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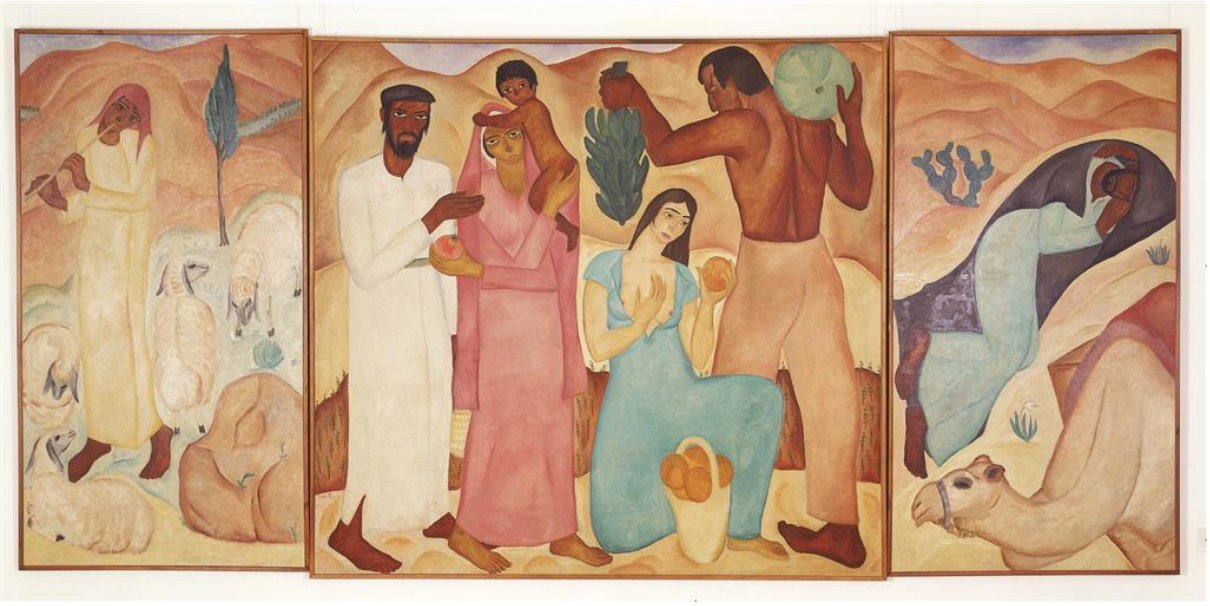
Culture and Cultivation: Zionist Citriculture in British Media, 1917-1933



Presented to the School of History at the University of Kent, in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Anne E Caldwell

November 2020

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O orange groves along the Middle Sea!
(O Jaffa, for example!) O the devil –
Let Beef and Butter, Rolls and Rabbits fade,
But give me back my love, my Marmalade.

A.A. Milne, “The Last Pot” *Punch*, 13 March 1918, 174.

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Abbreviations

Organizations, etc.

EMB – *Empire Marketing Board*

JTA – *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*

PEF – *Palestine Exploration Fund*

WZO – World Zionist Organisation

ZIBT – *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists*

Archives

BL – *British Library*

BNA – *British Newspaper Archive*

CZA – *Central Zionist Archives*

LON – *League of Nations Archive*

NLI – *National Library of Israel*

MAG – *Manchester Art Gallery*

MEC – *Middle East Centre Archives, St Antony's Oxford*

NLS – *National Library of Scotland*

PEF – *Palestine Exploration Fund*

RGS – *Royal Geographical Society*

TCA – *Thomas Cook Archive*

TNA – *The National Archives, Kew*

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Introduction

In 1901, Theodor Herzl published his utopian novel *Altneuland*, or *Old New Land*. In it he laid out a utopian, version of Zionist settlement in Palestine. Featuring free farmers and agricultural co-operatives, he outlined an idealised Zionist homeland – a self-sustaining, agriculturally based state of European Jewry in their old "new" land. Herzl insisted that the real advantage of settling in Palestine was that it was so "primitive and neglected", and that they would be able to expand on pre-Zionist Ashkenazi settlements that were formed in the late nineteenth century.[1] In contrast to the land's primitiveness, the Zionist settlements would be "the most remarkable phenomenon in modern Jewish life" and would "lay like oases in the desolate countryside."[2] To illustrate this imagery of an oases further, Herzl titles the Book Three of *Altneuland* "The Prosperous Land", which focuses on the prosperity of the Jewish settlements. The first chapter sees an exchange between a Zionist settler, named Steineck, and Reschid Bey, an Arab agriculturalist, in which Steineck gives credit to the Zionist settlers for the now prosperous orange industry. While Reschid Bey corrects him – reminding him that orange cultivation began long before European immigration – he concedes that "Everything here has increased in value since your immigration" and how advantageous it was to be part of the "New Society".[3]

This thesis will examine the representation of Palestine – the *Altneuland* of Herzl's imagining – two decades after his utopian novel was first published. More specifically, it will explore how different media in Britain's cultural landscape represented Zionist orange cultivation, or citriculture, in Jaffa, the municipality of Tel Aviv, and the surrounding agricultural settlements. Among the *Yishuv* – the pre-state Jewish community in Palestine – citriculture was a symbol of the achievement of Zionist settlement.[4] This symbolism of fruitfulness was

[1] Jacques Kornberg "Preface" to Theodor Herzl, *Old-New Land* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2007), viii. The pre-Zionist settlements referred to here are the *Hovevei Zion*, or *Lovers of Zion*, which will be discussed later in this Introduction. The *Hovevei Zion* were an early group of what might be termed "Zionists", in the loosest definition. They did not explicitly call for a Jewish state, remaining generally apolitical, and founded what is considered one of the first "Jewish" agricultural settlements, Rishon Le Zion in 1882. As they were not focused on state building, the term "pre-Zionist" is being used instead.

[2] Theodor Herzl, *Old-New Land*, 46-47.

[3] Theodor Herzl, *Old-New Land*, 120-122.

[4] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine, 1890-1939* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), 1. Karlinsky paints an alluring picture of "the tantalizing aroma of citrus blanketing the whole country… fresh orange juice at streetcorner kiosks and in household kitchens… homemade orange candies… A whole succession of visual symbols identified the citrus enterprise with the

incorporated into how the Mandate itself was portrayed in the British metropole, as well. Indeed, the association between the Jaffa orange and the Zionist movement would become more prevalent during the Mandate period. However, even before Britain controlled the region, the British public had a love for the Jaffa orange – the main orange variety exported from the Ottoman Empire, named after the city in which they were predominately grown. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jaffa was defined by its orange groves. Thomas Cook's 1907 guide called the orange groves "the most interesting features of Jaffa", and claimed that "some twelve millions (*sic*) are exported annually."[5] The importance of the Jaffa orange to the city's reputation was further reflected in the English edition of Baedeker's 1912 *Palestine and Syria Handbook*, where the groves were the focal point of the map of Jaffa.[6] Jaffa oranges were what many people knew of Palestine beyond scripture. Andrew Lang's 1886 *The Mark of Cain* features a chapter entitled "The Jaffa Oranges", in which they are depicted as a luxury food item worthy of seduction and jealousy.[7] According to the *Daily Telegraph* in 1909, "English people have the word Jaffa so firmly imprinted on their memories that to them the orange of Palestine represents the choicest."[8] There was the gushing description of Jaffa oranges given by "a banker", in his religiously tinted 1906 piece "The Harvest of the Earth":

> Then there is the golden harvest of the magnificent orange gardens of Palestine and elsewhere, the former probably by far the finest in the world, each lofty tree a glowing harmony in gold and green, loaded with a wild profusion of great oval fruit trice the size of an ordinary orange.[9]

Jaffa oranges were already an established Palestinian cultivation by the time Zionist settlement started. Prior to the First World War, Arab citriculture accounted for approximately 72% of the oranges exported.[10] Indeed, they were so successful, it became a part of Palestinian national identity.[11] However, by 1891, there were already some overly

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young muscular *haluts* (Zionist pioneer): the sturdy hoe, clutched firmly, the first furrows in the orchard, and the outcome – citrus trees sagging with their bounty of gleaming fruit."

[5] J.E. Hanauer and E.G. Masterman, *Cook's Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook, 1907), 41.

[6] Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria Handbook for Travellers* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 8.

[7] Andrew Lang, *The Mark of Cain* (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1886), 96-106.

[8] "Perfect Oranges," *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, 10 April 1909, 14.

[9] "The Harvest of the Earth: By A Banker," *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 20 October 1906, 5.

[10] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 8.

[11] See Mohammed Hamdan, "'The orange was dried up and shriveled': oranges and the crisis of nationalism in Ghassan Kanafani and Smilansky Yizhar". *National Identities* 20:3 (2018), 321-336; and Nasser Abufarha Land of

optimistic references to Jewish settlement success and education in the cultivation of Jaffa oranges. The *Morning Post* devoted a whole column to "Jewish Agricultural Colonies in Palestine", writing that "[the] oranges grown on the Jews farm are among the finest [of Jaffa], which is famous for the quality and size of its produce."[12]

Herzl's incorporation of citriculture into *Altneuland* was part of the wider emerging "invented tradition" of Zionist citriculture in Palestine.[13] In order to better understand the connections between Zionism and citriculture, this introduction aims to give background to some of the main components of this thesis. Firstly, it will offer short histories of Jewish European agrarianism, the desolate land myth, and the racialization of Jewish Europeans. Secondly, it will outline the methodological approach, and theories relevant to this research, as well as key terms and definitions.

Jewish Agrarianism

For Zionism, agriculture was an integral part of the movement. In Sven Hedin's 1918 book *Jerusalem*, he defines Zionism as "the struggle of Judaism against annihilation, and its object is the building up of a genuinely Jewish population in Palestine with agriculture as its economic basis and Hebrew as its vernacular." This definition was highlighted by the Anglo-Jewish Press Agency when reviewing the book.[14] Alternatively, Eliezer Ben-Yehudah, known for secularizing the Hebrew language, wrote prior to the pogrom of 1881 that "[the] nation cannot live except on its own soil; only on this soil can it revive and bear magnificent fruit, as in days of old!"[15] Agriculture was more than just economics; it was an essential part of early Modern Zionism, among both Jewish and non-Jewish Zionists. Herzl is not simply enamoured with citriculture, he is exemplifying several ideologies in the scene between Steineck and

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Symbols: Cactus, Poppies, Orange and Olive Trees in Palestine, *Identities* 15:3 (2008), 343-368. For a more general understanding of trees and cultivation in Palestinian identity, see Carol B. Bardenstein, "Trees, Forests, and the Shaping of Palestinian and Israeli Collective Memory", *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*, ed. Mieke Bal, Jonathan Crewe, and Leo Spitzer (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999), 148–171.

[12] "Jewish Agricultural Colonies in Palestine," *Morning Post*, 6 July 1891. 3.

[13] See Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-2.

[14] Sven Hedin, *Jerusalem* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1918); in Anglo-Jewish Press Agency Notes, no. 10, 26 July 1918. (CZA, PR\3158)

[15] Eliezer Ben-Yehudah (1880) quoted in Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 87.

Bey – European Jewish agrarianism and settler colonialism, British colonial conservationism, Christian Zionism's belief in restoration, and their connection with European anti-Semitism. These components are not only crucial to the history of Zionism, but the way it was represented to a British public.

Jewish "agrarianization", as termed by Jonathan Dekel-Chen and Israel Bartal, was not unique to the settlements in Palestine.[16] Starting in the nineteenth century, European Jewish agrarian movements, sustained by philanthropic organizations or individuals, founded settlements in the Americas, Europe, and Ottoman Palestine. Mordechai Zalkin argues that early ventures into agrarianism were not ideologically, but economically motivated.[17] Looking at the *Haskalah* movement, or Jewish Enlightenment of the late eighteenth through the nineteenth century, offer us a more nuanced understanding of agriculture's place in European Jewish life.[18] Dekel-Chen and Bartal note that the debate over Jews as agriculturalists that had occurred within the *Haskalah* movement varied from the economic to the ideological, and were influenced by the Christian antisemitic stereotypes as much as anything else.[19] There are some aspects of the movement which are mirrored in Christian Zionism, for instance the biblical glorification often expressed by key figures, such as Moses Mendelssohn.

However, these were not indicative of nationalism; rather Mendelssohn was what might later be termed an assimilationist, believing "that one could be both a European and a Jew *without compromise*."[20] Among the *maskilim*, or *Haskalah* thinkers, this varied in interpretation when it came to the occupations Europeans Jews should hold within

[16] Jonathan Dekel-Chen and Israel Bartal, "Jewish Agrarianization," *Jewish History* 21:3/4 (2007), 240.
[17] Mordechai Zalkin, "Can Jews Become Farmers? Rurality, Peasantry and Cultural Identity in the World of the Rural Jew in Nineteenth-Century Eastern Europe," *Rural History* 24:2 (2013), 164.
[18] The *Haskalah* movement has been referred to as the "Jewish Enlightenment", with their focus on rationalism and cultural reform influenced by Enlightenment thinking. Its thinkers were referred to as *maskilim*. It is also through the *Haskalah* movement that there was a revival of Hebrew as a secular language.
[19] Jonathan Dekel-Chen, "Jewish Agrarianization," 241.
[20] Machah Gottlieb, *Faith and Freedom: Moses Mendelssohn's Theological-Political Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3-4. See also Shmuel Feiner, *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness*, trans. Chaya Naor and Sondra Silverston (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2014). The *Haskalah* movement has been referred to as the "Jewish Enlightenment", with their focus on rationalism and secularization influenced by Enlightenment thinking. However, one of its most notable figures, Moses Mendelssohn, has also been seen as the forefather to Jewish nationalism. Shmuel Feiner argues that this is perhaps not an entirely accurate. He references Raphael Mahler's interpretation (from *History of the Jewish People*, vol. I. 81-2) of Mendelssohn, as "over-zealous rationalism" and "a departure from Jewish nationalism in favour of universal ideals."

European society. While some, like Mendelssohn, believed Jews played an important role in the urban economy, others such as Joseph Perl and Efraim Fishelzon saw the lack of agricultural participation among Jews as a negative. They believed that to change Christian perceptions of Jews, including a belief that the community was taking advantage of Christian peasants, the traditional occupations of European Jewry must also change. [21] A particularly vulgar interpretation of this thinking came at the second half of the nineteenth century, in which Moshe Leib Lilienblum, among other founders of the *Hibbat* or *Hovevei Zion* conference and settlements, agreed with the Guberniya Commission, which was charged by the Russian Minister of the Interior with looking into the pogroms of the 1880s.[22] The commission concluded that peasants had been exploited by the Jewish community, and thus by attacking them, they were exacting retribution.[23] The solution, according to Lilienblum, was to turn the Ashkenazi population into agriculturalists – some in other parts of Russia, or, in a split from Mendelssohn, foreign countries such as Palestine. In the minds of the *Hovevei Zion*, this would turn them from "oppressors" into "productive people, and, more important, reseparated them physically from non-Jewish populations."[24]

These conversations occurred within a wider discussion about nationalism and Judaism. In his book on "chosenness" and ethnonationalism, Anthony Smith stresses that the "[from] the beginning, we find a strong religious, and more broadly sacred, underpinning to secular Zionism."[25] He quotes Moses Hess, founder of Labour Zionism, in his assertion that "Each nation will have to create its own historical cult; each people must become, like the Jewish people, a people of [G-d]."[26] To Smith, this myth of "return", the "covenantal myth" as he calls it, is the driving force behind Zionism's appeal. Specifically, he attributes the rejection of the diaspora and the centrality of *EretzYisrael* to the Second and Third *Aliyot* – or waves of Jewish immigration. This argument may work for the Second *Aliyah*, which occurred in the decade before the war. However, the Third *Aliyah*, the Jewish European immigration that

[21] Jonathan Dekel-Chen, "Jewish Agrarianization," 241.
[22] The Hovevei Zion, or Lovers of Zion, were an early group of what might be termed "Zionists", in the loosest definition. While not explicitly calling for a Jewish state – they were rather apolitical – they founded what is considered one of the first agricultural settlements, Rishon Le Zion in 1882.
[23] See I. M. Aronson, "The Prospects for the Emancipation of Russian Jewry during the 1880s", The Slavonic and East European Review, 55:3 (July 1977), pp. 348-369
[24] Jonathan Dekel-Chen, "Jewish Agrarianization," 241-242.
[25] Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 86.
[26] Moses Hess (1862) quoted in Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 86. It is a superstition within Judaism to not write out the name of G-d on anything that could be erased, damaged, or destroyed. This thesis will follow that practice.

spanned 1919 to 1923, was motivated far more by persecution and economic hardship than ideology.[27] Zionism did not have a broad appeal among the masses, even into the Second World War. The main appeal of immigrating to Palestine for European Jews was not the movement itself, but the "safe haven" that Palestine and then Israel represented to fleeing Jewish populations through the 1940s.

That said, the "new Jew" was a prominent part of Zionist imagery due, as Smith argues, to its contrast of Diaspora "powerlessness", which would have been an appealing component regardless of commitment to the Zionist cause. To illustrate this, he quotes Haim Nachman Bialik's eulogy for the founding of the Hebrew University in 1925:

> Thousands of our young sons, responding to the call of their heart, stream to this land from all corners of the earth to redeem it from its desolation and ruin. They are ready to spill out their longing and strength into the bosom of this dry land in order to bring it to life. They plough through rocks, drain swamps, pave roads, singing with joy.[28]

Bialik is perhaps better known for his Kishinev memorial poem "In the City of Slaughter" in which he, at one point, condemns the cowardice of the pogrom's survivors.[29] This passage is an evolution of that attitude. Zionism was "to redeem" the "young sons" of European Jewry, just as much as a land in "desolation and ruin". These intertwining ideas became a major part of the movement by the time Britain took control of the Mandate. The connection between redemption, colonization, and cultivation influenced Herzl's own Zionist philosophy. Even before *Altneuland*, Herzl's *The Jewish State* – his famous treatise on Zionism – encouraged the plan for the European Jewish settlers "to cultivate the soil", along with every other form of labour required to create a viable state.[30] Yet, "redemption" and "restoration" were not Jewish philosophies.

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[27] The Zionist Organisation was more than aware of the lack of European Jews who were immigrating during the 1920s. We can see examples of the anxiety this raised in the Leo Wolfman, "Labour Report," *Reports of the Experts. Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission* (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1928), 492-534.
[28] Haim Nahman Bialik, *Collected Works*, 227; quoted in Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 89.
[29] This will be further discussed in "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art," 26-28.
[30] Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (London: Penguin, 2010), 27.

The Desolate Land Myth

The exchange between Steineck and Reschid Bey in *Altneuland* is the result of the concurrent ideology of the desolate land myth – the belief that European cultivation was required in order to turn a desolate, unpopulated land into a prosperous one. There was a dichotomy of "good" and "evil" that began to emerge in the early nineteenth century in association with environment.[31] Richard Grove argues that the fear of "climatic *denouement*" in South Africa during this time, influenced a scientific approach to conservationism in the area. However, there was a biblical element to it as well. Influential Scottish missionary Robert Moffat promoted a type of "environmental evangelism", which placed the blame for environmental changes, such as drought, on the indigenous population. He "conceived of drought as the wages of environmental sin or sins of moral disorder", dismissing explanations given by the local populations, and instead conflating rejection of salvation with ecological ruin.[32] The arid land and drought was "divine retribution".[33]

For Palestine, there was an additional element – that is, the restoration of the Jews. For Christian Zionists, the landscape of Palestine and the Jewish people belonged each to the other – what Anthony Smith terms an *ethnoscape*.[34] Alexander Scholch and Nur Masalha argue that "the English 'Gentile Zionists'", or Christian Zionists, preceded Jewish Zionists in their quest for the return of the Jewish people to the biblical land of Palestine, coupled with a belief that such a return would restore the land itself.[35] Masalha points specifically to the lobbying efforts of the politician and evangelical Lord Shaftesbury for the impact that Christian Zionism had on British policy. He cites Donald Wagner in claiming that

[31] Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands: History, Power, Knowledge* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2016), 102-104.
[32] Richard Grove, "Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa 1820-1900," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15:2 (1989), 163-164, 180-181.
[33] Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands*, 104; and Richard Grove, "Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa 1820-1900", 170.
[34] Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 136.
[35] Alexander Scholch, "Britain in Palestine, 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy," *Journal of Palestine Studies*. (1992), 41; see also Nur Masalha, *The Bible and Zionism: Invented Traditions, Archaeology and Post-Colonialism in Palestine-Israel* (London: Zed Books, 2007), 93-95. Masalha's work has a tendency to rely on secondary material. Some of this might be excused – certainly, there may be restriction on what archives he can access. However, he also relies on secondary analysis for primary source material easily accessible online, on reliable sites.

> One cannot overstate the influence of Lord Shaftesbury on the British political elites, church leaders, and the average Christian layperson. His efforts and religious political thought may have set the tone for England's colonial approach to the Near East and in particular the holy land during the next one hundred years.[36]

Nor was Shaftesbury the only influential Christian Zionist at the time. Reverend Alexander Keith claimed that "So long as they be in their enemies' land, their own land lieth desolate."[37] He repeatedly makes mention to Jewish sinfulness as the cause for their diaspora, and the desolation of Palestine. Their restoration is necessary for Palestine to return to its former glory.[38] Keith's use of the Old Testament to justify this belief was not uncommon. The medieval practice of using Talmudic or Old Testament texts in order to determine the Jewish character had seen a resurgence in the nineteenth century.[39] Presbyterian minister, Josias Leslie Porter, writing just a couple decades later, made similar "observations" about the land in his edition of *A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine*. Besides his overuse of the word "desolate" to describe his surroundings, he also quoted Leviticus 26:31-35 ("And I will bring the land into desolation") and Ezekial 12:20 ("the cities that are inhabited shall be laid waste, and the land shall be desolate") to reinforce his point.[40] However, Porter is less direct about any belief regarding the sinfulness of "the Jews". Thomas Cook went a step further in its guidebook, lamenting that "One thinks of devout Jews in every land… as they pray for the restoration of their land."[41]

Biblical interpretations of the Holy Land were not reserved for the clergy. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Jewish restoration to Palestine in order to restore the desolate landscape was supported by religiously influenced science. Charles Warren was an

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[36] Donald Wagner, *Anxious for Armageddon* (Scottsdale: Herald Press, 1995), 92; quoted in Nur Masalha, *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* (London: Zed Books, 2018), 312.

[37] Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion: Derived from the Literal Fulfillment of Prophecy: Particularly as Illustrated by the History of the Jews, and by the Discoveries of Recent Travellers* (New York: Harper, 1836), 87-88.

[38] Alexander Keith, *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*. Keith's *Evidence of the Truth of the Christian Religion*, was incredibly popular in the mid- nineteenth century, going through multiple printings, and tellingly, was reprinted as late as 2013. HardPress Publishing reprinted an edition on the 28 January 2013.

[39] Fernando Bravo López, "Continuity and Change in anti-Jewish Prejudice: The Transmission of the anti-Talmudic Texts of Sixtus of Siena," *Patterns of Prejudice* 45:3 (2011), 227.

[40] Josias Leslie Porter, *A Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* (London: John Murray, 1858), 434, 460. Biblical passages are quotations from the *Handbook*.

[41] *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook, 1876), 134; J.E. Hanauer and E.G. Masterman, *Cook's Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook, 1907), 252.

archaeologist and officer in the British Royal Engineers, who was brought in by the Palestine Exploration Fund to assist in the surveying of Jerusalem in the late nineteenth century. He would, in 1875, publish a pamphlet, *The Land of Promise*, that advocated for the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Palestine in his mind was a land "sparsely populated, badly tilled, [and] miserably mismanaged". His vision was of

> an expedition fitted out by Christians and Jews to redeem Palestine, and in doing so to assist and elevate the Moslems now in the land, who will be entitled eventually to participate in the government, and thus to give Palestine back to those to whom it belongs by inheritance - viz., the present natives of Palestine and the Jews scattered throughout the world.[42]

While he did not see Jewish sinfulness as the reason for desolation, like Keith, he did believe that "the regeneration of Palestine" relied on the "return" of the Jews.[43] Much like in Herzl's *Altneuland*, Warren attributed the "primitive and neglected" condition of the Holy Land to mismanagement and a "primitive" Muslim population. According to Scholch, by the First World War, Jewish restoration had become an "essential component" to Britain's Middle Eastern colonial endeavours.[44] Warren's work was reincorporated into that of Christian Zionists. British politician and novelist, Laurence Oliphant was clearly influenced by Warren's work, and even quotes *The Land of Promise* in his own well-known book, *The Land of Gilead*. The book highlights the agricultural revolution that a "Jewish return" would bring. Oliphant was also a follower of Lord Shaftesbury, and he not only agreed with the assessment of both men, but goes a step further in suggesting the removal of the Arab population to "reserves":

> In fact, the same system might be pursued which we have adopted with success in Canada with our North American Indian tribes, who are confined to their 'reserves', and lives peaceably upon them in the midst of the settled agricultural population.[45]

With retrospect, the question might arise regarding the "success" the modern state of Israel has had with this system, let alone how "peaceably" the First Nations of Canada feel they

[42] Charles Warren, *The Land of Promise; Or Turkey's Guarantee* (London: George Bell, 1875), 11, 12.
[43] Charles Warren, *The Land of Promise; Or Turkey's Guarantee*, 24.
[44] Alexander Scholch, "Britain in Palestine, 1838-1882: The Roots of the Balfour Policy," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 22:1 (1992), 49.
[45] Laurence Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead, With Excursions in the Lebanon* (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1880), 286

have lived on “their ‘reserves’”. But in terms of early Zionism, and the importance of Jewish “restoration”, Oliphant’s work certainly reflects a mentality prevalent in nineteenth century Britain. George Eliot’s 1876 *Daniel Deronda* is a prime example of Christian Zionism’s influence on popular culture. Bernadette Waterman Ward reminds us that at the time, Eliot’s “sympathetic” portrayal of Deronda was praised throughout Europe. Yet, Ward describes Deronda as a “purely racial Jew, stripped of Jewish culture, and neither religious nor cognizant of the political realities of Zionism.”[46] That is to say, Deronda was seen as Jewish by race, not by religion.

The Racialization of “the Jews”

Eliot’s work needs to be read in the uniquely European, if not uniquely British, context in which these ideologies were framed. Within Ottoman controlled Greater Syria, being Jewish did not constitute a national or racial identity pre-Mandate. As Yair Wallach summarizes, “[in] the 1850s, being Jewish meant being part of a Jewish congregation defined by synagogues and rabbinical authority”. While we can see a shift from the *millet* system towards the end of the nineteenth century, it was not until the second half of the Mandate that “being Jewish was becoming a national identity.”[47] British control of the region, as well as an influx of Jewish Europeans, and the context in which this took place, shifted the perception of the religion within the region. There is evidence to suggest that the anti-Semitism and self-categorization seen in the Mandate period reflected the pictorial and theological representations found in medieval Britain. Sara Lipton argues that "Jews were given a characteristic physiognomy in art well before biological racism permeated European thought."[48] While early medieval Western Christianity saw Jewish European supposed

[46] Bernadette Waterman Ward, “Zion's Mimetic Angel: George Eliot's Daniel Deronda,” *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 22:2 (2004), 105.

[47] Yair Wallach, *A City in Fragments: Urban Test in Modern Jerusalem* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2020), 15. Michael Talbot, “’Jews, Be Ottomans!’ Zionism, Ottomanism, and Ottomanisation in the Hebrew-Language Press, 1890–1914,” *Die Welt des Islams* 56 (2016), 359-387. Talbot argues that we can begin to see this shift towards Jewish nationalism within the Ottoman sphere as a result of Zionist Ashkenazi immigration of the First Aliyah. As nationalism became a stronger force of unification in Ottoman territories, “the idea of the *millet* had moved from being one based around a religious community or confession to a broader sense of a political nation.” This is, and it needs to be made clear, not an argument that anti-Semitism was absent from Ottoman society.

[48] Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror: The Medieval Origins of Anti-Jewish Iconography* (New York: Henry Holt and Co, 2014), 3

physiology as a "condition" of their religious practices – whether cultural or through divine punishment – by the nineteenth century it was part of a racial identity.[49] Lipton argues that visually, this evolution began to take place by the mid-thirteenth century, with Jews in Western European imagery "characterized by a bony hooked nose and a pointed beard". The beard was not necessarily negative, but it did have a "fairly exotic connotations: an aura of worldliness, the whiff of the updated past, or a hint of Muslim or Greek 'Easternness'".[50] In her book, *Jew*, Cynthia Baker breaks down the meaning of the word within Western society, in which she argues that consistently throughout Western European history, the term was synonymous with "*not-self*", the "absolute other, the very antithesis of the Western Christian *self*."[51] This is not to argue that anti-Jewish imagery remained unchanged throughout the centuries. Rather, the idea of Jews as foreigners, the *other*, was adapted to the dominate societal ideologies of the time. The imagery of the medieval period saw a resurgence within the evolution of racial theory of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The idea that the Jewish European population was "Eastern", for instance, is reflected in Keith's and Warren's restoration plans. It is a belief that would be used to legitimize Zionist aims and Jewish immigration to Palestine in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

For James Renton, the "quest for origins, scientific classification and rigid boundaries" of the Enlightenment had led to "the idea of the Semite" – "a singular category of what often had been only implicit epistemological connections between Christian conceptions of the two religions [Islam and Judaism]."[52] Along similar lines, in his *Land of Progress*, Jacob Norris writes that Jews were viewed not just as a race, but within a "middle stratum", a perception that was typified in the work of nineteenth century race theorist Arthur de Gobineau. De Gobineau argued that Jews were white, but "their Semitic branch had mixed with elements of the black race and now occupied a lower position in the hierarchy of civilization."[53] Francis Galton, English polymath and perhaps best known for coining the term "eugenics", insisted that Jews constituted their own race. Galton attempted to prove this through composite photography, where multiple subjects would be compared, and the results would

[49] Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 175-178. Lipton argues that during the early medieval period, "many Christian authorities were adamant that conversion effected radical physical as well as spiritual change."
[50] Sara Lipton, *Dark Mirror*, 50.
[51] Cynthia M. Baker, *Jew* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 4; emphasis in original.
[52] James Renton, "The End of the Semites," *Antisemitism and Islamophobia in Europe*
A Shared Story? eds. James Renton and Ben Gidley (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 99-100.
[53] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 84-85.

show that there were "features common to all" within a given race. For his Jewish subjects, he used schoolboys from the Jews' Free School in Whitechapel (1883). The result was what Galton referred to as "the Jewish type" – a race of people who possessed a "cold, scanning gaze" and "are specialised for a parasitical existence upon other nations."[54]

The belief in such racial theories – even the racial distinctiveness of "Jews" – was not confined to non-Jewish Europeans. Working alongside Galton was the Jewish writer Joseph Jacobs.[55] Jacobs was part of a circle of "Jewish cultural elite" that included Israel Zangwill and Lucien Wolfe – with whom he founded the Jewish Historical Society of England. [56] As Feldman states, "The collaboration between [Galton and Jacobs] is a point of intersection between histories of the Jews and the history of anti-Semitism and it is just one of numerous examples where the two narratives touch and overlap." [57] Renton argues that by the turn of the century, "the idea of the Semites had become the principal manifestation in Western European thought of the Christian tradition of linking Judaism and Islam, the Jew and the Muslim." Not only were these two ethnically diverse religions perceived as one common race, but a "product of unique geographical space: Western Asia."[58] Jews were seen as a race between. In the context of the British Empire, support for Jewish nationalism then, was viewed as a way "to bridge the age-long gulf between East and West."[59] The argument for a return of European – and world – Jewry to Palestine, was no longer just a religious one, but a scientific one, as well.

With this in mind, the creation of the dichotomy "Jews" and "Arabs" was not just a Western Christian construction, but an internalised sense of racial distinctiveness and belief in European superiority within the Zionist project.[60] This internalised prejudice creates part of

[54] Francis Galton quoted in David Feldman "Conceiving Difference: Religion, Race and the Jews in Britain, c. 1750-1900," *History Workshop Journal* 76:1 (2013), 160-161.
[55] David Feldman "Conceiving Difference," 161-162.
[56] David Feldman "Conceiving Difference," 162-163.
[57] David Feldman "Conceiving Difference," 164.
[58] James Renton, "The End of the Semites," 100.
[59] *The Round Table* (December 1917), 328-329; quoted in Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 84.
[60] Karen D. Pyke, "What Is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It?" *Sociological Perspectives* 53:4 (2010), 554. Pyke defines internalised racism as "the 'subjection' of the victims of racism to the mystifications of the very racist ideology which imprison and define them". We could argue whether internalised anti-Semitism constitutes an internalised colonial mentality – "a sense of inferiority and a desire to be more like the colonizers" – as noted by Frantz Fanon and Paulo Freire, given that European Jews were not colonised by Europeans but were and are Europeans with a distinct religion who were oppressed within their own countries of residence.

Herzl's argument in *The Jewish State*, in which he makes two distinct and contradictory claims: First, that by creating a homeland in Palestine, Jewish Europeans could "form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism."[61] Second, in his belief that it is impossible for Jews to assimilate into the "surrounding races" within European spaces. [62] To Herzl, the Jewish people had "become so depressed and discouraged" to believe the "mistaken notions" ascribed to the Jewish community. Yet, his argument for the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine is that of a "return", the land an "ever-memorable historic home" of the Jewish people. The distinction of race that Herzl ascribes is a European phenomenon, born out of centuries of an ever-evolving European anti-Semitism.

These classifications and biases erased entire populations of Jews. As Ethan Katz notes in his essay "Imperial Entanglement", Britain's antisemitic racialization of Jews, as well as the interconnectedness of religious communities within the region, made it difficult for colonial administrators to "establish clear categories such as 'white,' 'non-white,' 'European,' 'native,' 'Jew,' 'Muslim,' 'Arab,' and 'Berber'."[63] Again, "Jews" as a distinctive race was a European construction. When confronted with Jews of non-European descent, within communities who did not see them as *racially* distinct, erasure became necessary in order to uphold these categories. Further, while both Christian and Jewish Zionists insisted they spoke for or at least to the rights of all European Jews, Zionism was not a popular movement among the community at this time. Even those who initially immigrated to Palestine were not necessarily committed to the Zionist cause, as much as fleeing persecution, poverty, or both.

The praise given to Zionism in the different mediums this thesis explores was not just Europeans bringing enlightenment to an ignorant indigenous population. It was European *Jews* – a race returning to their ancestral homeland with European scientific understanding and methods at their disposal. This extended beyond agriculture, into the perception of themselves in contrast to the indigenous population. Within the umbrella of Middle Eastern studies, historians of Israel/Palestine still rely on the "Jews" and "Arabs" dichotomy, even

[61] Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State* (London: Penguin, 2010), 30. An analysis of the "rampart of Europe" will be dealt with in this thesis through analysis of descriptions of Tel Aviv as a modern city, in comparison to the ancient city of Jaffa.
[62] Theodor Herzl, *The Jewish State*, 24-26, 73.
[63] Ethan B. Katz, "An Imperial Entanglement: Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Colonialism," *American Historical Review* 123:4 (2018), 1192.

when noting its inaccuracy.[64] This constructed dichotomy erases politically and ethnically diverse groups of people by distilling them down to European racial categorizations.[65] The Arab Palestinian population is distilled down to stereotypes, often missing, or resigned to the background. In the analysis of landscape art, for instance, the Arab population are often portrayed as old-fashioned, "primitive", or simply missing from the landscape. In cartography and advertising, Jewish settlements and technologies take centre stage. Travel writing and print media either removes Arab labour or depicts the native population as backward and "dirty". These distinctions were not created by the Mandate, but existed prior to it, as a 1916 book review in *The Yorkshire Post* reveals. The reviewer attributed the increase in Jaffa's trade almost entirely to the "Jewish colonies, the Arabs being by comparison, backward in their methods and apparently content to take service under the Jews."[66] The assumption being that "Jewish" in this case is the equivalent to European, with all the advantages that would bring. The erasure of the indigenous population from the literal fruits of their labour is just as much a part of the desolate land mythos, as is European ingenuity being the saving grace. In the case of Palestine, Zionism is the settler colonial movement, seen as representing *all Jews*, regardless of political, cultural, or ethnic background, and thus in contrast to the Arab population, a term itself often an inaccurate shorthand for *Muslim* population.

Theory and Methodology

It is this constructed "Jewishness" that clearly distinguishes Zionism as an ethnonationalist movement. While this thesis intersects with histories of colonialism and agriculture, media studies, and British cultural history, it is at its core, a study of nationalism – of how this particular form of ethnonationalism gained legitimacy outside of its supposed national borders. Nationalism relies on collective memories, national mythologies, religious and/or

[64] See Yair Wallach, *A City in Fragments*, 15.

[65] For more on this topic, see discussions on racial discrimination within the history of Zionism and modern-day Israel against Mizrahi, Yemenite, Ethiopian, and Kaifeng Jews. For academic examples, see Orna Sasson-Levy, "A Different Kind of Whiteness: Marking and Unmarking of Social Boundaries in the Construction of Hegemonic Ethnicity," *Sociological Forum* 28:1 (2013), 27-50. Ismael Abu-Saad, "Epilogue: Reflections on Race and Racism in Contemporary Israeli Society: 'Wishing the Barbarian Away'," *Social Identities* 10:2 (March 2004), 293-299.

[66] "The Return of the Jews," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 16 August 1916, 3. The title of the book and the review reflect the emphasis placed on the "restoration" of the Jewish population and the British idea of Palestine, which at this point was part of Greater Syria.

ethnic traditions, moral codes, and national symbolism. An ethnonationalist movement is one in which membership to the nation relies on a perceived ethnic kinship. "Myths of ethnic descent, particularly myths of 'ethnic chosenness', lie at [ethnonationalism's] core. Of all these myths, the myths of a 'golden age' of past splendour is perhaps the most important."[67] Certainly for Zionism this is true. Whether from Christian Europe, or from the Palestinians, it sees its "otherness" and "Jewishness" in the same vein. It is this "othering" that "awakened the slumbering idea" of a Jewish nation, so as to return to a glorified biblical past. Yet, as both Gellner and Anderson argue, nationalism is a construct, not an awakening; in Anderson's famous definition, it is the creation of an "imagined political community".[68] In discussing various theories on ethnonationalism, Daniele Conversi argues that "ethnonational mobilization often results from the conscious efforts of the elites to obtain access to specific social, political and material resources." These resources are "pursued in the name of 'alleged' common interests", participating in top-down mythmaking as a means to obtaining them.[69] To put it in less cynical terms, what Anderson might see as "nationalist imaging", or what we might call cultural dissemination.[70]

What Anderson, Gellner, and Smith argue, although in varying degrees, is the importance of culture in the creation and dissemination of nationalism.[71] For historians of nationalism,

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[67] Daniele Conversi, "Mapping the Field: Theories of Nationalism and the Ethnosymbolic Approach," *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, eds. Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 21-22

[68] See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 2016), 5-7. Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964), 168.

[69] Daniele Conversi, "Mapping the Field," 17. Here, Conversi is specifically expanding on the theories of instrumentalists Eric Hobsbawm and Elie Kedouri. Hobsbawm believed that political elites are "social engineers" who deliberately manipulate the emotions of the masses in order to promote nationalism and nationalist unity. Kedouri went a step further, and argued that nationalism was a construction based on a sort of conspiracy of the intellectual elite. See Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991* (London: Abacus, 1995); and Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960).

[70] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016), 12.

[71] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12. Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 5-7. Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*, 22, 85-94. Anderson in particular argues that nationalism can only be understood by positioning it not with "political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being." Smith argues that while "ethnicity may provide the groundwork of nations and help explain their origins, it cannot actually generate these attachments and passions, nor explain the longevity of national identity." While Smith attributes this to religious belief in the "chosenness" of the Jewish people, this is accomplished through analysis of European sources alone, and does not take into consideration the diverse reasons – many of which centre around oppression – that made Zionism appealing to *refugees* among other forms of migration.

cultural history is important to understanding the foundations and legitimatizing of the ideology of nationalism, if not the growth of its membership. Cultural history, in its contemporary iteration, focuses on aspects of culture in interaction with other fields of history, rather than "the traditional products of 'high culture', art, literature and philosophy."[72] Anderson argues that nationalism can only be understood by positioning it not with "political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems" such as those that govern traditions and representations.[73] Essentially, cultural history fills in the gaps left behind by political, military, social, and economic histories, allowing us to see how populations interacted and reacted with the space they occupied. The history of nationalism, on the other hand, is an analysis of the modern identity created by these interactions, inextricably tying these two disciplines together.

The linchpin of this thesis is the symbolism given to the Jaffa orange and the two cities central to its production – Jaffa and Tel Aviv – in terms of how Zionism was perceived in Britain. While cultural history might be difficult to define, the "common ground", as Peter Burke writes, is "a concern with the symbolic and its interpretation."[74] Citriculture was – and in many ways, still is – a symbol of Zionist success. Its symbolic representation to the British public offered legitimacy to a nationalist movement still finding its political (and territorial) boundaries. Zionism relied heavily on British support, as Palestine was a Mandate territory under the control of the British Empire, as well as interweaved into British policy in the region.[75] In this way, we might argue that citriculture became a tool of propaganda, promoting legitimacy of the Zionist movement. Within the context of this thesis, the term *propaganda* is used in its most neutral definition – the dissemination and promotion of an idea; in this case, the dissemination and promotion of the idea that Zionism was legitimate as a nationalist movement within the space that it occupied, Palestine.[76] However, this thesis deals more specifically with *representation*, which in this context is the *portrayal* of

[72] Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Introduction: Peter Burke and the History of Cultural History," *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 2.
[73] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 12. Melissa Calaresu, et al. "Introduction," 2.
[74] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 3.
[75] The Mandate for Palestine was the administration of the territories of Palestine and Transjordan by the British, as mandated by the League of Nations in 1922, supposedly until self-governance would be possible.
[76] Gareth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (London: Sage Publications, 2006), 2.

Zionism within specific cultural mediums.[77] This is not meant to be read exclusively as *the* media, which would imply print media (newspapers, magazines, journals, etc.); but *media* as defined in works such as those of Marshall McLuhan, who saw *media* as "an extension of ourselves".[78] Or, as we are discussing British media in particular, an extension of British society in Britain during the 1920s.

By examining cultural media, we can better understand what social psychologist Serge Moscovici termed as *social representation* – that is "a set of concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications".[79] Gerard Duveen gives the example of a Western cultural understanding of Vienna, Prague, and Budapest. Vienna is firmly placed in our understanding of "Western Europe", but Budapest and Prague are both considered "Eastern Europe" – even though Prague in fact lies to the geographical west of Vienna. Duveen argues that this is in part due to the Cold War, with ideological understandings of "East" and "West" replacing geographical ones.[80] If a topic remains in the cultural consciousness, it eventually becomes *emancipated* from the original discourse, and unconsciously incorporated into society's understanding of the particular element's representation.[81] Nationalism, especially nationalist mythmaking, both relies on *social representation* and contributes to the phenomenon. Thus, the aim of this research is to examine how the myth of Zionist settlers "making the land bloom", and their

[77] *Representation* as defined in the Oxford English Dictionary offers several definitions. In this context, it is as defined under section two: "Senses relating to depiction or portrayal." OED give the example under 2.b of this definition from Marilyn McCully and John Richardson's *A Life of Picasso*, in which Picasso is quoted as saying: "Take the representation of an apple if one draws a circle one registers the basic form of the object." However, the quote continues: "Should the artist want to endow his image with a greater degree of plasticity, the object in question may well end by taking the form of a square or a cube. The forms will not negate the object in the very least." Picasso's larger point about plasticity might well be applied here as well – it is not so much that the portrayal is entirely accurate, but that it is recognised as Zionism. "The point of art is not to represent an object according to perspectival conventions. There are an object's actual measurements to consider, the position it occupies and much else besides." Pablo Picasso quoted in Marilyn McCully and John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I (United Kingdom: Pimlico, 1992); 488. As we will see, Zionism was not only *Jewish Nationalism*, but occupied a more complicated space in depictions of the movement.

[78] See Marshall McLuhan's theory that "the medium is the message". Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), 1-2.

[79] Serge Moscovici, On Social Representations: Essays in Social Psychology (Albany: NYU Press, 2001). See also Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, tr. Joseph Ward Swain (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1964), 16-17.

[80] Gerard Duveen, "Introduction: The Power of Ideas", in Serge Moscovici, *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1-2.

[81] *Ibid*. See also Wolfgang Wagner, "Social Representation Theory", in *The Encyclopaedia of Peace Psychology*, ed. Daniel J. Christie (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2012), 2.

connections with citriculture in particular, were represented within British cultural media. It seeks to understand the way in which these myths legitimised the nationalist movement within the British consciousness.

In turn, it also dissects the myth that British cultural media was anti-Zionist by default, and examines Britain's role within the dissemination of this nationalist mythos. It repositions Zionism from the rise of Nazi Germany and the *Shoah* between 1933 and 1945, to the way in which support for Modern Zionism was framed prior to these events. Indeed, the time frame 1917-1933 is not ill-considered, but a direct response to the changing attitudes towards Zionism post 1933. It should be made clear, this thesis is not a direct analysis of Zionist agriculture, nor of British colonialism in Palestine. While it does intersect with these themes, there are excellent and copious analyses already written in regard to Zionist citriculture and British colonialism during this time period, including Nahum Karlinksy's *California Dreaming* and Jacob Norris' *Land of Progress*. The field is certainly not lacking in terms of research into these areas. Instead, this is an analysis of the representation of a nationalist movement and the use of these elements to legitimize it in British cultural media.

Since this thesis is focused on Zionism in British metropole media, the time frame is restricted to the first decade of the Mandate. Following in the footsteps of Michael Berkowitz's work, this thesis recognizes the split in Zionist representation pre- and post-1933.[82] The time frame chosen directly corresponds to a specific reaction to a specific refugee population. In 1933, with the rise of Nazi Germany, Central European Jewish refugees became far more the focus of Zionist representation in British society. This shift can be seen in the creation of the British Central Fund for German Jews (aka the Central British Fund for World Jewish Relief) and the League of Nations establishment the High Commission for Refugees, both of which were established in response to the growing number of German Jewish refugees, fleeing oppressive policies and increasing violence in Germany.[83] In

[82] See Michael Berkowitz, *Western Jewry and the Zionist Project, 1914-1933* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[83] It cannot be overstated, Jews are not a monolith – not in the eyes of their co-religionists, and not even truly in the eyes of non-Jewish majority of Europe. As assimilationist and founder of the League of National German Jews, Max Naumann was quoted as saying in 1933: "German Jews [are] a people quite different from the Jews who have migrated into Germany." Naumann saw himself as a *German* Jew. The immigrant Jewish population that he refers to was in part, but certainly not entirely, the estimated 340,000 Eastern European Jewry fleeing Eastern Europe between 1921-25 alone. To Naumann, and many like him, there was a clear distinction to be made. "German Jews Say Hands Off!", *Dundee Courier* (14 October 1933), 5; Eli Lederhendler, "The Interrupted Chain: Traditional Receiver Countries, Migration Regimes, and the East European Jewish Diaspora, 1918–39",

Palestine, while ultimately unsuccessful and then unnecessary, a boycott against German products started spontaneously in March 1933, as well as a boycott on the export of citrus to Germany.[84] The discussion in regards to immigration to Palestine became about whether they would "allow England to fall behind France and Czechoslovakia in ordinary humanity" in terms offering "a refuge to the persecuted in Germany".[85] Add to this that the Empire Marketing Board was abolished in 1933, leading to a specific advertising campaign in 1934 for Jaffa oranges, and you are discussing a rather different environment in which information is being disseminated. Further, while the 1939 restriction of immigration may be seen by some as a more natural cut-off point, given its perception as a betrayal of Zionism at the supposed "height" of Jewish oppression in Europe, it is the 1930 Passfield Paper that truly creates that rupture. It is in response to the 1930 restriction on immigration and land acquisition that Chaim Weizmann resigns as the head of the (London based) Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency, ultimately allowing for more extreme elements of the movement to pave the path towards statehood. For the purposes of this thesis, 1933 was the far more logical concluding year.

As to be expected, this thesis will have to contend with elements of anti-Semitism, Orientalism, and Zionism found within British culture. While anti-Semitism perhaps does not need to be defined, and Zionism already has been, we must quickly contend with Orientalism.[86] Most known today in the context of Edward Said's seminal work, one which "opened the floodgate of postcolonial criticism", the work itself fell short in several critical ways – spawning more analyses than there is room here to discuss.[87] However, most relevant to this work is his lack of focus on the influence of the Bible in Orientalism. In terms of British colonialism in Palestine, this is an important connection to be made. For historians

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East European Jewish Affairs 44:2-3 (2014), 178. The nuance of this distinction will in part be discussed in "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art".

[84] Further discussion will be presented in the final chapter.

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[86] Rather than simply "Jew-hatred", anti-Semitism encompasses the full range of "mild pejorative prejudice against Jews as different to the full-blown pathology of an exterminationist, paranoid hatred of Jews as a race". Steven Beller, *Antisemitism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 2. It should go without saying that this thesis does not equate anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism. As Beller argues: "To equate anti-Zionism and antisemitism is… far too simplistic, theoretically crass, and demeaning to the memory of those who suffered the horrendous consequences of real anti-Semitism." p. 16.

[87] Gyan Prakash, "Orientalism Now", *History and Theory* 34:3 (October 1995): 199-212 199. For a more thorough discussion of the many analyses of *Orientalism*, see Daniel Martin Varisco, *Reading Orientalism: Said and the Unsaid* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).

such as Eitan Bar-Yosef, "the Protestant Biblical vocabulary – a Chosen people, a Promised Land – was crucial to the forging of British imperialism."[88] *Biblical orientalism*, as defined by Lorenzo Kamal, is "a phenomenon based on the combination of a selective use of religion and a simplifying way to approach its natural habitat: the 'Holy Land'."[89] Ivan Kalmar argues that the "Orient was regarded as much as the Mother as the Other by Orientalist in the nineteenth century" - a time in which biblical philology rose to prominence. Both Kalmar and Kamal argue that better understanding Orientalism's biblical connection enables us to better understand it "as a colonial discourse."[90] As if to prove their point, Robert Irwin's *For Lust of Knowing* – a critique of Said's work that suggests Orientalists were not confined to one mode of thinking – opens with nostalgia for the daily chapel services of his school days.[91] *Biblical orientalism* is not simply a component of Orientalism, it is the thrust of it in terms of Palestine specifically, and what we call the Middle East more broadly.[92]

John M. MacKenzie argues that a more "militant and militarist tone" was taken by the Church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, permeating British society.[93] Organizations like the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), while claiming their objective was "strictly an inductive inquiry… about to apply the rules of science", blurred the lines between the cultural, religious, scientific, and imperialism.[94] By the mid 1840's, the idea of

[88] Eitan Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade? British Propaganda and the Palestine Campaign, 1917-1918", *The Journal of Contemporary History* 36:1 (January 2001), 90.

[89] Lorenzo Kamal, *Imperial Perceptions of Palestine: British Influence and Power in Late Ottoman Times* (London: IB Tauris, 2015), 1.

[90] Ivan Kalmar, "Orientalism and the Bible", *Orientalism and Literature*, ed. Geoffrey P. Nash (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 133-148, 133-134.

[91] Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 1-2.

[92] Kalmar argues that this extends beyond the constraints of the Middle East, into how non-Biblical religions were conceptualized in the West. For instance, in the context of religions found in Southeast and Eastern Asia. "For the avowed unity of Christianity and non-biblical Eastern religions was meant to be on Christian terms, affirming the superiority of Christianity while also espousing admirable features of Oriental religions." Ivan Kalmar, "Orientalism and the Bible", 136-7. Prakash, "Orientalism Now", 203. Prakash outlines Orientalist thinking: "The authority of Orientalist knowledge, from this point of view, depends on the claim that its complicity with Western domination was peripheral and episodic, not integral and enduring. To open Orientalism to anything more than a fleeting association with power is to give up the humanist conception of scholarship as something that rises above the particular cultural and political conditions of its production to furnish "universal" human truths."

[93] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester University Press, 1984), 5.

[94] William Thompson, "Minutes" 22 June 1865 (PEF, PEF/MINS). Thompson was not only President of the PEF from 1865-1890, but Archbishop of York for nearly the same time period, 1862-1890. See also, Lorenzo Kamel, "Chapter 1: From Prophecies to Empire", *Imperial Perceptions of Palestine*, 6-25.

the "re-establishment of the Jewish Nation in Palestine as a protected state under the guardianship of Great Britain" was already being discussed in terms of colonial expansion.[95] This is not to say that religion was the only reason for British imperial interest in Palestine, just as it was not in the Empire more broadly; nor was it the only reason for interest at home. Rather, "society at home threw up a mass of competing interests and lobbies that pursued different versions of expansion and empire." These included colonizing, civilizing, conversion, and commerce, coexisting in what John Darwin calls an "uneasy and often quarrelsome partnership".[96] Certainly in terms of Palestine, colonizing, civilizing, and commerce played a part. Biblical orientalism combined with the belief of (agricultural and administrative) superiority easily fit in with the idea of "the British Empire-Commonwealth as a benevolent and progressive force in human history."[97]

One question within Imperial History to contend with is how much the average person interacted with, let alone was aware of, Empire in their everyday lives. As this thesis focuses on the way in which a particular nationalist movement – a settler colonial movement in the context of Empire – was portrayed to the British public, this is an important question. While historians like Bernard Porter contend that Empire did not "touch British society so deeply", Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose argue that Empire was omnipresent in the lives of the average British citizen, in that it "affected the everyday in ways that shaped what was 'taken-for-granted' and thus was not necessarily a matter of conscious awareness or deliberation."[98] Buying a Jaffa orange might present the individual with a fleeting awareness of Empire, but it is an awareness, nonetheless. By the end of the 1920s, eighty per cent of Britain's food came from the Empire, and between 1920 and 1929, seventy-one per cent of

[95] Edward L. Mitford, *Appeal on Behalf of the Jewish Nation in Connection with British Policy in the Levant* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1845). See also, Albert M. Hyamson, "British Projects for the Restoration of Jews to Palestine", *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* No. 26 (1918), 127-164.

[96] John Darwin, *Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain* (London: Penguin Books, 2013), xii - xiii.

[97] Robin W. Winks, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol V: Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11. Winks is in this case referring to the mentality of the *Cambridge History of British Empire*, founded in 1929.

[98] Bernard Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: What the British Really Thought About Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 16. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, "Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire," *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 22-30. *See also* Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda", *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (London: University of California Press, 1997), 1-59.

British migrants left for an Empire port.[99] Whether or not an individual consciously participated in Empire, it was a part of British life.

In order to accommodate this framing, this thesis analyses five specific cultural modes of communication and connectivity: art, travel, cartography, consumer culture, and print media. Each chapter will deal with a different theme of representation to the British public in relation to Zionist settlement and orange growing. Chapter One will look at "Masculinity in Art"; how pictorial representation of citriculture reimagined the Jewish European man, from an effeminate stereotype to an industrious "pioneer". Chapter Two will explore "Civilization in Travel"; the emphasis placed on the perceived "civilizing" element of the Zionist settlements in and around Jaffa-Tel Aviv within travel literature. Chapter Three charts "Power in Cartography"; the use of surveying and mapmaking to influence power structures in the Mandate territory, specifically focusing on Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the surrounding environs. Chapter Four considers the role of "Empire in Consumer Culture"; how the Jaffa orange (and thus Zionist settlements) were sold to the British public as part of the "Buy Empire" movement. And finally, Chapter Five will analyse "Settler Colonialism in Print Media"; examining in what way citriculture helped to legitimize Zionist settlements within the British press.

Chapter one, "Masculinity in Art" is perhaps the most difficult, but also the most vital for understanding Jewish Zionist motivations. It is common within the historiography of Israel/Palestine to place a heavy emphasis on the *Shoah* as a turning point in both Jewish and Zionist history. Yet, this argument ignores or minimizes the motivations of Zionist Jews prior to 1933. It is the argument of this chapter that the pogroms of Eastern Europe not only played a part in promoting Zionism, but they also had a deep impact on the Ashkenazi and general Jewish European population – one which we can see clearly through the artwork produced from the late nineteenth century through to the 1930s.

Zionism established itself as a reactionary ethnonationalism not simply to the "subtle" British anti-Semitism, but the violent anti-Semitism seen across Europe, most especially in

[99] John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 85. Marjory Harper and Stephan Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3. See also, Lizzie Collingham, *The Hungry Empire: How Britain's Quest for Food Shaped the Modern World* (London: The Bodley Head, 2017), xvii. Collingham makes the point that this was not simply luxury items, like the Jaffa orange, but that "By the 1930s, the wheat to make the working man's loaf was supplied by Canada and his Sunday leg of lamb had been fattened on New Zealand's grassland."

Eastern Europe. The systematic rape of Jewish women, and the dehumanization faced in these massacres, played a role in the demasculinization of Jewish men. Agriculture, and citriculture specifically, became a way of reclaiming that masculinity. In the work of settler artists, such as Reuven Rubin and Nahum Gutman, we can see the reclamation felt through a reconnection with the soil. Landscape art created a sense of the desolate land consistently described, but it also created a project that could be fulfilled by this return – a redemption.[100] The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts was founded in 1906 after the Sixth Zionist Conference as part of a larger movement within Zionism that promoted "Hebrew culture", including art.

Britain saw a more local movement develop. Anglo-Jewish artists began to be household names. A pre-war group of Jewish artists centred in East London's Whitechapel (and would later be known as the "Whitechapel Boys") were particularly influential.[101] Among them was David Bomberg, who was a war artist during the First World War, before being commissioned by the World Zionist Organization. However, unlike the settler artists we will be examining, Bomberg was not a proponent of Zionism. He did not believe in the need for a "return" or in the hero figure of the pioneer. Yet his work was the epitome of colonial thinking – presenting a desolate, deserted landscape, ripe for modernization and fruitfulness that could only come through European intervention. This mindset did not make him fully accepted into British society, however; the art critic Kenneth Clark exemplified the discrimination faced by Anglo-Jewish artists, when writing to a friend in response to Bomberg's work: "If only it were possible to discourage the Jews from painting."[102] Indeed, while the vast majority of the reviews that will be examined in Chapter One are positive, anti-Semitism remained alive and well in British high society. Even those that praised the work of artists like Reuven Rubin still saw these artists within the prism of their Jewishness.

Perceptions of Palestine, whether visual or written, were heavily influenced by Orientalist and antisemitic racial categorizations. This seems perhaps too obvious. However, this

[100] Ann Bermingham argues that "there is an ideology of landscape", in which landscape paintings are not purely artistic, but representative of economic, political, and social ideologies. Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 3.
[101] Joseph Leftwich, *Festival of Britain: Anglo-Jewish Exhibition 1851-1951* (London: Ben Uri Art Gallery, 1951).
[102] Fran Bigman, "David Bomberg's Profound Modernism," *New York Review of Books*, 15 September 2018. https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/09/15/david-bombergs-profound-modernism/ (Accessed 1 January 2020).

created a complicated dynamic between settlers and the indigenous population. As already discussed, Jews and Muslims were believed to have a close racial "kinship", further reinforced by the idea of Jewish restoration. Within Europe, Jews were seen "as in need of 'regeneration' and secularization" in order to truly be "modern citizens".[103] In Pratt's work, she acknowledges that the same conventions seen in colonial travel writing, can be found in travelogues about segments of the population in Europe.[104] To this end, we will see Arab "quarters" like Jaffa described in similar ways as the Jewish quarters of European cities. While at the same time, Zionist settlements and suburbs are seen as beacons of modernity. The "restoration" project modernised European Jews in Palestine; it made them into "modern citizens".

The study of travel literature on Palestine is well-trodden given its perception as the Holy Land. There is even a recent doctoral thesis out of the University of Exeter on the representation of Palestine in British travel literature, from 1840 to 1914.[105] It is, to say the least, incredibly topical. The aim of chapter two is to see how the connections made between orange cultivation and the Zionist project were written about as a product of civilization and modernity in the travelogues, tour catalogues, and various guides. A variety of travel literature will be used, from travel writing to Thomas Cook tour programmes to travel pamphlets and guides put out by Keren Hayesod – the fundraising arm of the former World Zionist Organisation (WZO), and now for the State of Israel.[106] Most of the published primary sources used for this chapter came from three main archives: The British Library, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Thomas Cook archives prior to its closure.

Travel literature and guides on Palestine in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were often written in the context of pilgrimage and European centrality. However, prior to this, the region was not a focus of European travellers. Both Kathleen Howe and Yehoshua Ben-Arieh have written on the "rediscovery" of the Holy Land during the nineteenth century,

[103] Ethan B. Katz, "An Imperial Entanglement," 1193. See also Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
[104] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2010), 12.
[105] Gabriel Polley, "'Palestine is Thus Brought Home to England': The Representation of Palestine in British Travel Literature, 1840-1914" (PhD diss., University of Exeter, Exeter, 2020).
[106] Keren Hayesod, "Our History: A Shared History of the Jewish People and Israel," https://www.kh-uia.org.il/about-us/our-history/ (accessed 1 September 2020).

after Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and Syria.[107] The literature from this period offers insight into the way in which European travellers "negotiated" their preconceptions of the Holy Land, and the physical reality of what they called "Palestine" – that is, west of the Jordan and within the southern portion of what was referred to as Greater Syria.[108] Peter Otto argues that this negotiation was not geographical alone but "between Christians and Jews… modern secular sciences and what are troped (*sic*) as local forms of knowledge" and between the centrality of Europe and the rest of the world.[109]

Travel writing on Palestine during the 1920s was produced within what Mary Louise Pratt would call a "contact zone" – namely, "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination." For instance, in the case of colonialism.[110] European centrality still existed, but what was being produced was being read by a British public while Britain was the colonial power administering the Mandate. Unlike earlier travel writing, a disparity in power existed that had not existed before – at least not in the same way. While much of Palestine was seen as desolate in both fertility and population, Jaffa was consistently praised for its fertile landscapes, especially its Jaffa orange groves.[111] However, there was noticeable erasure of the Arab population, along with a division made between Jaffa and its famous orange groves, Tel Aviv, and the surrounding Zionist settlements.[112] There is also a shift in how Jaffa and Tel Aviv are portrayed in travel guides, as well as an increase in importance given to Tel Aviv and the surrounding settlements, sometimes to the detriment of Jaffa. Keren Hayesod put out their own material, and helped set up the Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists (ZIBT) to promote tourism to not just Palestine, but the settlements specifically.

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[107] Kathleen Howe and Nitza Rosovsky, *Revealing the Holy Land: The Photographic Exploration of Palestine* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1997); Yehoshua Ben-Arieh *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century* (Jerusalem: Sefer VeSefel, 1970); see also Peter Otto, "Negotiating the 'Holy Land': Cross-Cultural Encounters from Bonaparte to Blake," *Postcolonial Studies* 23:3 (2020), 404-429.

[108] Kathleen Howe, *Revealing the Holy Land*; Yehoshua Ben-Arieh *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*; see also, Peter Otto, "Negotiating the 'Holy Land'," 404-429.

[109] Peter Otto, "Negotiating the 'Holy Land'," 405.

[110] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 8

[111] Gabriel Polley, "'Palestine is Thus Brought Home to England'," 254.

[112] Arturo Manzano, "Visiting British Palestine: Zionist Travelers to Eretz Israel," *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* no. 6 (December 2013), 175; see also Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39:2 (2003), 131-148; Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine': History and Modernity in Guidebooks to Mandate Palestine," *Contemporary Levant* (January 2019), 1-11.

These shifts offered readers back home an image of a civilizing mission in Palestine, through both British administration and Zionist settlement.

The chapter "Power in Cartography" might be seen as a similar approach, in that it is the intermingling of official and public perception. In his study, *Siam Mapped*, Thongchai Winichakul contends that our perception of what a map is – "a scientific abstraction of reality…. [representing] something that is already there" – does not fit with historical actuality.[113] While Siam (modern day Thailand) was never colonised, the story of its boundaries is the story of many colonised nations, Palestine included. "A map anticipated spatial reality, not vice versa. In other words, a map was a model for, rather than a model of, what it purported to represent."[114] As will be discussed, in regard to Palestine, these constructed boundaries were based on Christian interpretation of the Old Testament. (Even the idea of the "Middle East" is a construction based on British centred geography; the give-away is in the name. Why would someone from the region see themselves as located "East" – east of what?) Daniel Foliard's recent history on the mapping of the region, *Dislocating the Orient*, argues that those who were creating the borders of Palestine in particular, were influenced by an education more focused on religion than geography.[115] Maps of the territory in the late nineteenth century were created by archaeologists and surveyors in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund, such as the previously mentioned Charles Warren, who were deeply influenced by the Bible in how they viewed "the Holy Land". This was made incredibly clear by the maps they created, and, as Nur Masalha notes, the place names it used and its own publications, listing "more than 1150 place names related to the Old Testament and 162 related to the New Testament."[116]

Masalha argues that the "self-representation of the European settler-coloniser as a 'return to history' works to uproot and 'detach' those native to the region from history."[117] In other words, the Western, biblical demarcations used within mapmaking not only constructed the borders of Palestine, but reflected a hierarchy among the population, between European settlers and the indigenous population, one that sought to delegitimize indigenous land

[113] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 130; see also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 173.
[114] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped*, 130; see also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 173.
[115] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient: British Maps and the Making of the Middle East, 1854-1921* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 163-165.
[116] Nur Masalha, *Palestine: A Four Thousand Year History* (London: Zed Publishing, 2018), 51.
[117] Ibid.

claims. The biblical element reinforced the idea of "restoration" to a biblical past, which in turn reinforced Zionist and British legitimacy. The evolving lines and demarcations on a map "sometimes tell us more about the imaginations and ideologies of those who devise and demarcate them than about the territories and populations they encompass."[118] What names were used, the attention given to certain settlements and agricultural spaces, and even the way in which they were surveyed constructs a story in the mind of the reader about the reality of the area represented. For instance, the increasing prominence of Tel Aviv, prior to its city-status, indicates its perceived political, economic, or social/cultural importance to those creating the map, and the impression intended for those reading it. It is important to remember that those who were creating these maps were not educated in isolation, regardless of division among classes, so we can view this as circular representation. British cultural perceptions of Palestine *physically* influenced what it became, which was then reinforced by maps presented to the public in materials like travel guides, atlases, and other educational material, and even newspapers.

