elite (with strong connection to the empire but also a sense of local Egyptian solidarity), to an Egyptian-Ottoman elite toward the beginning of the twentieth century (when the Egyptian factor became stronger than the Ottoman one, although the links to the empire still existed). The demise of the empire turned this group into an Egyptian one, which underplayed and eventually erased Egypt's Ottoman past. The process described here may be placed in

the "junction" of the transition between what Toledano calls the "local-Ottoman" to the "local elite," as Tourjman's strong links and sense of belonging to the empire began to be shaken during the war, as will be demonstrated.[26]

Several leads in the diary identify Tourjman as a member of the Arab-Ottoman elite of late Ottoman Jerusalem. His social circles included such well-known Palestinian figures as ʻIsaf Nashashibi and Mussa ʻAlami, as well as various members of the Husayni and Khalidi families. He was related to the Khalidi family on his maternal side.[27] Khalil al-Sakakini, the well-known educator and intellectual, is frequently mentioned in the diary. Tourjman studied in al-Sakakini's school al-Dusturiyyah in 1909, and al-Sakakini became his mentor and close friend. The writer seems to have spent much time with him—in his house, school, and elsewhere in Jerusalem. Sakakini's diary writing may have been Tourjman's inspiration in writing his own diary.[28]

Although this diary represents a testimony of a single individual at a specific interval, I do not view it as merely a personal account, but rather as a source that can shed light on the larger social group to which the writer belonged. Because he acted in a specific social and political context, his personal views and dilemmas may reflect his larger environment as well. Such treatment of the diary is methodologically consistent with the prevalent academic practice that regards personal narratives and autobiographies as sources for social history.[29] For the analysis of the diary discussed here, I adopt Edmund Burke III's use of the term *social biography,* which views biography as reflecting the social process and cultural interaction that an individual is experiencing. Burke views social biographies as alternative ways to analyze historical processes, while putting the lives of ordinary people in the center of attention.[30]

Although Tourjman does not fully fit into Burke's category of "ordinary people"—nonelite who are not part of the official, military, or intellectual circles—his testimony still represents a very unique and valuable autobiographic source, given the lack of documentation on the Arab experience of wartime Jerusalem. It provides a very rich and vivid description of Jerusalem and the events that took place not only in the writer's life, but also in the urban environment of the city. In what follows I will focus on the writer's process of identity contemplation as it unfolds throughout the diary, by examining three central themes: wartime conditions in Jerusalem as experienced by residents; the condition of

women and their treatment by Ottoman officials in the city; and, finally, the political changes that took place in the region and the ways they influenced the writer and his sense of affiliation to the empire. In order to connect the diary to its broader context, I will briefly compare Tourjman's diary and the picture that it paints to al-Sakakini's diary. Such a comparison shows that the issues that consumed and upset Tourjman occupied the minds of other members of his community as well and were not unique to him.

WARTIME JERUSALEM THROUGH THE EYES OF TOURJMAN

Tourjman described at length the impact of the war and the hardships it brought to the city, and often referred to food shortages and harsh treatment at the hands of some government officials. In his April 24, 1915, entry Tourjman reported that he and Khalil al-Sakakini had learned from a baker that bread was no longer available. At the end of May he wrote that there were hardly any vegetables in the market—only a few tomatoes and cucumbers.[31] His diary reflects a direct connection between the shortage of food and the hardships of the war. It also protests the Ottoman government's neglect of its subjects. This connection is very clear in a December 1916 entry:

> I have never seen such a day in my life. . . . All [supply] of flour and bread stopped. When I walked to the *manzil* [the Ottoman army's headquarters in the Notre Dame compound] this morning I saw many men, women and children in *Bab al-'Amoud* [looking] for some flour. . . . I see that the enemy gets stronger than the *fellahin*. . . . How poor these people are . . . but all of us are miserable these days. . . . Two days ago we ran out of flour. My father gave my brother 'Aref one dirham to buy us bread. He left the house and looked for bread but could not find any. At the end he received some bread for our relatives. . . . The flour has finished in our country, and it is its main source [of food]. . . . Isn't our government committed to [maintaining] the quiet life [well-being] of inhabitants?[32]

Tourjman was very aware that the burden of hunger and misery fell most heavily on the poor. He claimed that the rich families had stocks large enough to last them a year or longer and asked about the fate of the poor and miserable. Yet he addressed his most vehement blame to the government: "Wasn't it the duty of the government to store flour so that it would be able to sell it during these

difficult days to the poor? The government should wake up before the people revolt [against it]," he wrote.[33]

These indications of dissatisfaction, anger, and frustration at the government's neglect during this time of crisis are very prominent throughout the diary, as well as in other sources. Bahjat and Tamimi, for example, expressed similar criticism toward the Ottoman government and its local representatives in the province of Beirut in their report. They criticized the neglect of the population, the victims of the war, and the corruption of the local Ottoman bureaucrats. However, unlike Tourjman, they continued to express their unconditional loyalty to the Ottoman Empire and to the Ottoman framework, even after viewing the effects of the war on the local population. Among the multiple identities that they held, the Ottoman component was probably still the most dominant one.[34] Unlike them, Tourjman's frustration with the government's policies will translate later into a growing animosity, not only toward the government and its representatives, but toward Ottoman rule as a whole. This frustration led him to question his own affiliation and sense of solidarity with the empire.

The celebrations that took place in Jerusalem, which were mentioned earlier, serve for Tourjman as a reinforcement of the immoral behavior and corruption of some Ottoman officials in the city. On April 26, 1915, for example, Tourjman described a celebration that took place in Jerusalem in honor of an unspecified holiday *('id)*:[35]

> The city today is decorated in the most beautiful way. All the shops *(mahalat)* are lighted up in celebration of this holiday. Wouldn't it be better if the government didn't celebrate and [instead] mourned together with its subjects? Wouldn't it be better to spend this money on the poor and the miserable? This evening, many beautiful women *(jami'a al-saidat al-jamilat)* from Jerusalem participated in the celebration. There were beverages *(mashrubat)* [probably alcoholic] for everyone and music . . . but that wasn't enough, because they invited prostitutes from Jerusalem *(mumisat al-Quds)* to attend this celebration. And I was told that there were more than fifty known prostitutes [present] that night. Every officer or amir or pasha took either one or two or more women and walked in the garden. . . . The men are telling secrets of the state to these women without noticing, because they are drunk. . . . The days of happiness change to sadness, and the days of sadness change to happiness . . . when we are happy we think about our brothers the Turks in the Dardanelles front.[36]

The writer's attitude toward the government in light of such celebrations is noteworthy. The celebration of April 1915 happened to coincide with the locust attack on Jerusalem, which may explain his bitterness, anger, and frustration. These complaints regarding the government's disinterest in the poor are repeated in other places in the diary and grow harsher as the war continues. Yet despite his alienation from the government, he sympathized with the Ottoman soldiers fighting on the front, and referred to them as *his brothers* the Turks; after all, he was a soldier, too. Later in the diary, as his resentment toward the empire grew, he no longer referred to his fellow soldiers in such a sympathetic way.

Another example of Tourjman's criticism of the government appears in an entry on July 27, 1915. While referring to German victories in the war and the Ottoman government's celebration of them, he wrote:

> Whenever Germany wins we are happy, but we [the Ottoman forces] never win. It is always our allies, the Germans [that win], and whenever they win we are happy. When the Germans win, the government decorates the streets and celebrates. This time the streets are even more decorated than [they were] the day we entered Egypt. Instead of being happy we should cry and we should be aware of what is good for the nation *(umma)* and the country. Instead of celebrating we should think about something that will bring success back to us, and improve our situation in the world. We should think about the social situation these days and the situation of the poor. That night [of the celebration] we have spent all this money while the poor need help and support. Instead of wasting our money on candles and fireworks, we should have spent the money on charity. But who should we complain to, we should cry and weep about our problems and hardships.[37]

The anger at the way the government spent money on celebrations at the expense of its obligations toward the poor is very clear here. The first priority of the government was not the well-being of its subjects, Tourjman lamented. His frustration is aggravated by the fact that government officials celebrated German rather than Ottoman victories. Again, there is some ambivalence in his approach. On the one hand, he harshly criticized the government, but on the other, he still referred to himself as part of the Ottoman collective. He used the first plural form in his writing ("we," "us"), which suggests that he still viewed himself as a loyal subject, part of the Ottoman collective.

WOMEN, WAR, AND THE CITY

As the description of the party indicates, the situation of women was an issue that bothered Tourjman, and contributed to his ongoing criticism and frustration with the Ottoman authorities. Women are yet another undocumented group in the history of wartime Jerusalem, and wartime Palestine in general, and hence Tourjman's contribution on women's condition, and his special focus on the phenomenon of prostitution, is important.

Literature on the European experience of World War I, and the effects of the war on the civil population, discusses the role that women played throughout the war extensively. In particular, the connection between gender, national identity, and war's effects on women is a prominent subject in research. In recent years there has been an attempt to complicate the debate and go beyond the discussion of whether the war changed gender relations and systems. Hence, parts of this discussion are devoted to the place of women's bodies in the war, to questions of rape, prostitution, and their meaning and influences in the context of war, and to the ways they have been utilized to discuss questions of national identity and national pride.[38]

Rape of French women, for example, was viewed as a recruiting tool for French propaganda against the Germans. It served as a stimulus for French men to act for the defense of the "women," who embodied the nation, its pride, and future, and hence for the defense of the nation. The connection between the woman and the national cause turned the woman's body into a site of conflict. As Billie Melman argues, from many studies on war iconography, popular culture, and propaganda during the war, the picture that emerges is of World War I as a "sexual war," a war during which women's bodies and sexuality were utilized in different forms.[39]

In research on World War I in Palestine, or elsewhere in the Arab lands, these dimensions of the war are mostly neglected. One important exception is Elizabeth Thompson, who indicates in her research on Lebanon and Syria in the interwar period that gender, as an analytical category, helps tie aspects of social and economic change directly to political developments. Gender-related issues connect tensions at home, in the private sphere, to those in the society as a whole, and could easily mobilize mass sentiments, as was the case in postwar Syria and Lebanon. When analyzing the effects of World War I on future developments of what she calls "the colonial civic order," Thompson demonstrates how the war

had shaken paternal authority and challenged the definitions of family and community as people knew them.[40] Indeed, some of the same effects were evident in Jerusalem as well, as can be seen in Tourjman's diary. In fact, the condition of women and their suffering during the war add to Tourjman's frustration and discontent with the Ottoman government.

In his general writing and contemplations about women's condition, Tourjman seemed to have been influenced by the public debates about feminism, women's rights, and the liberation of women taking place around the same time, mainly in Cairo and Istanbul, led by feminists such as Huda Shaarawi and Saiza Nabarawi in Cairo and Halide Edib Adivar in Istanbul.[41] Khalil al-Sakakini's views regarding women's liberation influenced him as well. He also discussed the writings of Qasim Amin with al-Sakakini on several occasions.[42] In his own writings, he expressed concern about the situation of women and their low status, and combined it with criticism on his own society and the government. He criticized men for their ill-treatment of women and wrote about the importance of women's education, a prominent theme among intellectual circles at the time. For example, on April 1, 1915, after describing the Nabi Mussa celebrations in Jerusalem, he mentions women who cannot buy food and clothes, as is customary at this time of year, because of the economic crisis. Women do not rebel against the situation, he complained, and said that women believe that men are smarter and hence agree to men's control over them. He continued:

> I feel sorry for the Muslim women. I feel that all women on earth are humiliated, especially Muslim women, but even European and American women. Thank God for not being born a woman! I don't know what would have happened if I was born a woman.[43]

At the end of the month, he again talked about the importance of women's education to the society in general. He started by talking about the veil *(hijab)*, saying that the veil is a barrier *(mani')* to women's progress and has to be taken off gradually, not suddenly. This again hints of his awareness of the public discussions taking place in Cairo at the time about the meaning of the veil in relation to women's liberation and Islam. Regarding the issue of women's education, he then wrote:

> How can we [the Arab society] progress while our second half, the women, is *jahil* [ignorant, uneducated]? How can we live when part of our body is paralyzed? We have to teach her, teach her, teach her and then we will be able to reach modernization. It won't do us any good if only men are educated and women are uneducated. Before teaching our children we have to teach our women.[44]

Tourjman's concerns focused on the condition of women owing to the war crisis they experienced, but extended also to the general position of women in society. Regarding the latter, he expressed an ambivalent position. He openly criticized his own male-dominant society for its treatment of women. His criticism continues when he blamed his society (Muslim-Arab) for being indifferent to women's conditions, and especially to women's lack of education. He viewed women's education as a key to the progress of the entire society. However, his general tone when writing about women is somewhat patronizing. When it comes to his own life, while expressing his wish to marry his beloved girlfriend, Tourjman also admitted that he is looking for a Muslim woman who will be educated but will also be able to handle housework. In his words, "I don't want someone who can play the piano but doesn't know how to handle housework."[45]

One of the issues that appears in the diary is the phenomenon of prostitution as an indication of women's hardships in wartime Jerusalem. The presence of prostitutes in Jerusalem during the war is not surprising considering that there were so many military forces in the city at a time of poor economic conditions. It seems that their presence created discontent among some of the city's residents. As Jens Hanssen argues regarding the location of prostitutes in late nineteenth-century Beirut, in Jerusalem too prostitutes were considered social outcasts, but their presence was very obvious in the city. As in the case of Beirut, Jerusalem's prostitutes exercised "social marginality on the center," to borrow Hanssen's terminology.[46] Tourjman discussed the issue of prostitution on several occasions, in the context of celebrations and also in relation to war's effects on women and on gender roles in the family and the community. On April 1915 he described the way in which war and economic hardship brought dishonor, rape, and prostitution to poor women and young girls.[47] A few days later he described how he felt when he saw a prostitute in al-Manshiyeh garden:

> I saw a prostitute . . . she is miserable, and the man she is with treats her with animal-like passion *(maladha haywaniyyah)*. I think that the prostitutes ended up as prostitutes because they fell in love with men who promised to marry them, but later threw them away. This poor woman doesn't know what else she can do apart from being a prostitute. God help these prostitutes *(mumisat)*. I feel sorry for these miserable women and I pity them.[48]

In another entry in his diary, Tourjman made the connection between the harsh economic conditions and the way they affected women:

> I see women begging for money while carrying their children with them. My heart breaks. Some respectable women gave their honor in order to help their children. Our condition now is the worst in terms of hunger. The men are at war, and this is one of the hardest times.[49]

Tourjman viewed prostitution as a direct result of the hardships of war. The draft only worsened the economic situation of women, who were left alone to support their families. Prostitution was the only means of survival for some of them.[50] As Tourjman mentioned several times in his diary, some prostitutes were Jewish, but there were Muslim and Christian prostitutes as well. At one instance Tourjman mentioned rumors that Cemal Paşa was about to marry a Jewish woman, from the "private prostitutes," possibly a woman named Leah Tenenbaum from Jerusalem. He criticized Cemal Paşa for this and said he is not worthy of leadership.[51] In the earlier description of the party, Tourjman mentioned drunk officers who revealed secrets to the prostitutes who accompanied them. Perhaps some prostitutes were employed by the British to spy on their clients, many of whom were military officials.[52]

Another indication of such a way of utilizing women is mentioned in relation to quite a mysterious figure, Alther Levine. Levine, a Jew who held an American passport, was presented as the most important spy in the service of British forces that operated in the Middle East during the war, who used a large network of agents in different cities in Palestine, Lebanon, and Syria. According to 'Aziz Bey, Levine won the trust of Cemal Paşa and managed to provide information and secret documents to the British headquarters. As part of his network, Levine made use of mainly Jewish prostitutes, most of them were working in a brothel and casino that was operating near the Russian Compound and directed by a

Jewish woman called Esther Haim. Levine paid the prostitutes; in return, they provided him with information that they gathered from the Turkish, German, and Austrian clients.[53]

There were some venues that supported women and girls who became prostitutes. Some were mentioned in the previous chapter, in relation to the work of the American Colony during the war. Donna Robinson Divine discusses some self-help organizations for girls, founded in the city of Gaza, where the number of prostitutes seems to have been the highest because of their proximity to the front lines where the troops were based. These self-help organizations raised money to train girls orphaned by the war. The existence of such organizations, founded by the wives and daughters of notables and Muslim clergymen, indicated the failure of traditional institutions in the city following the war.[54] Regarding the postwar period and in relation to Jewish prostitutes, Margalit Shilo mentions many organizations, mainly women-led ones, both Jewish and missionary, whose aim was to provide working places for girls and help them deal with their economic condition.[55]

The diary allows us a glimpse into the challenges that women faced during the war. The fate of women is usually associated with the nation's future, and atrocities against them in times of war are viewed as a means to hurt the enemy.[56] In the case discussed here, Tourjman uses the poor condition of many women in Jerusalem in general, and the existence of prostitution in particular, not so much to discuss the *nation's* future as such, but rather to castigate the government for its failure to protect women and other vulnerable members of society. The woman's abused body represents a grave insult not only for the woman herself, but also for society at large. For Tourjman, the condition of women and their treatment by the government were yet other reasons to castigate the Ottoman state.

"By God, the Nation Died . . ."

The writer's criticism toward the government became even more pronounced as the war progressed and as Cemal Paşa's treatment of the local population became increasingly severe. After hearing that the Ottoman government had arrested "our Christian brothers" on the pretext that they were discussing politics and endangering the state, Tourjman wrote that he did not understand what the

government was trying to achieve by this, and whether it was just looking for revenge.[57] While discussing the effects of war on the residents of Jerusalem, and the inefficient ways in which the government handled the acute crisis, he went as far as criticizing "the despotic, cruel and stupid government which does not know how to handle and manage the life of its citizens."[58] Relating to his own position as a soldier, he mentioned that some of his relatives were killed in the war, and criticized the ways Jews and Christians were humiliated in their service in the labor battalions of the Ottoman army. He was strongly against the morality of war and against military commanders who take advantage of the soldiers and citizens to fulfill their own ambitions.[59]

Moving to the collective level, Tourjman distinguished between the Arab and Ottoman nations, and gradually distanced himself from the Ottoman one. He talked about the tribulations that "my race the patriotic (or nationalist) Arab" *(jinsi al-Arab al-wataniin)* is going through, and wondered why people were so tolerant of the Turkish government. People are slaves, and allow the government to "play" with them, he claimed.[60] People continue to be silent even when the government does everything it can to harm them, such as threatening to expel those who try to escape from military service or those involved in local politics. He went on to criticize his fellow citizens for not revolting against the government, although, to be sure, he himself did not publicly defy the government either. On the contrary, he continued to serve as a soldier, albeit not as a combatant. But at the same time he registered in his diary his private moments of defiance. Returning to the subject of the government, he again distinguished between the Ottoman and Arab nations:

> Aren't the disasters *(wailat)* that this government caused the Arab and Ottoman nations *(lil-umma al-Arabiyya walil-umma al-Uthmaniyya)* enough? They [the Ottomans] claim that the homeland *(watan)* is in danger, but [in fact] it is in danger because of them [the Ottomans] and their actions [toward us].[61]

Here his criticism becomes more charged as he accuses the government of putting the nation and the citizenry in danger. The writer's language indicates that he distanced himself from the Ottoman government, but also continued to distinguish between the government and Ottoman subjects, while saying that the latter were victims of the acts of their own government.

Following the hangings of Arab nationalists in Beirut in 1915, Tourjman disengages himself completely from the empire:

> The government killed eleven people, but they were worth more than eleven thousand people. They were killed because they demanded reforms, they were killed in Beirut, which is "the mother of the Arab country" *(um al-bilad al-'Arabi)*, but no one said a word—people were afraid for their lives. The government killed the best of our men *(shababina)*. I swear that the nation died *(wallahi al-umma matat)*. You [the dead] should know that the Arab nation will not forget you. . . . The death of these people will be repaid. The government claimed that you are traitors, but you are not. You are loyal to your nation, country, and family.[62]

By now his orientation is clear: he strongly supported the Arab national cause, and referred to the men who were hanged as "*our* young men." He expressed deep despair at the impact of their death on the Arab nation ("the nation died"), promised to remember those who died, and swore to revenge their death. None of this, however, prevented him from criticizing the "people," his fellow citizens, for their failure to rise against the empire.

On September 15, 1915, the writer addressed Enver Paşa and Cemal Paşa directly out of what seems to be great anger and frustration:

> Enver and Cemal . . . the homeland is in danger *(al-watan fi al-khatar)*, and you are dreaming! . . . What do you want from this war? Do you want to rule the world and occupy it *(tumliku al-'alam wa-taftahuha)*, or do you want to return to your old glory *(amjadkum al-kadim)*? You have brought disaster to your homeland *(wail li-al-watanikum),* which you claim that you want to free. . . . Germany cheated you. . . . Greetings to you and your country *(fa-salam alaykum wa-'ala biladkum)*.[63]

It is important to notice the words that Tourjman uses: homeland *(watan)* and later simply country *(bilad)*. He is very cynical when asking if the Ottoman rulers want to rule and occupy the world. Here, his distance is not only from the government, but from the country, the homeland.

Toward the very end of his diary, on July 10, 1916, Tourjman voiced his harshest criticism toward the government in support of Arab nationalism, specifically toward the "men of the Hijaz." In a very angry and impulsive tone, he wrote:

> The Ottomans killed our sons, offended our honor—why would we like to remain under it [the empire]? . . . Every Arab is zealous for his race. It is enough for us! The silence of this state while facing what is happening to us shows its weakness. It [the government] hanged people in the streets. When they did that they believed that they would weaken the hope of the Arab nation, but they didn't know that there are men behind them [those who died] who will protect the Arab nation. It was their best opportunity for revenge. Yes, they died, and the Palestinians and Syrians didn't say a word *(lam yanbat bint shifaa)*. . . . The Arabs will harass the Ottoman government until it gets out of the Arab countries humiliated as it got out of any other place. . . . God bless you Sherif Hussein, and hurt those who try to hurt you. You Arabs proved to the world that you are men who refuse to be humiliated and proved to God that you are the sons of Arab ancestors. You proved that you protect your Arab nation in your life for ending up *(nukhlis)* the barbaric Ottoman nation *(al-umma al-barbariyya al-'uthmaniyya)*.[64]

Tourjman does not mince words here in expressing his feelings toward the empire and his admiration toward Sherif Hussein, who led the Arab revolt. Despite the criticism that he voices again against his fellow citizens (here he mentions specifically the Syrians and Palestinians), he expresses great respect for "the Arabs" who would harass the Ottoman Empire, or, as he calls it, "the barbaric Ottoman nation." Particularly interesting are the national distinctions Tourjman makes here. Not only does he distinguish between Ottomans and Arabs, but he also treats Syrians and Palestinians as a separate category. His mention of Palestine is not surprising, considering that a separate Palestinian national identity had already begun to take shape in the years preceding the war.[65] Throughout the diary he refers to Palestine as an entity separated from Syria, and does not view it as part of Greater Syria. Already at the beginning of the diary he stated that Palestine would either become independent or part of Egypt.[66] Hence, he seems to be developing a local Palestinian identity but criticizes Palestinians for not rising against the Ottomans. Simultaneously, he also refers to himself as part of "the Arabs."

The trajectory of Tourjman's perceptions outlined here—distancing himself from the Ottoman state and moving toward overlapping identifications with Arab and local (Palestinian) foci of identity—goes hand in hand with Rashid Khalidi's analysis of the different stages in which the notion of Palestinian identity has

evolved. According to Khalidi, the first stage, before World War I, was when the sense of a unique Palestinian identity competed and overlapped with other foci of identity, such as Arabism and Ottomanism. After the war, a sense of a common Palestinian identity became a primary category of identity for many.[67] This transition and transformation, analyzed here, highlights the war years as a critical moment during which those foci of identity began to conflict and crystallize.

