

New tourists, new attractions, ‘New Palestine’

Implementing a new tourist space in Mandate Palestine

Abstract

The competition between Yishuvi and Palestinian actors shaped tourism in the British Mandate of Palestine. Among European Christian tourists, the idea of visiting the ‘Holy Land’ faded into the background when, from the late 1920s, conflict narratives defined their perceptions of the Mandate. Both Arab Palestinian and Yishuvi actors aimed to profit from this shift to generate support for their state-building projects. Yet the mandate treaty put them in highly unequal positions, which translated into different strategies. The Palestinian middle classes, largely excluded from political participation, were not able to fashion a national space. Instead, the *Supreme Muslim Council* established Jerusalem as a symbol of Arab Palestine, whereas Zionist tourism development strategies merged with their territorial ambitions, thereby defining the future nation-state.

Keywords: tourism; Palestinian history – 1917-1948; colonialism; Zionism; British imperialism; politics and culture

The PALESTINE TOUR was a very wonderful and successful holiday. I feel I got value, and more than value, for every penny I spent. The whole trip was delightful. We had nearly 500 miles of motoring in Palestine and we had the services of a thoroughly competent guide and a chauffeur second to none. Your representative gave of his best in service, attention and consideration for each one of the party. I could wish for nothing better than to repeat the holiday. – Miss M.B. (Bamber Bridge)¹

In 1934, the British *Workers’ Travel Association* (WTA) began offering tours to Palestine. For the potential travellers of rather modest means targeted by the WTA, the tour to Palestine was an exceptional event. Other tours announced in the magazine of the association, *The Travel Log*, advertised excursions around Great Britain or to European destinations such as Belgium or the Black Forest.² Aware of the limited financial means of its members, the WTA stated that the “Palestine tour [...] is the sort of holiday that one plans to have once in a lifetime.” Despite the financial limitations of the intended audience, the tour proved so popular that it was quickly sold out and the WTA organised additional tours to the ones initially scheduled in 1934 – now reminding their members to book the upcoming tours as

early as possible.³ Moreover, the association extended the programme and offered new tours to “Palestine & Egypt” as well as a “study tour” that comprised excursions to Damascus and Baalbek.⁴ Compared to Cook’s tours, the prices offered by the WTA were much lower and a 25-day voyage to Palestine cost 39 guineas (c. £41) in 1934.⁵

The review of Miss M. B. in the WTA magazine indicated how travels to Palestine changed both in quantity and quality after World War I. The growth of “‘cruise’ and cheap tour traffic”, as described by the British commercial agent in Haifa, allowed more travellers to visit the region.⁶ A growing number of travel agencies and tour operators targeted a wider range of visitors, including solo female travellers like Miss M. B., an unmarried woman identifying herself as member of the working-class, thereby differing from Cook’s bourgeois customers.⁷

The practices during and around these voyages, however, resembled the bourgeois model. Although the WTA stressed that workers on holidays preferred encounters with the local population to the admiration of monuments, the photograph competition *Holidays with a camera* conducted by the WTA suggests that these tourists were ‘kodaking’ the same impressions as bourgeois tourists did. Sightseeing remained an essential part of the tour.⁸ In addition, as in Cook’s travel groups, sociability among travellers played an important role. Reunion meetings of travel groups were popular among members of bourgeois associations such as the *Automobile Club* or the *Ladies’ Alpine Club*, and they inspired the first gathering organised by the WTA for the participants of the Palestine tour. It took place in London in 1934, including speeches and discussions about the country.⁹

Yet the expansion of organised tourism around the Eastern Mediterranean marks a qualitative shift, insofar as it superseded religious pilgrimage as the dominant form of travel to Palestine. Miss B. classified her visit to Palestine as a “holiday” rather than a pilgrimage, and she did not mention any spiritual or religious intentions behind her journey, commenting instead on the comfort of the tour. Certainly, the distinction between pilgrims and travellers can hardly be drawn precisely. Individual beliefs notwithstanding, the places European travellers considered noteworthy in Palestine generally derived meaning from their significance in the Bible. Tourists mentioned places if they sounded familiar from stories of the Old Testament; they visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Garden of Gethsemane, the Tomb of the Virgin and the Sea of Galilee, as well as the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem and Nazareth. The sites attributed to the life of Jesus marked major attractions and defined the tourist routes, even if the expectations of religiously motivated travellers to Palestine were often disappointed when they were confronted with local religious customs as well as architecture they experienced as unfamiliar and strange.

Even for tourists who did not perceive themselves as Christian believers, the reference to the Old and New Testament was a major point of reference. In fact,

in the mandate administration report for the year 1939, which listed tourists and pilgrims separately, only 169 visitors out of 12,300 identified as pilgrims.¹⁰ The emergence of organised tourism for reasons other than pilgrimage was the precondition for political uses of tourism. Whereas pilgrims assumed a bond between themselves and their destination, tourists do not necessarily assume that the monuments and places they visit are culturally meaningful to themselves. Tourism thus allowed actors to establish communication with travellers who did not necessarily identify with the convictions of local communities.

This chapter argues that actors in Palestine who were involved in organising tourism attempted to reformulate the imaginings tied to the 'Holy Land'. Yet in Palestine, as compared to Egypt, Arab Palestinian actors on the one hand and Zionist actors on the other, did not only disagree on which sites and places tourists should visit, but they used tourism in different ways in their attempts to define the future state. Zionist organisations in particular made efforts to reframe Palestine as a Jewish country of European modernity and presented the country as a productive unit. Arab Palestinian actors conversely highlighted cultural continuities connecting Palestinians with the land, focusing thus on Palestinian history and directing visitors' attention to the administrative and cultural centres of Palestine. As both sides aimed to disseminate their respective interpretations among visitors, tourists served as a resource in the political dispute over the land of Palestine.

In the initial section, analyses of – mainly British – travel diaries indicate the complexity of tourism as a political asset. Although visitors were aware of contemporary disputes about Palestine and searched for new narratives to interpret it, they did not simply adopt the explanations Zionist or Arab Palestinian guides presented. The diaries reveal that intentions to use tourism as an asset in political disputes did not easily translate into practice and that tourists distinguished between tour guides' expertise on Palestinian history and their remarks and explanations of the contemporary situation, which tourists often judged as partial and not trustworthy.

The second section introduces the major actors and their interests in promoting tourism. The British mandate officials perceived tourism development as an argument in favour of the successful administration of the Mandate. Yet, torn between competing interests, British policies were often inconsistent and their support for the sector remained limited. By contrast, Zionist and Arab Palestinian actors grasped the opportunities tourism provided much more decidedly. They aimed to win over an international audience, arguing in the Zionist case in favour of a 'New Palestine', and in the Palestinian case highlighting the legitimacy of the Arab Palestinian presence. To place their message more effectively, Zionist advocates of tourism development intended to establish a separate, exclusively Jewish, tourism sector that would allow them to accompany tourists from their arrival in Palestine until their departure.

Whether and how Arab Palestinian and Zionist actors used tourism as an instrument in defining a spatio-political order will be discussed in the four case studies of the final section. The *Supreme Muslim Council*, as the major Palestinian institution fostering tourism, focused on the city of Jerusalem. They hoped that the sanctuaries of Palestine's cultural and religious capital would attract a global audience and testify to the existence of an Arab culture and civilisation deeply rooted in the land of Palestine. Moreover, they intended to draw attention to Palestinian demands by defining and controlling access to the holy places. Zionist organisations and individual Yishuvi entrepreneurs pursued a more territorial approach in advertising tourism to Palestine and they adapted their strategies to the shifting international context. The fact that Zionist entrepreneurs aimed to obtain the concession for the exploitation of the hot springs of Tiberias already in the 1920s, shows the importance Zionist actors attributed to the tourist industry. By mobilising networks and capital as well as by presenting narratives likely to impress the Council of the League of Nations, they gained the support of the British administration for their vision of an international tourist resort on the Sea of Galilee. A more radical understanding of tourism can be observed in the case of the Jezreel Valley. Exhibited as a showpiece of Zionist modernity, tourism development policies not only aimed at redefining narratives of the mandate territory, but also at the mobilisation of settlers by means of tourism. The example demonstrates how tourism contributed to the making of a territory. Finally, the case of seaside tourism at the Dead Sea reveals the growing spatial segregation that occurred in the sector of tourism. The *Kallia* resort at the Dead Sea had initially been conceived of as a symbol of fruitful Arab-Yishuvi cooperation, but the increasing role of domestic tourism led the managers to abandon this vision. As in Egypt, domestic tourism allowed for the inclusion of more popular segments of the Yishuvi society, while at the same time such excursions enhanced the productivity of Palestine's geographical peripheries and tied them to the emerging nation-state. In Palestine, however, this integration implied the adoption of Zionist visions, and the initial vision of a joint leisure society was abandoned.

With respect to terminology, I use the following terms to describe the major groups advertising tourism to Mandate Palestine: 'Yishuv', or 'Yishuvi' (adj.), refers to the Jewish immigrant community in the Mandate.¹¹ 'Zionist' describes a political ambition of a part of the Yishuv: those actors promoted the immigration of Jewish individuals in order to establish a Jewish state in the Mandate.¹² 'Palestinian', or 'Arab Palestinian' is applied to the Arabic-speaking population of Palestine, regardless of their religious beliefs. The many non-Arab members of religious communities living in Palestine, and notably in Jerusalem, often offered accommodation facilities to visitors;¹³ yet because they did not pursue active, politically motivated strategies of tourism development, they are not considered as separate groups in this chapter.

Relegating the 'Holy Land' to the past: New mediators for the present

The 1920s was a decade of transition regarding the imaginings European travellers associated with Palestine. Two major perceptions shaped the views of European Christian visitors. First, the idea of Palestine as the 'Holy Land' continued to define the approach of most tourists. Its main attractions were biblical sites familiar to travellers with a Christian upbringing. Second, British visitors in particular discussed the conflicts in Palestine that had been triggered by the Balfour Declaration and the establishment of the mandate. Particularly towards the end of the 1920s, when European newspapers covered the violent incidents of the so-called 'Wailing Wall Riots', a growing number of visitors commented on the conflict, interpreting their visit in a context of contemporary politics.¹⁴ In this section I will trace the transition from the 'Holy Land' (and 'empty land') narrative towards a narrative of contemporary conflict. This reformulation of narratives not only implied a new framing of Palestine as a contested space, but also enabled new groups of actors to provide tourists with their interpretations of the current situation.

The idea of the 'Holy Land' in the minds of European and American visitors since the nineteenth century has been studied thoroughly. In research on travel and travellers to Palestine, most analyses and contributions focused on Western perceptions of Palestine and the creation of a Palestinian Other. These works have examined Palestine as a place of pilgrimage and of a religiously defined tourism, analysing how ideas of visiting the 'Holy Land' shaped views of Palestinian lived realities. A major topic these authors identified was the assumed dichotomy between a 'traditional' Palestinian society and an imported modernity that characterised Palestine from the point of view of observers throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This dichotomy was not specific to Palestine, but it had two particular implications for tourists to the alleged 'Holy Land'.¹⁵ First, as in the case of Egypt, the attribution of progress and modernity to European agency implied a European responsibility to raise local society up to Western standards. In the Palestinian context, this responsibility was transferred to Jewish settlers conceived of as "middlemen of empire", who would develop and modernise the country to the benefit of the Arab population.¹⁶ This special position the British mandatory attributed to the Yishuv provided it with the opportunities to create, as Joel Migdal has argued, a "strong state" in a colonial context.¹⁷ For many travellers and tourists, this argument generally legitimised the Jewish settler movement.¹⁸ Second, this same discovery of an 'asynchronous country' led travellers to transform the travel experience to an inner one.

The 'Holy Land' as an inner experience

It has been argued that the transfiguration of the travel experience to an inner one was a strategy for coping with disillusion among visitors to Palestine. The existence of a contemporary Palestinian society in profound transformation dashed previous hopes of visiting a country where the inhabitants had preserved biblical ways of life. The historian Elliott Horowitz argued that such travellers interpreted the confrontation with modernity as a test of their faith. If their inner piety was strong enough, they reasoned, it would compensate for the ordinary appearance of the sights they had come to see.¹⁹ The insistence on the mental strength of the pious visitor corresponded to Simon Coleman's observation that the 'emptiness' of visual representations of the 'Holy Land' allowed the spectator to mentally populate the landscape with his imagination, inserting biblical figures, but also himself, in the landscape.²⁰

Both monumental sights and landscapes were read in biblical terms. Scientific approaches inspired by geography, archaeology, linguistics and history made the landscapes readable and justified the attribution of significance to the sites. In contrast to journeys across neighbouring countries, tourists to Palestine dedicated a significant amount of time to the contemplation of landscapes. In their diaries, they described them in great detail, making sense of the views by referring to biblical stories and events. One particularly diligent observer was Edwin W. Smith, a former Protestant missionary in South Africa, who travelled to the 'Holy Land' in late 1929. With religious commitment and scientific zeal, he sketched maps of the places he visited, attempting to identify precisely the biblical predecessors of contemporary towns and villages. References to scholarly disputes demonstrate that he meticulously verified the information he noted down. The quasi-scientific and very detailed mapping of the 'Holy Land' was a typically Protestant approach to the country, a phenomenon Kathleen Stewart-Howe termed "geopieté". The physical presence of travellers at biblical sites allegedly allowed them to access the biblical revelation and to spiritually experience the site.²¹

Even for less fervent Christians than the former missionary Edwin W. Smith, the main attractions Palestine offered were the places associated with the Old or New Testament. Helena Harrison, the sister of the urban planner Austen St. Barbe Harrison, travelled to Jerusalem to visit her brother. Although she was not a particularly pious Christian, she assumed that this lack of background knowledge would render it more difficult for her to understand the country.²² Thus, both pious and less pious tourists continued to reproduce tropes and techniques of approaching Palestine in terms of the Bible. From their points of view, Palestine remained a landscape formation impregnated with the presence of the divine, imagined as an 'empty land', untouched by the course of time and therefore promising access to the original sites of the biblical revelation.

Yet various encounters in the tourism sphere prevented the conclusion of such journeys in mere European soliloquies. The previous chapter showed that, despite dominant perceptions of an Egyptian Other, tourists were confronted with the self-conceptions of the local population. Such encounters challenged visions of a passive and primitive population, and the outcome of the negotiation process was not predefined.

Setting the agenda

Economic historian Nikolas Glover argued that in contemporary heritage tourism, the connection between certain sites or places and the respective narratives resulted from interactions between locals, tour guides and the tourists themselves. Expectations, ideas and prefabricated images of tourists merged with local interpretations of sites. He highlighted that the outcome of a process depended to a large degree on the specific context and the concrete actors involved – on their personalities as well as on the social and cultural background of the tourists and their guides.²³

While Glover's work was largely based on oral interviews with actors in tourism of the late twentieth century, reconstructing the collaborative production of narratives in the past is challenging. This section explores the collaboration between travellers and local guides based on travel diaries and travelogues. A critical reading of these sources allows us to assess the influence of predefined knowledge, tour guides and other actors in shaping the tourists' experiences. Two properties render travel diaries particularly interesting in this context. First, the personal character of such accounts reveals assumptions and expectations of travellers. Second, since tourists occasionally summarised conversations with their guides in the diaries, they are among the few documents in which tour guides come to life.

To assess whether tour guides in Palestine had an agenda when showing tourists around, the diaries have to be read against the grain. Conceiving of themselves as mediators of local culture, tour guides endeavoured to fulfil the wishes of their clients, while at the same time pursuing an agenda in selecting the sites and places that they showed to tourists.²⁴ Some guides paid particular attention to introducing travellers to local Palestinian culture and Eastern Christianity, the beliefs and traditions of which they defended against British Protestant assumptions of Oriental superstition and 'decay'. In the case of George H. Williams and his guide, contradictory ideas of what the visitor to Palestine should see provoked tensions. George H. Williams repeatedly expressed insecurity about details of biblical stories. His interest in the ancient history of the country, its pre-Christian monuments and contemporary customs, outweighed his interest in religious sites and biblical legends. We encountered Williams in Egypt as a person fascinated by the allegedly authentic

Oriental culture, and a similar interest in local history, culture and politics guided Williams during his visit to Palestine. He was among the few tourists who visited Nablus – of minor importance from a biblical perspective, yet a flourishing town in Ottoman times. However, despite Williams' preferences, his trajectory came to resemble the itinerary of pious tourists.

It seems that his tour guide, Solomon, defined the itinerary and selected mainly biblical sites as major attractions. Solomon, a Christian ("I forgot which sort, there are many churches out here"), accompanied Williams for one Egyptian pound a day during his entire journey across Palestine, Syria and Lebanon.²⁵ In Williams' opinion, Solomon's assistance had been worth spending the pound per day. Williams diligently took notes of his guide's explanations concerning churches, saints and legends (even if some myths seemed hardly credible to him; he certainly liked to point out inconsistencies). Yet, although he trusted him in many regards, Williams lost his patience at one point. Frustrated by a visit to yet another church at 'Ayn Karim, he told Solomon that he did not want to see any more churches and that, if there was nothing else to see, he had better leave Palestine. Apparently, the tourist and his guide had different assumptions as to the character of the journey. While Williams hoped to see antiquities and grasp glimpses of everyday local life, Solomon had assumed that his client would be interested in visiting the sites, places and buildings associated with Christianity. The misunderstanding demonstrates the collaborative character of the itinerary. Certainly, the tourist had expectations about what to see during his trip, but he depended a great deal on the expertise of his tour guide, who brought in local knowledge and experiences concerning the major tourist attractions.

Not only by defining itineraries, but also by their explanations, guides shaped the points of view of their clients. If tourists considered them to be knowledgeable, Palestinian tour guides could indeed make a difference, as the example of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre showed. Whereas none of the tourists disputed the relevance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, their appreciation of the site depended significantly on the efforts of their respective guide. Generally, the initial reaction to the monument was negative. Edwin W. Smith's impression was common among European visitors:

Gaudy images of virgin. Ghastly crucifixes. [...] The whole thing a horror. I could wish the earthquake might remove everything & restore things to what they were. The bare rock – a tomb – would move me: this tawdry magnificence leaves me cold & checks[?] all imagination.²⁶

The desire for simplicity and humbleness was shared by many British tourists, as was the rejection of ornaments they perceived as expressions of 'Eastern' or

Orthodox opulence.²⁷ Confronted with Smith's negative view of the Church, his guide Siraganian, a Jerusalemite of Armenian origin and the depositary of the Bible Society, retorted: "Yes, it [the bare rock, jd] might appeal to you, but others are not like you & have been trained otherwise. They could not grasp the significance of it all if confronted with a bare rock – must have images & perfumes & candles, etc. etc."²⁸ Not accepting Smith's claim to an absolute standard of aesthetics in arts and architecture, Siraganian reminded him of the numerous congregations sharing the church. From his perspective, Jerusalem was the centre of a world religion, and Christianity not limited to its European (or Protestant) varieties. To Smith's claims of universal-yet-hierarchical standards, Siraganian reacted by proclaiming the equality of different forms of worship. Although Siraganian did not convince Smith entirely, the fact that he noted down Siraganian's reply indicates that there was room for reflection, consideration and dialogue between the tour guide and the traveller.²⁹ Moreover, the intervention shows that the guide perceived himself as a mediator vis-à-vis his foreign guest – a mediator who intended to enhance the visitor's understanding of local culture.