Chapter three considers how the government created maps and conducted surveys, as well as how these maps were then presented to the public. Maps are considered by Anderson one of "three institutions of power" – the other two being the census and the museum. To Anderson, these institutions "profoundly shaped the way in which the colonial state imagined its domain – the nature of the human beings it ruled, the geography of its domain, and the legitimacy of its ancestry."[119] In the context of this chapter, museums were less important than the establishment of educational institutions, such as the Hebrew University or agricultural schools. Places that equally established the beliefs of European scientific and technological superiority, reinforced doubt about the ability of the Arab population for self-rule, and it could be argued, just as instrumental in the secularization of the state.[120] However, census material has been utilised from both the 1922 and 1931 Palestine census, in order to create a more complete picture of population and space. The sources chosen are meant to create a bridge between the tendency towards a more socially driven travel literature and a government interventionism within consumer culture.

During the 1920s – the first decade of the Palestine Mandate, and the decade following the First World War – Empire became the focus of a "Conservative-led patriotic" movement that

[118] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 1.
[119] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 163-164.
[120] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 182.

encouraged consumers to "Buy Empire" within Britain, and "Buy British" within the Empire.[121] This movement was successful enough that it led to the creation of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), "a British government-sponsored organisation active between 1926 and 1933, which encouraged consumers in the UK to purchase imperial goods."[122] The Board launched what is considered one of the earliest government peacetime propaganda campaigns, sponsoring thousands of lectures, created millions of posters and made use of new advertising techniques, "from night-time advertising in cities to the display of enormous banners at the 1927 Wembley Cup final." Short films were shown in cinema, displays were placed in shopwindows, and approximately 25,000 schools received Empire Marketing Board literature.[123] Frank Trentmann argues that the "Buy Empire/British" campaign was part of a larger movement of consumer nationalism around the world. "What all these [movements] had in common was the use of consumption as a political substitute for formal state power."[124]

Erika Rapport expands on anthropologist Arjun Appardurai's work on commodities, reasoning that instead of regarding commodities as a way to quantify the value of colonies, "we can examine things as carriers of meaning, sites of contestation, and lenses through which we can see the making and unmaking of imperial [relationships]."[125] Buying Empire had a moral component to it, placing a value on commodities that was not monetary alone, but to do with participating in a broader community, a broader imperial family.[126] It was an attempt to solidify the relationships between different parts of a vast empire, of which Palestine now belonged. Very little has been written about the Jaffa oranges and Palestine's role in the "Buy Empire" movement and the Empire Marketing Board, outside of the British Empire Exhibition of 1924. Within chapter four we will rely on some expected resources, like the Empire Marketing Board's poster campaign, newspaper advertisements, Exhibition pamphlets, and recipes – those within booklets or printed nationwide in newspapers or

[121] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption and Civil Society in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 228-230.
[122] David Thackeray "Selling the Empire?: Marketing and the Demise of the British World, c.1920–1960," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48:4 (2020), 681.
[123] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 231.
[124] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 236.
[125] Erika Rapport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), 13.
[126] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 228-230.

even posters. By doing so, we might better be able to see how Palestine fit into the consumer's understanding of Empire and Empire goods.

All of these topics will be analysed in equal measure, however print media is the connector, the central mode of communication. Anderson argues that reading the newspaper might seem like an individual activity, but it is in fact a collective one.

> [Each] communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of other of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest… At the same time, the newspaper reader, observing exact replicas of his own paper being consumed by his subway, barbershop, or residential neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life.[127]

Interaction with print media – especially local and/or daily papers – is a communal activity in that the majority of us participate in its consumption. In this respect, each chapter flows into the other. Print media is "consumed", as Anderson argues, as a mass-produced commodity. Art as pictorial representation is essential to the promotion of consumer goods and to further light the imagination of the consumer of travel literature. What would a travel guide be without a map, or what better way to disseminate the boundaries of a new territory than through travel literature and print media. It is never truly possible to disentangle one aspect of culture from another.

Newspapers and magazines can be seen at the centre of this dissemination of ideas, each of these chapters will rely on different elements of print media to support their conclusions, whether that be through reviews, advertisements, photographs, cartoons, etc. printed in national and local newspapers, magazines, or pamphlets. For this reason, the chapter on print media will be the final one – the chapter all others stream into. What we find in print media, such as newspapers and magazines, is a social leveller, in that it is not exclusively or necessarily targeting the elite. Unlike books, which were more expensive, and which had to be sought out, "newspapers sought out their audience."[128] While newspapers could gain a loyal following "by playing consciously on ideas about community", either locally or

[127] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-36.
[128] Pierre-Louis Roederer quoted in Andrew Pettegree, *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (Padstow: Yale University Press, 2014), 362.

nationally, they could also create a wider sense of community within the British Empire.[129] However, unlike other settler colonies in the British Empire, Zionist settlers were not "united by a common sense of Britishness."[130] It was complicated by Palestine's Mandate status, the conflicting aims of both the British and Zionist leadership, as well as the essential "foreignness" of those immigrating. Chapter five, "Settler Colonialism in Print Media", will argue that the way in which Zionist citriculture was presented in the British press, offered legitimacy to the settler colonial project not based on its Britishness, but its unique otherness.

There is a popular assumption that the British media was not only historically antisemitic, but historically anti-Zionist as well. British historian of Jewish History, David Cesarani, in his article "Anti-Zionism in Britain, 1922–2002: Continuities and Discontinuities", relies heavily on the press to make his argument. He acknowledges that "[it] would be possible to construct a very different narrative and reach other conclusions if different journals were consulted." And that he had very intentionally selected those articles which point to anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic trends.[131] As any historian will attest, there are limitations on research. However, the contention one might have with Cesarani's paper is that participates in the perpetuation of a particular narrative – that the British press was anti-Zionist. Indeed, in his popular history of anti-Semitism in Britain, *Trials of the Diaspora*, Anthony Julius uses Cesarani's work to make the claim that the press "would appear to have been almost uniformly hostile to the Zionist project" during the pre-Mandate and Mandate period.[132]

By broadening our scope to include local papers, pro-Zionist national papers, those dedicated to particular causes, such as suffrage, a different picture emerges. The presentation of Zionism within the context of the desolate land myth, as the bringers of European modernism and to 'make the desert bloom', offers a counter narrative to the one so often assumed. While not *British*, Jews were seen as "from" Palestine, and thus Zionist

[129] Simon J. Potter, "Webs, Networks, and Systems: Globalization and the Mass Media in the Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Empire." *Journal of British Studies* 46:3 (2007), 622.
[130] Simon J Potter, *News and the British World: The Emergence of an Imperial Press System, 1876-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1.
[131] David Cesarani, "Anti-Zionism in Britain, 1922–2002: Continuities and Discontinuities", *The Journal of Israeli History* 25:1 (2006), 132-133.
[132] Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 294.

settlement was participating in what Brendan O'Leary referred to as "right-peopling".[133] The way that citriculture was presented as rejuvenating an "empty land" created an image of the Zionist settlers as the rightful inhabitants of the land. A "return" or "ascension" to the soil is a prominent feature of many settler colonial societies. Lorenzo Veracini argues that the language used within and to describe settler colonial movements reflects this ideology. "When settlers claim land, it is recurrently in the context of a language that refers to 'higher use', and assimilation policies are recurrently designed to 'uplift', 'elevate', and 'raise' indigenous communities." The settler claim "becomes 'higher' the closer it is to the soil".[134] The belief in a Jewish "return to the soil", would be a main feature of how Zionism not only portrayed itself, but how it was portrayed in British media.

Each of the mediums discussed in this thesis – art, travel literature, cartography, consumer culture, and print media – are extensions of British culture and society, extensions of the individuals who created them.[135] To better understand how Zionist citriculture was represented in these mediums, a brief overview of Jewish agrarianism and British racial categorization of the Jewish population, was necessary; as well as how these two ideologies interconnected with the desolate land myth as it pertained to Palestine and Christian Zionism. That is, the necessity of "the Jews" to return to the Holy Land in order for it to return to its biblical glory. This thesis will examine how the myth that Zionism "made the desert bloom" through citriculture was represented in British media. By doing so, by analysing the way in which myths about agricultural prowess was presented to the British public through various cultural forms, this thesis aims to deconstruct the historical myths surrounding Britain's relationship with the movement and offer insight into how these myths became prevalent in contemporary Western society.

Note on Terms and Definitions

Given the nature of this thesis, there are some assumed terms and spellings. Names which are transliterations from Arabic and Hebrew will predominately use the modern anglicised spellings for *Jaffa*, *Tel Aviv*, *Petah Tikvah*, *Rehovot*, and any other relevant cities and/or settlements.

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[133] Brendan O'Leary, "The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State," *In Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, eds. Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16-73.
[134] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 20.
[135] Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Corte Madera: Gingko Press, 2013), 13.

Throughout this thesis, the term *Ashkenazi* will be used when specifically referring to Eastern European Jewish communities; *Jewish European*, *European Jews*, or *European Jewry* when discussing the wider European Jewish community, which included Sephardim and Mizrahi. *Zionism* and *Zionist* will refer specifically to those who are followers of the political ideology or participated in institutions and settlements set up as part of the movement. The dichotomy of "Jew" and "Arab" will be avoided when possible, other than when quoting source material.[136]

There is also an assumed understanding of the term *Diaspora* and *Aliyah*. The *Diaspora* in the context of Judaism, and Zionism during this period, is characterised as Jewish life outside of the biblically defined Holy Land. The term *Aliyah* literally means "to ascend", but in this context refers to the "return" from the *Diaspora* to the Holy Land.

Further, the use of the terms *propaganda* and *myth* should be briefly discussed. Each carry with it a cultural baggage, a perception of either malicious manipulation or fallacy. As mentioned in this introduction, the term *propaganda* is being used its least politically tinged form: as "the dissemination of ideas intended to convince people to think or act in a particular way and for a particular persuasive purpose."[137] Propaganda can be a tool of social good or evil, it is not in and of itself a malevolent use of media.

As for *myth*, this term is often used synonymously with *falsehood*. Burke has claimed that historians tend to view myths as "stories which are not true, in explicit contrast to their own stories, which [historians] call 'history'."[138] This is not entirely fair to historians, nor is it true; especially in the context of nationalism. This thesis acknowledges the desolate land myth is a *falsehood* in many ways, that it was influenced by colonial perceptions of non-European environments makes it a product of culture.[139] Yet, as Mary Midgley's defines *myth*:

[136] For a more thorough reading of this problematic dichotomy, see Yehouda Shenhav, *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion, and Ethnicity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).
[137] David Welch, *Propaganda: Power and Persuasion* (London: The British Library, 2013), 2.
[138] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2005), 112.
[139] Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By* (London: Routledge, 1990), 58. See also Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory*, 112-113.

> Myths are not lies. Nor are they detached stories. They are imaginative patterns, networks of powerful symbols that suggest particular ways of interpreting the world. They shape its meaning.[140]

Science, she argues is not immune from this symbolism. Instead, it is just as influenced by society and cultural norms, which in turn, "determines what we think important in [the world]".[141] We can see this in our modern understanding of conservationism, which developed from European interactions with the environments they colonised, and the symbolism they placed on the natural world.[142] It is not due to deforestation alone that we place a higher value on afforestation than on maintaining arid environments and water conservation, nor that we view the latter as almost exclusively third world in our societal representations of the issue. This is not an argument to say deforestation is unimportant. Rather, to note its prioritization over environments that we deem as of lesser importance; the symbolism that lush, forest heavy environments have in our society. For this reason, we should view myth as an ever-evolving concept, not an *untruth* of the past but a foundation to our own societal beliefs.

[140] Mary Midgley, *The Myths We Live By* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 1.
[141] Mary Midgley, *The Myths We Live By*, 3.
[142] Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art

> There's a pogrom going on in a shtetl. The gang of hoodlums rush into a Jewish home and start to loot, plunder, and smash anything they do not grab. The owner, an old Jew, begs the assailants: "Take anything you want, just spare my daughter!" The old Jew's daughter hears this and comes out into the room, saying, "No, Dad! A pogrom is a pogrom!"[143]

Irina Astashkevich opens her book *Gendered Violence: Jewish Women in the Pogroms of 1917 to 1921* with this old Russian joke, to highlight the triviality given to antisemitic violence, and the gendered way in which Ashkenazi Jews were perceived through this violence – the sexually keen daughter and the demasculinized father. The reality of course, was far grimmer. Between 1917 and 1921 alone, around 150,000 Russian Jews were killed in pogroms during the Civil War in the Ukraine – 10 per cent of the Ashkenazi population in that territory – and an even greater number of women were systematically gang-raped, often publicly.[144] This public method of violent humiliation was a form of demasculinization. The history of this kind of violence had a deep impact on how the European Jewish community saw itself, shaped the way Zionism interacted with Palestine, and the way in which the movement negotiated its identity in the context of a "return" and "restoration".

The settler art of Palestine – especially Jaffa and the surrounding orange groves – that will be examined in this chapter is a stark contrast to the horrors faced in Eastern Europe.

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[143] Irina Astashkevich, *Gendered Violence: Jewish Women in the Pogroms of 1917 to 1921* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018), xi.

[144] See Irina Astashkevich, *Gendered Violence*, xii; Oleg Budnitskii, "Shots in the Back: On the Origin of the Anti-Jewish Pogroms of 1918–1921," *Jews in the East European Borderlands. Essays in Honor of John D. Klier* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2012), 187–201; Elissa Bemporad, *Legacy of Blood: Jews, Pogroms, and Ritual Murder in the Lands of the Soviets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 29-33, 165; and Joshua Meyers, "A Portrait of Transition: From the Bund to Bolshevism in the Russian Revolution," *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society* 24:2 (Winter 2019), 119. Meyers estimates that "approximately 30,000 Jews were murdered during the pogroms and another 120,000 died of indirect causes, including injuries, disease, and exposure. All told, some 150,000 Ashkenazi Jews, 10 per cent of the Jewish population of Ukraine, died in the pogroms between 1917 and 1921, the largest share at the hands of the forces of the Directorate in the winter of 1918–19." Astashkevich makes the case that these numbers, alongside the systematic rape of Jewish women, constitutes genocide. "The impact of this assertion on the research of pogrom violence, and particularly gender violence, is crucial," she writes, "as it transfers the previously understudied history of pogroms in Ukraine into the realm of genocide studies." While this thesis does not directly deal with this element of the pogroms of Russia, they are directly impacted by them, and the ramifications of Astashkevich's argument influence the research done for this chapter.

Indeed, it is a direct reaction against it. The Kishinev Pogrom of April 1903, in particular, became a "turning point" for Ashkenazim in Europe. The pogrom became a benchmark for those that would come after it. An article in the *Manchester Guardian* on the Gomel pogrom, later that same year, referred to it as "The Second Kishineff" and defined a pogrom as "an affair like that which made Kishineff infamous."[145] Around 50 people were murdered, including children and infants, nearly 500 were wounded, and 2,000 were left homeless, and rape was, as it would continue to be, a feature of this violence. The gruesome details of that pogrom were immortalised in Haim Nahman Bialik's 1903 "In a City of Slaughter", in which he describes the "The spattered blood and dried brains of the dead", the headless remains of "a Jew and his hound", and one particularly harrowing stanza:

> His eyes beheld these things; and with his web he can/A tale unfold horrific to the ear of man:/A tale of cloven belly, feather-filled;/Of nostrils nailed, of skull-bones bashed and spilled;/Of murdered men who from the beams were hung,/And of a babe beside its mother flung,/Its mother speared, the poor chick finding rest/Upon its mother's cold and milkless breast;/Of how a dagger halved an infant's word,/Its *ma* was heard, its *mama* never heard."[146]

The art of Ephraim Moses Lilien's 1903 *Kishinev Martyrs* (Figure 1) and Samuel Hirszenberg's 1904 *Exile* (Figure 2) offered visual representation of Jewish European martyrdom and suffering.[147] Of Hirszenberg's work, Richard I Cohen claims that "no visual image evoked the prevailing mythic notions of persecution, hopelessness, victimization, and tragedy as did his *Exile* (1904)." When the "Exhibition of Jewish Art and Antiquities", was organised at the East London Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1906, Hirszenberg was "heralded as the artist who succeeded in penetrating the depths of tragic suffering of Russian Jewry, the experience of the Diaspora, and the meaning of wandering."[148] This praise was not exclusive to London

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[145] "A Second Kishineff: The Anti-Jewish Riots in Russia What a Pogrom Means A Story of Murder and Devastation," *Manchester Guardian*, 25 Sep 1903, 5.

[146] Haim Nahman Bialik, "Be'ir Hahareigah / The City of Slaughter," trans. A. M. Klein, *Prooftexts* 25:1 (2005), 8-29; see also Monty Noam Penkower, "The Kishinev Pogrom of 1903: A Turning Point in Jewish History," *Modern Judaism* 24:3 (2004), 187-225. Penkower offers these gruesome details far more plainly in his 2004 article on the atrocities: "Nails were driven through heads; bodies, hacked in half; bellies, split open and filled with feathers. Women and girls were raped, and some had their breasts cut off."

[147] Ephraim Moses Lilien, *In Memoriam of the Kishinev Martyrs*, 1904, illustration in *Ost und West*, December 1904, 29. (The National Library of Israel, Jerusalem) Samuel Hirszenberg, *Exile*, found in Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons: Art and Society in Modern Europe*, 232.

[148] Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons*, 231.

Jewry, and included Zionist leader and poet Berthold Feiwel, who wrote that *Exile* should be upheld as a "social message". Feiwel was an active Zionist, who would join Chaim Weizmann in London after the war to advise the Zionist leader. He became one of the first directors of Keren Heyesod after its founding in 1920; and immigrated to Palestine in 1933. [149] It would be difficult to argue these events did not have an impact on his political affiliations. His reaction to the painting might be seen, in part, a reaction to his own work in *Die Judenmassacres in Kischinew*, in which he had collected and edited texts and photographs from the Kishinev pogrom, both "luridly documenting the physical atrocities and plunder while celebrating Jewish heroism." [150] To Feiwel, the "social message" was far more than victimization.

> *Exile* undoubtedly touched Feiwel's sensitivity to Jewish suffering but also served his purposes in promoting the *volkisch* (national)-racialist orientation of cultural Zionism and in developing a Jewish "racial strength" (*Rassenkraft*) and a "people's personality" (*Volkspersönlichkeit*) that would serve the aesthetic ideal. *Exile* aroused the need for what Feiwel had called "the new spirit."[151]

Figure 1: Ephraim Moses Lilien, *In Memoriam of the Kishinev Martyrs*, 1904 (in *Ost und West*)

[149] Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons*, 232.
[150] Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons*, 231.
[151] Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons*, 232.

Figure 2: Samuel Hirszenberg, *Exile,* 1904. (Whereabouts unknown)

Even so, the painting also managed to feed into a mentality of suppression when it came to depictions of organised resistance or incidents of self-defence, largely done in order to enhance the image of martyrdom, "to highlight the crisis of Jewish powerlessness in the face of recurrent violence."[152] Alongside poetically detailed accounts of what had happened, Bialik also wrote such lines as "Concealed and cowering -the sons of the Maccabees!" and "Rise, to the desert flee!" reflecting the Western caricature of the weak Jewish male, an outsider in both physicality and place.[153] In his analysis of the poem, famous literary critic Alan Mintz writes "Our repulsion, once aroused, is not stayed but transferred onto the

[152] David G. Roskie, ed. *The Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988), 147. See also Richard I. Cohen, *Jewish Icons*, 231-232. This suppression of information on acts of defiance continues into the modern day. The only type of resistance most Western Jewish communities know of either exist within the context of the Holocaust or Zionism. Bundists, Jewish Anarchists, and their ilk were active through the Revolution.

[153] Haim Nahman Bialik, "Be'ir Hahareigah / The City of Slaughter," 8-29.

Jewish males, whose criminal inaction is now made to seem more ghastly than the loathsome deeds of the goy."[154]

Like Feiwel's *Rassenkraft*, Max Nordau's "Muscular Jewry" or *Muskeljudentum* was perceived as an answer to *Juddennot* or "Jewish Distress". Nordau "conceived of a hyper-masculine Jewish male, modelled on the 'Aryan' ideal," and became a Zionist, advocating "for a new type of Jewish masculinity which he envisaged would be the salvation of modern Jewry."[155] Daniel Boyarin tries to resolve this seemingly contradictory mentality, this internalised anti-Semitism, by claiming that "if the political project of Zionism was to be a nation like all other nations, on the level of reform of the Jewish psyche, it was to be men like all other men."[156] While Nordau's ideals of masculinity were shaped by his German background, this was a phenomenon that spanned Europe. Martina Kessel argues that in Germany during the nineteenth century, "the demise of the *ancien régime* meant the dissolution of clear guidelines for conduct". Etiquette books, for instance, became popular modes of disseminating "ideal models of masculinity and femininity" to a "middle-class [with] hopes of social advancement."[157] Nor was this secluded to continental Europe. Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* would be published in 1908 – only a decade after Nordau's speech at the Second Zionist Congress, at which he coined the phrase *Muskeljudentum*. The book was inspired by Baden-Powell's experiences in the Boer War, as well "images of frontier manliness" which were being fed back into British culture from the Empire and former colonies like the United States.[158]

Yet analyses like these leave out vital context to the experiences European Jews faced. A delicate balance has been taken by Zionism when portraying itself. Much in the same paradoxical way Feiwel could both laud Hirszenberg for the artist's portrayal of Ashkenazi suffering while celebrating the oft ignored heroism he portrayed in his own work, Zionism both perceived (and still perceives) itself as victim and saviour. Cynthia Enloe writes that

[154] Alan Mintz, *Hurban: Responses to Catastrophe in Hebrew Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press 1984), 149.
[155] Lynne M. Swarts, *Gender, Orientalism, and the Jewish Nation: Women in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien at the German Fin de Siecle* (New York and London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 50.
[156] Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct: The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997), 54.
[157] Martina Kessel, "The 'Whole Man': The Longing for a Masculine World in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Gender & History* 15:1 (April 2003), 4.
[158] J.A. Mangan*, Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 177.

nationalism springs "from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope."[159] Within a nation, binary gender roles are often established, in which women are "the guardian[s] of continuity and immutability of the nation, the embodiment of its respectability", while men are the soldiers, the physical protectors.[160] In the context of Zionism, this could not be more true. Like all cases of genocidal rape, rapes that occurred in pogroms, such as those highlighted above, and those that had occurred earlier, "utilized the systematic rape of Jewish women as a strategic weapon to convey that they were superior and to dehumanize the Jewish victims."[161] But they also set out to emasculate a community, to disrupt, displace, and erase. In the context of genocide or as an instrument of war, rape is a communicative tool used by the aggressor to the men within the victimised community that they are unable to act within that "traditional" framework of binary gender roles; in this instance, they are unable to fulfil their roles as protectors.[162] When discussing Zionism as a reactionary ethnonationalism, the importance of this messaging cannot be left out. The more subtle anti-Semitism of, say, Britain would not have warranted such a strong reaction from Jewish nationalists had demasculinization not manifested itself in these more violent forms.

While Zionist thinkers, such as Feiwel and Nordau may have begun to formulate their ideas about Zionism and masculinity earlier than the Kishinev Pogrom, the pogroms of the late nineteenth century and even those of the early twentieth, would have influenced or solidified these beliefs. Further, they deeply influenced their successors – most especially the artists that will be discussed in this chapter. Their art is both a reaction to and a redemption from the demasculinization felt by their parents and their communities, and in some cases, even themselves. British anti-Semitism and its history of stereotyping of Jewish men, will be explored within the historical context of the turn of the century and into the 1920s. Too often, it is the *Shoah* that is viewed as the event whose "occurrence, memory, and ramifications substantially changed the course of Jewish history and Jewish

[159] Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (London: Pandora, 1989), 44.
[160] George Mosse, *Nationalism and sexuality: Respectability and abnormal sexuality in modern Europe* (New York: Sage, 1985), 18.
[161] Irina Astashkevich, *Gendered Violence*, xiii.
[162] Irina Astashkevich, *Gendered Violence*, xi; see also Joshua Kaiser, "Gendered Genocide: The Socially Destructive Process of Genocidal Rape, Killing, and Displacement in Darfur," *Law & Society Review* 49:1 (2015), 69-107; Ruth Seifert "War and Rape: A Preliminary Analysis," *Mass Rape: The War Against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, ed. Alexandra Stiglmayer (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1994), 54-72.

consciousness in general."[163] But the *Shoah* was not an event in isolation; the pogroms of Eastern Europe that preceded it, and their ramifications had an impact on Jewish European thinkers, in the way they saw themselves and their communities.

This chapter will examine how Zionist citriculture in art allowed the British public – both Jews and non-Jews – to reimagine Jewish masculinity. Among the most important aspects of early Modern Zionism was the belief of a "return to the land" – not just the geographical relocation to Palestine, but the participation in revitalizing the very soil of it. In this way, Zionist settlers were transformed from effeminate, corruptible Semitic caricatures or powerless victims, into industrious, youthful, and well-built European agriculturalists, while reinforcing the belief that the immigrating, mostly European Jewish communities helped to transform the "barren land" of Palestine into a fruitful one. Meanwhile, indigenous populations, including Jewish communities within them, were often portrayed with the same stereotypes these European settlers were escaping. Artists such as Reuven Reuben and Nahum Gutman, offered the British public a glimpse of the "transformed" land of Mandate Palestine, and the newly masculinized – and Europeanized – Zionist settlers who had transformed it. Within the context of broader European violence, this chapter explores the revitalization and re-masculinization of European Jews through the lens of the art commissioned and displayed during the first part of the British Mandate for Palestine. It is divided into three sections: British anti-Semitism and the *Jüdische Renaissance*, the physical transformation of Jewish men and the overt feminization of Jewish women in Zionist art through citriculture, and finally, how orientalism exhibited itself. Three main artists will be the used as primary examples of Zionist artwork: David Bomberg, Reuven Rubin, and Nahum Gutman. While Bomberg was not a Zionist, he was commissioned by several branches of the World Zionist Organisation, and a born and bred Londoner of immigrant parents. All three of these painters were exhibited in Britain; all three were known to British art critics; all three are still well-known today.

[163] Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg, "Introduction: The Holocaust and the Nakba: A New Syntax of History, Memory, and Political Thought," *The Holocaust and the Nakba: A New Grammar of Trauma and History*, eds. Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg (New York: Colombia University Press, 2017), 2.

British anti-Semitism and the *Jüdische Renaissance* in London

It has been argued that Jewish history in Britain, after resettlement in the seventeenth century, was relatively benign compared to other areas of Europe, most especially Germany, Austria, Russia, or even France.[164] While violence did still occur, British anti-Semitism was far more subtle. As noted by Antony Julius, the prejudice "was, and remains, an affair of social exclusion."[165] This was highlighted in the Aliens Act of 1905, headed by Arthur Balfour, former prime minister and author of the Balfour Declaration, which sought to curb Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe into Britain – or at least give the impression of doing so. However, John Solomos argues that between 1870 and 1914, only a little over 120,000 Ashkenazi Jews migrated to Britain for permanent residency, a significantly lower influx compared to immigration from Ireland during that same period.[166] The agitation then was in part due to *where* in Britain these (mostly) refugees were settling, rather than *how many* were settling there.

> 'Immigrant' and 'Jew' became synonymous terms because of the extraordinary concern for the social problems of the East End of London which emerged roughly at the same time of the first great wave of immigration.[167]

However, Solomos argument hinges on the impact Jewish immigration had on racial imagery, rather than, perhaps, the other way around. This is not to say his argument regarding trade union agitation and the economic concerns of the working class are without merit. Nor that working class Jews in London did not have similar feelings about immigration as their non-Jewish compatriots, regardless of sympathies organised in response to Eastern European pogroms.[168] But anti-Semitism in Britain was older than the concerns of those decades, and it

[164] David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (London: Yale University Press, 1994), 8.
[165] Anthony Julius, *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 12.
[166] John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 41.
[167] Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1972), 3; see also John Solomos, *Race and Racism in Britain*, 40-44; V.D. Lipman, *A History of Jews in Britain Since 1858* (Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1990), 67-84. See also Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 199-204. Harper and Constantine discuss migration within the context of the wider Empire. While European Jews did not quite fit into this context *within* Britain, as the authors note, attitudes towards them often instigated or were similar to those towards Irish and non-white immigrants.
[168] V.D. Lipman, *A History of Jews in Britain Since 1858*, 75.

is important to keep in mind. Zionism is not just the product of one event. It is part of the fabric of a much longer history of racialization, expulsion, and violence. The Edict of Expulsion in 1290 and the strong reaction against the Jewish Naturalization Act of 1753 (or "The Jew Bill") should be seen as precursors to the Aliens Act of 1905. In 1753, Jews were called "Infidels", "Blasphemers", and "the Antichrist", their "well-known Restlessness" was cited, and one contemporary even excitedly exclaimed that "*Christianity* itself was at stake". Put more simply, in his summary of non-support for the Act, Jonas Hanway, writes that Jews "are not entitled to naturalization, for two plain reasons; the first is because they are *Jews*; the next is, because they *are not christians* (*sic*)."[169]

The oldest known pictorial representation of anti-Semitism in Britain predates Hanway's proclamation of Jewish foreignness, to just before expulsion. It is a small doodle from 1233 at the head of a vellum Tallage Roll, depicting three identifiable Jews (Figure 3).[170] The crowned individual in the centre is Isaac of Norwich, or Isaac fil Jurnet. At the time, Jurnet was probably the wealthiest Jew in England and had reportedly loaned a large sum of money to the abbot and monks of Westminster. His co-religionists below him are labelled as Mosse Mokke and what is presumed to be his wife, Abigail. Mokke, according to Felsenstein, was a known criminal, and his appearance here was to "stress Norwich's underworld connections." A devil standing between Mokke and Abigail with "his index finger upon the pronounced nose of each, as if he were both identifying their ethnic origin and claiming them as his own."[171]

[169] Jonas Hanway, *A Review of the Proposed Naturalization of the Jews* (1753), 85; in Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes: A Paradigm of Otherness in English Popular Culture, 1660-1830* (Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 1999), 193; emphasis in original.

[170] The National Archives, "A medieval mystery," Accessed January 2020. https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/education/resources/medieval-mystery/ . See also: (TNA E 401/1565)

[171] Frank Felsenstein, *Anti-Semitic Stereotypes*, 28-29. Felsenstein offers far more detail than this thesis will allow. For instance, the crowned individual in the centre is Isaac of Norwich, or Isaac fil Jurnet. At the time, Jurnet was probably the wealthiest Jew in England and had reportedly loaned a large sum of money to the abbot and monks of Westminster. His co-religionists below him are labelled as Mosse Mokke and what is presumed to be his wife, Abigail. Mokke, according to Felsenstein, was a known criminal, and his appearance here was to "stress Norwich's underworld connections."

Figure 3: Upper margin of the Exchequer Receipt Roll, Hilary and Easter Terms, 1233

As discussed in the Introduction, this depiction of Jews as distinctly foreign, as the non-Christian *other*, shifted and evolved – the underlying legal, literary, and visual message of Jewish foreignness persisting in British society. By the nineteenth century, the pronounced noses and a penchant for criminality had become a racial characterization. These characteristics were represented in literature and art such as Fagan in Charles Dicken's *Oliver Twist*, illustrated by Joseph Clayton Clarke (Figure 4), and the earliest Jewish character in British comics, Isaac Moses aka Iky Mo (Figure 5).[172] The commonality shared by these figures goes beyond their prominent noses and sketchy morals. They are also all depicted hunched over and weak in a mildly effeminate manner. This is not simply an over-interpretation of the artistry. Nineteenth century stereotypes still lingered into the twentieth century. A 1917 *Punch* cartoon (Figure 6) shows an elderly Jewish antique dealer excitedly praising his grandson for a duplicitous placard – "Genius, my child - Genius! Put it in the window at once."[173] Popular literature in the 1920s to the 1930s seemed to mirror these prejudices. D.H. Lawrence's "The Captain's Doll", first published in 1923, describes a scene in the Austrian Alps, where the main character observes with subtlety, "many Jews of the wrong sort and the wrong shape… [who] you might think they were Austrian aristocrats, if you weren't properly listening, or if you didn't look twice."[174] One can also examine the "bisexually abnormal" Leopold Bloom, in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, or the more explicit

[172] Paul Gravett "From Iky Mo to Lord Horror: representations of Jews in British comics," *Journal of Graphic Novels and Comics* 1:1 (2010), 5-16. Depiction of Iky Moses in Marie Duval, *Ally Sloper: a moral lesson* (London: The 'Judy' Office 1873), 115. (National Library of Australia, E 182736; https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-500247869). Watercolour of Fagin from Oliver Twist by 'Kyd' (aka Joseph Clayton Clarke), in *Character Sketches from Charles Dickens Portrayed By Kyd* (London: Raphael Tuck and Sons Ltd, c. 1889).

[173] "WW1, Great War Antique," *Punch*, May 16, 1917 (Punch Magazine Cartoon Archive, WW1-Great-War-Antiques-Weaponry-Cartoons-Punch-Magazine-1915.06.02.440.tif)

[174] D.H. Lawrence, "The Captain's Doll," *The Fox, The Captain's Doll, The Ladybird: The Cambridge Edition of the Works of DH Lawrence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 140.

antisemitic 1933 *The Jew at Bay*.[175] It appears in private communications or reflections, such as that of Violet Asquith, daughter of Liberal politician Herbert Henry Asquith, who, upon hearing the news that socialite and friend, Venetia Stanley had chosen to marry Edwin Montagu, wrote in her diary that Montagu was "not only very unlike an Englishman – or indeed a European – but also extraordinarily unlike a man."[176] The effeminisation of Jewish men was not unique to British culture, nor was this always done through pogrom style violence. Austrian philosopher and psychologist, Otto Weininger (who was born into the faith), wrote the book *Sex and Character*, in which, in a fit of internalised anti-Semitism, he states Judaism is "the extreme of cowardliness" and that "the homology of a Jew and woman becomes closer the further examination goes."[177] This became a widely read text after his suicide in 1903, translated into several languages, including English in 1906. It was later notoriously used by the Nazi regime.

[175]James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). *Ulysses* was first published in London by Egoist Press, in October 1922. H.S. Ashton, *The Jews at Bay* (London, 1933); quoted in numerous sources, including Elliott Horowitz "'The Forces of Darkness': Leonard Woolf, Isaiah Berlin and English Antisemitism," *Visualizing and Exhibiting Jewish Space and History*, ed. Richard I Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 261-278; and Anthony Julius, *T. S. Eliot, Anti-Semitism, and Literary Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[176] Elliott Horowitz "'The Forces of Darkness': Leonard Woolf, Isaiah Berlin and English Antisemitism", *Visualizing and Exhibiting Jewish Space and History*, ed Richard I Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 268.

[177] From Otto Weininger, *Sex and Character* (English translation, 1906); quoted in Elliott Horowitz, "'The Forces of Darkness'," 269.

Figures 4 and 5: 'Kyd' (aka Joseph Clayton Clarke), Watercolour of Fagin, *Character Sketches from Charles Dickens Portrayed By Kyd*. Depiction of Iky Moses in Marie Duval *Ally Sloper: a moral lesson* (National Library of Australia).

Antique Dealer (to grandson, who has made a new placard). "GENIUS, MY CHILD—GENIUS! PUT IT IN THE WINDOW AT ONCE."

Figure 6: "WW1, Great War Antique", *Punch*, (May 16, 1917)

A part of this stereotype, especially within the context of this chapter, was the belief that the monied, materialistic Jew was not capable of creation or appreciation of the aesthetic. Founder of the study of Jewish Art, David Kaufmann, wrote in the late nineteenth century that "[the] false statement which our enemies, even in olden times, made with regard to the Jews was that they have no taste for Art, being too much matter-of-fact to occupy themselves with the noble and heavenly art of painting."[178] This is a generous interpretation. It was generally believed that while Jews in Europe might collect art, it was an attempt to fit in or garner prestige rather than a genuine enjoyment. In his *Jews at Bay*, Ashton summarizes this antisemitic characterization: "In view of their inability to produce work of enduring artistic nature, it might almost be said that Jewish interest in fine art is almost purely commercial."[179]

Whether due to being too "matter-of-fact" or "commercial", the belief in some kind of homogenised Jewish cultural inability to appreciate art was challenged at the turn of the century, by the *Jüdische Renaissance* within the European Jewish community. At the forefront, was Austrian born philosopher and prominent Zionist, Martin Buber, who saw this renaissance as the "the progressive rejuvenation of the Jewish people in language, customs, and art", a product of the *Haskalah* of the late eighteenth century.[180] Buber, believed that "cultural education of the Jewish Nation is one of the most important elements of the Zionist program," and art was the "seed of the Jewish culture."[181] At the Fifth Zionist Conference in 1901, he gave an "Address on Jewish Art":

> Jewish Art is for us a great educator…and it is essential for us as Zionists that our *Volk* will regain this living perception… No language is as urgent, as suggestive, as the language of art. There is no language that can reveal the nature of life and the nature of truth as can the language of art… As our most wonderful cultural

[178] David Kaufmann quoted in Ezra Mendelsohn, *Painting a People: Maurycy Gottlieb and Jewish Art* (Hanover and London: Brandeis University Press, 2002), 155.
[179] H.S. Ashton, *The Jews at Bay* (London, 1933), 69.
[180] Martin Buber, "On the [Jewish] Renaissance (1903)," *The Martin Buber Reader*, eds. A.D. Biemann (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 139.
[181] Quoted in Artur Kamczycki, "Wrestling with Art: Zionism and the Jewish Aniconism," *Artium Quastiones* 23 (2012), 15-33.

> document, our art will witness to the outside that a new Jewish culture is beginning to emerge.[182]

Then in 1906 two events occurred within the European Jewish art world: the founding of the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem by Boris Schatz, where many of the settler artists would study; and "Exhibition of Jewish Art and Antiquities" at the West London Whitechapel Art Gallery – where *Exile* had been a feature. Both were part of this movement, as was *Exile* itself. Indeed, the 1906 exhibition at Whitechapel was an extended version of the exhibition put on at the Fifth Zionist Conference. Around this time, 10,000 Jews lived in Whitechapel, and the gallery saw up to 150,000 visitors per week.[183] This would have been a widely seen exhibition within the Jewish and non-Jewish community.

From the early part of the century, into the 1920s, Anglo-Jewish artists began to become household names. Some of the most famous were the Whitechapel Boys, which included Mark Gertler, Isaac Rosenberg, David Bomberg, Jacob Kramer, Morris Goldstein, John Rodker, and its only female member, Clara Birnberg. One example of this semi-assimilation may be *Rabbi and Rabbitzin* (1914; Figure 7) by Mark Gertler, first exhibited at the New English Art Club in London, 1915.[184] Notably, it was also exhibited in Vienna, 1927, in the "Exhibition of British Art".[185]

[182] Martin Buber, "Address on Jewish Art," *The First Buber: Youthful Zionist Writings of Martin Buber: A Life of Dialogue*, ed. Gilya Gerda Schmidt (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 51.
[183] *Out of Chaos: Ben Uri: 100 Years in London*, ed. Rachel Dickson and Sarah MacDougall (London: Ben Uri, 2015), 15.
[184] Mark Gertler, *Rabbi and Rabbitzin*, 1914, watercolour and pencil on paper. Ben Uri Collection, London.
[185] *Out of Chaos*, 43.

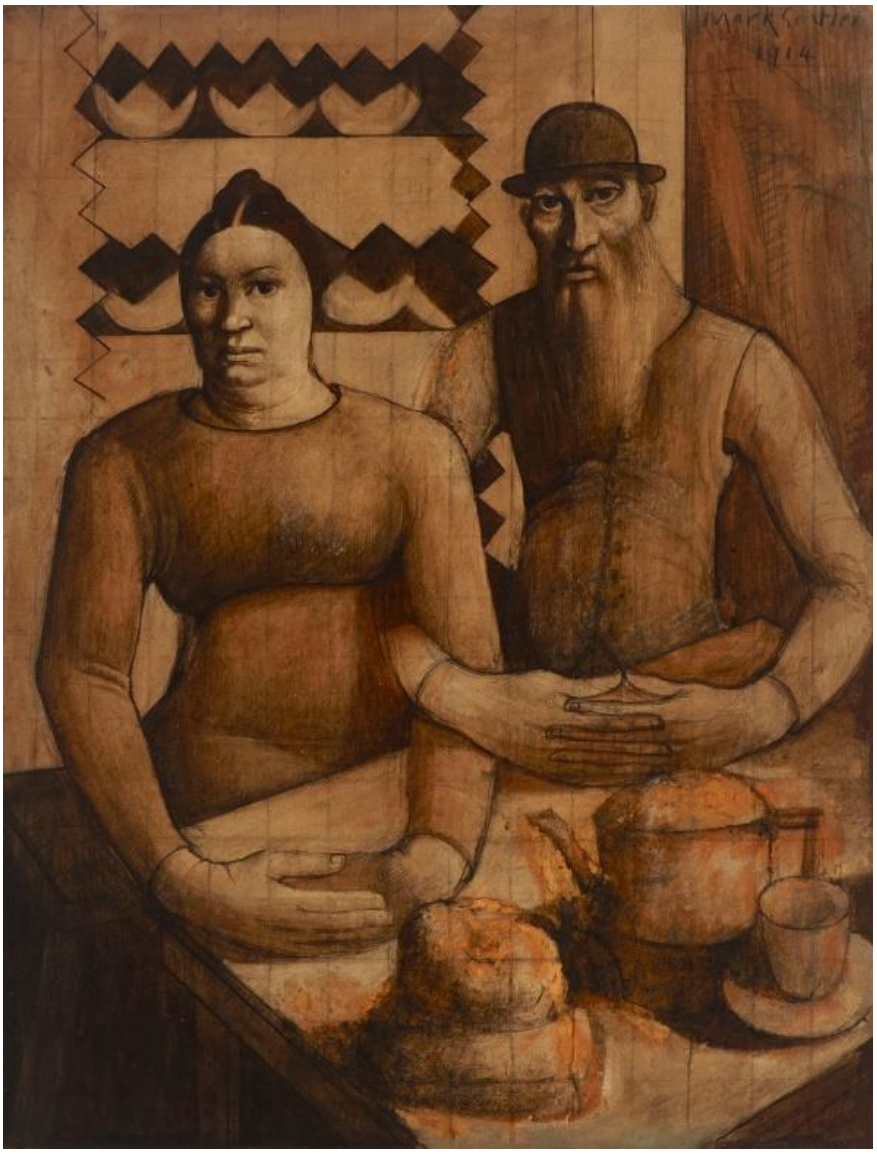


Figure 7: Mark Gertler, *Rabbi and Rabbitzin,* 1914 (Ben Uri Collection, London)

On *Rabbi and Rabbitzin*, one commentator wrote: "A man and a woman with all the history of an oppressed people behind them… the incisive and unflinching design… controlled without loss to their humanity." [186] This history of oppression, of *struggle*, was incredibly influential to the White Chapel Boys. Gertler, for instance, referred to himself as a "child of

[186] *Out of Chaos*, 43.

the ghetto", [187] and like him, most of the work produced by these artists can be "understood perhaps, as a sign of a struggle between identification with Jewish selfhood and alienation from it."[188] One of the best examples of this conflicting identity might be Clara Winsten's *Attack* (Figure 8).[189] While Winsten herself would renounce Judaism, *Attack* cannot be seen as separate from her parents' immigrant experiences. Bomberg also drew on his parents' experience, and his "Jewishness was a vital part of his personal and artistic identity".[190] In his 1914 *In the Hold* (Figure 9), we can observe – just barely – the emerging of passengers from the hold of a ship. It is "a brilliantly splintered, fractured image, which captures the discordant sensation of the newly landed, newly displaced immigrant, as well as the newcomer's bold optimism."[191] In both these works, the struggling figures are representative of the struggles faced by East End immigrant Ashkenazi families escaping the violence or poverty of the Pale Settlement.

[187] Mark Gertler, "A Triumph of Education Aid," *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 February 1912; quoted in Aviva Burnstock and Sarah MacDougall, "Signs of a Struggle: Process, Technique, and Materials in the Early Work of Mark Gertler, 1911–18," *British Art Studies* no. 15, 16.

[188] Juliet Steyn, "Mythical Edges of Assimilation: An Essay on the Early Works of Mark Gertler," *Mark Gertler: Paintings & Drawings* (London: Camden Arts Centre, 1992), 9–22.

[189] Clare Winsten, *Attack*, 1910, watercolour on paper. Ben Uri Collection, London.

[190] "The Nature of Bomberg's Jewish Identity" Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson. This text was written for the exhibition *David Bomberg: Objects of Collection at Borough Road Gallery* (London: Borough Road Gallery, 2013). http://www1.lsbu.ac.uk/w2/boroughroadgallery/files/2013/10/macdougall-dickson-bomberg-jewish-identity.pdf.

[191] David Bomberg, study for *In the Hold*, c.1914, charcoal on paper, Tate, London (Tate, T00914)
"The Nature of Bomberg's Jewish Identity" Sarah MacDougall and Rachel Dickson.
http://www1.lsbu.ac.uk/w2/boroughroadgallery/files/2013/10/macdougall-dickson-bomberg-jewish-identity.pdf. David Bomberg, study for *In the Hold*, c.1914, charcoal on paper. Tate, London. (Tate, T00914)

Figure 8: Clare Winsten, Attack, 1910 (Ben Uri Collection)

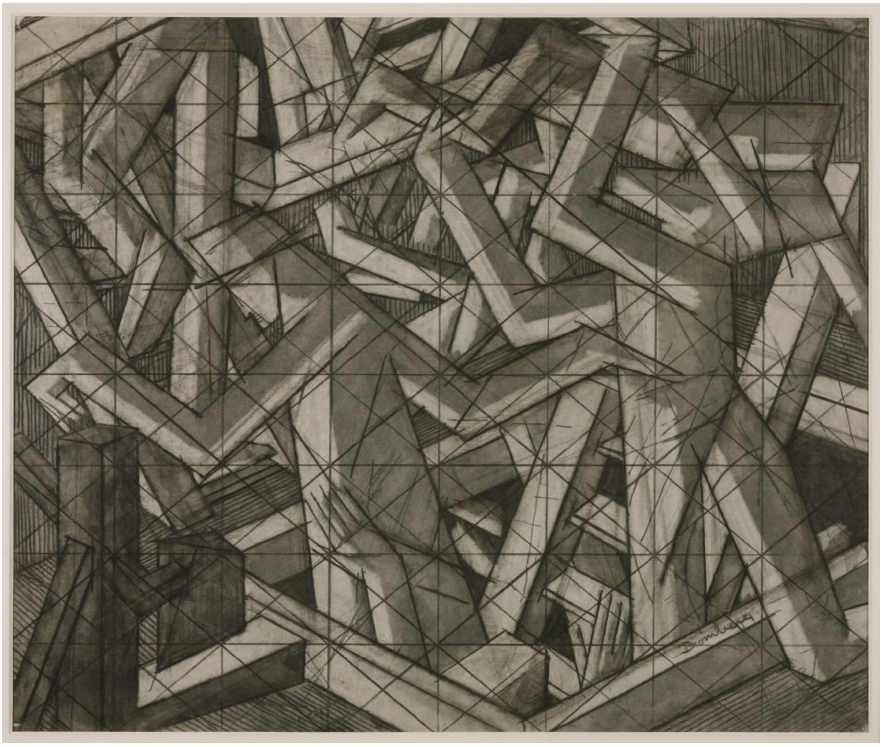


Figure 9: David Bomberg, study for *In the Hold*, c.1914 (Tate)

It is unsurprising then that most of them would find themselves connected to the Ben Uri Art Society and Gallery by the 1920s. Modelled on and named in kinship with the newly formed Bezalel School in Jerusalem, Ben Uri was founded in 1915 by Russian Ashkenazi émigré Lazar Berson. Starting life as an Art Society for Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim immigrant artists and craftsmen, it soon extended into a mobile collection throughout the war and the 1920s. While the founding members aimed to create a non-political, non-religious institution, Berson and many of the artists and paintings it collected were not as politically agnostic. One famous example of this might be the subtly political *Sabbath Rest* by Samuel Hirszenberg (Figure 10).[192] Originally painted in 1894, funds were raised specifically for its acquisition in 1923 by the Ben Uri Collection, and it became a central part of their opening exhibition in May of 1925.[193] Hirszenberg was a supporter of the Jewish Colonial Association (JCA), and his work reflected this. Founded in London in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the aim of the JCA was to help Jewish immigrants set up agricultural colonies in North and South America (especially Argentina), as well as Parts of the Ottoman Empire – eventually including Palestine. [194] The eldest son, centred in the middle of the painting, seems to be reading from a "Letter from Argentina". The sitter for the larger portrait hanging on the wall is thought to be de Hirsch, while the sitter for the smaller portrait underneath is likely a relative who had moved to Argentina through the JCA.[195] While not Zionist, nor politically transparent, it is a subtle illustration of the ways in which agriculture and art were becoming intertwined, representative of the emerging "New Hebrew", or "New Jew" – the pioneer.

[192] Samuel Hirszenberg, *Sabbath Rest*, 1894, Oil on canvas, Ben Uri Collection, London.
[193] *Out of Chaos*, 18, 28.
[194] Victor A. Mirelman, "A Note on Jewish Settlement in Argentina (1881-1892)," *Jewish Social Studies* 33:1 (January 1971), 12; see also *Out of Chaos*, 18, 28. The Jewish Colonial Association was eventually granted settlement privileges under the Mandate as well, given the requirement stipulating that the Mandatory government encourage Jewish settlement. Indeed, there are several references to the JCA in League of Nations' reports and minutes, regardless of their lesser visibility in the British cultural sphere. For instance, in the 1924 *Annual Report*, it was mentioned that the "extensive swamps of Kabbara, in the Maritime Plain, are being drained and brought under cultivation, in accordance with a concession granted to the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association". This settlement did not come without difficulties, which were noted in the report as "arisen in connection with the claims of about 170 Arab families resident on part of the land" but had "been settled after prolonged negotiations." United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1924*, Reports of Mandatory Powers (Geneva: League of Nations: 1 November 1925), 5.
[195] *Out of Chaos*, 18, 28.

Figure 10: Samuel Hirszenberg, Sabbath Rest, 1894 (Ben Uri Collection)

Oranges, the New (Muscled) Jew, and the Overtly Feminine

Montserrat Guibernau argues that "symbols not only stand for or represent something else, they also allow those who employ them to supply part of their meaning." By doing so, they "mask" differences within the nation (whether social, economic, or political), "allowing people to invest the 'community' with ideological integrity."[196] For Zionism, the pioneer was a symbol of the nation – something irrespective of country of origin, sect, or social status, Jews around the world could be proud of and with which they could identify. But the produce of these pioneers was no less symbolic. The idea of returning to the land, also meant returning to "First Fruits" or "Seven Species" – the biblically associated fruits and grains grown native to the region. The orange, while absent from the Bible, became

[196] Montserrat Guibernau, *Nationalisms: The Nation-State and Nationalism in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), 81.

incorporated with these ancient crops, becoming a deeply engrained symbol of rebirth through agriculture.

Within British society, Zionist settlers – and by proxy, European Jews – were already being associated with citriculture by the time the Mandate began. If we return our attention momentarily back to James Joyce's *Ulysses*: During Leopold Bloom's trip to the butcher, he notices an advert amid the cut wrapping sheet of the butchers, which reads

> Agendath Netaim: planters' company. To purchase waste sandy tracts from Turkish government and plant with eucalyptus trees. Excellent for shade, fuel and construction. Orange groves and immense melon fields north of Jaffa. You pay eighty marks and they plant a dunam of land for you with olives, oranges, almonds or citrons. Olives cheaper: oranges need artificial irrigation. Every year you get a sending of the crop. Your name entered for life as owner in the book of the union. Can pay ten down and the balance in yearly instalments. Bleibtreustrasse 34, Berlin, W. 15.[197]

Regardless of Joyce's thoughts on the Zionist movement, to have a Jewish character reading an advert for Zionist agricultural endeavours suggests that not only was Joyce aware of the association, but that he expected at least some of his readers to puzzle together the relevance.[198] Newspaper articles describing Zionist citriculture in Palestine were not unheard of by the turn of the century, and became more frequent after the war with the start of the military occupation and then the Mandate. We can assume then, that visual representation of pioneers or citriculture from settler artists, or from Anglo-Jewish artists, would have been expected, deepening the association of these two symbols already present from the written word.

Settler artists, for instance, incorporated the fruit into their work frequently. Most of the artists that will be mentioned in this chapter were born in Eastern Europe, and immigrated

[197] James Joyce, *Ulysses* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 58. We are told within the notes, on page 794, that *Agendath Netaim* is Hebrew for "a company of planters".

[198] See Robert Byrnes "Agendath Netaim Discovered: Why Bloom Isn't a Zionist," *James Joyce Quarterly* 29:4 (Summer 1992), 833-838; and M. David Bell, "The Search for Agendath Netaim: Some Progress, but No Solution," *James Joyce Quarterly* 12:3 (Spring 1975), 251-259. Bell poses the question "To what extent is Bloom's troubled rejection of 'Agendath Netaim' a parallel to Joyce's ambivalent rejection of Irish nationalism and the Irish cultural renaissance?" Perhaps the broader question to be asked is of Joyce's relationship with nationalism more generally.

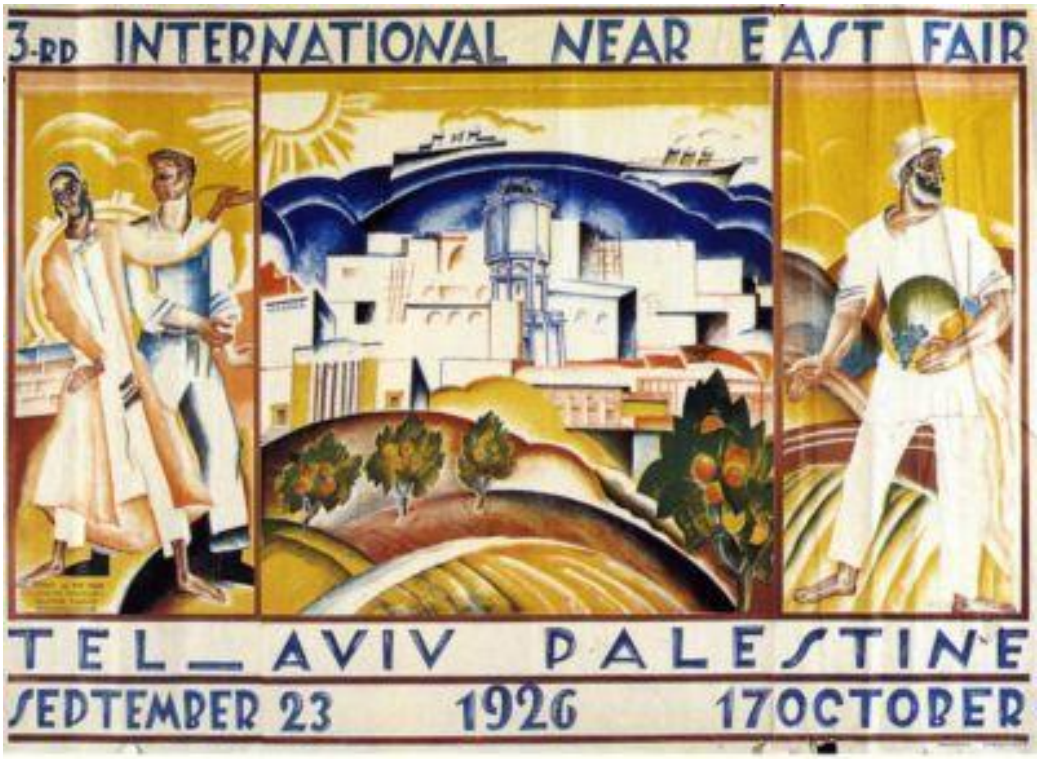
to Palestine in adulthood, with the exception of Nahum Gutman, who immigrated with his family at the age of 10. Many studied in Europe, as well as the Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts in Jerusalem, and would have been familiar to the British art consuming community. The use of Jaffa oranges in their work, along with other symbols of agriculture, would not have been happenstance, but a product of their ideological surroundings. Examples of this can be seen in the simplified still life, such as Menachem Shemi's *Still Life with Flowers* and Reuven Rubin's *Still Life with Paper Flowers*. While not in the name, in both paintings, oranges are the only other item present – there are no other fruits. In Rubin's case, a glimpse of what we can assume is Jaffa port can be seen out the window in the background. Shemi even makes them front and centre in his 1921 *A Shop in Tiberias*. A shopkeeper leans out over his produce, the basket of oranges in front the brightest and most recognizable feature. For some artists, such a Ludwig Blum and Nahum Gutman, oranges were an artistic focus. Blum even found the packing houses of Rehevot an inspiration, making it the subject of two paintings two decades apart (c.1933-4 and then later again in 1957). For Gutman, they were a life-long muse, as we will explore further with his landscape paintings.

The association of Zionist artist with agriculture products, most especially the orange, is exemplified for foreign audiences in the poster art done for the 1925 and 1926 Near East Fairs. The posters created for these exhibitions – to advertise to speakers of both Hebrew and English – were indicative not just how Jewish Zionists were perceived, but how they perceived themselves. Meir Gur Arie's aptly named *First Fruits* (Figure 11) for the 1925 Palestine Near East Exhibition and Fair, features a biblically dressed woman holding a basket of *the seven species*, with oranges as the modern eighth, in front of a map of Palestine.[199] Arieh Elhanani's posters for the 1926 International Near East Fair (Figure 12) features, in the panel to the right, a strong, upright agriculturalist bearing the fruits of his labour, and in the panel to the left or centre, an image of Tel Aviv in the background with orange trees and agricultural fields in the forefront.[200] In the English version, there is a panel to the left that appears to show an Arab and settler looking over the central panel, perhaps in admiration or a sign of imagined cooperation. This panel appears to be missing in the Hebrew version.

[199] Meir Gur-Arie, *First Fruits* or *The Exhibition and Fair of the Near East in Palestine*, 1925, Lithograph, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem

[200] Arieh Elhanani, *Near East Fair*, 1926, Lithograph, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem. (CZA, KRA\513)

Figure 11: Meir Gur-Arie, *First Fruits* or *The Exhibition and Fair of the Near East in Palestine*, 1925 (Central Zionist Archive).



Figures 12: Arieh Elhanani, *Near East Fair*, 1926 (Central Zionist Archive)

Figure 13: E.M. Lilien, Fifth Zionist Congress 1901, print (Ben Uri Collection)
"And Our Eyes Shall Behold Your Return to Zion with Mercy"

This strong, upright Jewish agriculturalist can start to be seen by the turn of the century, in the art of Ephraim Moses Lilien, the artistic father of the "New Jew". From his postcard created for the 1901 Fifth Zionist Conference (Figure 13) to his illustrations for *Juda*, *Die Bücher der Bibel* and *Lieder des Ghetto*, Lilien reimagined a muscular biblical Jew, brought back by a return to the land of Zion.[201] Specifically, as in the Zionist Conference postcard, by a reconnection with the soil, which is likely why this image was reused for the Palestine Restoration Fund in various forms, including in 1920s Britain and Canada. In his book *From Class to Nation*, Ben Gurion writes that homeland "is a historical creation and the collective enterprise of a people, the product of generations of physical, spiritual, and moral

[201] E.M. Lilien, *Fifth Zionist Congress*, 1901, print, Ben Uri Collection, London. Translation: And Our Eyes Shall Behold Your Return to Zion with Mercy; see Michael Stanislawski*, Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2011); Todd Samuel Presner, *Muscular Judaism: The Jewish Body and the Politics of Regeneration* (London: New York: Routledge, 2007).

labour."[202] What he would later term, the "labour army" of Zionism. [203] This focus was reflected in institutions such as the Zionist youth movements being formed in the early twentieth century. Tamar Mayer argues that while these movements may have differed in their ideological beliefs, they all shared the Zionist commitment to rebuilding "the homeland", training both genders for agricultural living. "The ideal New Jew—the youth movement graduate turned pioneer settler (*chalutz*), colonizer and defender—became the emblem of Zionism."[204] While women were included in this education, it was a highly masculanized movement.

Ben Gurion may have believed in "the collective enterprise", but this collective was divided in its gender roles. "All members of the *moshava* [colony] work. The men plow and plant their land. The women work in their garden and milk the cows. The children herd the geese on the farm and ride horses towards their fathers in the fields."[205] In the Zionist Executive Press Briefings from 1921, "The Problem of Women's Work" was brought up. They concluded that women "lack the power of endurance of the men and are not physically strong enough" to participate in much of the work done "in the field, on the roads, in the erections of buildings, etc." Instead, a conference of workmen had suggested that women should leave that work to the men, which would "immediately provide employment for a large number of young men", and instead take up other occupations such a market-gardening, book-keeping, "organization", and the management of kitchens, hostels, and laundries. They also generously suggested that perhaps women could be trained in tile laying.[206] While Zionist settlers prided themselves in their more equal society, in comparison to their Arab neighbours, as shall be discussed in the final chapter on print media, this division of labour is reminiscent of the way in which Ze'ev Smilansky describes smaller Arab orchards.[207] Of Arab citriculturalists, he wrote "in most orchards, especially in small ones,

[202] David Ben-Gurion, "Giving Land," *From Class to Nation* (Tel Aviv: Ayanot, 1955 [1915]), 15; translated and quoted in Yitzhak Conforti, "Between ethnic and civic: the realistic Utopia of Zionism," *Israel Affairs* 17:4 (October 2011), 574.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Tamar Mayer, "From Zero to Hero: Masculinity in Jewish Nationalism," *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, ed. Tamar Mayer (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 290
[205] David Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs*, Vol I (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1971), 35; quoted in Tamar Mayer, "From Zero to Hero," 289.
[206] Zionist Executive Press Briefings (Jerusalem) December 18, 1921. (CZA PR\6416a)
[207] See "Chapter Five: Citriculture as Settler Colonialism in Print Media," 212-213.

self-labour is practiced and the women and children also regularly do various chores in the citrus orchard."[208] A division of gender roles was maintained.

It should not be surprising then that women were not portrayed in the same way as their male counterparts in Zionist art. It was not a movement designed to reinvent the Jewish woman. Rather than strapping agriculturalist, women were symbols of fertility – a part of nature, to be cultivated and made fruitful. Dalia Manor divides the representation of women during this artistic period into two categories: the sensual, sometimes exotic, beauty and the mother figure. Rubin's bare breasted women (see *The Madonna of the Vagabonds*, 1922; *First Fruits*, 1923) seems to combine this category, while Gutman's voluptuous Arab women bathers in his sketches and paintings (see *Jaffa Seashore,* 1927*; Woman Bathing in a Pond in an Orchard,* c. 1920s*; Women by the Orchard Faucet*, 1929) leave little doubt of their exotic eroticism (Figure 14 for Rubin's *First Fruits* and Figure 15 for Gutman's *Woman Bathing in a Pond*).[209]

Figure 14: Reuven Rubin, *First Fruits*, 1923 (Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

[208] Ze'ev Smalinsky quoted in Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 163.
[209] Reuven Rubin, *First Fruits*, 1923, oil on canvas, Israel Museum, Jerusalem; Nahum Gutman*, Woman Bathing in a Pond in an Orchard*, c. 1920, ink on paper, Gutman Museum, Tel Aviv.

Figure 15: Nahum Gutman, *Woman Bathing in a Pond in an Orchard*, c. 1920 (Gutman Museum)

However, there might be a third category: that of the Ruth like character, the bearer of harvest. The biblical Ruth was a Moabite who converted to Judaism to marry the son of Naomi. After the loss of both of her sons and husband, Naomi returns to Bethlehem with Ruth at her side – her daughter in-law committing to the faith. They become gleaners in the fields of Boaz, who eventually "saves" the women, and marries Ruth. She was a popular figure in nineteenth century biblical art, and became so among Bezalel artists as well.[210] Certainly, Gutman's *Sheaving the Wheat* and Isaac Lichtenstein's *Head of a Yemenite Woman, Ruth II* (Figure 16) are directly influenced by the biblical figure.[211] The epitome of this figure, however, would be Ze'ev Raban's 1925 artwork for Ruth Turkish Cigarettes (Figure 17). A thin biblically dressed woman, wheat on her veiled head, a goat by her feet, an ancient city in the background; clearly the Moabite woman of the Old Testament. The bearer of the harvest in Meir Gur-Arieh, *First Fruits* and the women with baskets of oranges in Bomberg's unfinished *Study for the Palestine Restoration Fund* might be seen as both the pioneer woman and the Ruth figure, biblically dressed as they are. However, the association

[210] Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 50-51, 151.

[211] Isaac Lichtenstein, *Head of a Yemenite Woman, Ruth II*, 1921, oil on canvas, Ben Uri Collection, London. (Ben Uri Collection, 1987-222); Ze'ev Raban, *Ruth Turkish Cigarettes Ad*, c.1925, Lithograph, Center for Jewish History, New York. (Center for Jewish History, 1998.632)

was far more commonly applied to Arab and Yemenite women. The belief was that the Arab population were descendants of the biblical inhabitants of the land. And part of the aim of the Bezalel was to create art "as a proof of our creative powers and of our life in Palestine in the distant past."[212] It is difficult to not wonder if the symbolism of the story of Ruth as a wheat gleaner who converted goes beyond simply the British orientalist and Zionist belief of descent.

