

# “Can It Be That Our Dormant Language Has Been Wholly Revived?”: Vision, Propaganda, and Linguistic Reality in the Yishuv Under the British Mandate

## ABSTRACT

“Hebraization” was a project of nation building—the building of a new Hebrew nation. Intended to forge a population comprising numerous languages and cultural affinities into a unified Hebrew-speaking society that would actively participate in and contribute creatively to a new Hebrew-language culture, it became an integral and vital part of the Zionist narrative of the period. To what extent, however, did the ideal mesh with reality? The article grapples with the unreliability of official assessments of Hebrew’s dominance, and identifies and examines a broad variety of less politicized sources, such as various regulatory, personal, and commercial documents of the period as well as recently-conducted oral interviews. Together, these reveal a more complete—and more complex—portrait of the linguistic reality of the time.

## INTRODUCTION

THE PROJECT OF MAKING HEBREW THE LANGUAGE OF THE JEWISH community in Eretz-Israel was a heroic undertaking, and for a number of reasons. Similarly to other groups of immigrants, the Jewish immigrants (*olim*) who came to Eretz-Israel were required to substitute a new language for mother tongues in which they were already fluent. Unlike other groups

of immigrants, however, they were also required to function in a language not yet fully equipped to respond to all their needs for written, let alone spoken, communication in the modern world. Indeed, despite its accelerated development, Modern Hebrew at the time lacked many components that did exist in the immigrants' mother tongues. *Olim* were thus required not only to adopt a language that had not yet achieved the capacity to answer all their needs, but furthermore to become active participants in its creation.

The common Zionist narrative at the time presented an image of a Hebrew society in which Hebrew was spoken exclusively. The Hebrew language was given a major role in the construction of the new Hebrew nation in Eretz-Israel<sup>1</sup> and was charged with consolidating "immigrants and refugees camps into one unified nation".<sup>2</sup> It became an essential national asset and salient symbolic capital from the perspective of the Yishuv's leadership, who thus justified their efforts to inculcate the Hebrew language in the Jewish community and to secure its cultural hegemony.

The centrality of the Hebrew language to the construction of the nation, to the creation of the "new Jew", and to the establishment of a unified and shared national culture was repeatedly emphasized in the Zionist narrative. Its vision of Hebrew as the *one and only* language of the new Jewish community of the Yishuv was shared by most *olim*. However, this vision was realized only in part, and the linguistic reality in the Yishuv differed considerably. Despite the vital role with which Hebrew was charged in the construction of the nation, it struggled for its status throughout the British Mandate, with every wave of immigration initiating an even more obstinate fight. Although Hebrew was one of the three official languages defined by the British Mandate,<sup>3</sup> it was unable to achieve a hegemonic position within the Yishuv, let alone an exclusive one.

The article investigates the Zionist vision of Hebrew's revival, with a focus on the yearning for its exclusivity. It critically examines the extent to which that vision was in fact realized, while laying out the complicated structure of the Yishuv's linguistic "map"—the reality of multilingualism within Jewish society in Eretz-Israel.

This heterogeneous linguistic reality was the result of several contradictory trajectories. Alongside the strong desire for the rapid adoption of the Hebrew language as the single language of the Yishuv stood the *olim's* use of their mother tongues, which they found more convenient and expressive; alongside the public sphere, where Hebrew could be imposed to a certain degree, stood the nearly impervious private sphere; alongside pride in fluent Hebrew was the *olim's* pride in their mother tongues and cultures; alongside

the violent struggle to impose Hebrew's dominance were countless private and public domains where other languages prevailed; and alongside the older generation, there arose a younger generation experiencing a perpetual tension between their "home language", of which they were sometimes ashamed, and Hebrew, the language officially preferred. Some of these trajectories are present in almost every immigrant society, but others were unique to the Yishuv due to the two components mentioned above—the ideological impetus behind the project of "Hebraization", and the still-unfledged state of the Hebrew language that hindered the *olim* despite their willingness to take part in its revival.

The article relies on a variety of sources: oral interviews, memoirs, propaganda, and manifestos, amongst many other works, as well as more concrete data such as census results, school enrolment figures, library records, and data regarding the Hebrew- and foreign-language book markets. Precisely because of the centrality of Hebraization to the Zionist project some of these sources must be interpreted carefully, and at times with a grain of salt, as will be seen below. Others may be vague or incomplete regarding various questions of interest to this study. Nonetheless, even such sources can provide valuable impressions of, and assist in reconstructing, the complex linguistic reality of the time.

### "FLOWERS OF SPRING"

The vision held by the Yishuv's political, cultural, and social leadership required that the victory of the Hebrew language be indisputable, with Hebrew reigning over both the private and the public spheres. The leaders of various parties and movements, including Menachem Ussishkin,<sup>4</sup> David Ben-Gurion,<sup>5</sup> Yitzchak Ben-Zvi,<sup>6</sup> and Ze'ev Jabotinsky,<sup>7</sup> all thought of Hebrew as the exclusive language of the Yishuv. To them it was the most significant expression of national revival, and one that drew a line between Jewish life in the Diaspora and that in Eretz-Israel.

Enthusiastic reports of the "rate of Hebraization", often published in newspapers and periodicals, portrayed this vision as already fully-realized. As early as 1 October 1906, David Ben-Gurion wrote to his father of the dominance of Hebrew in Petach-Tikva:

Here is the revival of the Hebrew language! Signs in Hebrew hang in every shop, people speak Hebrew in the streets, in the stores, in the restaurants. The first blooming of revival! No, here none can doubt, here none can but

believe! He who has eyes can see and feel, and he who has a heart, a beating heart, will feel the flowering of spring!<sup>8</sup>

Yosef Klausner's memoirs convey his delight upon encountering Hebrew when he visited Jaffa and Tel-Aviv in 1912:

And can it be that our dormant language has been wholly revived after two thousand and four hundred years of bookish entombment—that it lives today in the mouths of an entire generation?—And have we really lived to see that which we had never seen before—a high school operating entirely in Hebrew . . . ? Such wonders—indeed, true wonders!—Could they truly be happening in our time, before our eyes?<sup>9</sup>

Similar enthusiasm abounds in writings from the following decades, as for instance in Y.D. Berkowitz's book *Menachem-Mendel in Eretz-Israel*, where he illustrated his encounter with the vibrant Hebrew life of the Yishuv.<sup>10</sup>

The link between Hebrew's revival in Eretz-Israel and that of the nation itself was evident even to those who had no connection to the language. On 27 July 1912, for example, *Filastin*, a twice-weekly, outspokenly anti-Zionist Jaffa-based newspaper owned by two Christian cousins, Yusuf al-'Isa and 'Isa al-'Isa, nonetheless reprinted an article from a Turkish newspaper on the "shining achievement" of the Hebrew language, which "in recent years has risen from the grave". The article noted that Hebrew had become the language used at home and in schools, even for instruction in the "high sciences", and predicted that, given the determination of the Jewish nation, Hebrew would resume its past glory.<sup>11</sup> When the French writer Joseph Kessel described his 1926 visit to the Middle East in his book *Le Temps de l'espérance* (The Time of Hope),<sup>12</sup> he noted both Hebrew's presence in the public sphere in Tel-Aviv, Jaffa, and Jerusalem, and the matter-of-fact manner in which it was spoken. Yet another example is a novel by the Greek author Nikos Kazantzakis, in which a teacher extols Eliezer Ben-Yehuda's project and personal sacrifices: "And if you go to Palestine today, you may hear the Jews speaking, haggling, arguing, romancing, lecturing, printing books and newspapers in that ancient resurrected tongue."<sup>13</sup>

Descriptions of Hebrew's dominance in the public sphere were often tinged with plain illusion or propaganda. Statistics concerning the degree to which Hebrew was present in the Yishuv were tainted as well. In 1912 the Russian Zionist newspaper *Rassviet* published a news piece on a civil register of the 790 residents of Tel-Aviv, then a "neighborhood" of Jaffa.

According to the article, Hebrew was spoken by 341 people (43%), “Jargon” [i.e., Yiddish] by 277 (35%), Russian by 89 (11%), German by 9 (1%), French by 14 (2%), English 14 (2%), Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) by 31 people (4%), and Arabic by 15 (2%). The previous year had been characterized by fewer Yiddish and more Russian speakers. Hebrew, however, had been spoken by an identical 43% of Tel-Aviv’s residents.<sup>14</sup>

This article was sent to the newspaper by Bezalel Yaffe, one of the founders of the land-purchasing company “Chevra Chadasha” (New Company), probably because he considered the data evidence of Hebrew’s superior status in Tel-Aviv. Despite this, it exasperated Achad Ha-am. He objected not to the data itself but to the way in which it had been interpreted and presented. On 27 March 1912, he sent an enraged letter from London to Mordechai Ben Hillel Hacoen, his friend and one of the founders of Tel-Aviv, in which he lectured the latter about the proper use of statistical data, maintaining that the data from the study should have been presented differently, so as to emphasize the high rate of Hebrew knowledge amongst the young generation.<sup>15</sup>

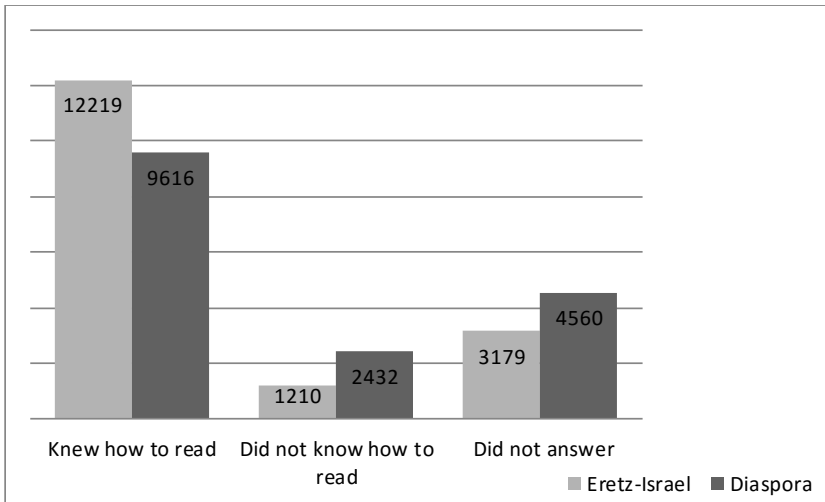
Summarizing the cultural activities of the Histadrut (the Eretz-Israel Jewish Labor Federation) in 1923, Ben-Gurion proudly quoted the results of a census conducted amongst the *po’alim* (workers) of the Histadrut wherein 91.6% of respondents responded positively to the question “Can you speak Hebrew?”. Ben-Gurion neglected to mention that this number ignored those who gave no answer at all, as well as the fact that many did not answer the significant question about their ability to read and write in Hebrew—essential indicators of the command of any language. In other words, in order to present the Yishuv’s highest “Hebraization rate” Ben-Gurion offered a manipulative reading of the data.<sup>16</sup> As we shall see, he was neither the first nor the last to do so.