Not only Siraganian, but also other Arab Palestinian tour guides introduced sights to their clients in a way that induced respect and sometimes even managed to change the perspectives of tourists. Demetrius, who guided Helena Harrison around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was responsible for the very positive experience she reported. Despite certain aesthetic reservations, she enjoyed the atmosphere and visited it several times during her stay in Palestine in 1925.³⁰ While the guides had different backgrounds, encountered their clients in different contexts, and pursued different approaches in sharing their views of Palestine, their narratives generally emphasised the multireligious coexistence in Palestine. They attempted to make the Protestant British travellers encounter the sanctuaries with respect, openness and understanding.

Tourists did not unconditionally trust the explanations of their guides, however. Whereas most tourists appreciated the knowledge of the guides as far as monuments and local customs were concerned, they tended to have doubts about their expertise regarding the current political situation. This is significant as the interest of tourists in the emerging conflict increasingly overshadowed the biblical approach to Palestine. After the Wailing Wall Riots in 1929, all visitors of my sample commented upon the conflict in their travelogues. George H. Williams, who had a pronounced interest in politics, reported on tensions between Arab Palestinians and Jewish immigrants already in the mid-1920s.³¹

Yet even if he apparently discussed politics with his tour guide, he did not award this information the same value as his knowledge of local monuments and history.³² When Solomon narrated his personal story to George H. Williams, the latter was annoyed that the guide bothered him with such details. The only element Williams

retained was the alleged interreligious strife reigning in Palestine. According to his summary, Solomon had been a government official in Nablus, but had lost his job because of a quarrel with “the Moslems, who are very fanatical there”. Since “changing sides” was not an option, “he hates Jews like poison, so he is now a guide.”³³ While we do not know exactly what Solomon told his client, the latter’s complaint that the guide pestered him all morning indicates that he discussed the contemporary situation in greater detail than is documented in Williams’ summary.

Rather than debating with their tour guides, tourists sought other experts to inform them about contemporary Palestine. Trustworthy interlocutors, from the point of view of travellers, were characterised by an academic background or a governmental position, belonging to an allegedly ‘neutral’ group such as Protestant Christians or British nationals. Williams, for example, dedicated more space to dialogues with interlocutors holding administrative positions.³⁴ Edwin W. Smith, by contrast, though travelling during a time of political tensions, did not discuss politics with Siraganian.³⁵ Instead, he turned to interlocutors such as the Protestant Reverend Mansur from Nazareth, whose views on the Palestinian national movement Smith quoted in detail.³⁶ Thus, if the emerging conflict provided the occasion for new interpretations of Palestine, Palestinian guides did not necessarily profit from the occasion, given that travellers attributed much higher credentials to ‘experts’ or European expatriates.

Arab guides and the staff of transport services or hotels were therefore in close contact with European tourists, but the credibility attributed to these mediators varied among travellers and depended to a great extent on the context. Consequently, the assumption that “under the Ottomans [the Arabs had] acquired a virtual monopoly over the country’s [...] tourist industry”³⁷ does not tell us much about the ability of Arab guides to turn access to tourists into actual political influence. Being in close contact with tourists did not necessarily qualify them from the latter’s perspective as reliable interlocutors. In general, tourists preferred higher-standing representatives of local society and, if available, fellow European interpreters of the contemporary political situation in Palestine, such as expatriate residents or employees in service to the mandate government. To these actors, observers attributed the highest credibility and often recorded their points of view in their diaries. While they observed the situation on the ground, the travellers’ most important interpreters remained other Europeans.

The conflicts in Palestine resulting from the British presence and the Jewish immigration contributed to a growing interest of visitors in the contemporary political situation, gradually superseding the approach to Palestine as an inner experience. While such a shift opened an opportunity for local guides to assume the role of cultural mediators, aiming to create understanding in regional culture, we have seen the limits of such a collaborative production of narratives in an imperial

context. Given that numerous European experts on Palestine were available on the ground, tourists attributed limited credibility to Arab Palestinian guides in comparison. This concerned the contemporary political situation particularly, in which such guides were considered partial. The Arab Palestinian tour guides thus were at best able to coproduce narratives of the past, but not of the Palestinian present.

The 'conquest of tourism': Reaching out to tourists

The shift from religious pilgrims to sightseeing tourists after World War I allowed both Zionist and Arab Palestinian actors to compete for the attention of international tourists. In contrast to Palestinian tour guides individually addressing visitors, Zionist representatives aimed at establishing a monopoly on information. The Jewish Agency, the quasi-Government of the Yishuv, founded associations and institutions and used a broad range of media to present their visions of a modern, industrial and Jewish 'New Palestine'³⁸. The officials of the British Mandate Government, presenting themselves as neutral administrators, did not present a narrative regarding the future of Palestine, but they put forward tourism development as an argument in favour of the British mandate administration. In Palestine only the Yishuv, and in particular Zionist organisations, pursued a comprehensive policy of tourism development, which went beyond shaping narratives, rather aiming to shape itineraries and create a national space. As a parallel to the Zionist strategies of the 1930s, "the conquest of labor" and "the conquest of the soil", we may term this comprehensive strategy "the conquest of tourism", another step on the way to a sovereign Jewish state.³⁹

Tourist movements to Mandate Palestine

The overall development of tourism to Palestine during the 1920s and 1930s was a success story. Travel and tourism emerged as an important economic branch and, despite several setbacks due to economic crises and the emerging Palestinian-Zionist conflict, the number of leisure tourists reached unprecedented heights in the late 1920s and then again in the mid-1930s. However, the absolute numbers of tourists given in research seem to be highly exaggerated. The geographers Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, for example, who based their estimates on local newspaper reports, assumed that more than 50,000 travellers visited Palestine in 1925. Michael Berkowitz, referring to Jewish newspapers from Europe and the US, stated that 70,000 visitors from Western countries visited Palestine in 1924.⁴⁰ The British administration reports, by contrast, mentioned only 11,000 tourists in 1925. Jewish newspapers had a vested interest in publishing higher figures, as high

numbers of visitors directed international attention to the Zionist project, while the British administration preferred keeping numbers of immigrants low in order to avoid criticism from Arab actors. The significant discrepancy in numbers, however, might be due to the categories the British immigration authorities applied. The category “travellers” comprised all incoming visitors who did not intend to stay longer than three months in Palestine, and these numbers were probably quoted by the newspapers. In contrast, the term “tourists” in the administration reports referred to visitors on sightseeing tours. This number seems to have been an estimate, roughly based on the number of cruise ships and “tourist trains”, as well as organised tours and pilgrimages. In the following overview, I will refer to the number of sightseeing tourists. The general trends I outline, however, concerned both categories.

Tourism resumed quickly after the end of the war. Already in 1923, the amount of 7,000 registered tourists surpassed the number of visitors during the record year of the pre-war days (6,800 tourists during the season 1913/14).⁴¹ In addition, the example of the WTA indicated that tourism during the summer months became increasingly popular, adding a second tourist season to the peak season in winter.⁴² Ever-larger numbers arrived in organised parties on cruise ships and special trains – although it does not emerge from the documents whether the special trains carried tourists whose destination was Palestine or rather transit travellers to Lebanon.⁴³ While the economic depression in autumn 1925 led to a minor setback,⁴⁴ the major downturn occurred in 1929–1931 as a consequence of the Wailing Wall Riots in August 1929 and the international economic crisis. A large number of tourists from the United States and Europe cancelled their bookings due to the financial crisis.⁴⁵ The number plunged from 16,500 tourists in 1928 to a mere 9,000 in 1931.⁴⁶

Shortly before the Depression, the expansion of tourism had led to a boom in two segments of the hotel business. Hoteliers and investors involved in the Egyptian hotel business perceived a potential for the expansion of luxury tourism to neighbouring Palestine, while Jewish immigrants to Palestine established small hotels and pensions all over the country, catering for travellers of more modest means. The main Arab Palestinian venture during the time of the hotel boom was the prestigious *Palace Hotel*, which will be discussed in the section on Jerusalem.

As in Egypt, the growth in tourism in the 1920s led to the construction of new, grandiose hotels, which opened around 1930 in the midst of the recession. In Palestine, the most prominent example of this trend was the *King David Hotel* in Jerusalem. It was founded by the Mosseri family, a Jewish family originating from Cairo and Alexandria, who owned a bank with shares in the *Egyptian Hotels Ltd*. In 1921, the family established the *Palestine Hotels Company* with the intention to construct the *King David Hotel*, Palestine’s first prestigious grand hotel in Jerusalem. The shares were sold to Egyptian businessmen as well as wealthy Jewish companies and individuals from around the world.⁴⁷

Designed in the late 1920s, the architecture of the *King David Hotel* expressed the ambition to compete with the global grand hotels of the turn of the century. It was designed by the Swiss architect Emil Vogt in collaboration with Benjamin Chaikin, who had studied architecture in London and emigrated to Palestine in 1920. Gustave Hufschmid, a member of the Swiss Werkbund, was responsible for the interior design, for which he combined historicising pseudo-Assyrian, -Hittite and -Phoenician elements with ornaments inspired by Arab-Islamic styles. Since the opulent, historicising interior designs corresponded to the interiors of other luxurious grand hotels, rather than to the Werkbund's visions of clarity and purity, Daniella Ohad Smith concluded that the *King David* addressed a mostly European upper-class clientele, demonstrating the Jewish ability to erect and run a state in accordance with Western standards.⁴⁸

Despite its untimely opening during the economic crisis, the *King David Hotel* was sufficiently resourced to overcome the difficulties, and on 19 January 1931, the hotel was inaugurated with great pomp.⁴⁹ As in the Egyptian grand hotels, a Swiss management enjoyed a reputation for quality and discretion, while local employees and waiters dressed in *galabiyyas* and red fezzes seemingly added a local touch.

Alongside the luxurious grand hotel catering to the needs of upper-class tourists and the local British expatriate society, a number of mid-sized and smaller hotels were established in Jerusalem, often situated outside the walls of the Old City. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, who extensively studied these businesses, argued that religious segregation occurred in this segment. The guests of Jewish establishments came from different religious and social backgrounds, ranging from teachers, physicians and lawyers to students and military personnel, merchants and farmers. Arab hotels were generally smaller than comparable Jewish establishments and mostly accommodated Muslim merchants from Jerusalem and its environs, or neighbouring regions and countries. The Greek Orthodox Church offered two guest houses of a higher standard to its middle-class guests.⁵⁰ For other Christian visitors, various religious congregations provided places to stay. Hospices such as the Austrian Hospice in Jerusalem and the one of the Lazarist fathers at the Sea of Galilee not only provided them with lodgings, but also facilitated the exchange of knowledge and advice. The lowest and cheapest category of accommodation was boarding houses, mostly located in the Jewish garden suburbs, which rented out several rooms and typically accommodated guests from the local Jewish population for long stays, whether for vacation or business purposes.⁵¹ This business greatly expanded as a result of the increasing number of Jewish immigrants, for whom the smaller pensions were often the first places to stay.⁵²

The expansion of the Jewish accommodation sector can be traced in the census of industries, the first of which was conducted in the spring of 1928 at the initiative of Elie Eliachar, an officer at the Department of Customs, Excise and Trade. In total,

the number of hotels had more than quadrupled in comparison with the pre-war period. Most of the establishments were small family businesses; more than 80% of the hotels were run without any or by a maximum of three wage-earners.⁵³ The report showed the spatial expansion of the accommodation business. Since the end of the war, the number of hotels had significantly increased across Palestine. Small pensions covered Palestine exhaustively and offered accommodation possibilities beyond the urban centres, suggesting that they not only catered for visitors on packaged tours, but also immigrants, to whom they offered a temporary place to stay. Thereby, they reflected the Zionist ambition of creating a Yishuvi presence across the territory of Mandate Palestine. Regarding Arab pensions and hotels, the report does not provide reliable information, because Palestinian entrepreneurs boycotted the survey – they feared the data would serve a more systematic levying of taxes.⁵⁴

From 1932 onwards, numbers of tourists to Palestine rose steadily until 1935. Cohen-Hattab and Shoal suggested that the Maccabiah sports games and the Levant Fair, both of which took place in 1932, contributed to the relaunch of tourism after the economic depression.⁵⁵ More generally, the increase in tourists went hand in hand with a general growth in the Yishuvi sector of the Palestinian economy, a prosperity mainly due to the constant influx of capital related to the Jewish immigration. At the same time, better shipping connections, the opening of new grand hotels, and a well-organised and well-advertised tourist industry added to the attraction of Mandate Palestine as a tourist destination, with numbers of tourists reaching a peak in 1935.⁵⁶ Moreover, advertisements in newspapers and magazines indicate that domestic tourism increased during the 1930s as well. As in Egypt, these leisure tourists were attracted by the beaches, although some local operators also offered tours to the plantations of the Jezreel Valley (cf. p. 169).

The outbreak of the Great Palestinian Revolt in 1936 interrupted this renewed expansion of tourism. Compared to 1935, the number of incoming travellers decreased by about 50 per cent. In 1938/39, when violence flared up vigorously, the tourist sector experienced the sharpest decline in the number of visitors during the mandate period.⁵⁷ In contrast, the ensuing World War marked a period of great prosperity for the tourism sector in Palestine: in 1945, the authorities recorded approximately 150,000 travellers – mostly allied soldiers sent to Palestine for recovery, who were classified as “temporary visitors”.⁵⁸

Tourism development as a dilemma: The British administration in Palestine

Although the mandate period marked a significant phase in tourism development in Palestine, the British role in this development was ambivalent. While the British mandate administration initially provided organised tourist parties with easy access to visas, and the improvement of infrastructural connections facilitated

tourism as a side-effect, concerns about the business grew among the British authorities over time.⁵⁹ Their position on tourism development revolved around three major issues: first, tourism development was considered a contribution to the fulfilment of the mandate obligations; second, officials were reluctant to spend money on the development of the British overseas possessions; third, the political aims of strengthening the tourism sector and controlling immigration to Palestine were increasingly difficult to reconcile.

The case of tourism development thus mirrored the general flaws of the Palestine Mandate. In July 1922, the Council of the League of Nations had confirmed the treaty on the British mandate for Palestine, which was brought into effect in September 1923. Based on the assumption that the Arab provinces of the former Ottoman Empire were "inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world", the British mandatory should establish a national home for Jews in Palestine, while assisting the Palestinian population in administering the territory "until such time as they are able to stand alone".⁶⁰ The treaty stipulated that the British mandatory had to safeguard the political, administrative and economic interests of the Jewish immigrant community, while guaranteeing the civil and religious rights of the Arab Palestinian inhabitants.⁶¹ The treaty on the Palestine Mandate thus created highly unequal conditions, favouring the realisation of Yishuvi interests over political aims of the Arab Palestinian population.⁶² In addition to the tensions between Jewish immigrants and the Arab Palestinian society resulting from this so-called dual obligation in the mandate treaty, Susan Pedersen demonstrated that the mechanisms of control and oversight established in the mandate system also put the British mandatory in a difficult position. She argued that the British intended to observe the aims of the League of Nations, while at the same time hoping to serve their own interests, which produced inconsistent, often incoherent policies in the Mandate.⁶³

The annual reports submitted to the League of Nations suggest that, from the perspective of the British mandate officials, tourism development provided evidence of the rightful administration of the mandate. Projects related to tourism not only strengthened the local economy, but also contributed to the civilisational development of Palestine, as exemplified by the Palestine Museum of Antiquities, a showpiece of British cultural policies in Palestine. The American oil magnate John D. Rockefeller had donated two million dollars to "build, equip, and maintain an archaeological museum for Palestine."⁶⁴ Initial plans were discussed in 1925, and the cornerstone was laid on 19 June 1930. When the museum opened its doors in 1938, the approximate monthly average of visitors numbered at 600, reaching its peak of more than 4,000 in 1943.⁶⁵

For British officials, the project was proof of their good administration of the mandate. In their reports to the League of Nations, the administrators regularly

presented the prestigious museum as a major contribution to Palestinian development. The attraction of funds from private investors and donors such as Rockefeller indicated that the British rightfully administered the territory on behalf of an international community, while the emergence of cultural and scientific institutions demonstrated the fulfilment of the educational obligations of the mandate treaty.⁶⁶

The emphasis of the administration reports on British-American support for the project largely glossed over the Ottoman origins of the museum. Beatrice St. Laurent and Himmet Taşkömür demonstrated that the museum was the successor of the Jerusalem Government Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*), which opened in 1901. The collection of the Ottoman museum formed the core of the British Museum of Antiquities founded in 1921, which, in turn, was merged with the Rockefeller museum after its opening in the 1930s.⁶⁷ Thus, the actual contribution of the British administration to the exhibition of Palestinian heritage has to be nuanced. In general, their cultural policies in Palestine are perhaps better understood as the creation of a framework to be filled with contributions by other interested individuals and associations.

The preference for private sponsorship was partly due to the mandate obligation to guarantee equal access to investors, and partly due to a reluctance to invest substantial means in the development of Palestine. Regarding tourism, this accounted for the cultural as well as the economic domain. In contrast to the French mandate administration in Syria, which promised tax exemptions and hotel credits for the building or renovation of accommodation infrastructures, the British introduced only limited economic incentives to foster the expansion of tourism.⁶⁸ Although the lack of grand hotels equipped according to the latest standards was identified as a major hindrance to the further development of tourism in 1927, the British administration rather “hoped” for some modern hotels to be constructed, relying on private capital investment for this endeavour.⁶⁹

The reluctance of the British administration to commit financially to Palestinian development concerned all entrepreneurs and interest groups involved in tourism.⁷⁰ It appears however that Zionist associations managed to profit politically from the British reluctance towards expenditure. Aware of the opportunities which tourism development provided, Zionist actors were seen to offer support for cultural projects on several occasions. In this way, they were able to contribute to defining ideas of Palestine. In late 1932, British officials in Jerusalem and London decided to enhance the promotion of Palestine as a tourist destination, giving in to Zionist pressure and the interest of tour operators. The Mandate Government made it clear from the outset that the promotion of tourism must not entail substantial financial contributions on its part.⁷¹ If the Government declared that it was “prepared to cooperate with interested persons”, the latter would have to bear a major part of the expenses.⁷² These interested persons were notably Zionist representatives, who were ready to invest significant funds in advertisements.

Such collaborations were beneficial to both British and Zionist institutions. However, by leaving Zionist actors to harness these opportunities, the mandate government permitted them to shape the 'official' image of Palestine on an international stage. The promotion of tourism to Palestine at the *Anglo-Palestine Exhibition* in London, for example, was funded and conducted entirely by the *Jewish National Fund*.⁷³

The British strategy to keep expenditures low thus opened up spaces for other actors to shape explanations and narratives. The strategy of cooperation implied that most activities in organising and promoting tourism were delegated to private, or at least non-governmental, actors. As in other cases, it was Zionist actors in particular who grasped such opportunities to propagate their vision of a modern, Jewish, industrial Palestine and establish, as Migdal put it, the "statelike" authority that would allow them to take over when the British left Palestine.⁷⁴

Although measures related to tourism development strengthened the British argument in the mandate reports, the British authorities were confronted with a major dilemma: namely, the difficulty of distinguishing between tourism and other forms of migration. While the mandate administration in principle agreed upon the economic necessity of strengthening tourism, it appeared even more important to prevent uncontrolled immigration – whether of illegal Jewish immigrants or 'suspect individuals' such as alleged Bolsheviks or female artists.⁷⁵ I will return to the movements of 'suspect individuals' in more depth in chapter 4. The remainder of this section will be dedicated to the relationship between tourism policies and the immigration of Jewish settlers, a unique and particularly contested aspect in the context of tourism to Palestine.