Figures 16 and 17: Isaac Lichtenstein_*Head of a Yemenite Woman, Ruth II*, 1921, (Ben Uri Collection); Ze'ev Raban, Ruth Turkish Cigarettes Ad c.1925, (Center for Jewish History)

More often than not, the settler Ashkenazi women presenting the fruits of the modern settlers' labour stands in contrast to the Arab and Mizrahi wheat gleaners, that recall *The Book of Ruth*. The bare breasted woman in Rubin's *First Fruits*, for instance, is nothing like her Yemenite cousin in dress, figure, or presentation. Further, nineteenth century depictions of Jewish orange sellers in British culture were not uncommon. Even Alfred Wolmark's illustration of Mad Peggy in the 1925 collection of the works of Israel Zangwill, is depicted with a basket of oranges. If, as Mayer suggests, Herzl and elements of Zionism saw women as "limited to their role in reproducing and sustaining the Jewish nation," then certainly the

[212] Mordechai Narkiss, "The 'Bezalel' National Museum," *The Palestine Weekly*, 1 August 1930, 9-10.

bearer of the harvest – whether it be wheat or oranges – is an expected representation within the artwork being produced by its advocates.[213] The idea was never to reimagine what a Jewish woman could be, it was to reimagine what the Jewish man could be. Through physical labour, they were not only recreating Jewish men into the "New Jew", but "the soldiers of the Zionist revolution."[214] Rebuilding the homeland was not a matter of religious necessity, it was secular reactionary nationalist ideology; one that was truly built around masculinized memory, humiliation, and ultimately, hope.[215] Zionism, at its core, believed itself to be "the struggle of Judaism against annihilation."[216] At the age of eleven, Chaim Weizmann wrote to his teacher Schlomo Sokolovsky about the Lovers of Zion, and his hope that this would "be the beginning of our redemption."[217] While Weizmann saw redemption more in terms of salvation from persecution in the form of economic and political worth, especially during the 1920s in regards to Britain, Ben-Gurion and the pioneer movements saw it in terms of personal worth – the ability to feel pride as a people through labour, and to defend themselves from violence. This required gendered roles within the society, especially one that has experienced a "violation of national boundaries."[218] Agriculture as a means of masculinisation, offered strength on multiple levels. Twenty-one per cent of Ashkenazi immigrants employed between 1922 and 1939 would become agriculturalists. While this number might seem low, it is important to remember this was an unusual occupation for Jews in Europe, making it a significant increase from that Diaspora.[219] What we see reflected in much of Zionist art, is the *belief* that the rebuilding of Palestine was a form of salvation from anti-Semitism, both external and internal, violent and otherwise. It is hardly a stretch to say that the success of Zionist citriculture should be seen as a symbol of this masculanized redemption.

In London-based artist Leopold Pilichowski's 1925 piece, *Migdal*, pioneers are depicted as reinvigorating an empty land. There are two settlers at the forefront of what would

[213] Tamar Mayer, "From Zero to Hero," 286.
[214] Chaim Guri, "Youth Movements as a serving elite," *Youth Movements, 1920-1960*, ed. Mordechai Naor (Jerusalem: Yad Ben Zvi), 221.
[215] Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*, 44.
[216] Sven Hedin quoted in The Anglo Jewish Press Agency, 26 July 1918. (CZA PR\3158)
[217] Chaim Weizmann to Schlomo Sokolovksy; quoted in Richard Crossman, *A Nation Reborn: The Israel of Weizmann, Bevin and Ben-Gurion* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1960), 14.
[218] Tamar Mater, "Gender ironies of nationalism," 18. Mater, writing in the context of Bosnia, assert that as women's bodies represent the reproduction of a nation, "rape of women becomes an attack on the nation, figuring as a violation of national boundaries, a violation of national autonomy and national sovereignty."
[219] Nahum Karlinksy, *California Dreaming*, 4.

otherwise be a mostly spartan landscape. A few orange trees behind them, not quite blocking the view of a small settlement, with a mountainous desert as the backdrop. Even in Blum's 1933/4 depiction of the packing house, settlers are envisioned as a productive element, straight backed, working away amongst a glutton of oranges – symbolic of their further fruitfulness from the land itself. Granted, citriculture and oranges were not the sole focus of the Zionist movement. Jacob Kramer, who, deeply influenced by his parents' escape from Russian pogroms, is more known for his depictions of Jewish suffering, was one of several Anglo-Jewish artists commissioned by branches of the World Zionist Organisation to create propaganda designs for posters and pamphlets promoting the Zionist enterprise. *Design for a Programme - Pioneers* (Figure 18) is one such design, featuring a strong, faceless pioneer wielding a pickaxe.[220] Similarly, Bomberg's *Quarrying – Jewish Pioneer Labour* (Figure 19), created between 1923 and 1925, depicts settlers participating in the manual labour of digging a quarry.[221] Other biblical fruits were also prominently featured in settler art – take Gutman's *Pomegranates in Safed*, for instance. However, citriculture during the Mandate became the dominant export among Zionist settlers and Arabs, accounting for 43 per cent of export's value by 1927, 84 per cent by 1935.[222] Its inclusion in art reflects the perceptions held of settler economy, productivity, and sense of place. It allowed Ashkenazi settlers to fully imagine the ideal of the "New Jew" in an ancient homeland.

[220] Jacob Kramer, *Design for a Programme (Pioneers)*, c.1920, charcoal, gouache and pencil on paper, Ben Uri Collection, London.
[221] David Bomberg, *Quarrying - Jewish Pioneer Labour*, c.1924, charcoal and wash, Private Collection, Tel Aviv.
[222] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 5.

Figure 18: Jacob Kramer, *Design for a Programme (Pioneers)* c.1920 (Ben Uri Collection)

Figure 19: David Bomberg, *Quarrying - Jewish Pioneer Labour*, c.1924-1925 (Private Collection)

Orange Trees and Orientalism

This "New Jew" was not meant for *all* Jews, however – it was uniquely Ashkenazi. "Oriental Jews" – those of Mizrahi, Yemenite, and often Sephardi heritage – were perceived through a Western lens. Ashkenazi European Jews were Europeans, with European mentalities, regardless of their religious affiliation or perceived "Oriental" ancestry. There was in theory, a sense of community as Jews, a "cultural renewal" that united coreligionists around the world and through the ages. Manor suggests that Rubin's *Dancers of Meron* "evokes the idea of the Ingathering of the Exiles," with the Hasidic (male) dancers merged to unite generation and ethnicity.[223] The reality was a bit different. Yemenite Jews in particular were seen as primitive people who "had not been subject to the ordinary processes of history."[224] While Yemenite Jews overwhelmingly participated in agricultural labour, they are not frequently portrayed in Zionist art as doing so. Instead, as discussed above, it was more common to portray a Yemenite woman/girl, such as in Isaac Lichtenstein's *Head of a Yemenite Woman, Ruth II*, or a Yemenite family, such as that portrayed in Reuven Rubin's *First Fruits*. In both these instances, the biblical association assigned to these individuals is made clear, and the features given to them is in opposition to the Ashkenazi settler. They are portrayed as slim, finely featured. In *First Fruits*, Rubin makes this clear by portraying a broad, bare backed settler hefting the fruits of his labour, with his wife, breasts exposed, pondering her basket of oranges, in contrast to the twig like Yemenite family, huddled together and biblically dressed, holding a child and a solitary pomegranate. The pomegranate is one of the *Seven Species*, a fruit frequently mentioned in Torah or Old Testament. It has very specific biblical connotations, and in the case of Rubin's painting should be seen as the symbolic contrast between a people with "the social condition of Israel as it was at the time of the *Mishna*," and that of the superior settlers, the citriculturists.[225]

[223] Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion*, 65. "Ingathering of the Exiles" is a messianic concept that was appropriated by Zionism. In Deuteronomy 30:1-5, Moses prophesies that G-d will bring the wandering, exiled Jews, to the promised land of Israel, and they shall be numerous. It is also worth mentioning that there are a group of women in the background, also huddled together, but this time around a child. This imagery reinforces the idea of the mother figure, one of the few roles women had in Reuben's work.

[224] Eliezer Ben-Yehuda quoted in Dalia Manor, "Orientalism and Jewish National Art: The Case of the Bezalel," *Orientalism and the Jews*, ed. Ivan Davidson and Derek Kalmar (Lebanon: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 155.

[225] *Ibid*.

Similarly, non-Jewish Arabs occupied a unique place in Zionist artwork. Arab citriculture was well developed prior to Zionist settlement, and until the mid-1930s, exceeded that of Zionist citriculture.[226] Groves were also primarily privately owned and relied on Arab labour, just like in the case of Zionist groves.[227] But much in the same way that that Yemenite Jews were not portrayed in their primary role, Arabs were rarely featured within the context of citriculture. More often, they were featured as part of the landscape, overtly sexualised, or within a biblical context. Rubin for his part, often shaped Arab men into the landscape, as with the side panels of *First Fruits*, or *The Village of Sumeil*. Alternatively, they might be travelling, by donkey or by foot, as in his *Port of Jaffa*, and an untitled work from the same period. Much like the Ashkenazi had been perceived in European artwork, they are often hunched over, or shown as idle in contrast to settler workers (see *The Pinwheel Vendor*, *First Fruits*, *The Village of Sumeil*). Their depiction is reminiscent of such works as Pablo Picasso's *Old Jew and a Boy*.

These similarities are to be expected, given that both Rubin and Gutman were influenced by Western European art, having studied in Europe and the United States as well, like many settler artists. In his book *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, John M. MacKenzie argues that European artists of the nineteenth century who depicted Arab culture as centred around "ease and leisure" were not necessarily making judgements of laziness. To MacKenzie, they could just as easily have been "making statements about the uniform and frenetic character of western urban existence."[228] In the case of early twentieth century Zionism, productivity offered legitimacy, while depictions of laziness delegitimised Arab claim over the land. This is not about reading the artwork within a different context, but about making sure it is read within the context of a settler colonial society. These depictions were offering a moral component to the work, whether consciously or not. For instance, in terms of sexual provocation, Manor suggests that Gutman's Arab couple in *Resting at Noon* (Figure 20) is a 'mirror' image of Picasso's *Sleeping Peasants*.[229] The suggestive positioning of

[226] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 8-9.
[227] Jacob Metzer, *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 148.
[228] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 63.
[229] Nahum Gutman, *Resting at Noon*, 1926, Oil on paper mounted on cardboard, Tel Aviv Museum of Art, Tel Aviv. (Tel Aviv Museum of Art)

the couple, the landscape indicative of sensuality – the erotic and exotic.[230] There is even another couple seen lounging under a hill of straw (the by-product of wheat) in the background. This coupled with Gutman's sexualization of Arab women (see previous section), is reminiscent of not just Edward Said's suggestion that Arab women were sexualised as part of the "male province", but of the hyper-sexual Jewish female stereotype.[231] A sexualization that had been a form of degeneracy within European anti-Semitism.

There are several layers to Gutman's fascination with Arab figures, however. He also saw the Arab population as a true representation of the biblical.[232] In his coupled paintings, *The Goatherder* (or *Before the Storm*) and *Sheaving the Wheat* (Figures 21 and 22), he depicts his Arab subjects in not just "traditional" Arab occupations, but in traditional biblical occupations – pasturing and wheat growing.[233] The attire he has chosen to put them in shows a complete ignorance to Arab culture (specifically, the brightly coloured trousers/vest worn by the goatherder was an urban, middle class style that was not worn by rural communities at the time). His work is infused with what Said would call "*latent* Orientalism" – subconscious positivity.[234] The Arab and Yemenite culture was seen as "an authentic continuation of the biblical ancestor's way of life" and were held up as a model for the incoming settlers, even while they were seen as more primitive.[235] Indeed, it is interesting to note that Rubin has a running theme of goats in his work. Most especially in his self-portraitures, as if to subtly "go native".

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[230] Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

[231] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 207. A more thorough examination of contemporary Ottoman and Turkish responses to Orientalist depictions of overtly sexualized "Oriental" women is Zeynep Celik, "Speaking Back to Orientalist Discourse," in *Orientalism's Interlocutors: Painting, Architecture, Photography*, eds. Jill Beaulieu and Mary Roberts (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), 19–42. Celik argues that paintings such as those by Ottoman administrator and painter Osman Hamdi offered resistance to hegemony, especially the sexualized gaze of Orientalist artists. Her work expands on Said's, offering the "Oriental" voice as a way to examine Orientalism.

[232] Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art", *Israel Studies* 6:1 (April 2001), 67.

[233] Nahum Gutman, *The Goatherder* and *Sheaving the Wheat*, 1926 Oil on paper mounted on cardboard, Israel Museum, Jerusalem. (IMJ, B85.0223)

[234] Edward Said, *Orientalism*, 206.

[235] Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005).

Figure 20: Nahum Gutman, *Resting at Noon*, 1926 (Tel Aviv Museum of Art)

Figures 21 and 22: Nahum Gutman, *The Goatherder* and *Sheaving Wheat*, 1926 (Israel Museum, Jerusalem)

However, more often than not, the indigenous population were simply missing from the biblical landscape altogether. Art historians such as Dalia Manor suggest that landscape and national identity are interconnected. Manor cites Smith's analysis that "nationalism is about land" – both the possession of and belonging to it.[236] It cannot be separated from ideology. Even if the viewer is not represented in the landscape, which is more often than not, their beliefs about that land are represented. Manor argues that Zionist artists preferred well-cultivated lands over "wild" or "threatening" and within the context of landscape, they avoided the biblical. At least, directly. Eretz Yisrael was an ideal, these were not depictions of a reality, but of an imagined biblical landscape.[237]

The absence of this ideal is what differentiates David Bomberg's landscapes from those of settler artists like Reuben and Gutman. Bomberg was not a proponent of Zionism, and rather than an ideal, he offered viewers a deserted, arid landscape. Bomberg was originally commissioned by the World Zionist Organization (WZO) to go to Palestine and create posters for propaganda purposes. By 1923, this commission had fallen through, and he was then commissioned by WZO's sister organisation Keren Hayesod to record "Zionist construction". Several designs from this time are entitled *Study for Palestine Fund* and depict various groups at labour in the landscape.[238] However, the vast majority of his work during this time do not depict individuals, but the landscape itself – the heat, the light. In his 1928 lecture at Ben Uri, "Palestine Through the Eyes of an Artist", he tells his viewers and critics, "You must remember, I was a poor boy from the East End and I'd never seen the sunlight before, its dazzling intensity was something quite unbelievable for me."[239]

Bomberg's landscape work contrasts sharply with the idea of the pioneering Zionist settler. Instead, it exemplified Renan's assertion that "monotonous desert landscape is a crucial

[236] Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 131-132; see also Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion*, 109.
[237] Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion*, 125.
[238] Rachel Dickson "Bomberg's paintings/Palestine" Anne Caldwell. 3 March, 2020. Email. Rachel Dickson is the Head of Curatorial Services at the Ben Uri Gallery and Museum. This email chain started originally with the intention of visiting the Gallery archives in order to read "Palestine as Seen Through the Eyes of an Artist" and perhaps see any other material related to Bomberg. However, with the outbreak of COVID-19, this was not possible. Instead, Dickson and her colleague Sarah MacDougal, kindly provided me with some summary information that they thought might be useful, as both have published material on Bomberg previously.
[239] David Bomberg, "Palestine as Seen Through the Eyes of an Artist"; quoted in Richard Cork, *David Bomberg* (London: Yale University Press, 1987), 146; see also *Out of Chaos*, 55.

factor in inspiration of this non-visual character of the [G-d] of the Israelites."[240] His landscapes are more reminiscent of war artist Richard Carline's aerial depictions of Palestine and Iraq at the end of the First World War. While Carline's work was as would be expected – sprawling landscapes – they left an impression of the land as empty. As noted in several works on Bomberg, he was not only commissioned as an official war artist himself during the First World War, but was not a fan of "heroic pictures".[241] His landscapes are devoid of life, even the productivity of the pioneer. At first, he might appear to be the antithesis of this chapter – while a child of refugees from Poland, and painter of the struggles of immigrant life, he was neither a Zionist, nor a proponent of "the New Jew". Despite one gallery review's description of his Leicester Gallery showing as "depicting various aspects of the new Jewish colonisation in Palestine" and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's (JTA) refence to Bomberg as "a prominent Jewish Palestinian artist", his work was far less interested in Zionist progress.[242] Completed in his first few months of his residency in the region, *Irrigation, Zionist Development, Palestine, 1923* (Figure 23) is one of the few paintings he did of Zionist settlements over his favoured subject of Jerusalem. In the catalogue accompanying the Bomberg exhibition at the Marlborough New London Gallery in 1964, David Sylvester argues that this was the start of Bomberg's primordial study of landscape in Palestine. Sylvester wrote that Bomberg had been "contemplating the landscape out there, had felt he was feeling his way over it with hands and feet and knees – here climbing laboriously up a steep rock face, there zooming into a valley with the slope in control of his limbs."[243]

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[240] Ernest Renan, *Historie du People d'Israel* (Paris: n. publ., 1887), 3-4; quoted in Artur Kamczycki, "Wrestling with Art: Zionism and the Jewish Aniconism," *Artium Quastiones* 23 (2012), 15-33.

[241] David Bomberg, "Notes for a talk on 'Palestine as Seen Through the Eyes of an Artist'"; quoted in Richard Cork, *David Bomberg*, 9; see also Tate, "David Bomberg: Jerusalem, Looking to Mount Scopus (1925)," Accessed: January 2020 https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/bomberg-jerusalem-looking-to-mount-scopus-t01683; Sue Malvern, *Modern Art, Britain, and the Great War: Witnessing, Testimony and Remembrance* (London: Yale University Press, 2004).

[242] (No Title), *Manchester Guardian*, 3 Feb 1928, 10. *The Guardian* reported on Bomberg's 1928 exhibition several times, and did not describe it in this way again. "Palestine Artist's Canvas at London Exhibit," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 2 September 1928. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency is comparable to the Associated Press for Jewish newspapers in the Americas, Europe, and Palestine. It was founded in the Netherlands, moved to London during the war, and finally headquartered in New York by the mid-1920s.
See "Chapter Three: Citriculture as Power in Cartography", for the Joint Palestine Survey Commission and the "deplorable" conditions of some Zionist settlements, 143.

[243] David Sylvester, *David Bomberg 1890–1957* (London: Marlborough Fine Art, 1964), 2–4.

Figure 23: David Bomberg, *Irrigation, Zionist Development, Palestine, 1923*, c.1923 (Private Collection)

Helena Harrison, sister to Austen St. Barbe Harrison, architect in the Public Works Department Palestine and member of the Archaeological Advisory Board, visited the Bombergs during her 1925 trip to the Mandate. She was critical of Zionist settlements, and to Tel Aviv, which she referred to as "a kind of Jewish Park Langley" and "not at all attractive." In congruence with this outlook, she wrote of Bomberg's paintings of Palestine: "His paintings of the new Jewish colonies are terribly real – it made me shudder to look at them."[244] The *Daily Mail* in contrast, lavished praise on his Palestine and Petra exhibition at Leicester Galleries, London in 1928. Historian and art-critic, Paul George ("P.G.") Konody wrote of the work displayed: "Everything is pale, dusty, parched with heat; and yet the picture seems to vibrate with light and colour and carries conviction of the correctness of

[244] Helena Harrison, "Journal of a visit to Palestine via Egypt, 1925" (24 April 1925), n/a. (MEC GB165-0136)

the artist's observation."[245] Bomberg himself would later refer to some of his own work during this time as "picture postcards for government officials."[246] Rather than representing nationalist ideology, his work depicted colonial expectation. His Palestine works were bought by the Manchester Gallery and British officials, both Zionist and otherwise, such as noted Zionist and Attorney General of Mandatory Palestine, Norman Bentwich, former Assistant Governor of Jerusalem, Sir Harry Lukes, and Civil Governor of Jerusalem and Judea, Sir Ronald Storrs (the latter of who's influence helped Bomberg get the WZO's commission).[247] Antoine Capet argues that these landscapes represented the ideal Holy Land at the *start* of the Mandate – empty, devoid of people, a more reconcilable landscape to government objectives.[248] While Bomberg did not believe in the Zionist cause, he had intentionally or not, created an image of Palestine without a conflict of interest, one where the Zionist and British aims could be realised without consideration to Arab or other indigenous inhabitants.

Bomberg remained, at his core, what Herzl might call a "ghetto Jew", unwilling to be transformed or to independently offer the vision of *Eretz Yisrael* in an idealised form. Comparatively, the landscape art of the Reuven Rubin and Nahum Gutman, both immigrants to Palestine from Eastern Europe, heavily depicted agricultural settlements and the ideal of what they *could become*, or the spiritual imagining of a nation. Konody, comparing the London artist to Reuven Rubin, described Bomberg's art as from the perspective of "the alien tourist, who is attracted by the novelty of un-accustomed aspects and merely uses his

[245] P.G. Konody, "Pictures from the Holy Land," *Daily Mail*, 14 February 1928, 17. The exhibition would be replicated in February 1929 at the Ruskin Gallery in Birmingham.

[246] Fran Bigman, "David Bomberg's Profound Modernism," *New York Review of Books*, 15 September 2018. Accessed January 2020. https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2018/09/15/david-bombergs-profound-modernism/. Bomberg's Palestine landscapes are a departure from his more avant-garde style before the war. James Fox argues that many war artists altered their styles during this time, not for ethical or intellectual reasons, but much like Bomberg, out of pragmatism. Commissions that resulted in art that was too abstract were rejected, and they garnered little interest from art critics or dealers. Regarding the situation, Mark Gertler lamented "Let no person come and tell me that poverty is good for an artist! If an artist is poor he simply has to please." James Fox, *British Art and the First World War, 1914–1924. Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 26-27.

[247] Antoine Capet, "Views of Palestine in British Art in Wartime and Peacetime, 1914-1948," *Britain, Palestine and Empire: The Mandate Years*, ed. Rory Miller (New York: Routledge, 2016), 97.

[248] Antoine Capet, "Views of Palestine in British Art in Wartime and Peacetime, 1914-1948," 97-98. Harper and Constantine remind their readers that the perception of certain territories "as sparely populated and underdeveloped often indicated only different visions of how natural resources ought to be utilized." Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, 8-9.

old language for the interpretation of new subjects."[249] Conversely, he referred to Rubin as "the first national painter of the Zionist Palestine State", writing of his 1930 London exhibition:

> Rubin, if one may draw conclusions from his pictures, owes little or nothing to European art school training. His art seems to be autochthonous and renders the character of the land and race with the understanding of intimate knowledge. There is about his nervous touch a quality which corresponds with what might be termed the arabesque of the Jewish mind. And Rubin is a colourist of rare distinction who knows how to make the happiest use of the black cypresses, silvery shimmering olives, whitewashed walls, and sun-parched, yellow-brown earth which are the main elements in his paintings of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Galilee, and Nazareth.[250]

Konody's focus on Rubin's "Jewish mind" and an inaccurate assumption of uniqueness from "European art school training" are point to a distinction in the reviewer's mind between the Jewish "national painter" and that of a European.[251] Unlike the "alien tourist" Bomberg, the "intimate knowledge" Rubin has of the landscape implies a certain native identity. Nor is this simply a bias presented by Konody. With a few exceptions, such as that of the JTA, Bomberg's Jewish identity is not brought to the forefront in 1928. In a review of his exhibition published later the same year, the *Manchester Guardian*'s offers contrast to its first blurb. There is no mention of "Jewish colonisation". While other artists who were stationed in Palestine during the war never had the opportunities to "visit the places they wanted to see and to sit in their shade and feel their influence", Bomberg's commission afforded him the opportunity. Yet, according to the reviewer, he appeared "less moved" in his renderings of Palestine, or was perhaps attempting to be "more objective" than his predecessors.[252] In contrast, Rubin may have known "the tricks of Paris only too well and disinclined to let his audience forget his training", he was still referred to as a "Palestinian Jew". His work was "surprising and rather unfamiliar, due probably to the paradox of seeing the East through an Oriental's eyes whose manner is in the direct descent from the

[249] P.G. Konody, "Art and Artists: A Jewish Painter," *The Observer*, 25 May 1930, 14.
[250] Ibid.
[251] As Dominique Levy-Eisenberg argues, settler artists were influenced by European art "not only in the shaping of the images but also in the choice of subject and the resulting meaning". Indeed, many like Rubin and Gutman, studied in cities such as Paris and Vienna. Dominique Levy-Eisenberg, "A Sense of Place: The Mediation of Style in Eretz Israel Paintings of the 1920s," *Assaph: Studies in Art History* B:3 (1998), 305; see also Dalia Manor, "Imagined Homeland: Landscape Painting in Palestine in the 1920s," *Nations and Nationalism* 9:4 (2003), 549-550.
[252] "Petra and Jerusalem," *Manchester Guardian*, 10 Feb 1928, 10.

Impressionists."[253] Bomberg may not have always been seen as "English", but his "reverent fidelity and understanding" of the "parched whiteness and loneliness" of the landscape did not lend him to being perceived as *from* Palestine for most reviewers.[254]

There is a clear disconnect between settler artists like Romanian born Rubin and the Anglo-Jewish Bomberg, one which is reflected in exhibition reviews, as well as the renderings of the landscape. Diaspora artists were not constrained by idealism, nor committed to the idea of a prosperous reclamation. Manor argues that those who attended the Bezalel "were not expected to deal with these subjects [of suffering], or indeed with other real-life experience."[255] The focus instead, was the imagined biblical past or spiritual ideal, and the recreation of that. "In everything we saw the Bible. We were truly Zionists," recalled Gutman, in his memoirs. "We wanted . . . to get through the Bible to a deep-rootedness greater than that of life in the Diaspora *shtetl*."[256] Luisa Gandolfo notes that Rubin's work before moving to Palestine in 1912 "included religious themes of asceticism and suffering," much like those of the Whitechapel artists. This theme would return with the influx of Jews fleeing Europe for the Mandate post 1933, in the works of artists like Mordecai Ardon.[257] However, Diaspora inspired work contrasted sharply with "the lighter landscapes of Palestine that featured shepherds, camels and scenes of daily life".[258] Zionist art in the 1920s, like the pioneer movements, was not interested in exploring the hardship of Diaspora, but in the ideal, in a redemptive return. It "emphasized the tie to the historical homeland and to the Jewish heroic past as well as physical activities and the development of a close tie with nature."[259]

Works like Rubin's *Orange Groves Near Jaffa*, Israel Paldi's *Landscape*, or Arieh Lubin's *The Landscape of Ramat-Gan Hills* are unpeopled, "portrayed as near empty, fertile and ready for harvest" [260] Gutman orange grove landscapes may have had figures in them, but they are

[253] "Our London Correspondence: Olive Trees and Galilee," *Manchester Guardian*, 12 May 1930, 8.
[254] Frank Rutter, "The Galleries," *Sunday Times*, 19 February 1928, 7.
[255] Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," 66.
[256] Nahum Gutman and Ehud Ben-Ezer, *Between Sands and Blue Sky* (Tel-Aviv, 1980), 130; quoted in Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," 66.
[257] Luisa Gandolfo, "(Re)constructing Utopia," *Third Text* 29:3 (May 2015), 185. *See also* Noa Avron Barak, "The National, the Diasporic, and the Canonical: The Place of Diasporic Imagery in the Canon of Israeli National Art", *Arts* 9:2, (2020): 1-17; and Dalia Manor, "Facing the Diaspora: Jewish Art Discourse in 1930s Eretz Israel," *Israeli Exiles: Homeland and Exile in Israeli Discourse*, Thematic Series 10 (2015): 31–51.
[258] Luisa Gandolfo, "(Re)constructing Utopia," 185.
[259] Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," 67.
[260] Luisa Gandolfo, "(Re)constructing Utopia," 185.

sparse. The feeling of space permeates even the backdrop of Elhanini and Gur-Arieh's exhibition posters. Or Ze'ev Raban's popular 1929 *Come to Palestine*, with its fruit laden trees and warm skies. [261] In much the same way as Bomberg's desert landscapes, they tell the viewer that there is plenty of land for immigration and settlement (except a more fertile and sustainable one).[262] Rubin's depictions of the well-established city of Jaffa are the same. While we might see a figure here or there, it is hardly a bustling metropolis. The result is an affirmation of the myth that this was a land without a people – for a people without a land.[263]

Conclusion

In his autobiography, *My Life, My Art*, Reuven Rubin described his impressions of Palestine thusly:

> Romania was forgotten, New York far away…. In Palestine there was sunshine, the sea, the *halutzim* (pioneers) with their bronzed faces and open shirts, the Yemenite girls, the children with enormous eyes. A new country, a new life was springing up around me…. The world around became clear and pure to me. Life was stark, bare, primitive.[264]

A portion of this quote is included in the Israeli Museum's description of *First Fruits*, Rubin's 1923 tryptic that this chapter has repeatedly referenced.[265] It is understandable why. *First Fruits* epitomizes Zionist idealism and prejudices during this period. There is a starkness to the background; an empty land ready to be populated and made fertile – the British colonial ideal of what Palestine should be. Rubin's central panel features two juxtaposing Jewish population in Palestine – the Ashkenazi pioneers and the Yemenite family. The imposing figure of the bronzed, shirtless, and well-built agriculturalist was a far cry from the effeminate Jew of British anti-Semitism. His stance and body indicate not just masculinity,

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[261] Ibid.
[262] Chaim Weizmann, *The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann*, Vol. I, Series B, ed. Barnet Litvinoff, (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1983), 201.
[263] Luisa Gandolfo, "(Re)constructing Utopia," 185.
[264] Reuven Rubin, *My Life, My Art*; cited in Yigal Zalmona, *A Century of Israeli Art* (London: Lund Humphries, 2013), 44. The addition of (pioneers) is present in Zalmona's edition of the translated quote.
[265] The Israel Museum, "First Fruits: Reuven Rubin," https://www.imj.org.il/en/collections/403452. (Accessed 24 January 2020)

but productivity and strength. Agriculture has made him a "New Jew", and he holds a loft the literal fruits of his labour. At his feet kneels the pioneer woman, the bearer of both fertility and the settlers' main crop – oranges. She is the Ruth figure, the mother figure, and with her exposed bosom, the erotic beauty rolled into one. Not only is she now protected by her male counterpart, but she is allowed to thrive, "liberated" through her traditional role. They epitomize the ethnonationalist gender roles discussed in Julie Mostov's work, in which "women physically reproduce the nation," while men act as defenders.[266] They were not the helpless Jews of the shtetl depicted or alluded to in the works of diaspora artists like Hirszenberg or Bomberg. Instead, these settlers are idealized in the same way the landscapes of settler artists were an idealized version of Palestine. Unlike the weak martyred Jews of the pogroms, the male pioneer in particular signified that Jewish men could "be men like all other men".[267] Contrasting sharply is the Yemenite family. They are wide-eyed, frail, and thin, dressed in traditional clothing that might be mistaken for biblical. The Yemenite woman holds a naked child, and the couple together holds a single pomegranate – a true biblical fruit, rather than the orange of the settler. Not a bounty, but symbolic of their continued belonging to the land.

Two panels to the sides feature Arab men, almost hidden into the landscape. One a shepherd, the other asleep next to his camel. Regardless of the dominance of Arab citriculture, these men are sheep herders, traveling by camel, seemingly uninterested in the labour of the pioneer by their leisurely activities of sleeping and playing a flute. Who is depicted as citriculturist might seem like an arbitrary observation. However, in the following chapters, this dichotomy of settler versus native is best illustrated by who can make the desert bloom – in the case with orange blossoms. Consistently, the starkness of the land will present itself, the indigenous population will be perceived as primitive or simply absent. In travel writing, even the sensory becomes a tool of nationalist legitimacy, with the smell of orange blossoms in association with settlements, and a less pleasant one that of mostly Arab Jaffa. To many visiting Palestine, they saw what Rubin saw – a land that "was stark, bare, primitive", but the belief that with the right people, life could spring anew.

[266] Julie Mostov, "Sexing the nation/desexing the body: Politics of national identity in the former Yugoslavia," *Gender Ironies of Nationalism*, ed. Tamar Mayer, 89.
[267] Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct*, 54. See chapter introduction, 37.

Chapter Two: Citriculture as Civilization in Travel Literature

In 1929, *The Casale Pilgrim* was reproduced with an introduction by Cecil Roth. The travelogue, written and illustrated by a sixteenth century Jewish pilgrim to the Holy Land, is considered one of the only examples of Jewish pilgrimage writing. Roth was an English Jewish historian of post-biblical Jewish Studies at the University of Oxford and President of the Jewish Historical Society of England. He would go onto co-found of the Jewish Museum in London, in 1932. His introduction creates a historical yearning "of the Diaspora", who he writes "was given no opportunity of forgetting that narrow strip of soil".[268] Ideas of modernity are represented through the return of the "Ghetto Jew", and the technological advancements that would allow "the desert which held up the children of Israel for forty years [to be] crossed overnight".[269] Further, Roth makes mention that in the contemporary period, "the new Hebrew University and the agricultural colonies are the foreground of the tourist's itinerary, the spirit which inspires him is still that which animated his father's long centuries past." The focus of *The Casale Pilgrim* is not agriculture, but pilgrimage; Roth deviates in his introduction and notes only to connect that past with the present. In his later work, most notably *A Short History of the Jewish People*, published a few years later in 1936, he stresses "European valuations", which conflates modernity with the accomplishments of the pioneers during the 1920s.

> Tel Aviv, the first Jewish city, developed with amazing rapidity... New colonies were established here and there throughout the country… Modern methods of agriculture were introduced. Hills were once more rendered fertile… The orange-growing industry attained impressive proportions. Throughout the country, work of afforestation was executed, swaps were drained, and malaria stamped out.

In contrast to this, he reinforces the idea of the "ignorant Arab fellahin", who according to Roth, "were informed that it was their duty to resent the intrusion; but they could not fail to realise that their standard of living… benefited immensely as a result of it."[270]

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[268] Cecil Roth "Introduction," *The Casale Pilgrim. A Sixteenth-century Illustrated Guide to the Holy Places [in Palestine].* Reproduced in Facsimile; Translation and Notes by Cecil Roth. Heb. & Eng. (London: Soncino Press, 1929), 7.
[269] Cecil Roth, "Introduction," 8, 11.
[270] Cecil Roth, *A Short History of the Jewish People*, 2nd edition (London: East and West Library, 1948), 420.

The Casale Pilgrim may not have dealt with agriculture, but in its existence, it legitimised Zionism's – and Roth's – belief in a continuous connection with and yearning for the land. Roth's introduction and notes within the manuscript, supported by his later histories, show the contrast between two competing, yet complimentary, themes in the perception of Palestine: Biblical Orientalism and modernity. As mentioned in the Introduction, Biblical Orientalism is "a phenomenon based on the combination of a selective use of religion and a simplifying way to approach its natural habitat: the 'Holy Land'."[271] It differentiates itself from Said, whose focus on the biblical was limited.[272] Instead, it diminishes the diversities of history and cultures of the Middle East, creating a region "devoid of any history except that of biblical magnificence."[273]

This perception was – and remains – integral to the belief in the "restoration" of the Jews to Palestine.[274] The very notion of a *Diaspora* requires one to be "dispersed" from a homeland, from an ancestral land. Roth's references to the "children of Israel" in *Casale* recall more rabbinical language, and a more biblical land and time. Highlighting the Hebrew University and Zionist agricultural settlement reinforces European ideals of modernity and the progress made by the "return" of the "Ghetto Jew". Biblical Orientalism imagined a flourishing land, created by a flourishing chosen people, with Zionism complicit in this simplification of Jewishness. It gave legitimacy through an imagined past, where European views of modernity could offer a legitimised present and future. Both are integral and intertwined in understanding how Zionist citriculture offered legitimacy generally, but for the purposes of this chapter, within the context of tourism.

In Sarah Irving's article on travel guides, she argues that "modernity was not just a matter of proving readiness to be granted independence by a paternalistic international system; it was the rules in a competition between two potential nation-states."[275] This "international system" was predominately Western, associating "modernity" with "Europeanness" –

[271] Lorenzo Kamel, *Imperial Perceptions of Palestine: British Influence and Power in Late Ottoman Times* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 1.
[272] See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).
[273] Lorenzo Kamel, *Imperial Perceptions of Palestine*, 2-4.
[274] See "Introduction," 15-18.
[275] Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine': History and Modernity in Guidebooks to Mandate Palestine," *Contemporary Levant* no. 1 (2019), 69.

"something to be learned and absorbed" by non-Europeans.[276] Gerard Delanty argues that modernity required "the transformative project of the present time as a liberation from the past."[277] The native Arab population was not seen as having achieved liberation from the past, rather as Dalia Manor argued, perceived as living "an authentic continuation of the biblical ancestor's way of life".[278] Conversely, Zionism was a nationalist movement European by birth, culture, education and political affiliation. The movement was viewed as the rightful heirs of the land by that "paternalistic international system", both through biblical right and the interpretation of modernity. This paradox of biblical yet modern will be a consistent thread in how Jewish European settlers and settlements were understood by travel writers, guides, and even travel posters, regardless of the writer's religious beliefs. European Jews were seen as "oriental" within the context of European spaces, yet in Palestine they were "liberated from their past" and actively helped to modernize the more antiquated land, in the process becoming modern themselves. This perception of modernization was not a reflection of a lack of economic competition from Arab quarters.[279] Instead, European Jews were an ancient people brought into modernity through their centuries of proximity to European spaces, allowing Zionist settlers to *be* Europeans within a "primitive" land, while maintaining their biblical association.[280]

An important part of travel writing is the writer's "visitor status". Their job to is be a proxy for the reader, "a cultural outsider who moves into, through and finally beyond the places and events encountered".[281] Nineteenth century travel literature became the "architects of imperial visions, the exoticisers, commodifiers, and objectifiers of colonised 'others' who helped their readers in the imperial mother countries to understand, accept, and consume

[276] Atsuko Ichijo, "Introduction: Europe as Modernity," *Europe, Nations and Modernity*, ed. Atsuko Ichijo (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 3-5.
[277] Gerard Delanty, "Modernity and the escape from Eurocentrism," *Handbook of Contemporary European Social Theory*, ed. Gerard Delanty (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 269.
[278] Dalia Manor, "Biblical Zionism in Bezalel Art," *Israel Studies* 6:1 (2001), 67. See "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art," 70.
[279] Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine,'" 67.
[280] What Jacob Norris refers to as the "modernizing middle stratum of colonial society". Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 11.
[281] Michael Kowaleski, "Introduction: The Modern Literature of Travel," *Temperamental Journeys: Essays on the Modern Literature of Travel*, ed. Michael Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 9.

the exercise of empire."[282] Arguably, their job remained much the same in the twentieth century. The readers might be the average citizen back home, or they may be "tourists, newly arrived officials, and servicemen – whose ideas they sought to inform."[283] An estimated 80,000 tourists visited the Mandate per year, peaking in 1935 before dropping with the Arab Revolt of 1936-1939.[284] While prior to the First World War, the majority of foreign tourists had been pilgrims, with the start of the Mandate, tourism increasingly diversified, "from business to personal curiosity, from cultural reasons to pleasure."[285] On the 1927 Wycliffe Hall Theological College jubilee pilgrimage to Palestine, the Rev. Eric Gordon remarked that "We went, not merely 'visiting Palestine and Egypt' or because, as one of our journalistic critics has remarked, 'It seems to be the fashion now to go to Palestine.' We went as pilgrims."[286] Eitan Bar-Yosef's book on Victorian English culture and the Holy Land asks if the average citizen was as motivated by "imperial desire" when it came to Palestine.[287] However, participating in Empire did not require being consciously motivated by Empire. Palestine was a new territory during 1920s, unlike the Victorian era. The travel literature on Palestine from this time would suggest that Pratt's argument that travel writing created a sense of "moral fervor about European expansionism" has validity. Certainly, there was a strong biblical impact on what "sights" were being promoted. To a society that venerated a Crusading past, the Bible remained a central part of their national identity. In this sense, Palestine was seen as both "[the Jews'] ancient land" and a part of the

[282] David M. Wrobel, "Exceptionalism and Globalism: Travel Writers and the Nineteenth-Century American West," *The Historian* 68:3 (2006), 431; see also Julie Kalman, "The Jew in the Scenery: Historicizing Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature," *French History* 27:4 (2013), 517.
[283] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge: London. 2010) 3. Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine,'" 67.
[284] Figures estimated from the Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine 1944-1945* (Government of Palestine, 1946), 40-41; cited in Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine: Tourism as a Political-Propaganda Tool," *Israel Studies* 9:1 (2004), 80. It was considered a major part of the economic revenue for the Mandate, as can be seen in the *Annual Reports* to the League of Nations.
[285] Arturo Manzano, "Visiting British Palestine: Zionist Travelers to Eretz Israel," *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History*, no. 6 (2013), 175; see also Doron Bar and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourist Pilgrim of Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Palestine," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39:2 (2003), 131-148; and Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine'".
[286] Eric Gordon, "Jubilee Term, 1927," *Bible Lands* (Oxford: Wycliffe Hall), 51. (MEC, GB165-0121)
[287] Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture 1799-1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.

British spiritual imagination.[288] This focus on the biblical makes the inclusion of Zionist settlements as part of tours and suggested sights all more pronounced.

While the primary focus of British travel writing and guides would remain biblical, it did offer an opportunity for both Zionist and Arab national aspirations to be portrayed, and offer those competing interpretations of what Palestine was and could be.[289] For Zionism, citriculture was not just a part of how it viewed itself, but integral to how it was portrayed as a modern movement in a biblical land. This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section, looking at Jewish Zionist travel literature, focuses on the way in which the movement saw itself as bringers of modernity, with citriculture as symbol of that modernity. The second section will look at the way in which agriculture, orange cultivation specifically, was portrayed as a symbol of civility in non-Jewish sources. The final section will explore the way in which the sensory experience of smell was used to create a division between the primitive and the civilised. While not all sources will be produced by British writers or guides, they will all have been published in the United Kingdom and accessible to the British public.

Jewish Zionist Travel Guides

In his book *Landscape and Memory*, Simon Schama recounts an interaction during his time at Cambridge. According to Schama, he recalled "someone in a Cambridge common room pestering the self-designated 'non-Jewish Jew' and Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher, himself a native of [Lithuania], about his roots. 'Trees have roots,' he shot back, scornfully, 'Jews have legs.'"[290]

The foreignness imposed on the European Jewish community, whether through expulsion, genocide, or laws forbidding immigration, became an internalised feature of the European Diaspora community. In her book on Yiddish travel literature, Leah Garrett discusses the competing notions of "home" for Ashkenazim Jews: "the real space where one lived in the present and the mythical locale of Eretz Yisrael."[291] In some ways, this connection to the

[288] Harry Emerson Fosdick, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1928), 294.
[289] See Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine'"; Arturo Manzano, "Visiting British Palestine"; Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine."
[290] Cited in Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Vintage, 1996), 29; see also Leah V. Garrett, *Journeys Beyond the Pale: Yiddish Travel Writing in the Modern World* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 8-9.
[291] Leah Garrett, *Journeys Beyond the Pale*, 6.

imagined homeland might be comparable to the Protestant idea of an imagined Jerusalem. However, while this was felt as a spiritual exile, it was one that was often accompanied by disenfranchisement, and on more than one occasion, displacement, in Christian European spaces. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus argue that "Jewish difference" was in conflict with the "efficacy of western modernity".[292] It is tempting to romanticize exile - to create an "aesthetic gain" through it.[293] However, the reality is far more painful. Said refers to this romanticization as "no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement."[294] What complicates the Zionist narrative for Western audiences is this perceived "sorrow of estrangement", caused by historical disenfranchisement. The idea of a *return* is wrapped up in racial theory and settler colonialism ideology, but it is also this understanding of exile as lived experience. Anthony Smith classifies two forms of "sacred homeland": "one is the promised land, the land of destination; the other the ancestral homeland, the land of birth."[295] Smith notes that these concepts may overlap, and indeed, Zionism is the nationalist evolution of that "mythical" imagining of Eretz Yisrael for European Diaspora Jews, the merging of a "promised land" and an "ancestral home". Travel books like that of Jewish Zionist and attorney-general of Mandatory Palestine, Norman Bentwich's 1932 *A Wanderer In The Promised Land* emphasised both of Smith's requirements for "sacred homeland" in their chosen subject matter. In Bentwich's case, the title itself epitomizes both the motif of exile *and* homeland. Within their pages, there is a strong belief that Zionism was "a return to their ancestral soil", or echoing Garrett's mythical imagining, "the transformation of the idea of the Restoration of Zion from a region of dreams, to a region of reality".[296]

A key component of this analysis is Cheyette and Marcus' observation about Jewishness in opposition to modernity within Europe. In Palestine, this could be different. Not only could Jews gain roots, but they could also be seen as modern, as well. The first Zionist travel guides, some of which were put out by Keren Hayesod, were published in 1922, "serving first and foremost a Jewish audience", but not exclusively so. They were, like most travel guides,

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[292] Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus, *Modernity, Culture, and "the Jew"* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 2-3.
[293] Leah Garrett, *Journeys Beyond the Pale*, 13.
[294] Edward W. Said, "Reflections on Exile," *Granta 13: After the Revolution*, 1 September 1984. Accessed March 2020. https://granta.com/reflections-on-exile/
[295] Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 137; also quoted in Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides, *Settlers in Contested Lands: Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 9.
[296] Norman Bentwich, *A Wanderer in the Promised Land* (London: Soncino Press, 1932), 12, 15.

partly intended to give visitors information about the land, but also to encourage them to experience Palestine in a particular way. As pointed out by Sara Irving and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, they were created in part, to "ensure that, even for visitors without active Zionist sympathies, the desired version of Palestine's history and culture was laid before them."[297] Cohen-Hattab argues that the Zionist Trade and Industry Department believed there was an "assault" on Zionist tourism from a majority Arab population. Up through the early 1920s, the vast majority of guides in the area were Arab, who would take tourists to Arab owned businesses, and would create antagonism by doing things like passing out antisemitic flyers.[298] This issue here is one language. Cohen-Hattab, nor the sources he uses, are clear on what is meant by "Jewish" and what is meant by "Arab". There is a question here about whether this was a religious conflict, or one of politics. Since the "Jewish/Arab" dichotomy is a colonial one, we might assume that this is a "Zionist/Arab" conflict of interest. Certainly, it was one in which the Zionist leaders felt compelled to act upon. In a 1922 meeting, a leader of The Zionist Executive brought the issue to the forefront.

> To date, tourists have come to the country and only the Arabs have benefited from them. This issue should interest the Zionist Executive from the political perspective as well, since the tourists are in the Arab-Christian sector where a variety of publications that speak out against us are distributed to them.[299]

"Arab" here is clearly being used as a synonym for Muslim, which was not uncommon in a European context. Looking over the official reports of parliamentary debates at this time, we can find members using the same language.[300] Cohen-Hattab writes that with growing tensions, a supposed disadvantage, and need for international legitimacy, it is no wonder that the Zionist Executive felt the need to "capture the country's tourist trade for themselves." [301] Perhaps it is equally no wonder the Arab tour guides were hostile to a settler colonial movement attempting to control an industry that directly impacted the

[297] Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine,'" 2.
[298] Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine: Tourism as a Political-Propaganda Tool," *Israel Studies* 9:1 (2004), 65-66.
[299] Jospeh Sprintzak, *Meeting of the Zionist Executive in Eretz Israel*, 6 March 1922, 236; quoted in Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine," 65.
[300] For example, see Lord Sydenham to the House of Lords "Situation in Palestine," 15 June 1921. vol 45, col 573. "He attributed all the resentment to the Arabs, and said nothing about the feelings of the Christians, who very nearly equalled in number the Jews when we occupied the country; and no one can feel the present state of things more keenly than do the Christians."
[301] Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine," 65.

perception of their homeland. Either way, this concern led to the creation of the Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists (ZIBT) in 1925, funded and run by the Zionist Executive, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemet LeYisrael), and the United Israel Appeal.[302] The ZIBT saw their job as participating in a tourists perception at all three stages of travel: as they were planning their trip, while they were in Palestine, and making sure they stayed connected with the movement once they returned home. As Irving, Cohen-Hattab, and Marzano have all argued, whose narrative was presented to visitors to Palestine created a new dynamic in the feeling of competition between these two nationalisms.

Unlike their Arab counterparts, the majority of those working for different branches of the Zionist Commission had origins in Western countries such as Britain, meaning a shared language and to a certain extent, shared culture and ideals, such colonialist concepts of a "Jewish/Arab dichotomy", modernity, and restoration. The narrative Zionist sources were telling was one of legitimacy through modernizing methods, a commitment from the Mandate authority, and ancestral inheritance. To Zionist travel writers and guides, the tilling of the soil legitimised their claim as biblical inheritors. According to Bentwich, "[thirty] years of pioneer work made the Yishub already a pride and inspiration to the whole of Jewry."[303] He recounted that it had influenced the Balfour Declaration of 1917, that the British would support "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people; and will use her best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object." Further, at the Conference of Vienna, an unnamed Zionist spokesman asked that the "Jewish people" be given the right "to return to their historical home as a people might be granted in order that they should make Palestine again a fruitful land, fruitful with the products of nature and fruitful also with the products of the human mind."[304] To Bentwich and the Zionist enterprise, agriculture was paramount to not just the movement, but to its legitimacy. Between 1921 and 1929, "Agricultural Colonization" accounted for around a third of Keren Hayesod's allocated funds, outstripping funds for urban colonization, education, immigration, public health, communal institutions, and administration. And they promoted

[302] Arturo Manzano, "Visiting British Palestine," 176; and Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine," 67.
[303] Norman Bentwich, *A Wanderer in the Promised Land*, 16.
[304] Norman Bentwich, *A Wanderer in the Promised Land*, 16-17.

this in their informational pamphlets.[305] It created a two-fold legitimacy: that of a "sons-of-the-soil" claim, as well as the idea that they were improving a land gone to waste.[306]

That is to say, Jewish Zionists were not exempt from colonial perceptions of desert lands. On the one hand, Palestine was viewed as the Holy Land, the Land of Promise. Yet its reality did not always meet European expectations.[307] In his book *The History of Zionism*, Walter Laqueur has one small section that needs consideration. When discussing the struggles of those settlers who immigrated during the Second Aliyah, Laqueur writes:

> Everything was strange and unfamiliar – the people, the landscape, the whole atmosphere. Even ardent Zionists like A.D. Gordon and Moshe Smilanksy later admitted that it took them years to get accustomed to their new surroundings. Deep inside they still felt a spiritual attachment to the Russian landscape, its rivers, fields and forests. They did not dislike the Palestinian scenery, they simply felt that it was not part of themselves, that they were still visitors in a strange country… they could say that their body was in Eretz Israel, but their soul in some ways was still in Russia.[308]

To the earlier settlers of the Second Aliyah, manual labour like agricultural work, was a moral imperative in order to redeem the Jewish nation. This does not negate that the genuine belief that they were bringing modernity and civilization to Palestine, but it might be a reminder of what that modernity looked like to someone from Europe, especially those from lusher environments. The shock of a desert environment to someone who grew up in Western Russia or Britain, coupled with a belief that arid environments were the result of indigenous mismanagement, would not be exclusive to settlers, but tourists and pilgrims, as well.

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[305] *Tel Aviv*, ed. Judah Nedivi (Tel Aviv: Keren Hayesod, 1929), 41. (BL 010076.h.9.) The chart on this page shows that over £1.2 million of the £3.6 million pound allocations from April 1921 to March 1929 went to what they very specifically call "Agricultural Colonization".

[306] Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides, *Settlers in Contested Lands: Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflicts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 11.

[307] Priya Satia, "'A Rebellion of Technology': Development, Policing, and the British Arabian Imaginary," *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa*, eds. Diana K. Davis and Edmund Burke (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 23-59.

[308] Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 280.

Bentwich phrases the settlements' goals as to "make Palestine again a fruitful land" – in his mind, and the mind of the reader, that *again* is not referring to war time famine or loss of labour, but after perceived prolonged agricultural inadequacies of the indigenous population and Ottoman administration. Jewish tourism entrepreneur, Abraham Marmorosch is explicit when claiming that the soil of new Zionist agricultural settlements was "in a neglected state when received for cultivation".[309] Tel Aviv itself is famously believed to have sprung up from the sand dunes north of Jaffa – Keren Hayesod even titled a subsection of the then suburb's birth "From Sand Dunes to Residential Suburb" in their pamphlet *Tel Aviv* whereas Myriam Harry describes it as "arisen from the sands by Zionist sorcery".[310]

Fruitfulness meant a landscape changing for the better – and for the betterment of Jewish settlers and the British Empire alike. It quite literally meant the production of fruit, as well. Myriam Harry –an Ashkenazi Jewish convert to Christianity, born in Jerusalem before moving to France – devotes entire paragraphs to

> winter oranges and summer oranges, with musk or raspberry flavours, mandarins in red copper, sanguine water catchers, citrons as huge as gourds, with granulated bark, sour lemons, sweet lemons, seven-sided, ritual lemons - the *etrog* - that pious Jews hold in their hands together with the palm, the *lulab*, when they make their sevenfold found of the synagogue on the Feast of Booths.[311]

Her devotion to Zionism after a lifetime of apathy is poetic, not least in her numerous descriptions of the orange groves of Jewish settlements. For Zionist leaning travelogues and guidebooks, this was the aim. Visiting Palestine, and Zionist settlements was part of what Michael Berkowitz calls "the climactic ritual of the process of becoming a complete Zionist."[312]

To this aim, many of the guides focused on Zionist settlements, schools, and other industrial activities, over ancient sites. In the opening section to *Tel Aviv*, the writers situate the titular

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[309] Abraham Marmorosch, *Old and New Places in Palestine and Southern Syria*, 3rd edition (Jerusalem: Azriel Press, 1941), 52.
[310] *Tel Aviv*, 6. Myrian Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine* (London: Ernest Benn, 1924), 125.
[311] Myrian Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 136.
[312] Michael Berkowitz, "The Invention of a Secular Ritual: Western Jewry and Nationalized Tourism in Palestine, 1922-1933," *Seductiveness of Jewish Myth, The: Challenge or Response?* ed. S. Daniel. Breslauer (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 73-74.

suburb to the north of Jaffa, and commenting on its "proximity to the orange-groves of the Sharon plain."[313] Its heavy emphasis on agriculture is dominated by citriculture – the one consistent crop is always oranges. Agricultural colonisation was the first step to modernization, with settlers working "orange-groves and other plantations".[314] In their *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, Keren Hayesod referred to Tel Aviv as an "ideal base" for visiting the surrounding settlements, where citriculture took centre stage, even including a picture of a packing house of Petah Tikva (see Figure 24).[315] Guides like this one were published annually in coordination with the ZIBT, and were created, as a supplement to existing travel guides, offering an alternative to "the religious and historical monuments of the country." They instead hoped to enlighten interested visitors on the "return" and "revitalization" of the Jewish people to their "ancestral soil" by highlighting "centres of Jewish colonization".[316] As discussed in the previous chapter, this dynamic of ancient and modern was a common motif in Zionist artwork. The famous travel posters by Bezalel artist Ze'ev Raban, often infused these two elements. For instance, the 1929 *Comes and See ErezIsrael* (Figure 25) features a figure standing in front of a map of the Mandate, framed by small pictures depicting holy sites, two modern schools (Bezalel and Herzliya) and two Zionist agricultural settlements.[317] Further, while not labelled, the map has markers where Zionist settlements were located.

[313] *Tel Aviv*, 3.
[314] *Tel Aviv*, 4.
[315] *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, 2nd edition, eds. Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael and Keren Hayesod (Jerusalem: Jewish National Fund, 1927), 8-12. Picture on page adjacent to page 9.
[316] *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, 9; see also, Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine," 68.
[317] Dalia Manor, *Art in Zion: The Genesis of Modern National Art in Jewish Palestine* (London: Routledge, 2004), 206. Ze'ev Raban, *Come and See ErezIsrael*, 1929, Lithograph, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem. (CZA, KRA\1153)

Figure 24: From *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, 1927 (British Library)

Figure 25: Ze'ev Raban, *Come and See ErezIsrael*, 1929. (Central Zionist Archive)

This dual dynamic played out in how Zionist travel literature perceived Jewish European, as well. Some saw themselves as "Oriental", as indigenous as the Arab population, but separate and more modern. *A Guide to Jewish Palestine* referred to the settler founders of Tel Aviv as "Jaffa Jews".[318] Norman Bentwich attempts to mirror Zionist settlement with the biblical, claiming that "the Hebrews, sprung from tribes of Arab nomads" recounting the story of slavery in Egypt, only to be delivered to "Canaan" or Palestine, "the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey, the chosen place for the chosen people."[319] For his part, Marmorosch makes clear the differences. He divides the indigenous population by location – "the Madani (city dwellers), Fellaheen (peasants) and Bedouins (nomads), who live for the most part in the desert and are camel and sheep raisers" – and comments on the treatment of their wives, who are hidden behind veils or the walls of the home, so that "no strange man may look upon her."[320] Whereas, he entitled an entire section "Jewish work in upbuilding Palestine", in which one is required to consistently pass through oranges groves to reach different settlements, including the "important industrial centre" of Ramat Gan. [321] Irving argues that in this way, Marmorosch was replicating the narrative of contemporary and nineteenth century Western travel writing, while simultaneously distancing "the 'oriental' from Jewishness" in order to legitimize imposed Zionist social and political influences.[322]

With little indication as to how to she views herself within this context, Myriam Harry calls Jaffa Tel Aviv's "patriarchal ancestor".[323] In Jerusalem her language turns to the savage, where she describes Muslim religious ceremonies turning to "homicidal fervour", "Muslim fanaticism", and Christians "whose sects forget their rivalry in common hatred of Zionism."[324] Later, while visiting Rehovot – one of the citriculture settlements on the outskirts of Tel Aviv – Harry recalls a conversation with her guide who tells her of the Yemenite community in the settlement. "We were the first to have the idea of bringing them to Palestine," he apparently tells her, "for, completely assimilated to the Arabs, they might serve as a half-way house between us, who came from Russia, and the natives." The Yemenite community, as we have seen in the previous chapter, was the "Arab Jew"

[318] *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, 8
[319] Norman Bentwich, *A Wanderer in the Promised Land*, 2.
[320] Abraham Marmorosch, *Old and New Places in Palestine and Southern Syria*, 17-18; quoted in Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine'," 5.
[321] Abraham Marmorosch, *Old and New Places in Palestine and Southern Syria*, 135.
[322] Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine'," 5.
[323] Myrian Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 125.
[324] Myrian Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 147.

caricature – seen as the living representation of Jews from biblical times, while still being "diminutive" in comparison to their Ashkenazim counterparts. Her guide continues that they were "so atrophied by their Ghetto life, that they had not the strength to wield a pickaxe: and at first, instead of helping us, they were a source of worry" and that thanks to G-d, they managed to develop strength, and became "a solid, enduring, hardworking race... useful for small-scale work" around Rehovot.[325] When asked about the Arab village in the distance, she is told that it has "enriched itself by our proximity", having modernised their way of life, and most importantly, their agricultural techniques. "The district ravaged by malaria has become, thanks to our work and our trees, one of the healthiest places in Judea."[326]

European Jews were "the most historical of people" *from* the "most historical of countries."[327] Agriculture – and citriculture more specifically – was not just a way for Jews to "return to the soil" but for the land, and the people indigenous to it, to be civilised, and modernised. Travel guides and writing were one medium in which this colonial idea of modernization could be amplified; in which Britain's colonial methods of "population redistribution, scientific governance, and the intensive exploitation of natural resources" was not only reflected and venerated in popular media, but through the mouthpiece of the "middleman minority" – Zionist Jews, whose very ideology at the time was based on the idea of agrarian nationalism.[328] Further, for Zionists, the "settlement of Palestine is not a commercial undertaking, but a work of national liberation", one which they could prove themselves worthy of by bringing "dynamism and civilization" to Palestine.[329]

Oranges and Agriculture

In Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism*, he notes that imperialism might be about land control, "but when it came to who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future – these issues were reflected, contested, and even for a time decided in narrative."[330] The narrative he is specifically referring to in this case is fictional narrative, but if we consider how

[325] Myrian Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 141.
[326] Myrian Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 141-142.
[327] Norman Bentwich, *A Wanderer in the Promised Land*, 1.
[328] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 68.
[329] *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, 37. Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine'," 10.
[330] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994), xv.

representation of modernity offered legitimacy to Zionism in contrast to Arab nationalism, then we can apply Said's idea of narrative more broadly.

Cohen-Hattab argues that one of the previously mentioned disadvantages to Zionist tour guides, was an established connection between the Arab tour guides and the main tourist company Thomas Cook.[331] Whether the disadvantage Cohen-Hattab describes in his research is legitimate or exaggerated, there are notable differences in how Tel Aviv and Zionist Agricultural Settlements are perceived after the creation of the ZIBT, and their work with Thomas Cook. By 1929, there is a clear shift in the relationship between Jaffa and Tel Aviv, one seemingly predicated on perceptions of modernity and agricultural, as well as an assumed influence from the ZIBT.

Throughout the second half of the decade, Thomas Cook offered supplementary tours that focused on Zionist Agricultural Settlements. These tours were described as "for the purpose of witnessing the progress that has been made by the Zionist Executive since the British occupation in 1917."[332] One tour offered in Thomas Cook's *Programme of Arrangements for Visiting Egypt, the Nile, Sudan, Palestine, and Syria*, Season 1929-30, was "to see Modern Palestine". This "Modern Palestine" was again a mix of ancient cities and Zionist settlements.[333] It did not include Jaffa, but instead its Jewish suburb of Tel Aviv, referring to it as "the modern Jewish town adjacent to ancient Jaffa."[334] It also included visits to the satellite agricultural settlement, Petah Tikva – known for orange cultivation – as well as several other agricultural settlements, two Zionist Agricultural Schools, and a Zionist Agricultural Experimental Station.[335] In the next two offered tours, the same thing occurs. While one might "call at Jaffa" to be driven out to Tel Aviv, the "ancient city" is not mentioned in the by-line until their "The Holy Land" tour, and even then, Tel Aviv shares the by-line, and the focus is on Zionist agricultural institutions and settlements.

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[331] Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine," 72.

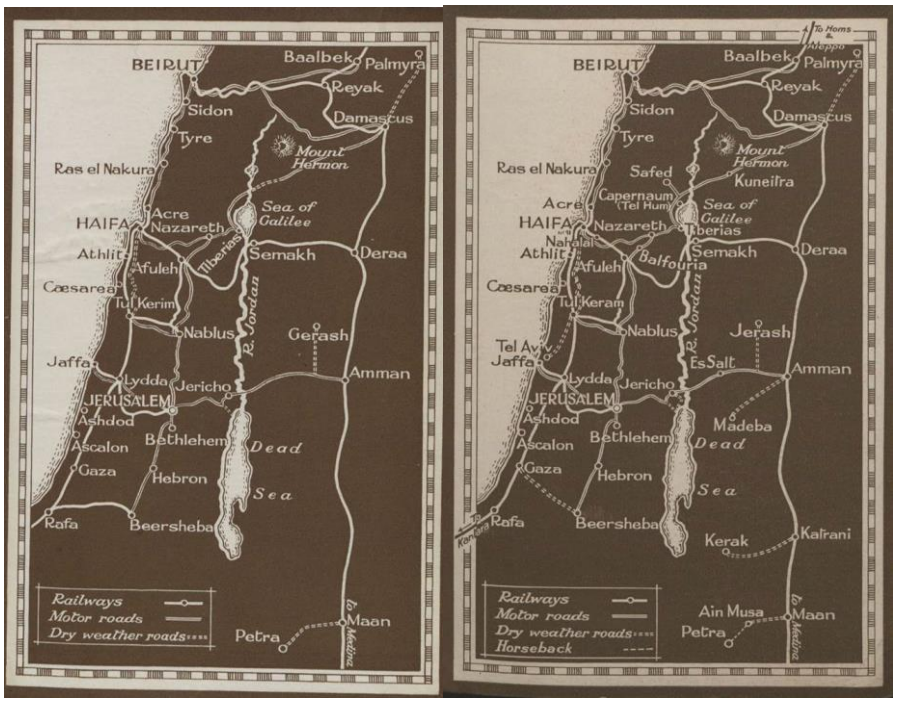
[332] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1927-28* (London: Thomas Cook, 1927), 87; *Programme of Arrangements for Visiting Egypt, the Nile, Sudan, Palestine, and Syria* Season 1925-26 (London: Thomas Cook, 1925), 80. (TCA) A full description of this reads: "In the itineraries of the foregoing Tours, visits are included to some of the most typical Jewish Agricultural Settlements, for the purpose of witnessing the progress that has been made by the Zionist Executive since the British occupation in 1917. If desired, those of the Jewish Faith can be supplied with a Jewish dragoman. We append a list of Jewish Settlements and Institutions."

[333] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1929-30* (London: Thomas Cook, 1929), 78. (TCA)

[334] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1929-30*, 79

[335] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1929-30*, 78-79.

Unsurprisingly, this discrepancy is equally apparent in descriptions of "Jaffa and Tel Aviv". The same 1929-1930 Thomas Cook programme gives a short, biblically oriented description of Jaffa, before going into a longer description of "the modern town of Tel Aviv (Hill of Spring), which, together with Jaffa, is the centre of the great orange-growing industry." The depiction of Tel Aviv as a "modern town", gives it prominence over the older, larger, and more established Jaffa. To the writers of the programme, the "story of Tel Aviv reads like a romance." And they reiterate the imagery of Tel Aviv being built from sand dunes by "Jews of Jaffa". After a brief stagnation in progress from the War, and the "British Zionist Pledge" that was the Balfour Declaration, they claim that Western Jews – from Europe and the United States – "began flocking" to the Tel Aviv, which is describes as "a Jewish municipality, and enjoys the reputation of being the only hundred-per-cent Jewish town in the world." They describe it as having broad streets and first-class hotels, emphasizing its modern elements.[336] There is also an evolution of interest in their included maps. The map of Mandate Palestine in the 1927-1928 programme only has Jaffa marked and labelled, while 1929-1930 has both Jaffa and Tel Aviv in equal standing (Figures 26 and 27).



Figures 26 and 27: *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 27-28* (left) *Season 29-30* (right) (Thomas Cook Archive)

[336] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1929-30*, 99.