TOURJMAN AND AL-SAKAKINI COMPARED

In order to contextualize the views and feelings expressed in Tourjman's diary, it is important to expand the analysis by mentioning other sources and look at the ways other writers dealt with the issues that were bothering Tourjman. One example was mentioned briefly earlier—Bahjat and Tamimi's report on their journey in the province of Beirut, in 1916-1917. However, a comparison with Bahjat and Tamimi is problematic because their report focused on a different geographical locale (the province of Beirut), was made for a special purpose (official report to the Ottoman governor), and was different in nature from that of a diary. The most obvious source for comparison is Khalil al-Sakakini's diary, both because of the similar nature of the source (diary, autobiographic writing), and the geographical and social position of the writer (Jerusalem, Arab elite). As mentioned earlier, Khalil al-Sakakini is mentioned extensively in Tourjman's diary. Al-Sakakini was both Tourjman's mentor and personal friend, and served as a source of inspiration to Tourjman. Al-Sakakini kept a diary for many years, but during the war years the diary is not full, and there are actually no entries between April 4, 1915, and November 1, 1917.[68]

Al-Sakakini's humanist writing expresses his great concern about religious tensions in the empire, following the declaration of Jihad. Al-Sakakini questions his own identity and position within the Ottoman collective, as well as national affiliation in general, but his writings on these issues did not express the same level of anger and frustration as that of Tourjman.

An interesting example of al-Sakakini's perception of nationalism appeared on March 26, 1915, when he was convinced that he was about to be deported from Jerusalem after his failed attempt to pay the redemption fee. This statement resembled Tourjman's (being a citizen of the world), but al-Sakakini's is more influenced by his humanist approach. Al-Sakakini wrote:

> What is my crime? I think that I am guilty of two things: First, being a Christian, and as far as they [the Ottoman authorities] know, Christians are supportive of England, France and Russia; and secondly, because I am the director of a school in which I preach according to the national spirit. . . . It is very possible that they want to deport me so that I will stop [being the director of] my school and by this will be punished for being a Christian and an Arab. . . . The only things I can say here are as follows: I am not Christian and not Buddhist, not Muslim and not Jewish. Just as I am not Arab, or British, not German and not Turkish. I am just one among humankind *(Ana fard min afrad hadihi al-insaniyya)*. . . . I was derived to live in this society, and I strive to awake it. . . . If nationalism means to love life—then I am a nationalist. But if it means to prefer one religion over the other, one language over the other, one city over the other and one interest over the other—then I am not a nationalist, and that's all.[69]

On November 20, 1917, after three years of war, al-Sakakini reflected on the meaning of national affiliation during wartime, as well as on his location and position in the war. He criticized himself for being too concerned with his own well-being. More importantly, he wrote that he did not like the war, and that he would like to be on the side of justice—not to support the Ottomans because he is Ottoman or to support the British because he admires them. He expressed anger about the role that national affiliation plays in wartime, especially in relation to the treatment of injured and captive soldiers. Those need to be treated well regardless of their nationality, he wrote, and despite his hatred of war, he needed to help them as well, as a human being.[70] This is another example of al-Sakakini's humanist approach as he attempted to differentiate between belonging to a certain collective and higher obligations of humanism.

One issue that greatly upsets al-Sakakini is religious tensions that resulted from the empire's declaration of Jihad. His concern is clear, considering his own belonging to the Christian religious minority group. However, al-Sakakini expressed this concern even before the call for Jihad, on September 17, 1914, remarking that one of the biggest problems of war in Palestine is the weakening of the relationship between Muslims and Christians.[71] When the Ottoman government declared Jihad, al-Sakakini wrote that this call aroused old sentiments and feelings.[72] A few days later, on November 9, he added that the war created animosity between Muslims and Christians, and that this animosity would remain for generations to come.[73]

His strongest statement about the impact of Jihad on religious tensions in the country appeared on November 18, 1914. The call for Jihad would have been justified had the Ottoman Empire been *forced* to enter the war, he wrote. However, it entered the war voluntarily, just to help Germany and Austria-Hungary. It fought together with Christian states, and its Muslim soldiers fought side by side with Jewish and Christian soldiers. The call for Jihad was only meant to help the Turkish race *(ʻunsur)* and to strengthen its rule, not to defend Islam. This Jihad would harm the Muslim world more than it would help it, because Christian nations would call for a similar war and give the neutral countries a reason to enter the conflict.[74]

The Ottoman Empire's policies are clearly criticized here. However, in general, al-Sakakini's views toward the empire and its policies seem to change over time. At the beginning of the war, al-Sakakini reflected on his own affiliation to the empire. He praised the Turks (not Ottomans) and the support they receive from the people, while criticizing the Arabs who had no hopes. However, as the war progressed, and especially after realizing that the government falsely claimed victories, he started doubting all the news that reached him, calling it rumors and false information. He wrote: "There is no doubt that a nation that allows itself to do that [spread false news] is a despised nation and has lost its mind and is limited in vision *(umma munhata mukhtalat al-shuʻur qasirat al-nazar)*."[75]

In his diary al-Sakakini expressed frustration toward the government, the war, and its effects on the empire and especially on intercommunal feelings. However, his criticism is different from Tourjman's and is less explicit and less firm. This probably stemmed from several differences between the two: al-Sakakini, a Christian intellectual, belonged to a religious minority group, and Tourjman, a young Muslim, belonged to the majority. In addition, Tourjman served as a soldier and al-Sakakini did not. Despite these differences, the comparison between Tourjman and al-Sakakini demonstrates the sort of contemplations about identity taking place at this critical time among Arab-Ottoman elite circles in Jerusalem.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Through an analysis of the public space and the very private domains, this chapter illuminated and demonstrated the effects of World War I on Jerusalem's urban environment and on people's lives and experiences in it. It first followed the ways

by which central public sites within the city gained political significance throughout the war, and demonstrated how their meaning and use was negotiated and contested by local residents, soldiers, and the city's authorities. Regarding the private sphere, through a microanalysis of Tourjman's diary, this chapter highlighted and analyzed how parts of the Jerusalem Arab-Ottoman elite experienced and viewed the war, and how they perceived their own position within the Ottoman Empire. It focused mainly on the ways multilayered levels of identity were negotiated and debated following internal and external changes at the time.

The diary serves as a unique and valuable testimony that sheds light on life in Jerusalem at a critical period of the city's (and region's) history. It connects the private and public spheres by revealing how the economic and social crisis, reflected also in the urban environment, affected people living in the city, and delves into the condition of women and the phenomenon of prostitution. It scrutinizes how political changes, as well as Ottoman policies and treatment of the local population, affected how people viewed their own positions within the context of the empire. It also alludes to the ways socioeconomic and religious differences in the context of war affected people's experiences of the crisis. Moreover, it may serve as a case study for examining a larger process of transformation that took place at the time, both in people's affiliation to a larger collective and with regard to the future dramatic political developments.

The war, I suggest, was a central event in the history of Palestine and Greater Syria. As Elizabeth Thompson suggested regarding Syria and Lebanon, in Palestine the war was crucial not only politically, but also socially, changing dynamics among Jews, Muslims, and Christians. The discussion of the diary may hence serve as a starting point for a broader discussion on the various impacts of World War I on Palestinian society.

The comparison of Tourjman's diary with that of al-Sakakini suggests that al-Sakakini experienced and contemplated similar issues, although his emphasis was slightly different. Unlike Tourjman, al-Sakakini was troubled by interreligious tensions in the empire caused by the war, probably because of his own position as a Christian Arab intellectual. However, he, too, dedicated much of his writing to questions of identity and affiliation to the empire, as well as to the meanings of national affiliation.

The analysis of this diary, as well as of similar sources, demonstrates the ways identities were negotiated and debated at the demise of empire. People's

affiliation to the Ottoman collective allowed for multilayered, blurry, and flexible foci of identity to exist side by side. For some people, however, wartime trauma and the empire's treatment of its subjects created a deep, personal "identity crisis," during which they began questioning their affiliation and loyalty to the empire. In the case discussed here, affiliation with and connection to the Ottoman Empire were challenged and negotiated in light of other possible foci of identity, such as feeling Palestinian or part of Greater Syria. Tourjman's diary may demonstrate, in the Palestinian context, the same transition from identification with a "local Ottoman" elite to a "local elite" that Toledano analyzed in relation to Egypt. This brings back the question of continuity and change in the context of World War I, and the impact of the demise of the Ottoman Empire on people's sense of citizenship and connection to a larger unit of identification. Using an autobiographical source such as a diary allows us an intimate glance into the lives and most personal contemplations of people over such crucial and intimate questions, in a dramatic and difficult period in their lives, as well as in the history of the Ottoman Empire.

4

When a City Changes Hands

Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule

> Field Marshall Lord Allenby, the man who has freed Palestine, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia, thereby breaking the barbarous yoke of the Turk, after five hundred years of oppression. Allenby's capture of the Holy City of Jerusalem is most gratifying to all Christians. The Turkish Empire has crumbled and fallen, and a new Arab nation is in the making. The Holy Land is once more free! Field Marshal Lord Allenby's tribute to his armies: "I had such an army as man has never commanded."[1]

This quote appeared at the beginning of an official British film that documented the entrance of General Allenby to Jerusalem on December 11, 1917. The words that are used to describe this event capture the way British officials viewed this moment in history, in which the British army entered Jerusalem and freed it "from the yoke of the Turk." It demonstrates the strong symbolic value of this event, especially for Christians, and shows how British propaganda wanted this event to be remembered by the world.

This chapter focuses on what is being described in this quote—the moment at which Jerusalem "changed hands" and "moved" from the Ottoman Empire to British administration. This is when Jerusalem can be described as an "interimperial city," a city that shifts between two empires. Two days before the event described here, on December 9, British forces first entered the city, and the mayor, Hussein al-Husayni, approached their soldiers with a white flag and gave them the keys to Jerusalem on behalf of the city's residents. This moment of "delivery" of the city symbolizes the transition from one ruler to the other, from four hundred years of Muslim rule over Palestine to Christian, British rule over it. It

also marks the end of a very difficult period of war and crisis in Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine. The process of transition from one empire to the other was long and complicated, and this particular moment of transition symbolically represents this process, its ambivalence, and the sensitivities that it entailed.

What stood at the core of the transition process was the British intention to rule the city (and eventually the country), without being perceived merely as colonizers. This was reflected in the way they wished the occupation to be carried out and be perceived by the local population, in the ways they viewed the religious divisions among the city's communities. It was also manifested in the British setup of the military administration in the first few years of their rule.

This chapter moves deliberately back and forth between the British perception and imagination of this event and that of the local population. The first section discusses how British officials—generals, statesmen, and clergymen—imagined the occupation of Jerusalem. The symbolism used in the discussions and debates that preceded the occupation is important and reflects the British aspiration of ruling the country with minimum opposition coming from the local population or from other great powers. The second section analyzes the actual process of surrender of Jerusalem and Allenby's entrance into the city, and emphasizes the symbolic aspects of these events and their implications on the residents of Jerusalem. Lastly, this chapter will analyze the first impressions of British soldiers of the city and its inhabitants, and examine the initial reactions of the local population toward the new rulers of their city, following the end of Ottoman rule.

IN PREPARATION FOR THE OCCUPATION OF THE HOLY CITY

The preparations for the campaign in Palestine and for the entry of British forces into Jerusalem were discussed at length well before the actual occupation of the city. In addition to their military preparations, the British were very concerned about the reaction of the local population in the city toward a British occupation, or rather toward the occupation by a Christian force that ended four hundred years of Muslim rule over the country.

As early as September 1914, an intelligence report was sent to the War Office in Cairo, which included an estimation of the state of affairs in Palestine. The letter was signed by "a native of Jerusalem." According to the writer:

> There is a growing feeling among all classes of men in Palestine in favor of a foreign occupation of the country, especially of an occupation by Great Britain. . . . This desire was first limited to the Christian elements, but in these latter days of oppression and plunder it has rapidly spread among Muslims, a large number of whom are more eager for it than Christians. . . . It should, however, be noted that there is a large number of Mohammedans who are bitterly opposed to any foreign occupation of their country, and who would join forces with the Turkish troops in resisting any such intrusion.

The writer continues to describe the Turkish oppression, the difficulties that were posed by conscription into the Ottoman army, the confiscation of houses, agricultural products and animals, and the fleeing of young people to Egypt and America. He repeats his assessment that the Christians and Jews of Palestine "eagerly await emancipation," and claims that in Jerusalem even notable families such as the Husaynis and Khalidis eagerly wish an occupation.[2]

This report should be treated with suspicion. At the early date when it was written, September 1914, the cruelty and oppression of the Ottoman occupation of Palestine was not yet so heavily felt. The local population of the big cities and of the rural areas started feeling the oppression and distress only later in the war, following the arrival of Cemal Paşa in the region and his harsh treatment of the various communities. In addition, the families of note were not supportive of a foreign occupation at this early stage of the war. Most probably, at this early stage, no one could have imagined that three years later Britain would occupy Jerusalem and put an end to Ottoman rule. However, this report, despite these shortcomings, is significant because it was one of the first documents to recognize how important it was for the British, already at this early stage of the war, to characterize the attitudes of the local population toward them and the Ottoman Empire. It also helps in understanding the division between Muslims and Christians in the country.

A report that seems to be more reliable was published two years later by the Arab Bureau in Cairo on December 29, 1916. This report is based on testimonies of residents of Jerusalem who fled to Cairo, and focuses on the political situation in Jerusalem and the distinctions between the local communities. Discussing the administration of the city, the report claims that most public offices, apart from those held by Turkish officials, were in the hands of members of the

three prominent Muslim families, the Husaynis, Khalidis, and Nashashibis. Even though these families are "compelled to keep in with the Turks, none of them can be described as being out-and-out pro-Turk. Many of them come into contact with Western schools and have become enlightened as to the frauds and corruption of the Turkish government." The writer also argues that Britain holds the most prestigious position among the native Muslims, who, with very few exceptions, would resent any interference by other foreign countries such as Russia, France, or Italy.[3] Again, the Muslims are viewed as the community that might potentially resist a British occupation of the city, and hence the various reports pay special attention to this particular community.

Another report regarding the situation in Palestine and the attitudes of the local population appeared in April 1917. Here the assessment is that the majority of the population would support a British occupation. The writer estimated that "with the exception of the Circassian colonies planted by the Turks east of the Jordan, I don't think there is a single section of the population of Syria or Palestine or even of the desert that cannot be regarded as friendly to us. All the Arab population, Muslims and Christians alike, are longing for the day of their deliverance from the Turks. The Jews can be relied on to give us active co-operation, and so of course can our traditional friends the Druses [*sic*]." The writer continued to describe the situation in the country, and argued that "the condition of the population is absolutely wretched. There is no town in Syria and Palestine where the leading families have not either been executed or deported. Towns such as Nablus which were formerly strongly anti-Christian are now fanatically anti-Turkish. The food question is really serious on account of the Turkish requisitions, the locusts, and the shortage of agricultural population due to so many having been called to the army."[4] The part that religion played here, according to the report, is important: the British were aware of the sensitivity of being a Christian power attempting to replace a Muslim regime. This sensitivity becomes very clear in the internal debates among the British regarding the actual entrance into Jerusalem and its symbolism, as will be discussed. Moreover, as the largest religious community in the country, the Muslims were definitely a force that needed to be taken seriously.

However, the religious sensitivity of "Christianity versus Islam" was not the only reason why the Muslims caused such concern among the British, as is clearly seen in the preceding reports and estimations. The possibility of a Muslim

response to a British occupation, not only in the Ottoman Empire but also in India, was indeed a concern for the British in their consideration of an occupation of Jerusalem. For Britain, Muslims were not only potential enemies, but also potential subjects and allies, which added more complexity to the delicate situation. Another reason for the special sensitivity toward the Muslims' reaction was the Balfour Declaration, published only a few weeks before the occupation of Jerusalem. Realizing that the occupation of Palestine might be interpreted by non-Jews as the first step in carrying out the British policy toward Zionism (as was indeed the case), the British may have consciously tried to pay special attention to the Muslims in order to counterbalance the effects of the Balfour Declaration.[5]

Why was the occupation of Jerusalem such a charged and sensitive issue for the British? What was the special significance of this particular city? Was Jerusalem's occupation important for the British for military or political purposes, or did it carry with it mainly symbolic value? Indeed, much attention was paid to the occupation's symbolic aspects. Morally, the occupation of the city came at a critical moment for Britain in the war. The trench war in France had reached a deadlock. The Americans, who had only recently entered the war, had not made any significant contribution to the war effort yet, and the situation with the Russian allies was unclear following the March and November 1917 revolutions. The occupation of Jerusalem was a heavy blow to Ottoman prestige, and its symbolic importance served to uplift spirits in Britain.[6] From a military-strategic dimension, Damascus and Baghdad, for example, were viewed as more important to the war effort, because of their centrality and significance for the Arabs. Capturing them would mean the real end of Ottoman rule over the Arab lands. As the writer of the April 1917 report clearly stated:

> The fact that I really wish to emphasize is that Damascus is the true capital of Arabia. . . . Damascus is the place to go for. With Baghdad and Damascus in our hands it is really the end of the Turkish Empire outside Turkey proper, and only by getting Damascus into our hands can we place the Arab State upon anything like an economic foundation. . . . The delivery of Jerusalem from the Turks would be hailed by every Christian, Jew and Arab, to whom it is equally a holy if not the holiest city, [and] would have world wide moral and political effect. Still, for the foundation of the Arab state, Damascus is the essential objective, and until Damascus is in Entente hands the work of the Palestinian Expedition will not be politically assured.[7]

However, the strategic significance of the occupation of Jerusalem cannot be overlooked. Palestine was central for Britain as a shield for Egypt and the beginning of a land bridge to India, and hence controlling it was important in order to secure Britain's interests in this part of the world. Moreover, as a result of the Palestine campaign, the Ottoman forces were forced to split into two parts, with some units located in the north and other units located east of Jerusalem. In addition, the British advance into Palestine forced the Ottomans to deploy forces from other areas, making the British occupation of Baghdad, for example, much easier.[8] Hence, the importance of Jerusalem lay not only on the symbolic level, although the symbolic component was undoubtedly a key. In what follows I will examine how symbolism played a major role in the process that preceded the occupation and the takeover of the city. This symbolism served the aim of the British forces to carry out the occupation and the transition process between regimes in the smoothest way possible.

"This Is a Military Occupation Only": British Debates on the Meaning of Occupation

The British were indeed aware of the symbolic importance and value of Jerusalem, mainly from the religious perspective. They realized the delicacy of the situation: that a Christian force would occupy the Holy City, taking it from a Muslim power that had ruled over it for four hundred years. Hence, they were especially aware of the Muslims' potential reaction toward the occupation. However, they were also aware of another dimension of the occupation that had the potential to cause tension, namely, the reactions of the great powers, mainly France, Italy, and to a lesser extent Russia to the British takeover of the city. One can learn about this complex web of tensions and interests, and of the way the British chose to deal with them, from a lengthy exchange of letters between various British officials and the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, Rennie MacInnes.[9]

The Protestant/Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem was established in 1841 in cooperation with the king of Prussia, who had a vision of a worldwide Protestant union with Jerusalem as its center. In 1850, the Protestants were recognized as an official religious community in the Ottoman Empire. The Anglo-Prussian union was annulled in 1882, because of dissatisfaction among the Germans, and in 1887 the bishopric was reconstituted as an Anglican Bishopric. One of the aims of the

church was to bring Christianity to the Jews of Palestine, following the concept of the "restoration of the Jews."[10] The Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem was connected to British state officials, and the correspondence with him can shed light on British intentions toward the occupation and their rule in the city. It also reveals the difference among the "people on ground"—the British administrators who served in the Middle East, mainly in Egypt—and the policy makers in London.

Originally, the correspondence was born out of an exchange of letters regarding religious affairs, as part of the preparations for the occupation of Jerusalem. However, it soon turned into a discussion regarding the meaning of the occupation, its symbolic value, and the possible reaction of the local population and the foreign powers in the city to such an occupation. This episode, hence, serves as an example of how the internal tensions and dynamics played out among the British.

On May 2, 1917, more than seven months before the actual British occupation of Jerusalem, Bishop MacInnes, then based in Cairo, sent a letter to Major General Clayton, the first chief political officer of the Egyptian Expeditionary Forces, in which he wrote:

> In view of the possible conquest of Palestine by a British army and the occupation of the country by some Christian power or powers, I desire to bring before you a matter of very considerable importance: the desirability of taking official possession of every building erected originally as a Christian church, which is now used as a Mohammadan mosque. . . . It is solely from the political point of view that the subject presents itself to my mind. . . . I regard it as one of deep political importance.
>
> It is my strong conviction that the British government, in its desire to placate the Mohammedan races, is sometimes advised to adopt measures which have the very opposite effect. The measure designed by the Western mind to show magnanimity and tolerance is regarded by the Eastern as a sign of weakness and fear. Where it was intended to allay feeling, the deepest suspicion is aroused instead.
>
> In the present instance it would create the worst effect throughout the East if a Christian conqueror were deliberately to leave in Muslim hands Christian churches which the Muslims, with equal deliberation, have desecrated, and then taken into use as mosques. . . . It has rightly been the British policy never to interfere with the religion of the subject races. It should equally be our policy not readily to acquiesce in interference with our own. It may be alleged that such step would annoy the Mohammedans and create some bad feelings. I have

> no such fear. . . . I would therefore respectfully urge that in all lands of which we become possessed, every building originally erected as a Christian church which is now used as a mosque or held by Muslim hands, be officially taken back into Christian possession.[11]

Other than the actual matter discussed in the letter, the conversion of churches into mosques and the need to return them to their original purpose, the letter contains many more important insights. First, the patronizing tone used here toward the local Muslims is significant, and reflects the belief that the Muslims could be easily manipulated, and needed to be treated with a firm hand by the British. Any other treatment by the occupiers would be interpreted as weakness by the "natives." MacInnes's patronizing wording and tone leave no doubt as to who he believes is the ruler and the master of the people occupied. Secondly, the way religion plays out in the letter is very telling. Clearly, MacInnes views the occupation of Palestine as a Christian conquest against the Muslim race, and from reading his letter it seems that the occupation would signal the triumph of the West over the East, almost a clash between civilizations, á la Samuel Huntington. Thirdly, MacInnes's mention of the British policy of not interfering with religious matters of their "subject races" is somewhat strange. After all, MacInnes's suggestion here is a clear interference with one of the most sensitive religious matters. Despite his own position as the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, and his awareness of religious sensitivities, the sensitivity of this matter did not seem to occur to him at all. Maybe his ignorance was because of his location in Cairo at this time; he arrived in Jerusalem only following the war.

MacInnes's letter received various responses from both clergymen and military personnel that provide some insights into the preconceptions, intentions, and beliefs of the British administrators and politicians. The first comment on the letter appeared on July 5, 1917, in a letter presumably from Colonel Deedes to the High Commissioner in Egypt, General Reginland Wingate.[12] Deedes suggests to look into the subject more carefully, to check the current legal status of the mosques, and to find out what their status among the native population is. Politically, however, the writer states:

> At the outset it must be regarded as doubtful whether the measure advocated by the Bishop . . . is capable of being reconciled with certain desiderata of British

> policy towards Islam. Such action would inevitably be attacked by every pan-Islamist or anti-British tendency and would almost certainly involve protests from the heads of Muslim states. The Bishop's arguments seem to be based on inadequate premises. . . . It is surely impossible that this measure could be effected without causing resentment and creating discord that might well prejudice the good relations between Muslims and Christians of a locality for a generation.[13]

Deedes's concern is twofold. He is worried about the effects of MacInnes's suggestion on intercommunal relations between Muslims and Christians in Palestine, but this concern is also intermingled with a concern about how it would affect the attitude toward the British in Palestine. It is implied that the resentment that Deedes is most worried about is not that between Muslims and Christians, but toward the British.