The numerous statistical surveys and censuses conducted by Mandate authorities, the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, the Histadrut, and various local initiatives in different *yishuvim* (settlements), point to great interest in the “rate of Hebraization” and the political implications attributed to it. Both the daily and weekly press gave much attention to the language issue.<sup>18</sup> They presented a narrative according to which, during the first two decades of the twentieth century, Hebrew achieved a superior and nearly exclusive status in Yishuv life. In a “Register of Residents of Tel-Aviv”,<sup>19</sup> a 1915 survey apparently conducted by Ze’ev Smilansky, 557 households out of 659 reported their language usage as follows: Hebrew—239, Yiddish—198, Russian—48, Ladino—7, Arabic—4, German—13, other languages—15. Some of the participants claimed two spoken

Table 1: Analysis of the 1923 census results

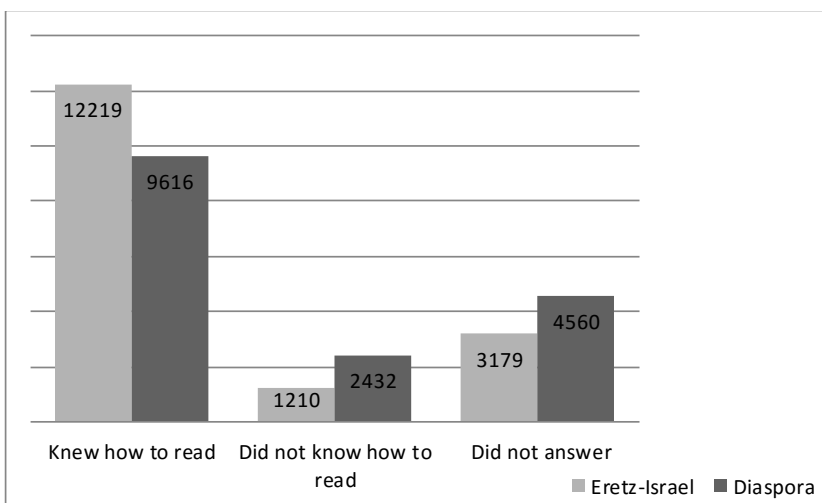
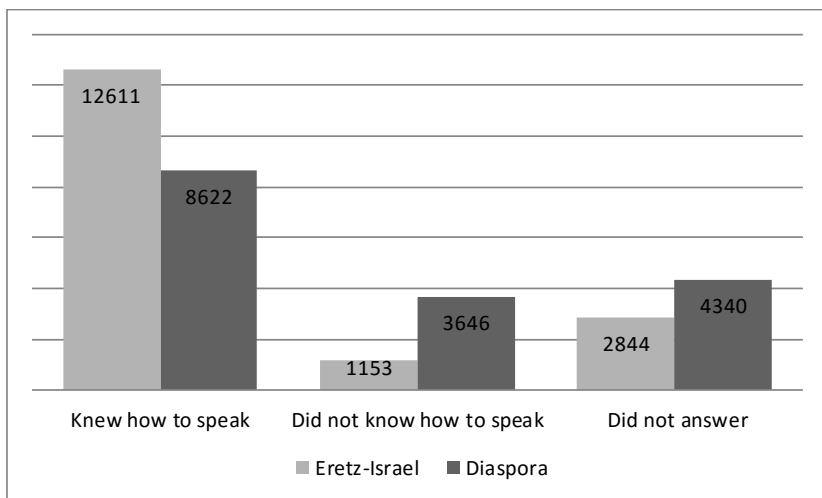
	Speak		Read		Write	
	Absolute value in percentages		Absolute value in percentages		Absolute value in percentages	
	Diaspora	Eretz-Israel	Diaspora	Eretz-Israel	Diaspora	Eretz-Israel
Knew	8,622 (51.9%)	12,611 (75.9%)	9,616 (57.9%)	12,219 (73.6%)	9,050 (54.5%)	11,627 (70%)
Did not know	3,646 (22.0%)	1,153 (7.0%)	2,432 (14.6%)	1,210 (7.3%)	2,793 (16.8%)	1,508 (9.1%)
Did not answer	4,340 (26.1%)	2,844 (17.1%)	4,560 (27.5%)	3,179 (19.1%)	4,765 (28.7%)	3,473 (20.9%)
Total	16,608 (100%)	16,608 (100%)	16,608 (100%)	16,608 (100%)	16,608 (100%)	16,608 (100%)

Charts 1–3: Hebrew knowledge amongst immigrants before and after arrival to Eretz-Israel per the 1923 census.



languages: Hebrew and Yiddish—18, Hebrew and Russian—9, Yiddish and Russian—3, Hebrew and Ladino—2, Yiddish and German—1.<sup>20</sup>

In a 1916–1918 census administrated by the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization, approximately 75% of young participants residing in Tel-Aviv and the Jewish *yishuvim* reported that they spoke Hebrew. According to this census, nearly half of those whom Roberto Bachi referred to as born or primarily raised (*dor ha-banim*) in Jaffa, Haifa, and the rest of Eretz-Israel, spoke Hebrew.<sup>21</sup> Not even one amongst the 15,065 Tel-Aviv residents participating in the census declared Yiddish as his or her language. Another



census, conducted by the British authorities on 23 October 1922,<sup>22</sup> registered 83,794 Jews. Chart 21 of that report indicates that more than eighty thousand (80,396) of these declared Hebrew as their spoken language,<sup>23</sup> and only 1,946 people, from the entire country, declared Yiddish as their language. According to Chart 22, 356 of the registered Jews in Jaffa declared Yiddish as their language (the census apparently made no distinction between Jaffa and Tel-Aviv), while 19,498 declared Hebrew as their language.<sup>24</sup>

In oral interviews we conducted with Israelis raised in the Yishuv, some of the interviewees continued to express, even in retrospect, their firm belief

Chart 4: Register of Residents of Tel-Aviv,<sup>25</sup> 1915.

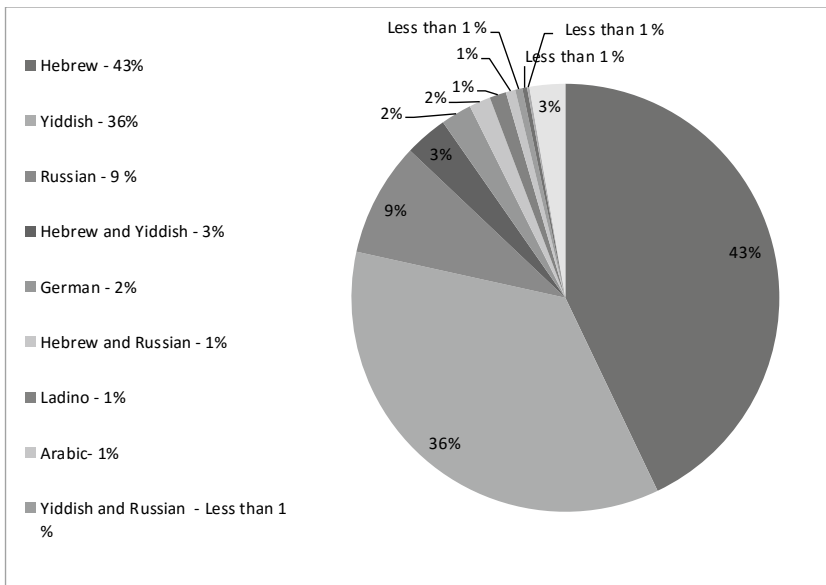


Chart 5: Register of Residents of Tel-Aviv, 1915.

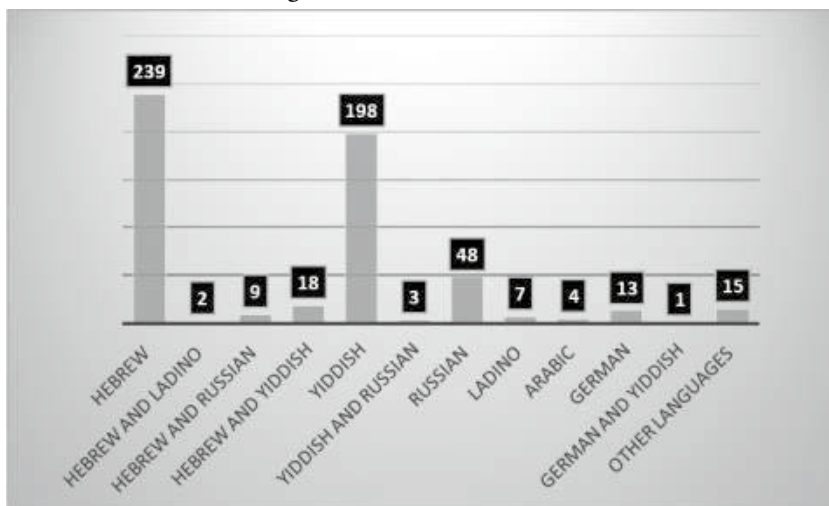




Table 2: Hebrew knowledge in Tel-Aviv  
(as reported by various organizations)<sup>26</sup>

Group	Number of participants	Number of participants able to speak Hebrew	Rate of participants able to speak Hebrew	Rate of participants unable to speak Hebrew
Tradesmen's Organization	1,642	985	60%	40%
Engineers' Union	55	52	95%	5%
Medical Federation	160	113	70%	30%
Merchants' Center	180	55	30%	70%
Federation of Officials	700	700	100%	—

in Hebrew's dominance during that time. One, born in 1921, referred explicitly to the relationship between Zionism and Hebrew and insisted that as a child he knew no language except Hebrew: [Q.] *And in what language did they speak to your parents?* Hebrew. Hebrew. [Q.] *How did they know Hebrew?* As I told you, it was a Zionist family, Hebrew was part of their Zionism, *Ivri daber Ivrit* ("Hebrews—speak Hebrew!") was the slogan, the catchphrase. They deliberately did not use their home languages. Speaking Yiddish was a sign of *galutiyut* (diasporic identity). ]Q.[ *Did you understand that from your parents?* No, with me they spoke Hebrew naturally, it was the language I knew well. I too had the impression, as a child, that Yiddish has no part in our lives here.<sup>27</sup>

An article in *Ha'aretz*, published in 1928, reported that 100% of Tel-Aviv's residents who were part of the Federation of Officials (*Histadrut ha-pkidim*) spoke Hebrew, as did 95% of the Engineers' Union (*Agudat ha-mehandesim*); 70% of the members of the Medical Federation; 60% of the members of the Tradesmen's Organization; and 30% of the Merchants' Center.

According to a survey conducted in Rishon Le-Zion and published in 1930,<sup>28</sup> every child there spoke Hebrew, as did 87% of men and 65% of women. Seventy percent of Rishon Le-Zion families (365 out of 516) reported speaking Hebrew at home.

According to the researchers Uziel Shmelz and Roberto Bachi,

Three censuses, administrated by the Histadrut in 1922, 1926, and 1937 to Jewish workers, indicated that the vast majority of workers spoke, read and wrote Hebrew. . . . A census conducted in Haifa and its surroundings in 1938 showed that 75% of Jews from the age of two onwards spoke Hebrew.

Chart 6: Hebrew knowledge in Tel-Aviv (as reported by various organizations).