Thomas Cook's *Traveler's Gazette* produced a number of articles that focused on the Palestine as the "Holy Land", with Zionism and/or British intervention viewed as modern comparisons to the antiquity of the people and land. For example, in a 1924 article on "The Flowers of Palestine" in the *Gazette*, the author reminds their readers that "forests no longer exist in Palestine", but there are large groves of various fruit trees such as figs, olives, apricots, and of course, oranges.[337] It argued that the Holy Land was not as lush as it once was, but it had the civilizing touch of flourishing agriculture. In a December 1925 book review from the *Gazette*, the modernization narrative is far more explicit. The review covers Albert Montefiore Hyamson's *Palestine Old and New*, summarizing that the main object of the travel guide is to detail the work done by the British administration and the WZO in terms of "political reorganization and industrial development" in contrast to "the physical characteristic and history of the land."[338] The review predicts a future land that is "prosperous, orderly and content", where already advances had "been made in the work of bringing Palestinian affairs into line with the modern ideas of progress."[339] Where the "manifestations of Western energy are strikingly observed [is] in the industrial activities which have followed Jewish settlers and Jewish capital; and not a little in the great advances that has occurred in the direction of Palestinian agriculture."[340] By 1925, Thomas Cook was already invested in the idea that Zionism, and Zionist agriculture, was part of the *modernizing* of the antiquated Palestine. This was not the first time Thomas Cook had equated modernization with agriculture in the context of Palestine – nor even implicitly with citriculture. In their 1891 *Palestine and Syria*, they make few positive observations about Jaffa, but they end the city's section with a note on the German Colony that had sprung up. While the guide does not mention orange groves in their description of the colony, the German Colony had one of the first successful European citriculture ventures in that area, which "although, with the many unfavourable circumstances around them, they make slow progress, it is a fact that they make progress. The tourist who is interested in the question of what Palestine is capable of becoming will do well to visit this colony".[341] Seemingly, by the early Mandate, Zionists were simply the latest Europeans to offer "progress" to the Holy Land.

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[337] "The Flower of Palestine," *Travellers Gazette*, February 1925, 8. (TCA)
[338] "Palestine Old and New," *Traveller's Gazette*, December 1925, 14. (TCA)
[339] "Palestine Old and New," *Traveller's Gazette*, 14
[340] "Palestine Old and New," *Traveller's Gazette*, 14. (TCA)
[341] *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook, 1891), 74.

This does not mean that all visitors to Palestine embraced or even mentioned Zionist agricultural. Hadley Watkins' *Lure of the East* were taken from "notes" of a Thomas Cook tour.[342] It primarily focuses on the biblical associations with the land, "…the golden link which connects so much of what I have seen and tried to pass on to any interested, is the fact that so large a part of my itinerary is inseparably associated with 'The Land of the Book.'"[343] Because of this, very little time is given to Jaffa, and no mention of Tel Aviv. He spent only one day in Jaffa, "the city of oranges", and mentions the house of Simon the Tanner, before giving a short history of Jaffa, which to Watkin's was "associated with the Prophet Jonah and his ill-fated sea trip to Tarshish, also with its orange groves, its gardens of pomegranates, its citrons, figs, palms and olive trees."[344] Watkins' focus on the biblical almost entirely excludes the human element of Palestine. One of the few interactions he records is that of an English speaking "Syrian". This gentleman apparently rejoiced at British administration of Palestine after the war, but claimed "I would rather the Turks than the Jews.""[345] Both men appear to conclude that the security and prosperity of Palestine was "due to *British Control*."[346]

Of course, Thomas Cook was not the only British travel guide to the area. At the end of the war, *The Palestine News* created a series of guidebooks for members of the military forces still stationed in the area, "Based on the well-known enemy publication Baedeker's Palestine and Syria". *A Guide-Book to Southern Palestine* is the one most relevant here, as it included Jaffa. While it does mention orange groves – and includes them on the map of the city – it gives no explicit human context to them, and makes no mention of Tel Aviv, even on included maps. It is important to note that this guidebook was published in 1918. Thomas Cook had not even included Tel Aviv on its maps until at least a few years into the Mandate. That Tel Aviv was not included does not mean it ignored Zionist settlements. For instance, it makes special mention that taking the train from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the "line skirts the orange-gardens in the environs of Jaffa… [and to] the right lies *Mikweh Israel.*" The colony is later described as "where Jews are taught agriculture." [347] The guide gives a reasonable

[342] Hadley Watkins, *"The Lure of the East": Travel Notes of a Tour from Cairo to Damascus Baalbek and Marseilles* (Bournemouth, 1928), 2.
[343] Hadley Watkins, *"The Lure of the East,"* 35.
[344] Hadley Watkins, *"The Lure of the East,"* 34.
[345] Hadley Watkins, *"The Lure of the East,"* 22.
[346] Hadley Watkins, *"The Lure of the East,"* 23; emphasis in original.
[347] *A Guide-Book to Southern Palestine*, ed. Harry Pirie-Gordan (The Palestine News, 1918), 36-37.

amount of attention to the Zionist agricultural settlements, making specific mention of Petah Tikvah, "the largest of the Jewish Colonies in Judea" and includes a list of settlements for "travelers interested in the Zionist movement", as well as noting Richon LeZion "one of the most important of the Jewish Colonies"[348]. Surprisingly, it also gives a little credit to the Ottoman administration by acknowledging the significant export of oranges going out through the Jaffa port prior to the war. However, it makes sure to let the reader know that this was "in spite of the absence of facilities for handling trade or accommodating ships".[349] The idea of Ottoman mismanagement still needed to be reinforced. It also semi-lauds the plain of Sharon, which were "famed in the ancient times for is luxuriant fertility and good pastures." It notes that "Beneath the sand is excellent soil, and water is found everywhere; vines thrive admirably. Apiculture is also pursued with success."[350] In this way, the guide reinforces the idea of an ancient precedent for fertility of the land, while offering the suggestion that this potential still exists.

Four years later, on the cusp of the Mandate, 1922, the first edition of *The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* was printed by Macmillan, "Issued under the Authority of the Government of Palestine". It had a second edition published in 1930, and a third in 1934. The 1922 edition describes the "Jewish agricultural colonies" as being scientifically and agriculturally developed "far in advance of anything else of the kind in Palestine." It reiterates the theme of an "uncultivated and unpromising land" being transformed into well-cultivated and successful "plantations", which were responsible for the further development of the Jaffa orange trade.[351] The second edition gives even more details into this development, claiming that the "Jewish settlements as well as the settlements of the German Templars… have effected a great change in the agricultural development of Palestine." Again, as we saw in the previous chapter, the growing of grains and pastoral work is associated with "primitive methods" and pre-Mandate agriculture. Conversely, the settlers were once again seen as responsible for modernizing agriculture and scientific methods, as well as "the development of orange production and other citrus fruits," among other agricultural cultivation, like tobacco and viticulture, "all of which have had a marked

[348] *A Guide-Book to Southern Palestine*, 28, 36-37
[349] *A Guide-Book to Southern Palestine*, 21
[350] *A Guide-Book to Southern Palestine*, 28. Apiculture is beekeeping.
[351] *The Handbook of Palestine*, ed. Harry Charles Luke and Edward Keith-Roach (London: Macmillan, 1922), 55.

influence on the economic advance of the country."[352] Zionist orange groves at this time were still outnumbered by Arab orange groves, which will be discussed in greater detail in later chapters. But here it is very clear, that to the Mandate government, and what is hoped to the reader, Zionism is being associated with these economically viable fruits and agriculture, like the Jaffa orange. Moreover, while Zionism is portrayed as modern, to be Arab is to be primitive. This is not separate from the idea of the desolate land myth, but very much a part of it.

The desolate land myth included uncultivated or common land. In eighteenth century Britain and France, they were seen as wasted land, and those who used common land were portrayed as "being poor, indolent, potentially dangerous, and inherently inferior."[353] By the nineteenth century, with the rise of colonialism, this extended to arid lands colonised by the two countries; the belief being that the peoples (and animals) on the land were to blame for their desertification. Palestine in particular was viewed through this lens, with travellers to the region believing that the area "had been transformed from a fertile and fecund region" into a desert by "multiple invasions, including the Arab invasions."[354] As discussed in the Introduction, drought was seen as "moral retribution" and the deserts of the Middle East were considered "a fallen Eden" that required redemption from the primitiveness of the Arab population.[355] This informed, and fed into, the perception of the Arab population as uncivilised, "the static remnants of Biblical civilisations or Islamicate societies stereotyped as uniformed moribund."[356]

The ZIBT had not been incorrect with their observation that most travel guides and writing focused on the biblical. Looking back to Thomas Cook's material, biblical and antiquated sites were the dominate features. With the railway back up and running under British

[352] *The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, ed. Harry Charles Luke and Edward Keith-Roach (London: Macmillan, 1930), 67.
[353] Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands: History, Power, Knowledge* (Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2016), 72
[354] Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands*, 75
[355] See Richard Grove, "Scottish Missionaries, Evangelical Discourses and the Origins of Conservation Thinking in Southern Africa 1820-1900," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 15.2, Special Issue on The Politics of Conservation in Southern Africa (January 1989), 163-187; Priya Satia, "'A Rebellion of Technology': Development, Policing, and the British Arabian Imaginary," *Environmental Imaginaries of the Middle East and North Africa*, eds. Diana K. Davis and Edmund Burke (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2011), 23-59. Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands,* 81-116.
[356] Sarah Irving, "'This is Palestine'," 5

administration, Thomas Cook's itineraries advertised "that Jerusalem may be reached from Cairo in less than fifteen hours by comfortable trains with dining and sleeping cars, few visitors to Egypt will care to miss so convenient an opportunity for seeing the Holy City and some, at least, of the sacred sites of Palestine." [357] Pictures for the "Palestine" section includes mostly photographic landscapes. When they do include people, they are a part of that landscape – either non-descript figures in the foreground, or depict what one might perceive as the orientalist stereotype of the "noble nomad" and poverty stricken Arab.[358] They are not participating in agriculture, not connecting with the soil. Mary Hatch's *Travel Talks on the Holy Land* was almost entirely within the context of the land's biblical association. She makes plenty of mention about the environs, describing Jaffa as "the land of orange groves, miles and miles of them, a beautiful dark shining green."[359] Yet everything she describes comes back to the biblical, any people mentioned are simply ornaments of the past and their environment, with little agency outside of this. G.B. Duncan does something similar in his *On Sapphire Seas to Palestine*, where he describes the oarsmen taking him across the Sea of Galilee. "They look like Arabs," he writes, "but for all we know they may be descendants of Peter, Andrew, and Philip, whose native place Bethsaida was."[360] In his *In and About Palestine*, Alfred Forder begins his book with a picture of a fully covered "Sinai Woman" holding a barefoot, and skinny child, while the bulk of his book focuses on holy sites and biblical references, with a few passages about the modern plight of Ashkenazim in Europe and "a flourishing Jewish colony" near the Sea of Galilee.[361]

Looking back at *The Handbook of Palestine and Syria*, which was approved by the Mandate government, edited by the Assistant Governor of Jerusalem and the Assistant Chief Secretary to the Government of Palestine, with an introduction by the then High Commissioner for Palestine, Herbert Samuel, there is another division to consider. As within of forms of settler colonialism, especially that of arid regions, agriculture is the modernizing, civilizing force. As mentioned above, the *Handbooks* includes long passages about the importance of the Balfour Declaration and Zionist agricultural settlements. This extended, a bit, to the Arabic speaking population as well, which was divided into "the Syrians" who

[357] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1925-6*, 4
[358] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season 1925-6*, 94-5, 73, 102 (respectively).
[359] Mary A Hatch, *Travel Talks on the Holy Land* (London: Marshall Brother Ltd, 1925), 57.
[360] GB Duncan, *On Sapphire Seas to Palestine: A Tour in the Holy Land of To-Day* (London: DC Thomson & Co, 1927), 14.
[361] Archibald Forder, *In and About Palestine* (London: RTS, 1919), 47.

were “agriculturalists and dwellers in towns, civilized, industrial, and of peaceful inclinations” and “the Arabs” – most likely misidentified Bedouins – who were “pastoral people organized in tribes and with a natural tendency towards inter-tribal warfare.”[362] There is clearly a distinction here between those who participate in agriculture and those who do not. Jacob Norris argues that the Bedouin population during this time were often romanticised as “noble savages” who were seen as part of the landscape but could not participate in its restoration.[363]

This does not somehow civilize “the Syrian” to the position of the Zionist settler in the eyes of those writing the guide. There were clear distinctions made between “the Syrians” and Jews in terms of ancestry, and in terms of modernity. Jews are set apart due to the belief that they spoke Aramaic rather than Arabic at the start of the Christian era. Whereas Jewish immigration is neutral or even in some case, positive, at least at this point, Arab immigration is viewed as "Arab infiltration" from the “Arabian Desert”.[364] A clear divide was created between the settler population and the indigenous inhabitants.

Smell and Orientalism in Travel Writing

Their desert association was not the only way in which the Arab population was seen as set apart from their European Christian and Jewish counterparts. In his *Lure of the East*, Hadley wrote of seeing Beirut from the sea it “rivals Naples. In its abominable smell it also can claim to a be a good second.”[365] The use of smell, and even in one instance here, sound, in travel writing offers its readers a portal to that world without having to set foot there. It enhances the narrative being offered of a people, in both positive and negative ways.

In her work on the “olfactory imagination” of Ancient Christianity, Susan A Harvey observed that in both Christian ritual and legend, “fragrance and stench not only symbolized

[362] *The Handbook of Palestine*, 35. See also Robert Fletcher, British Imperialism and ‘the Tribal Question’: Desert Administration and Nomadic Societies in the Middle East, 1919-1936 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 196-197. Fletcher argues that the European mentality towards nomadic life – the lack of immovable property – was seen in a moral light. By maintaining a mobile lifestyle, they were seen as lazy, lacking in character, and “developmentally static”.
[363] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 141.
[364] *The Handbook of Palestine*, 36.
[365] Hadley Watkins, *“The Lure of the East”*, 33. Punctuation as is from original source.

redemption and damnation, but also were active and powerful agents by which those conditions were effected."[366] This translated during the Enlightenment to “clean” and “unclean”, “civilised” and “savage”. To the French Annales historian Alain Corbin, “the absence of intrusive odor enabled the individual to distinguish himself from the putrid masses”. In terms of class, smell enabled the middle and upper classes to justify any avoidance, ill-treatment, or patronization of the labouring classes.[367]

The stench of Beirut for Hadley was not simply a stench, it was a moral condemnation, based both on race and class. Descriptions of sensory reaction were yet another way travel writing portrayed “the attending binaries of civilised/uncivilised and safe/dangerous.” To Debbie Lisl, the travel writer represents “the front lines of global politics”. Through leaving the known and thus “safe” confines of their environment, they are able to relay the dangers “that lurk elsewhere and remind readers of the security and comfort of their homes.”[368] While Lisl is specifically referring to global travel, *home* and *elsewhere* do not have to be geographic locations, but can encompass social strata as well. Aparajita Mukhopadhyay offers us a glimpse of this in her social history of the railways in colonial India. She quotes the *Urdu Akhbar* as claiming that men of different classes should not be sitting in the same train carriage, in order for the upper-class men to “avoid the disgust which [they] feel in being to sit with the [lower class], but also to prevent their health from being injured by the bad smell emitted by the persons of the latter.”[369] In this case, security from offending smells, the comfort of more familiar sensory experiences, and all that these things symbolize.

Hadley’s Beirut was not simply a *European* visiting a non-European space. His comparison to that of Naples clearly indicates there were other elements at play. Jaffa differentiates itself from the Beirut of Hadley’s senses in one distinct way: citriculture. When written about, the descriptions of its orange groves are almost poetic. It was a place that visitors from the nineteenth century would give picturesque descriptions, that lent an additional layer to the

[366] Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 203.
[367] Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination* (Leamington Spa: Berg, 1986), 143.
[368] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 136
[369] Cited in Aparajita Mukhopadhyay, *Imperial Technology and 'Native' Agency: A Social History of Railways in Colonial India, 1850-1920* (London: Routledge, 2018), 124.

secondary experience. Porter offers his readers an evaluation of *taste*: “Nowhere in the world are the orange-groves more luxuriant or the fruit of finer flavour.”[370] Whereas Laura Valentine poetically describes Jaffa as a "beautifully situated city, rising from the shore up its hill, and set in a living girdle of palms, pomegranates, orange groves, apricots, and almond trees – a mass of bloom – filling the air with fragrance."[371] Into the 1920s, and even well past 1948, descriptions of the sights of verdant orange groves, the taste of the produce, and the smell of the fragrant orange blossoms were common. [372] Oranges were a sensory experience in Jaffa, and became equally so in Tel Aviv and the Zionist settlements.

Yet, the orange groves were often linguistically and religiously removed from the people who cultivated them. In an 1891 edition of *Palestine and Syria*, Thomas Cook offered a less than charming description of the city itself, claiming that it was beautiful from a distance

> but the reverse of beautiful in the midst of its streets, which are dirty, narrow, and winding. The houses are built promiscuously, and although looking picturesque from a distance, command no admiration from a nearer view. Donkeys and camels may be met with in the streets, but not vehicles.”[373]

When it came to the surrounding oranges groves, it is more reminiscent of Valentine and Porter’s praise:

> The most interesting thing in Jaffa for the sight-seer is the *Orange Groves*. They are extensive, easily accessible, and the fruit is exquisite; on some of the trees hundreds of ripe luscious oranges may be seen, oval in shape, and some measuring from ten to fifteen inches in circumference. The traveller must by no means omit to visit here: the aroma in the evening and early morning is delicious, and every sweet scent should be courted in Palestine.[374]

Words such as *exquisite*, *luscious*, *delicious*, *sweet scent* play with our senses. They are also detached from what we would imagine *dirty* to be, and certainly offer a contrast to the smell of livestock, with the implication of poverty. If we contextualize that implication with the

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[370] Josias Leslie Porter, *Jerusalem, Bethany and Bethlehem* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1887), x.
[371] L. Valentine, *Palestine Past and Present* (London: Frederick Warne & Co, 1893), 6.
[372] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine*, (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2005), 2.
[373] *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, 73.
[374] Ibid; emphasis in original.

final sentence that pleasant smells are hard to come by in the region, it is not a stretch to imagine where in the hierarchy the general population is placed, even in their absence.

While Tel Aviv was not yet imagined, let alone created, at the time of this edition of this particular Thomas Cook guide, there is already a disconnect between the Arab "town of Jaffa" and its surrounding environs. A 1912 account from Sir Frederick Treves offers the same sort of sensory distinction. He writes that the alleyway to the house of Simon the Tanner as "singularly rich in both mud and garbage", which from the rest of his description is not simply offensive to the nose, but to the spirit, given that it "is one of the few ancient relics in Jaffa." It probably did not help that it was "represented by a mean little mosque."[375] In comparison, the "environs" are a "vast pool of unfathomable green dotted with gold which marks the orange grove". He reminisces that in the time of St Peter, it would have been "a city of enchantment... in whose streets still floats the perfume of the cedar wood of Tyre."[376] Treves' second edition came out in 1928, with very little changes. His descriptions are as we saw earlier, divided between the city and the groves. However, there is a religious element to this comparison, including a divide between Muslim and Christian. The setting for the home of Simon the Tanner is offensive, both in smell and disrespect, and near a poorly constructed Islamic house of prayer. Yet, out near the Russian monastery, among the orange groves, Treves is able to better connect with the biblical.

Late nineteenth century accounts of Jewish quarters in Venice, Istanbul, and Russian cities are broadly similarly described. Although lacking in an explicit description of smell, there is an implication of the same sensory experience of Middle Eastern cities. Théophile Gautier refers to Jewish beggars in Russia as "'Rothschilds in rags'" [377], while the Jewish quarter in Istanbul, Balata, was "the residue of four centuries of oppression and snubs, the manure under which this people, exiled everywhere, huddles." [378] The houses "were sick men. The

[375] Sir Frederick Treves, *The Land that is Desolate: An Account of a Tour in Palestine* (London: John Murray, 1928), 17. Originally published in 1912.
[376] Ibid.
[377] Théophile Gautier, *OEuvres complètes. Voyages. Vol. 5: Voyage en Russie*, ed. S. Zenkine (Paris, 2007), 343; quoted in Julie Kalman, "The Jew in the Scenery: Historicizing Nineteenth-Century Travel Literature," *French History* 27:4, (December 2013), 526.
[378] Théophile Gautier, *Constantinople* (Paris, 1853), 231; quoted in Julie Kalman, "The Jew in the scenery", 521-2.

roofs appeared to have tinea and the walls, leprosy; the flakes of greying coating were coming away like the layers of a skin covered in sores." [379] As for Venice, Gautier writes

> Several of these houses counted nine storeys: nine zones of wretches, of squalid filth and labours. All the forgotten illnesses of Oriental leper-houses seemed to be eating into these peeling walls… There were no right angles; everything was piled up unsteadily; one level went in, and another bulged; the windows, sticky, obstructed, or murky, had not one pane of glass intact."[380]

These are earlier accounts granted, but the dehumanizing, and, for lack of a better word, *dirty* descriptions of the Jewish quarters of Europe in some ways mirror those of Jaffa's perceived *stench*. Jerusalem born, Myriam Harry's writing offered a strong rebuke of the city of Jaffa. Referring to alleys, she writes: "But, oh, horror of horrors! they are full of rubbish and haunted by nauseating odours. (Alas! nowadays it is thus all over the East; one has to choose between filth and banality.) And is the picturesque charming if one can't breathe?" [381] This is not simply Jaffa, but a condemnation of "the East". Corbin comments that, starting in the eighteenth century, the senses progressively became tools of analysis, "sensitive gauges for the degree of pleasantness or unpleasantness of the physical environment."[382] By the nineteenth century through to the First World War, they were associated with *cleanliness* – or lack thereof – which was a further indicator of modernity. In mid-nineteenth century Britain, Edwin Chadwick published his *Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*, leading to what Ruth Rogaski calls "hygienic modernity".[383] Julie Kalman attempts to argue that travel writing "was not always merely one more bridge carrying imperialist culture across the Mediterranean. Travel writing was an extension of culture; travellers, after all, took themselves along with them wherever they went."[384] Culture within an empire is a reflection of those colonial perceptions, however. If one grows up believing in a hierarchy of humanity, in the more primitive and modern based on the

[379] Ibid.
[380] Théophile Gautier, *Italia* (Paris, 1855), 385–86; quoted in Julie Kalman, "The Jew in the Scenery", 519.
[381] Myriam Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 126.
[382] Jaques Guillerme, 'Le Malsain et l'economie de la nature.' XVIII Siecle, 9 (1997); quoted in Alain Corbin, *The Foul and the Fragrant*, 61.
[383] See Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004); Xuelei Huang, "Deodorizing China: Odour, Ordure, and Colonial (Dis)order in Shanghai, 1840s–1940s," *Modern Asian Studies* 50:3 (2016), 1092–1122.
[384] Julie Kalman, "The Jew in the Scenery," 530.

virtues of cleanliness and afforestation, those beliefs will also be taken along. As Lisle argues, travel writing "requires the author to discriminate between what is familiar and what is exotic so that readers are satisfied that they are encountering people and places that are sufficiently foreign."[385] In this way, the smells of Jaffa do not just contrast to the floral smells of the Jaffa oranges, it is not simply unpleasant, much like the land itself, it is another sign of primitive *foreignness*.

And while some guides do not mention stench when discussing Jaffa, such as *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, they also tend to eliminate any sense of modernity in Jaffa or the people. On the orange groves, Matson writes that "In spring the thousands of orange trees in the orchards laden the balmy atmosphere with a fragrance of intoxicating sweetness." But it is not the humans who cultivate those oranges who strive to make "a land flowing with milk and honey", it is the bees. [386] This would simply be whimsical, if not that some of the same biblical allusions are placed on Jaffa, while its "sister-town" Tel Aviv is described as a picture of progress and modernity. He even offers an auditory description of Tel Aviv when discussing Hebrew, claiming that "when one walks in its streets it is this language... that greets the ear at every hand."[387] In the previously mentioned "The Flowers of Palestine" article from the *Travellers Gazette*, Spring in Palestine is beautiful, where "atmosphere is soft and full of fragrance, and the hills are ablaze with a carpet of flowers." But the only people mentioned are either biblical or the villages "filled with picturesque people." [388] And again, this might feel accidental, but it fits a pattern that falls within the parameters of our previously mentioned definition of *Biblical Orientalism* – that is, it fails to give the indigenous population a landscape, culture, or history that is removed from the biblical. Instead, they are part of the landscape. They are not agents of progress and modernity like the British and Zionists. This contrasts sharply with descriptions of Tel Aviv and the Zionist agricultural colonies.

Returning once again to Myriam Harry's flowery description, we see the orange groves of Tel Aviv and the surrounding settlements littered throughout her travelogue. She waxes lyrical about the orange groves of the agricultural settlements, "where the little suns have given

[385] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, 71.
[386] G. Olaf Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide* (Jerusalem: The American Colony Stores, 1930), 219.
[387] G. Olaf Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, 233.
[388] "The Flower of Palestine" *Travellers Gazette* Vol 2.8, February 1925 (London: Thomas Cook), 8. (TCA)

way to a fragrant snow, to myriads of white stars whose delicious smell at last becomes too much".[389] In Tel Aviv it is the "perfumes of orange and mimosa"[390]:

> Tel-Aviv, Tel Aviv, "Hill of Spring," hill full of life, how well you justify your name, built between the waves of your sea and the sea of your fragrances!... I remember the evening of our arrival!... we drove between hedges of gardens; we journeyed through the divine fragrances; the spirit of the mimosa and orange-blossom carried us away; and it was with our heads deliciously turned that we got our of our automobile in front of a modern villa of Tel-Aviv, the lively, the Jewish.[391]

This "Jewish" element is again a religious contrast. Matti Bunzl argues that in the same way 'the Jewish Question' dominated Europe during this time period of 'the nation-state', it has now been replaced by 'the Muslim Question'.[392] The question itself being who is *foreign* and who can be considered a member of the nation-state. However, in Palestine, this question already existed. The Arab population was not viewed as equal partners, equally responsible for the land or industry, equally legitimate tenants of Palestine. Instead, through various means, they were delegitimised as a people capable of self-determination, and thus not the rightful inheritors of such an ancient and spiritually important land.[393] Smell is one of many ways to understand how these divisions were perceived on a cultural level. The fragrance of the Jaffa orange was becoming the fragrance of Tel Aviv and Zionist progress.

Conclusion

In his final chapter, of *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, American Harry Emerson Fosdick encounters the Zionist agricultural settlements. Fosdick is encouraged by how the "brief and easy" read of the Balfour Declaration was being transformed into the tangible. He sees the settlements as a "visibly exciting offering" with "spectacles of heroic adventure and possibilities of tragic failure." [394] The settlers impress him through their hard work and their

[389] Myriam Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 137.
[390] Myriam Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 128.
[391] Myriam Harry, *A Springtide in Palestine*, 125.
[392] Matti Bunzl, *Anti-Semitism and Islamophobia: Hatreds Old and New in Europe* (Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press, 2007), n/a.
[393] See Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*; and Sherene Seikaly, "Meatless Days: Consumption and Capitalism in Wartime Palestine, 1939-1948" PhD diss. New York University, New York (2007).
[394] Harry Emerson Fosdick, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, 9.

youth – a detail he is particularly struck by, as he informs the reader that the oldest colonist is 40 years old. He reiterates the belief that these colonists "were endeavoring to make their ancient land bloom."

> This is Zionism in the concrete. This is the cutting edge and crucial exhibition. Here its enthusiasm meets the test of barren, unwatered land and poor soil, costing immense expenditures of toil and means to transform into fertility. And here, too, are the lure and thrill of Zionism, where pioneers dedicate life to the rebuilding of the Holy Land.[395]

This 1934 copy was the third British edition of Fosdick's travelogue, meaning the publisher found it economically viable enough to have another edition printed. Whatever problems he outlines in this chapter, he still felt it worthy enough to call this chapter "Palestine of Tomorrow" after an entire journey through the biblical. Even before this chapter, he writes in admiration of the Zionist endeavour, claiming that "Wherever there is a Zionist colony, the trees by tens of thousands are being planted again."[396] While the more immediate future saw the protests of 1936-1939 and "the violent climate of the late 1930s" disrupt tourism, the idea of prosperity persisted.[397]

Like Fosdick, many travellers to the area were impressed by the "fruitfulness" of these settlements. Travel writers and guides often depicted them as a modernizing force in a biblical land, with the orange as the symbol of this agricultural success. The Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists pushed the narrative of an ancient people returning to revitalize a desolate land – a narrative already found in many travelogues and guides. This revitalization was in large part represented through citriculture. And even if orange groves, or agriculture more generally would never become *the* tourist attract in Palestine, it was able to fit within the Biblical narrative favoured by tourism. There would never been something that could overtake the religious symbolism of Palestine. Orange groves would never be the cherry trees of Japan, but they did not need to be. Just something as simple as

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[395] Harry Emerson Fosdick, *A Pilgrimage to Palestine*, 9.
[396] *Ibid.*
[397] Kobi Cohen-Hattab, "Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine", 76. According to the 1936 Report on the Mandate, "On account of the disorders the tourist trade practically ceased". United Kingdom, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the. Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the year 1936* (London: H.M.S.O., 1936).

the smell in the market could remind you of or transport you to Palestine, and that is, in itself powerful.

The importance of the Jaffa orange was in its association with productive cultivation. Through a transformation an arid landscape, Zionist settlers were modernizing Palestine. The native Arab population was seen as primitive, hostile, and in part responsible for the desertification of a once fruitful land. They were part of the biblical landscape of Palestine but not rightful inhibitors. Conversely, Zionist Jews were the middlemen of Britain's colonial expansion into Palestine, perceived as the "intermediary race between white Europeans and natives", their job was to revitalize and civilise the landscape and the people. [398] This division of legitimacy translated into a hierarchy of power – one clearly outlined on the very maps of the Mandate.

[398] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 85.

Chapter Three: Citriculture as Power in Cartography

The dualism of "civilised/uncivilised", "safe/dangerous" that Debbie Lisle discussed in the context of travel writing, is not exclusive to the written word. Rather, she argues travel writing is the "textual reproductions that mimic cartography's desire to represent the world accurately."[399] Whether for leisure, political control, or academic pursuits, the aim of these exercises in the modern world has been to further knowledge of an area unfamiliar to the reader. That does not mean they exist without bias. Geography, like history, is not innocent.[400] This chapter will be framed around Anderson's belief that maps – and mapmaking – constituted one of "three institutions of power", as discussed in the Introduction. Maps do not exist on their own in an intellectual or cultural vacuum, but rather "are always discursive; they make sense only to the extent that they are bolstered by already circulating myths, messages, and meanings about the world."[401] Much like nationalist myths, they are created and subconsciously read as "pre-eminently a language of power".[402] This is no less true in the context of Mandatory Palestine.

The surveying of Palestine began 53 years prior to British control of the region, and about a decade or so before the first Zionist settlements. Between 1864 and 1869, Ordinance Survey sent a team to the Ottoman controlled Palestine to map Jerusalem and the Sinai, followed in 1871 to 1888 by the Palestine Exploration Fund's Survey of Western and then Eastern Palestine.[403] These surveys had been conducted with a mix of religious and imperial

[399] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 138.
[400] Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imagination* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 6; see also John Pickles, *A History of Spaces Cartographic: Reason, Mapping, and the Geo-Coded World* (London: Routledge, 2004), 5-6; and Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient: British Maps and the Making of the Middle East, 1854-1921* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 3-4.
[401] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing*, 138; see also, Yoram Bar-Gal, "The Blue Box and JNF Propaganda Maps, 1930-1947," *Israel Studies* 8:1 (Spring 2003), 1-19: "A map is not a 'divine truth'; it is not reality itself; it is not objective—it is, rather, a representation of the reality which the maker of the map wishes to present."
[402] JB Harley, "Maps, knowledge and power," *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments*, eds. Denis E. Cosgrove, Stephen Daniels (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 79; quoted in Naom Levin, et al., "Maps and the Settlement of Southern Palestine, 1799-1948: An historical/GIS analysis", *Journal of Historical Geography* 36:1 (2010), 1. Harley argues that unlike other forms of media, such as art, music, or literature, are "largely controlled by dominant groups."
[403] Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation: A Biography of the Ordnance Survey* (London: Granta, 2010), 302-305; *The Survey of Western Palestine (1871-1877)*, eds. C.R. Conder and H.H. Kitchener (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, c.1881-88).

idealism, and potential military concerns. Rachel Hewitt has suggested that the Ordinance Survey's mapping of Jerusalem and the Sinai was in part a way to spy on the French engineers, who were at the time, in the process of constructing the Suez Canal in Egypt.[404] There been an increase of surveys and maps in the Middle East from the Crimean War onwards. Daniel Folliard analysed fifty years (1831-1880) of Royal Geographical Society (RGS) publications and found those on Greater Syria (also known as the Levant, comprising of modern-day Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria) to be at 5 per cent, whereas India only constituted 3.9 per cent. Looking at the Foreign Office's map library from 1850 to 1919, there is a clear spike in maps on the Middle East right before the Anglo-Egyptian War in 1882.[405] However, as previously discussed, for some influential officials, like Charles Warren, there was also a religious element. Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) were not simply interested in the military or scientific exploration of the Holy Land. To put it simply, they had an "idealistic imperial religious wish to possess the land for the British Empire".[406]

Among the maps created during the second half of the nineteenth century, there were several that mark the orange groves surrounding Jaffa, including the PEF's "Old Jaffa Sheet" from 1873. It also indicates the presence of a "Jewish Agricultural School" - which we can presume is a reference to Mikveh Israel, the oldest Zionist agricultural school in the region, founded only three years prior in 1870.[407] Another focused entirely on constructing a map of "Jaffa and Orange Gardens".[408] This early focus on agriculture, and more specifically, citriculture, of the region points, at least in part, to the growing popularity of the Jaffa orange in Britain. According to a bulletin put out by the Royal Botanical Garden, Kew, in 1893:

[404] Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation*, 302.
[405] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 10-11.
[406] Haim Goren, "Sacred, but Not Surveyed: Nineteenth-Century Surveys of Palestine," *Imago Mundi* 54:1 (2002), 101.
[407] CR Condor and HH Kitchner. *Old Jaffa Sheet*. [Scale: 1:63,360]. Palestine Exploration Fund: 18 August 1873. (PEF, M/WS/182)
[408] Palestine Exploration Fund. *Map of Jaffa and Orange Gardens*. [Scale: n/a] Palestine Exploration Fund: c.1890's. (PEF, DA/HAN/1.521)

> In 1883 there were exported to the United Kingdom 11,278 boxes of Jaffa oranges. Since that time the trade has considerably increased, and at the present time the exports have reached 36,000 boxes.[409]

However, Christian Zionism's Biblical Orientalism cannot be overlooked. As previously discussed, in his book *The Land of Gilead, with Excursions in the Lebanon*, Laurence Oliphant outlined his plan for Jewish "restoration" of Palestine.[410] It included the agricultural modernization of the land, alongside the improvement of the railway systems, as "the first step towards the restoration of the Holy Land generally to the prosperous condition which enabled it in olden time to maintain a dense and thriving population."[411] While Oliphant's writing is laden with antisemitic tropes of the mythically constructed homogenised Jews as a "wealthy, powerful, and cosmopolitan race," it is his instance that his belief in restoration was shared by "officers who have surveyed the country on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund," which is of more interest to our understanding of the evolution of agricultural surveying in Palestine. [412] As mentioned, Oliphant had quoted Charles Warren's *Land of Promise* in his own work. However, Warren's *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem*, with Claude Reignier Conder, makes little reference to Jewish restoration. Instead, Warren and Conder surmise that "It is no idle dream to suppose that Palestine might, in a few years, become a land flowing with milk and honey", given the Ottoman government's willingness to allow "the West [to assert] itself even in Syria". They concluded that at present "however, Palestine… has not a tithe of the population that it would support; its fruit trees are left to take care of themselves, its waters allowed to run underground instead of on the surface."[413] In a different volume of *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Edward Hull advocates for afforestation, so that "Palestine might become what it once was."[414] For both the Ordnance Survey and the Survey of Western Palestine, the aim was to

[409] "Jaffa Orange" *Bulletin of Miscellaneous Information*, ed. Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (London: H.M. Stationary Office, 1894), 117.
[410] See "Introduction", 10.
[411] Laurence Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead, With Excursions in the Lebanon* (Edinburgh: W Blackwood, 1880), 522.
[412] Laurence Oliphant, *The Land of Gilead*, 502, 522. Further, Oliphant writes that these beliefs were "fully borne out by the opinions of old residents, and by the experience of those who have already become agriculturists in the country."
[413] Charles Warren and Claude Reignier Conder, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem* (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1884), 436.
[414] Edward Hull, *Survey of Western Palestine: Memoir on the Physical Geology and Geography of Arabia Petraea*, (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1886), 126-7. (PEF Library)

find ways to improve the Palestine of the day by looking to its ancient past. Hull does not discuss the restoration of "the Jews" as a necessary element to this process, but in the next chapter, he does link agricultural practice with civility, when he compares two groups of semi-nomadic Bedouins, deeming one "more civilized than their eastern brethren" as they, at least, "indulge in a little agriculture."[415]

The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem came to similar conclusions regarding the state of Palestinian infrastructure. In their assessment of the city, Henry James and Charles Wilson wrote: "the accumulation of filth of every description in the streets is most disgraceful to the authorities." However, all was not lost.

> [When] we come to examine the ancient systems for supplying the city with abundance of pure water, we are struck with admiration for we see the remains of works which, for boldness in design and skill in execution, rival even the most approved systems of modern engineers, and which might, under a more enlightened government, be again brought into use.[416]

Much like Oliphant, Warren, and Hull, James and Wilson viewed Palestine as in need of "restoration". This sentiment is not separate from, but a part of the desolate land myth. It shaped the perspective of the layman and otherwise – including the supposedly impartial surveyor. If ancient systems could supply "the city with abundance of pure water", then this arid land was surely the result of mismanagement, which could be returned to "the prosperous condition…in olden times".[417]

The belief that the land was underutilised, transformed from its biblical glory, informed British policy in Palestine, even before British policy was law. Nor was this unique to Palestine. The belief that knowledge of the past could inform the future, to transform a desert or "underutilised" landscape, extended to other territories of British administration.[418] Speaking on behalf of the continued occupation of Egypt, Balfour argued

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[415] Edward Hull, *Survey of Western Palestine*, 128.

[416] Henry James and Charles Wilson, *The Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1865), 10; see also Rachel Hewitt, *Map of a Nation*, 304.

[417] Ibid.

[418] For a discussion on archaeology as a tool – for the past to assist in improving the future – of the British administration in the Middle East post World War I, see Robert Fletcher, *British Imperialism and 'The Tribal Question': Desert Administration and Nomadic Societies in the Middle East, 1919-1936* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 185-186.

on 13 June 1910 that not only does Britain *know* Egypt, this knowledge makes it the ideal governors of Egypt, a colonial power that the Egyptians – incapable of self-governance – rely on.[419] Said argues that, to Balfour and proponents of Empire, to have knowledge of something is to dominate it. The idea that by completely understanding not just the history, but the physical reality of a people and a land, one could dominate both. This in turn requires the colonial force to deny the autonomy of the indigenous population; in essence, infantilizing them. That same knowledge and power relationship cannot be applied to the colonised.[420] Cartography's role is to grant "an important 'civilizing' element in legitimizing the European penetration, presence and even interference" in (predominately) non-European territories, by giving knowledge of this physical reality – this scientific, and thus deemed purely observational reality – in a visual way.[421] By gaining knowledge of the territory, by mapping out the very curves of the land, its resources and wastelands, Palestine could be reclaimed not just from perceived Arab and Ottoman caused desertification, but politically as well.[422]

To this end, agriculture was not an unusual focus of British colonial surveying. For instance, during his yearlong survey of Mysore, a southern region in British controlled India, in 1800, Francis Buchanan was informed by the Governor General of India at the time that agriculture was "the first great and essential object", and he was instructed to find "potential for improvement".[423] In British controlled Ceylon (present day Sri Lanka), agricultural surveying legitimised colonization of the region by presenting the inhabitants "as ignorant of the arts of surveying and measurement… eagerly awaiting the liberal improvements of British science," ignoring the potentially equally competent indigenous

[419] Arthur James Balfour to the House of Commons, "Consolidated Fund (No. 2) Bill," 13 June 1910, vol 17 cols 1140-1141.

[420] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003), 31-49. For more on the use of knowledge as power, and the "monopoly of knowledge", see also Harold Innis, *Empire and Communications* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

[421] Jeffrey C. Stone, "Imperialism, Colonialism and Cartography," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13:1 (1988), 58.

[422] Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands: History, Power, Knowledge* (London: The MIT Press, 2016), 114-115. Refer to discussion of manmade desertification in "Introduction," 15-16.

[423] In addition, Francis Buchanan was to find out what agricultural produce could be used for "external commerce", with a focus on "Cotton, Peppers, Sandle-wood [*sic*], and Cardamoms". Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. 1 (London: W. Bulmer & Co, 1807) viii-ix; see also Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 47.

improvements to infrastructure made of barely a few decades early.[424] While agriculture was not the main interest of every colonial enterprise – Northern Rhodesia (present day Zambia), for example, was of more use for the extraction of raw materials, and the colonial government and its backers were far less interested in mapping the territory's agricultural land– British interest in mapping and reshaping how agrarian land was used continued to be found into the early twentieth century in other areas such as South Africa and Egypt, one of which remained a major agricultural exporter of the Empire for at least part of the Mandate era.[425] Which of course, became more of the focus in Palestine with the military occupation and then Mandate.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the ways in which cartography – surveys and the resulting maps – reflected and created spaces of colonial power, specifically in relation to Zionist agricultural settlements. It is divided into three sections: official government mapping and surveys, the Zionist Organization maps and surveys, and the maps presented to the British public through newspapers, atlases, and travel guides. Balfour's argument was that the British *knew* Egyptian history, that this knowledge made them capable of colonial power over the Egyptians. That same argument is used in the administration of the Mandate. These were politicians and administrators who had been taught biblical stories from their childhood. To them, those stories were Palestine – or what Palestine should be.

Official Government Mapping and Surveys

British incursion into Palestine during the Sinai and Palestine Campaign of the First World War, altered the focus of cartography in the area from mostly archaeology and tourism to infrastructure and resource. Colonial development during the early part of the twentieth century began to focus more heavily on the reorganization of infrastructure and the exploitation of natural resources for economic gain. As Norris puts it, Palestine was "a promising new frontier for colonial development that possessed an attractive wealth and a

[424] Sujit Sivasundaram, "Tales of the Land: British Geography and Kandyan Resistance in Sri Lanka, c. 1803–18501," *Modern Asian Studies* 41:5 (2007), 960-2.
[425] Elizabeth Haines, "'Pledging the Future': Investment, Risks and Rewards in the Topographic Mapping of Northern Rhodesia, 1928-1955," *Environment and Planning A* 48:4 (2016), 648-664.

prime geographical location."[426] The promise and hope mapped out in the nineteenth century could be brought to fruition in the twentieth century.

The borders of this location, however, were not yet officially defined, even if variations had been mapped on the pages and in the minds of those who would go onto construct them. Borders, as expressed by Richard Muir, and noted by Benedict Anderson, "have a specific significance in determining the limits of sovereign authority".[427] For the British in Palestine, the borders created offered not just authority over a political space, but tapped into a theological authority, one that had and would continue to define the representation of the people and land. The traditional British map of biblical Palestine was one that reflected the boundaries as defined in the Book of Numbers (34:11-12), where the Jordan River marks the eastern border. While Ottoman administration divided the region into three districts or *sanjaks* – Jerusalem, Nablus, and Acre – British maps of the region throughout the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century were focused on the idea of "The Holy Land".[428] George Armstrong's "Photo Relief Map of Palestine" of 1921 (Figure 28) is a prime example.[429] Religion and antiquity dominated late nineteenth century education, most especially in subjects like geography, significantly influencing the way in which Edwardian decision makers would go on to perceive the region and its people.[430] Individuals such as George Curzon, Foreign Secretary at the start of the Mandate, and David Lloyd George, prime minister from 1916 to 1922, who were intimately involved in the colonizing of the Middle East, were born in the mid-nineteenth century, and their impression of Palestine and, in Lloyd George's case, support for Zionism, would certainly have been impacted by their education.[431] Indeed, George Adam Smith's 1894 theologically tinged *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* was one of the books Lloyd George reportedly brought with him

[426] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905 – 1948* (Oxford: Oxford Uni Press, 2013), 2. Even after the failure of the Mandate, some still appeared to hold out for control of the most politically, theologically, and economically advantageous section of Palestine. For instance, in Theodore A.L. Zissu's "A report embodying the data at present available relating to the Negeb: the Negeb and partition," the map constructed shows Britain in control of Jaffa and Jerusalem. (MEC GB165-0312)
[427] Richard Muir, *Modern Political Geography* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), 119; see also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016), 172.
[428] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 64.
[429] George Armstrong, Photo Relief Map of Palestine, Scale [1:650 000 approx.], London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1921. (RGS, Israel G.131.)
[430] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 81.
[431] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 81-90.

to the San Remo Conference in 1920.[432] Smith's book claims the modern history of Palestine is that of the "the melancholy wrecks of the passage from Christianity to Mohammedanism." [433] He praises the work done by the Palestine Exploration Fund, in terms of biblical geography, and included the biblically influenced maps of JG Bartholomew.[434] As to its popularity and influence, by 1901 was on its seventh edition.

Figure 28: George Armstrong, Photo Relief Map of Palestine, 1921 (Royal Geographical Society)

[432] Edwin Woofin, *Camp and Combat on the Sinai and Palestine Front: The Experience of the British Empire Soldier, 1916-18* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 178; see also Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 225.
[433] George Adam Smith, "Preface to the First Edition," *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 7th edition (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901), x.
[434] George Adam Smith, "Preface to the First Edition," xi.

To this end, it should not surprising that the *Maps of the Middle East* presented by the British Delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, placed the border for Palestine just over the River Jordan.[435] Even when Transjordan was included in the Mandate, and technically remained under the authority of the High Commissioner in Jerusalem, Palestine remained its own entity with the Jordan River as a natural border. In the 1922 Palestine Order in Council, it is clearly articulated as a separate entity: "This Order In Council Shall Not Apply To Such Parts Of The Territory Comprised In Palestine To The East Of The Jordan And The Dead Sea As Shall Be Defined By Order Of The High Commissioner."[436] And later, Article 21 of the 1925 Palestinian Citizenship Order, states that

> The expression 'Palestine' includes the territories to which the mandate for Palestine applies, except such part of the territory comprised in Palestine to the East of the Jordan and the Dead Sea as were defined by Order of the High Commissioner dated 1 September 1922.[437]

Alternatively, as historian Arnold Toynbee noted in 1918, "[the] Jordan forms a good natural frontier. Nor are any Jewish agricultural colonies east of the river."[438] Government support for Zionist settlement was etched out into the very maps that defined "Palestine" as a geographical space. As to the northern border, in the 1924 *Annual Report* to the League of Nations, the small expansion of the Palestine border into Syria on 1 April, 1924, was not only "in accordance with the terms of the Palestine-Syria Boundary Convention of 1920", but "restored to Palestine her biblical boundaries 'from Dan even unto Beersheba.'"[439] As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the "return of the Jews" to the Holy Land

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[435] Middle Eastern Section of the British Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. *Map of the Middle East with additions*. [Scale: n/a]. London, March 22, 1919. (TNA, F0 608/83/3); see also in Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 237. For literature on the Paris Peace Conference, see Leonard V. Smith, *Sovereignty at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[436] George V of the United Kingdom, "Power to Exclude Territories to East of Jordan from Application of any Part of Order." *Palestine. The Palestine Order in Council* (London, 1922), UNISPAL. http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/C7AAE196F41AA055052565F50054E656, *abbr.: United Nations 1922.*

[437] Government of Palestine, *Proclamations Regulations, Rules, Orders, and Notices* (Jerusalem, 1927), 83; in Lorenzo Kamel, *Imperial Perceptions of Palestine: British Influence and Power in the Late Ottoman Times* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 138.

[438] Arnold Toynbee, 2 December 1918, General Correspondence from 1906-1966, The National Archives, London, UK. (TNA FO371/3398)

[439] United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1924*, Reports of Mandatory Powers (Geneva: League of Nations: 1 November 1925), 6.

presented itself among (some) British officials and travel writers by at least the nineteenth century. This attachment to antiquity, and the creation of the "historical map", offered a sense of legitimacy to the colonial power.[440] In the case of Britain in Palestine, this legitimacy was tinged with a kind of theological sovereignty – this was the homeland of Judeo-Christianity, after all. It shaped the way Britain imagined the people it colonised, the people allowed to colonize, and its own legitimacy, but also the "geography of its domain".[441]

However, the borders of Palestine were not the only concern. The British were required by Article 11 of the Palestine Mandate to "introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country… promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land."[442] On a more practical level, they needed maps that would enable them to create an economically viable state, settle land disputes, and make Palestine and its inhabitants as easily manageable as possible. The Survey of Palestine in 1920 was created for the purposes of cadastral surveying, in order to fulfil these requirements.[443] Jaffa and its environs became one of the key focuses of these official surveys. [444] In both his 1925 and 1926 reports, the Director of Survey, Major C.H. Ley indicated that "the Environs of Jaffa" are the only area to be marked as having had an "Aero Survey" with an "Aeroplane Map" (produced for the use of the local Administration and Municipalities).[445] For his summary of "the Orange-Garden area surrounding Jaffa and Tel Aviv" in his 1926 report, Ley concludes that "[the] resulting map of this valuable area will be of immediate use for fiscal purposes," highlighting the economic importance of the citriculture industry in Palestine.[446]

The Palestine Mandate is a colonial document in many ways, but one of the most noted and controversial is the distinction given to "the Jewish people". It not only recognised "the

[440] Benedict Anderson, *Imagine Communities*, 174-175.
[441] Noam Levin, Ruth Kark, and Emir Galilee, "Maps and the Settlement of southern Palestine, 1799-1948: A Historical/GIS analysis," *Journal of Historical Geography* 36:1 (2010), 1.
[442] *Mandate for Palestine,* 12 August 1922, The Council of the League of Nations, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.529.M.314.1922.VI.) See also Noam Levin, et al., "Maps and the Settlement of southern Palestine, 1799-1948," 8.
[443] Noam Levin, et al., "Maps and the Settlement of southern Palestine, 1799-1948," 8.
[444] C.H. Ley, "Report of Director of Surveys, 1925," 6 July 1925; C.H. Ley, "Annual Report of Director of Surveys, 1925-6," 5 January 1926. (MEC GB165-0181)
[445] C.H. Ley, "Report of Director of Surveys, 1925," 6 July 1925, 2; C.H. Ley, "Annual Report of Director of Surveys, 1925-6," 5 January 1926, 2. (MEC GB165-0181)
[446] C.H. Ley, "Report of Director of Surveys, 1925," 6 July 1925, 1-2; C.H. Ley, "Annual Report of Director of Surveys, 1925-6," 5 January 1926, 1-2. (MEC GB165-0181)

historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" it created several Articles that specifically dealt with Zionist settlement, whereas it does not make the same requirements for specific non-Jewish populations.[447] Article 2 for instance states that the "Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home."[448] This is what makes Ley's inclusion of Tel Aviv all the more interesting. If we compare his comment about "valuable areas" and "fiscal purposes", to that of the maps that accompanied them (Figures 29 and 30), we find that Tel Aviv might be missing, but only in name. The area it occupied had been surveyed by 1925, before the "environs" of Jaffa. Further, Petah Tikva is not only marked on the map, but has also been surveyed by this point. That Tel Aviv was surveyed prior to the majority of the groves of Jaffa, might be excused by how that survey was conducted. Ley notes that the "whole of the Orange-Garden" was done using a method known as chain surveying, which is a longer process, but often more accurate.[449] Rather, it is that he has given equal weight to Tel Aviv in this part of his report, which, while it was granted some autonomy in 1921, it was not made a city until 1934.[450] Naming Tel Aviv gave it legitimacy as an economic entity with influence – or perhaps a recognition that the settlement was an entity with influence.

[447] *Mandate for Palestine,* 12 August 1922, The Council of the League of Nations, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.529.M.314.1922.VI.)

[448] *Mandate for Palestine* (LON, C.529.M.314.1922.VI.) Interestingly, there was some resistance to assuring Jewish settlement in Trans-Jordan. In the minutes from 27 June 1933 of the League of Nation's Examination of the Annual Report for 1932, a discussion ensued over Jewish immigration to the region. Questions were raised over whether it might alleviate the population influx or perhaps improve the development of Trans-Jordan as it "contrasted badly with that of Palestine." Mark Young, then Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine, "replied that Trans-Jordan was specifically excluded from the scope of the articles of the mandate relating to the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and there was no question of making any change in this respect. His Majesty's Government did not feel that it was at present possible to facilitate the settlement of Jews in Trans-Jordan." *Minutes for the 23rd Session, 13th Meeting*, 27 July 1933, Permanent Mandates Commission, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.406.M.209.1933.VI)

[449] C.H. Ley, "Annual Report of Director of Surveys, 1925-6," 5 January 1926, 1. (MEC GB165-0181)

[450] Tamir Goren, "Tel Aviv and the Question of Separation from Jaffa 1921-1936," *Middle Eastern Studies* 52:3 (February 2016), 475.

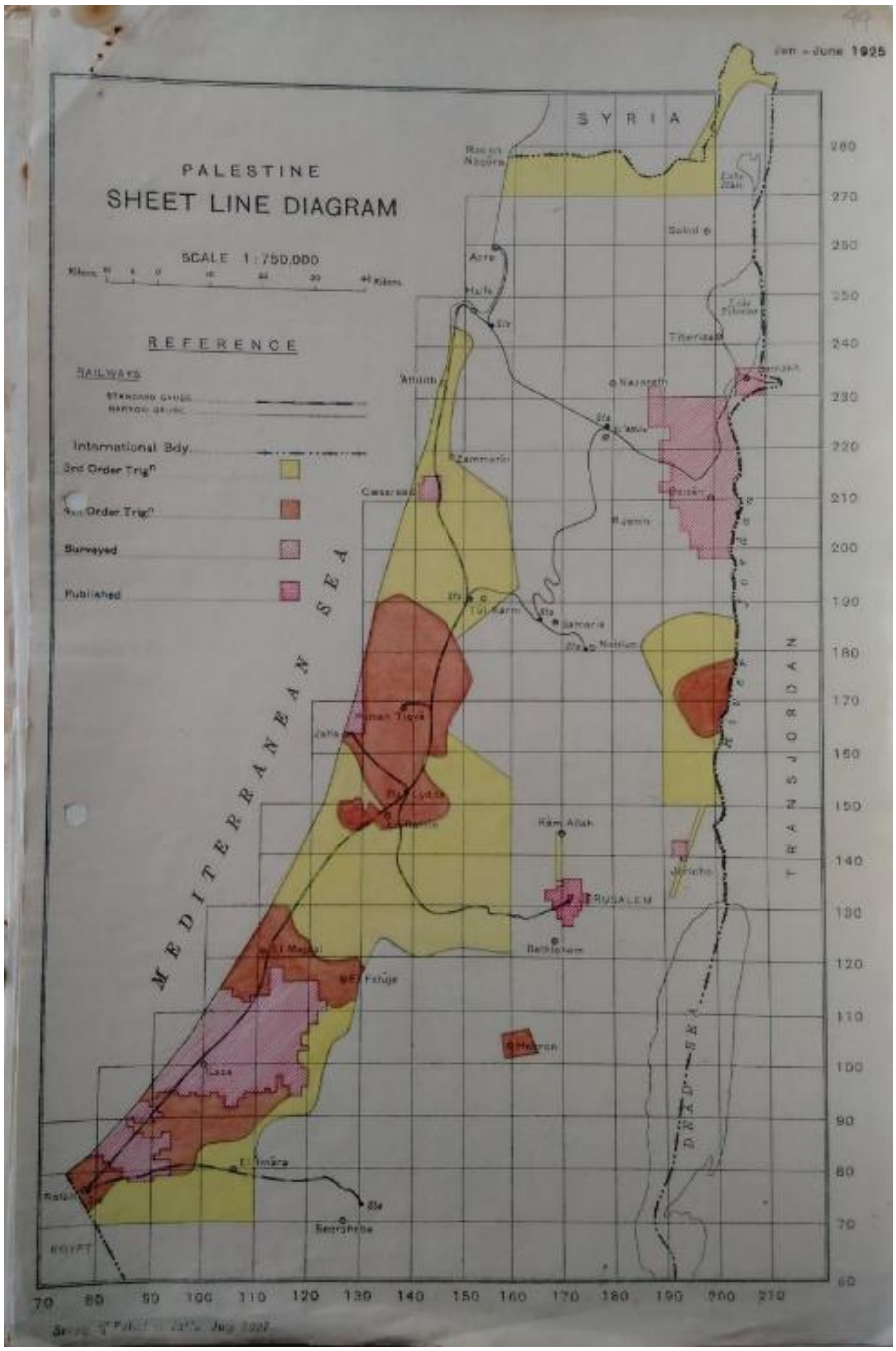

Figure 29: C.H. Ley, *Palestine*, [Scale 1:750,000], in "Report of Director of Surveys, 1925," 6 July 1925. (Middle East Centre Archives, St Antony's College)

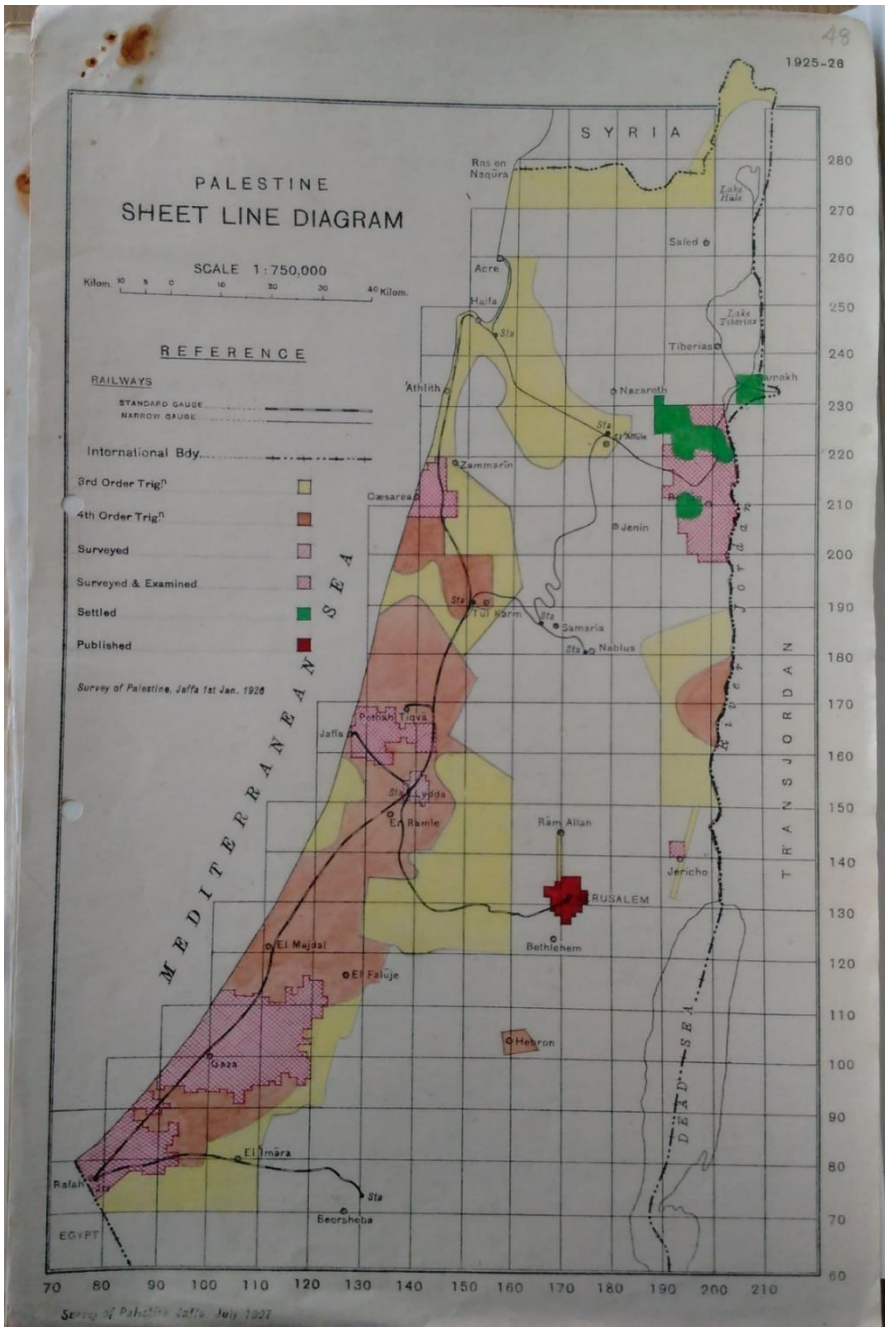

Figure 30: C.H. Ley, *Palestine*, [Scale 1:750,000], in "Annual Report of Director of Surveys, 1925-6," 5 January 1926. (Middle East Centre Archives, St Antony's College)

Tel Aviv and settlements such as Petah Tikvah appear on pre-Mandate maps, becoming more frequent, and in some cases more pronounced, through the first decade of the Mandate, signifying their growing importance. Petah Tikvah for instance, was a settlement off Mulebbis – a village described in *The Survey of Western Palestine* as a "mud hamlet, with a well." Whether or not "mud hamlet" is an accurate description, it was small in population.[451] Small enough that it was not on the 1922 census, replaced by Petah Tikvah, an overwhelmingly Zionist settlement.[452] On the military map of the area surrounding Jaffa from 1917 to 1918, we can find 11 cities or settlements with "(Jewish Colony)" under their names. This oddly included Jaffa and Ludd, which were not Jewish colonies, but did have small Jewish populations. Agricultural settlements such as Tel Aviv, Petah Tikvah, and Rishon le Zion were even given greater detail, with major streets and houses marked on the map. The same attention to detail was given to Mikveh Israel, the Zionist Agricultural School and settlement south of Jaffa. The 1922 census put the populations of these settlements at a couple thousand each, but makes a point that these "colonies" were significantly depleted during the war.[453] Meanwhile predominately Arab cities such as Ludd and Ramla, whose populations were closer to 10,000, were not afforded the same detail.[454] Even the prominence given to Rishon le Zion seems unwarranted – the size of the type used to demarcate it is large, the same size as that given to Jaffa. Comparing the 1922 and 1929 "Railways Map of Palestine and Tranjordan(ia)" (1922 edition, Figure 31), produced by the Survey of Egypt, the number of Zionist settlements included increases from five to eighteen.[455] These settlements were clearly marked with a Star of David symbol, highlighting to the reader their relevance, and deviating from the assumed "neutral" science of cartography.[456] This might be the increase in established settlements during the 1920s;

[451] C.R. Condor and H.H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs of the Topography, Orography, Hydrography, and Archaeology*, vol II, ed. E.H. Palmer and Walter Besant (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1882), 252.
[452] JB Barron, *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922* (Jerusalem: Greek Convent Press, 1922), 22.
[453] JB Barron, *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*, 5, 22-25. Interestingly, the population size that Walter Laqueur gives for these settlements during the war is that of the 1922 census. Yet, while using 1922 figures, he makes mention of the depleted Ashkenazi population at that time, and its slow resurgence after. It is unclear whether he is relying on the 1922 census for war time population sizes, or if he has alternative sources. See Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), 446-7.
[454] The Survey of Egypt, *Palestine: Sheet XVI*, London: War Office, 1917-18. (RGS mr Israel G.87); see also JB Barron, *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*, (Jerusalem: Greek Convent Press, 1922), 24.
[455] Survey of Egypt, *Railway Map of Palestine and Transjordania*. [Scale 1:750,000], 1922 (RGS mr Israel G.41).
[456] Survey of Egypt, *Railway Map of Palestine and Transjordania*. [Scale 1:750,000], 1922 (RGS mr Israel G.41); and Survey of Egypt, *Railway Map of Palestine and Transjordan*. [Scale 1:750,000], 1929. (RGS mr Israel G.48).

however, the star is an additional touch that drives home the point that these are *significant Jewish* places. Additionally, biblical names are used in parenthesis under the "proper" modern name; biblical, archaeological, ancient, and "historical" sites, as well as the Egyptian Expeditionary Force battles are all marked. These maps were designed for Western audiences, erasing the modern Arab population for a historic one.[457]

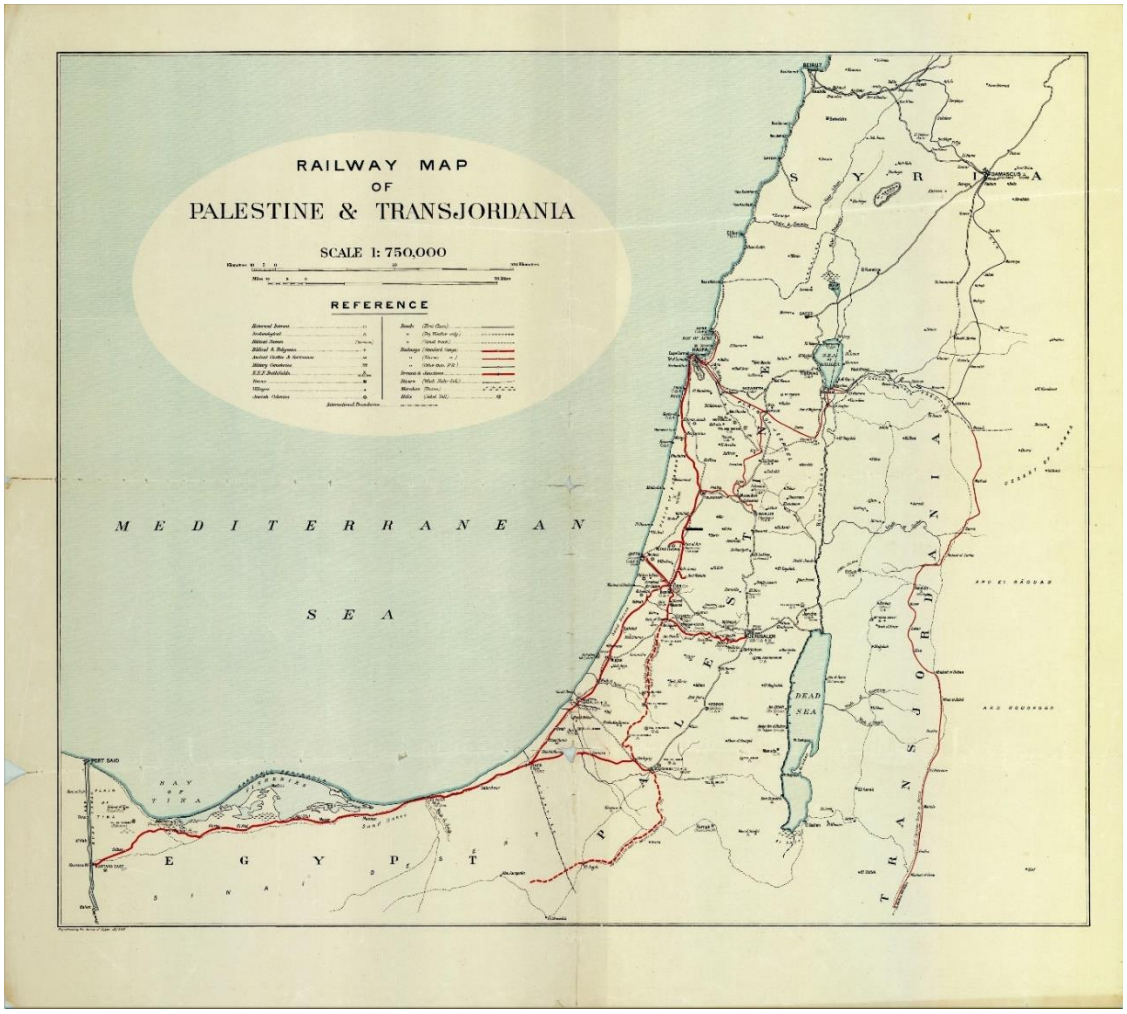

Figure 31: Survey of Egypt, *Railway Map of Palestine and Transjordania*. [Scale 1:750,000], 1922 (Royal Geographical Society)

[457] See Salman Abu Sitta, "The Survey of Western Palestine Revisited: The Visible and The Hidden" SOAS, University of London, 28 February 2020.