From a religious point of view, in a cautious response from July 18, 1917, Archbishop Davidson from Lambeth Palace, the Archbishop of Canterbury's residence in London, wrote that "the question is one requiring the utmost caution in its handling, and the plan that such buildings, if no longer really required for Mohammedan use, should be placed under trust with a future allocation of them to the Christian purposes for which they were built sounds in every way the sensible and equitable plan."[14]

The most significant reaction to MacInnes's letter appeared in a letter written by Captain Graves to Colonel Deedes, regarding the bishop's suggestion. In a harsh letter, Graves wrote:

> Bishop MacInnes appears to regard our invasion of Palestine somewhat in the light of a *crusade,* the success of which should place Christianity in a predominant position over Islam and other confessions. As least, the carrying out of his proposals would undoubtedly have that effect upon the native mind. This is a natural enough attitude on the part of a Christian Bishop, but it does not take into account the questions of military and political expediency by which we must be guided. . . . Our reputation for justice and religious toleration demands the strictest impartiality in dealing with all such questions. The Muslim majority in Palestine are now well disposed towards us, but in spite of Bishop MacInnes' belief that there would be no opposition on their part to the restoration of mosques to Christian purposes, there can be no possible doubt that they would be alienated thereby. Conflicting claims by the Catholic and Orthodox

> churches would certainly arise, in addition to the claims by the *Waqf* administration in which all these properties are vested. On all these grounds, it would be highly impolitic to allow this question to be raised, at any rate until after the new status of Palestine has been determined by a peace conference and it would then require the most careful and searching inquiry for the protection of the different interests involved.[15]

Like Colonel Deedes, Graves expresses here a major concern about Britain's reputation as being tolerant and sensitive toward the local communities. He too is worried about creating resentment toward the British and wants to keep the delicate balance of power in the relationship between the "natives" and the colonial power. His use of the word *crusade* and his rejection of viewing British occupation as a victory for Christianity over the Muslim world demonstrate how the British wished the occupation to be perceived, not only by the local population but also by the other great powers.

One can further learn about the way the Foreign Office wanted the occupation of Jerusalem to be looked at from a series of letters written by Archbishop Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, between November and December 1917. Referring to the plans for the occupation of Jerusalem and stressing its importance to the British Foreign Office, Davidson recognizes local (namely, Muslim) sensitivities toward a Christian occupying force, as well as possible tensions with other Western powers, particularly France. He stresses that the occupation would be solely of a military nature and not a transfer of permanent authority in the national sense. As Davidson wrote on November 26, 1917:

> The occupation of Jerusalem, if it does take place (which is still uncertain) [*sic*], would be a military occupation only and may conceivably be a mere temporary occupation and not a transfer of authority in any other sense, and the guardianship would be partly in Christian and partly in non-Christian hands.[16]

The discussion regarding the nature of British occupation and the sensitivities involved in it, from both local and regional perspectives, comes out in a very specific context. Bishop MacInnes wished to be one of the clergymen who would represent the city's religious communities in the event of Allenby's entrance to Jerusalem. Being based in Cairo during the war, he was asked by the Anglican Church

to be its representative in the event, and to convey the church's greetings to the Greek Patriarch and the heads of the Latin, Armenian, and Maronite churches.[17]

However, it seems that the British officials held a different opinion on this matter altogether. In a letter from General Clayton to General Wingate, Clayton writes that "it would be inadvisable for Bishop MacInnes to come in any capacity, as it would surely lead to trouble with our allies. . . . All kinds of political and ecclesiastical questions would thus arise, which would be inconvenient."[18] Thus, the issue at stake here was how to keep the delicate balance between Britain and its allies, mainly France, over the control and influence on the city and its religious affairs. Bishop MacInnes's attitude toward the occupation and its religious significance, as was discussed earlier, probably created hesitations among British officials on whether to allow his entry to the city. The concern was that MacInnes would violate the delicate religious balance in the city by highlighting and emphasizing the occupation as a Christian occupation or a crusade. This episode also demonstrates the special role that Christians in Jerusalem, from different religious communities, played regarding the connection to the great powers. Since the end of the Crimean War, there had been an extension in all religious interests in the Holy Land, and an increase in the links between certain states and churches in Palestine. Such were, for example, the connections between Russia and the Orthodox Church, and the increased influence of France among the Latin and Eastern Catholic communities.[19] The British officials did not want the presence of the Anglican Bishop to be interpreted as preference of one European power over the other.

Archbishop Davidson seemed to have partially understood the delicacy of the situation. In a letter to MacInnes on the matter he wrote that anything official, such as greeting the ecclesiastical authorities in Jerusalem, would be inopportune. He also repeated the point regarding the nature of the occupation as a military occupation only and not a transfer of power in the national sense. However, in order to respond to MacInnes's concerns regarding his presence, he also added that if Bishop MacInnes would be with the troops when they enter the city he might approach the religious figures on very general terms. In Davidson's words:

> You might in a semi-official manner call on the Greek Patriarch and perhaps on the other ecclesiastics, with greetings and with the assurance which I hereby give you of my own deep interest and fervent prayers, but the words had better be of a rather general kind.[20]

Bishop MacInnes was not present at General Allenby's entrance to the city. He expressed his feelings, and what was for him one of the greatest disappointments he had ever experienced, in a private letter from January 1918, which he wrote from his house in Cairo. In the letter, he argued that the authorities were concerned about political difficulties and of a possible embarrassment caused by him. According to the British strategy, nothing British should appear, and the city should be administered under martial law and not under British administration. According to MacInnes:

> They want to avoid giving any pretext for misunderstanding, or for the charge that we are using our military power to capture the country and lay claims to possess it. . . . General Allenby told me that he really did not think the time has yet come when he could properly allow anybody to go there [to Jerusalem] who was not required in a military capacity.[21]

This letter expresses much more than MacInnes's personal feelings of disappointment. It also reflects very clearly what the British administration's policy toward the occupation of the city was. In order to reduce tensions between them and the local communities, as well as between them and the other foreign powers that had interests in the city, they tried to reduce their presence to a minimum. As was clear from the letters of Clayton and Davidson, the occupation should be discerned as purely a military, temporary one, so that it would not pose any threat to the local communities or to other foreign powers. The ceremony on December 11 indeed tried to deliver this message.

Among other reasons, Bishop MacInnes was not allowed to enter the city because of the British fear that other religious figures would demand to be present in the city as well. Indeed, following the British occupation, the Roman Catholic Church began requesting to allow its religious representatives to enter Jerusalem. Its various requests were denied by Colonel Deedes, who said that Allenby regretted that he could not modify his policy regarding the entry of people who were not formerly residents of the city. He continued, "the Commander in Chief is satisfied that the interests of the different religious bodies in Palestine are amply safeguarded by the existing administration, the character of which ensures complete impartiality of treatment to all and a strict adherence to present and local

requirements only, thus obviating the premature raising of questions foreign to the present regime."[22]

As was argued earlier, the question of representation in the city was not only religious, but was also about colonial influence, as Britain attempted to reduce the tension with France and Italy over colonial influence and control over Christian affairs. Shortly after the occupation, on December 25, 1917, after returning from Paris, Sir Mark Sykes referred to this tension exactly. According to him, "France feels that it was underrepresented in the historic occasion of the liberation of Jerusalem." Jerusalem was taken by the British, and France felt humiliated by the event. Sykes claimed that Britain should meet these feelings by a wise concession of employing one or two French officials in the administration of Palestine.[23] The same tension between Britain and France over France's underrepresentation in the liberation of the city and its deliverance was reported by Colonel Ronald Storrs, the military governor of Jerusalem, who reported that "public opinion in France was growing sensitive."[24] Both France and Italy demanded from the British administrators a part in the administration in Palestine, but their request was only partially fulfilled. Allenby wanted the administration to be mainly British. In order to facilitate France and Italy's demands and reduce some of the tensions, it was finally decided to nominate a French officer as the governor of Ramleh and an Italian officer as the governor of Lydda.[25]

Indeed, Allenby's entrance to Jerusalem and the British occupation of the city were extremely sensitive matters. They involved local and foreign interests, and mainly reflect the British wish that the occupation would not be interpreted as a political, religious, or colonial occupation, but rather as a purely military one. From a British standpoint, a military occupation would cause less resentment and opposition among the local population, and would keep the balance of power within the city. The religious significance of the city was of course very much in the minds of most British officials. From a religious perspective, too, they were trying to reduce concerns and tensions, by limiting the presence of clergymen who did not reside in the city. Bishop MacInnes's case demonstrates the British concerns over what can be perceived as a "religious occupation," and of looking at it as a crusade of the Christians against the Muslims.

The notion of the occupation as a "new" or "last" crusade was not unique to MacInnes, and, according to Eitan Bar-Yosef, was often used during and after

the war. This notion came out often in films and books that were written on the Palestine campaign. Viewing the occupation as a crusade positioned the conflict of Britain against the Ottoman Empire within the context of a religious, Christian-Muslim struggle. The "crusading image" was used for the propaganda of the Palestine campaign, and especially in the occupation of Jerusalem. This image played a complicated role, as it called into doubt the idea that imperial affiliation transcended religious denomination and the notion that religious toleration stood at the basis of Britain's colonial rule. It hence reflected an ambiguity concerning Britain's imperial interests in Palestine and highlighted the tension between the empire and its subjects.[26] The way British propaganda made use of this image while the official administration tried to downplay it is very telling of how the British imagined the occupation, and the way they wished it to be interpreted by both the local populations and the other foreign powers involved. How, then, did all these considerations and sensitivities play out in the actual occupation of the Holy City?

WHEN A CITY CHANGES HANDS: AN INTERIMPERIAL CITY

The British advance to Jerusalem began on the night of December 7, 1917, after forty days of heavy fighting over Beer-Sheva, Gaza, and Jaffa.[27] The main attack on the city took place on the morning of December 8 under difficult weather conditions. The Turkish defense was weaker than expected, and the Ottoman military forces and civilians began their withdrawal from the city during the evening of December 8. The last official to leave the city was ʿIzat Bey, the Ottoman governor. By the early hours of December 9 Jerusalem was in British hands.[28]

Hussein al-Husayni, the mayor of Jerusalem, announced the surrender of Jerusalem to the British forces at 11:00 A.M. on December 9, 1917. Major General Shea received the keys to the city on behalf of Allenby. The symbolic act of surrender was a process that lasted for a few hours, as the other British officers Husayni met that morning refused to accept the keys to the city. None of them wanted to take responsibility for this dramatic moment and to be the one who formally accepted the surrender of Jerusalem.[29]

Most of the accounts that describe this moment of symbolic surrender of Jerusalem mention that Husayni handed over both the city keys and the actual letter of surrender. However, there is another version of this event. According to

5. The surrender of Jerusalem, December 9, 1917. Hussein al-Husayni is the man standing in the front line, holding a walking stick. *Source:* World War I Jerusalem photographs, the Jacob Wahrman Collection.

it, just before Husayni approached the British forces, an urgent meeting took place in Ismail Husayni's house, in the presence of Mufti Kamal Husayni and Mayor Hussein al-Husayni. At this meeting, it was decided that the letter of surrender, written by the Ottoman governor of the city just before he left Jerusalem would be kept in the possession of the Mufti of Jerusalem and would not be handed to

the British forces, and that Husayni would hand Jerusalem to the British verbally. The reason for this was the fear that, if the Ottoman forces recaptured the city in a counterattack, the three notables would be accused by the new Ottoman commander of collaboration, by turning the writ of surrender over to the enemy.[30] It is interesting to see that, even at this dramatic moment, these local leaders could still imagine the return of the Ottomans to the city and did not fully grasp the full implications of this event.

Two days after the formal surrender General Allenby entered Jerusalem, in a modest ceremony that represented the end of four hundred years of Ottoman rule over the city. Allenby entered the city by foot through Jaffa Gate, leaving his horses and cars behind, outside the city walls. The reason for this mode of entry is twofold. When Kaiser Wilhelm visited Jerusalem in 1898 he entered with his carriage through the Jaffa Gate. Part of the wall next to the gate was knocked down to enable his carriage to go through. Allenby wanted his historical entrance to be remembered differently, with more respect toward the city's monuments, and to be contrasted with that of the German emperor. Secondly, his entrance by foot was intended to symbolize and emphasize his respect for Jerusalem as a religious center.[31]

At the Jaffa Gate, Allenby was greeted by the military governor and headed a procession that was arranged carefully to include all the Allied forces in Palestine. It included the staff officers, the commanders of the French and Italian detachments, the heads of the Picot Mission, and the military attaches of France, Italy, and the United States. The procession made its way to the citadel, where a proclamation, drafted by Mark Sykes, addressing "the inhabitants of Jerusalem the blessed and the people dwelling in its vicinity" was read in English, Arabic, Hebrew, French, Italian, Greek, and Russian. The proclamation announced that Jerusalem was under martial law and stated: "I make it known to you that every sacred building, monument, holy spot, shrine, traditional site, endowment, pious bequest or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the three religions will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of whose faiths they are sacred."[32]

This proclamation is important. It alludes to the need to keep the status quo, one of the basic foundations that guided the British administration of Palestine under martial law, and reflects the wish of the British to keep the occupation and transitional process as smooth as possible, without shaking up life in Jerusalem

too much. The British military administration, better known as the Administration of Occupied Enemy Territory (South) (OETA-S),[33] was managed according to international law, which prohibited changes in religious as well as secular matters in Palestine until the country's faith and final legal condition would be defined. However, some changes did take place, and the status quo was not completely kept during the years of martial law.

The ceremony had no Anglican or Christian features in it. It did not highlight the fact that Jerusalem was won by the British and Allied forces. Hence, no Allied flags were flown throughout the ceremony. Because of the tension between France and Britain over their colonial interests following the occupation of the city, the French consul of Jerusalem was not permitted to join Allenby's procession. It was explained to him that the ceremony was military, not civilian.[34] The French consul was not the only one absent from the ceremony. Religious figures, such as Bishop MacInnes, were also absent.

As was clear from the preparations for the ceremony, as well as from the ceremony itself, this event was full of symbolism. The importance of depicting

6. General Allenby prepares to enter the Jaffa Gate, accompanied by Hussein al-Husayni. The picture was taken just before the entrance through the gate. *Source:* TMA 4185, no. 119, Picture Collection, NLI.

7. The ceremony inside the Jaffa Gate, December 11, 1917. *Source:* World War I Jerusalem photographs, the Jacob Wahrman Collection.

the occupation of Jerusalem as a military one, and not as a civilian or religious one, was stated clearly by numerous British officials before the occupation of the city. It was also clear from the presence of certain people in the ceremony, and the absence of others. Moreover, Allenby's entrance to the city on foot was also

a highly charged symbolic act, which was engraved in the collective memory of the event. His entrance combined humility (entering by foot, and not on a horse) with authority, respect for others (the inhabitants of the city and its religious importance) with undoubted victory and conquest.[35] Although the proclamation itself addressed the people of Jerusalem, the fact that it was read in several languages shows that the audience to which Allenby wished to address his message was much wider. It included the British audience, as well as those of the United States, France, Russia, and Italy. The ceremony was also filmed by the War Office. The film was released in February 1918 and helped, of course, to expose wider audiences to the event, with its heavy symbolism.

The occupation of the city was undoubtedly British, and underneath the layers of symbolism, it was clear that the British were the new rulers of the city. Indeed, as Eitan Bar-Yosef claims, Allenby's entry to Jerusalem was underscored by a series of absences: the absence of any explicit reference to a British victory, as well as the absence of any clear Anglican, or even Christian, symbols and features. However, argues Bar-Yosef, it was exactly these seeming absences that pointed to the real presence of the British and Christian ethos. Religious tolerance became a Christian quality, which represents righteousness and justice, and, most importantly, not losing one's ethics and values even in times of v ictory.[36]

A HOLY CITY UNDER MILITARY RULE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MILITARY ADMINISTRATION

The proclamation that General Allenby read when he entered Jerusalem announced both the martial law under which Jerusalem was ruled, and the keeping of the status quo of the Ottoman rule. The logic behind the need to keep the status quo was, according to Ronald Storrs, "to impress upon those desiring immediate reforms that we were here merely as a Military Government and not as civil reorganizers. Our logical procedure would therefore have been to administer the territory as if it had been Egypt or any other country with important minorities; making English the official language, providing Arabic translations and interpreters, and treating the resident Jews, Europeans, Armenians and others as they would have been treated in Egypt."[37] Egypt, then, was the model for Storrs, and the British administrators, for ruling the city (and later the country). However, Storrs himself admitted that, in the matter of Zionism, by issuing the

Balfour Declaration, the Military Administration contravened the status quo, as the vast majority of the inhabitants of Palestine in 1918 were Arabs. There was inherent tension between the British declarations regarding the status quo and the political developments. This tension is another reflection of the differences between the British administrators and officials who were located in Palestine and the policy makers in London. This tension can be seen by examining the very first measures of the military administration in the city.

On March 2, 1918, General Allenby sent a detailed report to the War Office in London, in which he specified the arrangements of the administration of OETA. This report shows how strong the Ottoman influence was on the way the military administration in Palestine operated. It discussed various issues, among them the organization of the administration and the ways it would operate, and issues related to revenue and currency. According to Allenby, the Ottoman administrative system, based on provincial administrative decentralization under strong central control, appeared to be the best way of organizing the administration under local conditions in Palestine. The British forces initially occupied most of the area that formed the *sancak* of Jerusalem during the Ottoman times. Allenby suggested keeping the Ottoman administrative division of the *sancak* in order to disturb as little as possible the methods of government to which the population was accustomed, and to enable the British administration to make use of the Ottoman governmental machinery. Hence, influenced by the Ottoman administrative division, the military administration divided the territory under its control into four districts: Jerusalem, Jaffa, Mejdal (*kaza* of Gaza), and Beer-Sheva (*kazas* of Beer-Sheva and Hebron). Each of these districts was governed by a military governor. Jerusalem remained as a separate administrative unit and was governed first by Colonel Burton, who was soon replaced by Colonel Storrs. Storrs received his directions directly from General Allenby.[38]

As for the administrative work carried out by OETA, here too the Ottoman influence was very much felt. Under Ottoman rule, the government was organized under the following administrative units: public worship, administration of justice, police, gendarmerie, prisons, public health, hospitals, public education, public works, land registration, agriculture, forests, trade, postal services, and financial services. Allenby expressed his desire to put all these units back to work in order to enable them to provide their services to the population as soon as possible. Some public services were more urgent than others, he claimed,

and would have to be increased. These services included, for example, sanitation services, the repatriation of the inhabitants, aid for refugees, and the reestablishment of agricultural operations.[39]

The collection of public revenue was central in the Ottoman administration, the Ottoman Public Debt Administration being the most important unit of collecting taxes. The Foreign Office allowed this institution, together with the La-Régie Imperiale Company, which was in charge of the tobacco revenue, to continue functioning under British military rule. Moreover, Allenby also suggested that the Ottoman financial personnel, still available for duty, be employed by the British administration as well. As Allenby stated, "their knowledge of the country, of the people, and of the laws and regulations governing Turkish finance will be invaluable."[40] On a related issue, the official currency that would be used as the medium of exchange was suggested to be Egyptian currency.

Although the British officials criticized the Ottomans on their neglect of Jerusalem and its inhabitants, and scorned Ottoman rule over Palestine, they eventually clearly respected Ottoman administration and bureaucratic organization and acknowledged the benefits of keeping it as long as martial law was in force. By doing this, they also tried to show the foreign Allies that Britain had no political or colonial aspirations over Palestine. At least in the first stage of military rule over Jerusalem and Palestine, the status quo was kept in the sense that the Ottoman administrative frameworks continued to guide the British military authorities. The administrative guidelines changed after the final defeat of the Ottoman army, in 1919.[41]

Who were the people who staffed the British military administration? The general tendency of the British administration was to try and employ as many local bureaucrats as possible, and to avoid employing too many Europeans. However, the high-rank bureaucrats were British officers, the majority of whom had little administrative experience in the Middle East or any knowledge of Hebrew or Arabic. The local bureaucrats consisted of Muslims, Christians, and Jews, who were employed in various posts. The first people employed were Arab Christians, who studied in missionary schools before the war and knew English. Few Jews were employed in the local administration, an issue that created tension between the local British administrators and the Zionist commission. However, some officials remained in the positions that they held before the occupation. Such was, for example, the mayor of Jerusalem, Hussein al-Husayni, who remained in his post

until his death early in 1918, when he was replaced by his brother, Musa Kazim al-Husayni. Ronald Storrs also nominated Mufti Kamal al-Husayni as the acting president of the Muslim Court of Appeals, in order to continue religious activities without interruption.[42]

THE STATUS QUO AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY PLACES

One of the urgent and sensitive challenges that faced the OETA administration was the administration of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. The British policy toward these sites was based on the Ottoman framework, which was introduced to Jerusalem by the Ottoman authorities in 1852 (based on an even earlier position from 1757), referring mainly to the Holy Sepulchre and its legal status, and giving paramount position to the Orthodox Church. The Ottomans originally introduced the concept of "The Status Quo in the Holy Places" as an attempt to regulate the right of control and access to the Christian holy sites in Jerusalem and Palestine. The status quo was settled by a series of documents and decrees that were set by the Ottoman Sultan Abdül Mecid in 1852, following the old dispute between the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church, which resulted with the subsequent intervention of European powers in the Crimean War. The decree, which was later confirmed in the Congress of Berlin in 1878, established the rights of several churches in relation to the Holy Places, including the ways of public worship, decorations used in the shrines, and the ways of usage and exercising ceremonies and rites.[43]

The codification of these early agreements into a body of official regulations was proposed during the drafting of the Charter of the British Mandate in 1920. It was eventually included in Article 13, which made the mandatory government responsible for "preserving existing rights and securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites, and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum." Article 14 discussed the appointment of a special committee that would define the rights and claims over the Holy Places.[44]

The British applied the status quo to other Holy Places in Jerusalem, including the Jewish and Muslim ones, and tried to satisfy all the parties and communities who held interests in those sites. Those included France and Italy, who

suspected the intentions of Britain (and of the Anglican Church), the Muslims, who suspected the Christian occupiers, and the Jews. This was part of the British attempt to present themselves as the respectful guardians of the "traditional" culture of the peoples they colonized. At first, the British placed military representatives from different countries to secure the holy sites, but they soon realized that this arrangement created confrontations over these sensitive places. Their solution was to cooperate directly with the different religious officials, and to replace the British military personnel present in the area with policemen. Other specific arrangements were suggested regarding the administration of the al-Aqsa Mosque and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Regarding the Holy Sepulchre, it was suggested to have a British police guard on-site and to establish a committee composed of young Christian Jerusalemite intellectuals from the different denominations who would secure this site. Regarding the al-Aqsa Mosque, it was suggested that the Muslims would be the custodians of the Mosque, and that the place would possibly receive an extraterritorial status. Moreover, any conflicts or strife over the Holy Places were to be negotiated directly with the leaders of the different religions.[45]

"This Is Not a 'Holy' or 'Golden' City": First Impressions of Jerusalem

The first British soldiers entered Jerusalem two days before the official and well-documented entry of General Allenby. The diaries they wrote provide a firsthand account of their first impressions of the city, its residents, and also of their own expectations and prejudices from the Holy City and its inhabitants.[46]

In general, the British soldiers' first impression of the city was of a dirty and poor place. As Private C. T. Shaw wrote in his diary, "The first glimpse of the city doesn't give an impression of a 'Holy' or 'Golden' city, but of a filthy and muddy place."[47] He described the city as the most miserable place he had ever been, with no sanitation, with roads in a deplorable condition, and with numerous buildings in a state of ruin. Private Shaw seemed to be shocked by the people he saw on the streets. "The people are the dirtiest I have ever seen. I am sure some of them have never had a wash in all their lives. Their clothes are hanging in rags, and no one wears boots or shoes. None of the ordinary natives had indulged in a shave. These people do not carry a very nice odour with them either."[48] The inhabitants are of

all nationalities, he said, including Jews, Greeks, Italians, Spanish, Americans, and Germans. He considered the German and American colonies to be the best part of the city, as they were relatively clean.

