Multiple Intimate Colonialisms:

British Women and the Population of Mandate Palestine

(1920-1948)

Submitted by Charlotte Elizabeth Kelsted to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History in February 2021.

Signature: 

Abstract

Throughout the British Mandate for Palestine (1920-1948), British women travelled to the country as missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, nurses, doctors, journalists and colonial wives. Their actions affected the lives of the people of Palestine and tell us much about the nature of British colonialism in this settler colonial context. In the existing historiography of the Mandate, a male-dominated narrative prevails, with British women receiving very little attention from historians.

This is the first extensive study of these British women. It uses their correspondence, reports and publications, archived across Britain, Israel, the occupied Palestinian territories, Beirut, and Washington, D.C., to analyse their activities in various spheres of the intimate. The attitudes and actions of these women expose the variability of the colonial encounter in this setting. In Mandate Palestine, British women's intimate colonialisms were multiple: there existed an intrusive intimacy of condescension towards the Palestinian Arab community and a paradoxically distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community. This was based on discourses of difference constructed by British women and underpinned by hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity, with the Jewish community typically placed further up these social scales than the Palestinian Arab community. There were however inconsistencies in, and limitations to, these multiple intimate colonialisms, which ultimately undermined the strength of British women's discourse.

This thesis develops existing histories of British women in early to mid-twentieth century Palestine and contributes to enhanced understandings of the British Mandate for Palestine more broadly. By inserting British women in Palestine into existing imperial literatures on intimate colonialisms, this thesis establishes a new framework for grappling with the nature of white women's colonialisms in the juncture between colonial and settler colonial phenomena: the concept of multiple intimate colonialisms. This marks an important and original contribution to both colonial and settler colonial studies.

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Abbreviations

AMSH	Association for Moral and Social Hygiene
AWA	Arab Women's Association
AWU	Arab Women's Union
BSHC	British Social Hygiene Council
CMJ	London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews
CMS	Church Missionary Society
JEM	Jerusalem and the East Mission
JWA	Jewish Women's Association for Equality of Opportunity
ONA	Overseas Nursing Association
PWC	Palestine Women's Council
SSA	Social Service Association

Archive Abbreviations

CZA	Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem
HBL	Helen Bentwich Letters
ISA	Israel State Archives, Jerusalem
MEC	Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford
NA	National Archives, Kew
NLI	National Library of Israel, Jerusalem
SCF	Save the Children Fund
TMH	*The Mission Hospital*
TWL	The Women's Library

Introduction

She also believed I think deep in her heart that they were better than us… we were at the bottom of this class… ladder… so I have suffered from this all my life.[1]

Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, May 2019

This reflection from a Palestinian Arab woman on the impact that a Christian missionary education had on her mother speaks to the heart of what this thesis is about: the attitudes and interventions of British women in Palestine during the British Mandate (1920-1948). Until now, the female British missionaries, welfare workers, teachers, nurses, doctors, women's rights campaigners, journalists and colonial wives who visited or resided in Palestine during the British Mandate have received scarcely any attention from historians, due to an ongoing preoccupation with the more discernibly political aspects of this seminal period in the history of modern Palestine and Israel. Even on the centennial of British administration in the country, a special issue of *Contemporary Levant* offered a 'sample of new research and writing on the Mandate' that included only one reference to a British woman.[2] If, as James Renton has argued as recently as 2019, 'the task of the current generation of historical

[1] Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, 28/5/19.

[2] Lauren Banko, 'Historiography and Approaches to the British Mandate in Palestine: New Questions and Frameworks' *Contemporary Levant* 4 (2019) 1-7, 1. This was a reference to Margaret Nixon, Government Welfare Inspector for Mandate Palestine in Chris Wilson's article on the incarceration of 'criminal lunatics' during the British Mandate period. See Chris Wilson, 'Incarcerating the Insane: Debating Responsibility for Criminal Lunatics Between Prisons, Hospitals, and Families in British Mandate Palestine' *Contemporary Levant* 4 (2019) 39-51, 43. Incidentally, this is by no means to discredit the plethora of new (English) research on the Mandate since 2000, which, as Banko notes, has situated Mandate Palestine within narratives of 'global and transnational histories of empire and resistance to colonialism, migration and mobility, communal space, networks of infrastructure, the framework of settler colonialism and the notion of 'the continuous Nakba''. See Banko, 'Historiography and Approaches' 2; Weldon Matthews, *Confronting an Empire, Constructing a Nation: Arab Nationalists and Popular Politics in Mandate Palestine* (London, 2006); Jacob Norris, *Land of Progress: Palestine in the Age of Colonial Development, 1905-1948* (Oxford, 2013); Munir Fakher Eldin, 'British Framing of the Frontier in Palestine, 1918-1923: Revisiting Colonial Sources on Tribal Insurrection, Land Tenure, and the Arab Intelligentsia' *Jerusalem Quarterly* 60 (2014) 42-58; Laila Parsons, *The Commander: Fawzi al-Qawuqji and the Fight for Arab Independence, 1914-1918* (New York, 2016); Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth Century Palestine* (Stanford, 2010); Laura Robson, *Colonialism and Christianity in Mandate Palestine* (Austin, 2012); Noah Haiduc-Dale, *Arab Christians in British Mandate Palestine: Communalism and Nationalism, 1917-1948* (Edinburgh, 2013); Andrea L. Stanton, *This is Jerusalem Calling: State Radio in Mandate Palestine* (Austin, 2013); Leena Dallasheh, 'Troubled Waters: Citizenship and Colonial Zionism in Nazareth' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47 (2015) 467-87; Fredrik Meiton, *Electrical Palestine: Capital and Technology from Empire to Nation* (Berkeley, 2018); Rana Barakat, 'Writing/Righting Palestine Studies: Settler Colonialism, Indigenous Sovereignty and Resisting the Ghost(s) of History' *Settler Colonial Studies* 8 (2018) 349-63; Adel Manna, 'The Palestinian Nakba and its Continuous Repercussions' *Israel Studies* 18 (2013) 86-99.

scholars is to knit together all the complexities of British colonial rule in Palestine', then British women and their multiple intimate colonialisms must now be addressed.[3]

To do this, this thesis draws on and develops anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler's notion of intimate colonialism. Stoler has argued that the private and personal or 'intimate' aspects of people's lives were empire's 'marrow'; it was there that categories of colonial difference were created and colonial power was consolidated.[4] Locating this colonial intimacy in British women's involvement in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab and Jewish lives throughout the Mandate period, this thesis posits that in Mandate Palestine, British women's colonial intimacies were multiple: there existed an intrusive intimacy of condescension and sometimes maternalism towards the Palestinian Arab community and a distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community. This offers a new framework for understanding colonial intimacy, particularly in settler colonial contexts where the ethnicity of the colonisers (in Mandate Palestine, the British) and the settlers (the Jews) differed. It addresses Scott Lauria Morgensen's frustration that 'citations of Stoler have tended to extrapolate from conditions that Patrick Wolfe has called "franchise colonialism" without asking if settler societies function at all distinctly'.[5]

British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in Mandate Palestine comprised their perceptions of, and engagement with, Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities in various spheres of the intimate. These included maternity and infant welfare, children and education, prostitution and venereal disease (VD), criminality and punishment, and women's status within and beyond the home. In most of these spheres, British women situated the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities on racialised hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity, with the Jewish community typically placed further up this 'ladder' – in the words of Cedar Duaybis above – than the Palestinian Arabs.[6] This discourse of difference underpinned British women's more intrusive involvement in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab than Jewish life and their social relationship of respect with perceived peers (or near peers) among the Jewish community. Yet British

[3] Banko, 'Historiography and Approaches' 1; James Renton, 'Interview with James Renton' *Contemporary Levant* 4 (2019) 8-13.
[4] 'An Interview with Ann Laura Stoler by E. Valentine Daniel' *Public Culture* 24 (2012) 493-514, 498.
[5] Scott Lauria Morgensen, 'Theorising Gender, Sexuality and Settler Colonialism: An Introduction' *Settler Colonial Studies* 2 (2012) 2-22, 7-8.
[6] Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, 28/5/19.

women's intimate colonialisms were not formed without trouble.[7] They contained inconsistencies and limitations, which ultimately undermined the strength of British women's discourse and action.

There is no single repository for source material relating to the British women who visited or resided in Palestine during the British Mandate. Instead, the correspondence, reports and publications of these individuals, as well as the papers of relevant Britain and Palestine-based bodies, have been located for the purpose of this thesis in homes, libraries and archives across Britain, Israel, the occupied Palestinian territories, Beirut and Washington, D.C. This archival material is supplemented by selected oral history interviews with Palestinian Arab and British women who, as children, encountered the British women who are the subject of this thesis.

As a white woman writing a history of other white women from a Western academic institution, I have been concerned throughout this project about the danger of amplifying the voices of British women at the expense of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women. Whilst attempts have been made to hear the voices of Palestinian Arabs and Jews, British women's voices dominate the narrative. It is hoped, however, that critical engagement with British women's discourse is a step towards a better understanding of the realities and ramifications of these colonial encounters.

Historical Context

With the exception of pilgrimages, it was not until the mid-1800s that travel to the Eastern Mediterranean became a female enterprise in Britain.[8] At this time, akin to the pilgrims who preceded them, British women were enticed by Palestine's singular status as the Holy Land in Christianity, predominantly visiting the region as travellers and missionaries.[9] Although it is difficult to estimate their numbers, Billie Melman notes that Richard Bevis lists over 180 English-language travel books on the Middle East written by women between 1821 and 1914.[10] British women's expeditions to Palestine

[7] Antoinette Burton, *The Trouble with Empire: Challenges to Modern British Imperialism* (New York, 2015).
[8] Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Hong Kong, 1992), pp. 1-14.
[9] Ibid; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948* (Leiden, 2002); Nancy Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters among English and Palestinian Women, 1800-1948* (Gainesville, 2007).
[10] Melman, *Women's Orients,* p. 7; Richard Bevis, *Bibliotecha Cisorientalia: An Annotated Check-List of Early English Travel Books on the Near and Middle East* (Boston, 1973).

in the nineteenth century were facilitated by a backdrop of increasing European involvement in the political, economic and religious affairs of the allegedly declining Ottoman Empire: the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (CMJ) commenced their work in Palestine in the 1830s; the Church Missionary Society (CMS) began their efforts shortly following the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian Episcopal See in Jerusalem in 1841; and in 1887 the Jerusalem and the East Mission (JEM) was set up.[11] By the eve of the First World War, Britain had a more extensive network of religious, educational and medical institutions in the three *sanjaqs* (Turkish: territories) of late Ottoman Palestine than any other great power.

On 11 December 1917 British troops led by General Edmund Allenby occupied Jerusalem. This marked the start of formal British influence in Palestine, which was to last until 14 May 1948. A temporary military administration was soon established, before being replaced by a civil administration in July 1920 following the provisional granting of a 'Mandate' for Palestine to Britain by the newly established League of Nations at the San Remo conference in April 1920.[12] The Mandates were part of a new international system that granted trusteeship to Britain and France for the former territories of the defeated Ottoman Empire.[13] The guiding principle of the Mandate system, established in Article 22 of the League Covenant, was that Britain and France would promote the 'well-being and development' of the populations of these territories

[11] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* pp. 2-8; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 137. The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East (FES) was another important missionary organisation in nineteenth century Palestine. The FES commenced their work in Palestine in the 1840s and were absorbed into the CMS in 1899.

[12] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 60.

[13] Susan Pedersen, 'The Impact of League Oversight on British Policy in Palestine' in Rory Miller (ed.), *Palestine, Britain and Empire: The Mandate Years* (London, 2010) pp. 39-65. For more on the creation of the League of Nations and the development of the Mandate system, see Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire* (Oxford, 2015); Pedersen, 'Back to the League of Nations: Review Essay' *American Historical Review* 112 (2007) 1091-117; Michael Callahan, *The League of Nations, International Terrorism, and British Foreign Policy, 1934-1938* (London, 2018); Callahan, *Mandates and Empire: The League of Nations and Africa, 1914-1931* (Sussex, 2008); Callahan*, A Sacred Trust: The League of Nations and Africa, 1919-1946* (Sussex, 2004); Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea* (London, 2013); Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett, *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective* (Leiden, 2008); Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers: The Paris Conference of 1919 and Its Attempt to End War* (London, 2001); Natasha Wheatley, 'The Mandate System as a Style of Reasoning: International Jurisdiction and the Parceling of Imperial Sovereignty in Petitions from Palestine' in Cyrus Schayegh and Andrew Arsan (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of the Middle East Mandates* (London, 2015) pp. 106-22.

'until such time as they are able to stand alone'.[14] On 29 September 1923, the British Mandate for Palestine came into force.

Britain's Mandate for Palestine was complicated from the very start by conflicting promises made by the British Government during the First World War, particularly the Balfour Declaration of 2 November 1917.[15] This promised the British Government's support for 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people' with the highly problematic caveat that 'nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine'.[16] In 1917, the 'non-Jewish communities' of Palestine comprised over eighty-five percent of the population.[17] There was therefore tension from the very start between Britain's Mandate to promote the 'well-being and development' of the population of Palestine and the British Government's pledge to facilitate 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'.[18] This made for a disastrous British Mandate, characterised by ineffectiveness and instability. As Joshua Sherman has noted, in 1948 the 'burden' of Palestine was 'not so much laid down as flung aside' by the British.[19] Withdrawal from Palestine was followed by the *Nakba* (Arabic: catastrophe), the ethnic cleansing of Palestine by the armed forces of the Zionist movement, and the establishment of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948.[20]

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[14] Article 22, 'The Covenant of the League of Nations', Versailles, 28 Apr 1919. Found online at: http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/6CB59816195E58350525654F007624BF (Viewed 29/9/20). Britain and France were also required to report annually to the League. See Pedersen, 'The Impact of League Oversight on British Policy in Palestine'.

[15] Balfour to Rothschild, 2 Nov 1917, Israel State Archives (ISA). The discussions that culminated in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and its consequences are not discussed in detail in this thesis. See Joseph Mary Nagle Jeffries, *The Balfour Declaration* (Beirut, 1967); Kenneth Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine: 1917-1939* (Chapel Hill, 1984); Barbara Tuchman, *Bible and Sword: How the British Came to Palestine* (London, 1982); Mayir Verete, 'The Balfour Declaration and its Makers' *Middle Eastern Studies* 6 (1970) 48-76; David Fromkin, *A Peace to End all Peace: The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East* (New York, 1989); Jonathan Schneer, *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (London, 2010); James Renton, *The Zionist Masquerade: The Birth of the Anglo-Zionist Alliance, 1914-1918* (Basingstoke, 2007); William M. Matthew, 'War-Time Contingency and the Balfour Declaration of 1917: An Improbable Regression' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 40 (2011) 26-42; William M. Matthew, 'The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, 1917-1923: British Imperialist Imperatives' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 40 (2013) 231-50; Maryanne A. Rhett, *The Global History of the Balfour Declaration: Declared Nation* (Abingdon, 2016); Sahar Huneidi, *The Hidden History of the Balfour Declaration* (New York, 2019).

[16] Balfour to Rothschild, 2 Nov 1917.

[17] Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East,* p. 228.

[18] Article 22, 'The Covenant of the League of Nations', Versailles, 28 Apr 1919. Found online at: http://unispal.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF/0/6CB59816195E58350525654F007624BF (Viewed 29/9/20); Balfour to Rothschild, 2 Nov 1917.

[19] Joshua Sherman, *Mandate Days* (New York, 1997)*,* p. 12.

[20] Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (London, 2006). For literature on the *Nakba*, see Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882-1948* (Washington, D. C., 1992); Ahmad H. Sa'di and Lila Abu-Lughod (eds.), *Nakba: Palestine, 1948*

Although technically a League of Nations Mandate and not a British colony, British rule in Palestine was colonial in nature. The British Administration in the country reported to the Colonial Office, and the system of government was based on the 'traditional hierarchy' of the British Crown colonies.[21] There was an Executive Council of high-ranking officials, a mixed Advisory Council with no executive authority, and a country-wide administration, the senior ranks of which were occupied by British men, with the more junior positions 'distributed among carefully selected Palestinian Arabs and Jews'.[22] It was in this context that the British women who are the subject of this thesis visited or made their lives in Palestine as missionaries, welfare workers, teachers, journalists, nurses, doctors and colonial wives between 1920 and 1948.

As in the late Ottoman period, during the Mandate British women travelled to Palestine as missionaries, typically affiliated with the CMS, JEM or CMJ. In the early 1920s, some of the wives of colonial administrators joined their husbands and established charitable organisations such as the Social Service Association (SSA) and the Palestine Women's Council (PWC). After some initial resistance from the British Administration (addressed in Chapter Three), three British women were also employed in the Palestine Civil Service as Government Welfare Inspector, Superintendent of Midwifery and Inspector of Girls' Schools. British women also travelled to Palestine at this time as nurses with the Overseas Nursing Association (ONA) and as representatives of the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC) and the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH). They additionally arrived as independent teachers, journalists and tourists. Notably, this thesis will demonstrate a discernible shift from British women's predominantly charitable engagement with the population of Palestine in the 1920s to their increased engagement with Palestinian Arabs and Jews in a professional social welfare capacity as the Mandate continued.

British women's travel to Palestine took place against a backdrop of growing opportunities for women in Britain. However, akin to Palestinian Arab and Jewish women, many British women's lives remained dominated by familial responsibility. In her missionary-focused study of British women in Palestine between 1888 and 1948 (to be discussed below), Inger Marie Okkenhaug has noted that 'in relation to family

and the Claims of Memory (New York, 2007); Nahla Abdo and Nur Masalha, *An Oral History of the Palestinian Nakba* (London, 2018); Nur Masalha, *The Palestine Nakba: Decolonising History, Narrating the Subaltern, Reclaiming Memory* (London, 2011).

[21] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 60.

[22] Sherman, *Mandate Days,* p. 43.

duties the similarities between Arab women's roles and unmarried British women are obvious'.[23] British women had experienced dramatic changes to their status in society as a result of the First World War, including greater involvement in paid work, increased personal freedom and, for women over the age of thirty, the right to vote.[24] After 1918, however, they remained ultimately responsible to their family unit.[25] The marriage bar required women to give up paid work upon marriage and there was a 'strong social expectation' that daughters would care for their parents when they reached old age.[26] At Anglican schools in Palestine, 'the engagement of a member of staff meant an immediate search for a replacement', and many British women eventually returned to Britain to care for their parents.[27] In line with this, this thesis remains cognizant of the socially constructed femininities that were exported by British women to Mandate Palestine, with ideals of philanthropic, welfarist and domestic femininity shaping British women's interventions and ultimately contributing to hegemonic notions of traditional feminine domesticity in Palestine.

The daily lives of British women in Palestine were similar in many ways to those of British women in other colonial locales in the early to mid-twentieth century. In Jerusalem and Jaffa there were the familiar British 'Clubs' with 'tennis courts, a club house, writing and dining rooms', and formal lunches, afternoon teas and dinners took place throughout the Mandate period.[28] Some British women established an English Dramatic Society, staging productions of Shakespeare and Gilbert and Sullivan, and there were regular musical concerts after the establishment of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra in 1936.[29] One particularly popular activity among missionaries were picnics at spots of biblical interest, taking only the Bible as a guidebook. Whilst few British women spoke or learnt Hebrew, most missionaries, teachers and nurses spent some time learning Arabic following their arrival in the country.

The absence of biographical information about many of the British women in Palestine at this time makes it difficult to ascertain the extent of their previous travels abroad, or to account for their striking lack of comparison between Palestine and other places. Limited records indicate that some CMS missionaries had spent time in Egypt,

[23] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* pp. 281-4.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid*,* p. 282.
[27] Ibid*,* p. 279.
[28] Sherman, *Mandate Days,* pp. 51-9.
[29] Ibid.

Trans-Jordan, Trans Arabia and colonial India (Punjab, Rainawari and Quetta) before arriving in Palestine. The reports and publications of a handful of other British women suggest that they too had spent some time abroad, mostly in other parts of the Middle East. British women's lack of comparison between Palestine and other places remains surprising, however. It is possible that Palestine was typically the first port of call for missionaries, being the Holy Land and thus a place that Christian women already felt that they 'knew' as a site of calling. It is also possible that the singularity of Palestine as the Holy Land might have deterred these women from drawing comparisons with other places.

The community of British women in Palestine between 1920 and 1948 was relatively small. This is evident from the fact that the CMS was the largest British missionary organisation in the country at this time, and in its proceedings for 1921 it listed only seven female British teachers, two female British doctors and two British nurses (male and female) for Palestine.[30] These numbers remained largely unchanged throughout the Mandate period.[31] This research has identified approximately fifty British women who visited or resided in Palestine during the Mandate, and it has endeavoured to engage with sources concerning each of these women (the success of this has varied owing to the mixed quality of their testimonies). Whilst some colonial wives, independent teachers or nurses may have eluded investigation, this thesis hopes to have engaged with the vast majority of British women in Mandate Palestine.

The small size of the British community in the country led some to complain of a dull social life, a saying that was 'current in Jerusalem' being that the city was 'half the size of a cemetery in New York, and twice as dead'.[32] In Sherman's study of the British community in Palestine during this period, he explains that 'the very smallness of the British community in Palestine enforced social conformity: opportunities for breaking the rules were few when virtually every British man and woman was known to many others, and surveillance on and off the job was inescapable'.[33] It is possible

[30] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1920-1921, Church Missionary Society Archives (CMS), Cadbury Research Library (Cadbury).
[31] Four female British teachers, three female British doctors and six nurses were listed for 1929, and fourteen female British teachers, one female British doctor and seven British nurses were listed for 1936. See Report of the Church Missionary Society for the Year 1927-1928, CMS; Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1935-1936, CMS.
[32] Sherman, *Mandate Days,* p. 69.
[33] Ibid, p. 61.

that the small size of this British community accounts for the limits to the range of thinking among British women, as this thesis will discuss. As Christopher Prior has observed in his study of colonial officials in British Africa at this time, biologist Julian Huxley 'noted that even the European who visited Africa only briefly found it difficult to escape a certain intellectual climate which "enfolds him, and because almost everyone he meets tacitly makes the same general assumptions, he very often falls into the current way of thinking"'.[34] This thesis finds this to be true for the relatively insular community of British women in Mandate Palestine.

This is not to suggest that life for the British in Palestine was uneventful, however. On the contrary, violence was palpable throughout the Mandate period. Flashpoints included clashes between Palestinian Arabs and Jews in Jerusalem in 1920, in Jaffa in May 1921, nationwide in August 1929 and again in the Great Revolt of 1936-1939.[35] The source base for this thesis did not reflect a focus on these violent episodes, however. As such, this thesis only engages with these incidents as they affected British women's interactions with the Palestine population in the less discernibly political spaces of the Mandate, whilst recognising that the question of violence and British women is an interesting area for future research.[36]

Summary of Arguments

This thesis' principal original contribution to existing scholarship is the introduction of the concept of multiple intimate colonialisms: in the settler colonial context of Mandate Palestine, where the ethnicity of the colonisers (the British) and the settlers (the Jews) differed, it becomes productive to pluralise Ann Laura Stoler's

[34] Christopher Prior, *Exporting Empire: Africa, Colonial Officials and the Construction of the British Imperial State, c. 1900-39* (Manchester, 2013), p. 86. Quoting Julian Huxley, 'Racial Chess' *The Cornhill Magazine* 69 (1930), p. 538.

[35] Numerous accounts of these violent episodes exist. See Ilan Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 72-140; Alex Winder, 'The 'Western Wall' Riots of 1929: Religious Boundaries and Communal Violence' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 42 (2012) 6-23; Martin Kolinsky, 'Premeditation in the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929?' *Middle Eastern Studies* 26 (1990) 18-34; Matthew Hughes, 'Palestinian Collaboration with the British: The Peace Bands and the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-1939' *Journal of Contemporary History* 51 (2015) 291-315; Matthew Kelly, 'The Revolt of 1936: A Revision' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 44 (2015) 28-42; Matthew Kelly, *The Crime of Nationalism: Britain, Palestine, and Nation-Building on the Fringe of Empire* (Oakland, 2018); Charles Anderson, 'State Formation from Below and the Great Revolt in Palestine' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 47 (2017) 39-55; Muhammad Suwaed, 'The Role of the Bedouin in the Great Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-1939' *Middle Eastern Studies* 11 (1975) 147-74; Mahmoud Yazbak, 'From Poverty to Revolt: Economic Factors in the Outbreak of the 1936 Rebellion in Palestine' *Middle Eastern Studies* 36 (2000) 93-113.

[36] For some recent work on women and violence in Mandate Palestine, see Matthew Hughes, 'Women, Violence and the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-1939' *Journal of Military History* 83 (2019) 523-56.

notion of intimate colonialism. This is the idea that in colonial contexts, people's private and personal lives were important, and it was in the private and personal aspects of life that categories of colonial difference were generated and colonial power was strengthened.[37] In Stoler's words, 'sexual arrangements and affective attachments' were the 'marrow' of empire; matters of intimacy were 'at the heart of colonial politics'.[38] Therefore, 'to study the intimate is not to *turn away* from structures of dominance but to *relocate* their conditions of possibility and relations and forces of production [author's emphasis]'.[39] Distinctly operating at the 'edges' of thoughts that cannot yet be articulated, Stoler's interpretation of colonial intimacy has evolved over time.[40] Kindled by a realisation of the possibilities of drawing connections between colonial power and Michel Foucault's *History of Sexuality,* Stoler first examined colonial intimacy as a 'descriptive marker of the familiar and close at hand' in the Netherlands Indies in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century.[41] Through an analysis of 'domestic arrangements, affective ties and the management of sex', Stoler posited that 'assessments of civility and the cultural distinctions on which racial membership relied were measured less by what people did in public than by how they conducted their private lives… who could be intimate with whom – and in what way' was a 'primary concern' for colonial rulers.[42] Not long after this, Stoler moved away from Dutch colonialism and towards a focus on the United States' empire, necessitating 'a broader sense of imperial intimacies' which 'rechartered [Stoler's] analytic and geographic terrain' to include violent colonial intimacy in carceral spaces too.[43]

Histories of colonial intimacy have tended to focus on European colonialism in Asia, the Pacific and Africa.[44] The concept of colonial intimacy has been little applied to Palestine, and this thesis is the first to investigate colonial intimacy in Palestine

[37] Stoler has built on the work of others here. See Sylvia Van Kirk*, 'Many Tender Ties': Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg, 1980); Albert L. Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque, 1999).
[38] 'An Interview' 498; Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule,* 2nd edn (London, 2010)*,* p. 8.
[39] Ann Laura Stoler (ed.), *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C., 2006)*,* p. 13.
[40] 'An Interview' 502.
[41] Stoler, *Carnal,* p. xxi; Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: An Introduction* (New York, 1978).
[42] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, pp. 2-8.
[43] Stoler, *Haunted*; Stoler, *Carnal,* p. ix.
[44] Stoler, *Haunted,* p. 3.

during the Mandate period.[45] It locates this intimacy in British women's involvement in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab and Jewish lives during the Mandate. This thesis is less focused on European domestic spaces, child-rearing practices and sexual activities than Stoler, owing to the nature of the sources available and the small size of the British community in Palestine, which renders these experiences even more difficult to access. Instead, it groups British women's medical, educational, carceral and social intimacies into five spheres that emerged from the archival and oral evidence base. These spheres make up the five chapters of this thesis, which follows a loose chronological structure of female life stages: maternity and infant welfare, children and education, prostitution and VD, criminality and punishment, and women within and beyond domestic space.

The main analytical argument is that in Mandate Palestine, British women's intimate colonialisms were multiple: there existed a distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community and another intrusive, pervasive intimacy of condescension and sometimes maternalism towards the Palestinian Arab community. That is to say that the private and personal aspects of both Jews' and Palestinian Arabs' lives were key to British women's understandings of these populations, but British women were much more involved with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community throughout the Mandate period. These colonial intimacies took place in homes, schools, reformatories, hospitals, prisons and women's clubs. In each of these sites, British women developed a discourse of difference based on perceived hierarchies framed around child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity, with Jewish boys, girls, men and women situated further up these social scales than their Palestinian Arab counterparts. These hierarchies underpinned the contrasting nature of British women's engagement with these communities: it was Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, homes that British women entered in their attempts to 'modernise' local practices; Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, girls whose character was 'trained' at Christian missionary schools; and it was Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, women and girls who were subjected to reform through domestic duties in Palestine's carceral spaces. Generally, British women engaged with the Palestinian Arab community from a position of condescension.

[45] This omission is a symptom of the broader neglect of Palestine in histories of British colonialism, which Jacob Norris has recently encouraged scholars to address. See Norris, *Land of Progress.*

In contrast, British women had very little involvement in the private and personal aspects of Jewish life during the Mandate. This is evident from a distinct silence in the discourse of these women, to be explored throughout this thesis. British women's main form of engagement with Jewish women was as colonial wives and visiting women's rights campaigners, who enjoyed a social intimacy with some Jewish women, often in the context of Jewish women's associations and charitable organisations. This is best characterised as a paradoxically distant intimacy of respect. British women's lack of direct involvement in the private and personal aspects of Jewish life does not negate the intimacy of this colonial encounter: the private and personal aspects of Jewish life *mattered* to British women and the British colonial authorities in Palestine. These received attention throughout the Mandate, with British women's distant perceptions of Jewish intimate practices shaping and strengthening British colonial hierarchies. It is this that sets British women's distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community apart from a welfarist or indirect form of colonialism. It is additionally worth heeding here the discrepancy between British women's level of contact with the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities and the strength of these perceptions: why did British women not need to know the Jewish community as intimately for Jewish practices to be held up as evidence of the Jewish community's modernity and ultimately superiority compared to the Palestinian Arab population? This disparity probes the (in)validity of colonial knowledge itself.

British women's multiple intimate colonialisms had inconsistencies and limitations, however, which ultimately undermined the strength of this discourse. The perceived sexual immorality of both Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls who worked as prostitutes during the Mandate pushed these individuals beyond British women's racial hierarchies, and some of the most religious British women in Palestine used their Christian understandings of the country to buttress their hierarchical conceptions of the local population. British women's social scales could also be nuanced by an unwillingness to criticise Palestinian Christian mothers and wives in a space of such Christian significance, and some British women found their perceptions nuanced by contact and experience with the population of Palestine. This thesis does not see 'British women' as a monolithic category but engages with variations and divergences of opinion within this group.

Thus, whilst previous scholars have established that matters of intimacy were 'at the heart of colonial politics', this thesis offers a new framework for grappling with the nature of intimate colonialism in specific settler colonial contexts.[46] It was the specific settler colonial situation in Mandate Palestine, where the ethnicity of the colonisers (the British) and the settlers (the Jews) differed, that drove the multiplicity of British women's intimate colonialisms. Whereas in most settler colonial contexts, such as the new world colonies of European settlement, the colonisers and the settlers belonged to the same ethnic group, this was not the case in Mandate Palestine. It was this difference that occasioned the existence of British women's – perhaps unique – paradoxically distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community. Therefore, although this thesis is Palestine based and focused on British women, it makes a broader contribution to studies of colonialism and settler colonialism by offering a framework which may now be productively applied to other settler colonial contexts (such as South Africa).

Literature Review

The Quotidian Level, Second Wave Revisionism and the Settler Colonial Framework

For most of the twentieth century, histories of the British Mandate for Palestine had an 'overwhelming focus on political and military matters'.[47] This was challenged in the late 1990s by historians who sought to examine the more routine aspects of the Mandate.[48] Sherman noted that there was 'curiously little assessment' of the 'British individuals, officials and others, who actually lived and worked in that unquiet country' and, in an attempt to remedy this, allowed British men (and a few women) to 'tell their own stories', interspersing familiar historical narrative with extracts from these

[46] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge,* p. 8.

[47] Nicholas Roberts, 'Re-Remembering the Mandate: Historiographical Debates and Revisionist History in the Study of British Palestine' *History Compass* 9 (2011) 215-30, 217. For examples of this approach see Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *Palestine Under the Mandate: 1920-1948* (Westport, 1976); Bernard Wasserstein, *The British in Palestine: The Mandatory Government and the Arab-Jewish Conflict, 1917-1929* (Oxford, 1978); Michael Cohen, *Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate – The Making of British Policy, 1936-45* (London, 1978); John McTague, *British Policy in Palestine, 1917-1922* (Lanham, 1983); Stein, *The Land Question*; William Roger Louis and Robert W. Stookey, *The End of the Palestine Mandate* (London, 1986); Ritchie Ovendale, *Britain, the United States and the End of the Palestine Mandate, 1942-1948* (London, 1989).

[48] Sherman, *Mandate Days*; Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule in Palestine 1917-1948* (London, 1999); Tom Segev, *One Palestine, Complete* (London, 2000). For a discussion of this shift, see Martin Bunton, 'Mandate Daze: Stories of British Rule in Palestine, 1917-1948' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003) 485-92, 486.

individuals' private papers.[49] Naomi Shepherd also remarked upon the existence of a vast literature 'almost all of which, whether in English, Hebrew or Arabic, centres on high policy and its effects'.[50] Shepherd employed the diaries, letters, reports and memoirs of British officials in Palestine to argue that these individuals were 'ploughing sand' in their attempts to bring the Palestinian Arabs and Jews into a shared administrative structure. In 2000, Tom Segev also used the experiences of 'ordinary' colonial officials 'on the spot' to argue that the British pursued a pro-Zionist policy from the start of the Mandate until their departure from Palestine in May 1948.[51]

This move away from an exclusive focus on the Mandate's political elite and towards the engagements of British rank-and-file personnel, as well as Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities, reflected a broader shift in the late-twentieth century towards recovering the experiences of those who had traditionally been absent from the historical narrative.[52] A key example of this was the work of the Subaltern Studies Group, a collection of scholars of South Asia who in the early 1980s set out to challenge existing interpretations of the Indian freedom movement that had failed to acknowledge 'the contribution made by the people *on their own,* that is, *independently of the elite'* to the struggle for independence.[53] Sherman, Shepherd, and Segev's analyses of previously unexamined sources were also inspired by the work of Israel's New Historians, a group of young Israeli historians, including Ilan Pappé, who in the late 1980s used newly declassified documents to confront the conventional Zionist history of Israel.[54] Although the New Historians focused

[49] Sherman, *Mandate Days,* p. 7.
[50] Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand,* p. 2.
[51] Segev, *One Palestine, Complete*.
[52] Also known as 'history from below' or 'people's history'. See, for example, scholarship arising from the History Workshop movement, including Editorial Collective, 'History Workshop Journal' *History Workshop Journal* 1 (1976) 1-3; Edward Palmer Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, 1963).
[53] Ranajit Guha, 'On Some Aspects of the Historiography of Colonial India' *Subaltern Studies* 1 (1982) 1-8, 3. For some examples of the early work of the Subaltern Studies Group, see Gyan Pandey, 'Peasant Revolt and Indian Nationalism: The Peasant Movement in Awadh, 1919-1922' *Subaltern Studies* 1 (1982) 143-97; David Arnold, 'Rebellious Hillmen: the Gudem-Rampa Risings, 1839-1924' *Subaltern Studies* 1 (1982) 88-142. For the group's impact on the historiography of Latin America, Africa and Ireland, see Latin American Subaltern Studies Group. 'Founding Statement' *Boundary 2* 20 (1993) 110-21; Frederick Cooper, 'Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History' *The American Historical Review* 99 (1994) 1516-45; Terence Ranger, 'Power, Religion and Community: The Matobo Case' *Subaltern Studies* 7 (1993) 221-46; David Lloyd, 'Outside History: Irish New Histories and the 'Subalternity Effect'' *Subaltern Studies* 9 (1996) 261-380.
[54] See Simha Flapan, *The Birth of Israel: Myths and Realities* (New York, 1987); Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949* (Cambridge, 1987); Avi Shlaim, *Collusion Across the Jordan: King Abdullah, the Zionist Movement, and the Partition of Palestine* (New York, 1988); Ilan Pappé, *Britain and the Arab-Israeli Conflict, 1947-51* (Basingstoke, 1988). It is important to note that

predominantly on dispelling the myths surrounding the *Nakba* of 1948, their work gave rise to a 'sustained review' of official Zionist history in its entirety.[55]

In the early 1990s, the New Historians pushed for the replacement of the conventional dual society paradigm with the relational approach for studying Palestine. The dual society paradigm had been predicated on the belief that a 'significant difference' in modernisation between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews justified a 'unique analytical model' for studying the history of modern Palestine.[56] This model had emphasised the differences between Palestinian Arabs and Jews in 'all spheres of life' and resulted in a plethora of scholarly work that failed to account for the connections between the two communities.[57] In 1993, Zachary Lockman labelled this a 'central' problem in histories of modern Palestine and Israel.[58] Whilst Lockman recognised that the shortage of academics with a command of both Arabic and Hebrew had contributed to the development of these distinct narratives, he urged academics to move away from the dual society paradigm as a matter of urgency. In reality, the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities were 'mutually constitutive', each shaped by their economic, political, social and cultural interactions with the other.[59] Less than a decade later in 2000, Ronen Shamir called for yet another revision in historians' approaches to Palestine. Describing the replacement of the dual society paradigm with the relational approach as the 'first wave' of revisionism, Shamir urged that a 'second wave' of revisionism was now necessary, involving 'yet another missing

many of the arguments made by the New Historians had in fact already been made by Palestinian scholars earlier in the twentieth century. See Constantine Zurayq, *Ma'na al-Nakbah* (The Meaning of Disaster) (Beirut, 1948); Musa al-'Alami, *Ibrat Filastin* (Lessons of Palestine) (Beirut, 1949).

[55] Roberts, 'Re-Remembering the Mandate' 218. Gershon Shafir has since explored Zionist settlement in Palestine during the final decades of Ottoman rule, and Avi Shlaim has analysed the impact of the Zionist Iron Wall doctrine up to the end of the twentieth century. See Gershon Shafir, *Land, Labor and the Origins of the Israel-Palestinian Conflict, 1882-1914* (Berkeley, 1996); Avi Shlaim, *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World* (London, 2001).

[56] Ronen Shamir, *The Colonies of Law: Colonialism, Zionism and Law in Early Mandate Palestine* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 15. For a key example of the dual society approach, see Dan Horowitz and Moshe Lissak, *Origins of the Israeli Polity: Palestine under the Mandate* (Chicago, 1978).

[57] Shamir, *The Colonies of Law*, p. 15; Gabriel Piterberg, *The Returns of Zionism* (London, 2008).

[58] Zachary Lockman, 'Railway Workers and Relational History: Arabs and Jews in British-Ruled Palestine' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993) 601-27, 602.

[59] Lockman, 'Railway Workers' 604. The relational approach has since been adopted by a number of scholars, including Mark LeVine, whose scholarship highlights the 'fluid lines of resistance and cooperation' between Palestinians and Jews during the creation of Tel Aviv. See Mark LeVine, *Overthrowing Geography: Jaffa, Tel Aviv, and the Struggle for Palestine, 1880-1948* (Berkeley, 2005), p. 116.

link: the British colonial state in Palestine'.[60] By weaving the attitudes and experiences of British women into the historical narrative, this thesis improves our understandings of the lived realities of the Mandate and contributes to this second wave of revisionism.

Building on these evolving interpretations of the relationships between the Palestinian Arab, Jewish and British communities in Mandate Palestine, the settler colonial paradigm has since been applied to Palestine. Since the mid-2000s, there have been calls to distinguish between colonial and settler colonial phenomena at both a theoretical and practical level, leading to the launch of the *Settler Colonial Studies* journal in 2011. In its inaugural publication, Lorenzo Veracini – a leading scholar of settler colonialism – explained that although colonialism and settler colonialism have traditionally been seen as 'entirely separate' or 'different manifestations of colonialism at large', they must now be understood in 'dialectical relation'.[61] As Veracini put it, 'if I come and say: "you, work for me", it's not the same as saying "you, go away". This is why colonialism is not settler colonialism'.[62] Both colonialism and settler colonialism are based on exogenous domination of an indigenous population backed by a powerful metropole, but they have significant differences. Colonialism is characterised by a group's *temporary* relocation for the primary purpose of exploiting the land and labour of their new (albeit temporary) home.[63] The group typically retains its links with the powerful metropole, and 'a determination to exploit sustains a drive to sustain the permanent subordination of the colonised'.[64] In other words, colonialism seeks to be self-sustaining. Settler colonialism, on the other hand, does not. Settler colonialism is characterised by a group's *permanent* relocation to a land which, contrary to settler colonial claims, is not 'empty' (*terra nullius*) but, importantly, home to an already-existing indigenous population.[65] Settler colonialism is thus premised on a 'logic of elimination', not a logic of exploitation.[66] In the words of another leading scholar of settler colonialism, Patrick Wolfe, 'settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a

[60] Shamir, *The Colonies of Law,* pp. 15-6. For an example of the second wave approach, see Zeina Ghandour, *A Discourse of Domination in Mandate Palestine: Imperialism, Property and Insurgency* (London, 2010).
[61] Lorenzo Veracini, 'Introducing Settler Colonial Studies' *Settler Colonial Studies* 1 (2012) 1-12, 1.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke, 2010), pp. 1-15.
[64] Veracini, 'Introducing Settler Colonial Studies' 2.
[65] Veracini, *Settler Colonialism, A Theoretical Overview,* pp. 1-15, 82.
[66] Patrick Wolfe, 'Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native' *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006) 387-409, 387.

structure not an event'.[67] Settler colonisers seek to sever their links with the powerful metropole that facilitated their movement, in the hope of establishing their own independent political order. Unlike colonialism, settler colonialism is underpinned by 'a persistent drive to ultimately supersede the conditions of its operation'. [68] Over the last fifteen years, this paradigm has proved productive for grappling with the new world colonies of European settlement in the US, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, as well as more recent twentieth century examples of settler colonialism and, most recently, Asian settler colonial contexts.[69]

In 2012, the value of the settler colonial paradigm for studying Palestine was demonstrated in a special edition of *Settler Colonial Studies*. Omar Jabary Salamanca, Mezna Qato, Kareem Rabie, and Sobhi Samour explained that, 'in the absence of a cohesive framework, scholarship often appears to catalogue Zionist practices and offences against Palestinians as a series of distinct – yet related – events', positioning Palestine as 'an exceptional case, constituted in local contexts'.[70] The settler colonial framework, however, offers an analytical and, importantly, practical tool for bringing Palestine into comparison with 'broader struggles – all anti-imperial, all anti-racist, and all struggling to make another world possible'.[71]

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[67] Ibid. See Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London, 1999), p. 2; Wolfe, 'Nation and MiscegeNation: Discursive Continuity in the Post-Mabo Era' *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 36 (1994) 93-152, 96.
[68] Veracini, 'Introducing Settler Colonial Studies' 3.
[69] Walter Hixson, *American Settler Colonialism: A History* (New York, 2013); Frederick Hoxie, 'Retrieving the Red Continent: Settler Colonialism and the History of American Indians in the US' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31 (2008) 1153-67; Annie Coombes, *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa* (Manchester, 2006); Edward Cavanagh, *Settler Colonialism and Land Rights in South Africa: Possession and Dispossession on the Orange River* (Basingstoke, 2013); Angela Woollacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture* (Oxford, 2015); Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (Abingdon, 2016). For literature on twentieth century settler colonialism, see Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York, 2005). For Asian settler colonialism, see Hyung Gu Lynn, 'Malthusian Dreams, Colonial Imaginary: The Oriental Development Company and Japanese Emigration to Korea' in Elkins and Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century,* pp. 25-40; Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu, 2008); Katsuya Hirano, 'Settler Colonialism in the Making of Japan's Hokkaido' in Cavanagh and Veracini (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, pp. 150-62.
[70] Omar Jabary Salamanca, Mezna Qato, Kareem Rabie and Sobhi Samour, 'Past is Present: Settler Colonialism in Palestine' *Settler Colonial Studies* 2 (2012) 1-8, 2-3.
[71] Ibid, 5. The settler colonial framework has brought Palestine into comparison with the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Rhodesia and French Algeria. See Patrick Wolfe, 'Purchase by Other Means: The Palestine *Nakba* and Zionism's Conquest of Economics' *Settler Colonial Studies* 2 (2012) 133-71; Waziyatawin, 'Malice Enough in their Hearts and Courage Enough in Ours: Reflections on US Indigenous and Palestinian Experiences under Occupation' *Settler Colonial Studies* 2 (2012) 172-89; Mike Krebs and Dana M. Olwan, ''From Jerusalem to the Grand River, Our Struggles are One':

The Zionist movement is now recognised in many academic and activist circles as fundamentally settler colonial in nature. Scholars have demonstrated that from its origins in the late-nineteenth century to the present, the Zionist movement has focused on the *permanent* relocation of Jews to the allegedly 'empty' land of historic Palestine.[72] Wolfe's logic of elimination has shaped the Zionist movement's interactions with the indigenous people of Palestine, with 'settler colonial logic' guiding attempts to 'expel, displace and ethnically cleanse Palestinians', including efforts to 'eliminate the indigenous population by assimilating them, discursively erasing them, and denying them their status as natives of – and thus with rights to – the land'.[73] An apt example of this is the 1948 *Nakba,* during which more than half of Palestine's indigenous population were forced to leave their homes, 531 Palestinian villages were destroyed, and all major Palestinian cities were emptied of the majority of their Palestinian inhabitants.[74] These attempts have continued since, with Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza, East Jerusalem and the Golan Heights in 1967 and the 'ongoing *Nakba'* which means that today, millions of Palestinians are living in refugee camps, under military occupation or as second-class citizens within the State of Israel.[75]

A 2019 special issue of the *Contemporary Levant* journal described the settler colonial paradigm as 'conspicuously and shamefully absent' from literature on the

Challenging Canadian and Israeli Settler Colonialism' *Settler Colonial Studies* 2 (2012) 138-64; Elkins and Pedersen (eds.), *Settler Colonialism.* See also recent theses produced at the European Centre for Palestine Studies at the University of Exeter, including Oliver Hayakawa, 'The Quandary of 'Made in China': Economic Survival in the Safe Zone: Palestine's Import Trade from China Since 1994' PhD Thesis, European Centre for Palestine Studies, University of Exeter, 2020; Monica Ronchi, 'Through the Settler's Eye: A Visual History of Indigeneity in French Algeria and Israel/Palestine' PhD Thesis, European Centre for Palestine Studies, University of Exeter, 2020.

[72] The centrality of the concept of 'transfer' in Zionist thought has been revealed in Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians*. On the Zionist founding myth of Palestine as 'a land without people, for a people without land', see Ilan Pappé, *Ten Myths about Israel* (London, 2017), pp. 3-22.

[73] Francesco Amoruso, Ilan Pappé and Sophie Richter-Devoe, 'Introduction: Knowledge, Power and the 'Settler Colonial Turn' in Palestine Studies' *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 21 (2019) 451-63, 453-55; Nadim N. Rouhana, 'Memory and the Return of History in a Settler-Colonial Context: The Case of the Palestinians in Israel' *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 21 (2019) 527-50.

[74] Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine,* p. xiii. See also Pappé, *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of the Palestinians in Israel* (New Haven, 2011) and Walid Khalidi, *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, D.C., 2006).

[75] In 2020, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) reported 1.5 million registered Palestinian refugees in fifty-eight recognised Palestinian refugee camps across Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, of an estimated seven million Palestinian refugees across the globe. Found online at: https://www.unrwa.org/palestine-refugees#:~:text=Nearly%20one%2Dthird%20of%20the,West%20Bank%2C%20including%20East%20Jerusalem (Viewed 14/10/20).

British Mandate, it having taken 'decades for English-language historical literature on the Mandate to clearly and obviously name Zionist developmental policy (and the British enthusiasm for it) for what it was: settler colonialism'.[76] This thesis is the first piece of scholarship to situate British women in Mandate Palestine within the settler colonial framework. By doing so, it contributes to improved understandings of the relationships between, and specificities of, gender and colonial intimacy in settler colonial contexts. In a special issue of the *Settler Colonial Studies* journal that focused on gender and sexuality in 2012, Scott Lauria Morgensen observed that

> the broad array of scholars examining 'intimacies of empire' demonstrates this model's productivity for colonial studies… my concern, however, regards the degree to which the model does or does not yet account for settler colonialism… citations of Stoler have tended to extrapolate from conditions that Patrick Wolfe has called 'franchise colonialism' without asking if settler societies function at all distinctly.[77]

This thesis responds to Morgensen's concerns by arguing that in the specific settler colonial context of Mandate Palestine, where the ethnicity of the colonisers and settlers differed, the intimate colonialism of British women did indeed function distinctly: the nature of these individuals' colonial intimacy varied according to whether it was directed at the local Palestinian Arab or Jewish community. In other words, this gendered colonial intimacy was multiple: there existed a distant intimacy of respect with the Jewish settler community and an intrusive intimacy of condescension towards the indigenous Palestinian Arab community.

Women and Gender in Imperial History

This thesis also contributes to histories of women and gender in empire, but it remains sensible of the pitfalls of earlier scholarship in this field. As with histories of the British Mandate for Palestine, for much of the twentieth century, imperial history focused on male policy-makers and male colonial agents, with the history of women

[76] Banko, 'Historiography and Approaches' 4. For recent applications of the settler colonial paradigm to pre-1948 Palestine, see Barakat, 'Writing/righting'; Gabriel Polley, ''Palestine is Thus Brought Home to England': The Representation of Palestine in British Travel Literature, 1840-1914' PhD Thesis, European Centre for Palestine Studies, University of Exeter, 2020; Adam Hogan, 'Britain and Zionism: Imperial-Settler Relations in the Palestine Mandate' PhD Thesis, European Centre for Palestine Studies, University of Exeter, 2020; Adam Hogan, 'Competing Administrations in Palestine: Imperial Power and Settler Regimes in the British Empire' *Journal of Holy Land and Palestine Studies* (forthcoming).
[77] Morgensen, 'Theorising Gender' 7-8.

and imperialism, in the words of Clare Midgley, deemed to be of 'marginal significance'.[78] As Antoinette Burton has explained, one of the 'foundational presumptions' of imperial history in twentieth century Britain was the 'misapprehension that empire was built in "a fit of absences of wives" or, for that matter, of women'.[79] In the early 1970s, women's history emerged in Britain as a response to feminist dissatisfaction with the marginalisation of women, as well as labour and social historians' focus on class at the expense of women.[80] The growing interest in women's history combined with an increasing attentiveness to the social and cultural effects of empire, and historians began for the first time to explore women in empire. Initial studies were mostly conducted by Anglo-American scholars and focused on the experiences of white women in India and Africa between the 1860s and 1940s.[81] These studies fell into two camps: 'recovery' work, which evidenced 'the scope of women's involvement in the Empire'; and 'recuperative' scholarship, which endeavoured to 'debunk myths of the "destructive" female' whose racism was responsible for the deterioration of relations between the coloniser and the colonised.[82]

This scholarship effectively disputed the long-held misconception that women had been absent from empire, but it came under attack for several reasons.[83] Jane Haggis criticised scholars of the 'recuperative' camp for their uncritical interpretation of white women as 'positive contributors both to the white experience of colonialism… and to the black experience', neglecting the numerous ways in which white women had furthered the subjugation and oppression of the colonised.[84] Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel likewise rebuked early scholars of women and empire for their lack of attention to the 'complexity' of Western women's roles in colonised spaces, a

[78] Clare Midgley, *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester, 1998), p. 1.
[79] Antoinette Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill, 1994), p. 16.
[80] Midgley, *Gender,* p. 2.
[81] Elisa Camiscioli, 'Women, Gender, Intimacy and Empire' *Journal of Women's History* 25 (2013) 138-48, 139.
[82] Midgley, *Gender,* p. 7. For examples of the 'recovery' approach see Margaret MacMillan, *Women of the Raj* (New York, 1988) and Joanna Trollope, *Britannia's Daughters: Women of the British Empire* (London, 1983). For the 'recuperative' approach see Helen Callaway, *Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (London, 1987) and Claudia Knapman, *White Women in Fiji, 1835-1930: The Ruin of Empire?* (Boston, 1986).
[83] Burton, *Burdens of History,* p. 16.
[84] Jane Haggis, 'Gendering Colonialism or Colonising Gender? Recent Women's Studies Approaches to White Women and the History of British Colonialism' *Women's Studies International Forum* 13 (1990) 105-15, 109.

proclivity to 'oversimplify' resulting in a polarised interpretation of white women as either advocates of colonial domination or intransigent opponents to it.[85] This early scholarship was also criticised for exploring the experiences of white women in the colonies at the expense of women of colour, who remained invisible in histories of empire.[86] This reproval was part of a broader critique of the Euro-centrism of the Western women's movement from the 1980s onwards, namely that the experiences of white women were being centralised to the detriment of women of the Global South. According to Chandra Talpade Mohanty, by neglecting to explore the 'historical heterogeneities of the lives of women in the third world', these early studies contributed to the misconception of a 'composite, singular "third-world woman"', and, as Antoinette Burton explained, were therefore 'no more exempt from the political impact of the locations which produce, without finally determining, them than those of traditional imperial historians have been'.[87]

Also relevant to this thesis is the fact that histories of empire were increasingly shaped by gender as an emerging category of analysis at this time. In 1986, Joan Scott argued that gender was both a 'constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes' and a 'primary way of signifying relationships of power', and therefore a productive tool for historical analysis.[88] In the context of the history of empire, a gendered approach involves awareness that the construction of imperialism was at its heart a 'masculine enterprise', as well as an

[85] Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington, 1992), pp. 3-4.
[86] Haggis, 'Gendering Colonialism' 113.
[87] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses' *Feminist Review* 30 (1988) 61-88, 62; Antoinette Burton, 'Rules of Thumb: British History and 'Imperial Culture' in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Britain' *Women's History Review* 3 (1994) 483-501, 488. A prominent historian of women and gender in empire who remains heedful of these dangers is Clare Midgley, whose recent scholarship has explored cross-cultural connections and collaboration between Bengali and British and American women of liberal religious groups in the nineteenth century. See Midgley, 'Transoceanic Commemoration and Connections Between Bengali Brahmos and British and American Unitarians' *The Historical Journal* 54 (2011) 773-96; Midgley, 'Liberal Religion and the 'Woman Question' between East and West: Perspectives from a Nineteenth-Century Bengali Women's Journal' *Gender and History* 25 (2013) 445-60; Midgley, 'Mary Carpenter and the Brahmo Samaj of India: A Transnational Perspective on Social Reform in the Age of Empire' *Women's History Review* 22 (2013) 363-85; Midgley, 'Indian feminist Pandita Ramabai and Transnational Liberal Religious Networks in the Nineteenth-Century World' in Midgley, Alison Twells and Julie Carlier (eds.), *Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global* (Abingdon, 2016) pp. 13-32; Midgley, 'The Cosmopolitan Biography of the English Religious Liberal, Feminist and Writer, Sophia Dobson Collet' in Jane Haggis, Clare Midgley, Margaret Allen and Fiona Paisley (eds.), *Cosmopolitan Lives on the Cusp of Empire: Interfaith, Cross-Cultural and Transnational Networks, 1860-1950* (Cham, 2017) pp. 13-35.
[88] Joan Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis' *The American Historical Review* 91 (1986) 1053-75, 1067.

analysis of social and cultural notions of femininity and masculinity for both the coloniser and the colonised, and the study of the relations between these notions and imperial power.[89] As Durba Ghosh has explained, the field of gender and colonialism concerns itself with 'the ways in which colonialism restructured gender dynamics of both colonizing and colonized societies'.[90] Philippa Levine also asserts that the 'construction, practice and experience' of empire for both the coloniser and the colonised was 'always and everywhere gendered, that is to say, influenced in every way by people's understanding of sexual difference and its effects, and by the roles of men and women in the world'.[91] This is not to suggest that these historians perceive gender as the sole, or indeed the most important category of analysis for the study of empire. On the contrary, these scholars emphasise the importance of an intersectional approach, attending to race, class, sexuality and gender. Anne McClintock describes the 'intimate relations' between race, gender and class, and asserts that 'no social category exists in privileged isolation - each comes into being in social relation to other categories, if in uneven and contradictory ways'.[92] Levine similarly calls for the use of gender 'as a key but by no means unique analytic'.[93]

The present thesis is inspired by these developments in the study of women, gender and empire. Firstly, care will be taken to avoid the pitfalls of early studies of women and empire: not only will the attitudes of female British missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, nurses, doctors, journalists, women's rights campaigners and colonial wives be interrogated in a critical fashion, but opportunities will be sought where possible to hear the voices of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and children. Secondly, this thesis will engage with the notion that a society's treatment of women was considered evidence of that society's 'degree of civilisation': 'the behaviour, the demeanour, and the position of women thus became a fulcrum by which the British measured and judged those they colonized'.[94] Whereas people of European descent were considered respectful towards women, colonised peoples of 'savage societies'

[89] Midgley, *Gender,* p. 7.
[90] Durba Ghosh, 'Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?' *The Historical Journal* 47 (2004) 737-55, 737.
[91] Philippa Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?' in Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1-12, p. 2.
[92] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York, 1995), pp. 5-9.
[93] Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?' p. 1.
[94] Ibid, pp. 6-7.

were perceived as 'cruel to their womanfolk'.[95] This thesis will investigate the extent to which this is applicable to female British perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities in Mandate Palestine, particularly in Chapter Five on the status of women within and beyond domestic spaces.[96] Thirdly, gender will be utilised throughout as a lens through which to explore female British perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities. How did British women's conceptions of femininity influence their perceptions of these communities? And to what extent did British women conceive of their involvement with these communities as gendered?

This research will also interpret the body as a site of colonial power. Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton have brought to light the many ways in which 'women's bodies (and, to a lesser degree, men's) have been a subject of concern, scrutiny, anxiety, and surveillance in a variety of times and places across the world'.[97] Burton and Ballantyne explain that by foregrounding the body in studies of empire, 'the plantation, the theatre, the home, the street, the school, the club, and the marketplace are now visible as spaces where people can be seen to have experienced modes of imperial and colonial power'.[98] Engagement with this notion of the body as a site of colonial governance and anxiety will create more opportunities to interrogate British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities during the Mandate period.