Thonghchai Winichakul, expanding on Said, argues that discussions on non-European countries – the land and its inhabitants – have been a part of colonial power relations that establish the identity and superiority of Europe and Europeans through the creation of 'the Other'. It is not about understanding the reality of that 'the Other'. [458] Balfour was not talking about the realities of those in Egypt, but rather establishing Britain's identity through "knowledge" of Egypt. Figure 31 might be a map of railways in Palestine, but it tells us little about the realities of Palestinians. Instead, we learn about how the British perceive Palestine and how they perceive themselves – spiritually and politically. Their relationship to the country is unmistakably detailed on the map through what they chose and what they failed to highlight.

Most especially in colonial settings, "to define, as to name, is to conquer."[459] By not only defining the shape of Palestine with Old Testament borders, but giving attention to Zionist settlements, British officials made clear the dynamics of power that were being constructed in the Mandate. While the surveying of agricultural settlements is not unusual in colonial settings, as noted in the introduction to this chapter in regard to British India, these were not simply markings on a map. The British kept the Ottoman system of land rights at the beginning of the Mandate, but it soon became clear that it was not workable for colonial needs. In 1928, Ernest Dowson, formerly the head of the Survey of Egypt, introduced the Australian Torren system to the Mandate, launching the 1928 Land Settlement Ordinance.[460] This system required cadastral surveys in order to settle land disputes and verify ownership; to identify privately owned land, as opposed to either state owned or "wasteland", open for settlement. However, a significant amount of the land owned by the indigenous population was either owned through long-term use and recognition, rather than by deed, or through a communal system of land usage known as *al-musha'a* (المشاع) or *the commons*.[461] Further,

[458] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 7.
[459] Arif Dirlik, *What is in a Rim?: Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea* (Lanham: Rowman, 1998), 5.
[460] Dov Gavish and Ruth Kark, "The Cadastral Mapping of Palestine, 1858-1928," *The Geographical Journal*, 159:1 (1993), 79.
[461] The belief that communally held lands – either community owned/utilized or divided among inheritors – was antithetical to efficiency and thus backwards can be seen in much of English colonial history. Not simply in colonial territories outside of the British Isles, but within them as well. For instance, Celtic cultural practices in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall were viewed as "barbarous, uncivilized, and unproductive", in part due to various forms of land division. Philippa Levine, *The British Empire: Sunrise to Sunset* (London: Routledge,

the survey was hindered by some of the Arab locals, in predominately rural spaces, who saw these surveys as a means to take their land, refusing to allow surveyors to complete their work.[462] While not a perfect comparison, we can see similarities between the bias shown to European settlers in Palestine, and other colonial settings, such as the Protectorate in Kenya. There are, of course, differences to how these projects were carried out, including a change in immigration policy towards the 1930s in Palestine, and the outright barring of indigenous population from growing the region's most lucrative crop in Kenya. However, government support given to European communities, including favouritism for both land and export opportunities, led to a pattern of distrust between the local population and the colonial powers.[463]

Maps, Citriculture, and the World Zionist Organisation

To the Zionist movement, Tel Aviv was a city of modernity – *mahapecha* (מהפכה), or *a revolution*, of both Jewishness and the Holy Land – where "the comforts and amenities of European life have been introduced into the Orient."[464] This included the Jews in Jerusalem, who "follow[ed] the old manner of worshipping the Lord… very few practice the customs of

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2013), 5-6. Further, and perhaps more importantly, the English practice of private land ownership and of primogeniture – the inheritance of the first born – "fostered the concentration of assets that enabled owners to retain political power." Lee J. Alston and Morton Owen Schapiro, "Inheritance Laws Across Colonies: Causes and Consequences", *The Journal of Economic History* 44:2 (1984), 280.

[462] Salman Abu Sitta, "Review: A Survey of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920-1948," *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 35:2 (2006), 101-2; see also, Dov Gavish and Ruth Kark, "The Cadastral Mapping of Palestine, 1858-1928," 79. Both Gavish and Abu Sitta have their biases, and unfortunately, this gets in the way of their work. Gavish almost entirely ignores the issues that arise from the introduction of the Torren System, seeing the conflict over land as some great mystery. Alternatively, Abu Sitta lays the blame at the feet of the "Jewish" Herbert Samuel for reasons that are not made entirely clear. Further there are inconsistencies in Gavish's work, such as citations that cannot be collaborated.

[463] Richard D Wolff, "Economic Aspects of British Colonialism in Kenya, 1895 to 1930," *The Journal of Economic History* 30:1 (March 1970), 273-277. See also Philippa Levine, *The British Empire*, 211. Of the relationship in Kenya, Levine writes: "In colonies such as Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, development funding often favoured large-scale projects under- taken by white settlers (using African labour) and discouraged traditional small-scale local agriculture…These new intrusions into the local economy left many locals suspicious of the intentions of the colonial state." The large-scale projects of the Zionist Organisation and the use of Arab labour by private Zionist landowners created a similar tension in Palestine. See "Chapter Five: Citriculture as Settler Colonialism in Print Media,", page 215 for further discussion.

[464] Keren Hayesod, *Rebuilding Palestine* (Jerusalem: Keren Hayesod, 1928), 11, 9. (BL W.P.11820.)

Europe, engage in commerce or trade, and live free, unencumbered life (*sic*)."[465] The largest Jewish township, it also offered a semblance of autonomy, as the British were headquartered in Jerusalem and, as previously stated, it had been given township/municipal status with the creation of the Mandate in 1921.[466] Mark Levine argues that "Zionism is a seminal example of the discourses of modernity and colonialism and their mutual embeddedness, demonstrating the impossibility of conceiving of one apart from the other."[467] Tel Aviv is a prime example of this argument. The "comforts and amenities of European life" mentioned in the Keren Hayesod pamphlet are not just to make Europeans feel more at home – it is a statement about modernity in a perceived unmodern space, and the legitimacy of dominance that comes with that.

In 1926, the Joint Palestine Survey Commission was created on behalf of the Jewish agency by American and British branches of the Zionist Organization. It was created to "gather data needed for dealing with the problems created by the rapid development of the past few years, and the needs of future development." [468] Those developments included agriculture, mining, industry and commerce through the Zionist Organization and private Zionist ventures. [469] The survey itself was conducted by a coalition of American and British Zionists, with a supervisory board consisting of prominent Zionists such as Sir Alfred Mond, Dr. Lee Frankel, Felix Warburg, and Dr. Oscar Wasserman.[470] Their initial report was submitted 1 October, 1928, and largely dealt with the issue of Agricultural Colonization. The map

[465] *Ha-Havazelet*, vol. 21, 1891, 237-238; quoted in Ruth Kark, *Jaffa: A City in Evolution, 1799-1917* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, 1990), 300-1.
[466] Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *The Making of Eretz Israel in the Modern Era: A Historical-Geographical Study (1799-1949)* (Jerusalem: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), 441-492.
[467] Mark Levine, *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 16.
[468] Elwood Mead, "Foreword," *Reports of the Experts. Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission*, (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1928), 11. See also United Kingdom, *Report by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League* of *Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the year 1928* (London: H.M.S.O., 1928), 5. The report describes the Survey Commission thusly: "Upon these recommendations the Commission presented a report designed to be the foundation of mutual co-operation in the development of Palestine by Zionist and non-Zionists. This report was accepted by the Greater Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization in Berlin and negotiations proceeded between Zionist and non-Zionists with a view to constructing an enlarged Jewish Agency on its basis."
[469] "Marshall Announces Plan of Palestine Experts Survey; Detailed Program for Commission's Work," *The Jewish Daily Bulletin* (New York), 22 June 1927, 1.
[470] Elwood Mead, "Foreword," 11. "Marshall Announces Plan of Palestine Experts Survey; Detailed Program for Commission's Work," *The Jewish Daily Bulletin*, 1.

submitted with the survey divided the land into Green for "Plantations", along the coastal plain, and Red for "Cereals"; however, the report makes clear that "the Coastal Plain is the most important" , i.e. the predominately citrus and fruit growing portion of the country, where many of the major Zionist settlements were located.[471] According to the opening line of "Problems of Agricultural Colonization"

> This report deals with a question which, in recent years, has assumed great importance in all civilized countries. It is how to attract and hold on the land people of character and capacity and by doing this maintain a social and economic balance between the life and industry of cities and of the open country.[472]

While offering some platitudes of cooperation, it makes clear that the aim is to create a National Home for Jews, and this is "weakened by a majority of the people being Arabs and either opposed or indifferent" to this goal, with a Mandate Government that was "an outside if friendly and sympathetic observer."[473] The survey was conducted during "a period of economic depression". The *Report on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1927*, noted the decrease in "voluntary subscriptions" to the Zionist Organisation, and "a smaller influx of private capital to the country." [474] While 50,000 Jewish immigrants had entered Palestine between 1924 and 1926, Zionist settlers were leaving at twice the rate they were immigrating, bringing on, what Fredrick Meiton refers to as a "crisis of confidence" within the Zionist movement.[475] The writers of the report saw "rural discontent and depletion [as] serious menaces to national safety."[476] Contrary to projected

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[471] "Agricultural Lands," *Reports of the Experts. Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission* (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1928), 20.
[472] "Problems of Agricultural Colonization," *Reports of the Experts. Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission* (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1928), 13.
[473] "Agricultural Lands," *Reports of the Experts*, 14. The full quote: "In Palestine, however, the Zionist movement to create a National Home is weakened by a majority of the people being Arabs and either opposed or indifferent. The Mandate Government remains an outside if friendly and sympathetic observer. This has made the acquisition of land difficult and has compelled the payment of prices out of keeping with productive value."
[474] United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1927*, Reports of Mandatory Powers (Geneva: League of Nations, 1927), 2.
[475] *Ibid*. And Fredrik Meiton, *Electrical Palestine: Capital and Technology from Empire to Nation* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2019), 111.
[476] "Agricultural Lands," *Reports of the Experts*, 14.

image, John Campbell wrote in his report that many settlers living in *kevotzoth* and *moshavim*, lived in "conditions which preclude all idea of luxury or even the most modest comfort, except in a few cases."[477] He reported that many settlers were "living in circumstances of acute discomfort, even misery… It was impossible to visit some settlements without experiencing a feeling of deep depression." Yet, these same settlers were "[eager] to suffer hardship" for the sake of the Zionist enterprise, or what Campbell refers to as "the large colonisation scheme".[478]

It is perhaps a minor note, but Campbell's report in many ways rejects the notion that the settlements were universally bringing about any form of "modernization". Between 1928 and 1931, the Empire Marketing Board discussed the necessity of a central Agricultural Experimental Station.[479] The 1931 report from A.G. Turner, Chief Horticultural Officer and Citrus Fruit Specialist, concluded that the British administration had neglected the industry to the detriment of the "very high and well-deserved reputation" of the fruit. He wrote that the "faulty cultural conditions" which had led to the current condition, "can only with certainty be overcome by the Government instituting an experimental station".[480] The main focus for the location of this station became "The Jewish Agency's Experimental Station, Rehoboth", to the objection of the Arab representative, who proposed the primary station be built near Gaza as the area had over 200 citrus groves at the time.[481] Regardless, the suggestion of an Agricultural Experimental Station went against the June 1927 Report of the Fruit Commission and were criticised in John Campbell's report. Upon asking the settlers

[477] *Kevotzoth*, or more commonly *kvutza* were communal settlements on state-owned land. *Moshavim* were Labour Zionist agricultural cooperatives.

[478] John Campbell, "Report on the Jewish Settlements in Palestine [Revised Draft]", 25 December 1928, p. 20, Joint Survey Commission, Palestine Original Correspondence, The National Archives, London, UK. (TNA, CO 733/15/5) His report, in his own words, was "almost exclusively critical." (p. 2)

[479] According to John M. MacKenzie, Stephen Tallents, Secretary of the Empire Marketing Board, "extolled the work of the scientific research stations, describing it as 'a brilliant page in the history of Empire development'". For Tallents, "Two things were necessary for survival in the twentieth century. One was the exploitation of Empire resources, and the other was to combat the idea that Britain was 'down and out'. Survival was now a matter of morale and international image. It was essential 'to throw a fitting presentation of England upon the world's screen'." John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester University Press, 1984), 5.

[480] AG Turner, *The Citrus Industry in Palestine*, 21 July 1931, Empire Marketing Board: Original Correspondence, The National Archives, London, UK. (TNA, CO 758/66/5) See also, Roza I. M. El-Eini, "The Implementation of British Agricultural Policy in Palestine in the 1930s", Middle *Eastern Studies* 32:4 (1996): 211-50, 232.

[481] "Extract from the Minutes of the Third Meeting of the Palestine General Agricultural Council", October 1931, Empire Marketing Board, The National Archives, London, UK. (TNA, CO 758/66/5)

what issues they encountered, Campbell claimed that "orange growers, for example, appeared to think they knew more about orange growing than the Experimental Station" and that the "colonists are not receiving sufficient practical help in their work." He noted that one incident in which a settler complained that the Experimental Station had cost him money when suggesting the use of horse and oxen, when a donkey was necessary given the area in which he resided.[482]

However, Campbell seemed no more impressed with "Arab labour". He noted that "Jewish labour" cost twice as much as Arab labour, "in all cases where the circumstances are such that higher productivity cannot be expected, or where reliability and intelligence do not come into play."[483] Overall, the commission ultimately concluded: "Nothing so contributes to political stability as increasing the number of right-thinking, right-living people, living on the land, and whose patriotism has its roots in the soil."[484]

It is made clear who "right-thinking, right-living people" were. In his work on Brazil, anthropologist James Holston surmises that "the founding of a capital city is a civilizing event. It gives form and identity to an uncivilised geography… which is tamed and settled by a race of heroes who are at the same time reliving their past."[485] Tel Aviv, was the "political and cultural" capital city of the new Jewish Homeland.[486] The settlements that surrounded it were depicted as occupied by pioneers returning to the soil – the heroes reliving their ancestral past – even if the reality in many cases was quite different. These (or those that supported them) were the right-thinking inhabitants that the Zionist Organisation wanted to occupy Palestine. Pioneers who were willing to give "their all to lay the foundation" of Jewish National Homeland.[487] There was also a genuine belief that the "modern" urban and rural areas being "revitalised" were to the benefit of the Arab population, as well as to the world's Jewry. Lubman Haviv and Moshe Smilansky claimed to see the benefit that the Zionist settlers brought to the *fellahin*. For Haviv, the "dispossessed" Arab peasants were benefitted by modern technology and the selling of land a means to an income for the

[482] John Campbell, "Report on the Jewish Settlements in Palestine", 29.
[483] *Ibid*, 38.
[484] "Problems of Agricultural Colonization," *Reports of the Experts. Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission* (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1928), 13.
[485] James Holston, *The Modern City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 67-8.
[486] Ruth Kark, *Jaffa: A City in Evolution, 1799-1917* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, 1990), 301.
[487] Chaim Weizmann, "Rough Notes (for Hodess)…", 8 August 1932, 1-1583, Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency, Weizmann Archives, Rehovot, Israel.

further improvement to villages and agricultural production. Smilansky saw the "civilised" and "modern" settlers as equally positive for the economic growth of the "primitive" and "slavish" Arab, and the closer in proximity to Zionist settlements an Arab village was, the better off it would be.[488]

The mentality is highlighted most especially in the founding myth of the future city – that a group of intrepid pioneers created a blooming suburb out of sand dunes, mirroring the "making the desert bloom" mythos broadened by Haviv and Smilansky. This imagery is repeated even to this day, but was especially common in the 1920s. In his speech for the Tel Aviv anniversary in 1929, Mayor Meir Dizengoff: "On this day we started to fulfil (*sic*) a daring dream to build on sands of wilderness, on desolate seashore, an eternal edifice, a shelter for the spirit and vigor of the Jew, the first Hebrew city in the time of our new revival and redemption."[489] The problem, as Mark LeVine highlights in his book *Overthrowing Geography*, is that this is not entirely accurate. Tel Aviv was constructed on land that "bordered densely planted agricultural land on its east and southwest[…] with the sandier land of the heart of neighbourhood[…] giving way over the course of a few hundred meters to the north and northwest to increasingly densely planted land."[490] He uses the example of Theodor Sandel's 1912 "Environs of Jaffa" map, also published in Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria* (Figure 32), which shows the land where Tel Aviv was located comfortably situated between vineyards and orange groves, with the "sandhills" described towards the northwest.[491] However, even though it had been founded in 1909, Tel Aviv is not marked on the map.

[488] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine, 1890-1939* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 157-161.
[489] [N/A], *Ha'aretz*, 17 April 1929; quoted in Maoz Azaryahu, "Tel-Aviv's Birthdays: Anniversary Celebrations of the First Hebrew City 1929–1959," *Israel Studies* 14:3 (2009), 3.
[490] Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing geography*, 80.
[491] Theodor Sandel, *Environs of Jaffa*, [Scale 1:50,000] 1894; in Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1912); see also Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing geography*, 80. LeVine's source is the Tel Aviv Museum of Art Library.

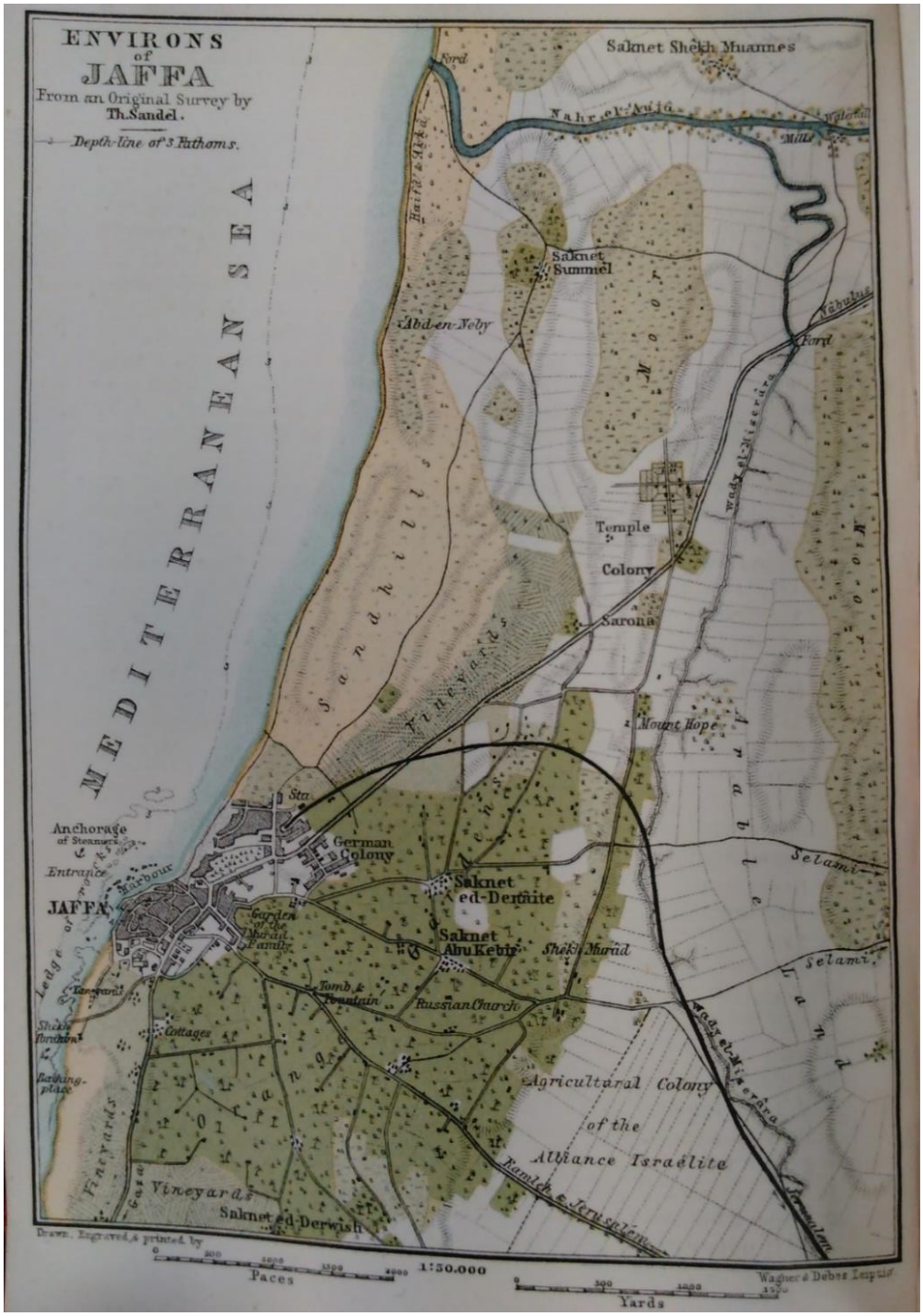

Figure 32: Theodor Sandel, *Environs of Jaffa*, [Scale 1:50,000] 1894; in Karl Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1912). (Palestine Exploration Fund)

This correlates with a shifting perspective of Tel Aviv on Zionist maps. The map presented in the English edition of the Hebrew daily "Doar Hayom", *The Palestine Weekly* (Figure 33), is far more biblically focused, with Tel Aviv or any Jewish settlements missing, but Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa (Caiffa), prominently shown. [492] Granted, this was a map apparently based on the "Official Map of the French Foreign Office", designed to highlight the Northern border. The Hebrew on the map appears to be an addition by the weekly, and with the exception of (הפרת), are place names – with Palestine labelled *Eretz Yisrael* (ארץ ישראל). A far less subtle symbol of ownership than the inclusion of cities and settlements. In the 1921 Keren Hayesod edited book *The Keren Ha-Yesod Book: Colonization Problems of the Eretz-Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund*, the front map displays an array of Jewish settlements. It does so at the expense of smaller Arab cities or villages, giving the impression of an empty, depopulated land being filled by Zionist settlers, corroborating this feeling in its "Manifesto" by claiming that "Room can be found in Palestine for a vastly increased population."[493] Yet, quite noticeably, Tel Aviv is missing; Jaffa is prominently displayed, but not Tel Aviv above it.[494] In the early years of Tel Aviv's history, there was a tentativeness to divorce itself from Jaffa. The older city was the economic hub of the Ottoman Empire, and then the British Mandate; further there was a thriving Jewish community that remained in Jaffa proper, and the immigration centre where new Ashkenazi settlers would arrive. By remaining part of the city, they could intervene on behalf of the Jewish population that remained, as well as benefit from easy access to the port. After all, being near or connected to a centre of power – economic, political, cultural, etc – increases one's ability to influence that space.[495] However, with the 1921 Jaffa Riots, the question of municipal status became more urgent.[496]

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[492] *The New Northern Frontier of Palestine*, [Scale n/a]; in *The Palestine Weekly* 2:3 (Jerusalem) 21 January 1921

[493] *The Keren Ha-Yesod Book: Colonisation Problems of the Eretz-Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund*, The Publicity Department of the "Keren ha-Yesod" (London: Leonard Parsons Ltd, 1921), 7

[494] *The Keren Ha-Yesod Book: Colonisation Problems of the Eretz-Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund*, The Publicity Department of the "Keren ha-Yesod" (London: Leonard Parsons Ltd, 1921), page 1 adjacent.

[495] Derek Gregory, Peter Meusburger, and Laura Suarsana, "Power, Knowledge, and Space: A Geographical Introduction," *Geographies of Knowledge and Power, Knowledge and Space*, Vol. 7 (Heidelberg: Springer Netherlands, 2015), 4. Discussing Foucault's assertion that "space is fundamental in any exercise of power" Michel Foucault, "Space, Knowledge and Power," *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 252.

[496] The term "riot" is intentionally being used here. This was not a political protest or an uprising, but two rival Zionist factions who clashed during May Day events and started a violent *riot* that poured into Arab neighbourhoods, ultimately killing nearly 100 people, with over 200 injured and even more left homeless.

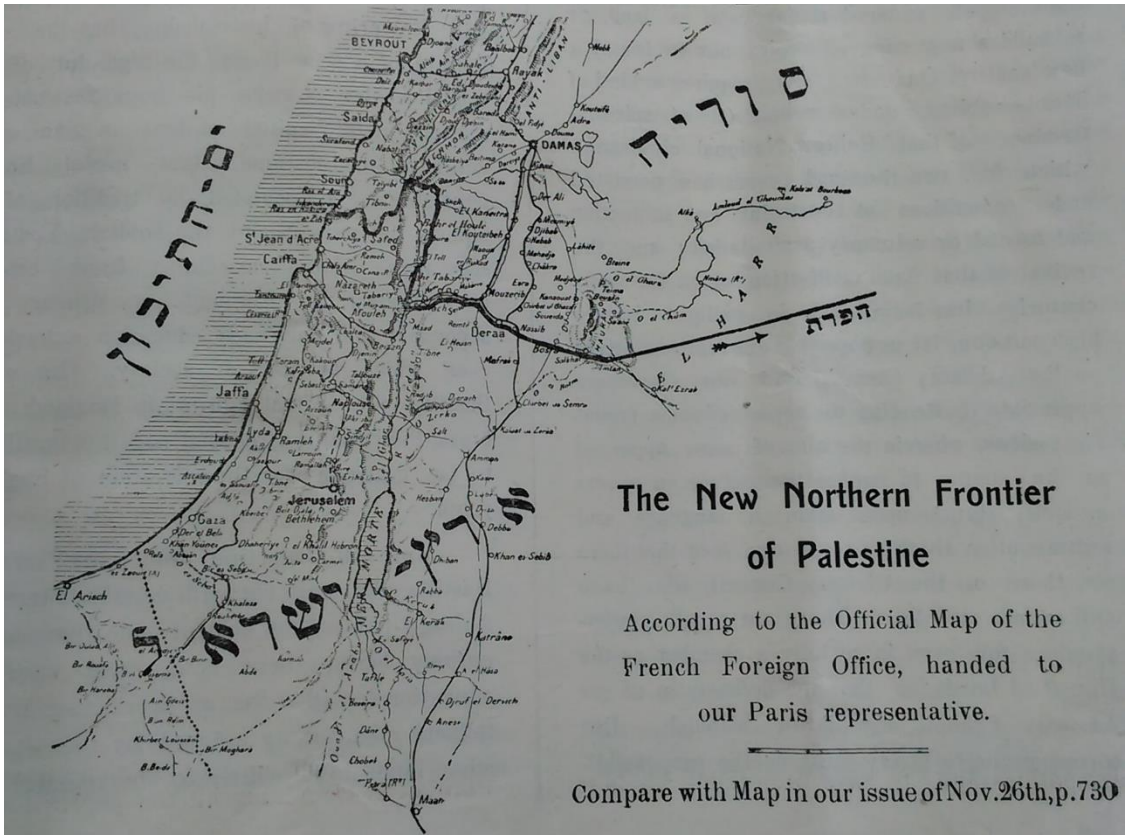

Figure 33: *The New Northern Frontier of Palestine*, [N/A]; in *Palestine Weekly* 2:3 (Jerusalem) 21 January 1921. (The National Archives)

While not technically a municipality, Tel Aviv was granted an independent council under the Tel Aviv Municipality Ordinance on the 11th of May 1921, only 11 days after the outbreak of rioting that shook Jaffa.[497] The riots began a major shift in city/"suburb" demographics. While the 1921 Jewish population of Jaffa (excluding Tel Aviv) was around 12,000, by the 1922 this number was halved, with Tel Aviv showing an increased population of 15,185

Thomas Haycraft, *Report of Commission of Enquiry into Jaffa Riots*, London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1921. (TNA, CO 733/5/30; CO 733/17B/60) Tamir Goren, "Tel Aviv and the Question of Separation from Jaffa 1921-1936," *Middle Eastern Studies* 52:3, (February 2016), 474-6; Ruth Kark, *Jaffa: A City in Evolution, 1799-1917* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Press, 1990), 302; Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, *The Making of Eretz Israel in the Modern Era: A Historical-Geographical Study (1799–1949)*, (Jerusalem: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), e-book; no pages provided. Please see Chapter 10: High Commissioner Wauchope: The First Years, 1931-1935 – subsection: "The Growth of Tel Aviv and the Relative Decline of Jerusalem."

[497] Tamir Goren, "Tel Aviv and the Question of Separation from Jaffa 1921-1936," 475; see also JB Barron, *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922*, 22.

mostly Jewish inhabitants. [498] By 1924, official reports estimated it at over 25,000.[499] This number grew to near 40,000 by 1920 in Keren Hayesod's estimate; 46,101 according the 1931 Palestine census.[500] This urban growth (even while the rest of the Mandate saw the settler population decline), and push for an independent municipality, is reflected in Zionist propaganda put out by Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund in the later part of the decade. For instance, a stamp designed by the Jewish National Fund in 1925 featured a map in Hebrew that included Tel Aviv in place of Jaffa. The joint venture *A Guide to Jewish Palestine* (1927), put out by both the Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod, features a map that includes both Jaffa and Tel Aviv. And in the description of Jaffa, claims that the "town has outgrown its former entity, and now flourishes in the dual life of the sister towns, Jaffa and Tel-Aviv."[501] The 1933 edition of the Keren Hayesod map of "Jewish settlements", given equal prominence, in text size and boldness, to Tel Aviv and Jaffa.[502] And indeed, even the previously mentioned map from the 1928 Joint Palestine Survey Commission report gave Jaffa and Tel Aviv equal recognition. Perhaps most notably, especially within American and British Jewish communities, are the *tzedakah* (צדקה) Blue Boxes distributed by the Jewish National Fund to raise money for the Zionist Organization – especially for agricultural project at this time – and would later become fixtures in nearly every Jewish home in both countries. Versions of the 1929, 1931, and 1934 boxes (Figures 34 and 35) contained a nearly empty looking map of Palestine, with only a few cities marked out in Hebrew letters – Tel Aviv, of course, dominating over Jaffa.[503]

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[498] Tamir Goren, "Tel Aviv and the Question of Separation from Jaffa 1921-1936," 475.
[499] United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1924* (Geneva: League of Nations, 31 December 1924).
[500] Keren Hayesod, *Rebuilding Palestine*, 11. (BL, W.P.11820.) E. Mills, *Census of Palestine 1931: Population of Villages, Towns and Administrative Areas* (Jerusalem: Green Convent and Goldberg Press, 1932), 15.
[501] *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, eds. Keren Kayemeth Leisrael and Keren Hayesod (Jerusalem: Keren Kayemeth Leisrael and Keren Hayesod, 1927), 216. (BL X.708/42882.)
[502] *Eretz Yisrael/Palestine*, ed. Keren Hayesod (Jerusalem: Keren Hayesod, 1933). (BL W.P.11820.)
[503] *The Blue Box*, 1929, Photograph, Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem. (JNF, G1-103), *The Blue Box*, 1934, Photograph, Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem. (JNF, D301-100) *Tzedakah* literally translated means "righteousness"; however, in Judaism, it colloquially means "charity". According to Michael Berkowitz, "thirty million JNF stamps were sold between 1902-1914". For further discussion on the iconic nature of the Blue Box in British and American Jewish life, see Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry Before the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 166, 179-180.

Figures 34 and 35: *The Blue Box* 1929 and 1934 (The Jewish National Fund)

Maps, Citriculture, and the Bible in Popular Media

A similar diverse progression can be found in more mainstream maps – that is, maps as part of media that was available regardless of religious or political affiliation. A "GHQ Intelligence Xmas Card 1918" (Figure 36) might be a good example of this.[504] While there is no defined border in the image, three main cities are present: Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa, along with Beersheba and Gaza. However, this section will primarily be looking at written sources in which maps were included, such as popular reference books, travel guides, and newspapers. It shows a consistency in the biblical representation on Palestine, with an inconsistency in how Zionism and Palestine was viewed in connection with citriculture, but its image also evolves through the decade.

[504] G.H.Q. Intelligence Christmas Card, c.1918, print card, Middle East Centre Archive, Oxford. (MEC GB165-0184) Found in the John de Vere box, with letters home and diary of the Gallipoli and Palestine campaigns, 1915-18, plus photographs and various other ephemera, like this card

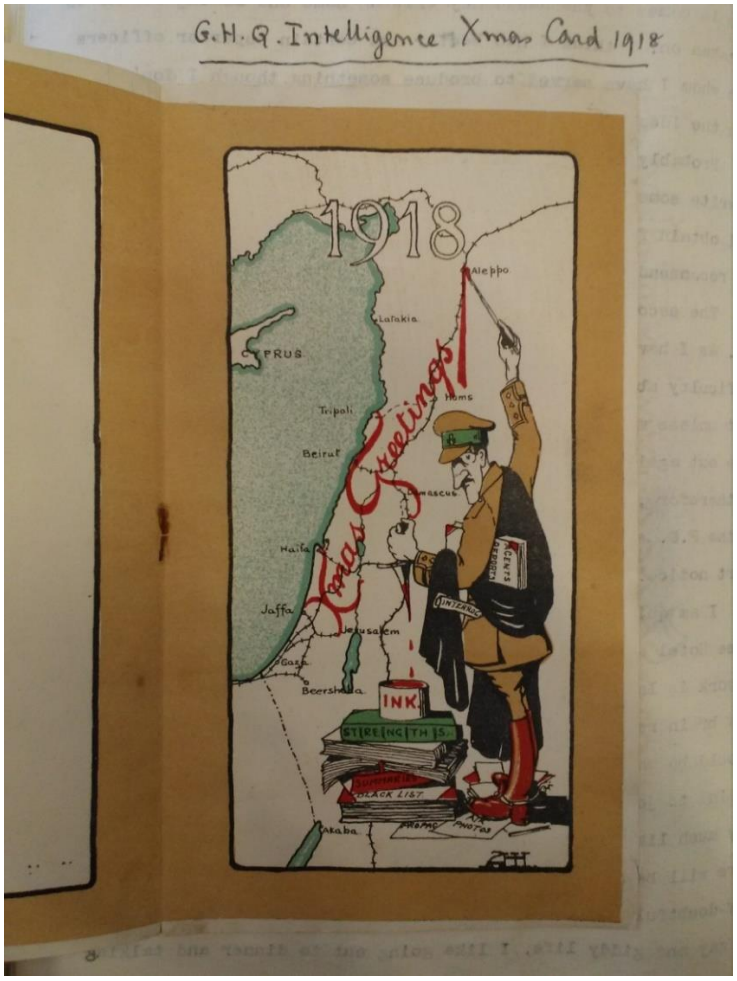

Figure 36: G.H.Q. Intelligence Christmas Card, c.1918 (Middle East Centre Archives, St Antony's)

Illustrated London News, for instance, ran two photographs that featured Palestinian terrain: one of surveyors "looking out over the promised land… in the deserts of Southern Palestine" is contrasted with "the Indian Camel Corp in a[n unnamed] Green Oasis." [505] Not maps, but indication to the public that it was being mapped, being brought into the fold of empire. In one 1920 editorial of *The Times*, "The Boundaries of Palestine", readers are given a description of the borders and physicality of the terrain, with a note on the impending Mandate. Britain was "under obligation to do our best for our ward" but that "Palestine is not a British Protectorate in the traditional sense." Rather, the establishment of a Jewish home there was "an international experiment." Their job was to "make it a real nation and a

[505] "Palestine Contrasts: Desert Sands and Rich Foliage," *Illustrated London News*, 23 March 1918, 357.

real power for good in the Eastern world."[506] By 1928, the paper assumed reader familiarity with the Mandate. In an article about Transjordan, a map was included for readers. Even though it was not mentioned in the article itself, Palestine was included on the map with Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa as its main cities.[507] We might surmise that part of the reason *The Times* chose a map that offered a bit more detail in Palestine, was to offer readers some orientation to a perhaps less familiar territory. The other countries around Transjordan are larger and yet far emptier feeling, as if to assume lack of knowledge or importance. The British public was being re-introduced to the Holy Land, as a new addition to the Empire. If knowledge and power are integrated, as Michel Foucault suggests, then the familiarity being offered to readers of a recognizable yet foreign new territory, was a form of power.[508] They were now caretakers of one of the most significant pieces of land within Christian theology.

Maps in newspapers had been common during the war. Photojournalism was still not as widely practiced, and there was strict censorship on photographs. While they were not entirely absent, maps filled visual gaps in the accompaniments to war reporting.[509] *The Times Atlas* was originally published in 1895 in order to help readers better understand "Foreign and Colonial questions".[510] In 1914 it became *The Times War Atlas* in order for readers to follow "the European struggle… with minute closeness."[511] Then in 1919 it evolved into *The Times Survey Atlas of the World*, "The Most Important and Comprehensive Atlas of the Century" for the purposes of offering readers "great detail [of] the new Territorial Redistributions ordained by the Peace Conference."[512] After the end of the war, maps continued to be used as tools to inform the public about new colonies gained, and peace agreements.[513] To that end, *The Survey Atlas of the World* began publication in 1919, staggering publication dates for various volumes. In 1920, the *Map of Palestine* (Figure 37)

[506] "The Boundaries of Palestine," *The Times* (London), 25 October 1920, 11.
[507] "Government of Transjordan," *The Times* (London), 7 December 1928, 15.
[508] Michael Foucault, *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. C. Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 52.
[509] Michael Heffernan, "Cartography of the Fourth Estate: Mapping the New Imperialism in British and French Newspapers," *Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 269; see also, Jane Carmichael, *First World War Photographers* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018), 76-86.
[510] "The Times Atlas," *The Times* (London), 8 February 1895, 3.
[511] "The Times," *The Times* (London), 19 August 1914, 8.
[512] "The Times Survey Atlas of the World," *The Times* (London), 9 December 1919, 18.
[513] Michael Heffernan, "Cartography of the Fourth Estate: Mapping the New Imperialism in British and French Newspapers," *Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. J. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 280.

was released, considered by *The Times* an "indispensable guide for the educated reader."[514] The advertisement was far more of a short history and geography lesson on Palestine, offering readers the contrasts of the land – "the soft green coastal plains", "the stern and arid hills of Judea", and the "savage deserts beyond the Jordan" – it does not mention Tel Aviv, Zionist settlements, or Balfour. Rather, the article opines that

> No foreign land has ever occupied the same place in the hearts and minds of the English people as Palestine. It was the home and scene of the life and death of the Founder of our religion; the theatre of the medieval wars known as the Crusades – in which our countrymen played so great a part – and in the latter days it has witnessed the liberation by the strong arm of Britain of its soil and people from 'the blasting tyranny of the Turk.'[515]

While perhaps it fails to mention Jewish Nationalism, it does cover several themes – that of biblical lands, the Crusades, and the "tyranny of the Turk."[516] The final map also fails to include Zionist settlements, even Tel Aviv. (See inlet) However, it does give "Bible and ancient names", and was created in coordination with the Palestine Exploration Fund.[517] According to Foliard, commercial atlases, such as *Pitman's Commercial Atlas of the World*, became popular before the war, as well. They offered the public a new way of viewing the world, the Middle East included. Their focus was not the ancient, but the present, and potential for the future.[518] *Pitman's* 1932 edition makes no mention of the inhabitants, other than to offer population sizes of religious groups; however, it does focus primarily on agriculture, giving special attention to the orange industry. We are given a large overview

[514] "'The Times' Atlas," *The Times*, 19 March 1920, 15; J. G. Bartholomew, *Palestine*. [Scale 1:660 000] (London: The Times, 1920). (NLS Map.X3.015)
[515] "'The Times' Atlas," 15.
[516] Crusading imagery was used in propaganda throughout the First World War, and in remembrances after. Stefan Goebel refers to Palestine as "a landscape saturated with meaning". He argues that it "retained a stronger aura of crusading romance", more so than other campaigns like Gallipoli. Further it contrasted with the unease some felt fighting the "Protestant" Germany, "whereas the thought of fighting and dying in the Holy Land was justifiable and even comforting." Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 123-124.
[517] "'The Times' Atlas," 15. J. G. Bartholomew, *Palestine*. [Scale 1:660 000] (London: The Times, 1920) (NLS Map.X3.015)
[518] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient*, 223-224.

map of Asia, where the only city marked in Palestine is Jerusalem, even though the main city mentioned in the description is Jaffa.[519] Clearly, the biblical – and the familiar – won out.

Figure 37: J. G. Bartholomew, Palestine. Scale 1:660 000 (London: The Times, 1920) (National Library of Scotland)
Inlet a zoomed in look at Jaffa and environs.

[519] *Pitman's Commercial Atlas of the World* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman, 1932), 111. (BL W57/9820)

Biblical influence was also still the main theme of Palestine in educational material. Zionism, or even British colonialism, was not always mentioned. School geography textbooks from the decade often contextualised Palestine with the biblical. Textbooks from the early part of the decade often offered little attention to Palestine at all. A 1923 school textbook, *The Principles of Geography*, used both Old Testament and New Testament figures and stories to discuss the geography of Palestine, but had little to say about the modern land or inhabitants, nor anything about British involvement in the region.[520] However, there appears to be an expected shift towards the 1930s. *A Geography of Asia* from 1932, explicitly stated Palestine's connection with the Empire and claimed "with the events of the Bible, and especially with the life of Christ, makes it the most interesting land on earth; geographically, however, it is to-day of little account." [521] In congruence with this statement, the map it provides uses biblical place names (Figure 38).[522] Yet, it also discussed the "over 1000 orange gardens around Jaffa", almost immediately followed by a paragraph about the Jewish colonies, which, according to the author, "have recently been established near Jaffa". The author continues that the settlers "by their energy and intelligence, [have promised] to restore a measure of the ancient prosperity of this district. Tel Aviv, near Jaffa, is a new Jewish city." The exercises at the end of the section concentrate on both the biblical and the economic. But it also asks of its young readers what "habits, customs, etc. of the inhabitants of Palestine" have "influenced" the climate and land. The answer is two-fold: agricultural neglect, and the habit of the inhabitants to "[anoint] the head with oil instead of water".[523]

[520] E.G. Skeat, *The Principles of Geography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923). (BL 010004.g.6.)
[521] Joseph Martin, *A Geography of Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1932), 14. See also Gillian Sutherland, "Education," *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, vol. III: Social Agencies and Institutions*, ed. F.M.L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 119-69.
[522] *Palestine*, [Scale N/A], 1932; in Joseph Martin, *A Geography of Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1932), 13.
[523] Joseph Martin, *A Geography of Asia* (London: Macmillan, 1932), 14-16.

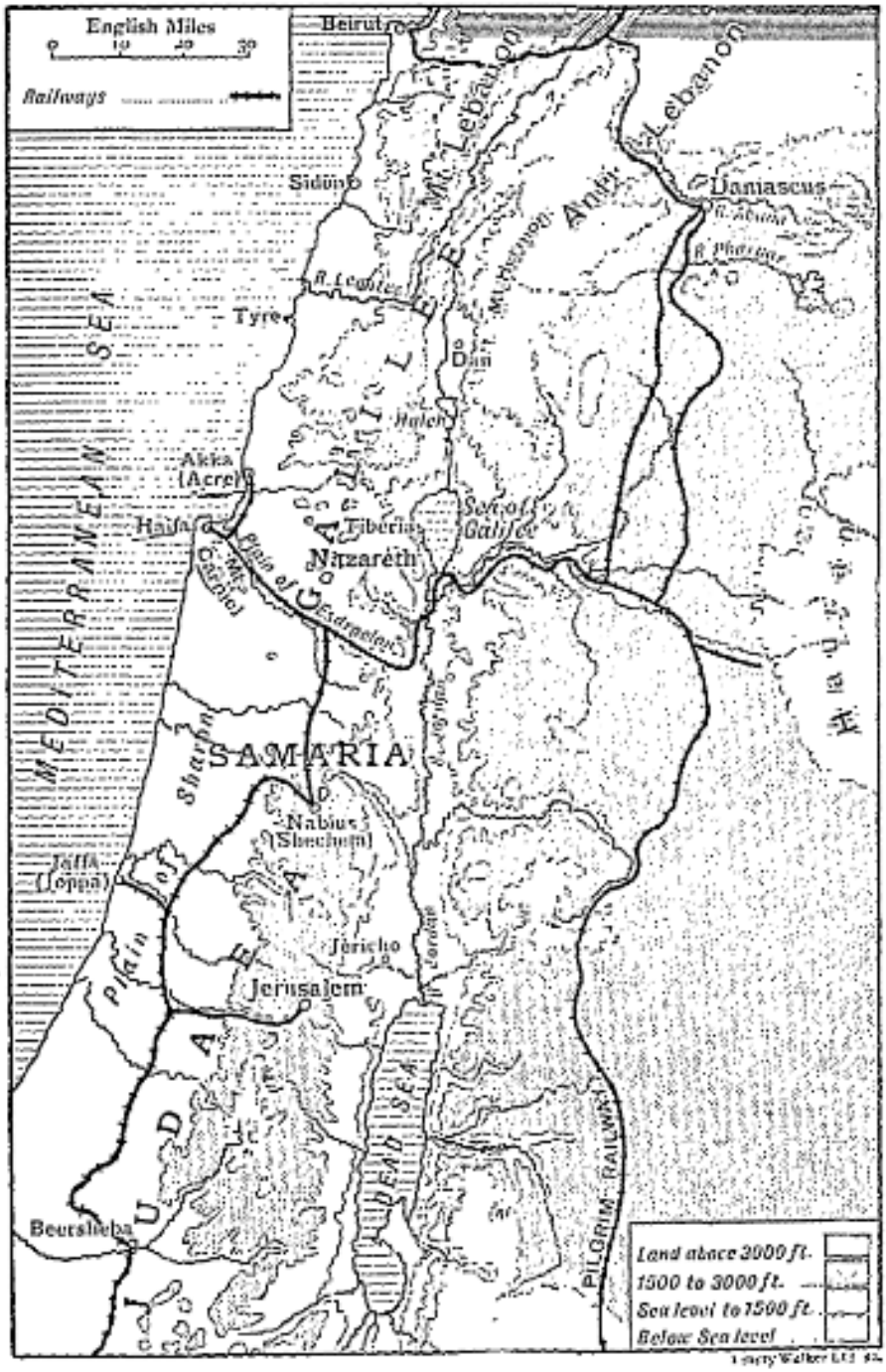

FIG. 5.—PALESTINE. (Note key.)

Figure 38: *Palestine*, [Scale N/A], 1932; in Joseph Martin, *A Geography of Asia* (British Library)

The focus on oranges in both *Geography of Asia* and *Pitman's Commercial Atlas*, reiterate that produce such as the Jaffa orange was already in the public's consciousness. Maps alongside written pieces would have given them orientation for where their food was coming from, and who was producing it. Two popular non-fiction books from the time would have assisted in adding to the association between Jaffa oranges and Zionist settlers: *Gateway of Palestine* by prominent Zionist agronomist Shmuel Tolkowsky and *Agricultural Colonisation in Palestine* by Zionist leader Arthur Ruppin. The term "popular" here means created for public consumption versus academic publication, but both these men were well-known Zionists, and their books were chosen due to their use in other literature on the subject. In his *Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa*, Tolkowsky uses several maps throughout the book, which spans the history of Jaffa from the ancient to the "modern". There is a fold out map in the front cover which shows a "Sketch map of Palestine". This map is sparse, showing minimal geographical features, the trainline up the coast of the country and into Iraq, and the major cities, such as Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa, Gaza, and Beersheba. It does not show any agricultural colonies. It is from the section on Tel Aviv that some of the more interesting additions are included. The map included in the section (Figure 39) is again sparse, although details of streets have been etched in, most of which appear in a sprawling Tel Aviv.[524] Indeed, the map gives equal space and equal weight to Jaffa and Tel Aviv, with only one other area marked – that of Neve Shalom, a Jewish neighbourhood founded in 1890.

Also included in this section are several aerial photographs by the German Flying Corp and the RAF, presumably used for the purposes of cartography. The aerial photography "Jaffa and Tel Aviv, 1917" shows the gorgeous patchwork of agricultural sprawl on the outskirts of Jaffa – missing from both maps thus far. It has labels marking Tel Aviv, Neve Shalom, as well as the Old City, German Colony, "Poor Arab Quarter", three Arab neighbourhoods, and the roads to Jerusalem and the Nablus. Another aerial photograph "The Central Part of Tel Aviv in July, 1923", this time by the RAF. Taken coming inland from the sea, it shows a rather sparse landscape, with an immigrant camp in the foreground, the main city in the centre, and two orange groves flanking the city. An outlined "Tel Aviv in 1917" in drawn in to show its growth in six years. In terms of agriculture, however, the more impressive aerial photographs are those of Jaffa in 1917, which show the orange groves almost encroaching

[524] Jaffa and Tel Aviv, [Scale 1:40,000] July 1923; in Shmuel Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa* (London: Routledge, 1924), 177.

on the city.[525] But it is the section on Tel Aviv which received the most attention. Both the *New Statesman* and *The Times Literary Supplement* make mention of the "remarkable growth" of Tel Aviv, with the *TLS* calling it a "rival municipality" to Jaffa.[526] Interestingly, the *New Statesman* book review is right above a review of *The Modern Use of the Bible*.

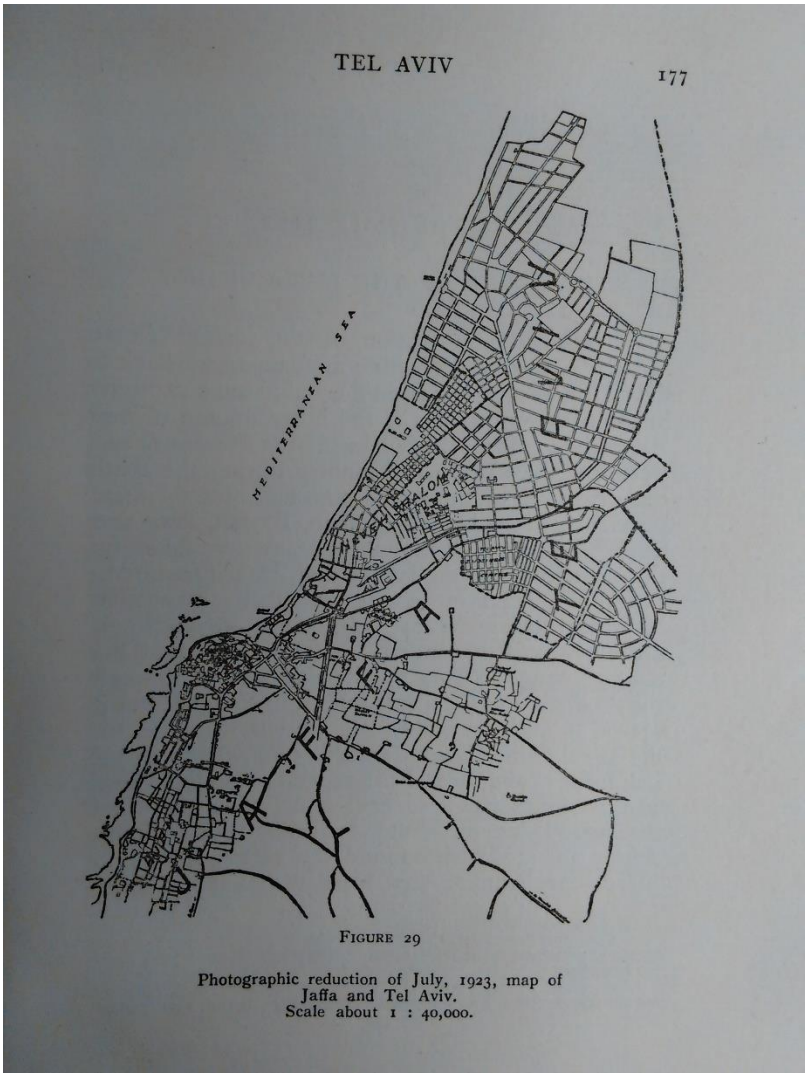

Figure 39: Jaffa and Tel Aviv, [Scale 1:40,000] July 1923 in Shmuel Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine*, 177.

[525] Shmuel Tolkowsky, *Gateway of Palestine*, 164, 167.
[526] Harry Pirie-Gordon, "The Gateway of Palestine," *The Times Literary Supplement*, 16 October 1924, 639; "Gateway of Palestine: The History of Jaffa by Shmuel Tolkowsky (Book Review)" *New Statesman*, 6 December 1924, 276.

Where Tolkowsky's work attempted to appeal to a more general audience, *Agricultural Colonisation in Palestine* was unmistakably written with the Zionist reader in mind.[527] However, the reviewer for the *Manchester Guardian* was enthralled with Ruppin's depiction of "the Jewish colonists in Palestine, starting a new life in a new land at such a moment" and suggested the book "will be valued by many others besides the Zionist readers for whom it was intended."[528] *Agricultural Colonisation* is a study in "the success of the Zionist colonization", the bringing back of townsman to "agricultural life", "estimating the true value of agricultural colonization", and the "great sacrifices demanded by the work of colonization".[529] While the book itself discusses Zionist agricultural settlements by name and includes discussion of citriculture – as one would expect – it has only one map, located at the front of the book, provided by Keren Hayesod. It is a map left fairly empty, aside from a smattering of "Jewish Agricultural Settlements" and a few major cities. It also labels the regions using biblical names, such as Samaria and Judea – a perhaps unnecessary touch, other than to associate the settlements with the biblical. The map is, much like the book itself, claiming the land for the Zionist cause. The message left to readers is Zionist colonisation – including citriculture – is worthy enough to "perhaps to teach the world at large".[530] The way in which Palestine is mapped in the beginning, combined with depictions of "the ignorant fellah", is an exercise in dominance. [531]

This was not always the case, of course. A book put out by *The Daily Mail*, dramatically titled *The Palestine Deception*, referred to the Zionist colonisation as "Phantom Benefits to the Empire" – among other accusations. The map situated at ahead of the first chapter does not have the biblically defined lines of the Mandate, has no biblical names, no mention of agriculture, and the caption refers to the 1915 promise made by McMahon to "the Arabs".[532] The book itself makes almost no mention of agriculture, let alone citriculture. It sits opposite almost every other map in this chapter. However, this seems more the

[527] Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine*, translated by R.J. Feiwel (London: Martin Hopkins and Co, 1926). Map faces the Title Page.
[528] "New Books: Palestine Colonisation," *Manchester Guardian* (Manchester), 3 Aug 1926, 5.
[529] Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine*, v-vi.
[530] "New Books," 5.
[531] Arthur Ruppin, *The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine*, 6. Ruppin consistently makes mention of the "low standard" of Arab life, whether through hygiene of cost of living. But he also shows disapproval for settlers who "have brought their East-European customs", 126.
[532] J.M.N. Jeffries, *The Palestine Deception* (London: The Daily Mail, 1923), 10-11.

exception than the rule. While many maps had no political affiliation at all, they did not tend to be outright antagonistic in the way that the *Daily Mail* portrays.

Referring back to the previous chapter, travel guides were not writing alone, but were usually accompanied by maps, often both of the country and specific regions. What was written in the passages of these guides was reflected on the included maps. So, for instance, the disconnect of Jaffa oranges separated from those that cultivated them, and the contrast of modernity to the biblical. This was exemplified in the 1922 edition of *The Handbook of Palestine* coupled the Survey of Egypt "Railway Map of Palestine and Transjordania". The concluding paragraph on Jaffa reads

> To the north of Jaffa lies the Jewish township of Tel Aviv, much enlarged under the stimulus of Zionist development and offering, in its European modernity, a strike contrast to the eastern character of Jaffa. Inland of Jaffa lies the orange groves for which the place is famous.[533]

While it does not explicitly give the credit of orange growing to Tel Aviv or Zionist settlements, what this paragraph is doing is contrasting a developed and modern "European" city to an implied less so "eastern" one. There is a possible association that could come from not just the pairing of these two details, but also of advancement and economic prosperity being the result of European settlement, or at the very least, with the European influence that Jewish Zionists were bringing, depending on the prejudice held by the reader. The maps that accompany this section distinctly highlights what are "Jewish colonies" with those connotations of colonial civility and superiority.[534]

Debbie Lisle writes that "mapping practices are never just about signs, they are about the production of meaning and the creation of a *geographical imagination*."[535] What was argued in the previous chapter was that within travel writing and guides, Zionist agriculture was a symbol of civilization – of modernity. What maps do, is highlight how that modernity is a construct of power. In an earlier analysis we looked at Thonghcai Winichakul and Edward Said's argument that knowledge and perceptions of 'the Orient' were more about

[533] *The Handbook of Palestine,* ed. Harry Luke and Edward Keith-Roach (London: Macmillan, 1922), 87.
[534] *The Handbook of Palestine*, back page inlet.
[535] Debbie Lisle, *The Global Politics of Contemporary Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 137.

the "superiority of the European metropolis itself".[536] As Tel Aviv grew, and Zionist agricultural settlements expanded, they became more prominent on maps, and more legitimised. Especially in cases like travel guides, where the discussion of biblical Palestine cannot be ignored, there are plenty of references to biblical and modern Jews. They are present in the mind of the reader, legitimised through historical association, as well as their European modernity. Maps were not simply reflecting a growth in population, but in power of influence as well. The *way* in which Tel Aviv or connected Zionist settlements were displayed on these maps mattered.

If we return our attention to the Thomas Cook guides and itineraries of the previous chapter, which offered readers and potential tourists a visual understanding of the land they were hoping to visit by including maps. Through them, one could "[witness] the progress that has been made by the Zionist Executive since the British occupation in 1917."[537] To borrow from geographer Derek Gregory, if maps are "the world-as-exhibition" – of power, knowledge, and spatiality – then these particular maps are an exhibition of a changing Palestine.[538] We might, for instance, observe on the 1924 *A Guide to Jerusalem and Judea*'s "Map of Judea", that while Zionist settlements, and Tel Aviv, are included, they are not given prominence.[539] The text used is not bolded, nor is it as large as that applied to the cities of Jaffa or Lydda. Again, as mentioned in the previous chapter, Thomas Cook's itineraries, began to include day trips to Zionist settlements. In their 27/28 tour program catalogue, the different routes that could be taken to see "Jewish Agricultural Settlements" are highlighted. Yet the catalogue map does not include Tel Aviv, nor any of the highlighted settlements. This does not seem out of place. Many of the smaller destinations that were not Zionist settlements are also not included. But by the 1929/30 Season, Tel Aviv became not just a suburb or 'Jewish settlement', but was given equal prominence to Jaffa in both tour descriptions and mapping. These tours were given titles such as 'How to see Modern

[536] Thonghcai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 7.
[537] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours: Season* 1927-28 (London: Thomas Cook, 1927), 87; *Programme of Arrangements for Visiting Egypt, the Nile, Sudan, Palestine, and Syria* Season 1925-26 (London: Thomas Cook, 1925), 80. A full description of this reads: "In the itineraries of the foregoing Tours, visits are included to some of the most typical Jewish Agricultural Settlements, for the purpose of witnessing the progress that has been made by the Zionist Executive since the British occupation in 1917. If desired, those of the Jewish Faith can be supplied with a Jewish dragoman. We append a list of Jewish Settlements and Institutions."
[538] Derek Gregory, *Geographical Imagination*, 5.
[539] *A Guide to Jerusalem and Judea* (London: Thomas Cook, 1924), between pages 88 and 89.

Palestine', where one could be taken around Zionist Agricultural Schools, a Zionist Agricultural Experimental Station, and of course, several agricultural settlements.[540] On the map provided, Tel Aviv is given the same text formatting as Jaffa.

It is a small detail, but there is also the matter of *where* Tel Aviv was being marked on these maps. In earlier maps, we see the text set on the inside of the map, if presented at all, while "Jaffa" is almost always printed on the sea side of the border. The closer to 1930 we progress, not only is the text more prominent, but starts to be more commonly displayed *above* the text for Jaffa. While there are practical considerations for this, there are also broader implications. Reading "north to south" means that Tel Aviv is read first, and it often appears to be one city – much as it is in modern times. The power dynamic is one where Tel Aviv is the "dominant" city. We see this on the Keren Hayesod maps of Palestine in the late 1920s, as well as in the aforementioned Thomas Cook itinerary map. And even in cases where it is not formatted this way, Jaffa and Tel Aviv are still starting to be displayed or described as a "dual" city. The 1932, *Syrie-Palestine*'s Jaffa map is labelled "*Jaffa et Tel Aviv*", with a border line drawn to show the reader the border between Jaffa and Tel Aviv.[541] Or the maps included in *The Gateway of Palestine: A History of Jaffa* by Shmuel Tolkowsky, which in the case of the "Jaffa and Tel Aviv Map", shows the two as equals. The aerial photograph from 1923 has only three places marked: the "Immigrant Camp", "Tel Aviv in 1917" outlined to emphasise growth, and "Orange Groves" behind it.[542] The dichotomy offered by the placement and formatting of "Jaffa" and "Tel Aviv", alongside the descriptions within these guides and histories, bolsters the distinctions between the two cities, and their intertwined realities. That is mirrors the Tel Aviv-Yafo of today cannot be coincidence. It is a reflection of the colonial mentality that Zionist settlements would be a boon to Arab villages, but on a larger scale.

Conclusion

Paraphrasing Said, Levin et al. write that maps "shaped the ways in which the colonial state imagined its dominion, the nature of the people it ruled, the geography of its domain, and

[540] *Cook's Nile Services and Palestine Tours:* Season *1929-30* (London: Thomas Cook, 1929), 78-79. (TCA)
[541] F. M. Abel, *Syrie, Palestine, Iraq, Transjordanie* (Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1932).
[542] Shmuel Tolkowsky, *The Gateway of Palestine*, 176-177.

the legitimacy of its ancestry."[543] Christian Zionists, such as Oliphant, and the surveyors of the nineteenth century, provide an idea of how Britain viewed its newly acquired domain: the people and the geography in need of guidance and "the legitimacy of ancestry" belonging equally to European settlers who were not only "modern", but theologically worthy. Official maps created the boundaries of the Mandate influenced by the Old Testament. Zionism was simply an extension of this ideology – a returning to the land of an ancient people, modernised, and economically advantaged. Tel Aviv and the surrounding Zionist settlements became more and more relevant as they grew in population and economic influence. Changing systems of land rights, official recognition of agricultural prowess, and infrastructure deals (such as the Rutenberg's Jaffa-to- Palestine Electric Company), showed the same bias towards European settlers as can be found in other colonial territories. But there was also a genuine belief that combined Zionism and British imperial thought, "that the Jews' superior ability to develop Palestine would improve the lives of all the land's inhabitants."[544]

As the de facto capital of the New Jewish Homeland, Tel Aviv's importance was reflected in its changing representation on maps – everything from survey maps, to those on propaganda material, to those in guidebooks. It shifted from a sometimes-there township, to an almost equal component of Jaffa, even before gaining status as a city. In funding materials put out by arms of the World Zionist Organization, it often replaced Jaffa on cartographical representations. In guidebooks, by the end of the 1920s, it was often presented as almost a dual city to Jaffa – the "modern" compliment of an ancient city. Further, it fuelled the myth of a desert landscape being brought to life by industrious Jews returning to the soil.

Maps are reflections of not just a landscape, but how we perceive that landscape. It has just as much to do with what is important to the cartographer. It requires us to ask question about what has been included, what has not, and why. Has the shallow vegetation of sand dunes been included, or is it simply perceived as a desert landscape, to be conquered by the intrepid European? "Depiction, picturing and seeing are ubiquitous features of the process by which most human beings come to know the world as it really *is* for them."[545] To the

[543] Levin et al, "Maps and the Settlement of Southern Palestine," 1.
[544] Fredrik Meiton, *Electrical Palestine*, 114.
[545] Gordon Fyfe and John Law, "Introduction: On the Invisibility of the Visual," *Picturing Power: Visual Depictions and Social Relations* 35:1 (May 1987), 2.

British – Zionist or otherwise – Palestine was an ancient land to be reinvigorated and redrawn for the purposes of being controlled and consumed.