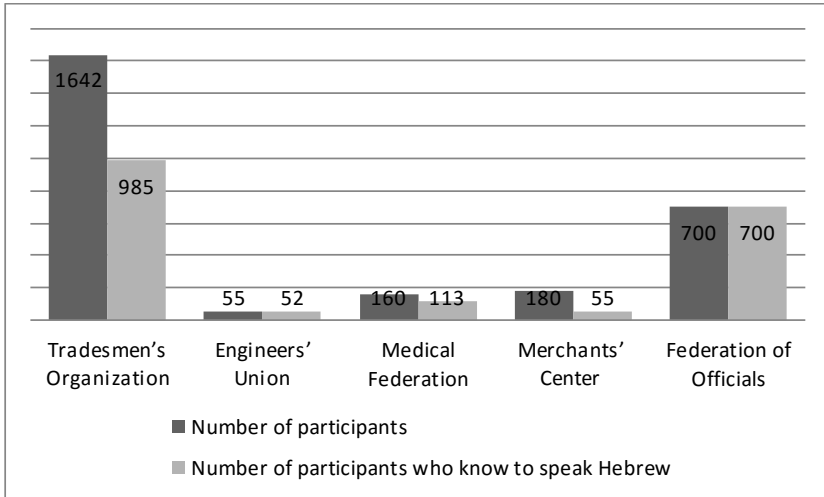


Table 3: Hebrew speakers in Tel-Aviv by occupation<sup>29</sup>

	Able to Speak Hebrew	Unable to speak Hebrew	Total
Workers (Male and Female)	5,400	3,900	9,300
Tradesmen	1,000	600	1,600
Wives thereof	—	1,500	1,500
Merchants, Industrialists, Pensioners	900	1,700	2,600
Wives thereof	—	2,200	2,200
Free Professions	1,200	100	1,300
Wives thereof	300	300	600
Children & Youth under 18	10,000	3,500	13,500
Others	No information		3,300
Total	20,600	14,100	38,000

Table 4: Hebrew knowledge among adults in Rishon Le-Zion<sup>30</sup>

Sex	Know how to		
	Read Hebrew	Write Hebrew	Speak Hebrew
Men	505 (85%)	485 (82%)	515 (87%)
Women	355 (60%)	339 (57%)	388 (65%)
Total	860 (73%)	824 (70%)	903 (76%)

Including people who knew only “a little bit of Hebrew” brought the numbers up to 87%.<sup>31</sup>

A memo handed to Ben-Gurion on 30 April 1936 suggests that approximately two thirds out of 300,000 adult Yishuv members knew Hebrew to some extent (disregarding “tens of thousands of Jews, especially old Yishuv Jews, who [thought they] knew Hebrew but did not speak it”).<sup>32</sup> By November 1948, six months after the State of Israel declared independence, 75% of all Jewish Israeli citizens used the Hebrew language as their main or only language.<sup>33</sup>

These different censuses, surveys, and questionnaires strived to create an image of Hebrew’s superiority against Yiddish’s inferiority. Yet this image, a result of wishful thinking, manipulative responses to, and manipulative reading of statistical data, does not accurately reflect the linguistic reality indicated by the various sources we studied. As one of our interviewees put it: “Yiddish, a lot of Yiddish, it was there, not dominant but you would hear Yiddish everywhere.”<sup>34</sup>

## ANALYSIS OF STATISTICAL DATA

In January 1936, the Tel-Aviv municipality published an open manifesto that explicitly articulated the vital connection between national and linguistic revival:

And do not imagine in your hearts that without the dominance of the national language amongst ourselves we can gain a national status and build our home here. *A people that does not speak its own language is not a people, and woe to him who brings disaster and ruin upon our project in the Yishuv, and upon Hebrew culture in Eretz-Israel, through disrespect for the Hebrew language.*<sup>35</sup>

Another manifesto, published by the municipality on 17 January 1938 in honor of “Hebrew Language Week” and signed by Mayor Israel Rokach, exhorted “Be careful strictly to protect our greatest national asset for generations, without which the redemption of Israel in its greater homeland cannot be imagined—the Hebrew language!”<sup>36</sup>

In addition to the ideological impetus that led to biased data gathering, several methodological malfunctions further impaired the credibility of these studies as shown by the following examples.

In a public announcement published by the Tel-Aviv municipality on 16 November 1931 (in preparation for a general residential census held shortly thereafter by the Mandate government and published in 1933), the municipal administration instructed the city's residents to report that they spoke Hebrew even if they did not; in effect, the city's residents were asked to "fudge" the results. Roberto Bachi, founder of Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, pointed out a phenomenon wherein: "[data in surveys] was impaired significantly by imprecise statements given as a result of deliberate political propaganda urging all Jewish residents to reply 'Hebrew' to the language query."<sup>37</sup> Thus, many who reported that they knew Hebrew most probably tried to adjust their answer to the expectations raised by the propagandists.

We may also assume that participants varied in their interpretation of the question of whether they "knew" Hebrew: did it refer to the use of Hebrew in all aspects of life; to the most basic ability to interact in Hebrew; or to any intermediate ability? In the article quoted above, Ben-Gurion wrote that in 1923 "the number of Hebrew speakers is larger than the number of Hebrew readers."<sup>38</sup> The data thus often provide at best a vague assessment of Hebrew knowledge in the Yishuv. Indeed Bachi, in an article summarizing the standing of the Hebrew language in the Yishuv and in the first years of nationhood, maintained that the concept of "knowing" the Hebrew language ranged widely.<sup>39</sup>

Often census participants were asked about their use and command of a single language only. When asked to describe their linguistic habits in their entirety,<sup>40</sup> the answers indicate that even participants who reported knowing Hebrew often simultaneously reported using another language or languages as well. Some surveys, like the one conducted in Rishon Le-Zion, show that tens of languages were simultaneously in use.

What about the young generation? A survey administered by the Histadrut's education department during the Jewish calendar year 5682 (1921–22) indicates that the number of Yiddish-speaking households significantly surpassed the number of Hebrew-speaking households. 232 out of 580 households of children who attended preschools and kindergartens run by the Jaffa Board of Education spoke only Yiddish; 23 households spoke both Hebrew and Yiddish; and Hebrew was spoken exclusively in 115 households.<sup>42</sup> Amongst students within the educational system run by the Jaffa Board of Education (pre-elementary, elementary and high schools, as well as teachers' seminars), 1,435 (51.27%) spoke Hebrew at home. Many spoke one or more languages in addition to Hebrew: 608 (21.72%) spoke only Hebrew, while 827 (29.55%) spoke Hebrew and were multilingual.

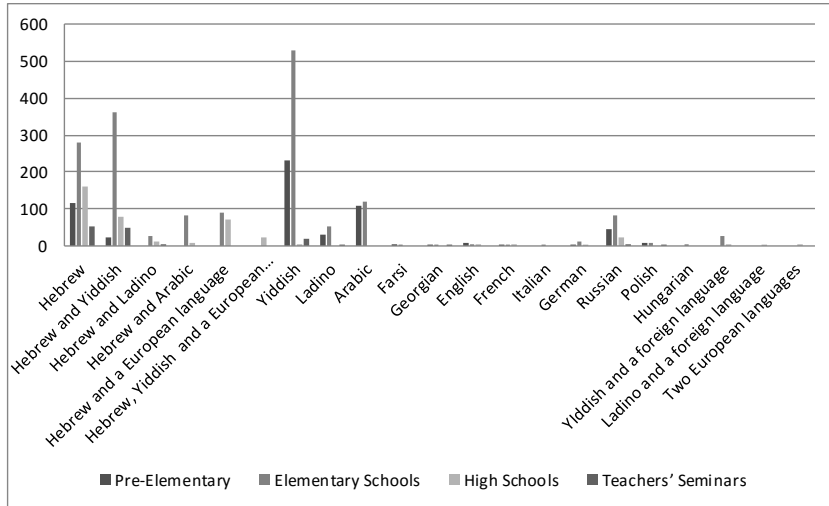
Table 5: Foreign Language Usage Amongst Adults in Rishon Le-Zion<sup>43</sup>

Language	Men	Women	Total	Language	Men	Women	Total
Yiddish	399	375	744	Lithuanian	4	2	6
Arabic	221	206	427	T.T	3	3	6
Russian	222	173	395	Italian	4	1	5
German	111	74	185	Hungarian	4	—	4
English	97	61	158	Farsi	2	2	4
Polish	85	64	149	Spanish	1	2	3
French	71	63	134	Czech	1	—	1
Ladino	25	26	51	Armenian	1	—	1
Turkish	21	16	37	Georgian	1	—	1
Romanian	25	11	36	Greek	1	—	1
Bulgarian	11	4	15	Ukrainian	1	—	1
Latvian	7	3	10	Bukhari	1	—	1

 Table 6: Languages spoken at home amongst students at Jaffa Board of Education schools<sup>44</sup>

	Pre-Elementary	Elementary Schools	High Schools	Teachers' Seminars	Total
Hebrew	115	280	161	52	608
Hebrew & Yiddish	23	360	79	48	510
Hebrew & Ladino	—	28	13	4	45
Hebrew & Arabic	—	81	8	—	89
Hebrew & a European language	—	89	71	—	160
Hebrew, Yiddish & a European language	—	—	23	—	23
Yiddish	232	527	6	21	786
Ladino	30	52	—	2	84
Arabic	110	120	—	—	230
Farsi	4	1	—	—	5
Georgian	1	1	—	1	3
English	7	5	6	—	18
French	1	1	4	—	6
Italian	—	1	—	—	1
German	3	11	3	—	17
Russian	47	81	22	6	156
Polish	7	8	—	1	16
Hungarian	—	6	—	—	6
Yiddish & a foreign language	—	25	5	—	30
Ladino & a foreign language	—	—	2	—	2
Two European languages	—	—	4	—	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>580</b>	<b>1677</b>	<b>407</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>2799</b>

Chart 7: Languages spoken at home amongst students at Jaffa Board of Education schools.