Histories of Women in Mandate Palestine

Despite the move away from an exclusive focus on male policy-makers and male colonial agents, there is still a surprising lack of scholarship on women in Palestine during the British Mandate period.[99] Noting that Palestinian Arab women have been 'almost completely absent' from histories of the Mandate, Ellen

[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid, p. 6.
[97] Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds.), *Bodies in Contact; Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, 2005), p. 4.
[98] Ibid, p. 5.
[99] For literature on women and gender in Palestine beyond the Mandate period, see Nahla Abdo, *Family, Women and Social Change in the Middle East: The Palestinian Case* (Toronto, 1987); Nahla Abdo, 'Women of the Intifada: Gender, Class and National Liberation' *Race and Class* 32 (1991) 19-34; Simona Sharoni, *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Women's Resistance* (Syracuse, 1995); Nadia Elia, 'Justice is Indivisible: Palestine as a Feminist Issue' *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 6 (2017) 45-53; Sophie Richter-Devroe, *Women's Political Activism in Palestine: Peacebuilding, Resistance, and Survival* (Urbana, 2018); Bilal Tawfiq Hamamra, 'The Misogynist Representation of Women in Palestinian Oral Tradition: A Socio-Political Study' Journal of Gender Studies 29 (2020) 214-26.

Fleischmann and Ela Greenberg have recently attempted to recover the experiences of these individuals.[100] Fleischmann has examined the contribution of Palestinian Arab women to the Palestinian nationalist struggle at this time, and Greenberg has explored the development of Muslim girls' education as fundamental to Palestinian narratives of modernisation and nationalism in the late Ottoman and British Mandate periods.[101] Jewish women in the *Yishuv* (Hebrew: the Jewish community in historic Palestine prior to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948) have also remained 'largely ignored' in 'overwhelmingly male dominant' histories of the Mandate.[102] Recently, the women of the *Yishuv* have received increasing attention from historians, most notably from Margalit Shilo.[103] As in the scholarship on Palestinian Arab women, however, this literature remains centred around nationalist narratives. This thesis will engage with this scholarship to foreground the inconsistencies between British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls and the lived realities of these individuals during the Mandate.

There have also been some valuable attempts in recent years to recover the histories of British women in twentieth century Palestine from Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Nancy Stockdale. Okkenhaug and Stockdale have built on Billie Melman's scholarship, which in 1992 challenged Edward Said's binary oppositions of East and West and argued instead that English female travellers, ethnographers, missionaries, pilgrims and scientists in Palestine between 1718 and 1918 experienced a 'solidarity of gender' with their Palestinian Arab counterparts, overcoming any religious, cultural or ethnic differences.[104] Developing this, in 2002, Okkenhaug drew attention to the fact that published histories of pre-1948 Palestine rendered an 'overwhelmingly male

[100] Ellen Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948* (California, 2003), p. 3; Ela Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow: Education and Islam in Mandate Palestine* (Austin, 2010).
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ruth Kark, Margalit Shilo and Galit Hasan-Rokem (eds.), *Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel* (Lebanon, Pennsylvania, 2008), p. 1.
[103] A key example of this is Kark, Shilo and Hasan-Rokem (eds.), *Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel.* See also Margalit Shilo, *Girls of Liberty: The Struggle for Suffrage in Mandatory Palestine* (Waltham, 2015); Shilo, 'Professional Women in the Yishuv in Mandatory Palestine: Shaping a New Society and a New Hebrew Woman' *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues* 34 (2019) 33-52; Shilo, 'Women as Victims of War: The British Conquest (1917) and the Blight of Prostitution in the Holy City' *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* 6 (2003) 72-83; Hannah Safran, 'International Struggle, Local Victory: Rose Welt Straus and the Achievement of Suffrage, 1919-1926' in Kark, Shilo and Hasan-Rokem (eds.), *Jewish Women in Pre-State Israel,* pp. 217-28; Talia Pfefferman, 'Separate Spheres, Intertwined Spheres: Home, Work and Family among Jewish Women Business Owners in the Yishuv' *Journal of Israeli History* 32 (2013) 7-28; Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman, 'The Complex Identity of Religious-Zionist Women in Pre-State Israel' *Israel Studies* 11 (2006) 83-107.
[104] Melman, *Women's Orients,* p. 8.

account' of this formative period in the history of modern Palestine and Israel.[105] In an attempt to redress the scant attention paid to 'female participants in this story', Okkenhaug contributed a 'gender-oriented history of the pre-1948 period', focusing specifically on female Anglican missionary teachers of the JEM at the two most prestigious mission schools for girls in Palestine between 1888 and 1948: the Jerusalem Girls' College and the English High School in Haifa.[106] Okkenhaug argued that these Anglican missionary women had a 'clear-cut definition' of their role in the country. They sought to introduce their students to the notion of the 'modern woman', the idea that a woman should teach or serve society for some time before marriage, and they endeavoured to establish 'a peaceful multi-cultural environment in a society characterised by religious and ethnic strife'.[107] This was to be achieved through the creation of 'a new, non-national identity for the future influential segment of Palestinian society'.[108] According to Okkenhaug, British women in Palestine were characterised by their 'moral [sic], staying power and courage'.[109]

In 2007, Stockdale characterised Okkenhaug's work as 'intricately researched' but nevertheless 'a quite innocuous, even glorified interpretation of European mission and empire in the Holy Land'.[110] Inspired by work on the politics of scholarship on women of the Global South, Stockdale provided a more critical reading of the role of English women in nineteenth and twentieth century Palestine.[111] Concerned that no scholarship had yet 'tackled directly the issue of English women's complicity in replicating popular and Orientalist stereotypes about Palestine', Stockdale examined the travel literature, correspondence and accounts of English female tourists, missionaries and government wives between 1800 and 1948.[112] Stockdale concluded that all through this 150-year period, 'English women – through their representations of and interactions with Palestinian women and girls – "othered" the natives of

[105] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. vii.
[106] Ibid*,* pp. vii-9.
[107] Ibid*,* pp. xiv-xxx.
[108] Ibid*,* p. 330.
[109] Ibid*,* p. 324.
[110] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 9. See also Nancy Stockdale, 'Okkenhaug: The Quality of Heroic Living, of High Endeavour and Adventure: Anglican Mission, Women and Education in Palestine, 1888-1948' *Journal of Palestine Studies* (2003) 100-1.
[111] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 12. For examples of this scholarship, see Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley, 1999); Abu-Lughod, *Writing Women's Worlds: Bedouin Stories* (Berkeley, 1993); Henrietta Moore, *A Passion for Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender* (Cambridge, 2005); Sharoni, *Gender and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict.*
[112] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 9.

Palestine'.[113] English women 'consistently reproduced' a portrait of Palestinian Arab women as 'degraded' and as 'victims of a society that taught them to think of themselves as animals rather than human beings'.[114] Stockdale additionally asserted the centrality of the Bible to English women's perceptions of Palestine's population, claiming that a 'tendency to conflate biblical time and events with scenes of life in modern Palestine' was 'constant' among English women throughout this period.[115] Hagit Krik's 2018 Hebrew-language thesis has also touched on the experiences of a dozen British women in Palestine during the Mandate.[116] Although there is some overlap with the present thesis, the focus of Krik's scholarship is largely different and engages with the testimonies of only a dozen British women during the Mandate period.

By bringing the attitudes and experiences of welfare workers, CMS missionaries, teachers, nurses and journalists into existing conversations on British missionaries, colonial wives and travellers to twentieth century Palestine, as well as extending the scope of the inquiry to include the previously unexplored spheres of prostitution, VD, criminality and punishment, and focusing specifically on the British Mandate period (1920-1948), this thesis complicates and challenges Okkenhaug and Stockdale's seminal scholarship on this topic. It demonstrates that across various realms of the intimate throughout the Mandate, the nature of British women's colonialisms varied according to the local community at which they were directed. Any attempts to establish 'peaceful multi-cultural environments' in Palestine were undermined by British women's discourses of difference and their 'othering' of Palestine's population was complicated by their racialised hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity.[117] This underpinned British women's greater involvement in the private and personal practices of the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community throughout the Mandate, as well as their social relationship with perceived peers (or near peers) among the Jewish community. Chapters One and Two

[113] Ibid*,* p. 1; Nancy Stockdale, 'Palestinian Girls and the British Missionary Enterprise, 1847-1948' in J. Helgen and C. Vasconellos (eds.), *Girlhood: A Global History* (New Brunswick, 2010) pp. 217-33.
[114] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* pp. 17, 134.
[115] Ibid*,* pp. 18, 60-61; Nancy Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood: English Women and Empire in Palestine, 1848-1948' *Women's History Review* 15 (2006) 561-9.
[116] Hagit Krik, 'Colonial Lives in Palestine, 1920-1948: Society and Culture in a Mandate Territory' PhD Thesis, Zvi Yavetz School of Historical Studies, Tel Aviv University, 2018 [Hebrew]. Many thanks to Hagit for discussing this work with me in Jerusalem and to Ilan Pappé for translating parts of Krik's thesis.
[117] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. xxx.

of this thesis will additionally challenge Stockdale's argument that there was a 'tendency to conflate biblical time and events with scenes of life in modern Palestine' that was 'constant' among English women in the country between 1800 and 1948.[118] Whilst this applied to some of the most religious British women in Palestine during this period, mostly missionaries, who drew comparisons between Palestinian Arabs and characters from the Bible, these comparisons were not drawn with the Jewish population, who were seen by missionaries as representatives of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Palestine, as part of British women's broader hierarchies of modernity and civilisation.

Colonial Discourse Analysis, The 'Intimate' and Domestic Space

In building on this seminal scholarship, this thesis draws in places on colonial discourse analysis. In 1978, Edward Said published *Orientalism,* shifting 'the analysis of colonialism, imperialism and the struggles against it' to 'the question of discourse… effectively founding postcolonial studies as an academic discipline'.[119] A particularly interesting critique of Said's work came from literary critic Homi Bhabha, who took issue with Said's notion of Orientalism as a totalising discourse, from which it was impossible to remove oneself. Bhabha asked how, if Orientalist discourse was as totalising and absolute as Said claimed, had Said himself managed to critique it? Bhabha used the concept of ambivalence to explain this contradiction, arguing that colonial discourse is plagued by multiple ambivalences.[120] Colonial discourse is 'complex, ambivalent and contradictory… as anxious as it is assertive', and it is constituted by 'multiple beliefs and split subjects', rather than a uniform notion of the 'Other'.[121] Bhabha's probing of the ambiguity of colonial discourse was furthered in the late-twentieth century by literary critic Gayatri Spivak. Like Bhabha, Spivak takes issue with the alleged strength of Orientalist discourse, but uses the deconstructive practice to problematise the notion of a monolithic colonial subject and colonising power, and

[118] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 18; Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood'.
[119] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978); Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 383-4. See also Edmund Burke III and David Prochaska (eds.), *Genealogies of Orientalism: History, Theory, Politics* (London, 2008); Zachary Lockman, *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism* (Cambridge, 2010); Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader* (Abingdon, 2013).
[120] Homi Bhabha, 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse' *October* 28 (1984) 125-33.
[121] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 2004), pp. 100-6.

encourages us to be mindful of the limits to our understanding of the past.[122] This scholarship by Bhabha and Spivak inspires this thesis' foregrounding of the inconsistencies and limitations in British women's multiple intimate colonialisms during the Mandate, specifically the variations in their racial and cultural hierarchies and the ways in which these social scales were subverted by experience and contact with Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities.

The first historical critique of the notion of a monolithic Other was born of this heightened awareness of the indeterminacy and ambiguity of colonial discourse. In 1997, Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler explored the 'moving categories' and 'quotidian repercussions' of the 'most basic tension of empire', which had become a 'central, if now obvious' point of scholarship by 1997: 'namely, that the otherness of colonized persons was neither inherent nor stable; his or her difference had to be defined and maintained'.[123] Cooper and Stoler argued that the 'weighty "ism" so often attached to "colonial"' obscured the fact that colonial difference was 'continuously' in flux throughout every colonial project: colonial difference had 'weighted differently at different times', varied from colony to colony within empire (and even within the same colony) and differed as people 'conceptualized their own participation and goals in distinct ways'.[124] As explained earlier, in her 2002 publication on the Netherlands Indies, Stoler emphasised the blurring of boundaries between coloniser and colonised, this time in the domain of the intimate.[125]

This foregrounding of the 'intimate' has been part of a broader shift towards recognising domestic space as a productive site for interrogating the lived realities of empire and the constitution of racial identity in this context. In 2003, Elizabeth Buettner explored the relationship between family and empire in late colonial India, describing family and empire as 'two fields of study that have rarely converged to date'.[126] Buettner introduced the concept of the coloniser's domestic space as a 'transnational intermediate zone' and argued that for many Britons in late colonial India, the home was 'reducible neither to metropolitan nor indigenous colonized society'.[127] Instead,

[122]Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward A History of the Vanishing Present* (London, 1999), p. 207.
[123] Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 7.
[124] Ibid, pp. 4-24.
[125] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge.*
[126] Elizabeth Buettner, *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (Oxford, 2004), p. 3.
[127] Ibid, pp. 2-6.

domestic space encapsulated 'the differences, yet simultaneously the inseparability and blurrings of boundaries' between the metropole and the colony.[128] The significance of British domestic spaces and British family life in the context of empire has also recently been demonstrated by Emily Manktelow in her work on the connections between the private and public lives of London Missionary Society families.[129] Inspired by this shift, this thesis engages with British domestic space and family life in Mandate Palestine, specifically in Chapter Two on children and education.

This necessitates engagement with children as historical actors in their own right and as 'referents of cultural authority'.[130] Until recently, historians had perceived childhood as no more than a preparatory stage for adulthood, the paramount stage of human existence. According to Heidi Morrison, childhood has traditionally been seen by historians as 'a period of transition when the being moves from a *nobody* to a *somebody*'.[131] This has left children in the margins of many areas of historical inquiry and eclipsed the specificity of children's experiences in the past. Lately, a growing number of historians have endeavoured to bring children out of the margins of history, recognising them instead as historical actors possessing agency, and highlighting the importance of understanding inter-generational relationships.[132] David Pomfret has argued that in colonial contexts, children possessed a unique ability to destabilise colonial boundaries: 'in colonial homes and in public spaces, young people never merely maintained empires' social and racial hierarchies; they also destabilised them'.[133] Children 'forge[d] contacts across lines of ethnicity' which disrupted 'the conventional picture of "stable" groups in colonial societies'.[134] Pomfret has also demonstrated that as child-rearing practices became increasingly associated with European claims for political and cultural authority in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, childhood became a 'key resource' for delimiting racial difference between the coloniser and the colonised.[135] This thesis contends that in the settler

[128] Ibid.
[129] Emily Manktelow, *Missionary Families: Race, Gender and Generation on the Spiritual Frontier* (Manchester, 2013).
[130] David Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia* (Stanford, 2016), p. 4.
[131] Heidi Morrison, *Childhood and Colonial Modernity in Egypt* (Hampshire, 2015), p. 9.
[132] Morrison attributes this historiographical shift to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, which asserted that children were the 'subject of rights (and not objects of concern)' and could 'engage in making decisions that impact them'. See Morrison, *Childhood and Colonial Modernity,* p. 9.
[133] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire,* p. 6.
[134] Ibid, pp. 4-5.
[135] Ibid, p. 3.

colonial context of Mandate Palestine where the ethnicity of the colonisers and the settlers differed, whilst infant and child-rearing practices were used to delimit differences between the British colonisers and the indigenous Palestinian Arab population, these practices were not used to distinguish between the British colonisers and the Jewish settlers. This will be explored in Chapter One, whilst Chapter Two will be alert to the possibility of British, Palestinian Arab and Jewish children destabilising colonial boundaries.

Methodology and Limitations

As with any historical study of a marginalised group, this research has required creative efforts to hear the voices of British as well as some Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and children during the Mandate. Felicity Berry has lamented that 'given the racialized and gendered nature of many archives… women and non-anglophone groups often form only fleeting or shadowy presences in elite, male, and Eurocentric collections'.[136] This is particularly the case for the colonial archive: Jacques Derrida reminds us to see archival institutions as sites of both the '*commencement* and *commandment'* of power, and Ann Laura Stoler warns that archival institutions are places of 'knowledge production', not simply 'knowledge retrieval'.[137]

There are no specific repositories for source material relating to the British women who visited or resided in Mandate Palestine between 1920 and 1948 as missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, colonial wives, nurses, doctors, women's rights campaigners and journalists. Whilst many of these women would have set aside time each day or week to keep a diary and write to their loved ones back in Britain, one is aware that much relevant information was never recorded, has since been discarded, or is simply inaccessible to the academic researcher. The source material that has been unearthed for the purpose of this thesis is necessarily diverse, in both nature and geographic location. It comprises the official and personal correspondence, reports, articles, autobiographies and memoirs of British women, as well as the papers of relevant Britain and Palestine-based organisations and associations, and official

[136] Felicity Berry, ''Home Allies': Female Networks, Tensions and Conflicted Loyalties in India and Van Diemen's Land, 1826-49' *Journal of World History* 26 (2015) 757-84, 760.
[137] Jacques Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression' *Diacritics* 25 (1995) 9-63, 9; Stoler, 'Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance' *Archival Science* 2 (2002) 87-109, 87.

colonial sources, all located in homes, libraries and archives across Britain, East Jerusalem, Israel, Beirut and Washington, D.C.

The evidentiary basis for this thesis is therefore overwhelmingly archival in nature, supplemented by a selection of oral history interviews conducted with British and Palestinian Arab women in Britain, Haifa and East Jerusalem in 2018 and 2019. The Cadbury Research Library at the University of Birmingham, the Middle East Centre Archive at St Antony's College and the Bodleian Library in Oxford, home to the archival collections of the CMS, JEM and CMJ respectively, have proved productive for accessing missionary perspectives, primarily in the form of annual letters but also reports, publications, newsletters, pamphlets, and books for children written and illustrated by British female missionaries in Palestine. Material relating to the activities of the Save the Children Fund and the Overseas Nursing Association in Mandate Palestine has also been unearthed at the Cadbury Research Library and the Bodleian Library respectively.

It is unfortunate that many of the personal papers of British women in Mandate Palestine cannot be located. The papers of a few of these women have been discovered for the purposes of this thesis at the Women's Library at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in London, the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem, and the Middle East Centre Archive at St Antony's. These have proven valuable for gleaning the nature of the attitudes and interventions of colonial wives, teachers and welfare workers in various spheres of the intimate during the Mandate period. The published books and articles of British women, consulted at the British Library and the Palestine Studies Centre in Beirut, have also proved critical to this project.

The papers of relevant Britain and Palestine-based organisations and associations have also been investigated. These include the papers of the SSA and the PWC, dispersed between the Central Zionist Archives and the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem, as well as the papers of the British Social Hygiene Council and the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene at the Wellcome Library, the British Library and the Women's Library at LSE. The annual reports of the British Administration, the Department of Health Reports for the duration of the Mandate, and other relevant Colonial Office files have also been explored at the Israel State Archives in Jerusalem and the National Archives in Kew.

All of these sources present limitations, however. Whether they were in Palestine as missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, nurses, doctors, journalists or colonial wives, British women sought to portray to their family, friends and superiors a particular image of their intervention in the country. This could be because they were working in the Holy Land and thus felt that their work acquired a particularly spiritual quality, or because they wished to make their family, friends and superiors proud. These considerations operated in varying and multiple ways, with the picture painted by British women fluctuating according to the recipient or audience of each individual letter or report. The same applies to the internal and external-facing papers of various Britain and Palestine-based bodies during the Mandate, including the SSA, the PWC and the British Administration. It is hoped, however, that the varied nature of the sources examined for this thesis, and of the archives to which they belong, lessens this problem.

These considerations also determined the information that was and was not recorded by British women and others during the Mandate period. Stoler encourages us to read along, not just against, the archival grain for this very reason, and to utilise omissions and silences to better grasp the realities of colonial encounters.[138] This approach is particularly productive when it comes to British women's discourses on the intimate practices of the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities during the Mandate, as a marked silence surrounding Jewish intimate praxis pervades each chapter of this thesis. This research thus utilises these silences in order to better understand the nature of British women's colonialism in Palestine.

This issue of silences speaks to another limitation of this archival source base, namely the extent to which the voices of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women can be heard. As will be seen in the chapters that follow, attempts have been made throughout to hear the voices of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women, but British women's voices dominate the narrative. There are several reasons for this. Firstly, my limited Arabic and Hebrew-language skills. Although I have learnt Arabic with some Hebrew since the start of this project, I am not – yet – able to qualitatively analyse early-mid-twentieth century Arabic, Hebrew and Yiddish-language sources. This is partly due to the fact that the Arabic I studied at a Western academic institution was Modern Standard Arabic which, as I was alarmed to discover during my first visit to the occupied

[138] Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton, 2009).

Palestinian territories and Israel in April 2018, is very different to colloquial Palestinian Arabic. Reflecting on her own fieldwork in the region, Ellen Fleischmann has noted that even the word for 'Mandate' in classical Arabic (*intidab)* is 'meaningless' to most Palestinians of the Mandate generation.[139] This was nevertheless an important lesson which led to my enrolment on a Palestinian Arabic course in East Jerusalem in April 2019. Although I cannot yet read Arabic-language sources, my limited Arabic skills did prove useful in establishing relationships throughout my fieldwork.

I was prepared to work with a translator on any relevant Arabic, Hebrew or Yiddish-language sources that emerged during my fieldwork, but such sources proved difficult to find. This is partly due to the brevity of the British Mandate for Palestine, described by Nicholas Roberts as 'a relative blip' in the history of empire.[140] It is also due to the dispersed nature of Palestinian sources, a consequence of the global dispersal of the Palestinian people and their historical records and memories in 1948 and again in 1967, and the attendant 'confiscation, control, and restriction of access by the Israelis to the archival materials, personal papers, and the like that remain in geographic Palestine'.[141] As Rosemary Sayigh explained in 2015, 'national [Palestinian] movement leaders have neglected the role of popular history in protracted struggle against a powerful occupier… periodic Israeli attacks have rendered the systematic collection of such records precarious, leaving them to be gathered in hundreds of local or domestic sites'.[142] Today there is still no Palestinian national archive. Fleischmann has also noted that in her pioneering work on Palestinian women, she had hoped to engage with the personal papers of Palestinian women, but realised on her arrival in the West Bank that these sources were 'long lost, destroyed, or dispersed; or if still in existence, were largely irretrievable or inaccessible'.[143] This is particularly the case for Palestinian peasant women, who constituted the majority of Palestinian women during the Mandate, and who are 'doubly marginalized by social class and gender… peasant and poor urban women as

[139] Ellen Fleischmann, 'Crossing the Boundaries of History: Exploring Oral History in Researching Palestinian Women in the Mandate Period' *Women's History Review 5* (1996) 351-71, 356.
[140] Roberts, 'Re-Remembering the Mandate' 216.
[141] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* pp. 11-2.
[142] Rosemary Sayigh, 'Oral History, Colonialist Dispossession, and the State: the Palestinian Case' *Settler Colonial Studies* 5 (2015) 193-204, 193.
[143] Fleischmann, 'Crossing the Boundaries' 351.

well have traditionally not been deemed worthy historical subjects – not even in their own view sometimes'.[144]

This thesis features selected oral history interviews with Palestinian Arab and British women who as children encountered the adult women who are the subject of this thesis. As the British Mandate ended over seventy years ago, it was not possible to interview any British women who were missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, nurses, doctors, journalists or colonial wives. Four interviews have been conducted for the purposes of this thesis with women who grew up in Mandate Palestine and encountered these British women: two with Palestinian Arab women and two with British women. The former were identified through research networks established during my fieldwork in the occupied Palestinian territories and Israel in 2018 and 2019, and the latter through the British Palestine Police Association. All four interviews were conducted in English, but my Arabic proved useful in establishing the research networks that led to these interviews, as well as my continuing friendships with these women. Three out of four of these interviews took place in the homes of these women (the exception being one place of work), and the hours spent with these generous and interesting individuals were one of the highlights of this project.

All interviews were loosely structured around questions shared with participants in advance of the interview, beginning with basic personal information and then moving on to childhood memories including schooling, home life and their interactions with British women. All participants were offered the chance to remain anonymous but declined, and at all times the ethical guidelines set out by the Oral History Society were followed. Analysis of these interviews alongside archival sources furnishes this thesis with an insight into Palestinian Arab and British children's experiences during the Mandate period and, significantly, shows that British women's multiple intimate colonialisms could be undermined by British children in the country through their fascination with the Arabic language, their relationships with Palestinian Arab adults and children, and their enchantment with Palestinian food.

As with Fleischmann's scholarship on the Palestinian women's movement during this period, this thesis does not purport to offer a 'representative' account of British women's attitudes and interventions during the Mandate.[145] As with any

[144] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 22.
[145] Ellen Fleischmann, 'Jerusalem Women's Organisations During the British Mandate, 1920s-1930s' *Palestinian Academic Society for the Study of International Affairs* (March 1995) 10.

historical research on women, gender and Palestine, source material has been difficult to locate. Rather, in the words of one Palestinian woman interviewed by Fleischmann, this thesis offers 'a window to a world'.[146] This world was one of British women who spent time in Palestine between 1920 and 1948 and whose attitudes and interventions shed light on the nature of British colonialism in this settler colonial context.

Chapter Overview

The five chapters of this thesis constitute the five spheres in which archival and oral sources reveal British women to have been most involved in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab and Jewish lives, ordered according to a loose chronological structure of female life stages: maternity and infant welfare; children and education; female sexual deviancy; female criminality and punishment; and the status of women within and beyond the home. Chapters One and Two focus predominantly on missionaries, teachers, nurses and doctors in Palestine, exploring how these individuals' discourses of difference and hierarchies of child-rearing and modernity tied into their contrasting engagements with the local population. Chapters Three, Four and Five focus on welfare workers and colonial wives, examining their hierarchies of agency and modernity and the corresponding differences in the nature and degree of their intimate colonialisms during the Mandate.

British women's attitudes towards Jewish and Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare provision and practice are explored in **Chapter One**. This includes childbirth and midwifery praxis, the feeding, bathing and weighing of infants, and notions of cleanliness within the home. This chapter posits that British women's discourse on mothers and infants was dominated by the belief that the Jewish community's provision and practice in this sphere was superior to and more modern than that of the Palestinian Arab community. This was reflected in many missionaries' contrasting engagements with Jewish and Palestinian Arab mothers. They had limited contact with Jewish mothers and Jewish childbirth and infant-rearing practices, instead it was Palestinian Arab women who attended their classes on motherhood, and Palestinian Arab homes they entered to bathe infants.

Chapter Two will evidence a similar phenomenon when it came to children and education. Female British teachers placed Jewish and Palestinian Arab children on

[146] Ibid.

hierarchies of perceived intelligence, suitability to classroom learning, and capacity to alter their behaviour in line with British social norms. Akin to Chapter One, the vast majority of Jewish children attended schools run by the Jewish community between 1920 and 1948, with encounters between British teachers and Jewish children rather rare. British women were heavily involved in the education of Palestinian Arab children, particularly girls, however.

British colonial wives' and welfare workers' interventions in prostitution and VD is the subject of **Chapter Three**. This chapter argues that when it came to the health problems associated with prostitution and sex, female British welfare workers were far more intimately involved with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community. However, the multiplicity in British women's intimate colonialisms did not apply to the women and girls who worked as prostitutes. These individuals were not understood first and foremost by British women according to their race, but instead categorised simply as 'prostitutes'. This chapter suggests that this de-racing was a result of British women's perceptions of these women and girls as 'bad', their deviancy pushing them beyond racial hierarchies and into a category of their own.

Employing an innovative approach to the sphere of criminality and punishment as a site of carceral domesticity, **Chapter Four** exposes welfare workers' differing perceptions of Jewish and Palestinian Arab female criminality: whereas the former was perceived as primarily political in nature, the latter was viewed as an issue of morality, with Palestinian Arab women victims of Palestinian Arab society. This supported the racialised treatment of female offenders in Palestine's carceral spaces, such as the Bethlehem Women's Prison, where there were attempts to reform Palestinian Arab but not Jewish girls and women. This chapter additionally argues that whilst a focus on British women uncovers the phenomenon of their multiple intimate colonialisms, this phenomenon was not confined to British women. Similar to British women's contrasting perceptions of, and differing engagement with, Palestinian Arabs and Jews in other spheres of the intimate, British men perceived juvenile delinquents according to social scales, and were far more intimately involved with Palestinian Arab than Jewish juvenile delinquents.

Chapter Five focuses on wifehood. It demonstrates that a cross-section of British women overwhelmingly perceived Jewish and Palestinian Arab women according to social scales of agency and modernity. These individuals situated Palestinian Muslim women within the context of marriage and the home, depicting

them as oppressed and suffering as a result of gender inequality, specifically early and forced marriages and gender-based violence. Jewish women were portrayed entirely differently as modern, agential individuals engaged in paid work and opportunities beyond the domestic sphere. These perceptions were indicative of, and due to, the differing nature of British women's relationships with Jewish and Palestinian Arab women during the Mandate.

Chapter I:
Maternity and Modernity

In 1932, the Save the Children Fund published a series of articles on children in Mandate Palestine in its journal, *The World's Children.*[147] These outlined 'the risks to life and health run by the Arab child, so much greater than those of the well-cared for child of the Jewish community in the same land'.[148] While Palestinian Arab infants were said to be 'doomed' to 'unhealthy lives, blighted development and premature death' at the hands of supposedly ignorant and superstitious mothers, Jewish infants were safeguarded from these ills by advanced infant welfare provision and practice.[149] The Jewish community was capable of caring for its infants, but the Palestinian Arab community was not, and assistance from the likes of the Save the Children Fund was 'sorely needed'.[150] These were general perceptions, true to the Save the Children Fund's widespread nature in the new age of international humanitarian responsibility that emerged against the backdrop of the League of Nations in the interwar period.[151] These views were however shared by many of the female British missionaries, nurses, doctors and colonial wives who visited or resided in Palestine during the British Mandate period.

The annual reports, publications and correspondence of these women show them to have situated the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities on hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity and modernity, with the Jewish community's provision and practice in this sphere deemed superior to and more modern than that of the Palestinian Arab community. Provision within the Jewish community was seen as extensive, both in terms of the range of services offered and the distribution of these across the country, and self-sufficient, whilst Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare praxis was considered backward, ignorant and superstitious, with no recognisable provision in place for Palestinian Arab mothers and their infants.

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[147] 'Arab Children in Palestine', May 1932, *The World's Children,* Save the Children Fund (SCF), Cadbury; 'Arab Children in Palestine', Sep 1932, *The World's Children,* SCF.
[148] 'Arab Children in Palestine', May 1932.
[149] 'Arab Children in Palestine', Sep 1932.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Emily Baughan notes that the Save the Children Fund operated in 24 countries in Europe and the Near East by the mid-1920s and identified as Britain's first 'truly international charity'. See Baughan, ''Every Citizen of Empire Implored to Save the Children!' Empire, Internationalism and the Save the Children Fund in Inter-War Britain' *Historical Research* 86 (2013) 116-37.

These hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity and modernity underpinned the contrasting nature of British women's engagement with Palestinian Arab and Jewish midwives, mothers and infants. British missionaries, nurses and doctors entered Palestinian Arab homes and ran lessons for Palestinian Arab mothers in their attempts to reform this community's childbirth and infant-rearing practices, but similar intervention did not take place among the Jewish community. Instead, there was a noticeable silence in British women's discourse regarding Jewish maternity and infant welfare customs. The sphere of maternity and infant welfare is therefore the first example of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in this settler colonial context: there existed an intrusive intimacy towards Palestinian Arab midwives and mothers, but a distant intimacy with the Jewish community in this realm.

The discourse of these British women was by no means uncomplicated, however. It was nuanced by multiple and conflicting perceptions of the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities. Arab Jews were perceived by many British women as less hygienic than European and American Jews, and some British women believed that Palestinian Christians made better mothers than Palestinian Muslims. For some British women, particularly missionaries, these perceptions mapped onto a broader hierarchy of civilisation and temporality, expressed using the history of Christianity: Palestinian Muslims were seen as living in the conditions that had existed during the time of Christ himself; Palestinian Christians were compared to Crusaders; Arab Jews were considered to belong to the nineteenth century; and European and American Jews were seen as harbingers of the twentieth and even the twenty-first century to Palestine. This use of the history of Christianity to better understand the people of Palestine will also be seen in Chapter Two, as some British missionary teachers drew comparisons between Palestinian Arab but not Jewish communities and biblical times.

The totality of this discourse was also undermined by contradictory and shifting attitudes among these British women. Archival sources show these individuals to have held conflicting views regarding their ability to change the maternity and infant welfare practices of the Palestinian Arab community, born of differing perspectives as to the reasons for the inadequacy of current Palestinian maternity and infant welfare methods. In addition, while some of these women portrayed Palestinian Arab women as appreciative and receptive to their ideas, others depicted these women as unmoved and sometimes actively resistant to British intervention. Further subverting the notion

of a monolithic discourse is the fact that some British women's perceptions appear to have shifted with experience and contact with the population.

The present chapter employs perceptions of, and engagement with, maternity and infant welfare as a prism through which to grapple with the nature of British women's intimate colonialisms in Mandate Palestine. It speaks to multiple literatures. Firstly, it engages with Ann Laura Stoler's notion that colonial difference was located in the private and personal aspects of people's lives across empire.[152] It does this by bringing to light the significance of Jewish and Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare practices to British women's hierarchical understandings of these communities. It also builds on Stoler's scholarship by demonstrating that in this settler colonial context, where the ethnicity of the colonisers and the settlers differed, British women's intimate colonialisms towards midwives, mothers and infants were multiple.

This complicates and challenges Nancy Stockdale's assertion that between 1800 and 1948, English missionaries and government wives viewed the women of Palestine as 'bad mothers and poor housekeepers', who brought 'harm to their children through ignorance of proper behaviours'.[153] This chapter demonstrates that when looking at the Mandate period specifically, the views of British women were not so straightforward. Whilst British missionaries, nurses, doctors and colonial wives condemned Palestinian Arab midwives and mothers for their childbirth and infant-rearing customs, similar criticism was not levelled at Jewish women. Stockdale additionally argues that in the minds of English women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948, the women and girls of the country were 'removed from their current religious, ethnic, and political realities and portrayed instead as figures living in biblical time'.[154] The ensuing analysis develops this: whilst Palestinian Muslims were seen by some British women as belonging to biblical times, Palestinian Christians were compared to Crusaders, Arab Jews were seen as living in the nineteenth century and European and American Jews as living in the twentieth. Moreover, British women's desires to categorise the people of Palestine in this way sheds light on the quotidian realities of colonial governance through engagement with Megan Vaughan's observation that in colonial Africa there was an impulse to 'unitize' and 'aggregate' the colonial population,

[152] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge.*
[153] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* pp. 127-9; Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood' 561-9; Stockdale, 'Palestinian Girls' pp. 217-33.
[154] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* pp. 18, 60-1. See also Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood'.

leading to the conception of colonised peoples 'first and foremost, as members of groups'.[155]

This chapter also nuances David Pomfret's notion of infants and children as 'key' for delimiting difference between coloniser and colonised across empire.[156] Pomfret argues that as childrearing practices became increasingly associated with European claims for 'cultural and political authority' in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, childhood became a 'key resource' for delimiting differences between these groups.[157] The present chapter will show that in Palestine, whilst infant and child-rearing provision and practice was used by British women to determine differences between Britons and Palestinian Arabs, it was not used to determine differences between Britons and Jews. In this context then, infants and children were additionally used to differentiate between the settler and the indigenous communities, as part of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms.

Owing to the small size of the British community in Mandate Palestine, when investigating British women's involvement in maternity and infant welfare, we are speaking of a rather close-knit community of missionaries, nurses, doctors and colonial wives. As already mentioned, these women were for the most part involved with the Palestinian Arab community. Jewish mothers and infants were well provided for throughout the Mandate by the American Zionist Medical Unit (Hadassah), described by the British Administration in 1921 as one of the 'largest and best organised voluntary hospital services in the country' and since described by Ilan Pappé as having possessed 'semi-independence' between 1920 and 1948.[158] Hadassah managed maternity and infant welfare centres, pre-school care and a school medical service and carried out visits to Jewish colonies and immigrants' camps. Palestinian Arab mothers and infants, on the other hand, were for the most part provided for by the Government and British, French, German and Italian voluntary organisations. Indeed, the British Administration described Palestine in 1921 as 'extremely fortunate in the number and type of its voluntary hospitals and dispensaries' which operated 'widely throughout the country, providing medical care in areas and

[155] Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 11.
[156] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire,* p. 8.
[157] Ibid, pp. 3-4.
[158] Report on Palestine Administration, Jul 1920-Dec 1921, Blue Book, Vol. 1; Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*.

communities where it would otherwise be lacking'.[159] The British women involved with maternity and infant welfare in Mandate Palestine who did not work as part of the Government Health Service were most commonly involved with the CMS, JEM or CMJ. Some were also involved with the Scottish Mission, the Edinburgh Medical Mission Society and the United Free Church of Scotland. These British voluntary organisations ran maternity and infant welfare centres across the country, featuring lessons for mothers, mothers' meetings and home visits. By 1934 there were twenty-four maternity and infant welfare centres maintained by the Hadassah and the Women's International Zionist Organisation, and twenty-four government and government-aided centres for mothers and infants in predominantly Arab areas – by 1943 these numbers had increased to '44 Arab and 56 Jewish centres in operation throughout the country'.[160] By way of example of the size of the community of British women working in the field of maternity and infant welfare during the Mandate, the records of the CMS – the British voluntary organisation most closely involved with mothers and infants in Palestine at this time – reveal no more than a dozen British women operating in this field in any one year between 1920 and 1948. In its proceedings for 1921, the CMS listed two female British doctors and two British nurses (male and female) for Palestine.[161] These numbers remained largely unchanged throughout the Mandate: three female British doctors and six nurses (male and female) were listed for 1929; and one female British doctor and seven British nurses (male and female) were listed for 1936.[162] In light of these figures, it is worth noting that the birth rate of the Palestinian Arab community appears to have been higher than that of the Jewish community for the duration of the Mandate: in 1927 the birth rates (number of births per 1,000 of the population) of the Jewish, Muslim and Christian communities in Palestine were 35.08, 56.09 and 38.92 respectively; and in 1943 these figures stood at 29.04, 52.4 and 32.63, equating to 14,317, 49,621 and 4,225 births among Jews, Muslims and Christians.[163]

[159] Report on Palestine Administration, Jul 1920-Dec 1921; Dept of Health Report, 1943, Dept Administrative Reports for year ending 1943, Blue Book, Vol. 10.
[160] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1934, Blue Book, Vol. 5; Dept of Health Report, 1943.
[161] Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1920-1921.
[162] Report of the Church Missionary Society for the Year 1927-1928, CMS; Annual Report of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1935-1936, CMS.
[163] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1927, Blue Book, Vol. 2; Dept of Health Report, 1943.

Approbation from Afar

A central tenet of these British women's understandings of maternity and infant welfare in Palestine was that the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities were entirely disparate in this regard. Provision for Jewish mothers and infants was seen as far superior to Palestinian provision, with Jewish provision viewed as extensive, self-sufficient and modern. Arrangements for the Palestinian Arab community, on the other hand, were non-apparent to colonial wives and British missionaries, nurses and doctors, and Palestinian maternity and infant welfare practices were regarded as backward, ignorant and superstitious. An impression of the Jewish community's superiority in this sphere was due first of all to British women's perception of the extensive services offered by the Jewish community to its mothers and infants, both in terms of the broad range of services available and the widespread distribution of these across the country. This perception was particularly evident in a report of the PWC.[164] The PWC was set up in the early days of the Mandate in response to a concern that welfare work among women and children in Palestine was limited by lack of coordination between the various organisations operating in this field. In January 1921, Lady Beatrice Miriam Samuel (wife of the British High Commissioner for Palestine at this time, Sir Herbert Samuel) met with representatives of these organisations and elected eight British women to a council, who declared it their mission to oversee welfare work pertaining to women and children and to aid in the introduction of 'enlightened principles regarding the treatment of women and children which would be expected of an English Administration'.[165] In the early 1930s, the PWC offered a summary of 'social conditions prevailing in the country', bringing to light its admiration for the broad range of health services widely available to mothers and infants belonging to Jewish communities across Palestine.[166] The report explained that although the British Administration and various missionary societies in Palestine ran a few infant welfare centres, the real focus of the Administration and missionary societies was on public health, general hospitals and training for nurses.[167] According

[164] Report of the Palestine Women's Council (PWC), undated, Helen Bentwich Papers (HBP), Central Zionist Archives (CZA). This report is most likely from 1930 or 1931 as it mentions the 1929 earthquake and the Palestine Women's Council ceased to exist shortly after this.
[165] 'Palestine Women's Council', undated, HBP. This report appears to be from the early-mid 1920s.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid. For a discussion of Palestinian nurses' training during this period, see Julia Shatz, 'A Politics of Care: Local Nurses in Mandate Palestine' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 50 (2018) 669-89.

to this report, the Jewish Health Organisation, on the other hand, offered an extremely broad range of services to Jewish mothers and infants as part of its 'special infant welfare section'.[168] It provided clinics for mothers and infants, children's playgrounds, milk distribution centres and also gave mothers the opportunity to speak with dieticians. Not only was the Jewish Health Organisation praised by the PWC for its broad range of services, but it was also commended for the fact that these extensive services were available 'all over the country'.[169] This praise for the services available to Jewish mothers and infants was echoed by the Save the Children Fund, who in the aforementioned articles on children in Palestine made the case that the staggering difference in infant mortality rate between the Palestinian Arabs and Jews in 1932 – 200 per 1,000 births and ninety-five per 1,000 births respectively – was due to the 'better provision' of infant welfare centres for the Jewish population.[170]

British women were also greatly impressed by the self-sufficiency of the Jewish community in the sphere of maternity and infant welfare. While these women emphasised time and time again in their letters to family and friends, annual reports, and publications the vital import and invaluable benefit of their work among Palestinian Arab midwives, mothers and infants, they seldom argued that similar work was necessary among the Jewish community. The JEM report on medical work in Palestine for 1937 asserted that 'the extension of child welfare in towns and villages' was crucial but took into consideration 'only the needs of Arabs, as the Jews make excellent provision for their own people'.[171] The report went on to name seventeen Arab villages where there was an 'urgent need' for infant welfare intervention.[172]

The extensiveness and self-sufficiency of this provision contributed to an overall perception of Jewish maternity and infant welfare services as modern. In the aforementioned report of the PWC, the broad range of services available to Jewish mothers and infants 'all over the country' was held up as evidence that the Jewish Health Organisation was 'the last word in modernity'.[173] In line with this, when discussing Palestinian Arab and Jewish maternity and infant welfare in an oral history interview in August 2018, Patricia Hay-Will – a British woman born in Haifa in 1928

[168] 'Palestine Women's Council'.
[169] Ibid.
[170] 'Arab Children in Palestine', May 1932.
[171] Report on Medical Work, 1937, Jerusalem and the East Mission Collection (JEM), Middle East Centre (MEC).
[172] Ibid.
[173] 'Palestine Women's Council'.

who remained there until the 1940s – commented that the Jewish community 'had their own hospital' for maternity cases because they were a 'modern' community who were 'so far advanced than the Arabs [sic]'.[174] This perceived correlation between maternity and infant welfare and modernity links to Pomfret's notion that infants and children were 'markers of civilisation' in empire.[175] Pomfret posits that these individuals served as 'referents of cultural authority' and were 'key' for delimiting difference between coloniser and colonised.[176] While the former certainly holds true for British women – the extensiveness and self-sufficiency of provision for Jewish infants was regarded by both the PWC and Patricia Hay-Will as evidence of the Jewish community's modernity – the latter does not. The rearing of infants was used by British women to determine differences between Britons and Palestinian Arabs but not to determine differences between Britons and Jews. It is therefore necessary to nuance Pomfret's thesis in this specific settler colonial context where the ethnicity of the colonisers and the settlers differed: while infants and children were assuredly regarded as 'markers of civilisation', infants and children were also used to differentiate between multiple colonised populations in the same space, as part of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms.[177]

In this vein, it is worth noting that many of these views were based on British women's perceptions of Jewish maternity and infant welfare provision, rather than practice. This is important because it points to the limited direct involvement British women had with Jewish midwives, mothers and infants throughout the Mandate period, as part of their distant or superficial intimacy with the Jewish community in Palestine more broadly. While these individuals made generalised comments about the provision available for Jewish mothers and infants, their correspondence, annual reports and publications lack evidence of any substantial engagement with the maternity and infant welfare practices of the Jewish community. This can be explained by the British Administration and missionary societies' preoccupation with Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, maternity and infant welfare from the very start of the Mandate. Indeed, the British Administration declared in its December 1921 report that there were 'few problems more urgent than the establishment of centres for the teaching of

[174] Interview with Patricia Hay-Will, Seething, 4/8/18.
[175] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire,* p. 3.
[176] Ibid*,* pp. 3-8.
[177] Ibid.

midwifery and infant management' in Arab areas of Palestine, and in the 1934 report for the Council of the League of Nations, a section entitled 'Maternity and Infant Welfare Services' stated that 'a development of the service for Arabs is very important'.[178] Jewish mothers and infants, in contrast, did not need this support as they were (as previously mentioned) well provided for with 20 maternity and infant welfare centres maintained by the Hadassah Medical Organisation and four run by the Women's International Zionist Organization.[179] The 1939 report of the Department of Health similarly claimed that a 'very complete' health service was available to 'nearly all' Jewish mothers and infants and that 'an equally complete service' was not available to 'the rest of the population'.[180] A 1947 government memorandum on the administration of Palestine likewise declared that whereas Jews from Europe had brought with them to Palestine 'familiarity with the amenities of civilisation' such as extensive provision for mothers and children, there was 'nothing… comparable' in Palestinian Arab society.[181] Thus British nurses and doctors who worked for the British Administration in the field of maternity and infant welfare in Palestine found themselves working predominantly among the Palestinian Arab community and would not have been exposed to the intimacies of Jewish maternity and infant welfare customs.

Missionary societies in Palestine similarly focused on Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, maternity and infant welfare. As mentioned previously, by 1937 the JEM considered the Jewish community self-sufficient in terms of maternity and infant welfare and accordingly focused their efforts on predominantly Palestinian Arab areas such as Hebron, the inhabitants of which allegedly represented 'a type of conservatism centuries old'.[182] Likewise, the maternity and infant welfare work of the CMS chiefly took place in Arab dominated areas such as Nablus and Lydda, where there was an increased focus on provision for mothers and infants from the 1930s onwards. This greater attentiveness to maternity and infant welfare in Nablus and Lydda in the 1930s is in keeping with Nancy Hunt's observation that 'maternity care became an important

[178] Report on Palestine Administration, Jul 1920-Dec 1921; Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1934.
[179] Ibid.
[180] Dept of Health Report, 1939, Dept Administrative Reports for year ending 1939, Blue Book, Vol. 8. This divide in Arab and Jewish health services was also noted by Professor Samson Wright. Following a visit to Palestine, Wright remarked that the Government health service was 'in the main… directed to the service of the Arab population', with the Jewish community having 'more or less developed their own services'. See Samson Wright, 'Health Services in Palestine' *British Medical Journal* 2 (1946) 913.
[181] Memorandum on the Administration of Palestine under the Mandate, 1947, Blue Book, Vol. 15.
[182] Report on Medical Work, 1937; Report of St Luke's Hospital, Haifa, Nov 1922-Nov 1923, JEM.

colony-wide objective in the 1930s'.[183] This followed the increased attention paid to maternity and infant welfare in Britain from the turn of the twentieth century onwards, following unsettlingly high infant mortality rates and the appalling health conditions of soldiers in the Boer War.[184] Indeed, this greater focus on maternal and infant welfare was not confined to Britain, with Valerie Fildes, Lara Marks and Hilary Marland demonstrating that this was an international phenomenon.[185]

British women's limited involvement with Jewish midwives, mothers and infants did not prevent these individuals from having strong opinions about the superiority of Jewish arrangements for mothers and infants and the extensive, self-sufficient and modern Jewish maternity and infant welfare services in Palestine, however. Yet if these perceptions were not based on involvement in this sphere, what were they based on? They appear to have been shaped by a combination of general impressions of the Jewish community and the policies of the British Administration. The latter can be discerned to a large extent from the annual reports of the Department of Health for the Mandate, which, as previously outlined, reveal a perception of Jewish maternity and infant welfare provision as not only superior to that of the Palestinian Arab community, but also broad ranging in nature, well distributed throughout Palestine, self-reliant and modern.[186]

Revealingly however, even British women who were more involved with the Jewish community, for example missionaries belonging to the CMJ, did not question the maternity and infant welfare practices of the Jewish community in Mandate Palestine. The work of Nadia Valman provides a possible explanation for this. Valman demonstrates that while nineteenth century English literature, as well as medical and sociological texts, are a 'rich resource' for studying antisemitism, scholars have failed to recognise the 'almost universal assumption' in these works that 'the Jew' is male.[187] The image of the male Jew with a circumcised penis was a 'crucial aspect of semitic representation' in the nineteenth century, but scholars have overlooked this and consequently the figure of the Jewish woman as well:

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[183] Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon: Of Birth Work, Medicalisation and Mobility in the Congo (and a Nervous Condition)* (Durham, 1999), p. 26.
[184] Anna Davin, 'Imperialism and Motherhood' *History Workshop* 5 (1978) 9-65, 9.
[185] Valerie Fildes, Lara Marks and Hilary Marland (eds.), *Women and Children First; International Maternal and Infant Welfare, 1870-1945* (London, 1992).
[186] Report on Palestine Administration, Jul 1920-Dec 1921; Dept of Health Report, 1939.
[187] Nadia Valman, 'Bad Jew/Good Jewess. Gender and Semitic Discourse in Nineteenth-Century England' in Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (eds.), *Philosemitism in History* (Cambridge, 2012) pp. 149-69, p. 149.

> While it is certainly the case that a number of literary texts include or even center on figures of male Jews who are racially repellent, socially intrusive, or politically subversive, these figures are repeatedly shadowed by images of Jewish women that are in every way the opposite… The figure of the Jewess marked the bifurcation between the discursive denigration and idealization of Judaism. The Jew was represented as archaic, legalistic, materialistic, intolerant, superstitious, and primitive; Judaism itself was masculinized. The Jewess, by contrast, was spiritual, cultured, patriotic, emotional, and modern.[188]

In fact, Valman argues, the Jewish woman was 'highly venerated' in mid-Victorian England, particularly by Protestant women among whom philosemitism was 'central'.[189] It is thus possible to conjecture that the hesitancy among British women in Mandate Palestine – particularly Protestant missionaries – to question Jewish maternity and infant welfare practice was in fact a result of this long-established perception of the 'good Jewess'.[190]

It is worth noting here the difference between these British women's perceptions and Stockdale's characterisation of British women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948 as having 'portrayed themselves as labouring against seemingly insurmountable odds when it came to instilling English notions of maternity and health care' into Palestine's population, with the women of Palestine viewed as 'bad mothers and poor housekeepers'.[191] These reports and articles have shown that when looking at the Mandate period specifically, British women had great admiration for Jewish maternity and infant welfare provision, and situated the Jewish community high up on their hierarchies of infant-rearing and modernity. This admiration – combined with the notion of the 'good Jewess' – contributed to British women's lack of involvement with the Jewish community in this sphere.[192]

The Problem with *Dayahs*

In sharp contrast with this distant admiration for Jewish maternity and infant welfare provision and practice, British women in Mandate Palestine regarded Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare practices as backward, ignorant and superstitious, with a lack of provision in place for Palestinian mothers and infants. In

[188] Ibid, pp. 150-67. Valman also shows that when the Jewish woman has been studied, masculinity has been the focus.
[189] Ibid, pp. 151-2.
[190] Ibid, p. 151.
[191] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 127.
[192] Valman, 'Bad Jew/Good Jewess' p. 151.

line with Barbara Ramusack's reflection that many British women in India 'treated Indian women as daughters whom they were preparing for adult responsibilities as modern women' – known as maternal imperialism – some British women in Palestine presumed a similarly maternal role over Palestinian Arab women.[193] The ensuing analysis will examine these perceptions, first with regard to pregnancy and childbirth and then in the context of the rearing of infants.

From the inception of the Mandate, the *dayah* – a figure recognised by British women as the Palestinian Arab community's midwife – was a source of serious and pressing concern to the British, both at an official and unofficial level. The Mandatory Administration stated in December 1921 that there were 'few problems more urgent' than that of the *dayah*, a view shared by female British missionaries, doctors and nurses across the country.[194] The perceived problem with *dayahs* was fourfold: they were untrained and ignorant, dirty, superstitious and old. A 1934 article by Vena Rogers, Superintendent of Midwifery in Palestine from 1929 until 1945, serves as a typical example of these attitudes.[195] Rogers explained that the *dayah* was typically a friend of the family, who delivered and named the baby, but that she had no specific training for her role. This absence of training, according to Rogers, resulted in a variety of ignorant practices being adhered to among the Palestinian Arab community. In the case of a transverse baby, the mother was commonly encouraged by her *dayah* 'to go downstairs on her hands and feet' or she was 'shaken in a blanket', and to induce childbirth, a mother was advised 'to sit on a hot brick'. Moreover, when a newborn baby opened its mouth for the first time, Rogers reported that 'fat from the tail of a sheep' was given by the *dayah* 'to prevent future diarrhoea', and broth was administered to prevent future wounds becoming septic.[196]

Rogers juxtaposed these purportedly ignorant practices with her approval for the body of 'qualified' Jewish midwives in Palestine who had received formal training from the Hadassah, the American University of Beirut or from Europe and who, according to Rogers, were present in most cities and Jewish colonies across the country.[197] In line with the attitudes of British women towards Jewish maternity and

[193] Barbara Ramusack, 'Cultural Missionaries, Maternal Imperialists, Feminist Allies: British Women Activists in India, 1865-1945' *Women's Studies International Forum* 13 (1990) 309-21.
[194] Report on Palestine Administration, Jul 1920-Dec 1921.
[195] Vena Rogers, 'Midwifery Work in Palestine' *International Nursing Review* 9 (1934) 102-8.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid.

infant welfare outlined previously, Rogers was hugely impressed by the modern education received by Jewish midwives and did not question their practices. In contrast, Rogers criticised *dayahs*, not only for being untrained and ignorant, but on the grounds of their dirtiness and superstition. Rogers described how, in addition to 'the famous chair', on which Palestinian Arab mothers sat for the delivery of their babies, it was customary for *dayahs* to carry 'a pair of shears or a sharp stone to sever the child from its mother, a ball of string for ligatures, and a basin of filthy oil for lubricating'.[198] According to Rogers, this 'filthy oil' typified a lack of appreciation for cleanliness present in all aspects of pregnancy and childbirth among the Palestinian Arab community. Like *dayahs*, Rogers explained, Palestinian mothers disregarded principles of cleanliness as they were 'not used to it' and instead complained of the 'cleanliness and quietness' encouraged by British midwives during childbirth.[199] Rogers also condemned the superstitious practices of *dayahs*, such as the waving of a broom over the head of a new born baby 'to prevent devils entering into him and to make him strong' and the passing of burning charcoal over a new-born's head 'to prevent sores'.[200] Rogers additionally criticised the 'many strange things' used by Palestinian Arab women 'as tampons to induce pregnancy', including 'milk from the breast of a woman feeding a girl baby, mixed with almond oil and sheep's wool' and 'the head of a sunflower boiled in milk'.[201] Rogers identified these practices as superstitious and warned that along with *dayahs'* disregard for cleanliness and lack of training, these factors were responsible for 'the high infant mortality which prevails in many parts of the country'.[202]

This perception of *dayahs* as ignorant and dirty was similarly echoed in a letter from nurse Emily Dickin in March 1937 to Gawain Taylor, Secretary of the Overseas Nursing Association.[203] Writing from the District Health Office in Hebron, Dickin reported that she had recently been sent to the 'primitive' district of Hebron to share her knowledge with the *dayahs* of the town and the thirty-three surrounding villages.[204] Dickin explained that this 'primitive' district was 'chiefly Mohammedan…a few

[198] Ibid.
[199] Ibid.
[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Emily Dickin to Gawain Taylor, 31/3/37, Overseas Nursing Association Papers (ONA), Bodleian Library.
[204] Ibid.

Christians… no Jews' and that the community's midwives were accordingly 'quite untaught peasant women' who employed 'barbaric' and insanitary practices in their work.[205] Dickin hoped that her weekly classes for *dayahs* and home visits to the women they delivered would enable Palestinian Arab midwives to be 'enlightened' and that they would 'at least be able to grasp the rudimentary principles of cleanliness'.[206] If Dickin was happy with the *dayahs'* training, she explained in her letter, then she would present them with delivery and visiting bags, as well as midwifery licences.