Chapter Four: Citriculture as Empire in Consumer Culture

> Food has gradually, since the war began, assumed a larger place in the economics, the statesmanship and the strategy of the war until it is my belief that food will win this war – starvation or sufficiency will in the end determine the victor. The winning of the war is largely a problem of who can organize this weapon - food.[546]

Newly appointed United States Food Administrator and future US president Herbert Hoover may have been thinking of the United States' ability to sustain its population during the First World War, but food was also a primary motivating factor in much of Britain's domestic and imperial policy during and after the war.[547] While British farmers were subjected to strict war-time regulations in an effort to keep the nation fed, Peter Dewey argues that contemporary grumbling of farmers' making a profit during the war was not unfounded.[548] Due to less foreign competition and high demand generated by mobilised troops, "it was impossible to lose money at farming".[549] But even during the war, the British government was looking to the future – specifically in regards to foreign reliance. In August 1916, with new farming regulation in place, Prime Minister Asquith, created the Agricultural Sub-Committee within the Reconstruction Committee, whose aim was to consider the future of agriculture in Britain. This meant investigating "the need of increased home growth of food supplies in the interest of national security," not just within the context of the war, but with the aim to maintain conditions after the war ended.[550] It was cheaper to grow basic food crops such as wheat and corn than to import it. A reliance on foreign goods could be problematic in instances of global food shortages like those that occurred immediately post-war. The Agriculture Bill of 1920 was not a bill for farmers, but "in the nation's interests", created to alleviate concerns over agricultural prices and labourer wages.[551] It was designed "[from] the point of view of putting our land to its best possible use, from the point of view of growing every single ear of corn that we can… from the point of view of bringing up in the

[546] Herbert Hoover, "The Weapon of Food," *National Geographic Magazine* (September 1917), 197.
[547] David Stevenson, *With Our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (London: Penguin, 2012), n/a.
[548] Peter E. Dewey, "British Farming Profits and Government Policy during the First World War," *Economic History Review* 37:3 (August 1984), 373; Richard Perren, *Agriculture in Depression 1870-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 37-38.
[549] A. G. Street, Farmer's Glory (1932), 218; quoted in Dewey, "British Farming Profits and Government Policy during the First World War", 387.
[550] United Kingdom, "Agricultural Bill," Parliamentary Debate, Commons. 7 June 1920. vol 130, col 77-147.
[551] United Kingdom, "Agricultural Bill," 7 June 1920.

country as many of that hardy race of agrculturists (*sic*) that we used to have". [552] The bill itself might have failed only a year later, but this concern regarding foreign reliance and competition did not subside.

However, what was considered "foreign" was not entirely straight forward, specifically when it came to goods produced from within the Empire. While Britain practiced Free Trade from the mid-nineteenth century until the early 1930s, preferential treatment was given to Empire goods, especially those of the Dominion territories – or the "white settler colonies" of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, and Newfoundland. This concentration on homegrown and Empire goods was intensified during the 1920s. As noted by both Frank Trentmann and Stephen Constantine, there was an "obsessive concern with migration, tariff and colonial development policies" among the Labour, Liberal, and Conservative parties.[553] More liberal elements, including some within the Conservative party, had advocated Free Trade as part of social justice reform. The idea was that a lower taxation of goods meant cheaper food for the consumer. However, inflation and food shortages between 1919 and 1921 caused social unrest, leading to a series of demonstrations and what Trentmann refers to as "a new, social democratic vision of the consumer."[554] Social unrest was a serious concern for the British government. There were genuine fears of communist revolution among the more centrist and conservative politicians, which would continue to impact policy throughout the decade, regardless of the fact that Britain was famously one of the few European countries without a mass Communist party before the start of the War, nor gained one immediately after.[555] Further, wartime policies, including those over food, continued to be re-examined. There was a push towards the restoration of private enterprise over government control both at home and in the colonies. The backlash against government regulations saw the dissolution of the

[552] United Kingdom, "Agricultural Bill," 7 June 1920.
[553] See Stephan Constantine, "'Bringing Empire Alive': The Empire Marketing Board and Imperial Propaganda, 1926-33," *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 192-231; and Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation: Commerce, Consumption, and Civil Society in Modern Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 377.
[554] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 193; David Stevenson, *With Our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (London: Penguin, 2012), 377.
[555] The Communist Party of Great Britain formed out of smaller parties in 1920, and remained, as Henry Pelling put it, "so tiny [in these years] that the only way of demonstrating its importance is to show that its members were men and women of great ability or potentiality." Henry Pelling, "Review: History of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Vol I: Formation and Early Years, 1919–1924 By James Klugmann," *The Historical Journal* 12:2 (1969), 385.

Consumer's Council and the incorporation of the Ministry of Food into the Department of Trade.[556] These factors, among others, saw a Conservative party win in 1924 – Conservative leader, Stanley Baldwin promoting the idea of "commonsensical (*sic*), decent, self-reliant, contented working men and women."[557] This shift in politics mirrored a shift in the narrative of consumerism. The government and conservative lobbyists pushed the conversation from focusing on the *cheapness* produced by limited tariffs, and instead began to focus on *fairness* – food was no longer just about the individual, but about the economic well-being of Britain and its Empire. A give and take between the metropole and the rest of the Empire. A healthier economy in the Empire as a whole meant a healthier economy at home.[558]

The start of the Mandate in 1923 coincided with these changes in perceptions of food and empire. However, that did not stifle discussion of its potential imperial productivity. Unsurprisingly, the region's agricultural development was raised within Parliament between the start of its occupation in 1917 to its official incorporation. Whether it was the reading out of a letter by Allenby in 1918, where he described "the rich, red soil of the flourishing town of the plains, all golden with the luscious orange crops bordering the glossy given trees" or within discussion of Egypt, Greater Syria, and/or Mesopotamia.[559] On 29 June 1920, Lord Sydenham, former Governor of Bombay, outlined "the conditions of Palestine at the time of the Armistice." In regard to agriculture, he summarizes that:

> The population consisted, roughly speaking, of 515,000 Moslems, 62,500 Christians, 65,300 Jews, and 5,050 others. But the percentage of each of the communities employed in agriculture was— Moslems, 69; Christians, 46; and Jews, 19. Thus, the Jews in Palestine about the end of the war were playing an infinitesimal part in what is the only industry of that country. The recent Jewish

[556] This is highlighted by the controversy over the Consumer's Council and the Ministry of Food after the war – if it was to be extended or absorbed into the Department of Agriculture or Trade. The 9 August 1920 Parliamentary debate over the Ministry of Food (Continuance) Bill is a prime example of many of the arguments being made at the time, including the frustration felt in Dominion territories like Canada and Australia. See also Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 203-213.

[557] Philip Williamson, "The Doctrinal Politics of Stanley Baldwin," *Public and Private Doctrine: Essays in British History Presented to Maurice Cowling*, ed. Michael Bentley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 195.

[558] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 193

[559] See United Kingdom, "Mr Macpherson's Statement," Parliamentary Debate, Commons. 20 February 1918. vol 103 col 786; and United Kingdom "Asiatic Provinces of Ottoman Empire," Parliamentary Debate, Lords. 20 February 1919. vol 33 cols 254-66.

> colonies are prospering in viticulture and in citrons fruits, but some are not yet on an economic basis because they are supported by outside capitalists. No one could object to the setting up of more of such colonies. The Jews, as a rule, do not cultivate cereals, and many of them are employers of Arab labour or the labour of a particularly depressed class of Jews who come from the Yemen. Then there are a large number of Jews in Palestine who do no useful work but live on mendicancy or on remittances from their wealthy co-religionists.[560]

As is to be expected, he does not distinguish between European settler communities and indigenous populations, rather dividing the population up by religious affiliation. But he does give attention to "Jewish colonies" that produce viticulture and citriculture. Further, we can pull from his judgement that the Jews who "do no useful work" by and large, are those who do not participate in what Sydenham sees as "the only industry" of what would be the Mandate – or rather, the only industry of use for the Empire – agriculture. Yet it is worth remembering from previous chapters, the vast majority of Jewish settlers did not participate in agriculture. And as shall be discussed throughout this chapter, as it has throughout this thesis, the division between religions had significance. Not least because this division did not just exist within the minds of the British public or government officials. It could easily be argued that the Mandate was comprised of an "ethno-nationally divided economy" – that of the Jewish Zionist settlers and the indigenous Arab population.[561] While the voice of one member of the House of Lords, this paragraph gives us insight into some of the complexities of how Palestine was perceived as an economic entity.

Jaffa oranges had been a vital part of the city's growth during the late Ottoman period. By 1913, they made up 40 per cent of all exports out of the region and generated employment, from "gardeners, farm hands, well-diggers, harvesters, packers, and sailors." There were the people who built the crates for shipping and importers who provided the material for making the crates, wrapping paper and wooden hoops.[562] That production translated into

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[560] Lord Sydenham to the House of Lords, "Palestine," Parliamentary Debate, Lords. 29 June 1920, vol 40 col 1006.

[561] Jacob Metzer, *The Divided Economy of Mandatory Palestine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), xvi. This is not necessarily an argument for "dual economy", rather points the economic asymmetries that existed between the settler society and the indigenous population.

[562] Ruth Kark, *Jaffa: A City in Evolution 1799-1917* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi Press, 1990), 251-252; see also Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine, 1890-1939* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), 5.

consumption in Britain. Already a popular fruit by the time Britain took control of the Ottoman territory, the oranges would maintain their primary consumer throughout the 1920s – middle to upper-class, the very same target audience of the "Buy Empire" campaigns. Indeed, advertising at the cusp of the mandate period still marketed the fruit primarily as a luxury item, rather than an everyday purchase. In 1920, the *Confectionery and Allied Trades Quarterly Trade Review*, printed in the *Guardian*, mentioned Jaffa oranges among a list of "pre-war commodities and delicacies" – like figs, Jordanian almonds, Turkish delight, and "real shortbread" – that was going to make the coming Christmas "decidedly better all round and more varied than it was in 1919." [563] Between 1920 and 1922, Dingley's Ld (*sic*) ran a series of advertisements in regard to their orange produce. The Jaffa orange was often either one of the only, if not the only, orange to be named. In one advertisement from 1920, laid out as a poem, the company focused on the orange's "Eastern" origins. The poem concluded:

Even to watch them, box on box
Swinging upward from the Docks,
In my heart some gate unlocks
To the East.[564]

Moreover their 1922 Christmas advertising extolled the orange – among those named, the Jaffa – as "Things to gladden the heart of man!"[565] The Jaffa orange was a parcel of Eastern sunshine, ready to be bought by those who could afford it.[566] While the 1920s saw some promotion of it as an Empire good, this status of luxury item from the exotic "East" did not shift in public perception until the 1930s.

Within this chapter, consumer culture and Palestine's place in the Empire will be explored in the context of the "Buy Empire" campaigns that ran throughout the 1920s, and the way in which Palestine was seen as both part of and separate from the Empire. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose argue that most Britons were neither avid imperialists nor anti-imperialists, "yet their everyday lives were infused with an imperial presence."[567] While the vast majority of "Buy Empire" could be more easily summarised with "Buy Dominion and British", Palestine

[563] "Display Ad 15 -- No Title," *Manchester Guardian*, 16 December 1920, 13.
[564] "Display Ad 15 -- No Title," *Manchester Guardian*, 17 January 1920, 12.
[565] "Display Ad 22 -- No Title," *Manchester Guardian*, 20 December 1922, 10.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose, "Introduction: Being at Home with the Empire," *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, eds. Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2.

did appear in nationwide campaigns, especially within the framework of Empire oranges.[568] Empire Shopping Weeks, which began around the same time as the Mandate, made little mention of Palestine or Jaffa oranges. However, they encompassed the entire decade, and were the driving force for both the British Empire Exhibition and the Empire Marketing Board. Exhibitions, such as the 1924 British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, promoted Jaffa oranges almost solely as a Zionist settler produce – in line with the racial component of the "Buy Empire" campaign. Indeed, the racial element of Empire is most striking in the posters of the Empire Marketing Board propaganda campaign from 1926 to 1933.

This is a history of consumer culture; of "the creation of desire" for Jaffa oranges as an Empire food, and how that reflected back a legitimizing tool for the Zionist movement – if it did at all.[569] The history of consumption is a more recent field of study, emerging with a culture of materialism in the 1970s and 1980s, gaining increased prominence in the 1990s after a cultural turn in the humanities. Trentmann argues that this created a field in which "Historians have been prompted to think about the production, representation, and circulation of things, and about the nature of symbolic communication, material practices, and identity formation."[570] Certainly, this thesis more generally is focused on symbolic communication and identity formation. It only makes sense to analyse the consumption of the symbolic Jaffa orange itself. While some economics will inevitably be discussed, the point of this chapter is not to analyse the economic history of Jaffa oranges in Britain, but rather how the product was presented to the public, and in a smaller way, how it was prepared and eaten, as a product of the Empire. Little has been written about how the Jaffa orange was marketed in the "Buy Empire" campaign. While there are some papers on its presence at the Wembley Exhibition, in both Jacob Metzer and Nahum Karlinsky's analysis of the Mandatory economy – in Karlinsky's case, specifically citriculture – neither mention exhibitions nor the Empire Marketing Board. Nor do either academic place Palestine within the context of the larger British Empire. This may in part be due to its Mandatory status, or a preoccupation with settler versus Arab labour. Metzer's analysis of the Mandate economy and Karlinsky's work on Zionist citriculture are important and relevant to this chapter; however, this analysis will rely heavily on works such as those by historian of consumption, Frank Trentmann – offering a more general context to the campaign and decade itself. Because each section could be a chapter by themselves, we will focus specifically on representation.

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[568] See Felicity Barnes, "Bringing Another Empire Alive? The Empire Marketing Board and the Construction of Dominion Identity, 1926–33," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 42:1 (2014), 61–85.
[569] Frank Trentmann, "Introduction," *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption*, ed. Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3.
[570] Frank Trentmann, "Introduction," 2.

Empire Shopping Weeks and "Buy Empire"

What can be considered the first Empire Shopping Week – or "All-British Shopping Week" as it was called then – took place prior to the war, in March of 1911.[571] However, the push for Empire focused consumerism, with Empire Shopping Weeks, Empire Exhibitions, and eventually the Empire Marketing Board, really started after the war. In the space of a decade, there would be over 200 Empire Shopping Weeks.[572] Similar to the "Buy Local" campaigns of today, these were often large, well supported events, that pressed upon the consumer the idea "that Britain, and Greater Britain can quite well live interdependently and independently of all foreign countries."[573] While one might assume that kind of reporting was reserved for more Conservative papers, the enthusiasm appeared to transcend political lines. Notoriously liberal and pro-free trade, the *Guardian* reported of the May 1924 Empire Shopping Week:

> Most of the large stores in London which have food departments are this week making special displays of Empire food products, and many of the smaller shops are copying their example. Some of the windows are dressed entirely with Empire foods, and they show to a remarkable degree the extent to which the colonies are able to feed us.[574]

Both David Thackery and Frank Trentmann attribute much of this change to the collective power of women – not only as consumers, but as new potential voters. The Representation of the People Act of 1918 meant that women over the age of 30 could now vote. Off the back of the collective, wartime thrift mentality, shopping was transformed into a civic responsibility, "a test of imperial citizenship."[575] In his essay "Class and Conventional Wisdom", Ross McKibbin argues that "Conservatives were able to steal a lead on the other parties in appealing to women by portraying their interests as antithetical to the masculine

[571] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 229.
[572] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 230.
[573] "Empire Shopping Week," *Daily Mail*, 9 May 1923, 7.
[574] "The Family Budget: Empire Shopping," *Manchester Guardian*, 27 May 1924, 6.
[575] See David Thackery, "Home and Politics: Women and Conservative Activism in Early Twentieth-Century Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 49:4 (2010), 826-48; Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*; see also David Jarvis, "Mrs. Maggs and Betty: The Conservative Appeal to Women Voters in the 1920s," *Twentieth Century British History* 5:2 (June 1994), 129-52.

culture of the organised working class."[576] By contrast Trentmann emphasises the moral aspect of groups such as the British Women's Patriotic League, who created the first post-war Empire Shopping Week in 1922, and pioneered the "Buy Empire" movement. Likewise, Philip Williamson and Thackery highlight the use of groups such as the Women's Unionist Organisation to "educate the country on civic values", such as the importance of women's involvement in fiscal policies, and nation and empire over class.[577]

There was a level of comradery – what Trentmann refers to as an "imperial brotherhood" but might be accurately described as a *sisterhood* – built into the "Buy Empire" ethos. Anne Chamberlain, wife of future Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, put it terms of reciprocity. "Are we to take all and give nothing? Surely not. The idea of Empire service makes a more certain appeal to women than the selfish bluntness of a question that asks, 'What has the Empire done for *me*?'"[578] Yet, this sisterhood was not extended equally throughout the Empire. Chamberlain's plea was designed to illustrate the potential consumer power of "every white person in South Africa" and the Empire, specifically, and as a moral duty. [579] What we see during the 1920s is the next evolutionary stage out of what Anne McClintock refers to as "commodity racism", which "converted the narrative of imperial Progress into mass-produced *consumer spectacles*."[580] It could be argued, and we will discuss this more further along in the chapter, that in some cases, the racial divide in imperial labour was being erased in advertising. However, this is not due to some progressive agenda, but the erasure of that imagery of labour all together.

> [D]uring Empire shopping weeks…. British housewives were urged to use their shopping basket to help their kith and kin in the Empire. Why buy sultanas that

[576] Ross McKibbin, "Class and Conventional Wisdom: The Conservative Party and the 'Public' in Inter-war Britain," *The Ideologies of Class: Social Relations in Britain, 1880-1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 267, 292-93, 285; David Thackery, "Home and Politics," 826-48.
[577] David Thackery, "Home and Politics," 826-48. Philip Williamson, *Stanley Baldwin: Conservative Leadership and National Values* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[578] Anne Chamberlain, *Home and Politics*, August 1924, 7; quoted in Frank Trentmann, "Before Fair Trade: Empire, Free Trade and the Moral Economies of Food in the Modern World," *Food and Globalization: Consumption, Markets and Politics in the Modern World*, eds. Alexander Nützenadel and Frank Trentmann (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 259.
[579]Anne Chamberlain, *Home and Politics*, August 1924, 7; quoted in Frank Trentmann, "Before Fair Trade," 259.
[580] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995), 35.

> had been trampled on by 'dirty' Turks, if it was possible to have 'clean', sweet ones grown, dried and packaged by Christian cousins in Australia?[581]

Here Trentmann is paraphrasing from a 1924 edition of the Conservative publication *Home and Politics*, but this was not a bias reserved for one political mindset. In a 1925 edition of the Suffragists publication *The Vote* we can observe a similar sentiment: "there is no question that the more direct encouragement of Empire foodstuffs in this country would mean absolute assurances of clean and unadulterated foods."[582] The emphasis on *cleanliness* here is a coded indication of *who* is being perceived as responsible for the produce being exported to Britain. Whether referencing the infamous Pear's soap advertisements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, or the association of smell with hygiene in travel writing, "clean and unadulterated foods" are those which are produced by white settler counterparts.[583]

Palestine and Jaffa oranges are not as well advertised or incorporated into Empire Shopping Weeks or the "Buy Empire Goods" campaign. In fact, it was not until 1934 that an advertising campaign was approved and started for Palestine produce.[584] While they were *Empire* Shopping Weeks within a "Buy *Empire*" campaign, Dominions dominated the spotlight. As a Dominion territory, South African oranges were given more advertising space, regardless of the fact they were a consistently outsold by the Palestinian Jaffa. In an effort to promote Empire buying, the *Courier and Advertiser* broke it down in this way:

> On an average every person in the United Kingdom consumed in 1924 100 apples, 70 oranges and 30 bananas... Of the 70 oranges, 57 were supplied by Spain, 7 by Palestine, 3 by South Africa, and 1 by the United States.[585]

Moreover, questions over its legitimacy as part of the Empire meant hesitancy to include it in Empire promotions. A letter to the editor asked "Are Jaffas British?" The respondent, T.E. Metcalfe of The National Federation of Retail Fruiterers, Florists, & Fishmongers, replied that Palestine was technically a Mandate, so subject to a 10 per cent tax, but compares it to "an adopted child". "Palestine is more closely welded to us than any other place from which

[581] Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-first* (London: Allen Lane, 2016), 300.
[582] *The Vote*, 28 August 1925, 3.
[583] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 212-217.
[584] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 186.
[585] "A Nation of Fruit Eaters," *Courier and advertiser*, 11 June 1926, 5.

oranges are available at the moment," he explains, and concludes that "whether Jaffas be British or not, they do Britons good."[586]

However, Jaffa oranges did not go unadvertised. Towards the end of the 1920s we can find more advertising than in the early part of the decade, when Palestine was only recently incorporated into the Empire. Lord's and Pardess put out simple, unillustrated advertisements. Matthew & Sons Fruiter advertised "Extra Large Pardess Jaffa Oranges" with the "Buy Empire Fruits" campaign slogan.[587] And *The London Illustrated News* included the fruit in their article "The British Empire the World's Cornucopia", where they claimed that Palestine would be sending a million boxes of Jaffas over now that South Africa's season had ended.[588] None of these advertisements over emphasised the Empire connection, nor were they as large and creatively illustrated, of the type that might be found within the South African orange ads, but they did show was that the Jaffa was beginning to be seen as an Empire fruit. Most interesting of all, was their inclusion in the associated "Eat More Fruits" campaigns.

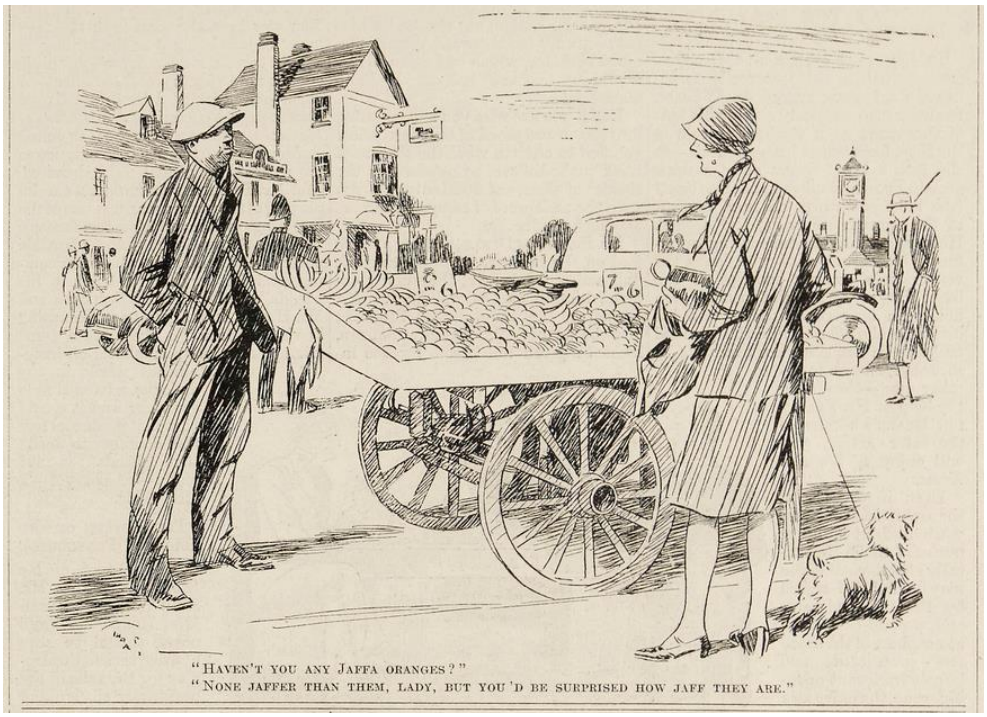
With the discovering of vitamins right before the war, a "new nutritional politics" simultaneously emerged.[589] An emphasis was placed on it, and it became a marketing tool, merging with imperial consumerism in the form of produce production. "Buying Empire" often meant buying produce that may not otherwise be accessible, given Britain's climate. Advertisements, pamphlets, and recipe books that doubled as "educational" in regard to nutrition became popular. As one pamphlet on food nutrition put it, "the wisdom of true economy" was "to have an eye to value rather than mere quantity".[590] Oranges played a role in this new nutritional focus, advertised as chalk full of vitamin C, calcium and able to store longer than some other fruits – especially orange juice which, "if [dried and] sealed, seems to keep its virtue for a long time." [591] The "Eat More Oranges" campaign promoted the fruit as a preventative against the flu – something Lord's Jaffa Oranges started to mimic in their own advertising. According to Karlinsky, citrus fruit consumption outstripped that of any

[586] "Are Jaffas British?" *The Citizen*, 9 April 1932, 5
[587] "Advertisement," *Surrey Mirror*, 3 March 1933, 14.
[588] "The British Empire the World's Cornucopia," *Illustrated London News*, 12 December 1931, 28.
[589] Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 125.
[590] Ethel M. Dobbs, *Food Values in Practice: Simple Guidance in Diet Planning and Cookery* (London: University of London, 1929), 88.
[591] Ethel M. Dobbs, *Food Values in Practice*, 42.

other fresh fruit between the end of the war until 1933, when a slight dip in the market occurred.[592]

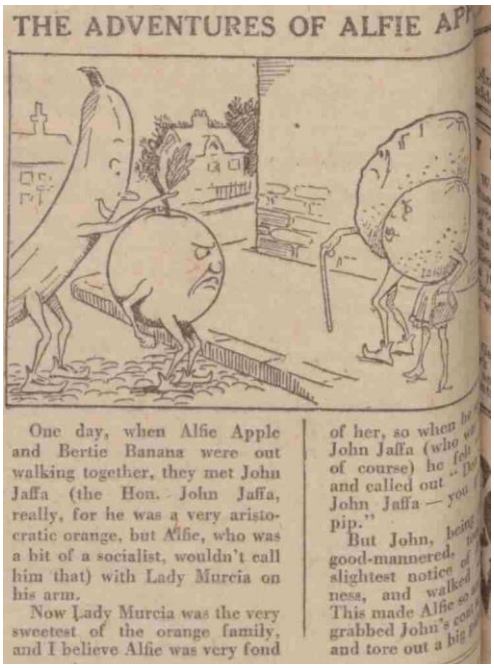
Even so, oranges – and Jaffas in particular – were still seen as more a luxury item. Indeed, even AG Turner, the newly appointed Citrus Fruit Specialist, referred to Jaffa oranges in his 1931 report as "commodities of a luxury nature".[593] This belief is most easily observed the public sphere through their representation in newspaper cartoons. For instance, a *Punch* cartoon from 1928 depicts an upper-class looking woman, with a tiny dog, asking a street vendor whether the oranges he is selling are Jaffa oranges. "None Jaffer than them, lady" is his reply (Figure 40).[594] Or the best representation of Empire produce in cartoon form, *The Adventures of Alfie the Apple*, which features among other anthropomorphised Empire fruits and vegetables, an *Honourable* John Jaffa, complete with a monocle, a pair of dapper white spats, and walking stick (Figure 41).[595] Jaffa oranges were small fish in the Empire campaigns, but they were represented and they were seen as an empire fruit, even if it was a small part. That they were a *healthy* fruit granted them more visibility within that context than perhaps they otherwise would have gotten. Yet, while they went underrepresented in Empire Shopping Weeks, the British Empire Exhibition in Wembley offered Palestine a chance to show itself off as very much part of the fabric of Empire.

[592] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 173.
[593] Turner also referred to Jaffa oranges as having "a very high and well-deserved reputation on European markets" in the main body of his 1931 report on the industry, reiterating that the fruit have "achieved a name on the markets for quality of the highest" even as he warned that this reputation was easily harmed by the increase in low quality fruits being exported at the time. AG Turner, *The Citrus Industry in Palestine*, 1931, Empire Marketing Board: Original Correspondence, The National Archives, London, UK. (TNA, CO 758/66/5)
[594] J. H. Thorp, "Haven't You Any Jaffa Oranges?" *Punch*, 20 June 1928, 693. (*Punch Historical Archive*)
[595] "The Adventures of Alfie the Apple (31)," *The Leeds Mercury*, 7 February 1927, 6.



"HAVEN'T YOU ANY JAFFA ORANGES?"
"NONE JAFFER THAN THEM, LADY, BUT YOU 'D BE SURPRISED HOW JAFF THEY ARE."

Figure 40: J. H. Thorp, "Haven't You Any Jaffa Oranges?" *Punch*, 20 June 1928, 693.



THE ADVENTURES OF ALFIE AP

One day, when Alfie Apple and Bertie Banana were out walking together, they met John Jaffa (the Hon. John Jaffa, really, for he was a very aristocratic orange, but Alfie, who was a bit of a socialist, wouldn't call him that) with Lady Murcia on his arm.

Now Lady Murcia was the very sweetest of the orange family, and I believe Alfie was very fond

of her, so when he John Jaffa (who w of course) he fel and called out "D John Jaffa — you pip."

But John, being good-mannered, t slightest notice o ness, and walked This made Alfie so grabbed John's coa and tore out a big

Figure 41: "The Adventures of Alfie the Apple (31)," *The Leeds Mercury*, 7 February 1927, 6. First appearance of John Jaffa.

Exhibition and Empire

Between 1851 and 1930, hundreds of international exhibitions were held. According to Paul Greenhalgh these exhibitions were among the most important events of the time. In their presentation of industry and empire, he argues, they "reflected more profoundly than any other cultural institution the driving forces behind Western society".[596] The British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924 was one of the largest British exhibitions to be held after the First World War, designed to "promote trade within the Empire" and "to increase the knowledge of the varied resources of [the] Empire and to stimulate inter-Imperial trade."[597] Unlike the exhibitions of the nineteenth century, the Exhibition at Wembley was less interested in feats of engineering or cosmopolitanism, and instead centred itself around historicising the British Empire in the 1920s, offering a form of escapism for the British public.[598] It brought in crowds of an estimated 30 million people, "with the thrills of an amusement park, bigger and more exciting than Coney Island and all the amusements sections of previous British exhibitions put together".[599] There was even an entire Women's Section, organised with the Queen as patron, complete with presentations on Empire foods and dishes, and how to prepare them properly.[600] The Exhibition was "intended to bring before the buyers of the world the industries, inventions, raw materials and products of the Empire with a view to the encouragement of Empire trade".[601]

That Palestine was technically the only non-colony of the 56 participating colonies or Dominion territories on display, signalled "the unique position of Palestine as a territory that was not being developed for the sole benefit of empire." [602] However, it is worth noting that

[596] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 1-3, 52.
[597] *British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Wembley, London, April-October: Handbook of General Information* (London: British Empire Exhibition, 1924), 4; Houses of Parliament, "The Kings Speech," 15 January 1924 vol 56, col 7.
[598] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 158, 187.
[599] *Home and Politics*, May 1924, 10; quoted in Frank Trentmann, "Before 'Fair Trade': Empire, Free Trade, and the Moral Economies of Food in the Modern World," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25:6 (2007), 1082.
[600] *British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Wembley, London, April-October*, 7-8. *Home and Politics*, May 1924, 10. In Frank Trentmann, "Before 'Fair Trade,'" 1082.
[601] *The British Empire Exhibition, 1924 Report*, ed. The Commissioner for India (Calcutta: Government of India Press, 1925), 1.
[602] Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display: The Palestine Pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924," *The Arab Studies Journal* 15:1 (Spring 2007), 72; see also Alexander C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-de-Siècle Europe* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 227.

its presence at the Exhibition took some convincing. The Foreign Office objected to its inclusion, claiming "Palestine is not, and shall never be in any form part of the British Empire."[603] It was the persistence of Herbert Samuel that allowed it to be present; the first year in the same pavilion as Cyprus, and in the second, one to itself.[604] This distinction might be why, for instance, Palestine was not included in the Imperial Fruit Show only a few years later, even if it had been successful at the 1924 Exhibition.[605] It may also play a part in how it presented itself at the Exhibition.

The Palestine Pavilion provided a lot of space to the Zionist settlements, who were seen at once Europeans *and* belonging to the land. For every mention of innovation, there was an equal reminder of a *Jewish* past. Models of and lectures on Solomon's Temple, The Tabernacle, and The Dome of the Rock received praise from visitors and the press. And the *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide* made frequent reference to the Old Testament, as well as the ancient Jewish presence of the region. There would have been a great deal of interest from the public on the more biblical aspects of Palestine, which would have played in role in this representation.[606] This contrasted with the repeated mention of Zionist settlement and modernization. The mix of the Pavilion between the biblical and modern intervention created the impression of "a paternalistic project of modern development and a historical return to the Holy Land."[607]

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[603] "B.E.Ex, the Question of Palestine's Participation," Foreign Office to Herbert Samuel, 15 June 1920, General Correspondence from 1906-1966, The National Archive, London, UK. (TNA, FO371/5263, E6654/6654/44); Samuel to Churchill, 21 November 1921, Despatches from High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel, The National Archive, London, UK. (TNA, CO733/7/60779) Perhaps in proper British fashion, only a year after the Exhibition, did the government framed it slightly differently in its *Annual Report*, in that the "Palestine Government was invited to participate in the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley." United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1924*, Reports of Mandatory Powers (Geneva: League of Nations: 1 November 1925), 6.

[604] Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine: Austen St. Barbe Harrison and the Representational Buildings of the British Mandate in Palestine, 1922-37," *Architectural History* 43 (2000), 307.

[605] Prince Arthur quoted in "Empire Fruit", *Gloucester Journal*, 20 October 1928, 14. According to *Annual Report* for 1924, "[The Palestine] pavilion was thronged by visitors. The commercial results were very satisfactory to exhibitors." United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government of the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1924*, Reports of Mandatory Powers (Geneva: League of Nations: 1 November 1925), 6.

[606] Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 273-276. While the vast majority of people in metropolitan cities like London, Birmingham, and Manchester did not attend church, and in more rural areas the argument could be made that it was seen more as a social gathering, McKibbin argues that most people would have viewed Britain as a Christian country.

[607] Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display," 72.

The exhibition itself reflected the enduring nature of the Empire, and its ability to bring civilization or modernity to its colonies across the globe.[608] Or, as the introduction to the official exhibition handbook put it:

> Wembley will emphasise our racial achievements up to date, and will convey to the visitor not only a wider and more definite idea of what our people have accomplished in the past, but a clearer knowledge of what it will be possible for us to achieve in the future.[609]

Different pavilions dealt with this facet of colonial expression differently. Trentmann argues that by the 1900s, there was a European make-over of colonial goods, with advertisers (and presumably consumers) favouring the "familiar…not the exotic."[610] This is not to say colonialism entirely disappeared from advertising, simply that there was a trend towards erasure of the labour that produced the goods being sold. For the Palestine Pavilion, both McClintock's commodity racism, and erasure applied – as one would expect. Advertising relied heavily on the "exotic" of the Arab population and on the Bible. On the 18 July, the Birmingham Gazette ran a double advertisement for the Palestine Pavilion amongst its Exhibition promotions. The top advertisement included the lines "The Holyland [sic] of Yesterday and To-day [sic] at Wembley" above a picture of a small group of Arab women presumably participating in pottery. The line beneath read "Native craftsmen at work", along with promotions for aforementioned biblical models. Another advertisement further down the same page shouted at its readers: "You must not Fail!" to see the models of Solomon's Temple, et al. It also advertised craftsmanship, but this time without the craftsmen, "Glazed Tiles, Pottery and Glass Work made at Hebron are on sale HERE."[611]

While these advertisements excluded any mention of oranges or Zionist innovation, they epitomised how both the Pavilion and the handbooks treated the indigenous Arab population. Much like in Zionist art, or as Nicholas Roberts quips, the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine, the Arab population was presented as primitive and/or moved to the background, if it was mentioned at all. [612] The *Daily News Souvenir Guide to the British Empire Exhibition*, mentions "Hebron glass, made by the Arabs in a crude and

[608] Ibid.
[609] *British Empire Exhibition, 1924: Wembley, London, April-October*, 3.
[610] Trentmann, *Empire of Things*, 173.
[611] "Wembley Exhibition: Advertisements," *Birmingham Gazette*, 18 July 1924, 10.
[612] Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display," 72.

primitive way," but otherwise ignores the indigenous population. [613] And many of the same desolate land myths are repeated. In the Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee created *Palestine Pavilion Handbook*, we are informed by Samuel's introduction that Britain

> found the country derelict after centuries of misrule. The vast majority of the Arab population were illiterate; much of the land was uncultivated, most of the remainder poorly farmed... Almost all the requirements of a civilized state had to be provided from the beginning.[614]

Repeatedly throughout the handbook, Europeans – most often Zionist settlers – are the bringers of modernization. Within the section on cultivation, Arab farmers are represented as benefitting from the colonization of their land. Whether it is Zionist settlers bringing modern technologies, or the German colonies providing "a valuable object-lesson to the neighbouring Arab communities" through "models of sound agriculture".[615] The representation of the Arab population at the Exhibition fit neatly into the anthropological definition of the primitive as a "construction of the disembodied other divorced from history and context."[616]

The *Daily News* handbook includes "Jaffa Oranges" in the index – the only fruit given that distinction. Yet, it was the "The Palestine Government and the Zionist Executive" that are mentioned as having stalls and leading the Mandate's exhibit.[617] Very little room was given to the cultural heritage or socio-political life of the Arab population. [618] Nor was this unique to the Palestine Pavilion. Alexander C.T. Geppert offers us a glimpse into the reactions the exhibition and the different pavilions represented. A Somali visitor to the exhibition, Ibrahim Ismaa'l, wrote of his impression "It appeared to me as if the world had been made for Europeans, who had only to stretch out their hands to bring before them, as by magic, all the products of the Universe." But it was the West African display that sparked controversy

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[613] *Daily News Souvenir Guide to the British Empire Exhibition: Concise "Where is it" Index and Complete Train, Tram and Bus Guide* (London: Daily News Ltd., 1924), 69.
[614] *Palestine Pavilion handbook and tourist guide*, ed. Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee. (London: Fleetway Press, 1924), 21.
[615] *Palestine Pavilion handbook and tourist guide*, 75, 68.
[616] Richard Lee, "The 'Primitive,' the 'Real,' and the 'World System': Knowledge Production in Contemporary Anthropology," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 61:4 (Summer 1992), 473.
[617] *Daily News Souvenir Guide to the British Empire Exhibition: Concise "Where is it" Index and Complete Train, Tram and Bus Guide*, 70.
[618] See Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display," 70-89; Ron Fuchs and Gilbert Herbert, "Representing Mandatory Palestine," 281-333.

with an 'African village' meant to portray 'native life' – culminating in an official complaint to the Colonial Office by the Union of Students of African Descent. While the complaint was ultimately rejected, the 'village' was closed until the following year.[619]

Within the Palestine Pavilion, colonial ideology, including the need to impress upon taxpayers its ability to be a contributing part of the British Empire, led to a lack of representation of the Arab population. British Imperial policy at the time "held that colonial states had to be financially self-sustaining."[620] The prevailing feeling was that the "British tax-payer, bearing the overwhelming burdens that were left by the War," could not be expected to shoulder the burden of paying for the resources needed to "civilize" the region, nor for a "Jewish National Home".[621] The emphasis placed on Zionist modernization and productivity was designed to alleviate those concerns, and show that the Mandate and the Zionist project would pay for itself *and* be an example to the "primitive" Arabs. The British Empire Exhibition was a chance to show the potential for economic growth and reciprocity promoted by the "Buy Empire" movement. The focus on Zionism was also a reflection of the Palestine Pavilion Organisation Committee. Roberts points out that not only was this a contentious time between the Mandate Government and the Arab community, but that the committee echoed the imbalance of power in Palestine by only having a single Arab representative, and multiple British and Jewish Zionist representatives.[622] As often happened, Arab non-compliance was blamed for this disparity, as well as the ill-will felt through the community. However, this ignores several factors, including, as Roberts mentions, that this committee was by invitation only, and there is no evidence than much effort was made towards rectifying the discrepancy.[623] Given the way the handbook portrays Arab industry as in need of European guidance, we can to a degree assume it to be part of a wider pattern.

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[619] Alexander C.T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 173, 227-233.

[620] Ewout Frankema, "Raising Revenue in the British Empire, 1870–1940: How 'Extractive' Were Colonial Taxes?" *Journal of Global History* 5:3, (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 449.See also Lance E. Davis and Robert A. Huttenback, *Mammon and the Pursuit of Empire: The Economics of British Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 112–136.

[621] Herbert Samuel, "Introduction," *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide*, 21; see also Barbara J. Smith, *The Roots of Separatism in Palestine: British Economic Policy, 1920-1929* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992), 6; and Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display," 73.

[622] Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display," 75.

[623] Ibid.

As for the *Palestine Pavilion Handbook* created by the committee to accompany the pavilion, it mostly erases the Arab population, including in Jaffa. The "Jaffa Section" summary in the index offers us the following in regard to what had been the second largest port in the Ottoman Levant:

> There are no antiquities of any importance at Jaffa. Tourists visiting the city should not fail to take a drive to Tel Aviv, the most striking symbol of Jewish enterprise in Palestine. They will also be well repaid by a visit to the wine cellars of the Colony of Rishon-le-Zion, the centre of the vine growing industry, and to Petah Tikvah, the orange-growing centre.[624]

Much like in travel literature, the municipality is given an equal amount of space in the body of the handbook and dedicates it to promoting the modernity of the city. "Tel Aviv is an example of what human energy and enthusiasm can achieve." It repeats the misleading assertion that this industrious township was constructed a decade and half before, "on a piece of land occupied only by sand-dunes", and included "before" and "after" pictures on the following page.[625] There was also a whole section dedicated to the "Jewish Colonies".[626] The lengthy description given for the "Orange-Growing Industry" does much the same. It offers a history of the cultivation and economy of citriculture, without mentioning Arab labour or citriculturists. It does, however, give credit to the growth in the industry to the "Jewish agricultural settlers, who, together with a number of German colonists, have applied, on the one hand, more up-to-date methods of spacing, irrigation and cultivation, and who have paid, on the other hand, greater attention to the commercial side of the enterprise." [627]

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[624] *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide*, 29.

[625] *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide*, 46.

[626] *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide*, 65.

[627] *Palestine Pavilion Handbook and Tourist Guide*, 74. The German colonists mentioned were not German Jews, but a group of Christian German settlers who had established themselves in Jaffa, Haifa, and Jerusalem in the late nineteenth century. In Jaffa, they also participated in the orange growing industry. See Matthew P. Fitzpatrick and Felicity Jensz, "Between heaven and earth: the German Templer colonies in Palestine," *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, ed. Andrekos Varnava (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 144-165; and Mahmoud Yazbak, "Templars as Proto-Zionists? The 'German Colony' in Late Ottoman Haifa," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 28:4 (Summer 1999), 40-54.

In preparation for the exhibition, *The Scotsman* reminds its readers that while Palestine "is not part of the British Empire" as a Mandated territory, the Government had already done much to improve and modernize the country.[628] And while a number of reviewers were far more interested in the biblical offerings, the focus on modernization and Zionist enterprise given at the Pavilion and in the handbooks, especially to Tel Aviv, made an impact. *The Graphic* ran a full-page review of the Pavilion, complete with pictures of Zionist industry, "a typical Jewish colony", and the "before" and "after" pictures of Tel Aviv. They also made sure to mention "the joint exhibit of the Palestine Wine Company and the "Pardess" Orange Growers' Co-Operative, a display of exceptional beauty demonstrates the range and qualities of the Jaffa orange, a fruit without rival."[629] The Jaffa orange remained in many visitors' minds, especially as it was available at every restaurant at the Exhibition. Reports were being given that between 2,000 and 7,000 oranges were sold per day at the Exhibition.[630] The *Wakefield Advertiser & Gazette*, *Linlithgowshire Gazette*, and the *Falkirk Herald* all discuss how the oranges were being stored for the summer – "This experiment is being watched with great interest by 'the trade.'"[631] The Palestine Pavilion was successful enough that it was able to exhibit at the following year's exhibition, in which it was able to secure a space to itself. However, not all reviews were as complimentary. As Nicholas Roberts writes, the real success of the pavilion was its ability to control the message coming out of Palestine – it "reconfirmed European notions of progress and civilizational development", and by doing so, showed it could be a productive part of the Empire.[632]

<u>Posters of the Empire Marketing Board</u>

[628] "Palestine at Wembley," *The Scotsman*, 22 March 1924, 11. Given that this snippet of an article was written prior to the exhibition, it should not be surprising that the focus is on the government. The paper appears to have mixed feelings over the Exhibition – referring to it as "Free Trade Propaganda" in one of its headlines, but then devoting an entire page to what its readers can expect upon the opening of the Exhibition.
[629] "Palestine at the Empire Exhibition," *The Graphic*, 3 May 1924, 654. The Pardess Orange Growers' Co-Operative was a Zionist orange growers co-operative, and its presence at the exhibition would have solidified Zionist citriculture.
[630] See as examples "News in Brief," *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 1 July 1924, 2; and "British Empire Exhibition," *Gloucester Citizen*, 1 May 1924, 6.
[631] "Wembley," *Wakefield Advertiser & Gazette*, 24 June 1924, 4; see also *Linlithgowshire Gazette*, 27 June 1924, 5.
[632] Nicholas E. Roberts, "Palestine on Display," 85.

The United Kingdom was the largest importer of Jaffa oranges by the time the Empire Marketing Board was created in 1926, and this permeated through society.[633] In 1927 for instance, Jaffa Cakes were invented by McVitie & Price, soon to be copied by other biscuit brands.[634] Or a few years later, when the original BBC broadcast of Clapham and Dwyer's "Surrealist Alphabet" aired, in which J stood for Orange (or "Jaffa").[635] However, this did not end the confusion about the Mandate's place within the Empire. The same year the Jaffa

[633] Empire Marketing Board, *Oranges: World Production and Trade. Memorandum Prepared in the Statistics and Intelligence Branch of the Empire Marketing Board* (London: H.M. Stationery office, 1929), 21.

[634] Ideally, this chapter would contain an analysis of McVitie's Jaffa cakes, invented in 1927. Unfortunately, even after many attempts by both myself and the incredibly diligent staff at the National Records of Scotland to contact United Biscuits, I was unable to get a hold of the relevant files. While work on their role remains, it seems likely that Jaffa cakes were invented in reaction to this Empire focused consumerism, given their creation at the "height" of the campaign, and in the first couple years of the Empire Marketing Board. This would not just point to the popularity of Jaffa oranges, but that they were perceived – or trying to be perceived – as part of the Empire and could be sold in that context.
Further, research was conducted on the use of Jaffa oranges in marmalade, given that the introductory poem even references Jaffa oranges in connection with marmalade, as well as later references to Jaffa orange marmalade in sources from the late 30's, 40's and after the establishment of the Israeli state. While Jaffa orange marmalade is very occasionally mentioned, the main obstacles for the product in Britain were price and sweetness. It is not only important to remember that these were expensive produce, but that Seville oranges – which were bitter oranges – already dominated the market. Every single British marmalade recipe I could find from this period specifically call for bitter oranges, with some even out right suggesting Seville oranges. Nor did the more academic articles and books on citriculture from this period – which sometimes contained recipes for such things as lime chutney – mention marmalade in relation to Palestine. In addition, later sources were predominately from Palestine and then Israel. Because this thesis focuses on representation, and thus association, in the metropole, it felt like a possible distraction to discuss. Jaffa oranges were simply not the main orange that people in Britain thought of when thinking of marmalade at this time. Even A.A. Milne's poem has it as an afterthought to the many other oranges which could be obtained for use in marmalade. Indeed, a *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* article from 1920 is clear on this: "The Seville orange, known the world over as the Bitter Seville, is the one orange which is preferred for marmalade. No other kind makes such a beautifully clear product, and, although in California great efforts are being put forth to create a demand for marmalade made from the Washington Navel orange, the choicest marmalade is, and will continue to be, made from this fruit. The local demand for this fruit has been very small until the last few years, when a demand has arisen for better-class marmalade, with the result that the Seville was more in demand." Anon. "The South African Fruit Industry", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 68:3531 (1920): 579-82, 580. One of the reasons Jaffa orange marmalades may have made a small name for itself by the end of the 1930s is due to the "decline of Spain as the chief supplier of citrus" during the decade. From 71% of the British market, Spanish citrus fell to 36% by 1937. Nahum Gutman, *California Dreaming*, 177.

[635] Eric Partridge, *Comic Alphabets: Their Origin, Development, Nature* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 75. "The Cockney Alphabet" was originally broadcast in 1929, and then again in 1931. For an example, see *Word of Mouth*, "How to read the Cockney Alphabet," recorded by Michael Rosen, aired 12 October 2015, on Radio 4. https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p0359p0h

cake was invented, the *Western Morning News* ran an article of a proposed Exhibition in Plymouth that saw Jaffa oranges as "foreign produce".[636]

This sentiment of uncertainty was echoed by Leo Amery, Colonial Secretary, Chairman of the Empire Marketing Board, and avid Zionist. In a Parliamentary debate on the enfranchisement (or lack thereof) of British citizens in Palestine, Amery asserted, "I am not sure that Palestine is in the full sense of the word in the British Empire".[637] Later that same year, he reminded Parliament that for "technical and legal reasons", Palestine was not able to receive the same leniencies and benefits of Empire as other mandated territories, given its Class A status. According to Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, this means that the Mandate had "reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone."[638] There is a great deal of contention regarding what this might mean, and who it applies to within the Mandate for Palestine.[639] The idea of a Mandate was to put a *nation* (i.e. ethnic group) perceived as less capable under the tutelage of a more civilised, more *developed* nation or Empire. [640] For Amery, the more developed nation in the case of

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[636] "Market Centre of the West," *Western Morning News*, 23 September 1927, 5.

[637] United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Palestine (Municipal Councils Franchise)," *Commons Sitting*, 7 March 1927 vol 203 cols 822-4. See also *Minutes of the Fourteenth Session*, 13 November 1928, Permanent Mandates Commission, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.568.M.179.1928.VI.) The question of Empire and how to identify its parts has been an ongoing conversation in Imperial History. The nineteenth century historian John Seeley, saw the British Empire as simply an extension of what he called Greater Britain – the idea being that white settlers were still British, and these colonies were an extension of Britain itself. This presented a bit of a problem when it came to India, especially in regard to the idea that "the same nation [could] pursue two lines of policy so radically different" when it came to how Britain treated India versus colonies such as Canada and Australia. J.R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1894), 177. See also Robin W. Winks, *The Oxford History of the British Empire, vol V: Historiography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 7-8.

[638] League of Nations, *Covenant of the League of Nations* (Montreal: A.T. Chapman, 1919)

[639] David Raic, *Statehood and the Law of Self-Determination* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 177-199; Nele Matz-Lück, "Civilization and the Mandate System under the League of Nations as Origin of Trusteeship," *Max Planck Yearbook of United Nations Law* 9:1 (January 2005), 51-56.

[640] David Raic, *Statehood and the Law of Self-Determination*, 177-199; Nele Matz-Lück, "Civilization and the Mandate System under the League of Nations as Origin of Trusteeship," 51-56. When the President of the Arab Congress and the Palestine Arab Moslem-Christian Congress petitioned the British government, and then the League of Nations, for a "democratic parliamentary system of Government… after [enduring] ten years of absolute colonial rule in Palestine". William Rappard essentially dismissed these petitions, claiming that "It is for the mandatory Power alone to determine the regime applicable. So long as this regime does not appear to be inconsistent with the Covenant and the Mandates, it is not for the Commission to criticise it. In the present

Palestine was not just the British Empire, but the Zionist settlers – the European Jewry who were modernizing the country.[641] Bernard Porter argues that Amery's goal was to create in Palestine a "White Dominion" much like that of Australia, South Africa, or Canada. Whether Porter's argument holds or not, Amery did have an unwavering support of Zionism during the 1920s, and his belief that the British government should be taking a more active role in its success put him at odds with many in the government.[642] As Bernard Wasserstein has framed it, during this time, Amery, along with William Ormsby-Gore, turned the Colonial Office into "the British imperial shield sheltering the Jewish National Home."[643] It is for this reason, among others, why Amery might have continued to refer to Jaffa oranges as "Empire fruits" in one breath while feeling required to point out technicalities to its status in the next.[644] For the purposes of the Empire Marketing Board, Palestine was part of the Empire – even if stipulations were in place.[645] Thus, for this section, we will focus on how this was represented in the posters of the Board.

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instance, it seems obvious that a form of democratic and parliamentary government is not provided for either by the Covenant or by the Mandates, and that it is not even compatible with the obligations devolving upon the mandatory Power under those engagements.". No elaboration was given as to why it was not compatible, but the most obvious answer would be that it might inhibit the creation of a Jewish National Homeland. A telegram discussed in the same session from the Arab Committee of Santiago de Chile and the Arab Colony in Paris protested against the Balfour Declaration and was also dismissed as "they protest against the terms of the mandate itself" so the Chairman "had not regarded them as being acceptable." Protestations against the Balfour Declaration, as well as an issue of government control, were issues that had been raised previously, most notably by the Executive Committee of the Arab Palestine Congress in 1921 in a letter to then Secretary of the Colonies, Winston Churchill. *Minutes of the Fourteenth Session*, 13 November 1928, Permanent Mandates Commission, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.568.M.179.1928.VI.) And League of Nations, *Report of the Executive Committee of the Arab Palestine Congress* (Geneva: League of Nations, 25 April 1921). (LON, C.3.M.3.1921.VI.)

[641] Bernard Porter, *The Lion's Share: A History of British Imperialism 1850-2011*, (Routledge, 2014), 227; Nele Matz, "Civilization and the Mandate System under the League of Nations as Origin of Trusteeship," 51-56; Michael J. Cohen "Zionism and British Imperialism II: Imperial Financing in Palestine," *Journal of Israeli History*, 30:2 (2011), 120.

[642] Michael J. Cohen "Zionism and British imperialism II," 115-139; see also Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 65.

[643] Bernard Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict, 1917-1929* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 157; see also Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 65.

[644] Leo Amery to House of Commons, "Empire Fruits" Parliamentary Debate, Commons. 28 March 1927. vol 204 cols 845-6.

[645] Further examples would include the preferential tariff offered to Empire produce in Canada such as South African citrus, but did not apply to Palestinian citrus. The duties placed on Palestinian citrus was part of a policy designed to "protect South African fruit against non-British competitors". F.H. Kisch, "Note on the Ottawa Conclusions as Affecting the Palestine Citrus Trade", 7 September 1932, Orange Trade (Part 1), The National

At its most simplistic, the aim of the Empire Marketing Board (EMB), which spanned from 1926-1933, was to cultivate Empire trade. It was established as a part of the government, considered an early "experiment" in peacetime propaganda.[646] Stephen Constantine argues that for Amery and other imperialists, it was not just economic benefits, but part of a wider fight against "the poisonous doctrine of socialism."[647] The Russian Revolution had not been shaken from the minds of those in government. Much like with Empire Shopping Weeks, from which the board sprang, in Britain it promoted the idea that a healthy empire meant a healthy economy back home. A healthy economy meant economic stability for workers – which was not only good for the economy, but for minimizing unrest across the Empire.

The poster campaign focused on two main themes: unity of the Empire and the reciprocity summarised by Anne Chamberlain. Frank Newbould's series "Empire Buying Makes Busy Factories", in which he depicted British steel being shipped to Australia, while Australian butter was shipped to Britain, offers consumers both the unity and reciprocity in one series.[648] Or the Charles Pear series which claimed: "In 1927 the Exports of the United Kingdom Products to India Amounted to £86,000,000. Support Your Own Best Customer by Asking Always for Empire Goods."[649] As discussed earlier, Empire produce was a keyway in which consumers – especially women – could support their Empire siblings. To this effect, the Board would often focus in on the store front. The Newbould's series included a woman buying her butter from an "Empire Shop". Depictions of street vendors were employed in *Buy Empire* from the series "Milestones of Empire Trade" to drive home the point.[650] Posters such as the *Highways of Empire* (Figure 42.a, 42.b) showed the expanse of the Empire, as well as its interconnectedness.[651] It is a brilliantly detailed map that illustrated shipping routes, with ships from different time periods of British history; little banners scatter across it, not only to give the names of cities and territories, but with quotes from the likes of Shakespeare, Byron, Virgil, and the Bible; animals and sea creatures dot the lands and the

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Archive, London, UK. (TNA, CO 733/216/5) As a Class A Mandate, legally, Palestine could not receive the same preferential tariffs as other settler territories under the Imperial Preference scheme.

[646] Melanie Horton, "Propaganda, Pride and Prejudice: Revisiting the Empire Marketing Board Posters at Manchester City Galleries," PhD thesis. Manchester Metropolitan University, Manchester. 2010.

[647] Stephen Constantine, "Bringing Empire Alive," 196.

[648] Frank Newbould, *Empire Buying Makes Busy Factories*, 1930, lithography. Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester. (MAG, 1935.723, 1935.750, 1935.648, 1935.643)

[649] Charles Pears, *Aden*, 1930, lithography. Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester. (MAG, 1935.662)

[650] R.T. Cooper, *Buy Empire*, 1930, lithography. Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester. (MAG, 1935.738)

[651] Gill MacDonald, *Highways of Empire*. Scale [n/a] United Kingdom: Empire Marketing Board, 1927 (Museum of New Zealand, GH021711; collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/1181224)

sea. The continents are depicted as closed in and colonies and Mandates are shaded, dotted, or striped with red. The banner for Palestine in particular covers Transjordan as well, which is not indicated on the map (and seems to entirely miss the Negev). There is a banner under that says “Mandated” in case this was not clear by the red dots. Off to the left, in the Mediterranean, there is a little banner for “Jaffa”, presumably highlighting the port city as an exporter for the Empire. In such a small space, Jaffa did not have to be included – no other city from Palestine or Transjordan is marked. There are much larger colonies within the continent of Africa that were not afforded any named cities on the map. Palestine may have been small, but it was significant.

Figure 42.a: Close up of Palestine from Gill MacDonald, *Highways of Empire*

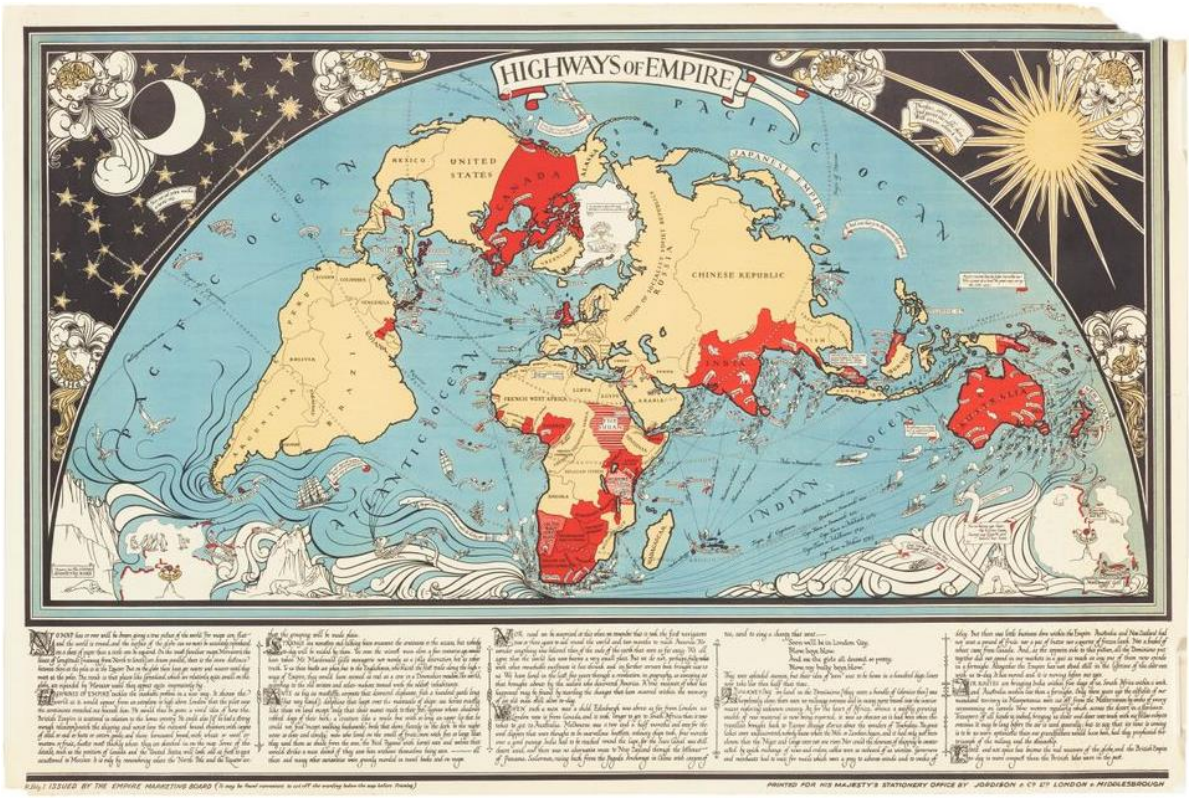

Figure 42.b: Gill MacDonald, *Highways of Empire.* Empire Marketing Board, 1927. (Museum of New Zealand)

However, it was the Christmas infused posters on "Buying Empire" where we really see the incorporation of the Jaffa orange (or Palestine produce). In part because it was during December that South African oranges were no longer in season. Indeed, the Jaffa and the South African orange were not in competition most of the year (aside from November), to the point where "South Africa and Palestine alone could provide oranges for eleven months of the year."[652] This was illustrated by the EMB's own "Calendar of Empire Oranges" – advertised in various local newspapers in March of 1928.[653] While not explicitly Christmas themed, the "John Bull, Sons and Daughters" series shows shops crammed full of people in their winter coats, looking into shopwindows, or arms laden with Empire goods as they leave. In one poster in particular (Figure 43), we see a greengrocer with piles of Empire fruits

[652] "Empire's Orchard," *Daily Mail*, 20 October 1928, 14.

[653] For examples, see "A Calendar of Empire Oranges," *Liverpool Echo*, 15 March 1928, 4; *Western Morning News*, 16 March 1928, 8; *Nottingham Evening Post*, 15 March 1928, 3; *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 16 March 1928, 3; *The Scotsman*, 16 March 1928, 10; *Hull Daily Mail*, 16 March 1928, 9.

for sale, a sign in the shopwindow that reads “The Empire is Your Garden” and on the other side of the door, towards the bottom, a pile of oranges labelled “Jaffa”.[654]

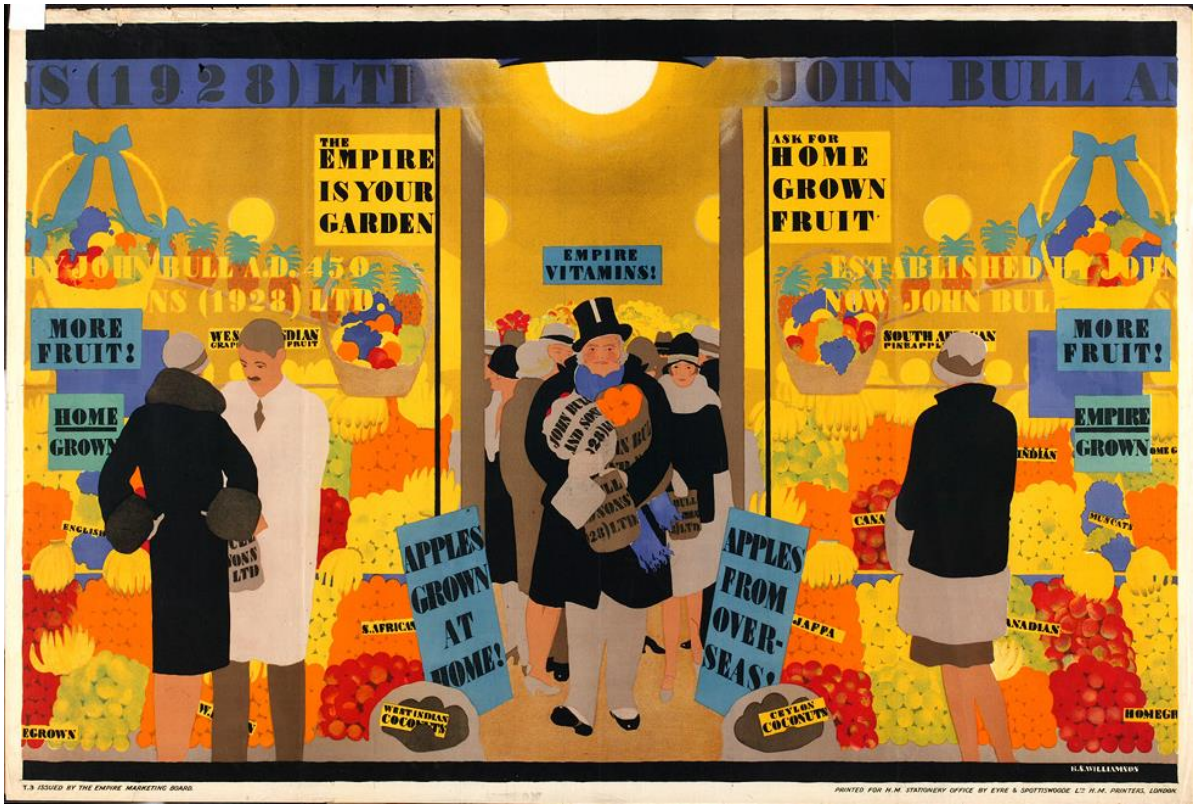

Figure 43: HS Williamson, (No Title), Empire Marketing Board, c. 1930. (The Manchester Art Gallery)

Nor was it just the purchasing of Empire Goods; the EMB put out a recipe books and pamphlets so that consumers could create Empire dishes at home.[655] Possibly one of the most enduring recipes is the Empire Christmas Pudding (Figure 44).[656] Recipes filled newspaper columns, in what Trentmann refers to as “a seemingly unstoppable competition for ever-bigger plum puddings made from Australian sultanas and other ingredients produced by ‘British settlers’. The Imperial Christmas pudding was the Conservative

[654] HS Williamson, (No Title), Empire Marketing Board, c. 1930, ink print, Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester. (MAG, 1935.759)
[655] “Look at an Orange”, *Daily Mirror*, 9 May 1928, 3. Or see Constantine, “Bringing the Empire Alive,” 205
[656] Constantine, “Bringing Empire Alive,” 205-06. According to Constantine, a seven-foot-high version of this cake was unveiled by Mrs. Amery, Leo Amery’s wife, at the Olympia Cookery Exhibition in December of 1928.

housewives' version of the 'cheap loaf'."[657] Interestingly, the poster series, booklets and flyers created with the recipe, does not call for Jaffa oranges, but brandy from "Australia, S. Africa, Cyprus or Palestine".[658] However, to compliment the recipe, *The Grantham Journal*, for instance, ran an article that gave the local housewife a list of Empire fruits available at her local grocers, including the Jaffa orange.[659]

Figure 44: FC Harrison, *The Empire Christmas Pudding*, Empire Marketing Board, 1926. (The National Archives)

Amery himself admitted, the success of the EMB's campaign was that in gave the public "the idea that they were the main part of our work."[660] The average citizen was not just passively receiving a message of Empire, they were actively participating in the messaging. It is not a

[657] Frank Trentmann, *Free Trade Nation*, 232.
[658] FC Harrison, *The Empire Christmas Pudding*, Empire Marketing Board, 1926, ink print. The National Archives, London, UK. (TNA, CO 956/63)
[659] "Christmas Fruit: Empire Contributions" *Grantham Journal*, 24 December 1927, 9.
[660] Leo Amery in Stephen Constantine "Bringing the Empire Alive," 199.

coincidence that local papers were also employed to run several different kinds of EMB advertising, as with the *Grantham Journal* or the newspapers that carried the calendar of Empire orange production. Further, smaller, more local, exhibitions and Empire Shopping Weeks continued to be held, along with radio advertisements, including morning bulletins for housewives with what was currently in season or Empire day programs, and even made a very small venture into films.[661] But it is within posters that the EMB saw the chance to directly reach the widest audience.[662] They were erected on specially created billboards, away from other advertising; designed, distributed and displayed in shopwindows, or posted in factories; turned into postcards, playing cards, and jigsaw puzzles; and used in classrooms as a way to learn the geography of Empire.[663] This was an intensive and far reaching propaganda campaign.