In Jerusalem Hebrew usage was less common than in Tel-Aviv. Only 67 out of 906 children who attended pre-elementary schools spoke Hebrew at home. The rest spoke another language in addition to Hebrew or did not speak Hebrew at all: 236 spoke Yiddish; 39 spoke Hebrew and Yiddish; 33 spoke Hebrew and Arabic; 22 spoke Hebrew and Ladino; 5 Hebrew and Farsi; 4 Hebrew and Bukhori; 3 Hebrew and Kurdish; 4 Hebrew and a European language. The percentage of Hebrew-speaking households of students at schools run by the Jerusalem Board of Education was 48.2% during 1921–22 [5682]. Many spoke an additional language: 813 (19.16%) spoke only Hebrew, while 1,231 (29.04%) spoke Hebrew nonexclusively. Altogether 2,044 students (48.2%) spoke at least some Hebrew at home.<sup>44</sup>

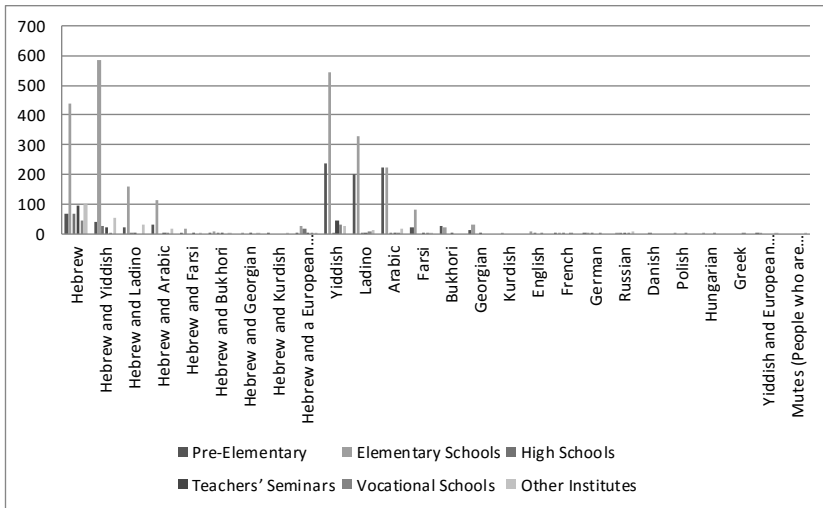
Surprisingly, Hebrew was not used exclusively even amongst students at schools run by the Yishuv. A substantial number of Jewish students attended schools where the language of instruction was not Hebrew. For instance, during 1925–26 [5682] the total number of Jewish students who attended schools was 26,832, but only 16,243 (60.5%) were educated in schools that belonged to the Zionist Executive where Hebrew was the primary language of instruction. Even as late as 1947, 20% of youths within the Yishuv were educated primarily in languages other than Hebrew.<sup>45</sup>

These data lead us to challenge the common perception of a young generation born and raised in Eretz-Israel solely on the Hebrew language. This is particularly true when we bear in mind the fact that even children

Table 7: Languages spoken at home amongst students at Jerusalem Board of Education schools (1921–1922) [5682]

	Pre-Elementary	Elementary Schools	High Schools	Teachers' Seminars	Vocational Schools	Other Institutes	Total
Hebrew	67	437	69	94	47	99	813
Hebrew & Yiddish	39	587	28	24	6	56	740
Hebrew & Ladino	22	160	4	3	—	31	220
Hebrew & Arabic	33	114	—	1	1	19	168
Hebrew & Farsi	5	16	—	1	—	3	25
Hebrew & Bukhori	4	8	1	1	—	2	16
Hebrew & Georgian	—	4	—	1	—	1	6
Hebrew & Kurdish	3	—	—	—	—	1	4
Hebrew & a European language	4	27	16	3	1	1	52
Yiddish	236	543	5	45	30	25	884
Ladino	199	327	3	3	8	13	553
Arabic	222	225	2	2	1	19	471
Farsi	21	82	—	4	2	5	114
Bukhori	27	24	—	2	—	—	53
Georgian	14	31	—	—	—	2	47
Kurdish	—	6	—	—	—	—	6
English	—	7	2	—	1	—	10
French	2	2	1	—	4	—	9
German	1	2	1	—	1	—	5
Russian	4	6	5	1	9	—	25
Danish	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
Polish	—	1	—	—	1	—	2
Hungarian	—	3	—	—	2	—	5
Greek	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Yiddish & European languages	3	5	—	—	—	2	10
Mutes (Students unable to speak)	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Total	906	2,617	138	185	115	281	4,242

Chart 8: Languages spoken in households of students who attended the Jerusalem Board of Education schools (1921–22) [5682].



and young people who spoke Hebrew nonetheless often conducted parts of their life not in Hebrew and were bilingual or even multilingual in various situations.

## THE COMPLEXITY OF THE LINGUISTIC REALITY

The diverse body of sources testifying to the heterogenic and versatile linguistic reality; the evasive nature of data concerning Hebrew usage; and the differences between the use of Hebrew as an *only* language and as a *main* language amongst others—all these factors make reconstructing the linguistic reality a rather demanding enterprise. We may assume with much certainty that even when people knew Hebrew, they were often involved in bilingual and even multilingual interactions. The different censuses, surveys, and statistics point to the existence of a marked difference in the degrees to which children and adults spoke Hebrew. This generational divide implies that children who spoke Hebrew often had to resort to other languages in order to interact with their elders. Furthermore, children raised in predominantly Hebrew-speaking households were frequently exposed to bilingual and multilingual situations, for example when visiting friends' or relatives' homes. Thus any accounts of Hebrew's exclusivity amongst the young generation must be weighed with care.



The variety of sources and the in-depth interviews we conducted reflect a complex linguistic reality characterized by partial use of Hebrew, frequent linguistic diglossia, and the use of macaronic language (the blending of several languages in one expression). It seems that in the private sphere Hebrew usage was often a matter of “task division”: children spoke Hebrew amongst themselves, but used a different language to communicate with their parents; their parents spoke foreign languages amongst themselves and with their children and elders. In these interviews we often encountered descriptions of children who were allegedly brought up speaking Hebrew alone. Though taught to despise Yiddish, they would in fact use it in order to communicate with their grandparents. An interviewee born in 1916 told us: *[Q.] When your grandparents came here what language did people speak with them? Yiddish, only Yiddish. [ . . . ] and the grandmother? Grandmother knew only Yiddish, but I don't know, somehow I got along with her.*<sup>46</sup>

In order to obtain a more reliable picture of the linguistic reality we cannot rely simply on the questionnaires, censuses, and surveys conducted throughout the Mandate, but must crosscheck these with a variety of other sources. We should consult biographies, memoirs, and evidence regarding leisure culture, such as data concerning books and newspapers imported from abroad; book borrowing in libraries; advertisements for literary events; theatre productions; street signs; and restaurant menus. A rich source for the reconstruction of the linguistic reality in the Yishuv is found in the interviews we have been conducting since 2010 with people who were born in Eretz-Israel or emigrated as children during the British Mandate. Further evidence of the linguistic reality can be found in institutional and non-institutional activities that were aimed at imposing the Hebrew language on the Jewish population. Thus, for example, the struggle against other languages, particularly Yiddish and German, actually reveals their significant presence in the public sphere; the attempt to force Tel-Aviv residents to use Hebrew for their correspondence with the municipality testifies to the necessity for such enforcement.<sup>47</sup>

Although the official policy of the Yishuv's institutions and some municipalities gave Hebrew a preferred and even exclusive standing within the public sphere, a wide range of evidence establishes that Hebrew was not actually used exclusively in any part thereof. In fact, a substantial part of daily life was conducted *not* in Hebrew. City street signs and business signs were written in several languages besides Hebrew, chiefly Yiddish, Polish, German, English, and Arabic.<sup>48</sup> The Tel-Aviv municipality demanded business owners “change the foreign names of their businesses to Hebrew names that will be suitable to Tel-Aviv's tradition as a Hebrew city”, and offered

assistance by proposing Hebrew names to businesses.<sup>49</sup> The Battalion for Defense of the Language in Eretz-Israel [henceforth BDL]) fought, at times with literal violence, against non-Hebrew business names or signs.<sup>50</sup>

Restaurant menus were often bilingual, with Hebrew appearing beside German or English. The Tel-Aviv restaurant “Corso” at 53 Allenby St., for instance, offered: *warme Speisen, kalte Speisen, kalte Getränke, and Gebäck*; the café and restaurant “Cohen” in Giv’at Herzl served *Kartoffel Suppe* and *Erbesen Suppe*, amongst other dishes.<sup>51</sup> During the 1920s, as we learn from an enraged letter from Meir Dizengoff to Moshe Hopenko, principal of the Shulamit Music Conservatory,<sup>52</sup> some of that school’s teachers conducted their lessons in Russian. The public manifestos of the BDL demonstrate the extent to which foreign languages were used in public transportation and commerce.<sup>53</sup> In one manifesto, for instance, the leadership of the Battalion demands that bus passengers insist their drivers speak only in Hebrew and publicly reprimand them should they converse with passengers in other languages.<sup>54</sup>

Diverse testimonies as to the extensive use in daily communication of languages including Arabic, Ladino, French, German, Russian, and particularly Yiddish contradict the enthusiastic descriptions, quoted above, of Hebrew’s pre-eminence in the “Holy Land”. Even the rosiest accounts reflected this duality; thus, for example, we have Shlomo Zemach’s description of a group of people gathered to hear a lecture in Hebrew by David Yudilevich as: “a motley, loud, chattering crowd speaking Russian, French, Yiddish and more”.<sup>55</sup>

In her memoirs, written retrospectively, Rachel Neemann illustrated the multilingual reality in the *moshava* (settlement) Ekron. She described how the local teacher, during 1891–98, compelled his household to speak only Hebrew, whereas other families used different languages alongside Hebrew.<sup>56</sup> David Yellin described the task division common in 1903 Jerusalem amongst kindergarten students, who spoke Hebrew throughout the day at the “First Hebrew Kindergarten” and, upon returning home, spoke in other languages with their parents.<sup>57</sup>

Both immigrants and children born in Eretz-Israel were brought up speaking non-Hebrew languages. As our interviewees testify time and again, they often learned Hebrew only after entering kindergarten. An interviewee born in 1936<sup>58</sup> told us that when she first entered kindergarten she understood no Hebrew, because at home her parents spoke with her in German: [Q.] *Yes, your parents spoke with you . . . they spoke with me only in German. . . . [Q.] You say that your parents started to learn Hebrew only when you were two years old, so you probably still spoke German when you were three . . . True,*

but when I was three years old I went to kindergarten. And I think that . . . I, I do not have clear memories, but I remember sitting and crying for not understanding them. But . . . for a year I went to my first kindergarten and the next year I attended a different one. There, I already knew Hebrew. Then, I did not have any problem.

An interviewee born in 1940 told us that he learned Hebrew only after he began to attend kindergarten:<sup>59</sup> [Q.] *And what languages did they speak?* They spoke German. My mother spoke decent Hebrew. She learned it in Germany. My father knew very little Hebrew and just . . . all of his customers were *Yekkes* [German Jews], sticking to German did not create any problems for him. The clerks were *Yekkes* as well. [Q.] *And did they speak only German between them?* Yes, German met all their needs. [Q.] *And you?* I spoke German. At one point my parents said . . . we spoke German first and foremost because of the old grandmother who lived with us and knew only German. So, there was no sense in speaking Hebrew. But at some point my parents said: now we will switch to Hebrew, maybe you can teach us. So I told them I did not want to lose my German, I was in the sixth or seventh grade, and insisted on continuing to speak German. [Q.] *How did you learn Hebrew?* Ah, from books, actually, I had quite good Hebrew, then. [Q.] *Did they buy you books in Hebrew?* Yes, no, I was in school, yes. At the age of 5 I attended kindergarten and there, at the kindergarten, I learned Hebrew for the first time, after that I learned it in school. As I said, I learned a lot from books, I had good Hebrew at the time, better than I do today.

An interviewee born in 1920 described meetings of the *moshava* board of Chadera, which were conducted in several languages besides Hebrew: [Q.] *So he and she used to speak in . . . Russian.* [Q.] *They spoke Russian at home.* And . . . they told me, I do not know if it is true, that . . . he was a member and chairman of the *moshava* board. When he arrived, the other member used to say: *do kumt der sheygets* (here comes the *sheygets*) so they needed to talk . . . not in Yiddish or Hebrew . . . but Russian. Many of the meetings were held in Russian . . . a little bit in Yiddish too.<sup>60</sup>

Thus many children born in Eretz Israel, or who immigrated with their parents at an early stage of their life, learned Hebrew as a foreign language. Needless to say, their language usage was different from that of their parents both in its praxis as well as in their sentiments towards the foreign language. Their parents' generation chose to hold on to their native languages for several reasons, amongst which their poor command of Hebrew was perhaps not topmost. More important were nostalgia, a sense of convenience, and the desire to hang on to their "old" culture. At times, a language of origin might be spoken because it felt more "intimate" and was easier to express

oneself in;<sup>61</sup> at times, especially with German, it was used strategically to secure symbolic capital and prestige for the speaker.