From the soldiers' descriptions, it seems that, immediately following the entrance of the British forces to the city, commercial life—which had stopped in the last period of Ottoman rule—was renewed. Private Herbert Empson wrote in his diary that "there are many wandering vendors on the streets, selling cakes of various descriptions, bread, matches and other things. On the whole I am rather disappointed by the place. . . . The shops I have seen are all native, mostly dirty and untidy. There are no European shops, except the Anglo-American store which is situated just inside the Jaffa Gate."[49] The market in the Old City seemed to have been active as well. "Here you can see all kinds of natives [and of] all nationalities doing their trade," wrote Private Shaw, and he advises bargaining because "you can easily knock these people down in their price with a bit of arguing."[50]

The soldiers claimed that the local population ("natives") realized that the "British Tommy has plenty of money to dispose of and are making every effort to capture his wealth." Private Empson provided a detailed report on the prices of some products, and describes the food that was offered in the restaurants located in numerous places throughout the city. In the streets vendors sold oranges, figs, almonds, and souvenirs.[51]

Interestingly, the soldiers also described active nightlife in Jerusalem. One of the most popular places to visit at night was "The Empire Theatre," where "huge crowds visit nightly." Private Empson also described concerts that were played for his division and said that "there is no lack of evening amusement for those able to attend. Jerusalem is truly looking up under British rule."[52]

The picture that emerges from these descriptions in soldiers' diaries is of a city trying to recover from a difficult and traumatic period, which combines in it misery and poverty, but also attempts to "get back to normal" in terms of merchant activity and even nightlife. Some of the descriptions regarding the availability of food are surprising, considering the misery and famine that the city experienced during the war. Regarding nightlife, the local population most probably was not allowed to enjoy the concerts that the British attended. The presence of soldiers in a city created special spaces and opportunities for them, which were open only to the soldiers and some functionaries within the local population, but not to the majority of the local inhabitants.

Another very lively description of the city shortly after the occupation is that of Mr. Theodore Waters, who arrived in Jerusalem as part of the American Red Cross delegation.[53] The people on the streets were of mixed nationalities and religions, and included both adults and children, he wrote. He also described the priests and clergymen that were seen in the streets. The languages that he could hear on the streets were English, French, Arabic, Hebrew, Yiddish, Greek, Latin, and Armenian, among others, and at first glance the scene was of a very colorful place. However, Waters was convinced that this was a mere surface picture, and that there was much more hiding behind this seemingly lively city. He found part of this hidden scene in the soup kitchens spread around the city, mainly in the Old City, which served the people, mostly inhabitants of Jerusalem, but also refugees from al-Salt in Jordan who found refuge in Jerusalem.[54] Waters's testimony is very different in nature from that of the soldiers. Because of his affiliation with the American Red Cross, he was much more sensitive and insightful to the local population and the situation, and attempted to delve deeper into the real "Jerusalem scene" of the time, and not just get a superficial impression of the city and its inhabitants. His description is not free of religious terminology though. He praised the British efforts to renovate and improve the city's infrastructure and its inhabitants' lives, and said that Jerusalem really needed the help of the Christian world. "I can see the vision of a new Jerusalem, I mean it in a civic sense, and I can see it also as the most wonderful shrine of the world," he wrote toward the end of his description.[55]

Ronald Storrs, who was appointed military governor of Jerusalem on December 27, 1917, had observations of the city similar to those of Waters. When he entered the city in mid-December 1917, the population consisted of approximately fifty thousand to fifty-five thousand people, among them about twenty-seven thousand Jews. Storrs's first observation was that the most urgent problem in Jerusalem was lack of food. The city had been cut off from its main sources of grain supply from al-Salt and Karak in Trans-Jordan, which were still in Ottoman hands. It was still isolated from its overseas supply because the ports were not yet active. Famine was felt everywhere in the city, and Storrs realized that an immediate supply of food should be the first priority of his administration in Jerusalem. Jerusalem could not support itself, he argued in a report he sent to Cairo, and demanded the supply of at least two hundred tons of grain a month to help feed the population. His request was approved, and wheat started to be

delivered from Egypt to Jerusalem on a regular basis.[56] He began to organize the distribution of flour, sugar, and kerosene shortly after he arrived in the city, and was assisted by the newly funded Syria and Palestine Relief Fund in the treatment of the refugees.[57] Other organizations that assisted OETA were the American Zionist Organization and the American Red Cross.[58]

Another important matter was the thousands of refugees that flooded Jerusalem. According to Storrs, around seven thousand refugees, including Armenians, Syrians, Latins, Orthodox, Protestants, and Muslims, were in Jerusalem when he took up his post as governor, and he had to meet their food and housing needs. In addition, there were thousands of Jewish and Arab orphans in Jerusalem when the war ended. Young children sold alcoholic drinks to British soldiers, and young girls became prostitutes in order to support themselves and their families.[59]

What were the first concerns and impressions of other British officials following their entrance to the city? Their concerns lay mainly on the political level, as they again tried to evaluate the support that they might receive from the local population. In a memo written by Colonel Deedes on December 16, 1917, he reported that rumors about the Balfour Declaration had reached Jerusalem and had created joy among Jews and apprehension among non-Jews. However, it was Colonel Deedes's belief that he could pacify the latter with the assistance and support of the mayor, Hussein al-Husayni, who is described as very helpful to the British administration.[60]

Three days following this memo, another report from Colonel Deedes contained some very important and interesting observations. It referred both to the Muslim population and to the religious tensions between the British, being a Christian power, and the Muslims, but also to the internal divisions among the Jews. First referring to the Muslim population, Deedes wrote:

> No one would maintain that they [the Muslims] show signs of welcoming us. . . . Nevertheless, there have been, of course, no open manifestations of hostility, and the above remarks should be confined to the uneducated classes. The Muslim intelligentsia and the part attached to the Sherif's movement, people like the mayor and municipality of Jerusalem, have welcomed us as much as anyone. . . . I would like to add one thing, which has struck me again up here and that is the extraordinary sectional jealousy between these Jews, or rather, as

> they all are, Zionists. I really believe their inter-party animosity is more acute than it is with the Arabs. . . . It is a little difficult to see how this "Zionism" they talk so much of is ever to become a living force when those who claim to represent it are divided into so many cliques.[61]

The British attempt to divide the local population into subgroups, and to distinguish between those who support the British administration and those who oppose it, is noteworthy. The absence of the Christians from this report strengthens the feeling that the Muslims were viewed as the main opposition group for the British, an opposition that was also based on religious tensions. This assumption will be proven wrong with the establishment of the "Muslim-Christian Associations" shortly after the occupation. As for the Jews, Deedes's observation that all the Jews are Zionists is not accurate, as at no point were all of the Jews living in Palestine supportive of Zionism. The divisions within the Jewish community were well known to the British. A report of the Arab Bureau from December 1916 referred to the division between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews, mentioning that the "Ashkenazi are more strongly Zionist and are well supported by their rich co-religionists in Europe."[62]

"We Miss the Ottomans": Changing Attitudes among the Local Population

The first indications of discontent with the British were already being felt in the early stages of British rule in the city. American and British reports, by military personnel and religious figures, all discussed the growing intercommunal tension among the city's inhabitants, as well as the growing resentment toward the British administration. These tensions are not surprising. They can be explained partly by the publication of the Balfour Declaration, just a few weeks before Allenby entered the city. It was seen by many Arabs, including by some of the British officers in the administration, as a clear violation of the status quo. Some of those officials declared openly that they opposed the Balfour Declaration.[63]

In addition to the Balfour Declaration, in April 1918 the Zionist Commission (Vaʿad ha-Tzirim), arrived in Palestine, under the leadership of Dr. Chaim Weizmann. The arrival of the commission was approved by the British Cabinet, but was criticized by some of the British officials in Palestine. It was supposed

to start implementing the policy of the Balfour Declaration, and to assist the Jewish population in Palestine; in practice, it became the intermediary between the Jewish population and the military authorities. Because the exact status and mission of the Zionist Commission were somewhat obscure, and because of the objection of some of the military administrators to the Balfour Declaration, there were constant struggles and tensions between the commission and the military administration in the country. Despite these tensions, the commission operated legally as a semiofficial organization, and its members, many of whom were influential in the British government in London, were able to put some pressure on the military administration, influencing some of its decisions.[64] The Balfour Declaration, the Zionist Commission, and the general feeling that the Jews in Palestine were becoming much more influential than they were during the Ottoman era, all reinforced the tension between Jews and Arabs in the country and increased the Arabs' criticism of the military administration.

In January 1918 Bishop MacInnes sent a letter to Archbishop Davidson regarding the state of affairs in Palestine. He had not yet been able to get to Jerusalem and was still based in Cairo. Referring to the Balfour Declaration, he said that it created much alarm in Egypt and Palestine among Christians and Muslims and had the effect of bringing Muslims and Christians more closely together, in view of what they regarded as a common and very serious danger.[65]

In a letter from General Clayton to Mark Sykes from February 1918, Clayton shares his observations about the situation in Palestine. He mentions a possible tension between Jews and Arabs but does not seem to pay much attention to it. He writes:

> In Jerusalem itself feeling among the Muslims is strongest against the Jews whom they dread as possible controllers of the Holy City and of all Palestine. It is perhaps not surprising that the Jerusalem Jew of today is certainly not an attractive personality. . . . The pro-British feeling among Jews and Muslims throughout the country, especially in Jerusalem, is most marked and steadily increasing. We maintain strictly the formula that our administration is merely that of an occupying army, and as such purely provisional, but they seem convinced that we have come to stay, and they appear to welcome it. . . . I see particularly no evidence among the local population, of whatever community, of aspirations towards independence. Arab national feeling is very weak. . . . As regards the Jews, there are no doubt aspirations towards a restoration of the old

> independent Jewish Kingdom, but the majority seems to think that the shadow of a great power over them is essential, and look to England as that power.[66]

Clayton expressed his growing concern and reservations regarding the British policy of the Jewish National Home in June 1918, when he noted that "any real development of the ideas which Zionists hold to be at the root of the declaration made by His Majesty's Government entails a measure of preferential treatment to Jews in Palestine. This is bound to lead to some feeling on the part of other interested communities, especially the local Arabs."[67] Here again the difference in perception between the local British officers and the politicians and decision makers in London is very clear.

From an American perspective, on April 1918 Captain William Yale reported on great unrest in Palestine over the Zionist question and a strong undercurrent of discontent and dissatisfaction with present conditions. According to Yale:

> It is rather significant that in Palestine, where there has been so much suffering and privation, and where the dissatisfaction with the Turkish regime was so great in 1916 and 1917, that nearly every Arab talked open treason against the Ottoman government and longed for the deliverance of their country from the Turks, there should be in the spring of 1918, soon after the British occupation, a party, which, according to British political agents, wished to live in the future under the suzerainty of Turkey. The sentiments of this party cannot be altogether explained by an inherent dislike of Europeans and the very natural Muslim desire of wishing to be under a Muslim ruler. There undoubtedly enters into these sentiments of this party the belief that under Turkish rule the Zionists would not be allowed to gain a stronger foothold in Palestine than they now have.[68]

Yale's mention of a longing for life under the Turks and his reference to the difference between the British and Ottoman approaches to the national question in Palestine are important, especially if we keep in mind the great discontent with the Ottomans in the last days of their rule over Jerusalem. Similar references to people's feelings appeared two years later, in 1920. Following the first clashes between Jews and Arabs in Jerusalem, Bishop MacInnes expressed his concerns regarding the popularity of the British in Palestine, and said that "British prestige, which was so high after the liberation of Jerusalem, has suffered grievously,

and there are numbers of people who now say that they wish the British had never come near their country at all if we were only going to hand it over to the Jews, for they [the people] would prefer to have the Turks back again."[69] Several months later, MacInnes expressed the same concerns. According to him, he was told by people from every class and creed, including Muslims, Christians, Orthodox Jews, and Patriarchs, that the vast majority of people in Palestine were bitterly disillusioned with regard to the advantage of British rule. The vast majority, according to him, would vote almost unanimously that the British should go and the Turks should return. This feeling originated mainly from the concern over the way Zionism and Zionist policies had been carried out since the occupation took place:

> The people seeing the intolerance, the bigotry, the narrow mindedness, the selfishness, the arrogant demand of Zionists, who treat the country as though it were already handed over to them by Great Britain, say "what about us?"[70]

All reports mentioned in the preceding indicate certain deterioration in the triangle of power between the Palestinian Jews, the Arabs, and the British administration. This started relatively soon after the British occupation, and it seemed that the British administrators enjoyed a very short "grace period" in Palestine, before they had to face the growing intercommunal tension in the country.

Indeed, these reports, as well as other issues discussed earlier, all point to the important role that religion and religious divisions in Palestine played before, during, and after the occupation of Jerusalem. British officials did whatever they could to downplay the religious aspect of the occupation and to present their occupation as merely military in nature, and not as a civil or religious occupation. By doing this, Britain tried to assuage both the local tensions and the potential imperial tensions with France and Italy. In the period before the occupation they treated the Muslim population in Palestine with great suspicion, and viewed them as a potential opposition to British rule over the country. Following the occupation British officials clearly divided the population of Palestine according to the three religions, Jews, Muslims, and Christians, and separated between these three groups. Clearly, the British involvement as a Christian, foreign power created instability among the city's communities and changed the dynamic of religious affiliations.

The changing nature of intercommunal relations is connected to the question of the preservation of the status quo in the city. On the one hand, Britain kept criticizing Ottoman rule over Jerusalem, presenting the Ottomans as imposing a "barbarous yoke" and viewing their occupation of Jerusalem as ending four hundred years of Turkish oppression. On the other hand, the British seemed to have appreciated the Ottoman administration, and immediately incorporated parts of it into their own administration. But most importantly, it seems that the basic premises of the status quo were violated following the publication of the Balfour Declaration and the arrival and activity of the Zionist Commission in Palestine. The transition of the Jews from the status of a religious community, a *millet,* in Ottoman times, into the status of a potential national community in Palestine, was for the Arab population an inconceivable transition, and had long-lasting effects.

64. The term *Halukah* stands for donations and charity money coming from the Jewish Diaspora, which supported Ashkenazi Jews from the *old yishuv.* Dr. Otis Glazebrook to David Yellin, May 19, 1915; consular correspondence, American Consulate, Jerusalem, record group 84, vol. 72, NACP.

65. Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 118–19.

66. Samir Seikaly, "Unequal Fortunes: The Arabs of Palestine and the Jews During World War I," in *Studia Arabica et Islamica,* ed. Wadad al-Qadi, 399–406 (Beirut: American Univ. of Beirut, 1981).

67. In a report from 1913 about the involvement of the American Colony in life in Jerusalem it is written that the colony began to install a telephone system in Jerusalem, and also may have been involved in the installation of a new water system in Jerusalem. See William T. Ellis, "Americans Lead in Jerusalem Progress," Aug. 17, 1913, container I:2, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, MD-LOC.

68. "War Time Aid," container I:3, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, MD-LOC; Vester Spafford, *Our Jerusalem,* 201–2.

69. "War Time Aid," container I:3, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, MD-LOC; Vester Spafford, *Our Jerusalem,* 207–8. On the history of this institution, see Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2002).

70. John Whiting to William Coffin (Department of State, Washington), July 17, 1919, container II:46, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, MD-LOC.

71. "War Time Aid," container I:3, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, MD-LOC.

72. See Heydemann, "Introduction," 1.

73. See, for example, BBA DH.KMS 25/45 #2; DH.KMS 27/48.

74. Tamari and Nassar, *Al-Quds,* 198; *Yawmiyat,* 104 (June 11, 1915).

75. Ben Yehuda, Fullerton, and Banks, *Jerusalem,* 32, 54. On December 24, 1914, Khalil al-Sakakini wrote in his diary that Zeki Bey was removed from his post, and that it was not clear whether he was fired or had retired. According to Sakakini, some people thought that the reason for his removal was his shameless behavior with women, or that he did not like the Germans. See Musallam, *Yawmiyat Khalil al-Sakakini,* 2:142. The date mentioned by Sakakini differs from all other sources, which claim that Zeki Bey was removed from his post in 1915.

76. Naguib and Okkenhaug, *Interpreting Welfare,* 2–3.

77. See more on this in Abigail Jacobson, "American 'Welfare Politics': Americans in Jerusalem During World War I," forthcoming.

2. IDENTITIES IN TRANSITION: CONTESTED SPACE AND IDENTITIES IN JERUSALEM

1. Simon Gunn, "The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place," in *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850,* ed. Simon Gunn and Robert Morris, 9–11 (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2001); Fran Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005), 1, 59–60; Michael Keith and Steve Pile,

"Introduction: the Politics of Space," in *Place and the Politics of Identity,* ed. Michael Keith and Steve Pile (London: Routledge, 1993), 1–2.

2. Jay Winter, "The Practices of Metropolitan Life in Wartime," in *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919,* vol. 2, ed. Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, 1–21 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007).

3. Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (Mar. 1995): 116; Don Mitchell, "Introduction: Public Space and the City," *Urban Geography* 17, no. 2 (1996): 127–31; Lynn A. Staeheli and Don Mitchell, "Locating the Public in Research and Practice," *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 6 (2007): 792–93.

4. D. Mitchell, "End of Public Space," 115; Tonkiss, *Space,* 3; Eugene J. McCann, "Race, Protest and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the U.S. City," *Antipode* 31, no. 2 (1999): 167–68.

5. John Lawrence, "Public Space, Political Space," in *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919,* vol. 2, ed. Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, 280 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007).

6. Tonkiss, *Space,* 66–69. On the symbolic and practical meaning of streets, and the significance of streets in relation to social identities and practices, see Nicholas R. Fyfe, *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space* (London: Routledge, 1998); Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, eds., *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994).

7. Yehoshua, *Yerushalayim Tmol Shilshom,* 1:16; David Kroyanker, *Yerushalayim Rehov Yafo: Biographya shel Rehov-Sipura shel ʿIr* (Jerusalem: Keter, 2005), 30–35.

8. Kroyanker, *Yerushalayim,* 27–28; Tamari and Nassar, *Al-Quds,* 27. While discussing the garden in his memoir, Wasif Jawhariyyeh mentions that his father subcontracted the running of the café from the Ottomans, and that he did not have to pay any rent thanks to his good connections with the mayor at the time**.** Yehoshua writes that the owner of the café was responsible for the gardening, and that the municipality was responsible for keeping the garden clean.

9. Zvi Shiloni, "Prisat Yehidot ha-Memshal ve-Kohot ha-Tzava be-Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat Milhemet ha-ʿOlam ha-Rishona, ve-Hashpaʿatam ʿal Maʿarach ha-Sherutim ha-Tziburi'm ba-ʿIr," *Mehkarim ba-Geographya shel Israel* 12 (1986): 65–72.

10. Kroyanker, *Yerushalayim,* 26–27.

11. The clock tower over the Jaffa Gate, which was a reminder of Ottoman rule over the city, was dismantled in 1922, and was replaced by a new tower that was designed to fit the British imagination of the city. This new clock tower, built at the end of Jaffa Road, was demolished in 1934 to clear the way for traffic. On this and the significance of British town planning in Jerusalem, see Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert, "A Colonial Portrait of Jerusalem: British Architecture in Mandate-Era Palestine," in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment,* ed. Nezar AlSayyad, 89–91 (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001); Kroyanker, *Yerushalayim,* 28–30.

12. I deeply thank Prof. Dror Wahrman for generously allowing me to use his late father's rich collection on World War I in Palestine. Jacob Wahrman's Collection, Jerusalem: Files on World

War I, Jaffa Gate and Executions. Jawhariyyeh also mentions a person who was hanged before Bab al-ʿAmoud, Damascus Gate, because of his activities as an Arab nationalist. See Tamari and Nassar, *Al Quds,* 163.

13. Al-Sakakini, *Kazeh Ani, Rabotay,* 60 (Nov. 18, 1914), 58 (Sept. 30, 1914).

14. Elmaliach, *Eretz Israel,* 2:70–73.

15. See more on this in Salim Tamari, "Ha-Moderniyut ha-'Othmanit shel Yerushalayim ʿErev ha-Mandat ha-Briti," in *Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat ha-Mandat: ha-ʿAsiya veha-Moreshet,* ed. Yehoshua Ben Arieh, 51–57 (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 2003).

16. Henry Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 286.

17. Nicholas R. Fyfe, "Introduction: Reading the Street," in *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space,* ed. Nicholas R. Fyfe, 1–10 (London: Routledge, 1998).

18. *Yawmiyat,* 132–33 (Aug. 10, 1915). Parts of this section are based on Abigail Jacobson, "Negotiating Ottomanism in Times of War: Jerusalem During World War I Through the Eyes of a Local Muslim Resident," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 1 (Feb. 2008): 69–88.

19. Winter, "Practices of Metropolitan Life," 1–7.

20. See R. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity;* R. Khalidi, "Ottomanism and Arabism," 50–69; Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks.* A critical review of the state of research on the subject can be found in Rashid Khalidi, "Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature," *American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (Dec. 1991): 1363–73. The debate over the Ottoman heritage in the history and historiography of the Arab Middle East is an ongoing discussion, and reflects an attempt to uncover the history of the region using local, both Ottoman and Arabic, sources, while emphasizing the Ottoman background of the Arab provinces. See Albert Hourani, *The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East* (London: Longman Group, 1970). For an interesting demonstration of the complexity of identity in the writings of two Arab-Ottoman bureaucrats who reported from the province of Beirut in 1916 and 1917, see Avi Rubin, "Bahjat ve Tamimi be-Vilayet Beirut: Masa el Toda'atam shel Shney Nos'im 'Osmanim be-Reshit ha-Mea ha-'Esrim," (MA thesis, Ben Gurion Univ. of the Negev, 2000).

21. R. Khalidi, "Ottomanism and Arabism," 61–63.

22. Tarif Khalidi, "The Arab World," in *The Great War 1914–1917: The People's Experience,* ed. Peter Liddle, John Bourne, and Ian Whitehead, 293–98 (London: HarperCollins, 2001); George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab Nationalist Movement* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1939), 185–91.

23. R. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity,* 157–61.

24. See more on the evaluation of Cemal Paşa's years in Greater Syria and Ottoman policy during World War I in Hasan Kayali, "Wartime Regional and Imperial Integration of Greater Syria During World War I," in *The Syrian Land: Processes of Integration and Fragmentation,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Birgit Schaebler, 295–306 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998). There are some brief mentions of Jerusalem in Cemal Paşa's memoir. See Djemal Pasha, *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913–1919* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 204.

25. *Yawmiyat Muhammad ʿAdil al-Salah min Ahl al-Quds, 1915–1916,* AP.Ar.46, NLI-Ms. Salim Tamari, from the Institute of Jerusalem Studies, uncovered the identity of the diarist after our failed attempts to locate al-Salah. The process that led Tamari to this discovery, as well as further analysis of several dimensions in the writings of Tourjman, are described in the introduction to the transcribed and edited version of the diary. See Salim Tamari, *ʿAm al-Jarrad* (Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 2008). See also Salim Tamari, "The Short Life of Private Ihsan," *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 30 (2007): 26–58.