Just like in the Exhibition of 1924, it was not just about what the Empire offered in terms of produce, but how those within the Empire were represented. In 1929, Frank Newbould created the EMB posters for Palestine. *Jaffa* (Figure 45) depicts two either Arab or Bedouin men, distinctive by their dress, guiding a caravan of camels laden with boxes of Jaffa oranges, and what can be assumed is a white washed view of Jaffa or Mt Carmel (Haifa) in the background.[664] Newbould's image is reminiscent of other advertisements of the time, including the Ze'ev Raban designed advertisement for "Tower" Jaffa Oranges (Figure 46) – a subsidiary of the Jaffa Fruit Company, which was co-owned by Shmuel Tolkowsky.[665] Studying and then teaching at the Bezalel School, Raban was greatly influenced by the biblical, with the much of his artwork reflecting this interpretation of the landscape, as was

[661] Stephen Constantine "Bringing Empire Alive," 207-209.
[662] United Kingdom. House of Commons. "Empire Marketing Board (Advertising)". *Commons Sitting*. 25 June 1928, vol 219 cols 13-7.
[663] Stephen Constantine, "Bringing Empire Alive," 211-213.
[664] Frank Newbould, *Jaffa*, 1929, ink print. Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester. (MAG, 1935.730) A smaller classroom poster edition is available at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (V&A Museum, E.372-1988) Newbould also created a poster for the EMB that was captioned "Orange Exports from Palestine More than Doubled Between 1922 and 1927. And More Jaffa Oranges are Eaten Each Year in the United Kingdom Than in All the Rest of the World." However, oddly, while this one clearly is depicting Zionist settlers, those settlers are depicted carrying grapes, and not oranges. Frank Newbould, *Orange Exports from Palestine…*, ink print. National Archives, London. (TNA, CO 956/122)
[665] Ze'ev Raban, *Tower Jaffa Oranges*, in "Trade Marks Advertisements: X," *Supplement to the Official Gazette*, 1 May 1927, 312. For more discussion on Shmuel Tolkowsky, see the chapter "Chapter Three: Citriculture as Power in Cartography," 148-153.

discussed in the earlier chapter "Masculinity in Art".[666] His work for various advertising ventures, including Tower and Lord oranges were no exception. In this way, Newbould's series for Palestine was not an outlier. Representation of Zionist citriculture was not a necessary component to promoting Jaffa oranges. Rather, what *Jaffa* does is reinforce expectations of arid lands, predominately populated by non-European communities.

In Newbould's *Jaffa*, the Arab merchants are making their way over a sandy beach, but there is something about the distance created with the city set so far back that makes it feel like an extension of the desert. There are some things that we can automatically pull from this poster – the empty feeling created by that distance, the incorporation of sand and muted colours to allude to desert, and the use of camels as a form of transport – that relate back to the idea of the "desolate land" mythos. Davis reminds us that the association of camels and nomadic or desert life was not innocuous. Instead, goats and camels were seen as equally responsible for the desertification of the Middle East and parts of Africa.[667] This is not to say camels were not used for transportation, but trains were equally part of the transportation of produce. [668] That he chose to depict camels over rail transport should also be considered symbolic. The line going from Petah Tikvah to Jaffa, for instance had discontinued passenger service by 1928 because produce transportation was so profitable that it had at this point become self-sustaining.[669] The muted colours used in this image are similar to Newbould's depiction of Jerusalem, as well (Figure 47). It could be argued that stylistically, his art was simplistic. But his 1923 Cruise Line poster for a tour of the Mediterranean allowed for a muted palette with splashes of green to allude to an arid, but not quite desert landscape.[670] No such leniency is given to Jaffa, famously known for its orange groves. This is an image that reinforces a country in need of modernization, an empty land that could be filled with settlers, and a desert environment that needed European help in becoming lush with vegetation.

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[666] See Natalia Berger, *The Jewish Museum: History and Memory, Identity and Art from Vienna to the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 383-384; see chapter "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art," 70.

[667] Diana K. Davis, *The Arid Lands*, 93.

[668] *Women from Jaffa leading a camels loaded with orange crates, during the twenties*, c1920. Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem. (CZA, PHKH1302445)

[669] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 112.

[670] Frank Newbould, *Holiday Cruises to Mediterranean*, 1923, colour lithography. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. (V&A Museum, E.132-1924)

Figure 45: Frank Newbould, *Jaffa.* Empire Marketing Board, 1929. (Manchester Art Gallery)
There is also a smaller version of this poster at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which was used in classrooms.

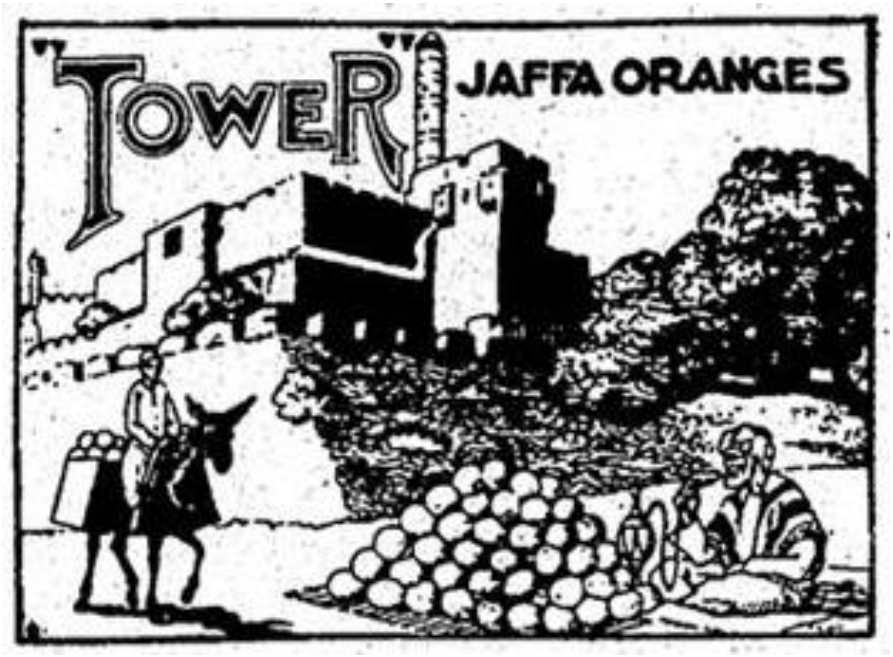

Figure 46: "Trade Marks Advertisements: X," *Supplement to the Official Gazette*, 1 May 1927. (Yale University Library)

Figure 47: Frank Newbould, *Jerusalem*, Empire Marketing Board, 1929. (Manchester Art Gallery)

What is perhaps most fascinating about Newbould's illustrations, though, is its balance between the ultimate depictions of imperialism, found in Adrian Paul Allinson's series "Colonial Progress Brings Home Prosperity" and the depictions of the "White Dominions".[671] On the one hand, they share a dehumanizing commonality – the features of the non-white settlers are either "hidden or exaggerated beyond individual recognition."[672] However, unlike the posters of "Colonial Progress", Newbould does not give his viewers that white counterpart as a comparison. While his overall depiction might be a subtle critique, there is nothing that explicitly pushes the narrative of "the rightness and beneficial nature of the Empire" or "the need for Britain to help people in the colonies learn new ways of exploiting their natural resources."[673] There is no imagery of the British overseer, no industrious

[671] Adrian Paul Allinson, "Colonial Progress Brings Home Prosperity" series, c. 1930, ink print. Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester. (MAG, 1935.653, 1935.713, 1935.652, 1935.712, 1935.714)
[672] Melanie Horton, "Propaganda, Pride and Prejudice", 17.
[673] Uma Kothari, "Visual Representations of Development: The Empire Marketing Board Poster Campaign 1926-1933," *Popular Representations of Development: Insights from Novels, Films, Television and Social Media*, eds. David Lewis, et al. (London: Routledge, 2013), 164.

settlers in the background. Newbould's depiction is far more in line with the Class A status of the Mandate, if we were to assume it applied to the Arab population – that of a provisionally recognised autonomous people. Whatever Amery's opinion on Zionism as a bearer of civilization to the less civilised Arab population, it is not explicitly present here. Further, unlike Newbould's *Reaping sugar canes in the West Indies*, also produced for the Empire Marketing Board, the Arab men depicted are not in the process of cultivation.[674] Rather, the native population is once again removed from the reality of their labour. There is a level of exoticism, enough to make us think of McClintock's *commodity racism*, and certainly we cannot divorce Newbould's work from the rest of the "Buy Empire" campaign. The depiction of Palestine in Empire Marketing Board posters is not directly pro-Zionist, or inclusive of the Zionist movement. What it does do, is show that the Mandate territory was a part of the Empire, that Jaffa oranges (and brandy) was an Empire product, and reinforces the idea that the native Arab population benefitted from being part of Empire.

Conclusion

In 1929, the Empire Marketing Board released the pamphlet "Oranges" in which it reported that 17 per cent of oranges come from Palestine, compared to 67 per cent from Spain and only 6 per cent from South Africa. "The area under cultivation in Palestine... more than doubled between 1924 and 1928, and is likely to double itself again within the next few years." [675] It was the largest citrus market in the Empire. Empire Shopping Week advertisement was far more interested in Dominion territories, but Palestine was included in the "Eat More Fruits" campaign, and we can find smaller Jaffa orange advertisements for Zionist settlement produce, with connections to Empire. The British Empire Exhibition allowed the settler colonial movement to control the narrative of modernity and productivity of Empire, and centred citriculture as a predominately Zionist enterprise. The Empire Marketing Board created an image of Palestine as producers of Empire oranges, but a land that would benefit from being a part of Empire, from its connection to the more modernizing elements that Empire could offer.

[674] Frank Newbould, *Reaping sugar canes in the West Indies*, 1929, ink print. Manchester Art Gallery, Manchester (MAG, 1935.601)
[675] "Oranges," *Devon and Exeter Daily Gazette*, 25 April 1929, 5; "World Production of Oranges," *The Times*, 24 April 1929, 5.

The start of the “Buy Empire” campaign intersected with the start of the Mandate, creating a discrepancy in how Palestine was viewed. While it was incorporated into different campaigns, even as late as 1927 we can find that some within the general public were not certain of its status within the Empire. However, as stated in the introduction these channels of communication cannot stand alone. It is equally important to examine the broader space that the public would have been interacting with, in regard to ideas of Empire and settler colonialism. For this, we turn to print media.

Chapter Five: Citriculture as Settler Colonialism in Print Media

In 1920, *The Graphic*, a weekly London newspaper, ran an article entitled "Jewish Progress in Palestine". It highlighted Zionist agriculture "in the land of [their] forefathers", giving special attention to Tel Aviv, "A Jewish Garden City as developed in the prosperous Zionist Colony at Tel Aviv, near Jaffa" (Figure 48). The "up-to-date scientific methods" of Zionist citriculturists were compared to those of the Arab famers, who "sow in much the same primitive way as did the Patriarchs of old". It speaks of the consequences of Turkish corruption and inefficiency on Zionist settlements before the war, and of British encouragement of the Zionist venture.[676] "If we merely take the oranges and wines exported by the Jewish settlements," it concludes, "we shall find that they alone represent nearly 25 per cent. of the exports."[677] These are themes we have seen in previous chapters: Zionist innovation; the idea of Jews returning to the land; Tel Aviv as a shining example of a modern city; the British government's support of Zionism; and of Arab and Turkish inadequacies or "primitiveness".


A JEWISH GARDEN CITY
as developed in the prosperous Zionist Colony at Tel Aviv, near Jaffa.

Figure 48: Harold Shepstone, "Jewish Progress in Palestine", *The Graphic*, 21 August 1920

[676] Harold Shepstone, "Jewish Progress in Palestine," *The Graphic*, 21 August 1920, 174. Note: *The Graphic* was a weekly London newspaper, known as one of "The Great Eight", whose subscribers came from across the British Empire and the United States, and whose illustrators and writers we would still recognize today. See "The Press: Eight Less One," *Time Magazine* 20:7, 15 August 1932. http://content.time.com/time/magazine/0,9263,7601320815,00.html (Accessed 20 August 2019.)
[677] Harold Shepstone, "Jewish Progress in Palestine," 192.

Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides have argued that what is important within the settler colonial framework is that the settler population are "identified as belonging to the racial, ethnic, or national community to which the sending state belongs".[678] As discussed in the Introduction, the aim of settler colonialism is what Brendan O'Leary calls "right-peopling" the land.[679] In the context of Zionism and Palestine, this is not quite accurate. This chapter argues that Zionists were seen as more European than their Arab counterparts, and thus in that sense, were more racially or ethnically connected to those in Britain. However, "right-peopling" in this case had far more to do with Western European Judeo-Christianity than with ethnic solidarity – the idea of a "return" of the Jews within Western European, especially British, Christian spaces. The article discussed in the opening of this chapter is a prime example of how Zionism was viewed as a settler colonial movement. Lorenzo Veracini points to three characteristics of the settler: there is a "metropolitan coloniser"; the labour and hardship of the settler; the denial of participation in ethnic cleansing.[680] The opening article covers these aspects in various ways. The British are the "metropolitan coloniser", who came in as the "saviours" of the territory (Field Marshal Allenby is even referred to as the "saviour of Jerusalem" in the opening paragraph). The labour and hardship of the Zionists is gone into in great detail, and accompanying pictures and the title are meant to celebrate the overcoming of that hardship. The last of these characteristics is harder to see explicitly. What he is talking about is the belief in a desolate, empty land – one cannot ethnically cleanse an empty land. While not explicitly discussed in this article, it does discuss the "primitiveness" of the Arabs, and there might be an assumption of the reader's exposure to this idea of Palestine as a desolate land prior. It was, as has been discussed, not an idea invented by the Mandate. What we see from this article, is that through their perseverance, technical superiority, and British support, they are the "right people" to occupy Palestine.

While previous chapters used newspapers to corroborate impressions of art, travel, cartography, and consumer culture, this chapter will examine how Zionist orange cultivation was represented and expressed in periodicals such as newspapers and magazines

[678] Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides, "Settlers and Conflict over Contest Territories," *Settlers in Contested Lands: Territorial Disputes and Ethnic Conflicts*, eds. Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 5.
[679] Brendan O'Leary, "The Elements of Right-Sizing and Right-Peopling the State," *In Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*, eds. Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 15. Oded Haklai and Neophytos Loizides, "Settlers and Conflict over Contest Territories," 5.
[680] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 14.

specifically. It will utilise news stories, letters to the editor, and non-fiction serials, among other forms of articles to explore the theme of settler colonialism within the context of Zionist citriculture. This chapter will first look at the bias present in the British press; then the use of the desolate land myth and the idea of the "New Jew" as an exploration of "labour and hardship"; finally, the erasure of the Arab population to the modernity of Zionism. Much has been written on the press' representation of Zionism from the Mandate through to the modern day. Whether it be Daphna Baram's book on the *Guardian*'s relationship with the movement or Dafna Hirsch's work on gender and ethnicity within this context, the historiography shows that the press has played a role in how we view Zionism. However, how the British press saw Zionism within the context of agricultural production has not been fully analysed.

Zionism in the British Press

In his recent century-long analysis of Arab/Zionist relations, Ian Black claims that newspapers in the Mandate "were persuaded to adopt a pro-Zionist – or at least a neutral – policy."[681] The exceptions might be Palestinian Arab run newspapers, such as the *Filastin* – whose name was "indicative of the local patriotism that inspired [its] establishment".[682] The press in Britain was a less reliable matter. It is worth mentioning that David Cesarani is correct that there were indeed antisemitic *and* antizionist newspapers in Britain at the time. Certainly, if the *Daily Mail* were a pro-Zionist newspaper, it would not have published the book *The Palestine Deception*, mentioned in "Power in Cartography".[683] Furthermore, the Mandate was initially opposed by the more extreme members of the Conservative Party. Their opposition influenced the more Conservative newspapers like the *Morning Post* and *The Times*, who at the time would have been hostile to Lloyd George's coalition government.[684] However, even these newspapers would not remain uniformly hostile to Zionism. It might be more accurate to say that most papers probably held at least some

[681] Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbours: Arabs and Jews in Palestine and Israel, 1917-2017* (London: Allen Lane, 2017), 45.
[682] Deborah Bernstein and Badi HasisIn "'Buy and Promote the National Cause': Consumption, Class Formation and Nationalism in Mandate Palestinian Society," *Nations and Nationalism* 14:1 (2008), 132.
[683] See "Chapter Three: Citriculture as Power in Cartography", 150.
[684] Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora: A History of Anti-Semitism in England* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2010), 294.

traditional antisemitic views, and conflated Jewishness with communism, which was a far greater concern than Zionism. With a large Jewish immigrant population from Eastern Europe residing in cities like Manchester, Glasgow, and London, there was a fear within the government as well as the press, of the community's potential to spread Bolshevism to Britain.[685] Further, even prior to the start of the Mandate, there was a concern over what was seen as "racial violence" in Palestine, between the settler and native Arab populations (or "Jews" and "Arabs"). Yet, as seen in previous chapters, there were those within the Conservative party, such as Leo Amery, or perhaps more famously, Arthur Balfour, who saw Zionist settlement as aiding British interests. Certainly, in terms of the famous Balfour Declaration, Jewish settlement in Palestine was part of a larger government campaign to win over world Jewry, and especially Russian and American Jewish communities, not least due to the conflation of Jews and Bolshevism.[686] Winston Churchill's 1920 article "Zionism Versus Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People", in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* referred to Zionism "as a powerful competing influence in Bolshevik circles".[687] While still four years off from re-joining the Conservative party, Churchill's equation of Zionism as a deterrent to communist leanings aligns with Zionist supporting members of the party at this time.

Conservative run newspapers had an equally wide variety of bias in their reporting. For instance, a 1925 article in *The Times* suggested that Tel Aviv – whose boundaries "showed through the orange groves" – could easily be mistaken for a "mushroom city of the American middle west", while warning against the influx of Eastern European immigrants who did not have the virtues of the "sturdy young [Zionist] agricultural labourers" found in

[685] Sharman Kadish, "Jewish Bolshevism and the "red scare" in Britain," *Jewish Quarterly*, 34:4 (1987), 13; Sharman Kadish, "Bolsheviks and British Jews: The Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain and the Russian Revolution." *Jewish Social Studies* 50:4 (1988), 239; Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (London: Vintage, 1994), 2. For further discussion on Bolshevism and the Eastern European Jewish community, see Brendan McGeever, *Antisemitism and the Russian Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

[686] For further discussion, see James Renton, *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance, 1914-1918* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 74-75,78-81; Alyson Pendlebury, "The Politics of the 'Last Days': Bolshevism, Zionism and 'the Jews'", *Jewish Culture and History* 2:2 (1999): 96-115. To be clear, this belief is no less antisemitic. Any belief which sees Jews as a homogenous group is antisemitic by its very nature.

[687] Winston Churchill, "Zionism Versus Bolshevism: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People", Illustrated Sunday Herald, February 8, 1920, 5.

the colonies on the outskirts of Jaffa-Tel Aviv.[688] Cesarani argues that an entrenched anti-Semitism mixed with a growing fear of Bolshevism by the start of the Mandate, exacerbated anti-Bolshevik propaganda during the Russian Civil War.[689] The massive pogroms that occurred during this upheaval caused a further wave of immigration both into Britain and Palestine, worsening fears and the spread of conspiracy theories.[690] Most famous are the those relating to the Elders of Zion. While in the middle of the decade, *The Times* would extol Tel Aviv and Zionist settlers, in May 1920 it ran a review on the book *The Jewish Peril: Protocol of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which made reference to the "Jewish world government" in Moscow, among other conspiracies of world domination. *The Morning Post* followed suit, by attaching its name to the notorious series, *The Cause of World Unrest*, which claimed that the Protocol of the Elders of Zion were responsible for the rise of Bolshevism in Russia. It was also fairly anti-Zionist, hiding behind anti-Zionist Jews and the Arab population to deny the persecution of Jewish communities in Europe, and to connect Zionism to the Elders of Zion.[691] But perhaps the most consistently anti-Zionist was the *Daily Mail*. Opposite to the framing of the Exhibition pamphlets, the *Daily Mail* saw taxpayer burden in Palestine. In response to the 1929 unrests, it referred to Zionism as an "outrageous folly of endeavouring—with British backing—to convert an old Arab state into a sham Jewish 'nation' at the expense of the British taxpayer." A "stupid and mischievous enterprise" that they had "protested for years."[692]

Zionism was, at this point, a fringe movement within Jewish European communities. It ran into competition with assimilationists, and leftist movements like the Jewish anarchist movement – at one point blamed in Britain for the Ripper murders – as well as the *Bundists*, popular towards the end of Tzarist Russia.[693] Yet, government policy – and press

[688] "Contrast in Zionism: Rise of Tel Aviv," *The Times*, 24 March 1925, 17.
[689] David Cesarani, "Anti-Zionism in Britain, 1922–2002: Continuities and Discontinuities," *The Journal of Israeli History* 25:1 (2006), 136.
[690] For discussion on pogroms of Eastern Europe, see "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art," 43-48; Irina Astashkevich, *Gendered Violence: Jewish Women in the Pogroms of 1917 to 1921* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2018; Nokhem Gergel, "The Pogroms in Ukraine in the Years 1918–1921," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science* (New York: Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, 1951), 237–52.
[691] Nesta Helen Webster, *The Cause of World Unrest* (London: Grant Richards Ltd, 1920).
[692] "That Foolish Mandate," *Daily Mail*, 27 August 1929, 8.
[693] See Paul Knepper, "The Other Invisible Hand: Jews and Anarchists in London Before the First World War," *Jewish History* 22 (2008), 295–315; Alain Brossat and Syvlia Klingberg, *Revolutionary Yiddishland: A History of Jewish Radicalism*, translated by David Fernbach (London: Verso, 2016); Brendan McGeever, *Antisemitism and the Russian Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

representation – "was based upon the idea of a united, nationalist world Jewry" and protests by prominent English Jews were presented as the "death throes of a privileged elite" who were out of touch with what the majority of Jews in Britain, the US, and Russia believed.[694] Edwin Montagu, Liberal Anglo-Jewish politician and Secretary of State for India from 1917-1922, feared the movement would inflame anti-Semitism in Europe and called Zionism a "mischievous political creed, untenable by any patriotic citizen of the United Kingdom."[695] The Zionist Organisation in London made note of Jewish papers who were against Zionism, such as the *Jewish Express*, which ran a piece denouncing "land nationalization in Palestine."[696] A 1917 article in the *Jewish Chronicle*, the main Anglo-Jewish newspaper based in London, offered a damning critique of Zionism's secular nationalism, and the idea that one could be a *political* Jew without being a Jew by faith.

> Nothing in the Jewish religion is sacred to them; all has gone into the melting-pot of Jewish Nationalism. They have raised up Palestine as an idol, it is their [G-d], Zionism is their creed and Nationalism is their religion. Judaism to them means everything Jewish except that which is most essentially Jewish in Judaism - the Jewish faith and the obligations that rest upon its adherents.[697]

The *Jewish Chronicle* would eventually become more attached to the Zionism, but especially in the early part of the decade remained somewhat neutral, running articles both in support and against the nationalist movement. A greater support for the movement within the European Jewish community did not actually exist, and certainly not as "a wide-world Jewish ambition", nor would it be a majority supported political ideology until the peak of the *Shoah*.[698]

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[694] James Renton, *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance, 1914-1918* (Palgrave MacMillan: New York, 2007), 66.

[695] Daphna Baram, *Disenchantment: The Guardian and Israel* (Germany: Guardian Books, 2008), 42. Edwin Montagu is referring to the idea of 'dual loyalty', a belief that Jewish Zionists – and in more antisemitic circles, all Jews – have a dual loyalty to both their country of birth and that of the Jewish State (now Israel). In contemporary Zionism, this belief is considered antisemitic.

[696] *Zionist Bulletin*, Daily Press Report, 17 May 1920. (CZA, PR 3029/3)

[697] "The Communal Armchair: The Jewish National Movement. The Religious Cons," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 27 April 1917, 7-8.

[698] "The Zionist Leader," *The Tatler*, 23 October 1929, xxiv; Daphna Baram, *Disenchantment*, 384; see also David Ayerst, *Guardian: Biography of a Newspaper* (London: Collins Sons & Co, 1971), 386; and Anthony Julius, *Trials of the Diaspora*, 294.

However, there was support for the Zionist movement from what might be called "radical" leaning newspapers – the Labour and Liberal supporting press. Journalist Hannen Swaffer made sure to mention in his serial "Hannen Swaffer Goes East" that "Labour people in Britain will be surprised to know that a majority of the Jewish settlers in Palestine belong to the Labour Party." He elaborated on the communal living and socialist ideals of the agricultural settlements, which would have been a far less terrifying idea to *Daily Herald* readers.[699] Among Women's Suffrage newspapers and magazines, there was high praise for Zionism. *Common Cause* ran a series on the iconic feminist Millicent Garrett Fawcett's trip to Palestine, in which she dedicates an entire article to the prosperous Zionist agricultural settlements around Jaffa-Tel Aviv, noting in particular her meeting with agronomist Shmuel Tolkowsky, and Petah Tikva with "their fine orange orchards where every variety …was being grown."[700] For many in the Suffrage movement, Zionism was an enlightened movement, *The Vote* believing that it had "always been in favour of equal rights for women".[701] The *Common Cause* saw equal suffrage as a "characteristic of the Zionist organisations throughout the world", with the "Jewish community of Jaffa and a number of colonies" being proponents since the late nineteenth century. The paper celebrated the land ownership of "so many Jewish women".[702] Here, agricultural success was not just a proponent of the Zionist movement, or a redemption for Jewish men, but as a movement that promoted the equal rights of the labourer and among the sexes.

However, it was the Liberal supporting *Manchester Guardian* that became possibly one of the most notable supporters of the Zionist effort during the 1920s, and the decades surrounding it. CP Scott, editor and owner of the Manchester newspaper, befriended Chaim Weizmann at the beginning of the war. Scott was already empathetic to the Ashkenazi refugee population in Britain, and was swayed towards the Zionist cause. David Ayerst, in his history of the *Guardian* claimed that "For a man of Scott's instincts and persuasions… the powerful advocacy of Zionism in its benign form was an obvious course to take. Persecuted minority? Then protect them!"[703] While Daphna Baram calls this explanation a little simplistic, it does need to be acknowledged that Scott was heavily influenced by the influx of

[699] Hannen Swaffer, "Building the New Jerusalem: Hannen Swaffer Goes East (15)," *Daily Herald*, 21 February 1933, 6.
[700] Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "Two Spring Visits to Palestine, 1921, 1922: XXIV," *The Common Cause*, 29 May 1925, 140.
[701] "Votes for Women," *Vote*, 16 January 1920, 2.
[702] "Woman Suffrage in Jewish Palestine," *The Common Cause*, 5 July 1918, 143.
[703] Geoffrey Taylor, *Changing Faces: A History of the Guardian 1956-88* (London: Fourth Estate, 1993), 15.

Russian Ashkenazi refugees, who settled in Manchester. "He knew Jews and Zionists, and liked them; it is very likely that he had never set eyes on an Arab."[704] Yet, he saw the "Jews of Judaea" in much the same way as many Zionist supporting politicians did – as "the link between the ideals and the culture of the western and eastern people".[705] He believed Jews to be "a reconciling and awakening force among the neighbouring Arab peoples" and became active in promoting Zionism among prominent politicians during the war.[706]

Even before Scott's involvement with Zionism, the *Guardian* had run articles about Zionist agricultural settlements in Palestine, viewing them as a positive for the Jews and the land.[707] Herbert Sidebotham, the newspaper's war correspondent, W.P. Crozier, news editor during the war, military critic as of 1918, and editor as of 1932, and Harry Sacher, on and off journalist for the paper, were all ardent Zionists. Sidebotham and Sacher would go on to co-found the British Palestine Committee and, with the support of Scott, run and edit the short lived, monthly *Palestine* – whose aim was to win over Jewish opponents of Zionism and associate the security of the British Empire with the movement.[708]

The "Desolate Land" and the "New Jew"

As discussed in "Empire in Consumer Culture", British colonial expansion during the 1920s was focused on infrastructure projects, such as railways and electricity in Palestine, and "the exploitation of resources" in order to strengthen the imperial economy.[709] As we saw from the British Empire Exhibition, Zionist agriculture was framed as a benefit to both the Mandate and the Empire in that it was able to assist in legitimizing both. This impression was bolstered by political analyses and opinion pieces in the press by notable politicians and public figures. At the start of the Mandate, in 1923, the former prime minister, David Lloyd George wrote an op-ed that reiterated Biblical Orientalist views of Palestine as a barren land, and the belief that Zionism would revive the land through agriculture. Lloyd George quoted Millicent Fawcett in the article, writing that the Zionist settlers "have planted and skillfully cultivated desert sands and converted them into fruitful vineyards and orange,

[704] Daphna Baram, *Disenchantment*, 46.
[705] Daphna Baram, *Disenchantment*, 45.
[706] Scott to Weizmann (March 17, 1925), Guardian archive A/W35/14; quoted in Daphna Baram, *Disenchantment*, 45. See also David Ayerst, *Guardian*, 384-385.
[707] David Ayerst, *Guardian*, 382.
[708] David Ayerst, *Guardian*, 386. Daphna Baram, *Disenchantment*, 36-38.
[709] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

lemon orchards". He argued that "far from the [Zionist] colonies draining the country of its resources, they have created resources which were previously non-existent".[710] Four year later, the *Yorkshire Post* ran an article "Palestine's Future: Approaching Economic Stability", in which they quoted well-known psychoanalyst and Zionist David Eder who said, "The British taxpayer… need have no fear being burdened with the charge maintaining Palestine as the Jewish national home." All they paid for, he claimed "is the Air Squadron quartered there." The paper itself made special mention that while, like in every country, unemployment may have existed in urban areas, none existed in the rural districts of Palestine. "Agriculture is flourishing. Last year's was the best harvest we have had, showing a record orange crop that brought record prices. Ten per cent [of] the oranges imported into the United Kingdom now come from Palestine."[711] The later piece was written in 1927, at the start of the Empire Marketing Board, and about the time Tel Aviv started appearing more prominently on maps. Besides highlighting the agricultural activities of the region, both articles incorporate two of the three relationships of settler colonialism: with the metropole and with the land.

Maxime Rodinson has argued that at the beginning, Zionism was not reliant on a single "mother country" but on a "collective mother country".[712] However, the support pushed for and given by the British during the war and the Mandate changed this "collective" to a single British metropole. Zionist support might be international, but they relied on the political endorsement of the state which controlled the Mandate. Because they were not necessarily perceived as "belonging" to the "sending state", which Haklai and Loizides theorize as necessary for the sovereignty of a settler colonial movement, it was even more vital to reinforce the benefits of Zionist settlement to that community, to create a sense of reciprocity, believed to be present in other settler colonial territories. This reciprocity came from their relationship with the land, from "making the desert bloom" and revitalizing the Holy Land.

During the war, papers like *The Scotsman* began reinforcing the belief that Palestine as a "country that has lain in waste for ages" due to Ottoman mismanagement, with its orange groves "ruined by lack of irrigation". And while the land had a long way to go, it was

[710] Mrs. Fawcett quoted in David Lloyd George, "The Restoration of Palestine: Making the Desert Bloom," *Western Morning News*, 14 July 1923, 5.
[711] "Palestine's Future: Approaching Economic Stability," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 July 1927, 8.
[712] Maxime Rodinson, *Israel: A Colonial-Settler State?*, translated by David Thorstad (New York: Monad, 1973), 76.

inescapable that the established Zionist settlements had a "prosperous cultivation about them" and that they can "excel in agriculture as well as in commerce".[713] The press at the start of the war reported on the uncertainty felt by the settlers, with several papers reporting on the British Zionist Organizations concern "in regard to the fate of the Jewish colonies", while enumerating their many agricultural accomplishments, including "40 agricultural colonies, agricultural schools, and training farms".[714] These fears would be realised in May of 1917 with the evacuation of Jaffa. *The Jewish Chronicle* was quoted in papers across the country as reporting

> Tel Aviv, the beautiful garden city suburb of Jaffa, has been sacked, and lies a mere heap of ruins, while similar wanton destruction has in all probability taken place in other specifically Jewish parts of Palestine, the colonies not being spared.[715]

This was two months before the signing of the Balfour Declaration or the occupation of Jaffa and Jerusalem. Regardless, Zionist settlers, most especially those around Jaffa, were portrayed as putting down their ploughs to take up arms. Zionist leaders in the satellite settlement of Rehovot – one of the main cultivators of Jaffa oranges – released a statement saying

> We know that by carrying on our peace-time work on the land we could help the prosecution of the war. But at this historic moment we cannot stick to this role only. We volunteers are mostly labourers working plough to pick… in work on the soil we see the leaven of our national renaissance. If we now leave our work it is because an inner voice calls to us to give not only the sweet of our brows, but our blood also.[716]

They were dubbed "the new Maccabees" and *The Times* reported that, "the scene, in Jaffa particularly, recalled the scenes in England in 1914."[717]

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[713] "Untitled," *The Scotsman*, 31 August 1921, 6.
[714] "Jews in Palestine: Anxiety as to Their Fate," *Manchester Evening News*, 17 December 1914, 2.
[715] "The Jews in Palestine: Grave Reports," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 4 May 1917, 10; quoted in "Grave News From Palestine," *Daily Mail* 4 May 1917, 3; "Threat Against Jews in Palestine," *The Scotsman*, 5 May 1917, 8; "Jews in Palestine: Threat of Wholesale Massacre by Turks," *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 5 May 1917, 4.
[716] "The New Maccabees: Eager Jewish Recruits in Palestine," *The Times*, 17 August 1918, 5.
[717] Ibid.

Sascha Auerbach argues that during the war, both the press and the government likened "Britishness" with military service or contributing to the war effort.[718] Yet even in Britain, Jewishness was not able to fit within the identity of Britishness. On the 7 August 1914, the *Jewish Chronicle*'s lead article focused on the importance of Anglo-Jewish involvement in the war. The article put forth that "England has been all she could be to Jews; Jews will be all they can be to England."[719] This slogan was not only displayed as a placard above the *Jewish Chronicle*'s offices, but then "repurposed" by the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, in their recruitment posters aimed at the Jewish community (Figures 49 and 50).[720] A recruitment advertisement in the *Jewish Chronicle* only a few months later reinforced the feelings of both indebtedness and otherness the slogan insinuated (Figure 50). Toward the bottom it reads: "All who are eagerly responding to this Appeal [*sic*] are worthy of British Citizenship. Show that YOU are not unworthy." [721] While some of the language used in these recruitment materials might be indicative of recruitment campaigns more generally, the ideas of indebtedness and worthiness were particularly important within the context of Anglo-Jewish communities. East London Jews in particular, with the influx of "foreign Jews" from Eastern Europe, were subject to suspicions of cowardice, or "guilty of shirking their military obligations and even of stealing the jobs of those who had dutifully answered the call."[722] In a column entitled "Ghetto Gossip", the *East London Observer* wrote that "[if] all who figure in The Ghetto as 'Cohen' are to be exempted from service in the British fighting forces, the hope of clearing Whitechapel of its corner boys must be abandoned." It goes on, claiming that "Cohen" is the most common name among "the aliens who have fled to this country" and that a disproportionate amount of 'Cohens' were coming forward to "as an excuse for evading combatant national service."[723] To the right of this column was an advert for Scout Soap, which urged readers to "send a tablet of Scout Soap to your boy on the front, or on the sea". The placement might be accidental, but it almost drives home the "otherness" of the Jewish community who were supposedly not sending their sons to face

[718] Sascha Auerbach, "Negotiating Nationalism: Jewish Conscription and Russian Repatriation in London's East End, 1916-1918," *Journal of British Studies* 46:3 (July 2007), 598.
[719] "The War," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 7 August 1914, 5.
[720] Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, *Britain Has Been All She Could Be To Jews*, 1914. National Army Museum, London. (NAM, 1977-06-80-7)
[721] "Advertisement," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 4 September 1914, 11; emphasis in original.
[722] Sascha Auerbach, "Negotiating Nationalism," 598. And Julia Bush, "East London Jews and the First World War," *A Review of Metropolitan Society Past and Present* 6:2 (1980), 150. For a further discussion on the representation of Jews in the East End on the home front, see Jerry White, *Zeppelin Nights: London in the First World War* (London: Bodley Head, 2014).
[723] "Ghetto Gossip," *East London Observer*, 18 March 1916, 6.

the same dangers as "your boy".[724] The *East London Observer* might feel like an exaggerated example. Certainly, we do not have to look beyond the headline "Ghetto Gossip" for xenophobia or anti-Semitism. However, the Russian Ashkenazi refugee community were put in a very real conflict of interest at the time – either conscript or go back to Russia. Articles like that of the *East London Observer* exacerbated bad feelings about an already vulnerable population.

Figure 49 and 50: Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, *Britain Has Been All She Could Be To Jews*, 1914. (National Army Museum). The version that ran in *The Jewish Chronicle*, 4 September 1914.

The combination of Jewish recruitment in Britain, and that of the Zionist community converged to create a "New Jew" complimentary to the one discussed in the first chapter, but with an identity more agreeable to the idea of what it was to be British. Auerbach argues that military service was not just a way to reaffirm one's masculinity but to reaffirm ones *belonging* to the national community.[725] A new image of what a "Jew" could be – in connection with what would become the metropole – began to emerge during the war. In a 1916 *Yorkshire Post* article reviewing three books on Zionism outlined the hardship of the

[724] "Scout Soap Advertisement," *East London Observer*, 18 March 1916, 6.
[725] Sascha Auerbach, "Negotiating Nationalism," 599.

Eastern European Jews, their willingness in Palestine to "give the sweat of their brows to the cultivation of the soil" (cultivating "olives, oranges, grains, sugar canes, and even cotton"), and the "backward methods" of the native Arab population. One of the books, *With the Zionists in Gallipoli*, written by Lieutenant-Colonel Patterson outlining the "growing sense of manhood and nationhood" among the settlers, and concluding "the young Jews have plenty of grit in them".[726] A year later, the *Daily Record of Glasgow* ran a long article that denounced the "sceptic" who asks "Are the Jews fitted to take up this life, and are they willing to undergo the hard toil of the pioneer in a land long robbed of its pristine fertility by centuries of neglect?" The answer is "an unqualified affirmative, and the point for proof to what they have already accomplished in Palestine". In Palestine, "the Jews lead the healthy vigorous life of the farmer, producing grapes, wine, oranges, etc." It too reminded readers of the Jews serving in the Russian army and those who joined Lieutenant-Colonel Patterson at Gallipoli. "Throughout the war, Jews have shed their blood freely for the rights of small nationalities", concluding this sacrifice means that the "democracies of the Anglo-Saxon race" should "open wide the gates of Palestine to the Jew."[727] In a spread featuring pictures of other Allied soldiers, including the "Defenders of Kut", the *Daily Record* printed a picture of Jewish soldiers outside a "Scottish Synagogue… [in] connection with the raising of the Jewish Regiments".[728] The imagery of a vigorous young Jewish settlers in Palestine, loyal to the Allied cause, or those fighting for Britain, was offering a counter narrative to that of the foreign Jewish "other", unwilling to lay down his life like "your boy" or steal the jobs of those who had.

Between 1919 and 1923, nearly 35,000 Ashkenazi immigrants and refugees played a role in establishing agricultural settlements.[729] Regional newspapers, such as the *Western Daily Press* did not shy away from mentioning this demographic, but it did not stop them from using patriotic language, referring to it as a "spontaneous movement of a number of young Jewish Colonists, mostly of Russian origin – who felt it was their duty to bear their share in the task of liberating their homes from the hated Turk."[730] Later in the decade, Labour Party member, J.C. Wedgewood echoed the sentiment of an invigorated "Jewish race" in his much reviewed and controversial 1928 work, *The Seventh Dominion*, in which he observes "they

[726] "Return of the Jews," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 16 August 1916, 3.
[727] A Weiner, "Palestine for the Jews: Possibilities of the War," *Daily Record of Glasgow*, 20 April 1917, 4.
[728] "Jews in Scots Regiment," *Daily Record*, 13 August 1917, 6.
[729] Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbours*, 49.
[730] "Recruiting Scenes at Jaffa," *The Western Daily Press*, 17 August 1918, 2.

see other people becoming proud of their acquaintance, rubbing their eyes with surprise at the Jew on horseback, un-selfconscious (*sic*)." To Wedgewood, Zionism and the settlers were "putting all the Jews on horseback, though most of them may never hope to see Zion."[731] Much like Amery, he saw the potential for Palestine to reach Dominion status. As the title of his book suggests, specifically the Seventh Dominion of the British Empire, "applicable after the expiration of the Mandate period, when Palestine should become a full-fledged Jewish dominion within the Empire."[732] This did not wipe away antisemitic caricatures or the memories of them. A decade early, at the time of the Alien Act of 1905, many papers – especially local papers and those out of London – claimed that "the bone and sinew of England are leaving the country and the scum of Eastern ghettos is gorging the towns."[733] Two decades later, the language of "the scum of Eastern Europe" still lingered in Zionist memory, with Selig Brodetsky countering it in his article on "Jewish Prospects in Palestine".[734] Further, sympathetic views of the Jewish refugee still created an "other" narrative; for example, Thomas Burke's piece in 1924: "They are not of their own country nor of London. Here and there they are suffered to rest awhile, but always there is something that drives them on; and their pain goes with them".[735] This foreignness was in ways imbedded in the consciousness of the children of Ashkenazi immigrants in Britain, as well, and we can see that in other forms of media at the time. As Whitechapel Boy, John Rodker wrote of his racial alienation from the country of his birth: "In Paris I feel English, in London a foreigner."[736]

This intermediary positioning – not of the metropole but aligned with it – brings us back to Norris' argument of Jews being seen as an "intermediary race between white Europeans and native".[737] They were "white but not quite".[738] Renton argues that even the liberal nationalism that prevailed during the war would not completely shift the belief of Jews as

[731] J.C. Wedgwood, "Zionism and the Jewish People", *The Seventh Dominion* (London, 1928); quoted in *British Labour Policy on Palestine: A Collection of Documents, Speeches and Articles, 1917-1938*, ed. I. Norodiczky (London, 1938), 127.
[732] "Colonel Wedgwood Explains His Seventh Dominion Idea," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, 18 October 1928.
[733] "Destitute Aliens," *Luton Times and Advertiser*, 30 September 1905, 4.
[734] Selig Brodetsky, "Jewish Prospects in Palestine," *Leeds Mercury*, 30 April 1925, 4.
[735] Thomas Burke, "The London I Know II: Nocturne in Spitalfields, the Region of the Immigrant and the Vegetable Market," *The Sphere*, 20 December 1924, 24.
[736] John Rodker, *Memoirs of Other Fronts* (London: Putnam, 1932), 16.
[737] Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress*, 85.
[738] Eitan Bar-Yosef, *The Holy Land in English Culture, 1799-1917: Palestine and the Question of Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 198.

"other". Rather, what we have seen was the accepted Zionist ideology of a separate nation, stemming from "the Protestant Biblical vocabulary" that was integral to British imperialism.[739] As discussed, the Holy Land was a part of a biblical "cultural code" in Britain, and thus Jewish Nationalism fit in with the idea of a Jewish return to the land. That Zionist settlers would rise up to fight *alongside* the British, reinforced how Britain saw itself in relation to the Holy Land, just as much as its perception of Jews as a race and nation. Thus, Zionist identity as "belonging to" the metropole was interconnected culturally rather than through any perceived racial or ethnic ties.[740]

Veracini argues that "a settler colonial project is ultimately successful only when it extinguishes itself—that is, when the settlers cease to be defined as such and become 'natives'". [741] With Zionism, the assumption of "nativeness" is inherent. A "return" requires "historical providence", and ethnic belonging.[742] The reason for "otherness" in European spaces, and as an intermediary in native Arab spaces is due to that "native" quality of "the Jew" in Palestine. The 'new Jew' was "tough, dedicated, muscular and Hebrew-speaking, who rejected the values of the Diaspora".[743] For the ideological Zionists who came to Palestine the early years of the twentieth century, manual labour "was not a necessary evil but an absolute moral value, a remedy to cure the Jewish people of its social and national ills."[744] The work of Zionist artists examined in previous chapters – such as Rubin and Gutman – echoed this evolution of what it was to be a "Jew", not simply in the eyes their fellow Ashkenazim and Sephardim, but to gentiles as well.[745] The Jewish Zionist contrasted with the native Arab population, while laying claim to the land through "the sweat of their brow" and an acquired indigeneity, a shedding of their "Europeanness".[746] A quick look through the "Change of Name" notices in the Mandate Government's *Official Gazette* highlights the

[739] James Renton, *Zionist Masquerade*, 18-20; Eitan Bar-Yosef, "The Last Crusade? British Propaganda and the Palestine Campaign, 1917-19," *The Journal of Contemporary History* 36:1 (January 2001), 90.
[740] See also, Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 9.
[741] Lorenzo Veracini, "The Other Shift: Settler Colonialism, Israel, and the Occupation," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42:2 (2013), 28.
[742] Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 92.
[743] Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbours*, 49.
[744] Walter Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, 281
[745] See "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art," 43-84.
[746] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8:4 (2006), 389.

rejection of Diaspora culture: Moshe Cohen would become Moshe Ben-Ami.[747] The Leibovitz family would become Avigdor.[748] The names chosen were far more Hebrew in nature, a reconnection to the biblical past, and thus the land of Palestine. Anthony Smith argues that the "pioneering labour" of the Zionist movement is interwoven with the idea of "historical providence" – one is not possible without the other. Biblical fulfilment meant a restoration of the land *and* the people. The settlers during the war were not just heralded as allies to the British, but as participating in the fertility of the land, of a renewal of the body.

In part fifteen of his serial "Hannen Swaffer Goes East", Swaffer highlights Tel Aviv in an article entitled "Building the New Jerusalem". "Palestine to-day," he wrote,

> is not the Jewry of disgruntled grandfathers, but a Jewry of unborn grandsons; not a weeping for yesterday but a vision of to-morrow. It is not a Land of Promise. It is a Land of Fulfilment… The inferiority complex which held Jewry back so long has disappeared. He is going in for sport, and, greatest miracle of all, he has discovered himself to be such a farmer that tradesmen are short in the Jewish community. Everyone wants to go on the land... The roughest tasks are performed by the Jews themselves.[749]

The support for Zionist agriculture might appear at first glance to be that of a growing acceptance of European Jewry, a reaction against anti- Semitism. It was not. Rather, it was the belief in that fulfilment of the "new Jew" – a Jew "returned" to his ancestral land, who worked that land, redeemed himself, and thus restored the land. Ironically, it was the modernizing of what was seen as a backward land, that was considered necessary in order to return it to biblical glory. "Waking up and discovering himself in the land of his fathers," Swaffer writes, "the modern Jew has transmuted Judaism into terms of practical idealism." To Swaffer, the modern Jew worships the soil and builds up a "new Jerusalem" through hard work, in contrast to the religious Jew. "While ceasing to be orthodox, he is finding a profounder religion based on self-sacrifice, endurance and cultural growth."[750] By "ceasing

[747] "Notice: Change of Name," *Official Gazette of the Government of Palestine*, 1 January 1924, 440.
[748] "Notice: Change of Name," *Official Gazette of the Government of Palestine*, 1 February 1924, 481.
[749] Hannen Swaffer, "Building the New Jerusalem: Hannen Swaffer Goes East (15)," *Daily Herald*, 21 February 1933, 6; Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming: Ideology, Society, and Technology in the Citrus Industry of Palestine, 1890-1939* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), 4-6. The reality, according to Nahum Karlinsky, is that the vast majority of labour was performed by the Arab population. Most Jews up through to the Second World War remained city dwellers, not all devoted to the Zionist cause.
[750] Hannen Swaffer, "Building the New Jerusalem," 6.

to be orthodox", by taking up the plough, the settler ceases to be defined in the same racial stereotypes as that of their more religious counter parts. Instead, they could finally be what they never were in Europe – European. The epitome of this is the Jewish suburb Tel Aviv, where religious practices were purely for show to "placate the older Jews", while "now and then, you came across a ghetto Jew and his family… the others might have been Londoners." Tel Aviv on Saturdays, according to Swaffer, might just as easily been "an English cathedral town on Sunday".[751]

This "new type of Jew" was more native than the native Arab, while simultaneously reaffirming their connection to the metropole, not the Diaspora.[752] Referring to the earlier article in *The Times* at the end of the war, which praised Zionists' enthusiastic recruitment to the war effort, Jews in Palestine who were more religious, and thus not Zionist, were not afforded the same affirmation. Recruits among the more observant Jews of Jerusalem during the war were not of "the same standard, [with] over one third of the applicants being rejected."[753] In the Christmas edition of the weekly magazine *Public Opinion* a clear distinction was made between "the Pioneers and the 'Yeshiba' boys" who were described as "unhealthy-looking lads in long coats and black felt halts with oily curls hanging down each cheek."[754] Religious Jews were less progressive and thus less connected to their Christian European counterparts. The Suffragette papers like *Common Cause* and *Vote*, viewed the religious Rabbinical Court as "unjust", with "old Mosaic traditions" and "old prejudices".[755] They ran articles like the coverage of 1928 talk given by Edith Ayrton Zangwill – of the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage and wife to the Zionist author Israel Zangwill – in which she claimed that it was the building up of the colonies that made the difference between the "poor physique of the Jews in the East End of London and the physical well-being of the young Jews in Palestine."[756] While certainly not always the case, it should be noted that this particular talk was of such interest to the readers of *Vote*, that it featured as the lead on the issue's front page. The press might have waxed lyrical about the orange groves surrounding

[751] Ibid.
[752] "Tea and Politics Up-To-Date: The Position of Women in Palestine," *Vote*, 25 May 1928, 5.
[753] "The New Maccabees: Eager Jewish Recruits in Palestine," *The Times*, 17 August 1918, 5.
[754] "How Young Jewish Pioneers are Recreating Palestine," *Public Opinion*, 5 December 1924, 548.
[755] "Women's Progress in Palestine and Egypt," *Vote*, 6 August 1926, 1.
[756] "Tea and Politics Up-To-Date," *Vote*, 5.

the "villages celebrated in Rabbinical lore", yet it was not Judaism itself that was being given positive exposure, but Jews who embraced Zionism. [757]

The shining example of Zionist modernization, Tel Aviv was designed to encompass the "rural ethos" of the Zionists in Palestine, who we have seen, defined their movement as "a 'national revival' based on the agricultural image of biblical Israel."[758] The continued use of the term "Garden City" in the media was no accident but a reaction to this "rural ethos".[759] The article that opened up this chapter is a prime example of this modern garden city, surrounded by agricultural fields that were utilizing modern agricultural methods. The *Manchester Guardian*'s "Letters from Palestine II: Old Jewish Colonies, Oranges and Vines" described the struggles and successes of the Zionist agricultural colonies surrounding Tel Aviv. Special mention given to Petah Tikvah, whose "wealth comes from oranges groves", and Rishon-le-Zion, where vineyards were "being ploughed up and converted into orange groves".[760] Jewish Zionists not only belonged in the land of Palestine, they improved it. Anthropologist Deborah Bird Rose explains the settler colonial condition with the metaphor of two hands. In the right hand "productivity, growth, and civilization are announced as beneficial actions in places where they purportedly had not existed before. The left hand, by contrast, has the task of erasing specific life."[761] The representation of Tel Aviv reflects this metaphor. Whether in maps or travel guides, the once suburb is described in terms of modernization, and over time overtakes its parent city. As with these two, sometimes in the press it was also a matter of what was *not* there. In 1933, under "Palestine News in Brief", *The Palestine Post* divided Tel Aviv and Jaffa. In Tel Aviv, Nahum Sokolow gave a talk in which he said, "among the Jews of Palestine the blending of tradition with modernity would succeed." While in the section on Jaffa, only an itemization of orange shipments.[762] The lack of news out of Jaffa other than exports might simply be that – a lack of anything newsworthy. But what is newsworthy is based on the perception of those writing the new. Often missing from media reports in the discussion of Palestinian agriculture, especially

[757] "Jaffa Revisited," *Manchester Guardian*, 25 June 1918, 8.
[758] Tal Alon-Mozez "Rural Ethos and Urban Development: The Emergence of the First Hebrew Town in Modern Palestine," *Planning Perspectives* 26:2 (April 2011), 283.
[759] Alon-Mozez "Rural Ethos and Urban Development," 284.
[760] "Letters from Palestine II: Old Jewish Colonies, Oranges and Vines," *Manchester Guardian*, 25 October 1926, 9. Prohibition in the States led to a decrease in wine sales, which meant less profit in viticulture (wine growing).
[761] Deborah Bird Rose, *Reports from a Wild Country: Ethics for Decolonization* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2004), 56-57, 60-62.
[762] "Palestine News in Brief," *The Palestine Post*, 4 December 1932, 1.

orange cultivation, is the Arab population. Nathan McClintock argues that there is an "entanglement" in gentrification, or "modernization" and "restoration", and displacement.[763] Narratively, this was occurring within the press' coverage of the Mandate.

Even early on in the press, pre-Mandate, we can begin to see the erasure of the Arab population of Jaffa in contrast to the modern, "civilised", Jewish Garden City. In the June 1918 "Jaffa Revisited", *The Guardian* creates a dichotomy between the main city and its suburb – Jaffa is a stand-in for the Arab population, Tel Aviv for that of the Zionists. The article enumerates the benefits introduced by both British and Zionist efforts. The British "introduced a measure of cleanliness and order" to the former Ottoman territory, while the most prominent avenue in Jaffa "was the work of a Jewish engineer and contractor, and was apparently prompted by a desire to emulate the boulevards of the Jewish suburb, Tel Aviv". The conclusion states explicitly "[during] the last twenty years the Jews had opened a new era in the history of Palestine" using words to describe Zionist innovation such as "light" and "revival", while the rest of Palestine remained in "semi-darkness". In contrast, Arabs are completely removed from the imagery of Jaffa, let alone the article. Instead, the city is simply "a collection of mean and dirty houses".[764] Returning to the December edition of *Public Opinion*, it was predicted that, with the influx in immigration:

> It is more likely that the new Pioneer colonies will develop somewhat on the lines of the older pre-war colonies on the coast near Jaffa, which have already organised an apparently settled and permanent economic life. *The new Jewish city of Tel-Aviv, built on the sandhills outside Jaffa, is becoming the centre of that life, and has since the war grown from perhaps three thousand to twenty-two thousand inhabitants.*[765]

The narrative of Tel Aviv built on sand dunes (or in this case, *sandhills*). A few years later, the *Leeds Mercury* would come to describe it as "a city that rose from the sand-dunes less than twenty years ago, and now numbers a population of 25,000 in delightfully laid out streets of

[763] Nathan McClintock, "Urban Agriculture, Racial Capitalism, and Resistance in the Settler-Colonial City," *Geography Compass* 12:e12373 (April 2018), 1-2.
[764] "Jaffa Revisited," *Manchester Guardian*, 25 June 1918, 8.
[765] "How Young Jewish Pioneers Are Recreating Palestine: A Most Hopeful and Scientific Experiment in Colonisation with Far-Reaching Possibilities," *Public Opinion*, 5 December 1924, 548. Italicization in original text.

beautiful modern houses, with all the comforts of modern life."[766] Out of desert came modern life – i.e. productivity, growth, and civilization where it had not been before.

The Erasure of the Arab Population

On the 2 September 1921, *The Jewish Chronicle* gave a full page to "Sir Herbert Samuel's Report on the Administration of Palestine". Within this report came the following claim:

> After the persecutions in Russia forty years ago, the movement of the Jews to Palestine assumed larger proportions. Jewish agricultural colonies were founded. They developed the culture of oranges, and gave importance to the Jaffa orange trade. They cultivated the vine, and manufactured and exported wine… They practiced, with modern methods, all the processes of agriculture.[767]

The reality of agriculture – specifically citriculture – in Palestine was in many ways different from how it was perceived in the press. Firstly, most Jews in Palestine until the Second World War remained in urban areas, and unlike Swaffer's socialist utopia, 77 per cent of the Zionists who were agriculturalists lived and worked on privately owned agricultural settlements (*moshavot*).[768] Citriculture was the main export for the Zionist settlers, and it did create an economy that extended beyond those who worked the fields and groves. Yet, regardless of what Samuel's Report might say, as mentioned in Chapter One, Arab owned orange groves and exports outstripped those of their Zionist counterparts through to the mid-30s.[769] The dissociation of the native Arab population with the land and labour would not have been just a blind spot for the *Manchester Guardian* or *The Jewish Chronicle*. To the average member of the public and press, empire and colonialism were not inherently negative; rather, potentially civilizing. "Popular newspapers tended to portray Britain's colonial role as a civilizing mission to the heathen, underdeveloped world, and as an extended adventure story in which military triumphs were achieved through individual acts of courage rather than through superior military technology."[770] This fits with the narrative

[766] Selig Brodetsky, "Jewish Prospects in Palestine," *Leeds Mercury*, 30 April 1925, 4.
[767] "Sir Herbert Samuel's Report on the Administration of Palestine," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 2 September 1921, 25.
[768] Nahum Karlinksy, *California Dreaming*, 6.
[769] Nahum Karlinksy, *California Dreaming*, 4-6.
[770] James Curran, *Power Without Responsibility*, 35.

presented of the striving Zionist pioneer, braving the barren landscape of the Palestinian desert and the uncivilised Arab. To paraphrase Mark LeVine, Jaffa and its Palestinian Arab population were seen predominately as "the object of development" in these narratives.[771]

This was not limited to Muslim and Christian Arabs, either. The *International Woman Suffrage News* reported the concern some Zionist suffragettes in Palestine had in allowing a referendum to take place in regards to Jewish women's suffrage "because of the number of Jewish women from the East, who are very backward from a feminist point of view, and will no doubt vote as their husbands tell them to do, and against their own rights."[772] The stereotype of the "backward" Arab – Muslim, Christian, or even Jew – was common, as was the idea that Zionists "made things not worse for the Arab, but better".[773] Zionist agricultural colonies – new and old – were described as "civilized settlements" in comparison to established Arab villages; and much like the opening article from *The Graphic*, British papers wrote of the growth in orange production as a Zionist success throughout the decade.[774]

> Much had been turned into orange groves, and last year no fewer than 4,000,000 boxes of oranges were exported from the land, and the output was expected to grow considerably during the next few years. Arab cultivators still farmed in the old way, and it was most impressive to see the difference in the quality and quantity of the produce from the two systems.[775]

In reaction to the violent outbreaks that had increased over the decade, former Liberal MP Alfred Newbould wrote a piece entitled "If the Jews Should Leave Palestine: Would Prosperity Go Too?" He concluded that indeed it would. Due to the "sacrifices made by the early Jewish pioneer… [the] slumbering East has awakened to the Spring of Jewish endeavor." That the Arab had not only benefitted greatly, but that if the Zionists were

[771] Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948* (Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 183.
[772] "Palestine," *International Woman Suffrage News,* 1 January 1926, 10.
[773] Hannen Swaffer, "A Land of Plenty," *Daily Herald*, 22 February 1933, 6.
[774] "Palestine," *Northern Whig*, 25 August 1923, 9.
[775] "The Awakening of Palestine," *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 6 November 1933, 5.

forced out, all "modern methods of agricultural development would no longer be there or would cease to make progress."[776]

Patrick Wolfe argues that settler colonialism, like genocide, is a process, not an event.[777] It is not something that occurs in conscious effort, but step by step. The violent outbreaks that had increased over the decade were due to economic and territorial disputes that put the native Arab population at a disadvantage, or in reaction to violence perpetrated when priority was not placed on the settler society. In January 1928, *The Jewish Chronicle* reported on an incident occurring in Petah Tikvah. A protest by Zionist settlers was taking place due "the unyielding attitude of the Jewish orange growers towards the employment of 100 per cent. Jewish labour or the influencing of the Arab merchants in this respect". They go onto emphasise that the Zionist Executive reported

> that the issue involved is not one of Jewish versus Arab labour, but of the prior right of local unemployed men to local work… In no other country in the world, when a contractor undertakes to pick the crop of a grove… is he allowed to import workers from distant cities or villages when there are local unemployed able to do the work.[778]

It is difficult to see how the exclusionary practice of 100 per cent "Jewish labour" is in someway not indicative of "Jewish versus Arab labour". Following the start of the Mandate, the economic situation for the average *fellahin* was "ruptured" by the Zionist agriculture enterprise. Many villagers began working on Zionist settlements, most notably the privately owned orange groves. Further, many of these villages were not "distant" but situated in close proximity to the agricultural settlements, which would often buy up village land in order to expand.[779] Only 16 per cent of Ashkenazi immigrants moved to agricultural settlements prior to First World War, yet they still received "disproportionate attention" in the media.[780] By the 1920s, very little had changed. As seen in Chapter Three, Biblical Orientalism equated Judaism and Jews more generally – Zionist or otherwise – with the Holy Land, by alluding to biblical places or passages, or by centring the idea of a Jewish "return"

[776] Alfred Newbould "If the Jews Should Leave Palestine, Would Prosperity Go Too?" *Portsmouth Evening News*, 11 April 1930, 16.
[777] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388.
[778] "Land of Israel," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 13 January 1928, 24.
[779] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 157-161.
[780] Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbours*, 35.

to Palestine – most especially in connection to agriculture and a biblical revival. The equivalence of manual labour with that of moral redemption is not the issue; it is the evolution this doctrine "into a tool of ethnic conflict, as Jewish industries were actively discouraged from employing non-Jewish labour".[781] For Wolfe, "settler colonialism has both negative and positive dimensions. Negatively, it strives for the dissolution of native societies. Positively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base".[782] The argument for 100 per cent Jewish labour, and the buying up of agricultural land, the expansion of Tel Aviv – this is all part of a dispossession process. It prioritizes the needs of the settler population at the expense of the native Arab population, in the process erasing their claim and legitimacy to the land itself. This erasure was in many ways, supported by the British administration, and can even be seen in official reports. For instance, if we look at the *Annual Reports*, it becomes consistently clear that the "economic prosperity" discussed is linked to Zionist settlement, and not Arab citriculture. Looking solely at 1933, the report outlines the importance of educating the Arab population, while the Zionists were "making steady progress".[783] Within the minutes for the Permanent Mandates Commission in which this report was reviewed, the chair for the session on the Palestine Mandate asked about the over fifty per cent of exports not ascribed to Zionist groves. Mark Young, then Chief Secretary of the Government of Palestine, responded that "the remainder was exported by Arabs, who own large citrus areas."[784] That this needed to be explained, shows that the framing of the report itself would not indicate Arab involvement in the "favourable economic conditions of the country". The way in which the press told the story of Zionist agriculture was just as much a part of this process.

A few days after the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade occupied the Port of Jaffa, in November 1917, *The Scotsman* ran a brief profile on "Jaffa and Its History". It not only explained that "Jaffa is the centre of the fruit-growing industry, and exports oranges, water melons (*sic*), barley wine and other products", but the Old Testament connection and

[781] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 390.
[782] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," 388; Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology*, 2; see also Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944), 79.
[783] United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1933*, Geneva: League of Nations, 31 December 1933.
[784] *Minutes of the Twenty-Third Session*, 1 July 1933, Permanent Mandates Commission, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.406.M.209.1933.VI.)

European control of the area, starting with its capture by the iconic Richard the Lionheart in 1191.[785] Comparatively, a column from "a Correspondent with the Army in Palestine" ran in the *Guardian* during the Palestine Campaign, in which one week's instalment was on "Passover in Jerusalem, 1918", in dedication to the Jewish expulsion from Jaffa the previous year.[786] If the Bible was this ingrained into British cultural norms then, as one letter to the editor asked, "to whose care should the Holy Land be given but the chosen people whose standard… is [G-d] and the Holy Bible?"[787] The continued focus on the Holy Land or even crusading imagery negated Arab history in the region. When meeting with the Imperial War Cabinet during the Palestine Campaign, Lloyd George mused "We have entered the land of the Philistines… That is very interesting. I hope we shall conquer the Philistines."[788] Biblically, the Philistines were the enemies of the Jews, and thus by contemporary proxy, required conquering by the British. There is, however, a difference between the colonial and colonial settler narrative. Lloyd George – and moreover, the majority of the British press – is not arguing for the erasure of the "Philistines", but colonial subjugation.[789] Conversely, both Wolfe and Verancini argue that the narrative of "progress" in a settler colonial society ultimately requires not just erasing native society or legitimacy, but the erasing of their presence within that society as well.[790] However, we might argue that Zionist settler colonialism at this stage was not pushing for literal erasure of the Arab population, but the narrative erasure, as the Arab population offered a useful contrast to Zionist modernity. Returning to our main example of citriculture, the difference in orange cultivation was divided into the new modern way of the Zionist, and the old way of the Arabs.