## ATTACHMENT TO THE MOTHER TONGUE

Alongside the vision of a society living entirely in Hebrew existed a perpetual longing for one's mother tongue, or "natural language"—a language with which the speaker could feel "at home". Hebrew was not the mother tongue of a large number of the Yishuv's population. It is difficult—almost impossible—to let go of one's mother tongue; to Ze'ev Jabotinsky, it was that language toward which one's hand is inevitably drawn when reaching for a book on the shelf—"the language with which my teacher poisoned me, [which] has no balm in Gilead".<sup>62</sup>

When asked to give a speech in Hebrew at the opening ceremony of the Goldziher Library,<sup>63</sup> Chaim Weizmann complained about it in Yiddish (as Gershom Scholem related in *From Berlin to Jerusalem*): "*Der loshn koydesh harget mir avek!*" (This *loshn koydesh* is killing me!)<sup>64</sup>

Although Weizmann was used to giving speeches in Hebrew, Yiddish was the mother tongue to which he was attached; he felt comfortable enough in English and even in French, but not in Hebrew. He expressed his discomfort in Yiddish,<sup>65</sup> and this tendency to express emotions in one's mother tongue is found in many testimonies—even of figures particularly identified with the revival of the Hebrew language, such as Chaim Nachman Bialik or Avraham Shlonsky, who used either Yiddish or Russian for that purpose, and especially to express ridicule or anger. As Gershom Scholem wrote, it was often told of Bialik that he preferred to communicate with friends in Yiddish:

Sometimes, when I spent my Saturdays in Tel-Aviv, I was amongst his welcomed guests. His friends and acquaintances used to gather at his home on Saturday evening and to converse in Yiddish. When I entered the house, he used to say: "*Der yekke iz gekumen, m'darf redn loshn koydesh.*" (The *Yekke* is here, we need to speak *loshn koydesh*.)<sup>66</sup>

In his book *My Conversations with Bialik*, the historian Simon Rawidowicz depicted many scenes in which Bialik switched to Yiddish, especially at moments in which he was upset or mocking others.<sup>67</sup>

Yosef Chayyim Brenner seasoned his conversations with Shmuel Yosef Agnon in Yiddish.<sup>68</sup> Shlonsky, who in the 1920s would embed Russian

words in his letters, did so using the Cyrillic alphabet and not Hebrew transliterations, as in a letter to Eliezer Steinman dated 21 October 1929,<sup>69</sup> or to Yitzhak Lamdan dated 22 November 1924.<sup>70</sup>

## VISION AND BITTER DISENCHANTMENT

In light of this complex linguistic reality, it is not surprising that the excitement of the project of Hebraization was also accompanied by bitter disappointment. Bialik, on his first visit to Palestine in 1909, received a welcome fit for royalty. Crowds poured in to a reception held at the Feingold Hotel by Tel-Aviv's seashore. As Ya'ari-Poleskin wrote in his book *Dreamers and Warriors*, "More than three thousand people came from Jaffa and from the *moshavot* to welcome the poet". He described how the workers (*po'alim*), who so longed to meet the national poet face to face and were prepared to walk ten kilometers from Petach-Tikva to Jaffa just to greet him, finally saw Bialik—who abruptly interrupted the speakers at the reception and, his eyes "alight with rage", confronted them with an icy description of his experiences thus far:

And my first impression, I must tell you the truth, is not an impression of revival. I walked in Jaffa's narrow streets and dark corridors. The same Jewish minority, the same diasporic sights. I longed to listen to Hebrew speech, like that of these speakers here on the podium, but alas, in the Jewish quarters in Neve-Shalom and Neve-Tzedek, I heard Russian jargon, Spanish jargon and jargon mixed with many Arabic words. The sounds of Hebrew rang nowhere, except from the mouths of a few children.<sup>71</sup>

Bialik's hope to experience the revival of Hebrew in Eretz-Israel was shattered. A few days later, in a letter to his wife Manya, he described his disappointment on hearing children speak Yiddish during his visit to Petach-Tikva: "I was distressed to hear there even less Hebrew than in the other *moshavot*. Even from the mouths of children I heard very little Hebrew."<sup>72</sup>

Yet Bialik himself conducted some of his daily interactions in Yiddish. Once he was even sued in the Hebrew Magistrate Court by a member of the BDL.<sup>73</sup> Nonetheless, he saw no contradiction between his own use of Yiddish in his private life and the disappointment he felt while encountering Yiddish in the different *moshavot*, nor had he second thoughts before expressing his bitter disappointment to the public who came to greet him.

There is ample evidence for the success of the propaganda that created both an image of Hebrew ascendant in the Jewish *yishuvim* and the attendant expectations. One example suffices here, taken from Shlomo Zemach's depiction of the linguistic mosaic he encountered on a stagecoach drive from Jaffa to Rishon Le-Zion. It describes his dismay upon becoming aware of the widespread use of Russian, French, Yiddish, and German: "My heart broke; this was not how I imagined the village inhabitants; bitter reality had struck again and made a small scratch to mar the dream I carried with me across the sea."<sup>74</sup>

### COMPETITION WITH YIDDISH

Despite the Yishuv's attempts to veil its existence, Yiddish remained prominent in the life of the Yishuv. According to Bachi, during 1916–18 "Yiddish was spoken by nearly 70% of the Ashkenazi first generation, and about a third of the Ashkenazi second generation". In 1948 the rate of Yiddish speakers was still 47%.<sup>75</sup> According to the evidence we have gathered, and in light of the highly problematic state of the source material, I believe that it was much higher. Most of our interviewees depicted Yiddish as a constant threat to the project of Hebraization.

The attitude towards Yiddish was ambivalent; while they used it frequently, its speakers treated it with disdain, as is clear, for instance, from the testimony of one interviewee, born in 1916:

My parents spoke Yiddish amongst themselves, with me they spoke Russian. You may not understand this now but in those days it was very common. *Intellectuals wanted their children to speak a proper language, not Yiddish.* So . . . with me they spoke Russian . . . they spoke Russian with me and not Yiddish, all those years I despised Yiddish.<sup>76</sup>

One indication of the strong presence of Yiddish can be found in the fact that it was used even by non-Jews. The following is one of Agnon's anecdotes of encountering Yiddish spoken by Arab inhabitants, right after his arrival in Palestine:

I greeted her with *Shabbat Shalom u-Mevorach* in Hebrew and asked, whether in Hebrew or Yiddish, I do not remember—where is the Sephardi synagogue? She closed her good eye, peered at me through her sealed eye and inquired with a curious intonation, *bist a frenk vos zukhst a frenkish mokem koydesh dort*

*hobkit a frenk, tu im a freg vet er dir zogn*, meaning, are you a Sephardi Jew asking for a Sephardic house of prayer? See that Sephardi Jew waddling there, ask him and he'll tell you. A few days passed and I happened to arrive at the house of Chovevei Zion's [legal] agent. The same woman saw me there; she was an Arab woman who served at his house. She glanced at me and said, in front of everyone, *Hob zikh teykhefgekht az der musye iz fun unzerike yuden un nisht epes a frenk*, meaning, I figured straight away that this gentleman was one of ours and not a Sephardi.<sup>77</sup>

According to Dov Volchonsky's study of Rishon Le-Zion, Yiddish was prevalent amongst the settlers there; even "Yemenites and Sephardi Jews learned Yiddish".<sup>78</sup> Gershom Scholem wrote of the high price he paid (both metaphorically and otherwise) for insisting on speaking Hebrew instead of Yiddish while haggling for books in Jerusalem's Haredi (ultra-Orthodox) Me'a She'arim neighborhood, where Yiddish was the default language.<sup>79</sup>

Bachi claimed that Yiddish was common amongst Yishuv children, and not merely amongst their parents.<sup>80</sup> Such was the impression of many who toured the country, like Yosef Klausner:

As I passed through the sand dunes separating "Neve-Shalom" from "Tel-Aviv" I saw some youngsters at play. I listened carefully and heard one tell the other: *Di mame vet dir tsufrasken di tsure* [Mama'll tan your hide!]. Such pure Lithuanian jargon I had not heard in ages. I asked the boy in Hebrew where he went to school and he answered me in Hebrew: "Talmud Torah". In Talmud Torah in Jaffa they still teach in Ashkenazi Yiddish, just like in the Talmud Torah schools of the Pale of Settlement.<sup>81</sup>

Still, Klausner pointed out that people who spoke and studied in Yiddish were nonetheless able to interact in Hebrew: "Even so, the boy, who spoke Yiddish at home and at school, knew how to speak Hebrew with me. When I asked him where his Hebrew came from he answered simply: 'Everyone speaks Hebrew'."<sup>82</sup>

The fear of a Yiddish-speaking Eretz-Israel was behind a violent struggle waged against Yiddish since the beginning of the twentieth century. This subject has been examined thoroughly by Arye Leyb Pilowsky, and two typical examples he provides illustrate the passion that characterized that struggle. On 21 June 1914 a stink bomb was thrown in a Tel-Aviv theatre while a Yiddish-language performance of Goldfaden's *Shulamith* was underway;<sup>83</sup> and on 27 September 1930, during a screening of the Yiddish-language movie *Di Yidishe Mame* (The Jewish Mother) at the Mugarbi

Cinema, a riot broke out in the movie theatre despite the presence of British Police forces. Any further screening of the movie was banned by Tel-Aviv's deputy mayor, Israel Rokach.<sup>84</sup>

Attempts to stage plays or screen movies in German also faced zealous resistance. In 1928, when a German-language play was staged at a coffeehouse, members of the BDL hastened to file a complaint with the municipality. The café's owner, likely afraid of losing his license, sent a highly contrite letter to the municipal administration: "I hereby wish to express my sincere apology for this unintentional mistake. I promise you, that henceforth, and as long as the [café] is in my hands, this shall never happen again. Please forgive me."<sup>85</sup>

The struggle against languages other than Hebrew was led simultaneously by the Yishuv leadership from above, and by mostly spontaneous youth organizations from below. Although discussion of these two spheres exceeds the scope of this article,<sup>86</sup> it should be noted that almost any means were found acceptable toward achieving a Hebrew-speaking Eretz-Israel. Youths who behaved wildly and crossed the lines more than once nonetheless enjoyed some form of protection, presumably as a result of Hebrew's special status in the life of the Yishuv.<sup>87</sup>

## PATTERNS OF LEISURE CULTURE

It is impossible to reconstruct the linguistic interactions of the private sphere to any great extent. We do, however, have at our disposal sufficient sources to reconstruct, at least partially, the linguistic reality of leisure culture within the Yishuv. An analysis of the linguistic reality of the entire spectrum of leisure activity requires an in-depth and necessarily separate discussion; here we focus on some of the reading patterns in Hebrew and other languages that characterized the reading public of the Yishuv. We base our discussion on records of imported books; analysis of library holdings; library lending data; and data on bookstores.