The 1946 newsletter of the CMS Nablus hospital likewise condemned *dayahs'* ignorance.[207] CMS missionary Dr Louisa Evelyn Pigeon explained that because there was currently only one training centre for Palestinian midwives in the country, and because this was in Jerusalem, there continued an 'appalling waste of mothers' and babies' lives' in Nablus at the hands of untrained and ignorant *dayahs*.[208] Pigeon explained that whereas a trained midwife 'can recognise abnormalities and always brings her patients to hospital in time for a successful operation to be performed', in contrast, an untrained midwife cannot recognise these complications when they arise, and mothers are instead 'brought to us too late, suffering from the effects of all kinds of nature treatment given by the ignorant old "wise woman" of the village'.[209] Pigeon's distinction here between untrained (mostly Palestinian Arab) midwives and trained midwives again complicates Stockdale's characterisation of British women in Palestine as having viewed 'mothers and other female guardians as causing harm to their children through ignorance of proper behaviours'.[210]

Pigeon's description of *dayahs* as 'old' is intriguing and corresponds with Rogers' comparable observation that *dayahs* were usually 'old women'.[211] In fact, this notion of *dayahs* as old was a recurring theme in the letters, reports and publications of British missionaries, doctors and nurses in Palestine. It is possible that these individuals perceived the old age of *dayahs* as reflective of their outdated practices, and there may have been generational tensions here between these – often young – British women who believed they were bringing modern maternity and infant welfare

[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] 1946 Newsletter from The Church Missionary Society's Hospital in Nablus, CMS.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 129.
[211] Ibid; Rogers, 'Midwifery Work'.

practices to the Palestinian Arab community in Palestine and the old *dayahs* of the village who, Dickin reported, were 'very averse to changing their barbaric ways'.[212]

This unfavourable perception of *dayahs* led to the establishment of a training centre for Palestinian Arab midwives in 1922, attached to the Princess Mary Maternity Ward at Government Hospital in Jerusalem. As Superintendent of Midwifery in Palestine, Rogers explained in her article of 1934 that whereas Jewish midwives received their training from Hadassah or from abroad, the Princess Mary Maternity Ward in Jerusalem 'provides the means whereby instruction in maternity work can be given to Palestinian women'.[213] According to Rogers, women were 'drawn from towns and villages' across Palestine, in the hope that they would 'return to their homes when trained' and aid in reducing the high infant mortality rate present 'in many parts of the country'.[214] Indeed, it was reported in 1934 that while the infant mortality rate of the Jewish community in Palestine was 78.13 (deaths of children under one year of age per 1,000 births), the rates of the Palestinian Muslim and Christian communities were 175.15 and 152.39 respectively.[215]

The Midwives Ordinance of 1929 similarly serves as evidence of this perception of *dayahs* as inferior to Jewish midwives.[216] The ordinance decreed that whereas trained and licensed midwives could practise all over Palestine, untrained, unlicensed midwives could not. Instead, the names of untrained, unlicensed midwives were entered in the 'Register of Unqualified Persons practicing Midwifery'. These midwives required permits to practise in certain areas of the country and were entirely prohibited from practising in others. According to the Ordinance, if a midwife was neither licensed nor registered as unqualified, then she could not practise midwifery at all. As already explained, the majority of Jewish midwives in Palestine were trained and licensed in the eyes of the British – having received their training from Hadassah, the American University of Beirut, or in Europe – whereas most *dayahs* had not undergone any formal training.[217] The fact that the majority of unlicensed midwives in Palestine in 1929 belonged to the Palestinian Arab, rather than the Jewish community, was evident from the December 1928 draft of the Midwives Ordinance which stated that 'a person

[212] Emily Dickin to Gawain Taylor, 31/3/37.
[213] Rogers, 'Midwifery Work'.
[214] Ibid.
[215] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1934.
[216] Midwives Ordinance, 1929, CO 733/162/20, National Archives (NA).
[217] Shatz, 'A Politics of Care' 673-4.

whose name is entered in the Register may take and use the designation of 'Registered *dayah*''.[218]

The Midwives Ordinance of 1929 significantly affected the operation of *dayahs* but did not have the same impact on Jewish midwives. Eyal Katvan and Nira Bartal agree that the Ordinance of 1929 placed a 'heavy burden' on *dayahs*, and 'create[d] hierarchies between licensed (mostly Jewish) and registered (mostly Arab) midwives', and Brownson concurs that midwifery regulation during the Mandate privileged the midwives of the *Yishuv* community.[219] This increased regulation of midwifery also led to greater efficiency in terms of recording births, corresponding with Hunt's observation that in Belgian colonial Africa, childbirth 'became enmeshed in the growth of bureaucratic state forms and *la paperasserie* of colonized life… maternities and the census went hand in hand'.[220] From the very start of formal British influence in Palestine, the British had been preoccupied with accurately recording births across the country. In fact, 'one of the first acts of the new military administration' in 1918 was to 'set in motion… machinery for recording the occurrence of births and deaths'.[221] In 1918, midwives across Palestine were issued with forms to this effect, and in 1919, these forms were amended and re-issued by the Department of Health. This preoccupation with the recording of births continued for the duration of the Mandate and was evidenced again in the 1938 Public Health Ordinance, one of the first orders of which was that 'in the case of every child born in Palestine it shall be the duty of the father or mother of the child, and in their default of the midwife or person in attendance… to give notice… to the nearest District Health Office, or, where the birth has occurred in a village, to the mukhtar of the village'.[222]

Palestinian Arab Mothering Praxis

This perception of Palestinian Arab midwifery practices as ignorant, superstitious and in dire need of British intervention was consistent with British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab mothering praxis in Palestine during the Mandate. In an article detailing day-to-day happenings at the CMS hospital in Nablus

[218] Midwives Ordinance, 1929, CO 733/162/20, NA.
[219] Eyal Katvan and Nira Bartal, 'The Midwives Ordinance of Palestine, 1929: Historical Perspectives and Current Lessons' *Nursing Inquiry* 17 (2010) 169; Elizabeth Brownson, 'Enacting Imperial Control: Midwifery Regulation in Mandate Palestine' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 46 (2017) 27-42.
[220] Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon,* p. 4.
[221] Dept of Health Report, 1939.
[222] Public Health Ordinance, 1938, CO 733/380/10, NA.

in 1937, CMS missionary Dr Pigeon reported that the Palestinian children who travelled to the hospital with their mothers customarily arrived adorned with 'all kinds' of 'charms and amulets' which were typical of this 'very superstitious' community.[223] Pigeon's article included the example of Miriam, a Palestinian Arab child who had recently arrived at the CMS hospital in Nablus 'wearing a bell on a string round her neck, and charms on her bonnet to keep off the 'evil eye''.[224] Other superstitious objects sported by Palestinian Arab children included 'cock feathers, fur of gazelle, and a rabbit tuft or tail' because their mothers believed that 'the first glance of the 'evil eye' will fall on these, being attracted by their fluttering movements, and so not notice the child underneath'.[225] The 'superstitious' practices of Palestinian Arab mothers were likewise a central theme in an article by Pigeon concerning medical work in Palestine in 1929.[226] Pigeon reported that in addition to the 'large assortment' of charms 'invariably' attached to babies' bonnets by their mothers, 'special charms' were routinely employed by mothers to protect their infants from poor health.[227] For instance, a piece of amber was 'attached to the hair, and made to hang down near the eye in cases of eye trouble' and one of the vertebral bones of a wolf was 'hung round the neck to cure whooping cough'.[228] Moreover, Pigeon explained, Palestinian Arab mothers believed that

> certain people in a village may cause a child's illness, therefore the parents hold a piece of alum in a flame, and the shape it becomes with the heat is said to resemble the appearance of the offending person. A piece of clothing or rag used by this offending one, must then be taken surreptitiously and burnt on some glowing embers which have been sprinkled with salt, and then are placed on a tin tray and held over the sick child. The spluttering which accomplished the burning is believed to be efficacious in removing the evil influence of that offending person.[229]

Pigeon declared that superstition thus played a 'large part' in the lives of the Palestinian Arab community and rendered Palestinian Arab mothers 'far too ignorant… to preserve their health or that of their children'.[230]

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[223] Pigeon, 'More About Nablus' 1937, *The Mission Hospital* (TMH), CMS.
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Pigeon, 'The Mentality of Hospital Patients' 1929, TMH.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid.

The alleged ignorance and superstition of Palestinian Arab mothers made such an impression on CMS missionaries Gwendolen Grimwood and S. L. Jackson that they deemed it worthy of inclusion in their three-page annual reports for 1931 and 1945 respectively.[231] In Grimwood's August 1931 report of her medical efforts and work among children in Lydda over the past twelve months, she described 'much darkness and superstition among both Christians and Moslems' in the country.[232] As evidence of this, Grimwood provided the story of a Palestinian Arab mother who, having given birth only to girls over the last few years, had recently 'collected money to buy a sheep' and subsequently 'offered the sheep as a sacrifice' in the hope of having a boy next time.[233] Similarly, in her annual letter of June 1945, Jackson despaired of what she saw as the ignorance and superstition of Palestinian Arab mothers. She reported that the superstition of these women combined with their 'abysmal' ignorance, rendered work among these women at infant welfare clinics across the country 'very difficult and disheartening to do'.[234] Incidentally, it is worth noting here Grimwood's observation that superstition existed among 'both Christians and Moslems'. This nuances British women's conceptions of the Palestinian Arab population, to be discussed later in this chapter.

This perception of Palestinian Arab mothers as ignorant and superstitious permeated representations of the people of Palestine at the CMS Child Welfare Exhibition in London in 1929. Largely an exercise in recruiting missionaries, the exhibition depicted Palestinian Arab infants as vulnerable and defenceless individuals, subject to 'great suffering' as a result of their mothers' lack of knowledge and belief in charms.[235] The handbook for the exhibition asserted that in Nablus, by way of example, superstition was 'very strong' among Palestinian Arab mothers, particularly fear of the *tabea*, an evil spirit believed to bring about the death of infants.[236] 'Ignorance on the part of the mother' was another of the 'great enemies' to the survival of these infants in Palestine and, according to the handbook, this lack of knowledge, combined with mothers' reliance on charms, resulted in 'the death of many babies' each year across the country.[237]

[231] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 12/8/31, CMS; Jackson, Annual Letter, 11/6/45, CMS.
[232] Grimwood, 12/8/31.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Jackson, 11/6/45.
[235] Handbook of CMS Child Welfare Exhibition, 1929, CMS.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid.

The notion that Palestinian Arab infants were in acute danger at the hands of ignorant and superstitious mothers contributed to a belief among female British missionaries, doctors and nurses in the need for prompt British intervention in the mothering practices of Palestinian Arab women under the Mandate. The JEM medical report for 1937 declared that there was an 'urgent need' for intervention in this sphere, and as early as 1924, Pigeon spoke of the necessity of a 'strong infant welfare centre' in Nablus to reduce the 'sad mortality among babies' which was a consequence of the 'ignorance' of Palestinian Arab mothers.[238] Moreover, after only eleven months in Palestine, CMS missionary Jackson claimed in her July 1939 report that her clinic for Palestinian mothers on Monday afternoons was 'well worth doing' but that it had been 'rather spoilt' of late 'by there being too many – we have been having between forty and fifty a time'.[239] Convinced by the value of her work, Jackson intended to open a second clinic for mothers as soon as possible. This conviction among British women of the vital intervention in Palestinian Arab mothering practices was similarly evinced in J. M. Morris' report of her work in Nablus for the twelve months prior to August 1946.[240] Morris reported that work among Palestinian Arab mothers was a 'very well-worth-while kind of work to do' and that clinics for these mothers were 'badly needed everywhere', with 'so many villages where clinics would be such a boon'.[241] Though Morris pointed out of course that she was 'talking about work amongst the Palestinian Arabs' – not among the Jews.[242] This distinction between the maternity and infant-rearing practices of Palestinian Arabs and Jews again draws attention to British women's contrasting perceptions and hierarchies of infant-rearing and modernity during the Mandate. While Vena Rogers, Superintendent of Midwifery, blamed the 'high infant mortality' among the Palestinian Arab community on the ignorance of *dayahs*, and the handbook for the CMS Child Welfare Exhibition in London in 1929 held these mothers responsible for the 'death of many babies' in Palestine, not once do similar accusations appear to have been levelled against the Jewish community during the Mandate period.[243]

[238] Report on Medical Work, 1937; Pigeon, 'The Near East' 1924, TMH.
[239] Jackson, Annual Letter, 23/7/39, CMS.
[240] Morris, Annual Letter, 9/8/46, CMS.
[241] Ibid.
[242] Ibid.
[243] Rogers, 'Midwifery Work'; Handbook of CMS Child Welfare Exhibition.

Regular Habits and Cleanliness

In place of these purportedly ignorant and superstitious customs, British women sought to instil in Palestinian Arab mothers regular habits regarding the feeding, bathing and weighing of their infants, as well as notions of cleanliness both within the home and among the local community. For example, CMS missionary Gwendolen Grimwood reported from Lydda in the summer of 1934 that the focus of instruction for Palestinian Arab mothers at the local infant welfare clinic was two-fold: firstly, inculcating in these mothers 'regular habits' concerning the care of their infants; and secondly, instilling in these women notions of cleanliness.[244]

Guidance on the feeding of infants focused on doing so at regular intervals as well as the frequency of this activity. A recruitment article for the Overseas Nursing Association (ONA) in February 1934 stressed the immense import of impressing upon Palestinian Arab women the value of regular feeding habits.[245] According to the article, Palestinian Arab mothers, like 'Malays, Chinese, Javanese, Boanese, Tamils, Bengalis… Eurasian, and others' were untaught and maintained 'a firm belief in 'fetish'' to the detriment of their 'poor babies'.[246] Yet these mothering practices could be improved by foreign nurses. While ONA nurses had been 'originally appointed abroad solely for the purpose of nursing European patients in European hospitals', a 'great change' in the policy of the ONA had recently taken place and 'much more' had since been done 'for the natives'.[247] The 1934 article recognised that work as a British nurse among Palestinian Arab mothers in Palestine was certainly demanding, but 'gradually, by patience, and by never losing her self-control, she [the British nurse] can educate these natives to a better mode of life and an understanding of the elementary laws of hygiene and health'.[248]

The first and foremost of these 'elementary laws' was the feeding of babies at regular intervals, ideally 'five times a day' and 'never at night'.[249] The value attached by British women in Mandate Palestine to regular feeding habits for Palestinian Arab infants was similarly discernible from a supplement to the CMS News Sheet for Nablus hospital in 1948.[250] Having been asked to contribute 'a few little additional details about

[244] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 31/7/34, CMS.
[245] 'Overseas Nursing as a Career for the Educated Girl' *Journal of Nursing Careers* (1934).
[246] Ibid.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid.
[249] Ibid.
[250] CMS Share Plan News Sheet, 1948, CMS.

some of the patients who have passed through our Hospital recently', CMS missionary H. M. Gould offered an account of a young mother who had not long ago undergone an operation at the CMS hospital in Nablus.[251] Despite the success of her operation, this woman had come to dislike the matron of Nablus hospital 'very much' as the matron had 'insisted on her feeding her baby at regular fixed times' – a practice supposedly unknown to this mother, but considered vitally important by British women.[252] In fact, as Ela Greenberg has recently demonstrated, discussions on the timing and frequency of breastfeeding were already taking place among the Palestinian Arab community during this period, with articles in both Haifa-based newspapers *al-Karmil* and *al-Nafir* from the mid-late 1920s advising women 'to adhere to strict feeding schedules and to nurse their babies only according to specific times'.[253] Missionaries such as H. M. Gould appear to have been unaware, or wilfully ignorant of these developments, however.

A second facet of British women's intervention in Palestinian mothering practices under the Mandate concerned the bathing of infants. Time and time again in their letters and reports, British missionaries, doctors and nurses portrayed Palestinian Arab infants as neglected and unwashed individuals who were in desperate need of regular bathing. A recurring phenomenon in their accounts was the discovery of an infant who had never before been bathed, a crisis each time resolved by a British missionary or nurse who emerged from the story not only as a worthier maternal figure to the child than the mother in question but also as a maternal figure to the Palestinian Arab woman herself, akin to cases of maternal imperialism in India.[254] Stockdale has similarly noted the prevalence of these tales in English women's accounts, describing their use of these tales as 'legitimating evidence of their mission'.[255]

Missionary Susanna Emery, whose interventions as a teacher in Mandate Palestine will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two, reported such an experience in a letter home to her mother in January 1927.[256] When holidaying with friends at Lady Samuel's bungalow in Jericho, Emery had heard 'loud shrieks' one morning and upon inspection found 'the Moslem caretaker chasing his wife round the

[251] Ibid.
[252] Ibid.
[253] Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow,* p, 6.
[254] Ramusack, 'Cultural Missionaries'.
[255] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 129.
[256] Susanna Emery (SE) to M. Emery (ME), 11/1/27, Susanna Emery Collection, MEC.

bungalow, armed with a big stick' (this reference to gender-based violence will be returned to in Chapter Five).[257] Emery 'rushed out to separate them' and, thinking to distract them, asked to see their baby.[258] The infant was a boy 'of perhaps six months old or a little less', and Emery was hugely disturbed to apparently discover that this infant 'had never been bathed before'.[259] She set about arranging 'a bason and soap and warm water and a towel' and proceeded to show his mother 'how this was done in England'.[260] Thus, Emery reported, not only had she warded off a 'potentially murderous attack' by a man on his wife, but the infant had 'very much' enjoyed his first bath and was 'gurgling with glee' by the time she 'returned him to his mother'.[261]

The Mission Hospital featured a similar account in July 1934.[262] Previously titled *Medical Mission Quarterly* and then *Mercy and Truth* until 1921, *The Mission Hospital* reported on CMS medical work taking place all over the world. In a four-page review of CMS medical work in and around Nablus since 1920, in 1934 missionary Fannie Blackwell Gutsell devoted the best part of a page to the story of four-year-old Mohamed, a local Palestinian Arab boy who had been raised in one of the many 'unhealthy, dark houses approached by dismal, damp passages' in the heart of Nablus, and who had been forced to spend the early years of his life begging on the streets of the city.[263] One day, however, when 'passing through a crowded, narrow, cobble-stoned street', a servant from the CMS hospital at Nablus had caught site of Mohamed and taken pity on the poor, neglected boy.[264] The servant had arranged for Mohamed to be brought to the hospital, where he was at once admitted and 'delighted' to find himself in a 'nice, clean bed', in marked contrast to the living conditions with which he was accustomed.[265] Mohamed was also tremendously happy to be dressed in 'bright hospital clothes' after 'an application of soap and water' – another contrast to the 'rags' of his previous life (this motif of Palestinian Arab children wearing bright, clean clothes to symbolise their salvation will be returned to in Chapter Two).[266] Gutsell reported that Mohamed quickly settled into life at the hospital, but one day at the local

[257] Ibid.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Gutsell, 'Changes in Nablus' 1934, TMH.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Ibid.

bazaar he was 'suddenly whisked off' and kept 'all day' by members of his family who did not see the benefits of the clean, bright CMS hospital.[267] However, Gutsell proudly reported that Mohamed *had* seen the benefits of the CMS way of life and, when the door was ajar, had 'rushed out unobserved… and ran quickly back to the hospital'.[268] Mohamed's apparent awakening to the merits of the CMS hospital is intriguing: was Mohamed more capable of change than the 'old' Palestinian Arab *dayahs* simply because he was younger? This interplay between age and race in the minds of British missionaries in Palestine will also be returned to in Chapter Two in the context of perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish children and child-rearing practices.

British women also sought to instil in Palestinian Arab mothers regular habits for infants regarding weighing and eating. Palestinian Arab mothers were instructed to periodically weigh their infants, to provide weaned infants with a consistent diet and to regulate portion sizes. CMS missionary Grimwood emphasised the importance of these measures in her August 1931 review of medical efforts and work among the children of Lydda.[269] Grimwood was pleased to report that Palestinian Arab mothers were showing 'a good deal of interest' in the weighing of their infants and were likewise attentive to advice concerning their infants' diets. However, one mother who had recently attended the clinic 'had lost her first baby from over feeding', and her second child 'was fast going the same way'.[270] Fortunately, Grimwood reported, the missionaries at the clinic had been able to teach this mother the importance of a consistent diet and regular portion sizes, and the same tragedy had not befallen her second child. Grimwood spoke about this aspect of work among Palestinian Arab mothers again in her annual report of August 1933.[271] She praised her fellow missionaries at Lydda for the 'beneficial results' they had seen in this sphere and explained that an increasing number of mothers were bringing their babies in for weighing and that these mothers were additionally 'beginning to learn that it is worthwhile to carry out the Dr's advice' regarding their infants' diets.[272] One mother who had recently lost an infant as a result of a poor diet was quoted by Grimwood as

[267] Ibid.
[268] Ibid.
[269] Grimwood, 12/8/31.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 15/8/33, CMS.
[272] Ibid.

having lamented that if she had known that her infant was going to lose its life, she 'would have fed her on rice and potatoes'.[273]

The cleanliness of the home, and of the Palestinian Arab community more broadly, was another cause for concern among British missionaries, doctors and nurses during the Mandate. This supports Stockdale's finding that English missionaries perceived homes in Palestine as unclean and unhealthy spaces, particularly ill-suited for the rearing of infants between 1800 and 1948.[274] In Grimwood's annual report for 1931, she offered a description of the home conditions of a 'very weakly child of a few months old' as explanation for the infant's ill health.[275] Grimwood reported that upon entering the infant's home for the first time, she had been horrified to find that 'there was no such thing as a broom in the house' and, having borrowed a broom from a neighbour, had found herself sweeping away 'the remains of last nights' meal and way before it'.[276] This perception of Palestinian Arab homes as unclean spaces is also evident from Grimwood's annual report for August 1932 to August 1933. Under the subtitle 'Better Homes', Grimwood expressed despair at 'the squalor, the dreariness! the sordidness! amongst both Christians and Moslems' in Mandate Palestine and declared that she and her fellow missionaries longed to see 'better homes' among the Palestinian Arab community.[277] Similarly, CMS missionary Fannie Blackwell Gutsell described Palestinian homes in Nablus as 'exceedingly dirty' in 1929, and Edith Rowena Anson reported in 1923 that the 'most unhealthy dwellings' of the Arab community in Palestine meant that Palestinian Arab patients had little chance of a healthy life 'in their own homes'.[278]

This perception of Palestinian Arab homes as dirty corresponds with British perceptions of the Palestinian Arab community as a whole during the Mandate years. A CMS pamphlet from the very start of formal British influence in Palestine declared that the Arab patient felt 'very strange' in CMS hospitals in Palestine because he 'misses the dirt and the smells which are associated with his idea of home and comfort', although 'he soon learns to appreciate the change'.[279] Likewise, Susanna Emery reported to her family from the Girls' High School in Jerusalem in October 1919

[273] Ibid.
[274] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 127.
[275] Grimwood, 12/8/31.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Grimwood, 15/8/33.
[278] Gutsell, Annual Letter, 12/8/29, CMS; Anson, Annual Letter, 12/23, CMS.
[279] 'The Light of Gaza', undated, CMS.

that the people of Palestine had 'lived for so long under the Turk that it will take ages to instil into the people any idea of public spirit or truth or cleanliness… they are compelled to clean the streets now, but they don't see the sense of it at all, and only do it because they must'.[280] Furthermore, the handbook for the aforementioned CMS Child Welfare Exhibition in London in 1929 stated that in addition to superstition and ignorance among Arab mothers, 'dirt on the part of the community generally' was a great enemy to the survival of Arab infants in Palestine.[281] This sentiment was also echoed in the Save the Children Fund's 1932 articles on children in Mandate Palestine in *The World's Children,* discussed at the beginning of this chapter.[282]

It is worth noting here the similarities between British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare practices in Palestine, and perceptions of working-class maternity and infant welfare practices in Britain, during this period. Kaplana Ram and Margaret Jolly have brought to light the similarities between attitudes towards colonised women in Asia and the Pacific and attitudes towards working-class women in Britain with regard to maternity and infant welfare, demonstrating that both colonised women abroad and working-class women in Britain were denounced by other, often middle and upper-class British women for their 'maternal deficiency' and lack of domesticity, specifically their 'unhygienic forms of birthing and nurture' and the 'dirt and dark of their houses'.[283] This chapter has shown that while these comparisons can be extended to perceptions of Palestinian Arab midwives and mothers during the Mandate, they cannot be extended to Jewish women. Palestinian Arab homes were condemned by female British missionaries, nurses, doctors and colonial wives for 'the squalor, the dreariness! the sordidness!', and *dayahs* and Palestinian Arab mothers were heavily criticised for their supposed lack of hygiene.[284] *Dayahs* were rebuked for their 'filthy' customs, and Palestinian Arab mothers were denounced in the tales of unwashed infants that littered the correspondence, annual reports and publications of British women including Susanna Emery during the Mandate.[285] Jewish midwifery and mothering praxis was not subject to the same criticism, however. The British women who were active in this sphere

[280] SE to family, 26/10/19, MEC.
[281] Handbook of CMS Child Welfare Exhibition.
[282] 'Arab Children in Palestine', May 1932; 'Arab Children in Palestine', Sep 1932.
[283] Ram and Jolly, *Maternities and Modernities*, p. 9.
[284] Grimwood, 15/8/33.
[285] Rogers, 'Midwifery Work'.

situated the Jewish community further up their social scales of infant-rearing and modernity, and they were far less involved with the intimate practices of the Jewish community in this realm (and other realms of the intimate, as the following chapters will demonstrate). Ultimately, whilst there existed an intrusive intimacy of condescension towards Palestinian Arab midwives and mothers, there existed a more distant intimacy towards their Jewish counterparts.

Arab Jews and Christian Arabs

This perception of the Palestinian Arab community's maternity and infant welfare provision and practice as inferior to that of the Jewish community was however nuanced by multiple and conflicting perceptions of Palestinian Arabs and Jews among British colonial wives, missionaries, doctors and nurses in Palestine during the Mandate – a complication that Stockdale's scholarship has not addressed, likely due to Stockdale's broader focus on the period 1800-1948.[286] Sources reveal these British women to have perceived Arab Jews as less modern than European and American Jews and accordingly considered Arab Jewish homes to be less clean than those of their European and American Jewish neighbours. In addition, there existed among these women an expectation and belief that Palestinian Christian women made better mothers than Palestinian Muslim women.

This distinction drawn between Arab, European and American Jews by British women was clearly demonstrated in the aforementioned report of the PWC.[287] This outlined the 'social conditions prevailing in the country', with a particular focus on women and children, stating that 'the Jews of Palestine may be divided for our purposes into two classes': the 'extremely modern' European and American Jews, the majority of whom were either immigrants from Europe or the children of 'old settlers' who had 'benefited by modern education', and the 'old-fashioned' Arab Jews, who were neither immigrants from Europe nor had they received, in the eyes of these British women, a modern education.[288] In fact, the latter were understood to adhere to similar customs to the Palestinian Arab community, particularly regarding the cleanliness of their homes. Emery's autobiography, drawn from correspondence with family and friends during her time as a teacher in Palestine between 1919 and 1948,

[286] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters.*
[287] 'Palestine Women's Council'.
[288] Ibid.

brings to light these multiple and conflicting perceptions of the Jewish community. Whereas Emery described European and American Jewish girls as 'very nice' and 'European' in a letter to her mother in April 1934, in September 1929, Emery received a letter from fellow missionary Miss Irvine condemning the Arab Jewish community of Palestine.[289] In stark contrast with the Europeanness of the former, Irvine had been horrified to discover the purportedly unsophisticated and filthy home conditions of the Arab Jews of Palestine during a recent visit to an Arab Jewish community.[290] Irvine explained to Emery that the Jewish homes in question had been 'dirty' and 'grim' and that when she stepped outside,

> I happened to look down, and found that my white stockings were black with fleas, quite half-way to my knees. We all began to dust them off, and even the stolid Arab policemen began shaking and scraping their puttees. We hurried back to the hospital, and hastily threw all our clothes into a bath of hot water, and we escaped lightly, but not entirely.[291]

Further evidence of this perception of Arab Jewish homes as dirty is provided by missionary Ruth L. P. Clark's annual report of her work at the Girls' Day School of the CMJ in Jerusalem in 1930.[292] In her report, Clark stated that she had taken part in 'heart to heart talks' with a great number of Jewish mothers throughout the year, and she offered by way of example a recent conversation with a mother from the Arab Jewish community.[293] This 'poor little mother, pinched and wan' had told Clark that her children were living in a state of 'dire poverty and dirtiness'.[294] Clark was however pleased to report that in times of trouble, this woman 'took the name of Jesus on her lips to comfort her and to ask His help and He did not fail her'.[295]

It is worth noting that this distinction between Palestinian Arab Jews and European and American Jews was also made by male British missionaries in Palestine during the Mandate. In a statement with regard to the medical work of the CMJ in Jerusalem during the early years of British influence in Palestine, medical missionary Dr E. W. J. Masterman expressed his grave disappointment that the Jerusalem

[289] SE to ME, 8/4/34, MEC; Irvine to SE, 2/9/29, MEC.
[290] Irvine to SE, 2/9/29.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Clark, Annual Report, 1930, London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (CMJ), Bodleian Library.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid.

mission was concerned primarily with 'the very ignorant and needy' Jews who were suffering from malaria, dysentery and typhoid.[296] Masterman claimed that there was 'no use blinking at the fact that our Medical Mission is not, on its present lines… doing the work which it should do to recommend the best side of Christ's teaching to the more cultivated… more educated classes of Jews in Palestine'.[297] Masterman judged that there was 'far too much of mere dolling out of drugs in great quantities, and too little time allowed for the investigation and treatment of serious cures, especially in surgical cases'.[298] In accordance with broader perceptions of Jewish healthcare in Mandate Palestine as modern, extensive and self-sufficient, Masterman remarked that if the country were under a Jewish administration, then 'the present scourges of Jerusalem, malaria, dysentery, typhoid etc., would, without doubt, be largely checked' and 'there would certainly be far more efficient and extensive Government help (all under Jewish control) for these people'.[299] It is revealing that this statement was found in the archive of the JEM, rather than the CMJ, suggesting that this preference for 'the more cultivated… more educated' Jews of Palestine was not the official policy of the CMJ at this time.

This distinction between the Palestinian Arab and European and American Jewish communities in Palestine likewise took place at an official level. In an official survey of the fertility of marriage among the diverse religious communities in Mandate Palestine, Jewish participants were asked 'to indicate whether they belonged to the western or eastern communities' – effectively whether they were European or American Jews or Arab Jews.[300] Similarly, the 1947 government memorandum on the administration of Palestine under the Mandate reported that the Jewish community of Palestine were 'more diverse in their mental background than are the Arabs', explaining that Jewish immigrants to Palestine 'brought with them something of the atmosphere of their countries of origin… culture and familiarity with the amenities of civilisation'.[301]

[296] Statement with Regard to the Jerusalem Medical Mission by Masterman, Jul 1915, JEM.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.
[299] Ibid.
[300] Fertility of Marriage, 1939, CO 733/415/1, NA.
[301] Memorandum on the Administration of Palestine under the Mandate, 1947.

Further nuancing the general perception of Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare praxis as backward, ignorant and superstitious was the expectation and belief among some British missionaries that Palestinian Christian women made better mothers than their Muslim counterparts. In the annual report of CMS missionary Violet Studley Wyatt, Principal of the CMS Orphanage in Nazareth in 1928, Wyatt relayed her absolute astonishment that Palestinian Muslim women were responding better than Palestinian Christian women to her lessons in motherhood.[302] In addition to her work as principal of the Nazareth orphanage, throughout 1928 Wyatt had offered fortnightly lessons to Muslim and Christian women in an unnamed village outside Nazareth. She explained in her report that whereas the Muslim women seemed 'really to appreciate' her instruction and had given her 'such a welcome', the Christian women in the village were much less receptive to her teaching.[303] Wyatt was shocked by this, having expected Palestinian Christian women to be much more amenable to her instruction than Palestinian Muslim women and remarked, 'one wonders why…but so we have found it'.[304]

Similar views are apparent in the CMS Medical Mission Auxiliary review for 1934-1935.[305] This stated that most of the women attending the CMS clinic for mothers and infants in Lydda were Christians, '*though* very ignorant [author's emphasis]'.[306] Whereas Palestinian Muslim mothers were expected to be ignorant, Palestinian Christian mothers were not. The review additionally stated that it was 'good' that Palestinian Christian women were now 'showing faith in the Christian methods' because 'the Moslems are likely to follow them'.[307] This comment again invokes the notion of Christian advantage with regard to motherhood: it positions the Palestinian Christian mother as a role model – perhaps even as a mother figure – to the Palestinian Muslim mother. In fact, this notion of the Palestinian Muslim community as childlike correlates with CMS missionary Francis Winifred Cornwall's description of the predominantly Muslim area of Hebron as the 'baby' of the CMS mission in Palestine in 1923.[308] Some missionaries' belief in the superiority of Palestinian Christian motherhood was further evidenced in CMS missionary Grimwood's annual report for

[302] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 31/7/28, CMS.
[303] Ibid.
[304] Ibid.
[305] CMS Medical Mission Auxiliary: The Review of the Year, 1934-1935, CMS.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Cornwall, 'The Near East' 1923, TMH.

1935.[309] Grimwood stated that now in its fifth year of operation, the CMS Welfare Clinic at Lydda had been frequented by 478 Muslim mothers and 394 Christian mothers since the start of the year.[310] Grimwood explained that, as expected, it was now 'quite customary' for Palestinian Christian mothers to bathe their babies 'and even allow their heads to be washed too!', but that similar progress could not be reported among the Palestinian Muslim mothers, who were 'afraid to leave their old customs'.[311]

For some of the British women active in the sphere of maternity and infant welfare during the Mandate, particularly missionaries, these multiple perceptions of Palestinian Arabs and Jews mapped onto hierarchies of civilisation and temporality, expressed using the history of Christianity. This connection between some British women's perceptions of the people of Palestine and the history of Christianity, specifically biblical times, has been noted by Stockdale, who asserts that from the early-nineteenth century until the end of formal British influence in Palestine, English women's conceptions of the people of Palestine were 'heavily influenced by contemporary understandings of the Bible', with the inhabitants of Palestine 'constantly scrutinized against Biblical characters'.[312] However, the reports, publications and correspondence of British women in Palestine during the Mandate period reveal not a static conception of Palestine's population as belonging to biblical time, but a hierarchy of perceptions: Palestinian Muslims as living in conditions similar to those experienced by Christ himself; Palestinian Christians likened to medieval crusaders; Arab Jews perceived as living in the nineteenth century; and European and American Jews as harbingers of the twentieth and even the twenty-first century to Palestine. This use of the history of Christianity to understand the inhabitants of Palestine, specifically differences between Palestinian Arabs and Jews, also applied to some of the British women, particularly missionaries, involved with children and education during the Mandate. As will be returned to in Chapter Two, some missionary teachers visualised Palestinian Arab children in biblical settings and compared Palestinian Arab children to characters from the Bible but did not do the same with Jewish children. This urge to categorise the population of Palestine supports Vaughan's observation that 'unitization' – 'the procedures by which people were

[309] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 3/7/35, CMS.
[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood' 562.

counted (sometimes over and over again) for tax purposes or in censuses, weighed and measured' – was a 'preliminary to the more important task of aggregation' in the colonial setting.[313] According to Vaughan, aggregation entailed the conception of colonised peoples 'first and foremost, as members of groups'.[314]

By way of illustration of this hierarchy, Hilda Ridler, a British woman who spent the duration of the Mandate working among women and children in Palestine and received an O.B.E for her work in this sphere, singled out the following statement from then High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel for the opening page of her 'Brief Description of the Holy Land, Specially Written for Children', published in the mid-1920s:

> In Palestine… a traveller may live in the century he prefers. He may find among the Bedouins of Beersheba precisely the conditions that prevailed in the time of Abraham; at Bethlehem, he may see the women's costumes and in some respects the mode of living of the period of the Crusaders… the new arrivals from Eastern and Central Europe and from America bring with them the activities of the twentieth century and sometimes, perhaps, the ideas of the twenty first.[315]

According to Ridler, the different Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities in the country could thus be classified according to the epoch of Christianity to which they belonged: that of Christ himself, the Crusades or the present.[316] It is also worth noting here that Ridler's 'new arrivals', who had brought with them the twentieth or even the twenty-first century to Palestine, were Jews from Europe and America.[317]

The conceptualising of the peoples of Palestine in this way is particularly noticeable in missionary sources. The 1923 missionary report of medical work carried out at St Luke's Hospital in Haifa comprised comparable perspectives of the various Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities in Mandate Palestine.[318] The report stated that the Muslim villages surrounding Haifa were 'still at the level of old and bible days' and that their inhabitants represented 'a type of conservatism centuries old'.[319] In contrast, according to this report, the predominantly Jewish areas, with their 'industrial

[313] Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills,* p. 11.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Brief Description of the Holy Land, Specially Written for Children, mid-1920s, Hilda Ridler Papers, MEC.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Report of St Luke's Hospital, Nov 1922-Nov 1923, JEM.
[319] Ibid.

pursuits', were enjoying 'comparative civilisation'.[320] Moreover, the report recommended that 'the tourist in Palestine… make a point of going out of the beaten track' to the Muslim villages surrounding Haifa 'if he wishes to see from whence bible illustrations are drawn'.[321]

In 1931, nurse Irene Cowan also reported that 'the pleasantest, most peaceful time of my stay out here [in Palestine] was spent a little over a year ago in the old world of Bethlehem'.[322] Cowan explained that the Palestinian Christian population of Bethlehem was 'quite distinct from all others in Palestine' because individuals belonging to this community 'claim to be descended from the Crusaders… and certainly the married women with their high conical head dress and white coif look exactly like the ladies of the time of Richard Coeur de Lion'.[323] As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Five, British women in Palestine often mistakenly assumed that the headdresses worn by women in Bethlehem had some Christian significance. Indeed, Millicent Fawcett commented during a visit to Palestine in the early 1920s that 'they [the women of Bethlehem] alone probably, of all the women in the world, are still wearing the European fashions of eight hundred years ago… no other social influence was ever introduced sufficiently strong to induce the women of Bethlehem to make another change in the method of tiring [sic] their heads'.[324] In fact, the *shatweh* of married women in Bethlehem actually 'emerged from women copying the nineteenth-century tarbush worn by men, rather than European fashions of the Middle Ages or ancient Hebrew customs'.[325] In addition, not only did Cowan associate the Palestinian Christians of Bethlehem with a particular era of Christianity, but she also drew comparisons between her experiences in Bethlehem and familiar scenes from the Bible: she wrote of 'a rather beautiful' nativity ceremony she had attended during her time in Bethlehem and described 'shepherds who came in from watching their flock'.[326]

Whilst Palestinian Christians were likened to medieval crusaders, Palestinian Muslims were believed to be living in similar conditions to Christ himself. In a 1926 article outlining the recent work carried out at the CMS hospital in Nablus, CMS

[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Irene Cowan to Turner, 29/1/31, ONA.
[323] Ibid.
[324] Millicent Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine: 1921-1922* (London, 1926), p. 19.
[325] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 24. As pointed out in Shelagh Weir, *Palestinian Costume* (London, 1989), p. 178.
[326] Ibid.

missionary Dr Louisa Evelyn Pigeon offered an account of patients who had recently attended the Nablus hospital.[327] Pigeon explained that local men and women attended the hospital on different days 'so far as possible, as Moslem women prefer to visit the hospital when there is not much risk of their being seen by strange men'.[328] On women's days, according to Pigeon, 'crowds of Moslem women come', many of whom wear 'the picturesque garments of Bible times'.[329] This connection between the Muslim community of Palestine and the time of Christ was also made by British men in the country including Hugh Lester, the Head of the Department of Health in Palestine for the final two years of the Mandate. In Lester's report of the work carried out by his department during this period, he contrasted the Muslim communities of Mandate Palestine, who were 'still living in the time of Christ', with the 'advanced Jewish communities', who were enjoying the modern age.[330] Similarly, in an article published in the British Medical Journal following a trip to Palestine in 1946, Professor Samson Wright commented that Palestine was 'an extraordinary mixture of ancient and modern', its Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities 'straddling between the patriarchal period and twentieth century'.[331]

Thus while the history of Christianity was certainly employed by some British women (and men) during the Mandate in their understandings of the population of Palestine, this was not straightforward and it is necessary to nuance Stockdale's thesis: rather than having been 'constantly scrutinized against Biblical characters', Palestinian Muslims and Christians were likened to characters from the bible and medieval crusaders respectively, and Jewish individuals were seen as representatives of the nineteenth, twentieth and even the twenty-first century in Palestine.[332] These differing understandings were part of British women's broader hierarchies of modernity which, as will be shown throughout this thesis, underpinned their multiple intimate colonialisms during the Mandate.

[327] Pigeon, 'Nablus Mission Hospital' 1926, TMH.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.
[330] 'The Department of Health, Palestine. 1946-1948. The Decline and Fall', Hugh Lester Papers, Bodleian Library.
[331] Wright, 'Health Services' 913.
[332] Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood' 562.

Contradictory and Shifting Perceptions

Once again challenging and complicating the more general and static perception of Palestine's population subscribed to by Stockdale, British women's discourse on maternity and infant welfare during the Mandate was not uncomplicated.[333] Rather, its universality was undermined by contradictory and shifting views among British missionaries, doctors, nurses and colonial wives in the country. These British women held contradictory attitudes towards their ability to change the maternity and infant welfare practices of the Palestinian Arab community, born of varying perspectives regarding the reasons for the current inadequacy of Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare customs. And, whereas some British women reported that the Palestinian Arab women they encountered were responsive to their teaching, others portrayed these women as unmoved by their ideas – and sometimes actively resistant to their intervention in midwifery and mothering customs. Lastly, some of these British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arabs and Jews appear to have shifted with experience and contact with the population. Along with the multiple and conflicting perceptions of Palestinian Arabs and Jews discussed above, the discourse of British women in Mandate Palestine was not straightforward.

Firstly, these individuals' attitudes differed regarding their ability to change the maternity and infant welfare practices of the Palestinian Arab community. Whereas some British women believed that the Palestinian Arab community's alleged incompetence in this field was born of a lack of affection for their infants (particularly baby girls), others believed that this community certainly did care for its infants but had not yet encountered infant-rearing methods to demonstrate this affection. The former position was evidenced in the handbook for the CMS Child Welfare Exhibition that took place in London in 1929. The handbook observed that CMS work in Palestine was impinged upon by the Palestinian Arab community's negative attitude towards baby girls, allegedly seen in names such as '"Not wanted", "Don't-care-what-she's-called" and "Enough Daughters"'.[334] This perception of the Palestinian Arab community's attitude towards its infants was likewise evident from a JEM report on educational work in Palestine from the early 1920s. This report declared that Palestinian Arab children could count on receiving 'care and attention' at the Mission's schools – something they

[333] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters.*
[334] Handbook of CMS Child Welfare Exhibition, 1929.

did not receive at home (this was a widespread belief among British women in Mandate Palestine, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two).[335] Indeed, the Palestinian Arab community's alleged lack of affection for its infants left CMS missionary Jackson dispirited after five years of working in Palestine. In her annual report for 1944, Jackson explained that although 'last year we used to have 2 clinics a week in the afternoon', she had recently cut this down to one clinic and was 'not thinking of going back to 2 afternoons' because Palestinian Arab mothers had 'no intention of doing what they are told'.[336]

In stark contrast with the above, other British women in Palestine *did* believe that change among the Palestinian Arab community concerning maternity and infant welfare was possible and that this community had simply not yet encountered effective ways to demonstrate its affection. In an article detailing the medical work of the CMS in Palestine in 1929, Dr Louisa Evelyn Pigeon offered the example of a Palestinian Arab mother who had recently attended a local CMS clinic with her son.[337] Pigeon explained that the infant had arrived at the clinic 'with his face wrapped up in filthy rags', his mother 'pointing out that he has not opened his eyes for the last seven days'.[338] The infant's eyes were 'immediately bathed and examined', only to find that his sight had been 'destroyed through dirt, flies and neglect'.[339] Pigeon reported this mother's extreme sadness upon receiving this unhappy news and explained that the mother's ignorance had tragically prevented her from effectively caring for her child. Thus, for Pigeon, this mother's neglect was not due to a lack of concern for her infant, but because she did not know how to effectively tend to her child. This affection among Palestinian Arab mothers was likewise observed by CMS missionary Winifred Ethel Neale in her article describing CMS work in Gaza in 1938.[340] Neale reported that local mothers 'feel sure that the baby will of course die if left without its mother, or certainly the mother will, if parted from it… one of the most usual expressions is: 'The mother must come too, she will cry if not, I shall not be able to quiet her''.[341] This tenderness among Palestinian Arab mothers – and their potential to be worthy maternal figures, once familiar with effective mothering praxis – was similarly remarked upon by Lady

[335] Report on Educational Work in Palestine, early 1920s, JEM.
[336] Jackson, Annual Letter, 5/44, CMS.
[337] Pigeon, 'The Mentality of Hospital Patients' 1929.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Neale, 'Gaza Medical Mission' 1938, TMH.
[341] Ibid.

Blomfield in the previously mentioned article on children in Mandate Palestine in *The World's Children* in September 1932.[342] Blomfield reported that Dr Eva Cotching had recently visited Palestine and realised that Arab mothers were 'handicapped by lack of knowledge', having had 'little opportunity of coming into contact with modern ideas of hygiene and infant dietetics'.[343] Cotching had therefore set about acquainting these mothers with modern ideas and provided them with 'help in the nurture of their children which they so sorely needed'. Cotching felt she had consequently managed to bring out 'splendid qualities' in these women through her work at two clinics for Palestinian Arab mothers in Haifa.[344] Thus while some British women, such as Jackson, became disillusioned with their maternity and infant welfare work in Palestine owing to a perception of local mothers as not caring about their infants and therefore being unlikely to heed the advice of British women, others were more positive. The latter group perceived Palestinian Arab women as devoted mothers whose maternal abilities were inhibited by a lack of knowledge about modern and effective maternity and infant welfare methods.

A further contradiction in this discourse pertained to Palestinian Arab women's responses to British women's intervention in the field of maternity and infant welfare. While some of these British individuals reported that the women they encountered were receptive to their teaching, others presented Arab women as unmoved by British ideas and even actively resistant to them. By way of example of this, CMS missionary Wyatt reported in 1925 that local women were 'very interested' in her 'simple lessons on health and also on how to look after babies' and similarly, CMS missionary Gutsell reported from Nablus in 1924 that 'as a rule', local Palestinian Arab women were 'glad to be taught'.[345] In marked contrast with this, as mentioned previously, when asked to contribute 'a few little additional details about some of the patients who have passed through our Hospital recently' for the CMS news sheet for Nablus Hospital in 1948, Miss H. M. Gould provided an account of one Palestinian Arab woman who had recently attended the hospital and disliked the matron 'very much' for she had 'insisted on her feeding her baby at regular fixed times'.[346] Likewise, CMS missionary Elsie Rickard acknowledged in her annual report for 1945 that 'sometimes' Palestinian

[342] 'Arab Children in Palestine', Sep 1932.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 25/10/25, CMS; Gutsell, Annual Letter, 30/11/24, CMS.
[346] CMS Share Plan News Sheet, 1948.

women tried to 'oppose the teaching' at this CMS hospital in Nablus.[347] This perception of Palestinian Arab women as resistant to missionary intervention, and a contrasting perception of Palestinian Arab children as possessing agency to welcome missionary instruction will be discussed further in the context of Rickard's missionary photography in Palestine in Chapter Two.

Finally, some British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arabs and Jews in this sphere were liable to change, appearing to have shifted with experience and contact with Palestine's population during the Mandate period. As mentioned previously, in her annual report for 1928, Wyatt relayed her utter amazement that Palestinian Muslim women were responding better than Palestinian Christian women to her lessons in motherhood at a village outside Nazareth.[348] This experience disrupted what Wyatt held to be true about the Palestinian Arab community and maternity and infant welfare in Palestine – namely that Palestinian Christians made better mothers than Palestinian Muslim women – and led Wyatt to remark, 'one wonders why… but so we have found it'.[349] In Wyatt's annual report for 1934, having worked among mothers in Palestine for a further six years, Wyatt intriguingly reflected that one 'cannot and should not keep work among Jews and Arabs in watertight compartments'.[350] It is possible to conjecture that Wyatt's experiences during these six years had further subverted any previously held hierarchical conceptions of the population of Palestine, further proof that the discourse of British women in Mandate Palestine was far from straightforward.

Conclusion

Between 1920 and 1948 in Palestine, the nature of British women's colonialisms in the sphere of maternity and infant welfare varied according to the local community at which they were directed: there existed an intimacy of intrusion in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab childbirth, maternity and infant-rearing and a contrasting, distant intimacy towards Jewish midwives and mothers. The reports, publications and correspondence of female British missionaries, nurses, doctors and colonial wives in Palestine during the Mandate reveal British women to have situated Palestinian Arab and Jewish midwives and mothers on hierarchies of

[347] Rickard, Annual Letter, 11/45, CMS.
[348] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 31/7/28, CMS.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 22/8/34, CMS.

infant-rearing, domesticity and modernity, with Palestinian Arab midwives and mothers always located further down this social scale. The Palestinian Arab community's midwifery practices were a source of serious concern to many British women during this period, with the Superintendent of Midwifery, Vena Rogers, criticising *dayahs* for their alleged ignorance and superstition and blaming these midwives for the high infant mortality rate (200 per 1,000 births in 1932) among the Palestinian Arab community.[351] Palestinian Arab mothers were even condemned by British women as posing a threat to their own children. These condescending perspectives underpinned British women's lessons for Palestinian Arab mothers as well as their entry into Palestinian Arab homes, during which they attempted to instil in these mothers regular habits regarding the feeding, bathing and weighing of their infants and their own notions of cleanliness.

The nature of British women's intimate colonialisms towards the Jewish community in this sphere was very different, however. This is indicated from the outset by the distinct silence in British women's correspondence, reports, and publications with regard to the private and personal aspects of Jewish maternity and infant welfare praxis. Indeed, British women's understandings of the Jewish community in this sphere were based on the Jewish community's provision for its mothers and infants, rather than practice. The colonial wives of the PWC and female British missionaries perceived the provision for Jewish mothers and their infants in Mandate Palestine as modern, self-sufficient, and extensive, both in terms of the range of services offered to Jewish mothers (including clinics and milk distribution centres) and the distribution of these across the country. This situating of the Jewish community further up these social scales of infant-rearing and modernity, as well as British women's lack of direct engagement with the private and personal aspects of Jewish life, will be seen in other spheres of the intimate throughout this thesis.

This is not to suggest that British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish maternity and infant welfare during the Mandate were straightforward, however: there existed among these women an expectation and belief that Palestinian Christian women made better mothers than Palestinian Muslim women and also that Arab Jews were less modern than European and American Jews. For some British women – particularly missionaries, as will also be addressed in Chapter Two – these

[351] 'Arab Children in Palestine', May 1932.

nuanced perceptions mapped onto a hierarchy of civilisation and temporality, a hierarchy grounded in the history of Christianity. The totality of British women's discourse was also undermined by contradictory and shifting attitudes among these women. Their views diverged regarding the likelihood of reforming the maternity and infant welfare practices of the Palestinian Arab community and, whilst some of these women believed that Palestinian Arab women were thankful for and responsive to their instruction, others portrayed Palestinian women as unaffected and even antipathetic to British women's intervention in this sphere. Further subverting the notion of a monolithic discourse among these women is the fact that some of these individuals' hierarchical conceptions of the population of Palestine appear to have been challenged by their contact with local communities, as evinced in the final example in this chapter of CMS missionary Violet Studley Wyatt, whose experiences in and around Nazareth led her to re-evaluate her understandings of the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities.[352]

The differing nature of British women's intimate colonialisms towards the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities of Palestine in this sphere complicates Stockdale's argument that English women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948 viewed the women of the country as 'bad mothers' who brought 'harm to their children through ignorance of proper behaviours'.[353] By focusing on the British Mandate period specifically, it becomes clear that British missionaries, nurses, doctors and colonial wives condemned Palestinian Arab but not Jewish midwives and mothers, and were far more involved in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab lives. The extent to which the same can be said of British women's colonialisms in other spheres of the intimate in Mandate Palestine will be explored in subsequent chapters of this thesis, beginning with British missionaries' and teachers' perceptions of, and engagement with, Palestinian Arab and Jewish children and their parents in Chapter Two.

[352] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 22/8/34, CMS.
[353] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* pp. 127-9; Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood' 561-9; Stockdale, 'Palestinian Girls' pp. 217-33.

Chapter II:
Discourses of Difference in Education

Figure 1. *Palestine Pictures,* undated, CMS.

In an attempt to bring the familiar yet faraway land of the Bible to life for children in Britain during the Mandate, the CMS devised a series of pamphlets titled *Palestine Pictures*. Intended as a Sunday school resource, the pamphlets featured photographs of perceived day-to-day life in Nazareth, Nablus and other parts of Palestine. Mostly captured by female British missionaries (including Elsie Rickard from Chapter One), these images depicted Palestinian Arab women and children in the home, children at Sunday school and other similar scenes. One particular photograph encapsulates the key themes of the current chapter. Featured above, it shows a Palestinian Arab boy in the foreground with his hand outstretched towards the missionary behind the camera. The boy's face is crumpled, as if he is desperate for the missionary's attention. In contrast, the two women in the photograph have their backs turned to both the young boy and the missionary, and they appear to be rushing into the tent behind. These women are also clad in dark clothing, in contrast to the young boy who has a bright white scarf around his head, redolent of a halo. The capturing and inclusion of this scene in *Palestine Pictures* signifies the agency British missionaries attached to children in Mandate Palestine: it is the Palestinian Arab child, not the adult, who is

reaching out to the missionary for help. This motif was not confined to missionary photographs, but also permeated the reports, correspondence and publications of British women who taught children in Palestine between 1920 and 1948.

The perceived desperation of this child was not just affected by his age, but by his race too. In line with British women's hierarchical understandings of Jewish and Palestinian Arab maternity and infant welfare practices, as outlined in Chapter One, the British women involved with children and education in Mandate Palestine perceived Jewish children as intelligent individuals but condemned Palestinian Arab parents for a supposed lack of support for education, as well as a lack of discipline of their children, which – according to British women – rendered Palestinian Arab children unlikely to succeed in the school environment. A great deal of British education for Palestinian Arab pupils correspondingly focused first and foremost on character training. Yet there was a distinct imprecision among British women as to what exactly character training entailed, revealing an incoherence in these women's approaches. Also, unlike many of the British men who wielded influence over education in Palestine during this period, female British missionaries and teachers do not appear to have been concerned by the problems usually associated with an educated local population – namely that an encounter with Western modernity might inspire a challenge to British authority. This lack of concern is best explained by British women's sense of the limits to Palestinian Arab children's progress at school: it was believed that these children were capable of spiritual yet not social redemption or 'civilised' behaviour and occupied a space somewhere between being set in their ways and capable of a total transformation.

In keeping with the findings of Chapter One, some Palestinian Arab and Jewish children in Mandate Palestine were understood by British women – particularly missionaries – with reference to the history of Christianity, specifically the Bible. These women visualised Palestinian Arab children in biblical settings and compared Palestinian Arab children to characters from the Bible, but they did not do the same with Jewish children.[354] The reports and correspondence of these women also show them to have conceived of their role in Palestine in a distinctly biblical sense: they believed themselves to be guardians of peace and equality, with the classroom a space entirely detached from any racial, religious or political tension. This belief was

[354] Stockdale, 'Biblical Motherhood' 562.

however undermined by the discourse of difference perpetuated by these women. As already outlined, they viewed Jewish children as bright, intelligent individuals, but Palestinian Arab children as unlikely to succeed in the missionary school environment. As well as British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish children and child-rearing practices during the Mandate, this chapter will explore the ideas and actions of British children who were taught by these women in British schools in Palestine at this time. British children exercised their own agency during the Mandate, which manifested in a fascination with the Arabic language, close relationships with Palestinian Arab adults and children, and enchantment with Palestinian food, in direct contravention to the familial and scholastic emphasis on British superiority. Through these mediums, British children blurred the boundaries between the British and the Palestinian Arab community and ultimately undermined the discourse of difference in education that underpinned British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in this sphere.

As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the merit of studying children in a colonial context – both in terms of adults' perceptions of children and the ideas and actions of children themselves – has been increasingly recognised by scholars in recent years for the enhanced understanding it offers of the domestic and intimate, as well as broader social aspects of colonialism. David Pomfret has argued that children were 'markers of civilisation' across empire, with infant and child-rearing practices employed as indicators of modernity and civilisation, and that the children of colonising communities often possessed an extraordinary ability to subvert colonial distinctions through their ideas and actions.[355] Stoler has also argued that 'children mattered', with European children in colonial contexts time and again frustrating 'the divisions that adults are wont to draw'.[356] An examination of British women's perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish children and child-rearing practices, as well as the ideas and actions of British children in Palestine, sheds further light on the nature of British women's intimate colonialisms during the Mandate period.

The only historian to date to have investigated British women's involvement in education in Mandate Palestine is Inger Marie Okkenhaug, who in 2002 explored Anglican mission and education in Palestine between 1888 and 1948, with a focus on

[355] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, p. 3.
[356] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge,* pp. xv, 119-20.

'the most prestigious mission schools for girls in the country': the Jerusalem Girls' College and the English High School in Haifa.[357] Okkenhaug's scholarship centred on the rich archive of the JEM, including the papers of the three most important British women in education in Mandate Palestine: Mabel Warburton, the founder and first principal of the Jerusalem Girls' College; Winifred Annie Coate, principal of this institution from 1929 onwards; and Susanna Emery, who was briefly introduced in Chapter One, and who taught at the Jerusalem Girls' College between 1919 and 1930 and then became Principal of the English High School in Haifa in 1932, remaining in this position until 1948.[358] Okkenhaug has argued that JEM educational work in Palestine between 1888 and 1948 had a clear focus: 'while the British have been accused of lacking any clear policy concerning their rule in Palestine, the Anglican women missionaries had a clear-cut definition of not only their role in the area, but also of the British Mandate's mission in a multi-religious and multi-national society', namely the establishment of 'peaceful multi-cultural environment[s]' in schools across Palestine.[359]

This chapter challenges and develops Okkenhaug's argument. It does this by inserting the attitudes and experiences of non-JEM-affiliated female British teachers in Mandate Palestine into the narrative. This includes female British teachers and missionaries who were involved in the less well-documented educational institutions during the Mandate, for example the CMS Girls' School in Bethlehem, the CMS Orphanage in Nazareth, the Arab High School in Birzeit, and other educational institutions in Lydda, Nablus and Shefa Amer. The reports, official and personal correspondence, articles, autobiographies and accounts of these women show that when looking beyond the Jerusalem Girls' College and the English High School in Haifa, their approaches to education during the Mandate were not so focused, but rather incoherent at times – specifically when it came to training the 'character' of their Palestinian Arab pupils. This chapter also demonstrates that the discourse of difference perpetuated by these women reveals that any attempts to create 'peaceful multi-cultural environment[s]' in Palestine's schools must not be taken at face-value; these efforts were undermined by British women's hierarchical understandings of

[357] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. xiii.
[358] For more on Mabel Warburton specifically, see Inger Marie Okkenhaug, 'Mission and Education as Liberating Strategies: The Case of Mabel Warburton' in Ingvar B. Maehle and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (eds.), *Women and Religion in the Middle East and the Mediterranean* (Oslo, 2004), pp. 67-84.
[359] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* pp. xiv-xxx.

Palestinian Arab and Jewish children and child-rearing practices, as part of their broader multiple intimate colonialisms.[360]

In addition to the reports, correspondence, articles, autobiographies and accounts of these women, this chapter explores books for children on the subject of Palestine authored by female British missionaries and teachers in the country. It also engages with the memoirs and oral history testimonies of Britons and Palestinians who attended British missionary schools or encountered British women as children during the Mandate. It ultimately argues that in the context of children and education, British women again situated the communities of Palestine on social hierarchies, and had differing engagements with these groups, as part of their broader multiple intimate colonialisms.