26. Ehud R. Toledano, "The Emergence of Ottoman-Local Elites (1700–1900): A Framework for Research," in *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within,* ed. Ilan Pappe and Moshe Maoz, 145–62 (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997); Ehud R. Toledano, "Forgetting Egypt's Ottoman Past," in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman,* vol. 1, ed. Jayne L. Warner, 150–67 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2001).

27. Saʿad al-Din al-Khalidi, Ghalib al-Khalidi, and Muhammad Tawfiq al Khalidi are all mentioned throughout the text as his uncles from his maternal side, *khal.* However, neither al-Salah's nor Tourjman's names appear in the Khalidi's family tree.

28. Tamari, *ʿAm al-Jarrad,* 15–16.

29. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2001). For an excellent example of such a use of a social-cultural biography, see Mira Tzoreff, "May Ziadeh- Biographia Hevratit-Tarbutit: Masa min ha-Ishi el ha-Kolektivi" (PhD diss., Tel Aviv Univ., 2006).

30. Edmund Burke III, "Middle Eastern Societies and Ordinary People's Lives," in *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East,* ed. Edmund Burke III and David Yaghoubian, 1–9 (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993).

31. *Yawmiyat,* 36 (Apr. 24, 1915); 97 (May 31, 1915).

32. Ibid., 154 (Dec. 27, 1916).

33. Ibid., 155. The issue of hoarding food is also mentioned by Schatkowski Schilcher in relation to Beirut.

34. For an analysis of this aspect in Bahjat and Tamimi's writing, see Rubin, *Bahjat ve Tamimi,* 35–41.

35. April 1915 is when the Ottomans entered Egypt, so maybe this is the *ʿid* Tourjman refers to here.

36. *Yawmiyat,* 47 (Apr. 26, 1915).

37. Ibid., 124–25 (July 27, 1915).

38. Susan Grayzel's *Women's Identity at War* is an example for such research; it focuses on the relations between gender and war while comparing the experience of women in Britain and France. On gender and war, see also Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993); Billie Melman, ed., *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870–1930* (New York: Routledge, 1998). For a good historiographical introduction to the state of research on gender and war, see Billie Melman's "Introduction," to *Borderlines.*

39. Melman, *Borderlines,* 9–11, 50–51, 66, 84–85.

40. Elizabeth Thompson, *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000), 1–38.

41. Margot Badran, "Independent Women: More than a Century of Feminism in Egypt," in *Arab Women: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers,* ed. Judith Tucker, 129–48 (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1993).

42. *Yawmiyat,* 11 (Apr. 10, 1915). See also Tamari, *'Am al-Jarrad,* 28.

43. *Yawmiyat,* 7 (Apr. 1, 1915).

44. Ibid., 48 (Apr. 28, 1915).

45. Ibid., 44 (Apr. 25, 1915).

46. Hanssen, "Public Morality," 195–99. On the phenomenon of Jewish prostitutes in late nineteenth-century Damascus, see Yaron Harel, "'Al ha-'Meshorerot' ha-'Menagnot' veha-'Meranenot' ha-Yehudiyot be-Damesek," In *Isha ba-Mizrah, Isha mi-Mizrah: Sipurah shel ha-Yehudiyah bat ha-Mizrah,* ed. Tova Cohen and Shaul Regev, 109–27 (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan Univ., 2005).

47. *Yawmiyat,* 37 (Apr. 24, 1915).

48. Ibid., 50 (Apr. 29, 1915).

49. Ibid., 147 (Sept. 15, 1915).

50. Prostitution plays out differently in times of crisis and conflict than in times of peace. For a discussion on prostitution in Victorian England, and the ways class, family, and economic factors played a role in women's work as prostitutes, see Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980).

51. *Yawmiyat,* 93 (May 27, 1915). See more on Leah Tenenbaum in Tamari, *'Am al-Jarrad,* 33. From the way Tourjman refers to the prostitute as a "private prostitute" one can assume that there were different groups and statuses of prostitutes. The "private prostitute" most probably served the more important clients. The writer's criticism here has probably to do more with the fact that his supposed wife was dishonored than that she was Jewish. It is reported that in late 1919 there were five hundred prostitutes in Jerusalem, most of them Jewish, and that many brothels were under Jewish management. The brothels mentioned are located mainly near Jaffa Road, in the Jewish Nahlat Shiva'a neighborhood. See Ya'akov Gross, ed., *Yerushalayim 1917/1918: Hurban, Nes ve-Geula* (Jerusalem: Koresh, 1993), 417–20; *ha-Herut,* Oct. 16, 1915. To read more on Jewish prostitutes in Jerusalem following World War I, see Margalit Shilo, "Znutan shel Bnot Yerushalayim be-Motzae'i Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona- Mabat Gavri ve-Mabat Nashi," *Yerushalayim ve-Eretz Israel* 1 (2003): 173–96.

52. *Yawmiyat,* 47 (Apr. 26, 1915).

53. Eliezer Tauber, trans., *'Aziz Bey: Modi'in ve-Rigul be-Levanon, Suriya ve-Eretz Israel be-Milhemet ha-'Olam: 1913–1918* (Tel Aviv, 1991), 129–52. On Alther Levine see JMA Box 7006. It is not at all clear whether this information about Levine is indeed true, mainly because 'Aziz Bey's memoir is not considered a reliable source. Another episode about Levine, which is not mentioned at all in 'Aziz Bey's memoir, is his relationship with Khalil al-Sakakini. In November 1917, Sakakini provided Levine shelter in his house while the latter was hiding from the Ottoman authorities who wanted to arrest him (because of his American citizenship, according to Sakakini). The Ottomans managed to find Levine and arrest him, as well as his host, Sakakini. They were both deported

to Damascus. Sakakini describes this incident in length in his diary. On the relationship between Sakakini and Levine, see al-Sakakini, *Kazeh Ani, Rabotay,* 73–80; ʻAdel Mannaʻ, "Between Jerusalem and Damascus: The End of Ottoman Rule as Seen by a Palestinian Modernist," *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 22–23 (Fall/Winter 2005): 120–23; Tom Segev, *Yemey ha-Kalaniyot: Eretz Israel Bi-Tkufat ha-Mandat* (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1999), 19–34.

54. Robinson Divine, "Palestine," 91.

55. Shilo, "Znutan." Some Jewish organizations that Shilo mentions are the Association of Hebrew Women and the Women's Help Organization. The Pro-Jerusalem Society also led some women's organizations. Other organizations include the American Red Cross and some missionary organizations, such as the Social Service Association and Palestinian Women's Council. These associations tried to provide "proper jobs" for women.

56. Grayzel, *Women's Identities,* 50–51, 84–85.

57. *Yawmiyat,* 32 (Apr. 22, 1915).

58. Ibid., 48 (Apr. 28, 1915).

59. Tamari, *ʻAm al-Jarrad,* 33, 38.

60. *Yawmiyat,* 64 (May 7, 1915).

61. Ibid., 67 (May 8, 1915).

62. Ibid., 126–28 (Aug. 1, 1915). The secondary sources on this subject provide different dates and locations of the hanging. See, for example, Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks,* 193, where he writes that on August 21, 1915, eleven Beiruti leaders were executed in the town square. According to Michael Assaf, on the other hand, the first hanging took place in Damascus on August 21, 1915. See Michael Assaf, *Toldot Hitʻorerut ha-ʻAravim be-Eretz Israel ve-Brichtam* (Tel Aviv: Tarbut ve-Hinuch, 1967), 69.

63. *Yawmiyat,* 148 (Sept. 15, 1915).

64. Ibid., 182–86 (July 10, 1916).

65. See R. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity,* 145–75.

66. *Yawmiyat,* 1 (Mar. 28, 1915). On this issue in reference to this diary, see Yehoshua Porath, *Zmichat ha-Tnuʻa ha-Leumit ha-ʻAravit ha-Falestinit 1918–1929* (Jerusalem: Hebrew Univ., 1971), 7.

67. R. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity,* 193.

68. The following section is based mainly on the new and more complete edition of Sakakini's diaries, edited by Akram Musallam. This is a fuller version of the diaries that had already been published in *Kada ana Ya Dunyah,* edited by Sakakini's daughter Hala Sakakini in 1955. See Musallam, *Yawmiyat Khalil al-Sakakini,* 2:95–160.

69. *Yawmiyat,* 157–58 (Mar. 26, 1915).

70. Ibid., 172–73 (Nov. 20, 1917).

71. Ibid., 98 (Sept. 17, 1914).

72. Ibid., 118 (Nov. 4, 1914).

73. Ibid., 123 (Nov. 9, 1914).

74. Ibid., 132–33 (Nov. 18, 1914).

75. Ibid., 142 (Dec. 25, 1914); 154–55 (Feb. 7-Mar. 8, 1915).

Moyal family); Tidhar, *Inziklopedya,* 3:1219; Yehoshua Ben Hanania, "Dr. Shim'on Moyal ve-ha-Be'aya ha-Yehudit ha-'Aravit," *Hed ha-Mizrach* 3 (Oct. 10, 1944): 25; On Esther Azhari Moyal see: Yehoshua Ben Hanania, "Ha-Soferet Esther Moyal u-Tkufata," *Hed ha-Mizrach* 3 (Sept. 17, 1914): 17–18; Lital Levy, "Partitioned Pasts: Arab Jewish Intellectuals and the case of Esther Azhari Moyal (1873–1948)," in *The Making of the Arab Intellectual (1880–1960): Empire, Public Sphere, and the Colonial Coordinates of Selfhood,* ed. Dyala Hamzah, chap. 6 (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

97. Nissim Malul's series of essays ("Our Situation in the Country," *ha-Herut,* June 17–19, 1913), which were discussed at length earlier, serve as a good example of his unique perspective and his location within the political discourse of his time.

4. When a City Changes Hands: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule

1. "With the Crusaders in the Holy Land. Allenby: the Conqueror" (1919), the introduction to a film that documents the entry of General Allenby to Jerusalem. Imperial War Museum, (IWM), Film and Video Archive, IWM 45.

2. "The State of Affairs in Palestine by a Native of Jerusalem," Sept. 17, 1914, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14 PA/14/1, 254–56. The report is signed by Anis el-Gamal. The writer's name indicates that he was either Egyptian or wrote under an Egyptian pseudonym.

3. "The Politics of Jerusalem," Dec. 29, 1916, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14 PA/16/2, 259–62.

4. "Palestine: Geographical and Political," Apr. 1917 (writer unknown), TNA: PRO, CAB 21/15, 3.

5. Eitan Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade? British Propaganda and the Palestine Campaign, 1917–1918," *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 91, 98. The Balfour Declaration was officially published in Palestine by the British administration in February 1920. There is a debate on whether people in Palestine, mainly the non-Jews, were aware of the declaration before 1920. According to some British reports presented here, the local population was very much aware of the declaration and its meaning. Perhaps people read about it in the Egyptian press, which arrived with the British army. Philip Graves, in his memoir, refers to this question as well, while arguing that he remembers people talking about the declaration in Jerusalem and Jaffa shortly after the British occupation, and that the Germans spread the news about its publication. Philip Graves, *Palestine: The Land of Three Faiths* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), 49–50. See also Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917–1948* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2000), 38–39.

6. Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand,* 8; Anthony Bruce, *The Last Crusade: The Palestine Campaign in the First World War* (London: John Murray, 2002), 165.

7. "Palestine: Geographical and Political," Apr. 1917 (writer unknown), TNA: PRO, CAB 21/15, 4, 6. The clear emphasis of the writer on the importance of Damascus to the Arab cause, and as the capital of a future Arab state, is interesting, judging from the vague and contradictory promises given to Sherif Hussein in the Hussein-McMahon correspondence on the one hand, and the Sykes-Picot British-French agreement on the other hand.

8. Bruce, *The Last Crusade,* 165; Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade?" 107. It is important to note that the location of some Ottoman forces east of Jerusalem had some disadvantages, too, from the British point of view, as it disconnected Palestine from its main source of grain supply from eastern Jordan.

9. Bishop Rennie MacInnes replaced the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem, G. F. Popham Blyth, who served as a bishop for more than twenty-five years. On the local support of Bishop Blyth, see Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), R. T. Davidson's papers, vol. 396, ff. 48. Blyth resigned from his post on June 1914, and was replaced by MacInnes. The latter spent most of the war in Cairo and arrived into Jerusalem only after the British occupation, in 1918.

10. On the Anglican Church in Palestine and the British interests in Palestine, see Riah Abu el-Assal, "The Birth and Experience of the Christian Church: The Protestant/Anglican Perspective. Anglican Identity in the Middle East," in *Christians in the Holy Land,* ed. Michael Prior and William Taylor (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1994), 131–40; Alexander Schölch, "Britain in Palestine, 1838–1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 1 (Autumn 1992): 39–56.

11. MacInnes to the High Commissioner in Egypt, May 2, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14, PA/17/7, 304–6. Clayton was critical of the British policy of granting a national home to the Jewish people, represented by the Balfour Declaration. On his and the general military administration's attitude toward the developing national tension in Palestine, and their attitudes toward Zionism, see John J. McTague, "The British Military Administration in Palestine 1917–1920," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 7, no. 3 (Spring 1978): 55–76.

12. Colonel Wyndham Deedes served as the intelligence officer of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, and later as the chief secretary of the Palestine government between 1920 and 1922. He worked closely with the Arab Bureau in Cairo. Tom Segev describes him as a pious Christian and pious Zionist who believed in cooperation between the British Empire and the world Jewry. See Segev, *Yemey ha-Kalaniyot,* 79.

13. Deedes to the High Commissioner in Egypt, July 5, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14, PA/17/8.

14. Cantuar to MacInnes, July 18, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14, PA/17/11, 317.

15. Graves to Deedes, Oct. 15, 1917 (italics mine), TNA: PRO, FO 882/14, PA/17/12. Captain Philip Graves served as a staff officer of *The Times* before 1914, and during the war served in different positions in the British army. Among other things he was a member of the Arab Bureau and of the Arab section of the military headquarters in Palestine.

16. Archbishop to Feynes-Clinton, Nov. 26, 1917, LPL, Davidson Papers, vol. 400, ff. 26.

17. Cantuar to MacInnes, July 18, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14, PA/17/11, 316.

18. Clayton to Wingate, Oct. 25, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14, PA/17/13, 320.

19. Anthony O'Mahony, "The Religious, Political and Social Status of the Christian Communities in Palestine c. 1800–1930," in *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land,* ed. Anthony O'Mahony, Goran Gunner, and Kevork Hintlian, 245 (Jerusalem: Swedish Christian Study Centre, 1995).

20. Davidson to MacInnes, Dec. 6, 1917, LPL, Davidson Papers, vol. 400, ff. 38.

21. MacInnes private letter, Jan. 19, 1918, LPL, Davidson Papers, vol. 397, ff. 124–25.

22. "Roman Catholic Affairs in Palestine," Feb. 4, 1918, TNA: PRO, FO 141/667/6.

23. A report on a visit to Paris, communicated by Sir Mark Sykes, Dec. 25, 1917, LPL, Davidson Papers, vol. 400, ff. 73.

24. Storrs, *Orientations,* 326.

25. Rachela Makover, *Sidrey Shilton ve-Minhal be-Eretz Israel 1917–1925* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1988), 30–33.

26. Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade?" 87–90.

27. Beer-Sheva was occupied on October 31, Gaza on November 7, and Jaffa on November 16. See Frumkin, *Derekh Shofet,* 200.

28. On the official history of the capture of Jerusalem, see Cyril Falls and A. F. Becke, *History of the Great War: Military Operations Egypt & Palestine, Part I* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1930), mainly 243–64. On the description and analysis of the capture of the city and its surrender, see Brian Gardner, *Allenby* (London: Cassell, 1965), 155–64; Bruce, *The Last Crusade,* 154–70.

29. Gardner, *Allenby,* 158–59.

30. Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand,* 25–26. On this version of the event, and for the translation of the letter of surrender, see T. Canaan, "Two Documents on the Surrender of Jerusalem," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 10, no. 1 (1930). The Ottoman version of the writ of surrender stated: "To the English command, since two days howitzer-shells are falling on some places in Jerusalem which is sacred to all nations [*milla,* can be translated also as religion]. The Ottoman government, for the sole purpose of protecting the religious places, has withdrawn its soldiers from the city, and it installed officials to protect the holy places such as the Holy Sepulchre and the al-Aqsa Mosque, with the hope that the same treatment will also continue from your side. I am sending this letter to you by the acting mayor, Hussein Bey al-Husayni, signed: Mutasarif of the independent Jerusalem, 'Izzat." I thank Roberto Mazza for drawing my attention to this article.

31. Bruce, *The Last Crusade,* 163; Luke McKernan, "The Supreme Moment of the War: General Allenby's Entry to Jerusalem," *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 13, no. 2 (1993): 171–72.

32. McKernan, "Supreme Moment," 172–73; Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade?" 99–100. Interestingly, the proclamation was not read in Armenian, despite the existence of an Armenian community in the city.

33. The northern border of OETA-S was located a little north of Jaffa and included Jerusalem, Ramleh, and Jericho. After the conquest of Syria, OETA (East) was created, including Damascus, Aleppo, and Trans Jordan. Storrs, *Orientations,* 342.

34. Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade?" 99.

35. McKernan, "Supreme Moment," 177–78.

36. Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade?" 101.

37. Storrs, *Orientations,* 353.

38. Allenby to the War Office, Mar. 2, 1918, TNA: PRO, T1/12278 File 5140/17511.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid. La-Régie Imperiale Company received its initial rights for the sale of tobacco from the Public Debt Administration in 1883. The contract with it was renewed in 1913, but on April 7,

1921, the contract was canceled, and from March 1, 1921, the sale of tobacco was free. In 1923 the Ottoman Public Debt Administration turned all the taxes it collected to the British Mandatory government in Palestine. See Makover, *Sidrey Shilton,* 34 n. 58, 59. On the changes in the tax collection system, see 72–73.

41. Makover, *Sidrey Shilton,* 33–35.

42. Storrs, *Orientations,* 343–44; Makover, *Sidrey Shilton,* 48, 63–67. Mufti Kamal al-Husayni is described as a moderate figure who had good connections with the Jews and the military authorities. He passed away in March 1921 and was replaced by his brother, Haj Amin al-Husayni. See ʻAdel Mannaʻ, *Aʻlam Filastin fi Awakhir al-ʻAhd al-ʻUthmani* (Jerusalem: Jamiʻyyat al-Dirasat al-ʻArabiyya, 1986), 124.

43. L. G. A. Cust, *The Status Quo in the Holy Places* (Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1980), 3–12.

44. On the status quo regarding the Holy Sites, see Marlen Eordegian, "British and Israeli Maintenance of the Status Quo in the Holy Places of Christendom," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003): 307–28; Wasserstein, *Divided Jerusalem,* 15–43; Mazza, "Jerusalem," 162–65; Yair Wallach, "Readings in Conflict: Public Texts in Modern Jerusalem, 1858–1948" (PhD diss., Birkbeck College, Univ. of London, 2008), 96.

45. Makover, *Sidrey Shilton,* 47–48. As Yair Wallach demonstrates regarding the case of the Wailing Wall and Awad Halabi in the case of the Nabi Musa celebrations, the status quo served as a framework that enabled all parties involved to negotiate the meanings of these contested holy sites while claiming to speak in the name of "age-old traditions." See Wallach, "Readings in Conflict," 96–97; Awad Eddie Halabi, "The Transformation of the Prophet Moses Festival in Jerusalem, 1917–1937: From Local and Islamic to Modern and Nationalist Celebration" (PhD diss., Univ. of Toronto, 2006), 117–18.

46. Some of the diaries also include photographs that were taken by the soldiers. According to one of the soldiers, the army ordered to destroy the negatives of these photos because only official pictures of the British forces were allowed to be kept and recorded. See a note on this in the diary of Lt. Chippertfield, IWM, Department of Documents, 75/76/1.

47. Diary of Private C. T. Shaw, Dec. 9, 1917, IWM, Department of Documents, 81/23/1.

48. Ibid.

49. Diary of Private Herbert Empson, 2/5 London Field Ambulance, 180 Infantry Brigade, 60th Division, IWM, Department of Documents, 2/12/1, 28 (Dec. 9, 1917).

50. Diary of Private Shaw, 10.

51. Diary of Private Empson, 31 (Jan. 2, 1918).

52. Ibid. (Jan. 3, 17, 1918).

53. The American Red Cross Commission was sent to Palestine in March 1918 and began operating in Jerusalem in July 1918. Its first and most urgent mission was to carry out relief work among the homeless refugees. It also instituted industrial workrooms in which fifteen hundred women from Jerusalem—Muslims, Jews, and Christians—were employed and engaged in various works. The organization's policy was to help the refugees help themselves, and not just provide them with

charity. The American Red Cross established ten refugee centers around Jerusalem, an orphanage house, a hospital and some clinics for children and adults. See Henry P. Davison, *The American Red Cross in the Great War* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1919), 261–66. For the American Red Cross' statement of operations in Jerusalem, see *The Work of the American Red Cross During the War: A Statement of Finances and Accomplishments (July 1, 1917-Feb. 28, 1919)* (Washington, D.C.: American Red Cross, 1919), 87–90.

54. Theodore Waters, "Palestine after the War," in Jerusalem: Its Redemption and Future. The Great Drama of Deliverance Described by Eyewitnesses, ed. Hemda Ben Yehuda, Kemper Fullerton, and Edgar J. Banks, 191–95, 200–204 (New York: The Christian Herald, 1918).

55. Ibid., 221–22.

56. Storrs, *Orientations,* 336–38.

57. The Syria and Palestine Relief Fund was an organization established by Bishop MacInnes in order to assist the population of Syria and Palestine. The organization did not target any specific community and was intended to be administered without distinction between race and creed. The organization began its activities before the occupation of Jerusalem, but, once the city was occupied, it became active on a larger scale. On the organization, its activities, and sources of funding, see LPL, MS. 2611–2613.

58. Storrs, *Orientations,* 346–47. For more information on the distribution of relief funds in Jerusalem following the war, see W. D. McCrackan, *The New Palestine* (Boston: The Page Company, 1922), 46–55. According to McCrackan, the following communities received assistance from the military administration: Muslim community (ten thousand people), Greek Orthodox (fifty-three hundred), Syrian Orthodox (169), Russians Orthodox (six hundred). The communities that did not receive assistance from the administration were the Latins (thirty-two hundred, including Arab-Syrian, Armenian, and Abyssinian Catholics), Copts (140), Armenians (928,) and Abyssinians (sixty-nine). The latter received aid from various countries, or carried out their own communal relief work. Regarding the Jews, McCrackan claimed that all Jews who came to Jerusalem had some money, either their own or relief funds they received from some source. After the war, the Zionist commission continued the support work that had begun with the American support during the war.

59. Storrs, *Orientations,* 345–46; Segev, *Yemey ha-Kalaniot,* 55–56.

60. Deedes to Ablitt, Dec. 16, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 141/746/4.

61. Report from Deedes, Dec. 19, 1917, TNA: PRO, FO 141/746/4.

62. "The Politics of Jerusalem," Dec. 29, 1916, TNA: PRO, FO 882/14 PA/16/2, 259–62.

63. Storrs, *Orientations,* 414; Norman Bentwich and Helen Bentwich, *Mandate Memories, 1918–1948* (London: Hogarth Press, 1965), 47.

64. Bentwich and Bentwich, *Mandate Memories,* 27–28, 46–47; Porath, *Zmichat,* 26–27.

65. MacInnes to the archbishop, Jan. 24, 1918, LPL, Davidson Papers, vol. 397, ff. 120–23.

66. "Affairs in Palestine," Feb. 4, 1918, ISA, Microfilm Collection of the British Foreign Office, FO 371, microfilm 640, document 36575.