From the perspective of the mandate institutions, visas for travellers constituted a risk, as they provided an opportunity for illegal immigration. In 1933, it transpired that an estimated 10,000 Jews had entered Palestine on tourist visas and stayed in the country. The subsequent Arab Palestinian outrage forced the mandate administration to react and to modify their policy of granting entry permits.⁷⁶ From that point on, travel visas were granted only on the condition of a return ticket,⁷⁷ and a deposit of 60 Palestinian Pounds (£P) had to be paid by all visitors entering on travel visas except those travelling first class. The deposit was refundable only in the event that visitors left Palestine before the expiry of their visa.⁷⁸ Mobility became a privilege for wealthier tourists, and the mandate administration faced severe criticism in this regard, from Zionist representatives, but also from tour operators.⁷⁹

Shortly after the introduction of the new principle, British Legation officers in different countries addressed complaints to the Colonial Office in London. They had received countless requests that the travellers' fees be waived, ranging from individual demands to letters from tour agents such as *Thomas Cook*, who feared that the entire business model of the cruise would suffer if "tourist

class” travellers had to deposit the sum. These fears were not unjustified. After all, the price for the WTA Cruise to Palestine stood at £40 – an amount considered a “once in a lifetime” expenditure for working and lower middle classes.⁸⁰ Angrily, the passport control officer in The Hague judged that “the Immigration Authorities in Jerusalem have lost sight of the fact that, in addition to Jews, there are a number of people who visit Palestine every year for business and religious reasons, who are obviously bona-fide tourists.”⁸¹ Moreover, he feared negative consequences for British international relations: shortly before, he argued, the Dutch Parliament had debated the case of four Catholic priests – from his point of view, evidently “bona-fide tourists” – who had been denied a visit to the ‘Holy Land’. He warned that such incidents would create severe tensions between Great Britain and other countries.⁸² As a reaction to these interventions, the British authorities introduced exemptions issued at the request of tour operators, eligible for which were “bona-fide first and second class passengers holding round-tour tickets on vessels visiting Palestine in the course of voyages solely intended to be pleasure cruises.”⁸³ The exemption seems to have had the intended effect: of the approximately 100,000 travellers entering Palestine in 1936, only about half made the deposits.⁸⁴

The British understanding of their role in Palestine as a broker of diverging interests thus impacted their tourism development policies. They opened the Mandate to investors and voluntarily supported initiatives of private individuals and associations promising to foster the cultural and economic development of Palestine. Moreover, the mandate officials took international diplomatic considerations into account and were concerned about their reputation as a mandate power. More often than not, the outcome was an incoherent policy with regard to tourism and a large degree of autonomy for private actors, to the effect that the interests of Arab Palestinian actors became one aspect among many others that had to be balanced, and a subordinate one at that.

Circulating Zionist visions of ‘New Palestine’

It is quite obvious that the tourists’ visit is the living link between Palestine and the great civilized world. This contact affords the best means for us to capture the sympathy of all countries for our National Homeland, and to prove them that we are capable of building our great future. [...]

It must be confessed, however, that the Jewish influence on the thousands of tourists in general and on the Jewish travellers in particular is still very small. We should create a special Jewish tourist organization which should bring over tourists and in the course of time and with patience they will acquire a thorough knowledge of the country and will interest themselves in its future.⁸⁵

These conclusions were drawn in 1926 by the Jewish journalist and immigrant to Palestine M. Robinson in an article for *The Sentinel*, a pro-Zionist newspaper from Chicago. The urgency he expressed is surprising, since by the time the article was published the *Zionist Organization for Palestine* had already established a travel agency and an information bureau, and it lobbied among the mandate administration for the consideration of Yishuvi interests in tourism. The insistence of the article reveals the importance Zionist actors attributed to the tourism sector not only for economic, but also for political reasons.

The British implementation of the mandate treaty assigned a particularly powerful position to Zionist functionaries. During the 1920s, the *Zionist Organization* assumed the functions of the so-called Jewish Agency proclaimed in the mandate treaty, which represented the interests of the Jewish community in Palestine. The strong position held by the *Zionist Organization*, seated in London, in decisions concerning Palestine was contested within the Yishuv, since only one part of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine identified with the Zionist project. In 1929 the delegates to the Zionist Congress established a restructured Jewish Agency (also termed the *Jewish Agency for Palestine*). This Jewish Agency was based in Jerusalem, included both Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish members, and was acknowledged in 1930 by the British mandate power as the representation of the Jewish population in the Mandate. Its responsibilities increased considerably, to the extent that it became a quasi-Government parallel to the British Mandate Government.⁸⁶

As Robinson's reflections reveal, for Zionist actors, addressing tourists was a chance to disseminate information that would raise international support for the Zionist project. The messages reached out to an international audience: the "great civilized world" would testify to the legitimacy of the projected National Homeland in Palestine and contribute to the realisation of Zionist ambitions.⁸⁷ Such reflections on the potential of tourism explain the attention Zionist institutions dedicated to reaching out to tourists. Zionist activities regarding tourism were not largely unstructured and sporadic as suggested by Michael Berkowitz; instead, the institutions in charge pursued a well-thought-out strategy.⁸⁸

In order to spread views of a fruitful immigration movement among visitors to Palestine, Zionist associations pursued a comprehensive approach based on a broad range of media. They published information leaflets, guidebooks and brochures, and spread messages by means of visual media, such as photographs or maps. These sources informed visitors about the progress of Palestine which the authors attributed to the immigration of European Jews. The core elements of the strategy, however, to which the following parts of the section will be dedicated, were Jewish tour guides as important multipliers as well as the attempt to create a network of exclusively Jewish travel services. The idea was to accompany the tourist as closely as possible during his journey.

Already in 1922, Zionist actors identified the Arab Palestinian dominance in the business of guiding tourists as a major concern. The Arab Palestinian, mostly Christian, background of the tour guides collaborating with European tour operators was an Ottoman legacy. Often, the guides and translators had been recruited in the previous decades as *dragomans* by European travel agencies who continued to work with these approved and reliable guides well into the mandate period. This position seemed to provide Palestinian guides with a monopoly of information which Zionist bodies attempted to break, as Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval demonstrated. From a Zionist point of view, the long-established relations with foreign tour operators threatened employment opportunities for Jewish guides. More importantly, however, Zionist associations accused the Arab Palestinian guides of disseminating disadvantageous messages among tourists and presenting a partial selection of attractions: they presented local historical and religious sites while omitting modern Jewish settlements, critically commented on Zionist immigration, and boycotted Jewish shops and hotels.⁸⁹

In order to break this monopoly, Zionist institutions launched an offensive aiming at the qualification of Jewish tour guides and at the professionalisation of the business. From 1922 onwards, the Zionist Trade and Industry Department offered professional courses for Jewish tour guides, thereby institutionalising the training of guides. In the same year, the *Association of Jewish Tour Guides in Eretz Yisrael* was established, a professional union and interest group which promoted Zionist content in tour programmes and lobbied for the employment of Zionist tour guides.⁹⁰ In the mid-1920s, press articles complained about the quality of Arab Palestinian tour guides. Publishers and journalists slandered Arab guides and reinforced contemptuous stereotypes circulating among European visitors. Comments ranged from familiar stereotypes about the alleged lack of reliability and competence of ‘Orientals’ to outright racism as in the article of Robinson, who referred to Arab Palestinians as “half-savage guides”.⁹¹ It is not evident whether the articles were part of an orchestrated negative campaign, but they coincided with further lobbying of the *Zionist Organization* among tour operators and the British Mandate Government. The *Zionist Organization* established contact with the major tour operators, demanding Jewish guides for Jewish visitors, insisting on ‘Jewish sights’ in tour programmes and even requesting that the manager of *Cook’s* Jerusalem office be replaced, for he allegedly favoured Arab Palestinian guides.⁹²

In early 1927, the British authorities agreed to the regularisation of the profession, which was finally enacted in July. Like the Egyptian model, the *Palestinian Tour Guide Ordinance* of 1927 established fixed rates for guided tours and aimed to guarantee the quality and decent behaviour of guides. While the High Commission officially stated that the regulation reacted to complaints of tourists regarding “importunate persons” or “excessive fees”, Cohen-Hattab and Shoval assumed that

the mandate government rather hoped to defuse further tensions between Arab and Jewish guides by defining the required qualifications of guides. From then on, tour guides had to obtain an official permit from the government, which required a certificate from the Department of Antiquities.⁹³

The regularisation, however, did not end the Arab-Jewish competition. Local Jewish observers continued to complain about an ongoing preference for Arab tour guides. After the 'Wailing Wall Riots' in 1929, Zionist actors headed by the reformed Jewish Agency, pursued their attempts to offer tours conducted and organised by Jews with even greater energy.⁹⁴ Arab Palestinian religious authorities, by contrast, reacted to the growing tensions by banning Jewish guides from entering monuments such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or the Haram al-Sharif (the Muslim sanctuaries on the Temple Mount, including Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock).⁹⁵ Since European tour agents would not hire Jewish guides if they could not access these major attractions, the *Zionist Organization* reinforced their lobbying activities among national and international tour operators. Their efforts proved successful: the director of the British office of *Thomas Cook & Son* promised to include Jewish sites and settlements in the programme.⁹⁶ The fact that conflicts over the employment of tour guides were particularly harsh during the period of the riots indicated that demands for a regularisation of the business were motivated by political considerations, rather than by concerns about quality.

After the riots of 1929, Yishuvi institutions concerned with tourism development expanded their activities, placing special emphasis on the aim to offer not only Jewish tour guides, but exclusively Jewish travel services to visitors. Cohen-Hattab and Katz showed that around this time the number of tourist businesses run by Jews increased significantly. Most entrepreneurs were immigrants from Europe or the US, who had moved to Palestine around 1930. Tourism thereby reflected the growing segregation of the Yishuvi and the Arab Palestinian economic sectors after 1929.⁹⁷

A major step towards offering exclusively Jewish tour services was the expansion of the *Palestine and Egypt Lloyd Ltd.* It had already been founded in the early 1920s under the name *Palestine Express Travel Agency* by the Jewish Agency and the *Jewish National Fund* under the aegis of the *Zionist Anglo-Palestine Bank* (later the bank *Leumi LeIsrael*).⁹⁸ Its first guidebook (in German and in Hebrew) appeared in 1921. Under its new name (since 1928), the company expanded across the region, successively opening branches in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said, Qantara and Beirut (in 1931). Its tours, pursuing an exclusive Zionist agenda, showcased the modern Yishuvi Palestine and guided tourists to sights such as the new agricultural settlements.⁹⁹ After the dramatic decline of tourism as a consequence of the revolt in 1936, its Zionist inclinations allowed the company to adapt its business model. It transported immigrants to Palestine and organised meetings of the *Zionist Organization*.¹⁰⁰

The successful lobbying among tour operators and the establishment of a separate tourism sector allowed the *Zionist Organization* to communicate coherent messages advertising a new spatial order for Palestine. At the core of these efforts was the *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists* (ZIB), established by the Jewish Agency, *Keren Hayesod*, as well as the *Jewish National Fund* (JNF, *Keren Kayemet Le-Yisrael*) in the early 1920s.¹⁰¹ The ZIB offered guided tours around “the various aspects of Jewish constructive work” free of charge, but also handed out brochures and guidebooks to individual travellers.¹⁰²

In a report on their achievements submitted to the Council of the Jewish Agency in the summer of 1929, the authors reported that the activities of the *Zionist Information Bureau* were growing not only in volume, but also in importance. It targeted European tourists as well as Jewish visitors from Germany and the US, “among them numerous active Zionists”. Despite a rather low budget, the ZIB pursued a carefully thought-out strategy by actively approaching visitors. Its members distributed placards and a guidebook among hotels and travel agencies. Moreover, representatives of the ZIB received travellers entering Palestine by rail at Qantara or by ship at Haifa, trying to make contact while the visitors were still on board.¹⁰³ Thanks to the constant lobbying, the authors stated that they had observed an increased influence among tour agencies and a wider circulation of positive views about ‘New Palestine’. The constant exchange with actors from abroad, they argued, disturbed the routine work, yet the “explanations, information and advice given [...] often react[ed] upon the visitor’s Zionist work in his home country” and therefore should be maintained.¹⁰⁴ The major attraction to be advertised among visitors was the Zionist project of ‘New Palestine’.

To circulate such positive impressions about the Zionist state-building project, the actors pursued an ambitious strategy of generating publicity, particularly through literary media. Various smaller guidebooks addressed Jewish tourists and potential future settlers in the early 1920s, and in 1927 the ZIB published a more general and comprehensive guidebook on Palestine. While the title of the first edition was *Das jüdische Palästina/A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, the title of its later editions, *Guide to New Palestine*, expressed the growing ambitions of its authors.¹⁰⁵ The ZIB, directed by Dr Fritz Löwenstein, addressed its readers in German, French and English. Alongside chapters on geography, climate, archaeology and history, Löwenstein inserted sections for a specifically Jewish audience on “Post-biblical history”, “Diaspora and Palestine”, as well as “The Return (Hibbath Zion)”. These sections covered around 20 pages, whereas the much larger part of the guidebook introduced important Jewish or Zionist institutions and associations, and provided a survey of the Yishuvi towns and settlements of Palestine.¹⁰⁶ In later editions, the space dedicated to the Zionist movement, its institutions, services and the amenities of Jewish life in Palestine grew, making up approximately 50 per cent of the content

by 1934.¹⁰⁷ In contrast to European guidebooks focusing on historical information, the guidebooks edited by the ZIB highlighted the Zionist present.

The efforts of the *Zionist Organization* in Palestine and its affiliated institutions consciously targeted international tourists, hoping to gain sympathies or even mobilise support for the Zionist project, including financial support and investments from the Zionist community as well as the mobilisation of potential settlers. At the centre of this comprehensive strategy was the *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine* and its director Fritz Löwenstein. Its staff members built on a vast network ranging from photograph agencies distributing photographs and postcards, to newspapers in the US.¹⁰⁸ Beyond these media outlets across the world, the *Zionist Organization* provided tourists with guidebooks and specifically trained guides, and established exclusively Jewish infrastructures of accommodation, guidance and transportation. In this way, the institutions made sure that tourists anywhere in the mandate would be confronted with the same message of a progressive, evolving Zionist Palestine. The transnational networks of Zionist institutions brought them into contact with potential travellers. Moreover, the decision to offer qualified guides and to refer to seemingly objective media was likely to satisfy the desire of tourists for trustworthy information, expressed repeatedly in their travelogues.

The limits of symbolism: Communication and cooperation in Arab Palestine

Even though Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval rightfully stated that contemporary Zionist observers envied the decades-long cooperation of Arab Palestinian tour guides with European tour agents and their apparently advantageous position, the notes in travel diaries showed that mere access to tourists did not guarantee successful dissemination of interpretations and narratives. In general, Palestinian attempts at addressing tourists lagged behind the strategies of Zionist institutions and associations. While the latter vigorously pursued the professionalisation of the tourism business and the institutionalisation of procedures, Palestinian actors reacted slowly to such advances. Almost a decade after Zionists launched their first training programmes for guides, the branch of the Christian YMCA in Jerusalem established courses offering tour guide certification. The programme of the YMCA was likely a reaction to the tour guide ordinance, which stipulated that all tour guides had to pass an official examination of the Department of Antiquities.¹⁰⁹ Whereas Zionist associations pressed for legislation, Arab Palestinian actors thus adapted slowly to the new rules. In tourism, their strategies of spreading interpretations about Palestine were less comprehensive than those of their Zionist counterparts.

It seems likely that the less structured Palestinian approach to tourism development was at least partly due to a lack of Palestinian political representation.

While the mandate treaty had provided for representation of the Jewish immigrant community's interests, a Palestinian body comparable to the Jewish Agency did not exist. The main institution supposed to represent the Arab Palestinian population was the so-called *Supreme Muslim Council* (SMC), presided over by the notable Amin al-Husayni from Jerusalem. It had been established by the British mandate administration and administered the civil and religious affairs of the Muslim population. Its authority was thus restricted compared to the far-ranging political responsibilities of the Jewish Agency. Moreover, the division of the inhabitants of the Mandate along religious lines deprived Palestine's Arab Christian population of institutional representation.¹¹⁰

In opposing the British mandate and the Jewish immigration movement, Amin al-Husayni pursued a strategy of symbolic communication centred on Jerusalem, which came to symbolise the legitimacy of Palestinian nationalist ambitions. Similar to the *Zionist Organization*, the SMC seized the opportunity of tourism. It has been argued that the SMC promoted Jerusalem as a symbol in order to rally an international community of Muslims behind the Palestinian cause.¹¹¹ Yet tourism allowed the SMC to reach out beyond a Muslim audience too. By the early 1920s, the SMC had already turned towards non-Muslim tourists, particularly European and American Christians, and reorganised the modalities of access, as well as the visiting hours, of the Haram al-Sharif. Access to the Haram al-Sharif was facilitated for non-Muslims and the SMC published a brief guide containing background information on the monument in English, which was translated into several other languages (cf. p. 155).¹¹²

Whereas both the *Supreme Muslim Council* and Zionist institutions aimed to reach out to tourists, the measures of the SMC were less segregationist and less comprehensive. Rather than pursuing a structural approach of shaping legislation and establishing institutions, the SMC opted for symbolic communication. The case of the *Palace Hotel* in Jerusalem exemplified these differences. In 1928, prior to the erection of the *King David Hotel*, the *Supreme Muslim Council* and the Palestinian Waqf administration¹¹³ planned a grand hotel that would meet the expectations of international guests, in particular the delegates of the World Islamic Congress of 1931.¹¹⁴ After the successful restoration of the Haram al-Sharif, the Waqf administration dedicated the remainder of the donations collected for this purpose to the hotel project.¹¹⁵ The *Palace Hotel*, designed in late Ottoman modernist style by the architect Mehmet Nihad bey from Istanbul, was to be able to compete with grand hotels across the East and the West, communicating a message of Palestinian pride and sovereignty to its guests.¹¹⁶ The historian Uri Kupferschmidt pointed out that the inscription above the entrance of the hotel quoted words of the Umayyad poet al-Mutawakkil al-Laythi: "We will build like our forefathers did and act like they did; the *Supreme Muslim Council* in Palestine constructed this building, 1348/1929".¹¹⁷ The motto demonstrated that the SMC conceived of the hotel as a symbol of Arab

cultural production, reminding visitors and passers-by of the continuity linking Palestinians with centuries of Arab civilisation and urban culture.