Education in Mandate Palestine

As with the arrangements concerning maternity and infant welfare in Mandate Palestine, the Jewish and Palestinian Arab education systems during the Mandate were strikingly separate. Jewish education during the Mandate was 'virtually independent of mandate government interference' and consisted of schools under the Vaad Leumi (the Jewish National Council), government supported schools and Jewish private schools.[361] Education was provided for Jewish children from kindergarten up to university level and was 'universal almost right from the start'.[362] The Department of Education reported that 96 percent of Jewish children between the ages of five and fifteen attended school by 1933.[363]

In sharp contrast, there was a huge amount of government and missionary involvement in Palestinian Arab education throughout the Mandate. In the early years, the Government focused on primary education, and introduced a scheme whereby if a Palestinian Arab community provided a suitable building for a school then the Government would cover the maintenance costs and the teachers' salaries. Seventy-five schools were set up each year under this initiative until 1924.[364] But the Government allocated a consistently inadequate proportion of its annual budget to

[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid, p. 61.
[362] Ibid, p. 65.
[363] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1934.
[364] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1924, Blue Book, Vol. 1.

education, ranging between 4.8 and 6.5 percent for the duration of the Mandate.[365] As Elizabeth Brownson has noted, this was 'grossly insufficient' and 'lag[ged] behind that of many other colonial territories'.[366] The Government's education initiatives for the Palestinian Arab community were consequently bolstered by the work of the JEM, CMS and CMJ during the Mandate.[367] Ellen Fleischmann has described these missionary organisations as essential for filling the considerable gaps in social services that occurred in Palestine throughout the Mandate, and Okkenhaug concurs that 'Arab youth, and especially women, had to a great extent to rely on foreign missionary schools for secondary and higher education'.[368]

Consequently, when it comes to British women's involvement in education in Palestine, consistent with other facets of their involvement in Palestinian Arab and Jewish lives during the Mandate, we are talking for the most part about work among the Palestinian Arab community, usually girls, at secondary and sometimes primary school level. As mentioned previously, two of the most important institutions for British women's involvement in education in Mandate Palestine are well represented in the JEM archives: the Jerusalem Girls' College and the English High School in Haifa. The former was established in 1918 and encompassed both a primary and a secondary school, the former aimed at pupils aged five to fourteen, the latter for girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four. The school aimed 'to be equal to a secondary school in England' and, 'with the exception of Hebrew and Arabic, the subjects taught followed standard English secondary curriculum for girls; scripture, mathematics, music, physics, chemistry, French, drawing, domestic science as well as physical education, with special syllabuses for history and regional geography'.[369] In 1927 there were 161 girls enrolled at the Jerusalem Girls' College and the British Headmistress was supported by seven other British women.[370] In 1925, the English High School was founded in Haifa on similar lines. Besides languages, 'the usual subjects were taught: history, geography, mathematics, nature study, domestic economy, needlework, drawing and music… the girls played basketball twice a week, and a few of the older

[365] Elizabeth Brownson, 'Colonialism, Nationalism and the Politics of Teaching History in Mandate Palestine' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 43 (2014) 9-25, 12.
[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid.
[368] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 32; Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 63.
[369] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 69.
[370] James Headlam-Morley, Report on the Anglican Schools in Palestine (1927), JEM.

pupils were Girl Guides'.[371] In 1927 there were seventy-six girls in attendance at the school, and the British Headmistress was supported by three other British women.[372]

A great number of the British women who were involved in education in Mandate Palestine did not work at the Jerusalem Girls' College or the English High School in Haifa, however. They worked at other, less well-documented institutions. These included the CMS Girls' School in Bethlehem, the CMS Orphanage in Nazareth and schools in Lydda, Nablus and Shefa Amer. Another relevant institution here is the Arab High School in Birzeit (now Birzeit University outside Ramallah). Although it may be difficult – or 'impossible', according to Okkenhaug – to compare curriculums and pupils' ages at these other, less well-documented institutions, the reports, correspondence, articles, autobiographies and accounts of the British women who taught at these schools can still offer a fascinating and hithertofore overlooked insight into British women's perceptions of the people of Palestine. It is important that the attitudes and experiences of these women are taken into account to establish an improved understanding of British women's involvement in education in Mandate Palestine.[373]

The Prized Jewish Child

The vast majority of Jewish children in Mandate Palestine therefore attended schools run by the Jewish community. The number of Jewish children at Christian missionary schools (French, German and Italian, as well as British) was 'tiny' for the duration of the Mandate, with just 1.2 percent of the total Jewish student population for the year 1925-1926 enrolled at Christian missionary schools.[374] This figure remained low throughout the Mandate, as Jewish pupils at these schools constituted 'a smaller and smaller percentage of an ever growing total Jewish student population'.[375] In conclusions drawn from the correspondence of Susanna Emery, Liora Halperin has remarked that Jewish pupils at Christian missionary schools had a 'hold in the imagination' of British women missionaries.[376] The following analysis

[371] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 76.
[372] Headlam-Morley, Report on the Anglican Schools in Palestine (1927).
[373] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 66.
[374] Liora Halperin, 'The Battle over Jewish Students in the Christian Missionary Schools of Mandate Palestine' *Middle Eastern Studies* 50 (2014) 737-54, 739.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid, 738.

unpacks this, demonstrating that Jewish pupils met with overwhelming positivity from British women during the Mandate, particularly concerning intellectual ability.

This is first evident in the excitement of many missionaries to report the arrival of Jewish pupils at their schools. On the very first page of her annual report for 1928, CMS missionary Violet Studley Wyatt eagerly announced that of the fifty-nine children enrolled at the CMS orphanage in Nazareth at the start of the academic year, one was 'a little Jewess… our first'.[377] Similarly, Wyatt commenced her four-page annual report for 1933 with the news that 'a little baptised Jewess' had recently arrived at the orphanage.[378] This enthusiasm for Jewish pupils was shared by Winifred Coate at the Jerusalem Girls' College, who reported that the school year of 1922 had been 'a very encouraging one' because some Jewish families had been 'willing to submit their girls to our influence'.[379] Coate's phrasing of this piece of news is revealing: while her thinly-veiled pride that Jewish families had sent their girls to be educated at her institution revealed her high opinion of Jewish education, her triumphalism simultaneously disclosed her firm belief in the superiority of British education.

This positivity was borne of the perceived intelligence of Jewish children. In 1928, Wyatt described the first Jewish child ever to attend the CMS orphanage in Nazareth as 'a very bright child' and declared again in 1933 that the most recent Jewish child to join their ranks was a 'clever child'.[380] Coate likewise stated in 1921 that she had 'two very intelligent and critical Jewesses' in her class, and remarked in 1922 that 'the most thoughtful questions' were the ones that she received from her Jewish pupils.[381] This perception of Jewish children as intelligent during the Mandate was not confined to British women. The following comment appeared in a 1931 report on the CMJ Boys' Boarding School in Jerusalem from Mr C. A. du Heaume, Assistant Master of the institution at the time:

> one would venture to say that most of the boys are endowed with the great ability, like the rest of their race. It is interesting to note that in one class the only two boys who one would consider 'duds' are the only two in the class who are not of pure Jewish descent.[382]

[377] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 31/7/28.
[378] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 22/7/33, CMS.
[379] Coate, Annual Letter, 26/11/22, CMS.
[380] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 31/7/28; Wyatt, Annual Letter, 22/7/33.
[381] Coate, Annual Letter, 27/11/21, CMS; Coate, Annual Letter, 26/11/22.
[382] Mr C. A. du Heaume, Annual Report, 1931, CMJ.

Only recently has the strained relationship between Jewish families who sent their children to Christian missionary schools and the wider Jewish community in Mandate Palestine been brought to light by Halperin.[383] Opposition to Jewish attendance at Christian missionary schools began in the early-nineteenth century, as Jewish leaders in Palestine became increasingly concerned about the effect of these institutions on the 'religious and national character' of the Jewish community in the country.[384] From the 1830s onwards, Christian missionary schools were boycotted by both religious and secular Jewish institutions, and 'rabbis in Jerusalem threatened with excommunication families who sent their children to these schools'.[385] This opposition only increased in the twentieth century, as Zionist groups 'took up the antimission mission with particular fervour'.[386] Foreign schools served as a 'worrying reminder' to the Jewish community of Palestine that this was a society in which European language skills could increasingly be 'leveraged' to secure jobs in certain sectors – for example government service – much to the detriment of those who had attended Jewish schools where the language of instruction was Hebrew.[387] The strength of this hostility towards Christian missionary schools is demonstrated by the following poster, published by the Central Council for the Enforcement of Hebrew in the *Yishuv* in 1942. It declared that Jewish parents who sent their children to missionary schools were

> making an error with their children… these parents are sinning towards their people… to parents who are educating their children in foreign institutions we call out… return your children to Hebrew institutions… from the whole Hebrew public we demand awareness on this vital matter: inform us immediately of any Hebrew child being educated in a foreign institution.[388]

Jewish children who attended Christian missionary schools were not only a point of contention among the Jewish community, however. They were also a source of tension among British missionaries who longed to retain their most treasured pupils. In September 1923, CMS missionary Miss Elliott detailed a recent dispute involving a Jewish girl named Hilda, who had enrolled at the CMS school in Bethlehem earlier in the year.[389] Elliott reported that a Jewish woman had recently arrived at the school,

[383] Halperin, 'The Battle over Jewish Students'.
[384] Ibid, 741.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Ibid, 738.
[388] As quoted in Halperin, 'The Battle over Jewish Students', 747-8.
[389] Elliott, Annual Letter, 14/9/23, CMS.

claiming to be Hilda's mother. The disinclination of the British missionaries to relinquish Hilda is evident from the tone of Elliott's account. She explained that despite the fact that 'neither her [Hilda] nor the mother recognised each other, as they had not met for 10 years', after 'some delay', the school 'very reluctantly' let Hilda go. In a similar case in 1928, Wyatt reported with deep regret that the orphanage's first Jewish pupil had not returned to the institution after going home for the Easter holidays, and that her family had most likely 'got hold of her' and sent her to a Jewish school instead.[390] Given the opposition that existed among the Jewish community to Jewish children attending Christian missionary schools, it is not unfathomable that these children may indeed have been removed from CMS schools in favour of a Jewish education. Interestingly, neither Elliott nor Wyatt appear to have been cognizant of these pressures, a discrepancy likely to have been exacerbated by the language barrier that existed between British women and the Jewish community at this time – as British women had limited involvement with the Jewish community throughout the Mandate, few British women learnt Hebrew, focusing on Arabic instead.

With such a small proportion of the Jewish student population in attendance at British missionary schools, encounters between British women and Jewish pupils were relatively infrequent. Yet the Jewish children who did attend British missionary institutions in Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Nazareth were highly valued by their British teachers and praised for their intellectual abilities. As will become evident, similar observations were rarely made by British women about their Palestinian Arab pupils.

The Training of Character

In stark contrast to this perception of Jewish children, Palestinian Arab children were seen by British women to lack an upbringing conducive to success at school. The reasons for this were twofold: firstly, an alleged lack of support for education among Palestinian Arab parents, particularly in rural areas of the country; and secondly, a lack of discipline in infancy and childhood which, it was believed, left these children without the necessary skills for success at school. This led British women to focus on the training of character in their teaching of Palestinian Arab pupils, but there was a distinct lack of clarity among these women as to what exactly character training entailed. This brings to light an incoherence in British women's approaches to children

[390] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 31/7/28.

and education during the Mandate, complicating Okkenhaug's argument that Anglican missionaries had a clear-cut sense of their mission in the country.[391]

This alleged lack of support for education was typically evidenced by missionaries with examples of Palestinian Arab parents who discouraged their children from attending school in order that they could help with agricultural work. In CMS missionary Gwendolen Grimwood's annual report of the CMS primary school she supervised in Shefa Amer in 1941, Grimwood deplored the 'considerable drop' in school attendance that occurred in the summer months and during the harvesting season, when children were required by their parents to help on the land.[392] Grimwood was particularly distressed to report the case of Johira and Nada, two students who had been taken out of school by their mother in order that they could help with 'treading, and binding the sheaves, and gleaning'.[393] Grimwood commented that this work was 'all' done with 'primitive instruments', which was perhaps an attempt by Grimwood to emphasise her belief that school education was the pathway to modernity, and the contrasting direction in which, to her mind, the children of Shefa Amer were being pulled by their parents.[394] Grimwood regretted that these activities had kept many students away from school, and that the harvesting season in particular had been, as was customary, a 'poor one' for the education of the youth of Shefa Amer.[395] This perception of a lack of support for education among Palestinian Arab parents exemplifies the failure of many British women in Mandate Palestine to fully comprehend the daily lives of the local population. As Ela Greenberg has explained in her work on Muslim girls' education in the country during this period, children were an indispensable source of labour in rural communities in Mandate Palestine, especially so during the harvesting season, and girls often assumed 'central roles' in this work.[396] British women's lack of understanding of the local population and their application of British concepts of childhood as a time of learning, not labour, contributed to their biased perceptions of Palestinian Arab parents.

[391] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* pp. xiv-xxx.
[392] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 1941, CMS.
[393] Ibid.
[394] Ibid.
[395] Ibid.
[396] Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers,* pp. 22, 59.

This perception of Palestinian Arab parents' apathy for education even pervaded missionary books for children during the Mandate. *Boys and Girls of the Near East,* written and illustrated 'by those that knew them' – specifically British missionary in Palestine, Florence Fremantle – featured two characters from Palestine, both of whose parents did not prioritise their school education. In the story of Hilwy, 'a girl from Palestine', Hilwy's continual distractions from school are the main focus of the story, which opens with Hilwy waking up one morning and looking 'at the striped cloth bag, with her school books in it, hanging on a peg on the wall. "No school to-day" she thought. "Books, you can stay where you are; I'm going olive picking with Mother."'[397] Hilwy proceeds to spend the rest of the week picking, gathering and pressing olives, with the full support of both her mother and father. She attends school for a day, but 'it rained hard one night, and the next morning when her father had been on the roof to look at the olives he said: "No school to-day Hilwy. The olives are ready to be taken to the olive press. You must stay and help your mother."'[398] This lack of support for education among Palestinian Arab parents was further propagated in the story of Nimir, 'a Bedouin boy', which described how Nimir occupied his time 'riding bare back, like a true Bedouin… out all day with his father and uncles'.[399] A passage subtitled 'Nimir's "School"' stated that 'all this was Nimir's school. He could not read or write, but he learned many old Arabic stories about horses and dragons and brave men'.[400]

It is significant that these children's stories did not feature any Jewish characters. *Boys and Girls of the Near East* consisted of the escapades of eight characters from Egypt, Palestine and Persia, yet not a single one of these was Jewish.[401] Similarly, in *Here's to Adventure: A Book of Stories*, the story about Palestine, again authored by Fremantle, focused exclusively on the Palestinian Arab community.[402] This is important because it sheds light on British women's conceptions of the Palestinian Arab and Jewish population during the Mandate. The fact that Palestinian Arab characters were chosen to feature alongside characters from Egypt, Persia, India and Africa, but Jewish characters were not, suggests that there was

[397] *Boys and Girls of the Near East*, CMS.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] *Here's to Adventure: A Book of Stories,* CMS.

something different about the Jewish population. This links to the idea of an intimacy of peers (or near peers) existing between British women and the Jewish community during the Mandate, to be returned to throughout this thesis and addressed specifically in Chapter Five on the social relationships between British and Jewish women.

There is also reason to believe that these missionary books for children were not only used to teach children at Sunday schools in Britain, but children in Palestine too. In her annual report for 1923 from the CMS Girls' School in Bethlehem, Mabel Mellor stated that one of the 'main things' to report was the 'great efforts to train the children in missionary knowledge' through 'daily missionary prayers, using a missionary picture book of the children of other lands'.[403] Given that Fremantle, author of the missionary picture book *Boys and Girls of the Near East* supervised a 'Diocesan Book-Room' in Jerusalem in the early 1920s which became popular with fellow CMS missionaries and stocked missionary picture books for children, it is quite possible that the book used by Mellor was *Boys and Girls of the Near East.*[404] This is significant as it attests to the impact of British women's perceptions: not only did the views of these women shape British children and British adults' understandings of Palestine back in Britain, but these views were also employed in attempts to shape Palestinian Arab children's understandings of their own (and the Jewish) community.

The second explanation provided by missionaries for Palestinian Arab children's supposed failure to thrive in the school environment was a lack of discipline from parents in infancy and childhood. As seen in Chapter One, Palestinian Arab mothers were criticised throughout the Mandate by British missionaries for overfeeding their infants, with CMS missionary Gwendolen Grimwood recording the example of one mother who 'had lost her first baby from over feeding', with her second child 'fast going the same way'.[405] This spoiling and lack of discipline was believed to extend from infanthood into childhood and beyond. In 1933, Grimwood reported that the Palestinian Arab children she encountered knew no self-control, as there was 'no discipline' in their homes; instead, Grimwood explained, the Palestinian Arab mother had given her child 'what it cried for from the first moment… is it any wonder that self-discipline and self-control are almost unknown even in adults?'.[406] This perception of

[403] Mellor, Annual Letter, 18/11/23, CMS.
[404] Ibid; Fremantle, Annual Letter, 8/31, CMS.
[405] Grimwood, 12/8/31.
[406] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 15/8/33.

this community as lacking self-control was not specific to Palestine, but part of a broader infantilization of racialised local populations across empire.[407] Significantly, however, such perceptions were not extended to the local Jewish community during the Mandate.

In part owing to this perception, British women attached great importance to the training of character of their Palestinian Arab pupils. This is discernible from their personal and official correspondence during the Mandate. Some of the most important figures in British education in Palestine at this time, Susanna Emery, Mabel Warburton, and Winifred Annie Coate, believed character training to be an essential part of their work. Shortly after arriving in Palestine to take up the position of Art Mistress at the Jerusalem Girls' College, Emery – who went on to become Principal of the English High School in Haifa from 1932 until 1948 – explained in a letter to her mother that the 'actual giving lessons' to her predominantly Palestinian Arab pupils was not the main focus of her work, but instead it was 'trying to teach them to behave sensibly'.[408] Similarly, Warburton, founder and Principal of the same institution, claimed in a letter of brief departure from Palestine in 1925 that 'the training of character' had, from the very inception of the college in 1920, 'formed so large a part of the work'.[409] Warburton reassured the JEM that her successor, Miss Jameson, would 'give herself earnestly' to the training of character of the girls at the school, as she herself had done.[410] Likewise, Coate claimed in 1921 that it was 'easy to see' the effect that education was having on the character of pupils in Palestine, and Grimwood reported from Lydda in 1933 that the primary aim of educational work was to give children a 'grounding [in] character training'.[411] This close attention to the training of character was not limited to British women. A 1922 report by Percival Stacy Waddy, Archdeacon for Palestine and responsible for overseeing Anglican education efforts in the country during the early years of the Mandate, claimed that educational work in Palestine was about 'exercising influence' over the 'characters' of the children.[412]

[407] Pratik Chakrabarti, *Medicine and Empire, 1600-1960* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 136.
[408] SE to ME, 26/10/19.
[409] Mabel Warburton (MW) to JEM, 7/9/25, JEM.
[410] Ibid.
[411] Coate, Annual Letter, 27/11/21; Grimwood, Annual Letter, 15/8/33.
[412] 'Educational Work in Palestine' by Stacy Waddy, Aug 1922, JEM.

Whilst the racial inflection of this training of character was unique to Mandate Palestine (British women having focused on Palestinian Arab pupils, with little – if any – mention of the training of character of their Jewish pupils), this preoccupation with character training shaped much of the educational work conducted worldwide in the early-mid-twentieth century. This is well demonstrated by a report of the International Missionary Council's meeting at the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem in the spring of 1928, which was attended by 'the acknowledged leaders of the Christian forces of some fifty countries'.[413] The report claimed to reflect the 'experience, thought and vision' of these leaders, and the section titled 'Education and Religion' opened with the remark that it was 'a truism nowadays to state that the educator is concerned with the formation of character in his pupils'.[414] However, in Mandate Palestine, there was a distinct imprecision among British women teachers as to what exactly character training entailed. For Emery and Warburton, character training was about altering the behaviour of their Palestinian Arab pupils, an endeavour deemed quite separate to the delivery of the curriculum. In contrast, for Coate and Grimwood, character training was inextricably linked to the embracing of Christian values, and best improved through the teaching of these values in the school environment. Thus, bringing non-JEM-affiliated British women teachers in Palestine (such as CMS missionary Grimwood) into the discussion exposes to view the inconsistencies in British women's approaches to education during the Mandate.

In the above-mentioned letter to her mother, Emery made it quite clear that to her, character training was about altering the behaviour of her predominantly Palestinian Arab students. Emery explained that the primary focus of her work was teaching these girls to 'behave sensibly'.[415] Although Emery did not elaborate on precisely what 'sensible' behaviour entailed, her use of this word is telling as it discloses a perception of the local population as foolish and, by extension, irrational. Emery's focus on teaching her pupils to 'behave sensibly' at the expense of 'actual giving lessons' additionally shows that Emery believed these to be quite separate endeavours.[416] Likewise, in Warburton's aforementioned departure letter of 1925, she reassured the JEM that her successor, Jameson, was committed 'not only' to the

[413] *The World Mission of Christianity: Messages and Recommendations of the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council* (New York, 1928), The National Library of Israel (NLI).
[414] Ibid.
[415] SE to ME, 26/10/19.
[416] Ibid.

'educational standard' of the college, but also to the 'training of character' of the pupils.[417] Thus for Emery and Warburton, character training was about the *behaviour* of Palestinian Arab students, and quite separate to 'actual giving lessons' or 'educational standard'.[418]

This interpretation of character training was not shared by Coate or Grimwood. In her annual letter of 1921, Coate twice emphasised the connection between Christian values and character, and reported that the 'truly Christian atmosphere in the school is very marked, and it is easy to see that it is having its effect in the training of character'.[419] Grimwood likewise stated the close links between character training and Christianity in her annual report of 1933, and claimed that parents in Lydda greatly appreciated the 'sound character training' that their boys were receiving through 'Bible teaching'.[420]

Physical training and sport were considered effective ways to teach children these Christian values.[421] Coate reported from the Jerusalem Girls' College in 1921 that the recent introduction of cricket, in addition to basketball, had been 'very popular' and that it was 'already… possible to see how much the games are helping to inculcate public spirit'.[422] Likewise, in 1922, CMS missionary Mellor reported that drill and netball had recently been introduced at the CMS Girls' School in Bethlehem for the primary purpose of improving the 'girls' natures'.[423] Having chosen netball, 'which makes the general effect depend on each girl doing her part', Mellor was pleased to report that the girls had 'gradually learn[t] to put their own hurt feelings on one side', with considerable improvement in both 'esprit de corps and self-control' across the school.[424]

British women's application of physical training and sport to teach values such as self-control, esprit de corps and public spirit in Mandate Palestine is not surprising. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards in Britain, physical training and sport were employed by teachers in both public and then state schools as a 'pre-eminent

[417] MW to JEM, 7/9/25, JEM.
[418] SE to ME, 26/10/19; MW to JEM, 7/9/25, JEM.
[419] Coate, Annual Letter, 27/11/21.
[420] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 15/8/33.
[421] J. A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal* (New York, 1985).
[422] Coate, Annual Letter, 27/11/21.
[423] Mellor, Annual Letter, 12/22, CMS.
[424] Ibid.

instrument' for the training of character.[425] J. A. Mangan has explained that it was through these pursuits that the public schoolboy learnt 'the basic tools of imperial command: courage, endurance, assertion, control and self-control. However, there was a further and important dimension… its relevance to both dominance and deference… at one and the same time it helped create the confidence to lead and the compulsion to follow'.[426] These activities were therefore exported to Britain's colonies, including Mandate Palestine. Mr Kenneth Reynolds, Headmaster of St George's School for boys in Jerusalem during the early years of the Mandate, firmly believed in the value of these activities, with cricket and football played by the boys at St George's 'every afternoon'.[427] Okkenhaug also confirms that this was 'typical' of Christian educational institutions in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[428]

What is surprising however is Coate and Mellor's choice of cricket, basketball and drill to teach the values of self-control, esprit de corps and public spirit to their female pupils in Palestine. Neither Coate nor Mellor elaborated on these rather unconventional choices (netball was a far more popular choice for girls at this time) and it is possible that these decisions represent a deliberate effort by these women to de-gender certain sports. If this had been an issue of resources in 1921, so soon after the establishment of the Girls' College in 1918, then Coate could have adapted the basketball equipment to introduce netball instead. In contrast, cricket required entirely new equipment. Similarly, why did Mellor deem it necessary to introduce drill in addition to netball at the CMS Girls' School in Bethlehem in 1922? There is little evidence that Mellor modified the traditionally militaristic drill (for example that practised by the boys at St George's) to a gentler variety usually performed by girls.[429] Moreover, the fact that neither Coate nor Mellor deemed it appropriate to justify these choices in their annual missionary reports suggests an awareness that they were challenging what was considered acceptable during this period.

These differing understandings of character training, combined with an apparent lack of discussion among British women as to what exactly character training entailed, bring to light an incoherence in British women's approaches to children and education during the Mandate. This incoherence is perhaps best demonstrated by the

[425] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 43; Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism,* p. 18.
[426] Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism,* p. 18.
[427] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 44.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.

fact that Coate, for whom character was inextricably linked to Christianity and character training best taught through lessons, was under the direction of Principal Warburton at the Jerusalem Girls' College in the early 1920s, for whom character was about behaviour and character training quite distinct from the curriculum. These findings complicate Okkenhaug's argument that, unlike broader British policy in Palestine, Anglican women missionaries had a clear-cut sense of their mission in the country.[430]

British Women and the (Non-)Threat of an Educated Palestinian Arab Population

Unlike many of the British men who wielded influence over education in Mandate Palestine, female British missionaries and teachers appear to have been unconcerned by the problems associated with an educated local population. In line with colonial officials elsewhere in the British Empire during this period, Humphrey Bowman, Director of Education in Palestine from 1920 until 1936, was deeply troubled by the prospect of an educated local population who might employ their education to challenge British authority in the country. Bowman's cognizance of the undesired and unanticipated ramifications of education in Sudan (where he had been Inspector of Education before 1914), Egypt (where he had spent twenty years in the Ministry of Education), and India profoundly shaped his approach to education. In the words of Elizabeth Brownson, Bowman was 'determined' to avoid a repetition of these 'blunders', a resolve only strengthened by the tension that characterised the formation and duration of the Mandate.[431] As evident in his account of this period, Bowman was of the belief that the best course of action in Palestine was to educate the local population, but to differentiate between rural and urban education so as to prevent the formation of a 'half-educated, unemployed class, so prevalent in Egypt and India'.[432] Pappé has argued that Bowman regarded the urbanisation of the villages in Palestine as 'a recipe for politicization and nationalization', and Dr Abdul Latif Tibawi, who served as Chief Education Officer in Palestine from 1941 until 1947, has commented that British experiences in India and Egypt 'opened the eyes' of colonial officials such as Bowman to the 'futility and dangers, in an underdeveloped country, of a purely

[430] Ibid, pp. xiv-xxx.
[431] Brownson, 'Colonialism, Nationalism', 11.
[432] Humphrey Bowman, *Middle East Window* (London, 1942), p. 89.

academic education'.[433] Thus, as Brownson has elucidated in her work on the teaching of history during the Mandate, Bowman's approach was characterised by differences between rural and urban schools.[434] In rural areas, education was 'very rudimentary… mostly consisting of basic literacy and math' and typically lasted for three, sometimes four years.[435] In urban areas, pupils received up to six years of education, with some secondary classes available.[436] There also existed 'distinct curricula for town and rural schools': although all schools taught religion, Arabic, maths, hygiene, history, geography, nature study, physical training and drawing, there was a pronounced focus on agriculture in the rural schools and English in the urban schools.[437] Rural schools had 'six agriculture lessons per week in years two and three, comprising fifteen percent of the week's total lessons', but there was 'no comparable subject until years five and six' in urban schools.[438] Similarly, English was added as a subject in urban but not rural schools, rendering it very difficult for pupils from rural schools to pursue higher education.[439] Brownson therefore concludes that there was 'a great deal of substance in the Palestinian nationalists' argument that British education policy was constructed to keep Palestine underdeveloped'.[440] Bowman was also a proponent of differentiating between boys' and girls' education in Palestine. He urged that 'special attention' be paid to 'housecraft and domestic science' in girls' schools, including 'cookery, laundry, housecraft and infant welfare… gardening, village hygiene and the principles of rural economy'.[441] This, Bowman claimed, would 'save' the Palestinian Arab woman from 'the fate of her predecessors. She would no longer be a chattel and a drudge, but a wife capable of bringing up her children in clean and healthy surroundings… much more than mere book-learning was needed… the principles of domestic hygiene, almost completely absent in many Palestinian Arab homes, once appreciated and acted upon, would revolutionise the coming generation'.[442]

[433] A. L. Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine* (London, 1956), p. 79; Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine,* p. 75.
[434] Brownson, 'Colonialism, Nationalism'.
[435] Ibid, 13.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Ibid, 12.
[438] Ibid, 13.
[439] Ibid.
[440] Ibid, 10.
[441] Bowman, *Middle East Window,* pp. 259-60.
[442] Ibid.

Bowman's unease with education was shared by James Headlam-Morley, a previous inspector of secondary schools in Britain who travelled to Palestine in 1927 to advise on Anglican missionary schools in the country at the request of Reverend Rennie MacInnes, Bishop of Jerusalem.[443] Headlam-Morley only visited thirteen schools in Palestine, five of which belonged to the Jewish community but did not include the Jerusalem Girls' College or the English High School in Haifa, but his final report focused 'primarily' on five institutions, including both the Girls' College and the English High School.[444] Headlam-Morley's lack of attendance at these institutions did not deter him from producing a rather foreboding twenty-eight-page report, the prevailing theme of which was the 'gravest danger' of educating the Arab population of Palestine.[445] While Headlam-Morley did see benefits in education, namely that, in his words, 'the country will no longer be, as it formerly was, primitive, secluded and under the sole influence of tradition', and while he also recognised that the Palestinian Arab population was going to be educated 'whether we like it or not', he was deeply troubled by the nature of the encounter between the Arabs of Palestine and 'Western thought'.[446] For Headlam-Morley, the 'gravest danger' was that this community might encounter 'Western thought' without the 'wise, sober and disinterested guidance' that was to be found in 'the direct control of Europeans'.[447] Headlam-Morley believed that this 'guidance' was 'above all essential' and '[could not] with impunity be neglected'.[448] In line with Bowman's views, in the section of his report that focused on the Girls' College and the English High School, Headlam-Morley went so far as to press for 'greater instruction' in 'domestic life' for girls at these institutions, the 'majority' of whom, Headlam-Morley claimed, would 'marry and settle down' soon after leaving school.[449] For girls of the 'more well-to-do classes', for whom contact with 'Western thought' was unavoidable, Headlam-Morley believed it essential that this encounter took place under the 'wise intellectual and moral guidance' of Europeans.[450] Although Headlam-Morley neglected to make plain the specific threat posed by an unmediated encounter between Palestinian Arabs and 'Western thought', he was evidently

[443] Headlam-Morley, Report on the Anglican Schools in Palestine (1927); G. P. Gooch, 'Sir James Headlam-Morley' *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* 8 (1929), 410-2.
[444] Headlam-Morley, Report on the Anglican Schools in Palestine (1927).
[445] Ibid.
[446] Ibid.
[447] Ibid.
[448] Ibid.
[449] Ibid.
[450] Ibid.

haunted, like Bowman, by British experiences in India and Egypt. This is clear from his admission at the very start of his report that this 'danger' was 'of course not peculiar to Palestine', but found 'in all Eastern and Mohammedan countries'.[451]

This anxiety surrounding the encounter between the Palestinian Arabs and a Western education extended to another British man who wielded influence over education in Mandate Palestine: Reverend MacInnes, Bishop of Jerusalem. In his memorandum on the proposed Jerusalem Institute of Higher Studies in 1928, MacInnes echoed Headlam-Morley in declaring that 'whether we like it or not… the westernization of thought is there [in Palestine] and will continue'.[452] According to MacInnes, this was not the key issue; the 'real problem' was not whether the youth of Palestine would 'become acquainted with new ideas and new beliefs and new values', but 'whether their introduction to this new world would be under the guidance of wise and skilled teachers, or whether they would be left to learn from the newspapers or other similar ephemeral productions and cast adrift among words and thoughts which they have not been trained to understand'.[453] Thus whereas Bowman channelled his anxiety regarding education into differentiating between rural and urban schools in Mandate Palestine, Headlam-Morley and MacInnes sought to prevent an unmediated encounter between the Arabs of Palestine and 'Western thought'. These differences reflect the different roles occupied by these British men during the Mandate: as Director of Education, Bowman was concerned with British education in Palestine at a macro level, while Headlam-Morley and MacInnes were preoccupied with the nature of this encounter. All three examples demonstrate unease regarding the education of Palestinian Arab boys and girls during the Mandate.

This concern was not shared by female British missionaries and teachers in Palestine. In the reports and personal and official correspondence of these women, there was a noticeable silence regarding the potential negative outcomes of educational encounters with Western modernity for Palestinian Arab children. This is perhaps best accounted for by British women's sense of the limits to Palestinian Arab children's progress – this was the notion that Palestinian Arab children could gain spiritual, but not social redemption, and therefore occupied a space somewhere between being set in their ways and capable of a total transformation (to be discussed

[451] Ibid.
[452] Rennie MacInnes, 'A Jerusalem Institute of Higher Studies' (Feb 1928), JEM.
[453] Ibid.

further below). This omission in British women's reports and correspondence additionally suggests a lack of self-reflection on the part of these women, a quality which also helps to explain their previously discussed imprecision regarding the training of character of their Palestinian Arab pupils during the Mandate.

There was however one exception to this trend. On 8 April 1934, in an unusually long letter to her mother, Susanna Emery, then Principal of the English High School in Haifa, contemplated the role of British women in the encounter between Palestinian Arabs and Western education.[454] Emery explained that there was 'no rule forbidding conversation on any subject' at the school, and that the teachers of the senior classes took 'considerable trouble to bring before their pupils political ideals, and to discuss with them such questions as parliamentary government, voting, peace and war, taxation, health services, municipal government, and allied subjects'.[455] Yet Emery was conflicted about the role of the British, Christian woman in this process. She claimed in the letter to her mother that these were topics which could 'not properly be dealt with except by teachers definitely and constructively Christian [sic]', but simultaneously confessed that

> in senior classes of history and English literature, Mistresses do not feel able to discuss questions of democracy, the rights of a majority, the protection of weaker nations, and such subjects, at the present juncture, for fear of provoking very obvious comparisons and contrasts. It is surprising, also, in reading volumes of selected English prose, to find how often the subject of personal and national freedom comes up… I have found myself omitting fine passages in my literature classes, from a sense of shame.[456]

Thus, on the one hand, Emery felt that as Christians, British women in Mandate Palestine were best placed to mediate this encounter between Palestinian Arab pupils and notions of democracy and voting rights. But, on the other hand, Emery's identity as British caused her to feel uncomfortable disseminating these ideas. This ambivalence in this rare example of self-reflection by one of the most prominent British women in education during the Mandate reveals further imprecision in British women's approaches to children and education in Palestine.

[454] Susanna Emery, Autobiography, Susanna Emery Collection, p. 140.
[455] Ibid, pp. 147-9.
[456] Ibid, p. 149.

This difference between British men and female British missionaries and teachers in Mandate Palestine is best understood through their different perspectives. Whereas Bowman and Headlam-Morley's attitudes to education were heavily influenced by British experiences elsewhere in empire during this period, British women appear to have been more focused on the day-to-day realities of their work, apparently with little time for self-reflection. This is interesting given the nuanced position occupied by women such as these in the colonial setting. These British women were agents of British colonialism, responsible for introducing the youth of Palestine to critical ideas such as parliamentary government and voting rights, yet with this responsibility came a great deal of agency to shape the nature of this encounter. These women appear to have been unaware of the scope of the socio-political agency they potentially possessed, however.

It is revealing that similar concerns were not raised by British men about the education of the Jewish population in Palestine during this period, linking once again to the broader British hierarchy of intelligence and modernity, with the Jewish community situated further up this social scale. Despite visiting Jewish primary schools, secondary schools and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem while gathering evidence for his review, Headlam-Morley's considerable unease derived solely from the education of the Palestinian Arab population. He clearly stated at the start of his condemnatory report that the following made 'no reference… to the University and to the schools established in Palestine by the Zionist organisation'.[457] Likewise, Bowman's account of this period demonstrates an overwhelming positivity towards the education of the Jewish community in the country, with little evidence of concern. Bowman claimed that in Palestine there was 'the problem of a dual race: one old-fashioned, conservative and largely illiterate; the other educated, socialistic, and burning with enthusiasm for all things new'.[458] Bowman went on to explain that this latter (Jewish) population had a 'tradition of universal literacy', with 'an illiterate Jew… almost unknown' in Palestine.[459] Jewish kindergartens were 'well designed, equipped with modern apparatus, and staffed by highly competent women', and the 'widely respected' Annie Landeau was in charge of 'one of the best Jewish girls' schools in

[457] Headlam-Morley, Report on the Anglican Schools in Palestine (1927).
[458] Bowman, *Middle East Window*, p. 251.
[459] Ibid.

the country'.[460] Whereas the Palestinian Arab population was, to Bowman's mind, comparable to other colonised populations in India and Egypt, the Jewish community of Mandate Palestine was not. This further supports the notion of the Jewish population as an exceptional colonial population in the minds of the British and speaks to the notion of an intimacy of respect or near peers with the Jewish community throughout the Mandate. Moreover, the extent to which British women's multiple intimate colonialisms and the hierarchies that underpinned these can be extended to British men in Mandate Palestine will be discussed in Chapter Four, in the context of British men's perceptions of, and engagement with, Palestinian Arab and Jewish juvenile delinquents.

Beyond Hope, Full of Promise or Somewhere in Between?

Thus, British women blamed Palestinian Arab parents for their children's supposed failure to thrive at school, not the children themselves. Yet the implication that these children lacked agency with regard to education undermined the efforts of British women in the country. For their work to have purpose, British women needed to believe that Palestinian Arab children possessed sufficient tactical agency to avail themselves of the educational opportunities offered to them by British women. Accordingly, British missionaries and teachers in Palestine stressed time and time again in their reports the agency of Palestinian Arab children when separated from their parents. Yet the development of these children was not unbounded; their progress was limited by British racial superiority – they could gain spiritual, but not social redemption. For British women in Mandate Palestine then, Palestinian Arab children occupied a space somewhere between being set in their ways and capable of a total transformation. This interplay between age and race explains the perceived differences between Palestinian Arab children and adults in the context of maternity and infant welfare from Chapter One: whereas Palestinian Arab children – such as four-year-old Mohamed from Nablus, depicted by Fannie Gutsell in *The Mission Hospital* as having been forced to beg in the 'dismal, damp passages' of Nablus but then awakened to the clean, bright CMS way of life – were seen as capable of change,

[460] Ibid, pp. 252-6.

the oft-described 'old' *dayahs* of Mandate Palestine, with their ignorant, dirty and superstitious childbirth practices, were not.[461]

As previously discussed, British women in Mandate Palestine consistently blamed Palestinian Arab parents for their children's lack of success at school. In the case of Johira and Nada from Shefa Amer in 1941, Gwendolen Grimwood held the mother of these children entirely responsible for their non-attendance at school during the summer months and harvesting season, quoting her as having declared that 'Johira and Nada must help me with the harvest. In another three or four weeks they may come to school'.[462] Similarly, in British missionary Florence Fremantle's tale of Hilwy, 'a girl from Palestine', in *Boys and Girls of the Near East,* it was Hilwy's father, not Hilwy herself, who decided that Hilwy should forgo her school education for the sake of helping at home, stating 'no school to-day Hilwy… you must stay and help your mother'.[463] This notion of Palestinian Arab children as blameless is in keeping with the attitudes of missionaries elsewhere in empire in the early and mid-twentieth century. In her work on Danish missionaries in South India during this period, Karen Vallgârda has noted a perception of South Indian children as 'innocent' and 'poor heathen children' who were 'fundamentally different from their parents'.[464] Likewise, Kathleen Vongsathorn has observed that at the Kumi Children's Leper Home in Uganda in the 1930s, missionaries perceived local children as innocent, in stark contrast with their parents who were 'heavily criticised' as 'primitive'.[465] These attitudes were part of a 'sentimentalized' notion of childhood as a time of innocence which emerged across the Western world at the turn of the twentieth century.[466]

Yet British women needed to believe that Palestinian Arab children had some agency for their efforts in Palestine to be worthwhile. This manifested itself in an ostensibly perceived loyalty to Christianity and thus the spiritual redemption of Palestinian Arab children during the Mandate. In her annual report for 1926, CMS

[461] Gutsell, 'Changes in Nablus' 1934.
[462] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 1941.
[463] *Boys and Girls of the Near East*, CMS.
[464] Karen Vallgârda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke, 2014), p. 2.
[465] Kathleen Vongsathorn, '"A Real Home": Children, Family, Mission, and the Negotiation of Life at the Kumi Children's Leper Home in Colonial Uganda' *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8 (2015) 55-74, 55.
[466] Vallgârda, *Imperial Childhoods,* p. 2. For broader literature on the notion of children as blank slates, see Allison James, Chris Jenks and Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood* (Cambridge, 1998) and Emma Uprichard, 'Children as 'Beings and Becomings': Children, Childhood and Temporality' *Children and Society* 2 (2008) 303-13.

missionary Wyatt asserted that the Palestinian Arab children at the orphanage were 'responsive in many ways' to Christian teaching.[467] To illustrate her point, Wyatt recalled how, just two weeks into term, she had entered 'the little ones' dormitory' to discover 'two little white robed figures kneeling at one bed and murmuring going on. On further enquiry I was told that H- was teaching Z- the Lords' Prayer. Both were little new Muslims, and prayer was quite a new idea to them'.[468] Here, Wyatt, perhaps unconsciously, used the intimate space of the girls' dormitory to emphasise the responsiveness of these children to Christian teaching – even behind closed doors, these girls were loyal to their new-found faith in Christianity. Wyatt followed this with an additional example of just how 'responsive' Palestinian Arab children at the orphanage were to Christian teaching: 'another night I went into the dormitory and presently H- got out of bed and knelt down for a few moments and then got into bed again. I said "H-, didn't you say your prayers when you got into bed?". "Yes," said she, "but I forgot something."'[469] Wyatt also reported a great enthusiasm for baptism among the Palestinian Arab children at the orphanage. She explained that there had been much discussion on this topic over the last year, and that 'one Sunday, a baby was Christened, and afterwards, little Z- said, "there was a baby baptised today in Church. I'm not baptized yet, when am I going to be baptized?" She has spoken about it several times'.[470] Wyatt again emphasised these children's loyalty to Christianity by highlighting the dangers of their enthusiasm. She reported recently overhearing a little girl telling her friend that her father 'would kill [her]' if she shared with him a desire to be baptised.[471]

Whereas most British women only recognised this agency when it was expressed in favour of Christianity, one British woman recognised it regardless of its manifestation. In her annual report for 1927, M. F. Sibson, housekeeper and teacher of domestic science at the CMS orphanage in Nazareth, divulged that she had been 'amazed' over the last twelve months to 'see and hear what loyal vehement defenders of the faith of the prophet some little people of seven or eight years old can be'.[472] Sibson boldly stated that 'personally' she 'admire[d] the loyalty of these little girls to

[467] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 28/10/26, CMS.
[468] Ibid.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Sibson, Annual Letter, 24/7/27.

their own religion' but noted that this was not a view shared by other teachers at the orphanage.[473] Sibson's awareness of the unorthodoxy of her position, yet her decision to voice this opinion in her annual report regardless is intriguing, and perhaps symptomatic of a frustration with the views of fellow British women in Palestine. Indeed, the limits to the range of thinking among these British women will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters Three and Five of this thesis, but it is possible to conjecture that this was partly due to the small size of the British community in Palestine. Sibson's unconventional views will be returned to later in this chapter.

British women's belief in the progress of Palestinian Arab children only went as far as their spiritual salvation, however. In the reports and personal and official correspondence of these women there was a distinct silence regarding any social change among these children. It is possible to conjecture that this notion of the limits to Palestinian Arab children's progress accounts for British women's apparent lack of concern for the problems associated with an educated local population, as posited above. Tellingly, a report of the English College in Jerusalem from the Mandate declared that British education was bringing Palestine out of the 'Middle Ages' but only as far as the 'Renaissance'.[474]

The Relevance of the Bible

British women's contrasting and hierarchical perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish children were apparent in their understandings of these individuals with reference to Christianity, specifically the Bible, echoing the perceptions of missionaries as explored in Chapter One. Whereas British women visualised Palestinian Arab children in biblical surroundings and compared these children to characters from the Bible, they did not do the same with Jewish children. In addition, as part of this biblical interpretation of children and education during the Mandate, British women conceived of their role in Palestine in a distinctly biblical sense: they believed themselves to be guardians of peace and equality, with the classroom a space entirely detached from any racial, religious or political tension. This sense of sanctity could even extend beyond the classroom and to Palestinian Arab and Jewish workers on the school grounds. This notion of British missionary schools as entirely above any racial,

[473] Ibid.
[474] 'The English College, Jerusalem', CMS.

religious or political ill-feeling in Mandate Palestine was however undermined by these women's discourses of the differences between Palestinian Arab and Jewish children, explored throughout this chapter and forming part of British women's broader hierarchies of infant, child-rearing and modernity that underpinned their multiple intimate colonialisms.

British women frequently visualised Palestinian Arab children in biblical settings and drew comparisons between these children and characters from the Bible. In *Boys and Girls of the Near East*, British missionary Fremantle explained that when Hilwy, 'a girl from Palestine' climbed the trees and gathered the olives near her home, she could see 'the roads along which the Lord Jesus walked when He lived in Palestine'.[475] Similarly, in the missionary picture book *Other Boys and Girls*, Hassan, 'a Bedouin boy from Palestine' was presented as similar to Abraham. Hassan's story opened with the explanation that 'like Abraham, he [Hassan] lived in a tent in Palestine, the country where the Lord Jesus lived. Fashions in clothes have not changed very much since Bible days'.[476] Susanna Emery also advanced parallels between Palestinian Arab children and characters from the Bible. In a letter home in May 1925, she reported that she had recently attended 'a morality play, "The Good Samaritan"', performed by the boys at St George's School in Jerusalem. Emery explained that the play was 'a gem of its kind' and the boys had, 'of course', done it 'very well… being Arabs, they all looked so correct in native dress'.[477] These biblical interpretations of Palestinian Arab children were even applied by non-Christian British women during the Mandate. In her account of the school year of 1938-1939 at the Arab High School in Birzeit, Hilda Mary Wilson (who will be addressed in greater detail below) described a Palestinian Arab boy in her class 'who would have made a splendid David for an illustrated Bible'.[478] It is the following rather anti-Christian observation, in which Wilson compares herself to Roman ladies, which suggests Wilson's lack of faith in Christianity: 'how little Palestine has changed since the original Good Friday. On that day one might have seen a native prisoner arrested, as to-day on the charge of being a dangerous nationalist… I, the Englishwoman, would correspond to the Roman Ladies, who may have watched the

[475] *Boys and Girls of the Near East*, CMS.
[476] *Other Boys and Girls,* CMS.
[477] Emery, Autobiography, pp. 75-6.
[478] Hilda Wilson, 'School Year in Palestine. 1938-39', H. M. Wilson Collection, MEC.

soldiers of their own nation leading him through the streets and have muttered something about 'rebels''.[479]

Equivalent comparisons were not made with Jewish children, however. In the reports, official and personal correspondence, articles, autobiographies and accounts of female British missionaries and teachers who are the focus of this chapter, not once were Jewish children imagined in a biblical setting and nor were they compared to characters from the Bible. This was in keeping with British women's perceptions of the Jewish community as modern and representative of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Palestine.

Before moving on, it is worth noting that this pervasiveness of the Bible in British women's understandings of Palestine was evident in their teaching of the history of the country during this period. The 1929 preparatory class syllabus for town schools in Palestine 'included "characters in Bible history… the Herods, Josephus… the Jewish [up]rising… Biblical sieges and battles between the Philistines and Israelites… Godfrey de Bouillon, Richard the Lionheart"'.[480] Building on Tibawi's work on this subject, Elizabeth Brownson has recently pointed out that this was at the expense of 'Arab history in general' and 'Palestinian history in particular'.[481] In an oral history interview in East Jerusalem in May 2019, Cedar Duaybis, who attended missionary schools in Haifa, Jerusalem and Nazareth during the Mandate and will be discussed below, concurred that there was 'nothing to do with Palestine' in the history curriculum at missionary schools.[482]

In line with this biblical theme, British women conceived of their role in Palestine in a distinctly biblical way. They considered themselves guardians of peace and equality in Palestine, with the classroom a space entirely detached from any racial, religious or political discord. In a letter to her mother in 1925, Emery thought it 'rather comic' that 'while the town was being patrolled by armoured cars and lancers to keep Jews and Arabs from each other's throats, in every class in school there were alternate rows of Jews and Arabs, busily writing Hebrew and Arabic exams, with only one amiable member of staff to give out fresh paper'.[483]

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[479] Ibid.
[480] Brownson, 'Colonialism, Nationalism', 20.
[481] Tibawi, *Arab Education in Mandatory Palestine*; Brownson, 'Colonialism, Nationalism', 17.
[482] Felicity Ashbee, *Child in Jerusalem* (New York, 2008), p. 69; Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, 28/5/19.
[483] Emery, Autobiography, p. 70.

This notion of disparity between the harmonious atmosphere of British missionary classrooms and the political situation beyond the school gates was particularly strong during periods of unrest, for example during the Great Revolt of 1936-1939. This started with a general strike and nationwide demonstrations against British rule and British support for Jewish immigration to Palestine, and became three years of instability across the country, during which, 'for long stretches of the rebellion, the British lost control of Palestine, including many major towns and, for about five days in October 1938, the Old City of Jerusalem'.[484] Brownson has since described this as 'the most disruptive Palestinian uprising during the British Mandate'.[485] British women were sure that this tension did not spill over into their classrooms, however. Writing home from the English High School in Haifa of which she was by then principal, Emery stated that 'not a single pupil stayed away for any reason connected with the strike. The work of the School proceeded just as usual and the Staff did not observe any sign of national, religious, or racial ill-feeling among the pupils… the whole atmosphere continued entirely peaceful and ordinary'.[486] Emery evidenced this with the news that during the first week of term, new form prefects had been elected and 'three out of five prefects elected happened to be Jewish'.[487] In a subsequent letter, Emery again reiterated that she had 'not observed any difference in the behaviour of Christian and Moslem girls towards Jewish girls or vice versa'.[488] Winifred Annie Coate reported similar experiences at the Jerusalem Girls' College during this period, informing Mabel Warburton by letter that 'on the night of the King's birthday, when we had thirteen bombs near the College, it was a little alarming for the boarders' however, 'first thing… the following morning… [she saw] a Jewish and an Arab girl arm in arm, coming down the stairs… the minute you get inside the College grounds you find the spirit of peace and happiness'.[489] Despite the evidently firm belief of these women in the insulation of the English High School in Haifa and the Jerusalem Girls' College from the conflict, it is possible to conjecture that some political tensions would have spilt over into the school environment, most likely in the absence of these teachers.

[484] Matthew Hughes, 'From Law and Order to Pacification: Britain's Suppression of the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-39' *Journal of Palestine Studies* 39 (2010) 6-22, 6. For more on the Great Revolt of 1936-1939, see Hughes, 'Palestinian Collaboration with the British'; Kelly, 'The Revolt of 1936'; Kelly, *The Crime of Nationalism*; Anderson, 'State Formation from Below'; Yazbak, 'From Poverty to Revolt'.
[485] Brownson, 'Colonialism, Nationalism', 9.
[486] Emery, Autobiography, p. 147.
[487] Ibid.
[488] Ibid, p. 150.
[489] Address given by Warburton to JEM Council, 4/7/39, JEM.

The limits to British women's understanding of children's experiences in these schools is demonstrated by Emery's recollection in her autobiography that not long after arriving in Palestine, she began to recognise 'exclamations invoking a curse on a man's family and ancestors'.[490] Emery reported being

> rather shocked to hear apparently innocent little girls swearing fluently when, for example, they missed a goal-shot at netball. Rather timidly, I asked the ladies if they knew Arabic, and they said, "Yes, enough to talk to the servants". Then they said how glad they were to hear the children calling out so happily in the playground. I was only twenty-three, and they were elderly. I could hardly tell them that the happy children were cursing the ancestors of the net-ball.[491]

This sense of sanctity at British missionary schools was not confined to the classroom. Emery also explained in a letter to her mother in 1927 that

> the people of the Jewish Colony just below us were so strict that they would not light a fire on the Sabbath, or put one out. I was called to the kitchen to speak to a young Jewess from the Colony, who was beseeching that we should send our Arab man-servant to put out a fire in their house … just then there was a great deal of tension between Arabs and Jews, and I replied to the excited girl, "How can he go? There is fear!" The girl sat down on a kitchen chair and said "My life for his life! I stay until he comes back!" So the Arab, Mousa, ran off quickly to the house which she had indicated, and returned in a few minutes, having easily put out the fire… he shook hands with the Jewish girl, who went off smiling, followed by the good wishes of the kitchen staff and myself.[492]

Emery further suggested that this applied to Palestinian Arab and Jewish workers on the school grounds at the English High School. She explained in 1936 that despite the fact that 'all other building is hung up by the strike… ours goes on, and Jews and Arabs seem just as pleasant to each other on the roof as the girls are in school'.[493]

In keeping with this proclaimed detachment from racial, religious or political tensions, previously mentioned Cedar Duaybis, who was born in Haifa in 1935 and attended Christian missionary schools in Haifa, Jerusalem and Nazareth during the Mandate, stated in an oral history interview in East Jerusalem in May 2019 that at each of these institutions she was taught that 'a good Christian would never come anywhere near politics'.[494] When asked to elaborate, Duaybis explained that it had

[490] Emery, Autobiography, p. 24.
[491] Ibid.
[492] Ibid, p. 109.
[493] Ibid, p. 174.
[494] Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, 28/5/19.

been ‘the same’ for her mother at the English High School and her father at St Luke’s Boys’ School in Haifa earlier in the Mandate, both of whom had it ‘instilled into them [at these schools] that politics was a dirty subject and only evil people or liars dealt in politics’.[495]

But this alleged separateness from racial, religious and political tensions did not extend to the discourse of British teachers in Mandate Palestine. As seen in the statement from Cedar Duaybis at the very start of this thesis, Duaybis’ mother’s Christian missionary education led her to believe ‘deep in her heart that they [the Jews] were better than us… we were at the bottom of this class… ladder’.[496] Duaybis continued that whereas ‘the British loved the Jewish people’, there existed a ‘condescending attitude of British teachers and British friends’ towards the Palestinian Arab community during the Mandate, which has ‘deeply affected’ Duaybis.[497]

This chapter has employed the reports, correspondence and publications of British missionaries and teachers to unpack this ‘condescending attitude’.[498] It has found that at the heart of British women’s discourse on children and education in Mandate Palestine were the perceived differences between, and a value judgement of, Palestinian Arab and Jewish children. British women time and again placed these children on hierarchies of perceived intelligence, suitability to classroom learning and capacity to alter their behaviour in line with British social norms, and responded emotionally to these perceived differences – Jewish pupils were met with an overwhelming positivity from British women on account of their intellectual abilities, whilst these women were distressed by Palestinian Arab parents’ alleged lack of support for education and lack of discipline of their children in infancy and childhood which, they believed, limited Palestinian Arab children’s progress at school.