67. Clayton to Foreign Office, June 16, 1918, TNA: PRO, FO 371/11053/130342, quoted in McTague, "British Military Administration," 57–58.

68. Captain William Yale served as the US special agent to the Middle East in 1918, and also joined the King-Crane Commission in 1919. He wrote many dispatches to the State Department regarding the situation in the Middle East, tensions between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, and relations between Great Britain and France. Before his work for the American intelligence, he served as the representative of the American Standard Oil Company in Jerusalem, and supposedly also worked for British intelligence. "The Situation in Palestine," Apr. 1, 1918, CZA, CM/241/33, Report no. 21, 11–13.

69. MacInnes to Archbishop, Feb. 28, 1920, LPL, Davidson Papers, vol. 400, ff. 187–99.

70. MacInnes to the Lambeth Conference, July 5, 1920, LPL, Lambeth Conference Papers, 242–43.

5. Between the Muslim-Christian Associations and the Muslim National Associations: The Rise of Intercommunal Tension

1. Storrs to OETA headquarters, Nov. 4, 1918, ISA 1/140/4A. Quoted in Bernard Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict, 1917–1929* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 31–32; and in Ann Mosely Lesch, *Arab Politics in Palestine, 1917–1939: The Frustration of a National Movement* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1979), 85–86. It is important to note how the writers identify themselves collectively as Arabs, Muslims, and Christians.

2. Porath, *Zmichat,* 31–32.

3. Wasserstein, *British in Palestine,* 9–10.

4. Isaiah Friedman, *Palestine: A Twice Promised Land? The British, the Arabs and Zionism* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 177; Storrs, *Orientations,* 414; Porath, *Zmichat,* 34–35.

5. Interview with Avraham Elmaliach, the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Project 28, Interview 2, number 7.

6. Storrs, *Orientations,* 399, 414–15. Storrs alludes here to the tension between the military administrators in Palestine and the decision makers in London, who did not always see eye to eye regarding policies in Palestine, and especially on attitudes toward the Zionist movement. He also mentions that the main charge of local Zionist leaders against the OETA administration was that of anti-Zionism. As he wrote in *Orientations,* "some of us were very soon on the Black List of Zion, an injustice which, though not prejudicing our work, did entail some needless irritation" (425–26).

7. Quoted in Wasserstein, *British in Palestine,* 24–25.

8. Porath, *Zmichat,* 35–37.

9. Wasserstein, *British in Palestine,* 26–27; Neil Caplan, *Palestine Jewry and the Arab Question 1917–1925* (London: Frank Cass, 1978), 22.

10. Petition from Nov. 8, 1919, consular correspondence, American Consulate in Jerusalem, record group 84, vol. 87, NACP. The petition was signed by the following people: Fakhri al-Din al-Husayni (president of the Arabic association in Jerusalem), Fakhri al-Din al-Nashashibi (secretary of the Literary Association), Mahmoud Said al-Gimai (Association of Brotherhood and Chastity in Jerusalem), and Zakieh al-Husayni (president of the Arab Association of Ladies).

Bibliography

ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

Al-Aqsa Library, Jerusalem
Ben-Zvi Institute, Jerusalem
Central Zionist Archive (CZA), Jerusalem
Haganah Archive (HA), Tel Aviv
Imperial War Museum: Department of Documents, Film and Video Archive, Sound Archive (IWM), London
Israel State Archive (ISA), Jerusalem
Jacob Wahrman Collection, Jerusalem
Jerusalem Municipal Archive (JMA), Jerusalem
Khalidi Library, Jerusalem
Labor Movement Archive (Lavon Archive) (LA), Tel Aviv
Lambeth Palace Library (LPL), London
Library of Congress, Manuscript Division (MD-LOC), Washington, D.C.
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Matson Photograph Collection (LOC-P&P), Washington, D.C.
National Archives, Public Records Office (TNA: PRO), London
National Archives (NACP), College Park, MD
National Library of Israel (NLI), Jerusalem
National Library of Israel, Eran Laor Cartographic Collection, Jerusalem
National Library of Israel, Manuscript Department (NLI-Ms.), Jerusalem
Oral History Project, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew Univ. of Jerusalem
Osmanli Arşivi Daire Başbakanliği (BBA), Istanbul
St. Antony's College Archive, Private Papers Collection, Oxford
Tel Aviv-Jaffa Municipal Archive (TAMA), Tel Aviv

NEWSPAPERS

ha-Ahdut, Tel Aviv
al-Ahram, Cairo
al-Akhbar, Jaffa
al-'Alam al-Israili, Beirut
Filastin, Jaffa
ha-Herut, Jerusalem
al-Hilal, Cairo
Jerusalem News, Jerusalem
al-Karmil, Haifa
al-Kawkab, Cairo
Lisan al-'Arab, Jerusalem
Mir'at al-Sharq, Jerusalem
al-Muqtabas, Beirut
The Palestine News, Jerusalem
ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir, Tel Aviv
al-Quds al-Sharif, Jerualem
al-Salam, Jaffa
Sawt al-'Uthmaniyya, Jaffa
ha-Schiloah, Odessa

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES AND MEMOIRS

Andrews, Fannie Fern. *The Holy Land under the Mandate.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931.

Ashbee, C. R., ed. *Jerusalem 1918–1920: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council During the Period of the British Military Administration.* London: John Murray, 1921.

———. *Jerusalem 1920–1922: Being the Records of the Pro-Jerusalem Council During the First Two Yeas of the Civil Administration.* London: John Murray, 1924.

———. *A Palestine Notebook, 1918–1923.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, 1923.

Atay, Falih Rifki. *Zeytindaĝi.* Istanbul: Hakimiyeti Milliye Matbassi, 1932.

Bahjat, Muhammad, and Rafiq al-Tamimi. *Wilayat Beirut.* Beirut, 1917.

Barton, James. *Story of the Near East Relief (1915–1930): An Interpretation.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919.

Bayan al-Hizb al-Lamarkaziyya [Manifesto of the Decentralization Party]. Cairo, 1913.

Ben Gurion, David. *Anahnu ve-Shchenenu.* Tel Aviv: Davar, 1931.

Ben Hillel Hacohen, Moredechai. *Milhemet ha-'Amim: Yoman.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1981.

Ben Yehuda, Hemda, Kemper Fullerton, and Edgar J. Banks, eds. *Jerusalem: Its Redemption and Future. The Great Drama of Deliverance Described by Eyewitnesses.* New York: The Christian Herald, 1918.

Chelouche, Yosef. *Parashat Hayai, 1870–1930.* Tel Aviv: Strud Publishers, 1931.

Cohen, Israel. *The Turkish Persecution of the Jews.* London: Alabaster, Passmore and Sons, 1918.

Darwaza, Muhammad 'Izzat. *Khamsa wa Tis'una 'Aman fi al-Hayat: Mudhakirat wa-Tasjilat.* Vol. 1. Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1993.

Davison, Henry P. *The American Red Cross in the Great War.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919.

Deinard, Ephraim. *Milhemet Togramah Be-Eretz Israel. St. Louis:* Moinester, 1926.

Elmaliach, Avraham. *Eretz Israel Ve-Suriyah Be-Yemey Milhemet Ha-Olam.* Vol. 1, 2. Jerusalem: Ha-Solel, 1928.

Frumkin, Gad. *Derekh Shofet Bi-Yerushalayim.* Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1954.

Graham, Stephen. *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem.* London: Macmillan Press, 1916.

Graves, Philip. *Palestine: The Land of Three Faiths.* London: Jonathan Cape, 1923.

Great Britain, Foreign Office. *Syria and Palestine: Handbook Prepared under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, No. 60.* London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1920.

Al-Hakim, Kamil. *Rihla Misri Ila Filastin Wa-Lubnan Wa-Suriyah.* Egypt: al-Matba'a al-Salfiya, 1924.

Husseini, Shahid Serene. *Jerusalem Memories.* Beirut: Naufal, 2000.

Jabra, Ibrahim Jabra. *The First Well: A Bethlehem Boyhood.* Fayetteville: Univ. of Arkansas Press, 1995.

Kalvarisky, Haim. "Ha-Yahasim ben ha-Yehudim veha-'Aravim Be'et ha-Milhama." *Sheifotenu* 2 (1932): 10–20, 358–65, 395–99.

———. "Ha-Yahasim ben ha-Yehudim veha-'Aravim Bizman ha-Milhama." *Sheifotenu* 2 (1932): 88–93.

———. "Ha-Yahasim ben ha-Yehudim veha-'Aravim lifney ha-Milhama." *Sheifotenu* 2 (1932): 50–55.

al-Khalidi, 'Anbara Salam. *Jawla fi al-Dhikrayat bayna Lubnan wa-Filastin.* Beirut: Dar al-Nahar lil-Nashr, 1966.

Malul, Nissim. "Ha-'Itonut ha-'Aravit," *ha-Schiloah* 31 (July-Dec. 1914): 364–74, 439–50.

McCrackan W. D. *The New Palestine.* Boston: The Page Company, 1922.

Melkon Rose, John H. *Armenians of Jerusalem: Memories of Life in Palestine*. London: Radcliffe Press, 1993.

Mogannam, Matiel E. T. *The Arab Woman and the Palestine Problem*. Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1937.

Nadim, Shukri Mahmud. *Harb Filastin 1914–1917*. Beirut: Manshurat Dar Maktabat al-Hayat, 1965.

Paşa, Cemal. *Memoirs of a Turkish Statesman 1913–1919*. New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Pro Jerusalem Society. *Pro Jerusalem Society Quarterly Bulletin*. Jerusalem: Pro Jerusalem Society, 1922.

Ruppin, Arthur. *Syrien Als Wirtschaftsgebiet*. Berlin: Verlag Benjamin Harz, 1920.

Sabri, Bahjat. *Filastin Hilala Al-Harb Al-ʿAlamiyya Al-Ula Wa-ma Baʿadha 1914–1920*. Jerusalem: Jamʿiyat Dirasat al-ʿArabiyya, 1982.

Sakakini, Hala. *Jerusalem and I: A Personal Record*. Jerusalem: Habesch-The Commercial Press, 1987.

Al-Sakakini, Khalil. *Filastin Baʿad al-Harb Al-Kubra*. Jerusalem: Matbaʿat Bayt al-Maqdis, 1925.

———. *Kadha ana ya Dunya: Yawmiyat Khalil al-Sakakini*. Jerusalem: Matbaʿat al-Tijariyya, 1955.

———. *Kazeh Ani, Rabotai: Mi-Yomano shel Khalil Sakakini*. Translated by Gideon Shilo. Jerusalem: Keter, 1990.

Salamah, Salem Mussa. *Qadiyat ʿArab Filastin*. Jerusalem: al-Matbaʿa al-Asriyya, 1936.

Samuel, Horave B. *Unholy Memories of the Holy Land*. London: Hogarth Press, 1930.

Saphir Ascher. *Unity or Partition: A Historical Survey of Judeo-Arab Negotiations for the Recognition of Jewish Rights in Palestine*. Jerusalem, 1937.

Sharett Moshe. *Nitraeh, ve-Ulay Lo: Michtavim min Ha-Tzava ha-'Othmani 1916–1918*. Tel Aviv: Hidekel Publishing, 1998.

Shukri, Ali Ahmad. *Mudhakarat Cemal Paşa*. N.p., 1923.

Sipuro shel Bank: Yovel 75 le Bank Leumi le-Israel, 1902–1977. Tel Aviv: Ahdut Publishing, 1977

Storrs, Ronald. *Middle East Politics and Diplomacy, 1904–1950: The Papers of Sir Ronald Storrs (1881–1956) from Pembroke College, Cambridge* [Microfilm]. Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 1999.

———. *Orientations*. London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1937.

Tidhar, David. *Besherut ha-Moledet (1912–1960)*. Tel Aviv: Yedidim Publishing, 1960.

Truma la-Cohen: Kovetz Likhvod Rabbi Zalman David haCohen Levontin le-Siyum ʿAvodato Betor Menahel Rashi Shel Chevrat Anglia-Palestina be Eretz Israel. Tel Aviv: Anglo-Palestine Company, 1926

Vester Spafford, Bertha. *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881–1949.* London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1951.

Waters, Theodore. "Palestine after the War." In *Jerusalem: Its Redemption and Future. The Great Drama of Deliverance Described by Eyewitnesses,* edited by Hemda Ben Yehuda Kemper Fullerton, and Edgar J. Banks, 191–222. New York: The Christian Herald, 1918.

Work of the American Red Cross During the War: A Statement of Finances and Accomplishments for the Period Between July 1, 1917 to Feb. 28, 1919, The. Washington, D.C.: American Red Cross, 1919.

Wright, J. E. *Round about Jerusalem: Letters from the Holy Land*. London: Jarrolds Publishers, 1918.

Yawmiyat Muhammad 'Adil al-Salah min Ahl al-Quds, 1915–1916. AP Ar. 46, Manuscript Department, the National Library of Israel.

Yudolevitch, David, ed. *Kovetz Ma'amarim le-Divrey Yemey ha-'Itonut be-Eretz Israel.* Vol. 2. Jerusalem: Salomon Publishers, 1936.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Abrahamson, Maura Ann. "British Town Planning in Jerusalem." PhD diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1993.

Abu-Amr, Ziad. "The Significance of Jerusalem: A Muslim Perspective." *Palestine Israel Journal* 2, no. 2 (1995): 23–31.

Abu El-Assal, Riah. "The Birth and Experience of the Christian Church: The Protestant/Anglican Perspective. Anglican Identity in the Middle East." In *Christians in the Holy Land,* edited by Michael Prior and William Taylor, 131–40. London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1994.

Abu Manneh, Butrus. "The Rise of the Sanjak of Jerusalem in the Late 19th Century." In *The Palestinians and the Middle East Conflict,* edited by Gabriel Ben-Dor, 21–32. Ramat Gan: Turtledove Publishing, 1978.

Adnan, Bakhit Muhammad, and Muhammad Younis Marzouk, eds. *Buhuth fi Ta'rikh Bilad al-Sham fi al-'Asir Al-'Uthmani*. Amman: Publications of the Committee of the History of Bilad al-Sham Conference, 1992.

Ahmad, Feroz. "Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian, and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire,* vol. 1, edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 401–34. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1982.

Ajay, Nicholas. "Mount Lebanon and the *Wilayah* of Beirut, 1914–1918: The War Years." PhD diss., Georgetown Univ., 1973.

Alboher, Shlomo. *Hizdahut, Histaglut ve-Histaygut: ha-Yehudim ha-Sefardim be-Eretz Israel ve-Hatnu'a ha-Tziyonit be-Yemey ha-Shilton ha-Briti, 1918–1948.* Jerusalem: Ha-Sifriya ha-Ziyonit, 2002.

Alexander, Zvi. *The Ottoman Field Post Offices, Palestine (1914–1918): The Alexander Collection.* Istanbul: Ekim, 2000.

Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1991.

Anderson, Perry. "Agendas for Radical History." *Radical History Review* 36 (Sept. 1986): 26–45.

Antonius, George. *The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1939.

Antreassuan, Assadour. *Jerusalem and the Armenians.* Jerusalem: St. James Press, 1968.

Al-'Arif, 'Arif. *Ta'rikh Al-Quds.* Misr: Dar al-M'arif, 1951.

Arnon, Adar. "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period." *Middle Eastern Studies* 28, no. 1 (Jan. 1992): 1–65.

Assaf, Michael. *Toldot Hit'orerut ha-'Aravim be-Eretz Israel ve-Brichtam.* Tel Aviv: Tarbut ve-Hinuch, 1967.

Audoin-Rouzeau, Stephane, and Annette Becker. *14–18: Understanding the Great War.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2002.

Auld, Sylvia, and Robert Hillenbrand, eds. *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City, 1517–1917.* London: Altajir World of Islam Trust, 2000.

Ayalon, Ami. *The Press in the Arab Middle East.* Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995.

———. *Reading Palestine: Printing and Literacy, 1900–1948.* Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 2004.

Azarya, Victor. *The Armenian Quarter of Jerusalem: Urban Life Behind Monastery Walls.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1984.

Badran, Margot. "Independent Women: More than a Century of Feminism in Egypt." In *Arab Women: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers,* edited by Judith Tucker, 129–48. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1993.

Al-Barghuti, 'Umar al-Salih, and Khalil Tawtah. *Ta'rikh Filastin.* Jerusalem: Matba'at Bayt al-Maqdis, 1923.

Barkey, Karen, and Mark Von Hagen, eds. *After Empire: Multiethnic Societies and Nation-Building: The Soviet Union and the Russian, Ottoman, and Habsburg Empires.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997.

Bartal, Israel. "'Al Dmuta ha-Rav 'Adatit shel ha-Hevra ha-Yehudit be-Yerushalayim ba-Mea ha-Tsh'a 'Esre." *Pe'amim* 57 (Autumn 1993): 114–24.

———. "*'Yishuv Yashan'* ve-*'Yishuv Hadash'*—ha-Dimuy ve-ha-Metziut." *Kathedra* 2 (1976): 3–19.

Bar-Yosef, Eitan. "The Last Crusade? British Propaganda and the Palestine Campaign, 1917–1918." *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 1 (Jan. 2001): 87–109.

Beckett, Ian F. W. *The Great War 1914–1918*. Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 2001.

Bein, Alex, ed. *Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters*. New York: Herzl Press, 1972.

Beinin, Joel. "Forgetfulness for Memory: The Limits of the New Israeli History." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 2 (2005): 6–23.

Ben-Arieh, Yehoshua. "The Growth of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 65 no. 2 (1975): 252–69.

———. *'Ir be-Re'i Tekufa: Yerushalayim ba-Meah ha-Tsha 'Esre, Ha-'Ir ha-'Atika*. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1977.

———. *Jerusalem in the 19th Century—Emergence of the New City*. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1986.

———. *Jerusalem in the 19th Century—The Old City*. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1984.

———, ed. *Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat ha-Mandat: ha-'Asiya veha-Moreshet*. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 2003.

Ben-Arieh, Yehoshua, Yossi Ben-Artzi, and Haim Goren, eds. *Mehkarim Be-Geografiyah Historit-Yishuvit shel Eretz-Israel*. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1987.

Benbassa, Esther. "Zionism in the Ottoman Empire at the End of the Nineteenth and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century." *Studies in Zionism* 11, no. 2 (1990): 127–40.

———. "Zionism and the Politics of Coalitions in the Ottoman Jewish Communities in the Early Twentieth Century." In *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership,* edited by Aron Rodrigue, 225–51. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1992.

Benbassa, Esther, and Aron Rodrigue, eds. *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th–20th Centuries*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2000.

Ben Hanania, Yehoshua (Ya'akov Yehoshua). "Dr. Shim'on Moyal ve-ha-Be'aya ha-Yehudit ha-'Aravit." *Hed ha-Mizrach* 3, no. 25 (1944): 6–7.

———. "The First Jewish-Arab Journalist." *Ha-Po'el Ha-Tza'ir* 32 (1959): 12–13.

———. "Ha-Soferet Esther Moyal u-Tkufata." *Hed ha-Mizrah* 3, no. 17–18 (1944): 16–18.

Bentwich, Helen. *If I Forget Thee: Some Chapters of Autobiography 1912–1920*. London: Paul Elek Books, 1973.

Bentwich, Helen, and Jenifer Glynn. *Tidings from Zion: Helen Bentwich's Letters from Jerusalem, 1919–1931.* London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2000.

Bentwich, Norman, and Helen Bentwich. *Mandate Memories, 1918–1948.* New York: Schocken Books, 1965.

Ben-Zvi, Yitzhak. "Mista'arvim be-Eretz Israel." *Sinai* (June 1939).

———. *Zichronot ve-Reshumut.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1966.

Bezalel, Itzhak. "'Al Yihudo shel 'ha-Herut' ve-'al Haim Ben-'Attar ke-'Orcho." *Pe'amim* 40 (1989): 121–47.

———. "Hishtatfut ha-Sfaradim be-Eretz Israel ba-Ziynut uba-Thiya ha-Leumit be-Shalhey ha-Tkufa ha-'Othmanit." PhD diss., Tel Aviv Univ., 2004.

———. *Noladetem Ziyonim: ha-Sfaradim be-Eretz Israel ba-Tziyonut uba-Thiya ha-'Ivrit ba-Tkufa ha-'Othmanit.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak-Ben Zvi, 2007.

Biger, Gideon. *An Empire in the Holy Land: Historical Geography of the British Administration in Palestine, 1917–1929.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1994.

Braude, Benjamin, and Bernard Lewis, eds. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society.* New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1980.

Brown, Carl L., ed. *Imperial Legacy: The Ottoman Imprint on the Balkans and the Middle East.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1996.

Bruce, Anthony. *The Last Crusade: The Palestine Campaign in the First World War.* London: John Murray, 2002.

Burke, Edmund III. "Middle Eastern Societies and Ordinary People's Lives." In *Struggle and Survival in the Modern Middle East,* edited by Edmund Burke III and David Yaghoubian, 1–27. London: I.B. Tauris, 1993.

Campos, Michelle U. "Between 'Beloved Ottomania' and 'The Land of Israel': The Struggle over Ottomanism and Zionism among Palestine's Sephardi Jews, 1908–1913." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 4 (2005): 461–83.

———. *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine.* Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2011

———. "A 'Shared Homeland' and Its Boundaries: Empire, Citizenship and the Origins of Sectarianism in Late Ottoman Palestine, 1908–1913." PhD diss., Stanford Univ., 2003.

Canaan, T. "Two Documents on the Surrender of Jerusalem." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 10, no. 1 (1930): 27–31.

Caplan, Neil. "Arab-Jewish Contacts in Palestine after the First World War." *Journal of Contemporary History* 12, no. 4 (Oct. 1977): 635–38.

———. *Futile Diplomacy: Early Arab-Zionist Negotiation Attempts 1913–1931.* Vol. 1. London: Frank Cass, 1983.

———. *Palestine Jewry and the Arab Question 1917–1925.* London: Frank Cass, 1978.

Carver, Lord. *The Turkish Front 1914–1918: The Campaigns at Gallipoli, in Mesopotamia and in Palestine.* London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 2003.

Cecil, Hugh, and Peter H. Liddle, eds. *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced.* London: Pen and Sword Books, 1996.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Empire, Architecture and the City: French-Ottoman Encounters, 1830–1914.* Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 2008.

Çelik, Zeynep, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, eds. *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994.

Clancy-Smith, Julia. "Twentieth-Century Historians and Historiography of the Middle East: Changing Perspectives of Colonialism and Imperialism." Paper presented in a workshop held in Boğazici Univ., Istanbul, Turkey, May 23–26, 2002.

Cohen, Hillel. *Tzva ha-Tzlalim: Mashtapim Falestinim be-Sherut ha-Ziyonut 1917–1948.* Jerusalem: ʻIvrit Publishing, 2004.

Comaroff, John, and Jean Comaroff. *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1992.

Comaroff, John, and Paul Stern. "Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Difference in an Age of Revolution." In *Perspectives on Nationalism and War,* edited by John Comaroff and Paul Stern, 243–76. UK: Taylor and Francis, 1995.

Cooke, Miriam. *Women and the War Story.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996.

Cooke, Miriam, and Angela Woollacott. *Gendering War Talk.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1993.

Crawford, Alan. *C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer & Romantic Socialist.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1985.

Creighton, Colin, and Martin Shaw. *The Sociology of War and Peace.* Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Sheridan House, 1987.

Cust, L. G. A. *The Status Quo in the Holy Places.* Jerusalem: Ariel Publishing House, 1980.