The number of books imported into Eretz-Israel increased significantly between 1923 and 1931. During 1923 the total value of imported books was 10,000 Palestine Pounds (PP); by 1929 that value had increased to 25,823 PP, falling in 1931 to 18,427.<sup>88</sup>

These data, as well as the increasing number of bookstores purveying non-Hebrew books, suggest a sizeable foreign-language readership, both Jewish and non-Jewish. A headline in *Ha'aretz* warned in 1944 against "English books [which have] captivated the book market in Eretz-Israel". The



Table 8: Book Imports and Exports, 1923–1931  
(analysis of data gathered by Bloshar 1933):

Imports in PP	Exports in PP	Year
10,000	357	1923
12,500	578	1924
21,171	1,423	1925
21,178	889	1926
24,142	2,456	1927
22,498	2,149	1928
25,823	7,775	1929
22,154	9,396	1930
18,427	10,231	1931

article described the growing number of bookstores selling non-Hebrew books and cited Paul Arensberg (director of Peles, one of the Yishuv's largest importers of books and newspapers, and mistakenly named "Ehrendorf" in the article), who claimed that compared to the situation before the war, the number of importers of foreign books and newspapers had doubled and that the number of stores selling non-Hebrew books and newspapers had increased from 20 to 180. Of these bookstores, 50 were located in Tel-Aviv. According to the article, only 15% of book-buyers were British soldiers, as the army imported books for its own needs; the explanation for this increase must therefore lie elsewhere. The article further reported that licenses to import paper for printing books and textbooks in Hebrew were restricted to 75 tons of paper (30 for books, 45 for textbooks), compared to the 400-ton limit on licenses to import English-language books.<sup>89</sup>

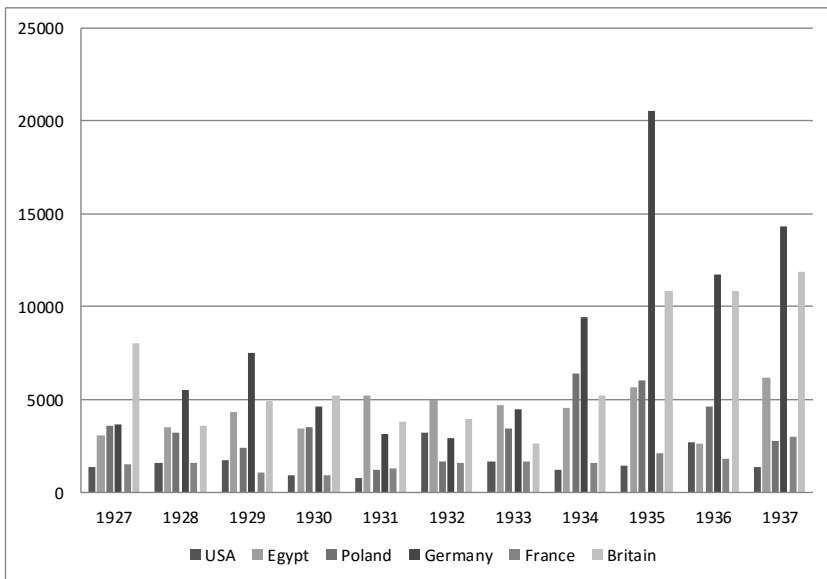
Blue Books—an annual statistical publication by the Mandate government—are a rich source of data regarding non-Hebrew books imported into Eretz-Israel. They too record a significant increase in the imported book market: while in 1927 that market amounted to 24,142 PP, by 1935 it had more than doubled to reach 63,912 PP. Books were imported from Germany as well as from Egypt, Poland, the US, France, and the UK. In 1928, as an example, the value of books imported from Germany reached 5,543 PP out of a total market of 24,142 PP. In 1931, books from Egypt represented 5,189 PP out of 18,427. In 1933, book imports from Germany came to 4,489 PP out of 24,602, rising to 20,531 PP out of 63,912 by 1935. In 1934 book imports from Poland amounted to 6,389 PP out of 37,405.

The data are similar with respect to the number of non-Hebrew books held and lent by public libraries. In the holdings of two Tel-Aviv libraries—"Sha'ar Zion" and "Achad Ha-am"—the number of non-Hebrew books

Table 9: Book imports to Eretz-Israel in PP according to state of origin (high figures marked in bold)<sup>90</sup>

State	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937
<b>Britain</b>	<b>8,060</b>	3,596	4,955	<b>5,209</b>	3,802	3,927	2,651	5,248	10,850	10,828	11,899
<b>France</b>	1,454	1,584	1,064	891	1,321	1,576	1,672	1,609	2,077	1,821	3,010
<b>Germany</b>	3,655	<b>5,543</b>	<b>7,508</b>	4,646	3,140	2,927	4,489	<b>9,461</b>	<b>20,531</b>	<b>11,744</b>	<b>14,322</b>
<b>Poland</b>	3,555	3,233	2,419	3,486	1,190	1,633	3,431	6,389	6,051	4,606	2,765
<b>Egypt</b>	3,076	3,490	4,353	3,419	<b>5,189</b>	<b>4,999</b>	<b>4,687</b>	4,587	5,692	2,634	6,171
<b>USA</b>	1,385	1,586	1,734	929	779	3,212	1,645	1,187	1,440	2,681	1,379
<b>Other</b>	2,957	3,466	3,790	3,574	3,006	3,098	6,027	8,924	17,271	6,234	6,759
<b>Total</b>	24,142	22,498	25,823	22,154	18,427	21,372	24,602	37,405	63,912	40,548	46,305

Chart 9: Book imports to Eretz-Israel in PP according to state of origin (Blue Book).



dwarfed that of books in Hebrew, which constituted only about a third of the collection. The central library of the Histadrut's Cultural Committee held 24,500 books altogether in 1923; of these, 17,518 were in Hebrew, 2,510 in Yiddish and the rest in Russian, German, English, French, Polish and Italian.<sup>91</sup> In newer libraries, primarily those of the Labor Zionist movement, most books were in Hebrew and the budgets for new books were devoted primarily to buying Hebrew-language books,<sup>92</sup> as part of an effort (a discussion of which follows) to impose Hebrew on their readership.

Table 10: Numbers of Hebrew and non-Hebrew books at the Sha'ar Zion and Achad Ha-am libraries (1934–1938)<sup>96</sup>

Shaar Zion Library				
1938	1937	1936	1934	Year
15,763	13,854	10,618	9,434	Non-Hebrew Books
10,245	8,647	7,289	6,153	Hebrew Books
26,008	22,501	17,907	15,587	Total

Ahad Ha-am Library				
No Data	6,437	6,433	6,045	Non-Hebrew Books
No Data	8,347	8,767	7,919	Hebrew Books
No Data	14,874	15,200	13,964	Total

Table 11: Numbers of Hebrew and non-Hebrew books at ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad's libraries (1946)<sup>97</sup>

Number of Books	Number of Libraries	Up to 8,000	Up to 7,000	Up to 6,000	Up to 5,000	Up to 4,000	Up to 3,000	Up to 2,000	Up to 1,000	
105,343	46	1	3	1	1	2	9	20	9	Hebrew
6,238	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	19	Yiddish
1,899	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	English
28,928	25	—	—	1	—	—	3	6	15	German
4,087	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	9	Russian
758	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	Different Languages
14,961	10	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	6	Art, Technical & Agriculture Books
162,214										Total

Table 12: Readership languages at ha-Kibbutz ha-Me'uhad's libraries:<sup>98</sup>

Number of Readers	Number of Libraries	
5,152	38 (8 out of 46 libraries, amongst them some of the largest, did not respond to this question)	Read only Hebrew
499	19	Read only other Languages
1,251	16	Read both Hebrew and other Languages

Tables 13 (below) and 14 (right): Readership and book lending at the Sha'ar Zion library, 1925–1926 (Tishrei-Adar/September–March)<sup>99</sup>

Adar February– March	Shevat January– February	Tevet December– January	Kislev November– December	Cheshvan October– November	Tishrei September– October	
2,119	2,176	2,245	2,013	2,025	2,161	Total Number of Library Visitors
932	858	889	796	888	1,079	Out of which: Students
699	562	855	652	530	497	Workers
177	166	159	131	106	142	Clerks
56	158	60	65	81	55	Free Professions
255	432	282	369	420	388	No Vocation

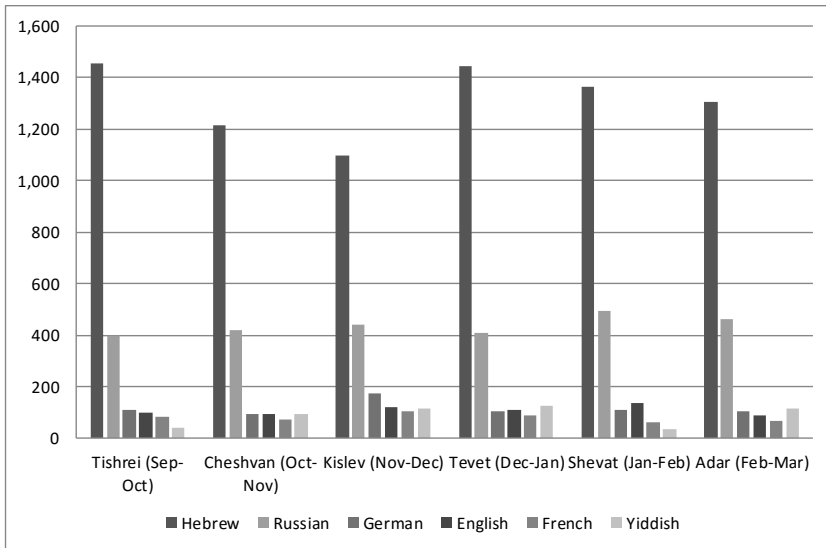
Records of book lending in several libraries (“Sha’ar Zion” in Tel-Aviv,<sup>93</sup> the National Library in Jerusalem,<sup>94</sup> and the libraries of ha-Kibbutz ha-Me’uchad<sup>95</sup>), when crosschecked with the number of student visits and the relatively high number of borrowed Hebrew children’s books, indicate that a considerable percentage of Hebrew-language readership consisted of the younger generation. The older generation, in contrast, continued to read in foreign languages: German, French, Russian, English, and Yiddish. During the month of Tishrei (October) 1925, 1,456 Hebrew books were borrowed from the Sha’ar Zion library—440 of which were children’s books—compared with 735 foreign language books, of which 400 were in Russian, 111 in German, 99 in English, 85 in French and 40 in Yiddish. During the month of Kislev (December), 1098 Hebrew books were borrowed, of which 549 were children’s books, compared with 952 books in other languages: 440 in Russian, 173 in German, 120 in English, 105 in French and 114 in Yiddish.