These perceptions were part of British women’s broader hierarchies of infant, child-rearing and modernity, which underpinned the differing nature of their intimate colonialisms towards the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities throughout the Mandate. Intriguingly, these women appear to have been wholly unaware of the disconnect between what they believed themselves to be doing in Palestine and the discourse of difference that they perpetuated. This is perhaps best explained by these

[495] Ibid.
[496] Ibid.
[497] Ibid.
[498] Ibid.

women's apparent lack of self-reflection. These findings complicate and challenge both Okkenhaug's interpretation of Anglican missionaries as having been wholeheartedly committed to establishing peaceful and multi-cultural school environments in Palestine, and Stockdale's somewhat general argument that between 1800 and 1948, English women in Palestine 'othered' the local population.[499]

British Women's Disrupted Discourse

However, this is not to suggest that British women's perceptions of children in Mandate Palestine were uncomplicated. There were marked exceptions to the discourse discussed in this chapter, and there also existed a distinct ambivalence regarding the specificity versus the universality of the children of the different communities in Mandate Palestine. One notable exception to British women's discourse came from previously mentioned Hilda Mary Wilson. Wilson was a teacher at the Arab High School in Birzeit during the Arab Rebellion of 1938 and 1939. In Wilson's own words, this school was 'the first venture of its kind in Palestine; a Christian Arab foundation, connected neither with the Government nor with any missionary society, built up and directed by a capable and energetic Arab woman Principal, Miss Nabiha Naser'.[500] Shortly after arriving in Birzeit, Wilson came to the conclusion, through correspondence with friends at home, that 'people in England had little idea of what was actually going on in Palestine'.[501] Wilson resolved to keep a detailed diary of her experiences, and used this to put together an account of her time in Birzeit when she returned to Britain in September 1939. She attempted to get this published multiple times, but was told that no publisher would take it as it 'contained things derogatory to the British troops, and such things could not be publicized in wartime'.[502] Wilson endeavoured once again to get her account published when the war was over, but was then advised that 'these matters were out of date and nobody would be interested any more'.[503] In spite of this, Wilson's account offers a remarkable insight into the experiences of one British woman in Mandate Palestine. Despite the fact that most female British teachers and missionaries in Palestine during this period

[499] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living*; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*; Stockdale, 'Palestinian Girls' pp. 217-33.
[500] Wilson, 'School Year in Palestine'.
[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ibid.

reserved the descriptor ‘intelligent’ for their Jewish pupils, Wilson recognised both the intelligence and the good character of her Palestinian Arab students. Wilson asserted that it was Khalid, a Palestinian Muslim boy, who was her ‘prop and stay’ and

> always to be depended on for a thoughtful answer or lively question: this for instance, arising out of an extract from Milton’s ‘Areopagitica’ on the Freedom of the Press: “Why do the British encourage a free press in England and not allow it in Palestine?”.[504]

It is difficult to provide an explanation for Wilson’s atypical perceptions of the people of Palestine. Born in 1904, Wilson was in her mid-thirties during her time at the Arab High School, not unlike many other British women who were involved in education in Mandate Palestine. Nor was Wilson’s educational background out of the ordinary. Like Susanna Emery and Mabel Warburton, both of whom had attended the prestigious Cheltenham Ladies’ College, Wilson was well-educated, having studied at St Hugh’s College, Oxford between 1923 and 1926. It is possible however, that Wilson’s unique lack of attachment to any Christian missionary organisation in the country and her possible consequential lack of socialisation with other British women accorded her scope to form her own, independent and untrammelled opinions on the individuals she encountered during the Mandate. For the historian then, Wilson’s account is indeed immensely valuable for ‘what was actually going on in Palestine’.[505]

British women’s discourses were further complicated by the idea that some Palestinian Arab parents did indeed support a school education for their children. In an undated report by Warburton entitled ‘Jerusalem Girls’ College’, Warburton reported that the school had seen of late ‘a big increase in the Primary and especially in the Arabic Kindergarten Department’.[506] Moreover, the ‘Bus Idea’ of transporting Palestinian Arab children from ‘the most distant quarters’ of Jerusalem had ‘caught on so well that the parents of another quarter made similar arrangements on their own’, and there was a possibility of a third bus.[507] Warburton was delighted to report that this marked ‘a real advance in educational ideals’, as ‘the better class parents, many of them ‘Old Girls’’, had ‘learnt to value the early training given in our Kindergartens’ and were now ‘prepared to entrust their children to us at the earliest age we will take

[504] Ibid.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Warburton, ‘Jerusalem Girls’ College’, undated, JEM. This is most likely from the early years of the Mandate as Warburton left Palestine for some time in 1925.
[507] Ibid.

them, anything from four or even three!'.[508] This report is interesting as although Warburton appears to subvert the widely agreed upon notion of the unsupportive Palestinian Arab parent in Palestine, she tempers her transgression with the insinuation that it is only because these parents have had previous contact with the college that they are aware of the value of education.

There was also ambivalence in this discourse regarding the specificity or the universality of the children of different communities in Mandate Palestine, representative of broader debates about the universality of children's rights around the establishment of the 1926 Children's Rights Charter and the Union Internationale de Secours aux Enfants (International Save the Children Union).[509] On the one hand, British women were inclined to draw distinctions between Jewish, Palestinian Arab and British children in Palestine, as evidenced throughout this chapter. On the other hand, some British women – such as housekeeper and teacher of domestic science at the CMS orphanage in Nazareth, M. F. Sibson and teacher at the Arab High School in Birzeit, Hilda Mary Wilson, both previously flagged for their atypical perceptions of children in Mandate Palestine – noted the universal characteristics of these children. Sibson reported in 1929 that the children at the Nazareth orphanage were going through 'stages of being very tiresome, and stages when they exhibit signs of receptivity… as all children do'.[510] And in her account of the school year 1938-1939 in Birzeit, Wilson recalled being 'continually… struck afresh by the differences between them [boys and girls]; perhaps no more than the universal differences between boys and girls all over the world'.[511] This tension between specificities and the universal in interpretations of local populations were not confined to Mandate Palestine, but extended across empire during this period.

British Women and British Schoolchildren

The discourse of difference that underpinned the differing nature of British women's colonialisms towards Palestinian Arab and Jewish children during the Mandate was however continually undermined by the ideas and actions of British children who were taught by British women in British schools in Palestine. The

[508] Ibid.
[509] Dominique Marshall, 'International Child Saving' in Paula S. Fass (ed.), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World* (London, 2012), pp. 469-89.
[510] Sibson, Annual Letter, 24/8/29, CMS.
[511] Wilson, 'School Year in Palestine'.

memoirs of, and oral history interviews with these now adults reveal a marked disregard for this discourse of difference, a disregard which manifested in British children's fascination with the Arabic language, their relationships with Palestinian Arab adults and children and their enchantment with Palestinian food. Through these mediums, British children blurred the boundaries between the communities in Palestine – particularly between the British and the Palestinian Arab community – and ultimately exposed the fragility of British women's discourse of difference. This corresponds with David Pomfret's argument that in British and French Asia, European children 'never merely maintained empires' social and racial hierarchies; they also destabilised them' and that these colonial childhoods were 'often profoundly mixed and disruptive of claims for racial homogeneity'.[512] An examination of European children in the colonial context 'allows us to disrupt the conventional picture of 'stable' groups in colonial societies, and to highlight dynamism and mobility instead'.[513]

It is difficult to ascertain the number of British children who received at least part of their education in Mandate Palestine. According to a JEM memorandum on the subject from February 1936, the number of British children enrolled in schools in Palestine was approximately 135 in 1935.[514] Most of these children attended schools in Haifa and Jerusalem, the centres of British activity during the Mandate and where there were schools specifically for British children.[515] In Haifa, the British Kindergarten offered a kindergarten and one preparatory class to British boys and girls up to the age of nine.[516] This was a branch of the English High School under the supervision of the Principal and located within the main school building. There existed a similar institution for British children in Jerusalem: the British Community School. This was once again part of the main Anglican secondary school in the district, the Jerusalem Girls' College, and shared its Principal. Located in a separate building to the Girls' College, the British Community School offered a kindergarten for British children between the ages of four and seven, and two upper classes: one for boys up to ten years old, and the other for girls up to the age of eleven. The majority of pupils at the British Community School were the children of colonial officials in the country, with

[512] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, pp. 5-6.
[513] Ibid, p. 5.
[514] 'Education of English Children in Palestine' (Feb 1936), JEM.
[515] Ibid.
[516] Ibid.

some children of missionaries in attendance too.[517] There was also the Sœurs de Sion School in Jerusalem, a boarding school for boys and girls opened by a Mrs Harvey, a British woman, in 1935.[518] None of these institutions provided education to British children over the age of twelve, as children of this age typically returned to Britain for their education.[519]

Firstly, British children in Mandate Palestine blurred the boundaries between the British and the Palestinian Arab community through their fascination with and eagerness to learn the Arabic language. In her childhood memoirs, Felicity Ashbee, daughter of architect and designer Charles Robert Ashbee, who spent four years of her childhood in Palestine between the ages of six and ten from 1919 until 1923, recalled her wonderment the very first time she heard Arabic. Ashbee recalled that the 'final touch' to her arrival in Jerusalem in 1919 was the moment when her father 'said a lot of things in some strange… peculiar language that sounded so different from English'.[520] Ashbee and her sister Mary were enchanted by Arabic throughout their time in Jerusalem, with one tale in particular encapsulating this fascination. Ashbee was in the Old City of Jerusalem with her father one day, when he announced that she and her sister could each have 'a money box, painted turquoise, blue and black, with a little knob on the top, and a slit at the side to put the money in'.[521] Ashbee remembered that without hesitation, Mary 'immediately replied, "with our names in Arabic?"'[522] Similarly, Lady Djemila Cope, who was born in East Jerusalem in 1939 and grew up at the American Colony in Jerusalem, recalled in an oral history interview in April 2019 that she had 'picked up Arabic' by speaking to household staff and gardeners, and Hay-Will fondly remembered speaking Arabic with Hanni, her maid, but 'always English' to her parents.[523]

British children also blurred the boundaries perpetuated in British women's discourse through their relationships with Palestinian Arab adults and children during the Mandate. Hay-Will recalled with affection Hanni, the family's Palestinian Christian maid who was 'really one of the family' and brought the conversation back to the topic

[517] Ibid.
[518] Ibid.
[519] Ibid.
[520] Ashbee, *Child in Jerusalem*, p. 13.
[521] Ibid, p. 62.
[522] Ibid.
[523] Interview with Lady Djemila Cope, Bath, 30/1/19; Interview with Patricia Hay-Will, Seething, 4/8/18.

of Hanni several times during her interview in August 2018.[524] Hay-Will described Hanni as 'a great character' with 'a great sense of humour' and explained that the children of the family had been very close to Hanni. When asked how her own mother had spent her days in Palestine during the Mandate, Hay-Will replied that she had looked after the baby 'when Hanni would let the child go!'.[525] This attachment between Hanni and Hay-Will is further demonstrated by the fact that Hay-Will asked Hanni to work as a maid in her own household in the 1950s. Ashbee similarly blurred the boundaries between communities with her affection for A-eed, a Palestinian Christian who was part of her family's household in Jerusalem.[526] Ashbee recalled that A-eed was a 'great friend' to her and Mary during their time in Palestine and that he once made them 'a simple toboggan out of an old soap box' which gave them 'many happy hours'.[527] Ashbee similarly remembered Hezni, 'a little thirteen-year-old Arab girl from one of the nearby villages' who was employed by the family when they moved to Wadi el Jose and endeared herself to Ashbee and Mary on arrival by rescuing them from 'a terrifyingly big spider': 'Hezni rushed in with a shovel in her hand and dealt with the spider quickly and efficiently', filling Felicity and Mary 'with admiration'.[528] These relationships between British children and Palestinian Arab domestic servants made a long-lasting impression on Joan Gibbs, who travelled to Haifa to live with her husband in 1936 and stated in an interview in 1993 that 'you could unearth some very, very interesting stories of quite affectionate relationships' between British children and those who cared for them in Mandate Palestine – there was often a 'great bond' between them.[529]

British children also undermined British women's discourse of difference through their relationships with Palestinian Arab children. It appears that British children in Mandate Palestine had very little contact with Jewish children. When asked if there were any Jewish children at the schools she attended during the Mandate, Patricia Hay-Will replied 'oh no, no, no, certainly not. I suppose they had their own schools... I didn't know any Jewish children at all'.[530] Hay-Will also recalled speaking

[524] Interview with Patricia Hay-Will, Seething, 4/8/18.
[525] Ibid.
[526] Ashbee, *Child in Jerusalem*, p. 33.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Ibid, p. 69.
[529] Interview with Joan Gibbs in Clevedon (1993), British Empire and Commonwealth Collection, Bristol Archives.
[530] Interview with Patricia Hay-Will, Seething, 4/8/18.

to a Jewish child only once during her childhood in Mandate Palestine.[531] There is a similar absence of children belonging to the Jewish community in Ashbee's recollections of the period.[532]

Hay-Will and Ashbee did however spend time with Palestinian Arab children, both inside and outside the classroom. Hay-Will recalled that she had contact with 'many Arab children' and that this was 'the same with most English children' during her childhood in Palestine.[533] She also enthusiastically presented photographs 'of all of us together'.[534] Ashbee's memoirs similarly tell of multiple encounters with Palestinian Muslim and Christian boys and girls during the Mandate, and Cedar Duaybis and Aimée Medawar, the latter born in Haifa in 1940, both recall playing with British children throughout their childhoods in Mandate Palestine.[535] What is important here is that despite the discourse of difference perpetuated by British women regarding Jewish, Palestinian Arab and British children during the Mandate, neither race nor religion appears to have shaped these encounters between British and Palestinian Arab children. When asked whether or not political tensions impacted her friendships with these children, Hay-Will stated, 'no, not really', and in Ashbee's memoirs, her two most detailed encounters with Palestinian Arab children are entirely devoid of any awareness of racial or religious differences, and there is little evidence of Ashbee perceiving these individuals in the same hierarchical way as British women in the country during this period. These examples therefore support Pomfret's thesis that European children had a tendency 'to forge contacts across lines of ethnicity and to engage in hybrid relations, not only with domestic servants but also with indigenous children'.[536]

British children also subverted British women's discourse of difference through their enchantment with Palestinian food during the Mandate.[537] Hay-Will described English food such as 'roast beef and Yorkshire pudding' in Mandate Palestine as 'really boring' and 'old-fashioned', and confessed that she would 'much rather' and

[531] Ibid.
[532] Ashbee, *Child in Jerusalem.*
[533] Interview with Patricia Hay-Will, Seething, 4/8/18.
[534] Ibid.
[535] Ashbee, *Child in Jerusalem,* p. 69; Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, 28/5/19; Interview with Aimée Medawar, Haifa, 20/4/19.
[536] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, p. 5.
[537] For a discussion of the power of food to bridge cultures, see Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Food in World History* (London, 2006).

'much preferred' to eat Hanni's food instead.[538] Lady Cope similarly recalled 'sneaking' Palestinian food from the kitchen, and Ashbee remembered that after attending A-eed's wedding, she 'whispered' to Helen, 'I *like* sitting on the floor and not having a chair or table', to which Helen replied ''I like it too'.[539]

Yet this is by no means to suggest that British children in Mandate Palestine continuously disrupted these colonial boundaries. More often than not, British children would have confirmed and reinforced colonial distinctions by establishing and maintaining close relationships with British adults, playing with other British children in Palestine and happily eating British food. It is very likely that behaviour such as this was not considered interesting by Hay-Will, Lady Cope and Ashbee when it came to their oral history interviews and memoirs, however. But this does not render British children's fascination with the Arabic language, their relationships with Palestinian Arab adults and children and their enchantment with Palestinian food any less relevant to this discussion – even if the ideas and actions highlighted here were only occasional transgressions, the fact that they took place at all still undermines and exposes the frailty of British women's discourse of difference.

Conclusion

Analogous to British women's understandings of Palestinian Arab and Jewish midwives and mothers as discussed in Chapter One, the British women active in the sphere of children and education during the Mandate understood Palestinian Arab and Jewish children and their parents according to social scales of child-rearing, specifically the suitability of Palestinian Arab and Jewish children to the classroom learning environment and the capacity of these individuals to change their behaviour in line with the social norms of female British teachers and missionaries. In line with British women's more general hierarchies of the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities throughout the Mandate, these women viewed Jewish children and their parents as superior to Palestinian Arab children and their parents.

Although nearly all Jewish children in Mandate Palestine attended schools that were run by the Jewish community, the reports, correspondence and publications of British women in this sphere show that the few Jewish children who did attend

[538] Interview with Patricia Hay-Will, Seething, 4/8/18.
[539] Interview with Lady Djemila Cope, Bath, 2/4/19; Ashbee, *Child in Jerusalem,* p. 75.

Christian missionary schools were met with overwhelming positivity from their female British teachers, who praised them time and again for their intellect and contributions to class discussions. In contrast, Palestinian Arab children were deemed by these women unlikely to thrive in the missionary school environment. This was because of an alleged lack of support for education among their parents and a supposed lack of discipline of these individuals in infancy and childhood. As a consequence of this, British teachers and missionaries paid great attention to the training of character of their Palestinian Arab pupils. This sense of the limits to Palestinian Arab children's progress at school explains British women's apparent lack of concern for the problems generally associated with an educated colonised population, unlike some of the British men who were active in the sphere of education in Mandate Palestine. Individuals such as Humphrey Bowman, Director of Education from 1920 until 1936, were deeply troubled by the prospect of an educated Palestinian Arab population who, they worried, might employ this education to challenge British authority in Palestine. This contrast between British women and male colonial officials is also explained by the differences in the day-to-day work of these individuals: whilst British women concentrated on the daily demands of educational work and apparently had little time for self-reflection, it was Bowman's responsibility to ensure that British education was not responsible for challenges to British authority in the country.

British missionaries' hierarchical understandings of the population of Palestine were once again buttressed by their understandings of Palestine as the land of the Bible: British missionary teachers visualised Palestinian Arab children in biblical settings and made comparisons between these children and characters from the Bible, but they did not do this for Jewish children. Correlating with Chapter One, British women missionaries' hierarchical interpretations of infant-rearing and child-rearing were underpinned by their understandings of the country as the land of the Bible. British missionary teachers also conceived of their role in Palestine in a distinctly biblical way: they saw themselves as guardians of peace and equality in the country, with the classroom a space entirely detached from any racial, religious or political tension.

This professed separateness from racial, religious or political tension was undermined by the discourse of difference perpetuated by these women in their reports, correspondence and publications, however. Despite believing themselves to be neutral and unemotional towards Palestinian Arab and Jewish children, British

women consistently placed these children on hierarchies, and had an emotional response to the perceived differences between these individuals, as part of the multiplicity of their colonialisms in Palestine.

There were also vulnerabilities in British women's discourse in this sphere. Firstly, there was a marked imprecision among these women as to what exactly character training entailed. Whereas for some British women, character training was primarily about behaviour and teaching pupils to 'behave sensibly', for others it was about embracing Christian values.[540] There were also exceptions to this general discourse, in the form of CMS missionary Sibson's admiration for Palestinian Arab children's agency, even when it was expressed in favour of Islam rather than Christianity. There were also irregularities in this discourse regarding the specificity versus the universality of the children of the different communities in Palestine, and British women's discourse of difference was undermined by the ideas and actions of British children who were taught by British women in British schools in Palestine through the prisms of language, relationships and food.

These ambivalences, and the discourses of difference that they complicated, underscore the value of building on Okkenhaug's scholarship, partly by bringing the voices of non-JEM-affiliated British teachers in Mandate Palestine into the discussion.[541] An analysis of the discourse of all of these women during the Mandate period specifically shows that whilst they might appear to have been clearly focused on establishing 'peaceful multi-cultural environment[s]' in schools, this discourse was not so innocent.[542] These findings also complicate Stockdale's conclusion that English women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948 'othered' the people of Palestine.[543] When examining the Mandate period specifically and addressing a variety of British women, it becomes clear that this 'othering' was much more complicated. Unpicking this is key to better understanding the nature of the relationship between British women and the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities during the Mandate.

In the sphere of children and education then, British women's perceptions of (and engagement with) Palestinian Arabs and Jews varied enormously. British women placed Jewish children and their parents further up their social scales of intelligence

[540] Susanna Emery to M. Emery, 26/10/19.
[541] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living.*
[542] Ibid, pp. xiv-xxx.
[543] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*; Stockdale, 'Palestinian Girls' pp. 217-33.

and child-rearing than their Palestinian Arab counterparts, and British teachers and missionaries were far more involved with Palestinian Arab than Jewish children throughout the Mandate. Chapters Three, Four and Five of this thesis will move away from infant and child-rearing towards British women's engagements with Palestinian Arab and Jewish girls and women during the Mandate.

Chapter III:
The De-Raced Prostitute

In the early 1920s, the PWC declared that 'Palestine is not as other countries. The Council of Women is not as other Councils. It is not representative of the women of the country but consists entirely of women engaged in social work for the country. The vast majority of these are not Palestinians'.[544] It was through mediums such as this that British women were involved in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab and Jewish lives that are the focus of the remaining three chapters of this thesis: prostitution and VD, criminality and punishment, and women's status within and beyond the home. As seen in the previous two chapters, the British women most involved with infants, children and their parents in Mandate Palestine were missionaries, teachers, nurses and doctors. The British women most engaged with girls and women, on the other hand, were welfare workers and colonial wives. This thesis remains alert to the commonalities and tensions between, and nuances within, the views of these different groups of British women in Palestine.

Since the early 1990s, scholars including Ronald Hyam, Luise White, Philippa Levine, Stephen Legg and Ann Laura Stoler have argued that prostitution and VD are essential concerns when grappling with race, gender, class and bodies in the context of empire.[545] Inspired by Michel Foucault's interpretation of sexuality as not just a shifting social construct but also a function of social power, Stoler explains that it was '"sexual relations" and "familiarity" taken as an "indirect sign" of what is "innermost"' that rendered prostitution in all of its forms – from companionship in the form of talking and drinking to involuntary prostitution and sexual slavery – a crucial concern for colonial administrators across empire.[546] The present chapter argues that in Mandate Palestine, British women's engagement with prostitution and VD was simultaneously in keeping with, and exposes the limits to, the broader phenomenon of their multiple intimate colonialisms discussed throughout this thesis.

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[544] 'Palestine Women's Council'.
[545] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester, 1990); Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, 1990); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York, 2003); Stephen Legg, *Prostitution and the Ends of Empire: Scale, Governmentalities, and Interwar India* (Durham, 2014); Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*; Ballantyne and Burton (eds.), *Bodies in Contact.*
[546] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 9; Stoler, *Race.*

Chapters One and Two have brought to light the centrality of race to British women's understandings of the population of Palestine between 1920 and 1948. Missionaries, teachers, nurses and doctors considered Jewish midwives and mothers superior to Palestinian Arab midwives and mothers, and Jewish children and the Jewish community's child-rearing practices were deemed superior to those of the Palestinian Arab community. British women's perceptions of Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes in Mandate Palestine were entirely different, however: the women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Palestine at this time were not understood first and foremost by female British welfare workers and colonial wives according to their race, nor were they placed on the social scales of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity that underpinned British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in all other spheres of the intimate. Instead, British women's overwhelming perception of these women and girls was as 'bad girls', the sexual deviancy of their actions pushing them beyond the boundaries of British women's multiple colonial intimacies.[547] The intimate sphere of prostitution thus brings to light the limits to British women's multiple intimate colonialisms. In keeping with this lack of specificity, 'prostitute' was a term only vaguely defined by British welfare workers and colonial wives throughout the Mandate period, despite the broad range of activities that it entailed, from companionship in the form of talking and drinking to sexual slavery. As a result of this lack of detail, the colonial nomenclature 'prostitute' will be employed throughout this chapter, rather than the more contemporary term 'sex worker'. Attention will however be paid throughout to the continuum of activities considered 'prostitution' by British women.

Prostitutes have been perceived as 'bad' women and girls who are beyond boundaries of belonging across a range of times and places. Derek Peterson has shown that in mid-twentieth century Northwestern Tanganyika (now part of Tanzania), Haya women who worked as prostitutes were 'de-ethnicised' and cast as 'other' by community leaders who deemed the behaviour of these women a threat to the Haya community.[548] Community leaders 'contrasted Haya people's traditional virtues with prostitutes' unpatriotic behaviour', and even implemented travel restrictions in the early 1950s to prevent Haya women from prostituting themselves in Nairobi, Dar es Salaam

[547] Helen Bentwich (HB) to Caroline Bentwich (CB), 27/1/19, Helen Bentwich Letters (HBL), The Women's Library (TWL), LSE.
[548] Derek Peterson, 'The Cultural Work of Moral Reform in Northwestern Tanganyika' in Derek Peterson (ed.), *Ethical Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, c. 1935-1972* (New York, 2012), pp. 152-77.

and Kampala.[549] Such an 'othering' of prostitutes via a 'de-ethnicising' or 'de-racing' by white women in empire has, however, prior to this chapter, gone unexplored. The existing literature on prostitution in empire presents race as one of several pivotal factors in both male and female colonisers' perceptions and management of prostitutes, with Philippa Levine arguing that 'prostitution became a racially definable category when moved to a colonizing context'.[550] Yet this was not the case in Mandate Palestine. In contrast to all other spheres of the intimate examined in this thesis, the Jewish and Palestinian Arab women and girls who worked as prostitutes during the Mandate were de-raced by British women. This is best explained by the hierarchies of deviance that appear to have existed in the minds of British women: Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls who engaged in non-sexual criminal behaviour were situated on the racial hierarchies that were at the heart of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms (to be discussed in Chapter Four), but the Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls who engaged in sexually deviant behaviour were beyond these boundaries of belonging. For British women, sexual immorality transcended racial identity, revealing the limits to their multiple intimate colonialisms.

Very occasionally, prostitutes were ascribed a racial identity by British women. The exceptional nature of this phenomenon is evident from the fact that the main illustration of this does not come from a welfare worker or colonial wife but from Barbara Board, a twenty-year-old female British journalist in Palestine in 1936 who, as will be demonstrated here and in the chapters that follow, was somewhat of an outlier in her interpretations of the population of Palestine. Perhaps unsurprisingly, when Board's ascribing of racial identity to the women and girls who worked as prostitutes did occur, the perceived agency of these individuals varied according to their race, in line with British women's broader and racially focused understandings of Palestine's population in all other spheres of the intimate. Board viewed Jewish prostitutes as educated, modern women who had a choice, both over the services they offered and their clients, with some Jewish girls even 'stepping out' in the evenings to earn extra money while living with their parents to save on rent. Palestinian Arab prostitutes, on the other hand, were perceived as pitiful, as women and girls who had no choice but to turn to prostitution and who possessed no agency over their services nor their

[549] Peterson, 'The Cultural Work of Moral Reform' pp. 154-162.
[550] Philippa Levine, 'Venereal Disease, Prostitution, and the Politics of Empire: The Case of British India' *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 4 (1994) 579-602, 590.

clients. These differences draw our attention to the continuum of activities deemed 'prostitution' by British women. Whereas it appears that Jewish women and girls were engaged in a range of 'prostitution', from companionship in the form of talking and drinking to transactional sex at their discretion, Palestinian Arab girls appear to have been involved in activities ranging from involuntary prostitution to sexual slavery.

Although British women's overwhelming de-racing of prostitutes was an exception to their general perceptions seen throughout this thesis, their greater involvement with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community when it came to the health problems associated with prostitution and sex was in keeping with their closer involvement with the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab than Jewish lives throughout the Mandate. In spite of the fact that members of both the Palestinian Arab and the Jewish community suffered from VD during this period, female British welfare workers were almost exclusively involved in combating VD among Palestinian Arabs.

Since the early 1990s, historians have attached increasing importance to prostitution and VD in the context of empire.[551] This has been part of a broader realisation that the private and personal lives of both coloniser and colonised tell us much about the operation of power in a colonial setting.[552] Stoler has used the example of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Indonesia to argue that examining sex – 'who had it with whom, where and when' – affords a more thorough understanding of 'the microphysics of rule', as sex was not only a metaphor for colonial power but 'foundational to the material terms in which colonial projects were carried out'.[553] In addition to Stoler's scholarship, there has been an outpouring of literature on prostitution across the British Empire in the last thirty years.[554] There remains a distinct lack of literature on prostitution and VD in Mandate Palestine, however. Orna Alyagon Darr has engaged with Mandate court records of sex offences to interrogate the legal notion of 'plausibility' and Deborah Bernstein and Margalit Shilo have examined prostitution among the Jewish community during this period (some of which is only

[551] Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*; White, *The Comforts of Home*; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*; Legg*, Prostitution and the Ends of Empire*; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*; Ballantyne and Burton (eds.), *Bodies in Contact.*
[552] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge.*
[553] Ibid, pp. 14-6.
[554] See, among others, Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality*; White, *The Comforts of Home*; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*; Legg*, Prostitution and the Ends of Empire*.

available in Hebrew).[555] Not one scholar has yet explored British women's engagement with prostitution and VD during the Mandate, however.

In 2003, observing that prostitution among the Jewish community during the Mandate had 'heretofore gone almost unmentioned in the scholarly literature', Shilo explored the significant rise in the number of Jewish prostitutes in Jerusalem during and immediately following the First World War, as well as the Ashkenazi Jewish community's response to this phenomenon, which was one of 'denial' and 'anxiety'.[556] Shilo explained that this increase was the result of a combination of starvation, epidemics, emigration and Turkish deportations between 1914 and 1918, which left the number of Jews in Jerusalem halved, and approximately 3,000 Jewish orphans, half of whom were girls, with 'no means of support'.[557] According to Shilo, a 'considerable proportion' of these orphaned girls turned to prostitution during and shortly after the First World War 'as a means of survival'.[558]

Deborah Bernstein has also examined attitudes towards prostitution among the Jewish community and, to some extent, British colonial officials during the Mandate.[559] In 2012, Bernstein investigated the complaints of Tel Aviv residents, the leaflets and petitions of religious authorities, reports by Jewish welfare workers, newspaper reports, official statements, and reports and correspondence by the British Administration. She concluded that whereas the Jewish community was concerned about the 'threat' that prostitution and its attendant mixing of Jewish women and British and Palestinian Arab men posed to the Jewish 'national project' during the Mandate, British civil and military authorities 'focused on issues of 'social hygiene'… the risk of 'moral deterioration' and medical degeneration'.[560] This is relevant because British officials' concern for the 'moral deterioration' and 'medical degeneration' that prostitution gave rise to appears to have been shared by British women.

[555] Orna Alyagon Darr, *Plausible Crime Stories: The Legal History of Sexual Offences in Mandate Palestine* (Cambridge, 2018)*;* Shilo, 'Women as Victims'; Deborah Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy: Prostitution in the Jewish Settlement of Mandate Palestine, 1918–1948' *Women's History Review* 21 (2012) 81-100.
[556] Shilo, 'Women as Victims' 72-3.
[557] Ibid, 73.
[558] Ibid, 73-8.
[559] Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy'.
[560] Ibid, 81-95.

Little attention has been paid to British women's involvement in, and discourse on, prostitution and VD in Palestine at this time, however. This lacuna is particularly noticeable in Inger Marie Okkenhaug's and Nancy Stockdale's work on British women in Palestine.[561] Okkenhaug's scholarship has focused overwhelmingly on British women and education, with no attention paid to British women's broader engagement in the intimate spheres of prostitution and VD.[562] Nor has Stockdale touched on welfare workers' or colonial wives' involvement with VD or prostitution.[563]

This omission is likely due in part to the scarcity and scattered nature of sources on this topic. This exacerbates the problems already faced by historians of prostitution and VD in empire, namely that these have historically been unspeakable topics, not only among polite society but across a range of social situations, typically discussed in the absence of the word 'sex'. Source material is thus limited, with prostitutes themselves having rarely kept any written record of their activities due to illiteracy, or out of fear of being caught by the authorities, or both. As a result, some historians have engaged creative methods to access these histories, such as oral history interviews.[564] The social stigma still surrounding prostitution in many cultures renders interviews on the subject of prostitution difficult, however. Interviews require an established relationship with the individual in question as well as the language skills necessary to discuss topics of an intimate nature. On the subject of voices, whilst the voices of Palestinian Arab prostitutes do not feature in this chapter and the voice of one Jewish prostitute (Ruth) is mediated through the writing of British journalist Barbara Board, it is hoped that by deconstructing British women's discourse – particularly British women's de-racing of the women and girls who worked as prostitutes during the Mandate – some sense of the identity of these Jewish, Palestinian Arab, Muslim and Christian women and girls can be restored.

These problems are exacerbated by the paucity of, and dispersed nature of, source material relating to British women in Mandate Palestine, as already discussed in this thesis. The two British women's organisations involved with prostitution and VD in Mandate Palestine were the SSA and the PWC. The papers of neither of these organisations have been collated, let alone archived. Instead, a scant selection of

[561] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living;* Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters.*
[562] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living.*
[563] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* pp. 1-9.
[564] White, *The Comforts of Home.*

these papers is dispersed between the Central Zionist Archives and the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem. Similar problems present themselves when investigating the colonial wives who established and ran these charitable organisations. Helen Bentwich's papers, for example, are split between the Central Zionist Archives in Jerusalem and the Women's Library at LSE. Furthermore, the papers of perhaps the most important British woman in British involvement in prostitution and VD, Margaret Nixon, cannot at this time be located. While there are a few Colonial Office files relating to prostitution and VD in Palestine at the British National Archives in Kew, the Civil Administration in Palestine appears to have been relatively little interested in prostitution and VD during the Mandate. This was likely due to a preoccupation with seemingly more pressing political and military matters. Bernstein concurs that there was 'no systematic compilation of information' concerning prostitution during the Mandate as 'prostitution was not registered, and there were no commissions to study the issue'.[565] There is therefore 'no way to assess the magnitude of prostitution' in the country at this time.[566]

As a consequence of this, this chapter employs a broad range of source material, located in numerous archives and libraries in Great Britain and Jerusalem, supplemented by material from Washington, D.C., to grapple with British women's involvement with prostitution and VD. This includes the published books and articles, correspondence and diaries of colonial wives and female British welfare workers; newspapers such as *The Palestine Post*; the reports of the Palestine-based SSA and PWC; and the papers of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH) and the British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC). The AMSH has been described as 'the most prominent' and 'arguably the only' abolitionist organisation in Britain in the first half of the twentieth century.[567] Established in 1915, the group campaigned for the abolition of state-regulated prostitution and fiercely fought against Regulation 40d under DORA (a position shared by the PWC).[568] In 1933, the AMSH published a summary of a League of Nations report on traffic in women and children in the East,

[565] Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 83.
[566] Ibid.
[567] Julia Ann Laite, 'The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene: Abolitionism and Prostitution Law in Britain (1915-1959)' *Women's History Review* 17 (2008) 207-23, 207.
[568] Ibid, 207-12; Disorderly Houses Resolution and Memorandum, Palestine Women's Council, 1921, CO 733/4, NA.

including Palestine.[569] The BSHC (known as The National Council for Combating Venereal Disease until 1925), was founded in 1914 as a result of a Royal Commission.[570] The Council's purpose was to organise propaganda and education regarding VD and in early 1933, it sent one of its leading members, Sybil Neville-Rolfe, to report on prostitution and VD in Mandate Palestine.[571]

The present research was unable to locate sufficient evidence to answer some questions: what did Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes make of their work, and of British women's interventions in this sphere? What was the fate of prostitutes who became pregnant, and their children? (Attitudes towards mixed marriages and the children of mixed marriages will be discussed in Chapter Five) What was the nature of the relationships between women in this line of work, and how did they manage their relationships with friends, family, landlords and brothel owners? While these questions stand outside the scope of this chapter, what follows aims to provide the first exploratory investigation into British women, prostitution and VD in Palestine during the Mandate. Grappling with British women's involvement in this sphere is crucial for a better understanding of the nature of, and the limits to, their multiple intimate colonialisms: whilst their differing involvement in VD amongst Jews and Palestinian Arabs strengthens the notion of their multiple colonial intimacies, their simultaneous de-racing of Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes reveals that, for these British women, the intimate act of sexual immorality transcended racial hierarchies.

British Women, Prostitution and Venereal Disease in Mandate Palestine

I: The Rescue Home and Margaret Nixon

Palestine saw a significant increase in prostitution with the arrival of British and Allied forces in the country during the First World War – in Jerusalem alone there were 26,000 soldiers stationed in the city after General Allenby's arrival in December 1917.[572] This increase in prostitution has been described as 'exceptional' by Shilo, who estimates that approximately 500 orphaned Jewish girls turned to prostitution in

[569] 'Traffic in Women and Children in the East: A Summary of the 1933 Report to the Council of the League of Nations', Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH), British Library.
[570] Legg, *Prostitution and the Ends of Empire,* p. 21.
[571] Ibid; Margaret Nixon and Sybil Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report', Jun 1933, JEM.
[572] Shilo, 'Women as Victims' 73.

Jerusalem alone during this period.[573] Bernstein has similarly described a 'rampant' increase in prostitution between 1914 and 1918, particularly in Jerusalem and the port towns of Jaffa and Haifa.[574] This was part of a marked increase in prostitution across the Middle East and beyond during the First World War.[575]

The prevalence of prostitution in Palestine was a source of grave concern to British women from the very first days of formal British influence in the country. The first British woman to take action in this sphere was Janet MacInnes, wife of Rennie MacInnes, Bishop of Jerusalem from 1914 until 1931. In the autumn of 1918, MacInnes established the SSA.[576] A forerunner of the PWC, the SSA was composed predominantly of colonial wives: MacInnes was President; Lady Beatrice Miriam Samuel, wife of Sir Herbert Samuel, first High Commissioner of Palestine, was Patroness; Helen Bentwich, wife of Norman Bentwich, Attorney-General of Mandate Palestine, was Vice-President; and Lady Louisa Storrs, wife of Ronald Storrs, Governor of Jerusalem, was involved too.[577] Annie Landau and Mrs Salameh were also included as representatives of the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities respectively.[578] It is perhaps unsurprising that some of the British women most involved with prostitution in Palestine were middle and upper-class colonial wives. These women had husbands in the upper echelons of the Palestine Administration, whose high-paying jobs meant that they did not need to work and could employ domestic servants and nannies to help in the running of the household and the raising of their children. These women therefore had the time to devote to charitable initiatives such as the SSA and PWC. This mirrored the dynamics of work in this sphere in the metropole. Paula Bartley has shown that in Britain, the women typically involved in the management of prostitution from the mid-nineteenth century onwards were middle and upper-class women, whose husbands' high salaries afforded them the time to indulge in charitable endeavours.[579] Not only this, but these women deemed themselves

[573] Ibid, 72-8.
[574] Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 85.
[575] See Ugur Umit Ungor, 'Orphans, Converts and Prostitutes: Social Consequences of War and Persecution in the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1923' *War in History* 19 (2012) 173-92; Mario M. Ruiz, 'Manly Spectacles and Imperial Soldiers in Wartime Egypt, 1914-19' *Middle Eastern Studies* 45 (2009) 351-71; Siobhan Hearne, 'Sex on the Front: Prostitution and Venereal Disease in Russia's First World War' *Revolutionary Russia* 30 (2017) 102-22.
[576] Social Service Association Report 1923/1924, NLI.
[577] Ibid.
[578] Ibid.
[579] Paula Bartley, *Prostitution: Prevention and Reform in England, 1860-1914* (London, 2000), p. 75.

'models of moral conduct' for working-class women, as prostitution was associated 'with poverty, which simultaneously was associated with the working class'.[580] Furthermore, Bartley explains that the choice of the terms 'ladies' and 'girls' in the 'Ladies' Associations for the Care and Protection of Young Girls' (organisations established in cities and towns across Britain during this period to fight prostitution) was 'more than a linguistic device, for it simultaneously mirrored a class and age prejudice'.[581] This was in spite of the fact that prostitution was a major problem in some of the richer West End areas of London, and despite disagreement among these women as to what exactly caused women and girls to turn to prostitution: whether it was the innately corrupt moral character of working-class women, the desperation of these individuals, or whether they were 'victims' of 'masculine sexual profligacy'.[582] Intervention in this sphere in Britain was a 'complex mixture' of 'gender solidarity and class domination', and it was in this context that middle and upper-class colonial wives intervened in prostitution in Mandate Palestine.[583]

MacInnes, Samuel, Bentwich and other British women were deeply troubled in 1918, not only by the 'pestilence and famine' present 'everywhere' in Palestine but, 'almost worst of all', by the 'great deal of immorality' taking place across the country.[584] They reported that the presence of a large number of British and Allied soldiers, combined with pestilence and famine, had 'forced a great many respectable girls to accept dishonour as the only means of livelihood for themselves and their families'.[585] They resolved 'at once' to form a 'Ladies Committee… to remedy this and other evils and to try and rescue and help girls irrespective of creed or race'.[586] Their first step in this direction was the establishment of a 'Rescue Home' in Jerusalem for 'delinquent' women and girls, a centre where these individuals could be offered 'a fresh chance of making good'.[587] The establishment of this institution was strongly supported by Helen Bentwich, who reported to her mother Caroline Bentwich in January 1919 that a centre was 'badly needed for the bad girls of Jerusalem'.[588]

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[580] Ibid, p. 10.
[581] Ibid, pp. 75-81.
[582] Ibid, pp. 5-11.
[583] Ibid, p. 73.
[584] SSA Report 1923/1924.
[585] Ibid.
[586] Ibid.
[587] Ibid.
[588] HB to CB, 27/1/19.

The Rescue Home was first run by Reeves Palmer, 'a lady of wide experience' from Britain.[589] There is very little information available about the Rescue Home in its early years, or indeed about Palmer and what her 'wide experience' entailed, but the SSA reported in 1924 that it was very proud of the 'splendid work' done by Palmer as Honourable Matron of the Home.[590] It stated that not only had Palmer welcomed many women and girls who were facing 'a difficult time', but she had taught these individuals to 'earn their own living', thereby reducing their chances of returning to prostitution upon leaving the Home.[591]

After only two years of running the Home, Palmer had to return to Britain in the early 1920s and the institution was temporarily closed.[592] Yet as time went on, the Home was considered 'more and more necessary' as many young girls, some with children, were being sent to prison 'for lack of better accommodation'.[593] Anxious that the Home reopen as soon as possible, Janet MacInnes lost no time in appealing to Sir Wyndham Deedes, Chief Secretary, for financial support. Deedes showed 'great sympathy' for the cause and before long the Rescue Home reopened, having received funds of £350.[594] This time however, the scope of the Home was extended to include not only women and girls who had turned to prostitution, but other 'young female offenders' too, so as to prevent these individuals from being sent to one of Palestine's prisons.[595] This was in light of a report conducted by the SSA and passed onto the Administration by the PWC, which brought to light the 'notoriously bad' conditions for women in prisons across the country and urged the Government to take 'immediate action' on the issue.[596] As will be returned to in Chapter Four, this report deplored the transportation of women prisoners in the absence of female escorts, as well as the placing of women prisoners in men's prisons in the absence of wardresses. This extension of the remit of the Home to include 'young female offenders' who had been sentenced to prison for offences other than prostitution suggests a conflation on the part of the colonial authorities in Palestine of sexually deviant women and girls and 'young female offenders' more generally, bearing comparison with Abosede George's

[589] SSA Report 1923/1924.
[590] Ibid.
[591] Ibid.
[592] Ibid.
[593] Ibid.
[594] Ibid.
[595] Ibid.
[596] 'Palestine Women's Council'.

findings that in colonial Nigeria, girls' delinquency was primarily viewed as sexual.[597] This shift in approach was also part of a broader move away from punishment and towards the reform of juvenile delinquents across empire in the early-mid-twentieth century. Stacey Hynd notes that in the 1930s Gold Coast, for example, officials increasingly spoke of the 'treatment' rather than the 'punishment' of juvenile delinquents, with reformatories and probation becoming the 'main methods of treatment for juveniles, replacing bodily punishment with moral supervision and training'.[598]

When the Rescue Home, also known as the Girls' Home, reopened, Margaret Nixon was appointed Superintendent, one of her many roles as newly appointed Government Welfare Officer for Palestine. Nixon was a key figure in British intervention in prostitution, VD, criminality, punishment and marriage during the Mandate, as will be seen in the remaining chapters of this thesis. Her appointment as Government Welfare Officer was the result of pressure exerted on the Administration by the SSA and PWC. The considerable resistance faced by her appointment is clear from the memoirs of Frances 'Effie' Newton, a member of the PWC and a CMS missionary turned social worker who arrived in Palestine in 1899 at the age of seventeen and remained in the country until 1948.[599] Having heard about Nixon's work among the underprivileged in London and the north of England and her achievements in relief work in Damascus and Cyprus, Newton seized the opportunity to speak to Nixon when Nixon was passing through Haifa on her way from Cyprus back to England.[600] After some discussion, Newton found Nixon to be the 'ideal person for the work of supervising the welfare of women and girls in Palestine', and lost no time in approaching government officials on the matter, impressing upon them 'the urgent need for a woman welfare inspector'.[601] At first, Newton's proposals fell on deaf ears, and for the first year of her work in Palestine, Nixon was privately funded through leftover money from the closing down of the Palestine and Syria Relief Fund. At last, however, Newton was granted a meeting with Sir Wyndham Deedes to discuss the matter. Despite Deedes' previous assistance with the Rescue Home, Newton found

[597] Abosede George, *Making Modern Girls: A History of Girlhood, Labor, and Social Development in Colonial Lagos* (Ohio, 2014).
[598] Stacey Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes: The Construction of Juvenile Delinquency in the Gold Coast [Colonial Ghana], c. 1929-57' *Journal of West African History* 4 (2018) 47-74, 61.
[599] Frances Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine* (London, 1948).
[600] Ibid, p. 148.
[601] Ibid.

Deedes resistant to the idea of a female welfare inspector, and was particularly frustrated by his remark that the Government had to consider 'what is indispensable as against what is merely desirable… It cannot be said, can it, that the appointment of a woman welfare inspector is indispensable to the carrying on of the Government's administration. Therefore, being merely desirable and not indispensable, I fear the proposal is unacceptable'.[602] Newton, sensible of the fact that the Government had recently employed a woman in the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, retorted 'but may I ask which of the two appointments is the more indispensable – a woman inspector to look after the fishes in the sea, or one to look after women and girls on the land?'.[603] Newton proudly reported in her memoirs that her proposal was soon accepted and Nixon was appointed Government Welfare Inspector for Palestine in 1921.[604] It is worth noting, however, that the only other accounts of Nixon's appointment reveal Newton's version of events to be rather self-aggrandising, emphasising her own role in Nixon's appointment. In June 1921, Bentwich did not note any special part played by Newton in Nixon's appointment, instead describing Nixon as 'the English woman who was called into being by the [Palestine] Women's Council'.[605] An SSA report in 1924 similarly recalled that it was 'largely owing to representations made by these societies [the SSA and the PWC] that Miss Nixon, a woman highly trained in Social Work, was appointed Government Welfare Inspector for the whole country'.[606]

Nixon was 'a tall statuesque woman, blue-eyed, grey-haired', who arrived in Palestine 'well trained' for her role, having been educated at London University, and who possessed considerable experience working with underprivileged communities in London and the north of England.[607] Linking to the metropolitan models of domestic femininity that many British women took with them to Mandate Palestine, Barbara Board (the British journalist whom we will return to later in this chapter), described Nixon as having 'an uncanny knack of knowing just the right kind of things one appreciates for tea', including 'lovely home-made cakes' and 'delicious hot buttered

[602] Ibid, p. 149.
[603] Ibid.
[604] Ibid.
[605] HB to CB, 26/6/21, HBL.
[606] SSA Report 1923/1924.
[607] Barbara Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine* (London, 1937), p. 223; Gail Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen in our Public Service: Education, Welfare and Maternity Work' *The Palestine Post,* 31/1/38.

scones'.[608] Board's decision to include this in her short description of the Welfare Inspector speaks to the presence of domestic and welfarist constructions of femininity among British women in Mandate Palestine.

Nixon became a highly respected figure among the community of British women in Palestine, many of whom were keen to demonstrate their connection with her. One example of this is Helen Bentwich. From her arrival in the country in January 1919, Bentwich's weekly letters to her mother evidence disappointment with the British women she encountered in Mandate Palestine. With a strong background in social work herself, Bentwich was exasperated with what she considered to be the ineffectiveness of the British women in the country.[609] Within one month of arriving, Bentwich remarked that the other English ladies 'spend all their time meeting and writing reports' and 'do nothing'.[610] Six months later in June 1919, her frustration persisted. After attending a meeting to discuss the establishment of the Jerusalem Rescue Home, Bentwich penned, 'as is usual here, it was mostly talk'.[611] Bentwich felt altogether differently about Nixon, however. Revitalised by Nixon's appointment, Bentwich praised her as 'the English woman who was called into being by the Women's Council… a sort of Welfare Officer, Prison Visitor, Probation Officer, Juvenile Offenders' Officer, etc… all in one'.[612] Bentwich was delighted to report in June 1921 that Nixon was staying with her for a few days, and commented that she was 'quite nice, and, I should say, *very* good at her job'.[613] Bentwich was also greatly amused by the reaction that Nixon provoked in Norman, Bentwich's husband. Bentwich penned her mother that Nixon was 'so capable she terrifies Norman, and he runs miles to avoid being left alone with her'.[614]

Although Nixon's numerous responsibilities as Government Welfare Inspector prohibited her from visiting the Jerusalem Rescue Home every day, she was reported to have spent at least half an hour at the Home each morning that she was in Jerusalem. In light of her other commitments, Nixon trained 'two excellent Arab women' as matrons of the Home and sought to recruit additional Palestinian Arab girls

[608] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine*, pp. 223-4.
[609] Jennifer Glynn (ed.), *Tidings from Zion: Helen Bentwich's Letters from Jerusalem, 1919-1931* (London, 2000), pp. 2-12.
[610] HB to CB, 27/1/19.
[611] HB to CB, 3/6/19, HBL.
[612] HB to CB, 26/6/21.
[613] Ibid.
[614] Ibid.

to help run the centre.[615] Initially, Nixon faced difficulties with this as Palestinian Arab parents did not deem it suitable for their daughters to be working at an institution dealing with women who had previously worked as prostitutes, but Nixon reported in 1935 that 'all difficulties with regard to staff disappeared when I managed to get one of my assistants well married'.[616] Under Nixon's supervision, women and girls at the Home were taught cooking, breadmaking, washing and ironing.[617] They were also taught to make and mend their own clothes and clothes for children, which they marketed at local bazaars.[618] This is an important example of British women's metropolitan models of domestic femininity consolidating hegemonic notions of traditional feminine domesticity in Palestine, the women and girls at the Home being reformed through training for their roles as wives and mothers on their departure from the Home.

It is difficult to glean the average number of women and girls at the Jerusalem Rescue Home in any one year between 1918 and 1948, let alone the number who had been brought in on prostitution charges. In its annual report for 1923, the Civil Administration stated that there were currently fifty-one women and children at the Home, either by order of the Courts or on the recommendation of the SSA.[619] After 1923 however, there was little – if any – mention of the Rescue Home in the Administration's yearly reports, even when a section titled 'Prostitution' was introduced to the annual report in 1931.[620] Instead, a few details about the Home can be gleaned from other sources. An SSA report claimed that there were eighty-nine women and children living at the Home in 1924, two thirds of whom had been sent to the Home instead of going to prison, and in a report of 1929, Nixon claimed that 358 'delinquent' women and girls had stayed at the Home over the last seven years.[621] Nixon also noted that many of these women and girls brought their children with them.[622] And in 1938, an article in *The Palestine Post* reported that there were currently twenty-seven women and girls at the Jerusalem institution for 'vagrant and delinquent girls', most of whom would remain under Nixon's care at the institution for approximately three

[615] Margaret Nixon, 'Palestine: Women and Girl Offenders' *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* 4 (1935) 135-8, 137.
[616] Ibid, 135.
[617] Ibid, 137.
[618] Ibid.
[619] Report on Palestine Administration, 1923, Blue Book, Vol. 1.
[620] Report on Palestine Administration, 1933, Blue Book, Vol. 3.
[621] SSA Report 1923/1924; 'Palestine' by Nixon, 1/2/29, AMSH, TWL.
[622] 'Palestine' by Nixon.

years.[623] With this little information, it is possible to conjecture that there were between twenty-five and ninety women and girls at the Rescue Home in any one year during the Mandate, not including their children.

II: The Campaign for Abolition

In addition to the establishment of the Rescue Home in Jerusalem for 'delinquent' women and girls, British women campaigned for the abolition, rather than the regulation, of prostitution in Mandate Palestine. From the 1850s onwards, prostitution and VD was a source of considerable concern to British authorities both at home and abroad. A combination of 'moralism, sanitary regulation, and military lobbying' in mid-nineteenth century Britain generated a 'heightened awareness' of this 'social evil', triggering an outpouring of books, articles and pamphlets on prostitution and VD.[624] Levine has argued that although the anxiety surrounding prostitution was allegedly due to the 'loss of soldier-power' that VD entailed, in reality, this concern was based on more than this: colonial administrators saw the treatment of prostitution and VD as 'crucial for defense, for morality, for personal safety, for health, and as a powerful tool for knowing and containing, as well as deploring, native populations'.[625] These concerns gave rise to legislation on prostitution and VD, with two Contagious Diseases Acts introduced in 1864 and 1866 and 'virtually every British colonial possession' impacted by legislation by the 1870s.[626] This typically required women who worked as prostitutes to register as such and to undergo compulsory medical examinations at regular intervals to detect and treat VD.

This approach met with vehement opposition in both the metropole and Britain's colonies. British women campaigners criticised what they saw as 'double standards', with women blamed for the spread of VD and women but not men subject to medical examinations.[627] Medical professionals also denounced these policies as 'unworkable'.[628] Further branding this regulation of prostitution 'state encouragement of vice', these opponents campaigned for an alternative policy of abolition.[629] They did not call for the abolition of all forms of prostitution, but instead sought the management

[623] Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen'.
[624] Levine, 'Venereal Disease' 584.
[625] Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics,* pp. 1-13.
[626] Ibid*,* p. 1.
[627] Ibid, p. 2.
[628] Ibid.
[629] Ibid*,* p. 3.

of prostitution through the closing of state-licensed brothels and the penalising of those who profited by procuring prostitutes or managing brothels.[630] Following an extensive campaign of leafleting, petitioning, lobbying and deputations, the abolition movement garnered significant support and by 1886 the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864 and 1866 had been repealed.[631] By the time of the establishment of the British Military Administration in Palestine in 1918 and then the Civil Administration in 1920, public opinion in Britain and abroad was strongly opposed to the regulation of prostitution.[632] This was consolidated by 'debates around sexual behaviour, gender roles, racial responsibility, and imperial rights' that had taken place during the First World War.[633] This context is important for understanding British women's position on prostitution and VD during the Mandate.

From the earliest days of its existence, the PWC pressed the Palestine Administration to adopt a policy of abolition of prostitution. Prior to the formation of the PWC, in 1919 an attempt had been made by the Chief Administrator of the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, General Money, to contain prostitution in Palestine to particular areas – in other words, to follow a policy of regulation. A 1919 Public Notice declared that in prescribed areas, 'a disorderly house could legally be carried on', but that 'if a person kept a disorderly house outside the prescribed area he was liable to prosecution'.[634] The same Public Notice also penalised the 'communication of venereal disease to a soldier by a prostitute' and the 'soliciting of soldiers by prostitutes'.[635] It is worth noting that the use of the word 'disorderly' here reflects colonial authorities' concern with, and moral condemnation of, the way in which sex between coloniser and colonised transgressed and compromised colonial hierarchies. This also links to the way in which prostitution in Mandate Palestine 'disordered' British women's colonial hierarchies, the sexual deviancy of prostitutes pushing these individuals beyond multiple intimate colonialisms.

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[630] Ibid.
[631] Bartley, *Prostitution,* p. 12; Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics,* p. 2; Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 83.
[632] Raelene Frances, 'Sex Workers or Citizens? Prostitution and the Shaping of 'Settler' Society in Australia' *International Review of Social History* 44 (1999) 101-22, 116.
[633] Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics,* p. 11; Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 85.
[634] Norman Bentwich (NB) to Margery Corbett Ashby (MCA), 25/5/21, CO 733/4, NA.
[635] Herbert Samuel (HS) to Winston Churchill (WC), 30/6/21, CO 733/4.

In 1921, following the replacement of the Military Administration with the Civil Administration, in an attempt to bring policy on prostitution in Palestine into line with public opinion in Britain, an important part of the Public Notice of 1919 was rescinded. In the *Government of Palestine Official Gazette* of 15 February 1921, High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel stated that the policy of 'segregated areas' where prostitution could legally take place in Palestine was now ended.[636] This was part of a broader shift in British colonial policy in the early-mid-twentieth century away from the segregation and toleration of brothels and towards their abolition and suppression and can also be seen in India, Shanghai and Malaysia around this time.[637]

Although this marked a decided move away from the regulation of prostitution in Palestine, the PWC was hugely concerned by this change in the absence of other amendments to the Government's policy. In a Memorandum submitted to Samuel, the PWC stated that 'while thankfully acknowledging that the new Public Notice is all to the good by showing that the Administration does not recognise the necessity for the existence of Disorderly Houses', there existed 'certain serious defects which need to be remedied'.[638] The PWC's issues with the amendment were twofold. Firstly, that the abolition of 'segregated areas' without any further amendment to the policy on prostitution opened the door for prostitution to take place anywhere and everywhere. The PWC explained that

> the present Ottoman Penal Code only punishes persons who habitually incite and entice young persons to indecent conduct, by perverting or deceiving them, or by facilitating the means to such conduct… it does not directly prohibit the keeping of a brothel.[639]

The PWC thus urged the Government to 'reconsider' its 'unsatisfactory' Public Notice of February 1921 and to instead make it an offence to keep a disorderly house in Palestine.[640] They submitted that what was required was to 'forbid the keeping of disorderly houses and to penalise the managers of such houses together with procureurs and others who profit by their existence'.[641] Secondly, the PWC ardently objected to the penalising of prostitutes for soliciting soldiers and for communicating

[636] *Government of Palestine Official Gazette,* 15/2/21, NA.
[637] Legg, *Prostitution and the Ends of Empire,* p. 8.
[638] Disorderly Houses Resolution and Memorandum.
[639] Ibid.
[640] Ibid.
[641] Ibid.