Davis, Rochelle. "Ottoman Jerusalem: The Growth of the City Outside the Walls." In *Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighborhoods and their Faith in the War,* edited by Salim Tamari, 10–29. Jerusalem: The Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2002.

Davison, Roderic. "The *Millets* as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire." In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire, Vol. 1: The Central Lands,* edited by Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 319–37. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982.

Dawn, C. Ernest. "The Origins of Arab Nationalism." In *The Origins of Arab Nationalism,* edited by Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Reeva S. Simon, and Muhammd Muslih, 3–30. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1991.

Deringil, Selim. "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery: The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post Colonial Debate." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 2 (Apr. 2003): 311–42.

———. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909.* London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

De Vidas, Albert. "The Impact of World War I on the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire." In *Studies on Turkish-Jewish History: Political and Social Relation, Literature and Linguistics,* edited by David Altab'e, Erham Atay, and Israel Katz, 35–55. New York: The American Society of Sephardic Studies, 1996.

Dodgshon, Robert. *Society in Time and Space: A Geographical Perspective of Change.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998.

Doumani, Beshara. "Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine: Writing Palestine into History." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 21, no. 2 (1992): 5–28.

———. *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994.

Dumont, Paul. "Jews, Muslims and Cholera: Intercommunal Relations in Baghdad at the End of the Nineteenth Century." In *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire,* edited by Avigdor Levy, 353–72. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994.

Efrati, Nathan. *Ha-'Edah ha-Sfaradit be-Yerushalayim, 1840–1917.* Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1999.

———. *Mi-Mashber le-Tikva: Ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz Israel be-Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1991.

———. *Mishpahat Eliachar be-Tochechey Yerushalayim.* Jerusalem: Rubin Mass Publisher, 1975.

Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, eds. *The Ottoman City Between East and West: Allepo, Izmir and Istanbul.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.

Eliachar, Eliyahu. *Lihyot 'im Falestinim.* Jerusalem: Va'ad ha-'Edah ha-Sfaradit, 1975.

———. *Lihyot 'im Yehudim.* Jerusalem: Daf Heb, 1980.

———. "Ma'amado shel ha-Tzibur ha-Sfardi be-Eretz Israel Meaz Hachrazat Balfour." *Shevet Ve-'Am* 2, no. 6 (1970): 67–84.

Eliav, Mordechai, ed. *Ba-Matzor uba-Matzok: Eretz Israel Be-Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1991.

———. *Eretz Israel ve-Yeshuva ba-Mea ha-Yud Tet: 1777–1917.* Jerusalem: Keter, 1978.

———. "Yahasim Ben-'Adati'im ba-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz Israel ba-Mea ha-Tsh'a 'Esre." *Pe'amim* 11 (1982): 118–34.

Emin, Ahmed. *Turkey in the World War.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 1930.

Eordegian, Marlen. "British and Israeli Maintenance of the Status Quo in the Holy Places of Christendom," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003): 307–28.

Falls, Cyril, and A. F. Becke. *Armageddon, 1918: The Final Palestinian Campaign of World War I.* Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

———. *History of the Great War: Military Operations Egypt & Palestine, Part I.* London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1930.

Fawaz, Leila Tarazi. *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994.

Fishman, Louis. "The 1911 Haram al-Sharif Incident: Palestinian Notables Versus the Ottoman Administrators." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 34, no. 3 (Spring 2005): 6–22.

———. "Palestine Revisited: Reassessing the Jewish and Arab National Movements, 1908–1914." PhD diss., Univ. of Chicago, 2007.

Fleischmann, Ellen. *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement 1920–1948.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003.

Friedman, Isaiah. *Palestine: A Twice Promised Land? The British, the Arabs and Zionism 1915–1920.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2000.

———. *The Question of Palestine, 1914–1918: British-Jewish-Arab Relations.* New York: Schocken Books, 1973.

Fromkin, David. *A Peace to End All Peace.* New York: Avon Books, 1990.

Fuchs, Ron, and Gilbert Herbert. "A Colonial Portrait of Jerusalem: British Architecture in Mandate-Era Palestine." In *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment,* edited by Nezar AlSayyad, 83–108. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2001.

Furlonge, Geoffrey. *Palestine Is My Country: The Story of Musa Al-'Alami.* London: John Murray, 1969.

Fyfe, Nicholas R. *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space.* London: Routledge, 1998.

———. "Introduction: Reading the Street." In *Images of the Street: Planning, Identity and Control in Public Space*, edited by Nicholas R. Fyfe, 1–10. London: Routledge, 1998.

Gaon Moshe, David. *Yehudei ha-Mizrah be-Eretz Israel- 'Avar ve-Hove.* Jerusalem: Self-Published, 1937.

Gardner, Brian. *Allenby.* London: Cassell, 1965.

Gatrell, Peter. *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia During World War I.* Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1999.

Gerber, Haim. "A New Look at the *Tanzimat:* The Case of the Province of Jerusalem." In *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation,* edited by David Kushner, 31–45. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben Zvi Institute, 1986.

———. *Ottoman Rule in Jerusalem, 1890–1914.* Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1995.

Al-Ghuri, Emile. *Filastin ʿAbr Sittin Sana.* Beirut, 1972.

Giladi, G. D. *Discord in Zion: Conflict Between Ashkenazi and Sephardi Jews in Israel.* London: Scorpion Publishing, 1990.

Gilbar, Gad, ed. *Ottoman Palestine in the 19th Century.* Leiden: Brill, 1990.

Ginio, Eyal. "Between the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and the 'Third Balkan War' of the '90s: The Elusive Memory of the Balkans in Arabic Writings." Paper presented in Absent Spheres, Silent Voices: Recovering Untold Histories, The Third Istanbul Workshop on New Directions in Middle Eastern History, Istanbul, May 2007.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. "The Decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Emergence of Greek, Armenian, Turkish and Arab Nationalisms." In *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East,* edited by Fatma Müge Göçek, 15–83. Albany: SUNY Press, 2002.

Gorny, Yosef. *Ha-She'ela ha-ʿAravit ve-Habeʿaya ha-Yehudit.* Tel Aviv: ʿAm Oved, 1985.

———. "Shorasheha shel Todaʿat ha-ʿImut ha-Leumi ha-Yehudi-ʿAravi ve-Hishtakfuta ba-ʿItunut ha-ʿIvrit ba-Shanim 1900–1918." *Zionism* 4 (1975): 72–113.

———. *Zionism and the Arabs, 1882–1948: A Study of Ideology.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Gorny, Yosef, and Yitzhak Greenberg. *Tnuʿat ha-ʿAvoda ha-Israelit: ha-Yesodot ha-Raʿayonʿim, ha-Megamot ha-Hevratiyot ve-Ha-Shita ha-Kalkalit.* Tel Aviv: Open Univ. Press, 1997.

Grayzel, Susan R. *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France During the First World War.* Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Gross, Yaʿakov, ed. *Yerushalayim 1917/1918: Hurban, Nes ve-Geula.* Jerusalem: Koresh Publishers, 1993.

Grossman, David. *Ha-Uchlusiya ha-ʿAravit veha-Maʿahaz ha-Yehudi: Tifroset ve-Tzfifut be-Eretz Israel be- Shalhey ha-Tkufa ha-Uthmanit u-Betkufat ha-Mandat ha-Briti.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004.

Gunn, Simon. "The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place." In *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850,* edited by Simon Gunn and Robert Morris, 9–11. Burlington: Ashgate, 2001.

Gunn, Simon, and Robert Morris. *Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850.* Burlington: Ashgate, 2001.

Gutman, Immanuel. "Reshito shel ha-Shilton ha-Mekomi be-Yerushalayim." *Netivey Irgun Ve-Minhal* 6, no. 88 (1967): 11–17.

Guvrin, Nurit, ed. *Manifestim Sifrutiʾim.* Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv Univ., 1988.

———. "Pgishatam shel Goley Eretz-Israel ʻim Mizrayim ve-ha-Kehila ha-Yehudit Ba be-Milhemet ha-ʻOlam ha-Rishona." *Pe'amim* 25 (1985): 73–101.

Haim, Abraham. "Ha-Sfaradim Umosdot ha-Yishuv Ha-Hadashim Le'ahar ha-Kibush ha-Briti." *Pe'amim* 32 (1987): 117–30.

———. *Yihud ve-Hishtalvut: Hanhagat ha-Sfaradim be-Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat ha-Shilton ha-Briti, 1917–1948.* Jerusalem: Carmel, 2002.

Al-Hakim, Yusuf. *Suriyah wa-al-ʻAhd Al-ʻUthmani.* Beirut: Manshurat al-Matbaʻa al-Kathulikiyah, 1966.

Halabi, Awad Eddie. "The Transformation of the Prophet Moses Festival in Jerusalem, 1917–1937: From Local and Islamic to Modern and Nationalist Celebration." PhD diss., Univ. of Toronto, 2006.

Hall, Stuart. "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'?" In *Questions of Cultural Identity,* edited by Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, 1–17. London: Sage, 1996.

———. "The Question of Cultural Identity." In *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies,* edited by Stuart Hall, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, 596–98. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Hall, Stuart, David Held, Don Hubert, and Kenneth Thompson, eds. *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies.* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

Halper, Jeff. *Between Redemption and Revival—The Jewish Yishuv of Jerusalem in the Nineteenth Century.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991.

———. "On the Way: The Transition of Jerusalem from a Ritual City to Colonial City (1800–1917)." *Urban Anthropology* 13, 1 (1984): 1–32.

Handlin, Oscar, and John E. Burchard, eds. *The Historian and the City.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1963.

Hanssen, Jens. *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital.* Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005.

———. "Public Morality and Marginality in *Fin-De-Siècle* Beirut." In *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East,* edited by Eugene Rogan, 183–212. London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

———. "'Your Beirut Is on My Desk': Ottomanizing Beirut under Sultan Abdülhamid II." In *Projecting Beirut: Episodes in the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City,* edited by Peter Rowe and Hashim Sarkis, 41–67. Munich: Prestel, 1998.

Hanssen, Jens, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, eds. *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire.* Beirut: Orient Institute, 2002.

———. "Introduction: Towards a New Urban Paradigm." In *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Period,* edited by Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, 1–25. Beirut: Orient Institute, 2002.

Harel, Chaya. "Yahaso shel Herzl le-Yerushalayim." In *Yerushalayim ba-Toda'a uba-'Asiya ha-Ziyonit,* edited by Hagit Lavsky, 75–90. Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center, 1989.

Harel, Yaron. "'Al ha-'Meshorerot' ha-'Menagnot' veha-'Meranenot' ha-Yehudiyot be-Damesek." In *Isha ba-Mizrah, Isha mi-Mizrah: Sipurah shel ha-Yehudiyah bat ha-Mizrah,* edited by Tova Cohen and Shaul Regev, 109–27. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan Univ., 2005.

Hason, Haim. "Yehudim ve-'Aravim be-Arzot ha-Mizrah." *Histadrut Halutzei Ha-Mizrah- Skira,* 1925, 71–74.

Hayden, Dolores. *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995.

Heisler Rubin, Noa. "Mahshavto ha-'Ironit shel Charles Robert Ashbee u-Bituya be-Yerushalayim, 1918–1922." MA thesis, Hebrew Univ. in Jerusalem, 2000.

Herb, Guntrum Henrik, and David H. Kaplan. *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory, and Scale.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999.

Heydemann, Steven. "Introduction: War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East." In *War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East,* edited by Steven Heydemann. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2000.

———. *War, Institutions, and Social Change in the Middle East.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2000.

Heyman, Neil M. *Daily Life During World War I.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002.

Holston, James, and Arjun Appadurai. "Cities and Citizenship." In *Cities and Citizenship,* edited by James Holston, 1–18. Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1999.

Hopwood, Derek. *Tales of Empire: The British in the Middle East, 1880–1952.* London: I.B. Tauris, 1989.

Hourani, Albert. *The Ottoman Background of the Modern Middle East.* London: Longman Group, 1970.

———. "Ottoman Reform and the Politics of Notables." In *Beginning of Modernization in the Middle East,* edited by William Polk and Richard Chambers, 41–68. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1968.

Al-Hout, Bayan Nuwayhid. *Al-Qiyadat wa-al-Mu'assasat al-Siyasiyya fi Filastin, 1917–1948.* Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1981.

Howard, Harry. *The King-Crane Commission: An American Inquiry in the Middle East.* Beirut: Khayats, 1963.

Hughes, Matthew. "General Allenby and the Palestine Campaign, 1917–1918." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 19, no. 4 (1996): 59–88.

Huneidi, Sahar. *A Broken Trust: Herbert Samuel, Zionism and the Palestinians 1920–1925.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2001.

Hutchinson, John. *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross.* Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.

Jacobson, Abigail. "Alternative Voices in Late Ottoman Palestine: A Historical Note." *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 21 (Aug. 2004): 41–48.

———. "American 'Welfare Politics': Americans in Jerusalem During World War I." Forthcoming.

———. "A City Living Through Crisis: Jerusalem During World War I." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 36, no. 1 (Apr. 2009): 73–92.

———. "From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem in the Transition Between Ottoman and British Rule, 1912–1920." PhD diss., Univ. of Chicago, 2006.

———. "Negotiating Ottomanism in Times of War: Jerusalem During World War I Through the Eyes of a Local Muslim Resident." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 1 (Feb. 2008): 69–88.

———. "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and the 'Arab Question' in Pre–First World War Palestine: A Reading of Three Zionist Newspapers." *Middle Eastern Studies* 39, no. 2 (Apr. 2003): 105–30.

Jacoby, Danny, ed. *Eretz Ahat u-Shney 'Amim Ba.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999.

Jospe, Raphael. "The Significance of Jerusalem: A Jewish Perspective." *Palestine Israel Journal* 2, no. 2 (1995): 32–40.

Kaniel, Yehoshua. "Anshey ha-'Aliya ha-Shniya u-Bney ha-'Eda ha-Sfaradit." In *ha-'Aliya ha-Shniya,* edited by Israel Bartal, 307–19. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1997.

———. *Be-Ma'avar: ha-Yehudim be-Eretz Israel ba-Mea ha-Tsh'a 'Esre bein Yashan le-Hadash, u-Bein Yeshuv Eretz ha-Kodesh le-bein Zionut.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 2000.

Kark, Ruth. "The Contribution of the Ottoman Regime to the Development of Jerusalem and Jaffa, 1840–1917." In *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation,* edited by David Kushner, 46–58. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1986.

———. "The Development of the Cities Jerusalem and Jaffa—1840 up to the First World War (A Study in Historical Geography)." PhD diss., Hebrew Univ. in Jerusalem, 1976.

———. "Pe'ilut 'Iriyat Yerushalayim be-Sof ha-Tkufa ha-'Othmanit." *Kathedra* 6 (1978): 74–108.

Kark, Ruth, and Joseph Glass. "Eretz Israel/Palestine 1800–1948." In *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times,* edited by Reeva Simon, Michael Laskier, and Sara Reguer, 335–46. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2003.

———. "The Jews in Eretz-Israel/Palestine: From Traditional Peripherality to Modern Centrality." *Israel Affairs* 5, no. 4 (1999): 73–107.

Kark, Ruth, and Michal Oren Nordheim. "Colonial Cities in Palestine? Jerusalem Under the British Mandate." *Israel Affairs* 3, no. 2 (1996): 50–94.

———. *Yerushalayim ve-Svivoteha: Reva'im, Shkhunot ve-Kfarim 1800–1948.* Jerusalem: Academon, 1995.

Karpat, Kemal H. "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era." In *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History, Selected Essays and Articles,* edited by Kemal Karpat, 611–46. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

———. *Ottoman Population, 1830–1914 Demographic and Social Characteristics.* Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

———. "The Social and Political Foundations of Nationalism in South East Europe after 1878: A Reinterpretation." In *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History, Selected Essays and Articles,* edited by Kemal Karpat, 352–84. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

———. *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History: Selected Articles and Essays.* Leiden: Brill, 2002.

———. "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908." In *Studies on Ottoman Social and Political History, Selected Essays and Articles,* edited by Kemal Karpat, 27–74. Leiden: Brill, 2002.

Katz, Kimberley. *Jordanian Jerusalem: Holy Places and National Spaces.* Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida, 2005.

Kayali, Hasan. *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1997.

———. "Jewish Representation in the Ottoman Parliament." In *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire,* edited by Avigdor Levy, 507–17. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994.

———. "Wartime Regional and Imperial Integration of Greater Syria During World War I." In *The Syrian Land: Processes of Integration and Fragmentation,* edited by Thomas Philipp and Birgit Schaebler, 295–306. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998.

Keith, Michael, and Steve Pile. *Place and the Politics of Identity.* London: Routledge, 1993.

Khalidi, Rashid. "Anti Zionism, Arabism and Palestinian Identity: 'Isa al-'Isa and *Filastin*." In *Configuring Identity in the Modern Arab East,* edited by Samir Seikaly, 83–96. Beirut: American Univ. of Beirut Press, 2009.

———. “The Arab Experience of the War.” In *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced,* edited by Huge Cecil and Peter H. Liddle, 642–55. London: Pen and Sword Books, 1996.

———. “Arab Nationalism: Historical Problems in the Literature.” *American Historical Review* 96, no. 5 (Dec. 1991): 1363–73.

———. “Ottomanism and Arabism in Syria Before 1914: A Reassessment.” In *The Origins of Arab Nationalism,* edited by Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon, 50–69. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1991.

———. *Palestinian Identity: The Construction of Modern National Consciousness.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1997.

———. *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2004.

Khalidi, Rashid, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon, eds. *The Origins of Arab Nationalism.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1991.

Khalidi, Tarif. “The Arab World.” In *The Great War 1914–1917: The People’s Experience,* edited by Peter Liddle, John Bourne, and Ian Whitehead, 293–98. London: HarperCollins, 2001.

———. “Palestinian Historiography, 1900–1948.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 10, no. 3 (Spring 1981): 59–76.

Khatib, Hisham. *Palestine and Egypt under the Ottomans: Paintings, Books, Photographs, Maps and Manuscripts.* London: Tauris Parke, 2003.

Khoury, Geries. “The Significance of Jerusalem: A Christian Perspective.” *Palestine Israel Journal* 2, no. 2 (1995): 41–46.

Khuri, Yusuf. *Al-Siahafa al-ʿArabiyya fi Filastin, 1876–1948.* Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1986.

Kimmerling, Baruch. “Beʿayot Conseptualiyot be-Historiographia shel Erez Israel uba Shney ʿAmim.” In *Eretz Ahat u-Shney ʿAmim Ba,* edited by Danny Jacoby, 11–22. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1999.

———. “The Formation of Palestinian Collective Identities: The Ottoman and Mandatory Periods.” *Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 2 (2000): 48–81.

———. “A Model for Analysis of Reciprocal Relations Between the Jewish and Arab Communities in Mandatory Palestine.” *Plural Societies* 14, no. 3–4 (1983): 45–68.

Kimmerling, Baruch, and Joel S. Migdal. *Palestinians: The Making of a People.* New York: Free Press, 1993.

King, Anthony. *Colonial Urban Development: Cultural, Social Power and Environment.* London: Routledge 1976.

Kolatt, Israel. "The Organization of the Jewish Population of Palestine and the Development of its Political Consciousness Before World War I." In *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period,* edited by Moshe Maʿoz, 211–45. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975.

Korsholm, Nielsen, and Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, eds. *Middle Eastern Cities 1900–1950: Public Places and Public Spheres in Transformation.* Aarhus: Aarhus Univ. Press, 2001.

Kosover, Mordecai. "Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Palestine: A Study in Intercommunal Relations." In *Homenaje a Millas Vallicrosa,* 753–72. Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, 1954.

Kressel, G. (Gezel Elyakim). *Lexicon ha-Sifrut ha-ʿIvrit ba-Dorot ha-Ahronim.* Jerusalem: Sifriyat Poalim, 1965.

———. *Toldot ha-ʿItonut ha-ʿIvrit be-Eretz Israel.* Jerusalem: The Zionist Library, 1964.

Kroyanker, David. *Yerushalayim Rehov Yafo: Biographya shel Rehov-Sipura shel ʿIr.* Jerusalem: Keter, 2005.

Kushner, David. "Ha-Dor ha-Aharon la-Shilton ha-'Othmani be-Eretz Israel, 1882–1914." In *Toldot ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Eretz Israel meaz ha-ʿAliya ha-Rishona: Hatkufa ha-ʿOthmanit,* edited by Moshe Lissak and Gavriel Cohen, 1–74. Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1989.

———. "Hashilton ha-ʿOthmani ba-ʿAretz be-Yemey ha-ʿAliya ha-Shniya." In *Ha-ʿAliya ha-Shniya,* edited by Israel Bartal, Zeʿev Zahor, and Yehoshua Kaniel, 60–74. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1997.

———. "Intercommunal Strife in Palestine During the Late Ottoman Period." *Asian and African Studies* 18, no. 2 (1984): 187–204.

———. *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1986.

Kühn, Thomas. "An Imperial Borderland as Colony: Knowledge Production and the Elaboration of Difference in Ottoman Yemen, 1872–1918." *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (Spring 2003): 5–17.

Landau, Jacob. *Jews, Arabs, Turks: Selected Essays.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1993.

———. "Relations Between Jews and Non-Jews in the Late Ottoman Empire: Some Characteristics." In *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire,* edited by Avigdor Levy, 539–46. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994.

Laskier, Michael. "Avraham Albert ʿAntebi: Prakim be-Poʿalo Bishnot 1897–1914." *Peʿamim* 21 (1984): 50–67.

Lavsky, Hagit. "Vaʿad Ha-Zirim be-Yerushalayim." In *Yerushalayim ba-Todaʿa uba-ʿAsiya ha-Ziyonit,* edited by Hagit Lavsky, 167–82. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1989.

Lawrence, John. "Public Space, Political Space." In *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919,* vol. 2, edited by Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, 280–312. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007.

Lefebvre, Henry. *The Production of Space.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.

Lesch, Ann Mosely. *Arab Politics in Palestine 1917–1939: The Frustration of a National Movement.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1979.

LeVine, Mark. *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880–1948.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2005.

Levy, Avigdor. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire.* Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994.

———, ed. *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2002.

———. *The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire.* Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1992.

Levy, Lital. "Historicizing the Concept of Arab Jews in the *Mashriq.*" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 4 (Fall 2008): 452–69.

———. "Partitioned Pasts: Arab Jewish Intellectuals and the Case of Esther Azhari Moyal (1873–1948)." In *The Making of the Arab Intellectual (1880–1960): Empire, Public Sphere, and the Colonial Coordinates of Selfhood,* edited by Dyala Hamzah, chap. 6. London: Routledge, forthcoming.

Lewis, Geoffrey. "An Ottoman Officer in Palestine, 1914–1918." In *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social and Economic Transformation,* edited by David Kushner, 402–15. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1986.

Liddle, Peter, John Bourne, and Ian Whitehead, eds. *The Great War 1914–1917: The People's Experience.* London: HarperCollins, 2001.

Lieven, Dominic. "Dilemmas of Empire 1850–1918: Power, Territory, Identity." *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 2 (1999): 163–200.

Lockman, Zachary. *Comrades and Enemies: Arab and Jewish Workers in Palestine, 1906–1948.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1996.

———. "Railway Workers and Relational History: Arabs and Jews in British-Ruled Palestine." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 3 (1993): 601–27.

Makdisi, Ussama. "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (2002): 601–17.

———. *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2000.

———. "Ottoman Orientalism." *American Historical Review* 107, 3 (2002): 1–32.

———. "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism and Evangelical Modernity." *American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 680–713.

———. “Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform.” In *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire,* edited by Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber, 29–48. Beirut: Orient Institute, 2002.