Put into context of both colonial and settler colonial ideology, Palestinian complaint or nationalist aspirations were not taken seriously. *The Sphere*, for instance, chided Palestinian Arabs for "pressing on their demand for self-government," alleging that "the Arabs of Palestine may be subscribing merely to a fetish of the present age", while Zionist leaders are

[785] "Jaffa and Its History," *The Scotsman*, 19 November 1917, 5. See James E. Kitchen, "'Khaki Crusaders': Crusading Rhetoric and the British Imperial Soldier during the Egypt and Palestine Campaigns, 1916-18," *First World War Studies* 1 (2010), 141-60.
[786] "Passover in Jerusalem," *Manchester Guardian*, 20 May 1918, 8.
[787] "Letter to the Editor: Zionism and England," *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 June 1922, 4; see also Timothy Larsen, *A People of One Book: The Bible and the Victorians* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).
[788] Quoted in James Renton, *Zionist Masquerade*, 21.
[789] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 101. Patrick Wolfe, "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native," 388.
[790] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 101.

portrayed as earnestly trying to compromise and learn, the Zionist movement an improvement on the lives of the Arab population. It asserts that one of the few industries where there is "Arab-Jewish cooperation" is the orange industry.[791] The *Leeds Mercury* ran an article written by Selig Brodetsky, then at the University of Leeds, and prominent Zionist. The prosperity he pointed to for the Arab population was in increase in job opportunities – and the cooperation he describes is "the many cases where Arabs receive employment from Jews". Much like in travel literature, we see the argument that the standard of living for the native Arab population was improved simply by being in proximity to Zionist settlements (which for Brodetsky, overwhelmingly meant orange cultivation).[792] An excerpt from *Vote* offers that this Zionist agricultural influence transcended mere land-based improvements, but offered a "civilizing" component:

> The social influence of the Jews is proving beneficial in improving the conditions under which the Arabs live and in raising the status of women. A few years ago, it was a common sight to see an Arab driving a plough, to which was yoked his ass and his wife! Such a thing is now unknown. An Arab proverb says: "The ass is one of the family; the wife is a piece of furniture."[793]

It certainly fair to say that there was likely an increase in economic prosperity that coincided with British control and greater Zionist immigration. The start of the Mandate would have seen a surge of investment in infrastructure and local governments, as well as the continued urbanization of a traditionally rural population that had just suffered through a war, famine, and locust infestation.[794] Yet, the way in which these claims were made, diminished Palestinian national aspirations, and simplified an equally complex society. They diluted a post-war reality, as well as not only a class division but a racial disparity among the population at large. Barbara Smith argues that the British preferential treatment and encouraged growth of Zionist enterprise created a divided Palestinian economy.[795] While Zionist innovation was seen as a positive force for the Arab population, the cheapness of Arab labour was seen mostly as an "obstacle" for immigrating Jewish European, incentivizing

[791] "Palestine To-Day: Zionism and the Pan Arab Movement," *The Sphere*, 14 January 1933, 13.
[792] Selig Brodetsky, "Jewish Prospects in Palestine," *Leeds Mercury*, 30 April 1925, 4.
[793] "Tea and Politics-Up-To-Date: The Position of Women in Palestine," *Vote*, 25 May 1928, 165.
[794] Deborah Bernstein and Badi HasisIn, "'Buy and Promote the National Cause,'" 132; Zachary Foster, "The 1915 Locust Attack in Syria and Palestine and its Role in the Famine During the First World War," *Middle Eastern Studies* 51:3 (2015), 370-394.
[795] Barbara J. Smith, *Roots of Separatism*, 4; also quoted in Ian Black, *Enemies and Neighbours*, 51.

"Jewish only" labour unions and creating a colonial class system that would prove detrimental.[796] It also insisted on the inability of the native Arab population to self-govern.

The press – or at least the populace – was not completely ignorant of these complexities. The "Letter to the Editor" section of the *Daily Herald* in March and April of 1922 offer insight into the differing opinions of at least the Labour reading public and press on this issue. To some, like Col. Josiah Wedgwood, resistance towards Zionism was seen as "Arab Effendis and landlords" stirring up "Christian and Arab riff-raff". He describes the violence in 1921 Jaffa as a pogrom against the Jewish population – the wording reminiscent of Eastern European violence against Pale Settlement Ashkenazim. Interestingly, he conflates the "uneducated natives of Kenya" with the Zionist settlers, as both in his mind required a "non-elected [British] majority" for protection against the white settlers and Arab natives, respectively.[797] To Wedgewood, Zionists truly were the original indigenous population. In a back and forth on the subject, Joseph Berges (presumably not the French painter) wrote a Letter to the Editor in April, accusing the Zionist movement of "consisting principally of Jewish bourgeoisie", who among other things, exploited Arab labourers.[798] Zionist and Jewish Socialist, Shlomo Kaplansky responded that these denunciations were "too ridiculous to be dealt with seriously", calling it veiled "anti-Zionist philosophy in anti-capitalistic language". He pushes the narrative of Zionist efforts to include Arab workers in union activity, and points to "several occasions in recent years [when] Arab workers declined to serve as blacklegs against Jewish workers on strike. Evidently they value Jewish comradeship better than their self-imposed spokesman."[799]

Yet, as tension grew through the decade, it became harder to ignore the impact of a colonial policy that gave preferential treatment to Zionism, or the settler colonial movement itself. Further, the different aims of colonialism versus settler colonialism when it came to the native Arab population had created an untenable situation for the British government. Charged with evaluating the situation in the Mandate, The Hope Simpson Enquiry, more officially known as *The Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development*, was conducted in 1929 and published in October of 1930. As should be expected, a main focus on the report was that of agriculture, with orange cultivation repeated as a primary example

[796] See as example "Jews Going Back," *Freeman's Journal*, 10 December 1923, 8.
[797] Josiah Wedgwood, "Letter to the Editor," *Daily Herald*, 17 March 1922, 4.
[798] Joseph Berges, "Letter to the Editor," *Daily Herald*, 20 April 1922, 4.
[799] Shlomo Kaplansky, "Letter to the Editor," *Daily Herald*, 24 April 1922, 4.

throughout. It concluded that "the persistent and deliberate boycott of Arab labour in the [Jewish] colonies is not only contrary to the Mandate, but it is in addition a constant and increasing source of danger to the country."[800] Within this document there was little discussion of cooperation between the Zionist and Arab populations. Rather it reported the reality quite plainly as "Jewish employer"/ "Arab employee", highlighting the need for Zionist cooperatives to include Arab members, using the orange growers' cooperative "Pardess" as its main example. That does not mean it did not fall into the same tropes that we have seen throughout this chapter. The report seems to laud the Strickland report that discouraged loans to the Arab population and highlighted the needs for British cooperation with Zionist organizations.[801] It saw the Arab population as "ignorant" and in need of guidance, disregarding the implications of its own notes on the funding disparity between the two groups. While Brodetsky might write about Arab landowners selling their land so that Zionist settlers could "convert [them] from malarial marsh into golden cornfield, or blossoming orange grove", Hope Simpson warned that "[the] Arab population already regards the transfer of lands to Zionist hands with dismay and alarm. This cannot be dismissed as baseless in the light of the Zionist policy."[802]

The Hope Simpson Report resulted in the 1930 White Paper, more commonly referred to as the Passfield White Paper. In a statement released to the press on the Government's new policy, the need to accommodate promises to both "the Jewish people and the non-Jewish population" was highlighted. While it "appealed" to the Arab population to "recognise the facts of the situation and make a sustained effort at co-operation", it "asked" of Jewish leaders the "recognition of the necessity for making concession in regard to the independent and separate ideals with have developed in some quarters in connections with

[800] John Hope Simpson, *Palestine: Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development*, (London: HMSO, 1930), 55. (NLI, 17521. Microfilm.) Also available through The United Nations, "Questions on Palestine," https://www.un.org/unispal/document/auto-insert-194707/. And The Hathi Trust, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001243238.

[801] Strickland, as quoted in Hope Simpson "An indebted and usually illiterate peasant has not the strength of character to refrain from further borrowing from moneylenders, if he is suddenly released from debt. He borrows again and all the good work is undone." While the report for 1933 shows that some loans were being given to the Arab population, it is in conjuncture with a push to "bring home" certain economic concepts to the Arab population. No such provisions were given to the Zionist agriculturists. United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1933*, Geneva: League of Nations, 31 December 1933.

[802] John Hope Simpson, *Palestine*, 56. Referring to the earlier mentioned article: Selig Brodetsky, "Jewish Prospects in Palestine," *Leeds Mercury*, 30 April 1925, 4.

the Jewish national home." In regard to agriculture, "the Government declared that a more methodical agricultural development is called for with the object of ensuring a better use of the land. Only by such a policy will additional Jewish agricultural settlement be possible consistently with the mandate." [803] The statement may have been reported in much the same way, but the format given changed from paper to paper.

For instance, *The Jewish Chronicle* remained optimistic when the Hope Simpson enquiry was first announced, thinking that it would challenge the "allegation made by Sir Walter Shaw" that further Jewish European immigration would be disruptive.[804] Following the issuing of the White Paper, however, the *Chronicle* devoted nearly an entire edition to not just the full issue, but the reaction as well. Immediately following the full text of the White Paper was a half-page on the resignation of Chaim Weizmann from the Jewish Agency. Subtitling the White Paper headline read, among other things "BITTER ANTI-BRITISH FEELING ABROAD".[805] The *Midland Daily Telegraph* (today's *Coventry Telegraph*) ran the headline "The Palestine Problem" and mentioned the resignation of Chaim Weizmann from the Jewish Agency first and foremost. [806] While the Conservative run *Dundee Courier* chose the more politically neutral "Britain's Plans in Palestine", only mentioning Weizmann's resignation towards the end of the article. [807] One other notable difference can be seen in the latter two articles. The *Dundee Courier* simplifies the Hope Simpson report into a need for "intensive development" – "Without development there is not room for a single additional settler." [808] The *Midland Daily Telegraph* on the other hand, in contrast to earlier claims that Palestine paid for itself, highlighted the Hope Simpson findings that "the finances of Palestine have been severely strained by the necessity for providing large increases in its security forces". It summarised that "the problems of development, immigration and unemployment are closely related; only in peaceful Palestine, with cordial co-operation between Jews, Arabs, and Government,

[803] "The Palestine Problem: British Government's Policy," *Midland Daily Telegraph* (*Coventry Telegraph*), 21 October 1930; "Britain's Plans in Palestine: Promised Measure of Self-Government," *Dundee Courier*, 21 October 1930.
[804] "Another Palestine Commission," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 9 May 1930, 7.
[805] "The Palestine Movement," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 24 October 1930, 22-27.
[806] "The Palestine Problem: British Government's Policy," *Midland Daily Telegraph* (*Coventry Telegraph*), 21 October 1930, 6.
[807] "Britain's Plans in Palestine: Promised Measure of Self-Government," *Dundee Courier*, 21 October 1930, 7.
[808] "Britain's Plans in Palestine," 7.

can prosperity be secured. Then the ideals of a Jewish National Homeland may be realised."[809]

The 1933 Shift in Perception

The Hope Simpson Report and the White Paper were still in the press in 1933, when criticism surrounding German anti-Semitic policy began to seep into the way in which Zionism – including Zionist settlements – were discussed.[810] However, it was no longer the main focal point in terms of Palestine. Three main themes ran through discussions of the Mandate as of 1933, showing a shift the way Zionism was being represented and perceived: Economic prosperity, German anti-Semitism, and the continuing conflict with the Arab community. For instance, in the *Jewish Chronicle*, an article entitled the "Economic Board for Palestine", which exalted the "Unparalleled development of the Orange Industry", ran on the page across from a call by the Jewish National Fund, which claimed that in light of the "ruthless war to exterminate our fellow Jews… The Solution is Palestine", and around several articles stipulating the need for Palestine to open its doors to German refugees.[811] A third, smaller paragraph on the anti-Nazi boycott in Tel Aviv was positioned above this advert.


The German Government is carrying on a ruthless war to exterminate our fellow Jews.

A new home will have to be found for thousands of our brethren.

THE SOLUTION IS PALESTINE

Send your contribution to the JEWISH NATIONAL FUND and your brethren will be settled on land which remains the everlasting possession of the Jewish People.

BE SURE THAT YOUR CONTRIBUTION IS USED FOR THIS PURPOSE. SEND YOUR CONTRIBUTION EARMARKED

The Treasurer, Jewish National Fund, Portsoken House, 155/7, Minories, E.C.3.

When you make your contribution to the Central British Fund for German Jewry, EARMARK J.N.F., and safeguard the National Character of the National Home.

Figure 51: *The Jewish Chronicle*, 7 July 1933.

[809] "The Palestine Problem," 6.

[810] For example, "Professor Brodetsky's Political Report: Relations with the Mandatory Power", *The Jewish Chronicle*, 25 August 1933, 17; which ran in the column next to "Mr. Sokolow Reviews World Jewry: The German Jewish Tragedy" *The Jewish Chronicle*, 25 August 1933, 17. Salmond S. Levin, "Letter to the Editor: Private Enterprise and National Progress", 24 February 1933, 25.

[811] "Economic Board for Palestine", *The Jewish Chronicle*, 7 July 1933, 30; and "Display Ad - The Solution is Palestine", *The Jewish Chronicle*, 7 July 1933, 31.

No mention of the Arab population is given within this spread. Its absence speaks just as loudly. By October of 1933, anger over the British administration's inability to curtail European Jewish immigration and land purchases sparked a general strike and demonstrations by Arab communities across Palestine. What became referred to as "disturbances" or "riots" in some press and ultimately the official report.[812] Or, as the *Staffordshire Sentinel* wrote as its front page headline "Serious Arab Rioting in the Holy Land".[813] As the 1933 Report highlighted, "Arab resentment… has been a permanent feature of political opinion in Palestine for the past ten years".[814] Indeed, just three years prior, in the 1930 Shaw Commission, the 1929 "disturbances" were summarized as "racial animosity on the part of the Arabs, consequent upon the disappointment of their political and national aspirations and fear for their economic future".[815] Nor would this exasperation simply end with 1933. A 1936 general strike and series of demonstrations turned into a three-year long rebellion that would lead first to the Peel Commission in 1937 and then the White Paper of 1939.[816] With little wonder when the continued "prosperity of Palestine" was consistently credited to Zionist achievement. Even in the midst of discussing the demonstrations, Major Broadhurst, the former Chief of Police in Tel Aviv, claimed that "the Arabs welcomed Jewish immigration, because the Jews in fifteen years had created a prosperous country in Palestine." Rather, it was the "abnormal influx" that had concerned them.[817] This influx was not just ascribed to the incoming refugees, but the "favourable economic conditions of the country, due to a large extent to influx of Jewish capital and to consequent creation of new openings for employment."[818]

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[812] "Report of the Commission…" *Palestine Gazette*, 16 November 1933. "Disturbances in Palestine", West Middlesex Gazette, 9 December 1933, 5. "Riots Not Anti-Jewish" was typed under the subheading.
[813] "Serious Arab Rioting in the Holy Land", *Staffordshire Sentinel*, 27 October 1933, 1.
[814] United Kingdom, *Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government on the Administration Under Mandate of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1933*, Geneva: League of Nations, 31 December 1933.
[815] "Shaw Commission of Enquiry 1929-30 [Report]." 30-31 March 1930, T 161/300/6, The National Archives, London, United Kingdom
[816] Avi Shlaim, *The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, The Zionists, and Palestine 1921 – 1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 52-63. The Peel Commission suggested the idea of partition in its report. However, its concluding remarks speak volumes about the way in which these two groups were perceived. The answer to the "Jewish Problem" of Europe required "Arab generosity": "If the Arabs at some sacrifice could help to solve that problem, they would earn the gratitude not of the Jews alone but of all the Western World." *Summary of the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission*, 30 November 1937, League of Nations, United Nations Library & Archives, Geneva, Switzerland. (LON, C.495.M.336.1937.VI.)
[817] "Disturbances in Palestine", West Middlesex Gazette, 9 December 1933, 5.
[818] *Ibid*

These “favourable economic conditions” were in part the result of an increase in harvests and private capitol. However, the citrus industry itself was on the downturn. According to Karlinsky, the 1929/30 season “marked the transition from strong profitability to reasonable profitability”, with 1934/35 exposing the potential crisis ahead, and “the worst season that Palestine citriculture had known” in 1936/7.[819] Yet, Palestine, and Zionist citriculture in particular, was seen as “An Outstanding Example”, in a world “groaning under industrial depression”. The *Yorkshire Evening Post* compared the biblical “milk and honey” to the prosperity of “oranges and grapefruit”, noted the praise lauded on it by *The Times*, and remarked that “There is something ironic, surely, in the spectacle Palestine presents, and the Anti-Semitism (*sic*) prevailing in Germany. Instead of hounding out the Jews, Herr Hitler might do better to take them into partnership and invite them to do for Germany what they have done in Palestine.”[820]

While not as enamoured with Zionist achievement, the *Daily Mail* journalist, George Ward Price, also made the connection between Palestine and what he referred to as “Jews of distressed condition or antiquarian taste”. This “distressed condition” being refugees, of course. Price argued that Britain “Can’t Afford to Run a Home for the Jews” in Palestine, regardless of circumstances. Rather than prosperity, he saw failure.

> Jewish settlements on the land are little more than garden-colonies of remittance-men. There is certainly a substantial increase of orange-cultivation and quite good wine is produced for local consumption from the vines transplanted to Palestine from France. But the Jewish villages one passes when motoring through the country still consist, as well I was last here six or seven years ago, of collections of wooden huts dumped down on the open plain, with only a straggling cultivation around them. The Jew will never make a farmer, especially in a water-stinted land like Palestine. The Arab will always beat him at getting a living out of it.

Not that he had much more respect for the Arab population, referring to the land as “primitive” and that “the Arab is capable only of the elementary practice” of agriculture.[821]

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[819] Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 168-169.
[820] “An Outstanding Example”, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 13 June 1933, 6.
[821] G. Ward Price, “We Can't Afford to Run a Home for the Jews”, *Sunday Mirror* (8 January 1933), 8. George Ward Price was notoriously pro-fascist, and this article is littered with anti-Semitic tropes. The *Daily Mail* for

The *Sunday Mirror* and the *Yorkshire Evening Post* may have had different views of Zionist "prosperity", but ultimately, they both are examples of a shift in how Palestine was perceived after 1933. Avi Shlaim argues due to "the Hitlerite persecution in Europe", and thus a steady increase in Jewish immigration through the 1930s, Britain would have had a difficult time morally and physically halting Zionist aspirations. The White Paper of 1939, which severely limited immigration and land purchases, was the closest they would come to reversing the Balfour Declaration.[822] Regardless of foreign status, the urgency of the situation felt by Central European Jewry, as well as the increased attention to their plight, combined with the biblical achievement narrative to legitimize Zionist objectives. We can begin to see this urgency in the press starting in 1933 over the "Position of Jews in Germany",[823] including in their coverage of the anti-German boycotts that took place mainly in Britain, the United States, and Palestine. Much of the focus was given to the boycott in the United States, with smaller mentions of action occurring in Britain and Palestine. One example of this is *The Scotsman* in August 1933, which ran three articles in the space of a column. The first one advocated "that Jewish youth must be allowed an orderly emigration to Palestine", the next on the boycott itself (which quoted Vladimir Jabotinsky, the controversial Revisionist Zionist leader), and then finally, a blurb on the "Reported German Trade Agreement with Palestine" – which stipulated the export of Jaffa oranges in return for the import of German goods.[824] A far more subtle connection was made in the *Jewish Chronicle*, which reported on the London demonstration of July 1933, in support of the anti-German boycott. The *JC* wrote that "non-Jewish men and women" brought protestors water and oranges during the march from Stepney Green to Hyde Park, as part of a show of support. Whether these were Jaffa oranges or an intentional gesture, we cannot know. However, simply that it was reported, even in such an understated fashion, should be of note.

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which he normally wrote was no different. They ran several articles throughout the 1920s and 30s in support of fascism; including G. Ward Price, "The Fruits of Fascism", *Daily Mail*, 16 July 1926; T.C.R. Moore, "The Blackshirts Have What The Conservatives Need", *Daily Mail*, 25 Apr. 1934; and Viscount Rothermere, "Hurrah for the Blackshirts!" *Daily Mail*, 15 January 1934. Regardless of any other policies the government may have had, or the press may have reflected, anti-Semitism (both outright and subtle) very much did exist within this space. It does no one any good to pretend otherwise.

[822] Avi Shlaim, *The Politics of Partition*, 8-9.

[823] "Position of Jews in Germany", *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 31 March 1933, 8.

[824] "Appeal to Germany on Behalf of Jews", "Anti-German Boycott", "Reported German Trade Agreement with Palestine", *The Scotsman*, 28 August 1933, 13.

The boycott perhaps was unsuccessful, and did not reverberate through the 1930s, but the conversation of Palestine as a safe haven for Central European Jews had only just begun. "German Jews for Palestine" ran in the *Dundee Courier* in 1933, while "German Jews SOS to Palestine" ran in the *Hull Daily Mail* in November of 1938.[825] In April of 1936, Sir Herbert Samuel assisted in the raising of funds during Passover, equating the Jewish holiday celebrating one exodus by comparing it to the devastation of another. He claimed, "that a recent report of the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations state that the Jewish development in Palestine was the most noble colonization undertaking in Modern Times."[826] The *Leeds Mercury* gave an entire front page spread to "Scheme to Save the German Jews", accompanied by a picture of a hunched, older Jew surrounded by strong, young looking German police.[827] Even aspects of the growing animosity between the Zionist settlers and the Arab communities took on an urgent tone. "Palestine's Armed Jews Defend their Farm" was a two-page illustrated spread in *The Sphere* in September of 1936.[828] The *Mid-Ulster Mail* highlighted violence against Jewish settlers, including "the destruction 3,000 orange trees in a Jewish grove on a coastal plain north of Jaffa. Troops were rushed to the scene of the attack on the Jewish colony, and the Arabs were dispersed."[829] From 1933, the conversation shifted from legitimizing Zionism through settler achievement, to legitimizing a "Zionist built Palestine" as a prosperous haven for refugees.

Conclusion

The use of agriculture – of which the main settler crop was oranges – as a vehicle to explore the representation of a settler colonialist movement in the press allows us to see how that movement's members and the native population were perceived. Aside from select, mainly Conservative owned papers, the press as a whole did not deny a "Jewish National Homeland", nor did they reject the movement as a destructive force in the region, even while they voiced concerns with certain realities of Zionism. There are repeated efforts throughout that first decade to celebrate Zionist agricultural innovation, to push for the

[825] "German Jews for Palestine", *Dundee Courier*, 30 May 1933, 7; "German Jews SOS to Palestine", *Hull Daily Mail*, 21 November 1938, 6.
[826] "Sir Herbert Samuel's Appeal for German Jews", *Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail*, 7 April 1936, 5. There is no mention of this in any of the 1935 to 1937 reports.
[827] "Scheme to Save the German Jews", *The Leeds Mercury*, 11 January 1936, 1.
[828] "Palestine's Armed Jews Defend their Farm", *The Sphere*, 19 September 1936, 452-53
[829] "Palestine", *Mid-Ulster Mail*, 17 October 1936, 7.

perception of Zionist settlers who were making the Mandate successful, even as violence persisted and grew.

The portrayal of Jewish Zionist settlers as supported by the British government; as victims of Eastern European, and then German, violence, the "calculated ruthlessness" of the Ottomans or "outrage by Arabs"; the reimagining of the European Jew as an agriculturalists pioneer in the Holy Land; the perpetuation of the desolate land myth and native Arab erasure – all four align with Veracnini's argument that "settler colonial practices [are] concealed behind other occurrences."[830] Agriculture cannot be seen as a separate lens to view these elements of the settler enterprise, but a necessary one. The Jaffa orange was a focal point – a tangible piece of Palestine that the British public could not just read about, but see, smell and experience in the comfort of their own home. If what we read influences how we perceive the world, then reading about who grew your fruit – reading about Jews who in some ways challenge previous notions about people and place – while experiencing that as a beneficiary of empire, would have a profound effect on both Jewish and non-Jewish members of the British public. We cannot ignore the importance of media in changing and influencing cultural perceptions that have ramifications even today.

[830] Lorenzo Verancini, *Settler Colonialism*, 14; "Jews in Palestine," *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Graphic*, 5 May 1917, 4; "Jews and Palestine," *Manchester Guardian*, 23 April 1920, 8.

Conclusion

In her 1942 essay, "The Crisis of Zionism," Hannah Arendt wrote that those who do not want to see "the defeat of the Jewish people before it has occurred" would have to agree on particular things. For instance, that

> …the right of the Jewish people in Palestine is the same right every human being has to the fruits of his work; that the Arabs had 1,500 years to turn a stony desert into fertile land. Whereas the Jews have had not even forty, and the difference is quite remarkable.[831]

It would be wildly unfair to claim that Arendt was uncritical of the Zionist project; she quite famously remained sceptical of nationalism generally.[832] Rather, what Arendt is presenting is a common argument of Zionist legitimacy, from the 1920s, to the 1940s, through to today. An argument that while contextualized differently with the rise of Nazi Germany, none the less has reverberated through the last century.

Agriculture was the way in which the Zionist movement laid claim to an already populated land. The potency of this particular myth continues to be seen even in the modern day. In 2015, the Israel Pavilion, *Fields of Tomorrow,* exhibited at The Expo 2015 Milan. It offered the following as the history of agriculture in Israel/Palestine: "Everything began from the salty waters, swamps and barren lands. In order to survive, our farmers had to transform into scientists who have made the desert flourish."[833] In this covering of the expo, *Vogue Italia* entitled their review "Israel, Trees Instead of Desert", claiming in their tagline that "The only country with more trees than a hundred years ago, recounts the art of making the desert flourish."[834] That same month, *National Geographic* ran an article on "One Man's Quest to Keep the Jaffa Orange Alive" – about Chaim Tzehori's attempts to keep his family's Jaffa orange grove going. In the article, the author reports that "half the orange groves were

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[831] Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis of Zionism," 20 November 20, 1942, in *The Jewish Writings*, ed. Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman (New York, 2007), 184.

[832] Judith Butler, "'I merely belong to them': Hannah Arendt," *London Review of Books* 29:9, 10 May 2007. Butler summarised Arendt's paradoxical position on nationalism: "If the nation-state secures the rights of citizens, then surely it is a necessity; but if the nation-state relies on nationalism and invariably produces massive numbers of stateless people, it clearly needs to be opposed. If the nation-state is opposed, then what, if anything, serves as its alternative?"

[833] Expo 2015 Milan, "Fields of Tomorrow," http://expo2015israel.com/en/ (Accessed 1 August 2018)

[834] Federico Ferrario, "Israel, Trees Instead of Desert," *Vogue Italia* no. 777 (May 2015), 60.

owned by Arabs and the other half by Jews, with partnerships and competition forming as more Jews moved in." While the article attempts nuance, it concludes with the emotional Tzehori claiming "To cut the orchard down would be to cut out my heart."[835]

Nor was this the only time in recent years that a harkening back to citriculture has occurred. The *Irish Independent* ran an article in August of 2000 on three newly appointed ambassadors to Ireland, including the Israeli Ambassador, Mark Sofer. In the article, Sofer is quoted as explaining that the two countries had a lot in common, for instance the majority of Ireland's trade had previously been in agriculture, while "one of the only things people knew about Israel [in its early years] was Jaffa oranges and grapefruit."[836] The imagery of the citrus fruit has never really left Israeli national imagination. On the website for the Central Zionist Archive in Jerusalem, there is a section dedicated to their materials on the fruit, explaining that the Jaffa orange

> became the symbol of the flourishing of the "new Jew" in Palestine, sturdy and suntanned as he was from working the land, and the orange groves became engraved in the communal memory, as the landscapes of childhood, before concrete monsters ruled the earth.[837]

The Jaffa orange was symbolic of Zionist progress and fruitfulness in their "promised land", and remained so even after the Mandate, and even after many groves started to be converted to urban areas. It not only legitimised the Zionist movement, it defined it.

This thesis focused on how Jaffa oranges as a symbol of settlers making the land bloom was amplified within media, legitimizing the nationalist movement in the early part of the British Mandate of Palestine. Here, media was not exclusively used to mean the press, but a variety of cultural forms of communication. There is no doubt that newspapers played a role in creating a national consciousness in the nineteenth and into the twentieth century.[838] However, newspapers are not the only medium, or cultural artefact, which the populace interacted with, nor which played a part in nation building. Further, the media themselves are significant. It is important that Zionism could be communicated in media that was

[835] Christine Bednarz, "One Man's Quest to Keep the Jaffa Orange Alive," *National Geographic*, 11 May 2015.
[836] Trevor Danker, "The Ambassador," *The Irish Independent*, 12 August 2000, 6-7.
[837] CZA, "Oranges" http://www.zionistarchives.org.il/en/Pages/oranges.aspx#!prettyPhoto (Accessed 27 September 2020)
[838] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 2016), 6. Asa Briggs and Peter Burke, *Social History of the Media: From Gutenberg to the Internet* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 1.

familiar to the British public, in a way that was relatable. Looking for instance at the styles of art used by settler artists, these were from European schools, with European influences – styles that would have felt familiar, regardless of taste. The content of the medium is important, but the medium itself is a message of connectivity and familiarity within the British cultural sphere.[839] What is communicated and how it is communicated are equally important. By presenting Zionism as a positive influence in Palestine, in familiar forms of communication, the nationalist movement was able to garner a level of legitimacy in British society. That this representation of Zionism as force which "made the desert bloom" still exists today, is a testament to its success. In the words of Roger Chartier "The representations of the social world themselves are the constituents of social reality."[840] Media is powerful force in legitimizing national myths and movements.

Anderson argues that members of an imagined community will never meet or know of most of the other members in that community, "yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."[841] He argues that such artifacts as the map and the newspaper offer the individuals in that imagined community a way in which to indirectly connect with the other, to have a framework for that community bond. However, cultural artifacts also allow an imagined community to present that bond to those outside the community, allowing others to interpret, legitimize, and recognize their sovereignty.[842] Just like art, travel literature, cartography, consumer culture, and the press are as much a product of the creators of identity and beliefs as they are a representation of a person, community, place, or object. Producers of culture – such as painters, travel writers, cartographers, and journalists – are what Daniele Conversi sees as "conveyors of ideas". They connect the "golden age" central to ethnonationalism with the modern day, most potently through the use of symbols.

[839] See Marshall McLuhan's theory that "the medium is the message". Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet Books, 1964), 1-2

[840] Roger Chartier, "Intellectual History or Sociocultural History? The French Trajectories," eds. Dominick LaCapra and Steven L. Kaplan, *Modern European Intellectual History: Reappraisals and New Perspectives*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 41.

[841] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016), 6.

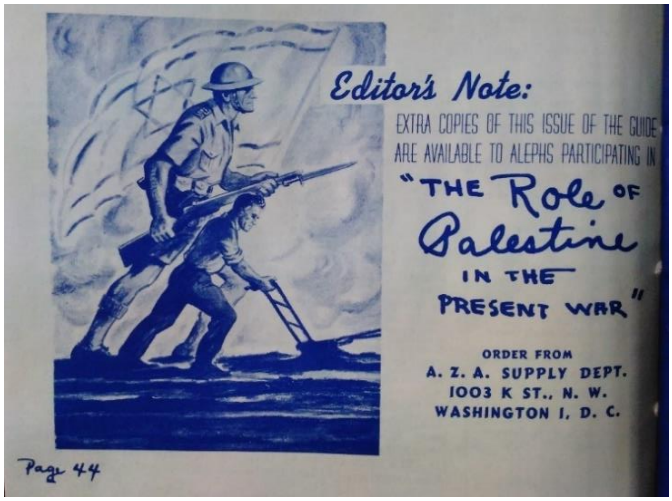
[842] Lee J.M. Seymor, "Legitimacy and the Politics of Recognition in Kosovo," *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 28:4-5 (2017), 817-83. In his article Seymor defines legitimacy, within the legal framework of statehood as "the normative belief held by an actor that a claim ought to be accepted. Legitimation, or the processes of making a claim legitimate, draws on symbolic and normative resources from the social landscape of world politics." Recognition on the other hand, concerns the "authoritative status of a political entity in international society and its corresponding legal rights and duties in international law." In other words, legitimacy is a *belief* while recognition is *status* or *authority*. Part and parcel, but separate steps in the evolution of statehood.

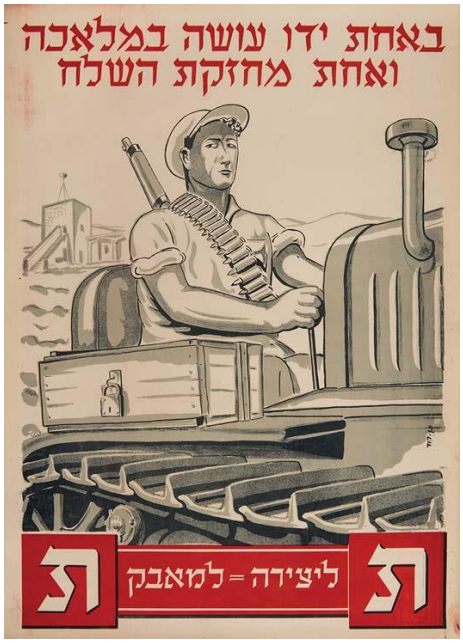
Through the use of symbols, "the imagined community becomes vividly popular, emotionally awakened and periodically celebrated."[843] The myth of settlers making a desolate land bloom has had such longevity because of those "conveyors of ideas" both within the Jewish Zionist community, and their supporters outside. The Jaffa orange became of symbol of rejuvenation for both the land and the body of the Jewish Zionist population – and in the mind of those conveying Zionism – of the European Jewish population as well. It offered a geographical location of acceptance, while reinforcing national belonging in both Britishness and Zionism. It was proof that they had "made the land bloom".

Myth is a vital part of what makes a nation. Without myths, there is no shared history for an imagined community to unite behind. But as Tamar Mater argues "because myth, by definition, does not necessarily represent with historical accuracy the nation's past, the 'reality' that is constructed intends to represent both the nation and its members in a way that will continue both to benefit the unity of the nation and to sustain the myth."[844] The modern, muscular agriculturalist was a powerful myth, which would be used before and after 1948 to rally Zionist settlers to the cause for statehood. Posters and illustrations, in both English and Hebrew, projected the settler agriculturalist in transition to soldier. A 1944 edition of the American Aleph Zadik Aleph (AZA) youth organisation, focused on what Palestine was contributing to the war effort, claiming that there was no modern agriculture in the country before the Mandate and that soon, Zionist agriculture will have advanced to the point where it might be exporting produce to a "starving Europe."[845] They also include an "Editor's Note" that was illustrated with a soldier presumably heading off to war beside farmer ploughing his fields (Figure 51).[846] The size difference suggests that it is the same man, transitioning from farmer to soldier – similar to imagery in the First World War of Zionist agriculturalists putting down their ploughs to take up "the fight".[847] Shlomo Ben-David poster design *To Create = To Struggle*, from around 1950 (Figure 52), shows a stern

[843] Daniele Conversi, "Mapping the Field: Theories of Nationalism and the Ethnosymbolic Approach," *Nationalism and Ethnosymbolism: History, Culture and Ethnicity in the Formation of Nations*, eds. Athena S. Leoussi and Steven Grosby (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 22. See also, Anthony Smith, *The Nation in History* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 72.
[844] Tamar Mayer, "Gender ironies of nationalism: Setting the Stage," *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation*, ed. Tamar Mayer (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), 9
[845] "Palestine's Contributions to the War Effort," *The AZA Program Guide*, 16:5 (March-April 1944), 9. (CZA, PR\5533\1)
[846] "Editor's Note," *The AZA Program Guide*, 16:5 (March-April 1944), 44. (CZA, PR\5533\1)
[847] Refer to "Chapter Five: Citriculture as Settler Colonialism in Print Media," 212.

looking agriculturalist on a tractor, gun slung over his shoulder with a bandolier. Above his head reads a line from Nehemiah 4:11, "doing work with one hand while the other held a weapon".[848]





Figures 52 and 53: (left) *The AZA Program Guide* 16:5, March-April 1944. (Right) Shlomo Ben-David, *To Create is to Struggle*, c. 1950. (Central Zionist Archive) Translation: (Red): "doing work with one hand while the other held a weapon" (White): "to create = to struggle"

While Jaffa oranges continued to be the symbol of prosperity, with newspapers like the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* still running feature articles on "The Home of the Jaffa Orange", they had taken on a new meaning.[849] Settlers turned Israeli artists, including Nahum Gutman (Figure 53) and Ludwig Blum, continued to find inspiration through the symbolic fruit. Blum even created an updated version of his *Packing House in Rehovot* in 1957 (Figure 54).

[848] Shlomo Ben-David, *To Create = To Struggle* c. 1950, Lithograph, Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem (CZA KRA\894)
[849] Sam Heppner, "The Home of the Jaffa Orange," *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 19 March 1958, 270.

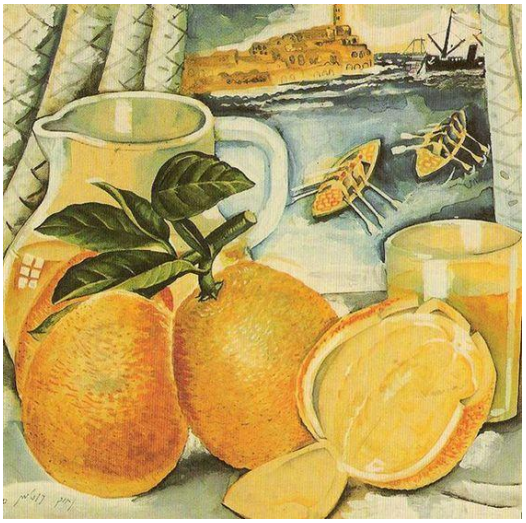


Figure 54: Nahum Gutman, *Jaffa Port*, 1946. (Nahum Gutman Museum, Tel Aviv)

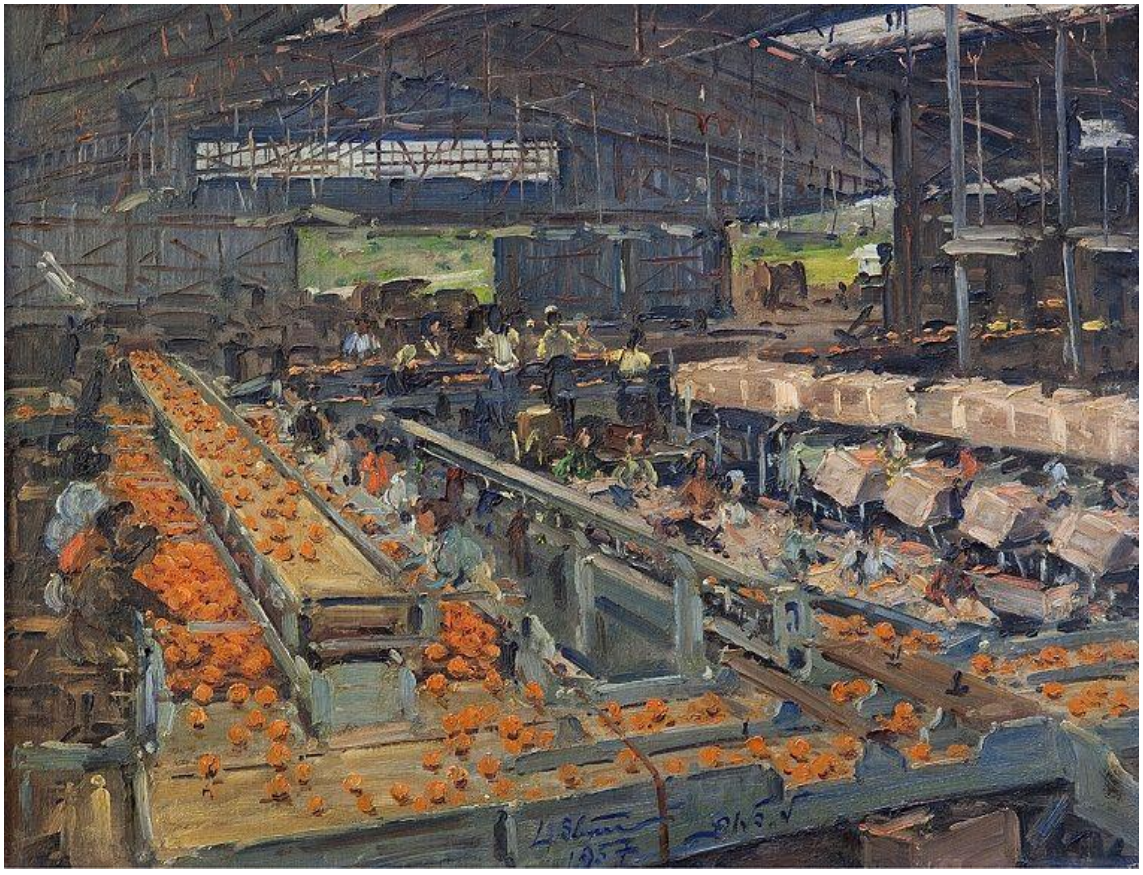


Figure 55: Ludwig Blum, *Packing House in Rehovot*, 1957 (The Estate of Ludwig Blum)

This symbolic connection between the Jaffa orange and Zionism may not have originated in the 1920s, but it arguably began to culminate then. Food is a highly political entity, as is its production, playing a role in our understanding of self and community. The appropriation of this product and process no less so.[850] This thesis is about how agricultural symbolism was used to portray the legitimacy of a burgeoning nationalism movement, and the way in which this was represented through different forms of cultural media. The messages we receive about nationalism – whether our own or someone else's – are not secluded to posters and political speeches. They are subtle, often serving a purpose that has little to do with organised propaganda, and far more to do with personal identity.

The pogroms of the late nineteenth, early twentieth century had a deep impact on the European Jewish community, influencing the work of Jewish artists through the first decade of the British Mandate. The work of Samuel Hirszenberg and Ephraim Moses Lilien expressed the grief, anxieties and yearnings felt by the Jewish European community at the turn of the century. However, Lilien also incorporated the ideas of Max Nordau's "Jewry of Muscle" or *Muskeljudentum*, in reaction to feelings of victimization and demasculinization compounded by the violence of Easter Europe.[851] While Nordau was inspired by Germanic ideas of masculinity, in Britain, similar ideas were evolving. As J.A. Mangan writes, English, and more generally, Western European, expectations of "manliness" at this time were shaped by colonial expansion and the Crimean War. "[I]mages of frontier manliness were fed back into the metropolis and became an established feature of a variety of popular cultural forms."[852] This idea of the settler as a "truer form of manhood" influenced Jewish Zionist colonial settlers.[853]

The Bezalel School of Arts and Crafts and settler art more generally offered both those in the Mandate and in Britain a visually representation of the "New Jew" and the accompanying revitalization of the land. The movement itself established as part of the *Judische*

[850] Yael Raviv, "Still Life: Performing National Identity in Israel and Palestine at the Intersection of Food and Art," *Global Jewish Foodways: A History*, eds. Hasia R. Diner and Simone Cinotto (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska, 2018), 207-238.

[851] See "Chapter One: Citriculture as Masculinity in Art," 44, 65; Lynne M. Swarts, *Gender, Orientalism, and the Jewish Nation: Women in the Work of Ephraim Moses Lilien at the German Fin de Siecle* (New York and London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2020), 50.

[852] J.A. Mangan, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 177.

[853] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 103.

Renaissance, a renaissance of European Jewish culture during this time. The artwork of Reuven Rubin and Nahum Gutman, which featured the strong modern European settlers or the verdant orange groves – unpeopled, lush – epitomised Zionist expectations of the self-constituted, modern male settler.

This image is in direct conflict with the antisemitic caricatures of European imagination, as well as those of victimization presented works like Hirszenberg's *Exile*. Since Zionism itself is a reactionary ethnonationalism, we should not be surprised that the art it produced would be much the same. The brutality experienced by Ashkenazi communities in Eastern Europe furthered feelings of demasculinization. Citriculture, and the settler life, offered a redemption to that. The depiction of women in Rubin's art especially, is that of mother and life giver, just as much as it touches on the erotic. Settler women in Rubin's art, as in his tryptic *First Fruits*, tend to have their breasts exposed, while bearing fruits (such as oranges) or otherwise participating in nurturing and life giving, signifying their role in the settler community.

Conversely, the Arab and even the Yemenite population in these paintings are often diminished, exoticized, or biblically influenced. Gutman's *Resting at Noon* is reminiscent of Pablo Picasso's *Sleeping Peasants*, with the charged eroticism of a post coital nap. It contrasts with his biblically influenced *Goatherder* and *Sheaving Wheat*, where the figures represent the alternatively biblical association given to the Arab population; seen as primitive, conducting their lives in the same way as they would have in antiquity. Arguably, Rubin's depiction of the Yemenite family in *First Fruits* is much the same thin, weak stereotype offered to Jews in Europe, much the same as his hunched Arab figures. Further, both Gutman's *Resting at Noon* and Rubin's *First Fruits* give us a sleepy, almost lazy impression of the Arab subjects, whereas settlers are muscular from working the land, and producing agricultural goods.

The landscapes produced by settler artists portrayed this idealism, as well. They created on the canvas the biblical land "flowing with milk and honey" – or water and orange groves – pilgrims and Christian Zionists failed to see in the Palestine they visited. Few people, if any, were painted in. This does not negate the settler. As Anthony Smith and Dalia Manor have argued, the land itself was an expression of the settler – his body, his character, and his community. This was a land of his production; we are seeing the landscape through his eyes. David Bomberg's lack of verdant landscape, and disinterest in the Zionist pioneer figure

should be seen in contrast to the Zionist ideal of landscape and body. His rejection of Zionism is evident in his portrayal of a more colonial landscape – a desert, barren, ready to be recreated. *Irrigation, Zionist Development, Palestine, 1923* is not what could be, but a representation of the work that needed doing. It created for the British officials and institutions who bought his work the empty landscape needed to justify colonial endeavours

Michael Omi and Howard Winant argue that, while race is a social construct, there is a "crucial corporeal dimension" to that construction. "Human bodies are visually read, understood, and narrated by means of symbolic meanings and associations." Race is a consequence of oppression and domination, and thus physiological distinction are constructed in order to distinguish one from the other, which correspond with preconceived ideas of morality, intelligence, and character. [854] As it is a flexible construct, race can fluctuate over time and space. For European Jews, "returning" to Palestine allowed them to construct a new sense of self, both in contrast to and in line with these preconceived constructs. Not entirely unshackled from antisemitic caricatures, nor quite European, but more European in contrast to the native Arab population. In the land of Palestine, Jewish Zionists could create a "New Jew" – an identity that extended beyond themselves to the landscape, covered with lush orange groves. The Jaffa orange, a symbolic representation of their achievement in a supposed desolate land.

[854] Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 13

Figure 56: Reuven Rubin, *Orange Groves Near Jaffa*, 1928 (The Rubin Museum, Tel Aviv)

As discussed in the Introduction, the desolate land myth in Palestine is the product of two different schools of thought, connected by religious interpretations of land and people: that of colonial ideas about desertification, and the belief of a Jewish "return" to the perceived Holy Land. It claims that a modern, Jewish European restoration to their "ancestral land" was required for the reinvigoration of the land. These ideologies were translated into narratives of civilization and modernity in travel literature, from travel guides to travel writing. When Palestine was written about prior to the First World War, it was often in the context of Christian European pilgrimage. After the war, tourism became a major part of the

industry, not exclusive to the devout. That we can find these narratives outside of pilgrimage text, suggests that they were integrated into societal beliefs about Palestine.

While religious sites remained the primary attractions, orange groves, including those on Zionist settlements, also make a part of the tourism in Jaffa and its connected township of Tel Aviv. Perceptions of this region, whether visual or written, were deeply influenced by Biblical Orientalist thinking, and European antisemitism. Mary Louise Pratt discusses the idea of *reciprocity* within expedition narrative during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; we can see something similar within the travel writing of this time period as well.[855] Perceived Zionist technological advancement is seen as not just beneficial for the land, but for the native population within its vicinity as well. Myriam Harry's exuberance over the settlements at one point explicitly discusses the advantages a neighbouring Arab village received just through proximity. This is a direct contrast to how Jewish quarters in many parts of Europe were perceived less than a century earlier. Indeed, comparisons between Jaffa and the Jewish quarters of nineteenth century Venice, Istanbul, and Russian towns are similar in terms of descriptions of hygiene and poverty. Conversely, Jewish Zionist settlements were seen as bringers of advancement. Unlike in Europe, Jews could be seen as a modernizing influence – specifically within the spatial realm of Palestine. They could be, as Ethan Katz wrote, "modern citizens".[856]

Jaffa is consistently praised for its fertile landscape. But it is done in a way that removes the Arab inhabitants. For instance, in his *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, G. Olaf Matson is more willing to give credit to the bees for the lush orange groves of the city then any human labourers.[857] In Thomas Cook's *Travellers Gazette*, the land is "filled with picturesque people", placing them within the landscape not as responsible for it.[858] In contrast, Zionist settlers were engaged in their work, and in bringing the land to life. This corresponds with the increase in importance given to Tel Aviv over Jaffa in travel guides and tour programs. While the ZIBT was created in reaction to a perceived bias against "Jewish" sites by local tour companies and guides, this perception may not have been justified. By the middle of the decade, Thomas Cook offers far more detail and tour options to Zionist settlements than

[855] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 2010), 67-83.
[856] Ethan B. Katz, "An Imperial Entanglement: Anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Colonialism," *American Historical Review* 123:4 (October 2018), 1193; see also Aamir R. Mufti, *Enlightenment in the Colony: The Jewish Question and the Crisis of Postcolonial Culture* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007).
[857] G. Olaf Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide* (Jerusalem: The American Colony Stores, 1930), 219.
[858] "The Flower of Palestine," *Travellers Gazette* Vol 2.8, February 1925 (London: Thomas Cook), 8.

it does to Jaffa, diminishing the ancient city to the house of Simon the Tanner and its port, or as a necessary connection to Tel Aviv.

The maps presented in travel guides began to reflect this growing disparity as well, creating an impression of Tel Aviv as equal in status of Jaffa before it officially had become a city. Cartography more generally offers us insight into the power disparity between the native Arab population and the Zionist settlers. Even the borders of Palestine – created as part of post First World War conquest of the region – reflect a biblical association with the territory, and the primacy given to the Jewish Zionist settlers. Anderson argues that the map, along with the census and the museum, shaped how colonial states saw their domain, and legitimised their sovereignty.[859]

They also give us a better understanding of the "imaginations and ideologies" of those who created and disseminated them.[860] From the founding of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1865, through the Mandate, envisioned Palestine with its biblical borders and lush greenness. Foliard reminds us that geography was not a standard as a part of education in the late nineteenth century, when many of those who were making decisions about the Mandate would have been school aged. Instead, there was an emphasis on religious education. Thus, early maps of Palestine, pre-Mandate, include regions and city names that were not contemporary to the Ottoman Empire, but biblical in nature and more familiar to those surveying the area. We can see this mentality reflected later in the surveying and mapping of the Mandate. The prominence given to Tel Aviv and the Zionist settlements are indicative of the economic, social, and political importance ascribed to these areas.

These perceptions in turn influenced what was being presented to the same society that shaped these preconceived ideas. Geography textbooks and atlases in 1920 Britain would also often use these same place names, or highlight some areas over others, while offering prejudicial descriptions of the native inhabitants. *'The Times' Atlas* for instance was advertised using biblical and crusader themes, while emphasising the "tyranny of the Turk" or using language such as the "savage deserts beyond the Jordan".[861] A 1926 *Town Planning*

[859] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2016), 163-164

[860] Daniel Foliard, *Dislocating the Orient: British Maps and the Making of the Middle East, 1854-1921*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 1.

[861] "'The Times' Atlas," *The Times* (London), 19 March 1920, 15. For more insight on crusading imagery in Britain in relation to the Ottoman Empire and the Holy Land during the First World War, see Stefan Goebel, *The*

Review article entitled "Planning of Jewish Settlements in Palestine", singled out Tel Aviv by *not* including it as part of the study, "as it has now grown into a town of more than forty-thousand inhabitants", indicating that it was too established at this point.[862] Further, the garden suburbs or cities could not be built within Jerusalem, Jaffa, or Haifa because these cities were "far too congested, and in many parts, unhealthy." [863] He cites heavily from Ruppin's *The Agricultural Colonisation of the Zionist Organisation in Palestine*, also discussed in this chapter, and refers to agriculture as what "the resurrection of the Jewish people owes its soul."[864]

The planning had been commissioned by various societies connected with the Zionist Organisation in London, which had created other surveying schemes such as the Joint Palestine Survey Commission – a survey designed to "gather data needed for dealing with the problems created by the rapid development of the past few years, and the needs of future development."[865] Various branches of the Zionist Organisation also started to incorporate the map into its promotional materials as well. The *tzedakah* (צדקה) Blue Boxes for the Jewish National Fund, and stamps (Figure 56) that were created with the map included.[866] Tel Aviv is usually prominent on these maps, and they include Hebrew writing and biblical place names. It was far more of an "anticipated spatial reality" than the reality that had existed up to that point. They were creating a model for a future homeland – a future state.[867]

Great War and Medieval Memory War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 114-126.

[862] Richard Kauffmann, "Planning of Jewish Settlements in Palestine," *The Town Planning Review* 12:2 (Nov 1, 1926), 97. *The Town Planning Review* is a part of the University of Liverpool, leading urban planning and regional planning journal, Town Planning Review an urban planning and regional planning journal, providing "a principal forum for communication between researchers and students, policy analysts and practitioners. It publishes a diversity of research approaches, welcoming full-length papers and review articles contributing to the advancement of town and regional planning research in highly developed economies and in emerging industrial states".

[863] Richard Kauffmann, "Planning of Jewish Settlements in Palestine," 96.

[864] Richard Kauffmann, "Planning of Jewish Settlements in Palestine," 109.

[865] Elwood Mead, "Foreward," *Reports of the Experts. Submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission*, (Boston: Daniels Printing Co., 1928), 11.

[866] *JNF stamps*, c.1931, Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem. (JNF, Glass32-043) *Tzedakah* literally translated means "righteousness"; however, within Judaism, it colloquially means "charity". For more information see footnotes in "Chapter Three: Citriculture as Power in Cartography," 140.

[867] Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), 130; see also Anderson's discussion of Winichakul's book in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 173.

Figure 57: *JNF stamps*, c.1931, (Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem)

Consumer culture during this time also straddled government and public, with Empire Shopping Weeks, the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, and the Empire Marketing Board all playing a role in how the Jaffa orange was perceive in terms of Empire in the metropole. The chapter relied on newspaper advertisements, exhibition pamphlets, recipe booklets, and the EMB poster campaign to see how Palestine was represented in terms of Empire – whether it was seen as a part of Empire, or a separate entity. As Erika Rapport argues, commodities can carry meaning and offer us a lens with which to view imperial relationships.[868]

The "Buy Empire" movement "used consumption as a political substitute for state power" by encouraging consumers to think about family at home *and* that of the familial Empire. It centred itself on a moral component: that of reciprocity. It was not just monetary value, but the promotion of a broader imperial family. The British Empire was vast, and the campaign challenged consumers to consider even far away Australia as vital to their own economic stability. The Mandate for Palestine was a new addition to the Empire in 1923, a year after the start of the Empire Shopping Weeks. While the Jaffa did not feature heavily in these grass roots driven campaigns, they did come to be associated with different elements of the "Buy Empire" campaign, such as the "Eat More Fruits" initiative. This initiative not only saw newspaper advertisements, but booklets, which encouraged "quality over quantity" when it came to feeding your family at home. Oranges were promoted as a preventative for flu, and their consumption outstripped that of any other fruit during this period.[869]

[868] Erika Rapport, *A Thirst for Empire: How Tea Shaped the Modern World* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017), 13.
[869] Nahum Karlinsky, *California Dreaming*, 173.

Jaffa oranges featured more heavily in their inclusion in the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 and in the EMB poster campaign. The British Empire Exhibition aimed to give consumers a more in person connection with different part of the Empire. The Palestine Pavilion may well have had to push their way into the British Empire Exhibition that year, but the Jaffa orange became a popularly commented on aspect of the pavilion and intimately connected with the Zionist settlements, to the detriment of Arab orange growers. Two year later, in 1926, the Empire Marketing Board was set up by the Colonial Secretary Leo Amery. Amery was an avid Zionist, and while acknowledging the nuance of Palestine's situation, very much saw it as a part of the Empire. Palestine – and specifically Jaffa – had its own poster collection designed and distributed, as well as was included in posters which promoted Empire goods more broadly. The most popular of which was the Empire Christmas Pudding, which not only had its own posters, but was promoted in newspapers and even baking competitions.[870]

The "Buy Empire" campaign was intended to promote Empire economy through communal activities. National myth and symbolism require participation of cultural mediums within the imagined community. Indeed, for this reason, a consistent resource throughout this thesis has been newspapers, which Anderson sees a key communal activity within a nation. Whether art reviews, travel gazettes, maps in articles or newspaper published atlases, or of course, advertisements and politically savvy cartoons, they are a "social leveler" of sorts. While art and travel may be targeted at the elite, newspapers would have been read by the working class, as well. A variety of newspapers have been used throughout, from local to national, but in this chapters specifically there is a prominent use of national papers like the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Jewish Chronicle*. Papers like the *Daily Mail* may have been more reserved or downright hostile at times to the Zionist movement, but the vast majority of papers treated Palestine as a part of the colonial framework – with Zionism as a settler colonial movement.

An example that summarizes this portrayal within the press comes from a 1919 *Jewish Chronicle* article on the early days of Zionist settlement. It is an excerpt on the interest readers might have in the early Zionist settlements, with the Zionist movement one step closer to realizing their goal of a Jewish national homeland in Palestine. It reiterates the idea of settlers returning "as absolute strangers to what was virtually a desert." They barely constituted a *minyan*, and were mistreated by both the native Arabs, who "ran after and

[870] FC Harrison, *The Empire Christmas Pudding*, Empire Marketing Board, 1926, ink print. The National Archives, London. (TNA, CO 956/63).

abused them in the streets", and by the Turkish government. Their settler interviewee, the journalist Aharon Eisenberg claims that "he had many tales to tell of attacks made upon the settlements by Arabs, some of which were actually beaten off by the women." He recounted the "heroic sentinels or *Shomerim*" who had sacrificed their lives protecting the settlements. Further the article claims that the most prosperous settlements were those "which had not been spoon-fed and had been most independent."[871] The article centres the Jewishness of the settlers, while highlighting their strength and heroic behaviour within the context of what would once again become a Jewish homeland. It contrasts their prosperity with a desert landscape and a hostile native population.

There is a popular belief in Zionist discourse that the British press at this time was unsympathetic to the Zionist movement. Yet, the article above was not just an example of a Jewish newspaper supporting Zionism. *The Jewish Chronicle* at the time was neither for nor against Jewish nationalism, although it would slowly become more nationalist as the decade progressed. Instead, it is representative of how many papers during the decade portrayed the Zionist movement in contrast to the Arab population. Looking back at the 1920 *Graphic* article that began this chapter, we can see many parallels to how Zionism and the Arab population were portrayed.[872] Much like in artistic representations, the native inhabitants were part of the landscape, primitive and unworthy of self-governance. In the *Graphic* they used primitive farming methods, here they are unreasonably violent. In contrast, Zionist settlers were prosperous, and successfully growing Jaffa oranges using "up-to-date scientific methods" and bravely guarded their new settlements on land that previously had been "virtually a desert."

There was also a distinction made between the religious and the secular settlers. Whether in regard to recruitment in 1917, or in Hannen Swaffer's serial on Palestine and in the weekly *Public Opinion* we see a comparison between the muscular "Pioneer" and the religious Jew, with "oily curls hanging down each cheek".[873] Swaffer's belief that it was in the settlers' "ceasing to be orthodox" that enabled them to be modern men.[874] In his 1938, *Fulfilment in The Promised Land, 1917-1937*, Norman Bentwich reflects these beliefs. He recounts that

[871] "Jewish Nationalist Movement," *The Jewish Chronicle*, 14 March 1919, 16-17.
[872] Harold Shepstone, "Jewish Progress in Palestine," *The Graphic*, 21 August 1920, 174.
[873] "How Young Jewish Pioneers are Recreating Palestine," *Public Opinion*, 5 December 1924, 548. (MEC, GB165-0162)
[874] Hannen Swaffer, "Building the New Jerusalem: Hannen Swaffer Goes East (15)," *Daily Herald*, 21 February 1933, 6.

the population doubled between 1880 and 1905, and "while the majority still belonged to the class of the old Yishuv, whose work was prayer, about one-quarter belonged to the new Yishuv, whose prayer was work - on the soil and in small industries."[875] The soil is paramount to the settler's claim and legitimacy, and was represented as such in the press.

From 1933 onwards, the perception of Zionism shifted. Their achievements became a thing to protect; it had the potential to offer security in a time of German persecution. This, along with the Arab Revolt which spanned from 1936 to 1939 and was brutally dismantled by the British, helped to form a narrative around reactionary politics and violence on the part of British and Zionist entities.[876] Opinions on Zionist aspirations may have varied, but articles like the 1936 "The Problem of Palestine" by J.A. Spender were common in the lead up to Britain's entrance into the Second World War. On the one hand, he acknowledged that it was "impossible to dismiss the fears of the Arabs as groundless" given the more extreme nationalist rhetoric of a Zionist leaders, while acknowledging the "persecution of the Jews in Germany". Yet, at the same time he wrote that Zionists "undoubtedly were bringing prosperity to the country", highlighting Tel Aviv as "one of the greatest achievements in city building since the war".[877] By 1939, for every article on a "Secret Terror Army of Jews in Palestine", in response to "Arab terrorism" and "months of anti-Jewish terror", there were articles reminding readers of "How the modern Jews set about converting their promised land from a desert into a land 'flowing with milk and honey'" having "re-planted the vine and started a new citrus industry which grew to be one of the largest in the world".[878]

Both Avi Shlaim and Ilan Pappé argue that "Israeli historians hesitate to compare early Zionism with colonialism… due to the bad reputation of colonialism in our times."[879] For

[875] Norman Bentwich, *Fulfilment in The Promised Land, 1917-1937*, (London: Soncino press, 1938), 6-7.
[876] *See* Matthew Kraig Kelly, "The Revolt of 1936: A Revision", *Journal of Palestine Studies* 44:2 (2015): 28-42; Avi Shlaim, *The Politics of Partition: King Abdullah, the Zionists, and Palestine 1921-1951*, 52-53.
[877] J.A. Spender, "Problem of Palestine: Jew and Arab", Bradford Observer, 23 May 1936, 8.
[878] "Secret Terror Army of Jews in Palestine", Shields Daily News, 9 August 1939, 7; "Their Promised Land was a Desert", Penrith Observer, 14 February 1939, 7.
[879] Ilan Pappé, "Zionism as Colonialism: A Comparative View of Diluted Colonialism in Asia and Africa," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107:4 (2008), 3; Avi Shlaim, "The Spectre of Annexation: A Conversation with Professor Avi Shlaim." Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL), 22 July 2020. Webinar. Shlaim went a step further, paraphrasing Noam Chomsky in calling settler colonialism "the most extreme and vicious form of colonialism." In his mind, the Zionist settlers' "aim [was] to displace indigenous population, not share the land", as is often argued.

Pappé, there is a tendency towards a methodology among these historians "to see the documents written by the forefathers of Zionism prior to the act of settlement as the exclusive historical explanation for the act." Because these writings do not, in their mind, include *overt* settler colonial intentions, "the movement cannot be branded as colonialist."[880] This takes quite a leap of logic. However, given the history of anti-Semitism that Zionism hoped to escape, it might be understandable to an extent. There is a growing body of research that attempts to connect the racist ideologies that intersect both anti-Semitism and Islamophobia within the history of Europe. Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg's *The Holocaust and the Nakba* and James Renton and Ben Gidley's *Antisemitism and Islamophobia in Europe*, both offer a historiography that creates a shared history of trauma. Bashir and Goldberg argue that in doing this, by creating an empathy between what has become two distinct nationalist movements, "it compels us to take the otherness of the other seriously."[881] The approach is reminiscent of Edward Said's quip that "there is suffering and injustice enough for everyone."[882] As historians, we can and should break down nationalist mythos, but with a level of empathy for those who have relied on these narratives for survival.

We should remember, in the words of Hannah Arendt, that "Zionism has never been a true popular movement. It has indeed spoken and acted in the name of the Jewish people, but it has shown relatively little concern whether the masses of that people truly stand behind it or not."[883] In his recent book Haim Breesheeth-Zabnar recalls his parents' immigration to Palestine during the Second World War. He writes that they "were hardly willing colonialists", but living within the environment of a newly created nation, started to accept the rationales of the movement. "When faced with such massive injustice", he writes, "one either rises in opposition or, willingly or otherwise, joins in."[884] It was forced expulsion that created Zionist supporters among world Jewry, not necessarily the dissemination of myths

[880] Ilan Pappé, "Zionism as Colonialism: A Comparative View of Diluted Colonialism in Asia and Africa," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 107:4 (2008), 3.
[881] Bashir and Amos Goldberg, "Introduction: The Holocaust and the Nakba: A New Syntax of History, Memory, and Political Thinking," *The Holocaust and the Nakba: A New Grammar of Trauma and History* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2017), 24.
[882] Edward Said, *The End of the Peace Process: Oslo and After* (London: Granta, 1997), 207.
[883] Hannah Arendt, "The Crisis of Zionism," 20 November 1942, in *The Jewish Writings*, ed. Jerome Kohn and Ron H. Feldman (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), 184.
[884] Haim Breesheeth-Zabnar, *An Army Like No Other: How the Israel Defence Forces Made a Nation* (London: Verso, 2020), 3.

through British, or American, media. What the dissemination of those myths did do, was offer a space for Zionism to legitimize itself among the British public and to the British government. As historians, it offers us insight into how those myths were incorporated outside the national geographic space of Palestine, and outside of exclusively Jewish environments. What we find is not a pure redemption from anti-Semitism, but an extension of it, reassigning European Jews to a particular space of acceptability. The Jaffa orange has remained a symbol of the success of settler colonialists within Israel and into the Western world. By re-evaluating the dissemination of the mythos surrounding it, we can re-evaluate the relationship between Britain and the Zionist movement, and offer a more nuanced understanding of the historiography of Israel/Palestine.

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