VD to soldiers. This was in line with criticism of the 'double standards' of prostitution regulation back in Britain and in other parts of the British Empire at this time. In correspondence with Samuel, the Council pointed out that it had been 'proved by evidence given before a Commission held in England to enquire into the working of Regulation 40d under DORA' that it was 'practically impossible' to legally prove 'which of the two parties infected the other'.[642] The Council also went on to point out that such proof could only be obtained through compulsory medical inspection, which was surely 'abhorrent' to 'all right-minded people'.[643]

To the disappointment of the PWC, High Commissioner Samuel was reluctant to make further changes to the only recently amended policy on prostitution in 1921. In a letter to Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Samuel explained that, in his opinion, there was no need to make the changes proposed by the PWC as the new Penal Code, due to be enacted once the Mandate was promulgated, contained 'adequate provisions based on the resolutions of the White Slave Traffic Conferences'.[644] Samuel also explained that he was unwilling to carry out 'legislation of this character' before the constitution of Palestine 'had been placed on a more definite basis'.[645] The International Conference on White Slave Traffic, held by the League of Nations in 1921, built on the International Convention for the Suppression of White Slave Traffic of 1910, and culminated in the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, signed in Geneva in September 1921.[646] These agreements reflected an international movement to abolish the sexual traffic in women and girls in the first decades of the twentieth century and a 'new sensitivity to the exploitation of non-white women', as evidenced by the replacement of the term 'White Slave Traffic' with 'sexual traffic in women and girls' in September 1921.[647] The 1921 Convention sought to combat trafficking through 'the prosecution of procurers, the licensing and supervising of

[642] Ibid.
[643] Ibid.
[644] HS to WC, 30/6/21.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Cherif M. Bassiouni, Daniel Rothenberg et al., 'Addressing International Human Trafficking in Women and Children for Commercial Sexual Exploitation in the 21st Century' *Revue Internationale De Droit Pénal* 81 (2010) 417-91.
[647] Frances, 'Sex Workers or Citizens?' 108; Barbara Metzger, 'Towards an International Human Rights Regime During the Inter-War Years: The League of Nations' Combat of Traffic in Women and Children' in Kevin Grant, Philippa Levine and Frank Trentmann (eds.), *Beyond Sovereignty: Britain, Empire and Transnationalism c. 1880-1950* (Aurora, 2007), pp. 54-79, p. 58.

employment agencies, and the protection of women and child immigrants'.[648] In response to comparable pressure from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, established in Berlin in 1904 to campaign for women's suffrage, Norman Bentwich, Attorney-General of Palestine, explained that while it was not currently 'an offence under the Palestinian Law to keep a disorderly house… as soon as the Government of Palestine is in a position to make radical changes in the Criminal Law of the country, it is proposed to introduce legislation based on the resolutions of the White Slave Traffic Conference'.[649]

By 1927, following 'recommendations and suggestions' from the PWC – as reported by Bertha Spafford Vester, founder of the Spafford Children's Center and member of the PWC who described it as a 'wonderful privilege' to have contributed to the 'new laws against prostitution' in Palestine in 1924 – two amendments were passed concerning prostitution in Palestine.[650] The first of these was not Palestine-specific but applied across League of Nations Mandated territories. Published in the *Government of Palestine Official Gazette* on 1 May 1925, 'Offences Against Women' concerned the problem of 'respectable women' being 'led astray by procurers', who, it was feared, 'were able not only to extract them [respectable women] from their homes but also to remove them from their country of residence'.[651] Yet, as is evident from this chapter and as has been agreed by Bernstein, 'the issue of trafficking was not an immediate concern in Palestine' and we can therefore conjecture that the 1925 amendment was the result of the 'commitment among all members of the League of Nations to implement its resolutions', rather than 'a response to local phenomena' in Palestine.[652] The second – and far more important – amendment regarding prostitution was the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, published in 1926 and implemented in 1927 under High Commissioner Herbert Onslow Plumer. Under this Ordinance there was to be no regulation of prostitution through 'reserved districts' or 'licensed houses', nor any 'registration of prostitutes' or 'compulsory medical examinations'; instead, brothels were made illegal across the whole country, with 'severe penalties' for brothel keepers and landlords who let their premises for this purpose.[653] Brothels were defined

[648] Bassiouni, 'Addressing International Human Trafficking' 438.
[649] NB to MCA, 25/5/21.
[650] 'Palestine Women's Council'; Diary of Bertha Spafford Vester, 4/2/24, American Colony in Jerusalem Collection, Library of Congress.
[651] Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 86.
[652] Ibid, 87.
[653] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1933, Blue Book, Vol. 4.

as places where 'two or three prostitutes carry on their trade'.[654] As Government Welfare Officer Margaret Nixon and Sybil Neville-Rolfe from the British Social Hygiene Council explained in a joint report in June 1933, and in line with abolitionist policy elsewhere during this period, the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1926 sought to penalise the 'third party commercial interest in prostitution' by targeting procurers and those living on the earnings of women and girls who worked as prostitutes.[655] While solicitation in public was considered an offence under the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, if prostitution was 'carried out in private by a woman living on her own' then it was not considered an offence.[656] Both the 'Offences Against Women' amendment of 1925 and the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1926 were incorporated into the Penal Criminal Code of Palestine in 1936 and remained active until 1948, bringing the policy on prostitution in Palestine into line with legislation in Britain at this time.[657] This is important context for understanding British women's engagement with prostitution and its associated health problems in Palestine between 1920 and 1948.

Venereal Disease

When it came to the health problems associated with prostitution and sex, British women in Mandate Palestine were far more intimately involved with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community. Despite the fact that both Palestinian Arabs and Jews were afflicted by VD throughout the Mandate period, female British welfare workers and colonial wives were almost exclusively involved in combating VD amongst the Palestinian Arab community. This is in keeping with British women's greater involvement with the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab than Jewish lives throughout the Mandate, as part of their multiple intimate colonialisms.

There is little information available about British women's work to tackle VD in Mandate Palestine, but two reports by British women shed some light on these efforts. The first is a four-page report on prostitution and VD, written by Margaret Nixon in February 1929.[658] The second is a report by Nixon and Sybil Neville-Rolfe, compiled

[654] Ibid.
[655] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[656] Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 87.
[657] Ibid, 86-7.
[658] 'Palestine' by Nixon.

at the request of High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope in April 1933.[659] Neville-Rolfe was a leading member of the British Social Hygiene Council in Britain, who travelled to Palestine in early 1933 due to an interest in places where the regulation of prostitution had been abolished (as already explained, under the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance of 1926, there was no regulation of prostitution in Mandate Palestine).[660]

VD was by no means a problem that exclusively affected the Palestinian Arab community. In Nixon's 1929 report on the 'dual problems' of prostitution and VD in Palestine, Nixon described VD as 'a serious health problem… for the whole population', including 'both in the towns and in the villages'.[661] And in Nixon and Neville-Rolfe's 1933 report, both Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes were described as 'sources of infection'.[662] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe further explained that whilst one of the 'main sources' of VD in Jerusalem was 'Jewish prostitutes… to whose rooms the Jewish taxi drivers outside the main cinema took the men', VD could also be contracted from 'Arab women'.[663] These British women were gravely concerned about the incidence of syphilis across Palestine, describing it as 'endemic' in some parts of the country, and a particular problem in Hebron, where 'the total infection of the population' was 'around 25%'.[664] They explained that 'special measures' to tackle syphilis had recently been introduced in Hebron, Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, and that they were also troubled by the incidence of gonorrhoea and soft chancre across the country.[665]

These women were almost exclusively involved in combating VD among the Palestinian Arab community, however. Nixon's 1929 report spoke of a government polyclinic with a 'popular Moslem Doctor and trained Moslem nurse', where 'the majority of the attending patients' were Palestinian Muslims, as well as an 'anti-syphilitic treatment at the government dispensary in Hebron', which once again served the Muslim community of Mandate Palestine.[666] Not once did Nixon's 1929 report mention any efforts by British women to combat VD among the Jewish community in

[659] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[660] Ibid.
[661] 'Palestine' by Nixon.
[662] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[663] Ibid.
[664] Ibid; 'Palestine' by Nixon.
[665] Ibid.
[666] 'Palestine' by Nixon.

the country. Likewise, in 1933, Nixon and Neville-Rolfe described married Palestinian Muslim women who were 'suffering from gynaecological conditions due to untreated syphilis and gonorrhoea', as well as 'unmarried women and girls' who needed urgent treatment for VD but 'refuse to attend at a government hospital or dispensary because there they would have to submit to an examination by a medical man'.[667] They commended the 'excellent work' being done in this regard by Vena Rogers, Superintendent of Midwifery from Chapter One.[668] Not once did they mention parallel work taking place among the Jewish community, however.

In addition, in accordance with Bernstein's findings that British colonial officials in Mandate Palestine were concerned by the threat of 'medical degeneration' that prostitution posed, in their reports, Nixon and Neville-Rolfe attached the utmost importance to the impact of VD on the health of British soldiers and British policemen in Palestine.[669] In 1933, Nixon and Neville-Rolfe were distressed to find a 'considerable prevalence' of VD among British soldiers stationed in Jerusalem, with 22 of the 800 soldiers of the Middlesex Regiment having contracted VD in Jerusalem in 1932.[670] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe explained that this was a 'rate of approximately twenty-seven per 1,000 men… that is to say seven per thousand higher than in any Command in the British Isles'.[671] They also reported that although when

> dealing with the British police one is dealing with a very carefully selected and fine body of men… among the British members of the Palestine Police (in 1931) numbering about 660 there have been seventy-three new infections in three and a half years.[672]

The vast majority of these were cases of syphilis and gonorrhoea contracted in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa, and consequently Nixon and Neville-Rolfe deemed it 'very advisable' for VD clinics to be established in these cities, and for films to show 'suitable short propaganda films in the cinemas before or after the usual pictures'.[673] This concern with the health of British soldiers and policemen in the country, coupled with British women's moral condemnation of the women and girls who worked as

[667] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[668] Ibid.
[669] Bernstein, 'Gender, Nationalism and Colonial Policy' 95-6; Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[670] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[671] Ibid.
[672] Ibid.
[673] Ibid; 'Palestine' by Nixon.

prostitutes in Mandate Palestine, speaks to the overlap between female, male and official British discourses in this sphere.

The De-Raced Prostitute

In contrast to British women's racially-oriented efforts to manage VD, in their reports and correspondence these women provide very little sense of the racial identities of the women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Palestine during the Mandate. This is contrary to their perceptions of Palestine's population in every other sphere of the intimate discussed in this thesis. As Chapters One and Two have shown, race (as well as religion) was a key factor in shaping British women's conceptions of the people of Palestine in the realms of maternity, infant welfare, children and education. Chapters Four and Five will similarly reveal that in the context of criminality, punishment and women's status within and beyond the home, British women's understandings of the people of Palestine were significantly shaped by race. Sources show that the same did not apply when it came to prostitution, however.

The SSA's annual report for 1923-1924 spoke generally of 'girls' who were going through a 'difficult time' and who had no choice but to accept 'dishonour' as their livelihood.[674] The report went on to explain that there were currently eighty-nine of these women and girls (including their children) at the Rescue Home in Jerusalem, but provided no information as to the race or religion of the majority of these individuals, despite being privy to this information.[675] Even in their accounts of a series of exchanges with 'patronas' of Disorderly Houses in Haifa and Jaffa, the SSA provided no information about the racial or other social identities of these women, other than the fact that they were 'patronas'.[676] Likewise, in Government Welfare Officer Margaret Nixon's report of February 1929 on the 'dual problems' of prostitution and VD in Palestine, Nixon noted that 358 'women and girls' had stayed at the Rescue Home in Jerusalem since its reopening in the early 1920s, but – and in contrast to the otherwise detailed nature of this report, as evidenced earlier – Nixon neglected to provide any further information about these 358 individuals.[677] And similarly, in Nixon's and MacInnes' joint June 1933 report on 'public morality' in Haifa, these women explained

[674] SSA Report 1923/1924.
[675] Ibid.
[676] Ibid.
[677] 'Palestine' by Nixon.

that during their week spent visiting hotels and cafés with 'bad reputations', they had 'invariably found young girls between the ages of fifteen and twenty in attendance on many soldiers and civilians'.[678] Yet they provided no indication as to the race or religion of these girls, despite having observed these encounters first-hand.[679] This lack of identity pervaded the less official and more personal accounts of British women in Mandate Palestine. Frances Newton described prostitutes as 'girls in difficulty' in her memoirs and, echoing this rhetoric, in various letters to her mother on the topic of prostitution, Helen Bentwich described these individuals as 'bad girls' and referred to the 'bad young women of Jerusalem'.[680]

The identity of these individuals was likewise denied by British men. On 31 January 1938, an article titled 'Three Englishwomen in Our Public Service' by Gail Hoffman appeared in *The Palestine Post.*[681] Hoffman praised Hilda Ridler (Inspector of Girls' Schools) and Vena Rogers (Superintendent of Midwifery) from Chapter One, as well as Margaret Nixon, as 'pioneers' in education, welfare and maternity in Mandate Palestine, and described all of these individuals as 'capable', 'hardworking' and 'efficient'.[682] Hoffman described Nixon's Rescue Home as a 'splendid example of progressive treatment of the delinquent and underprivileged' and noted that there were currently twenty-seven girls at the institution, with an average stay of three years.[683] Yet in contrast to his racially-oriented explanation of Hilda Ridler's and Vena Rogers' work, Hoffman provided no information at all about the race or religion of the twenty-seven girls at the Rescue Home, other than remarking that instruction was given to these 'vagrant and delinquent' girls in both Hebrew and Arabic.[684] Hoffman outlined some of the activities carried out by these women and girls, such as making their own clothes and assisting with the cooking, housework and gardening, but he provided no further information about their social identities.[685] In contrast, he summarised Hilda Ridler's task as 'bringing education to Arab girls' and described her as a 'young Englishwoman, riding a horse to remote Arab villages and towns'.[686] Hoffman also claimed that Vena Rogers' work focused on 'women of the Orient' who attended

[678] Nixon and Neville-Rolfe, 'Palestine Report'.
[679] Ibid.
[680] Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine,* p. 147; HB to CB, 27/1/19; HB to CB, 15/7/19, HBL.
[681] Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen'.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ibid.
[684] Ibid.
[685] Ibid.
[686] Ibid.

maternity and infant welfare demonstrations 'in the picturesque costumes of a dozen eastern communities'.[687] It is difficult to ascertain the reason for Hoffman's lack of attention to the racial identity of former prostitutes at the Jerusalem Rescue Home. Was this because his article was based on interviews with British women who, as we have seen, were unlikely to ascribe a racial identity to these women and girls? Or was it the result of Hoffman's own de-racing of the women and girls he encountered at the Home? This de-racing of the women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Palestine also took place at an official level, with a report by the newly established Department of Social Welfare in 1944 speaking rather generally of 'delinquent' women and girls, despite examining all other aspects of welfare among the 'Jewish' and 'Arab' communities in Palestine separately.[688]

This lack of identity is worthy of attention, not least because of its striking contrast with British women's perceptions of the local population in all other spheres of the intimate discussed in this thesis. This could have been because British women such as Nixon, MacInnes and Newton encountered both Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls who worked as prostitutes during the Mandate and could not see any discernible differences in the agency or situation of these individuals, and thus were unable to situate these women and girls on their broader hierarchies of agency and modernity. However, as has been demonstrated in Chapters One and Two and will be demonstrated in Chapter Five, perceptible difference was not always needed for British women to situate Palestinian Arab and Jewish women on these social scales. On the contrary, a lack of contact characterised British women's engagement with Jewish midwives, mothers and infant and child-rearing practices but did not deter these individuals from situating the Jewish community further up their social scales of child-rearing and modernity than the Palestinian Arab community. Furthermore, as this thesis argues, the nature of British women's intimate colonialism towards the Jewish community throughout the Mandate can be characterised as distant, or superficial. Alternatively, then, this lack of reference to race in the writing and reports of British women could have been because these women deemed it unnecessary to include the race of prostitutes in their papers, if all women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Mandate Palestine were either Palestinian Arab or Jewish. But this was not the case;

[687] Ibid.
[688] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944, ISA.

prostitutes in Palestine represented a variety of local communities – they were Jews, Palestinians, Christians and Muslims. Journalist Barbara Board reported in her 1937 account of her trip to Palestine that prostitutes in Tel Aviv were 'Jewesses', but in Jerusalem and Haifa they were 'Christian or Arab widows or tribal women'.[689] Perhaps then, British women's apparent lack of attention to racial and religious identity in this sphere was due to the fact that these women were encountering only Jewish or Palestinian Arab prostitutes at the Jerusalem Rescue Home and thus felt no need to distinguish these individuals by race? Yet once again, evidence shows that British women encountered both Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes at the Rescue Home throughout the Mandate. This institution was one of the few examples of collaboration between British and Jewish women in the realm of welfare work in Mandate Palestine, with British and Jewish women collaborating in the establishment of the Rescue Home for 'delinquent' women and girls, 'irrespective of creed or race'.[690] British women would have thus encountered both Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes in this setting.

This phenomenon could alternatively be explained by race not being central to these particular British women's conceptions of Palestine's population. However, the same British women who de-raced prostitutes evidenced racially-oriented understandings of the local population in other spheres of the intimate discussed in this thesis. For example, the British women involved in the SSA were also involved in the PWC, who issued a statement in the early 1930s contrasting the 'modern' maternity practices of Jewish mothers with those of the Palestinian community, and both Nixon and Newton were involved in the racially-oriented treatment of prisoners in Palestine, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.[691] Race (alongside religion) was also central to both Nixon's and Newton's understandings of the status of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women within and beyond the home, as will be seen in Chapter Five.

With these explanations discounted, it would seem that this marked de-racing of prostitutes in Mandate Palestine stemmed from British women's overwhelming perception of these individuals as 'bad' women and girls. As mentioned above, the SSA's annual report for 1923-1924 condemned the women and girls who had been

[689] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 281.
[690] Laura Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem: Annie Landau's School for Girls (1900-1960)* (Waltham, 2013), p. 89; SSA Report 1923/1924.
[691] 'Palestine Women's Council'.

forced to accept ‘dishonour’ as their livelihood, and Bentwich described prostitutes as ‘bad girls’ and ‘bad young women of Jerusalem’.[692] Unlike non-sexual criminal behaviour, which led to Jewish and Palestinian Arab illegal immigrants, Communists and others being placed on British women’s racial hierarchies of agency and modernity (to be discussed in Chapter Four), the sexual immorality of prostitutes supplanted their racial identities, pushing them into a category of their own: the rather simple category of ‘bad’ women – a moral judgement echoed in official discourse. It is also possible that this was exacerbated by the social relationship that existed between some British and Jewish women during the Mandate, to be explored in Chapter Five. In this context, it might have been unseemly for British women to racially identify as Jewish some of the women and girls who worked as prostitutes. Thus, for British women in Palestine, the intimate practice of prostitution transcended race, exposing a limit to the notion of multiple intimate colonialisms.

The Agency of Prostitutes

Very occasionally, however, the women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Mandate Palestine were ascribed a racial identity by British women. Archives and libraries in Jerusalem and London bring to light three examples of this phenomenon: an account from twenty-year-old British journalist Barbara Board from Tel Aviv in 1936; a short passage in an SSA report detailing some of the women and girls at the Rescue Home in Jerusalem in 1924; and an AMSH summary of the 1933 League of Nations report on traffic in women and children in the East.[693] In these examples, the contrasting agency attributed to Jewish and Palestinian Arab women and girls who worked as prostitutes is striking. Whereas Jewish prostitutes were seen as educated, modern individuals who chose to engage in a range of activities from talking and drinking to transactional sex at their discretion, Palestinian Arab prostitutes were perceived as having no agency over their services nor their clients, and instead involved in activities ranging from involuntary prostitution to sexual slavery. This continuum of activities considered ‘prostitution’ has similarly been noted by Henry Trotter in South African ports, who points out that ‘prostitution’ ranged from companionship in the form of talking, drinking, dancing and caressing to sexual

[692] SSA Report 1923/1924; HB to CB, 27/1/19; HB to CB, 15/7/19.
[693] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine*; SSA Report 1923/1924; ‘Traffic in Women and Children in the East’.

intercourse, and took place in a range of spaces from cafés and bars to brothels and the streets.[694] It is worth noting here that this analysis (and this thesis more broadly) is cognizant of what Lynn Thomas has described as 'the problem of agency as a "safety" argument' in histories of women and gender: the imbuing of agency in the absence of 'fresher arguments that either use agency as one conceptual tool for exploring a wide range of analytical and thematic concerns, or to historicise agency itself'.[695] Whilst recognising the agency of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women and girls during the Mandate, the ensuing discussion focuses on British women's perceptions of this agency as a tool to better understand the nature of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in the country. Moreover, this discourse of Jewish but not Palestinian Arab women and girls as possessors of agency corresponds with British women's perceptions of Jewish and Palestinian Arab female criminality, as well as the status of women within and beyond the home, to be explored in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis.

In 1937, twenty-one-year-old Weymouth-born journalist Barbara Board published a book about the women of Mandate Palestine.[696] Inspired from an early age by her schoolteacher father's passion for travel and writing short stories, Board secured a job as a reporter for *Southern Times* immediately after finishing her education at Dorchester High School.[697] In early 1936, Board's 'unusual' position as a female journalist covering a murder trial at Dorchester Assizes for *Southern Times* was reported in *World Press News:* 'after all the fuss… about women covering assignments which might be regarded as the men's province…a lone female presence in the Press contingent… Barbara E. Board… who, apart from taking a turn with two men colleagues on the actual note-taking was doing a human-angle story'.[698] This mention in a national newspaper transformed Board almost overnight from 'a provincial reporter into an international journalist', and Board was soon working for the national tabloid *Daily Sketch*.[699] Later in 1936, Board was sent to Palestine by the

[694] Henry Trotter, 'Dockside Prostitution in South African Ports' *History Compass* 6 (2008) 673-90; Trotter, 'Soliciting Sailors: The Temporal Dynamics of Dockside Prostitution in Durban and Cape Town' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35 (2009) 699-713.
[695] Lynn M. Thomas, 'Historicising Agency' *Gender and History* 28 (2016) 324-39, 329. For more on agency as a historical concept, see Walter Johnson, 'On Agency' *Journal of Social History* 37 (2003) 113-24.
[696] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine.*
[697] Board, *Reporting from Palestine, 1943-44* (Nottingham, 2008), p. 15.
[698] Quoted in Board, *Reporting from Palestine,* pp. 15-6.
[699] Ibid*,* p. 15.

Sketch to cover the Palestine Royal Commission, but her interest in the 'human-angles' of stories prevailed. In her 1937 book on the women of Palestine, Board penned that

> apart from the people who come out to Palestine on duty, or business, most visitors make the journey for sacred or sentimental reasons, and their interest is in the past... but the present in Palestine is an intense and vivid reality… this book is a record of things that I have seen and heard as a newsgirl in the Holy Land... I came out to Palestine to see for myself how the women of the country live, what their manners and customs are, what they think about life. I found I could not get this from the multifarious books that have been written on the country and what I have set forth in these chapters is nearly all news in the sense that it has never been published before.[700]

Board believed that this was best achieved by 'go[ing] into the by-ways and talk[ing] to people in their homes and at their daily tasks', and she succeeded in meeting with women from 'all levels of society – from the poorest Christian and Jewish homes to the harem of the Emir Abdullah, which I am the only woman reporter to have visited'.[701] Board's *Newsgirl in Palestine,* published in 1937, proved to be her first of many books on the Middle East, one of which was censored by the British Government in the 1940s and only recently discovered and published by Board's daughter, Jacqueline Karp, in 2008.[702] Board's 1937 publication offers a rare insight into one British woman's perceptions of the women of Mandate Palestine and will be returned to in the remaining chapters of this thesis. It is in these pages that one finds an extraordinary account of an exchange between a British woman (Board) and 'Ruth', a Jewish prostitute.

> I met her in a cinema at Tel Aviv. She was not blonde nor blue-eyed. Her hair, if I can remember rightly, was coal-black – as coal-black as her eyes… we got talking. The film was *Rose Marie* and I had seen it before. So had she. And so we decided to cut the film and go to a café.[703]

Shortly after arriving at the café, Board discovered that Ruth worked as a prostitute. She learned that Ruth would rather have worked in Piccadilly than Tel Aviv, as the money in London was better and the men 'more attractive', but that she was in

[700] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 5.
[701] Ibid*,* pp. 5-6.
[702] Board, *Reporting from Palestine.*
[703] Board*, Newsgirl in Palestine*, p. 280.

Palestine because she was a Zionist.[704] Board also learned that in Palestine, there was 'no solicitation in the streets, nor are the girls licensed and registered as in most Eastern countries'.[705]

What is most interesting about this encounter is Board's unmistakable impression of the agency of Jewish women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Palestine. This dominates her five-page-long account of her meeting with Ruth. She explains that, according to Ruth, whereas prostitutes in Jerusalem were typically 'Christian or Arab widows or tribal women' who had 'pimps to collect business for them' and therefore a 'very poor selection' of clients, the 'Jewesses' in Tel Aviv got to choose their 'own business'.[706] Board also reported that whereas the 'Christian or Arab' prostitutes in Jerusalem were typically women and girls who had 'run away from their tribe', some of the Jewish women and girls who were working as prostitutes in Tel Aviv still lived at home with their parents.[707] Ruth explained that these girls 'work during the day-time in offices and shops, earning good money and maybe living with their parents – so that they do not have to pay out much for board – and then step into our trade in the evening'.[708] While sitting in the café, Ruth 'read for a while about the Spanish war' and then spoke 'sensibly on European politics'.[709] She also 'snatched up a German paper and started reading it', and Board was impressed to discover that Ruth spoke 'English, French, German, and Hebrew – and a little Russian' because, Ruth explained, 'one simply has to here'.[710] This necessity of language skills suggests that Jewish prostitutes like Ruth served a range of clients and it is possible to conjecture that they also provided companionship in the form of conversation to some of these individuals. This is an important inference given the lack of first-hand accounts by Jewish prostitutes in Mandate Palestine.

It is perhaps unsurprising that of the British women engaged with prostitution during the Palestine Mandate, it was twenty-year-old, unmarried and educated Barbara Board who ascribed agency to the (Jewish) women and girls actively involved in prostitution in the country. In contrast to the middle and upper-class colonial wives who established the SSA, the PWC and the Jerusalem Rescue Home for 'bad',

[704] Ibid.
[705] Ibid.
[706] Ibid, pp. 280-1.
[707] Ibid, p. 283.
[708] Ibid.
[709] Ibid, pp. 281-2.
[710] Ibid, p. 281.

'delinquent' and 'vagrant' women and girls in the early 1920s, Board was just twenty years old when she arrived in Palestine in 1936, an unmarried woman committed to her career as a journalist and deeply interested in the private and personal lives of the women of Palestine. Board was thus far more likely to identify with the young, unmarried, educated, English-speaking Jewish women and girls she came across who were making a living out of prostitution. In 1936, Tel Aviv was the largest Jewish city in Palestine, having recently experienced a huge increase in population from 34,000 in 1925 to 120,000 in 1936.[711] Young Jewish men and women from across the world had flocked to Tel Aviv for work (some going into sex work) and the city had developed a reputation for being sexually permissive and 'flouting sexual norms'.[712] It was in this context that a sexual reform movement took place in Tel Aviv in the 1930s, with sexual consultation centres opening in the early-1930s, one of which provided contraception for women.[713] This sexually permissive society contrasted hugely with that of the sexually-restrictive Muslim society in Palestine during this period, likely contributing to Board's impression of the vastly differing agency of Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes. Sex and sexual relations were taboo in Palestinian Muslim society, with 'women's behaviour, choices and decisions… carefully monitored and controlled by their fathers, brothers and other male family members', and even dancing by women and girls deemed 'borderline immoral'.[714] This is not to suggest that the sexual permissiveness of Tel Aviv was representative of the broader Jewish community in 1930s Palestine – on the contrary, for Jewish youth born in Palestine since the end of the First World War, particularly those belonging to Orthodox Jewish communities, sexual relations were strictly confined to marriage and discussion of sex was 'taboo'.[715] This context of 1930s Tel Aviv is however crucial for understanding Board's perceptions of Jewish and Palestinian Arab prostitutes. It is also interesting to note that the only comment by a British woman on the topic of homosexuality in these sources comes from Board in the context of her conversation with Ruth about prostitution. When discussing prostitution among the Palestinian Arab community in Jerusalem, Ruth tells Board that 'of course, there is a great deal of homosexuality both

[711] Liat Kozma, 'Sexology in the Yishuv: The Rise and Decline of Sexual Consultation in Tel Aviv, 1930-1939' *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010) 231-49, 237.
[712] Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow,* p. 92.
[713] Kozma, 'Sexology in the Yishuv' 239.
[714] Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow,* pp. 92-4.
[715] Oz Almog, *The Sabra: The Creation of the New Jew* (Berkeley, 2000), p. 219.

among the Arab men and among the women'.[716] Yet neither Ruth nor Board mention any homosexuality among the Jewish community in Palestine. Not only does this rare comment from Board inform us that the main concern of bodies like the SSA and PWC was heterosexual relations in Palestine, but it is also possible to conjecture that homosexuality was deployed here by Ruth (and then by Board) to further distinguish between the sexual deviancy of Palestinian Arab and Jewish prostitutes.

In contrast to Board's perception of Jewish prostitutes as possessors of agency, Palestinian Arab women and girls in this line of work were seen by some British women as pitiful individuals, who had no choice but to turn to prostitution, with no say over their services, nor their clients. In contrast to Board's description of some Jewish prostitutes who were 'living with their parents – so that they do not have to pay out much for board', Palestinian Arab prostitutes were seen as entirely cut-off from the family unit, and likely involved in involuntary prostitution or even sexual slavery.[717] In a rare passage briefly detailing some of the women and girls at the Rescue Home in Jerusalem in 1924, an SSA report spoke of a Christian girl who had recently arrived at the Home.[718] The report explained that she had been 'sold' into prostitution during the First World War by 'a Moslem family near Gaza… in order to keep her alive', and had now been 'separated from her family for over ten years'.[719] The use of the word 'sold' here suggests that a transaction had taken place, that this was not a case of involuntary prostitution but forced prostitution or sexual slavery. Palestinian Arab prostitutes were depicted similarly in the AMSH's summary of the 1933 League of Nations report, 'Traffic in Women and Children in the East'.[720] As the main abolitionist organisation in Britain during this period, the AMSH believed that public opinion was essential in the struggle against traffic in women and children, but worried that a League of Nations volume which contained '527 pages and costs 16s… may not have a popular wide sale'.[721] The AMSH consequently put together a summary of the report, which was published in 1933. Building on inquiries into the trafficking of women and children in the East from the mid-1920s, the League of Nations investigation was launched in October 1930 and included visits to Haifa and Jerusalem.[722] Most relevant

[716] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 283.
[717] Ibid.
[718] SSA Report 1923/1924.
[719] Ibid.
[720] 'Traffic in Women and Children in the East'.
[721] Ibid.
[722] Ibid.

to this discussion, the report stated that in countries such as Palestine, prostitutes were 'mostly recruited from women without family', including 'orphans and those outcasts of slum life in cities' as these individuals had 'nobody's vengeance to fear for loss of family honour… an Arab woman who takes to prostitution incurs the danger that a male relative may consider it his duty to his family honour to kill her'.[723] When considered alongside Ruth's comments that 'Christian or Arab' prostitutes in Jerusalem had typically 'run away from their tribe' and had 'pimps to collect business for them' and 'a very poor selection' of clients, it is possible to conjecture that some Palestinian Arab prostitutes were caught up in involuntary or forced prostitution during the Mandate period.[724] Overall, the women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Mandate Palestine were only rarely raced by British women. Yet when they were raced, there was a distinct sense of Jewish but not Palestinian Arab prostitutes as possessors of agency.

The Limits to British Women's Interventions

Before moving on, it is important to note a contradiction in British women's interventions in this sphere: whilst seeking to help these women and girls through teaching them to earn their own living in ways other than prostitution at the Jerusalem Rescue Home, British women simultaneously afforded these women and girls very little identity and likely failed to understand their daily lives. Luise White's work on prostitution in colonial Nairobi highlights that while prostitutes have typically been seen as 'victims', this perception is often based on a combination of condescension and misunderstanding.[725] Not only were many women and girls who worked as prostitutes in the colonial context only temporarily such – rendering it all the more unsuitable for British women in Palestine to define these women and girls as only 'prostitutes' – but these individuals could also be economic actors in their own right, using this line of work to support their families.[726] As it is possible to conjecture that some of the Palestinian Arab women and girls working as prostitutes during the Mandate were supporting their families through this line of work and possessed agency over their services and clients, it is also possible that some of the Jewish women and girls

[723] Ibid.
[724] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine*, pp. 280-3.
[725] White, *The Comforts of Home*, p. 9.
[726] Ibid.

working in this sphere did not possess as much agency as others and fell into involuntary prostitution or sexual slavery. However well-intentioned British women's efforts in this realm of the intimate might have been, it is important to take note of the contradictions in, and limitations of, their endeavours.

Conclusion

This chapter has engaged a broad range of sources, located in archives and libraries in Jerusalem and Britain, to offer the first investigation into British women's involvement with prostitution and VD during the Palestine Mandate. It finds that British welfare workers' and colonial wives' very different engagement with VD among the Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities at this time was in keeping with their greater involvement in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab than Jewish lives as part of their multiple intimate colonialisms, evidenced throughout this thesis. At the same time, however, welfare workers' and colonial wives' de-racing of the Jewish and Palestinian Arab women and girls who worked as prostitutes during this period complicates this notion, revealing that sexual (but, as will be seen in Chapter Four, not criminal) deviancy could push local women and girls beyond the racial hierarchies that were at the heart of British women's multiple colonial intimacies.

Firstly, British women were far more involved in combatting VD among the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community throughout the Mandate. Source material on this subject is difficult to come by, but two reports by British women, specifically Government Welfare Inspector Margaret Nixon and leading member of the British Social Hygiene Council and visitor to Palestine in 1933, Sybil Neville-Rolfe, speak of clinics for combatting VD among Palestinian Arab but not Jewish communities. This is perhaps unsurprising, given the independent Jewish healthcare system that emerged in Palestine during the Mandate, as discussed in Chapter One of this thesis. British women's greater engagement with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community in this sphere was also in keeping with their greater involvement in the private and personal practices of childbirth, infant and child-rearing among the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community, as seen in Chapters One and Two. The findings of this chapter thus support the characterisation of British women's colonialism towards the Palestinian Arab community as intrusive, in contrast with their distant and superficial intimacy towards the Jewish community.

British women's perceptions of the women and girls who worked as prostitutes in Mandate Palestine were not in keeping with their multiple intimate colonialisms evinced in other spheres of the intimate, however. Unlike their racially-oriented and hierarchical perceptions of Palestinian Arab and Jewish midwives, mothers, infants and children, the women and girls who worked as prostitutes during the Mandate were understood by British women as simply 'bad girls'.[727] With the establishment of the Rescue Home in Jerusalem for 'delinquent' women and girls in the early years of the Mandate and the PWC's campaigns for a policy of abolition in the 1920s, British women's writings and reports offer very little sense of the racial or other social identities of these individuals. This is despite the fact that these British women would certainly have had access to this information.

This de-racing was not universal among British women in Mandate Palestine, and prostitutes were occasionally raced, specifically by British journalist Barbara Board. When this did occur, whereas Jewish prostitutes were seen as educated, modern women who possessed agency over the services they offered and their clients, Palestinian Arab prostitutes were seen as pitiful, with no choice but to turn to prostitution, and more likely to be involved in a form of involuntary prostitution or even sexual slavery. This was in keeping with a broader discourse of Jewish but not Palestinian Arab women and girls as possessors of agency in Mandate Palestine, to be explored in the context of female criminality and women's status within and beyond the home in Chapters Four and Five.

Current scholarship on prostitution in empire assigns a central role to race in both male and female colonisers' perceptions and management of prostitution, but this chapter shows that this was not the case in Mandate Palestine. The women and girls who worked as prostitutes were not placed on the social scales of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity that were at the heart of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms. Instead, there was an overwhelming perception of these individuals as 'bad girls', a moral judgement echoed in male and official discourses, which pushed these individuals into a category of their own. This was in stark contrast with British women's understandings of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls who engaged in non-sexual criminal behaviour (to be discussed in Chapter Four) and

[727] Helen Bentwich to Caroline Bentwich, 27/1/19.

shows that for British women in Mandate Palestine, sexual immorality transcended their racially-oriented multiple intimate colonialisms.

Chapter IV:

Criminality, Punishment and Race

Bethlehem Prison from the outside does not look like a prison at all. It is more like an English country residence… from their big glass windows can be seen the most glorious views of the Field of the Shepherds, the broad stretches of olive groves and hillside rolling away towards Jerusalem. I don't think there can be many prisons with such a lovely panorama.[728]
Barbara Board, 1937

Last year a large country house in Bethlehem with a good garden fell vacant, which the Government took over on a long lease, and it has been adapted as an excellent women's prison.[729]
Margaret Nixon, 1935

British journalist Barbara Board's comparison between Bethlehem Women's Prison and 'an English country residence', and Inspector of Female Prisoners Margaret Nixon's description of a 'large country house' with a 'good garden' as 'an excellent women's prison' showcases the motif of domesticity and domesticization that – perhaps surprisingly – ran throughout British women's discourses of criminality, punishment and reform during the Mandate.[730] As a result of this, this chapter engages with criminality and punishment as a sphere of the intimate in this colonial context, developing the idea of prisons and reformatories as sites of intimate violence towards understanding these as spaces of intimate domesticity too. This thematic focus illuminates an intensification of the gendered hierarchies of race and culture of the previous three chapters of this thesis and delimits the boundaries to British women's multiple intimate colonialisms, contextualising their views within and against those of male British officials in Palestine. The British women active in the sphere of criminality and punishment in Mandate Palestine perceived Jewish female criminality as being primarily political in nature, with Jewish women and girl offenders seen as bold and determined individuals who possessed agency. Palestinian Arab female criminality, on the other hand, was seen as an issue of morality, with Palestinian Arab women also portrayed as victims of Palestinian Arab society. These hierarchical interpretations underpinned the racialised treatment of female offenders at Bethlehem Women's Prison: Jewish women and girls were afforded 'special treatment' during

[728] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* pp. 225-6.
[729] Nixon, 'Palestine' 137.
[730] Ibid; Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 225.

their incarceration, but Palestinian Arab female offenders were subjected to reform through domestic duties.[731] These contrasting perceptions and British women's greater intervention among the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community in this sphere maps onto the phenomenon of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms, specifically their social scales of agency and upbringing and their more intrusive intimacy in Palestinian Arab than Jewish lives during this period.

Although British women had limited involvement with male juvenile delinquents during this period, multiple intimate colonialisms still existed in this aspect of criminality and punishment: the multiple intimate colonialisms of British men. The discourse and policy of British men echoed British women's hierarchical understandings of the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities, with the Jewish but not the Palestinian Arab community trusted to reform their juvenile delinquents. And akin to British women's greater engagement with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community in various spheres of the intimate, British men were far more involved with Palestinian Arab than Jewish juvenile delinquents throughout the Mandate. This chapter thus foregrounds the boundaries to British women's multiple intimate colonialisms and the applicability of this concept to some British men in the country.

There is a striking lack of literature on British women's engagement with criminality and punishment in Mandate Palestine; neither Okkenhaug nor Stockdale have addressed this in their scholarship.[732] Okkenhaug has explored the educational and political activities of Frances Newton, an important British woman in this sphere as will be seen below, but Okkenhaug has not addressed Newton's work as assistant to the Inspector of Female Prisoners, Margaret Nixon, in the north of Palestine.[733] This chapter thus engages with scholarship by Israeli criminologists, as well as that of historian Marcella Simoni.[734] Simoni posits that the treatment of juvenile delinquents and the mentally ill are two key examples of the dual welfare systems that developed in Palestine during the Mandate, constituting 'the foundation of what became a widening gap between different sectors of the population within the post-1948

[731] Nixon, 'Palestine' 136.
[732] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living*; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters.*
[733] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 198.
[734] Mimi Ajzenstadt, 'Reactions to Juvenile Delinquency in Israel, 1950-1970: A Social Narrative' *The Journal of Policy History* 17 (2005) 404-24; Gad J. Bensinger, 'Criminal Justice in Israel' in Robert Friedmann (ed.), *Crime and Criminal Justice in Israel: Assessing Knowledge Base toward the Twenty-First Century* (Albany, 1998); Marcella Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy: Welfare in British Palestine, 1930-1939' *Jewish History* 13 (1999) 81-109.

context'.[735] This chapter also speaks to broader literatures on juvenile delinquency in colonial spaces in the early to mid-twentieth century, particularly the significance attached to home conditions in environmental theories of delinquency during the interwar period and the 1940s, as well as fears linking urbanisation and juvenile delinquency in colonial Africa.[736]

Engaging with criminality and punishment as a sphere of the intimate sets this chapter apart from others in this thesis, which have focused on more educational and medical forms of intimacy. In doing so, this chapter contributes to the existing literature on criminality and punishment, which tends to view prisons and reformatories as spaces of intimate violence and reform, but not of intimate domesticity.[737] In Stoler's work on intimacy there has been a shift from the 'intimate' as 'domestic relations, affections, child care, and sex', to the '"tense and tender ties" within and outside what people at particular times considered private or called "home"', including carceral spaces.[738] However, Stoler's recent work on intimate violence in prisons has not explored the intimate domesticity of these spaces.[739] Whilst prisons and lock-ups in Palestine were certainly sites of intimate reform, they were also sites of intimate domesticity. This is particularly significant with the domesticity-focused reform of Palestinian Arab but not Jewish women, the racial split of domestic duties, and the physical interpersonal relationship that existed between some British and Jewish but not Palestinian Arab women at Bethlehem Women's Prison, as well as the importance attached to Jewish and Palestinian Arab home conditions in British women's (and men's) conceptions of criminality during this period.

Just five British women were involved with female criminality and punishment during the Mandate: Margaret Nixon and Frances Newton, Government Welfare Inspector for Palestine and assistant to Nixon in the north of the country respectively,

[735] Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy' 83.
[736] Andrew Burton, 'Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy: Urbanization and Delinquency in Dar-es-Salaam, 1919–61' *Journal of African History* 42 (2001); Chloe Campbell, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya, 1900–39' *Historical Journal* 45 (2002) 129-51; Linda Chisholm, 'The Pedagogy of Porter: The Origins of the Reformatory in the Cape Colony, 1882–1910' *Journal of African History* 27 (1986) 481-495; Laurent Fourchard, 'Lagos and the Invention of Juvenile Delinquency in Nigeria, 1920–60' *Journal of African History* 47 (2006) 115-37; Laurent Fourchard, 'The Making of the Juvenile Delinquent in Nigeria and South Africa' *History Compass* 8 (2010) 120-42; Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes'; Paul Ocobock, 'Joy Rides for Juveniles: Vagrant Youth and Colonial Control in Nairobi, Kenya, 1900–52' *Social History* 31 (2006) 39-58.
[737] Ann Laura Stoler, *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times* (Durham, N. C., 2016), p. 16.
[738] Ibid, pp. 16, 326.
[739] Ibid, p. 16.

both of whom were introduced in Chapter Three; J. M. Thompson and M. L. Belcher, Principal Welfare Officer for Palestine and Senior Welfare Officer in Haifa in the 1940s; and an unnamed wife of a British Inspector, who served as Matron of the Bethlehem Women's Prison in the 1930s.[740] Regrettably, none of these individuals' private papers can currently be located. The primary evidence base for this chapter instead consists of an article by Nixon on women and girl offenders, published in *The Howard Journal of Criminal Justice* in 1935; the memoir of Newton, published in 1948; and passing references to conditions for women prisoners from journalists Barbara Board and Gail Hoffman, as well as from Millicent Fawcett, whose visit to Mandate Palestine in the early 1920s will be discussed in detail in Chapter Five.[741] The limited nature of these sources means that this chapter is more engaged than others with male and official discourses and sources to contextualize the analysis, particularly the first annual report of the newly established Department of Social Welfare in 1944.[742] It is also worth noting that as with other spheres of the intimate explored in this thesis, there are limits to the intimacy that can be accessed in these sources: it has not been possible to undertake interviews with Jewish nor Palestinian Arab female prisoners, nor with any youth offenders. Also, as British women's engagement with adult male offenders during the Mandate was even more limited than their involvement with juvenile delinquents, adult male offenders stand outside the scope of this chapter.

In what follows, British women's and men's engagement with female criminality and juvenile delinquency will be examined in turn, combining the first in-depth study of British women's engagement with female criminality and punishment in Mandate Palestine with an original approach to this sphere, namely the conception of carceral space as a site of intimate domesticity. These findings strengthen the notion of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms, revealing an intensification of the hierarchies of agency and domesticity of the previous three chapters, which once again underpinned British women's greater involvement with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community. At the same time, this chapter foregrounds the boundaries to British women's multiple intimate colonialisms and the relevance of this phenomenon to some British men in Palestine.

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[740] Nixon, 'Palestine'; Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine*; Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[741] Nixon, 'Palestine'; Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine*; Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine*; Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen'; Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine*.
[742] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.

Women's Prison Conditions

As explained in Chapter Three, whereas the British women most engaged with mothers, infants and children in Mandate Palestine were missionaries, teachers, nurses and doctors, the British women most involved with prostitution, VD, criminality, punishment, and women's status within and beyond the home were welfare workers and colonial wives. Motivated by their desire to assist in the introduction of 'enlightened principles regarding the treatment of women' that were 'expected of an English Administration', conditions for women in lock-ups and prisons were 'one of the first subjects' dealt with by colonial wives and British women welfare workers during the Mandate.[743] In the early 1920s, Margaret Nixon, Government Welfare Inspector and Inspector of Female Prisoners for the Department of Public Security, denounced the fact that the only space specifically for women in lock-ups and prisons in Palestine was 'one large room in the men's prison' at Jerusalem.[744] Nixon also criticised the fact that there were 'no separate latrines or washing places' and that 'the exercise yard was shared by both sexes'.[745] This condemnation was shared by Millicent Fawcett, who reported in the early 1920s that the women's area of Haifa prison was 'bare and desolate' with 'no blankets and no kind of bed-clothing of any sort' and 'no separate sanitary arrangements for women; a mud floor and mud walls with a corrugated iron roof formed the prison'.[746] Shortly following its formation in 1918, the SSA criticised the 'notoriously bad' conditions for women in lock-ups and prisons across Palestine and launched an 'extensive enquiry' into these conditions.[747] A Committee of Ladies, led by Lady Haycraft, the wife of Lord Haycraft, Chief Justice of Palestine, visited the women at the Jerusalem Central Prison three times a week and, in the process of gathering evidence for their investigation, taught the female prisoners how to sew and weave.[748] This activity was not unusual for middle-class British women in Britain and across empire at this time, dating back to Elizabeth Fry's establishment of the Association for the Improvement of Women Prisoners in 1817, under whose guidance 'prison visiting became a fashionable pastime for respectable women', alongside Mary

[743] 'Palestine Women's Council'; Report of the PWC.
[744] Nixon, 'Palestine'.
[745] Ibid, 135.
[746] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine,* p. 58.
[747] Report of the PWC.
[748] SSA Report 1923/1924.

Carpenter's similar work in India.[749] The SSA identified two main problems in the treatment of women prisoners: their transportation in the absence of female escorts; and the placement of these individuals in men's lock-ups and prisons in the absence of wardresses.[750] In January 1921, the PWC passed the SSA's report onto the British Administration and urged that 'immediate action' be taken on this issue.[751]

The British Administration in Palestine also faced pressure to improve prison conditions for women from Frances Newton. Having worked among the Palestinians of the Galilee for over twenty years by the early 1920s, and having become proficient in Arabic, Newton was a 'trusted contact' for some Palestinian Arab women.[752] Their accounts led her to bring to the attention of the Government some local women's objections to the treatment of women prisoners. Newton explained that prior to British rule, in line with the '"Hareem" system', evidence from women witnesses had always been taken in private, and women prisoners had been kept for the duration of their sentences in the home of the Mukhtar, under the care of his wife.[753] Under the new system, however, Palestinian Arab women were fetched from their homes by the Palestine police and placed in lock-ups and prisons alongside men.[754] This filled many women with 'concern and horror', and Newton explained to the Administration that she had been 'besieged with requests from my Arab friends, who urged me to bring the matter of the treatment of women prisoners to the notice of the authorities'.[755]

In response to these concerns, female escorts and wardresses were introduced in several of Palestine's lock-ups and prisons in the early 1920s.[756] By 1924, a separate area had also been established for women at the Central Prison in Jerusalem.[757] And, as discussed in Chapter Three, some young female offenders under the age of eighteen began to be sent to the Jerusalem Rescue Home rather than to prison.[758] Furthermore, in 1928, Palestine's first women's prison was

[749] Robert Alan Cooper, 'Jeremy Bentham, Elizabeth Fry, and English Prison Reform' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 42 (1981) 684-85; Anne Schwan, ''Dreadful Beyond Description': Mary Carpenter's Prison Reform Writings and Female Convicts in Britain and India' *European Journal of English Studies* 14 (2010) 107-20.
[750] SSA Report 1923/1924; Report of the PWC.
[751] Report of the PWC.
[752] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 198.
[753] Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine,* p. 150.
[754] Ibid.
[755] Ibid.
[756] Report of the PWC.
[757] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1924.
[758] Report of the PWC.

established at Bethlehem.[759] According to Nixon, the house that was first rented for this purpose was 'far from ideal', but it had 'decent latrines and ablution benches' as well as a flat roof, which was 'railed in and used as an exercise ground'.[760] An unnamed British Inspector and his wife were installed as 'guardians' of this institution, and they were supported by a small staff of Palestinian Arab wardresses.[761] These changes led the PWC to proudly state in 1928 that conditions in prisons and lock-ups in Palestine had been 'enormously improved' during the first decade of their work in the country.[762]

As the population of Palestine boomed in the late 1920s and early 1930s, additional accommodation for women prisoners became necessary.[763] Following criticism of the 'overcrowded condition' and 'lack of suitable accommodation' at the Bethlehem Women's Prison at a House of Commons sitting in May 1934, the existing prison was transferred to a 'large country house in Bethlehem' with 'a good garden' which, according to Nixon, made 'an excellent women's prison'.[764] The same British Inspector and his wife remained in charge, with the latter officially appointed Matron of the institution.[765] Nixon approved of this woman's work, commenting that she was 'as interested as I am in every effort for the welfare of the women'.[766] Likely somewhat defensive of her work, especially following the criticism in the House of Commons in May 1934, Nixon commented in 1935 that

> in general those of us engaged in this work in Palestine think that some of the conditions prevailing and the methods adopted in prisons in this country will easily stand comparison with some of the conditions and methods in force in England, and some of our critics would, we believe, be favourably impressed if they were informed of the facts.[767]

[759] Nixon, 'Palestine' 135.
[760] Ibid.
[761] Ibid.
[762] Report of the PWC.
[763] Nixon, 'Palestine' 135.
[764] *Hansard* HC Deb. vol. 289 cols. 1748-9, 16 May 1934. Found online at: https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1934/may/16/palestine-womens-prison-bethlehem#S5CV0289P0_19340516_HOC_69 (Viewed 14/2/20); Nixon, 'Palestine' 137.
[765] Nixon, 'Palestine' 137.
[766] Ibid.
[767] Ibid, 138.

In this vein, journalist Gail Hoffman's 1938 article on the work of Nixon, Ridler and Rogers in Palestine remarked that 'one is taken aback when padlocks on doors must be opened to permit entry [to the Bethlehem Women's Prison]… instead of a picture of degradation and dejection in a damp prison cell, I found twenty women in a large room flooded with sparkling sunshine'.[768] Hoffman further recalled that he had encountered 'modern shower rooms' and 'perfect order and cleanliness' at the Bethlehem Women's Prison, as well as 'a pretty young English matron, radiating kindliness and cheer, and wardresses in neat cheerful uniforms, all of whom are members of good families in Palestine'.[769] Needless to say this uniformly positive assessment of conditions is unlikely to have been shared by many women prisoners.

As is the case with the Jerusalem Rescue Home, a lack of sources renders it difficult to ascertain the number of women at the Bethlehem Women's Prison in any one year between its establishment in 1928 and the mid-1940s. This changed following the publication of the first annual report of the newly established Department of Social Welfare in 1944. This shows that at the end of 1944, there were thirty-six women at the Bethlehem institution, twelve of whom were awaiting trial and twenty-four of whom had been convicted, though no information about the nature of their offences is offered.[770] Throughout 1944, a total of 119 women had been committed to Bethlehem Prison, seventy-four for safe custody pending trial or for want of bail, and thirty-two for penal imprisonment.[771] The daily average number of women at the prison throughout 1944 was 69.27, similar to the numbers for 1936 and 1937, which were 64 and 62 respectively.[772] Further supporting this relatively small female prison population, of a total of 30,333 individuals committed to lock-ups and prisons across the country in 1944, 0.4 percent of these were committed to Bethlehem Women's Prison.[773] And, of the 665 individuals employed by the Palestine Prisons Service in 1944, only one of these was a permanent Matron – likely the wife of the British Inspector mentioned above – and thirteen were permanent wardresses, the majority

[768] Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen'.
[769] Ibid.
[770] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[771] Ibid.
[772] Ibid; Harold MacMichael to Malcolm MacDonald, Feb 1939, Proposed Construction of Central Prison, 1939, ISA.
[773] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.

of whom were probably based in Bethlehem, with the rest scattered across the country.[774]

The lack of available sources also renders it difficult to fully establish the nature of the crimes for which local women were committed to lock-ups and prisons in Palestine. Sources show murder, theft, 'adultery', 'bigamy' and 'being a common nuisance' to have been among the main categories of imprisonable offences during this period.[775] As will be seen in the analysis that follows, Nixon, Newton and others divided female criminals into three groups during the Mandate: Jewish illegal immigrants, Communists and 'Arab women'.[776] The latter included 'murderesses', thieves and women who were 'imprisoned for adultery under the Sharia (Moslem) law'.[777] But what happened to the Jewish women who committed serious offences including murder in Mandate Palestine? Given that murder was a serious criminal offence, one would expect any girl or woman convicted of this to have served her time at the only women's prison in the country. It is possible that alternative legal structures to contain and punish these offenders existed within the Jewish community.

British Women's Constructions of Local Women's Criminality

Throughout the Mandate, the perceived nature of local women's criminality, and British women's engagement with this, differed enormously. In their admittedly limited statements on this topic, Nixon, Newton and others presented Jewish female criminality as overwhelmingly political in nature, with Jewish female offenders interpreted as bold and defiant individuals, but Palestinian Arab women's criminality was seen as an issue of morality, with Palestinian Arab women portrayed as victims of their society. Whereas Jewish women and girl offenders were 'illegal immigrants' and 'Communists', 'Arab women' were 'murderesses', 'thieves' and women who were 'imprisoned for adultery'.[778] This was in keeping with British women's hierarchies of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women's agency, to be discussed further in Chapter Five. This hierarchy in perceptions of criminality served to justify the differing treatment of women and girl prisoners in Palestine, in line with imperial norms of racial segregation and racialised structures of imprisonment and reform: whereas Jewish women and

[774] Ibid.
[775] Nixon, 'Palestine' 135-6; Criminal Code Bill, 1933, *The Palestine Gazette,* AMSH, TWL.
[776] Nixon, 'Palestine' 136.
[777] Ibid, 135-6.
[778] Ibid.

girls enjoyed 'special treatment' during their incarceration, including access to books and newspapers, Palestinian Arab women were supposedly reformed through domestic tasks such as cooking and cleaning.[779] This speaks to the broader hierarchies of intelligence and domesticity that have run throughout this thesis, as well as to the models of metropolitan feminine domesticity that British women took with them to Mandate Palestine. This additionally manifested in a physical interpersonal relationship between some British and Jewish but not Palestinian Arab women prisoners, in line with British women's broader intimacies of respect and condescension towards the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities respectively throughout the Mandate. British women's differing perceptions and engagement in this sphere speak once again to the existence of their multiple intimate colonialisms.

In her 1935 article on women and girl offenders, Nixon outlined three groups of female criminals in the country: 'illegal immigrants', 'Communists' and 'Arab women'.[780] The former two groups comprised mostly Jewish women. Nixon explained that Jewish immigrants had been 'pouring into the country' from the 1920s onwards, some of whom arrived illegally, 'with no passports' and 'had to be detained pending deportation'.[781] A number of these individuals ended up at the Bethlehem Women's Prison, as the deportation process was 'inevitably delayed owing to the difficulty of establishing identity, for those people, anxious to remain in the country, give wrong names and addresses and nationality'.[782] As mentioned in Chapter Three, the Jewish population of Mandate Palestine saw a significant increase between 1919 and 1939, totalling around 354,000 Jewish immigrants.[783] In his work on Jewish immigration to Palestine during the Mandate, Jacob Metzer points out that in 1935 – the year of Nixon's article – over 60,000 Jewish men and women immigrated to the country.[784]

Nixon's second category of female offenders, 'Communists', were also predominantly Jewish.[785] In Nir Arielli's analysis of the role of Jewish Communists from Palestine in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939, Arielli explains that membership of the Palestine Communist Party was 'predominantly Jewish' for the entirety of the

[779] Ibid, 136.
[780] Ibid, 135.
[781] Ibid.
[782] Ibid, 136.
[783] Jacob Metzer, 'Jewish Immigration to Palestine in the Long 1920s: An Exploratory Examination' *Journal of Israeli History* 27 (2008) 221-51, 222.
[784] Ibid.
[785] Nixon, 'Palestine' 135.

Mandate period.[786] Arielli also notes that despite the party's membership not exceeding 400 individuals in any one year between 1918 and 1948, the British Administration had a 'disproportionate perception' of the threat posed by this group, 'not only in undermining their position in Palestine but, from the mid-1920s onwards, also as a centre of propaganda and agitation for the entire Middle East'.[787] This explains Nixon's encounters with Jewish Communist women in her role as Inspector of Female Prisoners.

Nixon characterised both Jewish illegal immigrants and Communists as agential and defiant prisoners. She explained that the former regularly succeeded in outsmarting the authorities, as in cases where a female Jewish illegal immigrant married a Jewish man with Palestinian nationality, thereby gaining Palestinian nationality herself and escaping deportation.[788] Nixon explained that all that was necessary for this was

> a statement before a witness that they wish to be married and this can be shouted from some distance… many have been thus married while being brought in the train under escort to the women's prison, or in the streets, or even in the Law Courts when they are before the magistrate, and such statements have even been shouted over the wall of the prison itself while the women were in the garden. [789]

Nixon also characterised Jewish Communist women as determined and fierce individuals. She recalled that 'many a time' since the establishment of the Bethlehem Women's Prison, the Inspector or Matron of this institution had 'telephoned to tell me that the Communist women were smashing everything they could lay hands on – windows, doors, drinking vessels, buckets and so forth'.[790] This portrayal of the agency of Jewish women is similar to British women's perceptions of Jewish women as modern individuals who were engaged in paid work and activities beyond the domestic sphere, to be addressed in Chapter Five.

[786] Nir Arielli, 'Induced to Volunteer? The Predicament of Jewish Communists in Palestine and the Spanish Civil War' *Journal of Contemporary History* 46 (2011) 854-70, 856.
[787] Ibid.
[788] Nixon, 'Palestine' 136.
[789] Ibid.
[790] Ibid.

In contrast to this agency and political criminality, both Nixon and Newton portrayed Palestinian Arab women's deviancy as an issue of (im)morality, with Palestinian Arab women also portrayed as victims of Palestinian Arab society. 'Arab women' offenders included 'murderesses', 'thieves' and women who were 'imprisoned for adultery under the Sharia (Moslem) law'.[791] Nixon explained that Palestinian Arab women imprisoned for adultery had 'probably been married at a very early age to a man much older than themselves, and a few years later abscond[ed] with a young man of the village'.[792] Nixon emphasised the physical danger faced by these individuals from male members of their communities upon leaving the Bethlehem institution, using terms such as 'trouble', 'dangerous' and 'great danger' to convey their peril, lamenting that 'even after sixteen years of British Administration these girls are in great danger of their lives on leaving the prison'.[793] This interpretation of Palestinian Arab women and girl offenders as victims of their community was also shared by Newton, who provided an example of a Palestinian Arab woman who had recently 'murdered her husband… who was cruel to her'.[794] In her memoir Newton also recalled that when she interviewed Palestinian Arab women and girls at the Haifa prison, 'each in turn poured out a tale of woe and innocence'.[795] It is worth noting that Newton's choice of the word 'tales' here suggests an awareness that these narratives could be crafted by Palestinian Arab women so as to evoke the sympathy of British women in an attempt to socially navigate the space of incarceration.