Makover, Rachela. *Sidrey Shilton ve-Minhal be-Eretz Israel 1917–1925.* Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1988.

Mandel, Neville, J. *The Arabs and Zionism before World War I.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976.

Manna‘, ‘Adel. *A‘lam Filastin fi Awakhir al-‘Ahd al-‘Uthmani.* Jerusalem: Jami‘yyat al-Dirasat al-‘Arabiyya, 1986.

———. “Between Jerusalem and Damascus: The End of Ottoman Rule as Seen by a Palestinian Modernist.” *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 22–23 (Fall–Winter 2005): 109–25.

———. *Ta’rikh Filastin fi Awakhir al-‘ahd al-‘Uthmani, 1700–1918.* Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 1999.

Mansfield, Peter. *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors.* New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1973.

Ma‘oz, Moshe. “Changing Relations Between Jews, Muslims and Christians During the Nineteenth Century, with Special Reference to Ottoman Syria and Palestine.” In *Jews, Turks, Ottomans: A Shared History, Fifteenth Through the Twentieth Century,* edited by Avigdor Levy, 108–18. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2002.

———, ed. *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period.* Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975

Markovizki, Jacob. *Be-Kaf ha-Kel‘a shel ha-Ne’emnuyot: Bney ha-Yishuv ba-Tzava ha-Turki 1908–1918.* Ramat Efal: Yad Tabenkin, 1995.

Marwick, Arthur. “Introduction.” In *Total War and Social Change,* edited by Arthur Marwick, x–xxi. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988.

———, ed. *Total War and Social Change.* New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1988.

Masters, Bruce. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001.

Mazza, Roberto. *Jerusalem from the Ottomans to the British.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

———. “Jerusalem During the First World War: Transition from Ottoman to British Rule 1914–1920.” PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London, 2007.

McCann, Eugene J. “Race, Protest and Public Space: Contextualizing Lefebvre in the US City.” *Antipode* 31, no. 2 (1999): 163–84.

McCarthy, Justin. *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922.* Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1995.

———. *The Population of Palestine: Population History and Statistics of the Late Ottoman Period and the Mandate.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1990.

McKernan, Luke. "The Supreme Moment of the War: General Allenby's First Entry into Jerusalem." *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television* 13, no. 2 (1993): 169–80.

McTague, John J. "The British Military Administration on Palestine 1917–1920." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 7, no. 3 (1978): 55–76.

———. *British Policy in Palestine 1917–1922.* New York: Univ. Press of America, 1983.

Meeker, Michael E. *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2002.

Melman, Billie. *Borderlines: Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870–1930.* New York: Routledge, 1998.

Mitchell, Don. "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (Mar. 1995): 108–33.

———. "Introduction: Public Space and the City." *Urban Geography* 17, no. 2 (1996): 127–31.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonizing Egypt.* Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1991.

Morag-Talmon, Pnina. "The Integration of an Old Community Within an Immigrant Society: The Sephardi Community in Israel." PhD diss., Hebrew Univ. in Jerusalem, 1980.

———. "Mekoma shel ha-Ziyonut be-Toda'atam shel Bney 'Adat ha-Sfaradim be-Yerushalayim be-Shalhey ha-Me'a ha-Tsha 'Esre." In *Yerushalayim ba-Toda'a uba-'Asiya ha-Ziyonit,* edited by Hagit Lavsky, 35–46. Jerusalem: The Shazar Center, 1989.

Musallam, Akram, ed. *Yawmiyat Khalil al-Sakakini, al-Kitab al-Thani: Al-Nahda al-Orthodoksiya, al-Harb al-'Uthma, al-Nafi fi Dimashq.* Jerusalem: Khalil Sakakini Cultural Center and the Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2004.

Muslih, Muhammad. *The Origins of Palestinian Nationalism.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988.

Nafi, Basheer. *Arabism, Islamism and the Palestine Question 1908–1941: A Political History.* Reading, Pa.: Ithaca Press, 1998.

Naguib, Nefissa. "A Nation of Widows and Orphans: Armenian Memories of Relief in Jerusalem." In *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East,* edited by Nefissa Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug, 35–57. Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Naguib, Nefissa, and Inger Marie Okkenhaug, eds. *Interpreting Welfare and Relief in the Middle East.* Leiden: Brill, 2008.

Nashashibi, Nasser Eddin. *Jerusalem's Other Voice: Ragheb Nashashibi and Moderation in Palestinian Politics, 1920–1948.* Exeter: Ithaca Press, 1990.

Nielsen, Hans Chr. Korsholm, and Jakob Skovgaard-Peterson, eds. *Middle Eastern Cities 1900–1950: Public Places and Pubic Spheres in Transformation.* Aarhus: Aarhus Univ. Press, 2001.

Öke, Kemal. *The Palestine Question and the Turks: A Study in Retrospect (1880–1980).* Ankara: The Cyprus Turkish Cultural Association, 1987.

O'Mahony, Anthony. "The Religious, Political and Social Status of the Christian Communities in Palestine c. 1800–1930." In *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land,* edited by Anthony O'Mahony, Goran Gunner, and Kevork Hintlian, 237–65. Jerusalem: Swedish Christian Study Center, 1995.

Ortayli, Ilber. "Ottomanism and Zionism During the Second Constitutional Period, 1908–1915." In *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire,* edited by Avigdor Levy, 527–37. Princeton, N.J.: Darwin Press, 1994.

Özbek, Nadir. "The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire 1876–1914." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 21 (Fall 1999): 1–33.

Pamuk, Şevket. *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.

Pappe, Ilan, ed. *Atzulat ha-Aretz: Mishpahat al-Husayni, Biographia Politit.* Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 2002.

———. "From the 'Politics of Notables' to the 'Politics of Nationalism': The Husayni Family, 1840–1922." In *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within,* edited by Ilan Pappe and Moshe Ma'oz, 163–207. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997.

———. *Jewish-Arab Relations in Mandatory Palestine.* Giva'at Haviva: Center of Peace Studies, 1995.

Pasha, Djemal. *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913–1919.* New York: Arno Press, 1973.

Philipp, Thomas. "Perceptions of the First World War in the Contemporary Arab Press." In *Ottoman Reform and Muslim Regeneration,* edited by Itzchak Weismann and Fruma Zachs, 211–24. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Porath, Yehoshua. "The Land Problem as a Factor in the Relations among Jews, Arabs and the Mandatory Government." In *The Palestinians and the Middle East Conflict,* edited by Gabriel Ben-Dor, 508–43. Ramat Gan: Turtledove Publishing, 1978.

———. *Zmichat ha-Tnu'a ha-Leumit ha-'Aravit ha-Falestinit 1918–1929.* Jerusalem: Hebrew Univ., 1971.

Pozailov, Giora. "Ha-'Eda ha-Sfaradit Be-Yerushalayim be-Hitpatchuta be-Shalhey ha-Shilton ha-'Othmani 1870–1914." PhD diss., Bar Ilan Univ., 2001.

Al-Qattan, Najwa. "Litigants and Neighbors: The Communal Topography of Ottoman Damascus." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 3 (July 2002): 511–33.

———. "Safarbarlik: Ottoman Syria and the Great War." In *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon,* edited by Thomas Philipp and Christoph Schumann, 163–73. Beirut: Beiruter Texte und Studien 96, 2004.

Quataert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire 1700–1922.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2000.

Ram, Hanna. *Ha-Yishuv ha-Yehudi be-Yafo ba-ʻEt ha-Hadasha: Mi-Kehila Sefardit le-Merkaz Zioni.* Jerusalem: Carmel, 1996.

Reinkowski, Maurus. "Late Ottoman Rule over Palestine: Its Evaluation in Arab, Turkish and Israeli Histories, 1970–1990." *Middle Eastern Studies* 35, no. 1 (1999): 66–97.

Reiter, Yitzhak. *From Jerusalem to Mecca and Back: The Islamic Consolidation of Jerusalem.* Jerusalem: The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 2005.

Remak, Joachim. *The First World War: Causes, Conducts, Consequences.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1971.

———. *The Origins of World War I, 1871–1914.* Fort Worth, FL: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1995

Robinson Divine, Donna. "Palestine in World War I." In *The Middle East and North Africa: Essays in Honor of J. C. Hurewitz,* edited by Reeva S. Simon, 71–94. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1990.

Rodrigue, Aron. *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860–1925.* Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1990.

———. *Images of Sephardi and Eastern Jewries in Transition: The Teachers of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860–1939.* Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1993.

Roʻi, Yaʻakov. "Ha-ʻEmda ha-Zionit Klapey ha-ʻAravim, 1908–1914." *Keshet* 11, no. 1 (Fall 1968): 153–81.

———. "Nisyonotehem shel ha-Mosadot ha-Zionim Lehashpiʻa ʻal ha-ʻItonut ha-ʻAravit be-Eretz Israel ba-Shanim 1908–1914." *Zion* 32 (1967): 201–27.

Rogan, Eugene. *Frontiers of State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan 1850–1921.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.

———, ed. *Outside In: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2002.

Rogel, Nakdimon. "Taʻuto shel Kalvaryski: Le-Berur ha-Chronlogya shel Aharit Magaʻei ha-Zionim ʻim Faysal be-Damesek." *Kathedra* 26 (1982): 177–85.

Rose, John H. Melkon. *Armenians of Jerusalem: Memories of Life in Palestine.* London: Radcliffe Press, 1993.

Rubin, Avi. "Bahjat ve Tamimi be-Vilayet Beirut: Masa el Toda'atam shel Shney Nos'im 'Osmanim be-Reshit ha-Mea ha-'Esrim." MA thesis, Ben Gurion Univ. of the Negev, 2000.

Sanders, Ronald. *The High Walls of Jerusalem: A History of the Balfour Declaration and the Birth of the British Mandate in Palestine.* New York: Hold, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983.

Sanjian, Avedis K. *The Armenian Communities in Syria under Ottoman Dominion.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1965.

Schatkowski Schilcher, Linda. "The Famine of 1915–1918 in Greater Syria." In *Problems of the Modern Middle East in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honor of Albert Hourani,* edited by John P. Spagnolo, 229–58. Oxford: Ithaca Press, 1992.

Schiller, Eli. *Yerusahlayim, Halifot u-Tmurot ba-Dorot ha-Ahronim.* Jerusalem: Ariel, 1977.

Schmelz, ʻUziel. "Ha-Yerida be-Uchlusiyat Eretz Israel be-Milhemet ha-ʻOlam ha-Rishona." In *Ba-Matzor uba-Matzok: Eretz Israel Bemilhemet ha-ʻOlam ha-Rishona,* edited by Mordechai Eliav, 17–26. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1991.

———. *Uchlusiyat Yerushalayim: Tmurot ba-ʻEt ha-Hadasha.* Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israeli Studies, 1988.

Schoenberg, Philip Ernest. "Palestine in the Year 1914." PhD diss., New York Univ., 1978.

Schölch, Alexander. "Britain in Palestine, 1838–1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy." *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 1 (Autumn 1992): 39–56.

———. "Jerusalem in the 19th Century (1831–1917 AD)." In *Jerusalem in History,* edited by K. J. Asali, 228–48. New York: Olive Branch Press, 2000.

Seçil Karal, Akgun, and Murat Uluğtekin. *Hilal-i Ahmer'den Kizillaya.* Ankara: Kizilay, 2002.

Segev, Tom, *One Palestine Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate.* London: Abacus, 2001.

———. *Yemey ha-Kalaniyot: Eretz Israel bi-Tkufat ha-Mandat.* Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1999.

Seikaly, Samir. "Unequal Fortunes: The Arabs of Palestine and the Jews During World War I." In *Studia Arabica Et Islamica,* edited by Wadad al-Qadi, 399–405. Beirut: American Univ. of Beirut, 1981.

Shafir, Gershon. *Land, Labor, and the Origins of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict, 1882–1914.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1989.

Shapira, Anita. *Herev ha-Yona: Ha-Ziyonut ve-ha-Koach, 1881–1948.* Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1993.

Sharʻabi, Rachel. "Hitbadlut ʻEdot ha-Mizrah meha-ʻEda ha-Sfaradit 1860–1914." *Peʻamim* 21 (1984): 31–49.

Shaw, Stanford. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.* New York: New York Univ. Press, 1991.

Sheffy, Yigal. *British Military Intelligence in the Palestinian Campaign 1914–1918.* London: Frank Cass, 1998.

Shenhav, Yehuda. "Ethnicity and National Memory: The World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) in the Context of the Palestinian National Struggle." *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29, no. 1 (2002): 27–56.

———. *Ha-Yehudim ha-'Aravim: Leumiyut, Dat, Etniyut.* Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 2003.

———. *Merhav, Adamah, Bayit.* Jerusalem: Van Leer Institute, 2003.

Shepherd, Naomi. *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine, 1917–1948.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2000.

Shilo, Gideon. "Shi'ur be-Ziyonut- Hidat He'almuto shel 'Hawajah Ibry'." *Kathedra* 58 (1990): 84–110.

Shilo, Margalit. "Znutan shel Bnot Yerushalayim be-Motzae'i Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona- Mabat Gavri ve-Mabat Nashi." *Yerushalayim ve-Eretz Israel* 1 (2003): 173–96.

Shiloni, Zvi. "The Crisis of World War I and Its Effects on the Urban Environment in Jerusalem and Its Jewish Community." MA thesis, Hebrew Univ. in Jerusalem, 1981.

———. "Ha-Dildul ba-Uchlusiya ha-Yehudit be-Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona." In *Mehkarim Be-Geografiyah Historit-Yishuvit shel Eretz-Israel,* edited by Yehoshua Ben Arieh, Yossi Ben Arzi, and Haim Goren, 128–51. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1987.

———. "Prisat Yehidot ha-Memshal ve-Kohot ha-Tzava be-Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona, ve-Hashpa'atam 'al Ma'arach ha-Sherutim ha-Tziburi'm ba-'Ir." *Mehkarim ba-Geographya shel Israel* 12 (1986): 65–72.

———. "Tmurot ba-Hanhaga ha-Yehudit Be-Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat Milhemet ha-'Olam ha-Rishona." *Kathedra* 35 (Apr. 1985): 59–91.

Shohat, Ella. "Exile, Diaspora and Return: The Inscription of Palestine in Zionist Discourse." In *Discourse and Palestine: Power, Text and Context,* edited by Moors Annelies, Toin van Teeffelen, Sharif Kanaana, and Ilham abu Ghazaleh, 221–35. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, 1995.

———. "Sephardim in Israel: Zionism from the Standpoint of Its Jewish Victims." In *Dangerous Liaisons: Gender, Nation and Postcolonial Perspectives,* edited by Anne McClintock, Samir Mufti, and Ella Shohat, 39–68. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota, 1997.

———. "Zehut Hatzuya: Mahshavot shel Yehudiya-'Arviya." In *Zichronot Asurim: Likrat Mahshava Rav Tarbutit,* edited by Ella Shohat, 242–51. Tel Aviv: Kedem Publishing, 2001.

Shomali, Qustandi. "Palestinian Christians: Politics, Press and Religious Identity 1900–1948." In *The Christian Heritage in the Holy Land,* edited by Anthony O'Mahony,

Goran Gunner, and Kevork Hintlian, 225–36. Jerusalem: Swedish Christian Study Center, 1995.

Simon, Rachel. “Zionism.” In *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in Modern Times,* edited by Reeva S. Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer, 165–79. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2003.

Singer, Amy. *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem.* Albany: SUNY Press, 2002.

Smith, Charles. “Historiographies of World War I and the Emergence of the Contemporary Middle East.” Paper presented in a workshop held in Boğazici Univ., Istanbul, Turkey, May 23–26, 2002.

———. “The Invention of a Tradition: The Question of Arab Acceptance of the Zionist Right to Palestine During World War I.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22, no. 2 (1993): 48–61.

Smith, Sidonie. “Who’s Talking/Who’s Talking Back? The Subject of Personal Narratives.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 18, no. 2 (1993): 392–407.

Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives.* Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2001.

Staeheli, Lynn A., and Don Mitchell. “Locating the Public in Research and Practice.” *Progress in Human Geography* 31, no. 6 (2007): 792–811.

Stein, Rebecca, and Ted Swedenburg. “Popular Culture, Relational History and the Question of Power in Palestine and Israel.” *Journal of Palestine Studies* 33, no. 4 (2004): 5–20.

Sternhall, Ze‘ev. *Binyan ‘Uma o Tikun Hevra? Leumiyut ve-Sozyalism bi-Tnu‘at ha-‘Avoda ha-Israelit 1904–1940.* Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1995.

Tamari, Salim, ed. *‘Am al-Jarrad.* Beirut: Institute of Palestine Studies, 2008.

———. “Ha-Moderniyut ha-’Othmanit shel Yerushalayim ‘Erev ha-Mandat ha-Briti.” In *Yerushalayim bi-Tkufat ha-Mandat: ha-‘Asiya veha-Moreshet,* edited by Yehoshua Ben Arieh, 51–57. Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 2003.

———. “Ishaq al-Shami and the Predicament of the Arab Jew in Palestine.” *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 21 (Aug. 2004): 10–26.

———. *Jerusalem 1948: The Arab Neighborhoods and Their Fate in the War.* Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2002.

———. “The Short Life of Private Ihsan.” *Jerusalem Quarterly File* 30 (2007): 26–58.

Tamari, Salim, and Issam Nassar, eds. *Al-Quds Al-‘Uthmaniyya Fi Mudhakarat al-Jawhariyyeh.* Jerusalem: Institute of Jerusalem Studies, 2003.

Tannous, Izzat. *The Palestinians: A Detailed Documented Eyewitness History of Palestine under British Mandate.* New York: I.G.T. Company, 1988.

Tauber, Eliezer, trans. *ʿAziz Bey: Modi'in ve-Rigul be-Levanon, Suriya ve-Eretz Israel be-Milhemet ha-'Olam: 1913–1918*. Tel Aviv, 1991.

———. "The Role of Lieutenant Muhammad Sharif Al-Faruqi—New Light on Anglo-Arab Relations During the First World War." *Asian and African Studies* 24 (1990): 17–50.

Tawtah, Khalil, and Bulous Shhadeh. *Ta'rikh Al-Quds Wa-Dalilha*. Jerusalem: Matbaʿat Mirat al-Sharq, 1920.

Thompson, Elizabeth. *Colonial Citizens: Republican Rights, Paternal Privilege, and Gender in French Syria and Lebanon*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000.

Tidhar, David, ed. *Inziklopedya le-Halutzei ha-Yishuv u-Bonav*. Tel Aviv: Rishonim Library, 1971.

Toledano, Ehud R. "The Emergence of Ottoman-Local Elites (1700–1900): A Framework for Research." In *Middle Eastern Politics and Ideas: A History from Within,* edited by Ilan Pappe and Moshe Maʿoz, 145–62. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1997.

———. "Forgetting Egypt's Ottoman Past." In *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman,* vol. 1, edited by Jayne L. Warner, 150–67. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2001.

———. "What Ottoman History and Ottomanist Historiography Are—Or, Rather, Are Not." *Middle Eastern Studies* 38, no. 3 (2002): 195–207.

Tonkiss, Fran. *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005.

Tzoreff, Mira. "May Ziadeh- Biographia Hevratit-Tarbutit: Masa min ha-Ishi el ha-Kolektivi." PhD diss., Tel Aviv Univ., 2006.

Vereté, Meir. "Why Was a British Consulate Established in Jerusalem?" *English Historical Review* 335 (Apr. 1970): 316–45.

Wallach, Yair. "Readings in Conflict: Public Texts in Modern Jerusalem, 1858–1948." PhD diss., Birkbeck College, Univ. of London, 2008.

Walkowitz, Judith. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992.

———. *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class, and the State*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980.

Wasserstein, Bernard. *The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict 1917–1929*. Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1991.

———. *Divided Jerusalem: The Struggle for the Holy City*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press, 2008.

Whiting, John. "Jerusalem's Locust Plague: Being a Description of the Recent Locust Influx into Palestine and Comparing them with Ancient Locust Invasions as Narrated in the

Old World's History Book, the Bible." *National Geographic Magazine* 28, no. 6 (1915): 511–50.

Winter, Jay. "The Practices of Metropolitan Life in Wartime." In *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919,* vol. 2, edited by Jay Winter and Jean-Louis Robert, 1–21. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007.

Winter, Jay, and Antoine Prost. *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005.

Winter, Jay, and Jean-Louis Robert, eds. *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin, 1914–1919.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997.

———. *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919: A Cultural History.* Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007.

Winter, Jay, and Emmanuel Sivan. *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.

Yazbak, Mahmud. *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864–1914: A Muslim Town in Transition.* Leiden: Brill, 1998.

Yehoshua, Ya'akov. "Al-'Ahd al-'Uthmani wa-al-Harb al-'Ula." *Al Sharq* 4–5, no. 4 (1973): 71–73.

———. "Al Jaraid al-'Arabiyya allati Sudirat fi Filastin: 1908–1918." *Al Sharq* 8, no. 2 (1972): 18–21.

———. "Al-Matabi al-'Arabiyya fi al-Bilad fi Matl'a al-Qarn al-Hali." *Al Sharq* 5, no. 2 (1971): 21–24.

———. "Al Sihafa al-Arabiyya fi Yafa 1908–1914." *Al Sharq* 5, no. 3 (1973): 36–38.

———. "Al-'Uslub wa-al-Raqaba fi al-Suhuf al-'Arabiyya." *Al Sharq* 12, no. 3 (1973): 21–23.

———. *Ben Masoret Le-Havai Be-Mishkenot Ha-Sfaradim Bi-Yerushalayim.* Jerusalem: Va'ad 'Adat ha-Sfaradim bi-Yerushalayim, 1979.

———. "Be-Yemey ha-Turkim, Be-Yereushalayim." *Keshet* 4 (1974): 34–42.

———. *Ha-Bayit Veha-Rehov Bi-Yerushalayim Ha-Yeshanah.* Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1966.

———. *Hakhamim Bi-Yerushalayim Ha-Yeshanah: 'Isukam U-Parnastam.* Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1968.

———. "Sahifat al-Karmil (1909–1914)." *Al Sharq* 11, no. 3 (1973): 35–37.

———. "Sahifat "Sawt al-'Uthmaniyya": al-Sihafa al-'Arabiyya fi al-Bilad fi Matl'a al-Qarn al-Hali." *Al Sharq* 9, no. 3 (1973): 49–50.

———. *Shekhunot Bi-Yerushalayim Ha-Yeshanah Mesaprot.* Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1978.

———. *Sipuro Shel Ha-Bayit Ha-Sefaradi Ba-Rov'a Ha-Yehudi Ba-'Ir Ha-'Atikah Shel Yerushalayim.* Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1976.

———. *Ta'rikh Al-Sihafah Al-'Arabiyya fi Filastin fi al-'Ahd Al-'Uthmani, 1908–1918.* Jerusalem: Matba'at al-Ma'arif, 1974.

———. *Ta'rikh al-Sihafa al-'Arabiyya al-Filastiniyya fi Bidayat al-Intidab al-Baritani 'Ala Filastin 1919–1929.* Haifa: Jewish-Arab Center, 1981.

———. *Yaldut Bi-Yerushalayim Ha-Yeshanah.* Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1979.

———. *Yerushalayim Tmol Shilshom.* Jerusalem: Reuven Mass, 1977.

Yehoshu'a, Ya'akov, and Abraham B Yehoshua. *Yerushalayim Ha-Yeshanah Ba-'Ayin Uba-Lev: Mivhar Ktavim.* Jerusalem: Keter, 1988.

Yeoh, Brenda S. A. *Contesting Space: Power Relations and the Urban Built Environment in Colonial Singapore.* Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996.

Zeine, N. Zeine. *The Emergence of Arab Nationalism.* New York: Caravan Books, 1958.