Behind the symbolism of the façade, however, the *Palace Hotel* was neither a Muslim nor a Palestinian nationalist project. It was built by the Jewish contractor Barukh Qatinga and already in February 1929, long before its opening, the *Palace Hotel* was leased out to the Jewish hotelier and millionaire George Barsky, manager of the *Allenby Hotel* in Jerusalem, for a period of 25 years. The building costs had by far exceeded the initial estimates and left the SMC heavily indebted. The *Palace Hotel*, intended as a symbol of Arab pride, depended on Yishuvi investments and business partners for its realisation.¹¹⁸ The strictly segregationist approach of the Zionist institutions was not mirrored in the activities of the *Supreme Muslim Council*.

When the new hotel of more than 200 rooms was inaugurated on 22 December 1929, the *Palestine Bulletin* proudly reported that the hotel was “the finest in the Middle East”, equipped according to the latest standards – boasting, for example, 60 telephones. Its prospects were promising: according to the newspaper, more than 10,000 tourists had already booked rooms for the next season.¹¹⁹ Yet fortune did not smile on the SMC: shortly after the opening of the *Palace Hotel*, it had to face the effects of the economic crisis. The situation was aggravated by the fact that shortly before, the nearby *King David Hotel* had opened its doors and competed with the *Palace Hotel* for the same wealthy clientele.¹²⁰ In September 1932, the venture of the *Supreme Muslim Council* was bankrupt.¹²¹ Its ambitions in tourism never materialised.

While the grandiose plans of the SMC, as well as the architecture of the *Palace Hotel*, testified to the SMC's awareness of the importance of tourism in addressing an international audience, the general approach of Arab actors in tourism appears to have been more pragmatic than ideological, at least during the 1920s. Such a pragmatic approach was reflected in guidebook narratives, differentiating between a multireligious Arab society on the one hand and Jewish immigrants on the other, yet without expressing hostility in their description of the latter community. The consideration of Jewish immigrants as one among many other communities is revealed, for example, in the guidebook of Alexander Khoori. We have encountered him already as a guidebook author in Egypt. Khoori, originally from Palestine, had also published a guidebook on Jerusalem and Greater Syria.¹²² Whereas Khoori, of Arab nationalist and anti-British leanings, openly rejected the division of *Bilad al-Sham* under the mandate system, he did not criticise the presence of Jewish immigrants in Palestine. On the contrary, Khoori's guidebook included advertisements for Yishuvi companies and the Mayor of Tel Aviv contributed an article on the summer resorts of the town to the guidebook.¹²³

While symbols such as the façade of the *Palace Hotel* or the insistence on a united *Bilad al-Sham* in Khoori's guidebook communicated Palestinian demands

for an end to foreign rule, the Yishuvi immigrants were not described as a threat in these contexts. The collaborative stance represented by the *Supreme Muslim Council*, as well as Khoori, might have resulted from a certain dependence on Jewish investments. Regardless of the motivation, however, the cooperation between Arab Palestinian actors and Jewish entrepreneurs testified to the pragmatic, rather than ideological, approach of the former in tourism development activities.

The art of lobbying: The *Tourist Development Association of Palestine*

Among the various actors involved in tourism development, the *Tourist Development Association of Palestine* (TDA) had a special position. It gathered both Arab Palestinian and Zionist actors, and the British administration considered it an interlocutor to be taken seriously. Yet, despite this seeming impartiality, the publications of the TDA revealed pro-Zionist leanings.

The creation of the TDA in 1932 was initiated notably by the tour operator *Palestine Lloyd Ltd.* (formerly *Zionist Palestine Express Travel Agency*, cf. p. 143), and High Commissioner Herbert Samuel served as president of the association.¹²⁴ It seems to have been inspired by predecessors and models inside and outside of Palestine. Similar associations emerged across various Arab Mediterranean countries in the early twentieth century, and in Palestine several smaller groups lobbying for tourism development had been founded before the establishment of the TDA:¹²⁵ as early as 1922, the *Society for the Promotion of Travel in the Holy Land* and a local *Promotion Society* in Haifa aimed to “encourage the movement of tourists to Palestine and to advertise the country’s attractions”.¹²⁶

Similar to the Egyptian *Tourist Development Association*, the TDA gathered representatives of the large companies involved in tourism to Palestine. Among its seven directors were Chairman Dimitri Salameh, manager of *Thomas Cook* in Palestine; Vice-Chairman Theodor Fast, manager of several hotels in Jerusalem; the Zionist businessman Moss Levy who had “for many years dealt with tourists to Palestine”; Edwin Salama of the *American Express* agency; as well as A. Jamal, manager of the tour agency *Jamal Brothers* in Jerusalem.¹²⁷ In 1933, its second year of operation, the following new members joined the executive committee: the secretary of the Arab Chamber of Commerce, George Assad Khadder, as Secretary; Mr Sargent, a representative of the Palestine Railways; and Walter Turnowsky, an “expert on tourism”.¹²⁸ In addition, the editor of the *Palestine Post*, Gershon Agronsky, followed the activities of the TDA closely. Agronsky was not involved in official functions, but he was regularly present at TDA meetings, joined internal debates and supported its activities by close coverage in his newspaper.¹²⁹

Upon official registration of the *Tourist Development Association of Palestine* in 1932, its founders stated that its purpose was to make Palestine and Trans-Jordan

known abroad in order to attract a greater number of tourists and visitors. Its major model being the Egyptian *Tourist Development Association*, the Palestinian members of the TDA closely observed the activities in the neighbouring country and took inspiration from measures and policies introduced on the Nile.¹³⁰ Yet the financial means of the Palestinian TDA were much more limited. While the Egyptian TDA had a budget of around £.E. 30,000 at its disposal, funded by the Egyptian Government and interested private companies, demands for a budget for Palestinian tourism development were largely ignored by the mandate government.¹³¹ As a result, the Palestinian *Tourist Development Association* focused mainly on lobbying for legislative measures, such as the regulation of tour guide licences, and issued smaller publications, among them an information brochure of seven pages, which advertised the historical and religious sights of Palestine in English, French and German.¹³²

Despite the presence of several Palestinian Arab representatives on the executive committee of the *Tourist Development Association*, it was only a matter of years before the narratives disseminated in brochures and guidebooks shifted toward Zionist interpretations of Palestinian realities.¹³³ In 1933, Agronsky's pro-Zionist newspaper *Palestine Post* had criticised the "propaganda folder" published by the TDA in English, French and German for its allegedly narrow focus on historical and religious sites.¹³⁴ However, when the TDA published its tourist guide *Ancient and modern Palestine* in 1935, Zionist authors and narratives largely dominated both textual and visual depictions of Palestine. More than one-third (36.5%) of the illustrations in the brochure represented 'modern' Zionist Palestine, such as panoramic views of Haifa and its new port, aeroplanes, the opera and the beaches of Tel Aviv, agricultural settlements and the Hebrew University. Another third of the photographs represented sites of archaeological interest or historical monuments, while 17% showed landscape views, and eight out of a total 63 photographs presented an exotic Arab Palestine.

The written articles showed a similar preference for the presentation of a Zionist 'New Palestine'. The only Palestinian author contributing an article to the brochure was Tawfiq Canaan, a physician who had become famous for his ethnographic observations about Palestinian peasant society in the early twentieth century. His nuanced observations on Palestinian village life in times of fundamental transformations were considered as contributions to a nationalist discourse by the historian Salim Tamari and served as the basis for his contribution to the guidebook. In his article on "Mohammedan Sanctuaries", Canaan depicted local religious customs and beliefs, highlighting continuities and overlaps interlinking Islam, Christianity and Judaism in Palestine. He interpreted the relationship between "ancient and modern Palestine" as a continuous process linking the Palestinian past to its present and future. Canaan thus pleaded for a respectful

approach of the traveller towards local culture and rejected colonial and Zionist assumptions of local backwardness.¹³⁵ However, his text was an exception for the guidebook: the other articles were written by Yishuvi authors and mostly adopted Zionist narratives of an empty and backward Palestine which was revived under the aegis of the new settlers.¹³⁶

The Zionist messages in the publications of the TDA became more vigorous in late 1938, at the height of the Palestinian Revolt. In spring, the British company *Publicity Films Ltd.* produced a “travelogue film of Palestine” – in colour – on behalf of the *Citrus Fruit Advertising Committee* and the *Palestinian Tourist Development Association*. Despite the participation of the TDA in the production, the topoi characterising Palestine in the film suggested that Palestinian representatives had not been consulted during the planning of the project. Before its release, Stewart Perowne reviewed the film for the British Colonial Office. Perowne, a British historian who had worked for the mandate government in Palestine and who organised the Arabic programme of the BBC in 1938/39, strongly recommended a revision of the film, because

[i]n the preliminary portion of the film the picturesque and the progressive are contrasted in terms of Arab and Jew: the Jews are represented as active and the Arabs as decorative. From my knowledge of Palestine I believe that this would give offence to an Arab audience.¹³⁷

In detailed annotations, Perowne justified his recommendation. He criticised, for example, the assumption of the commentator that the Jezreel Valley had been “mainly swamps” before the Jewish colonisation and condemned the representation of Arabs working with “primitive” instruments while the Jewish settlers apparently laboured according to recent technological standards.¹³⁸ In addition, he pointed out that a sequence showing Jewish colonists dancing “might give the impression that it is only the Jews who have any energy. No Arab in the picture is shown doing anything so mobile”. The travelogue film addressing European tourists thus largely repeated tropes about the Zionist revival of Palestine. Technology, development and productivity were attributed exclusively to ‘New Palestine’, creating the impression of two segregated communities living in different temporal stages.¹³⁹

The producers ignored Perowne’s recommendations. As a consequence of the one-sidedness of the film, British officials rather took pains to carefully select the audience. When the Colonial Office prepared the screening of the finished product a few months later, the British Under Secretary of State preferred not to present the film to the Arab delegation, afraid that its members might feel offended by “any scenes showing Jewish settlers.” In contrast, the Jewish delegation invited to watch the film was “delighted, and commented upon its objectiveness.”¹⁴⁰ During the revolt, Zionist actors reportedly took control of the contents propagated by the

TDA. It seems that either the official activities of the association had ceased due to the revolt or that the Arab Palestinian representatives were no longer involved in its undertakings. Initially a joint project, the TDA had turned into a one-sided institution disseminating ever more vigorous propagandistic messages of an exclusively Jewish Palestine.

Although both Arab Palestinian and Zionist actors used tourism to address an international audience, the conditions and capacities for the dissemination of messages differed between them. Arab Palestinian actors and institutions largely focused on creating symbols evoking the ancient Palestinian culture and civilisation to visitors. However, given that they lacked access to capital investments and to political decision-making, their room for manoeuvre was limited. In the Yishuv, notably Zionist associations pursued a systematic approach to targeting the international audience. They insisted on favourable legislation, mobilised networks outside of Palestine, and repeatedly harnessed various forms of media. The *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists* was an important institution in this regard, as it guaranteed a coherent approach and coordinated the activities of various bodies. The *Tourist Development Association of Palestine*, by contrast, had been created as an inclusive association, yet it adopted – and was allowed to maintain – a staunchly Zionist position when the conflict turned acute in the mid-1930s.

Creating 'New Palestine': Tourism development as a territorial claim

Tourism served as an opportunity to reach out to an international audience and communicate political visions about the future of Palestine; but its proponents also used tourism to shape spatial orders experienced by foreign tourists and the local population alike. This potential of tourism will be scrutinised in four case studies, as set out below.

At the centre of Arab Palestinian efforts in shaping Palestine was Jerusalem. The numerous holy sites of the city turned it into a powerful symbol, and the *Supreme Muslim Council* used policies of regulating access in order to demonstrate Palestinian defiance against the mandate. The second case study focuses on the British-Zionist cooperation in tourism development at the Sea of Galilee. Although the idea of turning Tiberias into a bathing resort went back to Ottoman times, the British mandatory granted the concession for the exploitation of the local hot springs to a Zionist concessionary. While the story behind the transfer is not entirely known, the available documents suggest that in British mandate policies of 'developing Palestine', political considerations sometimes outweighed economic expectations and favoured Zionist visions over the regional conceptions of the former Arab concessionary. The third section on the Jezreel Valley demonstrates how notably the

Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists used tourism as a means of radically redefining Palestinian space. This redefinition went beyond mere narratives. Instead, tourism was applied as a tool to attract potential investors and future settlers, and thereby transform material realities in Palestine. The final section focuses on the establishment of a seaside resort at the Dead Sea, which complements the section on the Sea of Galilee, as it reveals a shift in the conception of bathing tourism from the 1920s to the 1930s. In contrast to ideas of a rather elitist global bathing tourism during the 1920s, its proponents targeted a more popular, domestic audience from the mid-1930s. This reorientation also modified the general approach to tourists and the tourist resort. Increasingly harsh anti-Arab overtones accompanied the project, and the leisure resort ultimately became a colonial outpost.

Symbolic struggles for Jerusalem

In the spring of 1925, the former British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Lord Balfour visited Jerusalem. Since the declaration associated with his name was highly resented by the Palestinian population, his visit bore certain risks. While Balfour seemingly wandered around the old town freely, in fact, security forces followed him at close distance, among them four police officers disguised as tourists. What they feared most was that Balfour would wish to visit the Haram al-Sharif, which had been closed and barred by the Waqf administration for the duration of Balfour's visit. As George H. Williams put it: "Had he done so, the various people (New Jews) who had come up for the various ceremonies would have tried to force an entrance and there would have been trouble."¹⁴¹

Whereas religious communities opened the doors of their sanctuaries to European Christian tourists during the mandate period, they regularly denied access to persons classified as supporters of Zionism, Lord Balfour being the most prominent example. In general, the policies of access to the Haram al-Sharif administered by the *Supreme Muslim Council* and the Waqf administration were rather liberal during the interwar period. Although travel reports of the nineteenth century frequently reported stories of travellers disguised in "local dress" in order to access the famous Dome of the Rock, this trope later disappeared from narratives as foreign travellers were easily admitted to the sanctuary.

Yet, as an expression of protest, Arab Palestinian Muslim and Christian communities occasionally reverted to denials of access. The religious communities administering the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for example, prevented Jewish tour guides from entering the church in early 1928, at the protest of Zionist commentators who feared that this would lead foreign tour agencies to give Arab guides preference over their Jewish counterparts.¹⁴² Since the measure excluded Jewish guides rather than Jewish visitors, it seems likely that the boycott was a

reaction to the tour guide ordinance, which had been declared shortly before as a result of Zionist lobbying (cf. p. 142).¹⁴³ Similarly, Jews were excluded from access to the Haram al-Sharif in 1929 as a reaction to the Wailing Wall Riots.¹⁴⁴

At first sight, the episodes seem to confirm the analysis of Kobi Cohen-Hattab and Noam Shoval, who argued that Jerusalem as a tourist destination was a highly fragmented space due to the overarching attribution of religious meaning to the city. According to them, religious ideals largely shaped the expectations of travellers who visited the city, to the degree that Jerusalem was not a single, coherent and continuous 'tourist space', but that it consisted of various religiously and nationally defined tourist spaces. According to them, while pilgrims visited the particular sites defined by their communities, tourists in the twentieth century visited "national monuments and symbols that were sharply divergent for the Jewish and Arab nationalities vying for rule of Jerusalem",¹⁴⁵

However, it appears that the Waqf's decision to close the sanctuary for Balfour, as well as the other closures of sanctuaries, was motivated by politics, rather than by religion. If access to the sanctuaries was denied to individuals or groups, these measures were temporary and limited to the most prominent sites. Since the denial of access was applied only for a limited period of time, the measures seemed to be symbolic attempts to exclude political opponents, rather than religious groups. Jerusalem was a space that was politically – as opposed to religiously – contested.

This symbolic communication was effective *because* Jerusalem was probably the least religiously fragmented place in Palestine regarding the visiting practices of travellers. Here, the narrative of Palestine as the origin of three world religions was reflected in the visiting practices of tourists. The holy sites of the Jewish, Muslim and Christian faiths were a must-see for tourists: even itineraries for visitors staying in Jerusalem for a few days considered visits to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Haram al-Sharif and the Western Wall mandatory.¹⁴⁶ Likewise, the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque not only attracted Muslim and European Christian visitors; Zionist tour programmes also included a visit.¹⁴⁷

At a time when tourists searching for aesthetic and cultural highlights outnumbered pilgrims, controlling and denying access to monuments was a powerful symbol that would attract international attention. The *Supreme Muslim Council* demonstrated its sovereignty over Jerusalem not by defining access to a Muslim sanctuary, but by defining access to Jerusalem's most prominent tourist attraction – and the visual symbol of the city. The touristic value of the Dome of the Rock for non-Muslims turned its locked doors into a powerful statement.

Above all other monuments, the Dome of the Rock was the visual symbol of Jerusalem. Regardless of the religious adherence of its visitors, the Dome figured prominently both in the photographs tourists took in Jerusalem and on the post-cards they sent.¹⁴⁸ In the album of travel photographs depicting P.S.H. Lawrence's

journey across the Orient, consisting of both his own photographs and coloured picture postcards, 9 of the 13 representations of Jerusalem showed the Haram al-Sharif (fig. 11).¹⁴⁹ In this regard, Lawrence's album was no exception. In slide shows and travel lectures, as well as in advertisements of tour operators, the Dome of the Rock was a frequently reproduced motif representing Jerusalem,¹⁵⁰ and popular panoramic photographs of the city were often taken from the Mount of Olives, which allowed for a prominent positioning of the iconic cupola of the Dome.¹⁵¹ The Dome of the Rock was an ideal symbol from an aesthetic point of view. Due to its topographical situation on the Temple Mount and its characteristic shape, it was a clearly recognisable motif to be reproduced in photographs and postcards and could be easily marketed as a tourist attraction. Thus, its prominence reflected the logic of the tourist, rather than of the pilgrim.

It appears that the strong inclination of tourism to visual representation favoured the monumental Dome of the Rock over other meaningful sites such as the Western Wall or the Christian sanctuaries. This is reflected in the comments of European Christian visitors, who admired the aesthetic value of the site over its spiritual significance. The cruise tourist Hélène Vacaresco described the colourful ornaments reflecting the prayers of the worshippers; here, Mary Steele-Maitland found the grace and simplicity that she had been missing in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.¹⁵² Helena Harrison admired the beauty of the Haram al-Sharif to the degree that she planned her second visit there straight away; and Eunice Holliday, who had moved to Jerusalem recently, was amazed by the beauty of the Dome of the Rock, even during her second visit to the site.¹⁵³

The Muslim sanctuary met the aesthetic expectations and preferences of most tourists to a greater degree than the famed Christian monuments of Jerusalem, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Indeed, it was for aesthetic reasons that most visitors to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre ended up disillusioned, as the first section of this chapter has shown. The aesthetic qualities and monumental prominence of the sanctuaries, not necessarily the religious piety of the visitors, defined the Jerusalem experience of many tourists.¹⁵⁴

While Jerusalem may have attracted most European visitors on the basis of its importance in Christian and biblical history, after their arrival the practices of visitors went far beyond religious worship. All of them included sights in their itineraries that fell outside the realms of places related to their own faith. Arab Palestinian communities shaped movements across Jerusalem and defined access to its most prominent monuments in order to demonstrate authority over the space of Palestine. In this context, they presented the Haram al-Sharif not only as a Muslim sanctuary, but as a symbol of Arab Palestine.