These impressions of local women's criminality were shared by journalists Barbara Board and Gail Hoffman. In their writing, both Board and Hoffman characterised Jewish female criminality as primarily political in nature but spoke of either the immorality of, or the dangers faced by, Palestinian Arab women. Having received a tour of the Bethlehem Women's Prison from Nixon, Board learnt of 'the Jewesses who served terms for illegal immigration' and 'how dangerous it was for an Arab girl to return home after serving a sentence'.[796] Likewise, Hoffman explained that during his tour of the Bethlehem Women's Prison, he learnt that illegal immigration

[791] Ibid, 135-6.
[792] Ibid, 136.
[793] Ibid.
[794] Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine,* pp. 150-2.
[795] Ibid.
[796] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 224.

was the overwhelming crime of Jewish inmates, but that 'theft is the cause of the prison sentence for most offenders among the Arabs'.[797]

These very different perceptions supported the differential treatment of Jewish and Palestinian Arab female offenders at Bethlehem Women's Prison. In her 1935 article on this topic, Nixon explained that Jewish illegal immigrants and Communists were accorded 'special treatment' at this institution: they had separate quarters in the prison, access to books and newspapers, permission to wear their own clothes and to do their own needlework, and they enjoyed 'excellent European food'.[798] Furthermore, in line with normative colonial penal practice of racial and gender segregation, the Prisoners (Special Treatment) Regulations of 1934 stated that both male and female prisoners who had been afforded 'special treatment' by the Courts were to be confined, as far as possible, in 'that portion of the Prison set apart for the accommodation of such prisoners'.[799] These individuals were also to be provided with 'a bed and three blankets' but could, on the authority of the Prison Officer in charge, supply their own bedding.[800] They were also eligible to source their food from outside the Prison, so long as this food was of 'similar quality and quantity' to the prison rations.[801] A letter from Jerusalem's Senior Medical Officer to the Director of Medical Services in August 1935 stated that the diet for these prisoners was the same as the diet for other prisoners, 'augmented by additional quantities of some items and the provision of a few extras'.[802]

Palestinian Arab women and girls at Bethlehem were subjected to ideas of penal 'reform', but in a gendered and racialised framework emphasising the ideal of domestic femininity through activities such as sewing, cooking and cleaning, consistent with British women's interventions at the Jerusalem Rescue Home from Chapter Three. Nixon explained in her article that Palestinian Arab prisoners did 'all the work of the prison', including 'cooking and washing and white-washing the lower rooms'.[803] Once again, the reform of these women and girls focused on training for their roles as wives and mothers upon leaving the Bethlehem institution, furthering hegemonic models of traditional feminine domesticity in Mandate Palestine. In contrast

[797] Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen'.
[798] Nixon, 'Palestine' 136.
[799] Prisoners (Special Treatment) Regulations, 1934, ISA.
[800] Ibid.
[801] Ibid.
[802] Senior Medical Officer to Director of Medical Services, 20/8/35, ISA.
[803] Nixon, 'Palestine' 137.

to the Jewish inmates who could 'do their own needlework', a more skilled – but still domestic-coded – form of labour, Palestinian Arab women and girls produced 'hundreds of pairs of stockings for the boys' reformatory' and 'saddlebags for the Police Camel Corps, the wool for which they wash and spin themselves'.[804] In Hoffman's report of his visit to Bethlehem Women's Prison, before addressing the conditions for Jewish Communist women, who were 'in a room to themselves', Hoffman described 'twenty women in a large room flooded with sparkling sunshine, at work making handsome camel bags for the Police Force in the Beersheba District. Fleece from native sheep is washed and combed, spun and woven into cloth'.[805] And likewise, in her tour of Bethlehem Women's Prison, Board was 'taken first into a large ground-floor room where a group of women were making camel-saddles for the Palestinian Police… the women who were making them were Arab fellahin'.[806] Nixon's role in this racially differing treatment of women offenders is clear from the 1934 Prison Regulations for Palestine, which stated that 'the employment of a prisoner to whom special treatment is accorded shall be a matter in the discretion of the Prison Officer in charge'.[807] The fact that Palestinian Arab women were much more engaged than Jewish women in these activities at Bethlehem speaks to the broader hierarchy of domesticity that existed in the minds of British women during the Mandate.

Another manifestation of these differences was the physical interpersonal relationship that existed between some British women and Jewish – but, significantly, not Palestinian Arab – women prisoners. This is visible in the interaction chosen by Newton to characterise her relationship with Jewish women prisoners at Haifa prison. In her memoir, Newton explained that during one of her visits to Haifa prison, she encountered a group of four Communist women who, unlike the Palestinian Arab women prisoners in the cell, 'absolutely refused' to obey the Superintendent's order to stand up when she entered the room.[808] Having requested that the Superintendent leave her alone with these women, Newton explained that 'if your manners don't come up to mine, mine must come down to yours'.[809] After sitting with these women for some time and hearing of their 'fury and resentment at being imprisoned because they were

[804] Ibid.
[805] Hoffman, 'Three Englishwomen'.
[806] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 226.
[807] Prisoners (Special Treatment) Regulations, 1934.
[808] Newton, *Fifty Years in Palestine,* p. 153.
[809] Ibid.

Communists', Newton advised 'they might have done better to remain in the country where their views were the law of the land'.[810] Newton then stood up and recalled 'when I did, in fact one of them helped me to my feet'.[811] Newton continued that, 'to show that I felt no personal ill will, I kissed each one before leaving'.[812] The next day, Newton explained, 'when I went in they all rose, came forward, and shook hands most politely'.[813] Whilst this is just one example of a physical interpersonal relationship between a British woman and Jewish women prisoners, it is nevertheless significant that Newton chose this interaction to characterise her relationship with Jewish women prisoners in her memoir.

This racialised treatment of prisoners was not confined to Mandate Palestine. In his work on imprisonment in colonial Kenya, for example, Daniel Branch points out that with limited success, 'African, Asian and European prisoners were to be divided from one another'.[814] This was partly due to the belief that different races felt pain differently, a belief shared by some British women in Mandate Palestine. An example of this is Barbara Board's remark that at Bethlehem Women's Prison, there were 'no heating arrangements' and this 'must be very trying for some of the women prisoners, particularly those from Europe – Jewesses – who were used to home comforts'.[815] Board further remarked that

> the Jewesses... were pretty girls and I thought it seemed wrong for them to be kept in prison under the same conditions as the Arab women who are used to such a low standard of living and do not feel the hardship to any great extent. In fact many of the Arab fellahin women actually enjoy prison life.[816]

The Boundaries of British Women's Multiple Intimate Colonialisms: Gender and the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency

Unlike their involvement in prison conditions for women and girl offenders, British women were far less engaged with male juvenile delinquency. In the currently available papers of the SSA and PWC, male juvenile delinquency is only mentioned

[810] Ibid.
[811] Ibid.
[812] Ibid.
[813] Ibid.
[814] Daniel Branch, 'Imprisonment and Colonialism in Kenya, c. 1930-1952: Escaping the Carceral Archipelago' *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38 (2005) 239-66, 249.
[815] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 226.
[816] Ibid.

once, and then only in passing: a PWC report of the early 1920s states that whereas the Women's Council have played a key role in the recently improved prison conditions for girls and women across the country, 'young male offenders have been dealt with under a previous Ordinance', and no further information is provided.[817] This was the Young Offenders Ordinance of 1922 which, for the first time in Palestine, 'defined juvenile delinquency as a specific pattern of behaviour that differed from adult criminality'.[818] As Mimi Ajzenstadt has explained, this Ordinance 'empowered judges to order supervision of juvenile delinquents by responsible adults' and 'laid the groundwork for a wide array of agencies, institutions, and treatment methods that applied scientific developments and allowed experts to identify, treat, and even prevent delinquency'.[819]

The British individuals most engaged with male juvenile delinquency during the Mandate were men, but this is worth exploring as it brings to the fore the links between male, official and female British discourse and policy at this time. In the 1920s the British men most involved in juvenile delinquency were Thomas Haycraft, Chief Justice of Palestine from 1921 until 1927 and known for heading the Haycraft Commission into the disturbances of May 1921, and Michael McDonnell, Chief Justice of Palestine from 1927 to 1936. In 1927, Haycraft proposed to High Commissioner Lord Plumer that male youth offenders be sent to reformatories, rather than to prisons, if their imprisonment was to exceed six months.[820] Haycraft believed that these reformatories should be located in rural areas, with a focus on an agricultural education.[821] In 1928, McDonnell, Haycraft's successor, took this further. McDonnell advocated a 'reformatory camp for boys sentenced to long-term imprisonment' and the establishment of a Howard Home 'for the confinement of boys sentenced to short terms or awaiting trials'.[822] McDonnell also proposed a rise in the maximum age of youth offenders from fifteen to twenty years of age.[823] It is likely that both Haycraft and McDonnell were influenced by the changing attitudes towards juvenile delinquency across the British empire at this time, particularly the introduction of reformatories for

[817] Report of the PWC.
[818] Ajzenstadt, 'Reactions to Juvenile Delinquency' 406.
[819] Ibid.
[820] Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy', 97.
[821] Ibid.
[822] Ibid, 97-8.
[823] Ibid, 98.

juvenile delinquents in various parts of British Africa in the early to mid-twentieth century.[824]

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which Haycraft and McDonnell's suggestions were implemented. What we do know, however, is that a Howard Home in Palestine listed twenty-two offenders in 1923 (twenty-one of whom had been released throughout the year) and twenty-five in 1927.[825] In addition, the first annual report of the Department of Social Welfare in 1944 stated that in 1933, the Government had appointed a British Officer to act as a Probation Officer for juvenile offenders in Palestine, and in 1935 a trained Probation Officer was sent to Palestine from Britain to develop the Probation System in the country.[826]

It was not until 1937 that the treatment of juvenile delinquents was formalised in the Juvenile Offenders Ordinance, which became law in Palestine on 22 September 1938.[827] Marcella Simoni notes that this formalisation was hastened by the Great Arab Revolt of 1936-1939, which 're-introduced to the public the social problem of juvenile offence'.[828] David Rosen notes that it was during the 1920s and 1930s that 'organized, militant youth' first appeared on the streets of Palestine, with these groups often leading the uprising on the streets.[829] Stacey Hynd additionally explains that it was around this time that

> youth became a growing target for colonial control, and juvenile delinquency offered an increasingly potent challenge to that control. For colonial states, juvenile delinquency became a symbol of the failure of colonial authority and modernity, of their loss of control over the future.[830]

The Palestine Ordinance of 1937 defined juvenile delinquents as 'children and young persons between the ages of nine and sixteen'.[831] Juvenile Courts were established

[824] Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes' 49; Chisholm, 'The Pedagogy of Porter'.
[825] Report on Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1924; Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy' 97.
[826] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[827] Bensinger, 'Criminal Justice in Israel' 44; Ralph Windham and A. L. Gardiner, 'Middle East' *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* 21 (1939) 172-5, 173. The Juvenile Offenders Ordinance of 1937 is still active in Gaza today. In the West Bank the 1937 Ordinance was replaced in 1954, and in Israel it was replaced by the Youth Law in 1971. Mutaz Qafisheh speaks of 'the necessity of reforming the Palestinian juvenile justice system in light of international human rights standards and juvenile justice developments'. See Mutaz Qafisheh, 'Juvenile Justice System in Palestine: Current Situation and Reform Prospects' *International Journal of Law, Policy and the Family* 25 (2011) 365-397.
[828] Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy' 103.
[829] David Rosen, *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism* (New Brunswick, 2005), pp. 98-107.
[830] Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes' 64.
[831] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.

and were to be held 'either at a different time or in a different place from sittings of the ordinary courts'.[832] And from then on, when a juvenile offender was arrested, a local Probation Officer was to be notified, who would subsequently carry out 'an investigation into the home circumstances, character and antecedents of each case'.[833] The Probation Officer in question would present these results to the Court, 'together with a recommendation as to the appropriate form of treatment'.[834] Unless there were 'strong reasons to the contrary', the Court were likely to accept the recommendation of the Probation Officer.[835] It was at this point that the category of 'juvenile delinquent' was 'enlarged' to 'include for the first time girls and young women'.[836]

British men continued to be most active in the field of juvenile reform, as the majority of delinquents were male. The obstacles to women's involvement in this sphere are evident from the memoir of Sylva Gelber.[837] Gelber was a Jewish social worker in Palestine in the 1930s and one of few women to have been involved in the treatment of male delinquents during the Mandate.[838] Born into a Zionist family in Toronto in 1910, Gelber moved to Palestine in 1932.[839] Her memoir, published in 2003, offers a fascinating insight into some of the 'strong views' held by British men regarding women's involvement in this sphere.[840]

In her memoir, Gelber explains that as part of Government Probation Officer Mr W. H. Chinn's ambition to develop a 'modern probation service' in Palestine, Chinn recommended that Gelber obtain some formal training in Britain so that she could be appointed a Probation Officer in the Palestine Civil Service, rather than being a Probation Officer for the Department of Social Service of the *Va'ad Le'umi* (the Jewish National Council) and thus only an 'honorary' Probation Officer in the Jerusalem Magistrate's Court.[841] Gelber was 'delighted' at this prospect, and left Palestine for

[832] Ibid.
[833] Ibid.
[834] Ibid.
[835] Ibid.
[836] Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy' 101.
[837] Sylva M. Gelber, *No Balm in Gilead: A Personal Retrospective of Mandate Days in Palestine* (Ottawa, 1989).
[838] Ibid.
[839] Ibid.
[840] Ibid, p. 77.
[841] Ibid, pp. 74-6.

Britain 'equipped with a series of introductory letters to government officials and others engaged in some facet or other of probation work'.[842] Once in Britain, Gelber

> visited a wide variety of institutions to which were assigned boys or girls who were under the jurisdiction of the courts… on the whole, I was impressed with what I saw, although I cannot forget one of the Borstal institutions I visited along the way… it was housed in one of the ancient British prisons which, I believe, would take a Dickens to adequately describe it.[843]

On her return to Palestine, however, Gelber's hopes of a position in the Palestine Civil Service were shattered on account of her sex. In 1936, the Probation Service had been transferred from the Department of Police and Prisons to the Department of Education, then under the direction of Jerome Farrell.[844] Described as an 'old-style, conservative Colonial officer', Farrell had an 'unyielding' objection to the employment of women 'in professional jobs in the permanent Civil Service' and was 'particularly perturbed by the suggestion that a woman should be employed in probation work which included the supervision of young boys'.[845]

The limited involvement of women in this sphere continued into the 1940s. This is evident from the first annual report of the newly established Department of Social Welfare in Palestine in 1944.[846] The formation of this department was part of the increased attention paid to living standards across the British empire after 1940, with the 1941 appointment of a Penal Sub-Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, which soon published a Draft Report on Juvenile Welfare in the Colonies.[847] In Palestine, the Department of Social Welfare was established so as to 'give effect fully' to the suggestions contained in this report, as well as to tackle 'undernourishment in the child population', which had been made visible by the Second World War.[848]

With Chinn as Director, the Department of Social Welfare was comprised of two sections: 'probation', under the direction of Mr. C. L. Nash, and 'welfare', with Miss J. M. Thompson in charge.[849] In 1944, there were seventeen Probation Officers registered with this department, all of whom were male, with the exception of Ms K.

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[842] Ibid, p. 76.
[843] Ibid.
[844] Ibid, p. 77.
[845] Ibid.
[846] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[847] Norris, *Land of Progress,* p. 6; Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes' 49; Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[848] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[849] Ibid.

Stern, a Jewish Probation Officer based in Tel Aviv.[850] There were only two British women in the entire division: aforementioned J. M. Thompson and M. L. Belcher, Senior Welfare Officer in Haifa.[851] Thompson and Belcher's engagement with male juvenile delinquency was limited, however; they were only to step in as Probation Officers in female cases.[852] Given that Nixon had served as Government Welfare Inspector since the early 1920s, and Newton was seventy-two years of age in 1944, it is possible that Thompson and Belcher were sought as Nixon and Newton's replacements. These appointments were also in line with the shift from British women's predominantly charitable engagement with local women and girls in the 1920s (through the SSA, PWC or missionary work) to an increased engagement with the population of Palestine in a professional social welfare capacity, including Vena Rogers' appointment as Superintendent of Midwifery in 1929 and the visits of women such as Sybil Neville-Rolfe of the British Social Hygiene Council to Palestine in 1933. Unfortunately, however, as is the case with both Nixon and Newton, neither Thompson nor Belcher's private papers can at this time be located. British women's limited activity in this sphere might reflect contemporary conceptions of male juvenile delinquency as an adult issue of punishment rather than one of reform (at least in the 1920s), and thus beyond the SSA or PWC's remit of 'women and children'.[853] It is also possible, as indicated by Jerome Farrell's attitude, that a male rather than female influence was deemed appropriate for male juvenile delinquents at this time.

The Multiple Intimate Colonialisms of British Men

Despite the limited involvement of British women in this sphere, multiple intimate colonialisms still existed in the realm of male juvenile delinquency: those formed by British men. Analysing these relationships through a combination of discourse and policy, owing to the limited nature of these sources, helps to elucidate how gender influenced the formation and nature of multiple intimate colonialisms in Palestine.

In line with environmental theories of criminality that persisted throughout the Mandate period, British male and official discourses in Palestine attached huge

[850] Social Welfare Advisory Board, 8/7/44, Social Service (1944), CO 859/112/6, NA.
[851] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[852] Ibid.
[853] Report of the PWC.

importance to the home conditions of juvenile offenders, with Jewish parents and the Jewish community more broadly deemed superior to the Palestinian Arab community in this regard.[854] Reminiscent of British women's preferences for Jewish child-rearing practices (seen in Chapters One and Two of this thesis), the Jewish but not the Palestinian Arab community were trusted by the British Administration in Palestine to reform juvenile delinquents, leading to the establishment of a parallel Jewish Probation System and a separate reformatory for Jewish young offenders from the 1930s onwards. Also, akin to British women's greater involvement with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community in other spheres of the intimate, British male Probation Officers were far more closely involved with Palestinian Arab than Jewish male juvenile offenders. This shows that the phenomenon of multiple intimate colonialisms was not confined to British women.

The British men active in this sphere attached huge significance to the home conditions of juvenile delinquents, in line with interwar environmental theories of delinquency which focused on domestic conditions and the role of parents in shaping a child's character.[855] In Palestine, this is evident from the Juvenile Offenders Ordinance of 1937, which stressed the Court's attention to the 'circumstances, character and antecedents of each case'.[856] The 1944 report of the Department of Social Welfare also deemed it 'essential' that work in this sphere 'be firmly based on the assumption that a healthy social life depends on strengthening and maintaining the family unit'.[857] This report additionally held urbanisation and the introduction of 'occidental culture' to Palestine responsible for the 'break up' of 'traditional political and social structures', which had allegedly led to an increase in juvenile delinquency.[858] As Peter King has explained, urbanisation and juvenile delinquency had been inextricably linked since the turn of the nineteenth century in Britain, when industrialisation and rapid urbanisation had led to a 'growing number of vulnerable, ill-provided for urban juveniles'.[859] This link was also drawn across colonial Africa during

[854] Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes' 53.
[855] Ibid, 53-4.
[856] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[857] Ibid.
[858] Ibid.
[859] Peter King, 'The Rise of Juvenile Delinquency in England, 1780-1840: Changing Patterns of Perceptions and Persecution' *Past and Present* 160 (1998) 116-66, 164.

this period, in Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania.[860] In the Gold Coast, for instance, Stacey Hynd notes that 'youth offending became a metonymy for wider concerns about the impact of urbanization and colonial modernity'.[861]

Reminiscent of British women's preferences for Jewish child-rearing methods, British male and official discourse and policy evinced greater confidence in the Jewish community's upbringing praxis when it came to reforming juvenile delinquents. This led to the British Administration's approval of the establishment of a parallel Jewish Probation System, as well as a separate reformatory school for Jewish young offenders in the early 1930s. In 1933, convinced that public welfare services could 'never be established quickly enough to deal with the social problems of the community', the Jewish National Council set up its own Department of Social Service.[862] This consisted of trained male and female social workers (such as Sylva Gelber from above), who oversaw 'child and youth welfare' among the Jewish community, including the 'placement of neglected, difficult or problem children in private families and institutions'.[863] By 1944, there were up to 150 Jewish social workers across forty districts in Palestine.[864] The Administration also approved a 'co-operative arrangement' with Henrietta Szold, founder of Hadassah, concerning the apprehension of young Jewish offenders.[865] The Palestine Police were to refer these cases to the appropriate Jewish welfare bureau, and a social worker of the Department of Social Service of the Jewish National Council would take over the 'social investigation' of each case, appear before the Magistrate's Court 'as an honorary probation officer', and 'supervise the juvenile during any probation period determined by the court'.[866] This further explains Gelber's enthusiasm to secure an official role as a Probation Officer in the Palestine Civil Service, so that she was no longer an 'honorary' Probation Officer before the Jerusalem Magistrate's Court. In addition to investigating the 'home circumstances, character and antecedents' of each case, Jewish social workers arranged 'a psychological examination of the young

[860] Fourchard, 'Lagos and the Invention of Juvenile Delinquency'; Fourchard, 'The Making of the Juvenile Delinquent'; Campbell, 'Juvenile Delinquency in Colonial Kenya'; Ocobock, 'Joy Rides for Juveniles'; Burton, 'Urchins, Loafers and the Cult of the Cowboy'.
[861] Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys, and Prostitutes' 47.
[862] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[863] Ibid.
[864] Ibid.
[865] Gelber, *No Balm in Gilead,* p. 68.
[866] Ibid.

accused'.[867] Gelber notes that this was 'practically unheard of in those parts of the world at that time'.[868]

Along with this parallel Probation System, in 1933, Szold appealed to the Administration for the establishment of a separate reformatory for Jewish young offenders, on the grounds that the only institution currently available for Jewish youths was the Reform School for Boys in Tulkarem, a Palestinian town near Nablus.[869] Szold explained that this institution was 'far removed from the *Yishuv'*, both geographically and culturally, making it difficult for young Jewish offenders to be visited by their parents.[870] Gelber points out that Szold also had 'considerable doubts' about the effectiveness of the 'disciplinary methods' of the staff at the Tulkarem school.[871] Once again showing faith in the Jewish community's methods, the British Administration concurred, with provision for a Reformatory School for Jewish boys in Mekor Chaim in Jerusalem approved in the 1933 budget.[872] Postponed by the 1933 riots, the Mekor Chaim Reformatory School did not actually come into existence during the Mandate.[873] Instead, a Reformatory School at Rishon-le-Zion became the main institution for Jewish youth offenders.[874] This was possibly because Rishon-le-Zion was deemed a more suitable location for Jewish youth offenders, being located just outside Tel Aviv. Simoni has described the establishment of a separate institution for Jewish juvenile offenders as 'a warning as to the direction in which civil society was heading' in 1930s Palestine, laying the groundwork for what was to become 'a widening gap' between Jews and Palestinian Arabs after 1948.[875] By 1944, there were three Reformatory Schools for male youth offenders across Palestine, 'divided, where possible, according to race and ages of delinquents': Jewish boys attended Rishon-le-Zion; Palestinian Arab boys under the age of fourteen attended the Reformatory School in Bethlehem; and Palestinian Arab boys over fourteen attended the institution at Acre.[876] At the end of 1944, these schools had twenty-two, 108 and sixty-eight boys respectively.[877] The

[867] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944; Gelber, *No Balm in Gilead,* p. 69.
[868] Gelber, *No Balm in Gilead,* p. 69.
[869] Ibid*,* p. 74.
[870] Ibid.
[871] Ibid.
[872] Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy' 100.
[873] Ibid.
[874] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[875] Simoni, 'A Dangerous Legacy' 83-100.
[876] Summary of first report of the Department of Social Welfare, Social Welfare, Palestine (1946), CO 859/112/6, NA; Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[877] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.

British male Probation Officers active in this sphere were thus far more involved with Palestinian Arab than Jewish juvenile delinquents, in line with British women's greater engagement with Palestinian Arab than Jewish women and children in other spheres of the intimate examined in this thesis.

Conclusion

Building on the shift in Stoler's scholarship from 'intimacy' in terms of domestic relations and sex to 'intimacy' within and beyond domestic spaces, this chapter engages the intimate domesticity at Bethlehem Women's Prison to better understand the nature of British women's colonialism in this sphere.[878] It demonstrates that when it came to criminality, punishment and reform in Mandate Palestine, British women viewed Jewish and Palestinian Arab female criminality differently, and they treated Jewish and Palestinian Arab women and girl offenders accordingly. Jewish female criminality was seen as primarily political in nature, with Jewish female offenders as illegal immigrants or Communists who were afforded agency in the writings of British women. These Jewish women and girls were afforded 'special treatment' at Bethlehem Women's Prison, including access to books and articles and permission to do their own needlework.[879] Palestinian Arab women and girls, on the other hand, were 'murderesses', 'thieves' and women 'imprisoned for adultery'.[880] They were presented as victims of Palestinian Arab society, and their treatment at Bethlehem Prison was very different: in line with British women's broader perceptions of Palestinian Arab women as poor mothers and housekeepers as seen in Chapter One, Palestinian Arab women and girls were subjected to reform through domestic duties and did 'all the work of the prison'.[881] British women's perceptions of, and engagement with, Jewish and Palestinian Arab women and girls in this sphere thus lends credence to the notion of their multiple intimate colonialisms: these individuals situated Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls on hierarchies of agency and intelligence, and were much more involved in the domesticity-focused reform of Palestinian Arab than Jewish women and girls.

This chapter again challenges and complicates Stockdale's argument about English women's perceptions of the population of Palestine between 1800 and

[878] Stoler, *Duress*, pp. 16, 326.
[879] Nixon, 'Palestine' 136.
[880] Ibid, 135-6.
[881] Ibid, 137.

1948.[882] It demonstrates that when examining British women's discourse of criminality and punishment during the Mandate period, any 'othering' of the people of Palestine centred on social scales of agency and intelligence. This social scale of agency will now be examined further in Chapter Five on the position of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women within and beyond domestic spaces.

This chapter has made visible the limits to British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in Palestine through its discussion of British male and official discourses and policy on juvenile delinquency. It has revealed that British men placed Jewish and Palestinian Arab juvenile delinquents on hierarchies of upbringing, reminiscent of British women's perceptions of child-rearing practices among these communities, as seen in Chapters One and Two. This was underpinned by the environmental theories of juvenile delinquency that persisted throughout the Mandate period. British men were also far more closely involved with Palestinian Arab than Jewish juvenile delinquents throughout this period. Thus, whilst British women were little involved in the sphere of juvenile delinquency, something resembling their multiple intimate colonialisms still existed.

[882] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters.*

Chapter V:
Jewish Wives as Women and Muslim Women as Wives

The plurality of British women's intimate colonialisms was particularly perceivable in their contrasting perceptions of, and engagement with, Jewish and Palestinian Arab women in the country between 1920 and 1948. In line with the multiplicity of British women's intimate colonialisms explored throughout this thesis, a cross-section of British women in Mandate Palestine understood Jewish and Palestinian Muslim women according to social scales of agency and modernity, with Jewish women situated further up these hierarchies than their Palestinian Muslim counterparts. In the correspondence, reports and publications of British colonial wives, visiting women's rights campaigners, missionaries, teachers and welfare workers, whereas Jewish women were depicted as agential, modern individuals who were engaged in activities beyond the domestic sphere, Palestinian Muslim women were firmly situated within this sphere, portrayed as suffering as a result of gender inequality and gender-based violence among the Palestinian Muslim community. Interestingly, Palestinian Christian women occupied a unique position in this discourse: they were rarely discussed by British women, but when they were, they were venerated. This is reminiscent of some missionaries' greater respect for Palestinian Christian than Palestinian Muslim mothers, as seen in Chapter One. These hierarchical perceptions were echoed in some British women's attitudes towards mixed marriages between European and American women and Jewish and Palestinian Muslim men: there was little discussion of unions between these women and Jewish men, but marriages between these women and Palestinian Muslim men were labelled 'tragedies'.[883]

These contrasting perceptions of the position of Jewish and Muslim women in Palestinian society were due in part to the differing nature of British women's engagement with these individuals. The British women most involved with Jewish women in Palestine were middle and upper-class colonial wives and visiting women's rights campaigners, who interacted with Jewish women at meetings of Jewish women's organisations and during organised tours of Jewish charitable institutions. Invoking the notion of an intimacy of respect that has run throughout this thesis, there was often a social dimension to these encounters. British women's engagement with

[883] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 222.

Palestinian Arab women during the Mandate was very different, however. Despite the growing Palestinian women's movement at this time, many of the leaders of which spoke several languages including English, British women do not appear to have engaged with these individuals. Instead, the British women most involved with Palestinian women during the Mandate were missionaries, teachers and welfare workers. As seen throughout this thesis, these British women had direct contact with Palestinian Arab midwives, mothers, infants, children, girls and women, and endeavoured to intervene in the private and personal aspects of their lives. This was an intrusive or pervasive intimacy of condescension and sometimes maternalism.

This is in no way to suggest that British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in this sphere were untroubled. In addition to the unique position occupied by Palestinian Christian women, this discourse of difference could be nuanced by contact with local women. For example, the cultural assumptions of twenty-year-old Barbara Board were challenged and complicated during the time she spent among local women in Palestine in 1936.[884] Significantly, however, Board's assumptions were not overturned. The fact that an outlier such as Board continued to be tethered to the discourse of the majority ultimately exposes the limits to the range of thinking among British women in Mandate Palestine.

This chapter complicates Stockdale's argument that English women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948 'consistently reproduced' a portrait of the women of the country as 'degraded' and 'as victims of a society that taught them to think of themselves as animals rather than human beings'.[885] Stockdale has argued that according to English female missionaries, visitors and government wives to Palestine, 'degradation' impacted every aspect of local women's lives throughout this period: these women were 'slaves to patriarchy' from childhood to adulthood, from 'abused child brides' to 'inept maternal figures', who married their daughters early 'as a form of slavery'.[886] Examining a broad range of British women's interpretations, specifically during the British Mandate period, complicates this. During the Mandate, whilst British women generally perceived Palestinian Muslim women as 'degraded', this did not apply to Jewish nor to Palestinian Christian women.[887] There is a hint of this in

[884] Ibid.
[885] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* pp. 17, 134.
[886] Ibid, pp. 10, 127-31.
[887] Ibid, p. 17.

Stockdale's scholarship, with Stockdale's comment that English feminist visitors to Palestine 'hoped that the British Mandate, coupled with the influx of Zionist feminists from Europe, would increase native women's participation in government and other realms of the public sphere'.[888] English feminist visitors 'elevate[d] European Zionist women above native Palestinians in regard to the public sphere', believing there was a 'powerful link' between 'the advancement of women in the public sphere' and 'the importation of Western values'.[889] This chapter substantiates and develops this observation by demonstrating that a hierarchical understanding of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women existed among a variety of British women in Mandate Palestine, as part of their multiple colonial intimacies.

The centrality of the veil to many British women's perceptions of local women in this chapter also speaks to histories of the veil and women in empire more broadly. As Leila Ahmed has explained, in the early-nineteenth century, 'the veil emerged as a potent signifier, connoting not merely the social meaning of gender but also matters of far broader political and cultural import… it has ever since retained that cargo of signification'.[890] For many British women in Palestine, the veil was a gauge of a woman's inferior status, and was used to map the local Palestinian Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities onto hierarchies of modernity and civilisation. This speaks to Philippa Levine's observation that 'the behaviour, the demeanour, and the position of women' became a fulcrum by which the British measured a society's 'degree of civilisation'.[891]

Unfortunately, a marked lack of scholarship on Jewish and Palestinian Arab women's domestic and private lives during the Mandate period persists. In this chapter, the contributions of Ellen Fleischmann, Margalit Shilo and others will be employed to expose the disjuncture between British women's perceptions and the lived experiences of local women.[892] Specifically, there were two major misapprehensions among British women. First was the notion that Palestinian Muslim women were strictly confined to the domestic sphere during this period. As Ellen

[888] Ibid, p. 43.
[889] Ibid, pp. 44-5.
[890] Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (Yale, 1993), p. 129.
[891] Levine, 'Introduction: Why Gender and Empire?' pp. 6-7.
[892] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women*; Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow*; Shilo, *Girls of Liberty*; Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman, 'Abortion in the Yishuv during the British Mandatory Period: A Case Study of the Place of the Individual in a Nationalistic Society' *Jewish History* 29 (2015) 331-59; Safran, 'International Struggle'.

Fleischmann has shown, Palestinian Muslim and Christian women were increasingly active beyond the home during the Mandate period as they gained educations, engaged in paid work and participated in the Palestinian national movement.[893] Second was an exaggerated perception of equality between men and women in the *Yishuv*. Since the 1970s, scholars such as Margalit Shilo have 'cast doubt' on the 'myth' of gender equality in the *Yishuv*.[894] In reality, throughout the Mandate, *Yishuv* society remained 'patriarchal for the most part, emphasizing the family unit and the social and religious role of the woman as a mother'.[895] These tensions between British women's perceptions and Palestinian Arab and Jewish lived experiences are important in this thesis' endeavour not to re-inscribe the discourse of British women but to deconstruct it and foreground its weaknesses, in line with Gayatri Spivak's argument that this can be a 'politically enabling' process.[896]

Due to the range of British women who will be explored throughout this chapter, the source material that features in the ensuing discussion is diverse in both nature and geographical location. It includes published books and articles in newspapers and journals including *The Palestine Bulletin* and *Manchester Guardian*, as well as the official reports and personal correspondence of British women. Whilst this discussion is at present limited to English-language sources, it is hoped that by engaging with existing literature on Palestinian Muslim, Christian and Jewish women by scholars who are proficient in Arabic and Hebrew, the voices of local women can – to some extent – be heard.

In order to most productively grapple with British women's perceptions and their engagement with Jewish and Palestinian Muslim and Christian women, and in order to best elucidate the relevance of these findings to the thesis as a whole, this chapter will employ a community-by-community approach to British women's perceptions, followed by an examination of these individuals' varied engagements with Jewish and Palestinian Arab women. First, however, it offers an overview of Muslim, Christian and Jewish women's daily lives during the Mandate, which is crucial for meaningful engagement with the discourse of British women on this topic.

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[893] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 3.
[894] Safran, 'International Struggle' p. 218.
[895] Rosenberg-Friedman, 'Abortion in the Yishuv' 337.
[896] Bart Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics* (London, 1997), p. 85; Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason.*

The Daily Lives of Local Women

The vast majority of women in Palestine during the Mandate period were Muslim peasant women, who carried out a combination of domestic duties and agricultural work as their male family members increasingly found employment in towns and cities at this time.[897] Generally speaking, these women did not veil, and they were considered more equal to their husbands than middle and upper-class Muslim women in Palestine's towns and cities.[898] The latter focused predominantly on their responsibilities within the home, their workload exacerbated by the importance of hospitality in Arab culture and the lack of modern amenities, such as running water, within the home.[899] Unlike rural Palestinian women, these urban women typically veiled and dressed modestly, and they seldom left their homes unaccompanied by a male relative.[900] Some Palestinian Christian women also veiled during the Mandate period, usually middle and upper-class Christian women and particularly when they wished to distinguish themselves from Jewish women during periods of political unrest.[901] Middle and upper-class Palestinian Muslim women also had some financial independence: on marriage, they were paid a *mahr* (a dower), which became their 'personal, not conjugal, property'.[902] This could take the form of money, gold, orchards, land and farm or herd animals and could be used to invest in and manage property, or to invest in their husband's business.[903]

In the late Ottoman period, new discourses had emerged regarding the position of women in Palestinian and Arab society more broadly.[904] There had been a 'flourishing discussion' of women's roles in the Arabic press, covering 'gender roles, women's education, marriage and legal rights under Islam'.[905] This continued well into the Mandate period, with an 'outpouring of heated, contentious articles on gender issues'.[906] Haifa's *al-Karmil* and Jaffa's *Filastin* regularly published on these issues,

[897] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* pp. 22-8.
[898] Ibid*,* p. 28.
[899] Ibid.
[900] Ibid; Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 303.
[901] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 59; Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 2.
[902] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 27.
[903] Ibid*,* pp. 27-8.
[904] Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow,* p. 1.
[905] Ibid*,* p. 5; Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 30.
[906] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 67; Greenberg, *Preparing the Mothers of Tomorrow,* p. 5.

and in the 1920s articles in *Filastin* by both men and women included the titles 'The Veil and the Duty to Lift It' and 'The Necessity to Liberate Women'.[907]

An increasing number of Palestinian Muslim and Christian women and girls started to receive an education and work outside the home at this time.[908] At first these were few in number and typically middle-class and Christian, but this soon extended to Palestinian Muslim women too.[909] Muslim and Christian women became 'teachers, students, members of, and workers in, benevolent institutions', and as educated girls became more sought after in marriage, it became increasingly common for young women with an education to work for a few years 'before entering the domestic world as wives'.[910] This was particularly the case in Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa, where young Muslim and Christian women took advantage of the economic and cultural opportunities available to them.[911] Palestinian women also started to 'challenge and defy' dress codes, with some middle-class women discarding the veil in the 1920s and the use of the veil 'gradually diminishing by the 1930s'.[912] Some of these women also began to wear Western clothing, particularly in urban areas of Palestine.[913] This varied according to region, however, and Fleischmann notes that unveiling was not widespread in Palestine before 1948.[914] These changes affected Palestinian men too. Some Palestinian men encouraged their wives and daughters to attend school, to work outside the home and even to discard the veil, and the Supreme Muslim Council 'advocated raising the marriage age for girls, established schools for girls and provided them with scholarships to study abroad'.[915]

Fleischmann posits that this increased activity beyond the home facilitated Palestinian women's 'extensive' involvement in the national movement during the Mandate, with a 'small core' of educated, middle and upper-class Palestinian women establishing and running a 'dynamic and active' women's movement at this time.[916]

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[907] Fleischmann, 'Jerusalem Women's Organisations' 17.
[908] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 30.
[909] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 300; Inger Marie Okkenhaug, ''She Loves Books & Ideas, and Strides Along in Low Shoes Like an Englishwoman': British Models and Graduates from the Anglican Girls' Secondary Schools in Palestine, 1918-1948' *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13 (2002) 461-79, 464.
[910] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 30; Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* pp. 113, 135.
[911] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 299.
[912] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 59.
[913] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 314.
[914] Ibid.
[915] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 60.
[916] Ibid*,* p. 4.

There are reports of the first Arab Ladies' Association being established in Jerusalem in 1919 and an Arab Ladies' Club in 1921, but Fleischmann identifies 1929 as the year that 'augured a point of no turning back for Palestinian women'.[917] The Palestinian women's movement was formally established at the 1929 Palestinian Women's Congress in Jerusalem, following the creation of similar organisations in Lebanon and Syria, and was subsequently led by the Arab Women's Association (AWA) and later the Arab Women's Union (AWU).[918] Palestinian women were involved in a broad range of activities throughout the Mandate, including submitting memoranda to the British Administration, meeting with government representatives, participating in regional and international women's conferences, arms smuggling and demonstrations.[919] Despite these changes, however, Fleischmann points out that, generally speaking, 'most fathers, brothers and husbands still adhered to upholding certain cultural and social practices such as gender segregation, restrictions on their female relatives' personal mobility, and the exercise of male authority over women in the family'.[920]

Scholarship on Jewish women during the Mandate is another useful area of historical inquiry for the ensuing analysis. Hannah Safran has explained that prior to the 1970s, Jewish women were 'missing in the historiography of Zionism and the establishment of the State of Israel, since discussion of women's place had been rooted in the myth of equality'.[921] This changed with the emergence of women's and gender history in the 1970s, as well as the advent of second-wave feminism in Israel.[922] Margalit Shilo and others have since cast doubt on the 'myth' of 'the equality of Jewish women in the *Yishuv'*, arguing instead that Jewish society in Mandate Palestine remained 'patriarchal for the most part, emphasizing the family unit and the social and religious role of the woman as a mother'.[923]

Changes to the status of Jewish women in Palestine had started to take place in the late-nineteenth century. Most Jewish immigrants to the country prior to 1882 settled in Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed.[924] This 'Old *Yishuv'* or Haredim society was extremely patriarchal, with women's role perceived to be to serve men,

[917] Fleischmann, 'Jerusalem Women's Organisations' 21-6.
[918] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 5.
[919] Ibid*,* p. 3.
[920] Ibid*,* p. 61.
[921] Safran, 'International Struggle' p. 218.
[922] Shilo, *Girls of Liberty,* p. 9.
[923] Safran, 'International Struggle' p. 218; Rosenberg-Friedman, 'Abortion in the Yishuv' 337; Shilo, *Girls of Liberty.*
[924] Shilo, *Girls of Liberty,* p. 4.

specifically ‘to enable men to fulfil their religious vocation’.[925] This began to shift during the First Aliyah to Palestine between 1882 and 1903 (*aliyah* is the immigration of Jews to Eretz Israel). Rather than settling in cities such as Jerusalem, these mostly Russian Jews settled in towns such as Jaffa and Haifa and founded agricultural settlements: *kibbutzim*, collective communities based on agriculture, and *moshavim*, cooperative farmers’ villages.[926] Whilst the majority of Jewish women in these settlements focused on their responsibilities within the home, some began to attend Hebrew-language schools and work as teachers.[927] Yet Jewish women still could not participate in governing councils, administrative bodies or community boards.[928] Their entry into the public sphere continued during the Second Aliyah, which took place between 1903 and 1914, taking the *Yishuv* population from 55,000 in 1900 to 85,000 in 1914.[929] Some of these female Jewish immigrants were socialists and they ‘broke new ground’ in their work as ‘school and preschool teachers, seamstresses, nurses, midwives, masseuses, physicians, dentists, and cooks, as well as in other fields’.[930]

During the British Mandate, Jewish women in Palestine continued to enter the public sphere. However, with the exception of Zionist women and women in *kibbutzim* and *moshavim*, where the traditional family structure was ‘dismantled… in favour of sharing the care of children’, Jewish society remained patriarchal.[931] Lilach Rosenberg-Friedman explains that although many Jewish women wished to work outside the home during this period, with no maternity care or daycentres available to mothers, ‘it was difficult to accommodate the shift in gender roles, forcing women to choose between work and family’.[932] Ultimately, ‘it was the traditional role of mother that was uppermost’ in *Yishuv* society during the Mandate.[933]

It is worth noting here the similarities between all of these women’s lives, all of whom were subject in varying ways to patriarchal constraints. Although British women had experienced ‘drastic changes’ to their status in society as a result of the First World War, akin to Palestinian Arab and Jewish women, they remained ultimately responsible to the family unit between 1920 and 1948. The marriage bar required

[925] Ibid.
[926] Ibid, p. 5.
[927] Ibid.
[928] Ibid, p. 6.
[929] Ibid.
[930] Ibid.
[931] Rosenberg-Friedman, ‘Abortion in the Yishuv’ 337.
[932] Ibid, 345.
[933] Ibid, 336.

British women to give up paid work upon marriage, and there was 'a strong social expectation' that British women would return home to care for their parents when they reached old age.[934] Thus, not unlike Palestinian Arab and Jewish women in Mandate Palestine, 'the modern British woman was, despite economic independence and great freedom of movement, embedded in traditional family obligations and dependence'.[935]

Contrasting Perceptions of Muslim and Jewish Women

In their personal correspondence with friends and family, as well as in their publications and reports, a cross-section of British women in Mandate Palestine depicted Muslim women within the context of marriage and the home, as oppressed, lacking agency and suffering as a result of gender inequality and gender-based violence. In the early 1920s, Edith Ayrton Zangwill, a British Jewish author, women's rights campaigner and Zionist, who played a leading role in the establishment of the Jewish League for Woman Suffrage in Britain in the 1910s, travelled to Palestine to conduct 'a special study' of the 'economic and social position' of the women of the country.[936] On her return to Britain, Zangwill presented her findings to various socio-political organisations in London, including the Women's Freedom League in 1928 and the British Commonwealth League in 1930.[937] In each of these addresses, Zangwill firmly situated Muslim but not Jewish nor Christian women in the context of marriage and the home. She stated that whereas British women in Mandate Palestine were extensively involved in 'social and philanthropic activities', and Jewish women worked and studied at schools and colleges across the country, 'Arab women' had a 'sole function… to carry on the race'.[938] Zangwill stated that an 'Arab woman in Palestine' had 'no outside interests', and deployed what she termed an 'Arab saying' to prove her point: 'a mare is part of the family, but a wife is part of the furniture'.[939] According to Zangwill, 'Arab women' in Palestine were confined to the domestic sphere and had little interest beyond this.

[934] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 282.
[935] Ibid*,* p. 122.
[936] 'Mrs Zangwill on Palestine', *The Palestine Bulletin,* 19/6/28.
[937] Ibid; 'Novelist's Wife on the Women of Palestine', *The Palestine Bulletin,* 7/3/30.
[938] Ibid.
[939] 'Novelist's Wife on the Women of Palestine'.

This interpretation was shared by leading suffragist Millicent Fawcett, who visited Palestine on two occasions during the British Mandate. In her book about these trips, Fawcett explained that after the passing of The Representation of the People Act on 6 February 1918, for which she had campaigned for nearly fifty years, she felt that her 'warfare was accomplished' and that she could now 'retire from active political work'.[940] Soon after, on New Year's Day 1920, Fawcett had received 'a delightful surprise… a letter written on behalf of a group of Suffrage friends… enclosing a handsome cheque with instructions that I was to use it in any way I wished'.[941] Having long wished to visit Palestine, Fawcett used the money for this purpose and visited the country with her sister Agnes in 1921, returning once again in 1922. When back in Britain, Fawcett 'put on record some impressions' of the country.[942] At first these were printed for private circulation among friends but in 1926 Fawcett turned these into a book comprising 'some of the delights and interests' of Palestine.[943]

Fawcett had been shocked by the position of women in the country. She explained that after the Suffrage victory in Britain, 'news of the adoption of political freedom for women began to pour in from other parts of the world', and she had been under the impression that 'Palestine was one of the countries that had accepted it'.[944] Yet on arrival in the country she found this to be a grave misunderstanding:

> There was at that time no talk even of the setting up in Palestine of Representative Government. No Parliament elected by the people with power to pass laws and raise or remit taxation existed… There was no suffrage for anyone, and therefore none for women.[945]

Whilst she learnt of a Representative Council of Palestinian Jews, for which Jewish women had voting power, Fawcett encountered no parallel body among the Palestinian Muslim nor the Christian community in the country.[946] She was particularly struck by 'Moslem prejudices regarding the position of women' and witnessed first-hand 'the huddled rushing to cover their faces with veils if a man chanced to approach them'.[947] Fawcett felt so strongly about this injustice that she wrote an article on this

[940] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine,* p. 9.
[941] Ibid.
[942] Ibid*,* p. 10.
[943] Ibid.
[944] Ibid*,* p. 84.
[945] Ibid.
[946] Ibid.
[947] Ibid*,* pp. 144, 47.

subject for *Manchester Guardian* in May 1922, which was then reprinted in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*.[948] In this article, Fawcett stated that she had found it 'difficult' to deal with the position of 'absolute inferiority' which was 'imposed' on Muslim women in Palestine.[949] This appeared to Fawcett to be 'one of the fundamental principles on which their social organisation is built up', and Fawcett warned that it would serve as 'a heavy handicap against both sexes' as long as it continued to exist.[950]

This perception of the position of Muslim women in Palestine was echoed in Edith Augusta Buckmaster's account of her trip to the country in the early 1920s. Buckmaster was the wife of Stanley Buckmaster, Liberal Party MP from 1906 until 1915 and then Lord Chancellor until 1916, and she visited Palestine with her niece and adopted daughter Pamela in the early 1920s, having read and been fascinated by Millicent Fawcett's accounts of her visits to the country.[951] Perhaps involved in the women's rights movement herself, given her interest in Fawcett's writing, Buckmaster was intrigued by the women of Palestine. Time and again in her own published account, Buckmaster spoke of the 'veiled ladies' she had caught sight of who, she claimed, 'added so greatly to the mystery and romance of the streets'.[952] Buckmaster likened these women to 'shadows from another world', filling her with 'wonder and indignation'.[953] Having travelled out on the SS Tambora with an unnamed wife of a senior colonial official who was joining her husband in Jerusalem, and as the wife of a previous Lord Chancellor who likely had connections in upper-class social circles, Buckmaster spent her time in Jerusalem with the wives of senior colonial officials including Lady Beatrice Samuel, wife of Sir Herbert Samuel, first British High Commissioner of Palestine.[954] Some of the wives of senior colonial officials had established the PWC and SSA (discussed in Chapters One and Three, respectively) and Buckmaster enthusiastically accompanied Lady Samuel to a meeting of the PWC in Jerusalem one day.[955] In her account, Buckmaster recalled that at this meeting, she had been appalled to learn of the 'suppression' of Muslim women in Palestine, and explained that these women,

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[948] Millicent Fawcett, 'The New Palestine', *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 19/5/22.
[949] Ibid.
[950] Ibid.
[951] Edith Buckmaster, *Palestine and Pamela: A Chat with the Unlearned on the Holy Land* (Cambridge, 1925); Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine*.
[952] Buckmaster, *Palestine and Pamela,* pp. 101, 49.
[953] Ibid*,* p. 49.
[954] Ibid*,* p. 34.
[955] Ibid*,* p. 101.

> more sombrely dressed than nuns at a funeral, have to wear a thick impenetrable black veil, or sometimes one of figured muslin called a yashmak, I believe, which hides them from the eye of man, and shuts from them the light of day… No Arab townswoman is allowed to be seen, with the exception of father or brothers, by any man other than her own husband, and she is not even seen by him until the wedding is over.[956]

Buckmaster also reported that 'many of the houses' she had seen in Palestine had 'small shuttered-in balconies, with narrow peepholes so that women may look out without running any risk of being seen'.[957] Although it seems unlikely that Buckmaster conversed with any of these women directly, their use of the veil was enough for her to condemn it as 'an outrage' in her book that 'in the 20th century women should be living in such abject submission'.[958] Buckmaster also explained that although 'women in Palestine have no vote for any legislative measure', this was not actually a problem, as 'Arab women… have no political education - nor aspiration'.[959] Indeed, this lack of awareness of the growing Palestinian women's movement at this time – particularly in Jerusalem, where the first Arab Ladies' Association was established in 1919 – only confirms Buckmaster's lack of contact with these women. It is also worth noting the contradiction in Buckmaster's portrayal of Palestinian Muslim women as both 'veiled ladies' who added to the 'mystery and romance of the streets' in public, and as 'suppressed' individuals who were confined to 'small shuttered-in balconies' in private.[960] As Stockdale notes:

> when describing the home as a "woman's sphere", English visitors assumed that women were not capable of leaving their domicile easily; but when regarding women outside the home (such as in the *aswaq*, at fountains, at holy sites, and other public areas), questions about the circumstances that brought them into the public sphere were usually absent.[961]

Further contributing to this discourse of Palestinian Muslim women as oppressed and suffering, some British missionaries, teachers and welfare workers were particularly struck by the physical danger faced by Palestinian Muslim women from male members of their communities. In 1933, for example, CMS missionary Gwendolen Grimwood from Chapter One deemed violence against Muslim women a prevalent enough issue

[956] Ibid, pp. 85, 49-50.
[957] Ibid, p. 50.
[958] Ibid.
[959] Ibid, p. 102.
[960] Ibid, pp. 101, 49-50.
[961] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 65.

for inclusion in her four-page annual report of the work being carried out at the CMS station at Lydda.[962] Grimwood lamented that despite promising results in the spheres of maternity and infant welfare and education (discussed in Chapters One and Two), many local women and girls remained in grave danger of a 'severe beating' from their husbands.[963] Grimwood was hugely distressed by this and remarked that there was 'so little joy and so little to make life liveable among the women-folk in Lydda'.[964]

Gender-based violence against women in Palestine also made an impression on Susanna Emery, teacher at the Girls' College in Jerusalem and then Principal of the English High School in Haifa from Chapter Two. In a letter to her mother in 1927, Emery proudly reported that she had recently saved the life of a Muslim woman.[965] She explained that when staying at Lady Samuel's bungalow in Jericho with friends,

> very early in the morning we heard loud shrieks, and here was the Moslem caretaker chasing his wife round the bungalow, armed with a big stick. I rushed out to separate them, whereupon the young wife hid herself… I could not quite make out what the trouble was, but I pacified him.[966]

As explained in Chapter One, thinking to distract the couple, Emery asked to see their baby, and apparently proceeded to give the little boy his very first bath.[967] Emery reported that not only was the baby 'gurgling with glee' when she returned him to his mother, but she had also warded off a 'potentially murderous attack' by a Muslim husband on his wife.[968]

British teacher Hilda Mary Wilson also spoke of the physical danger faced by Palestinian Muslim girls and women, as well as the lack of agency of these individuals more broadly. In her account of her year as a school teacher at the Arab High School in Birzeit, Wilson reported that when she returned to Birzeit after the Easter break in 1939, she was met with the news that a local Muslim girl had recently been 'put to death' by members of her own family as a consequence of rumours that the girl in question had been 'carried off' by men from another village.[969] Wilson condemned this as 'primitive Arab custom' and commented on the lack of agency of Palestinian Muslim

[962] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 15/8/33.
[963] Ibid.
[964] Ibid.
[965] Susanna Emery to M. Emery, 11/1/27.
[966] Ibid.
[967] Ibid.
[968] Ibid.
[969] Wilson, 'School Year in Palestine'.

girls and women more broadly. For example, when teaching Hamlet, it occurred to Wilson that the subject matter was 'nearer in many ways to the Arab than to the twentieth century Englishman', due to 'the complete dependence of Ophelia on the men-folk of her family'.[970] Wilson also noted that in an essay on 'The Cinema', one of her boys wrote that 'at the cinema we learn foreign habits, such as politeness to ladies'.[971]

Gender-based violence against Palestinian Muslim women was likewise reported by Government Welfare Officer Margaret Nixon in her 1935 article on women and girl offenders in Palestine.[972] Nixon explained that as part of her overseeing of the Bethlehem Women's Prison as well as lock-ups across the country, she encountered many Muslim women and girls who faced great physical danger from their male relatives on their release.[973] This was because many of these girls had been married 'at a very early age' to a man 'much older than themselves' and as time went on, they had fallen in love with a much younger man in the village and attempted to run away with this individual.[974] These attempts were rarely successful however, and these girls and their beloveds were often caught and sent to prison.[975] Nixon lamented that 'even after sixteen years of British administration', these girls remained in grave danger upon their release, as the 'family honour' could be retrieved by the murder of the girl by her nearest male relative.[976] Nixon explained that

> sometimes it takes weeks and even months before arrangements can be made for the girl to return to her village in safety… the village has to be visited many times, and interviews are arranged with the two men and their families, and the muchtars (headmen of the village)… even then the village has to give a guarantee to the police for the safety of the girl.[977]

Female British missionaries, teachers and welfare workers denounced early and forced marriages among the Palestinian Muslim community. In her annual report for 1924, CMS missionary Katherine Morris penned that at the time of writing, a Muslim girl 'of about twenty years of age' was being admitted to the CMS hospital in Jaffa.[978]

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[970] Ibid.
[971] Ibid.
[972] Nixon, 'Palestine'.
[973] Ibid.
[974] Ibid.
[975] Ibid.
[976] Ibid.
[977] Ibid.
[978] Morris, Annual Letter, 7/1/24, CMS.

Morris explained that having been married since the age of five to a man 'who was between fifty and sixty years of age!!!', the girl had arrived at the CMS hospital 'in a most appalling condition'.[979] Grimwood similarly deplored the early marriage of Muslim girls in Lydda.[980] She explained that in 1929, a Kindergarten Day School had opened, and she had been pleased to find 'five little girls in the kindergarten class, four Muslims and one Christian' at the start of the 1932-1933 school year.[981] However, she regretted that the four Muslim girls 'did not remain with us for the whole year'.[982] When Ramadan began, Grimwood explained, the girls had been 'taken away', and at least one of these girls – 'a small girl of nine' – was now 'betrothed' and 'shut away in her home, one poor room opening on to a tiny dingy back yard' from which 'she may not go till she is married three years later'.[983] The lack of agency of Muslim girls in these arrangements was likewise noted by CMS missionary Mabel Mellor in Bethlehem.[984] Mellor commented that 'we still have girls marrying very early; a girl comes to school in the morning and is engaged in the evening… without her previous knowledge'.[985] And writing from Nazareth in 1927, CMS missionary Violet Studley Wyatt gave the example of 'one little Moslem girl of fourteen', who had recently arrived at the CMS orphanage in Nazareth having been 'so unhappy' in her forced marriage that the CMS missionaries in Safed had 'paid back the money for her release'.[986] Wyatt was hopeful that the girl in question 'may be allowed to stay with us for two or more years before she is married again'.[987] This is not to suggest that all CMS missionaries depicted these girls as lacking agency, however. In 1934, Wyatt proudly reported that one of the girls from a Muslim family at the school had recently been betrothed to a Muslim man, but that as she was 'a true little Christian at heart', Wyatt had received a letter from her 'saying she is returning'.[988] It is worth noting however that this agency was directly linked to this girl's conversion to Christianity, and Wyatt took this as evidence that 'God the Holy Spirit' was 'working' in Palestine.[989]

[979] Ibid.
[980] Grimwood, Annual Letter, 15/8/33.
[981] Ibid.
[982] Ibid.
[983] Ibid.
[984] Mellor, Annual Letter, 18/11/23.
[985] Ibid.
[986] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 8/8/27, CMS.
[987] Ibid.
[988] Wyatt, Annual Letter, 22/8/34.
[989] Ibid.