We do not have at our disposal exact numbers of non-Hebrew books published in Eretz-Israel. We do, however, have ample evidence concerning the prolific publication in the German-language. One study estimates that as many as 2,000 German-language publications were printed in Eretz-Israel during the Mandate period—“newspapers, magazines, journals, booklets and books”.<sup>100</sup> Even if this is an overestimation, there is no doubt that German-language publishing in Eretz-Israel was prolific. During the late 1930s, nine Hebrew dailies were published in the Yishuv, alongside 18 weeklies, 6 bi-weeklies, and 25 periodicals. Yet a large number of local German-language newspapers existed in parallel, including six (!) daily

## Books borrowed by language and subject

Adar February– March	Shevat January– February	Tevet December– January	Kislev November– December	Cheshvan October– November	Tishrei September– October	
2,137	2,200	2,274	2,050	1,988	2,181	Total
1,833	1,826	1,942	Not specified	1,732	1,932	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
304	374	332	Not specified	256	249	Science Books
<b>Languages</b>						
Adar February– March	Shevat January– February	Tevet December– January	Kislev November– December	Cheshvan October– November	Tishrei September– October	
1,306	1,362	1,442	1,098	1,216	1,456	<b>Hebrew</b>
807	806	978	549	707	867	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
320	346	287	253	377	440	Children Books
179	210	177	296	132	149	Science Books
460	496	407	440	421	400	<b>Russian</b>
376	398	304	336	333	336	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
84	98	103	104	88	64	Science Books
102	110	103	173	91	111	<b>German</b>
81	72	83	92	75	97	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
21	38	20	81	16	14	Science Books
89	134	110	120	94	99	<b>English</b>
69	114	94	98	78	86	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
20	20	16	22	16	13	Science Books
67	62	86	105	71	85	<b>French</b>
67	59	83	101	69	78	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
0	3	3	4	2	7	Science Books
113	36	126	114	95	40	<b>Yiddish</b>
113	36	123	112	93	38	Out of which: Belles-Lettres
0	0	3	2	2	2	Science Books

Chart 10: Data on book lending at Sha'ar Zion Library, Tishrei-Adar (September–March) 1925–26.



newspapers in German: *Neue Nachrichten*, *Tagesnachrichten*, *Presse-Echo*, *Übersetzungen*, *Tagesschau*, and James Yaakov Rosental's *Auszüge*.<sup>101</sup>

Our interviewees mentioned repeatedly that their elders and parents read non-Hebrew newspapers. One, born in the 1920s, reported as follows: [Q.] *Which newspaper did she [your mother] read?* *Poslednie Novosti*, a newspaper for Russian immigrants in Paris, was the newspaper read at home. [Q.] *Was it sent from Paris?* From Paris, they subscribed to *Poslednie Novosti* and we absorbed all our political knowledge from *Poslednie Novosti*.<sup>102</sup>

Another interviewee, born in 1921 and immigrated to Eretz-Israel in 1935, told us about a newspaper in German her family read at home: [Q.] *Was a newspaper sent to your home?* Yes. [Q.] *What newspaper?* Ah, today it is called *Yakinton*. It was *Yedi'ot Achronot*. [Q.] *Yedi'ot Achronot?* Yes, in German. *Neueste Nachrichten* in German. This was published by the office in Rambam Street [ . . . ] and my sister and I read the *Jerusalem Post*. [Q.] *Jerusalem Post?* Yes, it was easier for us to read. [Q.] *Why?* Hebrew was more difficult during the first years. [Q.] *English was easier than German?* No, German [newspapers] did not satisfy us, it was, how should I say this [ . . . ] it was all kinds of articles, no, not like in *Ha'aretz* where you have articles, you have . . . all kinds of personalities. Yes, that's it. [Q.] *And the German newspaper had none, only news?* It was news and there were [articles] about people, about personalities and their story, yes.<sup>103</sup>

From the extensive number of non-Hebrew newspapers, crosschecked with data regarding non-Hebrew newspapers, book imports, and library lending of non-Hebrew books,<sup>104</sup> we can conclude that non-Hebrew publications maintained a sizable readership. The success of the Hebraization project did not result in exclusive use of Hebrew or in the total disappearance of other languages; but it was evident, for example, in attempts by users of those languages to conceal that habit. An anecdote recounted by Tsvia Walden, Shimon Peres's daughter, is very telling. She describes how her grandmother's "dark secret" was revealed. It appears that the grandmother continued to read clandestinely in Russian and Yiddish throughout her life. One Friday evening, when the family gathered for a Shabbat dinner, the granddaughter entered her grandmother's room and noticed that on her nightstand "a Hebrew book was placed with a bookmark. [. . .] next week I noticed that the book was opened to the same page [. . .] I could not imagine that [my grandmother] had not finished her reading. I mentioned it during dinner. But I understood from the troubling silence that fell, that a secret was buried here. My grandmother turned green and said [. . .] it is you [my grandfather] that should explain. In a hesitant move he took me to the other room, lifted the bed cover, and showed me dozens of books in Russian and Yiddish."<sup>105</sup>

Many interviewees told us how, as children, they attempted to prevent their parents from using foreign languages in the presence of their friends or in public. For example, one interviewee, born in 1916, related that: "When I started to go to school, like I said, to the second grade and the Battalion for Defense of the Language was active, I warned my mother that I would not speak with her Russian, especially not in the street."<sup>106</sup>

In fact, their children's attitudes toward (and refusal to participate in) speaking foreign languages often motivated the parents' generation to learn Hebrew, as testified by the same interviewee: [*Q.*] *Then she practically learned Hebrew from you?* Not from me, but because I would not speak to her [in any language] but Hebrew. Another interviewee, born in the 1920s, told us a similar story: "Then my parents brought me to school and I drew the line, from this point on we speak Hebrew. But they did not know Hebrew well, [it was] only so the other kids would not hear them. I felt ashamed."<sup>107</sup>

The fact that many continued to read in their mother-tongues or in the languages of their homelands did not remain unnoticed, and attempts were made to deter this, at times by force. We know of at least of one case, that of the kibbutz Beit Ha-Shita, where the German-book library was closed in an attempt to coerce kibbutz members to read in Hebrew.<sup>108</sup>

This attempt presumably failed; members who had borrowed library books as long as German books were available simply stopped borrowing books altogether.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, a survey conducted in 1947 by the cultural committee of the kibbutz amongst kibbutz members made it clear that the latter, primarily of German origin, were unmotivated to read in Hebrew and reluctant to join the Hebrew courses offered to them. According to Binyamin Poznansky, a member of the committee that conducted the survey, nearly half the members who borrowed no books from the library (43%) were in need of Hebrew classes but did not attend them despite their availability, probably because they had little interest in Hebrew culture.<sup>110</sup> Thus even amongst Labor Zionists the ideological steamroller was stymied; these members refused to read Hebrew literature at all, let alone exclusively.

## CONCLUSION

The complex image of the multilingual reality in Eretz-Israel during the British Mandate teaches us not of any failure of the Hebraization project, but of the immense difficulties it confronted. Yet in hindsight the project, despite these difficulties, was ultimately an undeniable success—one of the most important Zionist undertakings, rightfully depicted as a flagship project of Zionism and as a great achievement of the Yishuv. Within a few decades, Hebrew became able to meet the linguistic needs of the Jewish community in all spheres of life—whether public life or private, official or day-to-day; of culture—whether high culture or popular; and of education, from nursery school to academia. It was possible to order from a Hebrew menu at a restaurant, read a variety of newspapers in Hebrew, enjoy both original Hebrew-language literature and foreign literature in Hebrew translation, attend theatre performances in Hebrew, and study, in Hebrew, any academic field.

Yosef Klausner astutely observed the difference between Jewish life in the Diaspora and in the Yishuv:

In Odessa, if you enter a shop and address its owner in Hebrew, not only they will not understand your words, but they will regard you as a person plainly in need of mental treatment; whilst in Jaffa or Jerusalem you shall be understood and they will see nothing strange in it, even if they reply in jargon or in Arabic, and sometimes they may even reply in Hebrew.<sup>111</sup>



Bialik too contemplated the future place of Hebrew in the Yishuv, if a bit more crudely:

*Ikh vil az m'zol alts ton oyf hebreish . . . m'zol oykh kaken oyf hebreish, shrayen, ganvenen, noef'n oyf hebreish . . .* (I want everyone to do everything in Hebrew . . . shit in Hebrew, shout, steal, commit adultery in Hebrew).<sup>112</sup>

Over time, the linguistic repertoire available and accessible to Hebrew speakers developed, expanded, and was consciously renewed. Hebrew's remarkably rapid development within a short period of time—and the fact that it resulted not only from “natural” responses and adjustments to certain “conditions”, but also from an intentional guiding ideology—made Hebraization a revolutionary process and modern Hebrew a revolutionary creation. The impressive establishment of an all-encompassing linguistic system was what made it possible for immigrants from numerous cultures, speaking a panoply of languages, to become a united national community with a distinctive and bonding culture. It was the project of Hebraization that created a common language and culture and enabled Jewish society in the Yishuv to become a community of shared values, willing to fight for those values against enemies both internal and abroad—to become, in short, a community ready for the transition from Yishuv to statehood.

## NOTES

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1. E.g. David Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs*, vol. 3 (Tel-Aviv, 1973), 201 [Hebrew].

2. In the words of Naftali Herz Torczyner [Tur-Sinai] (chairman of the Hebrew Language Committee in Eretz-Israel) and Dr. Shemuel Eisenstadt (head of the Committee's central office) in a letter to the executive of the *Histadrut* (Eretz-Israel Jewish Labor Federation), 20 June 1944, Lavon Institute, IV-208-1-3050.

3. On 24 July 1922 the British Mandate for Palestine named English, Hebrew, and Arabic the official languages of Palestine; any ordinance or official statement, document, inscription, or currency was required to be published in all three. Yosef Klausner called an earlier British ordinance regarding official languages in Palestine

a “historical event” and considered it “a declaration of rights for our national language”. *Ha'aretz*, 10 September 1920.

4. Menachem Ussishkin, *The Book of Ussishkin* (Jerusalem, 1918), 187–9 [Hebrew].

5. Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs*, 118–9.

6. Yitzchak Ben-Zvi, “The Beginning of Po'ale Zion in Eretz-Israel,” in *The Book of the Second Aliyah*, ed. Bracha Chabas and Eliezer Shochat (Tel-Aviv, 1947), 597 [Hebrew].

7. Ze'ev Jabotinsky, *Letters* (Jerusalem, 2007), 30 January 1934, 25 [Hebrew].

8. Ben-Gurion, *Letters of David Ben-Gurion*, vol. 1, ed. Yehuda Erez (Tel-Aviv, 1971), 75 [Hebrew].

9. Yosef Klausner, *A People and Land Revived: Notes of a Journey in Eretz-Israel*, vol. 1 (Tel-Aviv, 1944), 56 [Hebrew].

10. Yitzhak Dov Berkowitz, *Menachem-Mendel in Eretz-Israel* (Tel-Aviv, 1936), 15 [Hebrew].

11. Uriya Shavit, “Zionism as Told by Rashid Rida,” *Journal of Israeli History: Politics, Society, Culture* 34.1 (2015): 23–44, esp. 40.

12. Joseph Kessel, *Le Temps de l'espérance* (Paris, [1956] 2010), 184.

13. Nikos Kazantzakis, *The Fratricides* (Oxford, 1963), 93.

14. “Palestine and the Orient,” translated by Batir Xasanov, *Rassviet*, 9 March 1912; this is the sole reference I have found for the 1911 and 1912 surveys.

15. Achad Ha-am, *Letters of Achad Ha-Am 1908–1912* (Tel-Aviv, 1923), 268 [Hebrew].

16. Ben-Gurion, *The Hebrew Worker and His Histadrut* (Tel-Aviv, 1964), 118 [Hebrew].

17. *Register of Histadrut Ha-Ovedim in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem, 5683 [1922–23]), Appendix 8, Table 3 [Hebrew].