Such a presentation of the Haram al-Sharif was a conscious choice made by the *Supreme Muslim Council*. I suggest that the creation of this symbol and the centrality

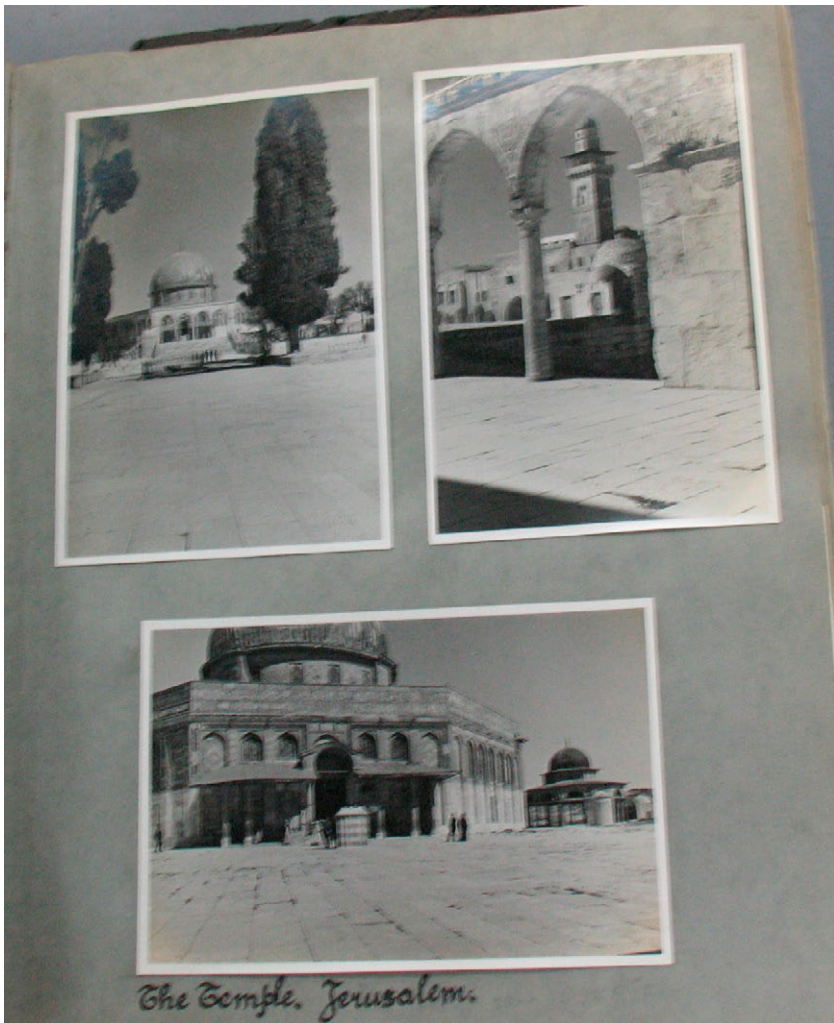


Figure 11: Memories of a visit to the Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem (Photographer: P.S.H. Lawrence. Reproduced by kind permission of the National Archives, Kew)

of Jerusalem in the policies of Amin al-Husayni and the *Supreme Muslim Council* not only targeted the international community of Muslims. Rather, the SMC equally addressed European Christians in their capacity as tourists. This attempt to reach out to tourists is manifest in the *Brief Guide* to the Haram al-Sharif, distributed to visitors as an admission ticket upon entering the site.

While the *Supreme Muslim Council* had issued the short brochure of 16 pages, available in English or Arabic, it was mainly Christian contributors who had shaped its contents.¹⁵⁵ The photographers of the American Colony provided the large black-and-white photographs illustrating the brochure, and the author of the guide (cited as “G. A.”) was most likely the Christian Arab nationalist George Antonius.¹⁵⁶

The guide presented the Haram al-Sharif as a monument of national culture rather than as a Muslim sanctuary. After providing a rough overview of the Haram al-Sharif, the author focused on the Dome of the Rock and Al-Aqsa Mosque, now and again introducing other structures and monuments on the site. He described the architectural properties of the monuments, directed the attention of visitors to elements of major interest, and highlighted the features that helped to establish the respective dates of construction. The booklet was written in the neutral, scientific style common to the major guidebooks, and Antonius clearly indicated that he was presenting scientifically validated historical knowledge, as well as information derived from archaeological findings. When he occasionally inserted information about popular beliefs and religious attributions, the information was marked as such.¹⁵⁷

The guide was a testimony to the significance of Arab art and culture, to the tradition of Arab culture in Palestine, and to the scientific and historical qualifications of its contemporary inhabitants. It was not a political polemic, as it did not contain any reference to recent disputes or the political situation in contemporary Jerusalem. Distributed to all visitors, Antonius’ guide pursued a scientific approach to the Dome, making sure that all tourists would understand and appreciate the Haram al-Sharif as a historical monument. In fact, it appears that his objective was fulfilled. Edwin W. Smith mentioned the brochure in his diary, and George H. Williams seems to have deemed the information trustworthy, since he copied information on the monuments from Antonius’ text.¹⁵⁸ At the same time, in terms of temporality the guidebook differed from the narrative strategies of Egyptian publications as it created a national past – yet without referring to the modern contemporary society as we have seen, for example, in Khoori’s illustration of the Pyramids. Antonius’ modernity, though implicit in his scientific approach to the sanctuary, was not a modernity to be exhibited and photographed.

In Jerusalem, then, both Muslim and Christian Palestinian actors used their access to monuments and visitors alike to exhibit proofs of their civilisation and claim sovereignty over the city. While this strategy shaped the space of Jerusalem at a local level, the major function of these policies was to demonstrate Palestinian sovereignty. Although the policies of granting and denying access to the sanctuaries certainly had a spatial dimension, they did not attempt to create a spatial order. Rather, they were part of the Arab Palestinian strategy of symbolic communication aimed at a large, international audience. Such radical and generally temporary measures of control should certainly not be mistaken as indicators of religious

strife or division. They articulated Palestinian defiance against the structure of the mandate in symbolic actions, thus constituting a crisis mode of expression.

The Sea of Galilee: Pilgrims into bathers?

– and so we come to Tiberias & pulled up at the Hotel Tiberias. I had been advised to stay at the Elizabetha – Haven of Rest – opened by Feingold, a Jew. I asked where it was & an [unreadable, jd] young dragoman said it was up the hill. 7 minutes by car. I told him to get a car. But evidently there was objection on the part of the drivers. It didn't need a knowledge of Arabic to divine that evidently they object to taking people to a Jewish establishment. So I gave up the idea & took a room in the Hotel Tiberias. Room No. 17 facing the Lake. Had cup of tea while bath was being heated.¹⁵⁹

When Edwin W. Smith arrived at Tiberias on the shores of the Sea of Galilee in late 1929, he was immediately exposed to the conflict between Arab Palestinians and Jewish immigrants that had erupted violently in autumn of that year. The scene he described confirmed Zionist complaints that Arab guides and drivers incited tourists to boycott Jewish establishments.¹⁶⁰ Although he was well aware of these developments, Smith did not pay attention to the economic vision for Tiberias that stood behind both ventures, and the change in concessions that separated them.

The *Hotel Tiberias* was by no means an Arab Palestinian venture. It was opened in 1896 by the Protestant Swiss-German Richard Grossmann from the nearby Templar Colony in Haifa, and was soon reputed to be the most comfortable hotel in town.¹⁶¹ For visitors to the shores of the Sea of Galilee, it offered a luxurious alternative to the more humble hospice of the German Catholic Committee of Palestine at Ain Tabgha.¹⁶² Yet in the 1920s its actual competitor was the *Elizabetha Haven of Rest*, a sanatorium. Both hotels were founded on the expectation of bathing guests: The *Hotel Tiberias* hoped for the Ottoman plans to promote the hot springs, whereas the *Elizabetha* anticipated guests at the Zionist bathing establishment.

With little to no awareness of these ambitions, biblical references remained the major attraction of the Sea of Galilee for Christian visitors like Edwin W. Smith. Travellers like him associated the lake and the surrounding towns and villages such as Capernaum (Kfar Nahum) or Majdal with the life and deeds of Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples. A tour agent specialising in tours for American visitors boasted that he “had taken a lot of them up to Tiberias”,¹⁶³ which testified to the business side of religious landscape contemplation.

In establishing contact with the land of the Christian revelation, visitors approached the lake either from a scientific or from a romantic, contemplative point of view. Edwin W. Smith chose the first approach. Equipped with archaeological knowledge and accompanied by a German pastor he had met by chance

in the *Hotel Tiberias*, he hoped to identify the ‘original’ places where the wonders attributed to Jesus of Nazareth had occurred.¹⁶⁴ A second group of Christian visitors approached the landscape more intuitively, like Mary Steele-Maitland. Her description of the stormy Sea of Galilee that she contemplated from her hotel window alluded to the legend of Jesus calming the lake before his disciples.¹⁶⁵ For her, the attraction of the Sea of Galilee consisted in an aura of sacredness she attributed to the towns and villages bordering its shores. Landscape contemplation became meaningful once the tourist framed the experience in biblical legends, as the numerous postcards and illustrations in Christian guidebooks showing fishermen in simple wooden boats on the Sea of Galilee implied.¹⁶⁶ They suggested an ongoing continuity linking the disciples to the Palestinian present.¹⁶⁷

While the ongoing importance of the biblical reference for many European Christian visitors continued to shape perceptions of the Sea of Galilee, a second form of tourism had emerged in late Ottoman times and attracted British interest during the mandate. With leisure tourists in mind, some hotel owners and commentators from Tiberias viewed the shores of the Sea of Galilee as a future bathing resort, modelled on the renowned European spas of Carlsbad or Marienbad. During the mandate, the *Elizabetha Haven of Rest* symbolised the hopes projected at this new form of tourism at the Sea of Galilee. Owned by Solomon Feingold, the *Elizabetha* was inaugurated on Friday 31 January 1929 in the presence of High Commissioner Sir John Chancellor. The event was announced in the *Palestine Bulletin* as the opening of the “most beautiful building ever erected” in Tiberias, to the benefit of Palestinians and tourists alike. Journalists expressed their delight: “The old dream of Tiberians of seeing their city become a first-class health resort, is rapidly materialising at last”.¹⁶⁸

The idea of turning Tiberias into a health resort able to compete with famous European spas was not new. The mineral waters of the hot springs, reputed to cure chronic rheumatism and skin diseases, were the cornerstone of the project.¹⁶⁹ Already in Ottoman times, local representatives pursued an initiative to renovate and modernise the bathing establishment of Tiberias to attract an international bathing public. In 1890, a few years before Grossmann had founded his *Hotel Tiberias*, additions had been made to an existing bathhouse dating back to 1833. In 1912, hoping to further develop the baths, the Ottoman Government granted a concession for their exploitation to two notables from Beirut, Dr Samuel Fakhuri and Amin ⁵Abd al-Nur.¹⁷⁰ Yet, with the outbreak of war, the works had not been undertaken.

During the 1920s, the dream of establishing Tiberias as a resort of international renown re-emerged. This time, however, the British mandatory relied on Zionist entrepreneurs to realise the ambition. After the war, the British administration initially upheld and confirmed the Ottoman concession, extending it to two new partners, Sulayman Nassif and Amin Rizq Effendi, for a period of

forty years. The concessionaries intended to renovate the baths and to erect a new hotel, as well as a sanatorium.¹⁷¹ Thus, from the mid- to late 1920s, when tourism expanded and capital was invested in luxurious hotels across the region, the idea of a modern resort in Tiberias started to materialise. These ambitions were obvious to the French traveller Charles Le Gras, who visited the town in 1927: new buildings and avenues lined with palm trees reminded him of modern tourist resorts.¹⁷²

Despite the positive outlook, around this time the concession for the use of the springs was transferred from Sulayman Nassif and his partner to the Zionist *Hamei Tiberia (Tiberias Hot Springs) Company Ltd.* In 1928, the *Hamei Tiberia* acquired 90% of the concession.¹⁷³ The background to the transfer is not entirely clear. The historian Jacob Norris assumed political reasons, suggesting that the British Government revised their decision to confirm the Ottoman concession in 1925, when the Jewish concessionary expressed interest. Various local newspapers, by contrast, reported that the Arab concessionaries were unable to invest the sum of 50,000 Palestinian Pounds (£.P.) agreed upon in the concession and therefore had to sell most of their shares, keeping only 10%.¹⁷⁴

It seems likely that a combination of both elements led to the change. On the one hand, the fact that the Arab investors continued to hold 10% of the shares indicates that the concessionaries sold their interests for financial reasons. Moreover, Sulayman Nassif continued to exploit the baths in the neighbouring village of Al-Hamma. The regional economic crisis of 1925/26 might indeed have caused financial difficulties for the Lebanese concessionaries.¹⁷⁵ On the other hand, a comparison with the economic crisis of 1929/30 suggests a political preference of the British for the Zionist investors: when financial problems did not allow the *Hamei Tiberia* to meet their obligations, the British administration nonetheless extended the term of the lease for the concessionaries. While this renewal of the lease term was not uncontested among the British officials, it seems that ultimately the mandatory power made a political decision in favour of the *Hamei Tiberia*, under the influence of both Zionist networks and their own interests regarding the mandate obligations.

After the first and second terms of the lease had expired in 1931, the British Mandate Government questioned a further renewal of the concession. The officers at the High Commission suggested charging the Municipality of Tiberias, rather than the *Hamei Tiberia*, with the renovation and administration of the baths. Since the initial project of attracting international bathing guests required large amounts of capital for a profound modernisation, they advised the municipality to give up on this vision. They suggested instead that the municipality invest minor sums, which would allow for a resumption of local bathing tourism and at least provide them with these modest revenues.¹⁷⁶ After lengthy debates and negotiations, however,

the British administration granted the Zionist concessionary another five-year term of lease, preserving the vision of an international resort.

The factors favouring this prolongation followed political, rather than economic, considerations: Zionist lobbying at the Colonial Office, the ambitions of the local municipality, and the British desire to satisfy the League of Nations. First, Selig Brodetsky, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Leeds and member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, intervened at the British Colonial Office. He argued that the rejection of American Jewish capital to be invested in the development of Palestine would violate the principles of the mandate.¹⁷⁷ Second, the members of the Municipality of Tiberias had a sudden change of heart and refused to take over the concession, thereby leaving the field open to the concessionary. The Mayor of Tiberias, a Sephardic Jew named Zaki Hadeb, argued that the baths had the potential to attract an international bathing tourism, and that targeting a local public would understate the potential of the town. As a result, the officials at the Colonial Office decided to follow Brodetsky's argument and recommended a renewal of terms, wary that a decision to decline investments would have to be justified in Geneva.¹⁷⁸

The British Mandate Government and the *Hamei Tiberia Co.* thus concluded a new agreement in February 1932 and, from March onwards, the directors of the company, Joshua Supraski and Jacob Gesundheit from Tel Aviv, and Bernard A. Rosenblatt from New York, officially administered the baths, promising to develop Tiberias into a bathing resort of international renown.¹⁷⁹ Their networks, not least the connection to Brodetsky, was one factor which contributed to their advantageous position. Brodetsky, a well-regarded professor at a British university, apparently found the right argument when he referred to the mandate obligation of facilitating international investments in Palestine.

In addition, the Zionist vision of a glamorous resort seems to have convinced not only the municipality, but also the Colonial Office. The emergence of an internationally renowned bathing place would be credited to an apt British administration and certainly attract greater prestige than a bathing place for a regional clientele, as envisioned by the Lebanese concessionaries. In their reports to the League of Nations the mandate officials classified the project as a British contribution to local development. Moreover, the tourism advertisement committee promoted the Baths of Tiberias on a set of special stamps advertising tourism to Palestine.¹⁸⁰ Thus, the baths came to represent the successful development of Palestine under the aegis of the British mandate and by means of Jewish capital investments. In confirming the effectiveness of their development policies, tourism had become a resource for the British mandatory. The Ottoman origins of the modern bathing establishment, though the continuity remained obvious (fig. 12), were not mentioned in any of these contexts – in contrast to the Roman example, which served as a major reference point in advertising the beneficial effects of the hot springs.¹⁸¹ For Zionist guidebook



Figure 12: The bathing establishment at Tiberias, around 1900 and in the 1930s (Photographer: American Colony (Jerusalem), Photo Department. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-DIG-matpc-07014; LC-DIG-matpc-17113])



authors, the transformation of Tiberias into a health resort with modern amenities marked an exemplary renewal for 'New Palestine'.¹⁸² According to them, the joint efforts of the *Hamei Tiberia* and the mandate administration allowed Palestine to participate in new economic ventures, to establish a modern culture of leisure, and to render it accessible to an international community.

In the case of the Tiberias Baths concession, British political goals regarding the League of Nations outweighed other considerations. It must be noted that the British audience did not play a role in this context. British travellers, ever in search of places, views and sceneries connecting them with revealed "truths",¹⁸³ barely noticed the existence of a bathing establishment. Economically speaking – at least from the perspective of Solomon Feingold – the long-term vision of creating an

international resort proved to be more of a curse than a promise. By the time the renovation of the Baths of Tiberias had been completed, his *Elizabetha Haven of Rest* no longer existed. Feingold declared bankruptcy in late January 1931.¹⁸⁴

Moreover, the promised investments did not materialise. In 1935, the French *Guide bleu* still commented on the current state of dilapidation of the public baths, considering the establishments suitable for the local population only.¹⁸⁵ The outbreak of the Palestinian Revolt, which kept tourists away from Palestine, plunged the *Hamei Tiberia Company* into renewed financial difficulties in 1937; even by April 1939 the directors were still seeking the support of the Colonial Office to save the enterprise.¹⁸⁶ Regardless of the actual investments made, the mere potential of creating a luxurious resort had convinced both the municipality of Tiberias and the mandate administration. The promised investments and the prestigious prospects drafted by the concessionary outstripped the anticipated economic revenues of a local or regional bathing establishment in the short term.

While the Lebanese entrepreneurs continued to think within regional frameworks, aiming to attract a regional bathing public, the *Hamei Tiberia* offered a larger perspective. Its directors conceived of a modern bathing resort able to compete with those in European countries and attract international (European and American) leisure tourism. Although the investors could ultimately mobilise neither the required capital nor the international bathing tourists, the promise of substantial American Jewish investments and the vision of a resort of international renown provided them with a decisive advantage over the more modest visions of their Arab competitors. The officers at the British Colonial Office, more eager to convince the international observers in Geneva than the tourists visiting the Sea of Galilee, inferred that this prospect would leave a greater impression on the Permanent Mandates Commission. Thus, the success of the Zionist entrepreneurs in obtaining the Tiberias Baths concession was not only a question of mobilising sufficient capital, but also of mobilising the right networks and the right visions.