Emery also condemned the custom of arranged marriages for Muslim girls and women in Palestine. She felt particularly strongly about this in the case of Julia Daoud, a fellow member of staff at the Jerusalem Girls' College, with whom Emery had a close personal relationship. Indeed, Okkenhaug has cited Emery's relationship with Daoud as an example of the 'genuine empathy and identification' that could exist between Anglican missionaries and local women in Mandate Palestine.[990] Emery had known Daoud since she arrived at the Jerusalem Girls' College in 1919, and she fondly recalled her first visit to Daoud's home in her memoirs.[991] She explained that despite there being 'no furniture at all, stacked mattresses, and cushions on the floor… a chair was fetched for me, and we were offered tea, liquours [sic] in tiny glasses'.[992] Emery saw Daoud as 'one of our most trusted and delightful Arabic staff' and was hugely distressed to learn in September 1934 that Daoud was to have an arranged marriage to a man she had known 'for only a few weeks'.[993] Emery reported that the staff at the school were 'all very grieved' by this news, and Emery was particularly upset, she explained, as this was an arranged marriage 'for a very highly intelligent and sensitive young woman'.[994] In Emery's eyes, Daoud's intelligence and sensitivity rendered her arranged marriage all the more unjust.[995]

Fawcett also denounced the prevalence of early marriage among the Muslim community. In her article in *Manchester Guardian* in May 1922, Fawcett censured 'the deplorable prevalence among Moslems of the sale of girl children in marriage at a terribly early age', providing the example of 'a girl-wife of sixteen who had already had four dead children'.[996] And in her published account of her trips to Palestine, Fawcett again remarked that 'the sale of girl-children in marriage is sanctioned by the social customs of some of the Moslem races, while there are others which have more or less adopted European standards in this matter'.[997] As Stockdale has noted in her scholarship on English women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948, English women – such as Fawcett – made little effort to understand the broader 'financial and social

[990] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* p. 263. For more on the relationship between Emery and Daoud, see Okkenhaug, 'She Loves Books' 473-4.
[991] Emery, Autobiography, p. 13.
[992] Ibid.
[993] Ibid, p. 152.
[994] Ibid.
[995] Ibid.
[996] Fawcett, 'The New Palestine'.
[997] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine,* p. 21.

concerns' that drove such marriages.[998] Instead, they perceived early marriage 'as a form of slavery, whereby parents sold their daughters to the highest bidder in an effort to line their own pockets at the expense of their child's happiness'.[999]

All of these British women's perceptions of Palestinian Muslim women and girls as confined to the domestic sphere during this period were based on some level of misunderstanding with regard to the position of these individuals. Whilst Palestinian Muslim society was certainly patriarchal throughout the Mandate period, Muslim women and girls were increasingly active beyond the domestic sphere at this time as it became more commonplace for these individuals to gain an education and work as teachers before raising a family.[1000] Some Palestinian women and girls also took courses in first aid and attended lectures during this period, particularly in Jerusalem.[1001] Fleischmann also points out that Palestinian Muslim women wielded agency within the home 'in subtle ways not easily recognizable or definable to foreigners'.[1002] Despite this, in her brief discussion of British women in Palestine during the Mandate, Fleischmann points out that female British missionaries' portrayals of Palestinian women were 'monolithically negative and condemnatory, depicting women as abject and downgraded', with 'Palestinian women vividly recollect[ing] the condescending and racist attitudes of some of the British women with whom they interacted'.[1003]

This supports Stockdale's thesis that English women viewed Palestinian Arab women as 'slaves to patriarchy' from childhood to adulthood, but these perceptions did not extend to Jewish women during the Mandate.[1004] This was in line with British women's social scales of agency and modernity that have run throughout this thesis. Unlike British women's portrayals of Palestinian Muslim women as confined to the domestic sphere, Jewish women were depicted beyond this, in the context of women's rights and activities beyond the home. In her account of her time in Palestine, Millicent Fawcett portrayed Jewish women as actively engaged in the campaign for women's rights, devoting an entire chapter of her book to Jewish women's activity in this sphere. Titled 'A Suffrage Meeting in Jerusalem', Fawcett explained that 'one of the first calls'

[998] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 131.
[999] Ibid.
[1000] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 60.
[1001] Fleischmann, 'Jerusalem Women's Organisations' 21.
[1002] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women*, p. 60.
[1003] Ibid, p. 36.
[1004] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters*, pp. 10, 127-31.

she had received upon arrival in Jerusalem in 1921 had been from Dr Rosa Welt-Straus, a 'keen suffragist' and leader of the Jewish Women's Association for Equality of Opportunity (JWA).[1005] Welt-Straus had asked Fawcett to address a meeting of her association and Fawcett was delighted to accept the invitation. In her address, Fawcett spoke about the role of Jewish women in the international struggle for women's equality and urged JWA 'to make it clear in all their demands for social and political equality that they were not asking them for Jewish women alone, but for the women of all the races of Palestine who were fitted to benefit by them'.[1006] Fawcett was 'so anxious' about this part of her speech that she committed it to writing:

> You, Jews, have in some countries endured centuries of cruel oppression and persecution. You have endured all with unfailing courage and fortitude: now I hope I may, without incurring your censure, appeal to you to show yourselves as great in prosperity as you have been in adversity. Enlarge your aims for gaining equality of opportunity for women so that they shall include those not of your own race.[1007]

Fawcett similarly reported that when she visited the Jewish agricultural colony of Rishon-le-Zion, she was overjoyed to receive on arrival 'one of the greatest surprises, a regular Suffrage ovation'.[1008] She described this as an 'entirely unexpected experience' and recalled that these 'enthusiastic suffragists… spent about three-quarters of an hour making suffrage speeches to me and to each other'.[1009] Fawcett praised the presence of 'an educated and enlightened womanhood' among the Jewish women of Mandate Palestine, and expressed her hope that the Palestinian Muslim community would become 'more and more acquainted' with the 'social and domestic results' of these efforts.[1010]

Jewish women were also portrayed differently to Palestinian Muslim women, namely beyond the domestic sphere, in Edith Ayrton Zangwill's addresses to the Women's Freedom League in 1928 and the British Commonwealth League in 1930.[1011] According to Zangwill, the young Jewish woman in Mandate Palestine was 'a new type'.[1012] She 'protested' against the 'dull work of domestic chores' and instead

[1005] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine*, p. 84.
[1006] Ibid, p. 86.
[1007] Ibid, pp. 86-7.
[1008] Ibid, p. 80.
[1009] Ibid.
[1010] Ibid, p. 145.
[1011] 'Mrs Zangwill on Palestine'; 'Novelist's Wife on the Women of Palestine'.
[1012] Ibid.

worked beyond the home, 'at the University or in the open-air'.[1013] Zangwill further explained that 'among the Haluzim – the young Jews and Jewesses, many of whom have given up good positions in various parts of the world to return to Palestine', there was 'no idea of inequality between men and women'.[1014]

These examples are few in number and represent British women's limited discussion of the intimacies of Jewish marriage during the Mandate (specifically the status of Jewish women in marriage, the relationship between Jewish husband and wife, and the customs surrounding the choice of marriage partner among the Jewish community). As will be discussed below, it is possible that this was a consequence of British women's social relationships with Jewish women during the Mandate, which may have rendered it unseemly for them to comment on this private and personal aspect of Jewish life in Palestine. These perceptions are nevertheless significant, however: Jewish women were portrayed as agential, modern individuals who were not oppressed nor suffering as a result of gender inequality, unlike various British women's portrayals of Muslim women. This substantiates Stockdale's observation that English feminist visitors to Palestine 'hoped that the British Mandate, coupled with the influx of Zionist feminists from Europe, would increase native women's participation in government and other realms of the public sphere'.[1015] Akin to British women's hierarchical understandings of the people of Palestine in other spheres, British women situated Jewish women further up their ladders of agency and modernity, as part of their multiple intimate colonialisms. This was despite the fact that, in reality, it was the 'traditional role of mother' that was 'uppermost' in Jewish society at this time.[1016]

Palestinian Christian Women

Palestinian Christian women occupied a unique position in British women's discourse: generally, British women do not appear to have discussed the position of Palestinian Christian women in marriage but, occasionally, this was addressed, and Palestinian Christian women were venerated. This was reminiscent of CMS missionaries' greater expectations of Palestinian Christian than Muslim mothers, as seen in Chapter One of this thesis.[1017] It is possible to conjecture that this was due in

[1013] Ibid.
[1014] Ibid.
[1015] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 43.
[1016] Safran, 'International Struggle' p. 218; Rosenberg-Friedman, 'Abortion in the Yishuv' 336.
[1017] CMS Medical Mission Auxiliary: The Review of the Year, 1934-5.

part to the fact that the vast majority of British women in Mandate Palestine were Christians themselves, and this aspect of their identity was tightly bound up in their sense of authority as mothers and wives in this colonial space, legitimising their intervention in different spheres of the intimate. In other words, it was difficult for British women to encounter Christian women whose mothering practices or status in marriage challenged their self-understanding and sense of authority, especially in a space of such Christian significance as Palestine.

A rare example of the discussion and veneration of Palestinian Christian women came from Millicent Fawcett. In her published account of her trips to Mandate Palestine, Fawcett commented on the 'independent' and 'fearless' nature of the Palestinian Christian women she observed in Bethlehem and Nazareth.[1018] As a Christian herself, Fawcett's interest in Palestine was due in part to its religious significance, and Fawcett opened her account with Psalm CXXII:

> I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord.
> Our feet shall stand in thy gates: O Jerusalem.[1019]

Moreover, Fawcett's Christian interest in Palestine was evident from her very first moment in the country: she recalled that when her Cairo train passed over the border at Gaza, she imagined 'Samson and of his carrying off the gates and of his bringing down the temple of Dagon'.[1020] In this vein, Fawcett dedicated much of her time in Palestine to visiting sites of Christian significance, including Bethlehem and Nazareth. It was on these visits that she unusually observed and commented on the superior status of Palestinian Christian women. On her visit to Bethlehem, for example, Fawcett noted that 'Bethlehem, over and above the great interest of its famous church, is attractive. It is a Christian village'.[1021] In contrast to the 'absolute inferiority' imposed on Muslim women in other parts of Palestine, the Christian women of Bethlehem were not only 'independent in their bearing' but 'fearless' too.[1022] Fawcett was similarly positive about the women she observed in Nazareth. This was another site of Christian significance, and Fawcett recalled that 'the thought that overwhelmed all others in Nazareth was: this is the place where our Lord passed His boyhood and youth'.[1023]

[1018] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine,* p. 18.
[1019] Ibid.
[1020] Ibid, p. 11.
[1021] Ibid, p. 18.
[1022] Ibid.
[1023] Ibid, p. 47.

Fawcett's described Nazareth as 'quite exquisite' and 'clean', with an 'unlikeness to the other Eastern villages we had seen', and thus 'very appropriately a Christian village'.[1024] This connection between cleanliness and Christianity is reminiscent of Chapter One, with British women drawing links between cleanliness, Christianity, maternity and modernity. In Nazareth, Fawcett reported that she and her sister were 'struck, as we had been at Bethlehem, by the dignified and fearless demeanour of the women… to quote Charlotte Bronte, they seem to know that "Eve was Jehovah's daughter, as Adam was his son"'.[1025]

Fawcett did however point out that these women were not entirely modern. She explained that Bethlehem had once been 'a great centre of the Crusaders' and at that time the women of Bethlehem had adopted 'the head-dress of Blanche of Castile and the wife of Coeur de Lion'.[1026] According to Fawcett, 'no other social influence was ever introduced sufficiently strong to induce the women of Bethlehem to make another change in the method of tiring their heads' and as a consequence, 'they alone probably, of all the women in the world, are still wearing the European fashions of eight hundred years ago'.[1027] For Fawcett, this was 'an example, perhaps, of the extraordinary influence of the Crusaders, and also of the extraordinary conservatism of the East'.[1028] Whereas Fawcett criticised the supposedly unchanging practices of the Muslim community, when it came to the Christian community in Palestine, apparently unaltered practices were 'extraordinary'.[1029]

It is also worth noting here Fawcett's misinterpretations of local women. Firstly, as Stockdale has pointed out, the assumption that 'fashions had remained stagnant for millennia', made by English women in Palestine throughout the nineteenth century too, was 'historically incorrect': 'the *shatweh* worn by married women in Bethlehem emerged from women copying the nineteenth-century tarbush worn by men, rather than European fashions of the Middle Ages or ancient Hebrew customs'.[1030] Moreover, as Shelagh Weir has noted, the shape and embellishments on *shatwehs* in Palestine evolved throughout the nineteenth and early-mid-twentieth century, before going out

[1024] Ibid.
[1025] Ibid.
[1026] Ibid, p. 19.
[1027] Ibid.
[1028] Ibid.
[1029] Ibid.
[1030] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 24. As pointed out in Weir, *Palestinian Costume,* p. 178.

of fashion in the 1940s.[1031] In the nineteenth century, *shatwehs* were low and wide in shape and sparsely embroidered with a few coins, but the *shatwehs* of the Mandate period were narrower, higher and much more lavishly decorated.[1032]

Secondly, Fawcett appears to have used the veil as an indicator of a woman's religion, in that she assumed that the 'unveiled' women she observed in Bethlehem and Nazareth were Christian.[1033] However, as explained earlier in this chapter, veiling was not confined to Muslim women during the Mandate.[1034] Veiling was common among middle and upper-class Muslim and Christian women in Mandate Palestine's towns and cities, and far less common among rural Muslim and Christian women.[1035] It is possible that Fawcett's misunderstanding was due to the fact that her visits to Bethlehem and Nazareth were her first time leaving the city of Jerusalem to visit more rural areas.

Mixed Marriages

British colonial wives, visiting women's rights campaigners, missionaries, teachers and welfare workers rarely spoke of romantic relationships between European and American women and Jewish or Palestinian Muslim men during the Mandate. Perhaps unsurprisingly, one of the few discussions of these relationships comes from Barbara Board. As established in Chapter Three, Board was an outlier among British women in Mandate Palestine on account of her open-mindedness towards the local population. As part of Board's atypical approach to grasping peoples' lived realities, she spent time with individuals on the boundaries of belonging, such as women and girls who worked as prostitutes and European and American women who had married Palestinian men. For the most part, Board portrayed these women as oppressed and unhappy, echoing British women's general perceptions of the position of Palestinian Muslim women in marriage. Board also appears – perhaps subconsciously – to have undermined the possibility of genuine affection in these relationships by offering two explanations for these unions: firstly, deception on the part of the Palestinian man, namely the façade that he was 'civilised'; and secondly, the desire of the European and American woman in question to escape 'the humdrum

[1031] Weir, *Palestinian Costume,* pp. 178-9.
[1032] Ibid.
[1033] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine,* p. 18.
[1034] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 59.
[1035] Ibid*,* p. 28.

routine of home'.[1036] In accordance with her willingness to reflect on the cultural stereotypes she brought with her to Mandate Palestine, however, Board did report the case of one French woman who married a Palestinian Muslim man and was now 'one of the happiest persons on earth'.[1037] But Board reminded her readers that 'only a tiny percentage of these sheikh romances have such a fairy-tale ending'.[1038]

According to Board's account, in Palestine in 1936 there were 'a number of English, French and American women, mostly American' who had 'Eastern husbands', but 'nearly all have regretted it'.[1039] Board explained that this was because once married, these women were forced by their husbands to wear the veil, to live in 'dirty' homes, denied access to modern medicine, and sometimes their husbands even married again.[1040] One woman who had met her husband in America and returned to Ramallah with him confided in Board that 'after the first day I sat down and wept… I am so terribly unhappy I don't know what to do… everything is so dirty and uncivilised'.[1041] Another English woman who had met her husband in London told Board that she had 'thought he was civilised', but when they returned to Palestine she was forced to veil 'with three thick veils', her husband revealing himself to be 'exceptionally fanatical'.[1042] This woman also discovered no bath in the house, and when she gave birth 'she could not induce her husband to send for a doctor… all he would provide her with was a half-trained native midwife, who made her so ill she was confined to her bed for three months'.[1043] Moreover, when her children became ill with typhoid and she herself had malaria, this woman 'could not induce him to summon a doctor… his Arab fatalism could see no reason for this'.[1044] Board reported that the husband in question had since 'married a second wife, and later a third' and that, 'surprisingly enough, he considered he was treating his wife well, and no doubt he was, according to Arab standards'.[1045]

[1036] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* pp. 210-4.
[1037] Ibid, p. 214.
[1038] Ibid.
[1039] Ibid, p. 210.
[1040] Ibid, p. 211.
[1041] Ibid.
[1042] Ibid, p. 214.
[1043] Ibid.
[1044] Ibid, p. 215.
[1045] Ibid.

Board offered two explanations for these relationships. The first was deception on the part of the Palestinian Muslim or Christian man, who had led the European or American woman in question to believe that he was 'civilised'.[1046] Board explained that this often happened with Palestinian Christian men from Ramallah or Beitunya, who had studied at the American University in Beirut or had lived for some time in England or America.[1047] According to Board, while in Beirut, England or America, these men 'had dressed in civilised clothes' and 'eaten and behaved as Westerners'.[1048] In the course of their travels they had met young European or American girls and impressed them with 'romantic stories of desert life'.[1049] However, upon returning to Palestine, 'they have reverted to their old ways of living, have worn Arab clothes, eaten Arab food, and lived in the Arab way'.[1050] Board repeated the word 'Arab' here three times, as if to emphasise the contrast in these men on their return to Palestine. She also provided the further example of an American woman who had thought that her husband was 'a glamorous sheikh with many servants, much wealth and an important position' but had discovered in Palestine that 'he had none of these things… he just tricked me'.[1051]

Board further undermined the possibility of genuine affection in these relationships by attributing them to what she termed 'the "escape" complex' on the part of the European or American woman: the longing of some women to avoid 'the humdrum routine of home'.[1052] As evidence of the prevalence of this phenomenon, Board provided some examples of replies she had received from British women and girls to an advertisement of marriage to a Palestinian man that she had posted in a British newspaper. The man, whom Board had met in Tiberias, was twenty-five years old, 'quite handsome for an Arab' and 'prepared to give his wife half his fortune of £20,000 and a three-months' holiday in Europe every year'.[1053] Board received a great number of responses to her announcement, typically from British women 'saying how they had always longed for the desert, to get away from the prosiness and monotony, the restrictions and the boredom of home life'.[1054] Twenty-year-old E. D. from

[1046] Ibid, p. 211.
[1047] Ibid, pp. 210-1.
[1048] Ibid, p. 211.
[1049] Ibid.
[1050] Ibid.
[1051] Ibid.
[1052] Ibid, p. 210.
[1053] Ibid, p. 215.
[1054] Ibid, p. 216.

Hampshire had ‘always admired an Eastern man’ and was ‘very keen on living in the desert… it is the dream of my life to get away from England, but I have never had a chance’.[1055] And eighteen-year-old J. B. from Yorkshire had ‘always been eager to hear more about the East and these veiled women of yours’.[1056] To Board, however, it was ‘a pity that the life these girls lead in England to-day should cause them to rush at the first chance of marriage with an Arab, to desert their civilised homes for a life of sordidness and deterioration in the East’.[1057] V. A. from Kent, who was ‘tall, blonde and blue-eyed, as graceful as a reed waving in the breeze’ explained that, ‘convinced that England’s best men have gone to the Colonies, I am quite willing to take a chance with the sheikh’.[1058] Board rebuked V.A.’s ‘willingness to “take a chance”’, which ‘suggested she thought the arrangements could be broken off at any moment she thought fit. That is not the case with Moslems’.[1059] P. H. from Nottinghamshire also stated that ‘if our temperaments were to clash, I should expect to come back to England at once and leave you to continue your quest for happiness’.[1060] According to Board, P. H. had ‘no conception of Arab mentality’.[1061] ‘Reading between the lines’ of the responses she had received, Board concluded that ‘they were prompted by a feverish anxiety to escape from modern life… needless to say I sent none of the letters to the sheikh in question. There are already too many tragedies of the kind in the East’.[1062]

In line with Board’s disposition to reflect on the cultural stereotypes she harboured, she did offer one exception to this disaster narrative: she explained that one French woman she had encountered had suffered ‘terribly’ for ‘many years’ in her marriage to a Palestinian man, but was now ‘one of the happiest persons on earth’.[1063] This was because after her husband’s conservative father had died, this woman had been allowed to adopt more European fashions, and, ‘greatly to her joy, she was allowed to remove her veil… she could let her hands dangle outside her cape – and expose them to public gaze – and she could quicken her steps in the street (it is

[1055] Ibid, p. 221.
[1056] Ibid, p. 218.
[1057] Ibid, pp. 212-4.
[1058] Ibid, pp. 216-7.
[1059] Ibid, p. 217.
[1060] Ibid, pp. 217-8.
[1061] Ibid, p. 218.
[1062] Ibid, pp. 212-4.
[1063] Ibid, p. 214.

supposed to be improper for a Moslem woman to walk quickly)'.[1064] Board did however caveat this story with the warning that 'only a tiny percentage of these sheikh romances have such a fairy-tale ending'.[1065]

Board also shed light on the British community's attitudes towards these relationships. She stated that 'of course the women in the British colony do not mix with these outcasts from society and they are thus deprived of social life'.[1066] This extended to the children of mixed marriages too: an Englishwoman married to a Palestinian government official in Haifa told Board that she had tried to teach her children English, 'with the result that they now have the so-called "country-born" accent' and, as a consequence, 'cannot mix with English people'.[1067] Okkenhaug has also described the British community's disapproval of British women who married Palestinian Arab men during the Mandate. Okkenhaug describes 'improper contact with Arab men' as 'the one 'offence' that British women teachers at the Jerusalem Girls' College or English High School in Haifa did not get away with', branding it 'unforgivable'.[1068]

This attitude appears to have extended to the American missionary community in Mandate Palestine too. In Bertha Spafford Vester's account of her family's life and work in Jerusalem between 1881 and 1949, Vester recalls the scandal of Nora, the girl from Chicago who 'fell in love with a Moslem'.[1069] Nora had been brought over to Palestine as a nurse for Bertha and her sister Grace, but was sent back to Chicago in shame after 'a confession that deeply disturbed mother… Nora was in love with a Moslem'.[1070] Vester explains that this was 'unheard of' at this time, and Nora's swift departure from the American Colony was attributed to her wanting to return to her mother in America.[1071]

It is interesting to note here the absence of similar concern regarding unions between European and American women and Jewish men during the Mandate. These marriages certainly occurred, but their absence in Board's and others' writing suggests that they were not deemed as scandalous as unions with Palestinian Arab men. This

[1064] Ibid, p. 213.
[1065] Ibid, p. 214.
[1066] Ibid, p. 211.
[1067] Ibid, p. 214.
[1068] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living,* pp. 276-7.
[1069] Bertha Spafford Vester, *Our Jerusalem: An American Family in the Holy City, 1881-1949* (New York, 1950), p. 161.
[1070] Ibid.
[1071] Ibid.

once again points to the very different nature of the colonialism between the British community and the Jewish and Palestinian Arab community during the Mandate. The absence of discussion of these unions not only underlines British women's hierarchical perceptions of the position of Jewish and Palestinian Muslim women in marriage, but it also supports the existence of an intimacy of peers between the British and the Jewish community in Palestine at this time.

The Limits to the Nuance

British women's discourse in this sphere was by no means straightforward, however. Although the vast majority of female British missionaries, teachers, welfare workers, women's rights campaigners and colonial wives conceived of Jewish and Palestinian Muslim women according to a hierarchy of agency and modernity, with Jewish women situated beyond the domestic sphere and Palestinian Muslim women firmly within it, there were some important inconsistencies in this discourse. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Barbara Board is a key example here. Board's commitment to 'talk[ing] to people in their homes and at their daily tasks' led to her cultural assumptions regarding local women being challenged and complicated during her time in Palestine – a prime example of contact with a local population nuancing racial presumptions and colonial hierarchies. This nuance was limited, however: whilst Board's cultural assumptions were challenged and complicated during her time in Palestine, as will be seen below, they were not overturned. Board's inability to totally relinquish her cultural assumptions ultimately reveals the limits to the nuance in this discourse.

Firstly, Board's atypical meetings with Palestinian Muslim women in the intimate spaces of their homes led her to debunk the assumption that women who wore the veil in public were confined to the domestic sphere with little interest in the world beyond. During her time in Palestine, Board discovered that for many upper-class Muslim women who 'veiled in the street', their 'clothes, habits, and topics of conversation indoors are European… they speak several languages, listen to foreign radio and read foreign books'.[1072] A specific example of an upper-class Muslim woman who 'veiled… out of doors' but was 'educated and cultured… indoors' according to Board was Wahida al-Khalidi, the first president of the Arab Women's Executive Committee, and wife of Husayn Fakhri al-Khalidi, Mayor of Jerusalem from 1934 to

[1072] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 68.

1937.[1073] In her account, Board conveyed her astonishment that not only did al-Khalidi 'serve tea in the European way', but they spent their time together discussing 'politics, clothes, films, books and radio'.[1074] Board lauded al-Khalidi as 'one of those charmingly clever Moslem women who have managed to acquire fluent French and English without stirring out of Jerusalem'.[1075] She concluded that 'not only is the Palestine Moslem woman cultured. She is chic. She has learnt how to wear clothes, how to keep her figure, dress her hair, and improve her looks with cosmetics'.[1076]

Figure 2. Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine.*

Board was similarly taken aback by the common ground she shared with Emira Umm Talal (literally the mother (*umm*) of Talal, the next King of Jordan), the first wife of Abdullah I (Emir of Transjordan from 1921 until 1946). Board's meeting with the Emira in her 'harem' in Amman in 1936 was one of Board's highlights of her Palestine adventure, evident from the fact that Board chose a photograph of herself meeting Emir Abdullah for the very first page of *Newsgirl in Palestine* (see Figure 2).[1077] Having

[1073] Ibid, p. 82; Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 213.
[1074] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 82.
[1075] Ibid.
[1076] Ibid.
[1077] Ibid, p. 5.

explained to the Emira that she could not speak Arabic and waiting for a translator to join them, to her astonishment, Board discovered that she had much in common with this upper-class Muslim woman, including an interest in films.[1078] With Madame Sheikh Fuad, a friend of the Emira, acting as 'untiring interpreter', the two women discussed their favourite international film stars, including Clark Gable, Marlene Dietrich and Norma Shearer.[1079] Board was taken aback by the Emira's beauty, remarking that 'in every way she is a princess, even though she can neither read nor write', and commented that the beauty of one of the Emira's female relatives was 'something I had never hoped to meet in the Moslem world'.[1080]

Board's use of the term 'harem' to describe the Emira's domestic space is unusual in this context and requires some explanation.[1081] In contrast to both Stockdale's finding that this term was widely used by English women travellers to nineteenth century Palestine and Judy Mabro's observation that the harem and the veil were central to Western travellers' perceptions of Middle Eastern women during this period, the use of the term 'harem' among British women during the Mandate is unusual in the sources examined for this thesis.[1082] Most British women's lack of reference to the harem during the Mandate may have been due to the fact that when specifically defined as 'residences in which there were specific quarters designed for the seclusion of women', harems were on the decline in Palestine after 1909, having typically belonged to Turkish or Arab Ottoman officials rather than local Palestinians.[1083] It is unlikely that British women adopted such a narrow definition of the 'harem' however, as the 'harem' was 'a domain at the centre of Western fascination and speculation… represented in Orientalist paintings, literature and other forms of art' and was used to describe 'a variety of homes, not harems per se'.[1084] More likely then, the absence of this term was due to the fact that during the Mandate, British women engaged in different activities to their nineteenth century counterparts, and most British women's impressions of Palestinian Muslim women were based on

[1078] Ibid, p. 75.
[1079] Ibid, p. 78.
[1080] Ibid, p. 77.
[1081] Ibid, p. 5.
[1082] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 64; Judy Mabro, *Veiled Half-Truths: Western Travellers' Perceptions of Middle Eastern Women* (London, 1991).
[1083] Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters,* p. 64.
[1084] Ibid.

cultural assumptions about the veil from afar – Board's use of the term 'harem' thus serves as a reminder of her unique approach to understanding the people of Palestine.

Board's deep interest in grappling with the lives of the people of Palestine also led her to uncover the prevalence of early and forced marriages among some Jewish communities during the Mandate, thus nuancing British women's more general impression of early and forced marriage as confined to the Muslim community in Palestine at this time. Moreover, Board even drew some parallels between the status of some Jewish and Palestinian Muslim women, a comparison seldom made by British women in Palestine. Board was particularly struck by the incidence of early and forced marriage among the orthodox Jewish community of Jerusalem. This came to her attention when she decided 'to prowl around Mea Sharim [sic], the Orthodox Jewish quarter of Jerusalem' one Friday evening.[1085] In 1936 (as today) Mea Shearim was mostly populated by Haredi Jews, members of the Old *Yishuv* who had arrived in Palestine prior to 1882. Board explained that as she had no guide, she 'wandered as I pleased… the Jewish Sabbath had begun at nightfall, and the narrow streets were deserted'.[1086] She recalled that as she walked around the neighbourhood, she 'peeped in through the windows' and saw families in their homes, 'many one-roomed' with 'no beds – only large mattresses spread on the cold stone floors and on them parents and children were huddled together, asleep'.[1087] Board was deeply impacted by what she witnessed in Mea Shearim, remarking that 'the homes were sordid, pictures of utter poverty and destitution, but the deep religious spirit which animates the Jews' life was evident everywhere'.[1088] As she turned a corner in the dark, she nearly collided with a woman who, it transpired, was an English Jew from Leeds, and who invited Board into her home.[1089] Ever keen to speak to local women in their homes, Board learnt from this woman 'how the Orthodox Jews live and die, how they are born, circumcised, married, divorced'.[1090] Board discovered that from the moment a girl was born into the Orthodox Jewish community, she suffered. She remarked that 'as with the Arabs, the birth of a boy is hailed with great enthusiasm, that of a girl with only mild rejoicing'.[1091] Then, whereas boys received an education, girls did not: 'the girl grows up uneducated

[1085] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine*, p. 126.
[1086] Ibid.
[1087] Ibid.
[1088] Ibid, p. 127.
[1089] Ibid, p. 126.
[1090] Ibid, pp. 128-9.
[1091] Ibid, p. 130.

except in the methods of keeping house and has no notice taken of her till she comes to the marrying age'.[1092] Board reported that when a girl reached this age (usually sixteen or seventeen years), her parents, regardless of her own feelings, 'get in touch with a matrimonial agent who keeps a long list of eligible bachelors'.[1093] Her parents then picked a boy they deemed a suitable match and 'if she dislikes the boy she can raise no very strong objection but has to make the best of it… often she is convinced against her will that the boy will make a good husband'.[1094] Board also learnt from this woman that 'child marriages' were 'common' among the Yemenite Jewish community of Jerusalem, with girls as young as six years old, who 'cannot of course express any opinion on the matter' often married to much older men.[1095] In addition, in Edith Augusta Buckmaster's account of her trip to Palestine in the early 1920s, she reported the case of a Jewish girl who, at the age of six, had been married to a fifty-six-year-old man.[1096] Buckmaster encountered this girl – who was by then sixteen or seventeen years old – at an infant welfare centre in Jerusalem. The girl arrived with her face 'torn and bleeding' and Buckmaster learnt that 'her husband had injured her, but she bore no resentment'.[1097] According to Buckmaster, the girl explained, 'if he didn't beat me and scratch me, I shouldn't think that he was my master'.[1098] Laura Schor also confirms that early marriage was prevalent among some Jewish communities during the Mandate – according to Schor, 'girls in both [Jewish] ethnicities [Sephardi and Ashkenazi] married at twelve or thirteen'. [1099]

Another important example of Board's commitment to grasping 'how the women of the country live', along with her willingness to present a multifarious picture of local women's lives in Mandate Palestine, was her account of the time she spent living with the Beni Sakr Bedouin tribe.[1100] Regarding the position of women in this tribe, Board explained that whilst the women focused on domestic duties such as cooking and cleaning, this was by no means symptomatic of their lesser status in this community. Board pointed out that when the men went off to fight another tribe, for example, 'if the men dare to return and acknowledge that they have lost, the women

[1092] Ibid.
[1093] Ibid, p. 131.
[1094] Ibid, p. 132.
[1095] Ibid, pp. 148-9.
[1096] Buckmaster, *Palestine and Pamela,* p. 109.
[1097] Ibid.
[1098] Ibid.
[1099] Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem,* p. xiii.
[1100] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine*, p. 5.

send them back'.[1101] With the help of Mohammad, an interpreter, Board also learnt that 'it is far better for a Bedouin to die fighting than to return defeated and suffer the scorn of the tribal women'.[1102] This supports Fleischmann's observation that during the Mandate, 'Arab women wielded power, often from within the family, in subtle ways not easily recognizable or definable to foreigners'.[1103] Board only recognised this power because she embedded herself within the Bedouin community for a short time – and she needed the help of a translator to realise this.

Board's perceptions of upper-class Palestinian Muslim women, the Beni Sakr Bedouin tribe, as well as the Orthodox and Yemenite Jewish communities in Jerusalem thus nuance the general hierarchical discourse of most British women in Mandate Palestine. Akin to Board's assigning of communal identity and agency to the women and girls who worked as prostitutes, in this context Board evidenced an unusual ability to highlight the agency and modernity of upper-class Muslim women, and to differentiate between Palestinian Muslim and Jewish women based on their class, background and religion. Moreover, this willingness to have her cultural assumptions challenged and complicated put Board at odds with most other British women in Mandate Palestine, who situated local women on a hierarchy of agency and modernity, as seen throughout this chapter and others. This was a consequence of Board's determination to fully grasp local women's lived realities during the Mandate, which led to her intimate encounters with these individuals in their homes.

Yet although Board's cultural assumptions were challenged and complicated during her time in the country, crucially, they were not overturned.[1104] This is most evident in the way that Board chose to conclude her account of her time in Palestine. Rather than using this as an opportunity to challenge and complicate her readers' cultural assumptions, Board subscribed to a hierarchical explanation of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women's lives, echoing the general discourse of British women. Board remarked that as she departed from Palestine, she thought back to 'the clever Moslem women' she had encountered, and lamented that 'everything is spoiled for them. How long will Moslem womanhood tolerate these chains?'.[1105] When it came to Jewish women, however, Board depicted 'a string of sunburnt Jewish land-girls' who

[1101] Ibid, p. 65.
[1102] Ibid, pp. 64-5.
[1103] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 60.
[1104] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 5.
[1105] Ibid, p. 285.

'swung baskets of vegetables as they strode along the highway from the side-road that led to their settlement', wearing 'dark blue shorts'.[1106]

The Differing Nature of British Women's Engagement with Local Women

British women's differing perceptions of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women during the Mandate were due in part to the contrasting nature of their engagement with these communities, as part of their multiple intimate colonialisms. The British women most involved with Jewish women during this period were middle and upper-class women's rights campaigners and colonial wives, such as Millicent Fawcett, Edith Augusta Buckmaster and members of the PWC. These women engaged with Jewish women through Jewish women's associations and organised tours of Jewish charitable institutions, and often there was a social dimension to these encounters, invoking the notion of an intimacy of peers (or near peers). Fawcett recalled that 'one of the first calls' she received on arrival in Jerusalem in 1921 was from Dr Rosa Welt-Straus, leader of JWA, entreating her to deliver an address at an upcoming meeting of this women's association.[1107] Fawcett was delighted to accept Welt-Straus' invitation and commended the 'educated and enlightened' women who made up this group.[1108] Fawcett also took part in several tours of Jewish charitable institutions during her time in Palestine, all organised by local Jewish women. She was particularly impressed by Annie Landau's Evelina de Rothschild School for girls, where she witnessed lessons on citizenship and the newspaper press, as well as Sophia Berger's orphanages for Jewish children, especially Jewish war orphans, of whom she learnt there were 4,500 in Palestine and Syria at the end of the war.[1109] She also visited a Jewish clinic for mothers and infants in Jerusalem, and toured two agricultural colonies with the parents of Helen Bentwich (Vice-President of the PWC and wife of Norman Bentwich, Palestine's Attorney General).[1110] Buckmaster's engagement with Jewish women during her time in Palestine was of a similarly social nature. Buckmaster also received a tour of the Evelina de Rothschild School for girls from Landau and, impressed by the 'immense' work being done by the Hadassah Medical Organisation

[1106] Ibid, p. 287.
[1107] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine*, p. 84.
[1108] Ibid, p. 145.
[1109] Ibid, pp. 75, 127.
[1110] Ibid, p. 80.

in Palestine, was pleased to visit a Jewish clinic for mothers and infants in Jerusalem.[1111]

This engagement with Jewish women's associations and charitable organisations took place against a backdrop of social interaction between British and Jewish women. Fawcett recalled that she made the acquaintance of many of the Jewish women active in the charity sphere (including Landau and Berger) at the very first tea-party she attended in Jerusalem, and both Fawcett and Bentwich spoke of a 'Ladies' Club in Jerusalem' during their time in Palestine, where they socialised with Jewish women.[1112] As is the case with the papers of the PWC, documentation relating to the Jerusalem Ladies' Club is difficult to come by. Schor explains that during the early days of the Mandate, some of the British and Jewish women involved in the SSA (the forerunner of the PWC), including MacInnes, Bentwich, Landau and Berger, 'felt the desire to establish a social and cultural club for elite women modelled on similar clubs in London and Paris. The result was the Jerusalem Ladies' Club'.[1113] They hired rooms with space for a library, bridge games and bathing facilities for sportswomen, and hosted teas and lectures at this Ladies' Club, offering 'a place for educated women to meet across religious and national boundaries'.[1114] The existence of this space as a hub for British and Jewish women to socialise is very important. In addition to the fact that both Fawcett and Buckmaster's engagement with local Jewish women was mediated by other Jewish women (such as Welt-Straus, Landau and Berger, all of whom spoke English, having immigrated to Palestine from Europe or America), the existence of this social hub lends credence to the notion of an intimacy of respect or peers between British and Jewish women during the Mandate. Significantly, there is no mention of Palestinian Muslim women attending this Ladies' Club, nor of a parallel club for British and Palestinian Arab women to socialise. Given that the SSA developed into the PWC, this might explain Fleischmann's observation that 'few Arab women' were involved in the PWC, and 'those listed on the rosters seem likely to have been token representatives'.[1115] Furthermore, Fleischman notes that thirteen out of

[1111] Buckmaster, *Palestine and Pamela,* p. 109.
[1112] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine*, pp. 123, 78; Helen Bentwich to Caroline Bentwich, 14/10/22, HBL.
[1113] Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem,* p. 89.
[1114] Ibid.
[1115] Fleischmann, 'Jerusalem Women's Organisations' 21.

thirty-six of the PWC's affiliated organisations were Jewish, 'whereas only one was Arab'.[1116]

The existence of the Ladies' Club might also account for the lack of discussion of the intimacies of Jewish marriage by British women, as seen earlier in this chapter. It is possible to conjecture that in light of their social relationships with these women, it was deemed unseemly for British women to discuss the intimacies of Jewish marriage. There are also parallels to be drawn here with middle and upper-class 'Ladies' associations in Britain at this time. As Paula Bartley has highlighted, it was typical for such women to combine their charitable work with socialising.[1117] This once again speaks to the notion of an intimacy of peers between some British and Jewish women during the Mandate.

In contrast to this, British women's rights campaigners and colonial wives had limited direct contact with Palestinian Muslim women during the Mandate. Despite the fact that a group of educated, middle and upper-class Palestinian women ran a 'dynamic and active' Palestinian women's movement at this time, Fawcett and others do not appear to have met nor socialised with these women.[1118] Unlike their engagement with local Jewish women, which was mediated by other Jewish women, these British women observed Palestinian Muslim women from afar, drawing conclusions about their private lives from observations in public spaces. This limited contact did not prevent British women from conjecturing about the intimate aspects of these women's lives and concluding that they were oppressed and suffering, as has been seen throughout this chapter. This lack of contact may have been due to the language barrier that existed between British and Palestinian women. However, Fleischmann points out that the majority of Palestinian women involved in the women's movement at this time could speak 'at least one foreign language, often two', and Board confirms that many of the upper-class Muslim women who veiled in public could speak several languages, including English.[1119] Perhaps then, this lack of engagement is better explained by the hierarchy of agency and modernity that existed in the minds of British women, and which underpinned the multiplicity of their colonial intimacies.

[1116] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 33.
[1117] Bartley, *Prostitution,* p. 75.
[1118] Fleischmann, *The Nation and Its 'New' Women,* p. 4.
[1119] Fleischmann, 'Jerusalem Women's Organisations' 39; Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 68.

The British women most involved with Palestinian Muslim women during the Mandate were teachers, missionaries and welfare workers, many of whom established personal relationships with local Palestinian women, whether they worked alongside them in schools or entered their homes as missionaries or welfare workers. Susanna Emery's friendship with Julia Daoud, fellow teacher at the Jerusalem Girls' College (discussed earlier in this chapter) is just one example of these relationships.[1120] British women welfare workers were particularly intimately involved in some aspects of Palestinian Muslim women's lives. For instance, one of Margaret Nixon's main responsibilities as Government Welfare Inspector for Palestine was 'personal case work particularly with regard to Arab women and girls', including 'girls and women with matrimonial difficulties, and wives who were in danger from domestic violence'.[1121] Although few details are available about this aspect of Nixon's work as her papers cannot at this time be located, some information is available about the work of Nixon's successor, J. M. Thompson. Thompson was appointed Principal Welfare Officer when the Department of Social Welfare was established in Palestine in 1944.[1122] Thompson's papers are not currently available either, but the Department of Social Welfare's annual report for 1944 explains that along with eight other Welfare Officers, Thompson focused on 'individual and family problems' among the Palestinian Arab community at this time.[1123] The report also states that an 'increasing number of matrimonial disputes' had been dealt with by Thompson and her team, with forty-seven couples seeking 'advice in this connection' in 1943, and a further sixty-six couples in 1944.[1124] These statistics were taken as 'an encouraging indication that the Welfare Officer is recognised as being of some help in these difficult cases'.[1125] It is worth noting however that in this report, there is no mention of parallel social work taking place among the Jewish community at this time, further supporting the notion of an intimacy of peers between some British and Jewish women. Contrastingly, the power dynamics framing encounters between Palestinian Arab women and British teachers, missionaries and welfare workers rendered this an intimacy of condescension.

[1120] Emery, Autobiography, p. 152.
[1121] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944; Schor, *The Best School in Jerusalem,* p. 89.
[1122] Annual Report of the Department of Social Welfare, 1944.
[1123] Ibid.
[1124] Ibid.
[1125] Ibid.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that many British women's perceptions of Jewish and Palestinian Arab women mapped onto the social scales of agency and modernity present throughout this thesis. Whereas colonial wives and visiting women's rights campaigners perceived Jewish women as beyond the context of the home, engaged in charitable work and the women's rights movement in Palestine, a cross-section of British women, from missionaries, teachers and welfare workers to middle and upper-class colonial wives and women's rights campaigners, perceived Palestinian Muslim women as confined to the domestic sphere due to gender inequality among the Palestinian Muslim community. Palestinian Christian women occupied an unusual position in this discourse: some British women, specifically Millicent Fawcett, perceived the Palestinian Christian women of Bethlehem and Nazareth as 'independent' and 'fearless' in contrast to the oppression suffered by Palestinian Muslim women.[1126] This is remindful of some missionaries' greater expectations of Palestinian Christian than Palestinian Muslim mothers in the context of maternity and infant welfare in Chapter One. It is possible to conjecture that both of these nuances were due to the fact that many British women in Palestine at this time were Christians themselves, and this aspect of their identity was tightly bound up in their sense of authority as mothers and wives in this space of huge Christian significance.

These contrasting perceptions were reflected in British women's attitudes towards mixed marriages between European or American women and Jewish and Palestinian Muslim men during the Mandate. There is little source material available on these unions, but Barbara Board once again offers a productive insight into these individuals on the boundaries of belonging. According to Board, unions between European or American women and Palestinian Muslim men during the Mandate were regarded as 'tragedies', with these women isolated from the British community as a consequence ('of course the women in the British colony do not mix with these outcasts from society and they are thus deprived of social life').[1127] There appears to have been little – if any – discussion of mixed marriages between European or American women and Jewish men. This speaks once again to the very different

[1126] Fawcett, *Easter in Palestine,* p. 18.
[1127] Board, *Newsgirl in Palestine,* p. 211.

relationships between the British and Jewish and British and Palestinian Arab communities in Mandate Palestine.

Board is also important in this chapter for the perspective she offers as a British woman who was determined to intimately know the women of the country. Her commitment to grasping 'how the women of the country live, what their manners and customs are, what they think about life' led to her cultural assumptions being challenged and complicated during her time in Palestine.[1128] She was astonished to encounter the European and 'cultured' habits of Wahida al-Khalidi in al-Khalidi's home in Jerusalem, to learn of child marriages among some Jewish communities in Mea Sharim, and to discover the respected status of women of the Beni Sakr Bedouin tribe. Significantly, however, Board's hierarchical understandings of the people of Palestine appear to have remained intact. This is important, as Board's inability to totally relinquish her cultural assumptions ultimately shows the limits to the nuance in British women's discourse.

British women's general hierarchies of Jewish and Palestinian Muslim women were shaped by their misunderstandings as well as by their differing engagements with these women during the Mandate. Palestinian Arab women were in fact increasingly active beyond the domestic sphere during this period, and British women seem to have subscribed to the 'myth' of equality in the *Yishuv*. The nature of British women's engagement with local women also underpinned and strengthened their perceptions. Their primary mode of engagement with Jewish women was through Jewish women's associations and organised tours of Jewish charitable institutions, all mediated by Jewish women. This took place against a backdrop of social interaction between these individuals, for example at the Ladies' Club in Jerusalem. These perceptions and this engagement invoke the notion of an intimacy of respect or peers between British and Jewish women. British women were much more intimately involved – on their own terms – with the Palestinian Arab community at this time. As seen in this chapter and throughout this thesis, British women missionaries, teachers and welfare workers entered Palestinian Arab homes and attempted to alter the private and personal practices of Palestinian Arab life. Rather than an intimacy of respect, the power dynamics framing these encounters renders this an intimacy of condescension, or sometimes maternalism. These findings are significant in this thesis' endeavour to

[1128] Ibid, p. 5.

develop Stockdale's scholarship on English women in Palestine between 1800 and 1948. This chapter has substantiated Stockdale's observation that English feminist visitors to Palestine placed Jewish women further up their social scales of modernity and located this phenomenon as part of British women's multiple intimate colonialisms.

Conclusion

As the first extensive study of the British women who visited or resided in Palestine during the British Mandate, this thesis has established the concept of their multiple intimate colonialisms. This is the idea that in this settler colonial context, where the ethnicity of the colonisers and the settlers differed, British women's intimate colonialisms became multiple. The correspondence, reports and publications of female British missionaries, welfare workers, teachers, nurses, doctors, journalists, women's rights campaigners and colonial wives show that the nature of these intimate colonialisms differed according to the community at which they were directed: there was an intrusive intimacy of condescension towards the Palestinian Arab community and a distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish community. By inserting British women in Mandate Palestine into existing imperial literatures on intimate colonialisms, this thesis builds on Ann Laura Stoler's scholarship and provides an important and original framework for grappling with the nature of intimate colonialism.

British women's multiple intimate colonialisms in Palestine were comprised of their perceptions of, and engagement with, Jews and Palestinian Arabs in various spheres of the intimate. British women conceptualised the population of Palestine throughout the Mandate according to hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity, with the Jewish community generally situated higher up these social scales than the Palestinian Arab community. British missionaries, doctors, nurses, colonial wives and teachers condemned Palestinian Arab mothers for what they perceived as backward and ignorant infant and child-rearing methods, including a failure to discipline their children adequately. Many British teachers believed that this rendered Palestinian Arab children unlikely to succeed in the school environment, and this led to a preoccupation with the training of character of their Palestinian Arab pupils. The Jewish community in Palestine, on the other hand, was located further up British women's hierarchies of child-rearing and domesticity. Colonial wives and British missionaries lauded the extensiveness and modernity of infant welfare provision among the Jewish community and praised Jewish children for their intelligence and suitability to the missionary school environment.

British women's hierarchies also included the agency and modernity of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women. In their writing, British women's rights campaigners, colonial wives, missionaries, teachers and welfare workers situated Palestinian Muslim women within the context of marriage and the home, whereas Jewish women were seen as agential, modern women who were engaged in activities beyond domestic spaces. Furthermore, Jewish but not Palestinian Arab female criminals were presented as bold and determined individuals in the discourse of British women.

These hierarchies underpinned the contrasting nature of British women's engagement with the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab and Jewish life: British missionaries, nurses, teachers and welfare workers were far more closely involved with the Palestinian Arab than the Jewish community throughout this period. It was Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, homes that missionaries and nurses entered in their attempts to instil regular habits in mothers regarding the feeding and bathing of their infants as well as notions of cleanliness. And it was Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, women and girls who were subjected to reform through domestic duties at Palestine's women's prison in Bethlehem. British welfare workers also combatted VD among the Palestinian Arab but not the Jewish community, and undertook personal case work among Palestinian Arab, not Jewish, women and girls. Be they missionaries, nurses, doctors, teachers, colonial wives or welfare workers, British women typically engaged with Palestinian Arabs from a position of condescension, underpinned by their hierarchies of child-rearing, domesticity, agency and modernity.

The nature of British women's intimate colonialisms towards the Jewish population was very different. There was a distinct lack of involvement in the private and personal aspects of Jewish life, reflected in the striking silence in British women's discourse on these issues. The correspondence, reports and publications of British missionaries, teachers, and colonial wives evidence little engagement with Jewish infants, children and their mothers: perceptions of Jewish maternity and infant welfare were based on Jewish provision in this sphere, rather than practice. Encounters between British teachers and Jewish children were exceedingly rare, and there was a noticeable absence of discussion about Jewish home life, including the status of Jewish women and girls. The main mode of British women's engagement with Jewish women during the Mandate was in a social capacity as colonial wives and visiting women's rights campaigners, who interacted with Jewish women at meetings of

Jewish women's associations and during tours of Jewish charitable organisations. This was a more distant intimacy of respect or peers, which further explains the silences in British women's discourse – it may have felt unseemly to comment on the intimate aspects of Jewish life in the context of this relationship.

British women's intimate colonialisms were not untroubled, however: they involved discrepancies and limitations. Some of the most religious British women in Palestine, usually Christian missionaries, employed the Bible to buttress their hierarchical interpretations of the local population. And some British women found their social scales nuanced by contact and experience with the population of Palestine. The perceived sexual immorality of Palestinian Arab and Jewish women and girls who worked as prostitutes pushed these individuals beyond British women's racial hierarchies, and these social scales could also be complicated by a reluctance to criticise Palestinian Christian mothers and wives in this space of great Christian significance. These inconsistencies and limitations ultimately undermine the strength of British women's discourse.

These findings complicate and challenge the two existing histories of British women in nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth century Palestine. Inger Marie Okkenhaug has argued that JEM teachers had a clear sense of their mission to establish peaceful and multi-cultural school environments in Palestine between 1888 and 1948, and Nancy Stockdale has argued that English women 'othered' the population of Palestine between 1800 and 1948.[1129] By focusing on the British Mandate period of 1920 until 1948 specifically, and extending the scope of the inquiry to include a broader range of British women, as well as the previously unexplored spheres of prostitution, VD, criminality and punishment, this thesis builds on Okkenhaug and Stockdale's seminal scholarship. Whilst JEM teachers, to all appearances, were certainly committed to their cause, this was undermined by the discourse of difference that was at the heart of their interventions in Palestine. And whilst British women 'othered' the population of Palestine during this period, this was varied: British women situated Palestinian Arabs and Jews on social scales that underpinned the differing nature of their engagement with these communities.

[1129] Okkenhaug, *The Quality of Heroic Living*; Stockdale, *Colonial Encounters.*

A heavily androcentric narrative of the Palestine Mandate continues to dominate existing historiography, but this thesis has demonstrated that investigating British women is productive for grappling with the nature of British colonialism in the country. Foregrounding the multiplicities in this colonialism, particularly in the less discernibly political aspects of life, sheds new light on the lived realities of British colonialism for Palestinian Arabs and Jews. This gives rise to questions for future research, particularly: how were British women's multiple intimate colonialisms received, resisted and remade by Palestinian Arabs and Jews? This thesis has also contributed to better understandings of British discourse more broadly during the Mandate period. As seen throughout this thesis, whilst a study of British women uncovers their multiple intimate colonialisms, the discourse that underpinned this phenomenon sometimes overlapped with male and official discourses. This highlights British women's contributions to the narrative of Jewish modernity and superiority that perpetuates the settler colonial situation in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territories today. Furthermore, this thesis supports the recent move towards viewing Palestine as an example of settler colonialism. Specifically, it responds to Scott Lauria Morgensen's frustration that scholars of intimacy and settler colonialism have failed to address whether or not 'settler societies function at all distinctly'.[1130] Whilst Stoler has located intimacy in 'domestic arrangements, affective ties and the management of sex', this thesis has located intimacy in British women's involvement in the private and personal aspects of Palestinian Arab and Jewish lives.[1131] This makes clear that in the settler colonial context of Mandate Palestine, intimate colonialism did indeed function distinctly: it became multiple.

This necessitates the following questions: if pluralising colonial intimacies facilitates improved understandings of the role of British women and the nature of British colonialism in Mandate Palestine, can this concept be productively applied to other settler colonial contexts too? To what extent was British women's distant intimacy of respect towards the Jewish settler community in Mandate Palestine unique? And what can this tell us about the nature of, and relationship between, colonialism and settler colonialism more broadly? A prime contender for comparison is nineteenth and early-twentieth century South Africa, specifically the nature of female

[1130] Morgensen, 'Theorising Gender' 7-8.
[1131] Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge*, p. 7.

British missionaries' (perhaps multiple) colonial intimacies towards the Dutch settler and indigenous South African communities. Comparative work will determine the specificities and universalities of multiple intimate colonialisms and is a promising area for postdoctoral research. This is important, not least for the enduring impacts of multiple intimate colonialisms. In the words of Palestinian Cedar Duaybis with whom this thesis started, 'the British loved the Jewish people… but there was this condescending attitude about our culture, and our people, and our ways… it took me a long time to get rid of this and to be proud of being Palestinian'.[1132]

[1132] Interview with Cedar Duaybis, East Jerusalem, 28/5/19.

Appendix of Organisations

The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene (AMSH)

Founded in 1915 after the merging of the Ladies' National Association with the British Continental and General Federation for Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution, AMSH was the most prominent abolitionist organisation in early-mid-twentieth century Britain. Headquartered in London, AMSH campaigned for the abolition of state-regulated prostitution and the punishment of third-party profiteering from prostitution. In 1933, AMSH published a summary of a League of Nations report on traffic in women and children in the East, including Palestine. Records are located at the British Library and the Women's Library at LSE.

Arab Women's Association (AWA)

Formally established at the 1929 Palestinian Women's Congress in Jerusalem, AWA established branches across Palestine during the Mandate, quickly becoming the organisational body of the Palestinian women's movement. Headquartered in Jerusalem, AWA used telegrams and memoranda to further the Palestinian cause, whilst also supporting prisoners, detainees and their families. AWA records are currently dispersed across historic Palestine.

Arab Women's Union (AWU)

Also known as the Arab Women's League, AWU was founded in 1938 after splitting from AWA. AWU came to replace AWA as the main organisational body of the Palestinian women's movement during the Mandate. Headquartered in Jerusalem, AWU focused on education as an integral part of the Palestinian nationalist movement. No official archive exists, and much of what is known about AWU has been garnered from oral history interviews with members.

British Social Hygiene Council (BSHC)

Established in 1914 as the National Council for Combating Venereal Disease and then renamed in 1925, BSHC's focus was propaganda and education regarding venereal disease in Britain and overseas. In early 1933 BSHC sent one of its leading members, Sybil Neville-Rolfe, to report on prostitution and venereal disease in Palestine. Headquartered in London, BSHC records can be found at the Wellcome Library.

London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (CMJ)

Now the Church's Ministry among Jewish People, CMJ was founded in 1809 after breaking away from the London Missionary Society. Headquartered in London, CMJ commenced work in Palestine in the 1830s and sent several female missionaries to Palestine during the Mandate. Correspondence and more can be seen at the Bodleian Library.

Church Missionary Society (CMS)

Now the Church Mission Society, CMS was founded in 1799 and commenced its work in Palestine following the establishment of the Anglo-Prussian Episcopal See in Jerusalem in 1841. Headquartered in London, many CMS missionaries travelled to Palestine during the Mandate. CMS records can be viewed at the Church Missionary Society Archive at the Cadbury Library.

Jerusalem and the East Mission (JEM)

Now the Jerusalem and Middle East Church Association, JEM was founded by Bishop George Blyth of Jerusalem in 1888. Headquartered in London, JEM established two of the most prestigious mission schools for girls in Palestine between 1888 and 1948 and conducted medical work across the country. JEM records are at the Jerusalem and East Mission Collection at the Middle East Centre.

Jewish Women's Association for Equality of Opportunity (JWA)

Also known as the Union of Hebrew Women for Equal Rights in Eretz Israel, JWA was established in the early years of the Mandate in response to opposition to Jewish women's participation in the election of a representative Jewish body in Palestine. JWA was headquartered in Jerusalem and led by Dr Rosa Welt-Straus from its formation until 1938. In 1921, Welt-Strauss invited Millicent Fawcett to speak at a meeting of the JWA in Jerusalem.

Overseas Nursing Association (ONA)

Established in 1895 as the Colonial Nursing Association, ONA endeavoured to provide trained nurses for British colonies and other British communities abroad. Headquartered in London, ONA sent nurses to Palestine during the Mandate. ONA records can be seen at the Bodleian Library.

Palestine Women's Council (PWC)

Established in Jerusalem in 1921 in response to concern among some British women that welfare work among women and children in Palestine was impeded by the lack of coordination between the groups operating in this sphere, PWC acted as a consultative body to the British administration in Palestine until the early 1930s. Few traces of this organisation exist, except for some miscellaneous reports in the Helen Bentwich Papers at the Central Zionist Archives.

Social Service Association (SSA)

Troubled by the increased incidence of prostitution in Jerusalem during the First World War, this forerunner of the PWC was established by Janet MacInnes in 1918. Headquartered in Jerusalem and composed predominantly of colonial wives, the SSA established a Rescue Home in Jerusalem for women and girls. Few traces of this organisation remain, except for a report from the early 1920s at the National Library of Israel.

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