18. Unfortunately, censuses conducted today by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics do not inquire as to the language(s) of the participants.

19. Ze'ev Smilansky, Register of Residents of Tel-Aviv, 1915, Tel-Aviv Municipal Historical Archive (henceforth: TAHA—[all in Hebrew]), 1–94.

20. Register of Residents of Tel-Aviv, 1915, TAHA, 1–94.

21. Roberto Bachi, “A Statistical Perspective on the Hebrew Language,” *Lesbonenu* 20 (1955–56): 67–8 [Hebrew].

22. John Bernard Barron, *Report and General Abstracts of the Census of 1922* (Jerusalem 1922), 2.

23. The census concerns the entire population of Palestine and counted 757,182 interviewees including military men and foreign citizens; it reports 83,794 Jews then living in Palestine. We can assume that self-declared Hebrew and Yiddish speakers were Jews.

24. Eighty-two households did not respond to the question.

25. Liat Bartal interview with Israel (Reli) Kozlov (b. 1921) 26 October 2010 [all interviews in Hebrew].

26. Barron, *Report and General Abstracts*, 56–7, Tables 21–22.
27. *Ibid.* Yanovsky includes “Others” under his “Total”; consequently the sum of the columns does not match the sum of all the rows.
28. Shemuel Yanovsky, “Statistical Conversations,” *Ha’arets*, 6 February 1928; “The Number of Hebrew Speakers in Tel-Aviv,” *Ktuvim*, 23 February 1928 [both in Hebrew].
29. Dov Volchonsky, “Rishon Le-Zion by the Numbers,” *Commerce and Industry* 8 (1930): 37–62.
30. *Ibid.*, 48.
31. Uziel Shmelz and Roberto Bachi, “Hebrew as an Everyday Spoken Language of the Jews in Israel,” *Leshonenu* 37 (1973): 50–68, esp. 54 [Hebrew].
32. Ben-Gurion Archive, 44/39y, Yehudah Even Shemuel, “The Culture Department’s Memorandum to the Members of the National Committee and Legal Agents of the Jewish Agency.”
33. Bachi, “A Statistical Perspective,” 73.
34. Liat Bartal interview with Ida Zurit, 21 September 2010.
35. Meir Dizengoff, “To Tel-Aviv Residents,” 22 January 1936 [emphasis added], TAHA, 4–1402.
36. Israel Rokach, “Hebrew City—Be Hebrew!”, 19 January 1938, TAHA 4–140.
37. Bachi, “A Statistical Perspective,” 69.
38. Ben-Gurion, *The Hebrew Worker*, 118.
39. Bachi, “A Statistical Perspective,” 66.
40. *Ibid.*, 49.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Volchonsky, “Rishon Le-Zion by the Numbers”.
43. N. Thon and H.D. Shachar, “Educational Institutions in 1921–22 [5682]: A Statistical List 5682 (1921–22),” *Ha-chinuch, Pedagogical Journal for Teachers and Parents, Published by the Teacher’s Union, 6<sup>th</sup> year, 1922–1923*: 212–25, Table 8b, 13 [Hebrew].
44. *Ibid.*, 12.
45. Shimon Reshef and Yuval Dror, *Hebrew Education in the Years of the National Homeland, 1919–1948* (Jerusalem, 1999), 48–9 [Hebrew].
46. Liat Bartal interview with Shulamit Laskov (b. 1916), 29 August 2010.
47. Yehuda Nedivi to the Water Company, 19 July 1941, TAHA 4–142.
48. In an interview, Aharon Choter-Yishai mentions signs in Yiddish, Polish, and English. See Shimon Shor, *The Battalion for Defense of the Language: in Eretz-Israel 1923–1936* (Haifa, 2000), 66 [Hebrew].
49. Rechav’am Ze’evi, *A City by Its Signage: Jaffa and Tel-Aviv 1900–1935* (Tel-Aviv, 1988), 312 [Hebrew].
50. Zohar Shavit, “Tel-Aviv Language Police,” in *Tel-Aviv—The First Century*, ed. Maoz Azaryahu and S. Ilan Troen, 191–211 (Bloomington, IN, 2012); “The Violent Hipsters of the Hebrew Language,” *Ha’arets*, Culture and Literature, 5 May 2014 [Hebrew].

51. My thanks to David Tartakover who generously made available these menus.
52. Dizengoff to Hopenko, 9 December 1929, TAHA, 1–3 2.
53. Ze'evi, *A City by Its Signage*, 312.
54. *Ibid.*, 310.
55. Shlomo Zemach, *Year One* (Tel-Aviv, 1952), 77 [Hebrew].
56. Rachel Neemann, *The Journal of a Veteran Kindergarten Teacher* (Tel-Aviv, 1960), 32 [Hebrew].
57. David Yellin, *Selected Writings on the History of and Life within Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem, 1935–1936) [Hebrew].
58. Liat Bartal interview with Ruth Almog (b. 1936), 17 January 2013.
59. Bartal interview with Aharon Oppenheimer (b. 1940), 14 March 2013.
60. Bartal interview with Tamar Eshel (b. 1920), 17 January 2015.
61. See Max Weinreich in Joshua A. Fishman, ed. “Yiddishkayt and Yiddish: On the Impact of Religion on Language in Ashkenazic Jewry,” *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (1970): 382–413.
62. Ze'ev Jabotinsky, “The Language of the Haskalah,” *Haschiloach* 30 (1913–14): 406 [Hebrew].
63. See Yaacov Shavit, “A Library’s Journey from Budapest to Jerusalem,” *Ha’aretz*, 28 August 2015 [Hebrew].
64. Gershom Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem* (Tel-Aviv, 1982), 217 [Hebrew].
65. Bachi also comments on the prevalence of Yiddish and of the common use of “more than one language in daily life”. “A Statistical Perspective,” 76.
66. Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 188.
67. Simon Rawidowicz, *My Conversations with Bialik* (Jerusalem, 1983), 37 [Hebrew].
68. Shemuel Yosef Agnon, *From Myself to Myself* (Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, 1976), 132, 136–7, 144 [Hebrew].
69. Avraham Shlonsky to Eliezer Steinman, 21 October 1929, Steinman Archive, 1:71080.
70. Shlonsky to Yitzhak Lamdan, 22 November 1924, Gnazim Archives 11576/1.
71. Yosef Ya’ari-Poleskin, *Dreamers and Warriors: The Life and Activity of the Founders of the State of Israel* (Tel-Aviv, 1964), 195–6 [Hebrew].
72. Fishel Lachower, ed., *Letters of Chaim Nachman Bialik* (Tel-Aviv, 1938) [Hebrew].
73. Shavit, “The Violent Hipsters of the Hebrew Language.”
74. Zemach, *Year One*, 69–70.
75. Bachi, “A Statistical Perspective,” 11, 74–5.
76. Liat Bartal interview with Shulamit Laskov (b. 1916), 29 August 2010 [emphasis added].
77. Agnon, *From Myself to Myself*, 182.
78. Volchonsky, “Rishon Le-Zion,” 49.
79. Scholem, *From Berlin to Jerusalem*, 207.
80. Bachi, “A Statistical Perspective,” 26.

81. Klausner, *A People and Land Revived*, 59–60.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Arye Leyb Pilowsky, “Yiddish in Eretz-Israel, 1907–1921” (MA thesis, Hebrew University, 1973), 14 [Hebrew].
84. Arye Leyb Pilowsky, “Yiddish and Yiddish Literature in Eretz Israel 1907–1948” (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1980), 171–2 [Hebrew].
85. Nachum Greenblatt, 12 July 1928, TAHA, 4–140 1.
86. Shavit, “The Violent Hipsters of the Hebrew Language,” 191–211.
87. Pilowsky, *Yiddish and Yiddish Literature*, 171–2.
88. M. Blosnar, “Nine Years of Export and Import of Books in Eretz-Israel 1923–1931,” *Ktuvim*, 10 and 24 March 1933 [Hebrew].
89. P. Azai [Pinchas Lander], “The English Book Determined the Eretz-Israeli Market,” *Ha’aretz*, 31 October 1944.
90. *Palestine Blue Book* (Alexandria, 1928), 105; (Alexandria, 1929), 354; (Alexandria, 1930), 300; (Alexandria, 1931), 303; (Jerusalem, 1932) 307; (Jerusalem, 1933), 337; (Jerusalem, 1934), 265; (Jerusalem, 1935), 302; (Jerusalem, 1936), 294; (Jerusalem, 1937), 301; (Jerusalem, 1938) 323.
91. Ben-Gurion, *The Hebrew Worker and His Histadrut*, 119.
92. Reuven Levi, “Libraries in Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me’uchad by the Numbers,” *Yad La-Kore* 1 (1946): 96–9 [Hebrew].
93. Zohar Shavit, *The Construction of Hebrew Culture in the Jewish Yishuv in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem, 1998); *The Tel-Aviv Municipality Yearbooks* (Tel-Aviv, 1935–36), 74–5; (1937–38), 86; (1938), 151; (1938–39), 87.
94. Levi, “Libraries in Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me’uchad,” 96.
95. Gathered by *ibid.*, 97.
96. Abraham Kahane, “Statistics on Readership and Holdings in the Sha’ar Zion Public Library 1925–1926,” *Ktuvim*, 22 October 1926 [Hebrew].
97. “Beit Ha-Sefarim News” (Tevet-Adar 5868 (1938–1939), *Kiryat Sefer*, 16 (1939): 2.
98. Levi, “Libraries in Ha-Kibbutz Ha-Me’uchad,” 96–7.
99. Kahane, “Statistics on Readership.”
100. According to David Witzthum, “German Jewish Press in Hebrew: Three Turning Points and Their Significance,” in *Between Two Homelands: The “Yekkes”*, ed. Moshe Zimmermann and Yotam Hotam (Jerusalem, 2006), 270 [Hebrew]; Moshe Zimmermann and Yotam Hotam (Hg.), *Zweimal Heimat, Die Jekkes zwischen Mitteleuropa und Nahost*, (Frankfurt, 2005), 287–94.
101. Witzthum, “German Jewish Press in Hebrew,” 271.
102. Liat Bartal interview with Ida Zurit.
103. Liat Bartal interview with Ruth Berger (b. 1920), 26 October 2010.
104. On the cultural reception of immigrants from Germany and the newspapers they read, see: Yoav Gelber, *A New Homeland: The Immigration from Central Europe and its Absorption in Eretz-Israel 1933–1948* (Jerusalem, 1990), 310 [Hebrew]; Miriam Getter, “Immigration from Germany 1933–1939,” *Cathedra* 12 (1979): 137–46 [Hebrew].

105. Tsvia Walden, *Parole d'Israélienne* (Paris, 2001), 150–2 [Translated from the French by Z.S.].
106. Liat Bartal interview with Shulamit Laskov (b. 1916), 29 August 2010.
107. Liat Bartal interview with Ida Zurit (b. 1920s), 21 September 2010.
108. Binyamin Poznansky, “On the Cultural Activity in Beit Ha-Shita,” *From Within*, 13 January 1948, 119–30.
109. *Ibid.*, 129.
110. *Ibid.*, 120.
111. Klausner, *A People and Land Revived*, 59.
112. Rawidowicz, *My Conversations with Bialik*, 43.

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