The case of bathing tourism at the Sea of Galilee showed that tourism was a resource not only in the sense of local economic development, but also in a political sense. While most European travellers visited Tiberias because of its biblical prominence, the establishment of bathing tourism, originally an Ottoman project, promised the town prestige and international attention. Financed by international investors and attracting wealthy international tourists, the global renown of the bathing place would benefit not only the municipality, but also the reputation of the British mandatory. Such considerations, it seems, motivated the British preference for the Zionist concessionary, even after the economic depression when observers were forced to acknowledge that the anticipated international bathers would never materialise on the shores of the lake.

Redefining the tourist: The Zionist project in the Jezreel Valley

The tourist to modern Palestine will discover dotted about the country something which the tourist who came some twenty years ago would not have found. The Jewish communal colony, where the element of private property has disappeared, offers a fascinating study to the sociologist and offers an extremely pleasing sight to the visitor.¹⁸⁷

This recommendation was published in a series of newspaper articles entitled *Notes for Tourists* in the *Palestine Bulletin*. Among tourists, however, the interest in the Jewish settlements was less pronounced than the author suggested. Certainly, they noticed the Zionist settlements when traversing the country. In their diaries they described their effect on the Palestinian landscape, sometimes enthusiastically like Edwin W. Smith, who was delighted at the view of neatly planted trees and the green, healthy and orderly plants around the settlements.¹⁸⁸ Yet only few tourists actually visited these colonies.¹⁸⁹ Some visitors even disapproved of the modernity of 'New Palestine', which they considered inauthentic. During a visit to Ahmya near Mount Carmel in 1936, Naval officer Donovan Roe criticised the "very ugly" houses of the "ultra modern" type characterising the new settlement.¹⁹⁰ Roe understood transformation as a process depriving places of their authenticity, thereby spoiling the experience of immediate access to the unchanged realities of biblical life and Oriental customs. For many European Christian travellers, noteworthy places were defined by past revelations, rather than by their present state.

For the Zionist authors in the *Palestine Bulletin*, however, international tourists were of secondary importance: their messages primarily addressed Jewish visitors, perceived as potential supporters of the Zionist project or even as settlers and investors. In this context, Zionist actors used tourism as a tool to radically redefine the space of Palestine as 'New Palestine'. Taking assumptions and expectations of ordinary sightseeing tourists as a starting point, Zionist institutions and guidebook authors created a Zionist presence by means of tourism. As such, this implied a redefinition of notions of tourist attraction, heritage and the tourist.

First, the unique attraction of Palestine proclaimed in Zionist guidebooks referred to the present, rather than the past. The *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists*, for example, interpreted travellers as witnesses to the current developments in Palestine, which allegedly brought the Bible to life.¹⁹¹ This redefinition implied a refocusing of tourists' attention from the past to the present and future. Compared to the messages disseminated by George Antonius and the *Supreme Muslim Council*, the ZIB dedicated less effort to the creation of a national past and the assertion of historical claims. Instead, the ZIB promoted the Zionist vision for the future of the country: "The Past is over: out of their daily labour they must fashion the future; which is the basic sentiment of all Jewish Palestine."¹⁹²

Whereas Zionist guidebook authors redefined the implication of ‘sights’ in terms of content, form and style, they referred to familiar narrative strategies of tourist publications. *Steimatzky’s Palestine Guide* resembled the popular European guidebooks.¹⁹³ The narrative structure and a seemingly neutral, fact-based language objectified the description of the settlers’ movement, which was paralleled to the biblical movement of the Israelites. The author Zev Vilnay described modern installations such as the Rutenberg electrical works in a way that resembled *Baedeker’s* presentation of archaeological monuments: having described the outer appearance of the site, Vilnay drew attention to characteristic features and explained their meaning. His explanations were based on etymological, archaeological and historical reflections; plans, maps and statistics further contributed to an objective tone.¹⁹⁴ The attention dedicated to industrial installations in the guidebook emphasised their relevance, and the precise accompanying description turned them into monuments. Mechanisms of inventing traditions and creating heritage were attributed to the ongoing process of immigration. The narrative strategies of guidebook authors thereby historicised the contemporary immigration movement, aiming to establish and ultimately legitimise the existence of these sites, and the Yishuvi presence as a whole.

This reinterpretation also implied a processual understanding of ‘heritage’. The Zionist ‘heritage’ advertised in brochures consisted of the transitions occurring at that moment in Palestine. The Jezreel Valley, a particularly fertile plain in central Palestine, is a prime example in this regard, acquiring a prominent position in Zionist guidebooks and brochures. Both its agricultural fertility and its central position had turned the Jezreel Valley (the *Emek* in Zionist terms) into a central region for the Zionist project.¹⁹⁵

As it was lacking monuments – that is, ‘sights’ in a *Baedeker* sense – most tourists at best passed the plain without visiting the settlements, contrary to the recommendations of Zionist guidebook authors. Fritz Löwenstein, the director of the *Zionist Information Bureau*, offered a vivid, picturesque description of an imagined ancient past to his guidebook readers. In his account, conquerors and armies passed through the valley across the centuries, shaped by changing civilisations and rulers, while peasant life remained at a standstill. Caravans passed, merchants haggled over prices, and nomads plundered caravans – until Ottoman rule led to its decay:

Such was the Emek for thousands of years, until neglect of waterworks led to swamps and malarial pests, and a decline in trade, commerce and security was brought about by indifference. It was left to the Keren Kayemeth to redeem the soil (if ever the word “redeem” can be justly used, it is in this connection) and drain it, while the Keren Hayesod made possible the greater part of settlement – these and the toil and blood of thousands of Halutzim [pioneers].¹⁹⁶

This approach fundamentally altered the understanding of heritage. Rather than well-preserved 'authentic' sites, the ZIB advertised the transformation of the landscape as a major tourist attraction, considering it a 'restoration' of the original state. The attraction consisted in the proclaimed enormity of the task; the almost inhumane efforts necessary to achieve this transformation, and the unique chance to witness the process of transformation before it was fully completed – a heritage-in-progress, so to speak. In a similar case, referring to the so-called Balfour Forest, the *Zionist Information Bureau* asserted that "the opportunity of inspecting the beginning of afforestation on the slopes above the Emek should not be missed."¹⁹⁷ The authors promised that tourists had the unique chance to witness a singular process: the "redemption of the soil", a project of large-scale modernisation clad in religious terms. The concept of eye-witnessing, framed as a variety of sightseeing, not only guaranteed a particularly rare form of authenticity; it also contributed to a re-creation of the understanding of the tourist.

The reordering of the Palestinian lands in terms of a present-as-attraction and a heritage-in-progress has to be understood as a programme, rather than a justification in retrospect. It assigned a new role to the tourist: previously an observer, he had now become a participant. Indeed, many future immigrants seem to have visited Palestine as tourists before they settled in the Mandate. Especially during the 1920s, when the pressure to leave Europe was less acute than in the 1930s, a number of settlers entered the country on tourist visas, hoping to establish business contacts or to buy land before they would emigrate for good.¹⁹⁸ Among those tourists, the British authorities observed in particular Jewish merchants "from Poland and Austria", who bought land and established trade connections while they were in Palestine on tourist visas.¹⁹⁹ Later on, when persecution threatened Jewish Europeans more imminently and British authorities restricted immigration to Palestine in reaction to Arab protests, tourism also provided a means of concealing intentions to migrate. As an economically promising phenomenon, tourist mobilities were harder to question and to prevent than migrant or other movements. This overlap between tourism and migration led to a specific genre in publications related to tourism: the guidebook addressing both tourists and settlers. Their authors assumed a new tourist, whose gaze merged with that of the potential settler.

Such a target group explains the exhaustive enumerations of Yishuvi settlements in guidebooks and brochures. Whereas guidebooks such as the *Baedeker* or *Cook's Handbook* inserted occasional descriptions of picturesque (Arab) villages, Löwenstein's ZIB guidebook gathered detailed information on the Zionist settlements. He described the origin of the inhabitants, the organisational structures, the foundation and history of purchase, its economic potential and the main produce.²⁰⁰ Thereby, the guidebook not only demonstrated the diversity of the settlement movement and the innovative forms of organising society in the Yishuv;

it also provided future settlers with information that allowed them to assess which settlements corresponded best with their ideals.

Similarly, the map in the ZIB guidebook was directed much more to the needs of the settler than to the desires of the tourist. Information commonly recorded on tourist maps was missing, such as easily identifiable symbols indicating major cities, historical attractions and natural sites. Instead, the map highlighted the major landscape formations, such as the Jezreel Valley, the Plain of Sharon and Galilee, and fertile regions were tinted in light green. Rather than pointing out monuments and excavation sites, the map directed attention towards the Jewish settlements and indicated the respective Jewish landowning organisations. Thus, instead of orienting the spectator towards the major cultural spots, the map directed attention to the most fertile areas of Palestine – all to the benefit of the future settler, rather than the tourist.²⁰¹

Via maps and descriptions, the Zionist guidebook authors added a new layer to the landscape of tourism in Palestine. This vision of a 'New Palestine' implied new attribution of centrality and noteworthiness, while both verbally and visually eradicating the Arab Palestinian past. The tourist space of Palestine outlined in guidebooks did not describe a present state, but a vision for the future of the country – the realisation of which tourism was supposed to play a role in. Since tourist movements were expected to precede settlers' movements, the territorial order drafted by tourist maps and itineraries gradually eclipsed the 'Holy Land', and ultimately threatened the existence of local inhabitants.

Lost hopes at the Dead Sea

At first sight, the Dead Sea appeared to be the ideal spot to illustrate Zionist narratives of conquering a barren land, in which industrial development and tourism went hand in hand. In the nineteenth century, it had attracted the curiosity of geographers and travellers because its geological properties seemed hostile to any form of life. But during the mandate period, the joint efforts of mandate officials and British entrepreneurs as well as Zionist ones, turned the Dead Sea into a centre of industrial production and a popular destination for excursionists.²⁰² In the early 1920s, however, hardly any visitor foresaw this upsurge in popularity. Certainly, most tourists were attracted to the Dead Sea from the astonishing geological facts reported in guidebooks, but none of them stayed there for long. George H. Williams had "a look" at the Dead Sea and did his best to "photograph the 'town'"²⁰³, before he moved on to visit the River Jordan and the alleged baptism site of Jesus of Nazareth. Less than a decade later, the character of tours to and around the Dead Sea had changed thoroughly. The Dead Sea had become both a site of industrial development and a seaside resort, and it was this combination that turned the

Dead Sea into a colonial outpost during the Palestinian Revolt in the late 1930s. In contrast to the settlements in the Jezreel Valley, however, the promoters of this project did not conceive of it as an exclusivist vision from the outset.

In 1924, neither bathing installations nor any kind of leisure infrastructure existed, and reaching the shores was adventurous: Eunice Holliday and her family had to turn back because the road was flooded and they were unable to proceed.²⁰⁴ It was up to excursionists to find themselves a proper bathing spot.²⁰⁵ Around 1930, plans for extracting the minerals of the Dead Sea were still at an experimental stage and the installation of the works was “anxiously awaited.”²⁰⁶ Though at an early stage of development, tourism was already noticeable. Edwin W. Smith reported on “a number of bathing shelters. Drinks sold.”²⁰⁷ A mere two years later, Mary Steele-Maitland observed numerous bathers at the Dead Sea, among them families and tourists:

We get out – tawdry buildings and shingle down to the water. Children running about and paddling. I taste the water and make a wry face as it is absolute trine[?] – a lady asking in broken English: “Did you find it good” It is so salty that ones [sic] hands are left feeling oily after being wet. The evaporation is so great that though the Jordan flows in there is not an outlet at the other end. We buy post-cards and return to the Hospice.²⁰⁸

The popularity of the Dead Sea as a seaside resort was related to the presence of the local factory, which had launched production in early 1932. After the Ottoman defeat, the *Palestine Potash Company*, a business partnership of the Russian Jewish mining engineer Moise Novomeysky and the Scottish engineer Thomas G. Tulloch, had obtained the concession for the exploitation of minerals, aiming to extract bromine and potash – and to exploit the tourist potential. From the outset, the chairman, Major Tulloch, envisaged the creation of a tourist resort.

It was Tulloch's vision that induced Eunice Holliday to undertake a second trip to the Dead Sea in 1932. This time, professional obligations on behalf of her husband Clifford Holliday prompted the journey: as an architect and town planner, he was involved in planning the new pleasure resort. Compared to her first visit, Eunice Holliday experienced a much more comfortable journey: the old track had been replaced by “a marvellous road”, new buildings housed the factory workers and a café with bathing cabins had been opened on the shore. During her husband's meeting, Eunice Holliday and their children had a ride on the speedboat of Tulloch's son and visited the hot springs of Callirrhoe on the other side of the Dead Sea – a tour *Kallia* would later offer to guests of the resort.²⁰⁹

At the time, Tulloch intended to establish a winter resort able to compete with the Mediterranean resorts and to attract an international public, thus similar to the ambitions of the *Hamei Tiberia* on the Sea of Galilee he hoped to attract a

wealthy global clientele. At the same time, Tulloch promoted leisure tourism as an inclusive political project: His leisure centre, open to all, was to contribute to overcoming the “differences between various sects and creeds in Palestine”. He hoped that tourism in the Jordan Valley and at the Dead Sea would offer attractions beyond the “spiritual and historical appeals” that so far attracted most visitors.²¹⁰ Such leisure attractions for a new clientele would contribute to creating a modern, open-minded and mixed Palestinian society.

The restaurant and the bathing establishment of the resort opened their doors on 4 January 1933. In the opening speech, Tulloch repeated his intention to promote leisure tourism as an example of fruitful Jewish-Arab cooperation. The erection of a hotel was already envisaged, and the company was working on excursion boats for tourists that would transport up to 80 persons to the other seashores. On this occasion, Tulloch explained that the name of his resort, *Kallia*, was inspired by the Arabic word for potassium and stood for his vision of an Arab-Jewish cooperation that had for centuries been the basis for scientific progress.²¹¹ While this interpretation suggested that both *Kallia* and the *Palestine Potash Company* adopted the Arab heritage as a central part of its business identity, the reference seems to have been more of a marketing strategy than a political vision.

Its directors put forward that the company employed 500 workers, both Arab and Jewish, who lived in new buildings close to the factory. However, the historian Jacob Norris revealed that Arab and Jewish workers lived in segregated camps and under very different conditions.²¹² Moreover, Arabs were scarce among the higher echelons of the company. On the board of the *Kallia* resort, Isma‘il al-Husayni, a Palestinian landowning notable and investor from the Jerusalem branch of the al-Husayni family, was the only Arab member, the other members were British, Yishuvi and other international representatives: the aforementioned Major Tulloch, the Zionist and Dutch Consul General Dr Siegfried A. van Vriesland, S. Horowitz, A. Goldwater, L. Green and Miriam Sacher.²¹³

Among inhabitants and expat residents of Palestine, the resort became a huge success. The directors had abandoned the idea of promoting the beaches as an international wintering resort for wealthy bathing tourists, and instead focused on a popular, domestic clientele, a strategy that proved successful. Between July 1933 and 1934, the owners of the *Kallia Seaside and Health Resort* continuously offered new attractions, such as an open-air dance floor, special excursions by boat, a café, a restaurant and bathing huts for 250 guests. A bus service transported weekend guests from Jerusalem to the resort, and the number of visitors continued to grow.²¹⁴ By the time the hotel was opened in 1935, the resort had obtained permission to sell alcohol. The beach was equipped with fresh-water showers and towels, and the resort had bathing suits and towels for hire. A sanatorium was under construction in 1934, which aimed to “take advantage of the remarkable curative properties

of the Dead Sea waters, which are radio-active, and of the mild climate".²¹⁵ Even though international guidebooks now included information on the resort and the excursions around the Dead Sea, it still attracted a largely domestic public. Crowds predominantly from Jerusalem, Jaffa and Tel-Aviv visited the resort on weekends and on moonlit nights, when the restaurant offered special entertainment.²¹⁶

From the summer season of 1935 onwards, the *Kallia* Company further extended its business activities. The company started to organise regular car transport services and trips across Palestine, as well as to neighbouring Syria. *Kallia* specifically advertised affordable bus tours to the Jewish settlements in the Jezreel Valley and Galilee, thus clearly targeting Yishuvi excursionists.²¹⁷ As the company targeted domestic tourists, its directors increasingly modified its foundational principles.

The movement towards a Yishuvi, and notably Zionist, clientele apparently contradicted Tulloch's initial vision of a leisure space that united Arab Palestinian and Yishuvi workers and excursionists. Yet, economically, the strategy paid off and allowed for further expansion of the business. In October 1936, Tulloch and the board envisioned substantial enlargements of the Dead Sea resort. The owners planned the construction of a new hotel with 35 rooms, including facilities for warm sea-water baths. Moreover, a power plant, another restaurant, and a new motorboat would improve the services offered to tourists.²¹⁸ While the opening was initially projected to take place the following spring, it was not until February 1938 that the owners announced the opening of the new *Kallia Hotel* – at the height of the Great Revolt.²¹⁹

By that time, from Tulloch's point of view, the hope of jointly manufactured economic development was shattered. The directorate of *Kallia* readapted its communication strategy, exhibiting a sort of defiance regarding the British and Jewish position in Palestine. In September 1937, Tulloch gave an interview to a British newspaper on "the Life at the Dead Sea", in which he commented on the threat that the Yishuv and British nationals were facing from the Arab population. He explained his strategies of self-defence to readers: a machine gun was mounted on the roof of his house, and an armed guard protected him.²²⁰

In addition, the domestic situation during the Great Revolt had rendered the initial strategy of attracting international leisure or bathing tourists obsolete. To a certain degree, the company countered assumptions about lacking security through positive publicity. In 1939, a letter of recommendation was published in the *Readers' Letters* section of the *Palestine Post*. An anonymous reader reported on his stay at the *Kallia* resort, attempting to alleviate fears of potential visitors over security issues. He highlighted that the organisers had taken all possible security measures, including an armoured convoy accompanying his car, patrols along the coast and armed guards at the hotel, which were reinforced during the night, "so I should think that even the most nervous of visitors would feel (and be) quite secure, and

enjoy his holiday in peace.”²²¹ While it is doubtful whether such a letter, most likely written by managers of the resort themselves, was able to convince local readers, it certainly did not bring back international guests. After the outbreak of the revolt, the number of visitors to Palestine rapidly declined.

The directorate of the *Kallia* company reacted to this decline by focusing on a domestic, Yishuvi target group. To a greater degree than before, they promoted the curative qualities of the Dead Sea, aiming to establish its reputation as a health resort with the assistance of the local press, where experts of international renown and internationally acknowledged papers were cited.²²² Such articles prepared for the somewhat defiant opening of the new luxurious hotel on 16 February 1938.

Parallel to this reorientation concerning target groups, the narratives around *Kallia* began to change. Compared to the tone of the opening speeches and initial articles in 1933, the enterprise was now interpreted in an exclusivist sense. Its promoters adopted narratives of bringing industrial progress to Palestine’s underdeveloped landscapes. The correspondent of the *Palestine Post*, for example, interpreted the opening of the new hotel as the “successful transformation of a scene of barrenness and desolation into one of attractiveness and beauty”. The act of “carrying through in these disturbed times of a project designed primarily for days of peace and prosperity and an influx of tourists from all over the world” was interpreted as one of heroism. Similarly, the keynote speech of High Commissioner Edward Keith-Roach at the opening framed the hotel as a (luxurious) space of evasion from the harshness and violence of external realities.²²³ Major Tulloch’s initially envisioned space of contact and cooperation became a space of refuge and evasion. At the same time, the defiant attitude – ranging from armed protection for bathers to claims of heroic stamina in a hostile environment – turned the resort into an outpost of colonial modernity, and tourists and excursionists into markers of the colonial presence.

Economically, the reorientation proved a success – which came at the cost of the initially proclaimed ideals. The new hotel was a Zionist undertaking, both symbolically and in practice. Its manager Harry Levy interpreted the building as a “true Zionist project”, and journalists invited to cover the opening represented only Jewish newspapers.²²⁴ The persons and companies involved in the construction of the hotel were exclusively Zionist immigrants. The architect Zeev Rechter from Tel Aviv designed the hotel in the modernist style that came to symbolise the innovative modernity of the Yishuv (fig. 13). The interior design, also in the modernist style, corresponded to these aesthetic ideals. The designers Wachsberger and Leurer produced most of the furniture for the *Kallia Hotel* in their workshops in Tel Aviv.²²⁵ Daniella Ohad Smith demonstrated that the Yishuvi adoption of the modernist style mirrored the general disillusion of Yishuvi immigrants with their initial hopes



Figure 13: The *Kallia Hotel* on the Dead Sea (Photographer: American Colony (Jerusalem), Photo Department. G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, [LC-DIG-matpc-03722])

and ideals. Especially after the riots of 1929, she argued, Zionist architects stopped experimenting with local elements intended to create a grounded, 'national' style. Instead, they adopted the International Style, expressing the ambition to bring Western progress and, in particular, hygienic conditions, to Palestine.²²⁶ The reinterpretation of *Kallia* as a Zionist enterprise, intended as a symbol of defiance in difficult times, was part of a larger trend and a conscious choice, expressed in the telling speech of Major Tulloch at the public opening of the new hotel. On this occasion, he once again addressed the meaning behind the name of the resort: *Kallia*, Tulloch explained, was an acronym and stood for a Hebrew phrase: "*Kam litehiah yam Hamelah* (The Dead Sea Has Come to Life)."²²⁷

Conclusion

In the contested tourist space of Palestine under the British mandate, the complex workings of tourism come to the fore in a particularly pronounced manner. Both Palestinian nationalists and Zionists grasped tourism as an occasion to promote their competing visions of Palestine before an international audience. As in other domains, the policies of the British mandate power, which had limited ambitions in shaping the tourist space of Palestine, favoured the Yishuv in this competition. Tourism, considered a sign of the economic and cultural development of Palestine, mattered to the British mandatory in particular as it proved the fulfilment of their mandate obligations. British officials therefore highlighted educational projects such as the Archaeological Museum, but also the disinterested administration of Palestine by the British, allowing foreign investors to realise their business ventures. A British preference for Zionist actors as imperial middlemen – as interlocutors, investors, concessionaries and visionaries – as well as a structural advantage regarding the political representation of the Yishuv provided Zionists in Palestine with more favourable conditions compared to their Arab Palestinian counterparts.

Among Arab Palestinians, mainly members of the middle classes pursued political ambitions in tourism. As in Egypt, their educational and professional background allowed them to present Palestinian history and heritage to visitors, yet they had greater difficulties in reaching out to their potential audiences, as institutions to develop a strategy and voice their perspectives had not emerged. Their collaboration with more powerful actors – the *Supreme Muslim Council* in the case of George Antonius, the *Tourist Development Association* for Tawfiq Canaan – can be understood as an attempt to address larger audiences. The impact of the former on political decision-making was limited though, and the TDA was dominated by Zionist stakeholders, so voices like Canaan's remained marginal. Without institutional support, coherent and encompassing narratives did not emerge. While the Palestinian Arab intellectuals shared the goal of making Palestinian history and culture visible, claiming the historical legitimacy of their presence in Palestine, their voices remained fragmented. Attempts to actively direct tourist movements were restricted to the sanctuaries in Jerusalem, which is why interrupting tourist flows was the main instrument to attract tourists' attention to their political claims. Uses of tourism were thus limited to the creation of powerful symbols, rather than to the active shaping of spaces.

The efforts of Zionist actors, by contrast, were more orchestrated and they had institutional means at their disposal that the mandate treaty granted to the Jewish Agency. In particular the *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists* (ZIB) adopted a comprehensive, systematic approach to tourism development and seemed to perceive tourism as a resource in shaping spaces before the Yishuv would gain full

sovereignty. In order to promote their vision of a modern and progressive 'New Palestine', which allegedly came into being thanks to the efforts of the immigrant community, the ZIB and its affiliated institutions tried to achieve a monopoly on tourist services that would allow them to provide visitors with information on Palestine that was deemed useful to their cause.

In particular, Zionist actors intended to use tourism as a resource in claiming the contested terrain of Palestine. As tourism allowed potential immigrants to establish their first contacts in Palestine, tourism advertisement materials pointed out the most fertile regions and introduced the visitor to settlement structures. The movements of tourists created a presence across the territory that Zionist advocates of tourism development envisioned as preceding actual settlement. Pursuing a spatial rather than a symbolic approach to tourism, the *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists* stood for a rethinking of the very terms of tourism, as well as notions of 'sights' and 'heritage'. The Jewish tourist was conceived of as a future settler and, consequently, the suggested itineraries, guidebook descriptions and tourist maps catered to the needs of the settler, rather than the temporary visitor. The presentation of the country preceded its occupation.

In the mandate period, European tourists in Palestine seemed to be more open to new interpretations than they were in Egypt. Although they pursued their own agenda, and biblical references still largely shaped their itineraries, the contemporary political transformations and conflicts in Palestine required new explanations. Yet, the advocates of tourism development in Palestine profited unevenly from this window of opportunity. Rather than simply adopting the messages communicated to them, tourists attributed different degrees of credibility to their interlocutors. While they questioned most political remarks uttered by their Arab tour guides, they more readily adopted viewpoints if they read them in printed guidebooks, or if they attributed a certain expertise to their interlocutor – in which attributions of nationality and class played a role. It appears that, in this regard, the strategy of the Zionist associations to establish institutions and disseminate media satisfied the expectations of tourists to a greater extent than the attempts of Arab Palestinian tour guides. The latter were taken seriously as experts on local customs and traditions, much less on the contemporary political situation.

Around the mid-1930s, similar to Egypt, visions of international tourism faded into the background. The activities of Arab Palestinian actors in tourism development seemed to have decreased over time and due to the economic and political crises. Yishuvi entrepreneurs focused on a domestic audience, as the case of the Dead Sea showed. The reorientation towards a more popular Yishuvi tourism went hand in hand with an adoption of Zionist narratives in the later 1930s, which materialised in excursions to Zionist settlements and in the symbol of the *Kallia Hotel*, where Arab workers, collaborators and observers were largely excluded

from the planning, construction, and inauguration of the hotel. The reorientation was certainly related to economic considerations, yet the defiant attitude of its directors during the Great Revolt indicated that the leisure resort had also come to establish a both symbolic and material presence of the Yishuv in an increasingly hostile environment.

In this context, the presence of tourists was not only of symbolic relevance; it also created a tangible reality that could be interpreted as a conquest or an occupation. Tourism to 'New Palestine' was thus ideated as a self-fulfilling prophecy: the tourist visited 'New Palestine', which his presence helped to establish.

Notes

- ¹ BL, Workers' Travel Association, "What Our Members Think", p. 21.
- ² BL, Workers' Travel Association, *W.T.A. Easter Holidays*.
- ³ BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Notes on Summer Programme*.
- ⁴ BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Easter and Spring Holidays*. BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Palestine in Spring*.
- ⁵ In 1925/26, a 19-day journey to Palestine and Syria organised by Thomas Cook & Son cost about £ 113, the transfer to the Mediterranean by ship excluded: FDC, Thomas Cook & Son, *L'Egypte, Le Nil, la Palestine*, pp. 70–72. Unfortunately, I did not find prices for Cook's tours for the 1930s after the Great Depression.
- ⁶ Jarman, 'Report on the Economic Conditions in Palestine, 1935', V, pp. 406–407.
- ⁷ Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, pp. 40–41.
- ⁸ BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Travel Log Photograph Competition, 1934*. BL, Workers' Travel Association, *1935 Photograph Competition*. BL, Aitken, *What do you go to see?*
- ⁹ BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Palestine Reunion*.
- ¹⁰ Jarman, 'Department of Migration, Annual Report 1939'. For the discussion of the transition from 'religious' to 'secular' tourists cf. Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 62. Bar, Doron and Cohen-Hattab, 'A New Kind of Pilgrimage'.
- ¹¹ *Yishuv*: The Jewish settler community in Palestine. Reich and Goldberg, 's.v. Yishuv'. On the internal complexity of the Yishuv, the competing visions of Zionism and Palestine cf. Caplan, 'Zionist Visions of Palestine'.
- ¹² Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 122–132. Although not all Jewish immigrants were Zionists defending a homogeneous nationalist ideology, Rashid Khalidi has argued that as a settler community the Yishuv "in effect constituted a self-selecting sample", attracting mainly settlers who supported the Zionist ideology, comparatively homogeneous in contrast, for example, to political visions circulating in the Palestinian society: Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, p. 18.
- ¹³ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 8.
- ¹⁴ Sela, 'The "Wailing Wall" Riots'. Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 262–271.
- ¹⁵ Cf. for the „denial of coevalness“: Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 31.
- ¹⁶ Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 81–91. Norris, 'Development and Disappointment', pp. 286–287. Cf. also Smith, *The Roots of Separatism*, p. 20.
- ¹⁷ Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States*, pp. 149–151.

- ¹⁸ Doumani, 'Rediscovering Ottoman Palestine', pp. 7–9. van Oord, 'The Making of Primitive Palestine', pp. 218–219. Cf. also Osterhammel, 'The Great Work of Uplifting Mankind', p. 365.
- ¹⁹ Horowitz, 'Remarkable Rather for Its Eloquence', p. 443.
- ²⁰ Coleman, 'From the Sublime to the Meticulous', p. 282. On landscape as a cultural construction: Urry and Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, pp. 106–113.
- ²¹ Howe, 'Revealing the Holy Land', p. 28. Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders*, pp. 77–84. Coleman, 'From the Sublime to the Meticulous', p. 277–284.
- ²² MECA, Harrison, *Journal of Visit to Palestine*, 30/03/1925.
- ²³ Glover, 'Co-Produced Histories', pp. 122–123.
- ²⁴ Cf. also Mairs and Muratov, *Archaeologists, Tourists, Interpreters*, p. 4.
- ²⁵ RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Egypt, 1925*, p. 175. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 117.
- ²⁶ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 27/11/1929.
- ²⁷ Robson, 'Becoming a Sectarian Minority', pp. 62–64. NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 19/01/1932. Although often attributed to Protestant desires for purity, French Catholic travellers reacted similarly: cf. ANF, Vacaresco, *La Croisière Bleue*, in: *Croisières*, p. 60.
- ²⁸ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 27/11/1929. A similar judgement: NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 19/11/1932.
- ²⁹ Research has focused mainly on European reactions: Horowitz, 'Remarkable Rather for Its Eloquence', pp. 453–455, 457–459.
- ³⁰ MECA, Harrison, *Journal of Visit to Palestine*, 21/03/1925. MECA, Harrison, *Journal of Visit to Palestine*, 22/03/1925. MECA, Harrison, *Journal of Visit to Palestine*, 24/03/1925, 17/04/1925, 18/04/1925, 19/04/1925, 22/04/1925, 29/05/1925.
- ³¹ E.g. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, pp. 68, 111.
- ³² RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 111.
- ³³ RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 41.
- ³⁴ RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 68.
- ³⁵ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 28/11/1929.
- ³⁶ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 09/12/1929.
- ³⁷ Cohen-Hattab and Shoal, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 64. Cf. also Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, p. 128.
- ³⁸ The Jewish Agency as a quasi-Government: Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, p. 225.
- ³⁹ Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, pp. 233–234. Lockman, *Comrades and Enemies*, pp. 47–53.
- ⁴⁰ Cohen-Hattab and Shoal, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 42. Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, p. 125.
- ⁴¹ Jarman, 'Report on Palestine Administration 1923', I, p. 407. NLI, *Tourist Traffic Decreasing*, 02/01/1934.
- ⁴² Jarman, 'Report on the Economic and Financial Situation, 1927', II, p. 353. Especially low-budget tour agencies such as the WTA profited from lower prices in summer and preferably organised summer tours: eg BL, Workers' Travel Association, *Notes on Summer Programme*.
- ⁴³ Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1924', I, p. 539. Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1926', II, p. 283. Andrea Stanton established that "special trains" in Palestine generally transported Egyptian and Iraqi summer guests to Lebanon: Stanton, 'Locating Palestine's Summer Residence', p. 55.
- ⁴⁴ IFP, Chamber of Commerce of Jaffa & District, *Annual Bulletin 1927–1928*, p. 1. IFP, Chamber of Commerce of Jaffa & District, *Annual Bulletin 1928–1929*, p. 27. Schulze, *Geschichte der islamischen Welt*, pp. 121–123.

- ⁴⁵ IfP, Stead, *Economic Conditions in Palestine*, pp. 8, 27. IfP, Chamber of Commerce of Jaffa & District, *Annual Bulletin 1929–1930*, p. 7. IfP, Chamber of Commerce of Jaffa & District, *Annual Bulletin 1931–1932*, p. 25. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 42.
- ⁴⁶ IfP, Chamber of Commerce of Jaffa & District, *Annual Bulletin 1928–1929*, p. 27.
- ⁴⁷ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 57–58.
- ⁴⁸ Ohad Smith, 'Hotel Design in British Mandate', pp. 102–106. Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, pp. 134–135.
- ⁴⁹ MECA, *Inauguration Dinner King David Hotel*. Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, p. 123.
- ⁵⁰ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 60.
- ⁵¹ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 61.
- ⁵² Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, p. 134.
- ⁵³ IfP, Government of Palestine, Department of Customs, Excise and Trade, *First Census of Industries 1928*, pp. 18, 62. Smith, *The Roots of Separatism*, p. 161. Interestingly, a large part of the women in the tourism sector were widows, unmarried, or divorced, thereby confirming similar findings from tourism research stating that for solitary women, accommodating tourists was a preferred means of income: Cohen-Hattab and Katz, 'The Attraction of Palestine', p. 174. Cf. for example Battilani and Fauri, 'The Rise of a Service-Based Economy'.
- ⁵⁴ IfP, Government of Palestine, Department of Customs, Excise and Trade, *First Census of Industries 1928*, p. 3.
- ⁵⁵ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 43.
- ⁵⁶ IfP, Chamber of Commerce of Jaffa & District, *Annual Bulletin 1932–1933*, p. 1. IfP, Stead, *Economic Conditions in Palestine*, p. 27. IfP, *Annual Report of the Department of Customs, 1935*, p. 43. E.g. the *King David* and the *Palace Hotel*. IfP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*.
- ⁵⁷ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 43.
- ⁵⁸ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 44.
- ⁵⁹ Cohen-Hattab and Katz, 'The Attraction of Palestine', pp. 169–170. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 75. Jarman, 'Herbert Samuel to Earl Curzon, 1920', I, p. 134. Jarman, 'Report on Palestine Administration 1920–1921', I, p. 326. Jarman, 'Report of the High Commissioner, 1920–1925', II, pp. 9, 21.
- ⁶⁰ Yale Law School, 'The Covenant of the League', Art. 22. Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 191–192.
- ⁶¹ Council of the League of Nations, 'The Palestine Mandate'.
- ⁶² Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 193–206. Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, pp. 31–48.
- ⁶³ Pedersen, 'The Impact of League Oversight', pp. 40–41.
- ⁶⁴ Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1927', II, p. 366. IfP, Vilnay, *Steinmatsky's Palestine Guide*, p. 179.
- ⁶⁵ St. Laurent and Taşkömür, 'The Imperial Museum of Antiquities', p. 37. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 53–54.
- ⁶⁶ Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1927', p. 435. On the particular interest of imperial powers in the exhibition of antiquities cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 179–183.
- ⁶⁷ St. Laurent and Taşkömür, 'The Imperial Museum of Antiquities', pp. 6, 16–21, 32, 37–38.
- ⁶⁸ For the French case cf. the following chapter. Jarman, 'An Interim Report, 1920–1921', I, p. 182. Jarman, 'Report on Palestine Administration 1920–1921', I, 235. Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1924', I, p. 537. Jarman, 'Report of the High Commissioner, 1920–1925', II, p. 21.
- ⁶⁹ Jarman, 'Report on the Economic and Financial Situation, 1927', II, p. 354.
- ⁷⁰ NA, J.A. Seiler, *Palestine Hotels*. NA, *Palestine Hotels Ltd., 1931–1932*.
- ⁷¹ NA, Young to Parkinson, 07/02/1933.
- ⁷² NA, E. Mills to Parkinson, 28/04/1933.
- ⁷³ NA, Wauchope to the President of the JNF, 09/02/1933.

- ⁷⁴ Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States*, p. 151.
- ⁷⁵ NA, *Travel facilities for tourists*, 1931.
- ⁷⁶ Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1933', IV, p. 301.
- ⁷⁷ NA, *Regulations regarding travellers visas*, 14/03/1934.
- ⁷⁸ Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1933', IV, p. 312.
- ⁷⁹ NA, *£60 Deposit requirement*, 1934. NA, *Werner, to the Commissioner for Migration*, 08/03/1936. NA, *Wauchope to Thomas*, 30/03/1936.
- ⁸⁰ NA, *£60 Deposit requirement*, 1934.
- ⁸¹ NA, *The British Passport Control Officer, The Hague*, 19/03/1934, p. 2.
- ⁸² NA, *The British Passport Control Officer, The Hague*, 19/03/1934, pp. 2–3.
- ⁸³ NA, *Spencer, Visas for Palestine*, 02/06/1933.
- ⁸⁴ NA, *Memorandum, to Wauchope*, 23/01/1937.
- ⁸⁵ NLI, Robinson, *Palestine, the Tourists' Paradise*, 09/1926.
- ⁸⁶ Council of the League of Nations, 'The Palestine Mandate', Art. 4. Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 198–200, 222–226. Reich and Goldberg, 's.v. Jewish Agency'.
- ⁸⁷ Next to Robinson's statement, these aims were expressed by the *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists*: cf. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 66. Cf. also Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', pp. 62–63.
- ⁸⁸ Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, pp. 132–133.
- ⁸⁹ NLI, *News About Jews Everywhere*, 04/1922. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 64–71.
- ⁹⁰ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 70. Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 73.
- ⁹¹ NLI, Robinson, *Palestine, the Tourists' Paradise*, 09/1926. On "dirty Arab boatmen" carrying tourists from the ships to the harbour: NLI, *An Advertiser Sees Palestine*, 05/1931.
- ⁹² Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 70. Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', pp. 71–72. Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, pp. 129–132.
- ⁹³ NA, *Despatch No. 8 of the High Commissioner*, 03/01/1927. NA, *Guides Ordinance No. 18*, 01/07/1927. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 71.
- ⁹⁴ Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, pp. 93–97. Sela, 'The "Wailing Wall" Riots'.
- ⁹⁵ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 28/11/1929. Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 75.
- ⁹⁶ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 72–73. Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, p. 132. IFP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, pp. 150–151. IFP, *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, Guide to New Palestine 1934*, advertisement section. FDC, Thomas Cook & Son, *L'Egypte, Le Nil, la Palestine*, p. 73.
- ⁹⁷ Cohen-Hattab and Katz, 'The Attraction of Palestine', p. 173. Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, pp. 11–13.
- ⁹⁸ Cohen-Hattab and Katz, 'The Attraction of Palestine', p. 170. Klein, *The Second Million*.
- ⁹⁹ Mammon, 'Pioneers of Modern Tourism', pp. 30–35.
- ¹⁰⁰ Mammon, 'Pioneers of Modern Tourism', pp. 36–37.
- ¹⁰¹ It had been founded in 1923: NLI, Grunhut, *The Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists*, 18/11/1931. Already before, some Zionist tourist guidebooks had been published in the early 1920s: Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 67.
- ¹⁰² IFP, *Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, Guide to New Palestine 1934*, p. 9.
- ¹⁰³ BL, *Zionist Organization in Palestine, Report on the Work of the Zionist Organization*, 11/08/1929, pp. 11–12.

- ¹⁰⁴ BL, Zionist Organization in Palestine, *Report on the Work of the Zionist Organization*, 11/08/1929, p. 172.
- ¹⁰⁵ For the previous publications cf. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 66–67. IfP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*. BL, Zionist Organization in Palestine, *Report on the Work of the Zionist Organization*, 11/08/1929, p. 12. BL, Löwenstein, *A Guide to Jewish Palestine*, 1927.
- ¹⁰⁶ IfP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, p. 7.
- ¹⁰⁷ IfP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*.
- ¹⁰⁸ BL, Zionist Organization in Palestine, *Report on the Work of the Zionist Organization*, 11/08/1929, p. 174.
- ¹⁰⁹ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 55.
- ¹¹⁰ Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 198–200, 254–260.
- ¹¹¹ Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 254, 259–260.
- ¹¹² Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council*, pp. 133, 237–240. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 51. Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, pp. 55–64.
- ¹¹³ The Waqf (pl. Auqaf) were Islamic religious endowments, among other obligations they funded educational or medical institutions. After the end of the Ottoman Empire, the British assigned the administration of these endowments in Palestine to the *Supreme Muslim Council*.
- ¹¹⁴ Wallach, *A City in Fragments*, p. 199. Wallach also pointed out that the hotel hosted the Arab Exhibitions of 1933 and 1934, similarly conveying a message of Arab modernity: Wallach, *A City in Fragments*, p. 201.
- ¹¹⁵ Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council*, p. 136.
- ¹¹⁶ Ohad Smith, 'Hotel Design in British Mandate', p. 102. The architect is identified as Nihad bey in the Palestine Bulletin: NLI, *Jerusalem's New Hotel*. Uri Kupferschmidt transliterates his name as Nahhas bey: Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council*, p. 136. In other secondary sources, he is also known as Mehmet Nihat Nigisberk.
- ¹¹⁷ Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council*, fig. 4.
- ¹¹⁸ Tom Segev interpreted the relation as a pragmatic stance on behalf of Amin al-Husayni: Segev, *Es war einmal ein Palästina*, pp. 303–304. The striking imbalance in access to capital between Palestinian and Zionist actors might have been a reason. Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, pp. 12–14. Smith, *The Roots of Separatism*. Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 64–68, 91–98. Certainly, the cooperation was no exception. Cyrus Schayegh analysed the economic cooperation and the interdependence between the Yishuv and Syria: Schayegh, *The Middle East and the Making of the Modern World*, pp. 226–242. // Wallach mentioned that Qatinga later installed secret microphones in the building, in the service of the Haganah: Wallach, *A City in Fragments*, p. 199.
- ¹¹⁹ NLI, *Jerusalem's New Hotel*. Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council*, pp. 136–137.
- ¹²⁰ NLI, *The New Jerusalem Palace Hotel*. NLI, *Jerusalem's New Hotel*. Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 58–59. Kupferschmidt, *The Supreme Muslim Council*, pp. 136–137.
- ¹²¹ NA, *Despatch No. 985*, 23/09/1932.
- ¹²² BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY, Khoori, *Jerusalem: How to see it*, p. 36. In the advertisement for his Jerusalem guide, Khoori stated that the author was from the Holy Land: BL, Khoori, *Cairo: How to See It*, p. 182.
- ¹²³ BIRZEIT UNIVERSITY, Khoori, *Jerusalem: How to see it*, pp. 34–36.
- ¹²⁴ Mammon, 'Pioneers of Modern Tourism', p. 33.
- ¹²⁵ NA, *Young to Parkinson*, 07/02/1933. NLI, *Advertise Palestine*, 05/1932.
- ¹²⁶ Jarman, 'Report on Palestine Administration 1922', I, pp. 336–337, 348.

- ¹²⁷ NLI, *Quidnunc, In a Few Lines*. NLI, *In Brief*. The Jamal Brothers were tour agents in Jerusalem: IfP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. 426. JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Tourist Development Association of Palestine, *Ancient and Modern Palestine*, p. 8.
- ¹²⁸ NLI, *Social and Personal*, 01/1933. In 1935, Sargent was no longer mentioned as a member, he seems to have been replaced by Cecil R. Webb: JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Tourist Development Association of Palestine, *Ancient and Modern Palestine*, p. 5.
- ¹²⁹ NLI, *Advertise Palestine*, 05/1932. NLI, *Tourist Association Meeting*, 11/1933. The Press Bureau of the Executive in Jerusalem was abolished in the spring of 1927 for economic reasons. G. Agronsky, however, volunteered to act in an honorary capacity as Director of Information, meet local and foreign press representatives as well as distinguished visitors. BL, *Zionist Organization in Palestine, Report on the Work of the Zionist Organization*, 11/08/1929, p. 11.
- ¹³⁰ NLI, Settel, *Selling Egypt*, 04/1937. Andrea Stanton highlighted that the *Palestine Post* regularly reported on Lebanese activities in tourism advertisement as well. Stanton, 'Locating Palestine's Summer Residence', p. 55.
- ¹³¹ NLI, *Advertise Palestine*, 05/1932.
- ¹³² NLI, *Tourist Association Meeting*, 11/1933.
- ¹³³ The Zionists well understood their advantage over the Palestinians in demography and capital in the 1930s: Khalidi, *The Iron Cage*, p. 12.
- ¹³⁴ NLI, *Tourist Association Meeting*, 11/1933.
- ¹³⁵ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Tourist Development Association of Palestine, *Ancient and Modern Palestine*, pp. 27–33. Tamari, 'Lepers, Lunatics, and Saints'.
- ¹³⁶ Eg JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Tourist Development Association of Palestine, *Ancient and Modern Palestine*, pp. 20–26.
- ¹³⁷ On the arrival of the film in Palestine: NLI, *Social and Personal*. NA, *Letter by Stewart Perowne*, 16/12/1938.
- ¹³⁸ NA, *Letter by Stewart Perowne*, 16/12/1938.
- ¹³⁹ Cf. Fabian, *Time and the Other*, p. 31.
- ¹⁴⁰ NA, *J. C. Lamont*, 14/06/1939.
- ¹⁴¹ RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 124. Eunice Holliday reported another version of the event: According to her, Balfour was able to visit the Dome of the Rock thanks to the disguised gendarmerie guiding him there: Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, p. 52. On the visibility of tourists in the streets of Jerusalem (1924) cf. also Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, p. 43.
- ¹⁴² Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 75.
- ¹⁴³ Steimatzky's guide for Jewish travellers mentioned the restrictions regarding tour guides, yet the author described the church in detail, including a precise plan of the Church's interior: IfP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, pp. 169–174.
- ¹⁴⁴ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 28/11/1929. Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 75.
- ¹⁴⁵ Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, pp. 6–11. The edited volume by Dalachanis and Lemire introduces many of the Jerusalemite communities: Dalachanis and Lemire, *Ordinary Jerusalem*.
- ¹⁴⁶ E.g. 'Proposed itinerary for a visit of three days to Jerusalem and vicinity': IfP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, p. vii.
- ¹⁴⁷ Berkowitz, *Western Jewry*, p. 142.
- ¹⁴⁸ In the photograph album of Rowland Christopher Jerram, five photographs represented Jerusalem, three of which showed the inner city. The clearest and best shot was certainly a clearly structured black-and-white photograph showing the cupolas of the Dome of the Rock and the smaller Dome

- of the Chain (Kubbet al-Silsileh) next to it: NMM, Jerram, *Photograph Album, 1922–1925*. They date from 1924.
- ¹⁴⁹ NA, Lawrence, *Travel photographs: Voyage to Egypt*. Moreover, Edwin W. Smith and George H. Williams mentioned in their diaries that they had taken photographs of the Dome: SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 28/11/1929. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 113.
- ¹⁵⁰ BL, Messinger Murdoch, *The World in Its True Colours*, p. 101. FRENCH LINES, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, *Souvenirs d'un voyage*.
- ¹⁵¹ Cf. for example the postcard in Dora Hilda Southgate's Album: SOAS, Southgate, *Postcard Album*. IFP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, pp. 54–55, 60.
- ¹⁵² ANF, Vacaresco, *La Croisière Bleue*, in: *Croisières*, pp. 63–64. NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 19/01/1932.
- ¹⁵³ MECA, Harrison, *Journal of Visit to Palestine*, 24/05/1925. Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, p. 66.
- ¹⁵⁴ Robson, 'Becoming a Sectarian Minority', pp. 62–67.
- ¹⁵⁵ Smith noted that he received the brochure as an admission ticket: SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 28/11/1929. George H. Williams copied information on the site's history from the booklet: RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Egypt, 1925*, pp. 175–178. IFP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. 148.
- ¹⁵⁶ IFP, *A Brief Guide*, p. 3. Irving, "This is Palestine", p. 2.
- ¹⁵⁷ IFP, *A Brief Guide*.
- ¹⁵⁸ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, Nov 28, 1929. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Egypt, 1925*, pp. 175–178.
- ¹⁵⁹ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 05/12/1929.
- ¹⁶⁰ Cohen-Hattab and Shoal, *Tourism, Religion and Pilgrimage*, p. 70. IFP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. 473.
- ¹⁶¹ IFP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, advertisement section. IFP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. 472. Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, p. 519. Hope, *Hotel Tiberias*, pp. 190, 196.
- ¹⁶² IFP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, p. 312.
- ¹⁶³ RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 70.
- ¹⁶⁴ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 06/12/1929. Cf. also Thomas Cook & Son et al., *The Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria*, 1929, pp. 256–259.
- ¹⁶⁵ NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 20/01/1932.
- ¹⁶⁶ Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, p. 520. Coleman, 'From the Sublime to the Meticulous', pp. 282–283.
- ¹⁶⁷ E.g. SOAS, Southgate, *Postcard Album*. IFP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, p. 318. Coleman, 'From the Sublime to the Meticulous', p. 284.
- ¹⁶⁸ NLI, *Palestine from Day to Day*.
- ¹⁶⁹ NA, *Palestine as a Health Resort*. JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palästina-Führer*, pp. 75–78.
- ¹⁷⁰ NA, *Palestine as a Health Resort*.
- ¹⁷¹ NLI, *Syrian Company to Lease Tiberias*. NA, *Palestine as a Health Resort*.
- ¹⁷² Le Gras, *Le Lac Méditerranéen*, p. 112.
- ¹⁷³ NA, *Memorandum on Tiberias Baths Concession*.
- ¹⁷⁴ Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 93–94. NLI, *Palestine from Day to Day*. NLI, *Jewish Company Acquires Tiberias Hot Springs*. NLI, *Hamamat Tabariyya yuba'u imtiyazha li-l-yahud*.
- ¹⁷⁵ Khalidi, *All That Remains*, pp. 518–520. According to Khalidi, Sulayman Nassif received the concession for the exploitation of the springs of al-Hamma in 1936 only: Khalidi, *All That Remains*, p. 519.
- ¹⁷⁶ NA, *Despatch No. 931, 24/10/1931*.

- ¹⁷⁷ Norris highlighted the significant impact of scientific credentials in attracting support from British political circles (sometimes outweighing financial difficulties of the Zionist competitors) in the example of the Dead Sea concession: Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 154–156. Cf. also Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 203–206.
- ¹⁷⁸ NA, *Tiberias Baths Concession 1931–1932*. NA, *Meeting No. 12, 08/10/1931*. Pedersen, 'The Impact of League Oversight'.
- ¹⁷⁹ NA, *The Hot Springs of Tiberias*.
- ¹⁸⁰ NLI, *Activities among the Zionists*. Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1933', pp. 318–319. The committee suggested that the stamps advertised visits to the following sites: the baths of Tiberias and Al-Hamma, the citrus groves of Jaffa, as well as the harbour of Haifa: NA, *Tourist Traffic 1933*.
- ¹⁸¹ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palästina-Führer*, pp. 75–77.
- ¹⁸² IrP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. 91.
- ¹⁸³ NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 20/01/1932. IrP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, pp. 311–313.
- ¹⁸⁴ NLI, *Notice, 01/1931*.
- ¹⁸⁵ JD PRIVATE COLLECTION, Chardon, *Méditerranée Orientale – Egypte*, p. 162.
- ¹⁸⁶ NA, *Tiberias Baths Concession 1938*. For the competition from al Hamma cf.: NA, *Despatch No. 931, 24/10/1931*.
- ¹⁸⁷ NLI, *Notes for Tourists VII*.
- ¹⁸⁸ SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II, 27/11/1929, 01/12/1929, 02/12/1929*. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 7.
- ¹⁸⁹ Cf. RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, p. 7.
- ¹⁹⁰ NMM, Roe, *Journal of Donovan C. Roe*, 24/08/1936. NLI, *Palestine Tourist Agencies Overlook Jewish Settlements*. MECA, Harrison, *Journal of Visit to Palestine*, 18/03/1925. An exception was Eunice Holliday, who had studied architecture and apparently enjoyed the modernist buildings of Tel Aviv and Nathanyah: Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, pp. 61, 158–159.
- ¹⁹¹ IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, front section advertisements, p. 9.
- ¹⁹² IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, p. 53. Cohen-Hattab, 'Zionism, Tourism, and the Battle for Palestine', p. 69.
- ¹⁹³ IrP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, f.
- ¹⁹⁴ IrP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, pp. 65–67. Similarly, the Shemen factory, producing olive oil and soaps, offered guided tours around the factory to tourists: IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, advertisement section.
- ¹⁹⁵ Krämer, *Geschichte Palästinas*, pp. 136–137, 226, 357. Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 47–48.
- ¹⁹⁶ IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, pp. 82–83. The Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) was the major fund-raising and financial institution of the Zionist Organization. The Fund provided financial aid to finance immigration to and settlement in Palestine: cf. Reich and Goldberg, 's.v. Keren Hayesod'. On the Keren Kayemeth Le Israel (Jewish National Fund): Reich and Goldberg, 's.v. Jewish National Fund'. Cf. also Pappé, *A History of Modern Palestine*, p. 97.
- ¹⁹⁷ IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, pp. 83–87.
- ¹⁹⁸ IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, pp. 31–49.
- ¹⁹⁹ Jarman, 'Report on the Administration of Palestine 1924', I, p. 539.
- ²⁰⁰ IrP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, e.g. pp. 73–77. IrP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, pp. 41–42.

- 201 IfP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*. Map signed Zink. M. Pikovsky, Jerusalem.
- 202 On the development and nineteenth-century discourses on the Dead Sea: Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 142–150.
- 203 RCSA, Williams, *Travel Diary: Palestine and Syria*, pp. 189–190. Norris argued that for that reason it was the ideal site to exhibit the positive effects of the British colonial presence: Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 139–140.
- 204 Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, p. 38.
- 205 Thomas Cook & Son, Luke and Garstang, *The Traveller's Handbook for Palestine and Syria, 1924*, pp. 167–169.
- 206 IfP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, p. 249. Norris, *Land of Progress*, pp. 150–160.
- 207 SOAS, Smith, *Travel Diaries, Diary 1929, II*, 29/11/1929.
- 208 NLS, Steele-Maitland, *Diary of Visit to Egypt*, 18/01/1932. The buildings she mentioned belonged most likely to the town of Jdeideh, founded by Jamal Pasha in 1915 as a place of distributing grain and salt for transport via railway to different parts of the empire (the salt was extracted by the Ottoman company *Djebel Usdum*, continued during the mandate as a Zionist company, *Palestine Salt*). IfP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, p. 247. Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, p. 603.
- 209 Monmarché, *Syrie – Palestine – Iraq – Transjordanie*, p. 603. Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, pp. 129–130. IfP, Matson, *The American Colony Palestine Guide*, p. 247. Seikaly, *Men of Capital*, p. 7. Vilnay mentions the Novomeysky-Tulloch Company as concessionaries for the exploitation of the Dead Sea minerals: IfP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. LXXXIV.
- 210 NLI, Tulloch, *Letter to the Editor*.
- 211 NLI, *Dead Sea Resort*.
- 212 IfP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, p. 63. IfP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, p. 267. Norris, *Land of Progress*, p. 201.
- 213 NLI, *Quidnunc, In a Few Lines*. NLI, *Dead Sea Resort*. Al-Husayni: While his position towards Zionism is not entirely clear, he did not support Arab nationalism and cooperated with Jewish entrepreneurs for business purposes. Pappé assumes that his distance towards Arab nationalism was partly due to a generational gap, the nationalist movement appearing alien to him and his pro-Ottoman leanings. Pappé, *The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian Dynasty*, pp. 104–106, 145, 176, 320.
- 214 NLI, *Social and personal*, 07/1933. NLI, *Sunny Christmas Holidays*. NLI, *Visit "Kallia"*. NLI, *Come to Kallia's Moonlight Dance*. NLI, *Kallia on the Dead Sea*. The destinations of the excursions were the Zarga River, Masada, and the Hot Springs of Callirhoe: Thomas Cook & Son, Lumby and Garstang, *Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq, 1934*, pp. 179–180.
- 215 IfP, Vilnay, *Steimatzky's Palestine Guide*, pp. 257, 265. Thomas Cook & Son, Lumby and Garstang, *Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq, 1934*, p. 179. NLI, *Drinks till Midnight at Kallia*.
- 216 IfP, Zionist Information Bureau for Tourists in Palestine, *Guide to New Palestine 1934*, p. 63. Thomas Cook & Son, Lumby and Garstang, *Cook's Traveller's Handbook to Palestine, Syria & Iraq, 1934*, p. 179. Eunice Holliday and the children visited the Dead Sea several times: E.g. Holliday, *Letters from Jerusalem*, pp. 65, 148.
- 217 NLI, *Kallia Taxi Office*. NLI, "Kallia" Ltd., *Bus Service*.
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- 220 NLI, *Major Tulloch's Description*.
- 221 NLI, *Readers' Letters: Dead Sea Holiday*.
- 222 NLI, Tulloch, *Kallia-on-the-Dead Sea*.

- ²²³ NLI, *New Life*.
²²⁴ Ohad Smith, 'Hotel Design in British Mandate Palestine', p. 109.
²²⁵ NLI, *New Life*.
²²⁶ Ohad Smith, 'Hotel Design in British Mandate Palestine', pp. 107–109.
²²⁷ NLI, *In Good Humour*.

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